A Grammar of Penange

Dogon language family
Mali

Jeffrey Heath
University of Michigan

draft November 2014 based on fieldwork with one speaker
do not quote without permission

author's email
schweinehaxen@hotmail.com

color coding (excluding section and chapter headings)

brown	text from the template or the Penange grammar, to be gradually replaced (disregard)
black	new material typed in for this language
blue	transcriptions for this language
green	transcriptions for other languages, reconstructions, phonetic transcriptions, and formulas
pink	data to be incorporated later into the section
red	comments to myself (e.g. data to be elicited, section to be rewritten)
orange	temporary cross-refs to examples in other sections
dk yellow	Jamsay forms in sample index, to be replaced by forms from the language in question

Contents

14

1 Introduction

1.1   Dogon languages

Dogon is a well-defined genetic family of languages spoken on the Dogon plateau, the cliffs and slopes that lead down from them, the sandy plains that stretch out to their north and east, and scattered inselbergs separated from the plateau to the north. Not all varieties have been surveyed professionally, but there are at least 80 varieties with distinct local names, and we currently think that these can be grouped into about 20-25 units of the sort that linguists generally consider to be "languages."

Dogon is thought to belong to Niger-Congo, but no close relationships to specific NC families have been demonstrated.

Penange belongs to a western Dogon division in which its closest relatives appear to be Ampari, Mombo (aka Kolu), and Bunoge. This group also has affinities to Tiranige, Najamba-Kindige, Yanda Dom, Tebul Ure, and perhaps Dogulu, in opposition to eastern Dogon, but we are not yet sure of the overall genetic subgrouping.

1.2   Penange language

Penange (*pénà:ŋgè*) is the Dogon language spoken in the village of Pinia (native name *péná*). Like many Dogon villages, its official name is based on the Fulfulde term, which is *piɲa* (the French colonial surveyors had Fulbe guides). The people call themselves *péná nógè* 'Pinia people'. The predominant surname is Degoga (*dègɔ́*). Other surnames are Kamio (*kàmìyɔ́ⁿ*), Seiba (*sèybá*), Karambe (*kà:rámbè*), and a few Yanogue (*yànógè*).

Dogon who are born and raised in Pinia learn Fulfulde (called *púndé:ŋgè* in Penange) as a second language. Fulbe (*púndè*) are present in Pinia itself and in nearby hamlets, and Fulbe women make daily rounds selling milk and butter. The cattle are generally owned by Dogon and tended by Fulbe.

Many young Dogon work seasonally, or for years at a time, in southern Mali (Segou and Bamako areas), and pick up basic speaking competence in Bambara (aka Bamana), a Mande language. Another popular destination for work, but also for high school study, is Mopti-Sevare, which is also becoming Bambara-dominant.

1

There is a weekly market in Pinia on Fridays, supported by minibuses and vans from Mopti and other locations. The other major weekly markets frequented by Pinia people are Somadougou to the east on the north-south highway, and Goundaka near the east-west highway from Mopti to Bandiagara. A few merchants originally from Pinia now live in Somadougou. Especially on market days, Somabougou and Goundaka are rather cosmopolitcan ethnically, but Fulfulde and Bambara are common lingue franche.

There is no single other Dogon language that is especially well-known to people of Pinia. Mombo (aka Kolu) is spoken to the east and northeast, Ampari is spoken to the southeast, and Tomo Kan is present as a minority language in Somadougou and some other villages to the south.

Bomu (aka Bobo), a Gur language, is also present in Somadougou and is an important language in San and Bla farther south on the main highway.

1.3   Environment

Penange is located at N. 14 23.631 x W. 04 01.943 (degrees, minutes, decimal fraction of minutes). Administratively it is in the *commune* of Goundaka, which is part of the *cercle* (district) of Bandiagara, which is (until the next reorganization) part of the *région* (province) of Mopti, in Mali. The village is located on a low rocky elevation. To the east, a flat plain including scattered millet fields extends to the main north-south highway which links Sevare to San and Segou. The southern part of the Dogon plateau spreads out to the west.

Pinia is a single, rather large village rather than a village cluster of the sort common elsewhere in Dogon country. The main reason for this is the presence of a large rock pond that retains some water through to the end of the dry season, a major attraction in a dry land (no crocodiles, though). The village has four mosques and a school (first to sixth grade as of 2012), and continues to expand with new construction.

The main economic activity is rainy-season farming. The staple cereal grown in fields near the village is millet (*Pennisetum glaucum*), with sorghum also cultivated in depressions. Pinia people are also active in rice farming, but the fields are some distance from the village (at Moussofandougou near Somadougou, at Soufouroullaye on the north-suth highway, and at Fatoma north of Sevare). Fonio (*Digitaria exilis*), a traditional grain staple, is also grown. Maize is absent.

Non-cereal rainy-season crops are peanut, groundnut (*Vigna subterranea*), roselle (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*), sesame, and cow-pea (*Vigna unguiculata*). Peanut, groundnut, and roselle are cash crops cultivated exclusively by women, who use the proceeds to purchase daily condiments.

There are no vegetable gardens or other notable work opportunities during the period from the harvest (October, early November) to the next planting season (around June). As a result, most able-bodied young people from age 15 up migrate to southern Mali (especially Bamako) or to other West African countries for part or all of the dry season.

Herding (cattle, sheep, goats) is carried out in this area by Fulbe, though most of the animals are owned by Dogon.

1.4   Previous study of and current fieldwork on Penange

1.4.1   Previous study

Kirill Prokhorov, a member of the Dogon languages project who specializes in Mombo and Ampari, did an initial reconnaissance of Penange in 2011. He was the first linguist to identify Penange as a distinct language, though belonging to the genetic subgroup including Mombo, Ampari, Bunoge, and perhaps one or two other Dogon languages.

1.4.2   Fieldwork

After learning about Penange from Prokhorov, I visited Pinia for two days in 2011 in order to collect flora-fauna vocabulary and to see the village and its environment.

During a 20-month field trip from January 2011 to August 2012, I did fieldwork on several Dogon languages including Penange. The Penange work was done part-time in May-August 2012. This was a time of turmoil in Mali (Tuareg rebellion, coup and counter-coup in Bamako) and the fieldwork was done in Bobo Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, with a high-school student who was born in 1989 and grew up in Pinia.

1.4.3   Acknowledgements

1.4.4 Additional resources

In addition to grammars, lexical data, and texts, the project has done extensive work in the following areas: a) flora-fauna (native terminology, identification), b) GPS mapping and photography of Dogon and other villages, and c) production of many videos (2 to 20 minutes) dealing with practical activities and with cultural events such as festivals. See the project website at www.dogonlanguages.org for access to this material.

2 Sketch

This is a brief run-down of major features, including those that distinguish Penange from other Dogon languages. First-time readers should skim some of the sample texts at the end of the grammar to get a feeling for clause structures.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Segmental phonology

Penange has a fairly conventional Dogon phoneme inventory, including the usual seven vowel qualities with [±ATR] opposition in mid-height vowels. Long and short vowel length are distinguished. Most of the theoretically possible nasalized vowels occur but are uncommon.

r^n is absent. y^n and w^n are common word-finally (§3.2.7).

2.1.2 Prosody

Tones at syllable level are H, L, <HL>, <LH>, and occasionally <LHL>. The latter is rare as a lexical tone for monosyllabic nouns: I can cite only *sɛ̌:y^n* 'rib(s)', plural *sɛ̌:y^n-gè*. This is probably contracted from an old bi- or trisyllabic 'child' compound, cf. Bunoge sèŋgɛ́-bɛ̀ 'rib(s)'. <LHL> is more common in monosyllabic words involving a grammatically conditioned {LHL} melody that has ended up being fully expressed on a single syllable, perhaps after apocope of a final vowel. Examples are past imperfective *ŋ́ nɔ̌:=yè* 'I was going in' (§10.6.1.4), imperfective negative *nwǎ-à-l* 'you-Sg don't go in' equivalent to *nwǎ:l* (§10.2.3.3), and the possessed noun in *ŋ́ sɔ̌:y^n* 'my tigerfish' (§6.2.1.1).

Stem-level tone melodies can be lexical, for example in a noun, adjective, or numeral that occurs at the end of a NP. However, these word-classes (especially nouns) are also subject to tonosyntactic overlays, such as {L} (all-low tone contour) on a noun followed by an adjective. Tones of verbs are entirely determined by the inflectional (e.g. aspect-negation) category and by pronominal subjects.

Intonational prolongation (symbol →) is lexicalized in some grammatical morphemes (e.g. *wàgà→* 'or') and adverbs (*só→* 'long ago'). A final intonational effect is the basic way to express polar interrogatives, as there is no segmental

morpheme (except in quoted interrogatives). There are no Jamsay-type "dying quail" intonation effects.

2.1.3   Key phonological rules

Syncope or apocope of short {*i u*} after an unclustered sonorant in a noninitial (especially second) syllable is common but usually optional.

Vowel-initial stems grow an initial epenthetic *y-* or *ɲ-* when preceded by a 1st/2nd person subject or possessor proclitic (*ŋ̀ ŋ́ à á*).

The most important regular tonological process is spreading of a H-tone to the right, before a word with initial L-tone, thus …HL][L… becoming …HH][L….

2.2   Inflectable verbs

Suffixal verb-to-verb derivations are reversive ('un-VERB'), causative, mediopassive and transitive (often paired), and reciprocal. Many adjectives have corresponding inchoative verbs, whose causatives function as factitivs.

Verbal inflection consists chiefly of perfective/imperfective aspect crossed with positive/negative polarity. For the perfective system there is an experiential perfect, but no recent perfect or resultative. For imperfective positive there are two constructions, one with auxiliary *bò ~ wò* and one with prolonged final vowel, in addition to a progressive with auxiliary *bô*.

There is also a capacitative form ('can VP') with suffix *-mâ:*.

Aspect-neutral statives include those derived from certain types of active verb ('sit down' becomes 'be sitting'), with final *a*, along with a few underived defective quasi-verbs ('be', 'have', 'know', 'want', 'resemble').

Statives, and already aspectually marked active verbs, can have their temporal reference point shifted to the past ('used to sti', 'was sitting', 'was sitting down', 'had sat') by adding a past clitic *=ye*.

Deontic moods are the imperative (and its negation, the prohibitive), the hortative ('let's VP'), an allative hortative ('let's go VP'), and a third-person (or indirect) hortative used in quoted imperatives.

2.3   Noun phrase (NP)

All possessors (except 3Sg pronoun) and determiners (definite, demonstrative) precede the noun. Adjectives and all quantifiers (numerals, 'all/each') are postnominal.

Modifying adjectives control tone-dropping on a preceding noun. Possessors and determiners also control tone overlays on following nouns.

2.4   Case-marking and PPs

Accusative $-\eta \sim -\grave{w}^n$, which is generally confined to pronouns and human NPs, is NP-final and could be considered to be a postposition. In fact, there is a homophonous locative postposition $\eta \sim -w^n$. The latter competes with another locative postposition ba. The other simple postpositions are instrumental *ni* and purposive-causative *námù*. There is no specifically dative postposition (the accusative is used for indirect objects). Other postpositions are composite, typically consisting of a possessed-noun-like stem and a final locative $\eta \sim -w^n$ or *ba*.

2.5   Main clauses and constituent order

Basic constituent order is SOV when S[ubject] and O[bject] are nonpronominal NPs. Adverbs occur in various positions before the verb, including clause-initial position. 1st/2nd person pronominal subjects are always immediately preverbal proclitics. In main clauses, 3Pl is suffixal (in main clauses) and 3Sg is zero. Pronominal objects also gravitate to the verb.

2.6   Relative clauses

The overt head of a relative is internal to the relative clause. This overt head is maximally possessor/determiner plus noun plus adjective plus numeral, and this sequence undergoes no additional tonal modification by virtue of being relative head. The 'all' quantifier and (often) plural marking follow the verb. The verb behaves like a participle (so it can take the usual NP-level plural suffix), and it has overt participial suffixes in some inflectional categories (mainly negative and stative). Subject relatives allow no main-clause-like pronominal-subject marking on verbs. Nonsubject relatives have regular pronominal-subject marking for 1st/2nd person categories (proclitic to the verb); they also have a 3Pl subject proclitic *ŋké* (versus suffixal marking of 3Pl subject in main clauses) and a special 3Sg subject postverbal enclitic *nà* (versus zero marking in main clauses)

2.7　Interclausal syntax

Since there is no "bare stem" or "chaining form" of verbs, in clause-chaining either the nonfinal clause has more or less the same form (including inflectional marking) as a main clause, or it has an overt subordinating morpheme. In past-time contexts, one basic pattern is for both verbs to appear in perfective form with their own pronominal-subject marking. The two clauses may denote consecutive events, or simultaneous co-events of a single complex event. If the subject of the nonfinal clause is a 3Sg pronominal, it is expressed by the same enclitic *nà* as in relative clauses, versus zero marking in main clauses (and therefore in the final perfective clause of the chain). Another perfective construction has nonpast anterior particle *né ~ nè* after the nonfinal verb.

If the nonfinal verb is imperfective ('while VPing'), it can be followed by imperfective subordinator w^n ~ *ŋ*, or the verb itself can have its final vowel lengthened.

The same particle *né ~ nè* in nonpast anterior chained clauses is also used as the regular conditional 'if' particle, though here it can be expanded as *bé-né*. Counterfactual conditions have *bé-né* and shift the temporal axis in both clauses by adding past clitic *=ye*.

Quotations are marked either by a conjugated form of *né* 'say' or by the unconjugated quotative particle *wa*. In quoted indicative clauses, original first person pronouns (i.e. coindexed with the attributed author of the quoted material) are replaced by logophoric pronouns, and original second person pronouns (i.e. addressees) are replaced by third person pronouns, so 'He said "I will kill you"' is phrased as "[LogoSg$_x$ will kill him/her] he$_x$ said." Quoted imperative and hortative clauses have special verb forms (e.g. jussive). Quoted interrogatives have a clause-final particle *lè* not used in the corresponding main clauses.

Most "control" verbs in matrix clauses take verbal-noun complements (which may include non-subject complements) when the subjects are coindexed. For 'want', a nonpast anterior complement is used when the subjects are disjoint.

3   Phonology

3.1   Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.1.1   Syllables

Primary syllabic shapes that occur within stems are *Cv*, *Cv:*, *CvL* with sonorant *L*, and occasionally *Cv:L*. The initial *C* position may be vacant in a word-initial syllable.

Nouns, adjectives, and numerals have at least two vocalic moras (no *Cv* stems), though there are a handful of *NCv* stems where the initial (syllabic) nasal counts like a vocalic mora. For verbs, the only regular (aspectually inflected) *Cv* stems are *né* 'say'. There are also some stative *Cv* quasi-verbs (*bô* 'be', *sân* 'have'), and a derived stative stem *dân* 'be sitting' from verb *dá:yⁿì* 'sit (down)'. With these exceptions, verbs like other stems have at least two vocalic moras. The inventory of monosyllabic verb stems is given in §10.1.2.1. Examples of monosyllabic stems for other stem-classes are in (xx1). Adjectives that are just perfective participles of cognate verbs (e.g. *mè:* 'dry') are omitted.

(xx1)   a. *Cv:* (including *v:*, *Cv:ⁿ*, and *Cwv:*), complete list

      v:
à:	'who?'
ɛ̂:	'that same (one)'

      Cv:
bɔ́:	'father's sister'
dá:	'evil'
dɔ̀:	'mortar (for pounding)'
dɛ̀:	'40'
kó:	'head'
mì:	'water'
nà:	'cow'
ɲà:	'meal'
nɔ̀:	'song'
nɛ̀: ~ *nwɛ̀:*	'hand'
nì:	'mother'
nù:	'fat(n)'
pɔ́:	'share, portion'
sɔ́:	'vomiting'

sè:	'(a) grain'
sí:	'color'
tɔ́:	'bow (for arrows)'
té:	'tea' (variant)
tí:	'errand, mission'
tó:	'other'
wá:	'day' (in *wá: sèlè* 'every day')
wɔ̀:	'weeping'
wè:	'child'
wè:	'moon'
yɔ̀:	'woman'
yè:	'thing'

Cv:^{n}

dû:^{n}	'rag (as head cushion)'
gà:^{n}	'cat'
gè:^{n}	'sun' or 'fart'
gí:^{n}	'odor'
gɔ̀:^{n}	'chest (body)'
já:^{n}	'shed, thatch shelter'
kí:^{n}	'boat'
sà:^{n}	'waterbag'
sú:^{n}	'Ramadan'

Cwv: (see also *nè:* ~ *nwè:* 'hand' above)

dwè:	'ashes'
kwé:	'a spice (*Xylopia*)'
kwɛ́:	'calabash vine'
nwá:	'this year'
twè:	'pile'

Cwv:^{n}

gwè:^{n}	'whip'

b. *CvL* (including *vL*), maximum two exx. per final *C*
 final nasal or nasalized semivowel

bày^n	'big'
jòy^n	'fight(n)'
bòw^n	'door-shutter'
ĕw^n	'there' (definite)
téw	'lid'
dèm	'house'
jòm	'thorn'
dèn	'day'
dòn	'mouth'
géŋ	'place'

 final liquid

búl	'herd'

dúl	'root' or 'east'
hâl	'until'

c. *Cv:L*, all known examples

dè:l	'gum (resin)'
kà:m	'anxiety'
kà:y^n	'Bozo (ethnicity)'
lâ:m	'political authority', < Arabic
mû:l	'mold (for shaping bricks', Fr. *moule*
ná:m	(response similar to 'amen!')
pô:y	'sack'
sɛ̃:y^n	'rib'

d. *NCv*, all known examples

ntá	'person'
ŋkɛ̀	'dog'

e. *NCv:* and *NCv:^{n}*, all known examples

nsì:^{n}	'sweet'
ntɛ̀:	'hatred'

3.1.2 Metrical structure

In *CvCvCv*, the medial syllable is metrically weak. In this position, a short nonhigh vowel may be raised to a high vowel, variably *i* or *u* (depending on vocalic and consonantal environment). A short high vowel in this position, whether lexical or due to the raising just mentioned, is syncopated under limited conditions, especially /i/ before *y* (§3.4.2.2). Raising and syncope do not occur in all grammatical contexts; they occur in certain verbal derivations (reversive, mediopassive, transitive) of *CvCv-* stems, and in certain verbal inflections.

3.2 Consonants

The consonant phonemes are in (xx1). Marginal ones that occur in loanwords or as junctures (glottal stop) are parenthesized.

(xx1) 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*			

11

alveopalatal	c	j	ɲ				y	yⁿ		
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. voiceless fricatives (including sibilants); 5. voiced fricatives (including sibilants); 6. laterals; 7-8. unnasalized then nasalized sonorants; 9-10. laryngeals

3.2.1   Alveopalatals (*c*, *j*) versus velars (*k*, *g*)

j and *g* are distinct even before front vowels {*i e ɛ*}. Examples with *i* are *gí:ⁿ* 'odor', *pírígí* 'hobbles (rope)', *síŋgì* 'rope', *ígírè* 'stir', but *kójí* 'grass', *sò:njì* 'spittle', *mɔ̀:njì* 'urine'.
   c and *k* are likewise distinct before front vowels, though *c* is uncommon. Examples are *cìmjà* 'snot', *làcírì* 'couscous', *kíbá* 'kidney', and *kíndó* 'shadow'.

3.2.2   Back nasals (*ŋ*, *ɲ*)

I know of no *ŋi*, *ŋe*, or *ŋɛ* sequences in Penange words, so I have no evidence that *ŋ* and *ɲ* are distinct before front vowels. There are several examples of *ɲ* before front vowels, e.g. *ɲíngè* 'stimulate eardrum (with feather)', *ɲéyⁿ* 'know'.

3.2.3   *g*-Spirantization (*g* → *ɣ*)

There is some spirantization of *g* in the medial position in *Cv_v* between flanking back/low vowels {*a ɔ*}. In words like *ágálá* 'jaw' and *ɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̂* 'mud', the phoneme *g* is often pronounced as a velar fricative [ɣ].

3.2.4   Minor labials (*f, w*)

p, *m*, and *b* are basic consonants. *p* and *b* have the normal distribution of obstruents, strongly favoring syllable-initial position. *m* can occur syllable- and word-finally.
   f occurs in loanwords like *fìlá:nà* 'So-and-so' (§13.2.2), *sífà* 'description', *fúfù* 'scrubber (for bathing)', and *nàfɔ̀rò* 'wealth'.
   For stem-initial Cw clusters, see §3.xxx below.

3.2.5 Laryngeals (*h*, *ʔ*)

h and *ʔ* are not full-fledged phonemes in Penange. *h* occurs as initial consonant in a number of stems. These are mostly Fulfulde borrowings, e.g. *hâl* 'until', *hɔ́:lá:rɛ̀* 'confidence'. Presentative *ì^{n}hí^n* 'here (it is)!' has medial *h*, but its internal morphological structure is nontransparent, cf. demonstrative *ínì* 'this/that'.

Vowel-initial words do not have a phonemic glottal stop in the fashion of e.g. Bunoge. This is clearly shown by the fact that *y-* and *ɲ-* are added as epenthetic consonants before V-initial words following pronominal-subject proclitics (§3.4.4.1). Aside from *ɔ́^{n}ʔɔ̀^{n}* 'no!', glottalization is limited to unassimilated Fulfulde loanwords, some of which retain Fulfulde preglottalized consonants, as in *sáʔdà* 'expense'.

3.2.6 Sibilants (*s*, *z*)

s is a basic consonant, occurring in prevocalic position like other obstruents. *š̥*, *z*, and *ž̥* are found only in a few loanwords, e.g. *zùnú:bù* 'sin' (< Arabic).

3.2.7 Nasalized sonorants (*r^n* absent, *w^n* and *y^n* word-finally)

There is no *r^n* (nasalized tap).

w^n occurs finally in handful of lexical stems: *ěw^n* 'there' (discourse-definite), *bòw^n* 'door-shutter', *tôw^n* 'club (association)', *nŭw^n* 'here'. It is more common in word-final grammatical elements, notably imperfective subordinator *w^n* and locative postposition *-w^n*, accusative *-w^n*, and locative postposition *w^n*. In all cases, word-final *w^n* is heard as such almost exclusively in prepausal position. Before another word, the *w^n* (if this is the most basic form) is typically realized as a nasal (homorganic to a following *C*), as vowel nasalization, or as zero.

y^n is fairly common in stem-final position. *gùy^n* 'thief' (contrast verb *gúyé* 'steal'), *jòy^n* 'fight(n)', *kà:y^n* 'Bozo (ethnicity)', *káy^n* 'work(n)', *kéy^n* 'want', *kɔ̀y^n* 'the bush, outback', *kùy^n* 'war', *mòy^n* 'sprain(n)', *mùy^n* 'patience', *ŋòy^n* 'pancake-like cake', *ɲéy^n* 'know', *óy^n* 'waterjar'. It can also occur in "medial" position in stems ending in *y^{n}i* whose final /i/ is usually deleted (apocope, syncope): *dá:y^{n}ì* 'sit', *gí:y^{n}ì* '(sth) smell, emit an odor', *jáy^n(í)* 'fight(v)'.

3.2.8　Consonant clusters

3.2.8.1　Word- and morpheme-initial *CC* clusters (*NC, Cw*)

Word- and stem-initial clusters are nasal plus homorganic obstruent, and consonant plus *w*.

　　Stems beginning in a nasal-stop cluster are in (xx1). Postpausally, the nasal is syllabic and can therefore bear its own pitch, but it is not clear that this is distinctive (i.e. phonological tone). The pitch of the nasal in postpausal position is low, except in *NCv(:)* stems like 'dog' and 'sweet' in (xx1b) when the final vowel is L-toned, in which case the pitch of the nasal is high in this position.

(xx1)　a.　*mbòllí*　　　[m̀bòllí]　　　'knobbed end of stick'
　　　　　mbé　　　　[mbé]　　　　1Pl pronoun
　　　　　ndámdì　　[ǹdámdì]　　'butter catfish (*Schilbe*)'
　　　　　ntá　　　　[ǹtá]　　　　'person'
　　　　　njó　　　　[ndʒó]　　　　'today'
　　　　　ŋgòlò-ŋgòlò　[ŋ̀gòlòŋgòlò]　'giant millipede'
　　　　　ŋgállù　　[ŋ̀gál:ù]　　　'city'
　　　　　ŋkà:lí-yè　[ŋ̀kà:líjè]　　'small'
　　　　　ŋké　　　　[ŋ̀ké]　　　　'be depleted, be used up'
　　　　　ŋké　　　　[ŋ̀ké]　　　　3Pl pronoun
　　　　　ŋkíndè̞　　[ŋ̀kíndɛ̀]　　'die'

　　　　b.　*ŋkè̞*　　　　[ŋ́kɛ̀]　　　　'dog'
　　　　　nsì:ⁿ　　　[ńsì:ⁿ]　　　'sweet' (as modifying adjective)
　　　　　ńsà bó-∅　[ńsàbó]　　　'it is sweet'

When a *NCv* noun like *ntá* or *ŋkè̞* gets a {HL} tone overlay as possessed noun, I hear the result as *NCv̂* with falling tone.

(xx2)　a.　*mbé*　　　*ntâ*
　　　　　1PlP　　　ᴴᴸperson
　　　　　'our person (our guy)'

　　　　b.　*mbé*　　　*ŋkê̞*
　　　　　1PlP　　　ᴴᴸdog
　　　　　'our dog'

However, I sometimes hear the possessed form as [ńCv̀], especially after a L-tone (and final words in nonpronominal NPs are {L}-toned as possessors). This suggests that the initial nasal is at least sometimes treated as syllabic for purposes of expressing tone overlays. An example is 'dog' in (xx3a), which can

have the pitch peak on the nasal in the unsuffixed singular, though the timing of this peak is probably variable. In the suffixed plural, I hear the pitch peak on the ɛ.

(xx3) *[mbé   ntà]*   *ŋ́kὲ / ŋkɛ́-gὲ*
       [1PlP   ᴴᴸperson^L]   ᴴᴸdog / ᴴᴸdog-Pl
       'our guy's dog(s)'

Initial *Cw* clusters occur primarily in monosyllabic stems. The few known unsegmentable stems of two or more syllables with initial *Cw*, are listed in (xx4). In bisyllabics, *Cw* is attested only before {*a ɛ*}. Comparable stems with +ATR vowel *e* are pronounced *Coe*, with no desyllabification of the *o*. This contrasts with structurally similar sequences in monosyllabics, like *gwé:* 'go out', arguably from /goe/ (see below), whose *w* is clearly nonsyllabic.

(xx4)   Bisyllabic noun/adjective stems with *Cwv* or *Coe* onset

         a. *Cwa*, *Cwɛ*
             nwá:gá   [nwá:gá]   'hot', cf. verb *nú:gὲ* 'warm up'
             dwɛ́:rɛ́   [dwɛ́:ɹɛ́]   'tied bundle'

         b. *Coe*
             dóélé   [dóélé]   'ball, globe'
             nòè-rè   [nòèɹè]   'sleep(n)', variant *nò:-rè*, cf.
                                           verb *nó:yè* 'sleep'

The vowel after an initial *Cw* cluster is unrounded {*i e ɛ a*} in all known examples. Attested initial *Cw* clusters are {*dw tw jw gw kw sw nw*}, i.e. *w* following a nonlabial obstruent or *n*. That nw is somewhat marginal is suggested by the variable pronunciation of *nwὲ: ~ nὲ:* 'hand' and by the contrast between perfectives *né:* 'drink' and *nwɛ́:* 'sing' or 'go in'. The absence of *Cw* clusters with *C* a palatal {*y ɲ*} is motivated; there are *Cv:* verbs beginning in these consonants, none of which allows the *Cw* cluster. On the other hand, the absence of {*pw bw fw*} and that of {*lw*} could possibly be accidental, as there are no *Cv:* verbs with initial labial or *l*. Initial *ww* clusters can occur with *wv:* verbs in the relevant vocalism stems, but may be confined to careful pronunciations.

     For nouns, see the list of monosyllabic stems (including Cwv:) in (xx1a) in §3.1.1 above. The absence of *Cwi* in nouns may be accidental. For modifying adjectives, only *nwá:gá* 'hot' can be cited; there are very few monosyllabic adjectives so the infrequency of *Cw* is not surprising (§4.5.1). There are no *Cw*-

initial stems among the small inventory of numerals, few of which are monosyllabic.

For verbs, initial *Cw* occurs in certain vocalism stems (§3.3.6) of some *Cv:* (bimoraic monosyllabic) verbs. The relevant vocalism stems are those with a following unrounded vowel {*a ɛ e i*}, namely the E- and A-stems of some +ATR *Cv:* verbs, and the E-, A/O-, and A-stems of several -ATR *Cv:* stems. Vocalism stems with {*u o ɔ*} as the nucleus lack the *w*. For example, *gwé:* 'go out' has vocalism stems *go:*, *guy*, *gwa:*, and *gwe:*. Lists of monosyllabic verbs including their vocalism stems are in (xx1) in §10.1.2.2.

The phonological status of initial Cw clusters is problematic. In view of the alternations between e.g. vocalism stems gwe: and go: for 'go out' in verbal morphology, we must consider the possibility that *gwe:* is derived from /goe/, with the *o* desyllabifying to *w* and its moraic value transferred to the nuclear *e*. Likewise, given the alternation of *dwɛ:* and *dɔ:* for 'pound', we would derive *dwɛ:* from /dɔɛ/. Since the vocalism stems for verbs primarily involve changes in the stem-final vowel, such an analysis would explain the strong association of *Cw* with monosyllabic stems; we would simply argue that in the case of *Cv:* stems the shift to *e* or *ɛ* affects the final mora. Moreover, the pronunciation of *Cw* before *ɛ*, as in *dwɛ:*, is [Cɔ̯], i.e. with the "w" more open than the transcription *dwɛ:* suggests.

I am sympathetic to this desyllabification analysis, but there is some reason to believe that the desyllabified /ɔ̯/ and /o̯/ merge as phonemic /u̯/, and acquire their phonetic form by harmonizing with the ATR value of the following vowel. There is no surface opposition of [Cɔ̯a] to [Co̯a], or of [Cɔ̯i] to [Co̯i], though such oppositions might be expected in a desyllabification model.

Moreover, monosyllabic verbs of the relevant types have an interesting 3Pl subject perfective form. From (perfective) *gwé:* 'come out' and *dwé:* 'pound', 3Pl subject perfective forms are *gúy-yè* and *dúy-yɛ̀*. If we derive *gúy-yè* 'they went out' from /góé-yè/, parallel to 3Sg subject *gwé:-∅* 'he/she/it went out' from /góé-∅/, the desyllabification of *e* and its fusion into geminate *yy* should have resulted in #*góy-yè*. Likewise we should have gotten #*dóy-yɛ̀*. The attested *gúy-yè* and *dúy-yɛ̀* suggest more complex derivations, first with /góé-/ becoming /gue-/ and /dɔɛ-/ becoming /duɛ-/, then with a resyllabification as the *e* or *ɛ* fuses with the suffixal *y* and the /u/ (or /w/) becomes the syllabic nucleus, resulting in *gúy-yè* and *dúy-yɛ̀*.

3.2.8.2   Medial geminated *CC* clusters

Stem-internal geminate clusters are uncommon, and are probably confined to loanwords (geminates are common in Fulfulde) and to stems that have undergone syncope of a short high vowel. An example of each attested cluster is

in (xx1). If no stem-internal example is available, a stem-suffix boundary cluster is given if attested.

(xx1) *bb*   —
       cc   *fɛ́ccɛ̀rɛ́*   'half' (< Fulfulde)
       dd   *púddì*   'henna' (< Fulfulde)
       ff   —
       gg   *jùggâl*   'hitching post' (< Fulfulde)
       jj   *èjjè*   'Dogon (person)'
       kk   *júkkì*   'fine (penalty)' (regional)
       ll   *sátállà*   'kettle' (regional)
       mm   *kàmmì*   'hard, solid'
       nn   *àljénnè*   'paradise' (regional, < Arabic)
       ɲɲ   *bàɲ-ɲà*   'size, dimensions' (§4.2.7)
       ŋŋ   —
       pp   —
       rr   *bárrá:dà*   'tea-kettle' (regional, < Arabic)
       ss   *àssî:l*   'Saturday' (< Arabic)
       tt   *síttì*   'sulfer' (< Fulfulde)
       ww   —
       wⁿwⁿ   —
       yy   *dòyyà:lò*   'lunch'
       yⁿyⁿ   *níyⁿ-yⁿɛ̀*   'they drank' (§10.2.1.1, stem *nɛ́:*)

3.2.8.3   Medial nongeminate *CC* clusters

Obstruents (stops, affricates, fricatives) do not occur as first members of nongeminate clusters. This leaves sonorant-obstruent and sonorant-sonorant combinations.

The only common stem-internal medial clusters are {*mb nd nj ŋg*}, i.e. nasal plus homorganic voiced stop/affricate. Most *CvNCv* verb stems with such clusters are treated as prosodically light like *CvCv* verbs, while other *CvCCv* verbs are prosodically heavy like trisyllabics. This distinction is seen, for example, in the tones of the 3Sg perfective, e.g. *búndé-∅* 'he/she hit' versus *wɛ́lgè-∅* 'he/she dispossessed' (§10.2.1.1).

Other *CC* clusters are generally either limited to loanwords, or occur only at stem-suffix or compound boundaries, usually as the result of syncope. Boundary clusters C-y is very common in mediopassive derivatives (including frozen ones), due to syncope. In the lists below, if a stem-internal example is known it is given. If not, if an example involving a morpheme boundary is known it is

17

given. Failing that, — is shown. Stem- and word-initial *Cw* clusters are not included.

(xx1)   Nasal plus consonant

mb	*jémbé*	'winnow by shaking'
nd	*ándè*	'go'
nj	*ínjè*	'stand, stop'
ŋg	*jɔ́ŋgé*	'treat (medically)'
mp	*gìrè-m-pûl*	'face'
nt	*ɲìntí:rè*	'couscous steamer'
nc	—	
ŋk	*kúŋkù*	'problem'
ns	*ànànsá:lá*	'white person' (< regional as e.g. anasa:ra, < Arabic 'Nazarene')
mj	*kámjè*	'squeeze'
my	*úm-yè*	'endure'
ny	*ányà*	'intention, plan' (< Arabic)
ɲy	—	
ŋy	—	
mw	—	
nw	—	
ɲw	—	
ŋw	—	
ml	*kúm-lè*	'open (eyes)'
nl	—	
ɲl	—	
ŋl	—	
mr	—	
nr	—	
ɲr	—	
ŋr	—	

(xx2)   Liquid plus consonant

lb	*kálbà*	'act of entrusting'

ld	*íldè*	'forget'
lj	*àljénnè*	'paradise'
lg	*wélgè*	'dispossess'
lp	—	
lt	—	
lc	—	
lk	—	
ls	—	
lm	*àlmà:m*	'imam' (regional, < Arabic)
ln	—	
lɲ	—	
lŋ	—	
ly	*gályɛ́*	'spices"
lw	*ǎlwà*	'soft candy'
lr	—	
rb	—	
rd	*yɔ̀rdè*	'black'
rj	*kùrjù*	'rough'
rg	*bárgè*	'help'
rp	—	
rt	—	
rc	—	
rk	—	
rs	—	
rm	*bármà*	'cooking pot' (< Bambara)
rn	*àrnà*	'world of the living' (regional as e.g. adunya, < Arabic)
rɲ	—	
rŋ	—	
ry	*ír-yé*	'heal'
rw	—	
rl	*wér-lè*	'unravel (sth)'

(xx3)   Semivowel plus consonant

19

yb	*káybè*	'watch over' (< Fulfulde)
yd	—	
yj	—	
yg	*káy-gè*	'cut an incision in' (§9.2.2)
yp	—	
yt	*mànà tày-tàyí-yè*	'slingshot' (iterated, §5.1.10)
yc	—	
yk	—	
ys	—	
ym	*áymà*	'Friday' (regional as e.g. aljuma, < Arabic)
yn	—	
yɲ	—	
yŋ	—	
yl	*sáy-lè*	'undo (braids)'
yw	—	
yr	*báyrè*	'add, increase'
wb	—	
wd	*bá:wdè*	'means, resources' (< Fulfulde)
wj	—	
wg	—	
wp	—	
wt	—	
wc	—	
wk	—	
wz	—	
ws	—	
wm	—	
wn	*háwnì kán*	'amaze (sb)'
wɲ	—	
wŋ	—	
wy	*yáw-yáw*	'lightweight'
wr	*já:wrè*	'harvest pile'
wl	*sáwlè*	'(rain) stop'

3.2.8.4 Medial triple *CCC* clusters

The few *CCC* clusters within stems consist of a sonorant (semivowel or liquid) plus a homorganic nasal/voiced-stop cluster. The attested examples are in (xx1). A reasonable hypothesis is that many or all of these examples result from syncope of a short high vowel after the initial sonorant.

(xx1)	*yŋg*	*jòyŋgà*	'wind scorpion (solifuge)'
	ynd	*kóyndé*	'rock hyrax'
		sòyndà	'sand'
		táyndè	'spread (sth) out'
	lmb	*gùlmbò*	'korrigum (antelope)'
		pélmbɛ́	'Wednesday'
		sìlmbè	'folding knife'
	lŋg	*bèlŋgè*	'fodder' (with frozen suffix, §4.1.1.2)

3.2.8.5 Final *CC* clusters

No stem- or word-final *CC* clusters have been observed.

3.3 Vowels

The vowels are given in (xx1). Nasalized vowels are uncommon.

(xx1)	oral		nasalized	
	short	long	short	long
	u	*u:*	—	*u:^{n}*
	o	*o:*	—	—
	ɔ	*ɔ:*	*ɔ^n*	*ɔ:^{n}*
	a	*a:*	*a^n*	*a:^{n}*
	ɛ	*ɛ:*	*ɛ^n*	*ɛ:^{n}*
	e	*e:*	—	—
	i	*i:*	*i^n*	*i:^{n}*

3.3.1 Oral vowels

All oral short and long vowels are common. Monosyllabic noun, verb, adjective, and numeral stems normall have two moras, so *Cv:* (along with *CvC*) are OK while *Cv* is rare (*né* 'say', §10.1.2.1). There are a handful of *NCv* stems where the nasal appears to license the short vowel (*ntá* 'person', *ŋkè* 'dog', *ŋké* 'be used up').

Within nonmonosyllabic stems, long vowels are most common in stem-initial syllables, as in *tà:ŋgà* 'one', *dí:rɔ́* 'last, final', and *tá:rè* 'show' However, stems other than verbs can have medial long vowels, e.g. *kùlè:nì* 'six' and loanwords like *álbárká:jè* 'bdellium (resin incense)'.

3.3.2 Nasalized vowels

Nasalized vowels are quite rare, and no +ATR nasalized vowels are known (except for reduced forms of combinations with w^n postposition). Long nasalized vowels are attested in a few monosyllable nouns (xx1), and in one verb, *twɛ́:^{n}* 'step on' or (God) create' (O-stem *tɔ:^{n}*).

(xx1)	*i:^{n}*	*sí:^{n}*	'grub, larva'
	(e:^{n})	—	
	ɛ:^{n}	*gwɛ̀:^{n}*	'sedge'
	a:^{n}	*gwà:^{n}*	'scrub acacia'
	ɔ:^{n}	*gɔ̀:^{n}*	'chest (body)'
	(o:^{n})	—	
	u:^{n}	*pú:^{n}*	'white-faced whistling duck'

Short nasalized vowels are even less common (xx2). The absence of u^n may be accidental.

(xx2)	*i^n*	*ì^{n}hí^n*	'here's __' (§4.4.3)
	(e^n)	—	
	ɛ^n	*ɛ̀^{n}*	existential particle (§11.2.2.1)
	a^n	*wà^n ~ wàw^n*	'Nile monitor lizard'
		pùgùjá^n-pùgùjá^n	'lung'
	ɔ^n	*ɔ́^{n}ʔɔ̀^{n}*	'no!'
	(o^n)	—	
	u^n	—	

3.3.3 Initial vowels

Many stems begin with a vowel. In effect, the initial *C* (i.e. onset) position of an initial syllable may be empty. Examples are *ábé* 'accept', *ɔ́njɛ́* 'become skinny', *ébá* 'market', *éjɛ́* 'become clean', *ínjè* 'sift', *óyⁿ* 'waterjar', and *úgújè* 'shurn',

That these stems begin with a vowel, rather than with a glottal stop, is shown by Word-initial *y*/*ɲ*-Epenthesis (§3.4.4.1), by which an epenthetic initial consonant is added when the stem follows a 1st/2nd person proclitic, either in subject function (before a predicate) or possessor function (before a noun). Thus *ábé-∅* 'he/she accepted' but *á y-àbè* 'you-Sg accepted', and *ímbé-∅* 'he caught' but *á ɲ-ìmbè* 'you-Sg caught'. Penange contrasts with Bunoge, where "vowel-initial" stems are always glottal-initial.

However, in reduplicated statives like *ì íŋgà-∅* [ìʔíŋgà] 'he/she is standing' (§10.4.1.1), a phonetic glottal stop is heard.

3.3.4 Stem-final vowels

All oral vowel qualities occur stem- and word-finally in nouns, adjectives, and numerals.

For verbs, the situation is complicated by extensive ablaut (vocalism stems), which particularly affect the final vowel. However, all oral vowel qualities are attested stem-finally with one verb class or another.

In nonmonosyllabic noun stems (and compound finals), final long vowels are uncommon. However, note (xx1).

(xx1)   *pèrègèllé:*   'namaqua dove (*Oena*)'

3.3.5 Vocalic harmony

Advanced tongue root (ATR) distinguishes two sets of mid-height vowels, +ATR {*e o*} and -ATR {*ɛ ɔ*}. To some extent these form harmonic sets, though there are some mixed-ATR words (see below). High vowels {*i u*} are extraharmonic; they easily combine in a stem with vowels of either ATR category. Low vowel *a* generally patterns as +ATR, but cf. comments below.

Among nouns, exceptions of ATR harmony are originally -ATR nouns that contain a frozen inanimate singular classifying suffix *-ŋge* or *-ge*, which is no longer readily segmentable (§4.1.1.2). Another mixed-ATR noun is *kɔ́:ndè* 'cotton' (cf. Mombo kɔ́:ndì). Plural *-gè* also fails to harmonize with stems.

ATR is an important feature in verb-stem morphonology. All verbs are lexically +ATR or -ATR, though all known stems in the minority final-high-

vowel class of verbs are +ATR. The majority final-nonhigh-vowel class clearly distinguishes +ATR from -ATR in some vocalism stems, including the perfective, which ends in *e* or *ε* (E-stem, or more generally E/I-stem) depending on the verb. One vocalism stem, the A-stem, completely erases lexical ATR, since the final vowel becomes a and all nonfinal vowels must be +ATR or +ATR-compatible, i.e. {*i u e o a*} and not {*ε ɔ*}. Another stem, the A/O-stem, also requires +ATR or +ATR-compatible vocalism, but distinguishes underlying +ATR verbs (stem-final o) from underlying -ATR verbs (stem-final *a*).

The association of a with +ATR is not only seen in the presence of stem-final a in these +ATR stems, but also in the fact that a verb with a in one or more nonfinal syllables is always +ATR. For example, *nálé* 'give birth' and all other *CaCv* verbs are +ATR (perfective always ends in *e* rather than *ε*).

However, my assistant does allow *a* to co-occur with -ATR {*ε ɔ*} within stems. For example, the imperative (A/O-stem) of *sɔ́gɛ́* 'buy' is heard as *sɔ́gá* in careful speech of my assistant. I have sometimes transcribed it as *sógá*, but when I pronounce it this way my assistant corrects me. On the other hand, the stative (A-stem) from *génjὲ* 'become tilted' is consistently *géŋgà* 'be tilted' (§10.4.1.1) rather than #*gέŋgà*. Another clear case of ATR alternation is adjective *dɔ́ŋgá* 'heavy' versus verb *dón-jὲ* 'become heavy', where even the E-stem points to lexical +ATR.

3.3.6   Vocalism stems for verbs

There are two main classes of verbs, final-nonhigh-vowel and final-high-vowel. The verbs 'come' and 'bring' have features of both classes. Final-nonhigh-vowel verbs are the majority, and distinguish lexically -ATR and +ATR subtypes. All known final-high-vowel verbs, as well as 'come' and 'bring', are +ATR. Both final-nonhigh-vowel and final-high-vowel verbs have a subtype characterized by a nonfinal a-vowel.

Each verb has several **vocalism stems** characterized by a stem-final vowel, complemented in some cases by a shift to +ATR in nonfinal syllables. Each indicative (aspect-negation) and modal category requires a particular vocalism stem, whether or not the category is also expressed by a suffix or auxiliary. The imperative and the perfective (positive) are both unsuffixed but occur in different vocalism stems.

Inflectional categories associated with the various vocalism stems of **final-nonhigh-vowel** verbs are given in (xx1).

(xx1)   Distribution of vocalism stems (final-nonhigh-vowel verbs)

O-stem	imperfective positive (§10.2.2.1) and negative (§10.2.3.3); progressive positive (§10.2.2.3) and negative (§10.2.3.4)
A/O-stem	singular-addressee imperative (§10.7.1.1); experiential perfect positive (§10.2.1.3) and negative (§10.2.3.2); before causative *-mì* (§9.2.1)
A-stem	3Pl perfective negative portmanteau (§§10.2.3.1), plural-addressee imperative (§10.7.1.1); prohibitive (§10.7.1.2); hortative negative (§10.7.2.2); *-gè* causative (§9.2.2); derived stative(§10.4.1.1)
E-stem	perfective positive (§10.2.1.1) and negative (§10.2.3.1); hortative (§10.7.2.1); verbal noun (§4.2.3)
I-stem	before *-yè* in third-person hortative (§10.7.3.1); before *-yè* ~ *-yὲ* in the 3Pl subject perfective (§10.2.1.1)
U-stem	for certain stems before causative *-gè* (§9.2.2); agentive nominalizations (§5.1.4)

The labels refer to the stem-final vowel possibilities. They are summarized in more detail in (xx2).

(xx2) Stem-final vowels, final-nonhigh-vowel verbs

O-stem	{*o ɔ*} depending on ATR-harmonic class of stem
A/O-stem	*a* from +ATR stems with nonfinal *a*, *o* from +ATR stems with nonfinal nonlow vowel, *a* from -ATR stems
A-stem	*a* for all stems
E-stem	{*e ɛ*} depending on ATR-harmonic class for final-nonhigh-vowel stems
I-stem	*i* (occurs only before suffix-initial *y*)
U-stem	*u*

In addition, the A-stem (often) and the U-stem require that vowels in nonfinal syllables be **+ATR-compatible**. The effect is that -ATR {ε o} in such syllables shift to {e o}. The vowels {i u a} are already +ATR-compatible and are not shifted in nonfinal syllables. The E-stem, the O-stem, and the I-stem do not impose +ATR compatibility on nonfinal vowels. For my assistant, the A/O-stem likewise preserves ATR values in nonfinal vowels, though in

, and not reliably the A/O-stem)

Alternations for representative final-nonhigh-vowel verbs are shown in (xx3). Tones are omitted since they are determined by separate rules.

(xx3)   Sample final-nonhigh-vowel vocalism-stem paradigms

O	A/O	A	E	I	U	gloss

a. -ATR final-nonhigh-vowel stems
  monosyllabic, C onset throughout

ɲɔ:	*ɲa:*	*ɲa:*	*ɲɛ:*	*ɲiyⁿ*	*ɲi:*	'eat (meal)'

  monosyllabic, Cw onset in some stems

dɔ:	*dwa:*	*dwa:*	*dwɛ:*	*duy*	*du:*	'pound'

  nonmonosyllabic, nonfinal vowels are nonlow

yɛbɔ	*yɛba*	*yeba*	*yɛbɛ*	*yɛbi*	*yebu*	'dance'
sɔgɔ	*sɔga*	*soga*	*sɔgɛ*	*sɔgi*	*sogu*	'buy'
nɔlɔ	*nɔla*	*nɔla*	*nɔgɛ*	*nɔgi*	—	'crumple'
giyɔ	*giya*	*giya*	*giyɛ*	*giy(i)*	*giy*	'kill'
dugɔ	*duga*	*duga*	*dugɛ*	*dugi*	*dugu*	'insult'

       [note: A/O-stems *yɛba*, *sɔga*, and *nɔla* have sometimes been
       transcribed as *yeba*, *soga*, *nola*]

b. +ATR final-nonhigh-vowel stems
  monosyllabic, Cw onset in some stems

jo:	*jo:*	*jwa:*	*jwe:*	*juy*	—	'fill up'

  nonmonosyllabic, nonfinal nonlow vowel, final o in A/O-stem

guyo	*guyo*	*guya*	*guye*	*guy(i)*	—	'steal'

                [agentive *gùyⁿ* 'thief' is irregularly nasalized]

sigo	*sigo*	*siga*	*sige*	*sigi*	*sigu*	'go down'
yelo	*yelo*	*yela*	*yele*	*yeli*	*yelu*	'drape (sth, over sth)'

  nonmonosyllabic, nonfinal a, final a in A/O-stem

nalo	*nala*	*nala*	*nale*	*nali*	*nalu*	'give birth'

Final-high-vowel verbs, a small minority (except for causative derivatives), have a rather different system. The vocalism stems and their distributions are summarized in (xx4). These verbs are notable for avoiding stem-final mid-

height vowels {*e ɛ o ɔ*}. The status of the O/A-stem for these verbs is dubious, since the relevant forms are *CaCa*, which could be either the A-stem or the A/O-stem, and whose first (lexical) *a* requires stem-final *a* rather than *u.*

(xx4)   Distribution of vocalism stems (final-nonhigh-vowel verbs)

O/A-stem   for *CaCv* stems, final *a* as in *CaCa-* where other verbs
of this class have the U-stem: singular-addressee
imperative (§10.7.1.1), experiential perfect (§10.2.1.3),
before causative *-mì* (§9.2.1)
[note: *CaCa-* could also be attributed to the A-stem]

A-stem   3Pl perfective negative portmanteau (§§10.2.3.1);
plural-addressee imperative (§10.7.1.1); prohibitive
(§10.7.1.2); hortative negative (§10.7.2.2)

I-stem   perfective positive (§10.2.1.1) and negative (§10.2.3.1);
verbal noun (§4.2.3); hortative (§10.7.2.1); third-person
hortative (§10.7.3.1)

U-stem   imperfective positive (§10.2.2.1) and negative
(§10.2.3.3); progressive positive (§10.2.2.3); singular-
addressee imperative except for stems with nonfinal a
(§10.7.1.1); agentives (§5.1.4); experiential perfect
positive (§10.2.1.3) and negative (§10.2.3.2);
progressive negative (§10.2.3.4); capacitative (§10.5)

The final vowels for final-high-vowel verbs are indicated in (xx5). All known verbs of this class are lexically +ATR.

(xx5)   Stem-final vowels, final-nonhigh-vowel verbs

O/A-stem   *a*   (could be attributed to A-stem)

A-stem   *a*

I-stem   *i*

U-stem   *u*

Vocalism stems for representative final-nonhigh-vowel verbs are shown in (xx6), again with tones omitted. For these verbs the A/O-stem is not shown

since it is not clearly distinct from the A-stem. Word-final short high vowels are often syncopated/apocopated, so the distinction between I-stem and U-stem is difficult to make. I assign a form to the I-stem if the *i* actually appears for at least one verb in this class, and likewise for the U-stem if the u appears. Failing that (i.e. when the vowel is always deleted), I assume that the I-stem corresponds to the E-stem of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs, and that the U-stem corresponds to the O-stem of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs.

(xx6)   Sample final-high-vowel vocalism-stem paradigms

A	I	U	gloss
a. nonfinal syllable with *a*			
kana	*kan(i)*	*kan(u)*	'do'
ɲa:-ma	*ɲa:-mi*	*ɲa:-mu*	'feed' (causative)
b. nonfinal syllable with nonlow vowel			
se:ma	*se:m(i)*	*se:mu*	'look'
sigo-ma	*sigo-mi*	*sigo-mu*	'take down' (causative)

The two verbs 'come' and 'bring' are irregular in the sense of combining some features of final-nonhigh-vowel and final-high-vowel vocalism. In most inflectional categories they follow the pattern of the majority final-nonhigh-vowel verbs. However, their singular-addressee imperatives (which of course are very common) are based on the U-stem, which is regular for the final-high-vowel verbs that do not have nonfinal *a*-vowel: *égù* 'come!', *sóŋgù* 'bring!'. These are also the only singular imperatives with {HL} tone melody.

I refer jointly to the E-stem of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs and the I-stem of final-high-vowel verbs as the **E/I-stem**, where the two occur in the same inflectional categories (perfective positive and negative, hortative, verbal noun). I likewise speak of a complementary **O/U-stem** combining the O-stem of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs with the U-stem of final-high-vowel verbs, with reference to categories where they cooccur (imperfective positive and negative, progressive positive and negative, capacitative). In Penange, the association of front vowels with perfectivity and of back rounded vowels with imperfectivity is more thorough-going than in most other Dogon languages.

3.4   Segmental phonological rules

3.4.1   Trans-syllabic consonantal processes

3.4.1.1   Nasalization-Spreading uncommon

There is no productive process of rightward nasalization spreading of the (mainly eastern) Dogon type where e.g. *Nvyv, Nvwv*, and *Nvrv* sequences are realized as *Nvy^{n}v*, *Nvw^{n}v*, and *Nvr^{n}v*. Nasalized *r^n* does not exist, and no nasalization of *y* is observed in e.g. *nò nóyà-∅* 'he/she is asleep'.

However, an idiosyncratic case of nasalization spreading does occur, in combination with a vowel shift from *u* to *i*, in the 3Pl perfective of *Nv:* and *Nv* verbs with initial nasal. Compare e.g. *dúy-yè* 'they pounded' (3Sg *dwέː*) with *níy^n-y^{n}è* 'they ate' (3Sg *ɲέː*), *níy^n-y^{n}è* 'they drank' (3Sg *nέː*) or 'they said' (3Sg *nέ*), and *núy^n-y^{n}nè* 'they sang' or 'they went in' (3Sg *nwέː*).

3.4.2   Nonharmonic vocalic processes

3.4.2.1   V-lengthening before nasal-stop clusters absent

No pattern of lengthening vowels in contexts like *C_ndv* has been observed.

3.4.2.2   Syncope

A short high vowel in the medial syllable of *CvC_Cv* (a metrically weak position, §3.xxx) can be syncopated if the resulting *CC* cluster is, or can easily be made, allowable. In some words, alternative pronunciations have been heard (xx1). When the potentially syncopated vowel bears a tone distinct from that of the preceding and following syllables, syncope tends not to occur. In (xx1b), this leads to a difference between singular and plural, since in the plural the H-tone of *sùŋúnè* spreads to the stem-final, and there is no obstacle to syncope in the resulting *sùŋúné-gè*.

(xx1)   a.   *ɔ́ŋúné ~ ɔ́ŋné*   'frog'
             tɔ́ŋúné ~ tɔ́ŋné   'duck'

         b.   *sùŋúnè*   'small ant(s)' (Sg)
             sùŋné-gè   'small ants' (Pl)

3.4.2.3 Apocope

Final short {*i u*} are allowable word- or stem-finally even after an unclustered sonorant, but bisyllabics show a tendency to apocopate (delete) the vowel. For a discussion of apparent CvL verb stems with L a sononant, see §10.1.2.4. For bisyllabic verb stems with final high vowel, see (xx4) in §10.1.2.7.

3.4.3 Local consonant sequence rules

3.4.3.1 Semivowel assimilation

A segment that is heard as w^n (especially prepausally) occurs as a locative postposition (§8.2.3.2) and as the accusative case-marker (§6.7). When followed by a C-initial word this segment generally surfaces as a nasal homorganic to the following C. It may also appear in the form of nasalization of the preceding vowel, or it may be more or less inaudible.

3.4.3.2 *b ~ w* alternation

An irregular *b ~ w* alternation occurs in the imperfective paradigm, which has forms like *sémɔ́ ŋ́ bò* 'I slaughter' and *sémɔ̀ bò-∅* 'he/she slaughters' but second person forms like *sémá-á wò* 'you-Sg slaughter' (§10.2.2.1). Here *bò ~ wò* is a partially lenited form related to *bò-* 'be'.

3.4.3.3 *r → d* after alveolar

Alternations of this type are uncommon, but transitive derivational suffix *-rè- ~ -rè* has variants *-dè* and *-ndè* that are suggestive of a hardening process (§9.4.1)

3.4.4 Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences

The stem-initial syllabic shapes transcribed as *Cwv* (*v* = some unrounded vowel) might be analysed as containing vowel clusters like *Cov* and *Cɔv*, with the {*o ɔ*} desyllabifying to glides. The phonology is most amenable to analysis for monosyllabic verbs, which have ablaut alternations, see §10.1.2.2 and §3.3.6. In bisyllabic words, initial-syllable +ATR oe escapes this desyllabification and is pronounced with approximately equal duration for the two vocalic segments. The two known examples of this are *dóélé* 'ball, globe'

and *nòè-rè* 'sleep(n)' (§3.2.8.1). There is no hiatus or prosodic break between the adjacent vocalic segments.

There are no cases in Penange of *ae* or *aɛ* sequences.

3.4.4.1 Word-initial *y/ɲ*-Epenthesis

An epenthetic *y* or *ɲ* is inserted before a stem-initial vowel immediately preceded by a 1st/2nd person pronominal (1Sg *ŋ́*, 1Pl *ǹ*, 2Sg *á*, 2Pl *à*). The pronominal may be subject of a verb, or possessor of a noun. Especially after the 2nd person pronominals, this epenthesis obviates the need for VV-Contraction. The choice between *ɲ* and *y* correlates almost absolutely with presence/absence of a nasal consonant after the stem-initial vowel.

It is difficult to hear the distinction between *y* and *ɲ* after *ŋ*, but the distinction is clear after *a*. Examples involving verbs are in (xx1).

(xx1) V-initial verbs with *y/ɲ*-Epenthesis

gloss	perfective (or stative)	
	3Sg	2Sg
a. with *y*		
'accept'	*ábé-∅*	*á y-àbè*
'suckle'	*áré-∅*	*á y-àrè*
'forget'	*íldè-∅*	*á y-ĭldè*
'come'	*égé-∅*	*á y-ègè*
'go back'	*újúlè-∅*	*á y-ùjúlè*
'ripen'	*úlgè-∅*	*á y-ŭlgè*
'heave'	*úbé-∅*	*á y-ùbè*
'suck'	*úré-∅*	*á y-ùrè*
b. with *ɲ*		
vowel lengthened		
'go'	*ándè-∅*	*á ɲ-ă:ndè*
other		
'stand/stop'	*ínjè-∅*	*á ɲ-ĭnjè*
'catch'	*ímbé-∅*	*á ɲ-ìmbè*
'become skinny'	*ɔ́njé-∅*	*á ɲ-ɔ̀njè*
'become smooth'	*ɔ́nán-gè*	*á ɲ-ɔ̀nán-gè*
'become wet'	*émbɛ́*	*á ɲ-èmbè*
'sprinkle'	*ámí-∅*	*á ɲ-àmì*
'sift'	*ínjè-∅*	*á ɲ-ĭnjè*
'become skinny'	*ɔ́njé-∅*	*á ɲ-ɔ̀njè*

The data in (xx1) show that there is no reliable correlation between the quality of the verb-initial vowel and the choice between *y* and *ɲ*. The choice seems to be lexical.

The idiosyncratic lengthening in *á ɲ-ǎːndè* 'you-Sg went' from *ándè* 'go' does not apply to the corresponding causative *ándá-mì* 'cause to go' (also 'toss'), hence *á ɲ-àndá-mì* 'you-Sg caused to go'.

Because of the epenthetic *ɲ-*, 1st/2nd person subject forms of *ɔ́ɲɛ́* 'become skinny' are in danger of homophony with corresponding forms of *nɔ́njè* 'become thin', especially because of the semantic similarity, but the two verbs are distinguished even in these forms by tones: *á nǒnjè* 'you-Sg became thin', *á ɲ-ɔ̀njɛ̀* 'you-Sg became skinny'.

The *n* in *ɲèyⁿ* 'know' (1st/2nd person subject form) may also be epenthetic, but synchronic segmentation is opaque.

Examples with nouns are in (xx2). Again, *ɲ-* is associated with stems that begin in *vN*…

(xx2)   V-initial nouns with *y/ɲ*-Epenthesis

gloss	unpossessed	2Sg possessor ('your')
a. with *y*		
'pot'	*èjè*	*á y-èjè*
'brick mix'	*ɔ̀gɔ́*	*á y-ɔ̀gɔ̀*
'road'	*òjù*	*á y-òjù*
'cloud'	*àlè*	*á y-àlè*
'market'	*ébá*	*á y-èbà*
'disease'	*ùrù*	*á y-ùrù*
'star'	*ɔ̀jɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̀*	*á y-ɔ̀jɔ̀gɔ́lɔ̀*
'medication'	*íléːŋgé*	*à y-ìléːŋgè*
'rice'	*éréːŋgé*	*à y-èréːŋgè*
'doorway'	*ígódón*	*à y-ìgòdôn*
'sheep'	*àlàm(ù)nɔ̀*	*à y-àlàmúnɔ̀*
'breast'	*éjjé*	*à y-ějjè*
'peanut'	*ɔ̀gùlè*	*á y-ɔ̀gúlè*
'baobab sauce'	*ɔ̀rɔ́m*	*à y-ɔ̀rɔ́m*
'health'	*àlàpè*	*á y-àlápè*
b. with *ɲ*		
'waterjar'	*óyⁿ*	*á ɲ-òyⁿ*
'name'	*ùn*	*á ɲ-ùn*
'tooth'	*ìnì*	*á ɲ-ìnì*
'well(n)'	*ɔ́ndɔ́*	*á ɲ-ɔ̀ndɔ̀*
'milk'	*éméːŋgé*	*á ɲ-èméːŋgè*
'winnowing van'	*òŋgò*	*á ɲ-ǒŋgò*

Exceptionally, only *ànànsá:lá* 'white person' and *énjɛ́:ŋgé* 'sediments' take *y-* in my data where *ɲ-* is expected. Whether the fact that these nouns already have two consecutive *NC* clusters is a factor is unclear.

3.4.4.2   *VV*-Contraction

Contraction of two vowels is most conspicuous in imperfective verbs. Here 2Sg *á* and 2Pl *à* are positioned between the verb (which appears in the O/U-stem). Compare 3Sg *sɛ́mɔ̀ bò-Ø* 'he/she slaughters' and 1Sg *sɛ́mɔ́ ń̀ bò* 'I slaughter' with 2Sg *sɛ́má-á wò* [sɛ́má:wò] 'you-Sg slaughter' (§10.2.2.1). The O/U-stem must end in {*ɔ o u*}, and all three of these combine with 2nd person *a* morphemes as [a:] (omitting tone).

Similar contractions involving 2nd person *a* occur in the imperfective negative, which also involves the O/U-stem. Compare 3Sg *yèlò:-ndí-Ø* 'he/she doesn't drape' with 2Sg *yèlá-à-l* or variant *yèlá-á-lì* 'you-Sg do not drape'. The imperfective negative also has apparent contractions in 1Sg and 1Pl forms, as in *yèló-ò-l* 'I do not drape', but here the morphological composition is obscure (§10.2.3.3).

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

It is difficult to find clear examples of monophthongization. In a case like mediopassive *bí-yè* 'lie down', transitive *bí:-rè* 'put to sleep', we can either derive the latter from /bi-yi-re/ by syncope and monophthongization, or derive it from /bi-re/ by a minor vowel-lengthening process.

3.5   Cliticization

There are no second-position clitics of the Wackernagel type. There is no stress or accent system that would clearly distinguish affixes, clitics, and particles, so it is not easy way to recognize phonological clitics.

1st/2nd person subject markers directly precede verbs. They interact tonally with the verb, but in a complex and somewhat abstract way. I transcribe them as proclitics but an analysis as prefixes is also possible.

In the cases of VV-Contraction mentioned in §3.4.4.2 above, e.g. 2Sg *sɛ́má-á wò* [sɛ́má:wò] 'you-Sg slaughter', the second person proclitic to the verb (here the auxiliary *wò*) is phonologically rebracketed with the preceding verb, allowing the contraction to occur.

A good case for proclitic status can also be made for existential $\grave{\varepsilon}^n \sim \grave{e}^n$, see §11.2.2.1. It can co-occur with a following 1st/2nd person proclitic.

The 'it is' morpheme $=yo$ (and variants), which occurs in identification predicates, is a good candidate for enclitic status (it is added to NPs, §11.2.1.1). Likewise for its negative counterpart $=l\grave{a}$ (§11.2.1.2).

In verbal morphology, past $=ye$ is the best candidate for a clitic; see §10.6.1.

3.6 Tones

3.6.1 Lexical tone patterns

Stems other than verbs, i.e. nouns, adjectives, and numerals, have lexical tone melodies that are subject to grammatical modifications. Nouns and numerals occur in morphosyntactically bare form, which reveals their lexical melodies. Adjectives normally follow nouns, and in this combination the adjective (but not the noun) shows its lexical tones.

Lexical melodies are given in slashes //, surface or grammatical melodies in curly brackets {}.

3.6.1.1 Lexically /L/-melody stems allowed

For stems that do have lexical tones, /L/ is one of the allowable melodies. In fact, /L/ is quite common especially for nouns and adjectives. This situation is characteristic of western Dogon languages, whereas most eastern languages do not allow /L/ as a lexical melody in any stem-class. In the relevant western languages, grammatically conditioned tone-dropping to {L} has no audible effect on lexically /L/-toned stems.

3.6.1.2 Verbs have no lexical tones

Verbs have no lexical tones, and there are no "bare" verb forms. Verbs occur exclusively in one or another of the vocalism stems (A/O-stem, etc.), either with or without following inflectional suffixes or auxiliaries. The tones of the verb depend on the inflectional category and on the pronominal-subject category. For example, *tíbέ* 'fall' occurs with different tones in *ǐ tìbὲ* 'I fell', *ǹ̀ tíbὲ* 'we fell', and *tíbέ-∅* 'he/she/it fell', to cite three forms within the perfective positive paradigm. Details on tones (and vocalism stems) are given in the sections on the various inflectional (i.e. aspect-mood-negation) categories in chapter 10.

3.6.1.3   Lexical tone melodies for unsegmentable noun stems

Lexical tone melodies for uncompounded nouns, prior to the operation of
tonosyntactic and tonological processes, are /H/, /L/, /LH/, /HL/, and /LHL/. Of
these, /L/ is the most common. A few examples of each are in (xx1).

(xx1)   a. /H/-toned
         pú:ⁿ   'white-faced whistling duck'
         úná   'goat'
         kɔ́jí   'grass'

         b. /L/-toned
         nà: 'cow'
         dòn   'mouth'
         dùgù   'village'
         mìnjìlì   'mosque'
         kùmà:ŋgà   'rain(n)'
         àlàmùnɔ̀   'sheep'

         c. /LH/-toned
         sɜ̌:yⁿ   'tigerfish'
         nèjjé   'bird'
         gè:ní   'broom'
         cɔ̀:dál   'cattle egret'
         ɔ̀rɔ́m   'green sauce (baobab-leaf or okra)'
         bùyà:gí   'guava'

         d. /HL/-toned
         bâl   'bush sp. (*Cassia*)'
         májà   'electric catfish'
         kó:tì   'tick'
         ká:láwâl   'bamboo'
         pólmálá:ndù   'pigeon'

         e. /LHL/-toned
         kìn-wê: 'stone'
         sɔ̀:mbúlè   'hamerkop (bird)'
         èjègélè   'carp (fish)'
         kà-kàrá:wò   'white-bellied bustard (bird)'
         kùlù-ŋ-kùndíyè   'laughing dove'

Nonmonosyllabic /L/-toned nouns (and other words) are pronounced in isolation with a variable degree of phonetic initial-syllable stress. I initially mistranscribed some such words as having initial-syllable H-tone. However, the distinction between /L/- toned (common) and the less common true /HL/-toned stems is clearer in phrasal context, and word-internally before plural *-gè*. The latter appears as H-toned *-gé* after a /L/-toned stem, and as L-toned *-gè* after a /HL/-toned stem, whose H-tone spreads to the stem-final syllable. For example, in isolation the melody of *kó:tì* 'tick' could be mistaken for /L/, since #*kò:tì* would in fact have some phonetic stress on its initial syllable. However, plural *kó:tí-gè*, with a clear fall in pitch from the second to the third syllable, is unmistakably the plural of a /HL/-toned noun, while the plural of nonexistent /L/-toned #*kò:tì* would have been #*kò:tì-gé* with the opposite pitch change from second to third syllable.

For trisyllabic and longer stems, true /HL/-toned nouns are heard as H.H.(H…)L with the tone break near the right edge. By contrast, nonphonemic phonetic stress in isolation pronunciations is limited to the leftmost syllable of /L/-toned stems. Therefore a trisyllabic noun like *kùmà:ŋgà* 'rain' whose pitch contour in isolation sounds somewhat like H.L.L is in fact lexically /L/-toned. This is confirmed by its plural *kùmà:ŋgà-gé*.

Tonal minimal pairs are rare. I can cite *éjjé* 'female breast' versus *èjjè* 'Dogon (person)', and *álé* 'macari (spice)' versus *àlè* ('cloud'). The tonal differences in these pairs are obliterated by grammatical tones, for example with a preceding possessor, so their functional value is low.

3.6.1.4 Lexical tone melodies for adjectives and numerals

Morphologically unsegmentable, underived modifying adjectives are almost exclusively /H/ or /L/ toned lexically; see §4.5.1 for lists. *tà:ŋgà* 'one' and *tó:* 'other' (§4.7.1.1) are syntactically adjectives and are compatible with these remarks. The only /HL/-toned basic adjective is *nsì:^{n}* [ńsì:^{n}]'sweet, delicious', which is also the only simple adjective beginning with a *NC* sequence. It is likely that the high pitch on the nasal is predictable (§3.2.8.1). There are two adjectives with obligatory diminutive suffix *-yè* that have /LHL/ melody (§4.5.5). In all cases, the lexical tone can be heard in simple N-Adj sequences. Adjectives have rather different, verb-like forms when functioning as predicates.

Several basic numerals '2' to '10' also have /H/ and /L/ lexical melodies, but there are also some with /HL/ melody. The lexical melody appears when the numeral is preceded by a plural noun; for details see §4.7.1.2. Higher numerals (*tè:mdérè* 'hundred', *mùnjù* 'thousand', *mìlyɔ̂^{n}* 'million') are noun-like and two of them have /LHL/ melody (§4.7.1.4).

3.6.1.5 Tone-Component location for bitonal noun stems

Bitonal lexical contours are /HL/ and /LH/. Unsegmentable nouns with these melodies have their tone break near the right edge, as best seen with trisyllabic and longer stems. Examples are *bùyà:gí* 'guava' with L.L.H syllable sequence, and *pólmálá:ndù* 'pigeon' with H.H.H.L. For /HL/-toned stems, the H-tone extends onto the onset of a final *CvC* syllable, which is therefore falling-toned: *ká:láwâl* 'bamboo'.

3.6.1.6 Tone-Component location for tritonal noun stems

The only unsegmentable tritonal noun stems are lexically /LHL/. Here too the tone breaks are bunched at the right edge. This is best seen with a quadrisyllabic noun like *èjègélè* 'carp' with its L.L.H.L syllable sequence. Analysis is complicated by the possibility that all such stems are treated prosodically by native speakers as compounds, in which case we should add a hyphen (*èjè-gélè*).

3.6.2 Grammatical tone patterns

3.6.2.1 Grammatical tones for verb stems

Verb stems have no intrinsic (lexical) tones. The tone of a verb form depends on a combination of a) the inflectional category and b) the person and number of the subject for indicatives, and the number of addressees for deontic modals. Details are given in the relevant sections of chapter 10; see especially the schematic summary in §10.3.2. There are some further changes in tones (and suffixation) of verbs in focalized and relative clauses.

3.6.2.2 Grammatical tones for noun stems

Nouns are subject to tonosyntactic overlays as well as to lower-level tonological processes.

In unpossessed NPs, the last modifying adjective controls a {L} overlay (i.e. tone-dropping) on the preceding noun or N-Adj combination (§6.3.1).

In possessed NPs, the possessor (which is preposed to the noun) controls {HL} or {LHL} overlay on the possessed NP (§6.2.1.1). The choice between {HL} and {LHL} depends on the final tone of the possessor; a final H-tone

requires a following {LHL}. One could therefore argue that either {HL} or {LHL} is the basic possessor-controlled overlay, and add a local phonological wrinkle to account for the other. This wrinkle would either be a tone-dissimilation at the boundary, with […H][HL] becoming […H][LHL], or a flattening, with […H][LHL] becoming […H][HL].

3.6.2.3　Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals

Modifying adjectives can be lexically {L}- or {H}-toned; see §4.5.1 for lists. Two diminutive adjectives are {LHL}-toned, with the final diminutive *-yè* L-toned (§4.5.5).

　　In the counting sequence '1' to '10', odd-numbered numerals are {L}-toned while even-numbered numerals are {H}-toned, giving a rhythmical singsong feeling to the recited sequence. In postnominal position, most basic numerals are {H}- or {HL}-toned, e.g. *nɔ́:m* '5' and *sɔ́:lì* '7'. *nègà* '2' and *kɛ̀jɔ̀* '4' are unusual in having both {H}- and {L}-toned forms depending on the overall tone melody of the preceding noun (§4.7.1.2).

3.6.3　Phonological tone rules

3.6.3.1　Final Tone-Raising

A final L-tone of a {L}-toned word is raised to H-tone before closely phrased words that begin with a L-tone. The raising applies to the final syllable, which may also be the only syllable of the first word. A CvL syllable with final sonorant may appear with rising tone in careful pronunciation.

　　An example with a following **3Sg subject verb** that begins with a L-tone, is (xx1).

(xx1)　*nìgé*　　　*màlgà-té:-ndí-∅*
　　　　elephant　see-ExpPf-Neg-3SgS
　　　　'He/She has never seen an elephant.' (*nìgè*)

There is no raising before 3Sg subject forms with initial H-tone, such as positive perfectives. Raising does not occur directly before subject proclitics 1Pl *ŋ̀* or 2Pl *à*, even though they are L-toned, probably because these morphemes (after a prosodic restructuring) are phonologically encliticized to and syllabified with the preceding word.

Raising also occurs before **imperatives that begin with a L-tone**. *nà:* 'cow' remains L-toned in in (xx2a) before a H-initial imperative, but it is raised to *nǎ:* in (xx2b) since the following imperative is {L}-toned.

(xx2) a. *nà:*   *sógá*
            cow   buy.Imprt
            'Buy-2Sg a cow!' (*nà:*, *sógê*)

       b. *nǎ:*   *sògù-lò*
            cow   buy-Rev.Imprt
            'Sell-2Sg a cow!'

Tone-raising also occurs before *nè* 'if'. For examples see (xx2) in §16.1.

Finally, tone-raising occurs before existential proclitic $\grave{\varepsilon}^n$, which is typical of 'have', 'be (somewhere)', and to some extent other stative constructions. It does not matter whether a 1st/2nd person subject proclitic follows $\grave{\varepsilon}^n$.

(xx3) a. *àlàmùnɔ́* $\grave{\varepsilon}^n$ *sâ^n-∅*
            sheep   Exist   have-3SgS
            'He/She has a cow.' (*àlàmùnɔ̀*)

       b. *àlàmùnɔ́* $\grave{\varepsilon}^n$ *ŋ́*   *sà^n* / *ŋ̀*   *sâ^n*
            sheep   Exist   1SgS   have /   1PlS   have
            'I have/We have a cow.' (*àlàmùnɔ̀*)

       c. *nàfǎ* $\grave{\varepsilon}^n$ *sâ^n-∅*
            usefulness   Exist   have-3SgS
            'It is useful.' (*nàfà*)

       d. *kìbǎl* $\grave{\varepsilon}^n$ *sá:^{n}-yà*
            awareness Exist   have-3PlS
            'They are aware.' (*kìbàl*)

3.6.3.2   Contour-Tone Resyllabification

A final falling-toned syllable that is followed by a closely-phrased (perhaps encliticized) *Cv̀* particle merges its L-tone element with the L-tone of the clitic and therefore appears as H-toned. The particle may be L-toned, or may be atonal, having acquired its tone by spreading from the preceding word.

(xx1) a. *ŋ̀ nê* 'we said' plus quotative *wà*   →   *ŋ̀ né wà*

3.6.3.3   Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (absent)

Though rare, falling-toned *Cv̂* syllables can occur word-finally, as in *ŋ̀ nê* 'we said'. The contour tone does not force lengthening of the vowel, and *ŋ̀ nê* remains distinct from *ŋ̀ nê:* 'we drank'.

    A rising-toned *Cv̌* syllable is very rare. However, I did hear this in perfective forms of the *Cv* verb *né* 'say' before *nè* 'if' (xx2a). The full form of the melody for perfective verbs after 1Sg (or 2Sg) subject proclitic is {LHL}, and the combination with *nè* 'if' permits' full expression of this melody. In (xx2a) there is no lengthening of the vowel of 'say' to accomodate the contour tone.

(xx2)   a.   *ŋ́*   *ně*   *nè*
                    1SgS   say.Perf   if
                    'if I said'

           b.   *ŋ̀*   *nɛ́*   *nè*
                    1PlS   say.Perf   if
                    'if we said'

           c.   *nɛ́-∅*   *nɛ́*
                    say.Perf-3SgS   if
                    'if he/she said'

3.6.3.4   Rightward L-Spreading

There is no systematic rule of this type. In (xx1), the final H-tone on 'bird' is not erased by the preceding L-tone spreading to the end of the word preceding a H-toned word ('fly').

(xx1)   *nèjjɛ́*   *pírígè-∅*
            bird   fly.Perf-3SgS
            'A bird flew away.'

3.6.3.5   Rightward H-Spreading

Rightward H-Spreading converts a sequence H.L.L to H.H.L, whereby the H-tone begins at the left edge of a word. It is illustrated in (xx1) by the /HL/-toned noun *kó:tì*, which becomes *kó:tí-* before a L-toned suffix.

(xx1)   Rightward H-Spreading
   kó:tì + plural *-gè*   *kó:tí-gè* 'ticks'
   kó:tì + 3Sg possessor *-nà* *kó:tí-nà* 'his/her tick'

Phonetically, there is often a slight pitch rise on the last H-toned syllable before a L-toned syllable. Therefore H.H.L forms like *kó:tí-nà* were (mis-)transcribed as L.H.L in early fieldwork ("*kò:tí-nà*").

  The spreading may extend over more than one syllable, as when a /HL/-toned noun is followed by two suffixes (xx2).

(xx2) *kó:tí-ná-gè* 'his/her ticks'

Rightward H-Spreading is not always rigorously implemented. In other words, the targeted syllable is sometimes heard with lower pitch than one would expect for a true H-tone. Further examples of spreading are in (xx3). (xx2c) shows that the process is recursive.

(xx2) a. demonstratives
   ínì 'this' + noun   *íní ùnà* 'this goat' (§6.5.2)

  b. stative verbs and related forms
   túlà (progressive) + 3Pl *-yà* *túlá-yà* 'they're doing' (§10.2.2.4)
   túlà + negative *-ndà*   *túlá-ndà* 'isn't doing' (§10.2.3.5)

  c. recursion
   túlà + Neg *-ndà* + 3Pl *-yà* *túlá-ndá-yà* 'they aren't doing'
               (§10.2.3.5)

Rightward H-Spreading is not triggered by past clitic *=ye*, which can be preceded by a {HL} melody (§10.6.1).

3.7 Grammaticalized intonation

3.7.1 Morphemes with lexically specified prolongation (→)

Some elements characterized by lexically embedded prolongation of the final syllable are *só→* 'long ago', *nsâ→* 'now', *tìrà→* 'only' (§19.3.1), *jwá→* 'a lot' and *bà:lè→* 'a little' (§8.4.2), *wàgà→* 'or' (§7.2.1), expressive adverbials like *yà→* 'gliding' and *bɔ̀jɛ́→* 'straight', and onomatopoeias like *cìⁿ→* (humming of cicada).

As a grammatical feature, final prolongation occurs in one type of imperfective subordinate clause (§15.2.1.2), with no other subordinator.

Polar interrogation is expressed intonationally, with prolongation and pitch rise on the final syllable (§13.2.1).

4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Simple nouns

For the lexical tone contours of nouns, see §3.6.1.3.

4.1.1.1 Singular (zero) and plural (*-gè*)

The singular of nouns is morphologically unmarked. The plural of any noun, including inanimates, is formed by suffixing *-gé* after /H/- or /L/-toned stem or *-gè* after /LH/-toned stem. /HL/- and /LHL/-toned stems also have L-toned *-gè*, but the H-tone spreads to the end of the stem proper, see Rightward H-Spreading §3.6.3.5. If the noun is treated prosodically as a compound, the initial is disregarded in the tonal processes. For example, *dù-[pá^n-pá^n]-gé* 'large bustard' has H-toned *-gé* after /H/-toned *pá^n-pá^n* (compound final), disregarding the L-toned initial. Likewise *tɔ̀gù-dúmbú-gé* 'wood-hoopoes'.

    Singular/plural pairs showing the basic tonology are in (xx1). For the lexical tone melodies see §3.xxx.

(xx1)	singular	plural	gloss
a. lexically /H/-toned noun			
	úná	*úná-gé*	'goat'
	tɔ́ŋ(ú)né	*tɔ́ŋ(ú)né-gé*	'duck'
	kɔ́gúlé	*kɔ́gúlé-gé*	'fish"
b. lexically /L/-toned noun			
	gwè:	*gwè:-gé*	'parrot'
	dògù	*dògù-gé*	'village'
	kà:lò	*kà:lò-gé*	'griot'
	wèlàgù	*wèlàgù-gé*	'division, subgroup'
	kùmà:ŋgà	*kùmà:ŋgà-gé*	'rain(n)'
	àlàmùnɔ̀	*àlàmùnɔ̀-gé*	'sheep'
c. lexically /LH/-toned noun			
	bòmà:-wǐl	*bòmà:-wǐl-gè*	'dung beetle'

sɔ̌:yⁿ	*sɔ̌:yⁿ-gè*	'tigerfish'
nèjjé	*nèjjé-gè*	'bird'

d. lexically /HL/-toned noun

bâl	*bál-gè*	'bush sp. (*Cassia*)'
kó:tì	*kó:tí-gè*	'tick'
dúndù	*dúndú-gè*	'owl'
kó:-kò:	*kó:-kó:-gè*	'plantain-eater (bird)'
dábè-dábè	*dábè-dábé-gè*	'nightjar'
kí:lɔ́-ŋ-kò:	*kí:lɔ́-ŋ-kó:-gè*	'hornbill (bird)'

e. lexically /LHL/-toned noun

sɔ̀:mbúlè	*sɔ̀:mbúlé-gè*	'hamarkop'
kà-kàrá:wò	*kà-kàrá:wó-gè*	'white-bellied bustard'
áláⁿ-sǎ:bà	*áláⁿ-sǎ:bá-gè*	'cattle egret'
gìŋ-gí kɔ̀bílè	*gìŋ-gí kɔ̀bílé-gè*	'cuckoo wasp'
gò:ŋgò tèbèlê:y	*gò:ŋgò tèbèlé:y-gè*	'female agama lizard'

plural syncopated (§3.4.2.2)

sùŋúnè	*sùŋné-gè*	'small ants'

4.1.1.2 Frozen classifying suffixes (*-ŋge, *-ge)

Some nouns end in *ŋge* or *ge*, reflecting an original inanimate classifying suffix *-ŋge* or *-ge*. In most cases the ending is no longer clearly segmentable, but a few have related forms without the ending. The consistently +ATR vowels of *ŋge* and *ge* often clash with -ATR vowels in the original stem. *ŋge* but not *ge* regularly follows a long vowel. (A similar asymmetry is found with *-gà* versus *-ŋgà* allomorphs of the characteristic derivational suffix, §4.2.1.) In (xx1), a few examples are classified as segmentable since there is a related unsuffixed form, but most examples are isolated and not transparently segmentable.

