A Grammar of Najamba Dogon (Bondu-So)

eastern dialect of Najamba-Kindige (Bondu-So) language,
Dogon language family
Mali

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not finished or definitive, use caution in citing
I will later add index, consecutive numbering, page breaks, etc.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Dogon languages

Dogon is a division of the Niger-Congo phylum. Its genetic position within Niger-Congo is not yet clear; one suggestion is that it is closest to the Gur group.

The internal genetic classification of Dogon is also unclear at this time, principally due to the lack of detailed grammatical descriptions, and the paucity of dictionaries with tone markings and other relevant features.

This grammar is one of the products of a project initially focused onand later extended to other Dogon languages in the vicinities of Douentza and Boni, i.e. in the northern to northeastern sector of Dogon country, some distance from the "classic" Dogon country centered in the Bandiagara-Sanga zone. Other languages beside Jamsay that I have studied in this project are Ben Tey (Beni village), Bankan Tey (Walo village), Nanga, Toro Tegu, Bunoge, Penange, Togo Kan, and Tiranige. Colleagues in the project have studied or are studying Tommo So, Tomo Kan, Mombo, Ampari, and Dogulu.

1.2 Najamba-Kindige (Bondu-So) language and its dialects

The choice of an official term for the language under study here is difficult. Outsiders, notably Tommo-So speakers, refer to it as **Bondu-So** (stem *bòndú*, plus -So 'talk, language'), and this term is used in the linguistic survey literature. However, we have yet to find anyone who uses this term in their own language.

The terms used in the language itself do not denote the entire language, rather one or other of the dialects. The variety studied here, spoken in a wide canyon extending east from Douentza, is called **Najamba** (*nàjàmbá*). A popular etymology of *nàjàmbá* is an amalgam of *nàlé* 'friend' and *jàmbá* 'betray(al)', alluding to an origin legend.

A neighboring dialect, straddling the main highway and therefore separated from Najamba by a mountain ridge, and including the village of Koira Beiri, is called **Kindigué** (*kìndì-gé*) by many of its speakers, and by my Najamba speakers. People from Koira Beiri refer to their language (i.e. Kindigué) as **Kolobinye** (*kɔ̀lɔ̀bì-ɲɛ́*), an irregular derivative of the local name for Koira Beiri village itself (*kɔ́lɔ̀bì*). One informant from this village suggested that *kìndì-gé*

originally alluded to the villages atop the escarpment, as opposed to the current villages which are mostly on the plains at the base of the cliffs.

The village of Synda, which is on the highway, is considered by Kindige/Kolobinye speakers to be a Najamba outlier. Speakers of Najamba proper also recognize the affinity between their dialect and that of Synda, though they consider it to be moderately different and refer to it as *sìndà-gé*.

There is an informal expression *pǒ: yɔ́:* with exaggerated "dying-quail" intonation (prolonged, with slowly falling pitch). This is based on a shared greeting (*pǒ:*) and its standard reply *yɔ́:*. A Najamba informant stated that the expression is used informally to designate the combination of Najamba plus the Kolobinye in the area around Koira Beiri (but not father east, e.g. around Borko). The afore-mentioned informant from Koira Beiri stated that *pǒ: yɔ́:* is used by Najamba to refer to Koira Beiri area people.

For purposes of this grammar the term Najamba will be used, since it includes no information about the grammar of Kindigué. Najamba-Kindigué will be used to refer to to entire dialect complex.

The exact genetic position of Najamba-Kindigué within Dogon remains to be clarified. Its grammatical structure and lexicon are rather divergent from the immediately adjoining Dogon languages such as Jamsay, Tommo-So, and Duleri. However, they have important commonalities with Yanda-Dom some distance to the south, and it may turn out that the language cluster including Yanda-Dom and Tebul Ure belong with Najamba-Kindigué in a genetic subgroup.

Contact languages are as follows. **French** is taught in schools, though to date relatively few individuals living in the villages can speak French passably. **Fulfulde** is spoken in some small villages in the area, and is the lingua franca of the administrative and market town Douentza. **Jamsay** is spoken in some nearby villages such as Fombori, and is a kind of lingua franca in the area among Dogon. **Tommo-So** (aka Tombo-So) is spoken in the valleys immediately to the south of the two main Najamba canyons (see below). Speakers of the *kìndì-gé* dialect are said to be in contact with the Dogon language **Tiranige** (or **Ndouléri**), which is called *kɛ̀lgá* in Najamba, as well as Tommo-so and Fulfuldé.

The nearest extant **Songhay** language is Tondi Songway Kiini, spoken in a few villages well to the north-east of Douentza. There are no Songhay-speaking groups in the Najamba area. However, there is some lexical evidence in Najamba-Kindigué suggestive of earlier Songhay-Najamba contacts.

Words of **likely Songhay origin** found in Najamba but not in Jamsay or other nearby Dogon languages include: *bàndí* 'back' (Songhay bande), *mágà:* 'thigh below hip' (Songhay maka), *dǎy* 'well(s)', *párŋgá* 'donkey' (Songhay farka), *gándè-gàndè kan* '(do) chest-to-chest' (maneuver in wrestling; Songhay gande 'chest'), *sá:bú kán* 'give thanks to God' (Songhay yerkoy saabu 'God be

praised!'), *tàgá* '(God's) creation' (Songhay taka), *bùgú* '(Fulbe) hut' (Songhay bugu), *kùrsà-kùrsá* 'skin disease with rashes' (Songhay kursa), *táŋkúndé* 'elephant' (Songhay tarkunda).

1.3 Environment

My data are from the villages of Kubewel and Adia, which occur (along with a few smaller villages) in a horshoe canyon that opens up (on the north) to Douentza. The canyon is a flat valley bounded by rather low parallel inselbergs that connect with each other at the end (just beyond Adia), forming the closed end of the horseshoe. There is a dirt road from Douentza to Adia that hugs the inselberg to the right (i.e. to the north), and most of the large villages in the canyon are on or near this road. One first passes the Fulbe village of Sen where the canyon begins, then (going west) the Najamba-speaking villages Askarba, Kubewel, Madina, Dindari, and Adia. After Adia, one can make one's way around the inside of the bend of the horseshoe to the small village of Néri. Backtracking toward Douentza along the southern inselberg, one finds the villages of Lamordé and Orodou. The southern side of the valley is less suitable for settlement since it is slightly lower and can therefore be waterlogged in the rainy season. The villages of Madina and Orodou were originally on the nearby inselberg summits, but moved down to their current locations on the plain at some point following Malian independence (1960).

Adia is around N 14º 57′ by W 3º 07′.

There is another, parallel canyon to the south of the first one. Leaving Douentza, if instead of entering the first canyon one heads southeast and then turns west after passing the first inselberg, one finds another long valley containing the Najamba-speaking villages Badiari (on a flat rocky spot) and then Ambaka. The latter is around 14º 55′ by W 3º 08′.

The long inselberg sandwiched between the two canyons has (in places) a flattish top, and two villages remain on it: Olkia and Dioni. Olkia is near a year-round spring, and Dioni (said to be the oldest of all Najamba-speaking villages) is near a newly built well. Their inhabitants have some fields on the top, as well as some in the plains below.

Parallel to the first canyon, on the north, is the highway from Douentza west to Mopti-Sévaré. Leaving Douentza by car, one initially hugs the back side of the inselberg, then the inselberg curves off to the south (at the closed end of the canyon horseshoe). There are additional Najamba-speaking villages on the highway side of the inselberg: Siba, Synda ~ Synnda (directly on the highway, 15º 02′ by W 3º 05′), Tabako (15º 00′ by W 3º 07′), Néma, Béguima, and Dimbatoro (on an extension of the inselberg). The villages of Néma, Béguima, and Dimbatoro are products of the dispersion of some of the population of

Mougi, a large village still occupied on the inselberg summit. As the highway diverges from the inselberg, it passes near another village, Noumbori. West of the first canyon's closed end is a small village Kol.

The Najamba names of the villages are in (xxx).

(xxx)	village name	in Najamba
	Douentza	*dúmásá, dúwánsá*
	Askarba	*dô:*
	Kubewel	*kúnjà-gâ:*
	Madina	*màdínà*
	Dindari	*dìndǎl*
	Adia	*ǎ:jà*
	Néri	*nělˇ*
	Lamordé	*dìmbìrá*
	Orodou	*òlò-dû:*, lit. "house below"
	Badiari	*bàjâl*
	Olkia	*òlkìyá*
	Dioni	*jŏn*
	Ambaka	*àmbàká:*
	Siba	*síbà*
	Synda	*sìndá*
	Tabako	*tàbâ:*
	Néma	*né:mà*
	Béguima	*bègímà*
	Dimbatoro	*dùbàtólò*
	Noumbori	*nùmbŏl*
	Kol	*kól*

The *kìndì-gé* dialect is spoken farther west, in a number of villages including Koira Beiri, Songoli, Ibisa (15º 2′ by W 3º 16′), Borko, Dogani, and Tabou. Many of these villages frequent the weekly market of Boré instead of or in addition to that of Douentza. There are also small weekly markets at Koira Beiri, Borko, and Dogani.

The major economic activity is millet farming in the plains. Minor crops grown in the same fields are sorghum, sesame, peanuts, okra, cow-peas, roselle, cotton, and a little corn and peanuts. The rainy season is roughly June to September, with a harvest in late October or early November. During the long dry season, some off-season (contre-saison) gardening of cash crops is done: onions, garlic, lettuce, tomatoes, chili peppers, sweet potatos, cassava. Livestock herding is practiced on a relatively small scale (sheep, goats, cattle). Transportation of goods to the villages is by donkey cart. Donkeys and camels

also serve as mounts; horses seem to have disappeared from the immediate zone in recent times (though they are still found in some villages closer to Mopti-Sévaré.

Schools were built in the 1990's in Koira, Kubewel, and Adia. A number of other villages have also recently built schools. There is currently a generation of students who are reaching high-school age and are heading to Douentza or other larger towns to continue their studies.

1.4 Previous and contemporary study of Najamba-Kolobinye

I am unaware of any previously published or otherwise circulated professional linguistic work on this language.

Abbie Hantgan, presently (2009) a Linguistics Ph.D. student at Indiana University and a member of the Dogon languages project, was a Peace Corps volunteer in the village of Koira Beiri in the Kindigué zone in 1998-2000 and is currently doing field research on the language with emphasis on phonology and verbal morphology, as well as doing extensive research on the Bangi Me language.

1.4.1 Fieldwork

My fieldwork began in a small way in 2004-5, while I was working mainly on Jamsay. I began with a 4-day visit to Kubewel and a 2-day visit to Adia, during which I and my assistants elicited flora-fauna vocabulary and collected or observed specimens. Several tapes were also recorded during these visits. Data for an initial working lexicon were later elicited at my base in Douentza with a Najamba speaker over a five-day period.

In June-December 2006, I again worked mainly on other languages, but at the end of that session I did two weeks of grammatical elicitation on Najamba and sketched some sections of the grammar (mainly morphology). We also did a one-day follow-up trip to Kubewel to check on some plant and animal terms.

1.4.2 Acknowledgements

The initial 2005-5 work was done on the margins of a project focused on Jamsay, financed by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The bulk of the work on Najamba was done in 2006-8 as part of a project covering a number of other Dogon languages. This project was funded by the National Science Foundation. The University of Michigan also helped significantly, by providing

bridging funds between the two external grants and by paying a substantial portion of my salary during fall semester 2006 and winter semester 2008.

2 Sketch

2.1 Prosody

Najamba is a tonal language. Syllables may be H, L, falling <HL>, rising <LH>, or bell-shaped <LHL> (H is high tone, L is low tone). All regular stems (nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals) have a **lexical tone contour** with at least one high tone element. Some stems are all-high toned, others have {LH}, {HL}, or {LHL} contour (spread out over whatever number of syllables), but none is lexically all-low toned.

These lexical tones are frequently modified or overridden entirely by **tone contours** imposed by inflectional suffixes (verbs) or by syntactic patterns (nouns, adjectives, numerals). Inflected verbs (stem plus suffix) and verbal participles have a variety of tone contours that are either entirely controlled by the inflectional category or a compromise between the lexical tones and a partial grammatical tone contour.

2.2 Inflectable verbs

Verb stems may be simple, or may include one or more derivational suffixes following the basic verb stem. Derivational categories include reversive (‘untie’, ‘unlock’), causative, and mediopassive. Verbs may also be derived from adjectives, though often the inchoative verb (‘be/become ADJ’) and the adjective itself are best regarded as equal members of a word-family, rather than one being directly derived from the other. In any case, the inchoative verb normally has a suffixally derived factitive counterpart (‘cause X to be/become ADJ’).

Inflectional categories are expressed by suffixes that follow any derivational suffixes that may be present. Typically there is an **aspect-negation** (AN) suffix followed by a pronominal-subject suffix. The perfective (positive) and the 3Sg subject category are unmarked (zero suffix).

Indicative AN categories marked by nonzero suffixes are perfective negative, present, future, present negative, and future negative. Pronominal-subject categories are 1Sg, 1Pl, 2Sg, 2Pl, 3Sg (unmarked), and 3Pl. The morphology (AN-suffix allomorphy, tone contours) often points to a division between 1st/2nd person categories on the one hand, and 3Sg and 3Pl on the other (sometimes 3Pl is quite distinctive).

Each verb has a **lexical tone contour**, all-high or {LH} (for two somewhat irregular monosyllabic verbs, {HL}), and each verb belongs lexically to either the {*ɛ ɔ*} or {*e o*} **vowel-harmonic classes**. However, each verb also has three stem-forms, a particular one of which is required by the immediately following derivational or inflectional suffix. These are here called the **E-stem**, the **A/O-stem**, and the **U/I-stem**). In addition, each AN category comes with a tone-contour that is overlaid on the stem, though many of the AN categories do preserve the initial lexical tone (high or low) of the verb. For each AN suffix, therefore, the stem-vocalism (e.g. A/O-stem) and tone contour must be separately specified. Most nonzero AN suffixes require the A/O-stem, but each has its own tone contour, and in some cases (present negative versus future negative) the only difference is in the tone contour.

Stem tone-contour formulas for the various AN categories are combinations of H, L, and X (the latter represents the initial lexical low or high). For example, ((X))H…(L) means that the H tone is obligatory, the final L tone is present if there is a syllable available, and the initial X (lexical high or low) is expressed if there is another syllable or mora available after that; any further syllables are filled by stretching the medial H tone.

The **chaining form**, which is often used as a citation form here, is the form of the verb used in nonfinal position in verb chains. It shows the lexical tone contour. Factoring out the tones, the chaining form is unusual in that it is based on the E-stem of verbs of the {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic class, but on the I/U-stem of verbs of the {*e o*} vowel-harmonic class.

A few representative forms are given here for 'slaughter' (i.e. 'cut the throat of') and 'go'. Both are lexically high-toned, but 'slaughter' is of {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic class and 'go' of {e o} class.

(xx1)	category	'slaughter'	'go'	stem vocalism
	chaining	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*ín* (< /ín-í/)	E-stem, I/U-stem
	perfective	*sɛ̀mɛ̀-*	*ìnè-*	E-stem
	future (1st/2nd)	*sɛ̀mà-mbô-*	*ìnò-mbô-*	A/O-stem
	future negative	*sɛ̀mă-ndì*	*ìnŏ-ndì-*	A/O-stem
	verbal noun	*sɛ́mí-lé*	*ín-lé*	I/U-stem

A typical verb is 'slaughter, cut the throat of'. It has an E-stem /*sɛmɛ*-/, an A/O-stem /*sema*-/, and an I/U-stem /*semi*/ (which undergoes Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion to /*sem*/). I take the lexically most basic form to be *sɛ́mɛ́*, a version of the E-stem that is used as the **chaining form**, i.e., the form taken by the bare, uninflected verb when chained to a following inflected verb. From the representation *sɛ́mɛ́* we can see that the lexical tone is all-high rather than {LH}, and that the lexical vowel-harmonic class is {*ɛ ɔ*} rather than {*e o*}.

From the E-stem, in addition to the chaining form *sɛ́mɛ́*, we get perfective *sɛ̀mɛ̀-* (recall that the perfective has zero AN suffix), which gives us pronominal-subject forms such as 1Sg *sɛ̀mɛ̀-ḿ* 'I slaughtered'. Other AN categories are based on the A/O-stem: perfective negative *sémá-l-* 'did not slaughter', present *sémà-njò-* 'slaughters', future *sèmà-mbó-* 'will slaughter' (form for 1st/2nd person categories), future negative *sèmă-ndì-* 'will not slaughter', present negative *sémà-ndí-* 'will not slaughter'. The progressive is expressed by the uninflectable form *sémà-mbò* (cf. English *-ing*) plus an inflected form of quasi-verb *bò-* 'be'. The I/U-stem is not used for this verb in any basic AN category, but it is seen in the verbal noun *sém-lé* 'slaughtering' (< /sémí-lé/). For verbs of the {*e o*} vowel-harmonic class, the I/U stem rather than the E-stem is used in the chaining form, as well as in the verbal noun.

In addition to regular verbs, which have complete AN paradigms, there are a number of **lexically stative verbs** with meanings like 'want' and 'know', special **stative forms** of some regular verbs with senses like 'be sitting' as opposed to 'sit down', and a few irregular verb-like elements (also basically stative) that I refer to as **quasi-verbs** ('be', 'have', 'can'). These stative verbs and quasi-verbs typically have a positive and a negative paradigm (the negative is suppletive for some lexical statives and quasi-verbs), but do not make further aspectual distinctions.

There is a **perfect** AN inflection with auxiliary verb *jò-* and variants, related to the 'have' quasi-verb. An experiential perfect ('have ever/never VP-ed') is expressed by auxiliary verb *tár* (cf. *tár* 'look at') plus the same *jò-*.

There is a periphrastic **progressive** similar to the English *be VERB-ing* type, with a pronominally uninflected progressive in *-mbò* plus an inflected *bò-* 'be', as in *sémà-mbò bò-* 'is slaughtering'.

Suffixally expressed modal categories are the **imperative** and the **hortative**. The imperative extends beyond second person subject, and the hortative extends beyond first inclusive ('let's) subject.

In relative clauses, regular AN-inflected verbs are replaced by verbal participles that agree with the head NP in nominal features. Under subject focalization, a distinct set of participles (not agreeing with the focalized constituent) is used.

2.3 Nouns

Most nouns have distinct **singular** and **plural** forms.

Najamba has a rather unusual (for Dogon) nominal morphology in which many nouns, the **mutating** nouns, express the number distinction by a **stem-final vowel mutation** from back (or low) to front vowel, or vice versa (e.g. *ɔ:* versus *ɛ:*). Most such nouns end in a long vowel. Another morphological type of

nouns, the **suffixing** nouns, lack this type of mutation, but have either a singular suffix (inanimates) or a plural suffix (animates). In the suffixing inanimates, the singular suffix is usually optional. Adjectives are also of these two types, either mutating or suffixing.

The mutating nouns are interesting because the back/low (hereafter "O") form and the front (hereafter "E") form are mapped in different ways onto the singular/plural distinction. For **grammatically animate** nouns (denoting humans, animals, and some inanimates such as weapons), the E form is singular while the O form is plural. For grammatically inanimate nouns, on the other hand, the E form is used in the plural. In the singular, grammatically inanimate nouns split into two subclasses, one of which is E and the other O. We therefore speak of **E/E** and **O/E** inanimate classes (the second symbol in each case represents the plural).

Examples of **mutating nouns** are *tɔ̀jɔ́:* 'blister', plural *tɔ̀jɛ́:* (inanimate O/E); *sàmbé* 'spear', plural *sàmbú:* (animate).

Examples of **suffixing nouns** are: *kî:* 'head', plural *kî:-mbò* (animate); *búmbé-ŋgó* 'track (of snake)', plural *búmbɛ́* (inanimate O/E); and *dǎy-ŋgé* 'well (water)', plural *dǎy*.

2.4 Unpossessed noun phrases (NP)

A simple noun phrase may contain a noun, a modifying adjective, and a final determiner such as a definite morpheme. Adjectives have substantially the same morphology as nouns (except for special predicative forms). Mutating adjectives have just two forms (E and O). Suffixing adjectives, if semantically compatible with the full range of animate and inanimate nouns, have richer paradigms than suffixing nouns since they allow inanimate singular *-ŋgo* and *-ŋgo* and also allow animate plural *-mbo*.

The adjective and the determiner take their **agreement class** from the noun. For a mutating adjective, the E form is singular for animates (and a minority of animates), and plural for inanimates. The O form is plural for animates, and singular for the majority of inanimates.

Examples of singular and plural NPs are (xx1.a) and (xx1.b). 'Pond' is an E/E-class inanimate, and therefore takes the E form of the (mutating) adjective 'big' in both singular and plural.

(xx1) a. *tàgà:* *gìndɛ́:* *ké*
pond.L big.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the big pond'

b. *tàgɛ̀:* *gìndɛ́:* *yé*

pond.Pl.L big.InanPl Def.InanPl
'the big ponds'

In (xx1), the nouns have **dropped tones** to all-low before the modifying adjective (and in some other syntactic contexts). This tone-dropping is indicated by ".L" in the interlinear.

A suffixing noun ('egg') and a suffixing adjective ('big') occur together in (xx2). 'Egg' is inanimate (O/E class). Again, tone-dropping applies to a noun before a modifying adjective.

(xx2) a. *pòl-ŋgò* *bǐn-gó* *kó*
egg-**InanSg.O**.L big-**InanSg.O** Def.InanSg.O
'the big egg'

g. *pòlè* *bìní:* *yé*
egg.Pl.L big.InanPl Def.InanPl
'the big eggs'

A NP may also contain a numeral or other quantifier ('each', 'all'). **Numerals** behave differently from modifying adjectives in that they **do not force tone-dropping** on the preceding noun (or noun plus adjective). This suggests that the noun plus adjective unit be considered the **core NP**, which is then subject to determination and quantification. The basic linear order is **[[core NP] numeral Determiner 'all']**.

(xxx) *[nì:-mbò* *bǐn-bó]* *tà:ndî:* *bè* *dîn*
*[*bird-Pl.L big-**Pl**] three Def.AnPl.L all
'all three of the big birds'

2.5 Possession

A nonpronominal possessor NP precedes the possessed NP. A pronominal possessor may likewise precede the possessed NP, but as indicated just below there is another option. If the possessor (pronominal or not) precedes the possessed NP, the **possessed core NP** (noun plus any adjectives) is subject to **tone-dropping** due to the possessor. Thus *ólé* 'house' with high tones becomes low-toned in *mí òlè ké* 'my house' and in *[ánè mó] òlè ké* 'the man's house' (*ké* is a definite determiner, inanimate E-class). If the core NP contains an adjective, the adjective has already forced tone-dropping on the noun. When the noun-adjective core NP is preceded by a possessor, the possessor forces tone-

dropping on the entire core NP, the audible effect being that the adjective drops its tones.

By contrast, NP elements (numerals, determiners, quantifiers) that follow the core NP (i.e. noun plus adjective) are **not tone-dropped** under the influence of a possessor. In (xxx.a-b), the core NP is bracketed in each example, and in (xxx.b,d) only the word within the core NP that is audibly tone-dropped by the possessor is bolded in the interlinear, i.e. the adjective in (xxx.b) and the unmodified noun in (xxx.d).

(xxx) a. *mí* *[òlè* *gìndè:]* *ké*
1SgP [house.L **big.InanSg.E.L**] Def.InanSg.E
'my big house' (*ólé*, *gìndé:*)

d. *mí* *[òlè]* *tà:ndî:* *yé*
1SgS [**house.L**] three Def.InanPl
'my three houses'
[tone of 1SgS]

If the possessor is a pronominal, it may alternatively follow the core NP (plus a cardinal numeral, if present). In this case there is an appositional construction of the type 'house [my Poss]', where 'Poss' represents any of a set of pronoun-like classificatory elements used only in this context and agreeing with the possessed noun in nominal features (AnSg, AnPl, InanSg.E, InanSg.O, InanPl). Thus (xxx) 'my big house' is expressed as '[big house] [my Poss]'. The possessed core NP may be directly followed by a numeral, which therefore precedes the possessor and the classifier. However, if a determiner and/or a universal quantifier are present, they follow the possessor phrase (xxx.b).

(xxx) a. *òlè* *gìndé:* *[mí* *gè]*
[house.L big.InanSg.E] [1SgP Poss-InanSg.E]
'my big house'

b. *òlè* *gìndé:* *tà:ndî:*
house.Pl.L big.InanPl three
[mí *yè]* *yè* *dîn*
[1SgP Poss-InanPl] Def.InanPl all
'all my three big houses'

2.6 Postposition phrase (PP)

Adpositions are postpositional. Simple postpositions are *mà* (in some combinations, *má*), which is used in dative, instrumental, and locative functions; accusative *gì* (direct objects and recipient of 'give'); and purposive *nèn* 'for'. There are many complex postpositions that end in *mà* but also have an original possessed noun, as in *[[*X *kùl] mà]* 'inside X', originally 'in [X's belly]' (*kûl* 'belly'). See Chapter 8 for the postpositions and other adverbial elements.

2.7 Main clauses and constituent order

The basic order is SOV when the subject and object are both unfocalized nonpronominal NPs.

(xxx) [*nò:* *kúlmá]* *èndê:* *gàlì-yɛ̀* *mɛ́,*
[person.L adult] child scold-MP if,
èndê: *kòŋ-kámà* *gìnɛ́* *já-ndì-∅*
child anything say can-FutNeg-3SgS
'If an adult scolds a child, the child can't say anything.'

2.8 Participles

In relative clauses and related subordinated clause types, the main-clause verb (with pronominal subject marked by the final suffix) is replaced by a **verbal participle** that agrees in nominal features but not pronominal person with the head NP (which may or may not be the subject of the clause). The participles resemble nouns and adjectives morphologically. Like them, some participles are morphologically mutating (final long vowels that switch between back/low and front), while others are morphologically suffixing (animate plural suffix *-mbo*). See §xxx for the fairly complex morphology of relative-clause participles.

2.9 Relative clauses

A relative clause is characterized by the features in (xx1).

(xx1) a. head NP (remaining inside the clause) undergoes tone-dropping
b. the verb replaces the usual subject-pronominal suffix by a participial ending that agrees with the head NP in nominal features (usually E versus O in the sense described above)

c. if the head NP is not the subject, a pronominal subject is expressed by a special set of subject morphemes preceding the participle
d. possessors, adjectives, and numerals remain with the head NP within the relative clause, but determiners and 'all' that are associated with the head NP are shifted to post-participial position

For details see Chapter 14.

2.10 Interclausal syntax

write

3 Phonology

3.1 General

write

3.2 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.2.1 Syllables

3.2.2 Embryonic metrical structure

Najamba shows relatively little of the metrical patterning that pervades the phonology (especially the verb morphophonology) of the northern Dogon languages that I have studied, where the second syllable of CvCvCv... is subject to frequent vocalic reduction (to a high vowel or schwa, or to zero).

Nonmonosyllabic verb stems do shift their final vowel to /*i*/ before the reversive suffix, which has allomorphs *-lɛ́* and *-l* (§9.1), and the /*i*/ is then subject to Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (xxx) in the relevant phonological environment.

3.2.3 Nominal compounds

write

3.3 Consonants

The consonantal phonemes are in (xxx). Marginal phonemes are enclosed in parentheses or, in extreme cases, double parentheses. Notably absent from the inventory are nasalized sonorants {*y*^{n} *w*^{n} *r*^{n}}, which are common in northeastern Dogon languages.

(xxx) 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*				
alveopalatal	(*c*)	*j*	*ɲ*	((*š*))	((*ž*))		*y*	(*y*^{n})		
velar	*k*	*g*	*ŋ*							
laryngeal									(*h*)	((*ʔ*))

c is IPA [tʃ], *j* is [dʒ], *š* is [ʃ], *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; 6. liquids; 7. semivowels; 8. nasalized semivowels; 9. aspiration; 10. glottal stop.

3.3.1 Fulfulde preglottalized consonants (*ɓ ɗ ƒ*)

Fulfulde **preglottalized consonants** {ƀ ɗ ƴ} are (inaccurately) represented in Fulfulde orthography as implosives {ɓ ɗ} (and y with a similar hook). They are here represented as {*ɓ ɗ ƒ*} since the implosive *y* symbol is not available typographically. They occur in some unassimilated loanwords, usually varying with voiced stops in more fully nativized pronunciations. Examples: *ɗ*ílll*é* ‘sneeze’, *jáɓé* ‘(container) catch (dripping liquid)’, *táƒè-táƒè* kán ‘break up (into subgroups)’.

3.3.2 Alveopalatals (*c*, *j*, *ɲ*)

Voiced affricate *j* and nasal *ɲ* are legitimate phonemes, occurring before back as well as front vowels. Examples: *kájábí* 'wait', *tɔ̀jɔ́:* 'blister', *kè:njú* 'year', *ɲàmí* 'malfunction', *ɲémélé-ɲémélé* 'blinking', *àlè ɲúmbé* 'light rain'.

By contrast, *c* (i.e. [tʃ]) is marginal, occurring chiefly before front vowels {*i e ɛ*} and typically varying with [k] or palatalized [k^{y}]. Examples with consistent c include Fulfulde loanwords *m̀bɛ́ccɛ̀* 'change (money back)', *wáccé* 'chew cud', and *ɲɛ́cɛ́* 'spur on (horse)'.

There are a few loanwords with clear c before a non-front vowel: *cárdì* 'silver (metal)', *cámbòl* 'diabetes', *cá:gàl* 'spine below nape', *cá:ŋgò* 'carrion' (nativized variant *sá:dì*), *cáldì* 'forks (in sticks)', *tèmè cóndì* 'flour sieve', *cókì* 'game played with a knife', *dáncùgù* 'sleeveless boubou'

Expressive vocabulary: *cɛ́kɛ̀y-cɛ́kɛ̀y* 'rattling sound', *có→* (exclamation), *cím-cím* 'sound of chirping'

3.3.3 Representations of initial *Cw*… and *w*…

A small number of stems appear to begin in *Cwv*, where *v* is a vowel. The *w* is audible when the following vowel is {*a ɛ e*}. The consonant C is a velar or a coronal. An additional initial homorganic nasal may occur before the C (*ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* 'dog'). All examples known to me will be given in this section. It is necessary to discuss the options for lexical representation of these stems before attempting to formulate phonological rules for the alternations they show.

The nouns, adjectives, and numerals in (xx1.a-c) undergo no relevant phonological alternations, so for them there is no direct evidence for any representation other than the one shown (xx1).

(xx1)		stem	gloss	plural
	a.	*gwă:*	'country, land'	*gwɛ̌:*
		swâ:	'whip (branch)'	*swɛ̂:*
		ŋ̀gwɛ̌:	'dog'	*ŋ̀gwɛ̀:-mbó*
		dwà:nâ:	'private field'	*dwà:nɛ̂:*
		kwàndé	'curving'	
		dwă:n	'(a) swagger'	
		dɛ̀bɛ̂-swă:	'space under granary'	
		twây	'nine'	
		úŋwá	'this year'	
	b.	*dwɛ̌ỳ^{n}*	'fast'	*dwɛ̌y^{n}-mbò*

c. *swêy* ‘seven’

There are several verbs that begin with *Cwɛ́* or *Cwé* in the chaining form. Those in *Cwɛ* (xx2.a-b) change to *Cwa* but keep the initial *Cw* in the many suffixal combinations that require the A/O form. However, these verbs simplify to *Cu-* in the verbal noun with suffix *-lé*, and the verb ‘arrive’ (xx2.b) has a causative beginning *Cɔ̌ː-*. There is one verb with *Cwé* in the chaining form, and this not only has *Cu-* in the verbal noun but also *Co-* as the A/O form.

(xx2)	chaining	gloss	A/O form	verbal noun
a.	*kwɛ́*	‘eat’	*kwa-*	*kú-lé*
	ŋwɛ́	‘go in’	*ŋwá-*	*ŋú-lé*
	ŋwɛ́	‘hear’	*ŋwá-*	*ŋú-lé*
	dwɛ́	‘pound in mortar’	*dwa-*	*dú-lé*
	dwɛ́	‘insult’	*dwa-*	*dú-lé*
	twɛ́	‘slash earth (to sow)’	*twa-*	*tú-lé*
	swɛ́	‘pour; spit’	*swa-*	*sú-lé*
b.	*dwɛ̂ː*	‘arrive at, reach’ (cf. *dɔ̌ː-ndí* ‘complete (job)’)	*dɔː-*	*dúy-lé, dúː-lé*
c.	*gwé*	‘go out’	*go-*	*gú-lé*
d.	*ŋwǎn*	‘sing’	*ŋwana-*	*ŋwán-lé*

If we take the *Cwv* forms as underlying, we need a rule deleting *w* in the sequence *Cwv* where *v* is any rounded vowel {*u o ɔ*}. /Cwu/ > *Cu* is illustrated in all of the verbal nouns in (xx2), and /C*wo*/ > C*o* is seen in A/O form *go-* for expected #*gwo-* in (xx2.c). To exemplify /Cwɔ/ > *Cɔ* we must consider pronominally inflected such as the perfective of *kwɛ́* ‘eat’: *kwɛ̀-∅* ‘he ate’, *kw-àː* ‘they ate’, but *k-ɔ̌ː* ‘you-Sg ate’ for expected #*kw-ɔ̌ː*.

This *w*-deletion rule would have to be formulated in such a way that the initial *C* slot must be non-null, since the rule does not apply to forms of *wé* ‘come’ (A/O form *wo-*, verbal noun *wú-lé*), and since there are stems beginning in *w* plus rounded vowel: *wúy* ‘(water) fill up’, *wǒr* ‘pull off’, *wɔ̀lɛ́* ‘become accustomed’.

This detail demonstrates that the *w*-deletion rule would have to be prosodically sensitive, applying only to a *w* that is noninitial in the syllabic onset. But this raises the possibility that the *Cwv* pronunciation itself is prosodically motivated.

In the nouns shown in (xx3), the unsuffixed form (which is singular for some stems and plural for others) has *w* (usually but not always preceded by another consonant) and a long *e:* or *ɛ:*. Before a singular or plural suffix (of *-CCv* shape in either case), the /w/ appears to fuse with the long vowel. One way to formulate this is to have the *w* intrude into (the first mora of) the syllabic nucleus, merging its features [+round, +high] with the /ɛ:/ or /e:/ to give, let's say, /oɛ/ and /oe/, respectively. The former surfaces as *o* (see 'cloths'), which may also reflect the shortening of stem vowels that occurs in some nouns before one of the *-CCv* number suffixes. The latter (i.e. /oe/) resyllabifies to *oy* (see 'seedstock' and 'mouse'), where *y* is the phonetically closest nonsyllabic segment to /e/.

(xx3)	unsuffixed	gloss	suffixed
a.	*twɛ̆:*	'seedstock; sowing'	singular *tŏy-ŋgò*
	swɛ̆:	'cloths'	singular *sò-ŋgó*
b.	*wɛ̆:* (/*òê:*/)	'mouse'	plural *ŏy-mbò*

Another possibility is to suggest underlying forms of the type /tòê:/, /òê:/, and (harmonically correct) /sɔ̀ɛ̆:/. We could then assume that the *-CCv* number suffix (here as elsewhere) induces shortening of the stem vowel, resulting in e.g. /tòé-ŋgò/ (after tonal rules). In unsuffixed /tòê:/, the /o/ **desyllabifies** before the long front vowel, giving *twɛ̆:*. In the suffixed form /tòé-ŋgò/, there is a more even-handed competition between /o/ and (short) /e/ to occupy the syllabic nucleus position, and here the /o/ happens to win out and the /e/ desyllabifies, forming an acceptable intervocalic triple consonant cluster *yŋg* with the suffixal consonants.

This analysis might make it unnecessary to posit a *w*-Deletion rule in such cases as *k-ɔ̌:* 'you-Sg ate'. Instead of deriving this from /kw-ɔ̌:/ by *w*-Deletion, we could derive it from e.g. /kɔ̀-ɔ́/, with a phonetically unremarkable coalescence of the identical vowels. However, in a form like O-class nonsubject perfective participle *ŋ-ɔ̂:* 'that (someone) heard' from *ŋwɛ́* 'hear', I hear a bell-shaped tone rather than the expected falling tone. This points to a pre-surface representation /ŋw-ɔ̂:/ or /ŋ̯-ɔ̂:/ where the nasal is followed by a nonsyllabic segment that (in a syllabic onset) does not bear a tone but that is articulated with lower pitch than a following high-toned vowel. When this nonsyllabic /w/ or /̯/ is elided (*w*-Deletion), the output is <LHL> toned, with the initial L reflecting the lower pitch of the elided element. So if we adopt the *w*-less analysis of the relevant forms, the derivation would be /ŋɔ́ɛ́-ɔ̀/ > /ŋ̯ɛ́-ɔ̀/ > /ŋ̯ɔ́-ɔ̀/ > /ŋ̯ɔ̌-ɔ̀/ > *ŋ-ɔ̂:*.

There is no strong argument against applying the *w*-less analysis to the forms given earlier (xx1-xx2). Among other things, *twɛ̌:* 'seedstock' in (xx3.a) is clearly related to the verb *twɛ́* 'slash earth (to sow)' in (xx2.a). The nouns and numerals in (xx1) all involve trimoraic syllables, i.e. *CwvC:* (with long vowel) or *CwvC*. So representations like /gòǎ:/ for *gwǎ:* 'country' and (harmonically correct) /sɔ̀ɛ́ỳ/ 'seven' would give the correct outputs. Similarly, in (xx2), we could represent 'eat' as /kɔ́ɛ́/ and 'go out' as /góé/.

The phonetics also give support to an analysis with e.g. /kɔ́ɛ́/ and /góé/ instead of /kwɛ́/ and /gwé/. In *kwɛ́* 'eat', what is written as "*w*" is actually a nonsyllabic [o̯], so that [ko̯ɛ́] is a suitable phonetic transcription. *gwé* 'go out' is likewise best transcribed phonetically as [go̯é], though naturally [o̯] is harder to distinguish from [w] than is [ɔ].

I am inclined to favor the analysis in terms of /ɔ/ and /o/ instead of /w/. However, in the interests of simplifying the orthography (by avoiding nonsyllabic diacritics) I will transcribe e.g. *kwɛ́* and *gwé*.

3.3.4 Intervocalic *w* is rare

Also notable is the fact that, except for monosyllabics like *kwɛ́* 'eat' and *wé* 'come', and occasional Fulfulde loans like *háwɛ́* 'persuade', no verb stem ends in a syllable of the form *w* plus vowel. By contrast, other sonorants (including *y*) are very common in this position.

A handul of nouns also show singular/plural alternations suggesting loss of original *w in some positions with resulting contraction.

(xx1)	gloss	Singular	Plural	internal reconstruction Sg
	'cow'	*nɛ̌:*	*nàwó:*	*nàwɛ́:
	'woman'	*yɛ̌:*	*yàwó:*	*yàwɛ́:
	'opposite-sex sib'	*ùbùlŋgɛ́:*	*ùbùlŋgàwó:*	*ùbùlŋgɛ́wɛ́
	'slave'	*gùndɛ́*	*gùndàwó:*	?

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

Some spirantization of *g* to [ɣ] was observed, as in e.g. Jamsay, intervocalically between *a* or *ɔ* vowels. I have no evidence of incipient phonemicization of the spirantized variant and will transcribe *g*.

3.3.6 Velar nasal (*ŋ*)

A phonetic [ŋ] occurs in the homorganic velar cluster *ŋg*, as in *-ŋgó* (nominal suffix) and *níŋgí:* 'door shutter'. The corresponding voiceless cluster *ŋk* is less common but occurs in loans and frozen compounds: *bànàŋkú* 'cassava' (<Bambara), *jànjàŋkàbá* 'multiple millet spikes on a single stem'.

ŋ also occurs prevocalically, where its status as an independent phoneme is clearer. Examples: *núŋá:* 'boubou (garment)', *ànjáŋálà* 'forked stick', *díŋóndí* 'calm down', *káŋŋè* 'gold' (<Fulfulde), *dóŋé* 'cloth for carrying'.

3.3.7 Voiceless labials (*p*, *f*)

p is very common as in other Dogon languages. *f* occurs in a few regional terms probably borrowed from other languages: *fùgâ:ⁿ* 'light metal', *àlfâ:* 'holy man' (<Arabic via Songhay), *ká:fây* 'saber', *mălfâ* 'rifle', *yá:fɛ́* 'pardon, forgive' (<Arabic).

3.3.8 Laryngeals (*h*, *ʔ*)

Phoneme *h* occurs in Fulfulde loanwords, e.g. *hámpɛ́* 'chew (tobacco)', *héllɔ̀* 'reverse side'.

Glottal stop /*ʔ*/ occurs only in the usual *unh-unh* type of interjections and does not have phonemic status.

3.3.9 Sibilants (*s*, *š*, *z*, *ž*)

s is the only real sibilant phoneme. There is no particular tendency to palatalize it phonetically before i or other front vowels.

A marginal phonemic *š* occurs in a handful of loanwords, chiefly *ínšâllâ:w* 'if God wills' (< Arabic) and *šínwâ:* 'Chinese'.

z was likewise find in a very small number of borrowings: *zàndàrmâ:* 'gendarme', *ózpórê:* 'forestry official' (Fr *Eaux et Forêts*), *làzìdâ:ⁿ* 'adjutant (military rank)', *sàrzâ:ⁿ* 'sergeant'.

ž is recorded in *álžérì* 'Algeria' (alongside *álánzérì*)

3.3.10 Nasalized sonorants

The nasalized sonorant phonemes {*wⁿ yⁿ rⁿ*} are common in northeastern Dogon languages. I have not observed *rⁿ* in Najamba, and I know *wⁿ* only in one recent loanword: *àbìyɔ̂wⁿ* 'airplane' (Fr *avion*). *yⁿ* is uncommon but it does occur syllable-finally in several expressive terms such as adjectival intensifiers, in a couple of loanwords, and more interestingly in a handful of native terms.

(xx1) a. *kǎyⁿ*→ 'bared (teeth)', *pǎyⁿ* 'wide open (eyes)'
b. *dŭyⁿ-dŭyⁿ* 'very red' (intensifier), *káyⁿ-káyⁿ* 'very hard' (intensifier), *jáyⁿ-jáyⁿ* 'very undercooked' (intensifier), *táyⁿ-táyⁿ* 'adequately sugared'
c. *dàndàndǎyⁿ* 'enormous'
d. plural *làtɛ̌yⁿ* (singular *làtɛ̌-ŋgó*) 'soldering metal'
e. *dwɛ̌yⁿ-yɛ̀* 'fast; hot' (suffixal forms *dwɛ̌yⁿ-ŋgò* or *dwɛ̌-ŋgò*, etc.)
f. *gìyⁿɛ́* 'fart' (verb), cf. noun *gìyɛ̀-ŋgó* (plural *gìyɛ́*)

3.3.11 Consonant clusters

3.3.11.1 Initial *CC* clusters

A nasal may occur before a homorganic voiced stop. The nasal is phonetically low-toned when the word is pronounced in isolation, but this is not phonemic. A relatively small number of stems begin in such sequences. Many of them are loans (from Fulfulde), but some basic vocabulary is also involved. The lists in (xx1) begin with the clearly or probably native Dogon vocabulary (e.g. 'give', 'listen to', 'thirst', 'honey', 'earth', 'dog') and conclude with clearly or probably borrowed forms.

(xx1) *mb*: *m̀bɛ́ccɛ̀* 'change (money back)', *m̀búy\\m̀bùyɛ̀* 'sip (tea)', *gìrò-m̀bùlă:* 'face' (variant *gìrò-mùlă:*), *m̀báyrà:rì* 'pre-dawn meal in Ramadan', *èmbà m̀bóyrì* 'sorghum variety', *m̀búnìyà* 'red-brown', *m̀bú:dù* 'currency unit', *m̀bɛ́ddà* 'highway'

nd: *ǹdɛ́* 'give', *ǹdíy* 'listen to', *ǹdúŋgùwàl yàl* 'year of famine in early 20th Century', *ǹdɔ̀rɛ́* 'Guinea worm' (variant *nɔ̀rɛ́*)

nj: *ǹjĭ:* 'honey', *ǹjâ:* 'earth (dirt)', *ǹjéŋgó* 'thirst', *ǹjùlû:* 'broom', *ǹjɛ́:* 'simple, bare', *àjăn ǹjèŋgèy* 'moonless night sky', *[ǹjěm má] ín* 'travel', *ǹjá:lò èndè* 'bastard child'

ŋg: *ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* ‘dog’, *ŋ̀gâ:n* ‘there’, *ŋ̀gú* ‘that’, *ŋ̀gîn* ‘here’, *ŋ̀gín* ‘hot season’, *á:r ŋ̀gíy* ‘come to an agreement’, *ŋ̀gú:rɛ̀* ‘livelihood’, *ŋ̀gúmàlà* ‘hornless ram’

3.3.11.2 Medial geminated *CC* clusters

Geminate clusters within a stem are not typical of native Dogon vocabulary Najamba. There are many borrowings, especially from Fulfulde, with virtually any consonant except *h* as medial geminate: *m̀bɛ́ccɛ̀* ‘change (money back)’, *púddì* ‘henna’, *ánnɔ̀:rà* ‘image’, *káŋŋɛ̀* ‘gold’, *láyyá:rì* ‘sacrificial ram’, and many others.

Examples that do not appear to be borrowings are in (xx1). Some were probably composite originally (xx1.b) or belong to a hypocoristic register (xx1.c), but the examples in (xx1.a) are apparently native Dogon forms.

(xx1)	*CC*	stem	gloss	comment
a. authentic-looking				
	ll	*kóllí*	‘cough’ (verb)	
	"	*pállà:*	‘woven cloth’	
b. probably composite (originally)				
	mm	*sàmmá*	‘fast, quickly’	cf. *sǎŋ* ‘now’, *má* ‘in’
	"	*tùmmɔ̂:*	‘pestle’	also *tùmàndô:*
	nn	*ànné*	‘how’	variant *àŋìné*, cf. Adverbial *né*
c. hypocoristic kin term				
	yy	*ǎyyà*	‘mama’	

3.3.11.3 Medial non-geminate *CC* clusters

Clusters of **nasal and homorganic voiced stop** are common: *bóŋgɔ̀:* ‘navel’, *yàmbí* ‘cover (foot)’, *yɛ́ndɛ̀* ‘west’, *gìnjâ:* ‘noise’. Clusters of **nasal and homorganic voiceless stop** are less common, and occur chiefly in Fulfulde and other loanwords: *hámpɛ́* ‘chew (tobacco)’, *sɔ́ntɛ́* ‘be unsold’, *dáncùgù* ‘sleeveless boubou (garment)’, *m̀bù:dù-táŋkà* ‘a colonial coin’.

3.3.11.4 Medial triple CCC clusters

Triple clusters involve a nonnasal sonorant plus a nasal and a homorganic voiced stop. These clusters may be stem-internal, but only *rmb* and *rŋg* are common: *pùrmbǎ:* 'buttock', *ùjùrmbó* 'sweat(n)', *gùrmbâ:* 'pigeon', *gírŋgí-y* 'precede', *jɔ́:rŋgàl* 'donkey disease', '*párŋgá* 'donkey', *kárŋgá* 'vestibule'. Clusters *wnd*, *ynj*, and *ynd* are attested in Fulfulde loans: *bà:-gò líwndù* 'herder's staff', *kóynjòl* 'anthrax', *háyndíné* 'amaze'.

These clusters are also created at the boundary of a noun or adjective stem plus a number suffix, singular *-ŋgo* (*-ŋge*) or plural *-mbo*, as in *àntól* 'ganglions', singular *àntól-ŋgó*, and *là:ró* 'slow-witted', plural *lǎ:r-mbó*.

3.3.11.5 Final *CC* clusters

None.

3.4 Vowels

3.4.1 Short and (oral) long vowels

The phoneme inventory is in (xx1).

(xx1) short: {*u o ɔ a ɛ e i*}
long: {*u: o: ɔ: a: ɛ: e: i:*}

3.4.2 Nasalized vowels

Nasalized vowels are not typical phonemes in Najamba. A search through the lexicon yielded the following cases.

Semilinguistic **interjections**: *hɔ́:ⁿ* 'take (this)!', *ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ* 'uh-huh!' ('yes'), *ɔ́ⁿʔɔ̀ⁿ* 'nope!'.

Onomatopoeas: *kòmìlìyâ:ⁿ* 'humming sound', *kí:ⁿ-kà:ⁿ-kí:ⁿ* 'creaking sound', *hǎ:ⁿ→* (or *hà:ⁿ-kí:ⁿ*) 'hee-haw' (donkey's braying), *sí:ⁿ-sí:ⁿ* 'chirping sound'

Clear or probable **loanwords**: *wúsùlà:ⁿ* '(modern) incense', *másɔ̂:ⁿ* 'builder' (Fr *maçon*), *bògàlâ:ⁿ* 'bogolan (vegetative yellow and brown dyes for clothing)', *pìpàlâ:ⁿ* 'square fan', *pàⁿtàlɔ̂:ⁿ* 'pants' (Fr *pantalon*), *sæ̀:ⁿtúrù* 'belt' (Fr *ceinture*), *kálásɔ̂:ⁿ* 'underpants', *tàgù-tàlɔ̂:ⁿ* 'high-heeled shoes' (Fr *talon* 'heel'), *mìsɔ̀:rɔ̀ lìlɔ̂:ⁿ* 'lacy head shawl' (Fr *nylon*), *vàlâ:ⁿ* 'straight row of plants

in field', *bìdɔ̂:ⁿ* 'canisters' (Fr *bidon*), *fùgâ:ⁿ* 'aluminum alloy', *sàrsɔ̂:ⁿ* 'toy wheel', *kélérɔ̂:ⁿ* 'bugle' (Fr *clairon*), *làzìdâ:ⁿ* 'adjutant' (military rank), *lìyètìnâ:ⁿ* 'lieutenant', *sàrzâ:ⁿ* 'sergeant', *mɔ̀ndìlàtɔ̂:ⁿ* 'eucalyptus balm', *bòròdíyàⁿ* 'bananas'.

Probable **native Dogon** term: *sɔ̀ⁿnɛ́ndɛ̀* 'sand'.

3.4.3 Initial vowels

An initial vowel in a stem is observed when the usual syllable-initial consonantal slot is unfilled. Most stems begin with a consonant but there is a respectable minority of vowel-initial stems. There is no obvious preference for a particular vowel-quality other than the usual harmonic considerations that would also apply if an initial consonant were present.

Nouns: *áfà:rù* 'gun mechanism plate', *úbú* 'manure', *ɔ̀nɔ̂:* 'mountain pass', *ìnɔ̌:* 'tooth', *èndê:* 'child', *ɛ́mè:* 'milk'.

Adjectives: *àndă:* 'other', *èmɔ́:* 'moist', *ílà* 'ripe', *ónànà* 'smooth'.

Numerals: none.

Verbs: *àbí* 'receive', *ímbí* 'implant', *úl* 'vomit', *éyɛ́* '(bride) move to husband's house', *ér* 'throw', *ɔ́ŋɛ́* 'start to make money', *óbí-y* 'sit down'.

Initial long vowels are less common, as is also true of vowels in initial syllables beginning with a consonant. I can cite *à:lé* 'rain', *á:ràbù* 'Arab', *ɛ̌:* 'tongs', *ě:bè* 'uncastrated goat', and *ă:yè* 'chins', the verbs *á:lɛ́* 'pull in to oneself' and *ă:n* 'cook in a pot with a little oil', and the Fulfulde loans *ɔ́:lɛ̀* 'yellow' and *ɔ́:rɛ́* '(herder) leave with herd in the morning'.

3.4.4 Stem-medial vowels

3.4.4.1 Stem-medial vowels in verbs

In **underived trisyllabic verbs**, the medial vowel is often a short high vowel, with the actual pronunciation as [i] or [u] affected by neighboring segments and by vowels in flanking syllables. Examples are *némbíl* (perfective *nèmbìlè*) 'beg', *nùgúl* 'frisk', *dùndúl* 'roll', *námílɛ́* 'squash', *kúgújí* 'drag', *pɔ́bílɛ́* 'wipe off (sweat)', *yègílɛ́* 'wave vigorously', *dìŋgílɛ́* 'cut in half', *kɔ́bíjɛ́* 'poke', *gèŋgírɛ́* '(hawk) sway' (cognate nominal *gèŋgírà*), and many others. Derived trisyllabic and longer verbs with mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y*, transitive *-rɛ́* ~ *-y*, or reversive *-lɛ́* ~ *-l* require the I/U-stem of the preceding verb, so these derivatives too automatically have a high vowel in the immediately presuffixal syllable.

Non-high medial vowels do occur, however. In a case like *kájábí* 'think', one suspects a denominal originl (cf. *kàjábù* 'thought'). In e.g.

dèndélí-y\\dèndèlì-yè ‘be globular’, from *déndèlè* ‘round, globular’, only the final vowel has shifted to *i* before the derivational suffix.

Causative suffixes (*-m*, *-ndí*, *-gí*) follow the A/O-stem of the verb and so by definition have medial *a* or *o*. See §9.2 for examples.

In quadrisyllabic verb stems, the second vowel may match the first, as in *yèndéli!-yé* (variant *yàndálí-yé*) ‘glide’.

3.4.4.2 Stem-medial vowels in nouns and other stems

In nouns of three syllables, there is always the possibility of an original compound, in which case the vocalism may not be consistent. Quadrisyllabic and longer nouns are probably structured prosodically as compounds even when etymologically unitary, so I disregard them here.

In **trisyllabic nouns** with no compound-like appearance, one observes a range of medial vowel patterns, especially when loanwords are included. Often the medial vowel is identical in quality to the vowel of the **both flanking syllables**: *kàkàrâ:* ‘wing’, *séŋélé* ‘chain’, *jámbálá* ‘pick-hoes’, *yémbélé* ‘scarification’, *bámbàrà* ‘Bambara’, *jàmálà* ‘thief’, *déndèlè* ‘globular objects’, *kègélè* ‘runt’, *mèlégè* ‘genie’, *pèréndè* ‘hot chili peppers’. Or it is identical to the vowel of the **preceding syllable** only: *kèkérî:* ‘clitoris’, *á:ràbù* ‘Arab’, *gòlònjé* ‘lazy person’, *ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̀mé* ‘camel’, *ɲàlàlé* ‘co-wife’, *gágàlî:* ‘gallbladder’, *jòmbòmbá* ‘object sent by sorceror’. *tàndàmê:* ‘key’, *àmàlé* ‘in-law’, *kúndúlé* ‘intact wholes’, *sògòjé* ‘rags’, *màsàkû:* ‘sweet potato’ (< Bambara compound), *wè:gérù* ‘violin’, *làsá:sì* ‘modern rifle’, *mìsídè* ‘mosques’ (< Arabic), *àlmá:mù* ‘imam’ (< Arabic). Or it is identical to the vowel of the **following syllable** only: *dómbélé* ‘crest of rooster’, *ŋgúmàlà* ‘hornless ram’, *ámbìrì* ‘chief’ (< Arabic), *bájɔ̀ndɔ̀* ‘sleeved hoe (type)’, *bòbírì* ‘reed flute’, *tòŋgèré* ‘shallow hole’, *kùmbèré* ‘baobab seeds’, *tókàrà* ‘namesake’ (< Fulfulde). Vowel-harmony is respected, so *e* and *o* may combine, or *ɛ* and *ɔ*, but the two sets are not mixed. A final vowel from the set {*e ɛ o ɔ*} may really be an agreement marker, so the relationship between the medial and the final vowel may be complicated by morphophonology.

We see a **medial high vowel** in *kòmìlé* ‘dry outer bark’, *tèŋílè* ‘Tengou (southern Dogon)’, *pètíŋé* ‘cloves’, *gémílé* ‘charcoal’ (cf. *gémè* ‘black’), *sé:kù:jò* ‘Itinerant holy man’ (<Fulfulde), *àlsìâ:m* ‘Muslim’ (< Arabic), *gàrí:bù* ‘mendicant pupil’ (< Arabic). Note that vowel harmony is again respected in spite of the intervening extraharmonic high vowel. In *jèŋgíyè:* ‘great-grandchild’ and *sèjíyè* ‘grandchild’, both denoting kin of junior generations, one wonders if a **minor diminutive pattern** is present (§4.2.xxx). If so, such nouns as *kɔ̀ríyɔ̀* ‘calabash’ might also be considered in this light.

Other, minor medial-vowel patterns occur chiefly in borrowings: *màdèmbá* 'corn', *bùyà:gí* 'guava' (regional word), *dùndàngé:* 'shacks', *sàkó:sì* 'travel bags' (French *sacoche*), *málè:kà* 'angel' (< Arabic), *dùwáɲè:* 'customs officer' (French *douanier*), *tùbàlá:jì* 'baggy pants' (< Fulfulde).

Vocalism is unstable in the word for 'wind (airflow)'. One speaker gave the (unsuffixed) plural as *énáné:*, another as *éné* or *énéné*. The singular is *énáná-ŋgó* or *éná-ŋgó*.

3.4.5 Stem-final vowels

3.4.5.1 Stem-final vowels of nouns, adjectives, numerals

Nouns and numerals have lexically variable final vowels (or final consonants. Taking the singular of nouns as lexically basic (except where derived suffixally from an unsuffixed plural or collective), the full set of vowel qualities is exemplified in (xx1). As the examples suggest, the length and tone of the final vowel is also lexically variable, independently of vowel quality.

(xx1)

noun	gloss
nàmâ:	'meat'
dɔ́gɛ̀	'Dogon (person)'
ínè	'goat'
ìnɔ̌:	'tooth'
gólò	'fire'
gùjú	'skin'
tàgî:	'shoes'

There are only a few basic numeral stems (see §4.7.1), so the full range is not citable, but there is no reason to think that any special restrictions on phonological shape (other than those that apply to nouns) are applicable.

Adjectives also have a range of final vowels, but the situation is complicated here by the fact that adjectives have several agreement forms, and in some cases do not occur in a bare-stem form. Those adjectives that occur with no apparent suffix end in front and low vowels: *dùmbé* 'blunt', *pílɛ̀* 'white', *ílà* 'ripe', *mènjí:* 'thin'. Other adjectives have two agreement forms (back/low versus front) with final alternations *u:/i:*, *o:/e:*, *ɔ:/ɛ:*, and *a:/ɛ:*. These adjectives can perhaps be represented as ending in a vowel specified for height but not for [±back], the latter feature being supplied by an agreement morpheme that fuses with the final vowel.

3.4.5.2 Stem-final vowels of verbs

Verb stems end in vowels, and this vowel varies depending on the morphological context. (xx1) presents representative forms showing each final vowel. The verbal noun (VblN) is based on the **I/U-stem**, which ends in *i* or (for a few monosyllabics) *u*. The perfective is based on the **E-stem**, which ends in *e* or *ɛ*. Most nonzero inflectional suffixes, and some derivational suffixes, require the **A/O-stem**, which ends in *a* or *o*. The **chaining form** is segmentally identical to the E-stem for verbs of the {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic class, and to the I/U-stem for verbs of the {*e o*} vowel-harmonic class. It does, however, usefully display the lexical tone.

The split in (xx1) is between verbs of {*ɛ ɔ*} class, whose final vowels alternate between H[igh] (usually /*i*/), *ɛ*, and *a*, and verbs of the {*e o*} vowel-harmonic class, whose final vowels alternate between H[igh], *e*, and *o*.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	VblN	Perfective	A/O (tone variable)	stem
a. H/*ɛ*/*a*						
	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kú-lé*	*kwɛ̀-*	*kwa-*	
	'cut'	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kɛ́jí-lé*	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-*	*keja-*	
	'pick fruit'	*bɛ̀lɛ́*	*bɛ́l-lé*	*bɛ̀lɛ̀-*	*bela-*	
	'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógí-lé*	*dɔ̀gɛ̀-*	*doga-*	
b. H/*e*/*o* (monosyllabic)						
	'come'	*wé*	*wú-lé*	*wè-*	*wo-*	
	'bring'	*jê:*	*jí:-lé*	*jê:-*	*jô:-*	
	'sleep'	*nóy*	*nóy-lé*	*nòyè-*	*noyo-*	
	'do well'	*kóndí*	*kóndí-lé*	*kòndè-*	*kondo-*	
	'go down'	*súgí*	*súgí-lé*	*sùgè-*	*sugo-*	
	'catch'	*ìbí*	*íbí-lé*	*ìbè-*	*ibo-*	

The presuffixal A/O stem, though it occurs with most of the inflected forms and is therefore highly conspicuous in usage, also requires the shift of nonfinal {*ɛ ɔ*} vowels in the stem to {*e o*}, as seen in the first syllable of *keja-* 'cut'. Many of the inflections that use the A/O stem also impose nonlexical tone contours on the stem. This suggests that the A/O stem cannot be taken as lexically basic.

3.4.6 Vowel harmony

Some kind of vowel harmony involving particularly the mid-height vowels {*e o*} versus {*ɛ ɔ*} is common in Dogon languages. Najamba is no exception, but its system of vowel harmony works in somewhat unusual manner.

In general, {*i a u*} are **extraharmonic**, i.e., they may co-occur with vowels of either active harmonic set.

3.4.6.1 Vowel harmony in verbal morphology

The pattern of vowel harmony at work in verbal morphology can be observed in (xx1). Disregard the tones for present purposes.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining form	Perfective	future (1st/2nd person)
a. {*ɛ ɔ*} harmonic class				
	'drink'	*né*	*nɛ̀-*	*nà-mbó-*
	'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ́*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-*	*dɛ̀njà-mbó-*
	'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-*	*yɔ̀bà-mbó-*
	'tie'	*págí*	*pàgɛ̀-*	*pàgà-mbó-*
b. {*e o*} harmonic class				
	'come'	*wé*	*wè*	*wò-mbó-*
	'go'	*ín*	*ìnè-*	*ìnò-mbó-*
	'sleep'	*nóy*	*nòyè-*	*nòyò-mbó-*

The lexical vowel-harmonic class can always be seen clearly in the perfective, which ends in *ɛ* or *e*. The chaining form also respects (or at least does not violate) this lexical class, but the shift to final *i* in some stems, and the deletion of this /i/ after sonorants, disguises the vowel-harmonic class in some verbs, namely, those whose nonfinal vowels are extraharmonic {*a u i*}.

The evidence as to the **relative markedness** of the {*ɛ ɔ*} and {*e o*} is mixed. The {*ɛ ɔ*} is overwhelmingly predominant in monosyllabic (i.e. single-vowel) stems, and nonmonosyllabic stems with at least one harmonically sensitive nonfinal vowel are also mostly of {*ɛ ɔ*} type, so e.g. C*ɛ*C*ɛ* and C*ɔ*C*ɛ* stems are more common than *CeCe* and *CoCe* in the perfective. However, when the nonfinal vowels are from the set of extraharmonic vowels, if anything final *e* predominates.

The lexical vocalism is dramatically changed in the many derived and inflected forms based on the A/O stem of the verb, such as the future in the rightmost column of (xx1), where two major changes occur. First, the stem final

vowel becomes *a* for the {*ɛ ɔ*} class, and *o* for the {*e o*} class. Secondly, any nonfinal vowels from the set {*ɛ ɔ*} are converted to the corresponding vowels from the set {*e o*}. For example, the *ɔ* in *yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run' changes to *o* in future *yòbà-mbó-* (xx1.a). As a consequence, in all of the relevant inflections and derivations, the only telltale clue that the underlying stem is of the {*ɛ ɔ*} class is the stem-final *a* (rather than *o*) before the suffix, even though *a* itself is extraharmonic.

As a result, it is necessary to think in terms of an **{*e o*} harmonic melody** that is overlaid on the verb stem in the A/O stem, i.e. in the future and several other suffixal categories. This is comparable to the various tone contours that are separately overlaid on verb stems in many of the same morphological contexts.

Derivational suffixes for verbs are reversive *-lɛ́* or *-l* (from /-lí/), causative *-m* (from /-mí/), causative *-ndí-*, causative *-gí-*, mediopassive *-yɛ́* or *-y* (from /-yí/), and transitive *-rɛ́* or *-r* (from /-rí/). The causative suffixes, which require the A/O-stem and therefore have (*e o*} harmony, do not respect the vowel-harmonic class of the input stem. The other suffixes, those with two variants of the chaining form (given above), do respect the vowel-harmonic class of the input stem.

3.4.6.2 Vowel harmony in nominal morphology

There is no harmonic interaction between stems and a final number suffix *-ŋgo* (*-ŋgɛ*) or *-mbo*. These suffixes get their tones, but not their vocalism, from the preceding stem. The stem may contain vowels of either the {*ɛ ɔ*} or {*e o*} harmonic class.

Harmony is generally respected in alternations of final vowels (class markers) expressing singular and plural for nouns, and class as well as singular and plural for adjectives. For example, we have final-vowel alternations between *ɛ* and *ɔ* (xx1.a) and between *e* and *o* (xx1.b). In these examples, the nonfinal stem vowels are extraharmonic {*u i*} and there is no danger of them mutating.

(xxx)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	'death'	*tìbɔ̌:*	*tìbɛ̌:*
		'side'	*tíŋgɔ́:*	*tíŋgɛ́:*
	b.	'shadow'	*kìndô:*	*kìndê:*
		'animal pen'	*kìlǒ:*	*kìlě:*
		'hunched back'	*gùnjò-gùnjô:*	*gùnjò-gùnjê:*

b. ‘old, worn-out (object)’ *kùnjɛ̌:* *kùnjɔ̌:*
[distinct from *kúnjɛ́:* ‘old (person, animal)’, plural *kúnjɔ́:*]

In (xx2), we see the same final-vowel alternations, but these examples do have, in addition, a harmonically sensitive nonfinal vowel. In (xx1.a), this vowel remains unaffected by the harmonically neutral final-vowel change. In the irregular noun ‘child’ (xxx.b), the nonfinal vowel adopts the quality of the final vowel, but there is no shift in harmonic class.

(xxx)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘midriff’	*bɛ̀rɛ̀-bɛ̀rɔ̂:*	*bɛ̀rɛ̀-bɛ̀rɛ̂:*
	‘navel’	*bɔ́ŋgɔ̀:*	*bɔ́ŋgɛ̀:*
	‘testicles’	*dɔ́lɔ̀:*	*dɔ́lɛ̀:*
b.	‘child’	*èndɛ̂:*	*òndɔ̂:*

However, there are some cases where the **vowel-harmonic class of the entire stem does shift** from singular to plural (xxx). The generalization about these cases is that {*e o*} harmonic set is associated with the O agreement form (singular for some nouns, plural for others (including humans and animates), while the {*ɛ ɔ*} harmonic set is associated with the E agreement form. In (xxx.a), we have E/O agreement type, i.e. with O agreement in the plural. In (xxx.b-c), on the other hand, O agreement is found with the singular and E agreement with the plural.

(xxx)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘woman’	*yɛ̌:*	*yàwó:*
	‘cow’	*nɛ̌:*	*nàwó:*
	‘slave’	*gùndɛ́*	*gùndàwó:* (or: *gùndɛ́-mbó*)
	‘opp-six sibling’	*ùbùlŋgɛ́:*	*ùbùlŋgàwó:*
b.	‘cloth’	*sò-ŋgó*	*swɛ̌:*
c.	‘heart and liver’	*kɛ́ndà:*	*kɛ́ndɛ̀:*

The *a*-vowel in *yàwó:* etc. in (xxx.a) is structurally parallel to the stem-final *a* in verbs of lexical {*ɛ ɔ*} class that have undergone the {*e o*} harmonic melody overlay in the A/O stem (see preceding section).

3.4.6.3 Vowel harmony in adjectival morphology

Many adjectives end in long vowels that shift between front and back/low (symbolized here as "E" and "O") to agree with the nominal category of the referent. In most cases the vowel-harmonic class of the adjective remains constant. For example, we have alternations of *ɛ* and *ɔ*, and of *e* and *o* (xx1-a.b). In one adjective, the vowel-harmonic class shifts (xx1.c).

(xxx)	gloss	E	O
a.	'ruined'	*bùgɛ̂:*	*bùgɔ̂:*
	'big'	*gìndɛ́:*	*gìndɔ́:*
b.	'old (thing)'	*kùnjɛ̌:*	*kùnjɔ̌:*
	'old (person)'	*kúnjɛ́:*	*kúnjɔ́:*
c.	'nasty, bad'	*nɛ̀:ndɛ́:*	*nɛ̀:ndá:*

3.4.7 Ideal lexical representations of verb stems

The **ideal lexical representation** of a verb stem is a blend of the chaining form (which brings out the lexical tone contour) and the E-stem (which brings out the vowel-harmonic class). For the verbs in of vowel-harmonic class {*ɛ ɔ*}, since the chaining form has the segmental structure of the E-stem, the chaining form by itself is sufficient to fully characterize the stem, as in *bɛ̀lɛ́* 'pick fruit' (chaining form *bɛ̀lɛ́*, E-stem *bɛlɛ* with variable tone). For the verbs in of vowel-harmonic class {*e o*}, the chaining form is based on the I/E-stem and does not therefore always directly indicate (though one can always infer) this harmonic class. The ideal representation for these verbs is therefore a blend of the tone contour of the chaining form with the segments (notably the final vowel) of the E-stem, even though this does not exist as an actual form: /págé/ 'tie' (blended from /págí/ and /page/), /ìbé/ 'catch', etc. However, in the lexicon it suffices to transcribe the chaining form (*págí*, *íbí*), since the final *i* tells us indirectly that the {*e o*} vowel-harmonic class is at hand.

In a more radical **autosegmental decomposition**, one would extract the vowel-harmonic class and/or the tone contour as ontologically distinct entitities. This would leave a stripped-down lexical carcass with the consonants and the vowels, except that {*e ɛ*} would merge as (underspecified) *∃*, and {*o ɔ*} as *ω*. We could then think of the lexical representations as having up to three components (even without further extraction of, say, a metrical structure0.

(xx1) *bèlɛ́* equals {*bƎlƎ*, *ɛ*/*ɔ*, LH}
págí equals {*pagƎ*, *e*/*o*, H}

I have mixed feelings about such a decomposition. It seems more reasonable to me to think of the vowel-harmonic class, and the tone contour, as being extractible (e.g. by native speakers) from the combining form or a slight idealization thereof.

3.5 Segmental phonological rules

3.5.1 Trans-syllabic consonantal processes

3.5.1.1 Nasalization-Spreading

There is no general Nasalization-Spreading rule of the type /nawa/ > *naw^{n}a* as found in northeastern Dogon.

However, *l* is often heard as something very close to [n] after a nasal syllable, i.e. *Nv* with some nasal consonant *N*. This happens constantly with *là* 'also, too', since such combinations as *mí là* 'I too' and *mó là* 'he/she too' are very common. I initially transcribed *mí nà*, *mó nà*, etc. However, the *l* does not quite merge with *n* in such cases, and informants are quick to correct the linguist's mis-pronunciation of such combinations with *n* instead of *l*. Perhaps the nasalized allophone of *l* is a tap of some sort. A close instrumental study would be useful.

3.5.1.2 *g* ~ *ŋ* and *ŋg* ~ *ŋ* alternations

There is no productive alternation of this type. For example, the adjectival stem *wàgí* 'distant' has a related verb *wàgá-ndí* with no change in the *g*. Likewise, *súgí* 'go down' has a causative *súgó-ndí*. (Cognates of these stems in northeastern Dogon do show *g*/*ŋ* alternations.)

Two word-families offer possible cases of (historical) alternations. One set consists of noun *dɔ́gú* 'prop' or 'pillar', noun *dɔ̌ŋ* 'pillar of stacked stones or bricks', and verb *dɔ̀ŋɛ́* 'prop (something) up'. In the combination *dɔ́gú dɔ̀ŋɛ́* 'put in a prop', *dɔ́gú* is used like a cognate nominal.

Also suggestive is the set *tɛ́gɛ́* '(e.g. roof) leak', *tégí* '(liquid) drip', and *tɛ́ŋí-yɛ́* '(rainwater) form puddles on roof'.

ŋg alternates with *ŋ* irregularly in *tíŋgɛ́* 'go past', causative *tíŋá-ndí* 'go past'.

3.5.2 Syncope and Apocope (vowel deletions)

3.5.2.1 Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion

In verbal morphology, deletion applies to a stem-final short /*i*/ after an intervocalic medial sonorant {*ŋ n l r y w*} and usually *m*.

There are not many opportunities for deletion, since most derivational and inflectional suffixes require the A/O-stem of the verb (final *a* or *o*). However, we do see deletion of the stem-final vowel in the verbal noun (suffix *-lé*) and the reversive derivation (§9.1), which require forms of the stem ending in /i/. For example, before reversive suffix *-lé-* or /-lí-/ (on the latter see below), the stem-final vowel shifts to *i* in all cases where it is not deleted (xx1.a). Assuming that the shift to /i/ occurs in all verb stems before this suffix, we conclude that /i/ is deleted after a sonorant in (xx1.b-c).

(xx1)		stem	Perfective	gloss	Reversive	gloss
	a.	*tímbɛ́*	*tìmbɛ̀*	‘cover with lid’	*tímbí-lɛ́*	‘take lid off’
		dàgí	*dàgè*	‘lock’	*dàgí-lé*	‘unlock’
		gìbí-r	*gìbì-rè*	‘put on wrap’	*gìbí-l*	‘take off wrap’
		yàmbí	*yàmbè*	‘cover’	*yàmbì-lé*	‘uncover’
	b.	*téŋɛ́*	*tèŋɛ̀*	‘hobble’	*téŋ-lɛ́*	‘unhobble’
	c.	*tá:n*	*tà:nè*	‘step on’	*tá:n-lɛ́*	‘remove foot from’
		kíl	*kìlè*	‘fence in’	*kíl-lí*	‘remove fence from’

In (xx1.c), a good case can be made that the input verbs have also undergone deletion of final /i/ in the chaining forms *tá:n* and *kíl*. Likewise for the suffix itself in reversive *gìbí-l* ‘take off wrap’ in (xx1.a). In this analysis, these verbs have chaining forms /tá:ní/, /kílí/, and /gìbí-lí/, which satisfy the conditions for deletion of the final /i/. The supposition that final /i/ is present here is based on circumstantial rather than direct evidence. Final /i/ does occur in the chaining form of other verbs, where an intervocalic sonorant does not precede the /i/; see *dàgí* and *yàmbí* in the leftmost column in (xx1.a), and *kíl-lí* in the reversive column in (xx1.c). /i/ is the only stem-final vowel that has this peculiar distribution. {*o ɔ a ɛ e*} occur as final vowels in verb stems with no tendency to

syncopate, and the remaining vowel, *u*, does not occur stem-finally in any nonmonosyllabic verb.

An exception is verb *mèmí-lɛ́* 'untwist cord', a fairly uncommon reversive of *mèmɛ́* 'twist cord'. A similar phonological environment involving verbal noun suffix *-lé* does require Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion, as in *mém-lé* 'twisting (cord)'.

3.5.2.2 High-Vowel Syncope

For nouns and adjectives, there is no exact equivalent to the Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion described just above for verbs. For example, several nouns have a shift from stem-final *u* (singular) to *i* (plural), and the *i* is not subject to deletion. There are numerous such examples involving *r*, e.g. *jùrú* 'waterbag', plural *jùrí*.

However, nouns and adjectives do have a similar process by which a stem-final high vowel {*u i*} is deleted before a number suffix. As with the verbs, the deletion is associated with a preceding intervocalic unclustered sonorant, but with the nouns and adjectives the deletion may extend to cases involving a preceding peripheral voiced stop {*b g*} if they suffix begins with a homorganic nasal.

Examples include agentives like *nàmà-sèmé* 'butcher', *gɔ̀lè-gòlé* 'farmer', and *tɛ̀:-kèré* 'wood-gatherer' (§5.1.7), which have plurals *nàmà-sɛ̌-mbó* (with /mmb/ simplified to *mb*) *gɔ̀lè-gɔ̌l-mbó*, and *tɛ̀:-kɛ̌r-mbó*. The deleted vowel is /u/ (raised from /e/), as seen in nonsyncopating agentive plurals like *kèlè-mìjú-mbó* 'cowry-tosser'.

Singular suffix *-ŋgo* is phonologically similar to plural *-mbo* (the two are used with different sets of nouns). Many nouns shift a final /*e*/ to *i* or *u* (*kìjé* 'husked grain spikes', singular *kìjú-ŋgó* ; *dámbɛ̀* 'tinder', singular *dámbì-ŋgò*). After an unclustered intervocalic sonorant, this high vowel deletes: *à:lé* 'rain(s)', singular *ǎ:l-ŋgó*.

The most interesting cases of Syncope involve a peripheral voiced stop {*b g*} instead of a sonorant. Here the peripheral voiced stop appears to be attracted to a homorganic nasal-stop cluster in the number suffix, resulting in syncope of the intervening high vowel followed by further fusion of the consonants.

Consider *dàbàrù-dàbé* 'magician', an example of a productive compound type ending in an agentive (§5.1.7). The expected plural is #*dàbàrù-dàbú-mbó*. The /u/ preceding plural *-mbó* should not syncopate, because it is preceded by an obstruent. In fact we get *dàbàrù-[dă-mbó]* 'magicians', where the /u/ has in fact disappeared, and the resulting /bmb/ has simplified to *mb*. Another example is *tìmɛ̀:-ìbé* 'tree-catcher' (i.e., forestry officer), plural *tìmɛ̀:-[ĭ-mbó]*.

There are parallel examples where the disappearing consonant is *g* in a noun stem, preceding singular suffix *-ŋgo*. Examples (with plurals or collectives first): *yógé* 'millet', singular *yó-ŋgó* ; *nègé* 'oil', singular *nĕ-ŋgó* ; *kèndà-[tèg-î:]* 'lunch', singular *kèndà-[tĕ-ŋgò]*. Before *-ŋgo*, stem-final /e/ often shifts to a high vowel such as /i/, and stem-final long /i:/ typically shortens to *i*. Therefore the cases of *g*-Deletion probably involve Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (syncope), and resulting contraction of /gŋg/ to /ŋg/. Example: /nègí-ŋgó/ 'oil' > /nĕg-ŋgó/ > *nĕ-ŋgó*.

3.5.3 Intervocalic Labial-Deletion

There are some common suffixes on noun, adjective, and verb stems that begin with *mb* (animate plural *-mbo*, future *-mbô-*). If the stem preceding such a suffix ends in *vmv*, where *v* is a vowel from the set {*a ɛ ɔ*}, the *m* is often deleted, although the full pronunciation is also possible. Thus *gɛ́mɛ̀* 'black', plural *gɛ́mɛ̀-mbò* or more often *gɛ̂:-mbò* ; *mɔ̀mɛ́* 'fetish', plural *mɔ̌:-mbò* or *mɔ̀mɛ́-mbò* ; verb *dăm* 'speak', 1Sg future *dàmà-mbó-m̀* or *dà:-mbó-m̀*. This process is clearly an intervocalic deletion, leading to a contraction of the flanking vowels.

I observed no deletion of *m* in e.g. *kɔ̀mɔ̂:-mbò* 'sickles' or *kèrɛ̀-nàmâ:-mbò* 'wild animals', where the potentially targeted *m* is followed by a long vowel. However, a preceding long vowel does allow the deletion: *să:mà* 'sick person', plural *să:-mbò* (< /să:mà-mbò/) with <LHL> tone on the first syllable.

Deletion of /b/ in the same position is less common but is attested, especially with the verb *yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run', as in 'and (then)' chaining form *yɔ̌:-mbò* (< /yɔ̀bɛ́-mbò/), and progressive *yô:-mbò* (< /yóbà-mbò/).

(xxx) Intervocalic Labial-Deletion (optional)

$$\{m,b\} > \varnothing \;/\!/\; \{a\ \varepsilon\ \mathfrak{o}\} \_\_ \begin{matrix} \{a\ \varepsilon\ \mathfrak{o}\} \\ [\text{-long}] \end{matrix} \; mb$$

The other potential target for this deletion process would be *w*, but this semivowel is essentially absent from word-medial intervocalic position in Najamba, the exceptions being Fulfulde loans like *háwɛ́* 'persuade'. My assistant did not delete the *w* in *háwɛ̀-mbò* 'persuade and (then) …'.

I did not observe deletion of *g* in a comparable environment, viz., the (imperfective) *-ŋga-* participles of *págí* 'tie', which appeared as e.g. future participle *pàgă-ŋgà* rather than #*pă:-ŋgà*. The example tested was *nò: [pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó bé] pàgă-ŋgà mó* 'the person who ties the animals'.

3.5.4 Intervocalic *y*-Deletion

Intervocalic /y/ in several nouns is likewise deleted before singular suffix *-ŋgo* or *-go* (xxx). The plural (or collective) always ends in *e*, which often shifts to /i/ before this suffix. Therefore we could analyse these examples as instances of Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion followed by contraction of /yŋg/ to *ŋg*. However, the examples diverge regarding the vowel length of the stem vowel in the singular. In (xx1.a), the vowel is long *a:*, suggesting that the /y/ is deleted intervocalically, with resulting contraction of two short vowels into a long vowel (/ae/ > *a:*). This would be parallel to Intervocalic Labial-Deletion. In (xx1.b), however, the vowel is short, lending itself to a syncope plus *CC*-cluster reduction analysis.

(xxx)		singular	plural	gloss
	a.	*bă:-ŋgó*	*bàyé*	'small gourd'
		bă:-gò	*bǎyè*	'stick'
		sà:-gó	*sàyé*	'torch'
		ă:-gò	*ǎyè*	'branch'
		tă:-ŋgó	*tǎyè*	'rifle cock'
	b.	*sá-gò*	*sáyè*	'cotton'
		mànà ă-ŋgó	*mànà àyé*	'plain millet cakes'

3.5.5 Local consonant cluster rules

3.5.5.1 Summary of consonant cluster adjustments

Najamba is rather thin on *CC*-cluster processes, in comparison to northeastern Dogon (e.g. Toro Tegu). The one notable process is shift of /rl/ to *ll*, and even this is not always carried out.

3.5.5.2 /rl/ > *ll*

This shift does not occur in verbal nouns with suffix *-lé*. We therefore always get e.g. *tár-lé* '(act of) looking'. However, there is one irregular reversive verb (usual suffix *-lɛ́* or *-l*), and one transitive verb (usual suffix *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* or less often *-lɛ́* ~ *-l*) paired with mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y*, that show *ll*. One other reversive ('take off hat') fluctuates between *rl* and *ll*.

(xx1)	input verb	gloss	derived verb	gloss
	ìrɛ́	'forget'	*íl-lí-yɛ́*	'remember'
	gɔ̌r	'put on hat'	*gɔ̌r-lí* ~ *gɔ̌l-lí*	'take off hat'
	érí-yɛ́	'be tangled'	*él-lɛ́*	'tangle (it)'

3.5.6 Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences

3.5.6.1 *vv*-Contraction

Numerous suffixes begin with vowels that replace the final vowel of the preceding morpheme.

(xx1)	suffix	category
	-û:	nominalization (§4.2.2.5)
	-î:	instrument nominal (§4.2.2.4)
	-o: ~ *-ɔ:*	2Sg subject
	-e: ~ *-ɛ:*	2Pl subject
	-ɛ: ~ *-a:*	3Pl subject
	-e: ~ *-ɛ:*	participle
	-o: ~ *-ɔ:*	participle

A suffixal high vowel {*i u*} replaces the final stem vowel. The latter leaves no trace, since these suffixes also determine the tone of the derived stem.

For the non-high suffixal vowels, we get variable output vowel quality and tone. Tone is covered in §3.xxx, below. The 3Pl subject forms are highly irregular and morphologized, varying with inflectional category in a way that makes a phonological analysis inadvisable. For the remaining suffixes with non-high vowels, the final vowel quality is determined by the vowel-harmonic class of the stem. Therefore one could think of e.g. 2Sg *-o:/-ɔ:* as having a slightly underspecified representation as a back rounded mid-height vowel /-O:/ (*O* is archiphoneme for *o* and *ɔ*), acquiring its final "coloring" from vowel-harmonic processes.

Verb stems also have vocalic alternations of the type *sɛmɛ*, *sema-*, and /semi-/ > *sém* for the verb 'slaughter'. These are referred to as the E-stem, A/O-stem, and I/U-stem, respectively. The E-stem is lexically basic, revealing the lexical vowel-harmonic class (and, in the chaining form, the lexical tone).

The A/O- and I/U-stems impose a vowel-harmonic {*e o*} melody on the stem, but also change the stem-final vowel in a manner that could be interpreted as addition of a suffixal vowel that replaces the stem-final vowel.

For nouns and adjectives, the main issue relevant here is the analysis of the agreement endings that mark singular and plural number (in different ways for different classes of stems). Most nouns show final alternations of the type singular {*u o ɔ a*} > plural {*i/e e ɛ ɛ*}, with a back or low vowel shifting to a front vowel. There are also a few nouns that have the opposite shift, from front (singular) to back (plural) vowel. The tone and length of the final vowel are lexically variable. One way to analyse this is to tease apart a lexical representation including tone, length, and some vocalic features from abstract "E" and "O" agreement elements, specified as front and back, respectively, that fuse with the lexical vowel to produce the observable forms. Such an analysis is appropriate for adjectives (which acquire agreement status from a noun), and could also work for nouns. For nouns, we could alternatively take the singular form as lexically basic, and add the "E" (for most stems) or "O" (for the minority) to form the plural.

Consider the typical examples in (xxx), showing final *ɔ*/*ɛ*. The **skeleton** is derived by extracting the agreement element E or O, using *ω* as the archiphoneme for *ɔ* and *ɛ* (specified for lower mid height, but not for backness or rounding). (The skeleton could be further decomposed if the vowel-harmonic class is extracted from the remainder.)

(xxx)	gloss	Singular	Plural	skeleton
	'fruit'	*ɔ̀mɔ̂:*	*ɔ̀mɛ̂:*	*ɔ̀mω̂:*
	'horn'	*kélɔ̀:*	*kélɛ̀:*	*kélὼ:*
	'garden'	*bɔ̀rɔ̌:*	*bɔ̀rɛ̌:*	*bɔ̀rω̌:*
	'side'	*tíŋgɔ́:*	*tíŋgɛ́:*	*tíŋgώ:*
	'long sack'	*bɔ̀:rɔ́*	*bɔ̀:rɛ́*	*bɔ̀:rώ*

If we analyse e.g. *ɔ̀mɔ̂:* as the combination of skeleton /ɔ̀mω̂:/ and the abstract O element (i.e. [+back, +round]), we need a simple VV-Contraction (or, more accurately, Feature-Fusion) rule to produce the outputs. If on the other hand we take singular *ɔ̀mɔ̂:* to be lexically basic, its plural *ɔ̀mɛ̂:* would have to be produced by combining /ɔ̀mɔ̂:/ with agreement element E (i.e., [-back, -round]), with the features of E replacing the (opposite) features of the final lexical vowel.

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

Within a syllable, /iy/ is heard as *i:*. The clearest cases of this are with verb stems (derived or not) ending in /…*vyí-*/ in the A/O- and I/U-stems ("*v*" is any vowel). The final /i/ is deleted after an unclustered intervocalic sonorant (§3.5.3). If *v* is /i/ (xx1.b), orthographic "iy" is pronounced [i:]. This is very common, since *v* is /i/ the regular vowel of medial (noninitial and nonfinal) syllables in verb stems.

(xx1)		gloss	A/O-stem	underlying	phonetic
	a.	'learn'	*bǎy*	/bàyí/	[bǎj]
	b.	'become blind'	*gìrbǐ-y*	/gìrbí-yí/	[gìrbǐ:]

Presumably /uw/ would also be heard as as *u:*, but I can find no examples where the underlying form clearly has /w/. This is because (nonomonosyllabic) verb stems ending in …*wv-* ("*v*" is any vowel) are absent.

3.6 Cliticization

3.6.1 Phonology of *=y* (*=i:*) 'it is' clitic

The 'it is' clitic has phonological alternations somewhat like those in Jamsay, but in Najamba the clitic has no intrinsic tone. After a vowel, it is heard as *=y*, with tone extended from that of the vowel. After a consonant, it is heard as *=i:*, and here again it acquires its tone from the preceding syllable.

When the preceding noun ends in a bimoraic *CvC* with contour tone <LH> or <HL>, the addition of *=i:* forces resyllabification as …<*Cv*> <*Ci:*>, so the second tone component of the contour tone is realized on the *i:*. In (xx1), the angled brackets in the 'it is' form indicate syllabification.

(xx1)		form	with 'it is'	gloss
	a.	*dwǎ:n*	<*dwà:*> <*n=í:*>	'elegance'
		gěn	*gèn=í:*	'blood' (2005.2a)
	b.	*ó ǹ*	<*ó*> <*n=ì:*>	'your mother' (2005.2a)
		kên	<*ké*> <*n=ì:*>	'there' (2005.1a)
		mâ:n	<*má:*> <*n=ì:*>	'So-and-So'

3.7 Tones

Tones at the level of syllables are H[igh], L[ow], <HL> or F[alling], <LH> or R[ising], and bell-shaped <LHL>. In this notation, angled brackets < > represent syllable boundaries. A notation with curly brackets such as {LH} denotes a more abstract tone contour that may be realized over a variable number of syllables.

The most complex and least common syllable-level tone is <LHL>. Lexical <LHL> is observed in a few monosyllabic nouns in their unsuffixed form(s). Unanalysable noun stems are in (xx1.a). One variant of the reciprocal morpheme is in (xx1.b).

(xx1)		form	gloss	related form
	a.	*ɛ̌:*	'tongs'	singular *ɛ̌:-gò*
		ǎ:	'chin'	plural *ǎyè*
		mɔ̌:	'neck'	plural *mɔ̌è*
		yɔ̌:	'voice'	plural *yɔ̀wɛ̂:*
	b.	*tɔ̌:n*	reciprocal object	also *tò-mbó*

<LHL> tones are also produced by grammatical tones applied to monosyllabic verb stems. For example, future *kwǎ-m̀* 'he/she will eat' (more properly /*kòá-m̀*/) with <LHL> tone is distinct from imperative *kwá-m̀* 'eat!-2Pl' (/*kóá-m̀*/).

<LHL> tones are also produced in nominalizations based either on monosyllabic verbs or on verbs of shape /Ciyv/ ("*v*" is any vowel) that are reduced to *Ciy-* (phonetic [Ci:]) before nominalizing suffix *-n*.

(xx1)		form	gloss	related form
	a.	*bǐy-n* [bî:n]	'bedding'	*bǐy\\bìyè* 'lie down'
		tèmbèn-mî:-n	'brick factory'	*mɛ́:\\mɛ̀:* 'make (bricks)'
		ìnjè-dǐy-n [...đî:n]	'outhouse'	*ínjé* 'water', *dìyé* 'bathe'
	b.	*nì:-tɛ̂:*	'slingshot'	*nǐ:* 'bird', verb *tɛ́:\\tɛ̀:* 'sting'
		twɛ̂:	'seedstock'	singular *tǒy-ŋgò,* verb *twɛ́* 'sow'

3.7.1 Lexical tone patterns

3.7.1.1 At least one H-tone in each stem

In their lexically basic forms, stems (verbs, nouns, adjectives, numerals) may not be all-low-toned. The lexical tone contour, spread over the relevant syllables, may be all-high {H}, rising {LH}, falling {HL}, or bell-shaped {LHL}, and in longer nouns (presumably of compound origin) occasionally {HLHL} or the like.

3.7.1.2 Lexical tone patterns for verbs

Regular verbs divide into two primary lexical tonal classes. One is all-high {H}, the other is rising {LH}. The exceptions are two monosyllabic <HL> verbs, and one bisyllabic L<HL> verb.

For an inventory of monosyllabic verbs, see §10.1. Nearly all monosyllabic stems are all-high, with shapes *Cv́*, *Cwv́*, *Cv́:* in the chaining form. However, *jê:* 'bring' and *dwê:* 'arrive' have unique falling contours. In addition, the short-voweled *Cv́* and *Cwv́* verbs split into three groups based on whether they lengthen their vowel before perfective negative *-l-* and, if if they do lengthen, whether the tone of the stem is high or low (§10.1.4.2). A similar split occurs before causative *-m* (§9.2.1), but some of the verbs in question have distinct tonal forms before the perfective negative and causative suffixes. One is tempted to infer the lexical tone from these forms, but the inconsistency between perfective negative and causative suggests that these tonal patterns may be frozen vestiges of original lexical tones that are no longer clearly valid synchronically.

Bisyllabic and longer verbs are lexically either all-high or {LH}, except for a single L<HL> verb, *dìnê:* 'find, encounter'. This is also the only nonmonosyllabic verb stem ending in a long vowel. For {LH} verbs, the tone break is **between the first and second vocalic mora**s, hence *Cv̀Cv́*, *Cv̌:Cv́*, *Cv̀Cv́Cv́*, *Cv̌:Cv́Cv́*, etc. Note in particular that in *Cv̌:Cv́*…, with long vowel in the first syllable, the break is within the duration of this vowel, which therefore has rising tone: *dă:ná-m* 'have (sb) roast (sth)', *bă:rɛ́* 'teach', *bŭ:jí-y* 'be in poor shape'. In the case of *Cv̌:Cv́* verbs with medial sonorant and {*e o*} vowel-harmonic class, and therefore subject to deletion of final /i/ in the chaining form, having the break in the long first syllable, instead of at the syllable boundary, makes it unnecessary to shift tones following Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion: *dă:n* 'roast' (/dă:ní/).

For *Cv̀CCv́*, *Cv̀CCv́Cv́*, etc., especially where the first of the clustered consonants is a sonorant (as it is in native Dogon forms of these shapes), one

might expect a similar tone break within the initial *CvC* syllable. Instead, these verbs have the break point at the syllable boundary: *yàmbí* 'cover', *dùŋgí* 'stuff, cram', *bìndí* 'turn over'.

However, a *CvCvCv* verb appears as *CvCCv* when syncope has removed the medial vowel. This happens in reversive *gɔ̌r-lé* 'pull back (arm)', syncopated from /gɔ̀rí-lé/, derived from *gɔ̀ré* 'hold out (arm)'.

The tone breaks described above are valid for the **chaining form**, which has no grammatical tone overlay. Tone contours imposed on the stem by an inflectional suffix or derivational category have their own patterns of application to stems of various prosodic shapes.

In verbs (but not other word-classes), there is a fairly good correlation between choice of lexical tone contour and initial consonant. In particular, initial **voiceless obstruents** (stops and sibilants) strongly favor the **all-high** contour, while initial **voiced stops** strongly favor the **{LH} contour**. Nearly every nonmonosyllabic verb beginning in a stop follows this pattern, though there are numerous counterexamples involving Fulfulde borrowings with initial voiced stop, e.g. *báté* 'hold (meeting)', *gá:jé* 'chat', *jámbé* 'betray'. Initial sonorants, and the absence of an initial consonant, are compatible with either tone contour.

3.7.1.3 Lexical tone patterns for unsegmentable noun stems

3.7.1.4 Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals

In their modifying (i.e. postnominal) forms, adjectives have a range of tones. The nonsuffixing adjectives, which have participle-like final long vowels that switch between front and back/low qualities to agree with nouns, may be all-high, LH, L<HL>, or L<LH>, e.g. *nálá:* 'good', *èmɔ́:* 'fresh, moist', *pàlâ:* 'small', and *dùlɔ̌:* 'first'. The L<HL> pattern is especially common.

The suffixing adjectives, whose most basic form ends in a vowel from the set {*e ɛ a o i: ɛ:*} or in a suffix *-yè*, are all-high (*kómbé* 'skinny'), L(L)H (*dùmbé* 'blunt', *sògòjé* 'worn-out'), HL(L) (*pílè* 'white', *yégèlè* 'cool'), or {LHL} realized as <LH>L or LHL (*gǐrbà* 'blind', *bùrî:* 'tender'). The {LHL} pattern is normal in the subtype with suffix *-yè*.

There are only a few numerals, but so far as one can see they are similar in tonal possibilities to nouns. The only all-high numeral is *kúndú* 'one', which behaves like an adjective. For the other basic numeral stems, we have {HL} realized as HLL or HL or <HL> (*píyɛ́lì* 'ten', *kúlèy* 'six', *nô:y* 'two'), L<HL> (*tà:ndî:* 'three'), and for the noun-like larger numerals {LH} realized as LH or <LH> (*mùjú* 'thousand', *sǐŋ* 'hundred').

3.7.1.5 Tone-Component location for bitonal noun stems

3.7.1.6 Tone-Component location for tritonal noun stems

3.7.2 Grammatical tone patterns

3.7.2.1 Grammatical tones for verb stems

Verbs have a wide range of overlaid tone contours. The tone contours associated with the verb stem in various inflectional categories are summarized in (xx1). In each case the hyhen indicates the break between stem and inflectional suffix. H… means one or more high-toned moras, L… means one or more low-toned moras. X represents the lexically variable (high or low) initial mora of the stem. Single parentheses mean that the tonal feature is audible only when a mora not already tonally marked is available. Double parentheses mean that the tonal feature is audible only if there is a mora available after single parentheses have been opened. The extra H's or L's in H… and L… beyond the obligatory H or L are activated when another syllable is available after all parenthesized elements have been realized. For example, (X)H…((L))-L is realized as H-L, XH-L, XHL-L, and XHH-L, depending on the number of syllables or moras. The italicized rows involve categories whose tone contour is derived from that of another category listed. In participles, *α:* represents a variable mid-height long vowel {*ɛ:*, *e:*, *ɔ:*, *o:*} expressing agreement with the head NP of a relative.

(xx1)	category	suffix	tone contour
	a. indicative positive		
	perfective	(zero)	L…- (but see below)
	present	*-ɲjò-*	((X))H…(L)-L
	future		
	1st/2nd	*-mbó-*	L…-<HL>
	3Sg	*-m̀*	L…H-L
	3Pl	*-mbà*	L…H-L
	b. indicative negative		
	perfective negative		
	1st/2nd, 3Sg	*-l* (< /-lí-/)	X(H…)-H
	3Pl	*:-ndí*	L…-H
	present negative	*-ndí*	(X)H…L-H
	future negative	*-ndì*	L…H-L

c. deontic modal positive

imperative (Sg addressee)	(zero)	H…
imperative (Pl addressee)	*(based on Sg)*	
hortative (Sg addressee)	-*ý*	L…-H
hortative (Pl addressee)	-*ỳ*	L…H-L

d. deontic modal negative

prohibitive (-*là*)	-*là*	(X)H…((L))-L
prohibitive (-*nɔ̂:*)	-*nɔ̂:*	L…-<HL>
hortative negative	*(based on prohibitive -là)*	

e. uninflected and nominal forms

verbal noun	-*lé*	H…-H
verbal noun	-*ndá:*	H…-H
agentive	(zero)	L…(H)
progressive	-*mbò*	((X))H…(L)-L

f. participles (positive)

perfective		
subject	final *ɑ́:*	(X)H…(-)H
non-subject	final *ɑ̀:*	(X)H…(-)L
present		
subject	-*ŋgà*	((X))H…L-H
non-subject	-*ŋgà*	((X))H…(L)-L
future		
subject	-*ŋgà*	L…H-L
non-subject	-*ŋgà*	L…H-L

g. participles (negative)

perfective negative		
subject	-*l*-*ɑ́:*	(X)H…-H
non-subject	-*l*-*ɑ̀:*	L…-L
present negative		
subject	-*nd*-*ɑ́:*	((X))H…L-H
non-subject	-*nd*-*ɑ̀:*	((X))H…(L)-L
future negative		
subject/non-subject	-*nd*-*ɑ̀:*	L…H-L
non-subject	-*nd*-*ɑ̀:*	L…H-L

h. subject-focalization participles (positive)

perfective	*(equals inflected 3Sg perfective)*

present	-*nj*-*è:*	L…-L
future	-*mb*-*ê:*	L…-<HL>

i. subject-focalization participles (negative)

perfective	-*l*-*è:*	L…-L
present	-*nd*-*é:*	(X)HL-H
future	-*nd*-*è:*	L…H-L

Several of these contours are rather simple. We have **all-low tones in the stem** in the perfective, the 1st/2nd person future, the 3Pl perfective negative, the singular-addressee hortative, and the prohibitive variant with *-nô:*. The stem is also low-toned in many of the participial forms. Conversely, we have **all-high tones** in the stem in the imperative singular and in the verbal noun with *-lé* or *-ndá:*.

There are three other stem contours. The first (disregarding the suffixal tone) is **L…H-**, with at least one L and at least one H mora, with intervening moras low-toned (R or <LH>, LH, LLH, etc.). This is the **characteristic future** stem-tone contour, appearing (always before a low-toned suffix) in the 3rd person future, throughout the future negative, and in several future participles. However, those future forms based on suffix *-mbô-*, i.e. the 1st/2nd person future positive inflections along with the future positive subject-focalization form in *-mb*-*ê:*, have low-toned stem (before the initial high tone of the suffix).

The second is basically H…L-, i.e. the mirror image of L…H-, but all of the categories with this contour allow the stem-initial mora to express the lexical distinction between all-high and {LH}, at least if there are enough moras to go around. Representing the lexical initial tone as X, these contours are therefore of type **XH…L** (i.e. either LH…L or HH…L) when maximally expressed. The full formulas, showing the pecking order of the tone components, are (X)H…L- in the present negative with suffix *-ndí* (the final L must be expressed in the stem, since the suffix is high-toned), (X)H…((L))- in the prohibitive with *-là* suffix (X has priority over L), and ((X))H…(L)- in the present with *-njò-* suffix (L has priority over X).

From monomoraic *yɛ́* 'see', present negative *yâ-ndí-* shows falling (i.e. <HL>) stem before the suffixal H-tone, while prohibitive *yá-là* and present *yá-njò-* have only a H-tone on the stem before the low-toned suffix. Bimoraic {LH}-toned *yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run' brings out the variable pecking order between the X and the L in XH…L-, as we see in prohibitive *yòbá-là* (where the final L-tone of the stem is missing), and present *yóbà-njò-* (where the initial lexical low tone is missing). The present negative is *yóbà-ndí-*.

The remaining contour is that of the perfective negative (excluding the 3Pl). For stems of two or more syllables, the contour is clearly XH…-, i.e., either all-high (for lexically all-high stems) or LH…- (for lexically {LH} stems). The

most unusual feature of this inflection is that it brings out otherwise missing lexical tone distinctions among monomoraic verbs (*Cv*-, *Cwv*-), which are elsewhere treated as high-toned. Thus *ŋwɛ́* 'go in' has perfective negative /ŋwá:-lí-/, while the elsewhere usually homonymous *ŋwɛ́* 'hear' has perfective negative /ŋwà:-lí-/, with only the lexical X tone appearing on the stem. One hesitates to ascribe lexical tones solely on the basis of one negative inflection (there is also some evidence for such a lexical tonal distinction of these verbs in their causatives, but the perfective negative and the causative disagree as to which verbs are treated as high-toned and which as low-toned). If, however, we decide that the perfective negative does in fact reveal lexical tones for monomoraic verbs, we should represent the tone contour as **X(H…)**-, with obligatory expression of the lexical variable.

Actually, since the only lexical tone contours are all-high, equivalent to H(H…), and rising {LH} expressed more precisely as L(H…) if we accept the existence of L-toned monomoraic stems, this formula **X(H…)**- representing the two possibilities H(H…) and L(H…) is indistinguishable from the complete lexical tone itself. It is therefore possible to argue that **the perfective negative has no overlaid grammatical tone contour**.

3.7.2.2 Grammatical tones for noun stems

There is only one overlaid tone contour for nouns: tone-dropping to all-low. This affects a) a noun followed by a modifying adjective or demonstrative pronoun (but not definite morpheme); b) a noun with a preceding possessor (NP or pronoun); c) a noun not already tone-dropped that functions as head NP of a relative clause; c) a noun functioning as the initial in compounds (noun-noun, noun-agentive, or noun-[verbal noun]).

3.7.2.3 Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals

When a **modifying adjective** is added to a noun within a NP, the adjective forces tone-dropping on the noun. The noun-adjective sequence is now a core NP, and it is now the adjective that is exposed to tone-dropping from the wider morphosyntax. For example, if a second modifying adjective is added, the first adjective is tone-dropped. If the core NP is possessed, the possessor forces tone-dropping on the entire noun-adjective combination. And if a noun plus adjective serves as head NP of a relative clause, the adjective drops tones.

Numerals do not directly interact tonally with a preceding core NP (noun, or noun plus one or more adjectives). When a numeral follows a core NP, both the numeral and the core NP have the tones that they would have by themselves.

However, when the entire expanded NP (core NP plus numeral) is the head NP of a relative, both the core NP and the numeral are tone-dropped. Likewise, when such an expanded NP has a possessor (‘my three dogs’), the possessor imposes tone-dropping on both the core NP (‘dog’) and the numeral.

3.7.3 Tonal morphophonology

3.7.3.1 Autosegmental tone association (verbs)

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

3.7.3.3 Atonal-Suffix Tone-Spreading

Certain suffixes have no intrinsic tone. Instead, they acquire their tone by spreading from the preceding morpheme.

The most conspicuous examples are the syllabic nominal number suffixes: singular *-ŋgo* (*-go*, *-ŋge*) and plural *-mbo*. (Some nouns take the singular suffix, some take the plural suffix, and some take neither.)

The tonology is partially obscured by modifications to stem-final vowels before these suffixes. However, in (xx1) we can see the basic pattern by which the suffix acquires its tone from the preceding stem.

(xx1)	gloss	singular	plural (or collective)
a.	‘father’s sister’	*sèjí:*	*sèjí-mbó*
	‘elder’	*kúlmá*	*kúlmá-mbó*
	‘chicken’	*kórò*	*kôr-mbò*
	‘Arab’	*á:ràbù*	*á:ràbù-mbò*
b.	‘corn’	*màdèmbá-ŋgó*	*màdèmbá*
	‘squash’	*góné-ŋgó*	*góné*
	‘sweet potato’	*màsàkû:-ŋgò*	*màsàkû:*
	‘froth’	*bùjè-bújè-ŋgò*	*bùjè-bújè*

3.7.3.4 Word-Final R-to-H Raising

Many nouns, adjectives, and verbs end in a **long vowel with rising tone**. Before particles or other words beginning with a high tone (except over a pause or similar prosodic break), this rising tone is **raised (or leveled) to a flat high**

tone. Monosyllabic words (*Cv̌:*, *CvčC*, *Cv̌:C*) are unaffected, and retain their contour tones.

The combinations in question are very common. Among the high-toned particles that induce this effect on a preceding word are those in (xx1).

(xx1)	particle	type of preceding word
a.	*mé* 'if/when …'	perfective (positive) verb (1st/2nd person)
b.	*dîn* 'all'	noun, adjective
	definite determiners	noun, adjective
c.	*má* (locative)	noun, adjective

Examples with *mɛ́* **'if/when …'** are in (xx2). The form of the word in question when it appears without the particle is given in parentheses after the free translation. In (xx2.a), the raising of the vowel increases the acoustic difference between 'you-Sg sat down' and *òbì-y-ò:* 'they sat down'. In (xx2.c), the verb is monosyllabic and does not raise and level its tones before *mé*. In (xx2.d), the initial nasal is treated as a syllable for this purpose, so the final vowel raises.

(xx2) a. *òbì-y-ó:* *mɛ́*
sit-MP-2SgS if
'if/when you-Sg have sat down' (*òbì-y-ǒ:*)

b. *dìmbì-yɛ́-y* *mɛ́*
follow-MP-1PlS if
'if/when we have followed' (*dìmbì-yɛ̀-ý*)

c. *y-ɔ̌:* *mɛ́*
see.Perf-2SgS if
'if/when you have seen'

d. *ǹd-ɔ́:* *mɛ́*
give.Perf-2SgS if
'if/when you-Sg have given' (2005-1a)

There are passages in my texts where the *mɛ́* was actually omitted, leaving the raising of the tone of the final syllable of the verb as an index of its virtual presence.

Examples with **quantifier** *dîn* 'all, every, each' are in (xx3).

(xx3)	gloss	regular form	with *dîn* (‘all, every, each’)
a.	‘village’	*sɔ̀njɔ̌:*	*sɔ̀njɔ́: dîn*
	‘road’	*ùsfɔ̃́:*	*ùsfɔ́: dîn*
	‘hands’	*nùmɛ̌:*	*nùmɛ́: dîn*
	‘other’	*àndɛ̌:*	*àndɛ́: dîn*
b.	‘person’	*nɔ̌:*	*nɔ̌: dîn*
	‘foot’	*nǎ:*	*nǎ: dîn*

Examples with **definite determiners** are in (xx4). Demonstrative pronouns are not relevant here since they force tones on the preceding noun or adjective to drop.

(xx3)	gloss	regular form	with definite determiner
a.	‘village’	*sɔ̀njɔ̌:*	*sɔ̀njɔ́: ké*
	‘road’	*ùsfɔ̃́:*	*ùsfɔ́: kó*
	‘hands’	*nùmɛ̌:*	*nùmɛ́: yé*
	‘other’	*àndɛ̌:*	*àndɛ́: yé*
b.	‘person’	*nɔ̌:*	*nɔ̌: mó*
	‘foot’	*nǎ:*	*nǎ: kó*

The situation with **locative postposition** *má* is tricky, since this postposition also has a low-toned variant *mà*. The low-toned variant has a more general distribution (for example, it is used after definite determiners of any tonal type), and is a strong candidate to represent the lexical (underlying) tone. In the interpretation suggested here, *mà* first rises to *má* after some (but not all) words ending in a high-tone element (i.e. in a syllable with high or rising tone). Then this now high-toned variant *má* induces Word-Final R-to-H Raising when the (nonmonosyllabic) stem ends in a long vowel with rising tone.

(xx5)	gloss	regular form	with *má* (‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’)
a.	‘road’	*ùsfɔ̃́:*	*ùsfɔ́: má*
	‘village’	*sɔ̀njɔ̌:*	*sɔ̀njɔ́: má*
	‘other (place)’	*àndɛ̌:*	*àndɛ́: má*
	‘hand’	*nùmǎ:*	*nùmá: má*
b.	‘foot’	*nǎ:*	*nǎ: má*

The tonal change also applies when the following high-toned element is a pronoun (xx6.a), a numeral (xx6.b), or a verb (xx6.c), among other elements.

(xx1)	a.	*ànè àndé:*	*mí yɛ̀*	‘another man saw me’
	b.	*sɔ̀njé:*	*nôy*	‘two villages’ (*sɔ̀njɛ̌:*)
	c.	*ànè àndé:*	*índè*	‘another man went’

3.7.4 Low-level tone rules

3.7.4.1 Contour-Tone Mora-Addition

Contour tones require a minimum number of moras (timing units) to play out. However, I know of no case where a floating tone is added to a syllable and where the nucleus of that syllable is audibly lengthened to accomodate the extra tone component.

3.7.4.2 Contour-Tone Stretching

When a syllable with a contour (falling or rising) tone is extended by the addition of a syllable-final consonant (in the form of a suffix or clitic), the contour tone is phonetically realized by stretching the first tone component, so that the final tone component is realized on the last possible mora.

For example, *nùmă:* ‘hand’ with final rising-toned syllable can be followed by the ‘it is’ clitic *=y*, which has no intrinsic tone of its own. The final tone element of the stem (in this case, H) spreads into the semivowel of the clitic. The first tone element (here, L) then pushes right, confining the H-tone to this semivowel (phonetic [nùmà:j́]). A similar example with falling tone is *nàmâ:* ‘meat’, which combines with the same ‘it is’ clitic as phonetic [nàmá:j̀].

In spite of the phonetics, I prefer to transcribe e.g. *nùmă:=ý* ‘it is a hand’ and *nàmâ:=ỳ* ‘it is meat’, since this clarifies the actual source of the contour tone.

3.7.4.3 Final-Tone Resyllabification

3.7.4.4 Stranded-Tone Re-Linking

3.7.4.5 HLH-to-HL Reduction

There are few opportunities to test the behavior of underlying <HLH> toned syllables. This is not an acceptable surface sequence within a syllable, unlike the fully acceptable <LHL>.

However, there are two morphological contexts where this sequence arises, and where it is resolved by dropping the final H-tone element. In both situations, one or another of the three verbs that end in a lexical falling tone occur with a single-consonant suffix that would normally be high-toned, so we ought to get a final <HLH> syllable. The verbs are *dwê:* 'arrive', *jê:* 'bring', and *dînê:* 'find'. One suffixal combination is the 3Sg perfective negative, whose underling form is something like /-lí-/ with a high-toned vowel, seen more clearly in e.g. 1Sg *-lú-m* and 1Pl *-lí-ỳ*. Word-finally, i.e. in the zero 3Sg form, the *í* of /-lí-/ is deleted. In other verbs, when the stem-final ends in a low tone, the high tone of /-lí-/ is preserved, and fuses with the low tone to form a rising <LH>, as in *nă-l-∅* 'he/she did not drink'. For 'arrive', 'bring', and 'find' we should therefore have 3Sg #*dɔ̃:-l-∅*, #*jõ:-l-∅*, and #*dìnɔ̃:-l-∅*, respectively, with <HLH> tones on the final syllable, after the final /i/ has been deleted. The actual surface forms are, however, *dɔ̂:-l*, *jô:-l*, and *dìnɔ̂:-l*, with falling (i.e. <HL>) rather than <HLH> tone on the final syllable.

