

A Grammar of Mombo Songho Dialect

Dogon language family
Mali

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Contents

3.2.2	Metrical structure of bisyllabic stems with intervocalic consonantal clusters	2
3.7.2	Grammatical tone patterns and syllabic structure of verbs	5
4	NOMINAL, PRONOMINAL, AND ADJECTIVAL MORPHOLOGY	13
4.1	NOUNS	13
4.1.1	Simple nouns	13
4.1.1.1	Plural marker gé/ ṅgé	13
4.1.1.2	Associative plural marker yà:	23
4.1.2	‘Woman’, ‘child’, ‘person’, ‘thing’	24
4.1.3	‘So-and-so’	25
4.1.4	Initial Cv reduplication in nouns	25
4.1.5	Final reduplications in nouns and adjectives	26
4.1.6	Nouns with full-stem iteration	26
4.1.7	Frozen initial a or aN in nouns	27
4.1.8	Frozen final -ṅO/ ṅge/ gO/ ge in inanimate nouns	28
4.2	DERIVED NOMINALS	29
4.2.1	Characteristic derivatives in ṅgà and ga	29
4.2.2	Abstract nouns, ‘state of being an X’, ‘X-hood’	32
4.2.3	Verbal Nouns	33
4.2.4	Effector nominals	35
4.2.5	Other deverbal nouns	36
4.2.6	Uncompounded agentives	36
4.2.7	Expressive iteration	37
4.3	PRONOUNS	37
4.3.1	Basic personal pronouns	37
4.3.2	Personal pronouns as complements of adpositions	41
4.4	DEMONSTRATIVES	42
4.4.1	Definite morphemes	42
4.4.1.1	nê: ‘this/that’	43
4.4.1.2	Anaphoric/logophoric demonstrative pronouns	44
4.4.1.3	Discourse-definite use of 3SG possessor marker -na	44
4.4.2	Demonstrative adverbs	44
4.4.2.1	Locative adverbs	44
4.4.2.2	Emphatic and Approximative modifiers of adverbs	47
4.4.3	Presentatives (‘here’s □!’)	47
4.5	ADJECTIVES	48
4.5.1	Syntactic features	48
4.5.2	Predicative use	49
4.5.3	Qualitative verbs	50

4.5.4	Underived adjectives	51
4.5.5	Semantic syncretism ‘cold=slow/ ‘hot=fast’	52
4.5.6	Adverbials with adjectival sense	53
4.5.7	Iterated (fully reduplicated) adverbials	55
4.6	PARTICIPLES	55
4.7	NUMERALS	55
4.7.1	Cardinal numerals	55
4.7.1.1	‘One’, ‘same (one)’, and ‘other’	55
4.7.1.2	‘2’ to ‘10’	56
4.7.1.3	Decimal multiples (‘10’, ‘20’, □) and their combinations (‘11’, ‘59’, □)	56
4.7.1.4	Large numerals (‘100’, ‘1000’, □) and their composites	57
4.7.1.5	Currency	58
4.7.1.6	Distributive numerals	58
4.7.2	Ordinal adjectives	58
4.7.2.1	‘First’ and ‘last’	58
4.7.2.2	Other ordinals (suffix xxx)	59
4.7.3	Fractions and portions	59
6	NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE	63
6.1	ORGANIZATION OF NP CONSTITUENTS	63
6.1.1	Linear order	63
6.1.2	Headless NPs	64
6.1.2.1	Detachability (in relatives)	67
6.1.3	Internal bracketing and tone-dropping	70
6.2	POSSESSIVES	75
6.2.1	Non-pronominal possession	75
6.2.1.1	Possessed noun marking	75
6.2.1.2	{HL} nouns in the possessor position	81
6.2.1.3	Treatment of modifiers following the possessed noun	81
6.2.1.4	Semantics of non-pronominal possessor construction	84
6.2.2	Pronominal possession	88
6.2.2.1	Inalienable possessive construction	88
6.2.2.2	Alienable possessive construction	92
6.2.2.3	Possessed noun modifiers in pronominal possession	92
6.2.3	Recursive possession	96
6.3	NOUN PLUS ADJECTIVE	101
6.3.1	Noun plus regular adjective	101
6.3.2	gámúgè ‘certain (ones)’	102
6.3.3	Expansions of adjective	102

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences	103
6.3.3.2 Adjectival intensifiers	103
6.3.3.3 ‘Good to eat’	108
6.4 NOUN PLUS CARDINAL NUMERAL	108
6.5 TONAL MORPHOLOGY (?)	109
6.6 NOUN PLUS DETERMINER	112
6.6.1 Prenominal classifiers	112
6.6.2 Postnominal demonstrative pronouns	113
6.6.3 Definite morpheme plus noun	114
6.7 UNIVERSAL AND DISTRIBUTIVE QUANTIFIERS	114
6.7.1 ‘All’ (xxx)	114
6.7.2 ‘Each’ (xxx)	115
6.7.3 Universal and distributive quantifiers with negation	115
6.8 ACCUSATIVE	115
7 COORDINATION	118
7.1 NP COORDINATION	118
7.1.1 NP conjunction (‘X and Y’)	118
7.1.1.1 Ordering of coordinands	118
7.1.1.2 Conjunction with final quantifier	119
7.1.1.3 Triggering agreement on verb	119
7.1.1.4 Conjunction of relative clauses	120
7.1.2 “Conjunction” of verbs or VP’s	121
7.2 DISJUNCTION	121
7.2.1 NP-level disjunctive morpheme má: ‘or’	121
7.2.2 Clause-level disjunction	122
7.2.3 Coordinated topicalized constituents	124
9 VERBAL DERIVATION	125
9.1 STATIVE - ACTIVE CONVERSION	125
9.2 REVERSIVE VERBS (-LV-)	127
9.2.1 MORPHOLOGY AND SEMANTICS	127
9.2.2 LIST OF REVERSIVE VERBS	129
9.2.3 MORPHOTACTICS	131
9.3 DEVERBAL CAUSATIVE VERBS	132
9.3.1 Causatives in -rV	133
9.3.2 Causatives in -gV	137
9.3.3 Causatives in -mV	139
9.3.4 Minor causative suffixes	146

9.3.4.1 Causative ndV	147
9.3.4.2 Relict suffix transitive *dV in stems with geminated consonants	148
9.3.4.3 Relict suffix -jV	148
9.3.4.4 Frozen suffix -IV transitive stems	149
9.3.5 Semantics of the causative markers	150
9.3.6 Contactive/distant polysemy in -mV causatives	152
9.3.7 Causative/ passive polysemy in -mV causatives	153
9.4 BENEFACTIVE	155
9.5 INCHOATIVE -YV/ YV:	156
9.5.1 Morphology of derivation in -yV/ yV:	156
9.5.2 Inchoative with -yV/ yV: with active verbal stems	158
9.6 AMBI-VALENT VERBS WITHOUT SUFFIXAL DERIVATION	166
9.7 DEADJECTIVAL INCHOATIVE AND FACTITIVE VERBS	166
9.8 DENOMINAL VERBS	167
9.9 OBSCURE VERB-VERB RELATIONSHIPS	168
10 VERBAL INFLECTION	171
10.1 INFLECTION OF REGULAR INDICATIVE VERBS	171
10.1.1 Suffixes and chained verbs	173
10.1.2 Categories and semantic labels	174
10.1.3 Verb stem shapes	176
10.1.3.1 Monosyllabic verbs	178
10.1.3.2 mályê: ‘see’	181
10.1.3.3 ndé ‘give’	182
10.1.3.4 Regular bisyllabic stems	182
10.1.3.5 Tri- and quadrisyllabic stems	185
10.2 POSITIVE INDICATIVE AN CATEGORIES	189
10.2.1 Perfective positive system (including perfect)	189
10.2.1.1 Perfective	189
10.2.1.2 Perfective-1a xxx , Perfective 1b xxx	191
10.2.1.3 Perfective 2 (-so/sa)	192
10.2.1.4 Experiential Perfect ‘have ever’ (xxx)	192
10.2.1.5 Recent Perfect (jE)	194
10.2.2 Imperfective positive system	194
10.2.2.1 Imperfective (proper) V-á: bó: / sá:	194
10.2.2.2 Reduplicated Imperfective (Cv)	196
10.2.2.3 Progressive (so-)	196
10.2.2.4 Prospective	196
10.2.3 Negation of indicative verbs	198
10.2.3.1 Perfective Negative -lí/-l-	198

10.2.3.2	Experiential Negative -téndi	199
10.2.3.3	Imperfective Negative V-a óli / sá-ndá	200
10.2.3.4	Prospective negative forms	201
10.3	PRONOMINAL PARADIGMS FOR NON-IMPERATIVE VERBS	202
10.3.1	Subject pronominal suffixes	203
10.3.2	Nonhuman versus 3SG subject	203
10.3.3	Vowel-semivowel interactions of AN and pronominal suffixes	204
10.3.4	Tones of subject pronominal suffixes	204
10.4	MORPHOLOGY OF THE 4 SERIES	204
10.5	STATIVE FORM OF VERBS (REDUPLICATED AND UNREDUPLICATED)	204
10.5.1	Stative positive	204
10.5.2	Stative Negative (□xxx)	205
10.6	POST-VERBAL TEMPORAL PARTICLES	206
10.6.1	Past clitic (□bE)	206
10.6.2	Actualizer clitic	207
10.6.2.1	Past Imperfective (positive and negative)	207
10.6.2.2	Past forms of stative quasi-verbs ('be', 'have')	208
10.6.2.3	Past Perfect (positive and negative)	208
10.6.2.4	Past Passive (positive and negative)	209
10.6.3	'Still', 'up to now', (not) yet'	209
10.7	IMPERATIVES AND HORTATIVES	209
10.7.1	Imperatives and Prohibitives	209
10.7.1.1	Positive imperatives (Imperative stem, Plural ndi)	209
10.7.1.2	Prohibitives	213
10.7.2	Positive hortatives (-xxx, plural -xxx)	214
10.7.3	Hortative Negative (-xxx, plural -xxx)	214
10.7.4	Hortative with third person pseudo-subject	215
10.7.5	Imperative with implied first person singular subject	215
11	VP AND PREDICATE STRUCTURE	217
11.1	REGULAR VERBS AND VP STRUCTURE	217
11.1.1	Verb types (valency)	217
11.1.2	Preverbal focalized constituent position	219
11.1.3	Sole argument patientive (unaccusative) verbs	219
11.1.4	Sole argument agentive (unergatives)	223
11.1.5	Transitives	223
11.1.6	NEED-verbs	226
11.1.7	Lability	226
11.1.8	Ditransitive verbs	227
11.1.9	Valency of causatives	228

11.1.10 Valency of the benefactive	230
11.1.11 Verb Phrase	232
11.1.12 Fixed subject-verb combinations	233
11.1.13 Fixed verb-object combinations	233
11.1.14 Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb	234
11.1.14.1 Grammatical status of cognate nominal	239
11.2 'BE', 'BECOME', 'HAVE', AND OTHER STATIVES	239
11.2.1 'It is' clitics	239
11.2.1.1 Positive 'it is' (=wo)	239
11.2.1.2 'It is not' (=la)	240
11.2.1.3 Identification construction	241
11.2.2 Existential and locative quasi-verbs and particles	243
11.2.2.1 Existential ò	243
11.2.2.2 Locational quasi-verb (tula-, negative tonda)	246
11.2.3 'Be put in/on'	248
11.2.4 Morphologically regular verbs	249
11.2.4.1 'Remain, happen' (bee-)	249
11.2.4.2 'Become, happen' (xxx)	251
11.2.4.3 'Want, like' (xxx)	252
11.2.4.4 'Fear' (ní:wè)	254
11.3 QUOTATIVE VERB	256
11.3.1 'Say' (xxx)	256
11.4 ADJECTIVAL PREDICATES	256
11.4.1 Positive adjectival predicates	260
11.4.2 Negative adjectival and stative predicates (□xxx)	260
11.5 POSSESSIVE PREDICATES	260
11.5.1 'Have' (so-/sa-)	260
11.5.2 'Belong to' predicates	261
11.6 VERB ITERATION	262
11.6.1 Uninflected iteration of type [v1-v1(-v1 □)]	262
13 FOCALIZATION AND INTERROGATION	264
13.1 FOCALIZATION	264
13.1.1 TERM FOCUS	264
13.1.2 PREDICATE-CENTERED FOCUS	266
13.1.3 RELATIVE MARKEDNESS OF FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS AND TOPICALITY	268
13.1.4 Subject focalization	271
13.1.5 Object focalization	272
13.1.6 Focalization of PP or other adverb	273

13.1.7 Focalization of postpositional complement	274
13.2 INTERROGATIVES	274
13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives (xxx)	274
13.2.2 ‘Who?’ (xxx)	275
13.2.3 ‘What?’ (xxx), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’	276
13.2.4 ‘Where?’ (xxx)	276
13.2.5 ‘When?’ (xxx)	277
13.2.6 ‘How?’ (xxx)	277
13.2.7 ‘How much/many?’ (xxx)	277
13.2.8 ‘Which?’ (xxx)	278
13.2.9 ‘So-and-so’ (ama:Na)	278
13.2.10 Embedded interrogatives	278

3.2.2 Metrical structure of bisyllabic stems with intervocalic consonantal clusters

My analysis of the metrical structure of bisyllabic stems with intervocalic consonantal clusters is largely based on the rules of tonal marking in nouns and verbs. The two tonal processes crucial for the discussion in this section are assigning the tone contours to the possessed nouns of H and HL tonal classes (§ 3.7.2.2, § 6.2.1.1) and the choice between two possible tonal arrangements in the perfective forms of verbs (§ 3.7.2.1, § 10.2.1.x)

In the possessive construction (§ 6.2), possessed nouns of H and HL tonal classes take {H} or {HL} depending on metrical structure of the noun stem. Possessed nouns with one or two morae take {H}, those with more than two morae take {HL} (see § 6.2.1.1 for details). :

(xxx) *sá:rù débú*

S. house.H

‘Seydou’s house’ (lex. *débù* ‘house’, 2 morae)

(xxx) *ámárù ápyà*

A. health

‘Amadou’s health’ (lex. *àpyá* ‘health, well-being’, 3 morae)

For short, I refer to mono- and bimoraic stems as ‘short stems’ and to the stems that have more than two morae as ‘long stems’.

The same distinction is valuable for assigning tones in perfective forms of verbs. Thus, the tonal contour of the third singular form is {H} when the verbal stem is short and is {HL}, when the verb stem is long:

(xxx)

Gloss	form	tonal contour	morae
‘s/he slaughtered (an animal)’	<i>sémé</i>	{H}	2 (= short)
‘s/he saw (sth/smb)’	<i>mályê:</i>	{HL}	4 (= long)

Bisyllabic stems with intervocalic consonant clusters are treated differently, depending on the type of a cluster.

Bisyllables with intervocalic geminates *-nn-* and *-kk-* are treated as long stems:

(xx1)

ámárù ánnà

A. sheep

‘Amadou’s sheep’ (lex. *ánnà*)

accordance with the last mora rule, so that the final syllable bears a falling tone. Cf. *dínyé*: ‘s/he arrived’.

In these cases, the tonal arrangement can not be taken as an evidence for an analysis similar to the one presented above, it but does not contradict to this analysis. Moreover, generally, it is not counterintuitive to think that the syllabic boundary here coincides with the former morphemic one¹.

-nj- in verbal lexicon

However, the above analysis doesn't hold for the stems containing other clusters of the -NC- type. Consider possessed nouns in (xx3) and (xx4)

(xx3) *ámárù áṅgú*
A. glue.H
‘Amadou’s glue’ (lex. *áṅgù*)

(xx4) *ámárù gémbé*
A. shouder.bag.H
‘Amadou’s shoulder bag’ (lex. *gémbè*)

(xx5) *sóṅgó* *śndó*
Songho pond
‘Songho pond’ (lex. *śndó*)

áṅgù ‘glue’, *gémbè* ‘shoulder bag’ *śndó* ‘pond’ behave as short stems, since H tone overlay applies to them in (xx3 –xx5).

Just as nouns in the possessed-noun position, 3SG perfectives of the same structure take {H} tone contour:

(xx6)

gloss	form
‘s/he carried (sth) on head’	<i>bíṅgé</i>
‘it is blunt’	<i>dúmbé</i>
‘s/he went’	<i>ándé</i>

¹ Cf., however, *nyé*: ‘s/he drank (sth)’, where initial *n* is not syllabic (unlike in most of the other cases of initial NC clusters). This case shows that in Mombo syllables with structure NCV are possible. So, technically, one could argue that syllabic structure of verb forms like *dínyé*: is CV-NCV.

To argue that the distinction between short and long stems still holds here, one has to propose an analysis, in which stems presented in (xx3-xx6) are bi- but not trimoraic. Here there are the following possibilities:

1. the stems in (xx3-5) have structure CVN-CV, but here the closed syllable is monomoraic, unlike in the case of stems with the intervocalic geminates and *-nj-* and *-ny-* clusters
2. the structure is CV-NCV; a stem consists of two open syllables and both them are monomoraic
3. the structure is CV-CV, i.e. the *-NC-* clusters are treated as monophonemic prenasalized consonants

The first explanation is not acceptable, since there is no reason to think that here CVN syllables are monomoraic while being bimoraic elsewhere (see §2.x).

The second decision is bad as well, since one has to postulate a quite unusual structure of the second syllable - NCV. Recall that in majority of initial combinations of N + C type, nasals are syllabic and carry tones often different from those of the second syllable. Cf. for example *̀ndá* ‘there’.

The third decision doesn’t contradict one’s intuitions about the possible syllable structures, but enriches language’s consonant repertoire with several phonemes with a very narrow distribution – the intervocalic position.

We consider the facts described above as an argument for monophonemic status of *-NC-* intervocalic clusters, except for *-ny-* and some instances of *-nj-* clusters found in verbs.

<i>-nj-</i>	monophonemic/biphonemic (verbs)
<i>-ny-</i>	biphonemic
<i>-ŋg-</i>	monophonemic
<i>-mb-</i>	monophonemic
<i>-nd-</i>	monophonemic

List of *-ny-* clusters in underived bisyllabic stems

List of bimorphemic *-nj-* clusters

{LH} bisyllables with *ŋg nd* and *mb*

jóntè/ jónḁ flu or similar illness (headache, nasal
ámárù jónḁ “Amadou’s flu”

3.7.2 Grammatical tone patterns and syllabic structure of verbs

Form of verb stems

Schematically a model of verbal stem in Mombo may be represented as done below:

(...CV)CV

That is a stem consisting of a number of syllables with the final vowel varying depending on the verbal category. Cf. possible forms of stem *yélé* ‘hold’

(xx1)

PFV	IMP	VN	IPFV	EFN
<i>yélé</i>	<i>yélo</i>	<i>yélo-gò</i>	<i>yéla: bó:</i>	<i>yèlí</i>

One could argue that final vowel of a stem is in fact a suffix of the category expressed. However there are several arguments against this analysis. See the discussion in § x.xxx.

Borrowing a term from Indo-European linguistics I will call the alternating final vowel of the stem the “thematic” vowel.

Within some categories the thematic vowel is a subject of allomorphic variation. Thus in perfective it may be *e*, *ε* or *i*, depending on the quality of the preceding consonant and the vowel of the penult syllable (if any).

On the other hand, other categories don’t show any allomorphic variation. Thus the thematic vowel of the verbal form preceding the auxiliary in the imperfective is always *-á:* no matter of what phonological shape the stem is (see § 10.xxx for details).

The table below lists categories that participate in the thematic vowel alternation and describes the phonologic rules that govern the choice of allomorphs, if the latter are present.

Table xx1

<i>category</i>	<i>vowel harmony</i>	<i>preceding consonant</i>	<i>thematic vowel</i>
imperfective	-	-	-a:
prospective Series 1, 2 and 4	-	-	-a
prospective negative Series 1, 2 and 4	-	-	-a
effector nominals	-	-	-i
perfective	+	+	e/ε

experiential perfect	+	+	e/ε
VN in -ŋge	+	+	e/ε
imperative	+	+	a/o/u
causative in mi	+	+	a/o/u/i
VN in -gɔ	+	+	o/ɔ/i/u
prospective Series 3	+	+	o/ɔ/i/u
causative in -gV	+	-	a/ copy of penult vowel
rV causatives	-	+	-u/i

This section deals mainly with patterns showing allomorphic variation. The patterns without allomorphic variation are described in corresponding chapters of the grammar (imperfective 10.xxx prospective (except Series 3) 10.xxx, effector nominals 4.2.1). We will start with a discussion of the vowel harmony in bisyllabic stems in xx.x., then proceed with polysyllables. The consonant-influenced allomorphic alternations are under consideration in x.xxx. Monosyllabic stems are discussed separately in x.xxx.

Vowel harmony in bisyllabic verbs

Comparing two unsuffixed inflectional forms of bisyllabic verbs, the (simple) perfective and the imperative we can identify following patterns of thematic vowel alternation.

(xxx) Patterns of thematic vowel alternation (PFV and IMP)

PFV/IMP	gloss	PFV	IMP
ε/a	‘slaughter’	<i>sémé</i>	<i>sémá</i>
e/o	‘come’	<i>égé</i>	<i>égó</i>
e/a	‘go’	<i>ándé</i>	<i>ándá/àndá</i>
i/a	‘do’	<i>kání</i>	<i>káná</i>
i/u	‘step’	<i>úní</i>	<i>únú</i>

As can be seen from this list the perfective and imperative forms are opposed by using front vowels (ε/e/i) in the former and back vowels in the latter (a/o/u). These two groups can be analyzed as allomorphs of the perfective and imperative morphemes (= the thematic vowels). Then the question is what governs the choice between them.

For some stems the choice of the allomorph can be partially predicted by the quality of vowel in the preceding syllable. Here three generalizations can be made:

- > Stems containing ε and ɔ have thematic ε in the perfective and a in the imperative.
- > Stems that have e or o have final e in the perfective and o in the imperative
- > Stems with initial a have e or i in the perfective and a in the imperative.

Note that in the latter case having a in the initial syllable doesn’t strictly predict the allomorph in the perfective. It can be either e or i. As will be shown in xx.xx all perfectives in i have a

restriction on the consonant preceding the thematic vowel, which suggests that *i* here is the realization of *e* conditioned by the preceding consonant.

However having *i* or *u* in the initial syllable doesn't help predicting perfective and imperative allomorphs at all. Consider the following examples:

(xx4)

gloss	PFV	IMP
'crawl'	<i>búmbé</i>	<i>búmbá</i>
'hit, beat'	<i>búndé</i>	<i>búndó</i>
'step'	<i>úní</i>	<i>únú</i>
'exchange, trade'	<i>dílé</i>	<i>dílá</i>
'bury'	<i>díngé</i>	<i>díngó</i>
'(fire) die away'	<i>míní</i>	<i>mínú</i>

A verb with *i* or *u* in the initial syllable may have all possible allomorphs in both the perfective and the imperative. Let's now compare the thematic vowel alternation patterns found in stems with different initial vowels. In the table below I divided them into four groups. Stems with initial *a*, initial -ATR vowels (ϵ or ɔ) and +ATR (*e* or *o*) and stems with initial *i* or *u*.

Table (xxx) distribution of PFV/IMP patterns in stems with different initial vowels

PFV/IMP pattern	initial <i>a</i>	initial -ATR	initial +ATR	initial <i>i</i> or <i>u</i>
ϵ/a	-	-	+	+
<i>e/o</i>	-	+	-	+
<i>e/a</i>	+	-	-	-
<i>i/a</i>	+	-	-	-
<i>i/u</i>	-	-	-	+

As can be seen from this distribution three of the five patterns are found only in one of the four groups. *e/a* and *i/a* patterns are restricted to stems with initial *a*, while *i/u* pattern is found only in stems with initial *i* or *u*. This allows us to identify three corresponding *vowel harmony classes*. As have been already mentioned there are some good reasons to think that *i/a* and *e/a* patterns represent one harmony class with the choice between *i* or *e* in perfective conditioned by the quality of preceding consonant (see xxx for details). So the three classes can be reduced to two. I will call them A class (*e/a* and *i/a* patterns) and I/U class¹ (*i/u* pattern).

As for the ϵ/a and *e/o* patterns, if one ignores stems with initial *i* and *u* for a moment, their distribution is clear. -ATR vowel stems follow ϵ/a pattern while +ATR stems follow *e/o*. This observation that have been already made above allows us to account for the distribution of this patterns in *i* and *u* stems.

¹ I will use capital letters for vowel harmony classes as opposed to patterns of thematic vowel variations noted in normal font.

Analyzing a similar distribution in Tommo so Plungian 199xx argues that *i* and *u* are surface realizations of two pairs of underlying phonemes. Roughly, there are -ATR *i* and +ATR *i*, -ATR *u* and +ATR *u*, but these pairs merge on the surface level².

This analysis works for Mombo too. Taking examples from (xx4) above we can represent the underlying forms of stems and their surface realization as shown in (xx1). I use indexes to distinguish between underlying -ATR and +ATR morphemes, 1 for -ATR and 2 for +ATR.

(xx1)

- # *bú₁mbé* → *búmbé* ‘crawl’
- # *bú₂ndé* → *bú₂ndé* ‘hit, beat’
- # *dí₁lé* → *dílé* ‘exchange, trade’
- # *dí₂ngé* → *díngé* ‘bury’

In this analysis the majority of stems with initial *i* or *u* form two classes with stems with initial *ε/ɔ* and *e/o*. I will refer them as -ATR and +ATR.

The resulting list of harmony classes is given in (xxx)

(xxx) Vowel harmony classes (verbs)

class	Initial vowel	thematic vowel PFV	thematic vowel IMP
-ATR	<i>ε, ɔ, u, i</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>a</i>
+ATR	<i>e, o, u, i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
A	<i>a</i>	<i>e or i</i>	<i>a</i>
I/U	<i>u, i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>

Henceforth I will be using this classification in discussing the morphophonology of derivational and inflectional processes.

Polysyllabic verbs:

The majority of underived verb stems in Mombo are bisyllabic. Stems with more than two syllables (typically three) are common in deverbal derivatives such as the causative and the reversive. The majority of synchronically unsegmentable trisyllabic verbal stems most probably originate as derivatives of some kind. Final syllables of polysyllabic stems show significantly less diversity than that of bisyllables. The table below lists all syllables that occur at the end of polysyllabic stems.

(xxx)

final syllables	number of occurrences in the lexicon ³
be	2
yÊ:	11 (cf. MPASS -yÊ:)

² Plungian also suggests these might be a relict of a richer vocalism system existed in the Proto-Dogon (Plungian 199).

³ Data from Mombo lexicon, version March 2011.

ge	2	(cf. CAUS -ge)
jE	15	(cf. frozen transitive -je, frozen intransitive -je)
lE	46	(cf. REV -lE, frozen transitive -lE)
mi	22	(cf. CAUS -mi)
rE	17	(cf. CAUS -rE)

Except for two cases of final *-be*, all final syllables found polysyllabic verbal stems either coincide formally with productive of derivational suffixes (*-yÊ:*, *-ge*, reversive *lE*, *-mi*, *-rE*) or form large semantically coherent groups suggesting that these stems reflect old derivational patterns not productive anymore (frozen *-je* transitive and intransitive, frozen transitive *-lE*). In some cases the harmony patterns and metrical structure of polysyllables unambiguously point out their derivational origin. Thus, a trisyllable may end in *mi*, but never in *mE* as the case in some bisyllables. *-mi* is a productive causative suffix in Mombo. In all trisyllables ending in *yE* the final syllable bears a falling tone and the penultimate syllable is closed. This (...CV)CVCyÊ: structure is typical for mediopassive derivatives.

In this section I discuss harmonic patterns in underived stems comparing them with those found in derived stems. The latter are considered in Chapter 9 in details.

There are only a few four syllable stems known to me. Those are listed in (xxx1)

<i>bíláláyámì</i>	‘transform’
<i>túndú:ⁿ díngílámì</i>	‘delay’
<i>pódógélè</i>	‘escape, get free’
<i>pógúlúmì</i>	‘caress, rub gently with fingers or palm’
<i>múndólómì</i>	‘rumple, squeeze into a clump (e.g. rag, without folding)’
<i>nándálámì</i>	‘(sb) trip (sb) with a kick’
<i>wágálámì</i>	‘stir (liquid) with a spoon or ladle’
<i>wángílámì</i>	‘take (sth) around (obstacle)’
<i>pójólámì</i>	‘twist (arm, branch)’
<i>súróólómì</i>	‘pour (tea) back and forth’

Four of five stems listed above contain frozen causative suffix *mì*. Semantics of *pódógélè* ‘escape, get free’ suggests that final syllable *lè* may be historically the reversive suffix. It also may be the case that trisyllables that these stems are derived from are also derived from bisyllabic stems. For example **podoge-* may be originally a causative derivative in *-gV*, stem **bilalya-* that may be reconstructed for *bíláláyámì* ‘transform’ may itself be a mediopassive/inchoative derivative in *-yV⁴* and so on.

Stems with final *mì* there is clear division between stems with penultimate *a* and all the others. The former follow *i/a* pattern, while the latter follow *i/u* pattern as causatives in *-mì* do (see § 9.2.3). Cf. perfective and imperative stems given in (xxx).

⁴ Notably the antepenult syllable preceding /ya/ is a closed syllable. See § 9.xxx for details on morphophonology of the mediopassive/inchoative derivation.

(xxx)

gloss	PFV	IMP
‘transform’	<i>bílályámì</i>	<i>bílályámà</i>
‘delay’	<i>túndú:ⁿ díngílámì</i>	<i>díngílámà</i>
‘caress, rub gently with fingers or palm’	<i>pógúlúmì</i>	<i>pógúlúmù</i>
‘rumple, squeeze into a clump’	<i>múndólómì</i>	<i>múndólómù</i>
‘(sb) trip (sb) with a kick’	<i>nándálámì</i>	<i>nándálámà</i>
‘stir (liquid) with a spoon or ladle’	<i>wágálámì</i>	<i>wágálámà</i>
‘take (sth) around (obstacle)’	<i>wángílámì</i>	<i>wángílámà</i>
‘twist (arm, branch)’	<i>pójólámì</i>	<i>pójólámà</i>
‘pour (tea) back and forth’	<i>súróólómì</i>	<i>súróólómù</i>

CHECK tones IMP

pódógèlè ‘escape’ has irregular imperative form *pòdògòlò* instead of expected *#pòdògèlò*. The thematic vowel *o* is regular for the imperative in -ATR stems.

CHECK IMP

pógólè ‘be seared’

thematic vowels are suffixes?

First, except for some pronominal prefixes morphemes consisting of a single vowel are not present in Mombo morphology.

Second, it would overcomplicate the analysis of monosyllabic verbal stems. As we will see Mombo has a limited number of monosyllabic verb stems with a regularly varied vowel.

Cf. stem *wé:* ‘weep’

(xx2)

PFV	IMP	VN	IPFV
<i>wé:</i>	<i>wá:</i>	<i>wó-gɔ</i>	<i>wa: bó:</i>

In the proposed analysis, this stem would consist of a consonant stem *w-* with a number of suffixes added. This would lead to the recognition of class of morphemes with a phonological form very untypical for Mombo phonotactics (consonant roots). In fact Mombo almost lack morphemes of such a form.

A less straightforward but arguably a more fruitful decision would be postulating that stem final vowels are suffixes of underlying form CV and verbal stems have some unspecified final vowel. Using *ə* for this unspecified vowel and *ç* for unspecified consonant of the suffix this could be schematized as follows:

(xx4)

Stems	suffixes
(...CV)-Cə	-çV

In this analysis the perfective form *ándé* ‘he/she went (away)’ is derived from stem *ándə* and perfective suffix of form *-ɛe*. Surface form *ándé* results as deletion of both the final unspecified vowel of the stem and the initial unspecified consonant of the suffix. One could find some evidence of the processes of a similar kind in some productive suffixation patterns. Thus, as discussed in §1.4.1, adding the mediopassive suffix *-yV* to a verbal stem results the deletion of the stem final vowel, as derivation of *sém-yê*: ‘it (animal) is slaughtered’.

(xx5) Mediopassive derivation, *sémé* ‘slaughter’

sémá + *-yV* → #*sémá-yê*: → *sém-yê*:

The same syncope of the penultimate syllable is found several other cases listed in (xx6).

(xx6) other derivation with penult syncope

a. 3PL, Series 1, Perfective

‘slaughter’ *sémé* + *-yè* → #*sémé-yè* → *sém-yè*

b. 3SG, Series 3, perfective, i-final stems

‘do’ *kání* + *-né* → #*kání-né* → *kán-né*

c. *-rV* transitives with *w* in stem final syllable

	transitive	intransitive
‘put sth on top of sth’	<i>náurè</i>	<i>náw-yê</i> :
‘shut (eyes)’	<i>téwúrè</i>	
‘lie (sb) down (on back)’	<i>gáwúrè</i>	

d. relict causative suffix **-dV* in stems with geminated consonants see this chapter xxx

‘hang’ *góddè* < **gól-dè*, < **gólá* + *-de*

However in none of these cases the initial consonant of the suffix is deleted. Of course one could still attribute unspecified consonant to the underlying level or to a certain previous diachronic stage. A simple generalization about phonetic contexts where presuffixial vowel deletion is found is that the initial consonant of the suffix has to be sonorant. Taking into the account this observation one could argue that the underlying or reconstructed initial consonant of the suffix has to be sonorant too.

This chapter xxx Stems with geminated consonants

gímmì (sb) hurt (sth)

kámmì ‘squeeze’

ɲɔmmi ‘delay sth’

CyV в императиве

kúm̀m̀ì ‘grip (stick, small object) in one's clenched hand’

nammi ‘have the intention’

kállè ‘get ready’
kíllè ‘solve (problem)’
néllè ‘rest, relax’ Pinyariŋge *néllè*
péllè ‘pick off (small pieces of sth) by hand’
yéllè ‘knock off (fruit) by stone or a stick at it’

relict causative/transitive suffix *dV

góddè ‘hang’ Pinyariŋge *górdè*
kéddè ‘mary’ Pinyariŋge *kéldè*
nóddè ‘entrust (sth to sb)’
íddè ‘forget’ Pinyariŋge *íldè*
íddè ‘lay out (e.g. peanuts to the sun)’

gújjè ‘throw away, discard (e.g. trash)’

Causative suffix *-rV* < **-dV* is not used with stems containing /r/ or /l/ in the last syllable.
 the phonetic context for the presuffixal vowel deletion here is *l/r _ dV*

CHECK *téwrè* or *téwúrè* ‘shut’

TONES: exceptions

péndyé ‘break off (a protrusion on a stone, with a hammer)’
tóndyé ‘stock up on, reserve (foods)’

4.1 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.2 Nouns

4.2.1 Simple nouns

4.2.1.1 Plural marker *-gé/ -ngé*

Nominal plurality is expressed by adding morpheme *-ge/-nge* to a NP containing either a bare noun or a noun modified by an adjective:

(xx1) *débù-gè*
house-PL
'houses'

(xx2) *dèbù* *báyⁿ-gè*
house.L big-PL
'big houses'

(xx3) **dèbù-gè* *bâyⁿ*
[house-PL].L big
'big houses'

Double use of the PL maker, viz., after the noun, and after the adjective, is ruled out:

(xx4) **dèbù-gè* *báy-gè*
house-PL big-PL
'big houses'

For the syntax of the PL marker in relatives see § 6.1.2.1 and §14.xxx.

-ge/-nge does not undergo ATR-harmony with the preceding nominal or adjectival stem. Cf. *démbé-ngé* 'blacksmith-PL'.

Marker *-ge/-nge* does interact tonally with the stem it is attached to. Here, a number of patterns are observed. To account for these patterns one has to consider the following factors:

Table xx5

feature	comment
(1) Noun/Adjective Stem:	
(1a) underived/derived stem:	<i>Derived and underived stems differ in tone contours they take when the PL</i>

marker is attached.

(1b) lexical tone contour of the stem: *Stems with different lexical tone contours vary in what contour they take when the PL marker is attached.*

(2) PL Marker:

tonal dependency of the PL marker: *Does the plural marker bear its own (lexical) tone or does it receive the tone from the stem it is attached to? What rules apply in the latter case?*

Different tonal patterns are observed in derived and underived nominals when the plural marker is added. In this section, I discuss only tonal contours of plural underived nominals. Peculiarities of tonal marking in plural nominal derivatives are discussed in § 5.2.

Lexically {H} stems show two patterns when the PL marker is added. In both of them, the tone contour of the stem remains {H}. The tone of the PL on the other hand can be high or low:

(xx6) a. PL marker is high-toned

‘promise, vow’	<i>á:dú</i>	<i>á:dú-gé</i>
‘blacksmith’	<i>démbé</i>	<i>démbé-ηgé</i>
‘person’	<i>ńdá</i>	<i>ńdá-gé</i>
‘man’	<i>wálá</i>	<i>wálá-gé</i>

b. PL marker is low-toned

‘chin’	<i>bé:ⁿ</i>	<i>béη-gè</i>
‘side (of sth)’	<i>béndélé</i>	<i>béndélé-gè</i>
‘grasshopper’	<i>káwé</i>	<i>káwé-gè</i>
‘Fulbe’	<i>púndé</i>	<i>púndé-ηgè</i>
‘Bozo’	<i>sólígé</i>	<i>sólígé-gè</i>
‘pauper, poor person’	<i>tálágá</i>	<i>tálágá-gè</i>

High-toned adjectives, which constitute the majority of the lexical class, follow the pattern presented in (xx6a). Thus, *-ge* is high-toned after high-toned adjective *búnú* ‘red’ in *dèbù búnú-gé* ‘red houses’.

When combined with the PL maker, {HL} nouns also follow two patterns. In one of them, the lexical tone of the stem is retained, while the PL marker is high-toned. In the other one, the stem contour is {H} while the PL marker takes a low tone. These two patterns are exemplified in (xx7):

What patterns (xx6b), (xx7a) and (xx8) have in common is that in the plural form the lexical tone contour is realized only on the stem, while the PL marker takes a tone, which is distinct from the final tone of the stem. Thus, the PL marker is low-toned before stems with lexical {H} and {LH} contours, as in *káwé-gè* ‘grasshoppers’ and *dùgè-gè* ‘knots’, but takes a high tone after {HL} stems, as in *módíbò-gé* ‘marabouts’. I will call this pattern of tone assignment in plural nouns ‘the contrast’, as the PL marker takes a tone by contrast to the final tone of the stem. Plurals that are formed using this pattern will be called “contrastive plurals”.

There is some evidence in favor that stretching and the contrast mark different degree of unity of the stem and the plural marker. This difference shows up in the way the other tonological rules apply to nouns in the plural form. As will be shown, stretching plurals are treated as single tonological words, while in contrastive plurals the stem and the plural marker are treated separately.

As was mentioned above in § 3.xxx, lexically {HL} nouns appear as all-low in a number of contexts including the possessor position. Consider the following example:

(xx9) *dèbù* *bá:ngà*
house.L owner.HL
‘(the) of (the) house’ (lex. *dèbù*)

In (xx9), lexically {HL} noun *dèbù* ‘debu’ is low-toned in the possessor position. Stretching {HL} plurals in the possessor position are low-toned in exactly the same way. Consider the one contour of *yó:-gè* ‘women’ and *nóló-gè* ‘friends’ in the possessor position in (xx10) and (xx11).

(xx10) *yó:-gè* *débú*
[woman-PL].L house.H
‘women’s house’ (*yó:-gè* ‘women’)

(xx11) *nóló-gè* *débú*
[friends-PL].L house.H
‘friends’ house’ (*nóló-gè* ‘friends’)

By contrast, contrastive {HL} plurals retain their tones in the possessor position:

(xx12) *káwé-gè* *débú*
grasshopper-PL house.H
‘grasshoppers’ house’ (*káwé-gè* ‘grasshoppers’)

(xx13) *púndé-ngè* *débú*
Fulani-PL house.H

‘Fulani people’s house’ (*púndé-ŋgè* ‘Fulani people’)

Both *káwé-gè* ‘grasshoppers’ in (xx12) and *púndé-ŋgè* ‘Fulani people’ in (xx13) have their usual tones. So, the {HL} contour of contrastive plurals is not “seen” by the rule that applies to the {HL} stretching plurals in examples (xx10) and (xx11).

A possible analysis here is that it is only the stem, but not the PL marker, that is the target of the rule and, since the stem is lexically {H}, the tones are retained and the PL marker takes a low tone by contrast to the tone on the last syllable of the stem.

This analysis proves its applicability in another case, where the plural form of a noun occurs in the possessed noun position. There is a rule that requires possessed nouns that have more than two morae and/or a lexical {LH} tone contour to take a {HL} overlay. Nouns that do not meet this condition, viz., those that are bimoraic and lexically {H} or {HL}, take a {H} in the possessed noun position (see § 6.2.1.1 for details). Consider the following examples:

(xx14) *ámárù ápyà*

A. health.HL

‘Amadou’s health’ (lex. *àpyá* ‘health’)

(xx15) *séydù bôy*

S. key.HL

‘Seydou’s key’ (lex. *bôy* ‘key’)

(xx16) *séydù débú*

S. house.H

‘Seydou’s house’ (lex. *débù* house)

In (xx14), *àpyá* ‘health’ has three morae (the first closed syllable is bimoraic). That is why in the possessor noun position it takes a {HL} overlay. *bôy* ‘key’ is bimoraic. However, since it bears a lexical {LH} tone contour, it also takes a {HL} in the possessed noun position in (xx15). *débù* ‘house’ is a bimoraic noun with a {HL} lexical tone contour, so it takes a {H} overlay.

All plurals contain at least three morae, since all monosyllables are bimoraic, and the PL marker adds another mora to the segmental substratum. This predicts that all plural must be HL-overlaid in the possessed noun position.

Stretching plurals with a {H} tone contour follow this pattern and occur as {HL} in the possessed noun position:

(xx17) *sóŋgó*

démbé-ŋgè

Songho

[blacksmith-PL].HL

‘Songho Fulanis’ (*démbé-ŋgé*)

In (xx17), {H} stretching plural *démbé-ŋgé* ‘blacksmiths’ occurs as {HL} in the possessed noun position. In the following example, {HL} stretching plural *débú-gè* ‘houses’ also takes a {HL} overlay. However in this case, the difference between the possessed and the unpossessed form is not audible:

(xx18) *séydù débú-gè*
 S. [house-PL].HL
 ‘Seydou’s houses’ (*débú-gè* ‘houses’)

Consider now what happens in contrastive plurals:

(xx19) *tíŋíŋgò nŋy-gé*
 tree branch.HL-PL.H
 ‘branches of (a) tree’ (*nŋy-gé* ‘branches’)

(xx20) *séydù bôy-gé*
 S. key.HL-PL.H
 ‘Seydou’s keys’ (*bôy-gé* ‘keys’)

Both in (xx19) and in (xx20) a {HL} tone overlay applies only to the stem, so both *nŋy-* and *bôy-* have falling tone contours. This is in accordance with the rule described above, which imposes a {HL} tone contour on lexically {LH} stems. The following PL marker, however, is high-toned in both cases, but not low-toned, as in the unpossessed forms. This suggests that the PL marker receives its tone by contrast to the last tone of the syllable after the possessed noun overlay applies to the stem.

The following example shows a {HL} contrastive plural in the possessed noun position:

(xx21) *sóngó púndé-ŋgè*
 Songho Fulani.H-PL
 ‘Songho Fulanis’ (*púndé-ŋgè* ‘Fulanis’)

The possessed form of *púndé-ŋgè* ‘Fulanis’ doesn’t differ from its unpossessed form. Both have a {HL} tone contour. Yet, this case yields the analysis proposed above. As mentioned in § 3.8.xxx, bisyllabic stems with intervocalic homorganic -NC- clusters like *púndé* are treated by tonological rules as bimoraic. Thus lexically high-toned noun *púndé* ‘Fulani (person)’ takes a {H} overlay when possessed (as bimoraic nouns do), so there is no audible difference between the two forms:

(xx22) *sóngó púndé*
 S. Fulani.H
 ‘Fulani person from Songho’ (*púndé* ‘Fulani (person)’)

Taking this into the account, one can argue that the same happens in (xx21). That is, it is only the stem *púndé-* that takes the possessed noun grammatical tone contour. This tone contour is {H} because *púndé-* is treated as bimoraic. The PL marker, again, takes

a low tone by contrast to the tone of the last syllable. That is why I gloss possessed form *púndé-gè* in (xx21) as ‘Fulani.H-PL’, indicating that a {H} tone overlay applies only to the stem.

Similarly, in the following example stretching plural *tálágá-gè* ‘paupers’ has form *tálágà-gé* in the possessed noun position, indicating that the possessed {HL} contour is taken by stem *talaga-*, while the PL marker is high-toned by contrast.

(xxx) *sóŋgó* *tálágà-gé*
 Songho pauper.HL-PL
 ‘Songho paupers’ (*tálágá-gè* ‘paupers’)

There is also a way to test the tonological status of plural forms of adjectives. An adjective (whatever its metrical structure is) take a {HL} overlay when the head noun it modifies is possessed (see § 6.2.1.1 for details). Consider the following example:

(xx23) *séydù* [*débú* *bínù*]
 S. house.H red.HL
 ‘Seydou’s red house’ (lex. *débù* ‘house’, *bínú* ‘red’)

In (xx23), *débù* ‘house’ being in the possessed noun position takes a {H} tone contour while lexically {H} adjective *bínú* is HL-overlaid, in accordance with the rule just described. As argued above, tonal contour of plural adjectives is always formed by stretching adjective’s lexical contour to the right, so it covers both the stem and the PL marker. This predicts that a plural adjective will act as a stretching plural, and tone on both the stem and the PL marker will constitute a target for tonological rules, including the {HL} contour imposing like that in example (xx23). The following example shows that this is really the case:

(xx24) *séydù* *débú* *bínú-gè* *né:ŋà*
 S. house.H [red-PL].HL two.HL
 ‘two Seydou’s red house’ (lex. *débù*, ‘house’ *bínú-gé*, *né:ŋá* ‘two’)

In (xx24), plural high-toned adjective *bínú-gé* ‘red-PL’ takes a {HL} tone contour, which is realized on the form as a whole. If it was the stem to take the contour, we would expect the adjective form to be *#bínù-gé*, with a {HL} stem and the PL marker high-toned by contrast. But this pattern is never observed in Mombo adjectives.

The majority of nouns with complex lexical tone contours form contrastive plurals. Table xxx exemplifies the patterns observed. Nouns are grouped according to their lexical tone contour. Possessive forms of plurals are given in the rightmost column:

(xx25)

a. L(L)HH	lex.	PL	Poss PL
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‘bat (mammal)’	<i>kìjì-kíjì</i>	<i>kìjì-kíjì-gè</i>	<i>kíjì-kíjì-gé</i>
‘ <i>Ficus cordata</i> (fig tree sp.)’	<i>wènjè-wénjé</i>	<i>wènjè-wénjé-gè</i>	<i>wénjé-wénjé-gé</i>
‘ <i>Apus affinis</i> , swift’	<i>wèlè-wélé</i>	<i>wèlè-wélé-gè</i>	<i>wélé-wélé-gé</i>
‘corn’	<i>èmbèdúlúmá</i>	<i>èmbèdúlúmá-gè</i>	<i>émbédúlúmà-gé</i>
‘roof’	<i>sà:súgú</i>	<i>sà:súgú-gè</i>	<i>sá:súgù-gé</i>

b. L(L)HL

‘bassam (fabric)’	<i>bàsâwⁿ</i>	<i>bàsâw-gé</i>	<i>básâw-gé</i>
‘doctor’	<i>dògòtórò</i>	<i>dògòtórò-gé</i>	<i>dògòtórò-gé</i>
‘mud dauber wasp’	<i>gìngìlímà</i>	<i>gìngìlímà-gé</i>	<i>gìngìlímà-gé</i>

I am aware of a couple of (synchronically) underived nouns showing a pattern of plural formation different from those just discussed. Cf. examples in (xx26):

(xx26) ‘rite, custom’	<i>àntémbú</i>	<i>àntémbú-gé</i>
‘hunter’	<i>dà:ná</i>	<i>dà:ná-gé</i>

In both cases in (xx26), the lexical tone contour is rising, while the PL marker takes a high tone, instead of a usual low tone, observed in most {LH} nouns. In the possessed noun position, plural forms in (xx26) behave as contrastive plurals. The {HL} possessed noun overlay applies exclusively to the stem, while the tone on the PL marker is assigned by contrast. Cf. *sòngó àntémbù-gé* ‘rites of Songho’, *sòngó dà:nà-gé* ‘Songho hunters’.

Note that a similar pattern observed in compounds with a low-toned compound initial and a high-toned compound final. Cf. *bà:-wé:* lit. ‘father’s child’, ‘person of the same generation of one’s father’s clan’, which has plural form *bà:-wé-gé*, and possessed plural form *bá:wè-gé* (see § 5.1xxx for details).

{Semantics}

There is no doubt that human/non-human is the main semantic opposition governing the choice between *-ge* and *-nge*. However the real marker behavior resembles more ‘variations on a theme’, than a strict complementary distribution.

Marker *-nge* is used with human nouns only. However some of them allow *-ge* as well or even allow *-ge* only. Non-human nouns form the plural with *-ge* with no variation attested. Consider the following examples (‘/*’ means that the counterpart is ruled out).

gloss	SG	PL
a. Non-humans		
‘lion’	<i>yára</i>	<i>yára-gé/*</i>

‘hyena’	<i>tâ:</i>	<i>tá:-gè/*</i>
‘grasshopper’	<i>káwé</i>	<i>káwé-gè/*</i>
‘baobab’	<i>śrò</i>	<i>śrò-gè/*</i>
‘Ceiba’	<i>ánúmà</i>	<i>ánúmá-gè/*</i>
‘stone’	<i>kínnì</i>	<i>kínní-gè/*</i>
‘hill’	<i>pégò</i>	<i>pégó-gè/*</i>

b. Humans – ethnic groups

‘Dogon’	<i>éjè</i>	<i>éjé-ηgè/*</i>
‘Fulbe’	<i>púndé</i>	<i>púndé-ηgè/*</i>
‘Dugulu’	<i>dógólì</i>	<i>dógólí-ηgè/dógólí-gè</i>
‘Songhay’	<i>kóróbórò</i>	<i>kóróbórò-gé/*</i>

c. Humans -professions

‘blacksmith’	<i>démbé</i>	<i>démbé-ηgé/*</i>
‘leatherworker’	<i>ká:lò</i>	<i>ká:ló-ηgè/*</i>
‘weather’	<i>gèzì tí:</i>	<i>gèzì tí:-gé/*</i>
‘marabout’	<i>módíbò</i>	<i>módíbò-gé/*</i>

When the PL marker has to be detached from the head noun and follow the modifier, only *-ge* is possible.

(xxx) *nóbé-ηgè/ nóbé-gè*
‘younger brothers/sisters’

(xxx) *nòbè* *yá:gá-gé* */*yágá-ηgè*
sibling.L pretty-PL
‘pretty younger brothers/sisters’

wê: (PL *wé:-gè*) ‘child’ also meaning ‘fruit’, is (not surprisingly) treated as non-human. Consider the wide range of semantically non-human compounds this word is involved in (see § 5xxx).

ńdá ‘person’ has non-human PL *ńdá-gé*. In addition, there is a form *nógè* ‘people’, which is used only in possessive-like combinations with the first element denoting a place, a clan name etc. where those people belong. Cf. *Sóngó nógè* ‘Songho people’, *kálámí nógè* ‘Karambé people’ (a clan name).

nógè constitutes the most probable source of grammaticalization of *-ηge* marker. A possible grammaticalization scenario is shown in (xx4). First regular plural *ńdá-gé* ‘people’ lexicalizes to *nógè*, then *nógè* grammaticalizes to *-ηge*.

(xx4) *ńdá-gé* > *nógè* > *-ηge*

Note, however, that *ńdá-gé* has {H} while *nógè* is {HL}. Phonetic development from *ńdá-* to *nó-* looks very irregular and thus somewhat problematic. Jeffrey Heath (p.c.) suggested that *nógè* may be connected to stem **no/*nu* ‘person’ found in northern Dogon languages, cf. Najamba *nǒ*; *nò-mbó*, Nanga *nǔ*: idem.

The most interesting group of semantically human nouns which, however, can not form the human plural is the nouns meaning ‘man’, ‘woman’ and ‘friend’ and ‘enemy’. They are given below with corresponding plural forms:

(xxx)	gloss	SG	PL
	‘man’	<i>wálá</i>	<i>wálá-gé</i>
	‘woman’	<i>yǎ:</i>	<i>yǎ:-gè</i>
	‘friend’	<i>nólò</i>	<i>nóló-gè</i>
	‘enemy’	<i>élà</i>	<i>élà-gè</i>

These nouns add *-ge* marker to form the plural. But when they add *-nge* the outcome is not a plural form of a given noun, but a singular noun of abstract meaning ‘state of being an X, X-hood’, cf. *nóló-nge* ‘friendship’ (for more examples and other details see § xxx below).

Probably here *-nge* has undergone another development from a human plural marker to a derivational suffix with an abstract meaning. Here one supposes semantic change connecting the two points similar to the two meanings of English words like *brotherhood*: ‘a group of brothers’ and ‘brother relationships’.

Note that words like *brother*, *sister*, *friend*, *colleague* etc. When used in the plural form, these denote a set of people that are defined by their mutual relationships. They are *sisters* and *brothers*, because each of them is a brother or a sister in his relation to another member of the group. The expressions like ‘sisters’ usually don’t designate a group of non-relatives, every member of which is someone else’s sister.

However ‘women’ and ‘men’ don’t have the same meaning, even if one remembers that the same words mean (with a possessor) ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ correspondingly. That makes the development of meanings like ‘womanhood’ and ‘maleness’ rather problematic. Perhaps here one should suppose a secondary analogical spreading.

On the other hand word *kábú* ‘colleague’ semantically belongs to the same group of nouns, but it neither has *-nge* plural nor derives it an abstract *-nge* noun.

The PL marker is used to express a wide range of meanings connected with plurality. Typically quantative readings of sort ‘large amount of X’ occur with nouns denoting countable entities, but they are also possible with uncountable nouns that normally favor qualitative readings (‘different sorts of X’ etc.). Thus, the plural form of

èmbèdúlúmá ‘corn’ *èmbèdúlúmá-gè* can mean both ‘large amount of corn’ and ‘different varieties of corn’.

The PL marker is also attested in approximative reading ‘X and similar things’, as in the following textual example:

(xxx)	<i>dèbù</i>	<i>kyê:</i>	<i>bángúmbà</i>	<i>ámáná kán-né</i>	
	house.L	P.3PL	near	god	made.PFV-NSF
	<i>èjè</i>	<i>wé:</i>	<i>káfé-gè</i>	<i>súlá:</i>	<i>b-yénà</i> <i>kwâ:</i>
	Dogon	child	coffee-PL	sale.PRG	be-NSF.3SG PTC

‘Near their house, made by God a Dogon (person) sold coffee and things like that’.

4.2.1.2 Associative plural marker *yà:*

{more examples needed}

Associative plural meaning is expressed by particle *yà:*. The resulting combination ‘X *yà:*’, where X stands for a NP (a noun or a pronoun in particular), has a reading ‘X and those with him/her’.

(xxx) *Séidù yà:*
 ‘Seidu and people with him’

In my text examples only proper names appear in this construction. Common nouns are elicitable only if followed adjective, demonstrative, or definite marker.

(xxx) *dà:ná bâ: yà: ég-yè*
 hunter DEF ASS.PL come-PL.PFV
 ‘The hunter and his people came’

(xxx) *dà:nà nê: yà: ég-yè*
 hunter.L this ASS.PL come-PL.PFV
 ‘This hunter and his people came’

(xxx) *dà:nà kánú yà: ég-yè*
 hunter.L old ASS.PL come-PL.PFV
 ‘(The) old hunter came.’

(xxx) **dà:ná yà: ég-yè*

Such a distribution suggests the existence of a referential restriction on the head noun in NP’s with associative plural. Apparently, the noun must *not* be *generic*. It seems that

bare nouns, when elicited, receive generic interpretation by default. Combinations of ‘noun + adjective’ due to the restrictive effect of the modifier (adding an adjective reduces a number of possible referents to those which obtain the feature denoted by the adjective) are more likely to be interpreted as non-generic.

When the non-generic status of a noun is strictly imposed by preceding context but none of the modifiers are used, noun is substituted by a compound-like construction with semantically empty component (for details see §xxx):

(xxx) *dà:ná wálá yà: ég-yè*
 hunter man ASS.PL come-PL.PFV

< There are two groups of people: those with the hunter and those with the blacksmith. Who has arrived first >? ‘The hunter(-man) and people with him have come (first)’.

In (xxx), *dà:ná wálá* ‘hunter-man’ is preferred to bare *dà:ná*. The appearance of *wálá* doesn’t influence the lexical interpretation in any extent. However, it arguably functions as a semantically empty modifier affecting the head noun’s referential status only.

Apparently, associative plural *yà:* is related to the coordinative postposition *yà:*. Consider (xxx). See §xxx for details.

(xxx) *úná gé yá: áná gè yà:*
 goat PL and sheep PL and
 ‘goats and sheep’

One can suppose that associative NP’s emerged from combinations of two coordinated NP’s with one of them containing a non-generic noun or a pronoun. These combinations then underwent ellipsis of the other NP, resulting given construction:

(xxx) X and people with him > X and > X and (with a reading ‘X and those with him/her’)

4.2.2 ‘Woman’, ‘child’, ‘person’, ‘thing’

Unlike the other Dogon languages, in Mombo words for ‘child’ ‘woman’ and ‘thing’ do not show any morphological peculiarities. All three words form plural regularly by adding marker *-ge*.

(xxx) ‘children’ *wé:-gè*
 ‘women’ *yó:-gè*
 ‘things’ *yé:-gé*
 ‘people’ *ńdá-gé*

As mentioned above, alongside *ńdádá* ‘person’, there is *nógè* ‘people’ found only in compounds. Since the regular plural *ńdádá-gé* is found as well, I’m inclined to consider *nógè* as separate lexical unit.

wèyǎy or *wùyǎy* ‘girl’ still remains related to *wê:* and *yô:* for most speakers. It is the only example where compound forms of ‘child’ and ‘women’ differ from those in independent use.

4.2.3 ‘So-and-so’

4.2.4 Initial Cv- reduplication in nouns

Initial Cv- reduplication is not a productive pattern in nouns. Few examples known to me are listed below and classified according to their tonal patterns. Most of them exhibit reduplication with copying of initial syllable vowel. There are some instances of Ci:- with a long vowel. For reduplicated monosyllables like *gégè* ‘jaundice (disease)’ that could be interpreted as cases of Cv- reduplication, see section § 4.1.6 on full-stem iteration.

I. Cv- reduplication

a. {HL}

dán-dámpólì ‘paper wasp’
mú-múnì ‘godly Muslim’
mó-mò:ⁿ ‘well-being (in greetings)’

b. {LH}

kù-kùyá ‘tricky, furtive (thing)’
sù-sùgùlì ‘anus’

c. {H}

sé:ⁿ-sé:wⁿ ‘*Trachylepis quinquetaeniata*, five-lined skink’

II. Ci:- reduplication

tí:-tà ‘one’
ní:-nà ‘wound’
nì:-njá ‘backing (flat metal piece) on opposite side of the cock of a gun’

4.2.5 Final reduplications in nouns and adjectives

There are few examples of final reduplication in nouns and adjectives. Most of them follow a pattern which copies the last syllable of the stem. Examples are cited in (xxx).