(xx1)   noun   gloss   related unsuffixed form

a. *-ŋge*

unsegmentable

bèlŋgè	'fodder'
éré:ŋgé	'rice'
ílé:ŋgé	'medication'
pɔ́:ŋgè	'fonio (grain)'
sàlè:ŋgè	'cemetery'
sè:ŋgè	'millet'
tàndà:ŋgè	'twin'

té:ŋgé	'wood'		

segmentable

émé:-ŋgé	'milk'	*èmè kòlò*	'fresh milk'
kèlè-ŋgè	'marriage'	*kèlè yɔ̀:*	'bride' ("marriage woman")
nènɔ̀:-ŋgè	'fatigue'	*néné*	'become tired'
nù:gɔ̀:-ŋgè	'heat'	*nú:gè*	'become hot'
sínjá:-ŋgè	'sorghum'	*sìnjà-n-dúmbé*	'sugar cane'
púná:-ŋgé	'flour, powder'	*púná*	'flour, powder'

b. *-ge after nasal other than *ŋ* (could reflect *-ge or *-ŋge)
   unsegmentable

númgé	'cow-pea'
sòmgè	'tamarind'

c. *-ge after vowel or nonnasal sonorant
   unsegmentable

pábálgè	'sesame'
sɔ̀lɔ̀gè	'roselle (bissap)'
ɔ̀rɔ̀gè	'baobab leaves'

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

Some of the most basic nouns are those in (xx1). The plurals are regular.

(xx1)

'person'	*ntá*	*ntá-gé*
'woman'	*yɔ̀:*	*yɔ̀:-gé*
'man'	*wálá*	*wálá-gé*
'child'	*wè:*	*wè:-gé*
'thing'	*yέ:*	*yέ:-gé*

4.1.3 Initial *Cv-* reduplication in nouns

Initial *Cv-* reduplication is not common. 'Grasshopper' is *káyá*, 'hyena' is *tà:ⁿ*, both unreduplicated unlike their reduplicated cognates in eastern Dogon (e.g. Jamsay). The few Penange examples that appear to contain an initial reduplication are in (xx1). In (xx1a) the reduplicant has the same vowel quality as the first vowel of the base. In (xx1b) the reduplicant has *i*. Neither is sufficiently common to constitute a recognizable pattern.

(xx1) a. *kà-kàrá:wò*   'white-bellied bustard' (onomatopoiec)

ná-náyè	'mint' (regional word < Arabic)
b. *tí-túgù*	'spice (seeds of *Ammodaucus*) for porridge'

4.1.4 Miscellaneous nominal reduplications

Minor patterns involving some kind of partial reduplication are listed in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *[bè-bèrè]-bèy*   'sandgrouse'
       [kà-kàràŋ]-ká:yè   'long-tailed starling'

    b. *bìrì-[kèmέ:-mὲ:]*   'house bunting'

    c. *dábá-dábá:jì*   'sardine-like fish sp.'

    d. *tὲ:gú-^{n}-tὲ̌:lὲ*   'Abyssinian roller (bird)'

    e. *kὲ-kὲ̌:rὲ ~ kέ:-kὲ̌:rὲ*   'buffalo-weaver (bird)'

For *bɔ̀l-bɔ̀l-yè* 'catfish (*Clarias*)' see §5.1.5.

4.1.5 Nouns with frozen full-stem iteration

Some nouns and compound finals, especially flora-fauna terms, are full iterations. In a few cases there is an apparent nasal linker (§5.xxx). In general the uniterated base does not occur separately.

(xx1)   Without vocalic shift

       a. monosyllabic base
         {H}-{H}

dù-[pá^{n}-pá^{n}]	'Denham's bustard (bird)'
kón-kón	'mistletoe'

         {LH}-{LH}

kǎ:^{n}-kǎ:^{n}	'pied crow'

         {HL}-{HL}

tîm-tîm	'bush sp. (*Scoparia*)'

         {H}-{L}

kó:-kò:	'plantain-eater'
kɔ̀jì-[pó:-pò:]	'herb sp. (*Endostemon*)'
tóy-tòy	'bush sp. (*Physalis*)'

b. bisyllabic base
 {H}-{H}
   kúb(ú)-kúb(ú)   'machete blade' (Fr. *coupe-coupe*)
   yúgú-yúgú   'used clothing heap'
 {L}-{L}
   bɔ̀rɔ̀-bɔ̀rɔ̀   'trash, refuse'
   dègè-dègè   'statuette'
   kàrà-kàrà   'armpit'
   kìjì-kìjì   'winged termite'
   kòlò-kòlò   'donkey'
   [kɔ̀rɔ̀-kɔ̀rɔ̀]-jùwà   'tree sp. (*Gardenia*)'
   tɔ̀gù-tɔ̀gù   'gecko'
 {L}-{L} with nasal linker
   kàlà-ŋ-kàlà   'herb sp. (*Cassia*)'
   pòlò-m-pòlò   'tree sp. (*Gyrocarpus*)'
   sàgà-ⁿ-sàgà   'tree sp. (*Piliostigma*)'
 {LH}-{LH}
   kìlɔ́ⁿ-kìlɔ́ⁿ   'black-headed lapwing (bird)'
   pògú-pògú   'shrub sp. (*Calotropis*)'
 {L}-{HL}
   èjò-éjò   'grass sp. (*Eragrostis*)'
   kìrì-kírì   'epilepsy'
   kìndò-kíndò   'skink sp. (*Chalcides*)'
 {HL}-{HL}
   údà-údà   'hoopoe (bird)'
 {H}-{HL}
   búlá-búlà   'blue'
 {H}-{L}
   kíyɔ́ⁿ-kìyɔ̀ⁿ   'herb sp. (*Spermacoce*)'
   kɔ́lɔ́-kɔ̀lɔ̀   'shoulder'

c. trisyllabic base
 {LH}-{LH} with nasal linker
   kòlòbé-ŋ-kòlòbé   'tree sp. (*Mitragyna*)'

Ordinary common nouns with iterative form combined with a vowel change are uncommon. I can cite (xx2), which corresponds to a more productive pattern in some other Dogon languages.

(xx2)   With vocalic shift

The cases in (xx3) are stylized onomatopoeias and can be made into predicates with *kání* 'do, make', but they can also be used as nouns, as in 'I heard a …'. Shift of a nonlow vowel to *a* in the second part is common. Forms like *hò:-hà:* are usually bipartite in Penange (compare tripartite counterparts like hó:-hà:-hó: in other Dogon languages), but the whole form may be repeated to denote extended noises: *hò:-hà: hò:-hà.*

(xx3)　　Onomatopoeic stems

　　　　a. without vowel shift
　　　　　kùgùrúŋ-kùgùrúŋ　　'crunching sound' (e.g. dog crunching bone)

　　　　b. with vowel shift
　　　　　kóló-kàlà　　　　'sudden loud noise'
　　　　　dìm-dàm　　　　　'sound of sb running'
　　　　　hò:-hà:　　　　　'loud talking noise, hubbub'

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

Penange does not have nouns with an apparently segmentable initial *a-* or variant.

4.2　　**Derived nominals**

4.2.1　　Characteristic derivative (*-gà* or *-ŋgà*)

This suffix derives a noun (or adjective) in which a distinctive feature such as a body part is used to characterize an entity. The suffix is *-gà* or *-ŋgà*, in the latter case with lengthened preceding vowel (cf. comments on frozen ge versus *ŋge* inanimate suffixes, §4.1.1.2). The input stem is tone-dropped so the entire derivative is {L}-toned.

(xx1)　　　　characteristic gloss　　　　　　input　　　gloss

　　　　a. with *-gà*
　　　　　kèlè-gà　　'having a horn'　　*kélé*　　'horn'
　　　　　kùlù-gà　　'humped'　　　　*kùlù*　　'hump'
　　　　　kùlè-gà　　'hairy'　　　　　*kúlé*　　'hair'

kòlòm-gà	'sorceror'	*kòlòm*	'(evil) spell'
nàfɔ̀rò-gà	'rich person'	*nàfɔ̀rò*	'wealth'
jàŋgà-gà	'pot-belly (person)'	*jàŋgà*	'belly'
ùrù-gà	'sick person'	*ùrù*	'disease'

b. with *:-ŋgà*

bà:wdɛ̀:-ŋgà	'rich person'	*bá:wdɛ̀*	'means, capability'
nòèrè:-ŋgà	'sleepy one'	*nòèrè*	'sleeping(n)'
nì:gɔ̀-ŋgà	'coward'	*ní:gɔ́*	'fear(n)'
ɲàmàgù:-ŋgà	'destroyer (person)'	*ɲàmàgù*	'ruining(n)'
*tùyà*ⁿ	'making trouble'	*tùyà:-ŋgà*	'trouble-maker'
wàlà:-ŋgà	'hero, real man'	*wálá*	'man'
yɔ̀:-ŋgà	'real woman'	*yɔ̀:*	'woman'
yùbùgɔ̀:-ŋgà	'liar'	*yùbùgɔ̀*	'(a) lie'

'Lazy person' is *kòjò* or *kòjò-gà*, so in this case the *-gà* derivative has the same sense as the input. 'Laziness' is *kòjò-lmà* (see the following section).

4.2.2   *-lmà* and *-ŋ-kálmá* abstractives

Suffix *-lmà* or *-ŋ-kálmá* takes as input a noun denoting a type of person, often but not always pejorative, and derives an abstractive. The *-ŋ-* is tentatively segmented as a nasal linker (§xxx).

(xx1)   abstractive   gloss   input   gloss

a. *-lmà*

kòjò-lmà	'laziness'	*kòjò*	'lazy one'
yàbà-lmà	'idiocy'	*yàbà*	'idiot'
mòrò-lmà	'being spastic'	*mòrò*	'spastic, uncoordinated one' (Fr *amaldème*)

b. *-ŋ-kálmá*

tà:nà-ŋ-kálmá	'craziness'	*tá:ná*	'crazy'
sàgàllà-ŋ-kálmá	'youth' (coll.)	*ságállá*	'(a) youth'
gìrgà-ŋ-kálmá	'blindness'	*gìrgà*	'blind person'

4.2.3   Deverbal and denominal *-ŋgè* ~ *-ŋgé* nominals

Suffix *-ŋgè* ~ *-ŋgé* may have developed out of an inanimate singular class suffix (preserved as such in Najamba). Deverbal and denominal nominals with *-ŋge* that have been observed are in (xx1).

49

(xx1)　　　nominal　　　gloss　　　input　　　gloss

　　　a. deverbal
　　　　nὲnɔ̀:-ŋgὲ　　'fatigue'　　*nɛ́nɛ́*　　'become tired'

　　　b. denominal
　　　　tá:-ŋgé　　'craziness'　　*tá:ná*　　'crazy person'

4.2.4　Verbal nouns (*-l*)

An abstractive verbal noun is freely formed by suffixing *-l* (with L-tone) to the otherwise {H}-toned **E/I-stem** of the verb, i.e. the E-stem for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs and the I-stem for final-high-vowel verbs. I transcribe with falling tone marked on the stem-final vowel.

(xx1)　　　Perf 3Sg　　verbal noun　　gloss

　　　a. final nonhigh vowel, +ATR
　　　　gwé:　　　*gwê:-l*　　'leaving'
　　　　nó:yè　　　*nó:yé-l*　　'sleeping
　　　　gó:ndè　　　*gó:ndê-l*　　'going out'
　　　　túmbú-gè　　*túmbú-gê-l*　'pushing'

　　　b. final nonhigh vowel, -ATR
　　　　nɛ́:　　　*nɛ̂:-l*　　'drinking'
　　　　tɔ́lɛ́　　　*tɔ́lɛ̂-l*　　'butchering'
　　　　sɛ́mɛ́　　　*sɛ́mɛ̂-l*　　'slaughtering'
　　　　tímbí-rè　　*tímbí-rê*-l　'superimposing'

　　　c. final high vowel
　　　　dám　　　*dámî-l*　　'speaking'
　　　　kán　　　*kánî-l*　　'do'

　　　d. 'come' and 'bring'
　　　　égé　　　*égê-l*　　'coming'
　　　　sóŋgé　　　*sóŋgê-l*　　'bringing'

For compounds, see §5.1.3.

4.2.5   Derived nominals with suffix *-yè* or *-yɛ̀ ~ -yè*

For instrumental compounds whose final is an instrument nominal with suffix *-yè*, see §5.1.10. For product-of-action compounds with suffix *-yɛ̀ ~ -yè*, see §5.1.11. These suffixed derivatives are not recorded in uncompounded nouns.

See also the diminutive nouns in *-yè* in §5.1.5.

4.2.6   Uncompounded agentives

The attested agentives are nearly all compounds; see §5.1.4.

dà:nà 'hunter' is obscurely related to *dà:nàmà* '(the) hunt, (act of) hunting'. It is made predicative by *kán* 'do' (*dà:nàmà kán* 'hunt, do hunting') or by *ándè* 'go' (*dà:nàmà ándé* 'go hunting').

gùyⁿ 'thief' (note the nasalization) is obscurely related to verb *gúyé* 'steal, rob', cognate nominal *gùyò* as in *gùyò gúyé* 'commit theft'.

4.2.7   Deadjectival extent nominals (suffix *-yà*)

Nouns denoting measurable dimensions related to adjectives are in (xx1). The suffix is *-yà*. If the adjective is nonmonosyllabic, its final vowel is (raised and) syncopated before *-yà*.

(xx1)   Extent nominals

	noun	gloss	related adjective

a. suffixal derivatives

noun	gloss	related adjective
gòl-yà	'length'	*gòlò* 'long'
bàɲ-ɲà	'size, dimensions'	*bàyⁿ* 'big'
sùmb-yà	'depth'	*sùmbè* 'deep'
bàmb-yà	'width'	*bámbá* 'wide'
dɔ̀nj-à	'weight'	*dɔ́ŋgá* 'heavy'

b. suppletive

noun	gloss	
dìgɔ̀:ŋgè	'height (of object)'	(cf. *gòlò* 'long, tall')
íŋgír	'height (of person)'	

Since 'long' and 'tall' as adjectives are both expressed by *gòlò*, to distinguish the nominals 'height' and 'length' suppletion is necessary in the case of 'height'

(xx1b). *dìgò:ŋgè* 'height' (e.g. of a wall or a tree) is related to verb *dígɛ́* 'go up', while *íŋgír* 'height (of a person)' is related to *ínjɛ̀* 'get up'.

4.2.8 Other derived nominals

Minor nominal derivational types are grouped in (xx1).

(xx1)   derivative   gloss   related forms

a. final *u* (apocopated after some sonorants)
    bámbú   'wrap for carrying baby on back'
                              verb *bámb-yè*
    nàgàlù   'load(n)'   verb *nágálè* 'load (cart, truck)'
    téw   'lid'   *tɛ́:-rè* 'cover (with lid)'

b. final *i*
    gè:ní   'broom'   *gɛ́:n-yè* 'sweep'
    kìndò-sè:mí 'mirror'   *kíndó* 'shadow, image', *sé:mì* 'look'

c. suffix (?) *-rv*, *-lv*
    nòè-rè   'sleep(n)'   verb *nó:yè* 'sleep', perhaps mediopassive
    dɔ́ɛ́(-)rɛ́   'gear'   *dú-yɛ́* 'carry on head' (?)
    dóélé   'ball, globe' —

d. suffix *-gu*
    ɲàmà-gù   'damage(n)'   *ɲámí* 'malfunction(v)'

e. suffix *-ŋga*
    nwà:gà:-ŋgà 'lefty(n)'   adj *nwà:gà* 'left (hand/foot)'

f. suffix *-mâl*
    dɔ́gá-mâl   'afterworld' *dɔ́gɛ́* 'die'

4.3   Pronouns

4.3.1   Basic personal pronouns

The forms of personal pronouns are in (xx1). The accusative forms are based on the independent series. Nonsingular categories also base the possessor forms on the independent series. A distinct series (e.g. 1Sg *ŋ́*) of proclitics are used as pronominal-subject markers for 1st/2nd persons preceding verbs in main and relative clauses, and for 1Sg and 2Sg as possessors preceding possessed NPs.

3Sg is unmarked for main-clause subject, and has a unique suffix *-nà* for possessor and an eclitic *ná* for subject of nonsubject relative (or nonsubject focalized clause). 3Pl has various suffixal forms (depending on aspect-negation category) for main-clause subjects, and is parallel to 1Sg and 2Sg in possessor and relative-clause subject series.

(xx1)   Personal Pronouns

| | | | | subject | |
	indep.	accus.	poss.	main cl.	relative cl.
1Sg	*mí*	*mì-ŋ*	*ŋ́* X	*ŋ́* VERB	*ŋ́* VERB
1Pl	*mbé*	*mbé-ŋ*	*mbé* X	*ǹ* VERB	*ǹ* VERB
2Sg	*ó*	*ò-ŋ*	*á* X	*á* VERB	*á* VERB
2Pl	*ábé*	*ábé-ŋ*	*ábé* X	*à* VERB	*à* VERB
3Sg	*ɔ̀nɔ̀*	*ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ*	X-*nà*	VERB-∅	VERB *ná*
3Pl	*ŋké*	*ŋké-ŋ*	*ŋké* X	[variable]	*ŋké* VERB

There are no special inanimate pronouns or anaphoric pronouns, except that possessed 'my head', 'your head', etc. is used for reflexive objects.

sg pronominal possessors with certain kin terms
'mother'   à ní:, ǹ ní:, ní:-ná
'elder sib'   à dɛ́:, ǹ dɛ́:, dɛ̀:-nà
'elder sib'   á bɔ̀bɔ́, ŋ́ bɔ̀bɔ́, bɔ̀bɔ̀-nà

4.4   Definite and deictic words

4.4.1   Determiners

4.4.1.1   Definite (*è* ~ *é*)

Definite *è* cannot be used absolutely (i.e. without a noun or some other following word). It is invariant for all animacy and number categories. Like demonstratives, it precedes the noun. If not already H-initial, the noun gets an initial H-tone that can then spread to a second lexically L-toned mora that is not immediately followed by a H-tone, see 'man' and 'sheep' in (xx1). However, if the noun contains a lexical /LH/ sequence, the L-tone cannot be totally deleted,

so /LH/-toned 'broom' ends up as {HLH} (xx1c), and /LHL/-toned 'carp'
surfaces as {HLHL} (xx1e).

(xx1)   noun   gloss   definite

     a. /H/-toned
       úná   'goat'   *è úná*
       wálá   'man'   *è wálá*

     b. /L/-toned
       nà: 'cow'   *è ná:*
       dùgù   'village'   *è dúgù*
       sè:ŋgè   'millet'   *è sé:ŋgè*
       àlàmùnɔ̀   'sheep'   *è álámùnɔ̀*

     c. /LH/-toned
       gè:ní   'broom'   *è gê:ní*

     d. /HL/-toned
       kó:tì   'tick'   *è kó:tì*

     e. /LHL/-toned
       èjègélè   'carp'   *è éjègélè*

Definite *è* cannot co-occur with demonstratives. It is uncommon in combination
with possessors, since possessed NPs are usually interpreted to be definite
anyway. However, *è* can combine with a possessor, most readily with 3Sg
possessor suffix *-nà*.

(xx2)   *è*   *sé:ŋgè-nà*
       Def   millet-3SgP
       'his/her millet (definite)'

Plural *-gè* is added to the noun: *è éjègélé-gè* 'the carps'. However, when an
otherwise absolute numeral is directly marked as definite, *è* takes a plural form
è̀-ŋgè (§4.7.1.2).
    When the noun is absent but an adjective is present, *è* is arguably treated
like an adjectivally modified noun. Before a {L}-toned adjective, *è* becomes H-
toned *é*, as in *é tòmbò* 'the white one', plural *é tòmbò-gè*. Before a {H}-toned
adjective, it remains L-toned, as in *è kándá* 'the new one', plural *è kándá-gé*.

4.4.1.2   'This/that' (deictic and discourse-definite demonstratives)

Demonstratives are preposed to nouns. Deictic categories are proximate and distant. There is no distinction between human, animate, and inanimate. The regular nominal plural suffix *-gè* is added directly to the demonstrative if the latter is used absolutely (i.e. without a noun), otherwise it is added to the noun (xx1).

(xx1)   Absolute forms of demonstratives

   a. Proximate
    ínì   'this'
    íní-gè   'these'

   b. Distant
    èm-bà   'that' (really 'over there', §4.4.2.1)

   c. Discourse-definite
    ɛ̂:   'that'
    ɛ́:-(ŋ)gè 'those'

Proximate *ínì* requires a L-toned onset on the following noun. a lexically /H/- or /HL/-toned noun is dropped to {L} melody (xx2bc). The medial H-tone in /LH/- or /LHL/-toned nouns is not affected (xx2de). In other words, only an initial H-toned syllable or syllable-sequence is tone-dropped after *ínì*. Since a noun following *ínì* always begins with L-tone, *ínì* itself is pronounced *íní* in this combination, see Rightward H-Spreading §3.6.3.5. /L/-toned nouns are unaffected (xx2a).
  Distant *èm-bà* and discourse-definite *ɛ̂:*, on the other hand, control {HL} overlay on the following noun. This suggests that they are really demonstrative adverbs ('there'), so 'that house (over there)' is phrased as '(the) house of over there'. lexical /HL/ nouns show no audible change after these forms (xx2c).

(xx2)	noun	gloss	proximate	distant	disc-def
a. /L/-toned					
	dùgù	'village'	*íní dùgù*	*èm-bà dúgù*	*ɛ̀: dúgù*
b. /H/-toned					
	úná	'goat'	*íní ùnà*	*èm-bà únà*	*ɛ̀: únà*
c. /HL/-toned					
	kó:tì	'tick'	*íní kò:tì*	*èm-bà kó:tì*	*ɛ̀: kó:tì*

d. /LH/-toned
  gè:ní　　　'broom'　*íní gè:ní*　　*èm-bà gé:nì*　　*è: gé:nì*

e. /LHL/-toned
  èjègélè　　'carp'　　*íní èjègélè*　　*èm-bà éjégélè*　　*è: éjégélè*

If the NP is plural, plural suffix *-gè* is added only to the noun: *íní ùnà-gè* 'these goats', *èm-bà gé:ní-gè* 'those brooms'. Note the Rightward H-Spreading in the latter example.

4.4.2　Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.2.1　Locative adverbs

The basic locational demonstrative adverbs are in (xx1).

(xx1)　form　　　　gloss

　　nùw^n　　　　'here'
　　èm-bà　　　　'over there (nearby or distant, deictic)', cf. locative *bà*
　　è-w^n　　　　'there (definite)', cf. locative *w^n*

4.4.2.2　Emphatic and approximinative modifiers of adverbs

Modifiers of spatial adverbs are in (xx1).

(xx1)　　form　　　　　gloss

　　a.　*nùw^n já:tì*　　'right here'
　　　　èmbà já:tì　　　'right there (deictic)'
　　　　è^n já:tì　　　'right there (discourse-definite)'

　　b.　*nùw^n pélɔ́*　　'around here, in this area'
　　　　èmbà pélɔ́　　　'around there (deictic)'
　　　　è^n pélɔ́　　　'around there (discourse-definite)'

　　c.　*nùw^n ní*　　　'this way'
　　　　èmbà ní　　　　'that way (deictic)'
　　　　è^n ní　　　　'that way (discourse-definite)'

4.4.2.3 'Like this/that' (*ènè̀*, *nénì*)

nénì→ 'like this, like that' is deictic; it is used when the speaker demonstrates the indicated action or speech, or when another agent is observed doing so. *ènè̀* 'like that, thus' (French *ainsi*) is (discourse-)definite.

(xx1) a. *ènè̀   káyⁿ   kán   bò-∅*
        thus   work   do   Impf-3SgS
        'He/She works like that (as described previously).'

     b. *nénì   káná*
        like.this   do.Imprt
        'Do (it) like this!' (demonstrating)

èné is also common in narrative in the sense 'then, following that' or more abstractly 'in that situation'. It effectively resumes the situation described by the preceding discourse.

4.4.3 Presentative ('here's …!') (*ìⁿhíⁿ*)

There is a single presentative form, translatable as 'here's X' or 'there's X' in combination with a NP, namely *ìⁿhíⁿ*. It is invariant in form (no plural or other agreement). It usually precedes the NP, and it must precede a pronoun. I hear it as {L}-toned before a pronoun beginning with a H-tone.

(xx1) a. *ìⁿhíⁿ   sěydù*
        here's   Seydou
        'Here's Seydou!'
        [less often *sěydù ìⁿhíⁿ*]

     b. *ìⁿhìⁿ   mí*
        here's   1Sg
        'Here I am!'

     c. *ìⁿhíⁿ   ɔ̀nɔ̀*
        here's   3Sg
        'Here he/she is!'

4.5   Adjectives

Adjectives can be postnominal modifiers, or they can be predicates. This section describes their forms as modifiers. For adjectival predicates see §11.4.1.

Within the NP, adjectives follow nouns (including nouns with 3Sg possessor *-nà*) and precede numerals. Sequences of two or more adjectives are possible. An adjective controls tone-dropping on the preceding noun or adjective, hence [N^L Adj] and [N^L Adj1^L Adj2], see §6.3.1 and §6.3.3.1.

4.5.1   Morphologically simple adjectives

Morphologically simple adjectives are illustrated in (xx1), grouped roughly by domain.

(xx1)   simple adjectives

dimensions (for 'short' and 'small' see §4.5.xxx below)
bày^n	'big (house, tree)'
bámbá	'wide (passageway), spacious (courtyard)'
bàgàlà	'big, fat, massive, stout (animal, person, rock)'
gòlò	'long, tall'
wàgè	'distant'
sùmbè	'deep (well, hole)'
dóndó	'empty' = 'deserted',
dóŋgá	'heavy'
ɲɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	'thin, slender (person, pole)'
èlɔ̀	'thin, delicate (e.g. fabric)'

fullness
kùrè	'undiluted, full-strength (e.g. milk)'
sèlè	'diluted (e.g. milk)'
jwè:	'full (container)'

age and state
ká:mnɔ́	'old (man, woman)'
kándá	'new'
ɲàm	'malfunctioning'
kòlò	'fresh (vegetation); 'fresh (milk); raw (meat)'
dèmɛ̀	'ripe (grain, fruit); cooked, done (meat)'
ùlgɛ̀	'ripe (fruit)'
bɔ̀rɛ̀	'cooked, done (meal, meat)'

ɔ̀njɛ̀	'lean (animal, meat)'
kùnɛ̀	'plump, fatty'
dɔ̀gɛ̀	'dead'
málá	'alive' (lit. "who can see")

temperature and speed
nwá:gá	'hot (water, food); 'fast'
tàyè	'cold, cool (water)'
tà:mì	'slow'

texture and hardness
ɔ̀nànà	'smooth, sleek (surface)'
kùrjù	'coarse (surface)'
kàmmì	'hard (e.g. rock, wood)'

taste and smell
gɔ̀mɛ̀	'rotten (meat, fruit)'
nsì:^{n} [ńsì:^{n}]	'sweet, delicious' (also 'sharp')
gà:là	'bitter'

sharpness
nsì:^{n} [ńsì:^{n}]	'sharp' (also 'delicious, sweet')

evaluation
pɔ́:lɔ́	'good'
ɲàm	'bad' (see also §4.5.xxx)
yágá	'pretty'
dá:	'nasty, evil'

difficulty, expensiveness
má:gá	'difficult (work); expensive'
mɔ́mɔ́	'inexpensive'
jámá	'easy (work)', 'nearby (village)'

color
bɔ̀mbɛ̀	'red, brown'
yɔ́rdɛ́	'black, dark'
tòmbò	'white, light-colored'

moisture
mɛ̀:	'dry'
ɛ̀mbɛ̀	'wet'

The regionally widespread syncretisms 'sweet' = 'sharp' and 'hot' = 'fast' are present. However, 'cold' is distinct from 'slow', and the 'hot' = 'fast' syncretism

59

in modifying adjectives is subtly undone in inchoative verbs (*nú:gè* 'become hot', *nwá:jè* 'become fast, accelerate') and adjectival predicates (*nwà:gè bó-∅* 'it is hot' versus *nwà:jè bó-∅* 'it is fast').

4.5.2   Iterated adjective stems

The stems in (xx1) are always (i.e. lexically) iterated, but function syntactically like other adjectives (e.g. tone-dropping a preceding noun). 'Blue' is a regionally widespread loanword.

(xx1)	*búlá-búlà*	'blue'
	kárá-kárá	'bitter'
	èb-èb	'supple (e.g. goatskin)'
	sém-sém	'pointed'
	yáw-yáw	'lightweight'
	tóm-tóm	'sour, acrid (like lemon)'

4.5.3   Phrasal adjectives (exemplars)

As in other Dogon languages, 'yellow' and 'green' are expressed by compounds or noun-adjective sequences denoting exemplars.

(xx1)		adjective	gloss	literal sense
	a.	*pòrò púnà*	'yellow'	'néré-tree flour' (bright yellow)
	b.	*kòjì kòlò*	'green'	'fresh grass'

4.5.4   Negative adjectives

Certain adjectival senses rendered by a simple lexical item in English are expressed by negating the adjective at the marked pole. In modifying function within NPs, the form used is that of a relative clause, with participial *-gà* suffix (xx1).

(xx1)	a.	*nsì:ⁿ-dì-gà*	'blunt, not sharp (blade)'
	b.	*yágá-ndá-gà*	'ugly, not pretty'
	c.	*pɔ́lɔ́ wòl-gà*	'bad, no good' (*pɔ́:lɔ́* 'good')

sùmb-yà wŏl-gà	'shallow, not deep'
mà:gè wŏl-gà	'easy, not difficult' (*má:gá* 'difficult')

For predicative counterparts see §11.4.xxx

4.5.5 Diminutive adjectives (*-yè*)

Two adjectives denoting small dimensional values end in *-yè*, which can be recognized as a frozen diminutive, cf. §5.1.5.

(xx1)   form   gloss

dùŋgùrí-yè	'short'
ŋkà:lí-yè	'small'

There are no nondiminutive counterparts for these adjectives.
    For *-yè* on nouns, see §4.2.5 and the compounds in §5.1.10-11.

4.5.6 Derived adjective with *-mà*

sànjàl-mà 'slippery (ground)' is the combination of the verb *sánjálè* 'slide, slip' with a derivational suffix apparently related to capacitative *-mâ:* (§10.5). It is used only as a predicate, so its status as an adjective is shaky: *sànjàl-mà bó-∅* 'it (ground) is slippery'.

4.5.7 Intensifying adjectives

Some regular adjectives have corresponding intensifiers.

(xx2)   adjective   gloss   intensifier

a. uniterated intensifier
   adjective {L}-toned

tòmbò	'white'	*tòmbò pájá*
bòmbè	'red'	*bòmbè cóy*
ùlgè	'ripe'	*ùlgè jéy^n*
nwá:gá	'hot'	*nwà:gà táw*
tàyè	'cold'	*tàyè kílólló*

   adjective {H}-toned

kándá	'new'	*kàndà céy^n*

b. iterated

yɔ̀rdὲ	'black'	*yɔ̀rdὲ kárí-kárí*
kàmmì	'hard'	*kàmmì káŋ-káŋ*
gɔ̀mὲ	'rotten'	*gɔ̀mὲ dúgá-dúgá*

Syntactically, these intensifiers are adjectives, though rather specialized. In the forms shown, they follow the primary adjective, and as shown by 'new' in (xx1a) they control tone-dropping on the preceding adjective. Furthermore, if plural *-gὲ* is added, it appears after the intensifier, as in *tòmbò pájá-gé* 'very white ones'. In other words, N-Adj plus intensifier is treated as N-Adj1-Adj2 for tonosyntactic and morphological purposes. This sequence is syntactically a NP, and is made predicative by adding the 'it is' clitic at the end (xx3). For H-toned definite *é* before L-toned adjective, see §4.4.1.1.

(xx3)　*é*　　*tòmbò*　*pájá=yó*
　　　Def　white　very.white=it.is
　　　'It is very white (snow white etc.).'

The corresponding negative predicate has *=lá* replacing *=yó*.

　　With 'die' as the core stem, the intensifier *gádá* requires subject inflection on the verb. For 3Sg subject, the form used is the postverbal *nà* as in e.g. relative clauses.

(xx4)　*dɔ̀gὲ*　　　*nà*　　　(a) *gádá*
　　　　"　　　　　"　　　　(b) *ɲɔ́mé-∅*
　　　die.Perf　　3SgS　　(a) very.dead
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(b) be.a.long.time.Perf-3SgS
　　　(a) 'He/She is very dead (stone dead).'
　　　(b) 'It's been a long time since he/she died'

(xx5)　*dɔ̀g-yὲ*　　　(a) *gádá*
　　　　"　　　　　　(b) *ɲɔ́mé-∅*
　　　(a) 'They are very dead (stone dead).'
　　　(b) 'It's been a long time since he/she died'

4.6　Participles functioning like adjectives

Participles (i.e. forms of verbs used in relative clauses) are described in §14.4. Some "adjectival" senses are expressed by participles of *kání* 'do' following an expressive adverbial (xx2).

(xx2)   *mǒn-mòn kân*   'soft (skin)'
        tɔ̀gúl-tɔ̀gûl kân   'spotted'

4.7   Numerals

4.7.1   Cardinal numerals

In the chanted recitation of numerals '1' to '10', a rhythmical alternation of {L}-toned (odd numerals) and {H}-toed (even numerals) is observed. Arguably this is intonational rather than (lexically) tonal.

(xx1)   counting sequence

'1'	*tè:dà*
'2'	*né:ŋgá*
'3'	*tà:ndì*
'4'	*ké:jɔ́*
'5'	*nɔ̀:m*
'6'	*kúlé:ní*
'7'	*sɔ̀:lì*
'8'	*sé:lé*
'9'	*tò:wà*
'10'	*pé:lú*

Focusing on segmental form rather than tones, '1' through '4' have a common *Cv:Cv* (or *Cv:NCv*) shape in the counting sequence, which contributes to the incantational rhythm of the recitation. In the case of '3', the regular form (see below) is already *Cv:NCv*. '4' achieves the *Cv:Cv* shape by lengthening its first vowel. '1' and '2' have significantly distinct segmental forms in counting sequences and in NPs.

4.7.1.1   'One' (*tà:ŋgà*), 'same (one)' (*tà:ŋgà*), and 'other' (*tó:*)

Other than in the counting sequence (i.e. absolutely or following a noun), '1' is *tà:ŋgà*. It is treated tonosyntactically as an adjective. In the numeral's absolute function, definite *è* is allowed (xx1a,d), the sense being 'one (of them)'. Unlike nouns, è can be tone-raised before *tà:ŋgà*.

(xx1)   a.   *[(é)   tà:ŋgà]   mì-ŋ / ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ   tábá*
            [(Def)   one]   1Sg-Acc / 3Sg-Acc   give.Imprt

63

'Give-2Sg me/him-or-her one!'

    b.   *ùnà*^L / *yɔ̀:*^L / *nèjjè*^L / *kò:tì*^L / *kìn-wè:*^L   *tà:ŋgà*
       goat / woman / bird / tick / stone   one
       'one goat/woman/bird/tick/stone' (< *úná*, *yɔ̀:*, *nèjjé*, *kó:tì*, *kìn-wê:*)

    c.   *tà:ŋgá*   *tùmbùgò*
       one   push.Imprt
       'Push-2Sg one!'

    d.   *é*   *tà:ŋgà*
       Def   one
       'the one' (*è*)

In (xx1c), *tà:ŋgá* undergoes Final Tone-Raising before the imperative.

    Identity or equivalence of two referents, for example belonging to the same species, is expressed by an 'it is' predicative form of *tà:ŋgà* (xx2).

(xx2)   *[[íní   nì]   [íní   nì]   sèlé]   tà:ŋgà = yó*
       [[this   and]   [this   and]   all]   one=it.is
       'This and this are the same.'

tó: 'other' is an adjective, and controls tone-dropping on a preceding noun: *ùnà*^L *tó:* 'another goat' (*úná*). Adverbial 'apart, separate, distinct' is iterated tó:-tó: or tó:-nà (§8.4.5.2).

4.7.1.2   '2' to '10'

For forms in the counting sequence, see §4.7.1 above.

    Numerals '2' to '9' are added to a noun (or noun-adjective sequence) with plural *-gè*. The plural suffix is allowed, but usually omitted, with '10'. The plural noun has its regular tones, except that a lexically /L/-toned noun has L-toned plural *-gè*. '2' and '4' get their tones (on both syllables) by spreading the final tone of the preceding plural morpheme, except they are {H}-toned after a /L/-toned noun. The effect is that '2' and '4' are {H}-toned after flat /H/- and /L/-toned nouns, but {L}-toned after a noun with a contour tone (/HL/, /LH/, /LHL/). '3' and '7' through '9' have {HL} melody. '5', '6', and '10' have {H} melody. When used absolutely ('give me two!'), all of the numerals are {L}-toned.

(xx1)   gloss   after N or N-Adj ("X")   absolute

'2'	X-*gè nègà* (contour-toned noun)	*nègà*
	X-*gè négá* (/L/-toned noun)	
	X-*gé négá* (/H/-toned noun)	
'3'	X-*gè/-gé tá:ndì*	*tà:ndì*
'4'	X-*gè kèjɔ̀* (contour-toned noun)	*kèjɔ̀*
	X-*gè kéjɔ́* (/L/-toned noun)	
	X-*gé kéjɔ́* (/H/-toned noun)	
'5'	X-*gè/-gé nɔ́:m*	*nɔ̀:m*
'6'	X-*gè/-gé kúlé:ní*	*kùlè:nì*
'7'	X-*gè/-gé sɔ́:lì*	*sɔ̀:lì*
'8'	X-*gè/-gé sé:lè*	*sè:lè*
'9'	X-*gè/-gé tó:wà*	*tò:wà*
'10'	X*(-gè/-gé) pɛ́:l(ú)*	*pɛ̀:l(ù)*

Examples showing the tonal behavior of '2' and '4' are in (xx2). They are {H}-toned only after /L/ and /H/ melodies, and are {L}-toned after all contour melodies.

(xx2)   lexical melody   noun   gloss   Pl noun plus '2/4'

    a. flat tonal melody
        /L/   *yɔ̀:*   'woman'   *yɔ̀:-gè négá / kéjɔ́*
        /H/   *úná*   'goat'   *úná-gé négá / kéjɔ́*

    b. contoured tonal melody
        /LH/   *nèjjé*   'bird'   *nèjjé-gè nègà / kèjɔ̀*
        /HL/   *kó:tì*   'tick'   *kó:tí-gè nègà / kèjɔ̀*
        /LHL/   *kìn-wê:*   'stone'   *kìn-wé:-gè nègà / kèjɔ̀*

Numerals may follow nonsingular pronouns. In this case, the numeral is {H}-toned and is followed by a plural suffix *-gè*, always L-toned.

(xx3)   *mbé / ábé / ŋké*   *négá-gè / tá:ndí-gè / pɛ́:l-gè*
      1Pl / 2Pl / 3Pl   two-Pl / three-Pl / ten-Pl
      'we/you/they two/three/ten' (= 'the three of us' etc.)

When a numeral follows a demonstrative, the demonstrative has the plural suffix, and the numeral is {L}-toned. In other words, both the demonstrative and the numeral have the same form they would have in isolation (absolutely).

(xx3)   *íní-gè*   *nègà / tà:ndì / pɛ̀:l(ù)*

Prox-Pl   two / three / ten
'these two/three/ten'

In (xx3), plural *-gè* may be doubled: *ín-gé-gè nègà* 'these two'.
    When a numeral follows the definite morpheme, the latter takes the plural form *è-ŋgè*. The numeral has {L}-toned form.

(xx4)   *è-ŋgè*   *nègà* / *tà:ndì* / *pè:l(ù)*
        Def-Pl   two / three / ten
        'the two/three/ten'

Numerals cannot be directly possessed. Instead of 'your three', for example, one says 'your three things (possessions)': *à ɲé:-gè tá:ndì*.

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

The multiples of '10' are given in (xx1). There are distinctive lexical items for '20' and '40', and an apparent composite form for '80'. '60' is based on '20' but the morpheme *sígò* is not otherwise known. Odd-numbered multiples '30', '50', '70', and '90' are conjunctions of the next lower decimal multiple and '10', e.g. '50' is literally "40 and 10." In '30', the left conjunct ('20 and') is usually contracted to *tà:^{n}*. In '50' and higher odd-numbered decimal multiples, *nì* 'and' in the left conjunct is often reduced to *n* or to vowel nasalization.

(xx1)   gloss   form

        '10'   *pè:l(ù)*
        '20'   *tà:lmɔ̀*
        '30'   *[tà:lmɔ̀ nì] [pè:l nì] ~ tà:^{n} [pè:l nì]*
        '40'   *dè:*
        '50'   *[dé: nì] [pè:l nì] ~ dè:^{n} [pè:l nì]*
        '60'   *tà:lmɔ̀ sígò*
        '70'   *[tà:lmɔ̀ sígò nì] [pè:l nì]*
        '80'   *tɔ̀:^{n}-jígì*
        '90'   *[tɔ̀:^{n}-jígì nì] [pè:l nì]*

As noted previously, a preceding noun occasionally takes plural *-gè* before '10', though the unsuffixed noun is preferred. With higher numerals, *-gè* is absent. Nouns like *nà:* 'cow' and *mìnjìlì* 'mosque' that are lexically /L/-toned acquire a final H-tone (on the final syllable, or on the final mora of a monosyllabic) before decimal numerals from '20' up. Nouns of other tone classes, like 'goat',

'bird', and 'tick', undergo no changes before these numerals, so we cannot speak of a tonosyntactic {LH} overlay erasing all lexical tone melodies.

(xx2) a. *nà:(-gè)* / *mìnjìlì(-gè)* / *úná(-gé)* / *nèjjé(-gè)*   *pɛ́:lú*
           cow(-Pl) / mosque(-Pl) / goat(-Pl) / bird(-Pl)   10
           '10 cows/mosques/goats/birds'

       b. *nǎ:* / *mìnjìlí* / *úná* / *nèjjé* / *kó:tì*   *tà:lmɔ̀* / *dè:* / *tɔ̀:ⁿ-jígì*
           cow / mosque / goat / bird / tick   20 / 40 / 80
           '20/40/80 cows/mosques/goats/birds'

Decimal plus single-digit numerals like '47' are expressed as conjunctions of the decimal numeral (with the appropriate form of a preceding noun) and the single-digit numeral. Unusually, the conjunction *nì* 'and' takes H-toned form *ní* in the left conjunct in such composite numerals. In isolation (i.e. prepausally), my assistant sometimes pronounced H-toned *ní* in the right conjunct too, but this was not consistent even in isolation, and it was not observed in medial position in clauses.

(xx2) a. *[dè: ní]   [sɔ̀:l   nì]*
           [40   and]   [seven   and]
           '47'

       b. *[tà:lmɔ̀   ní]   [nɔ̀:m   nì]*
           [20   and]   [five   and]
           '25'

       c. *tɔ̀:ⁿ-jígí   ní]   [tà:ndí   nì]*
           [80   and]   [3   and]
           '83'

In such combinations, the decimal numerals have their regular form, subject to minor contractions in allegro speech style.

In these combinations, '1 and' (as in '11' and '51') is *tèdà n*, cf. *tè:dà* '1' in the counting sequence. The other single-digit numerals have their usual {L}-toned absolute form before the conjunction *nì*.

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

The stems in (xx1) are are added to the regular form of a noun, or are used absolutely.

(xx1)	gloss	independent form	modifying a noun X
a.	'hundred'	*tὲ:mdɛ́rɛ̀* (<Fulfulde)	*X tὲ:mdɛ́rɛ̀*
b.	'thousand'	*mùnjù*	*X mùnjù*
c.	'million'	*mìlyɔ̂^{n}* (<French)	*X mìlyɔ̂^{n}*

'Hundred' and 'million' (both loanwords) are treated like common nouns, and therefore require plural *-gè* before numerals '2' to '9' (and optionally '10'). 'Thousand' does not have the plural suffix in such combinations, though in isolation *mùnjù-gé* 'thousands' is grammatical.

(xx2)	gloss	simple	with '2'	gloss
a.	'hundred'	*tὲ:mdɛ́rɛ̀*	*tὲ:mdɛ́rɛ́-gè nègà*	'200'
b.	'thousand'	*mùnjù*	*mùnjù nègà*	'2,000'
c.	'million'	*mìlyɔ̂^{n}*	*mìlyɔ́^{n}-gè nègà*	'2,000,000'

'Million' is used chiefly for currency.

4.7.1.5 Currency

The currency unit in Mali and several other Francophone West African states that belong to the ECOWAS regional association (French acronymn CEDEAO) is the CFA franc (FCFA). As of 2012, one US dollar was worth about 500 FCFA. In the native languages, currency is counted based on a unit equal to five FCFA, except for amounts of one million FCFA or greater which use the French loanword *mìlyɔ̂^{n}* to denote one million FCFA. In Penange this unit is called *m̀bú:dù*, plural *m̀bú:dú-gè* before numerals '2' through '9'.

(xx1) a. *m̀bú:dù*
        currency.unit
        '5 FCFA'

      b. *m̀bú:dú-gè*   *nègà*
        currency.unit-Pl   two
        '10 FCFA'

4.7.1.6   Distributive numerals

Numerals are iterated with no further morphology to make distributives ('two by two', 'two currency units each', etc.). The forms are based on the absolute and postnominal (rather than counting-sequence) forms where we can distinguish them (especially '1' and '2'). The regular tone melody is {L} for the left iteration and {HL} for the right iteration, represented as L-HL in the right column in (xx1). However, for '100' the right iteration has its lexical tone, and the left iteration is {H}-toned.

(xx1)	gloss	absolute	distributive	tones
	'1'	*tà:ŋgà*	*tà:ŋgà-tá:ŋgà*	L-HL
	'2'	*nègà*	*nègà-négà*	L-HL
	'3'	*tà:ndì*	*tà:ndì-tá:ndì*	L-HL
	'4'	*kèjɔ̀*	*kèjɔ̀-kéjɔ̀*	L-HL
	'5'	*nɔ̀:m*	*nɔ̀:m-nɔ̂:m*	L-HL
	'6'	*kùlè:nì*	*kùlè:nì-kúlé:nì*	L-HL
	'7'	*sɔ̀:lì*	*sɔ̀:lì-sɔ́:lì*	L-HL
	'8'	*sè:lè*	*sè:lè-sé:lè*	L-HL
	'9'	*tò:wà*	*tò:wà-tó:wà*	L-HL
	'10'	*pè:l(ù)*	*pè:l(ù)-pé:lù*	L-HL
	'20'	*tà:lmɔ̀*	*tà:lmɔ̀-tá:lmɔ̀*	L-HL
	'40'	*dè:*	*dè:-dê:*	L-HL
	'100'	*tè:mdérè*	*té:mdéré-tè:mdérè*	H-LHL
	'100'	*mùnjù*	*mùnjù-múnjù*	L-HL

The negative predicative form is with *=là* 'it is not', as in *nègà-négá=là* 'it isn't two by two'.
    For *àŋgà-áŋgà* 'how many (each)?' see §13.2.7.

4.7.2   Ordinal adjectives

For interrogative *à:ŋgù-lò* 'how many-eth?' see §13.2.7.

4.7.2.1   'First' (*páná*) and 'last' (*dí:rɔ̂*)

Adjective 'first' is *páná*, as in *yè: páná* '(the) first thing' (*yé:* 'thing'). The noun is tone-dropped as before other adjectives.

Adjective 'last' is *dí:rɔ́*, as in *yè: dí:rɔ́* '(the) last thing'.
For adverbial 'first(ly), at first", see §8.4.6.2

4.7.2.2   Other ordinals (suffix *-lò*)

Ordinals from 'second' to 'tenth' are in (xx1). The suffix is *-lò*, and the stem is
{L}-toned. There are some segmental irregularities, especially in 'second'
through 'fourth'. In 'fourth' but not 'tenth', there is a switch from -ATR *ɛ* to
+ATR *e*. Except for 'third', all stems end in a short high vowel before *-lò*, see
especially 'fifth', but this vowel is frequently syncopated when also preceded by
l ('seventh', 'eighth', 'tenth').

(xx1)	form	gloss
	a. single-digit numeral	
	nè:gù-lò	'second'
	tà:ndè-lò	'third'
	kè:jù-lò	'fourth'
	nɔ̀:mù-lò	'fifth'
	kùlè:nì-lò	'sixth'
	sɔ̀:l(ì)-lò	'seventh'
	sè:l(ì)-lò	'eighth'
	tò:wà-lò	'ninth'
	pè:l(í)-lò	'tenth'
	b. decimal	
	tà:lmɔ̀-lò	'twentieth'
	dè:-lò	'fortieth'
	c. decimal plus single-digit numeral	
	pè:l-ní tèdà-n-lò	'eleventh'
	d. hundred	
	tè:mdèrè-lò	'hundredth'

4.7.3   Fractions and portions

féccérè 'portion, division' (< Fulfulde) can mean 'half', 'third', or other
substantial fraction.

5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

The notation I use for tonal types of noun-noun and relative compounds is as follows. Using n for noun, a for adjective, num for numeral, v for verb, and x for a variable word class (noun, adjective, perhaps adverb), the stem-class combinations are represented as e.g. [x n], [n n], [n v], [n num], [n a] and (with a suffix) [n v-VblN]. Tone diacritics are added (x́ = all high tone, x̂ = falling melody, x̌ = rising melody, x̀ = all low tone, x̄ = regular lexical tone). Example: [ǹ n̄] is a noun-noun compound whose initial is dropped to {L} tone contour and whose final has its lexical tones.

5.1 Nominal compounds

5.1.1 Pseudo-possessive compounds, light [n̄ n̂] or heavy [n̄ ň]

This is the productive noun-noun compound type. The initial preserves its own lexical tone, but like a possessor it controls {HL} on light finals and {LHL} on heavy finals.

Examples with prosodically light finals, which therefore appear with {HL} melody, are in (xx1). The clearest examples are those in (xx1a), where the initial has a lexical melody other than /L/ and where the final has an audible tone change. The cases in (xx1b) are assigned to this compound type by analogy, although the initial is lexically /L/-toned. *kó:* 'head' idiosyncratically drops to {L} as compound initial (xx1c).

(xx1) Prosodically light final with {HL}

		compound	gloss	initial	final
a.		*dɔ́mjɔ̀-kúlè*	'beard'	*dɔ́mjɔ̀* 'chin'	*kúlé* 'hair'
		sígé-gɔ́:gè	'shinbone'	*sígé* 'foot'	*gɔ̀:gè* 'bone'
		úná-gújù	'goatskin'	*úná* 'goat'	*gùjù* 'skin'
		túlú-kɔ́bè	'*Guiera* tree leaf'	*túlú* '*Guiera*'	*kɔ̀bè* 'leaf'
		kámbé-mî:	'zaban juice'	*kámbé* 'zaban'	*mì:* 'water'
b.		*gɔ̀:ⁿ-kúlè*	'chest hair'	*gɔ̀:ⁿ* 'chest'	*kúlé* 'hair'
		nè:-gɔ́:gè	'arm bone'	*nè:* 'hand, arm'	*gɔ̀:gè* 'bone'
		àlàmùnɔ̀-gújù	'sheepskin'	*àlàmùnɔ̀* 'sheep'	*gùjù* 'skin'

sà:l-gújù	'snake sp. skin'	*sà:l*	'snake sp.'	*gùjù*	'skin'
màlfà-púnà	'gunpowder'	*màlfà*	'rifle'	*púná*	'powder'
sè:ŋgè-nî:	'*Maerua* tree'	*sè:ŋgè*	'millet'	*ní:*	'mother'
kɔ̀yⁿ-swâ:	'wild mouse'	*kɔ̀yⁿ*	'outback'	*swá:*	'mouse'
kɔ̀yⁿ-nâ:	'buffalo'	*kɔ̀yⁿ*	'outback'	*nà:*	'cow'
kɔ̀y-gâ:ⁿ	'wild cat'	*kɔ̀yⁿ*	'outback'	*gà:ⁿ*	'cat'
sànà-mî:	'wild-grape juice'	*sànà*	'wild grape'	*mì:*	'water'
sòmgè mî:	'tamarind juice'	*sòmgè*	'tamarind'	*mì:*	'water'

c.
kɔ̀:-ŋ-gúlè	'head hair'	*kó:*	'head'	*kúlé*	'hair'
kò:-bògólyè	'skull'	*kó:*	'head'		(unattested)

Examples with prosodically heavy finals, which appear with {LHL} melody, are in (xx2). *púná:-ŋgé* is a variant of *púná* 'flour, powder' with a frozen nominal suffix (§4.1.1.2).

(xx2)   Prosodically heavy final with {LHL}

	compound	gloss	initial	final
a.	*éré:ŋgé-[pùná:-ŋgè]*	'rice flour'	*éré:ŋgé* 'rice'	*púná:-ŋgé* 'flour'
b.	*sè:ŋgè-[pùná:-ŋgè]*	'millet flour'	*sè:ŋgè* 'millet'	*púná:-ŋgé* 'flour'
	dà:nà-bà:mbúlà	'hunter's hat'	*dà:nà* 'hunter'	*bà:mbùlà* 'hat'
	[mɔ̀l-wàlà]-bà:mbúlà	'marabout's hat'	*mɔ̀l-wàlà* 'marabout'	"

Although the compound has a form similar to that of a possessive construction, it functions syntactically as a common noun in cases like those illustrated. The compound noun can therefore take a true possessor.

Examples with preposed possessor (i.e. any possessor other than a 3Sg pronominal) are in (xx3). The final is **treated as an unsegmented unit** for purposes of applying the possessor-controlled tone overlay. Since the compound as a whole is prosodically heavy, this means a {LHL} overlay for 1Sg possessor *ŋ́* and a {HL} overlay for 1Pl possessor *ŋ̀* (§6.2.1.1).

(xx3)   Possessed forms of compounds

a. *màlfà-púnà*   'gunpowder'
      ŋ́ màlfà-púnà   'my gunpowder'
      ŋ̀ málfà-púnà   'our gunpowder'

b. *éré:ŋgé-[pùná:-ŋgè]* 'rice flour'

ǹ́ y-èrɛ̀:ŋgɛ̀-púná:-ŋgɛ̀   'my rice flour'
ǹ̀ y-éré:ŋgé-púná:-ŋgɛ̀   'our rice flour'

c. *[mɔ̀l-wàlà]-bà:mbúlà* 'marabout's hat'
   ǹ́ [mɔ̀l-wàlà]-bà:mbúlà 'my [marabout's hat]'
   ǹ̀ [mɔ́l-wálá]-bá:mbúlà 'our [marabout's hat]'

In (xx3b-c), where the compound initial is trisyllabic, the tone contours of the possessed forms are distinct from what they would be under recursive possession, as in [my rice]'s flour' or '[my marabout]'s hat'. For example, the latter would appear as *[ǹ́ mɔ̀l-<mark>wá</mark>là] bà:mbúlà* with {LHL} melody overlaid on *mɔ̀l-wàlà* 'marabout'. The situation is similar to that of English *[my girls]' school* versus *my [girls' school]*.

However, 3Sg possessor suffix *-nà* is variably positioned when added to such compounds. In (xx4a) *-nà* is added to the end of the compound, but in (xx4b) it is added directly to the initial. For example, 'his gunpowder' in (xx4b) is phrased as [[his rifle]'s powder].

(xx4) a. *pòrò-púná-nà*   'his nere flour'

       b. *éré:.ŋgé-ná pùná:-ŋgɛ̀*   'his rice flour'
           màlfà-nà púnà   'his gunpowder'

5.1.2   Other noun-noun compound types

I have no clear examples of [n̄ n̄] (no tone changes) or of [ǹ n̄] (initial drops tones). A [ǹ ǹ] type (both initial and final tone-dropped) occurs in agentive compounds (§5.1.4). The situation should be reviewed following additional lexicography.

5.1.3   Compounds with final verbal noun, type [n̄ v̂-l]

The verbal noun with final -l (§4.2.4) can take nominal compound initials, usually denoting a prototypical object (xx1a). As usual, *kó:* 'head' drops to *kò:-* as initial (xx1b). Cognate nominals other than verbal nouns can also serve as initials in such compounds. An example is *kùbɔ̀* 'agriculture, farm work' in (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *bí:ŋgò-[tíyê-l]*   'weaving cloth/mats' (*bí:ŋgò*)
           kɔ̀njɛ̀-[nê:-l]   'beer drinking'

wótóró-['túmbú-gê-l] 'pushing carts' (wótórò)
bòwⁿ-[túmbú-gê-l]   'pushing doors'

    b.   kò:-[múndê-l]   'tressing hair'

    c.   sè:ŋgè-kúbɔ̀   'millet farming'
           númgé-kúbɔ̀   'cowpea farming'
           èrè:ŋgè-kúbɔ̀   'rice farming'
           pábálgé-['kúbɔ̀]   'sesame farming' (pábálgè)

In *wótóró-['túmbú-gê-l]* (xx1a) and *pábálgé-['kúbɔ̀]* (xx1c), the sequence /…HL-H…/ is realized as /…HH-'H…/ as the first H-tone spreads to the right, and as the L-tone is manifested as downstep on the last H-tone. Pronunciations with /…HL-H…/ preserved are also possible.

5.1.4   Agentive compounds of type [ǹ v̀] and [ǹ v̌]

Most agentives denoting human occupations are compounds. The initial is **{L}-toned**. A prosodically light final is also {L}-toned. A prosodically heavy final is {H}-toned, but if it is trisyllabic (before syncope) it takes L-toned plural *-gè*. The initial is a noun denoting the typical object of the activity. In a few cases the initial is a cognate nominal variant (not in use elsewhere) ending in *a:*. The final is a verb, in the I/U-stem, though the /u/ is apocopated after an unclustered sonorant.

(xx1)   compoud   plural   gloss (componentns)

    a. initial is regular noun, u apocopated after sonorant
      initial is audibly tone-dropped
        ùnà-gìr   ùnà-gìr-gé   'goatherd' (úná, gíré)
        tàjì-tìy   tàjì-tìy-gé   'basket-weaver' (tájí
                                      'basket', tíyɛ́)

      initial is already {L}-toned
        sɔ̀y-kùw   sɔ̀y-kùw-gé   'tailor' (sɔ̀y 'fabric' kwé:)
        nɔ̀:-nùw   nɔ̀:-nùw-gé   'singer' (nɔ̀:, nwé:)
        gèjì-tìy   gèjì-tìy-gé   'weaver' (gèjì 'cotton string
                                        with gear', tíyɛ́)
        dèm-sìm   dèm-sìm-gé   'builder' (dèm 'house',
                                        símɛ́)
        sàbàl-kàn   sàbàl-kàn-gé   'merchant' (sàbàl kán(í) 'do
                                        business')

    b. initial is regular noun, *u* is overt after cluster or obstruent

74

tè:ŋgè-jòmbù	*tè:ŋgè-jòmbù-gé*	'wood-gatherer' (*tè:ŋgè*, *jómbé*)

c. initial is a special cognate nominal with final *a:*

gìrà:-gìr	*gìrà:-gìr-gé*	'herder' (verb *gíré* 'tend', no noun)
yèbà:-yèbù	*yèbà:-yèbù-gé*	'dancer' (verb *yébé*, usual noun *yèbù*)
mùndà:-mùndù	*mùndà:-mùndù-gé*	'braiding lady' (*múndé*)
pènjà:-pènjù	*pènjà:-pènjù-gé*	'milker (of cows)' (*pénjέ*)
jòŋgà:-jòŋgù	*jòŋgà:-jòŋgù-gé*	'healer' (*jóŋgέ*)

d. trisyllabic verb

nàmà-ná:ndù	*nàmà-ná:ndú-gé*	'meat-taster' (*ná:ndè*)
[sògù-là]-[sógú-l]	*[sògù-là]-[sógú-l]-gè*	'merchant' (*sògù-là* 'selling', *sógú-lè* 'sell')
wòtòrò-túmbú-gú	*wòtòrò-túmbú-gú-gè*	'pusher of carts'

In flora-fauna terminology, 'dung beetle' (scarabaeid beetle that pushes a small ball of animal droppings) is *bòmà:-wĭl*. The initial is otherwise unfamiliar to my assistant (cf. *sùgɔ̀* 'excrement'), but *wĭl* is suggestively similar to *wí:lè* 'roll (sth) along'. Though synchronically isolated, this could be a vestige of an archaic agentive compound type with {LH} rather than {L} melody on the final.

5.1.5   Compounds with *wè:* 'child', diminutive *-yé* ~ *-yè*, and *sè:* 'grain'

Possessive-type compounds with *wè:* 'child' as the final are illustrated in (xx1). 'Child' takes the {HL}-toned form *wê:*, plural *wé:-gè*.

(xx1)	compound	gloss	initial	gloss
	bòwⁿ wê:	'key'	*bòwⁿ*	'door (shutter)'
	dɔ̀: wê:	'pestle'	*dɔ̀:*	'mortar'
	dógó wê:	'herb (*Caralluma*)'	*dógó*	'night'
	kìn wê:	'small stone'	*kìnì*	'stone, rock, hill'
	kɔ̀ndì wê:	'circumcised boy'	*kɔ̀ndì*	'circumcision'
	kúm wê:	'balanzan fruit'	*kúm*	'balanzan tree'
	nàm-yà wê:	'small grindstone'	*nàm-yà*	'large grindstone'
	tí: wê:	'envoy'	*tí:*	'mission'

A pestle is a blunt club for pounding grain inside a wooden mortar. A small grindstone is held in the hand and used to crush grain that is placed on the large flat grindstone.

For adjectives with diminutive *-yè*, see §4.5.5. Nouns with transparent diminutive *-yè* are in (xx2).

(xx2) compound   gloss   initial   gloss

    tùmá-yè   'twig'   *tùmà*   'stick'

A number of nouns and compound finals always end in *-ye*, either H- or L-toned. In these cases *-ye* is no longer transparently segmentable but probably originated as a diminutive ending. Hyphens are included in (xx3) to bring this out but elsewhere the hyphen is usually omitted. In some cases, L-toned *-yè* follows a stem with {LH} melody, as with 'twig' in (xx2) above.

(xx3)   compound   gloss

    a. final *-yé* ~ *-yè*
      {H}-toned *-yé*
        ból-yé   'tomtom'
        gùjà sá:nd-yé   'tree sp. (*Combretum*)'
        té:b-yé   'kite (hawk)'
      {L}-toned *-yè*
        bɔ̀l-bɔ̀l-yè   'catfish (*Clarias*)'
        dábál-yè   'story, tale'
        kòmbòl-yè   'shell; scale'
        kùlù-ŋ-kùndí-yè   'laughing dove'
        núgúr-yè   'seedstock'
        sìlɔ̌:nd-yè   'gutter spout (on roof)'
        súgúl-yè   'ear'
        tɔ̀:ndí-yè   'cowry shell(s)'
        tùgùn-[tá:l-yè]   'tree sp. (*Boscia*)'

    b. likely **jy → *jj*
      nèjjé   'bird'

A compound final *-sê:* derived from *sè:* '(single) grain, seed' is attested in more abstract sense denoting a small unit in (xx4). 'Heart' is usually treated in Dogon languages a small part of the liver-heart(-lung) complex, but *dòŋgò-* in this compound is obscure.

(xx4)   *tɔ́:-sê:*   'arrow'   *tɔ́:* 'bow'

| *mɔ́ré-sê:* | 'bullet' | *mɔ́ré* 'bullet' |
| *dòŋgò-sê:* | 'heart' | (*dòŋgò* 'wooden spear') |

5.1.6 Compounds with 'man' (*wálá*) and 'woman' (*yɔ̀:*)

No irregular or otherwise unusual compounds including 'man' or 'woman' have been observed. Both *wálá* 'man' and *yɔ̀:* 'woman' are used as nouns, and as modifying adjectives: *ŋkɛ̀ wálá* 'male dog', *ŋkɛ̀ yɔ̀:* 'female dog'. 'Boy' and 'girl' are just 'male child' (*wè: wálá*) and 'female child' (*wè: yɔ̀:*).

5.1.7 *X bá:ŋgà* 'owner of X'

A possessive-type compound of the type *X bá:ŋgà* means 'owner of X', with {HL} overlay on *bá:ŋgá* 'owner'. An example is *dèm bá:ŋgà* 'home-owner'.

5.1.8 Nasal linker between compound initial and final

A number of compounds, including frozen combinations that behave prosodically as compounds, have an apparent nasal linker. It is heard as a homorganic nasal before stops, and as vocalic nasalization before *s*.

(xx1) a. iterative (§4.xxx)
kàlà-ŋ-kàlà	'herb sp. (*Cassia*)'
kó:ló-ŋ-kà:là	'tree locust'
sàgà-^{n}-sàgà	'tree sp. (*Piliostigma*)'
pòlò-m-pòlò	'tree sp. (*Gyrocarpus*)'

  b. other
álá-^{n}-să:bà	'cattle egret'
nìgìlì-^{n}-[sá:l-yè]	'swift; bat (mammal)'
tè:gú-n-tě:lè	'roller (bird)'
sìnjà-n-dúmbé	'sugar cane'
nùmà-ŋ-gíló	'tree sp. (*Cassia*)'
gítè-ŋ-gá:rì	'bush sp. (*Solanum*)'
ùnjà-ŋ-kámbé	'bush sp. (*Waltheria*)'
kùlù-ŋ-kùndíyè	'laughing dove'

77

5.1.9 Iterative natural-species compounds (*X-màn-X*)

I can cite the examples in (xx1).

(xx1) *tɔ̀ŋgù-màn-tɔ́ŋgù*   'woodpecker'
       dàŋgù-màn-dáŋgù   'herb sp. (*Zornia*)'

5.1.10 Instrumental compounds (*bí-yà*, *-yè*)

A form based on a verb with (tonally modified) **impersonal 3Pl** subject can be used to specify a functional type of a commodity. Those in (xx1) are based on **imperfective** verbs, and end in *bí-yà*, differing in tone from the regular 3Pl imperfective *b(ì)-yà*. The verb form as a whole has {LHL} melody, versus {HL} for the 3Pl imperfective as main-clause verb (*nɔ́: b-yà* 'they drink').

(xx1) a. *mì:*   *nɔ̀:-bí-yà*
           water   drink-Impf-Instr
           'drinking water, water for drinking'

       b. *mì:*   *dù-yɔ̀-bí-yà*
           water   bathe-MP-Impf-Instr
           'water for bathing'

       c. *nù:*   *nù:mb-yò-bí-yà*
           oil   rub.on-MP-Impf-Instr
           'oil for rubbing (not cooking)'

The combinations in (xx2) are based on the perfective stem. A modified noun ('stick') is present in (xx2a-b), but this slot is empty in (xx2c-e). The verb including the 3Pl subject suffix again has {LHL} melody, which distinguishes this instrumental compound type from the product-of-action compounds covered in the following section. The verb also requires +ATR suffix *-yè* even for -ATR verbs whose 3Pl perfective ends in *-yè* (*búmb-yè* 'they filed'). Stem iterations ending in a high vowel, arguably pro-forma cognate nominals, are added in these examples.

(xx2) a. *tùmà*   *bùndù-[bùndí-yè]*
           stick   hitting(n)-[hit.Perf-Instr]
           'a stick for hitting' (*búndé* 'hit')

       b. *mànà*   *tày-[tàyí-yè]*
           plastic   shooting(n)-[shoot.Perf-Instr]

78

'slingshot' (i.e. rubber used for shooting) (*mánà*, *táyé* 'shoot')

    c.   *kòjì-[kòjí-yè]*
        scraping(n)-[scrape.Perf-Instr]
        'scraper (for excavating the interior of a calabash or mortar)'

    d.   *dàgù-[dàgí-yè]*
        locking(n)-[lock.Perf-Instr]
        'padlock' or 'blacksmith's hammer'

    e.   *bùmbù-[bùmbí-yè]*
        filing(n)-[file.Perf-Instr]
        'file (tool)' (verb *búmbɛ́* 'brush, file')

The examples in (xx3) below have forms similar to those in (xx2), including the {LHL} melody of the verb, but now the initial noun does not denote the general entity type, rather the characteristic object of the action. For example, a toothbrush is not a tooth that one brushes with, rather an implement that one brushes teeth with. These are best transcribed as compounds (with hyphens) rather than as noun-adjective sequences (with spaces).

(xx3)   a.   *ìnì-[bùmbí-yè]*
           tooth-[brush.Perf-Instr]
           'toothbrush' (*ìnì*, verb *búmbɛ́* 'brush, file')

       b.   *ɔ̀rɔ̀gè-[ìgìrí-yè]*
           baobab.leaf-[stir.by.rotation.Perf-Instr]
           'stirring-stick' (*ɔ̀rɔ̀gɛ̀*, verb *ígírɛ̀*)

       c.   *kò:-[pùlí-yè]*
           head-[cover.Perf-Instr]
           'veil, abaya' (*kó:*, verb *púlé*)

5.1.11   Product-of-action compounds (*-yè* ~ *-yè*)

A **product-of-action** expression like 'roast(ed) meat' can be generated with a noun denoting the substance followed by a form seemingly segmentally identical to the 3Pl subject perfective, but here functioning as an adjective with no specific subject in mind. In this construction, the verb stem is {L}-toned, and the lexical ATR value of the stem is reflected in the suffixal vowel. Both of these features distinguish this product-of-action construction from the

instrument nominals covered in the preceding section. Compare the examples in (xx2) with 3Pl perfective *yá:r-yè*, *dú-yyè*, and *nám-mì*.

(xx2) a. *ɔ̀gùlɛ̀ / nàmà*   *yà:r-yè*
          peanut^L / meat^L   roast.Perf-Product
          'roasted peanuts / meat' (*ɔ́gúlɛ́*, *nàmà*)

       b. *ɔ̀gùlɛ̀ / sè:ŋgè*   *dù-yyè*
          peanut^L / millet^L   pound-Product
          'pounded peanuts / millet' (*ɔ́gúlɛ́*, *sè:ŋgè*)

       c. *sè:ŋgè*   *nàm-mì*
          millet^L   stone.grind-Product
          '(stone-)ground millet' (*sè:ŋgè*)

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi ("Blackbeard") compounds

5.2.1.1 With adjectival compound final [ǹ-*nà*-à]

In (xx1), the bahuvrihi adjective consists of a noun (e.g. body part), a 3Sg possessor suffix, and an adjective. The compound itself functions as an adjective modifying a common noun such as a flora-fauna term, but it can also be used without the noun. The compound-initial noun (with 3Sg possessor -*nà*) drops its tones, while the final adjective has its lexical tones. The resulting form is identical to the corresponding true possessive 'his/her ADJ N' combination (e.g. 'his/her black hair'). Note the {H}-toned *dɔ́ŋgá* 'heavy' in (xx1c) and the {H}-toned *kúlé* 'hair' dropping to *kùlɛ̀* in (xx1d). The noun denoting the general class of the entity is tone-dropped as usual before a modifying adjective, see 'dove' in (xx1a) and 'goat' in (xx1d).

  Orthographically, I write the bahuvrihi as a single word.

(xx1) a. *kùlù-ŋ-kùndìyè*   *pàrò-nà-yɔ̀rdɛ̀*
          dove^L   nape^L-3SgP-black
          'doves with black nape rings' (e.g. vinaceous dove) (*kùlù-ŋ-kùndíyè*, *pàrò*, *yɔ̀rdɛ̀*)

       b. *yɔ̀:*   *jàŋà-nà-bàgàlà(-gé)*
          woman^L   belly^L-3SgP-big(-Pl)
          'big-bellied woman/women' (*yɔ̀:*, *jàŋà*, *bàgàlà*)

c. *yɔ̀ː*   *kòː-nà-dɔ́ŋgá(-gé)*
    woman^L   head^L-3SgP-heavy(-Pl)
    'heavy-headed woman/women' (*yɔ̀ː*, *kóː*, *dɔ́ŋgá*)

d. *ùnà*   *kùlɛ̀-nà-yɔ̀rdɛ̀(-gé)*
    goat^L   hair^L-3SgP-black(-Pl)
    'black-haired cat(s)' (*úná*, *kúlé*, *yɔ̀rdɛ̀*)

The *-nà-* is invariant and pro forma. If the compound is pluralized, plural suffix *-gè* (or H-toned variant *-gé*) is added to the "singular" form with *-nà-*, rather than to a form with 3Pl possessor, as shown in the examples in (xx1).

5.2.1.2   With numeral compound final

Bahuvrihis with a nonsingular numeral instead of an adjective have the same form as the corresponding noun-numeral combination, e.g. 'two heads', including tone melodies and the medial plural suffix *-gè*. An example is (xx1a). If the numeral is *tàːŋgà* '1', which is syntactically an adjective (§4.7.1.1), the compound has the form of an adjectival bahuvrihi, with 3Sg possessor *-nà-* as in the examples presented in the preceding section.

(xx1) a. *ùnà*   *kóː-gé-négá*
           goat^L   head-Pl-two
           'a two-headed goat' (*úná*, *kòː*, *nègà*)

       b. *ntà*   *gìrè-nà-tàːŋgà(-gé)*
           person   eye-3SgP-one(-Pl)
           'one-eyed person/people' (*ntá*, *gìrè*, *tàːŋgà*)

81

6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1 Linear order

The basic left-to-right linear order of elements is (xx1).

(xx1) -2 determiner (demonstrative or definite)
-1 possessor
0 noun
+1 modifying adjective
+2 cardinal numeral
+3 universal quantifier (*sèlè* 'all')

Examples illustrating the relative ordering of adjacent elements are in (xx2). The linear ordering in (xx1) is cobbled together from such examples. In the "type" formulae, n = noun and a = adjective.

(xx2)   NP constituents   type

a. *dèm*^{L} *ŋkà:líyè*   [n-a]
    house^L small
    '(a) small house'

b. *dèm*^{L} *ŋkà:lìyé-gè*   *tà:ndì*   [n-a-num]
    house^L small-Pl ^{L}three
    'three small houses' (*tá:ndì*)

c. *ín* $^{L+}$*dèm-gè*   *tà:ndì*   [dem-n-num]
    Prox $^{L+}$house-Pl ^{L}three
    'these/those three houses'

d. *ín* $^{L+}$*dèm-gè*   *sèlè*   [dem-n-'all']
    Prox $^{L+}$house-Pl   all
    'all of these/those houses'

e. *è* ^{HL}*[dém-gè*   *tà:ndì]*   *sèlè*   [def-n-num-'all']

83

Def   ^{HL}[house-Pl   three]   all
'all three (of the) houses'

f.   *íní*   *sèydù*^L   ^{HL}*[dém-gè*   *tà:ndì]*   [dem-poss-n-num]
   Prox   Seydou^L   ^{HL}[house-Pl   three]
   'these three houses of Seydou'

g.   *à:màdù*^L   *únà*   [poss-n]
   Amadou^L   ^{HL}goat
   'Amadou's goat' (*úná*)

h.   *à:màdù*^L   *[ùnà*^L   *ŋkà:lìyé-gè]*   [poss-n-a]
   Amadou^L [goat^L   small-Pl]
   'Amadou's small goats'

i.   *à:màdù*^L   *[ùnà*^L   *ŋkà:lìyé-gé*   *tà:ndì]*   [poss-n-a-num]
   Amadou^L [goat^L   small-Pl   three-Pl]
   'Amadou's three small goats'

h.   *ŋ́*   ^{LHL}*[n-ùnà-gè*   *tá:ndì]*   [poss-n-num]
   1SgP   ^{LHL}[Epen-goat-Pl   three]
   'my three houses'

6.1.2   Headless NPs (absolute function of non-noun NP constituents)

A NP component other than a noun may (appear to) head the NP if the noun slot is empty. The examples in (xx1) are shown (with definite *è* where appropriate) and can function as NPs in clauses, as in 'give me __ !'.

(xx1)   a.   *è bɔ́mbè*   'the red one'
         bɔ̀mbè   '(some) red'

      b.   *è-ŋgé tà:ndì*   'the three'
         tá:ndì   'three'

      c.   *ínì*   'this (one)'

      d.   *sèlè*   'all, everything'

6.1.3 Bifurcation of relative-clause head NP

The apparent bifurcation of the head NP in a relative has limited effect in Penange, since possessors and determiners are prenominal. The 'all' quantifier *sèlè* is postverbal (§14.6.2).

6.1.4 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping in unpossessed NP

A noun is tone-dropped to {L} before a modifying adjective, see §6.3.1 below. This is the one systematic right-to-left tonosyntactic control process. Numerals '2' and up have only limited tonal interactions with preceding nouns or N-Adj sequences; certain numerals ('2', '4') themselves have variable tonal form depending on tones of a preceding noun, but there is no systematic tonosyntax for these combinations. *sèlè* 'all' does not affect tones of preceding words.

Prenominal possessors control a tone overlay on the following possessed noun. This overlay is realized as {HL}, {H}, or {LHL} depending on the prosodic shape of the possessed noun, for nonpronominal and most pronominal possessors. H-toned pronominal possessors (1Sg *ŋ́*, 2Sg *á*) are followed by {L}-toned possessed nouns under limited conditions. Identifying the basic possessed overlay is tricky since it depends on how we formulate lower-level tonological processes and on whether we include (the final word of) the possessor in the domain of the overlay. The logical candidates for basic overlay are {HL} and {LHL}, with the simpler surface patterns taken as reductions thereof I regard the overlay controlled by preposed possessors as purely tonosyntactic.

3Sg possessor suffix *-nà*, the only possessor that follows the possessed noun, does not erase lexical tones on the noun but it does have some quirky tonal interactions with them at the stem-suffix boundary. Specifically, it requires a shift from lexical /L/ to {LH} for heavy stems, merging with lexical {LH}. The suffix *-nà* is also quirky in that it immediately follows the possessed noun stem, preceding a plural suffix and any adjectives or numerals associated with the possessed noun. There is some quirky tonology of such combinations (e.g. noun-*nà*-Plural Adj Num), but it is not purely tonosyntactic in nature.

Determiners are prenominal, like most possessors. Definite *è* requires an initial H-tone on the following noun, but the lexical tone melody of the noun is not completely erased, so this is not pure tonosyntax. *ínì* 'this' requires initial L-tone on the following noun, but again the lexical melody of the noun is not entirely erased. By contrast, *èm-bà* 'that' and *ê:* 'that (discourse-definite)', which are best analysed as locative adverbs ('there') that here function syntactically as possessor NPs, control {HL} on the following noun, so this control is tonosyntactic.

NPs undergo no additional tone-dropping when functioning as relative-clause internal heads.

6.2   Possessives

Except for 3Sg pronominal possessor (suffix *-nà*), all possessors precede the possessed NP. There is no genitive morpheme. Instead, possessor-possessed relationships are expressed by linear juxtaposition and by tone melodies. In §6.2.1 the tonal changes on nonpronominal possessor NPs are considered. Tone overlays on the possessed noun or NP are considered in §6.2.2-3.

Pronominal possessors are shown in (xx1). The independent pronouns and pronominal-subject proclitic pronouns for the same categories are also shown to bring out the morphological relatinships. Tone melodies on the possessed noun X are disregarded for the moment.

(xx1)   category   possessor of X   independent   proclitic to V[erb]

1Pl	*mbé* X ~ *ŋ̀* X	*mbé*	*ŋ̀* V
2Pl	*ábé* X ~ *à* X	*ábé*	*à* V
3Pl	*ŋké* X	*ŋké*	V-*yà* (etc.) suffix
3Sg	X-*nà*	*ɔ̀nɔ̀*	V-∅
			(V *ná* in relatives)
1Sg	*ŋ́* X	*mí*	*ŋ́* V
2Sg	*á* X	*ó*	*à* V

The generalizations are summarized in (xx2).

(xx2)   Pronominal possessors

a.   plural pronouns have either independent or proclitic form
b.   3Sg possessor has a unique suffix *-nà*
c.   1Sg and 2Sg possessors have proclitic form

There are no differences in segmental form or linear order of alienable and inalienable possessors. There are slight differences in tones of nouns in the two cases.

A **default inanimate possessed noun** is *ɲê:*, as in *wè:-gè ɲê:* 'the children's __' and *á ɲê:* 'yours'. It can be pluralized (*X ɲɛ́:-gè*). It is probably an old word

86

for 'thing', with possessor-controlled {HL} with originally epenthetic *ɲ-* now fused and unsegmentable. Cf. *ɛ̀* 'that which' (default relative head), §14.2.4.

6.2.1 Tones of alienable possessor NP

If the preposed possessor is a nonpronominal NP, its **final word is often tone-dropped** to {L} before the possessed noun, which itself begins with a H-tone. Some of my current transcriptions do not indicate this possessor tone-dropping, so more study of this is needed.

    A simple example with a personal name is (xx1a). In (xx1b), 'Seydou' is tone-dropped as possessor of 'father', then 'father', which should be {LH}-toned as an inalienably possessed noun, is tone-dropped to {L} as the final word in the possessor of 'cow'. Except for such recursive possession, a nonfinal word in the possessor NP is not tone-dropped. Therefore the pronominal possessor of 'father' in (xx1c) remains H-toned, and 'man' in (xx1d) surfaces with its definite-controlled {HL} overlay. In (xx1a-d), the form of the possessor NP when used separately is given in parentheses after the free translation.

(xx1)   a.   *sèydù*^{L} ^{HL}*nâ:*
            S^L ^{HL}cow
            'Seydou's cow' (*sěydù*)

        b.   *[sèydù* ^{L} ^{HL}*bɔ̀bɔ̀* ^{L}*]* ^{HL}*nâ:*
            [S ^{HL}father^L] ^{HL}cow
            'Seydou's father's cow' (*sèydù* $^{L\ HL}$*bɔ́bɔ̀*)

        c.   *[ŋ́* ^{LH}*bɔ̀bɔ̀* ^{L}*]* ^{HL}*nâ:*
            [1SgP ^{LH}father^L] ^{HL}cow
            'my father's cow' (*ŋ́* ^{LH}*bɔ̀bɔ́*)

        e.   *[è* ^{HL}*wálà* ^{L}*kà:mnɔ̀]* ^{HL}*nâ:*
            [Def ^{HL}man ^{L}old] ^{HL}cow
            'the old man's cow' (*è* ^{HL}*wálà kà:mnɔ̀*)

6.2.1.1 Tones of alienably possessed noun

(xx1) presents pronominal-possessor paradigms for three alienably possessed nouns. The nouns here are lexically /L/-toned.

