Deep adjectival syncretisms in Dogon Jeff Heath (Michigan) CALL Leiden 2009

1. study of adjectives

universal as a stem-class? (Dixon, Croft, Baker) range of senses (minimal, maximal)

2. cognitive study of metaphorical extensions Lakoff on English *hot*

3. extension vs. deep syncretism

extension: basic sense (concrete), figurative extensions (concrete/abstract)

hot: basic sense = high temperature

extended: hot (spicy) sauce, hot (sexy) chick, hot (important & breaking) news extensions basically metonymic (Metonyms We Live By ??)

deep syncretism: X is the basic term for two concepts in different domains hard to find a good example of this in English, etc.

4. deep syncretisms, and some nearly so (data from Dogon lgs, plus Hombori Songhay)

both poles syncretic

'hot/cold' (temperature) = 'fast/slow' (speed)

mainly just one pole syncretic

'sweet' (taste) = 'sharp' (sharpness)

'hard(/soft)' (hardness) = 'dry(/wet)' (wetness)

brief mention

'red' = 'hot'

5. 'hot/cold' = 'fast/slow'

'fast/slow' focally denotes speediness (person, animal), rapid completion (work[er]), or quick reaction (as in 'fast-handed' = 'quick to get into fights')

'hot/cold' focally denotes temperature of e.g. water

	'hot'	'fast'	'cold'	'slow'	language
	dwěỳ ⁿ -	dwěỳ ⁿ -	yégèlè-	pèjí-	Najamba
	ógì ógù ôw	ógì ógù ôw	támi tôm tâm	támì tôm tâm	Nanga Jamsay Beni
L	kònn-ò	tàr-ò	yèyn-ò	yèyn-ò	Hombori

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6. notes on 'hot/cold', 'fast/slow'
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intermediate terms

'lukewarm' (e.g. Jamsay búgàm-búgàm), mainly for liquids

no simple term for intermediate speed ('half-fast' ??)

intensifying adverbials

Jamsay táwtáw 'very fast' = 'very hot', cèrⁿénéné 'very cold (water)' = 'very moist (earth)' = 'very slow' = 'very heavy'

Hombori búttú 'very slow-moving (donkey)', pejorative term

extensions:

'hot' or 'hot/fast' extended to:

'painful (e.g. injection)' [Najamba]

'grave (illness)' [Nanga

'trouble (tempers) flaring' [Nanga, Jamsay, Beni]

verb 'boil' extended to:

'grave (illness)' [Najamba]

'trouble (squabbles) flaring' [Najamba]

'hard (work, without a break)' [Najamba]

'cold' or 'cold/slow' extended to:

'calm (village, e.g. at 3AM or after a death) [Beni]

native explanations for 'hot/cold' = 'fast/slow'

- a) running hard (or being sick) makes one sweat (feel hot)
- b) rapid movement resembles restless activity of fire
- c) slowness/stillness associated with sleep (as is hardening of e.g. butter)

7. 'sweet' = 'sharp'

'sweet' an abbreviation for 'delicious, good-tasting'

'sharp' refers to knife and hoe blades (not to points)

_	'sweet'	'sharp'	'bitter'	'blunt'	language
	èlí-	èlí-	gàlí-	dùmbé	Najamba
	éri érù érim	éri érù érim	gárî jé:rù gárìm	nð:-dúmbì dǔm dùmbú	Nanga (nš: 'mouth') Jamsay Beni
	kà:n-ò	kà:n-ò	hòtt-ò	hòtt-ò lùt-ò ('deaf')	Hombori

8. notes on 'sweet(/bitter)', 'sharp(/blunt)'

'sweet' in sensory contexts has variable range

wide range: 'good-tasting/-smelling' (tea, cream of millet, fruits, water, meat)

narrow range: 'sweet' (tea, cream of millet, fruit) [Najamba]

'sweet' bounded in all languages by term for 'good, pretty' with visual and abstractevaluative senses, and esp. in Najamba also by terms for 'tasty (meat, milk, peanuts)' emphasizing texture (tenderness of meat), oiliness, etc.

antonyms of 'sweet': negative 'not sweet' very common, alongside more concrete terms for 'bitter/pungent/salty' and 'sour (acidic)'; however, Hombori hòtt-ò 'bitter' is the regular antonym of 'sweet'

extensions

'sweet/sharp' → 'fun (person)' [Nanga, Jamsay], 'nice (person)' [Najamba], 'cute (sexy) (girl) [Hombori], 'harmonious (household)' [Hombori]