(xxx)

a. nouns

kájá-já 'Acacia sieberiana (tree)'

ábá-bá 'yawn (noun)'

b. adjectives

ónó-nó 'smooth, sleek'

péjé-jé 'pure, full-strength, undiluted (milk)'

únú-nú 'bland (meal)'

Consider also *nújú-nù* 'scorpion', which looks like first-syllable final reduplication

4.2.6 Nouns with full-stem iteration

This is the most productive reduplication pattern. A corresponding non-iterated stem may also occur (e.g. *sì-sí* varying with *sí* 'worm, larva'), but in most cases it is not found elsewhere. One should not confuse cases of true stem iteration with noun compounds like *bábá* 'father's father, grand father'.

A list of fully iterated the nouns known to me is that in (xxx). The nouns are classified according to their tonal pattern. Interestingly, here in the {LH} tone contour the break from low to high is at the boundary of the two iterated components (cf. *kijì-kíjì* 'bat'), while the {HL} tone contour realizes with a tone break at the final syllable boundary (cf. *kúbú-kúbù* 'machete blade').

(xxx)

a. {H}

bó-bó 'father's elder brother'

ízó-ízó 'Eragrostis tremula (plant)'

jábú-jábú 'ax'

kélé-kélé 'horse saddle'

kójí-kójí 'Common viper, Echis spp.'

tógú-tógú 'gecko spp.'

ságá-ságá 'Pilostigma reticulatum (tree)'

péndé-péndé 'wooden tablet (board)'

píndí-píndí 'stomach'

kúndú-kúndú 'hump'

<i>gédé-gédé</i>	‘clitoris’
b. {HL}	
<i>gé-gè</i>	‘jaundice (disease)’
<i>hélé-hélè</i>	‘Tuareg (person)’
<i>kúbú-kúbù</i>	‘machete blade’
<i>né:-nè:</i>	‘griot who travels with Sekoudié holy men (caste)’
<i>sómélé-sómélè</i>	‘rancidness (of meat)’
<i>tú:-tù:</i>	‘magic spell’
<i>péré-pérè</i>	‘child’s toy rifle’

c. {LH}	
<i>gèlè-gélé</i>	‘broken pieces of seed spike or cob’
<i>gùjù-gújú</i>	‘ <i>Procvia ruficeps</i> ’
<i>dègè-dégé</i>	‘statuette’
<i>kàlà-kálá</i>	‘ <i>Cassia Obtusifolia</i> (plant)’
<i>kìjì-kíjí</i>	‘bat’
<i>sàgà-ságá</i>	‘sauce (leaves of <i>Amaranthus</i> (?) spp, Bamana loan)’
<i>sì-sí</i>	‘larva, worm’
<i>wènjè-wénjé</i>	‘ <i>Ficus cordata</i> (plant)’
<i>wèlè-wélé</i>	‘ <i>Apus affinis</i> , little African swift’

Cases like *pôw-pôw* ‘child's toy rifle’ are not included in the tonal classification due to their clearly onomatopoeic origin. This sort of tonal peculiarity is hardly of any morphological interest.

In a few cases a vocalic variation is observed. All the examples are of CvCv-CvCv type. Either the first or the second vowel of the stem can be a subject of variation. The examples known to me are those in (xxx).

(xxx) <i>múgú-mágù</i>	‘cooked groundnut’
<i>pújú-pá:jù</i>	‘lung’
<i>yà:lè-yá:lá</i>	‘whirlwind, twister’
<i>kéndé-kéndú</i>	‘hard, firm (adverb)’

In addition to vowel quality shift, *pújú-pá:jù* ‘lung’ is of interest for its variation in length of the first syllable of iterated components.

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

Unlike the northern Dogon languages Mombo doesn’t have many examples of “frozen” *a-* or *aN-* prefix, which probably reflects some common Dogon word

formation pattern. Two clear cases known to me are those in (xx1). Cognates in other Dogon languages are given to the right

- (xx1) *àntémbú* ‘rite, tradition’ Jamsay *àtém*, Beni *témbù*, Nanga *témbì*
ánkólé ‘star’ Najamba *ànjìkàlé-ηgó*

A few other possible candidates, which however have neither variants without initial *a-/an-* within Mombo, nor obvious cognates other Dogon languages, are presented below.

- (xxx) *á:súgù* ‘East’
á:tégè ‘West’
álúwà ‘pig’
álándá ‘cold (disease)’

4.2.8 Frozen final *-ηgO/-ηge/-gO/-ge* in inanimate nouns

Najamba-Kendyege (NK), a Dogon language spoken to the north-west of Mombo, is peculiar for its complex system a noun classification. In one of NK inanimate classes, plural forms are unmarked, while singular forms are formed by adding a suffix *-ηgO*, *-ηgE*, *-gO*, or *-gE* (the capital letters stand for a vowel harmonizing with the stem in ATR). A number of inanimate singular nouns in Mombo have frozen suffixes of a similar form. In several cases those nouns are cognates with nouns in NK that use the above pattern to form singulars. Thus, Mombo *gè:ηgé* ‘blood’ corresponds to NK PL *gě̀n*, SG *gě̀n-gé* ‘blood’.

In Mombo those forms are not longer segmentable, however cases like *ś́lń̀ηgè* ‘peanut’ with disharmonic combination *ɔ/e* give away a former suffixation pattern. In a couple cases, the final stem vowel shows vowel harmonized. Cf. *éηgò* ‘place, site’.

The cases of frozen *-ηgO/-ηge/-gO/-ge* suffixation known to me are given in (xxx) in the alphabetical order. This includes both nouns that have cognates with out suffix in NK and other Dogon languages and those that may only potentially reflect the same suffixation pattern.

- báηgò* ‘dike ridge made with a hoe in a field to hold in rainwater’
bś́lń̀ηgò ‘gate, door at entrance to courtyard’
béłéηgè ‘grass, herbs’
bí:ηgó ‘room to the left of the hall, bedroom’
bíláηgè ‘sesame’
bóηgò ‘navel (protruding)’
ś́lń̀ηgé ‘peanut’
dó:ηgé ‘place’
dòηgé ‘knot at the end of a rope or a thread’

<i>dóŋgò</i>	‘emotional center associated with heart’
<i>éŋgò</i>	‘place, site’
<i>éŋjè</i>	‘gravel’
<i>gè:ŋgé</i>	‘blood’
<i>jùŋgé</i>	‘cluster (of fruits, e.g. wild grape, mango)’
<i>kàŋgé</i>	‘earring with spirals (gold-colored)’
<i>ké:ŋgé</i>	‘inheritance, legacy’
<i>ké:ŋgó</i>	‘charcoal’
<i>máŋgá</i>	‘member, one included in (sth)’
<i>ná:ŋgó</i>	‘tinder (for flint lighter)’
<i>núŋgé</i>	‘cow-pea’
<i>ó:ŋgè</i>	‘hearth for cooking formed by three large stones’
<i>ó:ŋgò</i>	‘place, location’
<i>páŋgó</i>	‘cemetery in a cave’
<i>púnáŋgé</i>	‘flour, powder’
<i>sómóŋgè</i>	‘soap’
<i>sé:ŋgè</i>	‘millet’
<i>séréŋgè</i>	‘(metal) chain’
<i>síyéŋgé</i>	‘amount, quantity’
<i>sóléŋgé</i>	‘drop (of liquid)’
<i>sóríŋgè</i>	‘vomit (noun)’
<i>té:ŋgé</i>	‘firewood’
<i>téŋgé</i>	‘small drinking trough for chickens and dogs’
<i>tíníŋgò</i>	‘tree or (woody) shrub’
<i>tóŋgè</i>	‘crosspieces (in the ceiling of a house)’

4.3 Derived nominals

4.3.1 Characteristic derivatives in *-ŋgà* and *-ga*

Denominal derivatives with a meaning ‘one who has (or is characterized by) X’, where ‘X’ stands for the input noun, are formed by adding suffix *-ŋga*. Regardless of what the input noun tone contour is all derivatives show up as {HL}, with low-toned *-ŋgà* suffix. A list of such derivatives with corresponding input forms is given below (not exhaustive):

Table xx1

input	gloss	output	gloss
-------	-------	--------	-------

<i>ánákáji</i>	‘bravery’	<i>ánákáji-ηgà</i>	‘fearless (person)’
<i>dáméli</i>	‘noise’	<i>dáméli-ηgà</i>	‘noisy person’
<i>dóngósí</i>	‘heart’	<i>dóngósí-ηgà</i>	‘sb who feels fine’
<i>gándálí</i>	‘impolite person’	<i>gándálí-ηgà</i>	‘impolite person’
<i>kàlàbú</i>	‘talkativeness’	<i>kàlàbú-ηgà</i>	‘blabbermouth’
<i>kélé</i>	‘horn’	<i>kélé-ηgà</i>	‘one who has horns’
<i>kólómù</i>	‘magic spell’	<i>kólómù-ηgà</i>	‘sorcerer’
<i>kúlé</i>	‘hair’	<i>kúlé-ηgà</i>	‘a hairy person’
<i>ná:gà</i>	‘left (hand, etc.)’	<i>ná:gá-ηgà</i>	‘left-handed person’
<i>ná:jí</i>	‘being a dandy’	<i>ná:jí-ηgà</i>	‘dandy’
<i>tògòlò</i>	‘(act of) teasing’	<i>tògòlò-ηgà</i>	‘scrapper, one, who provoke fights’

A comment on *dóngósí-ηgà* ‘sb who feels fine’ is needed. Mombo has a number of expressions used to describe one’s emotional state, which include *dóngó-sí* ‘heart’. Cf. for example *dòηgòsì kàmàlyě*: ‘even temper’ or ‘even tempered person’ (lit. ‘cold heart’), *dòηgòsì ná:gá* ‘fiery temper’ or ‘fiery tempered person’ (lit. ‘hot/fast heart’). So, the heart is thought to be an emotional center, different states of which are manifested in one’s emotional behavior. From this perspective, the semantic relationship between *dóngú-sí* ‘heart’ and *dóngósí-ηgà* ‘sb who feels fine’ doesn’t look that mysterious, but still, the semantic link is not as clear as in the other cases.

In the noun phrase, a characteristic derivative in *-ηga* can be used as the head noun or as an adjectival modifier, which follows the head and causes regular tone-dropping:

(xxx) *dúmóηgà* *éyé*
rich.person come.PFV
‘(the) rich (person) came’

(xxx) *ndà* *dúmóηgà* *éyé*
person.L rich.person come.PFV
‘(the) rich person came’

A verbal noun (see § 4.2.2) can serve as an output, establishing a derivational chain connecting *-ηgà* derivatives with verbal stems. In some cases a ‘connecting’ verbal noun stem is absent, leaving the resulting noun to be motivated by the verb directly. Consider examples in (xxx)

(xxx)

V	gloss	VN	gloss	<i>-ηga</i> N	gloss
<i>gyéyé</i>	‘be stubborn’	<i>gyéyù</i>	‘stubbornness’	<i>gyéyù-ηgà</i>	‘stubborn (person)’

gyé ‘steal’ - - gyí-ηgà ‘thief’

Characteristic derivatives in *-ηga* form plurals by adding marker *-ge*. These plurals use a special tonal pattern. The stem occurs low-toned while the maker takes a high tone. Cf. plural form of *ánákájíηgà* ‘fearless (person)’ *ànàkàjìηgà-gé*.

There is another less common pattern used to form characteristic derivatives, which adds suffix *-gà* to the input stem and imposes a {HL} tone contour on the output. Cf. *kúndú-kúndú* ‘hump (on back)’ and ‘*kúndú-kúndú-gà* ‘hunchback, person with a hump on back’. Curiously, in this pattern the input stem doesn’t have to be nominal. In two cases known to me a verbal stem which contains the imperfective negative suffix *-li* used as an input:

(xxx) *dáyⁿá:-lì* ‘he/she doesn’t seat’ *dáyⁿá:lí-gà* ‘restless, always in movement’
nálá:-lì ‘she doesn’t give a birth’ *nálá:lí-gà* ‘sterile (woman)’

Cf. *mó:lí-gà* ‘foul, stinking (odor)’ is related to defective verb *mó:lì* ‘it’s not good’ which arguably contains the same negative suffix.

When the input stem ends with a nasalized vowel, it is expected to be realized as a *Vŋ* sequence before the derivative suffix. So, it is not clear whether suffixation in *-ga* or in *-ηga* is used. Thus, *bé:ηgà* ‘bearded man’ can be segmented both as *bé:-ηgà* or *bé:η-gà* since the input stem *bé:ⁿ* ‘chin’ has a final nasalized vowel.

Unlike *-ηga* derivatives, most characteristic nominals in *-ga* follow the usual contrast pattern, when they form plurals. The stem tone contour remains {HL}, while the PL suffix is high-toned. Thus *dáyⁿá:lí-gà* ‘restless’ has plural form *dáyⁿá:lígà-gé*.

Some of *-ga* derivatives, however, follow the pattern found in *-ηga* derivatives. Thus the plural form of *úrúgà* ‘disease, sickness’ is *ùrùgà-gé*.

A list of *-ga* derivatives with corresponding input stems is that in (xxx). The plural forms are given in the rightmost column. The examples are grouped according to the tonal pattern used in the PL formation:

(xxx)

a. {HL}-H in PL

<i>bé:ⁿ</i>	‘chin’	<i>bé:ηgà</i>	‘bearded man’	<i>bé:ηgà-gé</i>
<i>kúndú-kúndú</i>	‘hump (on back)’	<i>kúndú-kúndú-gà</i>	‘hunchback’	<i>kúndúkúndúgà-gé</i>
<i>dáyⁿá:-lì</i>	‘he/she doesn’t seat’	<i>dáyⁿá:lí-gà</i>	‘restless (person)’	<i>dáyⁿá:lígà-gé</i>
<i>nálá:-lì</i>	‘she doesn’t give a birth’	<i>nálá:lí-gà</i>	‘sterile (woman)’	<i>nálá:lígà-gé</i>

b. {LH} in PL

<i>jó:</i> ⁿ	‘fight’	<i>jó:ngà</i>	‘scrapper’	<i>jò:ngà-gé</i>
<i>úrù</i>	‘disease, sickness’	<i>úrú-gà</i>	‘sick person’	<i>ùrùgà-gé</i>

A number of stems that might historically contain *-nga* or *-ga* are presented below. The plural forms are given to the right:

(xxx)

a. final *-nga*

<i>bá:ngà</i>	‘chief, owner, leader’	<i>bá:ngá-gè</i>
<i>bílángà</i>	‘middle, midpoint’	<i>bílángá-gè</i>
<i>kúmángà</i>	‘rain (noun)’	<i>kúmángá-gè</i>
<i>mì: kúngá</i>	‘thirst’	<i>mì: kúngá-gé</i>
<i>pángà</i>	‘granary’	<i>pángá-gè</i>
<i>sángà</i>	‘wooden bed’	<i>sángá-gè</i>
<i>tá:ngà</i>	‘silver coins (as ornaments)’	<i>tá:ngà-gé</i>

b. final *-ga*, {HL}-H in PL

<i>tálágá</i> ¹	‘pauper’	<i>tálágá-gè</i>
<i>lógútórógà</i> ²	‘scrubber (for bathing)’	<i>lógútórógà-gé</i>
<i>kúnjúgà</i>	‘knee’	<i>kúnjúgá-gè</i>
<i>súlágà</i>	‘traditional Dogon lock’	<i>súlágà-gé</i>

c. final *-ga* {LH} in PL

<i>yágándígà</i>	‘ugly (person)’	<i>yàgàndìgà-gé</i>
<i>dégúngà</i>	‘extremely poor’	<i>dègùngà-gé</i>
<i>gírígà</i>	‘blind person’	<i>gìrìgà-gé</i>

Note that nouns with final unsegmentable *-nga* form their plural following the standard polarization pattern, while those in *-ga* fall in two classes.

4.3.2 Abstract nouns, ‘state of being an X’, ‘X-hood’

Suffix *-ngè* is added to a noun stem X to form abstract noun with meaning ‘state of being an X’ or ‘X-hood’. The list of examples I’m aware of is presented in (xxx). As in case of characteristic derivative *-nga*, the output noun has a {HL} tone contour, regardless of the input.

(xxx)	input	gloss	output	gloss
	<i>wálá</i>	‘man’	<i>wálá-ngè</i>	‘maleness’
	<i>yô:</i>	‘women’	<i>yô:-ngè</i>	‘womanhood’

¹ *tálágá* ‘extremely poor person, pauper’ might be historically connected to verb *tályê*: ‘endure, be able to stand’

² Cf. Fulfulde[DA] *logotoro* ‘wash oneself’ . CHECK.

<i>nólò</i>	‘friend’	<i>nóló-ηgè</i>	‘friendship’
<i>éλά</i>	‘enemy’	<i>éλά-ηgè</i>	‘enmity’ [add to the dictionary]

See § xxx for a hypothesis of emergence from the segmentally identical human plural marker. In accordance with the hypothesis proposed above, *nólóηgè* retains its non-abstract meaning ‘a group of friends’. The noun adds the PL marker only when used in this meaning. *nólóngé-gè* ‘friendship-PL’ can be interpreted as ‘many groups of friends’

4.3.3 Verbal Nouns

There are two productive patterns of verbal noun formation. Both derived nouns are used to denote a state of affairs itself, being non-specified in terms of grammatical categories, like the tense-aspect, the mood or polarity. Being Identical semantically, they are however different in their syntactic behavior in complex syntactic constructions. See §xxx for details.

The nominal features of verbal nouns show up in their ability to be combined with possessors (see § 5.xxx). However notably verbal nouns are not able to take the plural marker.

Interestingly, both verbal nouns can not be derived from a (morphologically) stative stem.

4.3.3.1.1 Verbal noun in -ηgé

This verbal noun is formed by adding suffix *-ηgé* to a verbal with final *ε, e* or *i*. In the majority of cases the input stem coincides segmentally with the stem found in the simple perfective form of the verb. The suffix is not harmonized with the stem in ATR. Regardless of the input all derivatives appear with all-high tone contour:

(xxx) input	gloss	output
<i>pélé</i>	‘applaud’	<i>pélé-ηgé</i>
<i>sémé</i>	‘slaughter’	<i>sémé-ηgé</i>
<i>kání</i>	‘do’	<i>kání-ηgé</i>
<i>mályê:</i>	‘see’	<i>mályé-ηgé</i>
<i>gwé:</i>	‘go out’	<i>gwé-ηgé</i>

úní ‘walk’ has an irregular verbal noun form *úní-ηgé*, instead of expected **úníηgè*. This doesn’t seem to be a surface realization of underlying i-final stem conditioned by the phonetic context. Cf. other i-final stems forming their verbal nouns regularly:

(xxx) i-stem	gloss	VN
<i>kíní</i>	‘scoop’	<i>kíní-ηgé</i>

<i>níwí</i>	‘plant seeds’	<i>níwí-ηgé</i>
<i>kúmyì</i>	‘shut eyes’	<i>kúmyí-ηgé</i>
<i>gímí</i>	‘be sick’	<i>gímí-ηgé</i>
<i>múnyì</i>	‘dive’	<i>múnyí-ηgé</i>
<i>só:nì</i>	‘converse’	<i>só:ní-ηgé</i>

nénámú-ηgé ‘pestering’ *nénámù* ‘pestering’ *néná-mì* ‘pester’, *néné* ‘be tired’

nóréngè ‘sleeping’ *nó:yè* ‘sleep’, *nóyírè* ‘make sleep’

4.3.3.1.2 Verbal noun in -gò

Examples showing this derivation in verb stems of different types are those in (xx1). Suffix -gò is added to the O/u- stem. The suffix is always low-toned, while the stem (regardless of the input tones) undergoes the all-high overlay. There is no vowel harmony between the stem and the suffix. Monosyllabic CwV/ lose the sonorant before homorganic *o* or *ɔ*. *w*ⁿ nasalizes following *o/ ɔ*, resulting *Co:ⁿ/ Cɔ:ⁿ* syllables, which in turn become *Coη/Cɔη-* before -gò suffix.

(xx1)	E/I-stem	gloss	VN
	<i>ándé</i>	‘go’	<i>ándó-gò</i>
	<i>sémé</i>	‘slaughter’	<i>sémɔ-gò</i>
	<i>mályê:</i>	‘see’	<i>mályó-gò</i>
	<i>pélé</i>	‘applause’	<i>péló-gò</i>
	<i>gwé:</i>	‘go out’	<i>gó-gò</i>
	<i>twⁿé:</i>	‘measure’	<i>tóη-gò</i>

There are few exceptions, where one gets an E/I stem instead of expected O/U. The examples known to me are those in (xxx).

(xxx)	E/i	gloss	VN
	<i>íjí</i>	‘know’	<i>íjí-gò</i>
	<i>míní</i>	‘(fire) go out’	<i>míní-gò</i>
	<i>bájù</i>	‘become tall’	<i>bájí-gò</i>
	<i>máyⁿè</i>	‘squeeze (food) ³ ’	<i>máyⁿé-gò</i>
	<i>bálályê:</i>	‘become big’	<i>bálályé-gò</i>

³ That is ‘squeeze (food) into a ball-shaped handful in one's hand’ to put in one's mouth.

4.3.4 Effector nominals

Verb stems change their final vowel to /i/ to form nominals with an agentive or instrumental meaning. Both types of derivatives are formed regularly from a large number of verbal stems. Those with agentive meaning take a {H} tone contour, while those with instrumental meaning take a {LH}. Cf. the following example:

(xxx)

V	gloss	Agent	gloss	Instrument	gloss
<i>gàrà túlé</i>	‘dye’	<i>gàrà túlí</i>	‘dye-er’	<i>gàrà tùlí</i>	‘dye-er’s instruments’

Since both nominals are derived segmentally by the same means, there is a justification for introducing a term that would cover both agentive and instrumental meaning. I use the term ‘effector’ in that sense and I call deverbal nominals in /i/ with instrumental and agentive meaning ‘effector nominals’ or ‘effector nouns’⁴.

Effector nominals derived from monosyllabic verbs of CyV structure appear as Ci: due to the sonorant deletion before a homorganic vowel (see § xxx above).

(xxx)

V	gloss	Agent	gloss	INST	gloss
<i>tyé:</i>	‘weave’	<i>kàgà tí:</i>	‘mat-weaver’	<i>kàgà tǐ:</i>	‘weaver’s instruments’
<i>tyⁿé:</i>	‘put’	<i>pèrè tí:ⁿ</i>	‘diviner who conjures	<i>pèrè tǐ:ⁿ</i>	‘diviner’s instruments’ images in water’

Verb *ínì* ‘get to know’ has an irregular agentive nominal *í:*:

(xxx)

<i>yè í:</i>	‘one who knows things’, ‘one who knows some thing’
<i>àmàrà í:</i>	‘one who knows God, good muslim’

Usually an effector noun is the second constituent of a compound, the first part of which is the object of the input verb, including cases where the object is a cognate object. However in a few cases, instrumental nominals are uncompounded. Compound examples cited in § 5.1.5. The few uncompounded instrumental nominals known to me are those in (xxx).

(xxx)	V	gloss	INST	gloss
	<i>yélé</i>	‘hold’	<i>yèlí</i>	‘handle’
	<i>gényé:</i>	‘sweep’	<i>gèní</i>	‘broom’

⁴ The term is borrowed from theory semantic roles where ‘effector’ denotes the supercategory including ‘agent’ and ‘instrument’. See [Van Valin 200?: 46-50]

nóné ‘write’ (*nòní*) *nòní* ‘pen’

Uncompounded instrumental nouns in final /i/ form following the contrastive pattern. Thus *gèní* ‘broom’ has plural *gèní-gè* that changes to *gèní-gé* in the possessed noun position, as in *yò: gèní-gé* ‘brooms of (a) woman’.

For the plural formation in compounded effector pronominals see § 5.xxx

4.3.5 Other deverbal nouns

There are a few other less productive verbal noun formation patterns. All of them are characterized by vocalic and tonal changes with no affixation involved. The patterns are exemplified in (xxx). Verbal nouns are grouped according to their final vowel.

(xxx)	V	gloss		VN	gloss
a. a-nouns	<i>só:nì</i>	‘converse’		<i>só:nà</i>	‘conversation’
	<i>dwé:</i>	‘die’		<i>dwá:</i>	‘death’
	<i>káwⁿè</i>	‘discuss’		<i>káwⁿá</i>	‘discussion’
	<i>kúbándyè</i>	‘be lazy’		<i>kúbándyâ: n</i>	‘laziness’
b. O-nouns	<i>dwé:</i>	‘pound (millet spikes)’		<i>dwó:</i>	‘act of pounding’
	<i>wé:</i>	‘weep’		<i>wô:</i>	‘weeping’
c. u-nouns	<i>ímbé</i>	‘catch’		<i>ímbù</i>	‘act of catching’
	<i>jóngé</i>	‘heal’		<i>jóngù</i>	‘medicine’
	<i>púrógè</i>	‘cut’		<i>púrógù</i>	‘act of cutting’
	<i>wílómì~wílyómì</i>	‘wave around’		<i>wílómù~wílyómù</i>	‘act of waving’
d. i-nouns	<i>gýⁿì</i>	‘smell’		<i>gìyⁿí</i>	‘smell’
	<i>kómbólè</i>	‘remove outer layer’		<i>kòmbòlí</i>	‘tree bark’
	<i>ńdè</i>	‘give’		<i>ńdí</i>	‘act of giving’
	<i>áwⁿì</i>	‘be inflated’		<i>àwⁿí</i>	‘act of inflating’

Discuss harmony effects, identify allomorphs

Discuss tones

4.3.6 Uncompounded agentives

Most nouns with agentive meaning are derived from verbs, and occur only in compounds.

Unlike other Dogon languages Mombo lacks a verb with the meaning ‘to hunt’. However it has word *dà:ná* which means both ‘hunt’ and ‘hunter’. The meaning ‘to hunt’ is expressed by construction *dà:ná kání* ‘do hunt’.

Recall that *dà:ná* ‘hunter’ forms the plural following the tonal pattern peculiar to compounds (*dà:ná-gé* ‘hunters’). See §4.1.1.1 and § 5.1xxx for details.

4.3.7 Expressive iteration

Expressive adverbials (including intensifiers) with iterated (fully reduplicated) form

4.4 Pronouns

4.4.1 Basic personal pronouns

Like the majority of Dogon languages, Mombo expresses non-focalized and non-topicalized pronominal subjects by pronominal affixes on the verb:

(xx1) *ànnà* *ń-sémè*
 sheep.L 1SG-slaughter.PFV
 ‘I slaughtered (a) sheep’

A verbal subject marker can be a prefix or a suffix depending verb inflection category. The 3SG subject remains unexpressed (overtly) for the most of categories:

(xx2) *ànnà* *sémé*
 sheep.L slaughter.PFV
 ‘s/he slaughtered (a) sheep’

The only exception is the prospective declarative, which has marked 3SG forms both in the positive and in the negative. See §10.xx for details.

The 3PL subject in most cases is expressed by a non-harmonic suffix *-yV*, with the vowel varying from one aspectual category to another. The suffix is peculiar for its occurrence even in prefixing paradigms. Thus, the simple perfective expresses first and second person subjects by adding prefixes (recall example (xx1)) but adds suffix *-yè* in the third plural:

(xxy) *ànnà* *sém-yè*
 sheep.L slaughter-3PL.PFV
 ‘They slaughtered a sheep’

The 3PL prospective positive suffix *-mbyà* historically contains the same *-yV* suffix. There is also a special 3PL prospective negative suffix *-ndà*. See § 10.xxx for details on both morphemes.

By contrast, when a non-subject focalized constituent is present in the clause the 3PL subject is expressed by prefix *ké-*. See § 10.xxx for details.

In addition to pronominal affixes, there is a series of independent pronouns, which are used when the pronominal participant is topicalized (xx3) or is in the focus (xx4).

(xx3) *mí: gây, ñ-ñàndé ñnâ: dà-ń-dâ:ⁿ kê:-wⁿ mályá:*
 1SG TOP 1SG-go.PFV like.that redupl-1SG-sit.ST 3PL-OBJ see.A
 {They stood in rows.} ‘As for me, I sat [focus] like that watching them’. **AF.084**

(xx4) *Séydù-wⁿ bú:rù mí: ńdé*
 PN-OBJ money 1SG give.PFV.H
 {Who gave (the) money to Seydou?}[focus] gave money to Seydou.

In (xx3), the independent 1SG pronoun is occurs with following topic marker. In (xx4), the same pronoun occurs in the immediately preverbal position indicating that the pronominal participant is focalized. See § 13.xx for details of focus marking.

An independent pronoun takes the object marker *-wⁿ* when it functions as the P⁵ argument of a transitive verb (xx5) and as the R argument of a ditransitive verb (xx6). A pronoun acting as the T argument of a ditransitive remains unmarked (xx6).

(xx5) *dâ:ná è:-wⁿ táyé*
 hunter 3SG-OBJ shoot.PFV
 ‘Hunter shot it /him/her ’

(xx6) *é: mî:-wⁿ á-ńíndè*
 3SG 1SG-OBJ 2SG-give.PFV
 ‘You gave it to me’

(xx5) shows the 3GS pronoun with the object marker *-wⁿ* in the P function. The same pronoun doesn’t have the object marker in (xx6), where it functions as T. The 1SG pronoun in the same example is marked with the object marker as the R argument of a ditransitive verb.

Independent pronouns take comitative-instrumental marker *-ndo*, which has only the comitative interpretation with first and second person pronouns (xx7). However both the comitative and the instrumental reading are possible with the third person pronouns:

(xx7) *ó-ndó wálé kánâ-wⁿ*
 2SG-with work do.IPFV-PROSP.1SG

(xx8) *è-ndó wálé kánâ-wⁿ*

⁵ P, R and T stand for “patient-like argument of a transitive verb” and “recipient-like argument of a ditransitive” and “theme-like argument of ditransitive”. I avoid using grammatical relations terms (direct object, indirect object) here for several reasons discussed in § 11.xxx.

1SG-with work do.IPFV-PROSP.1SG

‘I work (together) with him’

‘I work with it (= an instrument)’

Unlike nouns, personal pronouns can not take the locative marker *-ndá*. This option however is available for some locative pronouns (see § 4.4.2.1).

There are two series of possessor pronominals. One is pronominal prefixes (except for the 3SG) attached to the possessed noun, which are typically used for inalienable possession (see § 6.2.1). The 3SG possessor is expressed by a suffix. The other is a series of pronouns that occur to the right of the head noun, after adjectives and numerals (see § 6.1.1). This series is typically used for alienable possession (see § 6.2.2 for details). I will refer to these two series as preposed and postposed possessor pronouns. Example (xx7) and (xx8) show 1SG possessor expressed by a preposed and postposed pronominal.

(xx7) *m̄-bá*

P.1SG-father.H

‘my father’

(xx8) *dèbú* *nê:*

house.LH P.1SG

‘my house’

Logophoric subjects are expressed by affixes on the verb, different for different verbal forms. See § 10.xxx and § 18.2xxx for details. The following example shows logophoric subject prefix used with the imperfective chaining form:

(xx10) *bâ:ⁿ, pàtró:ⁿ nê: bâ: là, ènê:-ó-nê: sélé:, mí:-wⁿ à-tá:rè*
well boss.LH P.1SG DEF too if.it's.so each 1SG-OBJ LOG-say.PFV

à-mályè-né *wâ:*

LOG-see-IPFV.CH QUOT

‘Well, my boss_j said (that) if it is so, she_j would tell me and see (what I will say)’. **AF.028**

The plural logophoric subject is expressed by prefix *ké-* (cf. (xx11)). Note that the same prefix is used for the non-logophoric 3PL pronominal subject only when the clause contains a non-subject focalized constituent.

(xx11) *yí:-gè bâ: égá: ké-bô: wà*
woman-PL DEF come.IPFV 3PL-be QUOT

‘the women said they will come’

There are no special logophoric pronouns used in the object, comitative or possessor function. In the quoted speech construction ordinary third person pronouns occur on their place. See § 18.2.xxx for details.

Basic personal pronouns are given in (xx9). For pronominal subject markers used in the prospective, not presented in this table see § 10.xxx.

(xx9) Personal Pronouns

	indep.	object	com.-instr.	affixed	possessor	
					preposed	postposed
1SG	<i>mí:</i>	<i>mì-ŵⁿ</i>	<i>mí-ndó</i>	<i>N-</i>	<i>Ñ-</i>	<i>ɲé:</i>
1PL	<i>mî:</i>	<i>mî:-ŵⁿ</i>	<i>mî:-ndò</i>	<i>Ñ-</i>	<i>mí:</i>	<i>myé:</i>
2SG	<i>ó:</i>	<i>ò-ŵⁿ</i>	<i>ó-ndó</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>à-</i>	<i>áyè</i>
2PL	<i>ê:</i>	<i>è-ŵⁿ</i>	<i>é-ndò</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>é-</i>	<i>íyè</i>
3SG	<i>é:</i>	<i>è-ŵⁿ</i>	<i>è-ndó</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>yé:nà</i>
3PL	<i>kê:</i>	<i>ké-ŵⁿ</i>	<i>ké-ndò</i>	<i>-yV, ke- (in NSF)</i>	<i>ké-</i>	<i>kyé:</i>
LOG.SG				<i>à-</i>		
LOG.PL				<i>ké-</i>		

Note that 1st/2nd person independent pronouns are high-toned in the singular and HL-toned in the plural.

Object and comitative-instrumental pronouns are formed regularly by adding corresponding markers to stems found in independent pronouns. However tonally, there are couple interesting deviations from the patterns expected. Thus, high-toned singular pronominal stems become low-toned before the object marker. 1SG independent pronoun is *mí:*, but the corresponding object pronoun is *mì-ŵⁿ*. At the same time, only in the 3SG a lexically {H} pronominal stem occurs low-toned before the instrumental-comitative suffix (*è-ndó*), while the 1SG and the 2SG retain their tones. Also, the 2PL independent pronoun has form *ê:*, while the object form is *è-ŵⁿ*.

The notation of 2SG object pronoun reflects the morphological structure. *ò:-ŵⁿ* is realized as *ǒ:ⁿ*. Recall that before labial vowels marker *-wⁿ* realizes regularly as a nasalization of the preceding vowel (§ 3.6.xxx).

Notably, the {HL} contour of the 1PL pronominal is not changed in the object or the comitative form. Nor is it spread to the following morpheme in a way the lexical {HL} contour of other plural pronouns realizes in comitative and object forms (except the 2PL object pronoun). The falling tone is still audible on the stem proper while the object and the comitative-instrumental markers are low-toned.

‘N’ in the “affixed” and “preposed possessor” columns stands for an underspecified syllabic nasal which assimilates to the following consonant in place of articulation (see 3.xxx for assimilation rules). Cf. *ń-táyè* ‘I shot’, *ñ-nòlò* ‘my friend’, *m-màlyè:* ‘I saw’, *m-bá* ‘my father’.

1SG, 2SG and 2PL prefixes adopt the first tone of the verb stem, while 1PL always remains low-toned. cf. *ñ-táyé* ‘we shot’, *m-mályè* ‘we saw’. First and second person subject and possessor affixes are clearly cognate with corresponding independent

pronouns in most of the cases. This is also the case of the 3PL possessor and the 3PL subject prefix used in non-subject focus forms. The 3PL suffix *-yV* doesn't have obvious cognates among pronominal stems.

Preposed possessor pronominals require a tonal change in the possessed noun (see § 6.2.2.1 for details). Those are all segmentally identical to subject prefixes, except for 1PL possessor, which is *mí:* instead of underspecified syllabic nasal *N-*. However, even being identical segmentally, subject pronouns differ phonologically from preposed possessor pronominals. An epenthetic *y* or *n* (depending on whether the stem has a nasalized consonant) is inserted between a subject (but not possessor) prefix and the stem:

(xx.a)	<i>éǵé</i>	<i>ń-y-éǵè</i>
	'He/ she came'	'I came'
(xx.b)	<i>úná</i>	<i>ń-úná</i>
	'(a) goat	'my goat'

In postposed possessor pronouns, a tonal change on the preceding possessed noun is audible only with lexically {HL} nouns. See § 6.1.2.2 for details.

Apparently postposed possessor pronouns diachronically represent a combination of preposed possessor pronominals with noun *yé:* 'thing' (*ń-* + *yé:* = > **nyé:* > *né:*; *à-* + *yé:* = > *áyè:...*). See § 6.2 for details.

These pronouns can also be used absolutely, in particular, in predicative constructions. See § 6.1.2

4.4.2 Personal pronouns as complements of adpositions

Mombo has only three 'true' adpositions, two postpositions *bélé:* 'since, starting from' and *kyⁿé:* 'all the way to', and one preposition *pá:* 'till (certain point)'. All three are not combined with personal pronouns, and select one of locative pronouns as pronominal complements. (See §. 4.4.2.1)

CHECK adposition semantics

Some spatial relationships, such as 'inside' (of something), 'under', 'on' etc., are expressed by postposition-like elements, that have emerged from the nouns denoting different body parts with nasal object maker *-wⁿ* or locative marker *-nda*. Cf. *kó:* 'head' and *dèbù kó-ndá* 'on the house'. Here a former possessor *dèbù* serves as a complement of the postposition.

When an intended complement is a personal pronoun, it is expressed by a preposed possessor pronominal attached to the postposition:

(xxx)	<i>ká:wé</i>	<i>à-kó-wⁿ</i>	<i>ò</i>	<i>dá:ⁿ</i>
	grasshopper	2SG-head-OBJ	LOC	sit.ST
	'There is a grasshopper (sitting) on you'			

See § 8.xxx for details.

4.5 Demonstratives

4.5.1 Definite morphemes

Morpheme *bâ*: commonly found in definite noun phrases. That is it indicates that the referent has been already established in the discourse or is a part of the shared knowledge of the speaker and the hearer. *bâ*: is used universally for both singular and plural NP's. It is also insensitive either to animacy or to the human/non-human opposition. The marker occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase occupying the same position as the demonstrative *nê*:. It can be followed only by a case marker or a postposition (See § 6.xxx). The following extract shows a typical context for the definite marker:

(xx1) *Lyô:*ⁿ *ñ-nándè.* *Lyô:*ⁿ *bâ:* *sû:* = > *à-dìnyě:-nê*
 Lion 1PL-go.PFV Lion DEF arriving.at 2SG-arrive.PFV-CH.PROSP
nwé:-ngé *bâ:* *pôn* *súgú:*ⁿ *dályâ:-w* *kwà.*
 enter-VN DEF bridge underneath go.through-PROSP.2SG PTC
pôn *súgú:*ⁿ *à-dàlyě:* *à-màlyě:,* *pôn* *sû:* = >
 bridge underneath 2SG-pass.through.PFV 2SG-see.PFV bridge arriving.at
á-nwê: *à-màlyě:* *gà dùgù* *bâ:* *túndà* <*lbyà-mbo*>.
 2SG-enter 2SG-see.PFV Q village.L DEF behind stay-PROSP.3SG

‘We went down to Lyon. When you arrive to Lyon, (on) entering, you will pass under (a) bridge. When you pass under the bridge and if you go out, you will see (that) the town is (left) behind’.

In this passage from a personal narrative about speaker’s trip to France, *Lyon* is first established as a referent in the first sentence. Its second occurrence in the following sentence is accompanied by the definite marker *bâ*:. Note that, unlike English, Momo allows the definite marker with proper nouns. *dùgù* ‘village, town’ in the third sentence is again refers to *Lyon*, so it is also followed by the definite marker, which occurs before the postposition *túndà* ‘behind’.

bâ: also serves as (non-contrastive) topic marker, following a preclausal topicalized constituent. Cf. the following passage:

(xx2) *wáyá-gè* *ké:jó* *wálé* *ñ-káni* *kwà.*
 year-PL four work 1SG-do.PFV EMPH

wáyá-gè *ké:jó* *nê:* *píjîwⁿ* *bâ:*, *pátrô:*ⁿ *myê:* *mádám* PN
 year-PL four this inside DEF boss P.1SG madam PN

gún-yê: *kwà*
 say-MP.PFV EMPH

‘I worked (there) for four years. During these four years, my boss was (a woman) called madam PN’. AF.004-005

In (xx1), *bâ:* follows a topicalized postpositional phrase. There is also a pause in pronunciation after *bâ:* indicating the preclausal position of the constituent.

The fact that *bâ:* occurs after a postposition in (xx1) shows that here it functions as an information structure marker, which takes a scope over the whole constituent, including the postposition (cf. the same position of the focus marker *wô:* §.13.xxx), but not only the head of the noun phrase, as it happens when it functions as a definite morpheme.

Another yet not discussed occurrence of *bâ:* in example (xx1) is of a similar nature. The relevant part is repeated in (xx3).

(xx3) *Lyô:ⁿ ñ-ñándè.* *Lyô:ⁿ bâ: sù: => à-dìnyě:-nè,*
 Lion 1PL-go.PFV Lion DEF arriving.at 2SG-arrive-CH.PROSP
nwé:-ngé bâ:, <pause> pôn sígú:ⁿ dályâ:-w kwà.
 enter-VN DEF bridge underneath go.through-PROSP.2SG PTC

‘We went down to Lion. When you arrive to Lion, (on) entering, you will pass under (a) bridge’.

Here, there is a temporal adverbial clause headed by ‘*à-dìnyě:-nè* 2SG-arrive-CH.PROSP’. It is followed by a verbal noun with the definite marker. A pause in pronunciation separates this part from the rest of the sentence. *nwé:-ngé bâ:* denotes an event (*the entering*), which is treated as the background information. The foregrounded part of information is carried by the following clause (*you will pass under the bridge*). A similar configuration of the information structure is found in sentences with topicalized constituents, as that in (xx2). The older information is backgrounded by putting the corresponding constituent (here a PP) into the preclausal position, thus concentrating speakers attention on the clause proper, which bares the new information. In both cases marker *bâ:* (together with a pause in the pronunciation) serves as a backgrounding device.

4.5.1.1 *nê:* ‘this/that’

There is only one demonstrative pronoun *nê:*, which can be translated as ‘this’ or ‘that’ depending on the context. *nê:* can refer to human and non-human, singular and plural referents. It can occur absolutely (xxx) or as a noun modifier. In the latter case there two patterns of tonal interaction observed. See 6.xxx for details.

4.5.1.2 Anaphoric/logophoric demonstrative pronouns

4.5.1.3 Discourse-definite use of 3SG possessor marker *-na*

3SG possessor suffix *-na* can function a discourse-definite morpheme, with a reading ‘that, the same’ The difference between the possessor and the definite use of the marker is most clear in cases where it attaches to autosemantic, non-relational nouns, which exclude a possibility of inalienable possession reading.

CHECK textual examples

4.5.2 Demonstrative adverbs

4.5.2.1 Locative adverbs

Basic deictic locative adverbs are proximative *iníwⁿ~inúwⁿ* ‘here’, distant *àndá* ‘there’ and all-purpose *ndá*. *iníwⁿ~inúwⁿ* ‘here’ and *àndá* ‘there’ can be used with or without indexing gestures. Using *ndá* obligatory requires to be accompanied with a gesture making clear its reference. Cf. examples (xx1-xx4).

(xx1) *àndá* *ándé* < ‘there’ gesture >
there come.PFV
{Where did he go?} ‘He went there (= in the direction pointed out)’.

(xx2) *ndá* *ándé* < ‘there’ gesture >
LOC come.PFV
{Where did he go?} ‘He went there’.

(xx3) *iníwⁿ* *bó:*
here bé
{Being in Songho, X asks Y where is Z?} ‘He is here (= in Songho)’.

(xx4) *ndá* *bó:* < ‘here’ gesture >
LOC be
{Being in Songho, X asks Y where is Z?} ‘He is here (= in Songho)’.

All three adverbs are not specified in term of direction. The difference between locative, ablative, and allative readings is attained by using directional verbs like ‘come’ and ‘go’. See 7.2.1xxx for details on the expression of locative meanings.

Unlike *iníwⁿ~inúwⁿ* and *àndá*, *ndá* can not be used anaphorically, referring back to a locus mentioned in the previous discourse:

(xx5) A: *bàndiagàrà-wⁿ* *ándé* *gá?*
Bandiagara-OBJ go.PFV or
B: *í:ⁿ* *àndá/*ndá* *ándé*
yes there/LOC go.PFV

{A: ‘Where is X? B: ‘He went to a village, but I don’t remember the name’. A: ‘Did he go to village Y?’ B: ‘No’. A: ‘Did he go to village Z?’ B: ‘No’ etc.} A: ‘Did he go to Bandiagara?’ B: ‘Yes, he went there!’

àndá and *ndá* but, not *ìníwⁿ~inúwⁿ* can serve as complements of adpositions. The expressions in (xx6) and (xx7) (together with accompanying gestures) were elicited as showing the borders of one’s field. Notations ‘*there1*’ and ‘*there2*’ are used for different loci distinct from the deictic center.

(xx6) *àndá* <‘*there*’ gesture> *gwé-né* *pá: ndá/*inúwⁿ* <‘*here*’ gesture>
 there go.out.PFV-NSF.3SG till LOC/here
 ‘from there to here’

(xx7) *àndá* <‘*there1*’ gesture> *gwé-né* *pá: àndá* <‘*there2*’ gesture>
 there go.out.PFV-NSF.3SG till LOC/here
 ‘from there to there’

As shown in (xx6) only *ndá* but not *inúwⁿ* can occur as a complement of preposition *pá*: ‘till’.

Table xx8 summarizes the features of the adverbs discussed:

(xx8)

	<i>meaning</i>	<i>gesture</i>	<i>anaphoric</i>	<i>complement of ADP</i>
<i>inúwⁿ</i>	prox.	+ /-	yes	<i>no</i>
<i>àndá</i>	distant	+ /-	yes	<i>yes</i>
<i>ndá</i>	‘prox./distant’	+	<i>no</i>	<i>yes</i>

Most probably *ndá* served as a source of grammaticalization for locative marker *-nda* (see (7.xxx)). Arguably, *àndá* is historically derived from a stem found in logophoric prefix *a-* by adding the locative marker.

**ndá égé*

CHECK

**inúwⁿégé*

A locative adverb found in two forms *ólò* and *òlò:ⁿ* in my text collection functions as discourse-anaphoric locative pronoun and refers to a locus previously established in the discourse. Consider the following extract describing the legendary encounter of Karambé and Yanogé (two Songho clans), previous to the foundation of Songho:

(xx9) *sòŋgò wálá kàlàmi ndá máŋgà dà:ná káná:*
 Songho.L man Karambe.L person TOP hunt do.IPFV
égé-né, àndò kùnjú-wⁿ.
 come.PFV-NSF.3SG pond old-OBJ

- 2 *ínjè-ndó* *bó:* <...>
dog-with be
- 3 *ínà:* *wòlò* *jígíbí-wⁿ* *à-mályě:*
that.way acacia.tree thicket-OBJ 2SG-see.PFV
- 4 *éyé-né,* *ólò* *nwé:*, *nwé:-né* *kánù,* *ínjè* *mányà*
come.PFV-NSF.3SG there enter.PFV enter.PFV-NSF.3SG do.U dog TOP2
ógólò póró-gè.
mud be.wet-CAUS.PFV
- 5 *mályé-né* *bá:lù:ⁿ* *òlò:ⁿ* *dá:-yè.*
see.PFV-NSF.3SG a.little there sit-INCH.PFV
- 6 *dá:-nâwⁿ* *mányà,* *yàndògò* *ńdá* *mányà-là* *è:-lá* *éyé.*
sit-CV TOP Yanoge.L person TOP-CTR 3SG-CTR come.PFV
- 7 *éyé-né* *né-là* *sélè:* *èné* *tángánâwⁿ* *mályé:*
come.PFV-NSF.3SG this-CTR each like.that pass.by-CH2 see.PFV
- 8 *òlò:ⁿ* *géwⁿ* *dà:yà:* *byá-wò* *mányà.* <...>
there place [sit-MP.IPFV be-NSF].LH-it.is TOP
- 9 *dà:ná* *mányà* *îw* *ô:* *mányà* *màndá* *á-gwê:*
hunt TOP hey! 2SG TOP where? 2SG-go.out.PFV
- 10 *é!* *tílè* *úmbò:* <unclear> *òlò:ⁿ* *ńdǎ:*
intrj. Tile Umbo there 1SG-sit.ST

‘Songo man, from Karambé, while hunting (he) came (there), **to (an) old pond.** (he) was with (a) dog. <...> **Like this** <=near by> you saw <=there was> **a thicket of acacia trees.** (The dog) came and entered **there.** The dog, (it) got dirty in mud, and so went out. (He) saw (that), (he) sat down there for a moment. While (he) was sitting, a man of Yanoge, he (there) came too. When he came, he was passing by like that and saw . (That) **there,** it was a (good) place to settle down. <...> The Hunter (said): ‘Hey you, where are you going?’ ‘Huh! to **Tile Umbo** , **there** we have settled” **DK.005-011,DK.014-15.**

First, an antecedent locus is established in the first sentence, with extraclausal *òndò kùnjú-wⁿ* ‘to (an) old pond’. Another locus *wòlò jígíbí* ‘acacia tree thicket’ is introduced by the fourth sentence containing proximative deictic *ínà* ‘like that’. *òlò* in the fifth sentence refers back to the second locus (‘acacia tree thicket’), while its occurrence in the sentence 6 apparently refer back to the first locus (‘old pond’). *òlò:ⁿ* in sentence 8 again is coreferent with the first locus. Finally, the last sentence introduces the third locus (Tile Umbo) and *òlò:ⁿ* occurring in the same sentence refers to that. All events described in the extract above happen at one and the same place. Given three different

loci that $\delta l\acute{o}^n$ refers to, it becomes clear that the pronoun doesn't function here like a deictic element.

Noun $g\acute{e}w^n$ 'place' functions as an indefinite locative pronoun, meaning 'somewhere'. Cf. following example:

(xx10) $g\acute{e}w^n$ $\acute{a}nd\acute{e}$
 place go.PFV
 {Where is Amadou?} 'He went somewhere'

Final segment $-w^n$ or nasalization (like in $\delta l\acute{o}^n$) found in some locative is arguably the object marker $-w^n$ (at least historically). As it will be shown in § 7.xxx, $-w^n$ is actively used as a locative marker with NP's.

4.5.2.2 Emphatic and Approximative modifiers of adverbs

4.5.3 Presentatives ('here's ...!')

The presentative construction of type 'here is NP!' includes adverb $\grave{i}n\acute{i}w^n \sim \grave{i}n\acute{u}w^n$ in the immediately preverbal position, followed by verb $b\acute{o}$: 'be', to which presentative clinic $-\grave{y}^n$ is added.

(xx1) $\acute{u}n\acute{a}$ $\grave{i}n\acute{i}w^n$ $b\acute{o}:-\grave{y}^n$
 goat here be-PRES
 'Here is (a) goat'

Lexically {HL} nouns occur with {LH} tone contour in this construction:

(xx2) $d\grave{e}b\acute{u}$ $\grave{i}n\acute{i}w^n$ $b\acute{o}:-\grave{y}^n$ CHECK (more examples)
 house.LH here be-PRES
 'Here is a house'

If the object, which the presentative construction singles out, is at a significant distance from the speaker, adverb $\grave{a}nd\acute{a}$ 'there' will be used instead of $\grave{i}n\acute{i}w^n \sim \grave{i}n\acute{u}w^n$. However, unlike in the previous construction, here the immediately preverbal position has to be occupied by declarative particle \grave{o} (xx3), which is used with (morphologically) stative verbs (including $b\acute{o}$: 'be'), when none of the constituents presented in the clause is focalized (see § 10.xxx for details).

(xx3) $d\grave{e}b\acute{u}$ $\grave{a}nd\acute{a}$ $\grave{o}-b\acute{o}:-\grave{y}^n$
 house.LH there DECL-be-PRES
 'here is (a) house over there'

4.6 Adjectives

Adjectives are not distinct from nouns morphologically. Semantically, they are not clearly defined as well. Many typically adjectival senses are borne by qualitative verbs (see 4.5.1.3) and adverbs (4.5.2). However, their syntactic features let one separate them from the other ‘parts of speech’ (4.5.1.1)

At the same time, the class of adjectives, being clearly defined syntactically, remains itself heterogeneous in terms of morphosyntactic features (4.5.1.2).

Unlike in other Dogon languages, adjectives in Mombo lack the agreement categories expressed segmentally. See § 6.xxx for tonal agreement morphology in adjectives.

kélló ‘slow, cold’

4.6.1 Syntactic features

Adjectives typically follow nouns, causing tone-dropping.

(xxx) *dèbù* *kánú*
house.L old
‘(an) old house’ (*dèbù* ‘house’)

However, some nouns, such as the characteristic derivatives in *-ŋga* discussed in § 4.2.1, can function in the same way:

(xxx) *ndà* *dúmóŋgà*
person.L rich.person
‘(a) rich person’

A crucial test that adjectives don’t pass is that of ability to serve as head of NP as in case of the identification construction (xx1-xx2).

(xx1) *wàlà* *nê:* *dúmóŋgà-w*
man.L this owner-it.is
‘This man is (a) rich person’

(xx2) **dèbù* *nê:* *kánú-w*⁶
house.L this old-it.is

⁶ The notation *kánú-w* reflects the underlying morphological structure. Combination of *u* and *-w* clitic is realized as long [u:]. See (1.xx) for details.

If an ordinary high-toned imperfective is used in this construction, the inchoative semantics of suffix *-yV* becomes salient, so the construction is now better translated as “X becomes/is becoming ADJ”:

(xxx) *ó: yág-yá: á-bô: CHECK*
 2SG [beautiful-INCH.IPFV].LH 2SG-be
 ‘You become (more) beautiful’

Some adjectives are not able to derive inchoative verbal stem, but use a derived adverbial in combination with copula *bó: ‘be’* instead. In following example, adverbial *póló:ⁿ* derived from adjective *póló ‘good’* occurs in such a construction.

(xxx) *nê: póló:ⁿ bó:*
 this good be
 ‘That’s good.’

There are several patterns of deadjectival adverb derivation. Those are presented in (xx.b) in § 4.5.1.4. Not all these derived adverbs are used elsewhere outside this adjectival predicative construction. However, since some of them do, I avoid calling them ‘predicative forms of adjectives’.

Finally, there is the third group of adjectives that can not derive either inchoatives or adverbs. In the predicative use, they occur only in the identification construction of type ‘X is ADJ thing’ described above.

See § 10.xxx for a fuller discussion of adjectival predicates.

CHECK tonal comparatives

4.6.3 Qualitative verbs

The true adjectives should not be confused with verbs with qualitative (adjective-like) meaning. In the attributive function, a high-toned perfective subject focus form of a verb (see § 9.xxx) acts an adjective. It follows the head noun and causes tone-dropping. Cf. (xx.a-b). However, unlike adjectives, qualitative verbs can function as predicates by them own (xxc):

(xx.a) *kònyò ká:nú ñ-màlyě: CHECK*
 donkey.L old 1SG-see.PFV
 ‘I saw (an) old donkey’

(xx.b) *kònyò kúbáandyé ñ-màlyě: CHECK*
 donkey.L be.lazy.PFV.H 1SG-see.PFV
 ‘I saw (a) lazy donkey’

(xxc) *kònyò kúbáandyè CHECK*
 donkey.L be.PFV

‘(the) donkey is lazy’

Syntactically, constructions like that in (xx.b) are better analyzed as non-restrictive subject relative clauses (see § 14.xxx).

4.6.4 Underived adjectives

The list of underived adjectives I’m aware of is presented in (xxx). The majority of adjectives are bisyllabic. The {H} and the {HL} are the only possible tone contours. Notice also a few cases of full stem and stem-final reduplication.

Adjectives fall into three groups according to the pattern used when the feature-concept denoted by an adjective is predicated. For the adverbial-deriving adjectives the corresponding derivatives are presented in the right column.

(xxx) Underived adjectives

I. verb-deriving adjectives

<i>bállà</i>	‘fat, corpulent (person)’
<i>bámbá</i>	‘wide’
<i>bérì</i>	‘easy (work)’
<i>búnú</i>	‘red’
<i>dóngá</i>	‘heavy’
<i>dúngúrù</i>	‘short’
<i>élà</i>	‘thin and flat’
<i>éllá</i>	‘sweet’
<i>góllò</i>	‘long’
<i>kúnjù</i>	‘ancient’
<i>nóngò</i>	‘thin slender’
<i>pémbù</i>	‘narrow (doorway)’
<i>súmbù</i>	‘deep’
<i>tómbò</i>	‘white’
<i>yá:gá</i>	‘pretty, beautiful’
<i>yá:lá</i>	‘bad’
<i>wérédé</i>	‘black, dark’
<i>wágù</i>	‘far, distant’

II. adverb-deriving adjectives

IIa. adverbs in *u*

<i>kéló</i>	‘cold = slow’	<i>kélù</i>
<i>má:gá</i>	‘difficult (work)’	<i>mágú</i>
<i>ná:gá</i>	‘fast = hot’	<i>nágú</i>
<i>yágára</i>	‘rough, coarse (surface)’	<i>yágáru</i>

II.b. final nasalization

<i>kóló</i>	‘wet’	<i>kóló:ⁿ</i>
<i>póló</i>	‘good’	<i>póló:ⁿ</i>

II.c. other

<i>bâyⁿ</i>	‘big, large’	<i>bá:</i>
<i>ónónó</i>	‘smooth, sleek’	<i>ónónnó</i>
<i>únúnú</i>	‘bland (meal)’	<i>únúnú</i>

III. non-predicative adjectives

<i>búló-búlò</i>	‘blue’
<i>kákì</i>	‘dirty-white’
<i>kándá</i>	‘new’
<i>ká:nú</i>	‘old’
<i>kójí kólò</i>	‘green’
<i>málá</i>	‘alive’
<i>péjéjé</i>	‘full-strength, undiluted (milk)’
<i>péngú</i>	‘near, close’
<i>pómúgá</i>	‘deserted (village)’
<i>pòrò pùná</i>	‘yellow’
<i>sálá</i>	‘empty (container)’

Three cases of geminated *-ll-*, *bállà* ‘fat’, *góllò* ‘long’ and *éllà* ‘sweet’ probably reflect a contracted final syllable reduplication (**bálálà* > *bállà*) or some formerly productive suffixation pattern. Cf. suffix *-lù* found in ordinal numerals (see 4.5). Notice that the corresponding trisyllabic stems occur in the inchoative and factitive verbs derived from these adjectives. Cf. *bálályê*: ‘be or become fat’, see 9.x for details.

4.6.5 Semantic syncretism ‘cold = slow/ ‘hot = fast’

Mombo shares the common Dogon ‘cold = slow/ hot = fast’ syncretism. When functioning as noun modifiers, the corresponding adjectives can have both of the paired readings (xx.a-b).

(xx.a) *mì: kéló*
 water cold/ slow
 ‘cold/ slow water(s)’

(xx.b) *mì: ná:gá*
 water hot/ fast
 ‘hot/ fast water(s)’

However, when these function as a part of predicative NP, the ‘speed’ readings are ruled out while the ‘temperature’ readings are tolerated. Cf. interpretations (xx.a-b) in spite of the context, which suggests the ‘speed’ reading.