(xx1)   Alienable possession paradigm (/L/-toned nouns)

poss	'sheep' (< *àlàmùnɔ̀*)	'mosque' (< *mìnjìlì*)	'village' (< *dùgù*)	'cow' (< *nà:*)
a. 1Sg	*ή y-àlàmúnɔ̀*	*ή mìnjílì*	*ή dùgù*	*ή nà:*
	ή y-àlàmùnɔ́-gè	*ή mìnjìlí-gè*	*ή dùgú-gè*	*ή nǎ:-ŋgè*
1Pl	*mbé álámúnɔ̀*	*mbé mínjílì*	*mbé dúgú*	*mbé ná:*
	mbé álámúnɔ̀-gè	*mbé mínjílì-gè*	*mbé dúgú-gè*	*mbé ná:-ŋgè*
or:	*ὴ y-álámúnɔ̀*	*ὴ mínjílì*	*ὴ dúgú*	*ὴ ná:*
	ὴ y-álámúnɔ̀-gè	*ὴ mínjílì-gè*	*ὴ dúgú-gè*	*ὴ ná:-ŋgè*
b. 2Sg	*á yàlàmúnɔ̀*	*á mìnjílì*	*á dùgù*	*á nà:*
	á yàlàmùnɔ́-gè	*á mìnjìlí-gè*	*á dùgú-gè*	*á nǎ:-ŋgè*
2Pl	*ábé álámúnɔ̀*	*ábé mínjílì*	*ábé dúgú*	*ábé ná:*
	ábé álámúnɔ̀-gè	*ábé mínjílì-gè*	*ábé dúgú-gè*	*ábé ná:-ŋgè*
or:	*à y-álámúnɔ̀*	*à mínjílì*	*à dúgú*	*à ná:*
	à y-álámúnɔ̀-gè	*à mínjílì-gè*	*à dúgú-gè*	*à ná:-ŋgè*
c. 3Sg	*àlàmùnɔ́-nà*	*mìnjìlí-nà*	*dùgù-nà*	*nà:-nà*
	àlàmùnɔ̀-ná-gè	*mìnjìlí-ná-gè*	*dùgù-ná-gè*	*nà:-ná-ŋgè*
3Pl	*ŋké álámúnɔ̀*	*ŋké mínjílì*	*ŋké dúgú*	*ŋké ná:*
	ŋké álámúnɔ̀-gè	*ŋké mínjílì-gè*	*ŋké dúgú-gè*	*ŋké ná:-ŋgè*
d. NP	NP^L *álámúnɔ̀*	NP^L *mínjílì*	NP^L *dúgù*	NP^L *nâ:*
	NP^L *álámúnɔ̀-gè*	NP^L *mínjílì-gè*	NP^L *dúgú-gè*	NP^L *ná:-ŋgè*

In the singular forms for 3Sg possessor we observe a break between prosodically heavy stems, which "grow" a final H-tone before *-nà*, and prosodically light stems, which remain {L}-toned before *-nà*. For this purpose, light stems are *Cv:*, *CvCv*, and *CvNCv* (with homorganic nasal/voiced-stop cluster) while heavy stems are other *CvCCv* stems along with *Cv:Cv* and all trisyllabic and longer stems. Further examples are (light) *gùmbà-nà* 'his/her bowl' and (heavy) *àlgá-nà* 'his/her pig' (*àlgà*), *tù:mbá-nà* 'his/her gourd' (*tù:mbà*).

1Sg and 2Sg possessors are expressed by single-segment pronominal proclitics identical to those used to make subjects with verbs (1Sg *ή*, 2Sg *á*). 1Pl and 2Pl possessors can be expressed either by independent pronouns (1Pl *mbé*, 2Pl *ábé*) or by subject-like proclitics (1Pl *ὴ*, 2Pl *à*). 3Pl possessor is always independent *ŋké*. 3Sg possessor is a suffix *-nà* (H-toned *-ná* after /H/-toned noun) resembling the 3Sg subject enclitic *ná* found in nonsubject relative and

nonsubject focalized clauses. 3Pl and 3Sg possessor pronominals are not used when the corresponding nonpronominal NP possessor is present (xx1d).

Examples with representative nouns of lexical melodies other than /L/ are in (xx2).

(xx2)   noun   gloss   1Sg   1Pl   3Sg

a. lexically /H/-toned

pú:ⁿ	'duck sp.'	*ŋ́ pù:ⁿ*	*mbé pú:ⁿ*	*pú:ⁿ-ná*
			~ ŋ̀ pú:ⁿ	
úná	'goat'	*ŋ́ ɲ-ùnà*	*mbé úná*	*úná-ná*
			~ ŋ̀ ɲ-úná	

b. lexically /LH/-toned
1Sg {LH}

| *nèjjé* | 'bird' | *ŋ́ nèjjé* | *mbé néjjè* | *nèjjé-nà* |
| | | | *~ ŋ̀ néjjè* | |

1Sg {LHL}

sɔ̌:yⁿ	'tigerfish'	*ŋ́ sɔ̌:yⁿ*	*mbé sɔ̂:yⁿ*	*sɔ̌:yⁿ-nà*
			~ ŋ̀ sɔ̂:yⁿ	
gè:ní	'broom'	*ŋ́ gě:nì*	*mbé gé:nì*	*gè:ní-nà*
			~ ŋ̀ gé:nì	
bùyà:gí	'guava'	*ŋ́ bùyá:gì*	*mbé búyá:gì*	*bùyà:gí-nà*
			~ ŋ̀ búyá:gì	

c. lexically /HL/-toned

bâl	'bush sp.'	*ŋ́ bǎl*	*mbé bál*	*bál-nà*
			~ ŋ̀ bál	
kó:tì	'tick'	*ŋ́ kǒ:tì*	*mbé kó:tí*	*kó:tí-nà*
			~ ŋ̀ kó:tì	
ká:láwâl	'bamboo'	*ŋ́ kà:làwâl*		*ká:láwál-nà*
			mbé ká:láwâl	
			~ ŋ̀ ká:láwâl	
pólmálá:ndù	'pigeon'	*ŋ́ pòlmàlá:ndù*		*pólmálá:ndú-nà*
			mbé pólmálá:ndù	
			~ ŋ̀ pólmálá:ndù	

d. lexically /LHL/-toned

kìn-wê:	'stone'	*ŋ́ kìn-wê:*	*mbé kín-wê:*	*kìn-wé:-nà*
			~ ŋ̀ kín-wê:	
sɔ̀:mbúlè	'hamarkop'	*ŋ́ sɔ̀:mbúlè*	*mbé sɔ́:mbúlè*	*sɔ̀:mbùlé-nà*
			~ ŋ̀ sɔ́:mbúlè	
èjègélè	'carp'	*ŋ́ y-èjègélè*	*mbé éjégélè*	*èjègèlé-nà*
			~ ŋ̀ y-éjégélè	

y/*ɲ*-Epenthesis applies to vowel-initial nouns if preceded by 1st/2nd person proclitics, but not by 1Pl or 2Pl independent pronouns; see 'goat' in (xx2a), 'carp' in (xx2d), and 'sheep' in (xx1).

The tone melodies can be summarized for the different possessors as in (xx3).

(xx3)   a. after nonpronominal NP possessor
        {HL} overlay on noun

        b. after 1Pl (*ŋ̀*, *mbé*), 2Pl (*à*, *ábé*), or 3Pl (*ŋké*)
            {HL} overlay on noun
                —reduced to {H} in prosodically light stems

        c. after 1Sg (*ŋ́*) or 2Sg (*á*)
            {LHL} overlay on noun
                —reduced to {L} in prosodically light stems
                —reduced to {LH} in plural *C̀vCv́-gè* and *Cv̌:-gè*

        d. before 3Sg *-nà* ~ *-ná*
            lexical /H/ and /LH/ melodies are preserved
            lexical /HL/ is preserved; the H-tone spreads to the presuffixal
                syllable
            lexical /LHL/ is preserved; the H-tone shifts to the presuffixal
                syllable
            lexical /L/ becomes /LH/ if heavy (*Cv:Cv* or trisyllabic or longer, or
                any light stem plus plural *-gè*)
                —/L/ is preserved for light stems (*Cv:*, *CvCv*, or *CvNCv* with
                    homorganic cluster)

The **tone-melody reductions** mentioned in (xx3b-c) make reference to the distinction between prosodicaly light and heady stems. **Light** stems are *Cv:*, *CvCv*, and *CvNCv* with homorganic nasal/voiced-stop cluster. Data are sparse on *CvL* nouns; for *bâl* 'bush sp.', my assistant produced the full {LHL} overlay in *ŋ́ bǎl* (1Sg) but reduced {HL} to {H} in *ŋ̀ bál* (1Pl). Even the consistent reductions for *CvCv* and *Cv:* stems are not phonologically automatic, as can be seen by the fact that the {HL} melody does not reduce after a nonpronominal NP possessor (xx3a), see (xx1d) for data.

Contour melodies {HL}, {LHL}, and {LH} have their **tone breaks** near the right edge of the relevant tonal domain, as is also the case when such stems appear without modifiers in their lexical shape. For example, 'carp' in (xx2d) realizes {HL} as *élégélè* (H.H.H.L), {LHL} as *èlègélè* (L.L.H.L), and {LH} as *èlègèlé* (L.L.L.H).

6.2.1.2   Tone contour of modifiers following an alienably possessed noun

We have seen that a simple possessed noun has {HL} tones after a nonpronominal NP possessor. When an adjective is added to the possessed noun, formulaically [Poss [N Adj]], we get the same {HL} contour, but it is realized over the entire N-Adj sequence, with only the final syllable L-toned, tonosyntactic formula [Poss^L ^{HL}[N Adj]]. Compare unpossessed (xx1a) with possessed counterparts (xx1b). The same is true of the {HL} contour for possessed NPs after a plural pronominal possessor (xx1c).

(xx1)   a.   *ùnà*^{L} *yɔ́rdɛ́* / *yɔ́rdɛ́-gé*
             goat^L black / black-Pl
             'black goat(s)' (*úná*)

        b.   *à:màdù*^{L} ^{HL}*[úná*   *yɔ́rdè* / *yɔ́rdɛ́-gè]*
             Amadou^L ^{HL}[goat   black / black-Pl]
             'Amadou's black goat(s)' (*á:mádù*)

        c.   *mbé* / *ábé* / *ŋké* ^{HL}*[úná*   *yɔ́rdè* / *yɔ́rdɛ́-gè]*
             1PlP / 2PlP / 3PlP ^{HL}[goat   black / black-Pl]
             'our/your-Pl/their black goat(s)'

Similarly, the maximal {LHL} overlay controlled by a 1Sg or 2Sg possessor is expressed over the entire possessed N-Adj sequence (xx2).

(xx2)   *ń* / *á* ^{LHL}*[ǹùnà*   *yɔ́rdè* / *yɔ́rdɛ́-gè]*
        1SgP / 2SgP ^{LHL}[goat   black / black-Pl]
        'my/your-Sg black goat(s)' (epenthetic *ɲ*)

Consider now [Poss [N-Pl Num]]. Without the possessor, the noun 'goat' has its usual lexical tones (xx3a). When (xx3a) is possessed, a {LHL} overlay, distinct from the {HL} overlay seen in (xx1b) above, is applied to the entire possessed NP (xx3b). The tonosyntactic formula is [Poss^L ^{LHL}[N-Pl Num]]. This {LHL} overlay converges with the {LHL} that is controlled, here and elsewhere with prosodically heavy possessed NPs, by 1Sg/2Sg possessors (xx3c).

(xx3)   a.   *úná-gé*   *tá:ndì*
             goat-Pl   three
             'three goats' (*úná*, plural *úná-gé*)

        b.   *à:màdù* ^{LHL}*[[ùnà-gè*   *tá:ndì]*
             Amadou^L ^{LHL}[[goat-Pl   three]

'Amadou's three goats' (*á:mádù*)

c. *ŋ́ / á*   ^{LHL}*[[ùnà-gè*   *tá:ndì]*
   1SgP / 2SgP   ^{LHL}[[goat-Pl   three]
   'my/your-Sg three goats'

A N-Adj-Num combinations is expressed without a possessor as [N^L Adj-Pl^L Num], as in (xx4a), see §6.xxx below. When a possessor is added, as in the formula [Poss [N Adj-Pl Num]], there is no overt change in the tones of the possessed NP. This is probably accidental, since the unpossessed string already happens to be compatible with the maximal {LHL} possessor-controlled overlay.

(xx4)   a.   *ùnà*^L   *yɔ̀rdè-gè*^L   *tá:ndì / kúlé:ní*
       goat^L   black-Pl^L   three / six
       'three / six black goats.'

       b.   *ùnà*^L   *yɔ̀rdè-gé*^L   *kɛ̀jɔ̀*
          goat^L   black-Pl^L   four
          'four black goats.'

       c.   *à:màdù*^L   ^{LHL}*[ùnà*   *yɔ̀rdè-gè*   *tá:ndì / kúlé:nì]*
          Amadou^L   ^{LHL}[goat   black-Pl   three / six]
          'Amadou's three /six black goats.'

       d.   *à:màdù*^L   ^{LHL}*[ùnà*   *yɔ̀rdè-gé*   *kɛ̀jɔ̀]*
          Amadou^L   ^{LHL}[goat   black-Pl   four]
          'Amadou's four black goats.'

3Sg pronominal possessor *-nà ~ -ná* (e.g. *úná-ná* 'his/her goat', *úná-ná-gè* 'his/her goats') is added to the noun stem even when it has logical scope over the entire unpossessed NP including modifiers and numerals. When the possessed noun with *-nà ~ -ná* is followed by a numeral (xx5a) or by an adjective (xx5b-c), the initial lexical tone of the noun stem spreads to the end of the word. The effect is that the five lexical tone melodies for nouns reduce to two, {H} and {L}. The numeral or adjective has {HL} overlay regardless of whether the noun is {H}- or {L}-toned after this tone-spreading rule. The shift to {HL} is inaudible for *tá:ndì* '3' but is audible for *nègà ~ négá* '2'. When the noun with *-nà ~ -ná* is followed by both an adjective and a numeral, the adjective is treated as an extension of the noun for tonosyntactic purposes, so the N-Adj sequence is entirely {H}-toned (xx5d) or entirely {L}-toned (xx5e). The numeral has the same {HL} overlay as before. The adjectives in these examples are *yɔ́rdɛ́* 'black' (regular plural *yɔ́rdɛ́-gé*) and *bɔ̀mbɛ̀* 'red'.

92

(xx5)   3SgP with *úná* 'goat', *nà:* 'cow', *kó:tì* 'tick', *nèjjé* 'bird', *kìn-wê:* 'stone'

   a.   *úná-ná-gé* / *nà:-nà-gè* / *kó:tí-ná-gé* / *nèjjè-nà-gè* / *kìn-wè:-nà-gè*
        goat-3SgP-Pl / cow-3SgP-Pl
        tá:ndì / *négà*
        three / two
        'his/her three / two goats / cows / ticks / birds / stones'

   b.   *úná-ná* / *nà:-nà* / *kó:tí-ná* / *nèjjè-nà* / *kìn-wè:-nà*
        goat-3SgP / cow-3SgP / tick-3SgP / bird-3SgP / stone-3SgP
        yɔ́rdè / *bɔ́mbè*
        black / red
        'his/her black goat / cow / tick / bird / stone'

   c.   *úná-ná* / *nà:-nà* / *kó:tí-ná* / *nèjjè-nà* / *kìn-wè:-nà*
        goat-3SgP / cow-3SgP / tick-3SgP / bird-3SgP / stone-3SgP
        yɔ́rdé-gè / *bɔ́mbé-gè*
        black-Pl / red-Pl
        'his/her black goats / cows / ticks / birds / stones'

   d.   *úná-ná* / *kó:tí-ná*   *yɔ́rdé-gé*   *tá:ndì* / *négà*
        goat-3SgP / tick-3SgP   black-Pl   three / two
        'his/her three / two black goats / ticks.' (*kó:tì*)

   e.   *nà:-nà* / *nèjjè-nà* / *kìn-wè:-nà*   *yɔ̀rdè-gè*   *tá:ndì* / *négà*
        goat-3SgP / bird-3SgP / stone-3SgP   black-Pl   three / two
        'his/her three /two black cows / birds / stones'

6.2.2   Inalienable possession

6.2.2.1   Kin terms and other alienables

Inalienably possessed nouns are kin terms and a few similar relationship terms.
     The possessor has the same form in alienable and inalienable possession.
All of the pronominal possessors have the same forms in the two constructions,
and **nonpronominal NP possessors drop the tones of their final word** in both
constructions. The possessors in the inalienables (xx1a-b) therefore have the
same forms seen above for alienables, and 3Sg pronominal possessor is again
expressed by suffixed *-nà* (xx1c).

(xx1)   a.   *ŋ́* / *mbé* / *á* / *ábé* / *ŋké*   ᴸᴴ*bɔ̀bɔ́*
             1SgP / 1PlP / 2SgP / 2PlP / 3PlP   ᴸᴴfather

93

'my/our/your-Sg/your-Pl/their father'

b. *à:màdù* ^L ^{HL}*bɔ́bɔ̀*
    Amadou^L ^{HL}father
    'Amadou's father'

c. *bɔ̀bɔ̀-nà*
    father-3SgP
    'his/her father'

We now consider the tonal form of **inalienably possessed** nouns after such a possessor. Paradigms in the same format given earlier for alienables are in (xx2). The crucially different forms are those for 1Sg and 2Sg possessors that are flagged with "(!)."

(xx2) Inalienable possession paradigm

	category	'father' (< *bɔ́bɔ́*)	'uncle' (< *néjí*)	'mother' (< *ní:*)
a.	1Sg	*ŋ́* ^{LH}*bɔ̀bɔ́* (!) *ŋ́* ^{LHL}*bɔ̀bɔ́-gè*	*ŋ́* ^{LH}*nèjí* (!) *ŋ́* ^{LHL}*nèjí-gè*	*ŋ̀* ^{HL}*nî:* (!) *ŋ́* ^{HL}*ní:-gè* (!)
	1Pl	*mbé* ^H*bɔ́bɔ́* *mbé* ^{HL}*bɔ́bɔ́-gè*	*mbé* ^H*néjí* *mbé* ^{HL}*néjí-gè*	*mbé* ^H*ní:* *mbé* ^{HL}*ní:-gè*
b.	2Sg	*á* ^{LH}*bɔ̀bɔ́* (!) *á* ^{LHL}*bɔ̀bɔ́-gè*	*á* ^{LH}*nèjí* (!) *á* ^{LHL}*nèjí-gè*	*á* ^{HL}*nî:* (!) *á* ^{HL}*ní:-gè* (!)
	2Pl	*ábé* ^H*bɔ́bɔ́* *ábé* ^{HL}*bɔ́bɔ́-gè*	*ábé* ^H*néjí* *ábé* ^{HL}*néjí-gè*	*ábé* ^H*ní:* *ábé* ^{HL}*ní:-gè*
c.	3Sg	*bɔ̀bɔ̀-nà* *bɔ̀bɔ̀-ná-(ŋ)gè*	*nèjì-nà* *nèjì-ná-(ŋ)gè*	*ní:-ná* *ní:-ná-(ŋ)gè*
	3Pl	*ŋké* ^H*bɔ́bɔ́* *ŋké* ^{HL}*bɔ́bɔ́-gè*	*ŋké* ^H*néjí* *ŋké* ^{HL}*néjí-gè*	*ŋké* ^H*ní:* *ŋké* ^{HL}*ní:-gè*
d.	NP	NP^L ^{HL}*bɔ́bɔ̀* NP^L ^{HL}*bɔ́bɔ́-gè*	NP^L ^{HL}*néjì* NP^L ^{HL}*néjí-gè*	NP^L ^{HL}*nî:* NP^L ^{HL}*ní:-gè*

["NP^L" means final word in NP is {L}-toned]

The alienable and inalienable paradigms are very similar. There is no difference in the plural-pronoun, 3Sg, or nonpronominal NP possessor combinations.

However, there are notable differences in the **1Sg/2Sg possessed forms** for prosodically light stems (which include most kin terms). If the possessed noun is *CvCv*, the {LH} overlay is fully expressed in the plural in both constructions ('father', 'uncle', village'): *ŋ́ bɔ̀bɔ́-gè* 'my fathers' and *ŋ́ nèjí-gè* 'my uncles' like *ŋ́ dùgú-gè* 'my villages'. However, in the unsuffixed singular, the {LH} overlay remains fully articulated with inalienables, but flattens to {L} for inalienables: *ŋ́ bɔ̀bɔ́* 'my father' and *ŋ́ nèjí* 'my uncle', but *ŋ́ dùgù* 'my village'. Likewise, with 1Sg/2Sg possessor, if the possessed noun is *Cv:*, it appears with H-tone if inalienable (*ŋ̀ ní:* 'my mother', similarly *ŋ̀ dɛ́:* 'my elder sibling'), but with L-tone in the singular becoming <LH>-tone in the plural if alienable (*ŋ́ nà:* 'my cow', *ŋ́ nǎ:-ŋgè* 'my cows'). For prosodically heavy nouns there is no tonal difference between alienable and inalienable.

The prosodically light kin and relationship terms in (xx1a) have the telltale {LH} or monosyllabic H-tone of inalienable nouns in the 1Sg form. The heavy nouns in (xx1b) have {LHL} overlay in the 1Sg form which is compatible with alienable or inalienable possession.

(xx1)   unposs.   X's __   'my __'   gloss

    a. prosodically light, definitely inalienable
      monosyllabic with {H}

dɛ́:	*dɛ̂:*	*ŋ̀ dɛ́:*	'elder sibling'
ní:	*nî:*	*ŋ̀ ní:*	'mother'
bɔ́:	*bɔ̂:*	*ŋ̀ bɔ́:*	'aunt'

      bisyllabic with {LH}

néjí	*néjì*	*ŋ́ nèjí*	'uncle'
nɔ́bɛ́	*nɔ́bè*	*ŋ́ nɔ̀bɛ́*	'younger sibling'
tórí	*tórì*	*ŋ́ tòrí*	'grandfather'
bɔ́bɔ́	*bɔ́bɔ̀*	*ŋ́ bɔ̀bɔ́*	'father'
séjí	*séjì*	*ŋ́ sèjí*	'grandmother'
nòlò	*nólò*	*ŋ́ nòló*	'friend'

    b. prosodically heavy, no evidence for inalienability

ká:	*kâ:*	*ŋ́ kã̂:*	'agemate'
àmbàl	*ámbâl*	*ŋ́ ɲ-àmbâl*	'parent-in-law'
nùmbùl	*númbûl*	*ŋ́ nùmbûl*	'person with the same name'
séjí-gò	*séjí-gò*	*ŋ́ sèjí-gò*	'grandchild'

No special **vocatives** were elicitable. My assistant uses full kin terms like 'my father' in address, instead of a specialized vocative ('dad!').

wè: 'child', *bànà* 'man', and *yɔ̀:* 'woman' are alienable nouns, but they can take (alienable) possessors in kin-term contexts. With 1Sg possessors: *ŋ́ wè:* 'my

child' (also 'my nephew/niece'), *ŋ́ wàlà* 'my husband', *ŋ́ yɔ̀:* 'my wife'. Possessed forms of *wè: wálá* 'male child, boy' and of *wè: yɔ̀:* can mean either 'X's son' and 'X's daughter' from a parent's perspective, or 'X's girlfriend' and 'X's boyfriend' from the perspective of an opposite-sex person.

If a man has taken a second wife, the senior and junior wives can be distinguished adjectivally as 'big' versus 'small' or 'first' versus 'second'. 'Co-wife' is a compound *àmbàl-yɔ̀:*.

6.2.2.2   Tone contour of modifiers following an inalienably possessed noun

There is no difference between alienable and inalienable possession in the tonal treatment of possessed N-Adj, N-Num, or N-Adj-Num combinations.

A possessed NP of the form N-Adj is treated the same way in alienable and inalienable possession. 'Stone' (*kìn-wê:*) and 'uncle' (*néjí*) have the same tonal treatments in unpossessed (xx2a), and again in possessed (xx2b-c).

(xx2)   a.   *kìn-wè:*^L / *nèjì*^L   *dɔ́ŋgá*
                 stone^L / uncle^L   heavy
                 '(a) heavy stone/uncle'

         b.   *ŋ́*   ^{LHL}*[kìn-wè: / nèjì   dɔ́ŋgà]*
                 1SgP   ^{LHL}[stone / uncle   heavy]
                 'my heavy stone/uncle'

         c.   *à:màdù*^L   ^{HL}*[kín-wé: / néjí   dɔ́ŋgà]*
                 Amadou^L   ^{HL}[stone / uncle   heavy]
                 'Amadou's heavy stone/uncle'

Similarly, if the possessed NP is N-Num, alienable 'stone' and inalienable 'uncle' have the same tonal treatments.

(xx2)   a.   *kìn-wé:-gè*   *kèjɔ̀*
                 stone-Pl   four
                 'four stones'

         b.   *néjí-gé*   *kɛ́jɔ́*
                 uncle   four
                 'four uncles'

         c.   *ŋ́*   ^{LHL}*[kìn-wè:-gè / nèjì-gè   kɛ́jɔ̀]*
                 1SgP   ^{LHL}[stone-Pl / uncle-Pl   four]
                 'my four stones/uncles'

d. *à:màdù*   ^{HL}*[kín-wé:-gé / néjí-gé*   *kéjò]*
Amadou^L   ^{HL}[stone-Pl / uncle-Pl   four]
'Amadou's four stones/uncles'

In a triple sequence N-Adj-Num, there is again no tonal alienability distinction. Possessed phrases with 'stone' and 'uncle' have the same tonosyntactic patterns in (xx3a-c).

(xx3)   a.   *kìn-wè: / nèjì*   *dɔ́ŋá-gé*   *kɛ́jɔ́*
          stone / uncle   heavy-Pl   four
          'four heavy stones/uncles'

     b.   *ŋ́*   ^{LHL}*[kìn-wè: / nèjì*   *dɔ̀ŋà-gè*   *kèjɔ̀]*
          1SgP   ^{LHL}[stone / uncle   heavy-Pl   four]
          'my four heavy stones/uncles'

     c.   *à:màdù*   ^{HL}*[kín-wé: / néjí*   *dɔ́ŋá-gé*   *kéjò]*
          Amadou^L   ^{HL}[stone / uncle   heavy-Pl   four]
          'Amadou's four heavy stones/uncles'

Conclusion: inalienability is only weakly distinguished from alienability, in the tones of unmodified, prosodically short 1Sg/2Sg possessor forms.

6.2.3   Recursive possession

Recursive possession of the type [[X's Y]'s Z] is possible. The formula for the embedded possessor as an independent NP is [X^L ^{HL}Y] if X is a single word, as in (xx1a-b). The formula for the recursive possessive is [[X^L ~~HL~~Y^L] ^{HL}Z], where the outmost possessed noun Z requires that the final word in the preceding possessor be {L}-toned, erasing the previous {HL} overlay, as in (xx1c-d). The double strikethrough in ~~HL~~ indicates this erasure.

(xx1)   a.   *ŋkɛ̀*   ^{HL}*dílɔ̀*
          dog   ^{HL}tail
          '(a/the) dog's tail'

     b.   *à:màdù*^L   ^{HL}*ŋ́kɛ̀* / ^{HL}*néjì* / ^{HL}*bɔ́bɔ̀*
          Amadou^L   ^{HL}dog / ^{HL}uncle / ^{HL}father
          'Amadou's dog/uncle/father' (for the tones of 'dog' see §3.2.8.1)

     c.   *[à:màdù*^L   ~~HL~~^L*ŋkɛ̀*^L*]*   ^{HL}*dílɔ̀*
          [Amadou^L   ~~HL~~^Ldog^L]   ^{HL}tail

97

'[Amadou's dog]'s tail'

d. *[à:màdù*   ^{HL}*nèjì*^L*]*   *bɔ́bɔ̀*
[Amadou   ^{HL}uncle^L]   ^{HL}father
'[Amadou's uncle]'s father'

6.3   Noun-adjective

6.3.1   Noun plus regular modifying adjective

A noun can be followed by one or more modifying adjectives (including ordinals) within the NP. The noun is **tone-dropped** to {L} before an adjective, though if the adjective is /L/-toned the final syllable of the noun can be tone-raised by phonological rule. The first adjective retains its lexical tone melody. Plural *-gè*, if present, follows the adjective only (xx1b). The tonosyntactic formula (superscript ^{L} indicates tone-dropping), disregarding the tone of the plural morpheme, is therefore [N^L Adj(-Pl)].

(xx1)   a.   *úná*   'goat'
           ùnà^L *yɔ̀rdè*   'black goat'
           ùnà^L *bàgàlà*   'big goat'

        b.   *úná-gé*   'goats'
           ùnà^L *yɔ̀rdè-gé*   'black goats'
           ùnà^L *bàgàlà-gé*   'big goats'

        c.   *káy*^{n} 'work'
           kày^{nL} *má:gá*   'difficult (hard) work'

For [N^L Adj^L Adj(-Pl)] with two adjectives, see §6.3.3.1 below.

6.3.2   Noun/adjective *ntă:-nà* 'some', adjective *yé:nɛ́* 'a certain (one)'

ntă:-nà 'some, certain ones' can be used one or more times to denote specific divisions of a larger set. It is distinct in form from *ntà-ná* 'his/her person'. The final syllable of *ntă:-nà* may or may not be a frozen 3Sg possessor suffix *-nà* etymologically (compare tó:-nà 'apart', §8.4.5.2). If there are two parallel occurrences, it is usually understood that the two divisions exhaust the set (xx1a). As a modifying adjective, *ntă:-nà* becomes {L}-toned *ntà:-nà* (xx1b).

(xx1)   a.   *ntă:-nà*   *ánd-yè,*   *ntă:-nà*   *wánj-yè*

certain   go.Perf-3PlS,   certain   stay.Perf-3PlS
'Some (people) went, (the) others stayed.'

b. *yǒ:*   *ntà:-nà(-gè)*
woman^{LH} certain(-Pl)
'certain women, some (specific) women'

An explicitly plural form *ntà:-ná-gè* is possible, but *ntǎ:-nà* by itself is usually understood to be plural; note the 3Pl verb forms in (xx1a).

An explicitly singular quantifier of this type is *yé:nɛ́* 'a certain (one)', with tonally irregular plural *yé:nɛ́-gè* 'certain (ones)'. It is an adjective and requires a common noun: *yɔ̀: yé:nɛ́* 'a certain woman', plural *yɔ̀: yé:nɛ́-gè* (essentially synonymous with *yǒ: ntà:-nà*). *yé:nɛ́* is typically used to introduce a referent into a discourse such as a narrative ('a certain man', etc.).

6.3.3   Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1   Adjective sequences

Section §6.3.1 described the noun-adjective construction, i.e. [N^L Adj(-Pl)]. When a second adjective is added, it keeps its lexical tones, the plural suffix is added to it, and the first adjective (as well as the noun) is tone-dropped, resulting in [N^L Adj^L Adj(-Pl)].

(xx1)   a.   *ùnà*^{L} *yɔ̀rdè*   *dɔ́ŋgá(-gé)*
              dog^L black^L heavy(-Pl)
              '(a) heavy black goat' (*úná*, *yɔ̀rdè*)

        b.   *kày^n*^{L} *kàndà*   *pɔ́:lɔ́(-gé)*
              work(n)^L new^L good(-Pl)
              'good new job(s)' (*káy^n*, *kándâ*)

        c.   *ŋkɛ̀*^{L} *yɔ̀rdè*   *bàgàlà(-gé)*
              dog^L black^L big(-Pl)
              'big black dog(s)' (*ŋkɛ̀*, *yɔ̀rdè*)

6.3.3.2   Intensifying adjectives

Intensifying adjectives are a subset of adjectives that are associated with ordinary adjectives whose sense they reinforce or exaggerate. The intensifying

adjective normally follows the corresponding ordinary adjective. For examples, see §4.5.6.

6.3.3.3 'Good to eat'

A verbal noun of the relevant verb (here 'eat') is preposed to an adjectival predicate. The construction is therefore of the literal type '[eating X] is good'.

(xx1) a. *[[è   púló-gé]   ɲě:-l]   ńsà   bó-∅*
           [[Def   flower-Pl]   eat-VblN]   sweet   be-3SgS
           'The flowers are good (sweet) to eat.'

       b. *ɲě:-l   pɔ̀lɔ̀   wǒl-∅*
           eat-VblN   good   not.be-3SgS
           'It (something) isn't good to eat.'

6.4   NPs containing a numeral

For the forms of cardinal numerals see §4.7.1. Ordinals are not considered here since they behave syntactically like other adjectives.

6.4.1   Ordinary N-(Adj-)Num sequences

Examples of N-Num sequences are in (xx1). '1' is syntactically an adjective. Plural *-gè* is required by numerals from '2' to '9' and is optional with higher numerals. In this combination, the plural noun has its regular tone except that *-gè* is not tone-raised to *-gé* after lexically /L/-toned nouns. Numerals have their lexical tones, but '2' and '4' shift between {H}- and {L}-toned forms. '10' usually omits the plural suffix on the noun. For details on the tone patterns for various numerals see §4.7.1.1-2.

(xx1) a. *ŋkɛ̀*ᴸ   *tà:ŋgà*
           dog ᴸ   one
           'one dog' (*ŋkɛ̀*)

       b. *ŋkɛ̀-gè*   *négá* / *tá:ndì* / *nɔ́:m*
           dog-Pl   two / three / five
           'two / three / five dogs'

       c. *ŋkɛ̀(-gè)*   *pé:l(ú)*

dog(-Pl)   ten
'ten dogs'

6.4.2   Adj-Num Inversion absent

My assistant rejected inversion of Poss-N-Adj-Num to Poss-N-Num-Adj in e.g. 'Amadou's three black goats', see §6.2.1.2.

6.5   NP including a determiner

All determiners (definite, 'this', and 'that') are are NP-initial. They normally precede a noun, but they can also precede a possessor ("this Seydou house" meaning 'this house of Seydou's').

6.5.1   Definite *è* plus noun

Definite *è* (§4.4.1.1) can precede a singular or plural noun or a sequence like N-Adj or N-Num. It cannot be used absolutely (i.e. as one-word pronoun-like NP). It is always itself L-toned. It requires the following noun to begin with H-tone, tonosyntactic symbol {H+}. If the noun is already lexically /H/- or /HL/-toned, there is no overt change. An /L/-toned noun becomes {HL}, an /LH/-toned noun becomes {HLH}, and an /LHL/-toned noun becomes {HLHL}. The incremental initial H-tone can spread to a second syllable if not blocked. See §4.4.1.1 for fuller exemplification.

(xx1)   a.   *è*   ^{H+}*úná* / ^{H+}*dêm* / ^{H+}*dúgù*
             Def   ^{H+}goat / ^{H+}house / ^{H+}village
             'the goat/house/village' (*úná*, *dèm*, *dùgù*)

        b.   *è*   ^{H+}*úná-gé* / ^{H+}*dêm-gè* / ^{H+}*dúgù-gè*
             Def   ^{H+}goat / ^{H+}house / ^{H+}village
             'the goats/houses/villages' (*úná*, *dèm*, *dùgù*)

In (xx2), an adjective has been added to the definite noun. The adjective is tone-dropped, even if lexically /H/-toned ('old', 'heavy'). The initial H-tone (on one or two syllables) of the definite noun is retained, but subsequent syllables of the noun, and the entire adjective, are low-toned. One analysis is that *è* controls a {HL} overlay on the N-Adj sequence, but that the initial H of {HL} merges

with a lexical H on one or two initial syllables. Another is that *è* merely drops all H-tones after the initial H-tone in the noun or N-Adj sequence.

(xx2) a. *è* ^{H+}*úná* ^L*tòmbò* / ^L*kà:mnɔ̀*
Def ^{H+}goat ^Lwhite / ^Lold
'the white/old goat' (*úná*, *è úná*, *tòmbò*, *ká:mnɔ́*)

b. *è* ^{H+}*dúgù* ^L*bàyⁿ*
Def ^{H+}village ^Lbig
'the big village' (*dùgù*, *è dúgù*, *bàyⁿ*)

c. *è* ^{H+}*gé:nì* ^L*dɔ̀ŋgà*
Def ^{H+}broom ^Lheavy
'the heavy broom' (*gè:ní*, *è gê:nî*, *dɔ́ŋgá*)

A numeral is added to the noun in (xx3). It has no effect on the tones of the plural noun.

(xx2) *è* ^{H+}*úná-gé* / ^{H+}*dúgù-gè* / ^{H+}*gê:ní-gè* *tá:ndì* / *kèjɔ̀* / *kúlé:ní*
Def ^{H+}goat / ^{H+}village / ^{H+}broom three / four / six
'the three goats/villages/brooms'

6.5.2 Demonstrative plus noun

Demonstratives are proximate *íní* (plural *íní-gè*) and distant *èmbá* (plural *èmbá-gè*), see §4.4.1.2. When they precede a noun, plurality is marked on the noun (or N-Adj sequence) but not on the demonstrative.

   íní drops the initial H-tone sequence of a following lexically /H/- or /HL/-toned nouns to L-tone (xx1a), but does not drop noninitial H-tones in /LH/- or /LHL/-toned nouns (xx1b), see §4.4.1.2. The tonosyntactic symbol is therefore {L+} in this case, rather than {L}, to indicate that it changes tones at the left edge but not necessarily the entire stem (xx1ab). However, when *íní* is followed by a N-Adj sequence, this sequence as a whole is tone-dropped (xx1c). *íní* itself surfaces as *íní* by Rightward H-Spreading before the L-toned onset of the noun in both (xx1a) and (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *íní* ^{L+}*ùnà(-gè)*
Prox ^{L+}goat(-Pl)
'this goat / these goats' (*úná*, *úná-gé*)

b. *íní* ^{L+}*gè:ní(-gè)*
Prox ^{L+}broom(-Pl)

'this broom / these brooms' (*gè:ní*, *gè:ní-gè*)

c. *íní*　　　L*[kàyⁿ*　　*kàndà(-gè)]*
　　Prox　　　L[work(n)　new(-Pl)]
　　'this new job / these new jobs' (*káyⁿ*, *kándá*, *kàyⁿ*L *kándá*)

In the combination Dem-N-Num, proximate *ínì* has its usual tone-dropping effect on the left edge of the noun before numerals '2' to '10' (xx2a). The numeral itself is {L}-toned. The numeral '1', syntactically an adjective, tone-drops the noun as it does when the demonstrative is absent. Therefore the tonosynactic formulae for (xx2a) is [[Dem L+N] Num] and that for (xx2b) is [Dem [NL 'one']].

(xx2)　a.　*íní*　　　L+*ùnà-gè* / *gè:ní-gè*　　*nègà* / *tà:ndì* / *nɔ̀:m*
　　　　　　Prox　　　L+goat-Pl / broom-Pl　　two / three / five
　　　　　　'these two/three/five goats/brooms'

　　　b.　*íní*　　　*ŋkè* / *ùnà* / *gè:nì* L　　*tà:ŋgà*
　　　　　　Prox　　　dog / goat / broom L　　one
　　　　　　'this one dog/broom' (*ŋkè*, *úná*, *gè:nî*)

Distant *èmbá* drops to *èmbà* before a noun but controls {HL} on the noun (xx3a-b). Alternatively, we could argue that it really controls tonosyntactic {L} overlay, but then allows its own final H-tone to shift onto the first syllable of the noun (§4.4.1.2). If *èmbá* is followed by a N-Adj sequence, the {HL} contour is applied to this entire sequence (xx3c). Overall, *èmbá* behaves tonally like a nonpronominal possessor.

(xx3)　a.　*èmbà*　　　HL*únà* / HL*úná-gè*
　　　　　　Dist　　　　HLgoat(-Pl)
　　　　　　'that goat / those goats' (*úná*, *úná-gê*)

　　　b.　*èmbà*　　　HL*gé:nì* / HL*gé:ní-gè*
　　　　　　Dist　　　　HLbroom(-Pl)
　　　　　　'that broom / those brooms' (*gè:ní*, *gè:ní-gè*)

　　　c.　*èmbà*　　　HL*[káyⁿ*　　　*kándà* / *kándá-gè]*
　　　　　　Dist　　　　HL[work(n)　　new(-Pl)]
　　　　　　'that new job / those new jobs' (*káyⁿ*, *kándá*, *kàyⁿ kándá*)

A numeral, whether nonsingular or '1', following the noun is likewise included in the domain of the {HL} overlay controlled by *èmbá* (xx4ab).

(xx4)　a.　*èmbà*　　　HL*[úná-gé* / *gé:ní-gé*　　*négà* / *tá:ndì* / *nɔ̂:m]*

103

Dist   ^{HL}[goat-Pl / broom-Pl   two / three / five]
'those two/three/five goats/brooms'

b.   *èmbà*   ^{HL}*[ŋkɛ́ / gé:ní*   *tá:ŋgà]*
     Dist   ^{HL}[dog / broom   one]
     'this one dog/broom' (*ŋkè, gè:ní, ŋkè* ^L *tà:ŋgà, gè:nì* ^L *tà:ŋgà*)

6.6   Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.6.1   'All' or 'each' (*sèlè*)

The universal quantifier *sèlè* 'all' occurs at the end of a NP, following even definite *rì.* It can also be used absolutely ('everything', 'everybody'). If the quantified-over NP is countable, plural *-gè* is present. A preceding {L}-toned word tone-raises its final syllable.

(xx1)   a.   *[sàgàllà-gé*   *sèlè] [gándà*   *ŋ]*   *ánd-yè*
          [young.person-Pl **all**] [exodus   Loc]   go.Perf-3PlS
          'All the young people have gone away (to work).'

      b.   *sèlè*   *sógú-lè-∅*
          all   buy-Rev.Perf-3Sgs
          'He/She sold everything.'

      c.   *[ŋ́*   *sè:ŋgé*   *sèlè] ŋ́*   *sògú-lè*
          [1SgP   millet   all]   1SgS   buy-Rev.Perf
          'I sold all my millet.'

sèlè can also be used distributively ('each X'), with a singular common noun X. See (xx11) in text 1 ('he put each person's share …').
For 'always' see §8.4.5.3.

6.7   Accusative (*-ŋ ~ -ẁⁿ*)

The accusative suffix or enclitic *(-)ŋ ~ (-)ẁⁿ* occurs at the end of NPs (including pronouns). It can be analysed morphologically as an encliticized postposition, and it may be the "same" morpheme in some sense as locative *ŋ ~ wⁿ* (§8.2.3.2). The accusative is applied not only to direct objects but also to indirect objects (recipient of 'give' and 'say', referred-to addressee with 'say'); see §8.1.1. However, in practice it occurs only with personal pronouns and NPs

with animate (especially specific human) reference. Since locative PPs normally have inanimate complements, there is usually no confusion.

For pronouns, *-ŋ* is added to the independent (rather than proclitic) form of the pronoun. The nasal may be phonetically weakened to nasalization of the preceding vowel, but I have not heard it as rounded. 1Sg *mì-ŋ*, 2Sg *ò-ŋ*, and 3Sg *ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ* are {L}-toned, but become *mí-ŋ*, *ó-ŋ*, and 3Sg *ɔ̀nɔ́-ŋ* before e.g. {L}-toned 3Sg-subject verbs or {L}-toned imperatives by Final Tone-Raising. Tables of independent and accusative pronouns are in §4.3.1.

Examples of $-\grave{w}^n$ with NPs are in (xx1). That the morpheme is L-toned in this variant is observed with 'my father'. The rounding is heard inconsistently in isolation. In phrasal contexts $-\grave{w}^n$ can appear as an assimilated homorganic nasal (before a stop) or as vocalic nasalization. Here as elsewhere w^n functions as a lenited *ŋ*. In 'the big dog', the accusative morpheme follows the adjective.

(xx1)	unmarked	accusative	gloss
	sěydù	*sěydù-w^n*	'Seydou (man's name)'
	ɲ́ bɔ̀bɔ́	*ɲ́ bɔ̀bɔ̂-w^n*	'my father'
	è wê:	*è wê:-w^n*	'the child'
	wè:-gé	*wè:-gè-w^n*	'children'
	è ŋkê	*è ŋkê-w^n*	'the dog'
	è ŋkɛ́ bǎgàlà	*è ŋkɛ́ bàgàlà-w^n*	'the big dog'

The accusative morpheme is usually omitted on NPs ending in a numeral ('two dogs'), but making the NP definite ('the two dogs', 'those two dogs', 'my two dogs') makes the accusative more felicitous.

(xx3)	*[è*	*ɲ́kɛ́-gé*	*nègà-w^n]*	*gíyɛ́-∅*
	[Def	dog-Pl	two-Acc]	kill.Perf-3SgS
	'He/She killed the two dogs.'			

The accusative is not used with focalized objects.

(xx4)	*mì = yò*	*búndé*	*ná*
	1Sg=Foc	hit.Perf	3SgS
	'It was <u>me</u> [focus] that he/she hit.'		

Accusative *-ŋ* ~ $-\grave{w}^n$ is not pronounced before a second person subject proclitic (2Sg *á*, 2Pl *à*). See (xx1b) in §8.1.1 ('You didn't say anything to me'). These second person proclitics elsewhere have a strong tendency to merge phonologically with the preceding word.

7 Coordination

7.1 NP coordination

7.1.1 NP conjunction (*[X ni] [Y (ni)]*)

The conjunction particle *ni* 'and' is added to both left and right conjuncts. In isolation, prepausally, or before a H-tone, it gets its tone by spreading from the preceding syllable. However, in the left (or any nonfinal) conjunct, if it is preceded and followed by L-tones it is tone-raised to *ní*, as in (xx1ab).

(xx1)   a. *[yɔ̀:-gè   nì]*   *[wálá-gé   ní]*
               [woman-Pl and]   [man-Pl   and]
               'women and men'

        b. *[á:mádù   ní]*   *[bɔ̀bɔ̀-nà   nì]*
               [Amadou   and]   [father-3SgP   and]
               'Amadou and his father'

This construction can be used to conjoin NPs (including pronouns and place names) and adverbial phrases (including PPs). If both conjuncts are complements of the same postposition, the postposition can be repeated and the PPs conjoined (xx2b), or the postposition can take the conjoined NP as complement (xx2c). ni is also the instrumental postposition (§8.xxx). When two instrumental PPs are conjoined, the logically expected double *ni ni* is avoided, and there is a single *ni* after each NP (xx1d).

(xx2)   a. *[bàmàkɔ̀   nì]*   *[móttì   nì]*   *bí-yà*
               [Bamako   and]   [Mopti   and]   be-3PlS
               'They are in Bamako and Mopti (cities).'

        b. *[dèm jáŋgàⁿ nì]* *[pàŋgà   jáŋgàⁿ nì]* *bí-yà*
                [house inside and] [granary inside   and] be-3PlS
               'They are [in the house] and [in the granary].'

        c. *[[[dèm   ní]   [pàŋgà   nì]] jáŋgàⁿ]* *bí-yà*
                [[[house and]   [granary and] inside]   be-3PlS
               'They are [in [the house and the granary]].'

d. *[dɔ́njɔ́gɔ́   ní]   [dà:mbɛ̀   nì]   kùbɔ́   ŋ́   bò*
   [pick-hoe Inst]   [daba   Inst] do.farm.work 1SgS   Impf
   'I work (in the fields) with a pick-hoe and a daba (hoe).'

My assistant did not accept accusative *-wⁿ* (or variant) at the end of a conjoined NP, or on both conjuncts.

7.1.2   "Conjunction" of verbs or VP's

Verbs, VPs, and clauses are not conjoined by *yà*. The rough equivalent of conjunction for such elements is chaining, see chapter 15.

7.2   **Disjunction**

7.2.1   'Or' particle (*wàgà→*)

The disjunctive particle is *wàgà→*. It is normally grouped prosodically with the nonfinal disjunct, hence *[X [wàgà→ Y]]* 'X or Y'. The arrow indicates intonational prolongation of variable degree. The particle is most common in interrogative contexts, and it is difficult to elicit unambiguously noninterrogative examples. In a question (or a "statement" whose form is suggestive of a question), if *wàgà→* is prepausal or if the prolongation is considerable the usual interrogative intonation (final pitch rise) is applied: *wàgà→ᵗ*, phonetic [wàgàá→].
     Where logically possible, the disjunction is expressed at the level of a NP or similar constituent, which is extraposed.

(xx1) *bàmàkɔ̀   ándá-á   wò   [wàgà→   ségú]*
       Bamako   go-2SgS   Impf [or   Segou]
       'Are you-Sg going to Bamako or (are you-Sg going) to Segou?' (cities)

7.2.1.1   *wàgà→* 'or' preceding second disjunct in indicative context

wàgà→ 'or' is added before the second NP coordinand in the disjunctive question (xx1). The 'or' phrase is added after a complete clause, in the fashion of an afterthought.

(xx1) *[wá: sèlè]   àlàmùnɔ̀-gè   sémà-à-yà*
       [day   all]   sheep-Pl   slaughter.Impf=2PlS-Ppl

[wàgă→   úná-gé]
[or   goat-Pl]
'Each day, do you-Pl slaughter <u>sheep</u> [focus], or goats?'

An attempt to elicit a noninterrogative disjunction by switching the subject to first singular resulted in (xx2). In theory this should be a statement, but the form is indistinguishable from that of a question.

(xx1)   *[wá: sèlè]   àlàmùnɔ̀   sɛ́mɔ́   ɲ́   b-yà*
         [day all]   sheep-Pl   slaughter.Impf   1SgS   Impf-Ppl
         [wàgà→   úná]ꜛ
         [or   goat-Pl]
         'Each day, (do) I slaughter a <u>sheep</u> [focus], or a goat(?)'

7.2.1.2   *wàgà→* after each disjunct in interrogative context

Although my assistant preferred to extrapose the disjunctive phrase after the verb in examples like those given above, it was possible to elicit an example with fronted disjunct (xx1). The left but not right disjunct has the terminal pitch rise of the interrogative intonation pattern. The 'or' disjunctive particle occurs once, between the two disjunctive constituents.

(xx1)   *[àlàmùnɔ̀ꜛ   [wàgà→   àlgà]]   sɛ́mà-à*
         [sheep   [or   pig]]   slaughter.Impf-2SgS
         'Will you-Sg slaughter <u>a sheep or a pig</u> [focus]?'

7.2.2   Clause-level disjunction

As noted above, the preference is to express disjunction at the subclausal constituent level. However, where the two alternatives require different verbs there is no alternative to having the disjunctive particle unambiguously have scope over a clause.

(xx1)   *bàmàkɔ̀   ándá-á   wò*
         Bamako   go.Impf-2SgS   Impf
         [wàgà→   nùŋ   wánjá-á   wò]
         [or   here   stay.Impf-2SgS   Impf
         'Are you-Sg going to Bamako, or are you-Sg staying here?'

8 Postpositions and adverbials

Penange has morphologically simple postpositions for the instrumental (*ni*) and locative (*ba*). Accusative *-ŋ* ~ *-ẁ^n* could also be considered to be a postposition since it follows complete NPs, and the same morpheme (or a homophone) is also used as locative postposition in some combinations (§6.7).

These elementary postpositions are complemented by many noun-like and compositve postpositions. Purposive-causal has the {HL} contour of a possessed noun (§8.3). There are many composite postpositions based on a (possessed) noun plus an elementary locative postposition (§8.2.4-10).

8.1 Dative and instrumental

8.1.1 Dative absent

No dative postposition occurs with ditransitives like 'give', 'say', or 'do for'. The recipient or beneficiary is expressed as a direct object, often alongside another direct object. If animate and not directly followed by a second person subject clitic, the recipient or beneficiary can take accusative marking, as with 'Seydou' in (xx1a) and 'me' in (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *sĕydù-^{n}*   *wálé*   *táb-yè*
          Seydou   money   give.Perf-3PlS
          'They gave the money to Seydou.'

      b. *yè:*   *mì*   *á*   *nè-l*
          thing   1Sg   2SgS   say-PerfNeg
          'You-Sg didn't say anything to me.'

      c. *yè:*   *mí-ŋ*   *nè-l-∅*
          thing   1Sg   say-PerfNeg-3SgS
          'He/She didn't say anything to me.'

      d. *yè:*   *mì*   *á*   *kà:-ndè-l*
          thing   1Sg   2SgS   do-for-PerfNeg
          'You-Sg didn't do anything for me.'

8.1.2   Instrumental (*nì*)

Within the PP, this postposition acquires its tone by spreading from the preceding syllable. Its core sense is instrumental ('by means of X', 'using X'). It (or a homophonous morpheme) is also the 'and' conjunction (§7.1.1). L-toned *nì* as in 'with a stick' (xx1c) is tone-raised before a L-tone.

(xx1)   a.   *dɔ́njɔ́gɔ́ ní*   'with a pick-hoe'
         b.   *dà:mbè nì*   'with a daba'
         c.   *tùmà nì*   'with a stick'

Some examples are in (xx2).

(xx1)   a.   *[tùmà   ní]   bùndè-l-∅*
               [stick   Inst]   hit-PerfNeg-3SgS
               'He/She did not hit (it) with a stick.'

         b.   *[gè:ní   nì]   gɛ́:nyɛ̀-∅*
               [broom   Inst]   sweep.Perf-3SgS
               'He/She swept with a broom.'

         c.   *[è   námà]   [tàlà   ní]   pùrùgò*
               [Def   meat]   [knife   Inst]   cut.Imprt
               'Cut-2Sg the meat with a knife!'

         d.   *[[ɲ́   dǎ:mbɛ̀]   nì]   kúbɔ̀   bò-∅*
               [[1SgP   daba]   Inst]   do.farming.Impf   Impf-3SgS
               'He/She will farm with my daba.'

'By force' is *sèmbè nì*.

    ni can also be used with nouns denoting **times or seasons**: *gè:nà nì* 'in (=during) the rainy season', *dògò nì* 'at night', *gè:ⁿ nì* 'during the day' (lit. 'with sun', cf. *gè:ⁿ* 'sun').

    ni is also used with nouns denoting vehicles: *móbêl nì* 'by motor vehicle (e.g. truck)', e.g. in 'I went to Bamako by truck'.

8.2   Locational postpositions

8.2.1   Locative, allative, and ablative functions

Verbs rather than postpositions are generally used to distinguish static locative 'at, in' from allative 'to' and ablative 'from'. The fact that verbs can be chained in various ways is helpful here. Most motion verbs imply an allative relationship to a locational complement. *gwé* 'go out, leave, depart' and its relatives are the usual verbs to indicate an ablative relationship.

However, an emphatic '(all the way) from X' can be expressed by adding *dígí* 'since' directly to the NP in the fashion of a PP, and emphatic '(all the way) to X' can be expressed as *hâl X (bà)*, with preposed (N.B.) *hâl* 'until, all the way to'.

(xx1)   a.   *[móttì   dígí]   dúgú-rè-∅*
                [Mopti   **since**]   run.Perf-3SgS
                'He/She ran all the way from Mopti.'

         b.   *[dùgù-rè   nà]   [hâl   móttì   (bà)]*
                [run.Perf   3SgS]   [**until**   Mopti   (Loc)]
                'He/She ran all the way to Mopti.'

8.2.2   Simple and complex postpositions

Most of the complex (compound, composite) postpositions are locationals of the type [[X's noun] in], compare English *in front of X* or *ahead (a-head) of X*. In several complex postpositions, the regular simple locative postposition *ba* is replaced by *ŋ ~ wⁿ*, though there are a some complex postpositions that do include *ba*. In the case of 'under', *ba* is used for human/animate landmark, *ŋ* for inanimate.

Since the noun is "possessed," it has variable tone depending on the possessor (its final syllable is also subject to tone-raising before a L-tone). Sample paradigms are in (xx1).

(xx1)	'under X'	'in front of X'	'on X'	'beside X'
1Sg	*ŋ́ sùgù bà*	*ŋ́ tègò bà*	*ŋ́ kò wⁿ*	*ŋ́ pă ŋ*
1Pl	*mbé súgú bá*	*mbé tégó bá*	*mbé kó wⁿ*	*mbé pá ŋ*
2Sg	*á sùgù bà*	*á tègò bà*	*á kò wⁿ*	*á pà ŋ*
2Pl	*ábé súgú bá*	*ábé tégó bá*	*ábé kó wⁿ*	*ábé pá ŋ*

3Sg	*sùgù-nà bà*	*tègò-nà bà*	*kó:-nà wⁿ*	*pǎ:-nà ŋ*
3Pl	*ŋké súgú bá*	*ŋké tégó bá*	*ŋké kó wⁿ*	*ŋké pá ŋ*
NP	*X súgù bà*	*X tégò bà*	*X kô wⁿ*	*X pâ ŋ*

8.2.3   Locative 'in, at, on'

8.2.3.1   Locative (*ba*)

The unmarked locative postposition 'in, at' is *ba*. Its gets its tone by spreading from the preceding syllable. I have not observed Final Tone-Raising before a L-tone.

(xx1)   noun   locative   gloss

    a. after H-tone
      ébá   *ébá bá*   'in/at the market'
      óndó   *óndó bá*   'at the well'

    b. after L-tone
      dùgù   *dùgù bà*   'in the village'
      dèm   *dèm bà*   'in the house, at home'
      kòyⁿ   *kòyⁿ bà*   'in the bush'
      yàlà   *yàlà bà*   'in the field'
      bòmòkò   *bàmàkò bà*   'in Bamako (city)'
      è dúgù   *è dúgù bà*   'in the village' (definite)

This postposition is used to specify location by reference to a landmark or zone. 'At X' is often the best English translation. It occurs in high-frequency expressions like 'in the (i.e. our) village', where a precise spatial relationship is not necessary. For enclosure inside a container or other confined space, *[X jáŋgà] ŋ̀* is used (§8.2.xxx).

8.2.3.2   Locative *ŋ ~ wⁿ*

This morpheme competes with *ba* as the locative postposition, and is therefore used almost exclusively with inanimate complements. It may be the "same" morpheme as the accusative (§6.7), which is effectively limited to humans. Before a C-initial word, both are realized as homorganic nasals.

    ŋ ~ wⁿ is added directly to a noun in certain common phrases, as in (xx1).

(xx1)   *[kíndó   ŋ]*   *dâ:yⁿ-∅*

[shade   Loc]   sit.Perf-3SgS
'He/She sat down in the shade.'

More often, locative *ŋ* ~ *wⁿ* is part of complex postpositions, which are documented in the following sections. Here too it competes with *ba*.

8.2.4   'Inside X' (*[X jáŋgà] ŋ*)

This complex postposition puts the trajector inside a container or other bounded zone. It is based on a possessed form of the noun *jàŋgà* 'belly'.

(xx1)   a. after H-tone

kɔ́jí	*kɔ́jí jáŋgà ̀ŋ*	'in the grass'

        b. after L-tone

dòn	*dòn jáŋgà ̀ŋ*	'in(side) the mouth'
tègèlè	*tègèlè jáŋgà ̀ŋ*	'in(side) the waterjar'
mì:	*mì: jáŋgà ̀ŋ*	'in the water'
ŋ́ yàlà	*[ŋ́ yàlà] jáŋà ̀ŋ*	'in my field'
ín dùgù	*[ín dùgù] jáŋà ŋ*	'in this/that village'
è dúgú-gé sèlè	*è dúgú-gé sèlè jáŋà ŋ*	'in all (the) villages'

An example is (xx2).

(xx2)   *sàkkó:sì*   *[[dèm*   *jáŋgà]*   *̀ŋ]*   *ŋ́*   *nwà:-m*
        bag   [[house   belly]   Loc]   1SgS   go.in-Caus.Perf
        'I put the bag in(side) the house.'

8.2.5   'Under, at the bottom/base of X' (*[X súgù] wⁿ]*, *[X súgù] bà]*)

[X súgù] wⁿ], often heard with final *ŋ* or vocalic nasalization for *wⁿ*, denotes a position at or just next to the base or bottom of an entity (tree, mountain, well), or directly under it. Noun *sùgù* means 'base, bottom'. For a human or higher animate landmark ('under me', 'under the horse'), *bà* replaces *wⁿ*. The 3Sg pronominal form is *sùgù-nà bà*.

(xx1)   a. *[è*   *dúgù]*   *[[kìnì*   *súgù]*   *̀ŋ]*   *bô-∅*
         [Def   village]   [[stone   base]   Loc]   be-3SgS
         'The village is at the base of the mountain.'

        b. *má:ŋgórò*   *[[óyⁿ*   *súgú]*   *ŋ́]*   *dù:ndò*

mango   [[waterjar base]   Loc]   put.down.Imprt
'Put the mangoes down under the waterjar.'

     c.   *[ŋ́   sùgù]   bà*
           [1SgP   base]   Loc
           'under me'

Adverbial PP *sùgù bà* means 'at the base/bottom' (e.g. of a well), French *au fond*.

     Another semantically similar adverbial PP is *sígó-lò bà* or *sígó-lò w^n* 'down below', for example referring to the ground floor from the perspective of an upper floor, or referring to the ground level from the perspective of the top of a tree. *sígó-* in *sígó-lò* is related to *sígé* 'foot' and is parallel in structure to its antonymn *kó:-lò bà* 'on top, above, overhead' (§8.2.6 below).

8.2.6   'Above, over, at the top of X' (*[X kó:-lò] bà* or *[X kó:-lò] w^n*)

This complex postposition is related to the adverbial phrase *kó:-lò bà* 'on top, above, overhead', denoting a position high above a landmark, or a position perched at the top of a tall landmark (tree, hill). The 3Sg pronominal form is *kó:-ló-nà bà* or *kó:-ló-nà w^n* 'above/over him/her/it'.

(xx1)   *nèjjé-gè   [[mbé   kó:-ló]   ŋ]   pìrìgò   bí-yà*
         bird-Pl   [[1PlP   above]   Loc]   fly.Prog   Prog-3PlS
         'The birds are flying above us'

kó:-lò is evidently based on *kó:* 'head'. The morpheme *-lò* recurs in *sígó-lò* in the antonymic adverbial PP *sígó-lò bà* 'below, underneath' (§8.2.5 above).

8.2.7   'On (the head of) X' (*[[X kò] ŋ]*)

This complex postposition is based on a possessed form of *kó:* 'head'. It is used not only in the more or less literal sense, as in 'a mango fell on me (=on my head)', but also when the landmark is a surface. In my data, the trajector is in contact with the object or surface, so 'on' is the best gloss. The 3Sg pronominal form is *kó:-ná ŋ* 'on him/her/it'. The final locative postposition *ŋ* is pronounced *w^n* prepausally, as in other combinations.

(xx1)   a.   *ámbú   [[bí:ngò   kò]   ŋ]   bô-∅*
           blanket   [[mat   head]   Loc]   be-3SgS

'The blanket is on the mat.' (*yòmbù*, *bì:*)

b. *[[dógó   kò]   ŋ]   bô-∅*
[[roof   head]   on]   be-3SgS
'He/She is on the roof.'

c. *[[ɲ́   kò]   ǹ]   tíbɛ́-∅*
[1Sg   head]   Loc]   fall.Perf-3SgS
'It fell on me (=on my head).'

8.2.8   'Beside, next to (sth); against, on (wall)' (*[X pâ] ŋ*)

This complex postposition is based on a noun (presumably) that is not attested elsewhere. It is used to describe horizontal proximity ('next to me', 'beside the tree'), including actual contact ('against the wall', 'on the wall'). The 3Sg pronominal form is *pǎ:-nà ŋ* 'beside him/her/it'.

(xx1)   *[[tìndìgɔ̀   pâ]   ŋ]   yàbà-∅*
[[tree   against]   Loc]   be.against.Stat-3SgS
'He/She is (leaning) against the tree.'

8.2.9   'In front of' (*[X tégò] wⁿ*)

Related to adverbial phrase *tégó bá* or *tégó wⁿ* 'forward, ahead' is this complex postposition. The 3Sg pronominal form is *tégó-ná ŋ* 'in front of him'.

(xx1)   a. *[[ɲ́   tègò]   wⁿ]   bô-∅*
[[1Sg   front]   Loc]   be-3SgS
'He/She is in front of me.'

b. *[[tiŋdìgɔ̀   tégò]   wⁿ]   bì-ý-yè*
[[tree   front]   in]   lie.down-MP.Perf.L-3PlS
'They lay down in front of the tree.'

8.2.10   'Behind/after X' (*[X túndù] bà*)

Spatial 'behind X' is *[X túndù] bà*. Temporal 'after X' is *[X túndù] wⁿ*. The related noun is *tùndù* 'rear (of sth)'.

(xx1)   a. *[[ɲ́   tùndù]   bà]   bó-∅*

[[1Sg   behind]   in.H]   be-3SgS
'He/She is behind me.'

b. *[[sèndì   túndù]   wⁿ]   égó   ń   bò*
[[holy.day behind] L]   come-Impf 1SgS Impf
'I will come (back) after the holy day.'

8.2.11 'Chez' (*[X sôwⁿ] bà*)

'Chez X', i.e. 'at the house (or in the presence of) X' is expressed by (*[X sôwⁿ] bà*. For examples see (xx3) and (xx8) in Text 4.

8.2.12 'Between' (*[[X nì Y] nâ:] ŋ*)

The compound postposition *nâ: ŋ* is added to a NP denoting a plurality, for example a plural noun or pronoun, or a conjoined NP *[X ni] [Y (ni)]* (§7.1.1). Before *nâ: ŋ*, the second occurrence of the *ni* 'and' conjunction is reduced to [n] or omitted. A pronominal example is *mbé ná: ŋ* 'between us'.

(xx1) a. *[mbé   dúgú]*
          [1PlP   village]
          [[[[séwá:rè nì] [dwá:ⁿsà   (n)]] nâ:]   ŋ]   bò-∅
          [[[[Sevare   and] [Douentza and]] middle] Loc] be-3SgS
          'Our village is located between Sevare and Douentza.'

      b. *[[mbé   ná:]   ŋ]   dà:yⁿà*
          [[1PlP   middle]   Loc]   sit.Imprt
          'Have a seat between us!'

8.2.13 'In the possession/custody of X' (*[X kî:] ŋ*)

A PP 'with (=in the temporary possession of) X' is produced by this composite postposition. No semantically related noun #*kí:* or the like is known.

(xx1) a. *[è   pô:y] [kí:-ná   ŋ]   bò-∅*
          [Def   sack] [custody-3SgP Loc]   be-3Sgs
          'The sack is with him (=in his possession).' (*kí:-nà ŋ*)

      b. *[è   wê:] [[ŋké kí:]   ŋ]   ń   dě:ndè*
          [Def child] [3PlP custody] Loc] 1SgS leave.Perf

'I left the child in their custody.' (*[ŋké kî:] ŋ*)

This construction can also be used abstractly, as in 'Y take a credit (=buy on credit) from X', see .

8.2.14   'From X to Y' (*X dígí, hâl Y*)

For *dígí* '(all the way) from' and *hâl* '(all the way) to/until', see §8.2.1.

8.3   Purposive-causal 'for' (*námù*)

[X námù] means 'for X', in a prospective sense (e.g. 'in order to get X'), as in (xx1). The postposition is treated tonally as a possessed noun, and X as a possessor (hence subject to tone-dropping). That this is a possessive is clearly shown by 3Sg *năm-nà ŋ* 'for him/her'.

   The *mu* segment is often pronounced as a prolonged [m:], though it can also be pronounced as [mu] or apocopated to [m]. Combinations include 1Sg *ŋ́ nàmú* [ǹnăm:], 1Pl *mbé námú* [mbénám:], and *sèydù námù* [sèjdùnâm:] 'for/because of Seydou'. The 3Sg form *năm-nà ŋ* 'for him/her' shows that námù is a possessed noun syntactically.

(xx1)   *[ìgè   námù]   ég-yè*
        [honey^L ^{HL}for]   come.Perf-3PlS
        'They have come for honey.' (*ìgè*)

The sense can also be retrospective ('because of, due to, as a result of'), as in (xx2a), or abstract 'on account of', as in (xx2b-c).

(xx2)   a.   *[kùmà:ŋgà   námù]   ǹ̀   nwé:*
             [rain(n)   **for**]   1PlS   go.in.Perf
             'We went into the house because of the rain (outside).'

        b.   *[ŋ́   nàmú]   ég-yè*
             [1Sg   **for**]   come.Perf-3PlS
             'They have come for (i.e. to visit) me.'

        c.   *[àmànà námù]   ò-ⁿ   bàrgó   ŋ́   bò*
             [God   **for**]   2Sg-Acc   help   1SgS   Impf
             'I will help you-Sg on account of God (i.e. as a charitable act).'

8.4 Other adverbs (or equivalents)

8.4.1 Similarity (*X pínà=:*, *X pínì=:* 'like X')

'Like (similar to) X' is *[X pínà]=:* or *[X pínì]=:*, with a "possessed" form of the stem and final 'it is' clitic. The clitic is audible as vowel length except before a 1st/2nd person proclitic. X may be a possessor pronoun, including 3Sg suffix *-nà*.

(xx1) a. *[ŋ́   pìná]=:   bò-∅ / wǒl-∅*
               [1SgP   like]=it.is   be-3SgS / not.be-3SgS
               'He/She is / is not like me.'

      b. *[pìná-nà]=:   b-yà*
               [like-3SgS]=it.is   be-3PlS
               'They are like him/her.'

      c. *[pìnà-ná]=∅   ŋ́   bò*
               [like-3SgS]=it.is   1SgS   be
               'I am like him/her.'

      d. *[wè: pínà]=:   wá-á   wò*
               [child   like]=it.is   weep.Impf-2SgS   Impf
               'You-Sg weep like a child.'

For a 'like/as though' clause using a variant of this particle, see §15.3.2.2.
    'Like this/that, thus' is *ènè*.

8.4.2 Extent (*jwá→* 'a lot', *bà:lè→* 'a little')

jwá→ 'a lot' can function as a NP argument (xx1a), or as an adverb (xx1b). It can also function as an adjective, tone-dropping a modified noun (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *jwá→   mì-ŋ   tábé-∅*
               a.lot   1Sg-Acc   give.Perf
               'He/She gave me a lot.'

      b. *[ùnù   wⁿ]   jwá→   ándó   ŋ́   bò*
               [travel(n) Loc]   a.lot   go.Impf 1SgS Impf
               'I travel a lot.'

c. *kày^n*　　　*jwá→*
　　work(n)　　much
　　'a lot of work' (*káy^n*)

The antonym is *bà:lè→* 'a little'.

(xx2)　a.　*bà:lé→*　　*mì-ŋ*　　*tábé-∅*
　　　　a.little　　1Sg-Acc　give.Perf-3SgS
　　　　'He/She gave me a little.'

　　　b.　*[ùnù*　　*ẃ^n]*　　*bà:lè→*　　*ándó*　　*ń*　　*bò*
　　　　[travel(n)　Loc]　　go-1SgS　go.Impf　1SgS　Impf
　　　　'I travel a little (i.e. occasionally).'

8.4.3　Specificity

8.4.3.1　'Approximately' (*dígí*)

To indicate that the figure given is correct as a minimum but might be slightly understated (cf. English odd), *dígí* can be added. It can be made into a predicate with *bò* 'be'.

(xx1)　*àlàmùnɔ́*　　*dè:*　　*dígí*　　　　*bò*
　　　sheep　　　　40　　approach
　　　'(They are) forty oddsheep'

8.4.3.2　'Exactly' (*gɔ̂n*)

With numbers (e.g. of livestock or currency units), *gɔ̂n* can be used (xx1).

(xx1)　*àlàmùnɔ́*　　*dè:*　　*gɔ̂n*　　　*kìyò*
　　　sheep　　　　40　　exactly　　equal
　　　'(it adds up to) exactly forty sheep'

8.4.4 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.4.4.1 Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (xx1). The element *-túná ~ -túnà* is understood by my assistant to be related to the numeral '3' (*tà:ndì*).

(xx1) a. *njó*   'today'
      nsâ→   'now'
      nè:gù-lò pé   'again' (with *nè:gù-lò* ordinal 'second')

      b. *yà:gù*   'yesterday'
         yà:gù-n-túná   'day before yesterday'
         pànà:ŋgè   'in the past, long ago'
         só→   "
         ê: wâ:r   " (lit. "that-Definite time")

      c. *ògà*   'tomorrow; in the future'
         ògà-n-túná   'day after tomorrow'
         màɲànà-n-túnà   'in (about) four days'

      d. *gò:lí*   'last year'
         nà:ŋgòlì   'next year'
         nwá: 'this year'

8.4.4.2 'First' (*túndùŋ*)

túndùŋ 'at first, firstly, to begin with' is illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1) *[sègú   ɲ́   ɲ-à:ndé   nè   túndùŋ]*
       [Segou   1SgS   Epen-go   and.then   firstly]
       [bàmàkɔ́   àndó   ɲ́   bò
       [Bamako   go.Impf   1SgS   Impf]
       'First I'll go to Segou (city), but later on I'll go somewhere else.'

8.4.4.3 Spatial adverbs

The following are the main nondemonstrative spatial adverbs. Some contain locative postposition *bà* or *w^n ~ ŋ*. No terms meaning 'north' or 'south' could be elicited.

(xx1) a. *kó:-lò bà*, *kó:-lò wⁿ*   'above, on top, overhead' (§8.2.6)
          sígó-lò bà, *sígó-lò wⁿ*   '(down) below, underneath' (§8.2.5)

      b. *dúl*   'east'
          gè:ⁿ-tíbí-l   'west'

      c. *túndú bá*   'in the rear'
          túndù ŋ   'afterward'
          tégó bá   'forward; in front'

For demonstrative locative adverbs, see §4.4.2.1.

'Left' (*nwá:gá*) and 'right' (*ɲà:*) are modifiers that follow e.g. 'hand' and 'foot'. *nwá:gá* behaves tonosyntactically like an adjective, and tone-drops the preceding noun: *sígé* 'foot', *sìgè nwá:gá* 'left foot'. *ɲà:*, which may be related in some way to *ɲé:* 'eat (meal)' since eating is strongly associated with the right hand, does not behave like an adjective tonosyntactically: *sígé ɲà:* 'right foot' and even *nwé: ɲà:* 'right hand' from L-toned *nwè:* 'hand'. Adverbial 'to the left, leftward' is *nwà:gà bà*, while 'to the right, rightward' is *nùmà bà*, based on an otherwise unattested archaic term for 'hand' (e.g. Penange númɛ̀)

8.4.5   Expressive adverbials (EAs)

Expressive adverbials (aka ideophones) are basically one-word adverbial phrases, sometimes with colorful senses. They do not combine into other words into phrases like NP, they cannot be focalized, and they have no tonosyntactic interactions wtih other elements. There are, however, ways to make them predicative, see §11.1.3.1.

8.4.5.1   Representative expressive adverbials

Expressive adverbials may be highly marked phonologically. Some have lexicalied "intonational" prolongation (xx1a). Others are iterated, often in a two-part form with an optional third part repeating the first (xx1b). The third part is generally used in isolation, but omitted before an auxiliary verb. Still others are more normal-looking (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *kèyⁿ→*   '(teeth) sticking out, having buck teeth'

      c. *gèŋ-gàŋ(-gèŋ)*   'walking with hips swinging'
          yì:lì-yà:lì   'flapping (in the wind)'

    c.   *kéléwⁿ*   'silent'

Adjectival intensifiers behave like adjectives rather than expressive adverbials, see §4.5.7.

    Some interjection-like intensifiers or emphatics are associated with verbal concepts. An example is *péw* 'completely used up'. It can simply be added to a conjugated verb (xx2b). For 3Sg subject, an alternative construction with *3Sg nà* is possible (xx2c). In form this construction belongs to the tight perfective chain type (§15.2.1.5).

(xx2)   a.   *ŋké-∅*
             be.depleted.Perf-3SgS
             'It (e.g. sugar) is used up.'

       b.   *ŋké-∅*   *péw*
             be.depleted.Perf-3SgS   all.used.up
             'It is completely used up.'

       c.   *[ŋkè*   *nà]*   *péw*
             [be.depleted.Perf   3SgS] all.used.up
             'It is completely used up.'

8.4.5.2   'Apart, separate' (*tó:-nà*)

This element is frequently used in parallelistic constructions, with NPs denoting the two separate sets. *-nà* is presumably a frozen 3Sg possessor morpheme (compare ntǎ:-nà 'some, certain ones' §6.3.2). 'Apart' constructions are generally parallelistic (xx1).

(xx1)   *àlàmùnɔ̀-gè*   *tó:-nà,*   *úná-gé*   *tó:-nà*
        sheep-Pl   **apart**,   goat-Pl   **apart**
        'The sheep apart (e.g. on one side), the goats apart (e.g. on the other side).'

When not spelled out in this parallelistic fashion, the sense can be expressed by the iteration *tó:-tó:* 'separately, apart (in distinct locations)'. All of these forms are derived from the adjective tó: 'other' (§4.7.1.1).

8.4.5.3 'Always' (*wá:r sèlè*), 'never' (*àbádá*)

wá:r sèlè ~ wàgár sèlè 'always, constantly, every time' is the combination of *wàgàr* 'time, moment' with *sèlè* 'all'. 'Never' can be expressed emphatically by *àbádá* (regional, originally Arabic) in combination with a negative predicate. Alternatively, 'never' can be expressed as an experiential perfect negative (§10.2.3.2).

8.4.6 'Together' (*bòw^{n}*)

Adverb *bɔ́:gù* 'together' is illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1) *bòw^{n}*   *káy^{n}*   *kánù*   *ŋ̀*   *bò*
       together   work(n)   do.Impf   1PlS   Impf
       'We will all work together.'

9 Verbal derivation

The productive suffixal derivations (stem to stem) for verbs are reversive *-lè* ~ *-lɛ̀* ('un-…'), causative *-mì* (less often *-gè*) and the often paired mediopassive *-yè* ~ *-yɛ̀* and transitive *-rè-* ~ *-rɛ̀* ~ *-ndè*. Also included in this chapter are deadjectival inchoatives.

9.1 Reversive verbs (*-lè* ~ *-lɛ̀*)

The reversive suffix is *-lè* or *-lɛ̀* (perfective) depending on the ATR-harmonic class of the verb. The majority of reversives are from bisyllabic inputs, including *CvC-* syncopated from /CvCv/. A third (underlying) syllable in the input consisting of a mediopassive or transitive derivational suffix is omitted from the reversive. The medial syllable in reversive *Cv́Cv́-lv̀* is weakened to a high vowel *u* (or *i* if the first syllable has *i*). This medial high vowel is subject to syncope in some consonantal environments, notably after {*l r m y*} (xx1b).

A preceding action (e.g. 'tie') that produces a resulting state is presupposed. The reversive action brings back the original state. The range of senses can be observed in the data in (xx1).

(xx1)	input	gloss	reversive	gloss
a. simple inputs, no syncope				
	twɛ́:ⁿ	'step on'	*twí:ⁿ-lɛ̀*	'remove foot from'
	dájé	'attach blade'	*dájú-lè*	'remove blade'
	sɔ́jé	'tie (up)'	*sɔ́jú-lɛ̀*	'untie'
	pégé	'button'	*pégú-lɛ̀*	'unbutton'
	púlé	'cover (sb)'	*púl-lè*	'uncover (sb)'
	díŋgé	'bury'	*díŋgí-lè*	'disinter'
	púndé	'roll up; fold'	*púndú-lè*	'unroll; unfold'
	nándé	'tangle [tr, intr]'	*nándú-lè*	'become untangled; tangle (sth)'
	kónjé	'roll up (pants)'	*kónjú-lè*	'unroll (pants)'
	dáŋgé	'paste, glue'	*dáŋgú-lè*	'un-glue'
	dágé	'lock'	*dágú-lè*	'unlock'
b. syncope				

táré	'affix, post'	*tál-lè*	'un-post (remove)'
yélé	'hook, hang'	*yél-lè*	'unhook'
nɔ́lɛ́	'sag'	*nɔ́l-lɛ̀*	'bounce back (after sagging)'
wéré	'braid (rope)'	*wér-lè*	'unravel (rope)'
kúmí	'clench (fist)'	*kúm-lè*	'unclench (fist)', homonym 'open eyes'

c. mediopassive and transitive inputs, no syncope

mediopassive, from Cv- stem

dú-yé	'carry on head'	*dú:-lè*	'take (load) off head'

mediopassive, from (syncopated) bisyllabic stem

íb-yè	'put on (wrap)'	*íbí-lè*	'take off (wrap)'
kúm-yè	'shut (eye)'	*kúm-lè*	'open (eye)', homonym 'unclench (fist)'
dómb-yè	'put on (hat)'	*dómbú-lè*	'take off (hat)'
ámb-yè	'get dressed'	*ámbú-lè*	'get undressed'

transitive

tímbí-rè	'stack up'	*tímbí-lè*	'unstack'
kágú-rè	'slip (sth) in'	*kágú-lè*	'slip (sth) out'

d. causative *-gè* input

gíndá-gè	'bend into a curve'	*gíndú-lè*	'unbend, straighten'

e. *CvCvle* input

púndólè	'crumple (sth)'	*púndú-lè*	'uncrumple'
nágálè	'load (cart)'	*nágú-lè*	'unload'

f. irregular (archaic phonology)

té:-rè	'cover (sth)'	*téwú-lè*	'uncover (sth)'
bá:-ndè	'shut (door)'	*báŋgú-lè*	'open (door)'
génjè	'(sth) tilt'	*géndú-lè*	'become un-tilted (straighten back up)'

g. suppletive

múndé	'braid (sb)'	*sáy-lè*	'unbraid (sb)'

Reversive verbs are optionally combined with a following 'go out' (*gwé:*) or 'take out' (*gó:-mì*), with the same subject. Intransitive *gwé:* is combined with intransitive verbs, causative *gó:-mì* with transitives. In other words, there is transitivity harmony between the two verbs. Literal exiting from a space may or may not be involved; 'go/take out' may be abstract. If the event is completed, the construction used is the tight perfective chain (§15.2.1.5), as in (xx2a-b). Note the {L}-toned *bàŋgù-lè* and the following 3Sg postverbal subject *nà* in (xx2a).

For uncompleted and future events, the first verb has nonpast anterior *né ~ nè* (§15.2.2.2), as in (xx2c).

(xx2) a. *bòwⁿ*   *[bàŋgù-lè   nà]*   *gwé:-∅*
door   [close-Rev.Perf   3SgS]   go.out.Perf-3SgS
'The door opened (by itself).'

b. *bòwⁿ*   *[ŋ́   bàŋgú-lè]*   *ŋ́*   *gǒ:-mì*
door   [1SgS   close-Rev.Perf]   1SgS   go.out-Caus.Perf
'I opened the door.'

c. *bòwⁿ*   *[báŋgú-lé   né]*   *gô:*   *bò-∅*
door   [close-Rev   and.then]   go.out.Impf   Impf-3SgS
'The door will open (by itself).'

9.2   Deverbal causative verbs

9.2.1   Productive causative (*-mì*)

The productive causative suffix added to verb inputs is *-mì-* (perfective). The suffix can be added to a wide variety of verbs, including transitives, in a range of causative senses ('force X to VP', 'have X VP', 'let X VP'). It also makes factitives out of deadjectival inchoatives, e.g. 'make (sth) small(er)' from inchoative 'become small(er)'.

