Dogon anaphoric markers (reflexive, reciprocal, logophoric, indexing)
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anaphora

This piece is about the forms and distributions of true **anaphors** that index the identity of an anaphor to a specific antecedent NP, such as the clausemate subject. These do not include **ordinary third-person pronouns** like English *he/she*, in spite of the fact that they are often referred to as "anaphoric" because they usually refer back to previously established discourse referents. Halway between true anaphors and third-person pronouns are the (dubious) "reflexive pronouns" of the English type *my-self*.

In Dogon languages, the function of any given anaphor is one or more of these:

(1)   a.   reflexive object: 'X hurt **himself$_x$**'
           b.   reflexive possessor: 'X saw **his$_x$ (own)** dog'
           c.   topic-indexing: 'X, when **he$_x$** comes, ...' or similar
           d.   logophoric: 'X said that you hit **him$_x$**'
           e.   same-subject from main to relative: 'X bought the sugar [that **he$_x$** saw]'
           f.   reciprocal: '[X and Y] saw **each other**]'
           g.   self-benefactive: 'X did it [**for himself$_x$**]'

Topic-indexing and same-subject functions are typologically unusual and are discussed later in this piece.

In addition to anaphors, some Dogon languages have **obviative** morphemes, i.e. expressions that are **anti-anaphors**. They specify non-identity with a currently topical referent. They are covered briefly at the end of this piece.

basic anaphoric forms

Anaphors may be transpersonal or limited to coindexation of a third-person antecedent. Schematically, a **transpersonal** reflexive SELF occurs in all three of 'I shot SELF', 'you shot SELF', and 'he/she shot SELF', as in Russian. Fully productive transpersonal reflexive pronouns occur in Togo Kan and Tomo Kan and are used in direct object, possessor, and other functions. Toro Tegu has a transpersonal reflexive possessor marker. Other Dogon languages lack transpersonal reflexives.

Third-person reflexives occur in 'he/she shot SELF' but are not used with 1st/2nd person subject.

Basic anaphoric markers are in (2). Excluded here are reciprocals, bipartite possessive 'my head'-type reflexives/emphatics, and intransitivizing verbal derivations (mediopassive/reflexive or reciprocal).

(2)   Basic anaphoric markers

	Sg	Pl	type	main function
eastern				
Toro Tegu	*mà*	—	transpersonal	reflexive possessor
	àsí	*àsí mǎ:*	3rd person	logophoric
	símà	—	3rd person	self-benefactive
Bankan Tey	*á*	*â:*	3rd person	multiple
Ben Tey	*á*	*â:*	3rd person	multiple
Nanga	*á*	*â:*	3rd person	multiple
Jamsay	*ènɛ́*	*ènɛ́ bè*	3rd person	multiple
	ìnìwⁿé	—	transpersonal	reflexive object
Togo Kan	*sǎⁿ*	*sǎⁿ bè*	transpersonal	multiple
	má	—	<mark>??</mark>	possessor
	ènɛ́	*ènɛ́ bè*	3rd person	logophoric
Tommo So	*ǹdèmɔ́*	*ǹdèm-bé*	3rd person	logophoric
Donno So	*ǹjèmɛ́*	*ǹjèmɛ́-mbè*	3rd person	logophoric
	-ŋ [1]	—	transpersonal	logophoric subject
Yorno So	*únɔ́:*	*únɔ́: bè*	3rd person	logophoric
Tomo Kan	*sà*	*sè*	transpersonal	reflexive
	là	*lè*	transpersonal	logophoric

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[1] Dialectally *-m,* the older form.

northwestern					
Najamba	*-m*	—		transpersonal	logophoric subject
Tiranige	[none]				
Dogul Dom	*mè*	—		??	logophoric (subject??)
Tebul Ure	*á*	—		3rd person	multiple
	-m	—		transpersonal	logophoric subject
Yanda Dom	*á*	—		3rd person	multiple
	-m	—		transpersonal	logophoric subject
southwestern					
Bunoge	[none]				
Mombo	*à*	??			
Ampari	*á*	??			
	-m	—		transpersonal	logophoric subject
Penange	*à*	*ŋké*		3rd person	logophoric subject

The syntactic and discourse functions of the anaphoric elements are listed in more detail in (3). 'My head'-type reflexives are omitted from (3). Where no reflexive object is given in (3), one can assume that the language in question uses either 'my head'-type ('I saw [my head]'), or simple nonreflexive pronouns ('I saw me'). In the logo[phoric] column, some instances are restricted to subject function ("Sbj").

