

A Grammar of Najamba Dogon (= Bondu-So)

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

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not finished or definitive, use caution in citing
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1 Introduction

1.1 Dogon languages

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

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

This grammar is one of the products of a project initially focused on Jamsay and later extended to other Dogon languages in the vicinities of Douentza and Boni, i.e. in the northern to northeastern sector of Dogon country, some distance from the “classic” Dogon country centered in the Bandiagara-Sanga zone. Other languages beside Jamsay that I have studied in this project are Beni, Walo, Nanga, and Tabi-Sarinyere.

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

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

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

A neighboring dialect, straddling the main highway and therefore separated from Najamba by a mountain ridge, and including the village of Koira Beiri, is called **Kindigué** (*kĩndĩ-gé*) by many of its speakers, and by my Najamba speakers. People from Koira Beiri refer to their language (i.e. Kindigué) as **Kolobinye** (*kòlòbĩ-ɲé*), an irregular derivative of the local name for Koira Beiri village itself (*kólòbĩ*). One informant from this village suggested that *kĩndĩ-gé* originally alluded to the villages atop the escarpment, as opposed to the current villages which are mostly on the plains at the base of the cliffs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Words of **likely Songhay origin** found in Najamba but not in Jamsay or other nearby Dogon languages include: *bàndĩ* ‘back’ (Songhay *bande*), *mágà:* ‘thigh below hip’ (Songhay *maka*), *dǎy* ‘well(s)’, *párngá* ‘donkey’ (Songhay *farka*), *gándè-gándè kan* ‘(do) chest-to-chest’ (maneuver in wrestling; Songhay *gande* ‘chest’), *sá:bú kán* ‘give thanks to God’ (Songhay *yerkoysaabu* ‘God be praised!’), *tàgá* ‘(God’s) creation’ (Songhay *taka*), *bùgú* ‘(Fulbe) hut’ (Songhay

bugu), kùrsà-kùrsá ‘skin disease with rashes’ (Songhay kursa), táṅkúndé ‘elephant’ (Songhay tarkunda).

1.3 Environment

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

Adia is around N 14° 57′ by W 3° 07′.

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

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

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

diverges from the inselberg, it passes near another village, Noumbori. West of the first canyon's closed end is a small village Kol.

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

(xxx)	village name	in Najamba
	Douentza	dúmásá, dúwánsá
	Askarba	dô:
	Kubewel	kúnjà-gâ:
	Madina	màdínà
	Dindari	ďindăl
	Adia	ă:jà
	Néri	něl
	Lamordé	ďimbĭrá
	Orodou	òlò-dú:, lit. "house below"
	Badiari	bàjâl
	Olkia	òlkiyá
	Dioni	jŏn
	Ambaka	àmbàkà:
	Siba	síbà
	Synda	sĭndá
	Tabako	tàbâ:
	Néma	né:mà
	Béguima	bègímà
	Dimbatoro	dùbàtòlò
	Noumbori	nùmbŏl
	Kol	kól

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

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

in recent times (though they are still found in some villages closer to Mopti-Sévaré).

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

1.4 Previous and contemporary study of Najamba-Kolobinye

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

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

1.4.1 Fieldwork

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

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

1.4.2 Acknowledgements

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

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

2 Sketch

2.1 Prosody

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

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

2.2 Inflectable verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(xx1) category	‘slaughter’	‘go’	stem vocalism
chaining	sémé	ín (</ín-í/)	E-stem, I/U-stem
Perfective	sèmè-	ìnè-	E-stem
Future (1st/2nd)	sèmà-mbô-	ìnò-mbô-	A/O-stem
Future Negative	sěmă-ndī	ìnǒ-ndī-	A/O-stem
Verbal Noun	sémí-lé	ín-lé	I/U-stem

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

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

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

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

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

Suffically expressed modal categories are the **Imperative** and the **Hortative**. The Imperative extends beyond second person subject, and the Hortative extends beyond first inclusive (‘let’s’) subject.

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

2.3 Nouns

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

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

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

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

Examples of **mutating nouns** are **t̀j̀j̀**: ‘blister’, Pl **t̀j̀j̀**: (Inanimate O/E); **s̀mbé** ‘spear’, Pl **s̀mbú**: (Animate).

Examples of **suffixing nouns** are: **k̀i**: ‘head’, Pl **k̀i:-mb̀** (Animate); **b̀mbé-ŋg̀** ‘track (of snake)’, Pl **b̀mbé** (Inanimate O/E); and **d̀y-ŋg̀** ‘well (water)’, Pl **d̀y**.

2.4 Unpossessed noun phrases (NP)

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

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

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

(xx1) a. **t̀g̀à**: **g̀ndé**: **k̀**
 pond.L big.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
 ‘the big pond’

b. **t̀g̀è**: **g̀ndé**: **ỳ**

pond.Pl.L big.InanPl Def.InanPl
 ‘the big ponds’

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

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

- (xx2) a. pòl-ṅgò bǐn-gó kó
 egg-InanSg.O.L big-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the big egg’
- g. pòlè bǐní: yé
 egg.Pl.L big.InanPl Def.InanPl
 ‘the big eggs’

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

- (xxx) [nǐ:-mbò bǐn-bó] tà:ndi: bè dīn
 [bird-Pl.L big-Pl] three Def.AnPl.L all
 ‘all three of the big birds’

2.5 Possession

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

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

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

- (xxx) a. *mí* [òlè gǐndè:] ké
 1SgP [house.L **big.InanSg.E.L**] Def.InanSg.E
 ‘my big house’ (ólé, gǐndé:)
- d. *mí* [òlè] tà:ndí: yé
 1SgS [**house.L**] three Def.InanPl
 ‘my three houses’

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

- (xxx) a. òlè gǐndé: [mí gè]
 [house.L big.InanSg.E] [1SgP Poss-InanSg.E]
 ‘my big house’
- b. òlè gǐndé: tà:ndí:
 house.Pl.L big.InanPl three
 [mí yè] yè dín
 [1SgP Poss-InanPl] Def.InanPl all
 ‘all my three big houses’

2.6 Postposition phrase (PP)

Adpositions are postpositional. Simple postpositions are *mà* (in some combinations, *má*), which is used in dative, instrumental, and locative functions;

Accusative *gĩ* (direct objects and recipient of ‘give’); and Purposive *nèn* ‘for’. There are many complex postpositions that end in *mà* but also have an original possessed noun, as in *[[X kùl] mà]* ‘inside X’, originally ‘in [X’s belly]’ (*kùl* ‘belly’). See Chapter 8 for the postpositions and other adverbial elements.

2.7 Main clauses and constituent order

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

- (xxx) *[nò: kúlmá] èndê: gàfi-yè mé,*
 [person.L adult] child scold-MP if,
èndê: kòŋ-kámà gǐné já-ndĩ-Ø
 child anything say can-FutNeg-3SgS
 ‘If an adult scolds a child, the child can’t say anything.’

2.8 Participles

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

2.9 Relative clauses

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

- (xx1) a. head NP (remaining inside the clause) undergoes tone-dropping
 b. the verb replaces the usual subject-pronominal suffix by a Participial ending that agrees with the head NP in nominal features (usually E versus O in the sense described above)
 c. if the head NP is not the subject, a pronominal subject is expressed by a special set of subject morphemes preceding the participle

- d. possessors, adjectives, and numerals remain with the head NP within the relative clause, but determiners and ‘all’ that are associated with the head NP are shifted to post-participial position

For details see Chapter 14.

2.10 Interclausal syntax

3 Phonology

3.1 General

3.2 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.2.1 Syllables

3.2.2 Embryonic metrical structure

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

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

3.2.3 Nominal compounds

3.3 Consonants

The consonantal phonemes are in (xxx). Marginal phonemes are enclosed in parentheses or, in extreme cases, double parentheses. Notably absent from the inventory are nasalized sonorants {yⁿ wⁿ rⁿ}, which are common in northeastern Dogon languages.

(xxx) Consonants

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
labial	p	b	m	(f)			w	((w ⁿ))		
alveolar	t	d	n	s	((z))	l,r				
alveopalatal(c)	j	ɲ	((š))	((ž))		y	(y ⁿ)			
velar	k	g	ŋ							
laryngeal								(h)	((?))	

c is IPA [tʃ], j is [dʒ], š is [ʃ], y is [j].

key to columns: 1. aspirated voiceless stops (c is affricated); 2. voiced stops; 3. nasals; 4. voiceless fricatives (including sibilants); 5. voiced fricatives; 6. liquids; 7. semivowels; 8. nasalized semivowels; 9. aspiration; 10. glottal stop.

3.3.1 Fulfulde preglottalized consonants (ɓ ɗ ɟ)

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

3.3.2 Alveopalatals (c, j, ɲ)

Voiced affricate **j** and nasal **ɲ** are legitimate phonemes, occurring before back as well as front vowels. Examples: *kájábí* ‘wait’, *t̀̀j́ó:* ‘blister’, *k̀̀é:ɲjú* ‘year’, *ɲámí* ‘malfunction’, *ɲéméle-ɲéméle* ‘blinking’, *àlè ɲúmbé* ‘light rain’.

By contrast, **c** (i.e. [tʃ]) is marginal, occurring chiefly before front vowels {**i e e**} and typically varying with [k] or palatalized [kʲ]. Examples with consistent **c** include Fulfulde loanwords *m̀̀béccè* ‘change (= money back)’, *wáccé* ‘chew cud’, and *ɲécé* ‘spur on (horse)’.

There are a few loanwords with clear **c** before a non-front vowel: *cárdí* ‘silver (metal)’, *cám̀̀bòl* ‘diabetes’, *cá:gàl* ‘spine below nape’, *cá:ɲgò* ‘carrion’ (nativized variant *sá:dí*), *cáldí* ‘forks (in sticks)’, *t̀̀m̀̀é cóndí* ‘flour sieve’, *cókí* ‘game played with a knife’, *dáncùgù* ‘sleeveless boubou’

Expressive vocabulary: *cékèy-cékèy* ‘rattling sound’, *có⇒* (exclamation), *cím-cím* ‘sound of chirping’

3.3.3 Representations of initial Cw... and w...

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

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

(xx1)	stem	gloss	plural
a.	<i>gwǎ:</i>	‘country, land’	<i>gwě:</i>
	<i>swâ:</i>	‘whip (branch)’	<i>swê:</i>
	<i>ɲgwě:</i>	‘dog’	<i>ɲgwè:-mbó</i>
	<i>dwà:nâ:</i>	‘private field’	<i>dwà:nê:</i>
	<i>kwàndé</i>	‘curving’	
	<i>dwǎ:n</i>	‘(a) swagger’	
	<i>dèbè-swǎ:</i>	‘space under granary’	
	<i>twây</i>	‘nine’	
	<i>úɲwá</i>	‘this year’	
b.	<i>dwěyⁿ</i>	‘fast’	<i>dwěyⁿ-mbò</i>

- c. *swêy* ‘seven’

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

(xx2)	chaining	gloss	A/O form	verbal noun
a.	<i>kwé</i>	‘eat’	<i>kwa-</i>	<i>kú-lé</i>
	<i>ɲwé</i>	‘go in’	<i>ɲwá-</i>	<i>ɲú-lé</i>
	<i>ɲwé</i>	‘hear’	<i>ɲwá-</i>	<i>ɲú-lé</i>
	<i>dwé</i>	‘pound in mortar’	<i>dwa-</i>	<i>dú-lé</i>
	<i>dwé</i>	‘insult’	<i>dwa-</i>	<i>dú-lé</i>
	<i>twé</i>	‘slash earth (to sow)’	<i>twa-</i>	<i>tú-lé</i>
	<i>swé</i>	‘pour; spit’	<i>swa-</i>	<i>sú-lé</i>
b.	<i>dwê:</i>	‘arrive at, reach’ (cf. <i>dš:-ndí</i> ‘complete (job)’)	<i>dš:-</i>	<i>dúy-lé, dú:-lé</i>
c.	<i>gwé</i>	‘go out’	<i>go-</i>	<i>gú-lé</i>
d.	<i>ɲwǎn</i>	‘sing’	<i>ɲwana-</i>	<i>ɲwán-lé</i>

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

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

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

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

(xx3)	unsuffixed	gloss	suffixed
a.	twě:	'seedstock; sowing'	singular tǒy-ŋgò
	swě:	'cloths'	singular sò-ŋgó
b.	wě:	'mouse'	plural òy-mbò

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

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

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

The phonetics also give support to an analysis with e.g. /kóé/ and /góé/ instead of /kwé/ and /gwé/. In **kwé** ‘eat’, what is written as “w” is actually a nonsyllabic [ɔ̣], so that [kɔ̣é] is a suitable phonetic transcription. **gwé** ‘go out’ is likewise best transcribed phonetically as [gɔ̣é], though naturally [ɔ̣] is harder to distinguish from [w] than is [ɔ̣].

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

3.3.4 Intervocalic **w** is rare

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

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

(xx1)	gloss	Singular	Plural	internal reconstruction
	Sg			
	‘cow’	ně:	nàwó:	*nàwé:
	‘woman’	yě:	yàwó:	*yàwé:
	‘opposite-sex sibling’	ùbùlŋgé:	ùbùlŋgàwó:	*ùbùlŋgéwé
	‘slave’	gùndé	gùndàwó:	?

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

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

3.3.6 Velar nasal (ŋ)

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

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

3.3.7 Voiceless labials (p, f)

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

3.3.8 Laryngeals (h, ʔ)

Phoneme **/h/** occurs in Fulfulde loanwords, e.g. **hámpé** ‘chew (tobacco)’, **hél̀l̀ò** ‘reverse side’.

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

3.3.9 Sibilants (s, š, z, ž)

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

A marginal phonemic **š** occurs in a handful of loanwords, chiefly **ínšállâ:w** ‘if God wills’ (< Arabic) and **šinwâ:** ‘Chinese’.

z was likewise found in a very small number of borrowings: **zà̀ndà̀rmâ:** ‘gendarme’, **ózpórê:** ‘forestry official’ (Fr *Eaux et Forêts*), **là̀zìdâ:ⁿ** ‘adjutant (military rank)’, **sà̀rzâ:ⁿ** ‘sergeant’.

ž is recorded in **álžéřì** ‘Algeria’ (alongside **álánzérì**)

3.3.10 Nasalized sonorants

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

- (xx1) a. kǎyⁿ⇒ ‘bared (teeth)’, pǎyⁿ ‘wide open (eyes)’
b. dǔyⁿ-dǔyⁿ ‘very red’ (intensifier), káyⁿ-káyⁿ ‘very hard’ (intensifier),
jáyⁿ-jáyⁿ ‘very undercooked’ (intensifier), táyⁿ-táyⁿ ‘adequately sugared’
c. dândândǎyⁿ ‘enormous’
d. plural làtǎyⁿ (singular làtǎ-ŋgó) ‘soldering metal’
e. dwǎyⁿ-yè ‘fast; hot’ (suffixal forms dwǎyⁿ-ŋgò or dwǎ-ŋgò, etc.)
f. gǐyⁿé ‘fart’ (verb), cf. noun gǐyè-ŋgó (plural gǐyé)

3.3.11 Consonant clusters

3.3.11.1 Initial CC clusters

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

- (xx1) mb: m̀béccè ‘change (= money back)’, m̀búy\m̀bùye ‘sip (tea)’,
g̀rò-m̀bùlá: ‘face’ (variant g̀rò-m̀lúá:), m̀báyrà:rĩ ‘pre-dawn meal in Ramadan’, èmbà m̀bóyĩ ‘sorghum variety’, m̀búnìyà ‘red-brown’, m̀bú:dù ‘currency unit’, m̀béddà ‘highway’
- nd: ndé ‘give’, ndíy ‘listen to’, ndúŋgùwàl yàl ‘year of famine in early 20th Century’, ndòré ‘Guinea worm’ (variant ndrè)
- nj: ñjĩ: ‘honey’, ñjâ: ‘earth (dirt)’, ñjéŋgó ‘thirst’, ñjùlú: ‘broom’, ñjé: ‘simple, bare’, àjǎn ñjèŋgèy ‘moonless night sky’, [ñjëm má] ín ‘travel’, ñjâ:lò èndè ‘bastard child’

ng: ñgwě: ‘dog’, ñgâ:n ‘there’, ñgú ‘that’, ñgĩn ‘here’, ñgín ‘hot season’, á:r ñgíy ‘come to an agreement’, ñgú:rè ‘livelihood’, ñgúmàlà ‘hornless ram’

3.3.11.2 Medial geminated CC clusters

Geminate clusters within a stem are not typical of native Dogon vocabulary Najamba. There are many borrowings, especially from Fulfulde, with virtually any consonant except /h/ as medial geminate: mbéccè ‘change (= money back)’, púddĩ ‘henna’, ánnò:rà ‘image’, káññè ‘gold’, láyyá:rĩ ‘sacrificial ram’, and many others.

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

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

3.3.11.3 Medial non-geminate CC clusters

Clusters of **nasal and homorganic voiced stop** are common: bónḡḡò: ‘navel’, yàmbí ‘cover (foot)’, yéndè ‘west’, ḡĩnjâ: ‘noise’. Clusters of **nasal and homorganic voiceless stop** are less common, and occur chiefly in Fulfulde and other loanwords: hámpé ‘chew (tobacco)’, sónté ‘be unsold’, dáncùgù ‘sleeveless boubou (garment)’, n̄bù:dù-táñkà ‘a colonial coin’.

3.3.11.4 Medial triple CCC clusters

Triple clusters involve a nonnasal sonorant plus a nasal and a homorganic voiced stop. These clusters may be stem-internal, but only **rmb** and **ɲg** are common: **pùrmbă:** ‘buttock’, **ùjùrmbó** ‘sweat (noun)’, **gùrmbâ:** ‘pigeon’, **gírɲgí-y** ‘precede’, **jí:ɲgàl** ‘donkey disease’, **pámɲgá** ‘donkey’, **kárɲgá** ‘vestibule’. Clusters **wnd**, **ɲnj**, and **ynd** are attested in Fulfulde loans: **bà:-gò liwndù** ‘herder’s staff’, **kóɲɲjòl** ‘anthrax’, **háɲndíné** ‘amaze’.

These clusters are also created at the boundary of a noun or adjective stem plus a number suffix, Singular **-ɲgo** (**-ɲge**) or Plural **-mbo**, as in **àntól** ‘ganglions’, singular **àntól-ɲgó**, and **là:ró** ‘slow-witted’, plural **là:r-mbó**.

3.3.11.5 Final CC clusters

None.

3.4 Vowels

3.4.1 Short and (oral) long vowels

The phoneme inventory is in (xx1).

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

3.4.2 Nasalized vowels

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

Semilinguistic **interjections**: **hó:ⁿ** ‘take (this)!’, **ɔⁿhóⁿ** ‘uh-huh!’ (= ‘yes’), **ɔⁿɔⁿ** ‘nope!’.