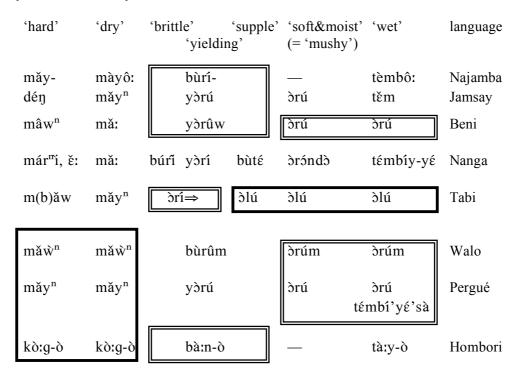
'bitter/blunt' → 'painfully hot (sun)' and 'painful (injection)' [Hombori] native explanations for 'sweet(/bitter)' = 'sharp(/blunt)'

most informans baffled; Jamsay informant suggests 'sweet' derived from 'sharp' based on metaphor of cutting (cf. proverb 'truth cuts through lies')

9. $\frac{\text{'hard(/soft)'}}{\text{'ery(/wet)'}}$

'hard' denotes 'internally solid, hard to break' (stone, metal, wood), also 'firm (e.g. sand one day after a rain) and 'tough (meat)'

'soft' has a wide range 'yielding, tender, brittle, supple' except in Nanga 'dry' and 'wet' focally denote moisture levels



many extensions to humans mediated by bahuvrihi compounds (cf. *hard-headed*, *tight-fisted*)

10. notes on 'hard/soft', 'dry/wet'

'hard' extends to humans as

'wiry, solidly built but short and thin' (Jamsay, Hombori)

'in good physical shape' (Nanga)

'energetic (person)' (Najamba, Beni))

'stingy (e.g. often refusing requests)' (Najamba, Beni)

Nanga divides 'soft' into

búrî 'soft, breakable (wood, rock), soft (sand)'

yòrî 'soft, pliable (metal), soft (body, skin)', also 'physically weak (person)' bùté 'supple (goatskin)'

- 11. further links between 'hard/soft' and 'dry/wet'
 - a. 'soft and moist' (i.e. 'mushy') category (Jamsay, Nanga), merging with 'wet' (Beni)
 - b. 'dry' often used in all languages in the sense 'stiffened (by drying)' 'dry' extended to humans as 'wasting away (*dépérissant*)' (Najamba, Nanga) or 'wiry' (Jamsay)
 - 'wet' extends to 'fresh (grass), green (wood)' (Tabi, Beni, Jamsay, Pergué, Nanga, Walo), but not in Najamba where e.g. 'fresh (grass)' = 'raw (meat), unripe (fruit)' intermediate category 'half-dry, moist': Pergué sò:lú, Najamba òmó: (also 'green [wood]'), also verb '(e.g. washed clothing) be half-dry'

12. 'red'

basic sense 'red, orange, brown' expressed by stable cognate set in Dogon bán, bárⁿí, bárⁿú, bàrⁿâyⁿ etc. < *ban(i)

'hot dry season (e.g. April-early June)' < *'sun-red(ness)', 'beat (drums)' < *'redden' (?)

	'hot season'	'be hot s (subj in	season' parenthese	'beat drum'	'anger' ('heart'	'redden'	
a.	nòŋ-bár ⁿ à	(nŏŋ)	bàr ⁿ ú	bàr ⁿ ú	bàr ⁿ ú	bàr ⁿ ú	Tabi
	ùsìyè-bár ⁿ à	(ùsìyé	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	Nanga
b.	nì-bár ⁿ á	(nĭ:)	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	bànà'r ⁿ á	Jamsay
	[nì-nì:]-bár ⁿ á	(nĭ:)	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	bànà'r ⁿ á	Pergué
c.	ùsù-bớr ⁿ ơ	ùsú	bòr ⁿ ó	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	Beni
	ùsù-bớr ⁿ ờ	ùsú	bòr ⁿ ó	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	bàr ⁿ á	Walo
d.	ŋgín	(ỳgín)	băn	băn	_	bàná'lí'yé	Najamba

further connection: 'arrow poison' or 'medicinal poison to stimulate hunting dogs' bàrⁿá (Tabi, Jamsay, Nanga) or bàːrⁿá (Pergué) semantic relationships

*'red' → 'hot dry season'
'anger' (hot?)
'beat drums' (hot?)

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