(3)   Functions of basic anaphoric markers

	reflexive						
	object	poss	topic	logo	same-subj	recip	self-benef
eastern							
Toro Tegu							
mà	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
àsí (mǎ:)	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
símà	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
Bankan Tey	??						
á, â:	??	x	??	x	??	—	—
Ben Tey							
á, â:	—	x	x	x	x	—	—
Nanga							
á, â:	x	x	x	x	x	—	—
Jamsay							
èné (bè)	—	x	x	x	x	—	—
inìw^{n}é	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
Togo Kan							
sǎ^n (bè)	x	x	—	—	x	—	—
má	—	x	—	—	—	—	—
èné (bè)	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
Tommo So							
ǹdèmɔ́ [2]	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
Donno So [3]							
ǹjèmέ	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
-ŋ	—	—	—	Sbj	—	—	—
Yorno So	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tomo Kan							
sà (sè)	x	x	??	—	??	—	—
là (lè)	—	—	—	x	??	—	—

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[2] Cf. *ndέ* 'person'.
[3] The mediopassive suffixal verb derivation is also used in reflexive (and reciprocal) function.

northwestern

Najamba

-m	—	—	—	Sbj	—	—	—

Tiranige [n.a.]

Dogul Dom

mɛ̀	—	—	—	x	—	—	—

Tebul Ure [4]

á	—	x	—	x	—	—	—
-m	—	—	—	Sbj	—	—	—

Yanda Dom

á	x	x	—	x	x	—	—
-m	—	—	—	Sbj	—	—	—

southwestern

Bunoge [n.a.]

Mombo

à	—	—	—	x	—	—	—

Ampari

á	—	—	—	x	—	—	—
-m	—	—	—	Sbj	—	—	—

Penange

à	—	—	—	Sbj	—	—	—

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[4] In logophoric function, *-m* for subject and *á* for other functions.

reflexive object

Reflexive object ('I saw myself', 'He saw himself') can be expressed by a transpersonal reflexive pronoun (for all subject categories), as a reflexive pronoun limited to third-person subjects, as a possessed body-part ('I saw [my head]'), or by an ordinary nonreflexive pronominal object ('I saw me'). For the 'my head' type, see the relevant subsection below.

The **accusative** marker (absent in Jamsay, Togo Kan, and Toro Tegu) is a postposition-like enclitic added to the end of a human/animate object NP or pronoun; see the separate piece on "Dogon case-marking." The languages differ as to whether the accusative marker occurs with a reflexive object. For example, Nanga third-person reflexive object *á=ŋ* (singular) or *â:=ŋ* end in accusative *=ŋ*.

Postpositional complements generally use the same reflexive forms (minus the accusative marker), as in 'I said to myself'. However, reflexives are less common in this construction, mainly because it is fairly difficult to construct clauses with coindexed subject and postpositional complement. In particular, dative postpositions are restricted in several of the languages which phrase recipients for 'give' and 'show' as (accusative) direct objects.

'my head'-type reflexives and emphatics

Expressions of the type 'my head', 'your head', 'his/her head' function as **reflexives** ('he cut himself') and/or **emphatic** pronouns ('he built the house himself') in several Dogon languages. They have not been observed in Togo Kan or Tomo Kan. In Dogon languages lacking a true anaphoric reflexive (or an intransitivizing verbal derivation), the 'my head' construction may be the only reflexive-object form.