Onomatopoeas: **kòmǐfiyâ:ⁿ** ‘humming sound’, **kí:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ-kí:ⁿ** ‘creaking sound’, **hǎ:ⁿ⇒** (or **hâ:ⁿ-kí:ⁿ**) ‘hee-haw’ (donkey’s braying), **sí:ⁿ-sí:ⁿ** ‘chirping sound’

Clear or probable **loanwords**: **wúsùlà:ⁿ** ‘(modern) incense’, **másô:ⁿ** ‘builder’ (Fr *maçon*), **bògàlà:ⁿ** ‘bogolan (vegetative yellow and brown dyes for clothing)’, **pǐpàlá:ⁿ** ‘square fan’, **pàⁿtàlô:ⁿ** ‘pants’ (Fr *pantalon*), **sà:ⁿtúru** ‘belt’ (Fr *ceinture*), **kálásô:ⁿ** ‘underpants’, **tàgù-tàlô:ⁿ** ‘high-heeled shoes’ (Fr *talón* ‘heel’), **mìsô:rò filô:ⁿ** ‘lacy head shawl’ (Fr *nylon*), **vàlà:ⁿ** ‘straight row of plants’

in field’, *bìdô*:ⁿ ‘canisters’ (Fr *bidon*), *fùgâ*:ⁿ ‘aluminum alloy’, *sàrsô*:ⁿ ‘toy wheel’, *kélérô*:ⁿ ‘bugle’ (Fr *clairon*), *làzĩdâ*:ⁿ ‘adjutant’ (military rank), *fiyèťinâ*:ⁿ ‘lieutenant’, *sàrzâ*:ⁿ ‘sergeant’, *mòndĩlâtô*:ⁿ ‘eucalyptus balm’, *bòròđiyà*ⁿ ‘bananas’.

Probable **native Dogon** term: *sò*ⁿ*néndè* ‘sand’.

3.4.3 Initial vowels

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

Nouns: *áfâ:rù* ‘gun mechanism plate’, *úbú* ‘manure’, *ònô*: ‘mountain pass’, *ĩnô*: ‘tooth’, *èndê*: ‘child’, *émè*: ‘milk’.

Adjectives: *àndă*: ‘other’, *émó*: ‘moist’, *ilà* ‘ripe’, *ónànà* ‘smooth’.

Numerals: none.

Verbs: *àbí* ‘receive’, *ĩmbí* ‘implant’, *úl* ‘vomit’, *éyé* ‘(bride) move to husband’s house’, *ér* ‘throw’, *òńé* ‘start to make money’, *óbí-y* ‘sit down’.

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

3.4.4 Stem-medial vowels

3.4.4.1 Stem-medial vowels in verbs

In **underived trisyllabic verbs**, the medial vowel is often a short high vowel, with the actual pronunciation as [i] or [u] affected by neighboring segments and by vowels in flanking syllables. Examples are *némbíl* (Perfective *nèmbìlè*) ‘beg’, *nùgúl* ‘frisk’, *dùndúl* ‘roll’, *námílé* ‘squash’, *kúgújí* ‘drag’, *póbílé* ‘wipe off (sweat)’, *yègílé* ‘wave vigorously’, *đĩngílé* ‘cut in half’, *kóbijé* ‘poke’, *gèngíré* ‘(hawk) sway’ (cognate nominal *gèngírà*), and many others. Derived trisyllabic and longer verbs with Mediopassive *-yé/-y*, Transitive *-ré/-y*, or Reversive *-lé/-l* require the I/U-stem of the preceding verb, so these derivatives too automatically have a high vowel in the immediately pre-suffixal syllable.

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

dëndéli-y\|dëndèfi-yè ‘be globular’, from dëndèlè ‘round, globular’, only the final vowel has shifted to *i* before the derivational suffix.

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

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

3.4.4.2 Stem-medial vowels in nouns and other stems

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.5 Stem-final vowels

3.4.5.1 *Stem-final vowels of nouns, adjectives, numerals*

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

(xx1) noun	gloss
<i>nàmâ:</i>	‘meat’
<i>dógè</i>	‘Dogon (person)’
<i>ínè</i>	‘goat’
<i>ĩnǎ:</i>	‘tooth’
<i>gólò</i>	‘fire’
<i>gùjú</i>	‘skin’
<i>tàgî:</i>	‘shoes’

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

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

3.4.5.2 Stem-final vowels of verbs

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

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

(xx1)	gloss	chaining VbIN	Perfective	A/O (tone variable)	stem
a. H/ɛ/a					
	‘eat’	kwé	kú-lé	kwè-	kwa-
	‘cut’	kéjé	kéjì-lé	kèjè-	keja-
	‘pick fruit’	bèlé	bél-lé	bèlè-	belà-
	‘leave’	dògé	dógì-lé	dògè-	doga-
b. H/e/o (monosyllabic)					
	‘come’	wé	wú-lé	wè-	wo-
	‘bring’	jê:	jì:-lé	jê:-	jô:-
	‘sleep’	nóy	nóy-lé	nòyè-	noyo-
	‘do well’	kóndí	kóndí-lé	kòndè-	kondo-
	‘go down’	súgí	súgì-lé	sùgè-	sugo-
	‘catch’	ĩbí	ĩbí-lé	ĩbè-	ibo-

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

3.4.6 Vowel harmony

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

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

3.4.6.1 Vowel harmony in verbal morphology

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

(xx1)	gloss	chaining form	Perfective	Future (1st/2nd person)
a. {ɛ ɔ} harmonic class				
	‘drink’	né	nè-	nà-mbó-
	‘hit’	dɛnjé	dɛnjè-	dɛnjà-mbó-
	‘run’	yɔ̀bé	yɔ̀bè-	yòbà-mbó-
	‘tie’	páǵí	pàǵè-	pàǵà-mbó-
b. {e o} harmonic class				
	‘come’	wé	wè	wò-mbó-
	‘go’	ín	ìnè-	ìnò-mbó-
	‘sleep’	nóy	nòyè-	nòyò-mbó-

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

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

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

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

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

Derivational suffixes for verbs are Reversive *-lé* or *-l* (from */-lí/*), Causative *-m* (from */-mí/*), Causative *-ndí-*, Causative *-gí-*, Mediopassive *-yé* or *-y* (from */-yí/*), and Transitive *-ré* or *-r* (from */-rí/*). The Causative suffixes, which require the A/O-stem and therefore have {e o} harmony, do not respect the vowel-harmonic class of the input stem. The other suffixes, those with two variants of the chaining form (given above), do respect the vowel-harmonic class of the input stem.

3.4.6.2 *Vowel harmony in nominal morphology*

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

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

(xxx)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘death’	ṽibǒ:	ṽibě:
	‘side’	ṽiŋgó:	ṽiŋgé:
b.	‘shadow’	kĩndô:	kĩndê:
	‘animal pen’	kĩlǒ:	kĩlě:
	‘hunched back’	gùnjò-gùnjô:	gùnjò-gùnjê:

- b. ‘old, worn-out (object)’ kùnjě: kùnjǒ:
[distinct from kúnjé: ‘old (person, animal)’, plural kúnjǒ:]

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

(xxx)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘midriff’	bèrè-bèrô:	bèrè-bèrê:
	‘navel’	bóŋgò:	bóŋgè:
	‘testicles’	dólò:	dólè:
b.	‘child’	èndê:	òndô:

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

(xxx)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘woman’	yě:	yàwó:
	‘cow’	ně:	nàwó:
	‘slave’	gùndé	gùndàwó: (or: gùndé-mbó)
	‘opp-six sibling’	ùbùŋgè:	ùbùŋgàwó:
b.	‘cloth’	sò-ŋgó	swě:
c.	‘heart and liver’	kéndà:	kéndê:

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

3.4.6.3 Vowel harmony in adjectival morphology

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

(xxx)	gloss	E	O
a.	‘ruined’ ‘big’	bùgê: gǐndé:	bùgô: gǐndó:
b.	‘old (thing)’ ‘old (person)’	kùnjê: kúnjé:	kùnjô: kúnjó:
c.	‘nasty, bad’	nè:ndé:	nè:ndá:

3.4.7 Ideal lexical representations of verb stems

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

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

- (xx1) $b\grave{e}l\acute{e} = \{b\exists l\exists, \epsilon/o, LH\}$
 $p\acute{a}g\acute{i} = \{pag\exists, e/o, H\}$

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

3.5 Segmental phonological rules

3.5.1 Trans-syllabic consonantal processes

3.5.1.1 *Nasalization-Spreading*

There is no general Nasalization-Spreading rule of the type /nawa/ > /nawⁿa/ as found in northeastern Dogon.

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

3.5.1.2 *g/ŋ and ŋg/ŋ alternations*

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

Two word-families offer possible cases of (historical) alternations. One set consists of noun dógú ‘prop’ or ‘pillar’, noun dōŋ ‘pillar of stacked stones or bricks’, and verb dōŋé ‘prop (something) up’. In the combination dógú dōŋé ‘put in a prop’, dógú is used like a cognate nominal.

Also suggestive is the set tégé ‘(e.g. roof) leak’, tégí ‘(liquid) drip’, and ténjí-yé ‘(rainwater) form puddles on roof’.

ŋg alternates with ŋ irregularly in tīŋgé ‘go past’, causative tīŋá-ndí ‘go past’.

3.5.2 Syncope and Apocope (vowel deletions)

3.5.2.1 Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion

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

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

(xx1)	stem	Perfective gloss	Reversive gloss
a.	<i>tímbé</i>	<i>tímbè</i> ‘cover with lid’	<i>tímbí-lé</i> ‘take lid off’
	<i>dàgí</i>	<i>dàgè</i> ‘lock’	<i>dàgí-lé</i> ‘unlock’
	<i>gǐbí-r</i>	<i>gǐbí-rè</i> ‘put on wrap’	<i>gǐbí-l</i> ‘take off wrap’
	<i>yàmbí</i>	<i>yàmbè</i> ‘cover’	<i>yàmbí-lé</i> ‘uncover’
b.	<i>téŋé</i>	<i>téŋè</i> ‘hobble’	<i>téŋ-lé</i> ‘unhobble’
c.	<i>tá:n</i>	<i>tà:nè</i> ‘step on’	<i>tá:n-lé</i> ‘remove foot from’
	<i>kíl</i>	<i>kílè</i> ‘fence in’	<i>kíl-lí</i> ‘remove fence from’

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

tendency to syncope, and the remaining vowel, /u/, does not occur stem-finally in any nonmonosyllabic verb.

An exception is verb *mèmi-lé* ‘untwist cord’, a fairly uncommon reversive of *mémé* ‘twist cord’. A similar phonological environment involving Verbal Noun suffix *-lé* does require Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion, as in *mém-lé* ‘twisting (cord)’.

3.5.2.2 High-Vowel Syncope

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

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

Examples include agentives like *nàmà-sèmé* ‘butcher’, *gòlè-gòlé* ‘farmer’, and *tè:kèré* ‘wood-gatherer’ (§5.1.7), which have plurals *nàmà-sè-mbó* (with /*mmb*/ simplified to *mb*) *gòlè-gòl-mbó*, and *tè:kèr-mbó*. The deleted vowel is /*u*/ (raised from /*e*/), as seen in nonsyncope agentive plurals like *kèlè-mǐjú-mbó* ‘cowry-tosser’.

Singular suffix *-ngó* is phonologically similar to Plural *-mbo* (the two are used with different sets of nouns). Many nouns shift a final /*e*/ to *i* or *u* (*kǐjé* ‘husked grain spikes’, singular *kǐjú-ngó*; *dámbe* ‘tinder’, singular *dámbi-ngò*). After an unclustered intervocalic sonorant, this high vowel deletes: *à:lé* ‘rain(s)’, singular *ǎ:l-ngó*.

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

Consider *dàbàrù-dàbé* ‘magician’, an example of a productive compound type ending in an agentive (§5.1.7). The expected plural is #*dàbàrù-dàbú-mbó*. The /*u*/ preceding Plural *-mbó* should not syncope, because it is preceded by an obstruent. In fact we get *dàbàrù-[dǎ-mbó]* ‘magicians’, where the /*u*/ has in fact disappeared, and the resulting /*mmb*/ has

simplified to /mb/. Another example is *t̃imè:-ìbé* ‘tree-catcher’ (i.e., forestry officer), plural *t̃imè:-[ĩ-mbó]*.

There are parallel examples where the disappearing consonant is *g* in a noun stem, preceding Singular suffix *-ngo*. Examples (with plurals or collectives first): *yógé* ‘millet’, singular *yó-ngo* ; *nègé* ‘oil’, singular *ně-ngo* ; *kèndà-[tèg-ĩ:]* ‘lunch’, singular *kèndà-[tè-ngo]*. Before *-ngo*, stem-final /e/ often shifts to a high vowel such as /i/, and stem-final long /i:/ typically shortens to /i/. Therefore the cases of *g*-Deletion probably involve Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (syncope), and resulting contraction of /gng/ to /ng/. Example: /nègí-ngo/ ‘oil’ > /něg-ngo/ > *ně-ngo*.

3.5.3 Intervocalic Labial-Deletion

There are some common suffixes on noun, adjective, and verb stems that begin with *mb* (Animate Plural *-mbo*, Future *-mbô-*). If the stem preceding such a suffix ends in *vmv*, where *v* is a vowel from the set {*a e o*}, the *m* is often deleted, although the full pronunciation is also possible. Thus *gémè* ‘black’, plural *gémè-mbò* or more often *gê:-mbò* ; *mòmé* ‘fetish’, plural *mǎ:-mbò* or *mòmé-mbò* ; verb *dám* ‘speak’, 1Sg Future *dàmà-mbó-n̄* or *dà:-mbó-n̄*. This process is clearly an intervocalic deletion, leading to a contraction of the flanking vowels.

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

Deletion of /b/ in the same position is less common but is attested, especially with the verb *yǎbé* ‘run’, as in ‘and (then)’ chaining form *yǎ:-mbò* (< /yǎbé-mbò/), and Progressive *yô:-mbò* (< /yôbà-mbò/).

(xxx) Intervocalic Labial-Deletion (optional)

$$\{m,b\} > \emptyset // \{a e o\} _ \{a e o\} mb$$

[-long]

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

I did not observe deletion of *g* in a comparable environment, viz., the (imperfective) *-nga-* participles of *págí* ‘tie’, which appeared as e.g. Future

participle *pàgǎ-ŋgà* rather than #*pǎ:-ŋgà*. The example tested was *nò: [pègè-mbó bé] pàgǎ-ŋgà mó* ‘the person who ties the animals’.

3.5.4 Intervocalic *y*-Deletion

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

(xxx)	singular	plural	gloss
a.	<i>bǎ:-ŋgó</i>	<i>bàyé</i>	‘small gourd’
	<i>bǎ:-gò</i>	<i>bǎyè</i>	‘stick’
	<i>sà:-gó</i>	<i>sàyé</i>	‘torch’
	<i>ǎ:-gò</i>	<i>ǎyè</i>	‘branch’
	<i>tǎ:-ŋgó</i>	<i>tǎyè</i>	‘rifle cock’
b.	<i>sá-gò</i>	<i>sáyè</i>	‘cotton’
	<i>mànà ǎ-ŋgó</i>	<i>mànà àyè</i>	‘plain millet cakes’

3.5.5 Local consonant cluster rules

3.5.5.1 *Summary of consonant cluster adjustments*

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

3.5.5.2 /*rl*/ > *ll*

This shift does not occur in verbal nouns with suffix *-lé*. We therefore always get e.g. *tár-lé* ‘(act of) looking’. However, there is one irregular reversive verb

(usual suffix *-lé* or *-l*), and one Transitive verb (usual suffix *-ré/-r* or less often *-lé/-r*) paired with Mediopassive *-yé/-y*, that show *ll*. One other reversive (‘take off hat’) fluctuates between *rl* and *ll*.

(xx1)	input verb	gloss	derived verb	gloss
	<i>ĩré</i>	‘forget’	<i>íl-lí-yé</i>	‘remember’
	<i>gõr</i>	‘put on hat’	<i>gõr-lí ~ gõl-lí</i>	‘take off hat’
	<i>érlí-yé</i>	‘be tangled’	<i>él-lé</i>	‘tangle (it)’

3.5.6 Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences

3.5.6.1 *VV-Contraction*

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

(xx1)	suffix	category or gloss
	<i>-û:</i>	nominalization (§4.2.2.5)
	<i>-î:</i>	instrument nominal (§4.2.2.4)
	<i>-o:/-ɔ:</i>	2Sg subject
	<i>-e:/-ɛ:</i>	2Pl subject
	<i>-ɛ:/-a:</i>	3Pl subject
	<i>-e:/-ɛ:</i>	Participle
	<i>-o:/-ɔ:</i>	Participle

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

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

Verb stems also have vocalic alternations of the type *seme*, *sema-*, and */semi-/ > sém* for the verb ‘slaughter’. These are referred to as the E-stem, A/O-stem, and I/U-stem, respectively. The E-stem is lexically basic, revealing the lexical vowel-harmonic class (and, in the chaining form, the lexical tone). The A/O- and I/U-stems impose a vowel-harmonic {e o} melody on the stem, but also change the stem-final vowel in a manner that could be interpreted as addition of a suffixal vowel that replaces the stem-final vowel.

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

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

(xxx) gloss	Singular	Plural	skeleton
‘fruit’	ðmô:	ðmê:	ðmô:
‘horn’	kélð:	kélê:	kélò:
‘garden’	bðrɔ:	bðrě:	bðrô:
‘side’	tɪŋɔ:	tɪŋé:	tɪŋó:
‘long sack’	bð:rɔ	bð:ré	bð:rô

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

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

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

(xx1)	gloss	A/O-stem	underlying	phonetic
a.	‘learn’	bǎy	/bǎyí/	[bǎj]
b.	‘become blind’	gǐrbǐ-y	/gǐrbí-yí/	[gǐrbí:]

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

3.6 Cliticization

3.6.1 Phonology of =y (=i:) ‘it is’ clitic

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

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

(xx1)	form	with ‘it is’	gloss
a.	dwǎ:n gě̀n	<dwǎ:> <n=i:> gè̀n=i:	‘elegance’ ‘blood’ (2005.2a)
b.	ó ñ kèn	<ó> <n=i:> <ké> <n=i:>	‘your mother’ (2005.2a) ‘there’ (2005.1a)

mā:n <má:> <n=i:> ‘So-and-So’

3.7 Tones

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

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

(xx1)	form	gloss	related form
a.	ẽ:	‘tongs’	singular ẽ:-ngò
	ã:	‘chin’	plural ãyè
	mḍ:	‘neck’	plural mḍè
	yḍ:	‘voice’	plural yḍwê:
b.	tõ:n	Reciprocal object	also tò-mbó

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

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

(xx1)	form	gloss	related form
a.	bǐy-n [bĩ:n]	‘bedding’	bǐy\\bǐyè ‘lie down’
	tèmbèn-mĩ:-n	‘brick factory’	mé:\\mè: ‘make (bricks)’
	ĩnjè-ḍĩy-n [...ḍĩ:n]	‘outhouse’	ĩnjé ‘water’, ḍiyé ‘bathe’
b.	nĩ:-tè:	‘slingshot’	nĩ: ‘bird’, verb té:\\tè: ‘sting’
	twè:	‘seedstock’	singular tǒy-ngò, verb twé ‘sow’

3.7.1 Lexical tone patterns

3.7.1.1 *At least one H-tone in each stem*

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

3.7.1.2 *Lexical tone patterns for verbs*

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

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

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

For C̣CC̣, C̣CC̣C̣, etc., especially where the first of the clustered consonants is a sonorant (as it is in native Dogon forms of these shapes), one might expect a similar tone break within the initial CvC syllable. Instead, these verbs have the break point at the syllable boundary: *yàmbí* ‘cover’, *dùngí* ‘stuff, cram’, *bìndí* ‘turn over’.

