A Grammar of Yorno So

(Toro So subgroup of Dogon, Mali)

Jeffrey Heath
University of Michigan

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author's emails
schweinehaxen@hotmail.com
jheath@umich.edu

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1 Introduction

1.1 Dogon languages

The Dogon languages of east-central Mali clearly constitute a genetic language family. Dogon is usually thought to represent an early branching from Niger-Congo, preceding the development of the noun-class affix system that is prominent in groups such as Bantu and Gur that represent a more recent branching. However, the membership and genetic structure of Niger-Congo (and Niger-Kordofanian) is not yet clear.

Since 2014 I and a few junior project members have been working primarily on Dogon languages, and secondarily on certain other languages of Mali and SW Burkina Faso. Two Dogon grammars have been published in print, Heath (2008) on Jamsay and McPherson (2013) on Tommo So. Several additional grammars by me have been "published" electronically at Language Description Heritage Library (maintained by Max Planck Gesellschaft) with copies at Deep Blue (University of Michigan Library).

Some topics relevant to multiple Dogon languages have been analysed in journal articles. The most significant topic is tonosyntax (and tonomorphology), which is covered in Heath & McPherson (2013), McPherson & Heath (2016), and Heath (2015). Other topics of special interest in Dogon are adjective-numeral inversion (Heath 2016); the status of imperative and hortative "subjects" (Heath & Dyachkov 2015); the semantics of action verbs (Heath & McPherson 2009); and the semantics of emotion expressions (McPherson & Prokhorov 2011).

Not the least of the project's products is a website, www.dogonlanguages.org, designed and managed by Steven Moran. In addition to documents on Dogon and Bangime, it has many images and documentary videos, flora-fauna materials, and an interactive geography page including several hundred Dogon and nearby villages.

There are perhaps 80 locally named varieties of Dogon, which can be grouped into about 20-25 "languages" based on significant morphosyntactic and lexical distinctions (and mutual intelligibility after factoring out familiarity). Our current understanding is that Dogon is internally divided into two genetic subgroups, eastern and western. They correspond in large part to the western versus eastern cliffs of the main Dogon plateau, but the eastern group also has branches in the sandy plains and inselbergs farther to the northeast, and in the south where the plateau merges into lowlands. An approximate breakdown is (1), the vertical alignment of which is skewed to suggest contact relationships between specific western and eastern languages.

(1)

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

1.2 Toro So and Yorno So

Most villages that speak varieties in the Toro So ("mountain language") group occur on, above, or near the base of the escarpment (cliffs or slopes) which runs roughly northeast to southwest. The escarpment separates the high Dogon plateau, much of which is populated by Tommo So and Donno So speakers, from the vast sandy plains that stretch out to the east, extending into Burkina Faso. In the last hundred years, many satellite villages have sprung up in the plains.

The line of Toro So-speaking villages along the cliffs reaches its northeastern limit in the Yendouma village cluster. Other Toro So varieties are spoken in the Koundou and Youga village clusters to the south and southwest, in an area where the escarpment is broken up into inselbergs and passes. Continuing farther in the same direction, one finds the isolated but important village Ibi, and then a long line of closely spaced cliffside Toro So-speaking villages: Néni, Amani Pongono, Banani, Gogoli, Pégué, the Iréli cluster, Yayé, the main Amani cluster, Data, Tiréli, Ourou, Kombokani, and Idiéli. Above the cliffs around Banani and Gogoli, and pushing some distance away from the cliffs westward into the high plateau, is the important Sangha cluster, the administrative center of the *commune* that includes nearly all of these villages, and in some ways the cultural heart of Dogon country.

Calame-Griaule's early survey of Dogon varieties (1956: 65) stated that native Toro So speakers organized their lects into the groupings in (2).

(2)
a. Yougou
b. Yendouma, Koundou
c. Ibi
d. Néni, Bagani, Pégué
e. Sangha
f. Iréli, Yayé, Amani, Tiréli, Oulou, Kommokan, part of Idyéli

Until more is known about all these varieties, it is too early to determine whether Toro So is a single language with many dialects, or contains two or more languages, using general linguistic criteria (mutual intelligibility and structural divergence). I currently have reasonably detailed morphological

material on Sangha So as well as Yorno So, and I am not convinced at this point that these two varieties should be assigned to different languages. Ibi So is often said to be particularly divergent but the limited unpublished material available on it do not permit any conclusions.

Yorno So (*yɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:-sɔ̌:*) is spoken in the Yendouma (also spelled "Yenndouma" on old maps), native name *yɔ̀rⁿɔ̂:* in the local variety. Yendouma is a cluster of several small villages (3), with *yɔ̀rⁿɔ̀: sógôl* as the center (it has a school, a health center, and lodging facilities for visitors). Coordinates for Sogol and Barkala in (3) are in degrees, minutes, and decimal fractions of minutes.

(3)	native name	N latitude	W longitude
	yɔ̀rⁿɔ̀: sógôl	14 33.332	03 14.118
	yɔ̀rⁿɔ̀: dá		
	yɔ̀rⁿɔ̀: dámá		
	yɔ̀rⁿɔ̀: átɔ́		
	yɔ̀rⁿɔ̀: bàrⁿǎwⁿ		
	jáŋàrà		
	bárkàlà (Muslims, split off from Dama)	14 33.770	03 13.775
	yǎ:ndò: (split off from Dama)		

The original villages were part-way up the escarpment that separates the sandy plains (where the fields are) from the Dogon plateau. The latter extends west and northwest to Kani-Gogouna and other Tommo-So speaking villages and towns.

Following the escarpment going northeast in the direction of Bamba, one encounters the Tommo-So speaking villages Were (*wéré*), Tepere (*tébélè*), and Dawa (*dàwⁿá* or *dàwⁿà-sɔ́ŋɔ̀*), then the Yanda cluster (which has its own language, Yanda Dom) and finally Bamba itself (primarily Jamsay-speaking).

To get from Yendouma to Sangha, which has an important market and a road to Bandiagara (and beyond), there are two routes. Going on foot, the direct route is to follow the escarpment via the village of Tuyogou (called *tê:gù* in Yorno So and something like *týjɔ̀w* in the village itself). The other route is to head into the sandy plains, passing between the Koundou (*kûn*) village cluster and Youga mountain, then along the base of another segment of the escarpment passing the villages of Ibi, Néni, and Banani, then climbing the cliffs to reach Sangha. All of the villages on either route to Sangha speak Toro So varieties.

The most common second languages for natives of Yendouma are Fulfulde (Atlantic family), Jamsay (Dogon), and Tommo-So (Dogon).

Yendouma has its own periodic market, every fifth day (one day before market day in Sangha). Other markets that are frequented by people of Yendouma are Bamba, Madougou, Ningari, and Ibi.

1.3 Environment

The local environment consists of the plateau starting at the top of the escarpment, the slopes where the original villages were located, and the sandy plains that begin at the base. There is a small rainy-

season creek that one crosses while going to Koundou. It is dry on the surface by the end of September, but small ponds (*marigots*) are excavated in it for off-season farming. There is a small natural pond in the Yendouma itself, which in good years holds water year-round; there is an annual fish-catch in the pond around April or May (similar to the more famous Antogo fishfest in Bamba).

The local economy is based on farming millet in the fields on the plains. Other crops are sorghum, roselle (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*), sesame, cow-peas (*Vigna unguiculata*), and peanuts. Sorghum and peanuts are mostly grown near the creek. In the dry season, some chili pepper, onion, and tomato are grown in gardens near the marigots. There is some herding of sheep and goats as well as cattle. The cattle owned by Dogon are often tended by small groups of Fulbe in the area.

1.4 Previous and contemporary study of Yorno So

1.4.1 Prior work on Toro So

There is no previous literature on Yorno So, i.e. the language of Yendouma. Toro So group, whether a language with dialects (including Yorno So) or a set of closely related languages, has no previous modern reference grammar. Of the group associated with Marcel Griaule, his daughter Geneviève Calame-Griaule was the person most interested in the language, primarily the variety of Sangha (now called Sangha So). She produced a useful dictionary with many ethnographic notes (1968), a philosophical exploration of Dogon language and culture (1965), and three articles on aspects of grammar (1963a-b, 1972).

1.4.2 Fieldwork

This grammar owes much to my collaboration with the Malian linguist Dagalou (aka Josue) Teme, who is a native of Yendouma and who has worked within the context of SIL. He was the primary translator of the Dogon Bible (Teme 2010). As of this writing he is still connected with SIL-Bamako and is engaged in Bible translation into Jamsay. He is the "assistant" referred to in various subsections.

This grammar also incorporates material from, and contains cross-references to, the texts that follow the grammar proper, which are based on recordings of various speakers taped in Yendouma in 2011.

1.4.3 Acknowledgements

My work on Dogon languages began with grant PA-50643-04 from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) for solo fieldwork focused on Jamsay. This led to the idea of a comparative Dogon linguistic project. The first phase thereof was funded by the National Science Foundation, grant BCS 0537435, for the period 2006-08. Two renewals of this grant have occurred. Most of the work on Yorno So was done during 2009-13 under NSF grant BCS 0853364. Some follow-up work

has been done in 2013-17 under NSF grant BCS-1263150. The relevant program at NSF is Documenting Endangered Languages.

The University of Michigan has provided supplemental financial support for the overall project.

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

2 Sketch

A few highlights of YS are presented in this short chapter. All topics mentioned are covered much more thorougly in later chapters.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Segmental phonology

The segments are typical for Dogon languages. YS has the usual seven vowel qualities including an ATR opposition in mid-height vowels, [+ATR] {*e o*} versus [-ATR] {*ɛ ɔ*}. Nasalized sonorants {r^n w^n y^n} are present. *z* is absent.

2.1.2 Tonology

There are two tone levels at syllable level, H and L, which may combine within a syllable as <HL>, <LH>, or <LHL>. Tone systems in most Dogon languages sharply distinguish verbs from other stem-classes, and YS is no different. For verbs, lexical melodies are /H/ or /LH/. For verbs beginning with an obstruent, /H/ is obligatory if the obstruent is voiceless, and /LH/ is almost obligatory if it is voiced (two exceptions). This is a relic of the phonetic "depressor" effect of voiced obstruents at some prehistoric Pre-Proto-Dogon. Stems beginning with a sonorant, or with no consonant, have a lexical choice between /H/ and /LH/. The lexical melodies are constantly overridden by tone overlays required by particular aspect-negation categories.

Nouns, adjectives, numerals, and lexical adverbs have a wider range of melodies, including /H/, /LH/, /HL/, and /LHL/ (/HLH/ in one loanword). For all of these stem-classes, there is no correlation between melody and initial consonant type. The lexical melody is usually audible in NP-final words or in citation forms. In multi-word NPs, some modifiers (adjectives, demonstratives, possessors, and relative clauses) control a tone overlay on the noun and any intervening modifiers. In YS the basic tone overlay is {L} (i.e. tone-dropping) for all of these modifiers. The system of tone overlays is referred to as tonosyntax.

Numerals, postposed pronominal possessors, and definite markers cannot function as tonosyntactic controllers. Numerals do not satisfy the semantic criterion for controller, which has to do with reference restriction. Definite markers are borderline on this criterion. Postposed pronominal possessors satisfy the criterion semantically, but they still have relics of an appositional structure ("house [my possession]" = 'my house') which blocks tonosyntactic connections. However, in an NP that contains a numeral followed by either a postposed possessor or a definite marker, there is a special noncompositional (i.e. constructional) tonosyntactic pattern featuring an {L}+H overlay whose target domain includes the numeral (§6.2.1.2).

2.1.3 Key phonological rules

There are few disfiguring phonological rules. There is no productive nasalization-spreading. Apocope deletes word-final short high vowels after most unclustered sonorants. Word-internal Syncope occurs under limited conditions.

The most distinctive phonological process in YS, as opposed to other Dogon languages, is the merger of [+ATR] vowels {*e o*} into [-ATR] {*ɛ ɔ*}, respectively, after nasals within a word. This ATR merger (§3.4.6.3) partially undercuts a Dogon pattern, still important in YS words in which nasals are absent, that requires ATR harmony within a stem (§3.3.5).

2.2 Inflectable verbs

Suffixal derivations ("v" = variable vowel) for verbs are reversive *-lv́*, causative *-mɔ́* (and a few minor causative suffixes), mediopassive *-ɛ́:* ~ *-í:*, and transitive *-rv́*. They are covered in Chapter 9. Derived and underived verbs are subject to the same outer suffixal inflections (Chapter 10), as follows.

Most verbs are active (or dynamic) in the sense that they are marked for aspect, including a basic perfective/imperfective split. Stative verbs are not marked for aspect. There are a few defective statives that do not have active counterparts, but active verbs like 'sit' and 'hold' also have derived stative counterparts ('be sitting/seated', 'be holding').

Aside from aspect, verbs are inflected for polarity and for pronominal-subject category. Aspect and polarity are morphologically fused for active verbs, so we have portmanteaus like imperfective negative *-lɛ̀-*. Statives add an inflectable stative negative suffix or clitic to the (positive) stative stem. Pronominal-subject categories for all predicates are 1Sg, 2Sg, 3Sg (usually zero), 2Pl, and a fused 1Pl/3Pl category.

An example of an indicative verb form is (4). *pínɛ́-lɛ́* 'open' is a reversive derivative from *pínɛ́* 'shut'. This is followed by an AN (aspect-negation) suffix, perfective negative *-lv́-* (with underspecified high vowel), then by the pronominal-subject suffix 1Sg *-m*, combining as *-lú-m.*

(4) *pínɛ́-lɛ́-lú-m*
shut-Rev-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I opened (door).'

Active verb *pínɛ́* 'shut' also has a stative form *pì-pínɛ̀* '(door) be shut', denoting a state rather than a change of state. The stative negative form *pìnɛ̀*^{L} *= lá-Ø*, literally 'it is not shut', is the only way to say 'it is open'.

Morphophonologically, verbs have two forms that I call bare stem and chaining stem. The bare stem is used before most overt suffixes, while the chaining stem is used in some perfective positive inflections and also in nonfinal position in verb chains.

In addition to indicative (active and stative) inflections, there is a deontic modal system including imperative and hortative forms (§10.6). For many verbs, the imperative consists segmentally of the bare stem without inflectional suffixes. The hortative has a suffix *-mɔ́*, not to be confused with causative *-mɔ́*, though a deep historical connection between the two cannot be ruled out. The two

deontic categories are closely aligned morphologically, in opposition to indicatives. Imperatives and hortatives both add a further suffix *-nɔ̀w^{n}* for negation, and both add a final suffix *-ỳ* ~ *-î:* to mark addressee plurality. The morphology suggests that hortatives are a subtype of imperative.

2.3 Noun phrase (NP)

The noun is preceded by possessors, except pronominal possessors in alienable possession. Other modifiers followed the noun. Postposed pronominal possessors are part of the postnominal modifier sequence. The regular order is (5).

(5) Poss - N - Adj - Num - Poss - Rel - Determiner - 'all' - DF

The modifier sequence consists maximally of one or more adjectives, a numeral, a pronominal alienable possessor, a relative clause, a determiner (definite or demonstrative), an 'all' quantifier, and a DF (discourse-function) marker such as topic or 'also'. If a relative clause is present, the string to the left of the relative clause moves to the relativization site, resulting in an "internally-headed" relative.

Many human nouns have a suffixal distinction between singular (*-nɛ*) and plural (*-m*). Nonhuman nouns, and in most contexts human kin terms, lack these suffixes. Plural *-m* also appears on determiners (definite markers, demonstratives), freely marking plurality even for inanimates and nonhuman animates.

Representative NPs from the texts are in (6). Superscript ^{L} indexes tone-dropping of a word or word-string under the control of another word or phrase. Adjectives, relative clauses, and demonstratives are tonosyntactic controllers, imposing a tone overlay on the preceding noun and on any intervening word(s). Preposed (but not postposed) possessors control a tone overlay on the following possessum (6f-g). In YS the tone overlay is {L}, i.e. tone-dropping, in all cases. Numerals, postposed possessors, definite markers, 'all', and DF markers are tonosyntactically inert, except that the combination of a numeral and a postposed possessor acts somewhat like a controller (§6.2.1.2).

(6) a. *běl* *gɛ̀* n-def
fodder Def
'the fodder' (Text 5 @ 05:11)

b. *yù:*^{L} *ìlɛ́* n-adj
millet^{L} ripe
'ripe millet' (Text 5 @ 05:17)

c. *úr^{n}ù-m* *tă:n* n-num
children-Pl three
'three children' (Text 4 @ 00:01)

d. *nɔ̀mɔ̀*^{L} *yǎ:* *ˈtúrú* n-adj-num
sprite^{L} female one
'a female (water) sprite' (Text 4 @ 00:07)

e. *[bèrɛ̀* *dèmèlè]*^{L} *kó* n-adj-dem
[belly big]^{L} DiscDef
'that big belly' (Text 3 @ 00:51)

f. *[bɛ̌l* *gɛ̀]* ^{L}*bìrɛ̀* [n-def]$_{poss}$-n
[fodder Def] ^{L}work(n)
'(the) work of the fodder' (Text 5 @ 05:19)

g. *[catégorie* *émɛ̀* *ŋɛ̀]* ^{L}*tɔ̀:^{n}-m* *ˈpú→* [n-poss-def]$_{poss}$-n-quant
[generation 1PlPoss Def] ^{L}peer-Pl all
'all the agemates of our generation' (Text 6 @ 00:17)

The distinction between inalienable (basically, kin terms) and alienable possessums (everything else) is most obviously expressed by the position of a pronominal possessor. For example, 3Sg possessor is *wò-mɔ̀* after an alienable noun, usually having no tonal interaction with the possessum, and *wó* before a kin term, which is tone-dropped. Nonpronominal possessors, which always precede and tone-drop the possessum, seemingly fail to distinguish alienable from inalienable. However, when a numeral is added to the possessum, tonosyntactic patterns bring out a bracketing distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. This matter, described in detail in §6.2.2.2, is one of the most interesting features of YS.

2.4 Case-marking and PPs

Accusative *=ỳ* (§6.7) is a postposition-like NP-final morpheme, generally confined to animate referents.

Primary postpositions are instrumental-comitative and occasionally dative *lé* ~ *lè*, locative or benefactive *nɛ̀*, locative *bá:*, and purposive-causal *dɛ̀:* . Other spatiotemporal postpositions consist of (original) nouns plus one of the primary locative postpositions. Full coverage is in chapter 8.

(7) a. *[[ĭn* *ˈtúrú]* ^{L}*gɛ̀r^{n}è]* *nɛ̀*
[[person one] ^{L}house] **Loc**
'(they came) **to** another person's house' (Text 1 @ 00:09)

b. *[tăg* *gɛ̀]* *yó-ɔ̀:* *lè↗],*
[shoe Def] enter-AntNonp if],
[bírɛ́ *gɛ̀]* *[kó* *lɛ̀]* *bìrɛ̀-y↘*
[work(n) Def] [DiscDef **Comit**] work-Ipfv.3PlSbj
'They wear shoes, they work **with** them (=shoes).' (Text 6 @ 03:01)

2.5 Main clauses and constituent order

The basic order of elements is S-O-V when the subject is overt. Since the verb marks pronominal-subject category, the clause-initial subject position is often empty. The verb or (including auxiliaries) the verbal complex is clause-final, except that it may be followed by a subordinating morpheme or an emphatic discourse marker. Adverbs and adverbial phrases occur in various positions between the subject and the verb.

Example (8a) shows subject-adverb-verb order. (8b) has an initial subject NP, set off prosodically from the rest of the sentence (which contains two clauses). (8c-d) are a quoted sentences or portions thereof. (8c) begins with a topicalized logophoric subject (§18.3.1), followed by an adverbial. (8d) has a nonlogophoric subject in the form of a quotative-subject phrase (§17.1.2), followed by an adverbial. (8e) has a subject followed by an accusative pronoun in indirect-object function (typical of ditransitive verbs), a morphologically unmarked second object (theme), and the verb.

(8) a. *[bé kàm ˡpú→] ɲíⁿ kà-è:ⁿ↘*
[3Pl all all] thus eat.Pfv-3PlSbj
'In that fashion (=at that point) they all ate.' (Text 1 @ 00:26)

b. *[ǐn ˡtúrú↗],*
[person one],
[tìwⁿɛ́ nè] [ûl-Ø gè] yá ɲàŋà-Ø↘
[tree Loc] [ascend-Pfv.Ppl Def] Exist be.on.Stat-3SgSbj
'A(nother) person had climbed and was up in a tree.' (Text 2 @ 00:14)

c. *[ìnɛ̌m kày] [[pɔ̀nᴸ kó] bɛ̀lɛ́-jɛ̀: lè]*
[Logo Top] [[pantsᴸ Dist] get-CompPf if]
'(he said:) "if I get those pants" ' (Text 2 @ 00:38)

d. *[kìjɛ̀ᴸ élɛ̀l] =ɔ̀:,*
[thingᴸ sweet] QuotSbj,
[gìrì-dǐ: lè] kà:-y =yɔ̀:
[eye-water Inst] eat.Pfv-2PlSbj Quot
'They say, you-Pl eat a sweet thing with tears.' (Text 3 @ 01:33)

e. *[bé ᴸdè:] bé-ỳ [pǒn ˡtúrú] dàg-Ø↘*
[3PlPoss ᴸfather] 3Pl-Acc [pants one] abandon.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Their father left (=bequeathed) them one (pair of) pants.'
(Text 4 @ 00:01)

2.6 Relative clauses

If we consider the basic order of elements in an NP to be Poss-N-Adj-Num-Poss-Rel-Det-'all'-DF, we can account for the overt form of such NPs by assuming that the string to the left of the relative moves into the relativization site, producing an (apparently) internally-headed relative, with the (apparent) head NP consisting maximally of Poss-N-Adj-Num-Poss and with an (apparent) NP coda consisting of determiners and 'all' following the verb of the relative.

Consistent with this, the internal head NP is subject to tone-dropping controlled by the relative, which can therefore be recognized as a tonosyntactic controller on the same order as other reference-restricting modifiers (adjectives, demonstratives, possessors).

The verb in a relative clause is a participle, marked for AN category (e.g. perfective negative or imperfective positive) but not for pronominal subject. If the head NP is also the subject of the relative clause, the participle often agrees in (animate) number with the head. In true relative clauses, a perfective positive participle has an {HL}-toned overlay.

The usual main-clause pronominal-subject suffixes on the verb cannot be added to relative-clause participles. Therefore if the head NP is other than the subject, and if the subject is a simple pronominal, a preverbal H-toned subject proclitic is required. This is the case in (9b). In (9a) a proclitic subject pronominal is pre-empted by the 'you both/all' phrase in clause-initial subject position. (9c) is a subject relative and so can have no proclitic subject pronoun.

(9) a. *kɔ̀ntrà:*^{L} *[é kàm]* *àmà:n*^{L} ^{HL}*yô-y* *gɛ̀*
contract^{L} [**2Pl** **all**] agreement^{L} ^{HL}enter-Pfv.Ppl Def
'the contract that you-Pl have both entered into' (Text 6 @ 04:46)

b. *bày*^{L} *émɛ́* ^{L}*gò:*
day^{L} **1PlSbj** ^{L}exit(v).Pfv.Ppl
'(on) the day when we left' (Text 6 @ 05:07)

c. *ìnɛ̀*^{L} *dèn*^{L} *-dɛ̂n*^{HL} ^{HL}*gô:*
person^{L} search(n)^{L}-seek.Purp^{HL} ^{HL}exit(v).Pfv.Ppl
'anyone who has gone away in search (of work)' (Text 6 @ 03:22)

In the absence of an H-toned subject proclitic, perfective participles have {HL} overlay, as with ^{HL}*yô-y* in (9a) and with ^{HL}*gô:* in (9c). If an H-toned proclitic is present, the participle is tone-dropped to {L}, as with ^{L}*gò:* in (9b).

2.7 Interclausal syntax

When several clauses, each denoting an event in a sequence, are combined, nonfinal clauses in the sequence are often subordinated. One favorite device in narrative is the backgrounded perfective event clause (§15.2.2.3). It has the form of a headless nonsubject relative, except that the usual {HL} overlay on the perfective participle is omitted.

(10) contains four clauses, each displayed in one line. The first line introduces a new foregrounded event ending with a conjugated perfective-1a verb. This event is then resumed in backgrounded perfective event clause in the second line, which ends in a perfective participle and definite marker. The perfective participle is tone-dropped by the preceding H-toned subject proclitic, but in the absence of this proclitic the participle would have the form *yǎ-y*, with lexical tone melody. The third line presents a new event, but in the same backgrounded perfective construction ('open' is the reversive of 'shut'). The sequence of two headless relatives is brought to a close by the fourth line, which presents a new foregrounded event, and ends in a conjugated unsuffixed perfective verb, implying that 'plateau' is focalized. The alternation of foregrounded with backgrounded clauses, and of focalized with unfocalized clauses, gives morphosyntactic variety to extended narrative event sequences.

(10) *[bǎy ˡtúrú],* *[kínɛ̀* *ŋɛ̀]* *yàwⁿ-â:y-Ø,*
[day one], [liver Def] be.ruined-**Pfv1a**-3SgSbj,
[kínɛ̀ *mɔ̀]* *yǎwⁿ* *wó* ᴸ*yà-y* *gɛ̀,*
[liver 1SgPoss] be.ruined.Pfv 3SgSbj ᴸgo-**Pfv.Ppl** Def,
[[bɛ̌l *gɛ̀]* *pínɛ̀-l* *gɛ̀↗],* *dònô:* *gò:-m↘*
[[animal Def] shut(v)-Rev.**Pfv.Ppl** Def], plateau exit(v).**Pfv**-1SgSbj
'One day, the liver (i.e. heart) was hurt. When my liver (=heart) was hurt, I opened up (=let out) the livestock, and went away (=headed) to the plateau.' (Text 6 @ 00:24)

Other subordinated clauses that share many features with main clauses include conditional antecedents ('if'), quotative clauses, and propositional complements of verbs like 'know'. All of these have their idiosyncracies, however. For example, alongside true conditional antecedents with *lɛ̀* 'if' are pseudo-conditional clauses (§15.2.3), which have the same 'if' particle, but function differently. Pseudo-conditionals can express backgrounded events in imperfective (e.g. future) contexts that do not allow the backgrounded perfective. While several Dogon languages have pseudo-conditionsls that are identical in form to conditional antecedents, in YS the pseudo-conditionals add an anterior nonpast subordinating suffix to the verb, as with *yó-ɔ̀:* 'enter' in (7b) above.

One type of purposive clause is expressed tonally rather than by subordinating morphemes (§17.7.2).

3 Phonology

3.1 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.1.1 Syllables

Syllable forms that occur regularly in monosyllabic words and in word-final syllables are *Cv*, *Cv:*, and *CvL*. There are occasional examples of word-final *Cv:L*. Syllable-final consonants are virtually always sonorants, represented here as *L*. Exceptions with syllable-final obstruents include a few onomatopoia-like intensifiers such as *gík* '(stop) still (in one's tracks)' (201c) and poorly assimilated loanwords like *kíbjí* 'a disease of goats' (12d).

Typical examples of stems that can also occur without affixation as words are *tíbú* 'stone' (*Cv*), *jă:ná* 'boil (v)' and *dǐ:* 'water' (*Cv:*), *dúmɲɔ̀* 'stump' and *jîm* 'disease' (*CvC*), and *pɔ́lɛ́:m* 'bush sp. (*Pergularia*)' and *bár^{n}è:m* 'bogolan (fabric)' (*Cv:C*).

Except in scattered loanwords (*púgà:rù* 'poor behavior'), long vowels are limited to stem-initial syllables as with 'boil (v)' and 'water' just mentioned, and to long vowels created (at least historically) by *vv*-Contraction at verb-suffix boundaries. The primary examples of the latter are mediopassive *-ɛ́:-* ~ *-í:-* (§9.3.1) and perfective-1a *-à:y* (§10.2.1.3), both of which absorbe a stem-final short vowel and shorten a preceding long vowel (§3.4.5.2).

YS has a higher tolerance for vowel sequences without conspicuous hiatus than other Dogon languages. Insertion of glottal stop is limited to reduplication (normally *Ci-* or *Cv-* with copied vowel quality) for the small number of vowel-initial stems, e.g. *ì-ʔìlɛ̀=bé-* 'would have ripened' (248) and *í-ʔà:-jɛ̀-m* 'I will catch' (364). Elsewhere, vowel sequences created by Prevocalic Vowel-Shortening and similar processes are not repaired by epenthesis or hiatus: *dà^{n}-ɛ́:-* ~ *dà^{n}-í:-* 'sit' (mediopassive), *mɔ̀r^{n}-í:-ày-* 'assembled' (mediopassive plus perfective-1a). In a few cases, a vowel sequence *aɛ* is arguably a single syllabic nucleus. Examples are the intensifier *kàɛ́^{n}-kàɛ̀^{n}* 'very green' and 1Pl/3Pl stative negative *=lá-ɛ̀^{n}* (265).

3.1.2 Metrical structure

Metrical structure, i.e. relationships between strong and weak positions in a linear syllable sequence, is the basis for Syncope and Apocope (§3.4.3.1-2) and for the raising of a nonhigh short vowel to a high short vowel (which can then disappear by Syncope or Apocope).

In YS, Apocope of a word-final short {*i u*} after most unclustered sonorants is common, though in some cases optional. There are many opportunities for verb stems to undergo Apocope since the verbal noun, and for many verbs the chaining stem, end in /u/.

Word-internal Syncope, on the other hand, occurs under limited conditions. Trisyllabic verb stems like *wɔ̀gɔ́lɔ́* 'scoop' do raise the medial vowel to high position in the chaining stem *wɔ̀gúl-Ø*

< /wɔ̀gúl-ú/ and in verbal noun *wɔ̀gŭl-Ø* < /wɔ̀gùl-ú/. However, it is the word-final *u* that is deleted (by Apocope) wherever possible, rather than the medial *u* (by Syncope). In cases like perfective-1b *gŏ:-n-tì-* < /gŏ:-n-ú-tì-/ 'removed, took out', Syncope appears to win over Apocope, but not if the perfective-1b morpheme is really a chained auxiliary verb, which it likely originated as (§10.1.2).

3.2 Consonants

The consonant phonemes are in (11). Parentheses enclose marginal phonemes, double parentheses extremely marginal ones.

(11) Consonants

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

c is IPA [tʃ], *j* is [dʒ], *y* is [j].
key to columns: 1. aspirated voiceless stops (*c* is affricated); 2. voiced stops; 3.nasals, 4-5. respectively voiceless and voiced fricatives; 6. laterals; 7-8. respectively unnasalized and nasalized sonorants; 9-10. laryngeals

Voiceless obstruents occur chiefly in stem-initial position. Comments on specific consonants are in the following sections.

3.2.1 Alveopalatals (*c*, *j*)

{*c j*} are affricate-like stops. *c* is very marginal, attested clearly only in the regional interjection *có→*, an exclamation of admiration or surprise associated with griots. *k* does not notably affricate or palatalize before high front vowels, so *ki* is a stable sequence.

j on the other hand is a common consonant: *kéjé* 'go out and welcome' (chaining form *kéj-ú*), *kàjá* 'dynamic'. *j* is distinct from *g* in all positions, including before high front vowels: *gì-gă:* 'size', *jì-jŏ:* 'abundant'.

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

There is no marked tendency to spirantize *g* to [ɣ] between {*a ɔ*} vowels.

3.2.3 Back nasals (*ŋ ɲ*)

Velar *ŋ* and palatoalveolar *ɲ* are distinct before all vowels, including *i*. Examples are *yàŋí-l* 'make (sth) bad' (chaining stem of *yàŋá-lá*) and *àɲì-ý* 'roselle variety'.

3.2.4 Voiceless labials (*p, f*)

p is a basic syllable-initial consonant and is well-attested before all vowel qualities: *pígí* 'stir'.

f does not occur in my data. It may occur for some speakers in Fulfulde and French borrowings.

3.2.5 Laryngeals (*h, ʔ*)

h occurs stem-initially in a few Fulfulde loans like *hákìlɛ̀* 'attentiveness'.

Glottal stop *ʔ* occurs phonetically as a juncture marker to separate two vowels in reduplications (§3.4.5.1), and in interjections like *ɔ́ⁿʔɔⁿ* 'uhn-uhn!' (i.e. 'no!'). Other word-internal vowel sequences, such as those involving perfective-1a *-à:y-*, are either tolerated as surface sequences or resolved by *vv*-Contraction (§3.4.5.2).

3.2.6 Sibilants (*s, ʃ, z*)

s is a regular consonant, common in syllable-initial position. *ʃ* does not occur in my data, and I did not notice any strong tendency to phonetically palatalize *s* before *i* or other front vowels.

z occurs in a handful of loanwords like *sàndármá* 'gendarme' (< Fr).

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

These consonants are fairly common intervocalically within stems. *wⁿ* is often a reflex of intervocalic *m, but synchronic *m* ~ *wⁿ* alternations may require positing of underling /wⁿ/ (§3.4.4.4). Similarly, *rⁿ* often reflects intervocalic /n/ (§3.4.4.5).

Autonomous {*rⁿ wⁿ yⁿ*} in the absence of another nasal are exemplified by *ɛ́rⁿɛ́* 'iron, metal', *gàwⁿ-ɛ́:* '(thunder) clap', and *dǎyⁿ* 'outer limit'.

In cases like *nǒy* [nǒjⁿ] 'hand' with syllable-final [jⁿ] following a nasal consonant, the nasalization is probably automatic (subphonemic).

Stem-initial *y* and *w* are partially nasalized phonetically by a nasal following the first vowel. For example, in *yǎ:-rⁿá* 'woman' and *wàyⁿɛ́* 'tree sp. (*Pterocarpus*)', a narrow phonetic transcription would be close to [j̃ǎ:r̃á] and [w̃àj̃ɛ́] (the vowels too are phonetically nasalized). In some cases word-initial allophonic [j̃] has been phonemicized as *ɲ* at least in some subdialects (§3.4.4.1), a process that is more systematic in Toro Tegu.

3.2.8 Consonant clusters

3.2.8.1 Word- and morpheme-initial *CC* clusters

None, except for the shorter variant in *ìnjɛ́* ~ *ǹjɛ́* 'what?'.

3.2.8.2 Medial geminated *CC* clusters

Geminated clusters are effectively absent from medial position within stems. The few exceptions involve marginal vocabulary (borrowings, onomatopoeias, expressive adverbials). Geminate clusters may arise accidentally at a stem-suffix boundary or in compounds.

kk is attested once, in *émɛ́ wòy sákkéléw→*, which occurs in the fixed phrase that signals the end of a tale. *ém(ɛ́) wòy* by itself means 'all of us (together)', see §6.6.1.3. No other medial geminated stops are attested.

For nasals, I can cite *nn* in the Arabic borrowing *jàⁿhánnàmà* 'hell'.

For liquids, there is *ll* in *ìllî:* 'blood' perhaps from *ly (cf. Tommo So *ìlìyé*), the Arabic borrowing *wàllâ:y* 'by God', the expressive adverbial *péllím* '(fly past) with a swoosh', and the particle *jállá* 'nearly'. Other than a couple of onomatopoeias like *gɔ̀rrr→* (with prolonged trill), I have not encountered a medial geminated *rr*.

yy is attested in the intensifier *péyyèy→* 'very unripe', in the Arabic loan *tĕyyá:tù* 'greeting as part of a Muslim prayer', in *héyyènɛ́* 'index (finger)', and in the interjection *bóyyá?* 'shoo!' (to birds).

3.2.8.3 Medial nongeminate *CC* clusters

Except for the homorganic nasal plus voiced stop clusters in (12a), these clusters are not common medially within stems. Most are loanwords, often from Fulfulde which has a high tolerance for clusters. In (12) I show only stem-medial clusters. A few others arise at stem-suffix or compound-internal boundaries.

(12) *CC* clusters

	cluster	example	gloss
a. nasal plus stop			
homorganic, with voiced stop			
	mb	*jɔ́mbɔ̀*	'tuft (of hair)'
	nd	*èndɛ̀m→*	'hospitable area' (adverb)
	nj	*(ì)njɛ́*	'what?'
	ŋg	*àŋgă:ⁿ*	'jaw'

homorganic, with voiceless stop

mp	*yàmpěl*	'cock (of musket)'
nt	*wàntèré*	'clearance sale'
#*nc*	—	
ŋk	*táŋkà*	'a colonial coin'

nonomorganic

nb	*kánbárá*	'calabash jewel holder' (< *kánúbárá)
ng	*kɔ̀ngó*	'conical granary roof' (<*kòndùgó)

b. *l* plus noncoronal

lb	*málbá*	'rifle' (< Arabic)
lp	*sálpàrⁿà:*	'early PM Muslim prayer'
lg	*dɔ̀lgɔ́*	'buy out (a slave), ransom (a captive)'
lk	*àlkámá*	'wheat' (< Arabic)
lm	*kùlmɔ́*	'cloud'
#*lŋ*	—	

c. two nonhomorganic nasals

mn	*dùmnɔ́*	'end, limit'
mŋ	*dúmŋɔ̀*	'stump'
mŋ	*ámŋ-é:*	'carry (against one's ribs or abdomen)'
nŋ	*ténŋ-é:*	'balance on head' (< *tándí-gí-yɛ́)

d. others (mostly in borrowings or frozen compounds)

bj	*kíbjí*	'a disease of goats'
md	*támdóy*	'tobacco pipe' (< *tàbà-… ??)
ms	*àmsɔ́gɔ́*	'pity(n)'
rk	*sárkùjù*	'military service'
rm	*lármè*	'army'
rs	*kúrsá-kúrsá*	'skin disease (rashes)'
wg	*déwgàl*	'religious marriage'
wl	*dâwlà*	'prestige, value'
wr	*kăwrò*	'excuse (n)'
ws	*áwsá-né*	'Hausa person'
yg	*táygɛ́*	'be wary of'
yk	*bàykâl*	'modern rifle type' (< Russian brand)

3.2.8.4 Medial triple *CCC* clusters

I can cite *mpl* and *yŋg*, both in probable loanwords.

(13) *sèmplês* ‘modern rifle type’
wâyŋgè ‘butcher (n)’

3.2.8.5 Final *CC* clusters

None.

3.3 Vowels

The vowels of YS are in (14). Nasalized vowels are less common than oral vowels.

.

(14)

short oral	long oral	nasalized (long)
u	*u:*	*u:^{n} (rare)*
o	*o:*	—
ɔ	*ɔ:*	*ɔ:^{n}*
a	*a:*	*a:^{n}*
ɛ	*ɛ:*	*ɛ:^{n}*
e	*e:*	—
i	*i:*	*i:^{n}* (fairly rare)

3.3.1 Short and (oral) long vowels

Monosyllabic stems have *Cv:* rather than monomoraic *Cv* shapes, with the exception of *gɛ́* ‘say’ (§11.3). In nonmonosyllabic stems, long vowels occasionally occur on final syllables, but many such cases are loanwords (*sírà:* ‘snuff or chewing tobacco’, from Arabic) or reflect contraction with suffixes. In loanwords. long vowels may also occur medially, as in *sàkɔ́:sù* ‘traveling bag’ (Fr *sacoche*). The main position where long and short vowels contrast in native vocabulary is in the initial syllable of a nonmonosyllabic stem. Even here, long vowels occur frequently in loanwords and in derivatives of *Cv:* stems, but there are some genuine *Cv:Cv* stems. Examples of initial syllable length oppositions are in (15).

(15) a. initial *Cv*

bùrúd-ɛ́:	‘become muddied’
pòbùl-ɛ̂:	‘whistling (n)’
kɔ́rɔ̀	‘meaning’
làrá	‘slippery ground’
tér^{n}ɛ́	‘think (sth) over’
léré	‘(plant) grow new branches’
gírù	‘forward, ahead, in front (adv)’

b. initial *Cv:*

bú:dù	‘money’
pó:-nɔ́	‘greet’
kɔ́:rɔ́	‘serve (sauce)’
là:rá	‘edge of village’
té:r^{n}-ɛ́:	‘(muddied water) become clear after settling’
sɛ̂:rè	‘omen’
sí:ré	‘point at’

Aside from *vv*-Contraction, there are no productive vowel-lengthening processes in the phonology or morphology. See especially §3.6.4.1 on this matter. Vowel shortening is also not prominent, the exception being that *Cv:* verb stems are reduced to *Cv-* before certain vowel-initial suffixes; see Prevocalic *v*-Shortening (§3.4.5.2).

3.3.2 Nasalized vowels

All nasalized vowels are long except as noted below. [+ATR] nasalized *e:^{n}* and *o:^{n}* are not attested and are likely impossible in YS, where *e* and *o* generally merge with *ɛ* and *ɔ* after nasal consonanta (§3.4.6.3). *u:^{n}* is rare, attested in one semi-onomatopoeic *Cu:^{n}* verb ‘murmur’ and paired nominal (16b). There are a few cases of *i:^{n}* .

Nasalized vowels are common in monosyllabic stems. One example of each nasalized vowel in a noun is in (16a). I know of one apparently native unreduplicated bisyllabic noun with a final-syllable nasalized vowel, namely ‘jaw’ in (16b). This pattern is more common in French borrowings (16c). There are two stems with a nasalized vowel in the first syllable followed by *l* (16d), but these might be reinterpreted as having /nl/ clusters that are realized phonetically as vocalic nasalization plus *l*. There are also three stems, one an expressive adverbial and the other two suffixed mediopassive verbs, that have a (surface) short nasalized vowel followed by *ɛ:* (16e). Compare the shape *Cv-ɛ:^{n}* for the 3Pl unsuffixed perfective of *Cv:* stems (§10.1.3.1, §10.2.1.2).

(16) a. monosyllabic noun stem with *v:^{n}*

ɔ́:^{n}	‘cemetery (in cave)’
tă:^{n}	‘door shutter’
gɛ̂:^{n}	‘gizzard’
jî:^{n}	‘fart (n)’

b. non-borrowed bisyllabic noun stems with final *v:^{n}*

reduplicated

gù-gû:^{n}	‘murmur(n)’

other (see also ‘riddle’ below)

àŋgă:^{n}	‘jaw’

c. borrowed nouns with final *v:ⁿ*

pɔ̀sɔ̂:ⁿ ‘poison’ (< Fr *poison*)
bìdɔ̂:ⁿ ‘jug, canteen’ (< Fr *bidon*)
jàmâ:ⁿ ‘diamond’ (< Fr *diamant*)
sàrsâ:ⁿ ‘sergeant’ (< Fr *sergent*)

d. medial *v:ⁿ* before *l*

sì:ⁿlá ‘disease’
tá:ⁿlè: ‘riddle’

e. short *ɔ* or *a* before *ɛ:(ⁿ)*

sɔ́ⁿɛ̀:ⁿ ‘newborn (baby) (intensifier)’
tɔ́ⁿ-ɛ́: ‘(vine) twist itself around sth’
dàⁿ-ɛ́: ‘sit’

The full set of known monosyllabic verbs with nasalized vowels is in (17). The common nasalized vowels are *ɔ:ⁿ*, *ɛ:ⁿ*, and *a:ⁿ*. *tɔ́ⁿ-ɛ́:* in (16e) above is a mediopassive of *tɔ́:ⁿ* ‘fold or wrap up’, which occurs in (17) below. The preponderance of *a:ⁿ* and *ɔ:ⁿ* reflects the relative artiulatory ease of nasalization (lowering of velum) with low tongue position, cf. the small set of nasalized vowels in French.

(17) a. imperative only

hɔ́:ⁿ ‘here, take this!’ (imperative only), plural-addressee *hɔ́:ⁿ-ỳ*

b. regular inflectable verb

non-C-initial

ɛ́:ⁿ ‘roll (fibers into a cord)’ or ‘(woman) marry (man)’ or ‘harden’
ɔ́:ⁿ ‘be alive’

C-initial, ordered by vowel quality

gŭ:ⁿ ‘murmur’ (used with cognate nominal *gù-gû:ⁿ*)
dɔ̆:ⁿ ‘hold up (sth dangling); (container) catch (drips)’
jɔ̆:ⁿ ‘(bird) peck’
kɔ́:ⁿ ‘pull in (stomach)’ or ‘bray; (cock) crow’
sɔ́:ⁿ ‘douse (fire)’ or ‘lay (thorn branches)’ or ‘rest, take a break’ or ‘tremble, vibrate’
tɔ́:ⁿ ‘measure’
tɔ́:ⁿ ‘fold or wrap up’ or ‘(e.g. breast milk, urine) fill up’ or ‘turn on (flashlight)’
dâ:ⁿ ‘be sitting’ (stative)
gă:ⁿ ‘twist (arm)’
ká:ⁿ (*kín gŏ:ỳ ká:ⁿ* ‘be nearly dead’)
pá:ⁿ ‘put (sth) across’ or ‘(pond) dry up; (sb) lose weight’
sá:ⁿ ‘urinate’ (with noun *ìsăn*)
tá:ⁿ ‘(graft) take root; spread out (limbs)’

gɛ̌:ⁿ ‘request, ask for’
kɛ́:ⁿ ‘abrade; saw in half; cut the throat of’
pɛ́:ⁿ ‘strike (sth) against (sth); break off (protrusion)’
tɛ́:ⁿ ‘(under)take (action)’
tí:ⁿ ‘block (road)’
dǐ:ⁿ ‘lie down’
jǐ:ⁿ ‘fart’ (with noun *jî:ⁿ*)

3.3.3 Initial vowels

The initial syllabic onset of verb (and other) stems may be empty, the result being *v*-initial stems. The vowel may be long or short, with long vowels required in monosyllabics (*v:*). I cannot cite an example beginning with *e*, but this is probably an accidental omission (the shape *Ce:* is also rare).

Monosyllabic examples are *á:* ‘catch, grab’, *ɛ́:ⁿ* ‘become tight’, *ó:* ‘(millet spikes) grow reddish fuzz’. Bisyllabic examples with initial vowel are *álá* ‘brew (beer)’, *ɛ́rɛ́* ‘braid (hair)’, *óbó* ‘give’, *ɔ́rⁿɔ́* ‘purge intestines with liquid enema’, *ímɛ́* ‘stutter’ (in *ímù ímɛ́*), and *úrɔ́* ‘skin and butcher’.

3.3.4 Stem-final vowels

The great majority of stems end in vowels. In nonmonosyllabic stems, final *Cv* is much more common than *Cv:*. However, mediopassive verbs end in *-ɛ́:* (chaining stem *-í:*). Also, many final phonetic [i:] vowels are created by adding diminutive *-y* to a noun or adjective (*-y* monophthongizes with preceding /i/ to *i:*, §3.4.6.2). All vowel qualities may occur finally, but final short high vowels {*i u*} are subject to Apocope after most unclustered sonorants (§3.4.3.2).

3.3.5 ATR harmony (vowels) and its disruption by nasal consonants

Most other Dogon languages disallow combinations of [+ATR] {*e o*} with [-ATR] {*ɛ ɔ*} within stems. Depending on the language, the harmony may extend to some or all derivational and aspect-negation suffixes on verbs. Noun stems with a disharmonic mix are generally analysable as compounds.

In YS, there are many counterexamples to ATR-harmony. The common pattern is the sequence [-ATR] vowel plus nasal or nasalized consonant then [-ATR] vowel. This is due to a constraint, with few exceptions, against [+ATR] vowels directly following a nasal or nasalized consonant (§3.4.6.3). In (18), “N” represents any nasal *C*. Most of these stems reconstruct as *CeNe and *CoNo with stem-wide [+ATR] vocalism. I know of no examples of *NeCe or *NoCo becoming *NɛCe* or *NɔCo*. There are a few anomalous cases of *ɔNCo* at the end of (18b).

(18) Disharmonic vowel sequences in stems

a. *e* and *ɛ*

eNɛ

bénɛ́	‘side’
démɛ́	‘heavy; thick (wall)’
dèmɛ́	‘jar for grain’
gèŋɛ́	‘pick up’
kénɛ́	‘having a single testicle’
ké:nɛ́	‘stock up’
pémɛ́	‘dredge’
pèmɛ̌y	‘bobbin (in loom)’
sémɛ́	‘oval jar for millet beer’
ténɛ́	‘well (water)’
té:nɛ́	‘align (objects)’

eCNɛ

yèlmɛ́-yèlmɛ́	‘disheveled (hair)’

eCCɛ(Nɛ)

(nɔ̀y-sày) héyyɛ̀nɛ́	‘index finger’

ɛNe (see §3.4.6.3)

bɛ̀ŋɛ̀lɛ̌y	‘insect gall or similar bulge on tree’

b. *o* and *ɔ*

oNɔ

bòmɔ́	‘stupidity’
bònɔ́	‘hole’
bǒ:nɔ́	‘call, summon’
gònɔ́	‘courtyard’
gòmɔ́	‘foothold cut in tree trunk’
gǒ:-nɔ́	‘take out’
bɔ̀lɔ̀-kòmɔ́	‘rump section (butchery)’
ónɔ́	‘flatter’
ònɔ́	‘rear, back’
óŋɔ́	‘wind’
pónɔ́	‘become crooked’
pómɔ́	‘remove (blade); take off (shoes)’
sónɔ́	‘lift up’
tómɔ́	‘jump (v)’ or ‘basket (from branch strips)’
tónɔ́	‘freeze, solidify’ or ‘hold (stick) back, ready to strike’
tònɔ̀-ý	‘waterjar’
yònɔ́	‘pull up (pants)’
dògó-nɔ́	‘put a stop to’

oNNɔ

tómɲɔ̀	‘cow-pea fritters’

ɔNCo

kɔ̀ngó	‘conical thatched granary roof’
kɔ̀ŋgǒl	‘mussel shell’
kɔ́ŋgòl	‘flat bronze wristband’

Given diachronic changes like *CeNe → *CeNɛ* and *CoNo → *CoNɔ*, one would like to know whether these stems are treated synchronically as [+ATR] or [-ATR] for purposes of suffixal vocalism. The relevant derivations are reversive *-lv́* (§9.1) and transitive *-rv́* (§9.3.1), both of which apply to a fixed set of input stems. I can find no good example with the transitive suffix, but there is one interesting reversive: underived *mùŋɔ́* ‘stuff (a hole)’ has reversive *mùŋó-ló* ‘unstuff, reopen (hole)’ (204d). The immediate Pre-YS form of the underived stem was *mùŋó with [+ATR] vowel (cf. Jamsay *mùŋó*, Donno So *mùdó*, Ben Tey *mùsó*, Tommo So *mùlɔ́*). The reversive vocalism is therefore etymologically conservative. Synchronically, one might argue that YS *mùŋɔ́* still has underlying form /mùŋó/.

It remains to explain why reversive *mùŋó-ló* does not shift its medial *o* to *ɔ* (# *mùŋɔ́-ló*) under the influence of the preceding nasal. This is because the nasal-influenced shift to [-ATR] can be blocked, in the medial syllable of a trisyllabic, when an identical [+ATR] vowel occurs in the final syllable. See (26a-d) for examples.

High vowels {*i u*} are extraharmonic, i.e., they may co-occur with either [+ATR] or [-ATR] vowels within a stem. The vowel sequences *CiCe*, *CiCɛ*, *CuCo*, and *CuCɔ* are common in verb stems. However, a stem-final *u* favors preceding-syllable {*e o*} in cognate nominals paired with *CɛCɛ* and *CɔCɔ* verbs, respectively, as in *jébú jɛ̀bɛ́* ‘curse (a curse)’ and *jóbú jɔ̀bɔ́* ‘run; run a race’. In cases like *tél tɛ́lɛ́* ‘clear a field’, the synchronic situation is obscured by the diachronic loss of final *u in *télú. *tǒy tɔ́:* ‘make slashes in earth (to plant)’ shows that final *y* in the cognate nominal can induce the same shift to [+ATR]. For a list of such cognate pairings, see (312a) in §11.1.4.2. These ATR alternations are not of recent date; they occur in other Dogon languages. In YS there is no productive rule shifting vowels to [+ATR] in these environments; the same *CɛCɛ* and *CɔCɔ* verbs have regular verbal nouns *Cɛ̀C-ú* and *CɔC-ú* with no shift to [-ATR] in the first syllable.

Since verbs with *a*-vowel in the first syllable simply copy this vowel quality in following syllables, or shift to high vowels in noninitial syllables (in the chaining form), there is no evidence as to whether *a* patterns as [+ATR] or [-ATR].

3.3.6 Vocalic sound symbolism

As in other Dogon languages, some bisyllabic action verbs and some expressive adverbials (EAs) form lexical sets that share the same consonantism and approximate meaning, but have divergent vocalism associated with semantic nuances. The general tendency is for {*e ɛ*} to suggest diminution of some sort, but the specific senses are idiosyncratic to the particular lexical set. Examples are in (19).

(19) a. general sense: ‘crumple, crush’

kúmɲ-é: ‘(paper, garment) be crumpled’ (reversible)

kómɲ-é: ‘(tin can) be crumpled’ (but still usable)

kɛ́mɲ-é: ‘(tin can) be crushed (flattened)’

b. general sense: ‘separate into two or more pieces’

kóbóló ‘crack open (shell of peanut or other legume)’

kábálá ‘break (sth soft) by hand; split (a nut) in half’

kɛ́bɛ́lɛ́ ‘break off (a small piece); break into small pieces’

c. general sense: ‘separate a part of an extended object’

púló ‘pull off (e.g. seared chicken head); break (baguette, cassava, cigarette) in half by hand; snap (thread) by pulling or biting; break off (a social relation)’

póló ‘break (cigarette) in half; break up (bread) by hand; pick off (a mango)’

pálá ‘(well shaft) start to fall apart’

pélé ‘break or pull off (a leaf)’

[*pélé* homonyms mean ‘clap (hands)’ and ‘(trap) be sprung]

pɛ́lɛ́ ‘break or pick off a piece of (sth flat, e.g. leaf or paper); break up (fruit pits) by beating once with a stone; strike (match)’

cf. also *pé:* ‘squash (an insect)’, cf. Jamsay *péré*

d. general sense: ‘separate by applying force to a flat surface’

kájá ‘scrape (tough hairs) off a hide with a knife; sear and scrape (hairs) off (sheep head, small mammal)’

kɔ́jɔ́ ‘scour (a pot) to clean off remnants of a cooked meal; scrape out (calabash, after sawing a gourd fruit open); peel (gingerroot) with a knife; scrape (hairs, bits of flesh) off a hide with a stone; break off (skin of kola nut) by scraping with thumb; scale (a fish) with a knife’

kɛ́jɛ́ ‘cut (meat, fabric) by slicing; cut up (meat, mango); cut off (tip, branch); chop off (lightly); reap (grain) by severing with a hand-knife; set (a date or deadline)’

e. general sense: ‘separate into many pieces’

pájá ‘toss, scatter (a bunch of tiny cowry shells, by tossing on a flat surface, in fortune-telling)’

púјó ‘(plant) take root and grow from a bulb or a graft; (tree) grow new branches; (spring water) gush out’

pójó ‘explode, pop, burst; be punctured’

pɔ́jɔ́ ‘(sth) crumble’

píjé ‘spray (sth)’

péjé ‘pound (grain, in mortar) with a little water to separate grain from chaff’

pɛ́jɛ́ ‘(calabash, waterjar) be shattered into small pieces’
cf. *púgɔ́-jɔ́* ‘break up (millet cakes) into chunks by hand’

See also the set of forms meaning ‘tilted’ in §8.4.7.6 below, and EAs *jélégé-jélégé* ‘(sth lightweight) dangling’ and *jólógóm-jólógóm* ‘(sth heavy) dangling’ (202a).

Shifts between nonlow vowels and *a* occur in frozen iterations, including EAs like *bògò-bàgà* ‘soaked’ (202a) and *bòló-bàlà-bòló* ‘feebly’and nouns like *bŭ:jù-bà:jù* ‘lungs’ (50d). The iteration with *a* is always second; if there is a third iteration it reverts to the form of the first. Since the individual iterations have no independent meaning, the only sense in which the shift to a is “symbolic” is in the rhythmical sense that second (and usually final) position favors a “heavier” or “darker” vowel, roughly as in English (*flim-flam*, *riff-raff*, and *ping-pong*).

3.4 Segmental phonological rules

3.4.1 Trans-syllabic consonantal processes

In this section I treat phonological processes that make reference to nonadjacent segments in neighboring syllables within the word. Examples are interactions among consonants across an intervening vowel. There are few such processes in YS and they are lexically idiosyncratic.

3.4.1.1 Nasalization-Spreading is morphologically restricted

There is no systematic Nasalization-Spreading to sonorants of the Jamsay type, converting *Nvwv*, *Nvyv*, and *Nvrv* into *Nvw^{n}v*, *Nvy^{n}v*, and *Nvr^{n}v*, respectively (v = vowel).

Were such a process active in YS it would apply to transitive derivational suffix *-rɛ́* (§9.3.1), but such examples as *gɛ̀ŋɛ́-rɛ́* ‘tilt (sth)’ and *íŋɛ́-rɛ́* ‘stop (sth)’ show that the suffixal rhotic does not nasalize. See, however, the comments on minor causative suffix *-nɛ́* in §9.2.2.

Sequences *Nvw^{n}v*, *Nvy^{n}v*, and *Nvr^{n}v* are however common in stems, especially bisyllabics, suggesting that a preferential constraint applying within stems may still be active. However, the constraint is not rigorous, as shown by *ámìrù* ‘chief’, *gámìrù* ‘wing’, *tòy^{L}-dáŋúrú* ‘spot-sowing’, *gìnà:mórù* ‘magician’, *nà-nàyê:* ‘mint’ (< Arabic), *tàmòrô:* ‘date’ (< Arabic) and other counterexamples.

Nasalization-Spreading occurs at boundaries in two contexts. First, morpheme-initial /g/ → *ŋ* after a nasal syllable in some combinations, such as noun plus definite. See the following section for details.

Second, perfective negative suffix /-lí/, and under limited conditions reversive suffix -lɔ́-, have variants showing *l* → *r^{n}* (or *n*) after nasal syllables. See §3.4.1.5 for details.

In syllables of the shapes *Cvw* and *Cvy*, the coda semivowel is phonetically nasalized, but this appears to be subphonemic and nondistinctive.

For a sporadic backward (rather than forward) nasalization process, see *y* ~ *ɲ* alternations in §3.4.4.1 below.

3.4.1.2 /g/ → *ŋ* after nasal syllable

Morpheme-initial *g* after a nasal syllable is nasalized to *ŋ*. Within words, the relevant morphemes are characteristic suffix *-gú* (§4.2.1), minor deverbal nominalizing suffix *-gú* (§4.2.2.2), and to an occasional *-g-* increment before mediopassive *-ɛ́:* in inchoatives, see (215e) in §9.4. Examples are characteristic *bìnè-ŋí-né* 'gluttonous', deverbal nominal *nàm*^{L}*-[númɔ́-ŋ]* 'sunset', and deadjectival inchoative *mă:-ŋ-ɛ́:* 'become dry'. In *-númɔ́-ŋ* 'falling' from /númɔ́-gú/, after nasalization of the suffixal consonant, the final short high vowel is apocopated as usual after an unclustered sonorant. Nasalization does not always apply to less completely lexicalized characteristic derivatives: *nèw^{n}ɛ̀*^{L}*-gí-né* 'leper'.

At word boundaries within NPs and PPs, /g/ → *ŋ* after nasal syllable applies consistently to definite marker *gɛ̀* (§4.4.1.1), becoming *ŋɛ̀*, and to the postposition-like morpheme *gín* 'like, similar to' (§8.4.2), becoming *ŋín*.

Interestingly, nasalization of *g* applies after *NvL* syllables that end in a phonetically (but so far as I can tell not distinctively) nasalized semivowel. This is seen in *gàmà-ý ŋɛ̀* 'the cat (diminutive)', Text 4 @ 01:25), and in *tònɔ̀-ý ŋɛ̀* 'the waterjar' (174b) in §8.2.8. The mechanism for this may be (automatic) nasalization of the semivowel at the end of a nasal syllable.

3.4.1.3 Spontaneous /g/ → *ŋ* in stem before transitive suffix

The known /g/ → *ŋ* alternations in stems, triggered by addition of a derivational suffix rather than by a preceding nasal, are intransitive verb *dògó* 'end, be finished; be used up' versus transitive verb *dɔ̀ŋɔ́-ró* 'deplete, use (sth) up' or 'put an end to' (contrast the vocalism of adverb *dòŋɔ́* 'later, afterward'), and *dàgá* 'be acceptable' versus transitive *dàŋá-rá* 'make (sth) okay; agree', see (212c) in §9.3.1 These are "spontaneous" nasalizations insofar as they do not involve assimilation or spreading, and they are lexically restricted.

dògó 'end, be finished; be used up' also has an archaic causative *dògó-nɔ́* 'put a stop to' that does not nasalize the *g*.

3.4.1.4 Spontaneous /w^{n}/ → *ŋ* in stem before transitive suffix

For spontaneous /w^{n}/ → *ŋ* under conditions similar to those for spontaneous /g/ → *ŋ*, I can cite only *yàw^{n}á* 'malfunction (v)' (cognate noun *yáw^{n}à* 'damage') versus *yàŋá-lá* 'ruin (st)', see (212b) in §9.3.1. For *l* in the suffix in *yàŋá-lá* see §3.4.1.6 below. Cognates of 'malfunction' and its derivatives show similar irregularities in several Dogon languages.

A superficially similar *w^{n}/ŋ* alternation that occurs under very different conditions is mentioned in §3.4.4.8.

3.4.1.5 /l/ → *r*^{n} or *n* after nasal syllable (perfective negative, reversive)

The perfective negative suffix, whose underlying form is probably /-lí/, is realized aftrer most verb stems as word-final apocopated *-ˊl* or presuffixal *-lí-* ~ *-lú-*, but after a nasal syllable as apocopated *-ń* or presuffixal *-r*^{n}*í-* ~ *-r*^{n}*ú-* (§10.2.3.1). There are exceptions, due to diachronic simplification of medial clusters like *mb (which did not condition forward nasalization) to *m* (which should condition it, but fails to), as in *bùmɔ̌-l-Ø* 'he/she did not drag' (235b).

The basic reversive derivational suffix is *-lv́* (§9.1). It usually does not change when it follows a bisyllabic stem ending in a nasal syllable: *mùŋó-ló* 'unstuff, reopen (stuffed-up hole)', *námá-lá* 'remove foot from'. However, there is one case of nasalization to *n*, namely *màr*^{n}*á* 'seal up', reversive *màr*^{n}*á-ná* 'unseal', see (204f) in §9.1. This avoids a sequence of two consecutive syllables beginning with liquids. The known reversives of monosyllabic *Cv:*^{n} stems nasalize the reversive *l* to *r*^{n}. These are *nă:* 'braid (rope)' with reversive *nă:-r*^{n}*á* 'untwist, unbraid (rope)', and *tɔ́:*^{n} 'wrap by coiling' or 'fence in' *tɔ́:*^{n}*-r*^{n}*ɔ́* 'unfold' (< *tɔ́:*^{n} 'fold'), reversive *tɔ́:*^{n}*-r*^{n}*ɔ́* 'unwrap, uncoil' or 'un-fence', see (204e) in §9.1.

There is no productive phonological process converting *l* to *r*^{n} or *n*, as shown by stems like *ùmûl* 'waterskin' and *dènɛ̀lɛ̀-ý* 'tamarind seed'. Stative negative *=lá-* and postposition *lɛ̀* have no nasalized variants.

3.4.1.6 /l/ → *n* after nasal syllable

As just noted, the basic reversive derivational suffix is *-lv́* (§9.1). From *màr*^{n}*á* 'seal up', however, comes reversive *màr*^{n}*á-ná* 'unseal', see (204f) in §9.1. Either directly or indirectly (i.e. via /màr^{n}á-r^{n}á/), /l/ must become *n* here.

Another case of /l/ → *n* is in the 3Sg form of the perfective negative, which is basically *-l-Ø* as in *làgă-l-Ø* 'he/she did not hit' but shows up as *-l-Ø* after a nasal as in *nùmɔ̀-ń-Ø* 'did not fall' (§10.2.3.1). By contrast, *n* in the 1Pl/3Pl form *-nɛ́* of the perfective negative does not fit any phonological pattern, and *-nɛ́* is best considered a portmanteau.

3.4.1.7 /r/ → *l* in transitive suffix

In the pairing intransitive *yàw*^{n}*á* 'malfunction' and transitive *yàŋá-lá* 'ruin (st)', see (212b) in §9.3.1, the idiosyncratic shift from /w^{n}/ to *ŋ* in the stem (§3.4.1.4) is associated with an equally idiosyncratic shift from /r/ to *l* in the suffix. The morphophonology is nontransparent. Elsewhere *-lv* is reversive (§9.1), but there is no suggestion of reversive semantics in *yàŋá-lá*.

3.4.2 Vocalism of suffixally derived verbs

3.4.2.1 Suffixal Vowel-Spreading (derivational verb suffixes)

Except for causative *-mɔ́*, whose vocalism is fixed, derivational suffixes on verbs have underspecified vowel qualities. In the bare stem required by several inflectional categories, they get their surface vowel quality from preceding vowels. If the preceding vowel is nonhigh, the suffixal vowel copies its quality features, except when ATR values are skewed by a suffix-initial nasal. If the preceding vowel is {*i u*}, the suffixal vowel is a corresponding mid-height vowel, the choice between [+ATR] and [-ATR] then depending on the harmonic class of the verb. The allowed vowel sequences are *i…e*, *i…ɛ*, *u…o*, and *u…ɔ*. For examples see the various sections (reversives, mediopassives, transitives) in Chapter 9.

3.4.2.2 Epenthesis mostly absent

Epenthesis is not a productive process in YS. The best case for an epenthetic vowel is in the rare combinations of a suffix consisting only of a sonorant with a sonorant-final stem. This can happen with comparative predicate adjectives (§12.1.2) such as *gɛ́m* 'black' plus 1Sg subject *-m* becoming *gɛ́w^{n}-ú-m* 'I am blacker'. Epenthesis can feed consonantal alternations based on syllable-final versus intervocalic position, as in this example.

3.4.3 Cross-syllabic phonological processes

3.4.3.1 Syncope

Syncope is the deletion, often optional, of a short vowel in a medial syllable. Short high vowels are the most prone to being syncopated, i.e. *CvCu/iCv* → *CvCCv*.

Syncope and Apocope are closely related and not always distinguishable. Consider the cognate noun-verb collocation *tǐn tír^{n}ɛ́* 'gather firewood'. *tǐn* 'firewood' is now lexicalized as a *CvˇC* noun, though originally bisyllabic, as shown by cognates like Ben Tey *tìr^{n}ú* ~ *tìr^{n}í*. The verb *tír^{n}ɛ́* is lexically bisyllabic, but (in its chaining form *tír^{n}-ú*) it is subject to Apocope (word-final) and Syncope (word-medial). An example of Syncope is agentive *tìn*^{L}-^{H}*[tín-nɛ́]* 'wood-gatherer' with singular suffix *-nɛ́*, compare plural *tìn*^{L}-^{H}*[tír^{n}í-m]*. For these forms see (93f) in §5.1.5.

In trisyllabic verbs (including derivatives) of the shape CvLvLv that meet the conditions for both Syncope and Apocope, the latter takes precedence. For example, *píné-lɛ́* 'open (door)' has a chaining form *píní-l-Ø* from /píní-l-ú/. If Syncope had trumped Apocope the result would be #*pín-l-ú*. This shows that the vowel-deletion rules are more sensitive to word-final position than to a metrically definable position.

The situation is unclear when inflectional suffixes are added. The only relevant suffix is perfective-1b *-tì-*, which follows the chaining stem. This suffix never loses its vowel even in 3Sg *-tì-Ø*, which makes it possible for the preceding vowel to syncopate, as in *págú-l-Ø-tì-Ø* from

/págú-l-ú-tì-Ø/. However, the perfective-1b suffix likely originated as a chained auxiliary verb (§10.1.2).

3.4.3.2 Apocope

Apocope is the deletion, often optional. of a word-final short high vowel after an unclustered sonorant.

The chaining stem ends in *-u* for some but not all nonmonosyllabic verb stems. This *-u* is subject to Apocope when the stem is chained to a following verb. Stem-final *u* (arguably a segmentable suffix in some cases) is also common in modifying adjectives. If we recognize underlying final /-u/ in rising-toned *(C)v̌C* adjectives, this would add further instances.

Apocope occurs in /(C)vC$_2$u/ and in theory in /(C)vC$_2$i/ when *C$_2$* is an unclustered sonorant other than palatoalveolar *ɲ*, i.e. in principle {*l m n ŋ r r^n w w^n y y^n*}. It can also occur in bisyllabics when *C$_2$* is *b* and sometimes *g*. It does not occur after *CC* clusters. Apocope is most common in bisyllabic verb stems, but even here there is sometimes a faint residual echo of the rounding from /u/. Apocope is more variable in bisyllabic modifying adjectives. Even for verbs it appears to be variable at the end of trisyllabic stems.

Examples of Apocope are chaining stem /nùm-ú/ → *nǔm-Ø* 'fall' and adjectives *dǰŋ* 'skinny' and *ǰl* 'wet' if derived from /CvCu/. Examples of non-apocope are chaining stems *píj-ú* 'spray' and *yǎmɲ-ú* 'scrub', and adjectives *bɔ̀ɲú* 'not entirely full' and *pɔ̀:rú* 'putrefying'. Verbal nouns in *-ú* (§4.2.2.1) have different tones but undergo Apocope under the same conditions.

See §10.1.3.3 for more examples involving chaining stems of verbs, and §4.5.1 for lists of adjectives.

3.4.4 Local consonant and consonant cluster alternations

3.4.4.1 Initial *y* ~ *ɲ* alternations

y tends to become nasalized [y^n] allophonically (subphonemically) in the word-initial sequence *yvN…* with *v* any vowel (long or short) and *N* any nasal. This [y^n] can evolve into phonemic *ɲ*. Within YS there is dialectal variation between *yǎ:-r^{n}á* and *ɲǎ:-r^{n}á* 'woman' and between *yěy^n* and *ɲěy^n* 'honey', among others. It is likely that the speakers who have *ɲ* in these words have it for all original *yvN…* words. The shift also occurs for the same speakers before a nasalized vowel, as in *yí^n* ~ *ɲí^n*, the short variant of demonstrative manner adverbs *yí-ŋín* ~ *ɲí-ŋín* 'thus' (§4.4.2.3).

yà:^{L} *gùlɔ̂-y* 'adolescent girl' is an irregular noun-adjective sequence based on unsuffixed *yǎ:* 'female' (cf. plural *yǎ:-m* 'women'). The irregular plural of 'adolescent girl' is *ɲ̀^{w}-ɲà:-m*^{L} *gùlɔ̂-y-m*, likely contracted from *[ùr^{n}ù-m yà:-m]^L gùlɔ̂-y-m ('children females adolescents'). There is also an attestation of simple *ɲ́^{w}-ɲâ:-m* 'girls' (Text 4 @ 01:16), referring to the same group of adolescents previously referred to as *ɲ̀^{w}-ɲà:-m*^{L} *gùlɔ̂-y-m* in the same text.

3.4.4.2 *b*→*m* before nasal

The only synchronically transparent example of this is *jɔ̀bɔ́* 'run', causative *jɔ̆m-nɔ́* 'drive (vehicle)' in (208a). The final vowel of the input stem is irregularly syncopated, whereupon /bn/ assimilates to *mn*. This process may have occurred historically in a few other cases such as *sămnɛ̀* 'soap' (cf. French *savon*, Spanish *sabón*, and Maghrebi Arabic counterparts).

3.4.4.3 *y*-Deletion

In verb stems of the shape *Cvy-*, either lexically so or after Syncope (§3.4.3.1) from /Cvyv-/, the *y* is deleted before an alveolar sonorant in a derivational suffix. We see this in reversives *kú:-lɔ́* 'remove hide from' < *kúy* 'cover (w. hide)' and *dŭ:-lɔ́* 'unload' < mediopassive *dùy-ɛ́:* 'carry on head', and also in transitive *pɔ́:-rɔ́* 'have (mud) ferment' versus mediopassive *pɔ́y-ɛ́:* '(mud mixed with manure) ferment (before replastering walls)' (209d). It is doubtful that this *y*-Deletion is productive, since the verb-pairs mentioned are rather lexicalized. The deletion does not occur before inflectional suffixes: *tùy-lú-m* 'I did not send'.

Perfective-1a verbs are heard (disregarding tone alternations that are not relevant here) with word-final [a:j] in the 3Sg subject form, and usually as [a:] preceding nonzero pronominal-subject suffixes, e.g. 2Sg *-à:-w*. The 1Sg form is *-à:-m*, with occasional variant *-à:y-m*. Since 3Sg is the zero suffix in other verbal inflections, it seems reasonable to take the perfective-1a suffix as *-à:y-* and allow the *y* to be deleted before consonant-initial suffixes. The alternative would be to take *-à:y* as a 3Sg perfective-1a portmanteau.

Original *y may have been deleted between *a* and a front vowel in mediopassive verbs *jà-ɛ́:-* 'fight (v)' and *dàⁿ-ɛ́:* 'sit'. The former has cognate nominal *jây* 'fight (n)'. Even less transparent is the pair *dĭ:ⁿ* 'lie down' and lexicalized causative *dŭ:-nɔ́* 'lay (sth) down'.

3.4.4.4 *w*^{n} ~ *m* alternation and Final-Sonorant Spreading (onto enclitic)

Consider the data in (20), focusing on the *m* ~ *w*^{n} alternation. The enclitic is atonal *=i:* 'it is' (postconsonantal allomorph).

(20) a.

yă:-m	'women'
yă:-wⁿ=í:	'it's women' or 'women (focus)'
yă:-m ŋɛ̀-m	'the women'
yă:-m ŋɛ̀-wⁿ=ì:	'it's the women'

b.

ɛ̂m	'milk (n)'
ɛ́wⁿ=ì:	'it's milk'
ɛ̂m=mà:	'milk too' (from *=à:*, discussed below)
(*ɛ̂m=mɔ̀:*)	'milk' (in quotative-subject phrase) [marginal]
ɛ́wⁿɛ́	'milk (a cow)' (verb)

c.	*jîm*	'pain (n)'
	jìw^{n}ɛ́	'(body part) hurt, be painful' (bare stem)
	jǐm-Ø (< /jiẁ^{n}-ú/)	'(body part) hurt, be painful' (chaining stem)
	jí-jìm = bè-	'will hurt'
d.	*yǐm*	'death'
	yíw^{n}ɛ́	'die' (bare stem)
	yím-Ø (< /yíẁ^{n}-ú/)	'die' (chaining stem)
e.	*â:m*	'partially fermented (juice)'
	á:w^{n}-ɛ́:	'become partially fermented' (inchoative mediopassive)

These data show alternations between syllable-final *m* (before word-boundary or a consonant) and intervocalic *w^{n}*. Historically this reflects intervocalic lenition of *m. Synchronically, however, we must choose between lenition *m* → *w^{n}* and fortition *w^{n}* → *m*.

An objection to a synchronic lenition analysis is that there are some words with stable intervocalic *m*. These include *símɛ́* 'roast', *wǎ:má* 'fry in a little oil', and *sɔ́màỳ* 'spices'. Some of these reflect simplification of *mb to *m*, as with 'roast' and 'fry in a little oil', whose cognates include Nanga *símbɛ́* and Jamsay-Pergué *wà:mbá*. Others may be borrowings or regional words, as with 'spices'. There are also many causatives (derivational suffix *-mɔ́*) with intervocalic *m*, as in *wàlá-mɔ́* 'cause (e.g. oxen) to plow'. The stability of *m* in the causatives may reflect an original verb-chain construction in which the causative was treated as a separate word. However, the history is opaque to present-day speakers.

An objection to the /w^{n}/ → *m* analysis is that word-final *w^{n}* is attested in some stems. These are chiefly adverbs and onomatopoeias: expressive adverbials with final prolongation *sɛ́w^{n}→* 'tiny (eye)', *kɛ́w^{n}→* 'tiny (grains)', and *bɔ́y^{n}ɛ̂w^{n}→* 'glowing', adverbial phrase *táw^{n} ŋɛ̀* 'late' (cf. verb *táw^{n}á* 'be late'), verb complex *kǎw^{n} kúnɔ́* 'treat (child) strictly', and onomatopoeias like *bɛ̌w^{n}* 'sound of fart'. Few nonadverbial stems have final *w^{n}*, though I can cite modifying adjective *áw^{n}* '(animal) in good condition' (related inchoative verb *áw^{n}á*), the phrase *wòlò*^{L} *tɛ̌w^{n}* 'small gift, tip', and the noun *kí-káw^{n}* 'upper shoulder'. An issue here is that word-final /wu/ and /w^{n}u/ are subject to Apocope (§3.4.3.2), so final *w^{n}u* and final *w^{n}* are effectively indistinguishable. One could imagine an analysis whereby the word-final *w^{n}* in *áw^{n}*, *kí-káw^{n}* and the like is attributed to unapocopated /w^{n}u/, in which case the *w^{n}* would have no reason to harden to *m*. This is especially plausible for modifying adjectives, several of which end in *ú* or in a final unclustered sonorant (74b-c).

In any event, the *w^{n}* ~ *m* alternations are not completely productive. While 'it is' enclitic *=i:* (postconsonantal allomorph) induces shift of *m* to *w^{n}*, enclitic *=à:* 'also, too' (cf. free adverb *yâ:* 'again') does not. Compare (21) with (20a) above. In (21), the final sonorant does not lenite, rather it spreads rightward into the onset of the enclitic, a process I label Final-Sonorant Spreading.

(21) a. *yǎ:-m=mà:* ‘women too’
b. *[X^{L} bán]=nà:* ‘a red/brown X too’
c. *[X^{L} píl]=là:* ‘a white X too’
d. *sə́màỳ=yà:* ‘spices too’

See also *êm=mà:* ‘milk too’ in (20b) above. Cases like *ém=à:* ‘we too’ do not count since they have undergone *vv*-Contraction (§3.4.5.2, cf. *émɛ́* ‘we’.

Quotative enclitic *=(w)ɔ̀:* (§17.1) behaves like *=à:* ‘too’ phonologically, hence *=mɔ̀:* (22a), *=yɔ̀:* (22b), and *=nɔ̀:* (22c). Exactly how to formulate this is questionable, however, since it isn’t clear whether the basic form of the quotative enclitic is *=ɔ̀:* or *wɔ̀:* . The former would make the connection with *=à:* simpler.

(22) a. *yǎ:-m=mɔ̀:* ‘women’ (as subject of quoted clause)

b. *[áỳ-nɛ́ ˡtúrú],* *ìnɛ̌m* *dɛ̌g-g-í:-àỳ-Ø* *=yɔ̀:* ↘
[man-Sg one], Logo poor-Inch-MP.Chain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj **Quot**
‘A man said that he had become poor.’ (Text 2 @ 00:00)

c. *wó,* *kìjɛ́* *kàn-Ø* *=nɔ̀:*
3Sg, thing make.Pfv-3SgSbj **Quot**
‘(said:) He did something.’ (Text 3 @ 01:05)

For other examples of Final-Sonorant Spreading, see the 3Sg subject adjectival predicates in (340a) in §11.4.1, where encliticized *=wɔ̀-* ‘be’ is affected.

3.4.4.5 *r^{n}* ~ *n* alternation

Partially parallel to the *w^{n}* ~ *m* alternation described above is an alternation between intervocalic *r^{n}* and syllable-final *n*. For example, when the perfective negative suffix *-lí-* follows a nasal syllable, it has 3Sg subject form *-ń-Ø*, but 1Sg *-r^{n}ú-m*, 2Sg *-r^{n}í-y*, and so forth. Even the 3Sg form has intonationally expanded forms like *-r^{n}í-Ø* in willy-nilly conditional antecedents (§16.3)

There is a good argument that *r^{n}* is the underlying form and becomes *n* syllable-finally, e.g. due to Apocope (§3.4.3.2). The reasoning is that both *r^{n}* and *n* occur intervocalically (including some cases where *n* < *nd, and some borrowings), but only *n* can occur syllable-finally. Examples of intervocalic *n* are *dɛ̀nɛ́* ‘look for’ (cf. Tommo So *dɛ̀nnɛ́*), *gánà* ‘country’ (Donno So *gándà*) and *bònî:* ‘swimming (n)’ (Najamba *bándɛ̀*).

However, there are some cases where the syllable-final *n* is so much more common than medial *r^{n}* that one questions whether *r^{n}* is the underlying (or lexical) representation. For example, final *n* becomes *r^{n}* before the syllabic allomorph of the ‘it is’ or focus enclitic *=i:*, as in *bán* ‘red, brown’, but *nà: bár^{n}=ì:* ‘it’s a brown cow’. A textual example is ^{L}*tìr^{n}=ì:→* in Text 1 @ 00:53, from *tǐn* ‘firewood’. I know of no cases where *n* does not shift to *r^{n}* in this context.

Some other *r*^{n} ~ *n* alternations occur within word-families, as shown in the cognate noun-verb pairings in (23).

(23) a. *sên sérⁿé* 'pray, perform a Muslim prayer'
sèn-[sĕn-Ø] verbal noun of 'pray'

b. *téwⁿùn téwⁿérⁿé* 'give formal counsel'

c. *mên mèrⁿɛ́* 'gossip about, denigrate'

d. *dɔ̂n dɔ̀rⁿɔ́* 'do some selling'

e. *tĭn tírⁿɛ́* '(go) chop (and collect) wood'

3.4.4.6 *r*-Deletion

/rt/ → *t* is not fully productive, cf. unreduced *múrtù* 'rebellion, revolt' (a borrowing), and syncopated perfective-1b forms like *pá:r-tù-m* 'I took down' (440a). However, the distributive iteration (§4.6.1.6) of *túrú* '1', theoretically /túrú-túrú/, is usually pronounced *tú-túrú*, which suggests Syncope (§3.4.3.1) followed by deletion of /r/ before *t*. Alternatively, we could take *tú-túrú* as having been reanalysed as a *Cv-* reduplication.

The reversive of *tárá* 'be affixed', *tárá-lá* '(affixed item) be detached', optionally reduces to *tá-lá* (§204b). Mediopassives *úr-ɛ́:* 'ascend' and *mɔ̀rⁿ-ɛ́:* 'get together, assemble' have archaic causatives with *-nɔ́* that drop the rhotic: *ú-nɔ́* 'take (sth) up' and *mɔ̆:-nɔ́* 'assemble [tr]; collect' (208a). These contractions reflect the awkwardness of *rv-lv* and *rv-nv* sequences.

3.4.4.7 Medial *l*-Deletion

Two verbs of the shape *Cèlɛ́* lose their medial *l* in some combinations with suffix-initial coronal sonorant *l* or *n*, which also happen to be the main negative markers. The result is *Cv:* after *vv*-Contraction (§3.4.5.2), as in (24b). The effect is that the conditioning of Medial *l*-Deletion and subsequent *vv*-Contraction is ambiguous between phonological and categorial conditioning.

(24)

	'get'	'come'
a. noncontracting		
bare = chaining	*wèlɛ́*	*bèlɛ́*
imperative	*wɛ́lɛ́*	*bɛ́lɛ́*
unsufixed perfective	*wèlɛ̀-*	*bèlɛ̀-*
verbal noun	*wĕl-Ø*	*bĕl-Ø*

perfective-1a	*wèl-â:y-*	—
perfective-1b	—	—
completive perfect	*wèlé-jè:-*	*bèlé-jè:-*
imperfective	*wí-wèlè-jè-*	*bí-bèlè-jè-*
hortative	*wèlé-mɔ́*	*bèlé-mɔ́*

b. contracting

perfective negative (3Sg)	*wě:-l-Ø*	*bě:-l-Ø*
imperfective negative	*wě:-lè-*	*bě:-lè-*
prohibitive	*wě:-nɔ̀w^{n}*	*bě:-nɔ̀w^{n}*
purposive (§17.7.1)	*wè:*^{L} *né*	*bè:*^{L} *né*

The perfective subordinated form *wèl-ˈé→* has been heard with the *l* (e.g. Text 5 @ 03:16) and without it (Text 5 @ 04:24).

Systematic deletion of *l* in similar inflections has not been observed for other stems, such as *gèlɛ́* 'harvest (with knife)' and *gàlá* 'pass'. However, the *l* in *gàlá* 'pass' was inaudible in one textual example (*gà-â:y*, Text 5 @ 01:20).

l-deletion is likely to have occurred historically in some stems that are now lexically *Cv:* with no trace of the former bisyllabic shape, including *mě:* '(rain) fall' (cf. Jamsay *mìr^{n}é* and other bisyllabic cognates with medial liquids).

Depending on whether *ú-nɔ́* 'take (sth) up' (208) is derived, with *-nɔ́* causative suffix, from *úr-ɛ́:* 'mount (v)' or from *úló* 'ascend', either a medial *r* or a medial *l* is deleted. However, the derivational relationships are synchronically nontransparent.

For the numeral 'ten' in various composite numerals: *pɛ́l* '10' and in '60', *pɛ́:-* (in '20'), and *pɛ́-* in other decimal terms, see (80).

3.4.4.8 *w^{n}*/*ŋ* alternation

Prohibitive *-nɔ̀w^{n}* has a plural-addressee variant *-nɔ̀ŋ-î:* (285). This isolated alternation occurs under very different syllabic conditions than that in *yàw^{n}á* 'malfunction (v)' versus *yàŋá-lá* 'ruin (st)' (§3.4.1.4).

3.4.5 Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences

3.4.5.1 Glottal stop between adjacent vowels in reduplications

A phonetic glottal stop is audible in stems with initial *Cv-* reduplication when the stem lacks an initial consonant. An example is reduplicated stative *ì-ʔíŋɛ̀* 'be standing'.

I did not hear a glottal stop in *á-à:y-* 'caught', perfective-1a (*-à:y-*) of *á:* 'catch' in certain collocations, e.g. (306b) in §11.1.3.2, or in other similar *Cv-a:y* perfective-1a forms (§10.2.1.3). In these cases the suffix has probably absorbed the second mora of the long stem vowel (/á:-ày-/).

3.4.5.2 *vv*-Contraction and Prevocalic *v*-Shortening

vv-Contraction is most evident in suffixally derived mediopassive verbs with *-ɛ:* (bare stem) alternating with *-i:* (chaining stem) and with perfective-1a *-à:y-*. It occurs when the vowel-initial suffix follows a nonmonosyllabic stem ending in a short vowel. The surface result is that the suffixal long vowel replaces the stem-final vowel, which leaves no trace.

For example, *bìlé* 'flip (sth)' has a mediopassive *bìl-é:* '(sth) flip over', chaining stem *bìl-í:* . If the suffix is represented as *-ɛ:* ~ *-i:*, the stem-final vowel must be deleted before the suffixal vowel. One could also posit underlying suffixes /-ɛ/ ~ /-i/ with short vowels, and contraction of two short vowels into a long vowel with the quality features of the second vowel.

Monosyllabic *Cv:* verbs combine with the mediopassive suffix as *Cv-ɛ:* ~ *Cv-i:*, with shortened stem vowel, as in *kó:* 'turn (sth) inside-out', mediopassive *kó-é:* 'be inside-out'. In other words, the second mora of *Cv:* is treated like the stem-final short vowel of nonmonosyllabic stems. I refer to this as Prevocalic *v*-Shortening. Reanalysis of *Cv:* as *Cvv* might make it more transparent. For more mediopassive examples see §9.3.1.

The other important vowel-initial suffixes are perfective-1a *-à:y-* (§10.2.1.3) and nonpast anterior subordinator *-ɔ̀:* (§15.2.3). They have the same phonology as the mediopassive suffix. The final vowel of a nonmonosyllabic disappears, as in *wɛ̀l-â:y-* 'came' (< *wɛ̀lɛ́*) and *dɔ̀r^{n}-ɔ̂:* 'sells'. Monosyllabic *Cv:* is shortened to *Cv-*, as in *yó-à:y-* 'entered' (< *yó:*) and *yà-ɔ̂:* 'goes'.

Interestingly, the mediopassive suffix can itself be followed by the perfective-1a or nonpast anterior suffix. The first combination surfaces as *-i:-ày-* instead of the #*-i-à:y-* that one might have expected, suggesting underlying /-ay-/ with short vowel. The second surfaces as *-í-ɔ̀:* .

One can argue for a *vv*-Contraction process in some 1Pl/3Pl inflected forms, but the phonology is nontransparent. One promising example is in the perfective-1b paradigm, where the 3Sg is *-tì-Ø* and the 1Pl/3Pl is *-t-ɛ̀:^{n}* . Another is the 'it is not' enclitic *=lă:* (§11.2.1.2), whose 1Pl/3Pl form *=là-é:^{n}* could reasonably be derived from /=lă:-ɛ^{n}/. However, inspection of other inflectional paradigms does not reveal a consistent 1Pl/3Pl underlying form. The relevant data are summarized in (262) in §10.3.1.

3.4.6 Local vowel-consonant interactions

3.4.6.1 *i* ~ *u* alternations before suffixal consonants

In the perfective-1b and perfective negative, we find *u* before 1Sg *-m* and 2Sg *-w* versus *i* before 2Pl *-y*.

(25)		perfective-1b	perfective Neg
a.	1Sg	*-tù-m*	*-lú-m*
	2Sg	*-tù-w*	*-lú-w*
b.	2Pl	*-tì-y*	*-lí-y*
c.	3Sg	*-tì-Ø*	*-ˊl-Ø*
d.	1Pl = 3Pl (suppletive/irregular)	*-t-ɛ̀:^{n}*	*-nɛ́*

The underlying form of the perfective-1b suffix is clearly *-tì-*, as seen in the zero 3Sg form *-tì-Ø*. There is some evidence that the underlying form of the perfective negative is likewise /-lí-/. In both cases the *i* shifts to *u* before *-m* or *-w*. The 1Pl/3Pl forms are contracted or irregular.

The same *i* ~ *u* alternation occurs in the unsuffixed perfective *gì-* ~ *gù-* of the irregularly light stem 'say' (§11.3).

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

Monophthongization as a synchronic process is observed in combinations of a short high vowel with pronominal-subject suffixes (1Pl *-y*, 2Sg *-w*), and in several combinations of a noun or adjective with diminutive suffix *-ý*, see (75) in §4.5.1 *iy* is heard as [i:], and *uw* is heard as [u:]. Monophthongization is fed by the assimilatory *i* ~ *u* alternations described in the preceding section.

3.4.6.3 ATR merger {*e o*} → {*ɛ ɔ*} after nasal consonant

With few exceptions (see below), [+ATR] vowels *e* and *o* do not occur after nasal or nasalized consonants {*m n ɲ ŋ r^{n} w^{n} y^{n}*}. In this environment, etymological *e and *o appear as [-ATR] *ɛ* and *ɔ*, respectively. Since there are few instances where a nasal-final morpheme is followed within a word by a vowel-initial suffix, this generalization can be thought of as a lexical constraint about consonant-vowel sequences within stems and affixes. The alternative, to analyse it as a rewrite rule of the form *Ne/No* → *Nɛ/Nɔ*, would only be plausible when there is independent evidence that the underlying vowel is *e* or *o*, not merely underspecified. The only instance known to me that satisfies this requirement is *mṵ̀ŋɔ́* 'stuff (a hole)', whose reversive *mṵ̀ŋɔ́-ló* 'unstuff, reopen (hole)' (204d) arguably points to underlying /mṵ̀ŋɔ́/, see discussion following (18) in §3.3.5.

A following as opposed to preceding nasal consonant *N* has no such effect on a vowel, so the sequences *eN…*, *oN…*, *ɛN…*, and *ɔN…* are all allowed. As a result, stems and words of the shape *CvNv* with two mid-height vowels can be *CeNɛ*, *CɛNɛ*, *CoNɔ*, *CɔNɔ*, etc. but not #*CeNe*, #*CoNo*, or the like. Of the allowed sequences, note that *CeNɛ* and *CoNɔ* contain mixes of [+ATR] and [-ATR]

vowel qualities. Such mixes are generally disallowed in other Dogon languages in which ATR does not interact with nasalization.

Nasalized long mid-height vowels must also be [-ATR] *ɛːⁿ* and *ɔːⁿ*, not [+ATR] #*eːⁿ* and #*oːⁿ* (§3.4.6.3).

This constraint against [+ATR] *Ne* and *No* is strongly adhered to in stem- or word-final short-voweled *Nv* syllables. There are exceptions to it in other contexts. One class of exceptions is trisyllabic stems of the type *CvNvCv* that have medial and final [+ATR] vowels. The initial vowel is usually either also [+ATR] or else a high or low vowel. Occasionally it is [-ATR] (26).

(26) a. all three vowels are [+ATR]

démélé	'stout, massive'
dòmóló	'trim (e.g. a tree)'
jómóló	'wood chips'
tómóló	'shallow pit'
dòmòló	'stick (staff) with curved end'
ómóló	'cloth around head of baby being carried on one's back'

b. initial high vowel

kúmó-ló	'unclench (fist)', reversive of *kúm-é:*

c. initial low vowel

ámélé	'in vain, for nothing'

d. initial [-ATR] vowel

bɛ̀ŋèlěy	'insect gall or similar bulge on tree'
dɔ̀ŋó-ró	'use up, deplete' or 'put an end to' (< *dògó* 'be finished, depleted')

Another set of exceptions is words ending in *Nv:* with long vowel (27). In some of these cases the final *e:* is arguably a segmentable suffix (§4.2.2.4).

(27) a. final *e:*

élmè:	'tale'
dɛ̀:rⁿ-ě:	'rest (n)'
tè:mê:	'mud brick'

b. final *o:*

dònô:	'a grazing area on the plateau'

Miscellaneous other exceptions are in (28).

(28) *yà:-mé* ‘the other day, a few days ago’ (< *yá:* ‘yesterday’)
lármɛ̀ ‘army’ (< French *l’armée*)
môr-nɛ̀ ‘holy man’

3.4.6.4 *=y* versus *=i:* in enclitics

The atonal ‘it is’ enclitic is *=y* after a vowel, and *=i:* after a consonant. It gets its tones by spreading from the left. The L-toned accusative enclitic is *=ỳ* after a vowel, and *=ì:* after a consonant. It would be difficult to derive either *=y* or *=i:* from the other because of the vowel length. Historically it may be that *=i:* generalized from combinations involving word-final short *i or *u after an unclustered sonorant. This vowel would apocopate word-finally, but combine with *=y* as *i=y* and monophthongize to [i:].

3.5 Cliticization

In terms of phonological interaction, there is no sharp distinction between suffixes and enclitics. Enclitics are elements that are correctly linearized but that are pronounced as suffix-like add-ons to the previous word.

I use enclitic boundary *=* for enclitics.

The ‘it is’ clitic *=y* ~ *=i:* is added to NPs in identificational predicates (§11.2.1.1). It may be followed by the ‘it is not’ enclitic =lă: (§11.2.1.2).

The conjugated past enclitic *=be-* (tone depends on category) can be hosted by a verb stem, with limited aspect-negation marking intervening (§10.5.1).

The stative negative enclitic *=lá-* is added to stative verbs, especially those derived from active verbs (§10.4.2).

Accusative enclitic *=ỳ* ~ *=ì:* (§6.7) is added to the final word in the NP and syllabifies with it (§6.7). I transcribe it as an enclitic except in its highly fused combinations with pronominals, such as *mí-ỳ* ‘me’.

Locative postposition *nɛ̀* optionally reduces to *=ǹ* and syllabifies with a preceding syllable (§8.2.3.1).

Quotative enclitic *(w)ɔ̀:* is added to both subjects and predicates of quoted clauses, with some restrictions (§17.1.2-3)

The ‘also, too’ enclitic *=à:* is added to NPs and especially to pronouns.

Other elements that might be considered enclitics include the definite marker and basic postpositions.

Phonological processes that apply at enclitic boundaries, affecting either the enclitic or the host, include lenitions of intervocalic consonants (§3.4.4.4-5), Final-Sonorant Spreading (§3.4.4.4), *vv*-Contraction (§3.4.5.2), Monophthongization (§3.4.6.2), Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading (§3.6.3.3), Contour-Tone Stretching (§3.6.4.2), and Final-Tone Resyllabification (§3.6.4.3)

There are no mobile second-position (Wackernagal’s) clitics.

Proclitics do not undergo or trigger segmental phonological changes in combination with hosts. Tbey are therefore identifiable only by the strictness of rules on linear position, and tonal effects on following hosts.The proclitics recognized here are H-toned, and trigger tone-dropping on the following host. They are H-toned subject pronouns preceding relative-clauses verb-participles and some similar subordinated verbs (§14.1.5), and existential *yá* and *kó* 'here, there' before statives (§11.2.2.1).

3.6 Tones

I use /…/ to enclose stem- or word-level tone melodies, e.g. /H/, /HL/, and /LH/. Such melodies can be applied to stems/words of variable syllable count. I use {…} for stem- or word-level tone overlays, conditioned syntactically or, in the case of verbs, by inflectional category (suffixal or not). I use <…> to indicate contoured tones for single syllables, e.g. <LH>, and use periods (full stops) as syllable separators in formulae like H.L.L and L.<LH>. Framing devices are omitted when not appropriate or relevant.

Transcription of YS tones is made difficult by two phenomena. First, entirely H-toned stems and words of two or more syllables frequently lower the pitch of the final syllable to what would correspond to M[id]-tone in three-tone-level languages. This can lead to confusion between lexical /H/ and /HL/ melodies. In most cases where I was initially unsure of the melody, I ended up deciding it was /H/. Usually if one adds a suffix, enclitic, or particle after an /H/-melody stem, the H-tone stretches to the end of the stem. However, my suspicion is that YS is moving in the direction of an accentual system similar to those I have found recently in nearby Donno So and Dogul Dom on the plateau, where original /H/ melodies and {H} overlays are replaced by falling /HL/ and {HL}. Examples of relevant words are *péjù* 'sheep', *délé* 'elder brother', and *íbɛ̀* 'market', whose cognates are /H/ in Jamsay and Tommo So but /HL/ in Donno So and Dogul Dom.

The second issue is that /LH/ stems and words, and word-final <LH>-toned syllables, are often pronounced by my assistant with more or less flat high pitch, especially in isolation. That is, speakers anticipate the final H-tone and raise their pitch in the preceding syllable. In several cases, I initially transcribed these as entirely H-toned, but later identified them as /LH/. Examples are *kìjɛ́* 'thing' and *tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ́* (dialectally *tìw^{n}ɛ́*) 'tree'.

Combining these two observations, ironically a word pronounced in isolation with what sounds like a flat high pitch may turn out to be /LH/, while a similar word pronounced in isolation with a noticeable pitch fall on the final syllable(s) may turn out to be /H/. Future fieldworkers may observe dialectal variation in tone patters.

3.6.1 Lexical tone patterns

3.6.1.1 At least one H-tone in each stem

All noun, verb, adjective, and numeral stems have one H-tone element, whose domain may extend over two or more syllables. Therefore melodies /H/, /HL/, /LH/, and /LHL/ are acceptable, but /L/ is

not (as a lexical melody). /HLH/ with two tonal peaks occurs in one loanword *(nɔ̀y-sày) héyyɛ̀nɛ́* 'index finger'.

Because there is always an H-tone, tone-dropping controlled by another word or by a suffix is always audible. The constraint does not apply to expressive adverbials, some of which have /L/ melody.

3.6.1.2 Lexical tone melodies of verbs

Verbs have lexical melodies /H/ and /LH/, observable in verb chains, perfective positive inflections, and the imperfective negative. Verb stems beginning with voiceless obstruents are /H/ (29a), those beginning with voiced obstruents (depressor consonants) are /LH/ (29b). The glaring exception to the latter generalization is the irregular *já:* 'take, convey'. A possible second exception is *gɛ́* 'say', but since this is the only monomoraic full-fledged verb one could argue for underlying /gɛ̌/ plus a flattening rule (§3.6.4.1). For verbs beginning with a sonorant the choice is lexical (with /LH/ most common). The few known vowel-initial true verbs happen to be /H/. Verbs with /LH/ melody have the tone break as close as possible to the left edge, typically after the first vocalic mora. This is shown by the verbs with three or more moras (*Cv̌:Cv́*, *Cv̀Cv́Cv́*) in (29b). Defective stative quasi-verbs have their own tonal patterns (29e), but for them "melody" plays a lesser role than for true verbs.

(29)

	stem	gloss
a. initial voiceless obstruent		
/H/ melody		
	tá:	'shoot'
	sá:	'cut down (stems)'
	pógó	'bump'
	kígílí-mɔ́	'go back'
b. initial voiced obstruent		
/LH/ melody		
	gɔ̌:	'dance (v)'
	bìnɛ́	'go back'
	dǔ:-rɔ́	'load (v)'
	jă:ná	'boil (v)'
	dàŋárá	'make good'
irregularly with /H/ melody		
	gɛ́	'say'
	já:	'take, convey'

c. initial sonorant

/H/ melody

lɛ́:	‘fear (v)’
nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́	‘taste; hit (target)’
yáŋárá	‘put (pot) up (on a stand)’

/LH/ melody

nă:	‘braid (rope)’
màŋá	‘roll into balls’
yɔ̀rɔ́	‘become soft, supple’
wă:má	‘fry lightly in oil’

d. no initial consonant

/H/ melody

á:	‘catch’
ɛ́bɛ́	‘buy’
ílɛ́	‘ripen’
íg-ɔ́:	‘know’ (stative)
íŋ-ɛ́:	‘stand’
óbó	‘give’
úló	‘ascend’
áŋálá	‘separate (fighters)’

e. defective stative quasi-verbs

/L/ melody (perhaps really defocalized from /H/)

wɔ̀	‘be (somewhere)’, animate or as auxiliary (§11.2.2.2)
kɔ̀	‘be (somewhere)’, inanimate (§11.2.2.2)
tò	‘be in’ (§11.2.3.1)
sɛ̀	‘be in’ (§11.5.1.1)

/LH/ melody

ìré	‘be better’ §12.1.6)
ìbɔ́:-	‘want’ (330)

/HL/ melody

ígɔ̀:-	‘know’ (§11.2.5)
ínɛ̀:-	‘not know’ (§11.2.5)

The lexical distinction for true verbs between /H/ and /LH/ is neutralized in the perfective negative with /L/ overlay and in the imperfective positive with /HL/ overlay. It is also neutralized in the imperative of bimoraic stems, but it is preserved for longer stems. In other words, “depressor” consonants (voiced obstruents) affect the lexical tone melody but do not determine surface tones.

Depressor consonants play no role in constraining lexical tones of stems other than verbs. Often cognate pairs of nouns and verbs differ in melody (§11.1.4.2).

3.6.1.3 Lexical tone melodies for unsegmentable noun stems

Nouns must have an H-tone element lexically, though all H-tones are dropped to low in some syntactic environments, for example in N^{L} Adj sequences. The lexical melodies for uncompounded stems are /H/, /HL/, /LH/, and /LHL/. There is one borrowing with /HLH/.

(30)

stem	gloss
a. /H/	
bíl	'ladder'
áŋá	'mouth'
tómóló	'shallow pit'
kádágá	'agemate'
b. /HL/	
êm	'milk'
bôy	'name'
kínɛ̀	'liver'
péjù	'sheep'
gámà	'cat'
[for longer stems see under §3.6.1.6]	
c. /LH/	
dǐ:	'water'
nă:	'cow' or 'mother'
ìjú	'dog'
dɔ̀gɔ́	'grass'
kìjɛ́	'thing'
àlmɛ̌:	'tree sp.' (*Vitex*)
bànŋá	'tree sp.' (*Combretum*)
jùmɔ̀-ý	'edible sedge tubers' or 'tassels'
gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀ŋɛ́	'rainy season'
bùŋɔ̀r^{n}ɔ́	'tree sp.' (*Commiphora*)
pàràgăm	'sideburns'
kòŋgòlǐ:	'scraper for baby'
d. /LHL/	
dõ:n	'roselle leaves'
kã̌:m	'liana sp. and fruit' (*Saba*)
sămnɛ̀	'soap'
òmôl	'tamarind'
jòbûl	'grass spp.'

pèlê:m	‘immature pod’
bă:là	‘tree sp.’ (*Acacia*)
ɲămbèy^{n}	‘firefly’
sìgírì	‘tree sp.’ (*Anogeissus*)
yògó nàŋúrù	‘last year’
gèlé:sì	‘doum-palm fruit’
gòròmtómɔ̀	‘praying mantis’
loanwords	
sàdíŋè	‘garden’ (< Fr *jardin*)
pàkê:	‘packet’ (< Fr *paquet*)
àlkámà	‘wheat’ (< Arabic, variant *àlkámá*)
kàŋkálibà	‘kinkéliba (leaves)’ (< Bambara)
tĕyyá:tù	‘greeting as part of a Muslim prayer’
reduplications	
kù-kûl	‘head hair’
gù-gûn	‘watermelon’
prefixed (§4.1.8)	
àmâ:n	‘so-and-so’

e. /HLH/ (one loanword)

(nɔ̀y-sày) héyyènέ	‘index finger’

3.6.1.4 Lexical tone melodies for adjectives and numerals

For modifying adjectives, lexical melodies are /H/, /HL/, and /LH/, essentially as with nouns. /LHL/ is attested only with a reduplicative adjective (31d). For fuller lists of adjectives see §4.5.1.

(31) Modifying adjectives

stem	gloss
a. /H/	
nɔ́:	‘hot’
yóló	‘lightweight’
démélé	‘massive’
b. /HL/	
gû:m	‘rancid (meat); flavorless (milk)’
dágà	‘small’
gálàl	‘bitter’
bóròdù	‘viscous’

c. /LH/

dǒŋ	‘skinny, lean’
mɔ̀ɲú	‘bad, nasty’
nà:rⁿá	‘easy’
sɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ́	‘multicolored’

d. /LHL/

reduplicated

nì-nâ:	‘respectable, trustworthy (person)’

The lexical tones of modifying adjectives do not carry over to cognate inchoative verbs, which are subject to the usual constraints for verb stems involving depressor consonants.

For numerals the lexical tones are shown in (32). *nùmɔ́rⁿɔ́* ‘5’ differs from the usual /LH/ melody for nouns in having the tone break near the left edge. Cognates in other languages are bisyllabic, e.g. Nanga *nìmĭ:*, so the history of *nùmɔ́rⁿɔ́* may be complex.

(32) Numerals

stem	gloss

a. /H/

túrú	‘1’
pɛ́l	‘10’

b. /HL/

sôy	‘7’
kúlòy	‘6’
gá-gàrà	‘8’

c. /LH/

nǎy	‘4’
tùwɔ́	‘9’
mùɲú	‘thousand’
nùmɔ́rⁿɔ́	‘5’

d. /LHL/

(none)

3.6.1.5 Tone-Component location for bitonal noun and adjective stems

/HL/-melody nouns of three or more moras in my data are divided between those that have the tone break near the right edge, leaving just one final L-toned mora (33a), and those that have the tone break near the left edge, with just one initial H-toned mora.

(33) a. tone break near the right edge

H.L (with initial heavy syllable)

bú:bù	'robber fly'

H.<HL>

sádêl	'tree sp.' (*Bauhinea*)
kúmâ:	'mountain fig tree' (*F. abutilifolia*)
pɔ́lê:m	'bush sp.' (*Pergularia*)

H.H.L

sádágà	'alms'
yá:mbálà	'colubrid snake sp.' (*Bamanophis*)

H.H.<HL>

pá-páyê:	'papaya' (more often *pù-pɔ̂:*)

b. tone break near the left edge

<HL>.L

sɔ̂:rɔ̀	'upstairs'

H.L (with final heavy syllable)

kámùŋ	'herb sp.' (*Alysicarpus*)
dálìl	'situation'
kú-kɔ̀:	'roller (bird)'

H.L.L

súgùrù	'ear'
gáŋà:jù	'okra'

Nonmonosyllabic /HL/ modifying adjectives of three or more moras have the tone break near the left edge, following the first vocalic mora. The relevant examples from the fuller list in §4.5.1 include *dár^{n}àn* 'pungent', *ɔ́rɔ̀y* 'smooth', *gálàl* 'bitter', *pélèl* 'crispy', *élèl* 'sweet; sharp', *bánàlà* 'blotched', *bóròdù* 'viscous', *éjèjù* 'bland', and *tí-tè:rè* 'wild, bizarre'.

For both nouns and adjectives, /LH/ melody stems have the tone break near the right edge. For examples with nouns, see §3.6.1.3 above. Relevant adjectives from §4.5.1 are *nà:r^{n}á* 'easy' and *sɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ́* 'multicolored'. Exceptions among nouns include Arabic loans like *àlkámá* 'wheat', *àlmúŋú-né* 'imam's respondent', and *àlgálá* 'sky', but Arabic definite *àl-* is L-toned in borrowings and is generally treated as a separate tonal segment. Nouns beginning with semi-segmentable *a-* or *aN-* have similar tonal patterns (§4.1.8).

3.6.1.6 Tone-Component location for tritonal noun stems

Uncompounded nouns with /LHL/ melody have tone breaks as close as possible to the right edge. This is moot for shorter stems but is overt for tri- and quadrisyllabics.

(34) /LHL/ stems

stem	gloss
a. monosyllabic	
kă:m	'zaban, liana sp. and fruit' (*Saba*)
b. bisyllabic	
làsô:	'paint (n)'
c. trisyllabic	
àrⁿàwê:	'tree sp.' (*Crataeva*)
sìgírì	'tree sp.' (*Anogeissus*)
tùgújù	'mash (from oil pressing)'
d. quadrisyllabic	
àlgàmírì	'a spice seed' (*Ammodaucus*)

3.6.2 Grammatical tone patterns

Lexical tone melodies are overridden by tone overlays in certain syntactic and (for verbs) morphological contexts, as detailed below.

3.6.2.1 Grammatical tones for verb stems

True verbs have lexical tone melodies /H/ or /LH/, which apply both to the chaining stem and the bare stem. However, these melodies may be overridden or modified by tone overlays controlled by inflectional categories. If such a category has an overt suffix, one can speak of the suffix as controlling an overlay on the stem. There are also some categories without affixes that control an overlay abstractly (tonal ablaut).

(35)

affix	category	stem tone excluding suffix
a. lexical tones		
unmodified lexical melody		
(zero)	nonfinal in verb chains	lexical
-à:y	perfective-1a	lexical
-tì-	perfective-1b	lexical
-tɛ́rɔ̀:-	experiential perfect	lexical
-jɛ̀:-	completive perfect	lexical
=bɛ̀-	simple past	lexical
-nɔ̀w^n	prohibitive	lexical
-mɔ́	hortative	lexical
-jɛ̀	imperfective participle	lexical
with stem-final L-tone where possible after initial lexical H or LH		
-lɛ̀-	imperfective negative	lexical onset then L where possible
-ẁ wɔ̀-	present progressive	lexical onset then L where possible
b. tone-dropped		
(zero)	unsuffixed perfective	{L}
-ú ~ *-ý*	verbal noun	{L} before H-toned ending
-lí-	perfective negative	{L} before H-toned ending
=lá-	stative negative	{L} before H-toned ending
c. {H} overlay		
-né	agentive in cpds., §5.1.5	{H} (as compound final)
d. falling overlay		
-jɛ̀-	imperfective	{HL} realized as H(L…)L
(none)	tonal purposive, §17.7.2	{HL}
(none)	perfective participle	{HL} except {L} after subject pronoun
(none)	stative participle	(like perfective participle)
e. multiple		
(none)	imperative	light stems have {H} overlay, heavy stems show lexical melody
f. with initial reduplication		
Rdp-… *=bé-*	past irrealis, §10.2.1.7	L-{L}
Rdp-… *-jɛ̀-*	redup. imperfective, §10.2.2.3	H-{L}
Rdp-… *-né*	uncompounded agentive, §4.2.4	L-{LH}

3.6.2.2 Grammatical tones for noun stems

Nouns are tone-dropped to {L} before a modifying adjective or a demonstrative, or as internal head NP of a relative clause. Tone-dropping does not occur before a numeral or before a definite, in the absence of these other tonosyntactic controllers. Superscript ^{L} at the right edge indicates tone-dropping controlled by an element to the right.

(36) a. N
b. N^{L} Adj
c. N Num
d. N^{L} Dem
e. N Def
f. $[_{Rel}$ … [N (modifiers)]^{L} … participle]

A preposed possessor, whether nonpronominal or (for kin terms) pronominal, controls tone-dropping on the possessed noun. This is indicated by superscript ^{L} at the left edge of the noun. A postposed possessor does not affect the tones on the possessed noun and may be separated from it by other modifiers.

(37) a. Poss ^{L}N
b. N Poss

When multiple tonosyntactic controllers are present in the same NP, conflict and bracketing issues arise. See chapter 6 for full analysis and examples.

3.6.2.3 Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals

Adjectives and numerals are subject to a subset of the same externally controlled tonosyntactic processes as nouns (Chapter 6). Specifically, an adjective or numeral may be part of a domain (beginning with a noun) that is targeted by a following demonstrative, or that functions as head of a relative, in both cases requiring tone-dropping: [[N Adj]^{L} Dem] or [[N Num]^{L} Dem]. An adjective or numeral may also be part of the domain targeted by a prenominal possessor: [Poss ^{L}[N Adj]] or [Poss ^{L}[N Num]] (the latter in alienable possession only).

There is one constructional tonosyntactic pattern than cannot be simulated by mechanical application of the basic tonosyntactic powers of the constituent elements. It applies to the combination Num-Poss or Num-Def, along with a preceding noun or N-Adj if present. Instead of the expected [N Num Poss/Def] or (with adjectival control) [[N^{L} Adj] Num Poss/Def], the output is [[N (Adj) Num]$^{L+H}$ Poss/Def], where the inner bracket is tone-dropped except for a single final H-tone at the right edge of the numeral. See §6.2.1.2 for discussion.

3.6.3 Tonal morphophonology

3.6.3.1 Autosegmental tone association (verbs)

Lexical tone melodies, and grammatically controlled tone overlays such as {HL}, can be abstracted as autosegmental melodies to the extent that actual syllable-by-syllable tone sequences like H.L.L and L.H.H (verbs) or L.L.H (nouns) are predictable from the autosegments for a given word-class.

The issue is less important in YS than in some other Dogon languages where {LH} is realized on verbs, simple and suffixally derived, as L.(L…).H with just the last syllable H-toned, so that a *CvCv́* stem has suffixal derivatives of the type *CvCv-Cv́*. In such languages it makes sense to associate the components of the lexical /LH/ melody to specific syllables only after derivational suffixation takes place. In languages like YS where the tone break in {LH} is near the left edge, a *CvCv́* stem has *CvCv́-Cv́* derivatives, with no change in the location of the tone break. So we could get away with an analysis where the tone components are pre-associated with specific stem syllables, and the stem-final tone is simply extended to the suffix.

3.6.3.2 Phonology of H(H…)L and H(L…)L tone overlays

There are no {HL} tone overlays (as opposed to lexical tones) in NPs in YS.

Verb stems do have an {HL} overlay in the imperfective (suffix *-jɛ̀-*), in some participial and subordinated forms, and in some types of verb iteration. The H-tone is heard on the initial syllable or on the initial mora of monosyllabics, followed by L-tones, i.e. H(L…)L. Example: imperfective *wɔ́gɔ̀lɔ̀-jɛ̀-* 'scoops out (grain)'.

3.6.3.3 Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading

A number of suffixes with shapes *-C* (1Sg *-m* and other pronominal-subject suffixes, nominal plural *-m*) and *-Cv* (human singular *-nɛ* ~ *-nɔ* on nouns), as well as the 'it is' clitic *=y* ~ *=i:* (§11.2.1.1), have no intrinsic tone. They acquire their tone by spreading from the preceding stem or other morpheme. For those human nouns like 'Dogon' that always end either in singular *-nɛ* ~ *-nɔ* or plural *-m*, the underlying stem tone melody must be inferred from the suffixed forms (38c). For the underlyingly atonal *-m* suffixes, where possible I transcribe the tone on the preceding stem-final vowel.

(38) a. *tɔ́:rⁿɔ́* '(casual) friend'
tɔ́:rⁿɔ́-m '(casual) friends'

b. /írì/ (underlying)
írì-nɛ̀ 'blacksmith'
írì-m 'blacksmiths'

c. /dɔ̀gɔ̌/ (underlying)
dɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́ ‘a Dogon (person)’
dɔ̀gɔ̌-m ‘Dogon people’

3.6.3.4 Tone-dropping on predicate after H-toned proclitic

The relevant proclitics are the H-toned pronominal-subject proclitics preceding verb-participles in nonsubject relative clauses (§14.1.5) or preceding verbs with durative subordinator *-n* (§15.2.1.2), plus existential *yá* and demonstrative *kó* ‘here, right over there’ as proclitics before stative verbs and quasi-verbs (§10.4.1, §11.2.2.1-2).

After one of these proclitics, the verb-participle or stative predicate is tone-dropped, overriding any previously applied tone overlay. Examples are relative *gèrⁿɛ̀*[L] *ú* [L]*èb-ù gɛ̀* ‘the house that you bought’ ([L]*èbɛ̀* also possible), compare regular perfective participle [HL]*ɛ́b-ù* (or [HL]*ɛ́bɛ̀*) and stative *yá* [L]*dà:ⁿ-* ‘be sitting/seated’ (alternative to reduplicated *dì-dâ:ⁿ-*), For details, more examples, and discussion see the sections referred to in the preceding paragraph.

3.6.4 Low-level tone rules

3.6.4.1 Treatment of short contoured-tone syllables

The ‘say’ verb *gɛ́* is the only true (i.e. aspect-marking) verb stem with monomoraic shape (§11.3). Except for irregular *já:* ‘convey, take’, all verb stems that begin with an initial voiced obstruent and have at least two moras have a predictable “lexical” melody /LH/. This raises the possibility that the underlying form of ‘say’ is /gɛ̌/. This would not be pronounceable as such in YS. There are two possible repairs that could make it pronounceable.

One would be to add a mora, i.e. lengthen the vowel, allowing full expression of the contoured tone: #*gɛ̌:* . Some Dogon languages, e.g. Jamsay, have a process of this type (where I call it Contour-Tone Mora-Addition), but I have no examples of this treatment of rising tones in my YS data.

The alternative is to flatten the <LH> tone to either H or L. If /gɛ̌/ is indeed the underlying form, YS flattens it to H, so the chaining form is *gɛ́*, as in (339a). This satisfies the requirement that a chaining form must have at least one tonal peak. (For a minor, partial exception to this principle, see *yɛ̀* ‘go’ medially in long verb chains, §15.1.8). However, there is no direct evidence for /gɛ̌/, and the existence of one conspicuous exception to the lexical-melody rule, namely *já:* ‘take, convey’ (/H/ melody in spite of initial voiced obstruent), tells us that just assuming underlying *gɛ́* ‘say’ is not out of the question.

There is one construction where mora-addition might be recognized in YS, but for a final falling rather than rising tone. This is the combination of perfective negative suffix /-lí/ with an adjacent word-final L marking polar interrogation in the otherwise unsuffixed 3Sg subject form. This combination appears as *-ˊl-Ø* in noninterrogative clauses due to Apocope, and as *-lî:-Ø↗* in polar interrogatives, as in (375). We might take the underlying form of the latter as /-lí+L/, respectively, disregarding the zero 3Sg suffix. In one possible analysis, /-lí+L/ first resolves to /-lî/, then is

lengthened by mora-addition to produce *-lî:(-Ø)*. The analytic problem here is that this interrogative construction is normally accompanied by terminal intonational modification. Any such involvement makes it difficult to be certain about phonological vowel length.

3.6.4.2 Contour-Tone Stretching

When an atonal sonorant of a clitic is added to a vowel-final <HL> or <LH> toned syllable, the contoured tone is stretched so that the tone break occurs at the final sonorant. Adding the 'it is' clitic in its postvocalic allomorph *=y* (§11.2.1.1) to the forms in (39a) results in the stretching seen in (39b).

(39)	a.	*gùrùmâ:*	'pigeon'	
		nă:	'cow'	
	b.	*gùrùmâ:=y*	'It's a pigeon.'	phonetic [gùrùmá:j̰]
		nă:=y	'It's a cow.'	phonetic [nà:j́]

3.6.4.3 Final-Tone Resyllabification

When a word ending in a short-voweled contoured-toned *CvC* syllable is followed by an atonal but syllabic enclitic, the final tone element jumps to the enclitic syllable (40a).

(40)		noun	gloss	'it is'	gloss
	a.	*kì-kăl*	'lie, untruth'	*kì-kàl=í:*	'It's untrue.'
	b.	*êm*	'milk'	*ém^{n}=ì:*	'It's milk.'

Likewise, when the stem ends in <LHL>-toned *Cv̌:C*, its final L-tone shifts onto the enclitic.

(41)	noun	gloss	'it is'	gloss
	kă:m	'zaban (fruit)'	*kă:w^{n}=ì:*	'It's zaban.'

However, a long-voweled contoured-toned <HL> or <LH> syllable retains its tone contour. In this case, the final tone element spreads onto the enclitic without changing the stem tone. In other words, a tritonal syllable as in (41) above, always long, can detach its final tone, but a long bitonal syllable retains its two tones as in (42) below.

(42)		noun	gloss	'it is'	gloss
	a.	*yǎ:-m*	'women'	*yǎ:-w^{n}=í:*	'It's (=they are) women.'
	b.	*pèlê:m*	'immature pod'	*pèlê:w^{n}=ì:*	'It's an immature pod.'

A similar process affects L-toned enclitic *=à:* 'too, also' (§19.1.3.1) when added to a *CvC* syllable in some combinations. An example is *ìnèm=â:* 'I too' (logophoric) in Text 1 @ 00:47, from /ìnĕm=à:/. The original L-tone is preserved in the final mora. A similar example is logophoric accusative *ìnèm=î:*, where the accusative enclitic takes its postconsonantal allomorph *=ì:*, which then surfaces as *=î:* .

3.6.4.4 Stranded-Tone Re-Linking

If the vowel to which a tone was attached has disappeared due to Apocope (§3.4.3.2), the stranded tone is shifted to the preceding syllable. For example, LH-toned *CvCú* apocopates as *CvC*, as the chaining stem of 'dig' /gùl-ú/, which is realized as *gŭl-Ø* (§10.1.3.3). Similarly, HL-toned *CvCù* apocopates as *CvC*, as in {HL}-overlaid chaining form /kám-ù/ realized as ^{HL}*kâm-Ø* in (454b).

3.7 Intonation contours

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

In close prosodic transcriptions in texts, phrase-final intonation effects can be indicated by these symbols.

↑ and ↓ indicate terminal pitch above or below the norm, respectively, without noticeable prolongation. In narrative event sequences, two or more clauses are regularly "conjoined" into paragraph-like sequences (there is no similarity in form to NP conjunction, see §7.1.4). The final clause ends in ↓ marking completion, and is usually in a suffixally marked perfective form unless it has a clause-internal focalized constituent. The preceding clauses end in ↑, marking incompletion, and usually have subordinated or backgrounded forms.

The final pitch level indicated by ↑ tends toward mid pitch, likely a compromise between an idealized intonational high pitch and clause-final downdrift. Text 1 at 00:04 has two backgrounded perfective event clauses with final ↑, followed by an unsubordinated perfective clause (with focalized preverbal constituent), and there are many such "paragraphs" throughout the texts.

→ indicates prolongation of the final segment (vowel or sonorant). Lexically baked-in → (see the following section) is indistinguishable phonetically from true intonational →.

Transcriptions of example sentences in the grammar often omit intonational markings other than →. In the texts, I also use ↑ and ↓ when they are noticeable.

Clause-final morphemes that are regularly subject to intonational effects make it difficult to tease apart their underlying phonological tone. This is especially the case with polar interrogative *mă→* and

variants (§13.2.1.2) and the arguably identical disjunction *mà→* 'or' (§7.2.1), which are often conspicuously prolonged.

List (or enumeration) intonation, in extended lists, may have a distinctive intonational pattern in which each element ends with high pitch and followed by a conspicuous pause; the list may be brought to a conclusion by *ˈpú→* 'all' (§7.1.3).

3.7.2 Adverbs and particles with lexically baked-in prolongation (→)

Many adverbs, including a large percentage of expressive adverbials (aka ideophones, §8.4.7), have a lexically built-in intonation-like prolongation of the final segment (vowel or sonorant). Examples are *dàyàw→* 'broad (shoulders, antlers)', where the *w* is the prolonged segment, and *gèŋú→* 'atilt'. The duration of the prolongation is flexible, unlike the case with ordinary long vowels. Prolongation of final sonorants is unmistakable since no stem or word ends lexically in a geminate (or other cluster). Another difference between lexical and intonational prolongation is that an expressive adverbial is prolonged even nonfinally in a phrase, as in *jùm→ wɔ̀-Ø* 'he/she is withdrawn and uncommunicative' (196b) in §8.4.7.1.

Aside from expressive adverbials, some other prolonged forms are *ˈpú→* 'all' (§6.6.1.2), *tí→* 'first' (§4.6.1.1, §4.6.2.1), *èjú→* 'well' or 'very'. The latter is probably a contraction of *èjí-gú* with similar meaning (§8.4.1), but the prolonged form may be old, cf. Jamsay *èjíⁿ→* 'well'. In ordinary lexicon, contraction of original *CvCv usually results in *Cv:* (§3.4.5.2), which has somewhat lower duration than the bisyllabic original. However, *èjí-gú* 'well' or 'very' is semantically emphatic, which seems to have favored its joining the ranks of forms with baked-in but highly variable prolongation.

3.7.3 Dying-quail intonational effect

The dying-quail intonation effect (symbol ∴) that is found in Jamsay and some other Dogon languages is attested in YS in willy-nilly conditional antecedents. See §16.3 for examples. The dying quail effect is also found with willy-nilly antecedents in Donno So, and it may be more widespread than the literature suggests.

Phonetically, this effect combines prolongation → as described above with a terminal low-pitch target. If the final syllable is H- or LH-toned, there is a slow pitch decline over the course of the prolonged segment. If the final syllable is L- or HL-toned, dying quail is indistinguishable from simple prolongation. Willy-nilly antecedents often combine positive and negative perfective clauses, and since the perfective negative suffix is H-toned, the pitch decline is frequently audible on at least one of the paired clauses.

In §16.3 I raise the possibility that the dying quail effect in willy-nilly antecedents originated from the segmental (but not tonal or prosodic) elision of an original L-toned 'if' particle.

4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Simple nouns

Many human nouns, other than kin terms, have a suffixal distinction between singular and plural. The regular suffixes are singular *-nɛ* and plural *-m*. The tone melody of the noun is lexical, but it is the same for singular and plural (43a). In cases like 'Mossi' (*mùŋù-né*, *mùŋǔ-m* pronounced [mùŋùḿ]), the suffixes carry the only H-tone of the word, likely due to spreading from an underlying stem-final rising tone. When the stem proper ends in *ɔ*, the singular suffix may assimilate to the stem-vowel; this is most common with 'Dogon' and 'Fulbe', but for 'Hogon' the form in *-né* seems more common. Agentive compounds have regular morphology, but the stem-final vowel shifts to *u* in the plural (43c).