(4) 'My/your/…head'

	'my head'	'his/her head'	functions
eastern			
Toro Tegu [5]	*kú mà*	*kú mà*	reflexive, emphatic
Bankan Tey	??	*á* ᴴᴸ*kû:*	reflexive
Ben Tey	*kŭ:*	*á* ᴴᴸ*kû:*	emphatic
Nanga	*kû: kɔ̃:*	*kû: [á* ᴸ*gɔ̀]*	emphatic
Jamsay	*má kú:ⁿ*	*ènɛ́ mà kú:ⁿ*	emphatic
Togo Kan	[none]		—
Tommo So	*kú: m-mɔ̀*	*kú: wó-mɔ̀*	reflexive
Donno So	*kû: m-mɔ̀*	*kû: wò-mɔ̀*	emphatic
Yorno So	*kû: mɔ̀*	*kû: wò-mɔ̀*	reflexive
Tomo Kan	[none]		—
northwestern			
Najamba	*mí* ᴸ*kì:*	*mó* ᴸ*kì:*	reflexive
Tiranige [6]	*mì* ᴸᴴ*kògó*	*nà* ᴸᴴ*kògó*	reflexive
Dogul Dom	*kí:gù mmɔ̀*	*kí:gù nà-ŋ*	reflexive
Tebul Ure	*kúgɔ́ kɔ̀ɔ́*	*kúgɔ́ à-gà*	reflexive [7]
Yanda Dom	*kó:-mú*	*kó:-á-ŋ́*	reflexive [8]
southwestern			
Bunoge	*ǹ* ᴴᴸ*kô:*	*kò:-nà*	reflexive, emphatic
Mombo	??	*kó:-ná*	reflexive
Ampari	??		
Penange	*ŋ́* ᴸ*kò:*	*kó:-ná*	reflexive, emphatic

'My head' reflexives as in 'I saw my head (=myself)' differ only subtly from body-part object constructions as in 'I saw my foot'. One can argue whether the former are genuinely anaphoric. In languages with 3rd-person reflexive ("3Refl") forms that can be used in possessor function, the real anaphor is the possessor 'he saw [3Refl's head]', 'she saw [3Refl's head]', etc. Note 3Refl *á/à* (Bankan Tey, Ben Tey, Nanga, Tebul Ure, Yanda Dom) and *ènɛ́* (Jamsay) in (4). Also note transpersonal reflexive possessor *mà* in Toro Tegu. Other languages lack 3Refl forms in

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[5] Invariant *kú mà* with transpersonal reflexive possessor *mà*, which is obligatory in this construction.

[6] With prenominal possessor. In the literal sense 'X's head' a pronominal possessor is often postnominal: *kògò mɛ̌*: 'my head'.

[7] The transitive reflexive construction ('I hit [my head]') competes with intransitivization by the mediopassive verbal derivation ('I self-hit').

[8] Competes with nonreflexive forms ('I cut me', etc.).

possessor function, so of course they use regular 3rd person possessors like *wó/wò* (Tommo So, Donno So, Yorno So), *mó* (Najamba), and *ná/nà* (Tiranige, Dogul Dom, and the southwestern group).

logophorics

Togo Kan and Tomo Kan have completely distinct reflexive and logophoric pronouns. However, several Dogon languages use the same forms in both functions (and perhaps others). Dual-function anaphoric pronouns of this type also occur in Songhay languages and may be an areal feature.

Logophoric pronouns are coindexed to the ascribed author of quoted material (from speech or thought). Like reflexive object markers, logophorics are often limited to third-person antecedents, but there are some exceptions. In principle, logophorics may occur in any syntactic position within the quotation. For example, in a stacked quotation like [He$_x$ said that [you said that [I hit him$_x$]], the coindexed him may appear in logophoric form.

Logophoric plural is used not only when the ascribed author is plural ('They$_x$ say [that] they$_x$ are coming'), but also with a single ascribed author when a nonsingular referent strictly included him/herself, as 'He$_x$ says [that] they$_{xy}$ (e.g. he and his sister) are coming.' In effect, a third-person logophoric is an indirect-discourse adaptation of an original 1Sg or 1Pl pronoun. So direct-quotation 'He says "I am coming"' corresponds to indirect discourse 'He$_x$ says [Logo$_x$ is coming]'.