However, a C̣C̣C̣C̣ verb appears as C̣CC̣ when syncope has removed the medial vowel. This happens in reversive *gǎr-lé* ‘pull back (arm)’, syncopated from /*gǎrí-lé*/, derived from *gǎré* ‘hold out (arm)’.

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

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

3.7.1.3 *Lexical tone patterns for unsegmentable noun stems*

3.7.1.4 *Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals*

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

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

There are only a few numerals, but so far as one can see they are similar in tonal possibilities to nouns. The only all-high numeral is *kúndú* ‘one’, which behaves like an adjective. For the other basic numeral stems, we have {HL} realized as HLL or HL or <HL> (*píyéli* ‘ten’, *kúlèy* ‘six’, *nô:y* ‘two’), L<HL>

(tà:ndí: ‘three’), and for the noun-like larger numerals {LH} realized as LH or <LH> (mùjú ‘thousand’, sǎj ‘hundred’).

3.7.1.5 *Tone-Component location for bitonal noun stems*

3.7.1.6 *Tone-Component location for tritonal noun stems*

3.7.2 Grammatical tone patterns

3.7.2.1 *Grammatical tones for verb stems*

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

(xx1)	category	suffix	tone contour
	a. indicative positive		
	Perfective	(zero)	L...- (but see below)
	Present	-njò-	((X))H...(L)-L
	Future		
	1st/2nd	-mbó-	L...-<HL>
	3Sg	-m̀	L...H-L
	3Pl	-mbà	L...H-L
	b. indicative negative		
	Perfective Negative		
	1st/2nd, 3Sg	-l (</lí-/)	X(H...)-H

3PI	: -ndí	L...-H
Present Negative	-ndí	(X)H...L-H
Future Negative	-ndĩ	L...H-L
c. deontic modal positive		
Imperative Singular	(zero)	H...
<i>Imperative Plural</i>	<i>(based on Imperative Singular)</i>	
Hortative Dual	-ý	L...-H
Hortative 3+ Plural	-ỳ	L...H-L
d. deontic modal negative		
Imperative Negative (-là)	-là	(X)H...((L))-L
Imperative Negative (-nô:)	-nô:	L...-<HL>
<i>Hortative Negative</i>	<i>(based on Imperative Negative -là)</i>	
e. uninflected and nominal forms		
Verbal Noun	-lé	H...-H
Verbal Noun	-ndá:	H...-H
Agentive	(zero)	L...(H)
Progressive	-mbò	((X))H...(L)-L
f. participles (positive)		
Perfective		
subject	final á:	(X)H...(-)H
non-subject	final â:	(X)H...(-)L
Present		
subject	-ngà	((X))H...L-H
non-subject	-ngà	((X))H...(L)-L
Future		
subject	-ngà	L...H-L
non-subject	-ngà	L...H-L
g. participles (negative)		
Perfective Negative		
subject	-l-á:	(X)H...-H
non-subject	-l-â:	L...-L
Present Negative		
subject	-nd-á:	((X))H...L-H
non-subject	-nd-â:	((X))H...(L)-L
Future Negative		
subject = non-subject	-nd-â:	L...H-L
non-subject	-nd-â:	L...H-L

h. subject-focalization participles (positive)

<i>Perfective</i>	<i>(= inflected 3Sg Perfective)</i>	
Present	-nj-è:	L...-L
Future	-mb-ê:	L...-<HL>

i. subject-focalization participles (negative)

Perfective	-l-è:	L...-L
Present	-nd-é:	(X)HL-H
Future	-nd-è:	L...H-L

Several of these contours are rather simple. We have **all-low tones in the stem** in the Perfective, the 1st/2nd person Future, the 3Pl Perfective Negative, the Hortative Dual, and the Imperative Negative variant with *-nô:*. The stem is also low-toned in many of the participial forms. Conversely, we have **all-high tones** in the stem in the Imperative Singular and in the Verbal Noun with *-lé* or *-ndá:*.

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

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

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

The remaining contour is that of the Perfective Negative (excluding the 3PI). For stems of two or more syllables, the contour is clearly XH...-, i.e., either all-high (for lexically all-high stems) or LH...- (for lexically {LH} stems). The most unusual feature of this inflection is that it brings out otherwise missing lexical tone distinctions among monomoraic verbs (Cv-, Cwv-), which are elsewhere treated as high-toned. Thus *ɲwé* ‘go in’ has Perfective Negative /ɲwá:-lí-/ , while the elsewhere usually homonymous *ɲwé* ‘hear’ has Perfective Negative /ɲwà:-lí-/ , with only the lexical X tone appearing on the stem. One hesitates to ascribe lexical tones solely on the basis of one negative inflection (there is also some evidence for such a lexical tonal distinction of these verbs in their causatives, but the Perfective Negative and the Causative disagree as to which verbs are treated as high-toned and which as low-toned). If, however, we decide that the Perfective Negative does in fact reveal lexical tones for monomoraic verbs, we should represent the tone contour as **X(H...)-**, with obligatory expression of the lexical variable.

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

3.7.2.2 *Grammatical tones for noun stems*

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

3.7.2.3 *Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals*

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

Numerals do not directly interact tonally with a preceding core NP (noun, or noun plus one or more adjectives). When a numeral follows a core NP, both the numeral and the core NP have the tones that they would have by themselves. However, when the entire expanded NP (core NP plus numeral) is the head NP of a relative, both the core NP and the numeral are tone-dropped. Likewise, when such an expanded NP has a possessor ('my three dogs'), the possessor imposes tone-dropping on both the core NP ('dog') and the numeral.

3.7.3 Tonal morphophonology

3.7.3.1 Autosegmental tone association (verbs)

3.7.3.2 Phonology of *H(H...)L* and *H(L...)L* tone overlays

3.7.3.3 Atonal-Suffix Tone-Spreading

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

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

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

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

3.7.3.4 Word-Final R-to-H Raising

Many nouns, adjectives, and verbs end in a **long vowel with rising tone**. Before particles or other words beginning with a high tone (except over a pause or similar prosodic break), this rising tone is **raised (or leveled) to a flat high tone**. Monosyllabic words (Cǃ:, CǃC, Cǃ:C) are unaffected, and retain their contour tones.

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

(xx1)	particle	type of preceding word
a.	mé ‘if/when ...’	Perfective (positive) verb (1st/2nd person)
b.	d̄in ‘all’ Definite determiners	noun, adjective noun, adjective
c.	má (Locative)	noun, adjective

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

(xx2)	a.	òbǐ-y-ó:	mé
		sit-MP-2SgS	if
		‘if/when you-Sg have sat down’ (òbǐ-y-ò:)	
	b.	d̄imbǐ-yé-y	mé
		follow-MP-1PlS	if
		‘if/when we have followed’ (d̄imbǐ-yè-ý)	
	c.	y-ǒ:	mé
		see.Perf-2SgS	if
		‘if/when you have seen’	
	d.	̀nd-ó:	mé
		give.Perf-2SgS	if
		‘if/when you-Sg have given’ (2005-1a)	

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

Examples with **quantifier đin** ‘all, every, each’ are in (xx3).

(xx3)	gloss	regular form	with đin (‘all, every, each’)
a.	‘village’	sònjǒ:	sònjó: đin
	‘road’	ùsfǒ:	ùsfó: đin
	‘hands’	nùmě:	nùmé: đin
	‘other’	àndě:	àndé: đin
b.	‘person’	nǒ:	nó: đin
	‘foot’	nǎ:	ná: đin

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

(xx3)	gloss	regular form	with Definite determiner
a.	‘village’	sònjǒ:	sònjó: ké
	‘road’	ùsfǒ:	ùsfó: kó
	‘hands’	nùmě:	nùmé: yé
	‘other’	àndě:	àndé: yé
b.	‘person’	nǒ:	nó: mó
	‘foot’	nǎ:	ná: kó

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

(xx5)	gloss	regular form	with má (‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’)
a.	‘road’	ùsfǒ:	ùsfó: má

‘village’	s̀̀̀njǒ:	s̀̀̀njó: má
‘other (place)’	̀̀̀ndě:	̀̀̀ndé: má
‘hand’	ǹ̀̀mǎ:	ǹ̀̀má: má

b. ‘foot’ nǎ: nǎ: má

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

- (xx1) a. ̀̀̀nè ̀̀̀ndé: mí yè ‘another man saw me’
 b. s̀̀̀njé: nôy ‘two villages’ (s̀̀̀njé:)
 c. ̀̀̀nè ̀̀̀ndé: ínè ‘another man went’

3.7.4 Low-level tone rules

3.7.4.1 Contour-Tone Mora-Addition

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

3.7.4.2 Contour-Tone Stretching

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

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

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

3.7.4.3 *Final-Tone Resyllabification*

3.7.4.4 *Stranded-Tone Re-Linking*

3.7.4.5 *HLH-to-HL Reduction*

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.8 Intonation contours

3.8.1 Phrase and clause-final nonterminal contours (↑, ↓, ⇒, ⇒↑, ⇒↓)

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

3.8.2 Adverbs and particles with lexically specified prolongation (⇒)

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

3.8.3 Dying-quail word-final intonation (∴)

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

4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Nominal categories

4.1.1.1 Nominal morphological categories

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.1.2 *Nominal agreement categories*

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

(xx1) Agreement Categories

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

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

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

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

	Singular	Plural
Animate	E	O
Inanimate	E	E
	O	

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

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

(xx3) Adjectival Suffixal Agreement Categories

	Singular	Plural
Animate	<i>zero</i>	-mbo
Inanimate	-ŋge	<i>zero</i>
	-ŋgo (-go)	

(xx4) Definite Determiners

	Singular	Plural
Animate	mó	bé
Inanimate	ké	yé
	kó	

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

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

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

The Definite determiners used with animate nouns are Animate Singular **mó** and Animate Plural **bé**.

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

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

dógè	dógò:	‘Dogon (person)’
yě:	yàwó:	‘woman’
èndê:	òndô:	‘child’
b. gàn-kírí	gàn-kír-mbó	‘aquatic tortoise’
tã:	tã:-mbò	‘leopard’
gàndá	gàndà-mbó	‘mollusc’
ínè	ínà:	‘goat’
ně:	nàwó:	‘cow’

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

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

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

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

Examples of (xx1.b), **pointed or hooked** implements, are *kémé* ‘point’ (and its compounds), *sìlbàl* ‘simple awl’, *mènjénè* ‘needle’, *tòndòmbèlé* ‘metal hook’, *dùrí:* ‘pole with hook (for pulling off fruits)’, *sàmbé* ‘spear’, and *đí:* ‘thorn’. Perhaps *tàndàmê:* ‘key’ also belongs here.

Examples of (xx1.c), **firearms**, are *mǎlfâ* ‘rifle, musket’, *làsá:sì* ‘modern rifle’, and *gǎ:lè* ‘rifle mechanism’.

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

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

Examples of (xx1.e), **vehicles**, are *mòtò*: ‘motorcycle’, *wògòtórò* ‘donkey or ox cart’, *dàmbà-dámbà* ‘push-cart’, *nègèsó*: ‘bicycle’, *bàtò*: ‘steamboat’, and *àbìyôw*ⁿ ‘airplane’ (French *avion*).

Examples of (xx1.f), **ritually powerful** objects, are *sábè* ‘amulet’ (also ‘paper’), *nòmbé* ‘rainbow’ (i.e. “Nommo” the river god), *jòmbùmbá* ‘object sent by sorcerer’, *dě:rè* ‘statuette (of animist god)’, *mèlégè* ‘djinn (genie)’, and *mòmé* ‘fetish (animist idol)’.

Examples of (xx1.g), **musical** instruments, are *bònî*: ‘tomtom’, *bàrá* ‘calabash tomtom’, *gónjè* ‘hourglass-shaped tomtom’, *bòbírì* ‘reed flute’, and *wè:gerù* ‘violin’.

Examples of (xx1.h), **stones**, are *tèngè*: ‘oil grindstone’, *kìn-dàngú* ‘mountain boulder’, and *èjîn* ‘hearth (three stones on which pots are set, over a fire)’. The basic noun for ‘stone’ is irregular in that it is “animate” in the plural but not in the singular, which is Inanimate O-class. The forms are singular *kìnû*: and plural *kìn-bò* (< /*kìn-mbò*/).

Examples of (xx1.i), **fans** (also used as e.g. pot or calabash covers), are *pìpàlá*:ⁿ ‘square fan’ and *pèndú* ‘circular fan’.

Examples of (xx1.j), **apiaries**, are *kòbî*: ‘apiary in tree’ and *jìmá* ‘apiary in cave’.

Those not fitting into any category include *sà:gé* ‘month’, *bùndè-òmè*: ‘rolling pin (for ginning cotton)’, *dònjé* ‘rag used as cushion for load on head’ and *témè* ‘sieve’ (French *tamis*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(xx1) E/E class nouns

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

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

Examples of (xx1.a), **topographic** features, are *kéngé* ‘place’, *gwă:* ‘country’, *yàlî:-ngè* ‘(cultivated) field’, *dwà:nâ:* ‘private field’, *dàgâ:* ‘open bare land’, *bòrǒ:* ‘plains’, *sé:nò:* ‘sandy plains’, *kùbî:-ngé* ‘dense forest’, *pèmbě:-ngé* ‘street outside house’, *sè:-dûn-gè* ‘pounding area (where women pound millet ears in large mortars)’, *yél-ngé* ‘high spot near a depression’, *yáyrè-ngè* ‘depression (in plains)’, *sàmbâ:* ‘meadow’, *pòndô:* ‘riverbed (oued)’, *jĩmdú* ‘moist edge of pond’, and *kèlbè-dúlè-ngè* ‘termite mound’. Most of these denote

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

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

Examples of (xx1.c), **dwelling and other structures**, are *ólé* ‘house’, *mǐsídè-ɲgé* ‘mosque’, *dùndàngé-ɲgé* ‘shack’, *gúfí-ɲgé* ‘shed’, *pàndǎ*: ‘first room in house’, *tárbà* ‘hunting shelter’, *tògòjè*: ‘niche in wall’, *tánà* ‘granary’, and *káɲgá* ‘covered vestibule’. Others like *bándá* ‘courtyard’, *ébán* ‘market’, and *dá:kà* ‘Fulbe camp’ could be included here or under topographic features.

Examples of (xx1.d), **body parts**, are *kí-ɲgé* ‘head’ and *ìbí-ɲgé* ‘mouth’. As body parts are divided between E/E and O/E classes, there is further discussion of the semantics below.

Examples of (xx1.e), **liquids**, are *ɲgé* ‘water’, *gě̀n-gé* ‘blood’, *kòɲjé-ɲgé* ‘millet beer’, *jàbìrè* ‘sauce’, *níɲgé* ‘green sauce’, *ñjì*: ‘honey’, *bà:nâ*: ‘porridge’, *sòlé* ‘cream of millet’, *à:lé* ‘rain’, and *émè*: ‘milk’. Some other E/E nouns like *sé:jè-ɲgé* ‘spring (water)’ and *tàgǎ*: ‘pond, pool’ could be placed here or under topographic features. *ně-ɲgó* ‘oil’ is O/E.

Examples of (xx1.f), **time**, including prayers (which occur at fixed hours and may be used as time-of-day indicators), are *dénán* ‘day’, *wákàfí* (or *wágàfí*) ‘time (moment)’, *nám* ‘night’, *ùjú* ‘daytime’, *éɲgú* ‘tomorrow’, *ègǎ*: ‘early morning’, *dèndà:jú* ‘early PM’, *púllò* ‘twilight’, *jùgín* ‘week’, *ásè* ‘Saturday’, *lá:sàrà* ‘late afternoon prayer’ (and terms for other time-specific prayers), and *sân* ‘prayer’. However, O/E agreement was observed for and *jènǎ*: ‘rainy season’. Either O/E or E/E agreement is possible for *ɲgín* ‘hot season’ and *kèɲjú*: ‘year’ (homonym of *kèɲjú*: ‘pick’hoe’).

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

(xx2)	gloss	singular
	a. E/E class	
	<i>abstractions</i>	
	‘soul’	<i>kíndè</i> :
	‘soul’	<i>kínjàn</i>
	‘name’	<i>ínèn</i>
	<i>body/torso</i>	
	‘body’	<i>gòjì-ɲgé</i>

‘chest (body)’	gènjègènjê:-ngè
‘back (body)’	bàndí-ngé
‘chest (body)’	pélè-ngè
<i>joints</i>	
‘joint’	díngìn-gè
‘knee’	nà:-kínjĩ-ngè
‘elbow’	nùmà-kínjĩ:
<i>head to shoulders</i>	
‘head’	kí:-ngè
‘middle of head’	dánà:
‘side of face’	tégèlè:-ngè
‘mouth’	ĩbí-ngé
‘nose’	kĩnjâ:
‘chin’	ă:-ngè
‘upper shoulder; wing’	kàkàrà:
b. O/E class	
<i>abstractions</i>	
‘voice’	yǎ:
‘side’	tíngó:
<i>head to shoulders</i>	
‘fontanel’	bónè-ngò
‘face’	gǐrò-mbùlă:
‘eye’	gǐró
‘tongue’	něndò:
‘tooth’	ĩnǎ:
‘gap between teeth’	ɲálbè-ngò
‘ear’	súnù:
‘cheek’	tùrù:
‘scarification’	yémbélé-ngó
‘neck’	mǎ:
‘throat’	pòrò-pòrô:
<i>belly to midsection</i>	
‘belly’	kûl
‘navel’	bónğò:
‘navel (protruding)’	bòngò-bòngô:
‘midriff’	bèrè-bèrô:
‘thigh below hip’	mágà:
‘buttock’	pùrmbă:
‘testicles’	dólò:
‘penis’	jógú
‘vagina’	dúmbú

‘foreskin’	múrù
‘clitoris’	kèkér-ηγò
‘womb; female genitalia’	púru
<i>limbs/extremities</i>	
‘hand’	nùmă:
‘foot’	nà:-gò
‘palm (hand)’	nùmà-tábíjà:
‘fist’	nùmà-kúmbù:
‘heel’	nà:-dórò:
‘finger’	nùmà-séndò:
‘fingernail’	kóbùlù:
<i>internal organs</i>	
‘liver’	kéndà:
‘heart’	kéndà: sósòrò:
‘spleen’	kéndà: nánàgà:
‘windpipe’	yògòlò-yògò:
‘placenta’	ógò:
‘lung’	búbùjû:
‘kidney’	bó:jè-ηγò
‘gallbladder’	gágǎl-ηγò
‘gizzard’	kèkê:-ηγò
‘intestines’	bìndú
‘colon’	bórbórdè-ηγò
‘vein; root’	wól-ηγò
<i>hair etc.</i>	
‘tuft of hair’	bàkélò:
‘beard’	bê:-ηγò
‘hair; feather’	kùlé-ηγò
‘sideburns’	kàlàkàmbé-ηγò
<i>bone and cartilage</i>	
‘cartilage’	dúmbà:
‘lower jaw’	jàjàgà:
‘shoulderblade’	pápàrà:
‘hip’	tínî:-ηγò
‘bone’	kíná-ηγò
‘back of skull above nape’	dòrò:
‘mane’	yéndè-ηγò
‘horn’	kélò:
<i>skin and fat</i>	
‘skin’	gùjú
‘animal fat’	sî:-ηγò
‘ganglion’	àntól-ηγò

protrusion

‘hump’ (variant)	júŋgà:
‘crest (rooster)’	dómbélé-ŋgó
‘breast’	ónjù:
‘tail’	dúlò:
‘antenna’	jómbò:

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

This includes abstractions (including those denoting actions), inanimate bodies and forces in nature, and many artifacts (except weapons and implements with blades, hooks, or points). A few examples (shown with Singular suffix in cases where this suffix is attested) to show the semantic range are *k̀̀mbé-ŋgó* ‘war’, *sá-gò* ‘cotton’, *énè-ŋgò* ‘potash’, *énáná-ŋgó* ‘wind (air current)’, *sónà-ŋgò* ‘soil’, *gà:gó* ‘hunger’ (originally **gà:-gó*), *yámbú:* ‘blanket’, *dúmù:* ‘disease’, *dágù:* ‘medication’, *úbú* ‘manure’, *jèmbó* ‘pain’, *pó:lò:* ‘waterskin’, *gólò* ‘fire’, *ùf̣̣:* ‘road’, *ṭimô:* ‘tree’, *s̀̀nj̣̣:* ‘village’, *k̀̀ṛ̣ỳ̀* ‘calabash’, *ṭiḅ̣:* ‘death’, *j̀̀mbó:* ‘shoulderbag’, *k̀̀ḷ̣:* ‘price’, and *k̀̀bú:* ‘mat’.