All causatives belong to the final-high-vowel verb class. Partial paradigms of *sígó-mì* 'take down' and of *yébá-mì* 'cause to dance', with tones based on 3Sg forms, are in (xx1). The input verb takes the **A/O-stem**.

(xx1)   category   'take down'   'cause to dance'
(< *sígê*)   (< *yébɛ̂*)

perfective   *sígó-mì*   *yébá-mì*
imperfective   *sígó-m bò*   *yébá-m bò-*
imperfective neg   *sìgò-mù:-ndí*   *yèbà-mù:-ndí*
capacitative   *sìgò-m-mâ: bò*   *yèbà-m-mâ: bò*
imperative   *sìgò-mú*   *yèbà-m-á*

Further examples of causatives are in (xx2). Note in particular the -ATR input stems in (xx2b).

(xx2)   input   gloss   causative   gloss

a. monosyllabic

né:	'drink'	*ná:-mì*	'give drink to'
ɲé:	'eat (meal)'	*ɲá:-mì*	'feed'
nwé:	'enter'	*nwá:-mì*	'make enter, take in'
jwé:	'(sth) fill up'	*jó:-mì*	'fill (sth)'
gwé:	'go out'	*gó:-mì*	'take out, remove'

hybrid mono- and bisyllabic (§10.1.2.5)

mé:	'(sth) dry'	*méá-mì*	'dry (sth)'

b. bisyllabic

input already +ATR compatible

tábé	'give'	*tábá-mì*	'cause to give'
táŋgé	'go past'	*táŋgá-mì*	'take past'

input -ATR

sógé	'fall'	*sógá-mì*	'cause to fall'
sémé	'slaughter'	*sémá-mì*	'cause to slaughter'
kómé	'shout'	*kómá-m(ú)-*	'cause to shout'
démdè	'budge'	*démdá-m(ú)-*	'move (sth) over'

c. trisyllabic

dúgú-rè	'run'	*dúgú-ró-mì*	'cause to run'

e. input already has derivational suffix

reversive

báŋgú-lè	'open (door)'	*báŋgú-lá-mì*	'have (sb) open (door)'

causative -gè

pánjá-gè	'tear, rip'	*pánjá-gá-mì*	'have (sb) rip (sth)'

causative -m̀

sígó-mì	'take down'	*sígó-mú-mì*	'have (sb) take down (sth)'

I can cite no example where *-mì* is added to a mediopassive or transitive derivational suffix (the transitive form it itself the usual causative of the mediopassive).

For *gó:-mì* 'take out, remove' and *gó-m-dè* 'cause to go out, cause to leave', see §10.xxx.

Causatives from final-high-vowel input verbs are in (xx3). Those with a in the nonfinal syllable have stem-final a before *-mì*, which could be taken as the A/O- or A-stem. Others have the U-stem.

(xx3)	input	gloss	causative	gloss

130

a. nonfinal *a* in stem
dám	'speak'	*dámá-mì*	'make speak'

b. nonfinal nonlow vowel in stem
sé:mì	'look'	*sé:mú-mì*	'cause to look'

The causative of 'come' is *égó-mì* 'cause to come' with the A/O-stem.

9.2.2   Minor causative suffix *-gè* (*-gὲ*)

Several well-lexicalized causative-like action verbs, generally involving destructive impact, have a suffix *-gè* (perfective form) added to that A-stem or to the I/U-stem, depending on the verb. With the A-stem, the suffix always takes the +ATR form *-gè*, but the limited data show lexical variation as to whether a nonfinal -ATR vowel shifts to +ATR (xx1a). With the U-stem, the ATR value observed in the stem-final syllable in the perfective of the input is transferred to the suffixal syllable in the derivative, so both *-gè* and *-gὲ* are represented in (xx1b).

(xx1)   Causative *-gè* (all known examples)

input	gloss	causative	gloss
a. A-stem			
máré	'be lost'	*márá-gè*	'cause to be lost'
ɲámí	'malfunction'	*ɲámá-gὲ*	'ruin (sth)'
pánjé	'be torn'	*pánjá-gὲ*	'tear, rip'
gílé	'(sth) snap'	*gílá-gè*	'snap, break (sth)'
gíndɛ́	'(sth) be curved'	*gíndá-gὲ*	'bend (sth) into a curve'
with overt ATR alternation in nonfinal syllable			
tébɛ́	'be shattered'	*tébá-gè*	'shatter'
no ATR alternation in nonfinal syllable			
nɔ́lé	'(sth) crumple'	*nɔ́lá-gè*	'crumple (sth)'
b. U-stem			
+ATR			
gúmbé	'be split'	*gúmbú-gè*	'split (wood, nut)'
káyé	'be incised'	*káy-gè*	'make incision in'
kúré	'be roiled'	*kúrú-gè*	'roil, muddy'
múré	'be punctured'	*múrú-gè*	'puncture'
nímbé	'(fire) go out'	*nímbú-gè*	'extinguish (fire)'
púré	'be severed'	*púrú-gè*	'cut off, sever'

-ATR

yúlé	'wake up'	*yúl-gè*	'wake (sb) up'
túyé	'be dumped'	*tú:-gè*	'dump' (slightly irregular)

Several verbs ending in *gè* or *gè* probably originated as suffixal derivatives, but are not synchronically paired with an unsuffixed intransitive. Examples are *pélgè* 'strike (e.g. a match), hone (a razor blade in one's palm)', *tírgè* 'pour (into a container)', *wélgè* 'dispossess (sb, of sth)', *bálgè* 'gather', and *wélágè* 'divide, share'.

The *-gè* in *yígíl-gè* 'be dizzy' is segmentable, compare noun *yìgìl* 'dizziness', but the verb does not fit the usual semantic profile here.

The final syllable of *málgè* 'see' is arguably segmentable (*mál-gè*) based on comparison with stative *málà*, but *málà* could alternatively be derived by applying a templatic target *CvCv* to *málgè* (derived statives do not allow nonhomorganic medial clusters), see §10.4.1.1.

A different *-gè* suffix is used with prosodically light verbs as a reciprocal (§9.5). Another *-gè* suffix occurs in some deadjectival inchoatives (§9.6).

9.2.3   Minor causative suffix *-ndè*

The examples of this formation are in (xx1).

(xx1)   Causative *-ndè* (all known examples)

input	gloss	causative	gloss
a. sense is causative			
dá:yⁿì	'sit down'	*dá:-ndè*	'cause to sit, seat (sb)'
b. idiosyncratic senses			
gí:yⁿì	'(sth) be smelly'	*gí:-ndè*	'sniff, smell (sth)'
sáyé	'be untied'	*sáy-ndè*	'scatter [tr]; be scattered [intr]'
yél-yè	'cling, be held'	*yélé-ndè*	'hold onto'
púrú-gè	'cut (off)'	*púr-gú-ndè*	'cross (river, road)'

In (xx1b), *sáyé* '(e.g. knot, bundle) become untied, undone' is much more clearly related to transitive *sáy-lè* 'undo (sth tied)'.

gú:ndè 'go out' probably originated as a derived stem (*gú:-ndè*), cf. *gwé:* 'leave' (imperative *gó:*). Comparative evidence suggests that *núndé* 'hear' might also have originated in the fashion, cf. Ben Tey *nǔ-*, Yanda Dom and Tebul Ure

132

nɔ́. This *-nde* does not seem to have altered the valency of the verb. Both *gú:ndè* and *núndé* have similar counterparts in some other western Dogon languages, e.g. Bunoge.

9.2.4   *kání* 'do', *ká:-ndè* 'do for', *kándí-gè* 'fix'

The simple transitive 'do' verb is *kání*, as in 'what are you doing?' It also occurs in a number of collocations as a semantically light auxiliary verb (§xxx).

   ká:-ndè means 'do (sth) for (sb)'. If derived from *kání*, it adds a beneficiary (morphosyntactically, an additional direct object) to the case frame.

   kándí-gè 'fix, repair' is vaguely similar to 'do' and 'do for' but it fits into no transparent derivational relationship.

9.2.5   *núndé* 'hear' and *núnd-yè* 'listen'

núndé 'hear' and *núnd-yè* 'listen (to)' do not fit the usual semantic profile for mediopassive derivatives.

9.3   Passive *-m-û:* or *-û:*

For a resultative passive (e.g. 'be hanging' in stative intransitive sense) in *-ɛ́: ~ -é: ~ -í: bò*, see §10.4.1.2.

   A suffixal passive with *-m-û:* is attested with three transitive verbs ('see', 'get', 'encounter'). The sense is 'be VERB-able'. Only 3Sg subject forms are attested. The negative counterpart is *-mù:-ndí*, with imperfective negative *-ndí*.

(xx1)	verb	gloss	'be VERB-able'	'not be VERB-able'
	díné	'get, obtain'	*dìnà-m-û:*	*dìnà-m-ù:-ndí*
	málgè	'see'	*màlgà-m-û:*	*màlgà-m-ù:-ndí*
	témbé	'encounter'	*tèmbò-m-û:*	*tèmbò-m-ù:-ndí*

A verb form in final *û:* is also attested without the *-m(ì)* suffix in *kànû:* 'it is do-able, it can be done', from *kání* 'do'. This form can be combined with another verb: *nɔ̌:-wⁿ kànù:* 'it is eatable', *nɔ̌:-wⁿ kànù:* 'it is drinkable', *ùmyɔ́-wⁿ kànù:* 'it is endurable'.

   For mediopassives with *-yè ~ -yè*, see the following section. For resultative passive with *-ɛ́: ~ -é: ~ -í:* plus *bò*, see §10.4.1.2.

133

9.4   Mediopassive and transitive

9.4.1   Mediopassive *-yè* ~ *-yɛ̀* and transitive *-rè-* ~ *-rɛ̀* (*-dè*, *-ndè*)

There is a fairly productive alternation of mediopassive *-yè* ~ *-yɛ̀* and transitive *-rè-* ~ *-rɛ̀*. The latter has a variant *-ndè* after contraction in some combinations and there iare two other cases of *-dɛ̀* ~ *-dè*.

The mediopassive denotes an internally experienced event (voluntary or not), while the corresponding transitive requires an external agent. The transitive is therefore essentially the causative of the mediopassive. Some mediopassives, especially verbs of carrying, are syntactically transitive in that they have a direct object. In this case, the form with *-rè-* ~ *-rɛ̀* is ditransitive.

Transitive *-ró-* ~ *-rɔ́-* is easily distinguished from reversive *-lè* ~ *-lɛ̀*, which can occur with some of the same verb stems (§9.1), and from reciprocal allomorph *-lè* (§9.5).

(xx1)	MP	gloss	Tr	gloss
a. stance				
	bí-yè	'lie down'	*bí:-rè*	'have lie down, put to sleep'
	dá:yⁿì	'sit down'	*dá:-ndè*	'have (sb) sit, seat (sb)', see §9.2.3
	ínjè	'stand up, stop'	*íŋgí-rè*	'stop (sth)'
	sómb-yè	'squatl'	*sómbú-rè*	'cause to kneel'
b. wearing clothes				
	ámb-yè	'put on (clothes)'	*ámbú-rè*	'put (clothes) on (sb)'
	dómb-yè	'put on (headware)'	*dómbú-rè*	'put (headware) on (sb)'
	íb-yè	'tie on (wrap)'	*íbí-rè*	'tie (wrap) on (sb)'
	túlé	'put on (shoe)'	*tú:-rè*	'put (shoe) on (sb)
c. carrying/holding				
	bámb-yè	'carry on back'	*bámbú-rè*	'put on (sb's) back'
	dú-yɛ́	'carry on head'	*dú:-rè*	'put on (sb's) head'
d. other				
	mì: dú-yɛ́	'bathe'	*mì: dú:-rè*	'bathe (sb)'
	úr(í)-yè	'get sick'	*úr-dè*	'make (sb) sick'
	númb-yè	'rub (oil, on self)'	*númbú-rè*	'rub (oil, on sb)'
	kúyɛ́	'hide (oneself)'	*kúy-rè*	'hide (sth, sb)'
	dábálè	'whisper'	*dábál-dè*	'whisper to (sb)'

Transitive stems *bí:-rè* (xx1a) 'put (sb) to sleep', *tú:-rè* 'put (shoe) on (sb)' (xx1b), and *dú:-rè* 'put on (sb's) head' (xx1c) are somewhat problematic phonologically. for *bí:-rè* and *dú:-rè* there is a possibility that the lengthened vowel preserves part of the mediopassive suffix in *bí-yè* and *dú-yè*. *tú:-rè*, by contrast, involves loss of the medial l in *túlé*.

Transitive *íŋgí-rè* 'stop (sth)' in (xx1a) has its own apparently transitive or causative derivative *íŋgí-r-dè* 'have (sb) stop (sth)'.

dúgú-rè 'run' is only weakly segmentable by comparison with the cognate nominal *dúgú* 'running'. There are many verbs ending in *-rè* or *-rè* that may have originated as suffixal derivatives but that are now isolated.

gálé 'put (sth) in (sth)', which is already transitive syntactically, has an irregular transitive (causative) derivative *gá:-rè* 'put (sth) in (sth) for (sb)', with a benefactive indirect object indexed.

9.5   Reciprocal (*-gè*, *-lè*)

The reciprocal verb form has (in the perfective) suffix *-gè* after prosodically light stems, and suffix *-lè* after heavy stems. The verb is in the A/O-stem, requiring +ATR-compatible vocalism in nonfinal syllables. As elsewhere (i.e. tones for 3Sg perfective, tones for imperative), the light/heavy distinction groups *Cv*, *Cv:*, *CvCv*, and most *CvNCv* with homorganic nasal/voiced-stop cluster as light, and remaining *CvCCv* plus *Cv:Cv* and all trisyllabic and longer stems as heavy. The verb is optionally preceded by *bòwⁿ* 'reciprocally, together'.

(xx1)   a.   *(bòwⁿ)*   *ŋ̀* / *à*   *málgá-lè*
              (together)   1PlS / 2PlS   see-Recip.Perf
              'We/You-Pl saw each other'

        b.   *(bòwⁿ)*   *málgá-l-yè*
              (together)   see-Recip.Perf-3PlS
              'They saw each other.'

        c.   *málgá-lò*   *ŋ̀*   *bò*
              tomorrow   1PlS   hit
              'We will see each other'

Since *-lè* ~ *-lè* is also one variant of the reversive suffix (i.e. after +ATR stems), it may be useful to give parsing tips. There is a complementarity, since reversive *-lè* ~ *-lè* is added to prosodically light stems, while reciprocal allomorph *-lè* occurs only with heavy stems. In addition, the reciprocal is always +ATR *-lè*.

Likewise, *-gè* is homonymous with a causative-like suffix *-gè* used with a fairly small set of impact transitives like 'puncture' and 'shatter' (§9.2.2). Since the underived verbs that can add causative *-gè* are intransitive, while those that can add reciprocal *-gè* are transitive, there is little danger of confusion.

Some further examples are in (xx2). As usual the perfective 3Sg is the citation form, but in the case of reciprocals a plural subject is required, so in citing forms that are actually in use one can either add 1Pl *ŋ̀* or 2Pl *à* (*ŋ̀ sójá-gè* 'we tied each other') or replace *-gè* and *-lè* with 3Pl *-g-yè* and *-l-yè* (*sójá-g-yè* 'they tied each other').

(xx2)	input	gloss	reciprocal ('each other')
a. prosodically light			
	twé:ⁿ	'step on'	*twá:ⁿ-gè*
	sójé	'tie (up)'	*sójá-gè*
	gíyé	'kill'	*gíyá-gè*
	dúgé	'insult'	*dúgá-gè*
	tábé	'give (to)'	*tábá-gè*
	káyé	'shave'	*káyá-gè*
	náré	'touch'	*nárá-gè*
	búndé	'hit'	*búndó-gè*
	dúndé	'look for'	*dúndá-gè*
b. prosodically heavy			
	bárgè	'help'	*bárgá-lè*
	kábájè	'scratch'	*kábájá-lè*
	pábálè	'massage'	*pábálá-lè*
	yígírè	'shake'	*yígíró-lè*

There are two semantically related (antonymous) verbs, structurally quadrisyllabic, that end in *gè* and have more or less reciprocal sense: *ségál(í)gè* ' (people, animals) assemble, come together' and *píjól(í)gè* 'scatter, disperse [intr]'. The morphological structure is synchronically not transparent in the absence of corresponding underived input forms.

9.6   Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

All adjectives denoting states have some way to indicate a transition into that state or an intensification/increase of that state. Typically the modifying adjective is paired with an inchoative verb of the sense 'become ADJ', cf. English (intransitive) *redden* (or *blush*), *grow* (or *expand*), *fill up*, and so forth. In some cases the relationship between the paired adjective and inchoative verb

is irregular or suppletive, and in some other cases an auxiliary verb like 'do' is added directly to the adjective. The data in this section are organized by formal relationships.

In (xx1), the modifying adjective is **identical segmentally to the perfective** (and citation form) of the inchoative verb, allowing for vocalism-stem changes affecting the final vowel (the perfective citation form of the verb must end in {*i e ɛ*}. One is tempted to analyse the "adjective" as the perfective participle of the verb as in a relative clause ('a dry garment' < 'a garment that dried'). However, this does not quite work. The relative clause would have to be a subject relative, but perfective participles in subject relatives are {H}-toned (§14.4.2). Furthermore, true relative clauses allow additional constituents, both before the head noun and between it and the verbal participle, and this is not observed in normal N-Adj combinations. So I take the adjectives and inchoatives in (xx1) as members of equally independent status of the same word-families, rather than deriving one from the other.

(xx1)   modifying   inchoative   gloss of adjective

        a. adjective ends in {*i e ɛ*}
            bɔ̀rè   *bɔ́ré*   'cooked'
            dèmè   *démɛ́*   'ripe (grain)'
            ɛ̀mbè   *ɛ́mbɛ́*   'wet'
            gɔ̀mè   *gɔ́mɛ́*   'rotten (meat, fruit)'
            kàmmì   *kámmì*   'hard (e.g. rock, wood)'
            kùnè   *kúné*   'plump, fatty'
            kùrè   *kúré*   'undiluted, full-strength (e.g. milk)'
            jwè: *jwé:*   'full'
            mè: *mé:*   'dry'
            ɲàm   *ɲám(í)*   'malfunctioning'
            ɔ̀njè   *ɔ́njé*   'lean (animal, meat)'
            sèlè   *sélé*   'diluted (e.g. milk)'
            ùlè   *úlé*   'worn-out'
            ùlgè   *úlgè*   'ripe (fruit)'

        b. irregular
            nwá:gá   *nú:gè*   'hot'
              "   *nwá:jè*   'fast'
            jámá   *jámmì*   'close, nearby'

In (xx2), an inchoative suffix *-yè* ~ *-yɛ̀* (becoming *-jè* ~ *-jɛ̀* after *g*) is added to a syncopated form of the adjective. Presumably the stem-final vowel is raised to *i* before being syncopated.

(xx2)   modifying   inchoative   gloss of adjective

    a. *-yè ~ -yè* after vowel or nonnasal sonorant
     after vowel
      nsì:^{n}   *nsí-yé*   'sweet' or 'sharp (blade)'
     after l
      èlɔ̀   *él-yè*   'delicate (fabric)'
      kòlò   *kól-yè*   'fresh; raw'

    b. *-jè ~ -jè* after *g*
   /ŋg-y/ reducing to n-j
     dɔ́ŋgá   *dón-jè*   'heavy'
     ɲɔ̀ŋgɔ̀   *ɲón-jè*   'thin, slender'
   /g-y/ becoming j-j
     yágá   *yáj-jè*   'pretty'
     wàgè   *wáj-jè*   'distant'
     má:gá   *má:j-jè*   'difficult (work)'

In (xx3), the inchoative suffix is *-gè*.

(xx3)   modifying   inchoative   gloss of adjective

    a. after vowel
     stem-final vowel already u
      kùrjù   *kúrjú-gè*   'coarse'
      pèmbù   *pémbú-gè*   'cramped'
     stem-final u shifted from another vowel
      tòmbò   *tómbú-gè*   'white'
      bámbá   *bámbú-gè*   'wide, spacious'
      sùmbè   *súmbú-gè*   'deep'
      bɔ̀mbɛ̀   *bɔ́mbú-gè*   'red'
     stem-final u syncopated after unclustered sonorant
      tà:mì   *tá:m-gè*   'slow'
     irregular with ATR-harmonic shift
      yɔ̀rdɛ̀   *yɔ́rádí-gè*   'black'

    b. after consonant
     unsyncopated
      bày^n   *báy^n-gè*   'big'
     syncopated
      gòlò   *gól-gè*   'long, tall'
      gà:là   *gá:l-gè*   'bitter'
      bàgàlà   *bágál-gè*   'big, fat, massive'
      ɔ̀nànà   *ɔ́nán-gè*   'smooth, sleek'
     irregular

tàyè	*támál-gè*	'cold'

diminutive adj

dùŋgùrí-yè	*dúŋgúr-gè*	'short'
ŋkà:lí-yè	*ŋká:l-gè*	'small'

Of morphological interest is the fact that several adjectives with obligatorily iterated stems correspond to inchoatives based either on uniterated versions of the stem (xx4ab), or on a special **final-reduplicated** *CvC₂vC₂-* stem (xx4c).

(xx4)   modifying   inchoative   gloss of adjective

      a. unsuffixed, perfective-like inchoative

tóm-tóm	*tómí*	'sour'

      b. inchoative with *-yè* ~ *-yè*

yáw-yáw	*yáw-yè*	'lightweight'

      c. inchoative with final-reduplicated stem and *-gè*

èb-èb	*ébáb-gè*	'supple'
sém-sém	*sémém-gè*	'pointed'
búlá-búlà	*búlál-gè*	'blue'

One adjective has a **suppletive** inchoative *yé:* 'become good' (xx5) when the referent is inanimate.

(xx5)   *pɔ́:lɔ́*   *yé:* (Inan)   'good'
                    pɔ́:l-gè (An)

Adjectives appear as regularly adjectival form with a following **auxiliary verb** are in (xx6).

(xx6)   a. with *bílé* 'become'

kárá-kárá	*kárá-kárá bílé*	'bitter'
kándá	*kándá bílé*	'new'

      b. with *kání* 'do'

ká:mnɔ́	*ká:mnɔ́ kání*	'old (person)'

      c. with *né* 'say'

yáw-yáw	*yáw-yáw né*	'lightweight' (alongside *yáw-yè*)

The factitive 'make (sth) ADJ (or ADJ-er)' is the causative of the inchoative (xx7).

(xx7)　　　factitive　　　gloss　　　　　　　　　inchoative

　　a.　*dón-jó-mì*　　'make heavy, weigh down'　*dón-jò*

　　b.　*ŋká:l-gá-mì*　　'make small(er), shrink'　*ŋká:l-gè*

　　c.　*yó:-mì*　　'make better, improve'　*yé:*

　　d.　*yáw-yá ná-mì*　'make lighter, lighten'　　*yáw-yáw né*

10   Verbal inflection

10.1   Inflection of regular indicative verbs

For indicative categories, the verb occurs in a vocalism stem form, which is followed by an aspect-negation suffix (except that perfective positive is unmarked suffixally). The past clitic *=ye* (§10.6.1) can be added to an already conjugated verb of any aspect-negation category. Verbs have a similar structure in deontic modal categories such as imperative and hortative, with imperative (singular) being unmarked.

Pronominal subject category for indicative categories is marked by suffixes for 3Pl, by proclitics for 1st/2nd persons, and by zero for 3Sg (transcribed as suffixed -∅). For the deontic moods, plural addressee is marked suffixally.

Verbs in relative clauses have special tonal and/or (participial) suffixal forms, see §14.4.

10.1.1   Overview of indicative (aspect-negation) categories

The nonpronominal inflectional categories marked on verbs in indicative clauses are those in (xx1), which is organized into four groups based on aspect and polarity.

(xx1)   a. perfective positive system
        perfective   E/I-stem, no other suffix
        experiential perfect   A/O-stem plus *-tê:*

      b. imperfective positive system
        imperfective   O-stem plus *bò* ~ *wò*
        progressive   O-stem plus *bô* 'be'

      c. perfective negative system
        perfective negative   E/I-stem plus *-l*
                                  (3Pl: A-stem plus *-ndá*)
        experiential perfect negative   A/O-stem plus *-té:-ndí*

      d. imperfective negative system
        imperfective negative   O-stem plus *-ndí* ~ *-l* ~ *-lí*

<table>
<tr><td>progressive negative</td><td>O-stem plus wǒl 'not be'</td></tr>
</table>

Unusual in Dogon is the fact that the Penange perfective negative is based on the same E/I-stem as the corresponding positive. Therefore the E/I-stem and the O-stem function in Penange as perfective and imperfective, respectively, regardless of polarity. On the other hand, the experiential perfect has a distinctive vocalism stem (A/O), and its negative form does not (synchronically) end in the regular perfective negative suffix. Therefore the relationship of the experiential perfect and the perfective systems is weaker in Penange than in most other Dogon languages.

However, in Penange the perfective/imperfective division is also marked by the position of 1st/2nd person subject pronominals. In the perfective systems, positive and negative, these pronominals precede the verb with its aspect-negation marking: Pron Verb-AN. This includes the experiential perfect (positive and negative), which I therefore place with perfectives rather than imperfectives in spite of the vocalism. By contrast, 1st/2nd person subject pronominals intervene between the verb and the following suffix (or auxiliary) in the imperfective systems (including progressive). Examples with 1Sg *ŋ́* and allomorphs are in (xx2), using *égé* 'come'.

(xx2)   a. perfective system (positive and negative)

ŋ́ yègè	'I came'	perfective
ŋ́ yègè-l	'I did not come'	perfective negative
ŋ́ yègò-tê:	'I have (once) come'	experiential perfect
ŋ́ yègò-té:-ndí	'I have never come'	experiential perfect neg.

       b. imperfective system (positive and negative)

égó ŋ́ bò	'I will come'	imperfective
ègó-ò-l	'I will not come'	imperfective negative
ègó ŋ́ bò	'I am coming'	progressive
ègó ŋ́ wòl	'I am not coming'	progressive negative

Other indicative categories not fitting into these four systems are the derived **stative** (e.g. 'be sitting' from active verb 'sit down'), which is marked primarily by vocalic ablaut, and the capacitative ('can VP') with suffix *-má-*. Based on the position of 1st/2nd person subject pronominals, the capacitative is affiliated with the perfective systems. This test works less cleanly for the stative, which (in the positive) has a kind of initial iteration instead of an aspectual suffix, with the 1st/2nd person pronominal intercalated. However, the pronoun precedes the verb in the (uniterated) stative negative, so a (weak) case can be made for aligning the stative with the perfective systems.

(xx3)   a. capacitative

ŋ́ bì-yò-má	'I can lie down'	capacitative
ŋ́ bì-yò-má-ndà	'I cannot lie down'	capacitative negative

b. stative (positive and negative)

bì ŋ́ bì-yà	'I am lying down'	stative
ŋ́ bìyà-ndá	'I am not lying down'	stative negative

Past clitic *=ye* can be added to an already inflected aspect-marked, stative, or capacitative verb, positive or negative. There is one exception: the past imperfective is quite different in form from the (nonpast) imperfective (§10.6.1.4).

10.1.2 Verb stem shapes

The stem-classes (syllabic shape, final high versus nonhigh vowel) will be described in the sections below (§10.1.2.1-xxx). This will be followed by sections on the various inflectional (e.g. aspect-negation) categories.

10.1.2.1 *Cv* verb (*nɛ́* 'say')

I can cite only *nɛ́* 'say' as a short-voweled monosyllabic verb. It competes with *dám* 'speak, say'. In partial paradigms like that in (xx1), unless otherwise indicated, the form (especially tonal) of the stem is that of the 3Sg form. The E-stem is *nɛ* and the O-stem is *nɔ*.

(xx1) form category

nɛ́	perfective (3Pl *níy-yⁿɛ̀*, 1Pl *ŋ̀ nɛ̂*)
nɛ̀-l	perfective negative (3Pl *ná-ndá*)
ná	imperative
nɔ́ bò	imperfective
nɔ̀-ndí	imperfective negative

nɛ́ owes its subminimal shape to elision of an original first syllable. Its cognates include Bunoge *ʔúnɛ̀* and Mombo *gúnɛ́*.

143

10.1.2.2 *Cv:* verbs

The known *Cv:* verbs are listed in (xx1) in the most important vocalism stems. Tones are omitted. All known examples have {*e ɛ*} rather than *i* in the E/I-stem; i.e. there are no final-high-vowel *Cv:* stems. *Cv:ⁿ* with nasalized vowel is attested but rare. I know of no *Cv:* stems with irregular inflectional morphology, though *gwé:* 'go out' has some variant stems (§10.1.2.3 just below). The consonantal onset of the E/I-stem for -ATR verbs (*Cwɛ:-* versus *Cɛ:-*) depends on the point of articulation of the initial *C*, palatoalveolar {*y ɲ*} versus other. For +ATR stems, even *y* does not prevent the following *w*, see 'fill up' in (xx1c), where *yw* is pronounced as IPA [yw] with front rounded [y].

(xx1) *Cv:* verbs

				vocalism stems			gloss
O	A/O	A	E	I	U		

a. -ATR
Cw onset in A/O- and E/I-stems, u: in U-stem

O	A/O	A	E	I	U	gloss
dɔ:	*dwa:*	*dwa:*	*dwɛ:*	*duy*	*du:*	'pound'
nɔ:	*nwa:*	*nwa:*	*nwɛ:*	*nuy*	*nu:*	'sing'
nɔ:	*nwa:*	*nwa:*	*nwɛ:*	*nuy*	—	'go in'
sɔ:	*swa:*	*swa:*	*swɛ:*	*suy*	—	'vomit'
tɔ:	*twa:*	*twa:*	*twɛ:*	*tuy*	*tu:*	'make bunches'

C onset in A/O- and E/I-stems, i: in U-stem

O	A/O	A	E	I	U	gloss
ɲɔ:	*ɲa:*	*ɲa:*	*ɲɛ:*	*ɲiyⁿ*	*ɲi:*	'eat (meal)'
yɔ:	*ya:*	*ya:*	*yɛ:*	—		'(day) break'
nɔ:	*na:*	*na:*	*nɛ:*	*niyⁿ*	*ni:*	'drink'

w-initial

O	A/O	A	E	I	U	gloss
wɔ:	*(w)wa:*	*(w)wa:*	*(w)wɛ:*	*wiy*	*wu:*	'weep' (noun *wɔ̀:*)

b. *Cv:* with long oral vowel, +ATR
Cw onset in E/I-stem

O	A/O	A	E	I	U	gloss
jo:	*jo:*	*jwa:*	*jwe:*	*juy*	—	'(sth) fill up'
go:	*go:*	*gwa:*	*gwe:*	*guy*	—	'go out; (sun) rise'
ko:	*ko:*	*kwa:*	*kwe:*	*kuy*	*ku:*	'sew'

w-initial

O	A/O	A	E	I	U	gloss
wo:	*wo:*	*(w)wa:*	*(w)we:*	*wuy*	*wu:*	'draw (water)'

y-initial

O	A/O	A	E	I	U	gloss
yo:	*yo:*	*ya:*	*ye:*	*yiy*	—	'be fixed'

c. *Cv:ⁿ* with long nasal vowel
Cw onset in A/O- and E/I-stems

tɔ:ⁿ	*twa:ⁿ*	*twa:ⁿ*	*twɛ:ⁿ*	*twiyⁿ*	*tu:ⁿ*	'step on' or '(God) create'

d. *Ci:-* in E/I-stem
[none]

Penange cognates of *Ca:-* verbs in some other Dogon languages are bisyllabic, of the shape *Cayv-* (e.g. perfective *náyé-* 'spend the night', *káyé-* 'shave'). For *mɛ́:* 'dry, become dry' and *gɛ́:ⁿ* 'fart', which are partly monosyllabic and partly bisyllabic, see §10.1.2.5.

10.1.2.3 *gwɛ́:* 'go out' and its relatives

gwɛ́: 'go out' co-occurs with two bisyllabic near-synonyms (xx1). The morphology is obscure, but a very similar trio of forms occurs in Bunoge.

(xx1) Perf 3Sg   Imprt   gloss

    gwɛ́:   *gó:*   'leave, go away' (Fr *quitter*)
    gú:ndè   *gù:ndó*   'go out (from a structure)'
    gó:ŋgè   *gò:ŋgó*   'come (back) out, emerge'

The two causatives are those in (xx2).

(xx1) Perf 3Sg   Imprt   gloss

    gó:-mì   *gò:-mú*   'take out, remove (sth)' (Fr *enlever*)
    gó-m-gè   *gò-m-gó*   'take out (of a container)'
    gó-m-dè   *gò-m-dó*   'cause (sb/sth) to go out, cause to leave'

10.1.2.4 Lexically *CvC* verb stems absent

No lexically *CvC* stems have been observed. Some *CvCv* verbs with final high vowel have a surface form *CvC*, either word-final or presuffixal, but I attribute this to apocope/syncope from /*CvCi*/ or /*CvCu*/. An example is *jáyⁿ* 'fight', which is often collocated with cognate nominal *jòyⁿ* 'fighting, (a) fight'. As shown in (xx1), some inflected forms have *CvC* (xx1b), but others are based on bisyllabic *CvCv* (xx1a).

(xx1)   form   category

a. bisyllabic stem
- *jáy^{n}á* imperative (A/O-stem)
- *jày^{n}ù-ndí* imperfective negative (U-stem)

b. syncopated/apocopated to *CvC*
- *jáy^n(í)* perfective (I-stem)
- *jáy^n-lì* perfective negative (I-stem)
- *jây^n bò* imperfective (U-stem)
- *jày^n-mâ: bò* capacitative ('can')

10.1.2.5 *mé:* 'dry, become dry' and *gé:^{n}* 'fart'

mé: 'dry, become dry', which is related to the adjective *mè:*, behaves like a monosyllabic verb in the E, I, and (presumably) U stems, but as a bisyllabic in the other attested stems. The same is true of *gé:^{n}* 'fart', which is related to the noun *gè:^{n}* '(a) fart'. In (xx1), which shows the vocalism stems (without tones), we can see that the regular monosyllabic verb 'drink' matches 'dry' and 'fart' in the E, I, and U stems, i.e. those stems that (for such verbs) end in a front vowel. On the other hand, 'drink' is clearly monosyllabic in the O, A/O, and A stems, while 'dry' and 'fart' have vowel sequences in these stems.

	vocalism stems					gloss
O	A/O	A	E	I	U	
nɔ:	*na:*	*na:*	*nɛ:*	*niy^n*	*ni:*	'drink'
mɛɔ	*meo*	*mea*	*mɛ:*	*miy^n*	—	'dry'
gɛɔ:^{n}	*gea:^{n}*	*geá:^{n}*	*gɛ:^{n}*	*giy^n*	*gi:^{n}*	'fart'

It is likely that 'dry' and 'fart' were original **Cvy^{n}v* stems whose **y^n* was elided. Cognates of the verb 'dry' include Toro Tegu and Jamsay *mày^{n}á* and Mombo *máyé*. Cognates of the verb 'fart' include Nanga *gìy^{n}ɛ́* and Mombo *gy^{n}ɛ́:*.

10.1.2.6 *NCv-* verbs (*ŋké* 'be depleted')

'Give', which has this shape in some Dogon languages, is *tábé* in Penange. The only *NCv-* verb known is *ŋké* 'be depleted, exhausted, used up' (as in the context: we're out of sugar). Since in practice it always has a third person subject, the otherwise likely confusion with 1Sg and 1Pl subject proclitics does not arise.

Basic paradigmat forms are in (xx1). Postpausally, the tone of the nasal is polarized to the following tone, as indicated in the bracketed IPA transcriptions.

(xx1)   3Sg   3Pl

    perfective   *ŋké* [ǹké]   *ŋkíy-yè* [ǹkíjjɛ̋]
    perfective negative   *ŋ́kè-lì* [ŋ́kèlì]   *ŋky-ándá* [ǹkjándá]
    imperfective   *ŋkó bò* [ǹkó bò]   *ŋkó b-yà* [ǹkóbjà]
    imperfective negative   *ŋkò:-ndí* [ŋ́kò:ndí]   *ŋkò:-nd-yà* [ŋ́kò:ndjà]

An initial *NC* cluster was observed in one bisyllabic verb stem: *ŋkíndè* 'die'.

10.1.2.7 Bisyllabic stems

Bisyllabic verbs may be *CvCv*, *CvCCv*, *Cv:Cv,* and in a few cases *Cv:NCv* (*Cv:ndv* or in one case *Cv:ŋgv*). The initial *C* position may be vacant (vowel-initial stems). Most bisyllabic verbs end in a nonhigh vowel in all vocalism stems. There is a small class of bisyllabic verbs that end in a high vowel (subject to deletion) in some inflectional categories.

    Cv:NCv verbs appear to derive in at least some cases from trisyllabic etyma. An example is *já:ndè* 'put (sth) up on (sth)', perhaps from *jáŋgú-lè, cf. the reversive antonym *jáŋgú-lè* 'take (sth) down from on (sth)'. For *gú:ndè* 'go out' and *gó:ŋgè* 'come (back) out, emerge' see §10.1.2..3.

    Final-nonhigh-vowel stems are illustrated in (xx1). These verbs do not allow syncope/apocope of the final vowel in any inflected form. The 3Sg perfective (E/I-stem) is the citation form. Verbs of this class are either +ATR or -ATR, with no mixing. The majority are lexically -ATR, but often become +ATR in the A/O-stem (i.e. in the imperative). -ATR verbs have the vowel sequences (in the perfective) *ε…ε*, *ɔ…ε*, *i…ε*, and *u…ε*. +ATR verbs have the sequences *e…e*, *o…e*, *i…e*, *u…e*, and *a…e*. Bisyllabic verbs with *a* in the initial syllable are always +ATR.

    In (xx1) the attested vowel sequences for bisyllabic verbs are illustrated.

(xx1)   Final-nonhigh-vowel class (one example per vowel sequence)

       stem   gloss

    a. *CvCv*
      -*ATR*
       nεmε   'pick up'
       sɔgε   'buy'

simɛ	'build'
dugɛ	'insult'
+ATR	
yele	'drape (sth, over sth)'
CoCe	—
nare	'touch'
giye	'harvest (millet)'
guye	'steal'

b. *CvCCv*
  -ATR

pɛnjɛ	'milk (a cow)'
jɔŋgɛ	'treat (medically)'
gimbɛ	'pull'
dundɛ	'look for'
+ATR	
tembe	'find'
tombe	'jump'
imbe	'catch'
bunde	'hit'
ande	'go'

c. *Cv:Cv*
  -ATR

Cɛ:Cɛ	—
Cɔ:Cɛ	—
Ci:Cɛ	—
tu:gɛ	'throw'
+ATR	
Ce:Ce	—
no:ye	'sleep'
si:re	'point at'
Cu:Ce	—
na:le	'think'

d. *Cv:CCv*
  -ATR

dɛ:ndɛ	'abandon'
Cɔ:CCɛ	—
Ci:CCɛ	—
Cu:CCɛ	—
+ATR	

Ce:CCe	—
Co:CCe	—
Ci:CCe	—
gu:nde	'go out'
go:ŋge	'come (back) out, emerge'
na:nde	'taste'
ba:nde	'lock up, confine'
ja:nde	'put (sth) up on (sth)'

The major ablauted stems are illustrated for representative *CvCCv* verbs in (xx2). *CvCv*, *Cv:Cv*, and *Cv:CCv* verbs follow the same vocalism patterns. The A/O-stem, the A-stem, and the U-stem require +ATR-compatible vocalism in nonfinal as well as final syllables, as seen in 'milk (a cow)' and 'treat (medically').

(xx2)　　Final-nonhigh-vowel *CvCv* vocalism stems

		vocalism stems				gloss
O	A/O	A	E/I	I	U	

a. -ATR

pɛnjɔ	*penja*	*penja*	*pɛnjɛ*	*pɛnji*	*penju*	'milk (a cow)'
jɔŋgɔ	*joŋga*	*joŋga*	*jɔŋgɛ*	*jɔŋgi*	*joŋgu*	'treat (medically)'
gimbɔ	*gimba*	*gimba*	*gimbɛ*	*gimbi*	*gimbu*	'pull'
dundɔ	*dunda*	*dunda*	*dundɛ*	*dundi*	*dundu*	'look for'

b. +ATR (vowel other than *a* in penult)

tembo	*tembo*	*temba*	*tembe*	*tembi*	*tembu*	'find'
tombo	*tombo*	*tomba*	*tombe*	*tombi*	*tombu*	'jump'
imbo	*imbo*	*imba*	*imbe*	*imbi*	*imbu*	'catch'
bundo	*bundo*	*bunda*	*bunde*	*bundi*	*bundu*	'hit'

c. +ATR (*a* in penult)

ando	*anda*	*anda*	*ande*	*andi*	*andu*	'go'

The O- and A/O-stems are identical in (xx2b), but not in (xx1a) or (xx1c). For discussion, see §3.3.6.

　　There are two types of *CvCCv* verb with slightly different tonal properties. One type consists entirely of *CvNCv* verbs with medial homorganic nasal plus voiced stop cluster {*mb nd nj ŋg*}. This type behaves tonally exactly like *CvCv*. All of the examples in (xx1b), repeated in (xx2), are of this type. The other consists mainly of *CvCCv* verbs with various other medial *CC* clusters such as *lg*, *rg*, *ld*, *yr*, *mj*, and *by*, but also in one case each of *nd* and *nj*. These verbs

behave tonally like *CvCvCv* (and *Cv:Cv*) verbs, and they are arguably treated as though syncopated from /CvCvCv/. Examples of this class are in (xx3).

(xx3)	cluster	gloss	perfective	imperative

a. *CvCCv* treated tonally like *CvCvCv*
medial homorganic nasal-stop cluster

	nd	'go'	*ándè*	*àndá*
	nj	'stand, stop'	*ínjè*	*ìnjá*

medial geminate

	ll	'escape'	*póllè*	*pòlló*

other medial clusters

	lg	'dispossess'	*wélgè*	*wèlgá*
	rg	'help'	*bárgè*	*bàrgá*
	ld	'forget'	*íldè*	*ìldá*
	yr	'add'	*báyrè*	*bàyrá*
	mj	'squeeze'	*kámjè*	*kàmjá*
	by	'arrive'	*túbyè*	*tùbyá*

b. *CvCCv* treated tonally like *CvCv*, see (xx1b), (xx2) above

	nd	'hit'	*búndé*	*búndó*

c. irregular *CvCCv* intermediate between (a) and (b)

	nd	'convey'	*síndé*	*síndò*

The difference between the the type in (xx3a) and other *CvCCv* verbs is observed in the tones of the perfective (positive) and the imperative. The verbs in (xx3a), like trisyllabic *CvCvCv* verbs, have {HL} melody in the 3Sg perfective and {LH} in the imperative. By contrast, the majority of *CvNCv* verbs with homorganic nasal-stop cluster, like *CvCv* verbs, have {H} melody in both the 3Sg perfective and the imperative. The fact that 'stand, stop' belongs in (xx3a) even though *nj* counts as a homorganic nasal-stop cluster may be a vestige of its origin as a trisyllabic verb (e.g. Tiranige ígí-yó, Yanda Dom íŋgílé).

Irregular verb *síndé* 'convey, take (away)' (xx3c) has {H} melody in the perfective, but {HL} melody in the imperative, so it straddles the line between the two types.

We now consider **final-high-vowel** verbs. These are a small minority of *CvCv*, *CvCCv*, and *Cv:Cv* verbs. Some verbs that belong to this class in closely Dogon languages are regular final-nonhigh-vowel verbs in Penange: *nímbé* 'fire die out', *túlé* 'put (object) in', *gálé* 'put (liquid, grain) in'.

In Penange the final *i* or *u* is often lost by syncope/apocope, since it is preceded by an unclustered sonorant in all cases. After syncope/apocope, the verbs appear in the form *CvC* or *Cv:C*. Partial paradigms are in (xx4).

(xx4)　　　gloss　　　Perf　　PerfNeg　Imprt　　Impf　　ImpfNeg

    a. first syllable has nonlow vowel, imperative ends in *u*
     final C is a sonorant, allows syncope/apocope
      'look'　　*sé:m(ì)　sè:mì-l　sè:mú　sê:m bò　sè:mò:-ndí*
     nv-final, perfective negative -lì
      'scoop'　　*kín(í)　kìn-lì　kínú　kîn bò　kìnò:-ndí*
     perfective negative (i)-l
      'clench fist'*kúmí　kùmì-l　kúmó　kûm bò　kùmò:-ndí*

    b. first syllable has *a*, imperative ends in *a*
     perfective negative (ì)-l
      'speak'　　*dám　dàmì-l　dámá　dâm bò　dàmò:-ndí*
     nv-final, perfective negative -lì
      'do'　　*kán　kàn-lì　káná　kân bò　kànò:-ndí*

For most of these verbs, the final high vowel surfaces reliably the perfective negative (*dàmì-l*, *dà:yⁿì-l*), but is subject to syncope/apocope in the other forms. 'Do' and 'scoop', both of shape *Cvn(i)*, have an irregular perfective negative with suffix allomorph *-lì*. For these *Cvn(i)* verbs, the stem-final high vowel is syncopated in this form also, due to the attraction of the two flanking alveolars.

All final-high-vowel verbs "happen to" end in *Nv* in an unclustered nasal (or nasalized semivowel) plus short high vowel, which is why they allow syncope/apocope of the final vowel. These stems also have a distinctive 3Pl perfective form where this nasal is geminated and following by *i*, e.g. *dám-mì* 'they spoke'.

For the inventory of known underived final-high-vowel verbs, see §10.1.2.9 below. An open-ended source of derived final-high-vowel verbs is causatives with suffix *-mì* (perfective), see §9.2.1.

'Come' and 'bring', which of course are semantically related as intransitive and transitive, have mixed paradigms. They have some final-nonhigh-vowel and some final-high-vowel features. Since both verbs have medial consonants or clusters that block syncope/apocope, while all verbs of the final-high-vowel class have a medial unclustered nasal or nasalized semivowel and do allow syncope/apocope, it is possible that 'come' and 'bring' once belonged to the final-high-vowel class but split off. In (xx5), note that the perfective and perfective negative are of the final-nonhigh-vowel type, but the imperative ends in u, like some final-high-vowel verbs with nonhigh vowel in the penult.

151

(xx5)   'Come' and 'bring'

	Perf	PerfNeg	Imprt	gloss

ii. medial obstruent or *CC* cluster (no syncope/apocope)

égé	*ègè-l*	*égù*	'come'
sóŋgé	*sòŋgè-l*	*sóŋgù*	'bring'

10.1.2.8 Trisyllabic stems

Causatives in *-mì* and *-gè* are treated separately below.

Other trisyllabic stems, including other suffixal derivatives, belong to the final-nonhigh-vowel class of verbs. Attested syllabic shapes are *CvCvCv*, *CvCCvCv*, and *Cv:CvCv*. The medial syllable is in a weak metrical position and is reduced to a short high vowel *i* or *u*, which is often syncopated before *y*, even after a cluster. The choice between *i* and *u* is influenced by neighboring consonants and by vowels in flanking syllables. The lexically distinctive vowels are therefore those of the initial and final syllables. The final-syllable vowel is predictable from the initial-syllable vowel except when the latter is a high vowel, in which case the ATR value of the stem is only observable in the final syllable. (xx1) gives one example for each attested vowel-quality sequence.

(xx1)   Trisyllabic stems (excluding causatives)

stem   gloss

a. initial high vowel

CiCiCɔ	—
CuCuCɔ	—
yígírè	'shake'
yúgúrè	'flip, invert'

b. initial mid-height vowel

gé:n(í)yè	'sweep' (imperative *gè:nyá*)
CɔCiCɔ	—
CeCiCo	—
sógú-lè	'sell' (reversive of 'buy')

c. initial *a* (treated as +ATR)

| *bámb(í)-yè* | 'carry (on back)' |
| *ɲáŋgúrè* | 'send' |

152

Trisyllabic causatives with suffix *-m(ú)* or *-gó* have different vocalism, frequently with a nonhigh vowel in the medial syllable: *égó-mì* 'cause to come', *tébá-gè* 'shatter (sth)'. See §9.2.1-2 for discussion.

10.1.2.9 Inventory of final-high-vowel verbs

The full set of underived (i.e. non-causative) verbs with final high vowel is (xx1). All known examples have a nasal {*m n ŋ ɲ yⁿ*} in the stem-final syllable.

(xx1)   Complete list of final-high-vowel verbs (except causatives)

	Perf	PerfNeg	Imprt	gloss
a. penult has non-low vowel				
i. imperative ends in *u* or is unattested				
	sé:mì	*sè:mì-l*	*sè:mú ∼ sě:m*	'look'
	gí:yⁿì	*gì:yⁿì-l*	—	'(sth) be smelly'
	tómí	*tómì-l*	—	'become sour'
	dímí	*dímì-l*	*dímú*	'transplant'
	kíní	*kìn-lì*	*kínú*	'scoop'
	síní	*sìn-lì*	—	'be sated'
	píní	*pìn-lì*	*pínú*	'wring'
	júní	*jùnì-l*	*júnú*	'doze' (with *nò:rè*)
	úní	*ùnì-l*	*únú*	'walk'
ii. imperative ends in nonhigh vowel				
	kúmí	*kùmì-l*	*kúmó*	'clench (fist)'
b. penult has *a* (long or short) (allow syncope/apocope)				
i. regular (perfective negative *…Cì-l*)				
	dámí	*dàmì-l*	*dámá*	'speak'
	ɲámí	*ɲàmì-l*	*ɲámá*	'malfunction'
	námí	*nàmì-l*	*námá*	'stone-grind'
	kámí	*kàmì-l*	*kámá*	'squeeze'
	wá:ɲì	*wà:ɲì-l*	*wà:ɲá*	'come to a boil'
	kámmì	*kàmmì-l*	—	'become tight'
	ámmì	*ámmì-l*	—	'(wound) swell'
ii. *yⁿ*-final, perfective negative *…C-lì ∼ …C-lì*				
	jáyⁿ(í)	*jàyⁿì-l ∼ jàyⁿ-lì*	*jáyⁿá*	'fight'
	páyⁿ(í)	*pàyⁿì-l ∼ pàyⁿ-lì*	*páyⁿá*	'put across'
	dá:yⁿì	*dà:yⁿì-l ∼ dà:yⁿ-lì*	*dà:yⁿá*	'sit'
	∼ dâ:yⁿ			
iii. *nv*-final, perfective negative *…C-lì*				

153

kán(í)   *kàn-lì*   *káná*   'do'

10.2 Positive indicative AN categories

10.2.1 Perfective positive system (including perfect)

Perfective positive categories are associated with the E/I-stem, i.e. with stem-final front vowel. For the majority final-nonhigh-vowel verb class, the E/I-stem ends in *e* or *ɛ* depending on the ATR-harmonic class of the stem. For the small number of final-high-vowel verbs, the E/I-stem ends in *i*, which is usually apocopated (§3.xxx).

10.2.1.1 Perfective (E/I-stem, no aspectual suffix)

The basic perfective form has no suffix. Instead, it is characterized by final {*e ɛ*} replacing the stem-final {*o ɔ*} for the majority final-nonhigh-vowel class (**E-stem**), and by final *i* replacing *u* (or zero after apocope/syncope) for the minority final-high-vowel class (**I-stem**). I refer to the combination of E-stem and I-stem in the two verb classes as the **E/I-stem**, since in both cases we have a front vowel.

 Since the stem-final vowel is regularly syncopated in the 3Pl form even for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs, it may be that the 3Pl perfective form for those verbs is really based on the **I-stem**. This is because syncope normally applies only to short high vowels.

 The tones of the stems depend not only on the pronominal subject, but also on the prosodic weight of the verb itself. *Cv*, *Cv:*, *CvCv*, and most *CvNCv* with homorganic nasal plus voiced stop cluster are **prosodically light**. A handful of exceptional *CvNCv* verbs (e.g. *ándè* 'go', *ínjè* 'stand/stop'), plus *CvCCv* verbs with other cluster types and all verbs with three or more vocalic moras (*Cv:Cv*, *CvCvCv*, etc.), are **prosodically heavy**. For the split in *CvNCv* verbs see §10.1.2.5. The tones of the verbs are as indicated in (xx1).

(xx1)	1Sg/2Sg	1Pl/2Pl	3Sg	3Pl
light	{L}	{HL}	{H}	{H}-
heavy	{LHL}	"	{HL}	{H(L)}- (syncopated)

The 3Pl suffix is L-toned suffix *-yè* ~ *-yè* with the vowel depending on the ATR-harmonic class of the verb. Before this 3Pl suffix, a stem-final vowel is

deleted, presumably by raising to /i/ in a weak metrical position) then syncope. Pronunciations with a faint stem-final *í* are sometimes heard, especially when H-toned before L-toned suffix, as in *ŋ́ bàmbí-yè* 'I carried (on back)'.

(xx2) presents paradigms for prosodically light stems. Featured are a -ATR verb ('fall'), a +ATR verb ('come'), and a final-high-vowel verb ('do'), all of lexical *CvCv-* shape, plus one *Cv:* verb ('drink') and one *Cv* verb ('say'). For these prosodically light stems, the verb is {H}-toned in the 3Sg and {L}-toned in the 1Sg/2Sg. 'Drink' and 'say' are homophonous in the 3Pl form but not elsewhere. 1Pl *ŋ̀ nê* 'we said' and 2Pl *à nê* 'you-Pl said' are rare examples of a word-final <HL>-toned *Cv* syllable.

(xx2) Perfective of prosodically light verbs

categ.	form	'fall'	'come'	'do'	'drink'	'say'
1Sg	*ŋ́* {L}	*ŋ́ tìbè*	*ŋ́ yègè*	*ŋ́ kàn*	*ŋ́ nè:*	*ŋ́ nè*
1Pl	*ŋ̀* {HL}	*ŋ̀ tíbè*	*ŋ̀ yégè*	*ŋ̀ kân*	*ŋ̀ nê:*	*ŋ̀ nê*
2Sg	*á* {L}	*á tìbè*	*á yègè*	*á kàn*	*á nè:*	*á nè*
2Pl	*à* {HL}	*à tíbè*	*à yégè*	*à kân*	*à nê:*	*à nê*
3Sg	{H}	*tíbé-∅*	*égé-∅*	*kán-∅*	*né:-∅*	*né-∅*
3Pl	{H}*-yè*/*-yè*	*tíb-yè*	*ég-yè*	*kán-nì:*	*níy^n-y^{n}è*	*níy^n-y^{n}ê*

Prosodically heavy verbs are illustrated in (xx3). The verb is now {HL}-toned in the 3Sg and {LHL}-toned in the 1Sg/2Sg. For trisyllabics, the {HL} melody is realized as H.H.L. The 3Pl is superficially {H}-toned but since the stem-final vowel is syncopated, this form is compatible with the {HL} of the 3Sg.

(xx3) Perfective of prosodically heavy verbs

category	form	'push'	'think'	'go'
1Sg	*ŋ́* {LHL}	*ŋ́ tùmbúgè*	*ŋ́ nǎ:lè*	*ŋ́ ɲ-ǎ:ndè*
1Pl	*ŋ̀* {HL}	*ŋ̀ túmbúgè*	*ŋ̀ ná:lè*	*ŋ̀ ɲ-á:ndè*
2Sg	*á* {LHL}	*á tùmbúgè*	*á nǎ:lè*	*á ɲ-ǎ:ndè*
2Pl	*à* {HL}	*à túmbúgè*	*à ná:lè*	*à ɲ-á:ndè*
3Sg	{HL}	*túmbúgè-∅*	*ná:lè-∅*	*ándè-∅*
3Pl	{H}*-yè*/*-yè*	*túmbúg-yè*	*ná:l-yè*	*ánd-yè*

(xx4) gives further examples of verbs of various syllabic shapes in the majority final-nonhigh-vowel class. The 3Pl suffix *-yè* ~ *-yè* requires a special syllabification of *Cv:* stems in the form *Cúy-* or *Cíy-*, which makes these 3Pl forms of *Cv:* verbs resemble their counterparts among *CvCv* verbs after the final vowel is syncopated. For *gwé:* 'leave' I have also heard *gwíy-yè* alongside *gúy-yè*. The resulting *y-y* cluster is nasalized to *yⁿ-yⁿ* if the stem begins with a nasal (see 'sing'/'go in', 'drink', and 'eat').

(xx4)   Perfective of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs

	3Sg	3Pl	gloss

a. monosyllabic *Cv:-* (all known examples)
  -ATR stems, initial Cw with nonpalatal C

	3Sg	3Pl	gloss
	dwé:	*dúy-yè*	'pound'
	swé:	*súy-yè*	'vomit'
	twé:	*túy-yè*	'make bunches'
	nwé:	*núyⁿ-yⁿè*	'sing' or 'go in'
	(w)wé:	*wúy-yè*	'weep'
	twé:ⁿ	*túyⁿ-yⁿè*	'step on'

  -ATR stems, initial C (alveolar or palatal)

	né:	*níyⁿ-yⁿè*	'drink'
	ɲé:	*ɲíyⁿ-yⁿè*	'eat (meal)'
	yé:	—	'day break'
	wé:	*wíy-yè*	'weep'
	gé:ⁿ	*gíyⁿ-yⁿè*	'fart'

  +ATR stems, initial Cw

	gwé:	*gúy-yè ~ gwíy-yè*	'leave, come out'
	jwé:	*júy-yè*	'fill up'
	kwé:	*kúy-yè*	'sew"
	(w)wé:	*wúy-yè*	'draw water'

  +ATR stems, initial C (alveolar or palatal)

	yé:	*yíy-yè*	'be fixed'

  b. *CvCv*
  -ATR stems

	gíyé	*gíy-yè*	'kill'
	dúgé	*dúg-yè*	'insult'
	sógé	*sóg-yè*	'buy'
	sémé	*sém-yè*	'slaughter'

  +ATR stems

	nálé	*nál-yè*	'give birth'

gújé	*gúj-yè*	'throw'
sígé	*síg-yè*	'go down'
yélé	*yél-yè*	'drape (sth, over sth)'

c. *CvCCv*

  prosodically light, most CvNCv with homorganic nasal-stop

búndé	*búnd-yè*	'hit'

  treated as prosodically heavy, a few CvNCv stems

ínjè	*ínj-yè*	'stand/stop'

  prosodically heavy, medial CC other than nasal-stop

wɛ́lgè	*wɛ́lg-yè*	'dispossess'

c. three or more vocalic moras

yígírè	*yígír-yè*	'shake'
púrúgè	*púrúg-yè*	'cut'
sógú-lè	*sógú-l-yè*	'sell' (reversive of 'buy')
ɲáŋgúrè	*ɲáŋgúr-yè*	'send'
bámb-yè	*bámbí-y-yè*	'carry (on back)'
causatives		
tébá-gè	*tébá-g-yè*	'shatter (sth)'

wwé:-∅ 'he/she drew water' is pronounced with a lengthened initial semivowel. A transcription *wo̜é:* would be phonologically more correct.

    The verb 'drink' is slightly irregular in that other *Cv:* verbs with nonpalatal *C* have *Cw* onsets before unrounded vowels, and have 3Pl perfective forms with medial *u* (*Cúy-yè/-yè*). For 'drink' the forms are *né:-∅* 'he/she drank' and 3Pl *níy^n-y^{n}è*. Comparison with 'eat (meal)' and (in part) 'day break' suggests that the alveolar *n* of 'drink' is treated phonologically as though palatal, in contrast to the "same" alveolar *n* in 'sing' and 'go in' (perfective 3Sg *nwé:-∅*, 3Pl *núy^n-y^{n}è*). Perhaps the semantic association between 'eat (meal)' and 'drink' is responsible for this anomaly. (Cognate 'drink' and 'eat meal' verbs have converged completely into a single lexical item in Tiranige, with palatoalveolar *ɲ* generalizing to 'drink'.)

    Verbs of the final-high-vowel class are in (xx5). They are sharply differentiated from the final-nonhigh-vowel class. In the 3Pl form, the final nasal is geminated and followed by *i*.

(xx5)   Perfective of final-high-vowel verbs

       3Sg   3Pl   gloss

   a. penult with *a*

kán(í)	*kán-nì*	'do'
dám(í)	*dám-mì*	'speak'
ɲámí	*ɲám-mì*	'malfunction'
námí	*nám-mì*	'stone-grind'
dá:yⁿ	*dá:yⁿ-yⁿì*	'sit'
jáyⁿ	*jáyⁿ-yⁿì*	'fight'

b. penult with nonlow vowel

kúmí	*kúm-mì*	'clench (fist)'
sé:m(ì)	*sé:m-mì*	'look'

The final short L-toned *i* in the 3Pl forms becomes lengthened (and raised to H-tone) in combination with nonpast anterior subordinator *né ~ nè* (§15.2.2.2).

'Come' and 'bring', which elsewhere have some morphological affinities with the final-high-vowel class, are treated like final-nonhigh-vowel verbs in the perfectives.

(xx6)   Perfective of 'come' and 'bring'

3Sg	3Pl	gloss
égé	*ég-yè*	'come'
sóŋgé	*sóŋ-yè*	'bring'

In one construction with near future sense, the perfective is combined with a clause-final particle *nèw* 'first'. The clause in question denotes an event that must take place before some other event (overtly stated or implied). An example is (xx1b) in §19.2.1.

10.2.1.2   Perfective-1a and -1b absent

Suffixally marked perfectives (as opposed to perfects) of the type found widely in eastern Dogon languages have not been observed in Penange.

10.2.1.3   Experiential perfect 'have ever' (A/O- or U-stem, *-tê:*)

This form is used in contexts like 'have you ever (been to Paris, seen an elephant, etc.)?' Suffix *-tê:* is added to the **A/O-stem** of the verb for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs, and (arguably) for some final-high-vowel verbs.

158

The paradigm is (xx1). 1st/2nd person subject pronominals precede the verb. The suffix is <HL>-toned throughout. The verb is **{H}-toned** after the L-toned 1Pl and 2Pl pronominals, otherwise **{L}-toned**.

(xx1)   Experiential perfect

category	form	'see'	'go'
1Sg	*ɲ́ {L}-tê:*	*ɲ́ màlgà-tê:*	*ɲ́ àndà-tê:*
1Pl	*ɲ̀ {H}-tê:*	*ɲ̀ málgá-tê:*	*ɲ̀ ándá-tê:*
2Sg	*á {L}-tê:*	*á màlgà-tê:*	*á àndà-tê:*
2Pl	*à {H}-tê:*	*à málgá-tê:*	*à ándá-tê:*
3Sg	*{L}-tê:-∅*	*màlgà-tê:-∅*	*àndà-tê:-∅*
3Pl	*{L}-té:-yà*	*màlgà-té:-yà*	*àndà-té:-yà*

A few more examples of the 3Sg form are in (xx2).

(xx2)   3Sg Perf   3Sg ExpPf   gloss

a. with final *a*
  lexically -ATR

né	*nà-tê:*	'say'
dwé:	*dwà:-tê:*	'pound'
né:	*nà:-tê:*	'drink'
yébé	*yèbà-tê:*	'dance'
tólé	*tòlà-tê:*	'butcher'

  nonfinal a

ná:ndè	*nà:ndà-tê:*	'taste'
bárgè	*bàrgà-tê:*	'help'

b. with final *o* (lexically +ATR, nonfinal nonlow vowels)

gwé:	*gò:-tê:*	'come out'
yélé	*yèlò-tê:*	'drape (sth, over sth)'
sógú-lè	*sògù-lò-tê:*	'sell'

For **final-high-vowel** verbs, we get forms like those in (xx3). Those with a nonfinal *a* have stem-final *a,* which could be either the A/O-stem (as for the final-nonhigh-vowel verbs) or the A-stem (xx3a). Other verbs of this class have what is probably the **U-stem**, though the /u/ is apocopated (xx3b).

(xx3)   3Sg Perf   3Sg ExpPf   gloss

a. nonfinal *a*
> *dám*   *dàmà-tê:*   'speak'
> *kán*   *kànà-tê:*   'do'

b. nonfinal nonlow vowel
> *sé:mì*   *sè:m-tê:*   'look'

For the past-tense version, see §10.6.1.5.

The negative counterpart is common ('have never VPed'); see §10.2.3.2.

10.2.1.4   Recent perfect absent

No recent perfect category ('has recently VPed' or 'has recently finished VPing') has been observed.

10.2.1.5   Resultative absent

No resultative category has been observed.

10.2.1.6   Reduplicated perfective absent

Reduplicated perfectives have not been observed.

10.2.2   Imperfective positive system

10.2.2.1   Imperfective (*bò* ~ *wò*)

The basic imperfective (positive) verb form ends in *bò*, an auxiliary verb that is historically related to the quasi-verb *bô* 'be (somewhere)' (§11.2.2.2), though the synchronic relationship is attenuated due to phonological divergences. 1st/2nd person subject pronouns intervene between the verb and *bò*. *bò* lenites to *wò* systematically after 2nd person pronominals. I have also heard lenition in the 3Sg form, but unlenited *bò* is usual in elicitation.

The verb is in the **O/U-stem**, which denotes the combination of the **O-stem** for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs and the **U-stem** for final-high-vowel verbs. The O-stem ends in *o* or *ɔ* depending on the ATR-harmonic class of the verb. The {*o ɔ*} or *u* contracts with second person *a* morphemes to form a long *a:* that is transcribed here as hyphenated *a-a* to make the morphological structure clearer.

160

The verb has **{HL} stem melody** for 3Sg and 3Pl. {HL} is realized as H.H.L on trisyllabic verbs. Before a H-toned pronominal (1Sg or 2Sg), the stem has **{H} melody**. Before a L-toned pronominal (1Pl or 2Pl), the maximal melody is **{LHL}**, as with 'shake'. This is reduced to H.L for bisyllabics and to H-tone for monosyllabics.

(xx1)   Imperfective paradigm

category	form	'go in'	'slaughter'	'shake'
1Sg	{H} *ŋ́ bò*	*nɔ́: ŋ́ bò*	*sémɔ́ ŋ́ bò*	*yígíró ŋ́ bò*
1Pl	{HL} *ŋ̀ bò*	*nɔ́: ŋ̀ bò*	*sémɔ̀ ŋ̀ bò*	*yìgírò ŋ̀ bò*
2Sg	{H}-*á wò*	*nwá-á wò*	*sémá-á wò*	*yígírá-á wò*
2Pl	{HL}-*à wò*	*nwá-à wò*	*sémà-à wò*	*yìgírà-à wò*
3Sg	{HL} *bò-∅*	*nɔ̂: bò-∅*	*sémɔ̀ bò-∅*	*yígírò bò-∅*
3Pl	{HL} *b-yà*	*nɔ̂: b-yà*	*sémɔ̀ b-yà*	*yígírò b-yà*

Verbs with nonfinal -ATR vowels {*ɛ ɔ*} usually shift them to +ATR {*e o*} when the stem-final contracts with 2nd person *a*. My assistant tended to restore the -ATR vowel in elicitation, but in unmonitored speech I heard +ATR vowels in the 2Sg and 2Pl in stems like 'slaughter' in (xx1).

The imperfective is distinguishable tonally from the progressive (§10.xxx below), which has the same segmental forms, except that progressive *bô* does not lenite to #*wô* in the second person forms.

Further examples of the 2Sg, 1Pl, and 3Sg forms of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs are in (xx2).

(xx2)   Imperfective (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

Perf 3Sg	Imperfective 2Sg	1Pl	3Sg	gloss
a. *Cv* and *Cv:*				
Cv				
nέ	*ná-á wò*	*nɔ́ ŋ̀ bò*	*nɔ́ bò*	'say'
Cv:				
dwέ:	*dwá-á wò*	*dɔ́: ŋ̀ bò*	*dɔ̂: bò*	'pound'
twέ:ⁿ	*twáⁿ-áⁿ wò*	*tɔ́: ŋ̀ bò*	*tɔ̂:ⁿ bò*	'step on'
ɲέ:	*ɲá-á wò*	*ɲɔ́: ŋ̀ bò*	*ɲɔ̂: bò*	'eat'
nέ:	*ná-á wò*	*nɔ́: ŋ̀ bò*	*nɔ̂: bò*	'drink'
gwέ:	*gwá-á wò*	*gó: ŋ̀ bò*	*gô: bò*	'come out'

b. bisyllabic

sógé	*sógá-á wò*	*sógɔ̀ ŋ̀ bò*	*sógɔ̀ bò*	'buy'
yébé	*yébá-á wò*	*yébɔ̀ ŋ̀ bò*	*yébɔ̀ bò*	'dance'
gújé	*gújá-á wò*	*gújɔ̀ ŋ̀ bò*	*gújò bò*	'throw'
sígé	*sígá-á wò*	*sígò ŋ̀ bò*	*sígò bò*	'go down'
ándè	*ándá-á wò*	*ándò ŋ̀ bò*	*ándò bò*	'go'
ná:lè	*ná:lá-á wò*	*ná:lò ŋ̀ bò*	*ná:lò bò*	'think'

e. trisyllabic

yígírè	*yígírá-á wò*	*yígírò ŋ̀ bò*	*yígírò bò*	'shake'
tébá-gè	*tébá-gá-á wò*	*tébá-gò ŋ̀ bò*	*tébá-gò bò*	'shatter (sth)'

Stems with **final high vowel** are illustrated in (xx3). The verb is in the U-stem, but the final /u/ is only reliably audible in the first person forms due to VV-Contraction in the second person forms and due to syncope in the third person.

(xx3)   Imperfective (final-high-vowel class)

Perf 3Sg	Imperfective			gloss
	2Sg	1Pl	3Sg	

a. nonfinal nonlow vowel

sé:mì	*sé:má-á wò*	*sé:mù ŋ̀ bò*	*sé:m bò*	'look'

b. nonfinal *a*

dám	*dámá-á wò*	*dámù ŋ̀ bò*	*dám bò*	'speak'
dá:yⁿ	*dá:yⁿá-á wò*	*dá:yⁿù ŋ̀ bò*	*dá:yⁿ bò*	'sit'
kán	*káná-á wò*	*kánù ŋ̀ bò*	*kán bò*	'do'

'Come' and 'bring' follow the lead of the final-nonhigh-vowel class.

(xx4)   Imperfective ('come' and 'bring')

Perf 3Sg	Imperfective			gloss
	2Sg	1Pl	3Sg	

égé	*égá-á wò*	*égò ŋ̀ bò*	*égò bò*	'come'
sóŋgé	*sóŋgá-á wò*	*sóŋgò ŋ̀ bò*	*sóŋgò bò*	'bring'

This is a broad imperfective that is sometimes used as a general (i.e. habitual) present ('I work here'), but it is especially common as a future ('I will go there tomorrow').

While most aspect-negation categories simply add clitic =*ye* to shift the temporal reference point to the past, the imperfective (positive) has a special past construction (§10.6.1.4).

10.2.2.2 Final-long-vowel imperfective

An alternative imperfective is formed by lengthening a stem-final vowel with falling tone. For final-nonhigh-vowel verbs ('go in', 'slaughter', 'shake'), this form is based on the O-stem. For final-high-vowel verbs ('do'), it is the U-stem. In short, this is the **O/U-stem**. The word-level tone melody is {LHL} except in the 1Pl/2Pl forms.

(xx1)	category	form	'go in'	'slaughter'	'shake'	'do'
	1Sg	*ŋ́* {HLH}	*ŋ́ nɔ̌:*	*ŋ́ sèmɔ̂:*	*ŋ́ yìgìrô:*	*ŋ́ kànû:*
	1Pl	*ŋ̀* {HL}	*ŋ̀ nɔ̂:*	*ŋ̀ sémɔ̀:*	*ŋ̀ yígírò:*	*ŋ̀ kánù:*
	2Sg	*á* {HLH}	*á nɔ̌:*	*á sèmɔ̂:*	*á yìgìrô:*	*á kànû:*
	2Pl	*à* {HL}	*à nɔ̂:*	*à sémɔ̀:*	*à yígírò:*	*à kánù:*
	3Sg	{LHL}*-∅*	*nɔ̌:-∅*	*sèmɔ̂:-∅*	*yìgìrô:-∅*	*kànû:-∅*
	3Pl	{L}*-â:*	*nw-â:*	*sèm-â:*	*yìgìr-â:*	*kàn-â:*

In my data, the final-long-vowel imperfective is mainly a general (i.e. habitual) imperfective. The frame 'every day I __' regularly elicited this form rather than the *bò* imperfective (preceding section), though in this case the verb has {L} melody.

(xx2) *[wá: sèlè]   sèm-à: / ŋ́   sèmɔ̀:*
       [day all]   slaughter.Impf-3PlS   / 1SgS slaughter.Impf
       'Every day they / I slaughter (sc. an animal)'

For the 'be able (i.e. be in a position) to VP' construction with e.g. 3Sg *dìnɔ̂:-∅* 'gets', see §10.5.2.
    A tonally slightly different form of the final-long-vowel imperfective occurs in a purposive clause construction (§17.5.2).

10.2.2.3 Reduplicated imperfective absent

Reduplicated imperfectives have not been observed.

10.2.2.4 Progressive (*bô*)

This is one of two progressive constructions, the other involving auxiliary *túlá* (§10.2.2.4 below).

   Except in the second person forms, the progressive with auxiliary *bô* is segmentally identical to the regular imperfective (§10.2.2.2 just above). The verb has the same **O/U-stem** in both combinations. However, in the second person, *bô* **does not lenite** to #*wô* in the progressive. This suggests that the synchronic relationship to quasi-verb *bô* 'be (somewhere)' is stronger for the progressive than for the imperfective. This view is strengthened by the fact that the progressive, but not the imperfective, is negated by replacing *bô* 'be (somewhere)' by its suppletive negative counterpart *wŏl* 'be absent, not be (somewhere)', see §10.2.3.xxx below.

   The progressive is always distinguishable from the imperfective by tones. Among other differences, the verb always begins with a H-tone in the imperfective, and **always begins with a L-tone** in the progressive. In fact, the progressive verb stem is entirely {L}-toned, except for a final H-tone before tautosyllabic H-toned 1Sg and 2Sg pronominals. The auxiliary *bô* is <HL>-toned, except L-toned *bò* after a H-toned 1Sg or 2Sg pronominal.

(xx1) Paradigm of the progressive with *bô*

category	form	'go in'	'drape (sth)'	'shake'
1Sg	{L} *ŋ́ bò*	*nɔ̀: ŋ́ bò*	*yèlò ŋ́ bò*	*yìgìrò ŋ́ bò*
1Pl	{L} *ŋ̀ bô*	*nɔ̀: ŋ̀ bô*	*yèlò ŋ̀ bô*	*yìgìrò ŋ̀ bô*
2Sg	{L}*-á bò*	*nwà-á bò*	*yèlà-á bò*	*yìgìrà-á bò*
2Pl	{L}*-à bô*	*nwà-à bô*	*yèlà-à bô*	*yìgìrà-à bô*
3Sg	{L} *bô-∅*	*nɔ̀: bô-∅*	*yèlò bô-∅*	*yìgìrò bô-∅*
3Pl	{L} *bí-yà*	*nɔ̀: bí-yà*	*yèlò bí-yà*	*yìgìrò bí-yà*

As usual, the contracted *a-a* in second person forms requires +ATR compatible vocalism in preceding syllables (see 'buy' below).

   Representative 2Sg and 3Sg forms for verbs ending in nonhigh vowel are displayed in (xx2).

(xx2) Progressive (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

Perf 3Sg		progressive		gloss
	2Sg	1Pl	3Sg	

a. *Cv:*

nwɛ́:	*nwà-á bò*	*nɔ̀: ŋ̀ bô*	*nɔ̀: bô-∅*	'go in'
gwɛ́:	*gwà-á bò*	*gò: ŋ̀ bô*	*gò: bô-∅*	'go out'
ɲɛ́:	*ɲà-á bò*	*ɲɔ̀: ŋ̀ bô*	*ɲɔ̀: bô-∅*	'eat'

b. bisyllabic

-ATR

yébɛ́	*yèbà-á bò*	*yèbɔ̀ ŋ̀ bô*	*yèbɔ̀ bô-∅*	'dance'
sógɛ́	*sògà-á bò*	*sɔ̀gɔ̀ ŋ̀ bô*	*sɔ̀gɔ̀ bô-∅*	'buy'

+ATR

gújé	*gùjà-á bò*	*gùjò ŋ̀ bô*	*gùjò bô-∅*	'throw'
nálé	*nàlà-á bò*	*nàlò ŋ̀ bô*	*nàlò bô-∅*	'give birth'
ná:lè	*nà:là-á bò*	*nà:lò ŋ̀ bô*	*nà:lò bô-∅*	'think'

c. trisyllabic

sógú-lè	*sògù-là-á bò*	*sògùlò ŋ̀ bô*	*sògùlò bô-∅*	'sell'

Progressives from verbs with final high vowel are in (xx3). The verb takes the U-stem, but the final /u/ is only audible in the first person forms. It contracts with *á* (2Sg) or *à* (2Pl) and is syncopated in the third person forms.

(xx3)   Progressive (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

Perf 3Sg	progressive			gloss
	2Sg	1Pl	3Sg	

a. nonfinal nonlow vowel

sé:mì	*sè:mà-á bò*	*sè:mù ŋ̀ bô*	*sè:m bô*	'look'

b. nonfinal *a*

dám	*dàmà-á bò*	*dàmù ŋ̀ bô*	*dàm bô*	'speak'
dá:yⁿ	*dà:yⁿà-á bò*	*dà:yⁿù ŋ̀ bô*	*dà:yⁿ bô*	'sit'
kán	*kànà-á bò*	*kànù ŋ̀ bô*	*kàn bô*	'do'

Progressives from 'come' and 'bring' follow the model of the final-nonhigh-vowel class (xx4).

(xx4)   Progressive ('come' and 'bring')

Perf 3Sg	progressive			gloss
	2Sg	1Pl	3Sg	
égé	*ègà-á bò*	*ègò ŋ̀ bô*	*ègò bô*	'come'

<div align="center">

sóŋgé   *sòŋgà-á bò*   *sòŋgò ŋ̀ bô*   *sòŋgò bô*   'bring'

</div>

Examples of the progressive are in (xx5).

(xx5) a. *ɲǎ:*   *ɲɔ̀:*   *ŋ́*   *bò*
           meal   eat   1SgS   be
           'I am eating.' (*ɲà:*)

     b. *kǎy^n*   *kànù*   *ŋ̀*   *bô*
           work(n)   do.Prog   1PlS   Prog
           'We are working.' (*kày^n*)

     c. *sèndí*   *kàn*   *bô:-∅*
           prayer   do.Prog   Prog-3SgS
           'He/She is praying.'

For the past progressive with additional clitic *=ye-*, see §10.6.1.4.

10.2.2.5 Progressive with *túlà*

This is another construction that competes with progressive *bô*. The verb has the same form as with *bô*. The basic form of the auxiliary is *túlà* with {HL}-contour, dropping to {L} after H-toned pronominals (1Sg, 2Sg). In 3Pl *túlá-yà*, regular Rightward H-Spreading has occurred.

    Unlike the progressive with *bô*, that with *túlà* requires *-n* suffix on the verb in third person subject contexts. The (accidental) effect is that there is no clearly audible distinction between the 1Pl and 3Sg forms, although they can be distinguished orthographically, e.g. 1Pl *nɔ̀: ŋ̀ túlà* versus 3Sg *nɔ̀:-n túlà-∅* in (xx1).

(xx1) Paradigm of the progressive with *túlà*

categ.	form	'go in'	'drape (sth)'	'shake'
1Sg	{L} *ŋ́ tùlà*	*nɔ̀: ŋ́ tùlà*	*yèlò ŋ́ tùlà*	*yìgìrò ŋ́ tùlà*
1Pl	{L} *ŋ̀ túlà*	*nɔ̀: ŋ̀ túlà*	*yèlò ŋ̀ túlà*	*yìgìrò ŋ̀ túlà*
2Sg	{L}-*á tùlà*	*nwà-á tùlà*	*yèlò á tùlà*	*yìgìrò á tùlà*
2Pl	{L}-*à túlà*	*nwà-à túlà*	*yèlò à túlà*	*yìgìrò à túlà*
3Sg	{L}-*n túlà-∅*	*nɔ̀:-n túlà-∅*	*yèlò-n túlà-∅*	*yìgìrò-n túlà-∅*
3Pl	{L}-*n túlá-yà*	*nɔ̀:-n túlá-yà*	*yèlò-n túlá-yà*	*yìgìrò-n túlá-yà*

10.2.2.6 Future tense absent

There is no categorial distinction between present and future tense. The imperfective is often used for future time reference but can also be a general present.

10.2.3   Negation of indicative verbs

10.2.3.1   Perfective negative (-*l*, 3Pl -*ndá*)

The perfective negative suffix is -*l*, except for a 3Pl subject portmanteau -*ndá*. As with the (positive) perfective, 1st/2nd person subjects are expressed by proclitics, 3Sg is unmarked, and 3Pl is suffixal. Except in the 3Pl subject form, the verb appears in the same E/I-stem as the (positive) perfective. In the divergent 3Pl form, the verb is in the A-stem, which requires +ATR-compatible vocalism throughout the stem. The verb is {L}-toned in the 3Sg, 1Sg, and 2Sg. It is {H}-toned in the 1Pl, 2Pl, and 3Pl. Sample paradigms are in (xx1).

(xx1)   Paradigm of perfective negative

category	PerfNeg	'go in'	'dance'	'shake'
1Sg	*ŋ́* {L} -*l(ì)*	*ŋ́ nwè:-l(ì)*	*ŋ́ yèbè-l(ì)*	*ŋ́ yìgìrè-l(ì)*
1Pl	*ŋ̀* {H} -*l(í)*	*ŋ̀ nwé:-l(í)*	*ŋ̀ yébé-l(í)*	*ŋ̀ yígíré-l(í)*
2Sg	*á* {L} -*l(ì)*	*á nwè:-l(ì)*	*á yèbè-l(ì)*	*á yìgìrè-l(ì)*
2Pl	*à* {H} -*l(í)*	*à nwé:-l(í)*	*à yébé-l(í)*	*a yígíré-l(í)*
3Sg	{L} -*l(ì)-∅*	*nwè:-l(ì)-∅*	*yèbè-l(ì)-∅*	*yìgìrè-l(ì)-∅*
3Pl	{H} -*ndá*	*nwá:-ndá*	*yébá-ndá*	*yígírá-ndá*

The imperfective negative 1Sg/2Sg subject forms also end in -*l*, but they lack the proclitic subject pronominal, and they are based on the O-stem with lengthened final vowel (§10.2.3.4 below).

3Pl imperfective negative portmanteau -*ndá* should be distinguished from stative negative allomorph -*ndá*, used (for all pronominal categories) to negate derived statives along with lexical statives 'have' and 'resemble' (§10.4.2.1).

Further examples of the perfective negative (3Sg and 3Pl) for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs are in (xx2).