(43)

	singular	plural	gloss
a.	*írì-nɛ̀*	*írì-m*	'blacksmith' (caste)
	mùŋù-né	*mùŋǔ-m*	'Mossi (person)'
	ségè-nɛ̀	*ségè-m*	'leatherworker' (caste)
	bɛ̀lɛ̀-né	*bɛ̀lɛ̌-m*	'Bella person' (ethnicity)
b. Sg *-nɔ* ~ *-nɛ* after *ɔ* (the most common form is shown)			
	dɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́	*dɔ̀gɔ̌-m*	'Dogon person' (ethnicity)
	púlɔ̀-nɔ̀	*púlɔ̀-m*	'Fulbe (person)' (ethnicity)
	ɔ̀gɔ̀-né	*ɔ̀gɔ̌-m*	'Hogon' (traditional chief)
c. agentives (§5.1.5)			
	wòl-wálá-né	*wòl-wálú-m*	'farmer'

As these examples indicate, human plural *-m* with nouns has no intrinsic tone. However, plural *-m̀* on determiners (not limited to humans) is L-toned, most noticeably after demonstratives (§4.4.1.2) and in *yɔ̀gɔ̌ː-m̀* 'which?-Pl' (§13.2.8). Determiners have no counterpart to human singular *-nɛ*.

4.1.2 High-frequency human nouns ('child', 'man', 'woman', 'friend', 'person')

These high-frequency nouns have a few irregularities.

(44)

	singular	plural	gloss
a.	*î:*	*úrⁿù-m*	‘child; boy’
b.	*áy-né*	*árⁿú-m*	‘man’
c.	*yă:-rⁿá*	*yă:-m*	‘woman’
d.	*tɔ́:ⁿ-rⁿɔ́*	*tɔ́:ⁿ-m*	‘companion, (casual) friend’
e.	*ìné*	*ìné-m*	‘person’

‘Person’ is irregular syntactically, in that the “singular” form is common before various modifiers, including cardinal numerals, where other human nouns require a plural form. Thus *úrⁿù-m tă:n* ‘three children’, *yă:-m tă:n* ‘three women’, etc., with morphologically plural nouns, but *ìné tă:n* ‘three people’. ‘Woman’ and ‘companion’ have slightly irregular singular allomorphs.

Possessed ‘people’ is ᴸ*nàm*, in gentilic expressions like *yɔ̀rⁿɔ̂:* ᴸ*nàm* ‘(the) people of Yendouma’ and with preceding pronominal possessors as in *émɛ̀* ᴸ*nàm* ‘our people (=our kin)’.

‘Thing’ is the regular noun *kìjɛ́*. It can also serve as a ‘whatchamacallit?’ form when the speaker cannot recall a word or name (Text 3 @ 00:43).

4.1.3 ‘So-and-so’ (*à-mâ:n*)

à-mâ:n ‘So-and-so’ (Fr *un tel*) is a variable over personal names. The *à-* is arguably segmentable (§4.1.8).

There is an etymologically unrelated homonym *àmâ:n* ‘promise (n), oath’ (< Arabic *ʔamaan-at*), but one cannot rule out a secondary synchronic association of the two.

4.1.4 Initial reduplication in nouns

4.1.4.1 *Cì-* reduplicated deadjectival scalar abstractives

The nouns in (45) denote scales associated with adjectival qualities. The tone pattern is rising. *Cù-* is the form of the reduplication before *w* or a syllable with a rounded vowel, otherwise it is *Cì-*. The corresponding adjectives are shown under each abstractive, in some cases along with another related form.

(45)

a.	*dì-dèmɛ́*	‘heaviness, weight; thickness (of wall)’
	démɛ́	‘heavy; thick (wall)’
b.	*pì-pàlá*	‘length’
	pàlá	‘long’

c. *wù-wànú* ‘width’
wán ‘wide’
wàná ‘become wide’

d. *tù-tŏ:* ‘depth’
tŏ: ‘deep’

e. *gì-gă:* ‘size, dimensions’ (also adverb/noun ‘a lot’, §8.4.3)
gă: ‘middle-aged (person)’
gă: ‘be bigger’ (§12.1.3)

f. *wì-wĕy* ‘thinness’
wɛ́y ‘thin’

g. *sì-săw* ‘cleverness’
săw ‘clever’

For *gàbú* ‘tall’ the abstractive ‘tallness, height’ is *gòb-ê:* (59b) or suppletive *íŋí-rú* (cf. *íŋ-ɛ́:* ‘stand’).

4.1.4.2 Frozen nominal reduplications

A large number of nouns, especially flora-fauna terms, have an initial high-voweled *Ci-*reduplication. The base usually does not occur in unreduplicated form.

When the base is monosyllabic (*-Cv:* or *-CvC*), *Cu-* is usual before back rounded vowels, *Ci-* elsewhere. Two recurrent shape/tone types are found, (46a) and (46b). *Cì-Cv̌:* in (46a) applies to several important fauna terms, among others.

(46) a. monosyllabic base, L-<LH> tones

Cì-Cv̌:

bì-bĕ:	‘beard’
dì-dă:	‘elder sister’
dì-dĕ:	‘father’ or ‘elder brother’ (respectful address, cf. *dé:* ‘father’)
kì-kă:	‘grasshopper’
kì-kĕ:	‘beetle, bug’
lì-lĕ:	‘fear’ (verb *lɛ́:*)
sì-să:	‘bird’
tì-tă:	‘hyena’

Cv̀-CvC

gì-găw	‘(Christian) faith’
kì-kăl	‘falsehood, lie’ (verb *kálá* ‘lie’)
pànà^{L} *kì-kăy*	‘staple food, sustenance’ (*pàná* ‘meal’, *ká:* ‘eat meal’)

sì-săw	‘trick, stratagem; cleverness’ (*săw* ‘clever’)
sù-sŏm	‘sand’

b. monosyllabic base, H-L tones

Cv́-Cv̀:^{n}

bú-bɔ̀y	‘getting ripe’ (adjective)
jí-jà:^{n}	‘spider’ (and similar arthropods)
gí-gà:^{n}	‘pied crow’
jú-jɔ̀:^{n}	‘mud-dauber wasp’ (*Delta*)
kú-kɔ̀:	‘Abyssinian roller (bird)’
sí-sày	in phrase *kànáː sí-sày* ‘right now’

Cv́-CvC

kú-kòl	‘tree sp.’ (*Maerua angolensis*)
tèw-[kí-kɛ̀^{n}]	‘gabar goshawk’ (*kí-kɛ̀^{n}* onomatopoeic)

c. monosyllabic base, H-H tones

Cv́-Cv́:

dí-dɛ́:	‘shield’

Cv́-Cv́C

kí-kɛ́w	‘equally’
wí-wɛ́y	‘breeze’

d. monosyllabic base, L-<HL> tones

Cv̀-Cv̂:

bù-bɔ̂:-nɛ̀	‘Bobo (person)’
gù-gɔ̂:-nɛ̀	‘griot (with war tomtoms)’
kù-kô:	‘mountain’
pù-pɔ̂:	‘papaya’ (also *pá-páyɛ̀*)

Cv̀-Cv̂C

mì-mîn	‘ants’

e. bisyllabic base (but see below)

reduplicant L-toned

bì-bɛ̀lɛ́	‘tree sp.’ (*Pterocarpus lucens*)
[bù-bòlò]^{L}-sŏ:	‘nonsensical talk’
dì-dá:rú	‘craving, urge’
dù-dɔ̀rɔ́	‘nape’
gì-gɛ̀mɛ́	‘waterjar shard’
gì-gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̆m	‘charcoal’
jì-jàbú	‘slope at base of mountain’
kɔ̀rɔ̀^{L}-[gù-gòló]	‘shriveled gourd fruit’
kù-kɔ̀lɔ́	‘neck’

mì-má:nú	'belief' (verb *mă:ná* 'think')
nì-náŋà-nè	'Nanga (person)'
tì-té:rè	'chili pepper' (also compound *tèm*^{L}*-té:rè*)

diminutives with obligatory word-level {LH}, cf. §5.1.6

gì-gà:là-ý	'trivial thing'
gù-gònì-ý	'spoon; fruit pole' (diminutive) ('fruit pole' also *gònú*)
kì-kèlì-ý	'small vertical cavity in stone'
pì-pènè-ý	'koranic-school writing tablet'
sì-sèlì-ý	'gravel' (also unreduplicated *sèlì-ý*)
tì-tèmè-ý	'high, dry spot; raised threshold'
tù-tɔ̀gì-ý	'small hammer'

reduplicant H-toned

gá-gàrà	'8'
kí-kíné	'anxiety' (cf. *kíné* 'liver and heart')
kí-kírí	'epilepsy, convulsions'
kú-kɔ́nɔ́	'tiny calabash jewel/money holder'
kú-kɔ́rù	'acacia sp.' (*Acacia seyal*)
tí-tágá	'joking' (verb *tágá*)
í-ʔíbé	'love (n)' (verb *ìbè-*, §11.2.4)

There is a variant with the quality of the first vowel of the base repeated in the reduplicant (*Cv$_1$-*). Speakers who gave the *Ci-/Cu-* forms in (46) occasionally also gave the *Cv$_1$-* variant (*tà-tă:* 'hyena', *gá-gà:*^{n} 'pied crow'), and commented that both patterns can be heard in the Yendouma area.

For bisyllabic stems, *Cv$_1$-* seems to predominate (47) even for the speakers who regularly use the *Ci-/Cu-* type for monosyllabics.

(47) a. not obviously borrowed

bɔ̀-bɔ̀jɔ́	'colubrid snake sp.' (*Psammophis praeornatus*)
gà-gàbá	'Egyptian cobra'
gá-gárá	'more' (§12.1.4)
gá-gàrà	'8'
kɔ̀-kɔ̀jú	'viper' (*Echis*)
mè-mèr^{n}*ěm*	'fishhook'

b. borrowings

nà-nàyê:	'mint' (< Arabic *naʕnaaʕ*)
pá-páyè	'papaya' (< Fr *papaye*) (synonym *pù-pɔ̂:*)

Of course when the base begins in *Ci* or *Cu*, we cannot distinguish between *Cv$_1$-* and *Ci-/Cu-* (48).

(48) a. *Ci-*

àrⁿà-[pì-pî:]	‘light drizzle’ (*àrⁿá* ‘rain’)
jì-jǐ:	‘thorn’
kì-kìjí	‘rock martin (bird)’
kì-kǐn	‘shadow, silhouette’
mì-mîn	‘ant’
pí-pírí	‘butterfly’
yàmᴸ-[pì-pî:]	‘spark’ (*yǎm* ‘fire’)

b. *Cu-*

bàgàᴸ-[tù-tǔm]	‘straight walking stick’ (*bágá* ‘stick, staff’)
dù-dǔm	‘sand dune’
gú-gùl	‘viper sp. said to “fly” ’
gù-gûn	‘watermelon’
gù-gû:ⁿ	‘murmur (n)’
kù-kûl	‘hair, feather’
sú-sû:	‘grub, larva’
[tònɔ̀-ỳ]ᴸ-[pú-pújú]	‘worn-out waterjug (used for dry storage)’
[tú-túm] tàjù	‘large basket carried on head’
tù-tûy	‘errand, mission’

For these patterns, often the base is not attested without reduplication. However, in a few cases the base is attested as a compound initial. For *kì-kǎ:* ‘grasshopper’, we can cite *kà:ᴸ-pélêm* ‘grasshopper sp.’ (*Ornithacris*); for *kì-kɛ̌:* ‘beetle, bug’ we have *kɛ̀:ᴸ-gǔm* ‘flat-bodied bug sp.’ The base of *sì-sǎ:* ‘bird’ is perhaps still vaguely recognizable in the form *sà-* in two terms for bird species, *sà-kô:* ‘Senegal parrot’ and *sà-gùmɔ́* ‘buffalo-weaver’.

Initial *Ci-/Cu-* reduplication is also found in some uncompounded agentive derivatives of verbs, e.g. *jù-jɔ̀ŋú-né* ‘healer’ (§4.2.4 below). These may have originated as true compounds with the cognate nominal as initial, but they now have reduplicative form.

4.1.5 *Cvw-* derivational reduplication (*Cvw-CvRvw*)

A pattern *Cvw-CvRvw* is shared by onomatopoeic names for two conspicuously noisy mid-sized birds (49).

(49)	*kàw-kàrâw*	‘white-bellied bustard’ (*Eupodotis*)
	tèw-tèrⁿêwⁿ	‘spotted thick-knee’ (*Burhinus*)

4.1.6 Final reduplications in nouns

$C_1v_1C_1v_1$, see §4.1.6 below, is probably not interpreted by native speakers as having a final reduplication.

The alliterative *pèlèm-pêy* is one of two names for a grasshopper sp. (*Oedaleus*). This is a variant of a widespread term in neighboring languages, some of which have other similar examples (Yanda Dom, Jamsay). It is perhaps a borrowing into YS, where the pattern seems to be to be isolated.

A cognate noun-verb collocation *lóbó-ló lábá* 'do wood-carving' is another possible case. The alternation of *a* in the verb with *o* in the cognate nominal is fairly common; see (312b) in §11.1.5.2.

The rooster's call (*cock-a-doodle-do*, French *cocorico*) is rendered as *kè-kĕ:rè-kĕ→*, which arguably has both initial and final reduplication.

4.1.7 Nouns with full-stem iteration

The examples in (50) are probably interpreted by native speakers as iterations, though the simple stem does not occur elsewhere. Usually the initial is {L}-toned. In some cases the vowels differ from initial to final, cf. the English type *fiddle-faddle*.

(50) a. iterations identical segmentally and tonally

kúbú-kúbú	'machete blade' (Fr. *coupe-coupe*)
kúrsá-kúrsá	'itchy skin rash'

diminutive suffix not repeated

wàjà-[wàjà-ý]	'hard leather baggage holder'

b. no segmental changes, tone change

LL-HL tones

pɛ̀:-pɛ̂:	'African peppercorn'
kò:-kô:	'coconut'
wèlè-wélè	'swift (bird)' (*Apus*)

LL-LH tones

yùgù-yùgú	'used clothing market' (regional word)

L-H tones

gɛ̀:^{n}-[gɛ́:^{n}-nɛ́]	'griot'

c. no segmental changes, final {L}-toned

dè:ré-dè:rè	'(sth) juicy'
jây^n-jày^n	'slash earth here and there (not in a row)'

d. vocalic change, nonlow vowel becoming *a*

bù:-bă:	'viper sp.'
bŭ:jù-bà:jù	'lungs'

jèlè-jálá	‘earring’
kɔ̀rⁿì:-kàrⁿí:	‘long-tailed glossy starling’
pèlè-pálá	‘bedding mat (from millet stems)’
súgúrú-[jèlè-jálà]	‘bushy liana sp.’ (*Gloriosa*)

e. other vocalic change

sámà-súmɔ̀	‘wild dog’ (*Lycaon*)
sì:-sô:	‘scissors’ (adapted from French *ciseaux*)

There are also some $C_1v_1C_1v_1$ and C_1v_1*:*C_1v_1 stems, sometimes themselves compounded, that might be hyphenated. However, their segmentability is much less transparent than in the longer iterations above. For unknown reasons $C_1v_1C_1v_1$ is popular among the few fish species terms (51a). Regarding ‘lungfish’, Yendouma people know that forms similar to *nɛ̀-nɛ́* mean ‘dog’ in some neighboring languages (e.g. Nanga *nɛ̀rⁿî*), and interpret the compound as ‘dogfish’.

(51) a. fish terms

[gù-gù]^{L}*-mŏyⁿ*	‘carp’
ìjì^{L}*-[nù-nú]*	‘fish spp. with elongated snouts’
ìjì^{L}*-[nɛ̀-nɛ́]*	‘lungfish’ (*Protopterus*)

b. other C_1v_1-C_1v_1

tɛ̀ⁿ-tɛ́ⁿ	‘chestnut-bellied starling’ (onomatopoeic)
bú-bù	‘tick’

c. C_1v_1*:*-C_1v_1

bú:-bù	‘robber fly’

4.1.8 Frozen initial *a-* or *aN-* in nouns

A dubiously segmentable initial formative *a-* or *aN-* occurs on a few nouns that would have normal-looking stem shapes without the formative. Several flora-fauna examples are included in (52a-b).

(52) a. with *à-*

à-bú:	‘grass sp.’ (*Pennisetum*)
à-gɔ́nɔ̀	‘tree sp.’ (*Neocarya*)
à-jìgílè	‘tree sp.’ (*Diospyros*)
à-jìrê:	‘wrestling’
à-mâ:n	‘so-and-so’ (§4.1.3), cf. *àmâ:n* ‘promise (n)’ (< Arabic)
à-sàgàrăm	‘soft rock’
à-sárⁿà	‘tree snake’ (*Psammophis elegans*)

à-tɛ̂m	‘traditional customs’, cf. *tɛ́mɛ́* ‘find’, also ‘inherit (lore)’
à-tómù	‘(a) jump’ (collocated with verb *tómɔ́*)

b. with *àN-* or *à^{n}-*

àn-dógò	‘annual fishfest (Antogo) at Bamba village’
àn-dúmúl	‘evil dwarf’
àn-dúr^{n}ɔ́	‘world of the living’ (< Arabic *ad-dunyā*)
àŋ-[gù-gùrú]	‘giant tortoise’ (*Centrochelys*, formerly *Geochelone*)
àŋ-gùŋɔ̀lɛ̂:	‘crawl (on all fours)’ (with verb *gùŋɔ́l-ɛ́:*)
à^{n}-tà:r^{n}î:	‘(a) step’ (with verb *tá:r^{n}-ɛ́:*)

c. initial likely related to ‘man/male’, see comments below

án-kègérè	‘male grasshopper’ (*Kraussaria*)
à-sàr^{n}á	‘(woman’s) brother’
á-káná	‘newlywed husband’

The forms in (52c) resemble those in (52a-b), but in the initial element in (52c) could plausibly be taken as a reduced variant of a stem meaning ‘man; male’, which appears as the adjective *àr^{n}á* ‘male (adjective)’ and as the noun *áy-nɛ́* ‘man’ (plural *ár^{n}ú-m*). See (100-101) in §5.1.7 for a fuller set of forms. It is possible that *ándúgɔ̀* ‘rain fetish’ (Text 5 @ 04:00) is similarly related to *àr^{n}á* ‘rain (n)’.

àbádá ‘never’ (< Arabic) may also belong here synchronically, but not etymologically

ɛ̀kɔ́rɔ̀ ‘well (n)’ corresponds to Jamsay *à-kɔ́rɔ̀* (dialectally *ɛ̀kɔ́rɔ́*).

4.2 Derived nominals

4.2.1 Characteristic derivative (*-gú* ~ *-ŋú*, *-gí-nɛ́* ~ *-ŋí-nɛ́*)

This is a rather productive denominal derivation that denotes an entity that is characterized by another entity or by its abundance. It may be nominal or adjectival syntactically. The nonhuman form is *-gú*. The human singular form is *-gí-nɛ́* with plural *-gú-m* (occasionally *-gí-m*). The suffixal /g/ is usually nasalized to *ŋ* after a nasal syllable (53f-g,m). The preceding noun stem is tone-dropped; this is indicated in (53) by superscript ^{L} but is usually omitted in my transcriptions (like other word-internal tone changes). Other look-alike *-gú* morphemes are the minor nominalizing suffix *-gú* after H-toned stem (§4.2.2.2 below) and adverbial *-gú* after lexical-toned adjective (§8.4.1).

(53) a.

sî:	‘(animal) fat (n)’
sì:^{L}-gú	‘plump (animal), fatty (meat)’

b.

gánàl	‘recklessness’
gànàl^{L}-gí-nɛ́	‘reckless (one)’

c.	*néw^{n}è*	‘leprosy’
	nèw^{n}è^{L}*-gí-né*	‘leper, leprous’ (*g* is not nasalized to *ŋ*)
d.	*yògò-sèlé*	‘ingratitude’
	[yògò-sèlè]^{L}*-gí-né*	‘ungrateful (one)’
e.	*bòmɔ́*	‘stupidity’
	bòmɔ̀^{L}*-gí-né*	‘stupid (one)’
f.	*bìné*	‘stomach’
	bìnè^{L}*-ŋí-né*	‘glutton(ous)’
g.	*nǎm*	‘poverty, need’
	nàm^{L}*-ŋí-né*	‘impoverished, needy (one)’
h.	*lɔ́gɔ̀*	‘dirtiness, filth’
	lɔ̀gɔ̀^{L}*-gú*	‘dirty (thing)’
	lɔ̀gɔ̀^{L}*-gí-né*	‘dirty (one)’
i.	*tójú*	‘oversized testicles’
	tòjù^{L}*-gí-né*	‘one with oversized testicles’
j.	*(nɔ̀y^{n}*^{L}*) bàlàgá*	‘left (hand)’
	bàlàgà^{L}*-gí-né*	‘lefty’
k.	*bɛ̀ré*	‘belly’
	bɛ̀rè^{L}*-gí-né*	‘pregnant (woman)’
l.	*gɛ̌:*	‘hunger’
	gɛ̀:^{L}*-gí-né*	‘hungry (one)’
m.	*pàŋá*	‘power’
	pàŋà^{L}*-ŋí-né*	‘powerful one, government official’
n.	*wèjé*	‘insanity, craziness’
	wèjè^{L}*-gí-né*	‘crazy person’
o.	*wàlá*	‘laziness’
	wàlà^{L}*-gí-né*	‘lazy person’

The characteristic derivation competes with the compound type *X bàŋà* ‘owner of X’, which has a somewhat similar range of senses, but which is more specialized in personality traits (§5.1.8).

In (54), the input nominal is adjectivally modified. These isolated examples represent a structural alternative to a bahuvrihi compound.

(54) a. *[[kù-kɔ̀lɔ̀]-mà:]*^{L}*-ŋí-né*
[[Rdp-neck]-hard]^{L}-Char-AnSg
'stubborn one' (lit. "hard-necked," < *kù-kɔ̀lɔ́*, *mǎ:*)

b. *[àŋà-èlèl]*^{L}*-gí-né*
[mouth-sweet]^{L}-Char-AnSg
'one who speaks rudely' (lit. "sweet-mouthed," < *áŋá*, *ɛ́lèl*)

4.2.2 Verbal nouns

In addition to the cases covered here, see §11.1.4.2 for lists of verbs and their cognate nominals.

4.2.2.1 Regular verbal noun *-ú* ~ *-Ø* ~ *-ý*

This productive verbal noun has an {L}-toned form of the verb stem plus final *-u* (often apocopated to zero) for nonmonosyllabic stems and *Cv̀-ý* with short vowel for *Cv:-* stems. Segmentally, this verbal noun is identical to the chaining stem for those verbs whose chaining stem ends in *u* or *y*, but in this case the two forms may still be distinct tonally. In addition to verbal-noun sense, this form is also often used as a modifying adjective with resultative sense (§4.5.2). There are also many ordinary nouns that have shapes consistent with verbal-noun origin, e.g. *tàgú* 'shoe' (cf. verb *tágá* 'shod, put shoes on').

(55) a. typical bisyllabic

tàr-ú	'replastering (wall)'
tárá	'affix, pin or paste on'
tárú	(chaining stem)

b. typical monosyllabic

à-ý	'picking up, taking'
á:	'pick up, take'
á-y	(chaining stem)

c. bisyllabic showing Apocope (§3.4.3.2)

wɛ̌l-Ø	'coming'
wɛ̀lɛ́	'come'

d. composite from fixed collocation

bà:-[yò-ý]	'spending the night'
bá: yá:	'spend the night' (with noun *bá:*)
bá: yá-y	(chaining stem)

[there is also a verb *yó:* 'enter; get involved in']

The verbal noun of mediopassive *-ɛ́:* ~ *-í:* is with [-ǐ:], which I segment as *-ì-ý*, as in *sín-ɛ́:* 'carry (on back)', chaining stem *sín-í:*, verbal noun *sìn-ì-ý* . The verbal noun of causative *-mɔ́* is *-m-ú*, optionally apocopated to *-ḿ-Ø*, as in *wìgìlì-mú* ~ *wìgìlì-ḿ* 'act of waving' from causative *wìgílí-mɔ́* 'wave (sth)'.

Many verbs have, in addition to a regular verbal noun, a more lexicalized cognate nominal that is segmentally identical to the verbal noun but that has lexical /H/ or /HL/ melody. Many examples of such noun-verb pairings are in (310c) in §11.1.4.2.

4.2.2.2 Nominalization with suffix *-gú* ~ *-ŋ́*

Deverbal nominalizing suffix *-gú* occurs only in he few forms shown below. Unlike characteristic *-gú*, this suffix does not drop tones of the stem. Instead, it raises stem tones to {H}. The forms in (36a-c) function as compound finals denoting the transitions between times of day or seasons. There are some difficulties parsing (36c). The noun in (36d) is isolated. No other examples of this *-gú* are known.

(56)

a.	*gɔ̌:*	'exit (v)'
	-[gó:-gú]	'coming, beginning (of a time period)' (compound final)
	[dìgè-pànà]^{L}-[gó:-gú]	'dinner time (7-8 PM)'
	gɛ̀l^{L}-[gó:-gú]	'beginning of harvest period'
b.	*dògó*	'end, be finished'
	-[dógó-gú]	'end (of a time period)'
	gɛ̀l^{L}-[dógó-gú]	'end of harvest period'
c.	*gìrì-ý*	'eye'
	kúró	'become thick'
	kúrú-g-ɛ́:	'(foliage) become dense'
	gìrì^{L}-[kúrú-gú]	'twilight'
d.	*bɛ̌:* (chaining *bǐ:*)	'remain'
	bí:-gú	'livelihood, sustenance (of someone)'

When preceded by a nasal syllable, the suffix nasalizes from /-gú/ to /-ŋú/ and then apocopates to *-ŋ́*. The known example of this is (57).

(57) *nàm*^{L}*-[númɔ́-ŋ]* ‘sunset; west’
năm ‘sun’
nùmɔ́ ‘fall; (sun) set’

4.2.2.3 Nominalization with suffix *-rɔ̀*

A nominalizing suffix *-rɔ̀* with vowel quality copied from the preceding stem is found in the following examples.

(58) a. *bà:*^{L}*-[yá:-rà]* ‘daybreak, first light’
bá: ‘(edge of) time period’ (here: night)
yá: ‘spend the night’

b. *bà:*^{L}*-[gó:-rò]* ‘harvest season (end of rainy season)’
bá: ‘(edge of) time period’ (here: rainy season)
gŏ: ‘exit (v)’

For subject-verb collocations with *bá:* as low-referentiality subject, see (301) below. From *bá: dɔ̌:* ‘rainy season approach (be about to begin)’, the noun is *bà:*^{L}*-dɔ̌:* ‘approach of rainy season’ without a suffix. The noun also occurs in *bà:*^{L} *píl* ‘white time period’, i.e. ‘drought’.

4.2.2.4 Nominalization with suffix *-ê:* or *-ĕ:*

There are a few nouns with suffix *-ê:* that can be segmented by comparison with cognate verbs. The known clearcut cases are in (59). The vowel quality of the nominal suffix is [+ATR] *e* in these examples, even after a nasal (‘reprimand’, ‘fall’) or after a stem with [-ATR] vocalism.

(59)

noun	gloss	related form(s)
a. no vowel shift		
àr^{n}*à*^{L}*-[gàw-ê:]*	‘thunder (n)’	*àr*^{n}*á gàw*^{n}*-é:* ‘rain (n) thunder (v)’
bè:g-ê:	‘belch (n)’	*bĕ:g-é:* ‘belch (v)’
gàw^{n}*-ê:*	‘reprimand (n)’	*gàw*^{n}*á* ‘reprimand (v)’
kòjùg-ê:	‘cough (n)’	*kójúg-é:* ‘cough (v)’
lùg-ê:	‘count (n), sum’	*lúgó* ‘count (v)’
nùm-ê:	‘fall (n); loss’	*nùmɔ́* ‘fall (v)’
b. with *a* ~ *o* alternation, cf. (312b) in §11.1.4.2		
gòb-ê:	‘tallness, height’	*gàbú* ‘tall’, *gàbá* ‘become tall’

In two known examples, involving nouns related to mediopassive verbs (suffix *-é:-*), the vowel quality of the nominalizing suffix is *é*, unlike the case in (60a-b). These are *wò:g-ê:* '(habit of) being unable to wait to start eating' and *pòbùl-ê:* 'whistling', cf. mediopassive verbs *wǒ:g-é:* 'crave' and *póbúl-é:* 'whistle'.

There are also some examples with <LH>-toned nominalizing suffix *-ě:* . They generally denote bodily conditions.

(60)	noun	gloss	related form
	dɛ̀:rⁿ-ě:	'rest (n)'	*dě:rⁿɛ́* 'rest(v), take a break'
	ɔ̀ɲ-ě:	'fatigue'	*ɔ́ɲɔ́* 'become tired'
	gìrⁿ-ě:	'dislocation'	*gìrⁿ-é:* '(bone) slip'
	mùrⁿ-ě:	'sprain (n)'	*mùrⁿ-é:* 'become sprained'
	sàl-ě:	'diarrhoea'	*sálá* 'reject' or 'coarsely grind'
	pì:r-ě:	'infected wound'	*pí:r-é:* 'become infected'
	kìnɛ̀^{L}*-[nàŋ-ě:]*	'forgetting (n)'	*náŋá* 'forget', *kínɛ̀* 'liver/heart'

4.2.2.5 Nominalization with suffix *-n*

yíwⁿí-n 'afterworld, (the) Hereafter' is related to *yíwⁿɛ́* 'die'. For durative clausal subordinator *-n* see §15.2.1.2.

The initial in *[wàlà-n]*^{L}*-dègú* 'farmhand work' has an *-n* suffix after *wàlá* 'cultivate'. The form with *-n* does not occur outside of this {L}-toned compound initial so its independent tones are indeterminate.

4.2.3 Instrument nominals

There is no fully productive deverbal derivation for instrument nominals, but there are a few examples. In (61a), *dì:jú* is an instrument nominal transparently related to the verb *dǐ:jé* (though the direction of derivation is debatable). *dì:jú* resembles a verbal noun in form (including tones), but not in function. In (61b) are several names of instruments that may also have originated as deverbal derivatives of this type, allowing for Apocope (§3.4.3.2) of *-ú after unclustered sonorants. However, no associated verbs in YS are known for the cases in (61b).

(61) a.

dì:jú	'file (n)'
dǐ:jé	'file (v), scrape with a file'

b. possible frozen instrument nominals in *-ú

kè:jú	'wedge'
kìbɛ̀gú	'trimming ax'

ĕw	‘tongs’
pŭ: (or *pŭw*)	‘scrubber (for bathing)’

In (62), *ùjì-ý* is diminutive in form (§5.1.6). Although ‘bellows’ most strongly suggests the verb ‘blow’, it could also be construed as a direct derivative of *újù* ‘breath’.

(62)

ùjì-ý	‘bellows (blower used in a blacksmith’s forge)’
újù	‘breath’
újù kúnɔ́	‘blow (air)’

4.2.4 Uncompounded agentives

Most agentives include a compound initial denoting a typical object (§5.1.5 below). However, there are a few uncompounded agentives. Most of them have the initial *Ci-/Cu-* reduplication described for other nouns in §4.1.4 above. The productive pattern is (63b), with L-toned reduplicant and {LH}-toned form of the verb ending in *u* (subject to Apocope, §3.4.3.2) before singular *-né* or plural *-m*.

(63)

	singular	gloss	plural
a.	*dànà-nè*	‘hunter’	*dánà-m*
b.	*bù-bɔ̀gú-né*	‘robber (in fields)’	*bù-bɔ̀gú-m*
	dù-dùgú-né	‘sorceror’	*dù-dùgú-m*
	jù-jɔ̀ŋú-né	‘healer’	*jù-jɔ̀ŋú-m*
	gù-gŭy^{n}-né	‘thief’	*gù-gŭy^{n}-m*

The associated verbs are *dànáˊ* ‘hunt’, *jɔ̀ŋɔ́* ‘treat medically’, *bɔ̀gɔ́* ‘rob (in the fields)’, and *gŭy^{n}* ‘rob’.

It is possible that the *Ci-/Cu-* reduplication is a mutation from an older compound initial consisting of the cognate nominal. For example, ‘perform healing’ can be expressed as *jɔ́ŋú jɔ̀ŋɔ́* with nominal *jɔ́ŋú* preceding the verb. The full agentive compound *jɔ̀ŋ(ù)^{L}-jɔ̀ŋú-né might have mutated into the reduplicative form shown in (63b).

In Text 1 @ 00:40, simple and compound agentives are used much like subject relative clauses (‘the man who had eaten, who had split and given the firewood’), referring to specific episodes rather than to occupations or other habitual activities.

4.3 Pronouns

4.3.1 Basic personal pronouns

The main series of personal pronouns are shown in (64). The logophorics are noun-like and do not fit neatly into the system of core pronominals. In the high-frequency accusatives, I write the accusative morpheme as a suffix *-ỳ* ~ *-ì:* rather than as an enclitic.

(64) Personal pronouns

			subject	
	independent	accusative	preverbal	suffixed
1Sg	*mú*	*mí-ỳ*	*mú*	*-m*
1Pl	*émɛ́*	*ém-ì:*	*émɛ́*	[= 3Pl, form variable]
2Sg	*ú*	*ú-ỳ*	*ú*	*-w*
2Pl	*é*	*é-ỳ*	*é*	*-y*
3Sg	*wó*	*wó-ỳ*	*wó*	*-Ø*
3Pl	*bé*	*bé-ỳ*	*bé*	[= 1Pl, form variable]
LogoSg	*ùnɔ̌:*	*ùnɔ̌:=ỳ*	*ùnɔ̌:*	*-Ø*
LogoPl	*ùnɔ̌: bè*	*ùnɔ̌: bè=ỳ*	*ùnɔ̌: bè*	[= 3Pl]

[for logophoric variants ìnɔ̌:, ìnɛ̌m, ìnɛ́, see §18.3.1]

The preverbal subject markers, used in nonsubject relative clauses, are identical (segmentally and tonally) to the independent pronouns. These same series of forms (except inanimate *Ø*) are also used as inalienable possessors and as complements of postpositions, and they are the basis for the accusative forms shown. Postnominal possessors of alienable nouns are discussed in §6.2.1.2.

Of interest are the following features.

- In the pronominal-subject suffix system on predicates, 1Pl and 3Pl are merged but are distinct from 2Pl.
- Third person pronouns can include inanimate referents. However, inanimate referents often omit pronouns (e.g. in object function). Where we would expect an inanimate pronoun ('I saw it'), we get zero in the relevant position ("I saw").
- *kó* is a discourse-definite or distant demonstrative ('that one'), not a full-fledged inanimate pronoun 'it' (§4.3.2).
- Like its counterparts in many Dogon languages, the logophoric pronoun (*ùnɔ̌:* and variants) is somewhat noun-like, and takes the free plural particle *bè*.
- 1Pl *émɛ́* begins with *e*, contrast verb *émɛ́* 'pinch'. However, in some contexts the initial vowel of the pronoun is *ɛ* (quotative-subject *ɛ́m=ɔ̀:*, postnominal possessor *ɛ̀mɛ̀*). Likewise,

2Pl *é* has postnominal possessor form *è:* and quotative-subject form *é=ɔ̀:* . However, 3Pl *bé* has consistent [+ATR] *e*-vowel, as in possessor *bè-mè* and quotative-subject *bé=ɔ̀:* .

For fusions of plural pronouns with *léy* '2', e.g. *bɛ́-lɛ̌y* 'the two of them', see the end of §4.6.1.2.

4.3.2 *kó* as inanimate discourse definite

Pronoun-like *kó* generally functions as either a discourse-definite or distant demonstrative (§4.4.1.2) with any inanimate referent, including places, abstractions, and propositions.

Some common combinations are locative *kó nɛ̀* or its contraction *kó-ǹ* 'there (discourse-definite)', *kó lè* 'at that point, then', *kó-ˈbá:* 'over that way' (cf. *yà-bá:* 'where?'), *kó gún* 'thus', topic *kó kày* 'as for that' (hence 'that being the case' or simply 'therefore'), *[kó* $^{\text{L}}$*dà:rì-y] mí-ỳ sɛ̀* 'nostaglia of that has (=afflicts) me' (= 'I miss that'). See also §6.5.1.

An original opposition of animate *w*-initial to inanimate *k*-initial third-person pronominals is suggested by the survival of an opposition of *wɔ̀* and *kɔ̀* in the paradigm of locational 'be' (§11.2.2.2). These quasi-verbs likely originated as encliticized subject pronominals.

4.4 Determiners

4.4.1 Demonstrative pronouns and definite morphemes

4.4.1.1 Definite morphemes

There are two definite morphemes, *ŋɛ̀* and *gɛ̀*. Actual pronunciation of the vowel is highly variable, although I tend to normalize with *ɛ̀*. A nearby rounded vowel, labial consonant, or *w* favors *ɔ̀*. In the absence of such a segment, *ɛ̀* fluctuates with *à*. The corresponding plurals are *ŋɛ̀-m* and *gɛ̀-m*, whose /m/ lenites to w^{n} before *=i:* 'it is' (postconsonantal allomorph), see (20a) in §3.4.4.4. Plural marking on the definite is optional when the noun or its modifiers are already marked for plural. However, the definite marker may be pluralized even in inanimate and nonhuman animate NPs, which never allow plural *-m* on the noun. Definite morphemes are always L-toned. They do not induce any tonal change on the preceding noun or adjective.

The choice between *ŋɛ̀* and *gɛ̀* is phonologically conditioned, with *ŋɛ̀* following stems ending in a nasalized segment (a nasal consonant, a vowel following a nasal or nasalized consonant). An exception is *tè:mɛ̂: gɛ̀* 'the brick', where the *m* reflects *mb.

(65) a. *yă:-r*^{n}*á* *ŋɛ̀*
woman-Sg Def
'the woman'

b. *yă:-m* *ŋɛ̀-m*
woman-Pl Def-Pl
'the women'

c. *péjù* *gɛ̀*
sheep Def
'the sheep-Sg'

d. *péjù* *gɛ̀-m*
sheep Def-Pl
'the sheep-Pl'

Examples of nouns that take *ŋɛ̀* and *gɛ̀*, respectively, are in (66). Note the pairs of semantically close nouns that are divided between (66a) and (66b) ('healer'/'doctor', 'goat'/'sheep', 'sorghum'/'millet'. 'sand'/'earth'). This confirms that the choice between *ŋɛ̀* and *gɛ̀* has nothing to do with animacy or other semantic features, and is based on whether the final syllable of the noun is nasal or not. The final example in (66b) is an exception synchronically.

(66) Noun plus definite markers

a. nouns with final nasal syllable followed by definite *ŋɛ̀*

human

yă:-r^{n}á	'woman'
áy-né	'man'
dɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́	'Dogon (person)'
púlɔ̀-nɔ̀	'Fulbe (person)'
mùŋù-né	'Mossi (person)'
írì-nɛ̀	'blacksmith'
jù-jɔ̀ŋú-né	'healer'
bá:-nɛ̀	'father'
ìné (ì-né)	'person'

nonhuman animate

ɛ̀r^{n}é	'goat'
sŏm	'horse'
gámà	'cat'

plants

ɛ̀mé	'sorghum'
tɛ̀w^{n}é	'tree'

other inanimates

gɛ̀r^{n}é	'house'
sù-sóm	'sand'
bònó	'hole'

b. nouns with final oral syllable followed by definite *gè* (variants *gà*, *gɔ̀*)

human	
î:	‘child’
ámìrù	‘chief’
dɔ̀gɔ̀tɔ́rɔ̀	‘doctor’
nonhuman animate	
péjù	‘sheep’
ìjú	‘dog’
kì-kă:	‘grasshopper’
sì-sá:	‘bird’
plants	
yŭ:	‘millet’
bĕl	‘grass’
other inanimates	
làgú	‘earth (dirt)’
bágá	‘stick’
tíbú	‘stone’
tè:mê:	‘brick’ (with *m* < *mb)

When an adjective is interposed between the noun and the demonstrative, the nasality (or orality) of the adjective determines the choice of definite morpheme. Thus *tíbú gè* ‘the stone’ but *tìbù*^{L} *bán ŋè* ‘the red (=brown) stone’.

In *gèr^{n}èŋé* ‘rainy season’, an original definite morpheme has fused with the stem and is no longer segmentable. The final syllable is therefore kept in compounds like *gèr^{n}èŋè*^{L}*-bíré* ‘rainy-season work (i.e. farming)’. This has also apparently happened in Tommo So *gìnàgá*. Compare Jamsay *jìr^{n}é* and several other bisyllabic cognates.

Definite morphemes do not co-occur with demonstrative pronouns (see the following section).

4.4.1.2 ‘This/that’ (deictic demonstrative pronouns)

The demonstrative pronouns in (67) can be used absolutely (i.e. without a noun), or as modifiers following a core NP (noun plus any adjectives). Plural *-m̀* is L-toned after these demonstratives. *kó* can either be deictic (pointing to a nonproximate object) or discourse-definite. The alternative discourse-definite demonstrative stem *yá* does not occur in demonstrative pronouns, though it is common in adverbs (§4.4.2.1) and can function as existential proclitic before statives (§11.2.2.1).

The demonstrative pronouns in (67) do not co-occur with definite morphemes. Discourse-definite *wó-gɔ̀* and *wò-gŏ:* might be etymological amalgams of 3Sg pronoun *wó* and discourse-definite *kó. The final L-tone on plural *-m̀* is noteworthy since elsewhere this suffix is atonal.

(67)

category	singular	plural
a. deictic		
proximate	*nǒ:*	*nǒ:-m̀*
distant (visible)	*kó*	*kó-m̀*
b. discourse-definite		
inanimate	*kó*	*kó-m̀*
mostly human	*wó-gɔ̀*	*wó-gɔ̀-m*
inanimate (rare)	*wò-gǒ:*	—

The plural forms in *-m̀* may have referents of any animacy category. For nonhuman referents, plural *bè* (without *-m̀*) is also possible: *nǒ: bè*, *kó bè*.

In its discourse-definite function, *kó* occurs regularly at discourse junctures, summarizing the immediately preceding discourse or the situation it describes, before moving on. Two common combinations are *kó=y* 'that's it, that's all' and its negation *kó=y=lǎ:* 'that isn't it' (often interrogative in function, like *n'est-ce pas?*).

The less common bisyllabic discourse-definite forms are attested in the texts as follows: *wó-gɔ̀* in Text 3 @ 01:08, Text 5 @ 05:08, and Text 6 @ 00:51 with human referents, and at Text 5 in 05:17 with abstract referent; *wò-gǒ:* in Text 5 @ 05:56 and Text 3 §01:37 with abstract referent.

In modifying function, these demonstratives (unlike definite morphemes) control tone-dropping on the last word in the preceding core NP (any nonfinal words in the core NP are already tone-dropped). See §6.5.2 for examples and discussion.

Locative postposition *nɛ̀* (~ *=ǹ*) usually contracts with proximate *nǒ:* to produce *[X nú] nɛ̀* ~ *[X nú]=ǹ*, as in *[gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀^{L} nú]=ǹ* 'in this house'. Uncontracted *[X nǒ:] nɛ̀* 'in this X' was elicitable but seems less idiomatic. The plural is regular: *[gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀^{L} nǒ:-m̀] nɛ̀* 'in these houses'. Without a noun, *nú-ǹ* means 'here' (§4.4.2.1 below).

For invariant proximate *nǒ:* following (but not tone-dropping) a first person or logophoric pronoun or an adverb that already has proximate semantics, see §6.5.3.

4.4.1.3 *kó* does not occur prenominally

Jamsay-style *kó* as a prenominal, possessor-like discourse-definite marker does not occur in YS, which limits modifying *kó* to postnominal position.

4.4.1.4 Obviative at topic switch point (*yá-mɔ̀ ŋɔ̀*)

When two protagonists (e.g. two brothers) occur throughout a narrative, topic switch points may use *yá-mɔ̀ ŋɛ̀* 'the counterparty, the other one'. This contains discourse-definite stem *yá*, see §4.4.2.1

below, and definite *ŋɛ̀*. The *-mɔ̀* segment likely originated as the possessive morpheme, but the parsing of *yá-mɔ̀ ŋɛ̀* is synchronically nontransparent.

4.4.2 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.2.1 Locative adverbs

Demonstrative-based locative adverbs consist of a demonstrative stem plus either of the two locative postpositions *nɛ̀* and *bá:* (§8.2.3), which in these rather fused combinations are transcribed as suffixes.

The forms with *nɛ̀*, which is usually encliticized or suffixed and apocopated to *ǹ* in these adverbs (as elsewhere), are in (68).

(68) Demonstrative locative adverbs with *-nɛ̀* ~ *-ǹ*

form	gloss
nú nɛ̀ ~ *nú-ǹ*	'here'
kó nɛ̀ ~ *kó-ǹ*	'(over) there (deictic)' or 'there (recent discourse-definite)'
yá nɛ̀ ~ *yá-ǹ*	'there (discourse-definite)'

In discourse-definite contexts, the distinction between *kó-ǹ* and *yá-ǹ* is subtle. *kó-ǹ* is typical when the location has just been introduced into the discourse, and/or when the location is relatively small (conceptualizable as a point). *yá-ǹ* is typical when the location has been established earlier in the discourse, and/or when it denotes a broad setting (a city or country, for example). These hypotheses can be tested against the numerous occurrences of both adverbs in the texts. For example, 'We went to the airport, we went out from there, …' has *kó-ǹ* 'there' coindexed to the just introduced 'airport' in Text 5 @ 02:02. In the same text, *yá-ǹ* occurs several times referring to the same place (e.g. a city) that has been established as the setting (e.g. Text 5 @ 00:42).

The forms with *-bá:* are in (69). The spatial sense can be more diffuse than with *-nɛ̀*, or it can suggest distance from a reference location (compare English *over in Boston*). This diffuse semantics is consistent with the obligatory occurrence of *-bá:* in interrogative *yà-bá:* (§13.2.4). The locative marker *-bá:* is downstepped after the (H-toned) demonstrative stems. The proximate form *ḿ-ꜜmá:* is contracted further, presumably from older **nú-ꜜbá:* .

(69) Demonstrative locative adverbs with *-bá:*

a. contracted

ḿ-ꜜmá:	'here (generalized), in this area, hereabouts'

b. not contracted

kó-ˡbá:	‘over there (generalized), in that area’
yá-ˡbá:	‘around there, thereabouts (discourse-definite)’

In Text 6 @ 02:39, the speaker makes a broad distinction between the lifestyle of *ḿ-ˡmá:* ‘here’ (referring to Dogon country or Mali in general) and *yá-ˡbá:* ‘there’ (referring to Jordan). This is the only occurrence of *ḿ-ˡmá:* in my small text collection. Other textual examples of *yá-ˡbá:* are ‘there, the two of them dove into the water’ (Text 4 @ 00:52) and ‘they were always giving us money there (in Jordan)’ (Text 6 @ 05:04). Other texual examples of *kó-ˡbá:* are ‘wandering around there’ (Text 2 @ 00:07) and ‘a cat came out from there’ (i.e. from somewhere near the protagonist, Text 4 @ 01:24).

Simple *kó* procliticized to a verb can function as a demonstrative adverb. In context it is often translatable as ‘here’ rather than ‘there’, although elsewhere *kó* is a distant demonstrative (‘that one over there’ or ‘that same one’) and contrasts with proximates. In effect, proclitic *kó* merges ‘there’ and ‘here’, when the contextually likely location is understood. It can co-occur with another locational expression, even ‘here’, earlier in the clause. It can be compared to French *y* in *il y a*, or to local French *là* in *il est là* ‘he’s here, he’s in’. As a preverbal proclitic, it has some similarity to existential *yá*. There is no explicitly proximate counterpart. For examples of this function of *kó*, see (393a) in §13.2.9 and (302d) in §11.1.3.1.

A more explicitly diffuse expression, translatable as ‘around here/there’ (generalized location) or ‘this/that way’ (a trajectory) can be formed by combining the noun *béné* ‘side’ (hence ‘zone, sector’) with a demonstrative and locative *nè* (often apocopated and encliticized). The attested forms are in (70). *béné* is tone-dropped before the demonstrative. A proposed #*bènè*^{L} *yá=ǹ* with discourse-definite *yá* was rejected by my assistant.

(70) combinations with *béné* ‘side’

[bènè^{L} *nú] =ǹ*	‘this way’
[bènè^{L} *kó] =ǹ*	‘that way; around there’

4.4.2.2 Emphatic and approximative modifiers of adverbs

Expressive adverbial *té→* ‘specifically’ (§8.4.4.3) can follow any locational expression, including demonstrative adverbs: *nú-ǹ té→* ‘right here’, etc.

For ‘somewhere around here’ one can say *dèy^{n}*^{L} *nú-ǹ*, literally ‘in this place (=area)’, cf. noun *děy^{n}* ‘place’.

4.4.2.3 Demonstrative manner adverbs

The adverbs in (71a) each consist of a demonstrative stem fused to a variant of postposition *gín* ~ *ŋín* 'like', with *ŋín* after a nasalized syllable (§8.4.2). The nasalization in *yí-ŋín* ~ *ɲí-ŋín* comes from *yí^{n}-*, which also occurs in monosyllabic form (71b).

(71) a. *nù-ŋín* ~ *nù-ŋún* 'like this'
kò-gín ~ *kò-gún* 'like that (over there)'
yí-ŋín ~ *ɲí-ŋín* 'thus, like that' (discourse definite)

b. *yí^{n}* ~ *ɲí^{n}* 'thus, like that' (discourse-definite)

The adverbs translated here as 'thus' (*yí-ŋín* ~ *ɲí-ŋín*, *yí^{n}* ~ *ɲí^{n}*) also have discourse functions. They can occur at transition points where one subepisode of a narrative gives way to another, but where the first subepisode lays the groundwork for the next one. Examples are Text 5 @ 05:33 and Text 1 @ 00:26. Compare *kó lè* (§6.5.1.1).

For the morphologically parallel interrogative *yà-ŋín* 'how?' see §13.2.6.

4.4.3 Presentatives ('here's …!'. 'there's …!')

The basic presentative predicate construction (French *voici X*, *voilà X*) is illustrated in (72). The presentative morphemes are H-toned *ŋ́* (proximate) and *kó* (distant but visible) before locational quasi-verb *wɔ̀-* (animate) or *kɔ̀-* (inanimate) 'be'. *ŋ́* is reduced from *nú-ǹ* 'here'. In this construction, *kó* is arguably reduced from *kó-ǹ* 'over there', and in any event is nonproximate. The H-tone is typical of proclitics before tone-dropped statives (or participles).

(72) a. *ŋ́* *wɔ̀-Ø*
here be.An-3SgSbj
'Here he/she is!'

b. *ŋ́* *kɔ̀*
here be.Inan
'Here it is!'

c. *dǐ:* *ŋ́* *kɔ̀*
water here be.Inan
'Here's (the) water!'

d. *[nă:* *ŋɛ̀]* *ŋ́* *wɔ̀-Ø*
[cow Def] here be.An-3SgSbj
'Here's the cow!'

e. *ŋ́* *wɔ̀-m*
here be.An-1SgSbj
'Here I am!'

In addition to 'be', another stative verb like 'be sitting (=be seated)' (73a) or an imperfective may be used (73b-c). In the latter case, the presentative morpheme is L-toned *ŋ̀* or *kò*, see also *ŋ̀ wèlé gɛ̀* 'here has come' in Text 3 @ 00:36. Progressives cannot follow these presentatives, but a progressive may be followed by a presentative with 'be' (73d).

(73) a. *ŋ́ / kó* *^{L}dà:^{n}-Ø*
here / there ^{L}sit.Stat-3SgSbj
'Here/There he/she sits!'

b. *ŋ̀ / kò* *wɛ̀lɛ́-ỳ*
here / there come-Ipfv.3PlSbj
'Here/There they come!'

c. *ŋ̀ / kò* *yó:-ỳ*
here / there enter-Ipfv.3PlSbj
'Here they come in!', 'There they come/go in!'

d. *bírɛ́* *bìrɛ́-ẁ* *kó* *wɔ̀-y^{n}*
work(n) work(v)-IpfvSub there be.An-3PlSbj
'There they are, working!'

In Text 3 @ 00:36, the sequence of proximate *ŋ́* plus verb 'come' is followed by a morpheme *g=* whose vowel has contracted with a quotative enclitic.

4.5 Adjectives

The sections below cover the forms of modifying adjectives. These adjectives do not allow animacy and number suffixes of the sort found in some human nouns. Modifying adjectives follow nouns, and control tone-dropping on them (§6.1.5). For fuller coverage of adjectives within NPs, see §6.3. Adjectival predicates are described in §11.4. Deadjectival verbs (inchoative and factitive) are described in §9.4.

4.5.1 Basic adjectives

Modifying adjectives that are not transparently composite are presented in (74), which is organized by phonological form. The *Cv̀(:)Cú* adjectives in (74c) appear to constitute a morphological group; the form is identical to that of verbal nouns (§4.2.2.1). The rising-toned adjectives in (74b) are also

compatible with a verbal-noun comparison, since final short high vowels are subject to Apocope after some sonorants (§3.4.3.2). *pěy* 'old' in (74b) is also compatible with a verbal-noun comparison, since *Cv:* verbs have a verbal noun *Cv̀-ý*. Other *CvC* adjectives in (74b) do not match verbal nouns but likely result from Apocope (§3.4.3.2) of final *{i u}. Final *u* also predominates in trisyllabics (74g), making it likely that the *CvCvC* stems in (74f) were apocopated from *CvCvC-u. The nonmonosyllabic adjectives that do not end in *u* generally have a final vowel that repeats or at least harmonizes with the preceding vowel, allowing for the effect of an intervening nasal on ATR values in the first two adjectives in (74d).

Notable semantic syncretisms include 'hot' = 'fast' and 'sweet' = 'sharp (blade)', both of which are regionally widespread.

(74) Simple modifying adjectives

stem	gloss
a. *Cv:*	
dɛ̂:	'big'
ɛ̌:ⁿ	'hard; tight (rope)'
gă:	'fully grown; older'
jó:	'full (container)'
mă:	'dry'
nɔ́:	'hot'
ɔ́:ⁿ	'alive'
tŏ:	'deep'
prolonged	
sí→	'pointed'
b. sonorant-final monosyllabic	
CvC	
wɛ́y	'lightweight; thin (wall)'
gɛ́m	'black'
bán	'red'
wán	'wide, spacious'
áwⁿ	'(animal) in good condition'
wɛ́r	'green'
ɛ́n	'well-fed'
ɛ́ŋ	'crowded, squeezed'
píl	'white'
nám	'difficult'
CvvC	
gûm	'unmarried'

*CvC compatible with verbal noun *CvCú, cf. (c) below*

dǒŋ	‘skinny, lean’
ǒl	‘wet, moist; fresh (vegetation)’

*Cv̌y possibly < verbal noun *Cv̀-ý*

pɛ̌y	‘old’ (cf. verb *pɛ́:-* ‘get old’)
mɛ̌y	‘fine, powdery’ (verb *mɛ̌:-* ‘become fine’)

Cv̂:C

kâ:l	‘cold’
gû:m	‘rancid (meat); flavorless (milk)’
â:m	‘sour; fizzy (fermenting)’
nɛ̂:m	‘salty’

Cv̂:C likely due to contraction

ɛ̂:l (~ *ɛ́lɛ̀l*)	‘sweet; sharp’, see (f) below

c. bisyllabic /LH/-toned with final *ú*, like verbal noun

CùCú

dùgú	‘big; corpulent; thick’
kùŋú	‘rough’

other *CvCú*

bɔ̀ŋú	‘not entirely full’
ɛ̀jú	‘good’
ɛ̀mú (~ *ɛ̀mì-ý*)	‘narrow’
gàbú	‘tall’
ɔ̀mú	‘rotten; fragile (fabric)’
mɔ̀ŋú	‘bad, nasty’
yɔ̀rú	‘soft’

Cv̀:Cú

pɔ̀:rú	‘putrefying (mud-manure mix)’

d. other *CvCv*

/H/-toned with repeated vowel quality

démɛ́	‘heavy; thick (skin)’
kómɔ́	‘skinny, lean’
kúrú	‘dense, shady (foliage)’
sálá	‘bad’
yóló	‘lightweight’

/H/-toned with shift to final u

ɔ́gú	‘hot; fast’

/HL/-toned with repeated vowel quality

dágà	‘small’

/LH/-toned

ìlɛ́	‘ripe; cooked’
kànán	‘new’
kòlɔ́	‘unripe; raw; fresh (milk)’
pàlá	‘long’
sèlé	‘diluted (milk); soggy’

e. other *Cv:Cv*

/H/-toned

kɔ́:lɔ́	‘empty; ruined; useless’

/LH/-toned

nà:rⁿá	‘easy’

f. *CvCvC*, likely < *CvCvCu

{HL}-toned

dárⁿàn	‘pungent, spicy-hot’
ɔ́rɔ̀y	‘smooth, sleek’
gálàl	‘bitter’
pélèl	‘crispy (taste)’
ɛ́lèl (~ *ɛ̂:l*)	‘sweet; sharp’, repeated from (b) above

g. trisyllabic

/H/-toned, all vowels identical

púrúgú	‘off-white’
kúrúgú	‘dense (forest)’
démélé	‘massive’

/LH/-toned, all vowels identical

sɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ́	‘multicolored’

/HL/-toned, shift to final u

bóròdù	‘viscous’
ɛ́jɛ̀jù	‘bland, unspiced (food)’

/HL/-toned, vowel quality repeated in final

bánàlà	‘blotched’

h. reduplicated

nì-nâ:	‘respectable, trustworthy (person)’
tí-tè:rè	‘wild, bizarre (behavior, speech)’

There are also several adjectives, generally already denoting small scalar values, that regularly end in diminutive *-ý*, though the segmentation is not always transparent (75).

(75) Diminutive adjectives

a. attested only in diminutive form

bù:jì-ý	‘runty’
dùmì-ý	‘short; narrow’
dùmɲì-ý	‘blunt (blade)’
gà:là-ý	‘small’
kɛ̀mɛ̀-ý	‘slender’
ùjì-ý	‘small’

b. alternates between simple and diminutive forms

ɛ̀mú ~ *ɛ̀mì-ý*	‘narrow’

c. possible frozen diminutive with final falling tone, cf. *î:* ‘child’

dàgî:	‘young (child)’

For ‘blue’, the noun-like adjective is *bùlɔ̀-búlɔ̀*, an iterative form that probably derives from a vanished brand of powdered detergent (cf. Fr *bleu*). No adjective for ‘slow’ could be elicited; the negation of ‘hot; fast’ was used (*ɔ̀gù*^{L} *= lá* ‘it isn’t fast’).

Nominal compounds were elicited for two other adjectival senses: *yù:*^{L}*-[bù-bǔl]* ‘ripe but poorly-developed’, *[yùlɔ̀-pɔ̀r*^{n}*ɔ̀]*^{L}*-kɔ̌l* ‘yellow’ (based on the name for ‘yellow powder in fruit pod of néré tree’, the standard exemplar of bright yellow).

Expressive adverbials (§8.4.7) can also denote “adjectival” senses, generally the more exotic ones. ‘Strong’ is expressed as a relative clause *pàŋá sɛ̂:* ‘(one) who has strength/power’.

For verb-participles in relative clauses, see §14.1.6.

4.5.2 Verbal nouns as resultative adjectives

An original verbal noun, with {L}-toned stem and final *ú* (subject to Apocope, §3.4.3.2) or for monosyllabic verb final *ý*, can function as a modifying adjective. The sense is that a subset of the class denoted by the noun has undergone the action in question, which has a continuing effect. The action may have been self-inflicted (‘fall’) or it may have been caused by an unspecified or generalized external agent (‘castrate’). Compare English *roast(ed) pork* or *sliced bread*. In each subpart of (76), the first line shows the noun-adjective combination, and the other lines show the regular form of the noun and the form of the verb underlying the adjective.

(76) a.

ɛ̀r^{n}*ɛ̀*^{L}	*pɔ̀r-ú*	‘castrated billy-goat’
ɛ̀r^{n}*ɛ́*		‘goat’
pɔ́rɔ́		‘castrate (an animal)’

b. *èrⁿè*^{L} *kàm-ú* ‘billy-goat emasculated by crushing testicles’
èrⁿé ‘goat’
kámá ‘crush (testicles)’

c. *yù:*^{L} *nùm-ú* ‘millet grain spikes fallen on ground’
yŭ: ‘millet’
nùmɔ́ ‘fall’

d. *pɔ̀rⁿɔ̀*^{L} *săl-Ø* ‘coarsely ground millet’ (< /sàl-ú/)
pɔ̀rɔ́ ‘cream of millet’
sálá ‘coarsely grind (grain)’

e. *gàw*^{L} *tŏl-Ø* ‘pounded dried onion leaf (a spice)’ (< /tòl-ú/)
gâw ‘onion’
tóló ‘pound (in mortar)’

f. *yù:*^{L} *pàg-ú* ‘tied bundle of millet grain spikes’
yŭ: ‘millet’
págá ‘tie’

g. *kɔ̀rɔ̀*^{L} *tàr-ú* ‘decorated rattling calabash’
kɔ̀rɔ́ ‘calabash’
tárá ‘affix, post, pin on’

h. *èrⁿè*^{L} *nɔ̀:-m-ú* ‘hardened iron’
érⁿé ‘iron’
nɔ̆:-mɔ́ ‘have (animals) drink; paint; harden (iron)’

i. *jà:*^{L} *wàj-ú* ‘leftovers from a meal’
jâ: ‘meal’
wàjá ‘remain, be left’
[see also (78c) and *bèl*^{L} *wàj-ú* in Text 5 @ 05:03]

j. *ègèlè*^{L} *kàbŭl-Ø* ‘split peanuts’
égélé ‘peanut’
kábálá ‘split (nut) in half’

k. *è:ⁿ*^{L} *jă:n-Ø* ‘boiled solid soda ash’
ê:ⁿ ‘soda ash’
jă:ná ‘boil (sth)’

When the verbal noun is itself a compound, it usually has a different sense; see the purposive verbal-noun construction in §5.1.12.

4.5.3 Iterated emphatic adjective type *A*^{L}*-nà:-A*

A simple way to make an adjective emphatic is to iterate it with a linker *-nà:-* separating the two. The first iteration of the adjective and the linker *-nà:-* are L-toned, likely due to the tonosyntactic control of the final adjective. See also the isolated *X-nà:-X* nominal compounds in §5.1.10.

(77) a. *pìl-nà:-píl*
white-Link-white
'very white'

b. *dì:*^{L} *kàlàl-nà:-kálàl*
water cold-Link-cold
'freezing cold water'

c. *sɔ̀:*^{L} *mà:-nà:-mă:*
talk(n)^{L} dry-Link-dry
'serious talk' (also just *sɔ̀:*^{L} *mă:*, cf. *sɔ̌:* 'talk (n)', *mă:* 'dry, hard')

.

d. *dɔ̀:*^{n} *-nà:-dɔ̌:*^{n}
last(adj)-Link-last
'dead last (in a race)' (expansion of *dɔ̌:*^{n} 'last')

e. *èjù-nà:-èjú*
good-Link-good
'excellent, of high quality' (*èjú* 'good')

f. *pàlà*^{L} *-nà:-pàlá*
long-Link-long
'very tall or long' (*pàlá* 'long')

This pattern competes with adjectival intensifiers, a subtype of expressive adverbial (§8.4.7.2).

The linker might be related historically to *ná:* 'authentic, entire' (§5.1.9), which in turn may be an offshoot of *ná:* 'mother'.

4.6 Numerals

4.6.1 Cardinal numerals

Numerals follow core NPs (noun plus any adjectives). There is no tonosyntactic interaction between numerals and preceding words in simple N(-Adj)-Num combinations.

4.6.1.1 '1' (*túrú*, *tí→*), 'same' (*tɔ́:ⁿ*), and 'other' (*lě:*, *làgá*)

As a modifier, '1' is *túrú*. It shifts to HL *túrù* in definite *X túrù gè*. This definite form can mean 'the other X' at topic-shift points in narratives about two protagonists. See (78c) below and Text 1 @ 00:35.

With the noun omitted because contextually obvious, as in 'show me one (of them)!', *kó ˈtúrú* 'one (of them)' is usual for discourse-definite inanimate referents (Text 6 @ 05:01), and just *túrú* for animates.

Like other numerals, *túrú* (as true numeral) has no tonal interactions with the preceding noun (or core NP): *péjù túrú* 'one sheep', *yǎ:-rⁿá túrú* 'one woman'.

In counting ('one, two, three, …'), the form used is *tí→*, which can be expressively prolonged intonationally. Compare ordinal *tí→* 'first' (§4.6.2.1, below).

túrú can introduce a specific referent into discourse. See Text 1 @ 00:02 and 00:09. The combination *túrù kàrⁿà* occurs in negative contexts in the sense '(not) any'. A syntactic distinction between this and the numeral '1' is that *túrù kàrⁿà* follows rather than precedes a relative-clause verb-participle, like (other) determiners, see (428) below.

'Be the same' (referring to identity) can be expressed by *tɔ́:ⁿ*, as in *tɔ́:ⁿ=y* 'it's (i.e. they are) the same' with the 'it is' clitic. Cf. *tɔ́:ⁿ-rⁿɔ́*, 'companion' (§4.1.2) and *tɔ́:ⁿ ŋú* 'together' (§18.4.2).

The sense '(an)other', especially introducing a new referent (specific or not), can be expressed by *lě:* (perhaps originally a variant of *léy* '2') or by *làgá*. In (78a), *lě:* 'other' expresses the referential distinction between the two houses.

In (78b), *túrú* (not *túrù*) occurs twice not as a simple numeral ('one') as above, but adjectivally (note the L-toned *gèrⁿɛ̀*ᴸ 'house') and with following definite morphemes, to oppose two contextually definite referents ('the one, … the other'). In (78c), there is a set of several houses to be built. One is separated out from the others in the first clause, and the as-yet unbuilt members of the set are referred to in the second clause using the participle 'remaining'.

(78) a. *[[gèrⁿɛ̀*ᴸ *nú] =ǹ] gò-ˈé→,*
[[houseᴸ Prox] Loc] exit(v)-PfvSub,
*[[gèrⁿɛ̀*ᴸ *lě: gɛ̀] =ǹ] yà:-jɛ̀-m*
[[houseᴸ **other** Def] Loc] go-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will go from this house to the other house.'

b. *[[gèr^{n}è^{L} túrú gè] =ǹ] gò-ˈé→,*
[[house^{L} **one** Def] Loc] exit-PfvSub,
[[(gèr^{n}è^{L}) túrú gè] =ǹ] yà:-jè-m
[[(house^{L}) **one** Def] Loc] go-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will go from the one house to the one (= other) house.'

c. *[gèr^{n}é túrú] újɔ̀-j-è:^{n}, [gèr^{n}è^{L} wàjú-m̀ ŋè-m]*
[house **one**] build-CompPf-3PlSbj, [house^{L} **remain**-VblN -Pl Def-Pl]
[yògó nàŋúrù] ^{L}ùjɔ̀-y
[tomorrow year] ^{L}build-Ipfv.3PlSbj
'They have finished building one house, they will build the other (=remaining) houses next year.'

See also *bày^{L} lě:* '(on) another day', used to shift to a new time setting in Text 4 @ 00:34.

4.6.1.2 '2' to '10'

The numerals from '2' to '10' are shown in (79). They may be used absolutely, or may follow a core NP.

(79)

gloss	form
'2'	*lέy*
'3'	*tă:n*
'4'	*năy*
'5'	*nùmɔ́r^{n}ɔ́*
'6'	*kúlòy*
'7'	*sɔ̂y*
'8'	*gá-gàrà*
'9'	*tùwɔ́*
'10'	*pέl*

These numerals, and 'one' as a simple numeral (preceding section), do not interact tonally with core NPs. Both the numeral and the core NP (noun, or noun plus adjectives) retain their normal tones: *gèr^{n}é tă:n* 'three houses'.

Numerals from '2' to '10' (and up) have the same form in counting sequences as when they follow a core NP in a sentence. Only 'one' has a special form in counting (preceding section).

bέ-lěy 'the two of them' is a fused combination of 3Pl pronoun *bé* and *lέy* '2' (historically *lěy), see Text 4 @ 00:14. Other fusions involving pronoun or demonstrative plus *lέy* '2' are *έmè-lěy* 'the two of us', *έ-lěy* 'you two', and *kɔ́-lɔ̌y* 'two of them (inanimate). The rising tone of *-lěy* is heard when closely phrased with a following L-tone, as in *έmè-lěy kày* 'as for the two of us', otherwise it is

L-toned in these forms. Cognates of *léy* '2' in some other Dogon languages are LH-toned and often drop to L as modifiers; this may help explain the tones in these fused combinations.

Similarly, *bù-lêy* '10 francs CFA or the coin of this value' (equal to two 5-franc coins, the smallest coins in circulation), is contracted from *bú:dù léy*, see Text 2 @ 00:27. *bú:dù* means 'money' in general, or more specifically '5 francs', which denotes the smallest coin, and the unit for quantifying currency amounts in all Malian native languages.

4.6.1.3 Decimal multiples ('10', '20', …) and combinations ('11', '59', …)

The even multiples of '10' up to '90' are given in (80).

(80)

gloss	form
'10'	*pél*
'20'	*pé:-léy*
'30'	*pé-tă:n* (usually heard as *pé-tà:n*)
'40'	*pé-năy* (usually heard as *pé-này*)
'50'	*pé-nùmɔ́r^{n}ɔ́* ~ *pél-nɔ̀*
'60'	*pél-kúlòy*
'70'	*pé-sɔ̂y*
'80'	*pé-[gá-gàrà]* (for *dɔ̀gɔ̀-sŭm*, see below)
'90'	*pé-tùwɔ́*

There is no tonal dissimilation (or polarization) between the initial stem '10' and the following single-digit numeral in '20' through '90'. This stem does contract from *pél-* to either *pé:-* (in '20') or *pé-*, except in '60', but it retains its H-tone. At least the variant *pé:-* appears to have lost an intervocalic *l (§3.4.4.7).

dɔ̀gɔ̀^{L}*-sŭm*, literally 'Dogon-hundred', is an archaic term for '80'. For speakers who still use this numeral, '90' is *[sŭm lé] pél*, literally 'with 80, 10', and '100' is *[sŭm lé] pé:-léy*, literally 'with 80, 20'. For younger speakers, these compound numerals mean '110' and '120', respectively.

The decimal terms (e.g. '30') combine with single-digit numerals to form composite numerals like '12' and '53'. The decimal term comes first, and has its usual form, except that '10' is extended from *pél* to *pél-gù*. Then comes the single-digit number (*túrú* '1' to *tùwɔ́* '9') in its usual form, followed by *sìgè*, a phrase-final tone-dropped variant of *sìgé* 'more' (§12.1.4). *léy sìgè* 'two more' can also be pronounced *lé: sìgè*.

(81) a. *pél-gù* *[léy* *sìgè]*
ten [two more]
'twelve' (Text 6 @ 04:29)

b. *[pé-này]* *[sôy* *sìgè]*
[ten-four] [seven more]
'forty-seven'

4.6.1.4 Large numerals ('100', '1000', …) and their composites

The stems in (82) denote quantities of higher magnitudes.

(82)

	gloss	form
a.	'hundred'	*sŭm* (archaic), *témtèrè* (now current, <Fulfulde)
b.	'thousand'	*mùŋú*
c.	'million'	*mìlyɔ̂:^{n}* (< French)

These are nouns, and can be followed by numerals in the same fashion as other nouns: *sŭm léy* 'two hundred', *mùŋú nùmɔ́r^{n}ɔ́* 'five hundred', *mìlyɔ̂:^{n} tă:n* 'three million'.

Numerals of distinct orders (millions, thousands, hundreds, and 1-99) can be combined, with the largest order expressed first. The relevant common noun occurs initially (if at all), and is optionally repeated in each order. The nonfinal components have nonterminal intonation with a final pitch rise (↑).

(83) *péjù* *mùŋú* *léy↑,* *(péjù)* *sŭm* *tă:n↑,* *(péjù)* *pé-nùmɔ́r^{n}ɔ́*
sheep thousand 2, (sheep) hundred 3, (sheep) ten-five
'two thousand, three hundred, and fifty sheep'

It is also possible to use the versatile postposition *lé* (dative, instrumental) when combining *sŭm* '(one) hundred' with a lesser numeral: *[sŭm lé] pé:-léy* 'one hundred and twenty', literally 'with (one) hundred, twenty'.

4.6.1.5 Currency

The official Malian currency unit is the CFA franc. In all of the native languages, but not in French, the currency unit is the equivalent of five CFA francs. This is called *bú:dù* in YS as in several nearby languages. *bú:dù* also means 'money'. The contraction *bù-lêy* 'two *bú:dù* coins' (i.e. '10 francs' or the coin with that value) was mentioned in §4.6.1.2 above.

4.6.1.6 Distributive numerals

Numerals may be iterated to form distributive adverbs with senses like 'five at a time', 'five by five', or 'five each'.

tú-túrú ‘one by one’ reflects a phonological reduction /túrú-túrú/, as in *gèrⁿé tú-túrú* ‘one house at a time’. Other numerals from ‘2’ to ‘99’ iterate the entire form, or (if multi-word) they optionally repeat just the final part. *nùmɔ́rⁿɔ́-nùmɔ́rⁿɔ́* ‘five by five’ is standard. For ‘twelve by twelve’ my assistant preferred the entire *[pél-gù léy sìgè] [pél-gù léy sìgè]*. However, Text 6 @ 04:54 has *mùŋú pél-gù→↗, [kúlòy sìgè] [kúlòy sìgè]* ‘sixteen thousand (pay per month)’, where [thousand ten [six plus]] repeats only the final ‘six plus’.

4.6.2 Ordinal adjectives

4.6.2.1 ‘First’ (*tí→*, *lá:*) and ‘last’ (*dɔ̌:ⁿ*)

tí→ ‘first’ behaves like an adjective in controlling tone-dropping on a preceding noun (or core NP), and it can be followed by the ‘it is’ clitic. However, when phrase-final it may show the considerable prolongation typical of expressive adverbials. It may be followed by a definite morpheme.

(84) *gèrⁿɛ̀*[L] *tí→* *gɛ̀*
house[L] first Def
‘the first house’

tí→ itself is subject to tone-dropping induced by a following demonstrative, on in the head NP of a relative clause.

(85) a. *[gèrⁿɛ̀* *tì→]*[L] *nɔ̌:*
[house first][L] this
‘this first house’

b. *[gèrⁿɛ̀* *tì→]*[L] *émé* [L]*ùjɔ̀* *gɛ̀*
[house first][L] 1PlSbj [L]build.Pfv.Ppl Def]
‘the first house that we built’

Another ordinal for ‘first’ is *lá:* . It is probably related to adverb *lá:y* ‘first(ly)’ (§8.4.6.2).

Adjective ‘last’ (i.e. ‘final, in a sequence’) is *dɔ̌:ⁿ*, as in *ìnɛ̀*[L] *dɔ̌:ⁿ ŋɛ̀* ‘the last person’.

4.6.2.2 Other ordinals (suffix *-é:*)

Other ordinals are formed by adding *-é:* to the numeral, whose tones are dropped. In ‘fifth’, the *r* is not nasalized (contrast *nùmɔ́rⁿɔ́* ‘five’)

(86)

form	gloss
a. single-digit numeral	
lɛ̀-é:	‘second’ (Text 5 @ 03:33)
tà:n-é:	‘third’
nàɣ-é:	‘fourth’
nùmɔ̀r-é:	‘fifth’
kùlè-é:	‘sixth’
sɔ̀ɣ-é:	‘seventh’
gà-gàr-é:	‘eighth’
tùwɔ̀-é:	‘ninth’
pɛ̀l-é:	‘tenth’
b. decimal	
pɛ̀:-lɛ̀-é:	‘twentieth’
c. decimal plus single-digit numeral	
pɛ̀l-gù tùrù sìg-é:	‘eleventh’
d. hundred	
sùm-yé:, tɛ̀mtɛ̀r-é:	‘hundredth’
e. hundred plus ‘1-99’ numeral (two levels)	
sùm lɛ̀ pɛ̀:-lɛ̀-é	‘hundred and twentieth’

Note that ‘hundred and twentieth’ has dropped all tones, compare the cardinal *[sŭm lé] pé:-léɣ* ‘one hundred and twenty’.

Interrogative ‘how many-th?’ (French *quantième*) is *àŋ-é:*, from *àŋá* ‘how many?’ (§13.2.7).

4.6.3 Fractions and portions

The Fulfulde loan *péjèrè* means ‘half, section, portion (of a whole)’. *gámúl* usually means ‘(someone’s) share’.

5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

Types of compounds are indicated formulaically as pairs like (n n) for noun plus noun, using n = noun, a = adjective, num = numeral, v = verb, and x = variable stem-class. Compounds fall into tonal types, with x̄ indicating retention of input tones (zero overlay), x̀ for tone-dropping to {L}, x́ for raising all tones to {H}, x̂ for falling tone pattern {HL}, and x̌ for rising tone pattern {LH}. Of the non-null overlays in YS, {HL} occurs only in one type of bahuvrihi, and {LH} does not occur in compound formation as such although in some cases the final already has a rising pattern (e.g. verbal nouns and uncompounded agentives).

Ordinarily the final is the semantic head of the compound, in other words the compounds are right-headed. For example, an N_1-N_2 compound denotes a kind of N_2. The major exception is bahuvrihi compounds (§5.2), which are exocentric, i.e., neither the initial nor the final functions as (semantic) head.

5.1.1 Compounds of type (n̄ n̄)

In this uncommon type, neither the initial nor the final modifies its lexical melody in the fashion of other compound types like (ǹ n̄) and (n̄ ǹ). (87a) does show a minor tonal adjustment of the initial.

(87) (n̄ n̄) compounds

	compound	gloss	components
a.	*kú:-bɔ́nɔ̀*	'brain (tissue)'	*kû: 'head'* *bɔ́nɔ̀* 'marrow'
b.	*[àɲì-ý]-gɔ̌:rɔ̀*	'a roselle cultivar'	*àɲì-ý* 'a roselle cultivar'
c.	*ságù-jɔ̌:rɔ̀*	'flour dumplings'	*ságù* 'grain for pounding'
d.	*pɔ̌:^{n}-bílè*	'fonio field lying fallow'	*pɔ̌:^{n}* 'fonio (cereal crop)'

Compounds that are tonally marked in most contexts occasionally break up tonally so that the initial and final revert to noncompound tones. An example is *nɔ̀:-pǎy^n* 'hand-span', whose initial is multiply iterated for distributivity in Text 5 @ 02:45, resulting in *nɔ̌:-nɔ̌:-nɔ̌:-nɔ̌:-pǎy^n*. A multi-segment compound can likewise break up into two tonally autonomous parts. This is apparently the case in

'airplane-ticket-fare' in Text 6 @ 01:41, though here the breakup may also be favored by the use of French words.

5.1.2 Compounds of type (ǹ n̄)

In this type, the initial is tone-dropped and the final keeps its input tones, either a lexical melody (simple noun) or a previously applied overlay. This is the predominant noun-noun compound type. Although this could also be represented tonosyntactically as N^{L} N, it is semantically inconsistent with the usual NP-internal tone-dropping pattern, whereby a following modifier controls tone-dropping on the head, as with [N^{L} Adj]. In the (ǹ n̄) compound type, by contrast, the final is normally the (semantic) head. This being said, there are a number of ambiguous cases, where an element of the general substantive class (noun/adjective) occurs only as the second element, so one can't be quite sure whether it is a modifying adjective (non-head) or a nominal compound final (and head). An example is *jàŋú*, which occurs in *nà:* ^{L} *jàŋú* 'uncastrated bull' (*nă:* 'cow, bovine') and *pèjù* ^{L} *jàŋú* 'uncastrated ram' (*péjù* 'sheep, ovine'). One could construe *jàŋú* as a modifying adjective 'uncastrated' or as a noun 'uncastrated male animal' with a compound initial specifying the species.

(ǹ n̄) compounds compete most directly with (n̄ ǹ) compounds, which mimic possessor-possessed combinations, see the following section. The most fully lexicalized compounds are usually (ǹ n̄).

(88) (ǹ n̄) compounds

	compound	gloss	components
a.	*dɔ̀gɔ̀*^{L}*-péjù*	'Dogon sheep (breed)'	*dɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́* '(a) Dogon' *péjù* 'sheep'
	pùlɔ̀^{L}*-péjù*	'Fulbe sheep (breed)'	*púlɔ̀-nɛ̀* '(a) Fulbe'
b.	*òl*^{L}*-nàw^{n}á*	'wild animal'	*ŏl* 'fields, the bush, outback' *nàw^{n}á* 'meat'
c.	*bɛ̀rɛ̀*^{L}*-jîm*	'labor pains'	*bɛ̀rɛ́* 'belly' *jîm* 'pain'
d.	*gòjù*^{L}*-nàw^{n}á*	'flesh, muscle tissue'	*gòjú* 'body' *nàw^{n}á* 'meat'
e.	*ìllì:*^{L}*-ójù*	'blood vessel'	*ìllî:* 'blood' *ójù* 'road'
f.	*[tì-tà:]*^{L}*-dúlɔ̀*	'hyena tail'	*tì-tă:* 'hyena' *dúlɔ̀* 'tail'

g. *yìm*^{L}*-pǒ:* ‘condolences’ *yǐm* ‘death; deceased’
pǒ: ‘greeting’

In most cases the initial consists just of a stem, but there are some examples where the initial is marked by human plural suffix *-m*. This would be expected in the possessive-type compounds, but it is less usual in canonical noun-noun compounds.

(89) a. *[àr^{n}ù-m]*^{L}*-gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́* ‘men’s house’ (bedroom of a man with two or more wives)
(< *ár^{n}ú-m* ‘men’)

b. *[yà-pɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀-m]*^{L}*-[gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-ý]* ‘menstruation house’ (diminutive)
(< *yà-pɔ́r^{n}ɔ̀-m* ‘menstruating women’)

c. *[gùlɔ̀-m]*^{L}*-dêm* ‘post-partum seclusion’
(cf. *yà:*^{L} *gùlɔ̀-ý* ‘adolescent girl’, diminutive form)

5.1.3 Possessive-type compounds (n̄ ǹ)

This type is structured like a possessor-possessum combination. The initial preserves its input tones, while the final is tone-dropped. Compare the [Poss ^{L}N] form of possessor-possessum combinations (§6.2.1). However, as with English compounds like *men’s wear* and *Adam’s apple*, (n̄ ǹ) compounds are lexicalized, and may themselves take external possessors, as in *her [men’s wear]*, *my [Adam’s apple]* (note the bracketing).

(90) Possessive-type compounds

	compound	gloss	components
a.	*úr^{n}ù-m* ^{L}*ɔ̀:^{n}*	‘child cemetery’	*úr^{n}ù-m* ‘children’ *ɔ́:^{n}* ‘cemetery in cave’
b.	*àŋgǎ:^{n}* ^{L}*ɛ̀n*	‘molar’	*àŋgǎ:^{n}* ‘jaw’ *ɛ̌n* ‘tooth’
c.	*bɔ̀lɔ́* ^{L}*kùbɔ̀*	‘hind foot’	*bɔ̀lɔ́* ‘rear’ *kúbɔ́* ‘foot’
d.	*gírù* ^{L}*kùbɔ̀-[kòbìlì-y]*	‘front hoof’	*gírù* ‘front’ *kùbɔ̀*^{L}*-[kòbìlì-ý]* ‘hoof’

e.	*yǎ:-m* ^{L}*tàgù*	'women's shoes'	*yǎ:-m* 'women' *tàgú* 'shoes'
f.	*tòl-[gèj-ú]* ^{L}*tɔ̀ŋɔ̀*	'shea-butter grindstone'	*tól* 'pounding (n)' *gèjé* 'press (oil)' *tɔ̀ŋɔ́* 'flat grindstone'

Some compounds can vary between this possessive-like type and the regular (ǹ n̄) type. For example, (90f) could also be expressed as *[tòl-[gèj-ù]]*^{L}*-tɔ̀ŋɔ́*.

5.1.4 Compounds with final verbal noun (ǹ VblN)

A special case of the productive (ǹ n̄) compound type (§5.1.2) is when the final is a verbal noun. In this case the initial normally denotes a type of direct object.

(91)

a. *gèr^{n}è*^{L}*-[dèm-ú]*		'roof-building, roofing a house'
gèr^{n}é		'house'
dèmé		'roof (v), build a roof on (a house)'
b. *yù:*^{L}*-[dɔ̀ŋ-ú]*		'act of pounding millet grain spikes'
yǔ:		'millet'
dɔ̀ŋɔ́		'pound (grain spikes)'
c. *àŋà*^{L}*-[pàg-ú]*		'fasting (Ramadan, Lent)'
áŋá		'mouth'
págá		'tie'

More elaborate verbal-noun phrases with additional arguments or adjuncts can function as verbal-noun complements (§17.3).

5.1.5 Agentive compounds (ǹ ý-*né*)

There are a handful of uncompounded agentives, generally those that do not have a prototypical object (§4.2.4). The majority of agentive nominals are compounds. One is not a 'cook', one is a 'meal-cooker' (even if one also cooks meat or bread). In an agentive compound, the final is agentive in form. The initial either specifies a prototypical object, as in *dùwà:-kár^{n}ú-m* 'those who do blessings' (Text 5 @ 04:00), or it is a default complement of the verb such as a cognate nominal.

As indicated in §4.2.4, agentives sometimes function like subject relatives, denoting individuals who have performed an action in a specific episode rather than habitually (cf. English *intruder*).

The data show three basic subtypes, depending on whether the final vowel of the (nonmonosyllabic) verb stem shifts to *u* in the plural only (92), in both the singular and the plural (93), or in neither (94). If the verb stem has an *i*-vowel, the final vowel shifts to *i* instead of *u*. The form with final *u* suggests a connection with the verbal noun, and for some verbs also with the chaining stem and/or a cognate nominal. Trisyllabics also shift the medial vowel to a matching high vowel (92g). The final high vowel can be syncopated after some unclustered sonorants, before the singular suffix (93d-f). Throughout (92-94), the initial is {L}-toned and the final is {H}-toned before human singular *-né* or human plural *-m*. For compounds based on monosyllabic verbs, see (95) below.

In our first set (92), the plural shifts the stem-final vowel to *u* but the singular does not. The trisyllabic stem in 'guide' (92g) shifts both noninitial stem vowels to *i*. The format of these examples shows the singular agentive on top and the plural below it, followed by the input components, either separate or combined into a noun-verb collocation.

(92) a. *sèn*^{L}-^{H}*[sér^{n}é-né]* 'Muslim (person)'
sèn^{L}-^{H}*[sér^{n}ú-m]*
sên sér^{n}é 'pray, pray (say) a prayer'

b. *wòl*^{L}-^{H}*[wálá-né]* 'farmer, peasant'
wòl^{L}-^{H}*[wálú-m]*
wòlú wàlá 'cultivate, do farm work'

c. *[tì-tàgà]*^{L}-^{H}*[tágá-né]* 'jokester, funny person'
[tì-tàgà]^{L}-^{H}*[tágú-m]*
tí-tágá tágá 'crack (jokes)'

d. *tòŋ*^{L}-^{H}*[tóŋɔ́-né]* 'merchant'
tòŋ^{L}-^{H}*[tóŋú-m]*
tòŋú tóŋɔ́ 'buy and sell, do commerce'

e. *[sàmàl-bìrè]*^{L}-^{H}*[bíré-né]* 'day laborer'
[sàmàl-bìrè]^{L}-^{H}*[bírí-m]*
sàmàl-bíré bìré 'do day-wage labor'

f. *[[wàlà-n]-dègù]*^{L}-^{H}*[dégé-né]* 'farmhand (paid by the day)'
[[wàlà-n]-dègù]^{L}-^{H}*[dégú-m]*
[wàlà-n]^{L}*-dègú dègé* 'work as a farmhand'

g. *ìnè*^{L}-^{H}*[dímé-ré-né]* 'guide'
ìnè^{L}-^{H}*[dímí-rí-m]*
ìné 'person'
dìmé-ré 'guide, act as host for'

h. *dàwà*^{L}-^{H}*[dáwá-né]* ‘attention-seeker’
dàwà^{L}-^{H}*[dáwú-m]*
dáwà dàwá ‘seek attention’

i. *sìɲɛ̀*^{L}-^{H}*[síɲé-né]* ‘noisy person’
sìɲɛ̀^{L}-^{H}*[síɲí-m]*
síɲɛ̀ síɲé ‘make noise’

j. *kùbɔ̀*^{L}-^{H}*[tégé-né]* ‘one who limps’
kùbɔ̀^{L}-^{H}*[tégú-m]*
kúbɔ́ ‘foot’
kúbɔ́ tégé ‘limp’

k. *gɛ̀r*^{n}*ɛ̀*^{L}-^{H}*[újɔ́-né]* ‘house-builder’
gɛ̀r^{n}*ɛ̀*^{L}-^{H}*[újú-m]*
gɛ̀r^{n}*ɛ́* ‘house’
újɔ́ ‘build, construct’

In (93), the shift to stem-final short high vowel occurs at least optionally in the singular agentive as well as in its plural.

(93) a. *pànà*^{L}-^{H}*[bíré-né]* ‘chef, cook (n)’ variant *pànà*^{L}-^{H}*[bírú-né]*
pànà^{L}-^{H}*[bírí-m]*
pàná ‘meal, prepared food’
bìrɛ́ ‘cook (a meal)’

b. *dì:*^{L}-^{H}*[kɔ́bú-né]* ‘water-carrier’ variant *dì:*^{L}-^{H}*[kɔ́bɔ́-né]*
dì:^{L}-^{H}*[kɔ́bú-m]*
dǐ: ‘water’
kɔ́bɔ́ ‘go fetch water’

c. *sɛ̀n*^{L}-^{H}*[bó:nú-né]* ‘muezzin’ variant *sɛ̀n*^{L}-^{H}*[bó:nɔ́-né]*
sɛ̀n^{L}-^{H}*[bó:nú-m]*
sɛ̂n ‘prayer’
bŏ:nɔ́ ‘call’

d. *[kì-kàl]*^{L}-^{H}*[kál-né]* ‘liar’
[kì-kàl]^{L}-^{H}*[kálú-m]*
kì-kăl kálá ‘tell a falsehood, lie’

e. *[kù:-ùlò]*$^{L-H}$*[úl-né]* ‘vain, arrogant person’
[kù:-ùlò]$^{L-H}$*[úlú-m]*
kù:-ùló úló ‘be vain’

f. *tìn*$^{L-H}$*[tín-né]* ‘wood-gatherer’
tìn^{L-H}*[tír^{n}í-m]*
tǐn tír^{n}é ‘gather firewood’

In (94), the shift to final short high vowel does not occur in either plural or singular agentive, or (94a) it is an option only in the plural.

(94) a. *tò:rù*$^{L-H}$*[púgó-né]* ‘idolater, animist’
tò:rù$^{L-H}$*[púgó-m]* plural variant *tò:rù*$^{L-H}$*[púgú-m]*
tô:rù púgó ‘practice idolatry (animism)’

b. *pòl*$^{L-H}$*[gɛ́lɛ́-né]* ‘knife-holder’ (an animist ritual role)
pòl^{L-H}*[gɛ́lɛ́-m]*
pǒl ‘knife’
gɛ̀lɛ́ ‘harvest (with knife)’

c. *ìm(ù)*$^{L-H}$*[ímé-né]* ‘stutterer’
ìm(ù)$^{L-H}$*[ímé-m]*
ímù ímé ‘stutter’

d. *yùrùgù*$^{L-H}$*[kúnɔ́-né]* ‘fortune-teller who reads fox tracks’
yùrùgù$^{L-H}$*[kúnɔ́-m]*
yùrùgú ‘pale fox’
kúnɔ́ ‘put’

The general impression given by the preceding data is that there is considerable variation in the application of the shift to final high vowel. It is probably most systematic in well-established, lexicalized agentives.

The examples in (95) are agentives based on *Cv:-* verb stems. (95a-b) have *Cv́-y-né* singular and *Cv́-y-m* plural agentives, with y as in the verbal noun and for some verbs as in the chaining form and/or a cognate nominal. (95c-d) have *Cv́:-né* shape; see also *yà:-r^{n}à*^{L} *ì:-[dɔ́:^{n}-né]* ‘midwife’ (99a) with the compound agentive functioning as modifier. The distribution of *-y* in (95c-d) does not correlate exactly with that of *-y* in chaining stems for monosyllabic verbs.

(95) a. *kɔ̀rɔ̀*$^{L-H}$*[kɛ́^{n}-y-né]* ‘calabash-cutter’
kɔ̀rɔ̀$^{L-H}$*[kɛ́^{n}-y-m]*
kɔ̀rɔ́ ‘calabash’
kɛ́:^{n} ‘saw (gourd, into two calabashes)’

b. *[tù-tùy]*$^{L-H}$*[yá-y-né]* ‘envoy, one who goes (i.e. is sent) on a mission’
[tù-tùy]$^{L-H}$*[yá-y-m]*
tù-tûy yă: ‘go on an errand or mission’

c. *nè:*$^{L-H}$*[né:-né]* ‘singer’
nè:$^{L-H}$*[né:-m]*
né: ‘song’
nĕ: ‘sing’

d. *gɔ̀:*$^{L-H}$*[gɔ́:-né]* ‘dancer’
gɔ̀:$^{L-H}$*[gɔ́:-m]*
gɔ́: ‘dance (n)’
gɔ̆: ‘dance (v)’

e. *tòmɔ̀*$^{L-H}$*[té:-né]* ‘basket-weaver’
tòmɔ̀$^{L-H}$*[té:-m]*
tòmɔ́ ‘large basket from tree-branch strips’
té: ‘weave’

Text 1 @ 00:40 has an interesting agentive compound based on a direct verb chain (‘split’ plus ‘give’), in addition to an incorporated object (‘firewood’).

In the uncommon type (96), the shift to *u* does not occur, and singular *-né* is absent. However, the verb has rising tone as in the uncompounded agentives in §4.2.4. In contrast to the uncompounded agentives, plural *-m* cannot be added to these agentives, which are pluralized using free plural marker *bè*. (96a) can also mean ‘lodger’.

(96) a. *gèr*^{n}*ɛ̀*$^{L-LH}$*sùgó* ‘host (who provides lodging for a visitor)’
gèr^{n}*ɛ̀*$^{L-LH}$*sùgó bè*
gèr^{n}*é* ‘house’
súgó(-m) ‘(cause to) go down’

b. *gèr*^{n}*ɛ̀*$^{L-LH}$*tĕ:* ‘host’ [synonym of (a)]
gèr^{n}*ɛ̀*$^{L-LH}$*tĕ: bè*
gèr^{n}*é* ‘house’
té: ‘put (e.g. for storage)’ (homonym of ‘weave’)

5.1.6 Diminutive *-ý* and compounds with *î:* ‘child’

A fairly productive nominal diminutive is formed by adding suffix-like *-ý* to the tone-dropped noun stem or to a noun-adjective sequence. The pattern is common for implements in particular. In many examples, only the diminutive form is attested (97b). Especially with monosyllabic stems (97c) the

segmentation is nontransparent. In a few cases a *C*-final stem adds a short *i* before *-y*. Alternatively we could recognize a diminutive variant *-ǐ:* .

(97)

diminutive	gloss	related stem
a. simple and diminutive attested		
V-final stem		
bàŋà-ý	‘small eating bowl’	*bàŋá* ‘eating bowl’
bɔ̀gì-ý	‘navel’	*bɔ̀gú* ‘protruding navel’’
bùnɔ̀-ý	‘beer jar’	*búnɔ́* ‘beer jar’
dùgɔ̀-ý	‘necklace’	*dúgɔ́* ‘necklace’
dùlɔ̀-ý	‘pin of daba blade’	*dúlɔ̀* ‘tail’
è:^{n}-kɛ̀lɛ̀-ý	‘small powder horn’	*è:^{n}-kɛ́lɛ̀* ‘gunpowder horn’
kɔ̀rɔ̀-ý	‘calabash ladle’	*kɔ̀rɔ́* ‘calabash’
kìnɛ̀-ý	‘heart of palm’	*kínɛ́* ‘liver (and heart)’
kɔ̀ljà:-ý	‘small intestine’	*kɔ̀ljâ:* ‘intestines’
lèrè-ý	‘new branch’	*léré* ‘grow a new branch’
màlbà-ý	‘toy rifle’	*málbá* ‘rifle’
tàjì-ý	‘small straw basket’	*tájù* ‘straw basket’
tìbì-ý	‘pebble’	*tíbú* ‘stone’
tòmɔ̀-ý	‘small branch basket’	*tòmɔ́* ‘branch basket’
ùjì-ý	‘bellows (n)’, see (62)	*újù* ‘breath’
yù:-[ɔ̀lì-ý]	‘millet sprout’	*ǒl* ‘wet; fresh’
C-final stem		
ùmùlì-ý	‘small waterskin’	*ùmûl* ‘waterskin’
wèlì-ý	‘vein’	*wèl-*, *-wél* ‘vein’ (cpds)
b. only diminutive is attested		
bèŋɛ̀lɛ̀-ý	‘insect gall’	
bɔ̀:rɔ̀-ý	‘sack, bag’	
dàŋà-ý	‘small waterjar’	
dù:rì-ý	‘thin-necked gourd’	
gìrì-ý	‘eye(s)’	
gònɔ̀-ý	‘depression in field’	
gòrò-ý	‘filtering basket’	
gù-gònì-ý	‘spoon’	
kɛ̀jɛ̀-ý	‘trigger’	
kòbìli-ý	‘pod shell’	
kɔ̀rgò-ý	‘sickle’	
kɔ̀rɔ̀-[pègèlɛ̀-ý]	‘small round calabash’	
kɔ̀r^{n}ì-ý	‘native guitar’	
nàr^{n}ì-ý	‘kidney(s)’	

pì-pènɛ̀-ý	‘writing tablet’
tònɔ̀-ý	‘waterjar’
tònòlò-ý	‘star’
wɛ̀:rɛ̀-ý	‘bowl-shaped basin’
wàjà-wàjà-ý	‘leather baggage holder’
yà-[tùmɔ̀-ý]	‘mound in field’

c. segmentation doubtful synchronically

nɔ̌y	‘hand’, cf. ‘foot’ (98d)	*nùmɔ́ (Tommo So *nùmɔ́*, etc.)
mɔ̌y	‘gum arabic’	

In *nènɛ̌:* ‘tongue’, variant of /H/-melody *néné* ‘tongue’, the long final vowel and the rising tone melody point to an original diminutive *nɛ̀nɛ̀-ý. There are a few other nouns with final rising-toned *ɛ̌:* that might also have originated as diminutives. However, they have probably drifted away from the currently productive diminutive type.

For diminutive adjectives in *-ý* see (75) in §4.5.

Diminutive *-ý* is undoubtedly related to *î:* ‘child’. There are also several compounds ending in *-î:* , which is much more transparently a nominal compound final than the suffix-like *-ý*. Again the compound initial is tone-dropped. In a few cases both *-ý* and *-î:* are attested as variants. For animates (98a-b) the plural replaces *î:* by *úrⁿù-m* ‘children’.

(98)

compound	gloss	related form
a. human children (plurals have *-úrⁿù-m* ‘children’)		
bà:^{L}-î:	‘FaBr’s child’	*bá:* ‘father’
nà:^{L}-î:	‘MoSi’s child’	*ná:* ‘mother’
sìlɛ̀^{L}-î:	‘bastard child’	—
gàrì:bù^{L}-î:	‘koranic pupil’	*gàrí:bù* ‘koranic pupil’
b. animal offspring (plurals have *-úrⁿù-m* ‘children’)		
nà:^{L}-î:	‘calf’	*nă:* ‘cow’
ɛ̀rⁿɛ̀^{L}-î:	‘goat kid’	*ɛ̀rⁿɛ́* ‘goat’
c. blades (without handles) (plurals uncommon, with free plural *bɛ̀*)		
ɛ̀rⁿɛ̀^{L}-î:	‘daba blade’	*ɛ́rⁿɛ́* ‘daba (hoe)’
gɛ̀lɛ̀^{L}-î:	‘pick-hoe blade’	*gɛ́lɛ̀* ‘pick-hoe’
sà:rì(:)^{L}-î:	‘plow blade’	*sà:rî:* ‘plow’
dùrù^{L}-î:	‘spear blade tip’	*dùrú* ‘wooden spear’
d. body parts		
kùbɔ̀^{L}-î: ~ *kùbɔ̀-ý*	‘toe’ or ‘foot’	*kúbɔ́* ‘foot’
[gìrì-y]^{L}-î:	‘eyeball’	*gìrì-ý* ‘eye(s)’

e. fruits and other vegetative parts

mɔ̀rⁿɔ̀^{L}*-ý*	'wild-date pit'	*mɔ́rⁿɔ̀* 'wild date'
ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ŋ^{L}*-î:*	'jujube pit'	*ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ŋú* 'jujube'
kùl^{L}*-î:*	'water lily fruit'	*kúl* 'water lily'

f. other

sɛ̀bɛ̀^{L}*-î:*	'sheet of paper'	*sɛ́bɛ̀* 'paper'

The compound *ɔ̀gɔ̀-ý-nɛ̀* 'wealthy person', plural *ɔ̀gɔ̀-ý-m̀*, can be roughly parsed as 'child of wealth (*ɔ̀gɔ́*)', but it has diverged in form from *î:* 'child', irregular plural *úrⁿù-m* 'children'.

5.1.7 Compounds including 'man' (*áy-né*, *àrⁿá*) or 'woman' (*yǎ:-rⁿá*, *yǎ:*)

yǎ:-rⁿá 'woman' (plural *yǎ:-m*) is unreduced in new combinations with modifiers (99a). It is reduced to *yà:-*^{L} or *yà-*^{L} as initial element in some archaic compounds (99b-c). This may reflect an older Jamsay-like morphosyntax where plural marking occurred on postnominal modifiers after unsuffixed nouns.

It is also possible to use *yǎ:* without the human singular suffix as a noun meaning 'female' (e.g. the water sprite in Text 4) or 'girl', as opposed to '(adult) woman'. In this case the plural is *ɲ́ʷ-ɲâ:-m* 'females, girls' with an initial rounded syllabic nasal. This irregular plural recurs in *ɲ̀ʷ-ɲà:-m gùlɔ́-ỳ-m* for 'adolescent girls' in (99b). The syllabic *ɲ̀ʷ-* may be a fused reflex of *úrⁿù-m* 'children'.

(99) a.

yà:-rⁿà^{L} *pòjó*	'full-grown woman'
yà:-rⁿà^{L} *ì:-[dɔ́:ⁿ-né]*	'midwife'
yà:-rⁿà^{L} *dê:-nɛ̀*	'senior wife'

b.

yà:^{L} *gùlɔ̀-ý*	'adolescent girl'
ɲ̀ʷ-ɲà:-m^{L} *gùlɔ́-ỳ-m*	'adolescent girls' (irregular plural)
yà:^{L}*-jǐ:*	'marriage'
yà:^{L} *gûm*	'unmarried woman'
yà:^{L} *bɛ̀rɛ̀*^{L}*-gí-né*	'pregnant woman' (characteristic, §4.2.1)

c.

yà^{L} *pɛ̌y-né*	'old woman'
yà^{L} *pǎn-né*	'widow'
yà^{L}*-sǎ:*	'(man's) sister'
yà^{L}*-kàná*	'newlywed bride'

áy-né 'man' (plural *árⁿú-m*) is usually regular (100a), but does have a reduced form in a few combinations. *àrⁿà*^{L} in (100b) is homophonous with the tone-dropped form of *àrⁿá* 'rain (n)'.

(100) a. *ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *pɛ̌y-né* 'old man' (many similar examples)

b. *àrⁿà*[L] *pǎn-né* ‘widower’

c. *à*[L]*-sàrⁿá* ‘(woman’s) brother’
á-káná ‘newlywed husband (groom)’

As modifying adjectives, for example after animal terms to specify gender, the forms are *yǎ:* ‘female’ and *àrⁿá* ‘male’. These adjectives may also have more abstract senses, as in (101).

(101) a. *yù:*[L] *àrⁿá* ‘high-quality millet (reserved for eating later)’
yǔ: ‘millet’

b. *bàgà*[L] *àrⁿá* ‘beam in roof of shelter’
bágá ‘stick, staff’

5.1.8 Compounds with *bàŋâ:* ‘owner’

As an independent noun, ‘owner, master’ is *bàŋâ:*, plural *bàŋâ: bè*. It does not take the usual singular and plural suffixes for human nouns.

‘Owner’ is most common as a compound final [L]*bàŋà* with a range of senses, occasionally literal (102a), more often abstract (102b). The compound is possessive-type, with the initial in its regular input form and with ‘owner’ tone-dropped to [L]*bàŋà*. This compound pattern competes with characteristic denominal derivatives (§4.2.1).

(102) a. *gèrⁿé* [L]*bàŋà* ‘homeowner’ *gèrⁿé* ‘house’

b. *múŋàl* [L]*bàŋà* ‘tolerant person’ *múŋàl* ‘tolerance, patience’
yárdà [L]*bàŋà* ‘kind person’ *yárdà* ‘good nature, kindness’
hɔ́là:l [L]*bàŋà* ‘respected one’ *hɔ́là:l* ‘respect and trust’
kû: [L]*bàŋà* ‘youth leader’ *kû:* ‘head; leader’

For some speakers, addition of definite *ŋè* reverts the tones to *bàŋâ:*, as in *kû:* [L]*bàŋâ: ŋè* ‘the youth leader’. However, in recordings with older speakers (e.g. Text 1 @ 00:40), I hear forms like *gèrⁿé* [L]*bàŋà: ŋè* ‘the homeowner (=head of family)’ with lengthened but L-toned [L]*bàŋà:* .

5.1.9 Loose and tight compounds with *ná:* ‘authentic; entire’

ná: is a modifying adjective (or compound final) meaning ‘entire X’, especially in connection with trees and other plants whose basic term often refers to the fruit or some other part. Thus *máŋgò:rò* ‘mango’, *màŋgò:rò*[L] *ná:* ‘mango tree’.

ná: can also mean 'primary' or 'authentic', whereby the phrase denotes a prototypical or full-sized individual or subtype. For example, from *àrùgǒy* 'boubou' (man's robe-like outer garment), *àrùgòy*^{L} *ná:* 'primary boubou' denotes various large-sized and elegant boubous. From *kǔy* 'mortar (for pounding with a pestle)', *kùy*^{L} *ná:* denotes the largest type, in which entire millet grain spikes (similar to corn cobs) are pounded to dislodge the grains, often in a special area at the edge of the village. The famous Dogon *tògù*^{L} *ná:* is the main men's shelter (palaver house) in a village, distinct from several other simple men's shelters (*tógù*).

áy-nɛ́ 'man' combines with modifying adjective *ná:* as *ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *ná:* 'old (including middle-aged) man'.

ná: is homophonous to the noun 'mother' and the connection is recognized by speakers.

A syncheronic relationship to iterative compounds of the shape *X-nà:-X* is most reasonable for the intensified adjectives in §4.5.3, but more difficult in the sometimes obscure nominal compounds of the same form covered in the next section below.

5.1.10 Compounds with medial linking element (*X*^{L}*-nà:-X*)

In a handful of flora-fauna terms, a monosyllabic stem-like morpheme X is repeated on both sides of an intervening *-nà:-*. The first X is L-toned. The second has falling tone, which may reflect an {HL} overlay but might also be taken as lexical (it is difficult to connect these morphemes with independently occurring nouns). Four flora-fauna examples have turned up. They denote small, pesky insects or plants (103). In the last example, a compound initial is added.

(103) *ɛ̀m*^{L}*-nà:-ɛ̂m* 'tiny bee sp. (feeds on flies)'
dèy^{n}^{L}*-nà:-dêy*^{n} 'wood-eating beetle sp.'
ɔ̀r^{L}*-nà:-ɔ̂r* 'stiletto-fly larva'
áy-[dɔ̀ŋ^{L}*-nà:-dɔ̂ŋ]* 'herb with burrs' (*Pupalia lappacea*)

The pattern *X*^{L}*-nà:-X* is not limited to flora-fauna terms. The example in (104) is very similar tonally.

(104) *pùrù*^{L}*-nà:-púrù*
'women's collective chopping of green branches (April-May)'
(from verb *púró* used to denote this activity)

The adjectival examples of *X-nà:-X* in §4.5.3, which function as intensified versions of the base adjective X, are indistinguishable in form the nouns in (103-104). At least the adjectival type may be historically related to *ná:* 'authentic; entire' (§5.1.9 above).

Some other Dogon languages have *X-mà:-X* instead of *X-nà:-X* in flora-fauna compounds, complicating the diachronic situation.

5.1.11 Instrumental verbal-noun compounds (‘iron-pot scraper’)

A verbal noun with {L}-toned stem and final *ú* (or for monosyllabics *-y*) can occur as a compound final. The compound functions as an autonomous noun, or as a modifier for a noun that denotes a general class of objects. Even in autonomous function, this compound differs from one with a noun followed by a verbal noun in resultative adjectival function (§4.5.2). For example, in (105b), *bàrmà*^{L}*-[kɔ̀j-ú]* does not denote an iron pot that is used for scraping, rather an unspecified object that is used to scrape iron pots.

(105) a. *gùlɔ̀*^{L} *[lòbò-lò]*^{L}*-[làb-ú]* ‘small trimming ax’ (< *gùlɔ́*)
lóbó-ló lábá ‘do some wood-carving’

b. *bàrmà*^{L}*-[kɔ̀j-ú]* ‘scraper for iron pot’
bármà ‘iron pot’
kɔ́jɔ́ ‘scrape’

c. *ɛ̀n*^{L}*-[bùb-ú]* ‘chewstick, toothpick’
ɛ̌n ‘tooth’
bùbɔ́ ‘pick one’s teeth with chewstick’

d. *lò:sòn*^{L}*-[kùn-ú]* ‘ramrod holder (under rifle barrel)’
ló:sòn ‘ramrod (for reloading)’
kúnɔ́ ‘put’

e. (diminutive)
kù:^{L}*-[sɔ̀n-ì-ý]* ‘pointed implement for undoing braids’
kû: ‘head’
sɔ́nɔ́ ‘undo (braids, with combing motion)’
sɔ̀n-ú ‘undoing (verbal noun)’

5.1.12 Purposive verbal-noun compounds (‘water for drinking’)

In (106), the verbal noun is again a compound, as in the preceding section, and cf. §5.1.4. However, in the examples illustrated below, the compound refers to the (at least formally) transitive action that the initial modified noun is used for. The compound initial may be a cognate nominal, as with ‘perform (=pray) a prayer’. The verbal noun can be analysed syntactically as a modifying adjective, cf. §4.5.2, but here it denotes the use to which the item is put, rather than a process that has applied to the item.

(106) a. *gùjù*^{L} *sèn*^{L}*-[sĕn-Ø]* ‘prayer skin (for Muslim prayer)’
gùjú ‘skin’
sên sér^{n}*é* ‘pray, perform a Muslim prayer’
(for *r*^{n} ~ *n* see §3.4.4.5 and §3.2.7)

b. *kèrì-ỳ*^{L} *tɔ̀ŋù*^{L}*-[tɔ̀ŋ-ú]* ‘stick for writing (in koranic school)’
kèrú ‘stick’
kèrì-ý ‘stick-Diminutive’
tɔ̀ŋú tóŋɔ́ ‘write, do some writing’

Examples with uncompounded verbal nouns are in (107), modifying *dǐ:* ‘water’, which is tone-dropped as either a modified noun or as a compound initial. Instead of a compound initial as in preceding examples, the verbal noun takes reduplicated form, compare simple verbal nouns *nɔ̀-ý* and *ìn-ì-ý́*.

(107) a. *dì:*^{L} *nù-nɔ̀-ý*
water^{L} Rdp-drink-VblN
‘drinking water’ (*nɔ̌:* ‘drink’)

b. *dì:*^{L} *ì-ʔìn-ì-ý*
water^{L} Rdp-bathe-MP-VblN
‘bathing water’ (*ín-é:* ‘bathe’, mediopassive)

‘Oil, butter’ is *nǐ:* . Differentiating types by function is usually unnecessary, since specifying the source of the oil or butter (e.g. *sà:-nǐ:* ‘wild grape oil’, *pɔ̀l-nǐ:* ‘sesame oil’) implies its function. However, some function expressions were elicited. They show the same reduplicated verbal noun as with ‘water’ above.

(108) a. *nì:*^{L} *pì-pàrì-ý*
oil Rdp-rub-VblN
‘oil for rubbing, body oil’

b. *nì:*^{L} *kì-kà-ý*
oil Rdp-eat-VblN
‘oil for eating, cooking or salad oil’

An isolated type is *kìjɛ̀*^{L} *dɔ́r*^{n}*ɔ́* ‘wares, merchandise for sale’, consisting of *kìjɛ́* ‘thing’ and a form of *dɔ̀r*^{n}*ɔ́* ‘sell’, whose regular verbal noun is *dɔ̌n-Ø* ‘selling’, cf. the related noun *dɔ̂n* ‘sale’ or ‘price’.

5.1.13 Compounds with negative final

Compounds with a verbal noun as final have been illustrated above (§5.1.4), see also §5.1.11 and §4.5.2. In all such cases the verbal noun is understood as positive.

There are a few cases where a perfective negative verb (suffix *-l* and variants) or a stative negative verb form serves as compound final.

In (109a), the compound type is (ǹ v̄), with tone-dropped initial and regular tones on the negative verb. The underlying main clause is illustrated in (109b). The verb is the regular negation of the 'have' stative quasi-verb. 'Arrogance' is therefore expressed as 'not having prudence'.

(109) (ǹ v̄) type

a. *dìmɛ̀*^{L} *sɛ̀-lɛ́* 'arrogance'

b. *X* *dímɛ̀* *sɛ̀-lɛ́-Ø*
X prudence have-StatNeg-3SgSbj
'X has no prudence (= is arrogant or headstrong).'

Example (110a) is probably a bahuvrihi (§5.2.1.1), so the initial has its regular melody and the final, a perfective negative verb, is tone-dropped. This tone pattern is also found with possessive-like compounds. (110a) is related to the noun-verb collocation in (110b), compare §11.1.3.2.

(110) (n̄ v̀) type (bahuvrihi or possessive-like)

a. *kínɛ̀-* ^{L}*[à:-l]* 'disappointed, mildly sad'

b. *[X* ^{L}*kìnɛ̀]* *ǎ:-l- Ø*
[X ^{L}liver/heart] catch-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'X's liver/heart was not caught.' (= 'X was disappointed.')

5.1.14 Compounds with negative initial

I can cite the example in (111), where *-là* functions as negative of the verb *tɔ́:rɔ́* 'instruct, authorize'. Compare stative negative *=lá*, but note that *tɔ́:rɔ́* is an active verb.

(111) *[tɔ̀:rɔ̀-là]*^{L}*-bírɛ́*
[instruct-Neg]^{L}-work(n)
'lack of discipline (doing un-asked-for things)'

A similar example is *[kɔ̀:-là]*^{L}*-bírɛ́* 'effrontery (doing something outrageous)', from verb *kɔ́:*, which has various senses including 'raise (a child)'.

5.1.15 Other phrasal compounds

A traditional wooden spear with backward-facing barbs that make it difficult to extricate the tip after it penetrates into flesh, is called *[dàmà-ŋ́]-[bìɲɛ̀-ŋ́]*. This is interpreted by speakers as meaning "don't push, don't pull," cf. verbs *dàmá* 'push' and *bìɲɛ́* 'pull'. The synchronic prohibitive suffix is *-nɔ̀w^{n}*, so if the etymology is broadly correct *-ŋ́* may be an archaism or from another Dogon variety.

The omasum, a third stomach of ruminant animals that has many page-like folds (archaic English synonyms are *manyplies* and *psalterium*), is called *[yìgè-n]*^{L}*-[dɛ̌n-Ø]* in verbal-noun form, literally "shaking all day." For the *-n* see §15.2.1.2.

[yà-y]-dɔ́: in Text 5 @ 04:29 is an unusual compound with an {L}-toned form of *yà-ý* 'going' (verbal noun) or perhaps *yǎ-y* 'go' (chaining form), and an H-toned form of *dɔ̌:* 'arrive'. The context is finally approaching harvest time.

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi ("Blackbeard") compounds

Bahuvrihi compounds correspond to English adjectives with *-ed*, like *big-bellied* and *two-headed*. Neither the initial nor the final refers to the class of entities that the overall compound denotes. Rather, the initial and the final jointly describe some attribute of the referent.

5.2.1.1 With adjectival compound final, chiefly (n̄ à)

Here the initial is a noun denoting a part or other attribute of the referent, and the final is an adjective that describes this part or feature. In (112), which appears to represent the regular pattern, the formula is (n̄ à), i.e., the part/feature noun has lexical tones and the adjective is tone-dropped. (112a) is used by itself as a noun, while the examples in (112b) involve a bahuvrihi modifying a referential noun ('person').

(112)	a.	*gùjú-*^{L}*gɛ̀m*		'black-skinned one, African'
		skin-^{L}black		(cf. *gɛ́m* 'black')
	b1.	*ìnɛ̀*^{L}	*kínɛ̀-*^{L}*èlèl*	'happy person' ("sweet-hearted")
		person^{L}	heart-^{L}sweet	(cf. *élèl* 'sweet')
	b2.	*ìnɛ̀*^{L}	*kínɛ̀-*^{L}*pìl*	'honest person' ("white-hearted")
		person^{L}	heart-^{L}white	(cf. *píl* 'white')
	c.	*dɔ̂n-*^{L}*yɔ̀rù*		'inexpensive' ("soft-priced")
		sale-^{L}soft		(cf. *yɔ̀rú* 'soft')

d. *kû:-*^{L}*mà:* ‘stubborn’ (“hard-headed”)
head-^{L}hard (cf. *mă:* ‘dry; hard’)

e. *[gìrì-ý]-*^{L}*mà:* ‘nosy, brazen’ (“hard-eyed”)
[eye-Dimin]-^{L}hard (cf. *mă:* ‘dry; hard’)

f. *ìnɛ̀*^{L} *[kúbɔ́]-*^{L}*gɔ̀nù* ‘bowlegged one’
person^{L} [foot]-^{L}crooked (cf. *gɔ̀nú* ‘crooked, curved’)

g. *ìnɛ̀*^{L} *[áŋá]-*^{L}*wɛ̀y* ‘gossipy one’ (“light-mouthed”)
person^{L} [mouth]-^{L}light (cf. *wɛ́y* ‘lightweight’)
[synonym *[áŋá]-*^{L}*bèrù* , lit. “near-mouthed”)

In Text 3, for example @ 00:12, the protagonists all have bahuvrihi names (Big-head, Dry-leg, and Massive-belly). The adjectival compound final is {L}-toned in each case.

In (113), also a bahuvrihi semantically (allowing for a slightly irregular form of ‘eye’), but specialized as a fauna term, the noun is again tone-dropped but the adjective has {HL} overlay.

(113) *gìlɛ̀*^{L}*-*^{HL}*gêm* ‘Abyssinian ground hornbill’ (lit. “black-eye” ?)
eye(?)^{L}-^{HL}black (cf. diminutive *gìrì-ý* ‘eye’, *gɛ́m* ‘black’)

See also (110a) above.

5.2.1.2 With numeral compound final (ǹ nûm)

Here the compound expresses the number of body parts/features of the referent, e.g. ‘one-eyed’, ‘two-headed’. In (114a-b), the noun is tone-dropped and the numeral has {HL} overlay. In (114b), the bahuvrihi is used adverbially with the verb *kúnɔ́* ‘put’. (114c), by contrast, follows the regular tonal pattern of noun-adjective bahuvrihis, with tone-dropped final; see (112) in the preceding section.

(114) a. *[gìrì-ỳ]*^{L}*-*^{HL}*túrù* ‘one-eyed’ (cf. *gìrì-ý* ‘eyes’, *túrú* ‘one’)

b. *kùy*^{L}*-*^{HL}*lêy kúnɔ́* ‘(two women) pound in mortar with alternate strokes’ (cf. *kŭy* ‘mortar’, *léy* ‘2’)

c. *sìbɛ́-*^{L}*này* ‘square, rectangle’ (cf. *sìbɛ́* ‘corner’, *năy* ‘4’)

6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

The observable features relevant to NP structure are linear order, position of number-humanness suffixes, tonosyntax, and the break point in relative head NPs.

6.1.1 Linear order

The order of elements within an NP is (115), omitting NP-final discourse-functional (DF) particles like 'only' and 'too'. Plural is marked suffixally on most human nouns, and more freely on demonstratives.

(115) Order of NP constituents

possessor (preposed, pronominal or nonpronominal)	poss
noun	n
adjective(s)	adj
cardinal numeral	num
possessor (postposed, pronominal)	poss
determiner (demonstrative or definite)	det (dem, def)
free plural marker (*bè*)	pl
'all' quantifier	quant

Examples showing the ordering relationships are in (116).

(116)	*gèrⁿέ*	'house'	n
	séydì ^{L}*gèrⁿè*	'Seydou's house'	poss n
	gèrⁿè^{L} *dê:*	'big house'	n adj
	[gèrⁿè dè:]^{L} *nǒ:*	'this big house'	n adj dem
	gèrⁿè^{L} *dê: kúlòy*	'six big houses'	n adj num
	[gèrⁿè dè: kùlǒy]$^{L+H}$ *mɔ̀*	'my six big houses'	n adj num poss
	[gèrⁿè kùlòy]^{L} *nǒ:-m̀*	'these six houses'	n num dem
	gèrⁿέ mɔ̀ ŋè-m	'my houses (definite)'	n poss def
	gèrⁿέ mɔ̀ bè	'my houses (indefinite)'	n poss pl
	[gèrⁿè kùlǒy]$^{L+H}$ *gè-m*	'the six houses'	n num def
	gèrⁿέ ŋè-m pú→	'all the houses'	n def quant

In the analysis of relative constructions (Chapter 14), I suggest placing "relative clause" between Poss-N-Adj-Num-Poss and Det-Pl-'all'.

6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of modifiers with omitted noun)

Demonstratives like *nɔ̌:* 'this' and *kó* 'that', and *pú→* 'all', can readily function syntactically as NPs, without a head noun (117a-b). This absolute function is also possible, though less common, for adjectives and numerals (117c-d).

(117) a. *kó* *mí-ỳ* *óbó* / *òb-ú*
Dist 1Sg-Acc give.Imprt / give.me.Imprt
'Give me that!'

b. *pú→* *òb-ú*
all give.me.Imprt
'Give (it) all to me!'

c. *bán* *mí-ỳ* *óbó* / *òb-ú*
red 1Sg-Acc give.Imprt / give.me.Imprt
'Give me a red one!'

d. *tă:n* *mí-ỳ* *óbó* / *òb-ú*
three 1Sg-Acc give.Imprt / give.me.Imprt
'Give me three!'

Possessors can also function absolutely, with the possessum omitted (because contextually given). The definite marker follows the possessor. The L-toned postnominal forms of these possessors become HL-toned in absolute function (§6.2.1.2 below). Nonpronominal possessors require possessive *mɔ̀*.

(118) a. *[ɔ̂:* *gɛ̀]* *mí-ỳ* *òb-ú*
[2SgPoss Def] 1Sg-Acc give.me.Imprt
'Give me yours!'

b. *[ámàdù* *mɔ̀* *ŋɛ̀]* *mí-ỳ* *òb-ú*
[A Poss Def] 1Sg-Acc give.me.Imprt
'Give me Amadou's!'

In a few fixed phrases, *mɔ̀* occurs before a nonzero possessum. See *yɔ́: mɔ̀ nɔ̀:* 'the one of this year' Text 5 @ 03:51.

The absolute possessor form is required in 'belong to' predicates, which add the 'it is' enclitic, hence *ɔ̂:=y* '(it) is yours-Sg' and *[ámàdù mɔ̀]=y* '(it) is Amadou's' (§11.5.2).

Definite *gɛ̀* cannot be used absolutely. In discourse-definite function, demonstrative *kó* 'that (same) one' effectively replaces *gɛ̀*, with which it is probably cognate.

6.1.3 Apparent bifurcation of NPs as relative heads

The head NP of a relative clause seemingly divides into a primary head NP that remains inside the clause, maximally Poss-N-Adj-Num, and an NP coda that appears after the verb-participle of the relative clause, consisting of determiners, the free plural marker, and 'all' quantifiers. In (119a), 'sheep', 'big', and 'six' remain clause-internal, while the definite determiner follows the verb. (119b) shows a possessor remaining with the clause-internal head NP. (119c) has a postverbal demonstrative. (119d) has a postverbal 'all' quantifier. The coda elements are bolded in interlinears in these examples.

(119) a. *[pèjù dɛ̀: kùlòy]*^{L} *ú* ^{L}*ɛ̀bɛ̀* *gɛ̀-m*
[sheep big six]^{L} 2SgSbj ^{L}buy.Pfv.Ppl **Def-Pl**
'the six big sheep that you-Sg bought'

b. *[sɛ̌ydù* ^{L}*[pèjù]*^{L}*]* ^{HL}*yîm-Ø* *ŋɛ̀*
[S sheep] ^{HL}die-Pfv.Ppl **Def**
'the sheep-Sg of Seydou's that died'

c. *pèjù*^{L} *mú* ^{L}*ɛ̀bɛ̀*^{L} *nɔ̌:*
sheep^{L} 1SgSbj ^{L}buy.Pfv.Ppl^{L} **Prox**
'this sheep that I bought'

d. *àr^{n}ù-m*^{L} *ɔ̌l* ^{HL}*yâ-y-m* *ŋɛ̀-m* *pú→*
man-Pl^{L} field ^{HL}go-Pfv.Ppl-Pl **Def-Pl** **all**
'all the men who went to the fields'

6.1.4 Number-humanness suffixation and concord

For most human nouns, number (human singular, human plural) is marked by suffixes on the noun itself. There is no concord between a noun and a following modifying adjective or numeral, with some exceptions involving the noun *ìnɛ́* 'person', on which see the discussion following (44) above.

(120) a. *yǎ:-r^{n}á*
woman-Sg
'(a) woman'

b. *yà:-r^{n}à*^{L} *gàbú*
woman-Sg^{L} tall
'(a) tall woman'

c. *yǎ:-m* *kúlòy*
woman-Pl six
'six women'

However, determiners (demonstratives, definite) agree with the noun, or rather the number of the referent of the noun. With typical human common nouns like 'woman', determiners in effect agree with the grammatical number already marked on the noun (121a-b). However, plural determiners are also freely used with kin terms that do not consistently allow plural suffixation, like 'sister(s)' (121c), and with inanimate nouns like 'house' (121d-e).

(121) a. *yǎ:-r^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀*
woman-Sg Def
'the woman'

b. *yǎ:-m* *ŋɛ̀-m*
woman-Pl Def-Pl
'the women'

c. *yà:-sǎ:* *gɛ̀-m*
or: *yà:-sǎ:-m* *ŋɛ̀-m*
female-sister(-Pl) Def-Pl
'the sisters'

d. *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *nɔ̌:-m̀*
house Prox-Pl
'these houses'

e. *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́* *ŋɛ̀-m*
house Def-Pl
'the houses'

6.1.5 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping

Given a maximal NP of the type Poss-N-Adj-Num-Poss-Rel-Det-'all'-DF, the string to the left of the relative clause (Poss-N-Adj-Num-Poss) seemingly separates from the NP coda (Det-'all') in relative clauses. However, this is misleading, since the relative construction is really an NP containing a

relative clause, with the Poss-N-Adj-Num-Poss substring then shifting into the relativization site (Chapter 14).