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

Examples where the “same” noun stem occurs with different agreement-class forms in different senses include a) *b̀̀mbé*, plural *b̀̀mbé-mbó* ‘firefly’ (animate), versus *b̀̀mbé-ŋgó*, plural *b̀̀mbé* ‘Abrus bush’ (O/E inanimate); and b) *p̀̀lé*, plural *p̀̀l-mbó* ‘knife’ (pseudo-animate), versus *p̀̀l-ŋgó*, plural *p̀̀lé* ‘egg’ (O/E inanimate).

4.1.2 Mutating noun stems

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

A large number of nouns, mostly inanimates with O/E type agreement, have a singular ending in a back or low vowel {**u o ɔ a**} opposed to a plural ending in a front vowel {**i e ε**}. The length and tone of the vowel are lexically determined, and are held constant across the two forms in nearly every case. The vowel-quality mutations are those in (xx1), to be read left to right.

(xx1) singular plural

u	i
o	e
ɔ	ε
a	

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

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

(xx2) mutation	# of nouns
$u \leftrightarrow i$	68
$u \leftrightarrow e$	15
$o \leftrightarrow e$	38
$ɔ \leftrightarrow \epsilon$	57
$a \leftrightarrow \epsilon$	79
<i>total</i>	<i>255</i>

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

(xx2)	u↔i	u↔e
final short u	42	10
final û:	14	2
final ù:	10	4
final ú:	2	0

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

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

(xx3) penultimate V	u↔i	u↔e
u	17	6
i	5	1
o	9	1
e	3	3
ɔ	2	
ɛ	3	
a	15	3

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

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

(xx4) gloss	singular	plural
a. another e-vowel in stem		
‘tree-top’	dě:rù	dě:rè
‘cowry’	kèlù:	kě̀lè/kèlè (collective), cf. kèfì:
		plural
‘thin thread’	gè:jú	gè:jé
b. singular with long vowel, plural with short vowel		
‘mash (from oil)’	dúnjù:	dúnjè
‘bobbin’	dǎ:lù:	dǎ:lè

‘medication’	dágù:	dágè
‘yellow dye’	sògòlù:	sògólè
‘heart of palm’	sĩm-pòndù:	sĩm-pòndè

c. other

‘corner’	yó:bùndù	yó:bùndè
‘skin’	gùjú	gùjé
‘intestines’	bĩndú	bĩndé
‘manure’	úbú	úbé
‘large beer jar’	dùdùmbú	dùdùmbé
‘watermelon’	kàndú	kàndé

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

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

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

u↔*i* : *ká:bú*↔*ká:bĩ* ‘mat’, *pátù*↔*pátĩ* ‘goatskin waterbag at well’, *gĩbú*↔*gĩbĩ* ‘woman’s wrap (garment)’, *górú*↔*górĩ* ‘hat’, *tùrú:*↔*tùrĩ:* ‘cheek’, *dúmù:*↔*dúmĩ:* ‘disease’, *súnù:*↔*súnĩ:* ‘ear’.

o↔*e* : *sĩjò:*↔*sĩjè* ‘line’, *kóngó:*↔*kóngé:* ‘mountain’, *tùmbó*↔*tùmbé* ‘mound’, *gĩró*↔*gĩré* ‘eye’, *bó:lò:*↔*bó:lè:* ‘thread’, *gólò*↔*gólè* ‘fire’.

ɔ↔*ε* : *ɔ̀nɔ̀:*↔*ɔ̀nɛ̀:* ‘mountain pass’, *símò:*↔*símè:* ‘cement’ (French *ciment*). *jòmbó:*↔*jòmbé:* ‘shoulderbag’, *něndò*↔*něndè* ‘tongue’, *dúlò:*↔*dúlè:* ‘tail’.

a↔*ε* : *làmpá*↔*làmpé* ‘lamp’ (international word), *gĩyâ:*↔*gĩyê:* ‘dance’, *gwă:*↔*gwě:* ‘country’, *nùmă:* ‘hand’, *tárbà*↔*tárbè* ‘hunting shelter’.

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

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

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

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

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

o↔e :

- a) likely loans: **pàgùmbó** ‘tea bag’, **màɲgórò** ‘mango’
- b) end in ...**mbó** (possible frozen Plural ***-mbo**): **jàɲgùmbó** ‘fruit cluster’, **kùjùmbó** ‘handful of food’, **yòmbó** ‘prepared food’, **gìmbó** ‘odor’ (verb **gǐɲ** ‘emit odor’), **tèndùmbó** ‘row (e.g. of plants)’ (adjective **tèndô**: ‘straight’)
- c) end in ...**ɲgó** or ...**gó** (frozen Singular ***-ɲgo** or ***-go**): **ɲàɲgó** ‘weeping’ (verb **ɲé** ‘weep’), **káɲgó** ‘challenge’ (verb **kán**), **jò:gó** ‘shame’ (verb **jòyé**), **gà:gó** ‘hunger’ (Jamsay **jě**:), **gògó** ‘cold weather’ (Nanga etc. **gòyó**)
- d) native Dogon: **gǐró** ‘eye’, **gólò** ‘fire’, **tùmbó** ‘mound’

ɔ↔ɛ :

- a) likely loans: **ánò:rò** ‘image’ (< Arabic), **sékkò** ‘straw hanging mat’ (< Fulfulde), **mǐsò:rò** ‘shawl’ (< French *mouchoir*)
- b) native Dogon (or likely so): **òmbòlò** ‘misfortune’, **bè:rò** ‘long thin sack’, **něndò** ‘tongue’,

a↔ɛ :

- a) likely loans: **làmpá** ‘lamp’, **m̀béddà** ‘highway’ (< Arabic), **káɲgá** ‘covered entryway’, **bàrà:dá** ‘tea kettle’ (< Arabic), **bármá** ‘modern pot’ (regional), **dísà** ‘elegant fabric’, **gíbà** ‘pocket’ (< Arabic)

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

4.1.2.3 *Final-vowel mutations as single-feature suffixes*

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

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

In implementing any such phonological analysis, in order to account for the existence of both $\text{ɔ} \leftrightarrow \epsilon$ and $\text{a} \leftrightarrow \epsilon$, it might be necessary to recognize a distinction (not audible on the surface) between true / ϵ / (in $\text{ɔ} \leftrightarrow \epsilon$) and an underlying / æ / that is eventually raised to / ϵ / (in $\text{a} \leftrightarrow \epsilon$).

4.1.2.4 *Segmental phonological alternations in mutating nouns*

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

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

(xx1)	gloss	singular	plural
	‘wooden lock’	<i>tàṅà-kógúrí</i>	<i>tàṅà-kógírí</i>
	‘dream’	<i>mànjùr-û:</i>	<i>mànjír-î:</i>
	‘shard for serving food’	<i>kòbùlù:</i>	<i>kòbìlì:</i>
	‘fingernail’	<i>kóbùlù:</i>	<i>kóbìlì:</i>
	‘half of split peanut’	<i>kábùlò:</i>	<i>kábìlè:</i>
	‘tea bag’	<i>pàgùmbó</i>	<i>pàgìmbé</i>
	‘fruit cluster’	<i>jàngùmbó</i>	<i>jàngìmbé</i>

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

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
	‘mango’	màṅgórò	màṅgéré
	‘spoon’	gòṅjòrò:	gòṅjèrê: (~ gòṅjòrê:)
	‘wooden milk bucket’	kàràwà	kàrèwè
	‘open space with soil in hills’	tòṅdòlò	tòṅdèlé

For the noun *mǐsò:rò* (variant *mùsò:rò*) ‘head shawl’ (< French *mouchoir* with a semantic shift), one assistant gave the regular plural *mùsò:rè*, while another fluctuated between *mǐsè:rè* and *mǐswé:rè* (the latter arguably representable as /*mǐsǒrè*/).

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

(xx1)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘liver (and heart)’	kéndà:	kéndè:
	‘boundary stones’	pégá:	pégé:
	‘edible leaves’	bèlâ:	bèlê:
	‘dew’	èlǎ:	èlè: (marginal)
b.	‘flexible liana branch’	òbâ:	òbê:
	‘band of cloth; brick mold’	kóbá:	kóbé:
	‘difficulty, problem’	tórrà	tórrè

Given that singular *a* requires plural *ɛ*, it is not surprising that vowel-harmonic considerations require a harmonically correct vowel in the first syllable of the plurals. What is more notable is the fact that (except for the loanword *m̀béd̀d̀à*) there are no bisyllabic singulars with an {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel in the

first syllable preceding **a** in the final syllable. This suggests that /a/ is compatible with {e o} but not with {ε ɔ} vowel-harmonic sets.

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

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

(xxx) ‘roselle (variety)’ *ànjìkò:* *ànjìkwè:*

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

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

(xxx) *kèlú:* ‘cowry shell’ (singular)
kèfi: ‘cowry shells’ (plural)
kèlè (kèlê) ‘cowries (collective); money’

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

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

(xxx)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘country’	<i>gwǎ:</i>	<i>gwě:</i>
	‘earth’	<i>ñjà:</i>	<i>ñjê:</i>

b. ‘neck’	mǎ:	mǎè
c. ‘voice’	yǎ:	yǎwê:
‘bowl-shaped jar’	pâ:	páyè (variant pâ:)

check with other speakers (Ous páyè, Amad pâ: ;
KB speaker páyè)

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

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

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

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

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

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

(xx1) singular plural

i	u
e	a
ɛ	o
	ɔ
	a

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

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

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

The unusual final e/a : alternation in (xx2.a) involves vowel length as well as quality. For ‘man’ the phonology is made even more difficult by the existence of variant final vowels in the singular. The important noun ‘child’ (xx2.b) shows an $e \leftrightarrow o$ mutation that spreads into the initial syllable. The term

for ‘rival’ is a somewhat frozen compound of **bǎ:** ‘father’ and this ‘child’ term (males of similar age within an extended family are the prototypical rivals).

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

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

(xx3)	gloss	singular	plural
a. ε↔a			
	‘herder’	kĩr-gé:	kĩr-gá:
	‘Tuareg clan’	dà:gé:	dà:gá:
	‘northern Dogon’	bà:lě:	bà:lǎ:
b. ε↔ɔ			
	‘Sorko, Bozo’	sólgè	sólgò:
	‘Dogon’	dógè	dógò:
	‘Tommo’	tómbè	tómbò:
	‘enemy’	àndàmê:	àndàmô:
	‘impoverished person’	gĩrĩyé:	gĩrĩyó:
	‘close second cousin’	nĩyòmê:	nĩyòmô:

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

(xx4)	gloss	singular	plural
a. ε:↔awo: with shift in vowel-harmonic class			
	‘woman’	yě:	yàwó:
	‘cow’	ně:	nàwó:
	‘opposite-sex sibling’	ùbùlɲgé:	ùbùlɲgàwó: (Pl also ùbùlɲgà-mbó)
	‘slave’ (variant Pl)	gùndé	gùndàwó:

b. a: ↔awo:
 ‘able-bodied man’ èndwǎ: òndàwó:

Two of the three nouns with *i↔u* (xx5.a) denote juvenile livestock animals. The other livestock animal (*pègɛ́* ‘sheep’) has a juvenile term *pègɛ́ èndê:*, plural *pègɛ́-mbò òndô:*, clearly ending in *èndê:* ‘child’ or its plural *òndô:* ‘child’. It is probably ill-advised to try to derive the forms for ‘goat kid’ and ‘calf’ directly from a similar compound containing *èndê:*, but if we compare these two nouns with *ínà:* ‘goats’ and *ně:* ‘cow’ (plural *nàwó:*), we can isolate endings *-jĩ:* and *-mbĩ:* that arguably contain a diminutive *-ĩ:*. There is no specifically diminutive sense in *tàgĩ:* ‘shoe’ (xx5.b), but one cannot rule out a diminutive origin.

(xx4)	gloss	singular	plural
	a. <i>i↔u</i> , juvenile animals		
	‘goat kid’	<i>nà:jĩ:</i>	<i>nà:jû:</i>
	‘calf’	<i>nà:mbĩ:</i>	<i>nà:mbû:</i>
	b. <i>i↔u</i> , other		
	‘shoe’	<i>tàgĩ:</i>	<i>tàgû:</i>

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

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

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

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

The details of the historical relationship between O/E-class Inanimate Singular *-ŋgo* (*-go*) and the noun *kóŋgò* ‘**thing**’ (usual plural *yèpà:bé*) cannot be worked out by internal reconstruction alone. Presumably either *kóŋgò* contains (now frozen) Singular **-ŋgo*, or else Singular *-ŋgo* is a reduced form of an older

classifier based on the noun for ‘thing’. Note that Singular *kó* and Plural *yé* occur as Inanimate demonstratives and as Definite morphemes.

Although the usual plural of *kóngò* ‘thing’ is suppletive *yèpà:bé* ‘things’, when *kóngò* denotes an unspecified living thing (synonym in this case: *yê:*) it has a distinct plural *bómbò* ‘critters’, used to denote unidentified living things of any size. For example, the general term for snake is singular *kòngò* *jàlá-ngò* (literally “long thing,” perhaps originally a taboo euphemism), and plural *bòmbo* *jàlá-mbó*. The relationship of *bómbò* to Animate Plural *-mbo* is like that of *kóngò* ‘thing’ to Singular *-ngo*, but raises the same chicken-and-egg historical linguistic issue.

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

4.1.3.2 Segmental (nontonal) phonology of nouns with Singular *-ngo*

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

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

(xx1)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘gizzard’	<i>kèkê:</i>	<i>kèkê:-ngò</i>
	‘hip’	<i>tínì:</i>	<i>tínì:-ngò</i>
	‘pack (of cigarettes)’	<i>pákè:</i>	<i>pákè:-ngò</i>
	‘gum (resin)’	<i>jâ:</i>	<i>jâ:-ngò</i>

	‘firewood’	té:	té:-ηgó
	‘grain’	sê:	sê:-ηgò
b.	‘crest (of rooster)’	dómbélé	dómbélé-ηgó
	‘ball’	dóndòlò	dóndòlò-ηgò
	‘squash’	góné	góné-ηgó
c.	‘bone’	kĩná	kĩná-ηgó
	‘hair, feather’	kùlé	kùlé-ηgó
	‘fontanel’	bónè	bónè-ηgò
	‘chaff’	ðyé	ðyé-ηgó
	‘peanut’	élé	élé-ηgó
	‘chain’	séηélé	séηélé-ηgó
	‘potash’	énè	énè-ηgò

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

(xx2)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘bark fiber’	bá:jí:	bá:jí-ηgò
b.	‘swelling’	àmìyê:	àmìyê-ηgò
	‘animal’	dúmé:, dúmó:	dúmé-ηgó
	‘food’	kwê:	kwê-ηgò
	‘supper’	ɲènê:	ɲènê-ηgò

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

(xx3)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	e > i		
	‘applause’	pómbè	pómbì-ηgò
	‘papaya’	mánjé	mánjì-ηgó
	‘stray crop plant’	tèbé	tèbì-ηgó
	‘tinder’	dámbè	dámbì-ηgò
	‘thing tilted to one side’	bàmbé	bàmbì-ηgó
b.	e > u		

‘fritters’	tónjè	tónjù-ηgò
‘roselle’	ánjè	ánjù-ηgò
‘cow-peas’	númbé	númbú-ηgó
‘husked grain spike’	kǐjé	kǐjú-ηgò
‘mashed Sclerocarya seeds’	énjé	énjú-ηgó
‘rags’	sògòjé	sògòjú-ηgó
‘gum arabic’	àrbàkàndé	àrbàkàndú-ηgó
‘blindens’	gǐrè-yàmbé	gǐrè-[yàmbú-ηgó]

c. ε > a

‘bier’	pándé	pándá-ηgó
‘clove’	pètíjé	pètíjǎ-ηgó
‘bracelet’	nùmà-sàgέ	nùmà-[sàgá-ηgó]
‘sorghum bundle’	èmbà-tágè	èmbà-[tágà-ηgò]

Both **shortening and raising** (ε > i) occur in (xx4).