(xx2)   Perfective negative (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

| | Perf | PerfNeg | | gloss |
| | | 3Sg | 3Pl | |

a. *Cv* and *Cv:*
  Cv

| | né | nè-l | ná-ndá | 'say' |

-ATR, *Cw* onset

| | dwé: | dwè:-l | dwá:-ndá | 'pound' |
| | twé:ⁿ | twè:ⁿ-l | twá:ⁿ-ndá | 'step on' |

-ATR, *C* onset

	yé:	yè:-l	yá:-ndá	'day break'
	né:	nè:-l	ná:-ndá	'drink'
	ɲé:	ɲè:-l	ɲá:-ndá	'eat (meal)'

+ATR, *Cw* onset

| | gwé: | gwè:-l | gwá:-ndá | 'come out' |
| | wwé: | wwè:-l | wwá:-ndá | 'draw water' |

b. bisyllabic
  -ATR

| | sémé | sèmè-l | sémá-ndá | 'slaughter' |
| | sógé | sògè-l | sógá-ndá | 'buy' |

+ATR

	sígé	sìgè-l	sígá-ndá	'go down'
	ábé	àbè-l	ábá-ndá	'accept'
	nó:yè	nò:yè-l	nó:yá-ndá	'sleep'
	ná:lè	nà:lè-l	ná:lá-ndá	'think'
	íldè	ìldè-l	íldá-ndá	'forget'

c. trisyllabic

| | dúgú-rè | dùgù-rè-l | dúgú-rá-ndá | 'run' |
| | tébá-gè | tèbà-gè-l | tébá-gá-ndá | 'shatter (sth)' |

Examples of verbs with final high vowels are in (xx3). The verbs in (xx1) are intermediate, and their E/I-stem is not distinct from that of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs. The more resolutely final-high-vowel verbs in (xx3b) reveal the stem-final *i* before *-l*, except that irregular 'do' adds a syllabic allomorph *-lì*, which allows the stem to syncopate its final *i*, resulting in *kàn-lì*. The fact that *n* and *l* are homorganic may have been a factor in favoring syncope.

(xx3)   Perfective negative (final-high-vowel class)

| | Perf | PerfNeg | | gloss |
| | | 3Sg | 3Pl | |

a. nonapocopating, final *e* in E/I-stem
    égé   *èg è-l*   *égá-ndá*   'come'
    sóŋgé   *sòŋgè-l*   *sóŋgá-ndá*   'bring'

b. apocopating, final *i* ~ ∅ in E/I-stem
    sé:mì   *sè:mì-l*   *sé:má-ndá*   'look'
    dámí   *dàmì-l*   *dámá-ndá*   'speak'
    dá:yⁿì   *dà:yⁿì-l*   *dá:yⁿá-ndá*   'sit'
  irregular
    kání   *kàn-lì*   *káná-ndá*   'do'

10.2.3.2 Experiential perfect negative (*-té:-ndí*)

This is the normal way to express 'have never VP-ed', denying any occurrence of the VP event type during the lifetime of the subject (xx2).

Experiential perfect *-tê:-* is negated as *-té:-ndí*. The final *-ndí* may have originated as an allomorph of perfective negative *-l*, given the history of *l* ~ *nd* alternations in Dogon languages. There is some resemblance between *-ndí* and 3Pl perfective negative portmanteau *-ndá*. However, synchronically the closest parallel is with with 3rd person imperfective negative *-ndì* (3Pl *-nd-yà*), though the parallelism does not extent to 1st/2nd person forms. This raises the possibility that, unlike the case in most Dogon languages, the experiential perfect in Penange has some affinities to the imperfective as well as perfective systems. However, the position of 1st/2nd person subject pronominals before the verb aligns the experiential perfect with the perfective system.

The vocalism and tones of the verb are the same as for the positive counterparts: A/O-stem, {L}-toned in 3Sg, 3Pl, 1Sg, and 2Sg, {H}-toned in 1Pl and 2Pl. The aspectual suffix is H-toned *-té:-* after {L}-toned stem in the 3rd person forms. In the 1st/2nd person forms, the tone of the verb spreads to the aspectual suffix. The paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1)   Experiential perfect negative

category	suffix	'see'	'go'
1Sg	*ŋ́* {L}*-tè:-ndì*	*ŋ́ màlgà-tè:-ndì*	*ŋ́ ɲ-à:ndà-tè:-ndì*
1Pl	*ŋ̀* {H}*-té:-ndí*	*ŋ̀ málgá-té:-ndí*	*ŋ̀ ɲ-á:ndá-té:-ndí*
2Sg	*á* {L}*-tè:-ndì*	*á màlgà-tè:-ndì*	*á ɲ-à:ndà-tè:-ndì*
2Pl	*à* {H}*-té:-ndí*	*à málgá-té:-ndí*	*à ɲ-á:ndá-té:-ndí*
3Sg	{L}*-té:-ndí-∅*	*màlgà-té:-ndí-∅*	*àndà-té:-ndí-∅*

3Pl	{L} *-té:-ndí-yà*	*màlgà-té:-ndí-yà*	*àndà-té:-ndí-yà*

Examples are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *nìgé*   *màlgà-té:-ndí-∅*
elephant   see-ExpPf-Neg-3SgS
'He/She has never seen an elephant.' (*nìgè*)

  b. *bàmàkó*   *ŋ́*   *ɲà:ndà-tè:-ndí*
B   1SgS   go-ExpPf-Neg
'I have never gone to Bamako.' (*bàmàkò*)

10.2.3.3   Imperfective negative (*-ndí*, *-l*, *-lí*)

The imperfective negative has the following suffix allomorphs: L-toned *-l* ~ *-lì* (1Sg, 2Sg), H-toned *-lí* (1Pl, 2Pl), and *-ndí* (3rd person). The nonsyllabic 1Sg/2Sg *-l* allomorph is L-toned, but since the L-tone diacritic accent doesn't work typographically on *l* it is indicated as falling tone on the preceding vowel. The 3Pl adds *-yà* (arguably *-à*) to *-ndì*, resulting in *-nd-yà*. The morphology is parallel to that of the imperfective positive. Specifically, the verb is in the **O/U-stem**, i.e. the O-stem for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs and the U-stem for final-high-vowel verbs. This is the same stem-vocalism for the imperfective positive (and for the corresponding progressives). **1st/2nd person subject pronominals intervene** between the verb and the suffix, and second person *a* contracts wtih the verb-final {*o ɔ*} or *u* to form a long *a:* that is here transcribed as hyphenated *a-a*.

However, there are some unique details not shared with the imperfective positive. The final {*o ɔ*} or *u* is lengthened in the 3rd person forms, where (unlike the 1st/2nd forms) there is no pronominal morpheme that could explain the long vowel as due to contraction. One might posit an underlying 3rd person suffix /-vndí/ with some vowel *v* that contracts with the preceding vowel. However, *né* 'say' has unlengthened 3Sg *nɔ̀-ndí* (compare 2Sg *nǎ-à-l* with long vowel).

The first person forms are unusual. Instead of the usual *n* pronominal, the first person forms simply **lengthen the verb-final** {*o ɔ*}. Presumably *n* would be awkward phonetically before the final suffix *-l* or *-lí*. It is possible that the first person forms were originally more regular, e.g. 1Sg *Cv̀Cò ŋ́ lì* and 1Pl *Cv̀Cò ŋ̀ lí*. If so, the shift to 1Sg *Cv̀Có-ò-l* and 1Pl *Cv̀Cò-ò-lí* might be attributed to two factors: a) the awkwardness of the *nl* cluster, whose *n* might have weakened to lengthening and nasalization of the preceding vowel, and b) imitation of the corresponding second person forms with their vocalic

170

contractions. I transcribe the first person forms with hyphenated *o-o* or *ɔ-ɔ* to bring out this parallelism.

The verb is **{L}-toned** n the 3Sg, and 3Pl. Similarly, the combination of verb plus subject pronominal is {L}-toned before H-toned suffix in the 1Pl and 2Pl. However, the 1Sg and 2Sg forms have a **rising {LH} melody** on the verb followed by L-tone on the pronominal (structurally, the L-tone it belongs to the *-l* suffix). For a monosyllabic verb like 'go in' in (xx1), the 1Sg and 2Sg forms have a bell-shaped <LHL> tone. Pronunciations with syllabic *-lì* in 1Sg/2Sg combinations are also attested, e.g. *nwà-á-lì* alongside *nwǎ-à-l* 'you-Sg don't go in'.

For nonmonosyllabic verbs, the 1Sg and 2Sg have L-toned nonfinal syllables, followed by a falling tone on the final syllable.

(xx1)   Paradigm of imperfective negative

category	ImpfNeg	'go in'	'drape (sth)'	'shake'
1Sg	{LH} *-ò/ɔ̀-l*	*nɔ̌-ɔ̀-l*	*yèló-ò-l*	*yìgìró-ò-l*
"	{LH} *-ó/ɔ́-lì*	~ *nɔ̀-ɔ́-lì*	~ *yèló-ó-lì*	~ *yìgìró-ó-lì*
1Pl	{L} *-ò/ɔ̀-lí*	*nɔ̀-ɔ̀-lí*	*yèlò-ò-lí*	*yìgìrò-ò-lí*
2Sg	{LH} *-à-l*	*nwǎ-à-l*	*yèlá-à-l*	*yìgìrá-à-l*
"	{LH} *-á-lì*	~ *nwà-á-lì*	~ *yèlá-á-lì*	~ *yìgìrá-á-lì*
2Pl	{L} *-à-lí*	*nwà-à-lí*	*yèlà-à-lí*	*yìgìrà-à-lí*
3Sg	{L}: *-ndì-∅*	*nɔ̀:-ndì-∅*	*yèlò:-ndì-∅*	*yìgìrò:-ndì-∅*
3Pl	{L}: *-nd-yà*	*nɔ̀:-nd-yà*	*yèlò:-nd-yà*	*yìgìrò:-nd-yà*

In the second person forms of nomonosyllabic stems, the contracted *a-a* induces a shift of nonfinal -ATR vowels {ɛ ɔ} to +ATR {e o}. For example, from *témé* 'eat (meat)' we get 3Sg *tèmɔ̀:-ndí-∅*, 1Sg *tèmɔ́-ɔ̀-l*, but 2Sg *tèmá-à-l* with *e* replacing *ɛ*.

A sample of 2Sg and 3Sg imperfective negative forms from verbs ending in nonhigh vowels is in (xx2). In the *Cv:* stems, the distribution of *Cw* onset in the 2Sg is the same as that of *Cw* in the 3Sg perfective.

(xx2)   Imperfective negative (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

Perf 3Sg	ImpfNeg		gloss
	2Sg	3Sg	

a. *Cv* and *Cv:*

Cv
né	*nǎ-à-l*	*nɔ̀-ndí-∅*	'say'

-ATR with Cw onset before unrounded vowel
dwɛ́:	*dwǎ-à-l*	*dɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'pound'
nwɛ́:	*nwǎ-à-l*	*nɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'go in' or 'sing'
swɛ́:	*swǎ-à-l*	*sɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'vomit'
twɛ́:	*twǎ-à-l*	*tɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'make bunches'
twɛ́:ⁿ	*twǎ-àⁿ-l*	*tɔ̀:ⁿ-ndí-∅*	'step on'

-ATR with C onset before unrounded vowel
yɛ́:	—	*yɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'day break'
nɛ́:	*nǎ-à-l*	*nɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'drink'
ɲɛ́:	*ɲǎ-à-l*	*ɲɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'eat (meal)'

+ATR with Cw onset before unrounded vowel
jwɛ́:	*jwǎ-à-l*	*jò:-ndí-∅*	'fill up'
gwɛ́:	*gwǎ-à-l*	*gò:-ndí-∅*	'come out'
wwɛ́:	*wwǎ-à-l*	*wò:-ndí-∅*	'draw water'

b. bisyllabic

-ATR with nonlow penult vowel
sɔ́gɛ́	*sɔ̀gá-à-l*	*sɔ̀gɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'buy'
dígɛ́	*dìgá-à-l*	*dìgɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'go up'
tú:gè	*tù:gá-à-l*	*tù:gɔ̀:-ndí-∅*	'pour out'

+ATR with nonlow penult vowel
yélé	*yèlá-à-l*	*yèlò:-ndí-∅*	'drape (sth, over sth)'
sígé	*sìgá-à-l*	*sìgò:-ndí-∅*	'go down'
nó:yè	*nò:yá-à-l*	*nò:yò:-ndí-∅*	'sleep'

+ATR with penult a
nálé	*nàlá-à-l*	*nàlò:-ndí-∅*	'give birth'
ná:lè	*nà:lá-à-l*	*nà:lò:-ndí-∅*	'think'
bá:ndè	*bà:ndá-à-l*	*bà:ndò:-ndí-∅*	'shut (door)'

c. trisyllabic and longer

+ATR
púrúgè	*pùrùgá-à-l*	*pùrùgò:-ndí-∅*	'cut'
sógú-lè	*sògù-lá-à-l*	*sògù-lò:-ndí-∅*	'sell'
tébá-gè	*tèbà-gá-à-l*	*tèbà-gò:-ndí-∅*	'shatter (sth)'

Verbs ending in a high vowel are illustrated in (xx3). For the core members of this class, the third person forms have long *u:*. For the intermediate members ('go', 'bring'), the vowel is long *o:* as with the final-nonhigh-vowel verbs.

(xx3)   Imperfective negative (final-high-vowel class)

	Perf 3Sg	ImpfNeg			gloss
		2Sg	1Pl	3Sg	

a. nonfinal nonlow vowel

	sé:mì	*sè:má-à-l*	*sè:mò-ò-lí*	*sè:mù:-ndí*	'look'

b. nonfinal *a*

	dámí	*dàmá-à-l*	*dàmù-ù-lí*	*dàmù:-ndí*	'speak'
	dá:yⁿì	*dà:yⁿá-à-l*	*dà:yⁿù-ù-lí*	*dà:yⁿù:-ndí*	'sit'
	kání	*kàná-à-l*	*kànù-ù-lí*	*kànù:-ndí*	'do'

'Come' and 'bring' are treated as final-nonhigh-vowel verbs, with O-stem rather than U-stem.

(xx4)   Imperfective negative ('come' and 'bring')

	Perf 3Sg	ImpfNeg			gloss
		2Sg	1Pl	3Sg	
	égé	*ègá-à-l*	*ègò-ò-lí*	*ègò:-ndí*	'come'
	sóŋgé	*sòŋgá-à-l*	*sòŋgò-ò-lí*	*sòŋgò:-ndí*	'bring'

10.2.3.4 Progressive negative with *wǒl* 'not be'

The progressive negative replaces *bô* 'be' in the positive progressive by *wǒl*, the suppletive 'not be (somewhere), be absent' quasi-verb (§11.2.2.3). The form of the verb is the same as in the positive: **O/U-stem**, **{L}-toned**. For final-nonhigh-vowel verbs, this means the O-stem (xx1).

(xx1)   Paradigm of progressive negative with *wǒl* (final-nonhigh-vowel)

category	form	'go in'	'drape (sth)'	'shake'
1Sg	{L} *ŋ́ wòl*	*nɔ̀: ŋ́ wòl*	*yèlò ŋ́ wòl*	*yìgìrò ŋ́ wòl*
1Pl	{L} *ŋ̀ wǒl*	*nɔ̀: ŋ̀ wǒl*	*yèlò ŋ̀ wǒl*	*yìgìrò ŋ̀ wǒl*
2Sg	{L}-*á wòl*	*nwà-á wòl*	*yèlò á wòl*	*yìgìrò á wòl*
2Pl	{L}-*à wǒl*	*nwà-à wǒl*	*yèlò à wǒl*	*yìgìrà à wǒl*
3Sg	{L} *wǒl-∅*	*nɔ̀: wǒl-∅*	*yèlò wǒl-∅*	*yìgìrò wǒl-∅*
3Pl	{L} *wǒl-yà*	*nɔ̀: wǒl-yà*	*yèlò wǒl-yà*	*yígírò wǒl-yà*

For final-high-vowel verbs, we have the U-stem.

(xx2)   Paradigm of progressive negative with *wǒl* (final-high-vowel)

category	form	'speak'	'do'	'look'
1Sg	{L} *ŋ́ wòl*	*dàmù ŋ́ wòl*	*kànù ŋ́ wòl*	*sè:mù ŋ́ wòl*
1Pl	{L} *ŋ̀ wǒl*	*dàmù ŋ̀ wǒl*	*kànù ŋ̀ wǒl*	*sè:mù ŋ̀ wǒl*
2Sg	{L}*-á wòl*	*dàmà=á wòl*	*kànà=á wòl*	*sè:mà=á wòl*
2Pl	{L}*-à wǒl*	*dàmà=à wǒl*	*kànà=à wǒl*	*sè:mà=à wǒl*
3Sg	{L} *wǒl-∅*	*dàm wǒl-∅*	*kàn wǒl-∅*	*sè:m wǒl-∅*
3Pl	{L} *wǒl-yà*	*dàm wǒl-yà*	*kàn wǒl-yà*	*sè:m wǒl-yà*

An example of the progressive negative is (xx3).

(xx3)   *má:ŋgórò*   *ɲǒ:*   *ŋ́*   *wòl*
         mango   eat   1SgS   not.be
         'I am not (engaged in) eating mangoes.'

10.2.3.5   Progressive negative with *túlá-ndà*

The progressive negative construction with *túlà* is negated by adding the stative negative morpheme *-ndà*. Rightward H-Spreading applies to produce *túlá-ndà* and 3Pl *túlá-ndá-yà*.

(xx1)   Paradigm of the progressive negative with *túlá-ndà*

categ.	form	'go in'	'drape (sth)'
1Sg	{LH} *ŋ́ tùlà-ndà*	*nɔ̀: ŋ́ tùlà-ndà*	*yèló ŋ́ tùlà-ndà*
1Pl	{L} *ŋ̀ túlá-ndà*	*nɔ̀: ŋ̀ túlá-ndà*	*yèlò ŋ̀ túlá-ndà*
2Sg	{LH}*-á tùlà-ndà*	*nwà-á tùlà-ndà*	*yèlá-á tùlà-ndà*
2Pl	{L}*-à túlá-ndà*	*nwà-à túlá-ndà*	*yèlà-à túlá-ndà*
3Sg	{L}*-n túlá-ndà-∅*	*nɔ̀:-n túlá-ndà-∅*	*yèlò-n túlá-ndà-∅*
3Pl	{L}*-n túlá-ndá-yà*	*nɔ̀:-n túlá-ndá-yà*	*yèlò-n túlá-ndá-yà*

10.3 Pronominal paradigms for non-imperative verbs

10.3.1 Subject pronominal suffixes

1st/2nd person subject categories are expressed by proclitics. In the perfective system, they precede the verb. 3Sg is unmarked; I transcribe -∅ suffix. 3Pl is marked by a variable suffix, often *-yà* (but see below). 1Sg and 1Pl are segmentally identical, as are 2Sg and 2Pl. Segmentally, the first person pronominals are both *n*, actually a variable nasal that assimilated in position to a following consonant. The second person pronominals are both segmentally *a*.

(xx1) Subject pronominals in perfective main clauses

       category   affixes

       1Sg   *ή* VERB
       1Pl   *ὴ* VERB

       2Sg   *á* VERB
       2Pl   *à* VERB

       3Sg   VERB
       3Pl   VERB-*yà*/-*yὲ* (or other suffix)

In the imperfective systems, the 1st/2nd person pronominals intervene between verb and suffix/auxiliary. In the imperfective positive, the pronominal forms are the same as those in (xx1). In the imperfective negative, the first person forms lengthen the stem-final {*o ɔ*} rather than adding a nasal segment: *yὲló-ò-l* 'I will not hang up'.

    In nonsubject relatives, a pronominal subject is expressed in the same way for 1st/2nd person categories. However, 3Pl is expressed by a proclitic *ŋké*, and 3Sg by a suffixed *-ná*. The resulting paradigm resembles that for possessors (§4.xxx).

(xx2) Subject pronominals in nonsubject relatives

       category   affixes

       1Sg   *ή* VERB
       1Pl   *ὴ* VERB

       2Sg   *á* VERB

2Pl	*à* VERB

3Sg	VERB-*ná*
3Pl	*ŋké* VERB

The 3Pl category is the most irregular, though not as much as in some other Dogon languages. The various forms are listed in (xx2).

(xx2)   3Pl subject

a. *-ya*
  L-toned
   -yà   derived statives (with final *a*)
   -yà   'have' (*sá:ⁿ-yà*)
   -yà   'be' (*bô* → *bí-yà*) and related inflections (imperfective, progressive, some lexical statives, capacitative)
   -yà   progressive (*túlá-yà*)
   -yà   experiential perfect (*-té:-yà*)
   -yà   experiential perfect negative (*-té:-ndí-yà*)
   -yà   imperfective negative (*-nd-yà* from *-ndì*)

b. *-yè ~ -yɛ̀*   perfective (after syncopated stem-final vowel)

c. *-ndá*   perfective negative portmanteau (cf. regular *-l*)

d. *-Cì:*   (with preceding *C* doubled) perfective of most final-high-vowel bisyllabic verbs

10.3.2   Tones of subject pronominals

1Sg *ŋ́* and 2Sg *á* are H-toned, versus L-toned 1Pl *ŋ̀* and 2Pl *à*. The tonal distinction is clear except in the morphologically rather messy imperfective negative, where suffix allomorph -l has been apocopated from L-toned *-lì. The upshot is that e.g. 1Sg *yèló-ò-l* 'I do/will not hang up', whose morphemic segmentation is problematic, has a final falling melody.

The tone melody of the stem depends on the aspect-negation (or other inflectional) category, and on the subject category. The 1Sg and 2Sg forms are always parallel, as are the 1Pl and 2Pl forms. Typically we get a {L}-toned verb after a H-toned 1Sg/2Sg pronominal, and a {H}-toned verb after a L-toned 1Pl/2Pl pronominal, but the details for particular aspect-negation categories may be more complex. The tonal relationship between 3rd person and either 1Sg/2Sg or 1Pl/2Pl also depends on the inflectional category.

The summary formulae below show the stem melody in curly brackets. Tones are marked on x (aspect-negation suffix), y (1st/2nd person pronominal), and z (3Pl suffix). Absence of a tone indicates atonality (e.g. a consonant). Unhyphenated xz in 3Pl forms indexes fusion into one syllable or into a portmanteau.

(xx1) category   1Sg/2Sg   1Pl/2Pl   3Sg   3Pl

    a. perfectives and affiliates (1st/2nd pronominal precedes verb)
        Perf (prosodically light)   *ý* {L}   *ỳ* {HL}   {H}   {H}-*ż*
        'not know' (*índó*)   *ý* {L}   *ỳ* {HL}   {H}   {H}-*ż*
        'not resemble' (*pímá-ndá*)   *ý* {L-L}   *ỳ* {H-L}   {H-H}   {H-H}-*ż*
        derived stative negative   *ý* {L-L}   *ỳ* {H-L}   {H-H}   {H-H}-*ż*
        'be (somewhere)' (*bô*)   *ý* {L}   *ỳ* {HL}   {HL}   {H(L)}-*ż*
        'have' (*sâⁿ*)   *ý* {L}   *ỳ* {HL}   {HL}   {H(L)}-*ż*
        derived stative   *ý* {L}   *ỳ* {HL}   {HL}   {H(L)}-*ż*
        'know' (*nêyⁿ*)   *ý* {L}   *ỳ* {HL}   {HL} L   {HL} L-*ż*
        'want' (*kêyⁿ*)   *ý* {L}   *ỳ* {HL}   —   —
        'resemble' (*pímà*)   *ý* {L}   *ỳ* {HL}   —   —
        PerfNeg (*-l,* 3Pl *-ndá*)   *ý* {L}-*x*   *ỳ* {H}-*x*   {L}-*x*   {H}-*x́ź*
        ExpPf (*-têː*)   *ý* {L}-*x̂*   *ỳ* {H}-*x̂*   {L}-*x̂*   {L}-*x́-ż*
        Perf (prosodically heavy)   *ý* {LHL}   *ỳ* {HL}   {HL}   {H(L)}-*ż*
        'not want' (*kéy-là*)   *ý* {LH-L}   *ỳ* {H-L}   {H-L}   {H(-L)}-*ż*
        'not be' (*wǒl*)   *ý* {L }   *ỳ* {LH}   {LH}   {LH}-*ż*
        progressive neg (*wǒl*)   *ý* {L}   *ỳ* {LH}   {LH}   {H}-*ż*

    b. imperfectives and affiliates (1st/2nd pronominal follows verb)
        Impf (*bò*)   {H} *ý x̀*   {HL} *ỳ x̀*   {HL} *x̀*   {H} *x̀*
        Prog (*bô*)   {L} *ý x̀*   {L} *ỳ x̂*   {L} *x̂*   {L} *x́-ż*
        ImpfNeg (*-ndí, -l, -lî*) {LH}-*ỳ-x*   {L}-*ỳ-x́*   {L}-*x́*   {L}-*xź*

In (xx1a), the major observation is that a H-toned 1Sg/2Sg pronominal (symbol *ý*) requires a following verb beginning with a L-tone, while a L-toned 1Pl/2Pl pronominal (*ỳ*) almost always requires a verb beginning with a H-tone (one case of rising tone). In (xx1b), the same inverse relationship applies to the combination of the 1st/2nd person pronominal (*y*) with the following suffix or auxiliary (*x*). Another observation in both (xx1a) and (xx1b) is that the 3Pl form is generally based tonally on the 3Sg, the glaring exception being the perfective negative with its 3Pl portmanteau.

10.4 Derived stative form of verbs

This section covers stative forms derived from active verbs (i.e. from verbs that elsewhere are marked for imperfectivity). For lexically stative (quasi-)verbs that do not have active forms, notably 'be (somewhere)', 'have', 'want', 'know', and 'resemble', see Chapter 11.

10.4.1 Stative positive

10.4.1.1 Type with final *a*

Statives are derived from regular verbs to denote a continuing state that has resulted from an event of motion, of taking hold, of perception ('see', 'hear'), or the like. Statives do not distinguish perfective from imperfective. Perception statives have senses like '(can) see/hear', as in 'I can see (i.e. I am not blind)'.

In positive unfocalized main clauses, statives require either an initial *Cv̀* reduplicative proclitic or the existential proclitic *ɛ̀ⁿ*, but do not allow both: *nò nóyà-∅* or *ɛ̀ⁿ nóyà-∅* 'he/she is asleep'. Either proclitic is separated from the following base by an intervening 1st/2nd person subject pronominal.

This type of derived stative is bisyllabic with short +ATR vowels. Medially, it allows only an unclustered *C*, or else a *CC* cluster of nasal plus homorganic voiced stop (such clusters are often treated like unclustered *C*'s elsewhere, e.g. in determining the tone of perfective verbs). Stative verbs also end in *a*, and have a {HL} melody. The only exception to the bisyllabic norm is *dâⁿ* 'be sitting', whose input *dá:yⁿ* 'sit down' has no obvious way to become bisyllabic without adding an intrusive filler segment or morpheme. Aside from 'be sitting', if the input stem does not satisfy the prosodic and ATR requirements, adjustments must be made. Many of the inputs are mediopassives with suffix *-yv* (3Sg perfective *-yè*), e.g. *sáŋ-yè* 'become on (i.e. go up on, take position on)'. In spite of syncope from /sáŋí-yè/, these are structurally trisyllabic, so the mediopassive suffix must be lopped off to achieve the truly bisyllabic target *sáŋà* (reduplicated *sà sáŋà* or existential *ɛ̀ⁿ sáŋà* 'be on'). In the one *Cv-yv* mediopassive (*bí-yé* 'lie down'), the mediopassive suffix is retained to achieve the bisyllabic target (stative *bí-yà*). Examples of inputs and statives are in (xx1). The inputs are active, i.e. they denote changes of state.

(xx1)	gloss	input	stative

a. from a bisyllabic stem that is not obviously segmentable
phonologically regular

| | 'hear' | *núndé* | *núndà* |

178

shifted from -ATR to +ATR
  'be tilted'   *génjè*   *géŋgà*
adjusted to CvCv by shortening a long vowel
  'sleep'   *nó:yè*   *nóyà*
adjusted to CvCv by reducing nonhomorganic CC to C
  'see'   *málgè*   *málà (but cf. §9.2.2)*
irregular
  'sit'   *dá:yⁿì ~ dâ:yⁿ*   *dâⁿ*
  'stand'   *ínjè*   *íŋgà*

b. from mediopassive
  bisyllabic mediopassive after syncope (-yv suffix omitted in stative)
    'squat'   *sómb-yè*   *sómbà*
    'carry on back' *bámb-yè*   *bámbà*
    'bow'   *kúnd-yè*   *kúndà*
    'be on'   *sáŋ-yè*   *sáŋgà*
    'lower head'   *túmb-yè*   *túmbà*
    'be on (wall)'   *yáb-yè*   *yábà*
    'be hung'   *yél-yè*   *yélà*
  Cv-yv mediopassive (-yv suffix retained)
    'lie down'   *bí-yé*   *bí-yà*

The paradigm is (xx2). Since 'stand' is vowel-initial, it is subject to *y/ɲ*-Epenthesis after a 1st/2nd person pronominal. The verb is {L}-toned after H-toned 1Sg/2Sg pronominals. In other combinations the verb is {HL}, or compatible with {HL} in the case of 3Pl in the light of Rightward H-Spreading.

(xx2)   Stative positive paradigm

category	form	'stand'	
		reduplicated	existential
1Sg	*ŋ́* {L}	*ì ŋ́ ɲ-ìŋgà*	*èⁿ ŋ́ ɲ-ìŋgà*
1Pl	*ŋ̀* {HL}	*ì ŋ̀ ɲ-íŋgà*	*èⁿ ŋ̀ ɲ-íŋgà*
2Sg	*á* {L}	*ì á ɲ-ìŋgà*	*èⁿ á ɲ-ìŋgà*
2Pl	*à* {HL}	*ì à ɲ-íŋgà*	*èⁿ à ɲ-íŋgà*
3Sg	{HL} *-∅*	*ì íŋgà-∅*	*èⁿ íŋgà-∅*
3Pl	{H(L)} *-yà*	*ì íŋgá-yà*	*èⁿ íŋgá-yà*

The proclitic (reduplication or existential) is not allowed under negation, in the presence of a focalized constituent, or in relative clauses.
    For the negative form of derived statives, see §10.4.2 below.

For the past stative with clitic *=ye*, see §10.6.1.3.

10.4.1.2 Resultative passive *-έ: ~ -é: ~ -í: bò*

The resultative passive construction consists of the auxiliary *bò* 'be' plus a form closely related to the perfective (positive) stem of a verb that denotes a change in state ('shut', 'cut', etc.), but with {LH} melody and with lengthened final vowel. The construction denotes the resulting state of the theme, without explicit reference to agency. For example, (xx1a) denotes the state of a door being shut, presumably as the result of an agentive action such as that in (xx1b). The plural-subject counterpart of (xx1a) is (xx1c), with just the auxiliary agreeing with the subject.

(xx1) a. *[è   bów^n]   bà:y^n-í: bò-∅*
           [Def   door]   shut-Pass   be-3SgS
           'The door is shut.' (*bòw^n, è bôw^n*)

       b. *[è   bôw^n]   bǎ:-nd-yè*
           [door   Def]   shut-Tr.Perf-3PlS
           'They shut-Past the door.'

       c. *[è   bó^n-gé]   bà:y^n-í: b-yà*
           [Def   door-Pl]   shut-Pass   be-3PlS
           'The doors are shut.' (*bòw^n*)

Further examples are in (xx3). The input verb, shown in the left column, can be transitive as in 'cut (meat)' or intransitive as in 'become tired'. The resultative passive glosses are to be interpreted as denoting states, not transitions. In (xx3c), the resultative passive is based on the mediopassive form (suffix *-yè ~ -yὲ*).

(xx3)   Perf 3Sg gloss   ResPass   gloss

       a. *sémέ*   'cut (meat)'   *sèm-έ: bò*   '(meat) be cut'
           púré   'be cut (rope)'   *pùr-έ: bò*   '(rope) be cut'
           nénέ   'become tired'   *nèn-έ: bò*   'be tired'
           gílέ   'snap (intr)'   *gìl-έ: bò*   'be snapped'
           báŋgú-lè 'open (door)'   *bàŋgù-lé: bò* '(door) be open'

       b. *ɲámí*   'malfunction'   *ɲàm-í: bò*   'be not working'
           bá:y^{n}ì '(door) close [intr]' *bà:y^n-í: bò* '(door) be shut'

180

c.	*púndé*	'roll up (mat)'	*pùndí-yé: bò*	'be rolled up'
	gɔ́r-yɛ̀	'hang (on hook)'	*gɔ̀r-yɛ́: bò-*	'be hung (over sth)'
	yélé	'drape (sth, over sth)'	*yèlí-yé: bò-*	'be draped'

For most resultative passive verbs, the subject is always nonhuman and therefore third person. For 'be tired', however, human and therefore also 1st/2nd person subjects are possible. Paradigms are in (xx3).

(xx3) category '(meat) be cut' 'be tired'

1Sg	—	*nɛ̀n-ɛ̀: ɲ́ bò*
1Pl	—	*nɛ̀n-ɛ́: ɲ̀ bò*
2Sg	—	*nɛ̀n-ɛ̀: á bò*
2Pl	—	*nɛ̀n-ɛ́: à bò*
3Sg	*sɛ̀m-ɛ́: bò-∅*	*nɛ̀n-ɛ́: bò-∅*
3Pl	*sɛ̀m-ɛ́: b-yà*	*nɛ̀n-ɛ́: b-yà*

The negative counterpart replaces *bò* 'be' with *wòl* 'not be' (3Sg *wòl-∅*, 3Pl *wòl-yà*, 1Pl *ɲ̀ wòl*, etc.).

10.4.2 Stative negative

10.4.2.1 Stative negative (*-ndá*)

Stative negative suffix (or enclitic) *-ndá* (§11.xxx) is added to derived stative verbs (which are almost always bisyllabic and end in *a*). The stem and suffix are {L}-toned in the 1Sg and 2Sg, but {H}-toned in the 3Sg and 3Pl. In the 1Pl and 2Pl, the stem is {H}-toned but the suffix is L-toned.

(xx1) Stative negative paradigm

category	form	'not be standing'
1Sg	*ɲ́* {L}*-ndà*	*ɲ́ ɲ-ìŋgà-ndà*
1Pl	*ɲ̀* {H}*-ndà*	*ɲ̀ ɲ-íŋgá-ndà*
2Sg	*á* {L}*-ndà*	*á ɲ-ìŋgà-ndà*
2Pl	*à* {H}*-ndà*	*à ɲ-íŋgá-ndà*
3Sg	{H}*-ndá-∅*	*íŋgá-ndá-∅*
3Pl	{H}*-ndá-yà*	*íŋgá-ndá-yà*

From the irregular positive stative *dâⁿ* 'be sitting', the negative is 3Sg *dá:ⁿ-ndá-∅* etc. with lengthened vowel.

    -ndá with derived statives is one of several allomorphs of the general stative negative suffix. The full set is given in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *-ndá*   derived stative (this section)
                              sá:-ndá 'not have' (§11.5.1)
                              (m)pímá-ndá 'not resemble' (§11.2.5.3)

        b. *-là*   *kéy-là* 'not want' (§11.2.5.2)
                              X = là 'it is not X' with NP (§11.2.1.2)

        c. suppletive   *índó* 'not know' (§11.2.5.1), arguably *í-ndó*
                              wòl 'not be (somewhere)' (§11.2.2.3)

Stative negative *-ndá* should be distinguished from 3Pl subject perfective negative portmanteau *-ndá* §10.2.3.1.

    For past forms, see §10.6.1.3. For lexicalized negative adjectives (e.g. 'no good'), see §4.5.4. For negative adjectival predicates with *wŏl*, see §11.4.2.

10.5   Predications of capability

10.5.1   Capacitative (*-mâ:*)

Ability to perform an action ('can VP, is able to VP') is expressed by capacitative *-mâ:* or allomorph added to the O/U-stem, specifically the **O-stem** of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs and the (syncopated) **U-stem** of final-high-vowel verbs. The lexical ATR class of the verb is respected. With third person subjects only, *bò* is added as an auxiliary (3Sg *bò-∅*, 3Pl *b-yà*). The 1Sg/2Sg form ends in *-má* (note the short vowel), while the 1Pl/2Pl form ends in *-mà:*. The corresponding negation ('cannot VP') is based on *-má-ndà*, including stative negative *-ndá* in L-toned form.

    Sample positive and negative paradigms are in (xx1).

(xx1)   Capacitative of *gé:n-yὲ* 'sweep'

	'can sweep'	'cannot sweep'
1Sg	*ǐ gὲ:n-yɔ̀-mà:*	*ǐ gὲ:n-yɔ̀-má-ndà*
1Pl	*ǹ gé:n-yɔ̀-mà:*	*ǹ gé:n-yɔ̀-má-ndà*

2Sg	*á gè:-n-yɔ̀-mà:*	*á gè:-n-yɔ̀-má-nda*
2Pl	*à gé:-n-yɔ̀-mà:*	*à gé:-n-yɔ̀-má-ndà*
3Sg	*gè:-n-yɔ̀-mâ: bò-∅*	*gè:-n-yɔ̀-má-ndà*
3Pl	*gè:-n-yɔ̀-má: b-yà*	*gè:-n-yɔ̀-má-ndá-yà*

A few additional positive 3Sg forms are in (xx2). In (xx2a), 'go in' and 'drink' are homophonous in the capacitative but not perfective.

(xx2) Capacitative verbs

gloss	3Sg perfective	3Sg capacitative

a. monosyllabic final-nonhigh-vowel verbs
   Cv

'say'	*né*	*nɔ̀-mâ: bò-∅*

   -ATR

'pound'	*dwé:*	*dɔ̀:-mâ: bò-∅*
'go in'	*nwé:*	*nɔ̀:-mâ: bò-∅*
'drink'	*né:*	*nɔ̀:-mâ: bò-∅*
'eat (meal)'	*ɲé:*	*ɲɔ̀:-mâ: bò-∅*

   +ATR

'go in'	*gwé:*	*gò:-mâ: bò-∅*

b. bisyllabic final-nonhigh-vowel verbs
   -ATR

'buy'	*sógé*	*sɔ̀gɔ̀-mâ: bò-∅*
'dance'	*yébé*	*yèbɔ̀-mâ: bò-∅*

   +ATR

'drape (sth)'	*yélé*	*yèlò-mâ: bò-∅*
'go down'	*sígé*	*sìgò-mâ: bò-∅*

c. trisyllabic final-nonhigh-vowel verbs

'shake'	*yígírè*	*yìgìrò-mâ: bò-∅*
'shatter (sth)'	*tébá-gè*	*tèbà-gò-mâ: bò-∅*

d. final-high-vowel verbs

'do'	*kání*	*kàn-mâ: bò-∅*
'sit'	*dá:yⁿì*	*dà:yⁿ-mâ: bò-∅*

e. 'come' and 'bring'

'come'	*égé*	*ègò-mâ: bò-∅*

For past-time counterparts ('could, was able to'), see §10.6.1.7.

For a predicative adjective *-mà bó* that may be related to capacitative *-mâ:*, see §4.5.6.

10.5.2   'Can (be in a position to) VP' (*dìnɔ̂:*)

This is a two-verb construction but is included here because of its semantic proximity to the capacitative suffixal derivation.

This construction denotes ability in the sense of having the time and the wherewithal (e.g. equipment) to perform a task. Often it involves having the time to perform it. The main clause has a conjugated form of *díné* 'get, obtain'. The semantic connection between 'get' and 'be in a position (to VP)' is fairly common in the region (e.g. Songhay).

For completed events ('I was able/had the time to cook the food'), the regular perfective stem *díné* 'got' is used. The perfective negative and imperfective negative are also the same as in canonical 'get' clauses. In imperfective (positive) contexts, as in 'I will be able/will have the time to cook the food', the form used in this construction is the final-long-vowel imperfective (§10.2.2.2), e.g. 3Sg *dìnɔ̂:-∅* 'is able (in a position) to', rather than the bipartite imperfective *dínɔ̀ bò-∅* 'gets, will get'. The full imperfective paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1)   'Be able (in a position) to'

1Sg	*ŋ́ dìnɔ̂:*
1Pl	*ŋ̀ dínɔ̀:*
2Sg	*á dìnɔ̂:*
2Pl	*à dínɔ̀:*
3Sg	*dìnɔ̂:-∅*
3Pl	*dìn-â:*

In this construction, the subordinated clause denoting the action to be accomplished has the imperfective subordinator *wⁿ* (§15.2.1.3) regardless of the aspect or polarity of the main clause. Examples are in (xx2).

(xx2)   a.   *[ɲǎ: dɔ̀ŋgɔ́   wⁿ]   dìnɔ̂:-∅ / dìn-â:*
             [meal   cook   Impf]   get.Impf-3SgS / -3PlS
             He-or-she/They can (are in a position to) cook a meal.' (ɲà:)

        b.   *[ɲǎ: dɔ̀ŋgɔ̌   wⁿ]   dìnɔ̀:-ndí-∅*
             [meal   cook   Impf]   get-ImpfNeg-3SgS

184

He/She can't cook a meal (now).'

c. *[ɲǎ: dɔ̀ŋgɔ̀-wⁿ]   ɲ̀   dínɔ̀:*
   [meal   cook-Impf]   1PlS   get-Impf
   'We can (=have the time to) cook a meal.'

10.5.3   'Be VERB-able' (*kànû:*)

The final-long-vowel imperfective form of *kání* 'do' can be combined with another verb in the sense 'be regularly VERBed', 'be VERB-able'. The 3Sg positive form is *kànû:-∅*. The corresponding negative form has the regular imperfective negative paradigm. The preceding verb takes the imperfective subordinator *-wⁿ* (pronounced [ŋ] before *k*), see §15.2.1.3.

(xx1)   a.   *ɲɔ̌:-wⁿ*   *kànû:-∅*
             eat.meal.Impf-Impf   do.Impf-3SgS
             'It is edible (=is regularly eaten).'

        b.   *ɲɔ̌:-wⁿ*   *kàn-ndí-∅*
             eat.meal-Impf-Impf   do-ImpfNeg-3SgS
             'It is not edible.'

        c.   *[íní   nàmà]   tèmɔ̌-wⁿ*   *kà-ndì-∅*
             [Dem   meat]   eat.meat.Impf-Impf   do-ImpfNeg-3SgS
             'This meat is not edible'

10.6   Nonpast versus past time

10.6.1   Past clitic (*=ye*)

Superimposed on the regular aspectual and state categories is past tense enclitic *=ye* (atonal). It is replaced by *mbè* in focalized and relative clauses (§13.1.1.5, §14.xxx).

The past morpheme shifts the temporal reference point from the moment of speaking to some point in the past, often generalized ('I used to know'). In the absence of imperfectivity, the past tense allows expression of past statives. In the presence of imperfectivity, as with regular (active) verbs, the past tense allows the expression of past imperfectives ('used to run'), past progressives ('was running'), and past perfects ('had run').

Morphologically, it is notable that the *=ye* follows 3Pl suffixes, the only pronominal-subject suffixes in Penange verb morphology. Therefore I take *=ye*

to be a clitic, and by analogy to the 3Pl I transcribe the 3Sg as *-∅=ye* rather than as *=ye-∅*.

   =ye gets its tone by spreading from the preceding tone: *v́=yé, v̀=yè*, and (from /v̂/) *v́=yè*, where *v* is a vowel. 3Sg *bò-∅* in stative paradigms is treated as though *bô-∅* for this purpose, with the original falling tone restored, hence *bó-∅=yè*. After acquiring a L-tone by spreading, *=yè* does not condition any further Rightward H-Spreading on the preceding syllable, so we get e.g. *bí-yà=yè* 'they were' rather than #*bí-yá=yè*.

   In 1Sg/2Sg forms like *ŋ́ kèyⁿ=yè* 'I wanted', my assistant often pronounced *=yé* with high pitch after a {L}-toned verb in elicitation. However, the "H-tone" disappeared when it was put in a larger sentence, or followed by a clause-final particle like 'if'.

10.6.1.1 Past *bó=yè* 'was (somewhere)'

Locational-existential *bô* 'be (somewhere)', see §11.2.2.2, has a past form *bó=yè*. The syntax (e.g. regarding existential proclitic *ɛ̀ⁿ*) is the same as for the non-past form. The paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1)   Past 'was/were (in a place)' or 'existed'

category	after locational X	with existential
1Sg	X *ŋ́ bò=yè*	*ɛ̀ⁿ ŋ́ bò=yè*
1Pl	X *ŋ̀ bó=yè*	*ɛ̀ⁿ ŋ̀ bó=yè*
2Sg	X *á bò=yè*	*ɛ̀ⁿ á bò=yè*
2Pl	X *à bó=yè*	*ɛ̀ⁿ à bó=yè*
3Sg	X *bó=yè-∅*	*ɛ̀ⁿ bó=yè-∅*
3Pl	X *bí-yà=yè*	*ɛ̀ⁿ bí-yà=yè*

Examples are in (xx2).

(xx2)   a.   *gò:lì   bàmàkɔ̀   ŋ́   bò=yè*
              last.year   B   1SgS   be=Past
              'Last year I was in Bamako (city).'

         b.   *nùwⁿ   bó=yè-∅→ꜛ*
              here   be=Past-3SgS.Q
              'Was he/she here?

c. *nùwⁿ*   *bí-yà = yè*
here   be-3PlS=Past
'They were here.'

10.6.1.2   Past *wòl = yé* 'was not'

The past form of *wòl-* 'is not (in a place)', see §11.2.2.3, is *wòl = yé.* The xistential morpheme is not allowed. The paradigm is (xx1). 3Sg and 3Pl differ only in vowel length.

(xx1)   Past 'was/were not (in a place)' or 'did not exist'

category   with or without locational X

1Sg   (X) *ŋ́ wòl = yè*
1Pl   (X) *ŋ̀ wǒl = yé*
2Sg   (X) *á wòl = yè*
2Pl   (X) *à wǒl = yé*

3Sg   (X) *wǒl-∅ = yé*
3Pl   (X) *wǒl-yà = yè ~ wòlí-yà = yè*

Examples are in (xx2). In (xx2a), 2Sg *-w* assimilates to the *l* of the interrogative particle.

(xx2)   a. *á*   *wòl = yè→ꜛ*
         2SgS   not.be=Past.Q
         'Weren't you-Sg present?'

     b. *gò:lì*   *té:*   *wòl-∅ = yè*
         last.year   tea   not.be-3SgS=Past
         'Last year there was no tea.'

     c. *bàmàkɔ̀*   *ŋ́*   *wòl = yè*
         Bamako   1SgS   not.be=Past
         'I was not in Bamako.'

10.6.1.3   Past forms of other statives

Past forms of 'have' and 'have not' (§11.5.1) are in (xx2).

(xx1)　　　　　　　'had'　　　　　　　　　　'had not'

　　　1Sg　　*èⁿ ŋ́ sà:ⁿ=yè*　　　*ŋ́ sà:-ndà=yè*
　　　1Pl　　*èⁿ ŋ̀ sâ:ⁿ=yè*　　　*ŋ̀ sá:-ndà=yè*
　　　2Sg　　*èⁿ a sà:ⁿ=yè*　　　　*á sà:-ndà=yè*
　　　2Pl　　*èⁿ à sâ:ⁿ=yè*　　　　*à sá:-ndà=yè*

　　　3Sg　　*èⁿ sâ:ⁿ-∅=yè*　　　*sá:-ndá-∅=yé*
　　　3Pl　　*èⁿ sá:ⁿ-yà=yè*　　　*sá:-ndá-yà=yè*

Past forms of 'know' (§11.2.5.1) are in (xx2).

(xx2)　category　　　'knew'　　　　　　　'did not know'

　　　1Sg　　　　*ŋ́ ɲèyⁿ=yè*　　　　*ŋ́ ɲ-ìndò=yè*
　　　1Pl　　　　*ŋ̀ ɲêyⁿ=yè*　　　　*ŋ̀ ɲ-índò=yè*
　　　2Sg　　　　*á ɲèyⁿ=yè*　　　　*á ɲ-ìndò=yè*
　　　2Pl　　　　*à ɲêyⁿ=yè*　　　　*à ɲ-índò=yè*

　　　3Sg　　　　*έɲɔ̀ bó-∅=yè*　　*índó-∅=yé*
　　　3Pl　　　　*έɲɔ̀ bí-yà=yè*　　*índó-yà=yè*

Past forms of 'want' and 'not want' (§11.2.5.2) are in (xx3).

(xx3)　category　　　'wanted'　　　　　　'did not want'

　　　1Sg　　　　*ŋ́ kèyⁿ=yè*　　　　*ŋ́ kěy-là=yè*
　　　1Pl　　　　*ŋ̀ kêyⁿ=yè*　　　　*ŋ̀ kéy-là=yè*
　　　2Sg　　　　*á kèyⁿ=yè*　　　　*á kěy-là=yè*
　　　2Pl　　　　*à kêyⁿ=yè*　　　　*à kéy-là=yè*

　　　3Sg　　　　*kéɲù bó-∅=yè*　　*kéy-là-∅=yè*
　　　3Pl　　　　*kéɲù bí-yà=yè*　　*kéy-lá-yà=yè*

Past forms of 'resemble' and 'not resemble' (§11.2.5.3) are in (xx4).

(xx4)　category　　　'resembled'　　　　　'did not resemble'

　　　1Sg　　　　*ŋ́ (m)pìmà=yè*　　　*ŋ́ (m)pìmà-ndà=yè*
　　　1Pl　　　　*ŋ̀ (m)pímà=yè*　　　*ŋ̀ (m)pímá-ndà=yè*
　　　2Sg　　　　*á (m)pìmà=yè*　　　*á (m)pìmà-ndà=yè*
　　　2Pl　　　　*à (m)pímà=yè*　　　*à (m)pímá-ndà=yè*

3Sg	*(m)pímà: bó-∅＝yè*	*(m)pímá-ndá-∅＝yé*
3Pl	*(m)pímà: bí-yà＝yè*	*(m)pímá-ndá-yà＝yè*

There is no direct past-tense form of the **'it is'** or **'it is not'** clitics. Instead, they are replaced by 'was (somewhere)', e.g. 3Sg *bó-∅＝yè*, and 'was not (somewhere)', e.g. 3Sg *wòl-∅＝yè*.

 Derived statives like *bámbà* 'be carrying (on back)' and their negatives (§10.4.1-2), form the past tense as in (xx5).

(xx5)　category　　　'was carrying on back'　　　'was not carrying on back'

1Sg	*ŋ́ bàmbà＝yè*	*ŋ́ bàmbà-ndà-yè*
1Pl	*ǹ bámbà＝yè*	*ǹ bámbá-ndà-yè*
2Sg	*á bàmbà＝yè*	*á bàmbà-ndà-yè*
2Pl	*à bámbà＝yè*	*à bámbá-ndà-yè*
3Sg	*bámbà-∅＝yè*	*bámbá-ndá＝yé*
3Pl	*bámbá-yà＝yè*	*bámbá-ndá-yà＝yè*

10.6.1.4　Past imperfective and past progressive

Positive past imperfectives with contextual senses like 'used to go in/dance' and 'was about to go in/dance' are in the first two data columns in (xx1). These are quite distinct morphologically from nonpast imperfectives (§10.2.2.1), which put 1st/2nd person pronominals after the verb before auxiliary *bò*. A basic {LHL} melody is seen in the past imperfective, becoming {HL} after 1Pl/2Pl pronominals. The corresponding negative, on the other hand, is directly based on the regular (nonpast) imperfective negative (§10.2.3.3). *-l＝yè* in the 1Sg/2Sg forms reflects the L-tone of the suffix allomorph *-l*.

(xx1)　Past imperfective paradigm

category	'went in'	'danced'	'did not go in'
1Sg	*ŋ́ nɔ̌:＝yè*	*ŋ́ yèbɔ̂:＝yè*	*nɔ̌:-l＝yè*
1Pl	*ǹ nɔ̂:＝yè*	*ǹ yébɔ̀:＝yè*	*nɔ̀:-lí＝yé*
2Sg	*á nɔ̌:＝yè*	*á yèbɔ̂:＝yè*	*nwà-á-l＝yè*
2Pl	*à nɔ̂:＝yè*	*à yébɔ̀:＝yè*	*nwà-à-lí＝yé*
3Sg	*nɔ̌:-∅＝yè*	*yèbɔ̂:-∅＝yè*	*nɔ̀:-nd(ì)＝yé*

3Pl	*nwǎ-à＝yè*	*yèbá-à＝yè*	*nɔ̀:-nd-yà＝yé*

The **progressive** with auxiliary *bô-* forms a past progressive by switching the auxiliary to its past-tense form, e.g. 3Sg *bó-∅＝yè*. The form of the verb is the same as in the nonpast progressive (§10.2.2.3).

The alternative progressive with *túlà* likewise simply adds ＝*ye* to the auxiliary, with regular tonal adjustments. *túlà* becomes *túlà＝yè* (3Sg *túlà-∅＝yè*), *tùlà* becomes *túlà＝yè* (1Sg/2Sg), and 3Pl *túlá-yà* becomes *túlá-yà＝yè*.

10.6.1.5 Past perfect

The morphologically past form of the perfective ('he ran') functions as a past perfect ('he had run'), denoting an event that had been completed prior to the past-time temporal reference point. The phonology is unproblematic, as ＝*ye* is simply added to the regular perfective forms. Sample paradigm are in (xx1).

(xx5)	category	'had fallen'	'had done'
	1Sg	*ŋ́ tìbè＝yè*	*ŋ́ kàn＝yè*
	1Pl	*ŋ̀ tíbè＝yè*	*ŋ̀ kân＝yè*
	2Sg	*á tìbè＝yè*	*á kàn＝yè*
	2Pl	*à tíbè＝yè*	*à kân＝yè*
	3Sg	*tíbé-∅＝yé*	*kán-∅＝yé*
	3Pl	*tíb-yè＝yè*	*kán-nì:＝yè*

10.6.1.6 Past experiential perfect (*-tê:＝yè*)

Experiential perfect *-tê:* (§10.2.1.3) has past-tense versions illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1)	category	'had (once) seen'	'had never seen'
	1Sg	*ŋ́ màlgà-tê:＝yè*	*ŋ́ màlgà-tè:-ndì＝yè*
	1Pl	*ŋ̀ málgá-tê:＝yè*	*ŋ̀ málgá-té:-ndí＝yé*
	2Sg	*á màlgà-tê:＝yè*	*á màlgà-tè:-ndì＝yè*
	2Pl	*à málgá-tê:＝yè*	*à málgá-té:-ndí＝yé*
	3Sg	*màlgà-tê:-∅＝yè*	*màlgà-té:-ndí-∅＝yé*
	3Pl	*màlgà-té:-yà＝yè*	*màlgà-té:-ndí-yà＝yè*

10.6.1.7 Past capacitative (*-mâ: bò-∅=yè*, *-má:=yé*)

The past version of capacitative *-mâ: (bò)* is *-mâ: bò-∅=yè* (3Sg) and so forth, with the past clitic added to the regular capacitative form (§10.5.). Similarly, negative forms add the past clitic to the regular negative form. Sample positive and negative paradigms are in (xx1).

(xx1)		'could sweep'	'could not sweep'
	1Sg	*ŋ́ gὲ:nyɔ̀-má:=yé*	*ŋ́ gὲ:nyɔ̀-má-ndà=yè*
	1Pl	*ŋ̀ gɛ́:nyɔ̀-mà:=yè*	*ŋ̀ gɛ́:nyɔ̀-má-ndà=yè*
	2Sg	*á gὲ:nyɔ̀-má:=yé*	*á gὲ:nyɔ̀-má-ndà=yè*
	2Pl	*à gɛ́:nyɔ̀-mà:=yè*	*à gɛ́:nyɔ̀-má-ndà=yè*
	3Sg	*gὲ:nyɔ̀-mâ: bò-∅=yè*	*gὲ:nyɔ̀-má-ndà=yè*
	3Pl	*gὲ:nyɔ̀-mâ: b-yà=yè*	*gὲ:nyɔ̀-má-ndá-yà=yè*

10.6.2 'Has not yet VPed' (*-n sὲ:-ndì*)

In this construction, the main verb ends in -n (pronounced in isolation as vowel, presumably a subordinator, and is followed by *sὲ:-ndì*. The latter is invariable in form, except for 3Pl *sà:-ndà*. The main verb is conjugated (regular 1st/2nd person subject proclitics), but is {L}-toned. The main verb has the vocalism of the E/I-stem as in the perfective, except that the 3Pl subject form shifts to the A-stem. The paradigm of 'has not yet dances' with *yɛ́bɛ́* 'dance' is (xx1).

(xx1)	1Sg	*ŋ́ yὲbὲ-n sὲ:-ndì*
	1Pl	*ŋ̀ yὲbὲ-n sὲ:-ndì*
	2Sg	*á yὲbὲ-n sὲ:-ndì*
	2Pl	*à yὲbὲ-n sὲ:-ndì*
	3Sg	*yὲbὲ-n sὲ:-ndì*
	3Pl	*yὲbà-n sà:-ndà*

For *kán(í)* 'do', the 3Sg form is *kànì-n sὲ:-ndì*, illustrative the final *i* in the E/I-stem of final-high-vowel verbs. The 3Pl form is *kànà-n sà:-ndà*.

191

The *-n* element is difficult to analyse. One doubtful connection is with imperfective subordinator $w^n \sim \eta$ (§xxx). Also doubtful is a connection with the -n in third person comparative *-ń nàgà* (§12.1.2).

10.7 Imperatives and hortatives

10.7.1 Imperatives and prohibitives

10.7.1.1 Imperative (A/O- or U-stem, plural A-stem plus *-ỳ^n*)

The singular- and plural-addressee imperatives are distinct vocalically and tonally, over and above the fact that the plural-addressee has a suffix *-ỳ^n*.

The **singular-addressee** imperative consists segmentally of the **A/O-stem** (for some final-high-vowel verbs, the U-stem) with no affix. The tone melody is {H} for prosodically light verbs: *Cv*, *Cv:*, and most *CvNCv* with homorganic nasal/voiced-stop cluster. Prosodically heavy verbs (the remaining *CvCCv* stems plus all *Cv:Cv*, *CvCvCv*, and similar multisyllabic verbs) have {L} melody. The two *Cv-yv* mediopassives ('lie down', 'carry on head/bathe') have an irregular {LH}-toned singular imperative *Cù-yá*. (For other irregularities see 'come' and 'bring' near the end of this section.)

The **plural-addressee** imperative consists segmentally of the **A-stem**. The tone melody is {L}.

For the singular-addressee imperative, my assistant sometimes raises the final-syllable tone in prosodically heavy stems to {LH}, e.g. *nò:yó* 'sleep-2Sg!'. He likewise sometimes raises the final syllable of plural imperatives to {LH} before L-toned suffix *-ỳ^n*, as in *nò:yá-ỳ^n* 'sleep-2Pl!'.

Examples for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs are in (xx1).

(xx1) Imperative of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs

gloss	Perf 3Sg	Sg Imprt	Pl Imprt
a. monosyllabic			
Cv			
'say'	*né*	*ná*	*nà-y^n*
-ATR			
'drink'	*né:*	*ná:*	*nà:-y^n*
'eat'	*ɲé:*	*ɲá:*	*ɲà:-y^n*
'go in'	*nwé:*	*nwá:*	*nwà:-y^n*
+ATR			
'go out'	*gwé:*	*gó:*	*gwà:-y^n*
'draw water'	*wwé:*	*wó:*	*wwà:-y^n*

b. bisyllabic, prosodically light
 -ATR
   'slaughter'   *sémé*   *sémá*   *sèmà-y^n*
   'buy'   *sógé*   *sógá*   *sògà-y^n*
   'build'   *símé*   *símá*   *sìmà-y^n*
   'pull'   *gímbé*   *gímbá*   *gìmbà-y^n*
   'go down'   *sígé*   *sígó*   *sìgà-y^n*
 -ATR
   'shave'   *káyé*   *káyá*   *kàyà-y^n*
   'jump'   *tómbé*   *tómbó*   *tòmbà-y^n*
 irregular {LH} toned singular imperative (mediopassives)
   'lie down'   *bí-yé*   *bì-yó*   *bì-yà-y^n*
   'carry on head' *dú-yé*   *dù-yá*   *dù-yà-y^n*

c. bisyllabic, prosodically heavy
   'go'   *ándè*   *àndà*   *àndà-y^n*
   'stand, stop'   *ínjè*   *ìnjà*   *ìnjà-y^n*
   'shut (door)'   *ímbó-*   *bà:ndà*   *bà:ndà-y^n*
   'sleep'   *nó:yè*   *nò:yò*   *nò:yà-y^n*

d. trisyllabic
   'shake'   *yígírè*   *yìgìrò*   *yìgìrá-y^n*
   'shatter'   *tébá-gè*   *tèbà-gà*   *tèbà-gá-y^n*

Imperatives of verbs with final high vowels are in (xx2). The tone melodies are the same as for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs. Verbs in (xx2a) with an *a*-vowel in the penult have final *a* in the singular-addressee imperative. This is consistent with the **A/O-stem** as in imperatives of the final-nonhigh-vowel class, though it could also be taken as the **A-stem**. Verbs in (xx2b) with a nonlow vowel in the penult have final *u* (**U-stem**) in the singular-addressee imperative. For both subsets in (xx2), the plural-addressee imperative is formed in the same way as with final-nonhigh-vowel verbs.

(xx2)   Imperative of final-high-vowel verbs

       gloss   Perf 3Sg   Sg Imprt   Pl Imprt

a. *a*-vowel in penult (A/O-stem)
  {H}-toned singular imperative, prosodically light
   'do'   *kán*   *káná*   *kànà-y^n*
   'speak'   *dám*   *dámá*   *dàmà-y^n*
  {L}-toned singular imperative, prosodically heavy
   'sit'   *dá:y^n*   *dà:y^{n}à*   *dà:y^{n}à-y^n*

'feed'	*ɲá:-mì*	*ɲà:-mà*	*ɲà:mà-y*[n]

b. nonlow vowel in penult (U-stem)
  {L}-toned singular imperative, prosodically heavy

'look'	*sé:mì*	*sè:mù*	*sè:mà-y*[n]
'take down'	*sígó-mì*	*sìgò-mù*	*sìgò-mà-y*[n]

'Come' and 'bring' are treated like final-high-vowel verbs in the form of the singular-addressee imperative, which ends in *u*. These forms also have irregular tones, {HL} tone in the singular and {LHL} in the plural.

(xx3)   Imperative of 'come' and 'bring'

gloss	Perf 3Sg	Sg Imprt	Pl Imprt
'come'	*égé*	*égù*	*ègá-ỳ*[n]
'bring'	*sóŋgé*	*sóŋgù*	*sòŋgá-ỳ*[n]

Imperatives of 'go' and 'come' may combine with imperatives of another verb. Both verbs are imperative in form (xx4).

(xx4)   a.   *àndà   ɲá:*
        go.Imprt   eat.Imprt
        'Go-Sg eat!'
        [plural: *àndà-ý*[n] *ɲà:-y*]

   b.   *àndá   bì-yó*
        go.Imprt   lie.down-MP.Imprt
        'Go-Sg (there) and go to bed!'

   c.   *égú   ɲà: ɲá:*
        come.Imprt   meal   eat.Imprt
        'Come-Sg eat!' (*égù*)
        [plural: *ègá-y*[n] *ɲǎ: ɲà:-y*[n]]

   d.   *égú   bì-yó*
        come.Imprt   lie.down-MP.Imprt
        'Come-Sg and go to bed!'
        [plural: *ègá-y*[n] *bìyà-y*[n]]

The syntactic treatment of subject and object in imperatives is described in §11.1.1.3.

10.7.1.2   Prohibitive (A-stem plus *-ndà*, plural *-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*)

For all verbs, the prohibitive ('don't go!') is formed from the **A-stem**, like the plural-addressee imperative. The stem is **{L}-toned**. The prohibitive suffix is *-ndà*, and the suffix combination for plural addressee is *-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*, ending in the same plural-addressee suffix *-$\grave{y}^n$* seen above in the (positive) imperative. *-ndà* resembles the stative negative suffix *-ndá*, and plural *-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$* resembles the third-person hortative negative *-ndè-y^n* ~ *-ndé-y^n* ~ *-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$* (§10.7.3.2).

   Although there is no difference between verbs with final nonhigh and high vowels, I follow the usual division for purposes of presentation.

(xx1)   Prohibitive of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs

	gloss	Perf 3Sg	Sg Prohib	Pl Prohib
a. monosyllabic				
Cv				
	'say'	*né*	*nà-ndà*	*nà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
-ATR				
	'drink'	*né:*	*nà:-ndà*	*nà:-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'eat'	*ɲé:*	*ɲà:-ndà*	*ɲà:-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'go in'	*nwé:*	*nwà:-ndà*	*nwà:-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
+ATR				
	'go out'	*gwé:*	*gwà:-ndà*	*gwà:-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'draw water'	*wwé:*	*wwà:-ndà*	*wwà:-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
b. bisyllabic				
	'build'	*símé*	*sìmà-ndà*	*sìmà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'go down'	*sígé*	*sìgà-ndà*	*sìgà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'shave'	*káyé*	*kàyà-ndà*	*kàyà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'pull'	*gímbé*	*gìmbà-ndà*	*gìmbà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'jump'	*tómbé*	*tòmbà-ndà*	*tòmbà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'shut (door)'	*ímbɔ́-*	*bà:ndà-ndà*	*bà:ndà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'sleep'	*nó:yè*	*nò:yà-ndà*	*nò:yà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'go'	*ándè*	*àndà-ndà*	*àndà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'stand, stop'	*ínjè*	*ìnjà-ndà*	*ìnjà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
c. trisyllabic				
	'shake'	*yígírè*	*yìgìrà-ndà*	*yìgìrà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*
	'shatter'	*tébá-gè*	*tèbà-gà-ndà*	*tèbà-gà-ndé-$\grave{y}^n$*

Prohibitives of verbs with final high vowels are in (xx2).

(xx2)   Prohibitive of final-high-vowel verbs

            gloss   Perf 3Sg   Sg Prohib   Pl Prohib

    a. *a*-vowel in penult
        'sit'   *dá:y^n*   *dà:y^{n}à-ndà*   *dà:y^{n}à-ndé-ỳ^n*
        'do'   *kán*   *kànà-ndà*   *kànà-ndé-ỳ^n*
                             (~ *kà:-ndà*   ~ *kà:-ndé-ỳ^n*)
        'speak'   *dám*   *dàmà-ndà*   *dàmà-ndé-ỳ^n*
        'feed'   *ɲá:-mì*   *ɲà:-mà-ndà*   *ɲà:mà-ndé-ỳ^n*

    b. nonlow vowel in penult
        'look'   *sé:mì*   *sè:mà-ndà*   *sè:mà-ndé-ỳ^n*
        'take down' *sígó-mì*   *sìgò-mà-ndà*   *sìgò-mà-ndé-ỳ^n*

For 'do' in (xx2a), the optional (but frequent) contracted pronunciation *kà:-ndà* 'don't do!' is homophonous with the (positive) imperative of *ká:-ndè* 'do (sth) for (sb)'.

    Prohibitives of 'come' and 'bring' are in (xx3).

(xx3)   Prohibitive of 'come' and 'bring'

            gloss   Perf 3Sg   Sg Prohib   Pl Prohib

        'come'   *égé*   *ègà-ndà*   *ègà-ndé-ỳ^n*
        'bring'   *sóŋgé*   *sòŋgà-ndà*   *sòŋgà-ndé-ỳ^n*

The syntax is the same as that of the positive imperative regarding accusative case-marking and anaphoric objects.

(xx4) a.   *mì-ɲ́*   *sè:mà-ndà*
          1Sg-Acc   look.at-Prohib
          'Don't look-2Sg at me!'

       b.   *[[á   kǒ:]   w^n]   sè:mà-ndà*
          [[2SgP   head]   Loc]   look.at.Prohib
          'Don't look at yourself!'

10.7.2   Hortatives

10.7.2.1   Hortative (E/I-stem, singular *-yà*, plural *-yⁿ-yà*, indefinite *-yⁿ*)

Hortatives of the 'let's go!' type, i.e. with proposed first person inclusive agent, require an overt 1Pl subject pronominal *ŋ̀*. In the case of 'go', there is a distinction between singular-addressee (NOT singular-subject) and plural-addressee forms. The singular-addressee hortative ends in *-yà* (xx1a) after a stem-final *i* that is readily syncopated (xx1a). The plural-addressee hortative of 'go' has the E-stem of the verb, a morpheme *-yⁿ-* (identical to the plural-addressee suffix in imperatives and prohibitives), and finally *-yà* (xx1b). For 'go', there is also an indefinite-number hortative with {H}-toned E-stem and suffix *-yⁿ* (xx1c).

(xx1)   a.   *ŋ̀*   *ɲ-â:nd(ì)-yà*
             1PlS   Epen-go-Hort
             'Let's (you-Sg and me) go!'

        b.   *ŋ̀*   *ɲ-á:ndè-yⁿ-yà*
             1PlS   Epen-go-ImprtPl-Hort
             'Let's (you-Pl and me) go!'

        c.   *ŋ̀*   *ɲ-á:ndé-yⁿ*
             1PlS   Epen-go-ImprtPl
             'Let's go!' (addressee number open)

For verbs other than 'go' I was able to elicit only one hortative, structurally parallel to the plural-addressee 'let's go!' type (xx1b). However, in quoted hortatives the construction in (xx1c) is regular regardless of addressee number (§17.1.2.2).

   In these hortatives, the verb is in the **E/I-stem**, i.e. the E-stem for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs and in the I-stem for the final-high-vowel class. The verb has **{HL} melody** before the suffix complex *-ỳⁿ-yà*, and this melody is realized as H.H.L on a trisyllabic stem. Examples for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs, showing the E-stem, are in (xx2).

(xx2)   Hortative of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs

             gloss   Perf 3Sg   Hortative

        a. monosyllabic
          -ATR
             'drink'   *nɛ́:*   *ŋ̀ nɛ̂:-ỳⁿ-yⁿà*

197

'eat'	*ɲé:*	*ǹ ɲê:-ỳⁿ-yⁿà*
'go in'	*nwé:*	*ǹ nwê:-yⁿ-yà*
+*ATR*		
'go out'	*gwé:*	*ǹ gwê:-yⁿ-yà*
'draw water'	*wwé:*	*ǹ wwê:-yⁿ-yà*

b. bisyllabic

'build'	*símɛ́*	*ǹ símὲ-ỳⁿ-yà*
'go down'	*sígé*	*ǹ sígὲ-ỳⁿ-yà*

c. trisyllabic

'shake'	*yígírὲ*	*ǹ yígírὲ-ỳⁿ-yà*

Hortatives of verbs with final high vowels, based on the I-stem, are in (xx3).

(xx3)   Hortative of final-high-vowel verbs

gloss	Perf 3Sg	Hortative
'sit'	*dá:yⁿ*	*ǹ dá:yⁿì-yⁿ-yà*
'do'	*kán*	*ǹ kánì-yⁿ-yà*
'speak'	*dám*	*ǹ dámì-yⁿ-yà*
'feed'	*ɲá:-mì*	*ǹ ɲá:-mì-yⁿ-yà*
'look'	*sé:mì*	*ǹ sé:mì-yⁿ-yà*
'take down'	*sígó-mì*	*ǹ sígó-mì-yⁿ-yà*

Hortatives of 'come' and 'bring' are in (xx4). They follow the pattern of final-nonhigh-vowel verbs.

(xx4)   Hortative of 'come' and 'bring'

gloss	Perf 3Sg	Hort
'come'	*égé*	*ǹ yégὲ-yⁿ-yà*
'bring'	*sóŋgé*	*ǹ sóŋgὲ-yⁿ-yà*

10.7.2.2 Hortative negative (A-stem plus *-ndé-ỳⁿ-yà*)

A hortative negative can be formed by adding hortative *-yà* to the form otherwise used as the plural-addressee prohibitive, i.e. with *-ndé-ỳⁿ*. This form is used for singular as well as plural addressee. An expected singular-addressee #*-ndà-yà* was rejected by my assistant.

(xx1) *ŋ̀*   *ɲá:ndá-ndé-ỳⁿ-yà*
        1PlS   go-Hort
        'Let's (you-Sg/Pl and me) not go!'

10.7.2.3 Allative hortative 'let's go VP!' (A-stem, *-máyⁿ*)

Suffix *-máyⁿ* added to the {H}-toned A-stem produces a hortative that explicitly includes motion. There is no distinction of addressee number.

(xx1) a. *ŋ̀*   *ɲá:-máyⁿ*
            1PlS   eat.meal-Allative.Hort
            'Let's go eat!'

       b. *móbêl*   *ŋ̀*   *túmbúgá-máyⁿ*
            vehicle   1PlS   push-Allative.Hort
            'Let's go push the car!'

10.7.3 Non-first-person hortatives

10.7.3.1 Third person hortative (E/I-stem plus *-ỳⁿ*, I-stem plus *-yè* ~ *-yɛ̀*)

A pair of special verb forms are used for reported imperatives ('your father says for you to sweep', 'they told me to sweep') and in wishes ('may God make you arrive safely!').
    For **1st/2nd person subject**, the regular subject proclitics are present, and the verb takes the **E/I-stem** with {L} stem melody before suffix *-yⁿ*.

(xx1) a. *ŋ́*   *gwè-yⁿ*   *wà*
            1SgS   go.out-3Hort   Quot
            '(Someone) said for me to leave.'

       b. *ŋ́*   *gwè-yⁿ*   *nɛ́-∅*
            1SgS   go.out-3Hort   say.Perf-3SgS
            'He/She told me to leave.'

       c. *ŋ́*   *gwè-ýⁿ*   *nɛ̀-l-∅*
            1SgS   go.out-3Hort   say-PerfNeg-3SgS
            'He/She didn't tell me to leave.'

       d. *ŋ́*   *gwè-yⁿ→ꜛ*
            1SgS   go.out-3Hort.Q

199

'(Did you say) for me to leave?'

For t**hird person subject** (including 'God' in wishes), the verb takes the **I-stem** with {LH} melody. The suffix is *-yè ~ -yè* after stem-final *i* (**I-stem**) for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs (xx2bc). The choice of vowel depends on the ATR-harmonic class of the verb. For final-high-vowel verbs, the stem-final *i* is **lengthened** with falling tone (I transcribe …*Cí-ì*) (xx2d). The verb does not agree in number with the subject, and an overt subject NP or third person pronoun is optional. (xx2ab) contrast the 1st/2nd and third person forms for the same verb ('come'). Further examples of third-person forms ae (xx2cd). In (xx2bc), *ègí-y*è has phonetic realizations like [èg:jê].

(xx2) a. *ɲ́*   *y-ègè-yⁿ*   *wà*
           1SgS   Epen-come-3Hort   Quot
           '(Someone) said for me to come.'

       b. *sěydú* / ∅   *ègí-yè*   *wà*
           S / ∅   come-3Hort   Quot
           '(Someone) said for Seydou / for him to come.'

       c. *[è   wê:-gè]*   *ègí-yè*   *wà*
           [Def   child-Pl]   come-3Hort   Quot
           '(Someone) said for the children to come.'

       d. *àmànà   [hè:là   ní]   ó-ⁿ   tùbyà-mí-ỳⁿ*
           God   [peace   Inst]   2Sg-Acc   arrive-Caus-3Hort
           'May God cause you-Sg to arrive safely!'
           (said to a departing traveler)

Additional forms for stems with final nonhigh vowels are in (xx3). The phonetic distinction between *nǐyⁿ-yⁿè* ('say') and *nǐ:-yⁿè* ('drink') is difficult to hear but my assistant claims they are distinct.

(xx3)   Third Person hortative (final-nonhigh-vowel class)

Perf 3Sg	3Hort		gloss
	1st/2nd	3rd	
a. monosyllabic			
Cv			
né	*nè-yⁿ*	*nǐyⁿ-yⁿè*	'say'
+*ATR*			
gwé:	*gwè:-yⁿ*	*gwǐ:-yè*	'go out'
-*ATR*			

dwé:	*dwè-:ý^n*	*dwǐ:-yè*	'pound'
ɲé:	*ɲè:-y^n*	*ɲǐ:-y^{n}ɛ̀*	'eat (meal)'
né:	*nè:-y^n*	*nǐ:-y^{n}ɛ̀*	'drink'

b. bisyllabic
  +*ATR*

dágé	*dàgè-y^n*	*dàgí-yè*	'lay out'
bí-yé	*bì-yè-y^n*	*bì-yí-yè*	'lie down'
ná:lè	*nà:lè-y^n*	*nà:l-yè*	'think'

  -*ATR*

yébɛ́	*yèbɛ̀-y^n*	*yèbí-yɛ̀*	'dance'
sógɛ́	*sɔ̀gɛ̀-y^n*	*sɔ̀gí-yɛ̀*	'buy'
dɛ́:ndɛ̀	*dɛ̀:ndɛ̀-y^n*	*dɛ̀:ndí-yɛ̀*	'leave'

c. trisyllabic

yígírè	*dɛ̀:ndɛ̀-y^n*	*yìgìrí-yè*	'shake'
tébá-gè	*tèbà-gè-y^n*	*tèbà-bí-yè*	'shatter'

Corresponding forms from verbs with final high vowels are in (xx4).

(xx4)   Third-Person hortative (final-high-vowel class)

Perf 3Sg	3Hort		gloss
	1st/2nd	3rd	
dám	*dàmì-y^n*	*dàmí-ì*	'speak'
kán	*kànì-y^n*	*kàní-ì*	'do'
dá:y^{n}ì	*dà:y^{n}ì-y^n*	*dà:y^{n}í-ì*	'sit'
sé:mì	*sè:mì-y^n*	*sè:mí-ì*	'look'
ɲá:-mì	*ɲà:-mì-y^n*	*ɲà:-mí-ì*	'feed'

'Come' and 'bring' are treated as final-nonhigh-vowel verbs for this purpose.

(xx5)   Third-Person hortative ('come' and 'bring')

Perf 3Sg	3Hort		gloss
	1st/2nd	3rd	
égé	*(y)ègè-y^n*	*ègí-yè*	'come'
sóŋgé	*sòŋgè-y^n*	*sòŋgí-yè*	'bring'

In certain high-frequency, rather lexicalized wishes with 'God' as (usually unstated) agent, the entire verb including *-yè* becomes {H}-toned. See (xx3) and

(xx4a,c) in §19.5 ('May [God] show (us/you) next year!'), with *tá:r(í)-yé* for the usual *tà:rí-yè* 'may (he/she) show!'

10.7.3.2   Third-person hortative negative (*-nde-y^n*)

The negative of the third-person hortative is *-nde-y^n* for all subject categories. It consists of third-person hortative *-y^n* and prohibitive *-ndà*. Except for being conjugated for subject, it is partially identical to the plural-addressee prohibitive form *-ndé-ỳ^n*. The paradigm for 'come' is (xx1), with quotative *wà* included.

(xx1)　　'(he) told __ not to come'

1Sg	*ı́ŋ y-ègà-ndè-y^n wà*
1Pl	*ı̀ŋ y-égá-ndé-y^n wá*
2Sg	*á y-ègà-ndè-y^n wà*
2Pl	*à y-égá-ndé-y^n wá*
3Sg	*ègà-ndé-ỳ^n wà*
3Pl	*ègà-ndé-ỳ^n wa*

11 Clause, VP, and predicate structure

11.1 Clausal constituents

As in most Dogon languages, linear order is SOV, where S and O are nonpronominal NPs. Setting adverbs like 'yesterday' often precede the subject NP. Other adverbials that do not establish settings usually follow the object.

(xx1) a. *yà:gú   wè:-gé   gà:ⁿ   sém-yè*
           yesterday   child-Pl   cat   slaughter.Perf-3PlS
           'The kids slaughtered a cat yesterday.' (*yà:gù*)

       b. *[è   óyⁿ]   [[wótórò kò]   wⁿ]   tà:mmɔ́   dù:ndó*
           [Def   waterjar] [[cart   on] Loc] gently   lay.Imprt
           'Lay-2Sg the waterjar gently on the cart.' (*tà:mmɔ̀*)

Pronouns gravitate toward the verb. This is obvious in the case of 1st/2nd prevarbal proclitic subject pronominals (also 3Pl when proclitic in subordinated clauses). However, pronominal objects and PPs are typically placed as close to the verb as possible. Compare (xx2), where the object is now immediately preverbal, with (xx1b).

(xx2) *[[wótórò   kò]   wⁿ]   tà:mmɔ̀   mì-ŋ   dú:ndè-∅*
       [[cart   on]   Loc]   gently   **1Sg-Acc** lay.Perf-3SgS
       'He/She laid me gently on the cart.'

11.1.1 Subjects

11.1.1.1 Subjects in indicative main clauses

Nonpronominal subject NPs are clause-initial, except for setting adverbs. Third person subject NPs require agreement in the verb, though 3Sg is the zero category. 1st/2nd person subjects, barring focalization, are expressed by a preverbal proclitics (1Pl, 2Pl).

Subjects are the normal antecedents for reflexive objects. In Penange these are of the type 'my head', see §18.1.1.

11.1.1.2 Subjects in relative and complement clauses

Subjecthood is relevant to some biclausal constructions, which often require coindexation of the subject of one clause with another NP (perhaps also subject) in the other clause. For same-subject perfective chains see §15.2.1.5. For verbal-noun complements of control-type verbs see e.g. §17.4.8 ('begin VPing').

   In nonsubject relatives, 3Sg subject is expressed by postverbal enclitic *nà* instead of by zero, and 3Pl subject is expressed by a proclitic (§14.3). Subject relatives lack pronominal-subject agreement.

11.1.1.3 Subjects and addressees of imperative and hortative verbs

Although the second person agent of an imperative (§10.7.1.1) is normally unexpressed, in some ways it functions syntactically as a subject. A direct object has accusative marking under the same conditions as in indicative clauses (xx4a). The second person subject can bind anaphoric reflexives (xx4b), which are of the 'your head' type rather than transpersonal reflexive pronouns of the sort found in Tomo Kan and Togo Kan.

(xx4) a. *mì-ŋ*   *sè:mù*
           1Sg-Acc   look.at.Imprt
           'Look-2Sg at me!'

       b. *[[á   kǒ:]   wⁿ]*   *sè:mù*
           [2SgP   head]   Acc]   look.at.Imprt
           'Look at yourself!'

Ordinary hortatives ('let's go!') are more obviously main-clause-like. In addition to accusative objects and 'head' reflexives, the 1Pl subject *ý* is overt (§10.7.2.1).

   Both imperatives and hortatives mark addressee-number agreement. Therefore hortatives have both an overt 1Pl subject and either singular or plural addressee marking. For imperatives, addressee marking converges with subjec.

11.1.1.4 Subjects of lexicalized subject-verb combinations

There are a few subject-verb collocations where either the subject NP or the verb has little independent semantic content beyond that supplied by the verb, or is unattested elsewhere.

(xx1)	collocation	gloss	related foms

a. *dógó dógé*   'night fall'   *dógó* 'night'
    yɔ̀: yɛ́:   'day break'   (none)

b. *kùmà:ŋgà (w)wɛ́:*   'rain fall'`   *kùmà:ŋgà* 'rain'
                              cf. *wɔ̀: (w)wɛ́:-* 'weep'

11.1.2 Simple transitives

11.1.2.1 Direct objects of simple transitives

Subjects and objects are clearly distinguished. Subjects normally precede objects if both are nonpronominal. Accusative pronouns are clearly distinguished from the clitics and (3Pl) suffixes that express pronominal-subject agreement in verbs.