The tonosyntactic controllers within an NP are preposed (but not postposed) possessors, adjectives, relative clauses (which target the internal head NP, i.e. the Poss-N-Adj-Num-Poss substring), and demonstratives. These controllers are reference restrictors, intersecting the set of entities that the substring they have scope over could otherwise denote. By contrast, numerals, 'all', and discourse-functional (DF) markers do not restrict reference. Definites are borderline cases, since e.g. 'the dog' is not contrasted with any other dogs, whereas 'this dog' is implicitly contrasted with other dogs. Postposed possessors (pronominal, alienable) are reference restrictors, but they fail to control tone overlays, probably because they are still treated as appositional ("house$_x$ [your thing$_x$]"), so that the possessor ostensibly has immediate scope only over the original 'thing' noun, which is loosely appositional to 'house'.

Both preposed possessors (the only left-to-right controllers) and the several postnominal right-to-left controllers (adjectives, relatives, demonstratives) target the noun and any intervening words, and under some conditions words on the opposite side of the noun. The tone overlay controlled by all of these elements is {L} in YS. Conflicts among two or more right-to-left controllers, e.g. in N-Adj-Dem ('this black house') are moot, since we will get the correct output with {L}-toned noun and adjective whether we first produce [N^{L} Adj] and then add the demonstrative to produce [[N$^{(L)}$ Adj]^{L} Dem], or whether we allow the demonstrative to control {L} on the N-Adj sequence in a single step: [[N Adj]^{L} Dem].

Conflicts between preposed possessors and any postnominal controller, as in Poss-N-Adj or Poss-N-Dem, need resolution only to the extent that the target domain of the tone overlay extends beyond the noun, since the noun itself will be {L}-toned regardless of which element has control of it. For example, in alienable possession, Poss-N-Adj is realized as Poss-^{L}[N-Adj], with {L}-toned adjective as well as noun, showing that the possessor dominates. In other cases where we cannot determine which element controls the noun or N-Adj combination, I put the superscript ^{L} on both sides of the affected domain, as in Poss-^{L}[N-Adj]^{L}-Dem, since either the alienable possessor or the demonstrative could by itself control {L} on N-Adj.

There is one specifically constructional tonosyntactic pattern that cannot be generated by applying the regular tone overlays associated with the controllers that are present, in any sequential or hierarchical order. This is the combination of a numeral and either a definite or a postposed possessor in the same NP. Whereas none of these is able individually to control {L} on a preceding noun or N-Adj, the combination Num-Def or Num-Poss does trigger a tonosyntactic transformation, resulting in [N (Adj) Num]$^{L+H}$ Def/Poss. See (125c-d) in §6.2.1.2 and (145c-e) in §6.5.4 and surrounding discussion.

6.1.6 Human/nonhuman or animate/inanimate?

Many Dogon languages have a more or less well developed binary animacy division, especially within NPs (occasionally reflected in predicates). Depending on the language it is either animate/inanimate (with plants treated as inanimate) or human/nonhuman. The distinction is

sometimes leaky, as when the nonhuman or inanimate predicate ‘be absent’ spreads into human/animate contexts.

In YS, the morphology of nouns distinguishes human from nonhuman, since human singular *-né* and human plural *-m* do not occur with nouns denoting animals or inanimates. However, kin terms do not readily allow these suffixes despite being entirely human. Furthermore, the fact that the other human nouns that do allow them keep them when followed by modifiers (including adjectives) suggests incipient lexicalization. In addition, the “same” plural suffix *-m* readily extends to animals and inanimates in determiners (definite and demonstrative), as in *péjù gɛ̀-m* ‘the sheep-Pl’ and *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *nɔ̌:-m̀* ‘these houses’, and optionally to animals in relative-clause verb-participles.

Adjectives have no animacy or plural suffixation. Definite determiners mark plural but not animacy. This is also true of the most common demonstratives (*nɔ̌:* ‘this’, *kó* ‘that’). However, in discourse-definite contexts *kó* competes with *wó-gɔ̀* (attested in texts with mostly human referents) and *wò-gɔ̌:* (attested in a two passages in the texts, with abstract referent).

3Sg pronoun *wó* has generally ousted the former inanimate pronoun *kó* in true pronominal contexts, for example as H-toned subject proclitic in relative clauses. *kó* remains common in discourse-definite and nonproximate demonstrative functions.

Verbs do not generally distinguish animacy or humanness even in 3Sg pronominal-subject suffixes. However, the important locational predicate ‘be (somewhere)’ or ‘exist, there is’ (§11.2.2.2) does distinguish animate *wɔ̀-* from inanimate *kɔ̀-*. The animacy distinction in these ‘be’ quasi-verbs is not systematic, especially among younger speakers.

6.2 Possessives

6.2.1 Alienable possession (Poss ^{L}N, etc)

Alienable possession applies to all nouns except kin terms and a few similar relationship expressions, on which see §6.2.2, below.

6.2.1.1 Nonpronominal NP as prenominal possessor

When the possessor is a nonpronominal NP, it precedes the possessum regardless of alienability value. For example, ‘Seydou’ precedes the possessum both in (alienable) ‘Seydou’s house’ and in (inalienable) ‘Seydou’s father’. However, the tonosyntax is not identical in the two cases, as we will see when the possessum is extended by a numeral (§6.2.2.2). The present section covers alienable possession only.

The possessor NP has the same form, morphologically and tonally, that it would have as an independent NP. There is no genitive morpheme between a preposed possessor and a nonzero possessum, though a morpheme *mɔ̀* occurs when the possessum is omitted (§6.1.2). The N-Adj-Num portion of the possessum is entirely tone-dropped. That is, {L} is overlaid on the main part of the possessum, under the control of the possessor. It is indeterminate whether the target domain of {L} also includes a definite marker, since definites are already L-toned. In (122), the form taken by the

possessum when it is not possessed is presented in parentheses after the free translation, to show the audible tonal changes. Underlining indicates audible tone-dropping that is specifically attributable to the presence of a prenominal possessor.

(122)

	possessor	possessed
a.	*sěydù*	^{L}*gèr^{n}ê*
	S	^{L}house
	'Seydou's house' (< *gèr^{n}é*)	

b. *[ày-nè*^{L} *nǒ:]* ^{L}*[gèr^{n}è dè:]* *gè*
[man-Sg^{L} Prox] ^{L}[house big] Def
'this man's big house' (< *gèr^{n}è*^{L} *dê: gè*)

c. *[ày-nè*^{L} *ná: (ŋè)]* ^{L}*[gèr^{n}è kùlòy]* *gè-m*
[man-Sg^{L} old (Def)] ^{L}[house six] Def-Pl
'The old man's six houses.' (< *[gèr^{n}è kùlǒy]*$^{L+H}$ *gè-m*)

When both a prenominal possessor NP and a final demonstrative pronoun are present (*Seydou house this* = 'this house of Seydou's'), either the possessor or the demonstrative by itself would be sufficient to control tone-dropping on the intervening numeral phrase. So tone-dropping on these words is (at least) doubly conditioned, which I indicate by putting superscript ^{L} on both left and right edges of the target domain. In a combination like (*Seydou* ^{L}*[house big]*^{L} *this* = 'this big house of Seydou's'), the noun 'house' is already tone-dropped by the following modifying adjective, so one could even say that the tone-dropping of 'house' in the larger phrase is triply conditioned. However, I do not add a superscript in such cases.

(123)

sěydù	^{L}*[gèr^{n}è*	*dè:]*^{L}	*nǒ:*
Seydou	^{L}[house	big]^{L}	this

'this big house of Seydou's'

(123) and similar examples show that the possessum overlay does not extend to the demonstrative, and vice-versa. That is, tone-dropping due to a possessor or to a demonstrative applies maximally to a N-Adj-Num string.

In the following section we will see that something like the {L} possessum overlay is also found with postposed pronominal possessors—but with a catch!

6.2.1.2 Postnominal pronominal possessors

For alienable nouns, i.e. nouns other than kin terms, a pronominal possessor is expressed by a form that originated as an appositional combination of the type 'my/your/… possession' following the

numeral phrase (noun, adjective, numeral) denoting the possessed entity. 1st/2nd person possessors are much reduced in form, but third-person possessors still have a bimorphemic look.

The pronominal forms are in (124). 3Sg is used for nonhumans as well as humans: *nɔ̌y wò-mɔ̀* 'his/her hand/arm, its (= tree's) branch'. The forms are all heard as L-toned following an overt possessed noun (or a numeral phrase). In absolute form ('mine', 'yours'), the tone pattern is HL. The 1Pl form begins with *ɛ*, not *e*. The *-mɔ̀* ~ *-mɛ̀* morpheme in the third-person forms is etymologically the same as the *mɔ̀* that occurs with nonpronominal possessors in absolute function (§6.1.2). Both the postnominal and absolute forms in (124) are limited to alienable possession. There is no absolute form for inalienable possession; one must repeat the kin term in e.g. *[mú* ^{L}*dè: lè→] [ú* ^{L}*dè: le]* 'my father and your-Sg father'.

(124) Postposed pronominal possessors (alienable possession)

category	after noun (N)	absolute
1Sg	N *mɔ̀*	*mɔ̂:*
2Sg	N *ɔ̀:*	*ɔ̂:*
3Sg	N *wò-mɔ̀*	*wó-mɔ̀*
1Pl	N *ɛ̀mɛ̀*	*ɛ́mɛ̀*
2Pl	N *ɛ̀:*	*ɛ̂:*
3Pl	N *bɛ̀-mɛ̀*	*bɛ́-mɛ̀*

The only situation in which a pronominal possessor from (124) may precede an overt possessum is when the entire possessed NP functions as relative-clause head. In this context, preposing the pronominal possessor combination, with HL tone pattern as in absolute function, is a stylistically marked option; see (400) in §14.1.1 for examples and discussion.

When a possessum follows a nonpronominal possessor NP ('Seydou's three big houses'), the {L} possessum overlay applies in one fell swoop to the entire N(-Adj)(-Num) sequence, see §6.2.1.1, above. When the possessor is a postnominal pronominal possessor from (124), above, the situation changes. Here the rule is that the entire N(-Adj)-Num string preceding the pronominal possessor is tone-dropped, except for a final H-tone at the very end of the numeral, a pattern I refer to as {L}+H. In an N-Adj-Poss sequence (125b), we expect [N^{L} Adj Poss] anyway since the adjective elsewhere controls tone-dropping on the noun: [N^{L} Adj]. What is new in [[N (Adj) Num]$^{L+H}$ Poss] is that the adjective and most of the numeral are tone-dropped and the numeral has its final syllable or mora H-toned (125c-d).

(125) a. *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́* *wò-mɔ̀* *(ŋɛ̀)*
house 3Sg-Poss (Def)
'his/her house'

b. *gèr^{n}è*^{L} *dê:* *wò-mɔ̀* *(ŋè)*
house^{L} big 3Sg-Poss (Def)
'his/her big house'

c. *[gèr^{n}è*^{L} *kùlŏy]*$^{L+H}$ *wò-mɔ̀* *(ŋè-m)*
[house **six]**$^{L+H}$ 3Sg-Poss (Def-Pl)
'his/her six houses'

d. *[gèr^{n}è* *dè:* *kùlŏy]*$^{L+H}$ *wò-mɔ̀* *(ŋè-m)*
[house big **six]**$^{L+H}$ 3Sg-Poss (Def-Pl)
'his/her six big houses'

Further examples are in (126). The final word in the N(-Adj)-Num string is variously /H/ ('long'), /HL/ ('seven'), or /LH ('three'), in all cases with the lexical melody preserved before the pronominal possessor, while nonfinal words in the numeral phrase are tone-dropped.

(126)

N(-Adj)(-Num)	gloss	'his/her …'
gèr^{n}è^{L} *pàlá*	'long house'	*gèr^{n}è*^{L} *pàlá wò-mɔ̀*
gèr^{n}é sɔ̂y	'seven houses'	*gèr^{n}è*^{L} *sɔ̂y wò-mɔ̀*
gèr^{n}é kúlòy	'six houses'	*[gèr^{n}è kùlŏy]*$^{L+H}$ *wò-mɔ̀*
gèr^{n}é tă:n	'three houses'	*[gèr^{n}è tă:n]*$^{L+H}$ *wò-mɔ̀*

The unusual tonosyntactic behavior of numeral-possessor combinations is matched by the similar behavior of numeral-definite combinations, see §6.5.4 below. One can then generalize that the combination of a numeral plus a "determiner" (the latter in a broad sense including possessors) behaves like a controller, even when neither by itself can. Whether this extends to the only remaining semantically similar combination, numeral plus demonstrative, is moot, since demonstratives are full-fledged tonosyntactic controllers, producing such patterns as [N (Adj) (Num)]^{L} Dem whether or not a numeral is present. For similar tonosyntactic patterns in Donno So, see Heath (2015).

sɔ̂y 'seven' and *pél* 'ten', the two basic numerals that are monosyllabic and not lexically /LH/, resist the {L}+H overlay that the nonmonosyllabic numerals accept. My assistant produced forms like *ìjù*^{L} *sɔ̂y gè-m* 'the six dogs', and rejected #*[ìjù sŏy]*$^{L+H}$ *gè-m*. A different speaker likewise gave *àr^{n}àdì:*^{L} *sɔ̂y gè* 'the seven years' (Text 6 @ 01:32). My assistant added *gèr^{n}è pél mɔ̀ ŋè-m* 'my ten houses'.

Within the context of the semantic theory of Dogon tonosyntax (Heath & McPherson 2013), the most straightforward way to interpret these phenomena is to recognize that definites are borderline reference restrictors (weakened demonstratives, so to speak), and that postposed possessors are reference restrictors semantically but are inhibited from overt controller status by their residual appositional structure ('house [my possession]' = 'my house'). The addition of a numeral can then be viewed as a catalyst that tips the balance, allowing definites and postposed possessors to activate their weak or latent control power.

It remains to explain the final H-tone in {L}+H, realized at the end of the numeral. Historically, and one might argue synchroncally, it originated in the pronominal possessor but was then de-linked and now surfaces at the very end of the preceding string. In this model, the 3Sg possessor in (125c-d) above starts out as *wó-mɔ̀* with initial H-tone, which is in fact its absolute form (when the possessum is omitted) (124). (125c), for example, starts out as /[gèr^{n}é kúlòy] wó-mɔ̀/, which after implementation of {L} overlay is /[gèr^{n}è kùlòy]^{L} wó-mɔ̀/. Then the initial H-tone of *wó-mɔ̀* is detached and floats leftward, docking on the right edge of the N-Num sequence, resulting in the attested *[gèr^{n}è kùlŏy]*$^{L+H}$ *wò-mɔ̀*.

One might go farther and argue that even N-Poss and N-Adj-Poss, as in (125a-b), also initially undergo the possessor-controlled {L} and the leftward transfer of the H-tone, in spite of appearances. However, this would be harder to implement. For example, it would mean that (125a) starts out as *gèr^{n}é wó-mɔ̀*, then becomes *gèr^{n}è^{L} wó-mɔ̀* by tone-dropping, then becomes *gèr^{n}é wò-mɔ̀* by H-transfer. However, in the absence of a numeral, the noun surfaces with its lexical melody: *gèr^{n}é wò-mɔ̀* 'his/her house' with /LH/-melody noun, but *péjù wò-mɔ̀* 'his/her sheep-Sg' with /HL/-melody noun, and so forth. This is also the case with N-Adj-Poss combinations, where the adjective tone-drops the noun as usual, but the adjective surfaces with its lexical melody, as with *dɛ̊:* 'big' in (125b). So in order to save the suggested derivation, the transferred H-tone would have to merge with the preexisting H-tone in the lexical melody of the final preceding word, whether noun or adjective, in effect freeing the relevant word from the target domain of {L}.

6.2.2 Inalienable possession

6.2.2.1 Inalienable nouns

Inalienable possession applies to kin terms and some other relationship terms. All other nouns are alienable.

In spite of the name "inalienable," kin and relationship terms can occur in unpossessed form, as in 'I have a father/a friend.' The lexical tone melody can be observed in such forms (127).

(127) Inalienably possessed nouns

a. kinship (examples)

bá:	'father' (synonym *dé:*)
dé:	'father' (synonym *bá:*)
ná:	'mother' (see also §5.1.9)
délé	'elder brother'
dì-dă:, dà-dă:	'elder sister' (cf. §4.1.4.2)
súgɔ́-né	'younger sibling' (plural *súgó-m*)
sá:	'(man's) sister'
à-sàr^{n}á	'(woman's) brother'
níɲù	'maternal uncle'

nèrⁿé	‘paternal aunt’
ìgì-yă:	‘co-wife’ (contains *yă:* ‘female’)
áwⁿá	‘parent-in-law’

b. other relationships

ángé	‘friend’
tɔ́:rⁿɔ́	‘agemate’ (cf. §18.4.1-2)
tɔ́gɔ̀rɔ̀	‘homonym’ (one with the same name, regional word)

These inalienables (except *súgɔ́-né* ‘younger sibling’) differ from many other human nouns in usually not showing singular and plural suffixes, compare singular *dɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́* ‘Dogon (person)’ and plural *dɔ̀gɔ̌-m*. However, these suffixes can be added to inalienables under limited conditions. This happens most systematically in contexts where the identity of the possessor is generic or otherwise backgrounded, as in definite *bá:-né ŋɛ̀* ‘the father’ and its plural *bá:-m ŋɛ̀-m* ‘the fathers’ in generic statements (or when the speaker wishes to avoid explicitly mentioning the possessor). Suffixation also occur occasionally with kin terms when adjectivally modified, as in *nà:(-nɛ̀)* ᴸ *sálá* ‘a bad mother’, where the short form without suffix is preferred.

‘X’s wife’ is expressed as ‘X’s woman’, with alienable possession: *yă:-rⁿá mɔ̀* ‘my wife’. Likewise ‘X’s child’: *î: mɔ̀* ‘my child (son or daughter)’.

6.2.2.2 Inalienable possession

The possessor precedes the inalienably possessed noun. This applies even to pronominal possessors, which follow alienably possessed nouns. The forms used for pronominal possessors of inalienable nouns are in (128). They are identical to the independent pronouns, and differ in form from the postposed pronominal possessor forms used with alienables. 3Sg is used for nonhuman animals as well as for humans: *wó* ᴸ*nà:* ‘his/her/its mother’.

(128) Pronominal possessors with inalienably possessed noun

category	form	‘X’s mother’
1Sg	*mú*	*mú* ᴸ*nà:*
1Pl	*émɛ́*	*émɛ́* ᴸ*nà:*
2Sg	*ú*	*ú* ᴸ*nà:*
2Pl	*é*	*é* ᴸ*nà:*
3Sg	*wó*	*wó* ᴸ*nà:*
3Pl	*bé*	*bé* ᴸ*nà:*

For 1Pl, note also the lexicalized phrase *émè nàm* 'our people (=kin)' (Text 6 @ 00:39).

If the possessor of an inalienable is a nonpronominal NP, it takes the same form (morphologically and syntactically) that it would have as an independent NP, or as the possessor of an alienable noun like 'house' (129).

(129) a. *ày-nè*^{L} *ná:* *ŋè*
man-Sg^{L} old Def
'the old man'

b. *[ày-nè*^{L} *ná:* *ŋè]* ^{L}*nà:*
[man-Sg^{L} old Def] ^{L}mother
'the old man's mother'

c. *[ày-nè*^{L} *ná:* *ŋè]* ^{L}*gèr^{n}è*
[man-Sg^{L} old Def] ^{L}house
'the old man's house'

The inalienable 'mother' (129b) and the alienable 'house' (129c) are both tone-dropped. So far it looks as though there is no difference between alienable and inalienable possession when the possessor is a nonpronominal NP. However, if we add adjectives and numerals to the possessed nouns, we find differences between alienable and inalienable constructions.

When an adjective is added to an inalienable noun, as in (130a), a nonpronominal possessor like 'Seydou' controls tone-dropping on the noun-adjective sequence (130b). This is the same pattern as with alienable nouns. However, when the inalienable possessor is pronominal, the preposed possessor and the noun are jointly tone-dropped under the control of the adjective (130c).

(130) a. *nà:(-nè)*^{L} *sálá*
mother(-Sg)^{L} bad
'a bad mother'

b. *sěydù* ^{L}*[nà:* *sàlà* *gè]*
S ^{L}[mother bad Def]
'Seydou's bad mother'

c. *[mù* *nà:]*^{L} *sálá* *gè*
[1SgPoss mother]^{L} bad Def
'my bad mother'

So far there has been no difference between alienable and inalienable possession when the possessor is nonpronominal. In both constructions, the nonpronomnal possessor is preposed and preserves its regular independent NP form (including tones), while controlling tone dropping on a following possessed noun or noun-adjective sequence.

The difference between alienable and inalienable possession is finally revealed when a numeral is added. Whereas the numeral is included in the domain of the {L} overlay on an alienable possessor, this is not so in the inalienable case. The distinction can be brought out sharply by comparing the segmentally identical nouns *nă:* 'cow' (alienable) and *ná:* 'mother' (inalienable). Both are tone-dropped under the control of a preposed possessor (131a-b), and a following adjective is also tone-dropped in both cases (131c-d). However, when a numeral is added, only the alienable construction extends the target domain of the {L} overlay all the way to the end of the numeral (131e,g,i). In the inalienable case, the tonal treatment of the numeral is not controlled by the possessor. If no definite marker is present, the numeral surfaces with its lexical melody (131i). If there is a definite marker, the numeral appears with {L}+H overlay (131f,h). For {L}+H, see (125c-d) and (126) above and accompanying discussion. In (131f) and (131h), tone-dropping on the noun or N-Adj preceding the numeral is ambiguously, or doubly, controlled by both the {L} from the preposed possessor and the {L}+H from the final definite marker, hence the alternative tonosyntactic bracketings shown under the free translations.

Throughout (131), the unpossessed forms of the relevant NPs are shown in parentheses.

(131) a. *sěydù* ^{L}*nà:*
S ^{L}cow
'Seydou's cow' (< *nă:*)

b. *sěydù* ^{L}*nà:*
S ^{L}mother
'Seydou's mother' (< *ná:*)
[homophonous to (a)]

c. *sěydù* ^{L}*[nà:* *sàlà]*
S ^{L}[cow bad]
'Seydou's bad cow' (< *nà:*^{L} *sálá*)

d. *sěydù* ^{L}*[nà:* *sàlà]*
S ^{L}[mother bad]
'Seydou's bad mother' (< *nà:*^{L} *sálá*)
[homophonous to (c)]

e. *sěydù* ^{L}*[nà:* *kùlòy]* *gè-m*
S ^{L}[cow six] Def-Pl
'Seydou's six cows' (< *nă: kúlòy*)

f. *sěydù* ^{L}*nà:* *kùlǒy*$^{L+H}$ *gè-m*
S ^{L}mother six^{L+H} Def-Pl
'Seydou's six mothers' (< *ná: kúlòy*)
alternative tonosyntactic bracketing: *sěydù [nà: kùlǒy]*$^{L+H}$ *gè-m*

g. *sěydù* ^{L}*[nà:* *sàlà* *kùlòy]* *gè-m*
S ^{L}[cow bad six] Def-Pl
'Seydou's six bad cows' (< *nà:*^{L} *sálá kúlòy*)

h. *sěydù* ^{L}*[nà:* *sàlà]* *kùlǒy*$^{L+H}$ *gè-m*
S ^{L}[mother bad] six^{L+H} Def-Pl
'Seydou's six bad mothers' (< *nà:*^{L} *sálá kúlòy*)
alternative tonosyntactic bracketing: *sěydù [nà: sàlà kùlǒy]*$^{L+H}$ *gè-m*

i. *sěydù* ^{L}*[nà:* *kùlòy]*
S ^{L}[cow six]
'six cows of Seydou's' (< *nă: kúlòy*)

j. *sěydù* ^{L}*nà:* *kúlòy*
S ^{L}mother six
'six mothers of Seydou's' (< *ná: kúlòy*)

It remains to consider what happens when a numeral is added to an inalienably possessed noun (or core NP) with a postposed pronominal possessor. When a numeral and a definite marker are added to (132a) to produce (132b), or to (132c) to produce (132d), the numeral appears with {L}+H overlay as usual in Num-Def combinations, but the preposed possessor also drops its tone (1Sg *mú* becomes *mù*), showing that it, and by implication the noun or N-Adj, are part of the target domain of {L}+H. This supports the case for the alternative tonosyntactic bracketings in (131f,h) above. If there is no definite marker, the numeral appears with its lexical melody and does not interact tonosyntactically with the preceding Poss-N (132e).

(132) a. *mú* ^{L}*nà:*
1SgPoss ^{L}mother
'my mother'

b. *[mù* *nà:* *kùlǒy]*$^{L+H}$ *gè-m*
[1SgPoss mother six]$^{L+H}$ Def-Pl
'my six mothers'

c. *[mù* *nà:]*^{L} *sálá* *gè*
[1SgPoss mother]^{L} bad Def
'my bad mother'

d. *[mù* *nà:* *sàlà* *kùlǒy]*$^{L+H}$ *gè-m*
[1SgPoss mother bad six]$^{L+H}$ Def-Pl
'my six bad mothers'

e. *mú* *ᴸnà:* *kúlòy*
1SgPoss mother six
'six mothers of mine'

6.2.3 Recursive possession

Recursive possession is easily expressed. One possessed NP, after its own form has taken shape, can function as (prenominal) possesor of a following possessum. Alienable and inalienable possession are readily combinable in such stacked possessives.

(133) a. *[mú* *ᴸbà:]* *ᴸgèrⁿè*
[1SgPoss ᴸfather] ᴸhouse
'my father's house'

b. *[péjù* *mɔ̀]* *ᴸnà:*
[sheep 1SgPoss] ᴸmother
'my sheep-Sg's mother'

c. *[mú* *ᴸàngè]* *ᴸbà:*
[1SgPoss ᴸfriend] ᴸfather
'my friend's father'

6.3 Noun plus adjective

6.3.1 Noun plus regular adjective (core NP)

A noun drops tones before a modifying adjective, which keeps its lexical melody in the absence of tone-dropping from an external controller.

(134)

gloss	noun X	'a good X'	'a red (brown) X'
'house'	*gèrⁿé*	*gèrⁿèᴸ èjú*	*gèrⁿèᴸ bán*
'stone'	*tībú*	*tìbùᴸ èjú*	*tìbùᴸ bán*
'child'	*î:*	*ì:ᴸ èjú*	*ì:ᴸ bán*

A human noun that takes singular/plural suffixation retains the suffix before an adjective. The adjective does not agree with the noun morphologically, although the plural particle *bè* is optionally added when the reference is plural (for humans or nonhumans).

(135) a. *dɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ̀*^{L} *èjú*
Dogon-Sg^{L} good
'a good Dogon (person)' (*dɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́*)

b. *dɔ̀gɔ̀-m*^{L} *èjú* *(bè)*
Dogon-Pl^{L} good (Pl)
'good Dogon (people)' (*dɔ̀gɔ̌-m*)

A marginal exception is that *ɲ̀*^{w}*-ɲà:-m*^{L} *gùlɔ́-ỳ-m* 'adolescent girls' has plural *-m* twice (compare singular *yà:*^{L} *gùlɔ̀-ý*), but this form is highly irregular in other ways and its syntactic parsing as N-Adj is far from transparent.

The slightly irregular noun *ìné* 'person' has a suffixed plural *ìné-m* 'people', but this plural form is generally not used before an adjective. With this noun, the adjective normally takes the suffix, as though N-Adj functioned as a compound.

(136) a. *ìnɛ̀*^{L} *èjú* *gɛ̀*
person^{L} good Def
'the good person'

b. *ìnɛ̀*^{L} *èjú-m* *ŋɛ̀-m*
person^{L} good-Pl Def-Pl
'the good people'

The plural suffix is likewise often omitted on 'person' as head of a relative clause, even with plural reference. The suffix is absent in (401), though present in (415b).

For phrases containing more than one adjective, see §6.3.3.1, below.

6.3.2 Adjective *gǎm* ~ *gàmá:* 'certain (ones)'

gǎm or *gàmá:* 'certain (ones)' divides a set into two subsets associated with different predicates. It patterns as an adjective and therefore tone-drops a preceding modified noun. The latter has its regular suffixal plural marking, except that the very common combination with *ìné* 'person' (plural *ìné-m*) usually omits plural *-m* in this and some other modified contexts (137a). Other nouns like 'woman' that regularly take the plural suffix do show it before *gǎm*.

(137) a. *[[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *gǎm]* *kó* *bì-ɛ̀:*^{n}*]* *gǎm* *yà-ɛ̀:*^{n}
[[person^{L} **certain**] DiscDef stay.Pfv 3PlSbj, **certain** go.Pfv-3PlSbj
'Some people stayed there, (while) some (=the others) went away.'
(*ìnɛ̀-m*^{L} *gǎm* with plural suffix on 'person' is also possible but less common)

b. *yà:-m*^{L} *gǎm*
woman-Pl^{L} **certain**
'certain women'

My assistant used the short form *gǎm*, while *gàmá:* occurred in recordings from somewhat older speakers, as in Text 6 @ 05:22 and 05:40.

gǎm is not ordinarily used with singular nouns. With nonhuman animate nouns, the noun has no plural marking but it is semantically plural and takes 3Pl agreement: *nà:*^{L} *gǎm* 'some cows'. Nouns like 'millet' denoting crops are singular in English but, like 'cow(s)', are treated as plural: *yù:*^{L} *gǎm* 'some millet' (i.e. 'some millet plants' or 'some millet grains').

wàr^{L} *gǎm* means 'sometimes', cf. *wá:rú* and variants 'time'.

6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences

There is no systematic ordering principle for multiple adjectives within an NP. (138a) and (138b) are interchangeable, except for possible nuances that are difficult to pin down.

(138) a. *[gèr^{n}ɛ̀* *dɛ̀:]*^{L} *bán*
[house big]^{L} red
'a big red house'

b. *[gèr^{n}ɛ̀* *bàn]*^{L} *dɛ̌:*
[house red]^{L} big
[= (a)]

In such combinations, the final adjective retains its lexical melody (unless tond-dropped by some still more external controller), while all nonfinal words in the sequence are tone-dropped. There is no way to determine whether such tone-dropping within core NPs of three or more words is cyclical or occurs in one step. In the cyclical model, 'house' is first tone-dropped under the control of the inner adjective, then the latter is tone-dropped under the control of the final adjective. The other possibility (one step) is that the final adjective controls simultaneous tone-dropping on the noun and the inner adjective. I generally opt for the latter analysis but it cannot be indisputably proved.

6.3.3.2 Adjectival intensifiers

Intensifiers that are added to specific adjectives (cf. *snow white*, *dead drunk*, *stark naked*) belong to the general class of expressive adverbials (EAs). Unlike the English parallels, some of which refer to exemplars ('snow'), the YS intensifiers usually have no other lexical sense. Most are unrelated phonologically to the adjective they are associated with, but some are derived from those adjectives

by special iterative processes. Others are frozen iterations with shapes like *CvCv-CvCv*. A third iteration is also possible in these cases. See §8.4.7.1 for examples and fuller analysis of the forms.

Adjectival intensifiers often follow the regular adjective or an associated verb (inchoative). However, in indefinite NP-like sequences like (139a), the intensifier does not really fit into an NP-like phrase with the preceding words, and it may be prosodically marked off. Adding a definite marker makes it easier to integrate it. 'White' is part of an {L}-toned domain in (139b), suggesting that *pàrá-pàrá(-pàrá)* is treated like a second adjective in definite NPs. The most reliable way to integrate an intensifier into a larger NP is to first make it predicative (139c), then make a relative clause out of this. In (139d), 'white house' is the internal head NP, and 'very white' is predicative.

(139) a. *[gèrè*^{L} *píl]* *pàrá-pàrá(-pàrá)*
[house^{L} white] **very.white**
'a very white house'

b. *[gèrè* *pìl]*^{L} *pàrá-pàrá(-pàrá)* *gè*
[house white]^{L} **very.white** Def
'the very white house'

c. *pàrá-pàrá(-pàrá)* *kɔ̀*
very.white be.Inan
'It is very white'

d. *[gèrè* *pìl]*^{L} *pàrá-pàrá(-pàrá)* *kɔ̂:*
[house white]^{L} **very.white** be.Inan.Ppl
'(a) very white house', 'a white house that is very white'

For a simple morphological way to make an adjective intensive, see §4.5.3.

6.4 Core NP plus cardinal numeral

6.4.1 N-Num and N-Adj-Num

The core NP (noun plus any adjectives) may be followed by a numeral. This N(-Adj)-Num string plays a role in the syntax (including tonosyntax) of possession and relativization. For example, it constitutes the target domain for tone-dropping under the control of a preceding nonpronominal NP possessor in the alienable possession construction. It also remains intact when it functions as head of a relative clause, while more peripheral elements (determiners, 'all', the free plural particle) seemingly shift to a position following the verbal participle. However, this last feature may really reflect the linear position of relative clauses, prior to movement of the NP-inernal material to their left into the relativization site.

Here we consider simpler NPs that end in a numeral. There is no tonal interaction between the numeral and the preceding core NP. Both the numeral and the final word of the core NP preserve their lexical tones, including at least one H-tone.

(140) a. *ìjú / péjù* *tǎ:n*
dog / sheep three
'three dogs/sheep'

b. *[ìjù*^{L} *dùgú / bán]* *tǎ:n*
[dog^{L} big / red] three
'three big/red dogs'

Although numerals do not control tone-dropping in simple numeral phrases like these, the combination of a numeral plus a pronominal possessor does control tone-dropping on precedings words in the NP, in the fashion of modifying adjectives. See §6.2.1.2 and §6.2.2.2 above.

Human nouns that take plural suffix *-m* keep it before nonsingular numerals, as in *yǎ:-m nùmɔ́r^{n}ɔ́* 'five women'. The irregular plural for 'children' occurs with a numeral in *úr^{n}ù-m tǎ:n* 'three children' in Text 4 @ 00:01.

6.4.2 Adjective-Numeral Inversion

In some Dogon languages, the sequence N-Adj-Num is optionally inverted to N-Num-Adj in the presence of an "inversion licensor" such as a demonstrative, a possessor, a relative clause, or (in some languages) a definite marker. My YS assistant did not accept inverted sequences. For him, (141a) cannot be inverted to (141b).

(141) a. *[ìjù* *dùgù* *tà:n]*^{L} *nɔ̌:-m̀*
[dog big three]^{L} Prox-Pl
'these three big dogs'

b. # *[ìjù* *tà:n* *dùgù]*^{L} *nɔ̌:-m̀*
[dog three big]^{L} Prox-Pl
[intended sense = (a)]

6.5 NPs including a determiner

Demonstrative pronouns and definite morphemes follow numerals when both are present. Demonstratives, but not definite morphemes, control tone-dropping on preceding words in the NP.

6.5.1 Discourse-definite *kó*

6.5.1.1 *kó lè* 'thereupon'

kó lè, with discourse-definite demonstrative *kó* and versatile postposition *lè* (dative, instrumental, comitative), can function as a regular PP argument or adjunct, as in (142).

(142) *[kó* *lè]* *kír^{n}-à:y-Ø*
[**DiscDef** Dat] be.fed.up-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'He/She is fed up with it.'

However, *kó lè* is also common at junctures in narratives and anecdotes. It can be translated as 'thereupon' or 'at that point'. Examples are Text 6 @ 04:19 and Text 5 @ 02:15.

Discourse-definite manner adverbials ('thus') can function in a similar way (§4.4.2.3).

6.5.1.2 *kó* before numeral

Combinations like *kó ˈtúrú* 'one (of them)' and *kó ˈléy* 'two (of them)' are common, in the absence of an overt noun. They occur in contexts where the entity to be enumerated is understood. H-toned numerals are usually downstepped.

6.5.2 Postnominal demonstrative pronouns

A N(-Adj)(-Num) string may be followed by a demonstrative pronoun in modifying function. The demonstrative tone-drops the noun and any intervening modifiers. For the forms of demonstrative pronouns, see §4.4.1.2, above. Phrasal examples are in (143). The corresponding strings without the demonstrative are given in parentheses.

(143) a. *ìjù*^{L} *nǒ:*
dog^{L} this
'this dog' (*ìjú*)

b. *[ìjù* *dùgù]*^{L} *nǒ:-m̀*
[dog big]^{L} Prox-Pl
'these big dogs' (< *ìjù*^{L} *dùgú*)

c. *[ìjù* *dùgù* *tà:n]*^{L} *kó-m̀*
[dog big three]^{L} Dist-Pl
'those three big dogs' (< *ìjù*^{L} *dùgú tǎ:n*)

While adjectives, numerals, and possessors remain with an NP that functions as internal head of a relative, demonstratives and other determiners follow the verb-participle (§14.1.8 below).

A demonstrative is not subject to the {L} possessum overlay under the control of a preposed possessor (§6.2.1.1, above).

6.5.3 Invariant proximate *nɔ̌:* after pronoun or adverb

Invariant proximate *nɔ̌:* can be added, with no tonosyntactic interactions, to a first person or logophoric pronoun (singular or plural) or to semantically proximate spatiotemporal adverbs ('here', 'now', 'this year'). Examples are 1Pl *émɛ́ nɔ̌:* (Text 6 @ 04;05), logophoric singular (quoted 1Sg) *ìnɛ̌m nɔ̌:* Text 2 @ 00:24), *né: nɔ̌:* 'now' (Text 5 @ 02:27), *né: kày nɔ̌:* topicalized 'as for now' (Text 6 @ 04:50), and *yɔ́: mɔ̀ nɔ̀:* 'the one of this year' Text 5 @ 03:51. The latter has L-toned *nɔ̀:* following possessive *mɔ̀*.

6.5.4 Definite morpheme (*gɛ̀* , *ŋɛ̀* and their plurals) plus noun

Definite morphemes do not co-occur with demonstratives. Both occupy the same position immediately following the numeral phrase (noun plus any adjectives and/or numerals), and both follow the verb-participial when the NP functions as relative-clause head.

The forms of definite morphemes are presented in §4.4.1.1, above. Definite morphemes are L-toned. Unlike demonstratives, they have no tonal effect on a preceding noun or N-Adj within the NP. Therefore whether the definite marker is present or not in (144a-b) has no tonal effect on the preceding words. However, when a numeral combines with a definite marker, the combination controls {L} on a preceding noun or N-Adj (144c-e).

(144) a. *ìjú* *(gɛ̀)*
dog (Def)
'(the) dog'

b. *ìjù*^{L} *dùgú* *(gɛ̀)*
dog^{L} big (Def)
'(the) big dog'

c. *[ìjù* *kùlɔ̌y]*$^{L+H}$ *gɛ̀-m*
[dog six]$^{L+H}$ Def-Pl
'the six dogs'

d. *[ìjù* *dùgù* *kùlɔ̌y]* *gɛ̀-m*
[dog big six]$^{L+H}$ Def-Pl
'the six big dogs'

e. *[yà:-m* *dùgù* *kùlǒy]*$^{L+H}$ *gɛ̀-m*
[woman-Pl big six]$^{L+H}$ Def-Pl
'the six big women'

A definite morpheme may follow a possessed noun, but it is not required. In this combination it has a discourse-definite function, referring back to preceding discourse. An example is *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ mɔ̀ ŋɛ̀* ('the house of mine [that I was talking about]').

6.6 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.6.1 Universal quantifiers ('all')

In addition to the 'all' and 'each' quantifiers described below, mention may be made of double-negative phrasing of the type '[[X that NEG VP] NEG exist]', meaning '[Every/Any X that VP] exists]'. This is the common way to combine 'all/every/any' with existential predicates. See (428a-c) below, and Text 6 @ 01:57, for examples.

6.6.1.1 *pú→* 'all'

pú→ 'all' prosodically resembles an expressive adverbial, i.e. its vowel can be prolonged variably for emphasis. Prepausally it tends toward mid pitch. It can function as the final element in an NP, as shown by the fact that the accusative morpheme appears, if at all, following rather than preceding *pú→* in (145b). The accusative form can be pronounced [pū:(:)ì] or [pū:(:)wi:]. *pú→* is a pure universal quantifier and does not imply being together. For example, (145b) does not necessarily refer to a single massacre event.

(145) a. *[ár^{n}ú-m* *ŋɛ̀-w^{n}]=ì:* *dǎ-y-t-ɛ̀:^{n}*
[man-Pl Def-Pl]=Acc kill-Chain-Pfv1b-3PlSbj
'They killed the men.'

b. *[ár^{n}ú-m* *ŋɛ̀* *pú→](-ỳ)* *dǎ-y-t-ɛ̀:^{n}*
[man-Pl Def **all**](-Acc) kill-Chain-Pfv1b-3PlSbj
'They killed all the men.'

c. *émɛ́* *ˈpú→*
1Pl **all**
'all of us; we all' (also *ém pú→*)

For clause-final *pú→* in conditional antecedents, see §16.2.1.

6.6.1.2 *kàm* ~ *kêm* 'all (together)'

This quantifier is attested in the form *kàm* after H-toned pronominals, which may be responsible for its L-tone. It can be slightly lenited to *gàm*. The phrases that include it denote groups of individuals, and their being together is often implied. It may be followed by *pú→*.

(146) a. *émɛ́ kàm (pú→)* 'all of us'
b. *é kàm (pú→)* 'all of you'
c. *bé kàm (pú→)* 'all of them'
d. *ìnɔ̌: (~ ìnɛ̌m) bè kàm (pú→)* 'all of them (logophoric)'

kêm ˈpú→ 'all' (Text 5 @ 04:57) and *cêm ˈpú→* (Text 5 @ 03:28 and 03:31), which are not preceded by pronominals, are variants that reveal the lexical /HL/ melody.

6.6.1.3 *wôy* and *sákkéléw→*

ém wòy 'we (all) together)' occurs in Text 6 @ 02:10 in the context of a group of individuals arriving (together) at an aircraft destination. The unsyncopated variant *émɛ́ wòy* is also possible. *wòy* also occurs with other plural pronominals: *é wòy* 'you-Pl (all) together', *bé wòy* 'they (all) together', logophoric plural *ìnɔ̌: bè wò*y. The 3Pl combination *bé wòy* is required after a nonpronominal NP: *úrⁿù-m bé wòy* '(the) children (all) together'. The H-toned pronouns may be responsible for the L-tone of *wòy*.

To emphasize universality, *pú→* 'all' is added: *ém wòy ˈpú→* 'all of us together'.

wòy is probably the same element as *wêy*, 'all', which is attested (with special intonation) in willy-nilly conditionals (§16.3). This variant may bring out the lexical /LH/ melody. See also (364) below.

émɛ́ wôy sákkéléw→, ending with what may have once been an intensifier for 'all (together)', functions as a fixed phrase at the end of a tale. It is difficult to parse or even bracket. The final word is perhaps etymologically composite (*sák-kéléw→*). It does not occur elsewhere, and is the only known case of an apparent geminated stop cluster (§3.2.8.2).

6.6.2 'Each' or '(not) any' (*kâːⁿ*)

The distributive quantifier *kâːⁿ* in the sense 'each' was elicitable (in positive utterances) only in combination with the noun *ìnɛ́* 'person', which is tone-dropped: *ìnɛ̀*ᴸ *kâːⁿ* 'each person' or 'everyone' (Text 5 @ 00:35 and 02:01),

For other NPs, an iterated distributive numeral *tú-túrú* with senses like 'one by one, individually' is used when distributivity is centrally important. This can also apply to pronouns: *émɛ́ tú-túrú pú→* 'each one of us'. More often, the universal quantifier *pú→* 'all' is used in contexts where the sense 'each' might be appropriate. That is, the distinction between 'all' and 'each' is usually not made.

In Text 5 @ 00:29, *wàgèm-gèrⁿέ gèrⁿέ púˊ* 'each clan-house' has both an iterated compound final (noun *gèrⁿέ* 'house') and *púˊ* 'all'.

In the sense '(not) any', in combination with a negative predicate, *kâːⁿ* also occurs in *kìjɛ̀* ᴸ *kâːⁿ* '(not) anything' or 'nothing', based on *kìjέ* 'thing'.

6.7 Accusative (*=ỳ*)

Accusative *=ỳ* is added to human direct (and some other) objects. After a word-final consonant it takes syllabic form *=ìː*, as in (145a) above, which also shows that this combination can trigger lenition of otherwise word-final *m* to *wⁿ* (§3.4.4.4). It occurs at the end of an NP or pronoun, after any determiners and/or quantifiers. It does not co-occur with (other) postpositions, and could be considered to be a postposition itself.

Care must be taken to distinguish the accusative morpheme, which is always L-toned, from the 'it is' clitic *=y* (which also functions as focus marker). The latter is atonal, and gets its tone by spreading from the preceding word (§3.6.1.3). The two are audibly distinct after a noun ending in an H-tone, such as *yǎ́ː-rⁿá* 'woman'. Compare accusative *yǎ́ː-rⁿá=ỳ* in sentences like 'I saw a woman' with *yǎ́ː-rⁿá=y* 'it's a woman' (or focalized 'a woman'). There is no audible distinction, however, after an NP ending in an L-tone, such as an NP ending with a definite morpheme.

For an inanimate noun like 'stone', a direct object may be marked by focus *=y* for object-focalization (147b,d,f). Inanimates do not allow the accusative marker (147a,c,e).

(147) a. *tíbú* *jɛ̀ŋέ=bɛ̀-m*
stone pick.up=Past-1SgSbj
'I picked up a stone.'

b. *tíbú=y* ᴸ*jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-m*
stone=**Foc** ᴸpick.up.Pfv-1SgSbj
'It's a stone [focus] that I picked up.'

c. *[tíbú gɛ̀]* *jɛ̀ŋέ=bɛ̀-m*
[stone Def] pick.up=Past-1SgSbj
'I picked up the stone.'

d. *[tíbú gɛ̀]=y* ᴸ*jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-m*
[stone Def]=**Foc** ᴸpick.up.Pfv-1SgSbj
'It's the stone [focus] that I picked up.'

e. *[tíbú gɛ̀]* *jí-jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[stone Def] Rdp-pick.up-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will pick up the stone.'

f. *[tíbú* *gɛ̀]=y* *jɛ̀ŋnɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[stone Def]=**Foc** pick.up-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'It's the stone [focus] that I will pick up.'

With a human object NP, focus *=y* occurs in object-focalized clauses (148c,e), while accusative *=ỳ* is found in non-object-focalized contexts (148a-b,d).

(148) a. *yă:-r^{n}á=ỳ* *jɛ̀ŋɛ́=bɛ̀-m*
woman-Sg=**Acc** pick.up=Past-1SgSbj
'I picked up a woman.'

b. *yă:-r^{n}á=y* ^{L}*jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-m*
woman-Sg=**Foc** ^{L}pick.up.Pfv-1SgSbj
'It's a woman [focus] that I picked up.'

c. *[yă:-r^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀]=ỳ* *jɛ̀ŋɛ́=bɛ̀-m*
[woman-Sg Def]=**Acc** pick.up=Past-1SgSbj
'I picked up the woman.'

d. *[yă:-r^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀]=y* ^{L}*jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-m*
[woman-Sg Def]=**Foc** ^{L}pick.up.Pfv-1SgSbj
'It's the woman [focus] that I picked up.'

e. *[yă:-r^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀]=ỳ* *jí-jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[woman-Sg Def]=**Acc** Rdp-pick.up-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will pick up the woman.'

f. *[yă:-r^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀]=y* *jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[woman-Sg Def]=**Foc** pick.up-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'It's the woman [focus] that I will pick up.'

The accusative is common with pronouns: 1Sg *mí-ỳ*, 2Sg *ú-ỳ*, etc. (see §4.3.1 for the forms). I transcribe the accusative as a suffix *-ỳ* in these highly fused forms, but there would be no objection in principle to the enclitic notation *=ỳ*. In object function, 3Sg *wó-ỳ* is used for human reference following the rules for human NPs given above, but the 3Sg pronoun is usually omitted for nonhumans. The point is illustrated by the presence of *wó-ỳ* in the final clause of (149a) and by its absence in that of (149b). The 'see' clauses are backgrounded perfectives.

(149) a. *[[yă:-rⁿá ŋɛ̀] yê: gɛ̀]*
[[woman-Sg Def] see.Pfv.Ppl Def]
[wó-ỳ jɛ̀ɲɛ́ = bɛ̀-m]
[3Sg-**Acc** pick.up=Past-1SgSbj]
'I saw the woman, then I picked her up.'

b. *[[tíbú gɛ̀] yê: gɛ̀] [Ø jɛ̀ɲɛ́ = bɛ̀-m]*
[[stone Def] see.Pfv.Ppl Def] [(**3Sg**) pick.up=Past-1SgSbj]
'I saw the stone, then I picked it up.'

Accusative *= ỳ* also marks the recipient (Z) of a ditransitive verb like 'X give Y [to Z]' and 'X show Y [to Z]', as in (150).

(150) a. *[péjù gɛ̀] [mú* L*bà:] = ỳ óbó = bɛ̀-m*
[sheep Def] [1SgPoss Lfather]=**Acc** give=Past-1SgSbj
'I gave the sheep-Sg to my father.'

b. *[péjù gɛ̀] ú-ỳ tá:rà-jɛ̀-m*
[sheep Def] 2Sg-**Acc** show-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will show you-Sg the sheep-Sg.'

For accusative *= ỳ* in causative clauses, see §11.1.2, below.

7 Coordination

7.1 NP coordination

7.1.1 NP conjunction (*[X lè] [Y lè]*)

Many conjoined nouns are bipartite 'X and Y'. For lists with three or more elements, see §7.1.3 berlow.

The primary 'and' morpheme is *lè*, following both conjuncts. This morpheme or a homophone is also a versatile postposition (dative or instrumental, §8.1) and the 'if' marker in conditional antecedents (§16.1).

The occurrence of *lè* after the left conjunct in a two-part conjunction is usually prolonged intonationally. It typically has nonterminal intonational pitch, roughly midway between H and L. A variable degree of prolongation is possible but uncommon on the second *lè*. Short conjunctions like the one with pronominals in (151) may be uttered in a single intonational phrase, but those with heavier conjuncts typically have a prosodic break after the first conjunct (151b).

(151) a. *[ú* *lè→]* *[mú* *lè(→)]*
[2Sg **and**] [1Sg **and**]
'you-Sg and me'

b. *[[ár^{n}ú-m* *ŋɛ̀-m]* *lè→](,)* *[[yǎ:-m* *ŋɛ̀-m]* *lè(→)]*
[[man-Pl Def-Pl] **and**](,) [[woman-Pl Def-Pl **and**]
'the men and the women'

The formulaic expression *[ámà* ^{L}*sàgù] [ú* ^{L}*sàgù]* 'entrusted to God and entrusted to you' can be slightly elaborated as (152). Here *lè* occurs (if at all) only after the first conjunct.

(152) *[ámà* ^{L}*sàgù* *lè]* *[ú* ^{L}*sàg=]* *=ì:*
[God ^{L}trust **and**] [2SgPoss ^{L}trust(n)] it.is
'entrusted to God and entrusted to you-Sg'

7.1.2 Conjunction with *bè*

Especially when both conjuncts are plural, the free plural morpheme *bè* can occur without *lè* in conjoined NPs. In (153a) the nouns are already marked suffixally as plural, and *bè* is not normally added to such nouns except when conjoined. In (153b), the inanimate nouns do not have a plural

suffix, and *bè* is optionally added to unconjoined nouns to specify plurality (‘my goats’), but it is more systematic in conjoined NPs.

(153) a. *[mú* *ᴸdè:-m* *bè],* *[mú* *ᴸnà:-m* *bè]*
[1SgPoss ᴸfather-Pl **Pl**], [1SgPoss ᴸmother-Pl **Pl**]
‘my fathers and my mothers’
(Text 6 @ 01:03)

b. *[èrⁿɛ́* *mɔ̀* *bè(→)],* *[péjù* *mɔ̀* *bè]*
[goat 1SgPoss **Pl**], [sheep 1SgPoss **Pl**]
‘my goats and my sheep’

The combinaton *bè lè(→)* with overt conjunction marker after *bè* is also allowed in these cases. See also the list of government officials in Text 6 @ 03:04, which *bè* with list intonation.

bè is not used in this function after plural pronouns (note that *bé* is the 3Pl pronoun): *émɛ́ lè→, bé lè* ‘we and they’.

When *bè* occurs after a single NP with no additional overt coordinand, it may nonetheless imply the existence of covert coordinands (most often disjuncts). The relevant phrases can be translated with ‘for example’ or ‘etcetera’ (154).

(154) *[ɛ̀ŋɛ́* *bè]* *ó-ʔòbò-y*
[chicken **Pl**] Rdp-give-Ipfv.3PlSbj
‘They give (=sacrifice) a chicken or whatever.’ (Text @ 04:05)

7.1.3 Extended lists

Extended lists show nonterminal intonation, expressed by final mid to high pitch, by conspicuous pausing, and (optionally) prolongation. In (155), the speaker lists several crops that are grown locally. The final *ˡpú→* ‘all’ marks the end of the list.

(155) *pɔ̌:ⁿ↗,* *èmɛ́↗,* *nŭm↗,* *àŋú↗,* *pɔ̀lì-ý↗,* *ˡpú→*
fonio, sorghum, cowpea, roselle, sesame, all
(Text 5 @ 02:33)

See also the list of jobs in Text 6 beginning @ 01:51.

7.1.4 "Conjunction" of verbs, VP, and clauses

Verbs, VPs, and clauses are not conjoined by the particles described above for NP conjunction. Verbs and VPs (verbs with nonsubject complements) can be combined by various forms of chaining (multi-verb constructions), see chapter 15.

Complete clauses can be organized into parallelistic pairs by terminal intonation effects (§3.7.1). The first clause has unfinished intonation, ending in mid to fairly high pitch, while the final clause ends with low pitch. The formula is therefore X →↑, Y→↘. There are many examples in the texts, where the terminal intonation is marked as ↗ (unfinished) or ↘ (finished).

(156) is an example of a more extended list. The passage describes the wide range of job opportunities in Jordan. Each *kɔ̀* is mid-pitched and prolonged. Such lists have no natural endpoint, so a phrase like the double-negative clause at the end of the passage may be used.

(156) *háyà* *bôy* *yá* *kɔ̀→,*
well houseboy Exist be.Inan,
mɔ̀:bìl-[sŭm-Ø] *yá* *kɔ̀→,*
vehicle-[wash-VblN] Exist be.Inan,
gèr^{n}è-[sĕm-Ø] *yá* *kɔ̀→,*
house-[sweep-VblN] Exist be.Inan,
[bìrè^{L} *kɔ̀-lɔ́]* *kɔ̀-lɔ́-Ø* *gì-Ø*
[work^{L} be.Inan-StatNeg.Ppl] be.Inan-StatNeg-3SgSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'(He said:) "Well, there's houseboy (work), there's vehicle washing, there's house sweeping. There is no work that is not there (available).'
(Text 6 around 01:51)

7.2 Disjunction

7.2.1 'Or' (*mà→*)

The 'or' particle is *mà→* after each coordinand. It is subject to intonational prolongation in both initial and final occurrences. The second occurrence may be omitted.

(157) *[sên* *pú→]* *[péjù* *mà→]* *[èr^{n}é* *mà→]* *dà:-y*
[Feast.of.Ram all] [sheep **or**] [goat **or**] kill-Ipfv.1PlSbj
'Every Feast of the Ram we slaughter a sheep or a goat.'

The coordinands may be NPs, perhaps pronouns (158a-b). A pronoun as disjunctive coordinand must occur in the 'it is' form, which is also the focus form in focalized constructions.

(158) a. *[ú=y* *mà→]* *[mí=y* *mà→]*
[2Sg=it.is **or**] [1Sg=it.is **or**]
bàmàkó *yā:-y* *jâ:^{n}* *kɔ̀*
B go-Ipfv.1PlSbj proper be.Inan
'Either you-Sg or I should go to Bamako.'

b. *[ém=í:* *mà→]* *[bé=y* *mà→]* *í-ʔà:-y*
[1Pl=it.is **or**] [2Pl=it.is **or**] Rdp-catch.Ipfv.3PlSbj
'They will catch (=arrest) us or you-Pl.'

The disjuncts can also be adverbs or adverbial phrases. In (159a), 'today' and 'tomorrow' are both in the 'it is' (or focalized) form. The same adverbs occur in a more compact disjunction in (159b), without the 'it is' clitics and with the second 'or' optionally omitted.

(159) a. *[yé:=y* *mà→]* *[yògó=y* *mà→]*
[today=it.is **or**] [tomorrow=it.is **or**]
ú-ỳ *yí-yè:-jɛ̀-m*
2Sg-Acc Rdp-see-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will see you-Sg today or tomorrow.'

b. *[yé:* *mà→]* *[yògó* *(mà→)]*
[today **or**] [tomorrow (**or**)]
'today or tomorrow'

c. *[[[dèm*^{L}*-kɔ́lɔ̀]* *nɛ̀]* *mà→]* *[[[tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ́* ^{L}*dù:]* *nɛ̀]* *mà→]*
[[[room^{L}-stomach] Loc] **or**] [[[tree ^{L}base] Loc] **or**]
bírɛ́ *bírɛ̀-y*
work(n) do-Ipfv.1PlSbj
'We will work either inside the house, or under a tree.'

7.2.2 Clause-level disjunction

Clause-level disjunction is difficult to distinguish from polar interrogation, see §13.2.1.2.

8 Postpositions and adverbials

8.1 Dative and instrumental

The postposition *lè* is used in both instrumental-comitative and (limited) dative, but not locative, functions. The comitative function extends to 'and' in NP conjunctions (Chapter 7). The dative function with 'say' verbs does not extend to the recipient of ditransitives like 'give', which is accusative in form. Optional benefactives are expressed by postposition *nɛ̀* (also locative).

8.1.1 Dative (*lè*)

In dative function, postposition *lè* occurs with verbs of saying, indicating the recipient (addressee).

(160) a. *[mú lè] [ùnɔ̌ː wí-wɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀-Ø] gì-Ø*
[1Sg **Dat**] [Logo Rdp-come-Ipfv-3SgSbj] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He$_x$ told me that he$_x$ would come.'

b. *[[mú ^{L}bàː] lè] [kìjɛ̀^{L} kâː^{n}] gɛ̀-lú-m*
[[1SgPoss ^{L}father] **Dat**] [thing^{L} any] say-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I didn't say anything to my father.'

8.1.2 Instrumental and comitative (*lè*)

This postposition has broad instrumental and comitative functions, like English *with*. Human complements point to comitative sense. Inanimates are usually instrumental but may be comitative. For dative function with 'say', see the preceding section.

Instrumental examples are in (161).

(161) a. *[ìjú gɛ̀](=ỳ) [bágá lè] lágá=bɛ̀-m*
[dog Def](=Acc) [stick **Inst**] hit=Past-1SgSbj
'I hit the dog with a stick.'

b. *[gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-gònɔ́ ŋɛ̀] [jòbûl lè] sɛ́mɛ́=bɛ̀-m*
[courtyard Def] [broom **Inst**] sweep=Past-1SgSbj
'I swept the courtyard with a broom.'

Other instrumental examples are (382) ('What do you do farm work with?'), (436a) 'with which').

Further examples of the range of usage of this postposition are in (162). In 162a), the complement is a season of the year, an instance of the occasional use of *lè* as a temporal ('during') postposition; see also *[wà:rù*^{L} *ìnjé] lé* 'at what time?' in §13.2.5. In (162b), it is a means of conveyance, and the line between instrument and container is blurred. In (162c) it is comitative.

(162) a. *[gèr*^{n}*èŋé* *lè]* *bírέ* *gǎ:-gù* *bìrɛ̀-ỳ*
[rainy.season **Temp**] work(n) a.lot work-Ipfv.1PlSbj
'We work a lot (=hard) in the rainy season.'

b. *[kâ:r* *lè]* *bàmàkó* *yà:-jɛ̀-m*
[bus **Inst**] B go-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I go to Bamako on the bus.'

c. *[sěydù* *lè]* *bàmàkó* *yà-â:-m*
[S **Comit**] B go-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
'I went to Bamako with Seydou (man's name).'

More comitative examples are Text 5 @ 00:35 ('with happy heart') and @ 00:51 ('working with/for a Bozo'). For 'you go with your head' in the pragmatic sense 'go in person', see (521).

Some fixed phrases where *lè* appears to be instrumental or comitative, sometimes abstractly, are in (163).

(163) a. *[kìnɛ̀-yáw*^{n}*à lè] wɔ̀-Ø* 'he/she is disappointed' ("is with heart-ruin")
b. *[kây lè] wɔ̀-Ø* 'he/she is needy, in need' ("is with neediness")
c. *[dúm lè] wɔ̀-Ø* 'be without clothing'
d. *[gɛ̌: lè] bá: yá:* 'spend the night on an empty stomach' ("with hunger")
e. *[jì-jǐ: lè] kóró* (or *sɔ́:*^{n}) 'enclose with a thorn-branch fence'
f. *[béné lè] dǐ:*^{n} 'lie down on one's side'
g. *[pɔ̀sɔ̂:*^{n} *lè] dǎ:* 'poison (sb) chemically' ("kill with poison")
h. *pàŋá lè* 'by force'

For *kó lè* 'at that point' with discourse-summarizing *kó*, see §4.3.2. For the literal sense 'with that (thing)', see (7b) above.

8.1.3 Adverbial iterations with paired *lè*

Several adverbial phrases of the type *[X lè] [X lè]* are attested (164).

(164) *[dínù lè] [dínù lè]* ‘by turns, in a rotation’
[tìmɛ́ lè] [tìmɛ́ lè] ‘piled up’ (adverb)
[kùlɔ́ lè] [kùlɔ́ lè] ‘in subgroups’
[gòjó lè] [gòjó lè] ‘in subgroups’

Since *lè* has several grammatical functions, it is not entirely obvious whether it is to be taken as instrumental in (164), as implied by the gloss ‘by turns’, or as an ‘and’ conjunction, since the turns, piles, and subgroups are multiple.

8.2 Locational postpositions

8.2.1 Locative, allative, and ablative functions

As in other Dogon languages, a locational expression (e.g. ‘here’, ‘in Bandiagara’, or ‘behind the tree’) can express a static location (e.g. where someone is sitting) or either a starting or ending point for a trajectory. The distinction between (static) locative, allative, and ablative is expressed chiefly by verbs (e.g. ‘sit’, ‘exit’, ‘go’, ‘enter’). All of these frequently co-occur with locative PPs with postposition *nɛ̀* or *bá:* . An ablative example is ‘(she) emerged from the water’ (Text 4 @ 00:07), phrased in YS as ‘(she) exited [in [the water]]’. An allative example is ‘went into the water’ (Text 4 @ 00:22), phrased as ‘entered [in water]’.

8.2.2 Simple and complex locational PPs

A few postpositions are morphologically simple. In addition to instrumental-comitative or dative *lé*, these are the two locatives *nɛ̀* and *bá:*, plus purposive-causal *dè:* . Many spatial postpositions, however, are expressed by a construction similar to English *in (the) back of X*, phrased as a simple postposition whose complement is a possessed NP: *[[X(‘s) back] in]*. The possessor X can be a nonpronominal NP preceding the possessed noun, or a pronominal possessor following the possessed noun. The noun behaves like a possessed noun for purposes of tone-contour assignment; it drops to {L} after a preposed (but not postposed) possessor.

8.2.3 Basic locatives (‘in, at, on’)

‘In’ and ‘on’ are expressed by the postpositions described below, sometimes in conjunction with statives like quasi-verb *tò* ‘be in’ and derived statives like *yàŋà* ‘be on (a surface)’.

Some nouns denoting high-frequency locations optionally omit the overt locative postposition when the sense is obvious. The most common example in my data is *ǒl yă:* ‘go to the bush (*ǒl*)’ , e.g. Text 4 @ 00:04. In some contexts this is understood to mean ‘go out to the fields’.

8.2.3.1 *nɛ̀* ~ *ǹ* locative ‘in, at, on’ or benefactive ‘for’

This is the most common and versatile locative postposition. It is locative with place names and NPs denoting spatially located entities. It is benefactive with human complements. The reduced (and phonologically encliticized) form *ǹ* is fairly common, especially in compound postpositions.

Examples of *nɛ̀* as simple locative postposition are in (165).

(165) a. *íjì* *[dǐ:* *nɛ̀]* *tò-Ø*
fish [water **Loc**] be.in-3SgSbj
‘Fish are in (the) water.’

b. *ɔ̀gɔ̀-né* *[[ànáˊ* *ŋɛ̀]* *nɛ̀]* *wɛ̀lɛ́-gù* *wɔ̀-Ø*
Hogon-Sg [[village Def] **Loc**] come-IpfvSub be-3SgSbj
‘The Hogon (=traditional chief) is coming to the village.’

c. *[dă:* *nɛ̀]* *wɔ̀-Ø*
[roof **Loc**] be.An-3SgSbj
‘He/She is on the roof.’

d. *[íbɛ̀* *nɛ̀]* *wó-ỳ* *yé:=bɛ̀-m*
[market **Loc**] 3Sg-Acc see=Past-1SgSbj
‘I saw him/her at the market.’

For ‘in the rainy season’ with *lɛ̀* see §8.1.2, above. ‘At night’ has no postposition, just *dìgɛ́* ‘night’.

Postposition *nɛ̀* is optional with place names in a locative context (166).

(166) *mú* *[yɔ̀rⁿɔ̂:* *(nɛ̀)]* *wɔ̀-m*
1Sg [Y (**Loc**)] be.An-1SgSbj
‘I am in Yendouma (village).’

nɛ̀ is part of several compound postpositions described in the sections below. It is also part of basic locative adverbs like *nú nɛ̀* ‘here’, where it is usually fused and truncated as *nú-ǹ* (§4.4.2.1).

nɛ̀ has benefactive function with human complements. However, instead of being added directly to an NP, it follows an absolute possessor, i.e. without a possessum (167).

(167) a. *[wó-mɔ̀* *=ǹ]* *ɛ̀jú=wɔ̀-Ø*
[3Sg-**Poss** =**Ben**] good=be-3SgSbj
‘It’s good for him/her.’ (lit. “for his/hers”)

b. *[sɛ̌ydù* *mɔ̀* *=ǹ]* *ɛ̀jú=wɔ̀-Ø*
[S **Poss** =**Ben**] good=be-3SgSbj
‘It’s good for Seydou.’ (lit. “for Seydou’s”)

Other benefactive examples with *nɛ̀* added to an absolute possessor are (515a-b) and (516a-b) in §18.1.2, (381c) in §13.2.3, and Text 6 @ 03:11. 'On our heads' in abstract sense in (170c) and (302f) suggests a transition from locative to benefactive.

I leave open the question of whether locative *nɛ̀* has any historical connection to purposive subordinator *nɛ́*, or to the second syllable in the 'before' subordinator *mɔ̀n(ɛ̀)*.

8.2.3.2 *bá:* locative

This postposition is particularly common after demonstratives, tending to fuse into 'here' and 'there' adverbs, e.g. *kó-ˡbá:* 'over there' (¢4.4.2.1). It is often downstepped after an H-tone in such combinations.

Without a demonstrative, *bá:* is uncommon but elicitable with verbs like 'go' and 'enter'. It indicates a relatively distant end point from the perspective of the starting point. In other contexts it can denote a more diffuse area.

(168) a. *[ànáˡbá:]* *yó-à:y-Ø*
[village **Loc**] enter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'He/She went farther on to a village.'

b. *ìnɛ̀m =â:↗, kó-ˡbá: [ŏl ˡbá:]↗, gɔŋɔ̀lɔ́-gɔ́ŋɔ̀lɔ́ yà:-j-Ø= =ɔ̀:↘*
Logo too, there [the.bush **Loc**], wander-wander go-Ipfv-3SgSbj Quot
'He said (=decided) to go wandering around there in the bush (=outback).'
(Text 2 @ 00:07)

c. *[[bírɛ́ ˡbá:] yò:ᴸ nɛ́] wɛ̀lɛ̀-y*
[[work(n) **Loc**] enterᴸ Purp] come-Ipfv.3PlSbj
'They come (from afar) in order to go into (=engage in) the (farming) work.'
(Text 5 @ 00:55)

The other textual examples of *bá:* after an NP complement are 'you (generic) go out to the bush (=fields, and sow the seeds)' (Text 5 @ 02:22); 'I don't have a plane ticket to Jordan' (Text 6 @ 01:41); and 'he said (in Jordan) that he would go over to Mecca' (Text 6 @ 04:14).

8.2.4 'Inside X' (*[[X ᴸkɔ̀lɔ̀] nɛ̀]*)

kɔ́lɔ̀ 'stomach' (not *bɛ̀rɛ́* 'belly') is the basis for a compound postposition meaning 'inside X', expressed as *[X ᴸkɔ̀lɔ̀] nɛ̀*, or for pronominal possessor (and therefore usually in a more literal sense 'in the stomach of X') *[kɔ́lɔ̀ X] nɛ̀*. The adverb 'inside' without a landmark is *kɔ́lɔ̀ nɛ̀*.

(169) a. *wó* *[[[gèr^{n}é* *ŋè]* *^{L}kɔ̀lɔ̀]* *nè]* *tò-Ø*
3SgSbj [[[house Def] **^{L}stomach**] Loc] be.in-3SgSbj
'He/She is inside the house.'

b. *[[kɔ́lɔ* *wò-mɔ̀]* *nè]*
[[**stomach** 3Sg-Poss] Loc]
[kìjɛ̀^{L} *tó = bè* *pú→]* *gùlɔ́* *gǒ:-n-Ø-tì-Ø*
[thing^{L} be.in=Past.Ppl all] vomit exit(v)-Caus-Chain-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
'He vomited out everything that had been in his stomach.'

8.2.5 'Over, on top of X' (*[[X ^{L}kù:] nè]*)

The noun *kû:* 'head' is the basis for a compound postposition that can mean 'over X, above X' (with a spatial separation), or 'on (the head of)' in a literal or abstract sense. The form is *[X ^{L}kù:] nè* with a preposed possessor, and *[kû: X] nè* with a postposed pronominal possessor. (170c) is so abstract that *ǹ* could be labeled benefactive rather than locative.

(170) a. *sìsă:* *[[kû:* *mɔ̀]* *nè]* *kíl-í:* *gàlá* *yè-Ø*
bird [[**head** 1SgPoss] Loc] fly-MP.Chain go.past go.Pfv-3SgSbj
'A bird flew over me (over my head).'

b. *tíbú* *[sěydù* *^{L}kù:]* *nè]* *súg-à:y-Ø*
stone [S **^{L}head**] Loc] descend-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'A stone fell (=landed) on Seydou's head.'

c. *ámàdù* *[wèlɛ́* *gɛ̀]* *[[kû:* *èmɛ̀]* *= ǹ]* *gò:-Ø*
S [come.Pfv.Ppl Def] [[**head** 1PlPoss] Loc] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj
'Amadou (came out and) appeared on us.' (e.g. while we were stealing)

To translate 'at the top (summit, highest point) of X', e.g. of a tree or mountain, one can use an extended form *[X ^{L}kù:-dàr^{n}à] nè*, based on noun *kù:-dár^{n}á* 'highest part' compounded from *kû:* 'head' and its near-synonym *dár^{n}á* 'head'.

kû: nè without a possessor means 'up above'.

kû: ^{L}nàm 'people of above' denotes the people who live on the summit of the cliffs or on the high plateau that begins at the top of the cliffs.

8.2.6 'Next to, beside X' (*[X L-gènè] nè*)

The compound postposition *[X L-gènè] nè* 'beside X, at X's side, next to X' makes use of a noun *génè* distinct from *bénɛ́* 'side of body, flank'. If the possessor is pronominal (and therefore postposed), the result is *[génè X] nè*.

(171) a. *[[tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ́ L-gènè] nè] L-ìŋè-m*
[[tree L-**side**] Loc] L-stand.Stat-1SgSbj
'I am standing next to the tree.'

b. *[[ù L-dè:] [[génè mɔ̀] =ǹ] L-ìŋè-Ø*
[[2SgPoss L-father] [[**side** 1SgPoss] Loc] L-stand.Stat-3SgSbj
'Your-Sg father is standing next to me.'

Adverbial 'to the side' is *génè nè* or definite *[génè ŋè] ǹ*.

8.2.7 'In front of' (*[X L-gìr] nè*)

'In front of X', with X a nonpronominal NP, is *[X L-gìr] nè*, with X functioning as possessor. For pronominal possessor, the form is *[gírù X] nè]*.

(172) a. *[ìnɛ́-m L-gìr] nè*
[person-Pl L-**front**] in
'in front of (the) people'

b. *[gírù ɔ̀:] nè*
[**front** 2SgPoss] in
'in front of you-Sg'

Adverbial 'in front, (up) ahead' is *gírù* or its locative *gírù nè*.

[X L-gìr] nè can also have the temporal sense 'before X', if X is a person or similar entity (173).

(173) *[[gírù ɔ̀:] nè] wɛ̀lɛ̀-Ø*
[[**front** 2SgPoss] Loc] come.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She came before you-Sg (=before you did).'

For 'before …' clauses with subordinator *mɔ̀nɛ̀*, see §15.3.4.

8.2.8 'Behind/after X' (*[X L-òn-] nɛ̀*)

The noun *ònɔ́* 'rear (area)' is the basis for the complex postposition *[X L-òn-] nɛ̀* 'behind X' for preposed possessor, and *[ònɔ́ X] nɛ̀* for postposed pronominal possessor. The noun *bɔ̀lɔ́* 'rear' competes with *ònɔ́* in some contexts; see 'he followed behind' in Text 4 @ 00:20.

(174) a. *[mú L-àngè]* *[[ònɔ́ mɔ̀]* *nɛ̀]* *wɔ̀-Ø*
[1SgPoss L-friend] [[**rear** 1SgPoss] Loc] be.An-3SgSbj
'My friend is behind me.'

b. *[bármà ŋà]* *[[[tònɔ̀-ý ŋɛ̀]* *L-ònɔ̀]* *nɛ̀]* *dă:ná*
[pot Def] [[[waterjar Def] L-**rear**] Loc] set.Imprt
'Set-2Sg the (cooking) pot behind the waterjar!'

ònɔ́ can be used in temporal contexts if the NP denotes a person or similar entity, rather than a time or an event with a fixed time.

(175) *sɛ̌ydù* *[[ònɔ́ mɔ̀]* *nɛ̀]* *wèlɛ̀-jɛ̀-Ø*
S [[**rear** 1SgPoss] Loc] come-Ipfv-3SgSbj
'Seydou will come after me (=after I come or leave).'

However, 'after X' where X is a temporally specified event is usually expressed as 'when X has passed'. See 'when the Bulo (festival) has passed', Text 5 @ 00:46. The same textual passage also has another functionally similar clause expressed as 'if/when' after a completive perfect.

8.2.9 'Under X' (*[X L-dù:] nɛ̀*)

Noun *dû:* 'lower part, underside, base' (e.g. of a mountain or tree) occurs in the compound postposition *[X L-dù:] nɛ̀]*, or with postposed pronominal possessor *[dû: X] nɛ̀*.

(176) a. *[dû:* *mɔ̀]* *nɛ̀*
[**base** 1SgPoss] in
'under me'

b. *[[gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́* *ŋɛ̀]* *L-dù:]* *nɛ̀*
[[house Def] L-**base**] in
'under the house'

The unpossessed adverb is *dû: nɛ̀* 'down below, underneath'.

dû: L-*nàm* 'people of below' denotes the people who live at the base of the cliffs or in the plains.

8.2.10 ‘Between’ (*[XY ^{L}bèmnà:] nè*)

With ‘between’, which is based on *bèmná:* ‘middle’, pronominal conjunctions (‘between you and me’) are dispreferred, replaced by summative pronouns (‘between us two’) in all attested examples. However, conjoined NPs are tolerated, since in many contexts there is no way around using a conjunction.

(177) a. *[émè-lèy]* *^{L}bèmnà:]* *nè*
[1Pl-two ^{L}**middle**] in
‘between the two of us’

b. *[áy-né* *lè→]* *[yă:-r^{n}á* *lè→]* *^{L}bèmnà:]* *nè*
[man-Sg and] [woman-Sg and] ^{L}**middle**] in
‘between a man and a woman’

bèmná: occurs without a possessor but with a definite marker in the adverbial phrase *[bèmná: ŋè] nè* ‘in the middle’. It does not appear to be in use elsewhere as a simple noun.

8.2.11 ‘(All the way) from/since X to/until Y’ (*bă→*, *hálú*)

In the absence of emphasis, ‘from X to Y’ in the spatial sense is expressed by combining *gŏ:* ‘exit, leave’ with some other motion verb like ‘arrive’ or ‘come’, or some other telic motion phrase, see §15.4.4. When the scale of the distance is emphasized, the adverbial *bă→* ‘all the way’ is added, singling out either the starting point (178b) or the endpoint (178d), but not both, as being unusually distant. *bă→* can also be used in similar senses (‘since’, ‘until’) with temporal “locations” (178c,e).

(178) a. *[mó:tì* *gŏ:* *gè]* *jɔ́bɔ̀* ^{HL}-^{L}*jɔ̀bɔ̀* *séwá:rà* *dɔ̀-è:^{n}*
[M **exit(v)**.Pfv.Ppl Def] run^{HL} -^{L}run S **arrive**.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They ran from Mopti to Sevare.’

b. *[[mó:tì* *bă→]* *gŏ:* *gè]*
[[M since] **exit(v)**.Pfv.Ppl Def]
ójî→ *yâ:*^{HL}-^{L}*yà:* *wèlè-m*
walking go^{HL} -^{L}go **come**.Pfv-1Sg
‘I have walked all the way here from Mopti.’

c. *[àgá* *bă→]* *jɔ̀bɔ́-gù* *nímè* *dɔ̀:-m*
[morning **since**] run-IpfvSub up.to.now arrive.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I have been running since this morning.’

d. *dábè*^{HL}-^{L}*dàbè* *[[gèr^{n}é* *ŋè]* *nè* *bǎ→]* *yà:-y*
crawl^{HL}-^{L}crawl [house Def] in **all.the.way**] go-Ipfv.1PlSbj
'We will crawl all the way to the house.'

e. *[bírɛ́* *bìré-n]* *[yògó* *bǎ→]* *dɔ̀:-ỳ*
[work(n) work.Ipfv-DurSub] [tomorrow **until**] arrive-Ipfv.1PlSbj
'We will work (=keep working) until tomorrow.'

hálú 'until, all the way to' can also be used for location as well as time, e.g. *hálú [X nè]* 'all the way to X (place)'. For temporal 'since' clauses see §15.3.1.

8.3 Purposive-causal 'for' (*dè:*)

This postposition is illustrated in (179). A pronominal complement is preposed (179c). The specific senses can be indirect beneficiary (179a-c), goal (179d), or cause (179e). Note that goal is future-oriented (prospective), while cause is generally past-oriented (retrospective), with regard to the eventuality denoted by the main clause. 'For God' (179f) is a common phrase in connection with gifts or good deeds done for charity rather than for profit or recompense.

(179) a. *[ámìrù* *dè:]* *péjù* *kí-kɛ̀:^{n}-jɛ̀-m*
[chief **Purp**] sheep Rdp-slaughter-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will slaughter a sheep for (= in honor of) the chief.'

b. *[[jàw^{n}â:* *ŋè]* *dè:]* *bú:dù* *ségɛ́=bè-m*
[[ceremony Def] **Purp**] money contribute=Past-1SgSbj
'I contributed money for the ceremony.'

c. *[ú* *dè:]* *péjù* *kí-kɛ̀:^{n}-jɛ̀-m*
[2Sg **Purp**] sheep Rdp-slaughter-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will slaughter a sheep for (= in honor of) you-Sg.'

d. *[[yěy^{n}* *ŋɛ̀]* *dè:]* *wɛ̀l-ɛ̀:^{n}*
[[honey Def] **Purp**] come.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They have come for the honey.'

e. *[[àr^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀]* *dè:]* *[kɔ́lɔ̀* *nɛ̀]* *yò-ɛ̀:^{n}*
[[rain Def] **because.of**] [stomach Loc] enter.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They went inside because of the rain.'

f. *[ámà* *dè:]* *mí-ỳ* *bàr-ɛ̀:^{n}*
[God **Purp**] 1Sg-Acc help.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They helped me for (=in the name of) God.'

For purposive (‘in order to’) and causal (‘because’) clauses, see §17.7 below. For *dɛ̀:* ‘than’ in comparatives, see §12.1.1 below. For postposition *nɛ̀* (benefactive as well as locative), see §8.2.3.1.

8.4 Other adverbs (or equivalents)

8.4.1 Deadjectival adverbial *-gú*

This derivation is tonally as well as semantically distinct from the denominal characteristic derivation (inanimate form *-gú* after tone-dropped stem, §4.2.1) and from the minor deverbal nominalizer *-gú* (after H-toned stem, §4.4.2.2). The *-gú* of interest here follows an adjective in its normal lexical melody. Three forms are attested (180).

(180) a. *ɛ̀jú* ‘good’
ɛ̀jí-gú ~ *ɛ̀jú→* ‘well’

b. *ɔ́gú* ‘hot; fast, rapid’
ɔ́gú-gú ‘fast(adv), rapidly’

c. *wàgú* ‘distant’
wàgú-gú ‘far away (adv)’

8.4.2 Similarity (*gín* ~ *ŋín* ‘like’)

The H-toned particle *gín* ~ *ŋín* means ‘like, similar to’. It follows its complement and is therefore classified here as a postposition, but its H-tone distinguishes it from other simple postpositions. The nasal variant *ŋín* occurs after nasal syllables (§3.4.1.2), compare the *g* and *ŋ* variants of the definite morpheme (§4.4.1.1).

(181) a. *[yă:-rⁿá* *ŋín]* *bírɛ́* *bìrɛ̀-jɛ̀-Ø*
[woman-Sg **like**] work(n) work-Ipfv-3SgSbj
‘He works like a woman.’

b. *[sěydù* *gín]* *wɔ̀-m*
[S **like**] be-1SgSbj
‘I am like Seydou.’

c. *ɛ̀rⁿɛ́* *[péjù* *gín]* *wɔ̀-lɔ́-Ø*
goat [sheep **like**] be-StatNeg-3SgSbj
‘A goat is not like a sheep.’

For demonstrative manner adverbs (‘like this’, ‘like that’, ‘thus’), see §4.4.2.3. Interrogative ‘how?’ is *yà-ŋín* (§13.2.6).

8.4.3 Extent (‘a lot’, ‘a little’)

The reduplicated forms in (182a) are nominal, and take definite marking (*gɛ̀*). Those in (182b) are predicative or adverbial.

(182) a. *gì-gǎ:* *gɛ̀* ‘a lot’
jì-jǒ: *gɛ̀* ‘many’

b. *gà:=lá* ‘not much’
jò:=lá ‘not many’
dágà→ ‘a little’

èjí-gú (183a) is related to the regular adjective *èjú* ‘good’, but as an adverb it can be used in any context including malefactive ones (e.g. ‘he hit me a lot’). *jó→y* (183b) is related to *jì-jǒ: gɛ̀* and negtive *jò:=lá* in (182) above. *káykɔ̀lɔ̀* (183c) is a bit stronger. It is synchronically opaque, but it may have originated as a phrase ending in *kɔ̀-lɔ́* ‘it is not’, compare *[dǎy^{n} (ŋè)] nǒ:=y kɔ̀-lɔ́* ‘its limit (=outer boundary) isn’t this’ and similar phrases in other Dogon languages like ‘it has no limit’.

(183) a. *èjí-gú* (~ *èjú→*) ‘very much, greatly, a lot (adverb)’
b. *jó→y* ‘many, numerous’
c. *káykɔ̀lɔ̀* ‘a lot, much, many, plenty’

The form *jó→y* resembles an ‘it is’ predicate (enclitic *=y*) but it can be juxtaposed to nonpredicative arguments within a clause. It is not a true adjective, and it does not interact tonally or morphologically with a juxtaposed NP.

(184) *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́* *jó→y* *ùj-ɛ̀:^{n}*
house many(adv) build.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They built many houses.’

Simple ‘it is difficult’ can be expressed as a regular adjectival predicate (185a) for abstract or other inanimate referent. It is negated as (185b). For an animate referent, a N-Adj predicate is preferred (185c).

(185) a. *nám* *wɔ̀-Ø*
difficult be-3SgSbj
‘It is difficult.’

b. *nàm = lá-Ø*
difficult=it.is.not-3SgSbj
'It isn't difficult.'

c. *[ìnɛ̀ náwⁿ] = ì:*
[person^{L} difficult]=it.is
'He/She is a difficult person.'

To emphasize the extent of difficulty, *ɛ̀jí-gú* 'very' or variant can be added (186a), but alternative intensifying constructions are also available. Replacing the adjectival predicate 'be difficult' with a related noun as nominal predicate 'be difficulty' adds some intensification (186b). It can be further intensified by adding *tè:rè* (preferred by older speakers) or *gàbâ:y* (younger speakers) (186c). Although *tè:rè* is suspiciously similar to French *très*, both its linear position (after the adjectival noun) and its association with older speakers are arguments against it being a recent borrowing.

(186) a. *ɛ̀jí-gú nám wɔ̀-Ø*
very difficult be-3SgSbj
'It's very difficult.'

b. *[nì-năm ŋɛ̀] kɔ̀*
[Rdp-difficulty Def] be.Inan
'It is (something) difficult.'

c. *nì-năm tè:rè / gàbâ:y*
Rdp-difficulty **very**
'It's very difficult.'

nì-năm tè:rè occurs in Text 6 @ 03:53; see also *ɛ̀-ʔɛ̀jú tè:rè* 'it is very good' @ 05:11 in the same text.

Another way to emphasize size or extent is to phrase the entity or its quality as a subject NP, with verb *gàbá* 'be excessive'. An example is in Text 6 @ 02:44 ('the place, the cold was excessive', i.e. 'the place was extremely cold').

To diminish rather than intensify the adjectival quality ('it is not very difficult'), the reduplicative nominal predicate type (186b-c) cannot be directly negated. (186a), on the other hand, can be negated as (187a), where the negator scopes over the 'very' quantifier. Alternatively, a rephrasing involving *bă→* 'all the way (to/from)', again under the scope of negation, can be used (187b).

(187) a. *ɛ̀jí-gú nàm = lá-Ø*
very difficult=**StatNeg**-3SgSbj
'It isn't very difficult.'

b. *[kó* *bă→]* *nàm = lá-Ø*
[DiscDef **all.the.way**] difficult=**StatNeg**-3SgSbj
'It's not all that difficult.'

8.4.4 Specificity

8.4.4.1 'Approximately'

gín ~ *ŋín* 'like' can also be used in approximations.

(188) *émɛ́,* *yá-ǹ,* *[[yè:-píl* *tă:n]* *ŋín]* *kân-Ø* *ŋɛ̀↗*
1Pl, there.DiscDef, [[month three] **like**] do-Pfv.Ppl Def
'We spent something like (=around) three months there.' (Text 6 @ 02:52)

8.4.4.2 'Exactly' (*kɛ́gù*, *já:tì*)

'Exactly, precisely' forms are *kɛ́gù* (possibly < *kɛ́w-gù) with measurable quantities, *té→* or iterated *té:-té:* in connection with identity (see the next section), and *já:tì* (< Fulfulde) in confirming the truth of a proposition. As predicate, *kɛ́gù kɔ̀* can mean 'it (e.g. herd) is complete (nothing is missing)'. An iterated adverbial form *kɛ́g-kɛ́g* is found in expressions like *kádágá kɛ́g-kɛ́g* 'exact agemate'.

légé-légé is used with the numeral '1' to indicate 'exactly 1', usually in deprecation ('one lousy dollar').

kí-kɛ́w means 'exactly the same (e.g. height)'.

In some contexts, expressive adverbial *kák* 'exactly' can be used (Text 5 @ 03:16).

8.4.4.3 'Specifically' (*té→*, *té:-té:*)

Expressive adverbial *té→* and its iteration *té:-té:* function, as in Jamsay etc., as adverbs meaning 'specifically/exactly X, X in particular' in connection with identity (rather than quantity). For 'right here' see §4.4.2.2.

8.4.5 Evaluation

8.4.5.1 'Well' (adverb)

'Well' can be phrased as a modifying adjective 'good' attached to a noun, e.g. *bìrɛ̀*^{L} *èjú* 'good work'. The availability of cognate nominals makes this phrasing easy. For example, 'he works well' is expressed as 'he works (=does) [good work]'.

Alternatively, from *èjú* 'good' one can construct a true adverb *èjí-gú*. For other functions of this form, see §8.4.3 above.

(189) *bírɛ́* *èjí-gú* *ˡbìrè-jè-Ø*
work(n) **good-Adv** work(v)-Ipfv-3SgSbj
'He/She works well.'

8.4.5.2 'Proper, right' (*jâːⁿ*)

jâːⁿ is an adverb meaning 'proper(ly), right, normal', emphasizing conformity with social norms. It is attested mainly in predicative *jâːⁿ kɔ̀* 'it is proper, right'.

(190) *[ɔ̀mɔ̀lɔ̀ˡ* *nɔ̌ː↗],* *èɲɛ́* *wó-ỳ* *jâːⁿ* *k=* *=ɔ̀ː↘*
[idolˡ Prox], chicken 3Sg-Acc **proper** be.Inan Quot
'(they say:) "This idol, a (sacrificial) chicken is (normatively) right for it." '

For *jâːⁿ* with clausal complements (weak obligation), see §17.6.1.

There is also an NP *sɔ̀ːˡ jâːⁿ* 'what is proper', with tone-dropped *sɔ̌ː* 'talk (n)' in abstract sense. The tones suggest either a compound or an N-Adj sequence, or possibly a truncated relative clause with 'talk (n)' as head.

8.4.6 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.4.6.1 Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (191).

(191) a. *kànáː* 'now' (temporal, cf. *kànáˊ* 'new')
nɛ́ː, *nɛ́ː kày* 'now' (discourse marker, §19.1.2)
làgáˊ, *lɛ̌ː*, *yâː* 'again' (§19.3.1)
nímɛ̀ ~ *nìmâː* 'up until now, so far'
yáː 'yesterday; formerly, in the old days'
yɛ́ː 'today; nowadays'
yɛ́ː bày tǎːn 'day before yesterday' ("today day three")

b. *yògóˊ* 'tomorrow; in the future'
yògòˡ dɛ́rⁿɛ̀ 'day after tomorrow'
yògòˡ dɛ́rⁿɛ̀ bàː yǎː 'second day after tomorrow' (third from today)

c. *gǎːl* 'last year'
yògóˊ nàŋúrù 'next year' (includes 'tomorrow')

bá:-gò-ˡé→ wàgé	‘next year’, see comments on (541)
yɔ́:	‘this year’

8.4.6.2 ‘First(ly)’ (*tí→*, *lá:y*)

As in Jamsay, *tí→* can be an adverb ‘first(ly), previously’. It is a pure indicator of temporal precedence. A relationship to perfective-1b *-tì-* is synchronically suggestive but probably incorrect historically, since a good case can be made that the perfective-1b suffix derives from a chain-final verb ‘send’ (YS *túy*).

tí→ can also occur as a kind of modifier in a relative-like construction, perhaps reduced from a fuller construction with a participialized auxiliary.

(192)	*[ìnɛ̀*^{L}	*tí→*	*gɛ̀]*	*wó=y*
	[person^{L}	**first**(adv)	Def]	3Sg=it.is
	‘He/She is first (e.g. in line).’			

lá:y occurs in a similar context in the YS recordings, and is likely preferred to *tí→* by at least some speakers. Compare Sangha So *là:* ‘in the past’. The final *y* in *lá:y* may have originated as the ‘it is’ or focus enclitic, cf. ordinal *lá:* ‘first’ (§4.6.2.1), but I have not been able to elicit *lá:y* as an adverb without *y* and neither ‘it is’ nor focalization makes much sense in context. H-toned *lá:y* occurs as an adverb in (459b). This leads me to think that the L-toned variant *là:y* in (193) is tone-dropped by the preceding H-toned pronominal.

(193)	*[wó*	*^{L}là:y]*	*tɔ̀lɔ̀-jɛ̀*
	[3Sg	^{L}**first**]	begin-Ipfv
	‘He (=the chief) will be the first to begin it.’ (Text 5 @ 01:45)		

Formerly, in the past, in the old days’ is *wɔ́rⁿɔ̀:* .

8.4.6.3 Spatial adverbs

Demonstrative adverbs (‘here’, etc.) are described in §4.4.2.1 above. The most important of the nondemonstrative spatial adverbs are in (194). Those that do not include a postposition are nouns that are specialized for adverbial use. The cardinal direction terms are mainly used in connection with solar motion and meteorology (wind direction), less often for direction of motion.

(194) a. orientational

kû: nɛ̀	‘above, at the top, on the summit’
dû: nɛ̀	‘below, at the bottom, down’
ònɔ́ nɛ̀, ònɔ́ ˡbá→	‘in the rear’

[bɔ̀lɔ́ gɛ̀] =ǹ	'behind, in the rear' (Text 4 @ 00:20)
gírù (nɛ̀)	'forward; in front' (Text 4 @ 00:20)

b. absolute (cardinal directions)

dû:	'east' ("below")
dì-dágà	'west' (usage variable)
nàm-[númɔ́-ŋ]	'sunset', used by younger speakers for 'west'
tɛ̀ŋ̂ì	'south' or 'southwest', cf. Tengou (Dogon ethnicity)
dònô:	'a grazing area on the plateau', sometimes also 'north', cf. Donno (Dogon ethnicity)

The adjectives 'right' and 'left' are respectively *ɲɛ̌:* as in *kùbɔ̀* ^{L} *ɲɛ̌:* 'right foot', and either *nànáˊ* or synonym *bàlàgáˊ* as in *kùbɔ̀* ^{L} *nànáˊ* / *bàlagáˊ* 'left foot'. They can function as possessors of *táŋ́ˊ* 'side': *ɲɛ̌:* ^{L}*tàŋ̀à* '(to the) right side' and *nànáˊ* ^{L}*tàŋ̀à* '(to the) left side'. 'Left-hander' is *bàlàgà-gí-nɛ́* (characteristic derivative, §4.2.1).

8.4.7 Expressive adverbials

8.4.7.1 Nature and basic grammar of EAs

Expressive adverbials (EAs), some of which belong to the type often called ideophones by other linguists, are uninflectable words. They are often phonologically marked in comparison to the main stem-classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals), for example by final intonational prolongation or unusual tone melodies. They can function syntactically as adverbs (for example, of manner) loosely associated with a clause. They can be made predicative by adding a following auxiliary, either *kárⁿáˊ* 'do, make' or a locational-existential quasi-verb *wɔ̀-* or inanimate *kɔ̀-*. Except when such predicates are relativized on, EAs do not constitute integrated elements of NPs, and they do usually do not interact tonosyntactically with words within NPs.

kárⁿáˊ 'do, make' is the usual auxiliary for the minority of EAs that denote actions or processes. (195a-b) show the "intonational" prolongation that typifies one type of EA. *kárⁿáˊ* is also the regular auxiliary for onomatopoeias and similar iconic signs (195c). In real sentences, *kárⁿáˊ* would have regular suffixal inflections.

(195) a.

àrⁿáˊ	*[ɲám→*	*kárⁿáˊ]*
rain(n)	[brief.rain(adv)	**do**]

'rain fall briefly and locally'

b.

kɛ̌y→	*kárⁿáˊ*
eye.open.slightly	**do**

'open one's eyes slightly'

c. *súːⁿ-súːⁿ* *kárⁿá*
(sniffing sound) **do**
'sniff noisily, snort'

kárⁿá is also the regular auxiliary for borrowed or otherwise marginal noun-like words that cannot themselves be directly inflected as verbs, see (309b) in §11.1.4.1.

EAs that denote states use locational-existential quasi-verb *wɔ̀-* (animate) or *kɔ̀* (inanimate) 'be (somewhere)' as auxiliary (196).

(196) a. *wɛ́ⁿ→* *kɔ̀*
ajar **be.Inan**
'rain fall briefly and locally'

b. *jùm→* *wɔ̀-Ø*
uncommunicative **be**-3SgSbj
'He/She is withdrawn and uncommunicative'

Inchoative 'become X' of an EA is expressed with the verb *bɛ̌ː* (§11.2.6.1). Elsewhere this verb means '(someone) remain' (in some contexts 'end up') or '(event) happen'.

(197) *wâⁿ→* *bɛ̌ː*
wide.open **remain**
'(e.g. door) open wide'

A textual example is *[yǔː gɛ̀] dágà→ bɛ̀ː-jɛ̀-Ø* 'the millet becomes (=grows) a little' (Text 5 @ 02:44).

When not made into predicates by auxiliaries, EA's may function as adverbs for any semantically reasonable verb (198).

(198) a. *káyⁿ→* *yɛ̀nɛ́*
broadside look
'be facing (sth), be broadside or frontal (to sth)'

b. *wáⁿ→* *gɔ̀mɔ́*
wide.open open.eye
'open one's eyes wide'

8.4.7.2 Adjectival and verbal intensifiers as EAs

There is no sharp grammatical distinction between intensifiers and other EAs. The functions of adjectival intensifiers are discussed in §6.3.3.2. They are listed in (199) below, along with the most

commonly associated adjective (shown in modifying form). In some cases the intensifier has a more specific or otherwise different sense than the adjective shown. Adjectives that syncretize two distinguishable (though related) senses, like *mă:* 'dry; hard, stiff' and *wéy* 'lightweight; thin (wall)', can have distinct intensifiers for the two senses. Intensifiers tend to be variable across speakers, so the examples here are representative.

(199) adjectival intensifers

adjective	intensifier	gloss of combination
a. iterated intensifier		
CvC-CvC		
bán	*bŭy^{n}-bŭy^{n}*	'very red'
démélé	*kúy-kúy*	'very stocky (person)'
démélé	*dúl-dúl*	'very stocky (person)'
ɛ̆:^{n}	*táy^{n}-táy^{n}*	'very hard'
ɛ̆:^{n}	*gáy^{n}-gáy^{n}*	'very taut, tightly stretched (drum)'
ɛ̆:^{n}	*táy^{n}-táy^{n}*	'very tight-fitting (garment)'
éŋ	*tím-tím*	'very dense (forest)'
éjé	*séy-séy*	'very clean, spotless'
ɛ̆ŋ	*káy^{n}-káy^{n}*	'very crowded, confined'
CvC-Cvc, *with shift of rounded vowel to a*		
yɔ̀rú	*yɔ̀l-yàl*	'very supple (stretchable)'
Cvv-Cvv, *with nonhomorganic vowel clusters*		
wér	*kàɛ́^{n}-kàɛ^{n}*	'very green'
CvCv-CvCv		
dùmì-ý	*kúlú-kúlú*	'very short'
éŋ	*sɔ́gú-sɔ́gú*	'very dense (forest)'
gɛ́m	*kújú-kújú*	'jet black'
gálàl	*kájú-kájú*	'very bitter'
kàná	*wér^{n}ɛ́-wér^{n}ɛ́*	'brand new'
kàná	*pélé-pélé*	'brand new'
mɛ̆y	*kɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́-kɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀*	'very fine (powder)'
mă:	*táy^{n}-táy^{n}*	'very stiff'
mă:	*kálá-kálá*	'very dry'
píl	*pàrá-pàrá*	'snow white'
ɔ́gú (or *nɔ́:*)	*pálú-pálú*	'steaming hot'
ɔ́gú (or *nɔ́:*)	*jáŋá-jáŋá*	'blazing hot (sun)'
ɔ́rɔ̀y	*págú-págú*	'very smooth, sleek'
yóló (or *wéy*)	*yánú-yánú*	'very lightweight'
yɔ̀rú	*búdɔ́-búdɔ́*	'very soft'

CvCvC-CvCvC

pélèl	*púɲúl-púɲúl*	'very crispy (fried food)'

b. multiply finally-reduplicated intensifier

regular type

élèl ~ ê:l	*èlélélé*	'very sweet, delicious'
gàbú	*sònólóló*	'very tall'
gàbú	*sùbúbúbú*	'very tall'
kâ:l	*tàmámámá*	'ice-cold'
ɔ̀mú	*gàmámámá*	'foul, stinking'
tèlé	*tèrélélé*	'very fast, speedy'
wàgú	*pùjújújú*	'very distant, far away'

possible variant type

wéy	*sér^{n}énêy^{n}→*	'very thin wall', cf. *sér^{n}énénéné* 'very narrow path'
—	*sénélêy→*	'very tall and thin, lanky'

c. unsegmentable, with final prolongation

â:m	*tɔ̌y^{n}→*	'very sour'
éjèjù	*dǔ→*	'very bland'
kòló	*péyyèy→*	'very unripe'
kùɲú	*yàgàràm→*	'very rough, coarse'

d. unsegmentable, without final prolongation

démé	*gùndù*	'very heavy'
ɛ̌:^{n}	*kárám*	'very tight (taut rope)'
ɔ̀mú	*yɔ̂m*	'very rotten'
ɔ̌l	*bɔ́dù*	'soaking wet, drenched'
pàlá	*bǔ:*	'very long'

A distinct mechanism for intensifying an adjective is the *X-nà:-X* construction with two occurrences of the adjective separated by *-nà:-*, see §4.5.3.

There are also two EAs that have some phonological similarity to a basic adjective but that denote partial rather than extreme degrees (200a), cf. English *-ish*. There are also several other EAs of this semantic type that have no phonological relationship to any adjective, one example being 200b).

(200)

	gloss	EA	related adjective
a.	'slightly bitter'	*gáláy-gáláy*	*gálàl* 'bitter'
	'lightly sugared/salted'	*élém-élém*	*élèl* 'sweet'
b.	'half-dry (e.g. clothing)'	*búr^{n}ɔ́y^{n}-búr^{n}ɔ́y^{n}*	—

The nonemphatic EA *dém→* 'straight' (§8.4.7.4 below) has an intensifier *sél-sél* 'very straight'. Similarly, *sí→* 'pointed' has an intensifier *wéré-wéré*.

A few intensifiers denote actions or events and are therefore associated with (noncognate) verbs (201).

(201) action-verb intensifers

verb	intensifier	gloss of combination
a. iterated		
bă:	*káy^{n}-káy^{n}*	'(meal) make (sb) very full (stuffed)'
dà^{n}-é:	*dɔ́m-dɔ́m*	'sitting still'
[default]	*péy-péy*	'(not) at all'
b. unsegmentable, with final prolongation		
íŋ-é:	*dím→*	'stop or stand still'
c. unsegmentable, without final prolongation		
íŋ-é:	*gík*	'stop or stand still (in one's tracks)'
yíw^{n}é	*dêl*	'die, be/drop stone dead'
yíw^{n}é	*pógù*	'die, be/drop stone dead'

8.4.7.3 Other (nonadjectival) EAs

A sample of EAs other than intensifiers is in (202) below. This array is organized around phonological forms, but it also illustrates the range of senses in question. Other functionally important words that have some EA characteristics include *èjú→* 'greatly, very' (§8.4.1, Text 1 @ 00:32, Text 6 @ 02:38, 03:39, and 05:11) and *dágà→* 'a little, somewhat' (§8.4.3, Text 5 @ 02:44 and 02:45, Text 6 @ 02:52 and 05:11).

(202)

EA	gloss
a. iterated	
béŋ-béŋ	'side by side'
bìrì-bìrì	'brisk, fast (work)'
bɔ́l-bɔ́l	'sobbing silently'
bɔ̌:m-bɔ̌:m	'overripe and soft (fruit)'
bùdɔ̀-bùdɔ̀	'foaming, frothy' (also *pùdɔ̀-pùdɔ̀*)
dè:ré-dè:rè	'juicy (fruit)'
dégé-dégé	'slowly; gently'
díŋ-díŋ	'side by side' (see comments below)

gǎŋ-gǎŋ	‘tilted to one side’ (adjective *gàŋú* ‘tilted’)
gɛ̌ŋ-gɛ̀ŋ	‘(walking) with head tilted’
gɔ̌n-gɔ̌n	‘(walking) with body lurching’
gǔy^{n}-gǔy^{n}	‘furtively, stealthily’ (verb *gǔy^{n}* ‘steal’)
jàgù-jàgù	‘rare (undercooked meat)’
jélégé-jélégé	‘(sth lightweight) dangling’
jólógóm-jólógóm	‘(sth heavy) dangling’
kàjà-kàjà	‘running hard’
kɛ̀lú-kɛ̀lú	‘brimming, full up to the rim (pail)’
kɛ́rɛ́m-kɛ́rɛ́m	‘fully inflated’
kórɔ̀w-kórɔ̀w	‘crunching (sound, e.g. dog crunching bones)’
kɛ́y^{n}-kày^{n}	‘runty and weak’
kòló-kòló	‘nosy, brash’
kòlògó-kòlògó	‘loose-fitting (bracelet)’
kùɲǔl-kùɲùl	‘rough, coarse’ (adjective *kùɲú* ‘coarse’)
lǎy-lǎy	‘cleaned up completely’
lég-lég	‘at the highest part’
légé-légé	‘sole, only one’
lòró-lòró	‘clean-shaven (head)’
nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́y^{n}-nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́y^{n}	‘salty taste’
ɔ́gú-ɔ́gú	‘fast(adv)’ (adjective *ɔ́gú* ‘fast; hot’)
ɔ́rɔ̀y-ɔ́rɔ̀y	‘slippery’ (adjective *ɔ́rɔ̀y* ‘smooth, sleek’)
pàràdàm-pàràdàm	‘galloping’
pà:r^{n}á-pà:r^{n}à	‘shining, gleaming (e.g. blade)’
píjí-píjí	‘out of sight; hopelessly lost (astray)’
pùdɔ̀-pùdɔ̀	‘foaming, frothy’ (also *bùdɔ̀-bùdɔ̀*)
sǎ:làm-sǎ:làm	‘(e.g. hands) licked clean’
sǎy-sày	‘well-lit at night’
sɛ́rɛ́dɛ́-sɛ́rɛ́dɛ́	‘pouring out in a light stream (from roof gutter)’
sɛ́l-sɛ́l	‘(tall person) walking stiffly’
sèlé-sèlé	‘(absolutely) everything’
sɛ̌y-sɛ̌y	‘cleaned up completely’
sɛ̂w-sɛ̂w	‘limbering up’
sìmɛ́-sìmɛ́	‘(walking) with head bent forward’
sùyàw→-sùyàw→	‘crunching (walking on dry leaves)’
tàbù-tàbù	‘groping (in the dark)’
tǎy-tày	‘finished, over; used up’
táy^{n}-táy^{n}	‘motionless, playing dead’
tègé-tègé	‘(moon) shining brightly’
téy^{n}-téy^{n}	‘ringing sound (of new pottery)’
tém-tém	‘fully inflated’
tǒl-tǒl	‘(walking) clumsily’

wá:lí:-wá:lí ‘(walk) fast’
wáy^{n}áw^{n}-wáy^{n}áw^{n} ‘at full boil’
wílɛ́-wílɛ́ ‘flapping (in the wind)’
wùjú-wùjú ‘pouring out a lot, gushing’
yàgà-yàgá ‘flimsy, lightweight, cheap (metal)’
yámù-yámù ‘insignificant’
yêl-yèl ‘diced, cut up finely’
yél-yél ‘fraying (rope)’
yɛ́m-yɛ́m ‘(rain) drizzle, come down lightly’
yêy-yêy ~ *ɲêy-ɲêy* ‘waving tail (to shoo insects)’
yèlmɛ́-yèlmɛ́ ‘disheveled (hair)’

with shift of high or mid-height vowel to a

bògò-bàgà ‘soaked, thoroughly wet’
dû:-dà: ‘suddenly encountering’
gúdù-gàdù ‘dense foliage’
jìgù-jàgù ‘fat and clumsy’
jùŋùrù-jàŋùrù ‘struggling under heavy load’
kí:-kà: ‘broad (shoulders, antlers)’
kóyòw→-káyàw→ ‘sound of calabash being shattered’
kɛ́:r^{n}ɛ́m-ká:r^{n}ám→ ‘negligent, careless, nonchalant’
sɛ́:^{n}-sá:^{n} ‘face to face (confronting)’
sù:-sà: ‘well-ramified (tree)’
yòlò-yàlà ‘very loose-fitting (garment)’

with shift of high or mid-height vowel to a and i to u

bìrìgì-bàrùgù ‘brisk, fast (work)’

with shift of initial C

wǎy^{n}-yǎy^{n}→ ‘in clusters’

b. double iterations (X-X’-X)

shift of vowels in medial X’ to a

bòló-bàlà-bòló ‘feebly, (walking or working) weakly’
hó:-hà:-hó: ‘loud chatter’
ínú-ànù-ínú ‘chubby, puffy’
jì:-jà:-jì: ‘with limbs swaying (e.g. tree)’
jǐ:^{n}-jà:^{n}-jǐ:^{n} ‘(walking) lumbering, swaying’
jìgú-jàgù-jìgú ‘(walking) with legs widely separated’
kɛ̂:^{n}-kà:^{n}-kɛ̂:^{n} ‘creaking sound’
kòlóm-kàlàm-kòlóm ‘hubbub, sudden noisy activity’
mòló-màlà-mòló ‘(walking) with body lurching’
pìlɛ́-pàlà-pìlɛ́ ‘moving light’
sɔ̌:y-sà:y-sɔ̌:y ‘small birds chirping’
tíb-tàb-tíb ‘staggering or stumbling along’

wìjé-wìjá-wìjé ‘swaying from side to side’

no vowel shift

pây-pày-pày ‘almost alongside’

c. multiply finally-reduplicated

regular type

àbàbàbà→ ‘fat (woman, cow)’

dènélélé ‘disk-shaped’

dòjójójó ‘focused bright light (e.g. headlights)’

dòlólóló ‘small but bright light in distance (star, flashlight)’

gòlólóló ‘acrid-smelling’

kèmémɛ́mɛ́ ‘foul smell (dirty clothes, urine)’

kùjújújú ‘dragging (sth) forcefully’

márⁿánáná ‘thick-bodied (torso, tree trunk)’

mèrⁿɛ́nɛ́nɛ́ ‘solid, without holes or cracks’

nàrⁿánáná ‘oily (hands)’

sàmámámá ‘smelling like raw meat or fresh fish’

sèrɛ́dɛ́dɛ́ ‘striped’

sɔ̀rɔ́dɔ́dɔ́ ‘in rows’

tènélélé ‘running at top speed’ (adj. *tèlé* ‘speedy’)

wègègègè ‘small teeth without gaps’

yélélélé ‘brimming, full up to the rim (pail)’

possible variant type

gìgírídí ‘overloaded’

d. unsegmentable, with final prolongation

Cv→

bă→ ‘up to (a point)’

bɛ̀ⁿ→ ‘glaring’

bɔ̀ⁿ→ ‘chocolate-colored; feeble light’

bŭ→ ‘very woolly’

bŭ→ ‘too big (shoes)’

bŭ→ ‘dead last’

gănⁿ→ ‘rotten-smelling’

ké→ ‘slightly open (mouth)’

kíⁿ→ ‘humming (of cicada)’

kó→ ‘wide open (vertically)’

pé→ ‘narrow gap at slightly open door’

pó→ ‘wide open (door)’

pú→ ‘very woolly’

sê→ ‘gliding’

séⁿ→ ‘staring at, looking straight at’

sí→ ‘pointed; bursting out, flying out’
sí^{n}→ ‘(doing) soon’
sŭ→ ‘hissing (compressed air, fizzy liquid)
té→ ‘identical’
tí→ ‘at first, to begin with’
wâ^{n}→ ‘wide open (door); staring’
wɛ́^{n}→ ‘ajar, slightly open (door)’
wɛ́^{n}→ ‘humming, buzzing (of insect)’
wɔ̆→ ‘noisily’
wù→ ‘(get up) abruptly’
yà^{n}→ ‘brandishing (club, weapon)’

Cvv→ with nonidentical vowels

sɔ́^{n}ɛ̀:^{n} ‘just-born (baby)’

Cv→C

kɛ̂→m ‘odor of urine’

CvC→ with final sonorant

bɛ̀m→ ‘(beating) savagely’
búm→ ‘thick (e.g. tree)’
bûm→ ‘with a thud’
dăm→ ‘totally blind; blithely unaware’
dɛ́y^{n}→ ‘apart, separate, distinct’ (§8.4.7.5)
dɛ̆y^{n}→ ‘(sth linear) sticking out’
dém→ ‘straight’ (§8.4.7.4)
dím→ ‘standing, erect; stopping still’
dɔ̆y^{n}→ ‘bright point of light’
gáw→ ‘silent (for a moment); deaf’
găy^{n}→ ‘wide open (eyes)’
gŭy^{n}→ ‘bulging, oversized (eyes); sticking out’
jùm→ ‘withdrawn and uncommunicative’
káy→ ‘facing, broadside’
káy^{n}→ ‘unfertilized (field)’
káy^{n}→ ‘bright sunlight’
kăy^{n}→ ‘oversized (teeth)’
kɛ́w^{n}→ ‘undersized (grains)’
kɛ̆y^{n}→ ‘slightly open (eyes); (sth linear) sticking out’
kɛ̂l→ ‘(door) flush (with its frame)’
kém→ ‘silent, quiet’
kɔ̆y^{n}→, *kɔ̆y^{n}→* ‘oversized, protruding (teeth)’
kɔ́y^{n}→ ‘emaciated’
lém→ ‘(waterjar) sitting on (table, rock)’
mɔ̀y^{n}→ ‘oily (hands)’
ɲám→ ‘(rain) fall briefly and locally’

pám→ ‘deaf’
séw^{n}→ ‘small (eyes)’
tǎy^{n}→ ‘tasty, adequately sugared or salted’
téy→ ‘thin crescent (new moon)’
tìm→ ‘shady (tree)’
tɔ́y^{n}→ ‘salty’
tɔ́y^{n}→ ‘pouting’
yǎy^{n}→ ‘upper teeth protruding’
yày^{n}→ ‘massive (boulder)’
yɛ̀w→ ‘slightly open (eyes)’

CvC→ with final obstruent

gík ‘stopping still (in one’s tracks)’

CvCv→

bàr^{n}ù→ ‘reddish’ (cf. *bán* ‘red’)
bɔ́rí→ ‘(child's nose) leaking lots of snot’
dɛ̀dí→ ‘(e.g. head) sticking out’
dágà→ ‘slightly; in a little while’
díy^{n}à → ‘towering, rising high’
dógé→ ‘looking up’ (verb *dòg-é:* ‘look up’)
éré→ ‘(rubbing on) liberally’
gɛ̀ŋú→ ‘atilt’, see §8.4.7.6 for more variants
jérí→ ‘in rags’
làrí→ ‘jutting out’
pàlú→ ‘rickety, poorly encased’
péjè→ ‘(container) brim-full (of grain)’
sàrí→ ‘jutting out’
símɛ́→ ‘(calabash) tilted sharply (so grains fall out)’
súbí→ ‘woolly’
súwá→ ‘slow fart (almost inaudible)’
tánà→ ‘craning, stretching (one’s neck)’
yáwé→ ‘looking up’

CvCvC→

bùgɔ̀m→ ‘lukewarm’
bɔ́y^{n}ɛ̂w^{n}→ ‘glowing (embers)’
dàyàw→ ‘broad (shoulders, antlers)’
dùw^{n}ày^{n}→ ‘chuckling silently (with mouth closed)’
ɛ̀w^{n}ɛ̀y^{n}→ ‘smiling broadly’
géŋɛ́y^{n}→ ‘(walking) leaning to one side then the other’
kóròw→ ‘slamming door noisily; rattling sound’
pájáy→ ‘well-lit (space)’
pàjàw→ ‘splashing from pouring out lots of liquid’
sàŋàm→ ‘in poor physical shape’

síméyⁿ→	‘sloped roof; pointing down’
tàrâw→	‘flat buttocks’
wùyàw→	‘splashing noisily (waterfall etc.)’
yégéy→	‘(bird) glide swaying from side to side’
CvCCvC→	
bèndèm→	‘covered with reddish fuzz (millet)’
èndèm→	‘hospitable area, nice place to live’
gìndàm→	‘massive (tree)’
gùndúm→	‘massive (boulder)’
púndúm→	‘flowers in full bloom; lots of dust’
tárjày→	‘(ground under tree) littered with debris’
CvCvCv→	
gèbègé→	‘(sitting/perched) on the edge’
gìbìlù→	‘dimwitted, mentally retarded’
jèlègé→	‘fragile (frayed rope); teetering precariously’
yùgùjí→	‘woolly, furry’ (cf. *yà-yùgújù* ‘velvet’)
CvCvCvC→	
bɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̀m→	‘somewhat elongated’
dúnúlúm→	‘spherical’
sɛ̀nɛ̀lɛ̂y→	‘tall and thin’
tɔ̀jɔ̀lɔ̀m→	‘short and wide (gourd)’

e. other (no prolongation or iteration/reduplication)

unsegmentable, with unprolonged final u

búlɔ̀	‘a lot remaining; sound of rope falling on ground’
bɔ̀rù	‘oily (tool)’
píbù	‘foaming, frothy’
pírù	‘emptying by pouring out’
pɔ́bù	‘plopping sound’
púrù	‘(beating) savagely’
sɔ̀gù	‘in clusters’

other

pɛ́lúm	‘flashing by’

compound-like

pélé-kéjé	‘suddenly encountering’

If the forms in (202e) like *píbù* and *pélé-kéjé* are accepted as EAs, it follows that there is no sharp distinction in form between EAs and other, not very “expressive” adverbs like *gírù* ‘forward, ahead’.

Intensifiers are not usually paired with nouns, but *díŋ-díŋ* ‘side by side’ (202a) also has a sense ‘very close, intimate (kinship)’ associated with the noun *mèré* ‘kinship relation’. Similarly, *yúmí→* ‘very stupid, idiotic’ intensifies a word-class whose basic form is the noun *bòmɔ́* ‘stupidity’.

A few EAs occur in the texts. Examples: *lòé* 'bursting' (Text 3 @ 00:51); *kárám→* 'stuck' (Text 3 @ 01:27); *pérèlèlè* 'aligned (in rows)' (Text 4 @ 00:57 and 01:16); *sá:nèm-sá:nèm* 'by turns' (Text 4 @ 00:04); *sâ:y* '(very) clean(ly)' (Text 5 @ 01:42 and 03:11); *káy^{n}-kày^{n}* 'strongly, firmly, fully' (Text 5 @ 01:57); semi-onomatopoeic *bíp!* 'falling hard' (Text 5 @ 02:10 and 02:33); *kây* 'ready for action' (Text 5 @ 02:55 and 02:58); *bɔ̀y→* 'time for (doing)' (Text 5 @ 03:02); *kák* 'exactly' (Text 5 @ 03:16); *táy* 'used up, completed' (Text 5 @ 03:33); *gâw^{n}→* 'dry spell, no rain' (Text 5 @ 03:48); *páráw→* 'ripening (millet, with light-colored soft grains)' (Text 5 @ 04:11); *témè→* 'growing up (becoming mentally mature)' (Text 6 @ 00:11 and 00:15); and *yŏw-yŏw* 'shivering' (Text 6 @ 02:36).

French *prêt* borrowed as *pèrê:* appears to behave like an EA in Text 6 @ 02:06.

8.4.7.4 'Straight' (*dém→*)

This EA features intonational prolongation of the final nasal, phonetic [dém::(:)]. It is used in connection with trajectories ('we went straight to the village'), paths, and objects ('the stick is straight').

8.4.7.5 'Apart, separate' (*déy^{n}→*, *déy^{n}-déy^{n}*, *dɔ̀rɔ́*)

The basic form for 'apart, separate, distinct', whether spatial separation or identity difference, is the EA *déy^{n}→* or its iterated form *déy^{n}-déy^{n}*. In the form *déy^{n}→* it is often repeated in parallel constructions: *X déy^{n}→, Y déy^{n}→* 'X and Y are separate/distinct'.

dɔ̀rɔ́ occurs in a few collocations with a following motion verb: *dɔ̀rɔ́ gŏ:* 'move away a short distance', *dɔ̀rɔ́ yă:* 'go a short distance (away)', and *dɔ̀rɔ́ dŏ:* 'approach a short distance closer'.

8.4.7.6 'Tilted' (*gèŋú→* etc.)

Array (203) pulls together several forms that are scattered throughout §8.4.7.3 above, along with the related adjective and mediopassive verb. The *a* ~ *ɛ* alternation is partially motivated by vocalic sound symbolism (§3.3.6).

(203) a. adjective

gàŋú	'tilted'

b. verb

gèŋ-é:	'become tilted; dodge, get out of the way'

c. EAs

final prolongation, no iteration

gèŋú→	‘atilt’
gèŋí→	‘atilt’
gèŋé→	‘atilt’
gàŋú→	‘atilt’
gɛ́ŋɛ́y^{n}→	‘(walking) tilting to one side then the other’

iterated, no final iteration

gǎŋ-gàŋ	‘tilted to one side’ (adjective *gàŋú* ‘tilted’)
gɛ̌ŋ-gɛ̀ŋ	‘(walking) with head tilted’

8.4.7.7 ‘Always’ (*já→*, *bǎy pú→*), ‘for good’ (*àsú→*) ‘never’ (*àbádá*)

‘Always’ is *já→* (adverbial), extendible as *já→ mà já→*, or *bǎy pú→* (literally ‘every day’). *àsú→* is similar but tends to mean ‘for good, permanently’ rather than ‘invariably’.

‘Never’ as a separate expression is *àbádá*, a regional word ultimately from Arabic. In a sentence with past-time reference, e.g. ‘I have never gone to Bamako’, the experiential perfect negative verb form is used, see §10.2.3.3. However, in nonpast contexts (‘I will never speak to you again’) *àbádá* is again the only option.

9 Verbal derivation

The productive suffixal derivations (stem to stem) for verbs are the reversive (‘un-…’) and the causative. In addition, many verbs (cf. English *break*) occur with either of two endings, mediopassive and transitive. Adjectives have corresponding intransitive (inchoative) and transitive (factitive) verb forms, but these are in most cases independent members of the same word family, not directly formed from the adjective by adding a suffix.

9.1 Reversive verbs (*-lɤ́*)

Reversive verbs denote events that restore a prior condition, undoing an intervening event, cf. English *undo*, *untie*, etc. The reversive is formed by adding derivational suffix *-lv* (or variant, see below) directly to the stem, which may not have more than two syllables. In the bare stem (required by several inflectional categories), the suffix has the regular vocalism of noninitial-syllable vowels in verb stems, i.e. it harmonizes with preceding vowels and must be non-high (§3.4.2.1). The lexical tone melody is preserved. Examples from a search of the lexicon are in (204). The most unproblematic examples are those in (204a). The two examples involving *Cvrv* stems in (204b) show regular reversives *Cvrv-lv*, in one case with a truncated variant *Cv-lv*. In (204c), *Cuy* becomes *Cu:-* before the suffix. An idiosyncratic ATR mismatch between input and reversive is seen in (204d), but is likely due to the constraint against [+ATR] vowels after a nasal consonant, which is enforced in *CvNv* bisyllabics but not in *CvNv-lv* derivatives (§3.3.5). When the final syllable of the input stem is *Cv:*^{n} with nasalized vowel, the reversive is *Cv:-r*^{n}*v* (204e). Likewise, from *Cvr*^{n}*v* the reversive is *Cvr*^{n}*v-nv* (204f). Perhaps the most semantically interesting cases are “un-forget” = ‘remember’, and “un-shut” = ‘open’. These semantic pairings also occur in several other Dogon languages.

In (204), both input and reversive verbs are shown in the bare stem.

(204)	input	gloss	reversive	gloss
a. *-lv*				
Cv: input				
	bɔ̌:	‘bury’	*bɔ̌:-lɔ́*	‘disinter, dig back up’
	kí:	‘invert’	*kí:-lɛ́*	‘return (sth) to upright position’
CvCv input				
	dàgá	‘lock (v)’	*dàgá-lá*	‘unlock’
	dɛ̀bɛ́	‘cover (opening)’	*dɛ̀bɛ́-lɛ́*	‘uncover (opening)’
	dɛ̀ŋɛ́	‘fill up (well)’	*dɛ̀ŋɛ́-lɛ́*	‘re-excavate (well)’
	dìjɛ́	‘prop up’	*dìjɛ́-lɛ́*	‘remove a prop from’
	kɔ́lɔ́	‘hang on hook’	*kɔ́lɔ́-rɔ́*	‘unhook’

mènɛ́	‘fold’	*mènɛ́-lɛ́*	‘unfold’
námá	‘step on’	*námá-lá*	‘remove foot from’
náŋá	‘forget’	*náŋá-lá*	‘remember’
págá	‘tie, bind’	*págá-lá*	‘untie’
píné	‘shut (door)’	*píné-lɛ́*	‘open (door)’
sɔ́gɔ́	‘loop, lock, button’	*sɔ́gɔ́-lɔ́*	‘unloop, unlock, unbutton’

b. *-lv* after *rv*

gòró	‘cover (sb)’	*gòró-ló*	‘uncover (sb)’
tárá	‘be affixed, stuck’	*tárá-lá ~ tá-lá*	‘(affixed item) be detached’

c. *-lv* with disappearing *y*

kúy	‘cover (w. hide)’	*kú:-ló*	‘remove hide from’
dùy-ɛ́:	‘carry on head’	*dŭ:-lɔ́*	‘unload’, repeated in (g) below

d. ATR mismatch

mùŋɔ́	‘stuff (a hole)’	*mùŋó-ló*	‘unstuff, reopen (hole)’

e. *-r^{n}v*

nă:	‘braid (rope)’	*nă:-r^{n}á*	‘untwist, unbraid (rope)’
tɔ́:^{n}	‘wrap by coiling’	*tɔ́:^{n}-r^{n}ɔ́*	‘unwrap, uncoil’
tɔ́:^{n}	‘fence in’	*tɔ́:^{n}-r^{n}ɔ́*	‘un-fence’

f. *-nv* after *r^{n}*

màr^{n}á	‘seal up’	*màr^{n}á-ná*	‘unseal’

g. mediopassive or transitive suffix dropped before reversive

mediopassive suffix dropped

gɔ̀n-ɛ́:	‘be caught on thorn’	*gɔ̀nɔ́-lɔ́*	‘free (from thorn)’
jìb-ɛ́:	‘put on a wrap’	*jìbɛ́-lɛ́*	‘take off wrap (woman’s garment)’
níŋ-ɛ́:	‘be tangled’	*níŋɛ́-lɛ́*	‘untangle, untwist’
tíj-ɛ́:	‘push against’	*tíjɛ́-lɛ́*	‘take pressure off’
yɔ́ŋ-ɛ́:	‘be caught in tree’	*yɔ́ŋɔ́-lɔ́*	‘free (sth caught)’

y also deleted

dùy-ɛ́:	‘carry on head’	*dŭ:-lɔ́*	‘take down from head’

transitive suffix dropped

légɛ́-rɛ́	‘insert’	*légɛ́-lɛ́*	‘remove (inserted item)’
tímɛ́-rɛ́	‘put lid on’	*tímɛ́-lɛ́*	‘take lid off’

Mediopassive and transitive derivational suffixes (§9.3.1) are usually dropped in reversives. This is important since reversives are compatible with intransitive (mediopassive) or transitive contexts. See especially (204g) above for examples.