(xx.a) *mòtò:ⁿ nê: yè: kéló-w*
 motorcycle this thing cold/slow
 ‘This motorcycle is cold’
 *This motorcycle is slow

(xx.b) *mòtò:ⁿ nê: yè: ná:gá-w*
 water this thing cold/slow
 ‘This motorcycle is hot’
 *This motorcycle is fast

4.6.6 Adverbials with adjectival sense

A number of stems, bearing adjective-like meaning, are adverbs syntactically. Words of this class fail to serve as noun modifiers on their own (xxx) but occur in combination with copula *bó:* in the predicative construction (xxx).

(xx.a) **tàlà nájá*
 knife sharp

(xx.b) *tàlà nájá kán-né*
 knife sharp do.PFV-PFV.NSF.3SG
 ‘Sharp knife’

(xxx) *tàlà nê: nájá bó:*
 knife this sharp be
 ‘This knife is sharp’

The list of the adjectival adverbs known to me is presented in (xxx). The majority of them are fully reduplicated stems. Those which aren’t (like e.g. *díwⁿ* => straight) belong to class of adverbs with lexically specified prolongation (see 3.8.2). Iterated adverbs are classified according to their tone contours.

I. reduplicated stems

a. {HL} tone contour

<i>bírí-bírì</i>	‘muddied (water)’
<i>ólé-ólè</i>	‘very soft’
<i>úlú-úlù</i>	‘lukewarm (e.g. water)’
<i>élú-élù</i>	‘thick (e.g. book, baby's buttocks) (adverb)’

b. {H} tone contour

<i>ńá-ńá</i>	‘sharp (blade)’
<i>gǐjǐ-gǐjǐ</i>	‘slow’
<i>kára-kára</i>	‘bitter (in taste)’
<i>syó:ⁿ-syó:ⁿ</i>	‘sharply pointed (e.g. needle)’
<i>kánjǎ-kánjǎ</i>	‘fit (person)’
<i>kéndé-kéndú</i>	‘firm’
<i>yáw-yáw</i>	‘lightweight’
<i>ámélá-áméláwⁿ</i>	‘slightly sour’
<i>tó:-tò:</i>	‘different’
<i>dí:ⁿ-dí:wⁿ</i>	‘straight (object)’
<i>kèrè:ⁿ - kèrè:wⁿ</i>	‘slightly bitter’
<i>ná:wⁿì</i>	‘having a crispy, fried-in-oil taste’
<i>ńémé</i>	‘dirty’
<i>òlé-ólè</i>	‘shining, gleaming (blade)’

II. prolonged stems

<i>díwⁿ = ></i>	‘straight (motion, road)’
<i>káyⁿ = ></i>	‘blazing (sun)’
<i>kéwⁿ = ></i>	‘silent’

CHECK

High-toned comparatives/ big

wè: bā: báyⁿ

‘the child is big’

Nouns as adjective-like modifiers

kó:ló ‘upper place’ and sí:góló ‘lower place’ as possessors, head and posnominal modifiers characteristic nouns in in -ŋga

4.6.7 Iterated (fully reduplicated) adverbials

list

4.7 Participles

Mombo doesn't have participles in the proper sense. Verbal forms that occur in relative clauses are equally used in independent clauses when one of the constituents is focalized. These forms are fully inflected for aspect, polarity and person/number categories. The only exception is the form used in the subject relativization, which takes no pronominal subject markers. The same form, however, is used for the subject focus in independent clauses. When being in relative clause verbal forms do not agree with the internal head in any category. See § 14 for details.

4.8 Numerals

4.8.1 Cardinal numerals

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

There are two numerals meaning 'one'. Form *tí:tà* appears only in counting. *tá:ngù* (also meaning 'same (one)') is an adjective syntactically. It follows noun in the NP causing the tone-dropping, and needs the head position to be fulfilled by a semantically empty element, if it is not occupied by a real noun (xx.a-c). The same is true of *tó*: 'other'. Cf. (xx.a-c).

(xx.a) *ùnà tá:ngù*

goat.L one

'one goat'

(xx.b) *nê: [yè: tá:ngù]*

This thing.L one-its

'This is one' {That is two...}

(xxx) *nê: *tá:ngù*

one this

'This is one' {That is two...}

(xx.a) *ùnà tó:*

goat.L other
'another goat'

(xx.b) *nê:* *yè:* *tó:-w*
this thing.L other-it.is
'This is the other (one)'

(xx.c) **nê:* *tó:-w*
this other-it.is
'This is the other (one)'

yè: *tá:ngù* and *ndà tá:ngù* (for human referents) are used in the decimal + single-digit combinations like '51', '11' etc. Cf. (xxx) in § 4.7.1.3.

4.8.1.2 '2' to '10'

The numerals from '2' to '10' are shown in (xx1).

(xx1) gloss	form
'2'	<i>né:ngá</i>
'3'	<i>tá:ndì</i>
'4'	<i>ké:jó</i>
'5'	<i>nó:mù</i>
'6'	<i>kúléyⁿ</i>
'7'	<i>só:lì</i>
'8'	<i>sé:lè</i>
'9'	<i>tó:wà</i>
'10'	<i>pé:lú</i>

These numerals and core NP's do not interact tonally.

4.8.1.3 Decimal multiples ('10', '20', ...) and their combinations ('11', '59', ...)

The multiples of '10' are given in (xx1).

(xx1) gloss	form
'10'	<i>pé:lú</i>
'20'	<i>pé-né:ngá</i>
'30'	<i>pé-tá:ndì</i>

'40'	<i>dê:</i>
'50'	<i>dê:-ndó pé:lú</i>
'60'	<i>pé:lú kúléyⁿ</i>
'70'	<i>sìngì pé:lú ólyâ:</i>
'80'	<i>síngì</i>
'90'	<i>sìngì-ndó pé:lú</i>

'20' and '30' contain *pé-*, which is a shortened form of *pé:lú* '10'.

Notice the uncompounded forms for '40' and '80'. '50' and '90' are literally '10 with 40' and '10 with 80'. In both cases instrumental-comitative marker *-ndo* is used. Terms for '40' and '80' are low-toned in these combinations.

'70' (lit. '80 without 10') contain *ólyâ:* 3PL form of the negative copula. The low tone on *sìngì* '80' suggests that whole expression *pé:lú ólyâ:* 'ten are absent' acts as a complex modifier.

In combinations with single-digit units, there are two patterns observed.

In forties and eighties, a low-toned decimal term is followed by the instrumental-comitative *-ndó* and a single-digit (xxx).

(xxx) *dê: ñdó sé:lè* '48'

(xxx) *sìngì ñdó ké:jó* '84'

In the other tens, the multiple is followed by a single-digit term, which in its turn is followed by word *súgó*, functioning like a linking element, but not found elsewhere outside the numerals. Terms for 11 and 42 are given in (xxx).

(xxx) *pé:lú yê: tá:ngù súgó* '11'

(xxx) *pé-tá:ndì né:ngá súgó* '32'

4.8.1.4 Large numerals ('100', '1000', ...) and their composites

Terms for 160, 240, 320, 400, 480 and 540 are formed by a combination of *sí-*, which is shortened *síngì* '80', and a single digit numeral from 2 to 7. Thus *sí-né:ngá* is '160', *sí-tá:ndì* is 240, etc.

Other large numerals are those in (xx1)

(xx1) gloss form

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. 'hundred' | <i>sìngì ndó pé-né:ngá</i> (archaic), <i>témdéré</i> (< Fulfulde) |
| b. 'eight hundred' | <i>múnjù</i> |
| c. 'thousand' | <i>múnjù, silá múnjú</i> |
| c. 'million' | <i>mílyô:ⁿ</i> (< French) |

sìngì-ndó pé-né:ngá 'hundred' is attributed to old people's speech, while *témdéré* newly borrowed from Fulfulde is in a wide use.

Note that *múnjù* is used both for '800' and for '1000' along with *silá múnjú*.

These numerals can be followed by single-digits to form numerals like 500, 5000 .etc

4.8.1.5 Currency

In Mombo as in all native languages in the zone currency unit equals 5 FCFA and called *bú:rù* (< Fulfulde *bu:du*). 5 FCFA coin is also called *bú-tá:ngù*, a combination of shortened form of *bú:rù* and *tá:ngù* 'one'.

4.8.1.6 Distributive numerals

(xxx) *tá:ngú-tá:ngù ég-yè*
 one-one came-3PL
 'they came one by one'

(xxx) *bómbó:ⁿ tá:ngú-tá:ngù ké-wⁿ ní-jíndè*
 candy one-one 3PL-OBJ 1SG-gave
 'I gave them one candy each'.

4.8.2 Ordinal adjectives

4.8.2.1 'First' and 'last'

The term for 'first' is *úngúlú*. As the other ordinals it functions as an adjective. Cf. *ndà úngúlú* '(the) first person'. The 'last' is *dígóró* with the same syntactical properties. Cf. *ndà dígúró* 'the last person'.

{Derived adverbials}

dígúró:ⁿ égé

4.8.2.2 Other ordinals (suffix -xxx)

The other ordinals are formed by adding *-lù* to the cardinal numeral stem. Regardless of the input, the output stem occurs with all-high tone overlay. Stem final *i* changes to *u* everywhere, except for *sínglù* ‘80th’. For ‘80’ and ‘100’ the same term *sínglù* is used.

(xx1)	form	gloss
	a. single-digit numeral	
	<i>né:ngú-lù</i>	‘second’
	<i>tá:ndú-lù</i>	‘third’
	<i>ké:jú-lù</i>	‘forth’
	<i>nómú-lù</i>	‘fifth’
	<i>kúléyⁿ-lù</i>	‘sixth’
	<i>só:lú-lù</i>	‘seventh’
	<i>sé:lé-lù</i>	‘eighth’
	<i>tó:wá-lù</i>	‘ninth’
	<i>pé:lú-lù</i>	‘tenth’
	b. decimal	
	<i>pé-néngá-lù</i>	‘twentieth’
	c. decimal plus single-digit numeral	
	<i>pélú yè: tá:ngù sùgólù</i>	‘eleventh’
	d. hundred	
	<i>síngí-lù</i>	‘hundredth, eightieth’
	e. hundred plus ‘1-99’ numeral (two levels)	
	<i>témdéré ndò síngí ndò kéjúlù</i>	‘one hundred eighty forth’

In the NP a complex hundred

ánà témdéré gé` tá:ndì (ánà) pé-né:ngà yè: tá:ngù sùgólù

4.8.3 Fractions and portions

- (xx.d) *ámárù débú kándà* (1 2 3)
 A. house.H new.HL
 ‘Amadou’s new house’
- (xx.e) *dèbù kándá-gè tá:ndì* (_ 2 3 4 5)
 house.L house-PL three
 ‘three new houses’
- (xx.f) *dèbù kándá nê:* (_ 2 3 6)
 house new P.1SG
 ‘My new houses’
- (xx.g) *dèbù kándá-gè tàndì nê:* (_ 2 3 4 5_7)
 house.L [new-PL].L three.L this
 ‘this three new houses’
- (xx.h) *dèbù kándá gé` tá:ndì sé:lè:* (_ 2 3 4 5 _ 8)
 house.L new-PL three all
 ‘all three new houses’
- (xxx) *ámárù débú kándá-gè tàndì nê: sé:lè* (1 2 3 4 5 7 8)
 A. house.H [new-PL].L three.L this all
 ‘all these three new houses of Amadou’

6.1.2 Headless NPs

A few normally dependent NP constituents can be used absolutely in the absence of the head noun. Those are numerals (except for ‘one’) (xx1), the demonstrative (xx2), alienable pronominal possessors (xx3) and the universal quantifier (xx4)

- (xx1) *tá:ndì ní-némè*
 three 1SG-take.PFV
 ‘I took three (of them)’

- (xx2) *nê: némá-wⁿ*
 this take-PROSP.1SG
 ‘I take this’

(xx3) *ńndó yè: gún-yé sélé: ńé:-w*
 pond thing [say-3PL.PFV].H all P.1SG-it.is
 ‘All (the territory) that they call (the) pond, is mine’.2008.11.06

(xx4) *sélé: ńémá-wⁿ*
 all take-PROSP.1SG
 ‘I take (it) all’.

As mentioned above the ‘true’ adjectives can not be used absolutely and require the head position to be fulfilled at least by a dummy pronoun-like element (see 4.5). Cf. (xx1-2).

(xx1) *yè: bínú ńémà-wⁿ*
 thing.L red take-PROSP.1SG
 ‘I’ll take the red (one)’

(xx2) **bínú ńémà-wⁿ*
 red take-PROSP.1SG
 ‘I’ll take (the) read (one)’

Taking into the account that NP’s with adjectives require the head to be expressed overtly, one can expand this requirement to all NP’s and suppose that *every NP must have an overt head*. Then, one has to consider as heads the postnominal elements that can be used absolutely.

However, unlike true head nouns, those elements fail to take modifiers. Thus numeral *tá:ndì* ‘three’ can not be followed by an adjective:

(xx1) **tá:ndì bínú bâ: ńémà-wⁿ*
 three.L red DEF take-PROSP.1SG
 ‘I’ll take three red (ones)’

(xx2) *yè: bínú-gé tá:ndì bâ: ńémà-wⁿ*
 thing.L red-PL three DEF take-PROSP.1SG
 ‘I’ll take three red (ones)’

(xx1) that has numeral *tá:ndì* ‘three’ followed by adjective *bínú* ‘red’ is ruled out. In (xx2) the numeral is relocated after the adjective, while semantically ‘empty’ noun *yè:* ‘thing’ occurs in the head position. The same happens in the case of the postnominal possessors, the demonstrative and the universal quantifier:

(xx1) **[nê: kúnjù] ǒ:n* *ń-níndè*
P.1SG old 2SG.OBJ 1SG-give.PVF
‘I gave you my old (one)’

(xx2) *[yè: kúnjù nê:] ǒ:n* *ń-níndè*
thing old P.1SG 2SG.OBJ 1SG-give.PVF
‘I gave you my old (one)’

(xx3) **[nê: kúnjù] ǒ:n* *ń-níndè*
this old 2SG.OBJ 1SG-give.PVF
‘I gave you this old (one)’

(xx4) *[yè: kúnjù nê:] ǒ:n* *ń-níndè*
thing old this 2SG.OBJ 1SG-give.PVF
‘I gave you my old (one)’

(xx5) **[sèlè: kúnjú-gè] ǒ:n* *ń-níndè*
all.L old-PL 2SG.OBJ 1SG-give.PVF
‘I gave you (the) old (ones)’

(xx6) *[yè: kúnjú-gè sèlè:] ǒ:n* *ń-níndè*
thing.L old-PL all 2SG.OBJ 1SG-give.PVF
‘I gave you all (the) old (ones)’

Examples like those in (xx1-6) force us to reject the analysis according to which the postnominal elements function as heads in NP’s like those in (xx1-4) and restrict the requirement of the head to be overtly expressed to the NP’s with adjectives only. Consequently, the presence of some overtly unexpressed element must be postulated in the cases when postnominal elements are used absolutely. So example (xx2) is analyzed as *[∅ sèlè:] némá-wⁿ* (‘I’ll (them) all’) with a zero element in the head position.

The similar problems in their application to the relative clause are discussed in §14.x and partially in the following section.

6.1.2.1 Detachability (in relatives)

As it will be shown in chapter 14, Mombo has an internal head relative clause structure. The postnominal NP elements differ in their syntactic behavior, when a NP functions as a head of the relative clause. Some of them remain with the head and precede the verb (roughly the “participle”), the others are obligatory detached and moved to the right periphery of the clause. (xxx) summarizes the detachability of the postnominal elements.

(xxx) <i>remain with head:</i>	<i>obligatory detached:</i>
adjective	inalienable pronominal possessor
plural marker	demonstrative
cardinal numeral	definite
	universal quantifier

Consider (xx1-xx4).

(xx1) *[[nê:] bári mí kán-né sá:-mbè nê: bâ:]*
 hand.L wound do-NSF.PFV have-NSF P.1SG DEF
 ‘my hand that was wounded’

(xx2) *[[wàlà gòllò-gè tà:ndì] ègè nê:]*
 man [tall-PL].L three.L come.PFV.L this
 ‘these three tall men who came’

(xx3) *[[wàlà gòllò] égé bâ:]*
 man.L all.L come.PFV DEF
 ‘the tall man who came’

(xx4) *[[wàlà-gè] égé bâ: sélé:]*
 man-PL.L come.PFV DEF all
 ‘all the men who came’

In (xx1) the 1SG alienable possessor along with the definite marker occurs in the right periphery of the clause following the complex predicate *bári mí kán-né sá:-mbè* ‘having been wounded’. (xx2) shows that adjective *gòllò*, the PL marker, and

‘I’ll take all that lie over there’

(xx2) *ðló:ⁿ yè: dwá: bâ: sélé: némə-wⁿ*
 there thing.L lie.ST DEF all take-PROSP.1SG
 ‘I’ll take all that lie over there’

(xx3) [*tà:ndì inúwⁿ dwá bâ:] némə-wⁿ*
 three.Lhere lie.ST DEF take-PROSP.1SG
 ‘I’ll take three that lie here’

Examples (xx1) and (xx2) show inability of the universal quantifier to remain in the head position. (xx1) with tone-dropped *sèlè:* before the verb is ruled out, while in accepted (xx2) it is relocated after the verb and the head position is occupied by semantically empty noun *yè:* ‘thing’.

In (xx3) *tà:ndì* ‘three’ is the only (overt) constituent of the head NP. It occurs before the verb and drops tones as a head of a relative clause normally does. The question whether it is really the only constituent or a modifier of a zero head can’t be answered on the basis the given data solely. I’m not inclined to any of the two analyses and consider them both as possible.

Table xxx summarizes the syntactic properties of NP elements following the head noun in terms of the absolute use in NP’s and relatives and the detachability.

Table xxx

	absolute use in NP	absolute use in REL	detachability
adjective	no	no	with head
PL marker	no	no	with head/ periphery/twice
numeral	yes	yes	core NP/ periphery
possessor pronoun	yes	no	periphery
demonstrative	yes	no	periphery
definite	no	no	periphery
universal quantifier	yes	no	periphery

6.1.3 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping

Like the other Dogon languages, Mombo is characterized by an extensive use of the tonal marking in the NP. The tonal marking plays even a more important role in Mombo, since it lacks any of segmental means of coding available in the other languages, such as agreement suffixes on adjectives (as in case of e. g. Jamsay [Heath 2008] and, most notably, Najamba [Heath 2008x]) and the genitive morpheme (Jamsay [Heath2008], Tommo-so [Plungian 1995, McPherson 2009]).

Usually, a construction, which includes two elements, e.g. a noun and an adjective, requires one element to change its tone contour, while the tones on the other are retained. As we will see later, both the tonal change and the preservation of lexical tones are important means of coding of syntactic relations in the noun phrase.

Typically, the head noun is tonally modified. When a NP consists of a head noun and an adjective, the head noun changes its lexical tone contour to all-low. Following Heath (2008) I refer to this effect typical for Dogon languages as ‘tone-dropping’. Examples (xx1-3) show the tone-dropping equally applied to the nouns of the major lexical tone classes. Notation ‘.L’ in glosses means that tone-dropping has applied.

(xx1) *dèbù* *kándá*
house.L new
‘(a) new house’ (lex. *débù* ‘house’)

(xx2) *ùná* *bâyⁿ*
goat.L big
‘(a) big goat’ (lex. *úná* ‘goat’)

(xx3) *dà:nà* *ká:nú*
hunter old
‘(the) old hunter’ (*dà:ná* ‘hunter’)

Tone-dropping also occurs in NP’s consisting a noun and a demonstrative, as shown in (xx1). However, in other cases the head noun occurs with a {LH} tone overlay (xx2).

(xx1) *ùná* *nê:*

goat.L this
'this goat'

(xx2) *ùná* *nê:* *CHECK*
goat.LH this
'this goat'

In section 6.xx I will argue that the two markings correspond to the different syntactic constructions and that {LH} overlay is functionally equivalent to the absence of the tone-dropping.

If there is a sequence of adjectives or a noun + adjective + demonstrative sequence, all words besides the last one are tone-dropped (cf. (xx1-2)).

(xx1) *dèbù* *kàndà bínú*
house.L new.L red
'(a) new red house'

(xx2) *dèbù* *kàndà nê:*
house.L new this
'this red house'

Again, there may be no tone-dropping before the demonstrative. In this case only the head noun drops its tones. Cf. (xxx).

(xxx) *dèbù* *kándá nê:*
house.L new this
'this new house'

In the possessive construction, the head noun also changes its tone contour. As shown in 6.2 the tone contour imposed by the possessive construction to possessed nouns depends on the tonal class of the noun and on the metrical structure of the noun stem. In {H} and {HL} stems, the choice between the two patterns is governed metrically. The stems that I refer to as 'short' have {H} tone contour, while the 'long' stems have {HL}. At the same time, the {HL} tone overlay is applied equally to all lexically {LH} stems. In (xxx), lexically {LH}

noun *bõy* ‘key’ changes tone contour to {HL} when preceded by a possessor (*ámárú*).

(xxx) *ámárù* *bõy*
 Amadou key.HL
 ‘Amadou’s key(s)’

The possession can be recursive. In this case all the nouns besides the first one are marked by a {HL} or a {H} tone contour depending on their metrical structure and the tonal class affiliation. Cf. the following example. See § 6.xx for details.

(xxx) *séydù* *nóló* *wé:*
 S friend.H child.H
 ‘Seydou’s friend’s child’

When a possessed noun is followed by an adjective or a demonstrative there is a marking conflict. The possessive construction requires tones on the head noun to be changed according to one of the possessed noun patterns, while the following modifier requires the tone-dropping. The first requirement wins in this conflict and possessed nouns appear H or HL-toned. However, the attributive relations do not remain unexpressed. The modifier changes its tone-contour to {HL}. Cf. the following example.

(xx1) *ámárù* *débú* *kándà*
 A. house.H new.HL
 ‘Amadou’s new house’

In (xx1), *débú* ‘house’ appears high-toned instead of its lexical {HL} arrangement to satisfy the requirement of the possessive construction, while adjective *kándà* ‘new’ is {HL} instead of lexical {H}.

One could think of this as a ‘tonal agreement’ between the head noun and the adjective. Suppose that the bracketing in (xx1) is [A. [house.H new.HL]], so the whole phrase containing the head noun and the adjective is possessed. This is marked by a H tone on *débú* ‘house’. Then, adjective *kándà* ‘new’ agrees with the head in feature ‘be possessed’. This fact is marked by a {HL} tone contour on *kándà* ‘new’.

A similar analysis can be applied to the tone-dropping in adjective sequences. However, as we will see, in this case the evidence for a hierarchical structure is very poor and the agreement analysis faces a few problems. I will return to this question later in § 6.3x.

The above bracketing is not the only possible structure of POSS + N + ADJ sequences. Consider the following example:

(xx2) *ámárù débú kándá*
 A. house.H new
 ‘Amadou’s house is new’

Formally, (xx2) differs from (xx1) only in tones on the adjective. In (xx2), unlike in (xx1), *kándá* ‘new’ has a {H} tone contour. At the same time, the translation suggests that here *kándá* ‘new’ is outside the phrase containing the possessor and the possessed noun. So the bracketing in (xx2) is rather [[A. house.H] new]. See § 11.4 for details on this construction

Numerals don’t interact either with the head noun or with modifiers. However, exactly like adjectives, numerals are HL-overlaid when preceded by a POSS + N sequence. Cf. (xx1-2).

(xx1) *wé-gè kúléyⁿ*
 child-PL six
 ‘six children’

(xx2) [*séydù wé:-gè kúléyⁿ*] *CHECK tones*
 Seydou child-PL six.HL
 ‘Seydou’s six children’

In (xx1), *kúléyⁿ* ‘six’ has its lexical {H} contour. In (xx2), it is changed to {HL}. Cf. *kúléyⁿ* with a falling tone on the last long syllable. My analysis here is the same. I consider the tonal change on the numeral as marking of its agreement with the head noun.

Here again, the bracketing in (xx2) is supported by the existence of a construction opposed to the construction discussed in terms of tonal the arrangement of the final modifier, the meaning and (consequently) the syntactic structure. Cf. following example:

- (xxx) *[[séydù wé:-gè] kúléyⁿ]*
 Seydou child-PL six
 ‘Seydou’s children (are) six (in number) ’

Here the numeral is clearly outside of the phrase containing the possessor and the possessed noun and this fact is marked by {H} tone contour on the numeral, which coincides with its lexical tone. § 11.4 for details on the construction with numeral predicates.

No construction-imposed tonal changes occur in NP’s containing the head noun and one of following modifiers: the postnominal possessor, the definite marker or the universal quantifier. Cf. (xx1-3).

- (xx1) *úná yénà*
 goat P.3SG
 ‘his goat’

- (xx2) *úná bâ:*
 goat DEF
 ‘the goat’

- (xx3) *úná sélè:*
 goat all
 ‘all/each (the) goat(s)’

Constructions with two possessors, one prenominal and one postnominal, which are rare but still possible, are discussed in section 6.2.x.

Since both the definite marker and the universal quantifier are lexically {HL}, there is no way to tell whether the {HL} overlay applies to them in constructions like (xx1) and (xx2) or not.

- (xx1) *séydù débú bâ:*
 S. house DEF
 ‘the Seydou’s house’

- (xx2) *[Séydù [débú sélè:]]*
 Seydou house.HL all
 ‘all Seydou’s houses’

A fuller discussion on the definite marker and the universal quantifier is found in sections 6.2.1.x and 6.6 below.

6.2 Possessives

In possessive constructions, one must distinguish between nominal and pronominal possession. Only in the latter, alienable and unalienable possessors treated differently. In this section, I consider constructions with non-pronominal possessor first (§ 6.2.1) and then turn to the pronominal possession (§ 6.2.2). The recursive possession including combinations of pronominal and non-pronominal possessors is considered in § 6.2.3.

6.2.1 Non-pronominal possession

The non-pronominal possessor precedes the possessed NP. If the possessed NP is a bare noun, it changes tones following one of the two possible patterns: {H} or {HL}. See the following section for details on possessed noun marking. If the possessed NP contains modifiers, some of them agree tonally with the head noun, as it shown in section 6.2.1.3. Some peculiarities of tonal arrangement of {HL} stems in the possessor position are discussed in 6.2.1.2. Finally, in 6.1.2.4 the semantics of possessive construction is considered, along with few other constructions used to express similar meanings.

6.2.1.1 Possessed noun marking

The presence of a prenominal possessor is marked by a tonal change on the possessed head noun. However the tonal marking is different for different noun stems. Cf. (xx1-6).

(xx1) *ámárù á:dù*
A. promise.HL
'Amadou's promise' (lex. *á:dú*)

(xx2) *ámárù dóyéjà* change example
A. family.HL
'Amadou's family' (lex. *dóyéjà*)

(xx3) *ámárù nɛ́:*
A. hand.H
'Amadou's hand/arm' (lex. *nɛ́:*)

(xx4) *ámárù gúlá*
A. ax
'Amadou's ax' (lex. *gúlà*)

(xx5) *ámárù bôy*
A. key
'Amadou's key' (lex. *bôy*)

(xx6) *ámárù ápyà*
A. health
'Amadou's health' (lex. *àpyá*)

As these examples show, there are two marking patterns: HL (xx1, xx2, xx5, xx6) and H (xx3, xx4). One could suppose that there is a mere correspondence between the chosen possessed noun making pattern and noun's lexical tonal class. So, H and LH nouns are HL-overlaid in possessed noun position, while HL nouns change their tones to all-high. We will see that this is only partially true.

The variants of tonal arrangement in the possessive construction are not confined to those presented in (xx1-6). Some possessed nouns retain their lexical tone contours, as shown in (xx1-4).

(xx1) *ámárù bá:*
A. father
'Amadou's father' (lex. *bá:*)

(xx2) *ámárù dúlú*
A. bed
'Amadou's bed' (lex. *dúlú*)

(xx3) *ámárù dá:mbè*
A. pickhoe
'Amadou's pickhoe' (lex. *dá:mbè*)

- (xx4) *ámárù bámùlâ*
 A. hat
 ‘Amadou’ hat’ (lex. *bámùlâ*)

First, note that among these nouns there are no those of the {LH} class. Second, among those in (xx1-xx2) the nouns with {H} tone contour are bimoraic, i.e. they have one syllable, like *bá:* ‘father’, or two short syllables, *dúú* like ‘bed’, while those that have more than two morae (*bámùlâ* ‘hat’ – three syllables, *dá:mbè* ‘pick hoe’ - two syllables, the first is long) are {HL} nouns. This correspondence between the metrical properties of {H} and {HL} noun stems and the tones they have in the possessed noun position is presented schematically below.

(xx1)

unmarked possessed nouns	tone class	tone contour when possessed
2 morae	H	{H}
> 2 morae	HL	{HL}

We will find a mirror image of this situation in examples (xx1-xx4) above, if we exclude for a moment {LH} nouns from our consideration. The nouns that change their tone contour to {H} are bimoraic lexically {HL} nouns (*nê:* ‘hand/arm’, *gùlâ* ‘ax’), while those having HL-tone overlay in the possessed noun position have more than two morae and belong to the {H} tone class (*á:dú* ‘promise’ *dóyéà* ‘family’):

(xx2)

marked possessed nouns	tone class	tone contour when possessed
2 morae	HL	{H}
> 2 morae	H	{HL}

If one combines tables (xx1) and (xx2) one will find that for the nouns of HL and H tone classes the possessed form can be predicted without an appeal to noun’s lexical tone contour. Consider table (xx3):

(xx3)

	tone class	tone contour when possessed
2 morae	H, HL	{H}
> 2 morae	H, HL	{HL}

In other words, depending on noun's metrical structure {H} or {HL} tone overlay applies. If noun's lexical contour coincides with tone the contour that must apply, the opposition between possessed and non-possessed forms is neutralized. This is the case of 'unmarked' examples in (xx1-4).

For short, I refer to mono- and bimoraic stems as 'short stems' and to those that have more than two morae as 'long stems'.

As I've already pointed it out in §3.3.xx, bisyllabic stems containing intervocalic *-nd-*, *-ŋg-*, *-mb-* clusters and some bisyllables with intervocalic *-nj-* act as short stems. Thus, *gém̀bè* 'shoulder bag' takes {H} tone contour, when preceded by a possessor. Cf. *ámádù gém̀bé* 'Amadou's shoulder bag'¹.

The system of the possessed noun tonal marking just described is restricted to lexically {H} and {HL} stems. These stems constitute the majority of Mombo noun stems. Among the other stems the {LH} class is the most numerous.

The marking of possessed {LH} nouns is insensitive to the noun's metrical structure. As shown in (xx1-4), the same {HL} overlay applies equally to short and long stems.

(xx1) *tíníng̀* *nôy*
tree branch.HL
'(a) branch of (a) tree' (lex. *nôy*)

(xx2) *dè̀bù* *g̀lè*
house window.HL
'(a) window of (a) house' (lex. *g̀lè*)

(xx3) *sáná* *jú̀ng̀*
wild.grape cluster

¹ Recall that this fact led us to a conclusion that these intervocalic clusters are treated as monophonemic

‘(a) cluster of (fruits of) wild grape’ (lex. *jùŋgɛ́*)

(xx4) *ámárù* *dó:lè*
A. musical.instrument
‘Amadou’s *dò:lé*²’ (lex. *dò:lé*)

(xx5) *tíníŋgò kómbòlì*
tree bark
‘(the) bark of (a) tree’ (lex. *kòmbòlì*)

The nouns with unusual tone contours ((L)LHH, LHL) use different patterns. Some of the stems change their contours to H(H..)L, which is in accordance with the rules established for {HL} and {H} tonal classes, since all these stems are long in our terms. The others, however, appear as (L)LHL, when possessed. I list all the instances known to me in (xxx), The nouns are organized according to the pattern they use in the possessed noun position.

I. H(H..)L when possessed

- a. *bàsâw*ⁿ ‘bazin (fabric)’
*bâtô:*ⁿ ‘ship, boat’
*kàŋkây*ⁿ ‘love, desire’
- b. *gò:gílí* ‘granary’
gè:déní ‘day’
àlùmá:gá ‘sorcery’
dègè-dégé ‘statuette’
dà:démó ‘late afternoon’
èmbèdúlúmá ‘corn’
gèlè-ŋ-gélé ‘broken pieces of seed spike or cob’
gìlì-ŋ-gílí ‘dizziness’
gùjù-gújú ‘rat’ *Cricetomys gambianus*
kàlà-kálá *Cassia Obtusifolia* (plant)
kjì-kjí ‘bat’
sàgà-ságá ‘sauce (leaves of *Amaranthus* (?) spp, Bamana loan)’
wènjè-wénjé ‘*Ficus cordata* (plant)’

² *dò:lé* is a percussion instrument played by men only in the ceremony of circumcision

wèlè-wélé ‘Apus affinis, little African swift’
 yà:lè-yá:lá ‘whirlwind, twister’

c. jògò-jòrò ‘type of necklace’

II. (L)LHL when possessed

a. àntémbú ‘rite, custom’
 sà:súgú ‘roof’

b. d̀̀kùtòrò ‘doctor’
 g̀̀:ˀd̀̀á:lè ‘yoke’
 k̀̀wéřì ‘spoon’
 l̀̀sánsì ‘type of rifle’
 l̀̀sírì ‘couscous’
 mùrù-mùrù ‘cord around waist’
 mùsòrò ‘headband’
 sìṅkôṃ ‘chewing gum’
 t̀̀ngù-t̀̀ngù ‘wooden bench’

A simplest generalization one can make over this material is that a noun’s last mora must be low in the possessed form.

The possessed noun tonal marking patterns are summarized in table xxx.

Table xxx

lex. tone contour	tone contour of possessed form	
	short stems	long stems
{H}	{H}	{HL}
{HL}	{H}	{HL}
{LH}	{HL}	
(L)LHH	-	H(H...)L/ (L)LHL
(L)LHL	-	(L)LHL/ H(H...)L

6.2.1.2 {HL} nouns in the possessor position

Generally, in the construction discussed the possessor noun retains its lexical tones. However, as in few other cases³, the majority of {HL} stems appear as all-low.

6.2.1.3 Treatment of modifiers following the possessed noun

If the possessed NP is extended by any of the postnominal modifiers, the head occurs in its usual possessed form. However, some of the modifiers change their tones. Cf. (xx1-xx3)

(xx1) *séydù débú*
S. house.H
'Seydou's house'

(xx2) *dèbù kándá*
house.L new
'(a) new house'

(xx3) [*séydù [débú kándà]*]
S. house.H new.HL
'Seydu's new house'

(xx1) is an ordinary possessive construction with H-toned short stem *débú* 'house' in the possessed noun position. (xx2) is an ordinary attributive construction with a tone-dropped head noun (*dèbù*). In (xx3) the head noun occurs in its possessed form (*débú*), while the adjective undergoes a {HL} tone overlay (*kándà*).

It is not clear from the example above whether the tonal overlays apply cyclically, first on the head noun, then on the following adjective, or it is a single {HL} tone overlay which applies to the whole sequence of the noun and the adjective. Note that in the latter interpretation the tonal arrangement is in accordance with the metrical rule established above. Since the sequence *débú*

³ Most notably, these nouns are low-toned in the DO position (Cf. *ànnà sémé* 'He slaughtered (a) sheep') and even in the subject position when the subject immediately precedes verb.

kándà in (xx3) has more than two morae it takes a {HL} tone contour, which is realized as {H} on the noun and {HL} on the adjective. However, as the following example shows, there are some good reasons to think that this is not the case here.

(xxxxy) *Séydù* *dú:lù* *kándà*
 Seydou domicile.HL new.HL
 ‘Seydou’s new domicile’ (*dú:lú* ‘domicile’, *kándá* ‘new’)

In (xxxxy), two separate {HL} overlays apply to lexically H-toned stems *dú:lú* ‘domicile’, and *kándá* ‘new’. So, this example provides a good evidence for that the tone contours in the construction discussed apply cyclically.

As mentioned above, in our interpretation of these constructions the tone change on the adjective marks the agreement of the adjective with the head noun. One can suppose that the agreement marks primarily the dependent status of the adjective. The feature, in which the adjective agrees, can be formulated as ‘be possessed’. From that point of view, the lexical form of an adjective, which occurs in cases where there is no possessor external to the phrase which contains the adjective and the head noun, must be considered as an agreement form too. There is an opposition between the lexical form and the possessed form, and since the {HL} overlay in the possessed form signals the agreement, the ‘lack’ tonal change can be understood as a marking of agreement too. I return to this question in section 6.xxx, when discussing some implications of the tonal marking in the NP to the tonal morphology of nouns and adjectives.

The opposition between the possessed and non-possessed form of an adjective is neutralized in lexically {HL} stems, since the tone pattern imposed by the construction coincides with the stem’s lexical contour. Cf. (xx1-2).

(xx1) *dèbù* *bâyⁿ*
 house.L big
 ‘(a) big house’

(xx2) *séydù* [*débú* *bâyⁿ*]
 S. house.HH big
 ‘Seydu’s big house’

This is true of ordinal numerals as well. All them, being adjectives syntactically, have {HL} tone contour (see § 4.7.2). Cf. (xx1-xx2).

(xx1) *dèbù* *né:ngúlù*
house.L second
‘(the) second house’

(xx2) *séydù* [*débú* *né:ngúlù*]
S. house.H second
‘Seydou’s second house’

Cardinals don’t interact with the head noun tonally in non-possessed phrases consisting of a head noun and a numeral. However, when such a phrase is possessed, H-toned numerals change the contour to {HL}, exactly like adjectives do. Cf. (xx1-2).

(xx1) *débú-gè* *né:ngá*
house-PL two
‘two houses’

(xx2) *séydù* *débú-gè* *né:ngà*
S. house-PL two.HL
‘Seydou’s two houses’

As mentioned above, in this case, one should consider the absence of tonal marking on the head noun just as another tonal marking pattern, since when it is marked for the presence of the preceding possessor the HL overlay applies to the following numeral.

Just as in {HL} adjectives, in {HL} numerals the opposition between the possessed and non-possessed forms is neutralized. Cf. (xx1-xx2).

(xx1) *débú-gè* *tá:ndì*
house-PL three
‘three houses’

(xx2) *séydù* *débú-gè* *tá:ndì*
S. house-PL three
‘Seydou’s three houses’

Noun + demonstrative sequences can have two possible tonal arrangements. The treatment of the demonstrative after a possessed noun is discussed in section 6.5.1.

For rare but still possible construction with both pre- and postnominal possessors see section 6.2.2.

The definite marker and the universal quantifier both are lexically {HL}. So there is no way to tell whether they are modified or not when they follow the possessed noun.

6.2.1.4 Semantics of non-pronominal possessor construction

As mentioned above, in the non-pronominal possession construction there is no distinction between the alienable and the inalienable possession. Moreover, this construction is used to express a wide range of genitive-like meanings, not only the possession in its proper sense. Examples from (xx1) to (xx9) show the construction's polysemy.

I. Kin terms and similar relation terms

(xx1) *séydù* *bá:*
Seydou father.H
'Seydou's father'

(xx2) *séydù nóló*
Seydou friend.H
'Seydou's friend'

II. Part/Whole

(xx3) *dèbù* *kúmbá*
house ceiling
'(the) ceiling of (the)house'

(xx4) *wèwàlǎy* *súgúli*
boy ear.HL
'boy's ears'

III. Alienable Possession

(xx5) *ámárù* *ánnà*
Amadou goat

‘Amadou’s sheep’

IV. Partitive

(xx6) *nàmà kúséli*
meat slice
‘(a) slice of meat’

V. Implement/Material

(xx7) *ǰǰ ǰǰé*
earthenware waterjar.H
‘(an) earthenware waterjar’

VI. Action/ participant

(xx8) Agent
wè: dú:
child run
‘(the) child’s run’

(xx9) Patient
úná sémé-ηgè
goat [slaughter-VN].HL
‘(a) slaughtering of (sheep)’

In addition to that, one should mention that senses ‘left’, ‘right’ ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ are expressed in Mombo by nouns⁴, for which the translations like ‘left side’, ‘right side’ etc. are more correct. The same possessive construction is used to express meanings like ‘left hand’. Consider (xx1-2).

(xx1) *nà:gà né:*
left.side hand.H
‘(the) left hand’

(xx2) *kó:ló ndá-gè*

⁴ Recall that *kó:ló* ‘upper place’ and *sí:gólò* ‘lower place’ can also be used as adjective-like modifiers.

upper.place person-PL

‘upper people, people from above’ (i.e. cliff dwellers in comparison to Dogons who settled in plains)

Some nouns have a strong valency on a certain type of arguments in the possessor position. Typically, this is the case of nouns denoting quanta of a substance (pieces, portions, etc). Cf.(xx1-4).

(xx1) *búrí kábúlè*
bread piece
‘(a)piece of bread’

(xx2) **séydù kábúlè*
Seydou piece
‘Seydou’s peace (of something)’

(xx3) *ànnà áló*
sheep large.section
‘(the) large section of (the slaughtered) sheep’

(xx4) **séydù áló*
Seydou large.section
‘Seydou’s large section’

In (xx1) and (xx2), the prenominal possessor position is occupied by typical arguments of the possessed nouns (‘bread’, ‘(meat of an) animal’). Due to the strong valency of these nouns on these particular types of arguments, the arguments of the other semantic types are not allowed in the possessor position. That is why in (xx2) and (xx4), alienable possession interpretations are ruled out.

However these meanings can be expressed in the construction with ‘empty’ noun *yé*: ‘thing’ in the possessor position Cf. (xxx).

(xx1) *séydù [yé: kábúlè]*
Seydou thing piece
‘Seydou’s peace (of something)’

The list of such nouns is not confined to quanta. The instances of strong valency in nouns known to me are those in (xxx). The nouns are divided into semantic classes. The typical arguments are given in the rightmost column.

(xxx) Nouns with strong valency on certain types of arguments

<i>áló</i>	‘large section’	meat, animals
<i>kàbùlé</i>	‘piece’	bread
<i>bárimì</i>	‘wound’	body parts
<i>gámbá</i>	‘joint disease’	body parts
<i>ámánjè</i>	‘bruise’	body parts

As shown above, a standard possessive construction can be used to express the partitive meaning. However, for free-flowing substances (liquids, sand, salt, flour etc.) that are measured by a quantity which is usually enclosed in a typical container (cf. *glass of wine, bucket of water*), a special construction is used. Cf. (xx1-2).

(xx1) *mì: òjé*
 water jar.H
 ‘(a) water jar’

(xx2) *mì: òjè gú:*
 water jar.L PART
 ‘(a) jar of water’

A standard possessive construction in (xx1) can only have reading ‘(a) water jar, (a) jar for water’ while partitive meaning ‘(a) jar of water’ is expressed in buy adding an element *gú:* after the possessed noun.

(xxx) *ógó nwè: gú:*
 earth hand.L PART
 ‘(a) handful of wet earth (to be slapped on a wall)’

Historically, *gú:* may be connected to verb *iwé:* ‘be full’. Cf. English *mouthful, handful*. *gú:* is also found in lexicalized *dòni gú:* ‘draught, mouthful’

6.2.2 Pronominal possession

Pronominal possessor pronouns fall into two classes or series. In each series six person-number forms are distinguished. The pronouns of the first series are affixed to the noun stem while those of the second series are full-fledged words with a special postnominal position in the NP.

The first series pronouns typically occur with kin terms, body parts and other semantically bound nouns. However they are possible with non-bound nouns as well. The second series is typically used to express the alienable possession. Henceforth, I refer to the two series as the inalienable and the alienable possessor pronouns.

The forms of the two series are given in (xxx).

(xxx)	inalienable		alienable	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	<i>N-</i>	<i>mí:</i>	<i>nê:</i>	<i>myê:</i>
2	<i>a-</i>	<i>é-</i>	<i>áyè</i>	<i>íyè</i>
3	<i>-na</i>	<i>ké-</i>	<i>yénà</i>	<i>kyê:</i>

Possessive relations are not marked solely by the presence of the possessive pronouns. The possessive pronouns cause tonal changes on the possessed noun and some of its modifiers. So, as in the case of the non-pronominal possession, here we rather deal with inalienable and alienable possessive constructions.

6.2.2.1 Inalienable possessive construction

When added to a noun stem, the prepositive inalienable possessor pronouns result a change of the tonal contour of that stem. With a few exceptions (cf. nouns in (xx7) below), the tone on the pronoun itself is a copy of that of noun's first mora. Since, all noun stems have the first syllable high when the plural possessor pronoun is added the latter are always high-toned. The 3SG pronoun is postpositive. It can be high- or low-toned depending on the noun stem type.

As in case of the non-pronominal possession, for lexically {H} and {HL} the pattern of tone marking is chosen with respect to stem's metrical structure (see 6.2.1.1). The stem types here are basically the same, with some further specification.

The short stems, as they defined above, are {LH} with the 1SG and the 2SG pronouns and {H} with all PL pronouns. Cf. (xxx).

(xxx)	{H} (<i>íní</i> ‘name’)	{HL} (<i>nólò</i> ‘friend’)
1SG	<i>̀n-̀íní⁵</i>	<i>̀n-nòlò</i>
2SG	<i>à-̀íní</i>	<i>à-nòlò</i>
1PL	<i>mí-̀íní</i>	<i>mí-nóló</i>
2PL	<i>é-̀íní</i>	<i>é-nóló</i>
3PL	<i>ké-̀íní</i>	<i>ké-nóló</i>

The tonal arrangement of nominal stems with the 3SG added is different for different tonal classes. Cf. the following example.

(xx1)	{H}	gloss	{HL}	gloss
		<i>íní-ná</i> ‘his/her/its name’	<i>nóló-nà</i>	‘his/her friend’

This can be analyzed as that the noun stretches its tones on the pronominal suffix. After adding the suffix, the whole combination serves as a segmental substratum for the noun’s lexical tone contour realization. So, we have *íní-ná*, since *íní* ‘name’ is lexically H-toned and *nóló-nà*, since *nóló* ‘friend’ is {HL}.

A few lexically {H} short stems (most of them are polysyllabic kin terms) appear low-toned before the 3SG possessor suffix, while the suffix itself is high. Cf. (xx2)

(xx2)	gloss	Lex.	with P.3SG
	‘grandfather’	<i>bábá</i>	<i>bàbà-ná</i>
	‘one’s father’s brother’	<i>bóbó</i>	<i>bòbò-ná</i>
	‘husband’	<i>wálá</i>	<i>wàlà-ná</i>
	‘elder sister’	<i>dará</i>	<i>dàrà-ná</i>

Monosyllabic stems differ in the way the {LH} construction-imposed tone contour is realized. Most commonly, it is a rising tone on a noun stem, as in *̀n-yǎ*: ‘my wife’ or *̀n-gǎ*:⁵ ‘my chest’. However, in a small number of nouns the stem itself is H-toned while the possessor pronominal is low (xxa). Finally, four nouns given in (xxb) have a shortened H-toned stem, when combined with the 1SG and the 2SG pronominals.

⁵ Unlike in verb stem the use of epenthetic *n/y* consonant here is optional.

(xx7) a. long vowel, high tone

gloss	Lex.	with P.1SG
'head'	<i>kó:</i>	<i>̀n-kó:</i>
'water'	<i>mî:</i>	<i>̀m-mí:</i>
'possession (of) sb'	<i>pí:</i>	<i>̀n-pí:</i>
'thing'	<i>yé:</i>	<i>̀n-yé:</i>

b. short vowel, high tone

gloss	Lex.	with P.1SG
'father'	<i>bá:</i>	<i>̀n-bá</i>
'hand'	<i>nê:</i>	<i>̀n-né</i>
'mother'	<i>nî:</i>	<i>̀n-ní</i>
'foot'	<i>sí:</i>	<i>̀n-sí</i>

I'm not aware a short {LH} stem that can be used in the inalienable possessive construction. Among {LH} short nouns there are no semantically bound nouns, like kin terms and body parts. The half-artificial examples with non-bound nouns suggested to my assistants (first pronounced by them and then denied), suggest that short {LH} stems change their tone contour to {HL} when preceded by 1SG or 2SG possessive pronominal prefixes. Cf. *d̥y* 'pestle (for pounding in a mortar)', # *̀n-d̥y*, # *̀á-d̥y*.

The long stems are HL-overlaid before the pronominal prefixes. The 3SG possessor suffix is low-toned while the preceding noun stem changes tones to {LH}. The same overlays apply regardless of the noun's tonal class. Cf.(xxx).

(xxx)

	HL (<i>̀nnì</i> 'tooth')	HH (<i>̀ámáí</i> 'in-law')	LH (<i>gè:ngé</i> 'blood')
1SG	<i>̀n-̀nnì</i>	<i>̀n-̀ámáí</i>	<i>̀n-gè:ngé</i>
2SG	<i>̀á-̀nnì</i>	<i>̀á-̀ámáí</i>	<i>̀á-gè:ngé</i>
3SG	<i>̀nnì-nà</i>	<i>̀ámáí-nà</i>	<i>gè:ngé-nà</i>
1PL	<i>mí-̀nnì</i>	<i>mí-̀ámáí</i>	<i>mí-gè:ngé</i>
2PL	<i>é-̀nnì</i>	<i>é-̀ámáí</i>	<i>é-gè:ngé</i>
3PL	<i>ké-̀nnì</i>	<i>é-̀ámáí</i>	<i>ké-gè:ngé</i>

Interestingly, bisyllabic stems with intervocalic -NC- clusters are treated exactly the same way as in case of the non-pronominal possession. Nouns with -*nd-* and

-mb- follow the pattern of the short stem while nouns with -nj- and -ny- are treated as long. Cf. *ándù* ‘gums’ and *kínjà* ‘nose’ in (xxx).

(xxx)	1SG	<i>ń-ándú</i>	<i>ń-kínjà</i>
	2SG	<i>à-ándú</i>	<i>á-kínjà</i>
	3SG	<i>ándú-nà</i>	<i>kínjà-nà</i>
	1PL	<i>mí-ándú</i>	<i>mí-kínjà</i>
	2PL	<i>é-ándú</i>	<i>é-kínjà</i>
	3PL	<i>ké-ándú</i>	<i>ké-kínjà</i>

Fully iterated stems show some extra peculiarities of their stem’s tonal arrangement in the construction discussed. Only two of these stems can be used in the inalienable possessive construction. Those are *pújú-pájù* ‘lung’ and *kúndúkúndú* ‘hump (on back)’. Predictably, the latter generally follows the pattern of the long stems. However {LH} tonal contour imposed by added P.3SG morpheme is realized with the last two (not one) syllables high: *kùndù-kúndú-nà*. Note that such realization of the stem-wide {LH} contour is typical for the fully reduplicated noun stems. Cf. the list lexically {LH} stems in (xxx above).

pújú-pájù ??

CHECK

The tonal patterns in the inalienable possessive construction are summarized below. Hyphens are used to show the morpheme boundaries.

(xxx)

	short		long		
	HL	HH	LH	HH	LH
1SG	L-LH		H-H(H..)L		
2SG	L-LH		H-H(H..)L		
3SG	HH-L	HH-H/LL-H	L(L)H-L		
1PL	H-HH		H-H(H..)L		
2PL	H-HH		H-H(H..)L		
3PL	H-HH		H-H(H..)L		

6.2.2.2 Alienable possessive construction

In the alienable possessive construction, possessor pronominals follow the possessed noun. For all nominal tone classes, besides the {HL}, there is no tonal interaction between the possessor and the possessed. {HL} stems change their tone contour to {LH} before 1SG possessor *nɛ̀:* and have all tones low before all the other pronominals, as shown in (xxx) by the example of noun *dɛ̀bù* ‘house’.

(xxx)

- 1SG *dɛ̀bù nɛ̀:*
- 2SG *dɛ̀bù áyɛ̀:*
- 3SG *dɛ̀bù yɛ̀nà*
- 1PL *dɛ̀bù myɛ̀:*
- 2PL *dɛ̀bù íyɛ̀:*
- 3PL *dɛ̀bù kyɛ̀:*

As mentioned above, most likely the alienable possessor pronouns are originated as combinations of an inalienable and noun *yɛ̀:* ‘thing’. Thus **n + yɛ̀* gives *nɛ̀:*, **a + yɛ̀:* results *áyɛ̀*, etc. Note that similar constructions are found in the other Dogon languages, such as Najamba [Heath 2008] where the same stem **yɛ̀:* is used among a number of other classifiers.

6.2.2.3 Possessed noun modifiers in pronominal possession

The inalienable and alienable possessive constructions are not equal in their treatment of postnominal modifiers.

First, it is necessary to mention that not all the inalienable pronominals are possible in a possessive construction with modifiers. The inalienable 3SG possessor *-na* is regularly substituted by its alienable counterpart when the possessed noun is followed by a modifier (Cf. (xx1-2)). Both of the two logically possible variants – with *-na* which remains with noun and *-na* which follows the modifier – are ruled out.

- (xx1) *nóló-nà*
friend-P.3SG
‘his/her friend’

- (xx2) *nòlò* *kándá yɛ̀nà*

friend.L new P.3SG

(xx3) **nòlò-nà* *kándá*
friend-P.3SG new
'his/her new friend'

(xx4) **nòlò* *kándá-ná*
friend.L new-P.3SG
'his/her new friend'

The other inalienable pronominals are possible before a modified head, but mostly my assistants prefer using constructions with a postpositive possessor instead. Modified nouns with an inalienable possessor are very rare in my text collection as well. In general, it can be stated that the opposition of alienable and inalienable possession is not valuable for NP's containing one or several modifiers, since even typically bound nouns normally occur with postnominal possessors, when modified.

The examples with a prepositive possessor and an adjective following the possessed noun (all elicited) show tone-dropping of the whole possessor + noun sequence. Unlike the construction with non-pronominal possessions, there is no tonal change on the adjective. Cf.(xx1-2).

(xx1) *m-bòbò* *kánú*
1SG-uncle.L old
'my old (material) uncle'.

(xx2) *h-yò:* *yá:gá*
1SG-woman.L beautiful
'my beautiful wife'

Examples like these suggest that pronominal possessor + noun complexes are more likely to be treated as single syntactical units, which are subjects of tonal marking rules, such as the tone-dropping before an adjective.

The same complexes have no tonal effect on following numerals (xx1-2), the definite marker (xx3) and the universal quantifier (xx4).

(xx1) *ñ-yǎ:-gè* *né:ngá*
 1SG-wife-PL two
 ‘two my wives’

(xx2) *ñ-nòlò-gè* *kúléyⁿ*
 1SG-friend six
 ‘six my friends’

(xx3) *ñ-nòlò* *bâ:*
 1SG-friend DEF
 ‘my friend (certain one, among the others)’

(xx4) *ñ-ñdá* *sélè:*
 1SG-person all
 ‘all my relatives’

When followed by the demonstrative *nê:*, as in the other cases there are two possible tonal arrangements: with the tone-dropping (xx1) or without (xx2).

(xx1) *ñ-nòlò* *nê:*
 1SG-friend.L this
 ‘this my friend’

(xx2) *ñ-nòlò* *nê:*
 1SG-friend this
 ‘this my friend’

The postnominal possessors follow the modifiers and have no effect on their tonal arrangement, except for HL-toned modifiers. Cf. (xx1-4).

(xx1) *nòlò* *kándá yénà*
 friend.L new P.3SG
 ‘his/her new friend’

(xx2) *nòlò* *kándá jê:*
 friend.L new P.1SG
 ‘my new friend’

(xx3) *nòlò* *kùnjù* *yénà*
 friend.L ancient.L P.3SG
 ‘his/her old friend⁶’

(xx4) *nòlò* *kùnjú* *ɲé:*
 friend.L ancient.LH P.1SG
 ‘my old friend’

Unlike H-toned adjective *kándá*, which retains its tone contour in (xx1) and (xx2), lexically {HL} adjective *kùnjù* ‘old, ancient’ has the tones distinct from lexical in the same contexts. It is all-low in (xx3), where it is followed by the 3SG possessor pronoun, and has a {LH} tone contour before 1SG possessor in (xx4). Here, the adjective acts as an ordinary {HL} stem before the possessor pronominals.

The {HL} numerals, however, don’t exhibit the same tonal change. Neither in (xx1) nor in (xx2) below, the tone contour on numeral *tá:ndì* ‘three’ differs from that of that of the lexical form.

(xx1) *úná-gé* *tá:ndì* *ɲé:*
 goat-PL three P.1SG
 ‘my three goats’

(xx2) *úná-gé* *tá:ndì* *yénà*
 goat-PL three P.1SG
 ‘his/her three goats’

*nóló-nà gé/ *nóló gè yénà* CHECK

⁶ The more exact translation of *nòlò kùnjù* is ‘a person which was one’s friend long time ago (but currently not because, they don’t see each other frequently)’ not ‘a person with whom the one has been keeping in touch for a long time’.

6.2.3 Recursive possession

In this subsection, following the sequence outlined in § 6.2.1 and § 6.2.2 I consider the non-pronominal recursive possession construction first, and then turn to the constructions with two pronominal possessors – prepositive and postpositive.

In recursive non-pronominal possession, all the words beside the highest possessor to the left are tone-marked according to the pattern imposed by their tone and metrical class. In (xx1) below, two short {HL} stems (‘friend’ and ‘child’) are H-toned, while ‘Seydou’ retains its lexical tone {HL} tone contour.

(xx1) *séydù* *nóló* *wé:*
S. friend.H child.H
‘Seydou’s friend’s child’

It is not clear from this example whether the possessed nouns are marked cyclically (‘child’ is H-toned before ‘friend’, which, in its turn, is H-toned before ‘Seydou’), or a single H-tone overlay apply to the whole sequence. However the following examples clarify the situation.

In (xx2) two long {H} stems (*ámálí* ‘in-laws’, *dó:ngé* ‘place’) appear each with its own {HL} overlay.

(xx2) *séydù* *ámáli* *dó:ngè*
S. in.laws.HL place.HL
‘Seydou’s in-laws place’

Finally, in (xx3) and (xx4) two different overlays apply for the two stems: {H} for the short (‘friend’) and {HL} for the long (‘in-laws’).

(xx3) *séydù* *nóló* *ámáli*
S. friend.H in.laws.HL
‘Seydou’s friend’s in-laws’

(xx4) *séydù* *ámáli* *nóló*
S. in.laws.HL friend.H
‘Seydou’s in-laws’ friend’

One can conclude from examples (xx1-xx4) that the tonal marking applies cyclically. (xx1) and (xx2) show that different overlays are used for different nominal stem types in the recursive possession. (xx3) and (xx4) show clearly that it is not the total number of morae in a sequence of possessed nouns, which defines the tone contour to apply to this sequence, but rather the number of morae in a single nominal stem, which defines what type of overlay applies to this single stem.

If the highest possessor can be expressed by a pronominal prefix, the possessed nouns are marked in the same way:

(xx1) *m̄-bá* *débu*
 1SG-father house.H
 ‘My father’s house’ (lex. *débù*)

(xx2) *m̄-bá* *bí:mbyè*
 P.1SG file.HL
 ‘my father’s file (instrument)’ (lex. *bí:mbyé*)

(xx3) *m̄-bá* *bó:rò*
 1SG-father bag.HL
 ‘my father’s bag’ (lex. *bò:ró*)

The same is true of nouns with 3SG possessor pronominal suffix:

(xx1) *bá:-ná* *débu*
 father-P.3SG house.H
 ‘his/her father’s house’ (lex. *bá:-ná, débù*)

(xx2) *bá:-ná* *bí:mbyè*
 father-P.3SG file.HL
 ‘his/ father’s file (instrument)’

(xx3) *bá:-ná* *bó:rò*
 father-P.3SG bag.HL
 ‘his father’s bag’

A phrase consisting of a noun and an alienable pronominal may act as a possessor or as a possessed NP. Cf. (xx1-3).