The same verbs have perfective positive stems with the same lexical <HL> final syllable. Such pronominal-subject suffixes as 1Sg *-ḿ* are normally high-toned after the perfective stem, which for most verbs is entirely low-toned: *dɛ̀ŋɛ̀-ḿ* 'I fell'. With the three verbs mentioned above, the high tone is absent: *jê:-m* 'I brought', *dwê:-m* 'I arrived', *dînê:-m* 'I found.

If the high tone of the deleted suffixal vowel initially combines with the tone of the stem-final syllable, the resulting <HLH> must be reduced to <HL>.

(xx1) <HLH> syllable reduces to <HL>

Alternatively, a constraint against <HLH> syllables could be formulated, blocking the development of <HLH> at any level.

3.8 Intonation contours

3.8.1 Phrase and clause-final nonterminal contours (⇑, ⇓, →, →↑, →↘)

In texts, the following conventions are used to indicate intonational features: ⇑ unusually high pitch at the end of a nonfinal clause or other constituent in a parallel series, ⇓ for a pitch drop at the end of the final clause or other constituent in such a parallel series, → prolongation (with no special pitch shift) either as part of the lexical item (see the following section) or to set up the following clause, →↑ combination of → and ⇑, →↘ prolongation plus progressive pitch lowering.

3.8.2 Adverbs and particles with lexically specified prolongation (⇒)

A number of adverb-like elements have final → built into their lexical form. In Najamba, the → is not as conspicuous as in northeastern Dogon languages, since the adverbials are followed by a particle *nɛ̀*. See §xxx for examples.

3.8.3 Dying-quail word-final intonation (∴)

The dying-quail final intonation, common in Jamsay and to some extent other northeastern Dogon languages, is absent from Najamba.

4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Nominal categories

4.1.1.1 Nominal morphological categories

The categories relevant to nouns (and NPs) are those in (xx1).

(xx1) a. singular vs. plural
b. animate (including pseudo-animate) vs. inanimate
c. agreement classes (based on agreement with modifiers)

In terms of their own morphology, nouns are of the types in (xx2), based on the relationship between the form of the singular noun and the corresponding plural.

(xx2) a. singular equals plural, no suffixes
b. singular distinguished from plural by stem-final vowel mutation
c. singular unmarked, plural has suffix *-mbo* ("animates")
d. plural unmarked, singular has optional suffix *-ŋgo* ~ *-go* or *-ŋge* (inanimates)

(xx2.a) includes some nouns that simply do not distinguish singular from plural. This includes mass nouns not easily divided into units (e.g. 'honey'), nouns with a unique denotatum ('God', 'sun'), and unassimilated loanwords ('shroud'). However, (xx2.a) also includes many nouns that behave like English *sheep*, in that the same noun form may shift from singular to plural agreement (in adjectives and determiners) according to the context.

While some nouns have a suffixed plural (xx2.c) and others a suffixed singular (xx2.d), the two are not symmetrical, since the animate plural suffix *-mbo* is effectively obligatory when its semantic conditions are fulfilled, while the inanimate singular suffixes (O-class *-ŋgo* or less often *-go*, E-class *-ŋge*) are usually optional. That is, the unsuffixed stem can be used with singular as well as plural sense (and corresponding agreement).

4.1.1.2 Nominal agreement categories

The maximum set of agreement categories for nouns, expressed in determiners and modifying adjectives, is that in (xx1).

(xx1) Agreement Categories

Animate Singular	Animate Plural
Inanimate Singular E-class	Inanimate Plural
Inanimate Singular O-class	

The categories "animate" and "inanimate" are grammatical rather than biologically correct. Essentially all animals (including insects and shellfish), along with humans, are grammatically animate. Howerver, there are many nouns denoting inanimate (at least for us) entities that are grammatically animate; I refer to them as **pseudo-animates**.

Many adjectives (those that have stem-final vowel mutations rather than suffixes) make only a binary agreement distinction, between what I call E and O agreement. These two categories are mapped onto the segments of (xx1) as shown in (xx2).

(xx2) Adjectival Stem-Final Vowel-Mutation Agreement Categories

	Singular	Plural
Animate	E	O
Inanimate	E	E
	O	

That is, animates have E/O agreement (singular/plural), and inanimates (depending on class) have either E/E or O/E agreement. In the E/E type, the adjective is the same for singular and plural nouns.

Other adjectives, and determiners (such as definite morphemes), make more comprehensive distinctions. (xx3) shows how this works for an adjective that takes inanimate singular (E and O), and animate plural, suffixation, while (xx4) shows the definite morphemes that may come at the end of a core NP (noun plus any modifying adjectives).

(xx3) Adjectival Suffixal Agreement Categories

	Singular	Plural
Animate	zero	*-mbo*
Inanimate	*-ŋge*	zero
	-ŋgo (*-go*)	

(xx4) Definite determiners

	Singular	Plural
Animate	*mó*	*bé*
Inanimate	*ké*	*yé*
	kó	

4.1.1.3 Semantic categories of animate nouns (including pseudo-animates)

Nouns denoting **humans** and **animals** (including insects) are grammatically animate. They have no singular suffix, but many take the animate plural suffix *-mbo* (for the phonology, see below). There are also some mutating nouns that distinguish singular from plural by stem-final vowel shifts rather than by suffixation.

Modifying adjectives are also either mutating or suffixing. Mutating adjectives take their E form when modifying singular animate nouns, and the O form when modifying plural animate nouns (regardless of the way plurality is expressed morphologically on the noun itself). For suffixing adjectives, the unmarked form is used when modifying singular animate nouns, and the form with animate plural suffix *-mbo* is used when modifying plural animate nouns (again, regardless of the way plurality is expressed morphologically on the noun itself).

The definite determiners used with animate nouns are animate singular *mó* and animate plural *bé*.

Examples of nouns denoting humans and animals are in (xx1).

(xx1)	Singular	Plural	gloss
a.	*nàlé*	*năl-mbó*	'friend'
	yáyè	*yây-mbò*	'woman who has given birth'
	gòlònjé	*gòlònjú-mbó*	'lazy person'
	dùbé	*dùbú:*	'blacksmith'

	dɔ́gɛ̀	*dɔ́gɔ̀:*	‘Dogon (person)’
	yɛ̌:	*yàwó:*	‘woman’
	èndê:	*òndô:*	‘child’
b.	*gàŋ-kírí*	*gàŋ-kír-mbó*	‘aquatic tortoise’
	tằ:	*tă:-mbò*	‘leopard’
	gàndá	*gàndà-mbó*	‘mollusc’
	ínè	*ínà:*	‘goat’
	nɛ̌:	*nàwó:*	‘cow’

A considerable number of nouns (**pseudo-animates**) denoting inanimate objects are grammatically animate in both their morphology and their agreement patterns. Most of these nouns are from the semantic categories in (xx2).

(xx1) Pseudo-animate nouns (treated as animate grammatically)

a. implements with blades
b. implements with points or hooks
c. firearms
d. certain garments (pants and footwear)
e. vehicles
f. ritually powerful objects
g. musical instruments
h. stones
i. fans
j. apiaries (for honey)

Examples of (xx1.a), **blade** implements, are *lâ:m* ‘razor blade’ (French *lame*), *pòlé* ‘knife’, *sìlbé* ‘folding knife’, *gùlâ:* ‘chopping ax’ (among other ax/hatchet terms), *jálòsárì* ‘plow’, *dàbá* ‘daba’ (among other hoe terms), *ká:fâ:* ‘sword’, *and kɔ̀mɔ̂:* ‘sickle’. Perhaps *pìndî:* ‘trap’ also belongs here.

Examples of (xx1.b), **pointed or hooked** implements, are *kɛ̀mɛ́* ‘point’ (and its compounds), *sílbàl* ‘simple awl’, *mènjɛ́nɛ̀* ‘needle’, *tòndòmbèlé* ‘metal hook’, *dùrî:* ‘pole with hook (for pulling off fruits)’, *sàmbé* ‘spear’, and *dɛ̌:* ‘thorn’. Perhaps *tàndàmɛ̂:* ‘key’ also belongs here.

Examples of (xx1.c), **firearms**, are *mălfâ* ‘rifle, musket’, *làsá:sì* ‘modern rifle’, and *gă:lɛ̀* ‘rifle mechanism’.

Examples of (xx1.d), **garments** (pants and footwear) are *yábà* ‘pants’, *tùbàlá:jì* ‘baggy pants’, *bɛ̀ntɛ́* ‘loincloth’, *tènî:* ‘uniform’ (French tenue), and *tàgî:* ‘shoe’ along with several compounds beginning with *tàgù-* ‘shoe’ such as *tàgù-bà:bî:* ‘modern sandal’. Since the garments in question cover the

midsection or the feet, this category might be compared with that of fans (below), which also function as pot and calabash covers.

Examples of (xx1.e), **vehicles**, are *mòtô:* 'motorcycle', *wògòtórò* 'donkey or ox cart', *dàmbà-dámbà* 'push-cart', *nègèsó:* 'bicycle', *bàtô:* 'steamboat', and *àbìyɔ̂w*^{n} 'airplane' (French *avion*).

Examples of (xx1.f), **ritually powerful** objects, are *sábè* 'amulet' (also 'paper'), *nɔ̀mbɛ́* 'rainbow' (i.e. "Nommo" the river god), *jòmbùmbá* 'object sent by sorceror', *dɛ̌:rɛ̀* 'statuette (of animist god)', *mèlégè* 'djinn (genie)', and *mɔ̀mɛ́* 'fetish (animist idol)'.

Examples of (xx1.g), **musical** instruments, are *bònî:* 'tomton', *bàrá* 'calabash tomtom', *gɔ́ŋɛ̀* 'hourglass-shaped tomtom', *bòbírì* 'reed flute', and *wè:gérù* 'violin'.

Examples of (xx1.h), **stones**, are *tɛ̀ŋgɛ̂:* 'oil grindstone', *kìn-dàŋgú* 'mountain boulder', and *èŋîn* 'hearth (three stones on which pots are set, over a fire)'. The basic noun for **'stone'** is irregular in that it is "animate" in the plural but not in the singular, which is inanimate O-class. The forms are singular *kìnû:* and plural *kǐn-bò* (< /*kǐn-mbò*/).

Examples of (xx1.i), **fans** (also used as e.g. pot or calabash covers), are *pìpàlâ:*^{n} 'square fan' and *pɛ̀ndú* 'circular fan'.

Examples of (xx1.j), **apiaries**, are *kòbî:* 'apiary in tree' and *ɲìmá* 'apiary in cave'.

Those not fitting into any category include *sà:gɛ́* 'month', *bùndɛ̀-ɔ̀mɛ̂:* 'rolling pin (for ginning cotton)', *dòŋɛ́* 'rag used as cushion for load on head' and *tɛ́mɛ̀* 'sieve' (French *tamis*).

The majority of animates (human, animal, or pseudo-animate) have the unsuffixed bare stem in the singular and animate plural suffix *-mbo*. However, there are a significant minority that use stem-final vowel mutations instead of suffixation. These nouns have a stem-final front vowel in the singular, which becomes a back or low vowel in the plural. An example is *nà:jî:* 'goat kid', plural *nà:jû:*. For more discussion and lists of examples, see §xxx, below. Whether an animate noun expresses plurality by suffixation or by stem-final vowel mutation is irrelevant to agreement.

The noun for **'(livestock) animal'** has singular *dúmɛ́-ŋgó* (inanimate O-class), while the plural can be either *dúmɛ́:* or *dúmɔ́:* and is animate plural for agreement purposes. The original sense was 'possession' (cf. English *chattel*), related to the common verb *dùmɛ́* 'obtain, acquire'. This etymology may help explain the unusual morphology and agreement pattern.

Out of some 250 flora terms elicited, only one is animate. This is *nàŋgá* (plural *nàŋgá-mbó*), which denotes the prostrate herb *Tribulus terrestris*. The fruits of this plant have thorn-like spines that are painful to step on, so the noun can be thought of as belonging to the 'pointed or hooked implement' category.

4.1.1.4 Semantic categories of O/E and E/E class inanimates

All nouns denoting inanimate objects or abstractions, other than those in the pseudo-animate categories described just above, take E-agreement with mutating adjectives (and may be followed by inanimate plural definite *yé*) in the plural, which involves no suffixation of the noun. In the singular, there are two classes. One of them has O-agreement with mutating adjectives, and may be followed by inanimate singular O-class definite morpheme *kó*. This is the **O/E class** (E being the plural agreement category). The other class, in the singular, has E-agreement with mutating adjectives, and may be followed by inanimate singular E-class definite morpheme *ké*. This is the **E/E class**.

Both classes include **suffixing** nouns (which take, often optionally, inanimate singular E-class suffix *-ŋge* or O-class suffix *-ŋgo* or *-go*), **mutating** nouns (which express the difference between singular and plural by a change in stem-final vowel quality), and **invariable** nouns (no difference in the form of singular and plural nouns, though agreement brings out the distinction. The morphology of suffixing and mutating nouns is described in detail in the sections below. Examples of invariable nouns are *déŋán* 'day/days' (E/E class) and *tè:ré* 'miracle' (O/E). Examples of mutating nouns are

The E/E class is smaller, and it is simplest to describe its semantic range and recognize O/E as the default for all inanimates not otherwise accounted for. The semantic groups in (xx1) have been observed.

(xx1) E/E class nouns

a. some topographic features
b. holes
c. dwellings and other built structures
d. some body parts
e. liquids
f. time

Examples here are cited in the (generally optional and in some cases rather uncommon) suffixed form of the singular if attested. There are numerous

Examples of (xx1.a), **topographic** features, are *kéŋgé* 'place', *gwǎ:* 'country', *yàlî:-ŋgè* '(cultivated) field', *dwà:nâ:* 'private field', *dàgâ:* 'open bare land', *bɔ̀rɔ̌:* 'plains', *sé:nɔ̀:* 'sandy plains', *kùbǐ:-ŋgé* 'dense forest', *pèmbɛ̌:-ŋgé* 'street outside house', *sè:-dûn-gè* 'pounding area (where women pound millet ears in large mortars)', *yél-ŋgé* 'high spot near a depression', *yáyrè-ŋgè* 'depression (in plains)', *sàmbâ:* 'meadow', *pɔ̀ndɔ̂:* 'riverbed (oued)', *jìmdú* 'moist edge of pond', and *kɛ̀lbè-dúlè-ŋgè* 'termite mound'. Most of these denote

zones that may extend horizontally. By contrast, terms for the hills and mountains that (often abruptly) punctuate these flat expanses (*kóŋgó:* 'mountain', *pègèlô:* 'hill', *ɔ̀nô:* 'mountain pass') are O/E, as are terms for earthly substances like *ǹjâ:* 'earth (dirt)'.

Examples of (xx1.b), **holes**, which grade into topographic features, are *dǒl-ŋgé* 'hole (perforation)', *dǎy-ŋgé* 'well (water)', *dúlé-ŋgé* 'pit (hole in earth)', *tě:-ŋgé* 'natural deep hole in rock', and *tòŋgèré-ŋgé* 'shallow hole'. However, *góló:* 'ditch, channel' is O/E.

Examples of (xx1.c), **dwellings and other structures**, are *ólé* 'house', *mìsídè-ŋgè* 'mosque', *dùndàŋgé:-ŋgè* 'shack', *gúlì:-ŋgè* 'shed', *pàndă:* 'first room in house', *tárbà* 'hunting shelter', *tògòjê:* 'niche in wall', *táŋà* 'granary', and *kárŋgá* 'covered vestibule'. Others like *bándá* 'courtyard', *ébán* 'market', and *dá:kà* 'Fulbe camp' could be included here or under topographic features.

Examples of (xx1.d), **body parts**, are *kî:-ŋgè* 'head' and *ìbí-ŋgé* 'mouth'. As body parts are divided between E/E and O/E classes, there is further discussion of the semantics below.

Examples of (xx1.e), **liquids**, are *íŋgé* 'water', *gĕn-gé* 'blood', *kɔ̀njé-ŋgé* 'millet beer', *jàbìré* 'sauce', *níŋgé* 'green sauce', *ǹjĭ:* 'honey', *bà:nâ:* 'porridge', *sòlé* 'cream of millet', *à:lé* 'rain', and *émè:* 'milk'. Some other E/E nouns like *sé:jè:-ŋgè* 'spring (water)' and *tàgă:* 'pond, pool' could be placed here or under topographic features. *nĕ-ŋgó* 'oil' is O/E.

Examples of (xx1.f), **time**, including prayers (which occur at fixed hours and may be used as time-of-day indicators), are *déŋán* 'day', *wákàtì* (or *wágàtì*) 'time (moment)', *ɲám* 'night', *ùjú* 'daytime', *éŋgú* 'tomorrow', *ègă:* 'early morning', *dèndà:jú* 'early PM', *púllò* 'twilight', *jùgîn* 'week', *ásè* 'Saturday', *lá:sàrà* 'late afternoon prayer' (and terms for other time-specific prayers), and *sân* 'prayer'. However, O/E agreement was observed for and *jènă:* 'rainy season'. Either O/E or E/E agreement is possible for *ŋgín* 'hot season' and *kènjû:* 'year' (homonym of *kènjû:* 'pick'hoe').

Human and animal body parts are a domain where some nouns are E/E and others are O/E. There is fairly consistent differentiation by subdomain (xx2).

(xx2)	gloss	singular
	a. E/E class	
	abstractions	
	'soul'	*kíndè:*
	'soul'	*kínjàn*
	'name'	*ínèn*
	body/torso	
	'body'	*gòjí-ŋgé*

‘chest (body)’	*gènjègènjê:-ŋgè*
‘back (body)’	*bàndí-ŋgé*
‘chest (body)’	*pélè-ŋgè*
joints	
‘joint’	*dígìn-gè*
‘knee’	*nà:-kíŋjì-ŋgè*
‘elbow’	*nùmà-kíŋjì:*
head to shoulders	
‘head’	*kî:-ŋgè*
‘middle of head’	*dánà:*
‘side of face’	*tégèlè:-ŋgè*
‘mouth’	*ìbí-ŋgé*
‘nose’	*kìnjâ:*
‘chin’	*ă:-ŋgè*
‘upper shoulder; wing’	*kàkàrâ:*

b. O/E class

abstractions	
‘voice’	*yɔ̃:*
‘side’	*tíŋgɔ́:*
head to shoulders	
‘fontanel’	*bɔ́nè-ŋgò*
‘face’	*gìrò-m̀bùlă:*
‘eye’	*gìró*
‘tongue’	*nĕndɔ̀:*
‘tooth’	*ìnɔ̆:*
‘gap between teeth’	*ɲálbè-ŋgò*
‘ear’	*súnù:*
‘cheek’	*tùrû:*
‘scarification’	*yémbélé-ŋgó*
‘neck’	*mɔ̃:*
‘throat’	*pòrò-pòrô:*
belly to midsection	
‘belly’	*kûl*
‘navel’	*bɔ́ŋgɔ̀:*
‘navel (protruding)’	*bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀-bɔ̀ŋgɔ̂:*
‘midriff’	*bèrè-bèrɔ̂:*
‘thigh below hip’	*mágà:*
‘buttock’	*pùrmbă:*
‘testicles’	*dɔ́lɔ̀:*
‘penis’	*jógú*
‘vagina’	*dúmbú*

‘foreskin’	*múrù*
‘clitoris’	*kèkér-ŋgò*
‘womb; female genitalia’	*púrú*
limbs/extremities	
‘hand’	*nùmǎ:*
‘foot’	*nà:-gó*
‘palm (hand)’	*nùmà-tábíjà:*
‘fist’	*nùmà-kúmbù:*
‘heel’	*nà:-dɔ́rɔ̀:*
‘finger’	*nùmà-sɛ́ndɔ̀:*
‘fingernail’	*kóbùlù:*
internal organs	
‘liver’	*kéndà:*
‘heart’	*kèndà: sósòrò:*
‘spleen’	*kèndà: nánàgà:*
‘windpipe’	*yɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̀-yɔ̀gɔ̂:*
‘placenta’	*ɔ́gɔ̀:*
‘lung’	*búbùjû:*
‘kidney’	*bɔ́:jè-ŋgò*
‘gallbladder’	*gágǎl-ŋgò*
‘gizzard’	*kèkɛ̂:-ŋgò*
‘intestines’	*bìndú*
‘colon’	*bɔ́rbɔ́rdɛ̀-ŋgò*
‘vein; root’	*wǒl-ŋgó*
hair etc.	
‘tuft of hair’	*bàkɛ́lɔ̀:*
‘beard’	*bɛ̂:-ŋgò*
‘hair; feather’	*kùlɛ́-ŋgó*
‘sideburns’	*kàlàkàmbé-ŋgó*
bone and cartilage	
‘cartilage’	*dúmbà:*
‘lower jaw’	*jàjàgâ:*
‘shoulderblade’	*pápàrà:*
‘hip’	*tínì:-ŋgò*
‘bone’	*kìná-ŋgó*
‘back of skull above nape’	*dɔ̀rɔ̂:*
‘mane’	*yɛ́ndɛ̀-ŋgò*
‘horn’	*kɛ́lɔ̀:*
skin and fat	
‘skin’	*gùjú*
‘animal fat’	*sî:-ŋgò*
‘ganglion’	*àntól-ŋgó*

protrusion

'hump' (variant)	*júŋgà:*
'crest (rooster)'	*dómbélé-ŋgó*
'breast'	*ónjù:*
'tail'	*dúlɔ̀:*
'antenna'	*jɔ́mbɔ̀:*

Having described in some detail the lexical inventory of pseudo-animates (inanimates treated grammatically as animate) and that of the E/E inanimate class, it suffices to say that all other inanimates are of the **O/E inanimate class**.

This includes abstractions (including those denoting actions), inanimate bodies and forces in nature, and many artifacts (except weapons and implements with blades, hooks, or points). A few examples (shown with singular suffix in cases where this suffix is attested) to show the semantic range are *kɔ̀mbɛ́-ŋgó* 'war', *sá-gò* 'cotton', *énè-ŋgò* 'potash', *énáná-ŋgó* 'wind (air current)', *sónà-ŋgò* 'soil', *gà:gó* 'hunger' (originally *gà:-gó), *yámbú:* 'blanket', *dúmù:* 'disease', *dágù:* 'medication', *úbú* 'manure', *jèmbó* 'pain', *pó:lò:* 'waterskin', *gólò* 'fire', *ùfɔ̃:* 'road', *tìmɔ̂:* 'tree', *sɔ̀njɔ̌:* 'village', *kɔ̀ríyɔ̀* 'calabash', *tìbɔ̌:* 'death', *jɔ̀mbɔ́:* 'shoulderbag', *kàlă:* 'price', and *ká:bú* 'mat'.

Substantially all **flora terms** (except for the spiny-fruited *Tribulus*, mentioned earlier as a pseudo-animate) are O/E class inanimates. The semantic class enforces O/E agreement even with flora terms that are based on a noun of another agreement class. For example, *Diheteropogon* grass (whose inflorescences have long, stiff awns) is called *kìr-gá: sàmbè*, literally 'herder's spear'. By itself, *sàmbé* 'spear' is pseudo-animate, and 'the red spear' is therefore *sàmbè bánè mó*, with animate singular agreement on the adjective and the final definite morpheme. However, 'the red *Diheteropogon* grass' is *kìr-gá: sàmbè bán-gò kó*, where the adjective and the definite determiner have O/E (here, singular O) agreement.

Examples where the "same" noun stem occurs with different agreement-class forms in different senses include a) *bɛ̀mbɛ́*, plural *bɛ̀mbɛ́-mbó* 'firefly' (animate), versus *bɛ̀mbɛ́-ŋgó*, plural *bɛ̀mbɛ́* 'Abrus bush' (O/E inanimate); and b) *pòlé*, plural *pǒl-mbó* 'knife' (pseudo-animate), versus *pǒl-ŋgó*, plural *pòlé* 'egg' (O/E inanimate).

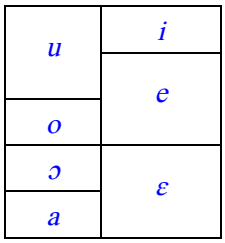
4.1.2 Mutating noun stems

4.1.2.1 Back/low vowel (singular) versus front vowel (plural)

A large number of nouns, mostly inanimates with O/E type agreement, have a singular ending in a back or low vowel {*u o ɔ a*} opposed to a plural ending in a

front vowel {*i e ɛ*}. The length and tone of the vowel are lexically determined, and are held constant across the two forms in nearly every case. The vowel-quality mutations are those in (xx1), to be read left to right.

(xx1) singular plural



From a glance at (xx1), we see that a) the singular vowel cannot be predicted from the plural vowel except in the case of *i*; and b) one can usually predict the plural from the singular, but singular *u* corresponds to two plural qualities *i* and *e*.

Using ↔ as the symbol for mutations (e.g. *o*↔*e*, with the singular on the left), let us examine the number of stems in question. From the nouns in my lexicon as of May 2008, my count of **uncompounded nouns** (including a relatively small number of well-assimilated loanwords) is as indicated in (xx2). Note that *u*↔*i* is four times as common as *u*↔*e*. The numbers would rise somewhat if noun-like compound finals were included.

(xx2)

mutation	# of nouns
u↔*i*	68
u↔*e*	15
o↔*e*	38
ɔ↔*ɛ*	57
a↔*ɛ*	79
total	*255*

For the *u*↔*i* and *u*↔*i* mutations, the numbers can be broken down by vowel-length and (for long final vowels) by tone (xx3).

(xx2)

	u↔*i*	*u*↔*e*
final short *u*	42	10
final *û:*	14	2
final *ù:*	10	4

final *ú:*	2	0

The number of *u*↔*i* nouns with final *û:* is somewhat bloated, and would be much larger if compounds were included, since many of these are nominals with a suffix *-û:* (§xxx). Even leaving these aside, there is a clear preponderance of *u*↔*i* over *u*↔*e*.

The *u*↔*i* and *u*↔*e* nouns, excluding the *u*↔*i* nouns ending in *-û:* derivational suffix, can also be broken down by the vowel of the penultimate syllable (xx3).

(xx3)

penultimate V	*u*↔*i*	*u*↔*e*
u	17	6
i	5	1
o	9	1
e	3	3
ɔ	2	
ɛ	3	
a	15	3

The quantitative data do not give much reason to think that the choice between *i* and *e* as the plural of *u* can be explained phonologically.

The full set of *u*↔*e* stems known to me, including noun-like compound-finals, are in (xx4).

(xx4)

gloss	singular	plural
a. another *e*-vowel in stem		
‘tree-top’	*dě:rù*	*dě:rè*
‘cowry’	*kèlû:*	*kělè*/*kèlê* (collective), cf. *kèlî:* plural
‘thin thread’	*gè:jú*	*gè:jé*
b. singular with long vowel, plural with short vowel		
‘mash (from oil)’	*dúnjù:*	*dúnjè*
‘bobbin’	*dǎ:lù:*	*dǎ:lè*
‘medication’	*dágù:*	*dágè*
‘yellow dye’	*sògòlû:*	*sògólè*
‘heart of palm’	*sìm-póndù:*	*sìm-póndè*
c. other		
‘corner’	*yó:bùndù*	*yó:bùndè*

‘skin’	*gùjú*	*gùjé*
‘intestines’	*bìndú*	*bìndé*
‘manure’	*úbú*	*úbé*
‘large beer jar’	*dùdùmbú*	*dùdùmbé*
‘watermelon’	*kàndú*	*kàndé*

In (xx4.a), possibly the presence of an *e*-vowel in the penult has favored *e* over *i* as plural vowel. However, there is no clear synchronic phonological rule of this type, and three cases of plural *i* can be cited: *ké:sù*↔*ké:sì* ‘metal jewelry box’ (regional, < French *caisse*), *àljébù*↔*àljébì* ‘bit (mouthpiece)’ (regional, < Arabic), and *the compound kì:-èrú* ‘hairstyle’ (cf. verb *érέ* ‘braid, do the hair of’).

The set (xx4.b) is highly distinctive in that the long /*u:*/ of the singular is shortened as well as fronted in plural /*e*/. There are no such vowel-length discrepancies in the many *u*↔*i* nouns.

A few representative examples of the other mutation types are given below.

u↔*i* : *ká:bú*↔*ká:bí* ‘mat’, *pátù*↔*pátì* ‘goatskin waterbag at well’, *gíbú*↔*gíbí* ‘woman’s wrap (garment)’, *górú*↔*górí* ‘hat’, *tùrû:*↔*tùrî:* ‘cheek’, *dúmù:*↔*dúmì:* ‘disease’, *súnù:*↔*súnì:* ‘ear’.

o↔*e* : *sìjǒ:*↔*sìjě* ‘line’, *kóŋgó:*↔*kóŋgé:* ‘mountain’, *tùmbó*↔*tùmbé* ‘mound’, *gìró*↔*gìré* ‘eye’, *bó:lò:*↔*bó:lè:* ‘thread’, *gólò*↔*gólè* ‘fire’.

ɔ↔*ɛ* : *ɔ̀nɔ̂:*↔*ɔ̀nɛ̂:* ‘mountain pass’, *símɔ̀:*↔*símɛ̀:* ‘cement’ (French *ciment*). *jɔ̀mbɔ́:*↔*jɔ̀mbɛ́:* ‘shoulderbag’, *nĕndɔ̀*↔*nĕndɛ̀* ‘tongue’, *dúlɔ̀:*↔*dúlɛ̀:* ‘tail’.

a↔*ɛ* : *làmpá*↔*làmpɛ́* ‘lamp’ (international word), *gìyâ:*↔*gìyɛ̂:* ‘dance’, *gwǎ:*↔*gwɛ̌:* ‘country’, *nùmǎ:* ‘hand’, *tárbà*↔*tárbɛ̀* ‘hunting shelter’.

4.1.2.2 Frequency of stem-final long vowels in mutating noun stems

Even from these lists, readers familiar with Dogon languages will be struck by the large percentage of nouns that end in a long vowel. Based on noncompounded nouns with final-vowel mutations in my lexicon (excluding flora-fauna), the statistics look like these (xxx).

(xxx)

mutation type	monosyllabic		bisyllabic or longer	
	Cv	*Cv:*	*…Cv*	*…Cv:* (%)
u↔*i*	0	0	42	26 (38%)
u↔*e*	0	0	8	5 (38%)
o↔*e*	0	0	14	30 (68%)
ɔ↔*ɛ*	0	2	6	49 (86%)
a↔*ɛ*	0	3	12	64 (81%)

For the mid-height and low vowels, the percentage of stems ending a long vowel is quite remarkable, and even for singular *u* the percentage is substantial. Given that alternations of final *o:* and *e:*, *ɔ:* and *ɛ:*, and *a:* and *ɛ:* are also found with many adjectives and participles, this suggests that (historically) most nouns formerly ended in either a singular or plural suffix that phonologically fused with the original stem-final vowel.

The predominance of final long vowels is even more striking when we note that many of the nouns with final short vowels are obvious or probable loanwords. In the case of *o*↔*e*, the inventory of **final-short-vowel stems** is further swollen by several cases where original plural *-mbo or singular *-ŋgo ~ *-go has become fused to the stem. For the mid-height and low vowels, the inventory of final-short-vowel stems is as follows, with forms given in the singular.

o↔*e* :

a) likely loans: *pàgùmbó* 'tea bag', *màŋgórò* 'mango'

b) end in …*mbó* (possible frozen plural *-mbo): *jàŋgùmbó* 'fruit cluster', *kùjùmbó* 'handful of food', *yòmbó* 'prepared food', *gìmbó* 'odor' (verb *gǐŋ* 'emit odor'), *tèndùmbó* 'row (e.g. of plants)' (adjective *tèndô:* 'straight')

c) end in …*ŋgó* or …*gó* (frozen singular *-ŋgo or *-go): *ɲàŋgó* 'weeping' (verb *ɲɛ́* 'weep'), *káŋgó* 'challenge' (verb *káŋ*), *jɔ̀:gó* 'shame' (verb *jɔ̀yɛ́*), *gà:gó* 'hunger' (Jamsay *jɛ̌:*), *gògó* 'cold weather' (Nanga etc. *gɔ̀yɔ́*)

d) native Dogon: *gìró* 'eye', *gólò* 'fire', *tùmbó* 'mound'

ɔ↔*ɛ* :

a) likely loans: *ánɔ̀:rɔ̀* 'image' (< Arabic), *sɛ́kkɔ̀* 'straw hanging mat' (< Fulfulde), *mìsɔ́:rɔ̀* 'shawl' (< French *mouchoir*)

b) native Dogon (or likely so): *ɔ̀mbɔ̀lɔ́* 'misfortune', *bɔ̀:rɔ́* 'long thin sack', *nɛ̌ndɔ̀* 'tongue',

a↔*ɛ* :

a) likely loans: *làmpá* 'lamp', *m̀bɛ́ddà* 'highway' (< Arabic), *kárŋgá* 'covered entryway', *bàrà:dá* 'tea kettle' (< Arabic), *bármá* 'modern pot' (regional), *dísà* 'elegant fabric', *gíbà* 'pocket' (< Arabic)

b) native Dogon (or likely so): *bándá* 'courtyard', *kùŋgá* 'black mat border', *gànjàlá* 'opening in kitchen wall', *tárbà* 'hunting shelter', *gàjá* 'scarification'

4.1.2.3 Final-vowel mutations as single-feature suffixes

Even synchronically, one could perhaps think of the noun stems that undergo final-vowel mutations as being divisible into a lexical stem ending in a vowel that is underspecified for the [±back] feature. If so, this would be amalgamated with number suffixes consisting only of the feature [+back] (singular) or [-back] (plural).

A slightly less aggressive version of this would be to take the singular as lexically basic, in all of its vocalic splendor, consider the plural suffix to be the feature [-back], and have this feature oust the backness feature of the noun stem.

In implementing any such phonological analysis, in order to account for the existence of both *ɔ↔ɛ* and *a↔ɛ*, it might be necessary to recognize a distinction (not audible on the surface) between true *ɛ* (in *ɔ↔ɛ*) and an underlying /æ/ that is eventually raised to *ɛ* (in *a↔ɛ*).

4.1.2.4 Segmental phonological alternations in mutating nouns

For the most part, there is no difference between the singular and the plural other than the shift between back/low and front stem-final vowel. However, there are some nouns that have a slightly more complex phonology.

Most of the alternations involve a trisyllabic stem with a medial high vowel that fluctuates between *i* and *u*. It is an interesting question whether this is a low-level phonetic adjustment to the different final vowel, or whether it represents a spread of the ablaut-like mutation process itself to encompass a noninitial penult. The forms known to me are in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	singular	plural
	‘wooden lock’	*tàŋà-kɔ́gúrú*	*tàŋà-kɔ́gírí*
	‘dream’	*mànjùr-û:*	*mànjìr-î:*
	‘shard for serving food’	*kòbùlû:*	*kòbìlî:*
	‘fingernail’	*kóbùlù:*	*kóbìlì:*
	‘half of split peanut’	*kábùlò:*	*kábìlè:*
	‘tea bag’	*pàgùmbó*	*pàgìmbé*
	‘fruit cluster’	*jàŋgùmbó*	*jàŋgìmbé*

Such alternations do not usually affect mid-height or low vowels in the same penultimate position. However, I have recorded occasional examples of such alternations, sometimes as variant pronunciations. All examples known to me are in (xx2).

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
	‘mango’	*màŋgórò*	*màŋgérè*
	‘spoon’	*gɔ̀njɔ̀rɔ̂:*	*gɔ̀njɛ̀rɛ̂:* (~ *gɔ̀njɔ̀rɛ̂:*)
	‘wooden milk bucket’	*kárà̀wà*	*kárɛ̀wɛ̀*
	‘open space with soil in hills’	*tòndòló*	*tòndèlé*

For the noun *mìsɔ́:rɔ̀* (variant *mùsɔ́:rɔ̀*) ‘head shawl’ (< French *mouchoir* with a semantic shift), one assistant gave the regular plural *mùsɔ́:rɛ̀*, while another fluctuated between *mìsɛ́:rɛ̀* and *mìswɛ́:rɛ̀* (the latter arguably representable as /mìsɔ́ɛ́rɛ̀/).

Another type of vocalic alternation occurs with bisyllabic nouns in the *a↔ɛ* mutation type. Here there is a regular alternation between *e* (in the singular with final *a*) and *ɛ* (agreeing with the final *ɛ* of the plural), and likewise between *o* (singular) and *ɔ* (plural). The only counterexamples to this alternation are *táŋà* ‘granary’ (Pl *táŋɛ̀*) and the loanword *m̀bɛ́ddà* ‘highway’ (Pl *m̀bɛ́ddɛ̀*). With these two exceptions, all bisyllabic *a↔ɛ* nouns with a mid-height vowel in the intial (i.e. penultimate) syllabic show *e/ɛ* or *o/ɔ* alternations. I have six examples of this alternation, although for ‘dew’ the plural is marginal.

(xx1)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	‘liver (and heart)’	*kéndà:*	*kéndɛ̀:*
		‘boundary stones’	*pégá:*	*pégɛ́:*
		‘edible leaves’	*bèlâ:*	*bèlɛ̂:*
		‘dew’	*èlă:*	*èlɛ̌:* (marginal)
	b.	‘flexible liana branch’	*òbâ:*	*ɔ̀bɛ̂:*
		‘band of cloth; brick mold’	*kóbá:*	*kɔ́bɛ́:*
		‘difficulty, problem’	*tórrà*	*tɔ́rrɛ̀*

Given that singular *a* requires plural *ɛ*, it is not surprising that vowel-harmonic considerations require a harmonically correct vowel in the first syllable of the plurals. What is more notable is the fact that (except for the loanword *m̀bɛ́ddà*) there are no bisyllabic singulars with an {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel in the first syllable preceding *a* in the final syllable. This suggests that /*a*/ is compatible with {*e o*} but not with {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic sets.

This is supported by study of the nouns with *ɔ↔ɛ* mutations. Out of the 57 nouns of this type in my lexicon, there are none with *a*-vowel in the penult. There are two with *a*-vowel in the antepenult: *ánɔ̀:rà* ‘image’ (< Arabic), *bàkɛ́lɛ̀:* ‘tuft of hair’. By contrast, a-vowels are common in the penult of nouns with *ɔ↔ɛ* mutations (*kàló:* ‘boundary’, *kànjô:* ‘crack’, etc.).

In one stem, the phonological oddity is the presence of *w* before the e-vowel of the plural (xxx).

(xxx) ‘roselle (variety)’ *ànjíkò:* *ànjíkwè:*

This term denotes varieties of roselle that are grown for their calices (used in cooking). The more general term for ‘roselle’ (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*), which has many easily distinguishable cultivars, is *ánjè*. The morphology of *ànjíkò:* is non-transparent, but native speakers presumably divide it approximately as *ànjí-kò:*. The final might be represented as singular /kwò:/, plural /kwè:/. Deletion of *w* between a consonant and a back rounded vowel is regular, cf. *k-ɔ̌:* ‘you-Sg ate’ from *kwɛ́* ‘eat’ (§3.xxx).

The term for ‘cowry (shell)’ (now also ‘money’) is also somewhat problematic (xxx).

(xxx)	*kèlû:*	‘cowry shell’ (singular)
	kèlî:	‘cowry shells’ (plural)
	kělè (*kèlê*)	‘cowries (collective); money’

This is one of the nouns with long *u:* in the singular and short *e* in the plural (or rather, for this noun, the collective); see §4.xxx, above. Plural *kèlî:* is phonologically unproblematic, since it retains the tones and prosodic structure of the singular. The collective form, which is actually the form in most common use (‘money’) is problematic since it is prosodically bimoraic but has the same {LHL} tone contour of the trimoraic singular and plural forms. The fact that the medial /*l*/ is a sonorant is probably helpful in allowing speakers to fit this tripartite tone contour onto two moras. I usually heard the form as *kělè* with just a hint of low tone in the transition from the k to the first *e*.

The monosyllabic stems that have final mutations are also interesting phonologically. Those known to me are in (xxx).

(xxx)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	‘country’	*gwǎ:*	*gwɛ̌:*
		‘earth’	*ǹjâ:*	*ǹjɛ̂:*
	b.	‘neck’	*mɔ̃:*	*mɔ̌ɛ̀*
	c.	‘voice’	*yɔ̃:*	*yɔ̀wɛ̂:*
		‘bowl-shaped jar’	*pâ:*	*páyɛ̀* (variant *pâ:*)

check with other speakers (Ous *páyɛ̀*, Amad *pâ:* ;

KB speaker *páyɛ̀*)

The forms in (xxx.a) present no major problems. One can argue whether 'earth' is mono- or bisyllabic. 'Country', parallel to other stems with orthographic *Cw*… onsets, may best be analysed phonologically as singular /gòàá/ and plural /gɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ́/. The plural is pronounced [gɒ̰ɛ̆:].

The forms in (xxx.b-c) illustrate the difficulty of deriving the plurals directly from the singulars by changing the backness feature of the final vowel. 'Neck' in (xxx.b) is another bimoraic stem with a tripartite <LHL> tone contour. Leaving aside the issue how to apportion the three tone components, the singular/plural relationship suggests a representation like singular /mɔɔ/, with only the second moraic element subject to fronting in the plural.

On the other hand, the two cases in (xxx.c) suggest that the lexical representation contains the medial semivowel audible in the plural, and that this is deleted in the singular. The singulars could therefore be represented as /yɔ̀wɔ̂:/ and /páyà/. Deletion of the medial semivowel in /yɔ̀wɔ̂:/ is more reasonable (phonetically and in terms of supporting Najamba examples) than that in /páyà/, which is rather unusual typologically and is never observed in such Najamba forms as *wàyá-ŋgó* 'thick-Sg' (from *wàyɛ́:*) or *áyá-m* 'cause to be tired' (causative of *áy* 'be tired'). Therefore an alternative analysis is to take 'bowl-shaped jar' as singular /páà/, plural /páɛ̀/, and think of the *y* in *páyɛ̀* as epenthetic.

Phonologically similar alternations also occur with singulars and plurals of suffixing (i.e. not mutating) nouns of the sort covered below.

4.1.2.5 Front vowel (singular) versus back/low vowel (plural)

A fairly small number of stems have a mutation between a front vowel in the singular and back/low vowel int the plural. This is the opposite of the more common pattern described in the sections above. The attested alternations are those in (xx1), leaving vowel-length changes aside.

(xx1)

singular	plural
i	u
e	a
ɛ	*o*
	ɔ
	a

This is close to the mirror image of what we saw for the majority (back to front) mutation type, except for the singular/plural relationships *e↔a* (affecting just two nouns) and (disharmonic) *ɛ↔o* (another two nouns).

I will start *in medias res* with singular *e*, since the 'child' term will figure in the discussion of other nouns below.

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
a. *e↔a:*			
	'man'	*ánè*, *ánì*	*ánà:*
	'goat'	*ínè*	*ínà:*
b. *e↔o*, core example			
	'child'	*èndê:*	*òndô:*
c. *e↔o*, deriving from (b)			
	'rival'	*bà:ndê:*	*bà:ndô:*
d. *e↔u:*			
	'uncastrated (goat)'	*ě:bè*	*ě:bù:*
	'amulet; paper'	*sábè*	*sábù:*
	'spear'	*sàmbé*	*sàmbú:*
	'Nanga (ethnicity)'	*náŋè*	*náŋù:*
	'blacksmith (caste)'	*dùbé*	*dùbú:*
	'leatherworker (caste)'	*jàmbé*	*jàmbú:*
e. *e↔u*/*o*, originally derived from (b)			
	'Fulbe (person)'	*púlàndê:*	*púlàndû:*, *púlàndô:*

The unusual final *e↔a:* alternation in (xx2.a) involves vowel length as well as quality. For 'man' the phonology is made even more difficult by the existence of variant final vowels in the singular. The important noun 'child' (xx2.b) shows an *e↔o* mutation that spreads into the initial syllable. The term for 'rival' is a somewhat frozen compound of *bă:* 'father' and this 'child' term (males of similar age within an extended family are the prototypical rivals).

The alternation of final *u:↔e* (xx2.d) is the mirror image of the *e↔u:* alternation seen for a few nouns in (xx4.b) in §4.1.1.1, above (e.g. *dágù:* 'medication, plural *dàgè*). The noun 'Fulbe (person)' (xx2.e) probably originated as a compound ending in 'child' (xx2.b), but has been partially assimilated into this *u: ↔e* type (xx2.d).

The data involving singular *ɛ* are rather messy. For *ɛ↔a* we have the set of derived nouns ending in characteristic *-gɛ́:* (§4.xxx), here exemplified by 'herder' (xx3.a), plus two ethnic terms (xx3.a). The nouns with *ɛ↔ɔ* also include ethnic terms and other nouns that characterize human types, along with one kin term denoting an important relationship (xx3.b).

(xx3)	gloss	singular	plural
a. *ɛ↔a*			
	'herder'	*kìr-gɛ́:*	*kìr-gá:*
	'Tuareg clan'	*dà:gɛ̌:*	*dà:gǎ:*
	'northern Dogon'	*bà:lɛ̌:*	*bà:lǎ:*
b. *ɛ↔ɔ*			
	'Sorko, Bozo'	*sɔ́lgɛ̀*	*sɔ́lgɔ̀:*
	'Dogon'	*dɔ́gɛ̀*	*dɔ́gɔ̀:*
	'Tommo'	*tɔ́mbɛ̀*	*tɔ́mbɔ̀:*
	'enemy'	*àndàmɛ̂:*	*àndàmɔ̂:*
	'impoverished person'	*gìríyɛ́:*	*gìríyɔ́:*
	'close second cousin'	*nìyɔ̀mɛ̂:*	*nìyɔ̀mɔ̂:*

The most unusual mutations are those where *ɛ:* (in one case, short *ɛ*) in the singular corresponds to *awo:* (with a shift in vowel-harmonic class) in the plural (xx4.a), discussed in §3.xxx. There is one similar example with *a:* in the singular (xx4.b).

(xx4)	gloss	singular	plural
a. *ɛ:↔awo:* with shift in vowel-harmonic class			
	'woman'	*yɛ̌:*	*yàwó:*
	'cow'	*nɛ̌:*	*nàwó:*
	'opposite-sex sibling'	*ùbùlŋgɛ́:*	*ùbùlŋgàwó:* (Pl also *ùbùlŋgà-mbó*)
	'slave' (variant Pl)	*gùndɛ́*	*gùndàwó:*
b. *a:↔awo:*			
	'able-bodied man'	*èndwǎ:*	*òndàwó:*

Two of the three nouns with *i↔u* (xx5.a) denote juvenile livestock animals. The other livestock animal (*pègɛ́* 'sheep') has a juvenile term *pègè èndê:*, plural *pègè-mbò òndô:*, clearly ending in *èndê:* 'child' or its plural *òndô:* 'child'. It is probably ill-advised to try to derive the forms for 'goat kid' and 'calf' directly

from a similar compound containing *èndê:*, but if we compare these two nouns with *ínà:* 'goats' and *nĕ:* 'cow' (plural *nàwó:*), we can isolate endings *-jî:* and *-mbî:* that arguably contain a diminutive *-î:*. There is no specifically diminutive sense in *tàgî:* 'shoe' (xx5.b), but one cannot rule out a diminutive origin.

(xx4)	gloss	singular	plural
	a. *i*↔*u*, juvenile animals		
	'goat kid'	*nà:jî:*	*nà:jû:*
	'calf'	*nà:mbî:*	*nà:mbû:*
	b. i↔*u*, other		
	'shoe'	*tàgî:*	*tàgû:*

4.1.3 Suffixing noun stems with final *-ŋgo*/*-go,* -*ŋge*, or *-mbo*

Most nouns that do not distinguish singular from plural by mutations of the final vowel have either a **singular suffix** (and an unmarked plural/collective), or a **plural suffix** (and an unmarked singular). For nouns that make no morphological singular/plural distinction, see §4.xxx, below.

The suffixes *-ŋgo*/*-go,* -*ŋge*, and *-mbo* induce modifications of stem-final vowels in many stems. These reductions take the form of shortening of long vowels, raising /e/ to *i*, rounding and backing /i/ to *u*, and lowering /ɛ/ to *a*.

4.1.3.1 Nouns *kóŋgò* 'thing', *bómbò* 'critters', *kéŋgé* 'place', *íŋgé* 'water'

The details of the historical relationship between O/E-class inanimate singular *-ŋgo* (*-go*) and the noun *kóŋgò* **'thing'** (usual plural *yèpà:bé*) cannot be worked out by internal reconstruction alone. Presumably either *kóŋgò* contains (now frozen) singular *-ŋgo, or else singular *-ŋgo* is a reduced form of an older classifier based on the noun for 'thing'. Note that singular *kó* and plural *yé* occur as inanimate demonstratives and as definite morphemes.

Although the usual plural of *kóŋgò* 'thing' is suppletive *yèpà:bé* 'things', when *kóŋgò* denotes an unspecified living thing (synonym in this case: *yê:*) it has a distinct plural *bómbò* 'critters', used to denote unidentified living things of any size. For example, the general term for snake is singular *kòŋgò jàlá-ŋgò* (literally "long thing," perhaps originally a taboo euphemism), and plural *bòmbo jàlá-mbó*. The relationship of *bómbò* to animate plural *-mbo* is like that

of *kóŋgò* ‘thing’ to singular *-ŋgo*, but raises the same chicken-and-egg historical linguistic issue.

The historical relationship between E/E-class inanimate singular *-ŋge* and the noun *kéŋgé* ‘place’ (plural same as singular) may very well have been of the same nature, since it includes many terms for topographic and other places. Compare also adverbial *kên* ‘there’. However, the E/E-class also includes nouns denoting liquids, where the relevant prototypical noun is *íŋgé* ‘water’. Therefore the suffix *-ŋge* may have been (separately) connected with more than one prototypical noun.

4.1.3.2 Segmental (nontonal) phonology of nouns with singular *-ŋgo*

A fairly large number of nouns denoting inanimates have **singular suffix** *-ŋgo* (the tone is spread from the final tone of the preceding stem) and an **unmarked plural or collective**. **Physical objects or forces**, along with **body parts** (of humans, plants, etc.), are especially well-represented, some glosses being: ‘ball’, ‘mortar (for pounding)’, ‘waterjar’, ‘star’, ‘mud brick’, ‘bottle’, ‘food’, ‘animal’, ‘oil’, ‘millet’, ‘salt’, ‘baggage/gear’, ‘ladder’, ‘egg’, ‘seedstock’, ‘fritters’, ‘cow-peas’, ‘cloth’, ‘gum arabic’, ‘egg’, ‘beard’, ‘hip’, stem’, ‘leaf’, ‘grain’, ‘sorghum’, ‘charcoal’, ‘froth’, ‘ashes’, ‘iron/metal’, and ‘wind’. Some nouns, however, are more abstract, e.g. ‘war’, ‘applause’, ‘fart’, ‘marriage’.

In somewhat over 50% of these stems, there is **no phonological change to the stem**. Some examples are in (xx1). Many of the stems shown have phonological shapes that would have allowed stem-final vowel modifications. Note especially thae final long vowels in (xx1.a) and the final {*e o*} vowels in (xx1.b).

(xx1)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘gizzard’	*kèkê:*	*kèkê:-ŋgò*
	‘hip’	*tínì:*	*tínì:-ŋgò*
	‘pack (of cigarettes)’	*pákè:*	*pákè:-ŋgò*
	‘gum (resin)’	*ɲâ:*	*ɲâ:-ŋgò*
	‘firewood’	*té:*	*té:-ŋgó*
	‘grain’	*sê:*	*sê:-ŋgò*
b.	‘crest (of rooster)’	*dómbélé*	*dómbélé-ŋgó*
	‘ball’	*dóndòlò*	*dóndòlò-ŋgò*
	‘squash’	*góné*	*góné-ŋgó*
c.	‘bone’	*kìná*	*kìná-ŋgó*

‘hair, feather’	*kùlɛ́*	*kùlɛ́-ŋgó*
‘fontanel’	*bɔ́nɛ̀*	*bɔ́nɛ̀-ŋgò*
‘chaff’	*ɔ̀yɛ́*	*ɔ̀yɛ́-ŋgó*
‘peanut’	*élé*	*élé-ŋgó*
‘chain’	*sɛ́ŋɛ́lɛ́*	*sɛ́ŋɛ́lɛ́-ŋgó*
‘potash’	*énɛ̀*	*énɛ̀-ŋgò*

For some stems that do show a change in the stem before the suffix, the final long vowel is **shortened** with no further change. All examples in my lexicon of final-vowel shortening with no other modification are in (xx2).

(xx2)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘bark fiber’	*bá:jí:*	*bá:jí-ŋgó*
b.	‘swelling’	*àmìyɛ̂:*	*àmìyɛ́-ŋgò*
	‘animal’	*dúmɛ́:, dúmɔ́:*	*dúmɛ́-ŋgó*
	‘food’	*kwɛ̂:*	*kwɛ́-ŋgò*
	‘supper’	*ɲɛ̀nɛ̂:*	*ɲɛ̀nɛ́-ŋgò*

A final vowel may be **raised** from /e/ to *i* or *u* (xx3.a-b), or **lowered** from /ɛ/ to *a* (xx3.c). All uncompounded examples are shown, along with a few compounds.

(xx3)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a. /e/ > *i*			
	‘applause’	*pómbè*	*pómbì-ŋgò*
	‘papaya’	*mánjé*	*mánjí-ŋgó*
	‘stray crop plant’	*tèbé*	*tèbí-ŋgó*
	‘tinder’	*dámbè*	*dámbì-ŋgò*
	‘thing tilted to one side’	*bàmbé*	*bàmbí-ŋgó*
b. /e/ > *u*			
	‘fritters’	*tónjè*	*tónjù-ŋgò*
	‘roselle’	*ánjè*	*ánjù-ŋgò*
	‘cow-peas’	*númbé*	*númbú-ŋgó*
	‘husked grain spike’	*kìjé*	*kìjú-ŋgò*
	‘mashed Sclerocarya seeds’	*énjé*	*énjú-ŋgó*
	‘rags’	*sògòjé*	*sògòjú-ŋgó*
	‘gum arabic’	*àrbàkàndé*	*àrbàkàndú-ŋgó*
	‘blinders’	*gìrè-yàmbé*	*gìrè-[yàmbú-ŋgó]*

c. /ɛ/ > *a*

‘bier’	*pándɛ́*	*pándá-ŋgó*
‘clove’	*pètíŋɛ́*	*pètíŋá-ŋgó*
‘bracelet’	*nùmà-sàgɛ́*	*nùmà-[sàgá-ŋgó]*
‘sorghum bundle’	*èmbà-tágɛ̀*	*èmbà-[tágà-ŋgò]*

Both **shortening and raising** (/e: / > *i*) occur in (xx4).

(xx4)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
	‘mosquito net’	*sáŋgé:*	*sáŋgí-ŋgó*

In a large number of examples, the stem-final vowel is **deleted** (syncopated). Elsewhere in Najamba morphophonology, for example in the chaining form of verbs (§xxx), a stem-final **short high vowel** is deleted **after an unclustered sonorant**. There is good reason to extend this analysis to these nominal alternations. Few stems that take singular *-ŋgo* end in a short high vowel in the unsuffixed form, since most stems with final u are of the mutating rather than suffixing type. However, in ‘citrus’ we have final /u/ that syncopates as expected (xx5.a). Therefore, when in a much larger number of examples a stem-final /e/ is deleted (xx5.b), I assume that it is **first raised to a high vowel**, and then undergoes Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (§3.xxx). Deletion of the final vowel is not usual in the case of /ɛ/, which is either retained without change as in (xx1.c) and (xx2.b), above, or in a few cases lowered to *a* as in (xx3.c), above. However, in two nouns a final /ɛ/ does delete (xx5.c).

(xx5)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	‘citrus’	*lèmbúrù*	*lèmbûr-ŋgò*
	b.	‘wood chips’	*tè:-kòmìlé*	*tè:-kòmĭl-ŋgó*
		‘roselle plant’	*dòné*	*dŏn-gó*
		‘baggage’	*gòné*	*gŏn-gó*
		‘waterjar’	*gòné*	*gŏn-gó*
		‘wood chips’	*tè:-kòmìlé*	*tè:-kòmĭl-ŋgó*
		‘round object’	*déndèlè*	*déndèl-ŋgò*
		‘small woven prayer mat’	*kùnà-déŋgélé*	*kùnà-[déŋgél-ŋgó]*
		‘vein; root’	*wòlé*	*wŏl-ŋgó*
		‘hard seed’	*kélé*	*kél-ŋgó*
		‘sesame’	*pă:lè*	*pă:l-ŋgò*
		‘tamarind seed’	*à:lé*	*ă:l-ŋgó*

	‘intact whole’	*kúndúlé*	*kúndúl-ŋgó*
	‘dry outer bark’	*kòmìlé*	*kòmĭl-ŋgó*
	‘shell (of pod)’	*kògòlé*	*kògŭl-ŋgó*
	‘egg’	*pòlé*	*pŏl-ŋgó*
		(contrast *pòlé*, Pl *pŏl-mbó* ‘knife’)	
c.	‘salt’	*nɛ̀mɛ́*	*nɛ̆m-gó*
	‘object w. flattened sides’	*pɔ̀mbìrɛ́*	*pɔ̀mbŭr-ŋgó*

In (xx6), the final vowel has **first been shortened, then deleted** (as a high vowel after an unclustered sonorant). In (xx6.a), its falling tone has been redistributed over the preceding and following (suffixal) syllables where necessary.

(xx6)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘purchase’	*dòn-î:*	*dŏn-gò*
	‘clitoris’	*kèkérî:*	*kèkér-ŋgò*
	‘gallbladder’	*gágàlî:*	*gágăl-ŋgò*
b.	‘mortar’	*túní:*	*tún-gó*
	‘ladder’	*bíní:*	*bín-gó*
	‘sale’	*tùlî:*	*tŭl-ŋgò*

Three nouns show a **shift in vowel-harmonic class** from {*ɛ ɔ*} in the plural/collective to {*e o*} in the singular (xx7). One could argue that the unsuffixed plural/collective shows the lexical vowel-harmonic set, and that the o-vowel of the singular suffix has (idiosyncratically) affected stem-vocalism in these nouns. However, the alternation is not productive, and many other nouns illustrated above show {*ɛ o*} stem vowels before singular *-ŋgo*.

(xx7)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘cloth’	*swɛ̆:*	*sò-ŋgó*
	‘marriage’	*èyɛ̆:* ~ *ɛ̆:*	*èyà-ŋgó*
		[cf. verb *éyɛ́* ‘bride move to husband’s house’)]	
b.	‘iron’	*ínɛ́:*	*ínó-ŋgó*

In (xx8.a), the phonological issue is the disappearance of the medial *g* of the stem before *-ŋgó*. One would expect #*nègv́-ŋgó* and #*yógv́-ŋgó*, with some

vowel *v* (either the unaltered lexical *e*, or a high vowel). There is no general intervocalic *g*-Deletion rule, as seen in (xx8.b).

(xx8)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'oil'	*nègé*	*nĕ-ŋgó*
		'millet'	*yógé*	*yó-ŋgó*
	b.	'bracelet'	*nùmà-sàgɛ́*	*nùmà-*[*sàgá-ŋgó]*
		'sorghum bundle'	*èmbà-tágɛ̀*	*èmbà-*[*tágà-ŋgò]*

The examples in (xx8.a) are, I think, best analysed in terms of raising of stem-final /e/ to a high vowel (let's say /i/), followed by a **syncope** process similar to Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (§xxx), but this time after a voiced stop. This particular type of syncope (not formalized as a phonological rule in this grammar because of its limited productivity) is favored by the homorganic relationship between the intervocalic *g* of the stem and the *ŋg* of the suffix. Therefore the suggested derivation is of the type /nègé-ŋgó/ > /nègí-ŋgó/ > /nĕg-ŋgó/ (syncope) > *nĕ-ŋgó* (simplification of unpronounceable /gŋg/ to *ŋg*).

The remaining set of segmental alternations leads us into the tricky area of vowel/semivowel relationships; see §3.xxx. The relevant forms that involve singular suffix *-ŋgo* are in (xx9).

(xx9)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'plain millet cakes'	*mànà àyé*	*mànà ă-ŋgó*
		'small gourd'	*bàyé*	*bă:-ŋgó*
		'rifle cock'	*tàyê:*	*tă:-ŋgò*
	b.	'seedstock'	*twẽ:*	*tŏy-ŋgò*
	c.	'baby-carrying cloth'	*pŏyyè* (Pl variant *pòî:*)	*pŏy-ŋgò*

In (xx9.a), a semivowel /y/ is present in the unsuffixed plural/collective but disappears before Singular *-ŋgo*. There is no real support elsewhere in the language for an intervocalic *y*-Deletion rule that would apply only in the singular. Another idea would be raising and syncope of the stem-final /e/ followed by a consonant-cluster simplification, but there is nothing wrong with /yŋg/ as a cluster in a language that does not delete other non-nasal sonorants {*l r*} before the same *-ŋgo* suffix, and that has frozen forms like *jăy-ŋgò* (cognate nominal of verb *jăy* 'sow seeds in a pit with some manure'). On the

whole, I incline to think of the /y/ in (xx9.a) as epenthetic, separating *a* from *e*. The immediate source for the plural/collective forms would be /àⁿé/, /bàé/, and /tàéè/ in this interpretation. However, designing suitable lexical representations that would correctly produce both the singular and plural forms is challenging. First, we would have to allow (raising and) deletion of the final /e/ before *-ŋgo* in a manner not yet accounted for. Second, having gotten rid of the final /*e*/ before *-ŋgo*, we would have to account for the long *a:* vowels in 'small gourd' and 'rifle cock' versus the short vowel in 'plain millet cakes'. This is just a murky nook in the morphophonology for which no simple solution is possible.

In (xx9.b), the relationship between *twɛ̌:* and *tǒy-ŋgò* revolves around competition of the back rounded element and the front unrounded element for status as syllabic nucleus. Taking the lexical form as /*tòéè*/, in the unsuffixed form the *e*-vowels are well-positioned for this purpose, and the /*o*/ ends up as a nonsyllabic glide. In the singular, if the final /e/ is chopped off by some process or other, the resulting /tòé-ŋgò/ could allow the first /o/ to become syllabic nucleus, reducing the /e/ to nonsyllabic status.

In (xx9.c), the relationship of *pǒyyè* to *pǒy-ŋgò* is probably best handled by raising and syncopating the final /e/. The reduction of /yyŋg/ to *yŋg* would be routine.

4.1.3.3 Tonology of nouns with singular *-ŋgo*

We now turn to the **tonology** of the singular/plural alternations involving Singular suffix *-ŋgo*. First up are those cases where a stem-final vowel is **not syncopated** to zero before the suffix (xx1). If the stem is all-high toned, this is simply carried over to the suffix (xx1.a). If the stem has more than one tone element, but has a final vowel with a simple high or low tone, this too may be carried over (xx1.b-c). However, there are a few nouns, mostly involving shortening of the final vowel, that divide a falling tone into a high component on the short stem-final vowel, and a low component realized on the suffix (xx1.d).

(xx1)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'bark fiber'	*bá:jí:*	*bá:jí-ŋgó*
		'mortar'	*túŋ-gó*	*túní:*
	b.	'applause'	*pómbè*	*pómbì-ŋgò*
		'tinder'	*dámbè*	*dámbì-ŋgò*
	c.	'stray crop plant'	*tèbé*	*tèbí-ŋgó*

	‘husked grain spike’	*kìjé*	*kìjú-ŋgò*
	‘corn’	*màdèmbá*	*màdèmbá-ŋgó*
	‘fonio’	*pɔ̀ŋɛ́*	*pɔ̀ŋɛ́-ŋgó*
	‘sorghum’	*èmbá*	*èmbá-ŋgó*
	‘stem’	*sìmbá*	*sìmbá-ŋgó*
	‘leaf’	*kòmbá*	*kòmbá-ŋgó*
	‘baobab seed’	*kùmbɛ̀rɛ́*	*kùmbɛ̀rɛ́-ŋgó*
	‘chaff’	*ɔ̀yɛ́*	*ɔ̀yɛ́-ŋgó*
d.	‘fart’	*gìyɛ́*	*gìyɛ̀-ŋgó*
	‘cloth’	*swɛ̌:*	*sò-ŋgó*
	‘marriage’	*èyɛ̌:* ~ *ɛ̌:*	*èyà-ŋgó*

If the unsuffixed stem ends in a syllable with a contour tone, the final tone element spreads to the suffix. If the stem-final syllable is not reduced, it retains its tone before the suffix (xx2.a-c).

(xx2)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘beard’	*bɛ̂:*	*bɛ̂:-ŋgò*
	‘animal fat’	*sî:*	*sî:-ŋgò*
	‘gum (resin)’	*ɲâ:*	*ɲâ:-ŋgò*
	‘sapling’	*ùrî:*	*ùrî:-ŋgò*
	‘grain’	*sê:*	*sê:-ŋgò*
	‘gizzard’	*kɛ̀kɛ̂:*	*kɛ̀kɛ̂:-ŋgò*
	‘canister’	*bìdɔ̂:^{n}*	*bìdɔ̂:-ŋgò*
	‘sweet potato’	*màsàkû:*	*màsàkû:-ŋgò*
b.	‘papaya’	*pàpây*	*pàpây-ŋgó*
	‘mud brick’	*tèmbên*	*tèmbên-gò*
	‘bottle’	*bùtêl*	*bùtêl-ŋgò*
c.	‘rope’	*sǐ:*	*sǐ:-ŋgó*
	‘ashes’	*dɔ̀dɛ̌:*	*dɔ̀dɛ̌:-ŋgó*
d.	‘(male) elegance’	*dwǎ:n*	*dwǎ:n-gó*
	‘(female) elegance’	*gùlǎn*	*gùlǎn-gó*
	‘flower’	pùnɛ̌n	*pùnɛ̌n-go*

In some nouns, a stem-final long vowel with **falling** (i.e. <HL>) tone is **reduced to a short vowel** before singular *-ŋgo*. In this case, the tone components are separated, the high component being realized on the shortened

stem-final vowel, while the low component is realized on the suffix (xx3.a). Similarly, an <LHL> tone is divided into <LH> (rising) on the stem-final and L on the suffix (xx3.b).

(xx3)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'swelling'	*àmìyê:*	*àmìyé-ŋgò*
		'food'	*kwê:*	*kwé-ŋgò*
		'supper'	*ɲɛ̀nê:*	*ɲɛ̀né-ŋgò*
	b.	'slingshot'	*nì:-tɛ̃:*	*nì:-tɛ̌:-ŋgò*

In (xx4), the stem-final vowel that is reduced before singular suffix *-ŋgo* has **rising** (<LH>) tone in the unsuffixed plural/collective. Again, the contour tone is divided into two parts, the L being realized on the shortened stem-final vowel while the H is realized on the suffix.

(xx4)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
	'cloth'	*swɛ̌:*	*sò-ŋgó*
	'marriage'	*èyɛ̌:* ~ *ɛ̌:*	*èyà-ŋgó*

If a stem-final vowel is **deleted** (syncopated) before *-ŋgo*, its tone may be relocated to the left (in addition to the final tone component spreading to the suffix). Syncope generally occurs after an unclustered sonorant, the few other cases (if they involve syncope at all) being after a /g/ that is (then) itself deleted before *-ŋgo*. The effect is that the post-syncope stem-final syllable always ends in a sonorant consonant, and is therefore easily capable of expressing a contour tone. As usual, if the stem is all-high toned, this high tone is simply extended to the suffix (xx5.a). If the deleted vowel is low-toned and the preceding syllabic is high-toned, my only example being 'citrus' (Bambara loanword), we get a falling tone on the stem-final in addition to a low tone on the suffix. Parallel to this, and in a much larger number of examples, if the deleted stem-final vowel is high-toned and follows a low tone on the preceding syllable, we end up with rising tone on the stem-final in addition to high tone on the suffix (xx5.c). However, in (xx5.d) *pă:lè* 'sesame' passes up the opportunity to keep all three tone components on the stem, and we get singular *pă:l-ŋgò* with <LH> first syllable, instead of #*pă:l-ŋgò* with <LHL> tone.

(xx5)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'mortar'	*túní:*	*tún-gó*

	‘millet’	*yó-ŋgó*	*yógé*
	‘intact whole’	*kúndúlé*	*kúndúl-ŋgó*
	‘mosquito net’	*sáŋgé:*	*sáŋgí-ŋgó*
	‘cow-peas’	*númbé*	*númbú-ŋgó*
b.	‘citrus’	*lèmbúrù*	*lèmbûr-ŋgò*
c.	‘baggage’	*gòné*	*gŏn-gó*
	‘egg’	*pòlé*	*pŏl-ŋgó*
	‘shell (of pod)’	*kògòlé*	*kògŭl-ŋgó*
	‘vein; root’	*wòlé*	*wŏl-ŋgó*
	‘waterjar’	*gòné*	*gŏn-gó*
	‘salt’	*nɛ̀mɛ́*	*nɛ̌m-gó*
	‘oil’	*nègé*	*nĕ-ŋgó*
	‘object with flattened sides’	*pɔ̀mbìrɛ́*	*pɔ̀mbŭr-ŋgó*
	‘shell (of pod)’	*kògòlé*	*kògŭl-ŋgó*
	‘dry outer bark’	*kòmìlé*	*kòmĭl-ŋgó*
	‘tamarind seed’	*à:lé*	*ă:l-ŋgó*
		(contrast *à:lé* ‘rain’)	
	‘egg’	*pòlé*	*pŏl-ŋgó*
		(contrast *pòlé*, plural *pŏl-mbó* ‘knife’)	
d.	‘sesame’	*pă:lè*	*pă:l-ŋgò*

In some cases, including a large set of instrumental nominals illustrated here by ‘bra’, the deleted stem-final segment is a **long vowel with a falling (<HL>) tone**, preceded by a low-toned syllable. The end result is a new stem-final ending in a sonorant, with rising tone, followed by a low-toned suffix (xx6.a-b). If the falling-toned stem-final long vowel is preceded instead by a high-toned syllable, my only example being ‘clitoris’ (xx6.c), the high component of <HL> simply merges inaudibly with the lexical high tone.

(xx6)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘lunch’	*kèndà-[tèg-î:]*	*kèndà-[tĕ-ŋgò]*
	‘sale’	*tŭl-ŋgò*	*tùlî:*
	‘bra’	*ònjù-*[*dŏŋ-gò]*	*ònjù-*[*dòŋ-î:]*
b.	‘gallbladder’	*gágăl-ŋgò*	*gágàlî:*
c.	‘clitoris’	*kèkér-ŋgò*	*kèkérî:*

4.1.3.4 Singular *-go*

Trivially, we get *-go* instead of *-ŋgo* after many stems that end (perhaps after syncope of a final vowel) in a nasal consonant.

(xx1)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'male elegance'	*dwă:n*	*dwă:n-gó*
		'purchase'	*dòn-î:*	*dŏn-gò*
	b.	'salt'	*nèmɛ́*	*nɛ̌m-gó*
	c.	'okra'	*gɔ́ŋ*	*gɔ́ŋ-gó*

In cases like these, I favor taking the suffix to be /-ŋgo/, which may lose its initial nasal when clustered with a preceding nasal. This is because *-ŋgo* is much more common than *-go* in environments where the two can be distinguished.

However, there are a number of cases of *-go* instead of *-ŋgo* after a vowel, where there is no reason to suppose that a nasal has been deleted. The full set of examples is given in (xx2). Note that the preceding vowel is always *a* or (in one case) *ɛ*.

(xx2)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	'foot'	*nă:*	*nà:-gó*
		'tongs'	*ɛ̌:*	*ɛ̌:-gò*
	b.	'cotton'	*sáyè*	*sá-gò*
		'branch'	*ăyè*	*ă:-gò*
		'stick'	*băyè*	*bă:-gò*
		'torch'	*sàyé*	*sà:-gó*

The two nouns in (xx2) diverge in the tonal treatment of the singular, which has a low-toned stem in 'foot' but a rising-toned stem in 'tongs'.

The nouns in (xx2.b) have a *y* between *a* and *e* in the plural collective, versus a simple a-vowel (short in 'cotton', long in the other cases). The phonology of these nouns should be compared to counterparts with suffix *-ŋgo*, see (xx9.a) in §4.1.2.xxx, above. Again, the options are to include *y* in the lexical representation and get rid of it in the singular by some form of *y*-Deletion, or to take the *y* in the plural/collective as an epenthetic element separating *a* from *e*.

4.1.3.5 Cases of frozen *-ŋgo and *-go

By "frozen" singular suffix, I mean that either no plural can be elicited ('sun' with unique referent), or that the plural is based on the entire singular stem (with a final-vowel mutation). In either case, there is no evidence available to the language learner from paradigmatic alternations to indicate segmentability, and (for those with a plural) concrete paradigmatic evidence that there is no segmentability. All known examples are in (xx1), with comments about related forms.

(xx1)	gloss	form	comment or related form
	'hunger'	*gà:gó*	Pl *gà:gé* ; Jamsay *jɛ̌:*, Nanga *gìyɛ́*
	'cold (weather)'	*gògó*	Pl *gògé* ; Nanga etc. *gɔ̀yɔ́*
	'sun'	*ùjúŋgó*	unique referent; Ben Tey etc. *ùsú*
	'weeping'	*ɲàŋgó*	Pl *ɲàŋgé* ; with verb: *ɲàŋgó ɲɛ́* 'weep'

In addition, high-toned *-ŋgó* or *-gó* is used (in a more transparently segmentable fashion) as derivational suffixes producing abstractive nominals from nominal or (more often) adjectival stems (§4.2.2.3). *-ŋgo* or *-go* is also found in some cognate nominals derived from verbs (§xxx).

4.1.3.6 Segmental and tonal phonology of nouns with singular *-ŋge*

-ŋge is less common than *-ŋgo*. Nouns ending in *-ŋge* have E/E type agreement with adjectives (e.g. *nálɛ́:* 'good' for both singular and plural noun), and it is clear that *-ŋge* and *-ŋgo* are identical except for agreement class. This leads us to expect that the phonology of *-ŋge* will match that of *-ŋgo*. This expectation is verified for the most part. Therefore the data will be presented here with only brief commentary; see §4.1.2.xxx for more detailed commentary on similar phonological patterns for *-ŋgo*.

The **tone of the suffix** is spread from the final tone of the preceding stem. The noun undergoes no segmental change between unsuffixed plural/collective and suffixed singular in most cases; a few typical examples are in (xx1a). (xx1.b) is a complete list of relevant nouns that end in *e* after an unclustered sonorant, i.e. in an environment where raising to a high vowel and then deleting the stem-final vowel would not have been difficult, but where the *e* survives unscathed before *-ŋge*.

(xx1)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	‘back (body)’	*bàndí*	*bàndí-ŋgé*
		‘side of face’	*tégèlè:*	*tégèlè:-ŋgè*
		‘blood’	*gĕn*	*gĕn-gé*
		‘chest (body)’	*pélè*	*pélè-ŋgè*
		‘street outside’	*pèmbĕ:*	*pèmbĕ:-ŋgé*
	b.	‘pit (hole)’	*dúlé*	*dúlé-ŋgé*
		‘shallow hole’	*tòŋgèré*	*tòŋgèré-ŋgé*
		‘termite mound’	*kèlbè-dúlè*	*kèlbè-dúlè-ŋgè*

Shortening of a stem-final long vowel with no other change was observed in (xx2.a). **Raising** of /e/ to *i* occurred in one instance (xx2.b). **Deletion** of a high vowel, or of /e/ (presumably after it is raised to a high vowel) occurs in (xx2.c). Deletion of a long /e:/ (presumably after shortening and raising) is seen in (xx2.d). All known examples of these patterns are presented here.

(xx2)		gloss	plural/collective	singular
	a.	‘thickening into syrup’	*dá:nì:*	*dá:nì-ŋgè*
		‘forehead’	*géndè:*	*géndè-ŋgè*
		‘knee’	*nà:-kínjì:*	*nà:-kínjì-ŋgè*
	b.	‘green sauce’	*níŋgé*	*níŋgí-ŋgé*
	c.	‘residue of liquid’	*tègèlè-tégèlè*	*tègèlè-tégèl-ŋgè*
		‘pounding area’	*sè:-dúnì*	*sè:-dûn-gè*
		‘high spot near depression’	*yélé*	*yél-ŋgé*
	d.	‘hole at base of house’	*dòlé:*	*dŏl-ŋgé*

The **tonology** is generally straightforward, following the same lines as for *-ŋgo*. I know of no cases where a noun with {LH} contour shifts the H entirely onto the suffix *-ŋge*, parallel to *sò-ŋgó* ‘cloth’, *èyà-ŋgó* ‘marriage’, and *nà:-gó* ‘foot’. However, there is one frozen case of this type, *gèndèŋgé* ‘side, end (e.g. of blanket)’, for which no plural was elicitable; cf. postposition *gèndè* ‘around’ (§8.2.9).

The other frozen example known to me is *úméŋgé* (note the break in vowel-harmonic pattern from *ɛ* to *e*), which is attested only in the temporal adverbial PP *úméŋgé má* ‘early’.

One may ask whether there are any examples of singular *-gé* without the nasal, parallel to nouns with singular *-go* instead of *-ŋgo*. There is a suffix *-gé*, but it functions as an abstractive derivational suffix (building derived nouns from nominal and adjectival stems), rather than as a simple singular suffix; see §4.2.2.xxx.

4.1.3.7 Segmental phonology of nouns with plural *-mbo*

Nouns that take *-mbo* are (grammatically) animate, and have an unsuffixed singular. The set of nouns that takes *-mbo* is (therefore) disjoint from the sets of inanimate nouns that take singular suffix *-ŋgo*, *-go*, or *-ŋge*.

In (xx1), the stem undergoes no segmental or tonal change when *-mbo* is added. This is the case with about 75% of attested stems that take this suffix.

(xx1)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	'elder'	*kúlmá*	*kúlmá-mbó*
		'holy man'	*àlfâ:*	*àlfâ:-mbò*
		'mendicant pupil'	*gàrí:bù*	*gàrí:bù-mbò*
	b.	'cat'	*gáŋà*	*gáŋà-mbò*
		'horse' (variant)	*bǎn*	*bǎn-bó*
	c.	'trimming ax'	*kɔ̀rɔ̂:*	*kɔ̀rɔ̂:-mbò*
		'ceremonial rifle'	*màlfà-bùgá*	*màlfà-bùgá-mbó*
		'simple awl'	*sílbàl*	*sílbàl-mbò*

As with the singular suffixes, various reductions and shifts of stem-final vowels are observed. The following data, which include all examples from my lexicon as of May 2008, are presented in an order that facilitates comparison with the phonological analyses of the singular suffixes (see especially §4.1.2.2).

Shortening of a stem-final long vowel, with no other segmental change, is observed in (xx2).

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
	'father's sister'	*sèjí:*	*sèjí-mbó*
	'great-grandchild'	*jèŋgíyè:*	*jèŋgíyè-mbò*
	'elder same-sex sibling'	*dèlǎ:*	*dèlà-mbó*
	'person'	*nǒ:*	*nò-mbó*
	'visitor'	*bèmbǎ:*	*bèmbà-mbó*

‘owner, master’	*dòmbă:*	*dòmbà-mbó*
‘younger same-sex sibling’	*ɔ̀jɔ̌:*	*ɔ̀jɔ̀-mbó*
‘husband’	*nɔ̀gɔ̌:*	*nɔ̀gɔ̀-mbó*

A final mid-height vowel is **raised** from /e/ to *u* systematically in human **agentives**, many of which also include a compound initial (§4.xxx, §5.xxx). Example: *dùmɔ̀:-hàybé* ‘livestock custodian’, plural *dùmɔ̀:-*[*hàybú-mbó]*. In addition to this morphologically specialized type, a few other nouns show raising from /e/ to *i* (xx3.a) or to *u* (xx3.b). There are no nouns that lower final /ɛ/ to *a* before *-mbo*.

(xx3)	gloss	singular	plural
	‘folding knife’	*sìlbé*	*sìlbí-mbó*
	‘woman after childbirth’	*yàygé*	*yàygí-mbó*
b.	‘widow’	*yà-pàndé*	*yà-pàndú-mbó*
	‘rag as head cushion’	*dòŋé*	*dòŋú-mbó*
	‘lover, concubine’	*gòjé*	*gòjú-mbó*
	‘lazy person’	*gòlònjé*	*gòlònjú-mbó*
	‘month, moon’	*sà:gé*	*sà:gú-mbó*
	‘long straight knife’	*pòlè-gàŋgé*	*pòlè-gàŋgú-mbó*
	‘grindstone’	*nùŋgé*	*nùŋgú-mbó*
	‘mother’s brother’	*nèjĭ:*	*nèjù-mbó*
	‘stepmother’	*mòjĭ:*	*mòjù-mbó*

In a fairly large number of nouns, a final short vowel is **deleted**. This is possible when the vowel in question is preceded by an unclustered intervocalic sonorant (nasal, liquid, semivowel). The vowel is usually high {*u i*} or upper mid-height {*e o*}, but sometimes {*ɛ ɔ*} and in one case even *a*. This makes it more difficult for plural *-mbo* than for singular *-ŋgo* and *-ŋgo* to argue for an initial raising to a high vowel, then deletion of the high vowel. The data in (xx4) are organized by vowel quality (in the singular), from high to low.

(xx3)	gloss	singular	plural
a. {*u i*}			
	‘imam’	*àlmá:mù*	*àlmâ:m-mbò*
	‘imam’s respondent’	*àlmú:jìnì*	*àlmú:jìn-bò*
	‘reed flute’	*bòbírì*	*bòbîr-mbò*
	‘plow’	*jálòsárì*	*jálòsâr-mbò*

b. {*e o*}

‘horse’ (variant)	*bàné*	*bà-mbó*
‘genie’	*gínè*	*gîn-bò*
‘rifle mechanism’	*gă:lè*	*gă:l-mbò*
‘metal hook’	*tòndòmbèlé*	*tòndòmběl-mbó*
‘orphan’	*àjàbàlé*	*àjàbăl-mbó*
‘friend (same-sex)’	*nàlé*	*nàl-mbó*
‘statuette’	*dě:rè*	*dě:r-mbò*
‘woman who has given birth’	*yáyè*	*yây-mbò*
‘senior twin’	*pàyé*	*păy-mbó*
‘chicken’	*kórò*	*kôr-mbò*

c. {*ɛ ɔ*}

‘older of two young children’	*èndè: nèbèndɛ́*	*òndò: nèbèndɛ́-mbó*
‘Tengou (ethnicity)’	*tèŋílɛ̀*	*tèŋûl-mbò*
‘circumcision loincloth’	*yàbà-dɔ́ndɔ́lɔ́*	*yàbà-dɔ́ndɔ́l-mbó*

d. {a}

‘sick person’	*să:mà*	*să:m-bò*

In (xx4), a long high vowel is deleted. Presumably it is first shortened as in (xx2), then the short vowel is deleted as in (xx3).

(xx4)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘unmarried person’	*kùmî:*	*kŭm-bò*
	‘tomtom’	*bònî:*	*bŏ-mbò* ~ *bŏn-bò*
b.	‘stone’	*kìnû:*	*kĭn-bò*

When *-mbo* follows a noun ending in …*bv* or …*mv* ("*v*" is any short vowel), the labial is optionally deleted (intervocalically), with subsequent contraction of the two adjacent vowels into a long. This labial deletion is favored by the **homorganic labial** *mb* of the suffix.

(xx5)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘camel’	*ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̀mɛ́*	*ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̌:-mbó*
	‘pointed implement’	*kɛ̀mɛ́*	*kɛ̌:-mbó*
	‘fetish’	*mɔ̀mɛ́*	*mɔ̀mɛ́-mbó* ~ *mɔ̌:-mbó*
	‘sieve’	*témɛ̀*	*témɛ̀-mbò* ~ *tɛ̂:-mbò*

b. ‘pants’ *yábà* *yábà-mbò* ~ *yâ:-mbò*

A modification of the vowel-quality of the vowel in a medial syllable is attested (xx6) but uncommon. For the plural of ‘traditional chief’, a suitable derivation is /òbèlé-mbó/ > /òbèlú-mbó/ (raising) > *òbŭl-mbó* (syncope with simultaneous tone relocation and idiosyncratic shift of the features of the deleted /u/ to the preceding syllable).

(xx6)	gloss	singular	plural
	‘traditional chief’	*òbèlé*	*òbŭl-mbó*

4.1.3.8 Tonology of nouns with plural *-mbo*

Like singular *-ŋgo* and *-ŋgɐ*, plural *-mbo* gets its tone by spreading from the left. This can be seen in the examples through the preceding section. In most cases, there is no change in the tones of the stem when the suffix *-mbo* is added.

However, when the stem-final vowel is deleted, if its tone diverges from that of the preceding syllable, there is an issue as to how the tone is relocated.

In (xx1), a stem-final low vowel that is deleted following a high-toned syllable results in a falling tone (xx1.a). Conversely, a stem-final high vowel that is deleted following a low-toned syllable may result in a rising tone (xx1.b).

(xx1)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	‘imam’	*àlmá:mù*	*àlmâ:m-mbò*
		‘imam’s respondent’	*àlmú:jìnì*	*àlmú:jìn-bò*
		‘reed flute’	*bòbírì*	*bòbîr-mbò*
		‘plow’	*jálòsárì*	*jálòsâr-mbò*
		‘woman who has given birth’	*yáyè*	*yây-mbò*
		‘chicken’	*kórò*	*kôr-mbò*
	b.	‘senior twin’	*pàyé*	*păy-mbó*
		‘metal hook’	*tòndòmbèlé*	*tòndòmbĕl-mbó*
		‘orphan’	*àjàbàlé*	*àjàbăl-mbó*

Before plural *-mbo*, when a stem-final long vowel with rising (<LH>) tone is shortened, the high-tone component is expressed on the suffix only (xx2.a.). There are also some cases where the same contour (high tone on suffix only) occurs in the absence of shortening (or deletion) of the stem-final vowel

(xx2.b). In (xx2.c), a deleted stem-final high vowel following a low-toned syllable likewise expresses its high tone only on the suffix; this contrasts with what we just saw in (xx1.b), above. If a deleted low-toned stem-final vowel follows a rising-toned syllable, instead of a <LHL> syllable, the rising-toned syllable remains constant in the plural, so the stem-final low tone is realized only on the suffix (xx2.d).

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	'person'	*nŏ:*	*nò-mbó*
	'elder same-sex sibling'	*dèlă:*	*dèlà-mbó*
	'visitor'	*bèmbă:*	*bèmbà-mbó*
	'grandfather'	*pòbă:*	*pòbà-mbó*
	'owner, master'	*dòmbă:*	*dòmbà-mbó*
	'younger same-sex sibling'	*ɔ̀jɔ̌:*	*ɔ̀jɔ̀-mbó*
	'husband'	*nɔ̀gɔ̌:*	*nɔ̀gɔ̀-mbó*
	'mother's brother'	*nèjǐ:*	*nèjù-mbó*
	'stepmother'	*mòjǐ:*	*mòjù-mbó*
b.	'cross-cousin'	*tǐ:*	*tì:-mbó*
	'bird'	*nǐ:*	*nì:-mbó*
	'entire tree' (<mother)	*nǐ:*	*nì:-mbó*
	'dog'	*ŋgwɛ̌:*	*ŋgwɛ̀:-mbó*
	'sores on inside of eyelid'	*gàndá*	*gàndà-mbó*
c.	'co-wife'	*ɲàlàlé*	*ɲàlàl-mbó*
	'horse' (variant)	*bàné*	*bà-mbó* (Pl also *băn-bó*)
d.	'rifle mechanism'	*gă:lè*	*gă:l-mbò*
	'statuette'	*dě:rè*	*dě:r-mbò*
	'mouse'	*ŏyè*	*ŏy-mbò*

4.1.4 Singular and plural of noun stems

First, there are some inanimate nouns that make **no morphological distinction between singular and plural**, although they denote countable entities and may take plural agreement like other nouns when they denote a nonsingular set, compare English *sheep* or *fish*. The examples known to me take E/E agreement (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	singular	plural
	Sg equals Pl, E/E-class inanimates		
	‘house’	*ólé*	*ólé*
	‘courtyard’	*bándá*	*bándá*
	‘field’	*yàlî:*	*yàlî:*
	‘well (water)’	*dăy*	*dăy*
	‘day’	*déŋán*	*déŋán*
	‘night’	*ɲám*	*ɲám*
	‘pocket’	*jíbà*	*jíbà*

Second, there are many nouns that have an **unmarked singular and a plural suffix** *-mbo* whose tone is copied from the final tone element of the stem (xx2). These are the “animate” nouns, including **true animates** (humans, animals) in (xx2.a), but also a number of **pseudo-animate nouns** that denote inanimate objects but have animate inflections and agreement. (xx2.b). A stem-final vowel is reduced or deleted before -mbo in some cases (xx2.b,d). The true animates and most of the pseudo-animates have E-agreement in the singular, and the plural suffix -mbo requires O-agreement. The noun ‘stone’ (xx2.e) fluctuates between E- and O-agreement in the singular.

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
	a. Pl *-mbo*, true animates (E/O)		
	‘dog’	*ŋ̀gwɛ̌:*	*ŋ̀gwɛ̀:-mbó*
	‘sheep’	*pègɛ́*	*pègɛ̀-mbó*
	‘cat’	*gáŋà*	*gáŋà-mbò*
	‘donkey’	*párŋgà*	*párŋgá-mbò*
	‘chief’	*kî:*	*kî:-mbò*
	‘white person’	*àndàsárá*	*àndàsárá-mbò*
	‘bird’	*nǐ:*	*nì:-mbó*
	‘uncle’	*néjì*	*néjì-mbò*
	c. Pl *-mbo*, true animates (E/O), with stem-final vowel reduced		
	‘person’	*nŏ:*	*nò-mbó*
	‘mouse’	*wɛ̌:* (/ɔ̀ê:/)	*ŏy-mbò*
	‘ant’	*mɛ̌:mɛ̀*	*mɛ̀̌:m-bò*
	c. Pl *-mbo*, pseudo-animates (inanimates treated like animates) (E/O)		
	‘knife’	*pòlé*	*pŏl-mbò*
	‘agama lizard’	*tìŋgá*	*tìŋgà-mbó*
	‘plow’	*jálàsárì*	*jálàsárì-mbò*

‘large ax’ *gúlâ:* *gúlâ:-mbò*

d. like (c), with stem-final vowel reduced (E/O)
‘tomtom’ *bònî:* *bŏn-bò*

e. like (c), with stem-final vowel reduced (E/O or O/O)
‘stone’ *kìnû:* *kĭn-bò*

Third, there are some inanimate nouns that have an **unmarked plural and a singular suffix** *-ŋgo* (*-go*), of variable tone (xx3.a). Some of them are best considered **collective nouns**, with an optional marked **individuative singular** (as e.g. in Arabic). There are a few cases with *-go* in phonological environments where *-ŋgo* would also have been possible (xx3.b). The final vowel of the stem is reduced in certain cases before *-ŋgo* (xx3.c). There are also a few nouns with singular *-ŋge* (*-ge*) (xxx.d). Plural agreement is E-type in all examples known to me. Singular agreement is predictable from the form of the singular suffix, *-ŋgo* requiring O-agreement and *-ŋge* requiring E-agreement.

(xx3)	gloss	singular	plural
a. Sg *-ŋgo* (*-go*), O/E class inanimates			
	‘stem’	*símbá-ŋgò*	*símbá*
	‘rope’	*sĭ:-ŋgó*	*sĭ:*
	‘fat(n)’	*sî:-ŋgò*	*sî:*
	‘grass’	*sɔ̆:mé-ŋgò*	*sɔ̆:mɛ̀*
	‘egg’	*pòlú-ŋgó*	*pòlé*
	‘bundle’	*sìbá-ŋgó*	*sìbá*
	‘sore on skin’	*péndɛ́-ŋgó*	*péndɛ́*
b. like (a), with *-go* instead of *-ŋgo*			
	‘foot’	*nà:-gó*	*nă:*
	‘stick’	*bă:-gò*	*bǎyè*
c. like (a), with final-stem-vowel reduction			
	‘millet’	*yó-ŋgó*	*yógé*
	‘jar’	*gŏn-gó*	*gònɛ́*
d. Sg *-ŋge*, E/E class inanimates			
	‘shed’	*gúlì:-ŋgè*	*gúlì:*

In the remaining productive patterns, segmentation of suffixes is more difficult. In (xx4) we see cases involving a **change in stem-final vocalism**; here the

stems are at least bisyllabic. Either a final back vowel in the singular becomes a front vowel in the plural (xx4.a), or the opposite (xx4.b-d). Usually the agreement pattern is consistent with the singular/plural vocalism, so that (xx4.a) has E/O agreement while (xx4.c) has O/E agreement. However, semantic factors override phonological shape in the domains associated with the E/E agreement class (liquids, built structures, horizontal topography, etc.).

(xx4)	gloss	Sg	Pl
a. final back vowel in Sg shifts to front vowel in Pl, animates (E/O)			
e > *a*			
	‘goat’	*ínè*	*ínà:*
e > *o*			
	‘child’	*èndê:*	*òndô:*
b. final back vowel in Sg shifts to front vowel in Pl, E/E class inanimates			
a > *ɛ*			
	‘granary’	*táŋà*	*táŋɛ̀*
ɔ > *ɛ*			
	‘village’	*sɔ̀njɔ̌:*	*sɔ̀njɛ̌:*
u > *e*			
	‘tree=top’	*dě:rù*	*dě:rè*
i > *u*			
	‘shoe’	*tàgî:*	*tàgû:*
c. final back vowel in Sg shifts to front vowel in Pl, O/E class inanimates			
a > *ɛ*			
	‘dance(n)’	*gìyâ:*	*gìyɛ̂:*
	‘hand’	*nùmă:*	*nùmɛ̆:*
ɔ > *ɛ*			
	‘tree’	*tímɔ̂:*	*tímɛ̂:*
	‘road’	*ùspɔ̌:*	*ùsɛ̀pɛ̌:*
o > *e*			
	‘fun’	*kèlà-mbó*	*kèlà-mbé*
	‘eye’	*jìró*	*jìré*
u > *i*			
	‘ear’	*súnù:*	*súnì:*
	‘walking’	*újù:*	*újì:*
	‘year’	*kènjû:*	*kènjî:* (cf. ‘pick-hoe’)
	‘pick-hoe’	*kènjû:*	*kènjî:* (cf. ‘year’)

‘mat’	*ká:bú*	*ká:bí*

d. final *u* in Sg shifts to *e* in Pl, O/E class inanimates

u > *e*

‘skin, hide’	*gùjú*	*gùjé*
‘intestines’	*bìndú*	*bìndé*

A “homophonous” pair of stems sharing the shape *pòlé* is differentiated by suffixation. In the sense ‘knife’ we get unsuffixed singular *pòlé* and suffixed plural *pǒl-mbò*. In the sense ‘egg’ we get suffixed singular *pòlé-ŋgò* and unsuffixed plural *pòlé*.

In a few animates, there is a **shift in vowel-harmonic class** between singular and plural. All known examples are given in (xx5). In (xx5.a), a *Cɛ̌:* singular has a plural of the shape *Càwó:*. Here one could imagine an underlying form /Cɛ̀wɛ́:/ for the singular, which would make the plural look more reasonable prosodically. However, from singular /Cɛ̀wɛ́:/ we would expect a harmonically consistent plural #/Cɛ̀wɔ̌:/; instead, there is a shift in harmonic class from singular {*ɛ ɔ*} to plural {*e o*}. In (xx5.b), a similar harmonic shift occurs.

(xx5)

gloss	singular	plural
a. Pl with *-wo:*, Sg *Cɛ̌:*, animates (E/O)		
‘woman’	*yɛ̌:*	*yàwó:*
‘cow’	*nɛ̌:*	*nàwó:*
b. Pl with *-wo:*, Sg bisyllabic, animates (E/O)		
‘slave’	*gùndɛ́*	*gùndàwó:*

4.1.5 Irregular nouns

‘Child’ is irregular in that the vowel mutation spreads into the initial syllable (xx1.a). The nouns in (xx1.b-c) have suppletive plurals.

(xx1)

gloss	singular	plural
a. human		
‘child’	*èndê:*	*òndô:*
‘boy’	*èndwǎ:*	*òndò-dàwó:, òndàwó:*
‘girl’	*èndè-gùlâ:*	*òndò-gùláwò:*

b. animal
‘living thing, critter’ *yɛ̂:* *bómbò*

c. inanimate
‘thing’ *kóŋgò* *yèpà:bé*

4.1.6 Frozen *Cv-* reduplication in nouns and adjectives

Najamba does not have a very large number of nouns that look like they begin in a *Cv-* reduplication, comparable to those with *Ci-*, *Cu-*, or *Cv-* (with a copy of the first stem vowel) in northeastern Dogon languages. The few examples of this type in Najamba are in (xx1). They show repetition of the first vowel.

(xx1)

noun/adjective	gloss
dùdùmbú	‘large jar for millet beer’
bɛ̀bɛ̂: (*bɛ̀bɔ̂:*)	‘feeble, having lost strength’
bébé	‘deaf-mute’
gɛ̀gélɛ̀	‘stuttering’
gɛ̀gérɛ̀	‘very fast speech’
tátágá	‘arrogance’
gɔ̀n-gò púpújú	‘worn-out waterjar’
gìrɛ̀-gɛ̀gɛ̀lɛ́	‘furtive look’ (*gìré* ‘eyes’)

4.1.7 Frozen full-stem iterations in nouns

CvCv-CvCv iterations used as nouns (or adverbs) are fairly common. In a few cases the iteration is related to an attested shorter stem, but in many the iteration is the only form in its word family. Most examples involve an iterated bisyllabic element. In some cases a simple stem of the same family is elsewhere attested. The data in (xx1) are grouped by tone contour.

(xx1) a.

wèlɛ̀-wélɛ̀	‘immature peanut pod’
bùjɛ̀-bújɛ̀	‘froth, suds, soap lather’ (verb *bùjé* ‘foam’)
bùrɛ̀-búrɛ̀	‘sediments’
kɛ̀jɛ̀-kɛ́jɛ̀:	‘twigs’ (Sg *kɛ̀jɛ̀-kɛ́jɔ̀:* ; verb *kɛ́jɛ́* ‘cut’)
yàgà-yágà	‘lightweight nickel alloy (for bracelets)’
ɲɛ̀mɛ̀-ɲɛ́mɛ̀	‘trivial chatter’
ɲàmà-ɲámà	‘bric-à-brac, junk’

	kùbù-kúbù	‘machete blade’ (local French *coupe-coupe*)
	jà:rà-já:rà	‘incitement’ (cognate nominal for verb *já:ré*)
	dòlà-dólà	‘race, competition’ (*dɔ̀lɛ́* ‘be in front’)
	yòbà-yóbà	‘race’ (*yɔ̀bɛ́* ‘run’)
	bìlà-bílà	‘exchange’ (verb *bìlɛ́*)
	bùlà-búlà	‘blue’
	dàmbà-dámbà	‘push-cart’ (*dàmbí* ‘push’, cf. local French *pousse-pousse*)
	mɔ̀:-[wùndà-wúndà]	‘meningitis’ (swollen neck)
b.	*yúgù-yúgù*	‘pile of used European clothing’
c.	*pɔ̀tɔ̀-pɔ̀tɛ́*	‘mud’
	kùrsà-kùrsá	‘skin disease with rashes’
	dèmè-dèmé	‘odd jobs’
d.	*yòlà-yòlâ:*	‘aggressive provocation’
	ènjè-ènjê:	‘corner; cavity in rocks’ (verb *énjɛ́* ‘slip X into’
	kàlè-kàlê:	‘external stairway’ (< French *escalier* ?)
	gènjè-gènjê:	‘chest (body)’ (variant *jèn-jènjê:*)
	kìndò-kìndô:	‘(someone’s) shadow’ (< *kìndô:* ‘shade’)
e.	*pòndò-pòndŏ:*	‘board, plank’
	mènè-mènĕ:	‘lightning flashes’
	kùndà-kùndă:	‘cloud’
f.	*níŋí-nìŋè:*	‘sauce pots’ (cf. *níŋgé* ‘sauce’)
g.	*bènán-bènàn*	‘dilemma, quandary’ (…*bènàn mà* ‘between’)

The common LL-HL tone contour of (xx1.a) is related to a LLL-HLL contour in *tègèlè-tégèlè* ‘residue of liquid collecting in bottom of recipient after pouring’.

There are numerous reduplicated (semi-)onomatopoeic terms denoting sounds (cf. English *chomp*, *bang*, *crunch*, *rustle*). Examples are *kùgúrùm-kùgúrùm* (or *kàgáràm-kàgáràm*) ‘chomp-chomp (loud chewing)’ and *sáyⁿàm-sáyⁿàm* ‘crunch-crunch (e.g. walking through a field)’.

With a **change in vowel quality** we have the regional word *tèŋgè-táŋgá* ‘dancer on stilts (from central Dogon country)’, *pí:lì-pá:là* ‘deceptive talk’, and

kóróy-kàràỳ ‘hurried, hasty (action)’ The shift to a-vowels in the second occurrence is noteworthy. In onomatopoeic and similar terms for noises, a three-part ABA pattern with a-vowels and low tone in the medial B occurrence is attested in *kɔ̌ː-kàː-kɔ̌ː* (sound of toad croaking) and in *hóː-hàː-hóː* ‘loud chattering’

4.1.8 Frozen initial *à-* in nouns

This is not a synchronically noticeable pattern in Najamba.

(xx1) *àjáŋàlà* ‘forked end (of stick)’ cf. Jamsay *à-jǎŋ*
àsàŋálà ‘hail(-stones)’ cf. Nanga *bòndì-sàŋárⁿâ* (*bòndí* ‘rain’)
àjǎn ‘sky’

4.2 Derived nominals

4.2.1 Diminutives

There are no productive morphological diminutive formations. See §5.xxx for a few (mostly frozen) compounds ending in ‘child’.

In kinship terminology, the pair *jɛ̀njɛ̂ː* ‘great-grandparent’ and its reciprocal *jɛ̀ŋgíyɛ̀ː* is suggestive. A somewhat similar pair is *nɛ̀jíː* ‘mother’s brother’ and its reciprocal *nɛ̀jìyɛ̂ː* ‘sister’s child’ The ‘grandchild’ term *sɛ̀jíyɛ̀* has some resemblance to the junior-kin members of these pairings.

4.2.2 Denominal (and deadjectival) nouns

4.2.2.1 Characteristic derivative (*-gɛ́ː, -gáː*)

A noun (or adjective) describing a person or other animate by reference to a salient characteristic (body part, attribute, or possession) can be formed by adding derivational suffix *-gɛ́ː* (plural *-gáː*) to a **low-toned** form of the noun denoting the characteristic.

(xxx)	noun	gloss	Characteristic	gloss
	kínjàn	‘life’	*kìnjàn-gɛ́ː*	‘living, alive’
	gùnjù-gùnjô:	‘hunched back’	*gùnjù-gùnjòː-gɛ́ː*	‘hunchback’
	kùlɛ́	‘hairs’ (plural)	*kùlɛ̀-gɛ́ː*	‘hairy (person)’

tójú	'big testicles'	*tòjù-gɛ́:*	'one with big testicles'
nàndă:	'left (side)'	*nàndà-gɛ́:*	'left-handed person'
sî:	'animal fat(s)'	*sì-gɛ́:*	'fatty (animal, meat)'
sɛ́mbɛ́	'strength, force'	*sɛ̀mbɛ̀-gɛ́:*	'strong (person)'
ánì, Pl *ánà:*	'man'	*ànà-gɛ́:*	'fearless'

Inanimate examples have the expected distribution of *-gɛ́:* and *-gá:* depending on the class of the noun denoting the described entity. For example, from *sǐ:* 'animal fat' we get *sì:-gɛ́:* 'fatty' (singular E-class, and all inanimate plurals), and *sì:-gá:* (singular O-class). An example involving an inanimate, but grammatically animate, noun is *sàmbè kɛ̀lɛ̀-gɛ́:* 'wooden spear with metal tips', containing *sàmbé* 'spear' and *kɛ́lɔ́:\\kɛ́lɛ̀:* 'horn'.

4.2.2.2 Denominal or deadjectival abstractive (*-gé*)

The abstractive suffix *-gé* is attested with a few nouns and adjectives denoting **life stages or other classificatory characteristics**, generally of humans. In (xx1), the original noun drops tones before *-gé*, but no other consistent vocalic change is seen.

(xx1)	noun	gloss	Abstractive	gloss
	èndwă:	'man (not old)'	*èndwà:-gé*	'youth'
	gìnè-mórù	'magician'	*gìnè-mòr-gé*	'sleight-of-hand'
	ánì (Pl *ánà:*)	'man'	*ànà-gé*	'fighting mode'
	gìndɔ́:, *gìndɛ́:*	'big; honored'	*gìndè-gé*	'honor, esteem'

In (xx2), the original noun raises its final vowel to /i/, which then syncopates after an unclustered intervocalic sonorant.

(xx2)	noun	gloss	Abstractive	gloss
	ɔ̀gɔ̀ndê:	'rich person'	*ɔ̀gɔ̀ndì-gé*	'richness, wealth'
	là:ró	'shiftless'	*là:r-gé*	'shiftlessness'
	gòlònjé	'lazy person'	*gòlònjì-gé*	'laziness'

An apparent *yv* extension on the initial is seen in *sàfìyà-gé* 'idiocy' from noun *sáfì* 'idiot', and in *dɔ̀fìyɔ̀-gé* (variant of *dɔ̀fɛ̂-gé*) 'cowardice' from noun *dɔ́fɛ̂* 'coward'.

The morphosyntactic flexibility of the suffix is suggested by [*nò:=là*]-*gé* 'nonhumanness' (not being considered to be a normal person), based on *nǒ:=là* 'is not a person'. A similar example is *[jògò-ndì]-gé* '(state of) not having', from *jògò-ndí-* 'not have'.

The suffix *-gé* is also used in names of languages: *pùlàndì-gé* 'Fulfulde language', *bè:n-gé* 'language of Beni', etc. Speech is also relevant in *[kì:-jògò-ndì]-gé* 'nonsense, blathering' (cf. *kî: jògò-ndí* 'not have a head').

4.2.2.3 Denominal or deadjectival abstractive (-*ŋgó*)

In the deajectival cases, the abstractive noun is segmentally identical to the form of the adjective with O-class singular suffix *-ŋgo*. However, the noun has a {LH} tone contour with the high tone on the suffix. The forms shown are all that are known to me. The adjectives for **Cartesian dimensions** are well-represented (xx1.a), as are a scattering of other adjectives (xx1.b).

(xx1)		Abstractive	gloss	adjective (O-class singular)
	a.	*mìn-gó*	'depth'	*mǐn-gò* 'deep'
		wàyà-ŋgó	'width'	*wàyá-ŋgó* 'wide'
		jàlà-ŋgó	'length'	*jàlá-ŋgó* 'long'
	b.	*nàm-gó*	'expensiveness'	*nǎm-gò* 'expensive, difficult'
		kèndà-[ɛ̌l-ŋgó]	'happiness'	*ɛ̌l-ŋgò* ('sweet, good')
		dwèỳ-ŋgó	'hot weather'	*dwěỹ^{n}-ŋgò* 'hot'

A similar nominalization, but this time **denominal**, consists of *-ŋgó* or *-gó* (again high-toned, after low-toned stem) added to a noun denoting an **amical or amorous** relationship.

(xx1)	Abstractive	gloss	noun (singular)
	nàl-ŋgó	'friendship'	*nàlé* 'friend', Pl *nàl-mbó*
	gòjù-gó	'illicit sex'	*gòjé* 'concubine', Pl *gòjú-mbó*

These abstractive nominals may be compared to cases of frozen inanimate singular O-class suffix *-gó or *-ŋgó, no longer clearly segmentable, covered in §4.1.3.5.

4.2.3 Deverbal nominalizations

In addition to the forms described in the following sections, readers are referred to the full list of cognate nominals in §11.1.3.2. Although the verb is often parasitic in form on the nominal, and the nominal may be a borrowing (often from Fulfulde), in some cases the nominal may have been derived from the verb.

4.2.3.1 Regular verbal noun *-lé*

The fully productive verbal noun is expressesd by adding the suffix *-lé* to the **I/U-stem** of the verb. For several monosyllabic verb stems, the I/U-stem has a u-vowel. For all other verbs, this stem ends in /i/, which is subject to Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (when preceded by an unclustered sonorant. The I/U-stem requires {*e o*} rather than {*ɛ ɔ*} in any nonfinal mid-height vowels. The **entire verbal noun is high-toned**. Monosyllabic verbs with regular verbal nouns are exemplified in (xx1.a-b). The verbal noun of 'arrive' is variable (xx1.c). Among the nonmonosyllabic stems, those in (xx1.d) show Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion while those in (xx1.e) do not.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Verbal noun
a.	'come'	*wé*	*wú-lé* (variant *wí-lé*)
	'insult'	*dwɛ́*	*dú-lé*
	'go out'	*gwé*	*gú-lé*
b.	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yí-lé*
	'remain'	*bɛ́*	*bí-lé*
	'weep'	*ɲɛ́*	*ŋí-lé*
	'bring'	*jê:*	*jí:-lé*
	'make bricks'	*mɛ́:*	*mí:-lé*
c.	'arrive'	*dwɛ̂:*	*dúy-lé, dú:-lé*
d.	'slaughter'	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sém-lé*
	'cut in half'	*dìŋgílɛ́*	*díŋgíl-lé*
	'finish'	*pór*	*pór-lé*
e.	'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógí-lé*

	‘cut off (branch)’	*támbí*	*támbí-lé*
	‘scrub’	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújí-lé*
f.	‘get’	*dìnɛ̂:*	*díní:-lé*

The verbal noun is readily formed from suffixally derived verbs, including passives.

(xx1)	gloss	category	chaining	Verbal noun
	‘go around’	mediopassive	*gɔ̀ŋílí-yɛ́*	*góŋílí-y-lé*
	‘become long’	inchoative	*jàlá-ndí*	*jálá-ndí-lé*
	‘unlock’	reversive	*dàgí-lɛ́*	*dágí-l-lé*
	‘make big’	factitive	*gìndá-m*	*gíndá-m-lé*
	‘inflate’	causative	*píbíyó-m*	*píbíyó-m-lé*

4.2.3.2 Verbal noun with *-ndá:*

This less common verbal-noun formation is attested in several textual examples. In the forms preferred by both of my assistants, the vocalism is that of the **chaining form** of the stem (E-stem for verbs of the{*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic class, I/U-stem for those of the {*e o*} class). **All tones are all-high** (xx1). For variants based on the A/O-stem, see below.

(xx1)		gloss	chaining	Verbal noun
	a.	‘come’	*wé*	*wé-ndá:*
		‘insult’	*dwé*	*dwé-ndá:*
		‘go out’	*gwé*	*gwé-ndá:*
	b.	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yɛ́-ndá:*
		‘weep’	*ɲɛ́*	*ɲɛ́-ndá:*
		‘bring’	*jɛ̂:*	*jɛ́:-ndá:*
		‘make bricks’	*mɛ́:*	*mɛ́:-ndá:*
	c.	‘arrive’	*dwɛ̂:*	*dwɛ́:-ndá:*
	d.	‘slaughter’	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sɛ́mɛ́-ndá:*
		‘cut in half’	*dìŋgílɛ́*	*díŋgílɛ́-ndá:*
		‘cut off (end)’	*pór*	*pór-ndá:1*
		‘come to an end’	*ìgí*	*ígí-ndá:*

e.	‘leave’	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dɔ́gɛ́-ndá:*
	‘cut off (branch)’	*támbí*	*támbá-ndá:*
	‘scrub’	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújɛ́-ndá:*
	‘go back’	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*mámílí-yɛ́-ndá:*

In the absence of a NP-final determiner, a final semivowel /*y*/ that I take to be the ‘it is’ clitic is usually added, resulting in *-ndá:=ý*. This use of ‘it is’ clitic *=y* is reminiscent of its use in the passive (for indefinite subject), see §xxx. Before a determiner (definite *kó*), the clitic *=y* is omitted.

As with the more general verbal noun in *-lé*, a low-toned nominal compound initial (usually an incorporated object) may be added. Thus *ìŋgè-érá-ndá:=ý* ‘water-drawing’ (*íŋgé* ‘water’, A/O-stem of *érɛ́* ‘draw water’), or with a definite determiner *ìŋgè-érá-ndá: kó* ‘the water-drawing’.

In texts, I also found examples of verbs taking the A/O-stem instead of the chaining form (which is a mix of the E-stem and the I/U-stem). See *ìŋgè-érá-ndá:=ý* ‘water-drawing’, mentioned just below, and *[tè:-ŋgò]-[kérá-ndá:=ý]* ‘going and getting wood’ in (xx1.a), below. My textual examples of this vocalism involve nominal compound initials and the final *=y* clitic, details that may or may not be significant. My assistants preferred chaining-form vocalism even for these cases: *ìŋgè-érɛ́-ndá:=ý*, *[tè:-ŋgò]-[kérá-ndá:=ý]*.