Related to this crypto-first-person quality is a **pseudo-1Sg** construction for logophoric subjects. This involves use of a pronominal-subject suffix *-m* on the verb. This is usually identical to the 1Sg subject suffix on verbs in nonquoted clauses. If this equation is taken literally, it means that e.g. 'they$_x$ said they$_x$ would come' is phrased as 'they$_x$ said I$_x$ would come'. This might sound like a recipe for disastrous ambiguity, but the ambiguity can be resolved by requiring nonlogophoric pronominal subjects to be expressed by preverbal proclitics rather than by the usual verb-final suffixes. The pseudo-1Sg construction is well-entrenched in north- and southwestern Dogon and is attested in Donno So (eastern), but it is not yet clear whether it goes back to Proto-Dogon.

That the pseudo-1Sg logophoric suffix is not a true 1Sg marker is shown by the ability of the two to co-occur as subject and object with distinct references. For example, in Najamba the sense 'you said that you would kill me' comes out as [[1Sg Obj] kill-Future-LogoS] say-Pftv-2SgSubj

(5)   *[mí   gì]*   *gìyà-mbó-m̀*   *gìn-ɔ́:*   *mɛ́*
      [**1Sg   Accus**]   kill-Fut-**LogoS**   say.Per-2SgS   if
      'if you-Sg say (intend) to kill me, …'
]

Dogon languages differ in the extent to which unbound logophoric markers are "pronouns" or "nouns" morphosyntactically. Clues can be gleaned from a) the morphology of the logophoric plural; b) whether logophoric and regular pronouns occupy the same linear position, c) whether preverbal logophoric subjects require regular 3Sg and 3Pl agreement on the verb itself, and d) whether logophoric possessors behave tonosyntactically like pronominal or nominal possessors.

Jamsay "logophoric" demonstrative adverbs and nonhuman pronouns

Jamsay has some unusual demonstrative adverbs ('there') with a stem *ɛ̆n-* that is related to logophoric pronoun *ɛ̀nɛ́*. Attested forms are *ɛ̆n-dî:ⁿ* and *ɛ̆n-lé, ǎn-lé*. They occur in textual passages where the perspective of a narrative protagonist.

Jamsay also has a nonhuman pronoun-like form *ɛ̆n-kɔ̀*, plural *ɛ̆n-kɔ̀ bé* with the free plural particle. It consists of the same logophoric stem *ɛ̆n-* plus a second morpheme related to nonhuman clitic *kɔ̀* 'be (somewhere)' and to third person nonhuman pronoun *kó* 'it'. Vocalic variants like *ɔ̆n-kɔ̀* show that the original morphological composition is no longer transparent.

topic-indexing anaphors

Some Dogon languages show additional ways to use anaphoric markers, in addition to reflexive, reciprocal, and logophoric functions.

A NP introduced as a **topic** (and therefore external to the following clause) may function as antecedent for an anaphor under certain conditions, in some Dogon languages including Jamsay. The anaphor functions either as third person subject of a following adverbial clause (6a), or as third person possessor of a NP internal to an isolated adverbial PP (6b). There is no ambiguity since these syntactic positions do not lend themselves to ordinary reflexive binding (they do not have a clausemate subject as potential antecedent). In the relevant languages, the anaphoric form used, e.g. Jamsay *ɛ̀nɛ́*, is the same form used elsewhere in 3rd-person reflexive (3Refl) and logophoric functions.

