

Dogon expressive adverbials

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Expressive adverbials (EAs) are conspicuous in Dogon languages. Some but not all of them could be classified typologically as **ideophones**. EAs may function as adverbs within a clause, or they can be made predicative, usually by adding a conjugated locational ‘be’ verb or quasi-verb. EAs differ from simple **adverbs** with meanings like ‘there’, ‘yesterday’, and ‘like that’, which are best analysed as nouns that can be used adverbially, and are treated like nouns when functioning as predicates. EAs cannot be focalized, and generally cannot function as tonosyntactic controllers or targets.

phonological types of EA

Examples of Jamsay EAs are in (1). → indicates intonational prolongation of the final vowel or sonorant.

- (1)
- a. express basic lexical senses, prolonged
 - dém*→ ‘straight (object, road, trajectory)’
 - déyⁿ*→ ‘apart, separate, distinct’
 - té*→ ‘exactly, specifically’

 - b. ideophonic, prolonged
 - séⁿ*→ ‘looking straight at, staring at’
 - pó*→ ‘in a straight line’
 - gǔyⁿ*→ ‘jutting out, projecting’
 - sò:rⁿí*→ ‘small secondary (group, trail, etc.) split off from a larger one’
 - díyáw*→ ‘towering (tree, heap)’

 - c. *CvC* with final obstruent
 - pép* ‘chock-full, full to the brim’
 - kák* ‘stopping/arriving abruptly (noisily)’
 - cót* ‘straight (object or motion, emphatic)’

 - d. iterated
 - bérné-bérné* ‘flickering, glimmering’

 - e. final reduplication
 - yáralálá* ‘moving (light, child’s toy kite)’

f. adjectival intensifiers, iterated

táw-táw ‘(very) fast’, cf. *ógù* ‘hot; fast’

cètèrè-cètèrè ‘(very) short, stunted’, cf. *gǔyⁿ* ‘short’

EAs have phonological possibilities not allowed with nouns, adjectives, numerals, verbs, or ordinary adverbs. Intonational prolongation (more variable in duration than ordinary segmental length) is especially common. Iteration (full-stem reduplication) and final reduplication are also common; normally the EA does not correspond to any semantically related uniterated or unreduplicated stem. The interjection-like obstruent-final *CvC* type (1c) is also aberrant, since final obstruents do not occur in other stem-classes.

EAs as predicates

In Jamsay and several other Dogon languages, EAs can be used as predicates by adding a conjugated auxiliary. **Stative** and **inchoative** predicates (‘be EA’ versus ‘become EA’) are distinguished. Both types have positive and negative versions.

(2) Jamsay EA predicates

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| a. stative positive | EA plus conjugated human <i>wò</i> or nonhuman <i>kò</i> ‘be’ |
| b. stative negative | EA plus conjugated <i>wò:-rò</i> or <i>kò:-rò</i> ‘not be’ |
| c. inchoative positive | EA plus conjugated <i>bě:</i> (elsewhere ‘remain’) |
| d. inchoative negative | EA plus conjugated negative form of <i>bě:</i> |

This set of frames distinguishes EAs from nouns and adjectives. Nouns are made into equational predicates (‘it is N’) using an ‘it is’ clitic that does not occur with EAs. Adjectives have the same stative positive predicative form as EAs, with conjugated *wò* or *kò*, but this is negated not by *wò:-rò* or *kò:-rò* (2b), rather by a conjugated form of a stative negative suffix (or clitic) = *lá*. Both adjectives and nouns also have inchoative constructions not involving *bě:* as in (2c-d).

Rather, the predicative syntax of EAs shows that they belong syntactically with locational expressions such as PPs (‘in the village’) and ordinary spatial adverbs like ‘there’ when used as locationals (‘be there’).

onomatopoeias

EAs are not quite the same as onomatopoeias. The main difference is that EAs are usually stative, while onomatopoeias are not. Jamsay onomatopoeias are made predicative by adding a conjugated form of *kárⁿá* ‘do’, as in *kègèrèw-kègèrèw kán-ti* ‘he/she/it made a

loud chewing (chomping) sound'. Jamsay does not normally use this auxiliary with EAs. However, in some Dogon languages the boundary between EAs and onomatopoeias is more porous, since some EAs can take the 'do' verb as auxiliary.