(xx1) *íyó [tè:-ŋgò]-[kérá-ndá:=ý]*
today [firewood-Sg.L]-[go.get-**VblN**=it.is]
[bà:-ólé má] *òndú-∅*
[father-house in] not.be-3SgS
‘Today, there is no going and getting wood in (i.e. among) families.’ (2005-1a)

4.2.3.3 Abstractive and other nominalizations with suffix *-n*

The abstractive is fairly common. In the predominant pattern, the **stem is low-toned**, except for a final high tone on the *-n*. I transcribe e.g. *dùmɛ̌-n*, though *dùmè-ń* would also be reasonable.

The sense is **abstractive**, cf. English *-ness* and similar nominalizations. The stem that serves as the basis for the derivative may be a verb or adjective (or even a noun with adjective-like sense). In some cases the abstractive is part of a word-family with both verbs and adjectives and it is not always possible to determine a unique basis word. (xx1.a-e) are organized around rough semantic types. Shown in (xx1) are all uncompounded abstractives of this type in my

lexicon as of May 2006, and it should therefore be representative, but many other forms can be elicited. In general, the abstractive in *-n* most often denotes a state or condition

(xx1)

Abstractive	gloss	related form(s)
a. conditions/states		
àyǐ-n	'suffering, fatigue'	*áy* 'be tired'
gìrìyɛ̌-n	'poverty'	*gìríyɛ́:* 'pauper', *gìríyɛ́* 'become poor'
gìrbǎ-n	'blindness'	*gǐrbà* 'blind person'
tùgùmǎ-n	'deafness'	*tùgúmà* 'deaf person'
sà:mǎ-n	'sickness'	*sǎ:mà* 'sick person'
dàgì-lì-yɛ̌-n	'being unlocked'	*dàgí-lɛ́* 'unlock', MP *dàgí-lí-yɛ́*
b. qualities		
sɛ̀mɛ̌-n	'slyness'	*sɛ́mɛ̀* 'sly'
mà:mǐ-n	'ability'	*mǎ:m* 'be capable'
èjɛ̌-n	'cleanness; light'	*éjɛ́* 'be clean', *èjɛ̂:* 'clean'
gàbǐ-n	'tallness, height'	*gàbê:* 'tall', *gàbí* 'become tall'
kèlǎ-n	'hatred'	*kélâ-* 'not like'
c. actions		
bògǐ-n	'barking (of dog)'	*bògí* 'bark'
màgǐ-n	'magic'	*màgí* 'do magic (tell fortunes)'
sòŋgǎ-n	'(a) curse'	*sɔ́ŋgɛ́* 'curse (someone)'
d. results of actions		
dùmɛ̌-n	'earnings; property'	*dùmɛ́* 'obtain'
dɛ̀ŋɛ̌-n	'loss'	*dɛ̀ŋɛ́* 'lose'
ɲàmǐ-n	'damage, harm'	*ɲǎm* 'damage, waste' (verb)
e. other semantic categories		
dàmǎ-n	'totemic place'	*dàmá* 'totem'
jìmbɛ̌-n	'darkness'	*jìmbí* 'become dark'

A possible frozen case is *gùlǎn* 'finery'.

The forms in (xx2) also have an *-n* suffix, but differ from all examples given above in tone contours. Those in (xx2.a) constitute a natural semantic set (based on stance verbs), and all end on a low tone, though other tonal details vary from form to form. In (xx2.b) we have all-high tones, along with an overlaid {*e o*} vowel-harmonic melody that is absent in (xx1). Most examples in (xx2.a-b) denote **locations or Cartesian-geometric positions**. (xx2.c) with L{HL> tone includes **cognate nominals** of body-function verbs; see (xx2.b) in §11.1.3.2.

(xx2)	Abstractive	gloss	related form(s)
a.	*íŋgí-n*	'height'	*íŋgí-yɛ́* 'stand'
	óbì-n	'place to sit'	*óbí-y*
	bǐỳ-n	'bedding'	*bǐy* 'lie down'
b.	*négí-n*	'saltlick'	*négɛ́* 'lick'
	yóbí-n	'race, running'	*yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run'
c.	*àyî-n*	'yawn'	*ǎy* 'yawn'
	bègî-n	'hiccup'	*bègí* 'have the hiccups'
	tègî-n	'gunpowder chamber'	*tégɛ́* 'put in a pinch of gunpowder'
	pèbî-n	'whistling'	*pébí* 'whistle'
	ìbî-n	'place to catch'	*ìbí* 'catch'

Possible frozen cases: *jùgîn* 'week', *búndán* 'dancing ground'.

ébán 'market' does not correspond to a verb, but note the compound initial in *èbà-kálú* 'commerce' and *èbà-gòné* 'merchandise'.

Nominal forms ending in -n are also fairly common as compound finals. Often the compounds denote locations; see (xx1) in §5.1.8

4.2.3.4 Nominalizations with suffix *-ŋgán* (*-ŋgân*, *-gùl*, *-ŋgàl*)

The known examples of deverbal nominalization with *-ŋgán* are in (xx1). The vocalism is that of the I/U-stem, the examples showing a final /*i*/ that syncopates after an intervocalic unclustered sonorant. The suffix has high tone. The stem itself has {H} or {L} tones. The choice of stem tone appears to be based on prosodic weight, but there are too few examples for clear generalizations.

(xx1)	nominal	gloss	related verb or phrase

a. stem {H}-toned

bí-ŋgán	‘manner, way’	*bò* ‘be’, *bɛ́* ‘remain’
gír-ŋgán	‘pasture, herding’	*gìrɛ́ gír-ŋgán gìrɛ́* ‘take (animals) to pasture’

b. stem {L}-toned

nìgìl-ŋgán	‘calculation’	*nìgìl-ŋgán nígíl* ‘do a calculation’
sìŋgìl-ŋgán	‘rest, relaxation’	*síŋgílí-y* ‘rest, relax’
gàjì-ŋgân	‘snatching’	*gàjí* ‘snatch’
dùbì-ŋgán	‘forging’	*dùbɛ́* ‘forge (verb)’

Other nouns ending in …*ŋgán*, but not transparently decomposible, include *páláŋgán* ‘neighborhood, quarter (of a village or town)’ and *sɔ̀:-jíŋgán* ‘neighbor’.

There is one example of *-ŋgàn* with suffixal **falling tone**, after a two-verb chain (xx2).

(xx2) *yɔ̀bɛ̀-dɔ̀lɛ̀-ŋgân* ‘race (competition)’ *yɔ̀bɛ́* ‘run’, *dɔ̀lɛ́* ‘be in front’

See also *gùndà-ŋ̀gǎn* 'slavehood' from noun *gùndɛ́* 'slave' (§4.2.3.9).

A suffix *-gùl* is attested only in *ɲámá-gùl* 'damage, waste(n)', cf. transitive verb *ɲàmá-gí* 'damage (sth)', intransitive verb *ɲǎm* 'be damaged, malfunction', and regular nominalization *ɲàmǐ-n* 'damage, waste(n)'.

súmà-ŋgàl 'brand (on cow)' appears to have a deverbal nominalizing suffix *-ŋgàl*, cf. verb *súmɛ́* 'brand (a cow)'. Both verb and nominalization are borrowed from Fulfulde.

4.2.3.5 Uncompounded agentives

The productive agentive derivation is almost always expressed as a compound of the *basket-maker* type. In cases like ‘runner’ where no external object is manufactured or impinged on, a cognate nominal is used as the compound initial. The initial is low-toned. The final is the agentive form of the verb, which is characterized by {*e o*} vowel-harmony and a final *e* vowel, with {LH} tone contour expressed as H (monosyllabics), LH (bisyllabics), and LLH (trisyllabics). For examples and further discussion, see §5.1.4.

I have one attestation of an uncompounded agentive, namely *jòŋ́é* 'healer', see (xx79) in the sample text.

In addition, there is one noun that functions semantically as an agentive and is related to a verb, but it has all-high tone. In the absence of any parallel forms, I take this noun to be a distinct lexical item of the same word-family as the verb, rather than as a derivative similar to the compound agentives.

(xx1) *tálé* 'hunter', plural *tál-mbó*
related forms: verb *tál\\tàlè* 'hunt', noun *tăl* 'hunt'

4.2.3.6 Instrument nominals (*-î:*)

This derivation is based on the relevant action verb.

In one pattern, instrument nominal suffix *-î:* is added to the tone-dropped form of the stem, and replaces the stem-final vowel. The *-î:* suffix is seen in the plural, which carries no further suffixes. Nonfinal vowels in the verb stem may be of {*e o*} but not of {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic class, suggesting that the verb is in the A/O-stem.

The singular suffix *-ŋgo* may be added to the nominal. The suffix combination /*-î:-ŋgo*/ is then usually expressed as *-í-ŋgò* with shortened *í*-vowel. This *í* is audible after a consonant cluster or an obstruent, but it syncopates after an unclustered sonorant. If syncope applies, it leaves no segmental trace of the original /-î:-/ although its tones are expressed on the flanking morphemes. Occasionally (when the instrument nominal has no additional compound initial) the suffix complex is expressed as *-î:-ŋgò* with long falling-toned *î:*, see 'scrubber' (xx1.c).

(xx1)	singular	plural	verb
a.	*ɲèc-í-ŋgò* sift.L-Instr-Sg 'couscous steaming pot'	*ɲèc-î:*	*ɲècɛ́* 'coarsely sift (couscous)'
b.	*dèb-í-ŋgò* cover.L-Instr-Sg 'cover(ing)'	*dèb-î:*	*dèbɛ́* 'cover'
c.	*bìb-î:-ŋgò* rub.L-Instr-Sg 'scrubber (for bathing)'	*bìb-î:*	*bìbɛ́* 'rub'
d.	*ùgù-r-ú-ŋgò* burn-Tr-Instr-Sg	*ùgù-r-î:*	*ùgí-r* 'burn (incense)'

‘incense’

e. *tŭl-∅-ŋgò* *tùl-î:* *túlɛ́* ‘sell’
sell-Instr-Sg
‘(a) sale’

f. *dŏn-∅-ŋgò* *dòn-î:* *dɔ̀nɛ́* ‘buy’
buy-Instr-Sg
‘purchase’

g. *bĭl-∅-ŋgò* *bìl-î:* *bìlɛ́* ‘exchange’
exchange-Instr-Sg
‘exchange, barter’

h. *tĕŋ-∅-ŋgò* *tèŋ-î:* *téŋɛ́* ‘hobble (quadruped)’
hobble-Instr-Sg
‘hobbles (rope tied around animal’s forelegs to reduce motion)’

In another set of cases, *-î:* is singular, and is pluralized by adding *-mbò*.

(xx2) singular plural verb

a. *dùr-î:* *dùr-î:-mbò* *dùrɛ́* ‘shoot (arrow), heave (spear)’
shoot.L-Instr
‘pole with hooked metal tip for pulling off fruits’

b. *bìmb-î:* *bìmb-î:-mbò* *bìmbɛ́* ‘file (something)’
file.L-Instr
‘file (tool)’

c. *sòb-î:* *sòb-î:-mbò* *sɔ́bɛ́* ‘make hole in wooden handle’
make.hole.L-Instr
‘awl for puncturing wooden handles’

d. *èmb-î:* *èmb-î:-mbò* *émbɛ́* ‘hold by pinching’
pinch.L-Instr
‘tweezers’

e. *sèm-î:* *sèm-î:-mbò* *sɛ́mɛ́* ‘saw (cut)’
saw.L-Instr
‘saw (for cutting calabashes)’ (Pl also pronounced *sĕm-∅-mbò*)

f. *kòj-î:* *kòj-î:-mbò* *kɔ́jɛ́* ‘scrape’
scrape.L-Instr
‘scraper (for pots)’

g. *wò:l-î:* *wò:l-î:-mbò* *wɔ́:lí-yɛ́* ‘scrape out (calabash)’
scrape.out-Instr
‘calabash scraper’ (used in making calabashes)

h. *kèj-î:* *kèj-î:-mbò* *kɛ́jɛ́* ‘cut’
cut.L-Instr
‘heavy wedge (chisel) for piercing metal’

The majority of instrument nominals with suffix *-î:* are compounds including a nominal initial denoting the typical direct object (‘egg-beater’). For examples and discussion, see §5.1.xxx. This semantic pattern should be distinguished from the basically noun-adjective sequence exemplified by /sàmbè sòb-î:/ ‘spear (*sàmbé*) with sharp tips’, ending in the same *sòb-î:* seen above in (xx2.c).

4.2.3.7 Deverbal nominals with suffix *-û:*

There are also a number of nouns ending in *-û:* (plural *-î:* by a regular vowel shift) that are clearly related to verbs. Some are instrumental in sense (xx2.a), but other semantic relationships are also observed (xx2.b). Possible frozen instrumental nominals, not involving a transparently related verb, are in (xx2.c). In (xx3.d), *-û:* occurs both on a simple verb and on its causative (suffix *-m-*). Further examples are in the list of cognate nominals with *-û:* in (xxx.xxx) in §11.1.3.xxx.

(xx2)	noun	gloss	associated verb
a.	*dànj-û:*	‘thick-ended pestle’	*dànjí* ‘pound (grain spikes)’
	ǹjùl-û:	‘broom’	*ǹjúl* ‘sweep’
	gòb-û:	‘trigger’	*gɔ̀bɛ́* ‘pull (trigger)’
	pèg-û:	‘screw’	*pɛ́gɛ́* ‘drive in (post)’
	jìbìr-û:	‘bellows’	*jìbí* ‘fan’
b.	*dòmb-û:*	‘turban’	*dòmbí* ‘put on (turban, shawl)
	gòŋ-û:	‘roof beam’	*gɔ̀ŋɟɛ́* ‘enclose; fence in’
c.	*jùnjû:*	‘stirring stick’	*jǐy* ‘stir with stick’
	àjû:	‘kneading stick’	*gùgúl* ‘knead’

d.	*mànd-û:*	'laughter'	*màndí* 'laugh'
	màndà-m-û:	'joke'	*màndá-m* 'cause to laugh'
	bèbìl-û:	'bellowing'	*bèbíl* '(bull, billygoat) bellow'

4.2.3.8 Deverbal nominal with suffix *-rú*

This nominalization is clearly present only in the cases in (xx1), since for them a corresponding verb is present. The plurals are *énjí-rí* and *tímbí-rí*, as the shift from final *u* to (plural) *i* also affects the medial vowel quality.

(xx1)	a.	*énjú-rú*	'prop to rebalance'	*énjɛ́* 'slide/slip (object) in'
	b.	*tímbú-rú* (also *tímbú:*)	'lid'	*tímbɛ́* 'cover, put a lid on'
	c.	*págú-rú*	'(sth used as) belt'	*págí* 'tie'

Possible frozen case: *tàŋà-kɔ́gúrú* 'wooden bolt'. Given the alternation of *tímbú-rú* with *tímbú:*, other cases of nouns with final *ú:* might be considered here (*yámbú:* 'blanket', *níŋgú:* 'door shutter').

4.2.3.9 Minor denominal nominals

Isolated formations not attributable to a productive pattern are given in (xx1). For (xx1a), compare suffix *-ŋgǎn* with deverbal nominalizing suffix -ŋgán (§4.2.3.4).

(xx1)		noun	gloss	related form(s)
	a.	*gùndà-ŋ̀gǎn*	'slavehood'	*gùndɛ́* 'slave'
	b.	*kínjàn*	'life; livelihood'	*kíndè:* 'soul', *kìndò-kìndô:* '(someone's) shadow', *kìndô:* 'shade'

4.3 Pronouns

4.3.1 Basic personal pronouns

Except for some morphophonological complexity in subject suffixes on verbs, pronouns are quite regular and transparent. For each category, there is a single "basic" form used independently, as preverbal subject pronominal (in relative clauses), as possessor pronominal (preceding the possessed noun), and with following case or discourse-functional particles such as accusative *gì*. Before dative *mà*, the 1Sg form contracts from *mí* to *ḿ* resulting in *ḿ mà*, while the other forms are regular.

(191)

		basic	subject [_Verb]	subject [Verb-_]	object	possessor
a.	1Sg	*mí*	*mí*	*-m*	*mí gì*	*mí ...*
	1Pl	*í*	*í*	*-y*	*í gì*	*í ....*
b.	2Sg	*ó*	*ó*	*-ɔ/-o*	*ó gì*	*ó ...*
	2Pl	*é*	*é*	*-ɛ/-e*	*é gì*	*é ...*
c.	3Sg	*mó*	*mó*	*-∅*	*mó gì*	*mó ...*
	3Pl	*bé*	*bé*	*-ɛ/-a*	*bé gì*	*bé ...*
d.	InanSgO	*kó*	*kó*	*-∅*	*kó gì*	*kó ...*
	InanSgE	*ké*	*ké*	*-∅*	*ké gì*	*ké ...*
	InanPl	*ké*	*ké*	*-∅*	*ké gì*	*ké ...*

kó is often a discourse-definite 'that'. In this function, *kó* could be considered to be the corresponding near-distant demonstrative (in discourse-definite function) with zero noun. For possessor-like prenominal *kó* in strong discourse-definite function see §6.5.1.

(xxx.a) exemplifies a 1Sg possessor combined with a 1Sg subject suffix on the inflected verb. The object form *[mí gì]* occurs in (xxx.b). The preverbal (actually, pre-participial) form /*mí*/, which is typical of non-subject relative clauses, is illustrated in (xxx.c).

(xxx) a. *[[mí bà] gì] kělè ǹdɛ̀-ḿ*
[[**1SgP** father] Acc] money give.Perf-**1SgS**
'I gave (the) money to my father.'

b. *núŋá: [mí gì] ǹdɛ̀*

boubou [**1Sg** **Acc**] give.Perf-3SgS
'He/She gave me a boubou.'

c. *ŋgwɛ̀:* *mí* *gìy-ê:* *mó*
dog.L **1SgS** kill.Perf-Ppl Def.AnSg
'the dog that I killed'

4.3.2 Determiner sandwich (e.g. [*mó* NOUN *mó*])

An element with the form of a definite determiner may occur on **both sides** of the noun, which drops its tones to all-low. The cause of the tone dropping is technically ambiguous, since a) a definite determiner is identical to a third person pronoun, so the occurrence on the left could be taken syntactically as a **possessor**, which would force tone-dropping on the following possessed noun; and b) a definite determiner has the same form as a **near-distant demonstrative** pronoun, which forces tone-dropping on the preceding modified noun. In textual occurrences, the NP in question is discourse-definite rather than deictic, so I opt for the former (possessor) analysis for morphosyntactic purposes, even though the "possessor" is coindexed with the possessed noun. More concrete evidence for this analysis is provided by similar frames consisting of a preceding determiner and a following 'each/all' quantifier, see end of this section.

In (xx1), the speaker reintroduces a discourse referent ('the woman') who was part of earlier discourse, after a short digression. The excerpt is from a general discussion about marriage, so the woman in question is generic.

(xx1) *[mó* *yɛ̀:* *mó]* *báŋgàl* *kàn-ó:* *mɛ́,*
[**AnSgP** woman.L **Def.AnSg**] marriage do.Perf-2SgS if,
[yɛ̌: *mó]*
[woman Def.AnSg]
'**That woman** (whom I was talking about earlier), when you marry her, the woman, …' (2005-1a)

Especially with inanimate singular *kó*, which (in addition to denoting objects) may also be used more abstractly to denote a situation ('in that case', etc.), there is some question whether the leftmost occurrence should be understood as referring to an external possessor, or as part of a determiner sandwich (*kó* … *kó*), in examples like (xx2).

(xx2) a. *jɛ̌njà* *[kó* *sɛ̀mbɛ̀* *kó]*
God [**InanSg.O.P** strength.L **Def.InanSg.O**]

jěnjà *[í* *gì]* *ǹdí-ná*
God [1Pl Acc] give-Hort.3Sg
'May God give us that strength' (or: '… the strength of/for that') (2005.1a)

b. *jă:* *[ɲă:* *mà]* *mó* *j-ɔ̀:,*
since [yesterday in] AnSg take.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
íyó *[[kó* *sàrù:* *kó]* *mà* *yà:]* *bò-y*
today [**InanSg.O.P** question **Def.InanSg.O**] in Foc] be-1PlS
'it (questioning) began (has been going on) since yesterday, today that questioning [focus] is what we are (still) in.' (2005-1a)

Structurally and semantically similar to a determiner sandwich is a construction with initial determiner, followed by a noun and a quantifier *dîn* 'all, each'. Again, the NP resumes an already stated discourse referent, but this time the discourse referent is generic and the NP denotes any member of the set. The free translation used 'any/no such X'. Observe that *kéŋgè* 'place' undergoes tone-dropping to *kèŋgè* in the relevant occurrence (third line). Since *dîn* 'all, each' does not induce tone-dropping on nouns, the tone-dropping must be due to the preceding determiner, here *ké*. This supports the view that the determiner functions as a possessor in this construction.

(xx3) *[[kèŋgè* *ŋgîn]* *bèlí-yɛ́* *nɛ̀]*
[place.L here] get.up Adv.SS]
[hâl *[dúwánsá* *mà]* *d-ɔ̀:],*
[until [D in] arrive.Perf-2SgS]
[ké *kèŋgè* *dîn]* *òndú-∅*
[**Inan.Sg.E** place.L **all**] not.be-3SgS
'(To find a spot where one can discreetly urinate), you will get up from here (the village) (and go) all the way to Douentza, there is no such spot.' (2005-1a)

4.4 Demonstratives

4.4.1 Deictic demonstrative pronouns

í òndú-∅ 'this does not exist', Text (xx3).
(discourse-definite)
fix

4.4.1.1 'This/that'

There is a three-way spatial distinction among deictics: **proximate** 'this', **near-distant** 'that (near you or just over there), and **far-distant** 'that (in the distance)'. There is one set for **animates** (humans and animals), along with a number of inanimates that take "animate" agreement. There is another set for **inanimates** (including plants). There are also distinct **singular** and **plural** forms for each category.

In addition to its canonical deictic sense, the animate singular proximate demonstrative *ǒm* is also used, in parallel clauses, to refer to the two members of a pair who have been previously introduced as discourse referents ('There were two brothers; one (*ǒm*) was ..., the other (*ǒm*) was ...').

A far-distant form may be used opportunistically in texts to denote a counterparty to the most topical referent, in a fashion recalling the Algonquian **obviative**. For example, in a passage about two companions, animate singular far-distant *òmá:* may be used several times to denote the less topical of the two.

The animate demonstrative forms are given in (xx1).

(xx1) **Animate** demonstrative pronouns

	Sg	Pl
Proximate	*ǒm*	*èbíyɛ̀*
Near-distant	*mó*	*bé*
Far-distant	*òmá:*	*èbá:*

When a deictic demonstrative pronoun modifies a preceding noun, the noun keeps its normal singular or plural segmental form, but **drops its tones**. In other words, demonstratives pattern morphosyntactically like modifying adjectives. (xx2) illustrates this with *pɛ̀gɛ́* 'sheep' and plural *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó*. The near-distant demonstratives are identical in form to definite morphemes (§4.4.2), but the near-distant demonstratives, like other demonstratives but unlike definite morphemes, force tone-dropping on the preceding noun.

(xx2) a. *pɛ̀gɛ̀* *ǒm*
sheep.L **Prox.AnSg**
'this sheep'

b. *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbò* *èbíyɛ̀*
sheep-Pl.L **Prox.AnPl**
'these sheep'

c. *pɛ̀gɛ̀* *mó*
sheep.L **Near.AnSg**
'that sheep (near you or just over there)'

d. *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbò* *bé*
sheep.Pl.L **Near.AnPl**
'those sheep (near you or just over there)'

e. *pɛ̀gɛ̀* *òmá:*
sheep.L **FarDist.AnSg**
'that sheep (in the distance there)'

d. *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbò* *èbá:*
sheep.Pl.L **FarDist.AnPl**
'those sheep (in the distance there)'

Another series, based on *ínɛ̀* 'goat' and its plural *ínà:*, is this: *ìnɛ̀ ŏm* 'this goat', *ìn-à: ɛ́bíyɛ̀* 'these goats', *ìnɛ̀ mó* 'that goat', and *ìnà: bé* 'those goats'. Another with the human *yɛ̌:* 'woman' and its plural *yàwó:* is: *yɛ̀: ŏm*, *yàwò: èbíyɛ̀*, *yɛ̀: mó*, *yàwò: bé, yɛ̀: òmá:*, *yàwò: èbá:*. Note that the lexically specific forms of the singular and plural are respected.

For inanimates, there are two agreement classes of nouns with distinct singulars (E-class and O-class), but the two classes merge into a single inanimate plural category (xx3).

(xx3) **Inanimate** demonstrative pronouns

	InanSg (O)	InanSg (E)	InanPl
Proximate	*ŋ̀gú*	*ŋ̀gí*	*ěy*
Near-distant	*kó*	*ké*	*yé*
Far-distant	*ŋ̀gwá:*	*ŋ̀gá:*	*èyá:*

A series with *bă:-gò* 'stick', plural *bǎyɛ̀*, is (xx4). Again, note that the singular/plural distinction on the noun is maintained, and that the noun drops its tones.

(xx4) a. *bà:-gò* *ŋ̀gú*
stick-InanSg.O.L **Prox.InanSg.O**
'this stick'

b. *bàyɛ̀* *ěy*

stick.Pl.L **Prox.InanPl**
'these sticks'

c. *bà:-gò* *kó*
stick-InanSg.O.L **NearDist.InanSg.O**
'that stick (near you or just over there)'

d. *bàyè* *yé*
stick.Pl.L **NearDist.InanPl**
'those sticks (near you or just over there)'

e. *bà:-gò* *ŋ̀gwá:*
stick-InanSg.O.L **FarDist.InanSg.O**
'that stick (in the distance there)'

d. *pègè-mbò* *èyá:*
stick.Pl.L **FarDist.InanPl**
'those sticks (in the distance there)'

The other inanimate class is exemplified by *táŋà* 'granary': singulars *tàŋà ŋ̀gí*, *tàŋà ké*, *tàŋà ŋ̀gá:*, plurals *tàŋà ěy*, *tàŋà yé*, *tàŋà èyá:*.

Examining the paradigms, we can see that the far-distant forms are (irregularly) related to the proximate forms, but involve an ending *á:*.

4.4.2 Definite morphemes

A definite morpheme is identical in form to the corresponding near-distant deictic demonstrative pronoun, including marking for number and agreement class. However, the definite particle does not induce tone-dropping on a preceding modified noun.

(xx1) a. *[pègé mó]* *[[ínè mó]* *mà]*
[sheep **Def.AnSg**] [[goat Def.AnSg] Dat]
mó *gìn-ɔ̂:*
AnSgS say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
'(As) the sheep-Sg said to the goat, ...'

b. *[pègè-mbó bé]* *[[ínà: bé]* *mà]*
[sheep.Pl **Def.AnPl**] [[goat.Pl Def] Dat]
bé *gìn-ɔ̂:*
AnPlS say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O

‘(As) the sheep-Pl said to the goats, ...’

c. *[kìnû:* *kó]* *dèŋè-∅*
[stone **Def.InanSg**] fall.Perf-3SgS
‘The stone fell.’ (*kínû:*)

d. *[kǐn-bò* *bé]* *dèŋ-à:*
[stone-Pl **Def.AnPl**] fall.Perf-3PlS
‘The stones fell.’ (‘stone’ is animate in the plural)

4.4.3 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.3.1 Locative adverbs

A three-way distance distinction is again present in the locative demonstrative adverbs (‘here’, ‘there’). The near-distant adverb *kên* ‘there (near you or just over there)’ is also used as the discourse-definite (anaphoric) adverb ‘there (=in the aforementioned place)’. This is similar to the pattern in determiners, where near-distant demonstrative pronouns have the same form as definite determiners (though a preceding modified noun has different tones in the two cases).

(212) a. *ŋ̀gîn* ‘here’ (proximate)
ŋ̀gí mà
ên

b. *kên* ‘there’ (deictic, near-distant)
ké mà

c. *ŋ̀gâ:n* ‘there’ (deictic, far-distant)

d. *kên* ‘there’ (discourse-definite)
ké mà

4.4.3.2 Deictic adverb plus approximative *-dɛ̀*

The ‘here/there’ adverbs (preceding section) may add suffix *-dɛ̀*, which forces {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel harmony on the stem (the effect being that *e* shifts to *ɛ*). The sense is ‘around here/there’, i.e., a more approximate location than the simple adverb would have.

(212) a. *ŋ̀gín-dɛ̀*
ɛ́n-dɛ̀ ‘around here’

b. *kɛ́n-dɛ̀* ‘around there’ (deictic, near-distant)

c. *ŋ̀gá:n-dɛ̀* ‘around there’ (deictic, far-distant)

d. *kɛ́n-dɛ̀* ‘around there’ (anaphoric)

In a text, /*ŋ̀gí mà*/ and *ŋ̀gín-dɛ̀* are used to indicate two distinct but equidistant locations (‘east’ and ‘west’). In other words, *ŋ̀gín-dɛ̀* here functions as a kind of **obviative**.

(xxx) *ùjúŋgó* *[ŋ̀gí mà]* *túmbò-njò-∅,*
sun [here] rise-Pres-3SgS,
ùjúŋgó *ŋ̀gín-dɛ̀* *déŋà-ŋjò-∅*
sunSg here-Approx fall-Pres-3SgS
‘The sun rises here (pointing to east), and the sun sets here (pointing to west).’ [2005-2a]

4.4.3.3 Demonstrative manner adverbials 'like that' (*kɛ̀nɛ́*), 'like this' (*ɲɛ̀nɛ́*)

kɛ̀nɛ́ is an adverb 'like that, in that manner, thus'. See (xx2.c) in §10.4.2.1, (xx2) in §10.5.2, (xx2) in §16.1.4, and (xx33) in the sample text. In most of my examples, *kɛ̀nɛ́* denotes a manner that has already been either shown or described, or that is otherwise jointly known. However, since the related locative adverb *kɛ̂n* can be either near-distant (deictic) or discourse-definite, it may be that *kɛ̀nɛ́* can also shift between these demonstrative frames.

A similar adverb is *ɲɛ̀nɛ́* 'like this'. It denotes a manner that is currently being demonstrated or that has just been described. See (xx28) in the sample text.

4.4.4 Presentatives

Inanimate and animate presentative constructions are distinguished. The **inanimate** forms are given in (xxx).

(xx1)	InanSg.O	InanSg.E	InanPl
	úŋgò:	*íŋgè:*	*éyè:*

Examples are in (xxx). The presentative follows the NP in question.

(xx2) a. *[tìmô:* *kó]* *úŋgò:*
[tree Def.InanSg.O] **Presntv**.InanSg.O
'Here's the tree.'

b. *[táŋà* *ké]* *íŋgè:*
[granary Def.InanSg.E] **Presntv**.InanSg.E
'Here is the granary.'

c. *[tìmê:* *yé]* *éyè:*
[tree.Pl Def.InanPl] **Presntv**.InanPl
'Here are the trees.'

The animate construction involves inflected forms of a quasi-verb related to the definite determiner (and near-distant demonstrative pronouns), animate singular *mó* and animate plural *bé*. If the subject is pronominal, it is represented by an independent pronoun preceding the quasi-verb.

The quasi-verb stem is *ómò:* in the singular, *ɛ́bɛ̀:* in the plural. 1Sg *-m* and 1Pl *-y* may be added. No distinctive second person forms were elicitable. This may be because the stems already end in the vowels typical of 2Sg and 2Pl suffixes, so such suffixes would be swallowed up by the quasi-verb's final vowel. The (apparent) third person forms may also be used with a second person pronoun. There is a special set of obscurely reduplicated forms used in third (and therefore also second) person reference when the referent is visible but some distance away (xx3.c). The forms are in (xx3), followed by examples in (xx4).

(xx3) Presentative (animate)

a. first person
1Sg *ómò:-m*
1Pl *ɛ́bɛ̀:-y*

b. Proximate, third person (also extended to second person)
AnSg *ómò:*
AnPl *ɛ́bɛ̀:*

c. Nonproximate, third person (also extended to second person)
AnSg *òmá:mò:*
AnPl *ɛ̀bá:bɛ̀:*

(xx4) a. *yɛ̌:* *ómò:*
woman **be**.Sg
'Here is a woman.'

b. *yàwó:* *ɛ́bɛ̀:*
woman.Pl **be**.Pl
'Here are the women.'

c. *mí* *ómò:-m*
1Sg **be**.Pl-1SgS
'Here I am.'

d. *í* *ɛ́bɛ̀:-y*
1Pl **be**.Pl-1PlS
'Here we are.'

e. *é* *ɛ́bɛ̀:*
2Pl be.Pl
'There you-Pl are.'

4.5 Adjectives

4.5.1 Underived adjectives

Adjectives behave morphologically much like nouns in Dogon languages. The combination of noun plus adjective is similar in many ways to noun-noun compounds. When an adjective modifies a noun, the noun itself is tone-dropped, and the adjective then becomes the grammatically active member of the phrase (undergoing tone-dropping when required by the wider morphosyntactic context).

In Najamba, adjectives have either two or four morphological forms when modifying nouns.

Adjectives (like participles in relative clauses, which are closely related to adjectives in form) **agree with nouns** (or with referents that could be expressed as nouns).

Based on agreement patterns with adjective, it is necessary to distinguish four categories of nouns: **animates** (humans, animals, and some objects such as 'spear') and **three categories of inanimates**, which may be labeled **O/E/ye**, **O/E/mbo**, and **E/E/ye**. There are two major classes of adjectives with different suffixal patterns, a **nonsuffixing** type (with two distinct vocalic endings, e.g. *ɛ:*

and *ɔː*), and a **suffixing** type that allows suffixes such as singular *-ŋgo* and *-ŋge* and plural *-mbo*. The nonsuffixing adjectives are sufficient to distinguish O/E from E/E types of nouns. The O/E type has two subsclasses, based on the form of the plural of the suffixing adjectives. The predominant inanimate type is O/E/ye. The E/E type is associated with places and a few other semantic categories. The O/E/mbo type is rare.

(xx1)	gloss	Sg, Pl	Adj (nonsuffix) Sg	Adj (nonsuffix) Pl	Adj (suffix) Sg	Adj (suffix) Pl
a. animate			E	O	-ye/∅	*-mbo*
	‘person’	*nǒː*, *nò-mbó*				
	‘donkey’	*párŋgá, párŋgá-mbó*				
	‘spear’	*sàmbé*, *sàmbúː*				
b. inanimate O/E/ye (common)			O	E	*-ŋgo*	*-ye*/∅
	‘hand’	*nùmǎː, nùmɛ̌ː*				
	‘stick’	*bàː-gó*, *bǎyè*				
	‘rope’	*sǐː-ŋgó*, *sǐː*				
c. inanimate E/E (places etc.)			E	E	*-ŋge*	*-ye*/∅
	‘place’	*kéŋgé*				
	‘well’	*dǎy* (*dǎy-ŋgé*), *dǎy*				
d. inanimate O/E/mbo (rare)			O	E	*-ŋgo*	*-mbo*
	‘stone’	*kìnûː, kǐ-mbò*				
	‘animal’	*dúmɛ́-ŋgó*, *dúmɔ́ː*				

4.5.1.1 Nonsuffixing adjectives with final long-vowel alternation (…*ɛː*, …*ɔː*)

Some adjectives have **two forms** used when modifying nouns within a NP. The two forms are distinguished by a shift between **back/low** and **front** final long vowels (*aː*/*ɛː*, *ɔː*/*ɛː*, *oː*/*eː*, *uː*/*iː*) . The basic structure of the paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1)	ending	category
	front vowel	animate singular
		inanimate plural
		inanimate singular (E/E class)

back/low vowel	animate plural inanimate singular (O/E class)

Consider the adjective ‘good’, with two forms *nálɛ́:* and *nálá:*. For the human and animate nouns in (xx2.a), *nálɛ́:* is singular and *nálá:* is plural. For the inanimates in (xx2.b), the reverse is true. A smaller class of nouns have *nálɛ́:* in both singular and plural (xx2.c). ‘Stone’ (xx2.d) is variable in the singular.

(xx2)		gloss	singular	plural
	a.	‘person’	*nò: nálɛ́:*	*nò-mbò nálá:*
		‘child’	*èndè: nálɛ́:*	*òndò: nálá:*
		‘donkey’	*pàrŋgà nálɛ́:*	*pàrngà-mbò nálá:*
	b.	‘hand’	*nùmà: nálá:*	*nùmè: nálɛ́:*
		‘stick’	*bà:-gò nálá:*	*bàyè nálɛ́:*
		‘rope’	*sì:-ŋgò nálá:*	*sì: nálɛ́:*
	c.	‘head’	*kì: nálɛ́:*	*kì: nálɛ́:*
		‘place’	*kèŋgè nálɛ́:*	*kèŋgè nálɛ́:*
	d.	‘stone’	*kìnù: nálá:* (or: *nálɛ́:*)	*kì-mbò nálá:*

The distribution of final vowels *ɛ́:* and *á:* is as indicated in (xx2), disregarding ‘stone’.

(xx2)	example	agreement class	Sg	Pl
	‘person’	animate (always E/O)	*ɛ́:*	*á:*
	‘hand’	inanimate O/E-class (both subclasses)	*á:*	*ɛ́:*
	‘head’	inanimate E/E-class	*ɛ́:*	*ɛ́:*

In other words, the majority inanimate agreement class and the animate class have the opposite stem-final vowel alternations. The minority E/E inanimate class (‘granary’) has a single adjectival form with the front vowel. (It is possible to distinguish singular from plural in such cases as ‘good granary’ versus ‘good granaries’ either in the noun itself or, more reliably, in a definite or other determiner following the adjective).

The vocalic opposition *á:* versus *ɛ́:* for *nálá:* ‘good’ is one of several vocalic oppositions used by different adjectives (xx3). These are all of the basic type

back/low {*u o ɔ a*} versus front {*i e ɛ*}. The two members of each alternation are distributed like *a:* and *ɛ:* in (xx2), above.

(xx3)	alternation	example	gloss
	a: ~ *ɛ:*	*nálá:, nálé:*	'good'
	ɔ: ~ *é:*	*bɔ̀bɔ̂:, bɔ̀bê:*	'weak'
	o: ~ *é:*	*gàbô:, gàbê:*	'tall'
	u: ~ *i:*	*bàndìgí:, bàndùgú:*	'last'

There are **two back/low vowels** {*a: ɔ:*} that correspond to *é:*. However, this distinction is phonologically conditioned rather than lexically arbitrary. Adjectives whose nonfinal syllable contains a vowel from the set {*a e*} have final *a:*, while those whose nonfinal syllable contains a vowel from the set {*ɔ ɛ u i*} have final *ɔ́:*.

Examples of these types are in (xxx).

(xx1)	gloss	back/low-form	front-form	
	a. *a:* ~ *ɛ:*			
	'good'	*nálá:*	*nálé:*	
	'small, young'	*pàlâ:*	*pàlê:*	
	'bad, ugly'	*nè:ndá:*	*nɛ̀:ndé:*	(note vowel harmony)
	'new'	*kàndă:*	*kàndĕ:*	
	'other'	*àndă:*	*àndĕ:*	
	'kindly'	*pà:gá:*	*pà:gé:*	
	ordinals (3rd+)	…-*nă:*	…-*nĕ:*	
	b. *ɔ:* ~ *ɛ:*			
	'fresh; moist'	*èmɔ́:*	*èmé:*	
	'weak'	*bɔ̀bɔ̂:*	*bɔbê:*	(also *bɛ̀bɔ̂:*, *bɛ̀bê:*)
	'rotten'	*gɔ̀mɔ̂:*	*gɔ̀mê:*	
	'loose, slack'	*yɔ̀rɔ̂:*	*yɔ̀rê:*	
	'big, adult'	*gìndɔ́:*	*gìndé:*	
	'first'	*dùlɔ̌:*	*dùlĕ:*	
	'old'	*kúnjɔ́:*	*kúnjé:*	
	'ugly'	*tàɲɔ̂:*	*tàɲê:*	
	'crooked'	*kɔ̀ndɔ̂:*	*kɔ̀ndê:*	
	'fragile'	*bùgɔ̂:*	*bùgê:*	
	c. *o:* ~ *e:*			
	'wet'	*tèmbô:*	*tèmbê:*	

‘tall’	*gàbô:*	*gàbê:*
‘straight’	*tèndô:*	*tèndê:*
‘unripe, raw’	*kòlô:*	*kòlê:*
‘crowded’	*àŋgô:*	*áŋgê:*
‘dry’	*màyô:*	*màyê:*
‘second’	*nòjǒ:*	*nòjě:*
‘firm’	*màlô:*	*màlê:*
‘curved’	*tòndô:*	*tòndê:*
‘crooked’	*pòndô:*	*pòndê:*
‘dense’	*kùrô:*	*kùrê:*
‘flat’	*dàgô:*	*dàgê:*
‘pointed’	*sèmbô:*	*sèmbê:*
‘pointed’	*sèrô:*	*sèrê:*

d. *i:* ~ *u:*

‘last’	*bàndùgú:*	*bàndìgí:*

4.5.1.2 Suffixing adjectives with four forms (*-ye* ~ ∅, *-ŋgo*, *-ŋge*, *-mbo*)

Another morphological type of adjective uses has suffix *-ŋgo* or *-ŋge*, respectively, for the two inanimate classes, and animate plural suffix *-mbo*. The remaining form ends in a lexical vowel (long or short) or has suffix *-ye*.

Consider the paradigm of ‘white’ (xx1).

(xx1)

class	Sg	Pl
Animate	*pílɛ̀*	*pílɛ̀-mbò*
Inanimate		
O/E/ye	*pílɛ̀-ŋgò*	*pílɛ̀*
O/E/mbo	*pílɛ̀-ŋgò*	*pílɛ̀-mbò*
E/E	*pílɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀*	*pílɛ̀*

Aside from the usual reductions in stem-final vowels before the *-ŋgo*, *-ŋge*, and *-mbo* suffixes (also found in nominal morphology), there are no vocalic alternations in the stem (certainly none involving agreement). For ‘white’, the animate singular and most inanimate plural forms have zero suffix (other adjectives have *-ye*, see below). The E/E class distinguishes singular from plural by virtue of having a singular suffix. The O/E class has two subdivisions, a dominant type (O/E/ye) with -ye/∅ plural, and a rare O/E/mbo type with a plural in -mbo like that of animate nouns.

(xxx)

gloss	InanSg	InanPl/AnSg	AnPl
a. final short {*e ɛ a*}			
bisyllabic			
‘bent’	*gɔ̀ndú-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*gɔ̀ndé*	*gɔ̀ndú-mbó*
‘blunt’	*dùmbú-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*dùmbé*	*dùmbú-mbó*
	[with humans: ‘having legs broken or paralyzed’]		
‘skinny’	—	*kómbé*	*kómbú-mbó*
‘white’	*pílɛ̀-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*pílɛ̀*	*pílɛ̀-mbò*
‘red’	*bán-gò/-gè*	*bánè*	*bán-bò*
‘black’	*jɛ́mɛ̀-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*jɛ́mɛ̀*	*jɛ́mɛ̀-mbò*
‘skinny (tree)’	*kɛ́mbɛ́-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*kɛ́mbɛ́*	—
‘ripe, cooked’	*ílà-ŋgò/-ŋgé*	*ílà*	—
‘blind’	—	*gĭrbà*	*gĭrbà-mbò*
‘curving’	*kwàndú-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*kwàndé*	—
‘curvy’	*pàmbú-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*pàmbé*	—
‘tilted’	*bàmbí-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*bàmbé*	—
trisyllabic {HL}			
‘cool’	*yégèlè-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*yégèlè*	*yégèlè-mbò*
‘coarse’	*yágàjà-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*yágàjà*	*yágàjà-mbò*
‘coarse (skin)’	*kágàjà-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*kágàjà*	*kágàjà-mbò*
trisyllabic {LH}			
‘worn-out’	*sògòjú-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*sògòjé*	—
‘damaged’	*kògɔ̀l-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*kògòlé*	—
b. final long *i:*,			
bisyllabic			
‘thin’	*mènjú-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*mènjí:*	*mènjú-mbó*
	[InanSg equals AnPl also *mènjú:*]		
‘fat, thick’	*bĭn-gó/gé*	*bìní:*	*bĭn-bó*
	[InanSg equals AnPl also *bìnú:*]		
‘short’	*dèndú-ŋgó*	*dèndí:*	*dèndí-mbó*
	[InanSg equals AnPl also *dèndú:*]		
‘tender’, soft’	*bŭr-ŋgò/ŋgè*	*bùrî:*	*bŭr-mbò*
‘rancid’	*pìbú-ŋgò*	*pìbî:*	—
c. final long *ɛ:*			
bisyllabic			
‘flat, wide’	*wàyá-ŋgó/ŋgé*	*wàyɛ́:*	*wàyá-mbó*
‘empty’	*ìnjɛ́-ŋgó/ŋgé*	*ìnjɛ́:*	*ìnjɛ́-mbó*
‘long’	*jàlá-ŋgó/-ŋgé*	*jàlɛ́:*	*jàlá-mbó*

trisyllabic

'slow'	*támàlà-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*támàlè:*	*támàlà-mbò*
	[InanPl equals AnSg also *támàlà*]		
'smooth'	*ónànà-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*ónànè:*	*ónànà-mbò*
	[InanPl equals AnSg also *ónànà*]		
'foul'	*kújàjà-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*kújàjè:*	*kújàjà-mbò*
'crispy'	*sínànà-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*sínànè:*	—
'lightly salted'	*éjèjɔ-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*éjèjè:*	*éjèjè-mbò*
'bitter'	*ámàlà-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*ámàlè:*	—

d. final short *o*

bisyllabic

'worthless'	*lă:r-ŋgó*	*là:ró*	*lă:r-mbó*

e. suffix *-yè*

Cvy

'hard, solid'	*mǎy-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*mǎy-yè*	*mǎy-mbò*
'good'	*nĕy-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*nĕy-yè*	*nĕy-mbò*
'hot; fast'	*dɔ̆y^{n}-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*dɔ̆y^{n}-yè*	*dɔ̆y^{n}-mbò*

bisyllabic

'slow'	*pèjú-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*pèjí-yè*	*pèjí-mbò(*
'narrow'	*pèmbí-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*pèmbí-yè*	—
'sour, salty'	*ăm-gò/-gè*	*àmí-yè*	*ăm-bò*
	[human sense: 'loud-talking']		
'sweet'	*ĕl-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*èlí-yè*	*ĕl-mbò*
'sharp'		*èlí-yè*	*èlú-mbò*
'pungent'	*kèrú-ŋgò*	*kèrí-yè*	—
'difficult'	*năm-gò/-gè*	*nàmí-yè*	*năm-bò*
'heavy'	*nĭm-gò/-gè*	*nìmí-yè*	*nĭm-bò*
'bitter'	*gàlú-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*gàlí-yè*	*gàlú-mbò*
'nearby'	*dŭm-gò/-gè*	*dùmí-yè*	*dŭm-bò*
'deep'	*mĭn-gò/gè*	*mìní-yè*	—
'distant'	*wăŋ-gò/gè*	*wàgí-yè*	—
'thin (wall)'	*ènú-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*èní-yè*	—
'lightweight'	*yĕr-ŋgò/-ŋgè*	*yèrí-yè*	*yĕr-mbò*

èlí-yè 'sweet' and 'sharp' (and more generally 'good') is related to another adjective *élèlè:* (*élèlè-ŋgò*) that means more specifically 'sweet, sugary'.

The adjective meaning **'much, many'** is invariant in form: *ségín.*

4.5.2 Adjectives containing frozen negative suffix (*nè:ndá:*, *èndá*)

nè:ndá: (*nè:ndé:*) **'bad, ugly'** likely contains (historically) the stem seen in *nĕy-yè* 'good'. The remainder of the 'bad' stem is most likely based on reinterpretation of an original negative predicate, the synchronic version of which is *nèy=lá* 'it isn't good' (from *nĕỳ* 'it is good'). A negative participle might also have been involved in some way. The fact that *nè:ndá:* is no longer segmentable into 'good' plus a negative morpheme is shown by the fact that it has its own chain of derivatives, such as inchoative *néndá-ndí* or *néndá-ndí-yɛ́* 'become bad', and by the fact that it (as predicate *nè:ndá* 'it is bad') can be negated: *nè:ndà=lá* 'it isn't bad'.

The adjective *èlí-yè* **'sweet'** (and more generally 'pleasing') has predicative form *èlú-m̀* 'it is sweet'. It too has an antonym whose modifying adjective form is *èndá:*, *èndé:* 'not sweet' (hence 'displeasing, unpleasant'), undoubtedly another original negative participial that is now frozen into a unit. Its inchoative is *éndá-ndí* 'become not sweet', compare *élá-lí-yɛ́* 'become sweet'. Although the 'not sweet' adjective is the common way to deny sweetness, the 'sweet' adjective can be directly negated in predicative function: *èlù-m=ndá* 'it isn't sweet'. Parallel to this, predicative *èndá* 'it is displeasing' may be negated: *èndà=lá* 'it is not displeasing'.

4.5.3 Adjectival suffix *-ndé*

I know of two adjectival stems with suffix *-ndé*, plural *-ndú-mbó*, added to low-toned stem. They may modify a numan noun like *nŏ:* 'person' or they may be used absolutely as nouns ('proud one', etc.).

(xx1)	form	gloss	related form(s)
	gàndàl-ndé	'proud, vain'	*gándàl* 'vanity'
	tàtàgà-ndé	'arrogant'	*tátágá* 'arrogance'

4.5.4 Suffix *-lù:*, *-lì:* '-ish'

The suffix *-lù:* or *-lì:* (depending on agreement), with a meaning similar to '-ish', may be added to an adjective stem. It is most common with color adjectives (xx1.a-b) but is elicitable with others (xx1.c). The formation is basically adverbial, and may be followed by *né* (and made predicative with *bò-* 'be'). If the adjective is longer than bisyllabic, it is truncated to a bisyllabic (xx1.b).

(xx1)		adjective	with *-lù:*	‘gloss’
	a.	*bánè*	*bànù-lù:*	‘reddish’
		gɛ́mè	*gèmè-lù:*	‘blackish’
		pílè	*pìlè-lù:*	‘whitish’
		wɛ́rè	*wèrè-lù:*	‘greenish’
	b.	*búlà-búlà*	*bùlà-lù:*	‘bluish’
		nòl-púnè-ŋgò	*nòlò-lù:*	‘greenish’
	c.	*jàlɛ́:*	*jàlà-lù:*	‘longish’

An example is (xx2).

(xx2)	*[jàlà-lù:*	*nɛ́]*	*bò-∅*
	[long-ish	Adv]	be-3SgS
	‘It is rather long.’		

Also of interest is *gèmìlmbó:* (*gèmìlmbé:*) ‘shiny black’ (from *gɛ́mè* ‘black’), applied for example to glossy starlings.

4.6 Participles

Participles are noun-like forms of verbs, used in relative clauses and related subordinated clause types. Depending on the aspect-negation (AN) category, the participle ends in either a long-vowel agreement suffix (*-ɛ:* ~ *-e:*, *-ɔ:* ~ *-o:*), or in a (positive imperfective) morpheme *-ŋga* that may be followed by animate plural *-mbò*. The tones of the suffixes depend on the particular AN category. For the morphology in detail, see §14.xxx.

4.7 Numerals

Numerals follow modified nouns.

4.7.1 Cardinal numerals

4.7.1.1 'One', 'same (one)', and 'other'

The numeral '1' modifying a noun behaves like an ordinary adjective ('big', 'red', etc.), in that it forces tone-dropping on the noun. The neutral numeral '1' is *kúndú* or *kúndé* depending on agreement.

(xxx)	gloss	noun	'one ...'
a.	'tree'	*tìmɔ̂:*	*tìmɔ̀: kúndú*
	'stick'	*bǎ:-gò*	*bà:-gò kúndú*
	'eye'	*jìró*	*jìrò kúndú*
	'hand'	*nùmǎ:*	*nùmà: kúndú*
	'tree'	*tímɔ̂:*	*tìmɔ̀: kúndú*
	'skin, hide'	*gùjú*	*gùjù kúndú*
	'stone'	*cínû:*	*cìnù: kúndú*
b.	'well'	*dǎy*	*dày kúndé*
	'shed'	*gúlì:-ŋgè*	*gùlì: kúndé*
	'granary'	*táŋâ*	*tàŋà kúndé*
	'house'	*ólé*	*òlè kúndé*
	'courtyard'	*bándà*	*bàndà kúndé*
	'tomtom'	*bónî:*	*bònì: kúndé*
c.	'dog'	*ŋ̀gwɛ̌:*	*ŋ̀gwè: kúndé*
	'sheep'	*pègɛ́*	*pègè kúndé*
	'donkey'	*párŋgà*	*pàrŋgà kúndé*
	'person'	*nǒ:*	*nò: kúndé*

In counting (reciting the list of numerals: '1, 2, 3, ...'), the form for '1' is *tô:y* (rhymes with the following *nô:y* '2'). In combinations with decimal terms like '20 + 1' (i.e. '21'), the form is *tómày* (§4.7.1.3).

A more emphatic adjective translatable as '(a/the) single ...' is *tɔ̀mɛ̂:* or *tɔ̀mɔ̂:* depending on the class of the noun: *nǒ: tɔ̀mɛ̂:* 'one single person'. The noun does not drop tones, suggesting that the numeral here is really an adverbial, is appositional, or is treated like higher numerals. The phrase *déŋán tɔ̀mɔ̂:* (variant *déŋán tɔ̀mɛ̂:*) 'one day' is used in narrative, as in English, to mean 'one (=a certain) day'. Close siblinghood is expressed by the adverbial phrases *nǐ: tɔ̀mɛ̂:* '(having) one (=the same) mother' and *bǎ: tɔ̀mɛ̂:* '(having) one father', which are juxtaposed when both mother and father are shared. Although

the numeral 'one' is obligatory, it may agree morphologically with a plural subject, as in predicative *nǐ: tɔ̀mɔ̂:≡ɔ̀* 'we (=you and I) are of the same mother'.

Irregularly related to the preceding are *tòmá* in e.g. *mì tòmá* 'I alone, I by myself', and adverb *tómá* 'only' (§19.4.1)

4.7.1.2 '2' to '10'

The single-digit numerals '2' to '20' are in (xxx). There is no difference between the forms used in counting ('1, 2, 3, …') and those that modify a preceding noun.

(xxx)	gloss	form	comment
	'2'	*nô:y*	
	'3'	*tà:ndî:*	
	'4'	*kɛ́:jɛ̀y*	
	'5'	*nùmî:*	
	'6'	*kúlɛ̀y*	
	'7'	*swɛ̂y*	phonetic *[sɔ̰ɛ̂j]*
	'8'	*sá:gì:*	
	'9'	*twây*	phonetic *[tɔ̰âj]*
	'10'	*píyɛ́lì*	

Numerals greater than '1' follow the modified noun but do not induce tone-dropping. The noun takes its regular plural form. Thus *pɛ̀gɛ̀ kúndé* 'one sheep', but *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó nô:y* 'two sheep', *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó píyɛ́lì* 'ten sheep', etc.

4.7.1.3 Decimal units ('10', '20', …) and combinations ('11', '59', …)

The decimal units (integral multiples of '10' up to '90') are in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	form
	'10'	*píyɛ́lì*
	'20'	*pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y*
	'30'	*pɔ́-tà:ndî:*
	'40'	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kɛ́jɛ̀y*, *pɔ̀lɛ́-kɛ́jɛ̀y*
	'50'	*pɔ̀lɔ́-nùmî:*
	'60'	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kúlɛ̀y*
	'70'	*pɔ̀lɔ́-swɛ̂y*

‘80’ *pɔ̀lɔ́-sá:gì:*
‘90’ *pɔ̀lɔ́-twây*

The mini-sequence **‘20’-‘30’** is based on *pɔ̌:-* or *pɔ́-* plus the relevant digit, with ‘2’ slightly reduced to *-nɔ̀y* (the vowel is shortened, and harmonized to the preceding vowel). The remaining terms are based on *pɔ̀lɔ́-* (dialectally *pɔ̀lɛ́-*) plus the digit term, with ‘4’ slightly reduced to *-kɛ́jɛ̀y* (the first vowel is shortened). The first vowel in the digit term in ‘30’ and ‘80’ is not shortened.

For ‘80’, an alternative (and now archaic) form is *kɛ̀:sŭm*. For speakers who use this, ‘90’ is the somewhat opaque *[kɛ̀:sŭm má] ké píyélì*, i.e. ‘80’ plus ‘10’.

The decimal terms, like the single-digit terms from ‘2’ up, follow a modified noun (in plural form, without tone-dropping): *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó pɔ̀lɔ́-nùmî:* ‘fifty sheep’.

A decimal (or larger) term D **combined with a single-digit term S** takes the form [D *sìgá* S]. In interlinears I will gloss *sìgá* as ‘plus’ but it occurs only in such numerals. When S is ‘1’, it takes the form *tómày*. In ‘11’ to ‘19’. The forms taken by the D term before *sìgá* also differ somewhat from their independent forms, in that final semivowels are removed, and final long vowels are shortened or in one case (‘50’) deleted. In all cases, the final tone is high. In ‘20’, the entire form is high-toned in normal pronunciation. The independent forms and those used before *sìgá* are shown together in (xx2). Examples are in (xx3).

(xx2)

gloss	independent	with following *sìgá* (and digit)
‘10’	*píyélì*	*pɛ́: sìgá …*
‘20’	*pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y*	*pɔ̌:-nɔ́ sìgá…*
‘30’	*pɔ́-tà:ndì:*	*pɔ́-tà:ndí sìgá…*
‘40’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kɛ́jɛ̀y*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kɛ́jɛ́ sìgá …*
‘50’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-nùmî:*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-nŭm sìgá …*
‘60’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kúlêy*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-kúlé sìgá …*
‘70’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-swêy*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-swɛ́ sìgá …*
‘80’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-sá:gì:*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-sá:gí sìgá …*
‘90’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-twây*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-twá sìgá …*

(xx3) a. *pɛ́:* *sìgá* *tómày*
ten plus one
‘eleven’

b. *pɔ̀lɔ́-kɛ́jɛ́* *sìgá* *nùmî:*
ten-four plus five
‘forty-five’

c. *pɔ̌:-nɔ́* *sìgá* *tà:ndî:*
ten-two plus three
'twenty-three'

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

The larger units are given in (xx1). For *sǐŋ* 'hundred', the final nasal tends to assimilate in position to a following consonant.

(xx1) a. 'hundred' *sǐŋ* (for currency often: *té:mèndérè*)
b. 'thousand' *mùjú*
c. 'million' *míly̰ɔ̂:ⁿ* (<French)

sǐŋ is felt to be the authentic Najamba term, but as in all Dogon languages in the Douentza-Boni areas the Fulfulde loanword *té:mèndérè* is also common with reference to currency.

These are treated like common nouns in that they may be followed by single-digit numerals in their regular forms: *sǐn nô:y* 'two hundred', *mùjú tà:ndî:* 'three thousand', *míly̰ɔ̂: nùmî:* 'five million'. When the sense is understood to be 'one hundred' or 'one thousand', the '1' numeral is typically omitted. For 'one million' the '1' numeral may be present or absent.

When an unmodified '(one) hundred' or '(one) thousand' is followed by a smaller numeral other than a single digit (as in '220' or '1200'), the regular conjunctive particle *má* 'and' is added to the larger term (xx2.a-b). This morpheme is not used when the larger-unit term is itself modified, as in 'two hundred' or 'five million' (xx2.c-d).

(xx2) a. *[pègè-mbó* *sǐm* *má* *pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y]* *jógò-m*
[sheep-Pl hundred **and** ten-two] have-1SgS
'I have one hundred twenty sheep.' (*sǐŋ*)

b. *pègè-mbó* *mùjú* *má* *[sǐn* *nô:y]*
sheep-Pl thousand **and** [hundred two]
'one thousand two hundred sheep'

c. *pègè-mbó* *[sǐn* *nô:y]* *pɔ́-tà:ndî:*
sheep-Pl [hundred two] ten-three
'two hundred and thirty sheep'

d. *pègè-mbó* *[mùjú* *nô:y]* *[sǐn* *tà:ndî:]*

sheep-Pl [thousand two] [hundred three]
'two thousand three hundred sheep'

The 'million' term *mílyɔ̂:ⁿ*, a loanword, does not easily enter into compactly expressed combinations of these types. Typically the 'million' term (with or without its own modifiers) and a numeral phrase denoting a lesser quantity are conjoined by *má* 'and', and if a modified noun is present it is repeated.

(xx3) [[*pègè-mbó mìlyɔ̀:ⁿ kúndú] má] [pègè-mbó mùjú píyɛ́lì]*
[[**sheep-Pl** million.L one] **and**] [**sheep-Pl** thousand ten]
'one million, ten thousand sheep'

A single-digit add-on uses *sìgá*. When the larger expression is also modified by a single digit '3' to '9' (as in '301'), this single-digit term undergoes the same segmental modifications seen above in combinations of single-digits with decimal terms (e.g. '12', '57'). However, *nô:y* 'two' modifying 'hundred' or 'thousand' (as in '203' or '2006') does not undergo a segmental reduction. All single-digit terms preceding *sìgá* (including '2') end in a high tone. For '(one) hundred/thousand', *má* 'and' is used before *sìgá*. The paradigm of *sǐŋ* 'hundred' is given in (xxx); that of *mùjú* 'thousand' is entirely parallel.

(xxx)	gloss	independent	with following *sìgá* (and digit)
	'100'	*sǐŋ*	*sǐm má sìgá …*
	'200'	*sǐn nô:y*	*sǐn nó:y sìgá…*
	'300'	*sǐn tà:ndî:*	*sǐn tà:ndí sìgá…*
	'400'	*sǐn ké:jèy*	*sǐn ké:jé sìgá …*
	'500'	*sǐn nùmî:*	*sǐn nǔm sìgá …*
	'600'	*sǐn kúlèy*	*sǐn kúlé sìgá …*
	'700'	*sǐn swêy*	*sǐn swɛ́ sìgá …*
	'800'	*sǐn sá:gì:*	*sǐn sá:gí sìgá …*
	'900'	*sǐn twây*	*sǐn twá sìgá …*

4.7.1.5 Currency

The local currency for several decades has been the West African CFA franc. In all native languages, amounts under a million francs are expressed in multiples of the 5 CFA unit (in some languages still called by a term such as "riyal" originally denoting a French-colonial coin not in use since Independence). In Najamba this is called *kèlû:* or (Fulfulde loan) *m̀bú:dù*. Both terms can also mean 'money'. *kèlû:* (Pl *kělè*) also means 'cowry shell(s)', formerly used as a

kind of currency (and still used as decorations, and by fortune-tellers). Since 5 CFA is worth about one American penny, numeral phrases denoting currency sums are often quite large. One effect is that it is usually unnecessary to specify that one is talking about currency. Thus 100,000 CFA francs is expressed literally as "twenty thousand riyals" (*cèlû: mùjú pǒ:-nòy*), or more often as just "twenty thousand" (*mùjú pǒ:-nòy*), there being few other countable entities of this numerical magnitude.

For sums beginning with 1,000,000 CFA francs, expressions based on the French loan *mílyô:^{n}* is used. Here it denotes one million CFA francs, not one million riyals.

4.7.1.6 Distributive numerals

Distributives are adverbial in nature, specifying a spacing (in position or time) between more or less identical entities, which may express any grammatical relation in the clause. Distributives are expressed as reduplications of numerals (xx1).

(xx1) a. *kúndú-kúndú* *jénjá*
one-one take
'Take (them) one at a time (one by one).'

b. *[yàwó:* *bé]* *tán-tán* *w-ô:*
[woman.Pl Def.AnPl] **three-three** come.Perf-Ppl
'The women came three at a time (by threes).'

Some reductions occur in the forms of the numerals. For single-digit terms, the forms are those in (xx2). Note the **uniform high tones**, and minor segmental reductions seen in other combining forms of these numerals. For '1', the Distributive form is based on the choice among two simple forms associated with different nouns.

(xx2)	gloss	form	distributive
	'1'	*kúndé, kúndú*	*kúndé-kúndé, kúndú-kúndú*
	'2'	*nô:y*	*nóy-nóy*
	'3'	*tà:ndî:*	*tán-tán*
	'4'	*ké:jêy*	*kéjé-kéjé*
	'5'	*nùmî:*	*núm-núm*
	'6'	*kúlêy*	*kúlé-kúlé*
	'7'	*swêy*	*swé-swé*

‘8’	*sá:gì:*	*ságí-ságí*
‘9’	*twây*	*twá-twá*
‘10’	*píyɛ́lì*	*píyɛ́l-píyɛ́l*

Examples involving larger numerals are in (xx3). The main issue is how much of a complex numeral to repeat in the Distributive. For ‘20’, we get either a full iteration based on the combining form *pɔ́:-nɔ́* (as used before *sìgá* in ‘21’ through ‘29’), or an interesting partial reduplication of the single-digit component only, where the first occurrence takes the combining form (*-nɔ́-*) and the second takes the fuller form *-nóy*. The latter is most often used in connection with currency (i.e. items that are sold for ’20 riyals’, equivalent to 100 francs CFA each). Distributives for ‘30’ through ‘90’ are constructed by adding the respective single-digit Distributive from (xx1), above, to *pǎ:-* or *pɔ̀lɔ́-*. Distributives based on unmodified ‘hundred’ or ‘thousand’ involve stem-interation with lexical tones preserved. Distributives based on complex numerals containing the single-digit connective *sìgá* reduplicate only the following single-digit term, as in ‘35’ in (xx3).

(xx3)	gloss	form	Distributive
	‘20’	*pǎ:-nɔ̀y*	*pǎ:-nɔ́-pǎ:-nɔ́*
			pǎ:-nɔ́-nôy (especially for currency)
	‘30’	*pɔ́-tà:ndî:*	*pɔ́-tán-tán*
	‘50’	*pɔ̀lɔ́-nùmî:*	*pɔ̀lɔ́-núm-núm*
	‘100’	*sǐŋ*	*sǐŋ-sǐŋ*
	‘200’	*sǐŋ nô:y*	*sǐŋ nóy-nóy*
	‘1000’	*mùjú*	*mùjú-mùjú*
	‘35’	*pɔ́-tà:ndí sìgá nùmî:*	*pɔ́-tà:ndí sìgá núm-núm*

4.7.2 Ordinal adjectives

4.7.2.1 ‘First’ and ‘last’

‘First’ as ordinal adjective is *dùlɛ́:*. Like (other) modifying adjectives, but unlike numerals from ‘2’ up, it forces tone-dropping on the noun. The plural is *dùlɔ́:*. There is no difference between inanimate and animate.

(xxx) a. *pòlè* *dùlɛ̌:*
knife.L first
‘the first knife’

b. *pòl-mbò* *dùlɔ̌:*
knife-Pl.L first.Pl
'the first knives'

c. *yɛ̀:* *dùlɛ́:*
woman.L first
'the first woman'

d. *yàwò:* *dùlɔ́:*
woman.Pl.L first.AnPl
'the first women'

In complex numerals ending in '1', such as '21', the numeral *tómây* has an ordinal *tòmà-nɛ́:* (see the immediately following subsection).

Adverbial 'first' as in 'we will finish the work first, then we will eat' is *gǐrmà*. A related form *gìrŋgí:* (pl *gìrŋgú:*) means 'first, in the lead (in a race or other competition)', cf. French *en tête*.

'Last' as ordinal (opposite to 'first' in a finite temporal sequence, or to denote bringing up the rear in a competition) is *bàndìgí:*, plural *bàndùgú:*, regardless of animacy.

(xxx) a. *pòlɛ̀* *bàndìgí:*
knife.L last
'the last knife'

b. *pòl-mbò* *bàndùgú:*
knife-Pl.L last.Pl
'the last knives'

c. *yɛ̀:* *bàndìgí:*
woman.L last
'the last woman'

d. *yàwò:* *bàndùgú:*
woman.Pl.L last.Pl
'the last women'

4.7.2.2 Other ordinals (suffix *-nĕ:*, *-nă:*)

There are no animacy distinctions in ordinals. 'Second' (*nòjĕ:*, *nòjŏ:*) is irregular, though the onset *nò* resembles the onset of other forms of '2'.

Ordinals from 'third' up are based on a suffix *-nĕ:* or *-nă:*, depending on agreement (for humans and other animates, *-nă:* is plural). When the ordinal suffix is added to single-digit stem, various minor segmental changes are observed. In a complex numeral phrase, the suffix is added to the final numeral stem.

The relevant stem drops its tones before the suffix. Tone-dropping applies to the entirety of tightly-knit decimal combinations, as in 'thirtieth', and it extends to the *sìgá* 'plus' linker in complex numerals ending in a single-digit term ('11', '28'). However, tone-dropping does not extend to decimal or larger terms at the beginning of complex numerals. Thus in 'eleventh', based on a cardinal numeral of the form 'ten plus one', the ordinal drops the tones of 'plus one' but not of "ten."

(247)

E agreement	O agreement	gloss
a. single-digit numeral		
nòjĕ:	*nòjŏ:*	'second'
tàn-nĕ:	*tàn-nă:*	'third'
kɛ̀jɛ̀-nĕ:	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-nă:*	'fourth'
nùm-nĕ:	*nùm-nă:*	'fifth'
kùlɛ̀-nĕ:	*kùlɛ̀-nă:*	'sixth'
swɛ̀-nĕ:	*swɛ̀-nă:*	'seventh'
sàgì-nĕ:	*sàgì-nă:*	'eighth'
twà-nĕ:	*twà-nă:*	'ninth'
pìyɛ̀l-nĕ:	*pìyɛ̀l-nă:*	'tenth'
b. decimal		
pɔ̀:-nòy-nĕ:	*pɔ̀:-nòy-nă:*	'twentieth'
pɔ̀-tàn-nĕ:	*pɔ̀-tàn-nă:*	'thirtieth'
pɔ̀lɔ̀-kɛ̀jɛ̀-nĕ:	*pɔ̀lɔ̀-kɛ̀jɛ̀-nă:*	'fortieth'
c. decimal plus single-digit numeral		
pɛ́: sìgà tòmà-nĕ:	*pɛ́: sìgà tòmà-nă:*	'eleventh'
d. larger units (unmodified)		
tɛ̀:mɛ̀ndɛ̀rɛ̀-nĕ:	*tɛ̀:mɛ̀ndɛ̀rɛ̀-nă:*	'hundredth'
sìn-nĕ:	*sìn-nă:*	'hundredth'

mùjù-nɛ̌: *mùjù-nă:* ‘thousandth’

e. hundred plus decimal numeral (two levels)
sĭn pɔ̀:-nòy-nɛ̌: *sĭn pɔ̀:-nòy-nă:* ‘hundred and twentieth’

5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

The formulae used in this chapter to quickly capture the structure of a compound type are the following: a) n[oun], v[erb], a[djective], x is a variable word-class (usually a noun); b) using x to exemplify diacritics, x̄ means regular tones (i.e. no tone change in compounding), *x́* means all-high tones, x̀ means all-low tones, *x̌* means rising {LH} tone contour. For example, the formula (x̀ n̄) means that the compound ends in a noun with its regular tones, and begins with a stem of variable word class with all tones dropped.

5.1.1 Compounds of type (x̀ n̄)

The productive type of noun-noun compound is of this type, with low-toned initial, and with the regular tones of the final. In addition to the examples covered in this section, the tone-dropped initial also features in compounds with final verbal noun (§5.1.2), agentives with a compound initial (§5.1.4), compounds with a final ending in suffix -n (§5.1.xxx), 'child' compounds (§5.1.6), and 'egg-beater' type instrument nominals (§5.1.xxx). A low-toned initial is clearly a major ingredient in compounds.

Since nouns also drop their tones before modifying adjectives, the combination **noun-adjective** is not clearly distinguishable syntactically from **noun-noun compounds**. There are quite a few cases where a stem (with nominal suffixation) occurs in only one or two combinations with a preceding low-toned noun stem, so that it is impossible to determine whether the final stem is a nominal compound final, or a postnominal adjective with narrow semantic range.

(xxx)	compound	gloss	components
	sùn-[kìná-ŋgó]	'bone behind ear'	*súnù:* 'ear', *kìná-ŋgó* 'bone'
	gìrò-gùjú	'eyelid'	*gìró* 'eye', *gùjú* 'skin'
	kìnjà-gìró	'nostril'	*kìnjâ:* 'nose', *gìró* 'eye'
	dàwà-tòndô:	'ink gourd'	*dáwà* 'ink', *tòndô:* 'can'

Either the initial or (less often) the final may itself be a compound.

(xxx)	compound	gloss	components
	[nà:-pègèlɔ̀:]-gìró	'anklebone'	*nă:* 'foot', *pègèlɔ̌:* 'hill', *gìró* 'eye'

5.1.2 Compounds with final verbal noun, type (x̀ n̄)

A verbal noun with suffix *-lé* may take a compound initial. Usually it is a noun, denoting the object (xx1.a) or occasionally the subject (xx1.b). It may also be a simple postpositional phrase (xx1.c).

(xx1) a. *bàn-[ná:-m-lé]*
horse.L-[drink-Caus-VblN]
'(time for) letting horses drink'

b. *ùjùŋgò-[déŋ-lé]*
sun.L-[fall-VblN]
'sunset'

c. *[sùnù-mà]*-[*ŋú-lé]*
[ear.L-in]-[hear-VblN]
'what someone has heard'

For more examples and discussion, see §xxx.

5.1.3 Possessive-type compounds of type (x̄ ǹ)

Compounds where the initial has its lexical tones (x̄) and the final drops to low tones are identical in form to the sequence of **possessor plus possessed noun**.

(xx1)	compound	gloss	components
	gɔ̌ŋ nìŋgè	'okra sauce'	*gɔ̌ŋ* 'okra', *níŋgé* 'green sauce'
	yógé bà:nà:	'millet porridge'	*yógé* 'millet', *bà:nâ:* 'porridge'
	[gìró dù:] kìnà-ŋgò	'cheekbone'	*gìró dù:* 'base of eye', *kìná-ŋgó* 'bone'
	pègèlô: nò:	'mountaineeer'	*pègèlô:* 'hill', *nŏ:* 'person'

In lexical elicitation, informants sometimes gave this possessive-type compound first, then (in follow-up) gave the same combination in the (x̀ n̄) compound type. For example, *yógó bà:nà:* could be glossed literally as 'porridge of millet' (cf. *cream of wheat*), and one can easily convert this into *yògè-bà:nă:*.

5.1.4 Agentive compounds of type (x̀ v̌)

In an agentive compound (cf. *basket-maker*, *rabbit hunter*), the initial represents the NP theme, which would otherwise appear as a direct object in most cases. This noun appears in bare form and in low tone, as in other noun-noun compounds. The examples are divided into those where the nominal is unrelated to the verb (xx1.a) and those involving cognate nominals (xx1.b).

(xx1)		agentive	gloss	noun	verb (chaining)
	a.	*nàmà-sèmé*	'butcher'	*nàmá* 'meat'	*sémé* 'slaughter'
		dòŋgɔ̀lɔ̀-tìyé	'basket-maker'	*dòŋgɔ̀lɔ̂:* 'basket'	*tíyɛ́* 'weave'
		òlè-ònjé	'house builder'	*ólé* 'house'	*ónjɛ́* 'build'
		kɔ̀rìyɔ̀-sèmé	'calabash-cutter'	*kɔ̀ríyɔ̀* 'calabash'	*sémé* 'saw'
		gàlà-gàné	'dye-er'	*gàlá* 'indigo'	*găn* 'put'
		gùjù-kòndé	'tanner'	*gùjú* 'skin'	*kóndé* 'make well'
		tè:-kèré	'wood-gatherer'	*té:* 'firewood'	*kɛ́ré* 'search for (firewood)'
		kèlè-mìjé	'cowry-tosser'	*kělè* 'cowries'	*mìjí* 'toss'
		gè:jù-tìyé	'weaver'	*gè:jú* 'thread'	*tíyɛ́* 'weave'
	b.	*dàbàrù-dàbé*	'magician'	*dàbárù* 'magic'	*dàbí* 'do (magic)'
		dùgà-dùgé	'sorceror'	*dúgô:* 'sorcery'	*dùgí* 'do (sorcery)'
		ŋwànà-ŋwàné	'singer'	*ŋwànă:* 'song'	*ŋwăn* 'sing'
		mànà-màné	'cook'	*mànâ:* 'meal'	*măn* 'cook'
		gɔ̀lè-gòlé	'farmer'	*gɔ́lè:* 'farming'	*gɔ̀lé* 'do farming'
		sàn-sàné	'Muslim'	*sân* 'prayer'	*sán* 'perform (prayer)'
		jɔ̀ŋɔ̀-jòŋé	'healer'	*jɔ̀nɔ̌:* 'healing'	*jɔ̀ŋɛ́* 'treat (the sick)'

Such agentives have human or at least animate reference. The **plural** is therefore formed by adding *-mbo*. The plural suffix induces the shift of the preceding stem-final /*e*/ to *u*, as in *gùjè-kòndú-mbó* 'tanners' and *kèlè-mìjú-mbó* 'cowry-tossers'. The /*u*/ syncopated if it is preceded by an unclustered stem-medial sonorant, as in *mànà-măn-bó* 'cooks'. It is also syncopated when preceded by unclustered stem-medial *b* (which fuses with the suffixal *m*), as in *dàbàrù-dă-mbó* 'magicians' from singular *dàbàrù-dàbé*.

Examples based on **monosyllabic verbs** are in (xx2). In the plural, the verb appears as *Cí-* from *Cv́* stems, and as *Cú-* from *Cwv́* stems. The verbs here are *nɛ́* 'drink' and *twɛ́* 'slash earth to sow (seeds)'.

(xxx)	singular	plural	gloss
	kɔ̀njɛ̀-né	*kɔ̀njɛ̀-[ní-mbo]*	'drinker of millet beer'
	twè-twě	*twè-[tú-mbó]*	'sower of seeds'

The verb stem may be **trisyllabic**, as in *sè:-ènìyé* 'grain winnower' (plural *sè:-ènĭy-mbó*) and *[nèmbìl-ŋgò]-nèmbìlé* 'beggars (from another village)'. It may contain a causative or other derivational suffix: *[sìyà-màlè]-[sìyà-mé]* 'carpenter (who carves wood with a hatchet)', plural *[sìyà-màlè]-[sìyă-m-bó]*, based on causative *síyá-m\\sìyà-mè* 'carve (wood)'.

In one example, the initial is a **locative PP**, tone-dropped to all-low.

(xxx) *[kì:-mà]-yɛ́* plural: *[kì:-mà]-[yí-mbó]*
[head.L-in.L]-see.Agent
'diviner (including palm-reader)' (cf. *kî: mà* 'in/on the head', *yɛ́* 'see')

Mediopassive suffix *-yɛ́* or *-y* is optionally omitted in agentives. Thus (noun plus verb) VP *yál yàli-yɛ́* 'take a stroll', agentive *yàl-yàlì-yé* (plural *yàl-yàlĭ-y-mbó*), or simplified *yàl-yálé* (plural *yàl-yàl-mbó*). The other derivational suffixes (reversive, causative) are central to the sense of the verb and are not deleted: *[òlè-gìrì]*-[*dàgì-lé]* 'unlocker of doors' from *òlè gírì* 'door' and reversive *dàgì-lɛ́* 'unlock', *òndò:-kwà:-mé* 'feeder of children' from *òndô:* 'child' and causative *kwá:-m* 'cause to eat, feed'.

5.1.5 Compounds with final suffix *-n*

In (xx1), the compound denotes the location where the action occurs. The compound initial is low-toned, and the nominalization with *-n* has {LHL} contour realized as L<HL>. There is some similarity with uncompounded -n

nominals like *óbì-n* ‘place to sit’, see (xx2.a-b) in §4.2.2.2, but the tone contours are somewhat different.

(xx1)		compound	gloss	noun + verb
	a.	*ɲàllò-[kànî-n]*	‘conversation place’	*ɲállò kán* ‘make conversation’
		kèlèn-[kànî-n]	‘defecating place’	*kélén kán* ‘go to defecating area at edge of village’
	b.	*mànà-[mànî-n]*	‘kitchen’	*mànâ:* ‘meal’, *măn* ‘cook meal’
	c.	*kòmbì-[dèbî-n]*	‘sanctuary in rocks’	*kòmbî:* ‘cave(s)’, *dèbɛ́* ‘cover’
	d.	*pùmèrè-*[*sànî-n]*	‘holiday prayer place’	*púmèrè* ‘group prayer on Muslim holiday’, *sán* ‘pray’
	e.	*mɔ̀mè-*[*nà:-mí-ǹ]*	‘place for sacrifices’	*mɔ̀mɛ́* ‘fetish’, *nă:-m* ‘cause to drink’

The *-n* nominal has no plural.

In (xx2), the compound denotes a state. The initial is again low-toned, but this time the nominalized verb has low tone except for a final rise (realized on the *-n* suffix). For uncompounded abstractive nominals of this type, see (xx1) in §4.2.2.2.

(xx2)				
	a.	*kèndà-ɲàmĭ-n*	‘anxiety (waiting)’	*kéndà:* ‘heart’, *ɲăm* ‘be ruined’
	b.	*pɛ̀rɛ̀-dùmĕ-n*	‘being pampered’	*pérɛ́ dùmɛ́* ‘be pampered’

Possibly belonging here is *à:lè-mă:n* ‘drought, dry spell’. The initial is clearly *à:lé* ‘rain’, and the final is obscurely related to *măy* ‘hard’.

In *òlè-súgí-n* ‘host (who lodges a visitor)’, *-súgí-n* corresponds obscurely to *súgó-ndí* ‘cause to go down’ (with uncommon causative suffix *-ndí*), hence ‘lodge, provide lodging for’ (one “goes down” to one’s home after the day’s work).

5.1.6 Compounds of the type ‘X-child’

The uncompounded noun for ‘child’ has singular *èndê:* and plural *òndô:*. It is regularly used with names of animal species, as in *pègè-èndê:* ‘sheep-child’ (i.e. ‘lamb’) and *kòr-èndê:* ‘chicken-child’ (i.e. ‘chick’).

However, unlike the case in northeastern Dogon languages, this term does not occur in Najamba compounds of the type ‘baobab-child’ to denote the fruit or other productive part of a tree or plant species. Instead, ‘fruit of X’ is expressed using a distinct noun, *ɔ̀mɔ̂:* ‘fruit’. Likewise, ‘child’ compounds are not widely used to denote small objects paired with larger objects.

However, there are some (semi-)frozen nouns ending in …*ndê:* (plural …*ndô:*) or in …*ndô:* (plural …*ndê:*) that appear to have originated as ‘X-child’ compounds.

(xx1)	singular	gloss	components or comments
	nùmàndê:	‘small grindstone’	used on large grindstone (*nùŋgɛ́*)
	tùmàndô:	‘pestle’	synonym *tùmmɔ̂:*, used with mortars (*túní:*)
	ɔ̀gɔ̀ndê:	‘rich person’	*ɔ̀gɔ́* ‘chief’
	bà:ndê:	‘rival’	*bǎ:* ‘father’
	púlàndê:	‘Fulbe person’	plural *púlàndû:* or *púlàndô:*

5.1.7 Compounds with ‘man’ (*ánè*) or ‘woman’ (*yɛ̌:*)

The uncompounded noun for ‘man’ is *ánè* or *ánì* (dialectal variants), plural *án-à:*. That for ‘woman’ is *yɛ̌:*, plural *yàwó:*.

These forms are also used as adjectives following e.g. names of animals. For example, *nɛ̌:* denotes ‘bovine, cattle’, and may be specified for sex as *nè: ánè* ‘bull’ or *nè: yɛ̌:* ‘cow’. (More often, adult male livestock animals are described more specifically as ‘castrated male’ or ‘uncastrated male’.)

The nouns meaning ‘man’ and ‘woman’ may be modified by adjectives. Examples with ‘woman’ as *yè: ká:bà* ‘full-grown woman with children (up to age 40)’ and *yè: kùmî:* ‘unmarried woman’ (plurals *yàwò: ká:bà-mbò*, *yàwò: kǔm-bò*). Compare *àn kùmî:* ‘unmarried man’ (plural *ànà: kǔm-bó*). However, there are some combinations where ‘woman’ takes a special form *yà-* (in one case, *yà:-*) instead of *yɛ̌:*. Since *yà-* does not change in the plural, while *yɛ̌:* is replaced by *yàwó:* in the plural (even with a following adjective), *yà-* must be considered to be a compound initial, as opposed to an ordinary modified noun.

At least two of the combinations have male equivalents, with invariant *ànà-* as the initial.

(xx1)		form	gloss	plural
	a.	*yà-sílè*	'old woman'	*yà-síl-mbò*
		yá-yè	'woman who just gave birth'	*yâ-y-mbò*
		yà-pàndé	'widow'	*yà-pàndú-mbó*
		yà-púnà	'menstruating woman'	*yà-púnà-mbò*
		yà:-bû:	'blood relatives (maternal)'	—
	b.	*ànà-pàndé*	'widower'	*ànà-pàndú-mbó*
		ànà-bû:	'blood relatives (paternal)'	—

The compound finals *-sílè*, *-yè*, and *-bû:* are not attested in other combinations. ('Old man' is *ànè kúnjɛ́:*.) For the 'widow(er)' terms compare the verb *pándí-lɛ́* '(man) marry (widow)'. For 'menstruating woman', compare *pùnă:* 'menstrual blood' and *pùnàn-ólé* 'house for menstruating women'.

5.1.8 'Owner of' (*dòmbă:*)

The uncompounded noun 'owner' is *dòmbă:* (plural *dòmbà-mbó*). It occurs in (possessive) compounds of the type 'X's owner'. The singular is usually heard as *dòmbà* with final short vowel. Example: *ólé dòmbà* 'house owner' (plural *ólé dòmbà-mbò*). Since the possessor noun (here 'house') has full NP form, its grammatical number varies independently of that of the 'owner' noun (hence 'house owner', 'house owners', 'houses owner', 'houses owners' are all possible, depending on how many structures and how many proprieters are involved).

Further examples illustrating the range of usage follow. Those in (xx1.a) are simple compounds with a preceding noun. In (xx1.b) we have a similar compound that functions as an adjectival phrase, modifying a preceding low-toned noun.

(xx1)	a.	*dàlídì dòmbà*	'one who commands respect'
		sɔ̀njɔ̌: dòmbà	'old-stock person' (from an old family in a village)
		dè-dégè dòmbà	'fortune-teller who holds seances'
		tó:rù dòmbà	'fetish-worshiper'
		nɛ́:dì dòmbà	'mild-mannered person'

b. *sàmbè [dúgà: dòmbà]* ‘spear with clanging attachments’

more textual examples of *dòmbà*

In (xx2), excerpted from (xx27) in the sample text, the compound initial is actually a verb form. For the generalized use of pseudo-1Sg subject in anaphoric contexts, see §18.2.2.

(xx2) … *[àybà-mbó-m̀* *dòmbà:]=ỳ*
… [humiliate-Fut-LogoS owner.L]=it.is
'(It's you who) are involved in humiliating P.'

5.1.9 Product-of-action expressions (‘boiled eggs’) (*-bà:*)

The initial in these expressions is a noun denoting a category of entities, in low-toned form (as in noun-noun compounds and in noun-adjective sequences). The second element is a kind of adjective alluding to the process of making a particular kind of this category (compare English *boiled eggs*, *fried eggs*, *poached eggs*, etc.).

The most common construction is one where the verb takes its chaining form, i.e. the E-stem for verbs with {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic class and the I/U-stem for those with {*e o*} vocalism. This is followed by *-bà:*, which is here treated as a unit morpheme, but which is at least historically a **participial version of the past passive** *=b-à:=ỳ* (§10.5.1).

(xxx)	*tèŋgà:rè kɔ́bɛ́-bà:*	‘large conical hat’	*kɔ́bɛ́* ‘apply hide to’
	sàbè kɔ́bɛ́-bà:	‘amulet’	*kɔ́bɛ́* ‘apply hide to’
	pùnè ɲɛ̀ŋɛ́-bà:	‘sifted flour’	*ɲɛ̀ŋɛ́* ‘sift’
	gòrù túpíné-bà:	‘embroidered skullcap’	*túpínɛ́* ‘embroider’
	sàpùn màŋgí-bà:	‘soap ball’	*màŋgí* ‘shape into balls’
	sòlè jàŋgí-bà:	‘cream of millet (type)’	*jàŋgí* ‘pound with water’
	sòlè ă:n-bà:	‘cream of millet (type)’	*ă:n* ‘cook in pot with oil’
	yàlì bĭ:-r-bà:	‘field lying fallow’	*bĭ:*-r- ‘cause to lie down’

If the entity denoted is countable, the plural is expressed by the noun, holding the *-bà:* form constant: *sàbù: kɔ́bɛ́-bà:* ‘amulets’.

In *[sè: nằm-bà:] pùnè* ‘ground millet cooked between two hot stones’, the product-of-action expression (*sê:* ‘grains’, *nằm* ‘grind’) is morphosyntactically the possessor of *púnè* ‘flour’.

5.1.10 Function-of-noun compounds (‘water for drinking’) (*-mb-à:*)

These expressions are of the type ‘drinking water’ ~ ‘water for drinking’. The verb denotes the action that the entity is intended for. The noun is low-toned, and may be considered to be the head NP of a relative clause. The verb ends in *-mb-à:*, a participle-like ending that is closely related to present passive *-mb-à:=y* (§10.5.3). Consistent with this morphological association, the verb is in the **A/O-stem**, and has tonal formula **((X))H…(L)**. This formula means there there is an obligatory high tone, with a stem-final low-tone if another (final) syllable is available, and the lexical initial tone X is also expressed if there is another available mora at the beginning; any remaining moras between the initial lexical tone and the stem-penultimate high tone are also high. So the stem appears as H, HL, XHL, XHHL, etc., depending on prosodic structure.

(xx1)	a.	*sìrà hámpà-mb-à:*	‘chewing tobacco’
	b.	*sìrà síŋgí-yò-mb-à:*	‘snuff (sniffing tobacco)’
	c.	*ìŋgè ná-mb-à:*	‘drinking water’
	d.	*ìŋgè díyà-mb-à:*	‘bathing water’
	e.	*sò-ŋgò gòrí-yò-mb-à:*	‘cloth head covering’ (*gòrí-y* ‘put on one’s hat’)
	f.	*tàbà námà-mb-à:*	‘tobacco for crushing’ (often pronounced *tàbà nâ:-mb-à:*)

In the plural, only the initial noun changes: *swè: gòrí-yò-mb-à:* ‘cloth head coverings’, plural of (xx1.e).

Note the distinction between *tàbà námà-mb-à:* (variant *tàbà nâ:-mb-à:*) ‘tobacco for crushing’ (xx1.f) and *tàbà năm-bà:* ‘crushed tobacco (for snuff or for chewing)’, both from verb *năm* ‘crush, grind’. The latter is a product-of-action compound of the type described in the preceding section.

5.1.11 Instrument-nominal compounds in *-î:* (‘egg-beater’)

Uncompounded instrument nominals (‘steamer’, ‘covering’, ‘scrubber’) with singular *-í-ŋgò* and plural *-î:* were covered in §4.2.2. Compounds based on such instrument nominals add an initial noun denoting a common direct object of the relevant action (‘egg-beater’). The entire compound may function by itself as a noun, or it may be added as a modifying adjective to a noun denoting the general class of objects (‘milk-drawing calabash’).

In elicitation, my primary assistant typically adjusted the grammatical number of the nominal initial to that of the compound, e.g. singular ‘egg-beater’

versus plural ‘eggs-beaters’. He had some experience teaching French (and Dogon) grammar, and at times self-consciously applied this “rule of grammar” in our vocabulary elicitation sessions. In less self-conscious speech, the nominal initial tends to be stable, taking singular or collective form for mass nouns, and plural or collective form for countable nouns.

(xx1) plural instrumental (component noun and verb)

a. *ònjù-[dòŋ-î:]* *ónjù:* ‘breast’, *dɔ̀ŋɛ́* ‘put under’
breast.L-[put.under.L-Instr]
‘bras’ (Sg *ònjù-[dɔ̌ŋ-gò]*)

b. *[sà-gò]-[hà:s-î:]* *sá-gò* ‘cotton’, *há:sɛ́-* ‘card’
[cotton-Sg.L]-[card(verb).L-Instr]
‘cotton card(er)s (for carding ginned cotton)’ (Sg *[sà-gò]-[hà:sí-ŋgó]*)

c. *ìnɛ̀:-[gìj-î:]* *ìnɔ̌:\\ìnɛ̌:* ‘tooth’, *gìjɛ́* ‘brush’
tooth.Pl.L-[brush(verb).L-Instr]
‘chewsticks’ (stick used like toothbrush) (Sg *ìnɔ̀:-[gìjí-ŋgò]*)

d. *kɔ̀rìyɛ̀* *ɛ̀mɛ̀-[ɛ̀m-î:]* *ɛ́mɛ̀:* ‘milk’, *ɛ́mɛ́* ‘milk(verb)’
calabash-Pl.L milk.L-[milk(verb).L-Instr]
‘calabashes for milking’ (Sg … *ɛ̀mɛ̀-[ɛ̌m-gò]*)

e. *ɛ̀lɛ̀-[à:n-î:]* *ɛ́lɛ́* ‘peanut’, *ǎ:n* ‘roast w. oil’
peanut.Pl.L-[dry.roast.L-Instr]
‘pot for dry-roasting millet or peanuts (in a little oil)’ (Sg *ɛ̀lɛ̀-[ǎ:n-gò]*)

Other examples from the dictionary, given this time in the singular: *gòn-gò ìnjè-[n-í-ŋgò]* ‘waterjar for drinking water’), *nà:-[tàmb-í-ŋgò]* ‘foot-pedal (for loom)’, *kɔ̀rìyɔ̀ bègìlù:-[bègìl-í-ŋgò]* ‘winnowing calabash’, *gòlò-[kɛ̌r-ŋgò]* ‘fire lighter’ (i.e. traditional flint lighter), *pà: ìŋgè-[dǐy-ŋgò]* ‘basin for bathing’, *dèbì-[dèb-í-ŋgò]* ‘stopper for closing gunpowder chamber’, *kà:bù sàn-sǎn-gò* ‘mat for praying’, *kì:-[tǔŋ-gò]* ‘pillow’ (“head-rester-er”, verb *túŋgɛ́* ‘rest [head]’).

In *[yèmbì-lè]-[yèmb-ú-ŋgò*] ‘square fan’, *yémbí-lé* is the verbal noun of *yɛ̀mbɛ́* ‘(to) fan’, the verb that is the basis for *[yèmb-ú-ŋgò*].

In (xx2), the instrument compound (which by itself means ‘straining basket for liquids’) is the possessor of the class noun.

(xx2) *ìŋgè-[sèj-î:]* *tɛ̀mɛ̀*
water.L-[filter(verb).L-Instr] sieve.L
'water-filtering sieve' (*íŋgɛ́* 'water', *sɛ́jɛ́* 'filter', *tɛ́mɛ̀* 'sieve')

In the case of *gì:-pòlè dàmb-î:* 'small harvesting knife (pushed into base of millet grain spike)', the semantic relationship is different. *dàmb-î:* 'pusher' can also be used by itself in the same sense. However, *gì:-pòlé* 'harvest knife' does not denote the logical object (since the knife itself does the pushing). Instead, 'harvest knife' is the larger class of implements of which this is a type. In other words, it is a 'pushing harvest-knife', not a 'pusher of harvest-knives'.

The other type of uncompounded instrument nominal, where *-î:* is the singular and **plural suffix** *-mbò* is added to it, is less common but attested in at least one compound (xx4). Note, incidentally, the interesting semantic shift in this compound (perhaps somewhat euphemistic).

(xx4) singular instrumental (component noun and verb)

tɛ̀ndɛ̀-[kòmìl-î:] *tɛ̀ndɛ́* 'shell', *kómíl* 'crack open'
shell.L-[crack.open.L-Instr]
'scraper (for removing baby's excrement)'

5.1.12 Other nominal compounds

The compounds in (xx1) are somewhat opaque.

(xx1) a. *mìsɔ̀:rɔ̀* *tɔ̃:-mb-ò:*
'simple head shawl (modern fabric)'

b. *mìsɔ̀:rɔ̀-gì tɔ̃:-mb-è:*
[= (a)]

c. *bà:-gò túb-á:*
'staff (stick) with forked end'

(xx1.a-b) have *mìsɔ́:rɔ̀* 'head shawl' (< Fr *mouchoir*) as initial. The final looks like a frozen participle. No verb of this shape is in use, but my assistant suggested a connection with adverbial *tɔ̃:-tɔ̃:* 'simple, plain'.

(xx1.c) begins with *bă:-gò* 'stick, staff'. The final is a participle or adjective, related obscurely to the verb *túbí-yɛ́-* 'lean on'.

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi compounds

Bahuvrihi compounds have meanings like ‘four-footed’ or ‘fleet-footed’. They describe an individual or subset from a class (‘person’, ‘animal’, etc.) by characterizing or quantifying a body part or similar attribute. The bahuvrihi compound is by nature adjectival, but it may also be used absolutely, with the relevant class noun understood.

5.2.2 Noun-adjective bahuvrihi (“Blackbeard”) compounds (n̄ ā)

In the bahuvrihi construction attested with adjectives, the attribute noun is followed by the adjective, **both keeping their regular tones** (instead of the noun dropping tones before the adjective). **Agreement on the adjective is with the class noun** (overt or covert), hence with ‘person’ in ‘black-hearted (person)’, not with the attribute noun (‘heart’). Thus compare (xx1.a) with *kèndà: gɛ́mè-ŋgò* ‘(a) black heart’ (plural *kèndɛ̀: gɛ́mè* ‘black hearts’), noting the tones and (in the singular) the agreement.

(xx1) a. *nò:* *kéndà:-gɛ́mè*
person.L heart-black
‘cruel (“black-hearted”) person’

b. *tìŋgà* *kî:-bánè*
agama head-red
‘red-headed agama lizard’

c. *èndɛ̀:* *kî:-bìní:*
child.L head-big
‘big-headed child’

The plurals, respectively, are *nò-mbò kéndà:-[gɛ̂:-mbò]* ‘cruel persons’, *tìŋgà-mbò kî:-[bân-bò]* ‘red-headed agamas’, and *òndò: kî:-[bĭn-bó]* ‘big-headed children’. The class noun (‘person’, etc.) and the final adjective agree, while the form of the attribute noun is unchanged from its form in the singular bahuvrihi.

Further examples: *gùjú-gɛ́mè* ‘black-skinned one (African)’, *gùjú-bánè* ‘red-skinned one (white person)’, *sémbɛ́-pàlɛ̂:* ‘having little strength (weak)’, *gòjí-màlɛ̂:* ‘having a firm body (energetic)’, *kìnjâ:-sèrɛ̂:* ‘having a pointed snout’, *pò:lò ìbí-wàyá:* ‘waterskin with wide mouth’, *[bí-ŋgán]-[nàmí-yɛ̀]* ‘of

difficult nature' (one who is difficult to get along with); *kî:-[măy-yè]* 'hard-headed' (i.e., stubborn), *dánà-bìní:* 'big-headed person', *nă:-gɔ̀ndé* 'having bent leg(s)' ('bowlegged'), *nɔ́:nɔ̀-nɛ̀:ndɛ́:* 'unlucky, ill-fated', *nɔ́:nɔ̀-[nɛ̌y-yè]* 'fortunate, blessed with good fortune'.

5.2.3 Noun-numeral bahuvrihi ('four-footed') compounds (*-mbé*)

In another construction, attested in my data only with numerals, a suffix with agreement forms *-mbé* or *-mbó* (for humans and animates, *-mbé* is singular and *-mbó* plural) is added to the all-low toned sequence of the attribute noun and the adjective or numeral. I will gloss the suffix as 'having' in interlinears.

(xx2) a. *nà:-kɛ̀jɛ̀-mbé*
foot.L-four.L-having
'quadruped, four-footed' (*nă:*, *kɛ́:jɛ̀y*)

b. *nɛ̀:* *kì:-nòy-mbé*
cow.L head.L-two.L-having
'two-headed cow' (*kî:*, *nô:y* ; plural *nàwò: kì:-nòy-mbó*)

As (xx2.a) suggests, some numerals have a reduced form before the suffix in this construction. A final semivowel is dropped ('7', '9', but not '2'). A final short high vowel is dropped after an unclustered sonorant ('10'). A final long vowel is shortened ('3', '8'), or dropped after an unclustered sonorant ('5').

(xxx)	gloss	numeral	'having X head(s)'
	'1'	*kúndé*	*kì:-kùndè-mbé*
	'2'	*nô:y*	*kì:-nòy-mbé*
	'3'	*tà:ndÎ:*	*kì:-tà:ndì-mbé*
	'4'	*kɛ́:jɛ̀y*	*kì:-kɛ̀jɛ̀-mbé*
	'5'	*nùmî:*	*kì:-nùm-bé*
	'6'	*kúlêy*	*kì:-kùlè-mbé*
	'7'	*swêy*	*kì:-swè-mbé*
	'8'	*sá:gì:*	*kì:-sà:gì-mbé*
	'9'	*twây*	*kì:-twà-mbé*
	'10'	*píyɛ́lì*	*kì:-pìyɛ̀l-mbé*
	'1000'	*mùjú*	*kì:-mùjù-mbé*

5.2.4 Noun-adverbial bahuvrihi compounds

A bahuvrihi may end in an adverbial phrase, including the particle *nɛ̀* (§8.xxx). Such adverbials often have expressive adjective-like senses and may be used predicatively (with *bò-* 'be'). These bahuvrihis are often used in insulting and mocking expressions.

(xxx) a. *pùrmbɛ̌:* *[sɔ̀jí→* *nɛ̀]*
buttock [skinny Adv]
'one with skinny buttocks'

b. *pùrmbɛ̌:* *[gɛ̀ŋgìrí→* *nɛ̀]*
buttock [tilted Adv]
'one with tilted buttocks'

6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1 Linear order

The basic linear ordering of elements within a NP (excluding relative clauses) is illustrated by the examples in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *[ḿ bà] òlè gìndɛ́: nô:y*
[1SgP father] house.L big two
'my father's two big houses'

b. *òlè nò:y ěy*
house.L two.L those.Inan
'those two houses'

c. *òlè gìndɛ́: dîn*
house.L big each
'each big house'

d. *òlè ěy yè dîn*
house.L these.Inan Def.InanPl.L all
'all these houses'

e. *ánà: bé*
man.Pl Def.AnPl
'the men'

f. *ànà: mǎy-mbò bé*
man.Pl.L solid-Pl Def.AnPl
'the solid (=able-bodied) men'

g. *òlè gìndɛ́: kɛ́:jèy yé*
house.L big four Def.InanPl
'the four big houses'

h. *òlè gìndɛ́: tà:ndî:*

house.Pl.L big.InanPl three
[mí yè] *yè* *dîn*
[1SgP Poss-InanPl] Def.InanPl.L all
'all my three big houses'

There are two alternative positions for possessors; a nonpronominal possessor always preceded the possessed noun (xx1.a), while a pronominal possessor may either precede, as in *[ḿ bà]* 'my father' in (xx1.a), or follow, as in (xx1.h). When the pronominal possessor follows the possessed noun, it requires a possessive classifier agreeing with the possessed noun, so in a sense the pronominal possessor is still prenominal).

The order of elements is therefore that in (xx2), it being understood that only one of the two possessor slots may be filled in any given NP.

(xx2)
a. (prenominal) possessor NP or pronoun
b. noun
c. modifying adjective(s)
d. cardinal numeral
e. (postnominal) possessor pronominal followed by possessive classifier
f. demonstrative or definite determiner
g. universal quantifier ('all')

6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

A NP may be constructed with the central noun slot empty. This can happen when the lexical category (e.g. 'tree') is understood from previous discourse context or other shared knowledge, or when the lexical category is indefinite ('what is this?'). The NP may take the form of an adjective (with or without determiner), a determiner, or a numeral.

(xx1) a. *[gìndó:* *kó]* *dèŋè-∅,*
[big.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] fall.Perf-3SgS
[mènjú: *kó]* *íŋgà-∅*
[small.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] stand.Stat-3SgS
'The big one fell down, the small one is (still) standing.'
(after being asked how the two trees in the courtyard are doing after a windstorm)

b. *ǒm* *nálɛ́:,* *òmá:* *nálɛ́:=là-∅*
Prox.AnSg good.AnSg, Far.AnSg good.AnSg=not.be-3SgS

‘This one is good, that one (over there) is no good.’
(two motorcycles)

c. *[tà:ndî:* *yé]* *dèŋè-∅,*
[three Def.InanPl] fall.Perf-3SgS,
[nô:y *yé* *íŋgà-∅*
two Def.InanPl stand.Stat-3SgS
‘Three fell, two are standing.’ (trees)

6.1.3 Detachability (in relatives)

In relative clauses, the head NP remains inside its clause but undergoes tone-dropping. In addition, a determiner and/or ‘all’ quantifier that would otherwise have occurred with this NP are shifted to the position immediately following the (verbal) participle at the end of the relative clause. Possessors, modifying adjectives, and cardinal numerals remain with the head NP inside the clause. For details and examples, see §xxx.

6.1.4 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping

Tone-dropping (to stem-wide all-low tone) applies to a noun when followed by a modifying adjective or demonstrative.

(xxx) a. *pègɛ̀* *ǒm*
sheep.L this.AnSg
‘this sheep’

b. *pègɛ̀* *nálɛ́:*
sheep.L good.AnSg
‘a good sheep’

c. *pègɛ̀* *nàlɛ̀:* *ǒm*
sheep.L good.AnSg.L this.AnSg
‘this good sheep’

d. *òlè* *gìndɛ̀:* *bán-gè*
house.L big.InanSg.L red-InanSg.E
‘a big red house’

In examples like ‘this good sheep’ and ‘(a) big red house’, there is no way to tell whether the final element has induced tone-dropping on both preceding words, or whether tone-dropping is cyclical, with each modifier inducing tone-dropping on the adjacent element.

Tone-dropping does not apply to a noun before a **cardinal numeral** or the distributive quantifier (‘each’).

(xxx) a. *pègé* *dîn*
sheep each
‘each sheep’

b. *pègè-mbó* *nùmî:*
sheep-Pl five
‘five sheep’

When the universal quantifier (‘all’) follows a noun with definite morpheme, the particle but not the noun drops tones. The ‘all’ quantifier also has this effect on pronouns.

(xxx) a. *pègè-mbó* *bè* *dîn*
sheep.Pl Def.AnPl.L all
‘all (of) the sheep’

b. *ólé* *yè* *dîn*
house Def.InanPl.L all
‘all (of) the houses’

6.2 Possessives

There are two ways to construct a possessed NP with the meaning ‘X’s Y’, when X is a pronoun (‘my house’, ‘his goat’). In one, the possessor X (in its regular form) precedes the possessed noun Y, which drops its tones. The formula here is therefore **[X Y.L]**, where L indexes tone-dropping. In the second, the possessed NP Y comes first, in its regular form, followed by a possessed nominal classifier that agrees with Y in number and animacy. The formula is **[Y_i [X $Class_i$]**, where subscript “i” indicates number and animacy categories. The two constructions are exemplified in (xx1.a-b), using *ŋgwĕ:* ‘dog’

(xxx) a. *mí* *ŋgwè:*
1SgP dog.L

'my dog'

b. *ŋgwɛ̌:* *[mí* *yɛ̀]*
dog [1SgP Poss.AnSg]
'my dog'

Only the type [X Y.L] is available when X is a nonpronominal NP. When Adjective-Numeral Inversion applies in a NP, even a pronominal possessor must be preposed, see §6.4.2.

6.2.1 Possessor precedes possessed [X Y.L]

The possessor NP has its regular form, and appears to the left of the possessed core NP. The latter drops its tones. If the core NP contains one or more modifying adjectives, all stems other than the final adjective are already tone-dropped, so the only audible tone-dropping due to the possessor is that of the final adjective. A cardinal numeral following the core NP is also tone-dropped under the influence of a possessor (xx1.c). Any determiners and non-numeral quantifiers that follow at the end of a NP are not affected tonally by the presence of a possessor. Possessed NP's may end in a definite determiner agreeing with the head (xx1.b-d) but it is optional.

(xx1) a. *á:màdù* *òlè*
Amadou house.L
'Amadou's house' (*ólé*)

b. *á:màdù* *pègɛ̀* *mó*
Amadou sheep.L Def.AnSg
'Amadou's sheep-Sg' (*pègɛ́*)

c. *á:màdù* *òlè* *nùmì:* *yé*
Amadou house.L five.L Def.InanPl
'Amadou's five houses' (*ólé*, *nùmî:*)

Poss N Num (without Definite)
Poss N Num Dem
Poss N 'all'

d. *á:màdù* *òlè* *gìndɛ̀:* *ké*
Amadou house.L big.InanSg.E.L Def.InanSg.E

‘Amadou’s big house’ (*ólé*)

Kin terms are treated like other possessed nouns (xxx).

(xxx) *á:màdù* *nì:*
Amadou mother.L
‘Amadou’s mother’

6.2.2 With possessive classifier [Y_i [X $Class_i$]]

The possessive classifiers are listed in (xx1). They make the usual distinctions in nominal morphology: between singular and plural, between animate and inanimate, and (within inanimate singular) between O and E classes.

(xx1) Possessive classifiers

animacy	Sg	Pl
animate	*yɛ̀*	*bɔ̀*
inanimate.O	*gɔ̀*	*yɛ̀*
inanimate.E	*gɛ̀*	*yɛ̀*

This construction is available as an option when the possessor is pronominal (see below for nominal possessors). Examples of each of the six classifiers are in (xx2). I can find no lexical restrictions on this construction. For example, kin terms as well as alienably possessed objects may occur in this construction, or with a preposed pronominal possessor.

(xx2) a. *pɛ̀gɛ́* *[ɔ́* *yɛ̀]*
sheep.Sg [2SgP Poss.AnSg]
‘your-Sg sheep-Sg’

b. *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó* *[ɔ́* *bɔ̀]*
sheep-Pl [2SgP Poss.AnPl]
‘your-Sg sheep-Pl’

c. *bǎ:-gò* *[mí* *gɔ̀]*
stick-Sg [1SgP Poss.InanSg.O]
‘my stick’

d. *bǎyè* *[mí* *yɛ̀]*
stick.Pl [1SgP Poss.InanPl]
'my sticks'

e. *táŋà* *[mɔ́* *gɛ̀]*
granary [3SgP Poss.InanSg.E]
'his/her granary'

f. *táŋɛ̀* *[mɔ́* *yɛ̀]*
granary.Pl [3SgP Poss.InanPl]
'his/her granaries'

g. *dèlá:* *[mí* *yɛ̀]*
elder.sibling [1PlP Poss.AnSg]
'my elder (same-sex) sibling' (*dèlǎ:*)

The shift of /dèlǎ:/ to *dèlá:* before high-toned *mí* in (xx2.g) is by Word-Final R-to-H Raising (§xxx).

The possessor pronominal is closely fused with the classifier phonologically, and the two could be transcribed as one word. In particular, the *ɔ* or *ɛ* of the classifiers obligatorily induces harmony on a mid-height vowel of the pronominal. This affects second and third person forms (xx3).

(xx3)

category	usual form	before classifier
2Sg	*ó*	*ɔ́*
2Pl	*é*	*ɛ́*
3Sg	*mó*	*mɔ́*
3Pl	*bé*	*bɛ́*

Other contractions also occur, but they are optional. The /y/ or /g/ of the classifier may lenite or disappear, resulting in optional contractions of the type /mɔ́ gɔ̀/ > phonetic [mɔ̂:] and /ɛ́ yɛ̀/ > phonetic [ɛ̂:]. 1Sg *mí* may drop its vowel and have its nasal assimilate, as in /mí gɔ̀/ > phonetic [ŋ̀gɔ̀].

Modifiers such as numerals and adjectives may be added to the possessed noun (xx4)

(xx4) a. *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó* *nùmî:* *[ɔ́* *bɔ̀]*
sheep-Pl five [2SgP Poss.AnPl]
'your-Sg five sheep'

b. *pɛ̀gɛ̀* *jɛ́mɛ̀* *[ɔ́* *yɛ̀]*

sheep.L black [2SgS Poss.AnSg]
'your-Sg black sheep-Sg'

A determiner and/or a universal quantifier may be added after the possessor pronominal and the classifier. A demonstrative, like *ǒm* in (xx5a), has no audible tone-lowering effect on preceding words. This is presumably because its power to control tone-lowering is limited to the possessive classifier, which in all cases happens to be already L-toned. The demonstrative cannot control tone-lowering on the pronominal possessor morpheme, or on the noun and any modifiers.