(xx4)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
	‘mosquito net’	sángé:	sángí-ηgó

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

(xx5)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘citrus’	lèmbúrù	lèmbûr-ηgò
b.	‘wood chips’	tè:-kòmǐlé	tè:-kòmǐl-ηgó
	‘roselle plant’	dóné	dǒn-gó
	‘baggage’	gòné	gǒn-gó

‘waterjar’	gòné	gǒn-gó
‘wood chips’	tè:-kòmìlé	tè:-kòmìl-ηgó
‘round object’	déndèlè	déndèl-ηgó
‘small woven prayer mat’	kùnà-déηgélé	kùnà-[déηgél-ηgó]
‘vein; root’	wòlé	wǒl-ηgó
‘hard seed’	kélé	kél-ηgó
‘sesame’	pá:lè	pá:l-ηgò
‘tamarind seed’	à:lé	ǎ:l-ηgó
‘intact whole’	kúndúlé	kúndúl-ηgó
‘dry outer bark’	kòmìlé	kòmìl-ηgó
‘shell (of pod)’	kògòlé	kògǔl-ηgó
‘egg’	pòlé	pǒl-ηgó

(contrast pòlé, Pl pǒl-mbó ‘knife’)

c. ‘salt’	nèmé	něm-gó
‘object with flattened sides’		pòm̀bìrèp̀d̀mbür-ηgó

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

(xx6)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘purchase’	dòn-î:	dǒn-gò
	‘clitoris’	kèkérî:	kèkér-ηgò
	‘gallbladder’	gágàlî:	gágǎl-ηgò
b.	‘mortar’	túní:	tún-gó
	‘ladder’	bíní:	bín-gó
	‘sale’	tùfî:	tǔl-ηgò

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

(xx7)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘cloth’	swě:	sò-ηgó

‘marriage’ èyě: = ě: èyà-ηγó
 [cf. verb éyé ‘bride move to husband’s house’]]

b. ‘iron’ íné: íno-ηγó

In (xx8.a), the phonological issue is the disappearance of the medial *g* of the stem before *-ηγó*. One would expect #*nègʷ-ηγó* and #*yógʷ-ηγó*, with some vowel *v* (either the unaltered lexical *e*, or a high vowel). There is no general intervocalic *g*-Deletion rule, as seen in (xx8.b).

(xx8)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘oil’	<i>nègé</i>	<i>ně-ηγó</i>
	‘millet’	<i>yógé</i>	<i>yó-ηγó</i>
b.	‘bracelet’	<i>nùmà-sàgé</i>	<i>nùmà-[sàgá-ηγó]</i>
	‘sorghum bundle’	<i>èmbà-tágè</i>	<i>èmbà-[tágà-ηγò]</i>

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

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

(xx9)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘plain millet cakes’	<i>mànà àyé</i>	<i>mànà ǎ-ηγó</i>
	‘small gourd’	<i>bàyé</i>	<i>bǎ:-ηγó</i>
	‘rifle cock’	<i>tàyê:</i>	<i>tǎ:-ηγò</i>
b.	‘seedstock’	<i>twě:</i>	<i>tǔy-ηγò</i>
c.	‘baby-carrying cloth’	<i>pǔyyè</i>	<i>pǔy-ηγò</i> (Pl variant <i>pǔi:</i>)

In (xx9.a), a semivowel /y/ is present in the unsuffixed plural/collective but disappears before Singular *-ŋgo*. There is no real support elsewhere in the language for an intervocalic y-Deletion rule that would apply only in the singular. Another idea would be raising and syncope of the stem-final /e/ followed by a consonant-cluster simplification, but there is nothing wrong with /yŋg/ as a cluster in a language that does not delete other non-nasal sonorants {l r} before the same *-ŋgo* suffix, and that has frozen forms like *jǎy-ŋgò* (cognate nominal of verb *jǎy* ‘sow seeds in a pit with some manure’). On the whole, I incline to think of the /y/ in (xx9.a) as epenthetic, separating /a/ from /e/. The immediate source for the plural/collective forms would be /àⁿé/, /bàé/, and /tàcè/ in this interpretation. However, designing suitable lexical representations that would correctly produce both the singular and plural forms is challenging. First, we would have to allow (raising and) deletion of the final /e/ before *-ŋgo* in a manner not yet accounted for. Second, having gotten rid of the final /e/ before *-ŋgo*, we would have to account for the long a: vowels in ‘small gourd’ and ‘rifle cock’ versus the short vowel in ‘plain millet cakes’. This is just a murky nook in the morphophonology for which no simple solution is possible.

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

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

4.1.3.3 *Tonology of nouns with Singular -ŋgo*

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

(xx1)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
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a.	‘bark fiber’ ‘mortar’	bá:jí: tún-gó	bá:jí-ηgó túní:
b.	‘applause’ ‘tinder’	pómbè dám-bè	pómbì-ηgó dám-bì-ηgó
c.	‘stray crop plant’ ‘husked grain spike’ ‘corn’ ‘fonio’ ‘sorghum’ ‘stem’ ‘leaf’ ‘baobab seed’ ‘chaff’	tèbé kǐjé màdèmbá pòηjé èmbá sǐmbá kòm-bá kùm-bèrè òyé	tèbì-ηgó kǐjù-ηgó màdèmbá-ηgó pòηjé-ηgó èmbá-ηgó sǐmbá-ηgó kòm-bá-ηgó kùm-bèrè-ηgó òyè-ηgó
d.	‘fart’ ‘cloth’ ‘marriage’	gǐyé swè: èyě: = ǎ:	gǐyè-ηgó sò-ηgó èyà-ηgó

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

(xx2)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘beard’ ‘animal fat’ ‘gum (resin)’ ‘sapling’ ‘grain’ ‘gizzard’ ‘canister’ ‘sweet potato’	bê: sī: ɲâ: ùrī: sê: kèkê: bǐdô: ⁿ màsàkú:	bê:-ηgó sī:-ηgó ɲâ:-ηgó ùrī:-ηgó sê:-ηgó kèkê:-ηgó bǐdô:-ηgó màsàkú:-ηgó
b.	‘papaya’ ‘mud brick’ ‘bottle’	pàpây tèmbên bùtêl	pàpây-ηgó tèmbên-gò bùtêl-ηgó
c.	‘rope’ ‘ashes’	sǐ: dòdǎ:	sǐ:-ηgó dòdǎ:-ηgó

d.	‘(male) elegance’	dwǎ:n	dwǎ:n-gó
	‘(female) elegance’	gùlǎn	gùlǎn-gó
	‘flower’	pùnĕn	pùnĕn-go

In some nouns, a stem-final long vowel with **falling** (i.e. <HL>) tone is **reduced to a short vowel** before Singular **-ŋgo**. In this case, the tone components are separated, the high component being realized on the shortened stem-final vowel, while the low component is realized on the suffix (xx3.a). Similarly, an <LHL> tone is divided into <LH> (rising) on the stem-final and L on the suffix (xx3.b).

(xx3)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘swelling’	àmĭyĕ:	àmĭyĕ-ŋgò
	‘food’	kwĕ:	kwĕ-ŋgò
	‘supper’	ɲĕnĕ:	ɲĕnĕ-ŋgò
b.	‘slingshot’	nĭ:-tĕ:	nĭ:-tĕ:-ŋgò

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

(xx4)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
	‘cloth’	swĕ:	sò-ŋgó
	‘marriage’	ĕyĕ: = ĕ:	ĕyà-ŋgó

If a stem-final vowel is **deleted** (syncopated) before **-ŋgo**, its tone may be relocated to the left (in addition to the final tone component spreading to the suffix). Syncope generally occurs after an unclustered sonorant, the few other cases (if they involve syncope at all) being after a /g/ that is (then) itself deleted before **-ŋgo**. The effect is that the post-syncope stem-final syllable always ends in a sonorant consonant, and is therefore easily capable of expressing a contour tone. As usual, if the stem is all-high toned, this high tone is simply extended to the suffix (xx5.a). If the deleted vowel is low-toned and the preceding syllabic is high-toned, my only example being ‘citrus’ (Bambara loanword), we get a falling tone on the stem-final in addition to a low tone on the suffix. Parallel to this, and in a much larger number of examples, if the deleted stem-final vowel is high-toned and follows a low tone on the preceding syllable, we end up with

rising tone on the stem-final in addition to high tone on the suffix (xx5.c). However, in (xx5.d) *pǎ:lè* ‘sesame’ passes up the opportunity to keep all three tone components on the stem, and we get singular *pǎ:l-ŋgò* with <LH> first syllable, instead of #*pǎ:l-ŋgò* with <LHL> tone.

(xx5)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘mortar’	<i>túní:</i>	<i>tún-gó</i>
	‘millet’	<i>yó-ŋgó</i>	<i>yógé</i>
	‘intact whole’	<i>kúndúlé</i>	<i>kúndúl-ŋgó</i>
	‘mosquito net’	<i>sáŋgé:</i>	<i>sáŋgí-ŋgó</i>
	‘cow-peas’	<i>númbé</i>	<i>númbú-ŋgó</i>
b.	‘citrus’	<i>lèmbúrù</i>	<i>lèmbûr-ŋgò</i>
c.	‘baggage’	<i>gòné</i>	<i>gǒn-gó</i>
	‘egg’	<i>pòlé</i>	<i>pǒl-ŋgó</i>
	‘shell (of pod)’	<i>kògòlé</i>	<i>kògǔl-ŋgó</i>
	‘vein; root’	<i>wòlé</i>	<i>wǒl-ŋgó</i>
	‘waterjar’	<i>gòné</i>	<i>gǒn-gó</i>
	‘salt’	<i>nèmé</i>	<i>něm-gó</i>
	‘oil’	<i>nègé</i>	<i>ně-ŋgó</i>
	‘object with flattened sides’	<i>pòm̀bìré</i>	<i>pòm̀bǔr-ŋgó</i>
	‘shell (of pod)’	<i>kògòlé</i>	<i>kògǔl-ŋgó</i>
	‘dry outer bark’	<i>kòm̀ilé</i>	<i>kòm̀il-ŋgó</i>
	‘tamarind seed’	<i>à:lé</i>	<i>ǎ:l-ŋgó</i>
		(contrast <i>à:lé</i> ‘rain’)	
	‘egg’	<i>pòlé</i>	<i>pǒl-ŋgó</i>
		(contrast <i>pòlé</i> , plural <i>pǒl-mbó</i> ‘knife’)	
d.	‘sesame’	<i>pǎ:lè</i>	<i>pǎ:l-ŋgò</i>

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

(xx6)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
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a.	‘lunch’ ‘sale’ ‘bra’	kèndà-[tèg-î:] tũl-ŋgò ònjù-[dǒŋ-gò]	kèndà-[tě-ŋgò] tũfi: ònjù-[dòn-î:]
b.	‘gallbladder’	gágǎl-ŋgò	gágǎfi:
c.	‘clitoris’	kèkér-ŋgò	kèkérî:

4.1.3.4 Singular *-go*

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

(xx1)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘male elegance’ ‘purchase’	dwǎ:n dòn-î:	dwǎ:n-gó dòn-gò
b.	‘salt’	němé	něm-gó
c.	‘okra’	gónŋ	gónŋ-gó

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

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

(xx2)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘foot’ ‘tongs’	nǎ: ě:	nà:-gó ě:-gò
b.	‘cotton’ ‘branch’ ‘stick’ ‘torch’	sáyè ǎyè bǎyè sàyé	sá-gò ǎ-gò bǎ:-gò sà:-gó

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

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

4.1.3.5 Cases of frozen **-ŋgo* and **-go*

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

(xx1)	gloss	form	comment or related form
	‘hunger’	<i>gà:gó</i>	Pl <i>gà:gé</i> ; Jamsay <i>jě:</i> , Nanga <i>gǐyé</i>
	‘cold (weather)’	<i>gògó</i>	Pl <i>gògé</i> ; Nanga etc. <i>gòyó</i>
	‘sun’	<i>ùjúŋgó</i>	unique referent; Beni etc. <i>ùsú</i>
	‘weeping’	<i>nàŋgó</i>	Pl <i>nàŋgé</i> ; with verb: <i>nàŋgó jé</i> ‘weep’

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

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

-ŋge is less common than *-ŋgo*. Nouns ending in *-ŋge* have E/E type agreement with adjectives (e.g. *nálé:* ‘good’ for both singular and plural noun), and it is clear that *-ŋge* and *-ŋgo* are identical except for agreement class. This leads us to expect that the phonology of *-ŋge* will match that of *-ŋgo*. This expectation is verified for the most part. Therefore the data will be presented here with only

brief commentary; see §4.1.2.xxx for more detailed commentary on similar phonological patterns for *-ηgo*.

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

(xx1)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘back (body)’	bàndí	bàndí-ηgé
	‘side of face’	tégèlè:	tégèlè:-ηgè
	‘blood’	gě̀n	gě̀n-gé
	‘chest (body)’	pélè	pélè-ηgé
	‘street outside’	pě̀mbě:	pě̀mbě:-ηgé
b.	‘pit (hole)’	dúlé	dúlé-ηgé
	‘shallow hole’	tòηgèré	tòηgèré-ηgé
	‘termite mound’	kě̀lbè-dúlè	kě̀lbè-dúlè-ηgè

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

(xx2)	gloss	plural/collective	singular
a.	‘thickening into syrup’	dá:nǐ:	dá:nǐ-ηgè
	‘forehead’	géndè:	géndè-ηgè
	‘knee’	nà:-kínjǐ:	nà:-kínjǐ-ηgè
b.	‘green sauce’	níηgé	níηgí-ηgé
c.	‘residue of liquid’	tégèlè-tégèlè	tégèlè-tégèl-ηgè
	‘pounding area’	sè:-dúnǐ	sè:-dún-gè
	‘high spot near depression’	yélé	yél-ηgé
d.	‘hole at base of house’	dòlè:	dól-ηgé

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

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

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

4.1.3.7 Segmental phonology of nouns with Plural *-mbo*

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

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

(xx1)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘elder’ ‘holy man’ ‘mendicant pupil’	<i>kúlmá</i> <i>àlfâ:</i> <i>gàrí:bù</i>	<i>kúlmá-mbó</i> <i>àlfâ:-mbò</i> <i>gàrí:bù-mbò</i>
b.	‘cat’ ‘horse’ (variant)	<i>gáŋà</i> <i>băn</i>	<i>gáŋà-mbò</i> <i>băn-bó</i>
c.	‘trimming ax’ ‘ceremonial rifle’ ‘simple awl’	<i>kòrô:</i> <i>màlfâ-bùgá</i> <i>sílbàl</i>	<i>kòrô:-mbò</i> <i>màlfâ-bùgá-mbó</i> <i>sílbàl-mbò</i>

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

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

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
	‘father’s sister’	sèjí:	sèjí-mbó
	‘great-grandchild’	jèngíyè:	jèngíyè-mbò
	‘elder same-sex sibling’	dèlǎ:	dèlǎ-mbó
	‘person’	nǒ:	nò-mbó
	‘visitor’	bèmbǎ:	bèmbà-mbó
	‘owner, master’	dòmbǎ:	dòmbà-mbó
	‘younger same-sex sibling’	ǎjǎ:	ǎjǎ-mbó
	‘husband’	nǎgǎ:	nǎgǎ-mbó

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

(xx3)	gloss	singular	plural
	‘folding knife’	sǐlbé	sǐlbí-mbó
	‘woman after childbirth’	yàygé	yàygí-mbó
b.	‘widow’	yà-pàndé	yà-pàndú-mbó
	‘rag as head cushion’	dòngé	dòngú-mbó
	‘lover, concubine’	gòjé	gòjú-mbó
	‘lazy person’	gòlǎnjé	gòlǎnjú-mbó
	‘month, moon’	sà:gé	sà:gú-mbó
	‘long straight knife’	pòlè-gàngé	pòlè-gàngú-mbó
	‘grindstone’	nùngé	nùngú-mbó
	‘mother’s brother’	nèjǐ:	nèjù-mbó
	‘stepmother’	mòjǐ:	mòjù-mbó

In a fairly large number of nouns, a final short vowel is **deleted**. This is possible when the vowel in question is preceded by an unclustered intervocalic sonorant (nasal, liquid, semivowel). The vowel is usually high {u i} or upper mid-height {e o}, but sometimes {e ɔ} and in one case even a. This makes it more difficult for Plural **-mbo** than for Singular **-ngó** and **-ngó** to argue for an

initial raising to a high vowel, then deletion of the high vowel. The data in (xx4) are organized by vowel quality (in the singular), from high to low.

(xx3)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	{u i}		
	‘imam’	àlmá:mù	àlmâ:m-mbò
	‘imam’s respondent’	àlmú:ĩĩ	àlmú:ĩĩ-bò
	‘reed flute’	bòbířĩ	bòbíř-mbò
	‘plow’	jálòsářĩ	jálòsâř-mbò
b.	{e o}		
	‘horse’ (variant)	bàné	bà-mbó
	‘genie’	gínè	gĩn-bò
	‘rifle mechanism’	gǎ:lè	gǎ:l-mbò
	‘metal hook’	tòndòmbèlé	tòndòmbèl-mbó
	‘orphan’	àjàbàlé	àjàbǎl-mbó
	‘friend (same-sex)’	nàlé	nàl-mbó
	‘statuette’	dě:rè	dě:r-mbò
	‘woman who has given birth’	yáyè	yây-mbò
	‘senior twin’	pàyé	pây-mbó
	‘chicken’	kórò	kôř-mbò
c.	{ɛ ɔ}		
	‘older of two young children’	èndè: nèbèndé	òndò: nèbèndé-mbó
	‘Tengou (ethnicity)’	tèŋjìlè	tèŋjìl-mbò
	‘circumcision loincloth’	yàbà-dóndóló	yàbà-dóndól-mbó
d.	{a}		
	‘sick person’	sǎ:mà	sǎ:m-bò

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

(xx4)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘unmarried person’	kùmî:	kũm-bò
	‘tomtom’	bònî:	bǒ-mbò = bǒn-bò
b.	‘stone’	kĩnû:	kĩn-bò

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

(xx5)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘camel’	j̀d̀h̀d̀mé	j̀d̀h̀d̀:-mbó
	‘pointed implement’	k̀émé	k̀ě:-mbó
	‘fetish’	m̀d̀mé	m̀d̀mé-mbó ~ m̀ǎ:-mbó
	‘sieve’	t̀émè	t̀émè-mbò ~ t̀ê:-mbò
b.	‘pants’	ỳábà	ỳábà-mbò ~ ỳâ:-mbò

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

(xx6)	gloss	singular	plural
	‘traditional chief’	òb̀èl̀é	òb̀ǔl-mbó

4.1.3.8 Tonology of nouns with Plural *-mbo*

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

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

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

(xx1)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘imam’	àlmá:m̀ù	àlmâ:m-mbò
	‘imam’s respondent’	àlmú:j̀ĩnĩ	àlmú:j̀ĩn-bò
	‘reed flute’	b̀òb̀ířĩ	b̀òb̀ír-mbò

‘plow’	jálòsáǎ	jálòsár-mbò
‘woman who has given birth’	yáyè	yây-mbò
‘chicken’	kórò	kôr-mbò
b. ‘senior twin’	pàyé	păy-mbó
‘metal hook’	tòndòmbèlé	tòndòmbě̀l-mbó
‘orphan’	àjàbàlé	àjàbằl-mbó

Before Plural *-mbo*, when a stem-final long vowel with rising (<LH>) tone is shortened, the high-tone component is expressed on the suffix only (xx2.a.). There are also some cases where the same contour (high tone on suffix only) occurs in the absence of shortening (or deletion) of the stem-final vowel (xx2.b). In (xx2.c), a deleted stem-final high vowel following a low-toned syllable likewise expresses its high tone only on the suffix; this contrasts with what we just saw in (xx1.b), above. If a deleted low-toned stem-final vowel follows a rising-toned syllable, instead of a <LHL> syllable, the rising-toned syllable remains constant in the plural, so the stem-final low tone is realized only on the suffix (xx2.d).