Rarely, however, mediopassive *-é:* follows the reversive suffix (205).

(205) Mediopassive follows reversive

nă:	'braid (rope, by twisting cords together)'
nă:-r^{n}á	'unbraid (rope)' (reversive)
nă:-r^{n}-é:	'(rope) be unbraided' (mediopassive of reversive)

A number of verbs with shapes *Cv:lv* and *CvCvlv* may have originated as reversives, but in the absence of an attested underived input the segmentation is not transparent. An example is *kó:-ló* 'take off, doff (garment)', which is only obscurely related semantically to *kó:* 'roll up (pants); turn (pocket, socks) inside out'.

The lexical reversives par excellance are *gŏ:* 'exit, leave' and its irregular causative *gŏ:-nɔ́* 'take out, remove'. These are often chained to preceding verbs, producing semantically reversive serial verb combinations (or verb-verb compounds). The preceding verb is usually reversive in form if this is morphologically possible (206a), otherwise it takes the regular (nonreversive) form and only the 'go/take out' chained verb expresses reversiveness (206b). In (206c), *gŏ:-nɔ́* replaces a verb cognate to the object noun. In (206c), *gŏ:-nɔ́* replaces its antonym *kúnɔ́* 'put in'.

(206) a.

kóró	'surround (sb, sth)'
kórú-l gŏ:-nɔ́	'un-surround'

b.

kígíjí-m	'screw in'
kígíjí-m gŏ:-nɔ́	'unscrew'

c.

tɔ́bɔ̀	'turban'
tɔ́bɔ̀ tɔ́b-é:	'roll on turban'
tɔ́bɔ̀ gŏ:-nɔ́	'unroll (take off) turban'

d.

gárù	'hobbles (rope that binds two legs of quadruped)'
kúnɔ́	'put (sth) in'
gárù kúnɔ́	'hobble (quadruped, with rope)'
gárù gŏ:-nɔ́	'unhobble (quadruped)'

Unsegmentable verb stems with apparent reversive-like sense are *sɔ́nɔ́* 'undo (braids, with a pointed instrument)' and *pá:rá* 'unload; take (kettle, pot) back down off of burner or oven; let down (pants, after rolling them up)'. For *sɔ́nɔ́* the core sense is 'comb' or 'fish out, pull out'. *pá:rá* likewise has a basic sense 'bring/take down'. Neither verb always presupposes a preceding action of the same type but opposite direction.

9.2 Deverbal causative verbs

9.2.1 Productive causative with suffix (*-mɔ́*)

The productive causative derivation is formed by adding suffix *-mɔ́* to the bare stem of the input verb. Because nasal consonants normally do not allow following [+ATR] vowels {*e o*} (§3.6.4.3), the quality of the suffixal vowel is fixed. This results in numerous examples like *pójó-mɔ́* 'detonate' with [+ATR] stem vocalism but suffixal *ɔ*. The stem's tone melody is preserved in the causative. In the chaining stem, the causative suffix takes the form *-m-ú* (subject to Syncope) following the same bare stem of the input verb, as in perfective-1b *pójó-m-(ú)-tì* 'detonated'.

There are no restrictions on the phonological (moraic) weight of the input stem. Transitive as well as intransitive verbs can be causativized. The causative suffix readily follows other derivational suffixes, including mediopassive *-ɛ́:-*. Examples are in (207)

(207) Causative *-mɔ́*

input (bare)	gloss	causative	gloss
a. monosyllabic input			
bɛ̌:	'stay'	*bɛ̌:-mɔ́*	'cause to remain'
nɔ̌:	'drink'	*nɔ̌:-mɔ́*	'give drink to'
pí:	'weep'	*pí:-mɔ́*	'cause to weep'
sɔ́:^{n}	'vibrate'	*sɔ́:^{n}-mɔ́*	'make (sth) vibrate'
(bá:) yá:	'spend night'	*(bá:) yá:-mɔ́*	'cause to spend night'
irregular (based on chaining form)			
ká:	'eat (meal)'	*ká-y-mɔ́*	'cause to eat'
b. bisyllabic input			
bìnɛ́	'go back'	*bìnɛ́-mɔ́*	'make go back'
bɔ̀jɔ́	'defecate'	*bɔ̀jɔ́-mɔ́*	'make creak'
dɔ̀ɲɔ́	'snore'	*dɔ̀ɲɔ́-mɔ́*	'cause to snore' (with noun *gɔ́rɔ́lɔ́*)
gɛ̀ɲɛ́	'take'	*gɛ̀ɲɛ́-mɔ́*	'cause to take'
jùgɔ́	'know'	*jùgɔ́-mɔ́*	'inform'
kár^{n}á	'do'	*kár^{n}á-mɔ́*	'make (sb) do'
ɔ́ɲɔ́	'get tired'	*ɔ́ɲɔ́-mɔ́*	'tire (sb)'
pójó	'burst'	*pójó-mɔ́*	'detonate, explode (sth)'
pá:má	'understand'	*pá:má-mɔ́*	'explain to'
pídé	'swell'	*pídé-mɔ́*	'cause to swell'
tómɔ́	'jump'	*tómɔ́-mɔ́*	'cause to jump'
túјɔ́	'pay'	*túјɔ́-mɔ́*	'cause to pay'
wàjá	'be left over'	*wàjá-mɔ́*	'cause to be left over'

causative of mediopassive

pí:r-ɛ́:	'(wound) fester'	*pí:r-ɛ́:-mɔ́*	'cause to fester'

c. trisyllabic input including suffixal derivatives

bìnélɛ́	'roll'	*bìnélɛ́-mɔ́*	'switch (merchandise)' (cf. English *roll over*)
íŋé-lé	'get up'	*íŋé-lé-mɔ́*	'get (sb) up'

mediopassive

nɔ́m-ɲ-ɛ́:	'sag'	*nɔ́m-ɲ-ɛ́:-mɔ́*	'cause to sag'
kóm-ɲ-ɛ́:	'curl'	*kóm-ɲ-ɛ́:-mɔ́*	'cause to curl'

Semantically, causatives run the gamut from compelling to allowing the relevant event. A negated causative can therefore run the gamut from simple denial of a compulsion event to assertion of active prevention; see '(rain) did not let me go to the fields', (485a) in §17.3.2.

Deadjectival factitives ('cause X to become ADJ') are generally the regular causatives of the corresponding inchoative ('become ADJ') verbs, see §9.4 below.

9.2.2 Minor causative suffixes (*-nV́*, *-gV́*)

A few stems have archaic causatives involving synchronically unproductive derivational suffixes. A subset of the cases of *-nV́*, specifically the two stance verbs 'sit' and 'like down', whose inputs are already nasal (208a), may be related in some way to transitive *-rV́* (§9.3.1 below).

(208) Minor causatives

	input	gloss	causative	gloss
a. *-nV́*				
no contraction, input is nasal				
	dà^{n}-ɛ́:	'sit'	*dă:-ná*	'cause to sit; set'
	dĭ:^{n}	'lie down'	*dŭ:-nɔ́*	'lay (sth) down'
no contraction, input is nonnasal				
	dɔ̌:	'arrive'	*dɔ̌:-nɔ́*	'cause to arrive'
	gɔ̌:	'exit (v)'	*gɔ̌:-nɔ́*	'take (sth) out'
	dògó	'be finished'	*dògó-nɔ́*	'finish' or 'put an end to (sth)' (less common than *dɔ̀ŋó-ró*)
input contracted				
	úr-ɛ́:	'mount (v)'	*ú-nɔ́*	'take (sth) up'
or:	*úló*	'ascend'		
	mɔ̀r^{n}-ɛ́:	'get together'	*mɔ̌:-nɔ́*	'assemble [tr]; collect'
	jɔ̀bɔ́	'run'	*jɔ̌m-nɔ́*	'drive (vehicle)'

denominal verbalizer ("Vblz")

pǒ:	'greeting(n)'	*pó:-nɔ́*	'greet (sb)'
(noun also *pô:-nù*)			

b. *-gʸ́*

pɔ́jɔ́	'(sth) crumble'	*pɔ́jɔ́-gɔ́*	'cause to crumble'
káw-ɛ́:	'be separated'	*káw-gá*	'separate (them)'

9.3 Passive and transitive

9.3.1 Mediopassive *-ɛ́:* ~ *-í:* and transitive *-rʸ́*

A number of bisyllabic verb stems occur in two forms, a mediopassive (middle) in *-ɛ́:* ~ *-í:* (contracted historically from *-yɛ́) and a transitive in *-rʸ́*. The mediopassive is usually intransitive, but it is transitive in the case of verbs of holding and carrying. In any event, the subject of the mediopassive is in a specific evolving state or situation. The transitive counterpart adds an external agent. For verbs of holding and carrying this results in a ditransitive (§11.1.1).

The mediopassive ending has allomorphs *-ɛ́:* (bare stem) and *-í:* (chaining stem). The *-ɛ́:* variant does not harmonize with [+ATR] stem vowels.

Examples of mediopassive/transitive pairs are in (209).

(209)

MP	gloss	transitive	gloss
a. stance			
gèŋ-ɛ́:	'be tilted'	*gèŋɛ́-rɛ́*	'tilt (sth)'
íŋ-ɛ́:	'stand up, stop'	*íŋɛ́-rɛ́*	'stop (sth)'
túŋ-ɛ́:	'kneel'	*túŋɔ́-rɔ́*	'cause to kneel'
b. wearing clothes			
jìb-ɛ́:	'put on a wrap'	*jìbɛ́-rɛ́*	'attach a wrap on (a woman)'
tág-ɛ́:	'put one's shoes on'	*tágá-rá*	'put shoes on (sb)'
c. carrying/holding			
dòg-ɛ́:	'be face up'	*dògó-ró*	'hold (sth) face up'
dùy-ɛ́:	'carry on head'	*dǔ:-rɔ́*	'put on (sb's) head'
sín-ɛ́:	'carry on back'	*síné-rɛ́*	'put on (sb's) back'
d. other			
áŋ-ɛ́:	'be diffident'	*áŋá-rá*	'humiliate (sb)'
bàŋ-ɛ́:	'hide (oneself)'	*bàŋá-rá*	'hide (sb, sth)'
dìm-ɛ́:	'follow'	*dìmɛ́-rɛ́*	'take along; cause to follow'
(dǐ:) ín-ɛ́:	'bathe'	*(dǐ:) íné-rɛ́*	'bathe (sb)' (with *dǐ:* 'water')

jìm-é:	‘lower one’s head’	*jìmé-ré*	‘lower (head)’
pɔ́y-é:	‘(mud) ferment’	*pɔ́:-rɔ́*	‘have (mud) ferment’
úg-é:	‘self-apply incense’	*úgú-ró*	‘burn (incense)’
yèg-é:	‘(garment) fit’	*yègé-ré*	‘align, prepare (sth)’

See also *dǐ:^{n}* ‘lie down’ and *da^{n}-é:* ‘sit’ in (208a) in the preceding section, whose transitive counterparts with *-nv́* might be a secondarily nasalized offshoot of *-rv́*. Despite its subminimal *Cv^{n}-* stem, ‘sit’ still behaves like a suffixed mediopassive, distinguishing bare stem *dà^{n}-é:* (perfective negative *dà^{n}-è:-nú-m* ‘I didn’t sit’) from chaining stem *dà^{n}-í:* (perfective-1a *dà^{n}-í:-ày-* ‘sat down’). By contrast, ‘lie down’, though belonging to the same semantic class (stance verbs), strongly associated with the mediopassive, appears to have fused the stem with the old mediopassive suffix and is now just *dǐ:^{n}* (perfective-1a *dì^{n}-â:y-*, perfective negative *dì:^{n}-r^{n}ú-m* ‘I didn’t lie down’). However, this lexical item appears to be confined to Toro So, so its etymology is unclear.

The pair *pídé* (bare stem), *pídí* (chaining) ‘(something) swell up’ behaves grammatically like a mediopassive, but the final vowels are short and the final *é* is [+ATR].

There are rare triads of unsuffixed, mediopassive, and transitive forms, but the semantic relationships suggest lexical divergence (210).

(210) a.

légɛ́	‘attach (front and rear parts of loincloth)’
lég-é:	‘insert oneself, slide oneself in’
légɛ́-ré	‘insert (sth), slide (sth) in’

b.

dìgɛ́	‘join, link (two things, at the ends)’
dìg-ɛ́:	‘(two things) be joined (at the ends); be consecutive’
dìgɛ́-rɛ́	‘cause (two things) to be consecutive’

In (211), the syntactically transitive counterpart to the mediopassive is unsuffixed. In the case of *gòró* the usual transitive *-rv́* suffix might have been phonologically problematic (two consecutive *rv* syllables).

(211)

MP	gloss	unsuffixed transitive	gloss
bìl-ɛ́:	‘(sth) flip over’	*bìlɛ́*	‘flip, turn (sth) over’
dìl-ɛ́:	‘(sth) change’	*dìlɛ́*	‘change, replace (sth)’
ɛ́n-ɛ́:	‘(sth) be leached’	*ɛ́nɛ́*	‘leach (sth)’
gòr-ɛ́:	‘cover oneself’	*gòró*	‘cover (sb, with hat or blanket)’
gàm-ɛ́:	‘be reduced’	*gàmá*	‘reduce; lower (price)’
jèl-ɛ́:	‘be hanging’	*jèlé*	‘hang (sth) up’
kár^{n}-ɛ́:	‘happen, be done’	*kár^{n}á*	‘do (sth)’
kó-ɛ́:	‘be inside-out’	*kó:*	‘turn (e.g. pocket) inside-out’

tóg-é	‘be spilled’	*tógó*	‘spill (sth)’
tɔ́^{n}-é:	‘(snake) coil around’	*tɔ́:^{n}*	‘wrap (sth) by coiling’

Conversely, in (212) only the transitive form is suffixally marked. Irregular stem-medial consonant alternations make the derivational relationships in (212b) and (212c) nontransparent.

(212)

unsuffixed intransitive	gloss	transitive	gloss
a. phonologically simple examples			
dě:	‘learn’	*dě:-ré*	‘instruct, teach’
gàwá	‘rely on, trust (sb)’	*gàwá-rá*	‘entrust (sth) to (sb)’
táŋá	‘(fire) be lit’	*táŋá-rá*	‘light (fire)’
[and other senses, §11.2.6.3]			
b. with *w^{n}/ŋ* alternation (§3.4.1.4) and *l* for expected suffixal *r* (§3.4.1.6)			
yàw^{n}á	‘malfunction’	*yàŋá-lá*	‘ruin (st)’
c. with *g/ŋ* alternation (§3.4.1.3)			
dògó	‘be finished’	*dɔ̀ŋó-ró*	‘deplete, use up’
		(near-synonym *dògó-nɔ́*)	
		(compare *dògó-ró* ‘hold [sth] face up’ (209c))	
dàgá	‘become good’	*dàŋá-rá*	‘make good’

9.3.2 Passive suffix (*-mɔ́*)

As in several other Dogon languages, a suffix homophonous to the causative is used as an impersonal passive in a sense approaching ‘be VERB-able’ with a handful of verbs. Usually the context is habitual. The attested examples are in (213).

(213)

	input	gloss	passive	gloss
a.	*témɛ́*	‘find, encounter’	*témɛ́-mɔ́*	‘(can) be encountered’
b.	*yé:*	‘see’	*yé:-mɔ́*	‘(can) be seen’
c.	*bɛ̀lɛ́*	‘get’	*bɛ̀lɛ́-mɔ́*	‘(can) be gotten, be available’

Other verbs lack this morphological possibility and require a fuller construction with 3Pl subject and imperfective verb (e.g. ‘they drink it’ = ‘it is drinkable’).

9.4 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

Inflectable inchoative verbs ('become ADJ', or 'become ADJ-er') generally belong to the same word-family as the corresponding modifying adjective, but there is no automatic derivational mechanism to connect them. The inchoatives do respect the usual phonological constraints on verb stems: initial voiced obstruents require /LH/ melody, final vowels are copied from or harmonized with preceding stem vowels.

In (214), the inchoative has no special derivational suffix.

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(214) Unsuffixed inchoatives

adjective	gloss	inchoative
a. monosyllabic inchoative		
ě:ⁿ	'hard; tight (rope)'	*é:ⁿ*
jó:	'full (container)'	*jǒ:*
ɔ́:ⁿ	'alive'	*ɔ́:ⁿ*
pěy	'old'	*pé:*
b. bisyllabic inchoative		
éŋ	'dense (forest)'	*éŋé*
éŋ	'crowded'	*éŋé*
dǒŋ	'skinny, lean'	*dɔ̀ŋɔ́*
áwⁿ	'in good condition'	*áwⁿá*
píl	'white'	*pílé*
kʊ̀ɲú	'rough'	*kúɲɔ́*
bɔ̀ɲú	'not totally full'	*bɔ̀ɲɔ́*
gàbú	'tall'	*gàbá*
ɔ̀mú	'rotten; fragile'	*ɔ́mɔ́*
yɔ̀rú	'soft'	*yɔ̀rɔ́*
kómɔ́	'skinny, lean'	*kómɔ́*
sèlé	'diluted (milk); soggy'	*sélé*
kó:ló	'empty; ruined; useless'	*kó:ló*
ìlɛ́	'ripe; cooked'	*ílɛ́*
diminutive -ý not included in inchoative		
kɛ̀mɛ̀-ý	'slender' (diminutive)	*kɛ́mɛ́*
with stable n		
wán	'wide, spacious'	*wàná*
with n ~ rⁿ (§3.4.4.5)		
én	'well-fed'	*érⁿé*
bán	'red'	*bàrⁿá* (~ *bǎn-n-é:*)

In (215) below, the inchoative is marked by the mediopassive suffix *-ɛ́:*, becoming *-í:* in the chaining stem and forms based on it. This suffix can be added directly to the stem (215a), or to various extended forms of the stem. The most common of these extensions is *-n-* (215c). There are isolated examples with *-l-* and *-g-* (215d-e). These extensions might be connected in some way with minor causative suffixes *-nɔ́* and *-gɔ́* (§9.2.2).

(215) Mediopassive inchoatives

adjective	gloss	inchoative
a. *-ɛ́:* added directly to stem		
â:m	'sour; fizzy (fermenting)'	*á:m-ɛ́:*
ê:l (~ *ɛ́lɛ̀l*)	'sharp; sweet'	*ɛ́lɛ́l-ɛ́:*
gû:m	'rancid; flavorless'	*gŭ:m-ɛ́:*
ɔ́gú	'hot; fast'	*ɔ́g-ɛ́:*
nà:r^{n}á	'easy'	*ná:r^{n}-ɛ́:*
gálàl	'bitter'	*gàlál-ɛ́:*
dár^{n}àn	'pungent, spicy-hot'	*dàr^{n}án-ɛ́:*
púrúgú	'off-white'	*púrúg-ɛ́:*
diminutive -ý not included in inchoative		
bù:jì-ý	'runty'	*bŭ:j-ɛ́:*
dùmɲì-ý	'blunt (blade)'	*dŭmɲ-ɛ́:*
b. *-ɛ́:* added to irregular form of stem		
pɔ̀:rú	'putrefying'	*pɔ́y-ɛ́:*
c. *-ɛ́:* added to stem plus *-n-*		
nɔ́:	'hot'	*nɔ́:-n-ɛ́:*
tŏ:	'deep'	*tó:-n-ɛ́:*
sí→	'pointed'	*sí:-n-ɛ́:*
wɛ́y	'lightweight; thin (wall)'	*wɛ̆y-n-ɛ́:*
gɛ́m	'black'	*gɛ̆m-n-ɛ́:*
nám	'difficult'	*nám-n-ɛ́:*
dùgú	'big; corpulent; thick'	*dùgú-n-ɛ́:*
ɛ̀jú	'good'	*ɛ́jú-n-ɛ́:*
ɛ̀mú (~ *ɛ̀mì-ý*)	'narrow'	*ɛ́m-n-ɛ́:*
mɔ̀ɲú	'bad, nasty'	*mɔ̀ɲú-n-ɛ́:*
démɛ́	'heavy; thick (skin)'	*dèmɛ́-n-ɛ́:*
pàlá	'long'	*pálá-n-ɛ́:*
bán	'red'	*băn-n-ɛ́:* (~ *bàr^{n}á)*
/y/ deleted		
ɔ́rɔ̀y	'smooth, sleek'	*ɔ́rɔ́-n-ɛ́:*

/l/ deleted

kâ:l	'cold'	*ká:-n-ɛ́:*

diminutive -ý not included in inchoative

dùmì-ý	'short; narrow'	*dùmú-n-ɛ́:*
ùjì-ý	'small'	*újú-n-ɛ́:*

d. *-ɛ́:* added to stem plus *-l-*

săw	'clever, tricky'	*sáw-l-ɛ́:*

e. *-ɛ́:* added to stem plus *-g-* (*-ŋ-* after nasal syllable, §3.4.1.2)

kúrú	'dense, shady (foliage)'	*kúrú-g-ɛ́:*
mă:	'dry'	*mă:-ŋ-ɛ́:*

No inchoative verb is attested for the adjectives in (216). This is likely due to some mix of the following: these adjectives have synonyms that do have an inchoative; they are adverbial rather than adjectival; they have meanings ('new', 'unmarried') that do not lend themselves to inchoativity.

(216)

dɛ̂:	'big'
gă:	'fully grown'
wɛ́r	'green'
gûm	'unmarried'
ɔ̌l	'wet, moist; fresh'
nɛ̂:m	'salty'
sálá	'bad'
yóló	'lightweight'
dágà	'small'
pélèl	'crispy (taste)'
sɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ́	'multicolored'
bóròdù	'viscous'
ɛ́jɛ̀jù	'bland, unspiced (food)'
bánàlà	'blotched'
nì-nâ:	'respectable'
gà:là-ý	'small'
kàná	'new'
kòló	'unripe; raw; fresh (milk)'

Factitives ('X cause Y to become ADJ') are in most cases morphologically just the regular *-mɔ́* causatives of the inchoatives given above. Mediopassive inchoatives keep the mediopassive suffix in factitive *-ɛ́:-mɔ́*, as in *újú-n-ɛ́:-mɔ́* 'make (sth) small(er)'.

Factitive *jŏ:-nɔ́* 'fill' from *jŏ:* 'become full' has the archaic causative ending described in §9.2.2.

9.5 Denominal verbs

(217) presents verbs that are clearly derived from nouns. For many other cases where a verb and its cognate noun are clearly from the same word-family but where derivational direction is unclear, see §11.1.4.2. Incremented mediopassive *-g-ɛ́:* in (217a) also occurs in deadjectival inchoatives (§9.4). *-nɔ́* in (217b) looks like a minor causative suffix *-nʸ́* (§9.2.2).

(217)		noun	gloss	verb	gloss
	a.	*wèjɛ́*	'insanity'	*wèjɛ́-g-ɛ́:*	'become crazy'
		lɔ́gɔ̀	'filth'	*lɔ́gɔ́-j-ɛ́:*	'make dirty, soil (sth)'
	b.	*pɔ̌:*	(greeting)	*pɔ́:-nɔ́*	'greet (sb)'

9.6 Obscure verb-verb relationships

I have no good examples for this section, other than the minor phonological irregularities in §3.4.1.2-5. For *ná:má* 'greet (sb) in the morning, say good morning to', see §19.7.

10 Verbal inflection

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

A typical inflected indicative verb in a main clause has the form VERB-AN-PronSubj, where AN is an aspect-negation marker and the final element is an obligatory pronominal-subject marker. In relative clauses, this pronominal-subject marker is absent, but the verb (now functioning as a participle) may agree in nominal features with the head NP. In addition to indicative inflectional categories, there are deontic modals (imperatives and hortatives). They mark negation and "subject" (or addressee) number in a different way than indicatives. The 3Sg subject unsuffixed perfective (positive), and the singular-addressee positive imperative, have no suffixes, but they are distinguishable by stem vocalism and/or tones.

As with other Dogon languages it is convenient to separate statives from active verbs, and then to group the various inflections expressed in active verbs (by affixes and tightly-combined auxiliaries) into four main categories by the intersection of [±perfective] (in a broad sense) and [±negative]. Stative verbs do not distinguish aspect, unlike active verbs. Statives also have a distinctive negative form. Statives can be derived from certain active verbs ('sit down' → 'be sitting/seated'), but there are also a few defective statives ('be', 'have', 'know', 'want', see Chapter 11) that have no active counterparts.

There is no English-style tense system. Aspect (perfective-imperfective, progressive) is normally computed with respect to the moment of speaking. However, the temporal reference point can be shifted into the past by adding a conjugated past enclitic to the stem (which has reduced AN marking). This allows expression of categories like past imperfective ('used to VP'). It is especially useful with statives ('was sitting/seated', 'used to have'), since they lack perfectivity marking.

The aspect-negation (AN) categories of active (non-stative) verbs found in YS are in (218). The divisions (a-d) are informal and do not always correspond to morphological patterns.

(218) a. perfective positive system
simple past (originally past perfect) (*= bɛ̀-*)
unsuffixed perfective
perfective-1a (*-à:y-*)
perfective-1b (*-tì-*)
experiential perfect 'have ever VPed' (*-tɛ́rɔ̀:-*)
completive perfect 'have just finished VPing' (*-jɛ̀:-*)
emphatic perfect (*-jɛ̀-*)
past irrealis (reduplicated *Cì-… = bɛ́-*)

b. imperfective positive system
    imperfective (*-jɛ̀-*, omitted in 1Pl/3Pl subject forms)
    present progressive (*-ẁ wɔ̀-*, *-gù wɔ̀-*, *-ŋ̀ wɔ̀-*)
    reduplicated future (*Cí-…-jɛ̀-*)

c. perfective negative system
    perfective negative (*-ˊl-*, *-ˊn-*)
    experiential perfect negative (*-tɛ̀-rv́-*)
    completive perfect negative (*-jɛ̌ː-l-*)
    past irrealis negative (*= bè-lé-*)

d. imperfective negative system
    imperfective negative (*-lɛ̀-*)
    present progressive negative (*-ẁ wɔ̀-lɔ́-*)

The normal reference point is the moment of speaking. The reference point can be shifted into the past by adding a conjugatable past enclitic (§10.5).

10.1.1 Bare and chaining stems of verbs

There are two distinct stem-shapes for each verb, which are here called the bare stem and the chaining stem. For many bimoraic verbs, the two are homophonous. For other bimoraics, and for heavier stems, the chaining stem is marked by a final /-u/ (subject to Apocope to *-Ø* after most unclustered sonorants, §3.4.3.2), or by *-y* in the case of *Cv:* verbs, which become *Cv-y* with shortened vowel. In trisyllabics, the chaining stem also raises the medial-syllable vowel to *i* (or to *u* by assimilation to a neighboring rounded or labial segment).

For verbs whose chaining stem ends in *-ú* or *-ý*, the chaining stem is segmentally identical to the verbal noun. However, the chaining stem respects the lexical tone melody of the stem, whether /H/ or /LH/, while the verbal noun has an invariant LH tone pattern consisting of {L} overlay on the stem plus H-toned suffix. Therefore the two are phonetically identical for verbs with /LH/ melody, but tonally distinct for those with /H/ melody. See §4.2.2.1 for examples of the contrast.

10.1.1.1 Distribution of bare versus chaining forms

The distribution of the bare and chaining stems across inflectional categories, not including verb chains, is as indicated in (219). A possible partial explanation for the distribution of the chaining stem is given in §10.1.2.2 below.

(219) a. bare stem

simple past *=bè-* and related forms
past irrealis *Cì-… =bé-*
emphatic perfect *-jɛ̀-*
imperfective *-jɛ̀-* and related forms
present progressive *-ẁ wɔ̀-*, *-gù wɔ̀-*, *-ŋ̀ wɔ̀-* and related forms
perfective negative (*-ˊl-*, *-ˊn-*)
imperfective negative *-lɛ̀-*
(derived) stative (no suffix)
imperative (no suffix)
prohibitive *-nɔ̀w^{n}*
hortative *-mɔ́*

b. chaining stem

nonfinal uninflected verbs in direct verb chains
perfective participle (no suffix, {HL}-toned in true relatives)
unsuffixed perfective (no suffix, {L}-toned)
perfective-1a *-â:(y)-* ~ *-à:(y)-* (observable in mediopassive *-í:-ày-*)
perfective-1b *-tì-*
experiential perfect *-tɛ́rɔ̀:-* and its negation
completive perfect *-jɛ̀:-* and its negation

For some verbs, the bifurcation in (219) is irrelevant since the same segmental form occurs in both sets of functions. The set of verbs that have distinct bare and chaining stems is partially definable phonologically, based on syllabic/moraic shape and vowel qualities. In the following, I focus on the form of the chaining stem as used in real verb chains.

All heavy stems, those of three or more (vocalic) moras, have two distinct stems, with the chaining form ending in *-u* (subject to Apocope, §3.4.3.2). Mediopassives have a chaining form in *-í:*, arguably segmentable as *-í-y*, versus All suffixally derived verbs are heavy, so all of them have distinct stems. The only monomoraic stem, *gɛ́-* 'say', has an irregular unsuffixed perfective *gì-* that is distinct from the form *gɛ́* used in chains (§11.3). This leaves bimoraic *CvCv* and *Cv:* stems, which are divided between those that have two distinct stems (bare and chaining) and those that have a single invariant form. If there is a distinct chaining form it is *Cv-y* for the monosyllabics and *CvC-u* (subject to Apocope) for the light bisyllabics. Within the stem-shapes that allow a bare/chaining opposition, [+ATR] vocalism favors distinct stems, while [-ATR] favors invariance (especially for *Cv:*), but there are numerous exceptions. There is some variation in the data for *CvCv* stems in particular. My impression is that younger speakers are shifting away from *CvC-u* chaining stems, tending to generalize the bare stem, but no systematic study of this has been made.

Summarizing some of the points just made, the corelations in (220) have no few or no exceptions. Lists of examples and more details are in the following sections.

(220) bare chaining

a. verbs that distinguish bare from chaining stems

final a

Ca:	*Ca-y*
CaCa	*CaC-u*

heavy stems (trimoraic or longer)

Cv:Cv	*Cv:C-u* (heavy bisyllabics)
CvCvCv etc	*CvCi/uC-u* (all trisyllabics)

suffixally derived stems (all trimoraic or longer)

STEM-*ɛ́:*	STEM-*í:* (mediopassive)
STEM-*mɔ́*	STEM-*m-ú* (causative)

b. verbs that have a single invariant stem

high-vowel monosyllabic

Ci:

Cu:

Cuy

other monosyllabic

Cɔ:

Cɛ: (with two exceptions)

10.1.1.2 Examples of verbs with and without distinct chaining forms

Examples of verbs that do or do not distinguish bare stems from forms used in true verb chains are presented below. Suffix *-ú* in the chaining form is subject to optional Apocope (or Syncope) after some unclustered sonorants and after peripheral voiced stops *b* and *g*. Only the full forms are shown in the arrays below, except that apocopated chaining forms with final *m* from *w*^{n} (§3.4.4.4) or final *n* from *r*^{n} (§3.4.4.5) are shown. Reconstructions are shown on the right for a few verbs where a geminate or other cluster has simplified medially to convert *CvCCv to *CvCv*. (221a) illustrates verbs that make the distinction and that belong to phonologically defined types that always or nearly always make this distinction. (221b) shows verbs that belong to phonologically defined classes that have identical bare and chaining stems.

(221) bare gloss chaining

a. verbs that distinguish bare from chaining stems (selected examples)

Ca:

dă:	'kill'	*dă-y*
sá:	'sneeze'	*sá-y*

CaCa

álá	‘brew (beer)’	*ál-ú*
dànáˊ	‘hunt’	*dàn-ú*
támáˊ	‘kick’	*tám-ú*

CvCCv (heavy bisyllabic)

dɔ̌lgɔ́	‘ransom, bail (sb) out’	*dɔ̌lg-ú*

Cv:Cv (heavy bisyllabic)

dǎ:r^{n}áˊ	‘make viscous’	*dǎ:r^{n}-ú* ~ *dǎ:n-Ø*
ó:róˊ	‘let graze’	*ó:r-ú*
ló:jóˊ	‘separate skin & carcass’	*ló:j-ú*

trisyllabic

kájúbáˊ	‘watch over’	*kájúb-ú*
yàŋálá	‘ruin, spoil’	*yàŋíl-ú*
pégéréˊ	‘winnow’	*pégúr-ú*
gògóróˊ	‘hang (calabash)’	*gògúr-ú*
níŋíɲéˊ	‘rub (eyes)’	*níŋíɲ-ú*

with mediopassive derivational suffix

nàr^{n}-é:	‘be born’	*nàr^{n}-í:* (arguably *nàr^{n}-í-y*)
yìbél-é:	‘be comatose’	*yìbíl-í:* (arguably *yìbíl-í-y*)

with other derivational suffixes

nɔ̌:-mɔ́	‘let drink’	*nɔ̌:-m-ú* (causative)
pó:-nóˊ	‘greet’	*pó:-n-ú*
íŋé-lé	‘come to, recover’	*íŋí-l-ú* (reversive)
sɔ́gɔ́-lɔ́	‘unbutton’	*sɔ́gú-l-ú* (reversive)

b. verbs with invariant stem (bare = chaining)

high-vowel monosyllabic and Cuy (all known examples)

dǐ:^{n}	‘lie down’
jǐ:^{n}	‘fart’
kí:	‘flip over’
pí:	‘weep, cry out’ (in collocation *pǐ: pí:*)
sí:	‘emit cries of joy’ (in collocation *sǐ: sí:*)
tí:^{n}	‘block (path)’
gŭ:^{n}	‘murmur’ (in collocation *gù-gû:^{n} gŭ:^{n}*)
túy	‘send’
kúy	‘re-pound’ (in collocation *yù:-kûy kúy*)
gŭy^{n}	‘steal’
mŭy	‘draw liquid’
mŭy	‘tie (knot)’

Cɔ: (all known examples)

dɔ̌:	‘arrive’
dɔ̌:^{n}	‘catch (dripping liquid)’

jɔ̌:ⁿ	‘peck at’
kɔ́:	‘be worm-eaten’
kɔ́:	‘raise (child)’
kɔ́:ⁿ	‘pull in (stomach)’ (in collocation *bèrɛ́ kɔ́:ⁿ*)
kɔ́:ⁿ	‘bray’
mɔ̌:	‘laugh’ (in collocation *mɔ̂y mɔ̌:*)
mɔ̌:	‘pick (individual plant sprouts)’
nɔ̌:	‘drink’
pɔ́:	‘slap on (mud)’
pɔ́:	‘take a handful’
sɔ́:	‘speak’
sɔ́:ⁿ	‘tremble’
sɔ́:ⁿ	‘douse (fire)’
sɔ́:ⁿ	‘put a thorn-branch fence around’
tɔ́:	‘take apart’
tɔ́:	‘spit’ (in collocation *yù:jǎ: tɔ́:*)
tɔ́:ⁿ	‘wrap by coiling’

Some but not all of the *Cɔ:* verbs do show suffix *-y* in the unsuffixed perfective, e.g. *ǎ: nɔ̀-y* ‘who drank?’, *ǎ: sɔ̀-y* ‘who spoke?’, but *ǎ: dɔ̀:* ‘who arrived?’.

The only *CaCa* stem that I know of that has identical bare and chaining stems is *yàná* ‘(e.g. bird) glide, hover’, where the medial *n* reflects *nd, to judge by Mombo *yándé*.

Most *Cɛ:* verbs behave like *Cɔ:* and are invariant in vocalism (222b), but two such verbs, semantically more or less stative, have a chaining stem pronounced [Ci:] (222a), following the pattern of mediopassives. These are *bɛ̌:* as in *bǐ: bèlé-jɛ̀-* ‘can stay’ and *lé:* ‘fear (v)’ as in *lí: bèlé-jɛ̀-* ‘can fear’. Of these two, *bɛ̌:* ‘stay’ (222a) has an uncommon bisyllabic dialectal variant *bìyé*.

(222)

bare	gloss	chaining	
a. *Cɛ:* stems with *Ci:* chaining stems (all known examples)			
bɛ̌:	‘stay’	*bǐ:*	(arguably *bǐ-y*)
lé:	‘fear (v)’	*lí:*	(arguably *lí-y*)
b. invariant *Cɛ:* stems (all known examples)			
dɛ̌:	‘burn’		
ɛ́:ⁿ	‘be tight’		
ɛ́:ⁿ	‘make (cord)’		
gɛ̌:ⁿ	‘request’		
kɛ́:ⁿ	‘slaughter’		
mɛ̌:	‘(rain) fall’		
mɛ̌:	‘be ground into powder’		
pɛ́:	‘tap’		

pɛ́:	‘get old’
pɛ́:^{n}	‘strike’
té:	‘weave’
té:	‘sprout’
wɛ̌:	‘winnow in wind’

Some but not all of these *Cɛ:* stems do show suffix *-y* in the unsuffixed perfective: *ǎ: pɛ̀-y* ‘who got old?’, but *àr^{n}á yà-bá: mɛ̀:* ‘where did it rain?’ and *ǎ: kɛ̀:^{n}-Ø* ‘who slaughtered (an animal)?’.

There are only a few [+ATR] monosyllabic *Ce:* and *Co:* verb stems. ‘Enter’ makes the stem distinction (223a). The others have identical bare and chaining stems (223b).

(223)

bare	gloss	chaining stem distinct from bare stem
a. *Ce:* and *Co:* stems distinguishing bare and chaining stems		
yó:	‘enter’	*yó-y*
b. invariant *Ce:* and *Co:* stems		
Ce:		
dě:	‘learn’	
ké:	‘(grasshopper) bite off and eat’	
yé:	‘sleep (v)’, with noun *gìrî:*	
yé:	‘see’	
Co:		
bŏ:	‘sip’	
gŏ:	‘exit, leave’	
kó:	‘turn inside out’	
ó:	‘(millet grain spike) grow reddish fuzz’	
só:	‘dip’	
wŏ:	‘be defoliated’	

The situation with *CvCv* verbs is more complex. My assistant, likely reflecting usage among younger speakers, tends to merge bare and chaining stems that older people distinguish. The merger appears to occur first in actual verb chains, before spreading (if it does spread) to perfective positive verb forms. The merger is least likely when the first syllable has a high vowel *i* or *u*, which seems to favor retention of final *u* in the chaining form. Especially [+ATR] *CiCe* and *CuCo* are likely to have chaining forms *CiC-u* and *CuC-u* (224a). The data for [-ATR] *CiCɛ* and *CuCɔ* are mixed, and I suspect that there is much variation across speakers (224b-c).

(224)

bare	gloss	chaining	comment
a. [+ATR] stems with initial high vowel and final *u* in chaining stem			
CuCo			
bùló	‘be resuscitated’	*bùl-ú*	
dùgó	‘cast (a spell)’	*dùg-ú*	
jùbó	‘churn (milk)’	*jùb-ú*	
lúgó	‘rinse (mouth)’	*lúg-ú*	
púló	‘pull out’	*púl-ú*	
súgó	‘descend’	*súg-ú*	
úgó	‘cook by steam’	*úg-ú*	
CiCe			
bìlé	‘flip over’	*bìl-ú*	
líbé	‘implant’	*líb-ú*	
lígé	‘mix’	*líg-ú*	
píjé	‘spray’	*píj-ú*	
síbé	‘place second layer’	*síb-ú*	
tíbé	‘come to, recover’	*tíb-ú*	
yìgé	‘shake’	*yìg-ú*	
b. [-ATR] stems with initial high vowel and final *u* in chaining stem			
CuCɔ			
bùbɔ́	‘pick (teeth)’	*bùb-ú*	
bùrɔ́	‘spit after rinsing’	*bùr-ú*	
gùjɔ́	‘gin (cotton)’	*gùj-ú*	
kújɔ́	‘attach blade’	*kúj-ú*	
kúnɔ́	‘put’	*kún-ú*	
mùnɔ́	‘tie (sth) in garment’	*mùn-ú*	
mùŋɔ́	‘stuff (hole)’	*mùŋ-ú*	
súlɔ́	‘make small pile’	*súl-ú*	
újɔ́	‘build (house)’	*új-ú*	
ú-nɔ́	‘make go up’	*ú-n-ú*	
úló	‘ascend’	*úl-ú*	
CiCɛ			
gìrɛ́	‘let graze’	*gìr-ú*	
ímɛ́	‘stutter’(in *ímù ímɛ́*)	*ím-ú*	
jìŋɛ́	‘be paired’	*jìŋ-ú*	*jìŋgɛ́
jìw^{n}ɛ́	‘hurt’	*jìw^{n}-ú* (~ *jĭm-Ø*) (chaining also *jìw^{n}ɛ́*)	*jìmɛ́
kíbɛ́	‘clear (field)’	*kíb-ú*	
níné	‘breathe’ (in *nínù níné*)	*nín-ú*	*nínné
píné	‘shut’	*pín-ú*	

síɲé	‘snort’	*síɲ-ú*	*sínjé
síɲé	‘make noise’ (in *síɲè síɲé*)	*síɲ-ú*	*sínjé
yíw^{n}é	‘die’	*yíw^{n}-ú* (~ *yím-Ø*)	*yímé

c. [-ATR] stems with initial high vowel with identical bare and chaining stems

CuCɔ

bùmɔ́	‘crawl, slither’
bùnɔ́	‘hit hard’
gùlɔ́	‘vomit’ (in collocation *gúlɔ̀ gùlɔ́*)
jùgɔ́	‘know’
túјɔ́	‘pay’

CiCɛ

bìɲé	‘pull; draw (water)’
dùmɔ́	‘make flat-topped earth mound’ (in *dûm dùmɔ́*)
ílé	‘ripen’
gìmé	‘recur’
mìɲé	‘toss (water) from hand’
tímé	‘superimpose’
tílé	‘exchange’
úrɔ́	‘skin and butcher’

CvCv stems with two mid-height vowels tend strongly to merge bare and chaining stems in the speech of my assistant, but older speakers have many cases of chaining *CvC-u* with final *u*. For the older speakers, [-ATR] stems are more likely to have chaining *CvC-u* than [-ATR] verbs (225a). [+ATR] includes *CeNɛ* and *CoNɔ* where the nasal shifts the following [+ATR] to [-ATR]. The [+ATR] data in (225) are from older speakers and already show some mix.

(225)

bare	gloss	chaining	reconstruction

a. [+ATR] verbs distinguishing bare from chaining stems

CoCo

bòjó	‘pull out; bury’	*bòj-ú*	
kóró	‘build enclosure’	*kór-ú*	
pójó	‘be punctured’	*pój-ú*	
póró	‘grow a grain spike’	*pór-ú*	

CoNɔ

pómɔ́	‘grow a grain spike’	*póm-ú*	
pómɔ́	‘take off shoes’	*póm-ú*	*pómbó
tómɔ́	‘jump’	*tóm-ú*	*tómbó

CeCe

kéjé	‘encounter’	*kéj-ú* (~ *kéjé*)
légé	‘hiccup’	*lég-ú*
sébé	‘tiptoe’	*séb-ú*

CeNɛ

pémé	‘pull out’	*pém(-ú)*

b. [+ATR] stems with identical bare and chaining stems

CoCo

bògó	‘(dog) bark’ (in collocation *bógù bògó*)
dògó	‘be used up’
gòró	‘cover (sb); put a hat on (sb)’
pógó	‘knock to the side, thresh lightly’
tóló	‘pound in mortar’
tógó	‘build shelter’ (in collocation *tógù tógó*)

CoNɔ

ómɔ́	‘hold up (from underneath)’

CeCe

jèlé	‘hang (sth) up’
pélé	‘(trap) spring’
pélé	‘applaud’ (in collocation *pêl pélé*)
tégé	‘drip’
tégé	‘limp (v)’ (in collocation *kúbɔ́ tégé*)

CeNɛ

gèŋɛ́ ~ *jèŋɛ́*	‘pick up, take’

For [-ATR] *CɛCɛ* and *CɔCɔ*, the older speakers showed a similar mix, but the percentage of stems with *CvC-u* chaining stem (226a) is lower than for [+ATR] stems (225a). My assistant and probably many other younger speakers generalize the bare stem for all verbs in (226a-b).

(226)

bare	gloss	chaining

a. verbs that distinguish bare from chaining stems

CɔCɔ

bɔ̀mɔ́	‘glare at’	*bɔ̀m-ú*
sɔ́gɔ́	‘peck’	*sɔ́g-ú*
sɔ́rⁿɔ́	‘melt’	*sɔ́rⁿ-ú*
tɔ́ŋɔ́	‘hobble’	*tɔ́ŋ-ú*

CɛCɛ

gèwⁿɛ́	‘commemorate’	*gèwⁿ-ú*
pégɛ́	‘make first layer’	*pég-ú*
sérⁿɛ́	‘spit in a jet’	*sérⁿ-ú*

b. verbs that do not distinguish bare from chaining stems

CɔCɔ

bɔ̀jɔ́	‘defecate’ (in collocation *bɔ́jɔ̀ bɔ̀jɔ́*)
dɔ̀gɔ́	‘grow hair or leaves’
dɔ̀ŋɔ́	‘pound (grain spikes)’
dɔ̀ɲɔ́	‘snore’
dɔ̀rⁿɔ́	‘sell’
jɔ̀bɔ́	‘run’
dɔ̀ŋɔ́	‘become skinny’
gɔ̀bɔ́	‘set (cock of musket)’
gɔ̀mɔ́	‘open (eye, mouth)’
jɔ̀gɔ́	‘demolish’
kɔ́jɔ́	‘scrape’
kɔ́lɔ́	‘hook’
mɔ̀ŋɔ́	‘mix (grains) into cream’
nɔ̀ŋɔ́	‘be devastated’
ɔ́gɔ́	‘copulate’
ɔ́mɔ́	‘emit an odor’
pɔ́mɔ́	‘remove ax blade’
pɔ́dɔ́	‘squash, crush’
pɔ́dɔ́	‘(God) bring about’
pɔ́rɔ́	‘castrate’
pɔ́rⁿɔ́	‘blow (nose)’
sɔ́bɔ́	‘(peanut plant) begin to grow’
sɔ́gɔ́	‘loop’ or ‘shell (by pounding)’
sɔ́nɔ́	‘comb; undo braids’
tɔ́gɔ́	‘(woodpecker) peck deeply’
wɔ̀gɔ́	‘collect (honey)’

CɛCɛ

bɛ̀lɛ́	‘get’
bɛ̀nɛ́	‘hit hard’
bɛ̀rɛ́	‘become pregnant’ (in collocation *bɛ̀rɛ́ bɛ̀rɛ́*)
bɛ̀rⁿɛ́	‘become giddy’
dɛ̀gɛ́	‘lick’
dɛ̀rⁿɛ́	‘spend mid-day’
dɛ̀nɛ́	‘look for’
dɛ̀ŋɛ́	‘fill up (well, ditch)’
dɛ̀ɲɛ́	‘drop, throw down’
ɛ́bɛ́	‘buy’
ɛ́gɛ́	‘smell (sth)’
ɛ́rɛ́	‘braid (hair)’
ɛ́rⁿɛ́	‘let out (one’s stomach)’

ɛ́wⁿɛ́	‘milk (a cow)’
gɛ̀lɛ́	‘harvest (with knife)’
lɛ́gɛ́	‘attach’
mɛ̀rⁿɛ́	‘spin (cotton)’
mɛ̀rⁿɛ́	‘swallow; submerge’
nɛ́wⁿɛ́	‘taste’
pɛ́lɛ́	‘strike’
pɛ́nɛ́	‘squeeze’
sɛ́gɛ́	‘pay (dues), contribute’
tɛ́lɛ́	‘pile up (harvested grain)’
tɛ́ŋɛ́	‘dam up; prevent’
wɛ̀gɛ́	‘spend half-day’ (in collocation *àgà-wɛ̀gú wɛ̀gɛ́*)
yɛ̀mɛ́	‘sort, select’

10.1.2 Suffixes versus chained verbs

In the preceding section it was pointed out that the verb form used in nonfinal position in verb-chains is also found in the unsuffixed perfective, the perfective-1a and -1b, the experiential perfect, and the completive perfect. It is reasonable to conclude that the chaining stem is regular throughout the perfective positive system, excluding forms based on the past clitic *=be-*.

One possible partial explanation for this distribution is that the perfective-1b (and -1a) and the two perfect categories originated as verb chains, i.e. with a final auxiliary verb rather than a suffix as such, and still behave morphologically in this way. This would not, however, apply to the unsuffixed perfective.

Synchronic traces of this chain construction in some Dogon languages are seen in nonsubject relative clauses, where a pronominal subject proclitic intervenes between the main stem and the auxiliary-like perfective-system “suffix.” In YS, I was unable to elicit such combinations for the perfective-1a or -1b, which are always replaced by the unsuffixed perfective in relative clauses (227a-b).

(227) a. *bày*^{L} *mú* ^{L}*sùg-ù* *gɛ̀*
day^{L} 1SgSbj ^{L}descend-Pfv.Ppl Def
‘the day I went down’
(compare main-clause perfective-1a *súg-à:-m* ‘I went down’)

b. *bày*^{L} *[ìjí* *gɛ̀]=ỳ* *mú* ^{L}*làg-Ø* *gɛ̀*
day^{L} [dog Def]=Acc 1SgSbj ^{L}hit-Pfv.Ppl Def
‘the day (when) I hit-Past the dog’
(compare main-clause perfective-1b *lág-tù-m* ‘I hit-Past’)

The completive perfect sometimes allows the subject proclitic to intervene, as seen in (228a). However, this is not always the case. In textual example (228b), 1Sg *mú* precedes the entire verb plus suffix complex.

(228) a. *kâ-y* *bé* ^{L}*jɛ̀:* *gɛ̀*
eat-Chain **3PlSbj** ^{L}CompPf.Ppl Def
'when they had finished eating, …' (Text 1 @ 00:29)

b. *[mú* *jɔ̀bɔ́-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀]* *mòptî:* *yà-y-m*
[**1SgSbj** run-CompPf.Ppl Def] M go-Pfv-1SgSbj
'I fled to Mopti' (Text 6 @ 00:31)

Except for the backgrounded perfective construction exemplified in (228a-b), my assistant generally rejected ordinary relative clauses with overt *-jɛ̌:* in its normal completive perfect sense.

The experiential perfect requires that the subject proclitic intervene in nonsubject relatives. In (229), 1Sg *mú* follows 'see' and precedes the experiential perfect "suffix," which is shown to be an auxiliary verb.

(229) *dùŋ* *yé:* *mú* ^{L}*tɛ̀rɛ̀* *gɛ̀*
elephant see **1SgSbj** ^{L}ExpPf.Ppl Def
'the elephant that I have seen (once)'

Perfective-1b *-tì-* usually behaves as a fused suffix. However, it may have originated as a chained verb 'send'. This verb is *túy-* 'send' in YS and *túyó* in neighboring Tommo So, but *tí(:)* in Jamsay and several other Dogon languages. A possible trace of this might be the construction in Text 5 @ 03:24, where *tì* (followed by the imperfective suffix!) seems to mean 'discard, send away, get rid of'. A less likely etymological source is *tí→* 'first(ly)' (§4.6.2.1).

10.1.3 Verb stem shapes

Underived verbs have from one to three syllables. Derivational suffixes usually add one syllable each (chapter 9), but are treated for inflectional purposes like underived verbs.

Verb stems end in vowels, except for a handful of *Cuy* stems like *túy* 'send' (232b below). The great majority of monosyllabic verb stems have a long vowel (*Cv:*). There is one *Cv:* verb that shortens to *Cv-* in the perfective negative (*yɛ̌-l-* 'saw'). There is a single *Cv* stem (*gɛ́* 'say'). Nonmonosyllabic stems may have a long vowel in the initial syllable, but noninitial syllables including the final syllable have short vowels.

The immediately following sections go over phonological types of verb stem based on syllable count and tone melody.

10.1.3.1 *Cv* and *Cv:* verb stems (except *Ci:*)

gɛ́ 'say' is the only monomoraic stem. It is not lengthened before suffixes or enclitics: *gɛ́=bè-* 'said'. For its tones see §3.6.4.1.

All known *Cv:* verb stems are listed in this section. There are two main types, depending on whether the chaining stem has a suffix *-y*. (230) presents those that do have the suffix in the chaining stem. Also shown are the simple past, perfective negative (as in the 3Sg subject form), and imperative. All *Ca:* verbs, and a handful of *Cɔ:*, *Co:*, and *Ce:* verbs, are of this type. As usual for verbs, the lexical melody (observed in the chaining stem and the simple past) is /H/ after initial voiceless obstruent, /LH/ after initial voiced obstruent, and a lexical choice after initial sonorant and in vowel-initial stems. There is one tonally irregular verb, *já:* 'take, convey', which has /H/ melody in spite of beginning with a voiced obstruent. Cognates of this verb in other Dogon languages have a similar tonal irregularity. The lexical melodies are erased by overlays in the perfective negative and imperative. *yă:* 'go' is /LH/ toned and irregularly fails to shift to {H} in the imperative.

(230) *Cv:* verbs with *-y* suffix

chain	past (*=bè*)	PfvNeg	Imprt	gloss
a. initial voiceless obstruent, /H/ melody				
ká-y	*ká:=bè*	*kă:-l*	*ká:*	'shave' or 'eat' (with *jâ:* 'meal')
lá-y	*lá:=bè*	*lă:-l*	*lá:*	'choose, reserve'
pá-y	*pá:=bè*	*pă:-l*	*pá:*	'find a mate for, pair with'
sá-y	*sá:=bè*	*să:-l*	*sá:*	'dredge out' or 'shine' or 'reply'
sá-y	*sá:=bè*	*să:-l*	*sá:*	'sneeze' (with noun *èjìgílè*)
tá-y	*tá:=bè*	*tă:-l*	*tá:*	'shoot' or 'avoid (respect) a taboo'
nasalized vowel				
sá-y^{n}	*sá:^{n}=bè*	*sà:^{n}-ń*	*sá:^{n}*	'urinate' (with noun *ìsăn*)
b. initial voiced obstruent, /LH/ melody (with one exception)				
regular, with LH tones except in Imprt				
bă-y	*bă:=bè*	*bă:-l*	*bá:*	'beat (tomtom)' or 'suffice'
dă-y	*dă:=bè*	*dă:-l*	*dá:*	'kill' or 'tell (riddle)'
gă-y	*gă:=bè*	*gă:-l*	*gá:*	'do follow-up harvest'
nasalized vowel				
gă^{n}-y	*gă:^{n}=bè*	*gà:^{n}-ń*	*gá:^{n}*	'twist limb around'
irregularly /H/ melody				
já-y	*já:=bè*	*jă:-l*	*já:*	'take, convey'

c. /H/ or /LH/ melody, initial sonorant or no initial consonant

regular /H/ type as in (a)

á-y	*á:=bè*	*ǎ:-l*	*á:*	‘catch, grab’
yá-y	*yá:=bè*	*yǎ:-l*	*yá:*	‘spend night’ (in *bá: yá:*)
yó-y	*yó:=bè*	*yǒ:-l*	*yó:*	‘go in; get involved in’

/LH/ as in (b)

wǎ-y	*wǎ:=bè*	*wǎ:-l*	*wá:*	‘pull back up (boubou)’

/LH/, irregularly remaining LH in Imprt

yǎ-y	*yǎ:=bè*	*yǎ:-l*	*yǎ:*	‘go’

(231) presents the *Cv:* verbs that do not take the *-y* suffix in the chaining stem, and so have identical bare and chaining stems. The vowel quality is mid-height {*o ɔ e ɛ*}. ‘See’ (231c) is short-voweled in the perfective negative (*yě-l* instead of expected #*yě:-l*).

(231) *Cv:* verbs without *-y* suffix in the chaining stem

chain	past (*=bé*)	PfvNeg	Imprt	gloss

a. initial voiceless obstruent, /H/ melody

dɔ̌:	*dɔ̌:=bè*	*dɔ̌:-l*	*dɔ́:*	‘arrive’
kɔ́:	*kɔ́:=bè*	*kɔ̌:-l*	*kɔ́:*	‘pick (fruit)’ or ‘raise (child, livestock)’
kó:	*kó:=bè*	*kǒ:-l*	*kó:*	‘turn inside-out (socks); roll up (pants)’
pɛ́:	*pɛ́:=bè*	*pɛ̌:-l*	*pɛ́:*	‘tap’ or ‘get old’
pɔ́:	*pɔ́:=bè*	*pɔ̌:-l*	*pɔ́:*	‘slap on (mud)’
sɛ́:	*sɛ́:=bè*	*sɛ̌:-l*	*sɛ́:*	‘trim’
sɔ́:	*sɔ́:=bè*	*sɔ̌:-l*	*sɔ́:*	‘speak’ (with noun *sɔ̌:*) or ‘take a handful’
tɔ́:	*tɔ́:=bè*	*tɔ̌:-l*	*tɔ́:*	‘take out (rations)’ or ‘spit’ (w. noun *yù:jǎ:*)

nasalized vowel

kɛ́:ⁿ	*kɛ́:ⁿ=bè*	*kɛ̀:ⁿ-ń*	*kɛ́:ⁿ*	‘slaughter (cut throat); saw’
kɔ́:ⁿ	*kɔ́:ⁿ=bè*	*kɔ̀:ⁿ-ń*	*kɔ́:ⁿ*	‘pull in (stomach); bray’
pá:ⁿ	*pá:ⁿ=bè*	*pà:ⁿ-ń*	*pá:ⁿ*	‘lay across’ or ‘(pond) dry up’
pɛ́:ⁿ	*pɛ́:ⁿ=bè*	*pɛ̀:ⁿ-ń*	*pɛ́:ⁿ*	‘strike (sth, against sth)’
sɔ́:ⁿ	*sɔ́:ⁿ=bè*	*sɔ̀:ⁿ-ń*	*sɔ́:ⁿ*	‘tremble’ or ‘douse’ or ‘fence with thorns’
tɔ́:ⁿ	*tɔ́:ⁿ=bè*	*tɔ̀:ⁿ-ń*	*tɔ́:ⁿ*	‘wrap by coiling’

b. initial voiced obstruent, /LH/ melody

bɔ̌:	*bɔ̌:=bè*	*bɔ̌:-l*	*bɔ́:*	‘bury; unsheathe’
dě:	*dě:=bè*	*dě:-l*	*dɛ́:*	‘learn’
dɛ̌:	*dɛ̌:=bè*	*dɛ̌:-l*	*dɛ́:*	‘burn’
gǒ:	*gǒ:=bè*	*gǒ:-l*	*gó:*	‘exit (v)’

nasalized vowel

gǔ:ⁿ	*gǔ:ⁿ=bè*	*gù:ⁿ-ń*	*gú:ⁿ*	‘murmur’ (with noun *gù-gû:ⁿ*)

c. initial sonorant or no initial *C*

/H/ melody, nasalized

ɛ́:ⁿ	*ɛ́:ⁿ = bɛ̀*	*ɛ̀:ⁿ-ń*	*ɛ́:ⁿ*	‘be tight, hard; (woman) marry (man)’

/H/ melody, vowel shortens to Cv- in PfvNeg

yé:	*yé: = bɛ̀*	*yɛ̌-l*	*yé:*	‘see’

/H/ melody, no shortening in PfvNeg

yé:	*yé: = bɛ̀*	*yɛ̌:-l*	*yé:*	‘sleep’ (with noun *gìrî:*)

/LH/ melody

mɛ̌:	*mɛ̌: = bɛ̀*	*mɛ̀:-ń*	*mɛ́:*	‘(rain) fall’ or ‘be ground into powder’
mɔ̌:	*mɔ̌: = bɛ̀*	*mɔ̀:-ń*	*mɔ́:*	‘pick (plant sprouts)’ or ‘laugh’ (with *mɔ̂y*)
nɛ̌:	*nɛ̌: = bɛ̀*	*nɛ̀:-ń*	*nɛ́:*	‘sing’ (w. noun *nɛ́:*) or ‘(part of fruit) ripen’
nɔ̌:	*nɔ̌: = bɛ̀*	*nɔ̀:-ń*	*nɔ́:*	‘drink’
wɛ̌:	*wɛ̌: = bɛ̀*	*wɛ̌:-l*	*wɛ́:*	‘winnow (in wind)’
wɔ̌:	*wɔ̌: = bɛ̀*	*wɔ̌:-l*	*wɔ́:*	‘(tree) be defoliated’

/LH/ melody, nasalized

gɛ̌:ⁿ	*gɛ̌:ⁿ = bɛ̀*	*gɛ̀:ⁿ-ń*	*gɛ́:ⁿ*	‘request’

d. *mediopassive-like* [i:] *in chaining stem, arguably* /Ci-y/

bǐ:	*bɛ̌: = bɛ̀*	*bɛ̌:-l*	*bɛ́:*	‘stay’ (dialectally *bìyɛ́*)
lí:	*lɛ́: = bɛ̀*	*lɛ̌:-l*	*lɛ́:*	‘fear’

10.1.3.2 *Ci:* and *Cuy* verbs

The difficulty with *Ci:* is that there is no audible difference between *Ci:* and *Ciy* syllable-finally, i.e. before word-boundary or any *C*-initial perfective suffix. For a verb like ‘weep’ heard as *Ci:* (232a), one could posit any of the following as the lexical representation: a) *Ci:* remaining as such in all forms; b) *Ci:* becoming *Ci-y* in the chaining stem; or c) *Ciy*. That option (c) is not out of the question is shown by the existence of *Cuy* verbs (232b-c).

(232) *Ci:* and *Cuy* verbs

	chain	past (= *bé*)	PfvNeg	Imprt	gloss
a.	*kí:*	*kí: = bɛ̀*	*kǐ:-l*	*kí:*	‘flip over’
	pí:	*pí: = bɛ̀*	*pǐ:-l*	*pí:*	‘weep loudly; (animal) call’ (with noun *pí:*)
	nasalized vowel				
	dǐ:ⁿ	*dǐ:ⁿ = bɛ̀*	*dì:ⁿ-ń*	*dí:ⁿ*	‘lie down’
	jǐ:ⁿ	*jǐ:ⁿ = bɛ̀*	*jì:ⁿ-ń*	*jí:ⁿ*	‘fart’ (with noun *jî:ⁿ*)
b.	*túy*	*túy = bɛ̀*	*tǔy-l*	*túy*	‘send’
	kúy	*kúy = bɛ̀*	*kǔy-l*	*kúy*	‘re-pound’ or ‘cover with animal hide’

c.	*gŭy^{n}*	*gŭy^{n}=bè*	*gùy^{n}-ń*	*gúy^{n}*	‘steal, rob’
	mŭy	*mŭy=bè*	*mùy-ń*	*múy*	‘soak; draw (liquid)’

10.1.3.3 Regular bisyllabic stems

There are two main types of bisyllabic (and longer) stems. One type has final *u*, which is deleted by phonological rule in some positions, in the chaining stem. This corresponds to *y* in the monosyllabic verbs described above. The other type lacks this ending.

Stem shapes are *CvCv*, *Cv:Cv*, and *CvCCv*, with *CvCv* predominant. The initial *C* position may be vacant (*vCv*, etc.). Disregarding the *-u* suffix, the attested vowel-quality sequences are *a…a*, *ɛ…ɛ*, *e…e*, *ɔ…ɔ*, *o…o* (i.e. identical non-high vowels), and *i…e*, *i…ɛ*, *u…o*, and *u…ɔ* (i.e. high vowel followed by a mid-height vowel with the same backness and rounding features). This restriction applies to native Dogon verb stems, not necessarily to new loanwords.

A sample of bisyllabic verbs with *-u* suffix is (233). This type includes all known *CaCa-* stems, along with many bisyllabic stems beginning with a high vowel.

(233) *CvCv* verbs with final *u* in chaining stem

chain	past (*=bé*)	PfvNeg	gloss
a. with *a…a* vocalism			
initial voiceless obstruent, /H/ melody			
táb-ú	*tábá=bè*	*tàbă-l*	‘touch’
initial voiced obstruent, /LH/ melody			
jàŋ-ú	*jàŋá=bè*	*jàŋà-ń*	‘pound (grain with water)’
bàr-ú	*bárá=bè*	*bàră-l*	‘help’ or ‘add’
initial sonorant or no C, /H/ melody			
lág-ú	*lágá=bè*	*làgă-l*	‘hit’
initial sonorant or no C, /LH/ melody			
wàl-ú	*wàlá=bè*	*wàlă-l*	‘do farm work’
b. with high vowel followed by mid-height vowel			
initial voiceless obstruent, /H/ melody			
píj-ú	*píjé=bè*	*pìjĕ-l*	‘spray’
púl-ú	*púló=bè*	*pùlŏ-l*	‘(sth) snap’
initial voiced obstruent, /LH/ melody			
gùl-ú	*gùló=bè*	*gùlŏ-l*	‘dig’
bìl-ú	*bìlé=bè*	*bìlĕ-l*	‘flip’
wìj-ú	*wìjɛ́=bè*	*wìjɛ̆-l*	‘wave (sth)’

initial sonorant or no C, /H/ melody

yím-Ø	*yíw^{n}é = bè*	*yìw^{n}è-ń*	'die' (for *w^{n}* ~ *m* see §3.4.4.4)
(< *yíw^{n}-ú*)			
úb-ú	*úbó = bè*	*ùbŏ-l*	'apply compress'

initial sonorant or no C, /LH/ melody

nùm-ú	*nùmɔ́ = bè*	*nùmɔ̀-ń*	'fall'

c. with identical mid-height vowels

initial sonorant or no C, /H/ melody, slightly irregular (§10.6.1.1)

ób-ú	*óbó = bè*	*òbŏ-l*	'give'

All *CvvCv* (excluding causative *Cvv-mɔ́*) and all *CvCCv* verbs have this type of chaining form since they count as prosodically heavy stems (234).

(234) *CvvCv* and *CvCCv* verbs (all have final *u* in chaining stem)

chain	past (*= bè*)	PfvNeg	gloss
a. *CvvCv*			
with medial a vowel			
tá:r-ú	*tá:rá = bè*	*tà:ră-l*	'show'
wă:j-ú	*wă:já = bè*	*wà:jă-l*	'advise'
wă:n-Ø	*wă:r^{n}á = bè*	*wà:r^{n}à-ń*	'mix'
mă:n-ú	*mă:ná = bè*	*mà:nà-ń*	'think'
with medial nonlow vowel			
mɔ̌:-n-ú	*mɔ̌:-nɔ́ = bè*	*mɔ̀:-nɔ̀-ń*	'assemble'
tɔ́:ɲ-ú	*tɔ́:ɲɔ́ = bè*	*tɔ̀:ɲɔ̀-ń*	'provoke'
ké:n-ú	*ké:né = bè*	*kè:nè-ń*	'keep'
kú:-l-ú	*kú:-ló = bè*	*kù:-lŏ-l*	'shuck (corn cob)'
sí:r-ú	*sí:ré = bè*	*sì:rĕ-l*	'point at, aim at'
b. *CvCCv*			
dɔ̌lg-ú	*dɔ̌lgɔ́ = bè*	*dɔ̀lgɔ̌-l*	'ransom, bail out'
jɔ̌m-n-ú	*jɔ̌m-nɔ́ = bè*	*jɔ̀m-nɔ̀-ń*	'drive (vehicle)'
kɔ́lm-ú	*kɔ́lmɔ́ = bè*	*kɔ̀lmɔ̀-ń*	'snap fingers'
sélm-ú	*sélmé = bè*	*sèlmè-ń*	'ask'
yămɲ-ú	*yămɲé = bè*	*yàmɲè-ń*	'rub, scrub'
mediopassive			
sáw-l-í:	*sáw-l-é: = bè*	*sàw-l-ĕ:-l*	'get wise' (215d)
măyn-í:	*măyn-é: = bè*	*màyn-è:-ń*	'work up energy'
other suffixal derivation			
káw-g-ú	*káw-gá = bè*	*kàw-gă-l*	'separate (v)'

The majority of prosodically light bisyllabic (*CvCv*) verbs with other than *a…a* vocalism, especially those with [-ATR] vowels, fail to take the *-u* suffix. The chaining stem of these verbs is therefore identical to the bare stem, subject to any tonal changes controlled by inflectional suffixes. A sample is given in (235).

(235) *CvCv* verbs without *-u* suffix

chain	past (= *bè*)	PfvNeg	gloss
a. with identical vowels			
initial voiceless obstruent, /H/-toned			
tɛ́w^{n}ɛ́	*tɛ́w^{n}ɛ́ = bè*	*tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ̀-ń*	‘eat (meat)’
símɛ́	*símɛ́ = bè*	*sìmɛ̀-ń*	‘roast’
kɔ́mɔ́	*kɔ́mɔ́ = bè*	*kɔ̀mɔ̀-ń*	‘tie’
initial voiced obstruent, /LH/-toned			
jɔ̀bɔ́	*jɔ̀bɔ́ = bè*	*jɔ̀bɔ̌-l*	‘run’
wòró	*wòró = bè*	*wòrǒ-l*	‘pull down hard’
initial sonorant or no C, /LH/-toned			
wèlɛ́	*wèlɛ́ = bè*	*wɛ̌:-l*	‘come’ (§3.4.4.7)
mènɛ́	*mènɛ́ = bè*	*mènɛ̀-ń*	‘roll up’
b. with high vowel followed by mid-height vowel			
initial voiceless obstruent, /H/-toned			
púŋɔ́	*púŋɔ́ = bè*	*pùŋɔ̀-ń*	‘roast in oven’
initial voiced obstruent, /LH/-toned			
bùmɔ́	*bùmɔ́ = bè*	*bùmɔ̌-l*	‘drag’ (< *bùmbɔ́)
bìnɛ́	*bìnɛ́ = bè*	*bìnɛ̀-ń*	‘bend’
initial sonorant or no C, /H/-toned			
ílɛ́	*ílɛ́ = bè*	*ìlɛ̌-l*	‘ripen’
úrɔ́	*úrɔ́ = bè*	*ùrɔ̌-l*	‘skin and butcher’
initial sonorant or no C, /LH/-toned			
mìŋɛ́	*mìŋɛ́ = bè*	*mìŋɛ̀-ń*	‘sprinkle’

Two *CvlV* verbs, but not others, lose the *l* and contract the vowels before three inflectional suffixes, which have in common that they are negative semantically and that they begin with a coronal sonorant. This is the Medial *l*-Deletion rule (§3.4.4.7). The verbs are *wèlɛ́* ‘come’ and *bɛ̀lɛ́* ‘get’ (also ‘be able to’). See (24) for the paradigms.

10.1.3.4 Trisyllabic stems

Regular underived trisyllabic stems have the *-u* suffix (often deleted after an unclustered sonorant) in the chaining stem. This chaining stem also requires a high vowel in the middle syllable, except in causative suffixal derivatives, and in certain verbs like *túmɔ́-r-ú* 'initiate (a group activity)' and *píné-l-ú* 'open (door)' that have a medial [-ATR] vowel. There is some variation between *i* and *u* medially, and even finally, partly due to assimilation to nearby segments. In /LH/ stems, the tone break is after the first syllable in the bare and chaining stems. In the perfective negative, the {L} overlay extends to the right edge of the stem, before the H-toned suffix. Examples of the vocalic patterns are in (236).

(236) Trisyllabic verbs with *-u*

chain	past (= *bé*)	PfvNeg	gloss
a. initial *Ca*…			
medial a in inflected forms			
áŋ́ní-r-í	*áŋ́á-rá = bè*	*àŋ̀à-rǎ-l*	'humiliate mildly'
dàŋ́ú-r-ú	*dàŋ́á-rá = bè*	*dàŋ̀à-rǎ-l*	'make (sth) good'
mànín̪-ú	*mànán̪á = bè*	*mànàn̪à-ń*	'worry'
màrⁿ́í-n-ú	*màrⁿá-ná = bè*	*màrⁿà-nà-ń*	'unseal'
medial high vowel in inflected forms			
kájúb-ú	*kájúbá = bè*	*kàjùbǎ-l-*	'watch over'
b. initial *Ce*…, *Cɛ*…, *Co*…, *Cɔ*…			
medial mid-height vowel in inflected forms			
dɛ̀bí-l-ú	*dɛ̀bɛ́-lɛ́ = bé*	*dɛ̀bɛ̀-lɛ̌-l*	'uncover (opening)'
gòrúl-ú	*gòróló = bè*	*gòròlǒ-l*	'uncover, remove blanket from'
kóbúl-ú	*kóbòló = bè*	*kòbòlǒ-l*	'crack open''
pégúr-ú	*pégèré = bè*	*pègèrě-l*	'winnow (by shaking)'
téwⁿ(ú)rⁿ-ú	*téwⁿèrⁿé = bè*	*tèwⁿèrⁿè-ń*	'counsel formally'
wɛ̀gíj-ú	*wɛ̀géjɛ́ = bè*	*wɛ̀gèjɛ̌-l*	'dig by scooping sand'
wɔ̀gúl-ú	*wɔ̀gɔ́lɔ́ = bè*	*wɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̌-l*	'scoop out (grain)'
yègír-ú	*yègéré = bè*	*yègèrě-l*	'get ready'
yègúr-ú	*yègéré = bè*	*yègèrě-l*	'jiggle (baby on back)'
medial high vowel in all stems			
póbúl-í:	*póbúl-ɛ́: = bè*	*pòbùl-ɛ̌:-l*	'whistle'
c. initial *Ci*…, *Cu*…			
medial high vowel in all stems			
jìgíb-ú	*jìgíbú = bè*	*jìgìbě-l*	'shake'
gìrím-í:	*gìrím-ɛ́: = bè*	*gìrìm-ɛ̀:-ń*	'become blind'

túgúj-ú	*túgújú = bè*	*tùgùjǰ-l*	‘mix (leaves and grains)’
újúr-ú	*újúró = bè*	*ùjùrǒ-l*	‘ask’
medial nonhigh vowel in inflected stems			
kúgúl-ú	*kúgɔ́lɔ́ = bè*	*kùgɔ̀lǒ-l*	‘fish out’
tímí-r-ú	*tímé-ré = bè*	*tìmè-rě-l*	‘put a lid on’
yìgír-ú	*yìgéré = bè*	*yìgèrě-l*	‘sprinkle in’

10.2 Positive indicative AN categories

10.2.1 Perfective positive system (including perfect)

To report events already completed by the moment of speaking, the options in (237) are available. The majority of perfective and perfect forms are based on the chaining stem (237b).

(237) Perfective positive system

a. forms based on the bare stem (always without *-u* ~ *-y*)

= bè-	simple past (originally past perfect)
-jè-	emphatic perfect
Rdp … *= bé-*	past irrealis

b. forms based on chaining stem (for some verbs with *-u* ~ *-y*)

(no AN suffix)	unsuffixed perfective
-â:y-, *-à:y-*	perfective-1a (motion verbs, statives)
-tì-	perfective-1b (action verbs, mostly transitive)
-jè:-	completive perfect
-tɛ́rɔ̀:-	experiential perfect

All verbs require the unsuffixed perfective in the presence of a preceding focalized constituent. In the absence of such a context, the primary perfect form for each verb is either the perfective-1a, the perfective-1b, or (for verbs that allow neither of those) the simple past or the completive perfect.

10.2.1.1 Simple past or past perfect (*= bè-*)

The bare stem (without suffix) plus conjugated past clitic *= bè-* constitutes the past perfect, which can also be used for some verbs as a simple past-time form, essentially a default for verbs than do not have a suffixally marked perfectives. Sample paradigms are in (238), compare chaining forms *lág-ú*, *nǒ:*, and *dàg-ú*.

(238) Simple past

	‘hit’	‘drink’	‘leave (abandon)’
1Sg	*lágá = bè-m*	*nɔ̌ː = bè-m*	*dàgá = bè-m*
2Sg	*lágá = bè-w*	*nɔ̌ː = bè-w*	*dàgá = bè-w*
3Sg	*lágá = bè-Ø*	*nɔ̌ː = bè-Ø*	*dàgá = bè-Ø*
1Pl	*lágá = b-ɛ̀ː^{n}*	*nɔ̌ː = b-ɛ̀ː^{n}*	*dàgá = b-ɛ̀ː^{n}*
2Pl	*lágá = bè-y*	*nɔ̌ː = bè-y*	*dàgá = bè-y*
3Pl	*lágá = b-ɛ̀ː^{n}*	*nɔ̌ː = b-ɛ̀ː^{n}*	*dàgá = b-ɛ̀ː^{n}*

In elicitation, my assistant regularly gives this form in translations of past-tense cues in English or French. However, for most verbs it does not occur in the texts except in past perfect sense. The verbs that use the simple past instead of marked perfectives are non-contact, non-mediopassive verbs, including perception verbs like *yɛ́ː-* ‘see’ and a few others like the noun-verb collocation *bá: yáː-* ‘spend the night (somewhere)’. These verbs are incompatible with the perfective-1a and the perfective-1b. Even for perception verbs, the perfect with *-jɛ̀-* ‘has VPed’ is also possible, and any verb can occur in the unsuffixed perfective in the presence of any more or less focal constituent.

The simple past with *= bè-* also functions as past perfect, as in ‘I had (already) seen the film (so I didn’t go with the others to see it yesterday)’. This is likely to have been the original meaning, to judge by the morphology and by parallels in some other Dogon languages. An example is at Text 6 @ 04:59(‘they had paid us like that’), with {L} overlay due to a focalized constituent.

Under negation, the distinction between simple-past and past-perfect functions is made explicit. In simple-past function, the regular negation is by the perfective negative (§10.2.3.1, below). In past-perfect function, a specifically past perfect negative can be used (§10.5.1.1, below).

10.2.1.2 Unsuffixed perfective

The chaining stem, with {L} overlay but no AN suffix, replaces the simple past and the perfective-1a and -1b in the presence of a preceding constituent that is either overtly focalized (focus clitic *= y*) or has some claim (even if weak) to being focal. I call this the unsuffixed perfective. It requires the presence of at least one preceding nonpronominal constituent (subject, object, adverb, etc.). Except when the subject itself is overtly focalized, pronominal-subject suffixes are added directly to the chaining stem (239a-b). In subject-focalized clauses, there is no pronominal-subject suffixation (alternatively, one could argue for invariant 3Sg zero subject-marking) (239c).

(239) a. *ɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ = y* *^{L}ɛ̀b-ù-m*
goat=Foc ^{L}buy-Pfv-1SgSbj
‘It’s a goat [focus] that I bought.’ (i.e. not a sheep)

b. *[péjù gɛ̀]* *yá:* ^{L}*ɛ̀b-ɛ̀:^{n}*
[sheep Def] yesterday ^{L}buy-Pfv.1Pl/3PlSbj
'It was <u>yesterday</u> [focus] that we/they bought the sheep.'

c. *[nă: ŋɛ̀]* *mú* ^{L}*ɛ̀bɛ̀*
[cow Def] 1Sg ^{L}buy.Pfv
'It's <u>I</u> [focus] who bought the sheep.'

Sample paradigms are in (240). 'Stand' represents mediopassive verbs.

(240) Unsuffixed perfective paradigm

	suffix	'buy'	'arrive'	'shave'	'exit (v)'	'stand'
1Sg	*-m*	^{L}*ɛ̀b-ù-m* ~ ^{L}*ɛ̀bɛ̀-m*	^{L}*dɔ̀-y-m* ~ ^{L}*dɔ̀:-m*	^{L}*kà-y-m*	^{L}*gò:-m*	^{L}*ìŋ-ì:-m*
2Sg	*-w*	^{L}*ɛ̀b-ù-w* ~ ^{L}*ɛ̀bɛ̀-w*	^{L}*dɔ̀-y-w* ~ ^{L}*dɔ̀:-w*	^{L}*kà-y-w*	^{L}*gò:-w*	^{L}*ìŋ-ì:-w*
3Sg	*-Ø*	^{L}*ɛ̀b-ù-Ø* ~ ^{L}*ɛ̀bɛ̀-Ø*	^{L}*dɔ̀-y-Ø* ~ ^{L}*dɔ̀:-Ø*	^{L}*kà-y-Ø*	^{L}*gò:-Ø*	^{L}*ìŋ-ì:-Ø*
1Pl	*-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*ɛ̀b-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*dɔ̀-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*kà-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*gò-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*ìŋ-ì:-y^{n}*
2Pl	*-y*	^{L}*ɛ̀b-ù-y* ~ ^{L}*ɛ̀bɛ̀-y*	^{L}*dɔ̀-y-y* ~ ^{L}*dɔ̀:-y*	^{L}*kà-y-y*	^{L}*gò:-y*	^{L}*ìŋ-ì:-y*
3Pl	*-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*ɛ̀b-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*dɔ̀-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*kà-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*gò-ɛ̀:^{n}*	^{L}*ìŋ-ì:-y^{n}*

For mediopassive 'stand', the 1Pl/3Pl suffix combination pronounced [ì:^{n}] could be transcribed ^{L}*ìŋì:-y^{n}*, ^{L}*ìŋ-ì-ì^{n}*, or whatever.

The variants with *-y-* and *-u-* occur with a larger number of verbs in the unsuffixed perfective than in true verb chains. Some verbs (chiefly monosyllabic [+ATR] *Co:* and *Ce:*) do not to add the suffixes in any environment (241a). Other verbs, mainly bimoraic with [-ATR] vocalism, usually omit them in chains but at least optionally show them in the unsuffixed perfective (241b). The verbs (prosodically heavy, with *a*-vowels, or most bisyllabics with [+ATR] vowels) that reliably show the suffixes in verb chains also show them in the unsuffixed perfective.

(241) Unsuffixed perfective versus chaining stem (in chains)

in chains	bare stem	unsuff Pfv (1Sg)	gloss
a. verbs with identical bare and chaining stems throughout			
gǒ:	*gǒ:*	^{L}*gò:-m*	'exit (v)'
dě:	*dě:*	^{L}*dè:-m*	'learn'

b. verbs with optional final *-u* or *-y* in the unsuffixed perfective only

dǒ:	*dǒ:*	^{L}*dɔ̀-y-m* ~ ^{L}*dɔ̀:-m*	‘arrive’
ɛ́bɛ́	*ɛ́bɛ́*	^{L}*èb-ù-m* ~ ^{L}*èbè-m*	‘buy’
dɛ̀nɛ́	*dɛ̀nɛ́*	^{L}*dɛ̀n-ù-m* ~ ^{L}*dɛ̀nè-m*	‘look for’

c. verbs with *-y* or *-u* in chains and in the unsuffixed perfective

ká-y	*ká:*	^{L}*kà-y-m*	‘shave’
táb-ú	*tábá*	^{L}*tàb-ù-m*	‘touch’
gùl-ú	*gùló*	^{L}*gùl-ù-m*	‘dig’
wɔ̀gúl-ú	*wɔ̀gólɔ́*	^{L}*wɔ̀gùl-ù-m*	‘scoop out (grain)’
pégúr-ú	*pégéré*	^{L}*pègùr-ù-m*	‘winnow (by shaking)’

The superscript ^{L} indicating tone-dropping is used in this section, but it is omitted elsewhere in the grammar and texts in my normal transcription for unsuffixed perfectives. This is because this type of tone-dropping is due to defocalization, and it is not controlled by a syntactically specified and obligatorily adjacent controller in the fashion of normal tonosyntax. This type of defocalized tone-dropping also occurs (with no other change) in imperfective and stative verbs, less often with negative inflections.

In relative clauses, a participle based on the unsuffixed perfective replaces suffixally marked perfective-1a and -1b in main clauses. The participle has {HL} overlay in true relative clauses (§14.1.6.1).

10.2.1.3 Perfective-1a (*-à:y-*), Perfective-1b (*-tì-*)

There two suffixally marked perfective (positive) forms are used with different semantic classes of verbs. Some verbs switch between semantic classes, with a change in valency, and so can occur with either suffix. Both of these marked forms are replaced by the unsuffixed perfective in the presence of a preceding focalized constituent.

Perfective-1a *-à:y-* is the regular perfective for motion and stance verbs (‘go’, ‘sit down’), deadjectival inchoatives and other similar intransitives (e.g. ‘assemble [intr]’), and a few non-impact transitives like ‘forget’. A sample paradigm is (242). The final *y* is deleted (§3.4.4.3) before a consonantal suffix (1Sg, 2Sg, 2Pl). An accidental consequence of this is that the 2Pl and 3Sg forms are homophonous. One might retranscribe 3Sg *wɛ̀l-â:y-Ø* as *wɛ̀l-â:-y*, taking the final semivowel as a special 3Sg subject, but nothing like it occurs elsewhere in verbal morphology.

(242) Perfective-1a of ‘come’

1Sg	*wɛ̀l-â:-m*
2Sg	*wɛ̀l-â:-w*
3Sg	*wɛ̀l-â:y-Ø*

1Pl	*wèl-â:-y^{n}*
2Pl	*wèl-â:-y*
3Pl	*wèl-â:-y^{n}*

The suffixal vowel absorbs a stem-final short vowel for nonmonosyllabic stems. Monosyllabic *Cv:* stems shorten their vowel to *Cv-* before the suffix by Prevocalic *v*-Shortening (§3.4.5.2). After these contractions, if what is left of the stem still ends in an H-tone, the suffix is L-toned. However, contracted /LH/-melody monosyllabic and bisyllabic stems fuse their final H-tone element with the suffixal vowel, so the suffix appears with falling <HL> tone (*-â:y*). Longer /LH/ stems can express the H-tone element on a medial syllable, so the suffix is L-toned. We can therefore represent the suffix abstractly as /-à:y/, or even as /-ày/ if the surface vowel length is attributed to contraction of a suffixal vowel with the stem-final vowel (including the final mora of *Cv:*). Indeed, *-ày* with short vowel is heard after mediopassive *-i:-*, the combination being *-í:-ày* or *-ì:-ày* depending on stem melody (243c).

This combination also shows that the perfective-1a is based on the chaining (not bare) stem, since mediopassives have *-é:-* rather than *-í:-* in the bare stem. This is confirmed by the high vowel of the medial syllable in trisyllabic stems, as in *túmúl-à:y-* '(it) broke' (compare bare stem *túmɔ́lɔ́*).

(243) Surface variants of perfective-1a *-a:y*

chain	Pfv1a	gloss
a. /H/-melody stem		
á-y	*á-à:y*	'catch' (in collocations, §11.1.3.2)
yíw^{n}ɛ́	*yíw^{n}-à:y*	'die'
yá-y	*yá-à:y*	'spend night' (after *bá:*)
yó-y	*yó-à:y*	'enter'
súg-ú	*súg-à:y*	'descend'
b. /LH/-melody stem, monosyllabic or bisyllabic		
yǎ-y	*yà-â:y*	'go'
dɔ̌:	*dɔ̀-â:y*	'arrive'
dě:	*dè-â:y*	'learn'
gɔ̌:	*gò-â:y*	'exit (v)'
dǐ:^{n}	*dì^{n}-â:y*	'lie down'
jɔ̀bɔ́	*jɔ̀b-â:y*	'run'
c. mediopassive		
mɔ̀r^{n}-é:	*mɔ̀r^{n}-í:-ày*	'assemble [intr]'
dùnúl-é:	*dùnúl-í:-ày*	'roll [intr]'
kɔ́l-é:	*kɔ́l-ì:-ày*	'hang [intr]'

Interestingly, the perfective-1a suffix is *-yà:* with an unexpected initial *y* in past perfective-1a *-yà:=bè-* (§10.5.1.2). This suggests a diachronic relationship of some sort between the suffix and the verb *yǎ:-* 'go', whether etymological identity or a secondary association (contamination).

Perfective-1b *-tì* is in complementary distribution with the perfective-1a, the choice depending on the semantic type and valency of the verb. Therefore the former does not occur with motion verbs, deadjectival inchoatives, and the like. Among marked perfectives, its main competition is with completive perfect *-jè:* .

-tì- is added to the chaining stem: *lág-ú-tì-* 'hit' (< *lágá*), *dàg-ú-tì-* 'left, abandoned' (< *dàgá*), *tóló-tì-* 'pounded (in mortar)'. The suffixal vowel assimilates to *-tù-* before suffixal labials {*m w*} in pronominal-subject suffixes. A sample paradigm is (244). The medial *u* is often syncopated (not shown). For comments on possible origins, see §10.1.2 above.

(244) Perfective-1b of 'hit'

1Sg	*lág-ú-tù-m*
2Sg	*lág-ú-tù-w*
3Sg	*lág-ú-tì-Ø*
1Pl	*lág-ú-t-è:^{n}*
2Pl	*lág-ú-tì-y*
3Pl	*lág-ú-t-è:^{n}*

Verbs that shift between valencies combine with the perfective-1b as active transitives and with the perfective-1a as mediopassive (middle) intransitives. In most such cases the intransitive version is marked by the mediopassive suffix. However, some verbs switch valencies without derivational marking, but add the two perfective-1 suffixes directly to the stem depending on valency. An example is *túmɔ́ló* 'break', whose perfective is *túmúl-Ø-tì-* as a transitive but *túmúl-à:y-* as intransitive (see 'his leg broke' in Text 3 @ 00:26).

Among many textual examples of perfective-1a are (mediopassive inchoative) 'he became impoverished' (Text 1 @ 00:00), '(poverty) will have exited (=ended)' (Text 2 @ 00:43), '(it) burst' (Text 3 @ 01:02) '(he) entered' (Text 4 @ 01:01), and 'it remained (happened) that …' (Text 6 @ 04:41).

Textual examples of perfective-1b include '(fire) has burned their eyes' (Text 4 @ 00:31), 'you have given me fresh milk' (Text 4 @ 01:25), '(the clan) has drunk' (Text 5 @ 00:39), 'have they spread manure?' (Text 5 @ 02:06, and 'he has said' (Text 6 @ 04:41).

10.2.1.4 Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ (*-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-*)

This inflection occurs in positive utterances of the type ‘have (ever, i.e. at any time in one’s life) VP-ed’. It is very common with verbs like ‘see’ and ‘hear’ that have strong experiential connotations (enduring memory). For its high-frequency negation *-tɛ̀-rʌ́-*, see §10.2.3.3, below.

(245) *dùŋ-ná:* *yé:-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-w* *mà→↑*
elephant see-ExpPf-2SgSbj Q
‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant’
`

The paradigm is (246).

(246) Experiential perfect of ‘see’

1Sg	*yé:-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-m*
2Sg	*yé:-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-w*
3Sg	*yé:-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-Ø*
1Pl	*yé:-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-y^{n}*
2Pl	*yé:-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-y*
3Pl	*yé:-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-y^{n}*

Like the perfectives described above, the experiential perfect is based on the chaining stem. Monosyllabic: *gɔ̌ː-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-* ‘has (once) gone out’, *ká-y-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-* ‘has (once) shaved’. Bisyllabic: *lág(-ú)-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-* ‘has (once) hit’. Trisyllabic: *pégúr(-ú)-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-* ‘has (once) winnowed by shaking’.

In nonsubject relatives, a subject pronominal proclitic intervenes between the main verb and participial *tɛ́rɔ̀ː* . See (229) and discussion in §10.1.2 above.

10.2.1.5 Completive perfect (*-jɛ̀ː-*)

This category emphasizes the completion of the event and may often be translated as ‘have finished VP-ing’. Most often the time frame is recent, as in ‘I have (already) eaten’. The main verb occurs in the chaining stem, with no further tonal changes, as in other (positive) perfective and perfect categories. Examples showing the telltale stem-final *-y* or *-u* suffix are *ká-y-jɛ̀ː-m* ‘I have finished eating’ (or ‘I have finished shaving’) and *lág-ú-jɛ̀ː-m* ‘I have finished hitting’.

The paradigm of ‘drink’ is (247).

(247) Completive perfect of ‘drink’

1Sg	*nə̌ː-jɛ̀ː-m*
2Sg	*nə̌ː-jɛ̀ː-w*
3Sg	*nə̌ː-jɛ̀ː-Ø*
1Pl	*nə̌ː-j-ɛ̀ːⁿ*
2Pl	*nə̌ː-jɛ̀ː-y*
3Pl	*nə̌ː-j-ɛ̀ːⁿ*

Some verbs that are common with this suffix have senses like ‘drink’, ‘eat’, ‘buy’, and ‘snatch’.

-jɛ̀ː patterns morphologically like a final auxiliary verb in some respects. It is likely a reflex of a verb meaning ‘take’ that still occurs in two high-frequency but semantically specialized YS collocations: *yə̌ː-rⁿá jɛ̌ː* ‘(man) marry a woman’ and *yə̌m jɛ̌ː* ‘take fire (i.e. embers)’. The latter denotes the everyday act of scooping up a few hot coals from one fire (for example, at a neighbor’s home) onto a pottery shard and taking it elsewhere to start another charcoal fire, for example to make tea on a burner.

In nonsubject relatives, participial *-jɛ̌ː* is sometimes separated from the main verb by an intervening pronominal subject proclitic; see §10.1.2 above for discussion and examples. This suggests that the completive perfective morpheme has not yet become a completely fused suffix.

As befits an old auxiliary, *-jɛ̀ː* is added to the chaining stem of the verb: *ká-y-jɛ̀ː-* ‘has finished shaving’ (bare stem *káː*), *pégúr-ú-jɛ̀ː-* ‘has finished winnowing by shaking’ (bare stem *pégéré*).

Another trace of the auxiliary-verb origin of completive perfect *-jɛ̀ː-* is its ability to combine with a following imperfective *-jɛ̀-*, as in *mèrⁿɛ́-jɛ̀ː-jɛ̀-* ‘will swallow’. The nuance added by *-jɛ̀ː-* in this combination is a sense of exasperation or disapproval, as in ‘the ants will eat the food (if we don’t cover it)’. Similarly, imperative *jɛ̀ː* (tone-dropped) or plural-addressee *jɛ̌ː-ỳ* can be added to a chained verb, usually ‘go’ or ‘exit, leave’ to form an imperative expressing exasperation (§10.6.1.3).

Examples include ‘they have finished building’ (78c), ‘he has consented’ (488a-b), and ‘they have finished planting’ (498).

The participial form of the suffix is *-jɛ̌ː* with rising tone (§14.1.6.2). This participle is very common in narrative texts.The form with conjugated past enclitic, *-jɛ̌ː=bɛ̀-*, also has rising-toned *-jɛ̌ː* (§10.5.1.5).

10.2.1.6 Emphatic perfect (*-jɛ̂-*)

This suffix is distinguished by vowel length from that of the completive perfect (preceding section). It is added to the bare stem (not the chaining stem): *káː-jɛ̂-* ‘really ate’ or ‘really shaved’ and *dàgá-jɛ̂-* ‘really left/abandoned’, compare completive perfects *ká-y-jɛ̀ː-* and *dàg-ú-jɛ̀ː-*. A textual example is *bìrɛ́-jɛ̂-* ‘have really worked’ (Text 6 @ 04:54), distinct from completive perfect *bìrɛ́-jɛ̀ː-* ‘have (just) finished working’ and from imperfective *bírɛ̀-jɛ̀-* ‘work(s)’ with different tones.

In addition to its emphatic function, *-jɛ̀-* is also fairly common with perception verbs (*yé:-jɛ̀-* 'saw', *égé-jɛ̀-* 'heard'). An example of *yé:-jɛ̀-* 'saw, have seen' is Text 5 @ 04:24, in a conditional antecedent clause. Here a perfect reading 'have seen' can be posited, but there is no emphatic element. *égé-jɛ̀-* 'have heard' occurs in Text 5 @ 04:57. These perception verbs disallow the two suffixally marked perfectives (1a and 1b). It may be that the "emphatic perfect" functions with perception verbs as a substitute for these marked perfectives. However, the simple past with *=bɛ̀-* is also available.

10.2.1.7 Past irrealis (reduplicated *Cì-… =bé-*) 'would have'

A form segmentally (but not tonally) identical to the simple past with *=bɛ̀-* can combine with an initial *Cì-* reduplication, always short-voweled. The phonology of the reduplication is the same as in the reduplicated imperfective and in the reduplicated stative. *ì* in the reduplicant is (slightly) rounded to *ù* before a back rounded vowel in the first syllable of the base, or before *w*. With vowel-initial stems, as in *ù-ʔɔ̀bɔ̀=bé-* 'would have given', a phonetic glottal stop separates the two vowels, as in other reduplications (§3.4.5.1). The reduplicant and base are {L}-toned, while *=bé-* is H-toned. This resembles the tonal pattern in the perfective negative (§10.2.3.1).

(248)

chain	past	past irrealis	gloss
/LH/-melody stem			
nɔ̌:	*nɔ̌:=bɛ̀-*	*nù-nɔ̀:=bé-*	'drink'
dɛ̌:	*dɛ̌:=bɛ̀-*	*dì-dɛ̀:=bé-*	'burn'
jɔ̀bɔ́	*jɔ̀bɔ́=bɛ̀-*	*jì-jɔ̀bɔ̀=bé-*	'run'
wɔ̀gŭl-∅	*wɔ̀gɔ́lɔ́=bɛ̀-*	*wɔ̀-wɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̀=bé-*	'scoop out (grain)'
/H/-melody monosyllabic			
ká-y	*ká:=bɛ̀-*	*kì-kà:=bé-*	'eat'
kɛ́:^{n}	*kɛ́:^{n}=bɛ̀-*	*kì-kɛ̀:^{n}=bé-*	'slaughter'
/H/-melody nonmonosyllabic with initial sonorant or no C			
lág-ú	*lágá=bɛ̀-*	*lì-làgà=bé-*	'hit'
ób-∅	*óbó=bɛ̀-*	*ù-ʔɔ̀bɔ̀=bé-*	'give'
ílɛ́	*ílɛ́=bɛ̀-*	*ì-ʔìlɛ̀=bé-*	'ripen'
/H/-melody nonmonosyllabic with initial voiceless obstruent			
kɔ́mɔ́	*kɔ́mɔ́=bɛ̀*	*kì-kɔ̀mɔ̀=bé-*	'tie'
pégúrú	*pégéré=bɛ̀*	*pì-pègèrè=bé-*	'winnow (shaking)'

This reduplicated form is used in past irrealis contexts ('would have VP-ed'). It is regular in positive consequent clauses in conditional antecedents, where the focus is on the truth of the clause (§16.4). An example is *yì-yà:=bé-m* 'I would have gone' in (470b). Predictably, its negative counterpart drops the reduplication and uses the negative form of the past enclitic (§10.2.3.2).

10.2.2 Imperfective positive system

The forms in this system are based on the bare stem.

10.2.2.1 Imperfective (*-jɛ̀-*)

The imperfective form has suffix *-jɛ̀-*. The suffix has no nasalized allomorph. Its short vowel distinguishes it from the long-voweled suffix *-jɛ̀:-* for completive perfect (§10.2.1.5, above). Segmentally, the verb occurs in the bare stem. The suffix is absent in the 1Pl/3Pl subject portmanteau suffix. This was perhaps originally due to a contraction, but there is no compensatory lengthening. In allegro speech (i.e. in texts but not elicitation), similar contractions occur optionally, with compensatory lengthening. An example is *tág-ɛ̀:* for *tágɛ̀-jɛ̀* 'show(s)' in Text 4 @ 01:28. In one textual passage the suffix sounds like *-dɛ̀-* after *n* (*kàn-dɛ̀-m* 'I do', Text 6 @ 01:41), but my assistant does not use this variant.

The lexical tone melody is erased. The verb is heard with {HL} overlay in isolation pronunciation, with only the first mora H-toned: *pégèrɛ̀-jɛ̀-* 'winnow(s) (by shaking)', *dágà-jɛ̀-* 'leave(s), abandon(s)', *tâ:rà-jɛ̀-* 'shows'. These tones distinguish the imperfective from the (much less common) emphatic perfect (§10.2.1.6). The imperfective is dropped to {L}, hence ^{L}*pègèrɛ̀-jɛ̀-* and so forth, if there is a focalized constituent (in practice, almost any full constituent) preceding the verb. This tone-dropping also occurs in other inflectional categories, most conspicuously in the (always defocalized) unsuffixed perfective. In my normal transcription I omit the superscript ^{L}.

Examples are in (249), with the chaining stem for comparison.

(249) Imperfective (positive)

chain	imperfective	gloss
a. lexically /H/ verbs		
ká-y	*kâ:-jɛ̀-*	'shave'
lág-ú	*lágà-jɛ̀-*	'hit'
tá:r-ú	*tâ:rà-jɛ̀-*	'show'
pégúr-ú	*pégèrɛ̀-jɛ̀-*	'winnow (shaking)'
b. lexically /LH/ verbs		
nɔ̌:	*nɔ̂:-jɛ̀-*	'drink'
jɔ̀bɔ́	*jɔ́bɔ̀-jɛ̀-*	'run'
mɔ̌:-nú	*mɔ̂:-nɔ̀-jɛ̀-*	'assemble [tr]'
wɔ̀gúl	*wɔ́gɔ̀lɔ̀-jɛ̀-*	'scoop out (grain)'

Imperfective paradigms of three verbs are presented in (250). Note the 1Pl/3Pl portmanteau *-y*.

\(250) Imperfective paradigms

	‘fall’	‘run’	‘shave’
1Sg	*númɔ̀-jɛ̀-m*	*jɔ́bɔ̀-jɛ̀-m*	*kâ:-jɛ̀-m*
2Sg	*númɔ̀-jɛ̀-w*	*jɔ́bɔ̀-jɛ̀-w*	*kâ:-jɛ̀-w*
3Sg	*númɔ̀-jɛ̀-Ø*	*jɔ́bɔ̀-jɛ̀-Ø*	*kâ:-jɛ̀-Ø*
1Pl	*númɔ̀-y*	*jɔ́bɔ̀-y*	*kâ:-y*
2Pl	*númɔ̀-jɛ̀-y*	*jɔ́bɔ̀-jɛ̀-y*	*kâ:-jɛ̀-y*
3Pl	*númɔ̀-y*	*jɔ́bɔ̀-y*	*kâ:-y*

The imperfective has two functions: future (‘I will run’), and generalized or habitual present (‘I run’). The reduplicated variant (§102.2.3 below) focalizes the verb and tends to have future time reference. The imperfective is not normally used in progressive sense.

Numerous examples of the imperfective (without reduplication) occur in Text 5, which describes recurring agricultural and other activities in a generic way, e.g. ‘(the chief) starts’ @ 02:13 and ‘you (will) sow’ @ 02:22. Examples from other texts include ‘(he said) he would go wandering’ (Text 2 @ 00:07), ‘(he thought) he would swallow’ (dubitative in a conditional consequent, Text 3 @ 01:15), ‘(he said) he would drink’ (Text 3 @ 01:24), and ‘(if he says) he will go’ (Text 6 @ 04:41).

Interestingly, the {HL} overlay does not apply to imperfective participles with *-jɛ̀*, used in relative clauses, see §14.1.6.2.

10.2.2.2 Present progressive (*-ẁ wɔ̀-* and variants)

The present progressive form has *-ẁ wɔ̀-* after the bare stem, which is unchanged segmentally. *-ẁ* has variants *-gù* (see below), and after nasal syllables *-ŋ̀* and *-ŋ̀gù*. The paradigm of *nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ wɔ̀-* ‘is/am/are falling’ is (251). There is no animacy distinction in the 3Sg subject form.

(251) Present progressive of ‘fall’

1Sg	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀*	*wɔ̀-m*
2Sg	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀*	*wɔ̀-w*
3Sg	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀*	*wɔ̀-Ø*
1Pl	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀*	*wɔ̀-y*^{n}
2Pl	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀*	*wɔ̀-y*
3Pl	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀*	*wɔ̀-y*^{n}

The verb stem is allowed a single H-tone element, followed by L-tones to the end of the word. For /LH/-melody verbs, the initial L-tone is respected, so the H-tone occurs on the following mora, with

any subsequent moras/syllables reverting to L-tone: *nɔ̌:-ŋ̀ wɔ̀-* 'is drinking', *wɔ̀gɔ́lɔ̀-ẁ wɔ̀-* 'is scooping out'. For /H/-melody verbs, the first mora is H-toned and the remainder of the stem is L-toned: *kâ:-ẁ wɔ̀-* 'is shaving', *lágà-ẁ wɔ̀-* 'is hitting', *pégèrè-ẁ wɔ̀-* 'is winnowing (by shaking)'. The tones of the progressive mimic those of the imperfective with /H/-melody but not /LH/-melody verbs.

wɔ̀- is the locational 'be' quasi-verb (§11.2.2.2). The 3Sg form *-ẁ wɔ̀-Ø* is used for inanimate as well as human/animate subject (§10.2.2.2). No inanimate #*-ẁ kɔ̀-Ø* is attested.

The *-ẁ* after the main verb is the basic imperfective (also stative) subordinating suffix (§15.2.1.3). An older system may be discerned in the past imperfective (§10.5.1.6), which has the same stem shapes and tones as the present progressive and the *-gù-* allomorph of the subordinator (becoming *-ŋ-* after a nasal syllable). Indeed, *-gù-* was heard occasionally as a careful pronunciation of *-ẁ* in present progressive *-ẁ wɔ̀-*, i.e. in a variant *-gù wɔ̀-*. Furthermore, in verbal participles of this AN category in nonsubject relatives, a preverbal H-toned subject pronoun (if present) is inserted after the *-ẁ* (or *-ŋ̀*) and the *wɔ̀* morpheme (§14.1.6.2).

Though the morphology is not completely transparent, I will gloss *-ẁ wɔ̀-* as '-IpfvSub be-' in interlinears.

The present progressive denotes actions that are in progress at the time of speaking or other reference time. The temporal range is somewhat wider than in English. Some examples are (165b), (278), (296a-c), and (297a-d). It is used for present-time 'see, be seeing' in (426 a-d), for present-time 'hurt, be hurting' in (514), and for 'be working' (these days) in (510).

10.2.2.3 Reduplicated imperfective (*Cí-…-jɛ̀-*)

The imperfective with *-jɛ̀-* can be reduplicated to produce a form that ordinarily has future time reference (rather than generalized present). The primary difference, however, is that reduplication marks verb (i.e. event) focalization, denoting a single (rather than repeated) event, which explains its future-time association. Verb reduplication does not occur in the presence of a focalized constituent, or in negative sentences, or in relative clauses. The suffix *-jɛ̀-* is omitted in the 1Pl/3Pl form, as in the unreduplicated imperfective.

The reduplicant takes the form *Cí-*, sometimes becoming *Cú-* in a rounding environment. It is H-toned, followed by L-toned stem and suffix.

The bare stem of the verb, not the chaining stem, is used in the reduplicated imperfective. A sample paradigm is (252).

(252) Reduplicated imperfective

	'fall'	'run'	hit	'shave'
1Sg	*nú-nùmɔ̀-jɛ̀-m*	*jí-jɔ̀bɔ̀-jɛ̀-m*	*lí-làgà-jɛ̀-m*	*kí-kà:-jɛ̀-m*
2Sg	*nú-nùmɔ̀-jɛ̀-w*	*jí-jɔ̀bɔ̀-jɛ̀-w*	*lí-làgà-jɛ̀-w*	*kí-kà:-jɛ̀-w*
3Sg	*nú-nùmɔ̀-jɛ̀-Ø*	*jí-jɔ̀bɔ̀-jɛ̀-Ø*	*lí-làgà-jɛ̀-Ø*	*kí-kà:-jɛ̀-Ø*

1Pl	*nú-nùmɔ̀-y*	*jí-jɔ̀bɔ̀-y*	*lí-làgà-y*	*kí-kà:-y*
2Pl	*nú-nùmɔ̀-jɛ̀-y*	*jí-jɔ̀bɔ̀-jɛ̀-y*	*lí-làgà-jɛ̀-y*	*kí-kà:-jɛ̀-y*
3Pl	*nú-nùmɔ̀-y*	*jí-jɔ̀bɔ̀-jɛ̀-*	*lí-làgà-y*	*kí-kà:-y*

There are many examples in Text 5, which describes recurrent activities, but often in a quasi-future format (often with generic 'you' as agent). Examples from that text are 'they will stone-grind it' @ 00:25 and 'they will pour (the beer)' @ 00:29. Examples from other texts include: 'it (=village) would tremble' (Text 4 @ 01:01); 'we will just kill him' (Text 4 @ 01:08 and later repetitions); and 'I will send' (Text 6 @ 03:49).

10.2.3 Negation of indicative verbs

The most common suffixed indicative negative verb forms are the perfective negative, the imperfective negative, and the present progressive negative. Other more specialized categories in the perfective system (experiential perfect, completive perfect) also have negative forms that include the perfective negative suffix.

A form with *=bè-lé-*, the negation of past clitic *=be-*, functions as a past irrealis negative (§10.2.3.2).

10.2.3.1 Perfective negative (*-lí-* ~ *-lú-* ~ *-rⁿí-* ~ *-rⁿú-*, 3Sg *-ˊl* ~ *-ń*, 1Pl/3Pl *-nɛ́*)

The perfective negative suffix is H-toned and is added to an {L}-toned form of the bare stem. As a first approximation, the suffix could be represented as underlying /-lv́-/ with underspecified high vowel. After a nasal syllable, the *l* is nasalized to *n* (syllable-final) or *rⁿ* (prevocalic), see §3.4.4.5. See also §3.4.4.4 for apparent nasal syllables that do not trigger suffixal nasalization.

The suffixal vowel surfaces as *u* before {*m w*}, as *i* before *y*, and as zero word-finally. Since the first two variants arguably assimilate the vowel to the following sonorant in backness and rounding, they do not help us choose between /-lú-/ and /-lí-/ as underlying representation for the suffix. However, the fuller variant observed (with dying-quail intonation) in willy-nilly disjunctive antecedents is *-lí-Ø.:.* or nasalized *-rⁿí-Ø.:.* (§16.3). Similarly, when a final L-tone marking polar interrogation is added to 3Sg *-ˊl-Ø* the result is *-lî:-Ø* or nasalized *-rⁿî:-Ø* as in (375b) below. There is also a perfective negative subordinator with forms *-l-ꜜíꜛ* and nasalized *-rⁿ-ꜜíꜛ* (§15.2.2.2). These forms suggest that perfective negative morpheme is underlyingly /-lí-/, nasalizable to /-rⁿí-/. The latter reduces to syllable-final *-ń* in ordinary 3Sg subject clauses (§3.4.4.5).

In some verbs with medial unclustered nasal that derives historically from a nasal plus voiced stop cluster, the perfective negative suffix still has *l* rather than *n* ~ *rⁿ*. The example that I know of is *bùmɔ̌-l-Ø* 'he/she did not drag' from *bùmɔ́* (*bùmbɔ́, cf. Donno So *bùmbɔ́* and other cognates). There may be others, but I imagine that the tendency is to regularize them over time. For example, my assistant pronounces *sìmɛ̀-ń-Ø* 'he/she didn't roast' and *wà:mà-ń-Ø* 'he/she didn't fry in oil', although cognates of both verbs have medial *mb*.

The irregular 1Pl/3Pl form is a portmanteau *-né*. In the 3Sg, the usual form is *-ˊl-Ø*, but the lateral nasalizes (§3.4.1.5) to *-ń-Ø* following a nasal syllable: *nùmɔ̀-ń-Ø* 'he/she did not fall', *kɛ̀:^{n}-ń-Ø* 'he/she did not slaughter' (< *kɛ́:^{n}*). The representations *-ˊl-Ø* and *-ń-Ø* indicate that the H-tone is heard on the suffixal sonorant.

Sample paradigms are in (253). 'Fall' illustrates the nasalized 3Sg form. The difference in tone diacritics between *nùmɔ̀-ń-Ø* and *làgă-l-Ø* is due to the typographic difficulty of putting an acute accnt on *l*.

(253) Perfective negative

	'fall'	'hit'
1Sg	*nùmɔ̀-r^{n}ú-m*	*làgà-lú-m*
2Sg	*nùmɔ̀-r^{n}ú-w*	*làgà-lú-w*
3Sg	*nùmɔ̀-ń-Ø*	*làgă-l-Ø*
1Pl	*nùmɔ̀-né*	*làgà-né*
2Pl	*nùmɔ̀-r^{n}í-y*	*làgà-lí-y*
3Pl	*nùmɔ̀-né*	*làgà-né*

The verb *yé:* 'see' shortens its vowel before the suffix: *yĕ-l-Ø* 'he/she did not see' (254c), avoiding homophony with the perfective negative of 'sleep' (254b). Homophony would not be a problem anyway since 'sleep' is part of a collocation. *yă:* 'go' (254a) and *yá:* 'spend the night' (254b) are a rare tonal minimal pair in the bare stem (and in chaining stems *yă-y* and *yá-y*), but they merge as perfective negative *yă:-l-Ø*. Again this is not a problem, since 'spend the night' is part of a collocation.

(254)

chain	PfvNeg (3Sg)	gloss
a. /LH/ melody		
gŏ:	*gŏ:-l-Ø*	'exit (v)'
yă-y	*yă:-l-Ø*	'go'
bìl-ú	*bìlĕ-l-Ø*	'flip'
nùmɔ́	*nùmɔ̀-ń-Ø*	'fall'
wɛ̀lɛ́	*wɛ̌:-l-Ø*	'come' (Medial *l*-Deletion, §3.4.4.7).
mànɪ́ŋ-ú	*mànìŋà-ń-Ø*	'think'
b. /H/ melody		
pí:	*pĭ:-l-Ø*	'weep' (with noun *pí:*)
yá-y	*yă:-l-Ø*	'spend night' (in *bá: yá:*)
yó-y	*yŏ:-l-Ø*	'enter'
já-y	*jă:-l-Ø*	'take, convey'

yé:	*yĕ:-l-Ø*	‘sleep’ (with noun *gìrî:*)
ób-ú	*òbŏ-l-Ø*	‘give’
ílɛ́	*ìlĕ-l-Ø*	‘ripen’
lágá	*làgă-l-Ø*	‘hit’
yím-∅ (< *yíw^{n}-ú*)	*yìw^{n}è-ń-Ø*	‘die’
táb-ú	*tàbă-l-Ø*	‘touch’
pégúr-ú	*pègèrĕ-l-Ø*	‘winnow (shaking)’

c. irregular vowel-shortening in PfvNeg

yé:	*yĕ-l-Ø*	‘see’ (compare ‘sleep’ above)

10.2.3.2 Past irrealis negative (*=bè-lé-*)

Superfically, this form looks like the negative counterpart of the simple past (also past perfect), which has conjugated past clitic *=bè-* (§10.2.1.1) after the bare stem. The form considered here is identical except that past clitic *=bè-* takes its normal negative form *=bè-lé-* and that the stem tones are dropped. However, this form is really the negative counterpart of the past irrealis (positive), which differs from the simple past (and past perfect) by its initial reduplication (§10.2.1.7). The past irrealis negative omits the reduplication, as always in negative verb forms. Like the past irrealis (positive), it occurs chiefly in counterfactual conditional consquent clauses (‘would not have VPed’). Examples are in §16.4.

The *-lé-* element resembles but is not reducible to the perfective negative suffix /-lí-/. Rather, its closest relatives are stative negative allomorphs with assimilating vocalism, such as *wɔ̀-lɔ́* ‘not be’ (§11.2.2.2), *tò-ló* ‘not be in’ (§11.2.3.1), and *sè-lé* ‘not have’ (§11.5.1.1).

(255) Past irrealis negative of ‘hit’

1Sg	*làgà=bè-lé-m*
2Sg	*làgà=bè-lé-w*
3Sg	*làgà=bè-lé-Ø*
1Pl	*làgà=bè-né*
2Pl	*làgà=bè-lé-y*
3Pl	*làgà=bè-né*

Examples in counterfactuals are *yà:=bè-lé-m* ‘I would not have gone’ in (470a) and *yè:=bè-lé-m* ‘I would not have seen’ in (470c). A mediopassive example is *dàb-è:=bè-lé-m* ‘I would not have lain on my belly’. Its stative counterpart is *dábà=bè-lé-m* ‘I would not have been (lying) on my stomach’, which keeps the {HL} overlay on the stative stem.

10.2.3.3 Experiential perfect negative (*-tɛ̀-rv́-*)

Experiential perfect (positive) *-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-* (§10.2.1.4, above) has a negative counterpart with a suffix combination whose underlying form is probably *-tɛ̀-rv́-* with underspecified final high vowel. The category is used in the sense 'have never VP-ed', as in *dùŋ* ^{L}*-ná: yɛ̀ː-tɛ̀-rú-m* 'I have never seen an elephant'.

The paradigm is illustrated in (256). As in the positive counterpart, the verb occurs in the chaining form, reflecting the origin of the experiential negative as an auxiliary construction. However, in the negative the verb is tone-dropped along with *-tɛ̀-* portion of the suffix. The pronominal inflection has affinities to that of the perfective negative, notably the 1Pl/3Pl form with portmanteau *-nɛ́*. This suggests that *-tɛ̀-rv́-* can be segmented into *-tɛ́-* allomorph of the experiential perfect and *-rv́-* allomorph of the perfective negative, which controls tone-dropping on the preceding syllables including the main verb. However, the connection is not transparent, due to the different liquids (*r* versus *l*), and the *r* in *-tɛ̀-rv́-* could alternatively be identified as the *r* in positive *-tɛ́rɔ̀ː-*.

(256) Experiential perfect negative of 'see' and 'shave'

	'have never seen'	'have never shaved'
1Sg	*yɛ̀ː-tɛ̀-rú-m*	*kà-y-tɛ̀-rú-m*
2Sg	*yɛ̀ː-tɛ̀-rú-w*	*kà-y-tɛ̀-rú-w*
3Sg	*yɛ̀ː-tɛ̀-ŕ-Ø*	*kà-y-tɛ̀-ŕ-Ø*
1Pl	*yɛ̀ː-tɛ̀-nɛ́*	*kà-y-tɛ̀-nɛ́*
2Pl	*yɛ̀ː-tɛ̀-rí-y*	*kà-y-tɛ̀-rí-y*
3Pl	*yɛ̀ː-tɛ̀-nɛ́*	*kà-y-tɛ̀-nɛ́*

10.2.3.4 Completive perfect negative (*-jɛ̌ː-l-*)

The completive perfect ('have finished VP-ing') with suffix *-jɛ̀ː-* (§10.2.1.5, above) can be negated to express the sense 'have not finished VP-ing'. Morphologically, the regular perfective negative endings are added to *-jɛ̀ː-*. The verb has the same tones it has in the positive counterparts, unlike the case in the experiential pefect negative. The verb also appears in the chaining form, as in the positive. These features stengthen the argument for taking the completive perfect as a grammatically specialized verb-chain (verb plus auxiliary). Whether the tone-dropping has any actual effect on *-jɛ̀ː-* depends on whether we take it to be already L-toned (see below for some contexts where it has rising tone).

(257) Completive perfect negative

	‘drink’	‘eat (meal)’
1Sg	*nǒ:-jɛ̀:-lú-m*	*ká-y-jɛ̀:-lú-m*
2Sg	*nǒ:-jɛ̀:-lú-w*	*ká-y-jɛ̀:-lú-w*
3Sg	*nǒ:-jɛ̌:-l-Ø*	*ká-y-jɛ̌:-l-Ø*
1Pl	*nǒ:-jɛ̀:-nɛ́*	*ká-y-jɛ̀:-nɛ́*
2Pl	*nǒ:-jɛ̀:-lí-y*	*ká-y-jɛ̀:-lí-y*
3Pl	*nǒ:-jɛ̀:-nɛ́*	*ká-y-jɛ̀:-nɛ́*

10.2.3.5 Imperfective negative (*-lɛ̀-*, 1Pl/3Pl *-ỳ-nɛ̀*)

This form negates the imperfective especially in present-habitual sense. That is, it denies that the event in question has occurred and will occur on both sides of the moment of speaking.

Sample paradigms are in (258). The suffix is *-lɛ̀-*. The irregular 1Pl/3Pl form *-ỳ-nɛ̀* is not fully transparent, but it segmentally it might be thought of as 1Pl/3Pl positive imperfective *-ỳ* plus 1Pl/3Pl perfective negative *-nɛ́*.

(258) Imperfective negative

	‘does not go’	‘does not hit’
1Sg	*yǎ:-lɛ̀-m*	*lágà-lɛ̀-m*
2Sg	*yǎ:-lɛ̀-w*	*lágà-lɛ̀-w*
3Sg	*yǎ:-lɛ̀-Ø*	*lágà-lɛ̀-Ø*
1Pl	*yǎ:-ỳ-nɛ̀*	*lágà-ỳ-nɛ̀*
2Pl	*yǎ:-lɛ̀-y*	*lágà-lɛ̀-y*
3Pl	*yǎ:-ỳ-nɛ̀*	*lágà-ỳ-nɛ̀*

The stem has the vocalism of the bare stem, unlike Sangha So which has a mediopassive-like *-ɛ̀:-* between verb and suffix (*lág-ɛ̀:-lɛ̀-* ‘does not hit’). The distinction between lexical /H/ and /LH/ melodies is respected, but after the first H-tone any remaining syllables or moras are L-toned. Heavier /LH/-melody stems (e.g. trisyllabics) therefore appear as LHL-toned before the suffix. All /H/-melody stems except *gɛ́* ‘say’ have at least two moras, so they are HL-toned before the suffix. This tonal pattern is distinct from that of the positive imperfective (§10.2.2.1).

(259)

chain	imperfective negative	gloss
a. /LH/ melody		
nǒ:	*nǒ:-lɛ̀-*	‘drink’
jɔ̀bɔ́	*jɔ̀bɔ́-lɛ̀-*	‘run’
wɔ̀gúl-Ø	*wɔ̀gɔ́lɔ̀-lɛ̀-*	‘scoop out (grain)’
b. /H/ melody		
gɛ́	*gɛ́-lɛ̀-*	‘say’ (§3.6.4.1)
ká-y	*kâ:-lɛ̀-*	‘eat’
lág-ú	*lágà-lɛ̀-*	‘hit’
pégúr-ú	*pégèrè-lɛ̀-*	‘winnow (shaking)’

10.2.3.6 Present progressive negative (*-ẁ wɔ̀-lɔ́-*)

Present progressive *-ẁ wɔ̀-*, see §10.2.2.2, above, is negated (as expected) as *-ẁ wɔ̀-lɔ́-*. The positive ‘be’ auxiliary is simply replaced by its negative form ‘not be’ (§11.2.2.2). Glosses are of the form ‘is/are/am not working (now)’. A sample paradigm is (260), with verb *bìrɛ́* ‘work’.

(260) Present progressive negative of ‘work’

1Sg	*bìrɛ́-ẁ*	*wɔ̀-lɔ́-m*
2Sg	*bìrɛ́-ẁ*	*wɔ̀-lɔ́-w*
3Sg	*bìrɛ́-ẁ*	*wɔ̀-lɔ́-Ø*
1Pl	*bìrɛ́-ẁ*	*wɔ̀-nɛ́*
2Pl	*bìrɛ́-ẁ*	*wɔ̀-lɔ́-y*
3Pl	*bìrɛ́-ẁ*	*wɔ̀-nɛ́*

10.3 Pronominal paradigms for non-imperative verbs

10.3.1 Subject pronominal suffixes

The suffixes for the singular categories and for 2Pl are consistent and readily segmentable. Each of these suffixes consists of a sonorant consonant, except for 3Sg zero. The suffixes have no intrinsic tone; the preceding tone is simply extended to include the suffix. 1Pl and 3Pl are syncretic, but the forms vary by AN category.

(261) Pronominal-subject suffixes on verbs

category	suffix
1Sg	*-m*
2Sg	*-w*
3Sg	*-Ø*
2Pl	*-y*
1Pl = 3Pl	[see below]

For *i* ~ *u* alternations in the preceding vowel, with *i* before suffixal *y* and *u* before {*m w*}, see §3.4.6.1.

The 1Pl/3Pl suffixes are listed in (262). The 1Pl/3Pl form always ends in a *ỳ* (nasalized except in the imperfective) or in a nasalized *ɛ̀(:)*^{n}. The forms with long-voweled *ɛ̀:*^{n} may all be due to *vv*-Contraction.

(262) Pronominal-subject suffixes on verbs

AN category	AN suffix (3Sg)	1Pl/3Pl form
a. 3Pl *-ɛ̀:*^{n} or *-ɛ̀*^{n}		
past	*=bɛ̀-Ø*	*=b-ɛ̀:*^{n}
perfective-1b	*-tì-Ø*	*-t-ɛ̀:*^{n}
completive perfect	*-jɛ̀:-Ø*	*-j-ɛ̀:*^{n}
derived stative (‘be squatting’)	*yá* ^{L}*tɔ̀jɔ̀-Ø*	*yá* ^{L}*tɔ̀j-ɛ̀:*^{n}
‘be in’	*yá* ^{L}*tò-Ø*	*yá* ^{L}*tò-ɛ̀*^{n}
stative negative	*=lá*	*=lá-ɛ̀*^{n}
b. *-y*^{n}		
perfective-1a	*-à:y-Ø*	*-à:-y*^{n}
experiential perfect	*-tɛ́rɔ̀:-Ø*	*-tɛ́rɔ̀:-y*^{n}
present progressive	*-ẁ wɔ̀-Ø*	*-ẁ wɔ̀-y*^{n}
c. portmanteau *-y*		
imperfective	*-jɛ̀-Ø*	*-ỳ*

d. portmanteau *-nɛ*

perfective negative	*-ˊl-Ø*	*-né*
past irrealis negative	*-bè-lé-Ø*	*-bè-né*
experiential perfect negative	*-tɛ̀-ŕ-Ø*	*-tɛ̀-né*
completive perfect negative	*-jɛ̌ː-l-Ø*	*-jɛ̀ː-né*
present progressive negative	*-ǹ wɔ̀-lɔ́-Ø*	*-ǹ wɔ̀-né*

e. combination of (c) and (d)

imperfective negative	*-lɛ̀-Ø*	*-ỳ-nɛ̀*

10.3.2 Inanimate versus 3Sg subject

There is no distinction in verbal morphology between inanimate and animate 3Sg subject. This applies to imperfective as well as to other AN categories. Thus *nùmɔ́-ǹ wɔ̀-Ø* can mean 'it (e.g. stone) is falling' as well as 'he/she is falling' or 'it (animate) is falling'.

The exception is the 'be' quasi-verb *wɔ̀*, which does have an inanimate counterpart *kɔ̀* (§11.2.2.2).

10.3.3 Tones of subject pronominal suffixes

Subject-pronominal suffixes are atonal, i.e. they lack independent (intrinsic) tones. The final tone of the AN suffix, or stem (if there is no segmental AN suffix) is extended to suffixes consisting of a single sonorant consonant. Apparent exceptions like 1Pl/3Pl perfective negative *-né* are irregular fusions of an AN suffix with a pronominal-subject suffix, and the tone can still be attributed to the AN category.

10.4 Stative form of verbs (reduplicated and unreduplicated)

10.4.1 Stative positive

Some aspectually dynamic verbs (i.e. those with regular aspect-negation morphology) also have a stative form. The stative is outside of the regular perfective/imperfective categorial system, and it has a special negation (see the following section). With stance verbs, for example, the stative denotes a static position, without explicit reference to a preceding event of taking that position. This contrasts with the perfective-1a for the same verbs, which denotes both the event of taking the position and the resulting state. Most statives are based on intransitive verbs (e.g. 'sit'), but transitive verbs of holding/carrying also have this form, in senses like '(woman) be carrying/holding (child, on her back)'.

The stative has a form with L-toned initial *Cì-* reduplicant; compare the segmentally similar reduplicants in the past irrealis (§10.2.1.7) and in the reduplicated imperfective (§10.2.2.3). As in

these other reduplications, the *i* of the reduplicant shifts to *u* before stems with back rounded vowel in the first syllable. The stem has the vocalism of the bare stem, with {HL} overlay.