On the other hand, there is no sharp difference between direct objects and dative-like indirect objects. This is especially noticeable with ditransitive verbs like 'give'. Pronominal and human (direct or indirect) objects can be marked by postposition-like accusative *-ŋ* ~ *-ẁ^{n}* (§6.7) following the NP.

Perception verbs like *málgè* 'see' and *núndé* 'hear' are ordinary transitives with subjects and objects like those of canonical transitives.

Many activity verbs like 'dance' and 'cough' whose objects are not clearly separable from the activities themselves are marginally transitive, since they often occur with cognate nominals that function as objects ('dance a dance', 'cough a cough'). See §11.1.2.5-6 below.

11.1.2.2 *kán(í)* 'do' with nouns and unconjugatable words

kán(í) 'do' can combine with nouns (especially borrowings) or semi-onomatopoeic elements ('hiccup', 'bellow') that cannot otherwise function as predicates. This construction is common in Penange. Examples are given in (xx1). In some cases the noun-like element does not occur except in this collocation.

(xx1)   *bàrù*   'discussion, meeting)'
          bàrù kán   'hold a discussion or meeting'

          bèlègè   'noise'
          bèlègè kán   'make noise'

dí:dì	'line (e.g. in sand)'
dí:dì kán	'draw lines'
hɔ́:lá:rè	'trust(n), confidence'
hɔ́:lì kán	'trust (sb)'
kálbà	'act of entrusting'
kálbà kán	'entrust (sb/sth, to sb)'
lâ:m	'command(n), political authority'
lâ:m kán	'govern, be in authority'
mùy^n	'patience'
mùy^n kán	'be patient, wait patiently'
hár kán	'obstruct, prevent'
jɔ̀ŋgù-jɔ̀ŋgù kán	'(quadruped) trot'
ká:mnɔ́	'old (person)'
ká:mnɔ́ kán	'become old, age(v)'
káy^n	'work(n)'
káy^n kán	'work(v), do work'
kɔ̀ndɔ̀	'failure, inability'
kɔ̀ndɔ̀ kán	'fail'
sábà	'writing(n)'
sábà kán	'write'
séndí	'prayer'
séndí kán	'pray, perform a prayer'

11.1.2.3 *né* 'say' and factitive *ná-m-* with adverbials and onomatopoeias

An opposition of intransitive (mediopassive) *né* 'say' and its causative *ná-m* is observed in (xx1) after an expressive adverbial, and in (xx2) after an onomatopoeic form.

(xx1) a. *séydù   dòn-nà   bóŋgów^n ná-m-∅*
           Seydou   mouth-3SgP   puffed.up   say-Caus-3SgS
           'Seydou puffed up his mouth (=cheeks, with air).'

b. *dòn-nà*   *bóŋgów^n*   *né-∅*
    mouth-3SgP   puffed.up   make.Perf-3SgS
    'His/her mouth (= cheeks) became puffed up.'

(xx2)   a.   *bǔ→m*   *né-∅*
            vroom   say.Perf-3SgS
            'It (e.g. motor) went vroom (= was revved up).'

            b.   *bǔ→m*   *ná-m-∅*
            vroom   say-Caus.Perf-3SgS
            'He/She make it (= motor) go vroom (= revved it up).'

11.1.2.4 Collocations with low-referentiality objects

(xx1) presents somewhat lexicalized verb-object collocations.

(xx1)	*mì: dú-yέ*	'bathe'	*mì:* 'water', *dú-yέ* 'carry'
	tέbέ bálé	'applaud'	*bálé* 'beat (tomtom)'
	sò:njì swé:	'spit'	*sò:njì* 'saliva'
	bàrù dá:-ndè	'organize a debate'	*bàrù* 'meeting', *dá:-ndè* 'cause to sit'
	gɔ́rɔ́lɔ́ kɔ́mέ	'snore'	*gɔ́rɔ́lɔ́* 'snoring', *kɔ́mέ* 'shout'
	dábál-yè túlé	'tell a story'	*dábál-yè* 'tale', *túlé* 'put'
	píjó kín	'get pregnant'	*píjó* 'state of pregnancy', *kín(í)* 'scoop, take (liquid, grain) by scooping'

Cognate nominals may also be low in referentiality, see below.

11.1.2.5 Forms of cognate nominals associated with verbs

Examples of collocations involving a verb and a cognate nominal are in (xx1). They include many bodily-function phrases.

    The nominals are of two main phonological types. One, which includes all trisyllabics and some bisyllabics, ends in a short high vowel, most often *u* in bimoraic *CvCu* and *i* in heavier stems (*CvCCi*, *Cv:Ci*, *CvCvCi*). The other, which includes all monosyllabics and some short-voweled monosyllabics, ends in a mid-height vowel, which for bisyllabics is rounded {*o ɔ*} and for

207

monosyllabics is rounded if the perfective has *w*, otherwise it is unrounded (*gὲ:ⁿ* 'fart').

(xx1)	combination	gloss	comment

a. *Cv:*
  Cv: with mid-height vowel
    gὲ:ⁿ gέ:ⁿ   'fart'
    wɔ̀: wέ: 'weep (loudly)'
    sɔ́: swέ: 'vomit'
    nɔ̀: nwέ: 'sing (a song)'
    dɔ̀: dwέ: 'pound (grain, in mortar)'
  Cv: with high vowel
    kù: kwέ: 'sew' (but collocation uncommon)

b. *CvCv*
  CvCu
    yèbù yébé   'dance (a dance)'   ATR shift
    nùgù núgé   'count (1, 2, 3, 4, ...)'
    nùjù nújé   'groan, moan'
    sùjù sújé   'stutter'
    sàrù sáré   'ask a question'
    hégú hégé   'have hiccups'
    tùmù túmé   'take a measurement'
  apocopated *Cvy*
    jòyⁿ jáyⁿ   'have a fight'   vowel shift
    tòm tɔ́mé   'slash earth (to plant)'   vowel shift
  CvCv with final mid-height vowel
    íjó íjé   'sneeze'
    gìyò gíyé   'harvest (with knife)'
    mèrɔ̀ méré   'have fun'
    búgɔ́ búgé   '(dog) bark'
    dùgɔ̀ dúgé   'insult'
    kɔ̀mɔ̀ kɔ́mé   'give out a shout'
    kùbɔ̀ kúbé   'do farm work, work in fields'
    sùgɔ̀ súgé   'defecate'

c. *CvCCv*
  CvCCu
    jòŋgù jóŋgé   'practice healing'   ATR shift
    nèllù néllé   'rest, take a break'   ATR shift
  CvCCi
    mándí mándé   'laugh'   vowel shift
  CvCCv with final mid-height vowel
    sàmbò sámbé   'do the second round of weeding'

d. *Cv:Cv and Cv:CCv*
  Cv:Cu
    nà:lù ná:lè   'think'
  Cv:CCi
    mɔ̀:njì mánjé   'urinate'   vowel shift
  other *Cv:(C)Cv*
    [none]

e. trisyllabic
  CvCvCi including CvCvy
    kòròdì kóródè   'cough, emit a cough'
  apocopated *CvCvC*
    àmbày ámbáyè   'have a dream'
    nèndìl néndílè   'breathe'
  other *CvCvCv*
    [none]

Minor discrepancies between the nonfinal vowels of the noun and verb are *jòyⁿ jáyⁿ* 'fight', *mɔ̀:njì mánjé*, and *yèbù yébé* 'dance a dance' (ATR switch).

11.1.2.6 Grammatical status of cognate nominal

Cognate nominal in such collocations include some that denote a typical bounded activity unit (a song, a dance) and others that are more generic and indefinite ('do farm work'). The cognate nominal usually occurs in bare form but can be made definite, quantified over, or adjectivally modified if the semantics permit.

(xx1) a.   *mèrɔ̀-gè*   *méré-∅*
            amusement-Pl   have.fun.Perf-3SgS
            'He/She engaged in amusements, had lots of fun'

       b.   *[ìjò*   *bàgàlà]*   *íjé-∅*
            [sneeze(n)   big]   sneeze.Perf-3SgS
            'He/She let out a huge sneeze (=sneezed loudly).'

My assistant strongly preferred separate expression of numerical quantification, i.e. 'he sneezed [three times]' (with *sígó-ŋgé* 'times') rather than 'he sneezed [three sneezes]', though he accepted the latter as grammatical.

11.1.3   Clauses with additional arguments and adjuncts

11.1.3.1   Syntax of expressive adverbials (EAs)

An expressive adverbial like *bɔ̀jɛ́→* 'straight, direct (line or trajectory)' has the same range of predicative forms as in many other Dogon languages. Static quality is expressed by *bò* 'be (somewhere)' or by its negation *wǒl* 'not be (somewhere)', and transition to the state is expressed by a positive or negative form of the regular verb *bílé* 'become'.

(xx1)   a.   *bɔ̀jɛ́→*   *bò-∅*
             straight   be-3SgS
             'It (path, stick) is straight.'

        b.   *bɔ̀jɛ́→*   *wǒl-∅*
             straight   not.be-3SgS
             'It is not straight.'

        c.   *bɔ̀jɛ́→*   *bìlè-∅*
             straight   become.Perf-3SgS
             'It became straight.'

In (xx1c), the final perfective verb is heard with low pitch, perhaps as an intonational effect (highlighting the final high pitch of the adverbial).
    Some EAs and onomatopoeias can be conjugated with *nɛ́* 'say' or its causative *ná-m*, see §11.1.2.3.
    As a nonpredicative adverbial phrase, my assistant rejected *bɔ̀jɛ́→* in the sense '(going) straight, directly (to a place)' in favor of verb chains whose first member is a conjugated form of the verb *bɔ́jɛ́* 'be/go straight' (xx2).

(xx2)   a.   *[dùgù   bà]   [ŋ̀   bɔ́jɛ̀]   ŋ̀   ɲ-ǎ:ndè*
             [village   Loc]   [1PlS   be.straight]   go.Perf   Epen-go.Perf
             'We went straight to the village.'

        b.   *[dùgù   bá]   [bɔ̀jɛ̀   nà]   ándè-∅*
             [village   Loc]   [be.straight.Perf   3SgS]   go.Perf-3SgS
             'He/She went straight to the village.'

        c.   *[dùgù   bá]   bɔ̀j-jɛ̀   ánd-yè*
             [village   Loc]   be.straight.Perf-3PlS   go.Perf-3PlS
             'They went straight to the village.'

He indicated that nonpredicative *bɔ̀jɛ́→* as adverb would suggest that the agent, not the trajectory, was straight.

From *jwá→* 'a lot, much' an inchoative *jwá→ nɛ́* 'become abundant' is attested, with the 'say' verb as auxiliary.

11.1.3.2 Adverbial phrases with verbs of motion, being in, and putting

Motion verbs like 'go' and 'come' are intransitive and may combine with a locational adverb or adverbial phrase (PP or spatial relative clause).

(xx1) *[dùgù   bà]   ándè-∅*
       [village   Loc]   go.Perf-3SgS
       'He/She went to the village.'

Place names are usually not overtly marked with a locative postposition in such clauses but are understood to be adverbial phrases.

(xx2) a. *péná   ándè-∅*
           Pinia   go.Perf-3SgS
           'He/She went to Pinia (village).'

       b. *péná   gwê:-∅*
           Pinia   go.out.Perf-3SgS
           'He/She left (or: came from) Mopti.'

'Put' verbs take a direct object and a locational expression.

(xx3) *má:ŋgórò   [tègèlè   súgù-wⁿ]   dú:ndè-∅*
       mango   [waterjar   under]   put.down.Perf-3SgS
       'He/She put the mangoes under the waterjar.'

11.1.3.3 Ditransitives

Verbs like *tábé* 'give' and *tá:rè* 'show' take two direct objects morphologically. Specifically, the indirect object (usually human and often pronominal) is regularly marked by accusative *ŋ ~ wⁿ*. The direct object is often not case-marked, see 'woman' in (xx1a), but a human pronominal direct object is accusative, see 'me' in (xx1b). This permits an opposition (though a phonetically subtle one) between (xx1b) and (xx1c).

(xx1)　a.　*[íní　　yɔ̀:]　　mì-ŋ　　tábé-∅ / tá:rè-∅*
　　　　　[Dem　woman]　1Sg-Acc　give.Perf-3SgS / show.Perf-3SgS
　　　　　'He gave / showed me this woman.'

　　　b.　*[íní　wàlà　ŋ]　　mì-ŋ　　tábé-∅ / tá:rè-∅*
　　　　　[Dem　man　Acc]　1Sg-Acc　give.Perf-3SgS / show.Perf-3SgS
　　　　　'He gave / showed me to this man.'

　　　c.　*[íní　　wàlà]　　mì-ŋ　　tábé-∅ / tá:rè-∅*
　　　　　[Dem　man]　1Sg-Acc　give.Perf-3SgS / show.Perf-3SgS
　　　　　'He gave / showed this man to me.'

11.1.3.4　Valency of causatives

Causatives can have two or even three object NPs, including the agent of the subordinated clause. In 'cause X to give Y to Z', both X and Z are normally human and are marked with accusative *ŋ*. The theme Y is usually inanimate and lacks accusative marking but is presumably also an object.

(xx1)　*[sé:dù　ŋ]　　[á:mádù　ŋ]　　wálé　　ń　　tàbá-mì*
　　　　[Seydou　Acc]　[Amadou　Acc]　money　1SgS　give-Caus.Perf
　　　　'I had Seydou give (some/the) money to Amadou.'

11.1.4　Verb Phrase

The category VP is useful in connection with verb(-phrase) chains, where the subject is held constant over the two clauses (§15.2.1.5). It is also useful in verbal nouns, which can function as subjectless VP complements.

11.2　'Be', 'become', 'have', and other statives and inchoatives

11.2.1　'It is' clitics

11.2.1.1　Positive 'it is' clitic *=yo* ~ *=ye* ~ *=(w)o*

The 'it is' clitic, used in identificational predicates ('it's me', 'it's s bird'), is also used to focalize a nonpredicative constituent, see §13.1.1.4.
　　The clitic has several variants, all syllabic. After certain WH-interrogative words it is *=ye* (xx1a). After nouns, pronouns, and demonstratives the most

common variant is *=yo*, but this varies with *=(w)o*, whose *w* is faint and perhaps epenthetic. The clitic is H-toned after {H} and {L}-toned words, L-toned after {HL}, {LH}, and {LHL}-toned words. After the plural or a lexically /L/-toned noun, the H-tone that usually appears on plural *-gè* instead appears on the clitic, see 'they are cows' at the bottom of (xx1b). In (xx1b-d), the *=yo* that is shown is usually interchangeable with *=(w)o*.

(xx1)   'It is' (allomorphs *=ye* and *=yo*).

  a. interrogative
   á:=yé   'who is it?'
   àŋgà=yé 'it is how many?'
   njɛ́:=yè   'what is it?' (< *njɛ́*)

  b. with noun
   /H/-toned
    úná=yó   'it's a goat'
   /L/-toned
    dèm=yó   'it's a house'
    nà:=yó   'it's a cow' (< *ná:*)
    àlàmùnɔ̀=yó 'it's a sheep'
    yɔ̀:=yó   'it's a woman'
   /LH/-toned
    nèjjé=yò 'it's a bird'
    ŋ̀ bɔ̀bɔ́=yò 'it's my father'
   /HL/-toned
    kó:tì=yò   'it's a tick' (< *kó:tì*)
   /LHL/-toned
    kìn-wɛ́:=yò 'it's a stone' (< *kìn-wê:*)
   plurals
    nà:-gè=yó 'they are cows' (< *nà:-gé*)
    úná-gé=yó 'they are goats' (< *úná-gé*)
    kó:tí-gè=yò 'they are ticks' (< *kó:tí-gè*)
    nèjjé-gè=yò 'they are birds' (< *nèjjé-gè*)

  c. with pronoun
   mí=yó   'it's me'
   mbé=(y)ó 'it's us'
   ó=yó   'it's you-Sg'
   ábé=yó   'it's you-Pl'
   ɔ̀nɔ̀=yó   'it's him/her'
   ŋké=yó   'it's them'

  d. with personal or place name
   /H/-toned

sídìbé = yò	'it's Sidibe'
/L/-toned	
bàmàkɔ̀ = yó	'it's Bamako (city)'
/HL/-toned	
á:mádù = yò	'it's Amadou'
sí:dì = yò	'it's Sidi'
há:wà = yò	'it's Hawa'
á:dámà = yò	'it's Adama'
díkɔ̀ = yò	'it's Dicko'

e. demonstrative

ín = yò	'that's it' (< *íni*, syncopated)

The topic referent may be expressed a preceding NP or independent pronoun. The 'it is' clitic is not conjugated.

(xx2)	*á:mádù èjjè = yó*	'Amadou is a Dogon.'
	mí èjjè = yó	'I am a Dogon.'
	mbé èjjè-gè = yó	'we are Dogon.'
	ó èjjè = yó	'you-Sg are a Dogon.'

11.2.1.2   'It is not' (= *là*)

The negative counterpart of the 'it is' clitic is = *là*. It replaces, rather than being superimposed on, the positive 'it is' clitic.

(xx1)	*nà: = là*	'it's not a cow'
	mí èjjè = là	'I am not a Dogon.'
	mbé èjjè-gè = là	'we are not Dogon.'
	ó èjjè = là	'you-Sg are not a Dogon.'

11.2.2   Existential and locative quasi-verbs and particles

11.2.2.1   Existential proclitic $\grave{\varepsilon}^n \sim \grave{e}^n$

This proclitic is associated with statives, especially 'be' and 'have' quasi-verbs. It is always immediately preverbal, being separated from verbs only by 1st/2nd person subject pronominals.

The usual form is $\grave{\varepsilon}^n$. Variant $\grave{e}^n$ occurs in the specific combination $\grave{e}^n$ *bó-∅* 'he/she/it is there', where ε shifts to +ATR *e* before the +ATR vowel *o*. The nasal element is pronounced as vocalic nasalization in isolation, before the *s* of

the 'have' quasi-verb, and before a vowel-initial verb (which develops an initial glottal stop: *è^n ʔíngà* 'he/she/it is standing'). Before the *b* of the 'be (somewhere)' quasi-verb it is heard as homorganic [m], hence *è^n b(í)-yá* [èmb(í)já] 'they are (present)'.

The existential particle occurs only in **positive, unfocalized main clauses**. In this context it is obligatory with quasi-verb *bô* 'be (somewhere)' in the absence of an overt locational phrase, i.e. it functions here as a default locational (a generalized 'be there/here', or just 'exist' or 'be present'). It is also required with *sâ^n* 'have' even when another locational is present.

The particle is not allowed in **negative** clauses, in **relative** clauses, or in positive main clauses that contain a **focalized** constituent (so that the verb is defocalized). Using 'have' as the example, we see the particle in (xx1ab) in positive, unfocalized main clauses. The particle is absent in the negative counterpart (xx1c), in the presence of a focalized WH-interrogative in (xx1d), and in the relative clause (xx1e).

(xx1)   a.   *děm*   *è^n*   *ŋ́*   *sâ^n*
             house   **Exist**   1SgS   have
             'I have a house.' (*dèm*)

        b.   *děm*   *è^n*   *ŋ̀*   *sâ^n*
             house   **Exist**   1PlS   have
             'We have a house.'

        c.   *dèm*   *ŋ́*   *sà:-ndà*
             house   1SgS   have-StatNeg
             'I do not have a house.'

        d.   *à:yé*   *dèm*   *sá:^{n}*
             who?   house   have.<mark>Defoc</mark>
             '<u>Who</u> [focus] has a house?'

        e.   *ègé:^{n}*   *dèm*   *ŋ́*   *syà:^{n}*
             place   house   1SgS   have.<mark>Rel</mark>
             'the place where I have a house'

Examples with *bô* 'be (somewhere), be present, exist' and its suppletive negation are in (xx2). The combination of the existential proclitic and *bô* comes out as *è^n bô*. The proclitic is present in (xx2a) as the default locational. It it absent in (xx2b) in the presence of a more specific locational phrase. It is also absent in negatives (xx2c) and in focalized clauses (xx2d-e).

(xx2)   a.   *té:*   *è^n*   *bô-∅*

    tea   **Exist**   be-3SgS
    'There is some tea.'

b. *[[mbé   dúgú]   bà]   bô-∅*
    [[1PlP   village]   in]   be-3SgS
    'He/She is in our village.'

c. *té: wòl-∅*
    tea   not.be-3SgS
    'There is no tea.'

d. *mbá   bó-∅*
    where?   be-3SgS.<mark>Defoc</mark>
    <u>Where</u> [focus] is he/she?'

e. *à:yè   bó-∅*
    who?   be-3SgS.<mark>Defoc</mark>
    <u>Who</u> [focus] is there?'

With derived statives (e.g. 'be sitting', §10.xxx), *è^n* is an optional alternative to the iteration of the stem. In positive, unfocalized main clauses, exactly one of *è^n* or the iteration is required. (xx3c-e) are ungrammatical (symbol #) in such clauses, though (xx3c) can occur with a preceding focalized constituent.

(xx3) a. *dà^n*   *ɲ́*   *dà^n*
        sit.Stat   1SgS   sit.Stat
        'I am sitting (am in seated position).'

      b. *è^n*   *ɲ́*   *dà^n*
        Exist   1SgS   sit.Stat
        [= (a)]

      c. #*ɲ́*   *dà^n*

      d. #*dà^n*   *è^n*   *ɲ́*   *dà^n*

      e. #*è^n*   *dà^n*   *ɲ́*   *dà^n*

11.2.2.2 'Be (somewhere)' (*bô*)

The locational-existential stative quasi-verb 'be (in a place), be present' and by abstraction 'exist', is *bô*. The tone drops to *bò* after a H-toned 1Sg/2Sg subject

pronominal. In the relevant sense, *bô* requires an overt locational phrase, with existential *èⁿ* ~ *èⁿ* as the default (see just above). *bô* 'be (somewhere)' is historically related to *bò* ~ *wò* in the imperfective verb (§10.2.2.1), though the synchronic connection is muddied by phonological reductions in the imperfective. *bô* 'be (somewhere)' is more clearly synchronically related to *bô* in one of the progressive constructions (§10.2.2.3).

The paradigm is in (xx1). *bô* is one of the few cases where a *Cv* syllable has falling tone.

(xx1)   Nonpast 'be (in a place)' or 'exist'

category	after locational X	with existential
1Sg	X *ŋ́ bò*	*èⁿ ŋ́ bò*
1Pl	X *ǹ bô*	*èⁿ ǹ bô*
2Sg	X *á bò*	*èⁿ á bò*
2Pl	X *à bô*	*èⁿ à bô*
3Sg	X *bô-∅*	*èⁿ bô-∅*
3Pl	X *bí-yà*	*èⁿ bí-yà*

Examples are in (xx2).

(xx2)   a.   *bàmàkɔ̀*   *bí-yà*
             Bamako   be-3PlS
             'They are in Bamako (city).'

        b.   *èⁿ*   *à*   *bó*   *bènè*
             Exist   2PlS   be   if
             'if you-Pl are present' (from /*wô-w*/)

For *bó=yè* 'was', see §10.6.1.1.

There is no clear synchronic connection between (stative) *bô* (or its variants) and (inchoative) *bílé* 'become'.

11.2.2.3   Negative *wǒl* 'is not (in a place)'

The negative counterpart of *bô* 'be (in a place), be present' is the suppletive *wǒl* 'not be (present), be absent'. It may follow an overt locational phrase, or it may be used in isolated (existential *èⁿ* is not allowed in negative clauses, so there is no default locational). The paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1) 'Is/are absent' or 'does/do not exist'

category   form (with or without locational)

1Sg   *ŋ́ wòl*
1Pl   *ŋ̀ wŏl*
2Sg   *á wòl*
2Pl   *à wŏl*

3Sg   *wŏl-∅*
3Pl   *wŏl-yà ~ wòlí-yà*

Examples are in (xx2). The polar interrogative form in (xx2b) points to a lexical representation /wòlí/.

(xx2)   a.   *(nǔwⁿ)*   *ŋ́*   *wòl*
             (here)   1SgS   not.be
             'I am not present (here).'

        b.   *té:*   *wòlí-∅→*
             tea   not.be-3SgS.Q
             'Is there is no tea?'

wŏl is also part of the progressive negative construction (§10.2.3.4).

11.2.3 'Be in/on X'

'Be in X' and 'be on X' can be expressed with the regular 'be (somewhere)' quasi-verb *bò* and PPs (§8.2).

(xx1)   a.   *bòndò*   *[[bí:ŋgò   kò]*   *ŋ]*   *bò-∅*
             shoulderbag   [[mat   head]   Loc]   be-3Sgs
             '(the) shoulderbag is on the mat'

        b.   *tògù-tògù*   *[[kɛ́rɔ́   pâ]*   *ŋ]*   *bò-∅*
             gecko   [[wall   beside]   Loc]   be-3SgS
             'The gecko is on the wall.'

        c.   *mì:*   *[ʔóyⁿ   jáŋà]*   *ŋ]*   *bò-∅*
             water   [waterjar   belly]   Loc]   be-3SgS
             'The water is in the waterjar.'

Specialized stative verb forms are also available: *yábà* 'be against or on (vertical surface, e.g. wall)', *sáŋgà* 'be on (horizontal surface)' (§10.4.1.1). However, the same spatial postpositions are used, so the verb does not suffice to express the spatial relation.

(xx2) a. *bɔ̀ndɔ̀*   *[[bí:ŋgò* *kó]*   *ŋ]*   *sàŋgà-∅*
          shoulderbag [[mat   head]   Loc]   be.on-3Sgs
          '(the) shoulderbag is on the mat'

      b. *tɔ̀gù-tɔ̀gù*   *[kɛ́rɔ́*   *pá^n]*   *yàbà-∅*
          gecko   [wall   on]   be.against.Stat-3SgS
          'The gecko is on the wall.'

11.2.4 'Become', 'happen', and 'remain' predicates

The focus in this segment is on bipartite 'become X' and 'remain X' predicates with distinct verbs or quasi-verbs. For deadjectival inchoatives ('become red/long'), which are expressed by derivational suffixes, see §9.6.

11.2.4.1 'Remain' (*wánjé*)

'Stay, remain (somewhere)' is *wánjé*. An imperfective example is (xx1).

(xx1) *dèm*   *wánjó*   *ń*   *bò*
       house   remain.Impf   1SgS   Impf
       'I will stay home.'

This verb is not also used in the sense 'become' with adverbials.

11.2.4.2 'Become, be transformed into' (*bílé*)

bílé 'become' or 'be transformed into' can combine with a noun or NP, which is often focalized, hence the {L}-toned perfective *bìlè* in (xx1a). *bílé* can also be used with adverbs and defective adjectives that have no other predicative form (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *nèjjé*   *bìlè-∅*
          bird   become.Perf-3SgS

219

'He became/was turned into <u>a bird</u> [focus].'

b. *kándá*   *bilé-∅*
new   become.Perf-3SgS
'It became (like) new.'

11.2.5 Lexical statives

'Know', 'want', and 'resemble' are lexical statives with various irregularities. The two have similar paradigms, notably with *bò* 'be' (or imperfective) as a kind of auxiliary verb in the positive third person forms only, as in the capacitative paradigm (§10.5). The negative paradigms have various allomorphs of the stative negative suffix/clitic (§xxx).

11.2.5.1 'Know' (*ɛ́ɲɔ̀ bò, ɲèy*), 'not know' (*índó*)

This is an irregular lexically stative verb with no aspectual marking. It means 'know (a fact)' or 'know, be acquainted with (a person)', i.e. French *connaître* as well as *savoir*. The object NP takes accusative marking: *mì-ⁿ ɛ́ɲɔ̀ bò-∅* 'he/she knows me'. The paradigms, positive and negative, are in (xx1).

(xx1)	category	'know'	'not know'
	1Sg	*ɲ́ ɲèyⁿ*	*ɲ́ ɲ-ìndò*
	1Pl	*ɲ̀ ɲêyⁿ*	*ɲ̀ ɲ-índò*
	2Sg	*á ɲèyⁿ*	*á ɲ-ìndò*
	2Pl	*à ɲêyⁿ*	*à -ɲíndò*
	3Sg	*ɛ́ɲɔ̀ bò-∅*	*índó-∅*
	"	*~ êyⁿ bò-∅*	
	3Pl	*ɛ́ɲɔ̀ b-yà*	*índó-yà*
	"	*~ êyⁿ b-yà*	

In the positive paradigm, the relationship of the third person and the 1st/2nd person forms is problematic. The *ɲ* in the 1st/2nd person stem *ɲèyⁿ* could be epenthetic. In this case the residual *èyⁿ* might be equated with the first rather than second syllable of third person *ɛ́ɲɔ̀*. Some support for this comes from the 1st/2nd person form *ɲ-èɲà* in focalized clauses, see (xx6) in §13.1.1.5. However, the morphemic breakdown is opaque. Similarly, the negative form

índó is only vaguely segmentable as *ín-dó* or *í-ndó*, ending doubtfully in a variant of the stative negative (cf. *sá:-ndá* 'not have').

For past-tense forms, see (xx2) in §10.6.1.3.

In active (non-stative) contexts the verb is *yáré* 'find out, come to know; recognize'.

11.2.5.2   'Want, like' (*kéɲù bò-, kéy^n*), 'not want' (*kéy-là*)

This lexically stative verb has *kéɲù* (varying with *kéy^n*) plus *bò* in the positive third person forms. The 1st/2nd person counterpart is strictly *kéy^n*, with *y^n* replacing *ɲ* (a consonant that does not occur word-finally). The negative forms have stative negative allomorph *-là* after oral (nonnasal) *y*. There are cognates in Tiranige and Najamba.

(xx1)	category	'want'	'not want'
	1Sg	*ŋ́ kèy^n*	*ŋ́ kĕy-là*
	1Pl	*ŋ̀ kêy^n*	*ŋ̀ kéy-là*
	2Sg	*á kèy^n*	*á kĕy-là*
	2Pl	*à kêy^n*	*à kéy-là*
	3Sg	*kéɲù bò-∅*	*kéy-là-∅*
	"	*~ kéy^n bò-∅*	
	3Pl	*kéɲù b-yà*	*kéy-lá-yà*
	"	*~ kéy^n b-yà*	

For *kèɲà* in focalized clauses, see (xx6) in §13.1.1.5. For past-tense forms see (xx3) in §10.6.1.3. The verbal noun is *kéɲî-l* 'love, desire' competing with a cognate nominal *kèɲà* of similar sense.

For clausal complements ('want to VP'), see §17.4.5.

11.2.5.3   'Resemble' (*[m]pímà: bò*), 'not resemble' (*[m]pímá-ndá*)

'(X) resembles Y' is expressed as a transitive verb. The object may take accusative marking. The positive form of the verb is *pímà: bò* for third person, *pímà* for 1st/2nd person. The negative is *(m)pímá-ndá*, with *-ndá* allomorph of the stative negative. My assistant fluctuated between mp and p as the onset of the first syllable. With third person subject and human comparandum, the distincton is moot because of accusative *-^{n}* on the comparandum NP or pronoun. The distinction is also moot after 1Sg or 1Pl pronominals (*ŋ́, ŋ̀*). It is likely that

the mp variant reflected resegmentation of the nasal as part of the onset of the verb.

(xx1) category   'resemble'   'not resemble'

    1Sg   *ŋ́ (m)pìmà*   *ŋ́ (m)pìmà-ndà*
    1Pl   *ŋ̀ (m)pímà*   *ŋ̀ (m)pímá-ndà*
    2Sg   *á (m)pìmà*   *á (m)pìmà-ndà*
    2Pl   *à (m)pímà*   *à (m)pímá-ndà*

    3Sg   *(m)pímà: bò-∅*   *(m)pímá-ndá-∅*
    3Pl   *(m)pímà: b-yà*   *(m)pímá-ndá-yà*

An example is (xx2).

(xx2) *sěydù*   *ó-ⁿ*   *pímà:*   *bò-∅*
      S   2Sg-Acc   resemble   be-3SgS
      'Seydou resembles you-Sg.'

For past-tense forms see §10.6.1.3.

11.3 Quotative verb (*né*)

For the paradigm of *né* 'say' see §10.1.2.1. It is the only regularly conjugated monomoraic *Cv* verb.

    For the syntax of quoted clauses, see §17.1.

    né can be used as an auxiliary with onomatopoeias, including direct imitations of sounds, cf. English *went* or (modern) *was like* in *It went "poof"* or *He was like "argh!"*.

    For *né* as an inchoative auxiliary, see *yáw-yáw né* 'become lightweight' in (xx6) in §9.6.

11.4 Adjectival predicates

Adjectival predicates described here denote states, rather than processes (transitions). For the latter, see the inchoative verbs in §9.xxx.

11.4.1   Positive adjectival predicates

Adjectives (§4.5) can be organized into groups based on their form as predicates. They are followed by conjugated forms of 'be', with variants *bò*, *bó*, and *wò*. Negative predicates replace 'be' by *wŏl* 'not be'.

11.4.1.1   Predicate adjectives with *-yà bó-∅* (3Sg)

Several adjectives have a {L}-toned predicative form with suffix *-yà* (after syncopated stem-final vowel), followed by a conjugated form of H-toned *bó* 'be'.

(xx1)   modifying   predicate 3SgS   gloss

        a. phonologically simple
            bámbá   *bàmb-yà bó-∅*   'wide, spacious'
            jámá   *jám-yà bó∅*   'nearby'
            bàgàlà   *bàgàl-yà bó-∅*   'big, fat, massive, stout'
            gòlò   *gòl-yà bó-∅*   'long, tall'
            sùmbè   *sùmb-yà bó-∅*   'deep'
            ɔ̀nànà   *ɔ̀nàn-yà bó-∅*   'smooth, sleek'
            èlɔ̀   *èl-yà bó-∅*   'thin, delicate'
            bɔ̀mbè   *bɔ̀mb-yà bó-∅*   'red, brown'
            tòmbò   *tòmb-yà bó-∅*   'white, light-colored'

        b. diminutive *-yè* absorbed by suffix *-yà*
            dùŋgùrí-yè *dùŋgùr-yà bó-∅*   'short'
            ŋkà:lí-yè   *ŋkà:l-yà bó-∅*   'small'

        c. resyllabified to avoid *CCC* cluster
            yɔ̀rdè   *yɔ̀ràd-yà bó-∅*   'black, dark'

        d. /gy/ → *(j)j*
            yágá   *yàj-jà bó-∅*   'pretty'
            wàgè   *wàj-jà bó-∅*   'distant'
            dɔ́ŋgá   *dɔ̀n-jà bó-∅*   'heavy'
            ɲɔ̀ŋgɔ̀   *ɲɔ̀n-jà bó-∅*   'thin, slender'

        e. /yⁿy/ → *ɲɲ*
            bàyⁿ   *bàɲ-ɲà bó-∅*   'big (house, tree)'

The paradigm is (xx2).

(xx2)   adjectival predicate

category   'be heavy'

1Sg   *dɔ̀njà ɲ́ bò*
1Pl   *dɔ̀njà ɲ̀ bó*
2Sg   *dɔ̀njà=á bò*
2Pl   *dɔ̀njà=à bó*

3Sg   *dɔ̀n-jà bó-∅*
3Pl   *dɔ̀n-jà bí-yá*

11.4.1.2   Other {L}-toned predicate adjectives with H-toned *bó-∅*

The adjectives in (xx1) form predicates with {L}-toned adjective, with no segmental change or with a change in final vowel quality, plus H-toned *bó*.

(xx1)   modifying   predicate 3SgS   gloss

a. no change in final vowel
    kùrjù   *kùrjù bó-∅*   'coarse (surface)'

b. final *a* → *e*
    nwá:gá   *nwà:gè bó-∅*   'hot (water, food)'
       "   *nwà:jè bó-∅*   'fast'
    má:gá   *mà:gè bó-∅*   'difficult (work)'
    dá: *dà:yè bó-∅*   'nasty, evil'

c. final *i:ⁿ* → *a*
    nsì:ⁿ [ńsì:ⁿ]   *nsà bó-∅* [ńsàbó]   'sweet, delicious' (also 'sharp')
    nsì:ⁿ   *nsà bó-∅*   'sharp' (also 'delicious, sweet')

11.4.1.3   {LH}-toned predicate adjectives with L-toned *bò-∅*

For the stems in (xx1), the predicate is formed by **lengthening** the final vowel of the adjective and overlaying a {LH} melody, before L-toned *bò-∅*. {LH} reduces to H-tone for monosyllabic stems.

(xx1)   modifying   predicate 3SgS   gloss

a. monosyllabic

mè:	*mé: bò-∅*	'dry'
jwè:	*jwé: bò-∅*	'full (container)'

b. bisyllabic, final {*e ɛ*}

kùrè	*kùré: bò-∅*	'undiluted'
sèlè	*sèlé: bò-∅*	'diluted'
dèmè	*dèmé: bò-∅*	'ripe (grain); cooked, done'
ùlgè	*ùlgé: bò-∅*	'ripe (fruit)'
bɔ̀rè	*bɔ̀ré: bò-∅*	'cooked, done'
ɔ̀njè	*ɔ̀njé: bò-∅*	'lean (animal)'
kùnè	*kùné: bò-∅*	'plump, fatty'
dɔ̀gè	*dɔ̀gé: bò-∅*	'dead'
gɔ̀mè	*gɔ̀mé: bò-∅*	'rotten'
tàyè	*tàyé: bò-∅*	'cold, cool; slow-moving'
	tà:mí bò-∅	'slow'
ɛ̀mbè	*ɛ̀mbé: bò-∅*	'wet'

c. bisyllabic, final {*o ɔ*}

kòlò	*kòló: bò-∅*	'fresh, raw'

d. bisyllabic, final high vowel

ɲàm	*ɲàmí: bò-∅*	'malfunctioning'
kàmmì	*kàmmí: bò-∅*	'hard'

The paradigm is (xx2).

(xx2)   adjectival predicate

category	'be cold/slow'
1Sg	*tàyè ɴ́ bò*
1Pl	*tàyé ɴ̀ bò*
2Sg	*tàyà=á bò*
2Pl	*tàyá=à bò*
3Sg	*tàyé: bò-∅*
3Pl	*tàyé: b-yà*

This construction is related to the **passive** construction with *bò* following a {LH}-toned verb based on the perfective stem (§9.3). The modifying adjectives predominantly end in {*e ɛ i*} and can therefore be analysed as perfective participles (§14.xxx).

11.4.1.4   {HL}-toned predicate adjectives plus *bò*

Two adjectives with {H}-toned modifying forms have {HL}-toned predicate forms. In (xx1a), 'good' also shortens its vowel in the predicative form. In (xx1b), 'empty' lengthens its final vowel.

(xx1)   modifying   predicate 3SgS   gloss

        a.   *pɔ́:lɔ́*   *pɔ́lɔ̀ bò-∅*   'good'

        b.   *dóndó*   *dóndò: bò-∅*   'empty, deserted'

11.4.1.5   Predicative forms of iterated and composite adjectives

Most obligatorily iterated adjectives have a straightforward predicative form with 3Sg *bò-∅* after H-tone and *bó-∅* after L-tone (xx1).

(xx1)   modifying   predicate 3SgS   gloss

        a. adjective H-toned
             kárá-kárá   *kárá-kárá bò-∅*   'bitter'
             sém-sém   *sém-sém bò-∅*   'pointed'
             yáw-yáw   *yáw-yáw bò-∅*   'lightweight'
             tóm-tóm   *tóm-tóm bò-∅*   'sour, acrid (like lemon)'

        b. adjective L-toned
             èb-èb   *èb-èb bó-∅*   'supple (e.g. goatskin)'

For a few other iterated adjectives (and adverbials), for "adjectives" in the form of composite exemplars, and for overtly participial negative adjectives, the predicate adds *wò-* (lenited from *bò-*) (xx2).

(xx2)   modifying   predicate 3SgS   gloss

        a. iterated adverbials (cf. *kání* 'do')
             mɔ̌n-mɔ̀n kân   *mɔ̌n-mɔ̀n bò-∅*   'soft (skin)'
             tɔ̀gúl-tɔ̀gûl kân *tɔ̀gúl-tɔ̀gûl bò-∅*   'spotted'

        b. iteration removed in predicate
             búlá-búlà   *búlà wò-∅*   'blue'

        c. noun-adjective or compound exemplars

226

pòrò púnà	*pòrò púnà wò-∅*	'yellow' (néré flour)
kɔ̀jì kòlò	*kɔ̀jì kòlò wò-∅*	'green' (fresh grass)

d. negative participles

nsì:ⁿ-dì-gà	*nsì:ⁿ-dì-gà wò-∅*	'blunt, not sharp (blade)'
yágá-ndá-gà	*yágá-ndá-gà wò-∅*	'ugly, not pretty'
	yàgà-nd-yà bó-∅	
pɔ́:lɔ́ wòl-gà	*pɔ́:lɔ́ wòl-gà wò-∅*	'bad, no good'

'Old' and 'new' are not really adjectives in Penange. *ká:mnɔ́* 'old' requires the 'do' verb as auxiliary (xx3a). kándá 'new' takes the (usually postnominal) 'it is' clitic (xx3b).

(xx3)		modifying	predicate 3SgS	gloss
	a.	*ká:mnɔ́*	*ká:mnɔ́ kán*	'old (person)'
	b.	*kándá*	*kándá=yó*	'new'

11.4.2   Negative adjectival predicates

Adjectival predicates are negated by using *wǒl* 'not be' instead of *bò* ~ *bó* 'be' after the predicate adjective, which has the same form in negative as in positive clauses. kándá 'new' is again treated as a noun.

(xx1)	a.	*bɔ̀mb-yà wǒl*	'not be red'
		bàɲɲà wǒl	'not be big'
		mà:gè wǒl	'not be difficult'
		bàgàl-yà wǒl	'not be big'
		kùrjù wǒl	'not be coarse'
	b.	*kándá=lá*	'not be new'

11.5   Possessive predicates

11.5.1   'X have Y' (*sâⁿ*, negative *sá:-ndá*)

'Have' is an irregular quasi-verb (or lexical stative) *sâⁿ*. As in English, the subject denotes the possessor. The vowel is lengthened in plural-subject combinations. In unfocalized positive main clauses, existential proclitic *ὲⁿ* is

227

obligatory. The negative counterpart is *sá:-ndá*, with *-ndá* allomorph of the stative negative.

(xx1)   'have'   'have not'

1Sg	*è^n ŋ́ sà^n*	*ŋ́ sà:-ndà*
1Pl	*è^n ŋ̀ sâ:^{n}*	*ŋ̀ sá:-ndà*
2Sg	*è^n á sà^n*	*á sà:-ndà*
2Pl	*è^n à sâ:^{n}*	*à sá:-ndà*
3Sg	*è^n sâ^n-∅*	*sá:-ndá-∅*
3Pl	*è^n sá:^{n}-yà*	*sá:-ndá-yà*

'Have' is transitive, but since the object is normally inanimate there is generally no accusative marking. For the syntax of existential *è^n* see §11.2.2.1. For past-tense 'had' see §10.6.1.3. For *sá:^{n}* in subject relative clauses, and *sá:^{n}* and *sí:^{n}yà* in nonsubject relatives, see §14.4.4.

11.5.2   'Y belong to X' predicates

'Y belongs to X' or 'Y is X's' is expressed as a contracted, not entirely transparent construction 'Y is X's thing'. *yέ:* 'thing' is modified to *ɲέ*, and the 'it is' clitic appears as *=wò*. Compare *ŋ̀ ɲέ=wò* 'it is mine' with the fully transparent *ŋ́ yě:=yò ~ ŋ́ yě:=wò* 'it is my thing'. In spite of the phonological modifications, my assistant clearly recognized the relationship and volunteered that *ŋ̀ ɲέ=wò* was an "elided" version that could be pronounced more carefully as *ŋ̀ ɲέ:=wò-∅*, with the vowel length of the original preserved.

The regular 1Sg and 2Sg proclitics are used but they have L-tone instead of the usual H-tone. 1Pl, 2Pl, and 3Pl are preposed but in full independent form, while 3Sg has its usual suffix. Negation is by the 'it is not' clitic, after long-voweled *ɲέ:*. The paradigms in (xx1) are for singular theme ("subject").

(xx1)   'it belongs to (me etc.)'   'it does not belong to (me etc.)

1Sg	*ŋ́ ɲέ=wò*	*ŋ́ ɲέ:=là*
1Pl	*mbé ɲέ=wò*	*mbé ɲέ:=là*
2Sg	*á ɲέ=wò*	*á ɲέ:=là*
2Pl	*ábé ɲέ=wò*	*ábé ɲέ:=là*
3Sg	*ɲέ:-nà=wò*	*ɲέ:-ná=là*
3Pl	*ŋké ɲέ=wò*	*ŋké ɲέ=là*

| | NP | NP *ɲɛ́:=wò* | NP *ɲɛ́:=là* |

If the theme is 3Pl, plural *-ŋgè* is added to the original 'thing' noun, and the result is (xx2).

(xx2)　　　　'they belong to (me etc.)'　'they do not belong to (me etc.)

1Sg	*ǹ ɲɛ̌:-ŋgé=wò*	*ǹ ɲɛ̌:-ŋgé=là*
1Pl	*mbé ɲɛ́:-ŋgé=wò*	*mbé ɲɛ́:-ŋgé=là*
2Sg	*à ɲɛ̌:-ŋgé=wò*	*à ɲɛ̌:-ŋgé=là*
2Pl	*ábé ɲɛ́:-ŋgé=wò*	*ábé ɲɛ́:-ŋgé=là*
3Sg	*ɲɛ́:-ná-ŋgé=wò*	*ɲɛ́:-ná-ŋgé=là*
3Pl	*ŋké ɲɛ́:-ŋgé=wò*	*ŋké ɲɛ́:-ŋgé=là*
NP	NP *ɲɛ́:-ŋgè=wò*	NP *ɲɛ́:-ŋgé=là*

Examples are in (xx3). If the theme is overtly expressed as a plural NP, the unmarked "singular" forms in (xx1) are often used, as in (xx3b).

(xx3)　a.　*[ín(í)　dèm]　/　[íní　ŋkè]　　[ǹ　　ɲɛ́]=wò*
　　　　　　[Prox　house] /　Prox　dog]　[1SgP　thing]=it.is
　　　　　　'This house/dog belongs to me (is mine).'

　　　　b.　*[è　　óyⁿ-gè]　　　[sèydù　ɲɛ́]=wò*
　　　　　　[Def　waterjar-Pl]　[Seydou　thing]=it.is
　　　　　　'The waterjars belong to Seydou.' (*sěydù*)

12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

nám 'more (than)' figures prominently in this chapter. It follows a NP or pronoun, and behaves like a possessed noun. For the nonsingular pronouns, the independent form (e.g. 1Pl *mbé* instead of proclitic *ŋ̀*) is usual. The 1Sg and 2Sg pronouns, usually H-toned, are L-toned but remain distinct in this way from the 1Pl and 2Pl forms. The paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1) 1Sg   *ŋ̀ năm*
        1Pl   *mbé nám*

        2Sg   *à năm*
        2Pl   *ábé nám*

        3Sg   *năm-nà ŋ̀*
        3Pl   *ŋké nám*

        NP   *X nâm*

In sentence contexts, tones are difficult. Variant *năm* is sometimes flattened to *nàm*, but the conditions are difficult to determine.

12.1.1 Predicative adjective with *nám* 'more' and comparandum

In this construction, *nám* is the key comparative word ('more'). Syntactically, *nám* is treated as a possessed noun, with the comparandum as possessor. It has rising tone after 1Sg/2Sg possessor (xx1c). The adjective is clause-final and is conjugated for pronominal subject. Examples are in (xx1). 2Sg *á* and 2Pl *à* are phonetically lengthened after *nám* (xx1b).

(xx1)   a.   *[sèydù   nám]=ŋ́ / nám]=á:*   *gòlò*
           [Seydou   more]=1SgS / more]=2SgS   long
           'I am/you-Sg are taller than Seydou (is).'

      b.   *[sèydù   nám]=ŋ̀ / nám]=à:*   *gólò*

[Seydou^L　more]=1PlS / more]=2PlS　　　long
　　　　　　　'We/you-Pl are taller than Seydou (is).'

   c.   *sèydù*   *[á / ŋ́*   *nǎm]*   *gòlò-∅*
　　　　　Seydou [2SgP / 1SgP more]   long-3SgS
　　　　　'Seydou is taller than you-Sg (are) / than I (am).'

   d.   *sèydú*   *[mbé / à:màdù*   *nám]*   *gòlò-∅*
　　　　　Seydou [1PlP / Amadou^L   more]   long-3SgS
　　　　　'Seydou is taller than you-Sg / than us / than Amadou.'

   e.   *wè:-gé*   *[sèydù*   *nám]*   *gòlò-yà*
　　　　　child-Pl [Seydou^L   more]   long-3PlS
　　　　　'The children are taller than Seydou.'

   f.   *nàm-ná /*   *[ŋké*   *nám]*   *ŋ́*   *gòlò*
　　　　　more-3SgP / [3PlP more]   1SgS   long
　　　　　'I am taller than he-or-she (is)/than they (are).'

Past clitic =ye can be added. For example replacing *gòlò* by *gòlò = yè* in (xx1a) produces 'I was/You were taller than Seydou.'

12.1.2　Verbal predicate plus *nám* 'more'

In this construction, the asymmetry is again expressed by a "possessed" form of *nám*. The domain of comparison is expressed by a form of the VP ending in conjugated *-n nàgà* (3rd person) or *nàgà* (1st/2nd persons). These latter forms appear to be derived stative verbs, cf. *náj-jè* 'surpass'.

(xx1) a.   *sèydú* *[à*   *nǎm]* *[ɔ̀rɔ̀-ɲá:*   *ɲɔ̀:-ń*   *nàgà]*
　　　　　　　Seydou [2SgP more] [millet.cake eat.meal surpass.Stat]
　　　　　　　'Seydou eats more than you-PL (do).'

      b.   *[sèydù*   *nám]* *[ɔ̀rɔ̀-ɲâ:*   *ɲɔ̀:*   *á*   *nàgà]*
　　　　　　　[Seydou^L more] [millet.cake eat.meal 2SgS surpass.Stat]
　　　　　　　'You-Sg eat more than Seydou (does).'

The paradigm of *(-n) nàgà* is (xx2). The 1Sg and 3Sg forms are orthographically distinct but are homophonous.

(xx2) Paradigm of *(n)nàgà*

      category   'eat meal

1Sg	*ɲɔ̀: ŋ́ nàgà*
1Pl	*ɲɔ̀: ŋ̀ nágà*
2Sg	*ɲɔ̀: á nàgà*
2Pl	*ɲɔ̀: à nágà*
3Sg	*ɲɔ̀:-ń nàgà-∅*
3Pl	*ɲɔ̀:-ń nàgà-yà*

3Sg subject examples with longer verb stems: *kànù-ń nàgà-∅* 'he/she does more', *ùnú àndó-ń nàgà-∅* 'travels more', *tùmbùgó-ń nàgà-∅* 'pushes more'. Collectively these also show that the verb is in the **O/U-stem**, i.e. the O-stem (preserving lexical ATR value) for final-nonhigh-vowel verbs and the U-stem for final-high-vowel verbs (§3.3.6).

12.1.3 'Surpass' (*táŋgé*, *náj-jè*)

'X surpass (be/do more than) Y', especially denoting a transition that alters the relative position of the two arguments, can be expressed directly with the simple transitive verb *táŋgé* 'pass, go past; surpass, exceed'. The alternative is a construction with possessed object: *[X nâm] náj-jè*, with possessed noun *nâm* (see beginning of chapter) and a verb *náj-jè* that can be analysed as a mediopassive /nág-yè/ related to (stative) *(-ń) nàgà* (§12.xxx). In both the *táŋgé* and *náj-jè* constructions, a constituent specifying the basis for comparison (e.g. running speed) can be added.

(xx1) a. *dúgú   mí-ŋ   táŋgé-∅*
           running   1Sg-Acc   surpass.Perf-3SgS
           'He/She (has) surpassed me in running.'

       b. *dúgú   [ŋ́   nǎm]   náj-jè*
           running   [1Sg   more]   surpass
           'He/She (has) surpassed me in running.'

12.1.4 'Be better/bigger/more'

No distinct construction for 'X be better than Y' or 'X be bigger than Y' has been found. The same adjectival predicate type seen in §12.1.1 above is used, with 'good' and 'big' as the adjectives.

(xx1) a. *má:ŋgórò [lé:mbúrú nàm] pɔ́:lɔ́-∅*
mango [citrus more] good-3SgS
'Mangoes are better than lemons'

b. *móptí [pènà nám] bày^n-∅*
Mopti [Pinia^L more] big-3SgS
'Mopti is bigger than Pinia.'

For 'be more (numerous)', the construction in (xx2) was obtained.

(xx2) *nìgé [nà:mbàlà-gè nám] jwá: nàgà-∅*
elephant [lion-Pl more] many surpass.Stat-3SgS
'Elephants are more abundant than lions (are).'

12.1.5 'Best' (*nàgà*)

There is no special superlative construction. If no specific comparandum is mentioned, an asymmetrical comparative may be interpreted as a superlative, i.e. as being valid for any comparandum in the relevant universe.

(xx1) *ɔ̀nɔ́ yèbù nàgà-∅*
3Sg dance(n) surpass.Stat-3SgS
'He/She is the best dancer.'

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 'Equal; be as good as' (*pɛ́:-pɛ́:*)

pɛ́:-pɛ́: 'equal, at the same level' can be used by itself as a predicate. It can also take the 'it is' clitic.

(xx1) a. *[mì ní] [sè:dú nì] pɛ́:-pɛ́:*
[1Sg and] [Sydou and] equal
'Seydou and I are the same (equal, equivalent).'

b. *mbé pɛ́:-pɛ́:=yó*
1Pl equal=it.is
'We are equal.'

[X pâ^n] mílé 'reach the same level as X' can be used to express a transition resulting in equality.

234

12.3   'A fortiori' (*ságú*)

Clause-initial *ságú* 'a fortiori' (local French *à plus forte raison* or *ne parlons pas de*) is used in contexts like 'I can't even walk, never mind run'. It is the Penange variant of a regionally widespread form.

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

13.1.1 Basic syntax of focalization

The focalized constituent is typically followed by the 'it is' clitic *=yo* ~ *=ye* ~ *=(w)o* (§11.2.1), which in this function is labeled Foc[us] in interlinears (§13.1.1.2). The focalized constituent is not moved from the position it normally occupies as subject, object, or whatever (§13.1.1.3). If the focalized constituent is not the subject, a pronominal subject proclitic (or 3Sg enclitic) is required (§13.1.1.4).

13.1.1.1 Which constituents can and cannot be focalized?

The focalized constituent is usually a NP, either a nonpronominal NP, an independent pronoun, or a WH-interrogative. The focalized NP may be in subject (xx1a-c) or other (xx1d) function.

(xx1)   a.   *sèydú=yò   àndò   bò*
             Seydou=Foc   go   Impf
             'It's <u>Seydou</u> [focus] who will go.'

        b.   *ó=yó   ándò   bò*
             2Sg=Foc   go   Impf
             'It's <u>you</u> [focus] who will go.'

        c.   *à:-yè   ándò   bò*
             who?=Foc   go   Impf
             'Who will go?'

        d.   *àlàmùnɔ̀=yò   sɔ́gɔ́   ŋ́   bìyà*
             sheep=Foc   buy   1SgS   Impf
             'It's <u>a sheep</u> [focus] that I will buy.'

The focalized constituent may also be an adverbial phrase. Most likely to be overtly focalized are noun-like lexical adverbs like 'yesterday' (xx2a) or 'here' (xx2b). PPs that are contextually focal are not usually overtly marked by the

focus clitic, but such marking is optional (xx2c). Even when the focus clitic is absent in (xx2c), the form of the verb (including subject clitic) can mark the clause as focalized.

(xx2) a.   *yà:gù=yò*   *ŋké*   *égé*
             yesterday=Foc   3PlS   come.Perf
             'It was <u>yesterday</u> [focus] that they came.'

         b.   *nù^n=yò*   *ŋké*   *nó:yé*
             here=Foc   3PlS   sleep.Perf
             'It was <u>here</u> [focus] that they slept.'

         e.   *[[dèm*   *jáŋgà*   *ǹ](=yò)*   *ŋké*   *nó:yé*
             [[house   interior]   Loc](=Foc) 3PlS   sleep.Perf
             'It's <u>in the house</u> [focus] that they slept.'

However, spatiotemporal adverbials are often not treated as focal. Even 'where?' and 'when?' interrogatives do not usually trigger the changes in verb forms that object focalization requires. In practice, overt focalization is normally limited to subject and object NPs.

13.1.1.2 Focus clitic identical to 'it is' *=yo ~ =ye ~ =(w)o*

The 'it is' clitic in its various allomorphs is used in identificational predicates of the type 'it's me' or 'Seydou is a farmer' (§11.2.1). The same clitic marks a focalized constituent, more or less as in cleft sentences in English (*it was me who[m] you saw*). In this function it is labeled Foc[us] in interlinears.

    As clause-final 'it is' clitic, *=yo* or variant becomes H-toned after a {H}-toned or {L}-toned word. As focus clitic, it again appears with H-tone after a {H}-toned word. However, after a {L}-toned word, the tone-raising on the clitic fails to occur before a H-toned syllable, such as a H-toned pronominal subject clitic. The examples in (xx2) in the preceding section exemplify this, compare identificational *nù^n=yó* 'it's here' and *yà:gù=yó* 'it was yesterday'.

    The focus clitic is used after focalized subjects (xx1a,c) and nonsubjects such as objects (xx1b). It is used after nonpronominal NPs (xx1a), after pronouns (xx1b). The clitic, in the variant *=yè*, is regularly in focal function only in *à:=(y)è* 'who?' (xx1c), which is probably well along the road to fusion as an unsegmentable morpheme (§13.xxx). Other WH-interrogatives (e.g. 'what?', 'where?') generally do not take an overt focus clitic, which would be redundant since such words are intrinsically focal. (They do, however, take the 'it is' clitic in identificational predicates.)

(xx1) a. *[è wé:-gè]=yò mí=ⁿ málgé [èbà bà]*
[Def child-Pl]=Foc 1Sg-Acc see.Perf [market Loc]
'It was <u>the children</u> [focus] who saw me in the market.'

    b. *[è wé:-gè] mí=yó ŋké màlgé [ébá bà]*
[Def child-Pl] 1Sg=foc 3PlS see [market Loc]
'It was <u>me</u> [focus] that the children saw in the market.'

    c. *á:=yé [è móbêl] sògù-lè*
who?=Foc [Def vehicle] buy-RevPerf
'Who sold the vehicle?'

    d. *sèydú=yò gámbíyé ná*
Seydou=Foc encounter.Perf 3SgS
'It was Seydou [focus] that he/she encountered.'

Accusative *-ⁿ* is not allowed in combination with the focus clitic (xx1b,d).

    The forms of focalized pronouns are in (xx2). They are the same as the predicative 'it is' forms (611.2.1.1).

(xx2)   focalized   independent

	focalized	independent
1Sg	*mí=yó*	*mí*
1Pl	*mbé=yó*	*mbé*
2Sg	*ó=yó*	*ó*
2Pl	*ábé=yó*	*ábé*
3Sg	*ɔ̀nɔ̀=yó*	*ɔ̀nɔ̀*
3Pl	*ŋké=yó*	*ŋké*

13.1.1.3 No systematic movement of focalized constituent

There is no systematic linear repositioning of focalized constituents, either to clause-initial or to immediately preverbal position. Intrinsically focal 'who?' is therefore in the regular object position (following the subject) in (xx1a) but in the regular clause-initial subject position in (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *móbêl à:=yè dɔ̀njè nà*
vehicle who?=Foc bump.Perf 3SgS
'Who(m) did (the) vehicle bump?'
(or: 'The vehicle, who(m) did it bump?')

b. *á:=yé*   *[è   móbêl]*   *sógú-lé*
   who?=Foc   [Def   vehicle]   buy-Rev.Perf
   'Who sold the vehicle?'

c. *à:màdú=yò*   *[è   móbêl]*   *sógú-lé*
   Amadou=Foc   [Def   vehicle]   buy-Rev.Perf
   'It was <u>Amadou</u> [focus] who sold the vehicle.'

d. *á:=yé*   *ábé-ⁿ*   *búndé*
   who?=Foc   2Pl-Acc   hit.Perf.3SgS
   'Who hit you-Pl?'

13.1.1.4   Subject pronouns in nonsubject focalizations

In unfocalized main clauses, only 1st/2nd person pronominal subjects are expressed as proclitics. In nonsubject focalized clauses, the same 1st/2nd person proclitics are joined by the 3Pl proclitic *ŋké*. In additon, 3Sg subject is expressed by an enclitic *ná*, evidently the same morpheme as 3Sg possessor suffix *-nà* on nouns (§6.2.1.2). The 3Sg and 3Pl clitics are used even when the subject is also expressed by a nonpronominal NP (xx1fg).

(xx1)   a.   *njɛ́*   *ɲ́ / á*   *sɔ̀gè*
             what?   1SgS / 2SgS   buy.Perf
             'What did I/you-Sg buy?'

        b.   *njɛ́ / njɛ́:=yè*   *ǹ / à / ŋké*   *sɔ́gé*
             what?   1PlS / 2PlS   buy.Perf
             'What did we/you-Pl buy?'

        c.   *njɛ́ / njɛ́:=yè*   *sɔ́gé*   *ná*
             what? / what?=Foc   buy.Perf   3SgS
             'What did he/she buy?'

        d.   *àlàmùnɔ̀=yó*   *ɲ́*   *sɔ̀gè*
             sheep=Foc   1SgS   buy.Perf
             'It's <u>a sheep</u> [focus] that I bought.'

        e.   *àlàmùnɔ̀=yò*   *sɔ́gé*   *ná*
             sheep=Foc   buy.Perf   3SgS
             'It's <u>a sheep</u> [focus] that he/she bought.'

        f.   *sěydù*   *àlàmùnɔ̀=yò*   *sɔ́gé*   *ná*
             Seydou   sheep=Foc   buy.Perf   3SgS

240

'It's <u>a sheep</u> [focus] that Seydou bought.'

g. *wὲː-gé*   *àlàmùnɔ̀=yò*   *ŋké*   *sɔ́gé*
    child-Pl   sheep=Foc   3PlS   buy.Perf
    'It's <u>a sheep</u> [focus] that the children bought.'

Since the 1st/2nd person subject proclitics are the same as those in unfocalized main clauses, the focus clitic on the focalized NP, or the presence of a WH-interrogative, may be the only overt sign of focalization.

The same array of proclitics and 3Sg enclitic are used in relative clauses (§14.xxx).

13.1.1.5 Form of defocalized verb

The forms of the defocalized verb for subject focalization are illustrated with the verb 'push' in (xx1). The verb has invariant form for each aspect-negation category under subject focalization. The perfective subject-focus form is identical to the 3Sg main-clause form except that it is {H}-toned throughout, even for a prosodically heavy stem like 'push'. The identity with the main-clause 3Sg form is complete in the imperfective. In the corresponding negative categories, a participial ending *-gà* appears in the subject-focus forms, following the aspect-negation suffix. The verb is raised to {H}-tone. Perfective negative *-lì* is included in the domain of {H}, though this is usually disguised by syncope/apocope of the short high vowel. Imperfective negative *-ndí* is not included in the domain of {H} and appears with L-tone before *-gà*.

(xx1) Subject-focus forms of 'push'

main clause 3Sg	subject focus	category
túmbúgè-∅	*túmbúgé*	perfective
túmbúgò bò-∅	*túmbúgò bò*	imperfective
tùmbùgè-l(ì)-∅	*túmbúgé-l(í)-gà*	perfective negative
tùmbùgòː-ndí-∅	*túmbúgóː-ndì-gà*	imperfective negative

For nonsubject focus, the tone melody of the verb depends on the pronominal category. In (xx2-4), the forms are grouped differently in the respective aspect-negation categories to put similar forms (morphological and/or tonal) together. Beginning with (xx2), we see that the perfective, positive as well as negative, has a {H}-toned stem in the nonsubject focus paradigm for 1Pl, 2Pl, 3Sg, and 3Pl, versus {L}-toned stem for 1Sg and 2Sg (i.e. after H-toned proclitic). The

form for the perfective is simply the E/I-stem with this tonal change (xx2a). For the perfective negative (xx2b), there is an additional participial suffix *-yà* (raised to *-yá* before L-toned 3Sg enclitic *nà*).

(xx2)   Nonsubject-focus forms of 'push' (perfective)

	main-clause	nonsubject focus	category
a. perfective			
{L}-toned for nonsubject focus			
	ŋ́ tùmbúgè	*ŋ́ tùmbùgè*	1Sg
	á tùmbúgè	*á tùmbùgè*	2Sg
{H}-toned for nonsubject focus			
	ŋ̀ túmbúgè	*ŋ̀ túmbúgé*	1Pl
	à túmbúgè	*à túmbúgé*	2Pl
	túmbúgè-∅	*túmbúgé ná*	3Sg
	túmbúg-yè	*ŋké túmbúgé*	3Pl
b. perfective negative			
{L}-toned for nonsubject focus			
	ŋ́ tùmbùgè-l(ì)	*ŋ́ tùmbùgè-lì-yà*	1Sg
	á tùmbùgè-l(ì)	*á tùmbùgè-lì-yà*	2Sg
{H}-toned for nonsubject focus			
	ŋ̀ túmbúgé-l(í)	*ŋ̀ túmbúgé-lí-yà*	1Pl
	à úmbúgé-l(í)	*à túmbúgé-lí-yà*	2Pl
	tùmbùgè-l(ì)-∅	*túmbúgé-lí-yá nà*	3Sg
	túmbúgá-ndá	*ŋké túmbúgé-lí-yà*	3Pl

For imperfective nonsubject focus (xx3a), the usual auxiliary *bò* ~ *wò* (3Pl *b-yà*) is dropped in the 2nd person and 3Sg forms. Elsewhere it takes the form *bí-yà* after L-toned proclitic (1Pl) and *b(ì)-yà* after H-toned proclitic (1Sg, 3Pl). 2Pl is distinguished from 2Sg mainly by adding a suffix *-yà* whose relationship to the ending in *bí-yà* is unclear (one might also compare plural-addressee suffix *-ỳ^n* in imperatives). In the imperfective negative (xx3b), we see the same participial suffix *-yà* as in the perfective negative. The singular-subject forms preserve the suffixal allomorphy of the main-clause counterparts, but the plural-subject forms end in *wòlí-yà*, which is based on *wǒl* 'not be'.

(xx3)   Nonsubject-focus forms of 'push' (imperfective)

	main-clause	nonsubject focus	category
a. imperfective			
with aux for nonsubject focus			

túmbúgó ŋ́ bò	*túmbúgó ŋ́ b(ì)-yà*	1Sg
túmbúgó ŋ̀ bó	*túmbúgò ŋ̀ bí-yà*	1Pl
túmbúgò b-yà	*túmbúgó ŋké b(ì)-yà*	3Pl

without aux for nonsubject focus

túmbúgá-á wò	*túmbúgà-à*	2Sg
túmbúgá-à wó	*túmbúgà-à-yà*	2Pl
túmbúgò bò-∅	*túmbúgó nà*	3Sg

b. imperfective negative

1Sg/2Sg

tùmbùgó-ò-l	*túmbúgó-ó-lí-yà*	1Sg
tùmbùgá-à-l	*túmbúgá-á-lí-yà*	2Sg

3Sg

tùmbùgò:-ndí-∅	*túmbúgó:-ndí-yá nà*	3Sg

plurals

tùmbùgò-ò-lí	*túmbúgó ŋ̀ wòlí-yà*	1Pl
tùmbùgà-à-lí	*túmbúgá-à wòlí-yà*	2Pl
tùmbùgò:-nd(ì)-yá	*túmbúgó ŋké wòlí-yà*	3Pl

In main clauses, progressive is distinguishable from imperfective. In nonsubject focus clauses, my assistant indicated that the imperfective forms given above can also be used in progressive sense. An explicitly progressive nonsubject-focus clause can be constructed from the alternative progressive with *túlà* (§10.2.2.4), which becomes *túl-yà* (3Pl, 1Pl, 2Pl), *tùl-yà* (1Sg, 2Sg), or *túl-yá* in 3Sg *túl-yá ná* (xx4a). A subject-focus example is (xx4b), showing the invariant form *túlá*.

(xx4)   a.   *njɛ́*   *tùmbùgò-ǹ*   *túl-yá*   *ná*
            what?   push-xxx   Prog-Ppl   3SgS
            'What is he/she pushing?'

       b.   *á:=yé*   *tùmbùgò-n*   *túlá*
            who?=Foc push-xxx   Prog
            'Who is pushing?'

Subject-focus forms of statives are {H}-toned, like those of perfective verbs. This applies to derived statives ('be squatting') and to the various lexicalized stative (quasi-)verbs (xx5). The extra *bò-* in 3rd person forms of some positive statives ('know', 'want', 'resemble') is dropped, as is the preposed reduplication in derived statives. Participial *-gà* is added to the negative forms.

(xx5)   Subject-focus forms of statives

       main clause 3Sg   subject focus   gloss

a. positive

sò sómbà-∅	*sómbá*	'be squatting' (§10.4.1.1)
sâ-∅	*sá:ⁿ*	'have'
bô-∅	*bó*	'be'
έɲɔ̀ bò-∅	*έyⁿ*	'know'
kéɲù bò-∅	*kéyⁿ*	'want'
(m)pímà: bò-∅	*mpímá*	'resemble'

b. negative

sómbá-ndá-∅	*sómbá-ndá-gà*	'not be squatting'
sá:-ndá-∅	*sá:ndá-gà*	'have'
wŏl-∅	*wól-gà*	'not be'
índó-∅	*índó-gà*	'not know'
kéy-là-∅	*kéy-lá-gà*	'not want'
(m)pímá-ndá-∅	*mpímá-ndá-gà*	'not resemble'

Nonsubject-focus forms of statives are summarized in (xx6). X marks the position of the subject proclitic or 3Sg enclitic. For 'know' and 'not know', the initial *ɲ* occurs after 1st/2nd person proclitics. In the 3Sg negative forms, the L-toned *-yà* shown is raised to *-yá* before L-toned 3Sg *nà* (e.g. *wól-yá nà*).

(xx6) Nonsubject focus (positive statives)

1Sg/2Sg	1Pl/2Pl/3Pl	3Sg	gloss

a. positive

X sòmb-yà	*X sómb-yà*	*sómb-yá X*	'be squatting'
X bì:-yà	*X bí:-yà*	*bí:-yá X*	'be (somewhere)'
X sì:ⁿ-yà	*X sí:ⁿ-yà*	*sí:ⁿ-yá X*	'have'
(also contracted *s-yàⁿ* etc.)			
X ɲ-èɲà	*X (ɲ-)éɲà*	*éɲá X*	'know'
X kèɲà	*X kéɲà*	*kéɲá X*	'want'
X pìm-yà	*X pím-yà*	*mpím-yá X*	'resemble'

b. negative

X sòmbá-nd-yà	*X sómbá-nd-yà*	*sómbá-ndí-yà X*	'not be squatting
X wòl-yà	*X wól-yà*	*wól-yà X*	'not be'
X sà:-ndí-yà	*X sá:-nd-yà*	*sá:-nd-yà X*	'not have'
X ɲìndí-yà	*X (ɲ)índ-yà*	*índ-yà X*	'not know'
X kèlí-yà	*X kél-yà*	*kél-yà X*	'not want'
X pìmà-ndí-yà	*X pímá-nd-yà*	*pímá-nd-yà X*	'not resemble'

The past clitic *=ye* (§10.6.1) is replaced in focalized clauses by *mbὲ*. My assistant did not distinguish between past imperfective and past progressive in focalized clauses. (xx7ab) are subject relatives, (xx7c) is a nonsubject relative.

(xx7) a. *à:*   *yέbɔ̀*   *bò*   *mbὲ*
            who?   dance   Impf   Past
            'Who [focus] was dancing?'

       b. *à:*   *yέbɔ̀:-ndì-gá*   *mbὲ*
            who?   dance-PerfNeg-Ppl   Past
            'Who [focus] was not dancing?'

       c. *nù^n=yò*   *yέbɔ̀*   *nà*   *mbὲ*
            here=Foc   dance.Impf   3SgS   Past
            'It's here [focus] that he/she was dancing'

13.1.1.6   Existential *ὲ^n* absent

Existential particle *ὲ^n* is not allowed in clauses with a focalized nonpredicative constituent. In 'X have Y' possessive predicates, *ὲ^n* is obligatory in unfocalized main clauses (xx1a), but it is absent in the presence of a focalized constituent such as a WH-interrogative (xx1bc).

(xx1) a. *dèm*   *ὲ^n*   *á*   *sâ:^{n}*
            house   Exist   2SgS   have.Q
            'Do you-Sg have a house?' (*<ὲ^n ŋ̀ sâ:^{n}*)

       b. *njá=á*   *sì:^{n}-yà*
            what?=2SgS   have-Ppl
            'What do you-Sg have?'

       c. *á:=yέ*   *nà:*   *sá:^{n}*
            who?=Foc   cow   have
            'Who has a cow?'

13.1.2   Subject focalization

Drawing together points made earlie, in subject focalization a) the subject (including independent pronouns) occurs in the regular clause-initial subject position and (except for several WH words) has the focus clitic; b) there is no additional overt pronominal-subject marking (proclitics, 3Pl suffix) in the verb;

c) the verb is segmentally identical to the main-clause 3Sg form in the positive (perfective/imperfective) but is raised to {H}-tone in the perfective positive; d) a negative verb adds participial *-gà*.

Further examples are in (xx1), and in the subsections of §13.2.2 on the various WH-interrogative words.

(xx1) a. *ó=yó / sèydú=yò / wè:-gè=yò   mì-ŋ   málgé*
           2Sg=Foc / S=Foc / child-Pl=Foc   1Sg-Acc   see.Perf
           'It was you-Sg / Seydou / the children [focus] who saw me.'

       b. *[è   wé:-gè]=yò   wálé   mì-ŋ   tábé*
           [Def   child-Pl]=Foc   money   1Sg-Acc   give.Perf
           'It was the children [focus] who gave me money.'

       c. *ábé=yó   káyⁿ   kán-lí-gà*
           2Pl=Foc   work(n)   do-PerfNeg-Ppl
           'It's you-Pl [focus] who didn't work.'

       d. *á:mádú=yò   gé:nyɔ́:-ndì-gà*
           Amadou=Foc   sweep-ImpfNeg-Ppl
           'It's Amadou [focus] who doesn't sweep.'

13.1.3 Object focalization

To summarize points made earlier: in object focalizations, a) the focalized NP occurs in the usual post-subject position in the clause and (except for several WH words) has the focus clitic; b) overt accusative marking is absent; c) pronominal-subject category is marked on the verb (proclitics including 3Pl, or 3Sg enclitic *nâ*); d) perfective verbs are {L}-toned for 1Sg/2Sg, {H}-toned for other pronominal subjects; e) imperfective verbs drop bò for 2nd person and 3Sg, and replace it by *bí-yà ~ b(ì)-yà* for 1st person and 3Pl; f) negative verbs (perfective and imperfective) add participial suffix *-yà* after the aspect-negation suffix.

Further examples are in (xx1), and in the subsections on WH-interrogative words in §13.2.2.

(xx1) a. *mí=yó   á màlgè   / à málgé*
           1Sg=Foc   2SgS see.Perf / 2PlS see.Perf
           'It was me that you-Sg / you-Pl saw.

       b. *mí=yó   málgé ná   / ŋké málgé*
           1Sg=Foc   see.Perf 3SgS   / 3PlS see.Perf

'It was <u>me</u> that he-or-she/they saw.

    c.   *sěydù*   *mí = yó*   *málgé*   *ná*
            Seydou   1Sg=Foc   see.Perf   3SgS
            'It was <u>me</u> that Seydou saw.

    d.   *sěydù*   *mí = yó*   *málgé-lí-yá*   *ná*
            Seydou   1Sg=Foc   see-PerfNeg-Ppl   3SgS
            'It was <u>me</u> that Seydou did not see.

13.1.4   Focalization of PP or other adverb

A PP like 'in the fields' (xx1) can be focalized. The unfocalized (xx1a) is converted into the adverbial-focus construction (xx1b) by adding the focus clitic to the initial PP and by slightly changing the tone of the verb from LH.L to L.L.

(xx1)   a.   *[yàlà*   *bá]*   *[è*   *wógótórò]*   *ŋ́*   *dě:ndè*
            [field   Loc]   [Def   cart]   1SgS leave.Perf
            'I left the cart in the field(s).'

    b.   *[yàlà*   *bà] = yó*   *[è*   *wógótórò]*   *ŋ́*   *dè:ndè*
            [field   Loc]=Foc [Def   cart]   1SgS leave.Perf
            'It's <u>in the field(s)</u> [focus] that I left the cart.'

13.2   Interrogatives

For quoted interrogatives with *-lè*, see §xxx.

13.2.1   Polar (yes/no) interrogatives (final pitch rise)

Polar interrogation can be expressed intonationally by prolonging the final syllable with rising pitch. In (xx1a), the predicate that is elsewhere *wòl-yé* is heard as [wòljèé]. In (xx1b), *bó-yè-∅* is modified to [bójèé]. The rising pitch, suggested by a final ꜛ diacritic after the prolongation symbol →, masks the phonological H- or L-tone on the final syllable. However, I transcribe the regular (noninterrogative) phonological tone to clarify the structure. In (xx1c), the verb is already {H}-toned, but the speaker lowers the pitch except for the coda of the prolonged final syllable.

(xx1)   a.   *á*   *wòl = yé→ꜛ*

2SgS　　　　　　　　not.be=Past.Q
　　　　'Weren't you-Sg present?'

b.　*nùwⁿ*　　　　*bó＝yè-∅→ꜛ*
　　here　　　　　be=Past-3SgS.Q
　　'Was he/she here?

c.　*égé-∅→ꜛ*
　　come.Perf-3SgS.Q
　　'Did he/she come?

13.2.2 'So-and-so' (*fìlá:nà*)

'So-and-so', i.e. a pro-form replacing specific personal names, is *ntá nì fìlá:nà*, or just *fìlá:nà*. This is ultimately from Arabic *fulaan-*.

13.2.3 'Who?' (*à:*)

à: 'who?' is exemplified in (xx1). It is normally marked by the focus clitic, in the form *à:＝(y)é*, whose segmentability is now synchronically questionable. The simple form *à:* occurs in possessor function (xx1f).

(xx1)　a.　*à:＝(y)é*
　　　　who?=Foc
　　　　'Who is it?'

b.　*à:＝(y)è*　　　*égé-∅*
　　who?=Foc　　come.Perf-3SgS
　　'Who came?'

c.　*à:＝(y)è*　　*ándò*　*bò-∅*
　　who?=Foc　go　　Impf.3SgS
　　'Who will go?'

d.　*à:＝(y)è*　　*búndé*　　　*ná*
　　who?　　　hit.Perf　　3SgS
　　'Who(m) did he/she hit?'

e.　*à:＝(y)è＝à*　　　　　*búndé*
　　who?=Foc=2PlS　　hit.Perf
　　'Who(m) did you-Pl hit?'

248

f. *[à: dém]=yè*
[who?   house]=it.is
'Whose house is it?'

There is an optional, explicitly plural form *à:-yà=(y)è*, though if number is indefinite the singular is used.

13.2.4 'What?' (*njɛ́*), 'with what?', 'why?'

'What?' is *njɛ́* in isolation or before a verb phrase. It is lengthened to *njɛ́:* before plural *-gè* or the 'it is' clitic allomorph *=yè*, and to *njɛ̂:* before a postposition. This clitic is regular for identificational predication (xx1e) but it is usually omitted as focus marker.

(xx1) a. *njá   á   kɛ̀ɲà*
        what?   2SgS   want
        'What do you-Sg want?'

      b. *njɛ́   dínɛ́   ná*
          what?   get.Perf   3SgS
          'What did he/she get?'

      c. *njá=á   sɔ̀gè*
          what?=2SgS   buy.Perf
          'What did you-Sg buy?'

      d. *njɛ́   ò-ⁿ   tíyò   bò-∅*
          what?   2Sg-Acc   hurt   Impf-3SgS
          'What (e.g. which body part) hurts you-Sg?'

      e. *ínì   njɛ́:=(y)è*
          Dem   what?=it.is
          'What is this/that?'

An optional explicit plural is *njɛ́:-gè*. 'With what?' is *njɛ̂: nì*. 'Why?' ('for what?') is *njɛ́ námù ~ njɛ́ nâm:*.

13.2.5 'Where?' (*mbá*)

'Where?' is *mbá*. Like all locational expressions, it can occur without change in static locative, allative, and ablative contexts, with direction (if any) specified

by verbs. In 'where are you going?' the preferred verb is *tégé* 'head for' rather than *ándè* 'go' in progressive contexts (xx1b). The verb may be defocalized (xx1b) but often it is not (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *mbá   bó-∅*
            where?   be-3SgS
            'Where [focus] is he/she-Sg?'

       b. *mbá   á   tègà*
            where?   2SgS   head.for.Impf
            'Where are you-Sg going?'

       c. *mbá   à   gwê:*
            where?   2PlS   go.out.Perf
            'Where are you-Pl from?'

       d. *mbá=yé*
            where?=it.is
            'It's where?'

13.2.6 'When?' (*wèn wàgâr*)

'When?' is *wèn wàgâr*, which includes *wàgàr* 'time, moment'. Often the verb is not defocalized (xx1a).

(xx1) a. *[wèn   wàgâr]   ègá-á   wò*
            [which?   moment]   come-2SgS   Impf
            'When are you-Sg coming?'

       b. *wèn   wàgâr*
            which?   time
            'When is it?'

13.2.7 'How?' (*wènè*)

Manner adverbial interrogative 'how?' is *wènè*. Often the verb is not defocalized (xx1a).

(xx1) a. *wènè   dígá-á   wò*
            how?   go.up-2SgS Impf
            'How will you-Sg go up?'

b. *wènè = yé*
how?-it.is
'How is it?'

13.2.8 'How much/many?' (*àŋgà*)

The usual sense of *àŋgà* is 'how many?' with countable nouns. *àŋgà* follows the noun, after plural *-gè*, and the construction can be treated tonally as a possessive, in which case the form ends up as {HL}-toned *áŋgà* after {L}-toned noun (xx1a). In distributive sense, *àŋgà* is optionally iterated (xx1c), see §4.7.1.6. The ordinal is *à:ŋgù-lò* (xx1d), cf. §4.7.2.1.