(xx1) [[sàrí ɲɛ:] ábùlò]
 question P.1SG answer
 lit. 'my answer of question'
 'my answer to (the) question'

(xx2) [sàrí [àbùlò yénà]] CHECK
 question answer.L P.3SG
 'answer to his/her question'

(xx3) [[sàrí ɲɛ:] ábùlò yénà]]
 question P.3SG answer P.3SG
 'my answer to his/her question'

Notably, in most cases the recursive possession can't be expressed by a combination, which includes a prenominal (non-pronominal) possessor, a possessed noun, and a postpositive possessor, which *follows* them. Both (xx1) and (xx2) are ruled out.

(xx1) *bá: nóló ɲɛ:
 father friend.H P.1SG
 'my father's friend'

(xx2) *bá: á:dú yénà
 father promise P.3SG
 'my father's promise'

However, some semantic types of the possessive construction allow the higher possessor to be expressed by a postpositive pronoun. Cf. (xx1-2).

(xx1) [ɔ̀g̀ò ʒjé] yénà
 earthenware water.jar P.SG
 'his/her waterjar'

In (xx1) a material/implement construction ɔ̀g̀ò ʒjé is followed by the postpositive P.3SG pronoun. Here, ɔ̀g̀ò 'earthenware' acts as a possessor (at least formally), since ʒjé water jar is high-toned.

The question remains whether these constructions are possible due to their semantics only, or here, the lower possessor/possessed sequence is lexicalized and acts as a single syntactic unit. In other words, one can suppose that the ability to be followed by a postpositive possessor reflects the fact that a given possessor/possessed sequence is compound-like in nature.

This hypothesis is supported by examples like the following one:

(xxx) *ɔ̀g̀* *dèb̀* *kándá*
 earthenware house.L new
 ‘(a) new house made of mud’

In (xxx), the tone-dropping before the adjective applies to the preceding POSS+N sequence, so *ɔ̀g̀ dèb̀* occurs with all tones low. Recall that the expected tonal arrangement would be #*[ɔ̀g̀ [débú kándà]]*⁷, so that *débú* ‘house’ would be H-toned (see § 6.2.13).

Some indirect evidence in favor of treatment of material/implement constructions as compounds can be found in the cases of strong valency discussed above. As has been pointed out above, a strong restriction on the possible possessor may itself count as an indication of a more compound-like status. Notably, nouns with a strong valency on the possessor of a certain type do allow following postpositive possessors, exactly as material/implement constructions do:

(xx1) *[nàmà kúsèlì] yénà*
 meat.L slice P.3SG
 ‘his/her slice of meat’

(xx2) *[búrí kábúlè] yénà*
 bread piece P.3SG
 ‘his/her piece of bread’

⁷ This construction with regular tonal arrangement is still elicitable, however my assistants strongly prefer constructions with tone-dropping on the whole material + implement sequence.

The recursive possession patterns play an important role in nominalized clauses, where the verb and its subject and object act as a possessed noun and possessors. In (xx2), the pronominal subject is expressed by a possessive pronoun.

(xx1) [égé-ηgé yénà] dágé
 come-N P.3SG be.good.PFV
 ‘It’s good that s/he came/comes’
 lit. ‘His/ her coming is good’

In transitive nominalized clauses, the only pronominal argument is usually interpreted as object, but the subject interpretation remains possible:

(xx2) [sémé-ηgé yénà] dágé
 slaughter-N P.3SG be.good
 ‘it’s (animal’s) slaughtering is good’
 ‘his/her (way of) slaughtering (animals) is good’

If the subject is non-pronominal, it precedes the nominalized verb. The latter (as a long stem) changes its tone contour to {HL}. Cf (xx3).

(xx3) [ámárù égé-ηgè] dágé
 Amadou [come-N].HL be.good.PFV
 ‘It’s good that Amadou came/comes’
 lit. ‘Amadou’s coming is good’

Similarly, the object of a nominalized transitive verb precedes the verb and causes the same tonal change (xx4).

(xx4) [úná sémé-ηgè] dágé
 goat [slaughter-VN].HL be.good.PFV
 ‘Slaughtering of (a) goat is good’

A pronominal subject follows the nominalized transitive verb canceling the tonal change to {HL} normally imposed by a preverbal argument, as shown in (xxx).

(xxx) úná sémé-ηgé yénà dágé
 goat slaughter-N P.3SG be.good.PFV

‘His/ her (way of) slaughtering goats is good’

6.3 Noun plus adjective

6.3.1 Noun plus regular adjective

Nouns drop their tones when followed by an adjective. The tone-dropping equally applies to noun stems of all possible lexical tonal arrangements. Examples from (xx1) – (xxx) show the tone-dropping on nouns of various lexical tonal classes.

(xx1) *dèbù* *kándá*
house.L new
‘(a) new house’ (lex. *débù* ‘house’)

(xx2) *ùná* *bâyⁿ*
goat.L big
‘(a) big goat’ (lex. *úná* ‘goat’)

(xx3) *dà:ná* *kánú*
hunter.L old
‘(the) old hunter’ (lex. *dà:ná* ‘hunter’)

(xx4) *bàsâwⁿ* *búnú*
basin.L red
‘(the) red bazin’ (lex. *bàsâwⁿ* ‘bazin (fabric)’)

(xx5) *gò:gìlì* *kándá*
granary.L new
‘(a) new granary’ (*gò:gílì* ‘granary’)

(xx7) *j̀̀g̀̀-j̀̀r̀̀* *kándá*
necklace.L new
‘(a) new necklace’ (*j̀̀g̀̀-j̀̀r̀̀* ‘type of necklace’)

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences

If a noun is followed by a sequence of two or more adjectives, every word except the final adjective is tone dropped:

(xx1) *dèbù* *bâyⁿ* *kándá*
house.L big.L new
'(a) new big house'

(xx2) *dèbù* *bâyⁿ* *kàndà* *póló*
house.L big.L new.L good
'(a) good new big house'

It's hard to tell whether in such cases there is a single L-tone overlay applied to whole sequence preceding the last adjective, or the tone-dropping applied cyclically, first to the head noun, then to the following adjective and so on.

An answer to this question is important in particular to the syntactic analysis of such constructions. A possible bracketing here can be schematized as follows.

(xxx) *[[[N ADJ]ADJ]...]*

However, there is no clear evidence for any hierarchical structure in adjective sequences.

There are no clear restrictions on the ordering of adjectives. The following fully grammatical example has a reversed order of adjectives as compare to that in (xx1).

(xxx) *dèdù* *kàndà* *bâyⁿ*
house.L new big
'(a) new big house'

6.3.3.2 Adjectival intensifiers

Intensifiers are expressive adverbials semantically bound to certain adjectives, adjective-like nouns and some verbs. In this section I deal only with nominal and adjectival intensifiers. For verbal intensifiers, see § 8.4.7.

As the term suggests, the function of intensifiers can be informally described as an *intensification* of the meaning of unit they modify. Usually, in translations this effect is achieved by using adverb ‘very’:

(xxx) *dèbù wérédé*
 house.L black
 ‘(a) black house’

(xx2) *dèbù wérédé kírí-kírí*
 house.L black black.intens
 ‘(a) very black house’

Intensifiers don’t have a fixed morphological form. All intensifiers are fully iterated mono- or bisyllabic stems. A given stem can be repeated two or more times. Schematically, this structure can be captured as follows:

(xxx) *STEM-STEM-...*

Thus, intensifier *kírí-kírí* in (xxx) can have a form *kírí-kírí-kírí* and so on.

Intensifiers can not constitute a separate phrase and occur only together with the unit they modify. Usually an intensifier immediately follows its adjective:

(xxx) **kírí-kírí m-màlyě:*
 black.intens 1SG-see.PFV
 ‘I saw (a) very black (thing)’

(xxx) *yè: wérédé kírí-kírí m-màlyě: CHECK*
 thing.L black black.intens 1SG-see.PFV
 ‘I saw very black thing’

At the same time, intensifiers are not necessary linearly adjacent to the adjectives they modify:

(xx3) *dèbù wèrèdè kírí-kírí báyⁿ*
 house black.L black.intens.L big
 ‘(a) big, very black house’

(xx2) *dèbù báyⁿ wérédé kírí-kírí*
 house.L big black black.intens
 ‘(a) big very black house’

(xx3) *dèbù* *wèrèdè* *bâyⁿ* *kírí-kírí* CHECK int. tones
house.L black.L big black.intens
‘(a) big very black house’

(xx4) **dèbù* *bâyⁿ* *kírí-kírí*
house.L big black.intens
‘(a) very big house’

(xx1) in the intensifier *kírí-kírí* intervenes a sequence of adjectives and occurs adjacent to adjective *wérédé* it is semantically bound to. Note that *kìrikìrì* is low-toned along with its adjective. In (xx2), the ordering of adjectives is reverse and the intensifier occurs at the end of the phrase, again adjacent to its adjective, without any tonal modification. However in (xx3), *kírí-kírí* is not adjacent to *wérédé*. Adjective *bâyⁿ* ‘big’ occurs between *wèrèdè* ‘black’ and its intensifier. Note that in this example *wèrèdè* is tone-dropped, while the intensifier *kírí-kírí* retains its lexical tones. One could suppose that in (xx3) *kírí-kírí*, in fact, modifies adjective *bâyⁿ* ‘big’. However, as example (xx4) shows, *kírí-kírí* can not modify this adjective.

A numeral also can occur between an adjective and its intensifier:

(xx1) *dèbù* *wérédé* *kírí-kírí-gé* *tá:ndì*
house.L black black.intens-PL three
‘three very black houses’

(xx2) *dèbù* *wérédé-gé* *tá:ndì* *kírí-kírí*
house.L black-PL three black.intens
‘three very black houses’

Normally, numerals follow adjectives and their intensifiers as example (xx1) shows. Note that in this example, the PL clitic attaches to intensifier and adopts its tone contour. CHECK

At the same time, the word order presented in (xx2) is allowed too. Here the intensifier is detached and follow the numeral. The adjective *wérédé* ‘black’ hosts the PL clitic.

However, intensifiers can never be scrambled with any of the elements following the numeral, as the following examples show:

(xxx) *dèbù wérédé kírí-kírí bâ:*
 house black black.intens DEF
 ‘the very black house’

(xxx) **dèbù wérédé bâ: kírí-kírí*

(xxx) *dèbù wérédé kíríkírí nê:*
 House.L black black.intens DEM
 ‘this very black house’

(xxx) **dèbù wérédé nê: kíríkírí*

(xxx) *dèbù wérédé kíríkírí sélé:*
 house.L black black.intens all
 ‘all very black’

(xxx) **dèbù wérédé sélé: kíríkírí*

To some up, intensifiers can occur in every position following the adjective but never travel outside the core NP.

Interestingly, the object marker can not be attached to an intensifier. Nor can any other constituents host the marker, if an intensifier is present in the NP.

(xxx) *ndà tómbó pàdyá`-pàdyà(*-wⁿ) m-mályè: UVF*
 person.L white white.intens-OBJ 1SG-see.PFV
 ‘I saw very white person’

(xxx) **ndà tómbó-wⁿ pàdyá`-pàdyà m-mályè: UVF*

CHECK: intens DEF-OBJ

I’m aware of three nominal stems that can be modified by an intensifier. *kó:ló* ‘higher place’ has been already discussed in § 4.xxx. This stem shares some properties both with nouns and adjectives. When acting as an adjective *kó:ló* can take intensifier *léngé-léngé:*

‘hot/fast’	<i>ná:gá</i>	<i>bálú-bálú</i>
‘rough, coarse’	<i>yágára</i>	<i>dá-dá</i>
‘red’	<i>búnú</i>	<i>jǒyⁿ-jôyⁿ</i>
‘(door) be closed’	<i>bá:wⁿî:</i>	<i>gáwⁿ-gáwⁿ</i>
‘black’	<i>wérédé</i>	<i>kádí-kádí, kírí-kírí</i>
‘darkness’	<i>éndè</i>	<i>kádí-kádí, kírí-kírí</i>
‘high(er) place’	<i>kó:ló</i>	<i>léngé-léngé</i>
‘dust’	<i>kúndálè</i>	<i>nínjá-nínjá</i>
‘white’	<i>tómbó</i>	<i>pàdyá`-pádyà</i>
‘new’	<i>kándá</i>	<i>pélé-pélé</i>

6.3.3.3 ‘Good to eat’

káwé témó mòmbo

distinguish e.g. ‘hedgehogs are good to eat’ from e.g. ‘it’s good to eat hedgehogs’.

6.4 Noun plus cardinal numeral

Numeral *tá:ngù* ‘one’ is treated as an adjective. It cannot be used absolutely without an overtly expressed head. The referent must be specified at least in terms the human/non-human opposition. *ndà tá:ngù* is used for people, and *yè: tá:ngù* is used for non-human referents.

tá:ngù triggers tone-dropping on the preceding noun:

(xxx) *ùnà tá:ngù*
 goat.L one
 ‘one goat’ (lex. *úná*)

Other numerals can be used absolutely and generally do not interact tonally with nouns they follow. The only exception is that of lexically {HL} stems, that occur with all tones low before a numeral. Cf. form *yò:-gè* ‘women’ in (xxx). The PL marker is attached to the head noun or to the adjective, if the latter is present:

(xx1) *yò:-gè tá:ndì*
 woman-PL three

‘three women’ (lex. *yɔ̀:-gè* ‘women’)

(xx2) *yɔ̀:* *yá:gá-gé* *tá:ndì*
woman beautiful three
‘three beautiful women’

Compare (xxx) with following example with lexically {H} noun *úná* ‘goat’ in the head noun position:

(xxx) *úná-gé* *tá:ndì yénà*
goat-PL three P.3SG
‘his/her thee goats’ (*úná-gé* ‘goats’)

àná gè tàndì nê

àná tàndì nê gè

ànágè tàndì à-mályé bâ ándyè.

6.5 Tonal morphology (?)

In this section I summarize the tonal changes in the NP discussed earlier in this chapter, and propose an analysis in a spirit of tonal morphology. The discussion in this section is relevant for the syntactic analysis of the noun phrase, which will be proposed in the end of the chapter.

Table (xxx) summarizes tonal changes in the NP. The tone lowering on lexically {HL} nouns before the possessed nouns and numerals are not considered here.

(xxx)	after POSS	before ADJ	before NUM
Nouns	.H/.HL	.L	lex.
Adjectives	.HL	.L	lex.
Numerals	.HL	–	–

‘After POSS’ here means both ‘immediately after the possessor’, as in case of nouns, ‘after the possessed noun’ as in case of adjectives and numerals. ‘–’ indicates that numerals can not follow adjectives and other numerals. Also, note that in this table the preservation of the

There two important features that this patterns share. First, there are some good reasons to think that they operate on words but not on phrasal units or alike.

The main evidence comes from the tonal arrangement of POSS+N+ADJ constructions. Recall example (xxx) which is repeated here as (xx1):

(xx1) *Séydù* [dú:lù kándà]
Seydou domicile.HL new.HL
‘Seydou’s new domicile’ (dú:lú ‘domicile’, kándá ‘new’)

Here, two separate {HL} overlays apply to lexically H-toned tone stems *dú:lú* ‘domicile’, and *kándá* ‘new’.

As it has been noted already, in case of adjective sequences, when all the words to the left of are low-toned, there is no way to tell the tone-dropping apply cyclically, word-by-word, or there is a single tone-dropping over the whole sequence. However, what is important to mention is that an analysis that supposes a word-by-word assignment of the tones does not contradict the facts.

Second, the tonal patterns presented in (xxx) are in certain hierarchical relations to each other. Thus, the tone-dropping on the head noun before an adjective applies, only if no possessor is present. Otherwise the tone dropping is canceled by one of two possible possessed noun overlays ({H} or {HL}). On the other hand the {HL} overlay applies to adjectives only if they are possessed and the tone-dropping on the head noun, which indicates the syntactic dependence of following the adjective, has not applied.

One can summarize this in a form of the following hierarchy:

(xxx)
possessed noun marking > tone-dropping before the adjective > {HL} tone overlay on the adjective

Each of these marking patterns applies only if the pattern to the left has not applied. The possessed noun marking is not preceded by any element in the hierarchy, so it has no restriction on its application. Indeed, as the possessor/possessed relation is always expressed, no matter what the NP configuration is. The tone-dropping applies only if adjectival phrase is not possessed, otherwise it is canceled by the possessed noun marking. Finally, HL tone overlay applies to adjectives only in possessed adjectival phrases, where the tone-dropping is canceled.

One can modify the hierarchy in (xxx) to allow for numerals in the following way.

(xxx)

possessed noun marking > marking before the modifier > HL overlay on the modifier

‘Possessed noun marking’ includes two possible patterns described in 6.2.1.1. ‘Marking before the modifier is the tone-dropping before an adjective, or the preservation of noun’s lexical tones before numerals.

The two features of tonal marking just discussed are compatible with an analysis, which treats tonal changes in a way of ‘tonal inflections’. The rest of the section concerns a morphological analysis of the tonal marking in the noun phrase.

As shown in the table (xxx) nouns can occur in three possible forms: (1) with the lexical tone contour, when used absolutely, or before the modifiers that do not interact with the head noun; (2) with {H} or {HL} overlay after a possessor (3) with tones dropped before an adjective. If one borrows the term ‘construct’ frequently used in descriptions of languages with the head-marking in the NP, these three forms can be described as follows:

(xxx) category	marking	example	gloss
‘free state’	lex.	<i>débù</i>	‘house’
‘possessive construct’	.H/.HL	<i>séydù débú</i>	‘Seydou’s house’
‘attributive construct’	.L	<i>débù bâyⁿ</i>	‘(a) big house’

As I have already pointed out, the tonal changes that occur on adjectives and numerals, when they modify possessed nouns, can be interpreted as an identification of an agreement of modifiers with its head. This analysis assumes a certain syntactic configuration, where the possessor is external to the phrase, which contains the head noun and the following modifier, as it is shown in the following example:

(xxx) [*Seydou* [*house.H big.HL*]]

Taking into the account that in such constructions the tone changes apply word-by-word (recall (xxx1)), we can suppose, that, first, the head noun is marked for the presence of a possessor and, then, the same fact is expressed by a tonal change on the adjective. So, the adjective agrees with head in the construct category.

A similar analysis of constructions with sequences of adjectives is also possible. Suppose that the bracketing in such constructions is as follows:

(xxx) [*house.L big.L*] *new*]

Then, the tonal arrangement of (xxx) can be interpreted as that the second modifier *new* imposes the tone-dropping on the head noun *house* and the first modifier is marked by a low tone contour, because it agrees with its head in the construct category.

Finally, the lexical form of adjective which is opposed to the possessive and the attributive construct forms should be considered just as another agreement form.

This can be summarized as follows:

(xxx)

category	marking	example	gloss
'free state'	lex.	<i>dèbù kándá</i>	'(a) new house'
'possessive construct'	.HL	<i>séydù [débú kándà]</i>	'Seydou's new house'
'attributive construct'	.L	<i>dèbù kándà bâyⁿ</i>	'(a) new big house'

In the analysis proposed here differ from adjectives only in that they lack the attributive construct form. The form with {HL} tone contour, which occurs after possessed nouns, is that of possessive construct, while the form with lexical tones is the 'free state' state form:

(xxx)

category	marking	example	gloss
'free state'	lex.	<i>dèbù kúléyⁿ</i>	'six houses'
'possessive construct'	.HL	<i>séydù [débú kúléyⁿ]</i>	'Seydou's six houses'

Head/dependent marking

6.6 Noun plus determiner

6.6.1 Prenominal classifiers

A low-toned form of *ndá* 'person' in prenominal position serves as a determiner:

(xx1)	<i>ndà</i>	<i>wálá</i>	<i>sélé:</i>	<i>wè:-wàlǎ-y</i>	<i>yéré-nè</i>
	person.L	man	all	child.L-man-DIM	have-CH.PROSP
	<i>káná-mbó</i>				
	want-PROSP.3SG				

‘Every man wants to have a son’

(xx2) ñdà ní: wè: yéná-ùⁿ òrò jí: síré-né,
person.L mother child.L P.3SG-OBJ baobab meal cook.PFV-CH

wè: yéná òrò jí: bá: sóy-ùⁿ gú:jè
child.L P.3SG baobab.L meal DEF ground-OBJ throw.PFV

‘Mother cooked a millet cake for her child, (but) he/she threw the millet cake on the ground’.

ñdà yô:

ñdà wálá

dèbù dú:lú

6.6.2 Postnominal demonstrative pronouns

TRY HL-overlaid before DEM

ìm-bámbùlà nê

ìm-bàmbùlà nê:

(xx1) ùnà nê:
goat.L this
‘this goat’

(xx2) ùná nê: CHECK
goat.LH this
‘this goat’

for the subcategories and forms of demonstrative pronouns, see §4.xxx.

order is [[core NP] numeral] Demonstrative], where core NP is noun plus any adjectives.

demonstrative pronouns normally induce tone-dropping on the final word of the core NP (the nonfinal words are already tone-dropped), and on a numeral if present.

examples

a complication is that this tone-dropping pattern may be blocked when the noun is possessed: ‘[[Seydou dog] this] ‘this dog of Seydou’s.

séidù ìngyè nɛ́/ nɛ̀ check
séydù dèbù nɛ̀
úná

examples

when a NP functioning as head of a relative clause contains a demonstrative (‘this dog that you see’), the demonstrative is detached from the head NP within the clause, and appears after the verbal participle. See chapter on relativization.

6.6.3 Definite morpheme plus noun

for the form(s), see §4.xxx.

Do Definite morphemes induce tone-dropping (in the same manner as demonstrative pronouns)?

examples, with and without a possessor (‘the houses of Seydou’)

Like the demonstrative pronouns, Definite morphemes are separated from a NP that functions as head of a relative, and are placed after the verbal participle (§14.xxx).

6.7 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.7.1 ‘All’ (xxx)

(there may be more than one form with this translation)

normally 'all' (universal quantifier) is NP'final, following even demonstrative pronouns and the definite morpheme

examples

àà tándì sêwⁿ

6.7.2 'Each' (xxx)

there is not always a sharp semantic distinction between 'each' (distributive) and 'all' (universal)

the 'each' quantifier is most often directly combined with a core NP (noun plus any adjectives).

tone-dropping effect on final word in core NP?

partitive construction 'each of us', 'each of those three sheep'

6.7.3 Universal and distributive quantifiers with negation

'not at all' = 'absolutely not' (= none, never) versus 'not all'

6.8 Accusative -xxx

(some Dogon languages have an Accusative suffix added to nouns and pronouns in object function, especially for animate NPs and pronouns)

if such a morpheme is present, does it occur only once at the end of a NP? Follows demonstrative pronouns, Definite morpheme, 'each' quantifier. and 'all' quantifier.

àà bâ sélé: sémé

úná bâ sélé: sémé

does the Accusative morpheme precede or follow the 'all' quantifier)

intrinsic tone, or atonal (getting tone from the preceding word)?

compatible with a possessor preceding the noun?

séydù yô-wⁿ búrù ndéné

Tone dropping of the preceding POSS N sequence is ruled out

(xxx) * [àmàrù dèbù] kándá

7 Coordination

7.1 NP coordination

7.1.1 NP conjunction ('X and Y')

NP conjunction in Mombo is achieved by adding morpheme *ńdô:* after each of coordinands. This can be schematized as follows:

(xxx) X *ńdô:* Y *ńdô:*

Marker *ńdô:* is distinct tonally from atonal comitative-instrumental postposition *ndo* (see §8.1.2). Apparently *ńdô:* is originated as a combination of *ndo* + focus marker *wô:* (see §13.xxx).

7.1.1.1 Ordering of coordinands

The order of coordinands doesn't play any role. In a construction with two coordinands, both variants of ordering are possible, no matter what the referential status of the two conjoined NP's is:

(xx1a) *ó:* *ndô:* *mí:* *ndô:*
 2SG and 1SG and
 'you and I'

(xx1b) *mí:* *ńdô:* *ó:* *ńdô:*
 1SG and 2SG and
 'I and you'

(xx2a) *mí:* *ndô:* *mótô:ⁿ* *ńdô:*
 1SG and motorcycle and
 'me and (the) motorcycle'

(xx2b) *mótô:ⁿ* *ńdô:* *mí:* *ńdô:*
 motorcycle and 1SG and
 '(my) motorcycle and I'

A WH-expression can be conjoined with an NP (see §13.xxx for details). Here again, the linear order of coordinands doesn't play any role.

(xx3a) *Séydù ndô: á: ndô: à-màlyě:*
 PN and who? and 2SG-see.PFV
 ‘You saw Seydou and WHO?’

(xx3b) *á: ndô: Séydù ndô: àmàlyě:*
 WHO and Seydou you saw?

7.1.1.2 Conjunction with final quantifier

The universal quantifier *sélé:* can follow two coordinands, thus taking the scope over two conjoined NP’s as a whole:

(xx1) *[yó:-gè ndô:] [wálá-gè ndô:] sélè:]*
 Woman-PL and man-PL and all
 ‘All men and women’

At the same time, when *sélé:* precedes the conjunction morpheme *ndô:*, its scope is clearly restricted to the NP it occurs in:

(xx2a) *[yó:-gè ndô:] [wálá-gè sélè: ndô:]*
 woman-PL and man-PL all and
 ‘(some) women and all the men’

(xx2b) *[yó:-gè sélè: ndô:] [wálá-gè ndô:]*
 woman-PL all and man-PL with
 ‘all the women and (some) men’

7.1.1.3 Triggering agreement on verb

Only the plural agreement on the verb is allowed with a conjoined subject NP:

(xx1a) *Ámárù ndô: Séydù ndô: mí-wⁿ málí-yè*
 PN and PN and 1SG-OBJ see-3PL.PFV
 ‘Amadou and Seydou saw me’.

(xx1b) **Ámárù ndô: Séydù ndô: mí-wⁿ mályè:*
 PN and PN and 1SG-OBJ see.PFV
 ‘Amadou and Seydou saw me’.

The unmarked 3SG from in (xx1b) is ruled out.

If one of conjoined NP’s is a first or second person pronoun verb takes the corresponding form of the 1PL or the 2PL:

(xx2a) *mí: ndô: Séydù ndô: Ámárù-wⁿ ò-mályè*
 1SG and PN and PN-OBJ 1PL-see.PFV
 ‘I and Seydou saw Amadou’.

(xx2b) * *mí: ñdô: Séydù ñdô: Ámárù-wⁿ málí-yè*
 1SG and PN and PN-OBJ see-3PL.PFV
 ‘I and Seydou saw Amadou.’

(xx3a) *ó: ñdô: Séydù ñdô: Ámárù-wⁿ é-mályè* CHECK
 2SG and PN and PN-OBJ 2PL-see.PFV
 ‘You and Seydou saw Amadou.’

(xx3b) **ó: ñdô: Séydù ñdô: Ámárù-wⁿ málí-yè* CHECK
 2SG and PN and PN-OBJ see-3PL.PFV
 ‘You and Seydou (you) saw Amadou.’

If a first person pronoun is conjoined with a second person pronoun, the verb has 1PL agreement:

(xx4) *mí: ñdô: ó: ñdô: ámárù-wⁿ ñ-mályè* CHECK
 1SG and 3SG and PN-OBJ 1PL-see.PFV
 ‘I and Seydou (we) saw Amadou.’

One can summarize the agreement rules that we have just described in a form of the hierarchy in (xx5)

(xx5) 1st pers. > 2nd pers. > 3rd pers.

NP1 bearing feature X of those in (xx5) will trigger an agreement on the verb in this feature only if another NP2, which is conjoined with NP1 and bears feature Y, which is higher in the hierarchy than X, is not present.

Thus in (xx1a) the verb agrees in the third person because both conjoined NP’s in the subject position are third person NP’s. However third person NP’s in (xx2a) and (xx3a) don’t trigger an agreement, because in both cases there is a NP bearing a feature which is higher in the hierarchy than the 3rd person (1st pers. in (xx2a) and 2nd pers. in (xx3)). Similarly, the 2SG pronoun triggers an agreement in person in (xx3a), where it is conjoined with a third person NP but fails to do that in (xx4), where it is conjoined with the 1SG pronoun.

As will be shown in §7.2.1 this hierarchy is valuable for NP disjunction as well.

7.1.1.4 Conjunction of relative clauses

Mombo uses clauses-chaining constructions in clause coordination function. See 15.xxx for details. However relative clauses can be conjoined using the same construction with morpheme *ñdô:*. Consider the following example:

(xx1) *wágárù sélè: [ànà tà:ngú ñ-sèmé] ñdô:*
 time all sheep.L one.LH 1PL-slaughter.PFV and
[ùnà tàngú ñ-sèmé] ñdô:
 goat.L one.LH 1PL-slaughter.PFV and

'Every time, (there was) one sheep that we slaughtered (or) one goat that we slaughtered'.

In this example, there are two relative clauses with low toned core NP's /à̀nà t̃̀:ngù/ 'one sheep' and /ù̀nà t̃̀:ngù/ 'one goat'. In both cases there is a final high tone on numeral t̃̀:ngù 'one', that is due to following 1PL suffix Ñ̃- (recall §3.7.3xxx). As in the case of noun phrases ñ̃dô: follows both constituents.

CHECK Semantics 'and/ or'

7.1.2 "Conjunction" of verbs or VP's

The notion of verbal phrase has a little significance for Mombo in general. In particular, apparent "conjoined" VP's are arguably chained clauses. See §11.xxx for a fuller discussion. There are several types of clauses-chaining constructions. These are discussed in Chapter 15.xxx.

7.2 Disjunction

There are two disjunctive morphemes in Mombo. *má:* is used for the disjunction of NP's (§7.2.1). *gá:* is used mainly for clause level disjunction (§7.2.2), but also occurs sentence-finally in yes/no questions.

7.2.1 NP-level disjunctive morpheme *má:* 'or'

Morpheme *má:* follows the first constituent in the disjunctive pair:

(xx1) *úná má: ánnà*
 goat or sheep
 '(a) goat or (a) sheep'

Lexically {HL} nouns take a {LH} overlay when they precede *má:*:

(xx2) *ànná má: úná*
 sheep.LH or goat
 '(a) sheep or (a) goat' (lex. *ánnà* 'sheep')

Here, lexically {HL} noun *ánnà* 'sheep' has a {LH} tone contour (*ànná*). If one compares this form with the form of the same noun found in example (xx1) (*ánnà*) and with form *úná* 'goat', which both have their lexical tones, it becomes clear that a {LH} overlay on *ànná* in (xx2) is not imposed by construction itself, but rather an effect specific to {HL} nouns, when they precede the disjunctive morpheme *má:* Recall that {HL} nouns occur as {LH} in couple of other cases, where there is no evidence for postulating a grammatical stem-wide tonal change for nouns with other lexical contours (cf. §3.xxx).

The construction with *má:* can be used only for NP level disjunction. A pair or disjuncts can occur in any relation but can not be used in questions, particularly in those of type ‘it is X or Y’. (xx3) an (xx4) show a pair of disjuncts functioning as a subject and a direct object.

(xx3) [ó: má: mí:] ʒgò àndá ándà:-mbò CHECK
 2SG or 1SG tomorrow there go-PROSP.1PL
 ‘You or I will go to there tomorrow’
 *‘Is it you or I who will go there tomorrow?’

(xx4) wágárù sélè: [ànná má: úná] ñ-sèmé
 time each sheep.LH or goat 1PL-slaughter.PFV
 ‘Every day we slaughtered a sheep or a goat’

In (xx3) [ó: má: mí:] ‘you or me’ precedes the adverbials. The final verbs take the prospective 1PL suffix, thus showing that the subject NP it agrees with contains first person participant. Note that here verb agrees in 1st person as predicted by the hierarchy introduced in §7.1.1.3. Since the 1st person is higher in that hierarchy than the 2nd person, it’s the 1st person NP which triggers the agreement. (xx4) adverbial *wágárù sélè:* is in the leftmost position typical for temporal adverbials (See §xxx for details). The verb is inflected for the 1PL person while two conjoined object NP’s occur in the object position.

As the translation under the asterisk in (xx3) is intended to show, this sentence can not be understood as a question about the subject, which presupposes two possible alternative answers, having one of the disjuncts in the subject position each.

Similarly, this construction can not be used absolutely as a question of a type ‘Is it X or Y?’:

(xx5) *ó: má: mí?
 2SG or 1SG
 {Somebody has to go there tomorrow.} ‘(Is it) me or you?’

However, such a construction does exist in Mombo and we will deal with it in the following subsection.

CHECK intonation patterns

7.2.2 Clause-level disjunction

Particle *gâ:* (‘CDJ’ in glosses) is used to for disjunction of clauses. As disjunctive morpheme *má:* it occurs after the first disjunct in case if a construction with two disjoined clauses:

(xx6) ó: ándà-mbò gâ: mí: ándà-mbò?
 2SG go-PROSP.3SG CDJ go-PROSP.3SG
 ‘YOU will go or I will go?’

Note that in this construction the alternating subjects are treated as being in focus. This is indicated by the fact that the verb in both clauses the verb doesn't agree with the subject and occurs in the third person in both cases, exactly as it happens in the subject focus construction (see §13.1.1xxx for details).

gâ: can follow also be used with two noun phrases. However the translation is slightly different from that of the similar construction with *má:*. Consider the following example, compare example (xx3) in §7.2.1

(xx7) *ó: gâ: mí: ándà-mbò?*
 2SG CDJ 1SG go-PROSP.3SG
 '(Is it) you or me (who) will go?'

Unlike example (xx3) in §7.2.1, (xx7) is a question to the subject, where the two disjoined NP's set possible alternatives. Note that here again the subject position is treated as being in focus. The verb is inflected for the third person regardless of the person of the subject. On the other hand two NP's disjoined with *gâ:* can not function as a simple non-focalized subject constituent. Consider ungrammatical example (xxy) where verb is inflected for 1PL, thus agreeing with the subject which contains a disjoined NP formed by the 1SG pronoun.

(xxy) **ó: gâ: mí: àndá ándà-mbò* CHECK
 2SG CDJ 1SG there go-PROSP.1PL
 'You or I will go there'

By contrast to the analogous construction with *má:* 'or', a construction consisting of two NP's separated by *gâ:* can be used absolutely as a question where two alternatives represented by the NP's are predicated:

(xx8) *ó: má: mí?*
 2SG CDJ 1SG
 {Somebody has to go there tomorrow.} '(Is it) me or you?'

When *gâ:* is preceded by a noun with lexical {HL} contour, the letter occurs with all tones low:

(xx9) *ànnà gâ: úná* CHECK
 sheep.L CDJ goat
 '(Is it a) sheep or (a) goat?' (lex. *ànnà* 'sheep')

In this example, *ànnà* sheep instead of having its lexical {HL} contour occurs low-toned. Here again, this tonal effect is restricted to nouns with lexical {HL} contour position before the disjunctive morpheme. Cf. (xx10) *úná gâ: ànnà* '(Is it a) goat or (a) sheep?', where the both nouns that occur in the previous example retain their lexical tones.

Particle *gâ:* is also used sentence-finally in yes or now questions. Consider for example (xx10) which is used as the first phrase in morning greeting sequences.

(xx10) *àpyá á-náyè gâ:?*
 health 2SG-spend.night CDJ
 'Did you spend the night well?'

Here Mombo follows a pattern attested in many languages, including for example German which uses disjunctive word *oder* exactly in the same function. Cf. *du gehst oder?*, ‘are you going?’.

CHECK

can an imperative be combined disjunctively with another imperative, or with any other clause? (‘eat the meal, or get up!’). If not, how is such an idea expressed

7.2.3 Coordinated topicalized constituents

Topicalized constituents can be coordinated using usual means discussed above. CHECK In addition to that, there is a construction which uses complex *nê:-là* consisting of demonstrative *nê:* and contractive topic marker *-là* as a coordinative marker. *nê:-là* follows each of coordinated constituents. Consider the following example.

(xx1) *ó: nê:-là mí: nê:-là, òdà tá:ngù myê: ándà-mbò*
2SG this-TOP.CTR 1SG this-TOP.CTR person.L one P.1PL go-PROSP.3SG
‘You (topic) or I (topic), one of us will go.’

Translation ‘you *or* I’ as opposed to ‘you *and* I’ is not implied by the supposed semantics of *nê:-là*. Arguably, the conjunction and disjunction are not distinguished in this construction, and there is only a simple apposition of two topicalized constituents, which can be interpreted in that or the other way depending on the context.

9 Verbal derivation

A standard list consisting of the reversive (§9.2xxx), inchoative¹ (§9.5) and a number of causative (§9.3xxx) categories typical for Dogon languages is fully present in Mombo verbal derivational morphology. In addition to that, Mombo has the benefactive derivation (§9.4xxx). Stative verbal, adjectival and nominal stems derive factives using one of the causative suffixes and inchoatives (§9.7). Several stative stems derive active stems by conversion. (§ 9.1)

Mombo doesn't have a valence-decreasing derivation. 3PL forms in clauses with zero subject can be used as an equivalent of agentless passive construction. Cf (xx1-xx2)

(xx1) *ámárù ànnà sémé*
A. sheep slaughter.PFV
'Amadou slaughtered a sheep'

(xx2) *ànnà bâ: sém-yê:*
sheep DEF slaughter-PFV.3PL
'They slaughtered the sheep'
'The sheep is slaughtered'

A limited number of verbs show an alternation of causative/inchoative suffixes reminiscent to a voice opposition. See § 9.5.1. for details.

This chapter mainly deals with the morphology of verbal derivatives. For details on the argument structure see Chapter 11.

9.1 Stative - active conversion

¹ Cognate suffixes with similar distribution in other Dogon languages are sometimes called mediopassive. Heath (2008), McPherson (2010). See § 9.5.4 for a terminological discussion.

A regular derivation pattern in Mombo, whereby a stative stem derives an active (inchoative or factitive) by adding the inchoative suffix or the causative suffix *-rV* is discussed in § 9.3.1 and 9.5.3. There are, however, several stative stems showing regular a semantic and formal relation to *underived* active stems. Cf. the list in (xx1).

(xx1)

<i>jéngá</i>	‘be bent’	<i>jéngé</i>	‘be bent’
<i>dúzá</i>	‘be here and there’	<i>dúzé</i>	‘let (sb) go, leave’
<i>jábá</i>	‘(e.g. gecko lizard) be on (wall)’	<i>jábé</i>	‘replaster (wall) by slapping wet banco on it’
<i>jángá</i>	‘(two objects) be attached to each other’	<i>jángé</i>	‘press to objects one against another’
<i>kémbá</i>	‘(sth) be pinched (e.g. with fingernails)’	<i>kémbé</i>	‘pinch (sth with fingernails)’
<i>págá</i>	‘(sth or sb) be tied up (with a rope)’	<i>págé</i>	‘tie, tie up (sth or sb, with a rope)’
<i>túlá</i>	‘be (somewhere)’	<i>túlé</i>	‘put into (sth)’

One could analyze these active stems as being derived from corresponding stative stem via ablaut. However, the ablaut feature imposed on the stative stem to derive an active is not easy to specify, since different inflectional categories of active verbs require different ablaut alternations (§ 10.xxx). Roughly speaking, the formal difference between the stative and the active stem in these cases is simply that of the active stem showing ablaut properties peculiar to one of verbal vowel harmony classes, while the stative stem always has thematic /a/ whatever the other vowels of the stem are. This situation in my opinion is better described as stem conversion.

Semantically in most cases the active stem is a transitive verb and so, it can be described as a factitive derivative of the stative stem. This transitive stem may be synonymous to a transitive stem derived from the same stative stem by adding the causative *-rV* (§ 9.3.1):

(xx2)	Stative	<i>dúzá</i>	‘be moving freely’
	Inchoative	<i>dúg-yê:</i>	‘(sb) move freely’
	Underived active	<i>dúzé</i>	‘left (sb)’
	Factitive	<i>dúzá-rè</i>	‘let (sb) go freely’

yò: yénà dúzè / * dúzú-rè

He has let his wife go (= left her).

àpyá ó:ⁿ dúzú-réné sá:

(Your) health makes you go freely. let you go freely

New semantics of rV.

In rare cases, however, the active stem is synonymous to the stative stem and is opposed to a derived active stem containing the inchoative or causative suffix:

(xx3) Stative	jéngá	‘be tilt’
Underived active	jéngé	‘be tilt’
Inchoative	jéng-yè	‘become tilt’
Factitive	jéngú-rè	‘tilt (sth)’

An alternative analysis would consider the stative stems as another inflectional form of the verb. Cf. the (simple) perfective and the imperative stems, which both lack any affixes and are distinguished only by the quality of the thematic vowel and the tone contour. However there are at least two arguments against this analysis. First the stative - active conversion is not a fully productive morphological process in Mombo and is characteristic to only a small number stems. Second, stative and active verbs are still very different morphosyntactically to be subsumed under a single lexical category (§ 11.xxx), which would be required if one analyzed the stative as an inflectional form.

Nevertheless the stative - active conversion does share some formal properties with inflectional patterns, blurring up the border between the inflection and derivation in Mombo morphology.

Stem conversion is the least productive derivational pattern in Mombo verb morphology. In the rest of the chapter we will deal with only suffixal derivations.

9.2 Reversive verbs (-IV-)

9.2.1 Morphology and semantics

A remarkable morphological feature of Mombo verbal morphology (also found in other Dogon languages) is the reversive derivation. Cf. the pair *kú:yè* ‘conceal oneself’,

kú:yé-lè ‘reappear, come back into view’. The ability to derive the reversive is a feature of a relatively small number of verbal stems as compare to the much more productive causative and inchoative derivations.

Morphologically, the reversive derivation is quite straightforward. Suffix *-lV* (with *V* standing for an alternating thematic vowel) is added to a verb stem. The vowel is harmonized with the verb stem in vowel class (see (xxx1 below)). The output stem’s tone contour is inevitably {HL}, since it has at least three morae (see §xx.tone).

The shape of the input stem is varied from one verb to another. There are three possible patterns observed. The reversive suffix can be added to a stem with final E (/e/ or /ɛ/), /u/ or /i/ vowel. A suggestive generalization could be that these three patterns are reduced to two, viz. the perfective stem as the input (final *e*, *ɛ* or *i*) and the verbal noun stem (final /u/) as the input. Consider, however examples in (xx1).

(xx1)	V	gloss	REV	gloss
	<i>kú:yè</i>	‘conceal oneself’	<i>kú:yé-lè</i>	‘reappear’
	<i>dúgέ</i>	‘tie, attach (knot)’	<i>dúgú-lè</i>	‘untie, undo (knot)’
	<i>góddè</i>	‘hang (sth) over’	<i>góddí-lè</i>	‘unhook (sth)’

The pair *góddè* / *góddí-lè* shows that the above generalization doesn’t hold. The verb meaning ‘hang (sth) over’ has final *ɛ* in the perfective form, but it is *i* that occurs before the suffix in the reversive. Similarly, vowel /u/ is hardly associated with O/U (the verbal noun) stem. Verb *dúgέ* ‘tie, attach (knot)’ has a regular verbal noun with final /ɔ/ (*dúgɔ-gɔ*), but the corresponding reversive derivates has thematic *u*.

In a number of cases the input stem, from which the reversive is derived, is not present in the lexicon as a separate item and is found only in the other derivatives (most commonly, *-rV* causatives and inchoatives):

(xx2)	INCH	<i>námb-yè</i> : ‘get dressed’
	CAUS	<i>námbú-rè</i> ‘dress (sb)’
	REV	<i>námbú-lè</i> ‘get undressed/undress sb’

In two cases known to me, the reversive is bisyllabic, suggesting that the deriving stem is monosyllabic. In both cases, however, the stem is found only in a combination with other suffixes and so is a bound morpheme.

dú:lè ‘unload/ be unloaded’ is related to bound stem *du-* found in *dú-yè*: ‘be loaded’ with the inchoative suffix added, and *dú:-rè* ‘load (sb/sth)’ with causative suffix *-rV*.

jú:lè ‘(sth, sb) turn right side up/ turn (sth/sb) right side up’ is derived from bound stem *ju-:/ jú:w-* found in *júw-yè*: ‘(sth) turn upside down’ *jú:-rè* ‘turn (sth) upside down’.

As will be discussed later some Mombo verbal derivatives differ in their treatment of vowel length in the initial syllable. In some causatives in *-mV* the long V1s are shortened as compare to the input stem (see § 9.3.3). However this is not the case in the reversive derivation as examples like *tɔ:ndɛ̀* ‘put foot on (sth)’ - *tɔ:ndú-lè̀* ‘remove foot from (sth)’ show.

The pair *náw-yê:* ‘be caught’ – *náw"ú-lè̀*² ‘unhook, get free’ is peculiar for the nasalization occurring in the reversive. However, since this example is unique I consider it to be an idiosyncratic feature of the input stem, rather than a manifestation of any morphophonological regularity.

Recall that in (xx2) the reversive *námú-lè̀* may have two interpretations corresponding to the transitive and intransitive case frames. The lability is a common feature of all reversives, no matter whether the deriving stem is transitive or intransitive:

(xx1)	input	gloss	REV	gloss
	<i>jéngé</i>	'be bent'	<i>jéngú-lè̀</i>	'become straight/ straighten (sth)'
	<i>wégé</i>	'pull up (pants)'	<i>wégú-lè̀</i>	'pull down (pants, after having pulled them up)'

In terms of the interpretation of the subject in the absence of the direct object, the reversives show so-called P-lability. That is the sole argument of the intransitive is interpreted as patient (cf. English *he broke the vase, vases brake easily*) but not as an agent (English *he reads a book, he reads a lot*). The latter type (so-called A-lability) is rare if not absent at all in Mombo verb lexicon. See § 11.1.1xx for details.

9.2.2 List of reversive verbs

A representative list of the reversive derivatives is that in (xx1) bellow. The reversives are classified according to whether they are derived from an unbound or a bound stem and according to the vowel (*u*, *E* or *i*) preceding the derivational suffix. The bound stems are given together with inchoative derivatives in *-yV:*. The glosses given in the rightmost column are the transitive readings of corresponding reversives. In each case an intransitive reading is also possible.

² Cf. also arguably related causative *náúré̀* ‘put (sth) on the top of (sth)’ also lacking the nasalization in the second syllable.

(xx1)

I. the deriving stem is unbound

a. *u* before the suffix

input	gloss	reversive	gloss
<i>dágé</i>	'lock (e.g. door, house)'	<i>dágú-lè</i>	'unlock (e.g. door, house)'
<i>dángé</i>	'affix (sth)'	<i>dángú-lè</i>	'take (sth affixed) off, unstuck (sth affixed)'
<i>débé</i>	'cover, put the covering'	<i>débú-lè</i>	'uncover, take off the covering'
<i>díngé</i>	'bury (sb, sth)'	<i>díngú-lè</i>	'disinter, unbury, dig up (sb, sth)'
<i>dúgέ</i>	'tie (knot)'	<i>dúgú-lè</i>	'untie, undo, loosen (knot)'
<i>dów"é</i>	'prop up'	<i>dó:wú-lè</i>	'remove the props'
<i>jábé</i>	'press to wall'	<i>jábú-lè</i>	'release (sth pressed to wall)'
<i>jéngé</i>	'be tilt'	<i>jeńgú-lè</i>	'straighten (sth tilt)'
<i>góndé</i>	'be sharply bent, curved'	<i>góndú-lè</i>	'straighten, unbend '
<i>kóbé</i>	'cover (calabash) with animal hide (to make a drum)'	<i>kóbú-lè</i>	'remove animal hide (from a drum) '
<i>ów"é</i>	'crumple (sth)'	<i>ów"ú-lè</i>	'uncrumple (sth)'
<i>págé</i>	'tie (e.g. animal)'	<i>págú-lè</i>	'untie, set loose (e.g. animal)'
<i>pégé</i>	'drive in (nail)'	<i>pégú-lè</i>	'remove (a nail)'
<i>púndé</i>	'fold up (paper, garment)'	<i>púndú-lè</i>	unfold (paper, garment)
<i>tándé</i>	'roll up (mat)'	<i>tándú-lè</i>	'unroll (mat)'
<i>tímbé</i>	'superimpose (e.g. bricks)'	<i>tímbú-lè</i>	'take apart (wall) brick by brick'
<i>tó:ndè</i>	'put foot on (sth)'	<i>tó:ndú-lè</i>	'remove foot from (sth)'
<i>wéagé</i>	'pull up (pants)'	<i>wéagú-lè</i>	'pull down (pants, after having pulled)'

b. *E* before the suffix

input	gloss	reversive	gloss
<i>kú:yè</i>	'conceal oneself'	<i>kú:yé-lè</i>	'make (sth) reappear'
<i>míndé</i>	'roll up (pants)'	<i>míndé-lè</i>	'unroll (rolled-up pants)'
<i>tóy"é</i>	'twist'	<i>tóy"é-lè</i>	'untwist'
<i>wóyé</i>	'spin (cotton thread)'	<i>wóyé-lè</i>	'unravel (cotton thread)'

II . The deriving stem is bound

a. *u* before the suffix

input	gloss	reversive	gloss
<i>báŋg-yê:</i>	'be leaning against sth'	<i>báŋgú-lè</i>	'remove (a barrier) that sth is up against'
<i>bá:wⁿ-î</i>	'close (doorway)'	<i>bá:wⁿú-lè</i>	'open (doorway)'
<i>dómb-yè</i>	'put on one's hat'	<i>dómbúl-è</i>	'take off one's hat'
<i>námbyê:</i>	'get dressed'	<i>námbugú-lè</i>	'undress (sb)'
<i>náŋg-yê:</i>	'(stick) be put on one's shoulder'	<i>náŋgú-lè</i>	'remove (stick) from one's shoulder'
<i>náw-yê:</i>	'be hooked or caught'	<i>ná:wⁿú-lè</i>	'unhook, free (sth caught, e.g. in tree)'
<i>téw-yê:</i>	'(sth) close'	<i>téwú-lè</i>	'open (sth)'

b. E before the suffix

input	gloss	reversive	gloss
<i>tówⁿ-yê:</i>	'roll on (turban)'	<i>tówⁿé-lè</i>	'unroll, take off (turban)'

c. i before the suffix

input	gloss	reversive	gloss
<i>gíbyê:</i>	'gird oneself'	<i>gíbi-lè</i>	'ungird oneself'
<i>gódd-yê:</i>	'be hooked or caught'	<i>góddí-lè</i>	'set (sth) free (from being caught)'
<i>dú-yê:</i>	'be loaded'	<i>dú:-lè</i>	'unload (sth)'
<i>jú:w-yè</i>	'(sth) turn upside down'	<i>jú:-lè</i>	'turn (sth) right side up'
<i>nígijè</i>	'mix combine'	<i>nígilè</i>	'untangle (sth tangled or disordered)'

9.2.3 Morphotactics

The reversive suffix usually can not be preceded by any other derivational suffix, but it may be followed by causative suffix *-mV*. Cf. *tóyⁿé-lá-mì* 'cause (sb) to untwist (sth)'.
 In very rare cases the reversive suffix is added to a stem which already has one derivational suffix. Cf. *kú:-yé-lè* 'reappear' derived from *kú:-yè* 'conceal oneself', which itself is derived from bound stem *ku-* found also in *kú:-rè* 'hide sth'.

The reversive verbs have the whole range of aspect-negation categories. Depending on the category pronominal prefixes or suffixes are added. As mentioned above, all reversives belong to the {HL} tonal class. The pronominal paradigm of perfective *téwú-lè* '(sth) open /open (sth)' is given below.

(xx1)	SG	PL
1	<i>ń-téwúlè</i>	<i>ń-tèwùlé</i>
2	<i>á-téwúlè</i>	<i>é-téwúlè</i>
3	<i>téwúlè</i>	<i>téwúl-yè</i>

A few synchronically asegmentable verbal stems with final *-lV* that may originate as reversives are listed below.

(xxx)	<i>ábúlè</i>	'do again, answer the question'
	<i>ángúlè</i>	'put stop to a fight (i.e. separate, pull apart the fighters)'
	<i>bùtó:ⁿ pégélè</i>	'unbutton (shirt)'
	<i>géndúlè</i>	'straighten, unbend (sth) after heating it'
	<i>íngílè</i>	'move around, change location'
	<i>sáyèlè</i>	'undo braids'
	<i>wúzílè</i>	'return, go back'

In addition, note semantically reversive verb *ńígílè* 'untangle (sth tangled or disordered)' which is apparently related to *ńígíjè* 'mix, combine'. In this pair one can analyze both words as derived from bound stem *nigi-* by adding reversive suffix *-le* and suffix *-je* with semantics similar to causative suffix *-rV*. See § 9.3.4 for the further discussion.

For a frozen suffix *-l-* of an unknown origin found in a few verbal stems that have final synchronically segmentable inchoative suffix *-yV:*, see §9.5.3xxx.

9.3 Deverbal causative verbs

Deverbal causatives are formed by adding a causative suffix to a verb stem. Mombo has three productive causative suffixes - *-rV*, *-gV*, *-mV*. The choice between them is generally governed by several factors, including the input verb stem semantic properties (argument structure, subject animacy, etc) and the type of causation (contactive/distant, direct/indircect etc.) (see §9.3.5). At the same time, the three suffixes are not equal in terms of productivity. *-mV* suffix is almost fully productive and serves in some cases as all-purpose causative marker, thus covering the other

markers functions. Unlike the others, this suffix can be used to derive causatives from reversive stems and even from stems already containing *-rV* or *-gV* causative suffixes. By contrast, suffix *-rV* is characterized by a very narrow distribution. It is used almost exclusively with morphologically stative verbs.

As in case of reversives, the output stems all belong to the {HL} tonal class, since they inevitable contain at least three morae.

In addition to these three patterns, there are two causative suffixes, viz. *-ndV* and *-jV* found in a handful of examples (§9.3.4).

9.3.1 Causatives in *-rV*

Suffix *-rV* is used to derive a causative from a number of verb stems, including almost all stative verbs (see 9.3.4 for the exceptions). Few morphologically active verb stems have *-rV* causatives, in addition to causative derivatives in *-gV* and/or in *-mV*. In few cases it is also used to derive factitive verbs from nouns (see § 9.8).

The suffix is harmonized with the stem in harmony class (see §3.xxx). Cf. the following example:

(xx1)

gloss	input	harmonic class	<i>-rV</i> CAUS	gloss
‘be wet’	<i>émbé</i>	-ATR	<i>émbú-rè</i>	‘moisten’
‘be on (vert. surface)’	<i>wábá</i>	A	<i>wábú-rè</i>	‘put on (vert. surface)’
‘lean (one’s shoulder) against wall’	<i>béngá</i>	+ATR	<i>béngí-rè</i>	‘lean (sth) against wall’

I’m not aware of a stem of I/A or I/U class that can derive a causative in *-rV*.

The final thematic vowel of the input stem can be /i/ or /u/. The choice between the two is generally governed by the quality if preceding consonant. /u/ follows the labial consonants (/b/, /w/) and /j/ while /i/ is used in all the other cases.

Stems with the final *-gV* syllables appear to have both /i/ and /u/ before the causative suffix. Usually there are two variants with /i/ and with /u/ for each stem. However in the case of *ínjí-rè* ‘stop (sth), cause to stop’ my assistant rejects a variant with *-gu-*

All examples of *-gi/-gu* segments before *-rV* known to me are those in (xx2).

(xx2) ‘stop (sth), cause to stop’	<i>ínjí-rè</i>	-
‘cause to tilt’	<i>jéngí-rè</i>	<i>jéngú-rè</i>
‘make sb ride (on a motorcycle) with somebody else’	<i>jánjí-rè</i>	<i>jánjú-rè</i>

‘put (a) stick on some one else's shoulder’ *nángí-rè* *nángú-rè*

In case of stative verb stems that have a paired active underived stem, there is a problem of identification of the input stem (see §10.4.x). Thus, *jéngí-rè* ‘cause to tilt’ can be derived both from a stative stem *jéngá* ‘be bent, tilt’ and from morphologically active *jéngé* ‘be bent, tilt’. See §10.4.x for the list of paired stems. The same problem is relevant for the analysis of the inchoative derivatives (see §9.5.4).

Some *-rV* causative derivatives form transitive-intransitive pairs with verb stems containing the inchoative suffix. As in the case of *gíb-yê*: ‘gird oneself with a wrap’ *gíbú-rè* ‘gird somebody’ (see §9.5.1 for a list of such pairs). In some of those cases, as in this pair, the deriving stem is not found elsewhere in the lexicon without a suffix. In others there is a corresponding stative stem, which can be considered as an input stem for the both derivatives. Cf. the case of *jéng-yê*:/ *jéngí-rè*:

(xx3)	Stative	<i>jéngá</i>	‘be tilt’
	Inchoative	<i>jéng-yê</i>	‘become tilt’
	Causative	<i>jéngí-rè</i>	‘tilt (sth)’

Arguably stative *sá*: ‘have’, inchoative *sí-yê*: ‘get, obtain’ and causative *sí-rè* ‘cause to obtain’ are in the same morphological relations to each other. Note however that the inchoative and the causative are derived from stem *-sí-* not *-sá-* as in the stative. There is no a regular morphophonological change of that kind accompanying any morphological derivation in Mombo. However the semantic relations between the stems are still very suggestive and I consider *-sí-* to be a suppletive stem of *-sá-*.

The 3SG perfective form of the causative *sí-rè* ‘cause to obtain’ is peculiar for its {LHL} tone contour, unique in its category. See 11.5.1 for detail on morphology and syntax of *-sá-*/*-sí-* ‘have’.

No regular changes in V1 length occur in causatives in *-rV*. *bí-rè* ‘lay down’ derived from stative stem *bíyá* ‘be lying down’ is the only case known to me where the derivative has a long V1, in spite of a short V1 in the input stem. However, the long vowel in *bí-rè* most probably is due to *bí-yè* ‘lie down’. In the latter verb also derived from *bíyá* long V1 is the regular outcome of adding the inchoative suffix to a stem with final syllable /yV/. see 9.5.1 for details.

A representative sample of *-rV* derivatives, which includes all stems derived from statives known to me is given in (xx4).