There is also an unreduplicated form used after locational expressions, and after the high-frequency existential proclitic *yá* which still has a modicum of spatial sense 'there' with statives, especially by contrasting with the alternative demonstrative proclitic *kó* which denotes a closer location. *yá* induces tone-dropping of the stative stem. Compare the tones in reduplicated *dì-díjɛ̀-* 'be leaning' with those in *yá* ^{L}*dìjɛ̀-* 'be leaning (there)' and *kó* ^{L}*dìjɛ̀-* 'be leaning (here or just over there)'.

Most of the verbs that have a morphological stative occur with mediopassive suffix *-i:-* in active (non-stative) forms. The mediopassive suffix is dropped in the stative. At first sight this looks like a categorial incompatibility, but it may just be a device to prevent the stative stem (not including the reduplicant) from exceeding bimoraic shape. Other facts support the theory that a bimoraic template applies to stative stems. The shortening of 'stand' from *íŋé-l* to stative stem *-iŋɛ-* is consistent with this. Similarly, while *pín-é:* '(door) be shut' has a stative (263a), its trisyllabic reversive *pínɛ́-l-ɛ́:* '(door) be open(ed)' has no stative. The relevant sense is instead expressed by the negation of '(door) be shut' (see the following section). I am not aware of any stative stems with shapes other than *Cv:* (rare) and *CvCv*.

(263)

	chain	Pfv1a	stative reduplicated	stative with *yá*
a. lexically /H/				
'stand up'	*íŋ-í:*	*íŋ-í:-ày-*	*ì-ʔíŋɛ̀-*	*yá* ^{L}*ìŋɛ̀-*
'hang [intr]'	*kɔ́l-í:*	*kɔ́l-ì:-ày-*	*kù-kɔ́lɔ̀-*	*yá* ^{L}*kɔ̀lɔ̀-*
'kneel'	*túŋ-í:*	*túŋ-ì:-ày-*	*tù-túŋɔ̀-*	*yá* ^{L}*tùŋɔ̀-*
'squat'	*tɔ́j-í:*	*tɔ́j-ì:-ày-*	*tù-tɔ́jɔ̀-*	*yá* ^{L}*tɔ̀jɔ̀-*
'carry on back'	*sín-í:*	*sín-ì:-ày-*	*sì-sínɛ̀-*	*yá* ^{L}*sìnɛ̀-*
'(door) be shut'	*pín-í:*	*pín-í:-ày-*	*pì-pínɛ̀-*	*yá* ^{L}*pìnɛ̀-*
'listen'	*kíŋ-í:*	*kíŋ-í:-ày-*	*kì-kíŋɛ̀-*	*yá* ^{L}*kìŋɛ̀-*, see (378)
b. lexically /LH/				
'sit'	*dàⁿ-í:*	*dàⁿ-í:-ày-*	*dì-dâ:ⁿ-*	*yá* ^{L}*dà:ⁿ-*
'lie down'	*dìyⁿí*	*dìyⁿ-â:y-*	*dì-dî:ⁿ-*	*yá* ^{L}*dì:ⁿ-*
'be on belly'	*dàb-í:*	*dàb-í:-ày-*	*dì-dábà-*	*yá* ^{L}*dàbà-*
'be leaning'	*dìj-í:*	*dìj-í:-ày-*	*dì-díjɛ̀-*	*yá* ^{L}*dìjɛ̀-*
'be hiding'	*bàŋ-í:*	*bàŋ-í:-ày-*	*bì-báŋà-*	*yá* ^{L}*bàŋà-*

The stative stems are followed by pronominal-subject suffixes. The 1Pl/3Pl form is *-ɛ̀:ⁿ*, which replaces the final vowel of nonmonosyllabic stems and the final mora of a long vowel in monosyllabics. A sample paradigm, with the unreduplicated stative stem, is in (264). Further 1Pl/3Pl forms are *yá* ^{L}*tɔ̀j-ɛ̀:ⁿ* 'we/they are squatting' and *yá* ^{L}*dìⁿ-ɛ̀:ⁿ* 'we are lying down'.

(264) Stative (positive) paradigm

category	'be sitting'	'be squatting'
1Sg	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*dà:^{n}-m*	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*tɔ̀jɔ́-m*
2Sg	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*dà:^{n}-w*	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*tɔ̀jɔ́-w*
3Sg	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*dà:^{n}-Ø*	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*tɔ̀jɔ́-Ø*
1Pl	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*dà^{n}-ɛ̀:^{n}*	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*tɔ̀j-ɛ̀:^{n}*
2Pl	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*dà:^{n}-y*	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*tɔ̀jɔ́-y*
3Pl	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*dà^{n}-ɛ̀:^{n}*	*yá* $^{\mathrm{L}}$*tɔ̀j-ɛ̀:^{n}*

10.4.2 Stative negative (*=lá-*)

The stative is negated by adding a conjugated form of stative negative clitic *=lá-*. The stem is {L}-toned, as in the perfective negative of active verbs, and is unreduplicated, regardless of whether a locational expression precedes the verb. Particle *yá* is incompatible with negation and is therefore absent here. A sample paradigm is (265).

(265) Stative negative paradigm

category	'be sitting'
1Sg	*dà:$^{n\mathrm{L}}$=lá-m*
2Sg	*dà:$^{n\mathrm{L}}$=lá-w*
3Sg	*dà:$^{n\mathrm{L}}$=lá-Ø*
1Pl	*dà:$^{n\mathrm{L}}$=lá-ɛ̀^{n}*
2Pl	*dà:$^{n\mathrm{L}}$=lá-y*
3Pl	*dà:$^{n\mathrm{L}}$=lá-ɛ̀^{n}*

As noted in the preceding section, stems like *píné-l-* '(door) be open(ed)' that are normally trisyllabic, cf. perfective negative *pìnɛ̀-lɛ̆-l-Ø* 'it did not open', cannot form stative positives because of prosodic limits. The normal way to express (stative) 'it is not open' is to negate the prosodically acceptable form 'be shut', as in *pìnɛ̀*$^{\mathrm{L}}$*=lá-Ø* 'it is not shut; it is open'.

10.5 Post-verbal temporal particles

Most of this section is devoted to verb forms including the past clitic *=be-*, which has a rather complex morphology and tonology.

At the end is a short section on a preverbal adverb meaning 'still' and '(not) yet' (§10.5.2).

10.5.1 Past clitic (*=be-*)

A conjugated past clitic can be added to certain verb forms. The conjugation is (266). The tones vary depending on the morphological combination (i.e. on the AN category).

(266) Past clitic

1Sg	*=be-m*
2Sg	*=be-w*
3Sg	*=be-Ø*
1Pl	*=b-ɛ:^{n}*
2Pl	*=be-y*
3Pl	*=b-ɛ:^{n}*

The past clitic is not attested (and was not elicitable) with the positive experiential perfect, though a negative counterpart was elicitable. A full list of the actual combinations is in (267). X indicates pronominal-subject conjugation. There is double conjugation in some negative categories, where both the inner verb and the past clitic are conjugated.

(267)

form	category/reference
a. positive, without AN suffix	
(bare stem) *=bè-X*	simple past or past perfect, §10.2.1.1
Rdp-(bare stem) *=bé-X*	past irrealis, §10.2.1.7
(stative stem) *=bè-X*	past stative, §10.5.1.7
b.positive, containing an audible AN suffix	
-yà: =bè-X	past perfective-1a, §10.5.1.2
-tì =bè-X	past perfective-1b, §10.5.1.3
-jɛ̌: =bè-X	past completive perfect, §10.5.1.5
-gù =bè-X	past imperfective, §10.5.1.6 (~ *-ŋ̀ =bè-X*)
c. negative ("v" is a short high vowel)	
-lv́-X =bè-X	past perfect negative, §10.5.1.1
-tɛ̀-rv́-X =bè-	past experiential perfect negative, §10.5.1.4
-jɛ̀:-lv́--X =bè-	past completive perfect negative, §10.5.1.5
-gù =bè-lé-X	past imperfective negative, §10.5.1.6
(bare stem) *=bè-lé =X*	past irrealis negative, §10.2.3.2
(stative stem) *=bè-lé =X*	past stative negative, §10.5.1.7

The paradigmatic morphology of each combination, including tones is presented and analysed in the sections cross-referenced.

10.5.1.1 Past perfect negative

The form that probably formerly served as a positive past perfect ('X had VP-ed') is now also used in simple past functions ('X VP-ed'); see §10.2.1.1, above). This function verges on perfective. In this function it is negated by the all-purpose perfective negative.

In true past-perfect function, the negative is expressed by negating and conjugating the inner verb (with regular perfective negative morphology) and adding a conjugated past clitic.

(268) Past perfect negative clitic ('had not drunk')

1Sg	*nɔ̀ː-lú-m = bè-m*
2Sg	*nɔ̀ː-lú-w = bè-w*
3Sg	*nɔ̀ː-ń-Ø = bè-Ø* (with *-n-* from *-l-* due to the stem nasal)
1Pl	*nɔ̀ː-nɛ́ = b-ɛ̀ː^{n}*
2Pl	*nɔ̀ː-lí-y = bè-y*
3Pl	*nɔ̀ː-nɛ́ = b-ɛ̀ː^{n}*

This category is regular in negative counterfactual antecedents (§16.4). I have one example with double negative marking: *mɛ̀ː-ń = bè-lé-Ø lɛ̀* 'if it had not rained' (470b).

10.5.1.2 Past perfective-1a (*-yàː = bè-*)

Perfective-1a suffix *-aːy-* normally contracts with the stem-final vowel (§10.2.1.3), as in *wɛ̀l-âːy-* 'came' from *wɛ̀lɛ́*. When the past clitic is added, the stem is pronounced in its uncontracted form including a stem-final vowel, followed by *-yàː* and the conjugated past marker, as in *wɛ̀lɛ́-yàː = bè-* 'had come'. *-yàː* looks like, and may be etymologically related to, *yắː* 'go' (*yɛ̀* in verb chains, §15.1.8). Synchronically, however, 'go' may combine with *-yàː = bè-*, as in *yắː-yàː = bè-* 'had gone'.

The paradigm of 'had come' is (269).

(269) Past perfective-1a ('had VP-ed')

1Sg	*wɛ̀lɛ́-yàː = bè-m*
2Sg	*wɛ̀lɛ́-yàː = bè-w*
3Sg	*wɛ̀lɛ́-yàː = bè-Ø*

1Pl *wèlé-yà:=b-è:ⁿ*
2Pl *wèlé-yà:=bè-y*
3Pl *wèlé-yà:=b-è:ⁿ*

10.5.1.3 Past perfective-1b (*-tì=bè-*)

This combination does not seem to be very common, but was elicitable in contexts involving the finality of the action (with respect to a past-time reference time). The conjugation is seen in (270). The *-ú* of the chaining stem is optionally syncopated.

(270) Past perfective-1b ('had VP-ed')

1Sg *lág(-ú)-tì=bè-m*
2Sg *lág(-ú)-tì=bè-w*
3Sg *lág(-ú)-tì=bè-Ø*

1Pl *lág(-ú)-tì=b-è:ⁿ*
2Pl *lág(-ú)-tì=bè-y*
3Pl *lág(-ú)-tì=b-è:ⁿ*

10.5.1.4 Past experiential perfect negative

The (positive) experiential perfect *-tɛ́rɔ̀:-* (§10.2.1.4) was not elicitable with the past clitic. A negative was elicited. A sample paradigm is (271). Like most other past negatives, it is doubly conjugated. The verb stem and the *-tɛ̀-* morpheme are dropped to L-toned form.

(271) Past experiential perfect negative ('had not [ever] seen')

1Sg *yè:-tɛ̀-rú-m=bè-m*
2Sg *yè:-tɛ̀-rú-w=bè-w*
3Sg *yè:-tɛ̀-ŕ-Ø=bè-Ø*

1Pl *yè:-tɛ̀-nɛ́=b-è:ⁿ*
2Pl *yè:-tɛ̀-rí-y=bè-y*
3Pl *yè:-tɛ̀-nɛ́=b-è:ⁿ*

10.5.1.5 Past completive perfect, positive (*-jɛ̌ː=bɛ̀-*) and negative

The completive perfect (*-jɛ̀ː-*) is typically translatable as 'have finished VP-ing', indicating both recency and completion (§10.2.1.5, above). Its past-time counterpart means 'had finished VP-ing' (at some displaced reference time).

The positive paradigm is (272). Here the AN suffix has rising tone, a vestige of its origin as an auxiliary verb. (The particple also has rising tone, see end of §14.1.6.1.) The past clitic has H-tone.

(272) Past completive perfect ('had finished drinking')

1Sg	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̌ː=bɛ̀-*
2Sg	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̌ː=bɛ̀-w*
3Sg	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̌ː=bɛ̀-Ø*
1Pl	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̌ː=b-ɛ̀ːⁿ*
2Pl	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̌ː=bɛ̀-y*
3Pl	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̌ː=b-ɛ̀ːⁿ*

The negative paradigm is (273). Like most other past negatives, this combination is doubly conjugated. The verb stem has its lexical melody, but the AN morpheme is tone-dropped under the influence of the perfective negative suffix. The target domain of suffix-controlled tone-dropping is narrower in the completive perfect negative than in the experiential perfect negative (preceding section), where the verb is also tone-dropped.

(273) Past completive perfect negative ('had not finished drinking')

1Sg	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̀ː-lú-m=bɛ̀-m*
2Sg	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̀ː-lú-w=bɛ̀-w*
3Sg	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̌ː-l-Ø=bɛ̀-Ø*
1Pl	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̀ː-nɛ́=b-ɛ̀ːⁿ*
2Pl	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̀ː-lí-y=bɛ̀-y*
3Pl	*nɔ̌ː-jɛ̀ː-nɛ́=b-ɛ̀ːⁿ*

10.5.1.6 Past imperfective (positive and negative)

The positive form of the past imperfective is formed by adding *=bɛ̀-* to a subordinated imperfective stem in *-gù* or (after a nasal syllable) *-ŋ̀* (presumably syncopated from /-ŋù/). For this subordinator, see §15.2.1.1. The stem tones are the same as in the present progressive, which also makes use of this subordinator.

(274) Past imperfective of 'fall'

	'fall'	'shave'
1Sg	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ = bè-m*	*kâ:-gù = bè-m*
2Sg	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ = bè-w*	*kâ:-gù = bè-w*
3Sg	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ = bè-Ø*	*kâ:-gù = bè-Ø*
1Pl	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ = b-è:^{n}*	*kâ:-gù = b-è:^{n}*
2Pl	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ = bè-y*	*kâ:-gù = bè-y*
3Pl	*nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ = b-è:^{n}*	*kâ:-gù = b-è:^{n}*

There is just one H-tone in the stem, initial for /H/ melody and in the second mora or syllable for /LH/melody. Thus *pégèrè-gù = bè-Ø* 'he/she used to winnow (by shaking)', *wɔ̀gɔ́lɔ̀-gù = bè-Ø* 'he/she used to scoop out'.

The past imperfective can function as a past progressive ('he was dancing [when I entered]') or as a past habitual ('I used to hunt').

The past imperfective negative is formed by conjugating *= bè-lé-*, the negative form of past *= be*. The interior verb form preceding the past clitic is not conjugated, and has the same form (tonally and segmentally) as in the positive. Thus 3Sg *nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ = bè-lé-Ø* 'he/she did not use to fall', 1Sg *nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ = bè-lé-m*, and 1Pl/3Pl *nùmɔ́-ŋ̀ = bè-né*. The absence of double conjugation seemingly diverges from what we see with other past negative categories, but this is to be expected since *-gù ~ -ŋ̀* is not a conjugatable AN suffix, rather an imperfective subordinator.

There is no past reduplicated imperfective as such. See, however, the past irrealis (§10.2.1.7 above), which includes reduplication.

10.5.1.7 Past stative, positive and negative

For the stative derived from a regular verb, see §10.4.1, above. The positive paradigm is straightforward, with conjugated *= bè-* being added to the unaltered form of the stative stem: *ì-ʔíŋɛ̀ = bè-m* 'I was standing', *dì-dâ:^{n} = b-è:^{n}* 'we/they were sitting'.

The past stative negative, however, is not directly constructed from the stative negative with conjugated *= lá-* added to an {L}-toned form of the stative stem (§10.4.2, above). Instead, a conjugated negative form of the past clitic, *= bè-lé-*, is added to an all {H}-toned form of the stem. The system can be illustrated using 1Sg subject stative forms of the verb whose chaining form is *dàb-í:* 'lie down on one's belly' (275). Because of its initial *d*, this verb has lexical /LH/ melody, so the {H} overlay in the past negative is unmistakable.

(275) Statives (1Sg forms)

	regular	past
positive	*dì-dábà-m*	*dì-dábà = bè-m*
negative	*dàbà*^{L} *= lá-m*	*dábá = bè-lé-m*

Forms based on /H/-melody *tójɔ̀* 'be kneeling' have the same tones, e.g. *tójɔ́ = bè-lé-m* 'I was not kneeling'.

10.5.1.8 Past forms of stative quasi-verbs ('be', 'have')

The conjugated past clitic may be added to stative quasi-verbs.

Existential-locational 'be' (as in 'I am in the village') is illustrated, in positive and negative form, in (276). Here the past clitic itself, in L-toned form, functions as the predicate ('was', 'wasn't'), and is added directly to a locational expression. It cannot be used without some such preceding element. In (276), *kó* '(over) there' is used as an example of a locational. *yá* can also be used, but in discourse-definite rather than neutral sense.

(276) Past of 'be' (existential-locational)

	'used to be/was there'	'didn't use to be/wasn't there'
1Sg	*kó bè-m*	*kó bè-lé-m*
2Sg	*kó bè-w*	*kó bè-lé-w*
3Sg	*kó bè-Ø*	*kó bè-lé-Ø*
1Pl	*kó b-è:*^{n}	*kó bè-nɛ́*
2Pl	*kó bè-y*	*kó bè-lé-y*
3Pl	*kó b-è:*^{n}	*kó bè-nɛ́*

For 'have' the positive and negative forms are illustrated in (277). With 'have', *yá* particle is required in the positive, following the NP denoting the possessed entity (not shown here). *yá* is absent in the negative.

(277) Past of ‘have’

	‘used to have, had’	‘didn’t use to have, didn’t have’
1Sg	*yá sɛ̀ = bè-m*	*sɛ́ = bè-lé-m*
2Sg	*yá sɛ̀ = bè-w*	*sɛ́ = bè-lé-w*
3Sg	*yá sɛ̀ = bè-Ø*	*sɛ́ = bè-lé-Ø*
1Pl	*yá sɛ̀ = b-ɛ̀:^{n}*	*sɛ́ = bè-nɛ́*
2Pl	*yá sɛ̀ = bè-y*	*sɛ́ = bè-lé-y*
3Pl	*yá sɛ̀ = b-ɛ̀:^{n}*	*sɛ́ = bè-nɛ́*

The tones of *sɛ̀/sɛ́* in these paradigms are consistent with the view that ‘have’ and similar quasi-verbs are underlyingly H-toned, but are tone-dropped by a preceding H-toned proclitic, by defocalization, or (in *sɛ̀-lɛ́-* ‘does not have’) by an immediately following stative negative suffix (§11.5.1.1).

10.5.2 ‘Still’, ‘up to now’, (not) yet’ (*nímɛ̀*)

The preverbal adverb *nímɛ̀* has a basic sense ‘up to (until) now’. In positive contexts it can often be translated as ‘still’ (278). See also (178c) above.

(278)

nímɛ̀	*bírɛ́*	*bìrɛ́-ŵ*	*wɔ̀-m*
still	work(n)	work-IpfvSub	be-1SgSbj

‘I am still working.’

In negative contexts it can often be translated as ‘(not) yet’.

(279)

nímɛ̀	*wɛ̌:-l-Ø*
yet	come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

‘He/She has not come yet.’ (= ‘He/She has still not come.’)

10.6 Imperatives and hortatives

10.6.1 Imperatives and prohibitives

10.6.1.1 Positive imperatives (imperative stem, plural *-ỳ*)

The imperative stem is used without further suffixation as a singular-addressee imperative. Addition of suffix *-ỳ* turns this into a plural-addressee imperative (see below for tonal changes).

óbó ‘give’, otherwise regular, has an irregular imperative with implied 1Sg recipient, *òb-ú* ‘give (it to me)!’ It is homophonous with the verbal noun *òb-ú*. It is usually a one-word command with no

overt arguments. With overt *mí-ỳ* '(to) me', either *òb-ú* or the morphologically regular imperative *óbó* is used. With other recipients, only *óbó* occurs. The plural-addressee forms are *òbí-*ỳ (implied 1Sg recipient) and *óbò-y*, respectively.

yǎ: 'go!' from stem *yǎ:* is also irregular, in this case because it fails to flatten to all-H-tone as do other *Cv̌:* stems (see below). The plural-addressee form is *yǎ:-ỳ*. Preserving the lexical rising tone for 'go!' keeps it distinct from *yá:* 'spend the night' and its imperative *yá:*, but since 'spend the night' is a collocation *bá: yá:*, there is no danger of confusion anyway.

The regular imperative is based on the bare stem, but for some verbs the imperative and the bare stem differ tonally. Prosodically light verbs (i.e. monosyllabic *Cv:-* and short-voweled bisyllabic *CvCv-*) with lexical /LH/ melody become {H}-toned in the imperative, erasing the lexical distinction between {H} and {LH} melodies, with the single exception of *yǎ:* 'go' just mentioned above. This merger of melodies does not apply to longer /LH-melody stems, e.g. *Cv:Cv-* and *CvCvCv-*, which remain distinct in the imperative from /H/ melody. Imperative examples are *tá:rá* 'show!' and and *kájúbá* 'watch over!' for /H/ melody, and *mǎ:ná* 'think!' for /LH/ melody.

Fuller exemplification showing which /LH/-melody stems converge with /H/-melody stems, and which do not, is in (280). The chaining stem, which shows the lexical melody, is included for comparison.

(280) Shift from /LH/ to {H} for light but not heavy stems

chain	imperative	gloss
a. *Cv:* stems		
nɔ̌:	*nɔ́:*	'drink'
wɛ̌:	*wɛ́:*	'winnow (in wind)'
b. light bisyllabic stems (*CvCv-*)		
jɔ̀bɔ́	*jɔ́bɔ́*	'run'
wɛ̀lɛ́	*wɛ́lɛ́*	'come'
gǔl	*gúló*	'dig'
c. exceptional stem		
yǎ-y	*yǎ:*	'go' (cf. simple past *yǎ:=bɛ̀*)
d. heavy /LH/-melody stems		
mɔ̌:-n-ú	*mɔ̌:-nɔ́*	'assemble [tr]'
yègír-ú	*yègéré*	'get ready'

More examples showing that the imperative is based on the bare stem rather than on the chaining stem are in (281).

(281) Imperative stem for verbs that distinguish bare and chaining stems

chain	imperative	gloss
a. monosyllabics		
/H/ melody		
sá-y	*sá:*	'sneeze' (with noun *èjìgílè*)
já-y	*já:*	'take, convey'
/LH/ melody		
bă-y	*bá:*	'beat (tomtom)'
b. nonmonosyllabic		
/H/ melody		
lág-ú	*lágá*	'hit'
pégúr-ú	*pégéré*	'winnow (shaking)'
/LH/ melody		
jàŋ-ú	*jáŋá*	'pound (grain with water)'
wɔ̀gúl-ú	*wɔ̀gɔ́lɔ́*	'scoop out (grain)'
jìgíb-ú	*jìgíbé*	'shake'

Imperative clauses have normal accusative direct objects with the same form as in main clauses.

(282) a. *[áyné ŋɛ̀]=ỳ lágá=bè-m*
[man Def]=Acc hit=Past-1SgSbj
'I hit-Past the man.'

b. *[áyné ŋɛ̀]=ỳ lágá*
[man Def]=Acc hit.Imprt
'Hit-2Sg the man!'

Examples of the singular-addressee versus plural-addressee imperative distinction are in (283). The plural suffix is L-toned *-ỳ*. Before it, any syllables that remain after the first H-tone are L-toned. The intrinsic tone of *-ỳ* distinguishes it from atonal 2Pl *-y* in indicative inflections.

(283)

gloss	imperative	
	singular	plural
'shave'	*ká:*	*ká:-ỳ*
'dig'	*gúló*	*gúlò-ỳ*
'winnow (shaking)	*pégéré*	*pégèrè-ỳ*
'shake'	*jìgíbé*	*jìgíbè-ỳ*

Sequences of H-toned syllables in the unmarked singular-addressee form (*gúló*, *pégéré*, *jìgíbé*) tend to be heard with declining pitch but appear to be structurally H-toned.

10.6.1.2 Prohibitives (*-nɔ̀w^{n}*, plural *-nɔ̀ŋ-î:*)

The prohibitive (negative of the imperative) is formed by adding *-nɔ̀w^{n}* to the bare stem, which preserves its lexical /H/ or /LH/ melody. *w^{n}* is lenited from *ŋ*, which is heard when the suffix is followed by a vowel. The plural-addressee counterpart is *-nɔ̀ŋ-î:* . The prohibitive suffix may be etymologically related to *náŋá* 'forget'. In some Dogon languages, a form resembling YS *-nɔ̀w^{n}*, and in some languages closely resembling the 'forget' verb, is one of two prohibitive constructions. However, I know of no alternative prohibitive in YS.

Examples of the singular-addressee prohibitive are in (284), with the chaining stem for comparison. *wɛ̀lɛ́* 'come', and optionally *bɛ̀lɛ́* 'get, obtain', delete the medial *l* and contract the two stems before this suffix (284d), see §3.4.4.7. This does not apply to other *CvlV* verbs.

(284) Prohibitive (singular addressee)

chain	prohibitive	gloss
a. monosyllabic stems		
/H/ melody		
ká-y	*ká:-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'shave'
já-y	*já:-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'take, convey'
/LH/ melody		
nɔ̌:	*nɔ̌:-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'drink'
yǎ-y	*yǎ:-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'go'
b. bimoraic bisyllabic stems		
/H/ melody		
lág-ú	*lágá-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'hit'
/LH/ melody		
jɔ̀bɔ́	*jɔ̀bɔ́-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'run'
jàŋ-ú	*jàŋá-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'pound (grain with water)'
c. longer stems		
/H/ melody		
pégúr-ú	*pégéré-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'winnow (shaking)'
/LH/ melody		
mɔ̌:-n-ú	*mɔ̌:-nɔ́-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'assemble [tr]'
yègír-ú	*yègéré-nɔ̀w^{n}*	'get ready'

d. irregular contraction (§3.4.4.7)

wèlɛ́	*wɛ̌ː-nɔ̀w^{n}*	‘come’
bèlɛ́	*bɛ̌ː-nɔ̀w^{n}*	‘get, obtain’ (also *bèlɛ́-nɔ̀w^{n}*)

Singular/plural pairs are in (285).

(285)

gloss	chaining	prohibitive	
		singular	plural
‘hit’	*lág-ú*	*lágá-nɔ̀w^{n}*	*lágá-nɔ̀ŋ-îː*
‘run’	*jɔ̀bɔ́*	*jɔ̀bɔ́-nɔ̀w^{n}*	*jɔ̀bɔ́-nɔ̀ŋ-îː*

10.6.1.3 Imperative supplemented by chained *jɛ̀ː* (plural *jɛ̌ː-ỳ*)

Motion-verb imperatives like ‘go (away)!’ can express the speaker’s impatience or annoyance by adding *jɛ̀ː* (singular addressee) or *jɛ̌ː-ỳ* (plural addressee) to a chaining form of the main motion verb (suggesting that this is a verb chain). Common examples are *gɔ̌ː jɛ̀ː* ‘go out!’ or ‘leave!’ and *yă: jɛ̀ː* ‘go (away)!’

These forms are presumably at least indirectly related to completive perfect *-jɛ̀ː-* (§10.2.1.5), which often has completive sense ‘have (just) finished VPing’. One might compare *already* in colloquial New York City English impatient imperatives like *so go already!*

10.6.2 Positive hortatives (*-mɔ́*, plural *-mɔ̀-y*)

A hortative proposes that the addressee(s) join with the speaker in an action. Like most Dogon languages, Yorno So treats the hortative as a kind of imperative, and (excluding the speaker) distinguishes singular addressee from plural addressee as in ordinary imperatives.

The singular-addressee hortative is *-mɔ́* added to the bare stem, which preserves lexical melodies. The *-mɔ́* is H-toned but is subject to downstep to a mid pitch prepausally. The plural-addressee hortative is L-toned *-mɔ̀-y*, with the same final suffix as in plural-addressee imperatives.

I know of no irregular forms for specific verbs. In particular, *yă:-mɔ́* ‘let’s go!’ is based on the regulsr bare stem as seen in simple past *yă:＝bè-* and other inflected forms.

(286) Hortative (singular addressee)

chain	hortative	gloss
a. monosyllabic stems		
/H/ melody		
ká-y	*ká:-mɔ́*	‘shave’

/LH/ melody

nǒ:	*nǒ:-mɔ́*	‘drink’
yǎ-y	*yǎ:-mɔ́*	‘go’

b. bimoraic bisyllabic stems

/H/ melody

lág-ú	*lágá-mɔ́*	‘hit’

/LH/ melody

jɔ̀bɔ́	*jɔ̀bɔ́-mɔ́*	‘run’
bɛ̀lɛ́	*bɛ̀lɛ́-mɔ́*	‘get, obtain’
wɛ̀lɛ́	*wɛ̀lɛ́-mɔ́*	‘come’
jàŋ-ú	*jàŋá-mɔ́*	‘pound (grain with water)’

c. longer stems

/H/ melody

pégúr-ú	*pégéré-mɔ́*	‘winnow (shaking)’

/LH/ melody

mǒ:-n-ú	*mǒ:-nɔ́-mɔ́*	‘assemble [tr]’
yègír-ú	*yègéré-mɔ́*	‘get ready’

Singular/plural pairs are in (287).

(287)

gloss	2Sg (plus 1Sg)	2Pl (plus 1Sg)
‘drink’	*nǒ:-mɔ́*	*nǒ:-mɔ̀-y*
‘hit’	*lágá-mɔ́*	*lágá-mɔ̀-y*

The issue of how to distinguish hortative *-mɔ́* from hortative imperative *-mɔ́* (possible in imprecations with ‘God’ as subject, overt or covert) arises in parsing the ‘good night!’ greeting (535e). In that specific case the ambiguity can be resolved by observing that there is a plural-addressee variant with *-y*, which makes sense as a hortative addressed to two or more inhabitants of this lowly world, but not as a divine imprecation.

10.6.3 Hortative negative (*sɛ̀-lɛ̀*, plural also *-mɔ̀-nɔ̀ŋ-î:*)

The hortative negative form is not very common, and there are alternative ways to express approximately similar concepts. One construction consists of the verbal noun plus *sɛ̀-lɛ̀*, which resembles *sɛ̀-lɛ́* ‘not have’. There is no distinction between singular and plural addressee.

(288) a. *[bú:dù gɛ̀]* *wó-ỳ* *òb-ú* *sɛ̀-lɛ̀*
[money Def] 3Sg-Acc give-VblN HortNeg
'Let's not give him the money!'

b. *kó-ǹ* *yà-ý* *sɛ̀-lɛ̀*
there.DiscDef go-VblN HortNeg
'Let's not go there!'

The similarity between *sɛ̀lɛ̀* and the negation of 'have' implies the (former?) existence of a positive form based on *sɛ̀* 'have'. In ordinary contexts there is no such construction. However, an interlocutor to whom a hortative negative like (288b) has been spoken may reply with an emphatic positive (289). This has the exact syntax of '(he/she/it) has going-VblN', including the existential proclitic that is obligatory in positive 'have' clauses (§11.5.1.1).

(289) *yà-ý* *yá* *sɛ̀*
go-VblN Exist have
'Let's go (emphatic)!'

An alternative hortative negative, said to be less common in Yendouma than in Sangha, includes the positive hortative morpheme, the prohibitive morpheme, and optionally a plural-addressee ending. However, it can also function as the prohibitive of a causative (suffix *-mɔ́*), hence the alternative free translation in (290).

(290) *yă:-mɔ̀-nɔ̀ŋ-î:*
go-Hort/Caus-Proh-PlAddr
'Let's-2Pl not go!'
or: 'Don't-2Pl let (him/her) go!'

10.6.4 Imprecations

The regular imperative stem is used in imprecations such as wishes and curses ('may God VERB you') (291). The regular imperative stem also occurs in quoted imperatives. As with other quotations, the subject/addressee of the original imperative is expressed in a quotative-subject clause, and there is no plural-addressee agreement in the imperative verb itself (291b-c). Imprecations like (291a) can therefore be analysed as reduced quoted imperatives, without quotative markers and without the 'say' verb.

(291) a. *ámà* *ú-ỳ* *bárá*
God 2Sg-Acc help.Imprt
'May God help you-Sg!' [said to someone at work]

b. *[ú* *[L]bà:]* *[ɔ́* *=ɔ̀]* *wɛ́lɛ́* *gì-Ø*
[2SgPoss [L]father] [2Sg QuotSbj] come.Imprt say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Your-Sg father says (for you-Sg) to come (to him).'

c. *[é* *[L]bà:]* *[é* *=ɔ̀]* *wɛ́lɛ́* *gì-Ø*
[2PlPoss [L]father] [2Pl QuotSbj] come.Imprt say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Your-Pl father says (for you-Sg) to come (to him).'

10.6.5 Imperative with implied first person singular subject

An imperative verb may be used with a covert first person subject, as when the speaker is querying whether the addressee, or some other person, is asking or commanding him/her to do something. For example, if someone gestures to the speaker, the latter may ask for clarification (292). In local French this is expressed by *de* plus infinitive (*de sortir?*).

(292) *gó:* *mà→↗*
exit(v).Imprt Q
'(Do you want me) to go out?

10.6.6 Quoted hortative

In a quoted hortative, the original addressee is expressed as a quotative-subject phrase, with its pronominal person updated as needed. The hortative verb optionally agrees with original plural addressee.

(293) a. *[m=* *=ɔ̂:]* *yă:-mɔ́* *gì-Ø*
[1Sg QuotSbj] go-Hort say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She told me, let's go!'

b. *[ém=* *=ɔ̀:]* *yă:-mɔ́* / *yă:-mɔ̀-y* *gì-Ø*
[1Pl QuotSbj] go-Hort(-PlAddr) say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She told us, let's go!'

Hortatives have affinities to imperatives as indicated above. An original 1Sg-subject hortative, expressed in a quotation as logophoric subject, occurs in Text 2 @ 00:48 ('let me move on'). Although the verb in this example, *gàlá-mɔ́*, is compatible with a causative imperative reading 'cause to (=let) pass', this reading would make the logophoric into the direct object, but here logophoric *ìnĕm* is not in accusative form.

11 VP and predicate structure

11.1 Regular verbs and VP structure

11.1.1 Verb types (valency)

Object NPs are easily distinguished from subject NPs by a) the ability of human NPs to take accusative enclitic *=ỳ* (§6.7), and b) by their linear position following subjects when both are expressed by preverbal constituents.

(294) a. *[áy-nɛ́* *ŋɛ̀]* *[yă:-r^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀]=ỳ* *yɛ́:=bɛ̀-Ø*
[man-Sg Def] [woman-Sg Def]=Acc see=Past-3SgSbj
'The man saw the woman.'

b. *wó* *wó-ỳ* *yɛ́:=bɛ̀-Ø*
3Sg 3Sg-Acc see=Past-3SgSbj
'He/She saw him/her.'

The class of transitive verbs that occur in sentences like (294) includes impact transitives ('hit', 'cut'), perception verbs ('see', 'hear'), and verbs of holding and carrying. Ditransitive 'give' and 'show' take a primary accusative object (denoting the recipient) and a secondary object (or theme), see §6.7. Examples are (288a) in §10.6.3, and Text 4 @ 01:38 (where even the theme is a human, but lacks accusative marking). The same syntax occurs with *dàgá* 'leave' in the sense 'bequeath X to Y', see Text 4 @ 00:01.

Ditransitivity is even possible in some verbs that are morphologically mediopassive, notably verbs of holding and carrying. For them the mediopassive denotes the act whereby the carrier places the entity (theme) in carrying position (on the head, on the back, etc.), and the subsequent state of holding. The corresponding transitive denotes the act whereby another person places the entity in carrying position on the carrier, creating a ditransitive. For the derivational morphology see §9.3.1. In (295a), the mediopassive ("MP") verb is syntactically a simple transitive with subject and object. In (295b), with the corresponding transitive derivational suffix, the accusative object is the carrier, while the theme ('the child') precedes it with no accusative marking. This mirrors the syntax of 'give' and 'show'.

(295) a. *[yă:-r^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀]* *[î:* *gɛ̀]=ỳ* *sín-ɛ́:=bɛ̀-Ø*
[woman-Sg Def] [child Def]=Acc carry.on.back-MP=Past-3SgSbj
'The woman carried the child (on her back).'

b. *[î:* *gɛ̀]* *wó-ỳ* *síné-ré=bɛ̀-m*
[child Def] 3Sg-Acc carry.on.back-Tr=Past-1SgSbj
'I put the child on her back.' (i.e. I helped her carry the child)

Inanimate direct-object nouns are not marked with accusative *=ỳ*, though (like other constituents) they can be focalized by adding the phonologically similar focus clitic *=y* (which has no intrinsic tone).

There are also a number of low-referentiality object-like nouns. This category includes cognate nominals like 'work (n)' in (296a) and other conventionalized objects such as 'water' in (296b) and 'sleep (n)' in (296c). For more on these low-referentiality objects see §11.1.4.1-2 below.

(296) a. *bírɛ́* *bìrɛ́-gù* *wɔ̀-m*
work(n) work-IpfvSub be-1SgSbj
'I am working.'

b. *dǐ:* *ín-è:-ŋ* *wɔ̀-m*
water bathe-MP-IpfvSub be-1SgSbj
'I am bathing.'

c. *gìrî:* *yê:-gù* *wɔ̀-m*
sleep(n) sleep-IpfvSub be-1SgSbj
'I am sleeping' (cf. noun *gìrì-ý* 'eye')

Motion verbs like 'go' can take an adverbial phrase to denote a specific destination (297a). Proper names of locations (e.g. specific villages) often omit the postposition (297b). High-frequency generic locations (*àná* 'village', *íbɛ̀* 'market'), even if understood in context by participants to denote a specific location, are undetermined and otherwise unmarked (297c-d), compare English *he's going to town*, *she's going home*, etc. The noun *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́* house' has a special diminutive form *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-ý* in this function (297d).

(297) a. *[[gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀^{L}* *kó]* *=ǹ]* *yǎ:-gù* *wɔ̀-m*
[[house^{L} Dist] Loc] go-IpfvSub be-1SgSbj
'I am going to that house (over there).'

b. *bàmàkó* *yǎ:-gù* *wɔ̀-m*
B go-IpfvSub be-1SgSbj
'I am going to Bamako (city).'

c. *íbɛ̀* *yǎ:-gù* *wɔ̀-m*
market go-IpfvSub be-1SgSbj
'I am going to (the) market.'

d. *gèr^{n}è-ý* *yǎ:-gù* *wɔ̀-m*
house-Dimin go-IpfvSub be-1SgSbj
'I am going home.'

'Put X in Y' is illustrated in (298). The construction contains an object NP expressing the theme ('milk'), plus a locational adverb (here a PP) expressing the container.

(298) *[ɛ̂m* *ŋɛ̀]* *[kɔ̀rɔ́* *=ǹ]* *kúnɔ́=bè-m*
[milk Def] [calabash Loc] put=Past-1SgSbj
'I put the milk in the calabash.'

Expressions for bodily states and emissions have interesting morphosyntax as well; see §11.1.3.2.

Many verb stems have distinct intransitive and transitive forms. In most cases this is indexed by valency-changing derivational suffixes, especially the mediopassive suffix for intransitives (middles). Some other verbs just use the same stem in different valencies, without derivational indexing. Example: *túmɔ́lɔ́* 'break', which like its English translation can be intransitive ('it broke') or transitive ('X broke it'). The two are morphologically distinguishable only in the marked perfective: perfective-1a *túmúl-à:y-* '(something) broke' (Text 3 @ 00:26) versus perfective-1b *túmúl-Ø-tì-* '(X) broke (something)' (§10.2.1.3).

In most contexts *á:* 'catch' is a prototypical impact transitive, whose marked perfective is perfective-1b *á:-tì-*. However, it has perfective-1a *á-à:y-*, otherwise associated with intransitives (motion, middles), when it is part of collocations expressing experienced bodily states (§11.1.3.2).

11.1.2 Valency of causatives

The causative of an intransitive is treated syntactically like an underived transitive. The derived object takes accusative *=ỳ* if human (299).

(299) *[[yǎ:-r^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀]* *=y]* *súgó-mɔ́=bè-m*
[[woman-Sg Def] Acc] descend-Caus=Past-1SgSbj
'I made/had/let the woman go down.'

The causative of a transitive verb has two surface objects (300a). If both are human, both have accusative marking (300b).

(300) a. *[î:* *mɔ̀]=ỳ* *[pɛ̀jù*^{L} *nɔ̌:]* *kɛ̀:^{n}-mɔ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[child 1SgPoss]=**Acc** [sheep^{L} Prox] slaughter-Caus-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will have my child (= son) slaughter this sheep.'

b. *[î:* *mɔ̀]=ỳ* *[ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *ná:* *ŋɛ̀]=y* *bàrà-mɔ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[child 1SgPoss]=**Acc** [man-Sg^{L} old Def]=**Acc** help-Caus-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will have my child help the old man.'

11.1.3 Fixed subject-verb combinations

11.1.3.1 External conditions (meteorology, time)

Among the fixed subject-verb collocations are those with a noun *bá:* that occurs only in collocations referring to the onset and/or end of a time period, either time-of-day or seasonal, or to seasonal weather conditions, and one or two related NPs like *bà:*^{L} *kâ:l* 'cool weather'.

The expressions in (301a) show *bá:* as a low-referentiality subject-like NP. In (301b), however, there is also a separate animate subject NP, i.e. a "real" subject. This makes it difficult to assign a syntactic status to *bá:* in (301b). Pseudo-subject, (pseudo-)object, or adverb?

(301) a. *bá: ɛ́jɛ́* 'day break (before dawn)' (*ɛ́jɛ́* 'become clean')
bá: dɔ̌: 'rainy season approach' (*dɔ̌:* 'approach')
bá: gɔ̌: 'rainy season end' (*gɔ̌:* 'exit (v)') (Text 5 @ 01:25)

b. *bá: yá:* '(sb) spend the entire night, (be/do) until dawn'

In my data, *bá:* is always immediately preverbal, separated from the verb by at most a proclitic subject pronoun. Focalized constituents precede *bá:* .

(302) a. *yá:* *bá:* *ɛ́jɛ́=bè-Ø*
yesterday **day/night** become.clean=Past-3SgSbj
'Yesterday day broke.'

b. *yâ:* *bá:* *ɛ́j-à:y-Ø*
again **day/night** become.clean-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'Day broke again.'

c. *ámàdù* *yà-bá:* *bá:* *(# kó)* *yà-y-Ø*
A where? **day/night** (# InanSbj) spend.night-Pfv-3SgSbj
'Where did Amadou spend the night?'

d. *ámàdù* *nú-ǹ* *bá:* *kó* *^{L}yà-y-Ø*
A here **day/night** here/there ^{L}spend.night-Pfv-3SgSbj
'Amadou spent the night here.' (*kó* resumes *nú-ǹ*, no constituent focus)

e. *ámàdù* *nú-ǹ* *bá:* *yà-y-Ø*
A here **day/night** spend.night-Pfv-3SgSbj
'Amadou spent the night here.' ('here' is more or less focal)

f. *[[kû:* *ɛ̀mɛ̀]* *=ǹ]* *bá:* *yà-y-Ø*
[[head 1PlPoss] Loc] **day/night** spend.night-Pfv-3SgSbj
'The night ended (=day broke) on us.'

Some other time-of-day and meteorological subject-verb collocations follow. *mɛ̌:* (303a) and *dɛ̌:* (303b) do not occur elsewhere in related senses, though they have accidental homophones: *mɛ̌:* 'be ground into powder', *dɛ̌:* 'insult (v)' or 'burn'. By contrast, *bàrⁿá* in (303c) forms a discernible semantic network ('become red', '[sun] blaze' = 'be hot season', also '[heart] burn' = 'be angry').

(303) a. *àrⁿá mɛ̌:* 'rain fall'
cf. noun *àrⁿá* 'rain'

b. *dìgɛ́ dɛ̌:* 'night fall, be night'

c. *nǎm bàrⁿá* 'hot season happen, be the hot season'
cf. *nǎm* 'sun', *bàrⁿá* 'become red' (i.e. 'blaze with heat')

For nominalizations *bà:ᴸ-[yá:-rà]*, *bà:ᴸ-[gó:-rò]*, and *bà:-dɔ̌:*, with *bá:* as compound initial, see §4.2.2.3.

11.1.3.2 Internal states (emotions, physiology, etc.)

Many phrases denoting emotions are based on *kínɛ̀* 'liver', which here can be generalized to 'heart' as seat of the emotions (McPherson & Prokhorov 2011). In (304a-b), 'liver' is a possessum, and the possessor denotes the experiencer.

(304) a. *[ámàdù* *ᴸkìnɛ̀]* *ǎ:-l-Ø*
[A ᴸ**liver**] catch-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'Amadou's liver/heart was not caught.' (= 'Amadou was disappointed/unhappy.')

b. *[kínɛ̀* *mɔ̀]* *ǎ:-l-Ø*
[**liver** 1SgPoss] catch-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'My liver/heart was not caught.' (= 'I was disappointed/unhappy.')

This possessor-possessum structure is typical of 'liver' emotional expressions. Some verbs that occur in this construction, showing the meaning with 'liver' as subject in parenthesis, are *yɔ̀rɔ́* 'slacken,

become loose' (→ 'calm down, cool off'), *gànáˊ* '(e.g. glass, wall) become cracked' (→ 'become angry'), and cognate collocation *pǐ: píˊ:* 'weep' (→ 'be devastated').

In Text 3 @ 00:48, literal "(his) liver became sweet," meaning 'he became happy', occurs with covert possessor. Similarly, the N-Adj combination "sweet liver" (i.e. 'happy heart') occurs in a PP 'with happy heart' in Text 5 @ 00:35. In Text 6, literal "the (=my) liver was ruined/damaged" means 'I was dissatisfied (or fed up)'.

Certain bodily states are expressed by "X has Y" denoting a state (305a) or "X caught Y" denoting a change of state (305b), where Y is the person and X is the ailment. Since "X caught Y" often implies continuing possession/control, there is no sharp difference pragmatically between the 'have' and 'caught' versions. *áˊ:* 'catch' takes perfective-1a form *áˊ-àˊ:y-* rather than its usual perfective-1b *áˊ:-tì-* 'caught, grabbed' in this construction, capturing the nonagentive quality of these experiential expressions. There is no glottal stop in *áˊ-àˊ:y-Ø*, phonetic [âˊ:(:)j]. *gǒ:* 'exit (v)' with the experiencer as subject and the affliction as an object or adjunct describes release from the affliction (305c).

(305) a. *gɛ̌:* *míˊ-ỳ* *yáˊ* *sɛ̀-Ø*
hunger 1Sg-Acc Exist **have**-3SgSbj
'I am hungry.'

b. *gɛ̌:* *míˊ-ỳ* *áˊ-àˊ:y-Ø*
hunger 1Sg-Acc **catch-Pfv1a**-3SgSbj
'I became (=have become) hungry.'

c. *gɛ̌:* *gò-âˊ:-m*
hunger **exit(v)**-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
'I have satisfied my hunger.'

Other affliction nouns that have the same syntax as 'hunger', with 'have', 'catch', and 'exit (v)', include *dìˊ:-nîˊ:* 'thirst', *ùjɔ́* 'hot weather, ambient heat', *kàˊ:lîˊ:* 'cold (n)', and disease terms such as *nɛ́w^{n}ɛ̀* 'leprosy'.

By contrast, 'X be sleepy' is expressed as *[X* $^{\text{L}}$*gìrìˊ:] bǎˊ:l-ɛ́ˊ:* with possessed *gìrǐˊ:* 'sleep (n)' and a verb *bǎˊ:l-ɛ́ˊ:* attested only in this collocation and in one other: *gɔ̀rú bǎˊ:l-ɛ́ˊ:* 'be weak, out of shape, unable to work'. 'X be tired' has a dedicated intransitive verb *ɔ́ɲɔ́* 'be weary, tired'.

'X be sated, full (after eating)' is usually expressed as 'it (has) sufficed (for) X' with *bǎˊ:* 'suffice, be enough (for)' (306a), or else as 'X be sated' with the mediopassive verb *ɛ́r^{n}-ɛ́ˊ:-* (306b).

(306) a. *míˊ-ỳ* *bà-âˊ:y-Ø*
1Sg-Acc suffice-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'I am full (after eating).'

b. *ɛ́r^{n}-í:-à-m*
be.sated-MP.Chain-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
'I am full (after eating).'

There are some additional expressions for bodily emissions involving *gǒ:* 'exit (v)' in which the noun denoting the substance emitted, i.e. the natural subject of intransitive 'exit', is really a pseudo-subject (object or adjunct), subordinated to the true subject, which denotes the experiencer. Subject agreement on the verb is with the experiencer. When true and pseudo-subject nouns/NPs co-occur, they can be juxtaposed, but they do not combine as possessor-possessum. For example, in (307a) 'sweat (n)' appears with its lexical tones, compare its tone-dropped form in *ámàdù* ^{L}*sò:* 'Amadou's sweat'. The order of elements (true subject first, pseudo-subject immediately preverbal) is consistent.

(307) a. *ámàdù* *sǒ:* *gǒ:=bè-Ø*
A sweat(n) **exit(v)**=Past-3SgSbj
'Amadou sweated.'

b. *sǒ:* *gǒ:=bè-m*
sweat(n) **exit(v)**=Past-1SgSbj
'I sweated.'

The same syntax including 'exit (v)' occurs with *kín-túrù* 'nosebleed', *ìllî:* 'blood', and *àŋà-dǐ:* 'slobber (n)'. The combinations mean 'have a bloody nose', 'bleed', and 'drool, slobber', respectively. An example of the latter is (308), which further illustrates the immediate preverbal position of the emission term.

(308) *yá:* *àŋà-dǐ:* *gǒ:=bè-m*
yesterday mouth-water **exit(v)**=Past-1SgSbj
'I slobbered (=drooled) yesterday.'

11.1.4 Fixed verb-object collocations

11.1.4.1 Noncognate verb and object

Some of the more common noncognate collocations are those in (309a). If the verb has a more general sense elsewhere, or if the verb-object collocation has a literal meaning, it is indicated in parentheses. Various verbs are involved in (309a). (309b) illustrates the use of the all-purpose verb *kár^{n}á* 'do', which can be added to borrowed nouns (e.g. from Arabic via Fulfulde) or otherwise marginal noun-like forms that cannot be directly inflected. For *kár^{n}á* as an auxiliary with expressive adverbials see §8.4.7.1. Each of (309c-f) is a small set of combinations with a shared verb. Verbs are shown here in their bare stems.

(309) a.

èjìgílè sá:	‘sneeze’
gɔ́rɔ́lɔ́ dɔ̀ŋɔ́	‘snore’
ìsǎn sá:ⁿ	‘take a piss, urinate’
kín pɔ́rⁿɔ́	‘blow nose’
kɔ̀mɔ́ tá:	‘wage war’ (< *tá:* ‘shoot’)
tô:rù púgó	‘practice idolatry (animism)’
yù:jǎ: tɔ́:	‘spit’

b. with *kárⁿá* ‘do’ (among many others)

híjì kárⁿá	‘perform the Muslim pilgrimage’
kǎwrò kárⁿá	‘excuse (me)!’
múrtù kárⁿá	‘revolt, rebel’
sàlê: kárⁿá	‘render a (legal) judgement’
sê:ⁿ kárⁿá	‘be kind’
sírìdì kárⁿá	‘do magic tricks’

c. with *kúnɔ́* ‘put’

áŋá kúnɔ́	‘intervene (verbally)’ (< *áŋá* ‘mouth’)
dúwà: kúnɔ́	‘give a blessing’
gèrègèděy kúnɔ́	‘tickle (sb)’
újù kúnɔ́	‘blow’ (< *újù* ‘air, breath; steam’)

d. with *á:* ‘catch, grab’

à-jìrê: á:	‘wrestle (sb)’
àmâ:n á:	‘make a promise’
sálgù á:	‘perform one’s ablutions (before prayer)’
yǎm á:	‘(sth) catch fire’

e. with *yǎ:* ‘go’

àná yǎ:	‘travel (especially, to a city to work)’
sìrì-kóró yǎ:	‘(go) play the board game’

f. with *yó:* ‘enter; get involved in’

gɔ̌:ⁿ yó:	‘fight hand-to-hand’ (< *gɔ̌:ⁿ* ‘chest’)
sɔ̌:ⁿ yó:	‘take a long break in the fields’
újù yó:	‘become inflated’ (< *újù* ‘air’)

11.1.4.2 Verbs and cognate nominals

Lists of nominal-verb pairings are given in this section organized by the form of the nominal. Verbs are in their bare stems. Many of the pairings function as collocations of the ‘sing a song’ type. The

lexical melody of verbs is constrained by their initial consonant type, but the nouns have purely lexical tones that only accidentally correlate with those of the verbs. Some of the nominals segmentally match the verbs (310a), some exactly match the verb's verbal noun (310b), and some match the verbal noun segmentally but not tonally (310c). Some nominals have a semi-frozen derivational suffix (310d).

(310) a. noun is segmentally identical to bare stem of verb, final vowel not /u/

unreduplicated monosyllabic noun

dě: dě:	'make an insult'
gɛ́:ⁿ gě:ⁿ	'plead'
gɔ́: gɔ̌:	'dance (a dance)'
né: ně:	'sing (a song)'
sɔ̌: sɔ́:	'state one's case'
yé: yé:	'weep (loudly),wail'

unreduplicated bisyllabic noun

bɛ̀rɛ́ bɛ̀rɛ́	'become pregnant' (< *bɛ̀rɛ́* 'belly')
bírɛ́ bìrɛ́	'work, do some work'
bɔ́jɔ̀ bɔ̀jɔ́	'defecate, take a shit)='
dáwà dàwá	'seek attention'
èlé élé	'be rivals'
gâ:jà gǎ:já	'vomit (a vomit)'
gúlɔ̀ gùlɔ́	'vomit (a vomit)'
jàmá jàmá	'betray'
jègé jègé	'build a house wall'
kɛ́mɲè kɛ́mɲɛ́	'cook colostrum (first milk after calving)'
kòlmɔ́ kólmɔ́	'snap one's fingers'
kî:dè kí:dɛ́	'issue a challenge (in debate)'
nèŋɛ́ nèŋɛ́	'cook the sauce'
sàgá ságá	'do second round of weeding'
síbè síbɛ́	'give a simple description'
sìjí síjé	'draw lines (in sand)'
síɲè síɲɛ́	'make noise'
sùlɔ́ súlɔ́	'make a pile of harvested millet'
yàlá yàlá	'draw images'
yàmá yàmá	'(crops) grow so they cover turned-up earth from weeding'
yɛ̀gɛ́ yɛ̀gɛ́	'take measures (to prepare for sth)'

unreduplicated trisyllabic noun

yɔ́gɔ̀rɔ̀ yɔ̀gɔ́rɔ́	'have fun, celebrate'

reduplicated noun

tí-tágá tágá	'tell jokes, be funny'
gù-gû:ⁿ gŭ:ⁿ	'murmur, speak in a low voice'

verb with derivational suffix

mùŋɔ́ mùŋ-é:	‘(insects) swarm’ (mediopassive)
tìgɛ́ tígɛ́-rɛ́	‘(griot) call out names’ (transitive)

b. nominal is homophonous to VblN tonally and segmentally

bàdú bàdá	‘hold a formal meeting’
gɛ̌l gɛ̀lɛ́	‘carry out the millet harvest (with a hand-knife)’
jǎw jàwá	‘(stem) fork, divide in two’
jɛ̀gú jɛ̀gɛ́	‘(man) be elegant’
kòrú kóró	‘build stone enclosure’
lɛ̌l lélé	‘make a mistake’
pǐ: pí:	‘weep (loudly)’
sǐ: sí:	‘(women) ululate, emit cries of joy’
tàgú tág-é:	‘put on one’s shoes’
tǐn tír^{n}ɛ́	‘(go) chop (and collect) wood’ (for *n* ~ *r*^{n} see §3.4.4.6)
tɔ̀ŋú tɔ́ŋɔ́	‘write, do some writing’

reduplicated noun

kì-kǎl kálá	‘tell a falsehood, lie (v)’

c. nominal segmentally but not tonally identical to verbal noun

noun with /H/ melody

dúgú dùgó	‘practice sorcery, cast spells’
gájú gàjá	‘(millet grains) be soft and whitish’
gámúl gàmálá	‘share, do some sharing’
gúnú gùnɔ́	‘solidify, become hard and solid’
gúy^{n} gǔy^{n}	‘commit theft’
jí:rú jǐ:ré	‘quarrel, argue’
jɔ́ŋú jɔ̀ŋɔ́	‘perform healing’
kíŋú kíŋɛ́	‘build a fence’
tól tóló	‘do some pounding (in mortars)’
yégú-rú yègé-ré	‘(man) arm oneself for fighting’

noun with /HL/ melody

â:r á:rá	‘come to an agreement’
bógù bògó	‘(dog) bark’
bógùrù bògóró	‘(billygoat) bellow’
dɔ̂n dɔ̀r^{n}ɔ́	‘make a sale, do some selling’ (for *n* ~ *r*^{n} see §3.4.4.6)
dûm dùmɔ́	‘make a flat-topped mound of earth’
gây gǎ:	‘do a mop-up harvest’
jâŋ jàŋá	‘go to school, engage in studies’
jî:^{n} jǐ:^{n}	‘fart, let out a fart’
í:jù í:jɛ́	‘do a calculation’
ímù ímɛ́	‘stutter, stammer’

mên mèr^{n}é ‘gossip about, denigrate’ (for *n* ~ *r^{n}* see §3.4.4.6)
môy mǒ: ‘(have a) laugh’
nínù níné ‘breathe (a breath)’
pêl pélé ‘applaud, clap hands’
sêl sélé ‘drag waterbag at bottom of nearly dry well’
sên sér^{n}é ‘perform a Muslim prayer’ (for *n* ~ *r^{n}* see §3.4.4.6)
tô:ɲù tɔ́:ɲé ‘provoke, tease’
tógù tógó ‘have a chat’
wírdù wírdé ‘(Muslim) say one’s beads’ (with prayer beads)

noun with /LHL/ melody
mànínŋù mànáŋá ‘have worries’

verb mediopassive
dímù dìm-é: ‘have an out-of-wedlock relationship’
èlì-ý él-é: ‘(woman) be elegant’
jây jà-é: ‘fight (a fight)’
jíɲù jìɲ-é: ‘sniff/smell an odor’

verb trisyllabic with (clear or possible) transitive suffix
dáŋú-rú dàŋá-rá ‘come to an agreement’
téw^{n}ùn téw^{n}ér^{n}é ‘give formal counsel’ (for *n* ~ *r^{n}* see §3.4.4.6)

d. nominal with final *-ê:* or *-ě:*

final -ê:, §4.2.2.4
bè:g-ê: bě:g-é: ‘belch (emit) a belch’
kòjùg-ê: kójúg-é: ‘cough (emit) a cough’
lùg-ê: lúgó ‘count (recite numbers)’

final -ě:, §4.2.2.4
dè:r^{n}-ě: dě:r^{n}é ‘take a break, have a rest’

If the nominal is composite, the verb is based on one of the components, usually the compound final (311a). In (311b) it is based on the noun in the initial rather than its adjective. In (311c), the verb is based on the final part of an otherwise unsegmentable initial.

(311) a. compound final of noun related to verb
àgà^{L}-dàmá dàmá ‘get up and leave early in morning’
àgà^{L}-wègú wègé ‘spend the first half of the day’
àŋà^{L}-yô:lò yǒ:ló ‘whisper’
dùmɔ̀^{L}-kámù kámá ‘bake (ground millet) into bread between hot stones’
[kì-kà:^{n}]^{L}-[lí-lègù] légé ‘hiccup (have) the hiccups’
kù:^{L}-ùló úló ‘(sb) be proud, vain’
nɔ̀y^{n}^{L}-[dâ-y] dǎ: ‘wave hand (as a greeting)’
tàbà^{L}-gònɔ́ gɔ̀nɔ́ ‘build a fence’
tòy^{L}-dáŋúrú dàŋárá ‘do spot-sowing while weeding crops’

tòy -jù:rú jŭ:ró	‘(farmers) slash earth in unison’
yàŋà^{L}*-yêl yèlé*	‘have a dream’
yìm^{L}*-[pìrìg-ĕ:] píríg-é:*	‘be in death throes’
yògò^{L}*-sèlé sélɛ́*	‘be ungrateful’

with apparent prefix, see §4.1.8

àŋ-gùŋɔ̀lê: gùŋɔ́l-é:	‘crawl (on all fours)’
à^{n}*-tà:r*^{n}*î: tá:r*^{n}*-é:*	‘take a step, stride’
à-tómù tómɔ́	‘take a jump’

b. modified noun related to verb

[wòl gɛ́m] wàlá	‘do black farming (first round of weeding)’, cf. *wòlú wàlá* in (312b) above

c. final two syllables of noun related to verb

ná:pìlɛ̀ pílɛ́	‘perform a supplemental prayer’

In some pairs there is a mismatch in vocalism between noun and verb. In one pattern, the nominal has [+ATR] vowel before *u* while the verb has [-ATR] vowels (312a). In the other, the nominal has *o* while the verb has *a* (312b).

(312) a. ATR vocalic shift with {*e o*} favored by following *u* in noun

ébú ébɛ́	‘make a purchase’
jébú jèbɛ́	‘swear an oath’
kíbù kíbɛ́	‘clear and clean up (new field)’
sègú ségɛ́	‘pay dues, pay taxes’
sógù sɔ́gɔ́	‘button up buttons’
sógùrù sɔ́gɔ́rɔ́	‘(sth unseen) make a noise’
tél télɛ́	‘clear a field (with an ax)’
tŏy tɔ́:	‘make slashes in earth (to plant)’

b. alternation *a* ~ *o*, cf. also *gòb-ê* (59b) in §4.2.2.4

bònî: bàn-é:	‘swim, go swimming’
bòrú bàrá	‘make an addition, increase’
bórú bàr-é:	‘take sides (in a dispute)’
sòŋú sáŋá	‘haggle over price, bargain’
wòlú wàlá	‘cultivate, do farm work’
yólú yàl-é:	‘take a walk, stroll’

plus final reduplication

lóbó-ló lábá	‘do wood-carving’

11.1.4.3 Grammatical status of cognate nominal

Cognate nominals often function as pro forma or default "objects." In those cases where the verb is clearly transitive and can take a range of objects, if a more specific object is overt the cognate nominal is absent. In (313a), in the intended agricultural sense *wòlú* is effectively obligatory, in the absence of a crop term, but in (313b) the presence of 'millet' does not allow *wòlú*. Elsewhere *wàlá* can be a simple transitive 'pull (sth) in toward oneself', as when one pulls a hoe in toward oneself while weeding in a field.

(313) a. *wòlú* *wàlá=bè-m*
cultivation cultivate=Past-1SgSbj
'I cultivated (did farm work in the fields).'

b. *yŭ:* (# *wòlú*) *wàlá=bè-m*
millet (# cultivation) cultivate=Past-1SgSbj
'I cultivated (=grew) millet.'

In some cognate collocations, it is difficult to quantify over the cognate object, but some others do lend themselves to this. For example, *dén(ú)* 'search (n)' is quantified over in (314).

(314) *[dén* *lɛ́y]* *dɛ̀nù-m*
[search(n) two] look.for.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I searched (=conducted/did) two searches.'

11.2 'Be', 'become', 'have', and other statives

11.2.1 'It is' clitics

11.2.1.1 Positive 'it is' (*=y*, *=i:*)

The 'it is' clitic can be added to an NP or other noun-like constituent to form a predicate (with no aspectual marking) that can be glossed 'it is NP'. The function is identificational, the 'it' in the gloss referring to a presupposed referent. The same clitic can be added to an NP or similar constituent to focalize it (§13.1), compare English clefts like *It's <u>you</u> who(m) I love*. Since objects (among other NPs) can be focalized, care must be taken to distinguish the 'it is' and focus clitic on the one hand, from the accusative suffix *-ỳ* for human NPs on the other.

The 'it is' clitic has no intrinsic tones; the final tone of the NP extends to the semivowel of the clitic (315). Segmentally, the form is *=y* after a vowel, and *=i:* after a consonant (often a noun ending in human plural suffix *-m*, which is lenited to *-w*^{n} before the clitic).

(315) a. *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́=y*
house=it.is
'It's a house.' (compare diminutive *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-ý* 'home')

b. *[mú* ^{L}*bà:]=y*
[1SgPoss ^{L}father]=it.is
'It's my father.'

c. *yă:-w^{n}=í:*
woman-Pl=it.is
'It's (some) women.' (< *yă:-m* 'women')

By contrast, the accusative enclitic *=ỳ* is always L-toned. After a human noun ending in an H-tone, one can hear the difference: *yă:-r^{n}á=y* 'it's a woman' versus *yă:-r^{n}á-ỳ* 'a woman' (direct object). The difference is also audible after pronouns, e.g. *ú=y* 'it's you-Sg' versus *ú-ỳ* 'you-Sg' (direct object).

The 'it is' clitic is not conjugated for pronominal subject in YS. An independent pronoun may precede the 'it is' predicate to express the subject or topic of the predication (316a). Plurality of humans is expressed in the plural NP within the predicate, so the 3Pl subject/topic pronoun in (316b) doesn't add much information. In Text 6 @ 01:47, *[ìnjɛ́* ^{L}*bìrɛ̀]=y kɔ̀ mà* '(I asked:) what (kind of) work is it?', *kɔ̀* may be an inanimate subject marker as in *yá kɔ̀* 'it is there, it exists'.

(316) a. *mú* *yă:-r^{n}á=y*
1Sg woman-Sg=it.is
'I am a woman.'

b. *bɛ́* *dɔ̀gɔ̌-w^{n}=í:*
3Pl Dogon-Pl=it.is
'They are Dogon (people).' (< *dɔ̀gɔ̌-m*)

In (316b), the rising tone of *dɔ̀gɔ̌-m* has its final H-toned element expressed only on the clitic, since the stem-final vowel is short (§3.6.4.3).

11.2.1.2 'It is not' (*=y=lă:*)

The 'it is' clitic is negated by adding a second clitic, negative *=lă:*, to the positive form.

(317) a. *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́=y=lă:*
house=it.is=Neg
'It isn't a house.'

b. *[mú* [L]*bà:]=y=lă:*
[1SgPoss [L]father]=it.is=Neg
'It isn't my father.'

Unlike the positive 'it is' clitic, the negative clitic can be suffixally conjugated for pronominal subject (318).

(318) *dɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́=y=lă:-m*
Dogon-Sg=it.is=Neg-1SgSbj
'I am not (a) Dogon (person).'

The paradigm is (319). The tone of *=y* is, as usual, dependent on the final tone of the preceding NP. The 1Pl/3Pl form *=là-ɛ́:^{n}* is arguably from /=lă:-ɛ^{n}/ (§3.4.5.2).

(319)

category	form
1Sg	*=y=lă:-m*
2Sg	*=y=lă:-w*
3Sg	*=y=lă:-Ø*
1Pl	*=y=là-ɛ́:^{n}*
2Pl	*=y=lă:-y*
3Pl	*=y=là-ɛ́:^{n}*

3Sg *=lă:-Ø* can be transcribed *=lă:-Ø* when there is no real subject. It combines with polar interrogative terminal L-tone (pronounced with middling pitch) and prolongation (§13.2.1.1) as what I transcribe as *=lă:↗* (Text 6 @ 05:29). This combination clearly brings out the rising tone (preceding the interrogative fall). In the frequent case where *=lă:-Ø* is clause-final (i.e. prepausal), the rise is often inaudible to my ears.

11.2.2 Existential and locative quasi-verbs and particles

11.2.2.1 Existential (*yá*)

The existential proclitic *yá* occurs before predicates, especially the stative quasi-verbs 'be (somewhere)', 'be in', and 'have', but it can also occur before derived statives. It immediately precedes the (quasi-)verb.

Existential *yá* is incompatible with negation and with a preceding focalized constituent. It cannot occur in true relative clauses. It does occur in unfocalized positive main clauses. It also occurs in backgrounded perfective event clauses, as in *yá* [L]*yà-y gɛ̀* 'he went there (and …)', Text 4 @ 01:35.

yá is a pure existential only with *sɛ̀* ‘have’ (§11.5.1). It is obligatory with ‘have’ in the syntactic positions that allow it, whether or not another locational is added, as in ‘I have a house in the village’. On the other hand, before *wɔ̀* or *kɔ̀* ‘be (somewhere)’ (§11.2.2.2) and before *tò* ‘be in’ (§11.2.3.1), it functions as a default locational, and it is required (in favorable syntactic contexts) only when no other locational is present. In these positions, an alternative proclitic *kó* ‘here/there’ is also possible to mark a nearby location (here or over there), so *yá* tends to be more abstract or discourse-definite, like related demonstrative adverbs such as *yá-ǹ* ‘there (definite)’.

If the (quasi-)verb following *yá* is not already L-toned, it is tone-dropped. This is most conspicuous with derived statives that have different tones with and without the proclitic, e.g. (reduplicated) *dì-dâ:ⁿ-* versus *yá* ^{L}*dà:ⁿ-* ‘be sitting’, see (264) in §10.4.1. Likewise *kó* ^{L}*dà:ⁿ-* ‘be sitting here (or just over there)’. Similar tone-dropping on verbs occurs after H-toned subject pronominal proclitics like 1Sg *mú*, which occur in relative clauses (§14.1.5).

11.2.2.2 Locational-existential *wɔ̀-*/*kɔ̀-*, negative *wɔ̀-lɔ́-*/*kɔ̀-lɔ́*

Being in a location, and more generally existing, is expressed by locational-existential quasi-verb *wɔ̀-* for humans and other animates, or *kɔ̀-* for inanimates (including plants and abstractions). Interlinears will have “be.An” and “be.Inan” in locational predicates and other contexts where animacy is distinguished. Like other statives, the quasi-verb does not take aspectual marking.

(320) Paradigm of locational-existential *wɔ̀-* /*kɔ̀*

.	category	form
	1Sg	*wɔ̀-m*
	2Sg	*wɔ̀-w*
	3Sg (animate)	*wɔ̀-Ø*
	inanimate	*kɔ̀*
	1Pl	*wɔ̀-yⁿ*
	2Pl	*wɔ̀-y*
	3Pl	*wɔ̀-yⁿ*

In auxiliary function, animate and inanimate 3Sg are not distinguished, and *wɔ̀-Ø* generalizes to all animacy values (human, animal, inanimate). This is the case in the progressive construction (§10.2.2.2) and in adjectival predicates (§11.4). In those constructions the inlinear gloss will be “be” without an animacy abbreviation.

In locational predicates, the quasi-verb is obligatorily preceded by a spatial expression (‘here’, ‘[in] the village’, etc.). In the absence of a fuller locational, the default is either existential *yá*, which indicates existence in an unspecified, abstract, or contextually understood location (including ‘here’ if

proximity is not emphasized), or the explicitly deictic *kó*, which in this combination means 'here' or 'just over there'. The possibility of using *kó* distinguishes locational quasi-verbs from the 'have' quasi-verb, which can only use *yá*. In my data, *yá* does not co-occur with another overt spatial expression in locational predicates. There is no vocalic assimilation between *yá* and the quasi-verb.

(321) a. *ámàdù* *[bàmàkó* *=ǹ]* *wɔ̀-Ø*
A [B Loc] be.An-3SgSbj
'Amadou is in Bamako (city).'

b. *émɛ́* *ŋ́* *wɔ̀-y^{n}*
1Pl here be.An-1PlSbj
'We are here/Here we are!' (presentative, §4.4.3)

c. *[péjù* *gɛ̀-m]* *òlú* *wɔ̀-y^{n}*
[sheep Def-Pl] bush be.An-3PlSbj
'The sheep are in the bush (= outback).'

d. *súgɔ̀rɔ̀* *yá* *kɔ̀*
sugar Exist be.Inan
'There is (some) sugar.'

e. *ámàdù* *yá* *wɔ̀-Ø* *mà→↑*
A Exist be-An-3SgSbj Q
'Is Amadou present (here/there)?'

In relative constructions, *wɔ̀-* becomes H-toned ^{H}*wɔ́* (422a). Taking the main-clause form as basic requires positing an {H} overlay in the participle, or rather {HL} realized as H on a monomoraic word, since {HL} is fully realized on bisyllabic statives. Alternatively, we could take *wɔ́* as basic, and account for main-clause *wɔ̀-* by a combination of defocalization and tone-dropping due to preceding H-toned proclitics. Imperfective/stative subordinated form *wó-ẁ* (§15.2.1.1) also has an H-tone. The facts are parallel for *tò-* 'be in' and *sɛ̀-* 'have', the other positive stative quasi-verbs.

Being in a location, or existing (anywhere), is denied by the relevant conjugated negative form in (322).

(322) Paradigm of negative locational-existential *wɔ̀-lɔ́-* or *kɔ̀-lɔ́*

.	category	form
	1Sg	*wɔ̀-lɔ́-m*
	2Sg	*wɔ̀-lɔ́-w*
	3Sg	*wɔ̀-lɔ́-Ø*
	inanimate	*kɔ̀-lɔ́*
	1Pl	*wɔ̀-nɛ́*
	2Pl	*wɔ̀-lɔ́-y*
	3Pl	*wɔ̀-nɛ́*

In existential (as opposed to locational) contexts, "inanimate" *kɔ̀-lɔ́* generalizes to all animacy categories. An example is 'There is no-one who …' (428c). As a result, forms based on animate *wɔ̀-* are limited to contexts involving more or less specific referents.

A locational expression may occur, but is not required, with these negative forms. *yá* is not allowed.

(323) a. *ámàdù* *[bàmàkó* *=nì]* *wɔ̀-lɔ́-Ø*
A [B Loc] be.An-StatNeg-3SgSbj
'Amadou is not in Bamako (city).'

b. *súgɔ̀rɔ̀* *kɔ̀-lɔ́*
sugar be.Inan-StatNeg
'There is no sugar.'

Existential-locational quasi-verbs belong to a larger set of statives that denote location and position. These include *tò* 'be in' (see the following section), and stative verbs derived (in some cases irregularly) from regular verbs (§10.4, above). Of the latter, *dà:ⁿ* 'be sitting' is particularly important since it generalizes as a 'be on (horizontal surface)' as in 'the tea-kettle is (up) on the burner'. The 'have' quasi-verb is also of this stative type. These defective statives lack a perfective/imperfective distinction (and therefore do not occur with any marked aspectual suffixes such as completive perfect), and they all have similar stative negative suffixes of the shape *-lɔ́*.

11.2.3 ‘Be in’ and ‘be on’

11.2.3.1 ‘Be in’ (*tò*)

This stative quasi-verb replaces *wɔ̀-* (inanimate *kɔ̀-*) ‘be’ (see the preceding section) when the location in question is defined by an enclosing three-dimensional entity (house, waterjar, sack). *tò* is not used in contexts like ‘he is in/at the field’ where the enclosing entity is two-dimensional and is not easily conceptualized as a container. It may, however, occur in abstract sense ‘be involved in X’ (Text 5 @ 00:50). There is no animate/inanimate distinction.

(324) Paradigm of *tò* ‘be in’

.	category	form
	1Sg	*tò-m*
	2Sg	*tò-w*
	3Sg	*tò-Ø*
	1Pl	*tò-ɛ̀^{n}*
	2Pl	*tò-y*
	3Pl	*tò-ɛ̀^{n}*

The syntax is similar to that of *wɔ̀-* or *kɔ̀-*. Existential *yá* (here, nonproximate and usually abstract or discourse-definite ‘there’) or *kó* (as a proclitic, deictic ‘here’ or ‘just over there’) is required if no fuller locational expression is present. However, *yá* also optionally co-occurs with another locational (325a).

(325) a. *émɛ́* *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-ý* *(yá)* *tò-ɛ̀^{n}*
1Pl house-Dimin (Exist) **be.in**-1PlSbj
‘We are at home.’

b. *[péjù* *gɛ̀-m]* *[ógú* *nɛ̀]* *(yá)* *tò-ɛ̀^{n}*
[sheep Def-Pl] [pen Loc] (Exist) **be.in**-3PlSbj
‘The sheep are in the pen.’

c. *[dǐ:* *gɛ̀]* *[tònɔ̀-ý* *nɛ̀]* *tò-Ø*
[water Def] [waterjar Loc] **be.in**-3SgSbj
‘There is (some) water in the jar.’

d. *ámàdù* *yá* *tò-Ø*
A Exist be.in-3SgSbj
‘Amadou is in (the house).’

The argument in favor of underlying H-toned *wɔ́* 'be' (§11.2.2.2) and *sɛ́* 'have' (§11.5.1.1) also apply to *tò*.

The negative forms are in (326). They do not co-occur with existential *yá*.

(326) Paradigm of 'not be in' *tò-ló-*

.	category	form
	1Sg	*tò-ló-m*
	2Sg	*tò-ló-w*
	3Sg	*tò-ló-Ø*
	1Pl	*tò-nɛ́*
	2Pl	*tò-ló-y*
	3Pl	*tò-nɛ́*

11.2.3.2 'Be (stuck) on (horizontal surface)' (*yáŋà* ~ *ɲáŋà*)

For 'be (stuck) on top of (tree, thatch shelter)', the defective stative quasi-verb is *yáŋà*, dialectally *ɲáŋà*. The surface in question, which is expressed as a locative PP, is more or less horizontal ('on top of'), often suggesting a precarious position. It is probably historically related to the mediopassive verb *ɲɔ́ŋ-ɛ́:-* 'get stuck (e.g. in a tree)', said of something thrown or wind-blown, but the synchronic relation is nontransparent. Existential *yá* is present unless the locational expression is focal.

(327) *[[tógù gɛ̀]* *=ǹ]* *(yá)* *ɲàŋ-ɛ̀:^{n}*
[[shelter Def] Loc] (Exist) **be.on**.Stat-3PlSbj
'They are (stuck) on top of the thatch shelter.'

My assistant preferred the 'sit' verb for 'on the roof' and 'on the table', where the precarious element is absent.

11.2.3.3 'Be on (wall)' (*jàbà*, *tàrà*)

For 'be on (vertical surface, e.g. a wall)', said of animate creatures, the usual verb is stative *jábà* for position and mediopassive *jàb-ɛ́:* for change of position. The syntax is the same as for *yáŋà* (preceding section).

(328) *gɛ̌m* *[[tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ́* *ŋɛ̀]* *=ǹ]* *(yá)* *jàbà-Ø*
agama [[tree Def] Loc] (Exist) **be.on.wall**.Stat-3SgSbj
'The agama lizard is on the tree (trunk).'

For inanimates, stative *tárà* 'be stuck, affixed (on a vertical surface)' and mediopassive *tár-ɛ́:-* for change of state are used. They are related to the regular transitive verb *tárá* 'affix, post (sth, on a wall)'.

11.2.4 'Want' (*ìbɛ̀-* ~ *ìbɔ́:-*, *nàw^{n}à*)

'Want' is commonly expressed by the defective quasi-verb *ìbɛ̀-*. It takes a preceding object NP. The all L-toned pattern suggests that the object NP is focalized and the verb correspondingly defocalized. In isolation, 'want' is *ìbɔ́:-*, historically a contraction of *ìbɛ́ wɔ̀-.

(329) a. *ìnjɛ́* *ìbɛ̀-w*
what? want-2SgSbj
'What do you-Sg want?'

b. *súgɔ̀rɔ̀* *ìbɛ̀-m*
sugar want-1SgSbj
'I want (some) sugar.'

The paradigm in such defocalized positions is in the middle column of (330). In isolation, the forms in the right-hand column were obtained.

(330) Paradigm of *ìbɛ̀* 'want'

.	category	defocalized	isolation
	1Sg	*ìbɛ̀-m*	*ìbɔ́:-m*
	2Sg	*ìbɛ̀-w*	*ìbɔ́:-w*
	3Sg	*ìbɛ̀-Ø*	*ìbɔ́:-Ø*
	1Pl	*ìb-ɛ̀:^{n}*	*ìbɔ́:-y^{n}*
	2Pl	*ìbɛ̀-y*	*ìbɔ́:-y*
	3Pl	*ìb-ɛ̀:^{n}*	*ìbɔ́:-y^{n}*

The negative is *ìbɛ̀^{L} = lá-*, with a conjugated form of the regular stative negative clitic *= lá-* (§10.4.2). The 1Pl/3Pl form is *ìbɛ̀^{L} = lá-ɛ̀^{n}*.

(331) *súgɔ̀rɔ̀* *ìbɛ̀^{L} = lá-m*
sugar want=StatNeg-1SgSbj
'I don't want (any) sugar.'

The related reduplicative noun is *í-ʔíbɛ́* [íʔíbɛ́] 'love (n)'.

An alternative stem is mediopassive verb *náwⁿ-ɛ́:* 'like' (chaining form *náwⁿ-í:*). It can be used for single episodes. In stative contexts, ᴸ*nàwⁿà* occurs after a focalized constituent, *náwⁿɔ̂:-* elsewhere. The latter points to a reconstruction *námá wɔ-.

(332) Paradigm of *nàwⁿà* 'like'

.	category	defocalized	isolation
	1Sg	*nàwⁿɔ̀-m*	*náwⁿɔ̂:-m*
	2Sg	*nàwⁿɔ̀-w*	*náwⁿɔ̂:-w*
	3Sg	*nàwⁿà*	*náwⁿɔ̂:-Ø*
	1Pl	*nàw-ɛ̀:ⁿ*	*náwⁿɔ̂:-ỳ*
	2Pl	*nàwⁿà-y*	*náwⁿɔ̂:-y*
	3Pl	*nàw-ɛ̀:ⁿ*	*náwⁿɔ̂:-ỳ*

The negative is *nàwⁿàᴸ = lá-*.

A third verb, *dɛ̀nɛ́* 'look for', competes with *ìbɛ̀-* and *nàwⁿà* in predicates of desire, see (391a-b). This use of *dɛ̀nɛ́* seems to be especially favored with VP complements ('want to VP', §17.4.1). In Jamsay, *dènɛ́* is the all-purpose 'want' verb.

11.2.5 'Know' (*ígɔ̀:-*, negative *ínɛ̀:-*)

'Know' is a classic stative concept and is expressed in YS by another defective quasi-verb (*ígɔ̀:-*). It can be used absolutely (333a), denoting knowledge of a contextually understood fact, or with an object (333b).

(333) a. *ígɔ̀(:)-m*
know-1SgSbj
'I know.'

b. *[tɛ̀wⁿɛ̀ᴸ kó] ígɔ̀(:)-m*
[treeᴸ Dist] **know**-1SgSbj
'I know (= am familiar with) that tree.'

The paradigm is (334). The long vowel of *ígɔ̀:-* is heard reliably in the zero-suffixed 3Sg form, but in othr combinations it is usually short. *ígɔ̀:-* is historically contracted from something like *ígì wɔ- with 'be' as auxiliary, cf. Donno So *ìgù wɔ́-*.

(334) Paradigm of ‘know’

.	category	defocalized	isolation
	1Sg	*ìgì-m*	*ígɔ̀(:)-m*
	2Sg	*ìgù-w*	*ígɔ̀(:)-w*
	3Sg	*ìgì-Ø*	*ígɔ̀:-Ø*
	1Pl	*ìg-è:^{n}*	*ígɔ̀(:)-y^{n}*
	2Pl	*ìgì-y*	*ígɔ̀(:)-y*
	3Pl	*ìg-è:^{n}*	*ígɔ̀(:)-y^{n}*

Negative forms have the same syntax. A (partially) suppletive stem *ínè:-* is used. The long vowel is heard in the 3Sg only.

(335) Paradigm of ‘not know’

.	category	form
	1Sg	*ínè-m*
	2Sg	*ínè-w*
	3Sg	*ínè:-Ø*
	1Pl	*ín-è:^{n}*
	2Pl	*ínè-y*
	3Pl	*ín-è:^{n}*

11.2.6 Morphologically regular verbs

11.2.6.1 ‘Remain; become’ (*bě:*)

The verb *bě:* (chaining stem *bǐ:*) means ‘stay, remain, end up’, usually with animate subject, or ‘(event) take place, happen’. It has regular aspect-negation inflection and is not stative. It is the usual translation of ‘stay, remain’ but also of ‘end up’, so it puts more emphasis on the final position than than ‘stay, remain’ suggests. Related nominals are *bí:-gí* ‘existence, being’ and the regular verbal noun *bì-ý*.

This verb is also used as an inchoative ‘become X’ with expressive adverbials, see (197) in §8.4.7.1.

The vocalic alternation suggests a relationship with the mediopassive derivational suffix. See discussion of the verb ‘fear’ just below.

A dialecrtal variant *bìyɛ́* was recorded once.

11.2.6.2 ‘Fear (v)’ (*lɛ́:*)

The verb *lɛ́:* ‘fear, be afraid of’, chaining form *lɛ́:*, has normal inflections and may take a direct object (336). In present-time contexts it occurs in imperfective form. An object (accusative for humans) is optionally overt.

(336) a. *wó-ỳ* *lí-lɛ̀:-jɛ̀-m*
3Sg-Acc Rdp-**fear(v)**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I am afraid of him/her.’

b. *ìnjɛ́=y* *lɛ̀:-jɛ̀-w*
what?=Foc **fear(v)**-Ipfv-2SgSbj
‘What are you-Sg afraid of?’

c. *lɛ̂:-lɛ̀-m*
fear(v)-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj
‘I am not afraid.’

lɛ́: is arguably *l-ɛ́:* with mediopassive suffix, which would account for the *i:* in the chaining stem. However, the only other case of apparent mediopassive *C-ɛ:* is *bɛ̌:* ‘stay, remain’ (preceding section), and the monosyllabicity of these verbs makes segmentation difficult. The irregular causative of ‘fear (v)’ is *lí:-rɛ́-mɔ́* ‘scare, frighten’. Cognate nouns are *lì-lɛ̌:* and *lɛ̂:* ‘fear’. The evidence, on balance, points to unsegmented *lɛ̌:*, with irregular chaining stem *lǐ:* .

11.2.6.3 ‘Become, happen’ (*táŋá*)

X *táŋá* means ‘become X’ or ‘be transformed into X, turn into X’, where X is an NP denoting a type (e.g. ‘become an African, turn into a lion’). An example is *mû:mɔ̀ táŋá* ‘become a deaf-mute’. The marked perfective is perfective-1a.

(337) a. *[ìnɛ̀* *ná:]* *táŋ-à:y-Ø*
[person big] **become**-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He/She became an adult.’

b. *péjù* *táŋ-à:y-Ø*
sheep **become**-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He/She was transformed into a sheep.’

c. *yǎ:-r^{n}á* *táŋ-à:y-Ø*
woman-Sg **become**-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘It was transformed into a woman.’

Of the other lexical senses of *táŋá*, the one is somewhat close to this is 'move (relocate)', especially '(bride) move permanently to her husband's home' (a highly ritualized procession). Other senses of *táŋá* are '(fire) be lit' and 'become contaminated'.

There is a transitive derivative *táŋá-rá* with various senses involving transfer or change of state: 'transfer (pour) into a bowl', 'transfer (bride) to husband's house', 'contaminate', 'take across', 'turn on (lights, electronic device)', and 'set on fire'.

11.3 Quotative verb 'say' (*gì-* ~ *gù-*, *gɛ́*)

This verb takes regular inflectional endings in most categories, but it occurs most often in an irregular unsuffixed perfective form *gì-* ~ *gù-*, following a quotation or an object NP ('nothing', 'that'). The paradigm is (338). This is the only monomoraic verb that has a regular inflectional paradigm (as opposed to stative quasi-verbs).

(338) Unsuffixed perfective paradigm of 'say'

.	category	form
	1Sg	*gù-m*
	2Sg	*gù-w*
	3Sg	*gì-Ø*
	1Pl	*g-ɛ̀:ⁿ*
	2Pl	*gì-y*
	3Pl	*g-ɛ̀:ⁿ*

The consonantally conditioned *i* ~ *u* alternation is the same as for the perfective-1b *-tì* and the perfective negative suffix (1Sg *-lú-m*, etc), see §3.5.6.1.

Other inflected forms of 'say' are based on the bare stem *gɛ́-*, subject to tone overlays in some categories. (339a) illustrates the chaining stem (as used in verb chains). The other examples in (339) are regular AN inflections with pronominal-subject conjugation.

(339) a. *kó* *gɛ́* *bí-bɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
DiscDef **say** Rdp-can-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I can say that.'

b. *kó* *gí-gɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
DiscDef Rdp-**say**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will say that.'

c. *kó* *gè-lú-m*
DiscDef **say**-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I didn't say that.'

d. *kó* *gɛ́-lɛ̀-m*
DiscDef **say**-PresHabNeg-1SgSbj
'I don't say that.'

For the H-tone in *gɛ́*, versus expected #*gɛ̌* given the association (for verbs only) of /LH/ melody with initial voiced obstruents, see the discussion of Rising-Tone Flattening (§3.6.4.1).

gɛ́ 'say' can be combined with *tágá* 'tell (sb)' in a two-clause construction. For example, in (478a-b) *gɛ́* occurs in a backgrounded perfective clause, followed by a regular main clause with *tágá* that expresses the original addressee as a simple object.

11.4 Adjectival predicates

The adjectival predicates presented here are distinct from inchoative and factitive verbs that denote transitions ('become heavy', 'make it heavy'), on which see §9.4. A list of modifying adjectives is in §4.5.1.

11.4.1 Positive adjectival predicates

Modifying adjectives are made into positive predicates by addition of the conjugated quasi-verb *wɔ̀-* 'be', functioning here as auxiliary, with inanimate as well as animate subjects (see 'the place is very difficult', Text 6 @ 02:38). Uncontracted pronunciations like *dùgú wɔ̀-Ø* 'it is big' are possible especially in careful speech. A textual example is *pàlá wɔ̀* 'it is long' in Text 6 @ 00:02. However, contraction is common in allegro speech, hence *dùg=ɔ̂:-Ø* 'it is big'. Several cases of Final-Sonorant Spreading (§3.4.4.4) have been observed, but this process can be undone in careful speech.

Bisyllabic adjectives that end in a sonorant shift to {LH} tone in the adjectival predicate (340a). For other adjectives there is no change vis-à-vis the form of the modifying adjective (340b).

(340)

modifying	gloss	3Sg predicate	gloss
a. tone shift from /HL/ to {LH}			
pélèl	'having a crispy taste'	*pèlěl=lɔ̀-Ø*	'it is crispy'
ɛ̂:l ~ élèl	'sweet'	*ɛ̌:l=lɔ̀ ~ èlěl=lɔ̀-Ø*	'it is sweet'
dár^{n}àn	'pungent, spicy-hot'	*dàr^{n}ǎn=nɔ̀-Ø*	'it is pungent'
gálàl	'bitter'	*gàlǎl=lɔ̀-Ø*	'it is bitter'
ɔ́rɔ̀y	'smooth, sleek'	*ɔ̀rɔ̌y=yɔ̀-Ø*	'it is smooth'

b. no tone shift

píl	'white'	*píl = ɔ̀:-*	'it is white'
nám	'difficult'	*nám = wɔ̀-*	'it is difficult'
bán	'red'	*bán = nɔ̀-*	'it is red'
gɛ́m	'black'	*gɛ́m = mɔ̀-*	'it is black'
dùgú	'big'	*dùg = ɔ̂:-*	'it is big'
yóló	'lightweight, flimsy'	*yól = ɔ̀:-*	'it is lightweight, flimsy'
nɔ́:	'hot (water etc.)'	*nɔ́: = wɔ̀-*	'it is hot'
nà:r^{n}á	'easy, cheap'	*nà:r^{n} = ɔ̂:-*	'it is easy, cheap'
wɛ́y	'lightweight'	*wɛ́y = wɔ̀-*	'it is lightweight'
mă:	'dry'	*mă: = wɔ̀-*	'it is dry'
démélé	'massive'	*démél = ɔ̀:*	'it is huge'

For similar adjectival predicates, but without *wɔ̀-*, in comparatives ('Y be ADJ-er than X'), see §12.1.2. The ability of {LH} to occur in the absence of *wɔ̀-* puts some constraints on tonological interpretation. At least diachronically, it is likely that the origin of {LH} in adjectival predicates was de-linking of the H-tone in *wɔ́-, its docking on the right edge of the adjective to the left, and cancellation of any nonadjacent preceding H-tone in the adjective to avoid {HLH} (§3.6.1.1). Compare the {L}+H overlay on numeral-final strings, for which a similar origin is hypothesized in §6.2.1.2.

11.4.2 Negative adjectival and stative predicates (*= lá-*)

Negative adjectival predicates have conjugated stative negative enclitic *= lá-* following a tone-dropped adjectival stem. *gɛ̀m = lá-* 'not be black', *gàlàl = lá-* 'not be bitter', etc. For the pronominal-subject paradigm of *= lá-* see §10.4.2.

11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 'Have' quasi-verb

11.5.1.1 Positive 'X have Y' (*sɛ̀*)

Positive 'X have Y' is expressed as *[X Y yá sɛ̀-]* with existential particle *yá* and defective stative quasi-verb *sɛ̀-* 'have'. The construction can denote possession (ownership, custody) (341a), or it can be used abstractly to associate a quality with an entity (341b).

(341) a. *gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́* *yá* *sɛ̀-m*
house Exist **have**-1SgSbj
'I have a house.' (ownership or temporary custody)

b. *sěydù* *pàŋá* *yá* *sɛ̀-Ø*
Seydou strength Exist **have**-3SgSbj
'Seydou is strong/powerful.'

c. *[[àná* *ŋɛ̀]* *=ǹ]* *gɛ̀rⁿɛ́* *yá* *sɛ̀-m*
[[village Def] Loc] house Exist **have**-1SgSbj
'I have a house in the village.'

yá still has abstract or discourse-definite sense with 'be' and 'be in' quasi-verbs. In those combinations it competes with *kó*, which as proclitic means 'here' or 'just over there'. With *sɛ̀* 'have', *kó* is not an option. This is why I claim that *yá* is a pure existential only with *sɛ̀*, whereas it still has some demonstrative features with 'be' and 'be in' (as well as with derived statives). A further indication of this is that *yá* easily co-occurs with a full locational expression like 'in the village' in (341c) above, whereas with 'be' and 'be in' such coexistence is somewhere between abnormal and ungrammatical.

sɛ̀- can also be used as an alternative to *á:* 'catch, grab' in the construction type 'X have/catch Y' where X is a malady or other condition and Y is the animate sufferer (English would switch the subject and object: *X caught a cold*, etc.).

(342) *[àmsɔ̀gɔ́* *wò-mɔ̀]* *mí-ỳ* *yá* *sɛ̀-Ø*
[pity(n) 3Sg-Poss] 1Sg-Acc Exist **have**-3SgSbj
'I have pity on him.' (lit. "His pity has me.")

When a constituent is focalized, the existential particle is omitted, as in (343a), a focalized variant of (342) above. The particle is also omitted in relative clauses, many of which are semi-lexicalized. In (343b) the participle is oddly ^{HL}*sɛ̂:* rather than the usual ^{H}*sɛ́*.

(343) a. *[àmsɔ̀gɔ́* *wò-mɔ̀]=y* *mí-ỳ* *sɛ̀-Ø*
[pity(n) 3Sg-Poss]=Foc 1Sg-Acc **have**-3SgSbj
'I have pity [focus] on him.'

b. *sɔ̀:*^{L} *dímɛ̀* ^{HL}*sɛ̂:*
speech^{L} prudence ^{HL}**have**.Ppl
'careful (=measured) talk' (lit. "talk that has prudence")

The paradigm is (344).

(344)

category	'have'
1Sg	*sɛ̀-m*
2Sg	*sɛ̀-w*
3Sg	*sɛ̀-Ø*

1Pl	*sɛ̀-yⁿ*
2Pl	*sɛ̀-y*
3Pl	*sɛ̀-yⁿ*

sɛ̀- combines with past clitic *=bɛ̀-* (345a). A chaining stem *sɛ̂-y* is attested but uncommon (345b).

(345) a. *gɛ̀rⁿɛ́* *yá* *sɛ̀=bɛ̀-m*
house Exist **have**=Past-1SgSbj
'I had (used to have) a house.'

b. *máŋgò:rò* *sɛ̂-y* *bí-bɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
mango **have.Chain** Rdp-get-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I can have a mango.'

A case can be made that the underlying form of 'have' is H-toned *sɛ́*, and that *sɛ̀* is due to tone-dropping, either due to a preceding H-toned proclitic (*yá sɛ̀*), due to defocalization, or due to an immediately following stative negative suffix (*sɛ̀-lɛ́-*). Evidence for the H-tone, along with *sɛ́-ỳ* in (345b) above, is past negative *sɛ́=bɛ̀-lɛ́* (277) and participial ^{H}*sɛ́* (§14.1.6.5). A similar point was made concerning *wɔ̀* 'be' in §11.2.2.2 above.

11.5.1.2 'X not have Y'

The negative paradigm is (346).

(346)

category	'not have'
1Sg	*sɛ̀-lɛ́-m*
2Sg	*sɛ̀-lɛ́-w*
3Sg	*sɛ̀-lɛ́-Ø*
1Pl	*sɛ̀-nɛ́*
2Pl	*sɛ̀-lɛ́-y*
3Pl	*sɛ̀-nɛ́*

Existential *yá* cannot occur in negative clauses (347a). In past negative 'did not have', negation is usually expressed on the past enclitic (*=bɛ̀-lɛ́-*) rather than on the 'have' quasi-verb, though the alternative construction is easily understood and is occasionally used (347b). There are some semi-lexicalized relative clauses denoting the absence of a quality (347c), cf. *-less* in English adjectives like *clueless*.

(347) a. *gèr^{n}é* *sè-lé-m*
house have-Neg-1SgSbj
'I don't have a house.'

b. *gèr^{n}é* *sé=bè-lé-m*
house have=Past-StatNeg-1SgSbj
'I didn't have a house.'
(more common that *sè-lé=bè-m*)

c. *kû:* *sè-lè*
head have-Neg.Ppl
'headstrong' (lit. "not having a head")

For a kind of hortative negative based on *sè-lè*, see §10.6.3. See also the unusual nominal compound *dìmɛ̀*^{L} *sè-lé* 'arrogance' (109a).

11.5.2 'Belong to' predicates

In this construction, the entity in question is normally definite, and its owner is identified in the predicate. The latter consists of either a pronominal possessor in the same form that is used as postnominal possessor in alienable possession (124), or a nonpronominal NP plus possessive *mɔ̀* (§6.1.2) followed by the 'it is' enclitic.

(348) a. *[gèr^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *nɔ̌:]* *mɔ̂:=y* / *ɔ̂:=y*
[house^{L} Prox] 1SgPoss= / 2SgPoss=it.is
'This house is mine/yours-Sg.'

b. *[gèr^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *nɔ̌:]* *[ámàdù* *mɔ̀]=y*
[house^{L} Prox] [A Poss]=it.is
'This house is Amadou's.'

A textual example is Text 4 @ 00:16 ('I am yours' in a quotation, with logophoric for original speaker and 3Sg for original addressee).

Negation is by addition of 'it is not' enclitic *=lă:* .

(349) a. *[gèr^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *nɔ̌:]* *mɔ̂:=y=lă:* / *ɔ̂:=y=lă:*
[house^{L} Prox] 1SgPoss= / 2SgPoss=it.is=it.is.not
'This house is not mine/yours-Sg.'

b. *[gèr^{n}è*^{L} *nɔ̌:]* *[ámàdù* *mɔ̀]=y=lă:*
[house^{L} Prox] [A Poss]=it.is=it.is.not
'This house is not Amadou's.'

11.6 Uninflected iteration of type verb$_1$-verb$_1$(-verb$_1$ …)

Various types of verb-iteration occur in recorded texts. They emphasize prolongation of an activity, usually in backgrounded clauses that set up a new foreground event.

One type is attested with *gɔ̀ŋɔ́lɔ́* 'wander, go around'. The iterated form is either bipartite *gɔ̀ŋɔ̀lɔ̀*^{L}-^{HL}*gɔ́ŋɔ̀lɔ̀* or tripartite *gɔ̀ŋɔ̀lɔ̀*^{L}-^{HL}*gɔ́ŋɔ̀lɔ̀*-^{L}*gɔ̀ŋɔ̀lɔ̀*, the tonal formula being {L-HL-L}. Both forms occur in Text 2 @ 00:07.

Another type is *jìgíbú* 'shake', iteration ^{HL}*jígìbu*-^{HL}*jígìbù*-^{HL}*jígìbù*, tonal formula {HL-HL-HL}, in Text 3 @ 00:39.

A third type is illustrated by *yă:* 'go' in iterated *yâ:-yà:* 'going', tonal formula {HL-L}, in Text 3 @ 01:08. My assistant prefers this tonal type; see *jɔ́bɔ̀*^{HL}-^{L}*jɔ̀bɔ̀* 'run-run' (< *jɔ̀bɔ́* 'run'), *yâ:*^{HL}-^{L}*yà:* 'go-go' (< *yă:* 'go'), and *dábɛ̀*^{HL}-^{L}*dàbɛ̀* 'crawl-crawl' in (178a-b,d) in §8.2.11.

In Text 4 @ 00:22, ^{HL}*jɔ́bɔ̀* 'running' occurs in both of two paired clauses functioning as backgrounded duratives.

The common tonal feature in these iterations is an {HL} overlay in at least the first or second iteration, often but not always combined with tone-dropping of one or both flanking iterations. We could think of {HL} as abstractly applying to all iterations but not always overt, or else distinguish the various patterns depending on which iterations are tone-dropped. There is probably much variation across speakers.

These iterations are adverb-like but can be part of constructions including a regular inflected verb, sometimes based on the same verb stem. See §15.1.7 for discussion.

12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 *dɛ̀:* 'than'

The postposition *dɛ̀:* means 'than' in comparatives, i.e. it is added to the NP denoting the comparandum. Examples occur in the following subsections. It is identical to, or a homophone of, purposive postposition *dɛ̀:* (§8.3).

12.1.2 Comparative predicate adjectives

In a positive comparative adjective construction, the adjectival stem is directly conjugated by a pronominal-subject suffix (350a). Auxiliary *wɔ̀-* 'be', which occurs in ordinary (noncomparative) adjectival predicates (often encliticized), is absent. However, *CvCvL* adjectives with final sonorant show the same {LH} overlay that they have in regular adjectival predicates. For example, 'sweet' is *élɛ̀l* ~ *ɛ̂:l* as modifying adjective, but has predicative form *ɛ̀lɛ̌l=lɔ̀- or ɛ̌:l=lɔ̀ 'be* sweet' (§11.4.1). The {LH} overlay is observed in *ɛ̀lɛ̌l-Ø* (350b) although *wɔ̀-* is absent. In the negative counterpart, conjugated stative negative *=lá-* is added to the tone-dropped adjectival stem (350c), just as it replaces *wɔ̀-* in adjectival predicates (§11.4.2).

(350) a. *[ú* *dɛ̀:]* *pàlá-m* / *pàlá-Ø* / *pàl-ɛ́:^{n}*
[2Sg than] tall-1SgSbj / -3SgSbj / -3PlSbj
'I am / He-or-she is / They are taller than you-Sg.' (< *pàlá*)

b. *máŋgòrò* *[lèmûr* *dɛ̀:]* *ɛ̀lɛ̌l-Ø*
mango [lemon than] **sweet**-3SgSbj
'A mango is sweeter than a lemon.'

c. *[ú* *dɛ̀:]* *pàlà=lá-m* / *=lá-Ø* / *=lá-y^{n}*
[2Sg than] **tall**=StatNeg-1SgSbj / -3SgSbj / -3PlSbj
'I am / He-or-she is / They are not taller than you-Sg.'

Adjectives with final sonorant add an epenthetic short high vowel before pronominal-subject suffixes consisting of another sonorant. The alternations *m/w^{n}* and *n/r^{n}* are applicable. 1Sg subject examples are *gɛ́w^{n}-ú-m* 'I am blacker' (< *gɛ́m*), *bár^{n}-ú-m* 'I am redder' (< *bán*), and *píl-í-m* 'I am whiter' (< *píl*).

Conjugated past enclitic *=bè-* added to the adjective shifts the time frame back. A *CvCvL* adjective still has the {LH} overlay (351b).

(351) a. *[ú dè:] pàlá=bè-m*
[2Sg than] **tall**=Past-1SgSbj
'I was taller than you-Sg.'

b. *máŋgòrò [lèmûr dè:] èlɛ̌l=bè-Ø*
mango [lemon than] **sweet**=Past-3SgSbj
'A mango was sweeter than a lemon.'

In negative past combinations, both negative *=lá-* and past *=bè-* are conjugated. The adjective is tone-dropped by *=lá-*.

(352) a. *[ú dè:] pàlà=lá-m=bè-m*
[2Sg than] tall=**StatNeg**-1SgSbj=**Past**-1SgSbj
'I was not taller than you-Sg.'

b. *[ú dè:] pàlà=lá-Ø=bè-Ø*
[2Sg than] tall=**StatNeg**-3SgSbj=**Past**-3SgSbj
'He/She was not taller than you-Sg.'

c. *[ú dè:] pàlà=lá-y^{n}=b-è:^{n}*
[2Sg than] tall=**StatNeg**-3PlSbj=**Past**-3PlSbj
'They were not taller than you-Sg.'

12.1.3 'Be bigger' (*gă:*) and 'be more' (*jó:*)

Predicative 'be bigger, be greater, (person) be older' is *gă:* (353a). It is negated as *gà:=lá-* (353d). The morphosyntax fits that of adjectival predicates, and *gă:* occurs with human referents in contexts that are not specifically comparative: *ìnè*^{L} *gă:* 'middle-aged to elderly person'. However, as a predicate *gă:* does imply a comparison.

(353) a. *pɛ́l [nùmɔ́r^{n}ɔ́ dè:] gă:-Ø*
10 [5 than] **bigger**-3SgSbj
'Ten is more than (=greater than) five.'

b. *[gèr^{n}ɛ́ mɔ̀] [ɔ̂: dè:] gă:-Ø*
[house 1SgPoss] [2SgPoss than] **bigger**-3SgSbj
'My house is bigger than yours-Sg.'

c. *[ú* *dè:]* *gă:-m*
[2Sg than] **bigger**-1SgSbj
'I am older than you-Sg.'

d. *[ú* *dè:]* *gà:=lá-m*
[2Sg than] **bigger=StatNeg**-1SgSbj
'I am not older than you-Sg.'

A related noun of extent, with initial reduplication, is *gì-gă:* 'size, dimensions'. Definite *gì-gă: gɛ̀* functions nominally ('a lot') or adverbially ('greatly, very much'). *gă:* is presumably related to Jamsay *gàrá*.

As (353a) shows, *gă:* can apply to quantities ('be more'), but (353a) is likely construed in terms of size rather than pure quantity (note *greater than* in a possible English translation). For pure quantity, a comparative adjectival predicate based on adjective *jó:* 'full, many, numerous' is used.

(354) *émɛ́* *[é* *dè:]* *jó-è:^{n}*
1Pl [2Pl than] **many**-1PlSbj
'We are more numerous than you-Pl.' (= 'We outnumber you.')

12.1.4 Comparatives based on verbal predicates (*sìgɛ́*, *gà:rà*)

When the predicate is based on a verb (or stative quasi-verb), rather than on an adjective, the adverb *sìgɛ́* 'more' is required. The verb takes defocalized form, e.g. unsuffixed perfective (355a) or stative 'have' without existential *yá* (355b).

(355) a. *(mú)* *[ú* *dè:]* *sìgɛ́* *nàw^{n}á* *tèw^{n}-ù-m*
(1Sg) [2Sg than] **more** meat **eat.meat-Pfv**-1SgSbj
'I ate more meat than you-Sg (did).'

b. *[ú* *dè:]* *sìgɛ́* *bú:dù* *sɛ̀-m*
[2Sg than] **more** money **have**-1SgSbj
'I have more money than you-Sg (have).'

sìgɛ̀ 'more' also occurs with numerals consisting of a decimal term ('10', '20', etc.) plus a single-digit term, e.g. '17' or '36' (§4.6.1.3). Related forms are *sìgɛ́* '(the) favorite', a reduplicated noun *sì-sìgɛ́* 'superiority', and the compound final in *èn^{L}-sìgɛ́* 'extra row of teeth' (< *ĕn* 'tooth').

An alternative to *sìgɛ́* is *gà:rà*, with a slightly different syntax. While *sìgɛ́* is a free adverb in (356a-b), *gà:rà* (variant *gá-gárá*) is part of a focalized NP (356a). In (356b), the *gà:rà* phrase is (focalized) subject of 'have', so there is no pronominal-subject agreement on 'have' and no existential proclitic.

(356) a. *[ú-ỳ* *dɛ̀:]* *[mí-ỳ* *gà:rà]* *bú:dù* *òb-ɛ̀:^{n}*
[2Sg-Acc than] [1Sg-Acc **more**] money give.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They gave me more money than (they gave) you-Sg.'

b. *[ú* *dɛ̀:]* *[mú* *gà:rà]* *bú:dù* *sɛ̀*
[2Sg than] [1Sg **more**] money have
'I have more money than you-Sg (have).'

12.1.5 'Surpass' (*gàlá*)

The basic sense of *gàlá* as motion verb is 'pass by X' or 'continue onward from X (after stopping there)'. It can be used as a change-of-state comparative.

(357) *[dùgú-n-í:* *ŋɛ̀]* *mí-ỳ* *gàl-â:y-Ø*
[tall-Inch-MP.Pfv.Ppl Def] 1Sg-Acc **pass**-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'He/She has (sur-)passed me in tallness.'

12.1.6 'Be better, more' (*ìré*)

This is a defective stative verb. The comparandum has the usual 'than' postposition *dɛ̀:*. The negative form is *ìrɛ̀*^{L} *= lá-* with the conjugated stative negative clitic (§10.4.2).

(358) a. *[wó* *dɛ̀:]* *ìré-m*
[3Sg than] **be.better**-1SgSbj
'I am better than he/she (is).'

b. *[wó* *dɛ̀:]* *ìrɛ̀*^{L} *= lá-m*
[3Sg than] **be.better=Neg**-1SgSbj
'I am not better than he/she (is).'

c. *[wó* *dɛ̀:]* *ìré = bè-m*
[3Sg than] **be.better**=Past-1SgSbj
'I was better than he/she (was).'

12.1.7 'Best' (*sìgɛ̀*)

There is no special morphology for superlatives. One phrasing (359a) has a comparandum ('than X') and a predicate consisting of a proclitic subject pronoun and a tone-dropped form of *sìgɛ́*, the syntax resembling an adverbial relative. Another phrasing (359b) uses a possessed form of *gírù* 'front, ahead', where the possessor defines the group from which the individual comes.

(359) a. *[[émɛ́ pú→] dɛ̀:] wó* L*sìgɛ̀*
[[1Pl all] than] 3SgSbj L**more**
'He/She is better than all of us.'

b. *[[émɛ́ pú→]* L*gìr gɛ̀]* *wó=y*
[[1Pl all] L**front** Def] 3Sg=it.is
'The best one of us all is him/her.'

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 'Equal' (*kɛ́w-kɛ́w*, *kí-kɛ́w*, *kɛ́w-n-ɛ́:*, *kɛ́gù*)

A number of expressions are available to indicate that Y and X are equal or level on some scalar criterion. The referents X and Y are expressed as a plural clause subject ('X and Y', 'they', 'all the people', etc.).

túrú 'one' in the sense 'identical, same' can be used in predicates like '(be) the same height', when attached to a relevant noun.

kɛ́w-kɛ́w is the most versatile and general adverb meaning 'equally'. This fully iterated form also has a reduplicated variant *kí-kɛ́w*, which is attested in the context 'X and Y are of (exactly) the same height'. The conjugatable verb 'become equal, level' is *kɛ́w-n-ɛ́:*, with a causative *kɛ́w-n-ɛ́:-mɔ́* 'make (Y and X) equal or level'.

An obscurely related form *kɛ́gù* is also attested in the sense. It indicates that a counted amount of money is correct (360c), or that a shoe or garment fits correctly.

(360) a. *ɛ́mɛ̀-lɛ̌y* *[gòb-ê:* *túrú]*
1Pl-two [height **one**]
'The two of us are of one height (=are equally tall).'

b. *ɛ́-lɛ̀y* *kû:* *kí-kɛ́w*
2Pl-two head **equal**
'You two are head-equal (=are the same height).'

c. *[bú:dù* *gɛ̀]* *lúg-ú-tù-m,* *kɛ̂g* *kɔ̀*
[money Def count-Chain-Pfv1b-1SgSbj, **equal** be.Inan
'I counted up the money, it's exactly right (=what it was supposed to be).'

12.2.2 'As much as' (*bă→*)

bă→ is an expressive element that occurs in the sequence *X bă→* whose basic sense is 'all the way to/until or from/since X', emphasizing the complete trajectory starting from or ending at the point X.

Examples are *àgá bă→* '(continuously) since morning, ever since this mornng' and *[X nè] bă→* 'all the way to X (place)' with locative expressions.

More abstractly, *bă→* can mean 'as much as X, to the same extent as X' with regard to some scale.

(361) *[ámàdù* *bă→]* *bírɛ́* *bìrè-jè-m*
[A **all.the.way**] work(n) work(v)-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I work just as much (=just as hard) as Amadou (does).'

As predicate, *X bă→ wɔ̀* means 'he/she is/does as much as X'.

12.2.3 'Attain, equal' (*dɔ̌:*)

The basic sense of the motion verb *dɔ̌:* is 'arrive at the edge of', for example 'arrive at the door (of a house)'. More loosely it can just mean 'arrive' in a noncentripetal direction (it is pre-empted by *wèlɛ́* 'come' in the context 'arrive here'). In a comparative context it denotes a change of state from inferiority to equality, for example of countries or sporting teams. The comparandum is accusative.

(362) *màlî:* *sɛ̀nègál=ì:* *dɔ̀-â:y-Ø*
Mali Senegal=Acc **reach**-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'Mali has equaled (=attained the level of) Senegal.'

12.3 'A fortiori'

The *a fortiori* clause ('much less', 'let alone') in (363) has the form 'it isn't [talk (n) of X]', compare French *ne parlons pas de X* or *pas question de X* or English *not to mention X*.

(363) *èrⁿɛ́* *ɛ́b(-ú)* *bɛ̌:-lè-m,* *nɛ̀→* *[nă:* *ᴸsɔ̀:]=y=lă:*
goat buy-Chain get-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj, now [cow **talk(n)**]=it.is=it.is.not
'I can't (afford to) buy a goat, much less a cow.'

Another construction is with *wɛ̂y→* 'all' (§6.6.1.3) at the end of the first clause, followed either by a default *sɔ̌:=y* 'it is talk (n)', or by a fuller clause. In (364), A's threat is the background to B's audacious reply, shown here in two versions. In the fuller reply *sɔ̌:=y* appears to resume A's threat.

(364) A: *nú-ǹ* *wɛ̀l-ˡɛ́→* *ú-ỳ* *tɛ́mɛ̀-jɛ̀-m* *lɛ̀,*
here come.Pfv-PfvSub 2Sg-Acc find-Ipfv-1SgSbj if.
ú-ỳ *í-ʔà:-jɛ̀-m*
2Sg-Acc Rdp-catch-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'If I come and (then) find you-Sg here, I'll arrest you.'

B: *mí-ỳ* *yê:-lɛ̀-w* *wêy→* *sɔ̌:=y*
1Sg-Acc see-IpfvNeg-2SgSbj **a.fortiori** talk(n)=it.is
'You-Sg won't (even) see me, much less what (you) said.'

or: B: *mí-ỳ* *yê:-lɛ̀-w* *wêy→* *mí-ỳ* *à:-jɛ̀-w*
1Sg-Acc see-IpfvNeg-2SgSbj **a.fortiori** 1Sg-Acc catch-Ipfv-2SgSbj
'You-Sg won't (even) see me, much less will you arrest me.'

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

Constituent focalization means that an NP or adverbial is singled out for focus, the remainder of the clause including the predicate being presupposed (backgrounded). Constituent focalization is expressed by a combination of direct marking of the focalized element and defocalization (by tone-dropping and morphological reduction) of the clause-final verb.

The focalized element must be overtly expressed by an NP or pronoun somewhere preceding the predicate. When a pronominal subject is focalized, it is expressed as an independent subject pronoun rather than as the usual pronominal-subject suffix. In some (but not all) examples involving two or more preverbal constituents, the more focal element tends to occur just before the verb. (365a) and (365b) have the same verb and preverbal constituents. In (365a), 'Amadou' is understood to be topical and 'yesterday' is the new information. In (365b) 'Amadou' is overtly focalized.

(365) a. *ámàdù* *yá:* *wɛ̀lɛ̀-Ø*
A yesterday come.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Amadou came yesterday.'

b. *yá:* *ámàdì=y* *wɛ̀lɛ̀*
yesterday A=Foc come.Pfv
'Yesterday Amadou [focus] came.'

However, immediate preverbal position is not obligatory for focalized constituents, as will be shown by examples in later sections of this chapter.

The focalized constituent (NP or pronoun) may be marked overtly with the focus clitic *=y* (postconsonantal *=i:*), identical to the 'it is' clitic. The rules for *=y* are somewhat different for subject and nonsubject focalization; see the sections below for details.

Defocalized verbs undergo the modifications in (366) in the presence of a focalized constituent.

(366)

category	unfocalized	focalized
perfective positive system		
simple past	*=bɛ̀-*	unsuffixed perfective (L-toned)
perfective-1a	*-à:y-*	" "
perfective-1b	*-tì-*	" "
completive perfective	*-jɛ̀:-*	*-jɛ̀:*
experiential perfective	*-tɛ́rɔ̀:-*	*-tɛ̀r*

imperfective positive system

imperfective	*-jɛ̀-*	*-jɛ̀-* (stem tone-dropped)
reduplicated future	Rdp-*…-jɛ̀-*	" "
present progressive	*-ʷ̀ wɔ̀-*	*-ʷ̀ wɔ̀-*

perfective negative system

perfective negative	*-ˊl-* (suffix H-toned)	*-l-* (L-toned)
completive perfect Neg	*-jɛ̌ː-l-*	"
experiential perfect Neg	*-tɛ̀-rú-*	*-tɛ̌-r*

imperfective negative system

present habitual Neg	*-lɛ̀-*	*-lɛ̀-* (stem L-toned)
present progressive Neg	*-ʷ̀ wɔ̀-lɔ́-*	*-ʷ̀ wɔ̀-lɔ̀*

statives

derived stative	Rdp-*Cv́CvC̀-*	*CvC̀vC̀* (stem L-toned)
or:	*yá* ^{L}*CvC̀vC̀*	

The morphological reduction is most dramatic in the perfective positive system, where the simple past and the two marked perfectives are replaced by the unsuffixed perfective (basically an L-toned form of the chaining stem). Even the experiential perfect and completive prefect, though possible in focalized clauses, are usually replaced by the unsuffixed perfective. In the other systems, the consistent changes are a) the omission of initial reduplicants, and b) the dropping of any H-tones in the verb stem and the suffix to L-tone.

Existential particle *yá* (§11.2.2.1), which is otherwise required in some positive predicates of existence-location and possession (§11.2.2.2, §11.5.1.1), is not compatible with constituent focalization. This suggests that *yá* is itself a kind of default focalized constituent in the relevant constructions (whose quasi-verbs 'be' and 'have' are L-toned and morphologically defective). *yá* is obligatory in (367a) but is disallowed in any of the constituent-focalized clauses (367b-d).

(367) a. *nă:* *yá* *sɛ̀-m*
cow Exist have-1SgSbj
'I have a cow.'

b. *mí=y* *nă:* *sɛ̀*
1Sg=Foc cow have
'It's I [focus] who have a cow.'

c. *[nă:* *túrí]=y* *sɛ̀-m*
[cow one]=Foc have-1SgSbj
'It's one cow [focus] that I have.'

d. *[[ànáá èmè] nè]=y nă: sè-m*
[[village 1PlPoss] Loc]=Foc cow have-1SgSbj
'It's in our village [focus] that I have a cow.'

Morphological reduction (defocalization) of the verb does not require a strongly focal constituent. In texts, the unsuffixed perfective often occurs after one or more nonpronominal constituents (without the focus enclitic) in sentences that can be translated with no marking of focus.

13.1.1 Subject focalization

The subject (NP or pronoun) must be expressed by a constituent somewhere preceding the verb. This subject may occur in normal subject position (clause-initial), or in immediate preverbal position.

Focus clitic *=y* is normally heard when the focalized subject is clause-initial (i.e. preceding an unfocalized constituent, or in the absence of other preverbal constituents). When a focalized subject is placed in immediate preverbal position, following another constituent, it is sometimes not followed by *=y*.

Compare unfocalized (368a) and (368c) with subject-focalized (368b) and (368d), respectively, which might be an interlocutor's corrections to them. Pronominal-subject suffixation is absent on the predicates in the subject-focalized clauses. The simple past in (368a) corresponds to the unsuffixed perfective in (368b). The reduplicant in (368c), which indicates verb or truth-value focus, is absent in (368d).

(368) a. *móó:tì yă:=bè-m*
M go=Past-1SgSbj
'I went to Mopti.'

b. *ú=y móó:tì yà-y*
2Sg=Foc M go-Pfv
'It's you-Sg [focus] who went to Mopti.'

c. *[tèw^{n}é ŋè] kí-kɛ̀jɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[tree Def] Rdp-cut-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will cut down the tree.'

d. *[tèw^{n}é ŋè] ú kɛ̀jɛ̀-jɛ̀*
[tree Def] 2SgSbj cut-Ipfv
'It's you-Sg [focus] who will cut down the tree.'

e. *ă:-=y dùŋù-ná: yé:-tèr*
who?=Foc elephant see-ExpPf
'Who has (ever) seen an elephabnt?;'

Low-referentiality pseudo-subjects like *bá:* in seasonal or time-of-day transition collocations (§11.1.3.1) are not normally focalised.

13.1.2 Object focalization

In nonsubject (including object) focalization, the defocalized verb undergoes the usual modifications in its AN inflection, but it does show pronominal-subject agreement as in unfocalized main clauses.

Focalized objects are typically marked with focus clitic *=y* regardless of position.

(369) a. *mí=y* *[íbɛ̀* *nɛ̀]* *yɛ̀:-w*
1Sg=Foc [market Loc] see.Pfv-2SgSbj
'It's <u>me</u> [focus] that you-Sg saw in the market.'

b. *[tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *kó]=y* *kɛ̀jɛ̀-m*
[tree^{L} Dist]=Foc ^{L}cut.Pfv-1SgSbj
'It's <u>that tree</u> [focus] that I cut down.'

c. *ámàdù* *[tɛ̀w^{m}ɛ́* *ŋɛ̀]=y* *kɛ̀jɛ̀-Ø*
A [tree Def]=Foc cut.Pfv-3SgSbj
'It's <u>the tree</u> [focus] that Amadou cut down.'

Accusative enclitic *=ỳ* does not occur in focalized object NPs. To be sure, there is no audible difference between accusative *=ỳ* (inherently L-toned) and focus clitic *=y* (no intrinsic tone) when the NP ends in an L-tone (for example, with a definite morpheme). However, the difference is audible after an NP or pronoun ending in an H-tone, and here the focus clitic *=y* is H-toned form. In addition to the pronominal example in (369a), above, we see this in (370).

(370) *yă:-r^{n}á=y* ^{L}*yɛ̀:-m*
woman=Foc ^{L}see.Pfv-1SgSbj
'It's <u>a woman</u> [focus] that I saw.'

13.1.3 Focalization of PP or other adverb

A locational or other adverbial expression, such as a PP, may be focalized.

(371) a. *[[àná* ^{L}*kɔ̀lɔ̀]* *nɛ̀]=y* *bírɛ́* *bìrɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[[village ^{L}stomach] Loc]=Foc work(n) work-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'It's <u>in the village (town, city)</u> [focus] that I work.'

b. *[ér^{n}é* *lè]=y* *wòlú* *wàlà-y*
[daba Inst]=Foc farming do.farm-work-Ipfv.1PlSbj
'It's with a daba (hoe) [focus] that we do farm work.'

13.1.4 Focalization of a postpositional complement

The complement of a postposition cannot be focalized in the absence of the postposition itself.

13.1.5 Predicate focalization

The usual functional equivalent of predicate focalization is to focalize an object NP, such as a cognate nominal, or some other nonsubject constituent that is in the pragmatic scope of focalization. The examples in (372a-b) can be used to answer the question 'What are you doing?'

(372) a. *jâ:=y* *sìrɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
meal=Foc cook-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I'm cooking a meal [focus].'
[lit. "It's a meal [focus] that I'm cooking."]

b. *jây=y* *jà-ɛ̀:-jɛ̀-m*
squabble(n)=Foc squabble-MP-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I'm squabbling (= involved in a fight).'

The use of any of the marked perfective/perfect positive verb forms suggests at least modest verb focalization, or at least the absence of its defocalization. Similarly, in the stative positive and imperfective positive, the presence of either reduplication or the existential proclitic shows that the verb or quasi-verb is not defocalized.

Emphatic truth-value focus (e.g. *I did see them!*) is expressed by clause-final emphatic particles (§19.5).

13.2 Interrogatives

Polar interrogation can be expressed by tone/pitch modification or by a clause-final particle (§13.2.1).

Content (WH) interrogatives (§13.2.2ff.) are expressed by stems or short phrases of the relevant grammatical type (noun, adjective, adverb). Some of them begin with *yà* (§13.2.4-6) which may originally have had a nasal feature, see discussion of *yà-ŋín* in §13.2.6.

Content interrogatives are followed by the 'it is' clitic *=y* in predicative function ('who is it?', 'when is it?', etc.). Some nonpredicate content interrogatives may be followed by the same clitic *=y* as focus marker. 'Who?' and 'what?' in particular often take this focus clitic in nonpredicative position.

Also included at the end of this section are embedded (quoted) interrogatives.

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives

13.2.1.1 With final L-tone

One polar interrogative construction consists of the corresponding indicative clause (assertion) plus a final mid pitch, sometimes accompanied by incidental prolongation. I transcribe it as final L-tone (if the final tone would otherwise be H) plus ↗ for nonterminal (unfinished) intonation. This type of polar interrogative occurs in rhetorical questions, and in requests for confirmation or clarification of a surprising assertion by the interlocutor.

For example, final L+↗ converts the assertion (373a) into the rhetorical question (373b), where *=lǎ:* has <LHL> instead of <LH> tone and ends with mid pitch. The speaker of (373b) expects a positive response ('yes, that's it').