(xx5) a. *pɛ̀gɛ́ [ɔ́ yɛ̀]* *ǒm*
sheep [2SgP Poss.AnSg] this.AnSg
'this sheep-Sg of yours-Sg'

b. *pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó [ḿ bɔ̀]* *bɛ̀* *dîn*
sheep-Pl [1SgP Poss.AnPl] Def.AnPl.L all
'all (of) my sheep'

Uncommonly, a possessive classifier may follow a nominal (i.e. nonpronominal) possessor without an intervening 3Sg or 3Pl possessor pronominal. In this event we get *k* rather than *g* in the inanimate singular classifiers. An example is *jěnjà kɔ̀* 'God's' in (xx54) in the sample text. This is perhaps an archaic phrase of the type 'God's thing', where *kɔ̀* behaves as a noun.

conditions on this?

[N Poss] with postnominal pronominal possessor plus Relative operator
'my three houses that fell'

6.2.3 Choice among possessive constructions

Only the [x y.L] construction is available when the possessor is a nonpronominal NP. For pronominal possessor, the choice is as follows.

The classifier construction is avoided with basic kin terms, so only the [x y.L] construction is in normal use (xx1.a). Both constructions were readily elicited for body parts like 'foot' (xx1.b-c), with no change in meaning, as well as for clearly alienable possessions like 'rope' (xx1.d-e).

(xx1) a. *mí* *bà*
1SgP father.L

‘my father’

b. *mí* *nà:-gò*
1SgP foot-Sg.L
‘my foot’

c. *nà:-gó* *[mí* *gɔ̀]*
foot-Sg [1SgP Poss.InanSg.O]
‘my foot’

d. *mí* *sì:-ŋgò*
1SgP rope-Sg.L
‘my rope’

e. *sǐ:-ŋgó* *[mí* *gɔ̀]*
rope-Sg [1SgP Poss.InanSg.O]
‘my rope’

6.2.4 Possessed forms of kin terms

Most kin terms behave exactly like other nouns in the relationship between **absolute** (unpossessed) and **tone-dropped possessed** forms. For example, *bɔ́jɔ̀* ‘father’s younger brother’ occurs in possessed forms like *mí bɔ̀jɔ̀* ‘my …’.

Several kin terms end in a long *i:* or *a:* in the absolute form that is heard as a short vowel in the possessed form (xx1.a). This is systematic, unlike the inconsistent phonetic shortening of final long vowels in other nouns in low-toned possessed form. The ‘great-grandparent’ term (xx1.b) keeps its long *ɛ:*. There is no shortening in the monosyllabic noun ‘cross-cousin’ (xx1.c).

(xx1)		absolute	possessed	gloss
	a.	*nèjǐ:*	*nèjì*	‘mother’s brother’
		sèjí:	*sèjì*	‘father’s sister’
		pòbǎ:	*pòbà*	‘grandparent’
	b.	*jènjɛ̂:*	*jènjɛ̀:*	‘great-grandparent’
	b.	*tǐ:*	*tì:*	‘cross-cousin’

For ‘father’ and ‘mother’, special possessed forms are in use. For all pronominal possessors, ‘father’ is reduced from *bǎ:* to *bà*, and ‘mother’ is reduced from *nǐ:*

to just *ǹ*, which syllabifies with the pronominal. 1Sg *mí bà* 'my father' often reduces to *ḿ bà*. For 3Sg possessor, in addition to forms with *mó* as possessor, parallel to those for the other pronominal persons, there are special forms with suffix *-ǹ* after a long vowel, forming a <LHL> syllable, with no preceding pronominal possessor. After any nonpronominal NP, *bǎ:* 'father' and *nǐ:* 'mother' have their regular tone-dropped forms *bà:* and *nì:*.

(xx2)	gloss	absolute	'my'	'your'	'his/her'	after NP (X)
	'father'	*bǎ:*	*ḿ bà*	*ó bà*	*mó bà* *bǎ:-ǹ*	X *bà:*
	'mother'	*nǐ:*	*mí ǹ*	*ó ǹ*	*mó ǹ* *nǐ:-ǹ*	X *nì:*

There are also a range of related forms. Related to 'father' are the vocative *bâ:* 'dad!', along with *bàbâ:*, a respectful vocative that may be addressed to any man. The father's brothers are called *bà gìndé* 'big father' (elder than father) and *bɔ́jɔ̀* (younger than father), the latter term possibly containing a form of 'father' etymologically.

For 'mother' there is an alternative stem *íyà*, mainly vocative ('mom!'), but also occasionally used in reference: *mí ìyà* 'my mom'. The mother's sisters are referred to as *númbɔ̀* (elder) and *ɲɔ̌njɔ̀* (younger).

Poss - kin term - adj / num / dem

6.2.5 Recursive and embedded possession

Recursion (stacking) of possessors is of course possible. All possessed nouns are tone-dropped, leaving only the initial possessor with regular tones. A determiner (usually definite) may occur after any nonpronominal noun (determiners are not subject to tone-dropping).

(xx1) a. *[mó kòŋgòl] bìrɔ̀:*
[AnSgP honor.L] work.L
'the work of his honor' (i.e. what he was obligated to do) (2005-1a)

b. *[sěydù bà: mó] òlè*
[[S father.L Def.AnSg] house.L
'the house of Seydou's father'

One can argue about whether all of the stacked possessed nouns are simultaneously tone-dropped by the highest possessor, or whether tone-dropping applies cyclically from the bottom up, e.g. to 'work' and then 'honor' in (xx1.a). One's instinct is to favor the cyclical analysis, but there is no way to prove that a more sweeping tone-dropping is not possible.

6.3 Noun plus adjective

6.3.1 Noun plus regular adjective

The adjective follows the noun and forces the noun to drop tones. The noun is number-marked as it would be by itself (recall, though, that inanimate singular suffixes *-ŋgo*, *-go*, *-ŋge* are optional in most contexts, and they are sometimes omitted on the noun when they are present on the adjective). The adjective agrees with the nominal categories of the noun, with the details depending on the morphological class of adjective (xx1.b)

(xx1)		singular	plural	adjective gloss
	a.	*sǐ:-ŋgó* rope-Sg	*sǐ:* ropes	
	b.	*sì:-ŋgò nálá:* *sì:-ŋgò gémè-ŋgò* *sì:-ŋgò jàlá-ŋgó*	*sì: nálɛ́:* *sǐ: gémè* *sǐ: jàlɛ́:*	'good' 'black' 'long'

The combination of noun plus adjective(s) constitutes the **core NP**, which may be followed by a numeral and/or a determiner, and/or preceded by a possessor.

6.3.2 Adjective *gàndí* 'certain (ones)'

The adjective *gàndí* is used with countable entities in the sense 'certain (ones), some (as opposed to others)'. It typically occurs twice in parallelistic passages, translatable as 'some …., (while) others …'. For human reference the full noun-adjective sequence is of the type *nò-mbò gàndí* 'certain people', with plural noun (*nò-mbó* 'people') in low-toned form before an adjective. This is often simplified to just *gàndí* when the class of entities is already clear from preceding discourse (xx1).

(xx1) *gàndí* *ínà:* *sèmá-mb-à,*

certain.ones goat.Pl slaughter-Fut-3PlS,
gàndí *pègè-mbó* *sèmá-mb-à*
certain.ones sheep-Pl slaughter-Fut-3PlS
'Some (people) will slaughter goats, while others will slaughter sheep-Pl.'

gàndí is not used to my knowledge in the singular sense 'a certain (individual)'. However, it may be used with a mass noun to denote segments, in parallelistic constructions of the same type.

(xx2) *[yògè* *gàndí]* *sàŋgí* *kwǎ-mb-à:=ỳ,*
[millet.L **some**] now eat-Fut-Pass=it.is
gàndí *bèjǒ-mb-à:=ỳ*
some store-Fut-Pass=it.is
'Some of the millet will be eaten now, some (the rest) will be stored.'

gàndí also appears to function syntactically as a constituent separate from that of the noun that it ostensibly modifies. Here we could analyse it either as an adverb, or as a noun in apposition to the other noun. Alternatively, we could argue that *gàndí* here functions as a numeral. The diagnosis of this construction is that *gàndí* does not force tone-dropping on any noun. In (xx3), lines 1 and 3, *gàndí mà* 'in certain (ones)' has no tonal effect on the preceding *kéŋgè* 'place'. The general point of the passage is that there used to be much vegetation by the roadside, so a solitary traveler had little protection.

(xx3) *kéŋgè* *[gàndí* *mà]* *[hâl* *nǒ:* *wé* *nè]*
place.L [**certain** in] [until person come Adv.SS]
[[ó *gì]* *[dèmbù* *né]* *[ìbǒ-ŋgà=ỳ* *káná-l-∅* *mé]*
[[2Sg Acc] [surprise Adv] [catch-Fut=it.is do-PerfNeg-3SgS if]
kéŋgè *[gàndí* *mà]* *yá-m=bà-l-ó:,*
place [**certain** in] see-Impf=Past-PerfNeg-2SgS,
[pǔllò *yà:]* *kùrè-∅* *mé* *díndì*
[twilight Foc] be.dense.Perf-3SgS if all
'In certain places if a person came, if he didn't surprise you and catch hold of you (you wouldn't know he was there); in certain (other) places you didn't (couldn't) see (the person), if the twilight [focus] was dense (dark).' (2005-1a)

Another textual example of this type is (xx4). Note that *dúmɛ́:* 'animals' (variant *dúmɔ́:* also possible here) has high tones.

(xxx) *[dúmɛ́:* *[gàndí* *bè* *dîn]* *dòŋg-â:]* *ìn-ó:* *mɛ́*

[animal.Pl [**certain** Def.AnPl.L all] touch-Purp] go.Perf-2SgS if
'if you went in order to touch any other (livestock) animals' (2005-1a)

6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences

More than one modifying adjective may follow the noun within a core NP. The order of adjectives is partially predictable, with color and other material-related adjectives first, followed by size, then by abstract (e.g. evaluative) adjectives.

(xxx) a. *gòn-gò* *bàn-gò* *gìndɔ́:*
waterjar-InanSg.O.L red-InanSg.O.L big-Inan.Sg.O
'a big red (or brown) waterjar'

b. *gòn-gò* *gìndɔ̀:* *nálá:*
waterjar-InanSg.O.L big-InanSg.O.L good-Inan.Sg.O
'a good big waterjar'

In such sequences, only the final adjective has lexical tones (including at least one high tone), while the preceding words are tone-dropped. There is no way to determine whether the final adjective forces tone-dropping simultaneously on all preceding words within the core NP, or whether tone-dropping applies cyclically, with each adjective forcing tone-dropping in turn on the preceding word.

Even the final word in the core NP may undergo tone-dropping due to wider morphosyntactic considerations, for example as head NP of a relative clause.

6.3.3.2 Adjectival intensifiers

write

6.3.3.3 'Near X', 'far from X'

A predicate adjective (§xxx) 'near' or 'far, distant' may take a locative complement denoting the reference point.

(xx1) a. *[sɔ̀njɔ́:* *ké]* *[pègèlɔ̂:* *mà]* *dǔm̀*
[village Def.InanSg.E] [hill **in**] **near**.3SgS

'The village is near a/the (rocky) hill.'

b. *[dǎy ké] [[sɔ̀njɔ́: ké] mà] wàgú-m̀*
[well Def.InanSg.E] [[village Def.InanSg.E] **in**] **far**-3SgS
'The well is far from the village.'

Such a locative complement are not commonly used with adjectives functioning as NP-internal modifiers.

6.3.3.4 'Good to eat'

This construction is used with adjectival predicates (§xxx). The adjective (e.g. 'good') is the predicate. The action verb is expressed as a verbal noun with postposition *má* 'in' (high-toned).

(xx1) a. *[bì:-ŋgò ɔ̀mɔ̀:] [ónjí-lé má] èlú-m̀*
[Sclerocarya-Sg fruit.L] [suck-**VblN** **in**] **be.good**-3SgS
'The fruit of Sclerocarya tree is good to suck.'

b. *[sògólù: bà:-gò] [támbí-lé má] mǎy*
[Anogeissus stick-Sg.L] [cut-**VblN** **in**] **hard**.3SgS
'The wood of Anogeissus tree is hard to cut.'

This construction is not attested within a NP (?'a good-to-suck fruit').

6.4 Noun plus cardinal numeral

6.4.1 Noun (and adjective) plus cardinal numeral

The numeral 'one' is treated as an adjective. It agrees in nominal features with the noun, and the noun drops its tones (xx1.a). Other numerals are morphosyntactically in apposition to the core NP, so both the numeral and the core NP have the same tones as they would in isolation. The numeral does not agree in nominal features with the noun, and instead has invariant form (xx1.b).

(xx1) a. *gòn-gò kúndú*
waterjar-InanSg.O one.InanSg.O
'one waterjar'

b. *gòné nùmî:*

waterjar.Pl five
'five waterjars'

c. *[gònè* *bánè]* *nùmî:*
[waterjar.L red.InanPl] five
'five red (brown) waterjars'

Numerals remain with the core NP in relative clauses ('the five waterjars that I left here'), rather than being repositioned after the verbal participle. See §xxx.

6.4.2 Adjective-Numeral Inversion

In an indefinite NP consisting of noun-adjective-numeral, as in '(I have) three big houses', the order of elements is fixed (xx1).:

(xx1) *òlè* *gìndé:* *tà:ndî:*
house.L big.InanPl.E three
'three big houses'

When a demonstrative (xx2) or a possessor (xx3) is added, the numeral and adjective optionally switch positions. Pronominal possessors must be preposed (an informant rejected a version with a postposed pronominal possessor). Inversion also happens when the NP is head of a relative clause (xx4). We can think of demonstratives, possessors, and relative clauses as licensors of this inversion. These are also the reference-restricting elements that regularly control tone-dropping on other elements within the NP.

(xx2) a. *òlè* *gìndè:* *tà:ndì:* *ěy*
house.L big.InanPl.L **three.L** Prox.InanPl
'these three houses'

b. *òlè* *tà:ndì:* *gìndè:* *ěy*
house.L **three.L** big.InanPl.L Prox.InanPl
[=(a)]

(xx3) a. *mí* *òlè* *gìndè:* *tà:ndì:* *(yé)*
1SgP house.L big.InanPl.L **three.L** (Def.InanPl)
'my three houses'

b. *mí* *òlè* *tà:ndì:* *gìndé:* *yé*
1SgP house.L **three.L** big.InanPl Def.InanPl

[=(a)]

(xx4) a. *[òlè* *gìndè:* *tà:ndì:]*
[house.L big.InanPl.L **three.L**]
dɛ̀ŋ-ɛ̂: *yé*
fall.Perf-PplNS.InanPl.E Def.InanPl
'(I see) the three houses that fell'

b. *[òlè* *tà:ndì:* *gìndè:]*
[house.L **three.L** big.InanPl.L]
dɛ̀ŋ-ɛ̂: *yé*
fall.Perf-PplNS.InanPl.E Def.InanPl
[=(a)]

The extent to which a definite morpheme by itself can license the inversion is not yet clear. An informant insisted that definite *yé* was required in (xx3.b) but optional in (xx3.a), suggesting that definiteness has some involvement in the inversion.

'the three big houses' (inverted)

6.5 Noun plus determiner

6.5.1 Prenominal *kó*

A prenominal *kó* could be interpreted morphologically as inanimate singular pronoun *kó* in possessor function, or else as inanimate singular near-distant demonstrative *kó* with zero noun. In some examples, the *kó* itself appears to be nonreferential, or at least not clearly referential. As with a true possessor-possessed sequence, the head noun drops its tones.

(xx1) *jěnjà* *[kó* *jàm]* *[í* *gì]* *ǹdí-ná*
God [InanSgP peace.L] [1Pl Acc] give-Hort.3Sg
'May God give us the peace of that (i.e. that peace)' (2005-2a)

6.5.2 Postnominal demonstratives

For the paradigms of demonstrative pronouns, see §4.xxx. A demonstrative pronoun may be used **absolutely**, i.e. by itself (*ŋ̀gú* 'this one'), or it may follow a noun, core NP, or sequence of core NP plus numeral. In (xx1), we see that the

demonstrative forces **tone-dropping** on the noun or adjective that precedes it. The noun or adjective is otherwise unchanged, and specifically it keeps its regular number marking, even though the demonstrative also includes number and agreement-class information.

(xx1) a. *gòn-gò* *ŋ̀gú*
waterjar-InanSg.O.L Dem.InanSg.O
'this waterjar'

b. *gònè* *ěy*
waterjar.Pl.L Dem.InanPl
'these waterjars'

c. *gòn-gò* *bàn-gò* *ŋ̀gú*
waterjar-InanSg.O.L red-InanSg.O.L Dem.InanSg.O
'this red waterjar'

In (xx2.b), the demonstrative follows a noun plus numeral combination. Without the demonstrative, both the noun and the numeral would have regular tones including at least one high tone (xx2.a). The demonstrative forces tone-dropping simultaneously on the noun and the demonstrative (xx2.b).

(xx2) a. *gòné* *nùmî:*
waterjar.Pl five
'five waterjars'

b. *gònè* *nùmì:* *ěy*
waterjar.Pl.L five.L Prox.InanPl
'these five waterjars'

When any NP containing a demonstrative functions as head NP of a relative, the demonstrative (like a definite morpheme) relocates to a position following the verbal participle, leaving the core NP behind; see §xxx.

6.5.3 Definite morphemes

The definite morphemes are identical in form to near-distant demonstrative pronouns. However, as definite markers, these morphemes **do not induce tone-dropping**. Thus contrast the true demonstrative in (xx1.a) with the corresponding definite form in (xx1.b).

(xx1) a. *bà:-gò* *kó*
stick-InanSg.O.L NearDist.InanSg.O
'that stick (near you)'

b. *bă:-gò* *kó*
stick-InanSg.O.L Def.InanSg.O
'the stick'

A definite morpheme cannot co-occur with a true postnominal demonstrative. The definite morphemes are best thought of as weak demonstratives, "pointing" to preceding discourse or to shared knowledge.

6.6 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.6.1 'Each X' and 'all X' (*dîn*, *kámà*)

The invariant particle *dîn* can be used as a distributive quantifier 'each' and as a universal quantifier 'all'.

The plural personal pronouns, and postnominal determiners, are elsewhere H-toned but drop to L-tone before *dîn*.

(xx1)	category	usual form	with *dîn*
	1Pl	*í*	*ì dîn*
	2Pl	*é*	*è dîn*
	3Pl	*bé*	*bè dîn*
	Def.AnPl	*bé*	*bè dîn*
	Def.InanPl	*yé*	*yè dîn*

Typical **distributive** examples are in (xx2). *dîn* is here added to the singular form of a countable noun, with no determiners.

(xx2) a. *nŏ:* *dîn*
person each
'each person'

b. *tìmɔ̂:* *dîn*
tree each
'each tree'

Distributive *dîn* may be added to a possessed singular noun (xx2).

(xx3) *[[[èndê: [mí yè]] dîn] gì] bú:dì ǹdè-ḿ*
[[[child [1SgP Poss.AnSg] each] Acc] money give.Perf-1SgS
'I gave money to each of my children.'

In the **universal** sense 'all', *dîn* is typically added to a plural definite NP (or to a plural personal pronoun with definite reference). Recall that the Najamba counterparts of English mass nouns like 'sugar' are readily pluralizable.

(xx4) a. *nò-mbó bè dîn*
person-Pl Def.AnPl.L all
'everybody, all the people'

b. *tìmê: yè dîn*
tree.Pl Def.InanPl.L all
'all the trees'

c. *súkàrà yè dîn*
sugar.Pl Def.InanPl.L all
'all the sugar' (lit.: 'all the sugars')

'all Seydou's uncles/all Seydou's houses'

A distinction between universal ('all') and distributive ('each') readings can be tested by pronominal-subject agreement. (xx5a) shows 3Sg agreement and is therefore distributive, while (xx5b) shows 3Pl agreement and is therefore universal.

(xx5) a. *[nǒ: dîn] [kó gì] dìmbì-yè-∅*
[person all] [InanSg.O Acc] follow-MP.Perf-3SgS
'Everyone (i.e. each person) has followed (done) that.' (2005-1a)

b. *[nò-mbó bè dîn] [kó gì] dìmbì-y-à:*
[person-Pl Def.AnPl all] [InanSg.O Acc] follow-MP.Perf-3PlS
'All of the people have followed (done) that.'

A purely distributive morpheme *kámà* 'any' is used in a very small number of fixed phrases with semantically light nouns, which are always singular in form. The high-frequency forms are *nò: kámà* 'anyone' (*nǒ:* 'person') and the slightly irregular *kòŋ-kámà* 'anything' (*kóŋgò* 'thing'). Note that the noun undergoes tone-dropping. An informant disapproved of the combination of *kámà* with *kéŋgè* 'place'.

'Seydou's anything' (tonosyntax)

6.6.2 'No X'

Expressions like 'no children have died' where (in English) the negation combines with 'some/any' to produce a negative quantifier within the NP, are expressed in Najamba with a negative predicate following an NP with ordinary quantifier (e.g. 'one'). *hâl* 'until' may be added for emphasis ('not even').

(xx1) *[hâl [èndè: kúndé]] tíbá-l*
[until [child.L one.AnSg]] die-PerfNeg-3SgS
'Not even one child (has) died.' ('No child died')

6.6.3 Universal quantifier combined with a numeral

A numeral may be followed by a definite determiner and then *dîn*. It is easiest to elicit such examples when no noun preceding the numeral is present.

(xx1) *[kúlèy bè dîn] tìb-à:*
[six Def.AnPl.L all] die.Perf-3PlS
'All six (people) died (were killed).'

6.7 Apposition

write

7 Coordination

7.1 NP coordination

7.1.1 NP conjunction ('X and Y')

In ordinary NP conjunction, both the left and the right conjunct are followed by the coordinator *ma→* 'and'. This particle adopts the phonological tone of the ending of the preceding word, but is subject to intonational modification of its pitch as well as duration. In allegro speech the intonational prolongation is not always heard.

(xxx) *[ánà:* *mà→]* *[yàwó:* *má→]*
[man.Pl **and**] [woman-Pl **and**]
'men and women'

7.1.2 "Conjunction" of verbs or VP's

Verbs and VPs are "conjoined" by the various chaining mechanisms described in Chapter 15.

7.2 Disjunction

7.2.1 'Or' (*wàlá→*)

The disjunctive particle *wàlá→* (a regional form ultimately from Arabic) intervenes between the two coordinands.

(xxx) a. *ánà:* *wàlá→* *yàwó:*
man.Pl **or** woman.Pl
'men or women'

b. *kúndú* *wàlá→* *nô:y*
one **or** two
'one or two'

c. *[dènjà:jú má] nàmâ: wàlá→ númbé kwá-njò-y*
[evening in] meat **or** cow.peas eat-Pres-1PlS
'In the evening we eat meat or cow-peas.'

7.2.2 NP (and adverbial) disjunction (…*ma→*, *wàlá→*)

Two constructions are available. In one, which is closely related to the form of polar interrogatives (§13.2.1), the particle *ma→* with intonational prolongation is added to the end of the first option. The particle has no intrinsic tone in this function, but typically adopts the preceding tone, which may then be modified o overridden phonetically by intonational pitch raising or lowering (transcription: *mà→↑* or *mà→↓* after a low tone, *má→↑* or *má→↓* after a low tone. In some examples it has a falling pitch not unlike the dying-quail intonation (transcription: *mâ→*). I have noticed this pitch pattern when the 'or' disjunction functions like a subordinated clause; see (xx2) in §17.4.5 ('I forgot that …') and (xx2) in §17.4.7 ("I'm afraid that …').

In (xx1.a), *ma→* is repeated after the second option (such repetition is optional). In this case, the pitch may be lower on the final *ma→* regardless of tonal environment, since a sharp final pitch drop serves to indicate finality. In (xx1.b), *ma→* occurs at the end of the first option, and is followed by (always low-pitched) *mà→* 'or' at the beginning of the second option. Since phrase-final *ma→* in such disjunctions is difficult to distinguish from a polar interrogative, I will gloss it as 'or?'. The phrase-initial L-toned *mà→* in (xx1.b) is glossed 'or' without the question mark.

(xxx) a. *[ɔ́:rɛ̀ mà→] [níŋgé má→↓]*
[rice **or?**] [millet.cakes **or?**]
'(Do you want) cooked rice, or millet cakes (with sauce)?'

b. *[móttì mà] nà:-mbó-ỳ mà→↑,*
[Mopti in] spend.night-Fut-1PlS **or?**,
mà→ [ségù mà]≡ỳ
or [Segou in]=it.is
'We will stop for the night in Mopti or in Segou.'

The disjunction *wàlá→* 'or' may also be used, inserted between the two disjunctive options (xx2). This is a local variant of a regionally widespread form of Arabic origin.

(xxx) *[[bà:ná: dòmbà] wàlá→ túmbílé] y-ǒ: mé, yóbá*
[[outback owner.L] **or** hyena] see.Perf-2SgS if, run.Imprt

‘If you-Sg see a lion or a hyena, flee!’

7.2.3 Clause-level disjunction

In an interrogative asking whether X or Y (two usually incompatible propositions) is true, *má→* may appear as a disjunctive particle at the end of the first clause. The regular interrogative particle *ló* may appear at the end of the entire sequence.

(xx1) *[ŋ̀gí nù:] [ḿ mà] kóndò-∅ má→*
[Prox.InanSg.E now] [1Sg Dat] be.done.well.Stat-3SgS or
kóndò-ndí-∅ ló
be.done.well-StatNeg-3SgS Q
‘Is this done well for me now, or is it not done well?’ (2005-1a)

8 Postpositions and adverbials

8.1 Accusative *gì* and all-purpose postposition *mà* (*má*)

8.1.1 Accusative *gì*

Direct object NPs (animate or inanimate) and pronouns may be followed by accusative postposition *gì*. The postposition is optional but rather common.

(xx1) a. *[[dôm kó] gì] dàmá-m̀*
[[speech Def.InanSg.O] Acc] speak-Fut.3SgS
'He will speak the words.' (2005-1a)

b. *[[nă: ó gɔ̀rɛ̀=b-ɛ̀:* *ké] gì]*
[[foot 2SgS stretch.Perf=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc]
bìndí nɛ̀
turn Adv.SS
'having turned (shifted) the part (edge of the blanket) where you had stretched out your legs' (2005-1a)

c. *[ó gì] nɔ̀gɛ̀-∅* *díndì*
[2Sg Acc] discourage.Perf-3SgS all
'if it discouraged you' (2005-1a)

In combination with pronouns, /gì/ may be reduced to *ì* (or less), and the difference between its (reduced) presence and absence is phonetically subtle. This is especially true of 1Sg *[mí gì]* and 1Pl *[í gì]*, where elision of the /g/ results in a falling-toned form, phonetic [mî:] or [î:], which in allegro speech simply shade into the unmarked pronominal forms *mí* and *í*.

Accusative *gì* rather than dative *mà* is regularly used to mark the recipient of 'give'.

(xx2) a. *jěnjà jâm [í gì] ǹdí-ná*
God peace [1Pl Acc] give-Hort.3Sg
'May God give us peace!' (2005-1a)

b. *jěnjà ùsfɔ̃: [dòmbâ-n gì] ǹdá:-l-∅* *mɛ́* *tán⇑*
God path [fellow Acc] give-PerfNeg-3SgS if only

'If God hasn't given the path to the fellow' (2005-1a)

c. *[[[ó kèndà:] mà] ònd-ó:] sàgù]*
[[[2SgP heart.L] in] not.be-PplS.InanSg.O] responsibility]
[nǒ: gì] ǹd-ó: mɛ́⇑
[person Acc] give.Perf-2SgS if
'if you have given the responsibility (right to speak) of what is not in your heart to a person' (2005-1a)

gì may also be used with *gìnɛ́* 'say' and *dă:ndí* 'tell'.

(xxx) a. *[[nò: kúlmá] gì] dôm dámá gìn-à: mɛ́*
[[person.L elder] Acc] speech speak.Imprt say.Perf-3PlS if
'if they tell (ask) an elder to speak' (2005-1a)

b. *[í gì] dá:ndí-lé kó⇑, gày-nô:-wò:*
[1Pl Acc] tell-VblN Def.InanSg.O, delay-ImprtNeg-Hort.3Pl
'May they not neglect (delay) to tell us (the information)!' (2005-1a)

However, the pragmatic equivalent of an indirect object of 'say' is usually expressed as a vocative at the beginning of the quotation itself. Instead of 'I said to him: jump!', the usual Najamba pattern is 'I said: (hey) So-and-So, jump!'.

8.1.2 Locative-dative-instrumental postposition *mà* and variant *má*

The most common and structurally basic variant is *mà*.

8.1.2.1 Low-toned *mà*

The low-toned variant is used after all words or particles ending in a low tone, and after many that end in a high tone: all determiners (definite morphemes, demonstrative pronouns), basic spatial terms (e.g. *bàndí* 'rear', *gĭr* 'front'), human and animal terms (e.g. *nǒ:* 'person', *yĕ:* 'woman'), and some others.

ólé 'house' is high-toned, but the final syllable is low in *ólè mà* 'at home'. This is reminiscent of the more pervasive "tonal locative" of Jamsay, except that in Jamsay the tonal change by itself is sufficient to mark the form as a locative adverb phrase. In Najamba, this tone shift does not apply to *bà:-ólé* 'native village' (lit. "father-house"), the locative of which is *bà:-ólé má* with high-toned *má*.

In the spatial domain, this very common postposition can be used in static locative, allative, and ablative functions. It is also used in dative ('for, to') and instrumental function ('by means of'). In other words, it is an all-purpose postposition. It is not unusual to have two or more PPs with this postposition in the same clause, in different functions (xx1).

(xx1) *[ké mà] [mó mà] kòndó-m̀*
[InanSg.E in] [AnSg Dat] be.good-Fut.3SgS
'It will be good for him in that place.' (2005-1a)

In **static locative** function we get examples like those in (xx1).

(xx2) a. *[dǎy mà] b-è:*
[well in] be-3PlS
'They are at the well.'

b. *[ŋ̀gállù mà] bírɔ́: dùmè-ḿ*
[city in] work get.Perf-1SgS
'I found work in the city.'

c. *[[mí gòjì] mà] péndé bô:-∅*
[[my body.L] in] sore.Pl be-3Sg
'There are sores on my body.' (*gòjí*)

d. *tìŋgá [[òlè-gègèlé ké] mà] ínò-njò-∅*
agama [[house.L-wall Def.InanSg] in] go.Impf-3SgS
'The agama lizard is climbing on the wall.'

See also the more explicit 'inside (X)' complex postposition *[[*X *kùl] mà]* described in §8.3.xxx, below. Informants often preferred this fuller construction to translate 'in (a house, a recipient, etc.)'.

With a human complement, in spatial contexts *mà* means 'in the presence of' or 'at the house of', cf. French *chez*.

(xxx) *[[mí ǹ] mà] sùgò-mbó-m̀*
[[1SgP mother] in] go.down-Fut-1SgS
'I will go down (spend the night) at my mother's.'

Allative function, in conjunction with a verb of motion like 'go' or 'run', is expressed by the same postposition *mà*. The motional sense is strictly due to the verb, not to the postposition itself, which I continue to gloss simply as 'in'.

(xxx) a. *[dúmánsá mà] ínò-njò-∅*
[Douentza in] go-Pres-3SgS
'He/She is going to Douentza.' (d*úmánsâ*)

b. *[[mí sɔ̀njɔ̀:] mà] ìnè-ḿ*
[[1SgS village.L] in] go.Perf-1SgS
'I went to my village.'

The same postposition can be used in what translates as **ablative** function ('from X'). This requires a verb like 'go out'. Again, it is the verb (not the postposition) that contributed the vectorial nuance.

(xxx) a. *[[mɔ́ sɔ̀njɔ̀:] mà] gwè-∅*
[[3SgP village.L] in] go.out.Perf-3SgS
'She went out of (=left) her village.'

b. *[náfâ mà] gwè-∅*
[usefulness in] go.out.Perf-3SgS
'It has become kaput.' (lit. "it has gone out of usefulness")

Most of the **complex spatial postpositions** described in the sections bellow include *mà* along with what was originally a noun, cf. English *in front of*, *in back of*, etc.

Instrumental (and related) senses are seen in e.g. *sɛ́mbɛ́ mà* 'by force' and in (xxx).

(xxx) a. *té:-ŋgó [[gùlâ: mó] mà] kɛ̀jɛ̀-∅*
wood-Sg [[ax Def.AnSg] with] cut.Perf-3SgS
'He/She cut the (piece of) wood with the ax.'

mà is also the basic **dative** postposition, although 'give' usually expresses its recipient in direct object form (*gì*).

8.1.2.2 High-toned *má*

In most combinations involving just an **inanimate noun** and the postposition (without an intervening modifier or determiner), if the noun ends in a high tone, we find high-toned *má*. Evidently the final high tone (idiosyncratically) spreads from the noun into the postposition. Some of these are common phrases similar to English *in town*, (diplomatic register) *in country*, (British) *in hospital*, etc., where a specific location is meant although no definite morpheme is present.

High-toned *má* is also used after **adjectives** that end lexically in a high tone (with in human as well as other NPs).

In the subset of these cases where a nonmonosyllabic noun ends in an <LH> toned long vowel, this is leveled out into a high tone by Word-Final R-to-H Raising (xx1.b).

(xx1)		gloss	noun	with *má*	gloss with *má*
	a.	'market'	*ébán*	*ébán má*	'at/to (the) market'
		'outback'	*kéré*	*kéré má*	'in/to the outback'
		'evening'	*dènjà:jú*	*dènjà:jú má*	'in the evening'
		'night'	*ɲám*	*ɲám má*	'at night'
		'daytime'	*déŋán*	*déŋán má*	'in the daytime'
		'courtyard'	*bándá*	*bándá má*	'in/to the courtyard'
		'force'	*sɛ́mbɛ́*	*sɛ́mbɛ́ má*	'by force'
		'knife'	*pòlé*	*pòlé má*	'by means of a knife'
		'fan'	*pèndú*	*pèndú má*	'by means of a fan'
		'skin'	*gùjú*	*gùjú má*	'by means of a skin (hide)'
		'eye'	*gìró*	*gìró má*	'by means of the eye(s)'
	b.	'village'	*sɔ̀njɔ̌:*	*sɔ̀njɔ́: má*	'in/to the village'
		'garden'	*bɔ̀rɔ̌:*	*bɔ̀rɔ́: má*	'in/to the garden'
		'bowl'	*gùmbǎ:*	*gùmbá: má*	'in/to the bowl'
		'road'	*ùsfɔ̃:*	*ùsfɔ́: má*	'in/to the road'
		'street'	*pèmbɛ̌:*	*pèmbɛ́: má*	'in/to the street'

It is difficult to find examples with a final C*v̌*C or C*v:*C syllable, to test whether the presence of the final consonant blocks Word-Final R-to-H Raising. In the few examples tested, the rising tone did not level out to high. In the complex number *[kɛ̀:sǔm má] ké píyɛ́lì* '90', from *kɛ̀:sǔm* '80' (§4.7.1.3), I hear the regular rising tone on the /*sǔm*/ syllable.

Adding a possessor to the noun causes tone-dropping on the noun (or adjective), so there is no H-tone to spread into the postposition: *[[mí sɔ̀njɔ̀:] mà]* 'to my village'. Likewise, adding a determiner (even if H-final) after the noun forces reversion to L-toned *mà*, as in *sɔ̀njɔ̀: ŋgí mà* 'to this village'.

8.2 Other spatial postpositions

8.2.1 'In, inside of' (*kùl mà*)

'In X' or 'inside of X' can be expressed by a complex postposition literally meaning "in the belly of X." The noun *kûl* 'belly' functions as possessed noun, and the phrase takes the form *[[X kùl] mà]*.

(xxx) a. *[[ólé kùl] mà] nóyò-njò-∅*
[[house **belly.L**] **in**] sleep-Pres-3SgS
'He is sleeping in(side) the house.'

b. *[[mí jìbà] kùl] mà*
[[1SgP pocket.L] **belly.L**] **in**
'in my pocket'

c. *[òlè ségín]*
[house.L many]
[[sɔ̀njɔ́: ké kùl] mà] bô:-∅
[[village Def.InanSg.E **belly.L**] **in**] exist-3SgS
'There are many houses in the village.'

8.2.2 'About' (*dòm*)

The sense '(speak) about X', i.e. '(speak) on the subject of X' is expressed as "(speak) the talk of X." The noun for 'talk, language, words' is *dôm*, which here appears in low-toned possessed form.

(xxx) *[[nì:-m̀bó bé] dòm] dà:^{n}bó-ỳ*
[[bird-Pl Def.AnPl] speech.L] speak.Impf-1PlS
'We will talk about the birds.'

8.2.3 'On' (*kì: mà*)

The nouns meaning 'head' are *dánà* and *kî:*. Of these, *dánà* has a literal sense denoting the physical body part, while *kî:* has a wider range of senses including 'intelligence'. *kî:* is also used in a compound postposition literally meaning 'in/on the head of X', where X is expressed as the possessor. We therefore get *[[X kì:] mà]* (note the tones). This complex postposition may be glossed 'on X', denoting location on a surface or resting on the top of a larger object. It can also

be glossed ‘onto X’ or ‘off of X’ (=‘from on top of X’) if the verb provides an allative or ablative context.

(xxx) a. *[màŋgórò kó]*
[mango Def.InanSg]
[[[tà:bǎl kó] kì:] mà] bò
[[[table Def.InanSg] head.L] in] be.3SgS
‘The mango is on (top of) the table.’

b. *[sìbá-ŋgó kó]*
[bundle-Sg Def.InanSg]
[[[ká:bù kó] kì:] mà] béjó
[[[mat Def.InanSg] head.L] in] put.Imprt
‘Put-Sg the bundle (of millet) on the mat!’

c. *màŋgórò [[mí kì:] mà] dèŋè-∅*
mango [[1Sg head.L] in] fall.Perf-3SgS
‘A mango fell on me.’

d. *á:màdù [[[ká:bù kó] kì:] mà] bèlì-yè-∅*
Amadou [[[mat Def.InanSg] head.L] in] get.up-MP.Perf-3SgS
‘Amadou has gotten up off the mat.’

8.2.4 ‘Next to, beside’ (*sɔ̀n*)

The postposition *sɔ̀n* indicates position near the side of the reference object.

(xxx) a. *[[ólé ké] sɔ̀n]*
[[house Def.InanSg] beside]
‘beside the house’

b. *[[mí sɔ̀n] bò*
[[1Sg beside] be.3SgS
‘He/She is next to me.’

8.2.5 ‘In front of’ (*gìr mà*)

The complex postposition *[[X gìr] mà]* is related somewhat irregularly to *gìró* ‘eye’.

(xxx) a. *[[mí gìr] mà]*
[[1Sg front] in]
'in front of me'

b. *[[[ólé ké] gìr] mà]*
[[[house Def.InanSg] front] in]
'in front of the house'

The form *gǐr mà* (note the tones) is used without a complement noun in the adverbial sense 'in front, ahead'.

8.2.6 'behind', 'after' (*bàndí mà*)

'Behind X' is expressed with the complex postposition *[[X bàndì] mà]*. (Compare Songhay postposition *bande* 'behind'). Like other spatial postpositions it can be glossed as a static locative, as an allative, or as an ablative depending on the verbal context.

(xx1) a. *[[[sɔ̀njɔ́ː ké] bàndì] mà] ìnè*
[[[village Def.InanSg] behind] in] go.Perf-3SgS
'He has gone behind the village'

b. *[[mí bàndì] mà] bêː*
[[1SgS behind] in] be.3PlS
'They are behind me.'

The corresponding adverb is *bàndí mà* 'behind, in the rear' (note the tones).

bàndì mà can also be used in temporal contexts in the sense 'after X' (xx2.a). Here, however, it competes with temporal clauses with senses like 'when X has ended, …'.

(xx2) *[[láyyà bàndì] mà] wó-m̀*
[[Feast.of.Ram behind] in] come-Fut.3SgS
'He/She will come after the Feast of the Ram.'

8.2.7 'Under' (*dùː mà*)

'Under X' is *[[X dùː] mà]*.

(xxx) a. *[tàgú: bè]*
[[shoe.Pl Def.InanPl]
[[[tà:bǎl kó] dù:] mà] gán-è:
[table Def.InanSg] under.L] in] be.in.Stat-3PlS
'The shoes are under the table.' (*tàgû:*)

b. *[[[tímɔ́: kò] dù:] mà] nóyò-ɲjò-∅*
[[[tree Def.InanSg] under.L] in] sleep-Pres-3SgS
'He/She is sleeping under the tree.' (*tímɔ̂:*)

c. *òê: [[kínú: kò] dù:] mà] ŋwè-∅*
mouse [[stone Def.InanSg] under.L] in] go.in.Perf-3SgS
'The mouse went in under the rock.' (*kínû:*)

The adverbial form is *dú: mà* 'below', based on *dû:* 'bottom, lowest part'.

8.2.8 'Between' (*bènàn mà*)

This is expressed by the complex postposition *bènàn mà*. The complement may be a simple NP or pronoun denoting a set of two or more entities, or a conjoined NP.

(xxx) a. *[[í bènàn] mà]*
[[1Pl between.L] in]
'between us'

b. *[ǎ:jà mà→] [kúnjà-gâ: mà→] bènàn] mà*
[[Adia and] [Kubewel and] between.L] in
'between Adia and Kubewel (villages)'

Cf. noun *bènán* 'middle'.

8.2.9 'Around' (*gèndè*)

Postposition *gèndè* means 'around, in the area of'. There is a related noun *gèndèŋgé* 'side, end (e.g. of blanket)' with somewhat frozen singular *-ŋge.

(xxx) a. *[yàlî: gèndè] dɔ̀gè-m̀*
[field around] leave.Perf-1SgS
'I left (it) in the area of the fields.'

b. *[sɔ̀njɔ̌: gèndɛ̀] [índɛ̀ mó] tár tìyɛ̀-m*
[village around] [goat Def.AnSg] look.at send.Perf-1SgS
'I saw the goat (from a distance) in the vicinity of the village.

8.3 Purposive-causal (*nɛ̀n*)

The purposive-causal postposition is *nɛ̀n*. It can be used in purposive sense, denoting a hoped-for outcome of an activity (xx1.a-b). It is also used in causal sense, denoting a preexisting eventuality that led to a response (xx1.c).

(xxx) a. *[[yógé yé] nɛ̀n] wɛ̀jɔ̀-gà*
[[grain.spike.Pl Def.InanSg] for] come.Perf-3PlS
'They have come for the millet grain spikes.'

b. *[jɛ́njà nɛ̀n] núŋá: [mí gì] ǹdɛ̀*
[God for] boubou [1Sg Acc] give.Perf-3SgS
'He/She gave me a boubou for God (=f or free).'

c. *[[màyín kó] nɛ̀n] [[bé gwà:] mà] gò:*
[[drought Def.InanSg] for] [[3PlP land.L] in] go.out.Perf-3PlS
'Because of the drought, they have left their country.' (*gwă:*)

8.4 Other adverbials (or equivalents)

8.4.1 Similarity ('like')

'Like X' is expressed as [X *dân*]. The 'like' particle has no tonal effect on the X constituent. The X constituent is a NP or adverb (e.g. PP).

(xx1) a. *[éná-ŋgó dân] ìnó-m̀*
[wind-InanSg.O] **like**] go-Fut.3SgS
'He (= traveling merchant) will go (= from market to market) like the wind.' (2005-1a)

b. *kà: [íyó dân] máyá-ndá-l*
but [today **like**] hard-Inch-PerfNeg-3SgS
'But it (= life) wasn't as hard as nowadays.' (2005-1a)

Since a relative clause is syntactically an expanded NP, it may be followed by *dân* (§14.1). For *dân* indicating approximate quantity, see §8.4.3.1. For *dân* in symmetrical comparatives, see §12.2.1-2. For *dân* in manner adverbials ('like the way …'), see §15.2.5.

There is also a (perfective subject) **participle** *dàmb-é:* or *dàmb-ó:* (depending on agreement-class) 'being like (something)', generally in negative sentences ('there is nothing like …'). No nonparticipial verb semantically related to this could be elicited. It may be a compressed form of *dân* 'like' plus the participial variant *b-é:*, *b-ó:* from *bô:* 'be present' (§xxx).

(xxx)	*[mó*	*dàmb-é:*	*là]*	*òndú-∅*
	[AnSg	be.like-Ppl.AnSg	also]	not.be-3SgS

'There is (likewise) no one like him/her.' (2005-1a)

The transitive verb 'X resemble Y' is *mùlí-y*.

8.4.2 Extent

8.4.2.1 'A lot', 'a little' (*ségín*, *nă:n nɛ̀*, *tégì nɛ̀*)

'Much/many' is expressed by the adjective *ségín* (invariant) and the related verb *ségé* 'be abundant or numerous'. There is also a derived noun *sègĕ-n* 'number (quantity)'.

Adverbial 'a lot, very much, to a great extent' is *nă:n nɛ̀*.

Adverbial 'a little, somewhat' is *tégì nɛ̀*.

8.4.2.2 'Totally' (*láy*)

This is an emphatic element when clause-final. However, it is adverbial morphologically, and may occur in the typical adverbial phrase (*láy nɛ̀*).

The phrase *[[láy nɛ̀] ìgí]* with *ìgí* 'be finished' is idiomatic for '(man) die without leaving heirs'.

8.4.3 Specificity

8.4.3.1 'Approximately'

dân 'like' (§8.4.1) is used to indicate an approximate quanity (xx1.a). For time expressions, a possessed form of *wàgàtì mà* 'at the time of' may be used (xx1.b). For spatial locations, postposition *gèndɛ̀* 'around' is available (xx1.c).

(xx1) a. *[pègè-mbó pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y dân] jógò-m*
[sheep-Pl ten-two **like**] have-1SgS
'I have something like twenty sheep.'

b. *[[[sà:gé tìbɔ̀-nd-ɔ̂:] wàgàtì] mà] ìnò-mbó-ỳ*
[[[month die-Fut-Ppl.InanSg.O]**time.L**] in] go-Fut-1PlS
'We will go around the end of the month.'

c. *[kúnjà-gâ: gèndè] à:lé tɛ̀gɛ̀-∅*
[K **around**] rain rain.fall.Perf-3SgS
'It rained around (in the vicinity of) Kubewel (village).'

8.4.3.2 'Exactly' (*tɛ́mbɛ́*)

In (xx1), *tɛ́mbɛ́* is used to insist that the quantity, time, or location is exact. In (xx1.a,c), *tɛ́mbɛ́* is adverbial in function; note that it follows the locative postposition *mà* in (xx1.c). With time expressions it is adjectival, modifying *mìdî:* 'noon', and preceding the locative postposition (xx1.b).

(xx1) a. *pègè-mbó pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y tɛ́mbɛ́ jógò-m*
sheep-Pl ten-two exactly have-1SgS
'I have exactly twenty sheep.'

b. *[[mìdî: tɛ́mbɛ́] má] kwà-mbó-ỳ*
[[noon exactly] in] eat-Fut-1PlS
'We will eat at noon sharp.'

c. *[[kúnjágâ: mà] tɛ́mbɛ́] à:lé tɛ̀gɛ̀-∅*
[K at] exactly] rain rain.fall.Perf-3SgS
'It rained right at Kubewel (village).'

8.4.3.3 ‘Specifically, personally’ (*kì: mà*)

In (xx1), a reflexive construction of the form “in my head” (= ‘myself’), see §xxx, occurs along with *tɛ́mbɛ́* ‘exactly’ to emphasize the specificity of the subject.

(xx1) *[[mí kì:] mà] tɛ́mbɛ́ nàmâ: kùbó-nù-ḿ*
[[1SgP head] in] exactly meat eat.meat-PresNeg-1SgS
‘I personally do not eat meat.’

8.4.4 Evaluation

8.4.4.1 ‘Well’ and ‘badly’

Where possible, an adjective ‘good’ (*síyɛ̀-*, *nàlá:*) or ‘bad’ (*nɛ̀:ndá:*) is added to a direct object or other relevant constituent, so there is no true adverb.

(xx1) a. *[nàjàmbà-ŋgɛ̀ síyɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀] dámà-nj-ò:*
[Najamba-InanSg.E good-InanSg.E] speak-Pres-2SgS
‘You-Sg speak Najamba well.’ (“You speak good Najamba”)

b. *[nàjàmbà-ŋgɛ̀ nɛ̀:ndá:] dámà-nj-ò:*
[Najamba-InanSg.E bad.InanSg.E] speak-Pres-2SgS
‘You-Sg speak Najamba badly.’ (“You speak bad Najamba”)

The verb *kóndí* ‘do well’ and its mediopassive *kóndí-y* ‘be done well’ are used in a wide range of contexts including ‘(artisan) make (product)’, ‘repair (something damaged)’. Here the evaluative ‘well’ is built-in.

8.4.4.2 ‘Proper, right’

The stem *yàgí* ‘means ‘be proper, right, normal, appropriate, acceptable’, with reference to behavior. It is regularly followed by *jòg-â:*, participle of ‘have’. It is not obvious whether *yàgí* itself is a verb, followed by ‘have’ in perfect function, or a noun functioning as direct object of ‘have’. In (xx1), the sense of the bracketed phrase is like that of French *comme il faut*.

(xx1) *[yàgí jòg-â: dân] gɔ̀l-ɔ̌:*
[be.right have-Ppl like] do.farming.Perf-2SgS
‘You-Sg have done the farming in the right way.’

yàgí may take a clausal complement in verbal noun form; see §17.4.9.

yàgí jòg-â: is negated as perfective negative *yàgá-l-ó:*. 'it isn't right'.

8.4.5 Epistemic modals ('maybe', 'definitely')

'Maybe' is expressed by converting the main proposition into an adverbial clause with final *nè* (§xxx). This is followed by the invariant form *bǎ-m̀* 'it will be' (xx1.a). The corresponding negation involved a perfective negative verb followed by *kán* 'be done, happen' and the adverbial *nè* (xx1.b).

(xx1) a. *[à:lé* *tégɛ́* *nè]* *bǎ-m̀*
[rain rain.fall Adv] be-Fut.3SgS
'Maybe it will rain.'

b. *[à:lé* *tégá-l* *kán* *nè]* *bǎ-m̀*
[rain rain.fall-PerfNeg happen Adv] be-Fut.3SgS
'Maybe it won't rain.'

The sense 'definitely, certainly' may be expressed by *tìlây* or less often *táffɔ̀rɔ̀* (both from Fulfulde, the latter with *ƒ* representing preglottalized [ˀj]), preceding an unsubordinated main clause. The sense is one of necessity.

(xx1) *tìlây* *à:lé* *tègá-m̀*
necessarily rain rain.fall-Fut.3SgS
'It will definitely (necessarily) rain.'

8.4.6 Manner

Manner adverbials based on an adjectival concept may be expressed by chaining the corresponding inchoative verb ('be/become ADJ') to a following inflected verb.

(xx1) a. *dòyá-ndí-mbò* *yóbà-njò-∅*
rapid-Inch-and run-Pres-3SgS
'He/She runs rapidly.'

b. *péjá-ndí-mbò* *yóbà-njò-∅*
slow-Inch-and run-Pres-3SgS
'He/She runs slowly.'

‘Thus’ is expressed as ‘like this/that’, e.g. *kó dân* ‘like that (discourse-definite)’, *ŋgú dân* ‘like this (deictic)’.

The nouns *bí-ŋgán* ‘manner (characteristic behavior)’ and *ùsfɔ̃:* ‘path, way’ are commonly used in describing manner.

For manner adverbial clauses (‘how …’) , see §xxx.

8.4.7 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.4.7.1 Temporal adverbs

Some basic adverbs (generally nouns that may be used adverbially) are in (xx1). (xx1.b) is a series of terms extending from ‘tomorrow’ through to one week from today, along with term for ‘two weeks from today’.

(xx1) a.

íyó	‘today; nowadays’
ɲă:	‘yesterday; formerly, in the old days’
íyó tà:ndì	‘day before yesterday’
săŋ	‘now’

b.

ɛ́ŋgú	‘tomorrow; in the future’
ɛ́ndɛ̀n	‘day after tomorrow’
èndɛ̀n tô:	‘second day after tomorrow’
tòndì kándà	‘third day after tomorrow’
tòndì mínà	‘fourth day after tomorrow’
bùrùdù tô:	‘fifth day after tomorrow’
tò:-tà:-tô:	‘sixth day after tomorrow’ (one week from today)
pěl-ŋgò	‘two weeks from today’

c.

gŏl	‘last year’
nàŋgŭl	‘next year’
úŋwá	‘this year’

The terms for ‘yesterday’, ‘today’, and ‘tomorrow’ also mean, respectively, ‘in the past (= in the old days)’, ‘nowadays’, and ‘in the future’. Some of the texts compare the good times of the past (pre-1970) with the hard times of the present, or changes in social mores, and the temporal setting at any given point is repeatedly expressed as *ɲă:* ‘yesterday’ or *íyó* ‘today’. See, for example, (xx3) in the sample text.

The texts do not often talk much about the future, but ‘tomorrow’ = ‘in the future’ can be illustrated by the textual passage in (xx2). The context is that of a

farmer writing down an annual agricultural calendar or schedule this year with dates and locations (e.g. for planting) that can be followed in subsequent years. See also (xx55) in the sample text.

(xx2) *[[ké gì] tɔ́ŋé] ó dùm-ɔ̂:,*
[[InanSg.E Acc] write 2SgS get.Perf-Ppl,
[éŋgú là] [dèŋàn ké yà:] wò-mb-ê:
[tomorrow also] [day.L Near.InanSg.E Foc] come-Fut-Ppl.Foc
'If you have had a chance to write them (times and places), in the future ("tomorrow") too it's that day [focus] that will come.' (2005-1a)

For adverbial clauses with *jă:* 'since …' and *hâl* 'until …', see §xxx.

8.4.7.2 'First' (*tô:y*, *gĭrŋgí-y*)

tô:y is also the form of the numeral '1' in counting sequences ('one, two, three, …'). As an adverb it may mean 'firstly (before something else)' (xx1.a) or 'at first, initially'. The sence 'firstly' may also be expressed by a form of the word-family centered on *gĭr* 'in front', such as the verb *gĭrŋgí-y* 'precede, go ahead (of others)' (xx1.b).

(xx1) a. *tô:y [bírɔ́: kó] bìrɛ́-y mɛ́*, …
firstly [work Def.InanSg.O] work.Perf-1PlS if, …
'We will do the work first, (then …)'

b. *[bírɔ́: kó] gìrŋgì-yé-y mɛ́,*
[work Def.InanSg.O] **precede**-MP.Perf-1PlS if,
yòmbó kwà-mbó-ỳ
cooked.food eat-Fut-1PlS
'We will work first, (then) we will eat a meal.'

8.4.7.3 Spatial adverbs

Adverbs, generally nouns with adverbial functions, are in (xx1). For deictics ('here', 'there', etc.) see §4.xxx.

(xx1) a. *kî:* 'above, top, summit' lit. "head"
dû: 'below, bottom, down'

b. *dûn* 'east'

yɛ́ndɛ̀	‘west’	
kórál	‘north’	
tómbál	‘south’	
c. *bàndè-bándè*	‘going backward, in reverse’	
gĭr má	‘forward’	*gìró* ‘eye’

‘Left’ and ‘right’ are not used as directional terms (cardinal direction terms and ‘backward’ or ‘forward’ are used instead). Adjective ‘right (hand, foot)’ is *ɲɛ̀-ŋgó* (*ɲɛ̌ː*), also ‘plain, simple’. Adjective ‘left (hand, foot)’ is *nàndă:* (*nàndɛ̌ː*).

8.4.8 Expressive adverbials

8.4.8.1 Expressive adverbials with and without Adverbial *nɛ̀* (*nɛ̀*, *nɛ́*)

Expressive adverbials can function as adverbs (with no precise thematic role in the clause). They can be made predicative by preposing them to a conjugated form of *bò-* 'be (somewhere), be present' or its negation *òndí-* ~ *òndú-* 'not be (somewhere), be absent': *[dém→ nɛ̀] bò-∅* 'it is straight', *[dém→ nɛ̀] òndí-∅* 'it is not straight'.

'become EA' predicates

Expressive adverbials, which include (or blur into) adjectival intensifiers (on which see §xxx), commonly occur with following **Adverbial particle** *nɛ̀* in sentential context. When the adverbial has {*e o*} vowel harmony, this spreads into the particle, which becomes *nè*. A minority of these adverbials are **all-low-toned**, in which case the particle is **high-toned** (xx1.h). Some iterated adverbials are used with no Adverbial particle (xx1.c). Adverbial *nɛ́* is also perhaps a (somewhat frozen) part of *ànnɛ́* (or *àŋìnɛ́*) ‘how?’ and of *kɛ̀nɛ́* ‘thus, in that way’.

As in other Dogon languages, adverbials are abundant. Some examples are in (xx1), grouped by phonological features. The iterated stems in (xx1.a) belong to a type especially common with adjectival intensifiers (§xxx). The examples in (xx1.e,g) show intonational prolongation (→). Probably because of the *nɛ̀*, this prolongation is less conspicuous in Najamba than in northeastern Dogon languages (which have no Adverbial particle).

(xx1)	form	gloss	related form/comment

a. full iteration of mono-/bisyllabic, tones repeated (usually all-high)

dúŋgáy-dúŋgáy nè	‘lumbering along’	
ɲóŋóy-ɲóŋóy nè	‘(walking) stiffly’	
gáráŋ-gáráŋ nè	‘fit, in good shape’	
dáŋgó-dáŋgó nè	‘conpicuously visible’	also *dóŋgó-dóŋgó nè*
góló:-góló: nè	‘lined (e.g. paper)’	
síjé:-síjé: nè	‘striped’	noun *sìjě:* ‘stripes’
tɔ̀ŋě:-tɔ̀ŋě: nè	‘blotched, with large spots’	
légí-légí nè	‘soaring, at the summit’	
dóm-dóm nè	‘conpicuously visible’	
yɔ́r-yɔ́r nè	‘poorly, weakly (work)’	adjective *yɔ̀rê:*
dím-dím nè	‘towering high’	also just *dím nè*
géŋ-géŋ nè	‘fit, in good shape’	
táyⁿ-táyⁿ nè	‘adequately sugared’	
jém-jém nè	‘somewhat elongated (half-full sack)’	
ɲém-ɲém nè	‘flimsy, insubstantial’	
dûm-dûm nè	‘scattered’	
dɔ̂y-dɔ̂y nè	‘almost alongside (e.g. in a race)’	
dây-dây nè	‘freely, for nothing'	also just *dây nè*
měy-měy nè	‘flickering’	
gěŋ-gěŋ nè	‘staggering’	

b. like (a), based on *-n* nominal (§4.xxx)

[déŋí-n]-[déŋí-n] nè	‘(walk) clumsily, falling’	*dèŋé* ‘fall’

c. full iteration of trisyllabic, LHL-LLL tone contour (not used with *nè*)

dìníyà-dìnìyà	‘(going along) bumpily’
gèŋgíryà-gèŋgìryà	‘(walk) tilting to one side then the other’
jùmbíyà-jùmbìyà	‘(walk) with head bent forward’
wùndíyà-wùndìyà	‘meandering’

d. three-part full iteration with low-toned /*a*/ in medial

gěŋ-gàŋ-gěŋ nè	‘struggling under heavy load’

e. reduplicated *Cv̀-Cv̀Cv́→* with intonational prolongation

bè-bèlí→ nè	‘out of shape physically’
gò-gòló→ nè	‘(door) ajar, slightly open’

f. onomatopoeic

sɔ́rrrr nè	‘dripping rapidly’	onomatopoeic
kă:-kă: nè	‘(laugh) loudly (ha! ha!)’	with *màndí* ‘laugh’

g. unreduplicated, intonational prolongation →

gɔ̀ŋgìrí→ nè	'rickety, shaky'	
gèŋgìrí→ nè	'precariously positioned'	
jèmbèlé→ nè	'improperly placed'	
dòndòló→ nè	'in a circle, round'	also *dèndèlé→ nè*
jùgùjí→ nè	'woolly, furry'	*jùgújí-y* 'be woolly'
yùgùjí→ nè	'woolly, furry'	*yùgújí-y* 'be woolly'
pέndὲ→ nè	'brick-shaped (elongated)'	
bέndὲ→ nè	'brimming, full (with liquid) up to the rim'	
térὲ→ nè	'brimming, full (with liquid) up to the rim'	
sɔ́rɔ̀→ nè	'short and cylindrical'	also *sórò⇒ nè*
púјὲ→ nè	'foaming, frothily'	*cf. verb bùjé* 'foam'
dùrí→ nè	'sticking out, extruding'	
pɔ́→ nè	'right now, immediately'	
ɲǎy^{n}→ nè	'wide open (eyes)'	
pǎy^{n}→ nè	'wide open (eyes)'	
kǎy^{n}→ nè	'blazing (sun)'	
dɔ̌y→ nè	'(e.g. child) walking clumsily'	
séw→ nè	'silently'	
jéy→ nè	'(looking) hard (at something)'	
géŋ→ nè	'squeezing tightly'	
káŋ→ nè	'squeezing tightly'	
búm→ nè	'solidly built (body)'	
púy→ nè	'solidly built (body)'	
wá→ nè	'gaping, wide open'	

h. other, with **low tones then high-toned** *né*

pàràjày né	'having small spots or stripes'	
pùrùjày né	'blotched, having large spots'	
yùgùjày né	'woolly, furry'	
téndèlè: né	'having too much momentum to stop'	
gàŋgàlà né	'wide, extending laterally' (person, horned animal)	
dìyàw né	'(umbrella, tree) be spread out overhead'	
jùŋgày né	'(e.g. fruits) in clusters'	
ɲàŋày né	'(e.g. fruits) in clusters'	
yùjày né	'(tree) with roots spreading'	
sùyày né	'(bush) with thick foliage'	
bòjù né, bɔ̀jù né	'soaking wet'	

i. other, with low-toned *nè*

tɛ́gì-tɛ́gì nɛ̀	'slightly, a little'	
gómbóŋ nɛ̀	'protruding horizontally'	
símbɛ́y nɛ̀	'hanging out over'	
búndúm nɛ̀	'filled out (bag)'	
kóróy nɛ̀	'(ears etc.) turned out'	
júrúm nɛ̀	'withdrawn and downcast'	
kájàl nɛ̀	'(running) hard'	
yágáw nɛ̀	'inconsequential, insignificant'	
sém nɛ̀	'pointed'	(adjective *sèmɛ̂:*)

Like other adverbials, these can be made **predicative** by adding a conjugated form of *bò-* 'be', hence *[gɔ̀ŋgìrí→ nɛ̀] bò-* 'be rickety, shaky'.

8.4.8.2 'Straight' (*dɛ́→ nɛ̀*, *dɛ́m→ nɛ̀*)

The adverb 'straight (direct trajectory to a location)' is *dɛ́→ nɛ̀* or *dɛ́m→ nɛ̀*. The *m* in *dɛ́m→* is intonationally prolonged. (*dɛ́m→* occurs widely in northeastern Dogon languages as well).

(xx1) *a.* *[dɛ́→ nɛ̀]* *[dúmásá mà]* *ìn-ò:*
[straight Adv] [D in] go.Perf-3PlS
'They went straight to Douentza (with no detours or stops).'

b. *[ŋ̀gîn gwé-mbò]*
[here go.out-and]
[[dɛ́m→ nɛ̀] *[kúnjà-gâ: mà]* *ìnè-ḿ]*
[[straight Adv] [K in] go.Perf-1SgS
'I left here and went straight to Koubewel.'

Iterated *dɛ́m-dɛ́m* is used as an intensifier for 'straight'.

The gloss 'straight' in the sense 'not crooked', referring to e.g. a stick, is expressed by an unrelated adjective *tèndô:* (*tèndɛ̂:*).

8.4.8.3 'Apart, separate' (*nágá*)

nágá 'apart, separate, distinct' is used as a predicate indicating the physical separation or distinct identity of two or more entities. It may be iterated for distributive sense. It may be conjugated by adding *bò-* 'be'.

(xxx) a. *nágá-nágá* *b-ɛ̀:*

separate-separate be-3PlS
'They are distinct (not the same).'

b. *[èmbá yé] nágá,*
[sorghum Def.InanSg.E] separate,
[yógó yé] nágá
[millet Def.InanSg.E] separate
'Sorghum and millet are distinct.'

'X and Y are (not) the same' is often expressed as 'X and Y are (not) one'.

(xxx) *[yàwó: má→] [ánà: má→] kúndú = lá*
[woman.Pl and] [man.Pl and] one=not.be
'Women and men are not the same.'

8.4.8.4 'Always' (*àsú:*), 'never'

'Always, constantly' is *àsú:*. The phrase *wágátì dîn* 'every time' may also be used.

'Never' is the ubiquitous *àbádá* (from Arabic). It is also used as an emphatic negative ('not on your life').

For the experiential negative construction for verbs ('have ever done', 'have never done'), see §10.xxx.

8.4.8.5 'Carelessly'

yògòrò-yógòrò (variant *yògòlè-yógòlè*) is a noun or adjective meaning 'careless(ness)', denoting sloppy or nonchalantly performed work.

8.4.8.6 'Together' (*sɔ̌:*)

Adverbial '(being) together' is *sɔ̌:*.

(xx1) *sɔ̌: kwà-mbó-ỳ*
together eat-Fut-1PlS
'We will eat together.'

'Neighbor' is *sɔ̀:-jíŋgán*, which may begin with this morpheme.

8.4.9 Reduplicated (iterated) adverbials

8.4.9.1 Distributive adverbial iteration

For distributive numerals (‘two by two’, etc.), see §xxx. Similar examples involving iterations of other stems are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *dûm-dûm nɛ̀* ‘scattered, here and there’ (adverb)

b. *tég-tég* ‘dripping, one drop at a time’ *tégí* ‘(a) drop’

c. *lú:bà-lú:bà* ‘by turns’
gɔ́rrɛ̀-gɔ́rrɛ̀ ‘by turns’

d. *sórtòl-sórtòl* ‘arranged in rows’

A more productive construction is one with explicit ‘and’ conjunctions. For example, ‘house by house’ is expressed as ‘house and house’.

(xx1) *jàmálà-mbò* *[ólé* *má→]* *[ólé* *má→]* *ŋw-à:*
thief-Pl [house and] [house and] go.in.Perf-3PlS
‘The thieves went in house by house.’

8.4.9.2 Other (non-distributive) adverbial iteration

I can cite (xx1).

(xx1) *bàndè-bándè* ‘going backward’ cf. *bàndí* ‘back (body)’

9 Verbal derivation

The passive is discussed in connection with verbal inflection (§10.xxx) since it interacts with aspect-negation (AN) marking. This chapter covers derivational suffixes attached directly to the stem, or to other derivational suffixes, preceding AN and pronominal-subject inflectional suffixes.

9.1 Reversive verbs

Dogon languages typically have a range of reversive verbs, formed by derivational suffixation. In (xx1) the morphologically most straightforward examples are given, with the "input" followed by its reversive derivative.

The reversive also adopts the tone contour, either all-high or {LH}, of the simple stem. The final vowel of the stem shifts to *i*.

The suffix acquires its vowel-harmonic status from the input in most cases. Therefore the chaining form has *-lɛ́* (perfective *-lɛ̀*) for stems with {*ɛ ɔ*} vocalism, and /-lí/ (perfective *-lè*) after stems with {*e o*} vocalism. The exception is that stems with nonfinal a-vowels have {*e o*} vocalism as simple verbs, but their reversives shift to {*ɛ ɔ*} vocalism (xxx.c).

Both the simple stem and the reversive are subject to Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (§3.xxx). In the simple stem, deletion is seen in the chaining form if the final /i/ is preceded by an intervocalic sonorant, as in *kíl* 'fence in' from /kílí/. In reversives, since the final vowel of the input stem shifts to /*i*/ for all verbs, we see deletion of this presuffixal /i/ in examples like /úlí-lɛ́/ > *úl-lɛ́* 'disinter' (xx1.a). Reversives that adopt {*e o*} vocalism from the input stem have suffixal /-lí/ in the chaining form, and we observe deletion of its final /i/ in cases like /mùndí-lí/ > *mùndí-l* 'uncrumple' (xx1.d). However, deletion cannot apply both to stem-final and suffixal /i/ in the same verb; where the stem-final /i/ is in position to delete, it does delete and this creates a consonant cluster that prevents the suffixal /i/ from deleting, as we see in /kílí-lí/ > *kíl-lí* 'remove fence from' (xx1.d).

(xxx)	input	gloss	reversive	gloss
a. all-high toned, {*ɛ ɔ*}				
	tɛ́ŋɛ́	'hobble'	*tɛ́ŋ-lɛ́*	'unhobble'
	tímbɛ́	'cover with lid'	*tímbí-lɛ́*	'take lid off'

níŋgɛ́	'shut'	*níŋgí-lɛ́*	'open'
úlɛ́	'bury'	*úl-lɛ́*	'disinter'
sɔ́ŋgɛ́	'curse'	*sɔ́ŋgí-lɛ́*	'retract curse''

b. (LH} toned, {*ɛ ɔ*}

gùbɛ́	'hook, hang up'	*gùbí-lɛ́*	'unhook, take down'
mɛ̀mɛ́	'twist (cord)'	*mɛ̀mí-lɛ́*	'untwist (cord)'

[unusual undeleted /i/ in *mɛ̀mí-lɛ́* (two informants)]

gɔ̀rɛ́	'hold out (arm)'	*gɔ̌r-lɛ́*	'pull back (arm')

c. stem a-vowels, shift from {*e o*} to {*ɛ ɔ*}

págí|pàgè	'tie'	*págí-lɛ́*	'untie'
tá:n|tà:nè	'step on'	*tá:n-lɛ́*	'remove foot from'
dàgí|dàgè	'lock'	*dàgí-lɛ́*	'unlock'
yàmbí|yàmbè	'cover'	*yàmbí-lɛ́*	'uncover'
ságí|sàgè	'put up'	*ságí-lɛ́*	'take (back) down'

d. simple stem and reversive have {*e o*} vocalism

kíl|kìlè	'fence in'	*kíl-lí*	'remove fence from'
mùndí	'crumple'	*mùndí-l*	'uncrumple'
gɔ̌r	'put on (hat)'	*gɔ̌r-lí*	'take off (hat)'
		(also pronounced *gɔ̌l-lí*)	

e. tone shift

dìyɛ́	'carry on head'	*díl-lɛ́*	'take (load) off head'

[cf. *dǐ:-rɛ́* 'put (load) on someone else's head']

The examples in (xx2) are more complex. In (xx2.a), we see clearly that mediopassive suffix *-yɛ́* in the input verb appears to the right of the reversive suffix *-lí-*. The same structure with *i* instead of *ɛ* occurs in (xx2.b), but is obscured by vocalic contractions. Minor patterns are observed in (xx2.c-e).

(xx2) a.

ságí-yɛ́	'be caught (in tree)'	*ságí-lí-yɛ́*	'get free (from tree)'
dàŋgí-yɛ́	'be stuck (to sth)'	*dàŋgì-lí-yɛ́*	'become unstuck'

b.

nìgíjí-y	'be tangled'	*nìgíjí-lí-y*	'be untangled'
tóndí-y	'be bent'	*tóndí-lí-y*	'be straightened'
tíbí-y	'get stuck'	*tíbí-lí-y*	'get unstuck'
dɛ̀mbɛ́	'get bogged'	*dɛ̀mbí-lí-yɛ́*	'get unbogged'

c.

jìbí-y	'attach (wrap)'	*jìbǐ-l*	'untie, take off (wrap)'

d.	*ìrɛ́*	'forget'	*íl-lí-yɛ́*	'remember'
e.	*pégɛ́-rɛ́*	'drive in (nail)'	*pégí-lɛ́*	'remove (nail)'
	jŭ:-r	'flip over'	*jŭ:-l*	'unflip, put back right-side-up

9.2 Deverbal causative verbs

9.2.1 Productive causative suffix *-m*

Causative derivatives have a wide range of senses including 'cause X to VP', 'let/allow X to VP', and 'have X VP'.

The productive causative suffix is *-m* in the chaining form (xx1), apocopated from /-mi/. The verb takes the A/O-stem. Causative *-m* commonly follows mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* (xx1.d).

(xx1)	input	gloss	causative	gloss
a.	*ăy*	'be tired'	*àyá-m*	'weary (sb)'
	jùgɛ́	'recognize'	*jùgá-m*	'cause to know'
	tíŋgɛ́	'go past'	*tíŋgá-m*	'take past'
	dɛ̀nɛ́	'spend day'	*dènà-m*	'have (sb) spend day'
	wɔ̀lɛ́	'get used to'	*wòlá-m*	'accustom (sb)'
	fɔ́:rɛ́	'dress up'	*fó:rá-m*	'adorn'
b.	*sán*	'be dispersed'	*sáná-m*	'disperse'
	wàjí	'be left over'	*wàjá-m*	'cause to remain'
c.	*tómbí*	'jump'	*tómbó-m*	'cause to jump'
	pór	'escape'	*póró-m*	'let escape'
	ín	'go'	*ínó-m*	'cause to go'
	sín	'be full, sated'	*sínó-m*	'make full (sated)'
	kúbí	'eat (meat)'	*kúbó-m*	'give meat to'
d.	*píbí-y*	'be inflated'	*píbí-yó-m*	'inflate'
	gìgílí-y	'rotate'	*gìgílí-yó-m*	'cause to rotate'
	dìmbí-yɛ́	'follow'	*dìmbí-yá-m*	'cause to follow'
	ká:jí-yɛ́	'overflow'	*ká:jí-yá-m*	'cause to overflow'
	tágí-yɛ́	'put on (shoe)'	*tágí-yá-m*	'put shoe on (sb)'
	bɛ̀líyɛ́	'get up'	*bèlíyá-m*	'cause to get up'

When the base stem is a **short-voweled monosyllabic**, i.e. *Cv́* or *Cwv́*, three treatments are observed. The vowel may remain short (xx2.a). Usually it is lengthened, in which case we can get either a H-toned or a rising-toned causative (xx2.b-c). A similar split occurs in the perfective negative (§10.1.4.2).

(xx1)		input	gloss	causative	gloss
	a.	*gwé*	'go out'	*gŏ-m*	'take out, remove'
	b.	*kwɛ́*	'eat (meal)'	*kwá:-m*	'feed'
		ŋwɛ́	'go in'	*ŋwá:-m*	'take in'
		swɛ́	'pour'	*swá:-m*	'cause to pour'
	c.	*ɲàŋgó ɲɛ́*	'weep'	*ɲàŋgó ɲă:-m*	'cause to weep'
		nɛ́	'drink'	*nă:-m*	'give drink to'
		yɛ́	'see'	*yă:-m*	'cause to see'
		bɛ́	'remain'	*bă:-m*	'cause to remain'
		jɛ́	'take'	*jă:-m*	'cause to take'
		ŋwɛ́	'hear'	*ŋwă:-m*	'cause to hear'
		dwɛ́	'pound'	*dwă:-m*	'cause to pound'

A representative set of forms for two of the causatives is in (xxx). Note the consistent *e* (not *ɛ*) in 'have (sb) spend day', compare the underived base *dènɛ́* 'spend the day'.

(xxx)	category	'have (sb) spend day'	'let escape'
	bare stem	*dèná-m*	*póró-m*
	VblN	*déná-m-lé*	*póró-m-lé*
	3Sg Perf	*déná-mè*	*póró-mè*
	3Sg Pres	*déná-mà-ɲjò*	*póró-mò-ɲjò*
	3Sg Fut	*dènà-má-m̀*	*pòrò-mó-m̀*
	3Sg PerfNeg	*dèná-má-l*	*póró-mó-l*
	3Sg ProgNeg	*dèná-mà-ɲjò-ndí*	*póró-mò-ɲjò-ndí*
	3Sg FutNeg	*dènà-mă-ndì*	*pòrò-mŏ-ndì*

9.2.2 Other causatives suffixes *-ndí*, *-gí*

The cases known to me of causative *-ndí* with no other suffixation are given in (xx1.a). The suffix is added to the **A/O-stem** of the verb (see especially 'cause

to get up'). The *-ndí* causative generally preserves the lexical tone contour of the stem, all-high or {LH}, the latter reapplied to the whole derived stem. The examples in (xx1.b) have *-ndí* added on top of *-ré-* (see §9.2.3), forming a transitive opposed to a mediopassive in *-yé*/*y*. In (xx1.c), the irregular falling-tone on the simple stem is replaced in the derived stem by the {LH} contour typical of verb stems beginning in a voiced stop. In (xx1.d), a cluster *ŋg* in the input is simplified to *ŋ* in the causative.

(xx1)		input	gloss	causative	gloss
	a.	*ìlɛ́*	'go up'	*ìlá-ndí*	'cause to go up' (cf. also *índí* 'lift')
		ìgí	'be finished'	*ìgó-ndí*	'finish, use up'
		súgí	'go down'	*súgó-ndí*	'take down'
		bìlɛ́	'change, turn'	*bìlá-ndí*	'lengthen (thread) by winding between sticks'
		tɔ́gɛ́	'(fire) be lit'	*tógá-ndí*	'light (fire)'
		gìlí-yɛ́	'be rekindled'	*gìlá-ndí*	'rekindle (fire)'
		bɛ̀lí-yɛ́	'get up'	*bɛ̀lá-ndí*	'cause to get up'
		dàgí	'be rebalanced'	*dàgá-ndí*	'rebalance (e.g. chair)'
		mùlɛ́	'come together'	*mùlá-ndí*	'bring together, assemble'
		dɔ̀lɛ́	'be excessive'	*dòlá-ndí*	'do too much'
		wùlɛ́	'wake up'	*wùlá-ndí*	'wake (someone) up'
	b.	*íŋgí-yɛ́*	'stand, stop'	*íŋgí-rá-ndí*	'halt (someone)'
		íbí-yɛ́	'fear, be afraid'	*íbí-rá-ndí*	'scare (someone)'
	c.	*dwɛ̂:*	'arrive'	*dɔ̌:-ndí*	'cause to arrive'
	d.	*tíŋgɛ́*	'pass by'	*tíŋá-ndí*	'cause to pass by'

The known examples of *-gí* are in (xx2).

(xx2)	input	gloss	causative	gloss
	ɲăm	'malfunction'	*ɲàmá-gí*	'damage, waste'
	sél	'be diluted'	*séló-gí*	'dilute, water down'
	pár	'snap' [intr]	*párá-gí*	'pull off'
	sán	'disperse' [intr]	*sáná-gí*	'scatter; expose (secret)'
		(cf. regular causative *sáná-m* 'cause to disperse')		
	dìbí	'be lost'	*dìbó-gí*	'cause to be lost'

púјí	‘crumble’ [intr]	*púјó-gí*	‘crumble’ [tr]
dŏl	‘be punctured’	*dòló-gí*	‘puncture’
tɔ́jɛ́	‘be blistered’	*tójá-gí*	‘cause blisters’

Possible frozen cases, no longer clearly segmentable, include *sélóndí* ‘tease’, *kímógí-* ‘extinguish (fire)’, *dàmágí* ‘denigrate’ (cf. *dăm* ‘speak’), *gìnágí* ‘break in half’, and *dìŋóndí* ‘console’.

Obscurely related to *dàmágí-* ‘denigrate’ and *dăm* ‘speak’ is another verb, *dămgí-y* ‘(two or more persons) have a debate (argument)’. The tone suggests syncope of a medial high vowel, pointing to a prototype *dàmígí-yí. Perhaps this too contains suffix *-gí*, but the stem-vocalism (*dàmí-) is not consistent with the A/O-stems seen in (xx2).

At least one causative with *-ndí* can itself function as input to the productive causative with suffix *-m*. This is *ìgó-ndí* ‘finish (something)’ (causative of *ìgí* ‘be finished’), which has a regular *-m* causative, viz., *ìgó-ndó-m* ‘cause (someone) to finish’.

Omitted here are the occasional cases where both a simple and a causative verb (suffix *-in-*) from Fulfulde have been borrowed, e.g. *jáŋgí* ‘study’ and causative *jáŋgínɛ́* ‘teach’.

9.3 Transitive and and mediopassive suffixes

9.3.1 Mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* derived from unsuffixed verb

The **mediopassive (“MP”)** suffix *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* is quite productive. It’s semantic core is indeed mediopassive, and its distribution is reminiscent of the Romance (e.g. Spanish) reflexive. The mediopassive nature is especially clear in cases where *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* is opposed to a transitive form in *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* or *-lɛ́* ~ *-l*, on which see the following section.

English passives with unspecified external agents (‘be eaten’, ‘be seen’, ‘be given’) are usually expressed as **transitives with generic third plural subject**: ‘it isn’t eaten (= is inedible)’ is *kó kwă-ndì-yà* ‘they won’t (= don’t) eat it’; ‘the (cooked) food has been completely eaten up’ is *[yòmbó kò dîn] kwɛ́ kìr-ò:* ‘they completed eating all the food’. ‘X be born’ is usually expressed (somewhat illogically) as ‘they gave birth to X’ (*[X gì] nàl-à:]*), though a mediopassive version similar to the English construction is also found: *[X nàlì-yɛ̀]*.

In most examples the **morphophonology** of the mediopassive derivation is straightforward. In all examples known to me, the suffix is added to a form of the stem ending in *i*, and this *i* is not subject to syncope. For nearly all verbs, this is identical to the **I/U-stem** as used before verbal noun suffix *-lé*. However,

for monosyllabic stems of the shape *Cwɛ́* we get mediopassive *Cí-yɛ́* versus verbal noun *Cú-lé*. The only example in common use is this: transitive *swɛ́* 'pour, spill', verbal noun *sú-lé*, and mediopassive *sí-yɛ́* 'be spilled, be poured'. I was also able to elicit *yí:-yɛ́* ~ *yí-yɛ́* 'be seen' (transitive *yɛ́* 'see', verbal noun *yí-lé*). Perhaps the suffixal semivowel *y* has forced the use of homorganic *i* rather than *u*. Except sometimes in *yí(:)-yɛ́* 'be seen', where the flanking homorganic /y/ semivowels mask the length of the *i* (facilitating ambiguity and historical shifts), a *Cv-* stem does not lengthen its vowel before the mediopassive suffix.

The cases in (xxx) involve a mediopassive in *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* in opposition to a **morphologically unmarked transitive**. Many other such pairs can be found in the lexicon, or readily elicited.

(xxx) a. *wùjí* 'swing (something)'
wùjí-y '(something) dangle'

b. *pɛ́:* 'let (mud-manure mix) ferment'
pí:-yɛ́ '(mud-manure mix) ferment'

c. *mɔ̀mbɛ́* 'assemble (a group)'
mɔ̀mbí-yɛ́ '(group) be assembled'

d. *kábílé* 'separate (X from Y)'
kábílí-yɛ́ '(individual) separate oneself'

e. *yàmbí* 'cover (someone)'
yàmbí-yɛ́ 'cover oneself'
(reversive *yàmbí-lɛ́* 'uncover')

f. *nìgíjí* 'mix (X and Y)'
nìgíjí-y '(X and Y) be mixed'

g. *tóndí* 'bend, curve (something)'
tóndí-y 'be curved'

h. *bìnɛ́* 'lean (something, against something)'
bìní-yɛ́ 'lean one's shoulder (against something)'

i. *dùmɛ́* 'get, obtain'
dùmí-yɛ́ 'be obtainable (available)'

j. *bàrí* 'add, increase (something)'

bàrí-yɛ́ ‘(e.g. herd) increase, expand’

The mediopassive suffix **may follow the reversive** suffix, as in *níŋgí-lí-yɛ́* ‘(e.g. door) be opened’ from *níŋgí-lɛ́* ‘open (door)’, reversive of *níŋgɛ́* ‘shut (door)’. Likewise *dáŋgí-lí-yɛ́* ‘(something stuck on) become unstuck, be taken off’ and *nɔ́ggí-lí-yɛ́* ‘(something caught in a tree) become un-caught’.

The mediopassive suffix **cannot follow causative** *-m*. However, the sequence **mediopassive-causative is common**. It appears as *-yá-m* or *-yo-m* depending on vowel-harmonic class. An example is the derivational chain of *bìlɛ́* ‘change (something)’, mediopassive *bìlí-yɛ́* ‘(something) evolve, change’, and causative of mediopassive *bìlí-yá-m* ‘transform (something)’. Other examples (among many) are *píbí-yó-m* ‘inflate’ (cause to be inflated) and *yùgúlí-yó-m* ‘drive (someone) crazy’ (cause to become crazy).

The mediopassive suffix may follow the minor, more lexicalized causative allomorphs. From *bàndí-gí* ‘cause to remain behind’ (noun *bàndí* ‘back’) we get mediopassive *bàndí-gí-*y ‘remain behind’.

There are many verbs that end in …*yɛ́* or …*y* that fit the mediopassive semantics for the suffix, but for which segmentation is not transparent due to the lack (at least at this stage of lexicographic work) of attested counterparts without the suffix or with a different suffix. My practice is to hyphenate where the sense is consistent with mediopassive semantics. A few among many examples are in (xxx).

(xxx)

gɛ̀lí-yɛ́	‘keep’
yɛ̀ndɛ́-lí-yɛ́	‘flap in wind’ (cf. *yɛ̀ndí* ‘hang
túbí-yɛ́	‘lean on (a cane)’
pírí-y	‘fly (away)’ (poor semantic match with *pír* ‘catch, trap’)
pírgí-y	‘(dying animal) flop around’
bá:lí-yɛ́	‘wilt, shrivel’
gèrí-y	‘bend over backward’
gìmbí-y	‘lean forward, bow’
áŋí-yɛ́	‘cross one’s arms’

9.3.2 Paired mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* and transitive *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* or *-lɛ́* ~ *-l*

Mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y*, introduced in the preceding section, is sometimes paired with a corresponding transitive with suffix *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* or less often *-lɛ́* ~ *-l*. (Not included here is reversive *-lɛ́* ~ *-l*, on which see §9.1, above).

Such doublets occurs, for example, in verbs of change of stance (xx1.a) and in verbs of donning garments (xx1.b). In (xx1.a), one is tempted to say that *-r* is semantically a causative (‘cause to sit’). However, the comparison with (xx1.b)

suggests that the apparent intransitive ('sit down') might really be a mediopassive ('seat oneself'), i.e. distinguishing an agent from a coreferential object. Compare Romance reflexive verbs like Spanish *sentarse* 'sit' and *ponerse el sombrero* 'put on one's hat'.

(xx1) a. *óbí-y* 'sit down'
óbí-r 'cause to sit, seat (someone)'

b. *gìbí-y* 'put a hat on (oneself)'
gìbí-r 'put a hat on (someone else)'
gìbí 'replaster (wall)'
(cf. reversive *gìbí-l* 'take hat off [oneself or someone else]')

Further examples are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *jɛ̀ŋgí-yɛ́* '(something) tilt'
jɛ̀ŋgí-lɛ́ 'cause (something) to tilt'

b. *kúmbí-y* 'hold (something)'
kúmbí-r 'entrust (something, to someone else)'

c. *ɛ́rí-yɛ́* 'become tangled' (also 'be tripped')
ɛ́l-lɛ́ 'tangle (something)'
[*ɛ́rɛ́* 'trip up']

d. *síbí-y* 'hide oneself'
síbí-r 'hide (something)'
[unrelated to *síbí* 'lay the second layer in basket or bag']

e. *tóndí-y* 'be curved'
tóndí-r 'bend, curve (something)'
tóndí "

f. *dògí-y* 'be facing up'
dògí-r 'hold (something) facing up'
[unrelated to *dògí* '(woodpecker) peck deeply into tree']

g. *dàbí-yɛ́* 'lie in wait for'
dàbí-lɛ́ 'stalk (prey)'

h. *dìgí-yɛ́* '(objects) be joined (at ends)'
dìgí-rɛ́ 'join (two objects)'

i.	*gògí-y*	‘(bowl) be hung (e.g. on rock)’
	gògí-r	‘hang (bowl, e.g. on rock)’
	gògí	"
j.	*sɔ́bí-yɛ́*	‘(knife) sink in’
	sɔ́bí-rɛ́	‘skewer (e.g. meat, for brochette)’
	sɔ́bɛ́	‘jab, puncture’
k.	*dìmbí-yɛ́*	‘follow (someone)’
	dìmbí-rɛ́	‘chase away, drive out; align (in rows)’

In (xx3), the transitive form has an irregular suffix complex including the (rare) causative suffix allomorph *-ndí* (§6.xxx).

(xx3)	a.	*íŋgí-yɛ́*	‘stop, stand’
		íŋgí-rá-ndí	‘cause to stop or stand’
	b.	*íbí-yɛ́*	‘fear, be afraid’
		íbí-rá-ndí	‘scare (someone)’

9.3.3 Paired *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* and *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* after *Cv-* stem

In (xx1) we have apparent examples of the opposition of mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* and transitive *-rɛ́* ~ *-r*, but this time after **monomoraic *Cv-*** stems. The semantic relationships (stance, holding, etc.) are consistent with the other examples of this pairing given above. If this analysis is accepted, it would follow that *Cv-* is **lengthened to *Cv:-*** before the transitive suffix, but **not before the mediopassive**.

In spite of the pattern that emerges from an abundance of examples, there are several reasons to suspect that native speakers are reluctant to segment the *Cvyv-* intransitive shape. The first is the failure of the vowel to lengthen, as just noted. The second is that there are stative inflected forms, and cognate nominals, that include the *yv* syllable for *Cvyv* verbs, while omitting suffixal *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* after longer stems. A stative example is *bíyò-* ‘be lying down’, preserving the semivowel *y*, whereas statives of nonmonosyllabic stems drop the mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* suffix (§xxx). The cognate nominal for *nóy* ‘(go to) sleep’ is *nóyè* ‘sleep’. I therefore hesitate to hyphenate the intransitives as *bă-y*, *nó-y*, etc., though readers may consider this possibility.

(xx4)	a.	*bǎy* (or: *bă-y*)	‘learn’

	bǎ:-rɛ́	'instruct (someone)'
b.	*nóy* (or: *nó-y*)	'sleep'
	nó:-r	'put (someone) to sleep'
c.	*íŋgé dìyɛ́* (or: *dì-yɛ́*)	'bathe' (*íŋgé* 'water')
	íngé dǐ:-rɛ́	'cause to sit, seat (someone)'
d.	*dìyɛ́* (or: *dì-yɛ́*)	'carry on one's head'
	dǐ:-rɛ́	'put on (someone else's) head'
e.	*póy* (or: *pó-y*)	'carry on back'
	pó:-r	'put (something) on the back of (someone else)'
f.	*bǐy* (or: *bǐ-y*)	'lie down, go to bed'
	bǐ:-r	'cause to lie down, put to bed'

9.4 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

A number of adjectives have an associated intransitive **inchoative** verb ('be/become X'), with no obvious derivational suffixation in either direction, and not always with the same lexical tone contour. The adjective and the inchoative verb are clearly members of the same word-family, but their forms are independently lexicalized. In (xx1), an inanimate singular form of the adjective (A) is shown, along with the inchoative ('become A') and the **factitive** ('cause to become A'). The factitive is morphologically the causative of the inchoative, and ends in **causative** *-m*.

(xx1)	gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
	a. {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic set in adjective and inchoative			
	{LH} tone contour in inchoative			
	'rotten'	*gɔ̀mɔ̂:*	*gɔ̀mɛ́*	*gòmá-m*
	'big, adult'	*gìndɔ́:*	*gìndɛ́*	*gìndá-m*
	'black'	*jɛ́mɛ̀*	*jɛ̀mɛ́*	*jɛ̀má-m*
	'feeble' (variant)	*bɛ̀bɔ̂:*	*bɛ̀bɛ́*	*bɔ̀bá-m*
	all-H tone contour in inchoative			
	'old (person)'	*kúnjɛ́:*	*kúnjɛ́*	*kúnjá-m*
	'be ripe'	*ílà*	*ílɛ́*	*ílá-m*

b. {*e o*} vowel-harmonic set in adjective and inchoative

{LH} tone contour in inchoative			
‘blunt’	*dùmbé*	*dùmbí*	*dùmbó-m*
‘tall’	*gàbô:*	*gàbí*	*gàbá-m*
‘straight’	*tèndô:*	*téndí*	*téndó-m*
‘cramped’	*àŋgô:*	*áŋgí*	*áŋgá-m*
‘hard’	*mǎy-yè*	*mǎy*	*màyá-m*
all-H tone contour in inchoative			
‘skinny’	*kómbé*	*kómbí*	*kómbó-m*
‘sour, salty’	*àmí-yè*	*ám*	*ámá-m*

In a minority pattern (xx2), the inchoative is formed in the same way, but the factitive uses an alternative causative suffix *-ndí*.

(xx2)	gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
	‘slack, loose’	*yɔ̀rɔ̂:*	*yɔ̀rɛ́*	*yòrá-ndí*
	'full'	*jòyó:*	*jǒy*	*jòyó-ndí*

The inchoatives and the adjective stems themselves do show consistency in vowel-harmonic class (the causative requires {*e o*} vocalism). There is no consistency between adjective and inchoative in tone contour, however. The inchoatives follow the usual pattern by which all-high tone is required by initial voiceless obstruents (such as stops), while {LH} tone contour is strongly associated with voiced stops.

Many other adjectives are verbalized by means of an overt **inchoative suffix** *-ndí*, from which is formed a factitive by adding **causative** *-m*. The inchoative suffix (like the causative suffix) requires the **A/O-stem**, which also entails a requirement of {*e o*} vowel harmony. Again, the tone contour of the inchoative (and therefore of the factitive) correlates with (but is not always predictable from) the initial consonant.

(xxx)	gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
	a. verbs have {LH} tone contour			
	‘fat, thick’	*bìnú:*	*bìnó-ndí*	*bìnó-ndó-m*
	‘hot; fast’	*dwɛ̌y^{n}-yè*	*dòyá-ndí*	*dòyá-ndá-m*
	‘flat; spacious’	*wàyɛ́:*	*wàyá-ndí*	*wàyá-ndá-m*
	‘distant’	*wàgí-yè*	*wàgá-ndí*	*wàgá-ndá-m*
	‘nearby’	*dùmí-yè*	*dùmó-ndí*	*dùmó-ndó-m*
	‘bitter’	*gàlí-yè*	*gàlá-ndí*	*gàlá-ndá-m*
	‘thin’	*mènjí:*	*mènjó-ndí*	*mènjó-ndó-m*

‘long’	*jàlɛ́:*	*jàlá-ndí*	*jàlá-ndá-m*
‘deep’	*mìní-yè*	*mìnó-ndí*	*mìnó-ndó-m*
‘short’	*dèndú-ŋgó*	*dèndó-ndí*	*dèndó-ndó-m*
‘thin’	*mènjú-ŋgò*	*mènjó-ndí*	*mènjó-ndó-m*

b. verbs have all-high tone contour

‘heavy’	*nìmí-yè*	*nímó-ndí*	*nímó-ndó-m*
‘good’	*nɛ̌y-ŋgò*	*néyá-ndí*	*néyá-ndá-m*
‘narrow’	*pèmbî:*	*pémbá-ndí*	*pémbá-ndá-m*
‘slow’	*pèjí-yè*	*péjá-ndí*	*péjá-ndá-m*
‘sweet’	*èlí-yè*	*élá-ndí*	*élá-ndá-m*
‘difficult’	*nàmí-yè*	*námá-ndí*	*námá-ndá-m*
‘small, young’	*pàlâ:*	*pálá-ndí*	*pálá-ndá-m*
‘hard’	*mǎy-ŋgò*	*máyá-nd-í:*	*máyá-ndá-m*

Many verbs are attested with an **inchoative suffix** *-yɛ́* ~ *-y*. This is added either directly to the stem (xxx.a), or to the suffix *-ndí-* (xxx.b). The corresponding factitive is formed by adding causative suffix *-m*.

(xxx)		gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
	a.	‘coarse’	*yágàjà*	*yàgájí-yɛ́*	*yàgájí-yá-m*
		‘ripe, cooked’	*ílà*	*ílí-yɛ́*	*ílí-yá-m*
		‘cool’	*yégèlè*	*yègílí-y*	*yègílí-yó-m*
		‘slow’	*támàlà*	*támálí-yɛ́*	*támálí-yá-m*
		‘smooth, sleek'	*ónánà*	*ónání-yɛ́*	*ónání-yá-m*
		‘blind’	*gǐrbà*	*gǐrbí-y*	*gǐrbí-yó-m*
	b.	‘sweet’	*èlí-yè*	*élá-ndí-yɛ́*	*élá-ndi!-yá-m*
		‘bad, ugly’	*nè:ndá:*	*néndá-ndí-yɛ́* [also *néndá-ndí-*]	*néndá-ndí-yá-m*
		‘bitter’	*gàlí-yè*	*gàlá-ndí-yɛ́*	*gàlá-ndí-yá-m*
		‘feeble’ (variant)	*bɛ̀bɔ̂:*	*bèbá-ndí-yɛ́*	*bèbá-ndí-yá-m*
		‘slow’	*pèjí-yè*	*péjá-ndí-yɛ́*	*péjá-ndí-yá-m*

Two verbs have a **factitive suffix** *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* added directly to the stem, paired with an **inchoative** with *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* (xxx). The pairing of transitive *-rɛ́* ~ *-r* with mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* is well attested in other semantic domains (§9.xxx).

(xxx)		gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
	a.	‘wet’	*témbô:*	*témbí-y*	*témbí-r*

b.	‘curved’	*tòndô:*	*tóndí-y*	*tóndí-r* (also *tóndí*)

The colors ‘white’ and ‘red’ have complex inchoatives with mediopassive *-yɛ́* added to *-lí-*. The usual factitive, on the other hand, is based on adding causative *-m* to a (nonexistent) inchoative without derivational suffix, compare ‘black’ in (xx1.a), above.

(xxx)	gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
	‘white’	*pílɛ̀*	*pílá-lí-yɛ́*	*pílá-m*
	‘red’	*bánè*	*báná-lí-yɛ́*	*bàná-m*

9.5 Denominal verbs

There are no productive denominal verbalizations. Examples of word-families including a noun and a verb where a case can be made for such a verbalization are in (xx1). *bàndí* ‘back’ (xx1), apparently a Songhay borrowing, is part of a larger word family including postposition *[[X bàndì] mà]* ‘behind X’ and adverb *bàndè-bándè* ‘going backward’. *sérè* ‘witness’ (xx1.b) is the local instance of a regionally widespread (e.g. Fulfulde) word family.

(xx1)					
	a.	*bàndí*	‘back (body)’	*bàndí-gí*	‘cause to remain behind’
	b.	*sérè*	‘witness(n)’	*sérí-y*	‘testify’

9.6 Obscure verb-verb relationships

Occasionally a pair of verbs is obviously related, but they do not follow any well-trodden derivational channel.

(xx1)					
	a.	*ùgí*	‘roast, bake’	*ùgí-r*	‘burn (incense)’
	b.	*gŭl*	‘dig’	*gùnjí*	‘(squirrel) dig up (seeds)’

Like all Dogon languages, there are also some pairs of verbs differing in vocalism in a fashion suggesting sound symbolism. For example, alongside *gùnjí* (xx1.b) we have *gɔ̀njɛ́* ‘dig (small hole in sand)’, and there are a few other pairs like this. At some point the relevant examples from several languages should be gathered and studied.

9.7 “Underived” trisyllabic verbs

Many trisyllabic verbs that cannot be transparently segmented into a bisyllabic stem plus a derivational suffix may have originated as such derivatives. Most of them (excluding Fulfulde borrowings) end in …*gɛ́* ~ *gí*, …*jɛ́* ~ *jí*, …*r* ~ *rɛ́*, …*lɛ* ~ *l*, …*yɛ* ~ *y*, …*mɛ* ~ *m*, which resemble attested derivational suffixes.

Examples: *námílɛ́* ‘apply mud’, *gɛ̀ŋgírɛ́* ‘(hawk) sway from side to side in flight’, *kúmbíjí* ‘cause (e.g. leaf) to curl’.

10 Verbal inflection

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

To give an initial impression of the morphology of inflected verbs and their participles (which are used in relative clauses), the paradigm of *yɛ́* 'see' in (xx1) may be useful. For the inflectable column, the 3Sg subject form is given for indicative categories (xx1.b-c), 2Sg for the imperative (xx1.d), and 1Pl dual inclusive for the hortative (xx1.e). Participles agree with the head nouns of their relative claues, hence the variable vocalic endings. The participles ending in *-ŋgà* have an (animate) plural form *-ŋgà-mbò*. Slightly different participial forms are used in subject relatives and in non-subject relatives.

(xx1)	category	simple	inflected	participle	
				subject	non-subject
a.	chaining form	*yɛ́*			
	verbal noun	*yí-lé*			
	progressive	*yá-mbò*			
b.	perfective		*yɛ̀-∅*	*y-ɛ́:/-ɔ́:*	*y-ɛ̂:/-ɔ̂:*
	present		*yá-njò-∅*	*yá-ŋgà*	*yá-ŋgà*
	future		*yá-m̀*	*yǎ-ŋgà*	*yǎ-ŋgà*
			or:	*yà-ŋgà*	*yà-ŋgà*
c.	perfective negative		*yǎ:-l-∅*	*yà:-l-é:/-ó:*	*yà:-l-è:/-ò:*
	future negative		*yǎ-ndì-∅*	*yǎ-nd-è/-ò:*	*yà-nd-è/-ò:*
	present negative	*yâ-ndí-∅*	*yâ-nd-é/-ó:*	*yá-nd-è/-ò:*	
d.	imperative		*yá*		
	prohibitive I		*yá-là*		
	prohibitive II		*yɛ̀-nɔ̂:*		
e.	hortative		*yà-ý*		
	hortative negative		*yá-là-ỳ*		

The details about each category, including full pronominal paradigms where relevant, and with examples of a variety of prosodic stem shapes, will be given

in the various sections below and (for participles) in Chapter 14 on relative clauses. However, certain points can be mentioned here before we get into the nitty-gritty.

One stem, which I call the **E-stem** although I take it to be lexically basic, always ends in *e/ɛ* (for this verb, *ɛ*). It is seen in the chaining form, the perfective (positive), and the prohibitive with suffix *-nɔ̂ː*. What I call the **I/U-stem** usually ends in *i* (as for this verb), though some other monosyllabics have *Cu*-. It occurs before verbal noun suffix *-lé* (it is also used before the reversive derivational suffix). All remaining forms in (xx1) are based on the **A/O stem** (for this verb, *ya*-). As we will see, the A/O stem also involves a neutralization of nonfinal stem vowels of the {*ɛ ɔ*} and {*e o*} vowel-harmonic classes, so this stem cannot be taken as lexically basic. I take *i/u* and *a/o* to be morphologically conditioned mutations of the lexical stem final *e/ɛ*, and do not hyphenate any of them.

The **tone contour** of a complete verb form (including suffixes) is in some cases entirely determined by the grammatical category (built-in suffixal tones, plus an overlaid tone contour on the stem). For example, the verbal noun with suffix *-lé* is always entirely high-toned. In some forms (chaining, perfective negative), the onset of the verb form respects the distinction between all-high and {LH} lexical tones, though the tones of the remainder of the word are determined by the grammatical category. (As only one verb is presented here, and a monosyllabic at that, the relevance of lexical tones will only emerge in the relevant sections below).

In the **participles**, tone contours play two distinct roles in differentiating categories. For the participial categories involving suffix *-ŋga*-, the difference between e.g. *x́x̀-ŋgà-* and *x̀x́-ŋ́gà-*, where each *x* represents a stem syllable, distinguishes the tenses (present and future, respectively). However, these tone contour are not sensitive to the distinction between subject and non-subject participles. On the other hand, the participial categories expressed by a final long-vowel ending (perfective, plus the two negative indicative categories) use tones to distinguish subject from non-subject participles (there is a high-tone element somewhere in the subject participle that corresponds to a low tone in the non-subject participle).

10.1.1 Stem shapes

All monosyllabic verb stems with full paradigms that are known to me are in (xx1). I include *ǹdɛ́* ‘give’, which differs only in having an extra homorganic nasal in the onset (the low tone is automatic). The verbs in (xx1) are grouped by phonological similarity. Most (xx1.a-d) have short vowels in the forms shown (though C*v*- lengthens to C*vː*- before derivational suffixes, see §3.xxx). Long

vowels do occur in a some verbs (xx1.e-g). Lexically, as seen in the chaining and perfective forms, most of the verbs (xx1.xxx) have *ɛ*-vowel, while a few (xx1.b,d,g) have *e*-vowel. Also, as seen in the chaining forms, there is only one tonal possibility for (monomoraic) C*v*- stems (xx1.a-b), and the C*wv*- stems behave in the same way (xx1.c-d).

(xx1)		chaining	Perfective	A/O	gloss
	a.	*jɛ́*	*jɛ̀-*	*ja-*	'take'
		yɛ́	*yɛ̀-*	*ya-*	'see'
		bɛ́	*bɛ̀-*	*ba-*	'remain'
		ɲɛ́	*ɲɛ̀-*	*ɲa-*	'weep'
		nɛ́	*nɛ̀-*	*na-*	'drink'
		ǹdɛ́	*ǹdɛ̀-*	*ǹda-*	'give'
	b.	*wé*	*wè-*	*wo-*	'come'
	c.	*kwɛ́*	*kwɛ̀-*	*kwa-*	'eat'
		ŋwɛ́	*ŋwɛ̀-*	*ŋwá-*	'go in'
		ŋwɛ́	*ŋwɛ̀-*	*ŋwá-*	'hear'
		dwɛ́	*dwɛ̀-*	*dwa-*	'pound in mortar'
		dwɛ́	*dwɛ̀-*	*dwa-*	'insult'
		twɛ́	*twɛ̀-*	*twa-*	'slash earth (to sow)'
		swɛ́	*swɛ̀-*	*swa-*	'pour; spit'
	d.	*gwé*	*gwè-*	*go-*	'go out'
	e.	*dwɛ̂:*	*dwɛ̀:-*	*dɔ:-*	'arrive at, reach'
	f.	*nɛ́:*	*nɛ̀:*	*na:-*	'stay up at night'
		tɛ́:	*tɛ̀:*	*ta:-*	'sting'
		tɛ́:	*tɛ̀:*	*ta:-*	'avoid (taboo)' (noun *tă:*)
		tɛ́:	*tɛ̀:*	*ta:-*	'sprout; grow (hair)'
		mɛ́:	*mɛ̀:*	*ma:-*	'make bricks'
		kɛ́:	*kɛ̀:*	*ka:-*	'shave'
		kɛ́:	*kɛ̀:*	*ka:-*	'tell (a riddle)' (noun *ámbà-kà:*)
		pɛ́:	*pɛ̀:*	*pa:-*	'let ferment (e.g. earth)'
		wɛ́:	*wɛ̀:*	*wa:-*	'remain to the end of the farming season'
	g.	*jê:*	*jɛ̂:*	*jô:-*	'bring'

For the possibility of analysing the verbs in (xx1.c-e) as having desyllabified {*o ɔ*} rather than true *w*, see §3.xxx.

In several other Dogon languages, monosyllabic (including, in some cases, monomoraic *Cv-*) verb stems split into two tonal classes (like longer stems), with rising-toned *Cv̌-* in stems with initial voiced obstruent and a subset of stems with initial sonorant. For example, 'go in' and 'hear' are usually distinguished tonally in these languages, even in the bare stem. For Najamba, I hear only a small phonetic tone depression in the onset of e.g. *jé* 'take' and *gwé* 'go out', and I hear no difference between the bare stems of 'go in' and 'hear', or between 'insult' and 'arrive'. However, the original tone-class differences do survive in Najamba in some inflections, such as the perfective negative.

Mention may also be made of several defective stative verbs, quasi-verbs, and inflectable clitics with monosyllabic (or in one case nonsyllabic) forms: *bɛ́-* 'be, remain', *bò-* 'be (somewhere)', *bô:-* 'be present', past clitic *=bɛ̀-*, *=lá-* 'is not', *=y-* 'is'.

There are many bisyllabic verbs. They can be grouped into four sets by the intersection of **lexical tone contour** (all-high versus rising, always observable in the chaining form) and **lexical vowel-harmonic class** {*ɛ ɔ*} versus {*e o*} (always observable in the perfective ending *ɛ* or *e*).

(xx2)	chaining	Perfective	A/O	gloss
a. all-high tone, {*ɛ ɔ*}				
	síyɛ́	*sìyɛ̀*	*siya*	'be spilled'
	tɛ́gɛ́	*tɛ̀gɛ̀*	*tega*	'(rain) fall'
	pɔ́mbɛ́	*pɔ̀mbɛ̀*	*pomba*	'compete'
b. all-high tone, {e o}				
	tún	*tùnè*	*tuno*	'put (in)'
	píjí	*pìjè*	*pijo*	'spray'
	ɲúmbí	*ɲùmbè*	*ɲumbo*	'drizzle'
c. {LH} tone, {*ɛ ɔ*}				
	dɔ̀gɛ́	*dɔ̀gɛ̀*	*doga*	'leave'
	yɔ̀bɛ́	*yɔ̀bɛ̀*	*yoba*	'run'
	dɔ̀nɛ́	*dɔ̀nɛ̀*	*dona*	'but'
d. {LH} tone, {e o}				
	gɔ̌-m	*gò-mè*	*go-mo*	'take out'
	dànjí	*dànjè*	*danjo*	'(rain) strike hard'
	bǎl	*bàlè*	*balo*	'gather'

There is one ***CvCv:*** **verb** with final high vowel and L<HL> tones. This is *dìnê:* 'find'. Tonologically, it has similar properties to the two monosyllabic <HL> toned verbs *jê:* 'bring' and *dwê:* 'arrive'. These three verbs preserve their tone contour in a number of inflections where other verbs drop to all-low.

10.1.2 The chaining form

In nonfinal position in chains, verbs have their **chaining form**. For verbs of the {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic class, the chaining form is based on the E-stem, and therefore ends in *ɛ*. For verbs of the {*e o*} vowel-harmonic class, the chaining form is based on the I/U-stem, which in most cases ends in /i/, which is subject to deletion after an unclustered intervocalic sonorant. Examples involving (underlying) bisyllabic stems: *nóy* 'sleep', *ín* 'go', *năl* 'give birth', and *tár* 'look' (compare perfectives *nòyè-*, *ìnè-*, *nàlè-*, *tàrè-*). Trisyllabics: *óbí-y* 'sit', *tógíl* 'chew (kola nuts)', *wùjí-y* 'turn around' (perfectives *òbì-yè*, *tògìlè*, *wùjì--yè*).

The chaining form exhibits the lexical tone contour, which is either **all-high or rising (LH}**, except for two monosyllabic verbs with falling tone (*dwê:* 'arrive', *jê:* 'bring') and one bisyllabic with {LHL} (*dìnê:* 'find'). The {LH} contour is expressed as LH(H...), with a single initial low tone followed by one or more high tones to fill out the rest of the stem. Monosyllabic stems are H-toned. Examples of the rising contour are *màmílí-yé* 'go back', *gìnágí* 'break', *yɔ̀bɛ́* 'run', and *năl* (< /nàlí/) 'give birth'. Examples of the all-high contour are *íŋgí-yé* 'stand, stop', *nóy* (< /nóyí/) 'sleep', and monosyllabics *kwé* 'eat', *gwé* 'go out', and *wé* 'come'.

The chaining form is the best **citation form**. It directly expresses the lexical tone contour. It either expresses directly, or allows one to infer, the vowel-harmonic class, since all {*ɛ ɔ*} stems have an overt final /ɛ/ in this form, and all {*e o*} stems either have an overt *e* or *o* somewhere in the stem or have extraharmonic vowels from the set {*u i a*} and end in a sonorant. Thus from chaining form *tár* 'look' we can infer perfective *tàrè-*.

In the inflected forms to which we now turn, both the lexical harmonic set and the lexical tone contour are frequently overridden by harmonies and tone contours imposed by specific AN (aspect-negation) suffixes.

10.1.3 Perfective and imperfective systems

The indicative aspect-negation (AN) categories are those in (xx1). The perfective has zero suffix, while all others have suffixes or are periphrastic.

(xx1) a. perfective
experiential perfect

b. present
progressive
future

c. perfective negative
experiential perfect negative

d. present negative
future negative
progressive negative

These are followed (in simple main clauses) by pronominal-subject suffixes (§10.2). The basic AN suffixes and the pronominal-subject suffixes are not completely independent morphophonologically, and it is necessary to give sample pronominal-subject paradigms for each AN suffixal category covered below. For an inflectable past clitic *=bɛ̀-* that may be added to AN suffixes, see §10.3. Imperatives and hortatives have their own distinctive morphology, see §10.4.

10.1.3.1 Perfective

There is an all-purpose perfective (positive) stem. It denotes completed individual events and is common in narratives. Various past imperfectives are expressed differently, with past clitic *=bɛ̀-* added to the relevant imperfective stem (§10.3).

The perfective (except for the 3Pl subject form) is based on the **E-stem**, and therefore ends in either *ɛ* or *e* depending on the vowel-harmonic class of the stem. The **3Pl form** is based on the **A/O stem**. For the 2Sg, 2Pl, and 3Pl, the evidence for whether the E-stem or the A/O-stem is at hand is based on the vocalism of nonfinal stem vowels, since the stem-final vowel contracts with the suffixal vowel. The diagnostic is that the E-stem allows a lexical choice between {*ɛ ɔ*} and {*e o*} vowels, while the A/O-stem merges these as {*e o*}. In addition, the suffixal vowels themselves have harmonically sensitive forms.