(xx4) List or derivatives in -rV

I a. Stative verbs: /i/ before suffix

input	gloss	CAUS	gloss
<i>bíyá</i>	'be lying down'	<i>bí:-rè</i>	'lay down (sth/sb)'
<i>díndá</i>	'be in possession of'	<i>díndí-rè</i>	'get into possession'
<i>íngá</i>	'stand'	<i>íngí-rè</i>	'stand/stop (sth)'
<i>jéngá</i>	'be tilt'	<i>jéngí-rè</i>	'bend,tilt (sth)'
<i>béngá</i>	'be leaning against (sth)'	<i>béngí-rè</i>	'lean (sth) against(sth)'
<i>bángá</i>	'be leaning'	<i>bángí-rè</i>	'lean (sth)'
<i>dígá</i>	'be planed'	<i>dígí-rè</i>	'plan (sth)'
<i>pímá</i>	'be resemble'	<i>pímí-rè</i>	'make (sth)be resemble'
<i>nóyá</i>	'sleep'	<i>nóyí-rè</i>	'cause (sb) to sleep'

I b. Stative verbs: /u/ before suffix

input	gloss	CAUS	gloss
<i>dábá</i>	'be hidden'	<i>dábú-rè</i>	'hide (sb/sth)'
<i>jábá</i>	'be on vertical surface'	<i>jábú-rè</i>	'attach to a vertical surface'
<i>dúzá</i>	'be present'	<i>dúzú-rè</i>	'cause to be present (sw)'
<i>úbá</i>	'(bird, animal) be lying on on it's belly'	<i>úbú-rè</i>	'cause (bird, animal) to lie its belly'
<i>wábá</i>	(human) be lying on one's belly'	<i>wábú-rè</i>	'cause (human) to lie on his/her belly'
<i>gáyá</i>	'be lying on one's back'	<i>gáwú-rè</i>	'cause (sb/sth) to lie on his/her/its back'
<i>jángá</i>	'be close (attached) to each other'	<i>jángú-rè</i>	'draw closer/attach two objects to each other'

II a. Active verbs: /i/ before suffix

input	gloss	CAUS	gloss
<i>jéngé</i>	'be tilt'	<i>jéngí-rè</i>	'bend,tilt (sth)'

II b. Active verbs: /u/ before suffix

input	gloss	CAUS	gloss
<i>émbé</i>	'be wet'	<i>émbú-rè</i>	'moisten'

<i>jábé</i>	‘be on vertical surface’	<i>jábú-rè</i>	‘put (sth on vertical surface)’
<i>kémbé</i>	‘pinch (sb/sth)’	<i>kémbúrè</i>	‘pinch sb/sth with sth’
<i>ówⁿé</i>	‘be or become crumpled’	<i>ówⁿú-rè</i>	‘crumple (sth)’

The pair *gáyá* ‘be lying on one’s back’/ *gáwú-ré* ‘cause (sb/sth) to lie on back’ represents an interesting case morphologically. The stative stem *gáyá* has the second consonant /y/, while the causative derivative *gáwú-ré* suggests that the supposed input stem had second consonant /w/. The same consonant is found in the inchoative form *gáw-yê*: ‘lie on one’s back’. The latter form also has a variant *gá-yê*: which arguably is a result of a simplification of *-wy-* the cluster (Cf. §3.xx). It may be the case that the stative form has /y/ due to that variant.

As mentioned above, *-rV* causatives (as all the other causative derivatives) belong to the {HL} tonal class. The perfective pronominal paradigm of *nóyí-rè* ‘cause to sleep’ is given in (xx5).

(xx5)	SG	PL
1	<i>ñ-nòyìré</i>	<i>ñ-nóyírè</i>
2	<i>à-nòyìré</i>	<i>é-nóyírè</i>
3	<i>nóyírè</i>	<i>nóyír-yè</i>

-rV causatives have a regular set of the inflectional categories. Among the derivational suffixes only causative suffix *-mV* can be added to a stem that already has suffix *-rV*. Cf. *émbú-rá-mì* ‘have sb make sth become wet’.

Of a phonological interest is the variation r/d in the suffix before the following /y/. Thus, 3PL perfective *nóyí-r-yè* ‘they cause (sb) to sleep’ is altering with *nóyí-d-yè*. This variation arguably is an evidence in favor of that originally the form of the suffix was **-dV*, while *-rV* resulted as rhotatization of the suffix in an intervocalic position. Note also that for some stems a causative suffix of form *-dV* or *-ndV* is synchronically segmentable. See § 9.3.4 for details.

The semantics of the causative derivatives in *-rV* discussed in § 9.3.5 along with the other causative markers.

Suffix *-rV* is also used to derive transitive verbs from some nominal stems. See § 9.7 for details.

A number of semantically transitive trisyllabic stems end in *rV* suggest that they (though being synchronically unsegmentable) originate as *-rV* causative derivatives:

(xx6)	<i>báyérè</i>	‘add, help’
	<i>dígírè</i>	‘join two linear objects together’
	<i>dúgúrè</i>	‘run’
	<i>dúmbúrè</i>	‘put (firewood) into (fire)’
	<i>sáyérè</i>	‘bath sb without soap’
	<i>séndírè</i>	‘heave and embed (spear)’
	<i>tígírè</i>	‘flatter’
	<i>tóyéè</i>	‘oversow (millet seeds)’
	<i>túgúrè</i>	‘harvest (the third harvest cereals) ³ ’
	<i>úgúrè</i>	‘perfume, make fragrant’

In two cases known to me a trisyllabic intransitive stems contains final *-rV*:

(xxx)	<i>póyéè</i>	‘be or become half-ripe’
	<i>táyérè</i>	‘shine, be luminous’

9.3.2 Causatives in *-gV*

Suffix *-gV* (*-ge* in the perfective) is added to morphologically active intransitive stems. Usually *-gV* is one of at least two causative derivatives available for a given stem. In most of the cases a long with *-gV* derivative there is (at least a possible) *-mV* derivative. I am aware of only two examples of a stem having three causative derivatives in *-rV*, in *-gV* and in *-mV* (see §9.3.5.)

The input stem, to which *-gV* suffix is added, has a thematic vowel chosen depending on the stems vowel harmony class. The general rule may be put as the following: if a given stem belongs to A or [-ATR] class, the input stem has final vowel /a/; in all the other cases ([+ATR] and I/U class) the final vowel is a copy of the vowel, found in the preceding syllable. The possible stem forms are given in (xx1).

(xx1)

<i>harm. class</i>	<i>input</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>CAUS</i>	<i>gloss</i>
A	<i>áré</i>	‘have one end broken off’	<i>árá-gè</i>	‘break off the end’
[- ATR]	<i>ómbé</i>	‘rot’	<i>ómbá-gè</i>	‘cause (sth) to rot’
[- ATR]	<i>yúlé</i>	‘wake up’	<i>yúlá-gè</i>	‘wake (sb) up’
[+ ATR]	<i>wúlé</i>	‘(house) collapse’	<i>wúlú-gè</i>	‘demolish (house)’

3 Number of the harvest

[+ATR]	<i>péndé</i>	‘(a stick) break’	<i>péndé-gè</i>	‘break (a stick)’
I/U	<i>míní</i>	‘(fire) die out’	<i>míní-gè</i>	‘extinguish (fire)’

Notice that the presuffixial /a/ blocks the suffix harmony with the first vowel of the stem. Cf. *śmbá-gè* ‘cause (sth) to rot’ which begins with [-ATR] /ɔ/ and ends with [+ATR] /e/. However the suffix is harmonized with the thematic vowel. In this respect, the -gV derivatives fall into two classes, that can be called A and non-A class. Taking a perfective-imperative pair as diagnostic, the two classes are exemplified in (xxx).

(xx1)

<i>class</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>PFV</i>	<i>IMP</i>
A	‘break off the end’	<i>ára-gè</i>	<i>àrà-gá</i>
	‘cause (sth) to rot’	<i>śmbá-gè</i>	<i>òmbà-gá</i>
non-A	‘demolish (house)’	<i>wúlú-gè</i>	<i>wùlù-gó</i>
	‘break (a stick)’	<i>péndé-gè</i>	<i>pèndè-gó</i>
	‘extinguish (fire)’	<i>míní-gè</i>	<i>mìnì-gó</i>

The following -gV derivatives list is close to exhaustive. Note that the majority of input stems are patientive intransitives (see § 9.3.5 for the fuller discussion).

(xx1)

<i>input</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>CAUS</i>	<i>gloss</i>
<i>áré</i>	‘be broken at the end’	<i>ára-gè</i>	‘break off the end’
<i>dúmbé</i>	‘be blunt’	<i>dúmbú-gè</i>	‘make (blade) blunt’
<i>émbé</i>	‘be wet’	<i>émbá-gè</i>	‘make wet (e.g. garment)’
<i>gílé</i>	‘(a long object) be broken’	<i>gílág-è</i>	‘break(sth)
<i>gíné</i>	‘be knocked or slide out of position’	<i>gíná-gè</i>	‘knock or slide (sth) out of position’
<i>góndé</i>	‘be sharply curved or bent’	<i>góndá-gè</i>	‘make (stick) sharply curved or be’
<i>gúmbé</i>	‘be divided in two halves’	<i>gúmbú-gè</i>	‘divide in two halves’
<i>kábé</i>	‘be/become separate’	<i>kábá-gè</i>	‘separate, put space between (things)’
<i>kángé</i>	‘be torn’	<i>kángá-gè</i>	‘rip, tear (sth)’
<i>kúgé</i>	‘be charred (by burning)’	<i>kúgá-gè</i>	‘char, cook (sth) until black’
<i>máré</i>	‘be lost’	<i>mára-gè</i>	‘cause (sth) to be lost’
<i>míní</i>	‘(fire) go out, die away’	<i>míní-gè</i>	‘extinguish, put out (fire)’
<i>múré</i>	‘be punctured’	<i>múrí-gè</i>	‘puncture, hole through (verb)’

<i>námí</i>	‘(apparatus) be kaput’	<i>námá-gè</i>	‘cause (apparatus) to be kaput’
<i>ómbé</i>	‘rot, be or become rotten’	<i>ómbá-gè</i>	‘cause (sth) to rot’
<i>ów"é</i>	‘become crumpled’	<i>ów"á-gè</i>	‘crumple (e.g. tin can)’
<i>péndé</i>	‘(stick) break’	<i>péndé-gè</i>	‘break (a stick)’
<i>péngé</i>	‘(space) become cramped’	<i>péngá-gè</i>	‘cause (space)to become cramped’
<i>píjé</i>	‘explode’	<i>píjá-gè</i>	‘cause to explode, detonate’
<i>púré</i>	‘(sth) be divided’	<i>púrí-gè</i>	‘divide (sth)’
<i>tébé</i>	‘(sth) shatter’	<i>tébé-gè</i>	‘shatter, smash (sth)’
<i>wúlé</i>	‘(house) collapse, fall’	<i>wúlú-gè</i>	‘demolish (house)’
<i>yóré</i>	‘(rope) become loose, slack’	<i>yórá-gè</i>	‘loosen, slacken (rope)’
<i>yúlé</i>	‘(sb) wake up’	<i>yúlá-gè</i>	‘wake (sb) up’

Tonally, all -gV causatives are of {HL} class. A pronominal paradigm of the perfective is exemplified in (xx1) by *yúlá-gè* ‘wake (sb) up’.

(xx1)	SG	PL
1	<i>ń-yùlàgè</i>	<i>ń-yúlágè</i>
2	<i>à-yùlàgè</i>	<i>é-yúlágè</i>
3	<i>yúlágè</i>	<i>yúlág-yè</i>

-gV causatives are regular verbs with a full set of the inflectional categories. Derivationally, the -gV derivative can serve as an input to derive a double causative, using the suffix *-mi*. Cf. *péndé-gó-mì* ‘cause (sb) to break (a stick)’

A few transitive stems may originate as -gV derivatives. They are listed in (xx1).

(xx1)	<i>kyá:-gè</i>	‘gather (things)’
	<i>póró-gè</i>	‘mix (fruits) with hot water into a pulp’
	<i>wúlá-gè</i>	‘divide (sth) into parts (e.g. halves) or piles’

9.3.3 Causatives in -mV

The -mV causative (*-mi* in the perfective) derivation is the most productive pattern. Actually, almost every active verb stem can have a -mV derivative. In particular, -mV suffix is used to derive causatives from underived transitive stems and from the stems that already have a derivational suffix (reversive, causative (-rV or -gV) and

inchoative). This option is not available for the other causative suffixes. At the same time, the suffixation in *-mV* is the most productive pattern among intransitive stems⁴.

Some of the *-mV* derivatives are discourse-frequent and have undergone lexicalization. The others are only possible and seem not to be much in use. See § 9.3.5 for details.

In the overwhelming majority of cases the suffix *-mV* is added to the imperative stem (final *a*, *o*, or *u*). Consider (xx1) below. The input stems are given in the imperative form.

(xx1)	<i>input</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>CAUS</i>	<i>gloss</i>
	<i>ńá:</i>	‘eat’	<i>ńá:-mì</i>	‘cause to eat, nourish’
	<i>káná</i>	‘do’	<i>káná-mì</i>	‘cause to do’
	<i>únú</i>	‘step’	<i>únú-mì</i>	‘cause to step’
	<i>kùmyú</i>	‘close (eyes)’	<i>kúmyú-mì</i>	‘cause sb to close (eyes)’
	<i>sò:nú</i>	‘converse’	<i>sónú-mì</i>	‘cause to converse’
	<i>sémá</i>	‘slaughter’	<i>sémá-mì</i>	‘cause to slaughter’
	<i>mì:ndá</i>	‘swallow’	<i>mí:ndá-mì</i>	‘cause to swallow’
	<i>màlyă:</i>	‘see’	<i>mályá-mì</i>	‘cause to see’
	<i>gó:</i>	‘go out’	<i>gó:-mì</i>	‘cause to go out, remove’
	<i>sígó</i>	‘go down’	<i>sígó-mì</i>	‘cause to go down’
	<i>tómbó</i>	‘jump’	<i>tómbó-mì</i>	‘cause to jump’

However, there are several exceptions from this rule. Thus, I/U stems form causative by adding suffix *-mì* to stem with final /i/. Cf. (xx1).

(xx1)	<i>gloss</i>	<i>PFV</i>	<i>IMP</i>	<i>CAUS</i>	<i>gloss</i>
	‘be sated’	<i>síní</i>	<i>sínú</i>	<i>síní-mì</i>	‘cause to be sated, sate (sb)’
	‘get to know’	<i>ìjì</i>	<i>ìjù</i>	<i>ìjì-mì</i>	‘cause to know’
	‘sow’	<i>ńíwí</i>	<i>ńíwú</i>	<i>ńíwí-mì</i>	‘cause to sow’
	‘scoop’	<i>kíní</i>	<i>kínú</i>	<i>kíní-mì</i>	‘cause to scoop’

The deriving stem coincides with the perfective stem (see § 10.xxx). This might be an old pattern that used to be more productive in the past. In a few cases a causative stem exists in two variants as *sígó-mì* ~ *sígé-mì* ‘take down, lower (price)’. Cf. *sígé* ‘go down’ with imperative *sígó*.

⁴ I know 28 intransitive stems that can derive a causative using this pattern only. To compare, there are only 13 stems that add *-gV* suffix. Most of them can have a *-mV* derivative too.

A few verbs with stem vowel /ɔ/ have the same vowel before suffix in the causative in stead of expected /a/. At the same time the others have regular thematic /a/.

(xxx)	<i>gloss</i>	<i>IMP</i>	<i>CAUS</i>
	‘be or become rotten’	<i>ʒmbá</i>	<i>ʒmbɔ̀-̀mì</i>
	‘stink’	<i>gɔ́má</i>	<i>gɔ́má-̀mì</i>

-mV derivatives have thematic /i/ in the perfective. As all i-perfectives they fall into two subclasses in terms of the vowel variation, viz. A and non-A, depending on whether the presuffixial vowel is /a/ or not. These two classes are shown in (xx1). Note that the causative with thematic /ɔ/ (*ʒmbɔ̀-̀mì*, *ʒmbɔ̀-̀má*) still shows the alternation peculiar to the A class.

(xx1)	<i>gloss</i>	<i>PFV</i>	<i>IMP</i>
A	‘cause to slaughter’	<i>sémá-̀mì</i>	<i>sèmà-̀má</i>
	‘cause become rotten’	<i>ʒmbɔ̀-̀mì</i>	<i>ʒmbɔ̀-̀má</i>
	‘cause to do’	<i>káná-̀mì</i>	<i>kànà-̀má</i>
non-A	‘cause to go out, remove’	<i>gó:-̀mì</i>	<i>gò:-̀mú</i>
	‘cause to come’	<i>égó-̀mì</i>	<i>ègò-̀mú</i>
	‘cause to scoop’	<i>kíní-̀mì</i>	<i>kìnì-̀mú</i>

The thematic vowel is syncoated before the suffix in a few stems with consonant /m/ in final syllable. The cases known to me including denominal *gím-̀mì* ‘cause pain, hurt’ are those in (xx1).

(xx1)	<i>ɲómé</i>	‘be a long-time’	<i>ɲó-̀mì</i>	‘delay (sth)’
	<i>kámí</i>	‘be tight, too small’	<i>kám-̀mì</i>	‘tighten (rope)’
	<i>gímì</i>	‘pain’	<i>gím-̀mì</i>	‘cause pain, hurt’

However other stems with /m/ in the final syllable don’t have the syncope before the causative suffix:

(xx2)	<i>kómé</i>	‘shout’	<i>kó-̀má-̀mì</i>	‘make (sb) shout’
	<i>gó-̀mé</i>	‘stink’	<i>gó-̀má-̀mì</i>	‘cause to stink’
	<i>ámí</i>	‘be sour’	<i>ámá-̀mì</i>	‘make sth sour (in taste)’

This means that one cannot predict the occurrence of the syncope in causatives by looking at the form of the input stem. In other words, the syncope in causative derivatives is only an idiosyncratic feature of some stems but not a regular morphophonological process. Cf. the thematic vowel syncope in inchoatives (§ 9.5.1).

As in several other derivations adding the causative suffix *-mV* to a bimoraic stem results a {HL} melody in the output stem, since total number of morae always will be more than two. So most causatives in *-mV* belong to the HL class. However, unlike in other derivations, quadrimoraic stems in *-mV* show a different tonal behavior. Cf. examples in (xx3):

(xx4)	input PFV	output PFV	output IMP	gloss
	<i>dú:wè</i>	<i>dú:wó-mì</i>	<i>dú:wó-mù</i>	'take by surprise, sneak up on (sb)'
	<i>nú:ndè</i>	<i>nú:ndá-mì</i>	<i>nú:ndá-mà</i>	'teach (= make learn)'

In quadrimoraic stems unlike in trimoraic, imperatives take a {HL} contour instead of {LH}. One could argue that here we deal with another metric rule as those discussed in § 3.xx. That is all stems that have 4 morae or more automatically take {HL} contour in the imperative. However this generalization doesn't hold. Cf. quadrisyllabic verb *dígílámì* 'postpone (event)' that has frozen suffix *-mV*. This verb has imperative *dìgìlámá* with regular {LH} contour. That is we have to admit that this tonal behavior is peculiar only to causative derivatives in *-mV*. Moreover, the further investigation of imperative formation in quadrimoraic causatives in *-mV* reveals further tonal peculiarities. Some quadrimoraic stems take a {LHL} tone contour in the imperative. Cf. *wⁿá:wⁿá-mì* 'boil (tr.) (= cause (sth) to boil)', with imperative *wⁿá:wⁿá-mà*. That is we can identify two classes of quadrimoraic causatives in *-mV*. In both classes the perfective stems have ({HL}) tone contour, while the imperatives differ in that verbs of the first class take a {HL} contour while the verbs of the second class take a contour {LHL}:

(xx5) tonal contours in quadrimoraic causatives in *-mV*

	PFV	IMP
I class	{HL}	{HL}
II class	{HL}	{LHL}

Formally the two tonal classes of quadrimoraic causatives in *-mV* may seem reminiscent of the two classes of nominal plurals (§ 4.1.1.1). Recall that in nominal plurals, some stems assign tones to the plural suffix by stretching stem's tone contour to the right, while the others polarize the tone on the plural suffix with respect to the final tone of the of the stem. One can analyze the {LHL} tone contour in the imperative as the result of tonal polarization between the deriving stem and the suffix. In that case the imperative {LH} contour is taken to be realized only on the input stems *wⁿà:wⁿá-*, while the suffix takes a low tone by polarization. In other words there is a class of fourmoraic causatives in *-mV* that use tonal polarization in assigning tones on the suffix. However, the parallel between fourmoraic causatives in *-mV* that take a {HL} contour in the imperative and stretching nominal plurals is less suggestive.

The summary of tonal marking in *-mV* causatives is given in (xx6):

(xx6)	PFV	IMP
3 morae	{HL}	{LH}
≥ 4 morae	{HL}	{HL}/{LHL}

An example of a stem with more than four morae is *pódógóló-mì* 'cause/ allow to escape', derived from *pódógélè* 'escape'. This stem has imperative *pódógóló-mù*, with a {HL} contour⁵.

V1 length is generally retained in causatives in *-mV*. cf. *dé:jó-mì* 'make small' derived from *dé:jè* 'be small'. In several cases the causative derivatives show V1 shortening. For example consider *yérá-mì* 'be obtainable' (see § 9.3.5 on the semantics) derived from *yé:rè* 'get, obtain'

A causative in *-mV* can be derived from a reversive and *-rV* and *-gV* causative stem. The same patterns of vowel harmony are used in those causes. The three secondary derivations are exemplified in (xxx).

(xxx) a. REV + *-mV*

wéjé 'pull up pants (to cross the water)'

⁵ Recall that verb *pódógélè* already discussed in § 3.xxx (shape of stems) has irregular imperative form *pòdògòló*. The latter stem is used in the causative derivation.

wéǵú-lè ‘pull down pants (after having pull them up)’
wéǵú-lá-mì ‘cause (sb) to pull the pants down’

b. -rV CAUS + -mV

íṅǵá ‘stand’
íṅǵí-rè ‘put (sth) in a standing position’
íṅǵí-rá-mì ‘cause (sb) to put (sth) in a standing position’

c. -gV + -mV

yóré ‘(rope) become loose, slack’
yórá-gè ‘loosen, slacken (a rope)’
yórá-gá-mì ‘cause (sb) to loosen, slacken (a rope)’

The inchoative verbs in -yV: derived from statives, adjectival or nominal stems regularly from causatives in -mV as it exemplified in (xxx).

(xxx)

lexical class	input	gloss	INCH	CAUS	gloss
st. V.	wábá	‘lie on one’s belly’	wab-yê:	wáb-yá-mì	‘lie (sb) on his belly’
N	kè:gé	‘crazy person’	ké:g-yè	ké:g-yó-mì	‘drive (sb) crazy’
ADJ	súmbó	‘deep’	súmb-yê:	súmb-yó-mì	‘deepen (sth)’

See § 9.5 and § 9.6xxx on details of non-deverbal derivations. The destative inchoative stems are discussed in § 9.5xxx.

The suffix is readily added to stems with suffix -yV: paired with a -rV transitive stem (see § 9.5.1 for details). Cf. dú:-yê: ‘be loaded’ with a corresponding transitive dú:-rè ‘have (sb) carry (sth) on the head’ and -mV causative dú:-yá-mì derived from the inchoative stem.

Derived verb núwⁿá-mì ‘heat (sth), make (sth) hot’ with a variant núyⁿá-mì deserves a comment. The corresponding deriving stem is found in nú:wⁿε ‘be hot’. Comparing the derivate with the deriving stems there are two phonological changes in the former: 1) a V1 shortening; 2) a C2 variation wⁿ/yⁿ. One can untangle these irregularities by analyzing the variant núyⁿá-mì as historically derived from stem *núwⁿ-yV- containing the inchoative suffix (§ 9.5.1). Then similar to the case of gáw-yê:/ gá-yê: ‘lie on one’s back’ discussed briefly in § 9.3.1 form núyⁿá-mì might occur through a simplification of the /wⁿy/ cluster. The input stem in that case might already have a short V1 as the

result of resyllabification. See § 9.5.1 for details on tonal and vowel length changes in inchoatives. Then by contrast to the case of *dú:yá-mì/dú:rá-mì* ‘transport/ have somebody transport (sth) the V1 shortening in *núwⁿá-mì* may be then explained as a lexicalized result of analogical leveling under influence of *dúyⁿá-mì*.

There is another type of variation found in some causatives in *-mV* derived from inchoatives. As an example consider *wílyê:* ‘(sth) spin, rotate’ and derived causative *wílyó-mì/ wíló-mì* ‘spin, rotate (sth)’ with two variants, with and without /y/. Apparently this variation can not be explained phonologically. There is no phonological rule that could be responsible for deleting /y/ in such a phonetic environment. Alternatively one could argue that the two causative variant are historically derived from two different stems, **wílV* and *wíl-yê:* with the latter derived from the former by adding the inchoative suffix. Then for some reason stem **wílV* was lost and the synonymous causatives stems became variants of the same derivative.(see § 9.3.5 for a fuller discussion). A few cases of such variation, that I’m aware of, are listed in (xx3)

(xx1)

Input	gloss	CAUS	gloss
<i>wílyê:</i>	‘(sth) spin, rotate’	<i>wílyó-mì/ wíló-mì</i>	‘spin, rotate (sth)’
<i>úgúlyê:</i>	‘(fire) start up again, be rekindled’	<i>úgúlyó-mì/ úgúló-mì</i>	‘rekindle (fire)’

The pronominal paradigm of the perfective *sémá-mì* ‘have (sb) slaughter (an animal)’ is given in (xx1).

(xx1)	SG	PL
1	<i>ń-sèmámí</i>	<i>ń-sémámì</i>
2	<i>à-sèmámí</i>	<i>é-sémámì</i>
3	<i>sémámì</i>	<i>sémám-yè</i>

A number of polysyllabic transitive and intransitive stems show frozen *-mi*. A list of examples is given below.

(xxx) Unsegmentable verb stems with final frozen *mi*

<i>bílályámì</i>	transform (sth, into sth)
<i>túndú:ⁿ dínglámì</i>	delay (sb, sth)
<i>kírímì</i>	dispute, challenge, contradict (sb, in a debate)

<i>kóndómì</i>	give back, return (sth, to sb)
<i>dúngú kórómì</i>	be fed up (with sth), be sick and tired (of sth)
<i>múndólómì</i>	rumple, squeeze into a clump
<i>nándálámì</i>	(sb) trip (sb) with a kick
<i>námmì</i>	‘want, like, love’
<i>pójólámì</i>	twist (arm, branch)
<i>píjí ínímì</i>	let out one's stomach
<i>pógúlúmì</i>	caress, rub gently with fingers or palm
<i>sùgùmà sùgúmì</i>	pick (sth) by hand or with pincers
<i>súrólómì</i>	pour (tea) back and forth
<i>tólyómì</i>	(hen) hatch (egg)
<i>wágálámì</i>	stir (liquid) with a spoon or ladle
<i>wándámì</i>	say noon greetings
<i>wángílámì</i>	take (sth) around (obstacle)
<i>yájámì</i>	poke fun, mock (verb)
<i>yérámì</i>	be found, be (regularly) present

<i>bélámì</i>	be enough for (sb)
<i>gílámì</i>	(sth unseen) make a sudden noise (verb)
<i>kémbámì</i>	(sb) dress well
<i>yérámì</i>	be found, be (regularly) present

Frozen causative suffix *-mì* should not be confused with *-mì*, frozen allomorph of medio-passive suffix *-yV*:. See § 9.5.1 for details.

A verb form segmentally identical to the perfective form of the causative in *-mV* is used in embedded speech act clauses, when the subject of the embedded clause is coreferential with both the speaker and the addressee of the speech act described in sentence. Cf. the following example, see x.xx for the details.

(xxx) *ènê: wágáru-ùⁿ bâ: mí-wⁿ fránsí-ùⁿ ándá-mí gúné*
 this time-OBJ DEF 1SG-OBJ France-OBJ go-CAUS say.PFV
 ‘This time (she) said to me let's go to France’ (AF_16.006)

9.3.4 Minor causative suffixes

Two rudimentary causative suffixation patterns, viz. that in *-ndV* and in *-jV* are found in Mombo morphology. This subsection deals with these patterns.

9.3.4.1 Causative ndV

In one case known to me the causative suffix added to a non stative stem is *-ndV*. Cf. the pair *ní:wè* ‘be afraid of (sb/sth)’ – *níwá-ndè* ‘threaten’. Note also an unusual initial vowel shortening in the causative.

Three stative stems use suffix *-ndV* to derive the causative. Cf. (xxx).

(xxx)	<i>input</i>	<i>gloss</i>		<i>output</i>	<i>gloss</i>
	<i>dá:n</i>	‘sit’		<i>dá:-ndè</i>	‘make (sb) sit down’
	<i>báwⁿá</i>	‘(door) be closed’		<i>bá:-ndè</i>	‘close (door)’
	<i>d^wná</i>	‘be put’		<i>dú:-ndè</i>	‘put (sth)’

The case of *dá:n* seems to be the most clear one. The causative suffix is just compositionally added to the input stem resulting the output.

In case of *bá:ndè* one could suppose a syncope of the presuffixial vowel with subsequent /wⁿ/ deletion in V_NC context and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § xxx for details), as it shown in (xxx).

(xxx) *#báwⁿá-ndè* → *#báwⁿ-ndè* → *bá:-ndè*

d^wná can be thought to have an alternative CwV stem *dúwⁿá-* as monosyllabic CwV active verbs do (see §xxx for details). Taking this stem as an input one can derive form *dú:ndè*, using the same syncope, /wⁿ/ deletion and lengthening.

(xxx) *#dúwⁿá-ndè* → *#dúwⁿ-ndè* → *dú:n-dè*

Note, however, that for all three verbs one could suppose another possible derivational chain. Since all three statives (unlike those which derive *-rV* causatives) have a final nasalized phoneme (/a:ⁿ/ or /wⁿ/) which, at some step of derivation contacts the derivational suffix. Taking into the account that rule realization of the nasalization before on obstruent (see § xxx above) one could argue that in the cases discussed the derivational suffix is *-dV* rather than *-ndV*. In that case the derivations would look like the following:

(xxx) *dá:n + dè* → *dá:-ndè*
#báwⁿá + dè → *#báwⁿá-dè* → *#báwⁿ-dè* → *#báwn-dè* → *bá:n-dè*
#dúwⁿá + dè → *#dúwⁿá-dè* → *#duwⁿ-dè* → *#dúwn-dè* → *dú:n-dè*

Note also that, as mentioned above, the suffix *-rV*, which is used in the same function, very likely goes back to **-dV*. Recall the *-ryè/ -dye* variation in the 3PL forms.

Probably here we deal with divergent phonetic development of two context variants of one morpheme.

A few semantically transitive verb stems end with *-ndV*. Being synchronically unsegmentable, these stems may originate as *-ndV* or (*-dV*) derivatives.

(xxx)	<i>dé:ndè</i>	‘leave, abandon (sb, sth)’
	<i>já:ndè</i>	‘put (e.g. cooking pot) on a stand or to keep it off the ground’
	<i>mí:ndè</i>	‘swallow’
	<i>ná:ndè</i>	‘taste’
	<i>ní:ndè</i>	‘sharpen, make (blade) sharp’
	<i>nú:ndè</i>	‘learn, be trained’
	<i>sáyéndè</i>	‘stretch out (rope) by pulling/ (rope) be stretched out’
	<i>tó:ndè</i>	‘stomp on (hide, in tanning)’

9.3.4.2 Relict suffix transitive *dV in stems with geminated consonants

Suffix of similar form can be reconstructed for some stems containing geminate *-dd-*. These stems must contain suffix with of form **-dV* as consideration of cognate material from Penage, a language closely related to Mombo, suggest. See cognate pairs from the two language listed in §3.3.8.3

9.3.4.3 Relict suffix -jV

Pair *nígíjè* ‘mix, combine’/*nígílè* ‘untangle (sth tangled or disordered)’ already discussed in 9.1.1 is semantically parallel to *-rV* causative/reversive pairs. One of the possible analysis of this pair would suppose that *-je* and *-le* are the causative and reversive suffixes added to the bound stem *nigi-*. Apparently the same stem is found in *níj-yê*: ‘(two ingredients) be mixed’.

nígí-jè however, is the only case known to me where a trisyllabic verb ending in *-je* is segmentable. Considering the unsegmentable trisyllabic verb stems in *-je* (xx1) gives ambiguous results. Only some of them are transitive. So the data seems to be insufficient to state suffixation in *-je* as a relict causative derivation pattern.

(xx1)	<i>ámánjè</i>	‘dream’
	<i>ámánje</i>	‘be bruised’
	<i>úgújè</i>	‘rinse out (one's mouth)’
	<i>dúmánjè</i>	‘become rich’
	<i>gángájè</i>	‘(cat, donkey) rub its body (against. sth)’
	<i>gángájè</i>	‘brush against, graze (sth)’

<i>gógóje</i>	‘chew on (bone)’
<i>kábájè</i>	‘climb noisily (tree trunk or cliff)’
<i>kó:-nà yígúje</i>	‘undo braids’ ⁶
<i>kóndónjè</i>	‘(garment) become wrinkled’
<i>mélánjè</i>	‘be paralyzed’
<i>nágájè</i>	‘mix, stir together (e.g. flour and water)’
<i>nógójè</i>	‘slide in (e.g. a pencil over one's ear)’
<i>nógójè</i>	‘tickle (sb)’
<i>núgúje</i>	‘ransack, search through (belongings)’
<i>pélénjè</i>	‘hit off-center’ ⁷
<i>púgúje</i>	‘crumple (paper or clothing)’
<i>wálánjè</i>	‘splash or toss (water) by hand (as in bathing)’

9.3.4.4 Frozen suffix –IV transitive stems

A number of transitive polysyllabic stems may historically contain suffix *-IV. I list them in (xx1). Notice that these stems differ from those containing the frozen reversive suffix –IV (recall §9.2.2)

(xx1) frozen *-IV in transitive stems

<i>ángúlè</i>	‘put stop to a fight (i.e. separate, pull apart the fighters)’
<i>bégúlè</i>	‘winnow (pounded grain)’
<i>dábálè dábálè</i>	‘tell (a riddle) (verb)’
<i>dúngúlè</i>	‘break (e.g. brick) in half’
<i>gágálè</i>	‘whet (knife)’
<i>gálálè</i>	‘put (manure) (to fertilize earth)’
<i>jíngílè</i>	‘gin, remove seeds from’
<i>kábúlè</i>	‘dismember (sth) into pieces’
<i>kájálè</i>	‘scale, scrape the scales off (a fish)’
<i>kémbúlè</i>	‘scoop up (food) in one hand from a bowl’
<i>kémbúlè</i>	‘take (handful of food) in hand’
<i>kíllè</i>	‘solve (a problem)’
<i>kómbólè</i>	‘split (peanut) in half’
<i>kó:-nà sáyélè</i>	‘comb (verb)’
<i>kóndúlè</i>	‘go around (sth, in a circle)’

⁶ *kó:-nà* means ‘his/her head’

⁷ As in nearly missing a nail head with the hammer.

<i>kóngólè</i>	‘collect (last bit of food in pot) with hand’
<i>mógúlè</i>	‘drain off (liquid, from cream of millet) by hand’
<i>ná:lè</i>	‘think (of or about sth)’
<i>nánálè</i>	‘apply wet earth to (a surface) by pressing’
<i>nébúlè</i>	‘rub (sth, when washing) ’
<i>négálè</i>	‘(e.g. wrestler) rub (fallen opponent) into the sand’
<i>nímbúlè</i>	‘(rope) rub hard against, abrade (skin)’
<i>péllè</i>	‘pick off (a small piece of a leaf, etc.) by hand’
<i>púbúlè</i>	‘blow on (e.g. fire)’
<i>símbúlè</i>	‘carve (wood)’
<i>sógúlè</i>	‘pound (karité fruits, wild grapes) to separate pulp and skin from pits’
<i>sógúlè</i>	‘scrub hard (one's body, by hand, with soap, while bathing)’
<i>só:lè</i>	‘sell’
<i>tánjúlè</i>	‘measure (length, distance) in spans or in steps’
<i>tébúlè</i>	‘hit, strike (general word)’
<i>tí:lè</i>	‘narrate, tell (story)’
<i>tímbálè</i>	‘formally counsel (a young person)’
<i>wángúlè</i>	‘go around (obstacle)’
<i>yágúlè</i>	‘cut off (tree branch) by slashing with a machete or trimming ax (e.g. to clear a tree trunk)’
<i>yéllè</i>	‘knock off (fruit) by throwing a stone or a stick at it’

9.3.5 Semantics of the causative markers

In this section I consider the semantics of the causative suffixes discussed above. First of all, it should be emphasized that the three major causative-deriving patterns⁸ are not equally applied to all verbal stems. Thus, as it was previously mentioned, suffix *-rV* is primarily used to derive the causatives from morphologically stative stems, and can be added only to a few morphological active verbs. None of the other two suffixes can be used do derive a causative directly from a stative stem. The distribution of the suffix *-gV* is restricted to intransitive active stems of a certain semantic properties considered below, while causative derivation in *-mV* is fully

⁸ The minor causative suffixes are not considered here. However, suffix *-ndV* seems to carry out the same function in the three aforesaid stative stems that *-rV* suffix does for all the others, so all what is said in this subsection about the *-rV* causatives is true of *-ndV* causatives as well.

productive on the set of active verbs. Table xxx shows the distribution of suffixes in term of semantic and morphological properties of input stems.

(xxx)	morphological statives	-rV
	intransitive actives	-rV(2 ex.), -gV, -mV
	transitive actives	-mV

Let's first consider the suffix -rV. The fact that it is uniquely applied to the stative stems can be explained if one compares the derivative and the input stem properties. Cf. (xx1).

(xx1)	<i>wábá</i>	'(human) be lying on one's belly'
	<i>wábú-rè</i>	'cause (human) to lie on his/her belly / lay (sb) on his/her belly'

Comparing the translations in (xx1) one may notice the valence increase from a to b. The semantic definition of *wábú-rè* contains an agent-like argument, the causer. However, the difference between the xx1.a and xx2.b lies not only in the area of the argument structure. The -rV derivative *wábú-rè* belongs to a word class different from that of *wábá*. *wábá* is a stative verb, while *wábú-rè* is active (see §9.x for the differences between the two classes). So, as one can see, the functions of the suffix -rV are not confined to the functions of a causative marker in proper sense. It can be used as a word-formation device⁹. This option is not available for the other two suffixes.

This fact, however, doesn't obviate the need of the description of the suffix semantics in its comparison with the other causative suffixes. The description is rather embarrassed, since it seems that a very few stems have all three causative derivatives. I am aware of only two of them. Cf. (xx1)

(xx1)	<i>gloss</i>		-rV		-gV		-mV
	<i>émbé</i>	'be or become wet'	<i>émbú-rè</i>		<i>émbá-gè</i>		<i>émbá-mì</i>
	<i>ów'é</i>	'be or become crumpled'	<i>ów'ú-rè</i>		<i>ów'á-gè</i>		<i>ów'a-mì</i>

A well known distinction of contactive/distant causation [Xolodovič 1969; Saksena 1982] is valuable for the semantics of the suffixes. As the following examples suggest¹⁰, -rV causatives refer to the contact causation, i.e. a situation where no occurrence of an intermediary causer is possible and so can be translated into English

⁹ Note that mediopassive suffix functions in the same way when added to a stative stem. It shifts the stem word class to non-stative (see 9.x for details).

¹⁰ Both (xx1) and (xx2) were elicited by presenting Mombo stimuli to an informant and to explain the difference between the two.

as ‘soak’ (xx1) while *-ga* allows an interpretation with an intermediary causer (supposed rain in (xx2)).

(xx1) *bámbúlà à-nèmbù-ré*
 hat 2SG-be.wet-CAUS3.PFV
 'You soak your hat'

(xx2) *-gV / specified non-animate*
bámbúlà à-nèmbà-gé
 hat 2SG-be.wet-CAUS2.PFV
 ‘You’ve wet (your) hat!’ < Said to a person who returned in the house shortly after having gone outside because being caught by a sudden hard rain > .

-mi causatives are also denote distant causation however when opposed to an existing *-gV* causative its semantics is usually restricted to a causation involving a human intermediary causer. Thus *bámbúlà à-nèmbà-mí* would be better translated as ‘you wet your hat (by having somebody doing that)’.

<...>

9.3.6 Contactive/distant polysemy in *-mV* causatives

A peculiar feature of the causative derivation in *-mV* is that of insensitivity to the argument structure of the deriving stem. Cf. the semantics of verbs *dú-yê:* and *dú:rè* and their causative derivatives.

intr.	gloss	tr.	gloss	CAUS deintr/detr.	gloss
<i>dú-yê:</i> 1	‘load oneself (with sth)’	<i>dú:rè</i> 1	‘load (sb) with (sth)’	<i>dú:-yá-mì/ dú:-rá-mì</i> 1a	‘make (sb) load himself with (sth)’
				<i>dú:-yá-mì/ dú:-rá-mì</i> 1b	‘make sb load sb else with (sth)’
<i>dú-yê:</i> 2	‘load (sth) on one’s head’	<i>dú:rè</i> 2	‘load (sth) on one’s head’	<i>dú:-yá-mì/dú:-rá-mì</i> 2a	‘make (sb) load (sth) on one’s head’
				<i>dú:-yá-mì/ dú:-rá-mì</i> 2b	‘make (sb) load (sth) on (sb) else’s head’
<i>dú-yê:</i> 3	‘carry (sth) on head’	<i>dú:rè</i> 3	‘have (sb) carry (sth) on head’	<i>dú:-yá-mì/ dú:-rá-mì</i> 3a	‘make (sb) carry (sth) on head’

dú:-yá-mì/ dú:-rá-mì 3b ‘make (sb) have
(sb) carry on head’

First notice three different readings of *dú-yê*: All these reading are transitive in spite of the fact the *dú-yê*: contains a segmentable medio-passive typically found in intransitive stems. In all there cases the actor is affected by the action s\he performs. Next, in the corresponding derivatives in *-rV* the actor causes another participant to perform the same action that now affects the latter participant. Finally, a derivative in *-mì* can be derived from both the stem containing the medio-passive suffix (*dú-yV-*) and that containing the causative suffix *-rV* suffix (*du-rV*). The semantic opposition between stems in *-yV* and stems in *-rV* now becomes irrelevant. As one can see from the last column of the table (xx1), both *dú:-yá-mì* and *dú:-rá-mì* may be used for both simple causative and a ‘double causative’ semantics. In the latter case there is an intermediary causer in addition the main causer and the final causee. Cf. the representations in below:

(xxx)

dú: yá-mì/ dú: rá-mì 3b

Causer	Causation1	interm. Causer	Causation2	Causee	V
X	made	-	-	Z	carry (sth) ones head
X	made	Y	have	Z	carry (sth) ones head

9.3.7 Causative/ passive polysemy in *-mV* causatives

I’m aware of two cases where a derivative in *-mV* has along with regular causative reading, a passive interpretation. These stems a given in (xx3).

(xx3) Causative/ passive polysemy in *-mV* causatives

gámbyê: ‘find’ *gámbyá-mì* ‘cause (sb), find (sth)’, ‘be recovered’
mályê: ‘see’ *mályá-mì* ‘show’, ‘be seen’

A development from a distant causative to a passives is well-attested crosslinguistically (Haspelmath 1990: 46-49), and occurrence of stems meaning ‘see’ and ‘find’ is also not accidental. The stages of such semantic development can be represented as done in (xx4):

(xx4) Semantic development from Causative to Passive (Haspelmath 1990: 46)

- a) *I have barber shave me.* (causative)
- b) *I have myself shaved by the barber.* (reflexive causative)
- c) *I'm shaved.* (passive)

Readings a) and c), but not b) are attested for the abovementioned Mombo stems. However in case of these stems the intermediary stage of causative reflexive doesn't seem to be necessary. The fact that passive readings are attested only for stems meaning 'cause to find' and 'make see' can be explained in a following way. The causee of both these verbs is not volitional or active and, more importantly, doesn't have any control over the situation. In other words the causee is semantically "absent" in these situations. In terms of situation semantics this puts the causative very close to both to the reflexive-causative and passive, which both background the (intermediary) agent. When the causer and the patient are coreferential as the causative situation is virtually identical to that of the reflexive causative and the passive.

(xx5)

Causative, Causee = Causer 'X made Y find X'

Passive 'X is found (by Y)'

Pair *yé:rè* 'gain'- *yérá-mì* 'be obtainable' may represent a case of further development with final lexicalization of so-called "potential passive" reading (Haspelmath 1990: 33-34). The full path of semantic change can be represented as follows:

(xx6)

Causative, Causee = Causer 'X made Y gain X'

Passive 'X is gained (by Y)'

Potential Passive 'X is obtainable'

[in progress]

9.4 Benefactive

In addition to causative derivational patterns Mombo has another valency-increasing derivation - the benefactive. Semantically and syntactically, this derivation introduces a participant with the semantic role of *beneficiary*, typically a person for whose sake the action denoted by the verbal stem is carried out. This role is expressed by a noun or pronoun with the object clitic $-w^n$ as shown in (xx1-xx2). See § 11.xx for a more detailed discussion of the argument structure.

(xx1) *débù wúzé*

house build.PFV

‘He/she built a house’

(xx2) *yó:-nà-wⁿ débù wúzí-rè*

woman-3SG.POSS-OBJ house build-BEN.PFV

‘He built a house for his wife’

In (xx2) as compared to (xx1) there is an additional beneficiary participant (wife) which bears the object marker $-w^n$. The verb in its turn takes suffix $-rV$ marking the presence of this participant (*wúzí-rè*).

Morphologically, benefactive verbs are derived by adding the suffix $-rV$ to stem with final $-i$.

One could argue that the benefactive and the homonymous causative in $-rV$ is one and the same valence-increasing derivation. However the two suffixes have different nonintersecting and non-complementary distributions. Causative $-rV$ is used only with stative or intransitive active stems, while benefactive $-rV$ is added to a small number of transitive stems denoting actions that can involve a beneficiary, at least potentially.

I’m aware only of three verbs stems readily deriving the benefactive. those are *wúzé* ‘build’, *swé* ‘buy’ and *kándyê*: ‘make’.

In Mombo, there is another benefactive construction. It is formed by a verb chain of two verbs with the final verb *ndé* inflected for the aspect-negation categories. The first (“main”) verb takes the chaining form. The case frame of these complex predicates is the same as in the construction with morphological benefactive:

(xxx) *yó: yéná-wⁿ sòy swé-né ndé*
 woman.L P.3SG-OBJ shirt buy.PFV-NFS.3SG give.PFV

‘He bought a dress for his wife’

See (15.xx, verb chains) for details.

9.5 Inchoative -yV/-yV:

Suffix -yV/-yV:, where *V* stands for a thematic vowel, is added to verbal (both stative and active), adjectival, or nominal stem to derive the form that I will refer to as inchoative. This vowel appears as long *V*: when it serves as a segmental substratum for a complex tone (HL or LH). If the tone over the inchoative suffix is simply H or L the vowel is phonologically short.

The form in -yV/-yV: has two functions. First, it is used with an adjectival, nominal, stative verb stem to derive inchoative verbs. Cf. *bámbá* ‘be wide’, *bámb-yê:* ‘become wide’. Second, some stems containing the suffix form alternating pairs with forms containing the causative suffix -rV. These forms have a range of typical “middle voice” interpretations. See § 9.5.1 for details.

9.5.1 Morphology of derivation in -yV/-yV:

Unlike the other derivational suffixes, -yV/-yV: is added to a verb stem which lacks a thematic vowel. Cf. *sémé* ‘he/she slaughtered (an animal)’, *sém-yê:* ‘(the animal) is slaughtered’. Most inchoative derivatives have a falling tone on the final syllable. The latter fact favors the syncope analysis, as it is shown in (xx1).

(xx1) *sémé* + -yV → #*sémé-yê* → *sém-yê:*

First, the suffix is added to the verbal stem. Since the derivative has more than two morae it receives a {HL} tone contour. After that the thematic vowel is syncopated, the portion of high tone in the absence of its original substrate vowel is now realized on the last syllable only.

Note that in this analysis, the suffix doesn’t have the long vowel underlyingly, and the prolongation of the final vowel is needed only for realization of stem-wide {HL} contour after deletion of the vowel before the suffix.

In the case of CyV/ CwV monosyllabic stems, the situation is additionally complicated by the syllabification the sonorant before a consonant. For example, the inchoative derivative of *gyé:* ‘kill’ is *gí-yê:*, with /y/ syllabified into /i/ before the -yV: suffix (see § 3.xxx for details). Recall also the pair *kwé:* ‘raise’ /*ku-yê:* ‘be raised, grow up’ mentioned above. However these forms can be analyzed in the same way. As shown in (xx2).

(xx2) *kwé:* + -yV → # *kwé:-yV̂* → #*kwyê:* → *kú-yê:*

After the syncope of the stem final vowel the sonorant is syllabified and the {HL} contour required for a trimoraic stem realizes with a tonal break on the final syllable.

Adding the inchoative suffix to a stem C2 being /y/ also results an interesting outcome. Cf. examples in (xx3).

(xx3) -yV/-yV: with stem containing the final syllable.

nóyá ‘sleep’ *nó:-yè* ‘go to sleep’
bíyá ‘lie’ *bí:-yè* ‘lie down’

The output stem in these cases contain the inchoative suffix added to a stem lacking the whole final syllable while V1 syllable contains a long vowel. As in the previous case I analyze this starting from the input stem which loses the final vowel after the suffix is added. Next, the resulting /yy/ cluster is simplified to /y/ with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. This can be schematized as done below.

(xxx) *nóyá* + -yV → #noya-yV → #noy-ye → *nó:yè*

Note however that this analysis fails to explain why the output stem doesn't have the final long vowel and a falling tone (#*nó:-yê:*). This should be a regular outcome of assigning a {HL} tone contour first to underlying string #noya-ye which would result #*nóyá-yè* and then carrying the tonal contour till the end of the derivation (→ #*nóy-yê:* → #*nó:-yê:*). The problem maybe solved if only one assumes that the tone contour is assigned later (after the presuffixial syncope applied) to the string *no:-ye*. I'm also aware of two further cases where the inchoative suffix bears a low tone melody instead of usual {HL}. They are given in (xx1):

(xx1) Irregular final low tone in inchoative derivatives

kú:-yè ‘hide conceal oneself’ cf. *kú:-rè* ‘hide (sth/sb)’
ké:g-yè ‘drive sb crazy’, cf. *kè:gé* ‘crazy person’

The inchoative suffix is harmonized with deriving stem in harmony class. Examples showing perfective allomorphs of -yV/-yV: are given below.

(xx3)

class	input	gloss	output	gloss

-ATR	<i>jéŋgé</i>	'be bent'	<i>jéŋg-yê:</i>	'become bent'
+ATR	<i>sí:wè</i>	'be melt'	<i>sí:w-yê:</i>	'melt'
A	<i>dábá</i>	'be hiding'	<i>dáb-yê:</i>	'hide, conceal oneself'
I/A	<i>báwⁿá</i>	'(door) be shut'	<i>báwⁿ-î:, IMP bàwⁿ-yǎ:</i>	'(door) shut'
I/U	<i>dwⁿá</i>	'be put'	<i>dú-yⁿî:, IMP dùyⁿǔ:</i>	'put'

Perfective forms with final *-î:* found in I/A and I/U classes deserve a comment. *-i:* can be analyzed as a regular realization of *#-yi* that is the inchoative suffix *-yV/-yV:* with thematic vowel /i/ as required by these classes. The vowel length can be either the direct outcome of the realization of *-yi* after the consonant or as in previous cases discussed the result of the final vowel prolongation after the syncope conditioned by the requirement of a {HL} contour to be realized with a tonal break on the final syllable.

As in the case of the causative suffix *-rV* discussed in § 9.3.1 in some cases the deriving stem is not easy to identify, since adding the suffix *-yV/-yV:* deletes the thematic vowel. Cf. *jéŋg-yê:* '(sth, sb) become bent, tilt' can be analyzed as derived either from stative *jéngá* 'be bent, tilt' or active *jéngé* 'be bent, tilt'. The both patterns are present in Mombo as has been already pointed out.

A few monosyllabic verb stems of simple CV structure are not able to derive an inchoative.

9.5.2 Inchoative with *-yV/-yV:* with active verbal stems

Semantically verbs derived from active stems by adding suffix *-yV:* show several types of readings. Cf. (xx1-xx2) (See 9.5.4 for the further discussion).

(xx1) Reflexive

- a. *wè:* *yénà* *ɲámbú-rè*
 child P.3SG dress-TR.PFV
 'She/ he dressed his/her child'

- b. *ɲámb-yê:*
 dress-INCH.PFV
 'She/ he got dressed'

(xx3) Inchoative

- a. *nú:* *sí:wè*

butter be.melted
 ‘Butter is melted’

b. *nû:* *sí:w-yê:*
 butter be.melted-INCH.PFV
 ‘Butter has become melted’

I consider the inchoative reading to be the basic and most probably the primary reading diachronically, as argued in § 9.5.4.

Note that in (xx1) the suffix replaces the causative suffix *-rV* to derive a form with the reflexive meaning. In (xx2) the suffix is added to an intransitive stem *sí:wè*. The resulting form is not characterized by a decreased valence as compare to the deriving stem. We will deal with such cases later in this chapter. See also § 9.5.4 for a summary of suffix distribution.

In Mombo, as in some other Dogon languages (Heath ms. b, Heath ms.c, Heath 2008 ms. d), for a limited number of verb stems there is a morphological alternation which involves the inchoative suffix *-yV/-yV:* and the causative suffix *-rV*. Cf. (xx1a and b above). As one can see from the previous discussion both these are productive derivational suffixes. Here however, their distribution suggests that the two morphemes are members of one category. From this point of view the *-rV* can be better called *transitive* and *-yV/-yV:* - *mediopassive*.

However even in these cases I gloss the two suffixes as CAUS (causative) and INCH (inchoative), since the both suffixes have a wider distribution found in a more which involves the abovementioned derivations that I consider to be basic for these morphemes.

The transitive/mediopassive alternation that involves suffixes *-yV/-yV:* and *-rV* is found in a relatively small number of stems. A list of those close to an exhaustive one is given in (xx1).

(xx1) Transitive/ mediopassive alternation

<i>stative</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>intrans.</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>trans.</i>	<i>gloss</i>
-	-	<i>báng-yê:</i>	‘be leaning against sth’	<i>bángí-rè</i>	‘lean (sth) against. sth’
<i>báwⁿa</i>	‘be closed’	<i>bá:wⁿ-î:</i>	‘(doorway) close’	<i>báwⁿú-rè</i>	‘close (doorway)’
-	-	<i>báng-yê:</i>	‘(sth) be leaning (sth)’	<i>bángí-rè</i>	‘lean (sth) against (sth else)’
-	-	<i>bónd-yê:</i>	‘be in a row, be lined up’	<i>bóndí-rè</i>	‘stand (objects) up in a row’

<i>bíyá</i>	‘lie’	<i>bí:-yê</i>	‘lie down’	<i>bí:-rè</i>	‘lie (sb) down’
-	-				
<i>dábá</i>	‘be out of sight’	<i>dáb-yê:</i>	‘(sb) hide’	<i>dábú-rè</i>	‘hide, conceal (sth)’
<i>dígá</i>	‘(event) be planned’	<i>díg-yê:</i>	‘(event) happen in time’	<i>dígí-rè</i>	‘cause (event) happen on time’
<i>dómbá</i>	‘have hat on’	<i>dómb-yê:</i>	‘put on one’s hat’	<i>dómbú-rè</i>	‘put a hat on (sb)’
-		<i>dú-yê:</i>	‘bathe, take a bath’	<i>dú:-rè</i>	‘bathe, give a bath to sb’
-		<i>dú-yê:</i>	‘(sb) be loaded (with sth)’/ (sth) be loaded	<i>dú:-rè</i>	‘load (sth), (sb) with sth’
-		<i>gámb-yê:</i>	‘meet’	<i>gámbú-rè</i>	‘knock to objects together (= make meet one another)’
-		<i>gíb-yê:</i>	‘gird oneself’	<i>gíbú-rè</i>	‘gird (sb)’
-		<i>jú:w-yê:</i>	‘(sth) turn upside down’	<i>jú:-rè</i>	‘turn (sth) upside down’
-		<i>kú:-yê</i>	‘(sb) hide, be hidden’	<i>kú:-rè</i>	‘hide (sth)’
-		<i>námb-yê:</i>	‘get dressed’	<i>námbú-rè</i>	‘dress (sb)’
-		<i>náng-yê:</i>	‘(stick) be put on one’s shoulder’	<i>nángú-rè</i>	‘put (a) stick on some one else's shoulder’
-		<i>náw-yê:</i>	‘be hooked or caught’	<i>náw^u-rè</i>	‘hook (sth)’
-		<i>póy-yê:</i>	‘be soaked’	<i>póyé-rè</i>	‘soak’
-		<i>téw-yê:</i>	‘(sth) close’	<i>téú-rè</i>	‘close (sth)’

check statives ???

Note that for some pair there a stative stem that serves as an input for both the inchoative and the causative in *-rV*. For others the corresponding stative is not found in the lexicon.

The verb *ínǵál-yê:* with a variant *ínǵálí-yê:* ‘not come to the end, not finish’ represents an interesting case of the deverbial derivation in *-yV/-yV:*. Here, the inchoative suffix is added to a stem *ínǵáli-*, which apparently contains the inflectional negative *-lV* suffix. Compare the prospective forms of the verb *ínǵé* ‘come to an end’: *ínǵ-àmbò* ‘it comes/will come to the end’ *ínǵá-lì* ‘it doesn’t/won’t come to the end’. Note that the inchoative suffix *-yV/-yV:* doesn’t change the valency of the verbal stem. Most probably *-yV/-yV:* is used in its inchoative function as typically with stative, adjectival and nominal stems.

9.5.3 -yV/-yV: with stative verb stems

The basic inchoative reading ‘become V’ of the suffix -yV/-yV: can be found in morphologically active stems. Cf. the pair *sí:wè* ‘be melt’, *sí:w-yê:* ‘become melt, melt’ given above. However typically, this reading occurs when the suffix is added to stative, adjectival or nominal stem. In this subsection I deal with inchoative derived from statives. For a discussion of deadjectival and denominal inchoative derivatives, see §9.7 and §9.8 .

In addition to causative derivative in -rV (see § 9.3.1) stative verbs can derive inchoatives using the inchoative suffix -yV/-yV:. As in all other cases adding the suffix deletes the final vowel of the deriving stem. Cf. *íngá* ‘stand’, *íng-yê:* ‘stand up’.

A list of statives with corresponding inchoative is given in (xx1).

<i>Stative</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>Inchoative</i>	<i>gloss</i>
<i>báw"á</i>	‘(door) be shut’	<i>ba:"w-î:</i>	‘(door) shut’
<i>báwándá</i>	‘(door) be open’	???	
<i>béngá</i>	‘be leaning one's shoulder (against sth)	<i>béng-yê:</i>	‘lean one's shoulder (against sth)
<i>bíyá</i>	‘be lying down’	<i>bí:yè</i>	‘lie down’
<i>dá:"</i>	‘be sitting’	<i>dá-y"è:</i>	‘sit down’
<i>dábá</i>	‘be hiding’	<i>dáb-yê:</i>	‘(sb) hide’
<i>dámà:</i>	‘be forbidden’	???	???
<i>díngá</i>	‘(water in a river) be flowing’	???	???
<i>díndá</i>	‘have (sth) disposable’	<i>dínd-yê:</i>	‘hold’
<i>díngá</i>	‘be following (sb)’	<i>díng-yê:</i>	‘follow’
<i>dúzá</i>	‘be present’	<i>dúg-yê:</i>	‘get (somewhere)’
<i>dw"á</i>	‘be put’	<i>dú-y"î</i>	??’
<i>gáyá</i>	‘be lying on one's back’	<i>gáw-yê:</i>	‘lie down on one's back’
<i>íngá</i>	‘stand’	<i>íng-yê:</i>	‘stand up’
<i>írò</i>	‘be better than (sb, sth)’	???	???
<i>jábá</i>	‘be on the vertical surface’	<i>jáb-yê:</i>	‘climb (vertical surface)’
<i>jángá</i>	‘(two objects) be attached to each other’	<i>jáng-yê:</i>	‘(two people) get together (on motorcycle etc.)’
<i>jéngá</i>	‘(sth) be bent, tilt, be tilted’	<i>jéng-yê:</i>	‘become bent, tilt ’
<i>kémbá</i>	‘be pinched with sth’	<i>kémb-yê:</i>	???
<i>mángá</i>	‘be part of, be included in (sth)’	<i>máng-yê:</i>	‘come together, gather’

<i>mómbò</i>	‘stand in with sb’	???	???
<i>nóyá</i>	‘sleep’	<i>nó:yê</i>	‘sleep, fall asleep’
<i>págá</i>	‘tie, tie up (sth or sb, with a rope)’	???	???
<i>pímá</i>	‘be resemble’	<i>pím-yê:</i>	‘become resemble, imitate’
<i>sígá</i>	‘be stronger (than sb)’	<i>síg-yê:</i>	???
<i>sómbá</i>	‘squat (stative)’	<i>sómb-yê:</i>	‘squat’
<i>tóndá</i>	‘not be in’	???	???
<i>túlá</i>	‘be in put (a container)’	<i>túl-yê:</i>	‘get into a container’
<i>úbá</i>	‘(bird, quadruped) lie down on its belly’	<i>úb-yê:</i>	???
<i>wábá</i>	‘lie on one's belly’	<i>wáb-yê:</i>	‘lie down on one's belly’

Copula *bó:* ‘be’, its negative suppletive counterpart *ólì* in spite of showing some morphological and syntactic similarities to stative stems are not able to derive inchoative. Verb *bílé* ‘become’ may be historically related to *bó:* however, synchronically these are two unrelated verbs.