(373) a. *wó=y=lǎ:*
3Sg=it.is=it.is.not
'(That) isn't it/him/her.'

b. *wó=y=lǎ:↗*
3Sg=it.is=it.is.not.Q
'Isn't that it/him/her?'

The positive perfective (374a) below has an interrogative counterpart (374b). (378c-d) are further examples. In all of (374b-d) the final syllable has approximately HLM pitch, i.e. there is a slight final rise on the final sonorant after the pitch trough on the vowel. There is no notable prolongation of the final sonorants, in contrast to that observed in the dying-quail intonation for willy-nilly conditional antecedent clauses.

(374) a. *gò-â:y-Ø*
exit(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'He/She/It went out.'

b. *gò-â:y-Ø↗*
exit(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj.Q
'(Did you say) he/she/it went out?'

c. *gò-â:-w↗*
exit(v)-Pfv1a-2SgSbj.Q
'(Did you say) you-Sg went out?'

d. *gò-â:-m↗*
exit(v)-Pfv1a-1SgSbj.Q
‘(Did you say) I went out?’

In the 3Sg perfective negative, the (diachronic) apocope of the final vowel that is regular in the assertion (375a,c) is undone in the interrogative (375b,d). Nasalized suffixal *n* becomes r^n before the resuscitated vowel (375d). The otherwise H-toned suffix now surfaces with falling tone (transcribed as <HL> but phonetically close to <HM>). Some prolongation is necessary to accommodate this final contoured tone. However, it is difficult to determine whether this prolongation is phonological (mora-addition, i.e. vowel lengthening) or intonational (§3.6.4.1).

(375) a. *gǒ:-l-Ø*
exit(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He/She/It didn’t go out.’ (historically < *gò:-lí-Ø)

b. *gò:-lî:-Ø ↗*
exit(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj.Q
‘(Did you say) he/she/it didn’t go out?’

c. *nùmɔ̀-ń-Ø*
fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘He/She didn’t fall.’

d. *nùmɔ̀-r^nî:-Ø*
fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj.Q
‘(Did you say) he/she/it didn’t fall?’

13.2.1.2 With clause-final *ma→*

The clause-final (or phrase-final) polar interrogative particle is *mǎ→*. The rising pitch in the *mǎ→* variant, which was preferred by my assistant in elicitation, may be due to “unfinished” intonation (see the preceding section) rather than to rising phonological tone as such. Sometimes, but not consistently, the particle gets its phonological tone by spreading from the left. In interlinears the abbreviation is “Q” (for “question”).

The polar interrogative particle may be identical morphemically to *mà→* ‘or’ (§7.2.1). This is semantically reasonable since every yes/no question asks for a choice between a positive and a corresponding overt or covert negative proposition.

When two options are overt, there is at least one occurrence of *mǎ→* or variant, positioned after the first option (376). However, the prolongation of *mǎ→* means that there need be no conspicuous prosodic break between the two options.

(376) *[yé:* *yí-yà:-jɛ̀-w* *mǎ→]* *[kó* *bɛ̀:-jɛ̀-w]*
[today Rdp-go-Ipfv-2SgSbj Q] [there stay-Ipfv-2SgSbj
'Will you-Sg go today, or will you stay here?'

See also the quoted "Will there be ripe millet, or won't there be?" Text 5 @ 01:28, where a variant of *mǎ→* occurs after both clauses.

If only one option is overt, *mǎ(→)* follows it. Prolongation ranges from slight to extended.

(377) *yé:* *yí-yà:-jɛ̀-w* *mǎ→*
today Rdp-go-Ipfv-2SgSbj Q
'Today will you-Sg go today?'

During narrative, the speaker may ask for backchannel confirmation (§19.6), for example as (378).

(378) *yá* ^{L}*kìŋɛ̀-w* *mǎ→*
Exist ^{L}listen.Stat-2SgSbj Q
'Are you-Sg listening (=paying attention)?'

An interesting narrative device used repeatedly by one of the recorded speakers is to quote a short polar interrogative (not attributed to anyone specific) and answer it immediately, without a prosodic break, with *é→* 'yes!'. The relevant passages are Text 5 @ 00:21, 01:42, 02:06, 02:22, and 03:33.

13.2.2 'Who?' (*ǎ:*)

The interrogative for querying the identity of a human referent is *ǎ:* . It can be expanded as *ìnɛ̀*^{L} *ǎ:*, with the noun 'person' in {L}-toned form (as modified noun or as compound initial).

(379) a. *ǎ:=y* *wɛ̀lɛ̀*
who?=Foc come.Pfv
'Who came?'

b. *[íbɛ̀* *nɛ̀]* *ǎ:=y* *yɛ̀:-w*
[market Loc] **who?**=Foc see.Pfv-2SgSbj
'Who did you-Sg see in the market?'

c. *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *ǎ:]=y*
[person^{L} **who?**]=it.is
'Who is it?'

d. *[gèr^{n}è^{L} nɔ̌:] [ǎ: mɔ̀]=y*
[house^{L} Prox] [**who?** Poss]=it.is
'This house is whose?'

These examples illustrate subject focus (379a), object focus (379b), identificational 'it is' clitic (identical to the focus clitic) (379c), and possessor (379d).

ǎ: is normally singular in form, although it may be uncertain whether the solved-for referent will turn out to be singular or plural. A plural form *ǎ: bè* is possible when the referent is known to be plural.

(380) *é [ǎ: bè]=y*
2Pl [who? Pl]=it.is
'Who are you-Pl?'

ǎ: is part of a fixed phrase *ìnè^{L} ǎ:=y kàr^{n}à* 'anybody, everybody', consisting of the noun 'person' in {L}-toned form (either as modified noun or as compound initial), focalized *ǎ:=y*, and *kàr^{n}à* 'even'. An example is Text 5 @ 05:22.

13.2.3 'What?' (*ìnjɛ́*), 'with what?', 'why?'

The interrogative for querying the identity of a nonhuman entity is *ìnjɛ́*. It can be extended as *kìjè^{L} ìnjɛ́* with the noun 'thing' in {L}-toned form (as modified noun or compound initial). Compare *wà:rù^{L} ìnjɛ́* (§13.2.5 below). In nonpredicative position *ìnjɛ́* often takes the focus marker (381b-c).

(381) a. *ìnjɛ́ ú-ỳ làg-ù*
what? 2Sg-Acc hit-Pfv
'What hit you-Sg?'

b. *[kìjè^{L} ìnjɛ́]=y nùm-ù*
[thing^{L} **what?**]=Foc fall-Pfv
'What fell?'

c. *[ìnjɛ́]=y [mɔ̂: nè] jè:l-è:^{n}*
[**what?**]=Foc [1SgPoss Ben] bring.Pfv-3PlSbj
'What did they bring for me?'

d. *nɔ̌: ìnjɛ́=y*
this **what?**=it.is
'What is this?'

Composite content interrogatives containing 'what?' are 'with (= by means of) what?' and 'for what?' (= 'why?'). In my data they do not combine with the focus marker.

(382) a. *[ìnjɛ́ lè]* *wǒl* *wàlà-jɛ̀-y*
[**what?** **Inst**] farming(n) do.farm.work-Ipfv-2PlSbj
'What do you-Pl do farm work with?'

b. *[ìnjɛ́ dɛ̀:]* *[péjù gè]* *jɛ̀:l-ù-w*
[**what?** **Purp**] [sheep Def] bring-Pfv-2SgSbj
'Why did you-Sg bring the sheep-Sg?'

'Why?' is unusual among content interrogatives in that it can easily co-occur with a second focalized constituent (383).

(383) *[ìnjɛ́ dɛ̀:]* *súgɔ̀rɔ̀=y* *jɛ̀:l-ù-w*
[**what?** **Purp**] sugar=**Foc** bring-Pfv-2SgSbj
'Why is it sugar [focus] that you-Sg brought?'

13.2.4 'Where?' (*yà-bá:*)

The interrogative for locations is *yà-bá:* . The first syllable recurs in some other WH-interrogatives (see sections below). Locative postposition *bá:* (§8.2.3.2) denotes a diffuse location in demonstrative adverbs such as *kó-ˡbá:* 'over there (definite)', see (69b) in §4.4.2.1, and in spatial adverbials like *kû: bá:* or *dárⁿá bá:* 'overhead' (§8.2.5). In my data *yà-bá:* does not occur with the focus marker.

(384) a. *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-w*
where? be.An-2SgSbj
'Where are you-Sg?'

b. *[èrⁿɛ́ ŋɛ̀-m]* *yà-bá:* *jà-y-w*
[goat Def-Pl] **where?** convey-Pfv-2SgSbj
'Where did you-Sg take the goats?'

c. *yà-bá:=y*
where?=it.is
'It's where?'

13.2.5 ‘When?’ (*yǎ:rⁿà*, *[wà:rù*^{L} *ìnjɛ́] lé*)

The interrogative for querying times, in a temporally broad sense as in ‘(on) what day?’ or ‘(in) what year?’, is *yǎ:rⁿà*, without a postposition (compare Jamsay *yàŋárⁿà*). Its final tone distinguishes it from singular *yǎ:-rⁿá* ‘woman’.

(385) a. *yǎ:rⁿà* *wɛ̀lɛ̀-w*
when? come.Pfv-2SgSbj
‘When did you-Sg come?’

b. *yǎ:rⁿà=y*
when?=it.is
‘When is it?’

It can be extended as *bày*^{L} *yǎ:rⁿà*, with the L-toned form of the noun *bǎy* ‘day’.

If the question is effectively ‘at what hour?’ (i.e. temporal location within the span of a day), an alternative expression *[wà:rù*^{L} *ìnjɛ́] lé* ‘at what time?’ is used. This is based on the noun *wá:rú* ‘time, moment in time’, plus *ìnjɛ́* here in the sense ‘which?’ and postposition *lé*. The latter is elswhere usually instrumental or comitative, or dative with ‘say’, but here it has temporal function, as also in (162a) above.

13.2.6 ‘How?’ (*yà-ŋín*, *ɲâŋ*)

The manner-adverbial interrogative ‘how?’ (‘in what way/manner?’) is *yà-ŋín* or *ɲâŋ*. The first of these clearly contains *ŋín* ‘like, similar to’, nasalized from *gín* (§8.4.2), suggesting that *yà-* was originally nasalized, perhaps as *ɲà-. The morphology has analogues in demonstrative manner adverbs (§4.4.2.3).

(386) a. *yà-ŋín* *pɔ̀rⁿɔ́* ^{L}*kàrⁿà-jɛ̀-y*
how? cream.of.millet ^{L}make-Ipfv-2PlSbj
‘How do you-Pl make cream of millet?’

b. *yà-ŋín=í:*
how?=it.is
‘How is it?’ (common greeting)

For *ɲâŋ* see Text 6 @ 01:41 and 03:49. Both ‘how?’ variants can be followed by *kárⁿá* ‘do’ in the sense ‘do what?’.

13.2.7 ‘How many?’ (*àŋá*), ‘how much?’ (*yɔ̀gɔ́ bà→*)

The interrogative for querying cardinal quantity is *àŋá* ‘how many?’ In the context of currency, it means ‘how many (currency units)?’ Free translations like ‘how much (money)?’ are idiomatic in English but misleading for YS since they imply that money is a mass noun. In predicative function, except in iterated form for unit price as in (389) below, *àŋá* is not followed by the ‘it is’ clitic (387a). In the alternative phrasing (387b) for the same general sense, *àŋá* is clearly adverbial (‘for how much?’). When combined with a common noun (or core NP) denoting the universe of entities in question, *àŋá* behaves like a cardinal numeral. Like numerals, it directly follows the noun (or core NP), which (if human) is plural in form (387d). As with numerals, there is no tonal interaction between the noun (or core NP) and the interrogative. That *àŋá* can be part of the NP rather than always being adverbial is shown by (387e), where it is followed by the postposition.

(387) a. *[nă:* *ŋɛ̀]* *àŋá*
[cow Def] **how.many?**
‘How much is (the price of) the cow?’

b. *[nă:* *ŋɛ̀]* *àŋá* *dɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-jɛ̀-w*
[cow Def] **how.many?** sell-Ipfv-2SgSbj
‘How much will you-Sg sell the cow (for)?’

c. *péjù* *àŋá* *dɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-w*
sheep **how.many?** sell.Pfv-2SgSbj
‘How many sheep did you-Sg sell?’

d. *yă:-m* *àŋá*
woman-Pl **how.many?**
‘How many women?’

e. *[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́* *àŋá]* *lɛ̀]* *wŏl* *wàlà-jɛ̀-y*
[[daba **how.many?**] Inst] farming(n) do.farm.work-Ipfv-2PlSbj
‘With how many dabas (=hoes)

Partitive ‘how much/many of X’, which is normal when X is determined or quantified over, is expressed using a locative PP with X as complement. This partitive phrase may be set off prosodically from the following words.

(388) *[[péjù* *mɔ̀* *ŋɛ̀-m]* *nɛ̀]* *àŋá* *dɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-w*
[[sheep 1SgPoss Def-Pl] **Loc**] **how.many?** sell.Pfv-2SgSbj
‘In (= out of) my sheep-Pl, how many did you-Sg sell?’

To express the unit price of items sold at retail, distributive reduplication *àŋá-àŋá* (cf. §4.6.1.6) occurs in predicative function with 'it is' clitic, or in adverbial function without a clitic.

(389) a. *[égélɛ́ gɛ̀]* *àŋá-àŋá=y*
[peanuts Def] **how.many?-how.many?**=it.is
'The peanuts are how much each?' [i.e. per bunch as unit of sale]

b. *[nǎ: ŋɛ̀-m]* *àŋá-àŋá* *dɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-jɛ̀-w*
[cow Def-Pl] **how.many?-how.many?** sell-Ipfv-2SgSbj
'How much (each) do you sell the cows for?'

The ordinal is *àŋ-é:* 'how many-th' (French *quantième*), cf. §4.6.2.2.

Noncardinal 'how much?' with mass nouns is expressed by *yɔ̀gɔ̌: bà→*, including *yɔ̀gɔ̌:* 'which?' and a quantifying element ('to X extent') *bà→*, compare *nɔ̌: bà→* 'this much, to this extent'.

(390) *àrⁿá* *[yɔ̀gɔ́* *bà→]* *mɛ̀:-Ø*
rain(n) [**which?** extent] rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
'How much rain fell?' (Lit. "To what extent did rain fall?")

13.2.8 'Which?' (*yɔ̀gɔ̌:*)

yɔ̀gɔ̌: is an interrogative adjective that can be used with a preceding noun (or core NP), which drops tones to {L}, as usual for nouns before an adjective (391a). *yɔ̀gɔ̌:* can also occur absolutely, when the reference set is contextually understood (391b).

(391) a. *[màŋgò:rò*^{L} *yɔ̀gɔ̌:]* *dɛ̀nɛ̀-jɛ̀-w*
[mango^{L} **which?**] look.for-Ipfv-2SgSbj
'Which mango do you-Sg want?'

b. *yɔ̀gɔ̌:* *dɛ̀nɛ̀-jɛ̀-w*
which? look.for-Ipfv-2SgSbj
'Which one do you-Sg want?'

'Which?' may be singular ('which one') or plural ('which ones?'). The singular form is unmarked (i.e. used in cases of indeterminate plurality). The plural of *yɔ̀gɔ̌:*, not limited to humans, is *yɔ̀gɔ̌:-m̀* (note the final L-toned *-m̀*, as also with demonstratives like *nɔ̌:-m̀* 'these'). This is normally heard as *yɔ̀gɔ̌:-wⁿ=ì:* with the postconsonantal variant *=i:* of the focus enclitic (the L-tone of *-m̀* is realized on the enclitic, §3.6.3.3). When the noun is human, both it and the interrogative are marked for plural (392b). An inanimate noun has no morphological plural, but plural *yɔ̀gɔ̌:-wⁿ=ì:* can be added to it (392c). The alternative with free plural *bɛ̀* following *yɔ̀gɔ̌:* is not common. When it does occur it denotes kinds rather than individuals, and it does not host the focus enclitic (392d).

(392) a. *[yà:-r^{n}à^{L} yɔ̀gɔ̌:]=y wèlɛ̀*
[woman-Sg^{L} **which?**]=Foc come.Pfv
'Which woman came?'

b. *[yà:-m^{L} yɔ̀gɔ̌:-w^{n}]=ì: wèlɛ̀*
[woman-Pl **which?**-Pl]=Foc come.Pfv
'Which women came?'

c. *[màŋgò:rò^{L} yɔ̀gɔ̌:-w^{n}]=ì: dɛ̀nɛ̀-jɛ̀-w*
[mango^{L} **which?**-Pl]=Foc look.for-Ipfv-2SgSbj
'Which mangoes do you-Sg want?'

d. *[màŋgò:rò^{L} yɔ̀gɔ̌: bè] dɛ̀nɛ̀-jɛ̀-w*
[mango^{L} **which?** Pl] look.for-Ipfv-2SgSbj
'What kinds of mangoes do you-Sg want?'

13.2.9 Embedded interrogatives

In the context 'I don't know …', an embedded polar interrogative has interrogative *mà* (§13.2.1.2 above) at the end of both disjuncts. The first occurrence has falling pitch (or tone?) and is slightly prolonged. The second one may be unprolonged and low-pitched (393a). If only one option is overt, *mà* may again be unprolonged and low-pitched (393b). Embedded content interrogatives have the regular WH-interrogative word ('who?', etc.) and have interrogative clause-final *mà* (low-pitched) (393c).

(393) a. *[yí-yà:-jɛ̀-Ø mâ→] [kó bɛ̀:-jɛ̀-Ø mà] ínɛ̀-m*
[Rdp-go-Ipfv-3SgSbj **Q**] [here/there stay-Ipfv-3SgSbj **Q**] not.know-1SgSbj
'I don't know if/whether he/she will go or stay.'

b. *[bàmàkó dò-â:-y^{n} mà] ínɛ̀-m*
[B arrive-Pfv1a-3PlSbj **Q**] not.know-1SgSbj
'I don't know whether they have arrived in Bamako.'

c. *[ǎ:=y wèlɛ̀ mà] ínɛ̀-m*
[who?=Foc come.Pfv **Q**] not.know-1SgSbj
'I don't know who came.'

In embedded polar interrogatives like (393a-b), the truth value of the underlying proposition is focal unless the clause contains a clearly focalized preverbal constituent. Therefore reduplicated

imperfectives (393a) and suffixally marked perfectives (393b) are common. This is not the case with content interrogatives like (393c).

A quoted ‘what?’ interrogative ending wih *mà* occurs in Text 2 @ 00:19. See also Text 5 @ 04:41 with *mà*, the context being ‘you have asked whether …’.

14 Relativization

14.1 Basics of relative clauses

What translates as the head NP, e.g. 'the two big cows (that I sold)' is seemingly bifurcated into a main part, maximally N-Adj-Num plus a possessor, which appears to remain inside the relative clause but is tone-dropped, and a coda consisting of determiners, free quantifiers, and discourse-functional elements (like 'too' and 'only'), which follows the relative-clause verb.

My interpretation of relative constructions in YS and several other Dogon languages is that they originate in fuller NPs with the structure Poss-N-Adj-Num-Poss-**Rel**-Det-Pl-'all' (omitting NP-final discourse-functional elements). The relative clause ("Rel") contains an NP that is coindexed with the higher NP as a whole. As a reference restrictor, Rel has tonosyntactic control of the string to its left, which is then tone-dropped. The portion of the higher NP to the left of Rel then slides down (or rightward) to occupy the coindexed NP position (i.e. the relativization site). This model accounts for the apparent bifurcation, for the ability of internal heads to occur in clause-medial position, and for the tone-dropping.

Main clauses (other than subject-focused ones) have pronominal-subject suffixes on predicates. Relative constructions allow no pronominal-person marking on the predicate. They allow plural marking only for agreement with a human (or sometimes nonhuman animate) plural head in subject relatives (e.g. 'the women who came'). The verb in a relative construction also shows some morphological and tonal changes versus main-clause inflections. I therefore take relative "verbs" to be (verb-)participles.

A good elicitation context for relative clauses is 'Where is …?' or 'This is …'. An example of a translation cue is 'Where is [the cow that fell]?' (French *Où est la vache qui est tombée*), which minimizes the risk of confusion with focalized 'It was the cow [focus] that fell' (French *C'est la vache [focus] qui est tombée*).

The examples in (394) below illustrate some of these points, all of which are described more thoroughly in later sections. In (394a), 'house' is the head NP of an object relative, and as internal head it is tone-dropped. It follows the subject NP 'Seydou', which has its regular tones and linear position. This clause-medial position shows that the head is not external to the relative, as it is in English. The definite determiner associated with the head NP occurs to the right of an {HL}-toned perfective participle. Since it is a nonsubject relative, there is no number agreement with the head on the participle. The postparticipial definite determiner is singular, agreeing with the head 'house'. (394b) is another nonsubject relative, this time with 'place' as tone-dropped internal head. Unlike (394a), (394b) has a pronominal subject, which is expressed by an H-toned pronominal-subject proclitic, preceding the participle. (394c) is our first subject relative, with 'men' as tone-dropped head of a subject relative. The participle agrees with a human plural head, as required in subject relatives. The definite determiner is also marked plural, as it would be for any plural head (human to inanimate,

subject or nonsubject). There is no pronominal-subject marking, either by suffixation or by proclitic pronominal.

(394) a. *[sěydù gèrⁿɛ̀*[L] [HL]*ɛ́b-ù gɛ̀] yà-bá: kɔ̀*
[S house[L] [HL]buy-Pfv.Ppl Def] where? be.Inan
'Where is the house that Seydou bought?'

b. *[dèyⁿ*[L] *mú* [L]*nùmù ŋɛ̀] nɔ̌:=y*
[place[L] 1SgSbj [L]fall.Pfv.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the place where I fell.'

c. *[àrⁿù-m*[L] *[gèrⁿɛ́ ŋɛ̀]* [HL]*ɛ́bù-m ŋɛ̀-m]*
[man-Pl[L] [house Def] [HL]buy.Pfv.Ppl-Pl Def-Pl]
yà-bá: wɔ̀-yⁿ
where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the men who bought the house?'

14.1.1 Tone-dropping on final word(s) of NP in relative clause

In (395) some simple NPs are shown. Underlining indicates tone-dropping, here on the noun preceding an adjective in (395b).

(395) a. *gèrⁿɛ́* '(a) house'
b. *gèrⁿɛ̀*[L] *dɛ̂:* '(a) big house'
c. *gèrⁿɛ́ kúlòy* 'six houses'

As internal heads of relatives, these become (396a-c). All of the words are now tone-dropped.

(396) a. *gèrⁿɛ̀*[L] '(a) house'
b. *gèrⁿɛ̀*[L] *dɛ̀:*[L] '(a) big house'
c. *gèrⁿɛ̀*[L] *kùlòy*[L] 'six houses'

In my usual transcription, (396b) is rendered as *[gèrⁿɛ̀ dɛ̀:]*[L], and (396c) as *[gèrⁿɛ̀ kùlòy]*[L]. The assumption is that tone-dropping applies once, to the entire bracketed domain, instead of cyclically.

Examples of these internal heads in full relative constructions with final definite marker are (397a-c).

(397) a. *gèrⁿɛ̀*[L] [HL]*núm-ù ŋɛ̀*
house[L] [HL]fall-Pfv.Ppl Def
'the house that fell'

b. *[gèr^{n}è* *dè:]*^{L} ^{HL}*núm-ù* *ŋè*
[house big]^{L} ^{HL}fall-Pfv.Ppl Def
'The big house that fell.'

c. *[gèr^{n}è* *kùlòy]*^{L} ^{HL}*núm-ù* *ŋè-m*
[house six]^{L} ^{HL}fall-Pfv.Ppl Def-Pl
'the six houses that fell'

The possessum overlay is {L} in YS, and for alienable possession it applies to the entire N-Adj-Num that is possessed. Therefore when a possessed NP functions as head of a relative, tone-dropping in the possessum could in theory be attributed either to the possessor or to the relative clause. In effect, it is doubly conditioned. The one thing that is clear is that the possessor retains its tones, i.e. is not subject to tone-dropping controlled by the relative clause (398a-c). I highlight this by the tonosyntactic island frame ⊂…⊃ in these examples (in my normal transcription I omit it).

(398) a. *[⊂sěydù⊃* ^{L}*gèr^{n}è]* ^{HL}*núm-ù* *ŋè*
[⊂S⊃ ^{L}house] ^{HL}fall-Pfv.Ppl Def
'Seydou's house that fell'

b. *[⊂sěydù⊃* ^{L}*[gèr^{n}è* *dè:]]* ^{HL}*núm-ù* *ŋè*
[⊂S⊃ ^{L}[house big]] ^{HL}fall-Pfv.Ppl Def
'Seydou's big house that fell.'

c. *[⊂sěydù⊃* ^{L}*[gèr^{n}è* *kùlòy]]* ^{HL}*núm-ù* *ŋè-m*
[⊂S⊃ ^{L}[house six]] ^{HL}fall-Pfv.Ppl Def-Pl
'Seydou's six houses that fell'

If a pronominally possessed NP is relativized on, the construction is different. In a main clause, the pronominally possessed NP takes a form like (399a). This can be literally glossed "house his-possession," with a (non-tone-dropped) possessed noun 'house' followed by a possessed form of an appositional noun-like element here glossed 'possession'. There is no audible change in the form when this NP as a whole functions as relative-clause head (399b). The possessum 'house' remains non-tone-dropped. Presumably tone-dropping controlled by the relative clause applies (virtually) to the *-mɔ* element, but the latter (along with its pronominal possessor) is already L-toned, so no audible change occurs. It is blocked from extending farther to the left over the (original) appositional break. One can again use the island notation to index this.

(399) a. *gèr^{n}é* *wò-mɔ* *(ŋè)*
house 3Sg-Poss (Def)
'his/her house'

b. *[⊂gèr^{n}é⊃ wò-mɔ̀]* ^{HL}*núm-ù* *ŋɛ̀*
[⊂house⊃ 3Sg-Poss] ^{HL}fall-Pfv.Ppl Def
'his/her house that fell.'

There is an alternative to (399b), somewhat marked stylistically, and occurring only in relative constructions. This is to prepose (!) the pronominal possessor expression to the possessum. The pronominal possessor takes the same {HL} tone contour it has in absolute function (i.e. without an overt possessed noun) in main clauses, see (118a) and the right-hand column in (124). The remainder of the relative construction is identical to one with unpossessed head NP ('the house that fell'). Compare (400) with (397a) above. Since *wó-mɔ̀* in (400) has absolute possessor form, I take it to be a syntactically autonomous constituent, so the island notation is unnecessary.

(400) *wó-mɔ̀* ^{L}*gèr^{n}è* ^{HL}*núm-ù* *ŋɛ̀*
3Sg-Poss ^{L}house ^{HL}fall-Pfv.Ppl Def
'his/her house that fell'

For a semantically different construction where the possessor NP itself is relativized on (e.g. 'the man whose house fell'), see §14.4 below.

14.1.2 Restrictions on the head noun in a relative clause

Any nonpronominal NP may function as head of a relative construction. For headless relatives see §14.1.4 below.

A personal pronoun cannot function directly as relative head. Instead, the pronoun is in apposition to a noun like 'person' that functions as relative head.

(401) *émɛ́* *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *ú* ^{L}*yɛ̀:-jɛ̀* *nɔ̌:-m̀]*
1Pl [person^{L} 2SgSbj ^{L}see-Ipfv Prox-Pl]
'we, the people whom you-Sg see (here)'

14.1.3 Relative clause with conjoined NP as head

It was difficult to elicit relatives of the type '[the men and the women] who squabbled', based on main clauses like (402).

(402) *[[ár^{n}ú-m* *ŋɛ̀-m]* *lɛ̀→]* *[[yǎ:-m* *ŋɛ̀-m]* *lɛ̀→]*
[[man-Pl Def-Pl] and] [[woman-Pl Def-Pl and]
jây *jà-ɛ́:=b-ɛ̀:^{n}*
fight(n) fight(v)-MP=Past-3PlSbj
'The men and the women squabbled.'

Wherever logically possible (even with a stretch), the construction produced was of the type '[the men who squabbled] and [the women who squabbled]' with two separate relative clauses (403).

(403) *[[àr^{n}ù-m*^{L} *jây* ^{HL}*jáy-ù-m ŋè-m] lè→]*
[[man-Pl fight(n) ^{HL}fight-Pfv.Ppl-Pl Def-Pl] and]
[[yà:-m^{L} *jây* ^{HL}*jáy-ù-m ŋè-m] lè→]*
[[woman-Pl fight(n) ^{HL}fight-Pfv.Ppl-Pl Def-Pl] and]
yà-bá: wɔ̀-y^{n}
where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the men who squabbled and the women who squabbled?'

However, an explicitly reciprocal sentence like (404) cannot be converted to a conjunction of two complete relative clauses like those in (403) above without changing the sense completely.

(404) *[[ár^{n}ú-m ŋè-m] lè→] [[yă:-m ŋè-m] lè→]*
[[man-Pl Def-Pl] and] [[woman-Pl Def-Pl and]
tɔ́:^{n}-m̀ yɛ̀nɛ́-ŋ̀ = b-ɛ̀:^{n}
Recip-Pl look.at-IpfvSub=Past-3PlSbj
'The men and the women were looking at each other.'

From (404) it was possible to elicit the relative clause (405), with a conjoined head NP. The entire conjoined NP 'men and women' is tone-dropped due to the relative; the tone-dropping is audible on the nouns since the 'and' morpheme is already L-toned. The two definite morphemes in (404) above are consolidated into one postparticipial definite marker in (405).

(405) *[[àr^{n}ù-m lè→] [yà:-m lè→]]*^{L}
[[man-Pl and] [woman-Pl and]]^{L}
tɔ́:^{n}-m̀ yɛ̀nɛ́-ŋ̀ = b-ɛ̂:^{n} ŋè-m] yà-bá: wɔ̀-y^{n}
Recip-Pl look.at-IpfvSub=Past.Ppl-Pl Def-Pl] where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the men and the women who were looking at each other?'

14.1.4 Headless relative clause

Since semantically light nouns like 'thing' and 'person' are commonly used as heads in the absence of a more specific head NP, relatives like 'what(ever) you want' are usually headed in YS.

Headless perfective relatives can function as complements of 'want', especially in a construction meaning 'don't even want to VP'; see (496a-b) in §17.4.1.

It is not clear whether headless relatives (with covert 'place', 'time', 'manner', or more vaguely 'situation') can function as adverbial clauses, see §15.4.3 below.

14.1.5 Preparticipial subject pronominal in nonsubject relative clause

In a nonsubject relative, if the subject is pronominal it is expressed by an immediately pre-participial H-toned subject pronoun. No constituent (e.g. a nonfinal chained verb) may intervene between this subject pronoun and the verbal participle.

If the participle elsewhere begins with an H-tone, in some cases it drops to all-low {L} tone contour after the H-toned pronoun. This applies systematically to perfective (positive) participles, which are elsewhere {HL}-toned, whether in true relatives or in the backgrounded perfective construction. For example, ^{HL}*ɛ́b-ù* appears as L-toned ^{L}*ɛ̀b-ù* in (406a). The drop also applies to imperfective (positive) participles, so *lágà-jɛ̀* appears as ^{L}*làgà-jɛ̀* in (406b) and *jɔ̀bɔ́-jɛ̀* appears as ^{L}*jɔ̀bɔ̀-jɛ̀* in (406c).

(406) a. *[gèr^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *ú* ^{L}*ɛ̀b-ù* *gɛ̀]* *yà-bá:* *kɔ̀*
[house^{L} 2SgSbj ^{L}buy-Pfv.Ppl Def] where? be.Inan
'Where is the house that you-Sg bought?'

b. *[dèy^{n}*^{L} *ìjú* *émɛ́* ^{L}*làgà-jɛ̀* *gɛ̀]* *nɔ̌:=y*
[place^{L} dog 1PlSbj ^{L}hit-Ipfv.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the place where we hit-Present dogs.'

c. *[dèy^{n}*^{L} *jóbú* *émɛ́* ^{L}*jɔ̀bɔ̀-jɛ̀* *gɛ̀]* *nɔ̌:=y*
[place^{L} running 1PlSbj ^{L}run-Ipfv.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the place where we run.'

However, an H-toned subject pronoun does not affect the initial H-tone of an imperfective negative participle. The relevant cases are those involving lexically /H/-toned stems like 'hit', whose imperfective negative participle *lágà-lɛ̀* does not drop its initial H-tone in (407) in spite of the presence of a preceding H-toned subject pronoun.

(407) *[dèy^{n}*^{L} *ìjú* *émɛ́* *lágà-lɛ̀* *gɛ̀]* *nɔ̌:=y*
[place^{L} dog 1PlSbj hit-IpfvNeg.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the place where we do not hit dogs.'

14.1.6 Participles

The participle agrees in number (human plural, irregularly extended to nonhuman animates) with the head noun in subject relatives only. In (408b), the participle as well as the head noun itself (which is also the subject) and the final definite marker are marked for plural. In (409a-b), the head noun is object, and the participle is marked only for aspect-negation, though the final demonstrative does agree with the head noun in plurality (animate or inanimate).

(408) a. *ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *bǎm* ^{HL}*gô-y* *gɛ̀*
man-Sg^{L} outside ^{HL}exit(v)-Pfv.Ppl Def
'the man who went outside'

b. *àr^{n}ù-m*^{L} *bǎm* ^{HL}*gô-y-m* *ŋɛ̀-m*
man-Pl^{L} outside ^{HL}exit(v)-Pfv.Ppl-Pl Def-Pl
'the men who went outside'

(409) a. *ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *mú* ^{L}*yè:* *gɛ̀*
man-Sg^{L} 1SgSbj ^{L}see.Pfv.Ppl Def
'the man who(m) I saw'

b. *àr^{n}ù-m*^{L} *mú* ^{L}*yè:* *gɛ̀-m*
man-Pl^{L} 1SgSbj ^{L}see.Pfv.Ppl Def-Pl
'the men who(m) I saw'

14.1.6.1 Participles of positive perfective-system verbs (*-u*)

In a positive perfective relative, the participle is based on the unsuffixed perfective stem, but lacks pronominal-subject suffixation. Marked perfective suffixes (1a and 1b) are not allowed. For many verbs, the participle ends in *-y* (monosyllabic *Cv-y*) or *-u* (bisyllabic and longer stems). The *-u* is subject to deletion by Apocope (§3.4.3.2) especially after certain unclustered sonorants.

In true relative clauses, a perfective positive participle has an {HL} tone overlay, realized as H.L.L in trisyllabics. The backgrounded perfective construction (§15.2.2.3), very common in narrative, has the structure of a headless nonsubject perfective relative, except that the {HL} overlay is not applied. In this construction, lexical melodies /H/ and /LH/ are preserved, with the final portion of longer stems dropping to L after the single H-tone. For example, from *wɛ̀lɛ́* 'come' can be formed a backgrounded perfective is *wɛ̀lɛ́ gɛ̀* '… came (and then …)', or a true relative *ìnɛ̀*^{L} ^{HL}*wɛ́lɛ̀ gɛ̀* 'the person who came'.

Both in true relatives (with nonsubject heads) and in the backgrounded perfective, the participle may be preceded by an H-toned subject pronominal proclitic. In this case, the participle is tone-dropped to {L}. This obliterates the tonal distinction between backgrounded perfective and (nonsubject) relative participles. For example, *yérù wó* ^{L}*yà-y gɛ̀* could be a backgrounded perfective 'he went traveling (and then …)', as in Text 1 @ 00:09, or part of a nonsubject relative, e.g. 'the day he went traveling'.

For a human plural head noun in a subject relative, plural marking (*-m*) of the perfective participle is obligatory or at least regular, in contrast to the optional and rather sporadic human plural marking for other participles (imperfective, perfective negative, imperfective negative, stative). If the subject is nonhuman animate, such as 'the cows', plural *-m* on the participle is optional even in the perfective. Postparticipial determiners, such as the ubiquitous definite marker, add plural *-m* for any animacy category (the plural suffix is often omitted if the participle is already plural marked). So 'the

men who fell' is always *àr^{n}ù-m* $^{L\ HL}$*núm-ù-m ŋè(-m)*, 'the cows who fell' is either *nà:* $^{L\ HL}$*núm-ù-m ŋè(-m)* or *nà:* $^{L\ HL}$*núm-ù ŋè-m*, and 'the houses that fell' is always *gèr^{b}è* $^{L\ HL}$*núm-ù ŋè-m* with no plural suffix on the participle ^{HL}*núm-ù*.

The form (final *-y* or *-u*) is segmentally identical to the chaining stem for those verbs that have distinct chaining and bare stems. This suggests a close association between the perfective participle and the unsuffixed perfective in main clauses (which follows a focused constituent), except for the difference in tone contour. This is clarified in (410).

(410) Perfective (positive) participle

chain	bare	unsuffixed Pfv	Pfv participle	gloss
a. stems with final *y* or *u* ~ *Ø* in chaining stem				
yǎ-y	*yǎ:-*	^{L}*yà-y*	^{HL}*yâ-y*	'go'
lág-ú	*lágá-*	^{L}*làg-ù*	^{HL}*lág-ù*	'hit'
gǔl-∅	*gùló-*	^{L}*gùl-ù*	^{HL}*gûl-Ø* < /gúl-ù/	'dig'
pégúr-ú	*pégéré-*	^{L}*pègùr-ù*	^{HL}*pégùr-ù*	'winnow by shaking'
màníŋ-∅	*mànínŋá-*	^{L}*mànìŋ-ù*	^{HL}*mánìŋ-ù*	'think'
b. other stems				
gǒ:	*gǒ:-*	^{L}*gò:*	^{HL}*gô:*	'exit (v)'
jɔ̀bɔ́	*jɔ̀bɔ́-*	^{L}*jɔ̀bɔ̀*	^{HL}*jɔ́bɔ̀*	'run'
wɛ̀lɛ́	*wɛ̀lɛ́*	^{L}*wɛlɛ̀*	^{HL}*wɛ́lɛ̀*	'come'
ílɛ́	*ílɛ́*	^{L}*ìlɛ̀*	^{HL}*ílɛ̀*	'ripen'
tɔ́lɔ́	*tɔ́lɔ́*	^{L}*tɔ̀lɔ̀*	^{HL}*tɔ́lɔ̀*	'begin'

In addition to elicited examples in this chapter, textual examples of true relatives include Text 5 @ 00:29 and Text 6 @ 03:22 (^{HL}*gô:* from verb *gǒ:* 'exit' showing the {HL} overlay), @ 04:46, and @ 05:07. In Text 1@ 00:40, agentives occur in a context typical of relative clauses, referring to specific rather than habitual acts. However, most perfective participles in the texts are in backgrounded perfective clauses, which do not include the {HL} overlay.

The experiential perfect (*-tɛ́rɔ̀:* in main clauses) has participle ^{HL}*tɛ́rɛ̀* or ^{HL}*tɛ́rɔ̀:*, dropping to ^{L}*tɛ̀rɛ̀* and ^{L}*tɛ̀rɔ̀:* after an H-toned pronominal subject proclitic. My data show ^{HL}*tɛ́rɛ̀* in an object relative (229) ('the elephant that I have seen'), and ^{HL}*tɛ́rɔ̀:* in a subject relative (429) ('someone who has done farm work').

The completive perfect is rather common in participles, especially in backgrounded perfective clauses. Main-clause *-jɛ̀:-* becomes participial *-jɛ̌:* . Text 4 has examples at @ 00:14 (twice), 00:37, and 00:47 (twice). Text 6 has many examples: @ 00:31, 00:55, 01:03, 01:32, 01:57, 02:06, 02:12, 02:16, 02:19, etc.

14.1.6.2 Participles of positive imperfective-system verbs

The imperfective positive participial suffix is *-jɛ̀*, except optionally *-ỳ* for human plural head NP in subject relatives. These forms closely resemble 3Sg *-jɛ̀-Ø* and 1Pl/3Pl portmanteau *-y* in the inflected paradigm (§10.2.2.1).

However, the participles differ tonally from the inflected imperfectives. The latter neutralize the lexical distinction between /H/ and /LH/ melodies, overlaying {HL} on the stem, dropping to {L} in the defocalized form. The participles, on the other hand, respect the lexical distinction in their onsets, so for them I do not use the superscript tone-overlay notation. /H/-melody verbs have an HL-toned participle with a single H-toned syllable or mora. /LH/-melody verbs have an LH(L)-toned participle, i.e. LH with stems of up to two moras and LHL for longer stems. In (411), note that the inflected imperfectives have the same tones for lexical /H/ and /LH/, while the participles bring out the melodic distinction.

(411) Imperfective (positive) participle

	imperfective (inflected)		Ipfv participle		gloss
	3Sg subject	1Pl/3Pl	Sg head	Pl head	
a. lexically /H/-toned					
	kâ:-jɛ̀-Ø	*kâ:-y*	*kâ:-jɛ̀*	*kâ:-y*	'shave'
	lágà-jɛ̀-Ø	*lágà-y*	*lágà-jɛ̀*	*lágà-y*	'hit'
b. lexically /LH/-toned					
	nɔ̌:-jɛ̀-Ø	*nɔ̌:-y*	*nɔ̌:-jɛ̀*	*nɔ̌:-ỳ*	'drink'
	jɔ́bɔ̀-jɛ̀-Ø	*jɔ́bɔ̀-y*	*jɔ̀bɔ́-jɛ̀*	*jɔ̀bɔ́-ỳ*	'run'
	wɔ́gɔ̀lɔ̀-jɛ̀-Ø	*wɔ́gɔ̀lɔ̀-y*	*wɔ̀gɔ́lɔ̀-jɛ̀*	*wɔ̀gɔ́lɔ̀-y*	'scoop out'

Examples are (406b-c), (425a-c), (432a-b), (436a), (461), (497a), (502c), and (523a-c). Textual examples are Text 6 @ 00:02 and @ 02:31.

The present progressive also has participles resembling the 3Sg form and, for optional plural head agreement in subject relatives, the 1Pl/3Pl form of the inflected paradigm. The difference is that the auxiliary *wɔ̀-* 'be' becomes H-toned participle ^{H}*wɔ́* (except as noted below).

(412) Present progressive participle

PresProg (inflected)		PresProg participle		gloss
3Sg subject	1Pl/3Pl	Sg head	Pl head	
sɛ́mɛ̀-ŋ̀ wɔ̀-Ø	*sɛ́mɛ̀-ŋ̀ wɔ̀-y^{n}*	*sɛ́mɛ̀-ŋ̀ ^{H}wɔ́*	*sɛ́mɛ̀-ŋ̀ ^{H}wɔ́-ỳ^{n}*	'sweep'
jɔ̀bɔ́-ẁ wɔ̀-Ø	*jɔ̀bɔ́-ẁ wɔ̀-y^{n}*	*jɔ̀bɔ́-ẁ ^{H}wɔ́*	*jɔ̀bɔ́-ẁ ^{H}wɔ́-ỳ^{n}*	'run'

When an H-toned preverbal subject pronoun occurs, it splits the participle into its components, one ending in imperfective subordinator *-ẁ* (or variant), the other consisting of participialized auxiliary ^{H}*wɔ́* 'be'. Since these H-toned subject pronouns induce a following participle (except in the imperfective negative) beginning with an H-tone to drop to L-tone, we end up with ^{L}*wɔ̀-*.

(413) *[dɛ̀y^{n}*^{L} *sémɛ̀-ŋ́* *émɛ́* ^{L}*wɔ̀* *gɛ̀]* *nɔ̌:=y*
[place^{L} sweep-IpfvSub 1PlSbj ^{L}**be.Ppl** Def] this=it.is
'This is the place where/that we are sweeping.'

Another example is (426d).

14.1.6.3 Participles of negative perfective-system verbs

The participles are identical in form to the 3Sg of the inflected paradigm, and (for optional plural agreement in subject relatives) identical to the 1Pl/3Pl form.

(414) Perfective negative participle

PfvNeg (inflected)		PfvNeg participle		gloss
3Sg subject	1Pl/3Pl	Sg head	Pl head	
nùmɔ̀-ń-Ø	*nùmɔ̀-né*	*nùmɔ̀-ń*	*nùmɔ̀-né*	'fall'
jɔ̀bɔ̌-l-Ø	*jɔ̀bɔ̀-né*	*jɔ̀bɔ̌-l*	*jɔ̀bɔ̀-né*	'run'
tòlǒ-l-Ø	*tòlò-né*	*tòlǒ-l*	*tòlò-né*	'pound'

Examples are in (415).

(415) a. *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *jɔ̀bɔ̌-l* *gɛ̀]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-Ø*
[person^{L} run-**PfvNeg.Ppl** Def] where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where is the person who did not run?'

b. *[ìnɛ̀-m*^{L} *jɔ̀bɔ̀-né* *ŋɛ̀-m]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-y^{n}*
[person-Pl^{L} run-**PfvNeg.Pl.Ppl** Def-Pl] where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the people who did not run?'

The experiential perfect negative has a main-clause paradigm based on /-tɛ̀-rɔ́-/, including 3Sg *-tɛ̀-ŕ-Ø* and 1Pl/3Pl *-tɛ̀-né* (§10.2.3.3). The matching participles are *tɛ̀-ŕ* and optional human plural subject *tɛ̀-né*.

(416) a. *[ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *dùŋù-ná: yé:-tɛ̂-ŕ gɛ̀] yà-bá: wɔ̀-Ø*
[man-Sg^{L} elephant see-**ExpPf-Neg.Ppl** Def] where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where is the man who has never seen an elephant?'

b. *[àr^{n}ù-m*^{L} *dùŋù-ná: yé:-tɛ̂-nɛ́ ŋɛ̀-m] yà-bá: wɔ̀-y^{n}*
[man-Pl^{L} elephant see-**ExpPf-Neg.Pl.Ppl** Def-Pl] where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the men who have never seen an elephant?'

The completive perfect negative has a paradigm based on /-jɛ̀:-lɨ́-/ with final high vowel, including 3Sg *-jɛ̌:-l-Ø* and 1Pl/3Pl *-jɛ̀:-nɛ́* in main clauses (§10.2.3.4). The matching participles are *-jɛ̌:-l* and optional human plural subject *-jɛ̀:-nɛ́*.

(417) a. *[ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *jâ: ká-y-jɛ̌:-l gɛ̀] yà-bá: wɔ̀-Ø*
[man-Sg^{L} meal eat-Chain-**CompPf-PfvNeg.Ppl** Def] where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where is the man who has not already eaten?'

b. *[àr^{n}ù-m jâ: ká-y-jɛ̀:-nɛ́ ŋɛ̀-m]*
[man-Pl^{L} meal eat-Chain-**CompPf-PfvNeg.Pl.Ppl** Def-Pl]
yà-bá: wɔ̀-y^{n}
where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where are the men who have not already eaten?'

14.1.6.4 Participles of negative imperfective verbs

The participles of the imperfective negative match the 3Sg and 1Pl/3Pl forms of the inflected paradigm. Again, the plural form is optional in, and limited to, subject relatives with human plural head NP.

(418) Imperfective negative participle

IpfvNeg (inflected)		IpfvNeg participle		gloss
3Sg subject	1Pl/3Pl	Sg head	Pl head	
lágà-lɛ̂-Ø	*lágà-ỳ-nɛ̀*	*lágà-lɛ̀*	*lágà-ỳ-nɛ̀*	'hit'
jɔ̀bɔ́-lɛ̂-Ø	*jɔ̀bɔ́-ỳ-nɛ́*	*jɔ̀bɔ́-lɛ̀*	*jɔ̀bɔ́-ỳ-nɛ̀*	'run'

Examples are in (419) below. See also (407).

(419) a. *[yà:-r^{n}à*^{L} *jôb jɔ̀bɔ́-lɛ̀ gɛ̀] yà-bá: wɔ̀-Ø*
[woman-Sg^{L} running(n) run-**IpfvNeg.Ppl** Def] where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where is the woman who does/will not run?'

b. *[yà:-m*^{L} *jôb* *jɔ̀bɔ́-ỳ-nɛ̀* *ŋɛ̀-m]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-y*^{n}
[woman-Pl^{L} running(n) run-**IpfvNeg.Pl.Ppl** Def-Pl] where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the women who do/will not run?'

The present progressive negative has a paradigm based on *-ỳ wɔ̀-lɔ́-* and variants in main clauses, including 3Sg *bìrɛ́-ỳ wɔ̀-lɔ́-Ø* and 1Pl/3Pl *bìrɛ́-ỳ wɔ̀-nɛ́* for 'be working' (§10.2.3.6). The corresponding participle is *-ỳ wɔ̀-lɔ́*, optional human plural subject form *-ỳ wɔ̀-nɛ́* (with variants of the imperfective subordinator *-ỳ*).

(420) a. *[ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *dɛ̌y*^{n} *sɛ́mɛ̀-ŋ* *wɔ̀-lɔ́* *gɛ̀]*
[man-Sg^{L} place(n) sweep-IpfvSub be-**StatNeg.Ppl** Def]
yà-bá: *wɔ̀-Ø*
where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where is the man who is not sweeping (the place)?'

b. *[àr*^{n}*ù-m*^{L} *dɛ̌y*^{n} *sɛ́mɛ̀-ŋ* *wɔ̀-nɛ́* *ŋɛ̀-m]*
[man-Pl^{L} place(n) sweep-IpfvSub be-**StatNeg.Pl.Ppl** Def-Pl]
yà-bá: *wɔ̀-y*^{n}
where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the men who are not sweeping?'

14.1.6.5 Participles of positive and negative stative verbs

Stative verbs derived from active verbs (§10.4.1) have two positive main-clause forms, one with reduplication and one with existential *yá*. They have a single negative form with *=lá-*. The participles are shown in (421), with definite markers parenthesized. The {HL} overlay in positive ^{HL}*dábà* suggests an affinity with the perfective positive, but it is already discernible in the main-clause form *dì-dábà-*. Plural participles, for plural heads of subject relatives, have *-m*.

(421)

	main clause	gloss	participle (with definite) Sg head	Pl head
a.	*dì-dábà-yá* ^{L}*dàbà-*	'be lying on belly'	^{HL}*dábà (gɛ̀)*	^{HL}*dábà-m (ŋɛ̀-m)*
b.	*dàbà*^{L} *=lá-*	'not be lying on belly'	*dàbà*^{L} *=lá (gɛ̀)*	*dàbà*^{L} *=lá-ɛ̀*^{n} *(ŋɛ̀-m)*

Underived positive and negative statives, and the 'it is not' clitic, have participles as shown in (422). They do not use plural suffix *-m* even in plural-head subject relatives; instead they base it on the 1Pl/3Pl subject form. As usual the specifically plural participle is limited to subject relatives with plural heads. The positive 'it is' participle is usually unelicitable since e.g. 'the one who is a thief' is

in practice always expressed directly as ‘the thief’. The locational-existential forms ^{H}*wɔ́* and ^{H}*kɔ́* are especially useful in converting expressive adverbials into adnominal modifiers. YS reduces the {HL} overlay to just H on *Cv́* participles like ^{H}*wɔ́*, contrast *wɔ̂:* in Sangha So. The full {HL} is audible in the plural (e.g. ^{HL}*wô-y^{n}*). For ‘want’ and ‘know’, the participles are based segmentally on the defocalized form of the main-clause quasi-verb. Negative participles (422b) follow the LH-tones of the main-clause forms, except for the lexicalized ‘not know’ which behaves morphologically more like positive ‘want’ and ‘know’.

(422)

	main clause		gloss	participle	
	3Sg subject	1Pl/3Pl		Sg head	Pl head
a.	*wɔ̀-Ø*	*wɔ̀-y^{n}*	‘be (sw)’	^{H}*wɔ́*	^{HL}*wô-y^{n}*
	kɔ̀	—	‘it be (sw)’	^{H}*kɔ́*	—
	sɛ̀-Ø	*sɛ̀-y^{n}*	‘have’	^{H}*sɛ́*	^{HL}*sɛ̂-y^{n}*
	tò-Ø	*tò-ɛ̀^{n}*	‘be in’	^{H}*tó*	^{HL}*tô-y^{n}*
	ìbɔ́:-Ø	*ìbɔ́:-y^{n}*	‘want’	^{HL}*íbɛ̀*	^{HL}*íb-ɛ̀:^{n}*
	ìbɛ̀-Ø	*ìb-ɛ̀:^{n}*	(defocalized)		
	ígɔ̀:-Ø	*ígɔ̀(:)-y^{n}*	‘know’	^{HL}*ígì*	^{HL}*íg-ì:^{n}*
	ìgì-Ø	*ìg-ɛ̀:^{n}*	(defocalized)		
b.	*wɔ̀-lɔ́-Ø*	*wɔ̀-nɛ́*	‘not be (sw)’	*wɔ̀-lɔ́*	*wɔ̀-nɛ́*
	kɔ̀-lɔ́	—	‘it not be (sw)’	*kɔ̀-lɔ́*	—
	sɛ̀-lɛ́ -Ø	*sɛ̀-nɛ́*	‘not have’	*sɛ̀-lɛ́*	*sɛ̀-nɛ́*
	tò-ló-Ø	*tò-nɛ́*	‘not be in’	*tò-ló*	*tò-nɛ́*
	ìbɛ̀^{L}=lá-Ø	*ìbɛ̀^{L}=lá-ɛ̀^{n}*	‘not want’	*ìbɛ̀=lá*	*ìbɛ̀=lá-ɛ̀^{n}*
	ínɛ̀:-Ø	*ín-ɛ̀:^{n}*	‘not know’	^{HL}*ínɛ̀*	^{HL}*ín-ɛ̀:*
	=y=lă:-Ø	*=y=là-ɛ́:^{n}*	‘not be (st)’	*=y=lă:*	*=y=là-ɛ́:^{n}*

Particularly common as participle is *kɔ̀-lɔ́*, which occurs in a common double-negative construction of the literal type ‘[X that is not present] is not present’ pragmatically ‘Many/All kinds of X are present’, e.g. Text 6 @ 01:57.

There is a possible alternative tonal analysis, in which positive *wɔ́*, *kɔ́*, *sɛ́*, and *tó* express the lexical melodies, and their L-toned main-clause counterparts result from a combination of defocalization and tone-dropping after H-toned proclitics. See especially §11.2.2.2 and §11.5.1.1 for discussion.

14.1.6.6 Participle of past enclitic *=be-*

An example of a plural-head subject relative based on a verb containing the past enclitic is (405) in §14.1.3 (‘Where are the men and the women who were looking at each other?’). The inflectional

category in that example is past imperfective, and the participle is *yènέ-ŋ̀ = b-ê:ⁿ* '(the ones) who were looking', compare main-clause *yènέ-ŋ̀ = b-è:ⁿ* '(we/they) were looking'.

The positive and negative participles for the various past-marked categories are shown in (423) and (424). In the past imperfectives, imperfective subordinator *-gù* varies with *-ẁ* ~ *-ŋ̀*. The plural suffix for subject relatives with plural heads is *-m* except when *bè-* itself is morphologically negated.

(423) Participle of past-marked verbs (positive polarity)

category	main clause		participle	
	3Sg subject	1Pl/3Pl	Sg head	Pl head
'was/were (sw)'	*bè-Ø*	*b-è:ⁿ*	H*bé*	HL*bê-m*
simple past/past perfect	*= bè-Ø*	*= b-è:ⁿ*	(defaults to perfective)	
past imperfective	*-gù = bè-Ø*	*-gù = b-è:ⁿ*	*-gù = bé*	*-gù = bê-m*
'was on belly (stative)	*dì-dábà = bè-Ø*	*dì-dábà = b-è:ⁿ*	*dábà = bé*	*dábà = bê-m*

(424) Participle of past-marked verbs (negative polarity)

category	main clause		participle	
	3Sg subject	1Pl/3Pl	Sg head	Pl head
'was/were not (sw)'	*bè-lé-Ø*	*bè-nέ*	*bè-lé*	*bè-nέ*
past imperfective Neg	*-gù = bè-lé-Ø*	*-gù = bè-nέ*	*-gù = bè-lé*	*-gù = bè-nέ*
'was not on belly'	*dàbàᴸ = lá-Ø*	*dàbàᴸ = lá-èⁿ*	*dàbàᴸ = lá = bé*	*dàbàᴸ = lá-èⁿ = bê-m*

14.1.7 Relative clause involving verb- or VP-chain

Only the final verb in a chain takes participial form in a relative clause. Nonfinal verbs have the same form (subordinated or otherwise) as in the corresponding main clause. (425a) has a perfective subordinating suffix on the nonfinal verb, while (425b) has a verb in chaining form as required in the 'can VP' construction (§17.5.2). In nonsubject relatives, if a preverbal subject pronoun is present, it occurs immediately before the final participle (425c).

(425) a. *[ày-nɛ̀ᴸ yà-ˈé→ wèlέ-jɛ̀ gɛ̀]* *nɔ̌: = y*
[man-Sgᴸ go-**PfvSub** come-Ipfv.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the man who will go and come.'

b. *[ày-nɛ̀ᴸ yǎ-y bèlέ-jɛ̀ gɛ̀]* *nɔ̌: = y*
[man-Sgᴸ go-**Chain** get-Ipfv.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the man who can come.'

c. *[ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *yé:* *ú* ^{L}*bèlɛ̀-jɛ̀* *gɛ̀]* *nɔ̌:=y*
[man-Sg^{L} see **2SgSbj** ^{L}get-Ipfv.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the man who(m) you-Sg can see.'

14.1.8 Determiners following the participle

Most examples of relative clauses in this chapter have a postparticipial definite morpheme that is associated with the head NP. As elsewhere, definite markers are L-toned and do not affect the tone of adjacent words.

Demonstrative pronouns are also possible. Unlike definite morphemes, demonstratives do control tone-dropping on preceding words. In a relative clause, the demonstrative follows the participle, and the tone-dropping applies to the participle itself. In (426a), without the demonstrative *kó* the participle would be ^{HL}*núm-ù* with {HL} contour, but the demonstrative drops it to {L}. In the perfective negative, which elsewhere has {L}-toned stem and H-toned suffix, the suffix drops its tone before a demonstrative, thus *nùmɔ̀-n*^{L} for the usual *nùmɔ̀-ń* 'did not fall' in (426b). In the imperfective negative, H-tones are dropped to L, thus *yà:-lɛ̀*^{L} instead of *yǎ:-lɛ̀* in (426c). This example has an intervening constituent between the head noun 'man' and the participle, showing that the tone-dropping of the head noun is unrelated to that of the participle. In the present progressive, only the *-wɔ̀* morpheme is (vacuously) tone-dropped, while the verb stem retains its tones (426d).

(426) a. *[gèr^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *nùm-ù*^{L} *kó]* *yê:-wˋ* *wɔ̀-w* *mà↑*
[house^{L} fall-Pfv.Ppl^{L} **Dist**] see-IpfvSub be-2SgSbj Q
'Do you-Sg see that house (over there) that fell?'

b. *[gèr^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *nùmɔ̀-n*^{L} *kó]* *yê:-wˋ* *wɔ̀-w* *mà↑*
[house^{L} fall-PfvNeg.Ppl^{L} **Dist**] see-IpfvSub be-2SgSbj Q
'Do you-Sg see that house (over there) that did not fall?'

c. *[ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *ǒl* *yà:-lɛ̀*^{L} *kó]* *yê:-wˋ* *wɔ̀-w* *mà↑*
[man-Sg^{L} field go-IpfvNeg.Ppl^{L} **Dist**] see-IpfvSub be-2SgSbj Q
'Do you-Sg see that man (over there) who does not go to the field(s)?'

d. *[sɛ̌ydù* *gèr^{n}ɛ̀*^{L} *yê:-w* *wɔ̀*^{L} *kó]* *nú-nùmɔ̀-jɛ̀-Ø*
[S house^{L} see-IpfvSub be.Ppl^{L} **Dist**] Rdp-fall-Ipfv-3SgSbj
'That house that Seydou is seeing will fall.'

14.1.9 Non-numeral quantifiers and discourse particles following the participle

Universal quantifier *pú→*, which occurs at the end of NPs, may follow a participle (and any determiners) in a relative clause. It has no tonal effect on the preceding words. As elsewhere, intonational effects can affect the pitch and duration of *pú→* .

(427) *[àr^{n}ù-m*^{L} *ŏl* ^{HL}*yâ-y-m* *ŋɛ̀-m* *pú→]*
[man-Pl^{L} the.bush ^{HL}go-Pfv.Ppl-Pl Def-Pl **all**]
wŏl *èjí-gú* *wàlá=b-è:^{n}*
farming good-Adv do.farm.work=Past-3PlSbj
'All of the men who went to the fields did a good job of farming.'

When the numeral '1' combines with discourse paricle *kàr^{n}à* 'also, even' (§19.1.3.2) in a double-negative construction, both follow the participle (428)

(428) a. *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *jɔ̀bɔ̌-l* *túrù* *kàr^{n}à]* *ínɛ̀-m*
[person^{L} run-PfvNeg.Ppl **one** **even**] not.know-1SgSbj
'I don't know anyone who didn't run.'

b. *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *jɔ̀bɔ̌-l* *túrù* *kàr^{n}à]* *bɛ̀-lé-Ø*
[person^{L} run-PfvNeg.Ppl **one** **even**] be.Past-Neg-3SgSbj
'There was no-one who didn't run.' (= 'Everybody ran.')

c. *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *jɔ̀bɔ́-lɛ̀* *túrù* *kàr^{n}à]* *kɔ̀-lɔ́*
[person^{L} run-PfvNeg.Ppl **one** **even**] be.Inan-StatNeg
'There is no-one who won't run.' (= 'Everybody will run.')
("inanimate" *kɔ̀-lɔ́* generalized in negative existentials, §11.2.2.2)

14.1.10 Indefinite relatives

While relative clauses are most often definite, and show a determiner following the verbal participle, indefinite relatives are also possible. They simply lack a post-participial determiner (429).

(429) *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *wŏl* *wăl-tɛ́rɔ̀:]=ỳ* ^{L}*dɛ̀nɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[person^{L} farming(n) do.farm.work-ExpPf.Ppl]=Acc ^{L}want-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I'm looking for someone who has (at some point) done farm work.'

14.1.11 {L}-toned double of head noun after relative clause

bă̌y 'day' is a common head of temporal adverbial relatives: '(on) the day when …'. In textual passage (430), it occurs in apparent post-relative position. This would fit a fairly widespread pattern

in Dogon languages where a double of the head noun occurs in "possessed" tonal form after the relative clause proper, whether or not it also occurs overtly before the participle. The languages differ as to whether this is limited to 'day', is limited to a handful of adverbial nouns ('day', 'year', 'place', 'manner'), or extends to human heads (as in Togo Kan). In (430) the only occurrence is at the end, the internal 'day' being understood but covert. The doubled head noun functions roughly like a temporal postposition in such cases.

(430) *[[búlò* ^{L}*kɔ̀ŋɔ̀* *ŋɛ̀]* *ílɛ̀* *gɛ̀]* ^{L}*bày, …*
[[B ^{L}beer Def] ripen.Pfv.Ppl Def] ^{L}day, …
'(On) the day when the beer of the Bulo (festival) has ripened (=fermented), …'
(Text 5 @ 00:29)

My assistant does not himself use this construction. He interpreted (430) as a somewhat broken passage that should be emended as 'the day of the ripe Bulo beer', i.e. with 'day' as possessed noun following an NP possessor. This suggests to me that the head-doubled construction is marginal and vestigial in YS, although it is well documented in various nearby Dogon languages.

14.2 Subject relative clause

In subject relatives, the participle agrees in number with a human (less often animate) head NP. This agreement is regular with the perfective (positive) participle, which adds suffix *-m* (identical to the human plural marker on nouns and the all-purpose plural marker on determiners). Agreement is optional with other categories, which express plurality by using the 1Pl/3Pl inflected form as a human plural-head participle. Plural marking on participles is somewhat redundant since human head nouns allow plural suffixation and since most relatives end in determiners that regularly mark plurality.

There is never an H-toned pronominal-subject proclitic in subject relatives.

Perfective positive examples are in (431).

(431) a. *[ày-nɛ̀* ^{L} ^{HL}*núm-ù* *ŋɛ̀]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-Ø*
[man-Sg^{L} ^{HL}fall-**Pfv.Ppl** Def] where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where is the man who fell?'

b. *[àr^{n}ù-m* ^{L} ^{HL}*núm-ù-m* *ŋɛ̀-m]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-ỳ^{n}*
[man-Pl^{L} ^{HL}fall-**Pfv.Ppl-Pl** Def-Pl] where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the men who fell?'

c. *[tìbù* ^{L} ^{HL}*núm-ù* *ŋɛ̀]* *yà-bá:* *kɔ̀*
[stone^{L} ^{HL}fall-**Pfv.Ppl** Def] where? be.Inan
'Where is the stone that fell?'

Imperfective positive examples are in (432). In (432b), the participle could also take the (non-agreeing) form *wɛ̀lɛ́-jɛ̀* as in (432a).

(432) a. *[ày-nɛ̀*^{L} *wɛ̀lɛ́-jɛ̀* *gɛ̀]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-Ø*
[man-Sg^{L} come-**Ipfv.Ppl** Def] where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where is the man who will come?'

b. *[àr^{n}ù-m*^{L} *wɛ̀lɛ́-ỳ* *gɛ̀-m]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-ỳ^{n}*
[man-Pl^{L} come-**Ipfv.Pl.Ppl** Def-Pl] where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the men who will come?'

14.3 Object and other nonsubject relative clauses

Object relatives in the perfective positive, with a nonpronominal subject ('Seydou'), are in (433). The participle does not show plural agreement even with plural human head NP (433c). There is no accusative marking on the clause-internal head NP. If a subject NP is overt, the object as internal head is medial in the relative construction.

(433) a. *[sɛ̌ydù* *ìjù*^{L} ^{HL}*lág-ù* *gɛ̀]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-Ø*
[S dog^{L} ^{HL}hit-**Pfv.Ppl** Def] where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where is the dog that Seydou hit?'

b. *[sɛ̌ydù* *ìjù*^{L} ^{HL}*lág-ù* *gɛ̀-m]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-y^{n}*
[S dog^{L} ^{HL}hit-**Pfv.Ppl** Def-Pl] where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the dogs that Seydou hit?'

c. *[sɛ̌ydù* *ùr^{n}ù-m*^{L} ^{HL}*lág-ù* *gɛ̀-m]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-y^{n}*
[S children-Pl^{L} ^{HL}hit-**Pfv.Ppl** Def-Pl] where? be.An-3PlSbj
'Where are the children that Seydou hit?'

Preverbal H-toned subject pronouns occur in the absence of a nonpronominal subject, as in other nonsubject relatives. The subject pronominal is procliticized to the participle. In (434), the participle would otherwise be {HL}-toned as in (433a-c), but it loses its H after a subject proclitic.

(434) *[ìjù*^{L} *ú* ^{L}*làg-ù* *gɛ̀]* *yà-bá:* *wɔ̀-Ø*
[dog^{L} **2SgSbj** ^{L}hit-Pfv.Ppl Def] where? be.An-3SgSbj
'Where is the dog that you-Sg hit?'

Other nonsubject relatives, such as those relativizing on spatial ('the place where we eat'), temporal ('the time when we eat'), and manner ('the way we eat') have structures similar to object relatives (§15.3.3, §15.4.1-2). An important backgrounded perfective event construction is similar to a headless nonsubject relative, but does not overlay {HL} on the perfective participle (§15.2.2.3).

14.4 Possessor relative clause

We have seen that when an NP including a nonpronominal possessor is relativized on, e.g. '[Seydou's house] that fell', the possessor NP is exempt from the {L} overlay that applies to the possessum (§14.1.1).

When the possessor NP itself is relativized on, it has the normal tone-dropped form of a relative head NP. The possessum now has a pronominal possessor, resuming the NP possessor. Therefore if the possessor NP in (435a) becomes the head NP of a relative, as in (435c), the possessor 'man' is syntactically detached from the possessum. The possessum takes the form (435b) with pronominal possessor. *gèr^{n}é* 'house' is not tone-dropped in (435b) or in (435c), though it is in (435a) under the control of the preceding possessor.

(435) a. *[áy-né ŋè]* *^{L}gèr^{n}è (ŋè)*
[man-Sg Def] ^{L}house (Def)
'the man's house'

b. *gèr^{n}é wò-mɔ̀*
house 3Sg-Poss
'his/her house'

c. *ày-nè^{L} [gèr^{n}é wò-mɔ̀] ^{HL}núm-ù ŋè*
man-Sg^{L} [house **3Sg-Poss**] ^{HL}fall-Pfv.Ppl Def
'the man whose house fell'

14.5 Relativization on the complement of a postposition

When the complement of a postposition is relativized on, it takes the usual tone-dropped form for a head NP. The postposition immediately follows it. Since simple postpositions are lexically L-toned, there is no audible tonal change on them.

(436) a. *[[èr^{n}è^{L} lè] wŏl mú ^{L}wàlá-jè gè] nɔ̌:=y*
[[daba^{L} **Inst**] farming 1SgSbj ^{L}do.farm.work-Ipfv.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the daba (hoe) with which I do farm work.' (< *ér^{n}é*)

b. *[bònɔ̀^{L} nè] nùmɔ́ mú ^{L}yò-y gè] nɔ̌:=y*
[hole^{L} **Loc**] fall 1SgSbj ^{L}enter-Pfv.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the hole (=pit) into which I fell.' (< *bònɔ́*)

c. *[[yèy^{n}^{L} dè:] bé ^{L}wèlè gè] nɔ̌:=y*
[[honey^{L} **Purp**] 3PlSbj ^{L}come.Pfv.Ppl Def] this=it.is
'This is the honey that they came for.' (< *yĕy^{n}*)

15 Verb (VP) chaining and adverbial clauses

A direct chain is a compound-like combination of two (rarely three) verbs, denoting overlapping or otherwise tightly connected co-events. The nonfinal verbs are in the chaining stem, with no additional subordinating morphology. Directly chained verbs are adjacent except as noted below.

Loose chains are various multiverb constructions whose nonfinal verbs have some explicit subordinator (cf. English *-ing*). The subordinator specifies temporal and/or modal relationships among the eventualities in question. In loose chains, the verbs need not be adjacent; the final verb may be immediately preceded by its complements and adjuncts.

In all types of chains, the final verb has full aspect-negation and pronominal-subject inflection.

15.1 Direct chains (without chaining morpheme)

In direct chains, the nonfinal verb appears in the chaining stem and is not otherwise inflected for aspect-negation or for pronominal-subject category. For some verbs, the chaining stem is identical to the bare stem. For most verbs, however, the chaining stem ends in final *-ú* or *-y* (the latter in monosyllabic Cv-y), which distinguishes it from the bare stem (§10.1.1). The *-u* is subject to Apocope (§3.4.3.2), especially after some unclustered sonorants. Chaining stems in *-ú* or *-ý* are segmentally identical to the corresponding verbal nouns (§4.2.2.1). However, the chaining stem, unlike the verbal noun, preserves the lexical tone melody of the stem (§10.1.1). Mediopassive verbs with suffix *-ɛ́:* have a chaining stem with *-í:* .

As in other Dogon languages, verb serialization (direct chaining) does not attain the exuberant level of productivity found in some coastal West African languages. The two verbs must cohere as co-events of a single eventuality, generally as temporally overlapping aspects of a conceptual schema, rather than as discretely sequenced subevents of a complex activity.

Some examples with *yɛ̀nɛ́* 'look' as final (437a) or nonfinal (437b) verb will give the flavor.

(437) a. *màrⁿ-í: yɛ̀nɛ́* 'go take a look' (fixed collocation)
jìm-í: yɛ̀nɛ́ 'look down at (from a height)'
dòg-í: yɛ̀nɛ́ 'look up at'
térⁿɛ́ yɛ̀nɛ́ 'think over, reflect on'
sébɛ́ yɛ̀nɛ́ 'stand on tiptoes to look'
nɛ́wⁿɛ́ yɛ̀nɛ́ 'have a taste, sample (and evaluate)'

b. *yɛ̀nɛ́ dàŋá-rá* 'examine, look over' (*dàŋá-rá* 'make good')

Some other examples are in (438).

(438) a. final is motion verb

bă:l-Ø gàlá	‘go around (sth) and continue’ (‘go around’ + ‘pass’)
él-í: súgó	‘fall out (of a tree) and land’ (‘escape’ + ‘descend’), Text 2 @ 00:32
kám(-ú) pá:rá	‘throw down’ (‘throw’ + ‘take down’)
tómɔ́ táŋá	‘fly a short distance’ (‘jump’ + ‘cross, transfer’)

b. two transitives

pág-ú mɔ̌:-nɔ́	‘bind (objects) together along their sides’ (‘tie’ + ‘assemble’)

15.1.1 Verbal noun of directly chained verbs

Selected direct-chain combinations presented in the preceding section have the verbal nouns in (439). The nonfinal verb is segmentally in its chaining form, but is tone-dropped like other compound initials. The final verb has its regular verbal noun.

(439)

compound	gloss	verbal noun
dòg-í: yɛ̀nɛ́	‘look up at’	*[dòg-ì:]-[yɛ̌n-Ø]*
yɛ̀nɛ́ dàŋá-rá	‘examine, look over’	*yɛ̀nɛ̀-[dàŋǐ-r-Ø]*
tómɔ́ táŋá	‘fly a short distance’	*tòmɔ̀-[tăŋ-Ø]*

15.1.2 Presence of AN suffix in nonfinal verb in direct chains

I have no examples where a nonfinal verb in a direct chain allows a marked perfective suffix of the sort found in main clauses. Instead, a nonfinal verb occurs in the chaining stem with no other ornamentation. In (440a), only the final verb has the perfective-1a suffix. In (440b), only the second verb has the perfective-1b suffix.

(440) a.

bă:l-Ø	*gàl-â:-m*
go.around-Chain	pass-Pfv1a-1SgSbj

‘I went around (it) and continued (on my way).’

b.

[kɔ̀rɔ́	*gɛ̀]*	*kám-Ø*	*pá:r-Ø-tù-m*
[calabash	Def]	throw-Chain	take.down-Chain-Pfv1b-1SgSbj

‘I threw the calabash down.’

Instead, if the nonfinal event is conceptualized as perfective from the perspective of a following event, the former may be expressed using a subordinator such as perfective *-ˡé→* (§15.2.2.1), which produces loose chains.

The situation is somewhat similar with imperfectives. Main-clause imperfective *-jɛ̀-* does not occur on nonfinal verbs in direct chains. To express that a nonfinal event is construed as imperfective from the perspective of a following event, an imperfective subordinator such as *-ẁ* ~ *-gù* ~ *-ŋ̀* ~ *-ŋ̀gù* is used, creating a loose chain (§15.2.1.1).

15.1.3 Arguments of directly chained verbs

Ordinarily the final verb in a direct chain either takes no arguments, or it shares its arguments with the nonfinal verb. I have no examples of direct chains where the final verb has an argument such as a direct object that intervenes between the two chained verbs. Objects and adverbial phrases therefore precede the nonfinal verb.

(441) a. *[sì-sǎ:* *gɛ̀]* *dòg-í:* *yɛ̀nɛ́=bɛ̀-m*
[bird Def] look.up-MP.Chain look=Past-1SgSbj
'I looked up at the bird.'

b. *[[tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ́* *ŋɛ̀]* *=ǹ]* *él-í:* *súgó=bɛ̀-m*
[[tree Def] Loc] escape-MP.Chain descend=Past-1SgSbj
'I fell out of the tree.'

Chain-like sequences where the final verb has its own arguments and/or adjuncts are expressed as loose chains with overt subordination of the nonfinal verb. Both final and nonfinal verbs may be preceded by their respective arguments and adjuncts.

15.1.4 Negation of direct verb chains

Only the final verb in a direct chain may be negated. The negation has semantic scope over the entire sequence, which is construed as a single event.

(442) *él-í:* *sùgò-lú-m*
escape-MP.Chain descend-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I did not fall out (e.g. of the tree).'

15.1.5 Direct chains including *dàgá* 'leave'

Transitive *dàgá* 'leave, abandon (sth)' may be directly chained to verbs that have senses like 'put down', denoting actions that result in the theme being stationery in a location. Often the 'leave' verb is not needed in an idiomatic English free translation.

(443) *tí:r-ú* *dàgá*
make.bunches-Chain leave
'arrange in bunches (for sale) and leave'

See also 'lean' (i.e. 'prop up') plus 'leave' in Text 5 @ 04:51.

15.1.6 Direct chains including a motion verb or 'take out'

Motion verbs are normally not directly chained to other verbs (with no subordinator or intervening words) when the motion event and the other event are sequenced in time, for example in purposive contexts ('go there to eat', 'come to see you'). However, direct chains can occur when the two verbs can be construed as denoting integrated co-events. In such cases the motion verb specifies direction, as with 'exit (v)' in (444).

(444) *[[gèrⁿɛ́* *ŋè]* *=ǹ]* *jɔ̀gɔ́* *gǒ:=bè-Ø*
[[house Def] Loc] **run** **exit(v)**=Past-3SgSbj
'He/She ran out of the house.'

'Come' and 'go' may occur as the final verb in direct chains. *yǎ:* 'go' is the second verb in *dènné yǎ:-* 'go looking for' (Text 3 @ 00:06), which in this context has the same sense as 'go seek one's fortune'. A similar combination is *gǎl yǎ:-* '(date) pass' in Text 6 @ 04:14 (the two verbs are separated only by a proclitic subject pronominal). For 'come', see *bìnél-ì: wèlɛ́* 'roll around (in ashes) and come' in Text 4 @ 01:32, and *gǒ: wèlɛ́* 'come out' in Text 4 @ 01:22.

This last example (*gǒ: wèlɛ́*) also illustrates that *gǒ:* 'exit (v)' can precede another verb. It can also precede a VP including an intervening object NP, as an alternative to an overtly subordinated combination. The combination 'exit' plus 'tend animals' occurs in Text 6 @ 00:10 in the sense 'leave (the village) to go tend animals (in the bush)'. In the first example, 'exit' and 'come' are easily construed as a single motion event. In the second example this is less clear, depending on whether the animals participated in the exit, or were already out in the bush.

The irregular causative *gǒ:-nɔ́* 'take out, remove' can combine with a preceding verb that specifies manner. The combination 'scoop' plus 'take out' means 'scoop out, extract by scooping, Text 3 @ 01:15.

15.1.7 Durative verb-iterations chained to a motion verb

§11.6 above presents various tonal types of adverb-like iterations of uninflected verb stems, with references to examples and textual passages. These iterations denote prolonged activity. They can be followed by inflectable motion verbs, which in some cases are just inflected forms of the same stem in the iteration. However, these combinations do not fit neatly into the classification of direct versus loose chains.

Other constituents may intervene between the iterated verbs and the final motion verb, so these are not true direct chains. On the other hand, there are no overt subordinators, other than the tone overlays, so they are not typical loose chains. I prefer to take the verb-iterations as adverbial in nature, not unlike] expressive adverbials (§8.4.7).

15.1.8 Chains including *yè* 'go'

yè occurs medially in certain verb chains, sandwiched between two other verbs. I have one example where it follows two other verbs, see (170a). *yè* is a specialized variant of *yǎ:* 'go' (usual chaining stem *yǎ-y*, e.g. in the unsuffixed perfective ^{L}*yà-y-*). *yè* sometimes makes little or no contribution to the meaning of the relevant combinations and functions mainly as a linker.

(445) a. *bàŋ-í:* *yè* *kárⁿá*
hide-MP.Chain **go** do
'do stealthily, in secret'

b. *mɔ̀rⁿ-í:* *yè* *kárⁿá*
assemble-MP.Chain **go** do
'get together and do; do together'

c. *mùn-í:* *yè* *dǐ:ⁿ*
curl.up-MP.Chain **go** lie.down
'curl up to sleep'

15.1.9 Chains including nonfinal *mɔ̀rⁿ-é:* 'be/do together'

By itself, the verb *mɔ̀rⁿ-é:* (chaining stem *mɔ̀rⁿ-í:*) is an intransitive verb meaning 'gather together, assemble'. With an additional *yè* (§15.1.8 above), it can be chained to following VP, as (445b) above. For adverb *tɔ́:ⁿ ŋú* 'together' see §18.4.2.

15.2 Adverbial clauses with overt chaining or subordinating morpheme

15.2.1 Imperfective and durative clauses

The subsections below cover imperfective and durative subordinators. See also progressive complements of 'see' and 'find' in §17.2.2.2.

15.2.1.1 Imperfective (including stative) subordinator *-ẁ* ~ *-gù* ~ *-ŋ̀* ~ *-ŋ̀gù*

The imperfective morpheme *-ẁ* ~ *-gù* ~ *-ŋ̀* ~ *-ŋ̀gù* has been seen above as part of the present progressive verbal inflection with following quasi-verb *wɔ̀-* 'be' as auxiliary (§11.2.2.2). The progressive is only one of the constructions in which *-ẁ* ~ *-gù* ~ *-ŋ̀* ~ *-ŋ̀gù* functions as an imperfective subordinator preceding another verb (or quasi-verb). The subjects of the subordinated and main clauses are usually coindexed. (446) is a simple elicited example:

(446) *[nɛ́:* *nɛ̌:-ŋ̀]* *wɛ̀lɛ̀-Ø*
[song sing-**IpfvSub**] come.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She came (while) singing (a song).'

More generally, a clause with this subordinator expresses a durative activity or state that serves as background for a subsequent foregrounded event. There is often an H-toned subject pronominal of the sort elsewhere found in nonsubject relatives, and this pronominal causes the verb to drop its tones. The exception is when the entire passage is part of a quotation, in which case the subject is expressed in a separate quotative-subject phrase, and the verb with *-ẁ* ~ *-gù* ~ *-ŋ̀* ~ *-ŋ̀gù* has its regular tones. This is the case in Text 3 @ 01:02, where *mɔ̂y mɔ̌:-ŋ̀gù* '(you) were laughing' is part of a quotation, with 'you' in a preceding quotative-subject phrase. *mɔ̂y* 'laugh(ter)' is a cognate nominal.

In several textual examples of subordinator *-ẁ* ~ *-gù* ~ *-ŋ̀* ~ *-ŋ̀gù*, the subordinated verb is iterated, producing a more emphatically durative background ('kept VPing'). The examples do not involve quotation, so they have an H-toned subject pronominal followed by an L-toned verb, in both iterations. One example is *[ú* ^{L}*wàlà-w] [ú* ^{L}*wàlà-w]* 'you-Sg keep cultivating and cultivating (and then…)', Text 5 @ 03:06. Another is *[wó* ^{L}*kìgìlìmè-w] [wó* ^{L}*kìgìlìmè-w]* 'it was turning and turning', Text 3 @ 01:29. Another is in Text 4 @ 00:20. The number of iterations is not limited, see Text 6 @ 01:24 for a sequence of four.

The construction is also attested with locational quasi-verb *wɔ̀-* 'be (somewhere)' (§11.2.2.2), whose subordinated form is *wɔ́-ẁ*, as in *wɔ́-ẁ wɔ́-ẁ wɔ́-ẁ* 'being (for a long time)', Text 6 @ 01:27. It drops to ^{L}*wɔ̀-w* after an H-toned proclitic, as in *[yá-ǹ mú* ^{L}*wɔ̀-w] [mú* ^{L}*wɔ̀-w]* 'I was there for a long time', Text 6 @ 01:30. The locative adverb *yá-ǹ* 'there (definite)' is not repeated in the second iteration.

These subordinated constructions are closely related to adverbial nonsubject relatives with *wɔ̀-* as progressive auxiliary. In narrative, an activity can be introduced in a foregrounded clause, then its prolonged continuation can be expressed by combining the same verb, in imperfective subordinated form (*-ẁ* ~ *-gù* ~ *-ŋ̀* ~ *-ŋ̀gù*), with an H-toned pronominal plus ^{L}*wɔ̀-*. An example is *[bɛ̀rɛ́ gɛ̀] pídì-w wó* ^{L}*wɔ̀-w* 'as the belly was swelling', which follows the foregrounded '(belly) started to swell', see Text 1 @ 00:29 and 00:35. The subordinated clause then serves as background for another foregrounded event. Similarly *mɔ̂y gádù-gàdù-gàdù mɔ̌:-ẁ wó* ^{L}*wɔ̀-w* 'he was laughing ha-ha-ha!' Text 3 @ 00:48, and other textual examples.

I take the final *-w* in ^{L}*wɔ̀-w* in these examples to be the imperfective subordinator, in parallel to the same subordinator on the preceding main verb. The iterative pattern in examples like *[ú* ^{L}*wàlà-w] [ú* ^{L}*wàlà-w]* mentioned above show that repetition of the subordinator is an established pattern. The

alternative would be to take the final *-w* in ^{L}*wɔ̀-w* as some kind of participial ending (in a headless adverbial relative), but the usual participle of *wɔ̀* is ^{H}*wɔ́*.

15.2.1.2 Backgrounded durative same-subject subordinator *-n*

The subordinator *-n* occurs on the verb of an activity expression that is followed by a verb implying an extended time interval, such as a time-of-day verb ('spend the day/night') or a motion verb. *-n* is added to the bare stem, with no tonal changes.

(447) a. *íŋ-ɛ́:-n* *bá:* *yá:*
stand-MP-**DurSub** time.period be.at.night
'stay up at night' (lit. "spend the night standing up")

b. *kúbɔ́* *tégé-n* *yă:*
foot limp-**DurSub** go
'limp along, walk with a limp'

c. *gùŋɔ́-n* *yă:*
swagger-**DurSub** go
'walk with a swagger, strut'

See also *bìrɛ́-n* 'working' in (178e) in §8.2.11, and the lexicalized verbal-noun compound *[yìgè-n]-[dɛ̌n-Ø]* 'omasum' analysed in §5.1.15.

In the recordings, a subordinated verb with *-n* preceded by an H-toned subject pronominal is often iterated. Particularly frequent in this construction is the verb 'wait', as in *[bé* ^{L}*dɔ̀mɔ̀-n] [bé* ^{L}*dɔ̀mɔ̀-n]* 'they waited and waited (and then finally …)' in Text 5 @ 02:00, 02:42, and 03:15. This is a device to indicate an extended lapse of time between one episode and another. The repetition of the pronominal is dispensed with in *jèr^{n}ɛ̀ŋɛ́ émɛ́* ^{L}*dɔ̀mɔ̀-n* ^{L}*dɔ̀mɔ̀-n* 'we keep waiting for the (next) wet season', Text 5 @ 05:30.

Another construction has a single occurrence of subordinator *-n*, followed by an inflectable form of the same verb. This is the case in Text 5 @ 02:01, where subordinated *gɔ̌:-nɔ̀-n* is followed by a different form of *gɔ̌:-nɔ́* 'take out, remove'.

Yet another construction has a verb with subordinator *-n*, followed by ^{L}*wɔ̀-* 'be (somewhere)' with the same subordinator after an H-toned subject pronominal. An example is *gɛ̌:^{n}-n ém=* ^{L}*ɔ̀:-n* 'we kept begging (until …)', Text 5 @ 03:47. Another is *nɛ̌:-n b=* ^{L}*ɔ̂:-n* from /… bé ^{L}wɔ̀-n/ 'they keep singing', Text 5 @ 04:22. In *wɔ́-gɔ̀ kár^{n}á-n kár^{n}á-n bé* ^{L}*wɔ̀-n* 'they keep doing that', Text 5 @ 05:17, the subordinated verb 'do' is iterated.

A variant of this is to iterate the substantive verb with *-n*, then iterate *wɔ̂-n* with no subject pronominal. This occurs in Text 5 @ 04:11, with *mɛ̌:-ǹ mɛ̌:-ǹ wɔ̂-n wɔ̂-n* 'it keeps raining'. There is no subject pronominal here, perhaps because of the low referentiality of the subject of 'rain (v)'.

Another durative subordinator, attested in a different construction, is described in the following section.

15.2.1.3 Durative *-á→* plus 'get tired' versus *=à:* 'too' plus imperfective

A construction ending with inflected 'get tired' often indicates extreme duration of an intensive activity. Actual physical or mental weariness is not in focus, though there is usually some hint of a physical effect. In the simple construction (448), the activity is expressed by an ordinary backgrounded perfective event clause, indicating that the "fatigue" followed the extended activity.

(448) *[nàw^{n}á* *tɛ́w^{n}ɛ̀* *ŋɛ̀]* *ɔ́ŋ-à:-m*
[meat eat.meat.Pfv.Ppl Def] **get.tired**-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
'I ate meat until I got tired.' (i.e. 'I gorged myself on meat')

There is another more specialized construction also with 'get tired', itself now in a backgrounded perfective event clause, and preceded by a durative subordinated clause with H-toned suffix *-á:* on the otherwise L-toned verb. The 'got tired' clause is followed by a clause presenting a new, foregrounded event (not shown here).

(449) a. *[àr^{n}à-dǐ:* *pɛ́l* *gɛ̀],* *yá-ǹ* *bìr-á→* *ɔ́ŋɔ̀* *ŋɛ̀,*
[year ten Def], there.DiscDef work(v)-**DurSub** **get.tired**.Pfv.Ppl Def,
'After working for those ten long years, …' (Text 6 @ 01:12)

b. *nàw^{n}á* *tɛ̀w^{n}-á→* *ɔ́ŋɔ̀* *ŋɛ̀,*
meat eat.meat-**DurSub** **get.tired**.Pfv.Ppl Def,
'After gorging myself on meat, …' (< *tɛ́w^{n}ɛ́*)

Were it not for the tones, I would connect this durative *-á→* with the *=à:* in ^{HL}*bír=à: bìrɛ́-j=ɔ̀:* '(they said) we had also kept working' (Text 6 @ 04:50) and with ^{HL}*ób-Ø=à: óbò-gù=b-ɛ̀:^{n}* 'they were constantly giving us money' (Text 6 @ 05:04), both of which emphasize prolongation. However, the tones suggest that the *=à:* in those two examples is really the 'also, too' enclitic *=à:* (§19.1.3.1) added to a cognate nominal. So the two examples in Text 6 represent a construction different from that in (449)

Follow-up elicitation showed that the final verb in one of them, ^{HL}*bír=à: bìrɛ́-j=ɔ̀:*, is the emphatic perfect with *-jɛ̀* (§10.2.1.6). Follow-up also showed that the past imperfective type ^{HL}*ób-Ø=à: óbò-gù=b-ɛ̀:^{n}* is fairly productive in the sense 'kept VPing', but that the particle *kàr^{n}à* 'too, even' can substitute for *=à:*, see (528) in §19.1.3.2. Another example is *[* ^{HL}*yô: kàr^{n}à] yô:-gù=bɛ̀-* 'kept entering'. This optional substitution strengthens the case for taking *=à:* to be the 'too, also' enclitic.

15.2.2 Perfective subordinators

15.2.2.1 Perfective subordinator *-ˈé→*

This subordinator indicates that the eventuality denoted by the current clause precedes in time that denoted by the following main clause. The subjects of the two clauses are coindexed. The entire sequence is usually perfective, i.e. normally a report of a past event sequence. (For nonpast event sequences, see the pseudo-conditional, §15.2.5). The downstepped H-tone is an intonational marker of incompletion. The vowel quality is [+ATR] *e* regardless of the vocalism of the stem.

When *-ˈé→* is suffixed to *Cv:-* verb stems, they shorten to *Cv-* by Prevocalic *v*-Shortening (§3.4.5.2), as in *yà-ˈé→* from *yă:-* 'go' and *yó-ˈé→* from *yó:-* 'enter'. For bisyllabic and longer stems, *-ˈé→* replaces the stem final vowel, as in *wèl-ˈé→* from *wèlɛ́* 'come' and *yùmɔ́l-ˈé→* from *yùmɔ́lɔ́* 'sweep up (uprooted weeds) with one's hand into bunches'. Likewise, the *Cv-* verb *gɛ́-* 'say' (§11.3) forms *g-ˈé→*.

Since the *-ˈé→* clause denotes an event that precedes a following foregrounded event, it is intrinsically perfective in nature. I suggest that it is also morphologically related to the unsuffixed perfective paradigm (§10.2.1.2), and that it originated as "intonational" prolongation of a pronominally unconjugated form of this paradigm. Indeed, stem-final *e* ~ *ɛ* occurs in the corresponding simple perfectives of several other Dogon languages, in what I call the E-stem.

The morphological affinity between subordinator *-ˈé→* and the unsuffixed perfective in main clauses is less transparent in YS than in some other Dogon languages. However, the connection receives some support from the existence of a counterpart based on the perfective negative suffix (see the following section).

As with some other cases of "intonationally" prolonged phrase-final vowel, the *-ˈé→* ending is pronounced with mid-level pitch as well as variable prolongation. In *yà-ˈé→* the ending has somewhat higher pitch than the stem syllable. In *yó-ˈé→* and *yùmɔ́l-ˈé→*, the ending has lower pitch than the preceding stem syllable. In all cases the pitch is middling. There being no well-established mid-tone in YS tonology, I transcribe this as a downstepped H-tone. The downstep and prolongation indicate incompleteness, since the *-ˈé→* subordinator is always followed by another (usually foregrounded) clause.

In (78a-b) in §4.6.1.1, *gò-ˈé→* 'exit (leave from) and then' occurs in the context 'X leave this house and (then) X go to the other house'. Although both clauses denote aspects of the same trajectory, *gŏ:* 'exit, leave' specifically refers to the departure and is not conceptualized in YS as overlapping in time with the following clause with *yă:* 'go'.

This subordinator also combines with *kígílímɔ́* 'turn around; go back' in both literal ('turn around') and abstract ('re-do') senses (450).

(450) a. *kígílím-ˈé→* *yɛ̀nɛ́*
go.back-**PfvSub** look
'turn around and look (back)'

b. *kígílím-ˈé→* *kárⁿá*
go.back-**PfvSub** do
'do (it) again, re-do (it)'

There are many examples of *-ˈé→* in the texts.

15.2.2.2 Perfective negative subordinator *-l-ˈí→* ~ *-n-ˈí→*

The main-clause perfective negative suffix is *-ˊl* (H-toned), becoming *-ˊl* when added to a nasal syllable (§10.2.3.1). Consideration only of the main-clause paradigm suggests an underlying form /-lv́-/ with underspecified short high vowel v́, i.e. either /-lí-/ or /-lú-/, as seen in 1Sg *-lú-m,* 2Sg *-lú-w*, and 2Pl *-lí-y*, where the choice of surface vowel quality is determined by the following sonorant.

The negative counterpart of perfective positive subordinator *-ˈé→* (preceding section) is *-l-ˈí→* or nasalized *-rⁿ-ˈí→*. This is evidence in favor of /-lí-/ as the underlying form of the perfective negative suffix. (Further evidence is provided by willy-nilly conditionals, §16.3). The clause in question can often be translated as 'without having VPed'. A textual example is (451).

(451) *[ìnɛ̀m=î:* *sòlmɔ̀-n-ˈí→],*
[Logo=Acc request(v)-**PfvNeg-PfvSub**],
[ɲă:-rⁿá *ìnɛ̆m* *mɔ̀]=y↘,* *nàwⁿá* *ób-ˈé→,*
[woman-Sg Logo Poss]=Acc, meat give-PfvSub,
'(He said:) "You gave meat to my wife without having asked me, …" '
(Text 1 @ 00:50)

15.2.2.3 Backgrounded perfective event clause

This construction resembles a headless perfective nonsubject relative (perhaps with 'time' or 'fact, situation' as covert head), but without the usual {HL} overlay on the perfective participle. The construction always ends in definite *gɛ̀* or variant, and never has an overt L-toned head. It is very common in narrative event sequences, especially for relatively minor linking events (e.g. with motion verbs) and in backgrounded clause repetitions. Such clauses can be translated freely as English past-tense clauses, with or without initial 'After'. A clause of this type is followed in short order by another event clause, usually foregrounded.

There are dozens of examples in the texts. Most of the perfective participles (interlinear "Pfv.Ppl") in the texts represent this construction, only a few being true relative constructions. One example of a backgrounded repetition is in Text 1 @ 00:02 through 00:04, where 'he said he was a hunter' occurs first as a foregrounded perfective clause, then is repeated (now in background function) with a perfective participle and definite *gɛ̀*. This is followed by another backgrounded event clause ('he got up'), which is new rather than repeated, but which denotes a minor linking event that leads to a more foregrounded action ('he went traveling').

When the subject is pronominal, it takes the same H-toned proclitic form that occurs frequently in nonsubject relatives. After such a pronominal, the verb is {L}-toned, as in nonsubject relatives. Examples are *bé* L*kà-y gɛ̀* 'they ate', *wó* L*kàn-Ø ŋɛ̀* 'he/she did', and so forth. In Text 1, *yérù yà-y-Ø* 'he went traveling' (foregrounded) is followed by backgrounded *yérù wó* L*yà-y gɛ̀* with 3Sg proclitic *wó*, perhaps anticipating the contrast with a new referent about to be introduced in the following clause. Another example is (454b) in §15.2.4. However, in narrative passages with a single continuous topical agent, the (not very informative) subject proclitic is often omitted in medial clauses that denote transitional or less important events.

The verb has chaining-stem form segmentally. There is no melody-erasing {HL} overlay as there is in true perfective relatives. /H/-melody stems have HL-tones, with a single H-tone on the first syllable or (for monosyllabics) on the first mora. /LH/-melody stems have LH(L) tones, the final L appearing when there is an available syllable following the single H-tone, as in *Cv:Cv* (realized as *Cv̌:Cv̀*) and trisyllabic or longer stems. Prosodically light *Cv̌:* and *Cv̀Cv́* stems simply omit the final L-tone: *wɛ̀lɛ́ gɛ̀* 'came', *gǒ: gɛ̀* 'exited'. Further examples showing the *-y* or *-u* of the chaining stem (and the perfective participle) for some verbs are *yǎ-y gɛ̀* 'went' (< *yǎ:*), *ób-ù gɛ̀* 'gave' (< *óbó*), and *táŋì-r-Ø gɛ̀* 'transformed' (< *táŋá-rá*).

Because of these tonal features, only /LH/-melody verbs not preceded by an H-toned subject proclitic audibly distinguish this backgrounded perfective clause type from true headless nonsubject perfective relatives. However, several verbs that occur frequently in backgrounded perfective clauses have /LH/ melody, e.g. *wɛ̀lɛ́* 'come', *gǒ:* 'exit (v)', and *yǎ:* 'go'. The construction is therefore quite conspicuous in narrative texts.

If two verbs in a direct chain are combined into a single backgrounded perfective clause, both verbs have the tone pattern described above, HL for /H/ melody and LH(L) for /LH/ melody. There is just one final definite marker, and if there is an H-toned pronominal-subject proclitic it precedes the final verb. Examples are … *kâm-Ø mú* L*pà:r-Ø gɛ̀* 'I dropped (it) (and then …)' (454b) including *kámá* 'throw', *[[dǐ: nɛ̀] yô-y] wó* L*yà-y gɛ̀* 'she went and entered (< *yó:*) the water (and then …)' (Text 4 @ 00:22), and *gùmɔ́ ób-ù gɛ̀* '(he) split (*gùmɔ́*) and gave (it) (and then …)' (Text 1 @ 00:23).

A construction with H-toned subject pronominal preceding L*kàn-Ø ŋɛ̀* 'doing', and itself preceded by a verb with final L, occurs before topic shifts, often with a change from one subject to a new one. See 'after she brought (the meal), and after he had finished eating, …' (Text 4 @ 00:37), 'when the belly got swollen, the hunter …' (Text 1 @ 00:44, cf. also 00:58). The first verb can also be in perfective negative form (in this case with LHL tones): 'when he didn't reply, the (other) man who had eaten …' (Text 1 @ 00:40).

15.2.3 Pseudo-conditional clauses with *-ɔ̀: lɛ̀* (nonpast anterior)

Several Dogon languages use a clause type that is, at least often, indistinguishable from a conditional antecedent ('if he falls') in a second function, viz., a subordinated clause denoting an event oreceding a second event that has not yet taken place (imperfective, future, or deontic modal). The subjects of the subordinated and following clauses are normally coindexed.

In YS, the pseudo-conditional again has the same clause-final particle *lè* (glossed 'if') as in conditional antecedents. However, whereas true antecedents have a main-clause verb form (perfective or stative), pseudo-conditionals have a distinctive form of the verb with suffix *-ɔ̀:* . This combines with monosyllabic *Cv:* verbs as *Cv́-ɔ̀:* (/H/ melody) or *Cv̀-ɔ̂:* (/LH/ melody) by Prevocalic *v*-Shortening (§3.4.5.2). With nonmonosyllabic stems, *-ɔ̀:* contracts with the final vowel. For *CvCv* stems the result is *Cv́C-ɔ̀:* (/H/ melody) or *CvC-ɔ̂:* (/LH/ melody).

(452) a. *[nùmɔ́ súg-ɔ̀: lè] í-ʔìŋè-lè-jɛ̀-Ø*
[fall descend-**AntNonp** **if**] Rdp-get.up-Ø-Ipfv-3SgSbj
'He/She will fall down and (then) get up.'

b. *[nùmɔ́ súg-ɔ̀: lè] íŋé-lé*
[fall descend-**AntNonp** **if**] get.up-Ø.Imprt
'Fall down and (then) get up!'

Examples of relevant verb forms are in (453). 'Hold' illustrates the treatment of mediopassive verbs.

(453)

bare	AntNonp	gloss	reference
tɛ́:	*tɛ́-ɔ̀: lè*	'pile (manure)'	Text 5 @ 02:04
yå:	*yà-ɔ̂: lè*	'go'	Text 5 @ 00:29
tɔ́rɔ́	*tɔ́r-ɔ̀: lè*	'strip'	Text 2 @ 00:24
dɔ̀rⁿɔ́	*dɔ̀rⁿ-ɔ̂: lè*	'sell'	Text 2 @ 00:27
gɛ̀l-ɛ́:	*gɛ̀l-í-ɔ̀:*	'hold'	Text 5 @ 02:20

There are about thirty pseudo-conditionals in the texts including those just referenced. They can be spotted by observing clause-final *lè* (interlinear "if") after anterior nonpast verb ("-AntNonp").

Perfective-1b suffix *-tì-* is usually an L-toned suffix. A related form appears to combine with anterior nonpast *-ɔ̀:* twice as *-t-ɔ̂:* (Text 5 @ 03:11, Text 6 @ 05:43) and once as *-t-î:* (Text 5 @ 01:42). These combinations presuppose an original H-toned form, functioning as an auxiliary verb rather than as a perfective suffix (§10.1.2).

In elicitation, my assistant did not require the replacement of *-ˡɛ́→* by the pseudo-conditional in nonperfective contexts. For example, he also expressed (452a) above with *nùmɔ́ súg-ˡɛ́→*.

15.2.4 Different-subject perfective subordinated clauses

It is possible to combine two clauses denoting sequential actions by different subjects, using either a perfective adverbial relative headed by a 'time' noun as in (454a), see §15.3.3, or a backgrounded perfective clause as in (454b), see §15.2.2.3.

(454) a. *[[wà:r*^{L} *ú* ^{L}*yò-y] lè] [ú-ỳ làg-ù-m]*
[[**time**^{L} 2SgSbj ^{L}enter-Pfv.Ppl] if] [2Sg-Acc hit-Pfv-1SgSbj]
'When you-Sg came in, I hit you-Sg.'

b. *[[ɛ̀ɲɛ̀-tâl gɛ̀] kâm-Ø mú* ^{L}*pà:r-Ø gɛ̀]*
[[chicken-egg Def] throw-Chain 1SgSbj ^{L}take.down-Pfv.Ppl Def]
jɔ̀g-â:y-Ø
shatter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'I dropped the chicken egg, and it broke.'
or: 'When/After I dropped the chicken egg, it broke.'

15.3 Other temporal adverbial clauses

15.3.1 'Since (from the time when) …' and 'until …' clauses (*nɛ̀*, *bǎ→*)

A 'since …' clause, in the temporal sense 'from the time when …', takes the form of a nonsubject perfective relative, plus final *nɛ̀*, which is arguably the locative postposition (§8.2.3.1) but which will here be glossed 'since'. An example is *émɛ́* ^{L}*yà-y nɛ̀* 'from the time we went, (we hadn't spent any money)', see Text 6 @ 05:01. Another example:

(455) *[mú* ^{L}*wɛ̀lɛ̀ nɛ̀] jâ: kà:-lú-m*
[1SgSbj ^{L}come.Pfv.Ppl **since**] meal eat-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'(Ever) since I came here, I haven't eaten a meal.'

For *bǎ→* with NP complements in the sense 'all the way (from/to)', see §8.2.11. See also §15.4.4 for 'from X until (or: all the way to) Y' using motion verbs.

15.3.2 'Almost, about to' (*-ỳ* plus *kàr^{n}à-jɛ̀-*)

An imminent action can be expressed by the substantive verb with suffix *-ỳ*, immediately followed by {L}-toned *kàr^{n}à-jɛ̀-*, imperfective of *kár^{n}á* 'do'. The main verb keeps the lexical H or LH onset, then the tone drops for the remainder of the word including the suffix. The tones of the verb differ from those of *-y* subordinator in the weak obligation ('ought to') construction (§17.6.1), though the semantics of the two are not wildly divergent.

(456) a. *pá:^{n}-ỳ* ^{L}*kàr^{n}à-jɛ̀-Ø*
dry.up-**almost** ^{L}do-Ipfv-3SgSbj
'It (well) has almost dried up'

b. *dɔ̌:-ỳ* *ᴸkàrⁿà-ỳ*
arrive-**almost** ᴸdo-Ipfv.1PlSbj
'We have almost arrived.'

c. *gɛ̌l* *gɛ̀lɛ́-ỳ* *ᴸkàrⁿà-jɛ̀-m*
harvest(n) harvest(v)-**almost** ᴸdo-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I am about to harvest.'

d. *émɛ́* *nă:* *págà-ỳ* *ᴸkàrⁿà-y*
1Pl cow tie-**almost** ᴸdo-Ipfv.1PlSbj
'we are about to tie up the cow.'

One might connect this *-ỳ* subordinator with *-y* in weak obligationals ('ought to VP', §17.6.1), but the morphosyntax is somewhat divergent.

15.3.3 Noun-headed temporal clause ('the day/year/time when …')

Temporal nouns 'day', 'year', and '(moment in) time' can function as heads of adverbial relatives. An outer postposition 'on, at, in' is implied but covert.

An example with *bǎy* 'day' as head is *bày*ᴸ *émɛ́* ᴸ*gò:* '(on) the day (when) we left', Text 6 @ 05:07. One with 'time' as head is *wàgàdù*ᴸ *nɛ̂:ʒ súg-ɛ̀: gɛ̀* 'the time when snow falls', Text 6 @ 02:31. An elicited example with 'year' (*àrⁿà-gújú*) is (457).

(457) *[àrⁿà-gùjùᴸ* *mú* *ᴸwɛ̀lɛ̀* *gɛ̀]* *àrⁿá* *mɛ̌:-n-Ø*
[**year**ᴸ 1SgSbj ᴸcome.Pfv.Ppl Def] rain(n) rain.fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'The year I came, it didn't rain.'

In the case of 'day', an L-toned occurrence ᴸ*bày* may also follow the relative clause proper, in addition to or instead of an overt clause-internal *bày*ᴸ. An example without the clause-internal copy is '(on) the day when the beer of the Bulo festival has ripened (=fermented)', Text 5 @ 00:29. See §14.1.11 on this head-doubling process.

15.3.4 *mɔ̀nɛ̀* 'before …' or 'by the time …'

The 'before' clause has a verb in bare-stem form with lexical tone melody, followed by subordinator *mɔ̀nɛ̀*, variant *mɔ̀n*. If the subject is pronominal, it takes H-toned proclitic form and is followed by an L-toned form of the verb. If there is an overt nonpronominal subject, it is optionally resumed by a third person proclitic subject pronominal. Textual examples are *wó* ᴸ*yà: mɔ̀n* 'before he went' (Text 2 @ 00:07) and *émɛ́* ᴸ*yà: mɔ̀n* 'by the time we went (=arrived)' (Text 6 @ 02:27). The form of 'go', ᴸ*yà:* rather than #ᴸ*yà-y*, shows that it is in bare-stem rather than chaining form. Likewise *[kû: mɔ̀] mú*

^{L}*kà: mɔ̀nɛ̀* ‘before I shaved (or: before I [will] shave) my head’, with a tone-dropped form of bare-stem *ká:* ‘shave’ (not chaining *ká-y*).

mɔ̀nɛ̀ may have originated as an imperfective subordinator or (less likely) a possessive morpheme, plus locative postposition *nɛ̀*. Any such segmentation would be opaque to current speakers, but an imperfective origin might explain some textual examples where the event denoted by the ‘before’ clause ends (rather than begins) before the other event.

In (458), ‘rain (n)’ is optionally resumed as 3Sg *wó* preceding the verb. If *wó* is present, *mɛ̌:* drops tones to ^{L}*mɛ̀:*, otherwise it keeps its lexical rising melody. In this example, both events are understood to have occurred.

(458) *[àr^{n}á mɛ̌: mɔ̀nɛ̀,*
[rain(n) rain.fall **before**,
[[[tógù gɛ̀] ^{L}dù:] nɛ̀] yó:=b-ɛ̀:^{n}
[[[shed Def] ^{L}base] Loc] enter=Past-1PlSbj
‘Before the rain fell, we went in under the shed (thatch shelter).’
or: ‘By the time the rain fell, we had gone in …’

Examples whose ‘before’ clause denotes a future event are (459). The form of the ‘before’ clause is the same as in the preceding examples.

(459) a. *[sɛ̂n dɔ̌: mɔ̀nɛ̀] wí-wɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[Feast.of.Ram arrive **before**] Rdp-come-Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I will come before the Feast of the Ram (arrives).’

b. *[[nàw^{n}á ŋɛ̀] émɛ́ ^{L}tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ̀ mɔ̀nɛ̀,*
[[meat Def] 1PlSbj ^{L}eat.meat **before**,
[máŋgò:rò gɛ̀] lá:y ká:-mɔ̀-y
[mango Def] first(adverb) eat-Hort-PlAddr
‘Before we eat the meat, let’s eat the mango first.’

15.4 Spatial and manner adverbials

15.4.1 Spatial adverbial clause (‘where …’)

The noun *dɛ̌y^{n}* ‘place’ is a common head of relatives, in tone-dropped form. An example is (394c) in §14.1 (‘This is the place where I fell’). Such a relative may function adverbially in a higher clause (460).

(460) *[[úr^{n}ù-m dɛ̀y^{n}^{L} dâ:^{n}=b-ɛ̀:^{n} ŋɛ̀] =ǹ] yǎ:-mɔ́*
[[children-Pl **place**^{L} sit.Stat=Past-3PlSbj Def] Loc] go-Hort
‘Let’s go (to) where the children were sitting.’

15.4.2 Manner adverbial clause (‘how …’, ‘the way …’)

The noun meaning ‘manner, way (of doing something)’ is *dàŋǎy* or *àŋǎy*. The postposition ‘like, similar to’ is *gín* ~ *ŋín* (§8.4.2), and is part of demonstrative and interrogative manner adverbs (§4.4.2.3, §13.2.6). An adverbial manner relative adds this postposition to an adverbial relative headed by either of the ‘manner’ nouns. In (461), the manner clause is resumed in the main clause by ‘thus’.

(461) *[[ámàdù* *àŋày*^{L} / *dàŋày*^{L} *bírɛ́* *bìrɛ́-jɛ̀]* *gìn]*
[[A **manner**^{L} / **manner**^{L} work(n) work(v)-Ipfv.Ppl] **like**]
ɲí^{n} *bìrɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
thus work-Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I work the (same) way Amadou works.’

15.4.3 Headless adverbial clause as spatiotemporal or manner clause

In most Dogon languages, headless nonsubject relatives can function adverbially, with implied but covert head noun ‘time’, ‘place’, or ‘manner’, or more abstractly ‘situation’ or ‘fact’. In YS, headless perfective positive relatives may have been pre-empted by the backgrounded perfective event clause. The latter is essentially a headless nonsubject perfective positive relative without the usual {HL} overlay on the verb (§15.2.2.3). It presents minor or repeated events in a narrative sequence, but it doesn’t function quite like a true adverbial relative.

In theory, a headless true relative could be distinguished from the backgrounded perfective by implementing the {HL} overlay on the participle. However, the distinction could be made audibly only if the verb has /LH/ melody, and even then only if there is no H-toned pronominal-subject proclitic. Headless adverbial relatives would be easier to identify in aspect-negation categories other than perfective positive. However, there are no clear examples in my data.

15.4.4 ‘From X, until (or: all the way to) Y’

Indicating the trajectory from starting to ending point can be done by combining *gǒ:* ‘exit, leave’, in a backgrounded perfective event clause ending in *gǒ: gɛ̀*, with an inflected form of *dǒ:* ‘arrive’ (462a). An alternative with perfective subordinated form *gò-é→* (462b) implies a temporal break between the two events.

(462) a. *[mó:tì* *gǒ:* *gɛ̀]* *jɔ́bɔ̀*^{HL}- ^{L}*jɔ̀bɔ̀* *séwá:rà* ^{L}*dɔ̀-è:*^{n}
[M **exit(v)**.Pfv.Ppl Def] run^{HL}-^{L}run S ^{L}**arrive**.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They ran from Mopti to Sevare.’ [repeated from (178a)]

b. *[mó:tì* *gò-é→]* *jɔ́bɔ̀*^{HL}- ^{L}*jɔ̀bɔ̀* *séwá:rà* ^{L}*dɔ̀-è:*^{n}
[M **exit(v)**.PfvSub] run^{HL}-^{L}run S ^{L}**arrive**.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They left Mopti, (then) they ran to Sevare.'

See also §8.2.11 and §15.3.1 for *bă→* 'all the way to/from' and *hálú* 'until, all the way to'.

16 Conditional constructions

16.1 Hypothetical conditional with *lè* 'if'

The particle *lè* occurs at the end of the antecedent clause. The same (or a homophonous) particle functions as a versatile postposition, especially instrumental-comitative (§8.1).

The "true" conditional antecedent type with *lè* at the end of an otherwise complete predicate, described in this chapter, is distinct from an alternative clause type with *lè* following an anterior nonpast subordinated clause, in a "pseudo-conditional" construction that specifies temporal sequence rather than causation or inference (§15.2.3). However, even a "true" conditional antecedent, without the anterior nonpast subordinator, sometimes appears to express temporal sequence rather than pure causality.

16.1.1 Positive antecedent clause

In the usual case where the antecedent event is hypothetical, and would precede the consequent event in time, a positive antecedent is usually perfective or stative. The consequent is imperfective if indicative, or alternatively a deontic modal, i.e. imperative, prohibitive (463b), or hortative. Either clause may contain a focalized constituent, but this is much less common than in main clauses. Because truth values are intrinsically focal, the predicates themselves are often morphosyntactically focalized. The morphological consequence is that the perfective-1a and -1b (as opposed to the unsuffixed perfective) are obligatory in positive nonstative antecedents if there is focalized constituent (463a-d). The few verbs like 'see' that do not allow either perfective-1a or -1b make use of completive perfect *-jɛ̀:-* in this context (463e). The reduplicated imperfective is typical in positive indicative consequents in the absence of a focalized constituent (463c-d). The predicates of both clauses are conjugated for pronominal subject in the usual way.

(463) a. *[àrⁿá* *mɛ̀-â:y-Ø* *lè]* *[ǒl* *yǎ:-lɛ̀-m]*
[rain(n) rain.fall-Pfv1a-3SgSbj **if**] [the.bush go-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj]
'If it rains, I won't go to the bush (=to the fields).'

b. *[àrⁿá* *mɛ̀-â:y-Ø* *lè]* *[ǒl* *yǎ:-nɔ̀wⁿ]*
[rain(n) rain.fall-Pfv1a-3SgSbj **if**] [the.bush go-Proh]
'If it rains, don't go to the bush (=to the fields)!'

c. *[mí-ỳ* *lág-Ø-t-ɛ̀:ⁿ* *lè]* *[bé-ỳ* *dí-dà:-jɛ̀-m]*
[1Sg-Acc hit-Chain-Pfv1b-3PlSbj **if**] [3Pl-Acc Rdp-kill-Ipfv-1SgSbj]
'If they hit me, I will kill them.'

d. *[nú-nɛ̀* *wɛ̀l-â:-w* *lɛ̀]* *[jâ:* *kí-kà:-y]*
[here come-Pfv1a-2SgSbj **if**] [meal Rdp-eat.meal-1PlSbj]
'If you-Sg come here, we'll eat (a meal).'

e. *ú-ỳ* *yɛ́:-jɛ̀:-Ø,* *…*
2Sg-Acc see-CompPf-3SgSbj, …
'if he/she sees you-Sg, …'

In Text 2 @ 00:44, the antecedent clause does have a non-verb focalized constituent ('having put on pants'), so the verb preceding 'if' does exceptionally occur in tone-dropped unsuffixed perfective form (*yàlà-Ø*). This also happens with 'said', which is regularly in the unsuffixed perfective form after a quoted clause, see Text 5 @ 04:31.

More textual examples, noting the inflectional category of the (positive) antecedent, are these: perfective-1a Text 5 @ 00:46 (repeated 01:05), 02:20, 02:45, 03:06, 03:16, 04:14, 04:42, 04:46, 05:03, 05:06, 05:19, 05:30, 05:36, and 05:46, and Text 6 @ 04:19; perfective-1b Text 4 @ 00:31 and 01:25 (repeated 01:28), and Text 5 @ 02:15, 02:17, 03:20, 04:48; completive perfect Text 2 @ 00:38 and Text 5 @ 00:46, 04:36 (repeated 04:38), and 05:52; emphatic perfect Text 5 @ 04:24 and 04:57; 'it is' predicate Text 1 @ 00:47 and Text 5 @ 03:28 and 03:31.

An antecedent may exceptionally have an imperfective verb form if it is strung together with preceding and following clauses denoting regularly sequenced actions, as in descriptions of complex but regularly occurring activities. In Text 5 @ 00:25, *[kɔ̀ŋɔ́ ŋɛ̀] árà-y lɛ̀* 'they brew the beer' denotes one event in the middle of such a sequence. The closely related preceding events are expressed either as reduplicated imperfectives ('stone-grind') or as pseudo-conditionals ('stone-grind', repeated). The following events are expressed as temporal adverbial clauses ('ripen') or as reduplicated imperfectives ('pour'). The intervening 'brew' event is expressed as an imperfective antecedent, emphasizing its sequential relationship to the preceding 'stone-grind' clause. Perhaps a better example is (364), where 'if I come and find you' has 'find' in imperfective form by virtue of following 'come' in time. See also 'set fire' in Text 5 @ 01:50, 'when we go' in Text 6 @ 01:47, and 'when they (would) come' in Text 6 @ 03:04.

A dubitative overlay on the antecedent ('if X were to VP' or 'if X happens to VP') can be expressed by using perfective-1a *bí-à:y-Ø*, literally 'he/she/it stayed', as a kind of auxiliary following a fully inflected main verb (positive or negative) but preceding *lɛ̀*. (The *y* is often elided before the *l*.) The combination *bí-à:y-Ø lɛ̀* occurs in Text 3 @ 01:20, Text 5 @ 03:48 (after negative verb) and 05:13, and Text 6 @ 04:41 and 04:46.

In Text 2 @ 00:44, the semantic relationship of the antecedent 'if a pauper goes around wearing pants' to the consequent 'his situation is fine' is inferential rather than causal.

16.1.2 'If not …' = 'unless …'

Negating the antecedent clause produces an 'unless …' clause.

(464) *[àrⁿá* *mɛ̀:-ń-Ø* *lɛ̀]* *[ǒl* *yí-yà:-jɛ̀-m]*
[rain(n) rain.fall-**PfvNeg**-3SgSbj **if**] [the.bush Rdp-go-Ipfv-1SgSbj]
'If it doesn't rain, I will go to the bush (=to the fields).'
= 'Unless it rains, I will go to the bush.'

A bare 'unless …' clause not accompanied by an overt consequent clause can have the sense 'it is (or: would be) better (to VP)'. In other words, the implied consequent denotes a potential misfortune. In Text 6 @ 04:50, an antecedent literally meaning 'if it is not returning (verbal noun)' has the pragmatic sense 'Coming (=going) back (to one's point of departure) is better'. See also Text 6 @ 04:05, where a negative consequent is juxtaposed to a positive consequent and where the two are followed by an overt consequent clause.

kó=y 'it is that (definite)', in colloquial English 'that's it', is negated as *kó=y=lǎ:* 'it isn't that (definite)'. This occurs chiefly in the conditional antecedent formula *kó=y=lǎ: lɛ̀* 'if it isn't that', i.e. 'otherwise'. An example is Text 6 @ 05:18.

16.2 Alternative 'if' particles

16.2.1 *pú→* 'all' as substitute for *lɛ̀*

ˡpú→ 'all' (often downstepped *ˡpú→*) frequently occurs instead of *lɛ̀* in conditional antecedents. The sequence *lɛ̀ ˡpú→* is attested (Text 4 @ 01:28) but less common. *ˡpú→* is somewhat stronger than *lɛ̀*, either pragmatically ('if you so much as touch me, I'll …'), or in having a wider temporal scope ('if you ever touch me, I'll …'). The latter seems to be the situation in textual passage (465).

(465) *[yér-nɛ̀* *yó-à:y-Ø* *ˡpú→]* *jí-jìg-ɛ̀:*
[visitor-Sg enter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj **all**] Rdp-shake.Ipfv-3SgSbj
'whenever a stranger came into the village, it (=village) would tremble.' (Text 4 @ 01:01)

This may also be the case in 'when(-ever) they have propped them up' (Text 5 @ 04:57). In another passage that follows closely on (465), *ˡpú→* occurs in the rather menacing 'if you don't identify that girl, we will kill you' (Text 4 @ 01:20).

In such antecedents, *pú→* can be expanded by adding one of the other 'all' quantifiers, for example *cɛ̂m ˡpú→* in Text 5 @ 05:36.

pú→ is sufficiently common in conditional antecedents that its emphatic force should not be exaggerated. In Text 5 @ 03:28 and 03:31, *pú→* is summative as well as conditional ('whether it's rice weeds, or whether it's cowpeas') and has no particular emphatic force.

16.2.2 'Even if …' (*dɛ̀:*)

The 'even if' particle is *dɛ̀:*, replacing *lɛ̀* at the end of the antecedent clause. The construction is otherwise (e.g. regarding aspectual inflections) the same as the regular conditional construction.

(466) a. *[wɛ̀l-â:y-Ø* *dɛ̀:]* *[[wó* *lɛ̀]* *sɔ̌:* *sɔ̂:-lɛ̀-m]*
[come.Pfv1a-3SgSbj **even.if**] [[3Sg Dat] talk(n) speak-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj]
'Even if he/she comes, I won't speak to him/her.'

b. *[àrⁿá* *mɛ̀-â:y-Ø* *dɛ̀:]* *[ŏl* *yí-yà:-jɛ̀-m]*
[rain(n) rain.fall-Pf1a-3SgSbj **even.if**] [the.bush Rdp-go-Ipfv-1SgSbj]
'Even if it rains, I will go to the bush (=to the fields).'

In Text 6 @ 04:05, *dɛ̀:* has the sense 'if in fact' or 'if on the other hand' rather than 'even if', in a complex context contrasting two antecedent events (going back and remaining) with different consequences.

The same *dɛ̀:*, or a homophone, is a purposive postposition (§8.3), and the 'than' postposition in comparatives (§12.1.1).

16.2.3 'As soon as …' (*tán*)

The Fulfulde particle *tan* 'only' can be used in YS as another clause-final 'if' particle *tán*, as in some other Dogon (and Songhay) languages. The sense is that the consequent event will follow immediately or at least promptly on the realization of the antecedent event.

(467) *[bé* *wɛ̀l-â:-ỳⁿ* *tán]* *[jâ:* *kí-kà:-y]*
[3Pl come-Pfv1a-3PlSbj **only**] [meal Rdp-eat.meal-Ipfv.1PlSbj]
'Once they have come, we will eat.'
= 'As soon as they come, we will eat.'

16.3 Willy-nilly disjunctive antecedents ('whether or not …')

In this construction, the realization or non-realization of the antecedent event has no bearing on the realization of the consequent event. Typically the two paired antecedents are positive and negative counterparts, and subjects and other arguments are normally not repeated in the second antecedent.

The final syllable of each antecedent clause is prolonged and, if H-toned, ends in low pitch, as in the "dying-quail effect" in several other Dogon languages (symbol *∴*). The 3Sg perfective negative suffix complex, usually a syllabic coda *-ˊl-Ø* or nasalized *-ń-Ø*, becomes syllabic *-lí-Ø* or nasalized *-rⁿí-Ø* in this construction. This syllable is prolonged variably and its pitch slowly drops. For example, the final syllable of *mɛ̀-â:y-Ø∴* in (468a) is longer than that of ordinary *àrⁿá mɛ̀-â:y-Ø* 'it rained' as a simple main clause, though this vowel is already phonemically long. When the final syllable ends in a sonorant suffix (1Sg *-m*, 2Sg *-w*, etc.), the sonorant is prolonged. Perfective negative *mɛ̀:-rⁿí-Ø∴* not only ends in a syllabic suffix, compare *àrⁿá mɛ̀:-ń-Ø* 'it didn't rain' elsewhere, but its pitch slowly dies, hence [mɛ̀:rⁿíìì]. The pitch drop is observed with perfective negative verbs (which end in H-tone) but not with perfective positive verbs (which already end in L-tone).

(468) a. *[[àrⁿá mè-â:y-Ø.:.] mè:-rⁿí-Ø.:.]*
[[rain(n) rain.fall-Pfv1a-3SgSbj] rain.fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj]
[ǒl yí-yà:-jè-m]
[the.bush Rdp-go-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'Whether or not it rains, I'll go to the bush (=to the fields).'

b. *[[mí-ỳ lág-Ø-tì-Ø.:.] làgà-lí-Ø.:.]*
[[1Sg-Acc hit-Chain-Pfv1b-3SgSbj] hit-PfvNeg-3SgSbj]
[wó-ỳ dí-dà:-jè-m]
[3Sg-Acc Rdp-kill-Ipfv-1SgSbj]
'Whether or not he/she hits me, I'll kill him/her.'

c. *[[mú ɲí-ɲìm-jè-m.:.] ɲíwⁿè-lè-m.:.]*
[[1Sg Rdp-die-Ipfv-1SgSbj] die-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj]
[há:jù wò-mɔ̀=y=lǎ:]
[concern(n) 3Sg-Poss=it.is=it.is.not]
'He/She doesn't care whether I die or don't die.' (*ɲíwⁿé* variant of *yíwⁿé* 'die')

The pragmatic force of this construction is optionally intensified by adding *wêy* 'all' after both antecedents. In this case, *wêy* attracts the dying-quail effect and the verbs revert to their main-clause forms.

(469) *[[àrⁿá mè-â:y-Ø wêy.:.] mè:-ń-Ø wêy.:.]*
[[rain(n) rain.fall-Pfv1a-3SgSbj **all**] rain.fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj **all**]
[ǒl yí-yà:-jè-m]
[the.bush Rdp-go-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'Regardless of whether or not it rains, I'll go to the bush (=to the fields) anyway.'

One might speculate that the dying-quail effect in willy-nilly conditionals originated as the segmental elision of an original L-toned 'if' particle, possibly but not necessarily the same *lè* that occurs in modern YS, while preserving the original tones and duration.