The **tone is low** throughout the stem, except for the three verbs that have {HL} or {LHL} lexical tone contours, i.e. that end in a falling tone. For most verbs, therefore, the 3Sg and 3Pl forms are entirely low-toned. 1st/2nd person suffixes end in a high tone.

1Sg and 3Sg forms are given for a few representative verbs in (xx1).

(xx1)		gloss	1Sg perfective	3Sg perfective
	a.	'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ḿ*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-∅*
		'eat'	*kwɛ̀-ḿ*	*kwɛ̀-∅*
		'cut'	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-ḿ*	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-∅*
		'see'	*yɛ̀-ḿ*	*yɛ̀-∅*
		'drink'	*nɛ̀-ḿ*	*nɛ̀-∅*
		'bathe'	*íŋgé dìyɛ̀-ḿ*	*íŋgé dìyɛ̀-∅*
		'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-ḿ*	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-∅*
		'go back'	*màmìlìyɛ̀-ḿ*	*màmìlìyɛ̀-∅*
	b.	'come'	*wɛ̀-ḿ*	*wɛ̀-∅*
		'go'	*ìnɛ̀-ḿ*	*ìnɛ̀-∅*
		'sleep'	*nòyɛ̀-ḿ*	*nòyɛ̀-∅*
		'break'	*gìnàgɛ̀-ḿ*	*gìnàgɛ̀-∅*
	c.	'bring'	*jɛ̂:-m*	*jɛ̂:-∅*
		'arrive'	*dwɛ̂:-m*	*dwɛ̂:-∅*
		'find'	*dìnɛ̂:-m*	*dìnɛ̂:-∅*

The verbs in (xx1.a) belong to the {*ɛ ɔ*} **vowel-harmonic set**. The stem therefore ends in *ɛ*, and any preceding stem vowels of mid height must be *ɛ* or *ɔ*. The verbs in (xx1.b) belong to the {*e o*} vowel-harmonic set, so they end in *e* and may have preceding {*e o*} but not {*ɛ ɔ*} vowels. (xx1.c) illustrates the three verbs whose stems end in a falling tone.

The full pronominal-subject paradigm shows that the 1Pl, 2Sg, and 2Pl are tonally parallel to the 1Sg. However,the 2Sg and 2Pl suffixes are vocalic and therefore contract with the stem-final /e/ or /ɛ/. The 3Pl is tonally parallel to the 3Sg (*gìnàg-à:* 'they broke').

The **3Pl requires {*e o*} vocalism** in nonfinal stem vowels even with stems with {*ɛ ɔ*} vocalism in all other perfective forms. For such stems, the 3Pl suffix is heard as *-à:*, which corresponds in vowel quality to the final *a* that these stems have in the A/O stem (xx2). This (along with other details) suggests that the 3Pl, alone of the perfective forms, is based on the A/O-stem, which also requires this vocalism.

(xx2)	gloss	1Sg	3Sg	3Pl
	'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ḿ*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-∅*	*dɛ̀nj-à:*
	'eat'	*kwɛ̀-ḿ*	*kwɛ̀-∅*	*kw-à:*
	'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-ḿ*	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-∅*	*yɔ̀b-à:*

Sample full paradigms are in (xxx). The 1st/2nd forms are separated from the 3rd person forms to bring out the basic morphological division (expressed by tones).

(xxx)	category	'ate'	'hit'	'go'	'sleep'	'break'
	1Sg	*kwɛ̀-ḿ*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ḿ*	*ìnè-ḿ*	*nòyè-ḿ*	*gìnàgè-ḿ*
	2Sg	*k-ɔ̌:*	*dɛ̀nj-ɔ̌:*	*ìn-ɔ̌:*	*nòy-ɔ̌:*	*gìnàg-ɔ̌:*
	1Pl	*kwɛ̀-ý*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ý*	*ìnè-ý*	*nòyè-ý*	*gìnàgè-ḿ*
	2Pl	*kw-ɛ̌:*	*dɛ̀nj-ɛ̌:*	*ìn-ɛ̌:*	*nòy-ɛ̌:*	*gìnàg-ɛ̌:*
	3Sg	*kwɛ̀-∅*	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-∅*	*ìnè-∅*	*nòyè-∅*	*gìnàgè-∅*
	3Pl	*kw-à:*	*dɛ̀nj-à:*	*ìn-ò:*	*nòy-ò:*	*gìnàg-à:*

For 'give', the perfective is either *ǹdɛ̀-* (3Sg *ǹdɛ̀-∅* 'he/she gave') or *ǹdìrɛ̀-* (3Sg *ǹdìrɛ̀-∅*).

10.1.3.2 Experiential perfect 'have ever' (*tár jò-*)

The experiential perfect is expressed periphrastically. The semantically substantive verb occurs in its chaining form. It is followed in the positive by the verb *tár* 'look (at)', also in chaining form, then an inflected form of perfect auxiliary *jò-*. The negative counterpart is constructed with an inflected form of perfect negative *tárá-l-* 'did not look'. For perfect *jò-* see §10.1.xxx. Examples are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *[bàmàkó mà] ín tár jò-m*
[Bamako in] go have.ever Perfect-1SgS
'I have (once) gone to Bamako.'

b. *èndɛ̂:* *dɛ̀njɛ́* *tárá-lú-m*
child hit have.ever-PerfectNeg-1SgS
'I have never hit a child.'

The use of *tár* 'look' reflects a basic split in Dogon thought between knowledge, facts, customs, etc. that were transmitted to the current generations by their elders, and those that were witnessed or produced by the younger generations themselves. In texts, the speaker will often specify whether a historical event (such as the introduction of the plow) was 'encountered, found' (verb *dìnɛ̂:*), i.e.

took place before the speaker's childhood, or was actually observed (*tár*) by the speaker.

10.1.3.3 Perfect (*jò-*, *jòg-â:-*)

Najamba distinguishes a chain construction with regular verb *jé* 'finish' (§xxx) from a more highly grammaticalized perfect with auxiliary verb *jò-*. This auxiliary follows a verb in its chaining form.

There is also a fuller form *jòg-â:-*, which similarly follows a verb in chaining form.

The paradigms of *jò-* and *jòg-â:-*, along with the positive perfective paradigm of 'finish' for comparison, are in (xx1). The paradigm of *jò-* is a fairly conventional verbal pronominal-subject paradigm, except for an unusual 3Pl form, which may reflect avoidance of any form that could be confused with the 3Pl of 'finish'. The paradigm of *jòg-â:-* is quite different. In form it is the conjugation of the 'it is' clitic (§xxx) added to a noun-like participle that has an unmarked singular and a plural suffix *-mbo-*. In the 3Sg form, the clitic *=y* is optionally omitted (as in the passive).

(xx1)	category	*jò-*	*jòg-â:-*	'finish-Perf'
	1Sg	*jò-ḿ*	*jòg-â:=m̀*	*jɛ̀-m*
	1Pl	*jò-ý*	*jòg-â:-mbò=ỳ*	*jɛ̀-ỳ*
	2Sg	*j-ǒ:*	*jòg-â:=ẁ*	*j-ɔ̀:*
	2Pl	*j-ě:*	*jòg-â:-mb=è:*	*j-è:*
	3Sg	*jò-∅*	*jòg-â:(=ỳ)*	*jɛ̀-∅*
	3Pl	*jògà*	*jòg-â:-mbò=ỳ*	*j-à:*

Both *jò-* and *jòg-â:-* are probably related historically to the stative quasi-verb *jógò-* 'have' (§xxx). The sense is often that of a recent perfect ('have already VP-ed').

jòg-â:≡y may also be followed by an inflected form of *kán* **'do; be done'**. (xx2) contains one positive and one negative form of *kán* in this construction.

(xx2)	*[ó*	*jù:]*	*[ké*	*mà]*			
	[2SgP	comrade]	[InanSg.E	in]			
	ó	*dìmbí-yé*	*jòg-â:-=ỳ*		*kànè-∅*		*mé,*
	2SgO	follow-MP	**Perfect-Ppl≡it.is**		**be.done**.Perf-3SgS		if,
	[é	*bìrɔ̀:]*	*kúndú=ý*		*kànè-∅,*		

[2PlP work.L] one.InanSg.O=it.is be.done.Perf-3SgS
[[ó jù:] [ké mà]
[[2SgP comrade] [InanSg.E in]
ó dìmbí-yé jòg-â:-ỳ káná-l-∅ dé]
2SgO follow-MP **Perfect-Ppl=it.is be.done**-PerfNeg-3SgS if]
[[mó là] [mó ùsfɔ̀:] jè-∅]
[[AnSg also] [AnSgP road.L] take.Perf-3SgS
'If it happens that your-Sg comrade has followed (= supported) you in that, (then) your-Pl work is one (= the same). If your-Sg comrade has not followed you in that, (then) he too will have taken his (own) path.' (2005-1a)

10.1.3.4 Future (*-m̀-*, *-mbô-*)

There is a suffixally marked future with a future suffix that takes the short form *-m̀-* in the 3Sg, and a fuller form *-mbô-* in other pronominal-subject categories. (For uninflectable *-mbò* followed by auxiliary verb *bò-* 'be' in the progressive, see §xxx.)

The future paradigm is based on the A/O-stem of the verb. Therefore all mid-height stems vowels are of the {*e o*} class. The 1st/2nd person forms have all-low toned stem, with a falling tone on the suffix complex. In the 3Sg and 3Pl, the stem has {LH} tone contour, and both the L and H must be expressed. In the 3Sg, the suffx *-m̀* is low-toned, so the final high tone on the stem combines with this to give a falling <HL> tone on the final syllable. If the verb is monosyllabic, the combination of the {LH} stem contour with the low-toned *-m̀* results in a <LHL> syllable, as with 'see' in (xx1), which also presents forms of two other verbs with lexical {*ɛ ɔ*} vocalism.

(xxx)	category	Future	*yɛ́* 'see'	*kɛ́jɛ́* 'cut'	*dɔ̀gɛ́* 'leave'
	1Sg	*-mbó-m̀*	*yà-mbó-m̀*	*kɛ̀jà-mbó-m̀*	*dɔ̀gà-mbó-m̀*
	2Sg	*-mb-ô:*	*yà-mb-ô:*	*kɛ̀jà-mb-ô:*	*dɔ̀gà-mb-ô:*
	1Pl	*-mbó-ỳ*	*yà-mbó-ỳ*	*kɛ̀jà-mbó-ỳ*	*dɔ̀gà-mbó-ỳ*
	2Pl	*-mb-ê:*	*yà-mb-ê:*	*kɛ̀jà-mb-ê:*	*dɔ̀gà-mb-ê:*
	3Sg	*-m̀*	*yǎ-m̀*	*kɛ̀já-m̀*	*dɔ̀gá-m̀*
	3Pl	*-mb-à*	*yǎ-mb-à*	*kɛ̀jǎ-mb-à*	*dɔ̀gǎ-mbà*
		[could also be segmented *-m-bà* based on 3Sg]			

Some additional 1Sg and 3Sg forms are in (xx2), which also presents the 1Sg perfective (on the left) for comparison. The stems in (xx1.a) are lexically of the {*ɛ ɔ*} type, while those in (xx1.b) are of the {*e o*} type.

(xx1)		gloss	1Sg Perf	1Sg Fut	3Sg Fut
	a.	'see'	*yɛ̀-ḿ*	*yà-mbó-m̀*	*yă-m̀*
		'drink'	*nɛ̀-ḿ*	*nà-mbó-m̀*	*nă-m̀*
		'eat'	*kwɛ̀-ḿ*	*kwà-mbó-m̀*	*kwă-m̀*
		'cut'	*kɛ̀jɛ̀-ḿ*	*kɛ̀jà-mbó-m̀*	*kɛ̀já-m̀*
		'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-ḿ*	*yòbà-mbó-m̀*	*yòbá-m̀*
		'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ̀-ḿ*	*dɛ̀njà-mbó-m̀*	*dɛ̀njá-m̀*
		'bathe'	*íŋgé dìyɛ̀-ḿ*	*íŋgé dìyà-mbó-m̀*	*íŋgé dìyá-m̀*
		'break'	*gìnàgɛ̀-ḿ*	*gìnàgà-mbó-m̀*	*gìnàgá-m̀*
	b.	'go'	*ìnɛ̀-ḿ*	*ìnò-mbó-m̀*	*ìnó-m̀*
		'come'	*wɛ̀-ḿ*	*wò-mbó-m̀*	*wó-m̀*
		'sleep'	*nòyɛ̀-ḿ*	*nòyò-mbó-m̀*	*nòyó-m̀*

For tips on how to distinguish (in transcribed texts or in real life) 3Sg future *-m̀* as opposed to 1Sg subject suffix *-m* and plural-addressee imperative *-m*, see §10.4.1.xxx.

10.1.3.5 Progressive *-mbò bò-*

The combination of a verb form ending in suffix *-mbò* with a pronominally inflected 'be' quasi-verb *bò-* results in a progressive construction. For the conjugation of *bò-* itself, see §xxx. The *-mbò* suffix is perhaps related in some way to the future suffix, which has allomorphs *-m̀* (3Sg) and *-mbó-* (1st/2nd persons). It should be sharply distinguished from another *-mbò* suffix in 'and (then)' constructions, which follows the chaining form of the verb (lexical tones, final /*ɛ*/ or /*i*/); on the 'and then' construction see §15.1.1.2.

Examples showing the form of verb stems before progressive *-mbò* are in (xx1). The vocalism shows that the progressive (like the future and other nonzero AN inflections) is based on the **A/O-stem** of the verb. The tone contour of the stem is H for short-voweled monosyllabics ('eat', 'see'), and {HL} for bimoraic verbs (long-voweled monosyllabics, and short-voweled bisyllabics: 'leave', 'slaughter', 'bring', 'arrive'). In verbs with three moras, the first mora has the particular verb's lexical tone onset. Any remaining moras between this initial mora and the H of {HL} are high. Compare all-high toned 'scrub' with

{LH} ‘go back’, ‘break’, and ‘instruct’. The tone-contour formula for the stem is therefore **((X))H…(L)**.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Progressive
	‘go back’	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-mbò*
	‘break’	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-mbò*
	‘scrub’	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-mbò*
	‘instruct’	*bă:rɛ́*	*bă:rà-mbò*
	‘leave’	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-mbò*
	‘slaughter’	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sémà-mbò*
	‘eat’	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-mbò*
	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yá-mbò*
	‘bring’	*jê:*	*jô:-mbò*
	‘arrive’	*dwɛ̂:*	*dô:-mbò*

Examples including the inflected form of auxiliary *bò-* are in (xx2).

(xx2)			
	a.	*gìnágà-mbò b-è:*	‘they are breaking’
	b.	*gìnágà-mbò bò-∅*	‘he/she is breaking’
	c.	*gìnágà-mbò bò-m*	‘I am breaking’

Textual examples are in (xx3).

(xx3) a. *gà:gó ó gíyà-mbò bò-∅,*
hunger 2SgO kill-Progr be-3SgS
[[ó nɔ̀gɔ̀ mó] gì] hàybá-nd-ò:
[[2SgP husband.L Def.AnSg] Acc] watch.over-FutNeg-2SgS
‘Hunger is killing you, (and) you don’t watch over your husband.’ (2005-2a)

For the past progressive in *-mbò bɛ̀-* see §10.3.1.6.

10.1.3.6 Present (*-njò-*)

As in the other suffixal AN forms, the **A/O-stem** of the verb is used. The tone contour of the stem is identical to that of the progressive (§10.1.3.xxx), with formula ((X))H…(L), i.e. H for monomoraic stems, {HL} for bimoraic stems, initial lexical tone for verbs of three or more moras, and any additional moras H-toned. For the 3Pl, whose suffix begins with a high-tone element, the final L of the stem is obligatory even for monosyllabics.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	present
	‘go back’	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-njò-*
	‘break’	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-njò-*
	‘scrub	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-njò-*
	‘instruct’	*bă:rɛ́*	*bă:rà-njò-*
	‘leave’	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-njò-*
	‘slaughter’	*sémɛ́*	*sémà-njò-*
	‘eat’	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-njò-*
	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yá-njò-*
	‘bring’	*jê:*	*jô:-njò-*
	‘arrive’	*dwê:*	*dô:-njò-*

The pronominal-subject paradigm is given in (xx2).

(xxx)	category	with pronominal	example with *yɛ́* ‘see’
	1Sg	*-njò-m*	*yá-njò-m*
	2Sg	*-nj-ò:*	*yá-nj-ò:*
	3Sg	*-njò-∅*	*yá-njò-∅*
	1Pl	*-njò-y*	*yá-njò-y*
	2Pl	*-nj-è:*	*yá-nj-è:*
	3Pl	*-nj-ê:*	*yâ-nj-ê:*

The present with suffix *-njò-* may be used in progressive (‘be VP-ing’) or habitual senses. Examples are in (xx3).

(xx1) a. *íŋgé* *díyà-njò-m*
water bathe-Pres-1Sg
‘I am bathing.’

b. *[déŋán* *dîn]* *íŋgé* *díyà-njò-m*
[day each] water bathe-Pres-1Sg
‘I bathe every day.’

10.1.4 Negation of indicative verbs

10.1.4.1 Categories expressed by negative verbs

10.1.4.2 Perfective negative (*-l-*)

The perfective negative is characterized by a suffix beginning with *-l-*, except for a special 3Pl form *-ndí*. The forms with *-l-* suggest a basic form /-lv́-/ with a high-toned high vowel, i.e. either /-lí-/ or /-lú-/. The high vowel is deleted in the zero 3Sg form, contracts with a suffixal vowel in the 2Sg and 2Pl, and appears with (arguably) assimilated vowel quality in 1Sg *-lú-m* and 1Pl *-lí-ỳ* (or *-lì-y*).

The verb is in the **A/O-stem**. For nonmonosyllabic stems, the **tones are lexical**, hence either all-high toned or {LH}. Examples of the 1Sg and 3Sg are in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	1Sg PerfNeg	3Sg PerfNeg
a.	'hit'	*dènjɛ́*	*dènjá-lú-m*	*dènjá-l*
	'cut'	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kɛ́já-lú-m*	*kɛ́já-l*
	'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yɔ̀bá-lú-m*	*yɔ̀bá-l*
	'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújá-lú-m*	*túgújá-l*
b.	'go'	*íné*	*ínó-lú-m*	*ínó-l*
	'sleep'	*nóy*	*nóyó-lú-m*	*nóyó-l*
	'sit'	*óbí-y*	*óbí-yó-lú-m*	*óbí-yó-l*
c.	'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnágá-lú-m*	*gìnágá-l*

Monosyllabic verbs with short vowel (*Cv́*, *Cwv̂*) are illustrated in (xx2). The perfective negative is instructive in that some of these verbs lengthen the stem vowel (xx2.a,c) while others do not (xx2.b), and in that some of the verbs have **high-toned stem** (xx1.a) while others have **low-toned stem** (xx1.b-c).

For the stems with low tone before the perfective negative suffix /-lv́-/, when the suffixal vowel is deleted (in the zero 3Sg form), the suffixal high tone survives, amalgamating with the stem's low tone to result in a rising tone (xx2.b-c).

(xx2)	gloss	chaining	1Sg PerfNeg	3Sg PerfNeg
a.	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwá:-lú-m*	*kwá:-l-∅*
	'go in'	*ŋwɛ́*	*ŋwá:-lú-m*	*ŋwá:-l-∅*
	'sow'	*twɛ́*	*twá:-lú-m*	*twá:-l-∅*

	‘insult’	*dwɛ́*	*swá:-lú-m*	*swá:-l-∅*
b.	‘come’	*wé*	*wò-lú-m*	*wŏ-l-∅*
	‘drink’	*né*	*nà-lú-m*	*nă-l-∅*
	‘weep’	*ɲé*	*ɲà-lú-m*	*ɲă-l-∅*
	‘be, stay’	*bé*	*bà-lú-m*	*bă-l-∅*
	‘go out’	*gwé*	*gò-lú-m*	*gŏ-l-∅*
	‘insult’	*dwɛ́*	*dwà-lú-m*	*dwă-l-∅*
	‘pound’	*dwɛ́*	*dwà-lú-m*	*dwă-l-∅*
c.	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yà:-lú-m*	*yă:-l-∅*
	‘hear’	*ŋwɛ́*	*ŋwà:-lú-m*	*ŋwă:-l-∅*

The tonal and vowel-length splits among *Cv́* (and *Cwv́*) monosyllabics in the perfective negative inflection, and in the causative derivation, are undoubtedly archaic phonological characteristics that have elsewhere been lost, very likely as the result of shortening of these verbs from two to one mora (*Cv́:* to *Cv́*). Note in particular that *ŋwɛ́* ‘go in’ (xx1.a) and *ŋwɛ́* ‘hear’ (xx2.c) have distinct perfective negative forms, though their other inflections are homophonous. These two stems also have different tones in causative *ŋwá:-m* ‘take in’ and *ŋwă:-m* ‘cause to hear’, and there is comparative evidence that the two stems originally differed in tone. However, while both the perfective negative and the causative split these monomoraic stems into three groups, the inventories are not exactly the same, since in the causative only ‘go out’ has a short-voweled stem (*gŏ-m*). See §9.2.1 for details.

Monosyllabic stems with long vowels are illustrated in (xx3).

(xx2)	gloss	chaining	1Sg PerfNeg	3Sg PerfNeg
a.	‘eat’	*kɛ́:*	*ká:-lú-m*	*ká:-l-∅*
	‘sprout’	*tɛ́:*	—	*tá:-l-∅*
	‘stay up’	*né:*	*ná:-l-úm*	*ná:-l-∅*
	‘sting’	*tɛ́:*	*tá:-l-úm*	*tá:-l-∅*
b.	‘bring’	*jê:*	*jô:-l-úm*	*jô:-l-∅*
	‘arrive’	*dwɛ̂:*	*dɔ̂:-l-úm*	*dɔ̂:-l-∅*

For the tonal phonology of 3Sg *jô:-l-∅* and *dɔ̂:-l-∅* (xx2.b), see <HLH>-to-<HL> Reduction (§3.7.4.xxx).

The **3Pl form** is distinctive within the perfective negative paradigm. The stem has **all-low tone**, and the **final vowel is lengthened**. The suffix is *-ndí*, which is probably opaque to further (synchronic) segmentation. Examples of the

1Sg, 3Sg, and 3Pl are given in (xxx). The 3Pl forms for 'enter' and 'hear' in (xx1.a) are homophonous, though the corresponding 1Sg and 3Sg forms are audibly distinct.

(xx1)		gloss	1Sg PerfNeg	3Sg PerfNeg	3Pl PerfNeg
	a.	'see'	*yà:-lú-m*	*yǎ:-l-∅*	*yà:-ndí*
		'drink'	*nà-lú-m*	*nǎ-l-∅*	*nà:-ndí*
		'go out'	*gò-lú-m*	*gǒ-l-∅*	*gò:-ndí*
		'come'	*wò-lú-m*	*wǒ-l-∅*	*wò:-ndí*
		'eat'	*kwá:-lú-m*	*kwá:-l-∅*	*kwà:-ndí*
		'enter'	*ŋwá:-lú-m*	*ŋwá:-l-∅*	*ŋwà:-ndí*
		'hear'	*ŋwà:-lú-m*	*ŋwǎ:-l-∅*	*ŋwà:-ndí*
	b.	'cut'	*kéjá-lú-m*	*kéjá-l-∅*	*kèjà:-ndí*
		'hit'	*dènjá-lú-m*	*dènjá-l-∅*	*dènjà:-ndí*
		'run'	*yòbá-lú-m*	*yòbá-l-∅*	*yòbà:-ndí*
		'go'	*ínó-lú-m*	*ínó-l-∅*	*ìnò:-ndí*
		'jump	*tómbó-lú-m*	*tómbó-l-∅*	*tòmbò:-ndí*

The **1Pl** perfective negative suffix complex is always segmentally *-li-y*. The 1Pl suffix *-ỳ* is low-toned. The *-li-* morpheme has a tone opposite to the final tone of the preceding stem. Since the only perfective negative forms with stem-final low tone are a subset of the monosyllabic stems, there are only a handful of verbs that show up with 1Pl perfective negative *-lí-ỳ*. Examples are *yà:-lí-ỳ* 'we did not see', *wò-lí-ỳ* 'we did not come'. All bisyllabic or longer stems end in a high tone before the perfective negative suffix, as do the remaining monosyllabics, and all these verbs have 1Pl perfective negative *-lì-y* (equivalent to /*-lì-ỳ*/ with low tone. Thus *kwá:-lì-y* 'we didn't eat', *sémá-lì-y* 'we did not slaughter', *dògá-lì-y* 'we did not leave', *túgújá-lì-y* 'we did not scrub'. Within the perfective negative paradigm, this low tone is unique to the 1Pl.

Sample full paradigms are given in (xxx).

(xxx)	category	with pronominal	with 'see'	with 'run'
	1Sg	*-lú-m*	*yà:-lú-m*	*yòbá-lú-m*
	2Sg	*-l-ó:*	*yà:-l-ó:*	*yòbá-l-ó:*
	3Sg	*-l-∅*	*yǎ:-l-∅*	*yòbá-l-∅*
	1Pl	*-lí-ỳ*	*yà:-lí-ỳ*	*yòbá-lì-ỳ*
	2Pl	*-l-é:*	*yà:-l-é:*	*yòbá-l-é:*
	3Pl	*:-ndí*	*yà:-ndí*	*yòbà:-ndí*

For experiential perfect negative *tárá-l*, see §10.1.3.2.

10.1.4.3 Future negative (*-ndì-*)

The future negative (ImpfNeg) indicates that an eventuality of the relevant type will not occur (in a relevant future time frame).

The suffix is *-ńdì-*. The low tone on the vowel distinguishes this suffix from the high-toned present negative *-ndí-* and also from 3Pl perfective negative *:-ndí* (which also lengthens the preceding vowel).

In the future negative, the stem **ends in a single H-toned syllable** (for monosyllabics, a single H-toned mora. All preceding syllables are low-toned. The vocalism is that of the **A/O-stem**.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Future Neg
	'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmìlì-yă-ndì-*
	'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnàgă-ndì-*
	'scrub	*túgújɛ́*	*tùgùjă-ndì-*
	'instruct'	*bă:ré*	*bà:ră-ndì-*
	'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dògă-ndì-*
	'slaughter'	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sèmă-ndì-*
	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwă-ndì-*
	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yă-ndì-*
	'bring'	*jê:*	*jŏ:-ndì-*
	'arrive'	*dwê:*	*dŏ:-ndì-*

The future negative is segmentally identical to the present negative (§10.1.4.xxx), but they differ tonally.

The pronominal-subject future negative paradigm, and a sample paradigm for 'jump', are in (xx1). The 1Sg has *-nù-m* where one would expect something like #*-ndù-m*.

(xx1)	category	with pronominal	with 'jump'
	1Sg	*-nù-m*	*tòmbó-nù-m*
	2Sg	*-nd-ò:*	*tòmbŏ-nd-ò:*
	3Sg	*-ndì-∅*	*tòmbŏ-ndì-∅*
	1Pl	*-ndì-y*	*tòmbŏ-ndì-y*
	2Pl	*-nd-è:*	*tòmbŏ-nd-è:*

3Pl	*-ndì-yà*	*tòmbǒ-ndì-yà*

10.1.4.4 Present negative (*-ndí-*)

The present negative denies that the eventuality in question is occurring at the time of speaking, or in some wider time frame including the present.

The present negative is **segmentally identical to the future negative**. However, the present negative has high tone on the suffix *-ndí-*, as well as different stem tones. The *-ndí-* suffix should be distinguished from the special 3Pl perfective negative portmanteau *:-ndí*, which is preceded by all-low toned stem and which lengthens the stem-final vowel.

Present negative *-ndí-* imposes a **low tone on the final syllable** of the stem, and this low tone must be **preceded by a high tone**. Therefore lexical *Cv́Cv́* and *Cv̀Cv́* stems merge as *Cv́Cv̀-ndí-*. Hence *sémà-ndí-* 'doesn't slaugher' (*sémɛ́*) with the same tone contour as *dógà-ndí-* 'doesn't leave' (*dɔ̀gɛ́*). Similarly for monosyllabics, all of which have falling tone on the stem: *kwâ-ndí* 'does not eat' (*kwɛ́*), *dô:-ndí-* 'does not arrive' (*dwɛ̂:*), *jô:-ndí-* 'does not bring' (*jɛ̂:*), *kâ:-ndí-* 'does not shave' (*kɛ́:*). So neither short (bimoraic) bisyllabics nor monosyllabics reveal their lexical tones in this inflection.

However, **longer stems do distinguish lexical all-high from {LH}** tone contours by the tone of the first syllable or (for *Cv:Cv* bisyllabics) the first mora: *túgújà-ndí-* 'doesn't scrub' (*túgújɛ́*) with initial high tone, but *màmílí-yà-ndí* 'doesn't go back' with initial low tone (*màmílí-yɛ́*), and *bă:nà-ndí-* 'does not cook (porridge)' with rising tone on the first syllable (*bà:n*).

Therefore the overall stem-tone formula for this inflection is: **(X)H…L**, with obligatory H and L elements, with the lexically sensitive onset X tone audible if the H and L do not exhaust the available moras of the stem, and with any remaining intervening syllables high-toned.

(xx1)

gloss	chaining	present negative
'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-ndí-*
'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-ndí-*
'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-ndí-*
'instruct'	*bă:rɛ́*	*bă:rà-ndí-*
'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-ndí-*
'slaughter'	*sémɛ́*	*sémà-ndí-*
'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwâ-ndí-*
'see'	*yɛ́*	*yâ-ndí-*
'bring'	*jɛ̂:*	*jô:-ndí-*

‘arrive’	*dwɛ̂:*	*dɔ̂:-ndí-*

The pronominal-subject paradigm is exemplified by ‘jump’ in (xxx). The pronominal suffixes as well as the rest of the word forms are identical segmentally to those of the future negative.

(xxx)

category	with pronominal	with ‘jump’
1Sg	*-nú-m*	*tómbò-nú-m*
2Sg	*-nd-ó:*	*tómbò-nd-ó:*
3Sg	*-ndí-∅*	*tómbò-ndí-∅*
1Pl	*-ndí-ỳ*	*tómbò-ndí-ỳ*
2Pl	*-ndé:*	*tómbò-nd-é:*
3Pl	*-ndí-yà*	*tómbò-ndí-yà*

10.1.4.5 Progressive negative (*-njò-ndí-*, *-mbò òndú*)

The most common progressive negative is not closely related morphologically to the periphrastic progressive (positive) with uninflectable *-mbò* followed by an inflected form of *bò-* ‘be’. Instead, the form that functions as progressive negative is formed by adding suffix *-ndí-* (which also appears in the present negative and the stative negative) to what is morphologically the present (positive) form in *-njò-*.

(xx1)

gloss	chaining	Progressive Neg
‘go back’	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-njò-ndí-*
‘break’	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-njò-ndí-*
‘scrub	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-njò-ndí-*
‘instruct’	*bă:rɛ́*	*bă:rà-njò-ndí-*
‘leave’	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-njò-ndí-*
‘slaughter’	*sémɛ́*	*sémà-njò-ndí-*
‘eat’	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-njò-ndí-*
‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yá-njò-ndí-*
‘bring’	*jɛ̂:*	*jô:-njò-ndí-*
‘arrive’	*dwɛ̂:*	*dɔ̂:-njò-ndí-*

The pronominal paradigm, and examples with ‘jump’, are in (xx2).

(xx2)

category	inflection	with ‘jump’

1Sg	*-njò-nú-m*	*tómbò-njò-nú-m*
2Sg	*-njò-nd-ó:*	*tómbò-njò-nd-ó:*
3Sg	*-njò-ndí-∅*	*tómbò-njò-ndí-∅*
1Pl	*-njò-ndí-ỳ*	*tómbò-njò-ndí-ỳ*
2Pl	*-njò-ndé:*	*tómbò-njò-ndé:*
3Pl	*-njò-ndí-yà*	*tómbò-njò-ndí-yà*

It is also possible to negate the periphrastic progressive (positive) complex directly. In this case, instead of [VERB-*mbò bò-*], we get [VERB-*mbò òndí-*], keeping the progressive suffix *-mbò* on the verb, and replacing *bò-* 'be' with its own suppletive negative counterpart *òndí-* (variant *òndú-*). Thus (xx3) is interchangeable with 1Sg *tómbò-njò-nú-m* in (xx2).

(xx3) *tómbò-mbò* *òndí-yó-m̀*
jump-Prog not.be-MP-1SgS
'I am not jumping.'

10.2 Pronominal paradigms for non-imperative verbs

10.2.1 Subject pronominal suffixes

The subject-pronominal suffixes are slightly variable depending on the presence of a preceding AN suffix, and (when added to the perfective stem with zero AN suffix) on the vowel-harmonic class of the stem. The forms are summarized in (xx1), with examples from the perfective and present (positive) forms of 'eat'. The alternations *e:/ɛ:* and *o:/ɔ:* in the contracted second person forms are based on the ATR-harmonic quality of the final vowel of the preceding morpheme.

(xx1)	category	suffix	'ate' (perfective)	'eat(s)' (present)
	1Sg	*-m*	*kwè-ḿ*	*kwá-njò-m*
	1Pl	*-y*	*kwè-ý*	*kwá-njò-y*
	2Sg	*-ɔ:/o:*	*k-ɔ̌:*	*kwá-nj-ò:*
	2Pl	*-ɛ:/e:*	*kw-ɛ̌:*	*kwá-nj-è:*
	3Sg	*-∅*	*kwè-∅*	*kwá-njò-∅*
	3Pl	*-a:/ɛ:* (etc.)	*kw-à:*	*kwâ-nj-ê:*

The "3Pl" form is generally used for (grammatically) animate nouns. Thus 3Sg *dèŋè-∅* 'he/she/it fell' may also be used for plural inanimate subject (e.g. 'trees'), while *dèŋ-à:* 'they fell' is used when the subject is human, animal, or other grammatically animate noun like 'motorcycles'.

The 3Pl is the most irregular category morphologically, and not all of its allomorphs with the different AN suffixes are shown here.

For the (slightly) irregular verbs with monosyllabic <HL> or bisyllabic L<HL> stem tone contours, the perfective paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx1)	category	suffix	'found'	'brought'	'arrived'
	1Sg	*-m*	*dìnɛ́:-m̀*	*jɛ̂:-m*	*dwɛ́:-m̀*
	1Pl	*-y*	*dìnɛ́:-ỳ*	*jɛ̂:-y*	*dwɛ́:-ỳ*
	2Sg	*-ɔ:/o:*	*dìn-ô:*	*j-ô:*	*d-ô:*
	2Pl	*-ɛ:/e:*	*dìn-ê:*	*j-ê:*	*dw-ê:*
	3Sg	*-∅*	*dìnɛ̂:-∅*	*jɛ̂:-∅*	*dwɛ̂:-∅*
	3Pl	*-a:/ɛ:* (etc.)	*dìn-ô:*	*j-ô:*	*d-ô:*

revise texts by lengthening vowel (1Sg *dìnɛ́:-m̀*, 1Pl *dìnɛ́:-ỳ*)

10.3 Supplemental temporal morphemes

10.3.1 Past (*=bɛ̀-*)

The **past** morpheme with its pronominal-subject inflection may be added as a clitic (or, arguably, as a separate auxiliary verb), to certain verb forms described in the following sections. It specifies past time for a stative or imperfective verb that might otherwise be taken as including the present, and it shifts a perfect ('has VP-ed') to past perfect ('had VP-ed', i.e. with reference to a moment in the past).

The pronominal-subject paradigms (positive and negative) of *=bɛ̀-* are in (xx1).

(xx1)	category	positive	negative
	1Sg	*=bɛ̀-mɨ́*	*=bà-lú-m*
	2Sg	*=b-ɔ̌:*	*=bà-l-ó:*
	3Sg	*=bɛ̀-∅*	*=bǎ-l-∅*

1Pl	*=bɛ̀-ý*	*=bà-l-î:*
2Pl	*=b-ɛ̌:*	*=bà-l-é:*
3Pl	*=b-à:*	*=bà:-ndí*

The forms of the past morpheme might be analysed as perfective forms of the verb *bɛ́-* 'remain', i.e. perfective (positive) *bɛ̀-* and perfective negative *bà-l(í)-*. In forms other that perfective, this verb can mean 'remain, stay', as in 'I will remain here (while someone else is going away)'. In the perfective, *bɛ̀-* may function as the past-time equivalent of *bò-* 'be (somewhere)', see the following section.

10.3.1.1 Past of 'be (somewhere)'

The past-time equivalent of 'be (somewhere)' is formed by replacing *bò-* by *bɛ̀-*. Note that in this case *bɛ̀-* is not added to another predicative form. The negative 'was not (somewhere)' is similarly the perfective negative of *bɛ̀-*.

(xx1) a. *[sɔ̀njɔ́:* *má]* *bɛ̀-∅*
[village in] be.Past-3SgS
'He/She was (or: used to be) in the village.'

b. *[sɔ̀njɔ́:* *má]* *bă-l-∅*
[village in] be-PerfNeg-3SgS
'He/She was not in the village.'

In the perfective, *bɛ̀-* often means simply 'was/were (in a location)' (xx2). In this use, it is in effect the equivalent for past time frame of *bò-* 'be (somewhere)' (the two cannot be combined).

(xx2) *[[sɔ̀njɔ̌:* *kùl]* *mà]* *bɛ̀-∅*
[[village inside.L] in] be.Perf-3SgS
'He/She was in the village.'

10.3.1.2 Past of 'have', 'know', and 'want'

The past form of 'have' is *jógò-m* plus the conjugated form of *=bɛ̀-*. The sequence *-m=bɛ̀-* is also used with other defective statives 'know' and 'want'. The sequence *-m=bɛ̀-* is found in the past imperfective of regular verbs, but also in the past form of derived stative verbs. Since stative verbs do not distinguish aspect, it is difficult to gloss the *-m* morpheme; I will gloss it as

stative with ‘have’, ‘know’, ‘want’, and derived statives, and imperfective in the past imperfective of regular verbs. Examples with ‘have’, ‘know’, and ‘want’ are in (xx1). Note that all have {HL} tone contour on the (bisyllabic) stem, which is consistent with tones on other verbs before *-m* in the past imperfective and past stative.

(xx1) a. *ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* *jógò-m = bɛ̀-m*
dog have-Stat=Past-1SgS
‘I had (=used to have) a dog.’

b. *tígà-m = bɛ̀-m*
know-Stat=Past-1SgS
‘I knew (=used to know).’

c. *pɛ̀gɛ́* *kíyò-m = bɛ̀-m*
sheep want-Stat=Past-1SgS
‘I wanted a sheep.’

Negative counterparts are in (xx2). The negation of ‘have’ is expressed only in the clitic, which has a perfective negative suffix (xx2.a). The negation of ‘know’ is expressed by using the suppletive negative stem meaning ‘not know’, with no marking of negation in the clitic (xx2.b). The negation of ‘want’ is expressed using either of these morphological constructions (xx2.c-d). That (xx2.c) was volunteered by the informant, while (xx2.d) was then suggested by the linguist and agreed to by the informant, suggests that *kélà-* ‘not want’ may tend to pattern as a distinct verb (‘dislike’) rather than as a simple negation of ‘want’; see §17.2.1.

(xx2) a. *ŋ̀gwɛ̌:* *jógò-m = bà-lú-m*
dog have-Stat=Past-PerfNeg-1SgS
‘I didn’t have a dog.’

b. *éndà-m = bɛ̀-m*
not.know-Stat=Past-1SgS
‘I didn’t know.’

c. *pɛ̀gɛ́* *kíyò-m = bà-lú-m*
sheep want-Stat=Past-PerfNeg-1SgS
‘I did not want a sheep.’

d. *pɛ̀gɛ́* *kélà-m = bɛ̀-m*
sheep not.want-Stat=Past-1SgS

'I did not want a sheep.'

10.3.1.3 Past stative (*-m = bɛ̀-*)

(xx1) illustrates the use of *-m = bɛ̀-* with the **stative** form of a stance verb (§11.2.3). Since such statives (which end in *o* or *a*) do not distinguish perfective from imperfective, the past clitic is especially useful with them. (xx1.a) is positive, (xx1.b) negative.

(xx1) a. *ɲá:* *ŋ̀gîn* *óbò-m = bɛ̀-∅*
yesterday here sit-Stat=Past-3SgS
'Yesterday he/she was sitting here.'

b. *ɲá:* *ŋ̀gîn* *óbò-m = bă-l-∅*
sit-Stat=Past-Neg-3SgS
'Yesterday he/she was not sitting here.'

Compare e.g. stative *óbò-∅* 'he/she is sitting', negative *òbò-ndí-∅* 'he/she is not sitting'. Other examples involving statives are *jógò-m = bɛ̀-* 'had, used to have' and *tígà-m = bɛ̀-* 'knew, used to know'.

10.3.1.4 Past of 'it is' clitic (*= y = bɛ̀-*)

= bɛ̀- may also be used after the **'it is' clitic** *= y* (§11.2.1), which follows a NP (singular or plural). In this combination, the *= y* is invariant (not conjugated), while *≡bɛ̀-* has its regular pronominal-subject inflection.

(xx1) a. *sɔ̀njɔ́: = ý = bɛ̀-∅*
village=it.is=Past-3SgS
'It was (= used to be) a village.' (*sɔ̀njɔ̌:*)

b. *gɔ̌:rɛ̀ = ỳ = bɛ̀-∅*
'kola.nut.Pl=it.is=Past-3SgS
'It was (= used to be) kola nuts' (2005.1a)

c. *gɔ̀lɛ̀-gòlé = ý = bɛ̀-m̀*
farming.L-do.farming.Agent=it.is=Past-1SgS
'I used to be a farmer.'

d. *gɔ̀lɛ̀-gòlú-mbó = ý = bɛ̀-ỳ*

farming.L-do.farming.Agent-Pl=it.is=Past-1PlS
'We used to be farmers.'

In the **negative**, the inner sequence with *=y* is unchanged from the positive type just illustrated. The past morpheme takes its regular conjugated negative form (xx2).

(xx2) *gɔ̀lɛ̀-gòlé=ý=bà-lú-m*
farming.L-do.farming.Agent=it.is=Past-PerfNeg-1SgS
'I did not use to be a farmer.'

10.3.1.5 Past imperfective (*-m=bɛ̀-*)

The past imperfective consists of the main verb with suffix *-m* plus an inflected form of the past clitic. It may be used with any verb in **past imperfective** function ('was VP-ing', 'used to VP').

Examples showing the tones of the stems are in (xx1). The tone-contour formula for the stem is **((X))H…(L)-**. That is, a high tone is obligatory ('eat', 'see', 'come'). If there is a second mora, we get {HL} ('slaughter', 'leave', 'bring', 'arrive'). If there are additional moras, the initial mora respects the lexical (all-high versus {LH}) contour ('break', 'scrub', 'instruct'), and any further moras are filled out with high tones ('go back'). This tone contour is identical to that which precedes the present (suffix *-njɔ̀-*) and that which precedes the morpheme *-m* in the progressive construction.

The *-m* can be taken here as an **imperfective** morpheme. It can be connected with the initial nasals in future *-mbô-* (special 3Sg form *-m̀*) and present *-njɔ̀-*, and more directly with *-m* in the progressive construction. However, before the past clitic, *-m̀* is also found after statives (derived and underived).

(xx2)	gloss	chaining	Past imperfective
	'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-m=bɛ̀-*
	'break'	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-m=bɛ̀-*
	'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújà-m=bɛ̀-*
	'instruct'	*bă:ré*	*bă:rà-m=bɛ̀-*
	'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dógà-m=bɛ̀-*
	'slaughter'	*sémɛ́*	*sémà-m=bɛ̀-*
			[also *séyà-m=bɛ̀-* by Intervocalic Labial-Deletion]
	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-m=bɛ̀-*
	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yá-m=bɛ̀-*

‘come’	*wé*	*wó-m＝bè-*
‘bring’	*jê:*	*jô:-m＝bè-*
‘arrive’	*dwê:*	*dô:-m＝bè-*

The **negative** replaces the inflected form of (positive) *＝bè-* by the corresponding form of its negative counterpart *＝bă-l-* (1Sg *＝bà-lú-*m, etc.). Thus positive *màmílí-yà-m＝bè-m* ‘I used to go back’, negative *màmílí-yà-m＝bà-lú-m̀* ‘I did not use to go back’.

The past imperfective is used in the **consequent clauses of counterfactual conditionals** (§16.xxx).

10.3.1.6 Future-in-past (*-m＝bè-*)

A future-in-past construction, comparable semantically to the “conditional” of e.g. Romance languages, is segmentally identical to the past imperfective, but differs tonally. The future-in-past has a stem tone contour (L…H) identical to that of the simple future inflection (suffix *-mbó-*), with a final low tone preceded by at least one high tone. The sense is ‘was going to VP’ or ‘was about to VP’.

(xx2)	gloss	chaining	future-in-past
	‘go back’	*màmílí-yé*	*màmìlì-yá-m＝bè-*
	‘break’	*gìnágí*	*gìnàgá-m＝bè-*
	‘scrub’	*túgújé*	*tùgùjá-m＝bè-*
	‘instruct’	*bă:ré*	*bà:rá-m＝bè-*
	‘leave’	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dɔ̀gá-m＝bè-*
	‘slaughter’	*sémé*	*sèmá-m＝bè-*
			[also *sèyá-m＝bè-* by Labial-Deletion]
	‘eat’	*kwé*	*kwă-m＝bè-*
	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yă-m＝bè-*
	‘come’	*wé*	*wŏ-m＝bè-*
	‘bring’	*jê:*	*jŏ:-m＝bè-*
	‘arrive’	*dwê:*	*dŏ:-m＝bè-*

The **negative** replaces the inflected form of (positive) *＝bè-* by the corresponding form of its negative counterpart *＝bă-l-* (1Sg *＝bà-lú-m*, etc.). Thus *màmìlì-yá-m＝bè-m* ‘I was going to go back’, *màmìlì-yá-m＝bà-lú-m̀* ‘I was not going to go back’.

10.3.1.7 Past perfect (chaining form plus *=bɛ̀-*)

=bɛ̀- is added to the **chaining form**, **without the *-m-*** seen in the preceding (imperfective and stative) examples, for **past perfect** sense ('had VP-ed'). Positive examples are in (xx4). Note particularly the stem-final /*i*/ in (xx4.c), versus the final {*ɛ e*} in (xx4.a-b), the diagnostic vocalisms of the chaining form.

(xx4) a. *kwɛ́=bɛ̀-m* 'I had eaten'
dɔ̀gɛ́=bɛ̀-m 'I had left'
sɛ́mɛ́=bɛ̀-m 'I had slaughtered'

b. *wɛ́=bɛ̀-m* 'I had come'
jɛ̂:=bɛ̀-m 'I had brought'

c. *págí=bɛ̀-m* 'I had tied'
súgí=bɛ̀-m 'I had gone down'
nóy=bɛ̀-m 'I had slept'

The **negative** counterparts consist of the (positive) inflected *=bɛ̀-* preceded by an **inflected perfective negative verb**. The subject pronominal category is therefore expressed twice. In (xx5), 1Sg *=bɛ̀-m* is added to an already fully inflected 1Sg perfective negative ending in *-lú-m*.

(xx4) a. *kwá:-lú-m=bɛ̀-m* 'I had not eaten'
dɔ̀gá-lú-m=bɛ̀-m 'I had not left'
séma-lú-m=bɛ̀-m 'I had not slaughtered'

b. *wɔ̀-lú-m=bɛ̀-m* 'I had not come'
jɔ̂:-lú-m=bɛ̀-m 'I had not brought'

c. *págá-lú-m=bɛ̀-m* 'I had not tied'
súgɔ́-lú-m=bɛ̀-m 'I had not gone down'
nóyɔ́-lú-m=bɛ̀-m 'I had not slept'

These past perfect forms (positive and negative) are also used in the **antecedent clauses of counterfactual conditionals** (§16.7).

10.3.1.8 Past progressive (*-mbò bɛ̀-*)

The regular progressive is expressed by a form with *-mbò* after the A/O-stem, plus an inflected form of *bò-* 'be', see §10.1.3.5. The past counterpart replaces *bò-* by *bɛ̀-*.

An example is *yùgúlì-yò-mbò b-à:* 'they used to be going crazy' in (xx53) in the sample text, and *[í là] kánà-mbò bɛ̀-ỳ* 'we too used to do it' in (xx16) in the sample text.

10.3.2 'Still', 'up to now', (not) yet'

For 'not yet', the perfective negative verb is combined with invariant adverb *táfòn*.

(xx1) a. *táfòn* *wò-l-∅*
not.yet come-PerfNeg-3SgS
'He/She hasn't come yet.'

b. *táfòn* *twě* *twá-lì-y*
not.yet sowing sow-PerfNeg-1PlS
'We haven't planted (the seeds) yet.'

For positive 'until now', 'so far', or 'still (= even now)', *sàŋgí* 'now' is combined with universal quantifier *dîn* 'all' as *sàŋgí dîn*.

(xx2) a. *[jènă:* *kó]* *nɛ̌ỳ* *[sàŋgí* *dîn]*
[rainy.season Def.InanSg] is.good [**now** **all**]
'The rainy season is good for the time being.'

b. *[sàŋgí* *dîn]* *tégà-njò-∅* *ló*
[**now** **all**] rain.fall-Pres-3SgS Q
'Is it still raining?'

c. *[sàŋgí* *dîn]* *yógé* *yé* *yà:-lú-m*
[**now** **all**] millet.Pl Def.InanPl see-PerfNeg-1SgS
'So far (=up to now) we haven't seen (=received) any millet.'

10.4 Imperatives and hortatives

10.4.1 Imperatives and prohibitives

10.4.1.1 Positive Imperatives

Positive imperatives have an unsuffixed singular-addressee form that is based on the **A/O stem with no segmental affix**. This means that the stem ends in *a* (corresponding to E in the chaining form and perfective) or *o* (corresponding to /*i*/ in the chaining form and e in the perfective), and that vowels of any nonfinal syllables are subject to {*e o*} vowel harmony (clearly observable when the stem has a lexical {*ɛ ɔ*}). In the imperative (singular), the word has **all-high tone contour**.

For **plural addressee**, a suffix *-m̀* with low tone is added to the (singular) imperative.

(xx1)		gloss	chaining	Imprt Sg	Imprt Pl
	a.	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwá*	*kwá-m̀*
		'cut'	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kɛ́já*	*kɛ́já-m̀*
		'see'	*yɛ́*	*yá*	*yá-m̀*
		'drink'	*nɛ́*	*ná*	*ná-m̀*
		'hit'	*dɛ̀njɛ́*	*dɛ́njá*	*dɛ́njá-m̀*
		'bathe'	*íŋgɛ́ dìyɛ́*	*íŋgɛ́ díyá*	*íŋgɛ́ díyá-m̀*
		'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yɔ́bá*	*yɔ́bɔ́-m̀*
		'instruct'	*bă:rɛ́*	*bá:rá*	*bá:rá-m̀*
		'scrub'	*túgújɛ́*	*túgújá*	*túgújá-m̀*
		'go back'	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*mámílí-yá*	*mámílí-yá-m̀*
	b.	'go'	*ìnè-ḿ*	*ínó*	*ínó-m̀*
		'come'	*wè-ḿ*	*wó*	*wó-m̀*
		'sleep'	*nòyè-ḿ*	*nóyó*	*nóyó-m̀*
		'break'	*gìnágí*	*gínágá*	*gínágá-m̀*
	c.	'bring'	*jê:*	*jô:*	*jó:-m̀*
				[Imprt variants *jô*, *jó-m̀*]	
		'arrive'	*dwê:*	*dɔ̂:*	*dɔ̂:-m̀*

Examples are in (xx2).

(xx2)	a.	*[dôm*	*ɔ́*	*gɔ̀]*	*dímbí-yá*
		[talk(n)	2SgP	Poss.InanSg.O]	follow-MP.Imprt

‘Continue-2Sg your talk!’ (2005-2a)

b. *[bèlí-yɛ́ nè] kúnjá*
[get.up-MP Adv] get.old.Imprt
‘Arise and get-2Sg old!’ (2005-2a)

Imperative clauses may be used as abstractives, under the scope of a phrase like ‘there is …’ or ‘there is no …’.

(xx3) *[[ḿ mà] dámá] kà] òndú-∅*
[[1Sg Dat] speak.Imprt] Top] not.be-3SgS
‘There is no (saying) “tell me!”’ (2005-1a)

10.4.1.2 Tips for distinguishing three verbal *-m* suffixes

One may distinguish plural-addressee imperative *-m̀*, 1Sg *-m*, and 3Sg future *-m̀* by the key in (xxx) when they **directly follow the stem** (underived or derived). For the 1Sg, this is the case only in the perfective (positive); the 1Sg suffix may also follow other AN suffixes, in which case there is no possibility of confusion.

(xxx)	category	tone contour	preceding vowel(s)
a.	plural imperative	H…	{*a o*}, i.e. A/O-stem
b.	3Sg future	L(L…)F	{*a o*}, i.e. A/O-stem
c.	1Sg perfective	L(L…)R	{*ɛ e*}, i.e. E-stem

The 1Sg perfective always has telltale stem-final *ɛ* or *e* of the E-stem, as in *kwɛ̀-ḿ* ‘I ate’ and *ìnè-ḿ* ‘I went’. For the two *-m* combinations involving the A/O form of the stem, the distinction is made by noting the **tone contour of the stem**, which is all-high in the plural-addressee imperative but which begins with a low tone in the 3Sg future. Thus *sémá-m̀* ‘slaughter-2Pl!’ versus *sèmá-m̀* ‘he/she will slaughter’. For **monosyllabic** stems, the distinction between plural-addressee imperative and 3Sg future is phonetically subtle but quite real, even with bimoraic word shapes that make the bell-shaped <LHL> tone initially difficult for the foreign linguist to hear: *kwâ*-m ‘eat!-2Pl’ versus *kwǎ-m̀* ‘he/she will eat’, *yâ-m* ‘see!-2Pl’ versus *yǎ-m̀* ‘he/she will see’.

10.4.1.3 Prohibitive (negative imperative)

The negative counterpart of the imperative, the prohibitive, is expressed by adding either *-là* or *-nɔ̂:* to the stem for singular addressee. As in the (positive) imperative, for plural addressee a further suffix *-m* is added (*-là-m*, *-nɔ̂-m*).

-là and *-nɔ̂:* require distinct stem shapes.

Before *-là*, the **A/O-stem** is used. The onset of the stem respects the lexical distinction between all-high and {LH} contours. All short-voweled monosyllabics are high-toned, so no distinctive lexical tones are found here (xx1.a-b). However, bimoraic stems with lexical {LH} contour keep this contour before the suffix (xx1.c), while bimoraic stems with lexical all-high or (for C*v̂:*-) falling tone appear with {HL} contour (xx1.d-e). In longer stems, the initial mora is based on the lexical tone contour, the final two moras are HL, and any intervening moras are high-toned (xx1.f-g). Therefore the tone-contour formula for the stem is **X((H…))H(L)**, with obligatory H and lexical onset X (though if X is high it fused with the grammatical H), followed by a final L (if there is a mora available), followed by further H-tones where needed to fill out any tonally unspecified moras. In effect, the tones are identical to the lexical tone contour, except that if the stem would otherwise end in two high-toned syllables, the stem-final syllable drops to low tone.

The verb *ín\\ìnè* 'go' has a slightly irregular syncopated prohibitive *ín-là* 'don't go!' for expected #*ínò-là* (xx1.h), compare e.g. *túnò-là* 'don't put!'.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Prohib Sg	Prohib Pl
a.	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yá-là*	*yá-là-m*
	'drink'	*né*	*ná-là*	*ná-là-m*
	'go in'	*ŋwɛ́*	*ŋwá-là*	*ŋwá-là-m*
	'eat'	*kwɛ́*	*kwá-là*	*kwá-là-m*
	'hear'	*ŋwɛ́*	*ŋwá-là*	*ŋwá-là-m*
b.	'come'	*wè-ḿ*	*wó-là*	*wó-là-m*
	'go out'	*gwé*	*gó-là*	*gó-là-m*
c.	'hit'	*dènjɛ́*	*dènjá-là*	*dènjá-là-m*
	'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yòbá-là*	*yòbá-là-m*
	'bathe'	*íŋgɛ́ dìyɛ́*	*íŋgɛ́ dìyɛ́-là*	*íŋgɛ́ dìyɛ́-là-m*
	'instruct'	*bă:rɛ́*	*bă:rà-là*	*bă:rà-là-m*
d.	'bring'	*jê:*	*jô:-là*	*jô:-là-m*
	'shave'	*kɛ́:*	*kâ:-là*	*kâ:-là-m*

e.	‘cut’	*kéjɛ́*	*kéjà-là*	*kéjà-là-m*
	‘spray’	*píjí*	*píjò-là*	*píjò-là-m*
	‘sleep’	*nóy*	*nóyò-là*	*nóyò-là-m*
	‘look’	*tár*	*tárà-là*	*tárà-là-m*
	‘put’	*tún*	*túnò-là*	*túnò-là-m*
f.	‘sit’	*óbí-y*	*óbí-yò-là*	*óbí-yò-là-m*
	‘stop’	*íŋgí-yɛ́*	*íŋgí-yà-là*	*íŋgí-yà-là-m*
	‘make stop’	*íŋgí-rá-ndí*	*íŋgí-rá-ndà-là*	*íŋgí-rá-ndà-là-m*
g.	‘go back’	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmílí-yà-là*	*màmílí-yà-là-m*
	‘break’	*gìnágí*	*gìnágà-là*	*gìnágà-là-m*
h.	‘go’	*ín*	*în-là*	*ín-là-m*

Textual examples with *-là* are in (xx2).

(xxx) a. *[bìrɛ́ nɛ̀]* *[mó gì]* *ǹdírá* *nɔ̀,*
[work Adv] [AnSg Acc] give.Imprt Emph,
[ḿ mà] *bìrá-là* *nɔ̀*
[1Sg in] work-ImprtNeg Emph
‘Work and give (something) to him! Don’t work at my place!’ (2005.2a)

b. *[ìnjì-yá-m̀ mà:]* *kájábà-là*
[stand-MP-Fut.3Sg Q] think-ImprtNeg
‘Don’t think that it (= what you say) will stand (= hold).’ (2005.1a)

The alternative form with suffix *-nɔ̂:* is added to a stem with **all-low tones** (tone-dropping). As in the chaining form, the vocalism is that of the E-stem for verbs with lexical {*ɛ ɔ*}, and that of the I/U-stem for verbs with lexical {*e o*}.

(xxx)	gloss	chaining	Prohib Sg	Prohib Pl
a.	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*yɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
	‘eat’	*kwɛ́*	*kwɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*kwɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
	‘drink’	*né*	*nɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*nɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
b.	‘come’	*wé*	*wɛ̀-nɔ̂:*	*wɛ̀-nɔ̂:-m*
c.	‘go’	*ín*	*ìn-nɔ̂:*	*ìn-nɔ̂:-m*

	‘sleep’	*nóy*	*nòy-nɔ̂:*	*nòy-nɔ̂:-m*
d.	‘hit’	*dènjɛ́*	*dènjè-nɔ̂:*	*dènjè-nɔ̂:-m*
	‘cut’	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kèjè-nɔ̂:*	*kèjè-nɔ̂:-m*
	‘bathe’	*íŋgé dìyɛ́*	*íŋgé dìyè-nɔ̂:*	*íŋgé dìyè-nɔ̂:-m*
	‘go back’	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmìlì-yè-nɔ̂:*	*màmìlì-yè-nɔ̂:-m*
	‘run’	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yɔ̀bè-nɔ̂:*	*yɔ̀bè-nɔ̂:-m*
e.	‘break’	*gìnágí*	*gìnàgì-nɔ̂:*	*gìnàgì-nɔ̂:-m*

10.4.2 First-person inclusive hortatives

10.4.2.1 Positive hortatives ‘let’s …!’ (*-ý,* plural *-ỳ*)

When the speaker urges one person to join with him or her in a collective act (‘let’s-Du go!’), the **singular-addressee hortative** is used. This consists of a **low-toned form of the A/O-stem** and a H-toned suffix *-ý*. When more than one interlocutor is involved, in addition to the speaker, the **plural-addressee hortative** is used. It is segmentally identical to the singular-addressee hortative, but has a different tone countour, namely **{LH} stem contour** with the H on the final mora, plus L-toned suffix *-ỳ*.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	‘let’s …!’ (dual)	‘let’s …!’ (three plus)
a.	‘hit’	*dènjɛ́*	*dènjà-ý*	*dènjá-ỳ*
	‘eat’	*kwɛ́*	*kwà-ý*	*kwǎ-ỳ*
	‘cut’	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kèjà-ý*	*kèjá-ỳ*
	‘see’	*yɛ́*	*yà-ý*	*yǎ-ỳ*
	‘drink’	*nɛ́*	*nà-ý*	*nǎ-ỳ*
	‘bathe’	*íŋgé dìyɛ́*	*íŋgé dìyà-ý*	*íŋgé dìyá-ỳ*
	‘go back’	*màmílí-yɛ́*	*màmìlì-yà-ý*	*màmìlì-yá-ỳ*
b.	‘go’	*ìné*	*ìnò-ý*	*ìnó-ỳ*
	‘come’	*wé*	*wò-ý*	*wǒ-ỳ*
	‘bring’	*jê:*	*jò:-ý*	*jǒ:-ỳ*
	‘run’	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yòbà-ý*	*yòbá-ỳ*
	‘sleep’	*nóy*	*nòyò-ý*	*nòyó-ỳ*
	‘break’	*gìnágí*	*gìnàgà-ý*	*gìnàgá-ỳ*

Examples in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *wó* *mànâ:* *kwà-ý* *wá*
come.Imprt meal eat-Hort.1Du say
'(He said:) "Come! Let's eat a meal!"' (2005.2a)

b. *[[í* *gɔ̀]* *l=à:]* *jă-ỳ*
[[1PlP Poss.InanSg.O] not.be=Ppl] take-Hort.1Pl
'Let's take what is not ours!' (2005.2a)

c. *[áníyá* *dîn]* *kɛ̀nɛ́* *b-ɛ̀:* *kó,*
[world all] like.that be-3PlS Def.InanSg.O,
mòmbí-yɛ́ *ɲàmá-ỳ*
gather-Mp ruin-Hort.1Pl
'Let's get together and ruin (= change) the situation where everyone is like that.' (2005-2a)

A hortative may appear in **interrogative clauses** (the Najamba syntax is roughly captured by e.g. 'let's do what?' as opposed to 'what shall we do?').

(xxx) *dàbâr* *[ànnɛ́* *kàná-ỳ* *ló]*
solution [**how?** do-**Hort.1Pl** **Q**]
'(For) the solution, let's do what?' (2004-1a)

10.4.3 Imperative with implied first person singular subject

Especially when seeking clarification of another's wishes, or of an apparent (but not clearly heard) imperative, a yes/no interrogative containing an imperative with understood first person subject may be used.

(xx1) *sátàlà* *jô:* *ló*
kettle bring.Imprt Q
'(Did you ask me) to bring the kettle?'

In local French this is *D'amener le bouilloire?*

A first singular (or other) subject may be made explicit. In (xx2), the 1Sg pronoun is focalized. This might be used when the speaker has heard the interlocutor's request ('bring the kettle!'), but isn't sure who it was addressed to.

(xx1) *[mí* *yà:]* *sátàlà* *jô:* *ló*
[1Sg Foc] kettle bring.Imprt Q

‘(Did you ask) me [focus] to bring the kettle?’

10.4.3.1 Hortative negatives ‘let’s not …!’ (*-là-ý*, *-lá-ỳ*, *-nɔ̂ː-ỳ*)

The hortative negative suffix (‘let’s not …!’) is expressed by adding 1Pl *-y* to a prohibitive. Since there are two distinct prohibitive formations, there are likewise two hortative negative formations. The common forms are those in (xx1.a), where dual and plural are distinguished tonally. The less common type in (xx1.b) has a single form.

(xx1) a. *-là-ý* 1 dual inclusive
-lá-ỳ 1 plural (three-plus) inclusive

b. *-nɔ̂ː-y* 1 dual or plural inclusive

Before the suffixes in (xx1.a), the form of the stem is the same as that used before *-là* in the prohibitive (§10.4.1.2). That is, the A/O-stem accounts for the vocalism, and the lexical tones are used, except that if there is a high-toned stem-penultimate syllable, the stem-final syllable is low-toned.

Examples of these forms for several verbs are in (xx2).

(xx2)	gloss	‘let’s not …!’ (dual)	‘let’s not …!’ (three or more)
	‘go’	*ínò-là-ý*	*ínò-lá-ỳ*
	‘eat’	*kwá-là-ý*	*kwá-lá-ỳ*
	‘run’	*yòbá-là-ý*	*yòbá-lá-ỳ*
	‘scrub’	*túgújà-là-ý*	*túgújà-lá-ỳ*
	‘go back’	*màmílí-yà-là-ý*	*màmílí-yà-lá-ỳ*

Textual examples are in (xx3).

(xx3) a. *já:ŋí-yò-lá-ỳ*
squabble-MP-ImprtNeg-1PlS
‘Let us (3+) not squabble!’ (2005-1a)

b. *dògá-lá-ỳ*
leave-ImprtNeg-1PlS
‘Let’s not leave (abandon)!’ (2005-1a)

The alternative form in *-nɔ̂ː-y* has the same stem shape as we saw before prohibitive *-nɔ̂ː*, namely a low-toned equivalent of the chaining form, i.e. of the

E-stem for verbs of {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic class and the I/U-stem for verbs of the {*e o*} vowel-harmonic class.

(xx1) a. *[mó gì] yɛ̀-nɔ̂:-y*
[3AnSg Acc] see-ImprtNeg-1PlS
'Let's not see him/her!'

b. *[sɔ̀njɔ́: má] ìn-nɔ̂:-y*
[village in] go-ImprtNeg-1PlS
'Let's not go to the village!'

10.4.4 Third-person hortative

10.4.4.1 Positive 'may he/she …!' (3Sg *-ná*, 3Pl *-wó:*)

Exhortations and wishes involving a third person singular agent are expressed by the suffix *-ná*. This suffix is common in imprecations with *jěnjà* 'God' as subject, but other subjects are also possible. For third person plural, the suffix is *-wó:* (xx1.d).

Some simple elicited examples are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *yòbí-ná* 'may he/she run!'
b. *màmílí-y-ná* 'may he/she go back!'
c. *dìmbí-y-ná* 'may he/she follow!'
d. *té:-ŋgó kér-ná* 'may he/she go look for firewood!'

The examples in (xx2) are from texts, except that (xx2.d) was elicited as a plural-subject counterpart of (xx2.c).

(xx2) a. *jěnjà [í gì] sútùrà kán-ná*
God [1Pl Ojb] protection do-**Hort.3Sg**
'May God protect us.' (2005.2a)

b. *kà: jěnjà ké [í gì] yámbí-r-ná*
but God InanSg.E [1Pl Ojb] cover-Tr-**Hort.3Sg**
'But may God cover (= remove) that for us.' (2005.2a) (*yàmbí*)

c. *[[ó yɛ̀:] gì] kùmbì-y-ǒ:,*
[[2SgP woman.L] Acc] hold-MP.Perf-2SgS
[[ó yɛ̀: là] ó kúmbí-y-ná
[[2SgP woman.L also] 2SgO hold-MP-**Hort.3Sg**

‘(If) you have held (= watched over) your wife, may your wife too hold you.’ (2005.2a)

d. *[[ó yàwò:] gì] kùmbì-y-ǒ:,*
[[2SgP woman.Pl.L] Acc] hold-MP.Perf-2SgS
[[ó yàwò: là] ó kúmbí-y-wó:
[[2SgP womanPl.L also] 2SgO hold-MP-**Hort.3Pl**
‘(If) you have held (= watched over) your wives, may your wives too hold you.’ [plural version of (c)]

10.4.4.2 Negative ‘may he/she not …!’ (3Sg *-nɔ̂:-nà*, 3Pl *-nɔ̂:-wò:*)

A negative morpheme *-nɔ̂:-* also seen as an option in the prohibitive is placed between the verb stem and the (positive) third-person hortative suffixes, which are here heard with low tones: 3Sg *-nà*, 3Pl *-wò:*. As in the prohibitive, *-nɔ̂:-* requires a low-toned stem, with vocalism as in the chaining form.

(xx1) a. *jěnjà kó [í gì] kànà-m-nɔ̂:-nà*
God InanSg.O [1Pl Acc] do-Caus-**ImprtNeg-Hort.3Sg**
‘May God not make us do that!’ (2005.1a)

b. *jěnjà [í gì] nè:ndá: ǹdɛ̀-nɔ̂:-nà*
God [1Pl Acc] bad.InanSg.O give-**ImprtNeg-Hort.3Sg**
‘May God not give us anything bad (= trouble)!’

c. [*nè:ndá: í gɔ̀]*
[bad.InanSg.O 1Pl Poss.InanSg.O]
[bé gì] dwɛ̀:-nɔ̂:-nà
[3Pl Acc] arrive-**ImprtNeg-Hort.3Sg**
‘May our trouble not reach them!’

d. *[í gì] dá:ndí-lé kó⇂, gày-nɔ̂:-wò:*
[1Pl Acc] tell-VblN Def.InanSg.O, delay-**ImprtNeg-Hort.3Pl**
‘may they not neglect (= delay) to tell us (the information)!’ (2005-1a)

quoted imperative, quoted hortative

10.4.5 Obligational *-mb-è:-*

An obligational form ('X must VP') can be formed by using a future participle plus an 'it is' clitic. It is negated by the 'it is not' clitic *=lá-*. A pronominal subject is expressed with a clause-initial pronoun.

For one assistant, the form used is the regular future participle with *-ŋgà*.

(xx1) a. *mí* *dògǎ-ŋgà=ỳ*
1Sg leave-Fut.Ppl=it.is
'I must (or: ought to) leave (it).'

b. *mí* *dògǎ-ŋgà=lá*
1Sg leave-Fut.Ppl=it.is.not
'I must not (or: ought not to) leave (it).'

Another speaker produced a special participial form consisting of *-è:-* added tot he future verb stem, forming *-mb-è:-*, with the regular future tone contour of the preceding stem. This speaker conjugated the 'it is' clitic directly, instead of using clause-initial subject pronouns. The positive paradigm is (xx2). The data should be used with caution since this assistant had evident difficulty producing the forms, and since the other assistant did not recognize them.

check with third informant

(xx2) category

1Sg	*-mb-è:=m̀*
1Pl	*-mb-ò:=ỳ*
2Sg	*-mb-è:=ẁ*
2Pl	*-mb-è:=∅*
3Sg	*-mb-è:*
3Pl	*-mb-è:=ỳ*

Positive examples are (xx3). Negative examples are (xx4).

(xx2) a. *[kɛ́rɛ́ mà]* *ìnǒ-mb-è:=m̀*
[bush in] go-Fut-Oblig=it.is.1SgS
'I must go to the fields.'

b. *mó* *mí* *dògǎ-mb-è:*
AnSg 1SgO leave-Fut-Oblig

'He/She must leave me.'

c. *mí* *dògă-mb-ò:=ỳ*
1SgO leave-Fut-Oblig.3Pl=it.is
'They must leave me.'

(xx3) a. *[kɛ́rɛ́* *mà]* *ìnŏ-mb-è:=lá-m*
[bush in] go-Fut-Oblig=it.is.not-1SgS
'I must not go to the fields.'

b. *mí* *dògă-mb-ò:=y=lá*
1SgO leave-Fut-Oblig.3Pl=it.is=it.is.not
'They must not leave me.'

10.5 Passive (indefinite-subject)

What is here loosely referred to as the **passive** is characterized by a a suffix *-à:-*, which follows either the chaining form of the verb plus past clitic *=bɛ̀-* (perfective positive), or a stem with imperfective (future or present) *-mb-* (cf. future *-mbô-*). Because *-à:-* is always preceded by a *b*, morphemic segmentation is less than transparent.

In most cases the passive *-à:-* is itself followed by what I take to be the **'it is' clitic** *=y*, or its negation *=la*. This use of the 'it is' clitic is reminiscent of its occurrence after perfect *jògâ:-* (§10.xxx). Both *jògâ:-* and verbs with passive *-à:-* look very much like **participles** (most of which end in a long vowel).

In addition to the simple passive verbs described in the sections immediately below, a connection may be suggested to certain relative-clause constructions that show what is arguably the same *-à:-* suffix, but in **participial** (i.e. relative-clause) function. For example, *gínà-mb-à:* 'what is called (X)' is similar to the present passive described below, but it is participial and therefore has an animate plural counterpart *gínà-mb-à:-mbò* (§14.4.2.2). There are also many lexicalized, compound-like forms denoting products of a verbal action (*-bà:*) or the function of an object (*-mbà:*) that must have at least originated as (passive) participles (§5.1.9-10), whatever their synchronic analysis.

The passive is not (further) inflected for pronominal subject. For this reason, and since final *a:* (and short *a*) are elsewhere associated with the 3Pl pronominal-subject inflection, I take the passive to be really an **indefinite-subject** category. The forms are generally not identical to the true 3Pl subject forms, and true 3Pl (like other regular pronominal-subject suffixes) is not compatible with the 'it is' clitic except in special syntactic contexts. The **direct**

object is not promoted to subject position, and it may occur overtly with accusative case-marker *gi*.

As one would expect given the indefinite-subject feature, the passive is typically used in **general statements** about recurrent eventualities.

10.5.1 Past passive (*=b-à:=ỳ*, *=b-à:=lá*) in present perfect function

In thic construction, the main verb occurs in its chaining form. This is followed by *=b-à: =ỳ* in positive clauses, and by *=b-à:=lá* in negative clauses. The *=b-* may be identified as past *=bɛ̀*, which follows the chaining form of a verb in past perfect sense ('had VP-ed'). The passive *=b-à:=ỳ* is used more like a **present perfect** ('has VP-ed'), and has a **resultative** flavor (the original event has defined the current situation).

Textual examples of positive *=b-à:=ỳ* are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *[dálí:dì jógò-∅ wà],*
[judgement have-3SgS say]
[dálí:dì kó] [mó gì] ǹdɛ́=b-à:=ỳ
[judgement Def.InanSg.O] [AnSg Acc] give=**Past-Pass=it.is**
'He has (achieved) a sound judgement. He has been given sound judgement.' (2005-1a)

b. *[swɛ̌: gì] [ké:sù mà] jòyó-ndí=b-à:=ỳ,*
[garment.Pl Acc] [trunk in] be.full-Caus=**Past-Pass=it.is**,
[[swɛ̌: yé] gì] dǎy=b-à:=ỳ,
[[garment Def.InanPl] Acc] lay.out=**Past-Pass=it.is**,
[[swɛ̌: yé] gì] [òlè-gɛ̀gɛ̀lɛ́ mà]
[[garment Def.InanPl] Acc] [house.L-wall in]
jǎb=b-à:=ỳ
put.on.wall=**Past-Pass=it.is**
'The clothes have been filled (= stuffed) into a trunk, the (other) clothes have been laid out (on the ground), the (other) clothes have been hung on the wall of the house.' (2005-2a)

The corresponding **negative** is with *=b-à:=lá*. Textual examples are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *kó [bà:-ólé má]*
Def.InanSg.O [father-house in]
dìnɛ̂:=b-à:=lá kǒy
encounter=**Past-Pass=it.is.not** Emph
'It definitely used to not be found in the family.' (2005-1a)

b. *kóŋgòl* *bìré=b-à:=lá* *kǒy*
honor work(verb)=**Past-Pass=it.is.not** Emph
'(The work of) honor has definitely not been done.' (2005-1a)

10.5.2 Future passive (*-mb-à:=ỳ*, *-mb-à:=lá*)

A **future passive** is formed by *-à:=ỳ* added to the future with suffix *-mb-* (cf. *-mbô-* in the regular inflected future). The stem has the same tone contour that it has before future participial *-ŋgà-*, namely stem-final high tone element (realized on the *m*), preceded by low tones (formula L…H).

(xx1) a. *[mó* *gì]* *pònă-mb-à:=ỳ* *mà→*
[[AnSg Acc] wring-**Fut-Pass=it.is** Q
'Will he (= short person) be wrung (= stretched)?' (2005-1a)
[rhetorical question, general context]

b. *[àbí* *nɛ̀]* *gìbì-y-ó:* *mɛ́,*
[catch Adv.SS] wrap.on-MP-2SgSP if,
ó *dàmàgă-mb-à:=ỳ*
2SgO denigrate-**Fut-Pass=it.is**
'If you take (a wrap [woman's garment] that is also used by others) and put it on, you will be denigrated' (2005-2a)

Although this form is morphologically based on the future inflection, it is used in a **generalized imperfective** sense. For example, 'you will be denigrated' in (xx1.b) is meant as a general statement about what happens nowadays.

Consistent with this semantic interpretation is the fact that *-mb-à:=ỳ* may combine with the unmarked (hence elsewhere 3Sg) form of a following past clitic *=bɛ̀* to produce a **past imperfective passive**.

(xx2) *[kɛ̀nɛ́* *wǒ-mb-à:=ỳ=bɛ̀-∅]*
[thus come-**Fut-Pass=it.is=Past-3Sg**]
'It used to come (= happen) like that' (2005-1a)

The **negative** counterpart of *-mb-à:=ỳ* is *-mb-à:=là*, with the usual replacement of positive 'it is' clitic *=y* by negative *=la* 'it is not'.

(xx3) a. *[[dôm* *kó]* *gì]* *dàmá-m̀,*
[[speech Def.InanSg.O] Acc] speak-Fut.3SgS,
[dôm *[mɔ́* *gɔ̀]* *kó],*

[[speech [AnSgP Poss.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O]
àbǎ-mb-à:=là
catch-**Fut-Pass=it.is.not**
'He will speak the talk (= words), (but) his talk won't be accepted.' (2005-1a)

b. *[nǒ: dîn] [[mó kì:] sàgù]*
[person each] [[AnSgP head.L] responsibility.L]
ǹdǎ-mb-à:=là
give-**Fut-Pass=it.is.not**
'Each one will not be given his own (separate) right to speak (= authority).' (2005-1a)

10.5.3 Present passive (*-mb-à:=ỳ*), past imperfective passive (*-mb-à:=ỳ=bɛ̀*)

A **present passive** describing a recurrent activity that takes place in a time frame including the present may be formed with *-mb-à:=ỳ*. The stem has the tone contour typical of the inflected present form with suffix *-njò-*, i.e. **((X))H…(L)**. This means that a *CvCv-* stem has HL tone contour before *-mb-à:=ỳ*, versus LH before its future counterpart (preceding section). The obligatory H tone is seen in e.g. *kwá-mb-à:=ỳ* 'is eaten'. The present passive differs only tonally from the future passive.

To form the negative, the 'it is' clitic *=y* is replaced by its negative counterpart *=là* 'it is not', or occasionally the latter is tacked on (*=y=la*).

(xx1) a. *[bírɔ́: gì] bírà-mb-à:=ỳ*
[work(n) Acc] work-**Pres-Pass=it.is**
'The work is done (these days).'

b. *[bírɔ́: gì] bírà-mb-à:=là*
[work(n) Acc] work-**Pres-Pass=it.is.not**
'The work is not done (these days).'

As noted in §10.5.xxx, the future passive is often used to make general statements, so there is active competition between the future passive and the present passive.

The present passive is closely related to a participial compound construction denoting the function of an entity (e.g. 'water for drinking'); see §5.1.10. This participial form also occurs in the 'what is called "X"' construction (§15.xxx).

Adding past clitic *=bɛ̀* we get a **past imperfective passive** *-mb-â:=ỳ=bɛ̀* ('used to be VP-ed'). This is rather common in texts (xx2).

(xx2) a. *bà:-ólé* *tɔ̃:n* *tárà-mbò,*
father-house Recip-Dual look.at-and,
[bírɔ́: *gì]* *bírà-mb-à:=ỳ=bɛ̀* *gìn-à:*
[work(n) Acc] work-**Pres-Pass=it.is=Past** say.Perf-3PlS
'The families looked at each other (= had a discussion), (and) they said (= it was said) that they used to do the work.' (2005-1a)

b. *ɲă:* *[[kúlmá* *dòm]* *gì]*
yesterday [[elder speech.L] Acc]
dìmbí-yà-mb-â:=ỳ=bɛ̀→
follow-MP-**Pres-Pass=it.is=Past**
'In the past, the talk of an elder was followed (= obeyed).' (2005-1a)

c. *ɲă:* *[jènà:-gɔ́lɛ́:* *má]* *bìrɛ̀:*
yesterday [rainy.season.L-farm.work in] work.Pl.L
bírà-mb-à:=b-ɛ̀:, *bírà-m=bɛ̀-y*
work-**Pres-Pass=Past**-PplNS.InanPl, work-Impf=Past-1PlS
'In the past, in the rainy-season farming, the activities that used to be done, we did (them).' (2005-1a)

10.5.4 'Where to go'

In a construction like 'know [where to go]', when the subject of 'to go' is indefinite or obvious, the passive in *-à:* is used in the complement.

(xx1) a. *ínò-mb-à:* *éndà-∅,*
go-Impf-Pass not.know-3SgS,
[[wó-mb-à: *ké]* *gì]* *éndà-∅*
[[come-Press-Pass Def.InanSg.E] Acc] not.know-3SgS
'He doesn't know where to go, (and) he doesn't know where to come.' (2005-1a)

b. *ínò-mb-à:* *éndà:-m*
go-Pres-Pass not.know-1SgS
'I don't know where to go.'

However, the '(know) what to VERB' construction is rather different, being based on a future participle in *-ŋgà*. See (xx2) in §14.1.7.xxx.

11 VP and predicate structure

11.1 Regular verbs and VP structure

11.1.1 Verb Phrase

A verb phrase (VP) is essentially a clause without a subject.

11.1.2 Fixed subject-verb combinations

The best examples involve celestial bodies and meteorological phenomena.

With *ùjúŋgó* 'sun' as subject we have *ùjúŋgó dèŋé* 'sun set' and *ùjúŋgó túmbí* 'sun rise'. *dèŋé* is the common verb 'fall', but *túmbí* elsewhere has meanings like '(tree) grow leaves', '(e.g. onion) grow from a graft or bulb', and 'make a mound of earth', suggesting that sunrise is seen as an organic bulging.

The usual verb used with noun *à:lé* 'rain' as subject is *tégé* (as in *à:lé tègè-∅* 'it rained'), which elsewhere means 'put a pinch (of gunpowder)' or 'cook (lunch)'.

Many terms for emotional state have *kéndà:* 'liver/heart' as subject or direct object, usually possessed (e.g. 'my …').

11.1.3 Idiomatic and cognate objects

11.1.3.1 Noncognate object-verb combinations

Some examples where the noun and verb function together to express a lexical sense, grouped by verb stem, are in (xx1).

(xx1)

noun	gloss	nominal+verb	gloss
a. *swɛ́* 'pour, spill'			
sŭndè	'spittle'	*sŭndè swɛ́*	'spit' ("pour spittle")
sùndè-járì	'slobber'	*sùndè-járì swɛ́*	'drool, emit slobber'
b. *ímbí* 'plant (e.g. stick in ground)'			
kìnjâ:	'nose'	*kìnjâ: ímbí*	'blow one's nose'

c. *kán* ‘make; be made’ (many examples)

hátìyò	‘(a) sneeze’	*hátìyò kán*	‘sneeze’
sùjú:dù	‘prosternation’	*sùjú:dù kán*	‘prostrate (oneself) in Muslim prayer’
súrà	‘board game’	*súrà kán*	‘play the board game’
jíŋgà	‘taking sides’	*jíŋgà kán*	‘take sides (in a dispute)’

d. *ìbí* ‘catch’

rúkù	‘bowing’	*rúkù ìbí*	‘bow and place hands on knees (in Muslim prayer)’
sálìgì	‘ablution’	*sálìgì ìbí*	‘perform ablutions (before Muslim prayer)’
bìrí	‘wrestling’	*bìrí ìbí*	‘wrestle (someone)’
ámà:nà	‘promise’	*ámà:nà ìbí*	‘make a promise’
íbí	‘mouth’	*[X ìbì] ìbí*	‘shut up’

e. *jɛ́* ‘take’

ámà:nà	‘promise’	*ámà:nà jɛ́*	‘make a promise’
á:dì	‘promise’	*á:dì jɛ́*	‘make a promise’
gíbí	‘wraps’	*gíbí jɛ́*	‘take a woman’s wrap; (girl) be excised’
jàmàlà-ŋgó	‘theft’	*jàmàlà-ŋgó jɛ́*	‘commit a theft’
kéndà:	‘heard’	*kéndà: jɛ́*	‘get angry’
ánnìyà	‘intention’	*ánnìyà jɛ́*	‘have an intention’

f. *dàgí* ‘shoot (bullet); beat with stick; lock’

pómbè	‘applause’	*pómbè dàgí*	‘applaud’
súrà	‘bucking’	*súrà dàgí*	‘(quadruped) buck; kick out’
tăl	‘history’	*tăl dàgí*	‘recount the history (of a village)’

g. *nɛ́* ‘drink’

bà:nâ:	‘porridge’	*bà:nâ: nɛ́*	a) ‘drink porridge’ b) ‘undergo circumcision’

bǐn	‘sacred place’	*bǐn né*	‘take an oath (and drink) at the sacred place’
níŋgé	‘sauce’	*níŋgé né*	‘drink sauce; skim sauce off of top of grain meal’

h. *págí* ‘tie’

èyà-ŋgó	‘marriage’	*èyà-ŋgó págí*	‘contract a marriage’
ìbí	‘mouth’	*ìbí págí*	‘(millet) begin to form a grain spike’

i. *túnˈ* ‘put’

kèrè-néndé	‘tickling’	*kèrè-néndé túnˈ*	‘tickle (someone)’

j. *tɛ́:* ‘sting; shoot; sprout; avoid (taboo)’

kɔ̀mbɛ́	‘war’	*kɔ̀mbɛ́ tɛ́:*	‘wage war’
kùlé	‘hair’	*kùlé tɛ́:*	‘grow hair’
jây	—	*jây tɛ́:*	‘dive into water’

lk *pújíˈ* ‘explode; gush out’

wòlé	‘roots’	*wòlé pújíˈ*	‘put down roots’
kìnjà-díné	‘nosebleed’	*kìnjà-díné pújíˈ*	‘nose bleed’

11.1.3.2 Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb

In (xx1), there is no consistent pattern in the relationship between the nominal and the verb. Like the verb, the nominal usually ends in a vowel. Nouns with final short vowel, including some cases where a final high vowel has arguably been deleted, are in (xx1.a). In (xx1.b), the noun and verb **disagree in vowel-harmonic class**. When the noun is nonmonosyllabic and ends in a long vowel (xx1.c), the odds of an original suffixed origin increase, but there is no recognizable suffix on the noun. Some combinations involve nouns and verbs **borrowed separately** from the same word family in Fulfulde (xx1.e); or perhaps the noun was borrowed and the verb (re-)created based on existing cognate-nominal/verb patterns.

Because verb stems are subject to much tighter phonological constraints (vocalism, tone contour) than are nouns, it is not surprising that the cognate nominals show a wide range of phonological details that are not predictable from those of the verbs. However, vowel-harmonic patterns are consistent between the noun and the verb, with the exceptions in (xx1.b).

(xx1)

nominal	gloss	nominal+verb	gloss
a. final short vowel or zero			
mŏnjè	'urine'	*mŏnjè mónjí*	'urinate'
úlè	'vomit'	*úlè úl*	'vomit'
gìyɛ́	'fart(s)'	*gìyɛ́ gìy^{n}ɛ́*	'fart, emit farts'
sùŋjú	'breath'	*sùŋjú súŋjí*	'breathe'
níŋgé	'green sauce'	*níŋgé níŋgí*	'cook green sauce'
díbì	'grill'	*díbì dìbí*	'grill (meat) over a fire'
gî:	'knife harvest'	*gî: gĭy*	'harvest with a knife'
háwsá	'mud (as mortar)'	*háwsá háwsɛ́*	'lay mud (as mortar between bricks)'
tĕ:n	'harvest pile'	*tĕ:n téné*	'make large harvest pile'
sân	'prayer'	*sân sán*	'pray, perform a prayer'
yál	'(a) walk'	*yál yàlí-yɛ́*	'take a walk'
jîm	'tale or riddle'	*jîm jĭm*	'tell a tale or a riddle'
sífâ	'description'	*sífâ sífɛ́*	'make a description; give traveling directions'
tùmbó	'mound'	*tùmbó túmbí*	'make a mound'
bándè	'swimming'	*bándè bàndí*	'go swimming'
ɲállò	'conversation'	*ɲállɛ́*	'converse (in daytime)'
wírrì	'saying beads'	*wírrì wírrɛ́*	'say one's beads (with Muslim rosary)'
wá:jù	'sermon'	*wá:jù wá:jɛ́*	'preach a sermon'
wá:tè	'oath'	*wá:tè wá:tɛ́*	'swear (truth)'
kàjábù	'thought' (variant)	*kàjábù kájábí*	'think a thought'
dwâ:	'insult'	*dwâ: dwɛ́*	'make an insult'
tă:	'taboo'	*tă: tɛ́:*	'avoid (a taboo)'
yándú	'(a) call'	*yándú yàndí*	'make a call (summons)'
jáyrɛ̀	'criticism'	*jáyrɛ̀ jáyrɛ́*	'make a criticism, denigrate'
jáŋgà	'study, education'	*jáŋgà jáŋgí*	'study, go to school'
játɛ̀	'count, calculation'	*játɛ̀ játɛ́*	'do a count or calculation'

dɔ́gú	'prop'	*dɔ́gú dɔ̀ŋɛ́*	'prop up' (*g*/*ŋ* §3.5.1.2)
nóyè	'sleep'	*nóyè nóy*	'sleep'

b. change in vowel or in vowel-harmonic class

dèbí	'roof' (cf. also *dɛ̀bɔ̌:* 'roof-building')	*dèbí dèbɛ́*	'cover; put a roof on'
twě	'sowing' (cf. noun *twɛ̌:* 'seedstock')	*twě twɛ́*	'do the sowing (planting)'
dôm	'talk, words'	*dôm dăm*	'speak'
dèndă:	'evening chat'	*dèndă: dèndɛ́*	'chat in the evening'
mómbò	'dues, ante'	*mómbò mómbɛ́*	'pay dues, ante up'
kábìlò:	'part, division'	*kábìlò: kábílɛ́*	'divide into parts'

c. final long vowel (except *-û:*)

yámbú:	'blanket, covering'	*yámbú: yàmbí*	'cover, put a blanket on'
àmbŏ:	'fuzz'	*am̀bŏ: ámbí*	'(millet spikes) grow a reddish fuzz (flowers)'
wàjŏ:	'remainder'	*wàjŏ: wàjí*	'remainder remain(s)'
kàlă:	'price'	*kàlă: kál*	'negotiate price'
mànâ:	'meal'	*mànâ: măn*	'cook a meal'
pàrâ:	'soft millet cakes'	*pàrâ: pár*	'cook soft millet cakes'
gɔ́lɛ̀:	'farm work'	*gɔ́lɛ̀: gɔ̀lɛ́*	'do farm work'
tùrɛ̂:	'late grain'	*tùrɛ̂: túr*	'harvest the late-ripening grain spikes'
dúgò:	'spells'	*dúgò: dùgí*	'cast magical spells'
gúlì:	'sheds'	*gúlì: gŭl*	'build a shed'
tìbɔ̌:	'death'	*tìbɔ̌: tíbɛ́*	'death take place'
díyá:	'load'	*díyá: dìyɛ́*	'carry load on head'
gìyâ:	'(a) dance'	*gìyâ: gĭy*	'do a dance'
bà:nâ:	'porridge'	*bà:nâ: bă:n*	'make porridge'
ŋwànă:	'song'	*ŋwànă: ŋwăn*	'sing a song'
kògô:	'shell, slough'	*kògô: kógí*	'slough off skin' (etc.)
jɔ̀ŋɔ̌:	'medicine'	*jɔ̀ŋɔ̌: jɔ̀ŋɛ́*	'practice medicine'
pàbă:	'untruth'	*pàbă: pábí*	'say an untruth'
yàră:	—	*yàră: yàrí*	'overstep, go too far'
kàlă:	'price'	*kàlă: kál*	'negotiate price'
sɔ̀jô:	'payment'	*sɔ̀jô: sɔ́jɛ́*	'pay (= make) a payment'

dá:nì:	‘thickening …’	*dá:nì: dă:n*	‘thicken (juice) into syrup’
tɔ̀ŋɛ̌:	‘writings’	*tɔ̀ŋɛ̌: tɔ́ŋɛ́*	‘do some writing’
kànjô:	‘crack’	*kànjô: kánjí*	‘form a crack’
tègɔ̌:	‘rain(-fall)’	*tègɔ̌: tégɛ́*	‘rain fall’ (= *à:lé tégɛ́*)

d. multisyllabic noun (usually < Fulfulde) and bisyllabic verb

gá:jà:tì	‘conversation’	*gá:jɛ́*	‘converse, chat’
dàbárù	‘magic’	*dàbárù dàbí*	‘practice magic’
jámmɔ̀:rɛ̀	‘griot’s calls’	*jámmɔ̀:rɛ̀ jámmɛ́*	‘(griot) call out a genealogy’
híjjɔ́:rɛ̀	‘pilgrimage’	*híjjɔ́:rɛ̀ híjjɛ́*	‘make the pilgrimage (to Mecca)’
ná:fìlà	‘devotional prayer’	*ná:fìlà ná:fɛ́*	‘perform an individual devotional prayer’
túrà:bì	‘fortune-telling’	*túrà:bì túrɛ́*	‘tell fortunes (by drawing lines in sand)’
yímɔ̀:rɛ̀	‘koranic verses’	*yímɔ̀:rɛ̀ yímɛ́*	‘(child beggar) sing koranic verses’

In *pɔ̌: pó:-m* ‘make a greeting’, the verb is causative in form. In *màndà-m-û: màndá-m* ‘tell a joke’, the verb is causative (‘cause to laugh’) and the nominal includes the causative suffix *-m-*.

Because the verbs have various tone contours in the different AN inflections, in the transcriptions above I have normalized the tonal transcription of the cognate nominal, using the lexical tone. In particular, a final rising tone is shown even where it would be leveled to a high tone before as initial high tone of the chaining form. For example, in (xx1.c) I write *pàbă: pábí*, which is correct as an underlying representation, but this actual combination would appear as *pàbá: pábí* after Word-Final R-to-H Raising (§xxx). The rising tone would, however, appear in e.g. perfective *pàbă: pàbɛ̀-*, where the verb begins with a low tone.

Recognizable nominal **derivational suffixes** occur in some cognate nominals. The *-û:* (plural *-î:*) in (xx2.a) is also found in some (chiefly instrumental) deverbal nominals, see §4.xxx. *-n* suffixes with different stem tones are in (xx2.b-e); for the type with {LH} contour, see §4.xxx.

(xx2) a.

kà:r-û:	—	*kà:r-û: ká:rɛ́*	‘clear one’s throat’
kòll-û:	‘cough’	*kòll-û: kóllí*	‘cough, emit a cough’
mànd-û:	‘laugh(ter)’	*mànd-û: màndí*	‘laugh, give out a laugh’
mànjùr-û:	‘dream’	*mànjùr-û: màŋgírí-yɛ́*	‘have a dream’

	yèr-û:	‘cry of joy’	*yèr-û: yěy*	‘(women) emit cries of joy’
	nèb-û:	‘betrothal’	*nèb-û: nébé*	‘become engaged’
	kàjàb-û:	‘thinking’	*kàjàbû: kájábí*	‘reflect, think’
	bèbìl-û:	‘bellowing’	*bèbìl-û: bèbíl*	‘(bull, billygoat) bellow’
b.	*àyî-n*	‘yawn’	*àyî-n ǎy*	‘yawn’
	(contrast *àyǐ-n* ‘fatigue’)			
	bègî-n	‘hiccup’	*bègî-n bègí*	‘have the hiccups’
	pèbî-n	‘whistling’	*pèbî-n pébí*	‘give out a whistle’
c.	*màgǐ-n*	‘magic’	*màgǐ-n màgí*	‘tell fortunes’
	bògǐ-n	‘barking’	*bògǐ-n bògí*	‘(dog) bark’
	gìmbě-n	—	*gìmbě-n gìmbí*	‘darkness fall’
	sòŋgă-n	‘curse’	*sòŋgă-n sɔ́ŋgɛ́*	‘utter a curse’
d.	*já:ŋí-n*	‘squabble’	*já:ŋí-n já:ŋí-y*	‘have a squabble’
e.	*kíryɛ̀-n*	‘praise’	*kíryɛ̀-n kíríyɛ́*	‘give public praise’

In (xx3), the noun contains an **original singular suffix** *-ŋgo or *-go. In (xx3.a), there is no trace of this suffix in the plural of the nominal, so the *-ŋgo* suffix is still clearly segmentable (even without reference to the verb). The plurals of the forms shown in (xx3.a) are *èyɛ̌:*, *nèmbìl-î:*, *gòjù-mbó*, and *dímbé-mbó*. In (xx3.b), the old *-ŋgo or *-go is now unsegmentable …(ŋ)*go* in the noun, which has a (probably new) plural in *…(ŋ)ge* (*káŋgé*, *ɲàŋgé*, *jɔ̀yègé*) with the common plural shift from back to front vowel. In the case of *jɔ̀:-gó* ‘shame’, plural *jɔ̀yè-gé*, the break in vowel harmony from {*ɛ ɔ*} to {*e o*} supports continued recognition of a morpheme boundary. For the cases in (xx3.c), no plural could be elicited, so we cannot determine whether they belong in (xx3.a) or (xx3.b). In (xx3.d), it may be that an **original plural suffix** *-mbo likewise became a fused part of the cognate nominal, was reaanalysed as singular, and has since developed a new plural (*gìlàmbé*, *gìmbé*) with the final vowel fronted.

(xx3) a. noun has plural without Sg *-ŋgo*

èyà-ŋgó	‘marriage’	*èyà-ŋgó éyɛ́*	‘(bride) move to husband’s house’
nèmbìl-ŋgó	‘plea’	*nèmbìl-ŋgó némbíl*	‘make a plea, beg’
gòjù-ŋgó	‘illicit sex’	*gòjù-ŋgó gòjí-y*	‘have an out-of-wedlock sexual

				relationship (concubinage)'
	dímbɛ́-ŋgó	'following'	*dímbɛ́-ŋgó dìmbí-yɛ́*	(euphemism for the preceding)

b. old Sg *-ŋgo now unsegmentable …(*ŋgo*, plural in …*ŋgɛ́*)

káŋgó	'challenge'	*káŋgó káŋ*	'make a challenge'
ɲàŋgó	'weeping'	*ɲàŋgó ɲé*	'weep'
jɔ̀:gó	'shame'	*jɔ̀:-gó jɔ̀yɛ́*	'be ashamed, show deference'

c. no plural elicitable

jǎy-ŋgò	'sowing …'	*jǎy-ŋgò jǎy*	'sow seeds in a pit with manure'
ìbìnà-ŋgó	'fear'	*ìbìnà-ŋgó íbí-yɛ́*	'have a scare, be afraid'

(noun also *ìbì-ŋgó*)

d.	*gìlàmbó*	'sound …'	*gìlàmbó gìlɛ́*	'(something unseen) make a sound'
	gìmbó	'odor'	*gìmbó gĭŋ*	'smell an odor'

The cognate nominal is sometimes **reduplicated** (xx4).

(xx4)	*bùjɛ̀-bújɛ̀-ŋgò bùjɛ́*	'form a froth'
	jà:rà-já:rà já:rɛ́	'incite, provoke'
	yòlà-yòlâ: yɔ̀lɛ́	'provoke (with an insult or accusation)'

The cognate nominal may be a **compound**, or a fixed **noun-adjective** combination (xx5). The verb, which may be historically secondary (imitative of the nominal), **is related to the final stem** in the composite nominal, even if this is a simple adjective ('cook dumplings', 'do the second round …'). In this way the combination of cognate nominal plus verb has the same quasi-reduplicative effect as in the simpler cases illustrated above.

(xx5)	*ègà-tábù: tábí*	'have breakfast'
	ámbà-kà: kɛ́:	'tell a riddle'
	ègà-dà:bú dàbí	'get up early in the morning'
	àn-tàŋǎ: táŋ	'spread (limbs)'
	sùndè-járì jǎr	'emit slobber, drool'
	bɛ̀rɛ̀-kɛ́jɛ̀ kɛ́jɛ́	'tell an outright lie'
	kèndà-[tèg-î:] tégɛ́	'have lunches'

[mànà pílɛ̀-ŋgò] pílɛ́	‘cook dumplings’ (*pílɛ̀* ‘white’)
[gòlɛ̀ nòjɔ̌ː] nójí	‘do the second round of farm work’ (*nòjɔ̌ː* ‘second’)
dɔ̀ŋgɔ̀lɔ̀-sìbǎː síbí	‘lay the second layer of millet grain spikes in container’
[sàndò bǐn-gó] bìnɛ́	‘dam up (rivulet)’ (*bǐn-gó* ‘big-Sg’)
[àŋà-mbò]-dùmbú dùmbí	‘lay the first layer of millet grain spikes in container’
sɛ̀jìyò-[yóbí-n] yɔ̀bɛ́	‘(bride) return to home village after three months and come back’

11.1.3.3 Grammatical status of cognate nominal

If the cognate nominal is referential, it generally denotes a logical object of the action. However, in a few cases the cognate nominal is the subject: *jíŋɛ̀ jìŋɛ́* ‘late millet ripen(s)’.

The cognate nominal may be modified, quantified over, or possessed.

(xxx) a. *[dwàː ségín] dwá-njò*
[**insult**.L many] **insult**-Pres
‘He/She makes many insults.’

b. *[dwɛ̀ː nɛ̀ːndɛ́ː] dwá-njò*
[**insult**.Pl.L bad.InanPl] **insult**-Pres
‘He/She makes bad (= nasty) insults.’

c. *[kó jàːŋì-n] [mó mà]*
[3Inan.Sg.O.P **fight**-Nom.L] [3AnSg in]
jáːŋí-yó-l-óː mɛ́ kày, …
fight-MP-PerfNeg-2SgS if Topic
‘if (on the other hand) you-Sg have not made the squabble of (= about) that with him’ (2005.1a.01)

11.1.4 ‘Do’ (*kán*)

The all-purpose ‘do, make’ verb is *kán* (3Sg Perf *kánɛ̀*). It occurs in many combinations with other stems (usually in object function syntactically) that carry the main semantic burden. This construction is regularly used to incorporate loanwords.

Examples: *jâw kán* ‘fly a short distance in a low arc’, *jêŋ kán* ‘fail’, *tóŋkɛ̀-tóŋkɛ̀ kán* ‘become spotted’, *hóynà kán* ‘(God) make (sb) well’, and *kóróy-kàrày kán* ‘do hurriedly’.

kán is also used intransitively in the sense ‘be done, be made’, hence ‘happen’.

11.2 ‘Be’, ‘become’, and other statives

11.2.1 Copula clitic ‘it is …’ (*=y*, *=i:*)

11.2.1.1 Unconjugated forms

The common use of this clitic is in simple, verbless clauses like (xxx), where a discourse referent that is already established, or that is introduced by deixis, is identified by an NP or adverbial.

(xx1) a. *nɛ̌:=ý*
cow=it.is
‘It (=previously introduced referent) is a cow.’ (*nɛ̌:*)

b. *ǒm* *nɛ̌:=ý*
this.AnSg cow=it.is
‘This is a cow.’ (*nɛ̌:*)

The clitic may be used without plural or animacy agreement (xx2.a). The identificational element may be a first or second person pronoun (xx2.b).

(xxx) a. *nàwó:=ý*
cow.Pl=it.is
‘They are cows.’

b. *mí=ý*
1Sg=it.is
‘It’s me.’

The clitic takes the form *=y* after a vowel, and *=i:* after a consonant (including *y*). The tone is carried over from the end of the word to which it is attached. Thus we get H-tone in (xxx.a), and L-tone in (xxx.b). A word ending in a *C* also spreads a simple (non-contour) tone into the clitic syllable (xxx.d). However, a *C*-final word ending in a contour tone (falling or rising) divides the contour tone into its components due to the resyllabification brought about by the clitic, so

we get a simple H or L tone on the stem-final syllable, and the second tonal component is expressed on the clitic syllable (xxx.e-f).

(xxx)		gloss	form	'it is X …'
	a.	'this.InanSg'	*ŋ̀gú*	*ŋ̀gú=ý*
		'1Sg'	*mí*	*mí=ý*
		'2Sg'	*ó*	*ó=ý*
		'house'	*ólé*	*ólé=ý*
	b.	'goat'	*ínɛ̀*	*ínɛ̀=ỳ*
		'city'	*ŋ̀gállù*	*ŋ̀gállù=ỳ*
	c.	'pick-hoe'	*cènjû:*	*cènjú:=ỳ*
	d.	'many'	*ségín*	*ségín=í:*
	e.	'this.AnSg	*ǒm*	*òm=í:*
		'hundred'	*sǐŋ*	*sìŋ=í:*
	f.	'here'	*ǹjîn*	*ǹjín=ì:*
		'there (distant)'	*ŋ̀gâ:n*	*ŋ̀gá:n=ì:*

11.2.1.2 Conjugated forms

When the discourse referent to be identified is a first or second person pronominal, a conjugated form of the 'it is' clitic is used. Thus compare third person (xx1.a) with 1Sg (xx1.b).

(xx1) a. *ánɛ̀=ỳ*
man=it.is
'It (=he/she) is a man.'

b. *ánɛ̀=m̀*
man=it.is.1Sg
'I am a man.'

The paradigm is (xx2). In the 1Pl and 2Pl forms, plural suffix -mbo appears (with tone depending on the preceding stem) even where it is not otherwise present on a plural noun, as with *nàwó:* 'cows'.

(xx2)	category	after V	after C
	1Sg	*=m̀*	*=i:-m̀*
	2Sg	*=ẁ*	*=i:-ẁ*
	1Pl	*(-mbo)=ỳ*	*(-mbo)=ỳ*
	2Pl	*(-mb)=è:*	*(-mb)=è:*

Nearly all actually occurring forms are postvocalic, since nearly every noun, adjective, and personal pronoun ends in a vowel. For the singular pronouns, it is possible to elicit combinations based on demonstrative *ŏm* 'this.AnSg'. For the plural, with some difficulty it was possible to elicit combinations based on the numeral *sĭŋ* 'hundred'. Examples are in (xx3). In the (syllabic) clitics, i.e. 1Pl and 2Pl and the postconsonantal allomorphs for 1Sg and 2Sg, a final H-tone from the stem is carried over into the nucleus of the clitic syllable.

(xxx)	category	'X is a cow/are cows'	'X is this'
	1Sg	*nĕ:=m̀*	*òm=í:-m̀*
	2Sg	*nĕ:=ẁ*	*òm=í:-ẁ*
	1Pl	*nàwó:(-mbó)=ỳ*	*sĭm(-mbó)=ỳ*
	2Pl	*nàwó:(-mb)=ê:*	*sĭm(-mb)=ê:*

11.2.1.3 'It is not …' (*=lá*)

The positive 'it is' clitic is replaced by *=lá*.

(xx1) a. *nĕ:=lá*
cow=it.is.not
'It is not a cow.'

b. *nàwó:=lá*
cow.Pl=it.is.not
'They are not cows.'

A final H-tone in a personal or demonstrative pronoun drops to L-tone before *=lá*, but H-toned nouns have their usual tone (xx2)

(xx2)		gloss	form	'it is not X …'
	a.	'this.InanSg'	*ŋ̀gú*	*ŋ̀gù=lá*
		'1Sg'	*mí*	*mì=lá*

	‘2Sg’	*ó*	*ò = lá*
	‘house’	*ólé*	*ólé = lá*
b.	‘goat’	*ínɛ̀*	*ínɛ̀ = lá*
	‘city’	*ŋ̀gállù*	*ŋ̀gállù = lá*
c.	‘pick-hoe’	*cènjû:*	*cènjú: = lá*
d.	‘many’	*ségín*	*ségín = lá*
e.	‘this.AnSg	*ǒm*	*ǒm = lá*
	‘hundred’	*sǐŋ*	*sǐŋ = lá*
f.	‘here’	*ǹjîn*	*ǹjîn = lá*
	‘there (distant)’	*ŋ̀gâ:n*	*ŋ̀gâ:n = lá*

The conjugated forms for 1st and 2nd person are given in (xxx).

(xx2) category after *v* or *C*

1Sg	*= lá-m̀*
2Sg	*= lá-ǹ*
1Pl	*= lá = ỳ*, (*-mbo*) *= lá = ỳ*
2Pl	*(-mbo) = l-ɛ̂:*

Again, plural suffix -mbo is often added before the 1Pl and 2Pl clitics even after nouns that do not elsewhere take this suffix.

11.2.2 Existential and locative quasi-verbs and particles

There is no accompanying existential particle as there is in northern Dogon (e.g. Jamsay).

In the (high-frequency) case where present time reference is relevant, a special set of positive and negative existential-locational ‘be present/absent, be/not be (in a place’) are in use. In other AN categories, regular forms of a verb *bɛ́* ‘remain, stay’ are used.

11.2.2.1 Positive existential-locational quasi-verb (*bô:*, *bò*)

In existential-locational expressions, the predicative element takes the form *bô:* when the location is not specified ('be present', more loosely 'exist'), and *bò* when it follows a locational (xx1). One could argue that the post-locational form is a clitic; in any event it is a slightly reduced version of the fuller form. It is questionable whether these forms have a historical relationship to the regular verb *bɛ́-* 'remain'.

(xx1) a. *á:màdù* *bô:-∅*
Amadou be-3SgS
'Amadou is present (here/there).'

b. *á:màdù* *[móttì* *mà]* *bò-∅*
Amadou [Mopti in] be-3SgS
'Amadou is in Mopti.'

The pronominal paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx2)	category	'be present'	'be in (a place)'
	1Sg	*bô:-m*	*bò-m*
	2Sg	*bô:-w*	*bò-w*
	3Sg	*bô:-∅*	*bò-∅*
	1Pl	*bô:-y*	*bò-y*
	2Pl	*b-ê:*	*b-è:*
	3Pl	*b-ɛ̂:*	*b-ɛ̀:*

The shift from {*e o*} vocalism to /ɛ/ in the 3Pl is notable, especially since it results in certain homophonies: with 2Pl *b-ɛ̀:* in (xx3), below, and with *b-ɛ̂:* non-subject participle of *bɛ́-* 'remain (be)'.

For past time reference, the paradigm is (xx3). These forms seem to require an overt locational.

(xx3)	category	'was in (a place)'
	1Sg	*bɛ̀-m*
	2Sg	*b-ɔ̀:*
	3Sg	*bɛ̀-∅*
	1Pl	*bɛ̀-y*

2Pl	*b-è:*
3Pl	*b-à:*

11.2.2.2 Negative existential-locational quasi-verbs (*òndí*, *òndú*)

The negative counterpart of *bô:* (and *bò*) is *òndí*, dialectally *òndú*.

(xx1) a. *á:màdù* *òndí-∅*
Amadou be.Neg-3SgS
'Amadou is absent (=not here/there).'

b. *á:màdù* *[móttì* *mà]* *òndí-∅*
Amadou [Mopti in] be.Neg-3SgS
'Amadou is not in Mopti.'

The conjugated paradigm of *òndí* is (xx2). Note the *-yo-* augment, which can perhaps be identified as the mediopassive (MP) verb suffix.

(xx2) category 'be absent'

1Sg	*òndí-yò-m*
2Sg	*òndí-yò-w*
3Sg	*òndí-∅* (dialectally *òndú-∅*)
1Pl	*òndí-yò-y*
2Pl	*òndí-y-è:*
3Pl	*òndí-yà*

11.2.2.3 Cliticized quasi-verbs after inflected verb or 'it is' clitic

11.2.3 stative stance and 'hold' verbs with final *a/o* ('be sitting')

A form based on the **bare A/O-stem** of the verb, with {HL} tone contour, is used as a stative with verbs of stance ('be sitting', 'be standing') and of holding. The corresponding change of state ('sit down', 'stand up') is expressed by a mediopassive form of the verb with suffix *-yé* ~ *-y*.

To denote static position ('be sitting' = 'be seated'), the stem is *óbò*. This is related to the mediopassive verb *óbí-y* 'sit down' (3Sg perfective *òbì-yè*). The negative counterpart of *óbò* is *òbò-ndí-*, with **stative negative** suffix *-ndí-*.

(xx1) a. *óbò-m*
be.sitting-1SgS
'I am sitting.'

b. *òbò-nú-m*
be.sitting-Neg-1SgS
'I am not sitting.'

Sample paradigms are in (xx2). The tones show that the H of {HL} is expressed on the first syllable only for 3Sg and 3Pl, but extends into the second syllable in the 1st/2nd person forms, resulting in a final falling-tone syllable. This enables 2Pl and 3Pl to be distinguished even for 'be standing', where both 2Pl and 3Pl have the same segments.

