

Dogon nonnumeral quantifiers

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The common non-numeral quantifiers in Dogon languages are universal quantifiers ('all'), often two or more in the same language, and a set-partitioning quantifier ('a certain one, certain ones'). Distributive quantifiers ('each') are either absent (except for distributive iterations of numerals) or have limited productivity. There are no 'few' or 'many' adjectives, these concepts being expressed by adverbs or by nouns that double as adverbs ('a little', 'a lot').

universal 'all'

Universal quantifiers are generally emphatic. Several languages have multiple 'all' quantifiers, differing (if at all) by degree of emphasis and nominal versus adverbial nature. They have a limited half-life to judge by divergences in forms even among closely related languages. They are easily borrowed across language boundaries (*fũ*→ is found not only in Dogon but also in Ffulfulde and probably in other local languages). They can occur at the end of NPs, following determiners but preceding postpositions and the accusative marker. Or they can function as independent NPs ('everything') or as adverbs ('totally'). There is no clear distinction between universal ('all') and distributive ('each') readings. In some languages there may be more 'all' quantifiers than have been recorded to date.

(1)	language	'all'
	eastern	
	Toro Tegu	<i>yà:-fú: ~ yàgà-fú:,¹ cěw-là:-fú: ~ cěy-yà:-fú:, kǒwlè-yà:-fú: ~ kěylè-yà:-fú:</i>
	Bankan Tey	<i>bé:</i>
	Ben Tey	<i>wôy, dàⁿ-wôy ~ dò-wôy, náṅàṅà: ~ náṅà:, cêm ~ cêw, lèrěw</i>
	Nanga	<i>kéréw, pós, bé:ndè, pú→ ~ fú→ ~ bú→, lèrěw</i>
	Jamsay	<i>fú:, cêw, sóy, lèrěw, lèrè-gèrěw</i>
	Togo Kan	<i>sâⁿ</i>
	Tommo So	<i>kém</i>
	Donno So	<i>wôy, fũ→ ~ pũ→, sé:nèṅ</i>
	Yorno So	<i>pú→</i>
	Tomo Kan	<i>??</i>

¹ Based on *yàgá* 'which?'.

northwestern		
Najamba	<i>dîn</i>	
Tiranige	<i>címà</i>	
Dogul Dom	<i>fú</i>	
Tebul Ure	<i>pú→</i>	
Yanda Dom	<i>cêm, pú→, èrègè-děw→</i>	
southwestern		
Bunoge	<i>kúndú, sàkáy</i>	
Mombo	<i>sélè:</i>	
Ampari	<i>sáw</i>	
Penange	<i>sèlè</i>	

It does not seem possible to reconstruct a proto-form based on this data set. *fú→* is a regional form of unknown origin (Fulfulde?). *cêm* and related forms occur in a geographical rather than genetic cluster (Jamsay, Yanda Dom, Ben Tey) and could have been diffused among them.

‘All’ quantifiers do not usually have tonosyntactic control power. However, they are generally pronounced forcefully, the effect being that preceding words are pronounced with lower than normal pitch. In combinations with a pronoun (‘all of us’, ‘all of you’, ‘all of them’), in some languages the pitch dropping appears to have been grammaticalized as tone-dropping, e.g. Jamsay *émé* ‘we’ but *èmè^L fú→* ‘all of us’.

‘certain one(s)’, ‘some’/‘others’

Quantifiers of this type partition a set (denoted by a common noun) into two or more subsets. Most often the reference is plural (i.e. to multiple individuals), though singular reference (‘a certain X’) is also possible. A typical discourse context is of the type ‘some people stayed, others left’, where something different is predicated of each partitioned subset. In Dogon languages, both such clauses have the same NP ‘certain ones’ as subject.