16.4 Counterfactual conditional

In a counterfactual, the speaker asserts that a previous unrealized event, if it had been realized (or not realized), would have resulted in (or prevented) a consequent event. The two clauses may be positive or negative, independently. The regular 'if' particle *lè* occurs at the end of the antecedent. The verbs of both clauses are marked by the conjugated past enclitic *=be-*. Specifically, the antecedent is in past perfect form, positive (§10.2.1.1) or negative (§10.5.1.1). The negative version has a single negative morpheme (470c), or occasionally double marking (470b) The consequent is past reduplicated imperfective (§10.5.1.6) if positive (470b), but past irrealis negative (§10.2.3.2) if negative (470a,c).

(470) a. *[yá:* *àr^{n}á* *mɛ̌:=bè-Ø* *lè]*
[yesterday rain(n) rain.fall=**Past**-3SgSbj **if**]
[ǒl *yà:=bè-lé-m]*
[the.bush go=**Past**-StatNeg-1SgSbj]
'If it had rained yesterday, I would not have gone to the bush (=to the fields).'

b. *[yá:* *àr^{n}á* *mɛ̀:-ń=bè-lé-Ø* *lè]*
[yesterday rain(n) rain.fall-PfvNeg=**Past**-StatNeg-3SgSbj **if**]
[ǒl *yì-yà:=bé-m]*
[the.bush Rdp-go.Ipfv=**Past**-1SgSbj]
'If it hadn't rained yesterday, I would have gone to the bush (=to the fields).'

c. *[ǒl* *yà:-lú-m=bè-m* *lè]*
[the.bush go-PfvNeg-1SgSbj=**Past**-1SgSbj **if**]
[ú-ỳ *yè:=bè-lé-m]*
[2Sg-Acc see=**Past**-Neg-1SgSbj
'If I hadn't gone to the bush, I wouldn't have seen you-Sg.'

17 Complement and purposive clauses

17.1 Quotative complements

Quotations may be framed by a following inflectable 'say' verb *gɛ́*, arguably underlying /gɛ̌/ (§11.3). In texts it occurs predominantly in the perfective positive form *gì-*.

The quoted clause itself is marked by a clause-final quotative enclitic if there is no overt 'say' verb. The enclitic has a basic form *=wɔ̀:* but its *w* can be assimilated to another sonorant, or deleted. Its deletion leads to *vv*-Contraction, resulting in *=ɔ̀:* . An earlier occurrence of the same enclitic is attached to the subject, forming a quotative subject (QuotSbj) phrase preceding the quoted predicate. If the subject is pronominal and has a specific referent, it is expressed by an independent pronoun within the quotative subject phrase, and there is no pronominal-subject suffix (i.e. agreement) suffix on the verb. The other major adjustment is that first person pronominals in the original utterance are encoded as logophorics, and second person pronominals in the original utterance are encoded as third person pronominals, with some exceptions explained below.

17.1.1 Direct versus indirect in quotative complements

The key pronominal shifts that occur in quoted clauses are illustrated in this textual example.

(471) *[[w= =â:] ìnɛ́=ỳ jɔ̀b-ˈɛ́→ dɔ̌: bɛ̀l-ɔ̂: lɛ̀]*
[[**3Sg** too] **Logo**=Acc run-PfvSub arrive get-AntNonp if]
ìnɛ́=y wó-mɔ̀=y =yɔ̀: ↘
Logo=it.is **3Sg**-Poss=it.is Quot
'(She) said, "if you-Sg too can run and catch up to me, I am yours." ' (Text 4 @ 00:13)

Since this passage is from a tale, neither the original speaker nor the original addressee is a current speech-event participant. The original 1Sg pronouns indexing the speaker have been replaced by logophorics (§18.3.1). The original 2Sg pronominals indexing the addressee have been replaced by regular third person pronominals. A logophoric unambiguously indexes the quoted speaker (the "author" of the quoted clause), but a third person pronominal can either denote the original addressee (as here) or any other third-person referent.

These substititions are overridden when a pronominal in a quotation happens to be coindexed with the present speaker or addressee. For example, 'I said I will come' is expressed with two 1Sg pronominals and without logophorics, see (522f). Likewise, 'me' in (472) below indexes the current speaker; in the original utterance it may have been either 2Sg or some third-person NP or pronominal (depending on who the original addressee was).

(472) *sěydù* *[ùnɔ̌:* *mí-ỳ* *[íbɛ̀* *nɛ̀]* *yé:=bɛ̀]* *gì-Ø*
S [Logo **1Sg**-Acc [market Loc] see=Past] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Seydou$_x$ said that he$_x$ saw me in the market'.

A textual example showing the same update to 1Sg is Text 6 @ 01:47.

A pronominal in a quotation that happens to be coindexed with the present addressee is likewise shifted to second person (473).

(473) *sěydù* *[ùnɔ̌:* *ú-ỳ* *[íbɛ̀* *nɛ̀]* *yé:=bɛ̀]*
S [Logo **2Sg**-Acc [market Loc] see=Past]
[mí *lɛ̀]* *gì-Ø*
[1Sg Dat] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Seydou told me that he saw you-Sg in the market'.

An exception is that if the current addressee was also the quoted speaker, any pronominal in the quoted clause that is coindexed with him/her can appear either in second-person or logophoric form. This is the case in 'You-Sg said that you-Sg will come', see both variants in (522d-e) in §18.3.1.

An interesting twist on this pattern is that original 'go' can be switched to 'come' in a quotation, when the current speech event is located at the original destination. See Text 6 @ 04:38.

There is no change in aspect-negation or tense categories, from the original utterance to the quotation.

17.1.2 Quotative-subject phrase

A referentially specific subject in the quoted form of an utterance that is asserted to have actually occurred is set off from the rest of the quotation by a quotative enclitic. The enclitic usually appears as *=ɔ̀:*, contracting with the preceding vowel. Pronominal forms include 3Sg *w=ɔ̂:*, 3Pl *bé=ɔ̀:*, 1Sg *m=ɔ̂:*, 1Pl *ém=ɔ̀:*, 2Sg *ɔ́=ɔ̀:*, and 2Pl *é=ɔ̀:* . In subject function, the logophoric pronoun (which is actually rather noun-like) does not co-occur with *=ɔ̀:*, but some variants of the logophoric pronoun such as *ìnɔ̌:* ~ *ùnɔ̌:* end in a long *ɔ*-vowel that might reflect a fused quotative marker (§18.3.1).

Most quotative-subject phrases in the texts are pronominal, but nonpronominal quotative subject phrases are possible. One such NP, containing a pronominal possessor but ending in definite *ŋɛ̀*, is quotative subject in *kù:-bɔ̂n èmɛ̀ ŋ=ɔ̀:* 'our brains' in Text 6 @ 03:21.

Because even subject pronominals occur regularly in quotative-subject phrases, quoted clauses normally have no pronominal-subject marking on the predicate. An exception is *kà:-y* 'you-Pl eat' in Text 3 @ 01:31, but here the 2Pl is generic, in a fixed proverb (cf. English *you can't win!*).

Quotative subject phrases are often set off prosodically and could be construed as topic-like. In (471) in the preceding section, the initial *w=â:* (3Sg pronominal plus 'too' enclitic), in topic-like function, seems to pre-empt a quotative-subject phrase. In Text 3 @ 01:33, *[kìjɛ̀*^{L} *élɛ̀l] =ɔ̀:* '(a) sweet thing' is a quotative topic (not subject) phrase, since it corresponds to the object of 'eat' in the following clause.

Further restrictions on quotative-subject phrases are brought out in (474). (474a-b) show that a low-referentiality subject like 'rain' in 'the rain rained' or 'hunger' in 'hunger has you' does not qualify for quotative-subject status. (474c) shows that this is also the case with a WH-interrogative as subject. Similarly, subjects of quoted polar interrogatives do not qualify (474d). (474e) shows that when the actual occurrence of an original statement is not asserted (e.g. denied or queried or put in the future), there is again no quotative-subject phrase even with a specific human referent.

(474) a. *wó* *[yá:* *àr^{n}á* *mɛ̌:=bè]* *gì-Ø*
3Sg [yesterday **rain(n)** rain.fall=Past] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She said that it rained yeterday.'

b. *sɛ̌ydù* *[gɛ̌:* *ú-ỳ* *yá* *sè]* *gì-Ø*
S [**hunger** 2Sg-Acc Exist have] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Seydou said that you are hungry.'

c. *[[nàw^{n}á* *ŋɛ̀]* *ǎ:* *tɛ̂w^{n}è* *má]* *gì-Ø*
[[meat Def] **who?** eat.meat.Pfv Q] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She said (=asked), "who ate the meat?" '

d. *wó* *[sɛ̌ydù* *yɛ̀l-â:y-Ø* *mà]* *gì-Ø*
3Sg [**S** come-Pfv1-3SgSbj Q] say,Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She asked, "has Seydou come?" '

e. *sɛ̌ydù* *[[ámàdù* *[î:* *gɛ̀]=y* *làg-ù]* *gɛ̌-l-Ø*
S [[**A** [child Def]=Acc hit-Pfv] say-**PfvNeg**-3SgSbj
'Seydou did not say that Amadou hit the child.'

17.1.3 Clause-final quotative enclitic

The quotative enclitic, apparently with a basic form *wɔ̀:*, occurs clause-finally, or more accurately immediately after the predicate, in most quoted clauses that are not followed by an overt 'say' verb. It often contracts with a predicate-final vowel as *=ɔ̀:*, but its *w* can also assimilate to a preceding *w* or *n* to become *yɔ̀:* or *nɔ̀:*, respectively. *yɔ̀:* is fairly common because the enclitic often follows either perfective-1a suffix *-à:y* as in *pój-à:y yɔ̀:* Text 3 @ 01:02, or the 'it is' enclitic *=y* as in *tɛ̀:ré=y yɔ̀:* 'it is a crisis' Text 3 @ 00:31. For the less common *nɔ̀:* see *kàn nɔ̀:* '(he) did', Text 3 @ 01:05.

The quotative enclitic can occur more than once in a quotation containing two or more clauses. See, for example, Text 4 @ 01:07 and 01:08.

When the original utterance that is quoted ended with an emphatic particle *dɛ̀* or *kòy* following the verb (or other predicate), the quoted version has the quotative enclitic attached to the predicate, preceding (!) the emphatic. For example, when (475a) is quoted it comes out as (475b). The upshot is that the original utterance (475a) has not one but two medial "slots" into which quotative enclitics

may be inserted. One occurs at the end of the subject NP, the other after the VP ending with the originally conjugated verb. These "slots" are indicated by *** in (475a), aligned over the quotative markers in (475b).

(475) a. *[ámìrì ***]* *[kó-ǹ* *tò-ló-Ø* ****]* *kòy*
[chief ***] there.DiscDef be.in-StatNeg-3SgSbj ***] Emph
'the chief definitely isn't in it' (Text 5 @ 00:50)

b. *ámàdù* *[ámìr =ɔ̀:]* *[kó-ǹ* *tò-l=* *=ɔ̂:]* *kòy*
A [chief **QuotSbj**] [there.DiscDef be.in-StatNeg **Quot**] Emph
'Amadou said, "the chief definitely isn't in it." '

See §19.5.2 for examples with *dè*.

Further aspects of the syntax of the post-predicate quotative enclitic are brought out by (476a-c). They show that when the actual occurrence of the original utterance is not asserted, i.e. when that utterance is queried or denied or is modally nonindicative, there is no postpredicate quotative enclitic. Instead, a conjugated 'say' verb must be used. (There is also no quotative-subject phrase, as previously indicated.)

(476) a. *ámàdù* *[sěydù* (# *sěyd=ɔ̀:*) *wí-wèlè-jɛ̀]* *gɛ́=bě-Ø→*
A [**S** (#S Quot) Rdp-come-Ipfv] **say**=Past-3SgSbj.Q
'Did Amadou say that Seydou will come?'

b. *ámàdù* *[sěydù* (# *sěyd=ɔ̀:*) *wí-wèlè-jɛ̀]* *gě-l-Ø*
A [**S** (#S Quot) Rdp-come-Ipfv] **say**-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'Amadou did not say that Seydou will come.'

c. *[sěydù* (# *sěyd=ɔ̀:*) *wí-wèlè-jɛ̀]* *g-ꜜɛ́→*
[**S** (#S Quot) Rdp-come-Ipfv] **say**-PfvSub
[ú *ᴸdè:]=ỳ* *tágá*
[2SgPoss ᴸfather]=Acc tell.Imprt
'Tell your father that Seydou will come!'

17.1.4 Jussive complement (reported imperative or hortative)

17.1.4.1 Quoted imperative

In a quoted imperative, the original addressee appears in a quotative-subject phrase, with the pronominal category updated (if necessary) to correspond to the current speech event participant structure. A quotative-subject phrase occurs even when the actual occurrence of the quoted command is denied (477e). The quotative subject category has second person form only if the original addressee

is also the current addressee. The remainder of the quoted imperative clause contains an imperative verb in invariant unmarked form, identical to the singular-addressee form of unquoted imperatives. There is no option to mark plurality of original addressee (477b).

If the original command is asserted to have occurred, the imperative verb may be followed by either a postpredicate quotative enclitic or by a conjugated 'say' verb. This choice is "free," but an overt 1Sg-subject 'say' verb is quite common when the speaker firmly repeats a command that was not initially acted on (477c). In this situation, 'bring the dog!' is followed by a firmer 'I said, you bring the dog!' If the original command is denied or queried, only the 'say' verb is allowed, but an imperative addressee may be phrased as a quotative subject (477e).

If the author of the command is expressed as a nonpronominal NP, it precedes the quotative-subject phrase, as with 'Amadou' in (477d-e).

(477) a. *[m=* *=ɔ̀:]* *[wɛ́l=* *=ɔ̀:]*
[1Sg **QuotSbj**] [come.**Imprt** **Quot**]
'(…) told me to come.' (< *wɛ́lɛ́*)

b. *[ɛ́m=* *=ɔ̀:]* *[[ìjí* *gɛ̀]* *jɛ̌:l=* *=ɔ̀:]*
[1Pl **QuotSbj**] [[dog Def] bring.**Imprt** **Quot**]
'(…) told us to bring the dog.' (< *jɛ̌:lɛ̀*)

c. *[ɔ́* *=ɔ̀]* *[[ìjí* *gɛ̀]* *jɛ̌:lɛ̀]* *gù-m*
[2Sg **QuotSbj**] [[dog Def] bring.**Imprt**] **say**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I told you-Sg to bring the dog.'

d. *ámàdù* *[m=* *=ɔ̀:]* *[wɛ́l=* *=ɔ̀:]*
A [1Sg **QuotSbj**] [come.**Imprt** **Quot**]
'Amadou told me to come.'

e. *ámàdù* *[m=* *=ɔ̀:]* *wɛ́lɛ́* *gɛ̌-l-Ø*
A [1Sg **QuotSbj**] come.**Imprt** **say**-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'Amadou did not tell me to come.'

Textual examples are Text 1 @ 00:19 ('told her to cook a meal'); Text 1 @ 00: ('he said: "be well!" '); Text 6 @ 02:47 ('they told us to eat good food'); and Text 6 @ 03:33 ('told us to renew').

(478a-b) are quoted prohibitives. Again the quotative-subject phrase is obligatory, and again there is no possibility of suffixal plural-addressee marking in (478b). The verb has regular prohibitive form. With quotativ enclitic instead of 'say' verb, *wɛ̌:-nɔ̀ŋ=ɔ̀:* is also possible in (478a-b).

(478) a. *[[sɛ̌yd* *=ɔ̀:]* *wɛ̌:-nɔ̀w^{n}]* *gí* *gɛ̀]* *wó-ỳ* *tágá=bɛ̀-m*
[[S QuotSbj] come-**Proh**] say.Pfv.Ppl Def] 3Sg-Acc tell=Past-1SgSbj
'I told Seydou not to come.'

b. *[[úr^{n}ù-m =ɔ̀:] wɛ̌:-nɔ̀w^{n}] gí gɛ̀] bé-ỳ tágá=bè-m*
[[children-Pl QuotSbj] come-**Proh**] say.Pfv.Ppl Def] 3Sg-Acc tell=Past-1SgSbj
'I told the children not to come.'

17.1.4.2 Quoted hortative

Examples (479a-b) are quoted positive and negative hortatives, respectively. They show post-predicate quotative *=ɔ̀*: following a hortative (positive or negative) verb. The third-person addressees in (479a), and the inclusive 1Pl in (479b), are in quotative-subject phrases. The hortative verb does not mark addressee plurality. Such marking would be redundant in view of the obligatory quotative-subject phrase, and would violate the pattern established by imperatives.

(479) a. *sɛ̌ydù [[úr^{n}ù-m ŋ=] =ɔ̀:] [yǎ:-m= =ɔ̀:]*
S [[children-Pl Def] QuotSbj] [go-**Hort** Quot]
'Seydou said to the children, let's go!'

b. *sɛ̌ydù [ɛ́m= =ɔ̀:] [yǎ:-mɔ̀-nɔ̀ŋ =ɔ̀:]*
S [1Pl QuotSbj] [go-**Hort-Proh** Quot]
'Seydou said (to me), let's not go!'

A textual example is Text 6 @ 01:37 ('said to me, "let's go to Jordan" ').

17.2 Factive indicative complements

17.2.1 Complement of 'know'

17.2.1.1 'Know that …' with factive indicative complement

The complement of positive indicative 'know' takes the form of a regular indicative main clause. There is no complementizer or subordinator. There is no restriction on the form of the verb in the complement, but the verb is not defocalized unless there is a focalized preverbal constituent. This favors perfective-1a (480a-b,e) and -1b, and the reduplicated imperfective (480d) in positive complements. The 'know' predicate follows the complement. The subject of 'know' (if overt) comes at the beginning, before the complement (480e).

(480) a. *[bé wɛ̀l-â:-y^{n}] ígɔ̀-m*
[3Pl come-Pfv1a-3PlSbj] know-1SgSbj
'I know (=am aware) that they have come.'

b. *[[úr^{n}ù-m ŋè-m] wèl-â:-y^{n}] ígɔ̀-m*
[[children-Pl Def-Pl] come-Pfv1a-3PlSbj] **know**-1SgSbj
'I know (=am aware) that the children have come.'

c. *[[nàw^{n}á ŋè] tèw^{n}è-r^{n}ú-w] ígɔ̀-m*
[[meat Def] eat.meat-PfvNeg-2SgSbj] **know**-1SgSbj
'I know that you-Sg didn't eat the meat.'

d. *[yògó àr^{n}á mí-mɛ̀:-jɛ̀] ígɔ̀-m*
[tomorrow rain(n) Rdp-rain.fall-Ipfv] **know**-1SgSbj
'I know that it will rain tomorrow.'

e. *sěydù [bé wèl-â:-y^{n}] ígɔ̀:-Ø*
S [3Pl come-Pfv1a-3PlSbj] know-3SgSbj
'Seydou knows that they have come.'

17.2.1.2 'Not know' with polar interrogative ('whether') complement

Negative 'not know' normally takes a 'whether' (i.e. embedded polar interrogative) complement (481), whether or not the current speaker knows the embedded clause to be true. In other words, the modal quality of the complement expresses the ignorance or uncertainty of the subject 'he'.

(481) *[mú wèl-â:-m má] ínɛ̀-Ø*
[1Sg come-Pfv1a-1SgSbj **Q**] **not.know**-3SgSbj
'He doesn't know that/whether I have come here.'

17.2.2 Complement of perception verbs ('see', 'find', 'hear')

17.2.2.1 Factive indicative complement for inference or hearsay

When the complement of 'see', 'find (notice)', or 'hear' is a proposition, functioning as a fact that is internalized by the subject by inference or hearsay, the complement takes regular main-clause form without a subordinator, and typically with a non-defocalized verb. In this context, the complement of 'see' and 'find' expresses an inference about a situation or about a past event, and the complement of 'hear' expresses hearsay.

(482) a. *yà:-lú-w yê:-jɛ̀-m*
go-PfvNeg-2SgSbj **see**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I see that you-Sg have not gone.'

b. *[kó-ǹ* *mú* *ᴸdɔ̀:* *gè]*
[there.DiscDef 1SgSbj ᴸarrive.Pfv.Ppl Def]
[[ìné-m *ŋɛ̀* *pú→]* *yà-â:-yⁿ]* *tɛ̀mɛ̀-m*
[[person-Pl Def all] go-Pfv1a-3PlSbj] **find**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I arrived there, and I found that they had all left.'

c. *[[úrⁿù-m* *ŋɛ̀]* *yɔ̀rⁿɔ̂:* *yà-â:-yⁿ]* *ɛ́gɛ́=bè-m*
[[children-Pl Def] Y go-Pfv1a-3PlSbj] **hear**=Past-1SgSbj
'I heard (=was told) that the children went to Yendouma.'

17.2.2.2 Subordinated progressive complement for direct perception

When the complement of 'see' or 'find' denotes an action or activity in progress that is directly perceived, the complement takes progressive form, even when the perceived event was more or less punctual as with 'fell' in (483b).

(483) a. *[[úrⁿù-m* *ŋɛ̀]* *pǐ:* *pî:-gù* *bé* *ᴸwɔ̀-w]*
[[children-Pl Def] weeping(n) weep-IpfvSub 3plSbj ᴸbe-IpfvSub]
yé:=bè-m / *tɛ̀mɛ̀-m*
see=Past-1SgSbj / **find**.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I saw/found the children weep(ing).'

b. *[sɛ̌ydù* *nùmɔ́-ŋ̀* *wó* *ᴸwɔ̀-w]* *yé:=bè-m*
[S fall-IpfvSub 3SgSbj ᴸbe-IpfvSub] **see**=Past-1SgSb
'I saw Seydou fall (down).'

In this construction, 'hear' means perception of the sound of an event (484), not hearsay.

(484) *[[úrⁿù-m* *ŋɛ̀]* *pí:* *pî:-gù* *bé* *ᴸwɔ̀-w]*
[[children-Pl Def] weeping(n) weep-IpfvSub 3plSbj ᴸbe-IpfvSub]
ɛ́gɛ́=bè-m
hear=Past-1SgSbj
'I heard the children weep(ing).'

17.3 Verbal noun (and other nominal) complements

17.3.1 Structure of verbal noun phrase

When the complement of a higher verb takes the form of a verbal noun phrase, the logical subject of the complement clause appears as a possessor of the verbal noun, except that where higher and lower subjects are coindexed (which is very often the case) there is no subject in the verbal-noun

complement. If the complement has a transitive verb, the object is preferentially expressed as an unmodified {L}-toned compound initial (compare §5.1.4). Even object NPs including modifiers can be fit into this {L}-toned compound-initial form up to a point. Pronominal objects take normal accusative rather than compound-initial form. Adverbial phrases are generally not converted into compound initials, but 'go' does favor this treatment of proper and common names for destinations ('Mopti-go-ing' as opposed to '[to Mopti] go-ing'). Examples occur in the following sections.

17.3.2 'Prevent' (*tɛ́ŋɛ́*) with verbal-noun complement

'X prevent Y from VPing' can be expressed indirectly as 'X did not cause (=let) Y VP' where Y is object of 'cause to VERB' (486a-b).

(485) a. *[àrⁿá ŋɛ̀]* *mí-ỳ* *ǒl* *yà:-mɔ̀-ń-Ø*
[rain(n) Def] 1Sg-Acc the.bush go-**Caus-PfvNeg**-3SgSbj
'(The) rain did not let me go to the fields.'

b. *[mú* ᴸ*dè:]* *[péjù* *gɛ̀]* *mí-ỳ* *kɛ̀:ⁿ-mɔ̀-ń-Ø*
[1SgPoss ᴸfather] [sheep Def] 1Sg-Acc slaughter-**Caus-PfvNeg**-3SgSbj
'My father did not let me slaughter the sheep-Sg.'

Or 'X prevent Y from VPing' can be expressed directly with main-clause verb *tɛ́ŋɛ́* 'block (v)', where Y appears as the possessor of a verbal-noun phrase (486a-b). (486c) shows that even a noun plus demonstrative can be fit into the {L}-toned compound-initial slot. The complement has verbal-noun form. Nonsubject complements of the subordinated verb are preferentially expressed as {L}-toned compound initials in the verbal noun where morphologically possible.

(486) a. *[àrⁿá* *ŋɛ̀]* *[òl-[yǎ-y]* *mɔ̀]* *tɛ̀ŋɛ̀-Ø*
[rain(n) Def] [the.bush-[go-**VblN**] 1SgPoss] **block**(v).Pfv-3SgSbj
'Rain prevented my going to the fields.' (< *ǒl* 'the bush')

b. *[mú* ᴸ*dè:]* *[pèjù-[kɛ̌ⁿ-y]* *mɔ̀]* *tɛ̀ŋɛ̀-Ø*
[1SgPoss ᴸfather] [sheep-[slaughter-**VblN**] 1SgPoss] **block**(v).Pfv-3SgSbj
'My father prevented me from slaughtering (the) sheep.' (< *péjù*)
(lit. "… blocked my sheep-slaughtering.")

c. *[mú* ᴸ*dè:]* *[[pèjù-nɔ̀:]-[kɛ̌ⁿ-y]* *mɔ̀]* *tɛ̀ŋɛ̀-Ø*
[1SgPoss ᴸfather] [[sheep-Prox]-[slaughter-**VblN**] 1SgPoss] **block**(v).Pfv-3SgSbj
'My father preventing me from slaughtering this sheep.'
(lit. "… blocked my [this sheep]-slaughtering.")

17.3.3 'Dare' (*dǎ:r-é:*) plus verbal-noun complement

This morphologically mediopassive verb can mean 'dare, have the audacity to (VP)' or 'crave, have an urge to (VP)', cf. nouns *dì-dá:rú* 'craving, urge' and *dá:rú* 'nostalgia, longing'. The idea is that 'dare to VP' presupposes a more or less uncontrollable desire.

When the complement is clausal, the subjects are coindexed and the complement takes verbal-noun form.

(487) a. *[[nú nɛ̀]* *wɛ̌l-Ø]* *dǎ:r-é:-ỳ-nɛ̀*
[[here] come-**VblN**] **dare**-MP-3PlSbj-IpfvNeg.3PlSbj
'They don't dare to come here.'

b. *[mí-ỳ* *lǎg-Ø]* *dǎ:r-é:-ỳ-nɛ̀*
[1Sg-Acc hit-**VblN**] **dare**-MP-3PlSbj-IpfvNeg.3PlSbj
'They don't dare to to hit me.'

c. *[[[dùŋù-ná:* *^{L}gènɛ̀]* *nɛ̀]* *dɔ̀-ý]* *dâ:r-è:-jɛ̀-ẃ*
[[[elephant ^{L}beside] Loc] arrive-**VblN**] **dare**-MP-Ipfv-2SgSbj.Q
'Do you-Sg dare to come up close to the elephant?'

17.3.4 'Consent' (*yàb-é:*) plus verbal-noun complement

The transitive verb *yàbá* means 'receive, accept (sth)'. In mediopassive form *yàb-é:* it means 'consent, accept (a proposal or offer)'. The subordinated subject may be coindexed to (488a) or disjoint from (488b) the higher subject. In the first case, there is a simple verbal-noun complement without an overt subject. In the second case, the lower subject is expressed as possessor of the verbal noun, which in this case is the complement of the versatile postposition *lɛ̀*.

(488) a. *ámìrì* *wɛ̌l-Ø* *yàb-í:-jɛ̀:-Ø*
chief come-**VblN** **accept**-MP.Chain-CompPf-3SgSbj
'The chief has agreed (=consented) to come.'

b. *ámìrì* *[[[mɔ̀:tì-[yǎ-y]* *ɛ̀mɛ̀]* *lɛ̀]* *yàb-í:-jɛ̀:-Ø*
chief [[[M-[go-**VblN**] 1PlPoss] **Comit**] **accept**-MP.Chain-CompPf-3SgSbj
'The chief has agreed to our going to Mopti (city).'

17.3.5 'Cease VPing' (*dàgá* 'leave, abandon') plus verbal noun complement

As simple transitive verb, *dàgá* means 'leave, abandon (sth)', for example in the context 'leave (something) behind' or 'leave (someone) alone'. This naturally extends to 'cease, desist from (VP-ing)', whether permanently (489a) or episodically (489b). The complement is in verbal-noun

form. The imperfective form of 'leave' shows that the verb is construed here as atelic 'continuously avoid VP-ing' rather than punctual 'stop/abandon VP-ing'. The punctual formulation focuses on the decisive moment and merely implies its aftermath.

(489) a. *[yé:* *gàl-â:y-Ø* *lè]* *kɔ̀ŋɔ̀-[nɔ̌-y]* *dí-dàgà-jɛ̀-m*
[today pass-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if] beer-[drink-**VblN**] Rdp-**leave**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'From today on, I will cease drinking (=no longer drink) beer.' (< *kɔ̀ŋɔ́*)

b. *nɛ̀:-[nɛ̌-y]* *dágá*
song-[sing-**VblN**] **leave**.Imprt
'Stop singing (a song)!' (< *nɛ́:* 'song')

17.3.6 'Forget' (*náŋá*) and 'remenber' (*náŋá-lá*)

'Remember' is the morphological reversive of 'forget', i.e. "un-forget." The complement of these verbs may be nominal or clausal. Clausal complements may be subjectless verbal-noun complements, requiring coindexed subjects. Or they may be propositional complements, with disjoint or coindexed subjects, and polar interrogative ('whether') form. Details below.

17.3.6.1 Same-subject verbal-noun complements ('forget/remember to VP')

Coindexed subjects in the 'forget/remember to VP' construction have verbal-noun complements (490).

(490) *[úr^{n}ù-m* *ŋɛ̀]* *wɛ̌l-Ø* *náŋ-à:-y^{n}* / *náŋá-l-à:-y^{n}*
[children-Pl Def] come-**VblN** **forget**-Pfv1a-3PlSbj / **forget-Rev**-Pfv1a-3PlSbj
'The children forgot / remembered to come.'

17.3.6.2 Factive (propositional) complements ('forget/remember that/whether …')

'Forget/remember' may have propositional complements ('forget/remember that P) where P is a proposition). The two subjects may happen to be identical ('I remembered that I …') but need not be, and the form of the complement disregards any coindexing. (491) is a typical example with disjoint subjects. The complement takes polar interrogative ('whether') form, even when the speaker and/or the subject referent know that the complement is true.

(491) *[nàw^{n}á* *téw^{n}é* *bɛ̌:-lɛ̀-w* *mà]* *náŋ-yà:=bé-m / náŋá-lá=bè-m*
[meat eat.meat get-IpfvNeg-2SgSbj **Q**] **forget**-Pfv1a= /**forget-Rev**=Past-1SgSbj
'I had forgotten / remembered that you-Sg can't eat meat.'
(for *-yà:=bé-* see §10.5.1.2

17.3.7 ‘Fear, be afraid to’ (*lɛ́:*)

For the forms of the verb, including chaining stem *lí:*, see §11.2.6.2. This verb can take nominal complements (492).

(492) *yùgúrù* *lí-lɛ̀:-jɛ̀-m*
snake Rdp-**fear(v)**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I fear snakes.’

Clausal complements are discussed below.

17.3.7.1 ‘Fear’ with verbal-noun complement

Clausal complements take verbal-noun form (493a-b) when the subjects are coindexed and the fear is focused on the consequence of the subject’s performance of the hypothetical action.

(493) a. *[nú nɛ̀]* *wɛ̌l-Ø* *lí-lɛ̀:-jɛ̀-m*
[here] come-**VblN** Rdp-**fear(v)**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I am afraid to come here.’

b. *[nú nɛ̀]* *wɛ̌l-Ø* *lɛ́:=bɛ̀-m*
[here] come-**VblN** **fear(v)**=Past-1SgSbj
‘I was afraid to come here.’

17.3.7.2 ‘Fear (that/lest)’ with interrogative propositional complement

The complement may alternatively be a complete proposition, with any subject, ranging from more or less factive to hypothetical. The complement takes subordinated polar interrogative (‘whether’) form (494a-b), compare ‘lest’ in archaic English. In (494a), the fear is simultaneous with the time of speaking, but a perfective form of the verb is used, apparently by harmony with the aspect of the complement.

(494) a. *[[î:* *gɛ̀]* *màn-â:y-Ø* *mà→]* *lí:-yà-m*
[[child Def] get.lost-Pfv1a-3SgSbj **Q**] **fear**-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
‘I fear that (“whether”) the child has gotten lost.’

b. *[yùgúrù* *mí-ỳ* *kí-kɛ̀rɛ̀-jɛ̀-Ø* *mà→]* *lí-lɛ̀:-jɛ̀-m*
[snake 1Sg-Acc Rdp-bite-Ipfv-3SgSbj **Q**] Rdp-**fear**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I am afraid that (=lest) a snake will bite me.’

17.4 Perfective subordinated or relative complements

17.4.1 'Want' (*dènɛ́*) with perfective or verbal-noun complement

'Want' quasi-verbs used with nominal complements are described in §11.2.4. In positive 'want to VP' with same-subject clausal complement, these quasi-verbs are usually replaced by the regular verb *dènɛ́*. As simple transitive, this verb means 'look for'. The regular YS 'want' quasi-verbs reappear in negative or other nonveridical contexts (495b and 496 below).

A geminated variant *dènnɛ́* (as in Tommo So) occurs in Text 3 @ 00:06 in the sense 'look for'. In Jamsay, *dènɛ́* is the all-purpose verb 'want' and can take nominal and clausal complements. Jamsay has a different verb for 'look for'.

In (495a-c) the higher and lower subjects are coindexed. In my data, the most common form of the complement has perfective subordinator *-ˡɛ́→* (495a-c). This is unusual semantically, since elsewhere the *-ˡɛ́→* clause denotes an event preceding that of the following clause. One wonders if this may have come about due to a mutation from verbal nouns (especially monosyllabic *Cv̀-ý*) to phonologically similar perfective subordinated verbs (monosyllabic *Cv̀-ˡɛ́→*). In (495c) with a motion verb, my assistant volunteered an alternative verbal-noun complement with a motion verb. With the transitive subordinated clause in (495a-b), he was uncomfortable with verbal-noun alternatives.

(495) a. *[dǐ:* *nɔ̀-ˡɛ́→]* *dènɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[water drink-**PfvSub**] **look.for**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I want/would like to drink some water.'

b. *[dǐ:* *nɔ̀-ɛ́→]* *ímbɔ̀:-ẃ*
[water drink-**PfvSub**] **want**-2SgSbj.Q
'Do you-Sg want to drink water.'

c. *[nú-ǹ* *wɛ̀l-ˡɛ́→ / wɛ̌l-Ø]* *dènɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[here come-**PfvSub** / come-**VblN**] **look.for**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I want/would like to come here.'

In (496), 'want' is negated and the negation is intensified by *kàrⁿà* 'even'. The complement now takes headless perfective relative form. The {HL} overlay on the perfective participle is unmistakable on /LH/ melody verbs like *gŏ:* 'exit (v)' and *wɛ̀lɛ́* 'come' (496b). One might translate semi-literally as "I don't want even the (situation/fact) that (I) see/hear him/her."

(496) a. *[wó-ỳ* *HL*yê:* / *HL*égɛ̀* *gɛ̀* *kàrⁿà]* *ìbɛ̀=lá-m*
[3Sg-Acc HLsee.Pfv.Ppl / HLhear.Pfv.Ppl Def even] **want**=StatNeg-1SgSbj
'I don't even want to see/hear him (or her).'

b. ^{HL}*gô:* / ^{HL}*wélɛ̀* *gɛ̀* *kàr^{n}à]* *ìbɛ̀ = lá-m*
^{HL}exit(v).Pfv.Ppl / ^{HL}come.Pfv.Ppl Def even] **want**=StatNeg-1SgSbj
'I don't even want to go out/come.'

Two constructions are attested for 'want [X to VP]' complements with disjoint subject. One has a 'want' quasi-verb and an imperfective nonsubject relative complement (497a). The other has 'look for' and a perfective subordinator (497b). Both examples have H-toned pronominal subject prclitics followed by {L}-toned verb (participial or subordinated).

(497) a. *[ú* ^{L}*dɛ̀:]* *[[nú nɛ̀]* *ú* ^{L}*wɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀]* *ìbɛ̀ = lá-Ø*
[2SgPoss ^{L}father] [[here] 2SgSbj ^{L}come-**Ipfv.Ppl**] **want**=StatNeg-3SgSbj
'Your father doesn't want you to come here.'

b. *[né:* *[émɛ́* *dɛ̀:]* *ú* ^{L}*nɛ̀-è→]* *dɛ̀nɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[now [1Pl Purp] 2SgSbj ^{L}sing-**PfvSub**] **look.for**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I want/would like you-Sg to sing a song for us now.'

17.4.2 'Finish' (*kílɛ́*) with perfective subordinator or perfective relative

The sense 'X has finished VPing' is most simply expressed using the completive perfect form of the verb (§10.2.1.5), which itself still has traces of its origin as a direct verb chain (VP plus 'take'). An example is (498); see also Text 4 @ 00:37.

(498) *tǒy* *tɔ́:-jɛ̀:-y^{n}*
seedstock slash.to.sow-**CompPf**-3PlSbj
'They have finished planting.'

A more explicit 'finish VP-ng' construction uses the verb *kílɛ́*. In simple clauses it is intransitive 'end, be finished' (Text 5 @ 01:42) or transitive 'finish (sth)'. It does not occur in my texts. Elicited example (499) is more or less interchangeable with (498) above. The complement in (499) is a backgrounded perfective event clause. The perfective-1a inflection of *kíl-à:-y^{n}* shows that *kílɛ́* is treated as intransitive in this construction.

(499) *[tǒy^{L}* *tɔ́:* *gɛ̀]* *kíl-à:-y^{n}*
[seedstock slash.to.sow.**Pfv.Ppl** Def] **finish**-Pfv1a-3PlSbj
'They (have) finished planting.' (lit. "they sowed seeds, and then finished")

The *kílɛ́* construction is more versatile than the completive perfect, since *kílɛ́* is not limited to present relevance or to veridical assertion. For example, it is compatible with imperfective (e.g. future) contexts where the completive perfect is not possible (500a). It can also be useful in rhetorically

emphatic contexts as in (500b). These examples show an alternative complement construction with the perfective subordinator *-ˡé→*.

(500) a. *yògó* *[tǒy* *tɔ́-ˡé→]* *kí-kìlɛ̀-y*
tomorrow [seedstock slash-**PfvSub**] Rdp-**finish**-Ipfv.3PlSbj
'Tomorrow they will finish planting.'

b. *[jâ:* *ká-ˡé→]* *kílɛ̀-y-nɛ̀*
[meal eat-**PfvSub**] **finish**-Ipfv.3PlSbj-IpfvNeg.3PlSbj
'They don't/won't finish eating.'

17.5 Direct chains as complements of higher verbs

17.5.1 'Help' (*bàrá*) with directly chained VP

The verb 'help (sb)' is *bàrá*. It can take nominal complements, as in (179f). It can also mean 'add (sth)', so the sense 'X help Y' might have originated as 'X add oneself (to Y)', i.e. in a purposeful activity. This still makes sense in contexts involving collective activity (501a), but less so in contexts of more indirect assistance to an individual perfrming the activity (501b). The construction is a direct chain. The two verbs are adjacent. The accusative object preceding them is logically the object of 'help'.

(501) a. *[gèrⁿɛ́* *ŋɛ̀]* *ú-ỳ* *újɔ́* *bí-bàrà-jɛ̀-m*
[house Def] 2Sg-Acc **build** Rdp-**help**-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will help you build the house.'

b. *[[tèwⁿɛ́* *ŋɛ̀]* *nɛ̀]* *mí-ỳ* *únɔ́* *bárá*
[[tree Def] Loc] 1Sg-Acc **lift** **help**.Imprt
'Help me go up the tree!'

c. *mí-ỳ* *jɔ̀bɔ́* *bàrá = bè-Ø*
1Sg-Acc **run** **help**=Past-3SgSbj
'He/She helped me run.'

17.5.2 'Be able to, can' (*bèlɛ́*, negative *bɛ̌:-lɛ̀*) with directly chained VP

The core lexical sense of *bèlɛ́* is 'get, obtain, acquire, win (sth)'. In imperfective form and with a chained VP as complement, it means 'be able to VP, can VP'. Positive imperfectives are normally reduplicated (*bí-bèlɛ̀-jɛ̀-*) unless subordinated to a following clause. The main verb and 'get' have coindexed subjects. The medial *l* is elided (§3.4.4.7), triggering *vv*-Contraction (§3.4.5.2), before a suffix-initial *l* in imperfective negative *bɛ̌:-lɛ̀-* (502b).

(502) a. *[[nú nè] wèlɛ́] bí-bèlɛ̀-y*
[[here] come] Rdp-get-Ipfv.3PlSbj
'They can come here.'

b. *[[tìbù*^{L} *nɔ̌:] gèŋɛ́] bɛ̌:-lɛ̀-m*
[[stone^{L} Dem] lift] get-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I can't lift this rock.'

c. *bày*^{L} *wèlɛ́ ú* ^{L}*bèlɛ̀-jɛ̀*
day^{L} come 2SgSbj ^{L}get-Ipfv.Ppl
'a day when you-Sg can come'

A textual example is in Text 4 @ 00:16 ('can run and catch up to me').

Some addition combinations of verb plus 'get' in this construction, omitting other constituents, are in (503).

(503)

verb	gloss	'can Vb'
gɔ̌:	'exit (v)'	*gɔ̌: bèlɛ́-*
yǎ:	'go'	*yǎ-y bèlɛ́-*
kɛ́:^{n}	'slaughter'	*kɛ́:*^{n} *bèlɛ́-*
bɛ̌:	'stay'	*bɛ̌: bèlɛ́-*
dà^{n}*-ɛ́:*	'sit'	*dà*^{n}*-í: bèlɛ́-*
kár^{n}*á*	'do'	*kán-Ø bèlɛ́-*
súgó	'descend'	*súg-ú bèlɛ́-*
náŋá-lá	'remember'	*náŋí-l-Ø bèlɛ́-*
píné-lɛ́	'open (door)'	*píné-l-Ø bèlɛ́-*

17.5.3 'Begin' (*tɔ́lɔ́*) with direct chain

In simple main clauses, *tɔ́lɔ́* 'begin' may function intransitively ('they began') or transitively ('they began the work'). It may also combine with a same-subject complement, which takes the form of a direct chain. Examples from elicitation are in (504). The H-tones of *sɔ́-y*, *ká-y*, and *kɛ́j-ú* are from their lexical melodies, showing that the complements of 'begin' are not verbal nouns.

(504)

verb	gloss	'he/she began to Vb'
gɔ̌:	'exit (v)'	*gɔ̌-y tɔ̀l-à:y-Ø*
sɔ̌: sɔ́:	'speak'	*sɔ̌: sɔ́-y tɔ̀l-à:y-Ø*
jɔ̀bɔ́	'speak'	*jɔ̀b-ú tɔ̀l-à:y-Ø*
mɔ̂y mɔ̌:	'laugh'	*mɔ̂y mɔ̌-y tɔ̀l-à:y-Ø*

jâ: ká:	'eat a meal'	*jâ: ká-y tɔ̀l-à:y-Ø*
kéjɛ́	'cut'	*kéj-ú tɔ̀l-à:y-Ø*

The texts have several examples. The telltale *-y* of the chaining form appears in *[ànáː yǎ-y] tɔ̀l-è:^{n}* '(they/we) began to travel (for work)' Text 6 @ 00:17. Examples with other verbs are *nɛ́: [àràbù-sɔ̌: dě:] tɔ̀l-è:^{n}* 'now we began to learn Arabic' Text 6 @ 03:11; *[dágà→ wɛ̀:j-í:] tɔ̀l-è:^{n}* 'we began to get used to it a little' Text 6 @ 02:52; *[ɛ́mɛ̀-n jɛ̌:l-Ø] tɔ̀lɔ̀-Ø* '(she) began to bring us (boots)' Text 6 @ 02:57; and *[bèré gɛ̀] pídí tɔ̀lɔ̀* 'the belly started to swell' Text 1 @ 00:29.

yó: 'enter' can occur in a similar sense, denoting the beginning of a sustained purposeful activity. The latter is expressed as a locative PP based on a verbal noun or similar nominal. See 'they will proceed to enter (=begin) millet cultivation', Text 5 @ 02:50.

17.6 Obligational clauses

17.6.1 Weak obligation with subordinator *-y* plus *jâ:^{n} kɔ̀*

Mild obligation ('ought to, should') can be expressed using *jâ:^{n}* (§8.4.5.2) as impersonal predicate, with inanimate auxiliary *kɔ̀* 'be' (505a-b). The complement has subordinator *-y* after an {L}-toned form of the bare stem. An H-toned pronominal-subject proclitic is obligatory, even after a nonpronominal subject NP (505b), and such proclitics regularly induce tone-dropping on a following subordinated verb (e.g. participle).

(505) a. *[gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-ý* *mú* *^{L}yà:-y / ^{L}wɛ̀lɛ̀-y / ^{L}jɔ̀bɔ̀-y]* *jâ:^{n}* *kɔ̀*
[house-Dimin 1SgSbj ^{L}go-Sub / come-Sub / run-Sub] **proper** be.Inan
'I ought to go/come/run to the village.'

b. *[sɛ̌ydù* *wó* *^{L}wɛ̀lɛ̀-y]* *jâ:^{n}* *kɔ̀*
[S 3SgSbj ^{L}come-Sub] **proper** be.Inan
'Seydou ought to come.'

Of the various *-y* suffixes and *=y* enclitics, the only one that this subordinator *-y* might be compared to is *-ỳ* in 'almost, about to' construction (§15.3.2). However, the comparison is far from perfect.

17.6.2 Strong present obligation with chained VP and possessed *bájá* 'duty'

Strong obligation relevant to the present or future is expressed by a predicate with possessed noun *bájá* 'obligation, duty' and the 'it is' enclitic. The complement takes the form of a direct chain (506). The construction is unusual since direct chains elsewhere require an immediately following verb. Translations may be of the type 'X must VP' or 'Y is obligatory/necessary'.

(506) *[gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-ý* *yǎ-y* / *wɛ̀lɛ́* / *jɔ̀bɔ́]* *[bájá* *mɔ̀]=y*
[house-Dimin go-Chain / come / run] [**duty** 1SgPoss]=it.is
'I must go/come/run to the village.'

See also Text 6 @ 03:32. If the obligation is generalized (impersonal), the possessor denoting a specific individual or set may be omitted. A negative counterpart is *bájá=y=lă:* 'isn't obligatory/necessary.'

17.6.3 Strong obligation with VP chained to *ká:rá*

A more general strong obligation construction, not limited to the present and future, has verb *ká:rá* 'have to, must' in any inflectional category directly chained to the main VP (507b).

(507) *yá:* *[émɛ́* *^{L}dɛ̀:]=ỳ* *jɔ̀ŋɔ́* *kà:r-ɛ̀:^{n}* / *kà:r-ù-m*
yesterday [1PlPoss ^{L}father]=Acc care.for **have.to**.Pfv -1PlSb /-1SgSbj
'Yesterday we/I had to care for our father (medically).'

17.7 Purposive and causal clauses

Most purposive clauses are added to a same-subject motion verb ('go/come to VP').

17.7.1 Purposive clauses with *nɛ́* after tone-dropped verb

In this construction, the verb of the purposive clause is in its bare stem, less often its chaining stem as in (508a). It is tone-dropped and followed by purposive subordinator *nɛ́*. An etymological connection with locative or benefactive postposition *nɛ̀* is doubtful. The purposive clause may include complements in their normal form (e.g. accusative objects).

(508) a. *bé* *[ú-ỳ* *pɔ̀:-n-ù^{L}* *nɛ́]* *wɛ̀l-ɛ̀:^{n}*
3Pl [2Sg-Acc greeting(n)-Vblz-Chain^{L} **Purp**] come.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They have come in order to greet you.'

b. *[[bírɛ́* *^{ɬ}bá:]* *yɔ̀:^{L}* *nɛ́]* *wɛ̀lɛ̀-y*
[[work(n) Loc] enter **Purp**] come-Ipfv.3PlSbj
'They come in order to go into (=engage in) the (farming) work.' (Text 5 @ 00:55)

Further examples of the purposive verb form are *tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ̀^{L}* *nɛ́* 'in order to eat (meat)', *yɛ̀gɛ̀rɛ̀^{L}* *nɛ́* 'in order to fix (it)', *kà:-mɔ̀^{L}* *nɛ́* 'in order to feed (cause to eat)', *gɛ̀^{L}* *nɛ́* 'in order to say', *bɛ̀:^{L}* *nɛ́* 'in order to stay', contracted *bɛ̀:^{L}* *nɛ́* 'in order to get' (< *bɛ̀lɛ́-*), *yɛ̀nɛ̀^{L}* *nɛ́* or (with chaining stem) *yɛ̀n^{L}* *nɛ́*

'in order to look at' (Text 6 @ 01:00), *tùy*^{L} *né* 'in order to send', *dà*^{n}*-è:*^{L} *né* 'in order to sit', *ìŋ-è:*^{L} *né* 'in order to stand', *òbò*^{L} *né* 'in order to give', and *yà:*^{L} *né* 'in order to go'.

17.7.2 Tonal purposive clause with motion verb

In this pattern, associated with main-clause motion verbs, the subordinated verb occurs in bare-stem form with overlaid {HL} tones, and the object is tone-dropped to {L}. {HL} is realized on a trisyllabic or longer verb as H.L.(…).L (509d). The combinations in (509) omit the inflection of the final 'go' verb.

(509) a. *[dì:*^{L} *bán-è:*^{HL}*]* *yǎ:*
[water^{L} swim-MP.Purp^{HL}] go
'go in order to swim, go swimming' (*dǐ:*, *bàn-é:*)

b. *[dì:*^{L} *ín-è:*^{HL}*]* *yǎ:*
[water^{L} bathe-MP.Purp^{HL}] go
'go in order to bathe' (*dǐ:*, *ín-é:*)

c. *[pò:*^{L} *kúnɔ̀*^{HL}*]* *yǎ:*
[greeting^{L} put.Purp^{HL}] go
'go to present greetings' (*pǒ:*, *kúnɔ́*)

d. *[bàrkò:*^{L} *dúnùlù-mɔ̀*^{HL}*]* *yǎ:*
[barrel^{L} roll-Caus.Purp^{HL}] go
'go in order to roll (the) barrel'

A tonal purposive is part of *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *dèn*^{L} *dɛ̂n*^{HL}*]* ^{HL}*gô:* 'anyone who has gone away in order to (do a) search', Text 6 @ 03:22.

17.7.3 Different-subject purposive

In (510), the purposive clause has an invariant verb (here *yǎ:* 'go'), followed by purposive postposition *dè:* 'for'. The subject appears in clause-initial position.

(510) *[[[î:* *mɔ̀]* *jâŋ* *yǎ:]* *dè:]*
[[[child 1SgPoss] study(n) go] **Purp**]
bírɛ́ *bìrɛ́-ẁ* *wɔ̀-m*
work(n) work(v)-IpfvSub be-1SgSbj
'I am working so my child can go to school.'

Similarly *wèlé dè:* 'to come', *gèrⁿé újɔ̀ dè:* 'to build a house', *kígìlìm dè:* 'to turn', *bìnél-è: dè:* 'to roll around'. The tones of the verb, which respect the lexical melody, resemble those of some imperfective forms, including imperfective participles (§14.1.6.2).

17.7.4 Causal ('because') clause (*sàbù*, *bày*)

sàbù 'because' is a regionally widespread word (with phonological variants) ultimately from Arabic. The 'because' clause begins with *sàbù* and follows the other clause. French *parce que* pronounced [paskə] is common among younger speakers, as in other Malian languages, and has the same syntax.

(511) *[bírέ* *bìrέ* *bɛ̌:-lɛ̀-m]*
[work(n) work(v) get-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj]
sàbù *[kúbɔ̀* *mɔ̀]* *pé:l-à:y-Ø*
because [leg 1SgPoss] break-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'I can't work, because my leg broke.'

Clause-final *bày* seems to have a roughly similar function in Text 6 @ 01:41, where the context is 'because (or: in view of the fact that) I don't have (money for) the airplane fare, what can I do (to get on the flight)?'. This function could be an extension of ᴸ*bày*, tone-dropped from *bǎy* 'day', which can follow temporal adverbial clauses, as in (430) in §14.1.11.

17.7.5 'Because of' (*dè:*)

With an NP (as opposed to a clause) as complement, 'because of X' is expressed with the purposive-causal postposition *dè:* (§8.3), as in (512). See also (179d).

(512) *[[àrⁿá* *ŋɛ̀]* *dè:]* *dêm* *yò-è:ⁿ*
[[rain(n) Def] **because.of**] room enter-Pfv.1PlSbj
'We went into the house because of the rain.'

'Why?' is *ìnjέ dè:* 'because of what?' (§13.2.3).

18 Anaphora

This chapter covers marked anaphoric elements that have syntactically specified antecedents, as well as emphatic pronouns.

18.1 Reflexive

18.1.1 Reflexive object (*kû:* 'head')

A possessed form of *kû:* 'head' is used for reflexive object. The possessor is coindexed with the clausemate subject but has regular pronominal possessor form. *kû:* has no further modification (such as a definite morpheme) in this function. All forms are ambiguous between the reflexive reading and the literal 'X's (own) head' reading. There is no accusative marking in either reading since 'head' is inanimate.

(513) a. *wó* *[kû:* *wò-mɔ̀]* *kɛ́jɛ́-tì-Ø*
3Sg [**head** 3Sg-Poss] cut-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
'She cut-Past herself.'
or: 'She cut-Past her head.'

b. *[kû:* *ɔ̀:]* *kɛ́jɛ́-tù-w*
[**head** 2Sg.Poss] cut-Pfv1b-2SgSbj
'You-Sg cut-Past yourself.'
or: 'You-Sg cut-Past your head.'

c. *[úrⁿù-m* *ŋɛ̀-m]* *[kû:* *bè-mɛ̀]* *kɛ́jɛ́-t-ɛ̀:ⁿ*
[children-Pl Def-Pl] [**head** 3Pl-Poss] cut-Pfv1b-3PlSbj
'The children cut-Past themselves.'
or: 'The children cut-Past their heads.'

A clearly nonreflexive example with 'their head(s)' in subject position, where it can have no antecedent, is (514).

(514) *[kû:* *bè-mɛ̀]* *jògó-gù* *wɔ̀-Ø*
[**head** 3Pl-Poss] head.hurt-IpfvSub be-3SgSbj
'Their heads are hurting.' ('They have head-aches.')
(lit. "Their head is hurting.")

18.1.2 Reflexive PP complement

The examples in (515) involve the VP-type 'X send money to X'. The (reflexive) complement of the benefactive postposition is expressed by absolute possessor pronouns ('mine', 'yours', etc.), which are normal before postposition *nɛ̀* in benefactive function (§8.2.3.1). Therefore, there is no explicit coindexing in (515a). Its "reflexive" PP has the same form as the nonreflexive PP in (515b), which has a non-coindexed clausemate subject.

(515) a. *[bú:dù gɛ̀] [mɔ̂: nɛ̀] túy=bɛ̀-m*
[money Def] [**1SgPoss** Ben] send=Past-1SgSbj
'I sent the money to myself.'

b. *[bú:dù gɛ̀] [mɔ̂: nɛ̀] túy=bɛ̀-Ø*
[money Def] [**1SgPoss** Ben] send=Past-3SgSbj
'He/She sent the money to me.'

A reflexive like (515a) but with third person subject is ambiguous, since the third person postpositional complement is not explicitly coindexed with the clausemate subject (516a). The speaker can optionally express the reflexive reading unambiguously using the possessed 'head' construction (516b).

(516) a. *[bú:dù gɛ̀] [wó-mɔ̀ nɛ̀] túy=bɛ̀-Ø*
[money Def] [**3Sg-Poss** Ben] send=Past-3SgSbj
'He sent the money to himself.'
'He$_x$ sent the money to her$_y$/him$_y$.'

b. *[bú:dù gɛ̀] [kû: wɔ̀-mɔ̀ nɛ̀] túy=bɛ̀-Ø*
[money Def] [**head** 3Sg-Poss Ben] send=Past-3SgSbj
'He sent the money to himself.'

With the purposive postposition *dɛ̀:*, the explicitly reflexive 'head' construction indicates coindexation involving subjects of any pronominal person, including first person (517).

(517) *[[kû: mɔ̀] dɛ̀:] ᴸbìrɛ̀-jɛ̀-m*
[[**head** 1SgPoss] Purp] ᴸwork-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I work for myself.'

18.1.3 No special reflexive possessor form

There is no special anaphoric element to mark coindexation of a subject NP and the possessor of a clausemate direct object. While (518a) is unambiguous because of the indexical property of a first

person singular pronoun, (518b) is ambiguous as to whether the possessor is coindexed with the subject.

(518) a. *[péjù* *mɔ̀]* *dɔ̀rⁿɔ́-tù-m*
[sheep **1SgPoss**] sell-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
'I sold my sheep-Sg.'

b. *[péjù* *wɔ̀-mɔ̀]* *dɔ̀rⁿɔ́-tì-Ø*
[sheep **3Sg**-Poss] sell-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
'He$_x$ sold his$_x$ (own) sheep-Sg.'
or: 'He$_x$ sold her$_y$/his$_y$ sheep-Sg.'

18.1.4 No reflexive possessor in conjunctions

In a conjoined NP of the form 'X and [X's Y]', there is no overt anaphoric coindexation of the possessor with the left conjunct. (519) is therefore ambiguous as to whether the possessor is coindexed or disjoint.

(519) *[háwà* *lè→]* *[[wó* *ᴸnà:]* *lè→]*
[H and] [[**3Sg**Poss ᴸmother] and]
'Hawa (=Eve)$_x$ and her$_x$ mother' or 'Hawa$_x$ and his/her$_y$ mother'

18.2 Emphatic pronouns

In (520), the implied contrast is with a more normal situation where relatives or neighbors help in the construction. *mú túrú* 'me singly' (*túrú* 'one') is therefore a focalized subject.

(520) *[tógù* *gɛ̀]* *[mú* *túrú]* *ᴸùjɔ̀-jɛ̀*
[shed Def] [1Sg **one**] ᴸbuild-Ipfv
'I alone [focus] (=by myself) will built the shed.'

In (521), the addressee is being advised to go in person, rather than sending a substitute or representative, to accomplish some task. Literally it means "[you with your head] will go." The 2Sg pronoun is focalized.

(521) *[[kû:* *ɔ̀:]* *lè]* *ú* *ᴸyà:-jɛ̀*
[[**head** 2SgPoss] **Comit**] 2SgSbj ᴸgo-Ipfv
'You-Sg will go yourself (in person).'

18.3 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

18.3.1 True third person logophoric function

A logophoric pronoun replaces an original 1Sg or 1Pl pronominal when the original sentence is quoted. It may occur in any syntactic function within the quotation, including any position in embedded clauses. The logophoric pronoun has three variants in Yendouma subdialects, all of them attested in texts. The two main ones are *ìnɛ̌m* and *ìnɔ̌:* ~ *ùnɔ̌:* . A third variant *ìné*, also the word for 'person, someone', functions as logophoric for the speaker of Text 4 (e.g. @ 00:16). In Text 6 @ 04:41, *ìné* appears to have both functions ('someone' and logophoric).

The logophoric pronoun is pluralized by adding free plural morpheme *bè*, hence *ìnɛ̌m bè* or *ìnɔ̌: bè* ~ *ùnɔ̌: bè*, respectively. See Text 4 @ 01:07 ('our village').

The forms *ìnɛ̌m* and *ìnɔ̌:* ~ *ùnɔ̌:* take regular accusative marking (*ìnɛ̀m=î:*, *ìnɔ̌:=ŷ*) when functioning as objects in their clause, see *ìnɛ̀m=î:* in Text 1 @ 00:50. When functioning as clause subjects, they do not occur in quotative-subject phrases with enclitic *=ɔ̀:*, rather they have their simple form *ìnɛ̌m* (e.g. Text 1 @ 00:02 and Text 2 @ 00:00) or *ìnɔ̌:* ~ *ùnɔ̌:* (e.g. Text 3 @ 00:06). Logophorics are by definition limited to quotations, so adding the quotative-subject enclitic would be redundant. However, it is possible that the variant *ìnɔ̌:* ~ *ùnɔ̌:* originated as a quotative-subject form.

Logophorics are not used when the original speaker (the author of the quotation) is also the current speaker. Original first person pronouns are "updated" (vacuously) to match the speaker's current role in the speech event. Logophorics are an option when the original speaker is the current addressee (522d). Logophorics therefore primarily occur with third-person referents in the context of the current speech event.

For example, [X said [Y saw X]] comes out in English as *X said that Y saw him*$_x$/*her*$_x$, with an ordinary 3Sg object pronoun that does not force a coindexation reading, but in YS as "X said [Y saw Logo]", where the logophoric must be construed as coindexed with the author X of the quotation.

ìnɛ̌m as subject or as preclausal topic occurs in Text 1 @ 00:02 and in Text 2 @ 00:00 and 00:07, among other textual examples. Overtly topicalized *ìnɛ̌m kày* 'as for me' occurs in Text 2 @ 00:38. *ìnɛ̀m=â:* with the 'also, too' enclitic occurs in Text 1 @ 00:47.

Accusative *ìnɛ̀m=î:* occurs in Text 1 @ 00:50. Possessive *ìnɛ̌m mɛ̀* (~ *mɔ̀*) occurs in Text 1 @ 00:50 and in Text 2 @ 00:43, while *ìnɔ̌: mɔ̀* occurs in Text 3 @ 01:20.

Plural *ìnɛ̌m bè gàm* 'all of us' occurs in Text 1 @ 00:56. Plural possessor *ìnɔ̌: bè-mɛ̀* occurs in Text 4 @ 01:07.

Additional elicited examples follow.

(522) a. *[ùnɔ̌:* *bè]* *wí-wèlɛ̀-y* *g-ɛ̀:*^{n}
[**Logo** **Pl**] Rdp-come-Ipfv.3PlSbj say.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They$_x$ said that they$_x$ are coming.'

b. *ùnɔ̌:* *[tómɔ́* *súgó=bè]* *gì-Ø*
Logo [jump descend=Past] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He$_x$/She$_x$ said that he$_x$/she$_x$ jumped down.'

c. *[bày*^{L} *ùnɔ̌:* ^{L}*wèlɛ̀* *gɛ̀]* *[ùnɔ̌:* *jâ:* *kǎ:-l]* *gì-Ø*
[day^{L} **Logo** ^{L}come.Pfv.Ppl Def] [**Logo** meal eat-PfvNeg] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He$_x$/She$_x$ said that he$_x$/she$_x$ didn't eat the day he$_x$/she$_x$ came.'

d. *ùnɔ̌:* / *ú* *wí-wɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀(-w)* *gù-w*
Logo / 2Sg Rdp-come-Ipfv(-2SgSbj) say.Pfv-2SgSbj
'You-Sg said that you-Sg will come.'
(logophoric is optional, *ú* is optional topic; no quotative-subject phrase with either option; 2Sg suffix on 'come' is optional in either option)

e. *Ø* *wí-wɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀-w* *gù-w*
Ø Rdp-come-Ipfv-2SgSbj say.Pfv-2SgSbj
[=(d), 2Sg *-ẁ* on 'come' obligatory]

f. *(mú)* *wí-wɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀-m* *gù-m*
(1Sg) Rdp-come-Ipfv-1SgSbj say.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I said I will come.'
(logophorics not used, *mú* is optional topic)

18.3.2 Non-logophoric topic-indexing function

Unlike some Dogon languages, YS does not use a logophoric (or reflexive) pronominal to coindex a third-person relative-clause subject with the subject of the higher main clause. This is shown in (523b), where the relative clause has ordinary 3Sg subject *wó* although coindexed with 'Amadou' as subject of the higher clause. (523b) is therefore structurally parallel to (523a) with 1Sg subject. A logophoric relative-clause subject occurs only in quotations like (523c), where all logophorics are directly coindexed with 'Amadou' as quoted author.

(523) a. *[kìjɛ̀*^{L} *kán-Ø* *mú* ^{L}*bɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀]* *kàr*^{n}*à-jɛ̀-m*
[thing^{L} do-Chain 1SgSbj ^{L}get-Ipfv.Ppl] do-Ipfv-1SgSbj
'I will do what I can (do).'

b. *ámàdù* *[kìjɛ̀*^{L} *kán-Ø* *wó* ^{L}*bɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀]* *kàr*^{n}*à-jɛ̀-Ø*
A [thing^{L} do-Chain **3SgSbj** ^{L}get-Ipfv.Ppl] do-Ipfv-3SgSbj
'Amadou$_x$ will do what he$_x$ can.'

c. *ámàdù* *[(ùnɔ̌:)* *[kìjɛ̀*^{L} *kán-Ø* *ùnɔ̌:* *bɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀]* *kàr*^{n}*à-jɛ̀]* *gì-Ø*
A [(**Logo**) [thing^{L} do-Chain **Logo** get-Ipfv.Ppl] do-Ipfv] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Amadou$_x$ said he$_x$ will do what he$_x$ can.'

A similar example is (524), where *wó* can be coindexed with the subject of 'show' or can denote a distinct referent.

(524) *[sì-sà:*^{L} *wó* *à-y]* *mí-ỳ* *tà:rà = bè-Ø*
[bird^{L} **3SgSbj** catch-Pfv.Ppl] 1Sg-Acc show=Past-3SgSbj
'He$_x$/She$_x$ showed me a bird that he$_x$/she$_x$ (or: he$_y$/she$_y$) caught.'

18.4 Reciprocal

18.4.1 Simple reciprocals (*tô:m*)

Reciprocals are formed with *tô:m* in the relevant NP position, usually object (without overt accusative marking) or postpositional complement, as in *tô:m lè* 'with each other'. It is slightly different tonally from the plural noun *tɔ́:^{n}-m* 'companions, (casual) friends', cf. singular *tɔ́:^{n}-r^{n}ɔ́*. However, 'companions' and reciprocal are likely identical historically. There is also a verb *tɔ́:^{n}* 'compare (X and Y)', verbal noun *tɔ̀^{n}-ý* 'comparison, comparing', especially in the direct chain *tɔ́:^{n} yɛ̀nɛ́* 'compare (two things)' with *yɛ̀nɛ́* 'look'.

The antecedent of reciprocal *tô:m* is normally the clausemate subject. There is no distinction between dual and plural. There is no accusative marking on *tô:m* as direct object.

(525) a. *tô:m* *yé: = b-ɛ̀:^{n}*
Recip see=Past-3PlSbj
'We saw each other.'

b. *[tô:m* *lè]* *jà-ɛ́: = b-ɛ̀:^{n}*
[**Recip** Comit] fight-MP=Past-3PlSbj
'They fought with each other.'

c. *tô:m* *ɛ́gɛ́ = bè-y*
Recip hear=Past-2PlSbj
'You-Pl heard each other.'

18.4.2 'Together' (*tɔ́:^{n} ŋú*, *mɔ̀r^{n}-ɛ́:*)

An adverb *tɔ́:^{n} ŋú* 'together' is attested. It is based on the same noun stem as *tɔ́:^{n}-r^{n}ɔ́* 'companion' mentioned in connection with reciprocals just above. *ŋú* is nasalized from /gú/, see §3.4.1.2.

Other 'together' expressions are created by chaining the verb *mɔ̀r^{n}-ɛ́:* 'gather together, assemble' (or a transitive derivative) with a following verblike *yè* then another verb as in *mɔ̀r^{n}-í: yè kár^{n}á* 'do together' (§15.1.8).

19 Grammatical pragmatics

This chapter covers miscellaneous particles of primarily pragmatic function, and ends with a section on greeting formulae.

19.1 Topic

19.1.1 Topic (*kày*)

'As for X' as preclausal topic phrase is *X kày*. The *k* is often lenited (i.e. voiced) to *g*. This is the local variant of a regionally widespread topic morpheme.

X kày occurs at real or potential topic-shift points. It is typically coindexed with the subject of the following clause. The X is often a pronoun but it may also be a full NP or PP. Textual examples are *dɔ̀gɔ̀-tɛ̂m kày* 'as for the Dogon custom' Text 5 @ 01:57, *wó kày né:* 'as for it (definite)' Text 5 @ 04:29 (for *né:* see below), *émɛ́ kày* 'as for us' Text 6 @ 02:44 and again @ 03:42 (variant *gày*), and *ìnɛ̌m kày* 'as for me' (logophoric) Text 2 @ 00:38. In these textual examples, the topic phrase appears to be preclausal. If, as usual, the relevant nominal is coindexed to an NP in the immediately following clause, the latter is usually resumed by a pronominal. However, under some conditions *X kày* (especially with a pronoun) can function itself as an argument in that clause. It is difficult to demonstrate this when the grammatical function in the clause is subject. The test is whether an accusative pronoun or a pronominal PP can be topicalized. In (526), the 1Sg direct object occurs in a context favorable to topic switches. *kày* did not occur in spontaneous utterances of this type, but the version of (526) with *kày* was judged acceptable by my assistant when I proposed it.

(526)	*[mú*	*[L]àngè]=ỳ*	*dǎ:=b-è:^{n}*	*[là: lè],*
	[1SgPoss	[L]friend]=Acc	kill=Past-3PlSbj	[although],
	[mí-ỳ	*(kày)]*	*dà:-né*	
	[1Sg-Acc	(**Top**)]	kill-PfvNeg.3PlSbj	
	'They killed my friend, but me they didn't kill.'			

kày is semi-frozen in the high-frequency combination *né: kày* 'now', a preclausal discourse marker (see the following section). *né:* by itself has setting-shifting function, so *kày* is more or less redundant here.

19.1.2 Discourse-marker 'now' (*né:*, *né: kày*, *né: nɔ̌:*)

In addition to *kàná:* 'now' (§8.4.6.1), there is another 'now' adverb *né:* . Unlike *kàná:*, which is a true temporal adverb ('now, at this time'), *né:* is a discourse marker, compare English unstressed now in

Now it so happened that ... . YS *né:* typically marks a paragraph-like break in a narrative, i.e. a jump in time frame or a shift (however small) in narrative perspective. *né:* occurs more or less interchangeably by itself, with the topic marker as *né: kày*, and with the proximate demonstrative as *né nǒ:* .

Examples of simple *né:* and of *né: kày* occur abundantly in the texts, especially in Text 5. *né: nǒ:* occurs in Text 5 @ 02:27; see §6.5.3 for this use of proximate *nǒ:* . The composite *né: kày nǒ:* occurs in Text 6 @ 04:50. By contrast, *kànáː* occurs just once in the texts, though in everyday dialogue (as opposed to narrative) it is more frequent.

19.1.3 'Also' and 'even'

19.1.3.1 Enclitic *=à:* 'too, also'

This enclitic is glossed 'too' in interlinears. A good example is 'that person too was a hunter' Text 1 @ 00:13, which follows the information in preceding discourse that another individual was a hunter; see also 00:47 in the same text. An unusual example involving two referents undertaking the same activity is Text 2 @ 00:40 ('the girl ran, he too ran, the girl too ran'). It appears that the final 'the girl too ran' is formulated vis-à-vis the immediately preceding clause 'he too ran' only.

The enclitic can appear as <HL>-toned either by contraction with a *Cv́* syllable, as in *w=â:* 'he/she too' from 3Sg pronoun *wó*, and as in *m=â:* 'me too' from 1Sg *mú*, or by Final-Tone Resyllabification (§3.6.4.3), as in *ìnèm=â:* 'I too' (logophoric) from *ìnĕ̀m*. No contraction occurs in *kó=à:* 'it (definite) too' or in *bé=à:* 'they too'.

After stem-final or suffixal *m*, *=à:* undergoes Final-Sonorant Spreading and surfaces as *=mà:*, see (20-21) and adjacent comments.

=à: occurs in a construction denoting prolonged past activity ('kept VPing'). *kàrⁿà* 'also,even' (see the following section) can substitute for it in that construction. See the end of §15.2.1.3 for discussion.

19.1.3.2 *kàrⁿà* 'also' or 'even'

'X also/too' and 'even X' can be expressed as *X kàrⁿà*. The particle is normally attached to an NP, independent pronoun, or other noun-like element (e.g. spatiotemporal adverb), rather than being clause-final after a verb.

kàrⁿà occurs in my texts in *ìnɛ̀*^{L} *ă:=y kàrⁿà* 'everyone' or 'anyone'. This combination occurs repeatedly in Text 5 @ 00:13, 03:41, 03:54, and 05:22. It contains *ìné* 'person' in {L}-toned form before *ă:=y* 'it is who?', which here functions as a modifier 'any'. Elicited examples of *kàrⁿà* are (527a-b).

(527) a. *[î:* *kàrⁿà]* *nǒ:* *kán-Ø* *bí-bɛ̀lɛ̀-jɛ̀-Ø*
[child **even**] Prox do-Chain Rdp-get-Ipfv-3SgSbj
'Even a child can do this.'

b. *[pǒ:* *kàrⁿà]* *gě-l*
[greeting(n) **even**] say-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'He/She didn't even say hello.'

kàrⁿà can substitute for enclitic *=à:* following an {HL}-toned cognate nominal in a construction denoting a prolonged past imperfective ('kept VPing'), see end of §15.2.1.3. An example is (528).

(528) *[ᴴᴸdágà* *kàrⁿà]* *dàgá-gù=bè-*
[ᴴᴸleave.Nom **also**] leave-IpfvSub=Past-
'kept leaving'

kàrⁿà 'too, even' has apparent cognates meaning 'even' and/or 'too' in Jamsay (*kâ:ⁿ*), Ben Tey (*kálà*), and Togo Kan (*kárⁿà*). It is unclear whether this set is historically related in some way to the even more widespread 'do' verb, e.g. YS *kárⁿá* 'do' (unsuffixed perfective *kàrⁿà*).

For *dè:* 'even if' in conditionals, see §16.2.2.

19.2 Preclausal discourse markers

19.2.1 'Well, …' (*háyà*, *áywà*, *ɔ́rɔ̀y*)

Clause-initial 'well, …' can be expressed by *háyà* (regional), *áywà* (< Arabic), or *ɔ́rɔ̀y*. The latter is said to be used by older men and to be going out of style. All three are preclausal and may be followed by a pause or similar prosodic break.

Examples (among many) of the two forms in current use are *háyà* Text 5 @ 00:13 and *áywà* Text 3 @ 00:00.

19.2.2 Phrase-final emphatic particle '(not) at all' (*péy*, *péjù*)

Particle *péy* and *péjù* function as negative emphatics: '(not) at all'. They add emphasis to an already negative expression.

(529) *[jâ:* *kàrⁿà* *péjù]* *kà:-lú-m*
[meal even **at.all**] eat-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I haven't eaten a thing.'

However, 'nothing' can be expressed more literally as negation plus *kìjèᴸ kâ:ⁿ* 'each/every thing', in the relevant position in the clause (usually preverbal as direct object).

Positive emphatics are clause-final (§19.5 below).

19.2.3 ‘But …’ (*mɛ̌:*, *gà:* ~ *kà:*, *là: lɛ̀*)

mɛ̌: ‘but’ occurs between one sentence X and a following sentence Y that has some type of adversarial relationship to it. *mɛ̌:* may be grouped prosodically with either X or Y. Most speakers are aware that this is from French *mais*. See Text 6 @ 04:41 and Text 1 @ 00:13.

It competes with *gà:* ~ *kà:*, a regional form that occurs preclausally or clause-initially. I have no textual examples.

Another alternative is *là: lɛ̀* at the end of the first clause, used like English *although*. An example is (526) in §19.1.1 above.

19.2.4 ‘Lo, …’ (*jágá*)

This particle is used in narrative to highlight a following clause denoting a surprising or climactic event. I have no textual examples, but my assistant recognizes the form. It is widespread regionally in forms like *jákà*.

19.3 Pragmatic adverbs or equivalents

19.3.1 ‘Again’ (*yâ:*, *yɛ̂:-nɛ̀*, *lɛ̌:*, *làgá*)

The common ‘again’ adverb is clause-initial *yâ:*, which is well-represented in the texts. It corresponds to Sangha So *íyà:* . It belongs to a cognate set that in some Dogon languages is homophonous to the adverb ‘today’, but in YS ‘today’ is *yé:* (§8.4.6.1).

A bisyllabic variant *yɛ̂:-nɛ̀* ‘again’ occurs in Text 5 @ 05:49 in the context ‘they will come back again’. It is followed by a clause beginning with *yâ:* , then a second clause beginning with *yɛ̂:-nɛ̀* ‘again’. A construction requiring *yɛ̂:-nɛ̀* is [*yɛ̂:-nɛ̀* X Num] meaning ‘(numeral) more Xs’, where X denotes a time interval. An example is *yɛ̂:-nɛ̀ [àrⁿà-dɛ̌: sɔ̂y]* ‘seven more (i.e. additional) years’ Text 6 @ 01:32. See also ‘two more years’ Text 6 @ 03:33. In the earlier and semantically parallel *àrⁿà-dɛ̌:, yɛ̂:-nɛ̀ nùmɔ́rⁿɔ́* ‘five more (=additional) years’, Text 6 @ 01:06, the noun comes first, but the pause indicated by the comma suggests that this is somewhat broken syntax. The order in the following occurrences is most likely regular.

lɛ̌: is a modifying adjective ‘another, (a) different’, as in *gɛ̀rⁿɛ̀ᴸ lɛ̌:* ‘another house’. Contrast definite *gɛ̀rⁿɛ́ túrú gɛ̀* ’the other house’, which based on the numeral *túrú* ‘1’. *lɛ̌:* is possibly related etymologically to the numeral ‘2’, *léy* (§4.6.1.2). As an adverb, *lɛ̌:* is common preclausally, at points where a narrative shifts from one time or place to another, compare English *meanwhile* and similar setting-shifting expressions (530). Often ‘later on’ is an appropriate free translation, as in Text 6 @ 04:24.

(530) a. *lɛ̌:* *sáŋá* *yă:-lɛ̀-m*
again S go-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj
‘I won’t go to Sangha again.’

b. *lě:* *[nú nè]* *wèl-â:-w* *ˈpú→,* *yí-yè:-jè-w*
again [here] come-Pfv1a-2SgSbj all, Rdp-see-Ipfv-2SgSbj
'If you-Sg come here again, you'll see.'

làgá is attested once in a somewhat similar context (Text 6 @ 04:10). It is more common in Jamsay where it is both an adjective 'other' and an adverb 'again'. It may be a borrowing from Jamsay to YS.

Some relevant verbs are *gìmé* '(e.g. rain) recur, happen again' and *kígílí-mó* 'go back' (and in some combinations 'repeat, do again').

19.4 'Only' particles

19.4.1 'Only' (*săy*)

The usual 'only' particle is *săy* or reduplicated *sí-săy*, which follows the constituent that it has scope over. An example of *sí-săy* in the context 'only just VPed' is Text 6 @ 03:14. Elicited examples are in (531). A more emphatic variant *sàw^{n}à-sàw^{n}à* is shown as an option in (531a).

(531) a. *[gìrî:* *sàw^{n}à-sàw^{n}à / săy* *yè:-jè-Ø*
[sleep(n) **only** sleep(v)-Ipfv-3SgSbj
'He just sleeps.' (= 'He does nothing but sleep.')

b. *[[sŭm* *léy]* *sày]* *mí-ỳ* *òb-ù-Ø*
[[hundred two] **only**] 1Sg-Acc give-Pfv-3SgSbj
'He only gave me two hundred (riyals, = 1000 FCFA).'

As in many Malian languages, more complex phrases of the type 'he doesn't work, unless it is the wet season' (i.e. 'he only works in the wet season') are common. For 'unless' clauses see §16.1.2.

19.4.2 'Just' (*nâ:* ~ *nà:* ~ *nè:*)

Clause-initial particle *nâ:* occurs in Text 5 @ 05:54 in the context 'doing just like that'. An L-toned clause-final *nà:* (or *nà→*) occurs in Text 2 @ 00:48 in the context 'his (situation) is just fine', and in Text 2 @ 00:38 in the context 'that's just fine (with me)'. *nè:* has similar sense in Text 4 @ 01:08 ('we will just kill him').

It is unclear whether these forms are mutations from *né:* 'now' (§19.1.2).

19.5 Clause-final emphatics

In addition to the native emphatic particles *kòy* and *dè*, French *quoi* pronounced [kwà] is now common in a vaguely emphatic function, as it is in other Malian languages. These particles occur

clause-finally. All three are regionally widespread in Malian languages. For *quoi* see Text 1 @ 00:02 and 00:29.

When they are part of quoted sentences, these particles follow the "clause-final" quotative enclitic *=ɔ̀:* (and variants).

(532) *… pàlá* *w=* *=ɔ̀:* *dè*
… long be **Quot** **Emph**
'(Tell/Warn him) … that it (=narrative) is long.' (Text 6 @ 00:02)

Likewise Text 3 @ 00:31 and 00:36, and Text 5 @ 03:51. This ordering also occurs in several other Dogon languages.

19.5.1 Clause-final emphatic *kòy*

This is a widespread regional clause-final mildly emphatic particle. It emphasizes the truth of an assertion, confirming an interlocutor's statement or firmly answering a yes-no question. It is not adversative (contradicting the interlocutor). Compare *I sure do* or *you bet I do*. Textual examples are in Text 5 @ 02:13, 00:50, and 03:51.

kòy also occurs (with no particular emphatic quality) in the high-frequency combination *háyà kòy* 'all right', which often functions as a preclausal discourse marker, e.g. Text 5 @ 02:52. *háyà* can also occur alone in similar function.

19.5.2 Clause-final adversative emphatic *dè*

This is another regional emphatic particle. Like *kòy* it is emphatic, but it differs in being adversative. It has somewhat the flavor of English clause-final nontemporal particle *now* or postclausal *mind you*. It may have a warning sense ('don't go near the crocodile now!') and/or it may contradict a proposition uttered by or implicitly attributed to the interlocutor ('there are crocs in that pond, mind you!', said to someone who doesn't believe this). Textual examples are Text 3 @ 00:31 and 00:36, and Text 5 @ 03:51.

19.6 Backchannel and uptake checks

The verbs 'hear' and 'understand' can occur in uptake checks of the type 'Did you hear/understand?' or (especially to children) 'Are you listening?', see (378) in §13.2.1.2. A slightly more polite 'if you-Sg (have) heard' occurs in Text 5 @ 04:57.

Uptake confirmation by the listener can take the form *é→* 'yes!' or an *mhm!*-type vocalization. Disconfirmation is *ǎy* or an unh-unh vocalization.

'Amen!' *àmí:nà* is a response to a wish or prayer.

19.7 Greetings

The transitive verb 'X greet Y' is *pó:-nɔ́*, where the object Y is the person greeted. If the person greeted is not specified, the 'say' verb is added to *pǒ:* (533b).

(533) a. *sěydù* *mí-ỳ* *pó:-nɔ́=bè-Ø*
S 1Sg-Acc **greet-Ø**=Past-3SgSbh
'Seydou greeted (=said hello to) me.'

b. *sěydù* *pǒ:* *gì-Ø*
S **greeting(n)** **say**.Pfv-3SgSbj
'Seydou greeted (=said hello).'

The simple default greeting ('hello!') contains the noun stem *pǒ:* '(a) greeting', but treats it morphologically as an imperative. For plural addressee the suffix *-ỳ* is therefore added (534b).

(534) a. *pǒ:* 'hello!' (to one addressee)
b. *pǒ:-ỳ* 'hello!' (to two or more addressees)

More specific greetings index the time of day or some situational feature. (535) presents time-of-day greetings. Except the final 'good night!' which looks propsectively toward the long night ahead, these greetings consist of a currently relevant time-of-day expression plus *pǒ:* . All of the greetings in (535) have plural-addressee forms with *pǒ:-ỳ*. This includes *jâm yá:-mɔ́* 'good night' (535e), plural-addressee *jâm yá:-mɔ̀-y*. This is important since it shows that *yá:-mɔ́* is a hortative ('let's spend the night in peace!'), not an imprecation with covert 'God' as subject and causative *-mɔ́* in imperative function ('may He have (us) spend the night in peace!').

(535) a. *àgá* *pǒ:*
morning greeting(n)
'Good morning!'
(also *àgà-nâ:-m*)

b. *năm* *pǒ:*
sun greeting(n)
'Good day!' (mid-day to early afternoon)

c. *dìgè-năm* *pǒ:*
night-sun greeting(n)
'Good (late) afternoon!' (around 4 PM)

d. *dìgɛ́* *pǒ:*
night greeting(n)
'Good evening!'

e. *jâm* *yá:-mɔ́*
peace spend.night-Hort
'(have a) good night!' (final greeting for the night)

All of the *pǒ:* greetings have a simple response: *ô→*. The response to *jâm yá:-mɔ́* is *àmí:nà* 'amen!'

Alongside the default 'greet' verb *pó:-nɔ́* mentioned above, there is a special verb *ná:má* 'greet in the morning, say good morning to (someone)' (Text 5 @ 02:52). It would be parsable as a causative of 'spend the night' if YS had the relevant underlying intransitive verb (cf. Jamsay *ná:* 'spend the night' and its Dogon cognates). YS has the unrelated *bá: yá:* 'spend the night' (as in neighboring Tommo So and Donno So), but it does have a variant 'good morning!' greeting *àgà-nâ:-m*, plural-addressee *àgà-ná:-mɔ̀-y*. Either YS formerly had *ná:, or (more likely) the verb and the variant greetings are borrowings from Jamsay.

Situational greetings index an activity that the addressee is engaged in, or a location associated with an activity. Those in (536) are based on nouns *ǒl* 'the bush' (including cultivated fields away from the village), *dǐ:* 'water', and *íbɛ̀* 'market'.

(536) a. *ǒl* *pǒ:* 'hello!' (to one in the fields or returning from the fields)
b. *dǐ:* *pǒ:* 'hello!' (to one carrying water from well to village or house)
c. *íbɛ̀* *pǒ:* 'hello!' (to one returning from the weekly market)

Formally similar greetings function as 'thank you' acknowledgements. (537a-b) are based on *yǎm* 'fire' and *bírɛ́* 'work (n)'.

(537) a. *yǎm* *pǒ:* 'thank you!' (after eating a meal)
b. *bírɛ́* *pǒ:* 'thank you!' (for a service) (Text 5 @ 04:14)

There is an alternative situational greeting type taking the form of a conjoined NP of the type 'you (Sg or Pl) and X', where X is a noun denoting an activity or location. Those in (538) are attested. This greeting type is rather formal. The response is again *ô→*.

(538) a. *[ú* *lè]* *[bírɛ́* *lè]*
[2Sg **and**] [work(n) **and**]
'You-Sg and work!' (greeeting to one at work)

b. *[ú* *lè]* *[ǒl* *lè]*
[2Sg **and**] [the.bush **and**]
'You-Sg and the bush!' (greeeting to one in a field)

Greetings to travelers (compare French *bon voyage*, *bonne arrivée*, *bon retour*) are in (539). The one in (539a) literally means "go and come (back)!" (539b) means literally "approach (the) house!" (539c) means literally "may God bring you!," but it may be an inter-Dogon borrowing since 'bring' usually has medial *l* rather than *r* in YS. (539a) and (539b) have simple imperatives and therefore add *-ỳ* for plural addressee. In (539c) the change would apply to the second-person direct object (2Pl *é-ỳ* for 2Sg *ú-ỳ*).

(539) a. *yǎ-y* *wɛ́lɛ́*
go-Chain come.Imprt
(to a traveler about to depart on a trip, cf. *bon voyage!*)

b. *gɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-ý* *dɔ́:*
house-Dimin arrive.Imprt
(to an arriving visitor, cf. *bon arrivée!* and *welcome!*)

c. *ámà* *ú-ỳ* *jɛ̌:rɛ́*
God 2Sg-Acc bring.Imprt
(to a traveler returning from a trip, cf. *bon retour!* and *welcome back!*)

After a death, villagers come to the home of the primary survivors (e.g. parents or offspring) and present condolences. The formulae in (540) are exchanged. (540a) is shown in the plural-addressee variant which is most normal in this situation, since there is nearly always a group or crowd present. 'Cold (n)' in (540a) refers to the emotions of the bereaved. *bɔ̀rⁿɔ́* in (540b) can refer to the loss of a precious thing. (540c) has a literal sense "make an effort to forgive him/her!"

(540) a. *kà:lî:* *pǒ:-ỳ*
cold(n) greeting-PlAddr
(spoken by a visitor on arrival to the group already present there)

b. *bà:* / *nà:* *bɔ̀rⁿɔ́* *pǒ:*
father / mother misfortune greeting
(said by a visitor to the children of a deceased father or mother)
(other kin terms can be substituted as appropriate)

c. *mǎyn-í:* *wó-ỳ* *yá:bù* *kárⁿà-ỳ*
make.effort-MP.Chain 3Sg-Acc forgiveness do.Imprt-PlAddr
'Try (hard) to forgive him/her!'
(said by the visitor after preliminary greetings are completed)
(repeated as one is about to leave)

d. *yá:b-ú-t-è:^{n}*
forgive-Chain-Pfv1b-1PlSbj
'We have forgiven' (response to an arriving visitor who has uttered (c)

e. *[é =à:] wó-ỳ yá:bù kár^{n}à-y*
[2Pl too] 3Sg-Acc forgiveness do.Imprt-PlAddr
'You-Pl too forgive him/her!'

f. *[yòy*^{L} *mɔ̀ɲú] pǒ:*
[walking(n)^{L} bad] greeting
(said to one returning home from presenting condolences)

At marriage ceremonies and on major religious holy days, best wishes for the future are exchanged. One formulaic phrase is (541). *bá:-gò-ˡé→* denotes the end of the current year (especially, the end of the agricultural season), and *wàgé* 'distant' extends the time frame into the following year.

(541) *ámà bá:-gò-ˡé→ wàgé tá:rá*
God end.of.year distant show.Imprt
'May God show (you/us) next year!'

Amen!

Texts

Text 1: Two hunters (tale)

recording reference: YS 199_01

speaker: Jordan (from Yendouma-Da)

(00:02) *[áy-né* *ˈtúrú]* *ìnĕm* *dân-nè=y* *gì-Ø* *quoi↘,*
[man-Sg one] Logo hunter-Sg=it.is say.Pfv-3SgSbj Emph,
'A man, he said (=claimed) he was a hunter.'

[túrú 'one' often downstepped after an H-tone unless itself followed by a modifier or possessum within the NP; logophoric pronoun (§18.3.1) has subdialectal variants ìnĕm (Yendouma-Da and most other dialects) and ìnɔ̆: (Yendouma-Sogol), cf. Sangha So úrⁿú ; dân-nè more common than unsyncopated dánà-nè ; 'it is' enclitic; 'say' likely in sense 'think, consider'; clause-final French quoi mildly emphatic as in other Malian languages]

(00:04) *[dân-nè=y* *gí* *gè↗],* *[[ɲɔ̀rⁿɔ̂:* *nè]* *íŋè-l-Ø* *gè↗],*
[hunter-Sg-it.is say.Pfv.Ppl Def, [[Y Loc] get.up-Ø-Pfv.Ppl Def],
yérù *yà-y-Ø↘,*
traveling go-Pfv-3SgSbj,
'He said he was a hunter, and he got up (and set off) from Yendouma, he went traveling.'

[definite gè ~ ŋè after a participle tends to be heard as [gà] ~ [ŋà] *but transcription is normalized here; gí gè and íŋè-l gè are backgrounded perfective event clauses (with definite marker gè ~ ŋè); ɲɔ̀rⁿɔ̂: variant of yɔ̀rⁿɔ̂: ; íŋé-lé 'get up' is obscurely related to mediopassive íŋ-é: 'stand up, stop'; collocation yérù yă: 'go traveling, go on a trip' or simply 'walk around in the bush' with noun yérù treated as focus]*

(00:09) *yérù* *wó* *ᴸyà-y* *gè↘,* *[[[[ĭn* *ˈtúrú]* *ᴸgèrⁿè]* *nè]*
traveling 3Sg ᴸgo-Pfv.Ppl Def, [[[[person one] ᴸhouse] Loc]
yă-y *gè]* *sùg-ù-Ø↘,*
go-Pfv.Ppl Def] descend-Pfv-3SgSbj,
'He went traveling, he went to another person's (=man's) house and went down (=stopped over).'

[wó ᴸyà-y gè 'he went traveling', backgrounded perfective event clause with H-toned pronominal subject proclitic followed by tone-dropped participle ᴸyà-y < yă-y recapitulating and backgrounding a preceding foregrounded clause ('he went traveling'), compare Text 2 @ 00:14; ĭn is more common than unsyncopated ìné ; túrú 'one' can also

mean '(an/the) other' §4.6.1.1); yă-y gè shows that without the H-toned proclitic subject pronominal the perfective participle has its regular tones in a backgrounded perfective]

(00:11) *[[[[ĭn ʻtúrú] [L]gèr^{n}è] nè] wó [L]sùg-ù gè ↘,*
[[[[person one] [L]house] Loc] 3SgSbj [L]descend-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'When he went to (the) other person's (=man's) house and went down (=stopped over for the night),'

['descend' can mean 'go home (after work)', as does local French descendre]

(00:13) *[[ìnè[L] wó-g= =à:] dân-nè=y]*
[[person[L] DiscDef too] hunter-Sg=it.is]
mĕ: dân-nè=y wó=y jùgɔ̀-mɔ̀-ń-Ø,
but hunter-Sg=it.is 3Sg=it.is know-Caus-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
'That person (=the host) too was a hunter. But he didn't let on (=inform the visitor) that he was a hunter.'

[wó-gɔ̀ discourse-definite demonstrative, primarily human (§4.4.1.2); enclitic =à: 'too, also' (§19.1.3.1); causative –mɔ̀- (§9.2); wó=y [wój] *'it is he/she' (§11.2.1.1) tonally distinct from 3Sg accusative wó=ỳ ; 3Sg perfective negative -ˊl nasalized to –ń]*

(00:17) *donc, dân-nè=y wó=y jùgɔ̀-mɔ̀-ń-Ø,*
so, hunter-Sg=it.is 3Sg=it.is know-Caus-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'So, he didn't let on that he was a hunter.'

[preclausal French donc]

(00:19) *[ɲă:-r^{n}á ŋè]=ỳ, [kìlɛ́ [L]tìn] ób-ù gè,*
[woman-Sg Def]=Acc, [Prosopis.tree [L]firewood] give-Pfv.Ppl Def,
[jâ: síré] gì-Ø ↘,
[meal cook.Imprt] say.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'He (visitor) gave *Prosopis* (tree) firewood to the woman (=the host's wife), and told her to cook a meal.'

[ɲă:-r^{n}á dialectal for yă:-r^{n}á ; definite gè → ŋè after nasal syllable; tĭn 'firewood' in possessive-type compound ("Prosopis wood"); ób-ù gè one of many examples of a backgrounded perfective event clause (§15.2.2.3) that describes a transitional event; quoted imperative ('cook') (§17.1.4.1); síré sounds like [sírá] *in recording]*

[wood of Prosopis africana is the hardest wood in the zone; this tree is often called the blacksmiths' tree, since it yields long-burning charcoal for heating metal]

(00:23) *[[kìlɛ́* *ᴸtìn* *ŋɛ̀]* *gùmɔ́* *ób-ù* *gɛ̀]*
[[Prosopis.tree ᴸfirewood Def] split give-Pfv.Ppl Def]
[nàwⁿá *táŋì-r-Ø* *gɛ̀]* *jâ:* *sìrà-Ø↘,*
[meat become-Tr-Pfv.Ppl Def] meal cook.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'He (visitor) split the *Prosopis* firewood and gave (it to her), and she turned it into meat and cooked a meal.'
['split' + 'give' is a direct chain; táŋá 'become (sth)' → táŋá-rá (perfective táŋì-rì) 'transform (sth, into sth)']

(00:26) *jâ:* *sírɛ̀* *gɛ̀↗,*
meal cook.Pfv.Ppl Def,
[bé *kàm* *ˡpú→]* *ɲíⁿ* *kà-ɛ̀:ⁿ↘,*
[3Pl all all] thus eat.Pfv-3PlSbj,
'After she cooked the meal, in that fashion (=at that point) they all ate.'
[kàm 'all' after pronominals, often in the context 'all together' (§6.6.1.2), versus more abstract quantifier ˡpú→ 'all, every one'; yíⁿ ~ ɲíⁿ short form of yí-ŋín ~ ɲí-ŋín 'thus' (§4.4.2.3)]

(00:29) *kâ-y* *bé* *ᴸjɛ̀:* *gɛ̀,* *dìgɛ́* *wó* *ᴸdɔ̀:* *gɛ̀,*
eat-Pfv.Ppl 3PlSbj ᴸCompPf.Ppl Def, night 3SgSbj ᴸarrive.Pfv.Ppl Def,
jà:ᴸ *bé* *ᴸkà-y* *gɛ̀,*
mealᴸ 3PlSbj ᴸeat-Pfv.Ppl Def,
[bɛ̀rɛ́ *gɛ̀]* *píd-í* *tɔ̀lɔ̀-Ø* *quoi ↘,*
[belly Def] swell-Chain begin.Pfv-3SgSbj Emph,
'They finished eating (the meal), (and) when night fell, (because of) the meal that they had eaten, the belly (of the visitor) started to swell.'
[completive perfect ᴸjɛ̀: (§10.2.1.5) treated here like a separable auxiliary, separated from main verb by a proclitic pronominal and therefore tone-dropped (§10.1.2); ᴸdɔ̀: sounds like [dùwɔ̀] *in recording; object relative ('meal' is head); 'begin to VP' (§17.5.3), here with pídé 'swell', whose final vowel shows mediopassive-like alternations (chaining píd-í) but without vowel length]*

(00:35) *[bɛ̀rɛ́* *gɛ̀]* *pídì-w* *wó* *ᴸwɔ̀-w,*
[belly Def] swell-IpfvSub 3SgSbj ᴸbe-IpfvSub,
[dàn-nɛ̀ᴸ *kó* *túrù* *gɛ̀],* *[gɛ̀rⁿɛ́* *ᴸbàŋà:* *ŋɛ̀]* *sǎ:-l-Ø,*
[hunter-Sgᴸ DiscDef one Def], [house ᴸowner Def] reply-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
'As the belly (of the visitor) was swelling, that other hunter, the owner of the house, he didn't reply (=say anything).'
['one' in construction meaning 'the other one'; definite 'the owner of X' compound X ᴸbàŋà: ŋɛ̀ variant of X ᴸbàŋâ: ŋɛ̀ (§5.1.8); perfective negative]

(00:40) *[sə̃:-l* *wó* *^{L}kàn-Ø* *ŋɛ̀ ↘],*
[reply-PfvNeg 3SgSbj ^{L}do-Pfv.Ppl Def],
[ày-nɛ̀^{L} *ká-y-nɛ́* *ŋɛ̀],* *tìn-gùmɔ̀-óbó-nɔ́* *ŋɛ̀,*
[man-Sg^{L} eat.Agent-Sg Def], firewood-split(v)-give.Agent-Sg Def,
'When he didn't reply, the man who had eaten, who had split and given the firewood,'

[<LHL> toned perfective negative sə̃:-l-Ø with final falling tone (< sə̃:-l-Ø) before auxiliary ^{L}kàn 'do' in headless adverbial relative with a preceding verb (in this case perfective negative), a very common construction at switch-subject transition (as in pídì wó ^{L}kàn ŋɛ̀ in the following segment); 3Pl counterpart is sə̃:-nɛ̀ bé ^{L}kàn ŋɛ̀, but other categories (1Sg, 2Sg, 2Pl) have unconjugated sə̃:-l e.g. 1Sg sə̃:-l mú ^{L}kàn ŋɛ̀ ; agentive nominals ('eater', 'giver') functioning like subject relatives (§4.2.4); 'eat (meal)' is bisyllabic káyɛ́ in some dialects, but ká: in Yendouma-Sogol; compound agentive tìn-gùmɔ̀-óbó-nɔ́ is based on the verb chain 'split' plus 'give', with 'firewood' as object (both 'firewood' and 'split' are tone-dropped as compound initials]

(00:44) *dòŋɔ́* *[bèrɛ́* *gɛ̀]* *pídì* *wó* *^{L}kàn-Ø* *ŋɛ̀,*
later [belly Def] swell.Pfv 3SgSbj ^{L}do-Pfv.Ppl Def,
[dân-nɛ̀ *ŋɛ̀]* *sə̃:-l-Ø ↘ ,*
[hunter Def] reply-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
'Later, when the belly got swollen, the hunter (=host) didn't reply.'

[dòŋɔ́ variant of dɔ̃:^{n} 'later'; sə̃:-l-Ø ↘ final rising tone combines with terminal ↘ as relatively low-pitched rise]

(00:47) *hmmm,* *[w = =ɔ̂:]* *dân-nɛ̀ = y* *lɛ̀]*
hmmm, [3Sg QuotSbj] hunter-Sg=it.is if]
[[ìnɛ̀m =â:] *dân-nɛ̀ = y]*
[[Logo too] hunter-Sg=it.is]
'(The host said:) "hmm, if you are a hunter, I too am a hunter." '

[3Sg pronoun for original addressee in quotations (§17.1.1), here in quotative-subject phrase (§17.1.2) < /wó = ɔ̀:/; ìnɛ̀m = â: < /ìnɛ̆m = à:/ with H-tone shifted rightward onto the enclitic]

(00:50) *[ìnɛ̀m = î:* *sòlmɔ̀-n-$^{↓}$í→],* *[ŋə̆:-r^{n}á* *ìnɛ̆m* *mɔ̀] = y ↘ ,*
[Logo=Acc request(v)-PfvNeg-Sub], [woman-Sg Logo Poss]=Acc,
nàw^{n}á *ób-$^{↓}$é→,*
meat give-PfvSub,
'(Host continues:) "You gave meat to my wife without having asked me." '

[< /ìnɛ̆m/ plus postconsonantal syllabic variant of accusative = ỳ ; perfective subordinator -$^{↓}$é→ (§15.2.2.1) and related perfective negative subordinator -l-$^{↓}$í→ (nasalized -n-$^{↓}$í→) (§15.2.2.2), here based on perfective negative sòlmɔ̀-ń, with sólmɔ́ variant of sélmé 'request (permission etc.)'; in 'my wife' the, logophoric ìnɛ̆m behaves like other pronouns as postnominal possessor but keeps its LH tones;]

[the visitor's faux pas was failing to ask the host's permission to chop the Prosopis wood and give it to the host's wife; sélmé 'request (permission etc.)' is distinct from the more common gĕ:^{n} 'ask for (a thing), beg/plead, pray (for)']

(00:53) *[nàw^{n}á ŋè] [kìlɛ́ ^{L}tìr^{n}]=ì:→,*
[meat Def] [Prosopis ^{L}firewood]=it.is,
'The meat, Prosopis firewood —.
[tĭn 'firewood' with n → r^{n} intervocalically; postconsonantal allomorph =i: 'it is']

(00:55) *[w= =ɔ̂:] nàw^{n}á=y^{n} gí gè]*
[3Sg QuotSbj] meat=it.is say.Pfv.Ppl Def]
[[ŋă:-r^{n}á ŋè]=ỳ jă:n-ù ŋè] kà-y-m-Ø,
[[woman-Sg Def]=Acc boil(v)-Pfv.Ppl Def] eat-Chain-Caus.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'He said, "You said that it (=the Prosopis wood) was meat. (You) had the woman cook it and (us) eat it." '
[another quotative-subject phrase (§17.1.2)]

(00:56) *[ìnĕm bè gàm] kà-y-m-Ø↘,*
[Logo Pl all] eat-Chain-Caus.Pfv-3SgSbj,
' "(You) had all of us eat (it)." '
[plural logophoric quoting original 1Pl; gàm variant of kàm ; causative of transitive input 'eat']

(00:58) *[bèrɛ́ gè] pídì wó ^{L}kàn-Ø ŋè↘,*
[belly Def] swell.Pfv 3SgSbj ^{L}do-Pfv.Ppl Def,
[áy-né ŋè] íŋè-l-Ø gè↗,
[man-Sb Def] get.up-Ø-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'When the belly got swollen, the man (=host) got up.'

(01:01) *[dân-nè túrù gè] [gèr^{n}ɛ́ ^{L}bàŋà: ŋè] íŋè-l-Ø gè↗,*
[hunter-Sg one Def] [house ^{L}owner Def] get.up-Ø-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'The other hunter (=host), the house owner, got up,'
['one' meaning 'the other one'; 'owner' compound, definite ŋè appropriate but not audible on tape]

(01:04) *[bèrɛ́ gè] [yă-y gè]*
[belly Def] [go-Pfv.Ppl Def]
táb-ù wó ^{L}kàn-Ø ŋè,
touch-Pfv 3SgSbj ^{L}do-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'When he went and touched the belly (of the visitor),'

(01:06) *[[bɔ́jɔ̀* *[yǎ-y* *gɛ̀↗]* *bé* *ᴸbɔ̀jɔ̀* *gɛ̀]*
[[excrement [go-Pfv.Ppl Def] 3PlSbj ᴸdefecate.Pfv.Ppl Def]
ˈpú→ *kìlɛ̀-bàgá=y* *gɔ̀:-Ø,*
all Prosopis-stick=it.is exit(v).Pfv,
'When they went to defecate, it (=excrement) all came out as sticks of Prosopis.'
[yǎ-y gɛ̀↗ separates 'defecate' from its cognate object 'excrement'; kìlɛ̀-bàgá standard noun-noun compound with tone-dropped initial < kìlɛ́]]

Text 2: The poor man and the baobab leaves (tale)

recording reference: YS 199_07

speaker: Jordan (from Yendouma-Da)

(00:00) *áywà, [áy-né ˡtúrú yâ:↗], ìnĕm dĕg-g-í:-ày-Ø =yɔ̀:↘,*
well, [man-Sg one too], Logo poor-Inch-MP.Chain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Quot,
[áy-né ˡtúrú], ìnĕm dĕg-g-í:-ày-Ø =yɔ̀:↘,
[man-Sg one], Logo poor-Inch-MP.Chain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Quot,
'Well, a man said (=thought) that he had become poor (=indigent). A man said that he had become poor.'

[repetition of the clause was due to distracting noise (disregard); word-family with noun dègú 'poverty', inchoative mediopassive dègú-g-é: (syncopated variant dĕg-g-é:) 'become poor'; inchoative -i:- plus shortened perfective-1a /-à:y/ ; quotative =yɔ̀: after perfective-1a with final y by Final-Sonorant Spreading (§3.4.4.4)]

(00:07) *[ìnèm =â:↗], kó-ˡbá: [ŏl ˡbá:]↗,*
[Logo too], there.DiscDef [the.bush Loc],
gɔ̀ŋɔ̀lɔ̀-gɔ́ŋɔ̀lɔ̀ yà:-j-Ø= =ɔ̀:↘,
wander-wander go-Ipfv-3SgSbj Quot,
gɔ̀ŋɔ̀lɔ̀-gɔ́ŋɔ̀lɔ̀-gɔ̀ŋɔ̀lɔ̀ wó ᴸyà: mɔ̀n,
wander-wander-wander 3SgSbj ᴸgo.Pfv.Ppl before,
'He said (=decided) that he too would go wandering around there in the bush (=outback). By the time (=while) he was going around wandering,'

[bá: locative postposition (§8.2.3.2); kó-ˡbá: '(around) there' can be deictic or discourse-definite; verb iterations (§11.6); mɔ̀n(è) in the 'before …' construction (§15.3.4)]

(00:14) *[ĭn ˡtúrú↗],*
[person one],
[tìwⁿé nè] [ûl-Ø gè] yá ᴸɲàŋà-Ø↘,
[tree Loc] [ascend-Pfv.Ppl Def] Exist ᴸbe.on.Stat-3SgSbj,
[tɛ̀wⁿé nè] [ûl-Ø gè] wó ᴸɲàŋà-wⁿ,
[tree Loc] [ascend-Pfv.Ppl Def] 3SgSbj ᴸbe.on-Stat.Ppl,
'A(nother) person had climbed and was up in a tree. When he had climbed and was up in a tree,'

[tìwⁿé variant of tɛ̀wⁿé 'tree'; existential yá (§11.2.2.1) before stative ᴸɲàŋà 'be on' (variant of yàŋà) (§11.2.3.2); recapitulated as backgrounded clause with H-toned pronominal subject proclitic]

(00:19) *[[ìnɛ́ ŋɛ̀]=ɔ̀ bɔ̌:* *gɛ̀]*
[[person Def]=Acc call.Pfv.Ppl Def]
[w= =ɔ̂:], *[ìnjɛ́* *kàn-jɛ̀* *mà]* *gì-Ø↘,*
[3Sg QuotSbj], [what? do-Ipfv Q] say.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'He (=visitor) called to the person (in the tree) and said (=asked), "what are you-Sg doing?" '

[bimoraic bɔ̌: with LH rather than LHL tones; quoted content interrogative ('what?') with interrogative particle mà]

(00:21) *ìnɛ̌m* *[[tìw^{n}ɛ̀^{L}* *nú]* *nɛ̀]*
Logo [[tree^{L} Prox] Loc]
ɔ̀rɔ́ *tɔ́rɔ̀-w* *ɲàŋ=* *=ɔ̀:↘,* *ɔ̀→,*
baobab.leaf strip-IpfvSub be.on.Stat Quot, uhhuh,
'He said, "I'm (up) in this tree stripping off baobab leaves." (Traveler:) "uh-huh." '

[N-Dem with tone-dropped noun; nɔ̌: proximate demonstrative reduced to nú before locative postposition, as also in simple nú-ǹ 'here']

[dried baobab leaves are the major source of leaf-sauce for millet cakes, and are sold in markets]

(00:24) *[ìnɛ̌m* *nɔ̌:]* *[dɛ̌g-g-î:* *gɛ̀]*
[Logo Prox] [poor-Inch-MP.Pfv.Ppl Def]
[ɔ̀rɔ̀^{L} *nɔ̌:]* *tɔ́r-ɔ̀:* *lɛ̀↗,*
[baobab.leaf^{L} Prox] strip-AntNonp if,
'He said, "I here having become poor, I will strip off these baobab leaves." '

[optional proximate nɔ̌: following logophoric (original first person) pronoun, with no tonal interactions (§6.5.3); pseudo-conditional lɛ̀ after falling-toned anterior nonpast form of verb (§15.2.3), see also dɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̂: lɛ̀ in the next segment]

(00:27) *[kó,* *dɔ̀r^{n}-ɔ̂:* *lɛ̀]* *bù-lɛ̂y*
[DiscDef, sell-AntNonp if] coin-two
[ìr= *=ɔ̂:-Ø* *mà→]* *=yɔ̀:↘,*
[better be.3SgSbj Q] Quot,
'He said, "I will sell (the leaves) (and get) a couple of (small) coins, isn't it better (for me)?" '

[bù-lɛ̂y, common contraction of bú:dù lɛ́y 'two currency units'; comparative 'be better' (§12.1.6) < /ìré wɔ̀-/, cf. 3Pl ìr=ɔ̂:y^{n} < /ìré wɔ̀-ỳ^{n}/ ; interrogative mà→ ; quotative =yɔ̀:]

(00:30) *[[ɔ̀r=* *=ɔ̂:]* *^{L}tìw^{n}ɛ̀]* *=ǹ]* *wó* *^{L}ɲàŋà-w,*
[[baobab.leaf Def] ^{L}tree] Loc] 3SgSbj ^{L}be.on-IpfvSub,
'He was up in the baobab-leaf's tree.'

[ɔ̀r=ɔ̂: < /ɔ̀rɔ́ gɛ̀/]

(00:32) *à:, [áy-né ŋɛ̀] [w= =ɔ̂:] èjú→ bì= =ɔ̀:,*
ah, [man-Sg Def] [3Sg QuotSbj] well remain.Imprt Quot,
[w= =ɔ̂:] kó-ǹ, él-í:—
[3Sg QuotSbj] there.DiscDef, escape-MP—
'Ah, the man told him, "You, be well! You there, (if you) fall—"

[definite ŋɛ̀ in áy-né ŋɛ̀ appropriate but inaudible; èjú→ contraction of èjí-gú 'well, in safety', adverb derived from adjective èjú 'good', cf. mɔ̀ŋú-ŋú 'badly, nastily'; quoted imperative; bɛ̌: 'remain' used as 'be' auxiliary with adverb; segment ends with a broken-off false start, repaired below]

(00:35) *[[w= =ɔ̂:] dègí=y gí gɛ̀]*
[[3Sg QuotSbj] poverty=it.is say.Pfv.Ppl Def]
[w= ɔ̂:] [pɔ̌n lè] yàlà-Ø m= =ɔ̀:]
[3Sg QuotSbj] [pants Comit] walk-Pfv Q Quot]
[w= ɔ̂:] pɔ̌n yá ^{L}tò =wɔ̀:↘,
[3Sg QuotSbj] pants Exist ^{L}be.in Quot,
'(He said,) "You-Sg say it is poverty. (But) are you not going around with (=wearing) pants? You are in (=wearing) pants." '

[dègú 'poverty'; quoted polar interrogative; existential particle yá obligatory with 'be in' (§11.2.3.1) in unfocalized positive main clauses]

(00:38) *[w= =ɔ̂:] [[[ɔ̀rɔ̀^{L} kó] ^{L}tìw^{n}è] nɛ̀]*
[3Sg QuotSbj] [[[baobab.leaf^{L} Dist] ^{L}tree] Loc]
él-í: súg-à:-Ø lɛ̀,
escape-MP.Chain descend-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[ìnɛ̌m kày] [[pɔ̀n^{L} kó] bɛ̀lé-jɛ̀: lɛ̀], kó=y nà→,
[Logo Top] [[pants^{L} Dist] get-CompPf if], DiscDef=it.is just,
'(He said,) "If you-Sg fall off that baobab tree (and are killed), as for me, if I have gotten those pants, that's just it (=that's just fine with me),'

[distant demonstrative (twice); < /súg-à:y-Ø lɛ̀/ ; particle nà→ (§19.4.2); completive perfect antecedent clause (§16.1.1)]

(00:43) *[dègú [ìnɛ̌m mɔ̀]] gò-â:y =yɔ̀:↘,*
[poverty [Logo Poss]] exit(v)-Pfv1a Quot,
'He said, "my poverty will have gone." '

[logophoric possessor; gò-â:y perfective-1a]

(00:44) *[w= =ɔ̂:] [dɛ̌g-g-î: gɛ̀] [ìnɛ̀^{L} dèg-gí-né],*
]3Sg QuotSbj] [be.poor-Inch-Pfv.Ppl Def] [person^{L} poverty-Char-Sg],
[pɔ̌n pɔ́n-ì: ŋɛ̀] yàlà-Ø lɛ̀↗,
[pants put.on.pants-MP.Pfv.Ppl Def] walk.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
'(He said,) "You (say) it's poverty, (but) if a pauper goes around wearing pants,"

[characteristic noun-to-noun derivative (§4.2.1), here as modifier; -e: ~ -i: perfective subordinator]

(00:48) *[wó-mɔ̀ gò↗],* *[ámà ŋɛ̀],* *[wó-mɔ̀ gò↗],*
[3Sg-Poss Dist], [God Def], [3Sg-Poss Dist],
èjú wɔ̀-Ø nà:, *ìnɛ̌m gàlá-m=* *=ɔ̀:,*
good be-3SgSbj just, Logo pass-Hort Quot,
'His (situation), (by) God, his (situation), it is just fine, so let me move on.'

[3Sg possessor with omitted possessum as subject/topic followed by gò reduced from kó, cf. 1Sg m=ɔ̂: ŋɔ̀; adjectival predicate ('good') (§11.4); nà: particle (§19.4.2); hortative (similar in form to causative imperative) with logophoric from original 1Sg subject]

(00:53) *[kó =à:]* *súg-à:y-Ø↘*
[DiscDef too] descend-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'That (tale) too is over.'

Text 3: Big-head, Dry-foot, and Massive-belly (tale)

recording reference: YS 199_08

speaker: Moïse (from Yendouma-Sogol)

(00:00) *áywà, sɔ́: sɔ́:*
well, speak.Imprt speak.Imprt
'Well, speak! Speak!'
[said by Jordan to Moïse]

(00:02) *yâ: [kó ˡtúrú], [w â:] ìnɔ̌:,*
again [DiscDef one], [3Sg too] Logo,
'Another one. He too said,'
[w = â: < /wó = à:/ ; in this subdialect the logophoric is ìnɔ̌: rather than ìnɛ̌m]

(00:06) *ìnɔ̌: [kû: ᴸdùgù] ↘, ìnɔ̌: dènné yà:-j = = ɔ:,*
Logo [head ᴸbig], Logo look.for go-Ipfv Quot,
[wó ᴸgì gè]
[3SgSbj ᴸsay.Pfv.Ppl Def]
'He said: "I, Big-head, I will go seeking (=on an adventure)" '
[kû: ᴸdùgù 'Big-head' and two similar names below are bahuvrihi compounds so the noun has lexical tones while the adjective has {L} overlay]

(00:12) *[kû: ᴸdùgù] lè→, è: kùbɔ̀-ý, [kùbɔ̀-ý ᴸmà:ŋì:] lè→,*
[head ᴸbig] and, eh foot-Dimin, [foot-Dimin ᴸdry] and,
[bèrɛ́ ᴸdèmèlè] lè→,
[belly ᴸmassive] and,
'Big-head, and Dry-leg, and Massive-belly.'
*[conjoined NPs, each of which is a bahuvrihi N-Adj compound with regular tones on the noun and tone-dropped adjectives; démélé 'massive, stout', with e not ɛ after nasal m, < *démbélé ; kúbɔ́ 'foot' is often diminutive in form (but not sense) kùbɔ̀-ý ~ kùbɛ̀-ý here sounds close to* [kùbàj*]]*

(00:18) *[bé kàm], [yă-y gè], tènɛ̀,*
[3Pl all], [go-Pfv.Ppl Def], meet.Pfv,
[ᴴᴸténɛ̀ bé ᴸkàn-Ø ŋɛ̀↗],
[ᴴᴸmeet.Pfv 3PlSbj ᴸdo-Pfv.Ppl Def],
'They all went and met (encountered each other). When they had met,'

(00:23) *[bé wòy],*
[3Pl all],
[òjî: yǎ:-ẁ yǎ:-ẁ yǎ:-ẁ bé L*wɔ̀-w]*
[walking go-IpfvSub go-IpfvSub go-IpfvSub 3PlSbj Lbe-IpfvSub]
'They were all traveling together on and on.'
[òjî:, cf. Sangha So yôy 'walking']

(00:26) *[[kùbɔ̀-ý* L*ùjì:],* *yǎ:-gù* *wó* L*gèlè-gù],*
[[foot-Dimin Lsmall], go-IpfvSub 3SgSbj Lhold-Stat.Ppl],
[kùbɔ̀-ý gè]—, *túmúl-à:y-Ø,*
[foot-Dimin Def]—, break(intr)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,
'Small-leg (=Dry-leg) was going along, (when) his leg broke.'
[-gù is the full form corresponding to contracted imperfective or stative -ẁ; túmúl-à:y-Ø is pronounced back-to-back by the speaker and the interlocutor; perfective-1a with semantically middle verb, compare transitive perfective-1b túmúl-Ø-tì- 'broke (sth)' based on same ambi-valent (labile) verb]

(00:31) *[*HL*túmùl-Ø* *wó* L*yà-y* *gè]* *á!,*
[HLbreak-Pfv.Ppl 3SgSbj Lgo-Pfv.Ppl Def] ah!,
[kû: L*dùgù]* *kó=y* *nɔ̌:* *tè:ré=y* *=yɔ̀:* *dè↗],*
[head Lbig] DiscDef=it.is Prox crisis=it.is Quot Emph].
'When it went and broke, "Ah," Big-head said, "this is indeed a crisis." '
[warning emphatic dè (§19.5.2); quotative =yɔ̀: (for =wɔ̀:) precedes rather than follows clause-final emphatics (§19.5) even when they are part of the quotation (§17.1.3)]

(00:36) *[tè:ré ŋ́* *wèlɛ́* *g=* *=ɔ̀:* *dè]*
[crisis Prsntv come.Pfv.Ppl Def Quot Emph]
[wó L*gì* *gè]*
[3SgSbj Lsay.Pfv.Ppl Def]
'He said, "here's a crisis (that) has come," when he said (that), '
[presentative with ŋ́ from proximate nɔ̌: ~ nú (§4.4.3)]

(00:39) *wó* *[kû:* L*dùgù]* *[kû:* *gè]* *nù-ŋún*
3Sg [head Lbig] [head Def] like.this
jígìbu-jígìbù-jígìbù *jìgá→* *[ɔ́ŋɔ̀* *ŋè]* *wó* L*wɔ̀-w,*
shake-shake-shake shake.Adv [be.tired.Pfv.Ppl Def] 3SbSbj Lbe-IpfvSub,
'He, Big-head, his head was shaking like this here and he had gotten tired,'
[adverbial verb iteration ('shake') with {HL} overlay on all three repetitions (§11.6)]

(00:43) *yǎ-y* *gɛ̀↗,*
go-Pfv.Ppl Def,
[kìjɛ́ =ǹ] *dɔ̀:,* *ángɛ̀gáŋgâ^{n},*
[thing Loc] arrive.Pfv-3SgSbj, A,
'He got tired and went and arrived at whatchamacallit, Angeganga.'
['thing' as 'whatchamacallit?' filler while the name is being recalled; Angeganga is the onomatopoeic name (cf. gâŋ-gâŋ-gâŋ variant of gádù-gádù-gádù 'ha-ha-ha!') of a personage in the tale]

(00:48) *[kínɛ̀* *ɛ́:l-í:-ày-Ø]* *gɛ̀]*
[liver sweet-Inch-Pfv1a-3SgSbj] Def]
[mɔ̂y *gádù-gàdù-gàdù* *mɔ̌:-ẁ* *wó* ^{L}*wɔ̀-w]*
[laughter ha-ha-ha! laugh(v)-IpfvSub 3SgSbj ^{L}be-IpfvSub]
'When he had become happy, he was laughing, "ha-ha-ha!" '
[kínɛ̀ liver as seat of the emotions; ɛ́:l-í:y-ày-Ø variant of *ɛ́lɛ́l-í:y-ày-Ø, 'liver' is the subject, cf. kínɛ̀ mɔ̀ 'my liver'; verb with cognate nominal ('laugh')]*
[it appears that Massive-belly is now the referent]

(00:51) *[[bèrɛ̀*^{L} *kó]* *yǎ-y* *gɛ̀]*
[[belly^{L} DiscDef] go-Pfv.Ppl Def]
[[bèrɛ̀ dèmèlè]^{L} *kó]* *[yǎ-y* *gɛ̀]* *lòé,*
[[belly big]^{L} DiscDef] [go-Pfv.Ppl Def] bursting(adv),
'That belly went, and that big belly went and burst.'
[discourse-definite demonstrative kó (twice), including N-Adj-Dem combo; 'went and VPed' with disparaging rather than motion use of 'go']

(00:54) *wó* ^{L}*pòjò* *gɛ̀,* *[kû:* ^{L}*dùgù],* *á!,*
3Sg ^{L}burst.Pfv.Ppl Def, [head ^{L}big], ah!,
[w= *â:]* *[kû:* *gɛ̀]* *jìgílí-mɔ̀-w* *wó* ^{L}*gèlɛ̀-gù,*
[3Sg= too] [head Def] shake-Caus-IpfvSub 3SgSbj ^{L}hold-Stat.Ppl,
'When it had burst, Big-head (said) "ah," he for his part was shaking his head.'

(01:01) *[yà-ŋín* *kàn-Ø* *mɔ̀]* *wó* ^{L}*gì* *gɛ̀],*
[how? be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj Q] 3SgSbj ^{L}say.Pfv.Ppl Def]
'He (=Big-head) said (=asked), "What has happened?" '

(01:02) *[w=* *=ɔ̂:],* *[mɔ̂y* *mɔ̌:-ŋù]*
[3Sg QuotSbj], [laughter laugh(v)-Ipfv]
[bèrɛ́ *pój-à:y-Ø]* *=yɔ̀:,* *gɛ́*
[belly burst-Pfv1a-3SgSbj] Quot, saying
'(He) said, "You-Sg were laughing and (your) belly burst." Saying that, '

[pój-à:y-Ø yɔ̀: shortened to approximately [pódʒà] *on recording; gɛ́ 'saying'; imperfective subordinator; passage could also be translated "He was laughing and (his) belly burst" if spoken by someone else to Big-head]*

(01:05) *tégé-Ø* *[wó* *^{L}mɔ̀:* *ŋɛ̀]*
tell.Pfv-3SgSbj [3Sg ^{L}laugh(v).Pfv.Ppl Def]
wó, *kìjɛ́* *kàn-Ø* *=nɔ̀:,*
3Sg, thing do.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot,
'He (=Big-head) said laughing. He did something.'
[quotative =nɔ̀: after n by Final-Sonorant Spreading (§3.4.4.4)]

(01:08) *wó-gɔ̀* *yă-y* *gɛ̀,*
DiscDef go-Pfv.Ppl Def,
[bé *kàm]* *yâ:-yà:* *yă-y* *gɛ̀,*
[3Pl all], go-go go-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'That one went. They all kept going along. They arrived at a beehive.'
[discourse-definite wó-gɔ̀, here with human reference; verb iteration (§11.6) with HL-L tones on the two uninflected iterations]

(01:10) *yâ:,* *[ɲɛ̀y^{n}^{L}-kóm* *nɛ̀]* *dɔ̀-ɛ̀:^{n},*
again, [honey^{L}-hole Loc] arrive.Pfv-3PlSbj
[ɲɛ̀y^{n}^{L}-kóm *nɛ̀]* *bé* *^{L}dɔ̀:* *gɛ̀,*
[honey^{L}-hole Loc] 3PlSbj ^{L}arrive.Pfv.Ppl Def,
'Again they arrived at an apiary.When they had arrived at the apiary,'
[ɲɛ̌y^{n} variant of yɛ̌y^{n} 'honey', here as tone-dropped compound initial; dɔ̀-ɛ̀:^{n} from dɔ́: 'arrive, come up to']
['apiary' here denotes a man-made beehive made from a hollowed-out section of a tree trunk]

(01:15) *[ɲɛ̌y^{n}* *ŋɛ̀],* *ìnɔ̌:,*
[honey Def], Logo,
wɔ̀gɔ́ *gɔ̌:-n-$^{↓}$é→* *mɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́-jɛ̀*
scoop exit(v)-Caus-PfvSub swallow-Ipfv
ìnɔ̌: *gí* *gɛ̀,*
Logo say.Pfv.Ppl Def
'He (=Big-head) said (=thought, at first) he would scoop out some honey (with his hand) and swallow it.'
[gɔ̌:-nɔ́ 'take out, remove' (§9.2.2)]

(01:20) *yé:-jɛ̀:* *bí-à:-Ø* *lɛ̀,* *[w=* *=ɔ̂:],*
see-CompPf stay-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if, [3Sg QuotSbj],
[[ìnɔ̌: *mɔ̀]* *=ǹ]* *mɛ̀rⁿɛ́-jɛ̀:-j=* *=ɔ̀:,*
[[Logo Poss] Loc] swallow-ComplPf-Ipfv Quot,
'If (=someone else) happens to have (already) seen (it), he'll swallow some of mine," (he) said.'