(6) a. *[ìnɛ̀ᴸ   kâ:ⁿ]   [ɛ̀nɛ́   mà   dú:]*
         [person^L   any]   [3Refl   Poss   load]
         [dì:ⁿᴸ   ɛ̀nɛ́   gɔ̀rⁿɔ̂:-Ø]   *jín   kúnô:-Ø*
         [manner^L   **3Refl**   be.able.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]   like   put.Impf-3SgS
         'Each person$_x$ [topic], she$_x$ puts her$_x$ load (on her head) like this, as much as **she**$_x$ can (carry).' [Jamsay]

     b. *ɲù:-tɔ̆y   [ɛ̀nɛ́   mà   dáɣá   lè], …*
         millet-seed   [3**Refl**   Poss   young.stage   in], …
         'a millet seedling$_x$ [topic], in **its**$_x$ early stage of development, …' [Jamsay]

This pattern has also been observed in Nanga, Togo Kan, and (in a slightly different construction) Ben Tey.
[Yorno So ?

subject-to-subject anaphors

Likewise, the third person subject of a nonsubject relative clause, having no clausemate antecedent, may be coindexed by an anaphor to the subject of the matrix clause with no serious likelihood of ambiguity.

(7)   *pɔ́tɔ́*   *[cɛ̀:^{L}*   *ènɛ́*   *dènê:-∅*   *kù^{n}]*
      beat   [thing^{L} **3Refl**   want.Impf-Ppl.Nonh   Def]
      kó   *táná-ŋâ-∅*
      NonhO   become-Caus.Impf-3SgS
      He$_{x}$ (=blacksmith) will beat it (=iron) and transform (=forge) it into what(-ever) **he$_{x}$**
      wants.' [Jamsay]

The same pattern occurs in factive complements with matrix verbs like 'know'.

(8)   *sè:dú*   *[sǎ^{n}*   *bàgá-jú]*   *í:^{n}*   *wɔ̂*
      S   [**ReflS**   fall-Impf]   know   be.HumSg
      'Seydou$_{x}$ knows that he$_{x}$ will fall.' [Togo Kan]

In addition to Jamsay and Togo Kan, subject-to-subject anaphora has been observed in Nanga and Ben Tey.

historical notes on reflexive and logophoric forms

*á looks like a good Proto-Dogon reconstruction for (third-person) reflexive and logophoric functions.

      èné occurs as a logophoric in Togo Kan and as both logophoric and 3rd-person reflexive in Jamsay. Yorno So logophoric *únɔ́:* is related. Tommo So logophoric *ǹdè-mɔ́* is probably an old possessive form *(-mɔ)* of this stem, cf. also Donno So *ǹjèmɛ́*. These logophorics belong to a complex cognate set. The most direct comparison is with Ben Tey *érⁿɛ́* and Nanga *ɲ́nɛ́*, which are regular (nonanaphoric) 3Sg pronouns. A possible reconstruction is *ìndé, with *d usually lost. Other nonanaphoric 3Sg pronouns that may belong to this cognate set include *ɔ̀nɔ́* (Penange) and *ná* (e.g. Yanda Dom, Dogul Dom). Jamsay *ìnìwⁿé* (reflexive object) may be an extended variant.

      These logophoric and 3Sg pronouns may also be related to a noun meaning 'person' (9). However, some of the forms point to *nu-* (eastern) or *no-* (western) and it is difficult to account historically for all of the variants.

(9)	'person'	Sg	Pl (selected)
	eastern		
	Toro Tegu	*nù-rⁿú*	*nù-mú*
	Bankan Tey	*[non-cognate]*	
	Ben Tey	*nǔ-m*	*nǔ:*
	Nanga	*nǔ:*	
	Donno So	*ǹdɛ́*	
	Tommo So	*ndɛ́* /ǹdɛ̌/	
	Jamsay	*íné-n*	*íné-m*
	Togo Kan	*nǎ*	
	Yorno So	*ìnɛ́*	*ìnɛ́-m*
	Tomo Kan	*ɲèʔⁿɛ̀ ~ nèŋè*	
	northwestern		
	Najamba	*nǒ:*	*nò-mbó*
	Tiranige	*ndà:*	
	Dogul Dom	*nó:*	
	Tebul Ure	*ɲě*	*nù-mbɔ́*
	Yanda Dom	*nò*	*nò-mó*
	southwestern		
	Bunoge	*[non-cognate]*	
	Mombo	*ɲ́dá*	
	Ampari	*ìndà-ró*	
	Penange	*ntá*	

reciprocals

Reciprocal object ('they saw each other') is expressed in several Dogon languages by a form related to a noun meaning 'comrad, companion' or 'agemate'. with exceptions (Tomo kan0 is no possessor in reciprocal function. The reciprocal form is invariant (i.e. no singular/plural distinction) in several languages. In others, there is a distinction between "singular" or minimal (two persons) and "plural" or nonminimal (more than two). There may also be other divergences in form from the related noun. In addition to object, the reciprocal form can usually also function as reflexive possessor ('they saw each other's children') and as complement of a postposition ('they gave to each other').