(xxx)

category	'be sitting'	'not be sitting'	'be standing'	'not be standing'
1Sg	*óbò-m*	*òbò-nú-m*	*Íŋgà-m*	*ìŋgà-nú-m*
2Sg	*óbò-w*	*òbò-nd-ó:*	*íŋgà-w*	*ìŋgà-nd-ó:*
3Sg	*óbò-∅*	*òbò-ndí-∅*	*íŋgà-∅*	*ìŋgà-ndí-∅*
1Pl	*óbò-y*	*òbò-ndí-ỳ*	*íŋgà-y*	*ìŋgà-ndí-ỳ*
2Pl	*ób-è:*	*òbò-nd-é:*	*íŋg-è:*	*ìŋgà-nd-é:*
3Pl	*ób-è:*	*òbò-ndí-yà*	*íŋg-è:*	*ìŋgà-ndí-yà*

Other examples involving stance are in (xx3). In the cases of 'lie down' and '(bird) alight', the fact that the medial *y* is included in the stative is an argument against a synchronic segmentation into *Cv-* stem plus mediopassive *-yɛ́* ~ *-y* in spite of the obvious parallelism with the longer change-of-state verbs.

(xx3)

change of stance	gloss	stative	gloss
íŋgí-yɛ́	'stand up'	*íŋgà*	'be standing'
yèndí-y	'be hung'	*yéndò*	'be hanging (on rope)'
sómbí-y	'squat down'	*sómbò*	'be squatting'
ɲàŋí-yɛ́	'kneel'	*ɲáŋà*	'be kneeling'
gòbí-y	'stand on tiptoes'	*góbò*	'be on tiptoes'
bìní-yɛ́	'lean on (sth)'	*bínà*	'be leaning'
tíjí-y	'hold self up'	*tíjò*	'be holding self up'
jèŋgí-yɛ́	'become tilted'	*jéŋgà*	'be tilted, be atilt'
bǐy (or: *bǐ-y*)	'lie down'	*bíyò*	'be lying down'
tíy (or: *tí-y*)	'(bird) alight'	*tíyò*	'be perched'
gèrí-y	'lie on back'	*gérò*	'be lying on back'

jàbí-yɛ́	‘lie on belly’	*jábà*	‘be lying on belly’

Transitive verbs of **putting** objects (in some position) have (intransitiive) statives that denote being in the relevant position (xx4).

(xx4)	putting	gloss	stative	gloss
	gǎn	‘put X in Y’	*gánà*	‘X be in Y (container)’
	tún	‘put X (somewhere)’	*túnò*	‘X be in (place)’
	ságí	‘put X up (on Y)’	*ságà*	‘X be up (on Y)’

Verbs of **holding and carrying** are exemplified in (xx5). The ‘taking hold’ version is a transitive verb (in mediopassive form) that denotes the act of placing the object (child, basket, etc.) in the position indicated. The stative describes the static position of the object being held or carried. The same issue regarding segmentation mentioned above is applicable to ‘carry on head’ and ‘carry on back’.

(xx5)	taking hold	gloss	stative	gloss
	sélí-y	‘carry on shoulders’	*sélò*	‘be carrying on shoulders’
	nìbí-yɛ́	‘carry on shoulder’	*níbà*	‘be carrying on shoulder’
	úbí-yɛ́	‘carry at one’s ribs’	*ubà*	‘be carrying at one’s ribs’
	tíndí-y	‘balance on head’	*tíndà*	‘be balancing on head’
	dìyɛ́ (or: *dì-yɛ́*)	‘carry on head’	*díyà*	‘be carrying on head’
	póy (or: *pó-y*)	‘carry on back’	*póyò*	‘be carrying on back’

Verbs of **attaching** also have statives. To make the aspectual distinctions clear, I used ‘become …’ for the ordinary mediopassive derivative, and ‘be …’ for the statives that denote the continuing state of being attached.

(xx6)	become ...	gloss	stative	gloss
	págí-y	‘become tied’	*págà*	‘be tied’
	dìgí-y	‘become connected’	*dígà*	‘be connected’

All examples of this stative formation in my data are **bisyllabic**.

11.2.4 'Know' (*tígà:-*, negative *éndà:-*)

For 'know' (object can be a fact, or a person, cf. French *savoir* and *connaître*), the positive stem used with present time reference is *tígà:-* (3Sg *tígà-∅*), suppleted by negative *éndà:-* (3Sg *éndà-∅*).

(xxx)	category	'know'	'not know'
	1Sg	*tígà:-m*	*éndà:-m*
	2Sg	*tígà:-w*	*éndà:-w*
	3Sg	*tígà-∅*	*éndà-∅*
	1Pl	*tígà:-y*	*éndà:-y*
	2Pl	*tíg-è:*	*énd-è:*
	3Pl	*tíg-è:*	*énd-è:*

The verb *jùgɛ́* means 'recognize'.

11.2.5 'Is not connected' (*dígà-ndí*)

The negative expression *dígà-ndí* (cf. Jamsay *dìgɛ̀-lá*), with stative negative *-ndí*, means literally 'is not connected'. In addition to its literal use, it may be used in the (meta-)pragmatic sense 'it (e.g. what you're saying) is not connected (= relevant, appropriate)'.

11.2.6 Morphologically regular verbs

11.2.6.1 'Remain' (*bɛ́-*)

The (positive and negative) existential-locational quasi-verbs described above have no further AN categories. When the time reference in question excludes the present, the quasi-verbs are replaced by regular inflected forms of *bɛ́-* 'remain'.

In the positive, for future time reference, *bɛ́-* takes the regular future paradigm: 3Sg *bá-m̀*, 1Sg *bà-mbó-m̀*, etc.

(xxx) a. *éngú ŋ̀gîn [wé nɛ̀] bà-m-∅*
tomorrow here [come and] remain-Fut-3SgS
'He/She will come and be (=stay) here tomorrow.'

b. *ɲă:* *ŋ̀gîn* *b-à:*
yesterday here remain.Perf-3PlS
'They were here yesterday.'

For past time reference, a special set of morphologically perfective forms based on *bɛ̀-* is used; these are closely related to the forms of the past clitic (§10.3.1), but the 1st/2nd person forms have an (unreliably audible) rising tone. The perfective (or past) paradigm of *bɛ́-* is (xxx). The gloss can be 'remained' or just 'was (in a place)'; that is, in this paradigm, there is no necessary emphasis on continuity before and after a reference time.

(xxx) category Perfective forms of *bɛ́* 'remain'

1Sg	*bɛ̀-ḿ*
2Sg	*b-ɔ̌:*
3Sg	*bɛ̀-∅*
1Pl	*bɛ̀-ý*
2Pl	*b-ɛ̌:*
3Pl	*b-à:*

In the negative, for past time reference, the perfective negative is used: 3Sg *bă-l-∅*. 3Pl *bà:-ndí*, 1Sg *bà-lú-m*, etc.. Other negative stems are present negative *bâ-ndí-* and future negative *bă-ndì-*.

(xxx) a. *ŋ̀gîn* *bă-l-∅*
here remain-PerfNeg-3SgS
'He/She wasn't (=didn't stay) here.'

b. *ɛ́ngú* *ŋ̀gîn* *bă-ndì-∅*
tomorrow here be-FutNeg-3SgS
'He/She will not be (=stay) here tomorrow.'

11.2.6.2 'Become X' (*kán*, *bìlí-yɛ́*), 'X happen'

The 'become' verb follows an 'it is' construction with clitic *=y*. The lexical options are the rather neutral *kán* 'be made' (intransitive use of *kán* 'make') and *bìlí-yɛ́* 'become, be transformed into'. The 'it is' construction does not change when the 'become' verb is negated (xx1.d).

(xxx) a. *dɔ́gɛ̀=ỳ* *kànè-ḿ*

Dogon=it.is become.Perf-1SgS
'I became (=was made) a Dogon.'

b. *dɔ́gɔ̀:=ỳ* *kàn-à:*
Dogon.Pl=it.is become.Perf-3PlS
'They became Dogon.'

c. *kòjá=ý* *bìlì-yɛ̀-∅*
frog=it.is become-MP-3SgS
'He/she was transformed into a frog.'

d. *dɔ́gɛ̀=ỳ* *káná-l-∅*
Dogon=it.is become-PerfNeg-3SgS
'He/She did not become a Dogon.'

kán 'be made' is also used in the sense '(event, action) happen'. The phrase *kànè mɛ́* 'if it happens' is often added to the end of a sentence in the sense 'if it has happened that …' or 'in case …'.

11.3 Quotative verb and quasi-verb

11.3.1 'Say' (*gìnɛ́*)

This regular verb can be used with a NP complement (xxx.a), or with a quotative complement (xxx.b).

(xxx) a. *ségín* *gìnɛ̀-∅*
much say.Perf-3SgS
'He/She said a lot.'

b. *wó-njò-m* *gìnɛ̀*
come-Impf-LogoS say.Perf-3SgS
'He$_x$ said that he$_x$ was coming.'

11.4 Adjectival predicates

11.4.1 Conjugated adjectival predicate

(xx1) gives the paradigms of 'be small', 'be straight', and 'be short' as positive adjectival predicates.

(xx1)

	‘be small’	‘be short’	‘be heavy’
3Sg	*pàlá*	*dèndú-m̀*	*nĭm̀*
3Pl	*pàl-ê:*	*dèndí-y-è:*	*nìmí-y-è:*
2Sg	*pàlá-ẁ*	*dèndí-y-ò:*	*nìmí-y-ò:*
2Pl	*pàl-ê:*	*dèndí-y-è:*	*nìmí-y-è:*
1Sg	*pàlá-m̀*	*dèndí-yò-m*	*nìmí-yò-m*
1Pl	*pàlá-ỳ*	*dèndí-yò-y*	*nìmí-yò-y*

‘Be small’ (corresponding to modifying adjective *pàlê:*, *pàlâ:*) has no inflectional suffix other than the pronominal-subject suffix. ‘Be short’ (cf. modifying adjective *dèndú:*, *dèndí:*, *dèndú-ŋgó*, etc.) and ‘be heavy’ (*nìmí-yè*, *nĭm-gò*, *nìm-bò*) have a suffix *-yò-*. The types ‘be short’ and ‘be heavy’ differ in the 3Sg, but the difference is phonologically conditioned, as the ‘be heavy’ type with zero 3Sg suffix consists of stems ending in {*m y*} after the final vowel (if any) is deleted.

Lists of adjectives with these predicative forms are in (xx2), using the 3Sg form (with the 1Sg in parentheses where relevant). The corresponding modifying forms can be found in §4.5.xxx. Some adjectives were unelicitable in a specifically predicative form (as opposed to the ‘it is’ clitic form, or a verbalization).

(xx2) a. no suffix (like ‘be short’)

pàlá ‘it is small’ (1Sg *pàlá-m̀*), *nè:ndá* ‘it is bad’ (1Sg *nè:ndá-m̀*); *tàmàlá* ‘be slow’, *èndá* ‘it is displeasing (not sweet)’.

b. 3Sg *-m̀*, others based on *-yò-*, stem bisyllabic

dèndú-m̀ ‘it is short’ (*dèndí-yò-m*); *èlú-m̀* ‘it is sweet’ (*èlí-yò-m*); *bìnú-m̀* ‘it is big, stout’ (*bìní-yò-m*); *mènjú-m̀* (*mènjí-yò-m*); *gàlú-m̀* ‘be bitter’ (*gàlí-yò-m*); *pèmbú-m̀* ‘it (passage) is narrow’ (*pèmbí-yò-m*); *wàgú-m̀* ‘it is distant’ (1Sg *wàgí-yò-m*); *pèjú-m̀* ‘it is slow’ (1Sg *pèjí-yò-m*); *mìnú-m̀* ‘it is deep’ (1Sg *mìní-yò-m̀*); *bùrú-m̀* ‘it (= meat) is tender’ (1Sg *bùrí-yò-m*); *pìbú-m̀* ‘rancid’ (1Sg *pìbí-yò-m*)

c. ends in *m* or *y*, 3Sg zero (with low tone), others based on *-yò-*.

nĭm̀ ‘it is heavy’ (1Sg *nìmí-yò-m*); *mǎỳ*^{n} ‘it is difficult’ (1Sg *mǎy-yò-m*); *nǎm̀* ‘it is difficult’ (1Sg *nàmí-yò-m*); *dwɛ̌ỳ*^{n} ‘it is hot;

it is fast' (1Sg *dwěy^{n}-yò-m*); *ǎm̀* 'it is sour' (1Sg *àmí-yò-m*); *dǔm̀* 'it is near' (1Sg *dùmí-yò-m*)

Predicative 'be good' is usually not expressed with a form related to the modifying *nálá:*, *nálɛ́:* 'good'. Aside from *èlú-m̀* 'sweet; good', there is a special predicative form *nɛ̌ỳ* 'it is good' (1Sg *nɛ̌y-yò-m*).

A number of adjectives are attested in a 3Sg predicative form ending in *-m̀*, but 1st/2nd person forms were not elicitable (xxx).

(xxx) a. stem has both predicative (final *a/o*) and modifying forms

bisyllabic

jàlá-m̀ 'it is long'; *wàyá-m̀* 'it is wide'

trisyllabic

ònàná-m̀ 'it is smooth', *yàgàjá-m̀* and near-synonym *kàgàjá-m̀* 'it is coarse', *àmàlá-m̀* 'it (e.g. mango) is slightly bitter', *yègèló-m̀* 'it (= water) is cool'.

b. stem is attested in this 3Sg predicative form only

bisyllabic

ènú-m̀ 'it is thin', *kèrú-m̀* 'it is pungent'

trisyllabic

kùjàjá-m̀ 'having unpleasant smell (e.g. urine, burning hairs or feathers)'; *sìnàná-m̀* 'it has a crispy taste', *èjèjɔ́-m̀* 'it is lightly salted or sugared'.

For color adjectives, both informants checked used the 'it is' clitic on an adjective with appropriate nominal agreement.

(xxx) a. *[ólé* *ké]* *pílɛ̀-ŋgɛ̀=ỳ*
[house Inan.Sg.E] white-InanSg.E=it.is
'The house is white.'

b. *[tìmɔ̂:* *kó]* *pílɛ̀-ŋgò=ỳ*
[tree Inan.Sg.O] white-InanSg.O=it.is
'The tree is white.'

b. *[tìmɛ̂:* *yé]* *pílɛ̀ỳ*
[tree.Pl Inan.Pl.E] white.InanPl.O=it.is
'The trees are white.'

Some adjectival senses are expressed by terms that are morphosyntactically **adverbials** (§xxx). These may be made predicative by adding the usual

Adverbial *nɛ̀*, plus a conjugated form of *bò-* 'be'. For example, 'lightweight' is *yéréw nɛ̀* as an adverbial, and can easily be made predicative as *[yéréw nɛ̀] bò-* 'be lightweight'.

11.4.2 Adjectival predicates with 'it is' clitic

Some adjectives are attested in a construction with the 'it is' clitic. See §11.2.1 for this clitic and its conjugation. An example is 'new', which does not seem to have a simple inchoative verb. Perhaps we should understand the adjective as being nominal in function, e.g. 'I am a new (one)' and the like.

The adjective takes the appropriate form (for animacy and number), and is followed by *=y* (with tone spread from the left) for any third person subject, or by a pronominally inflected form of the clitic for 1st or 2nd person subject.

(xxx) a. *kàndɛ́:=m̀*
new.Sg=it.is.1SgS
'I am new.'

b. *kàndá:=ý*
new.Pl=it.is
'They are new.'

c. *kàndɛ́:=lá-m̀*
new.Sg=it.is.not-1SgS
'I am not new.'

d. *kàndá:=lá*
new.Pl=it.is.not
'They are not new.'

11.4.3 Inchoative adjectival verbs

A number of adjectives have no predicate form as such. Instead, the corresponding inchoative verb is used. See §9.5 for lists of such verbs. For stative predicate 'X is (adjective)', the verb is followed by the **perfect auxiliary** *jò-* (xxx).

(xxx) Adjectival predicates with perfect *jò-*

gàbí jò-∅ ‘it is tall’; *témbí jò-∅* ‘it is wet’; *téndí jò-∅* ‘it is straight’; *gɔ̀mɛ́ jò-∅* ‘it is rotten’; *gìndɛ́ jò-∅* ‘he/she is big (adult)’; *kúnjɛ́ jò-∅* ‘he/she is old’; *măl jò-∅* ‘it (rope) is tight’; *yɔ̀rɛ́ jò-∅* ‘it is loose, slack’; *măy jò-∅* ‘be hard’

If an adjective has both an inchoative derivative and a predicate-adjective form, either can be used in descriptive predicates (xx2).

(xx2) *nìmí-yò-m* = *nìmó-ndì-jò-m*
be.heavy-Impf-1SgS heavy-Inch-Impf-1SgS
‘I am heavy.’

11.4.4 Negative adjectival predicates (*=lá-*)

Adjectives with predicate forms may negate them by adding ‘it is not’ clitic *=lá-*, which can be conjugated (xx10.

(xx1) *nìm=dá-m̀*
heavy=it.is.not-1SgS
‘I am not heavy.’

If the predicate is expressed by an inchoative verb, it is negated by the regular perfective negative (xx2). These are literally of the type ‘have not become ADJ’.

(xx2) a. *gàbá-lú-m*
be.tall-PerfNeg-1SgS
‘I am not tall.’

d. *nìmó-ndó-lù-m*
heavy-Inch-PerfNeg-1SgS
‘I am not heavy.’

11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 ‘Have’ (*jógò-*)

The positive forms are based on a stem *jógò-*. The negative forms are based on *jògò-ndí-*. The paradigms are in (xx1).

(xx1)	subject	positive	negative
	1Sg	*jógò-m*	*jògò-nú-m*
	2Sg	*jóg-ò:*	*jògò-nd-ó:*
	1Sg	*jógò-∅*	*jògò-ndí-∅*
	1Pl	*jógò-y*	*jògò-ndí-ỳ*
	2Pl	*jóg-è:*	*jògò-nd-é:*
	3Sg	*jóg-è:*	*jògò-ndí-yà*

The 'have' verb follows the NP denoting the possessed entity (xx2).

(xxx) a. *nɛ̌:* *jógò-m*
cow have-1SgS
'I have a cow.'

b. *nɛ̌:* *jògò-ndí-∅*
cow have-PerfNeg-3SgS
'He/She doesn't have a cow.'

11.5.2 'Belong to' predicates

The construction 'X belongs to Y', i.e. 'X is Y's', is expressed as X [Y('s) possession]=it.is, with clitic *=y*. The form glossed 'possession' in this literal translation has distinct forms for animacy, class, and number. In (xxx), the forms are shown along with the final *=y*. It seems likely that at least *gɔ̀* originated as a noun meaning 'thing', but a full paradigm has developed, parallel to those of demonstrative pronouns and definite markers.

(xxx)	singular	plural
Inanimate E-class	*gɛ̀=y*	*yɛ̀=y*
Inanimate O-class	*gɔ̀=y*	*yɛ̀=y*
Animate	*yɛ̀=y*	*bɔ̀=y*

The regular negation of *=y* 'it is' is *=lá* 'it is not', and this is used in the corresponding negations: *gɛ̀=lá*, etc.

If the possessor is a pronoun, the 'possession' noun cliticizes to it. Vowel *o* in a pronoun (3Sg *mó*, 2Sg *ó*) appears as *ɔ*, harmonizing with the *ɛ* or *ɔ* of the 'possession' noun.

(xxx) a. *[tímɔ̂:* *kó]* *mí=gɔ̀=y*
[tree Def.InanSg.O] 1Sg=Poss.InanSg.O=it.is
'The tree is mine.'

b. *[nɛ̀:* *ŏm]* *mɔ́=yɛ̀=y*
[cow.L this.AnSg] [3Sg=Poss.AnSg=it.is]
'This cow is his/hers.'

c. *[táŋà* *ké]* *ɔ́=gɛ̀=lá*
[granary Def.InanSg.E] 2Sg=Poss.Inan.Sg.E=it.is.not
'The granary is not yours-Sg.'

Before a stop, the 1Sg pronoun may have its regular full form *mí*, as in (xxx.a), above, or it may syncopate. In this event, the resulting nasal undergoes point-of-articulation assimilation to the stop. Hence *mí=gɔ̀=y* or *ŋ́=gɔ̀=y* 'it (InanSg.O) is mine', *mí=gɛ̀=y or ŋ́=gɛ̀=y* 'it (InanSg.E) is mine', and *mí=bɔ̀=y* or *ḿ=bɔ̀=y* 'they (An) are mine.' No contraction takes place before *y*.

A textual example is (xxx).

(xxx) *yɛ̌:* *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ̀-∅* *mɛ́⇑,*
woman work(n) work.Perf-3SgS if,
[[ánè *mó]* *kɔ̀]=y*
[[man Def.AnSg] **Poss.InanSg.O]=it.is**
'If a woman did the work, it belonged to the man.' (2005-1a)

12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 'Head' and 'mother' as superlatives

In addition to the productive morphosyntactic constructions covered below, it is worth noting that *nǐ:* 'mother' and *kî:* 'head' can be used in superlatives with senses like 'most important'. Quite independently of Saddam Hussein and 'the mother of all battles', Najamba speakers use 'mother' (along with 'head') in passages like (xx1). In this text, the speaker has commented at length on the pros and cons of farming, herding, and commerce as the three common professions.

(xx1) *kà:* *[nǐ:* *mó]* *mó=ý,*
but [**mother** Def.AnSg] AnSg=it.is,
[[[àdúná *òlè]* *bìrɔ̀:]* *kì:* *díndì]*
[[[world house.L] work.L] **head**.L all]
gìn-à: *mé=ý,*
say.Perf-3PlS if=it.is,
[gɔ́lè: *kó* *yà:]* *[bírɔ́:* *kì:]=ỳ*
[[farming Def.InanSg.O Foc] [work(n) **head**.L]=it.is
'But it's he (= farmer) [focus] who is the mother (= most essential). If they say (= speak of) the head (= chief) of (types of) work of (= in) the entire world, farming [focus] is the head (= chief) of (types of) work.' (2005-1a)

12.1.2 Comparatives with *tóló* 'more' (especially non-subject comparanda)

When the comparanda are **non-subjects**, the 'more/most' expression is always *tóló*, and this form can also occur in subject comparatives (where, however, forms based on verb *ìró-* are more common, see below). The comparandum phrase *X nèn* ('than X') may precede or follow the rest of the clause. In (xx1), the comparanda are objects or adverbials, with the subject held constant. In (xx1.c), we see that a direct object NP containing *gì* may be followed by *nèn* 'than'.

(xx1) a. *[èmbá nèn] yógè tóló tígà:-m*
[sorghum.Pl **than**] millet.Pl **more** know-1SgS
'I know millet more than (I know) sorghum.'

b. *númbè tóló kíyò-m [élɛ́ nèn]*
cow-pea.Pl **more** want-1SgS [peanut.Pl **than**]
'I like cow-peas more than (I like) peanuts.'

c. *[mí gì] tóló ǹdɛ̀ [[ó gì] nèn]*
[1Sg Acc] **more** give.Perf-3SgS [[2Sg Acc] **than**]
'He gave me more than (he gave) you-Sg.'

d. *íyó tóló bìrɛ̀-m [ɲă: nèn]*
today **more** work-1SgS [yesterday **than**]
'I worked more today than (I worked) yesterday.'

e. *íyó tóló bìr-à: [ɲă: nèn]*
today **more** work.Perf-3PlS [yesterday **than**]
'They worked more today than (they worked) yesterday.'

The 'it is' clitic *=y* is often added to *tóló* in textual examples like those in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *[mó tóló=ý [[[dúmɛ́: yé] kùl] mà]*
[AnSg **more**=it.is [[[animal.Pl Def.AnPl] inside] in]
[ó gì] náfɛ́ jòg-â:
[2Sg Acc] benefit(verb) Perfect-Ppl
'Among the (livestock) animals, it (= favorite animal) has benefited you the most.' (2005-1a)

b. *mó tóló=ý [ó nàfâ: kó]*
AnSg **more**=it.is [2SgP benefit.L Def.InanSg.O]
yɛ́ jòg-â:=ỳ
see Perfect-Ppl=it.is
'It (= favorite animal) has seen your benefit (= good treatment) more (than others have).' (2005-1a)

See also (xx1.e) in §13.1.1.3 ('will go in front the most').

12.1.3 'Be better, more' (*ìró-*)

In the sense 'X be better than Y' or 'X be more than Y', a verb *ìró-* 'be better than' or 'be more than', with object complement, is used.

(xx1) a. *[mí gì] ìró-∅*
[1Sg Acc] be.better-3SgS
'He/She is better than I (am).'

b. *[ó gì] ìró-m̀*
[2Sg Acc] be.better-1SgS
'I am better than you-Sg (are).'

c. *nɛ̌: [pègɛ́ gì] ìró-∅*
cow [sheep Acc] be.better-3SgS
'A cow is better than a sheep.'

d. *píyɛ́lì [nùmî: gì] ìró-∅*
ten [give Acc] be.more-3SgS
'Ten is more than five.'

12.1.4 Comparatives with *ìr-ê:*, *ìr-ô:* 'more' (subject comparanda)

The participial forms *ìr-ê:* or *ìr-ô:* (note the falling tone) are used when the subjects of the two respective underlying clauses are compared asymmetrically with respect to a scalar domain of comparison. The lesser comparandum is directly followed by a 'than' particle *nɛ̀n* (elsewhere purposive 'for'). The normal sequence is therefore *[X nɛ̀n] ìrê:* followed by the VP.

If the domain is not explicitly specified, the unmarked interpretation (for human comparanda) is 'older than'.

(xx1) *[mí nɛ̀n] ìr-ê:*
[1Sg than] be.more-Ppl.AnSg
'He/She is older than I (am).'

The domain of comparison may be explicitly specified in a predicate, following the entire sequence ending in *ìr-ê:* or *ìr-ô:*. In (xx1.a-b), the adjectival-verb predicate specifies the domain of comparison. In (xx1.c-d), an adjectival predicate specifies the domain.

(xx1) a. *[mí nɛ̀n] ìr-ê: kúnjɛ́ jò-∅*

[1Sg **than**] **be.more-Ppl.AnSg** be.old Perfect-3SgS
'He/She is older than I (am).'

b. *[ó nèn] ìr-ê: kúnjɛ́ jò-m*
[2Sg **than**] **be.more-Ppl.AnSg** be.old Perfect-1SgS
'I am older than you-Sg (are).'

c. *[mí nèn] ìr-ê: jàlá-m̀*
[1Sg than] be.more-Ppl.AnSg tall-be.3SgS
'He/She is longer (= taller) than I (am).'

c. *[mí nèn] ìr-ê: gàbí jò-∅*
[1Sg than] be.more-Ppl.AnSg be.tall Perfect-3SgS
'He/She is taller than I (am).'

d. *[mó nèn] ìr-ê: gàbí jò-m*
[AnSg than] be.more-Ppl.AnSg be.tall Perfect-1SgS
'I am taller than he/she (is).'

In (xx2), the focal comparanda are again subjects, but this time with transitive verbs.

(xx2) a. *á:màdù [ó nèn] ìr-ê: tígà-∅*
Amadou [2SgS **than**] **be.more-Ppl** know.Stat-3SgS
'Amadou knows more than you-Sg (know).'

b. *[mí nèn] ìr-ê: númbè kwǎ-m̀*
[1Sg **than**] **be.more-Ppl** cow-pea.Pl eat.Fut-3SgS
'He/She will eat cow-peas more than I (eat cow-peas).'

c. *[ó nèn] ìr-ê: bǎyè kéjɛ́ jà-mbò-m*
[2SgS **than**] **be.more-Ppl** stick.Pl cut can-Fut-1SgS
'I can chop wood more (=better) than you (can chop wood).'

In (xx3), there is no single focal comparandum constituent, since the subjects and objects of the two clauses are both disjoint referentially. The entire comparandum clause is nominalized. A fairly literal gloss would be "I know millet(s) more [than [your knowing sorghum]]."

(xx3) *[èmbá ó tìgà-ŋgà kó] nèn]*
[[sorghum.Pl 2SgS know-Stat.Ppl Def.InanSg.O] than]
ìr-ê: yógé tígà:-m

be.more-Ppl millet.Pl know.Impf-1SgS
'I know millet more than the extent to which you-Sg know sorghum.'

For humans and other animates, the form *ìr-ô:* is used when the subject is plural (xx4). For inanimates, following the usual agreement rules, *ìr-ê:* is used for plural subject and for E/E-class singulars, while *ìr-ô:* is used for O/E-class singulars.

(xx2) *[nò-mbò tò-mbó ìr-ô: bé]*
[person-Pl.L Recip-Pl **be.better**-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl]
[jěnjà [bé gì] sàgì-rè-∅]
[God [AnPl Acc] superimpose.Perf-3SgS
'(As for) persons who are better than each other (= unequal in wealth), God has put them one above the other.' (2005-1a)

12.1.5 Comparatives from other verbs

Although direct elicitation always resulted in the comparative constructions describe(d in the immediately preceding sections, a pattern with the same kind of participle seen in *ìr-ê:* (with final falling tone) is attested in the texts with verb *áy\\àyè* 'be weary', in the participial form *ày-ê:*. This occurs both with and without *tóló* in the passage (xx1).

(xx1) *kà: ó tóló=ý ày-ê:,*
but 2SgS **more**=it.is **be.weary-Ppl**,
[[gɔ̀lè-gòlé sɔ̀m] mà] ín nè,
[[farmer beside] in] go Adv.SS,
èbà-kálé mí ày-ê:
merchant 1SgS **be.weary-Ppl**
'But (you say) you are the most tired (= work the hardest). (You) go up to the farmer (and say) "I the merchant am (the most) tired."' (2005-1a)

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 With *dân* 'like'

In (xxx), the two equal comparanda are expressed respectively with *dân* 'like' (§8.4.1) and *là* 'too'. Literal translations are therefore of the type "I too am tall like you."

(xxx) a. *[mó dân] [mí là] gàbí-jò-m*
[3Sg like] [1Sg too] be.tall-Impf-1SgS
'I am as tall as he/she (is).'

b. *[mí dân] [ó là] bìrɛ́ kóndò-mb-ò:*
[1Sg like] [2Sg too] work[n] do.well-Impf-2SgS
'You-Sg work as well as I (work).'

12.2.2 '(Not) so much'

The comparandum phrase *X dân* 'like X' can also be used with a negative predicate, as in (xxx).

(xxx) *[mí dân] bírà-ndí-∅*
[1Sg like] work-Impf-3SgS
'He/She doesn't work like (=as hard as) I (work).'

12.2.3 'Attain, equal' (*gwé*, *dwê:*)

The verbs *gwé* 'go out' or the verb *dwê:* 'arrive; attain, reach' may be used in the sense 'attain the level of, equal (sb, in some respect)'. (In northeastern Dogon languages, 'arrive' is commonly used in this sense, but 'go out' is not.)

In comparatives, the 'go out' or 'arrive' verb is often negated, hence 'X does not equal Y', as in (xx1.a). This is the only way to express 'X is less than Y'. The verb may also be used in positive clauses, expressing a symmetrical comparative (xx1.b) or a mathematical equivalence (xx1.c). The examples here are with 'go out'. The versions with 'arrive' would have *dô:-l-∅* (xx1.a) and *dwê:-jò-∅* (xx1.b-c).

(xx1) a. *[bìrɛ́ kóndó-m̀]*
[work(n) do.well.Impf-3SgS]
ká: [dèlân gí] gǒ-l-∅
but [elder.brother Acc] go.out-ImpfNeg-3SgS
'He works well, but he doesn't equal his elder brother (in work).'

b. *[dèlân gì] gwé-jò-∅*
[elder.brother Acc] go.out-Impf-3SgS
'He is equal to (=as good as) his elder brother.'

c. *[nùmî: mà:] [nùmî: mà:] píyɛ́lì gwé-jò-∅*

[five and] [five and] ten go.out-Impf-3SgS
'Five plus five equals ten.'

gwé 'go out' is also used in the sense 'be enough'.

12.3 'A fortiori' (*sákò*)

The 'a fortiori' word *sákò* is a variant of a widespread regional form.

(xxx) a. *pɔ́:-nôy jògò-nú-m sákò [sǐn nô:y]*
ten-two have-ImpfNeg-1SgS a.fortiori [hundred two]
'I don't have 20 riyals (=100 francs), never mind 100 riyals.'

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

The focalized constituent is fronted. It is optionally, but often, immediately followed by focus particle *yà:*.

When the subject is focalized, special participial forms of the verb replace the usual inflected verb. Non-subject focalization requires the use of the same inflectedverb that would appear in an unfocalized sentence.

Focalized negative clauses are uncommon for pragmatic reasons, but they are grammatical. The invariant participle ending *-è:* is used after the perfective negative future negative, and present negative, after their regular AN suffixes.

13.1.1 Subject focalization

13.1.1.1 Focalized perfective positive (zero suffix) and negative (*-l-è:*)

In the perfective (positive), under subject focalization, the verb has the **regular perfective stem** (not a participle), but omits any pronominal-subject suffix (i.e., it occurs in a form identical to the zero 3Sg). Thus we have *dɛ̀njɛ̀* 'hit' with both 1Sg and 3Pl subjects (xx1.a.b).

(xx1) a. *[mí yà:] [ŋ̀gwɛ̌: mó gì] dɛ̀njɛ̀*
[1Sg **Foc**] [dog Def.AnSg Acc] **hit.Perf**
'It was I [focus] who hit the dog.'

b. *[bé yà:] [ŋ̀gwɛ̌: mó gì] dɛ̀njɛ̀*
[1Sg **Foc**] [dog Def.AnSg Acc] **hit.Perf**
'It was they [focus] who hit the dog.'

c. *[mí yà:] wɛ̀*
[1Sg Foc] come.Perf
'It was I [focus] who came.'

In the **negative**, the verb stem and perfective negative suffix combine in the same way (including irregularities in vocalism) as in main clauses, except that

the stem (and word) is **all-low toned**. The participial suffix *-è:* follows the perfective negative suffix *-l-*.

(xx2) a. *[mí yà:] dèŋà-l-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] fall-PerfNeg-**Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who did not fall.'

b. *[mí yà:] ndà:-l-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] give-PerfNeg-**Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who did not give.'

c. *[ɔ́ gɔ̀ kó yà:] dùmà-l-è:*
[2SgP Poss.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] **Foc**] get-PerfNeg-**Ppl.Foc**
'It's yours (=your benefit) [focus] that you-Pl haven't gotten.' (2005-1a)

13.1.1.2 Subject-focalized present positive (*-nj-è:*) and negative (*-nd-è:*)

In the **present** (positive), participial suffix *-è:* is added to the regular AN suffix *-njò-*, producing *-nj-è:*, under subject focalization. The verb is low-toned.

(xx2) a. *[mí yà:] ènî: bìrà-nj-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] here work-**Pres-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who work here.'

b. *[nùmă: [mí gɔ̀] yà:] jènò-nj-è:*
[hand [1SgP Poss] **Foc**] hurt-**Pres-Ppl.Foc**
'It's my hand [focus] that hurts.

c. *[nùmɛ̌: [mí yɛ̀] yà:] jènò-nj-è:*
[hand.Pl [1SgP Poss] **Foc**] hurt-Pres-**Ppl.Foc**
'It's my hands [focus] that hurt.'

d. *[kwɛ́-ŋgò yà:] mó jènò-nj-è:*
[food-InanSg.O **Foc**] AnSgO bring-**Pres-Ppl.Foc**
'Food [focus] is what takes (= attracts) him (there).' (2005-1a)

In the **negative**, we get *-nd-è:* (cf. regular present negative suffix *-ndí-*), with all-low tones. This form differs only tonally from the corresponding future negative focalized form (see below).

(xx1) a. *[mí yà:] sèmà-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] slaughter-**PresNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who don't slaughter.'

b. *[mí yà:] yà-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] see-**PresNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'it's I [focus] who don't see.'

c. *[mí yà:] yòbà-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] run-**PresNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'it's I [focus] who don't run.'

d. *[mí yà:] màmìlì-yà-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] go.back-**PresNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'it's I [focus] who don't go back.'

13.1.1.3 Subject-focalized future positive (*-mb-ê:*) and negative (*-nd-è:*)

In the **future** (positive), the invariant participle ends in *-mb-ê:* after a low-toned stem under subject focalization. This is (morphologically) the participial equivalent of the 1st/2nd person portion of the regular future paradigm, which has *-mbô-* after low-toned stem. In texts, I sometimes hear low-toned *-mb-è:*, as in (xx1.f).

(xx1) a. *[mí yà:] ìnò-mb-ê:*
[1Sg **Foc**] go-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who will go.'

b. *[fǎntà yà:] ìnò-mb-ê:*
[Fanta **Foc**] go-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
'It is Fanta [focus] who will go.'

c. *[òndò ánà: bé yà:] ìnò-mb-ê:*
[child.Pl.L male.AnPl Def.AnPl Foc] go-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
'It is Fanta [focus] who will go.'

d. *má òmá: tòndì-yò-mb-ê: mà→*
or Far.AnSg bend-MP-**Fut-Ppl.Foc** Q
'or is it the counterpart (= that one) who will bend?' (2005.1a)

e. *kó tóló=ý [gĭr mà] ìnò-mb-ê:⇑*

InanSg.O more=it.is [front in] go-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
'That [focus] is what will go in front the most' (2005-1a)

f. *ŋ̀gú* *àŋgú* *kòndò-mb-è:* *ló⇑,*
Prox.InanSg.O which? do.well-**Fut-Ppl.Foc** Q,
ŋ̀gú *kóndò-mb-è:*
Prox.InanSg.O do.well-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
'What will make this well? This [focus] will make (it) well.' (2005-1a)

In the **negative**, we get a participial form that is segmentally identical to that used in the corresponding present form. In the future negative version, the suffix complex *-nd-è:* is low toned, and the preceding verb stem has a final high tone element and is otherwise low-toned. Compare the regular inflected future negative with suffix *-ndì-* and the same L…H stem tone contour.

(xxx) a. *[mí* *yà:]* *ìnó-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] go-**FutNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who will not go.'

b. *[mí* *yà:]* *sèmá-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] slaughter-**FutNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who will not slaughter.'

c. *[mí* *yà:]* *wó-nd-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] come-**FutNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who will not come.'

13.1.1.4 Subject-focalized progressive (*-mbò b-è:*), negative (*-njò-nd-è:*)

In the **progressive** (positive) construction, the verb with progressive *-mbò* is followed, under focalization, by invariant participial *b-è:* or *jòg-è:* (xx1)

(xx1) a. *[mí* *yà:]* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò* *b-è:*
jóg-è:
[1Sg **Foc**] work(n) work-**Progr** be/have-**Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who will be working.'

b. *[yàwó:* *bé]* *íŋgé* *érà-mbò* *b-è:*
[woman.Pl Def.AnPl] water get.water-**Progr** be-**Ppl.Foc**
'It's the women [focus] who are getting water (at the well).'

In its normal (unfocalized) inflected form, the **progressive negative** is based on a distinct suffix complex *-njò-ndí-*. Under focalization, this becomes participial *-ǹjò-nd-è:*, and the whole word is **low-toned**.

(xxx) a. *mí yà: kwà-ǹjò-nd-è:*
[1Sg Foc] eat-**Progr-Neg-Ppl.Foc**
'It's I [focus] who am not eating'

b. *mí yà: yòbà-njò-nd-è:*
'It's I [focus] who am not running'

c. *mí yà: màmìlì-yà-njò-nd-è:*
'It's I [focus] who am not running'

13.1.1.5 Subject-focalized perfect positive (*j-è:*) and negative counterpart

Under subject focalization, perfect auxiliary verb *jò-* takes the participial form *j--è:*. The main verb remains in its chaining form, but drops tones, so **the entire verb complex is low-toned**. This is easiest to hear when interrogative particle *ló* is added at the end.

(xx1) a. *ǎm wè j-è: ló*
who? come.L **Perfect-Ppl.Foc** Q
'Who has come?'

b. *mí wè j-è:*
1Sg come.L **Perfect-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who have come.'

c. *[mí yà:] yɔ̀bɛ̀ j-è:*
[1Sg **Foc**] run.L **Perfect-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who have run.'

d. *[dùmě-n kó yà:] pàlà-ndí j-è:*
[gain-Nom Def.InanSg.O Foc] small-Inch.L **Perfect-Ppl.Foc**
'The gain (= production) [focus] has become small.' (2005-1a)

The usual perfective negative participle *-l-è:* is used in negative counterparts (xx2)

(xx1) a. *ǎm* *yà:* *wò-l-è:* *ló*
who? Foc come-**PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc** Q
'Who has not (= did not) come?'

b. *ǎm* *yà:* *sèmà-l-è:* *ló*
who? Foc slaughter-**PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc** Q
'Who has not (= did not) slaughter (an animal)?'

13.1.1.6 Subject-focalized past positive (*=b-è:*) and negative counterparts

Under subject focalization, past morpheme *=bè-* takes a participial form *=b-è:*.

In the most common morphological construction, the **past imperfective** (and the past stative) with imperfective *-m-*, the whole word is **low-toned**.

(xx1) a. *ǎm* *tìgà-m=b-è:*
who? know-Stat=**Past-Ppl.Foc**
'Who knew?' (= 'Who used to know?')

b. *[í* *yà:]* *tìgà-m=b-è:*
[1Pl **Foc**] know-Stat=**Past-Ppl.Foc**
'It's we [focus] who knew.'

c. *sěydù* *bìrà-m=b-è:*
S work-Impf=**Past-Ppl.Foc**
'It was Seydou [focus] who was working.'

In the **future-in-past** form, we again get *=b-è:* following a verb ending in imperfective *-m-*, but with future tone contour, i.e., high tone on the stem-final syllable (xx2).

(xx2) *[mí* *yà:]* *màmìlì-yá-m=b-è:*
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-Impf=Past-Ppl.Foc
'It's I [focus] who was going to go back.'

In the **past perfect**, *=b-è:* follows the low-toned perfective form of the verb, without imperfective *-m-*.

(xx3) *[mí* *yà:]* *màmìlì-yɛ̀=b-è:*
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP.Perf=Past-Ppl.Foc
'It's I [focus] who had gone back.'

The corresponding **negatives** are illustrated as follows: past imperfective negative in two variants (xx4.a-b), future-in-past in two variants (xx5.a-b), and past perfect (xx6). The variants reflect differences between my two primary assistants.

(xx4) a. *sĕydù* *bìrà-m = bà-l-è: = bɛ̀*
S work-Impf=Past-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc=Past
'It was Seydou [focus] who was not working.'

b. *sĕydù* *bìrà- = bà-l-è:*
S work-Impf=Past-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc
[= (a)]

(xx5) a. *[mí yà:]* *màmìlì-yá-m = bà-l = b-è:*
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-Impf=Past-PerfNeg=Past-Ppl.Foc
'It was I [focus] who was not going to go back.'

b. *[mí yà:]* *màmìlì-yá-m = bà-l-é:*
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-Impf=Past-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc
[= (a)]

(xx6) *[mí yà:]* *màmílí-yá-l = b-è:*
[1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-PerfNeg=Past-Ppl.Foc
'It was I [focus] who had not gone back.'

13.1.1.7 Subject-focalized stative quasi-verbs

For 'exist, be (somewhere)' (**existential-locational**), both *bô:-* 'be present (here/there)' and low-toned *bò-* 'be (in a specified place)' become participial *b-è:* under subject focalization. The 'be present, be here/there' examples, corresponding to *bô:-* in unfocalized main clauses, are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *ăm* *b-è:*
who? **be-Ppl.Foc**
'Who is (present) here/there?'

b. *[mí bà yà:]* *b-è:*
[1SgP father **Foc**] **be-Ppl.Foc**
'It's my father [focus] who is (present) here/there.'

Examples corresponding to low-toned *bò-* 'be' following a locational expression are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *[ǎm yà:] [sɔ̀nɟɔ́: má] b-è:*
[who? **Foc**] [village in] **be-Ppl.Foc**
'Who is in the village?'

b. *[sěydù yà:] [sɔ̀nɟɔ́: má] b-è:*
[S **Foc**] [village in] **be-Ppl.Foc**
'It's Seydou [focus] who is in the village.'

c. *é àŋgú [[é kèndà:] mà] b-è: ló*
2Pl which? [[2PlP heart.L] in] **be-Ppl.Foc** Q
'(As for) you-Pl, which (= what) is in your heart?' (2005-1a)

The negative counterpart of both *bò-* and *bô:-* has *ònd-è:*.

(xx3) *[sěydù yà:] [sɔ̀nɟɔ́: má] ònd-è:*
[S **Foc**] [village in] **not.be-Ppl.Foc**
'It's Seydou [focus] who is in the village.'

'Have' (*jògà-*) has a participial form *jòg-è:* under subject focalization.

(xx4) a. *ǎm kènjû: jòg-è:*
who? pick-hoe **have-Ppl.Foc**
'Who has a pick-hoe?'

b. *[mí yà:] kènjû: jòg-è:*
[1Sg Foc] pick-hoe **have-Ppl.Foc**
'It's I [focus] who have a pick-hoe.'

13.1.1.8 Subject-focalized forms of other stative verbs

For 'know', the subject-focalization form is *tìg-è:* (xx1).

(xx1) a. *ǎm tìg-è:*
who? know-**Ppl.Foc**
'Who knows?'

b. *mí tìg-è:*
1SgS know-**Ppl.Foc**

''It's I [focus] who knows.'

A fuller list of such statives in subject-focalized participial form, positive and negative, is in (xx2).

(xx2)	gloss	subject-focus participle	comment
	'know'	*tìg-è:*	
	'not know'	*èɲd-è:*	
	'want'	*kìy-è:*	
	'not want'	*kɛ̀l-è:*	
	'can, be able to'	*jà-mb-è:*	future forms
	'cannot'	*jà-nd-è:*	

There is no special subject-focus form of the 'it is' clitic, which has few morphological properties of inflectable verbs.

(xx3) *[mí yà:] [kî: mó]=ỳ*
[1Sg Foc] [head Def.AnSg]=it.is
'I [focus] am the chief.'

13.1.2 Object focalization

The focus particle may follow an object NP, or an object pronominal, with or without accusative *gì*. The verb has its **regular main-clause form** and is therefore inflected for pronominal-subject as well as for AN category.

(xxx) a. *[ɛ́lɛ́ yà:] kíyò-m*
[peanuts.Pl Foc] want.Stat-1SgS
'Peanuts [focus] are what I like.'

b. *[mălfâ yà:] dɔ̀gɛ̀-∅*
[rifle Foc] leave.Perf-3SgS
'It was a rifle [focus] that he/she left.'

c. *[[ó gì] yà:] kíyò-∅*
[[2Sg Acc] Foc] want.Stat-3SgS
'It's you-Sg that he/she likes.'

d. *[ɛ́lɛ́ yà:] kùbò-mbó-m̀*
[peanuts.Pl Foc] eat-Fut-1SgS
'Peanuts [focus] are what I will eat.'

e. *[àtê: yà:] nâ-ndì-∅*
[tea Foc] drink-PresNeg-3SgS
'Tea [focus] is what he/she doesn't drink.'

In the **perfective**, the (inconsistently pronounced) high tone on the final mora of a 1st/2nd person subject suffix is absent (xxx).

(xxx) a. *[[ŋ̀gwɛ̌: mó] gì yà:] dɛ̀njɛ̀-m̀*
[[dog Def.AnSg] Acc Foc] hit.Perf-1SgS
'It was the dog [focus] that I hit.'

b. *[ŋ̀gú yà:] kàn-ò:*
[Dem.Sg Foc] do.Perf-2SgS
'This [focus] is what you-Sg did.'

13.1.3 Focalization of PP or other adverbial

Adverbials may be focalized. The focus particle *yà:* is optionally present, though in practice often omitted (focal status is suggested by the fronting of the adverbial, and by the absence of a pause suggestive of topicalization or scene-setting). The verb has its regular main-clause inflected form.

(xxx) a. *[[sɔ̀njɔ̀: ŋ̀gí] kùl] mà yà:]*
[[village.L Dem.Sg] inside] in Foc]
mí nǎl=b-à:=ỳ
1SgO bear(child)=Past-Pass=it.is
'It is in this village [focus] that I was born.'

b. *ŋ̀gîn tìbɛ̀-∅*
here die.Perf-3SgS
'It is here [focus] that he/she died.'

c. *ŋ̀gîn kwá-njò-y*
here eat-Pres-1PlS
'It is here [focus] that we eat?'

13.1.4 Focalization of postpositional complement

A PP as a whole may be focalized, like other adverbials (see the preceding section). I have no examples where just the complement NP inside the PP is focalized.

13.2 Interrogatives

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives (*ló*, *ma→*)

Examples of clause-final *ló* forming yes/no questions are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *ìn-ò:* *ló*
go.Perf-3PlS Q
'Did they go?'

b. *ìnó-mb-à* *ló*
go-Fut-3PlS Q
'Will they go?'

c. *[mó* *gì]* *dɛ̀nj-ɔ́:* *ló*
[3Sg Acc] hit.Perf-2SgS Q
'Did you-Sg hit him/her?'

If the preceding word (normally a verb or other predicate) has two or more syllables and would normally end in a rising tone, this tone is raised to high by Word-Final R-to-H Raising (xx1) in §3.7.3.4, as in (xx1.c), cf. *dɛ̀nj-ǒ:* 'you-Sg hit'. Final rising tone is regular with 1st/2nd person forms of perfective (positive) verbs.

When an interrogative is presented as a choice between two propositions (such as 'P' and 'not P'), a particle *ma→* with intonational prolongation and raised pitch, is placed after the first option (xx2), and optionally also at the beginning or end of the second option, see §7.2.2.

(xx2) *ìn-ò:* *mà→↑* *ìnò:-ndí⇓*
go.Perf-3PlS or? go-PerfNeg.3PlS
'Did they go or didn't they go?'

In several other Dogon languages (e.g. Jamsay) there is a particle *ma→* that is both the productive yes/no interrogative and the productive disjunctive 'or'

particle. In Najamba, *ma→* has a more circumscribed distribution but it often has both interrogative and disjunctive qualities.

13.2.1.1 Tag-question

There is no tag question (*n'est-ce pas?*) construction. Polar (yes/no) questions are often presented in two-part form, with at least an inflected verb in the second clause, whose polarity value is the opposite of that of the first clause ('Will you go to Bamako, or won't you go?').

13.2.2 'Who?' (*ăm*)

'Who?' is *ăm*, with rising tone. It is here exemplified as subject (xx1.a), object (xx1.b), possessor (xx1.c), and as complement of 'it is' clitic (xx1.d).

(xx1) a. *ăm* *wò-mb-ê:*
who? come-Fut-3SgS
'Who will come?'

b. *kělè* *[ăm* *gì]* *ǹd-ǒ:*
money.Pl [who? Acc] give.Perf-2SgS
'To whom did you-Sg give the money?'

d. *[ăm* *pègè]* *dìbè-∅*
[who? sheep.L] be.lost.Perf-3SgS
'Whose sheep was lost?'

d. *ŏm* *àm=í:*
this.AnSg who?=it.is
'Who is this?'

In (xx1.d), /ăm=i:/ with atonal clitic is realized as *àm=í:* as the contour tone is expressed over the full word form (§3.xxx).

The sense 'who?' is just a special case of the animate singular form of 'which?'; see §13.xxx, below, for the full set of forms.

13.2.3 ‘What?’ (*yèŋgé*), ‘with what?’ (*yèŋgé mâ*), ‘why?’ (*yèŋgé nɛ̀n*, *àŋgú nɛ̀n*)

‘What?’ is *yèngé* in subject, object, or similar function (xxx.a-b). With the ‘it is’ clitic, we get *yéŋgè=y* (xxx.c).

(xxx) a. *yèŋgé* *dŭndà-nj-è:*
what? look.for-Impf-2PlS
‘What are you-Pl looking for?’

b. *yèŋgé* *ó* *dùmɛ̀-∅*
what 2SgO get.Perf-3SgS
‘What has gotten (=afflicted) you-Sg?’

c. *yéŋgè=y*
what?=it.is
‘What is it?’

Among the common combinations of *yɛ̀ŋgɛ́* are *[yèŋgé mâ]* ‘with what?’ (xxx.a) and ‘for what?’ = ‘why?’ (xxx.b).

(xxx) a. *[yèŋgé* *má]* *bírà-nj-ò:*
[what? with] work-Pres-2SgS
‘What do you-Sg work with?’

b. *[yèŋgé* *nɛ̀n]* *w-è:*
[what? for] come.Perf-2PlS
‘Why did you-Pl come?’

13.2.4 ‘Where?’ (*ànî:*, *ăndè*)

ànî: ‘where?’ and its approximative counterpart *ăn-dè* ‘whereabouts?’, like all locationals, can be used in static locative, allative, or ablative function depending on the context (presence/absence of allative or ablative verbs like ‘go’ and ‘leave’).

(xxx) a. *ànî:* *ínò-nj-ò:*
where? go-Pres-2SgS
‘Where are you-Sg going?’

b. *ànî:* *gwè-∅*

where? go.out.Perf-3SgS
'Where did he/she come from?'

c. *ànî:* *kwà-mbó-ỳ*
where? eat-Fut-1PlS
'Where will we eat?'

13.2.5 'when? (*àŋgí sárà*)

'When?' is *àŋgí sárà*, literally "(at) which time?"

(xxx) a. *[àŋgí* *sárà]* *wò-mb-ô:*
[which? time] come-Fut-2SgS
'When will you-Sg come?'

b. *[àŋgí* *sárà]* *[à:lé* *ké]* *tègè-∅*
[which? time] [rain(n) Def.InanSg.E] fall.Perf-3SgS
'When did the rain fall?'

c. *[àŋgí* *sárà]* *nàlè-∅* *ló*
[which? time] bear(child).Perf-3SgS Q
'When did she give birth to a child?' (2005-1a)

d. *[àŋgí* *sárà* *yà:]* *tò-mbó* *jè:rà-mb-ê:*
[which? time Foc] Recip-Pl encounter-Fut-2PlS
'When will you-Pl encounter each other?' (2005-1a)

Note also *àŋgí déŋán* '(on) what day?'.

13.2.6 'How?' (*ànnɛ́*, *àŋìnɛ́*)

The form is variably pronounced *ànnɛ́* and *àŋìnɛ́*, even by the same speaker.

(xxx) a. *ànnɛ́* *bírà-nj-ò:*
how? work-Pres-2SgS
'How do you-Sg work?'

b. *ànnɛ́* *[[pɛ̀gɔ̀lô:* *kó]* *mà]* *ìlɛ̀-∅*
how? [[mountain Def.InanSg.O] in] go.up.Perf-3SgS
'How did he/she go up the mountain?'

The forms *ànné* and *àŋìné* could be analysed as containing Adverbial particle *né* (following a low-toned adverbial stem). For this adverbial-phrase pattern, see (xx1.h) in §8.4.8.1. The transcriptions would then become these: *àn né*, *àŋì né*. One could then compare *àn* and *àŋì* more directly to other interrogatives (*ànî:* 'where?', *àŋgú* 'which?', etc.).

13.2.7 'How much?', 'how many' (*àŋgêy*)

àŋgêy can be translated 'how many?' with a countable noun (xx1.a-b), and 'how much?' with a measurable mass noun (xx1.c). The same form may be used before a postposition. However, the distributive reduplication is *àŋgé-àŋgé* (xx1.d).

(xxx) a. *[nàwó: àŋgêy] jòg-ò:*
[cow.Pl how.many?] have-2SgS
'How many cows do you-Sg have?'

b. *[pègè-mbó àŋgêy] dìb-ò:*
[sheep-Pl how.many?] be.lost.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
'How many sheep were lost?'

c. *[súkàrà àŋgêy] wàjè-∅*
[sugar how.much?] remain.Perf-3SgS
'How much sugar is left?'

d. *[kènjî: àŋgêy mà] bírɔ́: bírà-nj-ò:*
[ax.Pl how.many? with] work(n) work-Pres-2SgS
'With how many axes do you-Sg work?'

e. *[pègè-mbó bé] [àŋgé-àŋgé mà] tùlà-nj-è:*
[sheep-Pl Def.AnPl] [how.much?-how.much in] sell-Prese-3PlS
'(For) how much each (=at what price) do they sell sheep?'

13.2.8 'Which?' (*àŋgú*, etc.)

This is a modifying adjective that induces tone-dropping on the preceding noun.

(xxx) a. *[[sɔ̀ŋjɛ̀:* *ǎy]* *mà]* *ìnè-∅*
[[village.Pl.L which.InanPl?] in] go.Perf-3SgS
'To which village did he/she go?'

b. *[kènjù:* *àŋgú* *mà]* *bìrà-mb-ô:*
[ax.L which.InanSg.O? with] work-Impf-2SgS
'With which ax will you-Sg work?'

The forms for 'which?' agree with the modified noun in animacy, class, and number. The full set of forms is in (xx2). Note that AnSg 2 is also the interrogative 'who? (§13.2.xxx).

(xxx)	InanSg.E	InanSg.O	InanPl	AnSg	AnPl
	àŋgí	*àŋgú*	*ǎy*	*ǎm*	*àbíyè*

13.2.9 'So-and-so' (*má:nì*, *mâ:n*)

The 'So-and-so' word *má:nì*, often pronounced *mâ:n*, is used as a function over personal names of people. It has a plural *mâ:n-bò*. These forms are used by themselves, not combined with nouns. The homophony with *mâ:n* 'grey hornbill' (bird) is probably accidental.

(xxx) a. *má:nì* *ŋgwɛ̀:*
So.and.so dog.L
'the dog of So-and-so'

b. *mâ:n-bò* *ŋgwɛ̀:-mbò*
So.and.so-Pl dog-Pl.L
'the dogs of So-and-so's'

nǒ: tɔ̀mɛ̂:, literally 'one person', is also used in this context, and the pattern may be extended to other nouns: *yɛ̌: tɔ̀mɛ̂:* 'such-and-such a woman', etc.

pùlâ:l (ultimately < Arabic *fulaan*-) is used as a 'such-and-such' term for places and other nonhuman entities. It is combined with a preceding demonstrative, the unmarked form being Proximate; this combination is then juxtaposed to the relevant noun in an appositional construction, so that no tonal interactions occur: *kéŋgè [ŋ̀gí pùlâ:l]* 'such-and-such a place', *dúmɛ́-ŋgó [ŋ̀gú pùlâ:l]* 'such-and-such an animal'.

13.2.10 ‘Whatchamacallit?’

No all-purpose ‘whatchamacallit?’ (French *comment dirais-je?*) form, i.e. a filler used while the speaker tries to remember a name or word, has been recorded. A relevant class noun such as *kóŋgò* ‘thing’ or *kéŋgè* ‘place’ is sometimes used for this purpose.

13.2.11 Embedded interrogatives

Embedded interrogatives occur as complements of ‘know’, especially ‘don’t know’.

(xxx) a. *[ǎm wò-mb-ê: mà→] éndà:-m*
[who? come-Fut-Ppl.AnSg Q] not.know-1SgS
‘I don’t know who is coming.’ (*wò-mbê:*)

b. *mó ǎndè ìn-è: mà→] éndà:-m*
3Sg where? go.Perf-Ppl.AnSg Q] not.know-1SgS
‘I don’t know where he/she went.’

14 Relativization

14.1 Basics of relative clauses

A relative clause in Najamba is essentially an expanded NP. The **head NP** remains in its clause-internal position, but undergoes tone-dropping. The verb, which in main clauses is inflected for pronominal-subject category, becomes a **participle** that agrees with the head NP in nominal features. The AN categories are still marked, but in some cases (present and future positive) by new morphology.

Determiners and non-numeral quantifiers ('all', 'each') are shifted from the end of the head NP to the position following the participle, while possessors, modifying adjectives, and numerals remain with the head NP. The most common post-participial element is a definite morpheme, since the head NP in a relative clause is usually (though not always) definite. The 'all' quantifier is also very common, being used not only in its literal sense (e.g. 'all people who …') but also in broader senses ('whenever anyone …') or simply as a right-edge marker.

In (nearly) all AN categories, the participle has different forms in **subject relatives** and **non-subject relatives**, expressed by tone contours.

Since the usual suffixes on the verb for pronominal subject are not possible, a pronominal subject (in a non-subject relative) is expressed by a **pre-participial subject pronominal**. Pronouns are not allowed as head NPs (#'I who am …').

The relative clause (including the head NP) functions as a NP in the larger syntactic context. For example, a relativized NP may function as complement of a postposition like *mà* 'in' (xx1.a), or it may be followed by a particle (e.g. *là* 'also', *dăn* 'like') of the sort that often follow simple NPs (xx1.b-c).

(xx1) a. *[[bìrɔ̀: yàg-ô: kó] mà]*
[[work.L be.right.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O **in**]
ìŋgì-yɛ́-y mɛ́⇑
stand-MP-1PlS if,
'if we stand on (= practice) the work that one ought (to do)' (2005-1a)

b. *[ìŋgì-n yàg-ê: ké dân]*
[stand-Nom be.right-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E **like**]
ìŋgì-yá-ỳ

stand-MP-Hort.Pl
'let's stop (= end up) in (something) like the position that is right' (2005-1a)

c. *[kòndò-ŋgà* *kó* *là]*
[be.done.well-Pres.Ppl Def.InanSg.O **also**]
jěnjà *[í* *gì]* *téndó-m-ná*
God [1Pl Acc] be.straight-Caus-Hort.3Sg
'May God have us go straight to what is done well also!' (2005-1a)

14.2 Syntax of relative clauses

14.2.1 Tone-dropping on final word(s) of NP in relative clause

Tone-dropping is a crucial feature of relative clauses, since it identifies which of the NPs in the clauses is the head NP. The relationship between ordinary NPs and the same NPs used as head NPs in a relative is indicated in (xx1). Seydou (man's name) here is a possessor. Italicization indicates tone-dropping that occurs already in the ordinary NP (and is carried over to the relative-head NP). Underlining indicates additional tone-dropping that occurs only in the relative-head NP. Square brackets enclose the core NP (noun plus modifying adjectives). Determiners are not shown since, if present, they move from NP-final to post-participial position.

(xx1)	ordinary NP	as head NP ('a/the __ who …')
	[dog]	[dog]
	[*dog* black]	[*dog* black]
	[*dog black big*]	[*dog black* big]
	[dog] five	[dog] five
	[*dog* black] five	[*dog* black] five
	Seydou [*dog*]	Seydou [dog]
	Seydou [*dog*] *five*	Seydou [*dog*] *five*

The following points can be made. First, possessors are insulated from tone-dropping that applies to the head NP as a whole; they are **tonological islands**. (See, however, §14.4 on possessor relatives, where the possessor NP is itself the head NP and the possessed NP is then insulated from tone-dropping). Second, the final (non-possessor) word is usually audibly tone-dropped in a relative-clause head, the only exception being the (textually uncommon) type where the head NP contains both a possessor and a numeral. Third, while numerals and core NPs do not interact with each other tonally in regular NPs, the final word

of the core NP and the numeral are simultaneously and audibly tone-dropped in a relaive-clause head.

Examples are in (xx1) and scattered throughout this chapter. For the tone-dropped words, the regular form is given in parentheses after the free translation. The noun of the head NP is always tone-dropped. In addition, the adjective 'good' in (xx1.a) and the numeral 'three' in (xx1.b) are tone-dropped, while the possesor 'Seydou' in (xx1.a) is unaffected. In a main clause, the core NPs would be, respectively, *bìrɔ̀: síyè-ŋgò*, *nò-mbó tà:ndî:*, and *ŋ̀gwɛ̌:*.

(xx1) a. *[[bìrɔ̀:* *sìyè-ŋgò]* *[bǎ:-ǹ* *mà]*
[[**work(n)**.L **good**-InanSg.O.L] [father-3SgPoss with]
mó *dìn-ɔ̂:* *kó]* *gì,*
AnSgS find.Perf-PplNS Def.InanSg.O] Acc,
bìrɛ́ *nɛ̀,* …
work Adv.SS, …
'(Each person,) having performed the good work that he found with (= learned from) his father, …' (2005-1a) (*bírɔ́:*, *síyè-ŋgò*)

b. *[nò-mbò* *tà:ndì:]* *bármɛ́* *jòg-â:-mbò* *bé*
[**person**.Pl.L **three**.L] be.wounded Perfect-PplS-Pl Def.AnPl
'the three people who were wounded' (*nò-mbó*, *tà:ndî:*)

c. *[séydù* *ŋ̀gwɛ̀:]* *tíb-ɛ́:* *mó*
[**S** dog.L] die.Perf-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the dog of Seydou's that died'

d. *[sɛ̌ydù* *ŋ̀gwɛ̀-mbò* *nùmì:]* *ín-ó:* *bé*
[S dog-Pl.L five.L] go.Perf-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
'Seydou's five dogs who went'

postnominal possessor: 'my three houses that fell'

14.2.2 Restrictions on the head noun in a relative clause

A pronoun may not be the head NP directly. However, a first or second person pronoun may occur at the beginning of a relative clause, in what I take to be an appositional relationship to the actual head NP, which may be overt (*nò:* 'person', plural *nò-mbò* 'people'), or omitted as in (xx1). Note that the pronouns *é* and *í* are at the left edge of the clause (I would say, outside the clause), and do not undergo tone-dropping.

(xxx) *[é* *[bàmàkó* *mà]* *ìnŏ-ŋgà-mbò* *bé* *má]*
[**2Pl** [B in] go-Fut.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl and]
[í *ŋ̀gîn* *wàjă-ŋgà-mbò* *bé* *má]*
[**1Pl** here remain-Fut.Ppl-Pl AnPl and]
jĕnjà *nàŋgŭl* *[jâm* *mà]* *[í* *gì]* *yá:-m-ná*
God next.year [peace in] [1Pl Acc] see-Caus-Hort.3Sg
'You-Pl who are going to Bamako, and we who are staying here, may God make us see (= show us) next year in peace.'

14.2.3 Coordinated relatives with a shared head

It is possible for one relative clause to follow another, with a shared head NP that is not repeated in the second such clause. There is no conjunction.

(xx1) *[nò:* *[yàlî:* *nùmî:]* *jó-ŋgà],*
[person.L [field five] have-Stat.**Ppl**],
[dúmɛ́-ŋgó *jògò-nd-é:]* *tígà:-m*
[animal-AnSg have-StatNeg-**Ppl**.AnSg] know.Stat-1SgS
'I know a man who has five fields and/but who has no animal(s).'

While this type of example is elicitable, in natural Najamba speech the usual construction would be to express the first clause as a chained VP ('a man who, having five fields, has no animal').

14.2.4 Relative clause with conjoined NP as head

Usually a translation like 'the men and women who went to Bamako' is expressed as 'the men who went to Bamako and the women who went to Bamako', so the two entire NPs with their respective relative clauses are conjoined. However, when the predicate involves reciprocal action or some other event type that does not lend itself semantically to this type of conjunction, the speaker has no choice but to express the relative with a conjoined NP as head. In this case, the conjoined NP acts as a **tonological island**, and neither coordinand undergoes tone-dropping.

(xx1) [*[dɔ́gɔ̀:* *mà→]*
[[Dogon.Pl and]
[púlàndù: *mà→]* *já:ŋí-y-ó:* *bé]*
[Fulbe.Pl and] squabble-MP.Perf-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl]
nìŋgá-mb-à:≡ỳ

confine-Fut-Pass≡it.is
'The Dogon and the Fulbe who fought will be locked up.'

14.2.5 Headless relative clause

Most headless relative clauses (those with no overt head NP) in texts are adverbial relatives with an implied head NP 'the time/place/situation in which …'. See §xxx for examples.

Other headless relatives are also attested. In (xx1), the reference is so indefinite that no concrete head NP is possible.

(xx1) a. *[jěnjà [í mà] tàgà-l-è: ké] gì,*
[God [1Pl Dat] create-PerfNeg-**Ppl**.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc
dùndà-mbó-ỳ
look.for-Fut-1PlS
'What (things) God didn't create for us, we will look for (= try to make).' (2005-2a)

b. *[nǒ: gì] kóndò-ŋgà kó má⇑,*
[person Acc] be.good-Pres.**Ppl** Def.InanSg.O and,
[nǒ: gì] ɲàmá-gà-ŋgà kó má⇓,
[person Acc] be.ruined-Caus-Pres.**Ppl** Def.InanSg.O and,
[kó gì] dùmɛ́-y mɛ́
[InanSg.O Acc] get.Perf-1PlS if
'That which makes (=helps) a person, and that which ruins a person, if we have gotten that, …' (2005-1a)

In (xx2), the omitted subject is clearly human, and one could easily rephrase it with overt *nò:* 'a person (who) …'.

(xx2) *[ké gì] dìmbì-yà-ŋgà dîn là,*
[InanSg.E Acc] follow-MP-Pres.Ppl all also,
[láy nè] [ùsfɔ́: má] sájà-ndí-∅
[Emph Adv] [path in] slide-PresNeg-3SgS
'Any person who follows that (path) like that, he certainly does not slide in the road.' (2005.1a)

14.2.6 Preparticipial subject pronominal in non-subject relative clause

In non-subject relatives, the subject is not expressed in the verb as it is in main clauses. Therefore a subject pronominal, as well as a noun-headed full subject NP, occurs in preverbal (more accurately, preparticipial) position. The subject pronoun usually **immediately precedes** the participle, following even an object pronominal (xx1.c) or an immediately preceding chained bare verb like 'go back' in (xx1.d).

(xx1) a. *ŋgwɛ̀:* *mí* *gìy-ɛ̂:* *mó*
dog.L **1SgS** kill.Perf-Ppl Def.AnSg
'the dog that I killed'

b. *dɛ̀ŋàn* *[pɛ̀gɛ́* *mó]*
day.L [sheep Def.AnSg]
bé *sɛ́m-ɛ̀:* *ké*
3PlS slaughter.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day when they slaughtered the sheep-Sg'

c. *dɛ̀ŋàn* *[ó* *gì]* *mí* *y-ɛ̂:* *ké*
day.L [2Sg Acc] **1SgS** see.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day when I saw you-Sg'

d. *wùjí-y* *dɛ̀ŋàn* *màmílí-yɛ́* *mó* *w-ɛ̂:*
turn.around-MP day.L go.back-MP **3SgS** come.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E
'the day when he turns around and comes back' (2005.1a)

However, there are some textual examples where the pronoun occurs before the (low-toned) head noun, as in (xx2). My assistant commented that this ordering is acceptable, as is the alternative with immediately preparticipial subject pronominal (*kòŋgò í kànǎ-ŋgà díndì*).

(xx2) *í* *kòŋgò* *kànǎ-ŋgà* *díndì*
1PlS thing.L do-Fut.Ppl all
'everything that we will do' (2005-1a)

3Sg *mó* and 3Pl *bé* are used in this construction for **inanimate as well as animate** nouns. Therefore such forms as *kó* and *yé* do not occur in this function (i.e. as subject pronominals in non-subject relatives). For example, (xxx.a) shows that 'sun' is an inanimate noun with O-class agreement, and (xxx.b) shows that 'sun' as subject of a subject relative requires O-class agreement on the participle and on the post-participial determiner. However, when 'sun' is

represented by a pre-participial pronoun in a non-subject relative, we get the all-purpose 3Sg form *mó*, which in other morphosyntatic contexts is specifically animate singular. This is seen in (xxx.c), where the noun *ùjúŋgó* is a preclausal topical NP, and is resumed by a 3Sg pronoun in the following adverbial relative clause headed by 'time'.

(xxx) a. *ùjúŋgó* *kó*
sun Def.InanSg.O
'the sun'

b. *ùjùŋgò* *túmb-ò:* *kó*
sun.L sun.rise.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the sun that rose (e.g. this morning)'

c. *ùjúŋgó, [wàkàtì* *mó* *túmb-è:* *ké],* …
sun, [time.L **3SgS** rise.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E], …
'the sun, at the time when it rose, …'

14.2.7 Relative clause involving verb- or VP-chain

In a chain, the final verb takes participial form, and the preceding chained verbs have their usual chaining form. In (xx1.a-b), the final verb *já-* 'can, be able to' takes a participial ending with the relevant AN category marking, while the preceding verb *bìrɛ́* is in the chaining form.

(xx1) a. *nò:* *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *jà-ŋgà* *mó*
person.L work(n) work can-Pres.Ppl Def.AnSg
'the person who can perform work'

b. *nò-mbò* *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *jà-ŋgà-mbò* *bé*
person-Pl.L work(n) work can-Pres.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl
'the people who can work'

c. *nò:* *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *já-nd-è:* *mó*
person.L work(n) work can-PresNeg-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who cannot work'

d. *nò-mbò* *bírɔ́:* *bìrɛ́* *já-nd-ò:* *bé*
person-Pl.L work(n) work can-PresNeg-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who cannot work'

Perfective relative clauses with *jɛ́-* 'finish' (§17.5.1) as the final verb in the chain are in (xx2). Compare *bìrɛ́ jɛ̀-∅* 'he/she has finished working'.

(xx2) a. *nò: bírɔ́: bìrɛ́ j-ɛ́: mó*
person.L work(n) work finish.Perf-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who has finished working'

b. *nò-mbò bírɔ́: bìrɛ́ j-ɔ́: bé*
person-Pl.L work(n) work finish.Perf-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who have finished working'

14.2.8 Final morphemes added to relative clause (non-tone-dropping)

Relative clauses are quite commonly followed by either *dîn* (*díndì*) **'any, all'** or by any of the set of **definite** morphemes (e.g. animate singular *mó*). These morphemes are logically part of the head NP, but they appear after the verbal participle in relative clauses rather than at the end of the head NP proper. These morphemes have **no tonal effect** on the participle.

Many examples throughout this chapter end in a definite determiner (*mó*, *bé*, *kó*, *ké*, *yé*). Some examples of a final universal quantifier are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *kòŋgò wé jòg-â: díndì*
thing.L come have-Ppl all
'every thing that has come' (2005-1a)

b. *òndò: wǒ-ŋgà-mbò bè dîn*
child.Pl.L come-Fut.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl.L all
'all of the children who will come'

In complex relative constructions ('the one who came, and who saw, and who conquered'), the final morpheme occurs once, after the participle of the final clause. The 'all, every' or definite morpheme therefore, among its other functions, serves as a **right-edge marker**, making it easier for the addressee to process such a complex construction. In (xxx), definite *ké* is such a right-edge marker. Note that the entire relative clause (as NP) functions as object of 'believe' and therefore takes accusative *gi*, which also occurs just once, after definite *ké*.

(xx2) *[[bà:-ólé má] ɲă: í dìn-ô:]*
[[father-house in] yesterday 1PlS encounter.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O]
[í gìn-ê:]

[1PlS say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E]
[í ŋw-ɛ̌: *ké]* *gì,*
[1PlS hear.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E **Def.InanSg.E**] **Acc**,
[ké gì] *[yámbí-ndá:* *kó]* *dògá-lá-ỳ*
[InanSg.E Acc] [believe-VblN Def.InanSg.O] leave-HortNeg-1Pl
'What we found (= inherited/learned), what we said, and what we heard formerly in the family, may we not leave (= abandon) believing in it!' (2005-1a)

Demonstrative pronouns (as opposed to definite morphemes) are not common as final morphemes with relative clauses. However, the combination does occur in texts and is readily elicited. Although demonstrative pronouns force tone-dropping on an immediately preceding noun, they do not have this effect on relative clauses. Therefore the participles in (xxx.a-b) have their usual tone contour, which preserves the distinction (tonal only) between future and present participles.

(xxx) a. *ɛ́ŋgú* *nò:* *sèmă-ŋgà* *ŏm*
tomorrow person.L slaughter-FutPpl **Prox.AnSg**
'this person who will slaughter (a sheep) tomorrow.'

b. *nò-mbò* *sèmă-nd-ò:* *èlíyɛ̀*
person-Pl.L slaughter-FutNeg-Ppl.AnPl **Prox.AnPl**
'these people who will not slaughter (a sheep)'

14.2.9 Final morphemes added to relative clause (tone-dropping)

There are no final morphemes that induce tone-dropping on the participle. However, when *dîn* 'all' follows a definite determiner, the latter drops its tone from high to low (e.g. animate plural *bé*, with 'all' *bè dîn*), as always in this sequence of morphemes.

(xx1) *nò-mbò* *sɛ́m-ɔ́:* *bè* *dîn*
person-Pl.L slaughter.Perf-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl.L all
'all the people who have slaughtered (sheep)'

14.2.10 Repetition of head noun

Rarely, the noun from the head NP within the relative clause is repeated after the relative clause proper (without modifiers or determiners). It takes low-toned

form, indicating that the repeated noun is "possessed" by the relative clause proper. This doubling of the noun is more common in Jamsay.

I have only one textual example (xx1).

(xx1) *[[kòŋgò ó dùmă-ŋgà kà] kòŋgò] òndú-∅ kŏy*
[[**thing.L** 2SgS get-Fut.Ppl Top] **thing.L**] not.be-3SgS Emph
'There is definitely nothing that you get.' (2005-1a)

14.3 Morphology of verbal participles in relative clauses

The "verb" of the relative clause is a **participle** that agrees with the head NP in nominal features (but not person). The participle consists, maximally, of the verb stem, an AN (aspect-negation) suffix except in the suffixless perfective (positive), and an ending agreeing with the nominal categories of the head NP. In this morphological type, tones are used to distinguish subject participles (i.e. when the head NP is a subject) from non-subject participles (when the head NP is anything else). However, the present and future participles are specialized.

The relationship between regular inflectable AN stems and their participles is summarized schematically in (xx1). The symbol *-α:* is used for the long-vowel agreement ending (representing *-e:*, *-ɛ:*, *-o:*, and *-ɔ:*), and tone-marking is added to it (for the tones of the stems, see below). "E" means E-stem (as in the perfective), "A/O" the A/O stem.

(xx1)		category	inflected	participle	
				subject	non-subject
	a.	perfective	E	E-*á:*	E-*à:*
		present	A/O-*njò*	A/O-*ŋgà*	
		future	A/O-*m̀*	A/O-*ŋ́gà*	
	b.	perfective negative	A/O-*l*	A/O-*l-á:*	A/O-*l-à:*
		present negative	A/O-*ndì*	A/O-*nd-á:*	A/O-*nd-à:*
		future negative	A/O-*ndì*	A/O-*nd-à:*	

The perfective participle and the various negative participles show class agreement in the form of the final *-α:*, which has an E form and an O form. For animates (including humans), E is singular and O is plural. All inanimate plurals are E. Inanimate singulars are E or O depending on their agreement class. The stems and AN suffixes in the participles for these categories are as for the inflected stems (though there are some tonal differences in the stem). In the perfective (positive) and the perfective negative, the subject participles end in

high-toned *-á:*, while the non-subject participles have low-toned *-à:*. For the present negative and future negative, both subject and non-subject participles end in low-toned à:. In the present negative, the subject and non-subject participles are distinguished by stem tone (the non-subject participles are tone-dropped to all-low). The future negative does not (reliably) distinguish subject from non-subject participles, but its participles are distinguished by tones from the (segmentally identical) present negative participles.

The present (positive) and future (positive) participles have a different structure. Here we find a morpheme *-ŋga-* replacing both present *-ɲjò-* and future *-m̀* (and the latter's allomorph *-mbó-*). Subject and non-subject participles are not distinguished. The *-ŋga-* participles **do not agree** with the E or O class of the head NP, but if the head NP is animate plural, the **animate plural suffix** *-mbò* is added (*-ŋgà-mbò*, *-ŋ́gà-mbò*).

A few examples here will give the flavor (details are in the following sections).

(xx1) a. *nàmà* *mí* *kúb-ò:* *kó*
meat.L 1SgS eat.meat.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I ate'

b. *nàmà* *mí* *kùbò-l-ò:* *kó*
meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-PerfNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I did not eat'

c. *nàmà* *mí* *kùbò-ŋgà-∅* *kó*
meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-Impf-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I eat'

d. *nàmà* *mí* *kùbǒ-ŋgà-∅* *kó*
meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-Fut-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I will eat'

e. *nàmà* *mí* *kùbò-nd-ò:* *kó*
meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-PresNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I do not eat'

f. *nàmà* *mí* *kùbǒ-nd-ò:* *kó*
meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-FutNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the meat that I will not eat'

Examples showing the full set of animacy, class, and gender categories are given in §14.3.1, below (object relatives).

In the subsections below, the symbol *-ɑ:* (with tones: *-ɑ́:*, *-ɑ̀:*, *-ɑ̂:*) represents long-voweled participial endings for agreement classes {*ɛ:, e:, ɔ:, o:*}, or a subset thereof.

14.3.1 Participle of perfective verb (*-ɑ́:*, *-ɑ̀:*, *-ɑ̂:*)

The participle ends in a long-vowel suffix agreeing with the head NP. The suffixes are *-ɛ:* and *-ɔ:* for verbs replacing final /*ɛ*/ in the inflectable perfective stem, and *-e:* and *-o:* replacing final /*i*/, in accordance with vowel harmony. For humans, the *-ɛ:*/*-e:* ending is singular, the *-ɔ:*/*-o:* ending plural. Final tones distinguish subject from non-subject participles.

For all but the three falling-toned verbs, the tone contour of the stem (i.e. omitting the final participial vowel) is either all-high, or {LH} with a single initial low-toned mora, depending on the lexical tone. In (xx1.b-c), the initial mora of the participles is low-toned for 'leave' and 'be born', respecting the lexical {LH} tone contour of these stems that is also seen in the chaining form. The stem-tone formula is therefore XH… where X is the initial-mora lexical variable.

The subject participles of (tonally) regular verbs end in a high-toned long vowel. The non-subject participles end in a low-toned vowel, except that this vowel is falling-toned for monosyllabic verbs (xx1.a), and for {LH}-toned Cv(C)Cv bisyllabics like 'leave' (xx1.b). In other words, the non-subject participles end in a low-tone element that fills the entire final long vowel for most verbs including all trisyllabic and longer stems, but is confined to the final mora when the preceding high tone would otherwise be completely obliterated.

For the three falling-toned verbs, the falling tone is preserved throughout, so the subject and non-subject participles are indistinguishable (xx1.d).

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Perfective	participle	
				subject	non-subject
a.	'come'	*wé*	*wè-*	*w-é:*	*w-ê:*
				w-ó:	*w-ô:*
	'see'	*yɛ́*	*yɛ̀-*	*y-ɛ́:*	*y-ɛ̂:*
				y-ɔ́:	*y-ɔ̂:*
b.	'slaughter'	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sɛ̀mɛ̀-*	*sɛ́m-ɛ́:*	*sɛ́m-ɛ̀:*
				sɛ́m-ɔ́:	*sɛ́m-ɔ̀:*
	'teach'	*bă:rɛ́*	*bà:rɛ̀-*	*bă:r-ɛ́:*	*bă:r-ɛ̀:*
				bă:r-ɔ́:	*bă:r-ɔ̀:*
	'leave'	*dɔ̀gɛ́*	*dɔ̀gɛ̀-*	*dɔ̀g-ɛ́:*	*dɔ̀g-ɛ̂:*

				dɔ̀g-ɔ́:	*dɔ̀g-ɔ̂:*
	‘say’	*gìnɛ́*	*gìnɛ̀-*	*gìn-ɛ́:*	*gìn-ɛ̂:*
				gìn-ɔ́:	*gìn-ɔ̂:*
	‘cover’	*yàmbí*	*yàmbɛ̀-*	*yàmb-ɛ́:*	*yàmb-ɛ̂:*
				yàmb-ɔ́:	*yàmb-ɔ̂:*
c.	‘scrub’	*túgújɛ́*	*tùgùjɛ̀-*	*túgúj-ɛ́:*	*túgúj-ɛ̀:*
				túgúj-ɔ́:	*túgúj-ɔ̀:*
	‘be born’	*nàlí-yɛ́*	*nàlì-yɛ̀-*	*nàlí-y-ɛ́:*	*nàlí-y-ɛ̀:*
				nàlí-y-ɔ́:	*nàlí-y-ɔ̀:*
	‘rinse self’	*sámbílí-yɛ́*	*sámbìlì-yɛ̀-*		
				sámbílí-y-ɛ́:	*sámbílí-y-ɛ̀:*
				sámbílí-y-ɔ́:	*sámbílí-y-ɔ̀:*
d.	‘bring’	*jɛ̂:*	*jɛ̂:-*	*j-ɛ̂:*	*j-ɛ̂:*
				j-ô:	*j-ô:*
	‘arrive’	*dwɛ̂:*	*dwɛ̂:-*	*dw-ɛ̂:*	*dw-ɛ̂:*
				d-ɔ̂:	*d-ɔ̂:*
	‘find’	*dìnɛ̂:*	*dìnɛ̂:-*	*dìn-ɛ̂:*	*dìn-ɛ̂:*
				dìn-ɔ̂:	*dìn-ɔ̂:*

Textual examples of **subject participles** are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *táwɛ̀* *dùmí-y-ɔ́:* *òndú-∅*
maybe get-MP.**Perf-PplS**.InanSg.O not.be-3Sg
‘Basically nothing was gained.’ (*dùmí-yɛ́*)
(lit. “Maybe [what was gained] does not exist.”

b. *[[ó* *bà]* *[ó* *nàl-é:* *mó]]*
[[2SgP father.L] [2SgO bear.child.**Perf-PplS**.AnSg Def.AnSg]]
ó *kélà-∅*
2SgO not.want-3SgS
‘your father who bore (= sired) you doesn’t want/love you.’ (2005-1a) (*năl*)

c. *[ɲă:* *jàŋg-é:* *mó* *yà:]*
[yesterday begin.**Perf-PplS**.AnSg Def.AnSg Foc]
kúmbí-y *jà-mb-è:*
keep-MP can-Impf-Ppl.Foc
‘(Only) one who began yesterday (= in the past) [focus] can maintain them.’ (2005-1a)

14.3.2 Participle of perfective negative verb (*-l-ɑ:*)

In this participle, the stem is segmentally identical to the inflectable perfective negative with suffix *-l-*. This is followed by agreement suffixes *-e:* and *-o:*. For humans, *-e:* is singular and *-o:* plural. In the non-subject participles, the entire word is low-toned. In the subject participles, the suffix is high-toned, and the stem is high-toned except that lexically {LH} stems of two or more syllables have a low-toned stem-initial syllable, and monosyllabic stems that have low tone before perfective negative *-l-* in the inflectable paradigm (realized as rising tone on the stem before the vowelless 3Sg -l-∅) retain this low tone in the participle.

(xx1)		gloss	Perfective Neg	participle	
				subject	non-subject
	a.	'come'	*wò-l-*	*wò-l-é:*	*wò-l-è:*
				wò-l-ó:	*wò-l-ò:*
		'see'	*yà:-l-*	*yà:-l-é:*	*yà:-l-è:*
				yà:-l-ó:	*yà:-l-ò:*
	b.	'slaughter'	*sémá-l-*	*sémá-l-é:*	*sèmà-l-è:*
				sémá-l-ó:	*sèmà-l-ò:*
		'leave'	*dògá-l-*	*dògá-l-é:*	*dògà-l-è:*
				dògá-l-ó:	*dògà-l-ò:*
	c.	'scrub'	*túgújá-l-*	*túgújá-l-é:*	*tùgùjà-l-è:*
				túgújá-l-ó:	*tùgùjà-l-ò:*
		'be born'	*nàlí-yá-l-*	*nàlí-yá-l-é:*	*nàlì-yà-l-è:*
				nàlí-yá-l-ó:	*nàlì-yà-l-ò:*
		'rinse self'	*sámbílí-yá-l-*		
				sámbílí-yá-l-é:	*sàmbìlì-yà-l-è:*
				sámbílí-yá-l-ó:	*sàmbìlì-yà-l-ò:*

Textual examples of **subject participles** are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *[gàjí dùmá-l-é: mó là]*
[snatch obtain-**PerfNeg-PplS**.AnSg Def.AnSg also]
[ànné yà:] *ìŋgì-yá-m̀*
[how Foc] stand-MP-Fut.3SgS
'(Any-)one who has not gotten (something) to appropriate for himself, he for his part, how will he stop (= end up)?' (2005.1a)

b. *jáŋgà* *káná-l-é:,*
study do-**PerfNeg-PplS.AnSg**,
[kòŋgò *mó* *tìgà-ŋgà]* *pàlá-∅*
[thing.L 3SgS know-Pres.PplNS] be.small-3SgS
'One who does not study (= go to school), the thing that he/she knows is small.' (2005-1a)

14.3.3 Participle of present verb (*-ŋgà*)

As an inflected stem, the present has suffix *-njò-* plus pronominal-subject suffix. In the participle, ***-njò-* is replaced by a suffix** *-ŋgà-*. The verb has the A/O stem in both the inflected paradigm and the participles. The participle does not agree with the E or O class of the head NP. However, for human (and other animate) head NPs, the plural suffix *-mbò* is added after the *-ŋgà-* suffix. The **subject and non-subject present participles are identical** (tonally as well as segmentally).

This participle occurs in two tonal variants, one with **all-low tones**, and the other with the typical **((X))H…(L) stem-tone contour** also found in the inflectable present with suffux *-njò-*. There may be subtle differences in usage, but I have not been able to distinguish the meanings. Both variant tone contours are distinguishable from the contour of the corresponding future participles, which always have rising tone on the final stem-syllable.

The variants with all-low tones are illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	Present	participle	
			simple	with Pl *-mbò*
a.	'come'	*wó-njò-*	*wò-ŋgà*	*wò-ŋgà-mbò*
	'see'	*yá-njò-*	*yà-ŋgà*	*yà-ŋgà-mbò*
b.	'slaughter'	*sémà-njò-*	*sèmà-ŋgà*	*sèmà-ŋgà-mbò*
	'leave'	*dógà-njò-*	*dògà-ŋgà*	*dògà-ŋgà-mbò*
c.	'scrub'	*túgújà-njò-*	*tùgùjà-ŋgà*	*tùgùjà-ŋgà-mbò*
	'be born'	*nàlí-yá-njò-*	*nàlì-yà-ŋgà*	*nàlì-yà-ŋgà-mbò*
	'rinse self'	*sámbílí-yà-njò-*	*sàmbìlì-yà-ŋgà*	*sàmbìlì-yà-ŋgà-mbò*

The variants with ((X))H…(L) stem-tone contour are illustrated in (xx2).

(xx2)		gloss	Present	participle	
				simple	with Pl *-mbò*
	a.	‘come’	*wó-njò-*	*wó-ŋgà*	*wó-ŋgà-mbò*
		‘see’	*yá-njò-*	*yá-ŋgà*	*yá-ŋgà-mbò*
	b.	‘slaughter’	*sémà-njò-*	*sémà-ŋgà*	*sémà-ŋgà-mbò*
		‘leave’	*dógà-njò-*	*dógà-ŋgà*	*dógà-ŋgà-mbò*
	c.	‘scrub’	*túgújà-njò-*	*túgújà-ŋgà*	*túgújà-ŋgà-mbò*
		‘be born’	*nàlí-yá-njò-*	*nàlí-yà-ŋgà*	*nàlí-yà-ŋgà-mbò*
		‘rinse self’	*sámbílí-yà-njò-*	*sámbílí-yà-ŋgà*	*sámbílí-yà-ŋgà-mbò*

Textual examples are in (xx3). All-low tones are seen in (xx3.b-d). An example with ((X))H…(L) stem-tone contour is (xx3.a).

(xx3) a. *[[ó kì:]* *mà:mì-n]* *mà]* *bìrɔ́:*
[[2SgP head.L] ability] in] work(n).L
ó *bírà-ŋgà*
2SgS work-**Pres.PplNS**
‘the work that you perform within your own capabilities’ (2005-1a)

b. *bìrɔ́:* *ó* *bìrà-ŋgà* *díndì,*
work(n).L 2SgS work-**Pres.PplNS** all,
[[bírɔ́: *ɔ́* *gɔ́* *kó]* *bǎy* *nè]*
[[work(n) 2SgP Poss Def.InanSg.O] learn Adv.SS]
bírá
work.Imprt
‘(In) every job that you do, learn your work and do (it).’

c. *ó* *ìnò-ŋgà*
2SgS go-**Pres.PplNS**
‘(the place) where you-Sg are going’ (2005-1a)

d. *[[nĕy-ŋgò* *kó]*
[[good-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
[[gĭr *mà]* *ìnò-ŋgà* *kó]*
[[front in] go-**Pres.PplS** Def.InanSg.O]
‘the good (thing), (the one) that goes forward’ (2005-1a)

14.3.4 Participle of future verb (*-ŋgà*)

The regular inflected form of the future verb has 3Sg suffix *-m̀*, and other pronominal-subject forms are based on *-mbó-* (*sèmá-m̀* 'he/she will slaughter', *sèmà-mbó-m̀* 'I will slaughter'). The corresponding participle replaces these suffixes with **suffix** *-ŋgà-*. The preceding stem has a final rising-toned syllable, all preceding stem tones being low, just as in the inflectable future stem. The high tone element is realized on the nasal of *-ŋgà-*. There is no change from subject to non-subject participles. For human (and animate) plural head NP, plural *-mbo* is added (*-ŋ́gà-mbò*).

The future participle is **segmentally identical to the present participle**, and differs only in the tone contour of the stem.

(xx1)	gloss	Future (3Sg)	participle	
			simple	with Pl *-mbò*
a.	'come'	*wǒ-m̀*	*wǒ-ŋgà*	*wǒ-ŋgà-mbò*
	'see'	*yǎ-m̀*	*yǎ-ŋgà*	*yǎ-ŋgà-mbò*
b.	'slaughter'	*sèmá-m̀*	*sèmǎ-ŋgà*	*sèmǎ-ŋgà-mbò*
	'leave'	*dògá-m̀*	*dògǎ-ŋgà*	*dògǎ-ŋgà-mbò*
c.	'scrub'	*tùgùjá-m̀*	*tùgùjǎ-ŋgà*	*tùgùjǎ-ŋgà-mbò*
	'be born'	*nàlí-yá-m̀*	*nàlì-yǎ-ŋgà*	*nàlì-yǎ-ŋgà-mbò*
	'rinse self'	*sàmbìlì-yá-m̀*		
			sàmbìlì-yǎ-ŋgà	*sàmbìlì-yǎ-ŋgà-mbò*

The future participle is used in the '**(know) what to VERB**' construction (xx2).

(xx2) *mí* *kànǎ-ŋgà* *éndà:-m*
1SgS do-Fut.Ppl not.know-1SgS
'I don't know what to do.'

For a different construction meaning '(know) where to go/come', see §10.5.4.

Textual examples are in (xx3). Further examples are in the section on 'before …' adverbial clauses (§15.2.3.5).

(xx3) a. *[íyó [í gì] kòŋgò gò-mǒ-ŋgà]* *éndà:-m*
[today [1Pl Acc] thing.L go.out-Caus-**Fut.PplS**] not.know-1SgS
'I don't know any (other) thing that will get us out nowadays.' (2005-1a)

b. *[yè* *dî→n]* *nèn,*
[InanPl.L all] for,
nì: *bǎl* *mòmbǎ-ŋgà* *mó⇂,*
mother gather assemble-**Fut.PplS** Def.AnSg,
[ándàl *kó]≡ý*
[knowledge Def.InanSg.O]≡it.is
'for all those (things), the mother (= chief) that will gather (them) and put (them) together is knowledge.' (2005-1a)

14.3.5 Participle of present negative verb (*-nd-à:*)

The participle corresponding to present negative *-ndí-* is segmentally identical to the participle corresponding to future negative *-ndì-*, just as the regular inflected conjugations of the two categories are segmentally identical. Again it is tones that distinguish the two.

In the participle, the stem has a **((X))H…(L)** contour, similar but not quite identical to the (X)H…L that the has in its inflected present negative paradigm. The difference between the stem tone contour in the inflected and participial forms is that the final low tone is not obligatorily expressed in the participle (i.e. it does not occur in C*v-* or C*wv-* monosyllabics). The reason for this is presumably that in the participles the suffix itself is low-toned rather than high-toned, so a final low-tone element in the stem can simply merge with the low tone of the suffix.

For subject relatives, the participial ending is *-é:* or *-ó:* depending on agreement. For non-subject relatives, the ending is *-è:* or *-ò:*.

(xx1)	gloss	Present Neg	participle	
			subject	non-subject
a.	'come'	*wô-ndí-*	*wô-nd-é:*	*wó-nd-è:*
			wô-nd-ó:	*wó-nd-ò:*
	'see'	*yâ-ndí-*	*yâ-nd-é:*	*yá-nd-è:*
			yâ-nd-ó:	*yá-nd-ò:*
b.	'slaughter'	*sémà-ndí-*	*sémà-nd-é:*	*sémà-nd-è:*
			sémà-nd-ó:	*sèmà-nd-ò:*
	'leave'	*dógà-ndí-*	*dógà-nd-é:*	*dógà-nd-è:*
			dógà-nd-ó:	*dógà-nd-ò:*
c.	'scrub'	*túgújà-ndí-*	*túgújà-nd-é:*	*túgújà-nd-è:*
			túgújà-nd-ó:	*túgújà-nd-ò:*

'be born'	*nàlí-yà-ndí-*	*nàlí-yà-nd-é:*	*nàlí-yà-nd-è:*
		nàlí-yà-nd-ó:	*nàlí-yà-nd-ò:*
'rinse self'	*sámbílí-yà-ndí-*		
		sámbílí-yà-nd-é:	*sámbílí-yà-nd-è:*
		sámbílí-yà-nd-ó:	*sámbílí-yà-nd-ò:*

I have also heard non-subject participles that were entirely low-toned, but the forms given above are those given by my assistant in careful speech and appear to me to be basic.

Examples showing the difference between subject and non-subject present negative participles are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *nò: yɛ́ kóndò-nd-é: mó*
person.L see do.well-PresNeg-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
'a person who doesn't see well'

b. *kèŋgè ó yɛ́ kóndò-nd-è: ké*
place.L 2SgS see do.well-PresNeg-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'a place where you-Sg do not see well'

Two examples of subject participles with high-toned suffix *-nd-é:* occur in the textual passage (xx3).

(xx3) *[bè dîn] mà là] [hú:ⁿ mă:mà-nd-é:],*
[AnPl.L all] in also] [take! be.capable-**PresNeg-PplS**.AnSg],
[mó dàmb-é: là] òndú-∅,
[AnSg be.like-PplS.AnSg also] not.be-3SgS,
bírɔ́: bàrí-yà-nd-é: là,
work(n) expand-MP-**PresNeg-PplS**.AnSg also,
[mó dàmb-é: là] òndú-∅,
[AnSg be.like-PplS.AnSg also] not.be-3SgS,
'Among all of them, there is no-one who is as unable as he (= farmer) (to say) "here, take (this)!" Likewise, there is no-one who progresses less at work than he (= farmer).' (2005-1a)

14.3.6 Participle of future negative verb (*-nd-à:*)

The participles are based on the inflected future negative with low-toned suffix *-ndì-* following a verb with L…H tones. The participles end in *-è:* and *-ò:* for both subject and non-subject.

For both of my assistants, in positive participles the stem has the same tone contour (L…H) as in the inflected future negative. That is, an initial low tone and a stem-final (presuffixal) high tone are obligatory, with any remaining medial syllables being low tones (monosyllabic R, bisyllabic LH, trisyllabic LLH, etc.). This tone contour insures that the future negative participle is tonally distinguishable from the present negative participle.

One assistant consistently gave the same forms (including tone contour) for the non-subject participles as for the subject participles. In particular, the stem-final high tone element was always audible. In this system, all future negative participles are clearly distinguishable from present negative participles, but at the cost of sacrificing an audible distinction between subject and non-subject future negative participles.

The second assistant, in elicitation, sometimes gave non-subject future negative participles identical to the corresponding subject participles, like the first assistant. I therefore take this pattern to be predominant. However, on other occasions his non-subject future negative participles had all-low tones. In this latter pattern, the distinction between subject and non-subject future negative participles is audibly expressed, but at the cost of merging the non-subject future negative participles with the non-subject present negative participles, which are also all-low toned. This neutralization of categories cannot be recovered (by the listener) from other clues in the relative clause.

I think it likely that this reflects leakage from present negative to future negative, which have considerable semantic overlap (the future is often used in Najamba to make general statements). Especially given the subtlety of the tonal distinctions, some confusion in direct elicitation (using French cues) is not surprising. Therefore the tables in (xx1) are based on the pattern, which I take to be basic, where subject and non-subject future negative participles are identical in form, having the stem-final high tone.

(xx1)	gloss	Future Neg	participle	
			subject	non-subject
a.	‘come’	*wǒ-ndì-*	*wǒ-nd-è:*	*wǒ-nd-è:*
			wǒ-nd-ò:	*wǒ-nd-ò:*
	‘see’	*yǎ-ndì-*	*yǎ-nd-è:*	*yǎ-nd-è:*
			yǎ-nd-ò:	*yǎ-nd-ò:*
b.	‘slaughter’	*sèmǎ-ndì-*	*sèmǎ-nd-è:*	*sèmǎ-nd-è:*
			sèmǎ-nd-ò:	*sèmǎ-nd-ò:*
	‘leave’	*dògǎ-ndì-*	*dògǎ-nd-è:*	*dògǎ-nd-è:*
			dògǎ-nd-ò:	*dògǎ-nd-ò:*

c.	'scrub'	*tùgùjă-ndì-*	*tùgùjă-nd-è:*	*tùgùjă-nd-è:*
			tùgùjă-nd-ò:	*tùgùjă-nd-ò:*
	'be born'	*nàlì-yă-ndì-*	*nàlì-yă-nd-è:*	*nàlì-yă-nd-è:*
			nàlì-yă-nd-ò:	*nàlì-yă-nd-ò:*
	'rinse self'	*sàmbìlì-yă-ndì-*		
			sàmbìlì-yă-nd-è:	*sàmbìlì-yă-nd-è:*
			sàmbìlì-yă-nd-ò:	*sàmbìlì-yă-nd-ò:*

The identity of subject and non-subject participles is illustrated in (xxx.a-b), where the participle is *tùgùjă-nd-ò:* (note the stem-final high tone) in both cases.

(xxx) a.. *nò-mbò* *[sò-ŋgó* *kó]*
person-Pl.L [garment-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
tùgùjă-nd-ò: *bé*
scrub-FutNeg-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
'people who will not scrub the garment'

b. *sò-ŋgò* *mí* *tùgùjă-nd-ò:* *kó*
garment-InanSg.O 1SgS scrub-FutNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
'the garment that I will not scrub'

As in these examples, there are usually clues elsewhere in the relative clause that allow the listener to correctly construe the syntax. For example, the presence of a pre-participial pronominal subject (1Sg) in (xxx.b) is sufficient to recognize a non-subject relative clause. Of course, selectional restrictions on subjects and objects are also helpful when the verb is e.g. 'slaughter', 'eat', 'chop', 'cook', or the like.

14.3.7 Participle of progressive negative verb (*-njo-ǹd-ɑ:*)

The participle is closely related to the regular inflectable stem of this category, which ends in *-njò-ndí-*. In the subject participle, the stem has the same tone contour as in the inflected forms, and the participial suffix is *-é:* or *-ó:* depending on agreement. The non-subject forms are segmentally identical but are all-low toned.

(xx1)	gloss	Progressive Neg	participle	
			subject	non-subject
a.	'come'	*wó-njò-ndì̀-*	*wó-njò-nd-é:*	*wò-njò-nd-è:*
			wó-njò-nd-ó:	*wò-njò-nd-ò:*

	‘see’	*yá-njò-ndí-*	*yá-njò-nd-é:*	*yà-njò-nd-è:*
			yá-njò-nd-ó:	*yà-njò-nd-ò:*
b.	‘slaughter’	*sémà-njò-ndí-*	*sémà-njò-nd-é:*	*sèmà-njò-nd-è:*
			sémà-njò-nd-ó:	*sèmà-njò-nd-ò:*
	‘leave’	*dógà-njò-ndí-*	*dógà-njò-nd-é:*	*dògà-njò-nd-è:*
			dógà-njò-nd-ó:	*dògà-njò-nd-ò:*
c.	‘scrub’	*túgújà-njò-ndí-*		
			túgújà-njò-nd-é:	*tùgùjà-njò-nd-è:*
			túgújà-njò-nd-ó:	*tùgùjà-njò-nd-ò:*
	‘be born’	*nàlí-yà-njò-ndí-*		
			nàlí-yà-njò-nd-é:	*nàlì-yà-njò-nd-è:*
			nàlí-yà-njò-nd-ó:	*nàlì-yà-njò-nd-ò:*
	‘rinse self’	*sàmbìlì-yá-njò-ndí-*		
			sámbílí-yà-njò-nd-é:	*sàmbìlì-njò-nd-è:*
			sámbílí-yà-njò-nd-ó:	*sàmbìlì-njò-nd-ò:*

14.3.8 Participle of perfect verb (*jògâ:-*)

The inflectable perfect construction (‘have VP-ed’) involves an inflected form of either *jò-* or *jògâ:-* (§10.xxx).

Participles based on *jògâ:-* are illustrated in (xx1). In the subject participles, the main verb has its usual chaining form with lexical tones, e.g. {LH} for ‘get up’ (xx1.a-b). In the non-subject participles, **both the participle *jògà:-* and the main verb have low tones** (xx1.c).

(xx1) a. *èndè:* *bèlí-yé* *jòg-â:* *mó*
child.L get.up-MP **Perfect-PplS** Def.AnSg
‘the child who has already gotten up’

b. *òndè:* *bèlí-yé* *jòg-â:-mbò* *bé*
child.L **get.up-MP** **Perfect-PplS-Pl** Def.AnPl
‘the children who have already gotten up’

c. *wàkàtì* *[òndô:* *bé]* *bèlì-yè*
time.L [child.Pl Def.AnPl] **get.up-MP.L**
jòg-à: *ké*
Perfect-PplNS Def.InanSg.E
‘the time when the children have already gotten up’

Textual examples are in (xx2). (xx2.a) is the regular construction as described above. (xx2.b) is an example of a distinct construction where the verb *há:né* 'ought' and the participle *jòg-â:* retain their tones, and the participle is optionally followed by the 'it is' clitic *=ỳ* (in this particular example the option is not exercized).

(xx1) a. *[ó gàn jòg-à: dîn]*
[2SgS **put.in.L** **Perfect-PplNS** all]
'everything you-Sg have put in' (2005-1a)

b. *[[òlè-bàndí má] kán-lé há:né jòg-â:]*
[[house.L-behind in] do-VblN ought **Perfect-PplNS**]
kánà-mb-à:=ỳ=bè-∅,
do-Impf-Pass=it.is=Past-3SgS
[[sɔ̀njɔ̌: kùl] mà] kán-lé há:nè jòg-â:]1
[[village inside.L] in] do-VblN ought **Perfect-PplNS**]
kánà-mb-â:=ỳ=bè-∅ [búndán má]
do-Impf-Pass=it.is=Past-3SgS [open.space in]
'what one was supposed to do behind (= at the edge of) the village, it used to be done (thus), (and) what one was supposed to do inside the village, it used to be done at the open space.' (2005-1a)

14.3.9 Participle of past verb (*=b-è:*, *=b-ɔ̀:*)

A verb form that ends in the **past morpheme** *=bè-* or its negation *=bǎ-l* (/=bà-lí/) in a main clause corresponds to a participle with *=b-ɛ̌:* or *=b-ɔ̌:* in the positive subject participle, and with *=b-è:* or *=b-ɔ̀:* in the positive non-subject participle. The **negative** counterparts have *=bà-l-é:* or *=bà-l-ó:* (subject relative), or *=bà-l-è:* or *=bà-l-ò:* (non-subject relative), but in some combinations the positive participles of *=bè-* are added to an already negated verb. The final vowel variation follows the usual rules for agreement classes.

14.3.9.1 Participle of past imperfective (positive and negative)

The past imperfective contains *-m* as a kind of imperfective morpheme, plus the past clitic (§10.3.1.3).

Positive subject participles are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *nò: ŋgîn bírà-m=b-ɛ̌:* *mó*
person.L here work-Impf=Past-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg

'the person who used to work here.'

b. *nò-mbò* *ŋgîn* *bírà-m = b-ɔ́:* *bé*
person-Pl.L here work-Impf=Past-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who used to work here.'

Negative subject participles are illustrated in in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *nò:* *ŋgú* *kánà-m = bà-l-é:* *mó*
person.L Prox.InanSg.O do-Impf=Past-Neg-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who didn't use to do that'

b. *nò-mbò* *ŋgú* *kánà-m-bà-l-ó:*
person-Pl.L Prox.InanSg.O do-Impf=Past-Neg-PplS.AnPl
bé
Def.AnPl
'the people who didn't use to do that'

Positive non-subject relatives are illustrated in (xx3).

(xx3) a. *[[í* *ŋwà-m = b-è:* *ké]* *mà]*
[[1PlS hear-Impf=**Past-Ppl.InanSg.E** Def.Inan.Sg.E] in]
gwè-∅
go.out.Perf-3SgS
'It (=Najamba community) has left (=ceased to practice) what we (=young people) used to hear about.' (2005-1a)

b. *[sà:gí-mbó* *nô:y* *tà:ndî:]*
[month-Pl two three]
ó *kwà-m = b-ɔ́:* *kó*
2SgS eat-Impf=**Past-Ppl.InanSg.O** Def.InanSg.O
'(They now eat in one day) what you-Sg used to eat in two or three months.' (2005-1a)

c. *[bírɔ́:* *ɲă:* *yàlì:* *é* *gòlà-m = b-è:*
[work(n) yesterday field.L 2PlS farm-Impf=**Past-Ppl.InanSg.E**
dîn] *[gɔ̀lé* *kìrè-ý⇑]*
all] [farm(verb) complete.Perf-1PlS
'(For) every field that you-Pl did farm work on in the past, we-Pl completed the farming.' (2005-1a)

Negative non-subject relatives are in (xx4).

(xx4) a. *í*
1PlS
kwà-m = bà-l-è: = b-è:
eat-Impf=**Past-PerfNeg-PplNS.InanSg.E=Past-Ppl.InanSg.E**
ké
Def.InanSg.E
'what we didn't use to eat'

b. *kòŋgò* *í*
thing.L 1PlS
kànà-m = bà-l-ò: = b-ɔ:
do-Impf=**Past-PerfNeg-PplNS.InanSg.O=Past-Ppl.InanSg.O**
kó
Def.InanSg.O
'the thing that we didn't use to do'

14.3.9.2 Participle of future-in-past

The future-in-past form is segmentally identical to the past imperfective, but it has the characteristic future stem-tone contour with a single final H-tone (§10.3.1.4).

Below are relatives containing, respectively, a positive subject participle (xx1.a), a positive non-subject participle (xx1.b), a negative subject participle (xx1.c), and a negative non-subject participle (xx1.d).

(xx1) a. *nò:* *màmìlì-yá-m = b-ɛ́:* *mó*
person.L go.back-MP-Fut=Past-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who was going to go back'

b. *dèŋàn* *mó* *màmìlì-yá-m = b-è:* *ké*
day.L 3SgS go.back-MP-Fut=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day (when) he/she was going to go back.

c. *nò:* *màmìlì-yá-m = bà-l-é: = b-ɛ́:* *mó*
person.L go.back-MP-Fut=Past-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who was not going to go back'

d. *dèŋàn* *mó* *màmìlì-yá-m = bà-l-é: = b-ɛ́:* *ké*
day.L 3SgS go.back-MP-Fut=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day (when) he/she was not going to go back.

14.3.9.3 Participle of past perfect (positive and negative)

The past perfect (§10.3.1.5) is formed by adding the past clitic to the chaining form of the verb. The relatives below have, respectively, a positive subject participle (xx1.a), a positive non-subject participle (xx1.b), a negative subject participle (xx1.c), and a negative non-subject participle (xx1.d).

(xx1) a. *nò: màmílí-yé=b-ɛ̌:* *mó*
person.L go.back-MP=Past-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
'the person who had gone back'

b. *dèŋàn mó màmílí-yɛ̀=b-ɛ̀:* *ké*
day.L 3SgS go.back-MP=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day (when) he/she had gone back.

c. *nò: màmílí-yá-l-é:=b-ɛ̌:*
person.L go.back-MP-PerfNeg-PplS.AnSg=Past-PplS.AnSg
mó
Def.AnSg
'the person who had not gone back'

d. *dèŋàn mó màmílí-yá-l-é:=b-ɛ̀:* *ké*
day.L 3SgS go.back-MP-PerfNeg-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
'the day (when) he/she had not gone back'

Two **positive non-subject participles** occur in the textual example (xxx). Note that this particular participle type is entirely low-toned. The speaker's point is that one can reverse the ends of a blanket without affecting its functionality.