As has been mentioned above (section on *-rV* causatives) stative verb *sá:* ‘have’ has irregular inchoative and causative derivatives - *sí-yê:* ‘get, obtain’ and *sĩ:-rè* (IMP *sì-ró*) ‘cause (sb) to obtain’.

Note that as in many similar cases the inchoative *sí-yê:* ‘get, obtain’ is still a transitive verb even being opposed to a causative stem *sĩ:-rè* ‘cause to obtain’. See § 11.xx for a fuller discussion.

9.5.4 Distribution of inchoative suffix *-yV/-yV:*

Table (xx1) summarizes the distribution of the inchoative suffix onto different stem classes.

nouns	adjectives	verbs (unbound stems)				verbs (bound stems)
		stative		active		
		intr.	trans.	intr.	trans.	
<i>limited number</i>	<i>verb-deriving adjectives (§ 4.5)</i>	+	+	<i>few cases</i>	-	<i>also found in -rV causatives and reversives</i>

Some of intransitive trisyllabic stems and intransitive bisyllabic with intermediate consonant clusters of type *-Cy-* may contain the inchoative suffix historically. The

examples known to me are given in (xxx). For all those verbs I found no input stem (either bound or unbound) in my lexical data.

(xx1)

Intransitive

<i>áwyê:</i>	‘come to an agreement, make a deal’
<i>bámbyê:</i>	‘(e.g. insects) be one on top of the other (like insects copulating)’ ¹¹
<i>búndyê:</i>	‘overflow, spill over’
<i>dályê:</i>	‘go all the way (through a covered area) and go out the far side’
<i>dógyê:</i>	‘look up’
<i>dóŋgyê:</i>	‘stumble, stub one's toe (e.g. on a stone)’ ¹²
<i>dúgúlyê:</i>	‘choke (on one's food)’
<i>dúlyê:</i>	‘(rain) thunder without lightning’
<i>gémbýê:</i>	‘(e.g. head, tip of sth) stick out’
<i>géŋgyê</i>	‘(leaf, end of twig) droop’
<i>gúndúlyê:</i>	‘(person, animal) roll over (the ground)’
<i>íbyê:</i>	‘remain, stay’
<i>ké:lyè</i>	‘(e.g. supplies) be lacking’
<i>kóndyê:</i>	(sth) be curved, be bent into an arc’
<i>kígilyè</i>	‘turn, change direction’
<i>kúbándyè</i>	‘be lazy’
<i>kúmbyê:</i>	‘clench (hand) into a fist’
<i>múndyè</i>	‘(snake, centipede) curl one's self up in a ball’
<i>múnyì</i>	‘dive or plunge in, go into water’
<i>nájyê:</i>	‘rub (soap) on one's body’
<i>ólyê:</i>	‘(animal, person) grow hair’
<i>págándyê:</i>	‘(clothes) fade, discolor’
<i>pílyê:</i>	‘fly (away), be in flight’
<i>pírídyè</i>	‘(e.g. belly) swell’
<i>píríndyê:</i>	‘(dying animal) flop around’
<i>pólyê:</i>	‘be or become pungent (in taste)’
<i>pómbyè</i>	‘be rivals, compete’
<i>tályê:</i>	‘endure, be able to stand (heat, cold, etc.)’
<i>wágádyè</i>	‘be anxious, can't wait (e.g. for a visitor to arrive)’

¹¹ This verb should not be confused with the homonymous deadjectival inchoative verb *bámbyê:* ‘be or become flat’ derived from an adjective *bámhá* flat.

¹² Not to be confused with deadjectival inchoative *dóŋg-yê:* ‘be or become heavy’.

<i>wílyê:</i>	‘(sth) turn, spin, rotate’
<i>wízílyê:</i>	‘go back to the rear’
<i>yígídyê:</i>	‘(sth) vibrate, be shaking’

An interesting phonological development of the inchoative suffix is found in two examples in (xx1).

PFV	IMP	gloss
<i>námmì</i>	<i>nàmyă:</i>	‘want, like, love’
<i>kúmmì</i>	<i>kùmýǒ:</i>	‘grip (stick, small object) in one's clenched hand’

As the imperatives suggest these stems historically contain the inchoative suffix. In the perfective, however they have *-*mì*. Most probably *-*mì* here is latter development of -*yV*-, which was assimilated by preceding consonant after the deriving stems **nami*- and **kumi*- were lost. Recall that /*my*/ clusters are tolerated in synchronic inchoative derivatives. Cf. *sém-yê:* ‘be slaughtered’ derived from *sémé* ‘slaughter’.

Curiously, there is approximately the same number of transitive stems ending with -*yV*/-*yV* with the same syllabic structure. These examples are given in (xxx)

(xx2) Transitive

<i>bá:dyê:</i>	‘serve (sauce, onto millet cakes, e.g. with a ladle)’
<i>bílyê:</i>	‘string (e.g. beads)’
<i>díndyê:</i>	‘take (sth) in one's hand, pick up’
<i>dínyê:</i>	‘arrive at, reach’
<i>dúgyê:</i>	‘punch, slug (sb)’
<i>élyê:</i>	‘cling to, hold on tightly to (e.g. tree branch, while hanging)’
<i>gébyê:</i>	‘look inside sth’
<i>gémbýê:</i>	‘hold or carry (baby) on one's side’
<i>gényê:</i>	‘sweep’
<i>ímyê:</i>	‘defeat, overpower, vanquish’
<i>kándyê:</i>	‘(artisan, craftsman) make, manufacture (basket, pottery, bed)’
<i>mályê:</i>	‘see, look (at sth)’
<i>ná:dyê:</i>	‘(sun) burn’
<i>nélyê:</i>	‘(sb) change (sth)’ (labile)’
<i>nódyê:</i>	‘guard (e.g. a garden)’

<i>númbyê:</i>	‘rub in (oil, lotion)’
<i>ólyê:</i>	‘strangle’
<i>ónyê:</i>	‘give an enema’
<i>pádyê:</i>	‘carry (hoe, ax) with blade resting on one's shoulder’
<i>pélyê:</i>	‘break or cut off (a piece of sth flat: fabric, leaf, paper, etc.)’
<i>pódyê:</i>	‘wrestle (sb)’
<i>pómbyê:</i>	‘take (a child) in one's arms’
<i>púmbyê:</i>	‘hold (e.g. bag, child) against. one's chest’
<i>ségyê:</i>	‘filter (water, milk) with a sieve’
<i>sélyê:</i>	‘winnow (pounded grain)’
<i>tábyê:</i>	‘touch (with hand)’
<i>túmbyê:</i>	‘push’
<i>wólyê:</i>	‘take (sth) away from (sth), dispossess (sb, of sth)’
<i>yá:dyè</i>	‘lend (an object, to sb)’
<i>yályê:</i>	‘step over (sth)’
<i>yélyê:</i>	‘sift (sth)’

Cf. also the pair *núndé* ‘hear (voice)’, *núnd-yê:* ‘listen to (voice, music, etc.)’ which is peculiar or for the unusual reading of the suffix *-yV/-yV:*. Note that stem *núnd-yê:* ‘listen’ is a transitive stem and unlike most intransitive *-yV/-yV:* derivatives denotes an active situation with volitional participant encoded in the A argument. It might be the case that here we deal not with the inchoative but with some other suffix that may be also found in the transitive verbal stems given in (xx2).

A form identical to that of inchoative is used in embedded jussive clauses (xx1). the embedded jussive form however don’t take pronominal affixes and have {H} tone melody. See § 10.xxx for details.

(xx1)

<i>ê:</i>	<i>nâ:</i>	<i>mì:</i>	<i>nâ:</i>	<i>máwⁿ</i>	<i>nyá:-yé</i>	<i>è-díndá</i>
you.PL	FOC	water	FOC	where	drink-YE	2PL-dinda

And you (pl), where do you drink water?

9.6 Ambi-valent verbs without suffixal derivation

In addition to reversive verbs, that all are P-labile, there are a small number of synchronically underived verb stems showing lability. Those are given in (xx1). Note among these verbs none is A-labile.

<i>nélyê:</i>	‘(sb) change (sth)’/ ‘(sth) changes’
<i>sáyéndè</i>	‘stretch (rope)/ (rope) stretch’
<i>gámbúlè</i>	‘lower (price), reduce price’/ ‘(price) go down, be deuced’
<i>wúlágè</i>	‘divide (sth)’ / ‘be divided’

These stems being synchronically unsegmentable may contain one of derivational suffixes historically.

9.7 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

Suffix *-yV/-yV*: can also be used to derive inchoatives from adjective and nouns. As has been noted in § 4.5.1 only a certain class of adjectives can form inchoative verbs. Those are repeated here under (xx1) with corresponding inchoatives.

(xx1)

<i>bállà</i>	‘fat, corpulent (person)’	<i>bálál-yê:</i>	‘become fat’
<i>bámbá</i>	‘wide’	<i>bámb-yê:</i>	‘become wide’
<i>bérì</i>	‘easy (work)’	<i>béd-yê:</i>	‘become easy’
<i>búnú</i>	‘red’	???	
<i>dóngá</i>	‘heavy’	<i>dóng-yê:</i>	‘become heavy’
<i>dúngúrù</i>	‘short’	<i>dúngúd-yê:</i>	‘become short’
<i>élà</i>	‘thin and flat’	<i>él-yê:</i>	‘become thin and flat’
<i>éllá</i>	‘sweet’	<i>éllál-yê:</i>	‘become sweet’
<i>góllò</i>	‘long’	<i>gólól-yê:</i>	‘become long’
<i>ɲóngò</i>	‘thin, slender’	<i>ɲóng-yê:</i>	‘become thin’
<i>pémbù</i>	‘narrow (doorway)’	<i>pémb-yê:</i>	‘become narrow’
<i>súmbù</i>	‘deep’	<i>súmb-yê:</i>	‘become deep’
<i>tómbò</i>	‘white’	<i>tómb-yê:</i>	‘become white’
<i>yá:lá</i>	‘bad’	<i>yá:l-yê:</i>	‘become angry’

<i>yá:gá</i>	‘pretty, beautiful’	<i>yá:g-yê:</i>	‘become pretty’
<i>wérédé</i>	‘black, dark’	<i>wéréd-yê:</i>	‘become black, dark’
<i>wágù</i>	‘far, distant’	<i>wá:jè</i>	‘get far away’

CHECK

pémbù ‘narrow (doorway)’ *pémb-yê:* ‘become narrower’ CHECK
wéréd-yê: or *wéréd-yê:*

Verb *kúnjé* ‘become ancient’ can be described as derived from adjective *kúnjù* ‘ancient’ via conversion. Except for this case this pattern found only in stative verbs. Recall § 9.1

Deriving factitive verbs from adjectives is not a common morphological pattern. As virtually the only example consider pair *kélé* ‘slightly diluted (milk)’ ‘heavily diluted *kélé-gè* ‘slightly dilute (milk, cream of millet) with a little water’, where the factitive is formed by adding the causative suffix *-gV*.

CHECK meaning and syntax of *kélé*

9.8 Denominal verbs

In a number of cases a verbal stem is derived from, or at least is related to a nominal stem. Such cases known to me are given in (xx1). Denominal derivatives may be inchoative or factitive. In the former case the inchoative suffix *-yV/-yV:* is added the deriving stem, while in the latter the causative suffix *-rV* or *-mV* is added.

(xx1) Denominal inchoative and factitive verbs

a. Inchoatives			
<i>noun</i>	gloss	V	gloss
<i>kè:gé</i>	‘crazy person’	<i>ké:g-yè</i>	‘(sb) become crazy, go nuts’
<i>mángá</i>	‘member, sb included in sth’	<i>máng-yê:</i>	‘(individuals) come together, gather’
<i>kúndú-kúndú</i>	‘hump (on person’s back)’	<i>kúnd-yê:</i>	(sb) bend over, lean forward, bow’
<i>tágí</i>	‘shoes’	<i>tágí tágyê:</i>	‘put on shoes’
b. Factitives			

<i>ságù</i>	'confidence, trust'	<i>ságú-rè</i>	'entrust, share problems with'
<i>gímì</i>	'pain'	<i>gím-mì</i>	'cause pain, hurt'

A more complex case is verb *gírílyê*: 'become blind'. The most probable input stem is bound and can be found the noun *gírígà* 'a blind person' (see 2.xx for derivation in *ga*). One can argue that, historically, the input stem for the verb is **gírílV*, with a final vowel, which is regularly syncopated before the suffix. The noun *gírígà* is then derived from the verb by cutting off the inchoative suffix and adding the suffix *-ga*. Since Mombo doesn't favor *-lg-* clusters the *-l-* is lost before the characteristic suffix. This is a bit problematic, because of unusual operation of cutting off a derivational suffix involved.

Alternatively, both the noun and the verb might be derived from the stem **gírílV* with the syncope of the final vowel in both cases and deleting *-l-* before *-ga* in the noun. However, I am not aware of another example of a syncope before an obstruent. The stem **gírílV* can be further connected with stem *gírè* 'eye'.

Verb *dúgúrè* 'run a race' has to be in some morphological relation to noun *dú*: 'race' historically. However this relation is too obscure from the point of view of synchronically attested derivation patterns,

9.9 Obscure verb-verb relationships

Groups of verbs showing some obscure morphological relationship that might reflect some formerly productive patterns are listed in (xx1).

(xx1)

- a. *péndé* ' (stick) brake'
pénd-yé 'break off (a protrusion on a stone, with a hammer)'
péndé-gè 'break off a piece of (sth)'
- b. *tébé* 'break', 'shatter, become shattered or smashed'
tébé-lè 'hit (sb) hard'
- c. *úgú-rè* 'burn (incense)'
úgúló-mì 'rekindle fire'
úgúl-yê: '(fire) start up again, be rekindled'

- d. *móǵé* ‘wash clothes’
móǵú-lê ‘wash’

- e. *bíndé* ‘reverse’
bíndél-yê: ‘(e.g. jar, calabash, basket) be rolled over’

9	VERBAL DERIVATION	125
9.1	STATIVE - ACTIVE CONVERSION	125
9.2	REVERSIVE VERBS (-LV-)	127
9.2.1	MORPHOLOGY AND SEMANTICS	127
9.2.2	LIST OF REVERSIVE VERBS	129
9.2.3	MORPHOTACTICS	131
9.3	DEVERBAL CAUSATIVE VERBS	132
9.3.1	Causatives in -rV	133
9.3.2	Causatives in -gV	137
9.3.3	Causatives in -mV	139
9.3.4	Minor causative suffixes	146
9.3.4.1	Causative ndV	147
9.3.4.2	Relict suffix transitive *dV in stems with geminated consonants	148
9.3.4.3	Relict suffix -jV	148
9.3.4.4	Frozen suffix -IV transitive stems	149
9.3.5	Semantics of the causative markers	150
9.3.6	Contactive/distant polysemy in -mV causatives	152
9.3.7	Causative/passive polysemy in -mV causatives	153
9.4	BENEFACTIVE	155
9.5	INCHOATIVE -yV/-yV:	156
9.5.1	Morphology of derivation in -yV/-yV:	156
9.5.2	Inchoative with -yV/-yV: with active verbal stems	158
9.6	AMBI-VALENT VERBS WITHOUT SUFFIXAL DERIVATION	166
9.7	DEADJECTIVAL INCHOATIVE AND FACTITIVE VERBS	166
9.8	DENOMINAL VERBS	167
9.9	OBSCURE VERB-VERB RELATIONSHIPS	168

10 Verbal inflection

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

The two most striking features of Mombo inflectional verb morphology is a complicated system of pronominal subject marking, which involves a mix of affixation and tone melody alternation, and a very elaborated system of verbal forms whose primary function is to distinguish between different information-structural configuration of the clause.

The repertoire of aspect and polarity categories found in Dogon is typical for Dogon languages. There is an expanded perfective system, which includes the simple (“unsuffixed”) perfective, the experiential perfective and the recent perfective, and the imperfective system, with two major categories - the imperfective (proper), which mainly used in reference to currently unfinished (progressive, habitual etc.) events, and the prospective which alongside the imperfective semantics has some potential dimension. Each aspectual category has a positive and a negative form.

Modal categories are the imperative and the hortative. Each category has a negative (prohibitive) and a positive form. More delicate imperative meanings (order, request, etc) can be further detailed by a number of postverbal clitics.

Apparently, a verbal form which is called here ‘potential’ should be ranked as a modal category. This form seems to be a recently grammaticalized verb chain with final stative verb, meaning ‘can’. See (xxx) for details.

To give an initial impression of Mombo inflectional verb morphology consider (xxx), where the paradigm¹ of verb *mí:ndè* ‘swallow’ is given.

(xx1) Paradigm of *mí:ndè* ‘swallow’

I. Perfective	Positive	Negative
<i>I.1 Simple Perfective</i>		
Series 1	<i>mí:ndè</i>	<i>mí:ndé-lí</i>
Series 2	<i>mí:ndé</i>	<i>mí:ndé-lì-gà</i>
Series 3	<i>mí:ndé-né</i>	<i>mí:ndé-l-yé-nà</i>
Series 4	<i>mì-mí:ndè</i>	<i>mì-mí:ndé-lí</i>

1 In this section, I use term “paradigm” both for a system of all inflectional forms of a verb (close to the sense used here) and for a *subsystem* of such forms corresponding a specified values of some categories, say ‘perfect’ of the aspect category and ‘positive’ of the polarity, and the whole range of values of other categories, say pronominal subject person and number, as in “pronominal subject paradigm of the positive perfective”.

I.2 Experiential Perfect

Series 1	mí:ndá-té:y ⁿ è	mí:ndá-téndì
Series 2	mí:ndá-té:y ⁿ	mí:ndá-téndí-ga
Series 3	mí:ndá-té:-y ⁿ á-nà	mí:ndá-ténd-yá-nà
Series 4	mì-mí:ndá-té: ⁿ yè	mì-mí:ndá-téndí

II. Imperfective

II.1 Imperfective

Series 1	mí:ndá: bó:/ sá:	mí:ndá: ólì/ sá-ndá
Series 2	mí:ndá: sá:	mí:ndá: ólí-gà (ólì-gà) / sá-ndá-gà
Series 3	mí:ndá: bí-yá-nà / sí-yá-nà	mí:ndá: ólí-yá-nà/ sá-ndí-yá-nà
Series 4	mì-mí:ndá: sá:	mì-mí:ndá sá:-ndá

II.1 Prospective

Series 1	mí:ndà-mbò	mí:ndá:-lì
Series 2	mí:ndà-mbò	mí:ndá:-lì-gà
Series 3	mì:ndà-kónó	mí:ndá:-l-yánà
Series 4	mì-mí:ndà-mbò	mì-mí:ndá:-lì

III. Potential 'he/she can V'

Series 1	mí:ndó-má-mbó	mí:ndó-má-ndá
Series 2	mí:ndó-má	mí:ndó-má-ndá-gà
Series 3	mí:ndó-m-yá-nà	mí:ndó-má-nd-yá-nà
Series 4	mí:ndó-má-mbó	mí:ndó-má-ndá

IV. Imperative mì:ndá mí:ndá-là

V. Imperative PL mì:ndà-ýⁿ mì:ndè-ýⁿ

VI. Hortative m̀- mí:ndè-yⁿ m̀- mí:ndá-ndèyⁿ

Depending on the aspect category pronominal affixes precede or follow the inflected stem. In most cases 3SG subject is not expressed overtly in the verb. In declarative prospective paradigm (both positive and negative) the person and the number are expressed by inflexions, which are used at the same time as aspect, polarity, and focus markers. In this paradigm by contrast, there is an overt 3SG marker. Marking of the 3PL subject morphemes is suffixial in most paradigms.

There are several patterns of pronominal subject marking. The use of tone of these patterns is a characteristic of morphological series in each aspectual category. See §10. 3 for details.

In addition to the aspect suffixes a retrospective past clitic is used in the time reference. Adding the retrospective clitic to an inflected verb switches the time reference to some

certain point in the past, which then becomes a new time locus. By adding the clitic, one gets meanings like the past perfective, past imperfective, past prospective etc. Cf. § 9.5.1.

There is also a counterpart of the retrospective clitic, the morpheme that I refer to as ‘actualizer’. The morpheme, also acclitic, occupies the same position as the retrospective clitic. The actualizer =yⁿ is attested in demonstrative constructions with initial adverb *iní-wⁿ* ‘here’ usually followed by the prospective form to which it attaches (xx1). See § 9.5.2 for details.

(xx1) Demonstrative construction with the actualizer clitic

<i>iní-wⁿ</i>	<i>ég-ámbo-yⁿ</i>
here-OBJ	go-PROSP.3SG-ACT
‘Here he comes’	

10.1.1 Suffixes and chained verbs

Two aspect categories are expressed by the analytic constructions that include auxiliary verbs *bó*: ‘be’ (the imperfective, series 1) and *sá*: ‘have’. In the both cases the main verb is in a converb-like form, which is an unsuffixed verbal stem ended in long /a:/. Cf. *ándá: bó*: ‘he/she is going’, *ándá: sá*: ‘he/she has just gone’.

Besides these two clear cases of analytic constructions, Mombo makes no use of analytism in inflectional categories. The problem of distinguishing suffixed verbal forms from chained verbs combinations is not much relevant for Mombo, unlike in other Dogon languages (see Heath 2008; mss). The suffixed verbal forms can be hardly considered as verb chains with a specialized final element.

The main evidence of the irreducibility of suffixed forms to verb chains comes from the pronominal subject marking. None of the possible patterns of pronominal subject marking found in verbal chains (cf. (xxx) below) is found in the suffixed forms. Let’s consider two forms that from the first sight seem very likely to be verbal chains – the experiential perfective and the potential.

The experiential perfective positive is formed by adding suffix *-té:yⁿè* to verbal stem ending in /a:/. One could argue that this is synchronically a combination of a verbal noun in /a:/ (see § xxx, N&A) and an experiential auxiliary *té:yⁿè*. However, the pattern used in the pronominal subject marking would come into conflict with this suggestion. Cf. (xx1)

(xx1) Experiential perfective

3SG	<i>sémá-té:yⁿè</i>	‘he/she has slaughtered (an animal once)’
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1SG *ñ-sèmà-té:"yè* ‘I have slaughtered (an animal once)’

In the experiential perfective, the 3SG subject remains unmarked, while 1SG subject is expressed by adding the first person prefix N- (an unspecified syllabic nasal which gets assimilated with the initial consonant of the verb stem) and the all-low tone contour which applies to the pronominal prefix and the stem.

This never happens in verbal chains, as shown in § xxx below. Either both elements or only the last element can be marked for person depending on the particular verb chain type, but never just the first element. Also, the first element in a verb chain never takes the all-low tone contour, nor gets it modified tonally in any other way (see § xxx for details).

The same argumentation works for the potential, even though the positive declarative forms are consistent with the verb-chaining analysis. The corresponding paradigm is given below.

(xxx)	SG		PL	
1	<i>égó-mâ-wⁿ</i>	‘I can/may come’	<i>égó-má:-mbò</i>	‘we may/can come’
2	<i>égó-mâ:-w</i>	...	<i>égó-má-ébó</i>	...
3	<i>égó-má-mbó</i>	...	<i>égó-má-mbyâ:</i>	...

Here again, the first element could be argued to be a verbal noun in O² chained with following verb *ma-*, which gets inflected for person and number in accordance with the pattern used in the prospective positive series 1 (see § xxx, below). However, in person and number marking in the negative series 1 the potential follows the prefixation pattern. Thus, ‘I can/may not come’ is *ñ-yégó-má-ndà* (1SG-come-POT-NEG). Also, the prefixation is accompanied by tonal marking. By contrast with the 1SG the 1PL form is *ñ-yègó-má-ndá* which, again, shows a tonal melody that is very unusual for verb chains.

10.1.2 Categories and semantic labels

The polyfunctionality of the most inflectional forms creates a difficulty for a grammatical description, if one follows the principle that inflectional forms should be labeled according to their ‘basic’ function. This assumes that the linguist (in addition to finding proper terms for functions of a given form) must choose among these functions, one (or a couple), which

2 Actually, this analysis fails already at this point, since both -ATR and A-stems have thematic vowel *-a*, but not *-ɔ* before the suffix *-ma*. In fact, this pattern, peculiar to the imperative stem, is not present in non-final elements of verbal chains. But let’s skip this fact here for the sake of uniformity of argumentation.

can be used most conveniently to derive all the other functions. However the functions themselves may appear as mutually derivable, making it's very hard to distinguish major from functions minor ones.

An alternative approach is using 'meaningless' labels for every inflectional form. However, usually this results in a description cluttered up with numbers and letters very inconvenient for readers of a grammar. The approach adopted here is a combination of these two approaches. In terms of aspectual semantic I follow the first principle and use labels as 'recent perfect' or 'potential' that point out the major aspectual function of the form. At the same time I use meaningless labels for the four morphological series instead of trying to specify their major function in terms of, say, information-structural configuration of the clause they are used to express. I do so in the latter case because for these categories it is not easy to tell which of their functions of have to be considered as basic.

The functions of each inflectional form will be discussed in detail in the following sections. Labels of the categories, glosses and the references to the sections where they are discussed are given below.

(xx1) TAM categories

I. Perfective

I.1 Simple Perfective (§ 10xxx)

- Series 1 ¹PFV (§ 10xxx)
- Series 2 ²PFV (§ 10xxx)
- Series 3 ³PFV (§ 10xxx)
- Series 4 ⁴PFV (§ 10xxx)

I.2 Experiential Perfect

- Series 1 ¹EXPE (§ 10xxx)
- Series 2 ²EXPE (§ 10xxx)
- Series 3 ³EXPE (§ 10xxx)
- Series 4 ⁴EXPE (§ 10xxx)

II. Imperfective

II.1 Imperfective

- Series 1 ¹IPFV (§ 10xxx)
- Series 2 ²IPFV (§ 10xxx)
- Series 3 ³IPFV (§ 10xxx)
- Series 4 ⁴IPFV (§ 10xxx)

II.2 Prospective

- Series 1 ¹PROSP (§ 10xxx)
- Series 2 ²PROSP (§ 10xxx)

- Series 3 ³PROSP (§ 10xxx)

- Series 4 ⁴PROSP (§ 10xxx)

III. Potential 'he/she can V'

- Series 1 ¹POT (§ 10xxx)

- Series 2 ²POT (§ 10xxx)

- Series 3 ³POT (§ 10xxx)

- Series 4 ⁴POT (§ 10xxx)

IV. Imperative

V. Imperative PL

VI. Hortative

10.1.3 Verb stem shapes

An underived verbal stem usually has from one to three syllables. There is a very limited number of stems with four syllables. All monosyllabic stems are bimoraic, among bisyllables there are bi- and trimoraic stems.

Verbal stems do bear distinctive tone melodies specific in each inflectional category. However unlike in nouns the stem-wide melodies in verbs can be predicted from the metrical structure of the stem. The crucial distinction here is that between 'short' and 'long' stems. This distinction has been already introduced for nominal stems in § 6.xx. In the verbal stems these terms are defined in exactly the same way - a stem which has two morae is called 'short' while a stem that contains more than two morae is referred to as 'long'. As one may conclude from what has just been said verbal stems with one or more derivational suffixes are all long, since even in situation where a monosyllabic derivational suffix is attached to a monosyllabic stem, the total number of morae is 3.

The tonal melody of a stem depends on the inflectional category. Different melodies are assigned to different aspectual and polarity forms. In addition to that adding pronominal affix to a stem also causes a tonal change. However even within the same category forms can show different tonal arrangement. Cf. pronominal paradigms of verbs positive perfectives *égé* 'come' and *mí:ndè* 'swallow':

(xx1) Simple Perfective pronominal subject paradigms of *égé* 'come' and *mí:ndè* 'swallow'

1SG	<i>ń-yégè</i>	<i>ṁ-mì:ndé</i>
2SG	<i>á-yégè</i>	<i>à-mì:ndé</i>
3SG	<i>égé</i>	<i>mí:ndè</i>
1PL	<i>ṁ-yègé</i>	<i>ṁ-mí:ndè</i>
2PL	<i>é-yègé</i>	<i>é-mí:ndè</i>
3PL	<i>ég-yè</i>	<i>mí:nd-yè:</i>

These two paradigms show two different melody alternation patterns that can be schematically represented as done in (xx2) with hyphens marking morpheme breaks.

(xx2)

Pattern 1, <i>égé</i> ‘come’	Pattern 2 <i>mí:ndè</i> ‘swallow’
H-HL	L-LH
H-HL	L-LH
H	HL
L-LH	L-HL
H-HH	H-HL
H-L	H- L

Note that the 1SG and 1PL form are segmentally identical and are distinguished only by means of the tonal stem-wide melody. However these melodies are different in the two tonal classes and curiously are virtually reverse. The 1PL in the class 1 takes a L-LH melody, while in the class 1 exactly the same melody is assigned to the 1SG form. At the same time class 2 first plurals take L-HL similar to the H-HL melody taken by class 1 first singulars. How ever unusual the distribution may seem, with a few exceptions the choice of the verb tonal class depends on the metrical structure of the verbal stem. ‘Short’ stems belong to the class 1 while ‘long’ stem all follow the pattern melody change of the class 2.

Cross-reference to the section on the pronominal paradigms.

Another important phonological feature that verbal stems show is the vowel harmony. in this respect verbal stems fall into five harmonic classes discussed in §x.xx. I repeat this classification here with examples to each harmonic class.

<i>harmony class</i>	PFV	IMP	<i>gloss</i>
A	<i>págé</i>	<i>págá</i>	‘tie, tie up’
[- ATR]	<i>sémé</i>	<i>sémá</i>	‘slaughter’
[+ ATR]	<i>égé</i>	<i>égó</i>	‘come’
I/U	<i>úní</i>	<i>únú</i>	‘walk’

As argued in §3.2.x the 3SG simple perfective form of Series 1 is the most informative one in terms of metrical, tonal and vowel-harmonic features and so is considered as the lexical form.

Vowel-initial stems containing nasalized consonants (/ɲ/, /n/, /ŋ/, /m/, /wⁿ/ and /yⁿ/) show nasalization of the epenthetic consonant (§10.3.x for details) which occurs before pronominal prefixes. cf. *ń-yégè* ‘I came’, 3SG *égé* and *ń-ɲimbè* ‘I caught’ with 3SG *imbé*.

10.1.3.1 Monosyllabic verbs

All monosyllabic stems are treated as phonologically bimoraic and so belong to the second tonal class.

This can be seen in the realization of tonal melodies in pronominal subject paradigms. As an example consider the (simple) perfective paradigm of series 1 of verb *wé:* ‘weep, cry’.

(xx2) *wé:* ‘weep, cry’, Perfective, Series 1

1SG *ń-wé:* 1PL *ń-wé:*
 2SG *á-wé:* 2PL *é-wé:*
 3SG *wé:* 3PL *w-yé:*

The complex tone melodies required in 1SG, 2SG, 1PL and 3PL realize with a ‘tonal break’ on the verb stem showing that the stem itself is bimoraic.

Tonally melody patterns in monosyllables are identical to that of other ‘short’ stems.

Compare the paradigm given in (xx2) with that of *égé* ‘come’ given in (xx1).

All monosyllables consist of an open syllable. The final vowel in monosyllables functions as the thematic vowel in polysyllabic stems, including the deletion before the inchoative and the 3PL suffixes. Cf. thematic vowel alternations of *wé:* ‘weep, cry’.

(xx3) *wé:* ‘weep, cry’, thematic vowel alternations

gloss	PFV	IMP	VN	PFV.3PL
‘weep, cry’	<i>wé:</i>	<i>wá:</i>	<i>wɔ́:-gɔ̀</i>	<i>w-yé:</i>

Note that this verb follows the pattern of alternation peculiar to the –ATR class. In fact in terms of the thematic vowel alternation all monosyllables fall into either –ATR or +ATR class. To my knowledge there are no monosyllables showing alternation of a kind found in A or U\I class. See the list of monosyllables below.

Monosyllables also vary in terms of consonant initials. Possible stem syllable structures found in monosyllabic verbs are given below.

(xx3) Consonant initial types in monosyllables

shape	verb	gloss
CV:	wé:	'weep, cry'
CwV:	gwé:	'go out'
CyV:	pyé:	'chase (away)'

-w- in CwV: monosyllables is lost before /o/ and /ɔ/, that occur in imperatives in verbal nouns in -gò. Cf. gwé: 'go.out.PFV', gó: 'go.out.IMP', gó-gò 'go.out-VN'.

When the thematic vowel is deleted before 3PL suffix -yV the w and y in verbs of structure CwV: and CyV: are syllabified into homorganic vowels /u/ and /i/. Cf. examples in (xx4).

(xx4) 3PL of CwV: and CyV: monosyllables

gloss	PFV.3SG ¹	PFV.3PL ¹
'kill'	gyé:	gí-yè
'raise'	kwé	kí-yè

CHECK TONES

A similar process has been described for some of the derivational categories. Recall the sonorant syllabification before the inchoative suffix in monosyllables discussed in §9.5.1

Among stative verbs there are several monosyllables. They show the same tonal behavior as active monosyllables do. Cf. the pronominal paradigm of *sá*: 'have'.

(xx1) Pronominal subject paradigm of *sá*: 'have'

1SG	ń-sá:	1PL	ń-sǎ:
2SG	á-sá:	2PL	é-sá:
3SG	sá:	3PL	s-yâ:

The following list contains all monosyllabic verbs that I'm aware of (both stative and active). Verbs are grouped according to their final vowel.

I. Stative verbs

I.1 *final /o/*

bó: ‘be (copula)’

I.2 *final /a/*

dwⁿá: ‘be put (stative)’

sá: ‘have’

I.3 *final /a:ⁿ/*

dá:ⁿ ‘be sitting (stative)’

II. Active verbs

II.1 -ATR

dwé: ‘die’

dwé: ‘insult (verb)’

dwé: ‘pound (millet spikes, in a large mortar, to dislodge grains from cob)’

gyé: ‘kill’

gyⁿé: ‘fart (verb)’

kwé: ‘feed, nourish, give meals to’

ɲé: ‘eat (meal)’

nwé: ‘enter, go inside (sth)’

nyé: ‘drink (sth)’

pyé: ‘chase away, drive out’

swé: ‘buy, purchase’

twⁿé: ‘(God) create (sth)’

tyé: ‘hand-weave (e.g. mats, hats)’

tyⁿé: ‘put (sth, in a place)’

wé: ‘weep (verb)’

II.2 +ATR

gwé: ‘go out, exit’

gyé: ‘steal (sth), rob (sb)’

jwé: ‘(container) be full’

kyé ‘(e.g. herd) be complete’

twⁿé ‘organize, hold (festivities)’

For the bisyllabic verb *ńdé* ‘give’ with initial syllabic consonant, see the following section.

10.1.3.2/xxx/ 'see'

Verb *mályê:* is peculiar for several morphological features. In the majority of its forms it has frozen inchoative suffix *yV:/yV*. At the same time syntactically it is an ordinary transitive verb. However in the experiential perfect adds the aspect suffix to stem *mala-*, thus showing no inchoative suffix.

(xx1) Paradigm of 'see'

(xx1)

I. Perfective	Positive	Negative
I.1 Simple Perfective		
Series 1	<i>mályê:</i>	<i>mályé:-lí</i>
Series 2	<i>mályé:</i>	<i>mályé:-lí-gà</i>
Series 3	<i>mályé:-né</i>	<i>mályé:-l-yé-nà</i>
Series 4	<i>mà-mályê:</i>	<i>mà-mályé:-lí</i>
I.2 Experiential Perfective		
Series 1	<i>málá-té:yⁿè</i>	<i>málá-téndì</i>
Series 2	<i>málá-té:yⁿ</i>	<i>málá-téndí</i>
Series 3	<i>málá-té:-yⁿá-nà</i>	<i>málá-téndí-yá-nà</i>
Series 4	<i>mà-málá-té:yⁿè</i>	<i>mà-malá-téndí</i>
II. Imperfective		
II.1 Imperfective		
Series 1	<i>malyá: bó:/ sá:</i>	<i>mályá: ólì/ sá-ndá</i>
Series 2	<i>mályá: sá:</i>	<i>malyá: ólí-gà (ólì-gà) / sá-ndá-gà</i>
Series 3	<i>mályá: bí-yá-nà / si-ya-na</i>	<i>mályá: ólí-yá-nà/ sá-ndí-yá-nà</i>
Series 4	<i>mà-mályá: sá:</i>	<i>mà-mályá sá:-ndá</i>
II.1 Prospective		
Series 1	<i>mályà-mbò</i>	<i>mályá:-lì</i>
Series 2	<i>mályà-mbò</i>	<i>mályá:-lì-gà</i>
Series 3	<i>màlyà-kónó</i>	<i>mályá:-l-yá-nà</i>
Series 4	<i>mà-mályà-mbò</i>	<i>mà-mályá:-lì</i>
III. Potential 'he/she can V'		
Series 1	<i>mályó-má-mbò</i>	<i>mályó-má-ndá</i>
Series 2	<i>mályó-má</i>	<i>mályó-má-ndá-gà</i>
Series 3	<i>mályó-m-yá-nà</i>	<i>mályó-má-ndí-yá-nà</i>
Series 4	<i>mályó-mámbo</i>	<i>mályó-má-ndá</i>
IV. Imperative	<i>màlyă:</i>	<i>mályá-là</i>

V. Imperative PL *màlyà-yⁿ* *màlyè-ýⁿ*

VI. Hortative *m̀- mályê:-yⁿ* *m̀- mályá-ndèyⁿ*

CHECK future/ habitual distinction.

The fact that the experiential perfect suffixes are added to stem *málá-* not *mályV* as in the rest of the paradigm supports an idea that *mályê:* ‘see’ may an old inchoative historically.

10.1.3.3 *ńdɛ́* ‘give’

Verb *ńdɛ́* shows irregular stem-initial alternations. In forms without pronominal prefixes it has a form similar to that found in the 3SG perfective of series 1, i.e. *ndV* with syllabic initial *n* and alternating thematic vowel. In prefixed forms it takes form *jindV* where *-j-* is the regular form of the epenthetic consonant in nasal stems (§10.3.x).

(xx1) *ńdɛ́* ‘give’, simple perfective, Series 1

1SG	<i>ń-jńdɛ̀</i>	1PL	<i>ń-jńdɛ́</i>
2SG	<i>á-jńdɛ̀</i>	2PL	<i>é-jńdɛ́</i>
3SG	<i>ńdɛ́</i>	3PL	<i>ńd-yè</i>

As can be seen, *ńdɛ́* has initial /i/ in prefixing forms and behave as a vowel-initial stem inserting the epenthetic consonant between the stem itself and the pronominal prefix.

Note however, in reduplicated syllables found in forms of the Series 4 neither the stem nor the reduplicated syllable show initial /i/ or the epenthetic consonant. Cf. *ń-ńdɛ́* ‘he GAVE’. See §10.2.x for details.

10.1.3.4 Regular bisyllabic stems

Bisyllables are the most numerous among the Mombo verb stems. Only in bisyllabic stems the difference between ‘short’ and ‘long’ stems is crucial since only bisyllables can be bi- or trimoraic.

The structures found in bisyllables are listed below.

(xx1) Syllabic structure of bisyllabic stems

<i>structure</i>	<i>example</i>	<i>gloss</i>
VCV	éǵé	‘come’
VCCV	íddè	‘forget’
VNCV	ímbé	‘catch’
VCyV:	íbyê:	‘remain, stay’
CVCV	búbé	‘rub’
CV:CV	dú:lè	‘dwell (in house)’
CVCCV	ǵóddè	‘hang (sth) up’
CVNCV	búmbé	‘crawl’
CV:NCV	mí:ndè	‘swallow’
CVCyV:	mályê:	‘see’

VCyV and CVCyV structures are found only in stems with frozen suffix *-yV:/-yV* (§ 9.5). Also there is some evidence that at least some stems with geminated intervocalic stops originate as suffixed stems with presuffixial syncope.

In some cases intervocalic *-dd-* in Mombo corresponds to *-rd-* and *-ld-* in Penange, another western Dogon language very closely related to Mombo. cf. (xx1). The Penange data come from my one fieldwork study.

(xx1)

gloss	Mombo	Penange
‘hang’	ǵóddè	ǵórdè
‘mary’	kéddè	kéldè
‘forget’	íddè	íldè

-ld- and *-rd-* clusters in Penange most probably originate as syncopated forms where the thematic vowel of the input stem is deleted before the suffix. Since C_2 of these stems is either /l/ or /r/, most probably this kind of syncope is an old phonetic rule similar to the presuffixial syncope discussed for Mombo in § 3.xxx.

Note however that Penange material is less helpful in the case of stems with *-ll-* geminates since corresponding stems in Pinange have the same cluster. Cf. ‘rest, relax’ Mombo *néllè* and Penange *néllè*. One may argue that these clusters also originate in a kind of presuffixial syncope, however discussing this topic lies outside of the purposes of this book.

Stems with intervocalic clusters of NC type can be analyzed as monophonemic, with the main evidence coming from the tonal behavior of bisyllabic stems containing these clusters. Recall §3.xxx. Both *ímbé* ‘catch’ and *búmbé* ‘crawl’ have to be ‘short’ stems, because they are H-toned in the lexical form. If one accepts that these stems are ‘short’ (i.e. bimoraic), one has to analyze the NC clusters as single morphemes. In other words it can be state that

VNCV and CVNCV stems are phonologically of C_1VC_2V where C_2 is a prenasalized consonant.

In a number of bisyllabic stems the first syllable is long. These stems may be either of CV:CV or CV:NCV structure.

The length of V_1 plays an important role in verbal lexicon. In (xx4) I repeat minimal pairs distinguished by V_1 length first given in (xx1) in § 3.4.1

(xx4) Minimal pairs distinguished by V_1 length.

<i>bálé</i>	‘beat, play (tomtom)’	vs.	<i>bá:lè</i>	‘pass by’
<i>máy"é</i>	‘squeeze food into a ball-shaped handful in one’s hand)’	vs.	<i>máy"è</i>	‘be or become dry’
<i>nálé</i>	‘(female) give birth (to a baby)’	vs.	<i>ná:lè</i>	‘think (of or about sth)’
<i>nándé</i>	‘(liana) twist itself around (a tree)’		<i>ná:ndè</i>	‘taste (a food)’
		vs.		
<i>sáré</i>	‘ask question’	vs.	<i>sá:rè</i>	‘grind up (e.g. grains with grindstones)’
<i>sáyé</i>	‘(leaf, fruit) fall of’	vs.	<i>sá:yè</i>	‘bath without soap’
<i>yáré</i>	‘recognize, distinguish (notions)’	vs.	<i>yá:rè</i>	‘burn (sth)’

Notably all these stems are of A-class class.

Among stems of other harmony classes pseudo-minimal pairs can be found. Cf. *gí:lè* ‘stroll, take a walk’, *gílé* ‘(long object) brake, be broken’. Since it is the metric structure that defines the lexical tone melody of a stem, the pairs in (xx4) are also distinguished tonally. Stems with long V_1 s are long and thus bear {HL} melody while those with short V_1 are {H}.

Remarkably, long V_1 ’s are extremely rare in all other bisyllabic structure types. Also V_1 ’s are absent in underived polysyllables³. Cf. quite a short list of exceptions in (xx5).

(xx5)

<i>á:lè</i>	‘re-clear, clean up (existing field, before a growing season)’
<i>á:w"ì</i>	‘(cheek) be puffed up’
<i>bá:dyê:</i>	‘serve (sauce, onto millet cakes, e.g. with a ladle)’
<i>jú:wyê:</i>	‘turn upside down’

The table below summarizes the distribution of different syllabic and metric structures, and tonal classes found in bisyllables.

³ Derived polysyllabic and even derived bisyllabic stems, though, may have long V_1 ’s. cf. *yá:g-yé:* ‘become pretty, get dolled-up’ from adj. *yá:gá* ‘pretty, beautiful’ and causative *yá:g-yá-mì* ‘make (sb/sth) pretty, beautiful’.

(xx6) Bisyllabic stems: correlations between syllabic structure, metrical structure and tonal class

Syllabic structure	Metric structure	lexical tonal melody
VCV	'short'	{H}
VCCV	'long'	{HL}
VNVCV	'short'	{H}
VCyV:	'long'	{HL}
CVCV	'short'	{H}
CV:CV	'long'	{HL}
CVCCV	'long'	{HL}
CVNVCV	'long'	{HL}
CV:NCV	'long'	{HL}
CVCyV:	'long'	{HL}

10.1.3.5 Tri- and quadrisyllabic stems

In addition to mono- and bisyllables there is a number of underived stems consisting of three and even four syllables. Most of them have traces of former morphological complexity (e.g. 'frozen' derivation suffixes).

In three cases known to me a trisyllabic stem doesn't fit into the five harmonic classes identified, which clearly indicates its original complex morphological structure. Those are given in (xx1)

(xx1) Disharmonic trisyllables

pógólè '(chicken, bird) be seared'

témálè 'whisper'

témbáli 'tamp down (earth, with foot, to level it)'

Following the general rule tri- and quadrisyllables behave tonally as 'long' stems. Tonal irregularities that can be observed in derived quadrimoraic stems are not found in underived ones. Recall that quadrimoraic causatives in *-mV* § 9.3.3 are peculiar for having either {HL} or {LHL} in imperative with the choice defined lexically instead of LH expected for a quadrimoraic structure. Contrastively, as has been already showed in §9.3.3, synchronically unsegmentable stems with frozen causative suffix *-mV* have regular {LH} imperatives.

Tri- and quadrisyllabic stems that I am aware of are listed in (xx2).

(xx1) Underived tri- and quadricsyllabic verbs

verb	gloss
<i>ámánjè</i>	‘dream’
<i>ánǵúlè</i>	‘put stop to a fight’
<i>bà:lú:ˀ kúmúlè</i>	‘(eyes) be slightly open’
<i>báyérè</i>	‘add more’
<i>bégúlè</i>	‘winnow (by shaking on a flat van so that larger grains fall off)’
<i>bélámì</i>	‘be enough for (sb)’
<i>bílályê:</i>	‘(sth) transform (into sth)’
<i>búǵúlè</i>	‘chew cud’
<i>bùtó:ˀ pégélè</i>	‘unbutton (shirt)’
<i>dábálè</i>	‘lie in wait for (animal, enemy)’
<i>dámánjì</i>	‘negotiate the price’
<i>dìǵì díǵírè</i>	‘(healer) collect (sb’s blood, with an animal horn)’
<i>díǵílámì</i>	‘postpone (an event)’
<i>dómbúlè</i>	‘fall’
<i>dúmánjè</i>	‘(person) become rich’
<i>dúmbúrè</i>	‘put (firewood) into (fire)’
<i>dúǵú kórómì</i>	‘be fed up (with sth)’
<i>ǵálálè</i>	‘put manure (to fertilize earth)’
<i>ǵílámì</i>	‘(sth) make a sudden noise’
<i>ǵógójè</i>	‘chew on (bone)’
<i>ǵúǵáli</i>	‘rub (sth) with (a stone)’
<i>ǵúndúlyê:</i>	‘(e.g. jar, calabash, basket) be rolled over’
<i>ǵjílè</i>	‘sneeze’
<i>jǵǵílè</i>	‘gin, remove seeds from (cotton)’
<i>kábájè</i>	‘climb noisily (tree trunk or cliff)’
<i>kábúlè</i>	‘dismember (into pieces)’
<i>kájábè</i>	‘observe (sth) attentively’
<i>kájálè</i>	‘scale, scrape the scales off (a fish)’
<i>kémbámì</i>	‘dress well’
<i>kémbúlè</i>	‘scoop up (food) in one hand from a bowl’
<i>kíǵilyè ‘</i>	turn, change direction’
<i>kírímì</i>	‘dispute’
<i>kómbólè</i>	‘split (peanut) in half’
<i>kò: ná dórómì</i>	‘dodge, get out of the way (e.g. of a moving vehicle)’

<i>kó: nà sáyélè</i>	‘comb oneself’
<i>kó: nà yúgújè</i>	‘undo ones braids’
<i>kòndèlé kòndèlé</i>	‘go by turns, in rotation’
<i>kóndómì</i>	‘give (sth) back (to sb)’
<i>kóndónjè</i>	‘(garment, mat, face) become wrinkled’
<i>kóndúlè</i>	‘go around (sth, in a circle)’
<i>kóṅgólè</i>	‘collect (last bit of food in pot) with hand’
<i>kórólè</i>	‘cough’
<i>kúbándyè</i>	‘be lazy’
<i>múndólómì</i>	‘rumple, squeeze into a clump’
<i>nágájè</i>	‘mix, stir together (flour and water)’
<i>nánálè</i>	‘apply wet earth to (a surface) by pressing’
<i>nándálámì</i>	‘trip (sb) with a kick’
<i>nébúlè</i>	‘rub gently in washing’
<i>némáryê:</i>	‘(person, animal) become dirty’
<i>nèndèlé néndèlé</i>	‘breathe’
<i>nígjè</i>	‘mix, combine (two or more ingredients)’
<i>nímbúlè</i>	‘(rope) rub hard against, abrade (skin)’
<i>nógójè</i>	‘slide in (e.g. a pencil over one's ear)’
<i>nógójè</i>	‘tickle (sb)’
<i>núgújè</i>	‘ransack, search through (belongings)’
<i>péjéjè</i>	‘(milk) be pure, full strength, undiluted’
<i>pélénjè</i>	‘hit off center (as in nearly missing a nail head with the hammer)’
<i>píjì ínímì</i>	‘let out one’s stomach’
<i>píjì múndúlyè</i>	‘have a queasy feeling in stomach’
<i>píríndyê:</i>	‘(dying animal) flop around’
<i>póbólè</i>	‘grope along (a wall)’
<i>póbúlè</i>	‘(e.g. snake) shed, slough off (its skin)’
<i>pódógélè</i>	‘escape, get free’
<i>pógólè</i>	‘(chicken, bird) be seared’
<i>pógúlè</i>	‘hold or place (e.g. chicken, squirrel) over fire (to burn off feathers or hairs)’
<i>pógúlúmì</i>	‘caress, rub gently with fingers or palm’
<i>pójólámì</i>	‘twist (sth)’
<i>pórógè</i>	‘mix (pounded karité fruit pits) with hot water into a pulp (in oil pressing)’
<i>póyérè</i>	‘(fruit) be half ripe’
<i>púbúlè</i>	‘blow on (e.g. fire)’

<i>púgújè</i>	‘crumple (paper or clothing)’
<i>púrúdyê:</i>	‘be or become covered with dirt or dust (e.g. after farming)’
<i>sáyélè</i>	‘(fabric, garment) fray, unravel’
<i>sáyéndè</i>	‘(e.g. umbrella) be stretched out’
<i>sáyérè</i>	‘bath (sb) without soap’
<i>sègèrè ségàrè</i>	‘put thin cross beams (when building a roof of a house)’
<i>séndírè</i>	‘heave and imbed (e.g. spear)’
<i>sílèbè</i>	‘cut, chop (firewood)’
<i>símbúlè</i>	‘carve wood’
<i>sógúlè</i>	‘shell (groundnuts, cow peas) by pounding in mortar’
<i>sùgùmà sùgúmi</i>	‘pick (early millet grains, from the grain spike)’
<i>súrólómì</i>	‘pour (tea) back and forth’
<i>tágérè</i>	‘insert (e.g. calabash) in the opening between two superimposed rocks’
	<i>CHECK</i>
<i>tánjúlè</i>	‘take a step’
<i>táyérè</i>	‘shine, be luminous’
<i>tébúlè</i>	‘hit (sb) hard’
<i>témálè</i>	‘whisper’
<i>témbáli</i>	‘tamp down (earth, with foot, to level it)’
<i>tígírè</i>	‘(griot) flatter (sb)’
<i>tímbálè</i>	‘give advice’
<i>tóyérè</i>	‘oversow (millet seeds)’
<i>túgúrè</i>	‘harvest (the third harvest of cereals)’
<i>túndú:ⁿ</i>	‘delay (sb, sth)’
<i>dínjílámì</i>	
<i>úgújè</i>	‘rinse out one’s month’
<i>úgúrè</i>	‘burn (incense)’
<i>únjúlè</i>	‘be the first (to do sth)’
<i>wágádyè</i>	‘be anxious, can't wait (e.g. for a visitor to arrive)’
<i>wágálámì</i>	‘stir (liquid) with a spoon or ladle’
<i>wálánjè</i>	‘splash or toss (water) by hand (as in bathing)’
<i>wándámì</i>	‘say noon greetings’
<i>wánjúlè</i>	‘go around (obstacle)’
<i>wúlágè</i>	‘divide into subgroups (verb)’
<i>wúzílè</i>	‘return (back home)’
<i>yágáryê:</i>	‘(skin) be itchy (to sb)’
<i>yágúlè</i>	‘cut off (tree branch) by slashing with a machete’
<i>yájámì</i>	‘poke fun, mock (verb)’

yígídyê: ‘(sth) vibrate, be shaking’

10.2 Positive indicative AN categories

10.2.1 Perfective positive system (including perfect)

10.2.1.1 Perfective

The basic perfective category or the (simple) perfective, as will refer to it from now on, doesn't have any suffixation and like the imperative is characterized by two stem features – the tonal melody and the quality of stem-final thematic vowel. A verb in the perfective form may have final /ɛ/, /e/ or /i/ depending on the quality of the preceding consonant and the stem-internal vowel it is harmonized with, and bear {H} melody (in ‘short’ stems) or a {HL} melody (‘long’ stems). The table (xx1) confronts the perfective forms with the imperative, another unsuffixed category. Recall Chapter 3.7.2 for details on the thematic vowel alternation.

(xx1) perfective (3SG) and imperative

gloss	PFV	IMP
‘steal’	gyé:	gyó:
‘buy’	swé:	swá:
‘take’	némé	némá
‘swallow’	mí:ndè	mì:ndá
‘come’	égé	égó
‘sell’	só:lè	sò:ló
‘receive’	ábé	ábá
‘see’	mályê:	màlyǎ:
‘do’	kání	káná
‘clean (sth)’ (CAUS)	éjá-mì	èjà-má
‘walk’	úní	únú
‘move out’ (CAUS)	gó:-mì	gò:-mú

The perfective (proper) in basic uses describes an event or a state as whole - a finished process (typically with past-time reference) like *égé* ‘he/she come’ or a current state, like *émbé* ‘it is wet’.

In a narrative the perfective fulfils the role of event sequencer moving the storyline forward. Perfective forms of series 1 and 3 are used in clause chain construction that describes thematically coherent sequence of events, where every clause beside the last one is headed by the a form of series 3, and the last clause in a chain is in series 1 form (³PFV, ³PFV, ³PFV...¹PFV). See. 15.xxx for details.

Perfective stem serves the input in formation of all 4 series of perfective forms. The stems as they described above occur in series 1. In series 2 a high-tone overlay applies to input stem, that is audible in most cases only for lexically “short” (=HL) stems. The series three perfective is identical to that of series 1 in all pronominal forms except the for third person (both singular and plural). See 10.xxx for details

(xx1) Perfective formation

	form	gloss
Series 1	<i>mí:ndè</i>	¹ swallow.PFV.3SG
Series 2	<i>mí:ndé</i>	² swallow.PFV.H
Series 3	<i>mí:ndé-né</i>	³ swallow.PFV-3SG
Series 4	<i>mì-mí:ndè</i>	⁴ RDPL-swallow.PFV

(xx1)

sample paradigms

(xx1) category	‘leave’	‘die’	‘rob’
1Sg	xxx	xxx	xxx
1Pl	xxx	xxx	xxx
2Sg	xxx	xxx	xxx
2Pl	xxx	xxx	xxx
3Sg/InanSg	xxx	xxx	xxx
3Pl/InanPl	xxx	xxx	xxx

discussion of morphology

10.2.1.2 Perfective-1a -xxx-, Perfective-1b -xxx-

There are two suffixally marked Perfective forms. The suffixes are -xxx- (e.g. -yv- or -ErE-), which I label Perfective-1a, and -xxx- (e.g. -ti-), which I label Perfective I-b. The stem has its lexical form (not the special form used in the unsuffixed Perfective) before both of these suffixes.

The two Perfective-1 suffixes compete most directly with the Perfective-2 with suffix -xxx- (-sa/so-). (The unsuffixed Perfective is used when a non-verb constituent has at least some degree of focalization.)

Perfective-1a -xxx- is used with motion and stance verbs ('go', 'sit down'), with deadjectival inchoatives and other non-active intransitives, with a few low-impact transitives like 'forget', and optionally with transitive verbs of holding and wearing (which often contain Mediopassive -yv-).

(xxx) Perfective-1a -xxx-

gloss	stem	Perfective
-------	------	------------

- a. monosyllabic Cv:-
- b. bisyllabic with final non-high vowel
- c. bisyllabic with final /i/

(discussion of phonology of Perfective-1a)

Perfective-1b -xxx- is used with most transitives, and with active intransitives denoting speech or thought.

(xxx) Perfective-1b -xxx-

gloss	stem	Perfective
-------	------	------------

- a. monosyllabic Cv:-
- b. bisyllabic with final non-high vowel
- c. bisyllabic with final /i/

(discussion of phonology of Perfective-1b)

pronominal paradigms:

(xxx) category	form of -xxx- (1a)	form of -xxx- (1b)
----------------	--------------------	--------------------

1Sg	-xxx-	-xxx-
1Pl	-xxx-	-xxx-
2Sg	-xxx-	-xxx-
2Pl	-xxx-	-xxx-
3Sg/Inan	-xxx-	-xxx-
3Pl	-xxx-	-xxx-

10.2.1.3 Perfective-2 (-so/sa-)

Perfective-2 -xxx- (so/sa)

common with 'see' and 'hear' (perception verbs) instead of Perf-1b (??)

unmarked perfective form in focalization and/or relative clauses (??)

any suggestion of resultative sense?

examples

pronominal paradigm

(in Nanga, there is a tonal distinction between Perf-2 -so- and an Imperfective -so-)

10.2.1.4 Experiential Perfect 'have ever' (xxx)

As most other Dogon languages Mombo has a special category of experiential perfect, which is used to indicate that a certain situation described by the verb root has taken place at least once according to speaker's experience.