(10) Reciprocals

		reciprocal form	related noun
eastern			
	Toro Tegu	*túnǒm-mà*	*túnú* 'companion'
	Bankan Tey	*tǔ:*	*tǔ-m* 'agemate', Pl *tǔ:*
	Ben Tey	*tǔ:*	*tǔ-m* 'companion', Pl *tǔ:*
	Nanga	*tǔ̃:*	*tǔ:* 'agemate'
	Jamsay	*tɔ̂:-n* (Sg) [9]	*tɔ̂:-ǹ* 'companion'
		tɔ̂:-m (Pl) *tɔ̂:-m* 'companions'	
	Togo Kan	*sàⁿ túⁿ*	—
	Tommo So	*túmɔ̀m* [10]	*túmɔ́-nɔ́* 'agemate'
	Donno So [11]	*tùmɔ̀ = ń́* [12]	*tùmɔ́* 'set of generation-mates'
	Yorno So	*tɔ́:-m̀*	*tɔ́:-rⁿɔ́* (pl *tɔ́:-m*) 'casual friend'
	Tomo Kan	*sè tɔ̀mɔ̀*	*tɔ̀mɔ* 'namesake' (1Sg *ǹ̀ tɔ̀mɔ́*)
northwestern			
	Najamba	*tɔ̃̆:n* (Sg)	*tɔ̆:* 'companion, agemate'
		tò-mbó (Pl)	
	Tiranige	[verbal mediopassive]	
	Dogul Dom	*nábɔ̀*	
	Tebul Ure	*tèmbɔ̀*	
	Yanda Dom	*tò-mù*	*tò*: 'agemate' (Pl *tò-mù*)

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[9] With <LHL> tone. Incorrectly transcribed *tɔ̂:-n*, *tɔ̂:-m* in the published Jamsay grammar. Perge dialect has invariant *tùwɔ̂-m*.

[10] Unrelated etymologically, but perhaps weakly associated synchronically, with numeral *túmɔ́* 'one'.

[11] Mediopassive verb derivation can also be used in reciprocal (and reflexive) function.

[12] accusative *= ŋ*.

southwestern
    Bunoge   [intransitivizing verbal derivational suffix *-gè*]
    Mombo
    Ampari
    Penange   [intransitivizing verbal derivational suffix *-lè*]

self-benefactive

Toro Tegu has an unusual morpheme *símà*, which can be decomposed at least etymologically into *sí* 'possession' and reflexive possessor *mà*. Its discourse functions are complex, but a gloss 'for oneself' (hence 'for myself', 'for herself', etc., depending on the context) is appropriate in many contexts.

obviative

Some Dogon languages have special demonstrative or noun-like forms that can function in discourse as **obviatives**. They are found in narrative and other contexts in which two roughly parallel or comparable referents remain active in the discourse for a considerable time, especially when one of the referents is the primary topic (or is at least introduced and developed first), leaving the other referent in the status of secondary topic (counterpart or alter ego).

      Obviatives are often just special functions of **far-distal** demonstratives. Examples are Najamba animate singular far-distal *òmá:*, Ben Tey far-distal *m̀bá*, and Yanda Dom far-distal forms like inanimate *màŋgó*.

      Nanga has a pair of nondemonstrative forms, *éndè* (roughly 'the fellow') for the primary topic and obviative *sárⁿá* (roughly 'the other fellow') for the secondary topic. These are also used opportunistically in non-narrative conversation to refer to well-known individuals without uttering their names.