[< bí-à:y-Ø perfective-2 of bɛ̌: 'remain', here in the sense 'happen to VP'; mɛ̀rⁿɛ́-jɛ̀:-jɛ̀ 'will swallow' including what is elsewhere the recent perfect marker -jɛ̀:-, here followed by imperfective -jɛ̀- in future sense]

[this thought leads Big-head to switch from getting honey by scooping with his hand, to directly drinking it]

(01:24) *[[kɛ̀nɛ́* *lɛ̀]* *yá* *dìg-í:-ˡɛ́→* *nɔ̌:-jɛ̀-Ø*
[[mouth Comit] there.DiscDef follow-MP.Chain-PfvSub drink-Ipfv-3SgSbj
[wó *ᴸgì* *gɛ̀]*
[3SgSbj ᴸsay.Pfv.Ppl Def]
'He said he would get his mouth up close (to the honey) there and drink,'

[yá in this case is discourse-definite 'there'; ˡɛ́→ subordinator in L-toned form after mediopassive suffix]

(01:27) *[[kû:* *gɛ̀]* *[yǎ-y* *gɛ̀]* *kárám→]*
[[head Def] [go-Pfv.Ppl Def] stuck(adv)]
[kû: *gɛ̀]* *áŋ-ì:-ày-Ø,*
[head Def] get.stuck-MP.Chain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,
'His head went and got stuck. His head got stuck.'

[the interlocutor utters the segment (second line), rephrasing the expressive adverbial kárám→ by a regular inflected verb áŋ-ì:-ày-Ø]

(01:29) *[áŋ-ì:* *wó* *ᴸyà-y* *gɛ̀]*
[get.stuck-MP.Chain 3SgSbj ᴸgo-Pfv.Ppl Def]
[wó *ᴸkìgìlìmɛ̀-w]* *[wó* *ᴸkìgìlìmɛ̀-w],*
[3SgSbj ᴸreturn-Ipfv] [3SgSbj ᴸreturn-Ipfv],
'When it (=head) got stuck, it was turning and turning (to try to get out).'

[iterated imperfective subordinated clauses with subject proclitics (§11.6)]

(01:32) *wó* *kó-ǹ* *yá* *ᴸwàj-Ø=* *=ɔ̀:,*
3SgSbj there.DiscDef there.DiscDef ᴸremain-Pfv Quot
'It (=head) remained (stuck) there.'

[kó-ǹ discourse-definite 'there'; yá here implying distance) plus verb wàj-ù]

(01:33) *ɔ́→,* *[kìjɛ̀*^{L} *ɛ́lɛ̀l]* *=ɔ́:,*
so, [thing^{L} sweet] Quot,
[gìrì-dǐ: *lɛ̀]* *kà:-y* *=yɔ́:,*
[eye-water Comit] eat.Pfv-2PlSbj Quot,
'They say, you-Pl eat a sweet thing with tears.'
['sweet thing' N-Adj]
[proverbial; the interlocutor anticipated the second part of this proverb]

(01:37) *[w=* *=â:]* *wò-gǒ:* *wó=y,* *[w=* *=â:]* *wò-gǒ:* *wó=y,*
[3Sg too] DiscDef.Inan 3Sg=it.is, [3Sg too] DiscDef.Inan 3Sg=it.is,
'It (=tale) too, that's it. It too, that's it.'
[wò-gǒ: inanimate variant of mostly human wó-gɔ́ demonstrative (§4.4.1.2)]
[repetition is by the interlocutor]

(01:39) *[kó* *=à:]* *súg-à:y-Ø*
[DiscDef too] descend-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'That one too, it's finished.'
[spoken by the interlocutor]

Text 4: Three children (tale)

recording reference: YS 199_09

speaker: woman from Yendouma-Sogol

(00:01) *[úrⁿù-m tă:n],*
[children-Pl three],
[bé L*dè:] bé-ỳ [pǒn ˡtúrú] dàg-Ø↘,*
[3PlPoss Lfather] 3Pl-Acc [pants one] abandon.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'Three children (=boys). Their father left (=bequeathed) them one (pair of) pants.'
[N-Num with plural form of noun; dàgá 'abandon, leave (sth, sb) behind, leave (sth, sb) alone', here 'bequeath, leave (as inheritance)']

(00:04) *[[pǒn ˡtúrú] bé* L*dàg-Ø gɛ̀], [ĭn ˡtúrú]*
[[pants one] 3PlSbj Labandon-Pfv.Ppl Def], [person one]
sá:nèm-sá:nèm ŏl yà:-y,
by.turns(adv) the.bush go-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'After they left one (pair of) pants, they were taking turns go to the bush (=the fields).'
[expressive adverbial in iterative form]
['the bush' is any area away from settlements, including both cultivated fields and wilderness]

(00:07) *ŏl yă:-ẁ bé* L*wɔ̀-w↗, áy-né,*
the.bush go-IpfvSub 3PlSbj Lbe-IpfvSub, man-Sg,
*[nɔ̀mɔ̀*L *yă: ˡtúrú] [[dĭ: gɛ̀] =ǹ] wó* L*gò: gɛ̀,*
[spriteL female one] [[water Def] Loc] 3SgSbj Lexit(v).Pfv.Ppl Def,
'As they (one at a time) were going to the bush, a man, (or rather) a female sprite emerged from the water.'
[N-Adj-Num with '1' as numeral; nɔ̀mɔ́ 'rain god' or (as here) 'water sprite', elsewhere also 'rainbow'; locative nè in ablative context]

(00:12) *[î: gɛ̀]=ỳ jâ: ób-ù gɛ̀↗,*
[child Def]=Acc meal give-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'She gave the child a meal,'
[accusative recipient of 'give']

(00:14) *[bɛ́-lɛ̀y* *kíbɛ̂r* *sá-y-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀]*
[3Pl-two greetings replyChain-ComplPf.Ppl Def]
[jâ: *ká-y-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀]*
[meal eat-Chain-ComplPf.Ppl Def]
'When the two of them had finished exchanging greetings, and when (he?) had finished eating,'

[bɛ́-lɛ̀y with ATR assimilation, functioning like an incipient third person dual pronoun, but see 00:52 below where bɛ́-lɛ̀y is resumed by full-fledged 3Pl pronoun bɛ́ ; parallel forms are ɛ́mɛ̀-lɛ̀y 'the two of us', ɛ́-lɛ̀y 'you two', and kɔ́-lɔ̀y 'two of them (inanimate)' (end of §4.6.1.2); -jɛ̌: (twice) participial form of completive perfect (§14.1.6.1), originally a chained verb 'take']

(00:16) *[w=* *=â:]* *ìnɛ́=ỳ* *jɔ̀b-ˈɛ́→* *dɔ̌:* *bɛ̀l-ɔ̂:* *lɛ̀]*
[3Sg too] Logo=Acc run-PfvSub arrive get-AntNonp if]
ìnɛ́=y *wó-mɔ̀=y* *=yɔ̀:↘,* *ɔ́→,*
Logo=it.is 3Sg-Poss=it.is Quot, okay,
'(She) said, "if you-Sg too can run and catch up to me, I am yours." (He said,) "okay." '

['get' with a preceding VP in the sense 'be able to VP' (§17.5.2); variant logophoric ìnɛ́ similar to Jamsay ènɛ́ ; 'belong to' predicate (§11.5.2)]

(00:20) *jɔ̀bɔ́-ẁ* *jɔ̀bɔ́-ẁ*
run-IpfvSub run-IpfvSub
[[yǎ: *gɛ̀]* *gírù* *wó* *^{L}yò-y* *gɛ̀]*
[[female Def] forward 3SgSbj ^{L}enter-Pfv.Ppl Def]
[wó *[[bɔ̀lɔ́* *gɛ̀]* *=ǹ]* *dìm-ì:]*
[3SgSbj [[behind Def] Loc] follow-MP.Pfv]
'The girl was running and running, she went ahead, and he followed behind.'

[iterated imperfective subordinator in backgrounded progressive function with wó ^{L}wɔ̀-w implied (§11.6); the female sprite is referred to throughout this text as yǎ: 'female' rather than as yǎ:-r^{n}á 'woman' with human singular suffix (as in 00:31 below with reference to a nonspecific human woman); 'forward' and 'behind' (§8.4.6.3) ; short perfective of mediopassive]

(00:22) *[[yǎ:* *gɛ̀]* *^{HL}jɔ́bɔ̀]* *[w=* *=â:]* *^{HL}jɔ́bɔ̀],*
[[female Def] ^{HL}run.Pfv] [3Sg too] ^{HL}run.Pfv],
[yǎ: *gɛ̀]* *[[dɛ̌:* *nɛ̀]* *yô-y]*
[female Def] [[water Loc] enter-Chain]
wó *^{L}yà-y* *gɛ̀↘,*
3SgSbj ^{L}go-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'The girl was running, (and) he was running. The girl went and entered the water.'

[paired clauses with same (iterated) verb but different subjects (verb is unconjugated, cf. 3Pl bɛ́=à: jɔ́bɔ̀ later in this text) (§11.6); locative postposition nɛ̀ in allative context]

(00:25) *[[î:* *gɛ̀]* *[[bɔ̀lɔ́* *gɛ̀]* *=ǹ]* *dìm-ì:]*
[[child Def] [[behind Def] Loc] follow-MP.Pfv]
[wɛ̀lɛ́ *gɛ̀]*
[come.Pfv.Ppl Def]
'The child followed after. He came.'

(00:26) *[ì:*^{L} *dàgî:* *gɛ̀]=ỳ* *bé* ^{L}*tàg-Ø* *g=* *=ɔ̀:↘,*
[child^{L} young Def]=Acc 3PlSbj ^{L}tell-Pfv.Ppl say.Pfv Quot,
'When they told the young(est) child, it is said,'

(00:27) *[bé* *=ɔ̀:]* *nìmâ:* *gìrì-ý—,* *kúmɔ́—*
[3Pl QuotSbj] until.now eye-Dimin—, smoke—
kúmɔ́ *nìmâ:* *[gìri-ý* *bè-mɛ̀]* *dànà-ń-Ø* *gì* *=ɔ̀:↗,*
smoke until.now [eye-Dimin 3Pl-Poss] burn-PfvNeg-3SgSbj say.Pfv Quot,
'Their eyes haven't yet—, smoke hasn't yet burned their eyes, it is said.'
[dànáˊ 'burn the surface of', perfective negative; 'eye(s)' often in diminutive form (§5.1.6); nìmâ: 'yet, to date']
[proverbial; 'smoke' here is metaphoric for male sexual desire]

(00:31) *[kúmɔ́* *[gìrì-ý* *bè-mɛ̀]* *dăn-Ø-tì-Ø* *lɛ̀]*
[smoke [eye-Dimin 3Pl-Poss] burn-Chain-Pfv1b-3SgSbj if]
yă:-rⁿáˊ *yé-ʻéˊ→* *dàgá-ỳ-nɛ̀* *gì-Ø* *=ɔ̀:↘,*
woman-Sg see abandon-IpfvNeg.3PlSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot
'If smoke has burned their eyes, they won't see a woman and leave (her alone), it is said.'
[-tì- perfective-1b; dàgá-ỳ-nɛ̀ imperfective negative]

(00:34) *yâ:* *[ì:*^{L} *dàgî:* *gɛ̀]* *[bày*^{L} *lɛ̌:]*
again [child^{L} young Def] [day^{L} other]
ǒl *yà-y-Ø↘,*
the.bush go-Pfv-3SgSbj,
'Again, another day, the young(est) child went out to the bush (=fields).'
[lɛ̌: 'other' as modifying adjective]

(00:36) *[yă-y* *gɛ̀]*
[go-Pfv.Ppl Def]
[[yă: *gɛ̀]* *jâ:* *sîr-Ø* *gɛ̀]*
[[female Def] meal boil(v)-Pfv.Ppl Def]
'When (he) went, the girl cooked a meal,'

(00:37) *jɛ̌:l-ù* *wó* *[L]kàn-Ø* *ŋɛ̀]*
bring-Pfv.Ppl 3SgSbj [L]do-Pfv.Ppl Def]
[jâ: *ká-y-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↘],* *[[bé* *=à:]* *[HL]jɔ́bɔ̀]*
[meal eat-Chain-ComplPf.Ppl Def], [[3Pl too] [HL]run.Pfv]
'After she brought (the meal), and after (he) had finished eating, they too ran (=raced).'

(00:40) *[[yă:* *gɛ̀]* *[HL]jɔ́bɔ̀]*
[[female Def] [HL]run.Pfv]
[w= *=â:]* *[HL]jɔ́bɔ̀]*
[3Sg too] [HL]run.Pfv]
[yă: *g=* *=à:]* *[HL]jɔ́bɔ̀,*
[female Def too] [HL]run,
'The girl ran. He too ran. The girl too ran.'
[parallel perfective clauses with different subjects and invariant verb]

(00:42) *[jɔ̀bɔ́* *gɛ̀]* *[yă-y* *gɛ̀]*
[run.Pfv.Ppl Def] [go-Pfv.Ppl Def]
[[yă: *gɛ̀]* *[dĭ:* *=ǹ]* *yò-y-Ø]* *bɛ̌:-l-Ø,*
[[female Def] [water Loc] enter-Pfv-3SgSbj] get-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'(They) ran, (they) went. The girl went into the water. He didn't get (her).'
[bɛ̌:-l- perfective negative of bèlé 'get']

(00:43) *lɛ̌:* *[ì:[L]* *dàgî:* *gɛ̀]* *wó* *[L]yà-y* *gɛ̀↘,*
other(adv) [child[L] young Def] 3SgSbj [L]go-Pfv.Ppl Def,
[ì:[L] *dàgî:* *gɛ̀]* *wó* *[L]yà-y* *gɛ̀↘,*
[child[L] young Def] 3SgSbj [L]go-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'Another time, when the young(est) child went, when the young(est) child went,'
[lɛ̌: 'other' as adverb (§19.3.1), see also the following segment and 01:01= below]

(00:47) *lɛ̌:,* *[jà:[L]* *kó]* *ká-y-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀,*
other(adv), [meal[L] DiscDef] eat-Chain-ComplPf.Ppl Def,
[dĭ: *[ùjì-ý* *gɛ̀]* *nɔ̌:-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀]*
[water [little-Dimin Def] drink-ComplPf.Ppl Def]
'Another time, when he had eaten that meal, when he had drunk a little water,'

(00:51) *wó* *[L]yò-y* *gɛ̀↘,*
3SgSbj [L]enter-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'He went in (the water),'

(00:52) *yá-ˈbá:,* *[[dĭ:* *gɛ̀]* *=ǹ]* *[tómɔ̀* *ŋɛ̀]*
there.DiscDef, [[water Def] Loc] [jump.Pfv.Ppl Def]
[bé-lɛ̀y *bé* *ᴸyò-y* *gɛ̀]*
[3Pl-two 3PlSbj ᴸenter-Pfv.Ppl Def]
'There, the two of them dove into the water.'
[bé-lɛ̀y resumed by 3Pl bé]

(00:54) *[[mă:* *ᴸkàl]* *nɛ̀]* *[yă-y* *gɛ̀]* *dɔ̀-ɛ̀:ⁿ↘,*
[[dry ᴸboundary] Loc] [go-Pfv.Ppl Def] arrive.Pfv-3PlSbj,
[bé *ᴸdɔ̀:* *gɛ̀↘],*
[3PlSbj ᴸarrive.Pfv.Ppl Def],
'They went and arrived on solid ground. When they had arrived,'
[kăl 'boundary, outer limit', here tone-dropped in possessive-type compound (§5.1.3)]

(00:57) *[ɲʷ-ɲà:-mᴸ* *gùlɔ́-ỳ-m]* *pɛ́rɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀* *káy—,*
[child-girl-Plᴸ adolescent-Dimin-Pl] aligned(adv) (false start)—,
káykɔ̀lɔ̀ *wɔ̀-yⁿ,* *bé* *ᴸwɔ̀-w,*
many be-3PlSbj, 3PlSbj ᴸbe-IpfvSub,
'Adolescent girls were (sitting) in rows, they were many.'
[irregular plural (§3.4.4.1), cf. singular yà:ᴸ gùlɔ̀-ý 'adolescent girl']

(01:01) *lĕ:,* *[[ànáˈ* *ŋɛ̀]* *=ǹ]*
other(adv), [[village Def] Loc]
[yér-nɛ̀ *yó-à:y-Ø* *ˈpú→]* *jí-jìg-ɛ̀:,*
[visitor-Sg enter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj all] Rdp-shake.Ipfv-3SgSbj,
'Meanwhile, whenever a stranger came into the village, it (=village) would tremble.'
[ˈpú→ 'all' final in conditional antecedent (§16.2.1); jí-jìg-ɛ̀: reduplicated imperfective (§10.2.2.3) contracted from jí-jìgɛ̀-jɛ̀]

(01:04) *jìgɛ́-ẁ* *wó* *ᴸwɔ̀-w,*
shake-IpfvSub 3SgSbj ᴸbe-IpfvSub,
[[ámìrù *gɛ̀]* *sâ-y* *gɛ̀]*
[[chief Def] reply-Pfv.Ppl Def]
'While it was trembling, the chief announced,'

(01:07) *[[[ànáˈ* *[ìnɛ́* *bɛ̀-mɛ̀]]* *=ǹ]*
[[[village [Logo Pl-Poss]] Loc]
yér-nɛ̀ *yó-à:y-Ø]* *g=* *=ɔ̀:]*
visitor-Sg enter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj] say.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot]
'He (=chief) said "A stranger has come into our village." '
*[clause-initial spatial adverbial PP; logophoric plural possessor (§18.3.1); /*gì-Ø ɔ̀:*/]*

(01:08) *<xxx>* *[dí-dà:^{n}-y* *nɛ̀:]*
(unintelligible) [Rdp-kill-Ipfv.3PlSbj just]
dàgá-ỳ-n= *=ɔ̀:,*
abandon-IpfvNeg-3PlSbj Quot,
'(Chief:) "We will just kill (him). We won't let (him go)." '
[reduplicated imperfective (contracted); 3Pl imperfective negative -ỳ-nɛ̀]

(01:10) *ɲí-ŋín* *bé* *^{L}gì* *gɛ̀,* *lɛ̌:,*
thus 3PlSbj ^{L}say.Pfv.Ppl Def, other(adv),
[yă: *gɛ̀],* *[î:* *g=]* *=ɔ̀:,* *[yă:* *gɛ̀],*
[female Def] [child Def] Quot, [female Def],
'When they had spoken thus, later, the girl, the boy, the girl,'
[yí-ŋín ~ ɲí-ŋín 'thus, like that (discourse-definite)', §4.4.2.3]
[some hesitation by the speaker in this segment]

(01:16) *[[ɲí^{w}-ɲâ:-m* *ˡpú→]* *pérɛ̀lɛ̀lɛ̀* *dâ:^{n}* *ŋɛ̀]* *nɛ̀,*
[[child-girl-Pl all] aligned(adv) sit.Stat.Ppl Def] Loc,
[yà:^{L} *kó]=ỳ* *tàgă-l-Ø* *ˡpú→,*
[female^{L} DiscDef]=Acc tell-PfvNeg-3SgSbj all,
'(People:) "In (=among) all the girls who were sitting in rows, if you don't tell (=identify) that same girl," '
[stative dâ:^{n} 'be sitting (seated)' (§10.4.1)]

(01:20) *[yà:* *kó]=ỳ* *tàgă-l-Ø* *ˡpú→,*
[female DiscDef]=it.is tell-PfvNeg-3SgSbj all,
wó-ỳ *dí-dà:-y* *g-è:^{n}↘,*
3Sg-Acc Rdp-kill-Ipfv.3PlSbj say.Pfv-3PlSbj,
'They said, "if you don't tell (=identify) that same girl, we will kill you." '

(01:22) *dí-dà:-y* *bé* *^{L}gì* *gɛ̀,*
Rdp-kill-Ipfv.3PlSbj 3PlSbj ^{L}say.Pfv.Ppl Def,
lɛ̌:, *[î:* *gɛ̀]* *wó* *^{L}dà:^{n}-ẁ^{n}* *lɛ̌:,*
other(adv), [child Def] 3SgSbj ^{L}sit-Stat.Ppl other(adv)
'After they said "we will kill (you)," then, the child—, the child was sitting, then,'

(01:24) *gámà* *kó-ˡbá:* *gŏ:* *wɛ̀lɛ́* *gɛ̀,*
cat there.DiscDef exit(v) come.Pfv.Ppl Def,
'A cat came out from there (and approached him).'

(01:25) *[gàmà-ý ŋ=] =ɔ̂:*
[cat-Dimin Def] QuotSbj
[èm^{L} *kòló gɛ̀], ìné=ỳ ób-ú-tì-Ø lɛ̀↘,*
[milk^{L} fresh Def], Logo=Acc give-Chain-Pfv1b-3SgSbj if,
'It is said, the cat (said), "if you have given me the fresh milk," '
[logophoric variant ìné as in Jamsay; perfective-1b -tì- in conditional antecedent]

(01:28) *[èm*^{L} *kòló gɛ̀] wó-ỳ ób-ú-tì-Ø lɛ̀ ˈpú→,*
[milk^{L} fresh Def] 3Sg-Acc give-Chain-Pfv1b-3SbSbj if all,
ìné [yă: gɛ̀] wó-ỳ tág-ɛ̀: =wɔ̀:↘,
Logo [female Def] 3Sg-Acc show-Ipfv Quot,
' "If he has given it the fresh milk, I'll show the girl to you." '
[on this repetition, logophoric ìné=ỳ is replaced by nonquotative 3Sg wó=ỳ; tág-ɛ̀: contracted from tágà-jɛ̀]

(00:31) *[èm*^{L} *kòló gɛ̀] wó* ^{L}*òb-ù gɛ̀],*
[milk^{L} fresh Def] 3Sg ^{L}give-Pfv.Ppl Def],
'When he gave (the cat) the fresh milk,'

(01:32) *[gàmà*^{L} *kó] [[únɔ̀ =ǹ] bìnél-ì:] wèlé gɛ̀]*
[cat^{L} DiscDef] [[ashes Loc] roll-MP] come.Pfv.Ppl Def]
'That cat rolled around in the ashes and came.'

(01:35) *[[yà:*^{L} *kó]* ^{L}*kùbɔ̀-y] nɛ̀] wó* ^{L}*dɔ̀: gɛ̀↘,*
[[female^{L} DiscDef] ^{L}foot-Dimin] Loc] 3SgSbj ^{L}arrive.Pfv.Ppl Def,
lɛ̌: [yá ^{L}*yà-y gɛ̀] [wó* ^{L}*tàb-ù gɛ̀]*
other(adv) [there.DiscDef ^{L}go-Pfv.Ppl Def] [3SgSbj ^{L}touch-Pfv.Ppl Def]
'It (=cat) approached that girl's leg. Then he (=boy) went then and touched the girl.'

(01:38) *[yă: gɛ̀] wó-ỳ òb-ɛ̀:*^{n}*↘,*
[female Def] 3Sg-Acc give.Pfv-3PlSbj,
'They gave him the girl.'

(01:39) *[kó lɛ̀] [dìmɛ̂-r-Ø gɛ̀]*
[DiscDef Comit] [follow-Tr-Pfv.Ppl Def]
gɛ̀r^{n}*ɛ̀-ý wèlɛ̀-Ø↘,*
house-Dimin come.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'At that point, when he had taken her with him, he went home.'
[kó lɛ̀ 'at that point' (literally "with that") §4.3.2; gɛ̀r^{n}*ɛ̀-ý 'home', in form the diminutive of gɛ̀r*^{n}*ɛ́ 'house']*

(01:41) *súg-à:y-Ø↘*
descent=d-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘It (=tale) is finished.’

Text 5: The annual farming cycle

recording reference: YS 201

speaker: Moïse until 04:36, then Jordan

(00:05) *áywà, kó=y,*
well, DiscDef=it.is
[né: kày] búlò ↘,
[now Top] B,
'Well, that's it. Now *bulo* festival.'

(00:09) *dègèjú gàl-â:y-Ø↗, fɛ́tù gàl-â:y-Ø↗,*
D pass-Pfv1a-3SgSbj, festival pass-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,
búlò=y wàj-ù ↘,
B=Foc remain-Pfv,
'Well, that's it. Now the *degeju* festival has passed, the festival has passed. The bulo festival [focus] has remained.'
[fɛ́tù ~ pétù < French fête]

(00:13) *búlò bé, háyà, [ìnɛ̀^{L} ă:=y kàr^{n}à],*
B 3Pl, well, [person^{L} who?=Foc even],
dɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ gŏ:-nɔ́ gɛ̀-y,
grain exit(v)-Caus.Imprt say-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'(For) *bulo*, they, well, they tell everybody to bring out (=contribute) grain.'.
[ìnɛ̀^{L} ă:=y kàr^{n}à 'anyone, everyone' (§19.1.3.2)]
[beer is brewed from grains of millet (Cenchrus spicatus) and/or sorghum; dɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ denotes harvested crops in general, especially grain]

(00:17) *[wàgém wàgém wàgém wàgém]*
[clan clan clan clan]
[gɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀^{L} dê: dê: dê:], dɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ gò:-nɔ̀-y,
[house^{L} big big big], grain exit(v)-Caus-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'Clan by clan, extended family by extended family, they bring out (=contribute) harvested grain.'
[iteration of noun and of adjective in N-Adj]
[wàgém 'clan' is comprised of several 'extended families'; harvested grain is brought out from granaries]

(00:21) *[[dèr^{n}é ŋè]* *gǒ:-n-ù* *ŋè]* *[wǐ:r-Ø* *gè],*
[[grain Def] exit(v)-Caus-Pfv.Ppl Def] [spread.out-Pfv.Ppl Def],
[mǎ:-ŋ-í:-ày-Ø *mà]* *é→,* *[mǎ:-ŋ-í:-ày-Ø* *mà]* *é→,*
[dry-Inch-Chain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Q] yes!, [dry-Inch-Chain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Q] yes!,
'They bring out out the grain and spread it (in the sun, to dry). (Later they ask:) Has it dried Yes. Has it dried? Yes.'
[wǐ:ré 'spread (sth) out'; this speaker makes frequent use of the polar interrogative plus 'yes!' sequence]

(00:25) *[dèr^{n}é* *ŋè]* *ní-nàw^{n}à-y,*
[grain Def] Rdp-stone.grind-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
[nàw^{n}-ɔ̂: *lè],* *[kɔ̀ŋɔ́* *ŋè]* *árà-y* *lè,*
[grind-AntNonp if], [beer Def] brew-Ipfv.3PlSbj if,
'They will stone-grind the grain. They will stone-grind (it), (and) they brew the beer,'
[reduplicated imperfective; árá dialectal variant of álá 'brew (beer)'; unusual use of imperfective in conditional antecedent (§16.1.1)]

(00:29) *[[búlò* ^{L}*kɔ̀ŋɔ̀* *ŋè]* ^{HL}*ílè* *gè]* ^{L}*bày,*
[[B ^{L}beer Def] ^{HL}ripen.Pfv.Ppl Def] ^{L}day,
[wàgèm-gèr^{n}é *gèr^{n}é* *pú→]* *[yà-ɔ̂:* *lè]* *tú-tùrɔ̀-y,*
[clan-house house all] [go-AntNonp if] Rdp-pour-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'(On) the day when the beer of the Bulo (festival) has ripened (=fermented), they will go to each clan-house (altar) and pour (the beer),'
[doubled postrelative ^{L}bày in temporal adverbial relative (§14.1.11); reduplicated imperfective of túrɔ́ 'pour (beer) onto (sth)'; 'each' construction §6.6.2]
[some of the beer is poured onto the fetishes (idols) and onto the ground in ancestral burial areas]

(00:35) *[túr-ɔ̀:* *lè],* *[ìnɛ̀^{L}* *kâ:^{n}]* *[kɔ̀ŋɔ́* *ŋè]* *nɔ̀-ɔ̂:* *lè,*
[pour-AntNonp if], [person^{L} each] [beer Def] drink-AntNonp if,
[kìnɛ̀^{L} *élèl]* *lè,*
[liver^{L} sweet] Comit,
'They pour (the beer), everyone drinks the beer, with happy heart.'

(00:39) *háyà* *wàgém* *[w=* *=ɔ̂:]* *nǒ:-t=* *=ɔ̀:,*
well, clan [3Sg QuotSbj] drink-Pfv1b Quot,
wàgém *[w=* *=ɔ̂:]* *nǒ:-t=* *=ɔ̀:*
clan]3Sg= QuotSbj] drink-Pfv1b Quot
'Well, (they) say the clan, it has drunk. The clan has drunk.'
[3Sg quotative subject resuming 'clan'; < /nǒ:-tì-Ø ɔ̀:/]

(00:43) *né:* *[[kìnɛ̀*^{L} *élèl]* *lè]* *bɛ̀:-y,*
now [[liver^{L} sweet] Comit] stay-Ipfv.3PlSbj
'Now they remain with happy heart.'
[bɛ̌:, dialectally bìyɛ́, means 'stay, continue' by itself or with a locational, or else 'become ADV' with an adverbial]

(00:46) *wàgém* *nɔ̌:-jɛ̀:-Ø* *lɛ̀,*
clan drink-ComplPf-3SgSbj if,
[né: *búlò* *gàl-â:y-Ø* *lè]* *ìnjɛ́* *wàj-ù↗,*
[now B pass-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]] what? remain-Pfv,
'When the clan has finished drinking, now when the Bulo (festival) has passed, what has remained (=is next)?'

(00:50) *né:,* *ámìrì* *kó-ǹ* *tò-ló-Ø* *kòy,*
now, chief there.DiscDef be.in-StatNeg-3SgSbj Emph,
búlò *gàl-â:y-Ø* *mà,*
B pass-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Q,
'Now, the chief definitely isn't (involved) in it. (They ask:) "Has Bulo passed (=ended)?" '

(00:55) *[né:* *kày]* *wó* *jɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀ŋɛ́*
[now Top] 3Sg rainy.season
[[bírɛ́ *ˡbá:]* *yò:*^{L} *nɛ́]* *wɛ̀lɛ̀-y,*
[[work(n) Loc] enter^{L} Purp] come-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'Now, it, (in) the rainy season, they come (from afar) in order to go into (=engage in) the (farming) work.'
[usually animate 3Sg pronoun wó resuming inanimate referent; purposive nɛ́ after tone-dropped verb stem (§17.7.1)]

(00:58) *[[jɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀ŋɛ́* *^{L}bìrɛ̀]* *nɛ̀]* *yó-à:-w↘,*
[[rainy.season ^{L}work] Loc] enter-Pfv1a-2SgSbj,
'You-Sg have entered into (=gotten involved in) rainy-season work (=farming).'

(01:01) *[búlò* *gàl-â:y-Ø* *lè]*
[B pass-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]
[jɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀ŋɛ̀-bírɛ́ *nɛ̀]* *yó-à:-w,* *jɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀ŋɛ̀-bírɛ́,*
[rainy.season-work(n) Loc] enter-Pfv1a-2SgSbj, rainy.season-work(n),
'When Bulo has passed, you have gone into (=engaged in) rainy-season work (=farming). Rainy-season work.'

(01:05) *ça veut dire, l'hivernage, tu rentres dans l'hivernage, après le bulo,*
that means the rainy season, they go into (it) in the rainy season,
né: *[búlò* *gàl-â:y-Ø* *lè],* *[émè* *=ǹ]* —
now [B pass-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if], [1Pl.Poss Ben] —
'Now, when Bulo has passed, for us,'

(01:13) *bon,* *né:* *jèrⁿèŋè-bírέ↗,* *bìrìŋù-[tùmɔ̀-ý]↗,*
okay, now rainy.season-work(n), manure-[mound-Dimin],
ɔ̀gɔ̀-né↗, *ɔ̀gɔ̀-né↗,* *háyà,* *wó* *lâ:y,*
Hogon-Sg, Hogon-Sg, well, 3Sg first(adv),
'Now, rainy-season work, mounds of manure. The Hogon (=traditional chief), the Hogon, well, he is first.'

[wó lâ:y is interpolated by the interlocutor as the speaker hesitates; lâ:y is not conjugatable and is always predicative (adverb lá: 'formerly, in the past' is not very common in YS)]

(01:20) *[w=* *=ɔ̀:],* *búlò* *gà-â:y-Ø* *é→,* *háyà,*
[3Sg QuotSbj], B pass-Pfv1a-3SgSbj yes, well,
wǎn *pájà-y,*
cowry toss-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'He (=Hogon). (They ask:) Bulo has passed? Yes. Well, they toss cowries,'
[gà-â:y-Ø apparently a variant of gàl-â:y-Ø with intervocalic l elided]
[cowries are tossed by a fetishist and then "read" in divination]

(01:25) *jèrⁿèŋé,* *[òlᴸ* *nɔ̌:]* *yɔ́:,*
rainy.season, [the.bushᴸ Prox] this.year,
yà-ŋín *bá:* *gò:-jè* *m=* *=ɔ̀:,*
how? transition exit(v).Ipfv Q Quot,
jèrèŋé *kàrⁿà-y* *mà→,*
rainy.season do-Ipfv.3PlSbj Q,
'(They) ask: "the rainy season, in this outback (=these fields) this year, how will the season (transition) come out? (How) will they do the rainy season?" '

[unmodifiable noun bá: in subject-verb collocations denoting seasonal and day-night transitions (§11.1.3.1); gò:-jè sounds like [gò:-dù] *on the recording; kàrⁿà-y is not clear on the recording and glossing is uncertain]*

(01:28) *[[yù:ᴸ* *ìlέ]* *yá* *kɔ̀* *mà→]*
[[milletᴸ ripe] Exist be.Inan Q]
kɔ̀-lɔ́ *má,*
be.Inan-StatNeg Q,
'(They) ask: "Will there be ripe millet, or won't there be?" '

[polar interrogative ma after positive and negative clauses (§13.2.1.2), getting its tone from the preceding tone]

[first line was uttered by interlocutor, then repeated by speaker]

(01:31) *wǎn* *pá-pàjà-y,* *wǎn* *páj-ɔ̀:* *lɛ̀,*
cowry Rdp-toss-Ipfv.3PlSbj, cowry toss-AntNonp if,
[ɔ̀mɔ̀lɔ̀^{L} *nɔ̌:↗],* *ɛ̀ɲɛ́* *wó-ỳ* *jâ:*^{n} *k=* *=ɔ̀:↘,*
[idol^{L} Prox], chicken 3Sg-Acc right be.Inan Quot,
'They toss cowries. When (they) have tossed cowries, (they) say: "This idol, a (sacrificial) chicken is (normatively) right for it." '

[reduplicated imperfective; ɔ̀mɔ̀lɔ́ is a more general word for 'fetish, animist idol'; jâ:^{n} *'socially correct, right (thing to do)' said of behavior as in jâ:*^{n} *kɔ̀ 'it is right,normal, correct' (§8.4.5.2)]*

(01:37) *[ɔ̀mɔ̀lɔ̀*^{L} *nɔ̌:↗],* *bɛ̌l* *wó=y* *jâ:*^{n} *k=* *=ɔ̀:↘,*
[idol^{L} Prox], animal 3Sg=Foc right be.Inan Quot,
'(Or they) say: "This idol, a (sacrificial) livestock animal is right for it." '

(01:40) *[ɔ̀mɔ̀lɔ̀*^{L} *nɔ̌:↗],* *kùbɔ̀-ý* *yó:=*^{ɬ}*b=* *=ɔ̂:,*
[idol^{L} Prox], foot-Dimin enter=Past-3SgSbj Quot,
'A foot has gone into this idol.'

[kùbɔ̀-ý 'foot' is regularly in diminutive form (§5.1.6)]

[i.e. a person other than the authorized fetishist has entered the fetish-house, a violation calling for a sacrifice]

(01:42) *sâ:y* *yègí-r-Ø-t-î:* *lɛ̀,*
clean(adv) be.fixed-Tr-Chain-Pfv1b-AntNonp if,
[kíl-à:y-Ø *mà]* *é→,*
[finish-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Q] yes!,
'When he (=fetishist) has resolved (the problem) cleanly, (they ask) "Is it finished?" "Yes!" '

[perfective-1b -t-î: here as auxiliary with {HL} tone of the anterior nonpast subordinated form, usually ending in ɔ̂: for other verbs (§15.2.3), cf. -t-ɔ̂: Text 5 @ 03:11]

(01:45) *háyà,* *ɔ̀gɔ̀-n=* *=ɔ̂:,* *mìnɛ̀-bírɛ́,*
well, Hogon-Sg QuotSbj, field-work,
jì-jǐ: *jă:lá-m=* *=ɔ̀:,* *[wó* ^{L}*là:y]* *tɔ̀lɔ̀-jɛ̀,*
Rdp-thorn rake.up-Caus.Imprt Quot, [3Sg ^{L}first] begin-Ipfv,
' "Well, the Hogon says, "rake up the thorns!" He will be the first to begin (the clean-up).'

[ɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́ 'Hogon, traditional chief'; mìnɛ́ 'field' as compound initial; jì-jǐ: 'thorn' frozen reduplicative noun (§4.1.4.2); [wó ^{L}*là:y] tɔ̀lɔ̀-jɛ̀ is spoken by the interlocutor; for [wó* ^{L}*là:y] see discussion of (193)]*

[the "thorns" are the bushes that have grown up since the previous harvest; they are gathered into piles by hand and/or with tools]

(01:50) *[jì-jǐ:* *jă:là-m-ɔ̀:* *lè],* *[yăm* *kúnɔ̀-y* *lè],*
[thorn rake.up-Caus-AntNonp if], [fire put-Ipfv.3PlSbj if],
[né: *kày],* *kó=y* *ɔ̀jù-ná:* *yèg-í:-ày-Ø* *=yɔ̀:,*
[now Top], DiscDef=it.is road be.fixed-MP.Chain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Quot,
'They rake up the thorns and they set fire (to the pile). Now, that's it, the way is fixed (=ready).'
[causative -mɔ̀]

(01:57) *[né:* *kày]* *né:* *[dɔ̀gɔ̀-tɛ̂m* *kày],*
[now Top] now [Dogon-custom Top],
[káy^{n}-kày^{n} *yèg-í:-ày-Ø* *=yɔ̀:]*
[strongly(adv) be.fixed-MP.Chain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Quot]
'Now, as for the Dogon custom, it has been done fully,'

(02:00) *[bé* *^{L}dɔ̀mɔ̀-n]* *[bé* *^{L}dɔ̀mɔ̀-n],*
[3PlSbj ^{L}wait-DurSub] [3PlSbj ^{L}wait-DurSub]
'They wait and wait.'
[-n durative subordinator (§15.2.1.2)]

(02:01) *[ìnɛ̀^{L}* *kâ:^{n}]* *[bìrĭŋ* *yâ:]* *gò:-nɔ̀-y,*
[person^{L} each] [manure too] exit(v)-Caus-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
bìrĭŋ *gŏ:-nɔ̀-n* *gŏ:-n-ɔ̀:* *lè,*
manure exit(v)-Caus-DurSub exit(v)-Caus-AntNonp if,
'Everybody takes out manure too. When they take out manure,'
[yâ: 'also'; -n durative subordinator (§15.2.1.2)]

(02:04) *né:* *mìnɛ́* *mìnɛ́* *mìnɛ́*
now field field field
[bìrĭŋ *tɛ́-ɔ̀:* *lè]*
[manure pile.in.mounds-AntNonp if]
'Now, they spread out manure throughout the fields,'
[tɛ́: 'place (manure) in small piles, in a field', see also in the next segment]

(02:06) *[né:* *kày],* *[àr^{n}á* *súgù-jɛ̀]=y* *dɔ̀mɛ̀-y,*
[now Top], [rain(n) descend-Ipfv]=it.is wait-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
[bìrĭŋ *tɛ́:-t-ɛ̀:^{n}]* *ɛ́→,*
[manure spread-Pfv1b-3PlSbj] yes!
'Now they wait for the rain to come down. "Have they spread manure?" "Yes!" '
[dɔ̀mɛ̀-y 3Pl imperfective]

(02:10) *[àrⁿá* *wèlέ* *gè]* *bíp!,*
[rain(n) come.Pfv.Ppl Def] falling.hard(adv),
'When rain has come, pouring down,'
[bip! expressive adverbial suggests forceful falling, cf. 'thud!', but it is not onomatopoeic]

(02:13) *[bìrìŋ-[tĕ-y]* *g=* *=à:]*
[manure-[spread-VblN] Def too]
[ɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́ *lâ:y* *tùmɔ̀-r-è:* *kòy],*
[Hogon-Sg first(adv) initiate(v)-Tr.Ipfv-3SgSbj Emph],
'The manure-spreading too, the Hogon is definitely first to start,'
[bìrìŋ-[tĕ-y] verbal noun with incorporated tone-dropped noun; imperfec tive tùmɔ̀-r-è: contracted < /tùmɔ̀-rɔ̀-jɛ̀-Ø/]

(02:15) *[ɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́* *túmɔ́-r-Ø-tì-Ø* *lè]* *[àndúrⁿɔ́* *ŋɛ̀* *ˈpú→]*
[Hogon-Sg initiate(v)-Tr-Chain-Pfv1b-3SgSbj if] [world Def all]
[bìrĭŋ *[kó* *lè]* *tùmɔ̀-rɔ̀-y]*
[manure [DiscDef Comit] initiate(v)-Tr-Ipfv.3PlSbj]
'When the Hogon has led off, all the world (=everyone else) will start at that point.'
[túmɔ́-rɔ́ 'initiate, lead off (a group activity)', chaining form túmɔ́-r-ú-]

(02:17) *[túmɔ́-r-Ø* *tέ:-t-è:ⁿ* *lè]* *dòg-â:y-Ø*
[initiate(v)-Tr-Chain spread-Pfv1b-3PlSbj if] be.finished-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
nέ: *àrⁿá=y* *dɔ̀m-è:-Ø,*
now rain(n)=Foc wait-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
'When they have started and have spread (the manure piles) out, when it (=work) has been finished, one waits for rain.'
[contraction < *dɔ̀mè-jè-Ø]*

(02:20) *àrⁿá* *súg-à:-Ø* *lè,*
rain(n) descend-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[ìnὲᴸ *kâ:ⁿ]* *[[yù:-tŏy* *ɔ:]* *gèl-í-ɔ:* *lè]*
[personᴸ each] [[millet-seedstock 2SgPoss] hold-MP.Chain-AntNonp if]
'When the rain has come down, each (of you) takes hold of your-Sg millet seedstock,'
[súg-à:-Ø lè for súg-à:y-Ø lè; 'everyone' can have 2Sg agreement, cf. generic 'you' in English]

(02:22) *[[ŏl gɛ̀] bá:] yà-ˈé→ tɔ̀:-jɛ̀-w,*
[[the.bush Def] Loc] go-PfvSub sow-Ipfv-2SgSbj,
[[ŏl gɛ̀] tɔ́-ɔ̀: lɛ̀], [tɛ́-à:y-Ø mà] é→,
[[the.bush Def] sow-AntNonp if], [sprout(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Q] yes!,
'and you go out to the bush (=the fields) and sow (the seeds). They will sow (in) the bush (=fields). (They ask:) "Has it sprouted?" "Yes!" '

(02:27) *háyà, nɛ́: nɔ̌:, nɛ́: pɔ̌:^{n}=y wàlà-y,*
well, now Prox, now fonio=Foc cultivate-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'Well, this one now, now they will cultivate fonio.'
[proximate demonstrative after 'now', §6.5.3]
[fonio (Digitaria exilis) is a traditional cereal crop, normally grown separately in its own field since, if interspersed with millet, the young plants can be mistaken for grassy weeds]

(02:33) *pɔ̌:^{n}↗, ɛ̀mɛ́↗, nŭm↗, ànú↗, pɔ̀lì-ý↗, ˈpú→,*
fonio, sorghum, cowpea, roselle, sesame, all
bírɛ́ nɛ́: jèr^{n}ɛ̀ŋɛ́ bíp!, yó-à:y-Ø,
work(n) now rainy.season falling.hard(adv)], enter-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,
'Fonio, sorghum, cowpea, roselle, and sesame. Work (n) now, the rainy season has come in (=begun) hard.'
[list intonation (§7.1.3)]

(02:42) *[bé ᴸdɔ̀mɔ̀-n] [bé ᴸdɔ̀mɔ̀-n] [yâ: yà-ˈé→],*
[3PlSbj ᴸwait-DurSub] [3PlSbj ᴸwait-DurSub] [again go-PfvSub],
bá: gò:-jɛ̀-Ø,
transition exit(v)-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
'They wait and wait. They go, the rainy season will go out (=end).'

(02:44) *[yŭ: gɛ̀] dágà→ bɛ̀:-jɛ̀-Ø*
[millet Def] a.little(adv) remain-Ipfv-3SgSbj
'The millet becomes (grows) a little.'
[bɛ̌: 'remain' means 'become' when combined with an adverbial, denoting a transition rather than a state]
[this segment interjected by the interlocutor][

(02:45) *[yŭ: gɛ̀] dágà→,*
[millet Def] a.little(adv),
nɔ̌:-nɔ̌:-nɔ̌:-nɔ̌:-pǎy^{n} bà-â:y-Ø lɛ̀, háyà,
hand-hand-hand-hand-span equal(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if, okay,
'The millet is (=has grown) a little. When the millet has equaled a hand-span each (in height), all right, …'

[nɔ̀:-pǎy^{n} or nɔ̀y-pǎy^{n} 'hand-span' (from the tip of thumb (extended to the side) to the tip of the middle finger), a linear measure; here the iterations of nɔ̌: have isolation rather than compound-initial tone]

(02:49) *yâ: [yù:-wǒl nè] yò:-y,*
again [millet-cultivation Loc] enter-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'They will proceed to enter (=begin) millet cultivation [focus].'

[this segment interjected by interlocutor; yô:-y 'they will enter' is here L-toned after a focalized constituent]

(02:50) *yâ: [yù:-wǒl nè] yò:-y,*
again [millet-cultivation Loc] enter-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
[ìnɛ̀^{L} kâ:^{n}] àgá íŋè-l-ɔ̀: lè,
[person^{L} each] morning get.up-Ø-AntNonp if,
'They will proceed to enter (=begin) millet cultivation [focus]. Everyone will get up in the morning,'

(02:52) *[háyà kòy] àgá ná:m= =ɔ̀:,*
[well Emph] morning greet.in.morning Quot
jâm ém-ì: dègé-m= =ɔ̀:,
peace 1Pl-Acc good.day! Quot,
'(They will say:) "All right, good morning! May we have a good (peaceful) day!" '

[for ná:má, cf. variant greeting àgà-nâ:-m 'good morning!', plural-addressee àgà-ná:-mɔ̀-y (§19.7), likewise dègé-m̀ 'good afternoon', greetings with opaque morphology, borrowed in part from Jamsay including verbs 'spend the night' and 'spend the mid-day']

(02:55) *[ǒl ˡbá:] né:, ér^{n}é [kí-kɔ̀w^{n} nè] kây,*
[the.bush Loc] now, daba [Rdp-shoulder Loc] ready.for.use(adv),
[gùlɔ́ ɔ̀:] kây,
[ax 2SgPoss] ready.for.use(adv),
'To the bush (=fields) now. A daba (=hoe) on the shoulder ready for action, your ax ready for use,'

[expressive adverbial kây 'ready for action, primed for use']

[the iron blade of a daba has a pin at the back that goes into a hole at the business end of the wooden shaft, and is attached and removed by tapping the shaft on the ground; traditional gear for going to the fields consisted of tools (such as a hoe and an ax), a shoulderbag made from a single entire goatskin, a goatskin waterbag, splinter-removing gear (needle, tweezers), a knife, and a flint lighter]

(02:58) *[bènɛ́* *ɔ̀:]* *kây,*
[shoulderbag 2SgPoss] ready.for.use(adv),
[dǐ: *ɔ̀:]* *kây,*
[water 2SgPoss] ready.for.use(adv),
'Your shoulderbag ready for use, your water ready for use. Now (you/they) will go to the bush (=fields),'

(03:01) *nɛ́:* *[ǒl* *nɛ̀]* *yà-ɔ̂:* *lɛ̀,*
now [the.bush Loc] go-AntNonp if,
'Now (you/they) will go to the bush (=fields),'

(03:02) *tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ̀-dóm* *tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ̀-dóm,* *[nɛ́:* *kày]* *kûrr-kârr,*
tree-sitting tree-sitting [now Top] (noise of hoeing)]
yŭ:=y *wàlá* *bɔ̀y→* *wàj-ù,*
millet=Foc cultivate time.for(adv) remain-Pfv,
'Field by field, now the sound of hoeing, cultivating millet [focus] is what's left.'
[tɛ̀w^{n}ɛ̀-dóm literally 'tree-sitting.place' (of the sort found in each field), here metonymic for 'field'; kúrrù-kárrà onomatopoeic; for bɔ̀y→ cf. ká: bɔ̀y→ '(it's) time to eat (what are you waiting for?)']

(03:06) *[ú* ^{L}*wàlà-w]* *[ú* ^{L}*wàlà-w]* *[yù:*^{L} *kó],*
[2Sg ^{L}cultivate-Ipfv] [2Sg ^{L}cultivate-Ipfv] [millet^{L} DiscDef],
íŋɛ̀-l-à:y-Ø, *[dɔ̀gɔ́* *wèl-â:y-Ø* *lɛ̀],*
get.up-Ø-Pfv1a-3SgSbj, [herb come-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]
'You-Sg keep cultivating and cultivating, (and then) that millet, it rises. When the weeds come,'
[iterated imperfective background clause; dɔ̀gɔ́ 'grass, herbaceous plant', refers here unwanted weeds]

(03:11) *yâ:,* *[dɔ̀gɔ̀*^{L} *kó]* *sâ:y,* *yùmɔ́l-^{L}é→,*
again, [herb^{L} DiscDef] clean(adv), sweep.up-PfvSub,
[ɛ̀jí-gí *yègí-r-Ø-t-ɔ̂:* *lɛ̀]*
[well(adv) fix-Tr-Chain-Pfv1b-AntNonp if]
'Those weeds are completely cleaned up. It (=field) is nicely fixed.'
[-t-: contracted from tí-ɔ̀: with perfective-1b treated like an auxiliary (§15.2.3), cf. -t-î: Text 5 @ 01:42]
[yùmɔ́lɔ́ 'sweep up with one's hand into bunches (weeds on the ground that have just been uprooted and shaken off)'; the weeds are then left in small piles to dry out]

(03:15) *[né:* *ìnjé=y* *wàj-ù* *mà]*
[now what?=Foc remain-Pfv Q]
[bé *[L]dɔ̀mɔ̀-n]* *[bé* *[L]dɔ̀mɔ̀-n],*
[3PlSbj [L]wait-DurSub] [3PlSbj [L]wait-DurSub],
'Now, what is left (to do)? They wait and wait (letting the millet grow).'

(03:16) *yŭ:* *wèl-ˈé→* *[ɲùŋòlò[L]* *nŏ:]*
millet come-PfvSub [knee[L] Prox]
kák *dɔ̀-â:y-Ø* *lè↘,* *sàgá=y,*
exactly(adv) arrive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if, second.round=it.is,
'When the millet reaches right up to this knee (pointing), it's (time for) the second round of weeding.'
[yúŋóló ~ ɲúŋóló 'knee'; kák 'stopping right at (a spot)']
[when the entire field has completed the first round of weeding (the most laborious), it is soon time for the second round, removing weeds that have grown in the meantime]

(03:20) *[sàgá* *ság-Ø-t-è:[n]* *lè],*
[second.round do.second.round-Chain-Pfv1b-3PlSbj if],
[ság-j-ɔ̃: *lè],* *pɔ̌:[n]→=y,*
[do.second.round-Chain -ComplPf-AntNonp if], fonio=it.is,
'When they have done the second round (of weeding), when (they) finish the second round (of weeding), it's (time for) fonio.'
[-j-ɔ̃: completive perfect -jĕ: plus nonpast anterior -ɔ̀: ; pɔ̌:[n]→=y with intonational prolongation]

(03:24) *[dɔ̀gɔ́* *gɛ̀]* *mɔ̌:→* *tì-jɛ̂-w,*
[herb Def] uproot send.away-Ipfv-2SgSbj,
[[pɔ̀lì-ỳ]-mìné *ŋɛ̀-m]* *yí-yɛ̀gɛ̀-rè-jɔ̀-w,*
[sesame-Dimin]-field Def-Pl] Rdp-fix-Tr-Ipfv-2SgSbj,
'You will uproot and discard the weeds (in the fonio field). (Then) you will fix up the sesame field(s).'
[mɔ̌:→ tì- with intonational prolongation of the verb 'uproot' and with tì- adding the spatial notion of getting the weeds out of the way (§10.1.2); reduplicated imperfective (§10.2.2.3)]

(03:28) *[àrà-dɔ̀gɔ́=y* *l=* *=à:]*
[rice-herb=it.is if also]
[àrà-dɔ̀gɔ́ *gɛ̀]* *yí-yɛ̀mɛ̀-jɔ̀-w,*
[rice-herb Def] Rdp-pick.out-Ipfv-2SgSbj,
'Likewise, if it's rice weeds, you'll pick out the rice weeds.'

(03:31) *[né: nùm=í: l= =à:] [nŭm ŋè-m ˧pú→↗],*
[now cowpea=it.is if also] [cowpea Def-Pl all],
'Now likewise if it's (weeding around) cowpeas, the cowpeas as well,'

(03:33) *[wòl*^{L} *lɛ̀-é: gɛ̀ ˧pú→] [wăl gɛ̀]*
[cultivation^{L} two-Ord Def all] [cultivate.Pfv.Ppl Def]
né: táy dòg-â:y-Ø mà é→,
Def used.up(adv) be.depleted-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Q yes!,
'The entire second cultivation, (they ask:) "now is the cultivation completely finished?" "Yes!" '

(03:38) *[wàl-Ø-]-dɛ̆:y^{n}=y, [né: kày]*
[cultivate-VblN]-rest(n)=it.is, [now Top]
wŏl dòg-â:y-Ø↗,
cultivation be.depleted-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'It's (time for) rest from farming. Now, the cultivation is entirely done.'
[cf. the more general noun dɛ̀:r^{n}-ɛ̆: 'rest(n), relaxation']

(03:41) *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *ă:-y kàr^{n}à] [né: kày] àr^{n}a-dĭ:, àr^{n}a-dĭ:—,*
[person^{L} who?=Foc even] [now Top] rain-water, rain-water—,
àr^{n}à-dì: ém-ì: óbó g-˧é→, ámà gɛ̀:^{n}-y,
rain-water 1Pl-Acc give.Imprt say-PfvSub, God beg-Ipfv.1PlSbj,
'Everyone now, rainwater, we (all) beg God to give us rainwater.'
[-˧é→ perfective subordinator from /gɛ̆/ *'say']*

(03:47) *[gɛ̆:^{n}-n ém= ^{L}ɔ̀:-n],*
[beg-DurSub 1Pl ^{L}be.Stat.Ppl-DurSub],
'We keep begging (until),'
[another -n durative subordinator; /émɛ́ ^{L}wɔ̀-n/ *]*

(03:48) *àr^{n}á gâw^{n}→ kân-Ø ŋɛ̀],*
rain(n) dry.spell(adv) do-Pfv.Ppl Def],
mɛ̆:-lɛ̀ bí-à:y-Ø lɛ̀ é:,
rain.fall-IpfvNeg remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if eh,
'When the rain stops (=there is a dry spell), if it happens not to rain (for a spell),'

(03:51) *[[àr^{n}á ŋ= =ɔ̀:] kòy, [[yó: mɔ̀] nɔ̀:]*
[[rain(n) Def Quot] Emph, [[this.year Poss] Prox]
măˑ:-ŋ-í:-ày-Ø =yɔ̀: dɛ̀,
dry-Inch-Chain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Quot Emph,
'(They) say, "the rain for sure, that (rain), for this year, this (season) is dry." '

[kòy (confirming) and dè (warning) are common clause-final emphatic particles (§19.5); such particles follow the quotative enclitic even when cited from the quoted speech (§17.1.3); proximate nɔ̀: L-toned after possessives (§6.5.3)]

(03:54) *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *ă:-y kàr^{n}à] dúwà: kár^{n} =ɔ̂:,*
[person^{L} who?=Foc even] blessing do.Imprt Quot,
bé g-ˈé→, áywà,
3PlSbj say-PfvSub, all.right,
'They say for everyone to give blessings. All right,'
[imperative kár^{n}á 'do!']

(04:00) *dùwà:-kár^{n}ú-m, ándúgɔ̀ tí-tɛ̀:^{n}-y,*
blessing-do.Agent-Pl, rain.fetish Rdp-set-Ipfv.3Pl,
'Those who do blessings set up the rain fetish.'
[ándúgɔ̀ is a fetish (idol) that specializes in calling the rain; cf. tɛ́:nɛ́ 'arrange', tɛ́:^{n} 'set (sth), put in place']
[the fetish must be set down in a specific place for the rain prayer]

(04:05) *[ɛ̀ɲɛ́ bɛ̀] ó-ʔòbò-y, ɛ̀ɲɛ́ ó-ʔòbò-y,*
[chicken Pl] Rdp-give-Ipfv.3PlSbj, chicken Rdp-give-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
[[tô:rù gɛ̀] =ǹ] kí-kɛ̀:^{n}-y,
[[fetish Def] Loc] Rdp-slaughter-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'They give (=sacrifice) a chicken or whatever.' 'They give a chicken. They slaughter (it) on the fetish.'
[the interlocutor interjects [ɛ̀ɲɛ́ bɛ̀] ó-ʔòbò-y as the speaker hesitates; the speaker then repeats it without plural bɛ̀, which in this context implies additional covert coordinands: X bɛ̀ 'X and company', 'X and/or something else', 'X for example' (§7.1.2); kɛ́:^{n} 'slaughter, cut the throat of']

(04:08) *<xxx>*
(unintelligible due to speakers' overlapping)
[àr^{n}á ŋɛ̀] ɲí^{n} mɛ̀:-jɛ̀-Ø, ɲí^{n} mɛ̀:-jɛ̀-Ø,
[rain(n) Def] thus rain.fall-Ipfv-3SgSbj, thus rain.fall-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
'[unintelligible]. In this way the rain will fall. In this way it will fall.'
[the first version with mìyɛ̀ is interjected by the interlocutor]

(04:11) *[mɛ̌:-ǹ mɛ̌:-ǹ wɔ̂-n wɔ̂-n]*
[rain.fall-DurSub rain.fall-DurSub be-DurSub be-DurSub]
[yù:^{L} *kó] [wɛ̀lɛ́ gɛ̀] páráw→, íl-à:y-Ø —*
[millet^{L} DiscDef] [come-Pfv.Ppl Def] ripe(adv), ripen-Pfv1a-3SgSbj—
'It keeps raining. When that millet comes and ripens,'

[-n durative subordinator (§15.2.1.2); páráw→ is an expressive adverbial that denotes the appearance of light-colored grains on millet heads, prior to final ripening (hardening)]

(04:14) *íl-à:y-Ø* *lè,* *[wó-ỳ* *bìrè-pŏ:* *tàgà-y]*
ripen-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if, [3Sg-Acc work(n)-greeting tell-Ipfv.3PlSbj]
ámà=ỳ *bìrè-pŏ:* *tàgà-y,*
God=Acc work(n)-greeting tell-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'When it has ripened, they give thanks to him, they give thanks to God.'

(04:19) *<xxx>,*
(unintelligible),
[ɲ̀ʷ-ɲà:-m^{L} *gùlɔ́-ỳ-m]* *pêl* *pélè-n,*
[girl-Pl^{L} adolescent-Dimin-Pl] clapping(n) clap-DurSub,
'(unintelligible). Adolescent girls clap hands,'

(04:22) *[né:* *ní-nè:-y]* *[né:* *ní-nè:-y]*
[song Rdp-sing-Ipfv.3PlSbj] [song Rdp-sing-Ipfv.3PlSbj],
nĕ:-n *b=* *^{L}ɔ̂:-n* *yà-ˈé→,*
sing-DurSub 3PlSbj ^{L}be.Stat.Ppl-DurSub go-PfvSub,
'They sing songs. They sing songs. They keep singing. This goes on,'
[-n subordinator; < [bé ^{L}wɔ̀-n] *]*

(04:24) *yà-ˈé→ —,*
go-PfvSub —,
wè-ˈé→ *[yù:*^{L} *píl]* *yé:-jè-w* *lè,*
come-PfvSub [millet^{L} white] see-EmphPf-2SgSbj if,
gĕl *[kó* *lè]* *kàrⁿà-y,*
harvest(n) [DiscDef Comit] do-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'This goes on—. When they have come and seen the white millet, at that point they harvest.'
["white" millet is sufficiently ripe to harvest if needed; gɛ̀lɛ́ 'harvest (millet, sorghum) by cutting off the grain spike with a hand-knife; short-voweled emphatic perfect -jè- (not emphatic with perception verbs)]

(04:29) *[gĕl* *gɛ̀]* *yà-ˈé→* *[kó* *lè]* *[yà-y]-dɔ́:,*
[harvest(n) Def] go-PfvSub [DiscDef Comit] [go-VblN]-arrive,
[wó *kày]* *né:,*
[3Sg Top] now,
'This continues until (the time for) the harvest. As for it (=that) now,'
[my assistant suggests simplifying the first line to [gĕl gɛ̀] [yà-y]-dɔ́:]

(04:31) *jèr^{n}èŋé,* *[gĕl* *dɔ̀-â:y-Ø* *mà]* *gù-w* *lè,*
rainy.season, [harvest(n) arrive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Q] say.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
né: *kàná:* *[wà:r*^{L} *nɔ̌:]* *wó=y,*
now now [time^{L} Prox] 3Sg=it.is
'In the rainy season, when you have asked, "has the harvest arrived?" "now it's (at) this time (of year)." '
[né: 'now' as discourse marker, kàná: 'now' as simple temporal adverb]

(04:35) *[w=* *=â:]* *wó-mɔ̀* *[kăl* *gɛ̀]* *wó=y,*
[3Sg too] 3Sg-Poss [limit(n) Def] 3Sg=it.is,
'It (=season) too, that's the end (boundary) for it.'

(04:36) *[gĕl* *gɛ̀]* *gɛ̀lɛ́-j-ɛ̀:^{n}* *lè↗,*
[harvest(n) Def] harvest(v)-ComplPf-3PlSbj if,
'When they have done the harvest,'
[the interlocutor Jordan takes over the speaking role from this point on]

(04:38) *[[gĕl* *gɛ̀]* *gɛ̀lɛ́-j-ɛ̀:^{n}* *lɛ̀]* *bĕl* *sà:-y,*
[[harvest(n) Def] harvest-ComplPf-3PlSbj if] fodder cut.down-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
bĕl *sá:-n* *sá:-n* *bó=* *^{L}ɔ̀-n↗,*
fodder cut.down-DurSub cut.down-DurSub 3PlSbj ^{L}be.Stat.Ppl-DurSub,
'When the (millet) harvest has been done, they will cut down fodder (e.g. millet stems). They keep cutting down fodder,'
[sá: 'reap, cut (stems, by slashing with a hatchet)'; bĕl is a general word for 'fodder for livestock' including pasture and dry-season hay, but here refers to millet stems; bó= ^{L}ɔ̀-n < /bé ^{L}wɔ̀-n/ with -n durative subordinator (§15.2.1.2)]
[the stems are cut down after the harvest and stored for livestock fodder, thatching, and other uses]

(04:42) *[bèl-[sà-ý]* *gɛ̀]* *dòg-â:y-Ø* *lè↗,*
[fodder-[cut.down-VblN] Def] be.completed-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
tógù *tògò-y↘,*
shelter build.shelter-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'When the fodder-reaping is completed, they will build shelters.'
[simple shelters built near the fields]

(04:46) *[[bĕl* *gɛ̀]* *sá-y* *bé* *^{L}kàn* *ŋɛ̀]*
[[fodder Def] cut.down-Pfv 3PlSbj ^{L}do.Pfv.Ppl Def]
dòg-â:y-Ø *lè,* *tógù* *tògò-y,*
be.completed-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if, shelter build.shelter-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'After they cut down the fodder (=stems), when it is completed, they will build shelters.'
[tógù tógó 'build a shed/shelter', cognate noun-verb combination (§11.1.4.2)]

(04:48) *[tógù* *tɔ́g-ɔ̀:* *lè↗],* *[běl* *gè]* *kú-kɔ̀mɔ̀-y↘,*
[shelter build.shelter-AntNonp if], [fodder Def] Rdp-tie-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
[běl *gè]* *kɔ́mɔ́-t-è:ⁿ* *lè↗,*
[fodder Def] tie-Pfv1b-3PlSbj if,
'They will build shelters and then tie up the fodder (stems, in bundles). When they have tied up the fodder,'

(04:51) *[yà-ô:* *lè]* *tíbír* *tíbír* *tíbír* *dàgà-y,*
[go-AntNonp if] lean(v) lean(v) lean(v) abandon-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
[tíbír *bé* *dàg-ˈé→],* *[tíbír* *bé* *dàg-ˈé→]*
[lean(v) 3PlSbj abandon-PfvSub], [lean(v) 3PlSbj abandon-PfvSub]
'They will go and prop up (bundled stems, against the side of the shelter) and leave (them). When they prop (them) up and leave (them), when they prop (them) up and leave (them),'
[propping the bundles up semi-vertically inside the shelter reduces damage from insects and rainwater]

(04:57) *[né:* *kày]* *[tíbír-Ø-t-è:ⁿ* *kêm* *ˈpú→]*
[now Top] [lean-Chain-Pfv1b-3PlSbj all all]
[égé-jè-w *lè],*
[hear-EmphPf-2SgSbj if],
'Now when(-ever) they have propped (them) up, if you have heard (that),'
[kêm (§6.6.1.2); -jè- emphatic perfect with some verbs, but a common perfect(ive) with perception verbs (§10.2.1.6)]

(05:00) *[ìné* *léy* *ˈmá→* *tă:n* *ˈmá→]* *gèⁿ-ɔ̂:* *lè↗,*
[person two or three or] beg-AntNonp if,
[[tôg *gè]* *=ǹ]* *yàŋà-rà-y,*
[[shelter Def] Loc] be.on-Tr-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'They will ask for two or three people, they will lay (the bundles) on (the roof of) the shelter.'
[disjunctive 'or' §7.2.1; gĕ:ⁿ, tógù]
[this is done after the rains are completely over for the year]

(05:03) *[[tôg* *gè]* *=ǹ]* *yáŋà-r-ɔ̀:* *lè↗,*
[[shelter Def] Loc] be.on-Tr-AntNonp if,
né:, *năm* *bàrⁿ-â:y-Ø* *lè↗,*
now, sun blaze-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
'They will lay (the bundles) on (the roof of) the shelter. Now, when the sun has blazed (in the hot dry season),'

(05:06) *[bèl*[L] *wàj-ú* *gɛ̀]* *màn-â:y-Ø* *lɛ̀↗,*
[fodder[L] remain-VblN Def] be.lost-Pfv-3SgSbj if
'When the remaining fodder (pasture grass) has disappeared,'

[wàj-ú, in form a verbal noun, here functions as a deverbal resultative adjective (§4.5.2), compare English "roast" in "roast pork"]

(05:08) *kó-m̀* *tú-tú-túrú,* *gɛ̀ɲɛ́* *kún-ɔ̀:* *lɛ̀,*
DiscDef-Pl one-one-one, pick.up put-AntNonp if,
[wó-gɔ̀ *yâ:]* *bìrìŋ=í:* *bɛ̀:-jɛ̀-Ø,*
[Disc Def too] manure=Foc remain-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
'They will pick up those (bundles of stems) one at a time and put (them) in (the livestock pen). That too (=stems) ends up as manure'.

[tú-túrú slightly contracted distributive iteration; wó-gɔ̀ (§4.4.1.2); bɛ̌: 'stay, remain' in the sense 'end up as' (§11.2.6.1)]
[remaining bits of stems are mixed with manure for use as fertilizer]

(05:11) *[běl* *gɛ̀]* *[kórɔ̀* *gɛ̀]* *ìnjɛ́=y,*
[fodder Def] [meaning Def] what?=it.is,
'What is the meaning (=significance) of the fodder?'

['meaning' is logically possessed by 'the fodder', but here has its own tones, suggesting that 'fodder' is a preposed topic]

(05:13) *bìrĭŋ* *kún-Ø-tù-w* *bí-à:y-Ø* *lɛ̀,*
manure put-Chain-Pfv1b-2SgSbj remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[w= *â:↗],* *[yù:*[L] *ìlɛ́]* *bòrí=y,*
[3Sg too], [millet[L] ripe] added.amount=it.is,
'If you happen to put the manure (in), that too, ripe millet is an addition (=has increased yield).'

[bòrú, cognate nominal related to verb bàrá 'add' (§11.1.4.2)]

(05:17) *[yù:*[L] *ìlɛ́]* *bòrí=y,*
[millet[L] ripe] added.amount=it.is,
wó-gɔ̀ *kár^{n}á-n* *kár^{n}á-n* *bé* [L]*wɔ̀-n,*
DiscDef do-DurSub do-DurSub 3PlSbj [L]be-DurSub,
'Ripe millet is an addition. They keep doing that (same thing),'

[-n durative subordinator (§15.2.1.2); wó-gɔ̀ with abstract referent (§4.4.1.2)]

(05:19) *[[běl* *gɛ̀]* [L]*bìrɛ̀]* *dòg-â:y-Ø* *lɛ̀,*
[[fodder Def] [L]work(n)] be.finished-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[gàw-bírɛ́ *nɛ̀]* *yò:-y,*
[onion-work(n) Loc] enter-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'When the fodder work is finished, they go into onion work.'

[onion is the major off-season crop in Dogon country, grown in vegetable gardens near pools, streams, and wells]

(05:22) *[ìnɛ̀*^{L} *ǎ:=y kàr^{n}à], gâw bìrɛ̀-jɛ̀-Ø↗,*
[person^{L} who?=Foc even], onion work-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
[ìnɛ̀^{L} *gàmá:↗], bágá kɛ̀jɛ̀-y↗,*
[person^{L} certain.Pl], stick cut-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'Anyone works (=grows) onions. Some (other) people, they cut sticks (poles),'

[gàmá: 'some (ones), certain (ones)' partitions a set into specific subsets, each associated with a distinct predicate (§6.3.2)]

["sticks" may refer to poles used as fencing around vegetable gardens]

(05:26) *gàmá: [gò-ɔ̂: lè↗], gálè yà:-y↘,*
certain.Pl [exit(v)-AntNonp if], city go-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'Some (others) go away, they go to town (=for work),'

['go to (a) city' is a general term for going away for work, usually in a city, especially Bamako; many young men spend the farming season in their villages, and head to the city after the harvest]

(05:28) *[ɲí-ŋín kár^{n}á-n kár^{n}á-n bó=* ^{L}*ɔ̀-n]*
[thus do-DurSub do-DurSub 3PlSbj ^{L}be-DurSub]
yâ: jèr^{n}èŋé dɔ̀m-è:-y↘,
again rainy.season wait-MP-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'They keep doing thus. They wait for (another) rainy season again.'

[n- subordinator; /bé ^{L}*wɔ̀-n/; 3Pl dɔ̀m-è:-y (cf. 3Sg dɔ̀m-è:-jɛ̀-Ø)*

(05:30) *jèr^{n}èŋé émé* ^{L}*dɔ̀mɔ̀-n* ^{L}*dɔ̀mɔ̀-n↘,*
rainy.season 1Pl ^{L}wait-DurSub ^{L}wait-DurSub,
yâ: àr^{n}á súg-à:y-Ø lè↘,
again rain(n) descend-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
'We keep waiting for the (next) rainy season. When the rain has fallen again,'

(05:33) *[[wɔ́r^{n}ɔ̀: mɔ̀] ŋín], [bìrǐŋ ŋɛ̀] tí-ɔ̀: lè↗,*
[[previous Poss] like], [manure Def] spread-AntNonp if,
yâ: [yǔ: gɛ̀] ɲí^{n} wàlà-y↘,
again [millet Def] thus cultivate-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'As before, they will spread out the manure (in small piles in the fields). In that way they will again cultivate the millet.'

[mɔ̀ after possessor with missing possessum (§6.1.2); tí-ɔ̀: variant of té-ɔ̀: from verb té:]

(05:36) *[yŭ: gè] [wăl-Ø gè] kíl-à:y-Ø cêm ˈpú→↗,*
[millet Def] [cultivate-Vbln Def] end(v)-Pfv1a-3SgSbj all all,
năm bàrⁿ-â:y-Ø lè↗,
sun blaze-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
'When the millet cultivation has been completed, when the sun has blazed (=the hot dry season has come),'

(05:40) *gàmá: nú-ǹ bírɛ́ yá s-è:ⁿ↘,*
certain.Pl here work(n) Exist have-3PlSbj,
gàmá:, nú-ǹ bírɛ́ sè-né,
certain.Pl, here work(n) have-Neg.3PlSbj
'Some (people) have work here, some (=others) do not have work here.'

(05:43) *dăg-Ø-t-ɔ̂: lè, gálè yà:-y,*
abandon-Chain-Pfv1b-AntNonp if, city go-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
gálè yà-ˈé→ [bé ᴸwɔ̀-n] [bé ᴸwɔ̀-n],
city go-PfvSub [3PlSbj ᴸbe-DurSub] [3PlSbj ᴸbe-DurSub]
'They will abandon (it), they will go to town (for work). They keep going to town,'
[-n durative subordinator (§15.2.1.2)]

(05:46) *bà:-dɔ̆: dɔ̀-â:y-Ø lè↗,*
transition-arrive arrive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
yâ: kó wèlè-y↘,
again DiscDef come-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'When the onset of the rainy season arrives, there they come (back) again.'
[bà:-dɔ̆: §4.2.2.3; kó here is presentative]

(05:49) *yê:-nɛ̀ wèl-ɔ̂: lè↗,*
again come-AntNonp if,
yâ:, jèrⁿɛ̀ŋɛ̀-bírɛ́ tɔ̀lɔ̀-y,
again, rainy-season-work begin-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'They will come (back) again. Again they will begin the rainy-season work (=farming).'

(05:52) *[yê:-nɛ̀ wăl--j-è:ⁿ lè↗],* *yâ: gálè yà:-y↘,*
[again cultivate-Chain-ComplPf-3PlSbj if], again city go-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'When they have finished cultivating again, they go to town again.'

(05:54) *[yí-ŋín kárⁿà-n kárⁿà-n]*
[thus do-Dursub do-DurSub]
[nâ: nú-ǹ émɛ́ ᴸwɔ̀ gè] wó=y yɔ̀rⁿɔ̂: tɛ̀mɛ̂:,
[only here 1PlSbj ᴸbe.Stat.Ppl Def] 3Sg=it.is Yendouma Teme,
'Doing just like that is how we are. It's (like) that. Yendouma Teme,'

[n- subordinator; yɔ̀rⁿɔ̂ː is the usual local pronunciation for 'Yendouma'; Teme is the distinctive surname for people of Yendouma]

(05:56) *kó* *wó=y,* *wò-gɔ̌ː* *wó=y*
DiscDef 3Sg=it.is, DiscDef.Inan 3Sg=it.is
'That's it. That's it.'

[spoken by the interlocutor; inanimate wò-gɔ̌ː (uncommon in texts) with abstract referent, variant of wó-gɔ̀]

Text 6: Exodus for work

recording reference: YS 207

(00:02) *nɔ̌:* *[mú* *ᴸsɔ̀:-jɛ̀* *gɛ̀]* *pàlá* *w=* *=ɔ̀:* *dɛ̀,*
Prox [1Sg ᴸsay-Ipfv.Ppl Def] long be Quot Emph,
'(Tell/warn the linguist:) This, which I will say, it is long.'
[imperfective object relative; adjectival predicate pàlá wɔ̀-Ø (§11.4.1); quotative marker because the message is intended to be conveyed to the linguist]

[pause]

(00:10) *nú-ǹ* *gɔ̌:* *bɛ̀lí=y* *gìrɛ́=bɛ̀-m,*
here exit(v) animal=Foc tend=Past-1SgSbj,
'I had left here and tended livestock (in the bush).'

(00:11) *[bɛ̌l* *gìrɛ́-ẁ* *gìrɛ́-ẁ* *mú* *ᴸwɔ̀-w],*
[animal tend-IpfvSub tend-IpfvSub 1SgSbj ᴸbe-IpfvSub],
témɛ̀→ *kàrⁿù-m,*
growing.up(adv) do.Pfv-1SgSbj,
'I kept tending livestock, (until) I grew up.'
[témɛ̀→ kárⁿá 'grow up' in the sense 'become mentally mature']

(00:15) *[témɛ̀→* *kárⁿ-ù]* *mú* *ᴸyà-y* *gɛ̀,*
[growing.up(adv) do-Pfv.Ppl] 1SgSbj ᴸgo-Pfv.Ppl Def]
'When I grew up, I went away.'

(00:17) *[[catégorie* *émɛ̀* *ŋɛ̀]* *ᴸtɔ̀:ⁿ-m* *ꜜpú→],*
[[generation 1PlPoss Def] ᴸpeer-Pl all],
[àná *yǎ-y]* *tɔ̀l-ɛ̀:ⁿ,*
[village go-Chain] begin-Pfv.3PlSbj,
'All the agemates of our generation began to travel (for work).'
[pronominal possessors optionally HL-toned before definite marker: 1Sg X mɔ̂: ŋɔ̀, 3Sg X wó-mɔ̀ ŋɔ̀, etc.; 'begin to VP']
['travel (v)' is expressed here as 'village go', where 'village' can extend to towns and cities; in this speaker's youth it typically involved long-distance, multi-year stays in other West African countries]

(00:20) *[ànáˊ yǎ-y]* *bé* *ᴸtɔ̀lɔ̀* *gɛ̀,* *[m=* *=â:]*
[village go-Chain] 3PlSbj ᴸbegin.Pfv.Ppl Def,]1Sg too]
[ɔ̌l *nɛ̀]* *bɛ̌l* *gìrɛ́-wˋ* *gìrɛ́-wˋ* *mú* *ᴸwɔ̀-w,*
[the.bush Loc] animal tend-IpfvSub tend-IpfvSub 1SgSbj ᴸbe-IpfvSub,
'When they started going traveling, I too was out in the bush tending animals.'

(00:24) *[bǎy* *ˈtúrú],* *[kínɛ̀* *ŋɛ̀]* *yàwⁿ-â:y-Ø,*
[day one], [liver Def] be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,
[kínɛ̀ *mɔ̀]* *yǎwⁿ* *wó* *ᴸyà-y* *gɛ̀,*
[liver 1SgPoss] be.ruined.Pfv 3SgSbj ᴸgo-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'One day, the liver (i.e. heart) was hurt. When my liver (=heart) was hurt,'
[i.e. 'I was fed up' (§11.1.3.2)

(00:28) *[[bɛ̌l* *gɛ̀]* *pínɛ̀-l* *gɛ̀↗],* *dònô:* *gò:-m↘,*
[[animal Def] shut(v)-Rev.Pfv.Ppl Def], plateau exit(v).Pfv-1SgSbj,
dònô: *yá* *gǒ:* *gɛ̀↗,*
plateau there.DiscDef exit(v).Pfv.Ppl Def,
'I opened up (=let out) the livestock, and went away (=headed) to the plateau. When I had gone away to the plateau,'
[pínɛ̀-l reversive derived verb; yá implying distance; dònô:, an area on the high plateau west of Yendouma that is good for grazing]

(00:31) *[bɛ̌l* *gɛ̀]* *[ì:ᴸ* *mú* *ᴸsùgɔ̀-nɛ̀]=ỳ,*
[animal Def] [childᴸ 1SgPoss ᴸyounger.brother-Sg]=Acc,
dǎg-Ø-tí *gɛ̀↗,*
abandon-Chain-Pfv1b.Ppl Def,
[mú *jɔ̀bɔ́-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀]* *mòptî:* *yà-y-m,*
[1Sg run-ComplPf.Ppl Def] M go-Pfv-1SgSbj,
'When I had left the animals with my younger brother, I fled to Mopti.'
[ì:ᴸ 'child' is optional, cf. simple mú ᴸsùgɔ̀-nɛ̀ 'my younger sibling'; perfective-1b in participial form -tí-]
[nearest large provincial capital at that time, with road and boat links to the south]

(00:36) *[mòptî:* *yǎ-y* *gɛ̀↗],* *[[gâ:r* *nɛ̀]* *súg-ù* *gɛ̀↗],*
[M go-Pfv.Ppl Def], [[station Loc] descend-Pfv.Ppl Def],
ànà-bɛ̀rɛ́ *yò-y-m↘,*
village-interior enter-Pfv-1SgSbj,
'After going to Mopti, I got off at the (bus) station and went into the city.'
[gâ:r < French gare (routière); ànáˊ 'village']
[In those days, the suburb of Sévaré at the highway crossroads was not well developed, so buses continued onto Mopti proper;]

(00:39) *ànà-bèrɛ́* *mú* *^{L}yò-y* *gɛ̀,*
village-interior 1SgSbj ^{L}enter-Pfv.Ppl Def,
[ɛ́mɛ̀ *^{L}nàm]* *jó:=y* *wɔ̀-ỳ^{n},*
[1PlPoss ^{L}people] many=it.is be-3PlSbj,
'When I went into the city, (I found that) our people (=kin, countrymen) are abundant,'
[ɛ́mɛ̀ ^{L}nàm (§6.2.2.2)]

(00:42) *yá-ǹ↗,* *bírɛ́,*
there.DiscDef, work(n),
bìrɛ́-ẁ *bìrɛ́-ẁ* *bìrɛ́-ẁ* *mú* *^{L}wɔ̀-w,*
work(v)-IpfvSub work(v)-IpfvSub work(v)-IpfvSub 1SgSbj ^{L}be-IpfvSub,
'There, I kept working and working.'

(00:47) *lɛ̌:* *[dɛ̀y^{n}^{L}* *ɛ̀jú* *túrú]* *bɛ̀lɛ̀-m,*
later [place^{L} good one] get.Pfv-1SgSbj,
yá-ǹ *yǎ-y* *gɛ̀↗,*
there.DiscDef go-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'Then later on I got a good place (to work). When I went there,'

(00:50) *[ǐn* *ˈtúrú]* *mí-ỳ* *bírɛ́* *gɛ̀ŋɛ́* *ŋɛ̀↗,*
[person one] 1Sg-Acc work(n) take.Pfv.Ppl Def,
[bìdìgì-[dɔ̌n-Ø] *nɛ̀]* *tùy-Ø,*
[shop-[sell-Vbln] Loc] send.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'A person signed me up to work, he sent me into shop selling (=selling in a shop).'

(00:51) *[ìnɛ̀^{L}* *wó-gɔ̀],* *bò:zó=y,* *[bò:zó* *lɛ̀]* *bìrɛ̀=bò-m,*
[person^{L} DiscDef], Bozo=it.is, [Bozo Comit] work(v)=Past-1SgSbj,
'That person was a Bozo (ethnicity). I was working with (=for) a Bozo.'
[=bò-m variant of =bè-m]
[The Bozo are the traditional fishing people along the Niger River; there is a powerful "cousinage" or inter-ethnic joking relationship between all Bozo and all Dogon]

(00:55) *[bò:zó* *lɛ̀]* *bìrɛ́-ẁ* *bìrɛ́-ẁ,* *àr^{n}à-dǐ:* *nùmɔ́r^{n}ɔ́,*
[Bozo Comit] work(v)-IpfvSub work(v)-IpfvSub, year five,
àr^{n}à-dǐ: *nùmɔ́r^{n}ɔ́↗,* *bìrɛ́-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↗,*
year five, work-ComplPf.Ppl Def,
'I was working for the Bozo, (for) five years. When I finished working for five years,'

(01:00) *[kígìlìm ŋɛ̀↗],* *gèrⁿɛ̀-ý* *wèlɛ̀-m,*
[return.Pfv.Ppl Def], house-Dimin come.Pfv-1SgSbj,
[gèrⁿɛ̀-ý *yènᴸ* *nɛ́]* *wèlɛ́* *gɛ̀↗,*
[house-Dimin look.at.Pfv.Pplᴸ Purp] come.Pfv.Ppl Def,
'I came back home (to Yendouma). When I came back in order visit home,'
[purposive nɛ́ (§17.7.1), here with optional Syncope < yèn-ù nɛ́]

(01:03) *[mú* ᴸ*dè:-m* *bè],* *[mú* ᴸ*nà:-m* *bè],*
[1SgPoss ᴸfather-Pl and], [1SgPoss ᴸmother-Pl and],
màrⁿ-í: *yɛ̌n-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↗,*
check.on-MP.Chain look-ComplPf.Ppl Def,
'I checked up on and visited my fathers and my mothers,'
[bè(→) in conjunction with plural coordinands (§7.1.2)]

(01:06) *yâ:* *kɔ́ⁿtìníyè* *mòptî:* *ùl-ù-m↘,* *[mòptî:* *ûl* *gɛ̀↗],*
again continue M ascend-Pfv-1SgSbj, [M ascend.Pfv.Ppl Def],
[àrⁿà-dɨ̌:, *yê:-nɛ̀* *nùmɔ́rⁿɔ́]* *bìrɛ̀-m,* *[àrⁿà-dɨ̌:* *pɛ́l]=ì:,*
[year, again five] work.Pfv-1SgSbj, [year ten]=it.is
'Then I continued (back) up to Mopti. After I went up to Mopti, I worked for five more years. It was ten years (total).'
[yê:-nɛ̀ 'additional, incremental' with numerals (§19.3.1)]

(01:12) *[àrⁿà-dɨ̌:* *pɛ́l* *gɛ̀],* *yá-ǹ* *bìr-á→* *ɔ́ŋɔ* *ŋɛ̀↗,*
[year ten Def], there.DiscDef work(v)-DurSub get.tired.Pfv.Ppl Def,
[dɛ̌yⁿ *ŋɛ̀↗,* *ˈpú→]* *dɛ̀:-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↗],*
[place Def, all] learn-ComplPf.Pfv Def],
'After working for those ten long years, after experiencing all the places,'
[durative subordinator -á→ in construction with 'get tired' (§15.2.1.3) that emphasizes the exaggerated duration and intensity of an activity (work, laughter, etc.), see also 01:30 below]

(01:16) *[yâ:* *dăg-Ø-tí* *gɛ̀↗],* *àbíjɛ̀* *yà-y-m↘,*
[again abandon-Chain-Pfv1b.Ppl Def], A go-Pfv-1SgSbj,
[àbíjɛ̀ *yá* *yă-y* *gɛ̀↘],* *[trɛ́swîl* *nɛ̀]* *bɛ̀-m,*
[A there.DiscDef go.Pfv.Ppl Def], [T Loc] be.Past-1SgSbj,
'I abandoned there (=Mopti), I went to Abidjan (capital of Côte d'Ivoire). I went there to Abidjan, I was in Treichville.'
[Treichville is a major sector (quartier) of Abidjan]

(01:21) *[tréswîl* *nè],* *[síkòsǐ:* *nè],*
[T Loc], [CICOCI Loc],
kó-ǹ *bírέ* *bìrὲ = bò-m,*
there.DiscDef work(n) work(v)=Past-1SgSbj,
'In Treichville, at CICOSI, I was working there,'
[variant of = bè-m]
[acronym of a company]

(01:24) *yá-ǹ* *bìrέ-ẁ* *bìrέ-ẁ* *bìrέ-ẁ* *bìrέ-ẁ,*
there.DiscDef work(v)-IpfvSub (repeats),
[gìnὲ:-[áy-néˊ] *lὲ]* *bὲ-m,*
[G-[man-Sg] Comit] be.Past-1SgSbj,
'(I was) working and working and working and working there. I was with a Guinean.'

(01:27) *[gìnὲ:-[áy-néˊ]* *lὲ]* *wɔ́-ẁ* *wɔ́-ẁ* *wɔ́-ẁ,*
[G-[man-Sg] Comit] be-IpfvSub be-IpfvSub be-IpfvSub,
[dὲgὲ-[dɔ̌n-Ø] *nὲ]* *yò-y-m,*
[statuette-[sell-VblN] Loc] enter-Pfv-1SgSbj,
'I was with (=working for) a Guinean for a long time. I got into selling statuettes.'
[imperfective subordinator -ẁ is also used with statives]
[dégè 'statuette' (French), generally portable carved figures of animist idols in stone, wood, or bronze, typically sold to foreigners]

(01:30) *[dégè* *dɔn-á→* *ɔ́ŋɔ* *ŋὲ↗],*
[statuette sell-DurSub get.tired.Pfv.Ppl Def],
[yá-ǹ *mú* *^{L}wɔ̀-w]* *[mú* *^{L}wɔ̀-w],*
[there.DiscDef 1SgSbj ^{L}be-IpfvSub] [1SgSbj ^{L}be-IpfvSub],
'(I) sold statuettes (until I) got tired (=for a long time). I was there for a long time.'

(01:32) *yê:-nὲ* *[àr^{n}à-dǐ:* *sɔ̂y],* *àr^{n}à-dì:* *sɔ̂y* *gὲ↗,*
again [year seven], year seven Def,
yá-ǹ *bìrέ-jὲ:* *gὲ↗,*
there.DiscDef work(v)-ComplPf.Ppl Def,
'Another seven years. When I finished the seven years working there,'
[sɔ̂y '7' is unique among numerals in not allowing the {L}+H overlay before a definite marker]

(01:37) *lὲ:,* *lìbànê:* *ˈtúrú,* *mí-ỳ* *bɔ̌:* *gὲ↗,*
later, Lebanese one, 1Sg-Acc call.Pfv.Ppl Def,
[m = *=ɔ̂:]* *ʒɔ̀rdànî:* *yă:-mɔ́* *gì-Ø↘,*
[1Sg QuotSbj] J go-Hort say.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'Later, a Lebanese called me and said to me "Let's go to Jordan." '

[French Jordanie; quoted hortative]

[the speaker now describes an uninterrupted period working overseas, as was typical of young Dogon men around 1960-1980, including many who worked for years in Ghana before returning with their gains]

(01:41) *mú* *[ʒɔ́rdànî:* *ˡbá:],*
1Sg [J Loc],
[àbìyɔ́w^{n}-bíyè *pà:sê:,* *sè-lé-m* *bày]*
[airplane-ticket fare, have-StatNeg-1SgSbj since]
[ɲâŋ *kàn-dɛ̀-m* *mà]* *gù-m,*
[how? do-Ipfv-1SgSbj Q] say.Pfv-1SgSbj,
'I said, "since I don't have the plane ticket fare to Jordan, what will (=can) I do?'

[locative postposition bá: 'all the way (to or from)' distinct from prolonged bă→ 'all the way to/from'; àbìyɔ́w^{n}-bíyè (compound of avion plus billet) and pà:sê: (passer as in laissez-passer) are not joined into a tonal phrase; ɲâŋ 'how?' plus 'do' = 'do what?'; -dɛ̀- variant of imperfective -jɛ̀-]]

(01:47) *[[àbìyɔ́w^{n}-bíyè* *mɔ̀]* *^{L}pà:sɛ̀:]* *ìnɛ̌m* *kú-kùn-dɛ̀* *gì-Ø,*
[[airplane-ticket 1SgPoss] ^{L}fare], Logo Rdp-put-Ipfv say.Pfv-3SgSbj,
yâ:-y *lɛ̀↗,* *[ìnjɛ́* *^{L}bìrɛ̀]=y* *kɔ̀* *mà* *gù-m,*
go-Ipfv.1PlSbj if, [what? ^{L}work(n)]=it.is be.Inan Q say.Pfv-1SgSbj,
'He said, "I will put (=pay form) the fare of your ("my") plane ticket." I said, "when we go, what (kind of) work is it?" '

[French passer; in the first quoted sentence, the original 'your' is updated to 'my' (§17.1.1); 'work of what?' with the interrogative as possessor = 'what (kind of) work?'; inanimate kɔ̀ 'be' as subject/topic of 'it is' predicate (§11.2.1.1)]

(01:51) *[[rùwâ:* *lɛ̀]* *^{L}bìrɛ̀]=ỳ↗,* *háyà* *bôy* *yá* *kɔ̀→,*
[[king Comit] ^{L}work(n)]=it.is, well, houseboy Exist be.Inan,
'(He said:) "It's work with (=for) the king. Well, there's houseboy (work),'

[final prolongation with terminal mid pitch for list intonation (§7.1.3), continuing into the next segment; French boy < English (house-)boy, homonym of bôy 'name']

(01:55) *mɔ̀:bìl-[sŭm-Ø]* *yá* *kɔ̀→,*
vehicle-[wash-VblN] Exist be.Inan,
gɛ̀r^{n}è-[sɛ̌m-Ø] *yá* *kɔ̀→,*
house-[sweep-VblN] Exist be.Inan,
'There's vehicle washing, there's house sweeping,'

(01:57) *[bìrɛ̀*[L] *kɔ̀-lɔ́]* *kɔ̀-lɔ́-Ø* *gì-Ø,*
[work[L] be.Inan-StatNeg.Ppl] be.Inan-StatNeg-3SgSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[yá-ǹ, *gɔ̌:-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↗],* *háyà* *ɛ̀rùpɔ̂:r* *yà-ɛ̀:ⁿ,*
[there.DiscDef, exit(v)-ComplPf.Ppl Def], well airport go.Pfv-1PlSbj,
'He said, "There is no work that is not there (available)." We left there (Abidjan). Well, we went to the airport,'
[existential yá disallowed in negative clauses and all relative clauses]
[i.e. every/any kind of work can be found there]

(02:02) *[[ɛ̀rùpɔ̂:r* *nɛ̀]* *yǎ-y* *gɛ̀↗],* *[kó-ǹ* *gɔ̌-y* *gɛ̀↗],*
[[airport Loc] go-Pfv.Ppl Def], [there.DiscDef exit(v)-Pfv.Ppl Def],
[àbiyɔ̂wⁿ *nɛ̀]* *yô-y* *gɛ̀,*
[airplane Loc] enter.Pfv.Ppl Def,
'(We) went to the airport, we went out from there, we got on the airplane,'

(02:06) *[àbíyɔ̀wⁿ* *ŋɛ̀]* *pɛ̀rɛ̂:* *wó* [L]*kàn* *ŋɛ̀↘,*
[airplane Def] ready(adv) 3SgSbj [L]do.Pfv.Ppl Def,
jǎn-jɛ̌: *gɛ̀↗,* *[émɛ́* *kàm]* *yà-y↘,*
hit.hard-ComplPf.Ppl Def, [1Pl all] go-Pfv,
'When the plane was ready, it took off, and we all went (together),'
[< French prêt; jàná 'hit hard', by extension 'set off (abruptly), take off, launch oneself into motion', cf. English hit the road]

(02:10) *[ém* *wòy]* *yá* [L]*dɔ̀:* *gɛ̀↗,*
[1Pl together] there.DiscDef [L]arrive-Pfv.Ppl Def,
nàʒìríyà *wó* [L]*dɔ̀:* *gɛ̀,*
N 3SgSbj [L]arrive.Pfv.Ppl Def,
'We arrived there together. When it (=airplane) arrived in Nigeria.'
[locative nɛ̀ after participle]

(02:12) *[nàʒìríyà* *nɛ̀],* *ɛ̀skâl* *kán-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↗,*
[N Loc], stop(n) do-ComplPf.Ppl Def,
yá-ǹ, *íŋɛ̀-l* *gɛ̀↗,*
there.DiscDef, stand.Pfv.Ppl Def,
'We made a stop in Nigeria. We got up there,'
[French escale]

(02:16) *[dǐ:ⁿ* *ŋɛ̀]* *bá:* *yá* *yà-ɛ̀:ⁿ↘,*
[lie.down.Pfv.Ppl Def] day/night there.DiscDef spend.night-Pfv-1PlSbj,
kó-ǹ *dǐ:ⁿ-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↗,*
there.DiscDef lie.down-ComplPf.Ppl Def,
'We lay down (=slept) there until daylight. We lay down (=slept) there,'

[bá: yá: 'spend the night' (collocation), verb tonally distinct from yǎ: 'go' but the two merge when tone-dropped (see the next segment)]

(02:19) *yâ: jǎn-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↗,* *èzíptì* *yà-ɛ̀:^{n}↘,*
again hit.hard-ComplPf.Ppl Def, E go-Pfv-1PlSbj,
[èzíptì yá *^{L}yà-y* *gɛ̀],*
[E there.DiscDef ^{L}go-Pfv.Ppl Def],
'Again (it) took off. We went to Egypt. When we went there to Egypt,'

(02:23) *[dɔ̀rmî: yá* *kàr^{n}-ɛ̀:^{n}]* *[yá* *dì^{n}-ɛ̀:^{n}],*
[sleep there.DiscDef do.Pfv-1PlSbj] [there.DiscDef lie.down.Pfv-1PlSbj],
[èzîpt nɛ̀] *dɛ̌:^{n}-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↗,*
[E Loc] lie.down-ComplPf.Ppl Def,
'We slept, we slept. After we slept in Egypt,'
[French dormir, quickly rephrased with YS equivalent]

(02:27) *[jǎn-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀]* *àmâ:n* *yà-ɛ̀:^{n},*
[hit.hard-ComplPf.Ppl Def] A go-Pfv-1PlSbj,
àmâ:n *émɛ́* *^{L}yà:* *mɔ̀n,* *dìgɛ̀-nàw^{n}=í:→,*
A 1PlSbj ^{L}go.Pfv.Ppl before, late.afternoon=it.is
'We set off and went to Amman (capital of Jordan). Before (=By the time) we got to Amman, it was late afternoon,'
[mɔ̀nɛ̀ 'before' or 'by the time' (§15.3.4); m → w^{n} (§3.4.4.4) in dìgɛ̀-nàw^{n}=í:, compare dìgɛ̀-nǎm in the following segment]

(02:31) *dìgɛ̀-nǎm↗,* *émɛ́* *^{L}yà:* *mɔ̀n,* *àr^{n}à-dì:^{L}* *wó-gɔ̀,*
late.afternoon, 1PlSbj ^{L}go before, year^{L} DiscDef,
[wàgàdù^{L}, *nɛ̂:ʒ* *súg-ɛ̀:* *gɛ̀]* *wó=y,*
[time^{L}, snow(n) descend-Ipfv.Ppl Def] 3Sg=it.is,
'(It was) late afternoon, before (=by the time) we got (there). That year, it was the time when snow falls,'
[imperfective nonsubject relative; French neige ; súg-ɛ̀: from súgò-jɛ̀]
[it never snows anywhere in Dogon country or Abidjan, so this was a new experience]

(02:36) *nɛ̂:ʒ* *[kì-kàlǎl* *gɛ̀]*
snow(n) [Rdp-cold(n) Def]
ém-ì: *yǒw-yǒw* *kàn-Ø,*
1Pl-Acc shivering(adv) do.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'The snow, the cold made us shiver.'
[frozen reduplication ká-kálál 'very cold', stronger than kâ:l 'cool, cold', cf. noun kà:lî: '(the) cold, coldness' at 02:44 below]

(02:38) *[dɛ̌y^{n} ŋɛ̀] èjú→ nám wɔ̀-Ø↗,*
[place Def] very difficult be-3SgSbj,
'The place is very difficult.'

(02:39) *[ḿ-ˡmá: lè→], [yá-ˡbá: lè→], [dɛ̌y^{n} ŋɛ̀]*
[here and], [there.DiscDef and], [place Def],
[dìpèrà:^{n}s^{L} díyɛ̀] yá tò-Ø,
[difference^{L} big] Exist be.in-3SgSbj,
'(Between) here and there, there is a big difference in the place(s).'
[ḿ-ˡmá: and yá-ˡbá: (§4.4.2.1); French différence; díyɛ̀ 'big', archaic form, now usually dɛ̂:]

(02:44) *[émɛ́ kày], [rùwâ:=y pí: tâg gɛ̀]*
[1Pl Top], [king=Acc appeal(n) speak.Pfv.Ppl Def]
[dɛ̌y^{n} ŋɛ̀] kà:lî: gàb-â:y g-ɛ̀:^{n},
[place Def] cold(n) be.excessive-Pfv say.Pfv-1PlSbj,
'We explained to the king that, as for us, (in) the place, the cold was too much.'
[pí: occurs in contexts of appealing to or notifying an authority about something unpleasant]

(02:47) *[ɛ́m= =ɔ̀:], [[ɲɛ̀:r^{n}ɛ̀^{L} èjí-èjí] káyá] g-ɛ̀:^{n},*
[1Pl QuotSbj], [[food^{L} good-good] eat.Imprt] say.Pfv-3PlSbj,
nàw^{n}á bè→ —, [[nàw^{n}á bè] [ɛ́m= =ɔ̀:] téw^{n}ɛ́] g-ɛ̀:^{n},
meat Pl—, [[meat Pl] [1Pl QuotSbj] eat.meat.Imprt] say.Pfv-3PlSbj,
'They told us to eat good food. They told us to eat meat for example.'
[1Pl quotative-subject phrase; ɲɛ̀:r^{n}ɛ́ 'food'; 'eat' bisyllabic in this subdialect; quoted imperative; nàw^{n}á bè→ has the prosody of the first item in a list (when no overt coordinand follows one may translate with 'for example')]

(02:52) *émɛ́, yá-ǹ, [[yɛ̀:-píl tă:n] ŋín] kân-Ø ŋɛ̀↗,*
1Pl, there.DiscDef, [[month three] like] do-Pfv.Ppl Def,
[dágà→ wɛ̀:j-í:] tɔ̀l-ɛ̀:^{n}↘,
[a.little become.accustomed-MP.Chain] begin.Pfv-1PlSbj,
'We spent something like (=around) three months there, and we began to get used to it a little.'
[N-Num ('three months'); gín ~ ŋín 'like, similar to' but here indicating approximate quantity (§8.4.4.1); 'a little' (§8.4.3); 'begin to VP' construction (§17.5.3), more exx. below)]

(02:57) *làprè^{n}sê:s, kàbó:dù, tàgù^{L} èjí-èjí,*
Princess, boot, shoe^{L} good-good,
[[émè n] jĕ:l-Ø] tɔ̀lɔ̀-Ø↘,
[[1Pl Ben] bring-Chain] begin.Pfv-3SgSbj,
'The princess began to bring us boots, good shoes.'
['begin to VP', recipient of 'bring' phrased as locative]

(03:01) *[tăg gè] yó-ɔ̀: lè↗],*
[shoe Def] enter-AntNonp if],
[bírέ gè] [kó lè] bìrè-y↘,
[work(n) Def] [DiscDef Comit] work-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
'They wear shoes, they work with them (=shoes).'
[</tàgú/]

(03:04) *nέ: [prè:zdâ:^{n} bè↗], [rùwâ: bè↗], [àmbàsâ:d bè↗],*
now [president and], [king and], [ambassador and],
[mìnístìr bè↗], wèlé-ỳ lè↗,
[minister Pl], come-Ipfv.3PlSbj if,
'Now when presidents, kings, ambassadors, and (government) ministers would come,'
[French <u>président</u>, <u>roi</u>, <u>ambassade</u> (for <u>ambassadeur</u>), <u>ministre</u>]

(03:08) *bέ-ỳ sèrwî: kàr^{n}-è:^{n},*
3Pl-Acc serve do.Pfv-1PlSbj,
sèrwî: émé ^{L}kàr^{n}à-w^{n} ^{L}kàr^{n}à-w^{n},
serve 1PlSbj ^{L}do-IpfvSub ^{L}do-IpfvSub,
'We served them. We kept serving and serving,'
[French <u>servir</u>]

(03:11) *nέ: àràbù-sɔ̌: dĕ: tɔ̀l-è:^{n},*
now Arab-language(n) learn begin.Pfv-1PlSbj,
àrábù sɔ̂:-w sɔ̂:-w wɔ́-wˋ,
Arab speak-IpfvSub speak-IpfvSub be-Ppl,
'Now we began to learn Arabic. (We) kept speaking Arab(ic).'

(03:14) *á!, [ìnè-m^{L} gàmá:] gí-ɔ̀: lè↗,*
ah!, [person-Pl^{L} certain.Pl] say-AntNonp if,
[ém= =ɔ̀:] yà:-mé: sí-sǎy↗, wèlé-wˋ dígè-w↘,
[1Pl QuotSbj] recently only, come-IpfvSub follow-IpfvSub,
'Some people say, we only just came,'
[gí-ɔ̀: variant of gé-ɔ̀: ; yà:-mé: 'a few days ago', cf. yá: 'yesterday' (both can be stretched to longer time periods); wèlé-wˋ dígè-w unconjugatable fixed phrase 'only just came', cf. English <u>right off the bat</u>]

(03:19) *[[àmâ:n* *^{L}sɔ̀:]* *sɔ̀:-y* *gɛ̀]*
[[Amman ^{L}language] speak-Ipfv.1PlSbj Def]
[yà-ŋín=î: *mà]* *g-ɛ̀:^{n},*
[how?=Foc Q] say.Pfv-3PlSbj,
'That we spoke Amman language (=dialect), it was how? (=how could it be)?", they said (asked).'

[definite gɛ̀ marks the preceding clause as factive ('the fact that …'); quoted content interrogative]

(03:21) *[kù:-bɔ̂n* *ɛ̀mɛ̀* *ŋ=]* *=ɔ̀:,* *bírɛ́* *bírɛ̀-j=* *=ɔ̀:,*
[head-marrow 1PlPoss Def] QuotSbj, work(n) work(v)-Ipfv Quot,
'(They) said, our brains work.'

(03:22) *á!,* *émɛ́↗,* *[ìnɛ̀^{L}* *[dɛ̀n^{L}* *dɛ̂n^{HL}]* *^{HL}gô:],*
ah!, 1Pl, [person^{L} [search(n)^{L} seek.Purp^{HL}] ^{HL}exit(v).Pfv.Ppl],
sɔ̌: *gɛ̀,* *ɛ́gɛ́* *bájá=y,*
language Def, hear obligation=it.is,
'Ah, we, anyone who has gone away in order to search (for work) must hear (=understand) the language,'

[perfective subject relative with nonspecific subject (so no definite gɛ̀ after gô:); dén(ú) 'search (n)' and dɛ̀nɛ́ 'look for' are here combined into an {L}-{HL} tonal purposive before a motion verb (§17.7.2); bájá=y 'be an obligation' (§17.6.2)]

(03:26) *yá-nɛ̀,* *kɔ̀ntrâ:,* *[àr^{n}à-dɨ̌:* *nùmɔ́r^{n}ɔ́]* *[yɛ̀:-píl* *kúlòy],* *kar^{n}-ɛ̀:^{n}↘,*
there.DiscDef, contract, [year five] [month six], do.Pfv-3PlSbj,
[kɔ̀ntrâ: *gɛ̀],* *dògó* *wó* *^{L}yà-y* *gɛ̀,*
[contract Def], be.finished 3SgSbj ^{L}go-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'There, (by) the contract, we spent five years (and) six months. When the contract went and ended,'

[French <u>contrat</u> ; 'go' here in somewhat pejorative sense (not motion)]

(03:33) *pàtrɔ̂:^{n}* *yâ:* *[ɛ́m=* *=ɔ̀:]* *kɔ̀ntìnê:* *kár^{n}á* *=wɔ̀:,*
boss again [1Pl QuotSbj] continuing(n) do.Imprt Quot,
[yê:-nɛ̀, *àr^{n}à-dɨ̌:* *$^{↓}$léy,* *kân-Ø* *ŋɛ̀]* *bàr-ɛ̀:^{n},*
[again, year two, do-Pfv.Ppl Def] add.Pfv-1PlSbj,
'The boss again told us to continue (=renew). We added two more years.'

[quoted imperative; French <u>patron</u>, <u>continuer</u> (made predicative by 'do')]

(03:39) *[émé kàm] né: èjú→ wě:j-í:-à-y^{n},*
[1Pl all] now well(adv) become.accustomed-MP.Chain-Pfv1a-3PlSbj,
[né: kày] [ém= =ɔ:] nàsyònàlìtê: géɲ= =ɔ́:,
[now Top] [1Pl QuotSbj] citizenship take.Imprt Quot,
'(By) now all of us had become fully accustomed (to the place). (They) told us to take (Jordanian) citizenship now.'

[quoted imperative with plural addressee]

(03:42) *á!, [émé gày] tɔ̀ɛ́^{n}=y,*
ah!, [1Pl Top] truth=it.is,
'Ah, (we said,) "it's true." '

[tɔ̀ɛ́^{n} 'truth', here predicative, variant of tɔ̀ɛ́^{n}=: with lengthened vowel, cf. kì-kàl=í: 'it's a lie, it's untrue']

(03:44) *nàsyònàlìtê:, gèɲ-ɔ́: lè, é! àmbàsâ:d də̀ màlî:,*
citizenship, take-AntNonp if, eh! embassy of Mali,
ém-ì: ɔ́l-è:-lè-Ø →↗,
1Pl-Acc allow/trust-MP-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj,
' "(However,) if (we) take citizenship, eh!, the embassy of Mali won't allow us (to go back)," '

[French ambassade de (=du) Mali ; imperfective negative ɔ́l-è:-lè→ 'it isn't allowed' with invariant impersonal 3Sg subject and accusative agent, here mediopassive in form, non-mediopassive negative ɔ́lɔ̀-lè-Ø also possible, cf. imperfective positive ɔ́-ʔɔ̀lɔ̀-jè-Ø 'it is allowed' (not mediopassive), cf. í-ʔìŋèlè-jè- 'stand(s), stops' with negative ~ í-ʔìŋèlè-lè- ~ í-ʔìŋèl-è:-lè- 'does not stop']

(03:49) *né: [ɲâŋ kàr^{n}à-y mà] j-è:^{n}, prê:^{n}sì,*
now [how? do-Ipfv.1PlSbj Q] say.Pfv-1PlSbj, prince,
ìnɛ̌m tɛ̀lɛ̀pɔ́:^{n} lág-ɔ́: lè↗,
Logo telephone hit-AntNonp if,
[[[kɔ́dùwàr àmbàsâd] nɛ̀] tú-tùy-j= =ɔ:]
[[[Côte.d'Ivoire embassy] Loc] Rdp-send-Ipfv Quot]
' "Now, what will we do?" we said (=asked). The prince said, "I will make a telephone call to the Côte d'Ivoire embassy. It (=embassy) will send (passports)." '

['how?' interrogative; 'hit telephone' = 'make a phone call', 'send' adds recipient in locative PP, cf. [[ámàdù mɔ̀] nɛ̀] tɛ̀lɛ̀pɔ̂:^{n} lág túy=bè-m 'I phoned Amadou'; French ambassade de (=du) Mali]

(03:53) *[ém= =ɔ:]* *kó* *bíyé* *=wɔ:,*
[1Pl QuotSbj] DiscDef stay.Imprt Quot,
á!, *[děy^{n}* *bè-mè* *ŋè],* *trê:* *díffísîl,* *nì-năm* *tè:rè,*
ah!, [place 3Pl-Poss Def] very difficult, Rdp-difficult very,
‘ “We should stay there, he said.” Ah, their place (=country) is very difficult.’
[bíyé variant of bé: ; frozen reduplicative adjective (‘difficult’); French très difficile, repeated in YS with tè:rè ‘very’]

(03:59) *áywà,* *yă:-m* *yɛ̀n-ɔ̂:* *lè,* *gàjí=y↗,*
well, woman-Pl look.at-AntNonp if, forbidden=it.is,
èpí:↗, *mamnu:ʕ* *mamnu:ʕ,* *káykɔ̀lɔ̀↗,*
and.also, forbidden forbidden, a.lot,
‘If (we) look at women, it’s forbidden. And then there’s plenty of *mamnu:ʕ* ’
[gàjú ‘something forbidden’; French et puis, Arabic mamnu:ʕ ‘prohibited’]

(04:05) *[né:* *kày]* *émé* *nɔ̌:,* *yà-^{L}é→* *wɛ̌l-Ø=lă:* *lè,*
[now Top] 1Pl, Prox go-PfvSub come-VblN=it.is.not if,
nú-ǹ *kó* *bí-ɔ:* *dè:* *gò↗,* *nì-năm* *tè:rè,*
here DiscDef stay-AntNonp even.if instead, Rdp-difficult very,
‘Now, it would be better for us to go and come (i.e. return to Mali). If on the other hand (=if in fact) we stay here (=in Jordan), it is (=will be) difficult.’
[‘would be better’ (§16.1.2); dè: ‘even if’ (§16.2.2); gò here appears to mean ‘instead’, alluding to the earlier alternative option of returning to Mali, making the connection with gŏ: ‘exit (v)’ or its imperative gò obscure, but it functions here to emphasize dè:]

(04:10) *[làgá* *kígìlìm-jɛ̌:* *gɛ̀↗],*
[again return-ComplPf.Ppl Def],
[pàspɔ̂:r *èmè* *ŋè],* *dátì* *gàl-â:y-Ø,*
[passport 1PlPoss Def], date pass-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,
‘As it turned out, the (expiration) date of our passport(s) had passed.’
[làgá ‘again’ (preclausal); French passeport, date]

(04:14) *dátì* *găl* *wó* *^{L}yà-y* *gɛ̀,* *ìnɛ̌m,*
date pass.Chain 3SgSbj ^{L}go-Pfv Def, Logo,
[mákà *^{L}bá:↗],* *pàspɔ̂:r,* *[màlî:* *^{L}àmbàsàd]* *[mákà* *k=]* *=ɔ:,*
[M Loc] passport, [Mali ^{L}embassy] [M be.Inan] Quot,
‘When (we realized that) the date had passed, he (=king) said that he would go over to Mecca, (and get) the passports. The Mali embassy is (in) Mecca.’

(04:19) *[mákà nè],* *[pàspô:r èmè]* *yègé-r-ɔ́:* *lè↗,*
[M Loc], [passport 1PlPoss] fix-Tr-AntNonp if,
wèl-â:y-Ø *lè,*
come-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[ém= *=ɔ́:]* *màlî:* *[kó* *lè]* *yó* *=ɔ́,*
[1Pl QuotSbj] M [DiscDef Comit] enter.Imprt Quot,
'(He said) he would arrange our passport(s), and come (back to Jordan), then at that point we should (re-)enter Mali,'
[pseudo-conditional before subject switch; kó lè 'at that point']

(04:24) *émé* *ɔ́→,* *yá-ǹ* *[émé* *[L]bìrè-w]* *bírè-w,*
1Pl okay, there.DiscDef [1PlSbj [L]work(v)-Ipfv] work(v)-Ipfv,
á! *lě:* *[pàspô:r* *gè]* *yă-y* *gè↗,* *mákà* *tùy-è:[n]↘,*
ah! later [passport Def] go-Pfv.Ppl Def, M send.Pfv-3PlSbj,
'We (said) "okay." (We) kept doing our work there (in the meantime). Eventually the passports went, (they) sent them to Mecca,'

(04:29) *mákà* *tûy* *gè↗,* *émé* *[ìné* *[pél-gù* *léy* *sìgè]],*
M send.Pfv.Ppl Def, 1Pl [person [ten two more]],
[mákà *nè]* *[pàspô:r* *gè]* *yègí-r* *gè↗],*
[M Loc] [passport Def] fix-Tr.Pfv.Ppl Def],
'When (they) sent (them to) Mecca, us twelve people, (they) prepared the passport(s) in Mecca,'
[composite numeral (decimal plus single digit), pél-gù pronounced [pélgə̀], *linking form of '10' with unusual -gù linker (§4.6.1.3)]*

(04:34) *àmâ:n* *jĕ:l* *gè↗,* *ém-ì:* *tà:r-è:[n],*
A bring.Pfv.Ppl Def, 1Pl-Acc show.Pfv-3PlSbj,
émé *rùwâ:=ỳ* *tág-ù* *gè↗,*
1Pl king=Acc tell-Pfv.Ppl Def,
'They brought (the passports) to Amman and showed (them) to us. We told the king.'
[< /jĕ:lù/]

(04:38) *né:* *kày,* *[kɔ̀ntrâ:* *èmè]* *dòg-â:y-Ø↗,*
now Top, [contract 1PlPoss] be.finished-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,
[émé *màlî:* *wèlè-y]* *g-è:[n]↘,*
[1Pl M come-Ipfv.1PlSbj] say.Pfv-1PlSbj,
' "Now, our contract is completed. We will come (=go back) to Mali," we said." '
[the speaker uses 'come' from the perspective of now being back in Mali, rather than 'go' in the original discussion in Jordan]

(04:41) *[rùwâ: já:tì]↗, ém-ì: ìnĕm↗, kìr^{n}è-ń-Ø mĕ:↗,*
[king exactly], 1Pl-Acc Logo, hate-PfvNeg-3SgSbj but,
né:↗, ìné yâ:-jè-Ø gé-tì-Ø bí-à:y-Ø lè↗,
now, Logo go-Ipfv-3SgSbj say-Pfv1b-3SgSbj stay-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
'The king himself (said) he was not unhappy with us (=with our service), but if it happens now that someone) has said "I will go," '

[kír^{n}é 'be fed up with (sb)', here negated; ìné 'a person, someone' but arguably also logophoric here]

(04:46) *kɔ̀ntrà:^{L} [é kàm] àmà:n^{L} ^{HL}yô-y gɛ̀,*
contract^{L} [2Pl all] agreement^{L} ^{HL}enter-Pfv.Ppl Def,
dɔ̀-â:y-Ø bí-à:y-Ø lè↗, yà-ɔ̂: lè↗,
arrive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj stay-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if, go-AntNonp if,
' "When the contract that you-Pl have both entered into happens to have been fulfilled, if (you) will go," '

[object relative clause; definite gɛ̀ inaudible but appropriate]

(04:50) *yâ: rètù:r-wɛ̌l-Ø=lă: lè, [né: kày nɔ̌:]*
again return(n)-come-VblN=it.is.not if, [now Top Prox]
[ém= =ɔ̀:] [^{HL}bír= =à:] bìrɛ́-j= =ɔ̀:
[1Pl QuotSbj] [^{HL}work(n) too] work(v)-ComplPf Quot,
'Coming (=going) back (to one's point of departure) would be better. Now, (they) said we had also kept working (for a long time),'

['if not' = 'unless ...' = 'it is best to ...' (§16.1.2); bìrɛ́-jɛ̀- 'have really worked', emphatic perfect (§10.2.1.6), distinguished by tone from imperfective bírɛ̀-jɛ̀- 'works' and by vowel length from completive perfect bìrɛ́-jɛ̀:- 'have just finished working', here in a construction with =à: added to an {HL}-toned cognate nominal (§15.2.1.3)]

(04:54) *áywa, yá émɛ́ ^{L}yà-y gɛ̀, [yè:-sàrá èmɛ̀],*
well, there.DiscDef 1Pl ^{L}go-Pfv.Ppl Def, [month-pay(n) 1PlPoss],
bɔ̀^{n} [mùŋú pél-gù→↗, [kúlòy sìgɛ̀] [kúlòy sìgɛ̀]],
well [thousand ten, [six plus] [six plus],
'When we went there, our monthly salary (was), well, sixteen thousand (a month).'

[French bon; distributive iteration of numeral, here applied just to the final 'plus six' in complex numeral 'sixteen' (§4.6.1.6)]

(04:59) *ém-ì: ŋí^{n} sàrà=b-è:^{n}↘,*
1Pl-Acc thus pay=Past-3PlSbj,
'They (had) paid us like that.'

[past perfect (§10.2.1.1)]

(05:01) *[yè:-sàrá* *èmè],* *[émɛ́* *^{L}yà-y* *nè],*
[month-pay(n) 1PlPoss], [1PlSbj ^{L}go-Pfv.Ppl since],
[bû:d *[kó* *^{L}túrú]]* *émɛ́* *gò:-n-nɛ́,*
[money [DiscDef ^{L}one]] 1PlSbj exit(v)-Caus-PfvNeg.1PlSbj,
'From the time we went, we didn't (=hadn't) taken out a single coin from our monthly salary,'
['since' construction (§15.3.1); 3Pl perfective negative]
[i.e. they had let the earnings accumulate; bû:d can refer to the smallest coin in use in Mali, or it can mean 'money' in general]

(05:04) *bú:dù,* *yá-^{L}bá:* *ém-ì:* *[ób-Ø=* *=à:]* *óbò-gù=b-è:^{n},*
money, there.DiscDef 1Pl-Acc [give-Nom too] give-IpfvSub=Past-3PlSbj,
'They were also constantly giving us money (i.e. pocket money) there,'
[óbò as {HL}-toned cognate nominal followed either by 'also' enclitic =à: or by kàr^{n}à 'also; even', intensifying a past imperfective (§15.2.1.3)]

(05:07) *dɔ́^{n}k,* *bày^{L}* *émɛ́* *^{L}gò:,* *bâ^{n}k* *wèlɛ́* *gɛ̀↗,*
so, day^{L} 1PlSbj ^{L}exit(v).Pfv.Ppl, bank come.Pfv.Ppl Def,
[bú:dù *èmè]* *gɛ̀ɲ-è:^{n}↘,*
[money 1PlPoss] take.Pfv-1PlSbj,
'So, the day we left (Jordan), we came to the bank and took our money.'
[temporal adverbial relative with 'day', verb tone-dropped after subject pronominal, cf. ámàdù bày^{L} ^{HL}gô: 'the day Amadou left'; French donc, banque]

(05:11) *dɔ́^{n}k* *àrábù* *èj—* *àmâ:n,* *àmâ:n* *è-ʔèjú* *tɛ̀:rɛ̀,*
so Arab g[ood]— A, A Rdp-good very,
nɛ̂:ʒ, *[nɛ̂:ʒ* *gɛ̀]* *dágà→,* *ém-ì:* *èjú→* *tɔ́rdɔ́=bɛ̀-Ø,*
snow, [snow Def] a.little, 1Pl-Acc greatly bother=Past-3SgSbj,
'So, the Arab—, Amman is very good. The constant snow was bothering us somewhat (=quite a bit),'
è-ʔèjú reduplicated adjective; èjú→ 'greatly' (adv)]

(05:18) *kó=y=lă:* *lè,* *àmâ:n* *è-ʔèjú* *tɛ̀:rɛ̀↘,*
DiscDef=it.is=it.is.not if, A Rdp-good very,
[[kàrtè:^{L} *ém* *^{L}bè* *gɛ̀],* *[bôy* *gɛ̀],* *ʃîmùʃà:nî:,*
[[neighborhood^{L} 1PlSbj ^{L}be.Past.Ppl Def], [name Def], S,
'Other than that, Amman is very good. The neighborhood where we were, the (=its) name (is) Simusani.'
[locative relative with past-time bè- 'was/were' replacing nonpast wɔ̀- ; French quartier]

(05:24) *ʃé:kù, ánwà:r sàlâ:m, màdâm, rèmî: bàndígì,*
Ch A S madame R B
[bé lè] bìrɛ̀=b-ɛ̀:ⁿ,
[3Pl Comit] work(v)=Past-1PlSbj,
'Cheikh Anwar Salam and Madame Remy Bandigi, we were working with (=for) them.'

(05:29) *[rùwâ: ᴸtɔ̀g gɛ̀-m]=ì:, wó=y=lă:↗,*
[king ᴸclan Def-Pl]=it.is, 3Sg=it.is=it.is.not.Q
wó=y
3Sg=it.is
'(They) were (of) the king's clan. Is that not it?'
'(Yes,) that's it.'
[tɔ̀gú 'clan'; =lă: 'it is not' plus polar interrogative by lengthening and final mid pitch]
[final wó=y spoken by interlocutor, answering the speaker's question]

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Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations

Acc	accusative, §6.7)
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverbial (especially derived from adjective)
Agent	agentive nominal
An	animate
Ant	anterior (subordinated clause)
ATR	advanced tongue root (vowel feature)
Ben	benefactive, §8.2.3.1
C	consonant (in formulae like *CvCv*)
Caus	causative, §9.2
Char	characteristic (nominal derivative, §4.2.1)
cpd	compound
Dat	dative, §8.1.1
Def	definite, §4.4.1.1
Dem	demonstrative
Det	determiner (demonstrative or definite)
DF	discourse-functional elements
Dimin	diminutive
Dist	distant
Dur	durative, §15.2.1.2-3
EA	expressive adverbial, §8.4.7, §4.5.3
Emph	emphatic (clause-final particle)
EmphPf	emphatic perfect, §10.2.1.6
Exist	existential particle, §11.2.2.1
ExpPf	experiential perfect, §10.2.1.4
Fact	factitive (‘cause to become’ with adjective), §9.4
Foc	focus
Fr	French
H	high (tone)
Hort	hortative, §10.6.2
Hum	human
Ipfv	imperfective
Imprt	imperative
Inan	inanimate
Inch	inchoative (‘become’ with adjective), §9.4

Inst	instrumental, §8.1.2
Iter	iteration (full reduplication)
L	low (tone)
Loc	locative
Logo	logophoric
MP	mediopassive
N	noun
(n)	noun (in interlinearl glosses)
Neg	negative
Nom	nominalization
Nonp	nonpast
NP	noun phrase
Num	numeral
Obj	object
Ord	ordinal
Pass	passive
Pf	perfect (in ExpPf or CompPf)
Pfv	perfective
Pl	plural
Poss	possessive, possessor
PP	postpositional phrase
Ppl	participle (verb in relative clauses etc.)
Prog	progressive
Proh	prohibitive (negative imperative)
Pron	pronoun
Prox	proximate
Purp	purposive
Q	question
Quot	quotative particle, §17.1.3
QuotSbj	quotative subject particle, §17.1.4
Rdp	reduplication
Recip	reciprocal, §18.4
Refl	reflexive, §18.1
Rel	relative clause
Rev	reversive (verb derivation, §9.1
sb	somebody
Sbj	subject
Sg	singular
st	something
Stat	stative, §10.4 (derived), §11.2 and §11.4 (lexical)
Sub	subordinator
sw	somewhere

Temp	temporal postposition (‘during’)
Top	topic
Tr	transitive (verb stem, paired with mediopassive), §9.3.1
V	verb
(v)	verb (in interlinear glosses)
v	vowel (in formulae like *CvCv*)
VblN	verbal noun
Vblz	verbalizing suffix, see (208a)
VP	verb phrase
YS	Yorno So language

Symbols

*	reconstructed
#	ungrammatical, unacceptable, unattested
á, à, â, ǎ, ã̌	tones on vowels (or syllables), §3.6
x̄, x̀, x́, x̂	tonal processed affecting stems in compounds, chapter 5
/…/	a) lexical tone melody, e.g. /LH/, /H/
	b) underlying or lexical representation, e.g. /gàrá/
{…}	a) tone overlay, e.g. {HL}, {H}, {L}
	b) enclosing any set, e.g. {*u a i*}
[…]	a) phonetic (IPA) representation, e.g. [bŭ:]
	b) syntactic brackets (in examples or extended phrases)
˓	downstep of H-tone to approximately mid-pitch
[…]^{L}	{L} tone overlay controlled by an element to the right, §6.1.5
^{L}[…]	{L} tone overlay controlled by a possessor to the left, §6.2.1
→	prolongation of final vowel or sonorant, intonational or lexical §3.7.1-2
↑	nonlow terminal pitch (intonational), marking incompletion, §3.7.1
↓	low terminal pitch (intonational), marking completion, §3.7.1
∴	dying-quail terminal intonation effect, §3.7.3, §16.3
=	clitic boundary, §3.5
&	conjunction (in interlinears, e.g. X.& Y.& ‘X and Y’)