(xx1) a. *[ùnà-gè   áŋgà]*   *sógú-lé   ná*
       [goat-Pl^L   ^HLhow.many?]   buy-Rev.Perf   3SgS
       'How many goats [focus] did you-Sg sell?' (< *úná-gé*)

       b. *[wè:-gè   áŋgà]   á   màlgè*
       [child-Pl^L   ^HLhow.many?] 2SgS   see.Perf
       'How many children [focus] did you-Sg see?' (*wè:-gé*)

       c. *àŋgà / àŋgà-áŋgà   sógú-lá-á   wò*
       how.many?   buy-Rev-2SgS   Impf
       'For how much (each) do you-Sg sell (them)?'

       d. *dèm   à:ŋgù-lò*
       house^L   how.many?-Ord
       'how-many-eth house?' (reply: first, second, third, etc.)

       e. *[[dùgù-gè   áŋgà]   jáŋgà]   wwé: ná*
       [[village-Pl^L   ^HLhow.many]   inside]   rain.fall.Perf 3SgS
       'In how many villages [focus] did it rain?'

13.2.9 'Which?' (*wèn*)

wèn 'which?' precedes the noun. The construction is treated tonally as possessive, with {HL} overlay on the noun.

(xx1) a. *[wèn   álámúnɔ̀]   sógà-à*
       [which?   ^HLsheep]   buy.Impf-2SgS
       'Which sheep-Sg [focus] will you-Sg buy?'

       b. *[[[wèn   dém]   jáŋgà]   ǹ]   nǒ:yà-à   wò*

[[[which? ^{HL}house] inside] in]   lie.down-2SgS   Impf
'In which house will you-Pl sleep?'

c.   *[[wèn   ná:-ŋgè]   sógú-là-à*
    [which?   ^{HL}cow-Pl]   buy-Rev.Impf-2SgS
    '<u>Which cows</u> [focus] will you-Sg sell?'

252

14 Relativization

14.1 Basics of relative clauses

The following is a brief summary of the major features of relative clauses.

- There is an internal head NP inside the relative clauses;
- This internal head NP is maximally Poss/Det-N-Adj-Num;
- The internal head NP does not undergo tonosyntactic modification, i.e. tone-dropping;
- There is a default head *è* 'that which' denoting a thing, when no more specific head NP is present;
- The universal quantifier *sèlè* 'all' with scope over the head NP follows the verbal participle;
- The verbal participle is marked for an indicative category (aspect, negation, past time, stative), more or less as in main clauses, but with some morphological (suffixal) and/or tonal changes;
- The verbal participle has participial suffixes (or enclitics) in some inflectional categories (especially negative inflections and statives);
- Plural suffix *-gè* quantifying over the head NP is variably expressed on the internal head NP and/or on the verbal participle;
- Subject relatives have no overt pronominal-subject inflection on the verb;
- Nonsubject relatives have regular 1st/2nd person subject proclitics, but 3Sg subject enclitic *nà* and in some inflectional categories 3Pl subject proclitic *ŋké*.

14.2 Head NP

14.2.1 Medial position in relative clause

The head NP is internal to the relative clause. This is shown by an object relative that also has a nonpronominal subject like 'Seydou', such as (xx1).

(xx1) *sĕydù* *[è   ná:]* *sògù-lè*   *nà*
        Seydou [Def cow] buy-Rev.Perf1 3SgS
        'the cow that Seydou sold'

Even subject relatives allow pre-subject spatiotemporal setting adverbs like *yà:gù* 'yesterday' to precede the subject head NP.

(xx2)   *yà:gú*   *[è*   *ntá]*   *ègè-gè*
           yesterday   [Def   person]   come.Perf-Pl
           'the people who came yesterday'

In (xx1-2) above the head NP happens to be immediately preverbal, but this is accidental. (xx3) shows a subject head NP separated from the verb by a non-head object NP.

(xx3)   *[è*   *ntá]*   *àlàmùnɔ̀*   *sògù-lè*
           [Def   person]   sheep   buy-Rev.Perf
           'the person who sold (the) sheep'

14.2.2   Form of internal head NP (Poss-N-Adj-Num)

In (xx1), the components of the internal head are bolded in the interlinear. The internal head NP is maximally Poss/Det-N-Adj-Num. The prenominal as well as postnominal elements in this sequence must be adjacent; in particular, a possessor or determiner is part of the internal NP head and cannot be separated from the noun by e.g. an adverb. Among NP components, only the 'all' quantifier regularly follows the verb rather than being part of the internal head (xx1g).

(xx1)   a.   *yà:gú*   *è*   *dém*   *tìbè̀(-gé)*
                yesterday   **Def**   **house**   fall.Perf(-Pl)
                'the house(s) that fell (collapsed) yesterday'

        b.   *è*   *dém*   *bàyⁿ*   *tìbè̀(-gé)*
                Def   **house**   **big**   fall.Perf(-Pl)
                'the big house(s) that fell'

        c.   *è*   *dém-gè*   *nègà*   *tìbè̀*
                Def   **house-Pl**   **two**   fall.Perf
                'the two houses that fell'

        d.   *è*   *dém*   *bàyⁿ-ŋgè*   *nègà*   *tìbè̀*
                Def   **house**   **big-Pl**   **two**   fall.Perf
                'the two big houses that collapsed'

254

e. *è   dém   bàyⁿ   yɔ̀rdɛ̀-gè   nègà   tìbɛ̀-gè*
    Def   house big   black-Pl   two   fall.Perf
    'the two big black houses that collapsed'

f. *sèydù   [dém   báyⁿ-ŋgé   négá   tíbɛ́-gè]*
    Seydou[L] [HL] **[house   big-Pl   two   fall.Perf-Pl]**
    'Seydou's two big houses that collapsed'

g. *è   dém   tìbɛ̀-gé   sèlè*
    Def   house   fall.Perf-Pl   all
    'all the houses that fell'

Aside from the position of 'all', the only difference in form between relative
head NPs and main-clause NPs is that plural *-gè* is often added to the verb
rather than to the internal head NP. However, under some conditions plural *-gè*
can appear within the internal head, instead of or as well as on the verb. See
§14.4.1 below.

14.2.3   Restrictions on the head of a relative clause

There are no important restrictions on what can be the head NP. It can be a
pronoun (xx1ab), a personal name (xx1c), or a demonstrative (xx1d).

(xx1)   a. *mbé   nùwⁿ   bò-gè*
            1PlS   here   be-Pl
            'we who are here'

        b. *ó / ɔ̀nɔ́ / mí   nùwⁿ   bò*
            2SgS / 3SgS / 1SgS   here   be
            'you-Sg who are here / he-or-she who is here / I who am here'

        c. *sĕydú   nùwⁿ   bò*
            Seydou   here   be
            'Seydou who is here'

        d. *ínì=á   màl-yà*
            Dem=2SgS see.Stat-Ppl
            'this which you-Sg see'

14.2.4 Default nonhuman head *è* 'that which'

è 'that which' is a default nonhuman head when no more precise head NP is indicated. Free translations can use 'what', as in 'what you don't know won't hurt you.' Subject-relative examples are in (xx1).

(xx1) *ɛ́* *ègè* 'what came'
  è *ègĕ-l-gà* 'what didn't come'
  è *ègò bó* 'what will come'
  è *ègò:-ndí-gà* 'what will not come'

14.2.5 Conjoined NP as head

There is no syntactic objection to a conjoined NP as the head of a relative. The main clause in (xx1a) is easily converted into the subject relative in (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[yɔ̀:-gè   nì] [wálá-gé ní] jáyⁿ-yⁿì*
  [woman-Pl and] [man-Pl   and] fight.Perf-3PlS
  'women and men fought (with each other)'

  b. *[è   yɔ́:-gè   nì] [è   wálá-gé ní] bòwⁿ   jáyⁿ-gé*
  [Def woman-Pl and] [Def man-Pl and] together fight.Perf-Pl
  'the women and men who fought'

14.2.6 Headless relative clause

Based on present data, completely headless relatives do not appear to be regular in Penange. Headless adverbial relatives, where e.g. 'time', 'place', or 'manner' is omitted, are nonsubject relatives, whose verb-participles are not always distinct in form from main-clause verbs. Even in relatives with overt participial marking (mostly negative relatives), my assistant rejected headless adverbial relatives.

In relatives like 'what I like' and 'one who doesn't work', the head is overt in all examples in my data: *è* (nonhuman) or *ntá* 'person'.

14.2.7 Head noun not doubled after relative clause

Doubling (echoing) of the internal head noun following the verb has not been observed.

14.3 Preverbal subject pronoun in nonsubject relative

If a nonsubject relative, such as an object relative, has a pronominal subject, it is expressed as a proclitic on the verb for 1st/2nd persons and for 3Pl, and as an enclitic to the verb for 3Sg.

(xx1) a. *è   ná: á / ŋ́ / ŋké   sògù-lè*
           Def   cow   2SgS / 1SgS / 3PlS   sell.Perf
           'the cow that you-Sg / I / they sold'

       b. *è   ná: à / ǹ̀   sógú-lé*
           Def   cow   2PlS / 1PlS   sell.Perf
           'the cow that you-Pl / we sold'

       c. *è   ná: sògù-lè   nà*
           Def   cow   sell.Perf   3SgS
           'the cow that he or she sold'

14.4 Verbal participle in relative clause

Verbs in relative clauses function as nouns, and can therefore take plural suffix *-gè* (§14.4.1 below). These verbs can therefore reasonably be called participles. Some but not all relative-clause verbs take suffixes (preceding plural *-gè* if the latter is present) that I take to be participial suffixes. The main participial suffixes are *-gà*, *-yà*, and *-bè*. A brief summary of their contexts is in (xx1), distinguishing subject from nonsubject relatives. Nonsubject relatives also include pronominal-subject conjugation. Details are given in sections below.

(xx1) *-gà*   subject relatives (strictly negative):
                 perfective negative *-l-gà* (§14.4.5)
                 experiential perfect negative: *-té:-ndí-gà* (§14.4.5)
                 imperfective negative *-ndí-gà* (§14.4.6)
                 progressive negative *wǒl-gà* (§14.4.6)
                 stative negative *-ndá-gà* (§14.4.7)

       -yà   nonsubject relatives (negative, also some positive):
                 positive:
                     experiential perfect *-téy-yà* (§14.4.2)
                     positive imperfective *b-yà* (1Sg, 1Pl, 3Pl) (§14.4.3)
                     positive imperfective *-yà* (2Sg, 2Pl) (§14.4.3)

stative *-yà* (§14.4.4)
    negative:
        perfective negative *-lí-yà* (§14.4.5)
        stative negative *-nd-yá* (§14.4.7)

-bè   subject and nonsubject relatives:
        past (replacing *=ye*) (§14.4.8)

(none) subject relatives:
        perfective positive, stem {H}-toned (§14.4.2)
        experiential perfect *-tè* (§11.4.2)
    nonsubject relatives:
        perfective positive (§14.4.2)

14.4.1   Position of plural *-gè*

The best evidence for participial status of the relative-clause verb is when plural *-gè* is added to the verb rather than to the internal head NP. However, in some contexts *-gè* is in indeed added to the internal head, and in this case it may or may not be doubled on the verb. So the overall evidence is mixed as to whether the verb is syntactically participial (noun- and adjective-like).

    Consider the data in (xx1). (xx1) is a main clause with plural subject. (xx1b) is the corresponding subject relative. The only sign that 'dog(s)' is plural is the plural suffix *-gè* on the verb, which therefore functions as a participle. However, in nonsuject relatives like the object relative in (xx1c), the internal head is often directly pluralized, with only optional doubling of *-gè* on the verb.

(xx1) a. *[è   ŋkɛ́-gè]   yɔ̀:-gè   núŋg-yɛ̀*
         [Def   dog-Pl]   woman-Pl   bite.Perf-3PlS
         'The dogs bit the women.'

    b. *[è   ŋkɛ́]   mì-ŋ   núŋgɛ́-gé*
         [Def   dog]   1Sg-Acc   bite.Perf.Ppl-Pl
         'the dogs that bit me'

    c. *[è   ŋkɛ̂:]   [è   yɔ́:]   nùŋgè   ná-gè*
         [Def   dog   [Def   woman-Pl]   bite.Perf   3SgS-Pl
         'the women who(m) the dog bit'

    d. *[è   ŋkɛ́-gè   tá:ndì]   mì-ŋ   núŋgɛ́(-gé)*
         [Def   dog   three]   1Sg-Acc   bite.Perf.Ppl-Pl
         'the three dog(s) that bit me'

e. *[è   ŋkê:]   [è   yɔ́:-gè   tá:ndì] nùngè   nà / ná-gè*
    [Def   dog]   [Def   woman-Pl three] bite.Perf 3SgS(-Pl)
    'the three women who(m) the dog bit'

14.4.2   Participles of positive perfective-system verbs

(xx1ab) are perfective positive main clauses with 3Sg and 3Pl subject,
respectively. **Subject** relatives based on them are in (xx1cd), showing the {H}-
toned E/I-stem. For prosodically light stems, this form is identical to the 3Sg
subject main clause version. However, in (xx1c) *núŋgɛ́* is a participle, and plural
-gè is added to it, not to the head noun 'dog(s)'. For prosodically heavy stems,
the 3Sg main-clause form has {HL} contour (*yígírè-∅* 'he/she shook') but the
subject-relative participle is fully {H}-toned (xx1d).

(xx1)   a. *ŋkè   mì-ŋ   núŋgɛ́-∅*
            dog   1Sg-Acc   bite.Perf-3SgS
            '(The) dog bit me.'

        b. *ŋkɛ̀-gè   mì-ŋ   núŋg-yè*
            dog-Pl   1Sg-Acc   bite.Perf-3PlS
            '(The) dogs bit me.'

        c. *[è   ŋkɛ́]   mì-ŋ   núŋgɛ́(-gé)*
            [Def   dog]   1Sg-Acc   bite.Perf(-Pl)
            'the dog(s) that bit me'

        d. *wálá   mì-ŋ   yígíré*
            man   1Sg-Acc   shake.Perf
            'the man who shook me'

Nonsubject relatives are in (xx2). They are based on a pronominally conjugated
form of the perfective verb, with appropriate tone melodies. In (xx2d), plurality
of the head NP ('children') is expressed by adding plural *-gè* either to the head
NP or to the verb, or by adding *-gè* to both of them (double plural marking).

(xx2)   a. *[è   dénì]   ŋkè   mì-ŋ   núŋgɛ́   ná*
            [Def   day]   dog   1Sg-Acc   bite.Perf 3SgS
            'the day the dog bit me'

        b. *[è   dénì]   ŋkɛ̀-gè   mì-ŋ   ŋkɛ́   núŋgɛ́*
            [Def   day]   dog   1Sg-Acc   3PlS   bite.Perf
            'the day the dogs bit me'

259

c. *[è   wê:]   ŋkɛ̀   núŋgé   ná*
[Def   child]   dog   bite.Perf   3SgS
'the child who(m) the dog bit'

d. *[è   wê: / wɛ́:-gɛ̀]   ŋkɛ̀-gɛ̀   ŋké   núŋgé(-gé)*
[Def   child / child-Pl]   dog-Pl   3PlS   bite.Perf
'the children that the dogs bit'

The paradigms of 'bite' and 'shake' in nonsubject perfective relatives are in
(xx3). The 3Sg form sometimes sounds low-pitched in long relative clauses, but
it behaves as structurally {H}-toned.

(xx3)   '(the one that) __ bit'   '(the one that) __ shook'

1Sg   *ŋ́ nùŋgé*   *ŋ́ yìgìré*
1Pl   *ŋ̀ núŋgé*   *ŋ̀ yígíré*
2Sg   *á nùŋgé*   *á yìgìré*
2Pl   *à núŋgé*   *à yígíré*

3Sg   *núŋgé ná*   *yígíré ná*
3Pl   *ŋké núŋgé*   *ŋké yígíré*

The **experiential perfect** is illustrated in a **subject** relative (xx4a) and a
nonsubject relative (xx4b). The latter shows participial *-yà* as with statives (and
negatives).

(xx4) a. *ntà   nìgè   màlgà-tè(-gé)*
          person   elephant   see-ExpPf(-Pl)
          'a person/people who has/have (once) seen an elephant'

       b. *yè: ŋ́   màlgà-téy-yà*
          thing   1SgS   see-ExpPf-Ppl
          'a thing/things that I have (once) seen'

The paradigm for experiential perfective **nonsubject** relatives is (xx5).

(xx5)   '(a thing that) __ has (once/ever) seen'

1Sg   *ŋ́ màlgà-téy-yà*
1Pl   *ŋ̀ málgà-téy-yà*
2Sg   *á màlgà- téy-yà*
2Pl   *à málgà-téy-yà*

260

3Sg   *màlgà-téy-yá nà*
3Pl   *ŋké málgá-téy-yà*

14.4.3   Participles of positive imperfective-system verbs

Imperfective (or progressive) **subject** relatives are in (xx1). The main verb is {HL} toned and is followed by the usual imperfective auxiliary *bò*.

(xx1)   a.   *[è   yɔ̂:]   nùwⁿ   káyⁿ   kân   bò*
             [Def woman]   here   work(n) do.Impf   Impf
             'the woman who works here'

        b.   *ntà   kɔ̀njɛ̀   nɔ̂:   bò-gè*
             person   beer   drink.Impf   Impf-Pl
             'people who drink beer'

        c.   *ntà   nàmà   sógù-lò   bò-gè*
             person   meat   buy-Rev.Impf   Impf-Pl
             'people who sell meat'

Nonsubject relatives are in (xx2).

(xx2)   a.   *[yɔ̀:-gé   géŋ   ándò   ŋké   b-yà   [wàjjà   bó-∅]*
             [woman-Pl   place   go-Imp   3PlS   Impf-Ppl]   [far   be-3SgS]
             'The place where (the) women go is far away.'

        b.   *kɔ̀njɛ̀   nà-á-yà*
             beer   drink-2SgS-Ppl
             'the beer that you-Sg drink'

The rather messy paradigm for nonsubject relatives of 'go' is (xx3). Participial *-yà* (also used in statives and negatives) is present except in the 3Sg form, but in the 1Sg, 1Pl, and 3Pl it is added to *bò* (resulting in *b-yà*), whereas in the 2Sg and 2Pl it is added directly to the second person proclitic. (In the main-clause paradigm, the second person proclitics induce lenition of *bò* to *wò* but do not delete it.)

(xx3)   '(a place where) __ go(es)/will go'

        1Sg   *àndò ŋ́ b-yà*
        1Pl   *ándò ŋ̀ bí-yà*

261

                2Sg   *àndà-á-yà* (!)
                2Pl   *ándà-à-yà* (!)

                3Sg   *àndò nà* (!)
                3Pl   *ándò ŋké b-yà*

Further paradigms are in (xx4).

(xx4)	subj	'go in'	'do'	'dance'	'shatter'
	1Sg	*nɔ̀: ɲ́ b-yà*	*kànù ɲ́ b-yà*	*yèbɔ̀ ɲ́ b-yà*	*tèbà-gò ɲ́ b-yà*
	1Pl	*nô: ŋ̀ bí-yà*	*kánù ŋ̀ bí-yà*	*yébɔ̀ ŋ̀ bí-yà*	*tébá-gò ŋ̀ bí-yà*
	2Sg	*nɔ̀-á yà*	*kànà-á yà*	*yèbà-á yà*	*tèbà-gà-á yà*
	2Pl	*nɔ́-à yà*	*kánà-à yà*	*yébà-à yà*	*tébá-gà-à yà*
	3Sg	*nɔ̀: nà*	*kàn nà*	*yèbɔ̀ nà*	*tèbà-gò nà*
	3Pl	*nô: ŋké b-yà*	*kánù ŋké b-yà*	*yébɔ̀ ŋké b-yà*	*tébá-gò ŋké b-yà*

There is **no difference between imperfective and progressive** relatives. The subject relatives in (xx5) were elicited as progressives (e.g. *des gens qui sont en train de travailler*) but have the same form as imperfectives.

(xx5) a. *ntà   káyⁿ   kân   bò-gè*
           person   work(n)   do.Prog   Prog-Pl
           'people who are working'

       b. *ntà   nàmà   sógù-lò   bò-gè*
           person   meat   buy-Rev.Impf   Impf-Pl
           'people who are selling meat'

Similarly, the imperfective nonsubject relatives in (xx2) above can also be used as progressive nonsubject relatives.

14.4.4   Participles of positive stative verbs

Derived stative verbs are in the **subject** relatives (xx1).

(xx1) *[è   wálà]   èmbà   sòmbà* / *dà:ⁿ*
       [Def   man]   there   squat.Stat / sit.Stat
       'the man who is squatting/sitting over there'

A **nonsubject** stative relative is (xx2). Participial *-yà* is typical of nonsubject stative relatives.

(xx2) *géŋ*   *dà:ⁿ-yà* / *sòmb-yà*   *nà*
       place   sit.Stat-Ppl / squat-Ppl   3SgS
       'where he/she is sitting/squatting'

The paradigm for 'be squatting' in nonsubject stative relatives is (xx7).

(xx3)   '(where) __ is squatting'

       1Sg   *ŋ́ sòmb-yà*
       1Pl   *ǹ̀ sómb-yà*
       2Sg   *á sòmb-yà*
       2Pl   *à sómb-yà*

       3Sg   *sòmb-yà nà*
       3Pl   *ŋké sómb-yà*

The forms used in **subject** relatives of **defective stative** (quasi-)verbs are in (xx4). The participles are {H}-toned. Forms for 'know' and 'want' are based on the morphologically simple form of the stem used (in main clauses) in 1st/2nd person subject contexts (1Sg *ŋ́ ɲèyⁿ* 'I know', *ŋ́ kèyⁿ* 'I want'), see §11.2.5.1-2.

(xx4) stative (3Sg)   subject relative   gloss

       bô:-∅   *bó*   'be (somewhere)'
       sâⁿ-∅   *sá:ⁿ*   'have'
       ɛ́ɲɔ̀ bò-∅   *ɛ́yⁿ*   'know'
       kéɲù bò-∅   *kɛ́yⁿ*   'want'
       (m)pímà: bò-∅   *(m)pímá*   'resemble'

Participial forms of the defective statives in **nonsubject** relatives are in (xx5). There are significant irregularities except for 'resemble'. 'Be' and 'resemble' have transparent participial *-yà*, as in derived statives. The other three statives in (xx5) are less transparent but probably have a phonologically disguised *-yà*. The forms for 'know' and 'want' are similar to the forms (*ɛ́ɲɔ̀* 'know', *kéɲù* 'want') that are used in main clauses with third person subjects, before the 'be' auxiliary. 'Have' which fluctuates between *sà:ⁿ* and *sí:ɲà* in several combinations.

(xx5) Nonsubject relatives of defective statives

263

	'be'	'have'	'know'	'want'	'resemble'
1Sg	ŋ́ bì-yà	ŋ́ sà:ⁿ ~ ŋ́ sì:ⁿyà	ŋ́ ɲ-ɛ̀ɲà	ŋ́ kɛ̀ɲà	ŋ́ (m)pìm-yà
1Pl	ŋ̀ bí-yà	ŋ̀ sí:ⁿyà	ŋ̀ ɲ-ɛ́ɲà	ŋ̀ kɛ́ɲà	ŋ̀ (m)pím-yà
2Sg	á bì-yà	á sà:ⁿ ~ á sì:ⁿyà	á ɲ-ɛ̀ɲà	á kɛ̀ɲà	á (m)pìm-yà
2Pl	à bí-yà	à sí:ⁿ-yà	à ɲ-ɛ́ɲà	à kɛ́ɲà	à (m)pím-yà
3Sg	bì-yà nà	sá:ⁿ ná ~ sí:ⁿyá ná	ɛ̀ɲà nà	kɛ̀ɲà nà	(m)pìm-yà nà
3Pl	ŋké bí-yà	ŋké sâ:ⁿ ~ ŋké sí:ⁿyà	ŋké ɛ́ɲà	ŋké kɛ́ɲà	ŋké (m)pím-yà

14.4.5 Participles of negative perfective-system verbs

Perfective negative **subject** relatives have *-l-gà*, consisting of perfective negative suffix *-l(ì)* and subject-relative negative participial *-gà*. The verb stem is the E/I-stem, with {H} tones. The plural is *-l-gá-gè*.

(xx1)   a.   *[è   ŋkɛ́]   mì-ŋ   núŋgé-l-gà / núŋgé-l-gá-gè*
          [Def dog]   1Sg-Acc   bite-PerfNeg-Ppl.Neg / ...-Pl
          'the dog(s) that didn't bite me'

     b.   *[è   wê:]   kùbɔ̀   kúbɛ́-l-gà*
          [Def child] farming(n) do.farming-PerfNeg-Ppl.Neg
          'the child who didn't do farm work'

Nonsubject relatives have a conjugated form of *-lí-yà*, which ends in the nonsubject-relative version of the negative participial suffix (xx2).

(xx2)   a.   *[è   dên]   á   y-ègè-lí-yà*
          [Def day]   2SgS   Epen-come-PerfNeg-Ppl.Neg
          'the day you-Sg didn't come'

     b.   *[è   álàmùnɔ̀]   ŋ̀   sɔ́gɛ́-lí-yà*
          [Def sheep]   1PlS   buy-PerfNeg-Ppl.Neg
          'the sheep-Sg that we didn't buy'

The paradigm for nonsubject 'didn't come' is (xx3).

(xx3)   '(the day) __ didn't come'

        1Sg   *ǹ y-ègè-lí-yà*
        1Pl   *ǹ y-égé-lí-yà*
        2Sg   *á y-ègè-lí-yà*
        2Pl   *à y-égé-lí-yà*

        3Sg   *ègè-l-yá nà*
        3Pl   *ŋké égé-lí-yà*

The **experiential perfect** has *-ndi* as negative suffix, rather than *-li*, in main clauses. Its relative clause forms keep this *-ndi*, followed by the regular negative participial suffixes, *-gà* for subject relative and *-yà* for nonsubject relatives.

(xx4)   a.   *[è   wálà]   nìgè   málgá-té:-ndí-gà*
           [Def   man]   elephant   see-ExpPf-Neg-Ppl.Neg
           'the man who has never seen an elephant'

       b.   *ɛ̀   nùndò-tè:-ndì-yá   nà*
           what   hear-ExcPf-Neg-Ppl.Neg   3SgS
           'something that he/she has never heard'

       c.   *ɛ̀   ŋké   nùndò-tè:-ndí-yà*
           what   3PlS   hear-ExcPf-Neg-Ppl.Neg
           'something that they have never heard'

14.4.6   Participles of negative imperfective-system verbs

Imperfective negative **subject** relatives are in (xx1). Imperfective negative *-ndí-* (identical to the third person subject form in the regular main-clause paradigm) is followed by negative participial *-gà*.

(xx1)   a.   *ŋkɛ̀   nùŋgɔ̀:-ndí-gà*
           dog   bite-ImpfNeg-Ppl.Neg
           'a dog that doesn't bite'

       b.   *[è   wê:]   àndò:-ndí-gà(-gè)*
           [Def   child]   go-ImpfNeg-Ppl.Neg(-Pl)
           'the child(ren) who won't go'

Nonsubject relatives are in (xx2). Except for the 3Pl subject form, they are based on the regular main-clause conjugated forms, plus negative participial *-yà*.

(xx2) a. *nàmà   tèmɔ̀-ɔ̀-lí-yà*
         meat   eat.meat-1SgS-ImpfNeg-Ppl.Neg
         'meat that I/you-Sg do not eat'

    b. *nàmà   tèmɔ̀:-nd-yá-gà*
         meat   eat.meat-ImpfNeg-3PlS-Ppl.Neg
         'meat that they don't eat'

The paradigm for nonsubject relatives with 'eat meat' is (xx3). The 3Pl subject form is notable for not involving 3Pl subject proclitic *ŋké*. Rather, it is based directly on the main-clause 3Pl imperfective negative (*tèmɔ̀:-nd-yá* 'they do not eat meat'). Instead of adding the usual nonsubject-relative negative participle *-yà*, resulting in a #-ya-ya suffix sequence, it adds the other (i.e. usually subject-relative) negative participial suffix *-gà*.

(xx3)   '(the meat) __ don't eat'

    1Sg   *tèmɔ̀-ɔ̀-lí-yà*
    1Pl   *témɔ̀-ɔ̀-lí-yà*
    2Sg   *tèmà-à-lí-yà*
    2Pl   *témà-à-lí-yà*

    3Sg   *tèmɔ̀:-nd-yá nà*
    3Pl   *tèmɔ̀:-nd-yá-gà* (!)

For the **progressive negative** with 'be' auxiliary, (xx4a) is a subject relative, and (xx4b) is a nonsubject relative.

(xx4) a. *yɔ̀:   ɲɔ̀:   wǒl-gà*
         woman   eat   not.be-Ppl.Neg
         'a woman who is not eating'

    b. *[è   wágàr]   ŋɔ̌:   ɲ́   wòlí-yà*
         [Def   time]   eat   1SgS   not.be-Ppl.Neg
         'the time when I am not eating'

    c. *[è   wágàr]   ŋɔ̀:   ŋké   wòlí-yà*
         [Def   time]   eat   3PlS   not.be-Ppl.Neg
         'the time when they are not eating'

14.4.7 Participles of negative stative verbs

A subject relative with a negative form of a derived stative is (xx1).

(xx1) *[è   wálà]   èmbà   sòmbá-ndá-gà*
        [Def   man]   there   squat-StatNeg-Ppl.Neg
        'the man who is not squatting/sitting over there'

A nonsubject relative is (xx2)

(xx2) *géŋ   sòmbà-nd-yá   nà*
        place   squat-StatNeg-Ppl.Neg   3SgS
        'where he/she is sitting/squatting'

The paradigm for 'not be squatting' in nonsubject stative relatives is (xx7).

(xx3)   '(where) __ is not squatting'

        1Sg   *ŋ́ sòmbá-nd-yà*
        1Pl   *ŋ̀ sómbá-nd-yà*
        2Sg   *á sòmbá-nd-yà*
        2Pl   *à sómbá-nd-yà*

        3Sg   *sòmbà-nd-yá na*
        3Pl   *ŋké sòmbá-nd-yà*

Subject-relative participles of defective statives are in (xx4).

(xx4) stative (3Sg)   subject relative   gloss

        wǒl-∅   *wól-gà*   'not be (somewhere)'
        sá:-ndá-∅   *sá:-ndá-gà*   'not have'
        índó-∅   *índó-gà*   'not know'
        kéy-là-∅   *kéy-lá-gà*   'not want'
        (m)pímá-ndá-∅   *(m)pímá-ndá-gà*   'not resemble'

Nonsubject participles for negative counterparts are in (xx5).

(xx5) Nonsubject relatives of positive defective statives

	'not …			
	… be'	… have'	… know'	… want'
1Sg	*ŋ́ wòl-yà*	*ŋ́ sǎ:-nd-yà*	*ŋ́ ɲ-ĭnd-yà*	*ŋ́ kěy-l-yà*
1Pl	*ǹ̀ wǒl-yà*	*ǹ̀ sá:-nd-yà*	*ǹ̀ ɲ-índ-yà*	*ǹ̀ kéy-l-yà*
2Sg	*á wòl-yà*	*á sǎ:-nd-yà*	*á ɲ-ĭnd-yà*	*á kěy-l-yà*
2Pl	*à wǒl-yà*	*à sá:-nd-yà*	*à ɲ-índ-yà*	*à kéy-l-yà*
3Sg	*wòl-yá nà*	*sà:-nd-yá nà*	*ìnd-yá nà*	*kèy-l-yá nà*
3Pl	*ŋké wǒl-yà*	*ŋké sá:-ndy-à*	*ŋké índ-yà*	*ŋké kéy-l-yà*

14.4.8 Participle of past-time forms

The participial suffix corresponding to past clitic *=ye* in main clauses is *-bè*, sometimes extended as *-mbè*. It occurs in subject relatives (xx1ab) and, with conjugated verb, in nonsubject relatives (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *yɔ̀:   nùŋ   bó-mbè*
           woman   here   be-Ppl.Past
           'the woman who was there (not far away)'

       b. *ntá   dèm   sá:ⁿ-bè*
           person   house   have.Rel-Ppl.Past
           'the person who had a house' (plural *sá:ⁿ-bé-gè*)

       c. *géŋ   dèm   ŋ́   sǎ:ⁿ-bè*
           place   house   1SgS   have-Ppl.Past
           'the place where I had a house'

14.5   Relative clause involving verb- or VP-chain

When a relative clause is based on a complex construction (tight or loose) containing a final verb and one or more nonfinal verbs, only the final verb is participialized, and only it can be morphologically pluralized (suffix *-gè*). The nonfinal verb has the same form as in non-relative main clauses.

(xx1) a. *[è   yɔ̂:]   yèbù   yèbà→   nàyè-gè,*
           [Def   woman]   dance(n)   dance-Impf   spend.night-Perf,
           mbá   bí-yà
           where?   be-3PlS
           'Where are [the women who spent the night dancing]?'

(cf. §15.2.1.2)

b. *mbá* *[[è* *ntá]* *[nǎ:* *sòŋgè* *nà]* *ɲέ:-gé]*
   where? [[Def person] [meal bring.Perf 3SgS] eat.Perf-Pl]
   'Where are the people who brought meals and ate?'
   [cf. §15.2.2.1]

14.6 Late-NP elements that follow the verb (or verbal participle)

14.6.1 Plural (*-gè*)

When the head NP is plural, plural *-gè* is suffixed to the verb-participle and/or to the internal head. See §14.4.1 for examples.

14.6.2 Position of 'all' quantifier

sèlè 'all' follows the verbal participle. If the referent is countable, the participle is normally pluralized (*-gè*) for universal quantification (xx1a), but not for distributive quantification (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[nà:* *á* *sɔ̀gè-gé* *sèlè]* *mì-ŋ* *tà:rà*
       [cow 2SgS buy.Perf-Pl **all**] 1Sg-Acc show.Imprt
       'Show me all the cows that you-Sg bought.' (*sɔ̀gé-gè*)

      b. *[yɔ̀:* *ègé* *sèlè]* *[tè:mdéré-gè* *nègà]* *tàbà*
         [woman come.Perf all [hundred-Pl two] give.Imprt
         'Give-2Sg two hundred (i.e. 1000 francs CFA) to each woman who comes here!'

14.7 Grammatical relation of relativized-on NP

14.7.1 Subject relative clause

Further examples of subject relatives are in (xx1). If the head NP is plural, suffix *-gè* is added to the verb.

(xx1) a. *[è* *wé:]* *ó-^{n}* *núŋgέ(-gé)*
       [Def child] 2Sg-Acc bite.Perf(-Pl)
       'the child(ren) who bit you-Sg'

269

b. *ògà   [è   wé:]   dùgù-rò   bó / bò-gé*
    tomorrow   [Def   child] run.Impf   Ppl.Impf / Ppl.Impf-Pl
    'the child(ren) who will run tomorrow'

c. *[è   wé:]   ŋkìndè(-gé)*
    [Def   child]   die.Perf
    'the child(ren) who died'

14.7.2   Object relative clause

Further examples of object relatives are in (xx1). Forms for singular and plural head NP are distinguished by the final plural *-gè* on the verb.

(xx1)   a. *á:mádù   [è   ná:]   sògù-lè   nà / ná-gè*
            Amadou   [Def   cow]   sell.Perf   3SgS / 3SgS-Pl
            'the cow/cows that Amadou sold'

        b. *[è   ná:]=á   sògù-lè / sògù-lé-gè*
            [Def   cow]=2SgS   sell.Perf / sell-Perf-Pl
            'the cow/cows that you-Sg sold'

        c. *[è   ná:]   ò-ⁿ=̀ŋ   sógú-lé / sógú-lé-gè*
            [Def   cow]   2Sg-Acc=1PlS   sell.Perf
            'the cow/cows that we sold you-Sg'

        d. *á:mádù   [è   wé:]   sòŋè   nà / ná-gè*
            Amadou   [Def   child] bring.Perf   3SgS / 3SgS-Pl
            'the child/children whom Amadou brought'

        e. *[è   ʔálámúnɔ̀] sògù-lé-l   ́ŋ   dùndè / dùndé-gè*
            [Def sheep]   buy-Rev-VblN   1SgS look.for.Perf / ...-Pl
            'the sheep that I sought to sell'

        f. *[è   ʔálámúnɔ̀] ògà   sògù-lé-l   ́ŋ   kèɲà / kèɲá-gè*
            [Def sheep]   tomorrow buy-Rev-VblN   1SgS want / want-Pl
            'the sheep-Pl that I want to sell tomorrow'

14.7.3   Possessor relative clause

Examples of possessor relatives are in (xx1). The possessive relationship is expressed directly by 3Sg possessor suffix *-nà* on the possessed noun. 3Sg *-nà* is used even for plural possessors, since plurality of the referent (coindexed with

the clause-internal possessor) is expressed by plural *-gè* on the verbal participle (xx1b). If the possessed entity is plural, *-gè* may be added to it, but there is some messiness in the data (especially where possessor number is expected to correlate one-to-one with possessed-entity number).

(xx1) a. *[[è   ntá]   dèm-ná   tibè]   mbá   bó-∅*
      [[Def   person] house-3SgP fall.Perf] where? be-3SgS
      'Where is the person whose house fell?'

    b. *[[è   ntá]   dèm-nà   tibè-gé]   mbá   bí-yà*
      [[Def   person] house-3SgP fall.Perf-Pl] where? be-3PlS
      'Where are the people whose house(s) fell?'

    c. *[è   ntá]   wè:-nà-gè   dɔgè]   mbá   bó-∅*
      [Def person]   child-3SgP-Pl die.Perf]   where? be-3SgS
      'Where is the person whose children died'

14.7.4   Relativization on the complement of a postposition

(xx1) is a simple main clause with a purposive PP. The corresponding relative in (xx1b) has a literal structure roughly "[[the honey$_x$] they came-Ppl [for it$_x$] yesterday] …", with 3Sg possessor *-nà* resuming 'the honey'.

(xx1) a. *[ìgè   nâm]   ég-yè*
      [honey   for]   come.Perf-3PlS
      'They have come for (the) honey.' (*námù*)

    b. *[[è   ígè]   yà:gù   năm-nà   ŋké   égé]*
      [[Def   honey] yesterday Purp-3SgP 3PlS   come.Perf]
      mbá   bó-∅
      where? be-3SgS
      'Where is the honey that they came for yesterday?'

The pattern of separating the relativized-on NP from a resumptive PP is also found with instrumental postposition *nì*. (xx2a) shows the relevant main clause, with *nì* directly following the complement NP. When the complement NP is relativized on, it is separated from the postposition, which therefore requires a resumptive discourse-definite demonstrative *ê:* (xx2b).

(xx2) a. *[[ín   tàlà]   nì]   nàmá   ŋ́   sèmè*
      [[Dem   knife] Inst]   [meat   1SgS   cut.Perf
      'I cut the meat <u>with that knife</u> [focus].' (*nàmà*)

b. *[[è   tálà]   [ɛ́:   nì]   nàmá ŋ́   sèmè]*
    [[Dem   knife]   [Dem.Def Inst]   meat 1SgS cut.Perf]
    mbá   bó-∅
    where?   be-3SgS
    'Where is the knife with which I cut-Past (the) meat.' (*ɛ̂:,* §4.4.1.2)

15   Verb (VP) chaining and adverbial clauses

15.1   Direct chains with bare nonfinal verb stems are absent

In grammars of other (mostly eastern) Dogon languages I have used the expression "direct chain" to denoted sequences of one or more bare verb stems leading up to a final, regularly inflected verb. Direct chains in this sense are not attested in Penange.

15.2   Temporal adverbial clauses

15.2.1   Adverbial clauses expressing temporal overlap

15.2.1.1   Noun-headed temporal relative clause ('[at] the time when …')

Noun-headed temporal relative clauses are of the type '(at/on) the time/year/month/day (when) …'. The temporal noun is the head of a nonsubject relative.

(xx1)   *wàyà*   *númgé*   *ŋ́*   *tɔ̀mɛ̀,*
        year   cowpeas   1SgS   sow.Perf,
        kùmà:ŋgá   *wɛ̀:-l-∅*
        rain(n)   rain.fall-PerfNeg-3Sgs
        '(In) the year when I planted cow-peas, the rain didn't fall.' (*kùmà:ŋgà*)

It is also possible to express the temporal noun as a "possessed" noun (with {HL} melody) following the clause denoting the relevant eventuality, which is therefore structurally the "possessor."

(xx2)   *ŋ́*   *y-ègè*   *wâ:r ~ wá:rù / wáyà*
        1SgS   Epen-come.Perf   ^{HL}time / ^{HL}year
        '(at/in) the time/year when I came, …'

273

15.2.1.2   Imperfective subordinate clause with prolonged {L}-toned A/O-stem

In (xx1), the clause with prolonged final *a→* or *o→* on the {L}-toned verb denotes a continuous activity that overlapped with the main-clause eventuality. The verb forms differs only tonally from the final-long-vowel imperfective (§10.2.2.2). The final long vowel is L-toned, but is tone-raised before L-toned 3Sg subject forms (xx1e). The final long vowel may be intonationally protracted to express extended duration (xx1f), and it is possible that even in other cases the lengthening is a special case of "intonational" prolongation.

(xx1)   a.   *[yèbù   yèbà→]   ń   nàyè*
            [dance(n)   dance-Impf]   1SgS   spend.night.Perf
            'I spent the night dancing.' ('I danced all night.')

        b.   *[yèbù   yèbà→]   náy-yè*
            [dance(n)   dance-Impf]   spend.night.Perf-3PlS
            'They spent the night dancing.' ('They danced all night.')

        c.   *[té: jà:ndà→]   dɛ́nɔ̀   bò-∅*
            [tea   put.up.on-Impf]   spend.midday-Impf   be-3SgS
            'He will spend the mid-day making tea (on a burner).'

        d.   *dùgù-r-ò→   núyⁿ-yⁿɛ̀*
            run-while   go.in.Perf-3PlS
            'They ran in.' (lit. "They went in running.")

        e.   *dùgù-r-ó→   nwɛ̀:-l-∅*
            run-while   go.in-PerfNeg-3SgS
            'He/She didn't run in.'

        f.   *ùnù→   hâl   wáj-jí-yè*
            walk-Impf   until   distant-Inch.Perf-3PlS
            'They walked (and walked) until they had gone far away.'

15.2.1.3   Imperfective subordinate clause with *wⁿ ~ ŋ*

If the subjects are disjoint, the 'while' clause is a nonsubject relative clause. It has a imperfective participle, plus imperfective subordinator *wⁿ ~ ŋ*.

(xx2)   *yà:gù   [mbé káyⁿ   kánà   wⁿ]   nò   nóyà = yè*
        yesterday [1PlP work(n)   do.Impf Impf] Rdp   sleep.Impf=Past
        'Yesterday he was sleeping while we worked.'

ŋ́ y-ègá ŋ̀ 'as I was coming'

For 3Sg subject, replace *mbé káyⁿ kánà wⁿ* with *káyⁿ káná nà wⁿ* (note the enclitic 3Sg subject *nà*). For 2Sg subject, replace it with *káyⁿ á kànà wⁿ*. For 3Pl subject, the form is *káyⁿ kàná:-yà wⁿ*. A textual example of the 3Sg form is égá nà ŋ̀ 'as he was coming' in (xx11) in Text 4.

For *-wⁿ* in the 'be VERB-able' construction with *kànû:-* 'does', see §10.5.3. For *-wⁿ* in the 'be able (=be in a position to) VP' construction, see §10.5.2.

15.2.1.4 'Since …' clauses (*mbà-là*)

With an adverb X, 'since X' is *[X bà dígí]*, as in *yà:gù bà dígí* 'since yesterday'. The latter consists of *yà:gù* 'yesterday', locative *bà*, and (emphatic) *dígí* 'since, from'.

A 'since' clause has *mbà-là* after a perfective verb, whose H-tone migrates to the final syllable before *mbà-là*. *mbà-* is likely a nasal variant of *bà*.

(xx1) *[ŋ̀   y-ègé   mbà-là],   nàmà   ŋ́   tèmè-l*
       [1SgS   Epen-come.Perf   since],   meat   1SgS   eat.meat-PerfNeg
       'Since I came here I haven't eaten any meat.' (*ŋ̀ y-égè*)

For 3Sg pronominal subject, replace *ŋ̀ y-ègé mbà-là* with *ègè-ná mbà-là*. The 3Pl form is *èg-yé mbà-là*, and the 1Pl form is *ŋ̀ y-égè mbà-là*.

15.2.1.5 Tightly chained perfectives (past same-subject co-events)

In this construction, both the nonfinal verb and the final verb are pronominally conjugated, but they are phrased prosodically as a single unit. The nonfinal verb is perfective (E/I-stem). For the 3Sg and 3Pl, the nonfinal verb is **{L}-toned**. The tone pattern distinguishes this construction from the loose perfective chains described in (§15.2.2.1) below, which denote chronologically sequenced events. Both the tight and loose perfective chains express 3Sg subject in the nonfinal clause by postverbal enclitic *nà* rather than by zero affix as in main clauses.

The tight perfective chain construction denotes a complex event that is decomposed into two co-events with the same subject. The complex event as a whole is perfective, i.e. it has already taken place. Therefore the final verb is also normally perfective. Where logically possible, adjuncts such as direct objects and adverbs precede both verbs (xx1e). However, if the adjunct is relevant only to the final verb it follows the nonfinal verb (xx1f).

(xx1)　a.　*[tìbὲ　　　nà]　　　sígé-∅*
　　　　　[fall.Perf　　3SgS]　　go.down.Perf-3SgS
　　　　　'He/She fell down.'

　　　b.　*tìb-yὲ　　　síg-yὲ*
　　　　　fall.Perf-3PlS　go.down.Perf-3PlS
　　　　　'They fell down.'

　　　c.　*[ŋ́　　　　　tìbὲ]　　[ŋ́　　sìgè]*
　　　　　[1SgS　　　　fall.Perf]　[1SgS　go.down.Perf]
　　　　　'I fell down.'

　　　d.　*[ŋ̀　　　　　tíbὲ]　　[ŋ̀　　sígè]*
　　　　　[1PlS　　　　fall.Perf]　[1PlS　go.down.Perf]
　　　　　'We fell down.'

　　　e.　*[è　　sátállà]　[ŋ́　　tyὲ:ⁿ]　　　　　[ŋ́　　dě:ndè]*
　　　　　[Def　kettle]　[1SgS　set.down.Perf]　[1SgS　leave.Perf]
　　　　　'I put the water kettle down and left it.' (*sátállà*)

　　　f.　*[á　　ɲ-ɪ̆njὲ]　　　　　[[è　　ŋkέ]　[á　　bùndὲ]]*
　　　　　[2SgS　Epen-stand.Perf]　[[Def　dog]　[2SgS　hit.Perf]]
　　　　　'You-Sg stood up and (you) hit the dog.'

　　　g.　*[ɲă:　　sòŋgè　　　nà]　　ɲέ:-∅*
　　　　　[meal　bring.Perf　3SgS]　eat.meal.Perf-3SgS
　　　　　'He/She_x brought a meal and (he/she_x) ate.'

　　　h.　*[ɲà:　　ŋ̀　　sóŋgè]　　　[ŋ̀　　ɲê:]*
　　　　　[meal　1PlS　bring.Perf]　[1PlS　eat.meal.Perf]
　　　　　'We brought a meal and we ate.'

This tightly chained perfective construction is used in the 'finish VPing' construction (§17.3.1). It also occurs in direct-perception 'see' complements of the type 'we saw Seydou fall' (§17.2.2.1). For 'go out' or 'take out' with a reversive verb, see §9.1. An initial perfective verb can also be chained to an unconjugated verbal intensifier like *péw* 'entirely used up', see §8.4.5.1.

　　　As noted above, the tight perfective chain construction can only be used when the entire complex event is completed. For similar constructions involving imperfective (e.g. future) contexts, the nonfinal clause occurs in the nonpast anterior subordinated form with *né ~ nè* (§15.2.2.2 below).

15.2.2 Adverbial clauses expressing chronological sequences

Constructions studied under this rubric involve sequences of events. One construction with two loosely chained perfectives (§15.2.2.1 below) is of this type. It is similar in form to another construction with two more tightly chained perfectives that denote simultaneous co-events (§15.2.1.5 above).

15.2.2.1 Loosely chained perfectives (same or different subject, anterior)

In this construction, the final clause is an ordinary perfective main clause. The nonfinal clause has a perfective verb, with regular 1st/2nd (proclitic) or 3Pl (suffixal) pronominal-subject conjugation. 3Sg subject, on the other hand, is marked by postverbal *nà*. In this 3Sg form, and the verb takes {HL} tones for all but Cv stems (né nà 'he/she said, and…'). In particular, CvCv stems that have {H}-tones in the regular 3Sg perfective (tábé 'he/she gave') have {HL} before nà in the present construction (tábè nà), as in (xx1a).

When the subject is 3Sg or 3Pl, the presence of a H-tone in the verb stem distinguishes this construction from the tightly chained perfective construction described in §15.2.1.5 above. The two also differ in that the tightly chained construction requires coindexation of subjects. The loosely chained construction, by contrast, allows sequences with different subjects (xx1a-c)

(xx1)   a.   *sěydù*   *bòwⁿ-wê:*   *mì-ŋ* ^{HL}*tábè*   *nà,*
             Seydou   door-child   1Sg-Acc ^{HL}give.Perf 3SgS,
             ŋ́   *ɲ-ǎːndè*
             1SgS   Epen-go.Perf
             'Seydou gave me the key and I left.'

        b.   *[ɲǎː*   *sóŋg-yè]*   *[ŋ̀*   *ɲê:]*
             [meal   bring.Perf-3PlS]   [1PlS   eat.meal.Perf]
             'They brought a meal and we ate.'

        c.   *[ɲǎː*   *ŋ̀*   *sóŋgè]*   *[wé:-gè*   *ɲíyⁿ-yⁿè]*
             [meal   1SgS   bring.Perf] [child-Pl   eat.Perf-3PlS]
             'I brought a meal and the children ate.'

The subjects can also be coindexed, as long as the two clauses are not tightly connected prosodically and conceptually. Many examples can be found in Text 4, where this construction functions as the basic perfective clause type in an extended third-person narrative. For example, (xx13) in Text 4 contains a sequence 'he arrived at the doorway, he opened the door, he took a step, …' where all three clauses are loosely chained, with clause-final 3Sg subject nà.

15.2.2.2 Nonfinal verb with *né ~ nè* (nonpast anterior)

This construction is used in contexts similar to those of either tight or loose perfective chains (§15.2.1.5, §15.2.1.1), where the entire event is imperfective (e.g. future or habitual present) or deontic. The nonfinal verb is in the E/I-stem (i.e. the perfective) and is pronominally conjugated. This verb is followed by the nonpast anterior subordinating particle *né ~ nè*, here glossed 'and then'. This is identical to the conditional antecedent ('if') clause type (§16.1). The non-conditional use of *né ~ nè* is directly reminiscent of "pseudo-conditional" constructions in some other Dogon languages such as Togo Kan.

The final clause contains an imperfective or deontic modal (e.g. imperative) verb.

(xx1) a. *[ŋ́   ɲ-à:ndé   nè]   [ègó   ŋ́   bò]*
           [1SgS   Epen-go.Perf and.then] [come.Impf 1SgS   Impf]
           'I will go and come (back).'

       b. *[ɲà: ɲíyⁿ-yⁿέ   nè]*
           [meal   eat.meal.Perf-3PlS   and.then]
           [bàmàkɔ̀   ándò   b-yà]
           [Bamako   go.Impf   Impf-3PlS]
           'They will eat (a meal) and then go to Bamako.' (*ɲà:*)

       c. *[[nàmà   á   tὲmέ-∅   nè]   àndà*
           [[meat   Def]   eat.meat.Perf-3SgS   and.then]   go.Imprt
           'Eat some meat and then go!' (*nàmà*)

       d. *[ándé-∅   né]   [nà:ŋgòl   égò   bò-∅]*
           [go.Perf-3SgS and.then] [next.year   come.Impf   Impf-3SgS]
           'He/she will go and come back next year.'

       e. *[ɲà: sóŋgé-∅   né]*
           [meal   bring.Perf-3SgS   and.then]
           [ɲ̀   ɲɔ̂:]   [ɲ̀   bò]
           [1PlS   eat.Impf]   [1PlS   Impf]
           'He/She will bring the meal and we will eat.'

       f. *[ɲ̀   tìbέ   nè]   [sígò   ɲ̀   bò]*
           [1PlS   fall.Perf and.then] [go.down.Impf   1PlS   Impf]
           'We will fall down.'

Sample paradigms for verbs with *né ~ nè* are in (xx2). *kání* represents the final-high-vowel class; note the long *i:* in the 3Pl form *kán-ní: nè* (likewise *dám-mí: nè* 'they will speak and …').

(xx2) *nê:* 'drink' *témé* 'eat meat' *túmbúgè* 'push' *kání* 'do'

	nê: 'drink'	*témé* 'eat meat'	*túmbúgè* 'push'	*kání* 'do'
1Sg	*ǹ̄ ně: nè*	*ǹ̄ tèmé nè*	*ǹ̄ tùmbùgé nè*	*ǹ̄ kàní nè*
1Pl	*ǹ né: nè*	*ǹ témé nè*	*ǹ túmbúgé nè*	*ǹ kání nè*
2Sg	*á ně: nè*	*á tèmé nè*	*á tùmbùgé nè*	*á kàní nè*
2Pl	*à né: nè*	*à témé nè*	*à túmbúgé nè*	*à kání nè*
3Sg	*né:-∅ né*	*témé-∅ né*	*túmbúgé-∅ né*	*kání né*
3Pl	*níyⁿ-yⁿé nè*	*tém-yé nè*	*túmbúg-yé nè*	*kán-ní: nè*

The sequence /ni n/ in the forms of *kání* (rightmost column) is usually syncopated to *nn*, favored by the identical flanking nasals. In this case, it is realized as a long nasal consonant, e.g. 3Sg subject [kán:é].

For this clause type in the complement of 'want' with different subjects, see §17.4.5.2. For 'go out' or 'take out' with a reversive verb, see §9.1.

It is not presently clear whether *né ~ nè* is related to *né* 'say'. There are many other examples in Dogon languages (e.g. Jamsay) where a 'say' verb has acquired functions as a temporal subordinator. On the other hand, several Dogon languages also have temporal subordinators of similar shapes (e.g. na, -n) that are not obviously derived from a 'say' verb.

15.2.2.3 'Worked until got tired' = 'worked for a very long time'

In this construction, the first clause has regular main-clause form, except that 3Sg and 3Pl subject perfective verbs are {L}-toned, and 3Sg subject is expressed by postverbal pronoun *nà*. This clause denotes a prolonged activity, usually but not always physically strenuous. It is followed by an 'until' clause with initial *hâl* and a regular perfective verb, except that a 3Sg subject perfective is {L}-toned here. Both clauses are perfective positive and have the same subject in all attested examples.

(xx1) a. *[káyⁿ   ǹ̄   kàní]   [hál   ǹ̄   nènè]*
        [work(n) 1SgS do.Perf] [until 1SgS get.tired.Perf]
        'I worked until I got tired.' (= 'I worked to the point of exhaustion.')

    b. *[káyⁿ   kànì   nà]   [hál   nènè-∅]*
        [work(n) do.Perf 3SgS] [until get.tired.Perf-3SgS]

'He/She worked until he/she got tired.'

c. *[káyⁿ   kàn-nì]   [hál   nèní-yè]*
    [work(n)   do.Perf-3PlS]   [until   get.tired.Perf-3PlS]
    'They worked until they got tired.'

Physical fatigue is not always focal, as the construction is often used in narrative mainly to indicate that an activity lasted an unusually long time. However, there has to be some element of fatigue for the construction to be felicitous. Verbs other than 'be tired' are required when the activity (e.g. sleeping or eating) induces no physical fatigue (xx2ab).

(xx2) a. *[nòyè   nà]   [hál   sìlè-∅]*
           [sleep.Perf   3SgS]   [until   be.fed.up.Perf-3SgS]
           'He/She slept until he/she had had enough (sleep).'

       b. *[ɲè: nà]   [hál   sìn(ì)-∅]*
           [eat.meal.Perf   3SgS]   [until   be.sated.Perf-3SgS]
           'He/She ate until he/she was full.'

15.2.3 'Before …' clauses (*kégù*)

'Before …' clauses end in *kégù*. If the subject of the clause is pronominal, it is expressed as a proclitic subject pronoun immediately before *kégù*.
    The substantive verb appears in the A-stem (imperfective) with {L}-tones (xx1). The 3Sg subject form has 3Sg pronoun *nà* following the verb. The 3Pl subject form has suffix *-yà* (*tìbà-yà kégù* 'before they fall'). 1st/2nd person forms have the usual proclitics

(xx1) a. *[[è   dêm]   tìbà   nà   kégù]   [ǹ   gú:ndè-yⁿ-yà]*
           [[Def house]   fall.Impf   3SgS   before]   [1PlS   go.out.Hort]
           'Let's go out, before the house falls!'

       b. *[ɲ́   tùbyà   kégù]*
           [1SgS   arrive.Impf   before]
           [[ɲ́   nòló]   ándé-∅
           [[1SgP   friend]   go.Perf-3SgS]
           'Before I arrived, my friend (had) left.'

       c. *[ɲǎ: ǹ   ɲá: kégù]*
           [meal   1PlS   eat.meal.Impf   **before**]
           [káyⁿ   ǹ   kánì-yⁿ-yà]
           [work(n)   1PlS   do-Hort-Pl]

280

'Let's-Pl do the work before we eat.'

If the subject of the 'before …' clause is nonpronominal, the substantive verb takes third person subject marking, either 3Sg enclitic *nà* (xx2a) or 3Pl suffix *-yà* (xx2b).

(xx2) a. *[kùmà:ŋgá   wà: nà   kɛ́gù]*
           [rain(n)   rain.fall.Impf   3SgS   before]
           [ŋ̀   nwê-yⁿ-yà]
           [1PlS   go.in-Hort-Pl]
           'Let's go in before the rain comes (down).'

      b. *[wè:-gé   égà-yà   kɛ́gù]*
           [child-Pl   come.Impf-3PlS   before]
           'before the children come'

15.3   Spatial and manner adverbials

15.3.1   Spatial adverbial relative clause ('where …')

A transparent spatial adverbial relative clause 'at [the place where …]' features *géŋ* 'place' as head NP. The relative clause proper may be followed by a locative postposition.

(xx1) *[è   gêŋ   ɲà: ŋ̀   ɲɔ̂:   ŋ̀   bì-yà]   bà*
       [Def   place   meal   1PlS   eat.meal-Impf   1PlS   Impf-Ppl]   Loc
       'at the place where we eat'

This construction is similar to temporal adverbial relative clauses (§15.2.1.2), but the temporal clauses normally do not take a locative (or other) postposition.

15.3.2   Manner adverbial clause

15.3.2.1   'how …' clause (*bànà*)

The noun *bànà* 'way, manner' is the head of simple nonsubject relatives in (xx1a-b).

(xx1) a. *[è   bánà]   àlàmùnɔ̀   sɛ́mà=à*
           [Def   **manner**]   2SgS   slaughter.Impf-2SgS
           'the way you-Sg slaughter a sheep'

b. *[bànà   dìgɔ̀   b-yá]*   *ɲ́   ɲ-ìndò*
   [manner   go.up.Impf Impf-Ppl]   1SgS   Epen-not.know
   'I don't know how to go up there.'

For the use of this manner adverbial clause as a subject-conjugated purposive clause, see §17.5.3.

15.3.2.2 'like/as though' clause (*pínì*)

pínì 'like' (§8.4.1) can be used with an imperfective relative-clause (participial) complement. The clause can be translated 'as though', or the larger construction including 'do' or other action verb can be translated 'pretend to'.

(xx1) a. *[wɔ̀:   wá:-∅-yà   pínì]*   *kán-∅*
          [weeping   weep.Impf-3SgS-Ppl   like]   do.Perf-3SgS
          'He did like (=pretended to) weep.'

       b. *[wɔ̀:   wɔ́:   ŋké   b-yà   pínì]*   *kán-nì*
          [weeping   weep.Impf-3SgS-Ppl   like]   do.Perf-3SgS
          'they did like (=pretended to) weep.'

15.3.3 'From … until …'

This construction is illustrated in (xx1). The first clause is a simple perfective indicative clause 'they$_x$ were born', phrased as 'they$_y$ (=mothers or parents) gave birth to them$_x$ (=children)'. The second clause begins with *hâl* 'until, all the way to'

(xx1) *ŋké-ŋ   nál-yè,   hâl   ŋké   dɔ́gá,*
       3Pl-Acc   give.birth.Perf-3PlS, until   3PlS   die.Impf,
       dà:yè   b-yá
       evil(pred.)   be-3PlS
       'From (the time) when they were born, until they (will) die, they are wicked.'

16 Conditional constructions

16.1 Hypothetical conditional with *né* ~ *nè* or *bé-né* 'if'

This is the usual conditional. The antecedent denotes an uncertain eventuality. If, as usual, this eventuality is an uncertain time-bounded event in the future, it is usually expressed by a perfective verb followed by *né* ~ *nè* 'if' (positive) or *bé-né* 'if' (negative or counterfactual). The positive forms with *né* ~ *nè* are identical to those used as nonpast anterior subordinators, which are presented (with full paradigms) in §15.2.2.2.

   If the consequent denotes a resulting eventuality, it is expressed by an imperfective main clause. The consequent may also be a modal such as an imperative or hortative. The subjects of the two clauses may be the same or different but there is no morphological marking of sameness.

(xx1) a. *á   tìbɛ́   nè,   bàrmì   káná=á   wò*
            2SgS   fall.Perf if,   injury do.Impf=2SgS   Impf
            'If you-Sg fall, you'll hurt yourself.'

       b. *wè:-gé nùwⁿ èg-yé   nè, ándó   ɲ́   bò*
            child-Pl here come-Impf-3PlS if, go.Impf 1SgS Impf
            'If children come here, I'll go.'

       c. *té: á   nɛ̌:   nè,   úrí-yá=á   wò*
            tea 2SgS drink-Impf   if,   be.sick-MP-Impf-2SgS
            'If you-Sg drink (the) tea, you'll get sick.'

       d. *kùmà:ŋgà wwɛ́:   nè,*
            rain(n)   rain.fall.Perf-3SgS if,
            ógà   kɔ̀yⁿ   ɲ̀   tégà
            tomorrow   field   1PlS   head.for.Impf
            'If it rains, tomorrow we'll go to the field(s).'

       e. *kùmà:ŋgá wwè:-l   bé-nɛ́,*
            rain(n)   rain.fall.Perf-3SgS if,
            àndò-ò-lí
            go-1PlS-ImpfNeg
            'If it doesn't rain, we won't go.'

283

Paradigms showing perfective positive forms before *nè* are in (xx2). *nè* always co-occurs with a H-tone on the final syllable (final mora for monosyllabics). Aside from this final H-tone, the 1Sg and 2Sg. The 1Pl, 2Pl, and 3Sg have {H}-toned verbs. The 3Pl is {HL}-toned.

(xx2)	category	'push'	'think'	'drink'
	1Sg	*ή tùmbùgé nè*	*ή nà:lé nè*	*ή nĕ: nè*
	1Pl	*ὴ̀ túmbúgé nè*	*ὴ̀ ná:lé nè*	*ὴ̀ né: nè*
	2Sg	*á tùmbùgé nè*	*á nà:lé nè*	*á nĕ: nè*
	2Pl	*à túmbúgé nè*	*à ná:lé nè*	*à né: nè*
	3Sg	*túmbúgé-∅ né*	*ná:lé-∅ né*	*né:-∅ né*
	3Pl	*túmbúgí-yé nè*	*ná:lí-yé nè*	*níyⁿ-yⁿé nè*

For the phonology of *ή nĕ nè* 'if I said' with ultra-short *Cv* verb, see §3.6.3.3.

The perfective negative has its regular main-clause form (§10.2.3.1) before *bé-né*. The verb is {L}-toned for the three singular-subject forms, {H}-toned for the three plural-subject forms.

(xx2)	category	'push'	'think'	'drink'
	1Sg	*ή tùmbùgè-l bé-né*	*ή nà:lè-l bé-né*	*ή nè:-l bé-né*
	1Pl	*ὴ̀ túmbúgé-l bé-né*	*ὴ̀ ná:lé-l bé-né*	*ὴ̀ né:-l bé-né*
	2Sg	*á tùmbùgè-l bé-né*	*á nà:lè-l bé-né*	*á nè:-l bé-né*
	2Pl	*à túmbúgé-l bé-né*	*à ná:lé-l bé-né*	*à né:-l bé-né*
	3Sg	*tùmbùgè-l-∅ bé-né*	*nà:lè-l-∅ bé-né*	*nè:-l-∅ bé-né*
	3Pl	*túmbúgá-ndá bé-né*	*ná:lá-ndá bé-né*	*ná:-ndá bé-né*

16.2 Alternative 'if' particles

16.2.1 'Even if …' (*né pé*, *bé-né pé*)

Adding *pé* 'also, even' to the 'if' particle emphasizes that the realization of the antecedent condition will not affect that of the consequent condition.

(xx1)   *[sĕydù   égé-∅   né pé]   [nă: ɲɔ̀:-ndí-∅]*

284

[Seydou come.Perf-3SgS if   even] [meal eat.meal-ImpfNeg-3SgS]
'Even if Seydou comes, he won't eat (here).'

16.3   Counterfactual conditional

In counterfactual conditionals, the antecedent ends in *bέ-nέ* 'if', and both the antecedent and the consquent verbs are marked by the clitic *=ye* for past time. The antecedent is **past perfect** (morphologically, the past of the perfective, §10.6.1.5). The consequent is normally in the past imperfective in a sense like 'was going to VP' (§10.6.1.4). The presupposition is that the antecedent condition was not realized.

(xx1)   *[sέwá:rὲ   ὴ   wánjὲ=yὲ   bέ-nέ],*
        [Sevare   1PlS   remain.Perf=Past   if]
        [mbέ-ŋ   gíy-yὲ=yὲ]
        [1Pl-Acc   kill.Perf-3PlS=Past]
        'If we had stayed in Sevare, they would have killed us.'

An example with two negative clauses is (xx2).

(xx1)   *nὲ:-l-∅=yὲ   bέ-nέ,*
        drink-PerfNeg-3SgS=Past   if,
        [è   yὂ:-ⁿ]   dὸnjὸ:-ndí-∅=yé
        [Def   woman-Acc]   bump-ImpfNeg-3SgS=Past
        'If he hadn't drunk (=been drinking), he would not have collided with the woman.'

17 Complement and purposive clauses

17.1 Quotative complements

17.1.1 Quoted indicative clauses

Quoted indicative clauses are marked as such by one or more of the following features:

- the conjugatable **'say' verb** *nɛ́* (perfective form), which (if present) follows the quotation, §17.1.1.1;
- invariable **quotative particle** *wa* (§17.1.1.2) can be used instead of the conjugated 'say' verb, following a quotation;
- logophoric subject pronouns, are used when the quoted speaker (author) is not a current speech-event participant and is coindexed with the subject of a quoted clause; the logophoric singular subject pronoun *à* is identical to 2Pl, and the logophoric plural subject pronoun *ŋkɛ́* is identical to the marked 3Pl pronoun used in nonsubject focalized and nonsubject relative clauses (§18.3);
- original addressees (2Sg or 2Pl) are normally converted to corresponding third person forms in quotations, so 'Seydou said "you-Pl will not go"' is expressed as 'Seydou said, they will not go.'

Several of these features are illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1) *[à   y-égò-mà-ndà]   nɛ́-∅*
        [LogoSgS   come-can-StatNeg]   say.Perf-3SgS
        'He$_x$ said that he$_x$ can't come.'

For the shift from original addressee to quoted third person, see e.g. (xx2) in text 1 ('The merchant said: "I will kill you."').
    In a self-quotation ('I said that …'), the quotation has the same form as in an unquoted main clause. The final 'I said' may function merely as an emphatic, as in repeating a statement for insistence.

(xx2) *[ŋ́   y-ègò-má-ndá]   ŋ́   nè*
        [1SgS   Epen-come-can-StatNeg]   1SgS   say.Perf
        'I said that I can't (or: couldn't) come.'

This type of quotative complement, with no distinctive quotative (i.e. hearsay) marking, is also sometimes used with second person quoted speaker in contexts where hearsay evidentiality is not relevant.

(xx3)　*[njɛ́*　　*nâm:]*　　*ègá-á-lì*　　　　　　*á*　　　*nɛ̀*
　　　　[what?　Purp]　come-2SgS-ImpfNeg　　2SgS　　say.Perf
　　　　'Why did you-Sg (just) say that you won't come?

TAMN inflections are not reset when a clause is quoted.
　　　Additional features occur in jussives (quoted imperatives and hortatives), see §17.1.2.1.

17.1.1.1　'Say' verb (*nɛ́*)

The overt 'say' verb is perfective *nɛ́.* This is the only monomoraic *Cv* verb, but it does have regular aspect-negation and pronominal-subject inflections (§10.1.2.1). The 3Sg perfective form *nɛ́-∅* is often heard with low pitch as a kind of phonological enclitic to the final word in the quotation, but I transcribe it in its full form.

(xx1)　a.　*[ɔ̀nɔ̀*　　*éjjè=yò]*　　　*nɛ́-∅*
　　　　　　[3Sg　　Dogon=it.is]　　say.Perf-3SgS
　　　　　　'He$_x$ said that he$_x$'s a Dogon.'

　　　　b.　*[ŋkɛ́*　　*éjjè-gè=yò]*　　　*níy^n-y^{n}ɛ̀*
　　　　　　[3PlS　　Dogon-Pl=it.is]　　say.Perf-3PlS
　　　　　　'They$_x$ said that they$_x$ are Dogon-Pl.'

　　　　c.　*[égó*　　　*ý*　　　*bò]*　　*ý*　　*nɛ̀*
　　　　　　[come.Impf　1SgS　　Impf]　　1SgS　say
　　　　　　'I said that I will/would come.'

The 'say' verb is often omitted from quotations, since the quotative particle and other details identify a clause as quoted.
　　　For *nɛ́* and its causative *ná-m* as auxiliary verbs with adverbials and onomatopoeias, see §11.1.2.3.

17.1.1.2 Clause-final quotative particle *wa*

This particle follows the quoted clause, and may be repeated after each clause in a long quotation. It is not also inserted after the subject as it is in some other Dogon languages. It gets its tone by spreading from the preceding syllable.

(xx1) a. *[á   y-ègè-y^n]   wà*
          [2SgS   Epen-come-3Hort]   Quot
          '(He/She/They) said for you to come.'

       b. *[à   wǒl-∅]   wá*
          [LogoPl   not.be-3SgS]   Quot
          '(He$_x$) says he$_x$ isn't there.'

       c. *[sěydù   [è   wé:-gè-w^n]   búndé-∅   wá*
          [Seydou   [Def   child-Pl-Acc]   hit.Perf-3SgS   Quot
          '(He) said that Seydou hit the children.'

17.1.2 Jussive complement (reported imperative or hortative)

17.1.2.1 Quoted imperative *(-y^n*, third person *-yè* ~ *-yè̀*)

Quoted imperatives use the third-person (i.e. displaced) hortative, which for 1st/2nd person subject of the imperative is the E/I-stem plus *-y^n*, and for third person subject of the imperative is *-yè* ~ *-yè̀* after stem-final *i* (I-stem). For the morphology see §10.7.3.1. There is no overt 3Sg or 3Pl subject pronoun.

(xx1) a. *nàmà   ŋ́ / á   pùrgè-y^n wà*
          meat   1SgS / 2SgS   cut-3Hort   Quot
          '(He) said for me/you-Sg to cut the meat'

       b. *nàmà   ŋ̀ / à   pùrgè-y^n wà*
          meat   1PlS / 2PlS   cut-3Hort   Quot
          '(He) said for us/you-Pl to cut the meat'

       c. *nàmà   pùrgí-yè   wà*
          meat   cut-3Hort   Quot
          '(He) said for him/her/them to cut the meat'

An original prohibitive (negative imperative) retains its prohibitive morphology (§10.7.1.2) and tones in a quotation.

(xx2)   *sĕydù*   *ègà-ndé-ỳⁿ*   *wà*
        Seydou   come-Prohib   Quot
        'He says for Seydou not to come.'

17.1.2.2   Quoted hortative

A hortative ('let's VP') may also be quoted. In this construction, the hortative suffix is *-yⁿ* after the E/I-stem of the verb, see §10.7.2.1. There is no distinction between singular and plural addressee situations. Either quotative particle *wa* or a conjugated form of 'say' may be used.

(xx1)   *sé:dù*   *[sìrgà*   *ŋ̀*   *sógé-yⁿ]*   *nè-∅*
        Seydou   [cicken   1PlS   buy-Hort]   say.Perf-3SgS.LH
        'Seydou said, let's buy a chicken!'

17.1.3   Quoted interrogatives with *lè*

Quoted interrogative clauses are marked with a particle *lè* following the predicate, compare English *whether*.

(xx1)   a.   *dĕm*   *ὲⁿ*   *ŋ́*   *sá:ⁿ*   *lè*   *wà*
             house   Exist   1SgS   have   QuotQ   Quot
             '(Someone) says/said (asks/asked), do I have a house?' (*dèm*, *ὲ ŋ́ sà:ⁿ*)

        c.   *íⁿì*   *sònjòm=yó*   *lè*   *sálé-∅*
             Dem   horse=it.is   QuotQ   ask.Perf-3SgS
             'He/She asked, is that a horse?'

        d.   *mbà*   *ŋ́*   *tègà*   *lè*   *sálé-∅*
             where   1SgS   head.for.Impf   QuotQ   ask.Perf-3SgS
             'He/She asked, where am/was I going'

17.2   Factive complements

17.2.1   'Know that …' complement (headless relative)

Factive complements of 'know (that)' take the form of regular main clauses (e.g. with 3Sg subject *-∅* in several inflectional categories). With 'know', the factive clause occasionally ends in *géŋ* 'place' (by extension 'situation, state of affairs')

290

in {HL}-toned form *gêŋ* (xx1c), suggesting that it is "possessed" by the factive clause. cf. *the fact of …* in English. A nonpronominal subject of 'know' may precede the factive clause (xx1e) but may alternatively immediately precede 'know'.

(xx1) a. *ègá-á-lì*   *ŋ̀*   *ɲêyⁿ*
           come-2SgS-ImpfNeg   1PlS   know
           'We know that you are not coming.'

       b. *[wè:-gè   égá-ndá]*   *ŋ̀*   *ɲêyⁿ*
           [child-Pl   come-PerfNeg]   1PlS   know
           'We know that (the) children didn't come.'

       c. *[[àlàmùnɔ́   ŋ́   sèmɛ̀]   gêŋ]*
           [[sheep   1SgS   slaughter.Perf]   ᴴᴸplace]
           [wè:-gè   êyⁿ   b-yà]
           [child-Pl   know   be-3PlS]
           'They know that I (have) slaughtered a sheep.'

       d. *[égá-á   wò]   ŋ́   ɲèyⁿ*
           come.Impf-2SgS   Impf]   1SgS   know
           'I know that you-Sg are coming.'

       e. *séydù   ègá-à-lì   ʔɛ́ɲɔ̀   bò-∅*
           Seydou   come-2SgS-ImpfNeg   know   be-3SgS
           'Seydou knows that you are not coming.'

The same construction is used with *núndé* 'hear' (in the sense 'hear that', i.e. 'be told that') and *témé* 'find (a situation)'. My assistant rejects *gêŋ* with factive complements of *témé* but allows it with *núndé* (as with 'know').

17.2.2   'See that …'

17.2.2.1   Direct-perception construction

When the complement of 'see' denotes an event or process directly observed (not just inferred) by the subject, two constructions are possible, depending on aspect (bounded event versus imperfective). For a **bounded event**, the complement has a perfective verb, with 3Sg subject expressed by postverbal *nà* (xx1a) and with 3Sg and 3Pl subject verb forms {L}-toned. This is the tight perfective chain construction described in §15.2.1.5.

291

(xx1) a. *[sè:dú   tìbè   nà]   ŋ̀   málgè*
       [Seydou   fall   3SgS]   1PlS   see.Perf
       'We saw Seydou fall.'

    b. *[wè:-gé   tìb-yè]   ŋ̀   málgè*
       [Seydou   fall-3PlS]   1PlS   see.Perf
       'We saw the children fall.'

An **imperfective** complement, denoting a continuing activity or a recurrent event type, takes the usual clause-final imperfective subordinator w^n ~ *ŋ* (§15.2.1.3). The w^n is weakly articulated and may be inaudible. For example, in (xx2b) the sequence *ná w^n á* is usually contracted to [ná:]. w^n is also difficult to detect before a nasal (that of *málgé* 'see' or that of a first person subject proclitic).

(xx2) a. *[á   yèbâ w^n]   ŋ́   màlgè*
       [2SgS   dance.Impf   Impf]   1SgS   see.Perf
       'I saw you-Sg dancing.'

    b. *[[è   wê:]   yèbà   ná w^n]   á   màlgè*
       [[Def   child]   dance.Impf   3SgS   Impf]   2SgS   see.Perf
       'You-Sg saw the child dancing.' (*yèbá nà*)

    c. *[wè:-gé   yèbà-yá w^n]   á   màlgè*
       [child-Pl   dance.Impf-3PlS   Impf]   2SgS   see.Perf
       'You-Sg saw the children dancing.' (*yèbá-yà-w^n*)

    d. *[ŋ́   yèbâ w^n]   màlíg-yè*
       [1SgS   dance   Impf]   see.Perf-3PlS
       'They saw me dance.'

17.2.2.2 Recognition construction

'Hear that' (hearsay) and 'see that' (involving an inference made with use of visual data) take main-clause complements. The 3Sg subject perfective form has its usual main-clause form, without postverbal *nà*. Since the complement of 'hear' is more clearly an embedded proposition than is the case with 'see', 'hear' complements often end with the possessed {HL}-toned form of *géŋ* 'place' (by extension 'situation, state of affairs') (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[nàfòrò-gà   á   bìlè]   [ŋ́   màlà]*
       [wealth-Char   2SgS   become.Perf]   [1SgS   see.Stat]
       'I see that you have become a rich person.'

b. *[[nàfòrò-gà   bílé-∅]   gêŋ]   [ŋ́   nùndè]*
[[wealth-Char   become.Perf-3SgS]   place] [1SgS hear.Perf]
'I have heard that he/she has become a rich person.'

17.2.3 *tájjárà* 'certainly, definitely'

tájjárà (< Fulfulde) can be added, either by itself as a kind of adverb ('certainly, definitely') as in (xx1a-b) or as part of a phrase with *kàní→* (xx1c-d). The latter is related to the verb *kání* 'do', but it behaves syntactically as an expressive adverbial (§8.4.5), and is made predicative by *bò* 'be' or its negation *wŏl* (negative) (§11.1.3.1). The sense is '(someone) be certain (that …)'. The complement is a regular main clause, which may denote either a completed or a future eventuality.

(xx1) a. *tájjárà   égò   bò-∅*
certainly   come.Impf   Impf-3SgS
'He/She will certainly come.'

b. *tájjárá   [è   wálè]   gúyé-∅*
certainly   [Def   money]   steal.Perf-3SgS
'He/She certainly stole the money.'

c. *[tájjárá   kàní→   ŋ́   bò]   égò   bò-∅*
[certainly   do   1SgS   Impf]   come.Impf   impf-3SgS
'I'm sure that he/she will come.'

d. *tájjárá   kàní→   wŏl-∅*
certainly   do   not.be-3SgS
'He/She is not sure (about sth).'

17.3 Chain-like complements (perfective or anterior)

17.3.1 'Finish' (*déŋgé*) with perfective or (nonpast) anterior complement

déŋgé 'finish' is treated as a separate subevent in a complex predication, as though immediately subsequent to the activity itself. Therefore 'finish VPing' is treated like a chain of the type 'VP and then finish'.

When the entire bounded event is completed, *déŋgé* is perfective in form and is preceded by a complement with a conjugated perfective verb. The construction is that of tightly-chained perfectives (§15.2.1.5). For 3Sg and 3Pl

subject, the verb of the complement of *déŋgé* is **{L}-toned**, versus {H} or {HL} in main clauses. A preceding otherwise {L}-toned noun can then undergo Final Tone-Raising of its final syllable (or mora) before the L-toned verb (§3.6.3.1), as in (xx1a-b). 3Sg subject is expressed by *nà* following the verb, as in (nonsubject) relative clauses. 1st/2nd person subjects have the same verb forms as in perfective main clauses.

(xx1)   a.   *[ɲǎː   ɲɛ̀ː   nà]]   déŋgé-∅*
             [meal   eat.Perf   3SgS]   finish.Perf-3Sgs
             'He/She has finished eating (a meal).' (*ɲàː*)

        b.   *[àlàmùnɔ́   tɔ̀l-yɛ̀]   déŋ-yɛ̀*
             [sheep   butcher.Perf-3PlS]   finish.Perf-3PlS
             'They have finished skinning and butchering the sheep-Sg.'
             (*àlàmùnɔ̀*)

        c.   *[káyⁿ   à   kánì]   à   déŋgè*
             [work(n)   2PlS   do.Perf]   2SgS   finish.Perf
             'You-Pl have finished doing (the) work.'

When the entire event including its completion are imperfective (future or recurrent), the complement has same-subject anterior subordinator *né ~ nè* following the perfective (E/I-stem) (§15.2.2.2). This clause type also occurs as the antecedent clause in conditionals (§16.1).

(xx1)   a.   *[ɲàː   ɲéː-∅   né]   déŋgɔ̀   bɔ̀-∅*
             [meal   eat.Perf-3SgS   and.then]   finish.Impf   Impf-3SgS
             'He/She will finish eating (a meal).'

        b.   *[àlàmùnɔ̀   tɔ́l-yɛ́   nè]   déŋgɔ̀   b(ì)-yà*
             [sheep   butcher.Perf-3PlS and.then]   finish.Impf   Impf-3PlS
             'They will finish skinning and butchering the sheep-Sg.'

        c.   *[káyⁿ   à   kání   nè]   déŋgà-à   wò*
             [work(n)   2PlS   do.Perf   and.then]   finish.Impf-2PlS   Impf
             'You-Pl will finish doing (the) work.' (pronouned [...àkánːè...]

17.4 Verbal noun (and other nominal) complements

The productive verbal noun has suffix *-l* (§4.2.4). Complements in the form of VPs ending in the verbal noun suffix, or some other noun (such as a cognate nominal) denoting an eventuality type, are required by some matrix-clause

verbs. Compare English control verbs with infinitival (*to VP*) complements. The logical subject of the complement VP is coindexed with the matrix subject, but is not overtly expressed.

17.4.1   Argument structure of verbal-noun complement

The verbal noun complement may contain **nonsubject constituents** that belong to the embedded clause. For example, accusative 'me' in (xx1a) is the object of 'kill', and 'Mopti' in (xx1b) functions as a locational complement of 'go'.

(xx1)   a.   *[è   ntá-gé]   [mì-ŋ   gíyê-l]*
             [Def   person-Pl]   [1Sg-Acc   kill-VblN]
             dúndɔ́   ŋké   b-yà
             seek   3PlS   Prog-3PlS
             'The people are seeking (trying) to kill me [focus].'

        b.   *[móttì   ándê-l]   ŋ́   dùndè = yè*
             [Mopti   go-VblN]   1SgS   seek.Perf=Past
             'I had wanted to go to Mopti.'