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘person’	nǒ:	nò-mbó
	‘elder same-sex sibling’	dèlà:	dèlà-mbó
	‘visitor’	bèmbă:	bèmbà-mbó
	‘grandfather’	pòbă:	pòbà-mbó
	‘owner, master’	dòmbă:	dòmbà-mbó
	‘younger same-sex sibling’	òjǒ:	òjò-mbó
	‘husband’	nògǒ:	nògò-mbó
	‘mother’s brother’	nějì:	nějù-mbó
	‘stepmother’	mòjì:	mòjù-mbó
b.	‘cross-cousin’	ǎi:	ǎi-mbó
	‘bird’	nǎ:	nǎ-mbó
	‘entire tree’ (<mother)	nǎ:	nǎ-mbó
	‘dog’	ngwě:	ngwè-mbó
	‘sores on inside of eyelid’	gàndá	gàndà-mbó
c.	‘co-wife’	ɲàlàlé	ɲàlàl-mbó
	‘horse’ (variant)	bàné	bà-mbó
			(Pl also bǎn-bó)
d.	‘rifle mechanism’	gǎ:lè	gǎ:l-mbò

‘statuette’	dě:rè	dě:r-mbò
‘mouse’	ǒyè	ǒy-mbò

4.1.4 Singular and plural of noun stems

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

(xx1)	gloss	singular	plural
	Sg = Pl, E/E-class inanimates		
	‘house’	ólé	ólé
	‘courtyard’	bándá	bándá
	‘field’	yàfi:	yàfi:
	‘well (water)’	dǎy	dǎy
	‘day’	déṅán	déṅán
	‘night’	ṅám	ṅám
	‘pocket’	jíbà	jíbà

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

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
	a. Pl -mbo , true animates (E/O)		
	‘dog’	ṅgwě:	ṅgwè:-mbó
	‘sheep’	pègè	pègè-mbó
	‘cat’	gánà	gánà-mbò
	‘donkey’	páṅgà	páṅgá-mbò
	‘chief’	kī:	kī:-mbò
	‘white person’	àndàsára	àndàsára-mbò

‘bird’	nĩ:	nĩ:-mbó
‘uncle’	néjĩ	néjĩ-mbò

c. Pl **-mbo**, true animates (E/O), with stem-final vowel reduced

‘person’	nǒ:	nò-mbó
‘mouse’	wě: (/ðê:/)	ǒy-mbò
‘ant’	mě:mè	mê:m-bò

c. Pl **-mbo**, pseudo-animates (inanimates treated like animates) (E/O)

‘knife’	pòlé	pǒl-mbò
‘agama lizard’	tĩngá	tĩngà-mbó
‘plow’	jálàsáři	jálàsáři-mbò
‘large ax’	gúlâ:	gúlâ:-mbò

d. like (c), with stem-final vowel reduced (E/O)

‘tomtom’	bònĩ:	bǒn-bò
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e. like (c), with stem-final vowel reduced (E/O or O/O)

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

(xx3)	gloss	singular	plural
a. Sg -ŋgo (-go) , O/E class inanimates			
	‘stem’	sĩmbá-ŋgò	sĩmbá
	‘rope’	sĩ:-ŋgó	sĩ:
	‘fat (noun)’	sĩ:-ŋgò	sĩ:
	‘grass’	sǒ:mé-ŋgò	sǒ:mè
	‘egg’	pòlú-ŋgó	pòlé
	‘bundle’	sĩbá-ŋgó	sĩbá
	‘sore on skin’	péndé-ŋgó	péndé

b. like (a), with **-go** instead of **-ŋgo**

‘foot’	nà:-gó	nǎ:
‘stick’	bǎ:-gò	bǎyè

c. like (a), with final-stem-vowel reduction

‘millet’	yó-ŋgó	yógé
‘jar’	gǒn-gó	gòné

d. Sg -ŋge, E/E class inanimates

‘shed’	gúfi:-ŋgè	gúfi:
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In the remaining productive patterns, segmentation of suffixes is more difficult. In (xx4) we see cases involving a **change in stem-final vocalism**; here the stems are at least bisyllabic. Either a final back vowel in the singular becomes a front vowel in the plural (xx4.a), or the opposite (xx4.b-d). Usually the agreement pattern is consistent with the singular/plural vocalism, so that (xx4.a) has E/O agreement while (xx4.c) has O/E agreement. However, semantic factors override phonological shape in the domains associated with the E/E agreement class (liquids, built structures, horizontal topography, etc.).

(xx4) gloss Sg Pl

a. final back vowel in Sg shifts to front vowel in Pl, animates (E/O)

e > a		
‘goat’	ínè	ínà:
e > o		
‘child’	èndê:	òndô:

b. final back vowel in Sg shifts to front vowel in Pl, E/E class inanimates

a > ε		
‘granary’	tánà	tánè
ɔ > ε		
‘village’	sònjɔ:	sònjé:
u > e		
‘tree=top’	dě:rù	dě:rè
i > u		
‘shoe’	tàgî:	tàgû:

c. final back vowel in Sg shifts to front vowel in Pl, O/E class inanimates

a > ε		
‘dance (noun)’	gǐyâ:	gǐyê:

	‘hand’	nùmǎ:	nùmě:
o > ε	‘tree’	tímô:	tímê:
	‘road’	ùspǒ:	ùspě:
o > e	‘fun’	kèlà-mbó	kèlà-mbé
	‘eye’	jíró	jíré
u > i	‘ear’	súnù:	súnì:
	‘walking’	újù:	újì:
	‘year’	kènjû:	kènjî: (cf. ‘pick-hoe’)
	‘pick-hoe’	kènjû:	kènjî: (cf. ‘year’)
	‘mat’	ká:bú	ká:bí

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

u > e	‘skin, hide’	gùjú	gùjé
	‘intestines’	bìndú	bìndé

A “homophonous” pair of stems sharing the shape **pòlé** is differentiated by suffixation. In the sense ‘knife’ we get unsuffixed Sg **pòlé** and suffixed Pl **pól-mbò**. In the sense ‘egg’ we get suffixed Sg **pòlé-ɲgò** and unsuffixed Pl **pòlé**.

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

(xx5)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	Pl with -wo: , Sg Cě: , animates (E/O)		
	‘woman’	yě:	yàwó:
	‘cow’	ně:	nàwó:
b.	Pl with -wo: , Sg bisyllabic, animates (E/O)		
	‘slave’	gùndé	gùndàwó:

4.1.5 Irregular nouns

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

(xx1)	gloss	singular	plural
a. human			
	‘child’	èndê:	òndô:
	‘boy’	èndwă:	òndò-dàwó:, òndàwó:
	‘girl’	èndè-gùlâ:	òndò-gùlâwò:
b. animal			
	‘living thing, critter’	yê:	bómbò
c. inanimate			
	‘thing’	kóŋgò	yèpà:bé

4.1.6 Frozen Cv- reduplication in nouns and adjectives

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

(xx1)	noun/adjective	gloss
	dùdùmbú	‘large jar for millet beer’
	bèbê: (bèbô:)	‘feeble, having lost strength’
	bébé	‘deaf-mute’
	gègélè	‘stuttering’
	gègérè	‘very fast speech’
	tátágá	‘arrogance’
	gòn-gò púpújú	‘worn-out waterjar’
	gĩrè-gègèlé	‘furtive look’ (gĩré ‘eyes’)

4.1.7 Frozen full-stem iterations in nouns

CvCv-CvCv iterations used as nouns (or adverbs) are fairly common. In a few cases the iteration is related to an attested shorter stem, but in many the iteration

is the only form in its word family. Most examples involve an iterated bisyllabic element. In some cases a simple stem of the same family is elsewhere attested. The data in (xx1) are grouped by tone contour.

- (xx1) a. wèlè-wélé ‘immature peanut pod’
 bùjè-bújè ‘froth, suds, soap lather’ (verb **bùjé** ‘foam’)
 bùrè-búrè ‘sediments’
 kējè-kéjè: ‘twigs’ (Sg **kējè-kéjè:** ; verb **kéjé** ‘cut’)
 yàgà-yágà ‘lightweight nickel alloy (for bracelets)’
 nèmè-némè ‘trivial chatter’
 nàmà-námà ‘bric-à-brac, junk’
 kùbù-kúbù ‘machete blade’ (local French *coupe-coupe*)
 jà:rà-já:rà ‘incitement’ (cognate nominal for verb **já:ré**)
 dólà-dólà ‘race, competition’ (**dólé** ‘be in front’)
 yòbà-yóbà ‘race’ (**yòbé** ‘run’)
 bìlà-bílà ‘exchange’ (verb **bilé**)
 bùlà-búlà ‘blue’
 dàmbà-dámbà ‘push-cart’ (**dàmbí** ‘push’, cf. local French *pousse-pousse*)
 m̀̀:-[wùndà-wúndà] ‘meningitis’ (swollen neck)
- b. yúgù-yúgù ‘pile of used European clothing’
- c. p̀̀t̀̀-p̀̀t̀̀é ‘mud’
 k̀̀rsà-k̀̀rsá ‘skin disease with rashes’
 d̀̀m̀̀-̀̀m̀̀é ‘odd jobs’
- d. yòlà-yòlà: ‘aggressive provocation’
 ènjè-ènjè: ‘corner; cavity in rocks’ (verb **énjé** ‘slip X into’)
 kàlè-kàlè: ‘external stairway’ (< French *escalier* ?)
 gènjè-gènjè: ‘chest (body)’ (variant **jèn-jènjè:**)
 k̀̀nd̀̀-k̀̀nd̀̀ô: ‘(someone’s) shadow’ (< **k̀̀nd̀̀ô:** ‘shade’)
- e. p̀̀nd̀̀-̀̀nd̀̀ô: ‘board, plank’
 m̀̀ǹ̀-̀̀ǹ̀é: ‘lightning flashes’
 k̀̀nd̀̀-̀̀nd̀̀ă: ‘cloud’
- f. níjì-nìjè: ‘sauce pots’ (cf. **níjé** ‘sauce’)

- g. *bènan-bènan* ‘dilemma, quandary’ (...*bènan mà* ‘between’)

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

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

With a **change in vowel quality** we have the regional word *tèngè-tàngá* ‘dancer on stilts (from central Dogon country)’, *pí:fi-pá:là* ‘deceptive talk’, and *kóróy-kàrà̀y* ‘hurried, hasty (action)’. The shift to a-vowels in the second occurrence is noteworthy. In onomatopoeic and similar terms for noises, a three-part ABA pattern with a-vowels and low tone in the medial B occurrence is attested in *kǒ:-kà:-kǒ:* (sound of toad croaking) and in *hó:-hà:-hó:* ‘loud chattering’

4.1.8 Frozen initial à- in nouns

This is not a synchronically noticeable pattern in Najamba.

- (xx1) *àjànàlà* ‘forked end (of stick)’ cf. Jamsay *à-jǎn*
àsànjàlà ‘hail(-stones)’ cf. Nanga *bòndí-sànjárⁿà* (*bòndí* ‘rain’)
àjǎn ‘sky’

4.2 Derived nominals

4.2.1 Diminutives

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

In kinship terminology, the pair *jènjê:* ‘great-grandparent’ and its reciprocal *jèngíyê:* is suggestive. A somewhat similar pair is *nèjí:* ‘mother’s brother’ and its reciprocal *nèjĩyê:* ‘sister’s child’. The ‘grandchild’ term *sèjĩyè* has some resemblance to the junior-kin members of these pairings.

4.2.2 Denominal (and deadjectival) nouns

4.2.2.1 Characteristic derivative (-gé:, -gá:)

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

(xxx)	noun	gloss	Characteristic	gloss
	kínjàn	‘life’	kǐnjàn-gé:	‘living, alive’
	gùnjù-gùnjò:	‘hunched back’	gùnjù-gùnjò:-gé:	‘hunchback’
	kùlé	‘hairs’ (plural)	kùlè-gé:	‘hairy (person)’
	tójú	‘big testicles’	tòjù-gé:	‘one with big testicles’
	nàndǎ:	‘left (side)’	nàndà-gé:	‘left-handed person’
	sī:	‘animal fat(s)’	sǐ-gé:	‘fatty (animal, meat)’
	sémbé	‘strength, force’	sèmbè-gé:	‘strong (person)’
	ánǐ, Pl ànà:	‘man’	ànà-gé:	‘fearless’

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

4.2.2.2 Denominal or Deadjectival Abstractive (-gé)

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

(xx1)	noun	gloss	Abstractive	gloss
	èndwǎ:	‘man (not old)’	èndwà:-gé	‘youth’
	gǐnè-mórù	‘magician’	gǐnè-mòr-gé	‘sleight-of-hand’

ánì (Pl ànà:)	‘man’	ànà-gé	‘fighting mode’
g̃indó:, g̃indé:	‘big; honored’	g̃indè-gé	‘honor, esteem’

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

(xx2)	noun	gloss	Abstractive	gloss
	ògòndê:	‘rich person’	ògòndi-gé	‘richness, wealth’
	là:ró	‘shiftless’	là:r-gé	‘shiftlessness’
	gòlònjé	‘lazy person’	gòlònji-gé	‘laziness’

An apparent *yv* extension on the initial is seen in *sàfiyà-gé* ‘idiocy’ from noun *sáfi* ‘idiot’, and in *dòfiyò-gé* (variant of *dòfè-gé*) ‘cowardice’ from noun *dófè* ‘coward’.

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

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

4.2.2.3 Denominal or deadjectival Abstractive (-ngó)

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

(xx1)	Abstractive	gloss	adjective (O-class Singular)
a.	<i>m̃n-gó</i>	‘depth’	<i>m̃n-gò</i> ‘deep’
	<i>wàyà-ngó</i>	‘width’	<i>wàyá-ngò</i> ‘wide’
	<i>jàlà-ngó</i>	‘length’	<i>jàlá-ngò</i> ‘long’
b.	<i>nàm-gó</i>	‘expensiveness’	<i>nám-gò</i> ‘expensive, difficult’
	<i>kèndà-[ě̀l-ngó]</i>	‘happiness’	<i>ě̀l-ngò</i> (‘sweet, good’)
	<i>dwèy-ngó</i>	‘hot weather’	<i>dwěyⁿ-ngò</i> ‘hot’

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

(xx1)	Abstractive	gloss	noun (Singular)
	nàl-ngó	‘friendship’	nàlé ‘friend’, Pl nàl-mbó
	gòjù-gó	‘illicit sex’	gòjé ‘concubine’, Pl gòjù-mbó

These Abstractive nominals may be compared to cases of frozen Inanimate Singular O-class suffix ***-gó** or ***-ngó**, no longer clearly segmentable, covered in §4.1.3.5.

4.2.3 Deverbal nominalizations

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

4.2.3.1 Regular Verbal Noun **-lé**

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

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Verbal Noun
a.	‘come’	wé	wú-lé (variant wí-lé)
	‘insult’	dwé	dú-lé
	‘go out’	gwé	gú-lé
b.	‘see’	yé	yí-lé

	‘remain’	bé	bí-lé
	‘weep’	ɲé	ɲí-lé
	‘bring’	jê:	jí:-lé
	‘make bricks’	mé:	mí:-lé
c.	‘arrive’	dwê:	dúy-lé, dú:-lé
d.	‘slaughter’	sémé	sém-lé
	‘cut in half’	dingílé	dingí-lé
	‘finish’	pór	pór-lé
e.	‘leave’	dògé	dógí-lé
	‘cut off (branch)’	támbí	támbí-lé
	‘scrub’	túgújé	túgújí-lé
f.	‘get’	đinê:	đíní:-lé

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

(xx1)	gloss	category	chaining	Verbal Noun
	‘go around’	Mediopassive	gòɲíí-yé	góníí-y-lé
	‘become long’	Inchoative	jálá-ndí	jálá-ndí-lé
	‘unlock’	Reversive	dàgí-lé	dágí-l-lé
	‘make big’	Factitive	gǐndá-m	gǐndá-m-lé
	‘inflate’	Causative	píbíyó-m	píbíyó-m-lé

4.2.3.2 Verbal Noun with -ndá:

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

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Verbal Noun
a.	‘come’	wé	wé-ndá:
	‘insult’	dwé	dwé-ndá:
	‘go out’	gwé	gwé-ndá:

b. 'see'	yé	yé-ndá:
'weep'	ɲé	ɲé-ndá:
'bring'	jê:	jê:-ndá:
'make bricks'	mé:	mé:-ndá:
c. 'arrive'	dwê:	dwê:-ndá:
d. 'slaughter'	sémé	sémé-ndá:
'cut in half'	d̥ɪŋgílé	d̥ɪŋgílé-ndá:
'cut off (end)'	pór	pór-ndá:l
'come to an end'	ĩgí	ĩgí-ndá:
e. 'leave'	dògé	dógé-ndá:
'cut off (branch)'	támí	támá-ndá:
'scrub'	túgújé	túgújé-ndá:
'go back'	mámíli-yé	mámíli-yé-ndá:

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

As with the more general Verbal Noun in *-lé*, a low-toned nominal compound initial (usually an incorporated object) may be added. Thus *ɪŋgè-érá-ndá:≡y* 'water-drawing' (*ɪŋgé* 'water', A/O-stem of *ééré* 'draw water'), or with a Definite determiner *ɪŋgè-érá-ndá: kó* 'the water-drawing'.

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

- (xx1) *íyó [tè:-ŋgò]-[kérá-ndá:≡y]*
today [firewood-Sg.L]-[go.get-VbIN≡it.is]
[bà:-ólé má] òndú-Ø
[father-house in] not.be-3SgS
'Today, there is no going and getting wood in (= among) families.'
(2005-1a)

4.2.3.3 *Abstractive and other nominalizations with suffix -n*

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

The sense is **abstractive**, cf. English *-ness* and similar nominalizations. The stem that serves as the basis for the derivative may be a verb or adjective (or even a noun with adjective-like sense). In some cases the Abstractive is part of a word-family with both verbs and adjectives and it is not always possible to determine a unique basis word. (xx1.a-e) are organized around rough semantic types. Shown in (xx1) are all uncompounded Abstractives of this type in my lexicon as of May 2006, and it should therefore be representative, but many other forms can be elicited. In general, the Abstractive in **-n** most often denotes a state or condition

(xx1)	Abstractive	gloss	related form(s)
	a. conditions/states		
	àyǐ-n	‘suffering, fatigue’	áy ‘be tired’
	gǐrǐyě-n	‘poverty’	gǐrǐyé: ‘pauper’, gǐrǐyé ‘become poor’
	gǐrbǎ-n	‘blindness’	gǐrbà ‘blind person’
	tùgùmǎ-n	‘deafness’	tùgúmà ‘deaf person’
	sà:mǎ-n	‘sickness’	sǎ:mà ‘sick person’
	dàgǐ-lǐ-yě-n	‘being unlocked’	dàgǐ-lé ‘unlock’, MP dàgǐ-lǐ-yé
	b. qualities		
	sèmě-n	‘slyness’	sémè ‘sly’
	mǎ:mǐ-n	‘ability’	mǎ:m ‘be capable’
	èjě-n	‘cleanness; light’	éjé ‘be clean’, èjê: ‘clean’
	gàbǐ-n	‘tallness, height’	gàbê: ‘tall’, gábí ‘become tall’
	kèlǎ-n	‘hatred’	kélâ- ‘not like’
	c. actions		
	bògǐ-n	‘barking (of dog)’	bògǐ ‘bark’
	màgǐ-n	‘magic’	màgǐ ‘do magic (tell fortunes)’
	sòngǎ-n	‘(a) curse’	sóngé ‘curse (someone)’

d. results of actions

dùmě-n	‘earnings; property’	dùmé	‘obtain’
dèngě-n	‘loss’	dèngé	‘lose’
nàmǐ-n	‘damage, harm’	nǎm	‘damage, waste’ (verb)

e. other semantic categories

dàmǎ-n	‘totemic place’	dámá	‘totem’
jǐmbě-n	‘darkness’	jǐmbí	‘become dark’

A possible frozen case is *gùlǎn* ‘finery’.