(xx1)

nígè à-màlà-té:yⁿè?

elephant ¹2SG-see-EXPE

'Have you ever seen an elephant?'

(xx2)

Bómógó-wⁿ ñ-nàndà-té:yⁿè

Bamako-OBL ¹1SG-go-EXPE

'I have never gone to Bamako.'

The experiential perfect is formed by adding suffix *-té:yⁿè* a stem in thematic /a/. cf. example of formation of the experiential perfect in (xx2)

(xx2)

gloss	PFV	EXPE
'steal'	gyé:	gyá:-té:y ⁿ è
'buy'	swé:	swá:-té:y ⁿ è
'take'	némé	némá- té:y ⁿ è
'swallow'	mí:ndè	mì:ndá- té:y ⁿ è
'come'	égé	égá-té:y ⁿ è
'sell'	só:lè	só:lá-té:y ⁿ è
'receive'	ábé	ábá-té:y ⁿ è
'see'	mályê:	málá- té:y ⁿ è
'do'	kání	káná- té:y ⁿ è
'clean (sth)' (CAUS)	éjá-mì	éjá-má- té:y ⁿ è
'walk'	úní	úná- té:y ⁿ è
'move out' (CAUS)	gó:-mì	gò:-mú-té:y ⁿ è

The suffix has an alternative form *-té:yⁿè* with denasalized /y/. The choice of these two variants depends solely on speaker's preference. Since this variation doesn't concern grammatical value of the morpheme I transcribe suffix everywhere as *-té:yⁿè*. This variation is much of bigger interest for historical phonology and morphology. It might also indicate a morphemic border that use to lie between the initial and the final syllable of the suffix. Cf. also experiential perfect negative *-téndì* (10.xxx)

Suffix is used in all four series however occur in a reduced form *-té:yⁿ* in series 2 (10.xxx). Also the same form of the suffix is found before 3PL *-ây* of series 1 cf. *mala-té:yⁿ-ây* 'they have seen (it) once'. See 10.xxx for details.

(xx2) Experiential perfect formation

	form	gloss
Series 1	<i>mí:ndá-té:yⁿè</i>	¹ swallow-EXPE
Series 2	<i>mí:ndá-té:yⁿ</i>	² swallow-EXPE
Series 3	<i>mì:nda-te:yⁿ-a-</i>	³ swallow-EXPE-S3-
Series 4	<i>mì-mí:nda-té:yⁿè</i>	⁴ RDPL-swallow-EXPE

10.2.1.5 Recent Perfect (-jE-)

Mombo doesn't have a special form with recent perfective meaning ('I have just V-ed') unlike many Dogon languages. The same semantic is expressed by the simple perfective.

< example >

10.2.1.6 Reduplicated Perfective (Cv-)

(usually a variant of the unsuffixed Perfective, plus an initial Cv- reduplication)

(may be distinct from stative and imperfective reduplications)

examples and analysis of the sense

pronominal paradigm (or indication that the paradigm is the same as for the unsuffixed Perf)

10.2.2 Imperfective positive system

10.2.2.1 Imperfective (proper) V-á: bó: / sá:

The imperfective (proper) is expressed in an analytic construction. The verb stem takes a form of imperfective converb in /á:/ (see 10.xxx for details). The converb is followed by auxiliary verb *bó:* 'be (somewhere)' or *sá:* 'have', which takes pronominal affixes. The two auxiliaries are in a free variation in series 1 and 3. In series 2 and 4 on the other hand only *sá:* 'have' is possible.

(xx1) Imperfective formation

	form	gloss
Series 1	mí:ndá: bó: /sá:	swallow.CV.IPFV ¹ be.3SG / ¹ have.ST.3SG
Series 2	mí:ndá: sá:	swallow.CV.IPFV ² have.ST.3SG
Series 3	mi:nda: bí-yá- / sí-yá-	swallow.CV.IPFV ³ be-S3- / ³ have-S3
Series 4	mì-mí:nda: sá:	⁴ RDPL-swallow.CV.IPFV have.ST.3SG

The imperfective (proper), which is mainly used in reference to on-going (progressive, habitual etc.) events. Its semantics doesn't exclude though events with future time reference and modal ones. This function is fulfilled by the prospective and the potential.

< example progressive >

< example habitual >

The unmarked (most common) Imperfective form may be suffixed (e.g. -m-) or unsuffixed (in Jamsay it is marked only by a final low-tone formative).

if there is also a specifically Future form, then this one should be called Present rather than Imperfective

discuss phonology (tones, vocalism)

(xxx) Imperfective (stem ends in non-high vowel)

bare stem	Imperfective	gloss
-----------	--------------	-------

- a. monosyllabic Cvv-
- b. CvCv- (bimoraic)
- c. CvCCv-
- d. CvvC(C)v-
- e. trisyllabic

(xxx) Imperfective (stem ends in high vowel)

bare stem	Imperfective	gloss
-----------	--------------	-------

- a. monosyllabic Cii-
- b. CvCi-
- c. CvCCi-
- d. CvvC(C)i-
- e. trisyllabic with final /i/

pronominal paradigm

(xxx) Imperfective

category	form
1Sg	-xxx
1Pl	-xxx
2Sg	-xxx
2Pl	-xxx

3Sg/Inan -xxx

3Pl -xxx

examples

10.2.2.2 Reduplicated Imperfective (Cv-)

(usually based on Imperfective stem, but with initial Cv- reduplication)

(distinct tonally and/or segmentally from other Cv- reduplications?)

10.2.2.3 Progressive (-so-)

(An imperfective-system form of this type occurs in Nanga; it is distinct tonally from the Perfective-2)

10.2.2.4 Prospective

Prospective is the most morphologically complex category in Mombo TAM system. It shows two different patterns of stem formation. One of them is found in series 3 and the other one in the rest three series 1. In series 1, 2 and 4 the stem has final short /a/, this stem adds pronominal prefixes in series 1 and 4. A form identical to 3SG prospective of series 1 is used as all-person form in series 2. See 10xxx for details.

(xx1) Prospective (positive), Series 1, 2 and 4

	form	gloss
Series 1	mí:ndà-mbò	¹ swallow.PROSP-3SG
Series 2	mí:ndà-mbò	² swallow.PROSP-SF
Series 4	mì-mí:ndà-mbò	⁴ RDPL-swallow.PROSP-3SG

This stem is peculiar for its unusual tonal behavior. The {HL} tonal melody that is characteristic of all person-number forms is realized with a change from high to low on the penultimate mora, thus going against general last-mora rule described in section 3.xxx.

Formation of the series 3 prospective is totally different. First of all the stem has a O/U stem, that is the thematic vowel is /o/, /ɔ/ or /u/ depending on the harmony class of the verb stem. This stem attaches suffix of -gɔ 'PROSP.S3' in all person-number forms except the 3SG. In latter form the inflectional morpheme -kɔ́nɔ́ 'PROSP.S3.3SG' is used to mark both aspect-series and person-number of the subject.

(xx1) Series 3 prospective formation

class	gloss	¹ PFV	form (except 3SG)	3SG form
A	'go'	ándé	ándó-gɔ̀	àndò-kɔ́nɔ́
I/A	'do'	kání	kánú-gɔ̀	kànù-kɔ́nɔ́
I/U	'get to know'	íní	ínú-gɔ̀	?
- ATR	'take'	némé	némó-gɔ̀	nèmò-kɔ́nɔ́
+ ATR	'come'	égé	égó-gɔ̀	ègò-kɔ́nɔ́

A and +ATR classes have thematic /o/, I/A and I/U classes show thematic /u/ and /ɔ/ is found stem-finally in the -ATR class. Note that series suffix -gɔ is not harmonized with the stem.

Prospective is used for events that are realized (at least partially) in the temporal plain consecutive to the reference time. If the reference time is the moment of speech (or some moment in the future) prospective functions as a future tense.

< example >

< example >

If the reference time is prior to the moment of speech the prospective has a future-in-the-past reading.

< example >

Besides those functions prospective is used for events that describe general state of affairs with no particular time reference as in the following example.

(xx1)

yè: sélè: sábábú = ndó ándà-mbò.

thing all fate = with go.PROSP-3SG

All things happen because of something.

lit. Every thing goes with the fate.

(xx2)

dùgù yénà bâ: íní Byétù gúná-mbyà kwà
village.L 3SG.POSS DEF name Biot say.IPFV -PROSP.3PL EMPH

The name of her town was Biot.

Both (xx1) and (xx2) describe state of affairs that are assumed to be true irrespectively to the reference time. This is especially clear in case of (xx1) which describes generally the state of affairs in the world as seen by the speaker. (xx2) is translated using English past, because the time of the narrative, where it was taken from, proceeds the time of the narrator. However the sentence itself describes the state of affairs which is assumed to be true before the reference time of the narrative is true at the reference time, and is assumed to be valid in the future: the name of the town was the same before narrator’s visit is was the same during that visit and is assumed to be the same after the reference time.

It is important to note that the prospective is not used to describe habitual events, that are covered by simple imperfective

10.2.3 Negation of indicative verbs

Except for statives (including auxiliary verbs in the imperfective), which have a special stative negative *-ndá*, and suppletive form *óli* ‘be.NEG’ (also used in imperfective negative series 1 and 3) the positive indicative inflections correspond or are related to to a Perfective Negative *-lí*.

There is also a special perfective negative 3PL ending *-ndá* used in series 1 and 4. Not to be confused with stative negative *-ndá* used for all persons.

10.2.3.1 Perfective Negative *-lí/-l-*

The perfective negative is generally formed by adding suffix *-lí* to the perfective stem. The resulting tone melody is all-high (3SG series 1 and 4). Unlike in the positive ‘short’ and ‘long’ stems are not tonally distinct from each other. Cf. short *égé-lí* ‘he/she didn’t come’ and long *yé:rè-lí* ‘he/she didn’t get (it)’.

The tonal form of perfective negative inflectional forms changes depending on the person-number category they are in. See section 10.xxx for details.

(xx1) Perfective negative formation

	gloss	PFV (3SG)	PFV.NEG (3SG)
A	‘go’	<i>ándé</i>	<i>ándé-lí</i>
I/A	‘do’	<i>kání</i>	<i>kání-lí</i>
I/U	‘be.finished-CAUS’	<i>ínjó-mì</i>	<i>ínjó-mí-lì</i>
- ATR	‘get’	<i>yé:rè</i>	<i>yé:rè-lí</i>
+ ATR	‘come’	<i>égé</i>	<i>égé-lí</i>

If followed by a suffix as -yV (series 3) -lí loses final /i/ and becomes -l-. The following suffixes are not harmonized with the stem. Cf. disharmonic form *búbé-l-yé-nà* ‘rub-PFV.NEG-S3-3SG’.

The form of the stem changes slightly in each series. Series 2 is suffix ga and characterized by {HL} melody which contrasts to the high-tone melody found in series 1 (3SG). In series three suffixes -yV is added to the input stem. In series 4 the input stem is reduplicated.

(xx1) Perfective negative forms

	form	gloss
Series 1	<i>mí:ndé-lí</i>	¹ swallow-PFV.NEG.3SG
Series 2	<i>mí:ndé-lí-gà</i>	² swallow-PFV.NEG-S2
Series 3	<i>mí:ndé-l-yé-nà</i>	³ swallow-PFV.NEG-S3-3SG
Series 4	<i>mì-mí:ndé-lí</i>	⁴ RDPL-swallow-PFV.NEG.3SG

The 3PL form in series 1 and 4 is formed by adding special final inflection *-ndà* (homonymous to the stative negative suffix) to a stem with final long /a:/. Cf. *mí:ndá:-ndà* ‘they swallowed (it)’. See. section 10.xxx for details

pronominal paradigm

(xx7) *category PerfNeg form*

<i>1Sg</i>	<i>-xxx</i>
<i>1Pl</i>	<i>-xxx</i>
<i>2Sg</i>	<i>-xxx</i>
<i>2Pl</i>	<i>-xxx</i>
<i>3Sg/Inan</i>	<i>-xxx</i>
<i>3Pl</i>	<i>-xxx</i>

may require discussion of pronominal forms. 3Pl irregular?

10.2.3.2 Experiential Negative *-téndì*

The experiential perfect negative is formed by adding suffix *-téndì* to a stem with thematic /a/.

(xx1)

	gloss	PFV (3SG)	PFV.NEG (3SG)
A	'go'	<i>ándé</i>	<i>ándá-téndì</i>
I/A	'do'	<i>kání</i>	<i>káná-téndì</i>
I/U	'walk'	<i>úní</i>	<i>úná-téndì</i>
- ATR	'get'	<i>yé:rè</i>	<i>yé:rá-téndì</i>
+ ATR	'come'	<i>égé</i>	<i>égé-téndì</i>

As can be seen from this table the basic tone melody of experiential perfect negative is {HL}. As in other categories this melody is subject to change in the pronominal subject paradigm. The 3PL form is regular. See section 10.xxx for details.

The experiential perfect negative has regular forms of the four series. A stem as given in (xx1) is used in series 1, in series 2 suffix -gà is added, a series 3 form features series 3 suffix -yV, while series 4 is formed by initial reduplication of CV-type.

(xx2)

	form	gloss
Series 1	<i>málá-téndì</i>	¹ see-EXPE.NEG.3SG
Series 2	<i>málá-téndí-gà</i>	² see-EXPE.NEG.S2
Series 3	<i>málá-téndí-yá-nà</i>	³ see-EXPE.NEG-S3-3SG
Series 4	<i>mà-malá-téndí</i>	⁴ RDPL-see-EXPE.NEG.3SG

10.2.3.3 Imperfective Negative *V-a ólì / sá-ndá*

The imperfective negative uses negative forms auxiliaries 'be (sw)' and 'have'. Verb *bó*: 'be (sw)' has suppletive negative form *ólì*), which may historically contain perfective negative suffix -lì or a cognate morpheme. The negative of *sá*: 'have' is formed regularly by adding stative negative suffix -ndá. See section 10 xxx for details.

(xx1)

	<i>bó</i> : IPFV	gloss	<i>sá</i> : IPFV	gloss
Positive	<i>mályá: bó</i> :	¹ see.CV.IPFV be.3SG	<i>mályá: sá</i> :	¹ see.CV.IPFV have.3SG
Negative	<i>mályá: ólì</i>	¹ see.CV.IPFV be.NEG.3SG	<i>mályá: sá-ndá</i>	¹ see.CV.IPFV have-NEG.3SG

ólì and *sá-ndá* are in free variation everywhere except series 4 where the only *sá-ndá* is possible. See the discussion in section 10.xxx. Both stems add suffixes of series 2 and 3. As

in other paradigms the series 4 form the auxiliary is added to a reduplicated stem of the main the verb. cf. *mà-mályá: sá-ndá* ‘⁴RDPL-see.CV.IPFV have.ST-NEG.3SG’

The table below show imperfective auxiliary forms in the four series.

(xx2) Auxiliary forming the imperfective negative

	<i>AUX bó: ‘be’</i>	gloss	<i>sá: ‘have’</i>	gloss
series 1	<i>ólì</i>	¹ be.NEG.3SG	<i>sá-ndá</i>	¹ have.ST-NEG.3SG
series 2	<i>ólì-ga</i>	² be.NEG-S2	<i>sá-ndá-gà</i>	² have.ST-NEG-S2
series 3	<i>ólì-yà-nà</i>	³ be.NEG-S3-3SG	<i>sá-ndí-yà-nà</i>	³ have.ST-NEG-S3-3SG
series 4	*	*	<i>sá-ndá</i>	⁴ have.ST-NEG.3SG

(xx1) stem ImpfNeg gloss

a. monosyllabic, lexical {LH} tone

b. monosyllabic, lexical {H} tone

c. CvCv, lexical{LH} tone

d. CvCv, lexical {H} tone

(etc.)

pronominal paradigm

(xx7) category ImpfNeg

1Sg -xxx

1Pl -xxx

2Sg -xxx

2Pl -xxx

3Sg -xxx

3Pl -xxx

10.2.3.4 Prospective negative forms

The prospective negative is formed by adding an inflection (different forms in different person-number categories) to a stem in thematic /á:/. Segmentally and tonally this stem is identical to the imperfective coverb used in the imperfective construction. Since the inflections following show no resemblance to existing stative verbs I’m inclined consider to

be a case of stem homonymy. Historically though such emergence of imperfective negative stem is not an impossible scenario.

As will be discussed in detail in section 10.xxx there is a single inflection, viz. *-lì*, which is used for both the 2SG and the 3SG. cf. *mí:ndá:-lì* ‘you-SG/he/she will swallow’. The form with this inflection is used as an input in formation of series 2 and 3 forms. Cf. (xx1)

(xx1)

	from	gloss
Series 1	<i>mí:ndá:-lì</i>	¹ swallow-PROSP.NEG.2/3SG
Series 2	<i>mí:ndá:-lì-gà</i>	² swallow-PROSP.NEG-S2
Series 3	<i>mí:ndá:-l-yá-nà</i>	³ swallow-PROSP.NEG-S3-3SG
Series 4	<i>mì-mí:ndá:-lì</i>	⁴ RDPL-swallow-PROSP.NEG.2/3SG

10.3 Pronominal paradigms for non-imperative verbs

wⁿà:wⁿá-mì ‘boil’

ñwà:wⁿá-mì ñ-wⁿàwⁿámí

àwà:wⁿá-mì à-wⁿàwⁿámí

wⁿà:wⁿá-mì

ñwⁿá:wⁿá-mì

é-wⁿá:wⁿa-mì

wⁿá:wⁿámì

nù:ndá-mì ‘teach’

ñnù:ndá-mì ñnù:ndámí

ànù:ndá-mì ànùndámí

nù:ndá-mì

ñnúná-mì

énúnda-mì

nú:ndá-mì

kè:g-yó-mì ‘drive (sb) crazy’

10.3.3 Vowel-semivowel interactions of AN and pronominal suffixes

e.g. /iw/ > uu or other assimilations/dissimilations

10.3.4 Tones of subject pronominal suffixes

Often atonal, but some surprises in particular aspect-negation categories

10.4 Morphology of the 4 series

Tonal variation in series 2 mályá: ólì-gà /ólí-gà

10.5 Stative form of verbs (reduplicated and unreduplicated)

Some discussion on paired non-statives and more complicated cases like íngé// íngá.

Derivation of non-stative stem

problem of the identification of the deriving stem in cases of paired underived stems

10.5.1 Stative positive

There may be an active/stative opposition applicable to verbs of stance, holding and carrying, and others. Active = enter into the state ('sit down', 'take hold of', 'become closed'). Stative = be in the state ('be sitting', 'be holding', 'be closed').

Statives typically do not distinguish perfective from imperfective, though they may have morphological affinities to one or the other aspect-defined systems (usually perfective). Statives likewise have a distinct Stative Negative suffix or clitic, distinct from the PerfNeg and ImperfNeg of active verbs.

The Stative may have a Cv- or Ci- reduplication, at least optionally. If so, it indicates how it differs from perfective and imperfective reduplications (tone, stem-vocalism). If the reduplication is optional, does its presence depend on whether the verb is preceded by other constituents?

If the Stative applies to verbs whose active forms usually take Mediopassive -yv- (or Transitive -rv-), the latter suffixes are usually dropped in the Stative. However, this might not be true when the stem is monosyllabic ('stand', 'lie down', 'carry on head')

examples (it is useful to compare with the bare stem or Imperative, and perhaps a Perfective-1a form to show stem-vocalism changes.

sample glosses ‘be leaning (on sth)’, ‘be leaning back’, ‘be kneeling’, ‘be holding (sth)’, ‘be carrying (child) on back’, ‘be sitting’, ‘be squatting’, ‘(bird) be perched’, ‘be sleeping’, ‘be lying down’, ‘(door) be closed’, ‘(door) be open’, ‘be standing (stopped)’, ‘be afraid’

(xx1) gloss Imperative Perfective-1a reduplicated Stative

- a. bisyllabic stem (unsegmentable)
- b. bisyllabic stem plus Mediopassive -yv-
- c. monosyllabic stem plus Mediopassive -yv-

pronominal-suffix paradigm, with sample paradigm

(xx2) category	Stative	‘be sitting’
1Sg	-xxx	xxx
1Pl	-xxx	xxx
2Sg	-xxx	xxx
2Pl	-xxx	xxx
3Sg	-□	xxx
3Pl	-xxx	xxx

10.5.2 Stative Negative (□xxx-)

Stative Negative clitic (or suffix) □xxx-

‘I am not sitting/holding’

‘the door is not closed’

‘he is not afraid’

conjugated paradigm with sample verb

(xx1) category	Stative Negative	‘not be sitting’
1Sg	-xxx	xxx
1Pl	-xxx	xxx
2Sg	-xxx	xxx
2Pl	-xxx	xxx

3Sg	-xxx	xxx
3Pl	-xxx	xxx

10.6 Post-verbal temporal particles

10.6.1 Past clitic (□bE-)

Dogon languages usually have a conjugatable Past clitic (□bE-) that is added to a verb or other predicate (which is already inflected at least for aspect-negation category), or a post-verbal Past particle (Jamsay jiiN with nasalized vowel) that may be uninflectable.

Clitic □bE-: intrinsic tone, or tone carried over from the preceding verb?

table showing the aspect-negation categories that may combine with the Past clitic, and the form of the combination. May not be necessary if there is an uninflectable Past particle that does not interact morphologically with the verb.

(xx1) AN category	AN suffix	AN + Past
<i>positive</i>		
<i>Imperfective</i> -xxx-	-xxx□bE-	
<i>Progressive</i> -xxx-	-xxx□bE-	
<i>unsuffixed Perfective</i>	(zero)	□bE- (<i>Past Perfect</i>)
<i>Perfective-1b</i>	-xxx-	-xxx□bE-
<i>Perfective-1a</i>	-xxx-	-xxx□bE-
<i>Perfective-2</i> -xxx-	-xxx□bE-	
<i>Recent Perfect</i>	-xxx-	-xxx□bE-
<i>negative</i>		
<i>perfective</i> -xxx-	-xxx□bE-	
<i>imperfective</i> -xxx-	-xxx□bE-	

if the AN suffix before the clitic is pronominally conjugated, briefly describe this pattern here and give fuller details in the specific subsections below. In some languages only 3Pl is expressed on the AN suffix before the clitic, other pronominal categories having zero or whatever the 3Sg suffix is elsewhere.

paradigm of $\square bE-$ with subject-pronominal endings. If $\square bE-$ can be either high or low toned, present in two columns

(xx2) category form with $\square bE-$
 after high tone after low tone

1Sg	$\square xxx$	$\square xxx$
1Pl	$\square xxx$	$\square xxx$
2Sg	$\square xxx$	$\square xxx$
2Pl	$\square xxx$	$\square xxx$
3Sg	$\square xxx$	$\square xxx$
3Pl	$\square xxx$	$\square xxx$

in subsections below, this paradigm need not be repeated. However, give paradigms if there are any interesting tonal patterns, or if the AN suffix as well as the Past clitic is conjugated. (Give 3Pl subject form in any case, even if regular.)

10.6.2 Actualizer clitic

'here he comes'

*íní è-égámbo-ỳⁿ

here he comes [veb focus]

íní è-égámbo-ỳⁿ

námá témá: ínúwⁿ bóyⁿ

10.6.2.1 Past Imperfective (positive and negative)

Past Imperfective (positive) is Past clitic added to a basic Imperfective stem. special 3Pl form?

examples

'I used to go to Mopti every year'

'He used to wrestle'

Past Imperfective Negative

special 3Pl form?

examples

'Long ago, we didn't use to go down into the plains'

10.6.2.2 Past forms of stative quasi-verbs ('be', 'have')

stative quasi-verbs 'be (somewhere)' and 'have', and their negations, may take the Past clitic.

<i>(xxx) gloss</i>	<i>regular form</i>	<i>Past</i>
<i>positive</i>		
<i>'be' xxx</i>	<i>xxx□bE-</i>	
<i>'have'</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx□bE-</i>
<i>negative</i>		
<i>'not be'</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx□bE-</i>
<i>'not have'</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx□bE-</i>

special 3Pl forms?

examples

10.6.2.3 Past Perfect (positive and negative)

The unaffixed Perfective, and in some languages one or more of the suffixally marked perfective-system AN forms, may be followed by the Past clitic to express a Past Perfect ('X had VP-ed'). This specifies that the event occurred before some other reference time (before the present) that is normally clear in discourse context.

note: "Perfect" [have VP-ed] distinct from Perfective. Past Perfect is a semantically more accurate term for 'I had VP-ed' than Past Perfective.

give examples of all perfective-system AN categories that combine with the Past clitic
special 3Pl forms?

'I/They had gone out.'

'She/They had seen me.'

'He had hit me.'

Past Perfect Negative is Past clitic added to Perfective Negative.

special 3Pl form?

examples

Past Perfect also used in one or both clauses of counterfactual conditionals? (see §16.xxx).

10.6.2.4 Past Passive (positive and negative)

(if there is a Nanga-style Passive suffix, it may combine with the Past clitic

10.6.3 'Still', 'up to now', (not) yet'

'He is still in the field(s)'. Note that French 'il est toujours au champ' is ambiguous, can also mean 'He is always in the field(s). It may be easier to elicit 'still' in negatives ('he still hasn't come' = 'he hasn't come yet')

examples

10.7 Imperatives and Hortatives

10.7.1 Imperatives and Prohibitives

10.7.1.1 Positive imperatives (Imperative stem, Plural -ndi)

Imperative

As mentioned above Mombo verb has two modal categories (besides indicative) - imperative and hortative. On sematical ground one could argue that hortative and imperative are the members of the same person/number paradigm. For Mombo, however, the morphological reasons force us to consider them as different categories.

Simple singular addressee imperative formally coincides with imperative stem (/a/, /o/ or /u/ vowels), with no semental suffix added.

Plural addressee imperative changes final vowel to /a/ and adds high-toned -ý. The whole stem tone contour remains without change

gloss	SG	PL
slaughter		sémá sémá-ý
come	égó	égá-ý
rest one's head		gàyá gàyá-ý
lie down		bìyó bìyá-ý
walk in water		únú úná-ý
move out		gò:mú gò:má-ý
see	màlyă	màlyă-ý
gnaw at (bones)		gògòjò gògòjá-ý
cut off (tree branch)		yàgàlá yàgàlá-ý

Multisyllables stems along with regular L(L..)H tone contour may have H(H..)L contour in the singular imperative form. This is true of both derived and underived stems. For ‘gnaw’ gógójè there exist two tonal variants of singular imperative: regular gògòjò and variant gógójò. The same way sémámì a causative from sémé ‘slaughter’ have both sèmámá and sémámà

Monosyllable stems differ from the others in forming plural adressed imperatives. Unless the others they do change stem contour to low. Thus, adding high -ý, one gets rising tone on plural imperative.

gloss	SG	PL
create	tw ⁿ a	tw ⁿ à-ý
kill	gyá	gyà-ý
vole	gyó	gyà-ý
eat	rá	là-ý
weep	wá	wà-ý

Сейду в двух случаях давал падающий тон на twⁿâ ‘заменять’ и на gyô ‘воровать’. Для Амаду эти формы высокотоновые.

Сейду делал различие между заманять создавать в императиве мн. ч. предлая в певом случае L: H, а во втором R:H. - в августе проверить

Hortative

Hortative, with a meaning of inducement of addressee to carry out a joint action (e.g. let’s go!) is formed by adding first person prefix *ń-* and low-toned suffix *-ýⁿ* the perfective stem. At the same time the stem changes tone contour to all-high. (This, of course, has no value to H-toned perfectives).

gloss	IMP	PERF	HORT
slaughter	sémá	sémé	ń-sémé-ỳ ⁿ
come	égó	égé	ń-yégé-ỳ ⁿ
rest one's head		gàyá	gáyè ń-gáyé-ỳ ⁿ
lie down	bìyó	bíyè	ń-bíyè-ỳ ⁿ

Adding –ỳⁿ suffix i-perfective stems, like kání ‘do’ or gó:mì ‘move out’, results final long [î:] with falling tone . This makes corresponding Hortative forms fonetically very close to first person perfective forms. For H-tone perfectives distinction between 1SG perfective and Hortative comes to distinction between final low and falling tone. For HL perfectives 1PL perfective and Hortative are distinguished in the same way.

gloss	3SG	1SG	1PL	HORT
do	kání	ń-kání	ń-kání	ń-kání:
move out	gó:mì	ń-gò:mí		ń-gómî:

Negative Imerative and Hortative

Prohibitive

Singlar addressee Negative Imperative or Prohibitive is formed by adding low toned suffix -là to the imperative stem. Final vowel is changed to /a/. As in the case of Hortative, LH stems change their tone contour to all-high.

Plural Prohibitive changes final vowel to /a/ as well. This stem takes high-toned suffix –ndéⁿ (HARM!!!!). LH imperative stems change their tones to all low. HH stems remain the same.

Mono- and multisyllable stems do not differ here in any extent.

gloss	IMP	PROH	PROH.PL
come	égó	égá-là	égá-ndé-ỳ ⁿ
swallow	mì:ndá	míndá-là	mìndà-ndé-ỳ ⁿ
create	tw ⁿ á	tw ⁿ á-là	tw ⁿ á-ndé-ỳ ⁿ

rob	gyó	gyá-là	
gnaw at (bones)	gògòjọ	gógójá-là	gògòjà-ndé ⁿ
cut off	yàgàlá	yágálá-là	

Negative Hortative

Negative Hortative (NH) has a meaning of inducement of addressee of not doing joint action, common to the speaker and the addressee (Let's don't do it).

Segmentally NH differs from PL Prohibitive only in presence of first person N- prefix, but L(L..)H prohibitives change stem contour to all high.

gloss PROH.PL NEG.HOR
come éǵá-ndé-ỳⁿ ń-yéǵándéỳⁿ
swallow mǐndà-ndé-ỳⁿ ń-mí:ndá-ndé-ỳⁿ
create twⁿá-ndé-ỳⁿ ń-twⁿá-ndé-ỳⁿ

qu'il pile le manioc!
áè èmàdùmà pijásà
àé èmàdùmà pijása

Irregular verbs

'know'

'give'

\tx gèní **ńtúléỳⁿ** kôy?
\ge fire.LH 1PL- put.PFV -HORT huh
\ft Let's set (this place) on fire, shall not we?! < to clear the place >

\tx gèní **ńtúládéndè**
\ge fire.LH 1PL- put.A - ?NEG.HORT? - NEG.HORT
\ft Let's don't set (this place) on fire.

\tx kàlàmi ńdá máǵà
\ge Karambe.L person TOP2
\ft Man of Karambe (said)
\tx gèní **ńtúládéỳⁿ** kôy
\ge fire.LH 1PL- be.in - ?NEG.HORT? -HORT huh
\ft Let's don't set (this place) on fire, shall we?
\nt check suspect ntula-Nde-yⁿ
FOCUS IN IMPERATIVE!!!!

There is often a phonologically distinct Imperative stem, with its own tone contour and perhaps a change in stem-final vowel, used without further suffixation for the 2Sg imperative. A special 2Pl suffix is added to this stem for the 2Pl imperative. Interlinear glosses of the type ‘go.Imprt’ (singular) and ‘go.Imprt-2Pl.Imprt’ (plural). In free translation, put “-2Sg” or “-2Pl” after imperative verb.

plenty of examples using stems of various syllabic shapes including trisyllabics, both lexical tone contours, and final high and non-high vowels). May require extended commentary on the phonology

(xx1) gloss Sg imperative Pl imperative

xxx xxx xxx

examples with a direct object noun or pronoun (usual direct-object case marking followed in imperatives?)

10.7.1.2 Prohibitives

Prohibitive = negative of Imperative.

Usually has its own suffix, stem-shape not necessarily related to the Imperative stem. This suffixed form is used for singular subject. A plural subject form adds a second suffix, which may be related to the 2Pl Imperative suffix.

relationship of Prohibitive suffix to e.g. Stative Negative?

a couple of examples of singular and plural:

(xxx) gloss bare stem Sg Prohib Pl Prohib

‘xxx’ xxx xxx xxx

‘xxx’ xxx xxx xxx

If plural-subject form is predictable from singular, remainder of section can focus on the form of the singular.

fuller set of examples of singular Prohibitive, organized by phonological pattern as relevant (lexical tones, syllabic shape, final high or non-high vowel)

(xx3) *Prohibitive (bimoraic bisyllabic stem ending in non-high vowel)*

gloss bare stem Sg Prohib

'xxx' xxx xxx

commentary on phonology of these forms

10.7.2 Positive hortatives (-xxx, plural -xxx)

Hortative: 'let's go!'

Usually a special inclusive-dual form (speaker and one addressee) is distinguished from a (perhaps more common) plural form.

a couple of examples:

(xx1) gloss dual hortative 3+ hortative

'xxx' xxx xxx

'xxx' xxx xxx

(If the dual and the 3+ can be predicted from each other, the remainder of the section can be focused on the 3+ form.)

table below may have to be divided into two if there is a phonological divergence between stems with final non-high and high vowels

(xx2) *Hortative (verb with final non-high vowel)*

gloss bare stem 3+ hortative

10.7.3 Hortative Negative (-xxx, plural -xxx)

Hortative Negative may have the form of the Prohibitive, plus the relevant (positive) Hortative suffix, either Dual or 3+. If so, the table below will suffice, otherwise redo. If the Prohibitive itself

is morphophonologically complex, give enough examples here to demonstrate that the Hortative Negative is directly based on the Prohibitive.

(xx1) gloss	bare stem	Sg Prohibitive	Hortative Neg (3+)
'xxx'	xxx	xxx	xxx
'xxx'	xxx	xxx	xxx
'xxx'	xxx	xxx	xxx
'xxx'	xxx	xxx	xxx

sentence examples

10.7.4 Hortative with third person pseudo-subject

expressions like 'may God protect you' and 'let him (= tell him to) come' are often expressed by a third-person form of the Hortative, or by a distinct verb form. Describe the morphology in detail.

3Sg = 3Pl subject?

(xx1)	Third-Person Hortative		
	gloss	bare stem	3rd person hortative
	'xxx'	xxx	xxx

discussion and examples

10.7.5 Imperative with implied first person singular subject

A form, perhaps identical to the third person Hortative form, is used with first person subject in reported imperatives. These are generally requests for clarification: '(Did you tell/want) me to come?', local French: *de venir?*

examples

10	VERBAL INFLECTION.....	171
10.1	INFLECTION OF REGULAR INDICATIVE VERBS.....	171
10.1.1	<i>Suffixes and chained verbs</i>	173
10.1.2	<i>Categories and semantic labels</i>	174
10.1.3	<i>Verb stem shapes</i>	176
10.1.3.1	Monosyllabic verbs.....	178
10.1.3.2	/xxx/ 'see'.....	181
10.1.3.3	ńdẹ 'give'.....	182
10.1.3.4	Regular bisyllabic stems.....	182
10.1.3.5	Tri- and quadrisyllabic stems.....	185
10.2	POSITIVE INDICATIVE AN CATEGORIES.....	189
10.2.1	<i>Perfective positive system (including perfect)</i>	189
10.2.1.1	Perfective.....	189
10.2.1.2	Perfective-1a -xxx-, Perfective-1b -xxx-.....	191
10.2.1.3	Perfective-2 (-so/sa-).....	192
10.2.1.4	Experiential Perfect 'have ever' (xxx).....	192
10.2.1.5	Recent Perfect (-jE-).....	194
10.2.1.6	Reduplicated Perfective (Cv-).....	194
10.2.2	<i>Imperfective positive system</i>	194
10.2.2.1	Imperfective (proper) V-á: bó: / sá:.....	194
10.2.2.2	Reduplicated Imperfective (Cv-).....	196
10.2.2.3	Progressive (-so-).....	196
10.2.2.4	Prospective.....	196
10.2.3	<i>Negation of indicative verbs</i>	198
10.2.3.1	Perfective Negative -lí/-l-.....	198
10.2.3.2	Experiential Negative -téndì.....	199
10.2.3.3	Imperfective Negative V-a ólì / sá-ndá.....	200
10.2.3.4	Prospective negative forms.....	201
10.3	PRONOMINAL PARADIGMS FOR NON-IMPERATIVE VERBS.....	202
10.3.1	<i>Subject pronominal suffixes</i>	203
10.3.2	<i>Nonhuman versus 3Sg subject</i>	203
10.3.3	<i>Vowel-semivowel interactions of AN and pronominal suffixes</i>	204
10.3.4	<i>Tones of subject pronominal suffixes</i>	204
10.4	MORPHOLOGY OF THE 4 SERIES.....	204
10.5	STATIVE FORM OF VERBS (REDUPLICATED AND UNREDUPLICATED).....	204
10.5.1	<i>Stative positive</i>	204
10.5.2	<i>Stative Negative (□xxx-)</i>	205
10.6	POST-VERBAL TEMPORAL PARTICLES.....	206
10.6.1	<i>Past clitic (□bE-)</i>	206
10.6.2	<i>Actualizer clitic</i>	207
10.6.2.1	Past Imperfective (positive and negative).....	207
10.6.2.2	Past forms of stative quasi-verbs ('be', 'have').....	208
10.6.2.3	Past Perfect (positive and negative).....	208
10.6.2.4	Past Passive (positive and negative).....	209
10.6.3	<i>'Still', 'up to now', (not) yet'</i>	209
10.7	IMPERATIVES AND HORTATIVES.....	209
10.7.1	<i>Imperatives and Prohibitives</i>	209
10.7.1.1	Positive imperatives (Imperative stem, Plural -ndi).....	209
10.7.1.2	Prohibitives.....	213
10.7.2	<i>Positive hortatives (-xxx, plural -xxx)</i>	214
10.7.3	<i>Hortative Negative (-xxx, plural -xxx)</i>	214
10.7.4	<i>Hortative with third person pseudo-subject</i>	215
10.7.5	<i>Imperative with implied first person singular subject</i>	215

11 VP and predicate structure

11.1 Regular verbs and VP structure

11.1.1 Verb types (valency)

Mombo is a language with the accusative alignment. S and A are expressed together by several coding means, such as the word order, pronominal affixes and personal inflexions in verbs, and the case marking. There is no difference in the expression of more agent-like and patient-like sole arguments of the intransitive verbs as well.

There is some clear evidence of existing a Subject/ VP-split coming from the adverbials placement, the clause-chaining and some other tests. In neutral declarative clauses adverbials precede but not follow the complements or can appear to the left of the subject.

(xxx) Séydù dèbù-ndá máṅgórò témé
Seydou house-LOC mango eat.PFV
'Seydou ate mangoes at home'.

(xx2) ^{OK} dèbù-ndá Séydù máṅgórò témé
'Seydou ate mangoes at home'.

(xx3) Séydù máṅgórò dèbù-ndá témé
*'Seydou ate mangoes at home'¹.

However, (at least some) manner adverbials can't occur to the left of the subject, as the following examples show.

(xx1) Séydù déjèwⁿ-déjèwⁿ máṅgórò témé
Seydou slowly mango eat.PFV
'Seydou ate mangoes slowly'.

(xx2) *déjèwⁿ-déjèwⁿ Séydù máṅgórò témé
'Seydou ate mangoes slowly'.

1 (xx3) is a fully grammatical sentence if interpreted as *dèbù-ndá* 'at home' is in focus, see § xxx for details. However it can not have a neutral declarative reading.

One can consider this as an evidence of existing of a constituent border to the right of the subject that some adverbials can't cross.

(xxx) *gámúgè mí:-wⁿ góndó-góndó mályá: ...*
 some 1SG-OBL turning.around see.IPFV

'Some of them turned their head back to look at me...'. **AF.0085**

Complexes consisting of a verb plus a complement can be substituted by verb *kání* 'do, make'.

< example >

As it will be shown below (see section x.xx) VP's can be coordinated in various VP-chaining constructions. An example of such a construction is given below (see § 15.xxx for details):

(xxx) [*é-wⁿ gámbyⁿe-yⁿ*] [*ámándá námá nê: májà*
 3-OBJ meet.PFV-CH.PL aardvark meat this TOP
 sê:wⁿ pú wúlágá: *síndé-yⁿ*]
 all all distribute.PROG take.away-CH.PL.

'(They) met him and distributed aardvark meat between everybody'. **2008.DK**

Finally the scope of negative suffixes attached to the verb provides another evidence in favor of existing the VP as a phrase unit:

Postposed adverbials are extraclausal:

- Postposed time adverbial are separated intonationally (= extrasentential).

á: ndô: Séydù ndô: à-màlyě: . yá:gù

Séydù ndô: á: ndô: à-màlyě: . yá:gù

- Sentence level operators are not allowed after posposed adverbial

**Séydù ndô: á: ndô: à-màlyě: . yá:gù wá:*

OK Séydù ndô: á: ndô: à-màlyě: wá: yá:gù

Séydù ndô: á: ndô: à-màlyě: wá

**mí: ndô: séydù ndô:, Ámárù mĩ:wⁿ yá:gù mályê:*

OK mí: ndô: séydù ndô:, Ámárù mĩ:wⁿ yá:gù mályé-né

??? *Ámárù mǐ:wⁿ yá:gù mályê:*

11.1.2 Preverbal focalized constituent position

The syntactic structure of the verb phrase is additionally complicated by the existence of the immediately preverbal focalized constituent position. In one of the focalization constructions a focalized constituent (whatever its syntactic relation is) is moved to the position to the left of the verb. Cf (xx1-4), see 13, xxx for details.

(xx1) *yàrà* *Ámárù* *táyé*
 lion Amadou ²shoot.PFV
 ‘Amadou [focus] shot the lion’

(xx2) *Ámárù* *yàrà* *táyé*
 Amadou lion ¹shoot.PFV
 *‘Amadou [focus] shot the lion’
 ‘Amadou shot the lion’

(xx3) *Ámárù* *yá:gù* *yàrà* *táyé-né*
 Amadou yesterday lion ³shoot.PFV-3SG
 ‘Amadou shot the lion [focus] yesterday’
 *Amadou shot the lion yesterday [focus]

(xx4) *Ámárù* *yàrà* *yá:gù* *táyé / táyé-né*
 Amadou lion yesterday ¹shot.PFV / ³shootPFV-3SG
 ‘Amadou shot the lion yesterday [focus]’
 *‘Amadou shot the lion [focus] yesterday’

(xx5) *bú:rù* *yô:* *yénà-wⁿ* *ńdé-né*
 money woman P.3SG = OBL give.PRF-VP.FOC.3SG
 ‘He gave the money to his wife [focus]’
 *‘He gave the money [focus] to his wife’

11.1.3 Sole argument patientive (unaccusative) verbs

A large number of underived intransitive verb stems have the sole argument which is a patient semantically. Cf. *áré* '(long object) be broken'. I refer to these verbs as 'patientive' verbs but a more common term 'unaccusative' can be equally applied. Verbs with the qualitative (adjective-like) meanings (see § 4.5.1.3) can be considered

as a part of that class, since their subject shares some of the properties with patients (e.g. affectedness of the argument).

These verbs can be divided in several classes depending on the semantic features of their arguments. These features show up in a number of morphological and syntactical tests, such as ability to form the imperative and the pattern used to form causative.

The majority of the patientive verbs can't form the imperative. However, those, whose subject can be interpreted as human and volitional, are able to form the imperative with reflexive meaning.

Thus, verb *émbé* can have both human and non-human subject. cf. (xx1-xx2)

(xx1)

sòy b̂â: émbé
shirt DEF ¹be.wet.PFV
'the shirt is/became wet'

(xx2)

wè: áyè émbé CHECK
child P.2SG ¹be.wet.PFV
'you child is/became wet'

The regular imperative form of the verb *émbá* has the interpretation of an order (or request) for the addressee to carry out an action, the result of which would be the addressee's becoming wet (something like 'get wet (yourself)!'), for example, jump to a pond or pour out on his/herself a pailful of water.

Patientive verbs that can derive imperative also show up an ability to be modified by adverbial *m̀̀nd̀̀-̀̀m̀̀nd̀̀ó:*ⁿ 'purposely, intentionally'.

(xx1)

gírlyê:
become.blind.PFV
'he/she became blind'

(xx2)

*m̀̀nd̀̀-̀̀m̀̀nd̀̀ó:*ⁿ *gírlyê:*
intentionally become.blind.PFV
'he/she blind himself intentionally'

Interestingly, even verb *dwé:* 'die' exhibit the same features. The volitional interpretation of that verb is 'commit a suicide'. Cf. (xx1-3)

(xx1)

yá:gù *dwé:*
yesterday die.PFV
'he/she died', 'he/she is dead'

(xx2)

m̀̀nd̀̀-m̀̀nd̀̀ó:ⁿ *dwé:*
intentionally die.PFV
lit.'he/she died intentionally'
'he/she committed a suicide'

The volitional reading can be rather idiomatic. Thus, when have non-volitional (and non-animate) subject, verb *nú:wⁿè* means 'be hot', while with a human and volitional subject it is interpreted metaphorically as 'be strict, severe'

All (synchronically) underived patinentive verb stems, which are able to have volitional subject, and which I'm aware of are listed in (xx1).

gloss	V	IMP	interpretation
'die'	<i>dwé</i>	<i>dwá:</i>	'kill you self'
'be/become clean'	<i>éjé</i>	<i>éjá</i>	'wash yourself!'
'be/become wet'	<i>émbé</i>	<i>émbá</i>	'get wet!'
'be/become blind'	<i>gírilyê:</i>	<i>gírilyǒ:</i>	'blind yourself!'
'be/become bent at one end'	<i>góndé</i>	<i>góndá</i>	'turn your head'
'be rolled/roll over'	<i>gúndúlyê:</i>	<i>gúndúlyǒ:</i>	'turn over!'
'be /become separated'	<i>kábé</i>	<i>kábá</i>	check
'(sb) become lost, go astray'	<i>máré</i>	<i>mára</i>	'hide yourself!'
'be useful, be valuable'	<i>náfà kání</i>	<i>náfà kána</i>	'(person) be helpful!'
'be broken, spoiled'	<i>ɲámí</i>	<i>ɲamá</i>	'hurt oneself yourself!'
'fear, be afraid of'	<i>ní:wè</i>	<i>nì:wá</i>	'beware of (sth)!'
'be hot '	<i>nú:wⁿè</i>	<i>nù:wⁿá</i>	'be strict' ' be severe!'

As mentioned earlier in § 9.x, the same semantic features show a large number of derived inchoative verbs.

The animacy don't necessary presuppose the volition. Among intransitives there are several stems, the subject of which is obligatory animate but not volitional.

'be or become bent, tilt'	<i>jéng-yê:</i>
'become pretty get dolled up'	<i>yág-yê:</i>
'become cool or cold/calm down'	<i>kámá-lyê:</i>
'be or become cool or slow'	<i>kélél-yê:</i>
'be or become curved, bent into an arc'	<i>kónd-yê:</i>
'be or become fast. (rapid)'	<i>ná:g-yê:</i>
'(person, animal) become dirty'	<i>némáŋg-yê:</i>
'be or become sated (full)'	<i>sínú</i>
'sleep, go to sleep'	<i>nóyê:</i>

-Tests: imperative

Table comparing the meaning expressed by inchoative and patientive verbs.

11.1.4 Sole argument agentive (unergatives)

11.1.5 Transitives

In transitive clauses, the subject and the object are distinguished in a few ways. Pronominal subjects are expressed by verbal prefixes or inflexions (in Prospective). Pronominals in object position add the oblique clitic =*wⁿ*.

(xx1)

ɛ = -wⁿ n-jáni
3SG = OBL ¹1SG-beat.PFV
'I beat him'

(xx2)

ǒ: = wⁿ n-mályè
2SG = wⁿ ¹1SG-see.PFV
'We saw you'

The third person pronominal subject is not expressed overtly in a clause, if not focalized or topicalized

(xx1)

yɔ: áyé-wⁿ mályê
woman.L P.2SG-OBL ¹see.PFV
'he saw your wife'

In non-pronominal objects of transitive clauses the use of oblique clitic =*wⁿ* is sensitive to the objects referential status and animacy. It is normally omitted in non-animate and/or low specified objects.

A low-specified animate object are not marked.

(xx1)

dà:ná yà:rà táyé
hunter lion ¹shoot.PRF
'(The) hunter shot (a) lion'.

Non-animates remain unmarked even when specified. Cf

In the following verb *égé* 'come' has a sentential complement headed by verbal noun *báyérò*: which takes the oblique clitic.

(xx1)

[*dèbù* *góndó myê:* *nógé-wⁿ* *báyéró*] = *wⁿ* *ń-yégè*
 house.L house P.1PL people-OBL help.VN-OBL 1SG-come.PFV
 'I came to help people of our family'

In spite of the fact that some NP's take the oblique clitic, assigned by the motion verbs, they differ from the real objects syntactically. Thus, unlike the real objects they can't be substituted by a pronominal bearing the oblique marker.

(xx1)

**né-wⁿ* *ándé*
 this-OBL 1go.PFV.3SG
 'he/she went to this'

(xx2) CHECK

**né-wⁿ* *ń-yégè*
 this-OBL 1SG-come.PFV
 'I came to this'

(xx3) *kìnnì sòy-wⁿ dú:ndé-ńé*

The other possible marking is presented in (xx2). Here, the place is marked by locative suffix *-ndá*.

(xx2)

dùgù-ndá *ándé*
 village-LOC 1go.PFV.3SG
 'he/she went to (the) village'

(xx3) *kìnnì sòy-wⁿ dú:ndè*

(xx4) *bǒy tábáli kô = wⁿ dú:ndè*
 'key on the table'

additionally specified by the modifiers and determiners following it. Often the cognate object can't be expanded to a fuller NP. Moreover such nominals are not found elsewhere outside the construction and thus hardly constitute a separate lexical item. See § 11.1.6.2 for details. According to their typically non-specific referential status, the cognate object nominals never take the object case marker.

In addition to the cognate object combinations there are a number of lexicalized verb-object pairs with no cognate relationship. See § 11.1.6.1.

-Can be omitted???

jáwⁿá jáwⁿé buiit the shed
 *jáwⁿa-wⁿ jáwⁿé
 ɲà: ɲé eat
 'ɲa-wⁿ'

11.1.8 Ditransitive verbs

In ditransitive clauses, both pronominal and non-pronominal recipients are obligatory marked by the object clitic, while the theme remains unmarked. Cf.(xx1-2).

(xx1)

nê: ě = wⁿ ń-ɲíndê
 this 3SG-OBJ ¹1SG-give.PFV
 'I gave that to him'

(xx2)

Ámárù bóm̂b̂:ⁿ wè:-gè = wⁿ ńdê
 PN candy child-PL = OBJ ¹give.PFV.3SG
 'Amadou gave (the) candies to (the) children'

Unlike some other Dogon languages, Mombo has no special 'dative' marker.

The case frames of 'show' and 'say' don't differ from that of 'give'. Interestingly, the two meanings are expressed by the same verb stem tá:rè. Cf.(xx1-2).

(xx1)

tó:n̂ mí-wⁿ tá:rà

truth 1SG-OBL tell.IMP.HL
'Tell me the truth'

(xx2)

dèbù kándá yénà yò: yénà-wⁿ tá:rè-né.
house.L new P.3SG wife P.3SG-OBJ ³say.PFV-3SG
'He showed his new house to his wife'

yò: yénà gólígè swá: bó: /
*yò: yéná-wⁿ gólígè swá: bó

case frame of 'put' verbs?
kinnì sòy-^w dú:ndé-né

11.1.9 Valency of causatives

As it has been argued in § 9.2 the choice of the causative derivation pattern is governed by the semantic type of a given verbs subject argument. Causatives in *-rV* and *-gV* are derived only from the patientive verbs. *-rV* causatives are closer semantically to simple underived transitives and don't allow causee's volitional interpretation. *-gV* causatives can have both and non-volitional causee's. *-mV* causatives can be derived from almost every stem, and tend to be interpreted as have strongly agentive and volitional causee's, which in particular explains the fact that this pattern is used to derive causatives from the transitive verbs.

Since *-gV* and *-rV* causatives are close to transitives semantically, no wonder that they use the same case frame with the differential object marking, depending on the object's referential status and animacy. However, *-rV* forms are much more limited to this extent since they hardly allow animate objects and in most cases their objects remain unmarked. Cf. (xx1-4).

(xx1) underived transitive/ non-specified non-human O

ànnà sémé
sheep ¹slaughter.PFV.3SG
'he/she slaughtered (a) sheep'

(xx2) underived transitive/ specified human O

yà:rà dà:ná-^w gyé:

lion hunter-OBL ¹kill.PFV.3SG
'(a) lion killed (the) hunter'

(xx3) -rV causative /specified non-animate O

Amárù kó:-nà émbú-rè
PN head-P.3SG be.wet-CAUS.PFV
'Amadou wetted his head'

(xx4) -gV causative/ non-specified human

wè: sèlè: jámá-gó-má-mbó.
child all be.spoiled-POT-3SG
'She/he can spoil every child'

(xx5) -gV causative/ specified human

wè: yéná jámá-gè.
child P.3SG ¹be.spoiled-CAUS.PFV.3SG
'she/he spoiled her/his child'

(xx5) -gV causative/ non-specified non human O

kòlò-ndá mándè dèbù jámá-gè
?? wind house ¹be.spoiled-CAUS.PFV.3SG
'(the) wind destroyed (a) house'

(xx6)

mándè dèbù jé: jámá-gè.
wind house P.1SG ¹destroy-CAUS.PFV.3SG
'Wind destroyed my house'.

case-frame for causative from intransitive base: 'cause to come', 'cause to go in' (= 'take in'). Should be similar to a simple transitive.

ámárù wè yéná-gé-wⁿ égó-mì
ámárù wè: yéná-gè-wⁿ ánnà sémmì
made his children slaughter the sheep.

ámárù ìnjè yénà Séydû:ⁿ núṅgámì
'Amadou make his dog bite Seydou'

ámárù ìnjè yénà-ⁿ Séydù núṅgámì
 'Amadou make Seydou bite the dog'

ámárùì ìnjè yénàì*^j Séydù:ṅ^j táyámì
 'Amadou made seydu shoot his dog'

ámárùì Séydù:ṅ^j ìnjè yénàì/^j táyámì
 *ámárù ìnjè yénà séydù táyámì

CHECK Causee's and P's of different status

nímáì ã-wⁿ sùlól sùlámì

case-frame for causative from transitive base: 'X cause Y to VERB Z'. Usually both Y and Z are marked as direct objects.

11.1.10 Valency of the benefactive

The case frame for the benefactive verbs resembles that of the ditransitives. The beneficiary is marked by object clitic = *wⁿ*, while the theme remains without marking.

(xx1)

yó:-nà-wⁿ dèbù wúzì-rè
 woman-3SG.POSS-OBL house ¹build-BEN.PFV.3SG
 'He built a house for his wife'.

The benefactive can't be derived from an intransitive stem

(xx1)

dèbù góndó myé: nógé-wⁿ báyé-rò:] = wⁿ ñ-yégè
 house.L house P.1PL people-OBJ help.VN = OBL 1SG-come.PFV
 'I came to help people of our family'

*ñyégírè

*ñdí-rè

(xx2)

dèbù góndó myé: nógé = wⁿ mbáyéré-nè gúná:
 house.L house P.1PL people = OBL ¹1SG-help-PROSP.CH say.PRG

(xx3)

wálé káná: ñ-sá:
work do.CV.IPFV ¹1SG-have.ST
'I work to help my family'

(xx4)

wálé ñ-kán-nè dèbù góndó myé: nógé-wⁿ m-báyéró-gò
work 1SG-do-PROSP.CH house house P.1PL people-OBL ³1SG-help-PROSP.S3
'I work to help my family'

(xx5)

[dèbù góndó jé: wálé] ñ-kánú-gò
house house P.1SG work ³1SG-work-PROSP.S3
'I do my family's work'

(xx6)

dèbù góndó yéná-wⁿ wálé kándí-ré-né
houseLhouse P.3SG = OBL work ³make-BEN.PFV-3SG
'He worked in sake of his family'

(xx7)

bú:rù yéró-ná = wⁿ gúná: dúgúrá: sá:
bread have-CV = OBL say.CV.IPFV run.CV.IPFV ¹have.ST.3SG
(sportman) 'He runs to earn money'

(xx8)

dèbù góndó yénà mályó gúná: dúgúré // dúgúrá: sá:
house.L house P.3SG see.O say.CV.IPFV ¹run.PFV.3SG run.CV.IPFV ¹have.ST.3SG
'He run to see his family'

(xx9)

dèbù góndó yénà dwá: dwé-né.
house.L house P.3SG death ³die.PFV-3SG
'he died for his family'

(xx10)

**dèbù góndó yénà dwé-né*

'he died for his family'

(xx11)

dèbù góndó yénà dwá dwé:

house.L house P.3SG death ¹die.PFV.3SG

'there is a death in his family'

(xx12)

dèbù góndó yénà dwé:

house.L house P.3SG ¹die.PFV.3SG

'his family is dead'

(xx13)

bú:rù jwá: á-yérè àmànjì ámánjé-né

money be.numerous LOG-have dream ³dream.PFV-3SG

'He dreamt of having a lot of money'

(xx14)

à-dùmánjè: àmànjì ámánjé-né

LOG-become.rich dream ³dream.PFV-3SG

'he dreamt of becoming rich'

(xx15)

wè: yénà dúmánjè àmànjè ámánjé-né.

child P.3SG become.rich.PFV dream ³dream.PFV-3SG

'he dreamt of his son becoming rich'

(xx16) *ńdá-gè nó: nwá: bí-yá-nà*

person-PL song sing.CV.IPFV be-S3-3SG

'he sings for people'

Valency of inchoatives?

sí- yé: 'get obtain', *sǐ:-rè* 'cause to obtain' transitive/ intransitive

11.1.11 Verb Phrase

mainly relevant to chains (chapter 15).

11.1.12 Fixed subject-verb combinations

kúmáŋgà píjé	‘rain falls’
gé:nà dógé	‘rainy season begins’
gè:nw ^{n̄} : kání	<i>it’s hot season’</i>

emotional terms

‘heart is ruined’ etc.

dwá dwé: ‘(a) death occur’

11.1.13 Fixed verb-object combinations

Fixed verb-object combinations are very common in Mombo. In a number of cases there is a nominal which is used as a default object, when a semantically transitive action is presented as having no specified object. Thus, these combinations are functionally equivalent to the A-labil object omission in English (cf. *he is writing a letter* and *he is writing (now)*). The same pair of sentences in Mombo looks like the following.

(xxx) CHECK

nóná: bó:
read.CV.IPFV be.ST.3SG
‘s/he is reading (it)’

(xx2)

nóní nóná: bó:
reading read.CV.IPFV ¹be.3SG
‘s/he is reading’

Constructions with a cognate object (like that in (xx2)) are most common type of fixed N+V combinations. They are discussed in the following subsection. Here we consider several less frequent cases of lexicalized verb-object combinations with no obvious cognate relationship.

Most commonly a nominal is a direct object. It retains its lexical tones and doesn't take the oblique marker. In a few cases the nominal is most likely used in the locative function. Cf. *mì: wándé* 'swim, walk in water'.