(xx1) *[sò-ŋgò]-yámbú: kày,*
[fabric-InanSg.O]-covering Top,
[[[nă: ó gɔ̀rɛ̀=b-ɛ̀: ké] gì]
[[[foot 2SgS stretch.Perf=**Past-Ppl**.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc
bìndí nè] … [[kî: gèndè] tíŋá-ndí jà-mb-ò:⇑],
turn Adv.SS] … [[head beside] pass-Caus can-Impf-2SgS],
[[[kî: ó tùŋgɛ̀=b-ɛ̀:] gèndè],
[[[head 2SgS rest.head.Perf=**Past-Ppl**.InanSg.E] beside],
bìndí nè] [[nă: gèndè] tíŋá-ndí jà-mb-ò:]
turn Adv.SS] [[foot beside] pass-Caus can-Impf-2SgS]

‘As for a blanket, having turned (= shifted) the part (= edge of the blanket) where you had (previously) stretched out your legs, you can pass (= shift) it toward the (= your) head, (and) if you turn (= shift) (the part) where (= under which) you had (previously) laid down your head, you can pass (= shift) it toward the (= your) feet.’ (2005-1a)

14.3.10 Participle of defective stative verbs and quasi-verbs

Positive statives like *tígà:-* ‘know’ have two alternative participial formations. One is equivalent to the **present participle** of regular verbs, with suffix *-ŋgà*, as in *tìgà-ŋgà*, human (and animate) plural *tìgà-ŋgà-mbò*. As usual for present participles, all tones are low, and there is no difference between subject and non-subject participles.

(xx1) a. *nò-mbò* *tìgà-ŋgà-mbò* *bé*
person-Pl.L know.L-Pres.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl
‘the people who know’

b. *kòŋgò* *mí* *tìgà-ŋgà* *kó*
thing.L 1SgS know.L-Pres.Ppl Def.InanSgO
‘the thing (= what) I know’

A fuller list of *-ŋgà* participles from statives and quasi-verbs is in (xx2). *jógò-* ‘have’ loses its second stem syllable in the participle.

(xx2)	gloss	inflected	participle	Animate Pl participle
	‘be’	*bò-*	*bò-ŋgà*	*bò-ŋgà-mbò*
	‘can, be able’	*jà-*	*jà-ŋgà*	*jà-ŋgà-mbò*
	‘have’	*jógò-*	*jò-ŋgà*	*jò-ŋgà-mbò*
	‘know’	*tígà-*	*tìgà-ŋgà*	*tìgà-ŋgà-mbò*
	‘be sitting’	*òbò-*	*òbò-ŋgà*	*òbò-ŋgà-mbò*
	‘want’	*kíyò-*	*kìyò-ŋgà*	*kìyò-ŋgà-mbò*

The alternative is a participle constructed by **adding the long-vowel agreement suffixes directly to the stem**. Morphologically, this formation is akin to the perfective participle of regular verbs. The forms are in (xx3). I was unable to elicit forms of this type for ‘can, be able’.

(xx3)	gloss	inflected form	participle	
			subject	non-subject

‘be’	*bò-*	*b-é:*	*b-ê:*
		b-ó:	*b-ô:*
‘have’	*jógò-*	*jóg-è:*	*jòg-è:*
		jóg-ò:	*jòg-ò:*
‘know’	*tígà-*	*tíg-è:*	*tìg-è:*
		tíg-ɔ̀:	*tìg-ɔ̀:*
‘be sitting’	*òbò-*	*ób-è:*	*òb-è:*
		ób-ò:	*òb-ò:*
‘want’	*kíyò-*	*kíy-è:*	*kìy-è:*
		kíy-ò:	*kìy-ò:*

The essential interchangeability of the two participial types is exemplified by (xx4.a-b).

(xx4) a. *nò:* *[mí* *gì]* *tíg-è:* *mó*
person.L [1Sg Ojb] know-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
‘the person who knows me’

b. *nò:* *[mí* *gì]* *tìgà-ŋgà* *mó*
person.L [1Sg Ojb] know-Pres.Ppl Def.AnSg
‘the person who knows me’

The participles of *bò-* ‘be’ are also used in the periphrastic positive **progressive**. Here (as in English) the simple inflected forms are of the type *bírɔ́: bírà-mbò bò-m̀* ‘I am working’, with the uninflectable progressive suffix *-mbò* on the semantically substantive verb, followed by the inflected form of *bò-* ‘be’. The corresponding **progressive participle** is based on the participial forms of *bò-*, i.e. *bò-ŋgà* or one from the set {*b-é: b-ó: b-è: b-ò:*).

(xx5) a. *wàgàtì* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò* *mí* *bò-ŋgà* *dîn*
time.L work(n) work-**Prog** 1SgS **be**-Pres.Ppl all
‘any time when I am working’

b. *nò-mbò* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò* *bò-ŋgà-mbò* *bé*
person-Pl.L work(n) work-**Prog** **be**-Pres.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl
‘the people who are working’

c. *nò-mbò* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-mbò* *b-ó:* *bé*
person-Pl.L work(n) work-**Prog** **be**-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
‘the people who are working’

Negatives of 'have' and of stative stance verbs such as 'be sitting' have inflected forms based on **stative negative** *-ndí-* after low-toned stem (*jògò-ndí* 'he doesn't have', *òbò-ndí* 'he is not sitting'). The corresponding participles are subject *-nd-é:* or *-nd-ó:*, non-subject *-nd-è:* or *-nd-ò:*, after the same low-toned stem (e.g. *jògò-nd-é:*, *ògò-nd-é:*).

The suppletive negative quasi-verb **'not be'** is *òndí* (or *òndú*). Its participles have long-vowel agreement suffixes: subject participle *ònd-é:* or *ònd-ó:*, non-subject participle *ònd-è:* or *ònd-ò:*. Since *òndí* (*òndú*) is also used in the progressive negative (after an verb with uninflectable progressive suffix *-mbò*), these participles are also used in the progressive negative participle.

(xx6) a. *[[sɔ̀njɔ́: kùl] mà] nò-mbò ònd-ó: bé*
[[village inside.L]in] person-Pl.L **not.be**-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who are not in the village'

b. *nò-mbò bírɔ́: bírà-mbò ònd-ó: bé*
person-Pl.L work(n) work-**Prog**-**not.be**-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who are not working'

A fuller set of participles from **suppletive negative statives** is in (xxx). Observe that 'not know' and 'not want' have {*ɛ ɔ*} vocalism in the participles, versus {*e o*} vocalism in the inflected stem, while 'not be' is {*e o*} in both. The subject participles have a high tone, while the nonsubject participles are all-low toned.

(xxx)	gloss	inflected	subject	nonsubject
	'not be'	*òndú-*	*ònd-é:*	*ònd-è:*
			ònd-ó:	*ònd-ò:*
	'not know'	*éndà-*	*énd-è:*	*ènd-è:*
			énd-ɔ̀:	*ènd-ɔ̀:*
	'not want'	*kélà-*	*kél-è:*	*kèl-ɔ̀:*
			kél-è:	*kèl-ɔ̀:*

Examples with participles of 'not know' and 'not want' are in (xxx).

(xxx) a. *nò-mbò énd-ɔ̀: bé*
person-Pl.L **not.know**-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who do not know'

b. *nò-mbò kél-ɔ̀: bé*
person-Pl.L **not.want**-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
'the people who do not want'

c. *[mó nò: kɛ̀l-ɛ̀:] òndú-∅*
[3SgS person.L not.want-Ppl.AnSg] not.be-3SgS
'There is nobody whom he dislikes more.' (2005-1a)

14.3.11 Participle of 'it is' (*=y*) and 'it is not' (*=lá*) clitics

There is no participle based on the positive 'it is' clitic *=y* (and allomorphs). For singular reference, instead of saying e.g. '(the) one who is a dog', one simply says 'a/the dog'. However, one can work around this with a periphrasis when a universal quantifier is added. In this case, the 'it is' expression in its normal form is followed by particle *gà* (elsewhere a topic particle, but also used at the end of factive complements), then by a participle based on *bò-* 'be'.

(xx1) a. *nò: púlàndê:=ỳ gà bò-ŋgà dîn*
person Fulbe.Sg=**it.is** **Top** be-Stat.**Ppl** **all**
'any person who is a Fulbe'

b. *nò-mbò púlàndô:=ỳ gà bò-ŋgà-mbò dîn*
person-Pl.L Fulbe.Pl=**it.is** **Top** be-Stat.**Ppl-Pl** **all**
'any people who are Fulbe'

A participle can be formed from the 'it is not' clitic *=lá*. The participial form is *=l-ɛ̀:*. Compare the examples below with e.g. *ǒm púlàndê:=lá-∅* 'this one is not a Fulbe'.

(xx2) a. *nò: púlàndê:=l-ɛ̀: dîn*
person.L Fulbe.Sg=it.is.not all
'any person who is not a Fulbe'

b. *nò-mbò púlàndû:=l-à: dîn*
person.L Fulbe.Sg=it.is.not all
'any persons who are not Fulbe'

c. *nò: kɔ̀njɛ̀-né=l-ɛ̀: dîn*
person.L beer.L-drink.Agent=it.is.not-Ppl.AnSg all
'anyone who is not a beer-drinker'

d. *[ŋ̀gwɛ̀ gémɛ̀]=l-ɛ̀: dîn*
[dog.L black]=it.is.not-Ppl.AnSg all
'any dog that is not black' (lit. "[any] that is not a black dog")

14.3.12 Participle of passive verb

The passive, really an indefinite-subject form semantically, was described in §10.5. The positive participial form is *-à:*, identical to the inflectable form but without a following 'it is' clitic. (xx1.a) is a past passive, while (xx1.b) is a present passive.

(xx1) a. *[swɛ̀:* *dǎy=b-à:* *yé]* *bàlà-mbó-m̀*
[garment.Pl.L lay.out=Past-Pass.Ppl Def.InanPl] gather-Fut-1SgS
'I will gather the clothes that have been laid out (on the ground).'

b. *íyó* *bìrɔ̀:* *bírà-mb-à:* *kó*
today work(n).L work-Pres-Pass.Ppl Def.InanSg.O
'the work that is done nowadays'

In the negative, the forms I elicited has passive *-à:* followed by a participial form of 'it is not' clitic *=lá-*.

(xx2) a. *swɛ̀:* *dǎy=b-à:=l-ɛ̀:* *yé*
garment.Pl.L lay.out=Past-Pass=StatNeg-Ppl Def.InanPl
'the clothes that have not been laid out'

b. *sò-ŋgò* *dǎy=b-à:=l-à:* *kó*
garment-InanSg.O.L lay.out=Past-Pass=StatNeg-Ppl Def.InanPl
'the garment that has not been laid out'

14.4 Relative clauses by grammatical function of head NP

In the sections below, examples are given of subject relatives and various types of non-subject relatives. Most of the syntactic and morphological features have already been described, but for each type it is useful to see examples showing how the pieces combine.

14.4.1 Subject relative clause

The subject NP (as relative head) undergoes tone-dropping, indicated by ".L" in interlinear. There is no pronominal subject marking (there is always at least an understood head NP). The verb has participial form, agreeing with the head. A

definite determiner or ‘all’ quantifier follows the participle, agreeing with the head. Other complements and adverbials have their regular main-clause form and precede the participle.

(xxx) a. *ànè* *w-é:* *mó*
man.L come.Perf-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg
‘the man who came’

b. *ànè* *wò-ŋgà* *mó*
man.L come-Pres.Ppl Def.AnSg
‘the man who comes’

c. *ànè* *wò-ŋ́gà-∅* *mó*
man.L come-Fut.Ppl Def.AnSg
‘the man who will come’

d. *ànè* *[mí* *gì]* *tígà-ŋgà-∅*
man.L [1Sg Acc] know-Impf-Ppl.AnSg
‘the man who knows me’

e. *ànè* *[mí* *gì]* *énd-è:*
man.L [1Sg Acc] not.know-Ppl.anSg
‘the man who does not know me’

f. *cìnù* *dèŋ-ɔ́:*
rock.L fall.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
‘the rock that fell’

g. *cì-mbò* *dèŋ-ɔ́:*
rock-Pl.L fall.Perf-Ppl.InanPl
‘the rocks that fell’

h. *tàŋà* *dèŋ-é:*
granary.L fall.Perf-Ppl.InanSg
‘the granary that fell’

i. *tàŋè* *dèŋ-é:*
granary.Pl.L fall.Perf-Ppl.InanPl
‘the granaries that fell’

j. *ànè* *dèŋ-é:*
man.L fall.Perf-Ppl.AnSg

‘the man who fell’

k. *ànà* *dèŋ-ɔ́:*
man.Pl.L fall.Perf-Ppl.AnPl
‘the men who fell’

14.4.2 Object relative clause

14.4.2.1 Ordinary object relative clause

The object NP undergoes tone-dropping. The subject, if pronominal, is expressed by an independent pronoun before the verb. The verb is a participle agreeing with the object NP (i.e. with the head). If definite, a definite determiner follows the verb, agreeing in animacy, class, and number with the head NP.

In (xx1.a-d), the head is the animate noun ‘dog’ (or its plural).

(xx1) a. *ŋ̀gwɛ̀:* *mí* *dɛ́nj-ɛ̀:* *mó*
[dog.L 1SgS hit.Perf-PplNS.AnSg Def.AnSg]
‘the dog that I hit-Past.’

b. *ŋ̀gwɛ̀:-mbò* *mí* *dɛ́nj-ɔ̀:* *bé*
[dog.Pl.L 1SgS hit.Perf-PplNS.AnPl Def.AnPl
‘the dogs that I hit-Past.’

c. *ŋ̀gwɛ̀:* *mí* *dènjă-ŋgà* *mó*
[dog.L 1SgS hit-Fut.Ppl Def.AnSg]
‘the dog that I will hit.’

d. *ŋ̀gwɛ̀:-mbò* *mí* *dènjă-ŋgà-mbò* *bé*
[dog.Pl.L 1SgS hit-Fut.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl
‘the dogs that I will hit.’

In (xx2), the head noun is the inanimate O/E-class noun ‘mango’.

(xx2) a. *màŋgòrò* *mó* *j-ô:* *kó*
mango.L 3SgS bring.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
‘the mango that he/she brought’ (*jô:*)

b. *màŋgèrè* *mó* *j-ê:* *yé*
mango.Pl.L 3SgS bring.Perf-Ppl.InanPl Def.InanPl

‘the mangoes that he/she brought’

c. *màŋgòrò* *mó* *jǒ:-ŋgà* *kó*
mango.L 3SgS bring-Fut.Ppl Def.InanSg.O
‘the mango that he/she will bring’

d. *màŋgòrè* *mó* *jǒ:-ŋgà* *yé*
mango.Pl.L 3SgS bring-Fut.Ppl Def.InanPl
‘the mangoes that he/she will bring’

In (xx3), we have an inanimate E/E-class noun ‘village’.

(xx3) a. *sɔ̀ɲjɔ̀:* *mí* *y-ê:* *ké*
village.L 1SgS see.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
‘the village that I saw’

b. *sɔ̀ɲjè:* *mí* *y-ê:* *yé*
village.Pl.L 1SgS see.Perf-Ppl.InanPl Def.InanSg.E
‘the villages that I saw’

c. *sɔ̀ɲjɔ̀:* *mí* *yǎ-ŋgà* *ké*
village.L 1SgS see-Fut.Ppl Def.InanSg.E
‘the village that I will see’

d. *sɔ̀ɲjè:* *mí* *yǎ-ŋgà* *yé*
village.Pl.L 1SgS see-Fut.Ppl Def.InanSg.E
‘the villages that I will see’

Textual examples of object relatives are in (xx4). In (xx1.a), the relative clause (as NP) is the direct object of ‘put’. In (xx1.b), four parallel object relatives are conjoined with *má* ‘and’ at the end of each clause. Each clause in (xx1.b) ends in the same four words *bé sár-è: yé má* (indented), except that in the third clause the participle shifts to *sár-ò:* based on agreement with the head NP (we really should also get *sár-ò:* in the second clause but there is an incantational quality to the "refrain" here which interferes with agreement switches).

(xx1) a. *[[jěɲjà* *kòŋgò* *jò:-l-ò:]* *gì],*
[[God thing.L bring-PerfNeg-PplNS.InanSg.O] Acc],
tòmá *í* *tún-ò:*
only 1PlS put.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O
‘a thing that God didn’t bring, that we we alone put (=brought)’ (2005.2a)

b. *[[í gì] tìmè:*
[[1Pl Acc] tree.Pl.L
bé sár-è: yé má,
3PlS ask.Perf-**PplNS**.InanPl Def.InanPl and,
[kèbè-kèbè]-mbò [í gì]
[beetle]-Pl.L [1Pl Acc]
bé sár-è: yé má,
3PlS ask.Perf-**PplNS**.InanPl Def.InanPl and,
éyyɔ̂: kèrè-nàmâ:-mbò [í gì]
yes bush-meat-Pl [1Pl Acc]
bé sár-ò: yé má,
3PlS ask.Perf-**PplNS**.AnPl Def.InanPl and,
sɔ̀:mè [í gì]
grass.Pl.L [1Pl Acc]
bé sár-è: yé má,
3PlS ask.Perf-**PplNS**.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E and,
'the trees that they have asked us (about), and the beetles that they have asked us (about), and the wild animals that they have asked us (about), and the plants that they asked us (about)' (2005.1a)

14.4.2.2 'What is called "X"'

This construction involves the 'say' verb with suffix complex *-mb-à:*, which I take to be a participial (relative-clause) version of present passive *-mb-à:=ỳ* (10.5.3). The tone contour and vocalism of the 'say' verb here are consistent with this morphological connection. Examples are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *[ŏm yà:] [yógé kèjèmbèlè]*
[Prox.AnSg Foc] [millet.Pl blister.beetle.L]
gínà-mb-à: mó=ý
say-Pres-Pass.Ppl Near.AnSg=it.is
'That (deictic) [focus] is what is called "millet's blister beetle"'

b. *èbíyè yà: [yógé kèjèmbèl-mbò]*
[Prox.AnPl Foc] [millet.Pl blister.beetle.L]
gínà-mb-à:-mbò bé=ý
say-Pres-Pass.Ppl-Pl Near.AnSg=it.is
'Those (deictic) are what are called "millet's blister beetles".'

c. [*kèjèmbèl gínà-mb-à: mó] ên òndí-∅*

[blister.beetle say-Pres-Pass.Ppl Def.AnSg] here is.not-3SgS
'What they call "blister beeter" isn't (found) here.'

For other cases of participial *-mb-à:*, see the 'water for drinking' type compounds in §5.1.10.

14.4.3 Possessor relative clause

The possessor NP is treated like any other relativized NP. The possessor noun is tone-dropped. Interestingly, a tone-dropped possessor noun no longer forces the usual tone-dropping on the following possessed noun, which therefore reverts to its normal tones (as though unpossessed). For example, *kóŋgò* 'thing' and *bárkè* 'blessed state' usually combine as *kóŋgò bàrkè* 'the thing's blessed state'. However, in (xx1.a) *kóŋgò* is relativized on and drops tones to *kòŋgò*, whereupon *bárkè* reverts to its usual tones. (xx1.b) is a similar elicited example.

(xx1) a. *[kòŋgò bárkè] ó kwè jòg-à: díndì*
[thing.L blessedness] 2SgS eat Perfect-PplNS all]
'any thing whose blessedness you have eaten' (2005.1a.01)

b. *[nò: párŋgá] ó jàmìlè jòg-à: dîn,*
[person.L donkey] 2SgS steal.L Perfect-PplNS all,
[ó gì] dìmbirá-m̀
[2Sg Acc] pursue-Fut.3SgS
'Any person whose donkey you have stolen will pursue you.'

14.5 PP relative clause

My assistant omitted simple postpositions (dative, instrumental) in examples like (xx1).

(xx1) a. *[gùlà: té: mí kóyò-ŋgà mó]*
[ax.L firewood 1SgS chop-Pres.Ppl Def.AnSg]
dìbè-∅
be.lost.Perf-3SgS
'The ax with which I chop firewood has been lost.'

b. *[nò: ŋ̀gú mí gìn-ê: mó] ìnè-∅*
[person.L Dem 1SgS say.Perf-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg] go.Perf-3SgS
'The person to whom I told this has gone.'

c. *[òlè mí nàl=b-à: ké] dèŋè-∅*
[house.L 1SgO bear=Past-Passive.Ppl Def.InanSg.E] fall.Perf-3SgS
'The house where (= in which) I was born has fallen.'

d. *[jěnjà, ùsfɔ̃: nò: ǹdɛ́ jòg-â: díndì],*
[God, road person.L give Perfect-Ppl all],
ùsfɔ̃: dùmè-∅
road get.Perf-3SgS
'(If there is) someone to whom God has given the (correct) path, (then) he has gotten the (correct) path. (2005.1a)

Compare *gùlâ: mà* 'with (by means of) an ax', *nŏ: mà* 'to a person' (dative)', *ólé kùl mà* 'in a house'.

The listener must use context to judge the exact grammatical function of the head NP in the examples in (xx1). The distinction between subject and non-subject participles is helpful in this regard. For example, in (xx1.b), the non-subject participle *gìn-ê:* is a clue that excludes the reading 'the person who told me this', which would have *gìn-é:* with final high tone (it would also have 1Sg dative *ḿ mà*). Also relevant is the fact that the postposition *mà* is used in a variety of functions (dative, instrumental, locative, allative, ablative), so its omission in relative clauses is not as serious as it would be in a language that put greater functional load on postpositions.

With a more specific compound postposition that cannot be inferred from context, such as 'under (which)', my assistant produced (xx2). Here the head NP ('tree') has the usual low tone. The postposition, elsewhere low-toned (like a possessed noun), here allows its lexical tones to resurface. In other words, the usual tone-dropping required by the postpositional complement (i.e. possessor) is suspended.

(xx2) *[tìmɔ̀: [dû: mà] bé b-ɔ̃: kó]*
[tree.L [under in] 3PlS be.Perf-Ppl.O Def.InanSg.O]
dèŋè-∅
fall.Perf-3SgS
'the tree under which they were has fallen.'

In effect, the compound postposition has become detached from the noun 'tree' and is expressed as an independent adverbial 'underneath, below, at the bottom'. So this is best not considered to be a simple syntactic expression of a postpositional relative, rather as an alternative phrasing that gets around a structural problem in including a postposition.

15 Verb (VP) chaining and adverbial clauses

15.1 Chaining

15.1.1 Major types of verb and VP chains

15.1.1.1 Compound-like chains with bare verb stem and no linking morpheme

A subjectless VP, perhaps consisting solely of a verb, may be combined with a final (main) clause with fully inflected verb (xx1). In many cases this is the way to express a **complex but conceptually integrated** eventuality using two or more verbs. The nonfinal verbs in the chain have bare-stem form, with no overt subordinator. The subjects of the clauses are understood to be coindexed. The two verbs must be **directly adjacent** (except, in relative clauses, for a preparticipial subject pronominal) suggesting a kind of verb-verb compounding. Additional arguments may precede the chained verbs.

(xx1) a. *dèŋɛ́* *tìb-à:*
fall die.Perf-3PlS
'They fell and died.' (= 'They died by falling')

b. *kwɛ́* *sìnè-m*
eat be.satisfied.Perf-1SgS
'I got full by eating.' (= 'I ate and my hunger was satisfied')

15.1.1.2 Chains with *-mbò* 'and (then)'

In this construction, the temporal clause is subjectless (i.e. like a gerund), and its verb ends in invariant *-mbò*. **This is not the progressive suffix** *-mbò* that is used in the progressive construction (§10.1.3.5), and in chains with progressive aspectual character (next section, below).

In the 'and then' construction, the stem preceding *-mbò* is segmentally identical to the **chaining form**, ending in *ɛ*, *e* or /i/ (the latter is subject to syncope after an unclustered sonorant). The tone-contour formula for the stem is **(X)H…((L))**, hence H-tone for a monomoraic monosyllabic, lexical tones for a bimoraic stem, and lexical tones except for presuffixal L-tone for trisyllabic and longer stems. By contrast, progressive *-mbò* requires the A/O-stem of the verb,

and imposes a stem tone contour ((X))H…(L) that is audibly distinct from (X)H…((L)) with bimoraic stems (HL versus XH). Both the stem-vocalism and tonal differences are clear in the contrast between *dèŋɛ́-mbò* 'fall, and then …' and progressive *déŋà-mbò bò-* 'is falling'.

The main clause following the *-mbò* chained verb is fully inflected, unless that clause is itself subordinated to another clause at a higher level.

This construction competes with bare-stem chains (see just above), since in both cases the two (co-)events in question have some degree of conceptual integration. However, with *-mbò* it is generally easier to tease apart two chronologically sequenced events, and it allows both clauses to be elaborated. Elicited examples are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *dèŋɛ́-mbò* *tìb-à:*
fall-and die.Perf-3PlS
'They fell and died.' (= 'They died by falling.')

b. *kwɛ́-mbò* *sìnè-m*
eat-and be.satisfied.Perf-1SgS
'I got full by eating.' (= 'I ate and my hunger was satisfied')

In one large set of textual examples, the *-mbò* clause is combined with a following **'say' verb** in a subordinated (adverbial) clause, either in the participial form *gìn-ɔ̂:* (§xxx) or in the different-subject subordinated form *gìnè-n* (§xxx). The 'say' verb is frequently not to be taken literally (xx2). The entire construction including the 'say' verb is often best translated with an English **perfect** ('when … has VP-ed').

(xx2) a. *[gɔ̀lɛ́* *kír-mbò]* *ó* *gìnè-n*
[farming complete-**and** 2SgS **say-DS**
'if (you say that) you have completed the farming' (2005-1a)

b. *[íyó* *nò-mbó* *énî:* *wé-mbò]* *bé* *gìn-ɔ̂:*
[today person-Pl here come-**and**]3PlS **say**.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
'Today some people have come here, …' (2005-1a)

c. *kà:* *[bé* *là]* *dùmɛ́-mbò]* *bé* *gìn-ɔ̂:,*
but [AnPl also] get-**and** 3PlS **say**.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
[dàlì:dì *bé* *kànà-ŋgà* *ké]* *dùm-à:* *mɛ́*
[knowledge AnPlS do-Pres.Ppl Def.InanSg.E] get.Perf-3PlS if
'But when they (i.e. whites) themselves have gotten (knowledge), when they get the (esoteric) knowledge to make (e.g. medicines), …' (2005-1a)

d. *[[yàlî: tè:-ŋgò] jê:-mbò] ó gìn-ɔ́:*
[[field firewood-InanSg.O.L]bring-**and**] 2SgS **say**.Perf-InanSg.O
'when you have brought (a bundle of) firewood of (= for) the field' (2005.1a)

In another large set of textual examples, *-mbò* occurs with a following **chained motion verb** (xx3). (xx3.b) also contains the *-mbò* plus 'say' construction illustrated above.

(xx3) a. *[[dòm síyɛ̀-ŋgò] dă:-mbò gw-é: mé là]*
[[speech.L good-InanSg.O]speak-**and go.out**.Perf-2PlS if also]
[[nò-mbó bé] mà] kúmbà = ỳ⇑]
[[person-Pl Def.AnPl] Dat] unawareness=it.is
'If you-Pl have gone out and said good words, the people are unaware.' (2005-1a, first NP slightly emended; /*dàmá-mbò*/ 'speak and')

b. *[hâl íyó] í-mbò [[kɛ́rɛ́ má] săŋ*
[until today] go-**and** [[outback in] now
yàlí-yɛ̀-mbò] í gìn-ɔ́:,
go.around-MP-**and** 1PlS **say**.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O,
màmìlí-yɛ̀-mbò wè-ý
go.back-MP-**and** **come**.Perf-1PlS
'Even today we have gone into the bush (outback) and walked around now, and we have come back.' (2005-1a; /*ín-mbò*/ 'go-and')

c. *íyó [í mà] wé-mbò ŋwɛ̀-∅ kǒy⇑*
today [1Pl Dat] come-**and** **go.in**.Perf-3SgS Emph
'It (= work) has indeed come in to us nowadays (= recently).' (2005-1a)

Other textual examples, **not involving a following 'say' or motion verb**, are in (xx4). In (xx4.a), *-mbò* is close in function to the *nɛ̀* in the preceding parallel segment, and the speaker clearly intends a chronological sequence between 'learn' and 'work' in both segments.

(xx4) a. *[[bírɔ́: ɔ́ gɔ̀ kó]*
[[work(n) 2SgP Poss.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
bǎy nɛ̀] bírá,
learn **Adv.SS**] work.Imprt
[bírɔ́: bǎy-mbò] bírà-njò-nd-ó: mɛ́ díndì, …

[work(n) learn-**and**] work-Progr-Neg-2SgS if all, …
'learn your work and do (it). If you aren't performing your work after first learning it, …' (2005-1a)

b. *[ŋwé-mbò [[é gì] sàrè-∅]] kán-ná,*
[hear-**and** [[2Pl Acc] ask.Perf-3SgS] be.done-Hort.3Sg,
é wé-mbò kúndé [mó mà] dàmgì-yè
2PlS come-**and** one.AnSg [AnSg Dat] speak-MP-Perf
kán-ná
be.done-Hort.3Sg
'(Or) be it that he has heard (and) he has asked you-Pl, or be it that you-Pl came and one (of you) has spoken with him.' (2005-1a)

gìné-mbò 'say and …' is combined with an inflected form of perfect *jògò-* 'have' in (xx5). The context suggests a sense along the lines of 'although (you say/know that …)'. For *gìné-mbò* in purposive constructions, see §17.6.2.

(xx5) [*[bè dîn] [ó dùmè:]=ỳ gìné-mbò jòg-ò:]*
[[3Pl.L all] [2SgP animal.Pl.L] =it.is say-**and** **have**-2SgS]
[ǒm [ó gì] dìmbì-yá-m̀]
[Near.AnSg [2Sg Acc] follow-MP-Fut.3SgS]
[ǒm [ó gì] dìmbí-yà-ndí-∅]
[Near.AnSg [2Sg Acc] follow-MP-FutNeg-3SgS]
'Although all of them are your animals, this one (= the favorite) will follow you (and) this (other) one does not follow you.' (2005-1a)

For *jànjí-mbò* in purposive clauses, see §17.6.1.

15.1.1.3 Chains with progressive *-mbò* '(while) VP-ing'

In the preceding section I took pains to distinguish the 'and (then)' chaining suffix *-mbò* from the progressive suffix *-mbò*. As a reminder, the progressive suffix is based on the A/O-stem of the verb, while the 'and (then)' suffix is based on the chaining form (ending in *ɛ* or /i/, which may syncopate). There are, however, some chain-like constructions where the progressive suffix is in fact present on the nonfinal verb.

This construction may be used in chains ending with a motion verb in senses like 'came singing' (as opposed to 'came and sang'), i.e. where the two co-events are simultaneous; for examples see §15.xxx, below. The construction is also regular in chains ending with a time-of-day verb in senses like 'spend the night singing'; for examples, see §15.xxx, below.

15.1.1.4 Chains with same-subject *nɛ̀* 'and' for events in sequence

The particle *nɛ̀* may be added to a VP ending in a verb in its **chaining form** (§10.1.1). A *nɛ̀* clause is nonfinal in its chain, so the final clause has regular main-clause form. The subjects of the relevant clauses must be coindexed. The particle is glossed 'and.SS' (for "same subject") in interlinears. The events described are understood to occur in sequence.

(xx1) a. *té:-ŋgó kɛ́rɛ́ nɛ̀, [bɛ̀lí-yɛ́ nɛ̀] ìnò-mb-ô:*
firewood-Sg gather **and.SS**, [get.up-MP **and.SS**] go-Fut-2SgS
'You-Sg will gather firewood and get up and go.' (2005-1a.01)

b. *[yɛ́ nɛ̀] éndà:-w*
[see and.SS] not.know-2SgS
'(if) you saw it and didn't know it' (2005-1a.01)

c. *[í yà:] [óbí-y nɛ̀] dôm dámà-nj-è:*
[1Pl Foc] [sit-MP and.SS] speech speak-Pres-Ppl.Foc
'it's we [focus] who sit and speak the words' (2005-1a)

nɛ̀ is also found in same-subject complement clauses with main-clause verb 'want', as in 'I want [to go]'. See §17.4.xxx for examples and details.

Unlike Adverbial *nɛ̀*, which is heard as *nè* after adverbials with {*e o*} vocalism, same-subject *nɛ̀* is invariant in form. An example showing this is *[óbí-y nɛ̀]* (not #*óbí-y nè*) in (xx1.c).

verify no difference between past and nonpast contexts

15.1.2 Morphosyntax of chains

15.1.2.1 Verbal noun of chained verbs

Verbs that are directly chained, without a linking morpheme (e.g. *-mbò*, *nɛ̀*), may form a verbal noun. The nonfinal verb appears in low-toned form as a compound initial.

(xx1) a. *kwè-[sín-lé]* 'eating and (= until) being satisfied'

b. *dɛ̀ŋɛ̀-[tíbí-lé]* 'falling down and dying'

15.1.2.2 Negation of verb chains and 'without VP-ing' clauses

In a direct chain, the only simple way to negate any portion is to negate the entire sequence, with the negative morpheme appearing on the final verb. Therefore (xx1) could be used to deny that the falling and dying took place, or that either one of the component co-events took place.

(xx1) *dɛ̀ŋɛ́* *tíbá-l-∅*
fall die-PerfNeg-3SgS
'He/She didn't fall down and die.'

AN suffixes are not normally permitted in the nonfinal verbs in a chain. However, there is a **'without VP-ing'** construction that includes a perfective negative suffix on the nonfinal verb in the chain. This allows the speaker to selectively negate a nonfinal chained VP.

In (xx1.a), the perfective negative suffix takes the form *-lì*, and is followed by what appears to be a progressive form of *bò-* 'be', the whole phrase being chained to a following verb. This was followed, shortly afterward in the same textual passage, by (xx1.b), which compresses the 'without' phrase into a single verb form. In other textual examples, (xx1.c) is similar to (xx1.a) while (xx1.d) has the same compressed form seen in (xx1.b).

(xx1) a. *[bìrá-lì bó-mbò]* *dùmí-yà-ndí-∅*
[work-**PerfNeg be-Progr**] get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS
'It (= gain) is not gotten without working.' (2005-1a)

b. *[bìrá-l-mbò là]* *dùmí-yà-ndí*
[work-**PerfNeg-Progr** also] get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS
'It (= gain) is furthermore not gotten without working.' (2005-1a)

c. *[áyá-lì bó-mbò]*
[become.weary-**PerfNeg** **be-Progr**]
[kòŋgò ó dùmà-ŋgà kà]
[thing.L 2SgS get-Pres.Ppl Top]
kóŋgò òndú-∅ kǒy
thing not.be-3SgS Emph
'Without (your) getting tired, there is definitely nothing that you get.' (2005-1a)

d. *sà:gú-mbó nô:y,*

month-Pl two,
[táwɛ̀ [ŋ̀gí mà] màmílí-yá-l-mbò]
[perhaps [Prox.InanSg.E in] go.back-MP-**PerfNeg-Progr**]
[[ké mà] bírà-mbò bă-m̀]
[[Near.InanSg.E in] work-Progr remain-Fut.3SgS
'(He may go and stay there) for two months, perhaps without coming back here, he may remain there working.' (2005-1a)

15.1.2.3 Arguments of chained verbs

The issue of possible restrictions on arguments of verbs arises only in the case of direct chaining without intervening linking morphemes (*-mbò*, *nɛ̀*), since the linking morphemes always allow a full set of non-subject constituents in both clauses.

In direct chains, there is normally considerable conceptual integration of the two co-events. In such a direct chain, when both verbs are transitive they normally have the same direct object and other constituents, which are therefore unproblematically expressed before the verb chain (xx1).

(xx1) *gŏn-gó tɛ́ŋɛ́ dòg-à:*
waterjar-InanSg.O set.down leave.Perf-3PlS
'They put (= set) down and left a waterjar.'

In contexts where the two verbs do not naturally have the same complements, the strong tendency in elicitation was to use the looser type of chain construction, with *-mbò* 'and (then)' on the verb of the first clause. This construction allows the two verbs to directly follow their own logically natural constituents.

(xx2) a. *yɔ̀bɛ́-mbò [[gŏn-gó kó] tɛ̀ŋɛ̀-∅*
run-and.SS [[waterjar-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] set.Perf-3SgS
'He/She ran and put down the waterjar.'

b. *[[[dúlé ké] mà] dɛ̀ŋɛ́ ŋwɛ́-mbò]*
[[hole Def.InanSg.E] in] fall go.in-and.SS]
[nà:-gó kó] gìnɛ̀-∅]
[[foot-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] break.Perf-3SgS]
'He fell into the hole and broke his foot.'

Occasionally, we get a bracketing paradox where a constituent to the left of the first verb in a direct chain or one with *-mbò* belongs logically with the second

verb. These are good examples of how a chain can represent the conflation of two co-events into a unified conceptual and syntactic structure.

(xx3) *[gŏn-gó kó]* *ŋwé-mbò* *jènjè-∅*
[waterjar-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] go.in-and.SS pick.up.Perf-3SgS
'He/She went in and picked up the waterjar.'

15.1.3 Recurrent final verbs in chains

Some verbs are especially common in chains.

For example, *găn* **'put'** occurs in *wăl găn* 'ladle (out) and …' = 'serve (food, from cooking pot to eating bowl), *twé găn* 'sow (and) …' = 'oversow (sow seeds in spots where the first seeds did not sprout)', and *èré găn* 'draw (water) and put (it) in (container)'.

Some other common chain-final verbs are described in the following sections.

15.1.3.1 Chains ending in a time-of-day verb

In (xx1), the time-of-day verb such *né:* 'spend night' or *dénέ* 'spend day' specifies a time frame that a chained activity VP more or less fills up. The chained verb occurs in the **progressive** form (which is based on the A/O-stem of the verb, plus suffix *-mbò*).

(xx1) a. *[ɲàm kúndó:] [ŋwànά: ŋwánà-mbò] nè:-ḿ*
[night.L all] [song sing-Progr] spend.night.Perf-1SgS
'I sang all night.' (= 'I spent the night singing.')

b. *[bírɔ́: bírà-mbò] dènè-ý*
[work(n) work-Progr] spend.day.Perf-1PlS
'We worked all day.' (= 'We spent the day working.')

When the time of day is a time interval during which an event (perhaps punctual) took place, a simple temporal adverbial is used (xx2). The noun denoting the time period ('day', 'night', etc.) is the complement of a locative postposition such as *mà* 'in' or *kùl mà* 'inside'.

(xx2) *[ɲám má]* *déŋè-∅*
[night in] fall.Perf-3SgS
'He/She fell down at night.'

15.1.4 Chains including *dɔ̀gɛ́* 'leave' or *swɛ́* 'pour, spill'

As in other Dogon languages, *dɔ̀gɛ́* **'leave, abandon'** may be added to another verb where it would be omitted (but implied) in English. For example, English *I put the kettle down* normally implies (or even entails) that the kettle was left in that position (at least for a time); this is typically made explicit in Dogon languages.

(xxx) *sátàlà:* *bèjí* *dɔ̀gɛ̀-ḿ*
kettle put.down leave.Perf-1SgS
'I put down and left the kettle.'

swɛ́ **'pour, spill'** and its mediopassive *sí-yɛ́* occur in a more abstract sense in several recurrent chain combinations, including *àbí swɛ́* '(rifle) fail to discharge bullets properly' (literally "catch spill"), and in *dɔ̀gɛ́ sí-yɛ́* 'abandon' (literally "leave spill").

15.1.5 Chains including a motion verb or 'pick up, take'

Verbs of **motion** ('go', 'come', 'enter', 'go out', 'go past', etc.) and their transitive counterparts the verbs of **conveyance** ('bring', 'take', etc.) are commonly chained **with no linking morpheme**. Thus *tíŋgɛ́* 'go past' in *tómbí tíŋgɛ́* 'jump over/across', *dɔ̀lɛ́ tíŋgɛ́* 'intrude by overstepping (e.g. into a neighboring field)', *wùjí tíŋgɛ́* '(bird) swoosh by', *gǐy tíŋgɛ́* 'step over (something)'. Examples with *ŋwɛ́* 'go in' include *yɔ̀bɛ́ ŋwɛ́* 'travel to a distant location (for work)' (lit. "run and go in") and *tómbí ŋwɛ́* 'jump in'. Chains with *ŋwɛ́* 'go in' and *gwɛ́* 'go out' are especially useful, in the absence of explicitly directional (allative or ablative) postpositions.

The chain construction with **progressive suffix** *-mbò* on the chained verb is used when the motion event is simultaneous with the other event (xx1).

(xxx) [*ŋwànă:* *ŋwánà-mbò]* *w-ò:*
[song sing-Progr] come.Perf-3PlS
'They came singing.'

When the motion event is followed by the other event, it is usually implied that the motion was undertaken in order to carry out another action. A purposive construction is normal. See §17.xxx, below.

When the motion event follows the other event, no such purposive element is implied. A construction with *nɛ̀* or *mɛ́* may be used.

(xxx) *[ínjé dìyɛ́ nɛ̀]* *wó-m̀-∅*
[water bathe and.SS] come-Fut-3SgS
'He/She will bathe and come.' (= 'Having bathed, he/she will come.')

15.1.6 Chains including *mùlɛ́* 'come together'

mùlɛ́ 'be/do together' may occur in chained VP with *nɛ̀*.

(xx1) *[mùlɛ́ nɛ̀]* *ìnó-mb-à*
[get.together and] go-Fut-3PlS
'They will gather together and go.'

An example like (xx1) can often be translated as 'they will go together'. In English, the act of assembling (before carrying out a joint activity) is usually unexpressed, but in Dogon languages it is usually overt.

However, in Najamba there is also an alternative '(do) together' construction with a simple adverb *sǒ:* (§18.3.3).

15.1.7 Chains with *jógò* 'have/take with'

There is no suppletive chaining form meaning 'taking (something) along'. The quasi-verb 'have' may be used in this sense. In (xx1), *jógò* is chained (as it often is in this construction) to a following motion verb.

(xx1) a. *[mó kà]* *[[kó gì]* *jógò-mbò* *ìnè* *mɛ́*
[AnSg Top] [[InanSg.O Acc] **have-Progr** go.Perf-3SgS if
'if he for his part has gone taking that with him' (2005-1a)

b. *[nǒ: mó]* *[kó gì]* *jógò-mbò* *ìnó-m̀*
[person Def.AnSg] [InanSg.O Acc] have-**and** **go**-Fut.3SgS
'The person will take it along with him.' (2005-1a)

15.2 Adverbial clauses

15.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses based on *gìnɛ́* 'say'

An expression based on *gìnɛ́* 'say' is common at the end of clauses that function as background for subsequent clauses.

There are two constructions. First, *gìnɛ́* may occur with regular inflection, followed by conditional *mɛ́* 'if/when'. Or it may occur in a (generally headless) non-subject relative in the participial form *gìn-ɔ̂:*.

Sometimes the reference is to actual speech, or to articulated thought. Often, however, no actual speech or thought is referred to, in which case it is best to disregard the 'say' expression in the free translation. Often the main function is to specify a **temporal sequence** between the event denoted by the clause under the scope of 'say', and that denoted by the following main clause.

15.2.1.1 Inflected form of *gìnɛ́* 'say' plus *mɛ́* 'if/when …'

mɛ́ is a high-frequency clause-final 'if/when …' particle, most often combining with a preceding perfective verb. The combination with an inflected form (often 3Sg) of *gìnɛ̀-* 'say-Perfective' often combines with a preceding main clause as a kind of temporal adverbial clause. In (xx1), for example, what translates literally as 'if/when he has said' is tacked onto what is already an explicit temporal clause (with low-toned 'day' as head of a relative). As in this case, there may never have been an actual speech event to report.

(xx1) *[[èndè kɔ́njɛ̂ ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m mó] gì]*
[[child.L newborn bawling Def.AnSg] Acc]
ó jò-ŋgà ké,
2SgS have-Ppl Def.InanSg.E,
dèŋàn [ó mà] mó néndá-nd-è:
day.L [2Sg Dat] AnSgS bad-Inch.Perf-PplNS.AnSg
gìnè-∅ mɛ́,
say.Perf-3SgS **if**,
tílày, [mó gì] dìmbì-yà-mb-ô:
necessary, [AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut-2SgS
'When you have a crying young baby, the day when it becomes nasty with you (= cries a lot), you have no choice but to follow (= obey) him.' (2005-2a)

15.2.1.2 Participial and subordinated forms of *gìné* 'say' (*gìn-ɔ̂:*, *gìnè-n*)

A perfective non-subject participle of *gìné*, namely *gìn-ɔ̂:* (inanimate singular O form), occurs in this construction after a chained clause with suffix *-mbò* 'and'. The syntax is that of a non-subject relative clause based on 'say'. The form *gìn-ɔ̂:* is immediately preceded by a pronominal subject marker. In (xx1.a), we may equate the 3Pl subject pronominal with 'Muslims' (subject of the preceding chained clause), but in (xx1.b) the 3Sg subject pronominal seems *pro forma*.

The construction commonly has perfect value, i.e. it indicates that the eventuality in question precedes in time that denoted by the following clause. The two clauses may have same or different subjects.

(xx1) a. *[[àlsìlâ:m mɔ̀mbí-yè-mbò] bé gìn-ɔ̂:]*
[[Muslim gather-MP-and] **3PlS** **say.Perf**-Ppl.InanSg.O
[dúwâ: kàn-à: mé]
[blessing do.Perf-3PlS if]
'when the Muslims had gathered and performed the blessing, …' (2005-1a)

b. *íyó [yè:-jíŋgán má⇒] [èndê: ìnèn-tùn-lè mà→↑]*
today [marriage and] [child name-put-VblN.L and]
[yè dîn] wé-mbò kégírí-yè-mbò
[InanPl.L all] come-and align-MP-and
mó gìn-ɔ̂:,
3SgS **say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O**,
[àŋgú tóló≡ý gìndɔ́:=ỳ mà→]
[which? more≡it.is big.InanSg.O=it.is Q]
ká:-ŋgó=ý
debate-InanSg.O=it.is
'Nowadays, a wedding (= marrying women) and a child's name-giving, (now that) both have come and become equal (in cost), which (of them) is bigger (= more expensive) is a (subject for) debate.' (2005-1a)

When the subjects of the two clauses are distinct, one may also use the different-subject subordinated form *gìnè-n*. See (xx6.a) in §15.2.3.6.

15.2.2 'Since …' clauses (*jă:*)

jă: 'since' (cf. Songhay *zǎ:, including *já:* in Koyra Chiini) is placed at the beginning of the 'since' clause, which takes the form of a (headless) relative

clause, with final *mà* ‘in’. It does not matter whether or not the ‘since’ clause and the main clause have the same subjects.

(xx1) a. *[[jă:* *mó* *w-ê:]* *mà]* *gó-l-∅*
[[since 3SgS come-Ppl] in] go.out-PerfNeg-3SgS
‘Since she came, she hasn’t gone out.’

b. *[[jă:* *mó* *w-ê:]* *mà]* *mó* *yà:-lú-m*
[[since 3SgS come-Ppl] in] 3SgO see-PerfNeg-1SgS
‘Since she came, I haven’t seen her.’

15.2.3 Other temporal adverbial clauses

15.2.3.1 Temporal anteriority, same-subject (*jé-mbò* ‘after having …’)

When the subjects of the temporal and main clauses are shared, the temporal clause ends in invariant *jé-mbò*, i.e. *jé-* ‘finish’ (§17.5.1) plus subordinator *-mbò* ‘and (then)’ (§15.1.1.2). We may translate freely as ‘after having (finished) …’ or ‘when … had (finished)’.

(xxx) a. *[kwɛ́* *jé-mbò]* *ínè-∅*
[eat finish-and] go.Perf-3SgS
‘When he had finished eating, he went.’

b. *[kwɛ́* *jé-mbò]* *ínè-y*
[eat finish-and] go.Perf-1PlS
‘When we had finished eating, we went.’

15.2.3.2 Temporal anteriority, different-subject (*j-ê:*, *bándì mà*)

When the subjects of the temporal and main clauses are divergent, we find a relative clause structure with the logical head (‘time’ or the like) omitted. The temporal clause ends in a participial form *j-ê:* ‘finish’ following the regular verb (in bare-stem form). If there is a pronominal subject, it is expressed by an independent pronoun.

(xxx) a. *[mó* *kwɛ́* *j-ê:* *ké]* *ìnè-y*
[3SgS eat finish-Ppl Def.InanSg.E] go.Perf-1PlS
‘When he/she had finished eating, we went.’

b. *[í* *kwɛ́* *j-ɛ̂:* *ké]* *ìnè-∅*
[1PlS eat finish-Ppl Def.InanSg.E] go.Perf-3SgS
'When we had finished eating, he/she went.'

It is also possible to express the temporal sequence more explicitly by adding the complex postposition *bándì mà* 'after'.

(xxx) *[mó* *kwɛ́* *j-ɛ̂:* *bándì* *mà]* *ìnè-ý*
[3Sg eat finish-Ppl after in] go.Perf-1PlS
'After he finished eating, we went.'

15.2.3.3 Temporal simultaneity (*kùl mà* 'while …')

The complex postposition *kùl mà* 'inside' can be used with a (headless) temporal relative clause '(the time) when …' to produce a temporal clause specifying temporal simultaneity 'while …'. The subject is expressed within the temporal clause, at least by an independent pronoun. Therefore there is no difference in the form of the temporal clause depending on whether or not the main clause has the same subject.

(xxx) a. *[[bírɔ́:* *mí* *bírà-ŋgà-∅* *ké]*
[[work(n) 1SgS work-Impf-Ppl.InanSg Def.InanSg.E]
kùl *mà]* *gó-nù-m*
inside in] go.out-ImpfNeg-1SgS
'When I am working, I don't go out.'

(xxx) a. *[[bírɔ́:* *mí* *bírà-ŋgà-∅* *ké]*
[[work(n) 1SgS work-Impf-Ppl.InanSg Def.InanSg.E]
kùl *mà]* *gǒ-ndì-∅*
inside in] go.out-FutNeg-3SgS
'When I am working, he/she won't (= doesn't) go out.'

15.2.3.4 Noun-headed temporal clause ('the time when …')

In this construction, the 'time' noun (often omitted) is overtly present. The lexical forms of the nouns are *wákátì* (< Fulfulde) and *sárà*, but as relative heads they appear hear in tone-dropped form (*wàkàtì*, *sàrà*). The 'time' noun may appear anywhere in the clause prior to the participle. In (xx1), the two 'time' nouns are interchangeable.

(xx1) *[[kǎ:-mbò* *bé]*
[[grasshopper-Pl Def.AnPl]
wàkàtì *w-ê:* *ké]*
sàrà
time.L come.Perf-Ppl.AnPl Def.InanSg]
'(at) the time when the grasshoppers (=locusts) came'

déŋán 'day' in low-toned form *dèŋàn* is also common in temporal relatives ('the day when …'. Examples are in §14.2.6 and §14.3.9.2.

15.2.3.5 Reverse anteriority ('before …')

The 'before …' clause may precede or follow the main clause. It consists of a headless relative clause with future participle (*-ŋgà-* after stem with final high tone), followed by either *mà* 'in' or a particle *wâ:n*.

(xxx) a. *[à:lé* *tègǎ-ŋgà* *mà]* *twě* *twɛ́* *jɛ̀=bɛ̀-m*
[rain(n) rain-**Fut.Ppl in**] seeds sow finish.Perf=Past-1SgS
'Before the rain fell, I had finished sowing the seeds.'

b. *[[bándâ* *ké]* *njúló]*
[[courtyard Def.InanSg.E] sweep.Imprt]
[mó *wǒ-ŋgà* *mà]*
[3SgS come-**Fut.Ppl** **in**]
'Sweep-Sg the courtyard, before he/she comes.'

c. *bé* *[wé* *nè]* *nùmǎ:* *tùnǒ-ŋgà* *mà*
3PlS [come Adv] hand put-**Fut.Ppl** **in**
'before they had come and put their hands (in the bowl)' (2005-2a)

d. *[[ó* *nò-mbò]* *ó* *yǎ-ŋgà* *wâ:n,*
[[2SgP person-Pl.L] 2SgS see-**Fut.Ppl** **before**,
[ḿ *mà]* *dámá]*
[1Sg Dat] speak.Imprt
'Tell me, before you see your folks!" (2005-1a)

An alternative 'before …' construction is of the logical type 'when not (yet) …'. The main verb is fully inflected ('we didn't go in' in (xxx)), and is followed by a chaining form *bó-mbò* (with suffix *-mbò*) of *bò* 'be'.

(xxx) *[[bírɔ́:* *kó]* *mà]* *ŋwá:-l-ìy* *bó-mbò,*

[[work(n) Def.InanSg.O] in] go.in-PerfNeg-1PlS be-and,
bàyé-y *mé⇑*
learn.Perf-1PlS if
'if we learn before we go into (= while we have not yet gone into) the work' (2005-1a)

15.2.3.6 Different-subject clauses with *-n*

A verb stem is directly followed by suffix *-n* in a different-subject (DS) clause. A pronominal subject is expressed by a pronominal preceding the verb, from the same series used in non-subject relatives.

There are **two forms** of the verb with *-n*, with distinct vocalism. Both are low-toned, except for the three verbs with lexical falling tones ('bring', 'arrive', 'find'), which as usual keep their lexical tones. One form is based on the **E-stem** of the verb. The other is based on the **A/O-stem** of the verb, and therefore (in addition to the final *a* or *o*) has obligatory {*e o*} vocalism in the rest of the stem. Examples of the forms are in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	chaining form	-n (E-stem)	*-n* (A/O-stem)
	'go'	*ín*	*ìnè-n*	*ìnò-n*
	'look'	*tár*	*tàrè-n*	*tàrà-n*
	'run'	*yɔ̀bɛ́*	*yɔ̀bɛ̀-n*	*yòbà-n*
	'say'	*gìné*	*gìnè-n*	*gìnà-n*
	'bring'	*jê:*	*jê:-n*	*jô:-n*
	'find'	*dìnê:*	*dìnê:-n*	*dìnɔ̂:-n*

Distinctions like those in (xx2.a-b) for 'look' were made in elicitation by my assistant, who was asked to provide examples of *tàrè-n* and *tàrà-n*. In (xx2.a), the act of entering precedes that of seeing (what is seen is circumstantial evidence of the entry), and *tàrè-n* is used. In (xx2.b), the act of entering is viewed by the protagonist, so the two eventualities are contemporaneous, and *tàrà-n* is the form used.

(xx2) a. *[bé* *tàrè-n]* *ŋwɛ̀-∅*
[3PlS **look-DS**] go.in.Perf-3SgS
'they looked (and saw) where he went in.'
'they looked (and saw) that he/she had gone in.'

b. *[bé* *tàrà-n]* *ŋwɛ̀-∅*
[3PlS **look-DS**] go.in.Perf-3SgS

‘While they watched (= in their presence), he/she went in.’

The type in (xx2.b) is corroborated by textual examples like (xx3.a), and indeed the phrase *í tàrà-n* ‘while we observed’ is commonly used in the texts to label events that occurred in the memory of the speaker (as opposed to earlier events reported by oral tradition). The textual example of *tàrè-n* is (xx3.b), which seems basically consistent with its function in (xx2.a).

(xx3) a. *[támɔ̀rɔ̀ yé] ŋwè-∅, [í tàrà-n] ŋwè-∅*
[date InanPl] go.in.Perf-3SgS, [1PlS **look-DS**] go.in.Perf-3SgS
‘The dates came in (= were included), they came in while we observed (= in our memory).’ (2005-1a)

b. *[mó tàrè-n] [[ké [ùsfɔ́: má] ínò-ndí]*
[[3SgS **look-DS**] [[InanSg.E [path in] go-PresNeg-3SgS]
kànè mé là]
be.done.Perf-3SgS if also]
‘If on the other hand he looks (= evaluates) and if it isn’t going on the (right) path, (he says: …) (2005-1a)

Elicited data (xx4.a-b) are also available for *ín\\ìnè* ‘go’. In (xx3.a), *ìnò-n* denotes an act of going that is simultaneous with the act of seeing. In (xx3.b), *ìnè-n* denotes an act of going that leads to another, subsequent event. This example happens to have another instance of -n, namely *bé òbò-n* ‘while they were sitting’, based on the stative form of *óbí-y* ‘sit’.

(xx4) a. *[bǎyè jɛ́-mbò] bé ìnò-n, yɛ̀-ḿ*
[stick.Pl take-and.SS] 3PlS **go-DS**, see.Perf-1SgS
‘I saw them take the sticks and go.’

b. *[[ólé ké] mà] mí ìnè-n,*
[[house Def.InanSg.E] in] 1SgS **go-DS**,
[bé òbò-n] dìnɛ̂:-m
[[3PlS sit.Stat-DS] find.Perf-1SgS
‘When I went to the house, I found them sitting.’

Textual examples of *ìnè-n* and *ìnò-n* are in (xx5). In (xx5.a), the act of going is not (specifically) simultaneous to the (abstract) eventuality denotes by the following clause (which would be recognized by the merchant only after spending some time in the new market), and *ìnè-n* is used. (xx5.b) is a corroborating example from the same textual passage. On the other hand, *ìnò-n*

occurs in (xx5.c), since the animal (here, a sheep or other livestock animal) is following directly behind the herder as the herder goes.

(xx5) a. *[[ké mà] [mó mà] [mó ìnè-n]] [ké nèn nè],*
[[InanSg.E in] [AnSg Dat] [3SgS **go-DS**]] [[InanSg.E than Adv],
[mó bèlí-y-è: ké]
[3SgS get.up-MP.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
[mó mà] kǎy→ kànè-∅ mé là
[AnSg Dat] better be.done.Perf-3SgS if also
'When he (= merchant) goes to that (new) place, if it turns out that the place that he got up (= left) from is better for him than that (new place), …' (2005-1a)

b. *ébán là, [[èbàn ŋgí] mà] ó ìnè-n,* …
commerce also, [[market.L Prox.InanSg.E] in] 2SgS **go-DS**, …
'Commerce for its part, when you (= a merchant) go into this (= such-and-such a) market, (if they buy more from you elsewhere …)' (2005-1a)

c. *[ó ìnò-n] [ó gì] dìmbì-yà-njò mé díndì*
[2SgS **go-DS**] [2Sg Acc] follow-MP-Pres-3SgS if all
'when you (= herder) go, if it (= an animal) follows you, …' (2005-1a)

For *gìnè-n* and *gìnà-n* from *gìné* 'say', the elicited examples are (xx6.a) with *gìnè-n*, where the following clause denotes a response (necessarily subsequent in time), and (xx6.b) with *gìnà-n*, where the following clause ('[what] we heard') denotes a simultaneous event of perception.

(xx6) a. *[[ó gì] sár-mbò] mí gìnè-n,*
[[2Sg Acc] ask-and.SS] 1SgS **say-DS**,
[ó wá→] [gwè wà]
[2SgS say] [go.out.Perf say]
'When I asked for you-Sg, (they) said you had gone out.'

b. *[nò-mbò kúlmá-mbó] bé gìnà-n,*
[person-Pl.L elder-Pl] 3PlS **say-DS**,
í ŋ-ɔ̀:,
1PlS hear.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
dùlɛ̌: nɔ̌: [[kɛ́rɛ́ má] gwé nè]
first person [[bush in] go.out Adv.SS]
wó-njò-∅ mɛ̀,

come-Pres-3SgS if,
[díyá: [mɔ́ gɔ̀]] ábà-mb-à:=ỳ
[load(n) [AnSgP Poss.InanSg.O] receive-Pres-Pass=it.is
'(According to) what we heard the elders say, formerly when someone left the bush and was coming (to the village), his load (carried on head) was taken (and carried, by others).' (*ŋ-ɔ̃:* < /ŋw-ɔ̂:/)

The form *gìnɛ̀-n* is rather common in texts, as an alternative to participial *gìn-ɔ̂:* (§15.2.1.2), in constructions with an ostensible quotative clause. Often there is no actual quotation, and the 'say' verb may be omitted from translations. This construction typically functions like a perfect ('have VP-ed'), indicating a chronological separation between the eventuality in question and that denoted by the following clause (§15.2.1.2). A participial form *gìn-ɔ̂:* may also be used in this construction, whether the subjects of the two clauses in question are same or different (xx7.b). This example also includes an instance of *jê:-n* from *jê:* 'bring'.

(xx7) a. *[gɔ̀lɛ́ kír-mbò] [ó gìnɛ̀-n]*
[farming do.completely-and.SS] [**2SgS say-DS**]
[bírɔ́: bírà-nd-ó:] wè-∅ mɛ́ díndì
[work(n) work-PresNeg-2SgS] come.Perf-3SgS if all
'when you-Sg have completed the farming, if (the accusation) that you don't work has come, …' (2005-1a)

b. *[[[dôm mà] íŋgí-yɛ́ jɛ́-mbò] ó gìn-ɔ̂:]*
[[[speech in] stand-MP finish-and] 2SgS **say-Ppl.InanSg.O**]
[[nɔ̌: mó] [ó mà] mó jê:-n]
[[person Def.AnSg] [2Sg Dat] **3SgS bring-DS**]
[[dôm kó] gì] fã̂:m
[[speech Def.InanSg.O] Acc] understanding
dùmá:-l-ó: mɛ́ díndì]
get-PerfNeg-2SgS if all]
'if you have stopped in speaking, if the person has brought you (a case), if you have not gotten an understanding of the words, …' (2005-1a)

Further elicited examples involving perception verbs are in (xx8). In (xx8.a-d) we have the A/O variant of the -n subordinator, as the perception was simultaneous to the event.

(xx8) a. *[[[mí dày] mà] íŋgé ó èrà-n] yɛ̀-ḿ*

[[[1SgP well.L] in] water 2SgS draw.water-DS] see.Perf-1SgS
'I saw you-Sg draw water at my well.'

b. *[ên mó bìyò-n] yè-ḿ*
[here AnSg lie.down-DS] see.Perf-1SgS
'I saw him/her lie down here.'

c. *[bé jà:ŋì-yò-n] ŋwè-ḿ*
[AnPl fight-MP-DS] hear.Perf-1SgS
'I heard them fight(ing).'

d. *[túmbúl-mbó bàrí-yɛ́ bé kòrò-n] ŋwè-ḿ*
[hyena-Pl cry-MP 3PlS cry-DS] hear.Perf-1SgS
'I heard the hyenas howl(ing).'

15.2.4 Spatial adverbial clause ('where …')

The noun *kéŋgè* 'place' is the head of a relative clause, in L-toned form *kèŋgè*. It is often omitted, since the locative postposition *mà* is usually present.

(xx1) *[(kèŋgè) mí bírɔ́: bírà-ŋgà-∅ ké] mà*
[(place.L) 1Sg work(n) work-Impf-Ppl.InanSg Def.InanSg.E] in
'at (the place) where I work' = 'where I work'

15.2.5 Manner adverbial clause ('how …')

dân 'like' (§8.4.1) may follow a headless relative clause to create a manner adverbial '(in) the way …' (xx1). In the examples, note the participles, and the preparticipial subject pronominals, both diagnostic of relative-clause constructions.

(xx1) a. *[[mó bìrà-ŋgà ŋ̀gú] dân]*
[[**3SgS** work-Pres.**Ppl** this.InanSg.O] like]
àbádá kóŋgò dúmà-ndí-∅
never thing obtain-ImpfNeg-3SgS
'The way he works, he will never gain (=earn) anything.'

b. *[[săŋ kà] hâl é bò-ŋgà dân dîn]*
[[now Top] until **2PlS** be-Stat.**Ppl** **like** all]
'even the way you-Pl are now (= numerous)' (2005-1a)

There is also a version with a ‘manner, way’ noun as head. The noun is *gìró*, which also means ‘eye’, or the Fulfulde loan *àlgádrà*.

(xx2) a. *[àlgàdrà* *mó* *kwà-ŋgà* *kó]*
[**manner.L** 3SgS eat-Pres.Ppl Def.InanSg.O]
[mí *gì]* *èndá-∅*
[1Sg Acc] unpleasant-3SgS
‘The way he/she eats is displeasing to me.’

b. *[gìrò* *mó* *bìrà-ŋgà]* *éndà:-m*
[**manner.L** 3SgS work-Pres.Ppl] not.know-1SgS
‘I don’t know how he/she works.’
(lit. “I don’t know the manner …”)

15.2.6 Headless relative as adverbial clause

Spatio-temporal and manner adverbials often appear in the form of a headless non-subject relative clause. A covert head noun like ‘time’, ‘place’, or ‘manner’ is understood.

The distinction between nouns with (singular) **E-class and O-class** agreement plays a role in deciphering such headless relatives. This is because covert ‘manner’ head noun (*gìró* ‘eye; manner’) has O-class agreement, while covert ‘place’ (*kéŋgè*) and ‘time’ (e.g. *wákàtì*) have E-class agreement. The participle makes class distinctions in some inflectional categories (e.g. perfective), though not in others (e.g. present, future). In any event, a final definite morpheme is common in such headless adverbial relatives, with O-class *kó* suggesting ‘manner’ and E-class *ké* suggesting ‘place’ or ‘time’. Even in the absence of such a definite morpheme, a following *dân* ‘like’ suggests manner, while a following postposition *mà* (most often locative) suggests place.

A headless **manner** adverbial is in (xx1).

(xx1) *[[í* *dìn-ô:* *kó]* *dân]*
[[1PlS find.Perf-PPl.InanSg.O Def.Inan.O] **like**]
[dɔ̀gé *nè* *là]* *ìnò-mbó-ỳ*
[leave Adv.SS also] go-Fut-1PlS
‘(The same way) as we found (it), we will leave it (behind) and go.’
(2005-2a)

Headless **spatial** adverbials are in (xx2). One should add that 'place' is often extended to abstractions like 'situation' (cf. the multiple meanings of English *position*).

(xx2) a. *ùjúŋgó* *[[mó* *tùmbò-m=b-è:]* *mà]*
sun [[AnSgS sun.rise-Impf=Past-Ppl.InanSg.E] in]
gwè-∅ *ló*
go.out.Perf-3sgS Q
'Has the sun gone away from (= moved) (the place) where it used to rise?' (2005.2a)

b. *[[mó* *dèŋà-ŋgà]* *mà]* *gwè-∅* *ló*
[[AnSg set-Pres.Ppl] in] go.out.Perf-3sgS Q
'Has it (= sun) gone away from (= moved) (the place) where it sets?' (2005.2a)

15.2.7 'From X, until (or: all the way to) Y'

The verb *jɛ́* 'take' is used at the end of the 'from X' expression. The clause- or phrase-initial morphemes *jă:* 'since, starting from' and *hăl* 'until, all the way to' occur in the respective clauses or phrases. Literally the first part is 'taking from X'. Compare the temporal use of English *picking up (at ...)*, and French *reprendre*, though these English and French parallels have a more complex temporal structure (restarting).

In (xx1.a), the imperfective chaining form *-mbò* is used, and this clause begins with *jă:* 'since'. In (xx1.b), a participial form is used.

(xxx) a. *[jă:* *[séwà:rè* *mà]* *jɛ́-mbò]* *[hâl* *[móttì* *mà]]*
[**since** [S in] **take-Impf**] [**until** [M in]
[íŋgà-mbò *ìn-ò:]*
[stand.Stat-and go.Perf-3PlS]
'They (= people) went and stood up all the way from Sévaré to Mopti.'

b. *[[èyà-ŋgó* *tìŋgɔ̀:]* *mà]* *mó* *j-ɔ̂:⇑,*
[[marriage side.L] in] AnSgS **take-Perf**.Ppl,
[[bí-ŋgán *tìŋgɔ̀:]* *mà]*
[[existence side.L] in]
'from (the issue) concerning marriage, to (the issue) concerning (co-) existence' (2005-1a)

See also (xx3) in §4.3.2 (‘all the way to Douentza’).

15.2.8 ‘As though …’ clause (*dân*)

dân ‘like’ can follow a clause in the sense ‘like, as though …’. The clause has subject-participial form (xx1)

(xx1) *[[ó sígírí-yɛ́ jògâ:] dân] ínò-nj-ò:*
[[2Sg get.drunk-MP Perf.Ppl] like] go-Pres-2SgS
‘You-Sg are walking like (=as though) you had gotten drunk.’

16 Conditional constructions

A conditional construction consists of an **antecedent** ('if') clause and a **consequent** ('then') clause.

Most conditionals are **hypothetical**, specifying a causal or similar entailing relationship between an uncertain future (or generic) eventuality X and a second eventuality Y. Less common are **counterfactual** conditionals, which specify a similar causal or entailing relationship between a potential past eventuality that did not occur and a second eventuality that would have ensued if it had occurred.

16.1 Hypothetical conditionals

The common 'if' particles following the predicate of the antecedent clause are *dé* and *mɛ́*. The universal quantifier *dîn* (variant *díndì*) 'all' may be added after the 'if' particle. The particle *tán* 'only' (< Fulfulde) may also follow *dé* or *mɛ́*, or it may appear by itself as a substitute 'if' particle.

Since the 'if' particles are high-toned, a preceding 1st/2nd person perfective positive verb form shifts its final syllable from rising to (level) high tone unless it is monosyllabic (§3.xxx). Occasionally, the 'if' particle itself is omitted, but the tone shift applies nevertheless, serving as an index of the missing 'if' particle. 3Sg and 3Pl perfective positive verb forms are all-low toned.

In hypothetical conditionals, the unmarked AN sequence is **perfective** (positive or negative) for the antecedent clause, and **future** (positive or negative) for the consequent clause. This applies when the two clauses denote events that are relatively well bounded in time. In other contexts, the antecedent clause may be present, stative, or the like, and/or the consequent may be present, or a deontic modal clause (imperative, hortative).

16.1.1 Particle *dé* 'if' at end of antecedent

The passage in (xx1), which describes generic situations, contains one perfective and one perfective negative antecedent clause, both followed by future consequent clauses.

(xx1) *yɛ̌:* *nàlè-∅* *dé,*

woman bear(child).**Perf**-3SgS **if**,
[[ó tɔ̀gù dîn] mà] dă:ndí tìyá-mb-â:=ỳ,
[[2SgP kin.L all] Dat] tell send-**Fut**-Pass=it.is,
[mó là] wó-m̀,
[AnSg also] come-Fut.3SgS,
[tíyá:-l-ó: dé là] [[ó gì] pèbá-m̀]
[send-**Perf.Neg**-2SgS **if** also] [2Sg Acc] accuse-**Fut**.3SgS]
'**If** a woman (= your wife) has given birth, the word **will** be sent to all of your kin group, it (= your kin) will come. **If** on the other hand you-Sg don't send (the word), it (= your kin) **will** denounce you.' (2005-1a)

Further textual examples of *dé* are in (xx2).

(xx1) a. *[bé là] bày-é: dé⇑,*
[AnPl also] know.Perf-2PlS **if**,
'If you-Pl know them (= whites), … ' (2005-1a)

more textual exx.

16.1.2 Particle *mɛ́* 'if' at end of antecedent

In the usual conditional construction, where an antecedent event yet to occur is asserted to cause a second event, the 'if' particle *mɛ́* is used. The consequent clauses takes normal main-clause form.

(xxx) a. *màŋgórè, [[ébán má] dìnê:-y mɛ́] dònà-mbó-ỳ*
mango.Pl, [[market in] find-1PlS **if**] buy-Fut-1PlS
'If we find any mangoes in the market, we'll buy them.'

b. *[ŋ̀gîn w-ŏ: mɛ́] [mí sìbì-yò-mbó-m̀]*
[here come.Perf-2SgS **if**] [1SgS hide-MP-Fut-1SgS]
'If you-Sg come here, I will hide.'

c. *[à:lé í:gòndì: tɛ̀gɛ̀-∅ mɛ́]*
[rain abundantly rain.fall.Perf-3SgS **if**]
jènă: kóndó-m̀
rainy.season do.well-Fut.3SgS
'If the rain falls abundantly, the rainy (=growing) season will turn out well.'

16.1.3 Particle *tán* '(if) only' at end of antecedent

The particle *tán* 'only', from Fulfulde, is largely limited to conditional antecedent clauses in Najamba. as in several other Dogon and Songhay languages of the zone. In (xx1), *tán* follows a regular 'if' particle.

(xxx) a. *jěnjà ùsfɔ̃: [dòmbâ-n gì] ǹdá:-l-∅ mé tán⇑,*
God path [fellow Acc] give-PerfNeg-3SgS **if** **if.only**,
dòm kó kây,
speech.L Near.InanSg.O Top,
[kèŋ ké kây] [í sémbɛ́ jògò-ndí ní]
[place Def.InanSg.E Top] [this power have-StatNeg-3SgS Emph]
'If God hasn't given the path to the fellow, those words, as for the place (= situation), in this (situation) this (fellow) has no power.' (2005-1a)

more exx from texts

16.1.4 Multiple antecedent clauses

When the antecedent contains two clauses, the two antecedent eventualities may be logically related in any of the following ways: a) set-theoretic union (both eventualities must be independently true), b) chronological sequence, or c) logical nesting (the first antecedent clause creates a context for the second).

One way to express such complex antecedents is by using a chaining device to combine the two clauses into one complex clause, with a single 'if' at the end (xx1).

(xx1) *[jèná: kóndí nè] [yógé ìlɛ̀-∅ mé]*
[rainy season be.good and.SS] [millet.Pl ripen.Perf-3SgS **if**]
[nò-mbó bé gì] èlà-ndá-m-∅
[person-Pl Def.AnPl Acc] please-Fut-3SgS
'If the rainy season is good, and the millet has ripened, the people will be happy ("it will please the people").'

It is also possible to string two or more antecedent clauses together, each ending in an 'if' particle (xx2).

(xx2) *[kó là] kànè-∅ dé díndì,*
[InanSg.O also] be.done.Perf-3SgS **if** all,
mà:njì-yé-ý mé,
do.one's.best-MP.Perf **if**,

[ɲǎ: *í* *b-ɔ̌:* *kó]* *dân,*
[yesterday 1PlS be-PplNS.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] like,
kɛ̀nɛ́ *bǎ-ỳ* *wá*
like.that remain-Hort.1Pl say
'If that has happened, if we have done our best (to get by), like (the way) we were in the past, let's remain like that.' (2005-1a)

16.1.5 Temporal-sequencing use of *mɛ́*

The particle *mɛ́* may be used after an inflected present verb or progressive construction, or their negative counterparts. The time references of the temporal and main clauses coincide.

(xx1) a. *[mí* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-njò-m* *mɛ́]* *gó-nù-m*
[[1Sg work(n) work-Pres-1SgS while] go.out-ImpfNeg-1SgS
'When I am working, I don't go out.'

b. *[bírɔ́:* *bírà-njò-nú-m* *mɛ́]* *gwé* *jà-mbò-m*
[work(n) work-Prog-Neg-1SgS while] go.out can-ImpfNeg-1SgS
'When I am not working, I can go out.'

The same particle may be used with other inflected verbs.

(xxx) a. *[mùlɛ́-y* *mɛ́]* *ìnò-mbó-ỳ*
[get.together-1Pl and] go-Fut-1PlS
'We will gather together and go.'

b. *[mùl-à:* *mɛ́]* *ìnó-mb-à*
[get.together-3PlS and] go-Fut-3PlS
'They will gather together and go.'

c. *[mùl-ɛ́:* *mɛ́]* *ìnò-mb-ê:*
[get.together-2PlS and] go-Fut-2PlS
'You-Pl will gather together and go.'

16.2 Alternative 'if' particles

Universal quantifier *dĭn* 'all' can be used at the end of a conditional antecedent instead of *mɛ́* 'if', especially at the end of a complex (multi-clause) antecedent.

exx from texts

16.3 Willy-nilly and disjunctive antecedents ('whether X or Y …')

The universal quantifier *dîn* 'all' can be added at the end of a polar pair of clauses (one the negation of the other), to form a complex conditional antecedent translatable 'whether or not …'. Interrogative particle ma→ may be added at the end of both clauses (xx1.b).

(xx1) a. *[w-ô:* *wò-ndí-∅* *dîn]* *kwà-mbó-ỳ*
[come.Impf-3SgS come-ImpfNeg-3SgS all] eat-Fut-1PlS
'Whether he/she comes or doesn't come, we will eat.'

b. *[yĕ:* *mó]* *[kàndá* *gwè-∅* *mà→]*
[woman Def.AnSg] [seclusion go.out.Perf-3SgS Q]
[gŏ-l *má→]* *dîn*
[go.out-PerfNeg-3SgS Q] all
[yɔ̀bè-∅ *mɛ́]* *pɔ́s*!
[run.Perf-3SgS if] poof!
'whether the woman (= new bride) has emerged from seclusion (after the marriage) or hasn't emerged, if she runs away, (it's) poof!' (2005-1a)

16.4 'Unless' antecedent

The only 'unless' antecedent that I have elicited is one with a negative antecedent and negative consequent clauses (xx1).

(xx1) *[móttì* *mà]* *ìnó-nù-m*
[Mopti to] go-FutNeg-1SgS
[ó *[mí* *sɔ̀n]* *ìnó-nd-ò:* *mɛ́]*
[2Sg [1SgO with] go-FutNeg-2SgS if]
'I won't go to Mopti unless you-Sg go with me.'
(lit. "I won't go to Mopti if you-Sg don't go with me.")

16.5 Counterfactual conditional

The same 'if' particle *mɛ́* occurs at the end of the antecedent. The verb of the antecedent clause is past imperfective (§10.xxx) or past, containing an inflected form of past morpheme *=bɛ̀-*, following a (positive or negative) perfective stem. The verb of the consequent also contains *=bɛ̀-*, this time following an imperfective stem with *-m-*.

(xxx) a. *[[dágɛ̀ [ɔ́ yɛ̀] yé] jɛ́=b-ɔ̀: mɛ́]*
[[medication.Pl [2Sg Poss.InanPl] Def.InanPl] take=Past-2SgS if]
sá:mí-yà-m=bà-l-ó:
get.sick-MP-Impf=Past-Neg-2SgS
'If you-Sg had taken your medications, you wouldn't have gotten sick.'

b. *[[[dágɛ̀ [ɔ́ yɛ̀] yé]*
[[[medication.Pl [2Sg Poss.InanPl] Def.InanPl]
jà-l-ó:=b-ɔ̀: mɛ́] tíbà-m=b-ɔ̌:
take-PerfNeg-2SgS=**Past**-2SgS if die-Impf=Past-2SgS
'If you-Sg had not taken your medications, you-Sg would have died.'

c. *ŋ̀gú kwɛ́=b-ɔ̀: mɛ́, tíbà-m=b-ɔ̌:*
Prox.InanSg.O eat=Past-2SgS if, die-Impf=Past-2SgS
'If you-Sg had eaten this, you would have died.'

d. *tár=bɛ̀-ḿ mɛ́, dɛ́ŋà-m=bà-lú-m*
look=Past-1SgS if, fall-Impf=Past-PerfNeg-1SgS
'If I had looked, I wouldn't have fallen.'

e. *[kìnû: kó] yà:-lú-m=bɛ̀-ḿ mɛ́,*
[stone Def.InanSg.O] see-PerfNeg-1SgS=Past-1SgS if,
dɛ́ŋà-m=bɛ̀-ḿ
fall-Impf=Past-1SgS
'If I hadn't seen the stone, I would have fallen.'

17 Complement and purposive clauses

17.1 Quotative complement

17.1.1 'Say that …' with inflectable 'say' verb (*gìnɛ́*)

The verb *gìnɛ́* 'say' can take NP as well as quotative complements. It has a full range of AN categories.

(xxx) a. *yèŋgé* *gìn-ɔ́:*
what? say.Perf-2SgS
'What did you-Sg say?'

b. *[à:lé* *kɛ́n-dɛ̀* *tɛ̀gɛ̀-∅]* *gìnǎ-l-∅*
[rain(n) there-Approx rain.fall.Perf-3SgS] say-Perf.Neg-3SgS
'He/She did not say that it (had) rained there.'

17.1.2 Quotative clitic *wa*

Clause-final uninflectable quotative particle *wa*, glossed 'say' in interlinears, indicates that the preceding material is a quotation. It functions like a 'hearsay' evidential. In many contexts (where the relevant speaker is understood from prior context) it obviates the need for an explicit, pronominally inflected quotative verb 'say' (stem *gìnɛ́*). However, the particle *wa* may co-occur with *gìnɛ́* or other verbs of speaking.

wa is lexically atonal, acquiring its phonological tone from the final tone of the preceding word. However, since it occurs in clause-final position, it is subject to intonational modifications depending on discourse context.

(xx1) a. *à:lé* *[[mó* *sɔ̀njɔ̀:]* *mà]* *tɛ̀gɛ̀-∅* *wà⇑*
rain [[3SgP village.L] in] rain.fall.Perf-3SgS say
'He said that it rained in his village.'

b. *kóndé→* *wá* *gíná*
all.right **say** say.Imprt
'Say: "all right!".' (2005.1a)

wa is typically repeated after each quoted sentence in an extended quotation. Presentential elements (topical NP, vocative, independent 'yes!' or 'no!' interjection, etc.) are also followed by *wa*, as in (xx2).

(xx2) *[ɔ́:* *wá]* *[hákkìlè* *dǔndà-nj-ò:* *wà]*
[yes! **say**] [idea look.for-Pres-2SgS **say**]
'(you) say: yes, you are seeking an idea (= deliberating)' (2005-1a)

For lengthened quotative-subject (QuotS) *wa→* after subject pronominals in quoted imperatives and hortatives, see §17.1.4, just below.

17.1.3 Unframed quotations

Najamba discourse abounds in phrases taken from quotations, but not overtly marked as such (by quotative markers or other subordinators), that function as NPs. In (xx1.a), 'you don't work' functions as subject of 'come'.

(xx1) a. *[ó* *bírɔ́:* *bírà-nd-ó:]*
[2SgS work(n) work-PresNeg-2SgS]
wè-∅ *mέ* *díndì*
come.Perf-3SgS if all
'Suppose that it (= accusation) has come that you-Sg don't work (in the fields).' (2005-1a)

more exx from texts

17.1.4 Jussive complements

17.1.4.1 Embedded imperative

In the embedded imperative, the original addressee (i.e. the subject of the imperative clause) appears with a following quotative subject particle *wa→*. Most textual examples involve subject pronouns. The verb is in imperative form (xx1.a,c). If the original addressee is plural, either the singular or plural-addressee imperative form may be used (xx1.b,d). No confusion arises as long as the plural subject is expressed by a clause initial NP or pronoun, as it regularly is.

(xx1) a. *[mí* *wá→]* *wó* *gìnὲ-∅*
[1Sg QuotS] come.Imprt say.Perf-3SgS
'He/She told me to come.'

b. *[é wá→] wó gìnè-∅*
wó-m̀
[2Pl QuotS] come.Imprt say.Perf-3SgS
come-Imprt.Pl
'He/She told you-Pl to come.'

c. *[mí wá→] wó-là gìnè-∅*
[1Sg QuotS] come-Prohib say.Perf-3SgS
'He/She told me not to come.'

d. *[é wá→] wó-là gìnè-∅*
wó-là-m̀
[2Pl QuotS] come-Prohib say.Perf-3SgS
come-Prohib-ImprtPl
'He/She told you-Pl not to come.'

e. *[mí wá→] [ǹjùlû: kó] jô: gìnè-∅*
[1Sg QuotS] [broom Def.InanSg.O] bring.Imprt say.Perf-3SgS
'He/She told me to bring the broom.'

The subject may be a regular NP instead of a pronoun (xx2). In this case the prolongation of *wa* is sometimes but not always heard.

(xx2) *[gĭrbà wà→] nŏ: térí-yá, ínò-ndí-∅*
[blind.person QuotS] person lead.by.arm-MP.Imprt, go-PresNeg-3SgS
'If one asks a blind man to lead someone (by the arm), he doesn't go.' (2005-1a)

17.1.4.2 Embedded hortative

An embedded hortative is treated like an imperative in that the quotative-subject pronominal denotes the original addressee. The verb takes regular hortative singular form.

hort sg -ý not hort pl -ỳ with original plural addressee?

(xxx) *[mí wá→] ìnò-ý gìnè-∅*
[1Sg say] go-Hort say.Perf-3SgS
'He/She said to me, let's go!'

17.2 Volition-verb complements

17.2.1 'Want' (*kíy*, *kélà-*), 'need' (*nàmí-yɛ́*)

The positive 'want' verb is *kíy*. In the positive, it occurs most often in the stative form *kíyò*, though it does have other forms (e.g. perfective *kìyè*). In the negative, it is suppleted by a stem *kélà-*. The Adverbial morpheme *nɛ̀* 'and' occurs at the end of a **same-subject** complement clause.

(xx1) a. *[[móttì mà] ín nɛ̀] kíyó-m̀*
[[Mopti to] go and-SS] want.Stat-1SgS
'I want to go to Mopti.'

b. *[mànà-níŋgé kwɛ́ nɛ̀] kíy-è:*
[millet.cakes eat and.SS] want.Stat-3PlS
'They want to eat millet cakes (with sauce).'

c. *[mànà-níŋgé kwɛ́ nɛ̀] kɛ́l-è:*
[millet.cakes eat and.SS] not.want-3PlS
'They do not want to eat millet cakes (with sauce).'

The positive and negative paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx2)

category	'want'	'not want'
1Sg	*kíyò-m*	*kélà:-m*
2Sg	*kíyò-w*	*kélà:-w*
3Sg	*kíyò-∅*	*kélà-∅*
1Pl	*kíyò-y*	*kélà:-y*
2Pl	*kíy-è:*	*kɛ́l-è:*
3Pl	*kíy-è:*	*kɛ́l-è:*

'Not want' also has some non-stative inflected forms based on *kɛ́lí-yɛ́*, which includes mediopassive *-yɛ́*. This form is translatable as 'dislike, detest, hate', as in present negative *kélí-yà-ndí-* 'does not hate'. That *kélà-* is tending to be lexicalized as a distinct verb, rather than as merely a negation of 'want', is suggested by the fact that past-time 'did not want' can be expressed either by a negation of 'want' or by adding the past clitic to *kélà-*, see §10.3.1.2.

When the complement clause has a **different subject**, we get participial complements. A pronominal subject in the complement is expressed as a preverbal pronoun. The verb of a positive complement ends in invariant

Particpial *-ŋgà* (xxx.a). It is possible to elicit negative complements, though as in other languages the normal way to express 'I want them not to come' is 'I don't want them to come,' with the overt negation on the higher 'want' verb (xxx.c). When the complement itself is negated, we get a participle based on negative *-ndi-* (xxx.b).

(xxx) a. *[pègɛ́ bé sèmă-ŋgà] kíyò-m*
[sheep 3PlS slaughter-Fut.Ppl] want-1SgS
'I want them to come.'

b. *[pègɛ̀-mbó bé sèmă-nd-ò:] kíyò-m*
[sheep-Pl 3PlS slaughter-FutNeg-Ppl.O] want-1SgS
'I want them to not slaughter any sheep-Pl.'

c. *[pègɛ́ bé sèmă-ŋgà] kélà:-m*
[sheep 3PlS slaughter-Fut.Ppl] not.want-1SgS
'I don't want them to come.'

forms of 'not want' from Sample text
kélí-yà-ndí 'doesn't dislike', cf. *kélà-*
likewise *kɛ̀lì-yɛ̀ jòg-à:*
but *kɛ̀lɛ̀-n≡lá* 'it isn't from disliking'

For 'X need Y', the verb is *nàmí-yɛ́*, with locative complement. It has a stative form *nàmà*, as in *[ó mà] námà-m* 'I need you-Sg'.

17.3 Factive (indicative) complements

17.3.1 'Know that …' complement clause

The 'know' verbs (positive *tígà:-*, suppletive negative *éndà:-*), see §11.2.4, follows a normal main-clause with no overt subordinator.

(xxx) a. *ìnè-∅ tígà:-m*
go.Perf-3PlS know-1SgS
'I know that he/she has gone.'

b. [*[kôŋ kámà] jògò-nú-m] tígà-∅*
[[thing any] have-ImpfNeg-1SgS] know-3SgS
'He/She knows that I don't have anything.'

17.3.2 ‘The fact that …’

A proposition (denoting a fact or situation) may function as an NP in a higher clause. In this case it takes non-subject relative-clause form, with implied head NP (‘fact’). It is treated as inanimate O-class for agreement purpose, and normally ends in definite determiner *kó*. For example, in (xx1.a), a proposition had previously been stated as a normal main clause (not shown). The speaker then asks why this situation has come about, repeating the proposition in factive-clause form. (xx1.b) begins with a similar factive complement.

(xx1) a. *[[yè dîn] mà] [[í gì]*
[InanPl all] in] [1Pl Acc]
mó dɔ̀:-l-ò: kó]
3SgS reach-PerfNeg-**PplNS.InanSg.O** **Def.InanSg.O**]
‘The fact that it didn’t do us much good in all those (fields), (how did it happen?)’ (2005-1a)

b. *[í èndà: kó]*
[**1PlS** not.know-**PplNS.InanSg.O** **Def.InanSg.O**
[[yèŋgé yà:] kó kàn j-è:]
[[what Foc] InanSg.O make Perfect-**Ppl.Foc**
‘The fact that we do not know, what made (= caused) that?’ (2005-1a)

17.3.3 ‘See/find that …’

The ‘see’, ‘find’, or ‘hear’ verb comes at the end, preceded by a simple main clause that is either followed by inanimate *kó* (overt factive complement) or by no complementizer. The sense is ‘X see/find that [P]’ where P is a proposition denoting an already existing situation.

(xxx) a. [*[nò-mbó bé] gîy gǐy j-à:]*
[[person-Pl Def.AnPl] harvest(n) harvest finish.Perf-3PlS]
yè-m
see.Perf-1SgS
‘I saw that the people had finished harvesting.’

b. *[[bírɔ́: dîn] òndí dìnê:-m*
[[work(n) all] not.be find.Perf-1SgS

‘I found that there was no work (there).’

c. *[ó* *t-ɔ̌:* *kó]* *yè-ḿ*
[2SgS sow.Perf-2SgS Def.InanSg] see.Perf-1SgS
‘I saw that you-Sg had sown (= planted).’

In the sense ‘see [NP VP-ing]’ where the perception and the perceived event are simultaneous, the different-subject subordinator *-n* is used; see §15.2.3.6.

17.3.3.1 Hearsay

A proposition learned by hearsay is expressed using the verb ‘hear’ and a quotative clause.

(xx1) *[[[ó wá→] [bàmàkó mà] ìnè] bé gìnà-n] ŋwá-njò-m*
[[[2Sg QuotS] [B in] go.Perf] 3PlS say-DS] hear-Pres-1SgS
‘I hear them say that you-Sg went to Bamako.’

17.3.4 Complement of *kán* ‘do, be done’

The verb *kán* is transitive ‘do, make’ or intransitive ‘be done, be made’ in simple main clauses. The 3Sg perfective *kànè-∅* ‘it was (or: has been) done’ is often used to resume a preceding passage, especially in the conditional clause *kànè-∅ mé* (or *kànè-∅ mé díndì*), literally ‘if it has been done’, which often serves as a link between paragraph-like units of discourse (cf. English *After that*, …).

kán is part of many collocations, since it can make a non-verb (or a morphologically inert borrowing) into a transitive or intransitive verb. Examples from the sample text include *tó:rù kán* 'do (=use) fetishes' (with noun *tó:rù*), *lútà kán* 'do rejecting, reject (e.g. God)', and *sútùrà kán* '(e.g. God) do protection (for), protect'. *kán* can also be used with adverbs, as in *ɲɛ̀nɛ́ kán* 'do like this'.

In (xxx), *kànè-∅* follows an ‘it is’ predication.

(xxx) *[bírɔ́:* *kó]* *bìrè-ý⇑,*
[work(n) Def.InanSg.O] work.Perf-1PlS,
ɲàmô:=ỳ *kànè-∅*
waste=it.is be.done.Perf-3SgS
‘We have done the work, (but) it has been a waste.’ (2005-1a)

An unusual property of *kán* is that it may occur, in morphologically positive form (any tense-aspect), in combination with a **preceding bare perfective negative** stem (suffix *-l*). The pronominal subject category is expressed by a suffix on *kán*, not on the preceding negative verb. The free translation is negative, but there is usually some modal qualification ('perhaps', 'it may be'), and the construction is common in conditional antecedents where such modal qualification is automatic. The syntactic structure, however, is similar to English *X happen [not to VP]*.

(xxx) a. *[[jáŋgí-lé yàgí jòg-â: ké] mà]*
[[begin-VblN be.right Perfect-Ppl Def.InanSg.E] in]
[jàŋgí dùmá-l kàné-y mɛ́]
[begin get-**PerfNeg** **do.Perf**-1PlS if]
'if we can't manage to begin (at the place) where one should begin' (2005-1a)

b. *[tò-mbó mà] [ă:r-ŋgó má] b-è: mɛ́,*
[Recip-Pl with] [understanding in] be-2PlS if,
áyá-l kànà-mb-è:
be.weary-PerfNeg do-Fut-2PlS
'if you-Pl are in a state of mutual understanding, you-Pl will not suffer.' (2005-1a)

c. *[kên ìnò-njò-m gìn-ɔ́: mɛ́]*
[there go-Pres-LogoS say.Perf-2SgS if]
[[kên là] mó dìnɔ̂:-l kànà-mb-ò:
[[there also] 3SgO encounter-PerfNeg do-Fut-2SgS
'If you-Sg say (intend) that you will go there following him, you will perhaps not find him there.' (2005-1a)

17.3.5 Factive complement with *táΔɔrɔ* 'it is certain'

Fulfulde *táΔɔrɔ* (*Δ* = preglottalized stop) 'it is certain' may precede an imperfective clause (for a probable future event) or a perfective clause (inferring a past event).

(xx1) a. *táΔɔrɔ ɛ́ŋgú à:lé tègá-m̀*
certainly tomorrow rain(n) rain.fall-Fut.3SgS
'It will certainly rain tomorrow'

b. táΔɔrɔ ɲă: ŋ̀gîn à:lé tègè-∅

certainly yesterday here rain(n) fall.Perf-3SgS
'It must have rained here yesterday.'

17.4 Verbal noun (and other nominal) complements

17.4.1 Structure of verbal noun phrase

The verbal noun with suffix *-lé* is high toned. It may be preceded by a **low-toned nominal compound initial** denoting the **logical object**.

(xx1) a. *ìbì-[págí-lé]*
mouth.L-[tie-VblN]
'fasting' (*ìbí*)

b. *kàlà-[kál-lé]*
price.L-[haggle-VblN]
'haggling over prices' (*kàlǎ:*)

A noun denoting the **logical subject** may also serve as the compound initial (cf. English *sunset*), if there is no other compound initial.

(xxx) *ùjùŋgò-[túmbí-lé]*
sun.L-[(sun)rise-VblN]
'sunrise, dawn' (ùjúŋgó)

The low-toned compound initial may include singular or plural marking, if the noun in question is countable. However, if the object is a more complex NP, i.e. including a numeral, or a determiner (such as a demonstrative or definite morpheme), a possessor, or if the NP is conjoined, it may not appear as a low-toned compound initial. Instead, such a complex NP must take the form of possessor, retaining its own usual tones and forcing tone-dropping on the verbal noun (xxx.b).

(xxx) a. *pègè-[sémí-lé]* 'slaughtering a sheep'
[pègè-mbò]-[sémí-lé] 'slaughtering sheep-Pl'

b. *[[pègè-mbó nô:y] sèmì-lè]* 'slaughtering two sheep'
[[pègè-mbó èbíyè] sèmì-lè] 'slaughtering these sheep'
[[mí pègè] sèmì-lè] 'slaughtering my sheep'
[[pègé má→ ínè mà:] sèmì-lè 'slaughtering a sheep and a goat'

17.4.2 ‘Prevent’ (*gámdɛ́*)

This verb takes NP (xx1.a) and clausal (xx1.b) complements. The person who is prevented is expressed as an object (postposition *gì*) of the main verb; this may precede or follow the main complement.

(xx1) a. *bírɔ́:* *[mí* *gì]* *gàmdɛ̀-∅*
work(n) [1Sg Acc] prevent.Perf-3SgS
‘He/She prevented me from work(ing).’

b. *[mí* *gì]* *[[móttì* *mà]* *iń-lé]* *gàmdɛ̀-∅*
[1Sg Acc] [Mopti to] go-VblN] prevent.Perf-3SgS
‘He/She prevented me from going to Mopti.’
(alternative ordering: *[[móttì mà] iń-lé] [mí gì] gàmdɛ̀-∅*])

17.4.3 ‘Consent’ (*àbí*)

The verb *àbí* ‘receive, take (sth given)’ is used with VblN complement in the sense ‘consent, agree (to do sth)’ with the same subject in the clauses.

(xx1) *wí-lé* *àbɛ̀-∅*
come-**VblN** consent.Perf-3SgS
‘He/She agreed to come.’

With different subjects, a future participle complement is used.

(xx2) *[mí* *twɛ̌* *tɔ̌-ŋgà]* *àbɛ̀-∅*
[1Sg sowing slash.to.sow-Fut.Ppl] consent.Perf-3SgS
‘He consented that I sow the seeds.’

17.4.4 ‘Cease’ (*dɔ̀gɛ́*)

The common transitive verb *dɔ̀gɛ́* ‘leave, abandon’ can be used with VblN complement in the sense ‘cease (doing sth)’, especially in contexts involving abandonment of a formerly practiced activity.

(xxx) *[[gìyâ:* *bɛ̂:* *kó]* *gíy-lé]*
[[dance(n) 3PlP.Poss.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] dance-VblN]
dòg-à:

leave.Perf-3PlS
'They have left off (= they no longer perform) their dance.'
[*bɛ̂:* = *bé gɔ̀* 'their thing', §6.2.2]

17.4.5 'Forget (to …)' (*ìrɛ́*)

A same-subject complement is expressed as a VblN phrase.

(xx1) *[[ébám* *má]* *ín-lé]* *ìrɛ̀-ḿ*
[[market to] go-**VblN**] **forget**.Perf-1SgS
'I forgot to go to the market.'

An example of 'forget' with a factive complement ('forget that …'), phrased as an 'or' disjunction (§7.2.2), is (xx2).

(xx2) *[íyó* *[bìtígì* *yè]* *níŋgɛ́=b-à:=ỳ* *mâ→]*
[today [shop Def.InanPl] shut=**Past-Pass=it.is** or?]
ìrɛ̀-ḿ
forget.Perf-1SgS
'I forgot that the shops were (=are) closed today.'

17.4.6 'Begin' (*jàŋgí*)

This verb takes NP or VblN complements. A VblN complement requires that the (logical) subjects of the main and complement clauses be coindexed.

(xxx) a. *[íŋgé* *ní-lé]* *jàŋg-à:*
[water drink-**VblN**] **begin**.Perf-3PlS
'They began to drink the water.'

b. *mómbí-y-lé* *jàŋg-à:* *mɛ́*
gather-MP-**VblN** **begin**.Perf-3PlS if
'(when) they have begun to assemble' (2005.1a)

17.4.7 'Be afraid to' (*íbí-yɛ́*)

The verb *íbí -yɛ́* 'fear, be afraid of', which contains mediopassive *-yɛ́*, may take NP or clausal complement. In the latter case, the clause appears in verbal-noun form.

(xx1) *[ŋgîn* *wí-lé]* *íbí-yè-∅*
[here come-**VblN**] fear-MP.Perf-3SgS
'He/She is afraid to come here.

An example with different subjects in the two clauses is (xx2). The embedded clause has the form of an 'or' disjunction (§7.2.2), i.e. literally "I am afraid (wondering) whether …."

(xx2) *[mí* *kérà-mb-ò:* *mâ→]* *ìbì-yè-ḿ*
[1SgO bite-Fut-2SgS or?] fear-MP-1SgS
'I'm afraid that you-Sg will/might bite me.'

17.4.8 Weak obligational 'ought to' (*há:nè ~ há:nà*, *há:né*)

This Fulfulde borrowing can either take the nominal form *há:nè* or *há:nà*, which is combined with following *kán* 'do'. In the positive this is normally inflected with perfect auxiliary verb *jò-* (xx1.a). The usual negation is with the perfective negative (xx1.b). The complement is expressed with a verbal noun (*-lé* or *-ndá:*)

(xx1) a. *[nò:* *kúlmá* *yà:]* *dám-lé* *há:nà* *kán* *j-è:*
[person.L elder Foc] speak-VblN **ought** **do** **Perfect**-Ppl.Foc
'<u>An elder</u> [focus] ought to speak (it).' (2005-1a)

b. *èndê:* *dám-lé* *há:nà* *káná-l-∅*
child speak-VblN ought do-PerfNeg-3SgS
'A child ought not to speak.'

A set of alternative constructions based on the same Fulfulde word-family has a directly inflectable verb *há:né*. There are several ways to construct the sentence. In (xx2.a) *há:né* takes perfect auxiliary *jò-*, in (xx2.b) it takes the same-subject 'and' chaining morpheme *nè* and is followed by a future form of *bà-* 'remain', and in (xx2.c) it occurs in the past perfect construction with past clitic *=bè-*. The complement is either a verbal noun (xx2.b-c) or the chaining form with *nè* (xx2.a).

(xx2) a. *[yè:* *năl* *jòg-â:* *mó]*
[woman.L bear.child Perfect-PplS Def.AnSg]
[nàmâ: *kúbí* *nè]*
[meat eat.meat Adv.SS]
há:né *jò-∅*

ought Perfect-3SgS
'The woman who has (just) given birth ought to eat meat.'

b. *mí [jàŋgà-[kán-lé] há:né nè] bà-mbò-m*
1SgS [studying.L-[do-VblN] ought Adv.SS] remain-Fut-1SgS
'I ought to study (= go to school).'

c. *gíndí-lé há:né=bè-∅, gìndá-l-∅*
become.big-VblN ought=Past-3SgS, become-big-PerfNeg-3SgS
'It was supposed to grow (= get bigger), (but) it hasn't grown.'

17.4.9 'Be right (proper, acceptable)' (*yàgí*)

The stem *yàgí* was introduced in §8.4.4.2. It occurs in the locution *yàgí jòg-â:* 'what is right', which classifies a behavior pattern or action as following socially laudable or at least acceptable norms ('it was the right thing to do').

yàgí may take a verbal-noun complement. The verbal noun precedes *yàgí jòg-â:*, which is participial in form and may be followed by definite *ké*. This NP is often the complement of all-purpose postposition *mà*.

(xx1) *[[jáŋgí-lé yàgí jòg-â: ké] mà]*
[[begin-**VblN** be.right Perfect-Ppl Def.InanSg.E] in]
'(at the place) where one should begin' (2005-1a)

17.5 Complement clause with bare stem (chaining form) of verb

17.5.1 'Finish' (*jɛ́*)

The verb *jɛ́* 'finish' (also a **transitive verb 'take'**) follows a VP ending in a bare verb stem. It is ordinarily used in the perfective in the sense 'finish', but other aspects are possible ('I will finish eating'), and regular imperatives and hortatives occur. Examples of the 'finish' construction are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *mànâ: kwɛ́ j-ǒ: ló*
meal eat finish-2SgS Q
'Have you finished eaten?'

b. *kwɛ́ jà-lú-m*
eat finish-PfNeg-1SgS
'I haven't finished eating.'

The positive and negative perfective paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx2)	category	Perfective	Perfective Neg
	1Sg	*jɛ̀-ḿ*	*jà-lú-m*
	1Pl	*jɛ̀-ý*	*jà-lí-ỳ*
	2Sg	*j-ɔ̌:*	*jà-l-ó:*
	2Pl	*j-ɛ̌:*	*jà-l-é:*
	3Sg	*jɛ̀-∅*	*jă-l*
	3Pl	*j-à:*	*jà:-ndí*

The perfective negative paradigm, and those of other AN categories based on the A/O-stem, are homophonous with those of *já-* 'can, be able to'. In practice this is not much of a problem since the 'can' verb occurs predominantly in the future inflection (§17.5.xxx).

17.5.2 'Help' (*bă̌r*)

This verb (which in other contexts means 'add, increase') takes an object (postposition *gì*) and an optional complement clause with a chained verb stem. The subject of the complement verb is (seemingly) coindexed with the object of the chained verb, as in '[X help Y [Y do the work]]'. However, if *bă̌r* is taken to mean literally 'add (oneself)', i.e. 'join in', it may be that the subject of *bă̌r* is included in the set of agents of the chained verb.

(xxx)	*[mí*	*gì]*	*[bírɔ́:*	*bìrɛ́]*	*bàrè-∅*
	[1Sg	Acc]	[work(n)	work]	help.Perf-3SgS

'He/She helped me work (=do) the work.'

17.5.3 Capacitative constructions

17.5.3.1 'Be able to, can' (*já*)

The basic positive and negative paradigms of *já* 'can, be able to', used for time reference including the present (including permanent capability), are in (xx1). The *-mbò-* suffix in the positive can probably be identified as the future

morpheme, but the tone of the stem is low. The negative resembles the regular future negative but the stem has high rather than rising tone.

(xx1)

subject	positive	negative
1Sg	*jà-mbò-m*	*já-nù-m*
2Sg	*jâ-mb-ò:*	*já-nd-ò:*
3Sg	*jà-m-∅*	*já-ndì-∅*
1Pl	*jà-mbò-y*	*já-nd-ì:*
2Pl	*jà-mb-è:*	*já-nd-è:*
3PL	*jà-mb-à*	*já-ndì-yà*

Regular perfective forms are also possible: *jà-lú-m* 'I could not', *jè-ḿ* 'I could'. The perfective negative paradigm is homophonous with that of *jè-* 'finish' (§17.5.xxx). Thus [VP *jà-lú-m*] can mean either 'I could not VP' or 'I didn't finish VP-ing'.

The 'can' verb follows a VP with a bare verb stem (xx2). The combination could be analysed as a straight verb chain with no linking morpheme.

(xxx) a. *[kìnû: kó] jènjé jà-mb-ò: ló*
[stone Def.InanSg.O] lift can-Fut-2SgS Q
'Can you-Sg lift the stone?'

b. *[kìnû: kó] jènjé já-nù-m*
[stone Def.InanSg.O] lift can-FutNeg-1SgS
'I can't lift the stone.'

c. *[èndê: bà:] gìné já-ndì-∅*
[child father.L] say can-FutNeg-3SgS
'The father of a child cannot say (that).' (2005-1a)

d. *[tó⇒ nè] [íyó là] màmílí-yé nè là]*
[fast Adv] [today also] go.back-MP Adv.SS also]
wé jà-m
come can-Fut.3SgS
'He can come back (to it) quickly today.' (2005-1a)

e. *ánì [yĕ: dòm] ǹdíy já-ndì-∅,*
man [woman speech.L] listen can-FutNeg-3SgS
yĕ: [ánì dòm] ǹdíy já-ndì-∅
woman [man speech.L] listen can-FutNeg-3SgS

‘A man can’t listen to the words of a woman, a woman can’t listen to the words of a man.’ (2005-1a)

17.5.3.2 ‘Have a chance to’ (*dùmɛ́*)

The ‘get, obtain’ verb *dùmɛ́* is not the common ‘can VP’ predicate, though verbs with the basic sense ‘get, obtain’ do have this function in Jamsay and several other Dogon languages.

In Najamba, *dùmɛ́* ‘get, obtain’ does occur occasionally in texts in a construction with the sense ‘have a chance (opportunity) to VP’.

(xx1) *óbí-y* *dúmà-njò-ndí-yà*
sit-MP **get**-Progr-Neg-3PlS
‘They (= women) have no chance to sit down.’

17.6 Purposive, causal, and locative clauses

17.6.1 Motion verb with purposive suffix *-â:*

A motion verb may take a purposive complement. The verb of the complement clause has purposive suffix *-â:*, replacing the stem-final vowel, with no further inflectional suffixation. The vocalism of nonfinal syllables is consistent with the **A/O-stem**. The stem has **low tones** in nonfinal syllables. The combination of *-â:* with a monosyllabic stem results in a <LHL> syllable. Examples of the form of the purposive are in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	purposive
	‘bathe’	*dìyɛ́*	*dìy-â:*
	‘slaughter’	*sɛ́mɛ́*	*sèm-â:*
	‘scrub’	*túújújɛ́*	*tùgùj-â:*
	‘cut’	*kɛ́jɛ́*	*kèj-â:*
	‘shave’	*kɛ́:*	*k-ɛ̂:*
	‘pour’	*swɛ́*	*sw-ɛ̂:*
	‘bring’	*jê:*	*j-ɛ̂:*

Examples of the construction are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *[íŋgé* *dìy-â:]* *ínè-∅*
[water bathe-**Purp**] go.Perf-3SgS

'He/She went to bathe.'

b. *[swɛ̌:* *mòg-â:]* *ín-ò:*
[garment.Pl wash-**Purp**] go.Perf-3PlS
'They went to wash the clothes.'

c. *kw-ɑ̂:* *wè-ḿ*
eat-**Purp** come.Perf-1SgS
'I have come (in order) to eat.'

d. *[pɛ̀gɛ́* *mó]* *[[ḿ* *bà]* *gì]*
[sheep Def.AnSg] [[1SgP father.L] Acc]
ǹd-â: *jè:-ḿ*
give-**Purp** bring.Perf-1SgS
'I brought the sheep-Sg in order to give (it) to my father.'

e. *[gɔ̌n-gó* *má]* *[tàgă:* *má]* *[íŋgé* *èr-â:]*
[waterjar-InanSg.Owith] [pond in] [water draw.water-**Purp**]
ìn-ó: *mɛ́* *díndì*
go.Perf-2SgS if all
'If you go to the pond to draw water with a water jar' (2005-1a)

f. [*dúmɛ́:* *[gàndí* *bè* *dîn]* *dòŋg-â:]*
[animal.Pl [some Def.AnPl.L all] touch-**Purp]**
ìn-ó: *mɛ́*
go.Perf-2SgS if
'if you went in order to (=if you tried to) touch any other (livestock) animals' (2005-1a)

jànjí-mbò, a chaining form (§15.1.2) of *jànjí* 'do on purpose', may be placed at the beginning of the purposive clause with *-â:*.

(xx3) *[[hâl* *ŋgâ:n]* *[nɔ̌:* *mó]* *bɛ̀lí-y-ɔ̀:]*
[[until there] [person Def.AnSg] get.up-MP.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O
jànjí-mbò *yɛ̀pà:bé* *dùnd-â:* *tómá-tómá*
do.on.purpose-and.SS thing.Pl look.for-**Purp** one-one
'The person (= the linguist) got up (= came from) as far away as there (= overseas) solely in order to look for things.' (2005.1a)

17.6.2 Purposive clause with *gìnɛ́-mbò* 'saying'

A more general purposive clause type, expressing the motive for an action and compatible with any type of main clause (not just motion verbs), involves the invariant form *gìnɛ́-mbò* 'say and' (or 'saying'), based on *gìnɛ́* 'say' (or, as here, 'say to oneself, think, intend'). This 'say' verb has a complement with the same subject and a future verb ending in *-mbó-* plus pronominal-subject suffix. Examples with 1st/2nd person subjects bring out the structure most clearly (xx1).

(xx1) a. *[[kɛ̌lɛ̀ dùmà-mbó-ỳ] gìnɛ́-mbò] bírɔ́: bírà-njò-y*
[[money.Plobtain-Fut-1PlS] say-and] work(n) work-Pres-1PlS
'We work (=do) work, in order to get money.'

b. *[[kɛ̌lɛ̀ dùmà-mb-ô:] gìnɛ́-mbò] bírɔ́: bírà-nj-ò:*
[[money.Plobtain-Fut-2SgS]say-and] work(n) work-Pres-2SgS
'We work (=do) work, in order to get money.'

c. *[gúlì: kɛ́] [bìyò-mbó-ỳ gìnɛ́-mbò]*
[shed Def.InanSg.E] [lie.down-Fut-1PlS] say-and]
gùlɛ̀-ỳ
build.shed.Perf-1PlS
'We built the shed in order for us to sleep (there).'

For third person subject, the future verb in the purposive clause takes the fixed form *-mbó-m̀*, morphologically a pseudo-1Sg subject that actually functions as logophoric subject marker. Since the purposive is structured as a (thought) quotation, this can be considered as reflecting the underlying direct (thought) quotation of the type 'He build the shed, saying (=thinking) "I will sleep there."' However, for 3Pl subject the same pseudo-1Sg future form is used. The regular 3Sg future is *-m̀*, and the regular 3Pl future is *-mb-à*.

(xx1) a. *[[mànâ: kwà-mbó-m̀] gìnɛ́-mbò] òbì-y-ò:*
[[meal eat-Fut-LogoS] say-and] sit-MP.Perf-3PlS
'They sat down to eat a meal.'

b. *[gúlì: kɛ́] [bìyò-mbó-m̀ gìnɛ́-mbò]*
[shed Def.InanSg.E] [lie.down-Fut-LogoS] say-and]
gùlɛ̀-∅
build.shed.Perf-1PlS

'He built the shed in order for himself to sleep (there).'

c. *[[mànâ: kwà-mbó-m̀] gìné-mbò] òbì-yè-∅*
[[meal eat-Fut-LogoS] say-and] sit-MP.Perf-3SgS
'He/She sat down to eat a meal.'

17.6.3 Causal ('because') clause

The most common 'because' clause type begins with *sábù*, a regionally widespread form related to noun *sábà:bù* 'reason'. Such clauses describe the causal forces behind an eventuality, or the epistemological evidence for drawing a conclusion.