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

(xx2)	Abstractive	gloss	related form(s)
a.	<i>ínǐ-n</i> <i>óbì-n</i> <i>bǐy-n</i>	‘height’ ‘place to sit’ ‘bedding’	<i>ínǐ-yé</i> ‘stand’ <i>óbì-y</i> <i>bǐy</i> ‘lie down’
b.	<i>négí-n</i> <i>yóbí-n</i>	‘saltlick’ ‘race, running’	<i>négé</i> ‘lick’ <i>yòbé</i> ‘run’
c.	<i>àyí-n</i> <i>bègí-n</i> <i>tègí-n</i> <i>pèbì-n</i> <i>ìbì-n</i>	‘yawn’ ‘hiccup’ ‘gunpowder chamber’ ‘whistling’ ‘place to catch’	<i>ǎy</i> ‘yawn’ <i>bègí</i> ‘have the hiccups’ <i>tégé</i> ‘put in a pinch of gunpowder’ <i>pébí</i> ‘whistle’ <i>ìbì</i> ‘catch’

Possible frozen cases: *jùgīn* ‘week’, *búndán* ‘dancing ground’.

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

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

4.2.3.4 Nominalizations with suffix *-ngán*

The known examples of this nominalization are in (xx1). The vocalism is that of the I/U-stem, the examples showing a final /i/ that syncopates after an intervocalic unclustered sonorant. The suffix has high tone. The stem itself has low tones in the examples based on trisyllabic verbs, and high tones in the examples based on bi- and monosyllabic stems, but there are too few examples for clear generalizations.

(xx1)	nominal	gloss	related verb or phrase
	nǐgǐl-ngán	‘calculation’	nǐgǐl-ngán nígíl ‘do a calculation’
	sǐngǐl-ngán	‘rest, relaxation’	sǐngǐlí-y ‘rest, relax’
	bí-ngán	‘manner, way’	bé ‘remain, be’
	gír-ngán	‘pasture, herding’	gǐré gír-ngán gǐré ‘take (animals) to pasture’
	dùbǐ-ngán	‘forging’	dùbé ‘forge (verb)’

Other nouns ending in ...ngán, but not transparently decomposable, include pálásngán ‘neighborhood, quarter (of a village or town)’ and sò:-jǐngán ‘neighbor’.

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

(xx2)	yòbè-dòlè-ngân	‘race (competition)’	yòbé ‘run’, dòlé ‘be in front’
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4.2.3.5 Uncompounded agentives

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

I have one attestation of an uncompounded agentive, namely jòngé ‘healer’, see (xx79) in the sample text.

In addition, there is one noun that functions semantically as an agentive and is related to a verb, but it has all-high tone. In the absence of any parallel

forms, I take this noun to be a distinct lexical item of the same word-family as the verb, rather than as a derivative similar to the compound agentives.

- (xx1) **tálé** ‘hunter’, Pl **tál-mbó**
 related forms: verb **tál\tàlè** ‘hunt’, noun **tál** ‘hunt’

4.2.3.6 Instrument nominals (-î:)

This derivation is based on the relevant action verb.

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

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

(xx1)	singular	plural	verb
a.	ɲèc-î-ŋgò sift.L-Instr-Sg ‘couscous steaming pot’	ɲèc-î:	ɲècé ‘coarsely sift (couscous)’
b.	dèb-î-ŋgò cover.L-Instr-Sg ‘cover(ing)’	dèb-î:	dèbé ‘cover’
c.	bìb-î:-ŋgò rub.L-Instr-Sg ‘scrubber (for bathing)’	bìb-î:	bìbé ‘rub’
d.	ùgù-r-ú-ŋgò burn-Tr-Instr-Sg ‘incense’	ùgù-r-î:	ùgí-r ‘burn (incense)’

- e. **tùl-Ø-ηgò** **tùl-î:** **tùlé** ‘sell’
 sell-Instr-Sg
 ‘(a) sale’
- f. **dòn-Ø-ηgò** **dòn-î:** **dóné** ‘buy’
 buy-Instr-Sg
 ‘purchase’
- g. **bìl-Ø-ηgò** **bìl-î:** **bìlé** ‘exchange’
 exchange-Instr-Sg
 ‘exchange, barter’
- h. **tèη-Ø-ηgò** **tèη-î:** **téηé** ‘hobble (quadruped)’
 hobble-Instr-Sg
 ‘hobbles (rope tied around animal’s forelegs to reduce motion)’

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

- | (xx2) | singular | plural | verb |
|-------|---|--------------------|---|
| a. | dùr-î:
shoot.L-Instr
‘pole with hooked metal tip for pulling off fruits’ | dùr-î:-mbò | dùré ‘shoot (arrow), heave (spear)’ |
| b. | bìmb-î:
file.L-Instr
‘file (tool)’ | bìmb-î:-mbò | bìmbé ‘file (something)’ |
| c. | sòb-î:
make.hole.L-Instr
‘awl for puncturing wooden handles’ | sòb-î:-mbò | sóbé ‘make hole in wooden handle’ |
| d. | èmb-î:
pinch.L-Instr
‘tweezers’ | èmb-î:-mbò | émbé ‘hold by pinching’ |
| e. | sèm-î:
saw.L-Instr
‘saw (for cutting calabashes)’ | sèm-î:-mbò | sémé ‘saw (cut)’
(Pl also pronounced sèm-Ø-mbò) |
| f. | kòj-î:
scrape.L-Instr | kòj-î:-mbò | kójé ‘scrape’ |

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

4.2.3.8 Deverbal nominal with suffix -rú

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

(xx1)	a.	énjú-rú	‘prop to rebalance’	énjé	‘slide/slip (object) in’
	b.	tímbú-rú (also <i>tímbú:</i>)	‘lid’	tímbé	‘cover, put a lid on’
	c.	págú-rú	‘(sth used as) belt’	págí	‘tie’

Possible frozen case: *tàṅà-kógúró* ‘wooden bolt’. Given the alternation of *tímbú-rú* with *tímbú:*, other cases of nouns with final *ú:* might be considered here (*yámúbú:* ‘blanket’, *nínjú:* ‘door shutter’).

4.2.3.9 Minor nominal suffixes

Isolated formations not attributable to a productive pattern are listed in (xx1).

(xx1)	noun	gloss	related form(s)
a.	gùndà-ṅǎn	‘slavehood’	gùndé ‘slave’
b.	gàǐ-ṅǎn	‘snatching’	gàǐ ‘snatch’
c.	bí-ṅǎn	‘existence’	bò ‘be’, bé ‘remain’
d.	súmà-ṅǎl	‘brand (on cow)’	súmé ‘brand (a cow)’
e.	kínjàn	‘life; livelihood’	kíndè: ‘soul’, kíndò-kíndô: ‘(someone’s) shadow’, kíndô: ‘shade’
f.	námá-gùl	‘damage, waste’	námá-gí ‘damage’

4.3 Pronouns

4.3.1 Basic personal pronouns

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

(191)		basic	subject [_Verb][_Verb- <u> </u>]	object	possessor
a.	1Sg	<i>mí</i>	<i>mí</i> -m	<i>mí gĩ</i>	<i>mí ...</i>
	1Pl	<i>í</i>	<i>í</i> -y	<i>í gĩ</i>	<i>í ...</i>
b.	2Sg	<i>ó</i>	<i>ó</i> -ɔ/-o	<i>ó gĩ</i>	<i>ó ...</i>
	2Pl	<i>é</i>	<i>é</i> -ɛ/-e	<i>é gĩ</i>	<i>é ...</i>
c.	3Sg	<i>mó</i>	<i>mó</i> -∅	<i>mó gĩ</i>	<i>mó ...</i>
	3Pl	<i>bé</i>	<i>bé</i> -ɛ/-a	<i>bé gĩ</i>	<i>bé ...</i>

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

- (xxx) a. [*mí* *bà*] *gĩ* *kě̀lè* *̀̀ndè-mí*
 [[1SgP father] Acc] money give.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I gave (the) money to my father.’
- b. *núŋá:* [*mí* *gĩ*] *̀̀ndè*
 boubou [1Sg Acc] give.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She gave me a boubou.’
- c. *ŋgwè:* *mí* *gĩy-ê:* *mó*
 dog.L 1SgS kill.Perf-Ppl Def.AnSg
 ‘the dog that I killed’

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

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

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

- (xx1) [mó yè: mó] bǎngàl kàn-ó: mé,
 [AnSgP woman.L Def.AnSg] marriage do.Perf-2SgS if,
 [yě: mó]
 [woman Def.AnSg]
 ‘**That woman** (whom I was talking about earlier), when you marry her, the woman, ...’ (2005-1a)

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

- (xx2) a. jěnjà [kó sèmbè kó]
 God [InanSg.O.P strength.L Def.InanSg.O]
 jěnjà [í gǐ] ñdí-ná
 God [1Pl Acc] give-Hort.3Sg
 ‘May God give us that strength’ (or: ‘... the strength of/for that’)
 (2005.1a)
- b. jǎ: [jǎ: mà] mó j-ò:,
 since [yesterday in] AnSg take.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
 íyó [[kó sàrù: kó] mà yà:] bò-y
 today [InanSg.O.P question Def.InanSg.O] in Foc] be-1PlS

‘it (= questioning) began (= has been going on) since yesterday, today that questioning [focus] is what we are (still) in.’ (2005-1a)

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

(xx3) [[*kèngè* *ɲgîn*] *bèlì-yé* *nè*]
 [place.L here] get.up Adv.SS]
 [*hâl* [*dúwánsá* *mà*] *d-ɗ̣:*],
 [until [D in] arrive.Perf-2SgS]
 [*ké* *kèngè* *ɗin*] *òndú-∅*
 [**Inan.Sg.E** place.L **all**] not.be-3SgS
 ‘(To find a spot where one can discreetly urinate), you will get up from here (= the village) (and go) all the way to Douentza, there is no such spot.’ (2005-1a)

4.4 Demonstratives

4.4.1 Deictic demonstrative pronouns

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

4.4.1.1 ‘This/that’

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

In addition to its canonical deictic sense, the Animate Singular Proximal demonstrative *òm* is also used, in parallel clauses, to refer to the two

members of a pair who have been previously introduced as discourse referents ('There were two brothers; one (= *ǒm*) was ..., the other (= *ǒm*) was ...').

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

The animate demonstrative forms are given in (xx1).

(xx1) **Animate** Demonstrative Pronouns

	Sg	Pl
Proximal	<i>ǒm</i>	<i>èbíyè</i>
Near-Distal	<i>mó</i>	<i>bé</i>
Far-Distal	<i>òmá:</i>	<i>èbá:</i>

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

- (xx2) a. *pègè* *ǒm*
 sheep.L **Prox.AnSg**
 'this sheep'
- b. *pègè-mbò* *èbíyè*
 sheep-Pl.L **Prox.AnPl**
 'these sheep'
- c. *pègè* *mó*
 sheep.L **Near.AnSg**
 'that sheep (near you or just over there)'
- d. *pègè-mbò* *bé*
 sheep.Pl.L **Near.AnPl**
 'those sheep (near you or just over there)'
- e. *pègè* *òmá:*
 sheep.L **FarDist.AnSg**

‘that sheep (in the distance there)’

- d. **pègè-mbò** **èbá:**
 sheep.Pl.L **FarDist.AnPl**
 ‘those sheep (in the distance there)’

Another series, based on **ínè** ‘goat’ and its plural **ínà:**, is this: **ìnè òm** ‘this goat’, **ìn-à: ébíyè** ‘these goats’, **ìnè mó** ‘that goat’, and **ínà: bé** ‘those goats’. Another with the human **yě:** ‘woman’ and its plural **yàwó:** is: **yè: òm**, **yàwò: èbíyè**, **yè: mó**, **yàwò: bé**, **yè: òmá:**, **yàwò: èbá:**. Note that the lexically specific forms of the singular and plural are respected.

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

(xx3) **Inanimate** Demonstrative Pronouns

	InanSg (O)	InanSg (E)	InanPl
Proximal	ngú	ngí	ěy
Near-Distal	kó	ké	yé
Far-Distal	ngwá:	ngá:	eyá:

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

- (xx4) a. **bá:-gò** **ngú**
 stick-InanSg.O.L **Prox.InanSg.O**
 ‘this stick’
- b. **báyè** **ěy**
 stick.Pl.L **Prox.InanPl**
 ‘these sticks’
- c. **bá:-gò** **kó**
 stick-InanSg.O.L **NearDist.InanSg.O**
 ‘that stick (near you or just over there)’
- d. **báyè** **yé**
 stick.Pl.L **NearDist.InanPl**
 ‘those sticks (near you or just over there)’

- e. **bà:-gò** **̀̀gwá:**
stick-InanSg.O.L **FarDist.InanSg.O**
'that stick (in the distance there)'
- d. **pègè-mbò** **̀̀yá:**
stick.Pl.L **FarDist.InanPl**
'those sticks (in the distance there)'

The other inanimate class is exemplified by **tà̀̀nà** 'granary': singulars **tà̀̀nà ̀̀gí**, **tà̀̀nà kè**, **tà̀̀nà ̀̀gá:**, plurals **tà̀̀nà ̀̀y**, **tà̀̀nà yé**, **tà̀̀nà ̀̀yá:**.

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

4.4.2 Definite morphemes

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

- (xx1) a. [**pègè mó**] [[**̀̀nè mó**] **mà**]
[sheep **Def.AnSg**] [[goat Def.AnSg] Dat]
mó **gĩn-ô:**
AnSgS say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
'(As) the sheep-Sg said to the goat, ...'
- b. [**pègè-mbó bé**] [[**̀̀nà: bé**] **mà**]
[sheep.Pl **Def.AnPl**] [[goat.Pl Def] Dat]
bé **gĩn-ô:**
AnPlS say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
'(As) the sheep-Pl said to the goats, ...'
- c. [**kĩnù: kó**] **dè̀̀nè-Ø**
[stone Def.InanSg] fall.Perf-3SgS
'The stone fell.' (**kĩnù:**)
- d. [**kĩn-bò bé**] **dè̀̀n-à:**
[stone-Pl Def.AnPl] fall.Perf-3PlS
'The stones fell.' ('stone' is animate in the plural)

4.4.3 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.3.1 Locative adverbs

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

- (212) a. *ng̃in* 'here' (Proximal)
ng̃í mà
ên
- b. *kên* 'there' (deictic, Near-Distal)
ké mà
- c. *ng̃â:n* 'there' (deictic, Far-Distal)
- d. *kên* 'there' (discourse-definite)
ké mà

4.4.3.2 Deictic adverb plus Approximative *-dè*

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

- (212) a. *ng̃in-dè* 'around here'
én-dè
- b. *kén-dè* 'around there' (deictic, Near-Distal)
- c. *ng̃á:n-dè* 'around there' (deictic, Far-Distal)
- d. *kén-dè* 'around there' (anaphoric)

In a text, /*ḡí mà*/ and *ḡín-dè* are used to indicate two distinct but equidistant locations ('east' and 'west'). In other words, *ḡín-dè* here functions as a kind of **obviative**.

- (xxx) *ùjúǵó* [*ḡí mà*] *túmbò-njò-Ø*,
 sun [here] rise-Pres-3SgS,
ùjúǵó *ḡín-dè* *déǵà-njò-Ø*
 sunSg here-Approx fall-Pres-3SgS
 'The sun rises here (pointing to east), and the sun sets here (pointing to west).' [2005-2a]

4.4.3.3 Demonstrative manner adverbials 'like that' (*kèné*), 'like this' (*nèné*)

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

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

4.4.4 Presentatives

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

- (xx1) InanSg.O InanSg.E InanPl
 úǵò: *íǵè:* *éyè:*

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

- (xx2) a. [*ǵimô:* *kó*] *úǵò:*
 [tree Def.InanSg.O] **Presntv**.InanSg.O
 'Here's the tree.'
 b. [*táǵà* *ké*] *íǵè:*

[granary Def.InanSg.E] **Presntv.InanSg.E**
 ‘Here is the granary.’

- c. [t̃imê: yé] éyè:
 [tree.Pl Def.InanPl] **Presntv.InanPl**
 ‘Here are the trees.’

The animate construction involves inflected forms of a quasi-verb related to the Definite determiner (and Near-Distant demonstrative pronouns), Animate Singular **mó** and Animate Plural **bé**. If the subject is pronominal, it is represented by an independent pronoun preceding the quasi-verb.

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

(xx3) Presentative (Animate)

a. first person

1Sg **ómò:-m**
 1Pl **ébè:-y**

b. Proximal, third person (also extended to second person)

AnSg **ómò:**
 AnPl **ébè:**

c. Nonproximal, third person (also extended to second person)

AnSg **òmá:mò:**
 AnPl **èbá:bè:**

- (xx4) a. **yě:** **ómò:**
 woman **be.Sg**
 ‘Here is a woman.’

- b. **yàwó:** **ébè:**
 woman.Pl **be.Pl**
 ‘Here are the women.’

- c. *mí* *ómò:-m*
 1Sg **be.Pl-1SgS**
 ‘Here I am.’
- d. *í* *ébé:-y*
 1Pl **be.Pl-1PlS**
 ‘Here we are.’
- e. *é* *ébé:*
 2Pl **be.Pl**
 ‘There you-Pl are.’

4.5 Adjectives

4.5.1 Underived adjectives

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

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

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

Based on agreement patterns with adjective, it is necessary to distinguish four categories of nouns: **animates** (humans, animals, and some objects such as ‘spear’) and **three categories of inanimates**, which may be labeled **O/E/ye**, **O/E/mbo**, and **E/E/ye**. There are two major classes of adjectives with different suffixal patterns, a **nonsuffixing** type (with two distinct vocalic endings, e.g. *e:* and *o:*), and a **suffixing** type that allows suffixes such as Singular *-ŋgo* and *-ŋge* and Plural *-mbo*. The nonsuffixing adjectives are sufficient to distinguish O/E from E/E types of nouns. The O/E type has two subclasses, based on the form of the plural of the suffixing adjectives. The predominant inanimate type is O/E/ye. The E/E type is associated with places and a few other semantic categories. The O/E/mbo type is rare.