(xx6)

<i>wálé kání</i>	'do work'	<i>kání</i>	'do'
<i>mì: nyé:</i>	'drink'	<i>nyé:</i>	'drink (liquid)'
<i>mì: dúyê:</i>	'bathe'	<i>dúyê:</i>	'bathe (in sth)'
<i>mì: wándé</i>	'swim'	<i>wándé</i>	'???'
<i>té:ngé jómbé</i>	'gather (firewood)'	<i>jómbé</i>	'???'
<i>tè:té gújjè</i>	'cast a spell on'	<i>gújjè</i>	'throw'
<i>làbúrù káyé</i>	'bestow a name on'	<i>káyé</i>	'shave'
<i>lò:ndè gó:-mì</i>	'fire off'	<i>gó:-mì</i>	'move out'

In some cases a given verb-object one of the elements involved is not found elsewhere. Thus, verb *swé:* with deducible meaning 'emit something from one's mouth' is found only in two idiomatic verb-object combinations presented below.

(xxx)

sóríngè swé: 'vomit (verb)'

sò:njí swé: 'spit'

the same is true of verbs *wándé* found only in *mì: wándé* 'swim', *jómbé* cf. *té:ngé jómbé* 'gather (firewood)'.

A combination with verb *kání* is used to form predicates semantically analogous to denominal verbs. This is typically the case of loanwords, as for example *tábúsúrù* 'unofficial sermon' which is found in a lexicalized combination *tábúsúrù kání* 'preach an unofficial sermon'

11.1.14 Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb

Many verbs have a lexicalized cognate object with a verb of the same word family. Frequently this is a lexical quasi-item not found elsewhere in the lexicon besides a given fixed verb-object combination with.

Verbs that have no lexicalized cognate object can use a regular verbal noun in this function. Cf (xx1).

(xx1) VERBAL NOUN IN VERB-FOCUS CONSTRUCTION

These combinations are not in focus here, since (at least potentially) every transitive verb can take a verbal noun as a complement.

The other less frequently found pattern is a combination, which includes a full-fledged nominal and a verb with a distribution limited to this combination. Functionally, such combinations are close to denominal verbs.

FOCUS???

Finally, both the verb and the object can be unique and not found elsewhere in the lexicon outside a given verb-object pair.

A generous sample of cognate object-verb combinations is given below. Since verb stems are much more restricted in terms of tone and segmental form the examples are organized according noun's tone melody and syllable count. The letters in the rightmost column mark the idiomacy types. O - the object is not found outside the construction, V – the verb is not found outside verb. U (unique) - is neither V nor O is present elsewhere in the lexicon.

(xx1)

a. monosyllabic		CHECK
<i>d̀̀:</i> <i>dwé:</i>	‘make an insult’	CHECK
<i>gyⁿè:</i> <i>gyⁿé:</i>	‘fart, let out a fart’	CHECK
<i>ɲà:</i> <i>ɲé:</i>	‘eat a meal’	CHECK
<i>ǹ̀:</i> <i>nwé:</i>	‘sing a song’	CHECK
<i>tí:</i> <i>tyé:</i>	‘commission (sb), send (sb, on errand)’	CHECK
		CHECK
b. bisyllabic, noun {H}		CHECK
<i>bíndí</i> <i>bíndé</i>	(animal) ‘roll itself on ground’	O
<i>jáwⁿá</i> <i>jáwⁿí</i>	‘build a shed’	V
<i>ká:wⁿá</i> <i>ká:wⁿí</i>	‘have a discussion or debate’	CHECK
<i>kómó</i> <i>kómé</i>	‘cry out (verb) (e.g. in anguish or pain)’	CHECK
<i>kúbó</i> <i>kúbé</i>	‘work in the fields, do farm work’	CHECK
<i>námbú</i> <i>námbé</i>	‘plead, do some pleading or begging’	U
<i>nóní</i> <i>nóné</i>	‘do some writing’	CHECK
<i>pélú</i> <i>pélé</i>	‘applaud (cognate object)’	CHECK
<i>súló</i> <i>sulé</i>	‘(sb) tremble, be shaking, shiver’	CHECK
<i>tágí</i> <i>tágyé:</i>	‘put on, wear (shoe)’	CHECK
<i>tómbú</i> <i>tómbé</i>	‘take a jump’	CHECK
<i>tówⁿé</i> <i>tówⁿyé:</i>	‘roll on (turban)’	CHECK
<i>bégú</i> <i>bégé</i>	‘hiccup (verb)’	CHECK
<i>bógú</i> <i>bógé</i>	‘(dog) bark’	CHECK

<i>dǒzǐ dǒzǐ</i>	‘forge (tools)’	CHECK
<i>jǐlǐ jǐlǐ</i>	‘carry out a harvest’	CHECK
<i>nǐllú nǐllè</i>	‘have a rest’	CHECK

c. bisyllabic, noun {LH}

<i>nà:lé ná:lè</i>	‘think a though’	CHECK
<i>nǎywe nǎywe</i>	‘(plant) branch out, ramify’	CHECK
<i>tì:lé tí:lè</i>	‘do a recitation’	CHECK
<i>sìjé sǐjè</i>	‘draw lines by hand (in the sand)’	CHECK
<i>tì:lé tí:lè</i>	‘tell a story’	CHECK

d. bisyllabic, noun {HL}

<i>dùgù dúgè</i>	‘tie a knot’	?dùgè?
<i>gèndè géndé</i>	‘raise verges of roof (by putting a border)’	CHECK
<i>gì:lì gǐ:lè</i>	‘take a stroll, walk around’	CHECK
<i>gìrì gǐrè</i>	‘dam up (rivulet)’	CHECK
<i>kàjì kájé</i>	‘(thunder) rumble loudly’	CHECK
<i>kà:lì ká:lè</i>	‘clear one's throat, hawk before spitting’	CHECK
<i>kà:lù ká:lè</i>	‘clear one's throat, hawk before spitting’	CHECK
<i>kò:lò kó:lè</i>	‘(child) crawl on fours (cognate object)’	CHECK
<i>kùbè kúbé</i>	‘(tree) grow leaves’	CHECK
<i>mèrù méré</i>	‘crack a joke, tell a joke’	CHECK
<i>mònjè mánjé</i>	‘urinate, have a piss’	CHECK
<i>nà:mù ná:mì</i>	‘say morning greetings’	CHECK
<i>nì:wò ní:wè</i>	‘be affraid (of sb/sth)’	CHECK
<i>nògù nógé</i>	‘do a calculation’	CHECK
<i>nùzù núzé</i>	‘let out a groan’	CHECK
<i>ǎbò ǎbé</i>	‘remove the bark from (a tree)’	CHECK
<i>ǎmò ǎmé</i>	‘cook millet porridge’	CHECK
<i>pìmyè: pímýè</i>	‘imitate’	CHECK
<i>pòndù pónyè:</i>	‘put on, wear (pants, over one's legs)’	CHECK
<i>sàndì sándé</i>	‘(sb) pray, say or perform one's prayer’	CHECK
<i>sàrù sárá</i>	‘ask a question of (sb)’	CHECK
<i>sègù ségé</i>	‘pay dues, ante up, make a contribution’	CHECK
<i>sò:là só:lè</i>	‘carry out sale’	CHECK
<i>sòmè sómé</i>	‘buy spices’	CHECK
<i>sò:nà só:nì</i>	‘have a conversation’	CHECK

<i>tàgù tágé</i>	‘say sth false’	CHECK
<i>tà:là tá:lè</i>	‘(people) go on collective hunt’	CHECK
<i>tà:rà tá:rè</i>	‘provide an explanation’	CHECK
<i>tì:rì tí:rè</i>	‘make heap (verb)’	CHECK
<i>tyàmù tyámì</i>	‘give a greeting, say hello’	CHECK
<i>wèlì wélé</i>	‘give out a whistling sound (from the mouth)’	CHECK
<i>yèbù yébé</i>	‘dance (= perform) a dance’	CHECK
<i>yèlù yélé</i>	‘(women) emit cries of joy, ululate’	CHECK
<i>yòlì yólé</i>	‘get by, do odd jobs’	CHECK
<i>yè:rì yé:rè</i>	‘gain, make a profit’	CHECK

f. trisyllabic, noun {LH}		CHECK
<i>gìlámí gílámì</i>	‘(sth unseen) make a sudden noise’	CHECK
<i>nèndèlé néndéle</i>	‘breathe’	CHECK
<i>pòbùlù póbùlè</i>	‘(e.g. snake) slough off (shed) it's skin’	CHECK
<i>tìmbàlé tímbálè</i>	‘give advice to (sb)’	CHECK

g. trisyllabic, noun {HL}		CHECK
<i>àmànjì ámánjè</i>	‘have a dream’	CHECK
<i>ìjìlì íjílè</i>	‘give out a sneeze’	CHECK
<i>kòlòmù kólómì</i>	‘cast spells maleficent’	CHECK
<i>kòròlì kórólè</i>	‘cough (verb)’	CHECK
<i>tèmàlì témálè</i>	‘emit a whisper’	CHECK
<i>tòyèrè tóyéè</i>	‘carry out oversowing’	CHECK
<i>tùgùrò túgúrè</i>	‘do third harvest’	CHECK
<i>báyèrù báyéè</i>	‘make an increase or addition’ (chrck TONES)	CHECK

In a few cases there is a vowel change in cognate nominal as compare to the verbal stem. Most commonly the objects show up their belonging to different vowel harmony classes. Cf. few examples in (xx1)

(xx1)

a.

<i>ẁ̀: wé:</i>	‘weep’
<i>s̀̀g̀̀: s̀̀g̀̀:</i>	‘defecate’

b.

<i>só: swé:</i>	‘effect a purchase’
<i>j̀̀ng̀̀: j̀̀ng̀̀:</i>	‘(doctor, healer) perform healing, practice medicine’

I'm aware of three cases, in which some vowel in the cognate object corresponds to /a/ in the verb.

(xx1)

sègèrè ségàrè 'put thin cross-beams'
mònjè mánjé 'urinate, have a piss'
sándì yólí yálé '(muezzin) call loudly to prayer'

The cases partially cognate relationship are those in (xxx). Most the object is a compound whose final element is in cognate relationships with the verb

(xx1)

sì: táńjúlè táńjúlè 'take a step, make a stride'
sándì yólí yálé '(muezzin) call loudly to prayer'

There are several cases in which, the object-verb formal relationships are even less straightforward. In the two cases below the cognate object ends with -IV segment, which the verb doesn't have.

(xx1)

jáńgúlá jáńgyè: 'be equipped, equip oneself'
yègùlù yéyé 'fall down, take a fall'

The cognate status the objects in the following two pairs is not as clear as in other cases.

(xx1)

jó:ⁿ jáwⁿyⁿè 'fight'
dú: dúgúré 'run a race'

jó:ⁿ can be connected to *jáwⁿyⁿè* using a few patterns discussed. Apparently *jáwⁿyⁿè* has suffix -yè used to derive denominal verbs (see § 9.x). Vowel change is exactly the same that found in a "denominal" combination *mònjè mánjé* 'urinate'. If one supposes that *jáwⁿyⁿè* is derived from *jó:ⁿ*, the presence of /w/ lacking in the nominal can be explained. Recall that nasalized /a:/ⁿ is frequently realized as [awⁿ] (see § 3.x).

The second case is much more problematic. It seems that cognate relationships of *dû:* and *dúgúrè* are relevant for Mombo speakers, however the object and the verb are not derivationally connected (at least synchronically).

11.1.14.1 Grammatical status of cognate nominal

kùbò kújú kúbé 'carry out the first round of weeding work in the fields'

may be pro forma ('dance a dance'), but may be quantified over or modified

examples (with numeral, with adjectival modifier)

labiality: reversives 'load (sb) with (sth)/load (sth)'

11.2 'Be', 'become', 'have', and other statives

11.2.1 'It is' clitics

11.2.1.1 Positive 'it is' (=wo)

Clitic =wo is used in the constructions of type 'X is Y' and 'it is Y'. It occupies the last position in the sentence following the predicated constituent (Y) as it shown in (xx1). In the glosses, notation 'it.is' is used.

(xx1)

mí: éjé = wò

1SG Dogon-it.is

'I'm Dogon'

This clitic can not be conjugated. No matter of what person the first 'subject' NP is the clitic after the predicated constituent is always the same.

The 'it.is' clitic is atonal. Being attached to a nominal (adjectival, pronominal, etc) stem, it adopts the preceding nominal tone contour, which is now realized on the segmental substratum, which includes the clitic itself. However this rule is violated in a number of cases, when after LH or H stem the clitic appears low-toned. Cf (xx2) showing the possible tonal realizations of =wo.

(xx1)

é: éjé = là

3SG Dogon-it.is

'He/she is not Dogon'

As =wo it is atonal and takes the tone imposed by the preceding stem's contour, including the floating tones.

(xx2)

'goat'	úná	úná = lá
'sheep'	ánnà	ánnà = là
'milk'	émé̂	émé = là
'life'	àrná	àrná = lá
'cat'	gà:w ⁿ ě:̀	gà:w ⁿ ě: = là
'robe'	kàmùsélé	kàmùsélé = là

y an yⁿ final stems insert *i* or *iⁿ* before clitic. Cf. [bǒyílà] bǒy + =la 'it is not (a) key' and [kǒyⁿtⁿlà] kǒyⁿ + =là 'it's not (a) bush'.

Stem-final /wⁿ/ is realized as [n]. Cf. [màsánlá], that is morphemically *másáwⁿ* 'trap' =la. Stem final *w* is [o] before clitic =la. Cf. [yáólà] that is morphemically *yâw* 'vestibule' + =là.

<NEGATIVE FOCUS>

11.2.1.3 Identification construction

What is called here the identification construction corresponds to English 'X is Y' and 'it's Y' constructions where X and Y stand for nouns (with any number modifiers) or pronouns. For adjectival predicates see § 11.4.

As mentioned above the predicative 'it.is' clitic is added to the second (predicated, Y) constituent. In the sense 'it is Y' the first ("subject", X) is usually omitted, but can be occupied by a demonstrative pronominal in sense 'this is Y'. Cf. (xx1-2).

(xx1)

mí: = wó

1SG = it.is

'it is me'

(xx2)

nê: mí = wó
this 1SG-it.is
'this is me'

<SUBJECT FOCALIZED >

No special focus marker appears when the predicated constituent is focalized. Cf. (xx1-2). See § 13.x. for details.

(xx1)

èné = wò gâ? i:ⁿ é = wó
this-it.is Q yes 3SG-it.is
'Is it he/she [focus]? Yes, It is he/she [focus]'

(xx2)

èné ó:-wó gâ? mí:-wó
this 2SG-it.is Q 1SG-it.is
'Is it you [focus]?' It's me [focus].'

By contrast to the present in the past tense analogue of the identification construction locative verb *bó:* (*ólì* in the negative) with retrospective marker *-ỳ/-êy* is used. The predicated constituent adds the OBL marker. Cf. (xx1).

(xx1)

Ámárù sódáje = wⁿ bó: = ỳ
PN soldier = OBL be.3SG = PAST
'Amadou was a soldier'

(xx2) NEG

Ámárù sódáje = wⁿ óly = êy
PN soldier = OBL be.NEG = PAST
'Amadou wasn't a soldier'

In the identificational ('it is Y') construction the subject constituent is frequently omitted.

è = wⁿ bó: = ỳ

3SG = OBL ¹be.3SG = PAST
 ‘it was him’

(xx2)

è = wⁿ óly = êy
 3SG-OBJ ¹be.NEG.3SG-PAST
 ‘it was not him’

However the predicated constituent differs from the ordinary objects. Unlike the latter it doesn’t switch focus marking on the verb. (xx1)

(xx1)

è = wⁿ bó:-ÿ gà? è = wⁿ bó: = ÿ
 3SG = OBJ be-RETR Q 3SG = OBL be.3SG = PAST
 ‘Was it he/she [focus]? Yes, it was he/she [focus]’

< TRY: focalized PAST >

(xx2)

ó:ⁿ bó: = ÿ gà? mí: = wⁿ óly = êy
 2SG be = PAST Q 1SG-OBL be.NEG.3SG = PAST
 ‘Was it you [focus]?’ It was not me [focus].’

11.2.2 Existential and locative quasi-verbs and particles

11.2.2.1 Existential ò

< ò = jéngá ‘his is there curbed’
 jéngé ‘he is curbed’ >

Existential clitic ò = *is* is obligatory present in declarative stative clauses. It occupies the immediately preverbal position, letting only the pronominal object prefixes occur closer to the verbal stem.

Ommtted in

- relatives

*gèrù ò-wábá málâwⁿ

‘I see a deer, which is lying on it’s belly’

- *sentential complements*

(xx1)

ò-byá-wⁿ á-nómé
loc-lie-ACC 2SG- do.for.time.PFV

‘S/he does lying there for a long time’ = S/he lies there for a long time

Semantics of ò = clitic is not easy to catch. The clearest cases are those where it is attached to stative stem denoting subject-of-state’s position in space (e.g. sit, lie, stand, lean etc.). In these cases the clitic serves to indicate, that the given state takes place, in some particular place, known to the speaker. In particular it can happen here, where the speaker is currently located.

(xxx)

ò-dá:ⁿ
LOC-sit
‘S/he is sitting here’

(xxx)

gwé:-ỵ ñgá syâ: ò-túlá
¹go.out.PFV-PAST but now LOC-¹be.in.ST.3SG
{ Is s/he (there) at home? } ‘S/he had gone but now he is back’

In particular discourse situation 'here' may be understood most broadly, as ‘this world’, giving rise to existential meaning of the clitic (cf. Eng. there is), clearly seen in examples with bó: copula.

(xxx)

ámli ò-bó:/*bó: gá
chief LOG-¹be.ST.3SG / ¹be.ST.3SG CDJ
‘Is there the village’s chief?’

A question usually asked when wondering if the chief of the village (usually the oldest male of a certsin clan) is still alive .

Further examples

ànnà-gè tá:ndì ò-bó:
sheep.L-PL.L 3 LOC-¹be.ST.3SG

‘There are 3 sheep’

It’s much harder to identify marker’s semantic when it is attached to the stem with the meaning that doesn’t suppose any spatial specification in its semantics. Note that one of such stems *dámà*: doesn’t go with locative marker at all. Let’s consider other known cases separately.

< examples >

Stative stem are generally intransitive with a few exceptions listed below:

pímá ‘be alike’

díndá ‘be in possession of’

sá: ‘have’

Case frames, examples

< ... >

There are a few instances, where a combination of a stative with the locative-existential clitic seems to have undergone a lexicalization, relusting a new idiomatic reading of the clitic plus verb combination. Thus consider the case of *dígá* ‘be flowing’.

(xxx)

àmbà ò-dígá

river.L ⁴RDPL-be.flowing.ST.3SG

‘River flows’

(xxx)

mì: ò = dígá

water LOC-¹be.flowing.ST.3SG

‘water flows there’

In addition to regular locative-existential meaning form *ò-dígá* has an idiomatic meaning ‘be planed’. Note that reduplicative form of the stative verb doesn’t have the same reading.

(xxx)

ádù ò-dígá / *dì-dígá
 promise LOC-¹be.floating.ST.3SG / ⁴RDPL-be.floating.ST.3SG
 ‘An appointment is planned’

Another example is ò=jángá / jà-jángá pair. The reduplicative form is used to denote mostly reciprocal relationship of ‘(two things) being attached (or be close) to each other, while form with ò= clitic means ‘being attached to something’. In the latter case the locative component of the semantics becomes salient.

(xxx)
 jà-jàngá < examples >

(xxx)
 tálá pòndì yénà = wⁿ ò-jàngá
 nife trousers.L P.3SG-ACC LOC = ¹be.attached.ST.3SG
 ‘A knife is attached to his trousers’

Several northeastern Dogon languages have an immediately preverbal Existential particle /ya/ or /yE/ that is required with a following positive ‘be (somewhere)’ or ‘have’ predicate, and optionally with some other predicates. The particle is not present in the corresponding negatives, or in relative clauses or clauses with a focalized constituent. In some languages it is omitted when an overt locational is present. Discuss here and exemplify in §11.2.2.2 (‘be’) and in §11.5.1 (‘have’).

it may be impossible to determine which of a) Existential particle (in main clauses) and b) a preverbal subject pronominal (in relative clauses) gets the position closest to the verb.

Other Dogon languages do not have such an Existential particle. If no Existential particle, mention this here.

11.2.2.2 Locational quasi-verb (tula-, negative tonda)

‘be’ quasi-verb used in positive clauses with an overt or implied locational expression (‘be in the village’, ‘be here’, ‘be present’, etc.), or in general existential sense (‘exist, be somewhere’). Normally a defective stative quasi-verb (e.g. bu-, wO-) that is conjugable but

does not allow aspect-negation morphemes. In Jamsay there are two, wO- and kO-, that correspond to 3rd person human and nonhuman pronouns.

Water canari:

ɔ̀jɛ̀ pʲíí-ndà mì: ò-túlá

paradigm:

ndá nítúlà

(xx1). category	form
1Sg	n-túlà
1Pl	n-túlá
2Sg	á-túlà
2Pl	é-túlá
3Sg	túlá
3Pl	túlá-yà

examples with and without locational expressions

'He is here.' (il est là)

'He is in the village.'

dùgù pʲìí-ndá ò-túlá

dùgù pʲíí-wⁿ ò-túlá

dùgù-ndá ò-túlá

*dùgù-wⁿ ò-túlá

Q:

*mándà túlá?

*mâwⁿ túlá?

*injè pʲìíndá tula?

*dùgù-ndá a: túlá?

ándé gá: dùgùndá ò-túlá?

'he's gone or he is in the village'?

mì: bâ: òjè-ndá túlá gâ: bárimà-ndá túlá
 the water is in the waterjar or in th pot.
 ‘There is some sugar.’ (il y a du sucre)

suppletive negative ‘not be (somewhere)’ quasi-verb xxx-
(do not confuse with copula ‘X not be Y’, e.g. ‘I am not a doctor’)
used without Existential particle?
paradigm:

(xx4) category	form
1Sg	<i>ń-tóndà</i>
1Pl	<i>’ń-tóndá</i>
2Sg	<i>á-tóndà</i>
2Pl	<i>é-tóndá</i>
3Sg	<i>tóndá</i>
3Pl	<i>tóndá-yà</i>

examples with and without overt locational complements

(xx1) *ndá tóndá*
 ‘He is not here’ (il n’est pas là)

(xx2) *ámárù tóndá gâ? tóndá*
 ‘Is he in the village? yes he is there’

(xx3) *dùgù-ndá` tóndá*
 ‘He is not in the village’

(xx4) *mî: tóndá*
 ‘there si no water’

11.2.3 ‘Be put in/on’

Some Dogon languages use stative forms, either a regular Stative inflection derived from a

'put (in/on)' verb, or an irregular or suppletive stem, in senses like:

'(sth large) be in (container)', also metaphorical 'be in (state, situation)'

'(sth granulated, e.g. sugar) be in container'

'(water or other liquid) be in container'

'be up on (sth)', e.g. 'pot (tea kettle) be up on stone oven (burner)'

if these are just part of a regular Stative inflection, give a cross-reference.

On the table

tábàlì kóndà ò-dwⁿá:

*tábàlì òndá ò-dwⁿá:

sòy-nda ò-dwⁿá:

*pìjì-ndá ò-dwⁿá:

yó:gé wògòtóro pìjì-ndá túlá

used with Existential particle?

if more than one 'be in (container)' verb, give lists of sample subject NPs (person, animal, meat, millet grain spike, grains, sugar, water) for each verb.

a few examples

11.2.4 Morphologically regular verbs

[if any verbs below are defective, i.e. stative-only, or otherwise irregular, the subsection may be relocated]

11.2.4.1 'Remain, happen' (bee-)

(xx1)

dèbù-ndá wánjé

house-LOC ¹remain.PFV.3SG

'staid at home'

(xx1)

déní gé né:ngà wánjé /*íbyê:

'2 days left'

(xx2)

òrò ná: bálú:ⁿ òjèndá wánjéné bó: *íbyê:

'some meal remains in the pot'

(xx2)

mí: ìníwⁿ wánjàwⁿ

'I stay here'

(xx3)

mí: ìníwⁿ ríwánjè

mí: ìníwⁿ ríbyè òyíbyè

(xx4)

ínjé = yêy?

'What is happening?'

ìníwⁿ gwéné pá: jùgù né:ngúlù ìníwⁿ íbyâwⁿ/ wánjàwⁿ

here ³exit.PFV-3SG till week second here ¹stay.PROSP-1SG/ ¹stay.PROSP-1SG

(xx5)

bàndiàgàrà ndá ònàndé-nè dèni ge né:ngá òyíbyé-nè/*ríwánjè-nè égâw

I'll go to B stat (there) for to day and come (back)

(xx6)

gèmbú jè mǎré. ójì ndà wánjé/ íbyê

I lost my bag. It remained on the road

Causatives

- *íbyá:mì

- wánjámì

(xx7)

jà: à-kùlú bá:lú:ⁿ ò-wánjámì

meal P.2SG-part little.bit ¹1SG-stay.PFV

à-kùlú ná: bá:lú:ⁿ ò-wànjámì

'We kept a little bit of meal for you'

(xx8)

ándéngé káńámbôy ñgǎ: bá:ná è = wⁿ wánjámì

'he wanted to go but his father made him stay'

(xx9)

dèbù kúnjù yé:nà déndè

'he abandoned his old house'

(xx10)

ńáńgó-ná wánjé/ íbyè

'his soul stayed' = 'he survived, escaped the death'

íbyèlì = doesn't exist , remain is dead

**EXIST

RESULT

àntémbú myé: wánjé-né bó:

*íbyé-né bó:

IMP

ìbyǒ: stay!!

wánjá

Morphologically regular verb? Full set of aspect-negation suffixes?

present-time 'X remains (thus)', uses imperfective or perfective form?

11.2.4.2 'Become, happen' (xxx)

Morphologically regular verb used with NP

he has become a woman'

(xx1)

ámsára-wⁿ bílé

'he has become a white man'

ìnjè-wⁿ bílé

'he has become like a dog'

11.2.4.3 'Want, like' (xxx)

(xx1) Paradigm series 1

	POS	NEG
1SG	<i>kájâ-wⁿ</i>	<i>ñ-kà:lá</i>
2SG	<i>kájâ:-w</i>	<i>à-kà:lá</i>
3SG	<i>kájá-mbó</i>	<i>ká:lá</i>
1PL	<i>kájá:-mbò</i>	<i>ñ-ká:là</i>
2PL	<i>kájá-ébó</i>	<i>é-ká:là</i>
3PL	<i>kájá-byà</i>	<i>kálá-yà</i>

Series 2

(xx1) Subject focus, question

nê: á: káyⁿ?

'Who wants it?'

(xx2) Subject focus, answer

mí: káyⁿ

I (focus) want it

Series 2 negative

nê: á: ká:lá-gà?

Who doesn't want this?

mí: ká:lá-gà

I (focus) don't want this.

O

Series 3

(xx1) Non-subject focus, question

ínjè á-kájà ?

What do you want?

(xx2) Non-subject focus, answer

bú:rù n-kájà

I want (some) MONEY

(xx1) Non-subject focus, negative question

ínjè á-kál-yà

What don't you want?

What is the thing that you don't want.

(xx1) Series 3 paradigm

1SG *óndó dò:ⁿ wô: n-kál-yà*

3SG *óndó dò:ⁿ wô: kál-yá-nà*

1PL *óndó dò:ⁿ wô: n-kál-yà*

2PL *mí:ndó dò:ⁿ wô: è-kál-yà*

3SG *mí:ndó dò:ⁿ wô: ké-kál-yà*

(xx3) Series 1 + PAST

1SG *kájá-mbò = y*

2SG *kájá:-bò = y*

3PL *kájá- mbô = y*

1PL *kájá:-mbò = y*

2PL *kájá-ébó = ÿ*

3PL *kájá-mbyâ-yày*

(xx4) Series 1 negative + PAST

1SG *n-kà:lá-ÿ*

2SG *à-kà:lá-ÿ*

3SG *ká:lá-ÿ*

1PL *n-ká:là-ÿ*

2PL *è-ká:là-ÿ*

3PL *ká:lá-yáy*

;

used with Existential particle?

11.2.4.4 'Fear' (ní:wè)

The 'X fear Y' verb (with Y = NP) may be a morphologically regular verb, perhaps used most often in Stative inflected form.

(xx1)

ñ-nì:wé

I am scared (of sth)

(xx2)

ní:wó ñ-níwè

I am scared

(xx3)

á-ní:wé ábô:-gà?

Are you scared?

(xx4)

nì-a-ní:wè á-sâ: ga?

Is he afraid of dogs?

(xx5)

nì-níwéné sá

Yes he is.

(xx6)

*nì-n-níwe: ñ-sâ: /*ní:wè ñ-sâ*

Yes, I am.

(xx7)

áyé: ònjè níwé-né sá: bâ:

Who is afraid of dogs?

(xx8)

**ònjè á: ní:wè??*

Who is afraid of dogs?

(xx9)

ínjè ní:wé-né s'íyá-nà
**ínjè ní:wé-né sá*

What he is afraid of?

(xx10)

ínjè = wⁿ ní:wè
ínjè-gé = wⁿ ní:wè

He is afraid of this dog/ these dogs

(xx11)

ínjè ní:wò-kónó

He is afraid of dogs

(xx12)

*ínjè ní:wé-né/ *ní:wè*

'he is afraid of dogs'

(xx13) Question

**ínjè ní:wá: bó: / bíyá-nà*

What he was afraid of?

(xx1) Paradigm of NSF forms

ínjè-wⁿ ní-ní:wó = mbè

ínjè-wⁿ á-ní:wó = mbè

ínjè-wⁿ ní:wó = mbé-nè

ínjè-wⁿ ní-ní:wó = m`bé

ínjè-wⁿ é-ní:wó = mbé

ínjè-wⁿ ké-ní:wó = mbè

(xx3)

nèjì nâ-wⁿ ní:wéné sá:-mbé-nè

nèjì nâ-wⁿ ní:wó = mbé-nè

He was afraid of his uncle.

11.3 Quotative verb

11.3.1 'Say' (xxx)

(xx1)

ndà-gè = wⁿ táré-né à-ḡándé/*ándé wà:
person-PL = OBL ²say.PFV-3SG ¹LOG-go.PFV ¹go.PFV.3SG IND
'He_i said that he_i has gone'. (= he declared to the people that he leaves now)
There may be a regular 'say' verb in addition to quotative particles

examples

(xx4)

ínjè ó = wⁿ ḡún-né

ínjè ó = wⁿ wâ

What did he say to you?

(xx5)

ín-ná ñìgè ḡúnámbyà

They call it 'elephant'

11.4 Adjectival predicates

Tonal predicates

a. Séydù [débú kándà]

Seydou's new house

b. [Séydù débú] kándá

Seydou's house is new(er).

c. [Séydù débú] kándá *bâ:

d. *[Séydù débú] kándá nê:

e [Séydú débú] báyⁿ

S house.H big.H

'Seydou's house is big(ger)'

bâyⁿ 'big' the H tone is imposed

Adding the OBL marker to the construction

Séydù wé:

Séydù wé: báýⁿ

Séydù wé: báýⁿ m̀-̀m̀alyě:

S child big.H ¹1SG-see.PFV

Adding the OBL marker wⁿ is not allowed

**Séydù wé: báýⁿ-wⁿ m̀-̀m̀alyě:*

(xx1) Comparative H. toned

wè:-wàlă-y bâ: báýⁿ

child-man-DIM DEF bigger

‘the child is bigger’

(xx2)

**wè: bâ: bâýⁿ*

The child is big

(xx3)

wè: bâ: báýⁿ

‘the child is big’

In the examples above, the verb form does not change tones

Cf. however:

Séydù wé: m̀-̀m̀alyè

S child 1SG-see.PFV

Underlyingly m̀-̀m̀alyě:

The H tone is imposed:

[Séydú débú] báyn̩ m̀m̀alyě:

S house.H big.H ¹1SG-see.PFV

'I saw (that) the Seydou's house is bigger'

Nominal predicate after the POSS N

(xx1)

Séydù débú àlìgèné-ẁ

S house paradise-It.is

Non-verbal predication in sentential complement position:

Equation construction as a complement of 'see'

(xx1)

Séydù gyí:ngá = ẁ

Seydou saw the thief.

(xx2)

Séydù gyí:ngá = ẁ m̀- m̀alyě:

S thief-it's ¹1SG-see.PFV

Seydou saw the thief.

(xx3)

Séydù débú àlìgèné-ẁ m̀- m̀alyě:

S house paradise-It.is 1SG-see.PFV

(xx4)

*Séydù débú àlìgèné m̀- m̀alyě:

(xx4) [POSS N-PL]

Séydù débú-gè

S [house-PL].HL

(xx3)[POSS N] NUM

Séydù débú-gè tá:ndì

S [house-PL].HL three

[POSS N] NUM with construction imposed tone on the adjective are ruled out

(xx4)

* *Séydù débú-gè tá:ndí*

NUMERALS:

* *[[séydù wé:-gé] kúléyⁿ] égyè* not a Subject NP

[[séydù wé:-gé] kúléyⁿ] m-màlyě: is a predicative complement

(xx1)

wé-gè kúléyⁿ

‘children are six’

(xx2)

wé:-gè tá:ndì

‘children are three’

predicates of the type ‘X is heavy’. Distinct from inchoative and factitive verbs (‘become heavy’, ‘make it heavy’), on which see §9.xxx.

11.4.1 Positive adjectival predicates

*adjective may be directly conjugated, or followed by 'be' quasi-verb or by 'it is' clitic.
(construction found in some languages)*

comments on phonological form of adjective

3Sg form?

11.4.2 Negative adjectival and stative predicates (□xxx)

(xx1)

mágú ólì

ná:gú ólì

bá: ólì

bá: nyólì

(xx2)

yè: kándá = wó

yè: bínú: = wó

*yè: málá = wó (*person animal)*

yè: sálá = wó

(xx3)

mí: ìnúwⁿ òdà kándá = lá

adjective followed by conjugated Stative Negative suffix/clitic.

examples

'I am not tall.'

11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 'Have' (so-/sa-)

Note that as in many similar cases the inchoative *sí-yê*: 'get, obtain' is still a transitive verb even being opposed to a causative stem *sĩ:-rè* 'cause to obtain'.

Defective stative quasi-verb, arguably related to the Perfective-2 suffix on verbs.

may require a preceding Existential particle (e.g. ya).

may allow Past clitic □bE-

examples:

'I have a house'

'I had (= used to have) a house'

form in relative clauses?

negative counterpart, usually so-/sa- plus a variant of the Stative Negative suffix.

examples

'I don't have a house'

positive and negative paradigms

(xx4) category	'have'	'do not have'
1Sg	xxx	xxx
1Pl	xxx	xxx
2Sg	xxx	xxx
2Pl	xxx	xxx
3Sg/Inan	xxx	xxx
3Pl	xxx	xxx

11.5.2 'Belong to' predicates

'X belongs to Y', perhaps expressed as 'X, it is Y's thing/critter (possession)'. The 'thing/critter' noun may distinguish objects from animate beings.

(xx1)

dèbù bâ: jé = wò

'the house is mine'

(xx1)

ànnà jé-wⁿ

‘the sheep is mine’

(xx2)

dèbù bà: séydù yé-wò

‘the house is Seydou’s’

(xx3)

dèbù bà: nê: áyêy?

Whose house is this?

(xx4)

dèbù bà: jé-wò.

This is my house.

11.6 Verb iteration

11.6.1 Uninflected iteration of type [v_1 - v_1 (- v_1 □)]

(xx1)

<i>wàgàrù tá:ngû:ⁿ</i>	<i>dùgù</i>	<i>ámílì géwⁿ</i>	<i>égà-mbò = nê</i>
time.L past	village.L	chief place	³ come.PROSP-3SG = CH.PROSP

<i>ńdá</i>	<i>sélè:</i>	<i>égó-égó</i>	<i>è: = wⁿ</i>	<i>tyámà-mbyà</i>
person each	come.O-come.O	3SG = OBL	¹ greet.PROSP -.3PL	

‘In the past when the village chief came to some place all the people would come to greet him’.

(xx2)

<i>bédyê:</i>	<i>kán-né</i>	<i>nê: = là</i>	<i>sélè:</i>	<i>pátrô:ⁿ jê:</i>
¹ approach.PFV.3SG	³ do.PFV-3SG	this = too	all	boss P.1SG

<i>gólígé-gé</i>	<i>mí:-wⁿ</i>	<i>só:-só:-só:-só:</i>	<i>mí:-wⁿ</i>	<i>ńdé-né</i>
stuff-PL	1SG-OBJ	buy-buy-buy-buy	1SG-OBJ	³ give.PFV-VP.3SG

‘As it was approaching, my boss bought a lot of stuff for me’

A verb may be iterated two or more times to form a clause-like background durative segment in narratives, counterpoised to foregrounded event predications.

The iteration may be uninflected (bare stems iterated), and may have unusual superimposed tone contours.

11	VP AND PREDICATE STRUCTURE	217
11.1	REGULAR VERBS AND VP STRUCTURE.....	217
11.1.1	Verb types (valency).....	217
11.1.2	Preverbal focalized constituent position	219
11.1.3	Sole argument patientive (unaccusative) verbs	219
11.1.4	Sole argument agentive (unergatives).....	223
11.1.5	Transitives	223
11.1.6	NEED-verbs.....	226
11.1.7	Lability.....	226
11.1.8	Ditransitive verbs.....	227
11.1.9	Valency of causatives	228
11.1.10	Valency of the benefactive	230
11.1.11	Verb Phrase.....	232
11.1.12	Fixed subject-verb combinations.....	233
11.1.13	Fixed verb-object combinations.....	233
11.1.14	Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb.....	234
11.1.14.1	Grammatical status of cognate nominal	239
11.2	'BE', 'BECOME', 'HAVE', AND OTHER STATIVES.....	239
11.2.1	'It is' clitics	239
11.2.1.1	Positive 'it is' (= wo).....	239
11.2.1.2	'It is not' (= la).....	240
11.2.1.3	Identification construction	241
11.2.2	Existential and locative quasi-verbs and particles	243
11.2.2.1	Existential δ	243
	Existential clitic δ = is obligatory present in declarative stative clauses. It occupies the immediately preverbal position, letting only the pronominal object prefixes occur closer to the verbal stem.	243
11.2.2.2	Locational quasi-verb (tula-, negative tonda)	246
11.2.3	'Be put in/on'.....	248
11.2.4	Morphologically regular verbs.....	249
11.2.4.1	'Remain, happen' (bee-)	249
11.2.4.2	'Become, happen' (xxx)	251
11.2.4.3	'Want, like' (xxx)	252
11.2.4.4	'Fear' (ní:wè).....	254
11.3	QUOTATIVE VERB	256
11.3.1	'Say' (xxx).....	256
11.4	ADJECTIVAL PREDICATES.....	256
11.4.1	Positive adjectival predicates.....	260
11.4.2	Negative adjectival and stative predicates (\square xxx)	260
11.5	POSSESSIVE PREDICATES.....	260
11.5.1	'Have' (so-/sa-)	260
11.5.2	'Belong to' predicates.....	261
11.6	VERB ITERATION	262
11.6.1	Uninflected iteration of type [v_1 - v_1 (- v_1 \square)].....	262

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

13.1.1 Term focus

From the point of view of the clause structure there are two major types of term-focus constructions in Mombo. In one of them the focalized constituent remains *in situ* is obligatory followed by a focus particle =wô:. In the other one the focalized constituent occurs in IBV; the use of the focus particle is optional.

(15) Focalized constituent *in situ*

Ámárù = wô mótô:ⁿ swé:
PN = TF motorcycle ²buy.PFV.H
'AMADOU bought (a) motorcycle'.

(16) Focalized constituent in IBV

mótô:ⁿ bâ: Ámárù (= wô:) swé:
motorcycle DEF PN = TF ²buy.PFV.H
'AMADOU bought (a) motorcycle'.

The difference of the two constructions is rather structural than semantic. There are certain restrictions as to constituent types that can occur in the IBV. Thus subjects can not occur in the IBV if the object is a reflexive and an *in-situ* construction has to be used instead.

(17) *kó:-ná = ŵⁿ Sá:rù mályé:
head-POSS.3SG = OBL PN ²see.PFV.H
'SEYDOU saw himself'.

(18) Sá:rù = wô: kó:-ná = ŵⁿ mályé:
PN = TF head-POSS.3SG = OBL ²see.PFV.H
'SEYDOU saw himself'.

Direct objects (P and T arguments) immediately precede the verb in unmarked clauses, which neutralizes the distinction between the *in situ* and IBV focus constructions. Also in terms of the word order clauses with a focus on P or T don't differ from unmarked ones. Cf. (19)–(22).

(19) *Sá:rù Ámárù = wⁿ mályê:.*

PN PN = OBL ¹see.PFV

'Sarou saw Amadou'.

(20) *Sá:rù Ámárù = wⁿ(= wô:) mályé-né.*

PN PN = OBL = TF ³see.PFV-3SG

'Sarou saw AMADOU'.

(21) *Sá:rù Ámárù = wⁿ bú:rù ndé.*

PN PN = OBL money ¹give.PFV

'Sarou gave Amadou (the) money'.

(22) *Sá:rù Ámárù = wⁿ bú:rù(= wô:) ndé-né.*

PN PN = OBL money = TF ³give.PFV-3SG

'Sarou gave Amadou (the) MONEY'.

There are two features that these two constructions have in common. One of them is that unlike in the unmarked clauses the focalized entity has to be overtly expressed in the clause as a separate constituent. This requirement is of a special importance for subject-focus constructions, since the subject-prodrop is obligatory in unmarked clauses.

(23) *yá:gù n-yégè.*

yesterday ¹1SG-come.PFV

'I came yesterday'.

(24) *yá:gù mí: égé.*

yesterday 1SG ²come.PFV.H

'I (focus) came yesterday'.

(23) shows an unmarked clause with the 1SG subject expressed solely by the prefix **n-** on the verb. In subject focus construction in (24) the 1SG-subject prefix is absent and the focalized subject is expressed by an independent 1SG pronoun **mí:**.

The second feature, found in both focus constructions, is that the scope of focus is signaled by verb morphology. Here is where the inflectional series discussed above play a crucial role. Series 2 forms are used for subject focus (cf. examples [15 -18]). Series 3 is used then a non-subject argument Focus. Thus in (20) and (22) discussed above P and T arguments are followed by a form of series 3 when focalized. When R argument of a ditransitive verb is focalized series 3 has to be used as well (25).

(25) Non-subject argument focus: R

Ámárù bú:rù Sá:rù-wⁿ ñdè-né.
 PN money PN-OBL ³give.PFV-3SG

‘{Who did Amadou give the money to?} Amadou gave the money to SEYDOU’.

Adverbials are treated differently. Normally the verb takes a form of series 1. However series 3 forms in adverbial focus construction are also elicitable.

(26) Adverbial focus

Ámárù mándà ándé / ^{OK}ándé-né?
 PN where? ¹go.PFV / ³go.PFV-3SG

‘Where did Amadou go?’

13.1.2 Predicate-centered focus

Predicate-centered focus constructions don’t show word changes compare to the unmarked clause type and so, the internal discrimination of the predicate-centered focus types totally relies on verb morphology.

Mombo has a dedicated construction used for state-of-affaires focus (27). It is characterized by use of series 4 forms.

(27) SoA focus

ǎy, émé sò-ń-swê:!
 no milk ⁴redupl-1SG-buy.PFV

‘{Did you take (the) milk from our neighbor?} No, I BOUGHT (the) milk’.

The two other predicate-centered focus types – truth-value and TAM focus – use series 1 forms.

(28) Truth-value focus

A: *yà: bā: núŋgé bā: témé gâ:?*
woman.L DEF beans DEF ¹eat.PFV.3SG or
'Did the woman eat the beans?'

B: *í:ⁿ, témé:.*
yes, ¹eat.PFV.3SG
'Yes, she DID eat (them).'

(29) TAM focus

A: *núŋgé bā: témá: bó: gâ: témé?*
beans DEF eat.CV.IPFV ¹be.3SG or ¹eat.PFV.3SG
'Is she still eating the beans or has she eaten (them already)?'

B: *témé.*
¹eat.PFV.3SG
'She ATE/has EATEN (them).'

Contrastive truth-value focus can be additionally emphasized by clause-final particle *dé*¹. The particle also occurs only with series 1 forms.

(30) Contrastive truth-value focus

A: *ìjìlì òjìlè gâ:?*
sneeze.VN ¹sneeze.PFV or?
'Did he sneeze?'

B: *àyí, òjìlì òjìlè-lí dé.*
no!, sneeze ¹sneeze-PFV.NEG TVF
'No, he didn't sneeze (eh)'

Note that the predicate-centered focus constructions show clear affinities with the adverbial focus construction. Truth-value, TAM and adverbial term focus constructions use series 1 verb forms. The SoA focus construction differs from those in using series 4 forms. However series 1 and series 4 use the same pattern of pronominal-subject marking.

¹ Most probably this particle is borrowed from Bambara (Cf. Bambara *dé*). Particles of similar form are found in many Malian languages including local variant of French.

13.1.3 Relative markedness of focus constructions and topicality

After having described focus constructions, we can have a look on the whole system again in an attempt to understand the general principles that determine it.

Table 17 summarizes distribution of morphosyntactic features in Mombo focus constructions. The table takes into the account the inflectional series in which the verb occurs, patterns of the pronominal-subject marking associated with that series and the word order.

Table 17. Morphosyntactic features used in focus constructions

Term focus	verb series	PS pattern	Word order
Argument-focus			
Subject focus	2	II	XOSV/SXOV ²
P focus	3	III	SXOV
T focus	3	III	SXOV
R focus	3	III	SOXV/ SXOV
Adverbial focus	1 (3)	I, IV (III)	SOXV/ SXOV
Predicate-centered focus			
Truth-value focus	1	I, IV	SXOV
TAM-operator focus	1	I, IV	SXOV
SoA focus	4	I, IV	SXOV

In what follows I propose an explanation of the distribution presented in this table applying notions of markedness and topicality.

First, focus constructions can be ranked according to their relative markedness. For simplicity of representation I will be using binary terms and label morphosyntactic features as either marked or unmarked. I will also ignore the morphological variation in the adverbial focus construction with respect to verb morphology (Section 4.1) and that of the word order in subject-, R-, adverbial-focus constructions. In the former case I consider only constructions with series 1, in the latter - only IBV constructions. In the case of verb inflectional series I will take series 1 to be the unmarked one and other series to be marked. Among patterns of pronominal-subject patterns I and IV are considered to be unmarked. In terms of the word order SXOV is considered to be unmarked.

Second, the entities that focus can take a scope over can be ranked according their relative default topicality (recall Section 2) as done in Figure 1.

² X stands for any clause constituent other than the subject and the object.



Figure 1. Topicality scale

TAM and truth-value operators are of course the least topical entities, their occurrence as discourse topics is simply impossible because of their non-referential nature. A certain state-of-affaires rarely but still may function as discourse topics. As evidence one may take verb-topic constructions found in many languages (Güldemann et al. 2010). In Mombo SoA also can function as a topic being expressed by a verbal noun in the preclausal topic position in constructions of type “as for V-ing...”. Adverbial are more topical frequently providing time- or space setting for event described however less topical than arguments. The latter are typically denote referents and thus are potentially better candidates for topic function. Among arguments it is usually assumed that subject is more topical compare to non-subject arguments, which is confirmed by a strong correlation between subject and topic that have been attested in text counts like (Chafe 1987). It has been also claimed on the basis of an analysis of ditransitive constructions that R-argument are more topical than P and T (Haspelmath 2004).

Assuming all this we can put focus Mombo constructions on two scales comparing their relative markedness and the relative topicality of the entities under the scope of focus (Figure 2).

Is there a Focus particle or other morphological marking in the focalized constituent, perhaps the ‘it is’ clitic functioning as Focus morpheme? Is there is a morphological distinction between subject and non-subject focus?

Are pro-forma (nonreferential) cognate nominals usually omitted when another constituent is focalized? (‘Who is weeping?’ ‘Whom did he insult?’)

áyè wò wá: sá: bâ:

áyè wò wá:mbó: bâ:/ *sans bâ

wò: bâ: á: wé://

áyè wò: wé bâ:

'who cried?'

wò á: wé:

'who cried among you?'

áyè d̀: dwé bà:

né dwe

á:wⁿ dwéné?

ěwⁿ dwéné

*ěwⁿ d̀: dwé/ dwⁿé-né

d̀: á: dwé?

á: d̀: dwé?

Who did insult?

Existential particle (ya, etc.) in 'be (present)', 'have', and similar predications absent in focalized clauses? ('Who has a cow?')

á: nà: sá: /* ò-sá

NEED - focalisation

ínjè ě-wⁿ sá:

kúgɔ ě-wⁿ sá

what does he have?

ínjè ó-ⁿsá:

kúgɔ mí-wⁿ sá:

ínjè á síyà?

bú:rù wô: ní-síyà

bú:rù (*wô:) ò-ń-sà

NEG

ínjè ǒ-ⁿ ndélyé-nà?

bú:rù míwⁿ ndélyé-nà

1SG ínjè ǒ-ⁿ ñ̀ndèlíyà

2SG á̀ndélyà

3SG ndélyé-nà

1PL ń̀ndélí-yà

2PL é̀ndélí-yà

3PL ké̀ndélí-yà

ínjè àmàlà téndí-yà
 málá-téndyánà
 ké málá téndyà

ínjè káná: bíyánà
2SG káná: ábíyà

focalized object pronominal ('It's he whom I saw')

verb has its regular pronominal-subject suffixes, or a special form (absence of pronominal-subject suffix; replacement of verb by a special participle)?

detailed comments on any changes or neutralizations in aspect-negation marking in verbal morphology in a clause with a focalized constituent (similar patterns in relative clauses?) for example:

a) is the reduplicated Cv- syllable dropped (reduplicated PFVective, reduplicated ImPFVective, reduplicated Stative)?

b) are the various PFVective (positive) suffixes all in use in focalized clauses, or do they neutralize into one PFVective form? If so, is this one of the suffixally marked forms (e.g. PFVective-2), or an unsuffixed PFVective?

c) assuming the PFVective Negative (-rv-, -lv-, etc.) and the ImPFVective Negative stems are used with a focalized constituent, do they usually drop tones?

no need for detailed examples here as the following sections can be full of examples

13.1.4 Subject focalization

*Summarize features (mostly already briefly mentioned above)
position and any morphological marking of focalized subject
form of verb*

examples

'It is we [focus] who will sweep.'

mí ándámbò??

'it's we who will go'

yá:gù ìníwⁿ é: bó:mbè

[yá:gù ìníwⁿ bó:mbè bá:] é-w

'It's he who was here'

yá:gù ìníwⁿ ámárù bó:mbè

it is Amadou who was here yesterday.

yá:gù ìníwⁿ ámárù wô: bó:mbè

it is Amadou who was here yesterday.

yá:gù ìníwⁿ ámárù égéné sá: mbè

yá:gù ìníwⁿ ámárù wô: égéné sá: mbè

come

Non-focalized

ámárù yá:gù ìníwⁿ bô-y

Amadou who was here yesterday.

NEG

[yá:gù ìníwⁿ bó:mbè bâ:] mí-lá

It's not me who was here yesterday

[yá:gù ìníwⁿ bó:mbè bâ:] ámárù là

[yá:gù ìníwⁿ égé bâ:] mílá

come

13.1.5 Object focalization

yá:gù yè mályé bâ: é-w

'It is him I saw yesterday'

yá:gù ɛwⁿ wô: m̄malyě

'It is him I saw yesterday'

yá:gù ámárù:ⁿ wô: m̄malyě

'It is amadou whom I saw'

yágù té: wô nínyê:

'it's the tea, what we drank yesterday'

yá:gù ámárù:ⁿ wô: búrù ndé-nè/ *ndé

It is Amadou whom he gave money yesterday

báyérú:ⁿ wô: yólá: mbíyà / *mbô

“That [focus] is what I’m looking for.”

summary of construction

position of focalized object

if language has Accusative suffix/clitic on NPs and/or pronominals, is this marking present on focalized object?

form of verb

examples

‘That [focus] is what I’m looking for.’

13.1.6 Focalization of PP or other adverb

position of focalized adverb or PP

entire PP (not just the NP complement) is focalized
form of verb

examples (including spatial, dative, and instrumental)

‘It’s to the fields [focus] that I am going.’

kòyⁿ ándá: m-bíyá bâ

bush.L go.A 1SG-be.foc DEF

‘Hab’

kòyⁿ ándá: mbó:mbè bâ:

bush.L

‘past’

kôyⁿ wô: ándéné

kôyⁿ wô: ñpàndé

dàmbè ñdô: wálé ñkání

‘It was with this [focus] that I worked.’

ñdô: = ñdó + wô:

séydù-ñdó wô: égéné

‘It is with Seydu he came’

dèbùndá wô: bíyàná/ *bo/ ò-bó

'It's to you-Sg [focus] that I said (it).'

13.1.7 Focalization of postpositional complement

Usually the full PP is focalized as a unit; there is no way to distinguish focalization of a PP from focalization of just its NP complement.

[if there is a mechanism for focalizing verbs, VPs, or clauses--in the latter case, other than regular Emphatic particles focalizing the truth of the clause--, add relevant sections]

13.2 Interrogatives

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives (xxx)

Interrogative particle added at the end of an otherwise indicative sentence.

interlinears: Q = (polar) interrogative particle

intonation?(prolongation, pitch)

phonological tone (to the extent one can detect it in spite of intonational effects) carried over from preceding word?

any exceptions (e.g. low tone after PFVective-2 verbs that end in high tone)?

yàlá égé gà

égé gà

égélí gà

in polar interrogatives, are both clauses explicitly stated?

(Will he come, or won't he come?)

égámbò gà égá:lì

perhaps there is a range of options, ranging from full form of both options, reduced form of second option, and omission of second option?

If the Q particle is placed between the two options, is it grouped prosodically with the clause to its left or with that to its right?

Is Interrogative particle distinguishable from or identical to the 'or' particle

(segmental form, tone, intonation)

examples, including intonational marking

13.2.2 'Who?' (xxx)

In this and other content (WH) interrogatives, is the Q particle also (optionally) present?

S.SG

á: égé?

who came?

S.PL

áyá égé?

who-PL came?

O

ínjê: àmàlyě:?

what did you see??

O

á:-wⁿ àmàlyě [ámályè]

'who did you see'

IO

búrù bà á:wⁿ ájìndè

'Whom you did you give the money'

ínjê: á-sémé

Pred

SG

áyé?

'who is it'

ó áyè

PL

áyáyè

Nonh

ínjêy

PL

ínjégêy

Is the content (WH) interrogative overtly focalized?

form of ‘who?’ word (relationship to other lexical items)

optional plural form?

expandible as e.g. ‘who person?’

predicative form?

examples including predicative ‘who?’

‘Who came yesterday?’

‘Who-Pl did you see?’

‘It is who?’ (= ‘Who is it?’)

‘Who are you?’

yá:gù Séydù ndô: á: ndô: à-màlyě:

** Séydù ndô: á: ndô: yá:gù à-màlyě:?*

yá:gù: á: ndô: Séydù ndô: à-màlyě:

**á: ndô: Séydù ndô: yá:gù à-màlyě: .*

The conjunction of two NP’s , on of which contains wh-expression occupies preverbal position.

13.2.3‘What?’ (xxx), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’

form of ‘what?’ interrogative; relationship to other forms

optional plural form?

predicative form?

examples including predicative forms

‘What did you eat?’

‘That is what?’ (‘What is that?’)

‘with what?’ (instrumental form of ‘what?’)

example

‘for what?’ = ‘why?’ (with Purposive postposition?)

13.2.4‘Where?’ (xxx)

form of ‘where?’ interrogative; relationship to other forms

*used with Locative postposition or by itself?
predicative form?*

examples

'Where are you going?'

'It is where?' ('Where is it?')

'Where are you?'

13.2.5 'When?' (xxx)

form of 'where?' interrogative; relationship to other forms

perhaps more than one form including 'which time?' with noun 'time'

used with Locative postposition or by itself?

predicative form?

examples including predicative forms

13.2.6 'How?' (xxx)

form of 'how?' interrogative; relationship to other forms

optionally iterated? (full reduplication)

examples

'How will you fix the basket?'

combined with 'do' verb as 'do how?' (= 'do what?')

subordinated '(by) doing how, ...' as another way of asking 'how?'

13.2.7 'How much/many?' (xxx)

form of 'how much/many?' interrogative; relationship to other forms

usually not pluralizable morphologically

combines with preceding core NP (like numeral, with no tonal interaction?)

if noun is countable, does it appear in plural form?

examples

'How much sugar did you buy?'
'How many sheep do you have?'
'It is how much?' (predicative)

may co-occur with topicalized expression in partitive function

'My cows, how many of them died?'

iterated for distributive sense ('how much [= price] each?')

*ordinal: how-manieth? (nonexistent English, but cf. French *quantième*)*

13.2.8 'Which?' (xxx)

form of 'which?' interrogative; relationship to other forms
may be used absolutely, or as modifying adjective
tonal effect on preceding core NP? (tone-dropping?)

examples

'Which mango do you want?'
'Which of your cows are you selling?'

13.2.9 'So-and-so' (ama:Na)

'So-and-so' = substitute (function over) any of a range of personal names
used in generalized contexts like: 'If you encounter someone you know in the field at
twilight, you should say "Hey So-and-so, let's go back to the village"'
form of 'So-and-so' word; relationship to other forms

examples

'This cow belongs to So-and-so'

13.2.10 Embedded interrogatives

embedded polar interrogatives:

'He doesn't know whether they have arrived in Bamako'

such a construction may also be used constructions with 'know' and factive complement (presupposed to be true)

'He doesn't know that they have arrived in Bamako'

(better ex: 'He doesn't know whether (= that) I am in Douentza')

embedded content interrogatives: these may take the same form as main-clause interrogatives, or they may involve substitutions, using generic nouns like 'person', 'thing', 'place', 'time', 'manner', 'quantity'

'I don't know [who is coming]' or 'I don't know [the person [who is coming]]'

examples:

'I don't know ...'

'... who is coming'

'... what we will eat'

'... where they are dancing'

'... when they will come'

'... how they will farm'

'... how much they ate'

'... which house they lodge ("go down") in'

'... why they went away'

13	FOCALIZATION AND INTERROGATION	264
13.1	FOCALIZATION	264
13.1.1	TERM FOCUS	264
13.1.2	PREDICATE-CENTERED FOCUS	266
13.1.3	RELATIVE MARKEDNESS OF FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS AND TOPICALITY	268
13.1.4	<i>Subject focalization</i>	271
13.1.5	<i>Object focalization</i>	272
13.1.6	<i>Focalization of PP or other adverb</i>	273
13.1.7	<i>Focalization of postpositional complement</i>	274
13.2	INTERROGATIVES	274
13.2.1	<i>Polar (yes/no) interrogatives (xxx)</i>	274
13.2.2	<i>'Who?' (xxx)</i>	275
13.2.3	<i>'What?' (xxx), 'with what?', 'why?'</i>	276
13.2.4	<i>'Where?' (xxx)</i>	276
13.2.5	<i>'When?' (xxx)</i>	277
13.2.6	<i>'How?' (xxx)</i>	277
13.2.7	<i>'How much/many?' (xxx)</i>	277
13.2.8	<i>'Which?' (xxx)</i>	278
13.2.9	<i>'So-and-so' (ama:Na)</i>	278
13.2.10	<i>Embedded interrogatives</i>	278