17.4.2   'Prevent' (*hár kánì*) with verbal-noun complement

This matrix-clause verb takes a verbal noun complement. The logical agent of the verbal noun appears as object of *hár kánì* in the matrix clause.

(xx1)   a.   *kùmà:ŋgà   égê-l   mì-ŋ   hár   kànì-∅*
             rain(n)   come-VblN 1Sg-Acc   prevent   do.Perf-3SgS
             'The rain prevented me from coming here.'

        b.   *bèlègè   nó:yê-l   mì-ŋ   hár   kán-li-∅*
             noise   1Sg-Acc   sleep-VblN   prevent do-PerfNeg-3SgS
             '(The) noise did not prevent me from sleeping.'

        c.   *[ŋ́   bɔbɔ́]   [bàmàkɔ̀   ándê-l]*
             [1SgP   father]   [Bamako   go-VblN]
             mì-ŋ   hár   kànì-∅
             1Sg-Acc   prevent   do.Perf-3SgS
             'My father prevented me from going to Bamako.'

17.4.3 'Dare' (*ná:lè*) with verbal-noun complement

ná:lè 'think' can be used in the sense 'dare to VP, have the nerve/effrontery to VP'. The complement is in verbal noun form.

(xx1) *[nùwⁿ   égê-l]   á   nǎ:lè*
      [here   come-VblN]   2SgS   think.Perf
      'You-Sg have dared to come here?'

17.4.4 'Consent' (*ábé*) with verbal-noun complement

ábé 'accept, receive' can be used with a verbal-noun complement in the sense 'agree, consent (to do something)', when the subject of the embedded clause is coindexed with the matrix subject.

(xx1) *[ĭŋ   kó:-gè]   égê-l   ab-yè*
      [1PlS   head-Pl]   come-VblN   accept.Perf-3PlS
      'Our chiefs agreed to come.'

If the subjects are different, the verbal noun takes the embedded-clause subject as possessor.

(xx2) *[ŋ́   bɔ̀bɔ́]   [bàmàkɔ́   ŋ́   ɲ-à:ndê-l]   ábé-∅*
      [1SgP father] [Bamako   1SgS   Epen-go-VblN] accept.Perf-3SgS
      'My father agreed/consented that I go to Bamako.'
      (lit."… accepted my going to Bamako")

17.4.5 'Want' (*kéɲù ~ kéyⁿ*) complements

For defective stative *kéɲù ~ kéyⁿ* 'want' and its negation *kéy-là* see §11.2.5.2. The verb can take a NP object ('I want some sugar') or a clausal complement. The forms of clausal complements are described below.

17.4.5.1 Verbal-noun complement (same subjects)

If the logical subject of the complement is coindexed with the matrix subject, we get an ordinary verbal noun (or similar nominal) complement (xx1). The coindexed subject is not overtly marked in the complement.

(xx1) a. *[bàmàkɔ̀   ándê-l]   kéyⁿ   bò-∅*
           [Bamako   go-VblN]   want   be-3SgS
           'He/She wants to go to Bamako.'

       b. *[úná   sɔ́gê-l]   ŋ́   kèyⁿ*
           [goat   buy-VblN] 1SgS   want
           'I would like to buy a goat.'

17.4.5.2   Nonpast anterior complement (different subjects)

If the subjects are distinct, the complement of 'want' takes the form of a nonpast
anterior clause with *né ~ nè* and a verb conjugated for pronominal subject
(§15.2.2.2).

(xx1) *[ŋ́   bɔ̀bɔ́]   [bàmàkɔ́   ŋ́   ɲ-à:ndé   nè]*
       [1SgP   father]   [Bamako   1SgS   Epen-go   and.then]
       kéyⁿ   bò-∅
       want   be-3SgS
       'My father wants me to go to Bamako.'

17.4.6   'Forget' (*íldè*) with verbal-noun complement

íldè 'forget' can take a NP complement ('I forgot his name', 'they forgot me'). A
clausal complement in the sense 'forget to VP' takes verbal-noun form.

(xx1) *égê-l   íldè-∅*
       come-VblN   forget.Perf-3SgS
       'He/She forgot to come.'

'Forget' can of course also take a factive (propositional) complement. In (xx2),
the complement has *géŋ* 'place' (or more abstractly 'situation') as a noun
"possessed" by the embedded proposition, cf. *the fact that* in English.

(xx2) *[[á   y-ègè]   gêŋ]   [ŋ́   y-ĭldè]*
       [[2Sg   Epen-come.Perf]   ^HLplace]   [1SgS   Epen-forget.Perf]
       'I forgot (the fact) that you-Sg have come.'

17.4.7   'Be afraid to' (*ní:gè*) with verbal-noun complement

An example is (xx1), where the subjects of the two clauses are the same.

(xx1)   *[nùŋ   égê-l]   ŋ́   nì:gɔ̂:*
        [here   come-VblN]   1SgS   fear.Impf
        'I am afraid to come here.'

When the subjects of the two clauses are different, we get a construction with a prohibitive verb (cf. *lest*).

(xx2)   *[mì-ŋ́   bùndà-ndé-ỳⁿ]   ŋ́   nì:gɔ̂:*
        [1Sg-Acc   hit-Prohib]   1SgS   fear.Impf
        'I am afraid lest he/she hit me.'

17.4.8 'Begin' (*dɔ́gúlè*) with verbal-noun complement

dɔ́gúlè- 'begin' and its verbal-noun complement are illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1)   *dúgú-rê-l   ŋ́   dɔ̀gúlè*
        run-VblN   1SgS   begin.Perf
        'I began to run.'

17.4.9   'Cease' (*íŋgí-rè*) with verbal-noun complement

íŋgí-rè 'stop (sth)' can also mean 'cease, give up (an activity)', implying permanent behavior change, It can take a verbal noun complement.

(xx1)   *[kɔ̀njè   nê:-l]   ŋ́   ɲ-ìŋgí-rè*
        [beer   drink-VblN]   1SgS   Epen-stand-Tr.Perf
        'I have stopped (= have given up) drinking beer.'

17.4.10 'Help' (*bárgè-*) with nominal or imperfective complement

bárgè 'help' is a transitive verb that takes a (usually human) object. The domain is expressed either by a NP or by an imperfective subordinated clause. The NP type is seen in (xx1ab). (xx1a) has a cognate nominal related to the verb 'do farming', while (xx1b) has a verbal-noun phrase including an object. *bárgè* 'help'

has no obvious synchronic relationship to *báyrè* 'add' (the two senses are syncretic in some Dogon languages).

(xx1) a. *á:mádù   kùbɔ̀   mì-ŋ   bárgè-∅*
        Amadou   farming   1Sg-Acc   help.Perf-3SgS
        'Amadou helped me (with) farming / singing.'

     b. *[dèm   símê-l]   mì-ŋ   bárg-yè*
        [house   build-VblN]   1Sg-Acc   build.Perf-3PlS
        'They helped me build the house.'

The alternative is an imperfective clause with w^n (xx2). The subject of the embedded clause is expressed only as the direct object of the 'help' clause.

(xx2) *[dĕm   sìmɔ̀ w^n]   mì-ŋ   báríg-yè*
        [house   build   Impf]   1Sg-Acc   help.Perf-3PlS
        'They helped me build the house.'

The construction [X help Y [to VP]] is arguably ambiguous as to whether the implied agent of the lower VP consists of Y or of the pair {X Y}.

17.5 Purposive and causal clauses

17.5.1 Purposive clause with -w^n

This construction is attested with a motion verb in the main clause, which has the same subject as the purposive clause. The verb in the purposive clause is {L}-toned with final -w^n, and is not conjugated. A simple direct-object noun becomes {LH}-toned before this verb (xx1ab).

(xx1) a. *[ɲǎ: ɲɔ̀-w^n]   égè-∅ / ég-yè*
        [food^{LH} eat-Purp]   come.Perf-3SgS / -3PlS
        'He-or-she/They came to eat.' (*ɲà:*)

     b. *[gĕn   nìmbù-gò-w^n]   gú:ndè-∅*
        [fire^{LH} fire.go.out-Caus-Purp]   go.out.Perf-3SgS
        'He/She went out in order to put out the fire.' (*gên*)

     c. *nò:yò-w^n égè-∅ / ég-yè*
        sleep-Purp   come.Perf-3SgS / -3PlS
        'He-or-she/They came to sleep.'

d. *[mí-ŋ   gìyɔ̀-wⁿ]   égè-∅*
   [1Sg-Acc   kill-Purp]   come.Perf-3SgS
   'He/She came to kill me.'

e. *[ŋ́   sìrgá-gè   gùyɔ̀-wⁿ]   égè-∅*
   [1SgP   chicken-Pl]   steal-Purp]   come.Perf-3SgS
   'He/She came to steal my chickens.'

f. *[è   sírgà]   gùyɔ̀-wⁿ   égè-∅*
   [Def   chicken]   steal-Purp]   come.Perf-3SgS
   'He/She came to steal the chicken.'

Further examples of the form of the purposive-clause verb are in (xx2).

(xx2)   Perf 3Sg   purposive   gloss

dwɛ́:	*(dɔ̌:) dɔ̀-wⁿ*	'pound' (cognate nominal *dɔ̀:*)
nɛ́:	*(mǐ:) nɔ̀-wⁿ*	'drink (water)'
kwɛ́:	*kò-wⁿ*	'sew'
gúyé	*gùyò-wⁿ*	'steal'
pénjɛ́	*pènjɔ̀-wⁿ*	'milk (a cow)'
tómbé	*tòmbò-wⁿ*	'jump'
dɛ́:ndè	*dɛ̀:ndɔ̀-wⁿ*	'abandon'
sógú-lè	*sògù-lò-wⁿ*	'sell'

17.5.2   Different-subject purposive clause with *lè* after verb with {*o: ɔ: u:*}

This construction is attested with different-subject purposive clauses. The main clause can denote any purposeful action or activity. The purposive clause ends in *lè*, following a conjugated form of the verb with {LH} tones (except {HL} after 1Pl/2Pl proclitics), and with final long {*o: ɔ:*}, becoming *a:* for 3Pl subject. With slight tonal changes this is the same as the final-long-vowel imperfective (10.2.2.2).

(xx1) a. *[bármà   ŋkɛ́-ⁿ   ŋ́   tàbè]*
       [pot   3Pl-Acc   1SgS   give.Perf]
       [nǎ: dɔ̀ŋgɔ̀-ẃⁿ   dìnɔ́:-∅ / dìn-á: lè
       [meal   cook-Impf]   get-3SgS / -3PlS   Purp
       'I gave them a pot, so they would be able (=have the wherewithal) to cook meals.' ('get' = 'be able to, be in a position to')

b. *mòtó-nà   mì-ŋ   tábé-∅,*

motorcycle-3SgP   1Sg-Acc   give.Perf-3SgS,

péná   ŋ́   ɲ-à:ndó: lè

Pinia   1SgS   Epen-go   Purp

'He gave me his motorcycle, so that I (might) go to Pinia.'

Paradigms for representative verbs are in (xx2).

(xx2)

subject	'go in'	'go'	'dance'	'shatter'
1Sg	*ŋ́ nǒ: lè*	*ŋ́ ɲ-à:ndó: lè*	*ŋ́ yèbɔ́: lè*	*ŋ́ tèbà-gó: lè*
1Pl	*ŋ̀ nɔ̂: lè*	*ŋ̀ ɲ-á:ndò: lè*	*ŋ̀ yébɔ̀: lè*	*ŋ̀ tébà-gò: lè*
2Sg	*á nǒ: lè*	*á ɲ-à:ndó: lè*	*á yèbɔ́: lè*	*á tèbà-gó: lè*
2Pl	*à nɔ̂: lè*	*à ɲ-á:ndò: lè*	*à yébɔ̀: lè*	*à tébà-gò: lè*
3Sg	*nǒ:-∅ lè*	*àndó:-∅ lè*	*yèbɔ́:-∅ lè*	*tèbà-gó:-∅ lè*
3Pl	*nw-ǎ: lè*	*ànd-á: lè*	*yèb-á: lè*	*tèbà-g-á: lè*

	'do'
1Sg	*ŋ́ kànú: lè*
1Pl	*ŋ̀ kánù: lè*
2Sg	*á kànú: lè*
2Pl	*à kánù: lè*
3Sg	*kànú:-∅ lè*
3Pl	*kàn-á: lè*

17.5.3 Different-subject imperfective purposive-manner clause

Another way to express a different-subject purposive clause is a manner adverbial clause headed by bànà^L 'way, manner' (§15.3.2). The verb has imperfective participial form (§14.4.3). Two examples, both with *bànà yò: nà* 'so that it ma (=work) may turn out well', are in Text 3.

    Paradigms for representative verbs in this construction with *bànà* are in (xx1).

(xx1)

subj	'go in'	'go'	'dance'	'shatter'
1Sg	*nɔ̀: ŋ́ b-yà*	*àndò ŋ́ b-yà*	*yèbɔ̀ ŋ́ b-yà*	*tèbà-gò ŋ́ b-yà*
1Pl	*nɔ̂: ŋ̀ bí-yà*	*ándò ŋ̀ bí-yà*	*yébɔ̀ ŋ̀ bí-yà*	*tébá-gò ŋ̀ bí-yà*
2Sg	*nɔ̀-á yà*	*àndá-á yà*	*yèbà-á yà*	*tèbà-gà-á yà*
2Pl	*nɔ́-à yà*	*ándà-à yà*	*yébà-à yà*	*tébá-gà-à yà*

3Sg	*nɔ̀: nà*	*àndɔ̀ nà*	*yèbɔ̀ nà*	*tèbà-gò nà*
3Pl	*nɔ̂: ŋké b-yà*	*ándɔ̀ ŋké b-yà*	*yɛ́bɔ̀ ŋké b-yà*	*tébá-gò ŋké b-yà*

'do'

1Sg	*kànù ɲ́ b-yà*
1Pl	*kánù ɲ̀ bí-yà*
2Sg	*kànà-á yà*
2Pl	*kánà-à yà*

3Sg	*kàn nà*
3Pl	*kánù ŋké b-yà*

17.5.4 Causal ('because') clause (final *nâm→*)

Alongside clause-initial *pàskɔ́* (French *parce que*), which is ubiquitous in native languages of Mali as spoken by younger people, there is a native 'because' form *nâm→*, positioned clause-finally. It is evidently a variant of purposive-causal postposition *námù* (§8.3), but in this construction the final *u* is replaced by "intonational" prolongation of the *m*.

(xx1)   *òjú*   *ɲàmí:*   *bɔ̀-∅*   *nâm→,*
         road   ruined   be-3Sg   because,
         pènà   *ɲ̀*   *ɲ-á:ndò-mà-ndà*
         Pinia   1Pl   Epen-go-Capac-StatNeg
         'We can't go to Pinia because the road is no good.'

17.5.5 Obligational 'must' construction with *wà:jíbì* 'obligation'

wà:jíbì 'obligation, duty' can be made into a predicate nominal with the 'it is' clitic allomorph *=yò* (§11.2.1.1). The subject (or theme) is then a possessed verbal noun.

(xx1)   *[bàmàkɔ́*   *ɲ́*   *ɲ-à:ndê-l]*   *wà:jíbì=yò*
         [Bamako   1SgP   Epen-go-VblN]   obligation=it.is
         'I must go to Bamako'.
         (lit. "My going to Bamako is a duty.")

18 Anaphora

18.1 Reflexive

18.1.1 Reflexive object ('my head' etc.)

A possessed form of *kó:* 'head' is used for reflexive object, compare English *-self/-selves* reflexives. Unlike English, Penange does not pluralize 'head' when the possessor (and therefore also the clausemate subject) is plural. Therefore 'ourselves' is literally "our head" rather than "our heads."

(xx1) a. *kó:-ná*   *sémé-∅*
           head-3SgP   cut.Perf-3SgS
           'He cut himself.' or 'She cut herself.'

        b. *[ŋ́*   *kò:]*   *ŋ́*   *sèmè*
           [1SgP ^{L}head]   1SgS cut.Perf
           'I cut-Past myself.'

        c. *[ŋ̀*   *kó:]*   *ŋ̀*   *sémè*
           [1PlP ^{H}head]   1PlS cut.Perf
           'We cut ourselves.'

These specialized reflexive combinations are not sharply different from regular possessed forms of 'head(s)' in the literal sense. There is no overt difference between 'myself' above and 'my head' in (xx2a). With plural pronominal possessor (and plural heads), the plural suffix *-gè* is optional in the literal sense, e.g. 'our heads' in (xx2b), but is absent in reflexive 'ourselves'.

(xx2) a. *[ŋ́*   *kò:]*   *mì-ŋ*   *tíyò*   *bò-∅*
           [head   1SgP]   1Sg-Acc   hurt   Impf-3SgS
           'My head hurts.'

        b. *[mbé*   *kó:(-gè)]*   *yáw-yáw*   *bô-∅*
           [1PlP   head]   lightweight be-3PlS
           'Our heads are light.'

18.1.2   Reflexive possessor

There is no overt marking of reflexivity in possessors. A 3Sg or 3Pl possessor may or may not be coindexed with a third-person clausemate subject. (xx1a,c) are therefore ambiguous. 'His dog' has the same form in (xx1a), where coindexation with the clausemate subject is possible, as in (xx1b) with a clearly distinct first person subject.

(xx1)   a.   *úná-ná   gíyέ-∅*
             goat-3SgP   kill.Perf-3SgS
             'He$_x$ killed his$_x$ (own) dog.'
             'He$_x$ killed his$_y$/her$_y$ dog.'

        b.   *úná-ná   ŋ́   gìyὲ*
             goat-3SgP   1SgP   kill.Perf
             'I killed his/her goat.'

        c.   *sěydù   bɔ̀bɔ̀-nà   málgè-∅*
             Seydou   father-3SgP   see.Perf-3SgS
             'Seydou$_x$ saw his$_x$/his$_y$/her$_y$ father.'

18.2   Emphatic pronouns

'My head' and related forms can also be used adverbially, with an instrumental postposition, as equivalents of emphatic pronouns.

(xx1)   a.   *[[ŋ́   kò:]   nì]   ŋ́   sìmὲ*
             [[1SgP   head]   Inst]   1SgS   build.Perf
             'I built (it) myself.'

        b.   *[[kó:-ná   ní]   símè-∅*
             [[head-3SgP   Inst]   build.Perf-3SgS
             'He built (it) himself.'

18.3   Logophoric subject pronouns

There are no all-purpose logophoric pronouns as such. However, logophoricity (coindexation of an argument in a quotation with the ascribed author of the quotation) can be expressed if the argument is subject of its clause, and if the referent in question is third person, i.e. neither the current speaker nor the current addressee.

Singular logophoric subject in this sense is expressed by a morpheme *à*, proclitic to the verb.

(xx1) a. *sěydù*   *[à*   *y-égè]*   *né-∅*
              Seydou   [3LogoSgS   Epen-come.Perf]   say.Perf-3SgS
              'Seydu$_x$ said that he$_x$ came.'
              [identical to 'Seydou said that you-Pl came']

        b. *sěydù*   *[à*   *y-égé-l]*   *né-∅*
              Seydou   [3LogoSgS Epen-come-PerfNeg] say.Perf-3SgS
              'Seydou$_x$ said that he$_x$ didn't come.'
              [identical to 'Seydou said that you-Pl didn't come']

        c. *sěydù*   *[égà-à*   *wò]*   *né-∅*
              Seydou   [come-3LogoSgS Impf]   say.Perf-3SgS
              'Seydou$_x$ said that he$_x$ will come.'
              [identical to 'Seydou said that you-Pl will come']

        b. *sěydù*   *ègà-à-l*   *né-∅*
               Seydou   come-3LogoSgS-PerfNeg say.Perf-3SgS
              'Seydou$_x$ said that he$_x$ will not come.'
              [identical to 'Seydou said that you-Pl will not come']

On various occasions, my assistant attempted to audibly distinguish 2Pl from logophoric singular subject for some inflectional categories. For the imperfective positive, one one occasion the medial long [a:] was reduced to [a] for the logophoric, see (xx1c); this was also applied to the imperfective negative, see (xx1d). On another occasion, he used *bó* rather than *wò* for the logophoric singular imperfective positive, see (xx1c). However, at other times he indicated that there was no difference, and this is also my overall conclusion.

    Plural logophoric subject is expressed by adding 3Pl pronoun *ŋké*, instead of the usual 3Pl subject suffix on the verb. This resembles nonsubject focus clauses with regular 3Pl subject. In the imperfective negative, *wòl* 'not be' is used instead of *-l* suffix (xx2d).

(xx2) a. *[è*   *wé:-gè]* *[ŋké*   *égè]*   *níyⁿ-yè*
              [Def   child-Pl] [3LogoPlS   come.Perf]   say.Perf-3PlS
              'The children$_x$ said that they$_x$ came.'

        b. *[è*   *wé:-gè]* *[ŋké*   *égé-l]*   *níyⁿ-yè*
               [Def   child-Pl] [3LogoPlS   come-PerfNeg] say.Perf-3PlS
               'The children$_x$ said that they$_x$ didn't come.'

        c. *[è*   *wé:-gè]* *[égò*   *ŋké*   *bò]*   *níyⁿ-yè*

[Def child-Pl] [come 3LogoPlS Impf] say.Perf-3PlS
'The children_x said that they_x will come.'

d. *[è   wé:-gè] [égò   ŋké   wòl]   níyⁿ-yè*
   [Def child-Pl] [come 3LogoPlS not.be] say.Perf-3PlS
   'The children_x said that they_x will not come.'

There is no logophoric when the argument in the quoted clause is other than subject, e.g. direct object. In (xx3), the regular 3Sg pronoun *ɔ̀nɔ̀* is used, and there is no explicit indication of coindexation, so noncoindexed readings are possible.

(xx3) *sĕydù   [ɔ̀nɔ̀   à   búndè   nɛ́-∅*
       Seydou   [3Sg   2PlS   hit.Perf]   say.Perf-3SgS
       'Seydou_x said that you-Pl hit him_x/ him_y/ her_y.'

Logophoric subject is not expressed when the ascribed author is the current speaker or addressee. In these cases, the pronominal categories of the current speech event apply.

(xx4) a. *[ègò   ɲ́   bò]   ɲ́   nè*
          [come   1SgS   Impf]   1SgS   say.Perf
          'I said I am coming.'

       b. *[égá-á   wò]   á   nè*
          [come-2SgS   Impf] 2SgS   say.Perf
          'You-Sg said that you-Sg are coming.'

18.4 Reciprocal

The reciprocal ('they hit/saw each other') is expressed by a verbal derivation with suffix *-lè* added to an otherwise transitive verb with a referentially nonsingular subject (§9.5). The verb is optionally preceded by *bòwⁿ* 'together, reciprocally'.

19   Grammatical pragmatics

19.1   Topic

19.1.1   Topic (*gɔ̀n ~ gɔ̂n*)

The topic particle is *gɔ̀n ~ gɔ̂n*. It implies a contrast between the topicalized NP and other possible topics from the discourse or communicative context.

(xx1)   *[mí   gɔ̂n]   àndó-ò-lì*
        [1Sg   Topic]   go-ImpfNeg-1SgS
        'As for me, I'm not going.'

Representative forms are in (xx2). The form is *gɔ̂n* after a {H}- or {L}-toned word, but *gɔ̀n* after any word with a contour tone.

(xx1)   input   gloss   'as for'

        a. pronouns
            mí   1Sg   *mí gɔ̂n*
            mbé   1Pl   *mbé gɔ̂n*
            ó   2Sg   *ó gɔ̂n*
            ɔ̀nɔ̀   3Sg   *ɔ̀nɔ̀ gɔ̂n*
            ŋké   3Pl   *ŋké gɔ̂n*

        b. *wè:*   'child'   *wè: gɔ̂n*
            è wê: 'the child'   *è wê: gɔ̀n*
            wè:-gé   'children'   *wè:-gè gɔ̂n*
            sěydù   'Seydou'   *sěydù gɔ̀n*
            úná   'goat'   *úná gɔ̂n*
            úná-gé   'goats'   *úná-gé gɔ̂n*

19.1.2   'Also' (*pé*)

pé is added to NPs including pronouns, and to adverbial phrases such as locative PPs (xx1a), but can also be clause-final (xx1b). It can follow accusative NPs (xx1c).

(xx1) a. *[bàmàkɔ̀ bà pé] káyⁿ ɲ́ kànù*
[Bamako Loc also] work(n) 1SgS do-Impf
'I work in Bamako too.'

b. *nɔ̌: nw-â: pé*
song sing.Impf-3PlS also
They sing too.'

c. *[è wê: ŋ pé] búndé-∅*
[Def child Acc also] hit.Perf-3SgS
'He/She hit-Past the child also.'

Pronominal combinations are *mí pé* (1Sg), *mbé pé* (1Pl), *ó pé* (2Sg), *ábé pé* (2Pl), *ɔ̀nɔ̀ pé* (3Sg), and *ŋké pé* (3Pl).

19.1.3 'Even' (*X pé*)

pé following a constituent expresses 'even X'.

(xx1) a. *[wè: pé] dìgɔ̀-mâ: bò-∅*
[child even] go.up-can be-3SgS
'Even a child can go up (=climb).'

b. *[wè:-ná-ŋgè pé] búndó*
[child-3SgP-Pl even] hit-Impf-3SgS
'He/She even hits his/her children.'

19.2 Preclausal discourse markers

19.2.1 'Well, …' (*hàyà*)

Preclausal *hàyà* 'well, …' or 'all right, …' occurs in Penange as in most languages of the area. It can be used to acknowledge comprehension of an interlocutor's utterance (xx1a). It can also be a hesitation form suggesting lack of enthusiasm, much like English *well*.

(xx1) a. *hàyà ɲ́ nùndè*
well 1SgS hear.Perf
'Okay, I have heard (understood).'

b. *hàyà ɲ́ nà:lé nèw*

well   1SgS   think.Perf   first
'Well, I'll think it over first.'

19.2.2 'But …' (*ŋgà*)

Clause-initial *ŋgà* 'but' belongs to a regionally widespread complex (other languages have e.g. kà:, gà:, or ŋkà).

(xx1) *èm-bà   ándó   ŋ́   bò,   ŋgà   wànjó-ó-lì*
       there   go.Impf 1SgS Impf, but   stay-1SgS-ImpfNeg
       'I am going there but I won't stay.'

19.3 'Only' particles

19.3.1 'Only' (*tìrà→*)

tìrà→ 'only' is probably derived from an original numeral 'one' that does not otherwise survive in Penange. It can be added to a NP or similar constituent, which is usually focal (xx1a), or it can occur clause-finally especially when no suitable NP is present (xx1b).

(xx1) a. *[ín   tìrà→]   mì-ŋ   tábé   ná*
           [Dem   only]   1Sg-Acc give.Perf 3SgS
           'He/She gave me this only [focus].'

       b. *nó:yá-á   wò   tìrà→*
           sleep-Impf-2SgS Impf   only
           'You-Sg only sleep.'

Circumlocutions of the type 'they don't replaster walls, if it is not (=unless it is) with honey', i.e. 'they only use honey to replaster walls', also occur especially in narrative; see (xx7) in text 1.

19.4 **Phrase-final emphatics**

19.4.1 Clause-final *kóy* 'sure' (firm agreement or answer)

The regionally widespread clause-final confirmational emphatic, in the form *kóy*, is in common use in Penange. It is used somewhat like English *sure* as in *It*

sure it hot today, or abbreviated *It sure is* as an emphatic confirmational response to *It's hot today* or to the question *Is it hot today?*

(xx1) nwà:gè   bó-∅   kóy
       hot   be-3SgS   Emph
       'It sure is hot!'

19.4.2 Clause-final *dé* (admonitive)

Another regionally widespread clause-final emphatic takes the form *dé* in Penange. It has an admonitive or contradicting function. Cf. English low-pitched pragmatic *now* as in *Be careful now!*

(xx1) nwà:gè   bó-∅   dé
       hot   be-3SgS   Emph
       '(Watch out,) it (e.g. pot) is hot!'

19.5 Greetings

The metalinguistic terms are *tíyà-m* 'greeting(n)' and verb *tíyá-mì* 'greet (sb)'.
    A typical four-part (ABAB) greeting cycle for the morning is (xx1). *èlà* is contracted from *hé:lá* 'welfare, well-being'. *náyè* is the verb 'spend the night'. In the second AB sequence, *èlà n năy-yè*, pronounced [èlàn:ăj:è], the extra n might be reduced from instrumental *ni*, while *năy-yè* is the regular 3Pl subject perfective form of *náyè*.

(xx1) A: èlà=á nàyè→   'Did (you-Sg) spend the night well?'
           èlá=à náyè→   'Did you-Pl spend the night well?'

       B: èlà ŋ́ nàyè   '(Yes,) I spent the night well.'
           èlà ŋ̀ náyè   '(Yes,) we spent the night well.'

       A: [èlà n] năy-yè→ 'Did they (your family) spend the night well?'

       B: [èlà n] năy-yè   'They spent the night well.'

Around mid-day the greeting changes (xx2). The structures are exatly parallel, but the verb is now *dénè* 'spend the (mid-)day'.

(xx2) A: èlà=á dènè→   'Did you-Sg spend the day well?'

310

B: *èlà ɲ́ dènè*   '(Yes,) I spent the day well.'
    èlà ɲ̀ dénè   '(Yes,) we spent the day well.'

A: *[èlà n] děn-yè→* 'Did they (your family) spend the day well?'

B: *[èlà n] děn-yè*   'They spent the day well.'

A simple 'hello' type greeting, e.g. to someone encountered while one or the other is walking, is *tíyá→* (to one person), *tíyá yà* (to more than one person). The reply is *ò:wá→*.

A departing traveler is sent off with (xx3). The reply to this and similar invocations is the Arabic *ʔàmí:nà* 'amen!'. The verb 'cause to arrive' is in third-person hortative form, in {H}-toned form.

(xx3)   *[èlà n] túbyá-mí*   'May (God) make (you) arrive in well-being!'

On Muslim holy days and some other celebrations such as weddings, standard wishes to other villagers are those in (xx4). In the abbreviated form (xx4a), the third-person hortative verb is {H}-toned (xx4a), as in (xx3) above. When an accusative pronoun is added to specify the recipient of 'show', the third-person hortative verb is {LHL}-toned (xx4b). Another version of (xx4a) is (xx4c).

(xx4)   a.   *nà:ŋgòl   tá:r(í)-yé*
                next.year   show-3Hort
                'May (God) show (you/us) next year!'

         b.   *ʔàmàná   nà:ŋgòl   ábé-ⁿ   tà:rí-yè*
                God   next.year   2Pl-Acc   show-3Hort
                'May (God) show (you/us) next year!'

         c.   *[έ   ègò   bò]   tá:r(í)-yé*
                [thing   come.Impf   Impf]   show-3Hort
                'May (God) show (you/us) what is coming (=the future)!'

311

20 Texts

[note: some tonal transcriptions need to be checked, especially for 3Sg perfective verbs before nà]

20.1 Text 1: Hyena, hare, and the honey (tale)

(xx1) A: *dábál-yé*   *ń*   *tùlè*
           tale   1SgS   put.Perf
    B: *ná:m*
        all.right
        A: I have put (=I propose) a tale.
        B: All right.
        [standard tale opening AB sequence; remainder of text is told by A; *dábál-yè* with diminutive *-yè* §5.1.5; *ná:m* is a formal, 'amen'-like response]

(xx2) *[tà: nì]   [jɔ́mè   nì],*
       [hyena and]   [hare   and],
    [ŋké   dúgú]   má:gá   kàn   nà,
    [3PlP   village]   difficulty   happen.Perf 3SgS,
    ɲɔ̀:njí   mà:j-jè   nà,
    food   be.difficult-Inch.Perf 3SgS,
    dágúr-yè   [[gándà   ŋké   ándé-yⁿ]   níyⁿ-yⁿè̀],
    get.ready.Perf-3PlS [travel   3PlS   go-3Hort]   say.Perf-3PlS],
     'Hyena and hare. A crisis occurred in their village. Food was difficult (to find). They got ready (i.e. packed up), they intended to travel.'
       [NP conjunction §7.1.1; *ŋké dúgú* possessed noun §6.2.1.1; *kàn nà* and *mà:j-jè nà* tightly chained perfective clause §15.2.1.5; inchoative *má:j-jè* for *má:g-yè* §9.6; 3Pl perfective *-yè* ~ *-yè* §10.2.1.1, third-person hortative *-yⁿ* §10.7.3.1, in quoted clause §17.1.2.1; *níyⁿ-yⁿè̀* 'they said' from *né* §10.1.2.1]

(xx3) *ènɛ́   gwíy-yè,   ójú   ímb-yè,*
       thus   leave.Perf-3PlS, road   catch.Perf-3PlS,
    ùnù→   hâl   wáj-jí-yè,
    walk.Impf   until   distant-Inch.Perf-3PlS.

ènɛ́   *[wàlà*   *yé:nɛ́],*   *ŋkɛ́-ŋ*   *màlgè*   *nà,*
thus   [man   a.certain],   3Pl-Acc   see.Perf   3SgS,

ŋkɛ́-ŋ   *ìŋgì-rè*   *nà,*   *sàrè*   *nà,*
3Pl-Acc   stop-Tr.Perf   3SgS,   ask.Perf   3SgS,

mbà   *tɛ́gá-yá*   *lè,*
where?   head.for.Impf-3PlS   QuotQ,

    'Then they left (their village), they hit the road. They walked (and walked) until they had gone far away. Then a certain man saw them. He stopped them and asked, where were they going?'

    [*ènè* 'thus, like this' in the sense 'then' in narratives §4.4.2.3; *gwíy-yè* ~ *gúy-yè* 'they left' §3.2.8.1, §10.2.1.1; *ùnù→* imperfective subordinate clause with prolonged final vowel §15.2.1.2; *yé:nɛ́* 'a certain' §6.3.2; *tɛ́gá-yà* 'they head for'; quotative interrogative particle *lè* §17.1.3]

(xx4)   *[è*   *wálá*   *ŋ]*   *jámb-yè,*
    [Def   man   Acc]   reply.Perf-3PlS,

ŋkɛ́   *gɔ̂n,*   *[ŋkɛ́*   *dúgú]*   *má:gá*   *kàn*   *nà,*
3Pl   Topic,   [3PlP   village]   difficulty   happen.Perf   3SgS,

káyⁿ   *dúndɔ̀*   *ŋkɛ́*   *b-yà,*
work(n)   look.for.Impf   3PlS   Impf-3PlS,

    'They replied to the man: as for them, a difficulty (=crisis) happened in their village, <u>work</u> [focus] was what they were looking for.'

    [definite *è* §4.4.1.1; topic *gɔ̂n* §19.1.1; subject proclitic in focalized clause §13.1.1.4]

(xx5)   *[è*   *wálá]*   *ènɛ́*   *[dèm-nà*   *bà]*   *ŋkɛ́-ŋ*   *sìndè*   *nà,*
    [Def   man]   thus   [house-3SgP   Loc]   3Pl-Acc   convey.Perf   3SgS,

ɲà: *ŋkɛ́-ŋ*   *tàbè*   *nà,*   *ɲíyⁿ-yⁿɛ̀,*   *dɛ́ŋ-yè*   *wá:rù,*
meal   3Pl-Acc   give.Perf   3SgS,   eat.Perf-3PlS,   finish.Perf-3PlS   time,

[ɔ̀nɔ̀   *gɔ̂n]*   *[kàyⁿ*   *jwá→]*   *à*   *sâⁿ,*
[3Sg   Topic]   [work(n)   much]   Logo   have,

kàn-má: *bì-yà*   *bɛ́-nɛ́,*
do-Capac   be-3PlS   if,

    'Then the man took them to his house. He gave them a meal, they ate. When they had finished, (he said:) "I have a lot of work, if you-Pl can do it."

    [*bà* locative postposition §8.2.3.1; *wá:rù* in temporal adverbial clause §15.2.1.1; *jwá→* 'a lot' §8.4.2; logophoric subject *à* §18.3; *sâⁿ* 'have' §11.5.1; capacitative *-mâ:* §10.5.1; *bɛ́-nɛ́* 'if' §16.1]

(xx6)   *jámb-yè,*
    reply.Perf-3PlS,

[káyⁿ   sî:]   ŋké-ŋ   tábé   ná   sèlè, kánù   ŋké   bò,
[work(n)   kind] 3PlS-Acc   give.Perf 3SgS all,   do.Impf 3PlS   Impf,
[ê: nâm]   ég-yè,
[Dem.Def   Purp]   come.Perf-3PlS,
    'They replied: <u>any kind of work that he gave them</u> [focus] they would
do; they had come for that.'
    [compound *káyⁿ sî:* 'kind of work' §5.1.1; perfective nonsubject relative
clause §14.4.2; *sèlè* all after relative clause §14.6.2; discourse-definite
demonstrative *ê:* §4.4.1.2; purposive postposition *námù ~ nâm* §8.3]

(xx7)   *èné   dèm-ná   [è   árgò]   bí-yá = yò   tà:rè   nà,*
    thus   house-3SgS [Def replastering] be-Ppl=it.is   show.Perf   3SgS,
hâl   [é   tà:ŋgà   ní]   àrgò-nd-yà,
until [Def   one   Inst]   replaster.Impf-3SgS.Neg-3PlS,
ìgè = là   kán-∅,
honey=it.is.not   do.Perf-3SgS,
àrg-â: bé-né   pé,
replaster.Impf-3PlS   if   even,
[ŋké   nwé:]   nèlò-nd-yà,
[3PlP   hand]   lick.Impf-3SgS.Neg-3PlS
    'Then he explained that his house was due for replastering (with mud),
(and said) you-Pl don't (=must not) replaster (houses) with anything other
than honey; (and) if you-Pl replaster, you-Pl do not (=must not) lick your
hands.'
    [participle *-yà* in nonsubject imperfective relative §14.4.3; *tà:ŋgà* 'one'
§4.7.1.1; instrumental postposition *ni* §8.1.2; *= yo* 'it is' and *= là* 'it is not'
§11.2.1.1-2; third person pronouns for quoted second person, §17.1.1; *bé-né
pé* 'even if' §16.2.1]

(xx8)   *hàyà   yé: níyⁿ-yⁿè,   ènè   káyⁿ   dógúl-yè,*
    all.right yes   say.Perf-3PlS, thus   work(n)   begin.Perf-3PlS,
àrgá:-yà   ŋ,
replaster.Impf-3PlS   Impf,
tǎ:ⁿ   mò:njì   mó:njà-à-yà   né-∅   né,
hyena   urine   urinate.Impf-LogoSgS-Ppl   say.Perf-3SgS   and.then,
dáb-yé   né,   nwé:-nà   nélé-∅   né,
hide-MP.Perf   and.then, hand-3SgP   lick.Perf-3SgS   and.then,
[è   ŋké   árgé   sèlè] tíbé-∅   né,
[what 3PlS   replaster.Perf all]   fall.Perf-3SgS   and.then,
    'They said, okay yes.' Then they began the work. While they were
replastering, hyena said: I will go urinate. He hid, and licked his hands. All
that they had replastered fell off (the wall).'

314

[*hàyà* 'all right' §19.2.1; different-subject imperfective subordinator *ŋ* §15.2.1.3; nonpast anterior subordinator *né* §15.2.2.2; default nonhuman *è* as head of relative §14.2.4]

(xx9) *jɔ́mɛ́   ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ   sáré-∅   nɛ́,*
    hare   3Sg-Acc   ask.Perf-3SgS   and.then,
[à   nélé-l]   nɔ́   bò-∅,
[LogoSg   lick-PerfNeg]   say.Impf   Impf-3SgS,
    'If (when) hare asked him, he (=hyena) would say that he hadn't licked (his hand).'
    [conditional *né* §16.1]

(xx10) *ènè   káyⁿ   kán-nì   déŋgé-∅   sèlè,*
    thus   work(n)   do.Perf-3PlS   finish.Perf-3SgS   all,
[è   wálá]   wálé   à   sá:-ndà.
[Def   man]   money   LogoSgS   have-not,
[ìgè   nì]   ŋké-ŋ   sɔ́jà-à   wò,
[honey   Inst]   3PlS   pay-LogoSgS   Impf,
    'Then as soon as they had completed the work, the man (said) that he had no money, (so) he would pay them with honey.'
    [3Pl perfective *kán-nì* §10.2.1.1; *sɔ́jà-à wò* imperfective §10.2.2.1]

(xx11) *[ntá   sèlè]   pɔ́:,   [[pô:y jáŋgà]   wⁿ]   gà:-rè   nà,*
    [person   every]   share(n),   [[sack interior] Loc]   put.in-Tr.Perf   3SgS
[[ŋké   dúgú]   ŋ]   kónd-yè,
[[3PlP   village]   Loc]   go.back.Perf-3PlS,
    'He put each person's share (of honey) in his (=the person's) sack. They went back to their village.'
    [*sèlè* 'all' in the distributive sense 'each'; *gá:-rè* 'put (sth) in (sth) for (sb)' with benefactive, from gálé 'put (sth) in (sth)', §9.4.1]

(xx12) *ég-yè,   ŋké ntá-gè,   [è   ígè]   tá:r-yè,*
    come.Perf-3PlS 3PlP person-Pl, [Def   honey]   show.Perf-3PlS,
tà:ⁿ   ìgè-nà   [[dèm   jáŋgà]   ŋ]   nwà:-mì   nà,
hyena   honey-3Pl   [[house   inside]   Loc]   go.in-Caus.Perf   3SgS,
jɔ́mɛ́   bàgùlè   nà,   [è   ígè]   nèmè   nà,
hare   go.around.Perf   3SgS,   [Def   honey]   take.Perf   3SgS,
[ɔ̀mbɔ̀gɔ̀nɔ̀   wé:-gé]   dù:ndè   nà,
[bees   child-Pl[put.down.Perf   3SgS,
    'They came (to the village). The showed the honey to their people (=kin). Hyena put his honey inside the house. Hare came around (stealthily). He took the honey, and put some bees (in hyena's sack).'

[*[X jáŋgà] ŋ* 'inside X §8.2.4; 'bees' is collective, individuated by adding 'child']

(xx13) *tà:ⁿ   dó:síɲé   nèmè   nà,   [[jɔ̀mè   dêm]   ɲ̀]*
hyena   metal.ladle take.Perf   3SgS, [[hare   house] Loc]
[gènì   kíyá-yà   píní]   kàn   nè,
[fire   pick.up.Impf-Ppl   like]   do.Perf   and.then,
[ìgé   ɲǎ:-yà   ŋ]   tèmbè   nè,
[honey   eat.Impf-3PlS   Impf]   encounter.Perf   and.then,
'Hyena took a metal ladle and did as though (=pretended to) pick up some fire (i.e. embers) at hare's house. He (= hyena) encountered them (= hare's family) while they were eating honey.'
[*píní* in 'as though' clause §15.3.2.2; different-subject imperfective clause 'while' §15.2.1.3]

(xx14) *ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ   gá:-r-yé   nè,   gú:-ndé   né,*
3Sg-Acc   put-Tr.Perf-3PlS   and.then,   go.out.Perf   and.then,,
[[[è   gên]   kò]   wⁿ]   mɔ̀:nɉì   mánɉé   né,
[[[Def   fire]   on]   Loc]   urine   urinate.Perf   and.then,
nímbú-gé   né,
extinguish-Tr.Perf   and.then,
[è   tó:]   ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ   gá:-r-yé   nè,
[Def   other]   3Sg-Acc   put-Tr.Perf-3PlS   and.then,
'They (=hare's people) put (embers) in it for him, he (=hyena) went out, and he urinated on the fire (i.e. embers) and extinguished it. They gave him another (fire).'
[*[X kò] ŋ* 'on X' §8.2.7; *mɔ̀:nɉìmánɉé* cognate noun-verb §11.1.2.5; *nímbú-gè* 'extinguish (fire)' from *nímbé* '(fire) go out' §9.2.2]

(xx15) *káná   nà   ŋ,   [jɔ̀mè ígè]   ŋkè   nà,*
do.Impf 3SgS Impf, [hare   honey]   be.used.up.Perf   3SgS,
[dèm-nà   bá]   àndè   nà,
[house-3SgP   Loc]   go.Perf   3SgS,
[wè:-ná-ŋgè   nì]   [ɔ̀nɔ̀ ní]   [dèmù ŋ]   núyⁿ-yⁿè̀.
[child-3SgP-Pl   and]   [3SgS and]   [house Loc]   go.in.Perf-3PlS,
'While he (=hyena) was doing (thus), hare's honey was used up. He (=hyena) went (back) to his house. He and his children went into the house.'
[*wè:-ná-(ŋ)gè* 'his/her children' §6.2.1.2]

(xx16) *[wè:-gè   négá]   [bándá   ŋ]   dè:ndè   nà,*
[child-Pl   two]   [outside Loc]   leave.Perf   3Sgs,
[è   bówⁿ]   nèɉí-yé   nè   nà,

316

[Def	door]	press-3Hort	say.Perf	and.then,

ḿʔm̀   *à*   *nɛ́*   *nὲ,*   *bàŋgù-là-ndé-ỳⁿ,*
no!   LogoSgS   say.Perf   if,   shut-Rev-Prohib-PlS,

m̀hḿ   *à*   *nɛ́*   *nὲ,*   *bàŋgù-lí-yὲ,*
yes!   LogoSgS   say.Perf   if,   shut-Rev-3Hort,

    'He (=hyena) left two children outside (the house). He told them to push on the door; if he said 'unh-uhn!' (= no!) they should not open (it), (but) if he said 'unh-huh!' (= yes!) they should open it.'

    [*négá* 'two' §4.7.1.2; third-person hortative *-yὲ* ~ *-yὲ* (twice), §10.7.3.1]

(xx17) *[è*   *pó:y]*   *tὲw-lὲ*   *nà,*
     [Def   sack]   cover-Rev.Perf   3SgS,

[ɔ̀mbɔ̀gɔ̀nɔ̀   *wé:-gè]*   *gó:-ŋg-yὲ*   *jwá→,*
[bees   child-Pl]   go.out.Perf-3PlS   a.lot

[ŋké-ŋ   *nùŋgɔ̀*   *ẁⁿ]*   *dɔ́gúl-yὲ,*
[3Pl-Acc   bite.Impf   Impf]   begin.Perf-3PlS,

ń→   *nɔ̀:-∅*
"n-n-n"   say.Impf-3SgS

    'He (=hyena) opened the sack. Lots of bees came out, they began to bite them (hyena and his family members except the two who were outside). He was saying "n-n-n".

    [*gó:-ŋgè* 'go out' versus *gwé:* 'leave' §10.1.2.3; hyena's "n→", pronounced indistinctly while he is being attacked by bees, was an attempt to say 'yes' but sounded more like 'no']

(xx18) *[è*   *wé:-gè]*   *nèjá→*   *bàyr-â:*
     [Def   child-Pl]   press.Impf   add.Impf-3PlS

hâl   *dɔ́g-yὲ,*
until   die.Perf-3PlS

    'The (two) children pushed harder (on the door), until they (=hyena and family) died.'

    [3Sg equivalent *nèjá→ bàyrô:-∅* with final-lengthened A/O-stem on first verb §15.2.1.2, from verb *néjé* ; *báyrè* 'add' as chained verb in the sense 'VP more']

(xx19) *dábál-yé [[géŋ*   *ŋ́*   *tèmbὲ]*   *ŋ̀]*   *[ŋ́*   *dŭ:ndè]*
     tale   [[place   1SgS encounter]   Loc]   [1SgS put.down.Perf]
     'I (have) put the tale down where I found it.'
     [standard tale-ending phrase]

20.2   Text 2: Hyena and hare pay off a debt (tale)

(xx1)   A: *dábál-yé   ŋ́   tùlè*
          tale 1SgS   put.Perf
     B: *ná:m*
          all.right
          A: I have put (=I propose) a tale.
          B: All right.

(xx2)   *[tà: nì]   [jɔ́mὲ   nì],*
          [hyena and]   [hare   and],
     [ègàgè   yé:né]   [[[sàbàl-kàn   tà:ŋgà]   kî:]   ŋ],
     [morning   a.certain] [[[merchant   one]   custody]   Loc]
     yòrì   ném-yè,   [sɔ́jɔ́   ŋ]   kɔ̀ndɔ̀   kán-nì,
     credit   take.Perf-3PlS, [pay.Impf   Impf] failure   do.Perf-3PlS],
     [è   sábàl-kàn], [ŋké-ŋ   gíyà-à   wò]   nὲ   nà,
     [Def merchant], [3Pl-Acc kill.Impf-LogoSgS   Impf] say.Perf 3SgS,
          'Hyena and hare. One morning they took credit (=bought on credit)
          from a merchant. (Later) they were unable to repay him. The merchant said:
          I will kill you-Pl.'
          [agentive *sàbàl-kàn* 'merchant' from *sàbàl kán(í)* 'do commerce' §5.1.4;
     [X kî:] ŋ 'in the custody of X' §8.2.13; *kɔ̀ndɔ̀ kán* 'fail, be unable' §11.1.2.2;
          said "I will kill you-Pl" expressed as "LogoSg will kill them" §17.1.1]

(xx3)   *èné   bòwⁿ   málgá-l-yè,*
          thus   reciprocally   see-Recip.Perf-3PlS,
     [ŋké   ní:-ŋgè]   ŋké   sógú-lá-máyⁿ,
     [3Pl   mother-Pl]   3PlS   buy-Rev-Allative.Hort,
          'Then they (hyena and hare) saw each other. They decided to sell their
          mothers.'
          [reciprocal verbal suffix *-lé* and particle *bòwⁿ* §9.5; allative hortative
          §10.7.2.3]

(xx4)   *jɔ́mὲ [[bòlè   ɔ̀mbὲ]   nì]   [nì:-ná   ŋ]   sɔ̀jὲ   nà,*
          hare   [[thread fragile] Inst] [mother-3SgP Acc] tie.Perf 3SgS,
     tà:ⁿ   [yɔ̀lɔ̀bù nì]   [nì:-ná   ŋ]   sɔ̀jὲ   nà,
     hyena [chain   Inst] [mother-3SgP Acc]   tie.Perf   3SgS,
          'Hare tied his mother up with a fragile (=threadbare) thread. Hyena tied
          his mother up with a chain.'

(xx5) *jɔ́mὲ*   *[nì:-ná*   *ŋ]*   *dàbàl-dè*   *nà,*
     hare   [mother-3SgP Acc]   whisper-Tr.Perf 3SgS,
    kɔ́mbɔ́lɔ́   *ŋké*   *túbyέ*   *né*   *sèlè,*
    outback   3PlS   arrive   if   all,
    [tɔ́njέ   *né]*   *àndí-yè,*
    [pull.off   and.then]   go-3Hort,
     'Hare whispered to his mother: as soon as they reached the outback, she should pull it (=thread) off with a tug and go away.'
     [*dábál-dè* 'whisper to (sb)' §9.4.1]

(xx6) *[kɔ́mbɔ́lɔ́*   *ŋ]*   *túbyí-yέ*   *sèlè,*
     [outback   Loc]   arrive.Perf-3PlS   all,
    [jɔ̀mὲ   *nî:]*   *tɔ̀njὲ*   *nà,*   *dúgú-rè-∅,*
    [hare   mother]   pull.off   3SgS,   run-Tr-Perf,
    ɔ̀nɔ̀   *gɔ́n,*   *nì:-nà*   *póllè-∅,*
    3Sg   Topic,   mother-3SgS   escape.Perf-3SgS
     'When they reached the outback, hare's mother pulled it off with a tug and ran away. As for him (=hare), his mother escaped.'

(xx7) *tà:ⁿ*   *jàmbè*   *nà,*   *nì:-nà*   *ŋké-ŋ*   *bèlɔ̂:-∅,*
     hyena   reply.Perf 3SgS,   mother-3SgS   3Pl-Acc   suffice.Impf-3SgS,
    ánd-yè,   *[tà:ⁿ*   *nî:]*   *sógú-l-yè,*
    go.Perf-3PlS,   [hyena   mother]   buy-Rev.Perf-3PlS,
    [wàlè   *jwá→]*   *dín-yè,*   *[dèmù*   *ŋ]*   *kónd-yè,*
    [money   a.lot]   get.Perf-3PlS,   [house   Loc]   go.back.Perf-3PlS,
     'Hyena spoke up, (saying) that his mother would be enough for them. They went and sold hyena's mother. They got a lot of money. They went back home.'

(xx8) *[è*   *wálé]*   *wélá-g-yè,*
     [Def   money]   divide-Tr.Perf-3PlS,
    [[è   *sábàl-kàn]*   *ɲê:]*   *táb-yè,*
    [[Def   merchant]   thing]   give.Perf-3PlS,
    ènέ   *yòrì*   *[[ŋké*   *párɔ́]*   *ŋ]*   *gwé:-∅,*
    thus   credit   [[3PlP   neck]   Loc]   leave.Perf-3SgS,
     'They divided the money. They gave (=repaid) the merchants' (share). In that way the credit (=debt) got off of their neck(s).'
     [*ɲê:* default inanimate possessed noun, §6.2]

(xx9) *jɔ́mὲ,*   *ntá-ná-gè*   *kíyé*   *b-yà,*
     hare,   person-3SgP-Pl   complete   be-3PlS,

[nàfòrò   pé]   díné-∅,
[wealth   too]   get.Perf-3SgS,
tà:ⁿ   nàfòrò   díné-∅,   [nì:-nà   gɔ́]   wŏl-∅
hyena   wealth   get.Perf-3SgS,   [mother-3SgP Topic]   not.be-3SgS
  '(As for) hare, his people (=family) was intact, and he got wealth (=became wealthy) too. (As for) hyena, he (too) got wealth, (but) his mother was no longer there.'

  [*kíyé b-yà* 'they are intact, complete', negative *kíyé wŏl-yà* ; *gɔ́ wŏl-* for *gɔ́n wŏl-*]

(xx10) *dábál-yé [[géŋ   ɧ́   tèmbὲ]   ɧ̀]   [ɧ́   dŭ:ndὲ]*
    tale   [[place 1SgS   encounter] Loc]   [1SgS   put.down.Perf]
    'I put the tale down where I found it.'
    [standard tale-ending phrase]

320

20.3   Text 3   Collective work

(xx1)   *pòlbà   kâyⁿ,*
    collectivity   work,
[ègàgè   pírígíl]   [wàlà-gè   ní]   [ságállá-gé   ní],
[morning   early.morning] [man-Pl   and] [youth-Pl   and],
[ŋké   káyⁿ-gólyé-gè]   káldí-yé   nè,
[3PlP   work-gear-Pl]   prepare.Perf-3Pl   and.then,
[[dèm-gè   ᴴᴸtúndù]   bà]   gú:-ndí-yé   nè,
[[house-Pl   ᴴᴸbehind] Loc]   go.out-Intr.Perf-3PlS   and.then,
ségál-gí-yé   nè,   wàlà-gè   ᴴᴸdígâm,
assemble-Recip-3PlS and.then, man-Pl   ᴴᴸtalk(n),
    'Collective (volunteer) work. Early in the morning, men and youths get their work gear ready. They go out and assemble behind (=at the edge of) the houses (=village). (We're talking) talk about men.'

(xx2)   *[è   káyⁿ]   bànà   yò: nà,*
    [Def   work(n)]   manner   be.good.Impf.Ppl   3SgS,
[dám-mí: nè]   bòwⁿ   péjí-gí-yé   nè,
[speak-3PlS and.then] Recip   understand-Recip-3PlS   and.then,
ènέ   [è   káyⁿ]   dɔ́gúlɔ̀   b-yà,
like.that [Def   work(n)]   begin   Impf-3PlS,
    'So that the work may turn out well, they speak and come to a mutual understanding. Then they begin the work.'

(xx3)   *[è   káyⁿ]   kánù   ŋké   b-yà   ê:,*
    [Def   work(n)]   do   3PlS   Impf-Ppl   that.Def,
kìnì-[bógê-l]=yò,   màrtó-gè   nì,   bàlàmîn   nì,
stone-[break-VblN]=it.is, hammer-Pl   with, lever   with,
kèmbù-[kèmbí-yè]   nì,
pinching(n)-[pinch.Perf-Instr]   with,
ê: nì,   sìm-túmà   nì,
that.Def with,   palm-wood   with,
ê: nì,   púná   nì,
that.Def with,   powder   with,
    'The work that they do (is) that (=whatchamacallit?), breaking rocks, with hammers, with levers, with tongs (to hold the rocks), with that (=whatchamacallit?) with borassus palm logs, with that (=whatchamacallit?), with powder (=explosives).'

(xx4) *[è   káyⁿ]   dɔ̀gùl-á: bɛ̀-nɛ̀,*
　　　[Def   work(n)]   begin.Impf-3PlS   if,
　　búl   wélágí-yé   nɛ̀,
　　group(s)   divide-3PlS   and.then,
　　[bá:líkì-gè   tó:-nà]   [wè:-gè   tó:-nà]
　　[adult-Pl   apart]   [child-Pl   apart]
　　[ságállá-gé   tó:-nà],
　　[youth-Pl   apart],
　　　　'When they begin the work, they divide themselves into groups, adults
　　apart (in one group), children apart (in another group), youths apart (in a
　　third group).'

(xx5) *kà:lò*^L   *wálá,*
　　　griot^L   male,
　　[bólyé   ní]   [ŋ̀ké   pá   ŋ̀]   díŋgà-∅
　　[tomtom   with]   [3PlS   side   Loc]   follow-3SgS
　　wè:-gé   kèmbù-[kèmbí-yè]   dínd-yê-l   [ŋ̀ké   káyⁿ],
　　child-Pl   pinching(n)-[pinch.Perf-Instr]   hold-MP-VblN   [3PlP   work(n)],
　　ságállá-gé   [màrtô   nì]   bógê-l   [ŋ̀ké   káyⁿ],
　　youth-Pl   [hammer   with]   hit-VblN   [3PlP   work(n)],
　　　　'A male griot goes along with them at their side with a tomtom. The
　　work of children is to hold the tongs. The work of youths is to hit (the rock)
　　with hammers.'

(xx6) *wàlà ká:mnɔ́-gé, bànà   kàn   bí-yà   nì,*
　　　man   old-Pl,   manner   do   Impf-3PlS   with,
　　bànà   yò: nà   nì,
　　manner   be.good.Impf.Ppl   3SgS   with,
　　dágúrò   ŋ̀ké   b-yà,
　　prepare   3PlS   Impf-Ppl,
　　kìnì,   ègàgè   pírígíl   dɔ̀gùlí-yé   nɛ̀,
　　stone,   morning   early.morning   begin-3PlS   and.then,
　　*hâl   dòyà:lò-gè   *^{HL}*wágâr,*
　　until   lunch-Pl   ^{HL}time,
　　　　'Old men prepare (=instruct) them (=children and youths) as to the way
　　they do (the work), so that it (=work) may turn out well. As for the rocks,
　　they (=workers) begin early in the morning (and continue) until lunchtime.'

(xx7) *néllí-yé   nɛ̀,   ɲà: ɲí:-yé   nɛ̀,*
　　　rest.Perf-3PlS   and.then,   meal   eat.meal-3PlS   and.then,
　　sɛ̀ndì   kán-ní: nɛ̀,
　　prayer   do-3PlS   and.then,

ènέ   *[nè:gù-lò]-pé,*   *kàyⁿ*   *dɔ́gúlɔ̀*   *b-yà,*
like.that   [two-Ord]-time,   work(n)   begin   Impf-3PlS,
   'They rest, they eat a meal (lunch), they pray (2 PM Muslim prayer). After that they begin work a second time.'

(xx8) *káyⁿ*   *kàn-á:*   *bὲ-nὲ,*
   work(n)   do.Impf-3PlS   if,
sàwlè-lmà   *nì,*   *ɲàŋgù-n-sìyà*   *nì,*   *kán*   *b-yà,*
vigorous-Nom   with,   soul-happy   with,   do   Impf-3Pl
nùn   *nèmà→,*   *hâl*   *[è*   *káyⁿ]*   *ǹkê-l,*
now   take,   until   [Def   work(n)]   finish-VblN,
[[gὲ:dènì^L   *kúndú]*   ^{HL}*kâyⁿ]= yò*   *pè,*
[[day^L   intact]   ^{HL}work(n)]=it.is   Emph,
   'When they work, they do (it) with vigor and happiness (=enthusiasm), all the way until the job is completed. It's indeed an entire day.'

(xx9) *[è*   *káyⁿ]*   *kàn-á:*   *bὲ-nὲ,*
   [Def   work(n)]   do.Impf-3PlS   if,
ó   *[è*   *ntá]*   *kàyⁿ-nà*   *kánù*   *ǹké*   *b-yà,*
2Sg   [Def   person]   work(n)-3SgP   do   3PlS   Impf-Ppl,
[òmà   *ní]*   *[ɲà:*   *nì]*   *ǹké*   *á*   *dɔ̀ŋgù-ré*   *nè,*
[porridge   and]   [meal   and]   3PlO   2SgS   cook-Tr   and.then,
yɔ̀:-gé,   *[è*   *ɲâ:]*   *dɔ́ŋgê-l*   *[ŋké*   *káyⁿ],*
woman-Pl,   [Def   meal]   cook-VblN   [3PlP   work]
[ê: *nì]*   *[mì-wê-l*   *nì],*
[that.Def   and]   [water-draw-VblN   and],
   'If they do the work, you (who are) the person whose work they are doing, you cook porridge and a meal for them. Women, their job is to cook the meal, that and (going to) draw water (at the well).'

(xx10) *[ê:*   *túndù*   *ŋ],*
   [that.Def   after   Loc]
wàlà-gé   *kìnì*   *bógó:*   *dénɔ̀*   *b-yà,*
man-Pl   stone   break.Impf   pass.day   Impf-3PlS,
hâl   *dè:ndà*   *démέ-∅*   *nέ,*
until   afternoon   afternoon.arrive-3SgS   and.then,
   'After that, the men (=youths) spend the day breaking rocks, until afternoon comes.'

(xx11) *wàlà*   *ká:mnɔ́-gé,*   *ǹké-ŋ́*   *ségálá-m-mí:*   *nè,*
   man   old-Pl,   3Pl-Acc   assemble-Caus.Perf-3PlS   and.then,
ǹké-ŋ   *kùnà*   *bál-yé*   *nè,*

323

3Pl-Acc   thanks   give.thanks.Perf-3PlS   and.then,

[ŋké   ^{HL}*káyⁿ-gólyé-gè]*   *némmí-yé*   *nè,*

[3PlP   ^{HL}work(n)-gear-Pl]   take.Perf-3PlS   and.then,

[dùgù   *ŋ̀]*   *dígí-ndí-yé*   *nè,*

[village   to]   go.up-Tr.Perf-3PlS   and.then,

     'Old men assemble them (younger men) and give thanks to them. They (workers) take their work gear and go (back) up to the village.'

(xx11) *[[è*   *káyⁿ-nà]*   *ŋké*   *kán]*   *démù*   *ŋ̀,*

     [[Def   work(n)-3SgP]   3PlS   do]   house   at,

dénám-mí: *nè,*

say.good.evening.Perf-3PlS   and.then,

ènè   *[ǹtá*   *sèlè]*   *[dèm-nà*   *ŋ̀]*   *ándò*   *bò-∅*

like.that   [person   all]   [house-3SgP   to]   go   Impf-3SgS

     'At the house of (the person) whose work they have done, they say good evening. Then everyone goes (back) to his (own) house.'

20.4   Text 4   Brotherly love

(xx1)   *wàyà   yé:né,   sú:ⁿ   wê: nì,*
    year   a.certain,   [fasting   month]   in
   [dɛ́:   ní]   [nɔ́bɛ́   ní],
   [elder.sib   and]   [younger.sib   and]
   bòwⁿ   tɛ́lálí-g-yè,
   Recip   disagree-Recip.Perf-3PlS,
   wálé   nâm→,   [nà:-ŋgè   ní],   [àlàmùnɔ̀-gè   ní],
   money   because.of,   [cow-Pl   and],   [sheep-Pl   and],
   jwà: sáⁿ-yà-yè,   dɛ̀mbɛ̀:-ŋgè=yó   pè,
   a.lot   have-3PlS-Past,   blacksmith-Pl=it.is   Emph,
       'One year, during Ramadan (Muslim fasting month), an older brother
   and a younger brother had a disagreement, because of money. They had lots
   of cattle and sheep. They were of the blacksmith (metalworker) caste.'

(xx2)   *[è   nɔ́bɛ́   ê:]   dàwlà   sâ:ⁿ   bò-yè,*
       [Def   younger.sib   Def]   elegance   have   Impf-Past,
   [kán   ní]   [wàlè-tòmbò   ní],
   [gold   and]   [silver   and],
   dɔ̀jù-gè   bí-yà-yè,
   forging-Pl   be-3PlS-Past,
       'The younger brother was elegant (popular with others). They (both
   brothers) forged (did metalwork) with gold and silver.'

(xx3)   *ènɛ́   dèn   tà:ŋgà,   [è   dɛ́:]*
       like.that   day   one,   [Def   elder.sib]
   [[è   ŋkɛ́   ná:-ŋgè]   sôwⁿ   bà]   àndô:-∅,
   [[Def   3PlP   cow-Pl]   presence   Loc]   go.Impf-3SgS
   ìmbô: sògù-lô: kán   bò-∅-yè,
   catch.Impf   buy-Rev.Impf   do   Prog-3SgS-Past
   hâl   [è   dá:bá-gè]   gámbúl-yè,
   until   [Def   animal-Pl]   diminish.Perf-3PlS,
       'Then (starting) one day, the older brother was going among their
   (jointly owned) cows. He was seizing (one cow at a time) and selling it, to
   the point where their animals (=herd) were reduced.'

(xx4)   *[è   nɔ́bɛ́   pê],   dèn   tà:ŋgà,*
       [Def   younger.sib   too],   day   one,
   [è   dɛ́:]   páⁿ   dágùrè   nà,

[Def   elder.sib]   beside   get.ready.Perf   3SgS,
ŋké   ándé   nè-∅,
3Pl   go.Perf   say.Perf-3SgS,
[è   dá:bá-gè]   ŋké   sé:má-má-yⁿ-yà,
[Def   animal-Pl]   3PlS   look-Caus-Pl-Hort,
   'The younger brother for his part, one day, he got ready (to go) with the elder brother. He said, "let's go take a look at the animals!"'

(xx5) *ánd-yè,   [è   dá:bá-gè]   máligí-yè,*
       go.Perf-3PlS,   [Def   animal-Pl]   see.Perf-3PlS,
       [è   nɔ́bɛ́]   [è   dá:bá-gè]
       [Def   younger.sib]   [Def   animal-Pl]
       [gìré-nà   ŋ̀]   ŋká:líg-yè,   jámbè   nà,
       [eye-3SgP   Loc]   become.small.Perf-3PlS,   reply.Perf 3SgS,
       'They went and they saw the animals. (As for) the younger brother, the animals struck him ("were in his eye") as few. He spoke up.'

(xx6) *bòwⁿ   sɔ́gè-yè   [tùndù   ŋ̀   gɔ̀n],*
       together   buy.Perf-Past   [behind   Loc   exactly],
       [è   wánjè-gè]   [ŋ̀   ɲɛ́=ẁ],
       [Def   remainder-Pl] [1Sg   Poss=it.is],
       [è   dɛ́:]   ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ̀   ntíyè-∅,
       [Def   elder.sib]   3Sg-Acc   hurt.Perf-3SgS,
       dɔ̀:-wê: némè   nà,
       pestle   pick.up.Perf   3SgS,
       [è   nɔ́bɛ́-ŋ́]   búndà   wò   né   nà,
       [Def   younger.sib-Acc]   hit   Impf   say.Perf   3SgS,
       '(Younger brother:) As a result of the fact that they had jointly bought (the animals), the ones left belong to me.' (As for) the elder brother, (this) hurt him. He picked up a pestle, and said he would (=tried to) hit the younger brother (with it).'

(xx7) *[ntà   tó:-gé]   ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ   gámb-yè,*
       [person   other-Pl]   3Sg-Acc   block.Perf-3PlS,
       ábè-l-∅,   jámb-yè,
       accept-PerfNeg-3SgS,   reply.Perf-3PlS,
       ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ   á   nàré   nè,
       3Sg-Acc   2SgS touch.Perf   if,
       ó-ŋ́   dè:ndɔ̀-ɔ̀-lí,
       2Sg-Acc   abandon-1PlS-ImpfNeg,
       'Other people restrained him, (but) he refused (to stop). They spoke up: "if you touch him, we will not (ever) leave you alone."'

(xx8) *[è   dúgú   ŋ́]   gú:nd-yè,*
      [Def   house   Loc]   go.out.Perf-3PlS,
   [ŋké   démú   ŋ́]   téjjí-yè,
   [3PlP   house   Loc]   head.for.Perf-3PlS,
   [è   dé:]   [gémbó   jáŋgà   ŋ̀],
   [Def   elder.sib]   [compound   inside   Loc]
   [nɔ̀bé-nà-ŋ]   nwá:-mî-l   àbè-l-∅,
   [younger.sib-3SgP-Acc]   go.in-Caus-VblN   accept-PerfNeg-3SgS,
      'They (=the two brothers) went outside the houses (=village). They headed for their house. The older brother refused to let the younger brother go inside the (housing) compound.'
      [The two brothers shared a courtyard inside a walled compound.]

(xx9) *ènɛ́   [nòlò-nà   sôwⁿ   bà]   ándè   nà,*
      like.this   [friend-3SgP   chez   Loc]   go.Perf   3SgS,
   só:ndó→   hâl   dógó   dógé-∅,
   converse.Impf   until   night   night.fall.Perf-3SgS,
   [à   gwé:]   nɛ́   nà,
   [LogoSg   go.out]   say.Perf   3SgS,
      'Then he (=younger brother) went to a friend's place. (They) conversed until night had fallen. He (=younger brother) said he was going out (=going back home).'

(xx10) *[è   nóló]   jámbè   nà,*
      [Def   friend]   reply.Perf   3SgS,
   [ò   ní]   [à   dé: nì]   bòwⁿ   à   jáyⁿ,
   [2Sg   and]   [2SgP   elder.sib   and]   Recip   2Pl   fight.Perf,
   ó-ŋ   gì   gíyà   wò   nɛ́-∅,
   2Sg-Acc   Rdp   kill   Impf   say.Perf-3SgS,
   [dèmù   á   tègà]   á   nè,
   [house   2SgS   head.for.Impf]   2SgS   say.Perf,
   nùwⁿ   náyá,
   here   spend.night.Imprt,
      'The friend replied: "you and your older brother have fought. He said he would kill you. You said your would go home, (but instead) stay here for the night!"'

(xx11) *jámbè   nà,*
      reply.Perf   3SgS,
   àmàná   bàŋnà   bó-∅,   ŋ́   ɲ-à:ndé   nè,
   God   great   be,   1SgS   Aug-go.Perf   if

[ɛ̀ kàn ná sèlè]=yò,
[what do.Perf 3SgS all]=it.is,

'He (=younger brother) replied: "God is great. If I go (home), (what you have predicted) is all (=exactly) what he (=older brother) will do."'

(xx12) *ènè [ŋké démú ŋ́] ègè-∅,*
like.that [3PlP house Loc] come.Perf-3SgS,

[égá nà ɲ̀] [è dɛ́:]
[come 3SgS Impf] [Def elder.sib]

[bòwⁿ túndù ɲ̀] dáb-yè nà,
[door behind Loc] lurk-MP.Perf 3SgS,

dùbɛ́ dì díndà→,
iron Rdp hold.Stat,

'Then he (=younger brother) came to their house. As he was coming (=approaching), the elder brother lurked behind the door. He was holding an iron (bar).'

[égá nà ɲ̀ 'as he was coming' §15.2.1.3]

(xx13) *[è dɛ́:] ᴴᴸwê:,*
[Def elder.sib] ᴴᴸchild,

kúyè nà, [dógó ẃⁿ] dígè nà,
hide.Perf 3SgS, [roof Loc] go.up.Perf 3SgS,

[[[è bɔ́bɔ́] nɔ́bè] pá ɲ̀]
[[[Def father] younger.sib] side Loc]

[à dɛ́:] ɛ̀ⁿ dábà, nɛ́ nà,
[LogoSgP elder.sib] Exist lurk.Stat-3SgS, say.Perf 3SgS,

kòndò kán-∅, nùndè-l-∅,
failure do.Perf-3SgS, hear-PerfNeg-3SgS,

'(As for) the older brother's son, he hid. He went up onto the roof. He said (=tried to give a warning) next to his father's younger brother that his father was lurking (there). (But) he failed, he (=younger brother) didn't hear.'

(xx14) *ènè [ígódóní ŋ́] túb-yè nà,*
like.that [doorway Loc] arrive-MP.Perf 3SgS

bòwⁿ báŋùlè nà, [kàmbàᴸ tà:ŋgà] tábè nà,
door open.Perf 3SgS, [stepᴸ one] give.Perf 3SgS,

[è dɛ́:] [[è dúbè] nì]
[Def elder.sib] [[Def iron] with]

kó:-ná póŋgè nà, tíbà-m nà,
head-3SgP clobber.Perf 3SgS, fall-Caus.Perf 3SgS,

328

'Then he (=younger brother) arrived at the doorway. He opened the door and took a step (in). The older brother clobbered him on the head with the iron. He fell.'

(xx15) *[yɔ̀ː-gè   ní]   [wèː-gè   nì]   kɔ́mɔ́   kɔ́m-yὲ,*
    [woman-Pl and] [child-Pl and] shout(n) shout.Perf.3PlS
jámbè   nà,   ɲɔ́,
reply.Perf   3SgS,   today,
[kɔ̀mɔ̀   kɔ̀mɛ́   selè]   gì   gíyà   wò,
[shout(n) shout   all]   Rdp   kill   Prog,
[è   nɔ́bέ]   jámbè   nà,
[Def   younger.sib] reply.Perf   3SgS,
ɲɔ́   gɔ̂n   [mí-ŋ   gì   gíyá   wò]   á   nὲ,
today exactly [1Sg-Acc Rdp kill Impf] 2SgS say.Perf,
    'Women and children (in the household) shouted. He (=older brother) spoke up: "Today, I will kill anybody who shouts." The younger brother spoke up: "Today he said he would kill me."'

(xx16) *ὲnɛ́   [è   dέː]   [dὲmù   ή]   nwɛ́   nà,*
    like.that [Def elder.sib] [house Loc] go.in.Perf 3SgS,
tálá   némè   nà,   égè   nà,
knife   pick.up.Perf   3SgS, come.Perf   3SgS,
[[è   nɔ́bɛ́]   kó   ẁⁿ]   ínjè   nà,
[[Def   younger.sib] on   Loc]   stand.Perf   3SgS,
dìgàm   dám-à→   sèlè,
talk(n)   speak.Impf-3PlS   all,
[ɲàŋgù   ní]   á   b-yà,
[soul   with]   2SgS   be-Ppl,
    'Then the older brother went into the house. He picked up a knife and came (back). He stood on (=over) the younger brother (and said:) "Since you are talking, you are (=must) (still) be alive."'

(xx17) *[è   nɔ́bɛ́   ή]   sɛ́mὲ   nà,*
    [Def   younger.sib Acc] cut.throat.of.Perf 3SgS,
kúgújè   nà,   [bándá   bá]   tú:gὲ   nà,
drag.Perf 3SgS, [outside Loc]   throw   3SgS,
[è   bágá]   kɔ́jè   nà,
[Def   blood]   scrape.Perf   3SgS,
[bándá   bá]   tú:gὲ   nà,
[outside   Loc]   throw.out.Perf   3SgS

'He slaughtered (=cut the throat of) the younger brother, and dragged him and threw him outside. He scraped (=cleaned) up the blood (on the ground), and threw it outside.'

(xx18) *[sɔ̀y-nà   ní]   [è   dúbé   ní]   [è   tálá   ní],*
[boubou-3SgP and] [Def   iron   and] [Def   knife   and],
[ɲégé:rè   jáŋgà   ŋ̀]   gálè   nà,
[toilet   inside   Loc]   put.in.Perf   3SgS,
yɔ̀:   yê: nà,   gú:ndè   nà,
daybreak   day.break.Perf   3SgS,   go.out.Perf   3SgS,
[ntá-gé   málíg-yé   lè]   sé:m   nà,
[person-Pl   see.Perf-3PlS QuotQ] look.at.Perf   3SgS,
     'He put the (bloody) clothing and the iron (bar) and the knife inside the outhouse (toilet). At daybreak he went outside and looked (to check) whether people had seen (the corpse).'

(xx19) *kóndè   nà,   ènɛ́   [sàgàllà   tà:ŋgà],*
go.back.Perf   3SgS,   like.that [youth   one],
[táŋgá-nà   ŋ́]   málgè   nà,
[pass-3SgS   Loc]   see.Perf   3SgS,
ntá-gé-ŋ́   tá:rè   nà,   ég-yè,
person-Pl-Acc   show.Perf   3SgS,   come.Perf-3PlS,
     'He went back (inside). Then a youth passing by saw (the corpse). He showed (=reported) it to (other) people and they came.'

(xx20) *bɔ̌wⁿ   bál-yè,   ŋké-ŋ́   tá:r-yè,*
door   knock.Perf-3PlS,   3Pl-Acc   show.Perf-3PlS,
[è   dɛ́:]   ɔ̀nɔ̀=là   kán   pínà→
[Def   elder.sib] 3Sg=it.is.not   do.Perf   pretending,
kɔ́mɔ́   kɔ̀mɔ̂:   sòwěyⁿ→   bìndìlô:,
shout(n)   shout.Impf   on.ground   roll.around.Impf,
     'They knocked on the door. They showed (=explained to) them (=the people in the household). The older brother acted as though it (=the murderer) was not him. He was crying out and rolling around on the ground (in feigned grief).'
     [kán pínà→ is invariant, not conjugated]

(xx21) *ènè   ntá-gé   yògónì   ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ̀   báríg-yé   nè-∅,*
like.that person-Pl fast   3Sg-Acc   help.Perf-3PlS say.Perf-3SgS,
nɔ̀bè-ná   bànà   díngá-yù   ŋ̀ké   b-yà,
[younger.sib   manner   bury-==3Hort==   3PlS   Impf-Ppl,
[ènè   gɔ́n]   yò:-ndì-∅   níyⁿ-yⁿɛ̀,

330

[like.that   exactly]   be.good-Impf.Neg-3SgS   say.Perf-3PlS,
sémbé-gé-ŋ́   *yál-yè,*   *ég-yè*   *sé:m-mì,*
police-Pl-Acc   call.Perf-3PlS, come.Perf-3PlS look.Perf-3PlS,
[ὲ   *kánù*   *ŋké*   *b-yà]*   *kán-nì,*   *ánd-yè,*
[what   do   3PlS   Impf-Ppl] do.Perf-3PlS, go.Perf-3PlS,
    'Then he told the people to help him immediately, so they might bury the younger brother. They said, "(that) isn't good." They called police, they came and looked. They did what they (always) do and they went away.'

(xx22) *[dèn   tà:ndì-lò]*   *ég-yè,*
      [day   three-Ord]   come.Perf-3PlS,
ɔ̀nɔ́-ŋ   *ímb-yè*   *sínd-yè*   *bá:nd-yè,*
3Sg-Acc   catch.Perf-3PlS   convey.Perf-3PlS confine.Perf-3PlS,
kùrá:ⁿ   *túl-yè,*   *dámà-m-mì,*
electricity   put.Perf-3PlS,   speak-Caus.Perf-3PlS,
    'The third day (=three days later) they (=police) came (back). They arrested him, took him away, and imprisoned him. They applied electricity (to him), they made him talk.'

(xx23) *[bànà*   *kàn*   *ná*   *sèlè]*   *dâm*   *nà,*
      [manner   do.Perf   3SgS all]   speak.Perf   3SgS,
ê: *kǎwⁿwòlyô:,*
that.Def   aside.from,
yɔ́:-nà   *[[píjó*   *ní]*   *bó*   *nà*   *ŋ̀]*   *búndè*   *nà,*
woman-3SgP   [pregnancy with] be   3SgS Impf] hit   3SgS,
gàbò:-ndí-∅   *yárè*   *nà,*
survive-ImpfNeg-3SgS   know.Perf   3SgS,
    'He spoke about every way he had done (crimes). Aside from that (the murder of his younger brother), he had (previously) beaten his wife while she was pregnant, knowing that she would not survive.'

(xx24) *[ɲà:*   *ní]*   *[mì:*   *nì]*   *[mù-nà*   *ŋ̀]*   *dú:ndè*   *nà,*
      [food   and] [water and] [side-3SgS Loc] put.down.Perf 3SgS,
[ójú-ná   *pâⁿ]*   *ándè*   *nà,*
[road-3SgP   on]   go.Perf   3SgS,
[ὲ   *yɔ́:]*   *gábè-l-∅,*
[Def   woman]   survive-PerfNeg-3SgS,
    'He had put food and water down beside her and had gone on his way. The woman did not survive.'
    [The food and water was to imply that he had left her with provisions before someone else came and killed her.]

(xx25) *[ê: túndù   ŋ̀]   [gòlgè   ɲɔ̀ŋgɔ̀]   ê: nì,*
    [that.Def   back   Loc]   [gear   small]   that.Def   and,
ntá-gé-ŋ   gámbò   b-yà,
person-Pl-Acc   fend.off   Impf-Ppl,
[the gear for fighting with people]
jwá: sá:ⁿ-∅-yè,
a.lot   have-3SgS-Past,

x   *[tà:lìbù   yé:né-ŋ́]   búndè   nà   gìyà tê:-∅,*
    [koranic.pupil   a.certain-Acc]   beat.Perf   3SgS   kill   ExpPerf-3SgS,
    'Aside from that, he had a lot of small items (knives, etc.) for fighting
    people. He had (also) once beaten and killed a koranic-school pupil.'

(xx26) *[è   dɛ́:-ŋ́]   sínd-yè,   bá:nd-yè,*
    [Def   elder.sib-Acc]   convey.Perf-3PlS,   confine.Perf-3PlS,
[[wàyà   já:mbà]   túndù   ŋ̀]   dúj-yè,
[[year   many]   back   Loc]   release.Perf-3PlS,
[è   dúgù   ŋ̀]   égè   nà,
[Def   village   Loc]   come.Perf   3SgS,
    'They took the older brother away and imprisoned him. After many
    years they released him. He came (back) to the village.'

(xx27) *dùgù-nó-gè,   jámb-yè,*
    village-person-Pl,   reply.Perf-3PlS,
[dùgù   jáŋgà   ŋ̀]   ɔ̀nɔ̀-ŋ   ŋké   málgé   nè,
[village   inside   Loc]   3Sg-Acc   3PlS   see   if,
gíyɔ̀   ŋké   bò,
kill   3PlS   Impf,
[è   dúgù]   dújè   nà,   [ínì   njò],
[Def   village]   abandon.Perf   3SgS,   [Dem   today],
[[géŋ   b-yà   nà]   ntà   éyⁿ]   wòl-∅
[[place   be-Ppl   3SgS]   person   know.Ppl]   not.be-3SgS
    'The villagers spoke: if they (ever) saw him inside the village, they
    would kill him. He abandoned the village (then). Nowadays, there is
    nobody who knows the place where he is.'

Index

[to be added]