(xxx) *sábù kì-[èl-ŋgé⇑],*
because luck]
[[[nǐ: tɔ̀mɔ́:] [bă: tɔ̀mɔ́:]] kì-[èl-ŋgè]] kúndú=là-∅
[[[mother one] [father one]] luck.L] one=not.be-3SgS
'(Not everyone is successful.) Because good luck (= fortune), the fortunes of (children, even of) the same mother and the same father are not the same.' (2005-1a; 'luck' = "head-sweetness")

An alternative construction is to state the proposition that denotes the causing eventuality. This sentence is then resumed by inanimate singular *kó* plus purposive postposition *nèn* (cf. English *that's why* …) and the proposition denoting the caused eventuality is stated (xx2).

(xx1) *[bàndî:-mbò [[sɔ̀njɔ̌: ké] mà] ŋw-à:]*
[bandit-Pl [village Def.InanSg.E] in] enter.Perf-3PlS]
[kó nèn] kêŋ g-ò:
[that.InanSg.O for] there go.out.Perf-3PlS
'Bandits came into the village, for that (reason) they (=villagers) went away.'

Another construction is seen in (xx3). Again the causing eventuality is expressed before the caused eventuality. Here, however, the clause denoting the causing eventuality ends in *gìné-mbò* 'saying (=thinking)'. It reflects the (human) motivation for the event of the first clause.

(xx3) *[[bàndî:-mbò kêŋ ŋw-à:] gìné-mbò]*
[[bandit-Pl there enter.Perf-3PlS] say-and]
[[[sɔ̀njɔ́: ké] mà] g-ò:],

[[[village Def.InanSg.E] in] go.out.Perf-3PlS
'They (= villagers) went away from the village, because bandits came into there.'

17.6.4 'Because of', '(more) than', 'a fortiori'

'Cause, reason, motive (for doing something)' can be expressed by the noun *sábà:bù*, ultimately from Arabic, or by the noun *dû:*. The postposition 'for, on account of' is *nèn* (§8.xxx).

In (xx1), a complex postposition *[[X sàbà:bù] mà]* built on the possessed form of *sábà:bù* plus the all-purpose postposition *mà* creates a 'because of X' construction, compare English *on account of*.

(xx1) *[ké là] bǎ-l=bè-∅ gìn-â:,*
[InanSg.E also] be-PerfNeg=Past-3SgS say.Perf-Ppl,
[[[jěnjà mà→] [[dí:nà kó] má→] sàbà:bù] mà],
[[[God and] [[religion Def.InanSg.O] and] reason.L] in]
[ké là] wè-∅
[InanSg.E also] come.Perf-3SgS
'That (= slaughtering an animal on a holy day) didn't use to happen (before Islam). That came because of God and (Islamic) religion.' (2005-1a)

'A fortiori, much less, not to mention' (local French *à plus forte raison*) is expressed by the phrase-initial particle *sákò* or *sákkò*, a variant of a widespread regional form (Fulfulde, etc.). It occurs in contexts like 'I don't have one dollar to my name, much less (= never mind) a thousand dollars'. That is, the first clause expresses a proposition of the 'not (even)' type, and the a fortiori clause that follows negates a proposition with a wider quantificational scope or denoting a rarer or more difficult eventuality, for rhetorical effect.

(xxx) *íyó, èndê: nàl-ó: mé,*
today, child bear.Perf-2SgS if,
[[èndê: mó] gì] ó dènjá-mà-ndí-yà,
[[child Def.AnSg] Acc] 2SgS hit-Caus-PresNeg-3PlS,
sákò [yě: mó gày là]
a.fortiori [woman Def.AnSg Top also]
'Nowadays, if you have borne a child, they don't let you beat the child, never mind (beat) the woman.' (2005-2a)

17.6.5 Negative purposive (prohibitive) clause

Elicited negative purposive clauses take the form of a future negative participle (O-class) followed by purposive postposition *nèn* 'for'. The subject of the negative purposive clause and that of the main clause may be the same or different.

(xx1) a. *[èndê: mó] [[[kìnû: kó mà]*
[child Def.AnSg] [[[stone Def.InanSg.O with]
mó dìnì-yá-nd-ò:] nèn] tòmbè-∅
3SgS bump-MP-**FutNeg-Ppl**.InanSg.O] **for**] jump.Perf-3SgS
'The child jumped (away) so as not to be in a collision with (= so as not to be hit by) the stone.'

b. *[[sěydù kéndà: mó já-nd-ò:] nèn]*
[S heart.L Def.AnSg take-**FutNeg-Ppl**.InanSg.O] **for**]
[[tê: ké] mà] súkàrà ígò-ndí gànè-ḿ
[[tea Def.InanSg.E] in] sugar a.lot put.Perf-1SgS
'So that Seydou wouldn't get angry ("take a heart"), I put a lot of sugar in the tea.'

18 Anaphora

18.1 Reflexive

18.1.1 Reflexive non-subject arguments (with *kî:* 'head')

A possessed form of *kî:* 'head', e.g. *mí kì:* 'my head', may be used in reflexive object function (xx1). No further determiners are possible in this type of reflexive phrase, and accusative *gì* is omitted.

(xx1) a. *[mí kì:] dènjɛ́ jɛ̀-ḿ*
[1SgP head.L] hit finish.Perf-1SgS
'I hit myself.'

b. *[mó kì:] dènjɛ́ jɛ̂-∅*
[3SgP head.L] hit finish.Perf-3SgS
'She hit herself.'

c. *[bé kì:] dènjɛ́ j-â:*
[3PlP head.L] hit finish.Perf-3PlS
'They hit themselves.'

d. *[[ó kì:] dènjá-l-ó: mɛ́]*
[[2SgP head.L] hit-PerfNeg-2SgS if]
[nǒ: mǎ:mà-nd-ó:]
[person defeat-PresNeg-2SgS
'If you haven't hit yourself (first), you can't handle (= beat) (another) person.' (2005-1a)

The only cases involving the complement of a simple (non-composite) postposition and a coidnexed clausemate subject that I was able to elicit were with purposive *nɛ̀n* 'for'. Here the explicit reflexive is required (xx2). For composite postpositions, see the following section.

(xx2) *[[bé kì:] nɛ̀n] bírà-nj-ɛ̂:*
[[3PlP head] for] work-Pres-3PlS
'They work for themselves.'

18.1.2 Reflexive possessor

There is **no special marking** of reflexive possessor, as in 'X saw [X's Y]', where the possessor of the non-subject NP is coindexed with the clausemate subject. Instead, the regular pronominal possessor forms are used. When the subject is third person (xx1.b,d), this results in ambiguity, as in English (*He$_i$ drank his$_i$ /his$_j$ tea*)'. In textual examples (xx1.e), the translation indicates the contextually appropriate reference.

(xxx) a. *[àtê: mí gè]* *nè-ḿ*
[tea 1SgS Poss.InanSg.E] drink.Perf-1SgS
'I drank my tea.'

b. *[àtê: mó gè]* *nè-∅*
[tea **AnSgP** Poss.InanSg.E] drink.Perf-3SgS
'He$_i$ drank his$_i$/his$_j$ tea.'

c. *[[ḿ bà] tàr-â:]* *ínò-njò-m̀*
[[1SgP father.L] visit-Purp] go-Pres-1SgS
'I will go visit my father.'

d. *[[mó bà] tàr-â:* *ínò-njò-∅*
[[**AnSgP** father.L] visit-Purp go-Pres-3SgS
'He$_i$ will go to visit his$_i$/his$_j$ father.'

e. *[nǒ: dîn là] [[mó òlò] mà] kán-lé*
[person all also] [[**AnSgP** house.l] in] do-VblN
mó há:nè b-ɔ̀:]
AnSg ought be-Ppl.InanSg.O
'what each person is supposed to do in his (own) house' (2005-1a)

Several adverbial postpositions are complex, of the type *[*X *bàndì] mà]* 'in X's back' = 'behind X'. When the clausemate subject is coindexed with the complement of the complex postposition (which is really a possessor), the resulting construction is comparable to e.g. (xx1.d), above, and the overt reflexive pronoun is not required. We therefore have the plain 3Sg (animate) possessor *mó* in (xx2.a), whether or not *mó* is coindexed with the subject. For emphasis or to avoid confusion, the explicit reflexive is used (xx2.b). (xx2.c) does have the reflexive since the pragmatic context requires foregrounding of the coindexation.

(xx2) a. *élɛ́* *[[mó* *bàndì]* *mà]* *sìbì-rè-∅*
peanuts [[3SgP back] in] hide-Tr.Perf-3SgS
'She hid the peanuts behind herself/him.'

b. *élɛ́* *[[[mó* *kì:]* *bàndì]* *mà]* *sìbì-rè-∅*
peanuts [[[3SgP head] back] in] hide-Tr.Perf-3SgS
'She hid the peanuts behind herself.'

18.2 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

18.2.1 True logophoric function

No specialized logophoric pronoun has been observed. Instead, regular pronominal forms (including subject-pronominal inflection on verbs) occur in quoted clauses. A third person pronominal in a quoted clause may or may not be coindexed with a third person quoted speaker. Therefore in (xx1), 3Sg *mó* as direct object may, but need not be, coindexed with the subject (Sidi).

(xx1) *sí:dì* *[[mí* *yà:]* *[mó* *gì]* *dɛ̀njɛ̀]* *wá,*
S [[1Sg Foc] [3Sg Acc] hit.Perf] say,
kà: *pàbă:=ý*
but untruth=it.is
'Sidi$_x$ says (= claims) that I hit him$_x$/him$_y$ but it's untrue.'

18.2.2 Logophoric subject as pseudo-1Sg

In (xx1), the free translation follows the English pattern whereby pronominals and other indexicals are updated in indirect discourse. In Najamba, however, 'you will go' is expressed as a form identical to 'I will go'. In other words, the (apparent) 1Sg pronominal-subject suffix on the verb seemingly captures the original first-person quality of the reported speech/thought (quoted directly): "If you say, 'I will go …'" This logophoric use of the 1Sg is limited to subject position, and is expressed by the (apparent) 1Sg pronominal-subject suffix *-m*.

(xx1) *kɛ̂n* *ìnò-njò-m* *gìn-ɔ́:* *mɛ́*
there go-Pres-**LogoS** **say**.Perf-2SgS if
'If you-Sg say (intend) that you will go there, …' (2005-1a)

That the 1Sg suffix has **specialized as a general logophoric subject** in this context is shown by the fact that it may be used with plural referent, where we

might have expected a 1Pl using the direct-discourse logic expressed above (xx2). I therefore gloss it "-LogoS" rather than "-1SgS."

(xx2) *kên* *ìnò-ɲjò-m* *gìn-é:* *mé*
there go-Pres-**LogoS** **say**.Perf-2PlS if
'If you-Pl say (intend) that you will go there, …'

In addition, the pseudo-1Sg pronominal is disregarded in any further anaphoric operations involving referential identity. Instead, the actually denoted referent functions as the antecedent. In (xx3.c), the object of 'kill' is a snake. Replacing this with a (true) 1Sg object (xx3.b), we get a reading where the pseudo-1Sg subject suffix *-m*, in logophoric function, is referentially disjoint from the 1Sg object, so we get no reflexive morphology. By contrast, when the direct object of 'kill' is in fact coindexed with the logophoric antecedent, as in (xx3.c), we do get reflexive morphology ('your head' = 'yourself').

(xx3) a. *kòŋgò-[jàlá-ŋgó]* *gìyà-mbó-m̀* *gìn-ɔ́:* *mé*
thing.L-[long-InanSg.O] kill-Fut-**LogoS** say.Per-2SgS if
'if you-Sg say (intend) to kill a snake, …'

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

c. *[[ó* *kì:]* *gì]* *gìyà-mbó-m̀* *gìn-ɔ́:* *mé*
[[**2SgP** **head.L**] Acc] kill-Fut-**LogoS** say.Per-2SgS if
'if you-Sg say (intend) to kill yourself, …'

Further textual examples are in (xx2). (xx2.a) is of the literal type "He says, 'I am tired'." In (xx2.b), the quoted speaker is the addressee, as indicated by the preposed 2Sg pronoun *ó*. This is coindexed, as in the other examples of this section, by a 1Sg pronominal-subject suffix. What is interesting about (xx2.b) is that the direct object of the verb of the quoted clause is a true 1Sg pronominal, so the Najamba construction translates literally as "you$_x$ will say [I$_x$ won't give to me$_y$]." Note that the first 1Sg pronominal in this literal translation, but not the second 1Sg pronominal, is coindexed to 'you' as attributed author of the quotation.

(xx2) a. *kà:* *[mó* *là]* *àyè-ḿ* *gínà-ɲjò-∅*
but [AnSg also] be.weary.Perf-**LogoS** **say**-Pres-3SgS
'But he too says (= claims) that he is tired.' (2005-1a)

b. … *gìnɛ́-m* *mɛ́,*
… say.Perf-1SgS if,
ó *[mí* *gì]* *ǹdá-nù-m* *gìnà-mb-ô:*
2Sg [1Sg Acc] give-FutNeg-**LogoS** **say**-Fut-2SgS
'If I say (that), you will say that you won't give (him/her) to me.' (2005-2a)

For a similar generalized 1Sg verb form in an 'owner of X' compound, see ex. (xx2) in §5.1.8.

18.2.3 'The guy/fellow' (*dòmbâ-n*)

A noun *dòmbâ-n* can be used to index a previously introduced generic or indefinite discourse referent, as in discussions of general truths, or a referent whose identity is not known to the speaker. Example: 'I ran into a young man in the park; **the guy/fellow** was too drunk to talk clearly'.

dòmbâ-n is related to *dòmbă:* 'owner', and the plural of both is *dòmbà-mbó* 'the guys; owners'. An example occurs at the end of the extended passage in (xx1).

(xx1) *ùsfɔ̃:* *ǹdá:-l-é:* *mó* *là,*
path give-PerfNeg-Ppl AnSg also,
[jáŋgɛ́ *jòg-â:* *mà]* *dìmbà-ndí-∅⇑,*
[study(verb) have-Ppl in] follow-StatNeg-3SgS,
[jáŋgá-l-é: *má]* *dìmbà-ndí⇓,*
[study(verb)-PerfNeg-Ppl in] follow-StatNeg-3SgS,
jěnjà *ùsfɔ̃:* *[dòmbâ-n* *gì]* *ǹdá:-l-∅* *mɛ́* *tán⇑,* …
God pather [**guy** Acc] give-PerfNeg-3SgS if only, …
'On the other hand, (someone) to whom He (= God) has not given (=shown) the path, it doesn't matter if he been educated, it doesn't matter if he hasn't been educated. If God hasn't given the path to **the fellow**, …' (2005-1a)

Another textual example is (xx2), with two occurrences of *dòmbâ-n*, from a similar passage about general truths.

(xx2) *bárkɛ̀* *kó⇑,* *dòmbâ-n* *dìmbì-yá-m̀,*
blessing Def.InanSg.O, **guy** follow-MP-Fut.3SgS,
bárkɛ̀ *dòmbân* *[ó* *mà]* *kwá:-l-∅* *mɛ́* *dîn,*
blessing **guy** [2Sg in] eat-PerfNeg-3SgS if all,
[ó *gì]* *dìmbí-yà-ndí-∅*

[2Sg Acc] follow-MP-FutNeg-3SgS
'(If someone has received blessedness [= good treatment] at your home), that blessedness will follow the fellow. If the fellow did not eat (=receive) blessedness at your place, he will not follow you.' (2005-1a)

18.2.4 Occasional "obviative" markers

Given the relatively rich set of demonstrative categories, it is possible for spatial relationships vis-à-vis speaker (and addressee) to be used opportunistically to **index a secondary topic** (perhaps several times in an extended passage). The far-distant demonstrative, especially animate singular *òmá:*, is common in this function. An example is the passage in (xx1), where *òmá:* occurs twice. It refers to the secondary topic (tall person) who functions as **counterparty** to the primary referent (short person), who is marked as proximate.

(xx1) X: *[[nó: dîn] jóg-è: gà] kánà-ndí-∅,*
[[person every] have-Ppl Top] be.done-Pres.Neg-3SgS
[[[nò: gàbê: mó]
[[[person.L tall.AnSg Def.AnSg]
kèŋgè túŋgí jòg-â: ké] mà]
place.L reach have-Ppl Def.InanSg.E] in]
[[dèndí: mó là] [ké gì] túŋgó-m̀]
[[short.AnSg Def.AnSgalso] [InanSg.EAcc] reach-Fut.3Sg
Y: *kóndò-ndí-∅*
be.good-PresNeg-3SgS
X: *[mó gì] pònă-mb-à:≡ỳ mà⇒,*
[[AnSg Acc] wring-Fut-Pass≡it.is Q,
má òmá: tòndì-yò-mb-ê: mà→,
or **Far.AnSg** bend-MP-Fut-Ppl Q,
tóndí-y jòg-â:=ỳ kànè-∅ mé,
bend-MP have-Ppl=it.is be.done.Perf-3sgS if,
òmá: áy jòg-â:=ỳ, [[ŏm gì]
Far.AnSg be.weary have-Ppl=it.is, [[**Prox.AnSg** Acc]
jùmbɛ́ nɛ̀] [ŋgâ:n jùmbɛ́ dɔ̀:-nd-ɔ̀: dé],
pull Adv] [there pull reach-Caus.Perf-3PlS if],
[mó là] áy jòg-â:=ỳ
[AnSg also] be.weary have-Ppl=it.is
X: It doesn't happen (= is impossible) that every person has (wealth), (or) that the short (person) reaches the place (=height) that the tall person has reached.
Y: It isn't done well (= good).

X: Will he (=short person) be wrung (= stretched), or will **that one** (=tall person) bend? If he bends, **that one** (=tall person) will suffer. If you-Sg pull **this one** (=short person) and make him reach there (=that height), he too will suffer.

Demonstrative adverbs ('here', 'over there', etc.) may also be used in this way. See §4.4.3.2 for an example ('The sun rises here, and the sun sets around here'), where two locations (east and west horizons) are indicated by proximate 'here', the second adding an approximative suffix ('around here').

18.3 Reciprocal

18.3.1 Simple reciprocals (*tò-mbó*, *tɔ̃́:n*)

Reciprocal constructions are based on the nouns *tò-mbó* (used for groups of three or more) and *tɔ̃́:n* (for two persons). They are related to the noun *tɔ̌:* 'comrade, agemate' (plural *tò-mbó*). These are used in direct object function to indicate reciprocal coindexation with a nonsingular clausemate subject. There is no agreement with the noun-class or pronominal person of the subject. Accusative *gì*, which is largely predictable here, is optional. When it is present, /tɔ̃́:n gì/ is usually heard as [tɔ̃́:ŋgì] with the /*n*/ assimilating to the velar.

(xx1) a. *[nò-mbó bè dîn] [tò-mbó (gì)]* *tàr-à:*
[person-Pl Pl.L all] [Recip-Pl (Acc)] look.at.Perf-3PlS
'All the people looked at each other.'

b. *[[yɛ̌:* *mó* *má→]* *[ánè* *mò* *mà→]]*
[[woman Sg and] [man Sg and]]
[tɔ̌:ŋ *gì]* *tàr-à:*
[RecipDu Acc] look.at.Perf-3PlS
'The woman and the man looked at each other.'

c. *tò-mbó* *tàrè-ý*
Recip-Pl look.at.Perf-1PlS
'We (three or more) looked at each other.'

In (xx2), the reciprocal noun is used with **locative** postposition *mà*. /tɔ̃́:n mà/ is often pronounced [tɔ̃́:m:à] as the /n/ assimilates to the *m*.

(xx2) a. *[kǐn-bò* *nô:y]* *[tɔ̃́:n* *mà]* *dìnì-y-à:*
[stone-Pl two] [**RecipDu** **in**] bump-MP.Perf-3PlS

‘Two stones bumped into each other.’

b. *[nò-mbó bè dîn] [tò-mbó mà] dìnì-y-à:*
[person-Pl Pl.L all] [**Recip-Pl in**] bump-MP.Perf-3PlS
‘All the people bumped into each other.’

tò-mbó is a **possessor** in (xxx). It therefore forces tone-dropping on the following possessed noun.

(xxx) *jěnjà [tò-mbó sèmbè kó là]*
God [Recip-Pl strength.L Def.InanSg.O also]
[í gì] sémbá-m-ná
[1Pl Acc] strong-Fact-Hort.3Sg
‘May God fortify us (with) each other’s (= mutual) strength (to work together).’ (2005-1a)

18.3.2 ‘together’ (*sɔ̌:*)

The simple adverb *sɔ̌:* can be used to indicate collective activity (xx1). An alternative is to use a chain involving the verb *mùlé* ‘assemble, come together’ (§15.1.xxx, above).

(xxx) a. *sɔ̌: bìrà-mbó-ỳ*
together work-Fut-1PlS
‘We will work together.’

b. *[bé kà dîn] [àlhâ:l bɛ́ gɔ̀]*
[AnPl Top all] [situation AnPlP Poss.InanSg.O]
sɔ̌: ínò-njò-∅
together go-Pres-3SgS
‘Both of them (= herder and merchant), their situation goes together (= is similar).’ (2005-1a)

19 Grammatical pragmatics

19.1 Topic

19.1.1 Topic (*kày*, *gày*, *gà*, *kây*)

A topicalized constituent is normally fronted, and may either be preclausal (in which case a topicalized NP may be resumed by a pronoun in the clause proper) or part of the clause. The topic particle has variant forms *kày*, *gày*, and *gà*.

Topics are commonly contrastive, i.e. tend to occur at the point where attention shifts from one discourse referent to another. The topic particle competes with *là* 'also, too, likewise', which occurs in contexts where the two referents occupy similar semantic positions. Examples of topic particles with NPs, pronouns, and adverbs are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *mâ:n [mí mà] j-ô: kó gày*
so.and.so [1Sg Dat] bring.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O **Top**
'As for (what) So-and-So has brought to me, …' (2005-1a)

b. *[í mà] bé wé jòg-à: kó [í gày],*
[1Pl Dat] AnPl come Perf-PplNS Def.InanSg.O [1Pl **Top**]
[kòŋgò, í tìgà-ŋgà] pàlâ:=ỳ
[thing.L, 1PlS know-Pres.Ppl] small=it.is
'(the fact) that they have come to us, as for us, the thing that we know is small' (2005.1a)

c. *[ŋă: gà] [ìnèn-[tún-lé] má⇂], gŏ:rè=ỳ=bè-∅*
[yesterday Top] [name-[put-VblN]in], kola=it.is=Past-3SgS
'As for (what happened) in the past, in name-giving (ceremonies), it used to be kola nuts (that were offered to visitors).' (2005-1a)

A dative PP is topicalized in (xx2).

(xx2) *[nè:ndá: dă:-mbò gw-è: mé là]*
[bad.InanSg.O speak-and go.out.Perf-2PlS if also]
[[nò-mbó bé] mà kà] kúmbà=ỳ]
[[person-Pl Def.AnPl] Dat **Top**] unawareness=it.is

‘(and) furthermore if you-Pl have gone out and said bad ones (= words), the people for their part are unaware’ (2005-1a) (/dàmá-mbò/)

A common device is to introduce a NP or proposition, then resume it as a topicalized demonstrative as a transition to a following clause in which the referent functions as an argument. An example is *kó gà* in (xx3).

(xx3) *[kóŋgò kó] ínèn jògò-ndí⇑,*
[thing Def.InanSg.O] name have-StatNeg,
[kó gà] kánà-ndí-∅⇓
[**InanSg.O Top**] be.done-PresNeg-3SgS
‘(the possibility) that the thing does not have a name, that (= being nameless) doesn’t happen (= is impossible)’ (2005-1a)

Topicalization is very common and is sometimes best disregarded in the free translation, especially since the English *as for X* construction is so clumsy. It is not unusual to find **two “topics”** in the same breath (xxx).

(xxx) *[dè:gó kó] [íyó gà] [í gà] yá-njò-ndí-ỳ*
[truth Def.InanSg.O] [today **Top**] [1Pl **Top**] see-Progr-Neg-1PlS
‘The truth, as for us nowadays, we don’t see (it).’ (2005-1a)

It is also not unusual to find a topic particle combined with other discourse particles in ways that make a literal translation unthinkable. In (xxx), the second instance (out of three) of topic morpheme *kà* is followed by focus *yà:* and then by *là* ‘also, too, likewise’. The focus particle is clearly appropriate in context, as the clause in question is exactly parallel to the preceding focalized clause. The fact that *ŋ̀gú* ‘this’ (here a nonspecific place-holder, like ‘such-and-such’) denotes something different in the two parallel clauses is responsible for both the topic and ‘also, likewise’ particles.

(xxx) *[tìmɛ̂: yé] [[ŋ̀gú yà:] jóŋà-njò-∅]*
[tree.Pl Def.InanPl] [[Prox.InanSg.O Foc] treat-Pres-3SgS
… *[í kà] dà:ndà:-ndí,*
… [1Pl **Top**] tell-PerfNeg.3PlS,
[[ŋ̀gú kà yà: là]
[[[Prox.InanSg.O **Top** **Foc** **also**]
nŏ: kóndò-njò-∅] [í kà] dà:ndà:-ndí
person do.well-Pres [1Pl **Top**] tell-PerfNeg.3PlS
‘(Of) those trees, they didn’t tell us (that) this (i.e. disease) [focus] is what it (tree) treats, likewise they didn’t tell us (that) this [focus] is what a person makes (from it).’ (2005-1a)

gà and *kà* also occur at the end of factive complements (§xxx).

19.1.2 'Now' (*săŋ* ~ *sàŋgí*, *nû:*)

săŋ ~ *sàŋgí* is the basic 'now' adverb with temporal sense. It is often clause-initial (specifying a temporal setting for the following), and it may combine with topic marker *kà* (or variant). Examples are *săŋ* in (xx3.a) in §15.1.1.2 and in (xx25) in the sample text, and topicalized *săŋ kà* in (xx1.a) in §15.2.5. It also occurs in *sàmmá* 'fast, quickly' (§3.3.11.2), a probable combination with the high-toned variant of all-purpose postposition *mà* (§8.1.2).

Another form, *nû:*, is more of a pragmatic marker. It may occur clause-finally, an anomalous position for a true spatiotemporal adverb or adverbial phrase. Examples are (xx1), (xx7), and (xx41) in the sample text.

The distinction between 'nowadays' and 'formerly, in the old days' is regularly expressed i as *íyó* 'today' versus *ɲă:* 'yesterday'. This opposition is extremely common in my texts from Adia village, which talk at length about how life has changed since the speakers' childhood.

19.1.3 'Also, too, likewise' (*là*)

The very common phrase-final particle *là* can be glossed 'also, too'. However, its semantic range is greater than these glosses suggest. Najamba discourse is full of parallelistic passages (compare Biblical Hebrew, Rotinese, and other poetic traditions favoring parallelism). This lends itself to high-frequency use of *là* in the noninitial clauses or phrases of a parallelistic sequence. In some cases, 'also, too' is the best free translation, i.e. when a portion of two clauses is identical and only one or two constituents or grammatical categories are changed: 'you went to Douentza; I too went to Douentza'; see (xx1.a-b). However, *là* is also common in contexts where the segments are parallel (in a pragmatic sense) but do not involve repeated constituents. In these cases I favor 'likewise' as a gloss in free translations: 'you went to Douentza; I likewise will go to Mopti.' Even 'likewise' is sometimes stretching the parallelism, which may verge into mildly contrastive territory (xx1.c). Because of this, *là* intrudes into the territory of topic morpheme *kày* (and variants): 'you went to Douentza, as for me (by contrast) I will go to Mopti'.

Even when the logical scope of *là* would seem to be clausal, it is normally **attached (clitic-like)** to a NP or similar constituent. Clause-initial pronouns are especially favored for this purpose.

(xx1) a. *kó* *tóló≡ý* *[gĭr* *mà]* *ìnò-mb-ê:⇑,*
InanSg.O more≡it.is [front in] go-Fut-Ppl.Foc,
[kó *tóló* *là]* *[bàndí* *mà]* *nĕỳ*
[InanSg.O more **also**] [behind in] is.good
'<u>That</u> [focus] is what will go in front the most (= is best). That same thing is best in the rear **too**.' (2005-1a)

b. [*tóndí-y* *jòg-â:=ỳ]* *kànè-∅* *mé,*
[bend-MP Perfect-Ppl=it.is] be.done.Perf-3SgS if,
òmá: *áy* *jòg-â:=ỳ,*
Far.AnSg suffer Perfect-Ppl=it.is,
[[ŏm *gì]* *jùmbé* *nè]*
[[Prox.AnSg Acc] pull Adv.SS]
[ŋgâ:n *jùmbé* *dɔ̀:-nd-ɔ̀:* *dé],*
[there pull arrive-Caus.Perf-3PlS if]
[mó *là]* *áy* *jòg-â:=ỳ*
[AnSg **also**] suffer Perfect-Ppl=it.is
'If he (= tall person) bends, that one (= tall person) will suffer. If they pull this one (= short person) and make him reach there (= stretch him to the height of the tall person=), **he too** will suffer.' (2005-1a)

c. *[òmá:* *là]* *yô:-mbò* *yálà-∅*
[Far-AnSg **also**] run-Progr go.around.Stat-3SgS
[kìr-gé: *mó* *gà]*
[herder Def.AnSg Top]
'(A farmer can host a visitor.) That (other) one (= herder), he likewise goes running around, the herder for his part.' (2005-1a) (/*yóbà-mbò*/)

là is compatible with **negation**, where the English free translation could have 'nor' or '(not) either'.

(xxx) *[tìmê:* *yé]* *[[ŋgú* *yà:]* *jóŋà-njò-∅]* …
[tree.Pl Def.InanPl] [[Prox.InanSg.O Foc] treat-Pres-3SgS] …
[í *kà]* *dà:ndà:-ndí,*
[1Pl Top] tell-PerfNeg.3PlS,
[[ŋgú *kà* *yà:* *là]* *nŏ:* *kóndò-njò-∅]*
[[Prox.InanSg.O Top Foc **also**] person do.well-Pres-3SgS]
[í *kà]* *dà:ndà:-ndí*
[1Pl Top] tell-PerfNeg.3PlS

‘(Of) the trees, they didn’t tell us (that) this (i.e. disease) [focus] is what it (tree) treats, **nor** did they tell us (that) this [focus] is what a person makes (from it).’ (2005-1a)

là is also used in the pragmatic sense ‘**furthermore**, moreover, in addition’, where the speaker is adding information to that already expressed, whether or not the eventualities denoted by the respective clauses are themselves parallel in any fashion. Even in such cases, where the logical scope of *là* includes the entire proposition, it is generally cliticized to a pronominal or other constituent near the beginning of the clause.

(xxx) *[bìrá-l-mbò là] dùmí-yà-ndí*
[work-PerfNeg-Progr also] get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS
‘It (= gain) is furthermore not gotten without working.’ (2005-1a)

Although *là* is normally cliticized to a pronoun or similar constituent near the beginning of a clause, it readily occurs after clause-final *mé* ‘if’ in **conditional antecedents**. The combination is pronounced *mé là*.

(xxx) *[[tò-mbó mà] pǎ:m jògò-nd-é: mé là]*
[[Recip-Pl in] understanding have-StatNeg-2PlS **if** **also**]
‘If furthermore you-Pl have no (mutual) understanding among you agemates’ (2005-1a)

19.1.4 ‘Even’ (*hâl*)

Phrase- or clause-initial *hâl*, the ‘until’ or ‘all the way to’ particle, is also used in phrases with the sense ‘even X’. An example is (xx3.b) in §15.1.1.2 (*hál íyó* ‘even today’. Examples like (xx3) in §17.6.1 (*hâl ŋgâ:n* ‘[from] as far away as there’, i.e. ‘even from that far away’) are semantically transitional.

19.2 Presentential discourse markers

19.2.1 ‘Well, …’ (*háyà*)

As in other languages of the zone, *háyà* is common as a ‘well, …’ particle preceding a clause.

19.2.2 'All right, …' (*kóndé→*)

The particle *kóndé→* 'all right' may be used to express assent or acceptance (e.g. of someone's proposal). It is also used as a discourse particle preceding a clause. It is related to verb *kóndí* 'do well, make well; be done well'.

19.2.3 'But …' (*kà:*)

The regionally ubiquitous clause-initial 'but' particle is usually pronounced with low pitch in my data, and I transcribe *kà:*. Occasional high-pitched variants are also heard; I incline to attribute the high pitch to intonational modification.

19.2.4 'So, …'

The purposive PP *kó nɛ̀n* 'for that' can be placed at the beginning of a clause as an approximation to (causal) 'so …'. I have found no close correspondent to the discourse-particle ('So, how's life?').

19.2.5 'Lo, …' (*jákà*)

As in other languages of the zone, *jákà* is used in anecdotes and narratives as a 'lo and behold' expression preceding a surprising or climactic clause.

19.3 Pragmatic adverbials or equivalents

19.3.1 '(Not) again'

The adverb *wɔ̀ndɛ́* '(not) again' is used with a negation. For intensification, *àbádá* 'never' may be added.

(xx1) a. *ên* *gǒl* *wè-∅,*
here last.year come.Perf-3SgS,
kǎ: *wɔ̀ndɛ́* *màmílí-yɛ́* *wǒ-l-∅*
but not.again go.back-MP come-PerfNeg-3SgS
'She came here last year, but she hasn't come back again.'

b. *àbádá* *wɔ̀ndɛ́* *[sê:* *kɔ̀njɛ̀]* *ná-nù-m*
never not.again [grain beer.L] drink-FutNeg-1SgS

'I will never again drink millet beer.'

19.3.2 'And so forth'

Something like 'and so forth' or 'etcetera' can be expressed as 'it has no limit' at the end of a partial list.

(xx1) *[pègè-mbó* *má→]* *[ínà:* *mà→]* *[párŋgá-mbó* *má→]*
[sheep-Pl and] [goat.Pl and] [donkey-Pl and]
kàló: *jògò-ndí-∅* *yè-ḿ*
limit have-StatNeg-3SgS see.Perf-1SgS
'I saw sheep, goats, donkeys, etcetera.'

19.4 'Only' particles

19.4.1 'Only' (*tómá*, *tán*)

The usual 'only' particle is *tómá*. This is related to certain forms of the numeral 'one' (§4.7.1.1). Where possible semantically, *tómá* is placed at the end of the (non-verb) constituent that defines the limits of the proposition (xx1). It is invariant in form.

(xx1) a. *[bû:d* *pɔ̌:-nɔ̀y* *tómá]* *[mí* *gì]* *ǹdɛ̀-∅*
[riyal ten-two **only**] [1Sg Acc] give.Perf-3SgS
'He/She gave me only ten riyals (100 francs CFA).'

b. *[íyó* *tómá]* *bìrá-m̀*
[today **only**] work-Fut.3SgS
'He/She will work today only.'

c. *[òndô:* *bé* *tómá]* *bírà-nj-è:*
[child.Pl Pl only] work-Pres-Ppl.Foc
'Only the children work.'

When the verb, VP, or clause as a whole is under the logical scope of 'only', we can get a **predicative form** ('it is'), agreeing with the subject, based on singular *tómá* or animate plural *tómá-mbó*. This construction is used when the temporal scope of the proposition is wide or indefinite, so that 'only' is baked into the nature or characteristic behavior of the subject. In one variant of this, the predicate is a **nominalization** of the verb, with senses like '(act of) sitting',

'food/eating', or 'speech, talk', if such a noun is available. Thus 'you only {eat, drink, talk, sleep}' is literally expressed as 'you are just {food, beverage, words, sleep}' (xx2). In this construction, the predicate nominal itself is not conjugated.

(xx2) a. *[ó gà] bírɔ́: bírà-nd-ò:,*
[2Sg Top] work(n) work-Pres.Neg-2SgS,
óbì-n tómá = ẁ
sit-Nom only=it.is.2SgS
'You-Sg don't work, you-Sg just sit.'

b. *[é gà] bírɔ́: bírà-nd-è:,*
[2Sg Top] work(n) work-Pres.Neg-2SgS,
óbì-n tómá-mb = ê:
sit-Nom only-Pl=it.is.2PlS
'You-Pl don't work, you-Pl just sit.'

c. *kwé-ŋgò tómá = ẁ*
food-InanSg.O only=it.is.2SgS
'You-Sg just eat.'

Another version of this general construction is a **double predicate** with the conjugated *tómá* following a conjugated 'it is' form of an **agentive nominal**.

(xx3) a. *swè:-mògé = ẁ tómá = ẁ*
cloth.Pl.L-wash.Agent=it.is.2SgS only=it.is.2SgS
'You-Sg just wash clothes.'

b. *swè:-mògí-mb = è: tómá-mb = ê:*
cloth.Pl.L-wash.Agent-Pl=it.is.2PlS only-Pl=it.is.2PlS
'You-Pl just wash clothes.'

It is also possible to just add unconjugated *tómá* at the end of a regular main clause. This is not the favored construction, but it can be used when the temporal scope is limited and when there is no convenient direct object or other complement of the verb to hang the 'only' particle on (xxx).

(xxx) *mɔ̀g-ɔ̌:* *tómá*
wash.Perf-2SgS only
'You only washed.'

19.4.2 ‘A mere …’ (*lók*)

lók is a more emphatic ‘only’ particle, pronounced as an interjection with high pitch (the preceding word lowers its pitch intonationally to increase the pitch contrast). It is most often used after ‘one’, but it can be used after other quantifiers. The pragmatic context is one of dissatisfaction or surprise at the meagerness of the entity. The reduplication *lók*-*lók* is also in use. It is not distributive (‘one here, one there’), just an alternative to *lók*.

(xx1) a. *[èlɛ̀-ŋgò kúndú lók] [mí gì] ǹdɛ̀-∅*
[peanut-Sg.L one.InanSg.O **mere**] [1Sg Acc] give.Perf-3SgS
‘He/She gave me one lousy peanut.’

b. *[ìjì kúndé lók-lók] dùmɛ̀-m*
[fish.Sg.L one.InanSg.E **mere-mere**] get.Perf-1SgS
‘I got (= caught) one lousy fish.’

19.4.3 ‘If (only)’ (*tán*)

The particle *tán* (‘only’ in Fulfulde) is used chiefly as an alternative ‘if’ particle at the end of conditional antecedent clauses (§xxx).

19.5 Phrase-final emphatics

19.5.1 Phrase-final *já:tì*

examples from texts

19.5.2 Clause-final *kǒy*

examples from texts

19.5.3 Clause-final *dé*

examples from texts

19.5.4 Clause-final '(not) at all!' particles (*péy-péy*, *pés*)

péy-péy and *pés* are emphatics that may precede or follow the negation.

(xx1) 'He/She didn't eat at all', expressed as follows (*kwá:-l* 'did not eat'):

a. *pés* *kwá:-l-∅*
b. *kwá:-l-∅* *pés*
c. *péy-péy* *kwá:-l-∅*
d. *kwá:-l-∅* *péy-péy*

19.6 Greetings

Time-of-day greetings and their responses are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. *kàndá* 'good morning' (from pre-dawn prayer to 9 AM, to one person)
kàndá-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

b. *pǒ:* 'good day' (from 9 AM to noon, to one person)
póyá-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

c. *pǒ: jùmà* 'good afternoon' (from noon to 2 PM, to one person)
póyà ú júmá-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

d. *pǒ: dèndá: má* 'good afternoon' (from 2 PM to dusk, to one person)
póyà dèndá: má-m [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

e. *dɛ̀nɛ́* 'good evening' (from dusk to pre-dawn prayer, to one person)
dɛ̀nɛ́-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

f. *jámmà nâ:y* 'good night' (to one or more persons)

jěnjà í mà síyè-ŋgè ná:m ná [reply]

Situational (activity-related) greetings and their responses are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. *póyà bìrɔ́: má* ‘hello’ (to one at work, farming, etc.)
póyà bìrɔ́: má-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

b. *àjɛ̌: ŋwɛ̂:* ‘welcome’ (to one returning from farming)
àjɛ̌: ŋwɛ́-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

c. *àjɛ̂:* ‘welcome’ (to one returning with water)
àjɛ̂:-m [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

d. *àjá mámìlɛ̀* ‘welcome’ (to one returning from another village)
àjá mámìlɛ̀-m [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *yɔ́:*

e. *[ó má] [ébám má]* ‘welcome’ (to one returning from the market)
[ó má] [ébám má] [same, to two or more persons]
reply: *ébán yɛ̀-ḿ* ‘I’ve seen the market.’
reply: *ébán yɛ̀-ý* ‘we’ve seen the market.’

20 Sample text

This is the first part of a recording made in Adia village in 2005. Speaker P is a middle-aged woman, speaker R is a man. P does most of the talking in this passage, with R as the attentive listener, occasionally intervening as at (xx11).

(xx1) P: *kó* *nû:* *jàŋgă-mb-à:=là,* *háyà* *bìsímìllâ:y,*
InanSg.O now begin-Fut-Pass=it.is.not, well by.God,
ínò-mbò *kábîl* *káná,*
person-Pl excuse(n) do.Imprt,
[[í *bà-mbò]* *[í* *ǹ-bò]]* *mà]*
[[1PlP father-Pl.L] [1PlP mother-Pl.L]] in]
ídìn-ô:,
1PlS find.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O,
[í *bà-mbò* *í* *ǹ-bò]* *dìné:-ỳ,*
[1PlP father-Pl.L] [1PlP mother-Pl.L] find.Perf-1PlS,

P: Is it (= recording) not being begun now? Well, in God's name. My people (= kinsmen), excuse me. What we found (= inherited) from our fathers and our mothers. We found (=were born among) our fathers and our mothers.

[*bìsímìllâ:y* Arabic invocation at the onset of a speech, trip, etc.; *kábîl káná* 'excuse me!' said by a woman when speaking to a group of men; future passive negative *-mb-à:=là* §10.5.2]

(xx2) *[dɔ̀gɔ̀-gwǎ:n* *má]* *ɲǎ:* *b-ɔ̃:* *kày,*
[Dogon.L-country in] yesterday remain.Perf-PplS.O Top,
[mànê: *kwá-m=bè-y]* *[sòlé* *ná-m=bè-y]*
[meal.Pl eat-Impf=Past-1PlS] [cream.of.millet drink-Impf=Past-1PlS]
[ɛ́mè: *ná-m=bè-y]* *[[[í* *ǹ-bò]* *[í* *bà-mbò]]*
[milk drink-Impf=Past-1PlS] [[[1PlP mother-Pl.L] [1PlP father-Pl.L]]
íkómándíyà-m=b-à:,]
1PlO take.care.of-Impf=Past-3PlS]

As for what there was formerly in Dogon country, we used to eat meals, we used to drink cream of millet, we used to drink milk, our mothers and our fathers used to take good care of us.

[participle *b-ɔ̃:* from 'remain/be' verb §11.2.6.1; past imperfective *-m=bè-* §10.3.1.3.]

(xx3) *[í bà-mbò] [nàwó: ínà:] jógò-m=b-à:,*
[1PlP father-Pl] [cow.Pl goat.Pl] have-Stat=Past-3PlS,
[tò-mbó gì] dìmbí-yè-mbò,
[Recip-Pl Acc] follow-MP-and.then,
[tò-mbó mà] < pǎ:m-- > [nǎ:n nè] pǎ:m dùmí-yé=bè,
[Recip-Pl with] < … > [well Adv] understanding get-MP=Past,
kày [íyó nù:], í òndú-∅,
Topic [today now], this not.be-3Sg,
ɲǎ: [í bà-mbò],
yesterday [1PlP father-Pl.L]
[[bé òndò:] gì] [sɛ̌→ nè] kúmbí-y kóndí nɛ̀,
[[3PlP child.Pl.L] Acc] [well Adv] hold-MP do.well and.SS,

Our fathers had cows and goats, they (= family members) followed each other (= lived together), and understanding (=harmony) among each other was well gotten (= they got along well), as for (that). Nowadays, this does not exist. Formerly, our fathers watched carefully over their children in tranquility.

[reciprocal *tò-mbó* §18.3.1; *-mbò* 'and then' after E-stem of verb §15.1.1.2; Demonstrative *í* §xxx; *nè* same-subject subordinator §15.1.1.4]

(xx4) *bǎ: [[mó èndè:] gì] kúmbò-∅ mɛ́,*
father [[3SgP child] Acc] hold.Stat-3SgS if,
èndê: [bǎ:-ǹ gì] dímbà-m=bè-∅, kà: [íyó nù:],
child [father-3SgP Acc] follow-Impf=Past-3SgS, but [today now]
[èndê: mó] [[bǎ: mó] gì] dìmbà-ndí-∅,
[child Def.AnSg] [[father Def.AnSg] Acc] follow-PresNeg-3Sg,
[[bǎ: mó] là] [[èndê: mó] gì] dìmbà-ndí-∅,
[[father Def.AnSg] too] [[child Def.AnSg] Acc] follow-PresNeg-3SgS,

If a father watched over his child, the child would follow (=obey) his father. But nowadays, the child doesn't follow the father, and the father doesn't follow the child.

[no special reflexive possessor form §18.1.2; stative *kúmbò* §11.2.3; *mɛ́* 'if' §16.1; *bǎ:-ǹ* 'his father' §6.2.4; present negative inflection §10.1.4.4]

(xx5) *kó àŋgú=ý ló,*
InanSg.O which?=it.is Q,
[gwǎ: ké] ɲàm j-è:,
[country Def.InanSg.E] be.ruined Perfect-Ppl.Foc
[[gwǎ: ké] ɲǎm-bò]
[[country Def.InanSg.E] be.ruined-and.then]
[mó gìn-ô:],
[AnSg say.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O]

What is it, (the reason why) the country (=world) [focus] has become ruined? The country has become ruined to this extent.

[*àŋgú* 'which, what?' §13.2.3, §13.2.8; subject focalization with low-toned verb plus perfect verb §13.1.1.5; *-mbò* 'and then' §15.1.1.2; *mó gìn-ô:* indicating extent §15.2.1.2]

(xx6) *[gwà:-[ɲàmǐ-n] kó là] àŋgú=ý ló,*
[country.L[ruin-Nom] Def.InanSg.O too] which?=it.is Q,
[à:lé yà:] tégà-nd-è:, wánà: né:mà òndú-∅,
[rain Foc] fall-PresNeg-Ppl.Foc, truly good.times not.be-3SgS,
né:mà òndú-∅ mɛ́ nù:, háwràl bà-m ló,
good.times not.be-3SgS if now, agreement remain-Fut.3SgS Q,
[gà:-gɛ́ mà] pă:m dùmà-mb-ò: ló,
[hunger-Char in] understanding get-Fut-2SgS Q,
[áy jòg-â:] [îm mà] síyɛ̀-ŋgò gò-m ló,
[be.tired Perfect-PplS] [[mouth in] good-InanSg.O go.out-Fut.3SgS Q

(As for) the ruining of the country, what is (the reason for) that? It's the fact that rain [focus] doesn't fall. Now the good times do not exist. Now if the good times do not exist, will there be agreement (=good relations)? Will you get agreement in (=from) a hungry person? A weary person, will something good come out of his mouth?

[*ɲàmǐ-n* 'damage' §4.2.3.3; present negative focalization with *-ɲj-è:* characteristic nominal suffix *-gɛ́* §4.2.2.2; §13.1.1.2; *îm* < /íbì/, possessed form of *ìbí* 'mouth']

(xx7) *kèlă-n=lá kǒy,*
not.want-Nom=it.is.not Emph,
nŏ: [mó èndè:] kélí-yà-ndí-∅,
person [3SgP child.L] not.want-MP-PresNeg-3SgS,
[èndê: là] [nî:-n gì] kélí-yà-ndí-∅,
[child too] [mother-3SgP Acc] not.want-MP-PresNeg-3SgS,
kà: èndê: nû:, [nǐ:-ǹ gì] mà:má-m̀,
but child now, [mother-3SgP Acc] be.stronger-Fut.3SgS,

It's not (from) hatred. A person (=adult) doesn't dislike his/her child, a child doesn't dislike its mother. But a child now, it will be more important than its mother.

[*kèlă-n* 'not wanting, hatred' §4.2.3.3; *nǐ:-ǹ* 'mother' §6.2.4]

(xx8) *[[èndè kɔ́njɛ̂ ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m mó] gì]*
[[child.L newborn weeping(adverbial) Def.AnSg] Acc]
ó jò-ŋgà ké,
2SgS have-Ppl Def.InanSg.E

dèŋàn [ó mà] mó néndá-nd-è: gìnè-∅ mé,
day.L [2Sg Dat] AnSgS be.bad-Inch-Ppl.InanSg.E say.Perf-3SgS if,
tílày, [mó gì] dìmbì-yà-mb-ô:,
certainty, [AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut-2SgS,

When you-Sg have a crying young baby, the day when it becomes nasty with you (= cries a lot), you have no choice but to follow (=obey) it.

[*jò-ŋgà* 'having' §14.3.10; temporal relative with *dèŋàn* 'the day when …' §15.2.3.4]

(xx9) *[bírɔ́: bìrà-m=b-ɔ̀: mɛ́]*
[work(n) work-Impf=Past-2SgS if]
[bìrɔ̀: kó] dògà-mb-ô:,
[work(n).L NearDist.InanSg.O] leave-Fut-2SgS,
òbì-yò-mb-ô:, [mó gì] dìŋòndò-mb-ô:,
sit-MP-Fut-2SgS, [AnSg Acc] console-Fut-2SgS,

If you-Sg were working, you will leave (=give up) that work. You will sit (=stay home), you will console (=pacify) it (=baby)

[*kó* near-distant demonstrative after low-toned noun §4.4.1.1; *óbí-y* 'sit' §9.3.2]

(xx10) *[èndê: yà:] kànè-∅,*
[child Foc] do.Perf-3SgS,
èndê: [[kéndà:=y kó]=lá mɛ́],
child [[heart=it.is Def.InanSg.O]=it.is.not if],
[mó gì] [pâ→ nɛ̀] jàr-ɔ̀: mɛ́, tíbá-m̀,
[AnSg Acc] [violently Adv] knock.down.Perf-2SgS if, die-Fut.3Sg
[tìbɛ̀ mɛ́] [mɔ́ gɔ̀] mó w-ô: kɔ̌y,
[die.Perf if] [AnSgP Poss.InanSg.O] AnSg come.Perf-Ppl Emph,
[ɔ́ gɔ̀] [àyĭ-n ɔ́ gɔ̀]
[2SgP Poss.InanSg.O] [fatigue 2SgP Poss.InanSg.O]
ó nìmsà-mb-ê:, kóndé→
2SgS regret-Fut-Ppl.Foc, all.right

The child [focus] has done that. The child, if it weren't for (your) heart, you-Sg would knock (=throw) it down violently, it (=child) would die. If it has died, for its part, (the way) it has come; for your part, (in) your weariness, it's you [focus] who will be sorry. All right.

[perfective subject-focalization §13.1.1; possessive classifier *gɔ̀* §6.2.2; future subject-focalization *-mb-ê:* §13.1.1.3]

(xx11) R: *èndê: èlú-m̀*
child be.good-3SgS
R: A child is good.

[predicate adjective with 3Sg *-m* §11.4.1]

(xx12) P: *èndê: èlú-m̀ [nă:n nè], ɲă:, < í kùlmà-- >,*
child be.good-3SgS [very Adv], yesterday, < … >,
[í kùlmà-mbò], tó:rù kánà-m = b-à:,
[1PlP elder-Pl.L], fetish do-Impf=Past-3PlS,
íyó òndú-∅, ɲă: kɔ̀njɛ́ kúlíyò-m = b-à:,
today not.be-3SgS, yesterday beer brew-Impf=Past-3PlS,
íyó òndú-∅,
today not.be-3SgS,

P: A child is very good. Formerly, our elders, they used to do (=use) fetishes (=idols). Nowadays there are none. Formerly, they used to brew millet beer. Nowadays there is none.

["went and found Najamba," i.e. went to the ancestral Najamba village of Dioni to hold a large-scale animist ceremony before the farming season]

(xx13) *ɲă: [bèlí-yɛ́ nè]* --,
yesterday [get.up-MP and.SS] --,
[ín nè] [nàjàmbá gì] dìnê: nè,
[go and.SS] [Najamba Acc] find and.SS,
[[nàjàmbá dîn] mà] ànî: ló,
[[Najamba all] in] where? Q,
[jŏn mà] = ỳ,
[Dioni in]=it.is

Formerly, they got up and—, they went and found Najamba. In all of Najamba, where is it? It's at Dioni (village).

(xx14) *kên ín nè, [bílá gìnɛ́ nè] [óbí-y nè],*
there go and.SS, [exchange.Imprt say and.SS] [sit-MP and.SS]
[yèpà:bé dîn] kán kír nè,
[thing.Pl all] make do.completely and.SS,
sábárá gìyɛ́ nè, kên óbí-y nè,
tall.grass kill and.SS, there sit-MP and.SS,
dămgí-y nè, [jŏn mà] ín nè,
debate-MP and.SS, [Dioni in] go and.SS,
bàndûl-bây,
sacred.meeting,

Going there (=to Dioni village), telling (others) to exchange (views), sitting and making all the things (= disputes) finish, killing (= cutting down) tall grass stems (to cover the sacred objects), sitting there, debating, going to Dioni, (and finally) having a sacred meeting.

[*kên* discourse-definite 'there' §4.4.3.1; jussive clause (quoted imperative) §17.1.4.1]

(xx15) *[yè dîn] kánà-m=bè-y,*
[InanPl.L all] do-Impf=Past-1PlS,
jènà-gìyâ: gìné nè,
rainy.season.L-dance(n) say and.SS,
[kɔ̀njé-mbó, kán nè], dégù: gìné nè,
[beer-Pl, make and.SS], statuette say and.SS,
[yè dîn] gǒm nè,
[InanPl.L all] remove and.SS,
gìyâ: [gíyò-mbò dènέ]
dance(n) [dance(verb)-Prog spend.day]
[gíyò-mbò né:],
[dance(verb)-Prog spend.night]

We used to do everything. Saying (let's do) the harvest (lit. "rainy season") dance, making lots of millet beer, saying (=on account of) the idols, taking everything out (from storage), (they would) spend the day dancing and spend the night dancing.

[*yè dîn* with low-toned form before *dîn* 'all' §6.6.1; my Kubewel assistant prefers *dě:rù* in this sense ('statuette') and restricts *dè-dégè* (Pl *dè-dégù:*) to another sense, but several cognates of the latter such as Jamsay *dì-dégè* mean 'statuette'; progressive *-mbò* after A/O-stem of verb §10.1.3.5; *dènέ* and *né:* are chaining forms of verbs, trailing off with an implied but unexpressed following inflected verb]

(xx16) *[í mà] né:mà bè-∅, né:mà kó là,*
[1Pl in] good.times be-3SgS, good.times Def.InanSg.O too,
[[[[í kùlmà-mbò gàndí] nùmà:] mà] kà] dìné:-ỳ,
[[[[1PlP elder.Pl.L certain] hand.L] in] Top] find.Perf-1PlS,
[í là] kánà-mbò bè-ỳ,
[1Pl too] do-Prog be.Perf-1PlS,

There used to be good times (=prosperity) among us. We found (=experienced) the good times in the hand(s) of certain of our elders. We too used to do it.

[*bè-∅* 'was (somewhere)' §10.3.1; *gàndí* 'certain (ones), some' §6.3.2, the context being that some elders held onto their animist ritual objects while others discarded or sold them under the influence of Islam; past progressive *-mbò bè-* §10.3.1.6]

(xx17) *háyà*
well

[[yè dî→n] kòŋgò [í gì] dògá-m-ó: kó]
[[InanPl.L all] thing.L [1Pl Acc] leave-Caus.Perf-PplS Def.InanSg.O]
àŋgú=ý, kì:-gìndè-gé=lá, ɔ̀gɔ̀ndì-gé=lá,
which?=it.is, head.L-big.L-Abstr=it.is.not, rich.L-Abstr=it.is.not,
[gà:gó yà:] [í mà] kàn j-è:,
[hunger Foc] [1Pl in] do Perfect-Ppl.Foc

Well, what was the thing that made us (=led us to) leave all that? It wasn't stubbornness. It wasn't wealth (=being too rich). Hunger [focus] is what has done (this) among us.

[*dògá-m* causative §9.2.1 < *dɔ̀gɛ́* 'leave', in subject perfective participle form §14.3.1; abstractive nominal *-gé* §4.2.2.2]

(xx18) *gà:gó àbádá tɔ̃:n dìmbí-yá-l-∅,*
hunger never Recip follow-MP-PerfNeg-3SgS,
háwràl dùmí-yà-ndí-∅,
agreement get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS,
[gà:gé: kòŋgò kán-ò:] nè:ndá,
[hungry thing.L do.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O] be.bad

Hunger (= hungry people) never followed each other. No agreement (=good relations) will be gotten (between them). (Any) thing that a hungry person has done is bad.

[*tɔ̃:n* reciprocal for two persons §18.3; perfective object relative clause §14.4.2]

(xx19) *kà: íyó [[gwǎ: í gɛ̀ ké] mà]*
but today [[country 1PlP Poss.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E in]
nàm-gó wè-∅,
difficult-Abstr come.Perf-3SgS,
[nàm-gò w-ó: kó]
[difficult.Abstr.L come.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
[[tò-mbó gì] í kɛ̀lì-yɛ̀ jòg-à: kó]=ý,
[[Recip-Pl Acc] 1PlS not.want-MP.L Perfect-PplNS Def.InanSg.O]=it.is,

But nowadays hardship (=high cost of living) has come into our country. The hardship that has come, it's because of the fact that we don't like each other (=don't get along).

(xx20) *[kó là] [nɔ̌: mó] [í mà]*
[InanSg.O too] [person Def.AnSg] [1Pl in]
[sɛ́gɛ́ mó dɔ̀lɛ̀-n] kɛ̀lì-yɛ̀-n=lá,
[much AnSg exceed-DS] not.want-DS=it.is.not,
[bǐẁ dùmɛ́ dɔ̀lɛ́-mbò=lá], àndá:=lá,
[suddenly get exceed-and.then=it.is.not, other.InanSg.O=it.is.not,

That (=the fact that we don't get along) isn't from disliking the fact that people are too numerous (from overpopulation). It's not (from) gaining too much suddenly, nor anything else.

[*nǒ:* 'person' can be emended to plural *nò-mbó*; different-subject subordinating suffix *-n* after E-stem of verb §15.2.3.6; *-mbò* 'and then' with implied 'say/think' §15.1.1.2]

(xx21) *[gwǎ: nàmà-ǹdè-∅ mɛ́]* < *nò-mbó --* >
[country difficult-Inch.Perf-3SgS if] < … >
[nò: kámà] [hây^{n} hɔ́:ràm]=ì:,
[person.L any] [himself]=it.is,
[nǒ: dìn] [mó kì:] dúndà-njò-∅,
[person all] [3SgP head.L] look.for-Pres-3SgS,
[[ó kì:] dúndà-nj-ò:],
[[2SgP head.L] look.for-Pres-2SgS,
[[ó èndè:] kèlì-yà-mb-ò: sákò],
[[2SgP child.L] not.want-MP-Fut-2SgS not.to.mention],
[[ké bàndì] mà]
[[InanSg.E behind.L] in]
[[kòŋgò àndǎ:] [í mà] bò-ŋgà dîn] òndú-∅,
[[thing.L other.InanSg.O] [1Pl in] be-Ppl all] not.be-3SgS

If the country has become hard (=full of hardship), every person will be selfish, everyone will look out for for himself. You-Sg are looking out (just) for yourself, not to mention that you will not love your child. After (=besides) that, there is nothing else that is among us.

[*nò: kámà* 'anyone, each person' §6.6.1; *hây^{n} hɔ́:ràm* 'himself' is in Fulfulde; *[[X bàndì] mà]* 'behind X' §8.2.6]

(xx22) *kà: [ɲǎ: í dìn-ɛ̂: ké]*
but [yesterday 1PlS find.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E]
[íyó là], ɲǎ: [[sò-ŋgò]-gìbù kúndú],
[today too]. yesterday [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap.L one.InanSg.O],
í[yàwó: tɛ́:mdèrɛ̀] [[sò-ŋgò]-gìbù kúndú],
1Pl [woman.Pl hundred] [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap one.InanSg.O]
gìbí-yò-m=bɛ̀-y,
gird-MP-Impf=Past-1PlS,

But what we found (=experienced) formerly, now also (=by contrast), formerly a single wrap (woman's garment), one hundred of us women used to gird ourselves with (=wear) one (=the same) wrap.

[Numerals *kúndú* 'one' §4.7.1 and *tɛ́:mdèrɛ̀* 'hundred' §4.7.1.4; 1Pl *í* before *yàwó:* is appositional, not a possessor]

(xx23) *í* *íyó,* *[[ó* *nìyɔ̀mɛ̀]*
1Pl today, [[2SgP close.cousin.L]
[[nǐ: *tɔ̀mɛ̀:]* *[bă:* *tɔ̀mɛ̀:]]* *sò-ŋgò]* *gì]*
[[mother one.AnSg] [father one.AnSg] cloth-InanSg.O] Acc]
[àbí *nɛ̀]* *gìbì-y-ó:* *mɛ́,*
[receive and.SS] gird-MP.Perf-2SgS if,
ó *dàmàgă-mb-à:=ỳ,* *ó* *gìríyɛ́:=ẁ,*
2Sg denigrate-Fut-Pass=it.is, 2Sg impoverished=it.is.2SgS,
We nowadays, if you take (in your hands) a garment of (even) your a close cousin, (her mother and yours being) of the same mother and the same father, and you gird yourself (=wrap it around your body), you will be denigrated (= gossiped about), (saying) you are poor (impoverished).
[*sò-ŋgó* 'cloth, garment' is here possessed by 'close cousin', while 'one mother one father' is a complex adjectival phrase modifying 'close cousin' though referring to the parentage of the respective parents; future passive §10.5.2; conjugated 'it is' form of adjectival predicate ('impoverished') §11.4.2]

(xx24) *kóndé→* *ŋă: --,* *ó* *bírà-nd-ô:,*
all.right yesterday--, 2SgS work-PresNeg-2SgS,
ó *gìríyɛ́:=ẁ,* *ó* *dàmàgă-mb-à:=ỳ,*
2Sg impoverished=it.is.2SgS, 2Sg denigrate-Fut-Pass=it.is,
[ḿ *má→]* *[ó* *má→]* *[nǐ:* *tɔ̀mɔ̀:=ỳ],*
[1Sg and] [2Sg and] [mother one.AnPl=it.is.1Pl],
All right, formerly—. (Or they'll say:) you don't work, you are poor. You will be denigrated. You and I, (we are of) one mother.
[conjunction with atonal *ma→* following both conjuncts §7.1.1; 'one mother' agreeing with plural subject §4.7.1.1]

(xx25) *săŋ* *[mí* *dɔ̀lɛ́* *gwè-ḿ* *mɛ́* *dîn]*
now [1Sg go.past go.out.Perf-1SgS if all]
[P *gìnè-∅* *mɛ́]* *yă-ndì-∅* *mâ→*
[P say.Perf-3SgS if] see-FutNeg-3SgS or?
[P *wà→* *lá:rí-yɛ́* *dɔ̀lɛ̀-∅* *wà],* *ê:*
[P say be.shiftless-MP exceed.Perf-3SgS say], eh!
Now if I go out, P will say (to my husband): won't he see, (namely that) R is very shiftless (good-for-nothing)? Eh.
[phrase-final *ma→* 'or?' §7.2.2; *wa* quotative particle §17.1.2]

(xx26) R: *jěnjâ* *[[nŏ:* *dĭn]* *gì]* *tàgá* *ǹdá:-l-∅*
God [[person each] Acc] character give-PerfNeg-3SgS
R: God didn't give everyone the (same) character.

[accusative *gì* with recipient of 'give' §8.1.1]

(xx27) P: *[*P *là:r-gè]=lá kǒy,*
[P shiftless-Abstr.L]=it.is.not Emph,
*[ó yà:] [*P *àybà-mbó-m̀ dòmbà:]=ỳ, kóndé→,*
[2Sg Foc] [P humiliate-Fut-LogoS owner.L]=it.is, all.right,
[mí là] [ó dɔ̀lɔ́ g-ǒ: mɛ́]
[1Sg too] [2Sg leave go.out.Perf-2SgS if]
[yǎ-nd-ò: ló],
[see-FutNeg-2SgS Q]
P: It's definitely not P's shiftlessness. It's you-Sg [focus] who are involved in humiliating P. All right, I too, if you-Sg have gone out, won't you see?
[*dɔ̀lɔ́* variant of *dɔ̀lɛ́* 'leave' in verb chains; *dòmbǎ:* 'owner' after 1Sg verb §5.1.8 and cf. §18.2.2]

(xx28) *[*Y *gà] [[mó tò-mbò èbíyɛ̀ dîn] ɲɛ̀nɛ́ kánà-nj-è:]*
[Y Top] [[3SgP comrade-Pl.L Prox.AnPl all] like.this do-Pres-3PlS]
[mó tò-mbò èbíyɛ̀] nǒ:ỳ kánà-nj-è:,
[[3SgP comrade-Pl.L Prox.AnPl] prospering do-Pres-3PlS
As for Y, all these pals (agemates) of his do like this (to him). These pals of his have prospered.
[*èbíyɛ̀* animate plural Proximate demonstrative pronoun §4.4.1.1; *ɲɛ̀nɛ́* 'like this' §4.4.3.3]

(xx29) *jènjà-ǹdɔ́:=ý, [jěnjà mà] bèlí-yà-njò-∅,*
God.L-give=it.is, [God in] get.up-MP-Pres-3SgS,
[[yèdîn] gì] í dɔ̀g-ɔ̂:,
[[InanPl.L all] Acc] 1PlS leave.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O,
[jěnjà gì] í lútà kán-ò: kó,
[God Acc] 1PlS rejecting do.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O,
jěnjà [kó yàrù kó]
God [InanSg.O.P credit(n).L Def.InanSg.O]
[í mà] sójà-njò-∅,
[1Pl in] pay-Pres-3SgS,
It's God's giving. It arises in (=due to) God. The fact that we have have left (=abandoned) all those (things), and (that) we have rejected God, God is repaying us for that.
[factive clause with final *kó* §17.3.2 (here takes scope over both 'leave' and 'reject' clauses; final clause lit. "God is repaying that debt among us"]

(xx30) *[néndá-ndí dɔ̀l-ɔ́: mɛ́]*

[be.bad exceed.Perf-2SgS if]
[[né:mà kó] [[ó sɔ̀njɔ̀:] mà] wǒ-ndì],
[[good.times Def.InanSg.O] [[2SgP village.L] in] come.FutNeg-3SgS,
[àlàhɔ́rmà jògò-nd-ó: mé] [àlàhɔ́rmà dúmà-nd-ó:],
[deference have-Neg-2SgS if] [deference get-PresNeg-2SgS],
[nǒ: yàmbá-l-ó: mé] [ó yámbà-ndí-yà],
[person cover-PerfNeg-2SgS if] [2SgO cover-PresNeg-3PlS]
jěnjà áybɛ̀ kélà-∅,
God humiliation not.want-3SgS,

If you-Sg are excessively bad, prosperity will not come to your village. If you are are not deferential (to your elders), you won't get deference (from others). If you haven't covered (= been protective of) a person, they will not cover you. God doesn't like humiliation (of people).

['not want' §17.2.1]

(xx31) *íyó [í mà] súgí jòg-â:, áybɛ̀=ỳ,*
today [1Pl in] go.down Perfect-PplS, humiliation=it.is
[áybɛ̀ kó] [í gì] náfà-ndí-∅,
[humiliation Def.InanSg.O] [1Pl Acc] benefit-PresNeg-3SgS,
jěnjà [í gì] sútùrà kán-ná,
God [1Pl Acc] protection do-Hort.3Sg,
jěnjà [dây nè] sútúrà-ndí-∅ kǒy,
God [freely Adv] protect-PresNeg-3SgS Emph,
[bò-ŋgà dân] bà-l-ó: mɛ́,
[be-Ppl like] remain-PerfNeg-2SgS if,
wàllâ:y [bò-ŋgà dân] bǎ-ỳ,
by.God [be-Ppl like] remain-Hort.1Pl,

What has descended on us nowadays, it's humiliation. The humiliation does not benefit us. May God protect us! God definitely doesn't protect us for nothing. If you-Sg don't remain the way one is (=ought to be), by God, let's remain the way one is.

[3Sg hortative *-ná* in exhortations §10.4.4.1, 1Pl hortative *-ỳ* 'let's …!' §10.4.2.1]

(xx32) *[[ó èndè:] gì] dìmbì-y-ɔ̌:,*
[[2SgP child.L] Acc] follow-MP-2SgS,
[[ó yè:] gì] kùmbì-y-ǒ:,
[[2SgP woman.L] Acc] hold-MP-2SgS,
[[ó yè: là] ó kúmbí-y-ná,
[[2SgP woman.L too] 2SgO hold-MP-Hort.3Sg,

(If) you have followed your child, (if) you have held (=watched out for) your wife, may your wife too hold you.

(xx33) *[nǐ: òndú-∅]* *[bǎ: òndú-∅],*
[mother not.be-3SgS] [father not.be-3SgS],
[ó nɔ̀gɔ̀] *[ó bà]=ỳ,*
[2SgP husband.L] [2SgP father.L]=it.is,
[ó nɔ̀gɔ̀] *[ó gì]* *dúwà* *kànè-∅* *mɛ́,*
[2SgP husband.L] [2Sg Acc] blessing do.Perf-3SgS if,
àbá-m̀, *[í gà]* *ɲă:*
catch-Fut.3SgS, [1Pl Top] yesterday
[í kùlmà-mbò *mà→]* *[í má→]* *kɛ̀nɛ́* *yɛ̀-y,*
[1PlP elder.Pl.L and] [1Pl and] like.that see.Perf-1PlS,
(If) there is no mother and there is no father, your husband is (the equivalent of) your father. If your husband has blessed you, it (= blessing) will take hold. As for us, formerly our elders and we saw (= experienced) like that.
[traditionally one seeks formal blessings from one's father]

(xx34) *í kùlmà-mbò,*
1PlP elder.Pl.L,
ɲă: *[sò-ŋgò]-yàmbù* *ŋ̀gú,*
yesterday [cloth-InanSg.O.L]-covering.L Prox.InanSg.O,
sǎŋ *mí* *yàmbà-ŋgà* *ŋ̀gú,* *ɲám* *kànè-∅* *mɛ́,*
now 1SgO cover-Pres.Ppl.L Prox.InanSg.O, night do.Perf-3SgS if,
[[kó gì] *yàmbí-lɛ́* *ǹd-à:* *mɛ́]*
[[InanSg.O Acc] cover-Rev give.Perf-3PlS if]
[[kó gì] *yàmbì-yà-mbó-ỳ],*
[[InanSg.O Acc] cover-MP-Fut-1PlS],
Our elders, formerly this covering (e.g. blanket), (like) this (blanket) that covers me now, when night would fall, when they had taken it off and given it (to us), we would put it over ourselves (=cover ourselves with it).
[present participle *-ŋgà* with low-toned stem §14.3.3; reversive verb ('uncover') §9.1]

(xx35) *[ègă:* *bɛ̀lì-y-à:* *mɛ́]*
[morning get.up-MP.Perf-3PlS if]
[bɛ́ *[[kó* *gì]* *jìbí-y* *nɛ̀]*
[AnPl [[InanSg.O Acc] gird-MP and.SS]
dándà: *gŏ-mb-à],*
outside go.out-Fut-3PlS],
When they had gotten up in the morning, they would wrap it around themselves, they would go outside.

(xx36) *íyó* *[ó* *èndè:* *mó],*
today [2SgP child.L Def.AnSg],
[swě: *gì]* *[ké:sù* *mà]* *jòyó-ndí=b-à:=ỳ,*
[cloth.Pl Acc] [trunk in] be.full-Caus=Past-Pass=it.is,
[[swě: *yé]* *gì]* *dǎy=b-à:=ỳ,*
[[cloth.Pl InanPl] Acc] lay.out=Past-Pass=it.is,
[[swě: *yé]* *gì]* *[[òlè-gɛ̀gɛ̀lɛ́]* *mà]* *jǎb=b-à:=ỳ,*
[[cloth.Pl InanPl] Acc] [[house.L-corner] in] hang=Past-Pass=it.is,
Nowadays, your child, the clothes have been filled (= stuffed) into a trunk, the (other) clothes have been laid out (on the ground), the (other) clothes have been plastered (=hung) on the corner (=outside wall) of the house.
[*jòyó-ndí* 'make full' §9.4; past passive *=b-à:=ỳ* §10.5.1]

(xx37) *gà:gó* *ó* *gíyà-mbò* *bò-∅,*
hunger 2SgO kill-Prog be-3SgS,
[[ó *nɔ̀gɔ̀* *mó]* *gì]* *hàybǎ-nd-ò:,*
[[2SgP husband.L Def.AnSg] Acc] watch.over-FutNeg-2SgS,
Hunger is killing you, (and) you don't watch over (=take care of) your husband.

(xx38) *[ó* *nɔ̀gɔ̀* *mó]*
[2SgP husband.L Def.AnSg]
[déŋán *tɔ̀mɔ̂:]* *bɛ̀lì-yɛ̀* *mɛ́,*
[day one.InanSg.O] arise-MP.Perf-3SgS if,
[[ìŋgè *tă-ŋgè]* *mà]* *[dándà:* *mà]* *gǒ-m̀,*
[water.L plain-InanSg.E] with] [outside in] go.out-Fut.3SgS,
Your husband, one day he will go outside with (= having drunk) plain water (i.e. without a solid breakfast).
[*déŋán tɔ̀mɔ̂:*, variant of *déŋán tɔ̀mê:*, no tone-dropping of noun before this numeral, §4.7.1.1]

(xx39) *[[[ìŋgè* *tă-ŋgè]* *mà]*
[[[water.L plain-InanSg.E] with]
nò: *[dándà:* *mà]* *gw-é:* *mó* *má→]*
person.L [outside in] go.out-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg and]
[ó *má→]* *[hàwrà-mb-ê:* *mà→↑],*
[2Sg and] [get.along-Fut-2PlS or?]
'Will you and someone (=your husband) who has gone outside with plain water (be able to) get along?'

(xx40) *háwràl* *dùmí-yà-ndí-∅,* *kóndé→,*

understanding get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS, all.right,
[[ánè mó] kèndà: mó] ɲàm-ô:,
[[man Def.AnSg] heart.L Def.AnSg] be.ruined.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O
[[yĕ: mó] gì] mó jé-ǹ,
[[woman Def.AnSg] Acc] AnSgS man.marry-DS,
[yĕ: mó] [mó gì] kɔ́ntà-njò-ndí-∅,
[woman Def.AnSg] [AnSg Acc] esteem-Prog-Neg-3SgS,
[mó gà] nè:ndá,
[AnSg Top] be.bad,

There will be no mutual understanding (= good relations). All right, when a man's heart is ruined (= he is unhappy), if he has married a woman, the woman doesn't hold him in high regard. She is nasty.

[headless adverbial relative §14.2.5 and §15.2.6, *-njò-ndí-* progressive negative §10.1.4.5]

(xx41) *[àndí mó nè:ndá gìné-mbò]*
[knowing AnSg be.bad say-and.then]
[mó dɔ̀gɔ́ sì-y-ɔ̌:],
[AnSg leave pour-MP-2SgS],
< mó gì-- > [mó nè:ndá→] [[mó gì] dɔ̀gɔ́ sì-y-ɔ̌:]
< … > [AnSg be.bad] [[AnSg Acc] leave pour-MP-2SgS]
[[yè: yúgúl] j-ɔ̌: mé nû:],
[[woman.L crazy] man.marry.Perf-2SgS if now

Saying (= thinking) that she is nasty, you have discarded (= divorced) her. She is nasty, (and) you have discarded her, then if you have taken (= married) a crazy woman (as a new wife) now.

(xx42) *kó bɔ̀né bàrì-y-ɔ̌: kŏy,*
InanSg misfortune add-MP-2SgS Emph,
àbádá dúkùr [ó mà] gŏ-l-∅,
never deep.sorrow [2SgP Dat] go.out-PerfNeg-3SgS,
[nò: mó gà] dúkùr bàrì-yè-∅,
[person.L Near.AnSg Top] deep.sorrow add-MP.Perf-3SgS,

You have definitely added misfortune to that for yourself. The deep sorrow has never left you. That person (= man) has added to his deep sorros.

[near-distant animate singular demonstrative *mó* with low-toned preceding noun §4.4.1.1]

(xx43) *kà: jĕnjà [[ké sàrrì ké] mà]*
but God [[InanSg.E misfortune Def.InanSg.E] in]
[í gì] àbí-ná,

[1Pl Acc] catch-Hort.3Sg,
jěnjà [[í gì] ìr-ô:] [í gì] wâ: kán-ná,
God [[1Pl Acc] be.more-Ppl.InanSg.O] [1Pl Acc] far(adv) do-Hort.3Sg,
But, may God catch us (=keep us away) from that misfortune. May God keep us safe from what is bigger than us (= calamity).
[*ké* NOUN *ké* determiner sandwich §4.3.2; comparative *ìr-ô:* §12.1.4]

(xx44) *tínnà kàné-y mé⇓,*
effort do.Pref-1PlS if,
[[ɲă: [í kùlmà-mbò] b-ê: ké] gì]
[[yesterday [1PlP elder-Pl.L] be-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc]
tɛ̀wɲé-y mé,
head.for.Perf-1PlS if,
[jènjà òbèlé] ígò-ndí jógò-∅, wàllâ:y-ní,
[God Chief] a.lot have-3SgS, by.God,
If we make our best effort, if we head for (there) where our elders were in the past, Almighty God has much.
[non-subject participle *b-ê:* from *bé-* 'remain']

(xx45) *[[ó bà] gì] jɔ̀y-ɔ́: mɛ́ dîn,*
[[2SgP father.L] Acc] respect.Perf-2SgS if all,
jěnjà ó yàmbì-rá-m̀,
God 2SgO cover-Tr-Fut.3SgS,
If you are deferential (= obedient) to your father, God will cover (= protect) you.

(xx46) R: *[ó èndè:] ó jòyá-m̀*
[2SgP child.L] 2SgO respect-Fut.3SgS
R: Your child will be deferential to you.

(xx47) P: *[ó èndè:]*--, *[[[ó bà] gì] jɔ̀y-ɔ́: mɛ́]*
[2SgS child.L]--, [[[2SgP father.L] Acc] respect.Perf-2SgS if]
[[ó èndè:] ó jòyá-m̀],
[[2SgP child.L] 2SgO respect-Fut.3SgS],
[[[ó ǹ] gì] jɔ̀y-ɔ́: mɛ́]
[[[2SgP mother.L] Acc] respect.Perf-2SgS if]
[[ó èndè:] ó jòyá-m̀],
[[2SgP child.L] 2SgO respect-Fut.3SgS]
P: Your child—. If you are deferential to your father, your child will be deferential to you. If you are deferential to your mother, your child will be deferential to you.

(xx48) *[ó ǹ mà→] [ó bà mà⇒]*
[2SgP mother.L and] [2SgP father.L and]
[ó sà:rà:-mbò] [ɔ́ bɔ̀]=ỳ gà]
[2SgP parent-Pl.L] [2SgP Poss.AnPl]=it.is Top]
dɔ̀g-ɔ́: mɛ́ dîn,
leave.Perf-2SgS if all,
[ó yɛ̀:] ó jòyá-m̀,
[2SgP woman.L] 2SgO respect-Fut.3SgS,
If you leave (= treat) your mother and your father as your own (true) parents, your wife will be deferential to you.
[*sá:rà:* 'parent' can denote one's mother or father or any of their younger same-sex siblings; animate plural possessive classifier *bɔ̀* §6.2.2]

(xx49) *síyà, ó sǎŋ [[ó sà:rà:] gì] íyó í-mbò*
well, 2Sg now [[2SgP parent.L] Acc] today go-and.then
ó dìn-ɔ̂:,
2SgS find.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
[ó sà:rà: mó] ó dwá-ǹ]
[2SgP parent.L Def.AnSg] 2SgS insult-DD]
mí dìnɛ̂: mɛ́ nû:,
1SgS find.Perf if now,
[[[ó sà:rà: mó] gì] [[tɛ́gɛ́lɛ̀: ké] mà]
[[[2SgP parent.L Def.AnSg] Acc] [[side.of.face Def.InanSg.E] in]
dènjɛ́-m mɛ́] [há:ná-l-∅ mà→]
hit.Perf-1SgS if] [be.possible-PerfNeg-3SgS or?]
When you now have gone nowadays and found (= met with) your parent, if I find now that you are insulting (= being disrespectful to) your parent, if (seeing this) I (= your friend) hit (= slap) your parent on the side of the face, is it impossible?
[*í-mbò* from stem *ín* 'go']

(xx50) R: *wá:jìbɛ̀, ó dènjɛ́ ǹdɛ̀*
certainly, 2SgS hit give.Perf
R: Definitely, it's <u>you</u> (the child of the parent) [focus] who have given (= initiated) the hitting.
[Focalization with pronominally unmarked perfective verb §13.1.1.1]

(xx51) P: *ó dènjɛ́ ǹdɛ̀,*
2SgS hit give.Perf,
[[ɔ́ yɛ̀] gì] háybá-l-∅,
[[2SgP Poss.AnSg] Acc] watch.over-PerfNeg-3SgS,
[ó [ɔ́ yɛ̀] jɛ́-mbò]

[2SgS [2SgP Poss.AnSg] take-and.then]
[ébán má] tùn-ó: mé nû:,
[market in] put.Perf-2SgS if now,
nò-mbó mó tàrǎ-ndí-yà mà,
person-Pl 3SgO look.at-FutNeg-3PlS Q,
P: It's you [focus] who have given (= initiated) the hitting. He didn't protect yours (= your parent). If now you have taken yours (= your parent) and put him in the market, won't the people look at him?
[perfective with subject focalized §13.1.1.1; *yè* animate singular possessive classifier §6.2.2]

(xx52) R: *kɛ̀nɛ́ bò-∅*
like.that be-3SgS
R: It is that way.

(xx53) P: *kóndé→ ǰnǎ: nò-mbó yùgúlì-yò-mbò b-à:,*
all.right yesterday person-Pl be.crazy-MP-Prog Past-3PlS,
yùgùlì-y-ò: mɛ́, jóŋà-mbò b-à:,
be.crazy-MP.Perf-3PlS if, treat-Prog Past-3PlS,
pórò-mbò bɛ̀-∅,
escape-Prog Past-3SgS,
[nǒ: nùmà:] bô:-∅⇑, [ǰěnjà nùmà:] bô:-∅⇓,
[person hand.L] be-3SgS, [God hand.L] be-3SgS
P: All right, formerly, the people used to be going crazy. If they went crazy, they (= others) treated them, it (= craziness) would escape (=be over). There is the hand of a human, (and) there is the hand of God.
[i.e. some people are cured by human healing, others only by God; past progressive *-mbò bɛ̀-* §10.3.1.6; *bô:* 'be present, exist' §11.2.2.1]

(xx54) *[[[ǰěnjà nùmà:] mà] bò-ŋgà kó gà]*
[[God hand.L] in] be-Ppl Def.InanSg.O Top]
ǰěnjà kán jòg-â:=ỳ,
God do Perfect-Ppl=it.is.
[[[[nǒ: nùmà:] mà] gwé-mbò]
[[[[person hand.L] in] go.out-and.then]
bìrɛ́=b-à: kó má→]
work(verb)=Past-Passive Def.InanSg.O and]
[ǰěnjà kɔ̀ kó má→] kúndú=lá,
[God Poss.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O and] one.InanSg.O=it.is.not
As for what is in the hand of God, God has done (it). What has come out of the hand of a human and has been produced (by humans), and God's (work), are not the same (=are not comparable).

[*jòg-â:=ỳ* is the 'it is' form of a perfect participle, but it can be used predicatively §10.1.3.3; inanimate singular O-class possessive classifier *kɔ̀* dirctly following possessor noun without an intervening pronominal §6.2.2]

(xx55) *kà:* *jěnjà* *[nè:ndà-kàné* *gì]* *kíyò-∅,*
but God [bad.L-do.Agent Acc] want.Stat-3SgS,
[[nè:ndà-kàné *gì]* *mó* *kìyò-ŋgà]* *[àŋgú=ý* *ló],*
[[bad.L-do.Agent Acc] AnSgS want.Stat-Ppl] [which?=it.is Q],
júkkɛ̀rɛ̀=ỳ *éŋgú,*
fine=it.is tomorrow,

But God likes (= tolerates) an evil-doer. The fact that He likes an evil-doer, what is (the reason for) it? It's punishment in the future ("tomorrow").

(xx56) *[lá:kàrà* *mà]* *[jùkkɛ̀rɛ̀* *gìndɔ́:]*
[Hereafter in] [fine.L big.InanSg.O]
[mó *gì]* *dímbà-∅,* *wá:jìbɛ̀,*
[AnSg Acc] follow.Stat-3SgS, certainly,
[[í *kùlmà-mbò]* *ìm]* *mà]* *ŋɛ̀nɛ́* *ŋwɛ̀-ý,*
[[1PlP elder-Pl.L] mouth.L] in] like.this hear.Perf-1PlS,
< í bàbà:-mbò-- > *[í* *bàbà:-mbò* *mà→]* *[í* *ǹ-bò* *mà→]*
< … > [1PlP father-Pl.L and] [1PlP mother-Pl and]
dìnɛ́:-ỳ *kǒy,*
find.Perf-1PlS Emph,

In the Hereafter (= Afterworld), a great punishment follows (=will afflict) him. We certainly heard this in (= from) our elders' mouth(s). We definitely found (= experienced) our fathers and mothers.

[*júkkɛ̀rɛ̀* 'fine (penalty)', by extension 'divine punishment'; agentive compound §5.1.4; 'want' §17.2.1; factive clause in nonsubject relative-clause form §17.3.2, can be emended by adding *kó* after *kìyò-ŋgà* ; *àŋgú* 'which, what?' §13.2.3, §13.2.8; *ìm* < /ìbí/ 'mouth'; *bàbâ:* 'father, daddy', alternative to *bǎ:* 'father']

(xx57) *[í* *bàbà:]* *ó* *wá→,*
[1PlP father.L] 2Sg(vocative) say,
[dôm *mà]* *[[ó* *ìbì]* *ìr-ó:]*
[speech in] [[2SgP mouth.L] be.more-Ppl.InanSg.O]
bô:-∅ *wà* *kǒy,*
be-3SgS say Emph,
[kwɛ́-ŋgò *mà]* *[[ó* *ìbì]* *ìr-ó:]*
[food-InanSg.O in] [[2SgP mouth.L] be.more-Ppl.InanSg.O]

bô:-∅ *wà,*
be-3SgS say,

Our father said: hey you, in speech there is definitely something that is bigger than (what comes from) your mouth; in food there is something that is bigger than (what you put in) your mouth.

[quotative particle *wa→* after vocative, then *wa* after sentence proper §17.1.2]

(xx58) *kwé-ŋgò* *[[kɛ́rɛ́* *má]* *wá* *ín* *nè]*
food-InanSg.O [[outback in] say go and.SS]
dìnê: *mé,* *[[[ó* *ìm]* *mà]*
get.Perf if, [[[2SgP mouth.L] in]
há:né *jòg-à:* *kó]* *kwè* *mé,*
be.possible Perfect-PplNS Def.InanSg.O] eat.Perf if,
[[[[ó *ìm]* *mà]* *há:ná-l-ó:]* *jê:-n]*
[[[[2SgP mouth.L] in] be.possible-PerfNeg-PplS.InanSg.O] take-DS]
[[ó *sà:rà:* *mó]* *gì]* *ǹdír* *wá,*
[[2SgP parent.L Def.AnSg] Acc] give.Hort3Sg say,

He (=our father) said: if you have gone out to the bush and gotten (some) food, having eaten what is possible (=what fits) in your mouth, you (should) bring that which is not possible (= does not fit) in your mouth and it should be given to your parent.

[quotative *wa* at the end of the quoted passage and also after an adverbial phrase near the beginning; *dìnê:* and *kwè* would normally be 2Sg *dìn-ô:* and *k-ǒ:* in this context; *ǹdírɛ́* is a variant of *ǹdɛ́* 'give']

(xx59) *íyó* *[ó* *sà:rà:* *mó]*
today [2SgP parent.L Def.AnSg]
[[ólé *ké]* *mà]* *kên* *bíyò-∅⇑,*
[[house Def.InanSg.E] in] there lie.down.Stat-3SgS,
ó *[kɛ́rɛ́* *má]* *ó* *g-ô:⇓,*
2Sg [outback in] 2SgS go.out.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O,
[[nàmà: *sì:-gá:]* *[ɔ́* *gɔ̀]*
[[meat.L fat.L-Char.InanSg.O] [2SgP Poss.InanSg.O]
kwé→ *dă:n* *ó* *kúb-ô:]*
sizzling(adv) roast 2SgS eat.meat.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O]
[[ó *sà:rà:]* *ǹdá-l-ó:],*
[[2SgP parent.L] give-PerfNeg-2SgS]
[[ó *yɛ̀:* *tɔ̀mê:]* *ǹdá-l-ó:]*
[[2Sg woman.L one.AnSg] give-PerfNeg-2SgS]
[ó *èndè:* *tɔ̀mê:]* *ǹdá-l-ó:,*
[2SgP child.L one.AnSg] give-PerfNeg-2SgS,

Nowadays, your parent is lying down there in the house, (while) you have gone out to the bush, you have roasted (directly on a fire) your sizzling fatty meat and eaten it (out in the bush), without your having given (any) to your parent, and without your having given (any) to a single (= any) wife of yours or to a single your having given any to a single child of yours.

[*kên* discourse-definite 'there' §4.4.3.1, perfective nonsubject relative §14.3.1; *sì:-gé:* ~ *sì:-gá:* characteristic *-gá:* §4.2.2.1; *kwé→* 'sizzling' onomatopoeic adverbial; *tɔ̀mê:* 'one' after negation = '(not even) a single one'; perfective negative clauses following a positive clause can be freely glossed "without having VPed"]

(xx60) *síyà, dúwàw bô:-∅,*
well, blessing be-3SgS,
Well, is there a (parental) blessing here?

(xx61) R: *òndí-∅*
not.be-3SgS
R: There is none.

(xx62) P: *ké dân yà:*--, *[ké dân] bò-y mé dîn,*
InanSg.E like Foc--, [InanSg.E like] be-1PlS if all,
[[ì gwà: ŋgí] mà] né:mà bá-m̀
[[1PlP countr.P Prox.InanSg.E] in] good.times remain-Fut.3Sg
P: Like that—, if we were (= behaved) like that (i.e. in the old way), prosperity would remain in this land of ours.

(xx63) R: *énguú yàrú ó sòjă-mb-à:=ỳ*
tomorrow debt 2SgO pay-Fut-Pass=it.is
R: Tomorrow you will be repaid what you are owed.
[future passive *-mb-à:≡ỳ* §10.5.2]

(xx64) P: *énguú [yàrú yé]* --
tomorrow [debt Def.InanPl]--
P: Tomorrow the debts (owed to you)—.

(xx65) R: *síyè-ŋgò kàn-ó: mé,*
good-InanSg.O do.Perf-2SgS if,
jěnjà [ó kán-ò: kó]
God [2SgS do.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O]
[ó gì] yóbà kán-ná,
[2Sg Acc] repaying do-Hort.3Sg

[ó *kèndà:]* *sùgè-∅* *mɛ́,*
[2SgP heart.L] defecate.Perf-3SgS if,
síyɛ̀-ŋgò *káná-l-ó:,*
good-InanSg.O do-PerfNeg-2SgS,
R: If you have done good (deeds), may God repay you (for) what you have done. If you are angry (=evil), you have not done good (deeds).
[lit. "if your heart has defecated" = 'if you are angry (=evil)']

(xx66) *[dôm* *[ɔ́* *gɔ̀]]* *dìmbí-yá*
[speech [2SgP Poss.InanSg.O] follow-MP.Imprt
[to the other speaker:] (Please) continue your talk!

(xx67) P: *háyà,* *[ěy* *gì* *yà:]* *dìmbì-yɛ́-y* *mɛ́* *díndì,*
well, [Prox.InanPl Acc Foc] follow-MP-1PlS if all,
jěnjà *nɛ́:mà* *[í* *mà]* *sùgò-ndó-m̀,*
God good.times [1Pl Dat] go.down-Caus-Fut.3SgS,
kà: *[ěy* *gì]* *dìmbí-yá-lì-y* *mɛ́* *dîn,*
but [Prox.InanPl Acc] follow-MP-PerfNeg-1PlS if all,
[àyǐ-n *kó]* *[í* *bàndì]* *dìmbí-lí-yà-ndí-∅,*
[fatigue Def.InanSg.O] [1Pl behind.L] follow-Tr-MP-PresNeg-3SgS,
P: If these (behaviors) [focus] are what we have followed, God will bring down (= provide) prosperity for us. But if we have not followed these (behaviors), suffering will not stop following us.
[*dìmbí-lí-yɛ́* 'stop following', reversive of *dìmbí-yɛ́* 'follow']

(xx68) *àyè-ý,* *gà:gì-yè-ý,*
be.weary.Perf-1PlS, be.hungry-MP.Perf-1PlS,
[[dôm *kó]* *òndú-∅]*
[speech Def.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgS]
[bìrɔ̀: *síyɛ̀-ŋgò]* *òndú-∅],*
[work.L good-InanSg.O] not.be-3SgS],
kà: *jěnjà* *ké* *[í* *gì]* *yámbí-r-ná,*
but God InanSg.E [1Pl Acc] cover-Tr-Hort.3Sg,
We have suffered, we have been hungry. There is no talking (= discussing among ourselves), there is no good work. But may God cover (= remove) that (situation) for us.

(xx69) *[[mó* *gì]* *dìmbì-yɛ́-y* *mɛ́]*
[[AnSg Acc] follow-MP.Perf-1PlS if]
[[í *gì]* *yàmbì-rá-m̀* *kǒy],*
[1Pl Acc] cover-Tr-Fut.3SgS Emph,
[mó *gì]* *dìmbí-yá-lì-y* *mɛ́]*

[AnSg Acc] follow-MP-PerfNeg-1PlS if]
[í gì] *yàmbí-rà-ndí-∅,*
[1Pl Acc] cover-Tr-PresNeg-3SgS,

If we follow Him (= God), He will definitely cover (= protect) us. If we don't follow Him, He will not cover us.

[low-toned 1Pl perfective negative *-lì-y* §10.1.4.2]

(xx70) *[í tàrà-n],* *[í kùlmà-mbò],*
[1Pls look-DS], [1PlP elder-Pl.L],
sògólè, *yàwó:* *gìbì-y-ò:* *wê:,*
yellow.dye, woman.Pl gird-MP.Perf-3PlS ugh!,
ánà:, *yé* *nùŋí-yà-m=b-à:,*
man.Pl, InanPl wear.garment-MP-Impf=Past-3PlS,

As we watched (=in our memory), our elders, (garments of) yellow bogola dye (from *Anogeissus* tree), what women wore (around their bodies), ugh! (As for) men, they used to wear these (garments, too).

[*tàrà-n* different-subject form with A/O-stem of verb §15.2.3.6; 'ugh!' expresses the attitude of today's women to old-fashioned bogola clothing made with vegetable dyes; yellow dye for traditional bogola fabric is made froms leaves of the tree *Anogeissus leiocarpus*; 'gird' because women's wraps (outer garments) are wrapped and tied around the body]

(xx71) *[tàgù kó:sù-mbò]⇑,*
[shoe.L leather.sandal-Pl],
[bé gì] *tágí-yà-mb-à:=ỳ=bè-∅,*
[AnPl Acc] wear.shoe-MP-Pres-Pass=it.is=Past-3SgS,
nè:-gùjú, *íyó* *[[nĕ:* *gùjù]* *[[ó* *yè:]* *gì]*
cow.L-skin, today [[cow.P skin.L] [[2SgP woman.L] Acc]
tàgì-r-ó: *mé]*
wear.shoe-Tr.Perf-2SgS if]
[[ó gì] *bìlá-m̀* *mà→↑],*
[[2Sg Acc] be.peaceful.for-Fut.3SgS Q],

Leather sandals, they were worn, (of) cowhide. Nowadays, if you have your wife wear cowhide (shoes), will it be peaceful (=turn out well) for you?

[animate plural *bé gì* because 'shoes' is a grammatically animate noun; present passive §10.5.3, differing only in tones from future passive; note co-occurrence of compound 'cow-skin' and possessed NP 'cow's skin'; mediopassive *tágí-yé* 'put shoes on (oneself)' vs. transitive *tágí-ré* 'put shoes on (someone else)'; final question is rhetorical]

(xx72) *kóndé⇒* *[nĕ:* *gùjù* *kó]*

all.right [cow.Pl.P skin.L Def.InanSg.O]
[nŏ: dîn là] kó dúmà-ndí,
[person all too] InanSg.O get-PresNeg-3SgS,
wàllâ:y [[nŏ: [nɛ̌: gùjù] tágà-∅]
by.God [[person [cow.Pl skin.L] wear.Stat-3SgS]
y-ɔ̌: mé díndì],
see.Perf-2SgS if all],
ɔ̀gɔ̀ndê:≡ỳ [kìnjàn-gé: tágà-∅],
rich≡it.is [life.L-Char wear.Stat-3SgS],

All right, (formerly) not everyone could get cowhide. By God, if you saw someone wear cow's hide (shoes), he was rich, (it was as though) he was wearing a living one (= entire live cow).

[assistant says *tágà-n* is also possible instead of the first *tàgà*; final comment is a way of exaggerating the wealth of any person wearing leather sandals in the past]

(xx73) R: *já:tì, ɲă: kɛ̀nɛ́ yà: bɛ̀-∅*
exactly, yesterday like.this Foc be-3SgS
R: Exactly. Formerly <u>like that</u> [focus] is how it was.

(xx74) P: *[mánà tàgì:] nû: yɛ̌ŋ kăŋgòy,*
[plastic.P shoe.L] now what? be.done,
mánà=lá má, [yɛ̀ŋgé má] dímbà-∅
plastic=it.is.not Q, [what? Dat] follow.Stat-3SgS
P: Plastic shoes now, what good was it? Was it not plastic? What was it for?

[lit. *kăŋgòy*, roughly 'be done' in this specific phrase, is obscurely related to *kán* 'do, make'; the final clause is literally 'what did it follow?']

(xx75) R: *sòjó-m̀*
melt-Fut.3SgS
R: It would melt.

(xx76) P: *háyà [kó yà:] [kìr-gé: bàm]=ì:,*
well [InanSg.O Foc] [herder.P share.L]=it.is,
kà: [nɛ̌: tàgì:] tàgì-y-ɔ́: mé,
but [cow.Pl.P shoe.L] wear.shoe-MP-2SgS if,
nɛ̌: tàgì-y-ɔ̌:,
cow.Pl wear.shoe-MP-2SgS,
[nŏ: dîn] mó dúmà-ndí-∅ kŏy,
[person all] AnSgO get-PresNeg-3SgS Emph,
ɔ̀mɔ̀lɔ̀-bɛ̀lɛ́=ý nɔ̀,

patas.monkey.L-getting=it.is no?,
jěnjà [bàndí ké] [í mà] síyá-ndá-m-ná,
God [behind InanSg.E] 1Pl Dat] good-Inch-Fact-Hort.3Sg,

P: Well, that [focus] was a herder's share. But if you wore cow(-hide) shoes, (it was as though) you were wearing a (whole) cow. Definitely not everyone could get (=afford) it. It's what we call "patas monkey's getting," no? May God make our end (= destiny) good.

["patas monkey's chance" is said to be a Tommo-So phrase, cf. Najamba *ɔ̀mélɛ̀* 'patas monkey', the point being (apparently) that it's difficult to pick high-hanging fruits left by the monkeys]

(xx77) *kà: nàmà-ndè-∅ kǒy [í mà],*
but difficult-Inch-3SgS Emph [1Pl Dat],
[ɲă: kòŋgò í yà-m=b-ɔ́: mà]
[yesterday thing.L 1PlS see-Impf=Past-PplNS.InanSg.O in]
[[íyó í yà-ŋgà] [hâl kúndú] òndú-∅]
[[today 1PlS see-Ppl.Pres] [until one.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgS]
[kà:ná: [[[bɔ̀né=ý mé] bàndì] mà],
[except [[[trouble=it.is if] behind.L] in],
[tìbɔ̀: kòlô:] mà, [sà:mà-n nè:ndá:] má,
[death.L unripe] or, [disease.L bad] or,

But it has certainly been difficult on us. In (=among) the thing(s) that we saw formerly, there is not even a single thing that we (still) see nowadays, other than in the aftermath of troubles: unripe (=premature) death or bad disease.

(xx78) *sà:mă-n [í là] sà:mì-yè-∅,*
disease [1Pl too] get.sick-MP-3SgS,
[í kì:] jɔ́ŋé já-ndì-ỳ,
[1PlP head.L] treat can-Neg-1PlS,
[bèlí-yé nè] kúnjá, tìb-ɔ̌:,
[get.up-MP and.SS] get.old.Imprt, die.Perf-2SgS,

Furthermore, when we catch a disease, we cannot treat ourselves (medically). (They say:) arise and get old! You are dead.

["our head" = reflexive object §18.1.1]

(xx79) *[[ɲă: jóŋà-mb-à:=b-ɛ̌: ké] mà]*
[[yesterday treat-Impf-Pass=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] in]
[íyó jóŋà-ndí-yà],
[today treat-PresNeg-3PlS],
[nŏ: tɔ̀mɛ̂: mó] kòŋ-kámà éndà-∅,
[person one Def.AnSg] thing.L-any not.know-3SgS,

mó *jòŋé=ỳ* *wà,* *gwé* *yàlì-yè-∅* *má,*
AnSg heal.Agent=it.is say, go.out go.around-MP.Perf-3SgS Q,

In the place(s) where (people) used to be treated (by healers), now they don't treat (them). One person (=quack healer) doesn't know anything, (but) he claims to be a healer. Did he (=sick person) go out and walk around (i.e. in good health)?

[*jòŋé* uncompounded agentive §4.3.2.5; *jòŋé=ỳ wà* is heard phonetically as [dʒòŋêw:à], i.e. with /yw/ fusing as [w:].

(xx80) *[sǎ:mà gà]* *[jěnjà* *bô:-∅* *mà→]* *éndà-∅,*
[sick.person Top] [God be-3SgS or?] not.know-3SgS,
[mó gì] *dìmbì-yá-m̀,* *[mó gì]* *táppà* *kàná-m̀,*
[AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut.3SgS, [AnSg Acc] hitting do-Fut.3SgS,
kwǎ-m̀, *làỳ,* *tìbá-m̀,*
eat-Fut.3SgS, Emph, die-Fut.3SgS,

The sick person doesn't know whether (=that) God is there. He (=sick person) will follow him (=healer). He (=healer) will hit (=fleece) him, (he will) eat (him) up, totally. He (=sick person) will die.

(xx81) *kóndé→* *[jŏn* *mà],* *gô:* *mà,* *jòŋà-mb-à* *wà,*
all.right [Dioni in], Go in, treat-Fut-3PlS say,
jènjà-[nèmbìl-ŋgó] *bè-∅* *wà,*
God.L-[pleading-InanSg.O] be-3SgS say,
[gô: *mà]* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Go in] go-Prog-Neg-1PlS,
[dìmbìrá mà] *bè-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Lamordé in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PlS,
[dìndǎl *mà]* *bè-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Dindari in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PlS,
[ǎ:jà *mà]* *bè-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Adia in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PlS,
[gùndàpâl *mà]* *bè-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Gundapari in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PlS,
[yěl *mà]* *bè-∅,* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Ogoyeri in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PlS,
[[dèmběl *mà]* *bè-∅]* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ*
[[Dembeli in] be-3SgS] go-Prog-Neg-1PlS,
[[tàbâ: *mà]* *bè-∅]* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[[Tabako in] be-3SgS] go-Prog-Neg-1PlS,
[mùgî: *mà]* *ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,*
[Mougi in] go-Prog-Neg-1PlS,

All right, in Dioni (village), at Go, they would treat (the sick), it is said.

There used to be praying to (animist) God. We aren't going to Go (any longer). It was (also) at Lamordé, (but) we aren't going (now). It was at Dindari, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Adia, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Gundapari, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Ogoyeri, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Dembeli, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Tabako, (but) we we aren't going. We we aren't going to Mougi.

[Go is a secret place with an underground spring]

(xx82) *nàjàmbá* *í-mbò* *jólà* *kàló:=ỳ,*
Najamba go-and Débéré boundary=*it*.is,
kên *kálí-yɛ́* *jò-∅,*
there stop.at.boundary-MP Perfect-3SgS,
[yè *dîn]* *í* *dɔ̀g-ɔ̂:,*
[InanPl.L all] 1PlS leave.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O,
[í *dì:nà]* *gòmè-ý,*
[1PlP religion.L] take.out.Perf-1PlS,

Najamba (country) went to (its) boundary at Débéré and stopped at its boundary there. When we left (=ceased practicing) all that, we took out (=adopted) our religion (=Islam).

(xx83) *[[[í* *dì:nà]*
[[[1PlP religion.L]
í *gòm-ô:* *kó]* *mà]*
1PlS take.out.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O] in]
[nàfâ *í* *y-ɔ̃:]* *òndú-∅* *kŏy,*
[benefit.L 1PlS see.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgS Emph,

(Since) we adopted our religion, there is no benefit that we have seen.

(xx84) *[íyó* *[nàwó:* *tɛ́:mɛ̀ndɛ́rɛ̀]* *ó* *jògò-n]* *dìné-m̀* *mɛ́,*
[today [cow.Pl hundred] 2SgS have-DS] find.Perf-1SgS if,
[ɛ́ndɛ̀n *wè-ḿ* *mɛ́]*
[day.after.tomorrow come.Perf-1SgS if]
[[nè: *mó]* *kúndé=ý]*
[[cow Def.AnSg] one.AnSg=it.is]

If I find that you have one hundred cows today, if I come (back) in a couple of days, the cow is (just) one.

(xx85) R: *ìgí* *jòg-à:=ỳ*
finish Perfect-PlsNS=it.is
R: They have finished (= died off).

(xx86) P: *ɲă:* *[[sò-ŋgò]-jìbù* *kùndù*
yesterday [[cloth-InanSg.O.L]-wrap.L one.InanSg.O.L
kó] *[í* *gì]* *náfɛ́=bɛ̀-∅* *kǒy,* *jă:*--
Near.InanSg.O] [1Pl Acc] benefit.Perf=Past-3SgS Emph, since--
P: Formerly, that single (woman's) wrap definitely served us well. Since—

qqq

R [overlapping]: That—. Excuse me (for interrupting). We have turned away from that (= old customs). It will remain like we want (it). I will do something bad, I will do something short too, even if it's not good I will do it too.
Formerly, if you-Sg did the bad thing, the fetish (= idol) would show you immediately. Likewise, if you did the good thing, it would show you immediately. Well, nowadays, whether it pleases or doesn't please someone, I will do (it). I will remain (= live) as I please.
God too, in this (base) world, doesn't take out (a person) and show you at all that So-and-So is an evil-doer. (If) you have done a certain type of evil, He (= God) will bring down a catastrophe in the land, perhaps as for you, you don't care. You're (still) doing it (= evil).
Formerly, the fetish, if you did (something), it would show you immediately. Nowadays, we have said (it's) praying (= Islamic worship), (but) we haven't followed (= been consistent with) the praying either.There is no candor.
Trickery, and swindling, and stealing, and let's-take-what-is-not-ours, because those (things) [focus] are what have us nowadays. Have you not seen that we will remain (= live) as we want? It is what made us leave the fetish.

qqq

Y [overlapping]: *kó--,* *ó* *kàbîl* *káná,* *kó* *í* *wɔ̀ndɛ̀*
jògà: *kó,* *[í* *kìyò-ŋgà* *dân]* *bà-mbó-m=ì:,*
nè:ndá: *kànà-mbó-mɱ̀⇑,* *[dɛ̌-ŋgò=ỳ* *gà* *là]* *kànà-mbó-mɱ̀,*
[èndá:=ý *mé* *là]* *kànà-mbó-mɱ̀,*

ɲă:[nè:ndá: *kó]* *kàn-ó:* *mɛ́,* *[pɔ́:* *nɛ̀]* *ó*
tè:rá-mɱ̀ *[tó:rù* *kó],* *[síyɛ̀-ŋgò* *kó]* *kàn-ó:* *mé* *là,*
[pɔ́: *nɛ̀]* *ó* *tè:rá-mɱ̀,* *áywà,* *íyó,* *[[nǒ:* *mà]* *èlûm*

èndá dîn] kànà-mbó-m̀⇑, [[ḿ mà] ɛ̌l-ŋgò dân]
bà-mbó-m̀⇑, <xxx>,

[*jěnjà là] [áníyá-òlò mà], gɔ̌m nɛ̀, mâ:n*
nè:ndà:-kàné=ý, [láy nɛ̀] ó tè:rá-ndì,
[[nè:ndá: tɔ̀mɔ̂: kó] kàn-ó: mɛ́] [bàlǎw [[gwǎ: kɛ́]
mà] sùgò-ndò-m], táwɛ̀ ó [[ó hà:jɛ̀] òndú],
kánà-mbò jógò-w,

ɲǎ:[[tó:rù kó], [kàn-ó: mɛ́ dîn] [pɔ́: nɛ̀] ó
tè:rà-m=bɛ̀, íyó sân gìnɛ̀-ỳ, [[sân kó] gì là],
dìmbà-ndí-ỳ, [kèndà-[ɛ̀jɛ̌-n]] òndí,

[hí:là mà→] [pîl-pá:là mà→] [jàmàlà-ŋgó má→↑],
[í gɔ̀ l=à:] jǎ-ỳ mà→, pàskà íyó kɛ́ yà:
[í gì] jòg-ɛ̀:, [[í kìyò-ŋgà dân] bà-mbó-ỳ
kó] yà:-l-ò:, [tó:rù í dògà-m-ò: kó]=ý,

new vocab from text 2005-2

kómándíy 'take care of'
wánà: ('now'?), perhaps *violà*
háwràl 'agreement'
ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m-ŋwê:m weeping (adv)
néndá-ndí 'be bad'
pâ⇒ nè] 'violently'
bílá 'exchange!' (Imprt ??, dict has *bílà-bílà kán*)
bàndûl bây⇒ banging of the Hogon's stick
nàm-gó 'difficulty' (in grammar but not in Dict)
bĭẁ 'suddenly'
ɲènɛ́ 'like this' (compare *kènɛ́* 'like that')
nŏ:ỳ kán 'prosper, be prosperous'
áybè 'humiliation'
lútà kán 'reject (e.g. God)'
sútùrà kán = verb *sútúrɛ́* '(e.g. God) protect, give refuge to (sb)'
(*ìŋgè*) *tă-ŋgè* 'plain water'
kɔ́ntɛ́ 'hold (sb) in high regard, esteem' (considérer)
àndí clause-initial pragmatic particle (cf. Jamsay 'be it known that …')
dɔ̀gɔ́ sí-yɛ́ '(man) divorce/get rid of (woman)'
wâ: kán '(God) keep (sb) safe (from sth)'
tínnà kán 'do one's best'
ní phrase-final particle (*wàllâ:y ní*)
sá:rà: 'parent' can denote one's mother or father or any of their younger same-sex siblings
síyà (sample text, particle by itself) well, … (related to 'good')
há:ná-l-∅ it's impossible
dìmbí-lí-yɛ́ see sample text (xx67) 'lag (behind sb)'
tàgù kó:sù-mbò (pl) 'cowhide shoes', variant of *tàkó-sì* in dict
làỳ Emphatic clause-final ('totally')

correct Walo typo ('mother-in-law') in dict

Koira Beiri speaker 2009

déŋàn dìn sèmànjôm
I slaughter every day

nò: déŋándìn sémànjè: m ân bó ló
'where is the person who slaughters every day'

nòmbò déŋán dìn sémànjò: bé ân bɛ́: ló
'where are the people who slaughter every day?'

déŋán dìn kèŋ ó sémànjè: ân bó ló
'where is the place where you-Sg slaughter (every day)?'

nò: sémànjòlém ân bó ló
'where is the person who does not slaughter'

nòmbò sémànjòló: bé ân bɛ́: ló
'where is the person who does not slaughter'

déŋán dìn ó kèŋ sémànjòlè: ân bó ló
'where is the place where you-Sg do not slaughter every day?'

éŋ sèmámbèm
I will slaughter tomorrow

éŋ nò: sèmámbèm ân bò lò
'where is the person who will slaughter tomorrow?'

éŋ pègɛ̀ ó sèmámbèm ân bó ló
'where is the sheep that you-Sg will slaughter tomorrow?'

éŋ sèmánùm
I will not slaughter tomorrow?

éŋ nò: sèmándè: m ân bó ló
'where is the person who will not slaughter tomorrow?'

éŋ nòmbò sèmándò: bé ân bɛ́: ló
'where are the people who will not slaughter tomorrow?'

éŋ ó pègɛ̀ sèmándè: m ân bò lò
'where is the sheep that you-Sg will not slaughter tomorrow?'

éŋ ó pègɛ̀mbò sèmándò: bé ân bò lò
'where are the sheep-Pl that you-Sg will not slaughter tomorrow?'