(1) language ‘a certain one’ ‘certain ones, some’

eastern		
Toro Tegu	<i>jérè</i>	<i>jérè</i>
Bankan Tey	<i>gàmbú-m</i>	<i>gàmbú</i>
Ben Tey	<i>gǎm</i>	<i>gǎm bóŋgò bè</i>
Nanga	<i>gàmbí</i>	<i>gàmbí-yê</i>
Jamsay	<i>gàmá</i>	<i>gàmà-nám</i>
Jamsay (Pergué)	<i>gàmbá-n</i>	<i>gàmbá-m</i>

Togo Kan	<i>gámá</i>	<i>gǎm ná</i>
Tommo So	??	<i>gàmbá:</i>
Donno So	<i>gàmbǎŋ</i>	<i>gàmbǎŋ</i>
Yorno So	??	<i>gǎm</i>
Tomo Kan	??	??
northwestern		
Najamba	??	<i>gàndí</i>
Tiranige	<i>àmbilè</i>	<i>àmbilè-gé</i>
Dogul Dom	??	??
Tebul Ure	??	??
Yanda Dom	<i>gàmbúlè</i>	<i>gàmbúlè-mù</i>
southwestern		
Bunoge	??	<i>tàngà</i>
Mombo	??	<i>gámúgè</i>
Ampari	??	??
Penange	??	<i>ntǎ:-nà</i>

A form **gàmbú* seems reconstructible. Its reflexes are treated variably as adjective (a preceding noun is tone-dropped) or like a numeral (no tonosyntactic interaction).

distributive ‘each’

Within NPs, distributive ‘each’ is distinguishable from universal ‘all’ only with difficulty in Dogon languages. Usually elicitation cues produce only more examples of ‘all’.

A form *kâ:ⁿ* or *kálá:* or the like occurs in a few Dogon languages with more or less distributive function. It is usually NP final and occurs mainly with a few nouns like ‘person’.

(2)	language	‘each’
	Toro Tegu	<i>kálá:, kâ:ⁿ</i>
	Jamsay	<i>kâ:ⁿ</i>
	Yorno So	<i>kâ:ⁿ</i>

‘few’ and ‘many’

These concepts are most often expressed as adverbs, or as nouns that often can double as adverbs. Glosses ‘a little’ and ‘a lot’ capture this. Several ‘a little’ expressions are identical to or related to an adjective ‘small’ in the same language (Toro Tegu *tègěy*,

Jamsay and Togo Kan *dágá*, Jamsay *jì:ⁿlé*, Donno So *dây*, Tommo So *gà:-lěy*, Dogul Dom *dáág* and *dàgéégù*).

(1)	language	‘a little’	‘a lot’
	eastern		
	Toro Tegu	<i>tégěy</i>	<i>mútú, nànnà:rⁿá, sánní ~ sánné</i>
	Bankan Tey	<i>dém.:</i>	<i>sí→, báyⁿ:</i>
	Ben Tey	<i>dá: wó, illá ~ ùllá, dêm→</i>	<i>bâyⁿ→</i>
	Nanga	<i>dágáy ~ dákáy, dêmì→</i>	<i>èsíⁿ→</i>
	Jamsay	<i>jì:ⁿlé, gàyⁿlé, dágà→</i>	<i>èjíⁿ→, jó→, gàrà→</i>
	Jamsay (Pergué)	<i>gì:lá sày, dágáy→</i>	<i>èsíⁿ→</i>
	Togo Kan	<i>dágà→, dág-iⁿ→</i>	<i>gàrà→, sêyⁿ</i>
	Tommo So	<i>gà:-lěy(-ni), mě:-ni</i>	<i>jó:(-ni), sáy-ni</i>
	Donno So	<i>dây, gà:lěy</i>	<i>gǎ:w, èdú→</i>
	Yorno So	<i>dágà→</i>	<i>gì-gǎ: gò, jó→y</i>
	Tomo Kan	??	??
	northwestern		
	Najamba	<i>tégì nè, tégì-tégì nè</i>	<i>ígò-ndí, ségín, nǎ:n nè, gìndé</i>
	Tiranige	<i>cêwⁿ</i>	<i>kúnú→</i>
	Dogul Dom	<i>dágù</i>	<i>gìnné, káyèbùn</i>
	Tebul Ure	<i>kéndèyⁿ→, dágám→</i>	<i>měm→</i>
	Yanda Dom	<i>gìnè, sáy→, diyá gà</i>	<i>cém→</i>
	southwestern		
	Bunoge	<i>nágáséndi</i>	<i>tè:bú→</i>
	Mombo	<i>dé:gù, bá:lù:ⁿ</i>	<i>jwá:, báyⁿ, bá:</i>
	Ampari	??	<i>jó→</i>
	Penange	<i>bà:lè→</i>	<i>jwá→</i>