(xx1) gloss Sg, Pl Adj (nonsuffix) Adj (suffix)

		Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
a. animate		E	O	-ye/∅	-mbo
‘person’	nǒ:, nò-mbó				
‘donkey’	párηgá, páηgá-mbó				
‘spear’	sàmbé, sàmbú:				
b. inanimate O/E/ye (common)		O	E	-ηgo	-ye/∅
‘hand’	nùmǎ:, nùmě:				
‘stick’	bà:-gó, bǎyè				
‘rope’	sí:-ηgó, sí:				
c. inanimate E/E (places etc.)		E	E	-ηge	-ye/∅
‘place’	kéηgé				
‘well’	dǎy (dǎy-ηgé), dǎy				
d. inanimate O/E/mbo (rare)		O	E	-ηgo	-mbo
‘stone’	kǐnû:, kǐ-mbò				
‘animal’	dúmé-ηgó, dúmó:				

4.5.1.1 Nonsuffixing adjectives with final long-vowel alternation (...ε:, ...ɔ:)

Some adjectives have **two forms** used when modifying nouns within a NP. The two forms are distinguished by a shift between **back/low** and **front** final long vowels (a:/ε:, ɔ:/ε:, o:/e:, u:/i:). The basic structure of the paradigm is (xx1).

(xx1) ending	category
front vowel	Animate Singular Inanimate Plural Inanimate Singular (E/E class)
back/low vowel	Animate Plural Inanimate Singular (O/E class)

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

(xx2)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘person’ ‘child’ ‘donkey’	nò: nález: èndè: nález: pàrngà nález:	nò-mbò nález: òndò: nález: pàrngà-mbò nález:
b.	‘hand’ ‘stick’ ‘rope’	nùmà: nález: bà:-gò nález: sĩ:-ngò nález:	nùmè: nález: bàyè nález: sĩ: nález:
c.	‘head’ ‘place’	kĩ: nález: kèngè nález:	kĩ: nález: kèngè nález:
d.	‘stone’	kĩnù: nález: (or: nález:)	kĩ-mbò nález:

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

(xx2)	example	agreement class	Sg	Pl
	‘person’	Animate (always E/O)	é:	á:
	‘hand’	Inanimate O/E-class (both subclasses)	á:	é:
	‘head’	Inanimate E/E-class	é:	é:

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

The vocalic opposition á: versus é: for nález: ‘good’ is one of several vocalic oppositions used by different adjectives (xx3). These are all of the basic type back/low {u o ɔ a} versus front {i e ε}. The two members of each alternation are distributed like a: and e: in (xx2), above.

(xx3)	alternation	example	gloss
a:	ε:	nález:, nález:	‘good’
ɔ:	é:	bòbò:, bòbè:	‘weak’
o:	é:	gàbò:, gàbè:	‘tall’
u:	i:	bàndígí:, bàndùgú:	‘last’

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

Examples of these types are in (xxx).

(xx1)	gloss	back/low-form	front-form
a. a:, ε:			
	‘good’	nálá:	nálé:
	‘small, young’	pàlá:	pàlé:
	‘bad, ugly’	nè:ndá:	nè:ndé: (note vowel harmony)
	‘new’	kàndǎ:	kàndě:
	‘other’	àndǎ:	àndě:
	‘kindly’	pà:gá:	pà:gé:
	ordinals (3rd+)	...-nǎ:	...-ně:
b. ɔ:, ε:			
	‘fresh; moist’	èmó:	èmé:
	‘weak’	bòbô:	bòbê: (also bèbô:, bèbê:)
	‘rotten’	gòmô:	gòmê:
	‘loose, slack’	yòrô:	yòrê:
	‘big, adult’	gǐndó:	gǐndé:
	‘first’	dùlǒ:	dùlê:
	‘old’	kúnjó:	kúnjé:
	‘ugly’	tàpô:	tàpê:
	‘crooked’	kòndô:	kòndê:
	‘fragile’	bùgô:	bùgê:
c. o:, e:			
	‘wet’	tèmbô:	tèmbê:
	‘tall’	gàbô:	gàbê:
	‘straight’	tèndô:	tèndê:
	‘unripe, raw’	kòlô:	kòlê:
	‘crowded’	àngô:	àngê:
	‘dry’	màyô:	màyê:
	‘second’	nòjǒ:	nòjê:
	‘firm’	màlô:	màlê:
	‘curved’	tòndô:	tòndê:
	‘crooked’	pòndô:	pòndê:

‘dense’	kùrô:	kùrê:
‘flat’	dàgô:	dàgê:
‘pointed’	sèmbô:	sèmbê:
‘pointed’	sèrô:	sèrê:

d. i:, u:		
‘last’	bàndùgú:	bàndígí:

4.5.1.2 Suffixing adjectives with four forms (-ye/∅, -ηgo, -ηge, -mbo)

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

Consider the paradigm of ‘white’ (xx1).

(xx1)	class	Sg	Pl
	Animate	pílè	pílè-mbò
	Inanimate		
	O/E/ye	pílè-ηgò	pílè
	O/E/mbo	pílè-ηgò	pílè-mbò
	E/E	pílè-ηgè	pílè

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

(xxx)	gloss	InanSg	InanPl/AnSg	AnPl
	a. final short {e ε a}			
	<i>bisyllabic</i>			
	‘bent’	gòndú-ηgò/-ηgé	gòndé	gòndú-mbó
	‘blunt’	dùmbú-ηgò/-ηgé	dùmbé	dùmbú-mbó
		[with humans: ‘having legs broken or paralyzed’]		
	‘skinny’	—	kómbé	kómbú-mbó

‘white’	pílè-ηγò/-ηγè	pílè	pílè-mbò
‘red’	bán-gò/-gè	bánè	bán-bò
‘black’	jémè-ηγò/-ηγè	jémè	jémè-mbò
‘skinny (tree)’	kémbé-ηγó/-ηγé	kémbé	—
‘ripe, cooked’	ílà-ηγò/-ηγé	ílà	—
‘blind’	—	gírba	gírba-mbò
‘curving’	kwàndú-ηγó/-ηγé	kwàndé	—
‘curvy’	pàmbú-ηγó/-ηγé	pàmbé	—
‘tilted’	bàmbí-ηγó/-ηγé	bàmbé	—
<i>trisyllabic {HL}</i>			
‘cool’	yégèlè-ηγò/-ηγè	yégèlè	yégèlè-mbò
‘coarse’	yágàjà-ηγò/-ηγè	yágàjà	yágàjà-mbò
‘coarse (skin)’	kágàjà-ηγò/-ηγè	kágàjà	kágàjà-mbò
<i>trisyllabic {LH}</i>			
‘worn-out’	sògòjú-ηγó/-ηγé	sògòjé	—
‘damaged’	kògòl-ηγó/-ηγé	kògòlé	—

b. final long i:

<i>bisyllabic</i>			
‘thin’	mènjú-ηγó/-ηγé	mènjí:	mènjú-mbó
	[InanSg = AnPl also mènjú:]		
‘fat, thick’	bín-gó/gé	bíní:	bín-bó
	[InanSg = AnPl also bínú:]		
‘short’	dèndú-ηγó	dèndí:	dèndí-mbó
	[InanSg = AnPl also dèndú:]		
‘tender’, soft’	bür-ηγò/ηγè	bürí:	bür-mbò
‘rancid’	píbú-ηγò	píbí:	—

c. final long e:

<i>bisyllabic</i>			
‘flat, wide’	wàyá-ηγó/ηγé	wàyé:	wàyá-mbó
‘empty’	ĩnjé-ηγó/ηγé	ĩnjé:	ĩnjé-mbó
‘long’	jàlá-ηγó/-ηγé	jàlé:	jàlá-mbó
<i>trisyllabic</i>			
‘slow’	támàlà-ηγò/-ηγè	támàlè:	támàlà-mbò
	[InanPl = AnSg also támàlà]		
‘smooth’	ónànà-ηγò/-ηγè	ónànè:	ónànà-mbò
	[InanPl = AnSg also ónànà]		
‘foul’	kújàjà-ηγò/-ηγè	kújàjè:	kújàjà-mbò
‘crispy’	sínànà-ηγò/-ηγè	sínànè:	—
‘lightly salted’	éjèjè-ηγò/-ηγè	éjèjè:	éjèjè-mbò
‘bitter’	ámàlà-ηγò/-ηγè	ámàlè:	—

d. final short o

bisyllabic

‘worthless’	lǎ:r-ŋgó	là:ró	lǎ:r-mbó
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e. suffix -yè

Cvy

‘hard, solid’	mǎy-ŋgò/-ŋgè	mǎy-yè	mǎy-mbò
‘good’	něy-ŋgò/-ŋgè	něy-yè	něy-mbò
‘hot; fast’	dǒy ⁿ -ŋgò/-ŋgè	dǒy ⁿ -yè	dǒy ⁿ -mbò

bisyllabic

‘slow’	pèjú-ŋgò/-ŋgè	pèjí-yè	pèjí-mbò(
‘narrow’	pèmbí-ŋgò/-ŋgè	pèmbí-yè	—
‘sour, salty’	ǎm-gò/-gè	àmí-yè	ǎm-bò

[human sense: ‘loud-talking’]

‘sweet’	ěl-ŋgò/-ŋgè	ěli-yè	ěl-mbò
‘sharp’		ěli-yè	ělú-mbò
‘pungent’	kèrú-ŋgò	kèrí-yè	—
‘difficult’	nám-gò/-gè	námí-yè	nám-bò
‘heavy’	nǐm-gò/-gè	nǐmí-yè	nǐm-bò
‘bitter’	gàlú-ŋgò/-ŋgè	gàlí-yè	gàlú-mbò
‘nearby’	dǔm-gò/-gè	dùmí-yè	dǔm-bò
‘deep’	mǐn-gò/gè	mǐnì-yè	—
‘distant’	wǎŋ-gò/gè	wàgí-yè	—
‘thin (wall)’	ènú-ŋgò/-ŋgè	èní-yè	—
‘lightweight’	yěr-ŋgò/-ŋgè	yèrí-yè	yěr-mbò

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

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

4.5.2 Adjectives containing frozen Negative suffix (**nè:ndá**; **èndá**)

nè:ndá: (**nè:ndé**;) ‘**bad, ugly**’ likely contains (historically) the stem seen in **něy-yè** ‘good’. The remainder of the ‘bad’ stem is most likely based on reinterpretation of an original negative predicate, the synchronic version of which is **něy=lá** ‘it isn’t good’ (from **něy** ‘it is good’). A negative participle might also have been involved in some way. The fact that **nè:ndá** is no longer segmentable into ‘good’ plus a Negative morpheme is shown by the fact that it has its own chain of derivatives, such as Inchoative **néndá-ndí** or **néndá-ndí-yé**

‘become bad’, and by the fact that it (as predicate **nè:ndá** ‘it is bad’) can be negated: **nè:ndà=lá** ‘it isn’t bad’.

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

4.5.3 Adjectival suffix **-ndé**

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

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

4.5.4 Suffix **-lù:**, **-lí:** ‘-ish’

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

(xx1)	adjective	with -lù:	‘gloss’
a.	bánè	bànù-lù:	‘reddish’
	gémè	gèmè-lù:	‘blackish’
	pílè	pǐlè-lù:	‘whitish’
	wéré	wèrè-lù:	‘greenish’
b.	búlà-búlà	bùlà-lù:	‘bluish’

nòl-púnè-ηgò nòlò-lù: ‘greenish’

c. jàlé: jàlà-lù: ‘longish’

An example is (xx2).

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

Also of interest is *gèmlmbó*: (*gèmlmbé*:) ‘shiny black’ (from *gémè* ‘black’), applied for example to glossy starlings.

4.6 Participles

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

4.7 Numerals

Numerals follow modified nouns.

4.7.1 Cardinal numerals

4.7.1.1 ‘One’, ‘same (one)’, and ‘other’

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

(xxx)	gloss	noun	‘one ...’
a.	‘tree’	<i>řimô:</i>	<i>řimò: kúndú</i>
	‘stick’	<i>bă:-gò</i>	<i>bà:-gò kúndú</i>
	‘eye’	<i>řiró</i>	<i>řirò kúndú</i>
	‘hand’	<i>nùmă:</i>	<i>nùmà: kúndú</i>

	‘tree’	tímô:	řimò: kúndú
	‘skin, hide’	gùjú	gùjù kúndú
	‘stone’	cínû:	cìnù: kúndú
b.	‘well’	dăy	dày kúndé
	‘shed’	gúfi:-ngè	gùfi: kúndé
	‘granary’	tánâ	tànà kúndé
	‘house’	ólé	òlè kúndé
	‘courtyard’	bándà	bàndà kúndé
	‘tomtom’	bónî:	bònî: kúndé
c.	‘dog’	ngwě:	ngwè: kúndé
	‘sheep’	pègé	pègè kúndé
	‘donkey’	pàrngà	pàrngà kúndé
	‘person’	nǒ:	nò: kúndé

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

A more emphatic adjective translatable as ‘(a/the) single ...’ is **tòmê:** or **tòmô:** depending on the class of the noun: **nǒ: tòmê:** ‘one single person’. The noun does not drop tones, suggesting that the numeral here is really an adverbial, or is appositional. The phrase **dénján tòmô:** (variant **dénján tòmê:**) ‘one day’ is used in narrative, as in English, to mean ‘one (=a certain) day’. Close siblinghood is expressed by the adverbial phrases **nî: tòmê:** ‘(having) one (=the same) mother’ and **bă: tòmê:** ‘(having) one father’, which are juxtaposed when both mother and father are shared. Although the numeral ‘one’ is obligatory, it may agree morphologically with a plural subject, as in predicative **nî: tòmô:=y** ‘we (=you and I) are of the same mother’.

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

4.7.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’

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

(xxx)	gloss	form	comment
	‘2’	nô:y	

‘3’	tà:ndí:	
‘4’	ké:jèy	
‘5’	nùmí:	
‘6’	kúlèy	
‘7’	swêy	phonetic [sɔ̃ɛ̃j]
‘8’	sá:gǐ:	
‘9’	twây	phonetic [tɔ̃âj]
‘10’	píyéfi	

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

4.7.1.3 Decimal units (‘10’, ‘20’, ...) and combinations (‘11’, ‘59’, ...)

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

(xx1)	gloss	form
		píyéfi
		pǔ:-nòy
		pó-tà:ndí:
		pòlǎ-kéjèy, pòlé-kéjèy
		pòlǎ-nùmí:
		pòlǎ-kúlèy
		pòlǎ-swêy
		pòlǎ-sá:gǐ:
		pòlǎ-twây

The mini-sequence ‘20’-‘30’ is based on *pǔ:-* or *pó-* plus the relevant digit, with ‘2’ slightly reduced to *-nòy* (the vowel is shortened, and harmonized to the preceding vowel). The remaining terms are based on *pòlǎ-* (dialectally *pòlé-*) plus the digit term, with ‘4’ slightly reduced to *-kéjèy* (the first vowel is shortened). The first vowel in the digit term in ‘30’ and ‘80’ is not shortened.

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

The decimal terms, like the single-digit terms from ‘2’ up, follow a modified noun (in plural form, without tone-dropping): *pègè-mbó pòlǎ-nùmí:* ‘fifty sheep’.

A decimal (or larger) term D **combined with a single-digit term S** takes the form [D *sǐgá* S]. In interlinears I will gloss *sǐgá* as ‘plus’ but it occurs only in such numerals. When S is ‘1’, it takes the form *tómày*. In ‘11’ to ‘19’. The forms taken by the D term before *sǐgá* also differ somewhat from their independent forms, in that final semivowels are removed, and final long vowels are shortened or in one case (‘50’) deleted. In all cases, the final tone is high. In ‘20’, the entire form is high-toned in normal pronunciation. The independent forms and those used before *sǐgá* are shown together in (xx2). Examples are in (xx3).

(xx2)	gloss	independent	with following <i>sǐgá</i> (and digit)
	‘10’	<i>píyéfi</i>	<i>pé: sǐgá ...</i>
	‘20’	<i>pǔ:-này</i>	<i>pǔ:-nó sǐgá...</i>
	‘30’	<i>pó-tà:ndi:</i>	<i>pó-tà:ndí sǐgá...</i>
	‘40’	<i>pòlò-kéjèy</i>	<i>pòlò-kéjé sǐgá ...</i>
	‘50’	<i>pòlò-nùmí:</i>	<i>pòlò-nùm sǐgá ...</i>
	‘60’	<i>pòlò-kúlèy</i>	<i>pòlò-kulé sǐgá ...</i>
	‘70’	<i>pòlò-swèy</i>	<i>pòlò-swé sǐgá ...</i>
	‘80’	<i>pòlò-sá:gǐ:</i>	<i>pòlò-sá:gí sǐgá ...</i>
	‘90’	<i>pòlò-twây</i>	<i>pòlò-twá sǐgá ...</i>

- (xx3) a. *pé: sǐgá tómày*
 ten plus one
 ‘eleven’
- b. *pòlò-kéjé sǐgá nùmí:*
 ten-four plus five
 ‘forty-five’
- c. *pǔ:-nó sǐgá tà:ndi:*
 ten-two plus three
 ‘twenty-three’

4.7.1.4 Large numerals (‘100’, ‘1000’, ...) and their composites

The larger units are given in (xx1). For *sǐŋ* ‘hundred’, the final nasal tends to assimilate in position to a following consonant.

- (xx1) a. ‘hundred’ *sǐŋ* (for currency often: *té:mèndérè*)
 b. ‘thousand’ *mùjú*

- c. ‘million’ *milyô:ⁿ* (<French)

sĩj is felt to be the authentic Najamba term, but as in all Dogon languages in the Douentza-Boni areas the Fulfulde loanword *té:mëndérè* is also common with reference to currency.

These are treated like common nouns in that they may be followed by single-digit numerals in their regular forms: *sĩn nô:y* ‘two hundred’, *mùjú tà:ndi:* ‘three thousand’, *milyô: nùmí:* ‘five million’. When the sense is understood to be ‘one hundred’ or ‘one thousand’, the ‘1’ numeral is typically omitted. For ‘one million’ the ‘1’ numeral may be present or absent.

When an unmodified ‘(one) hundred’ or ‘(one) thousand’ is followed by a smaller numeral other than a single digit (as in ‘220’ or ‘1200’), the regular conjunctive particle *má* ‘and’ is added to the larger term (xx2.a-b). This morpheme is not used when the larger-unit term is itself modified, as in ‘two hundred’ or ‘five million’ (xx2.c-d).

- (xx2) a. [*pègè-mbó* *sĩm* *má* *pǔ:-nòy*] *jógò-m*
 [sheep-Pl hundred **and** ten-two] have-1SgS
 ‘I have one hundred twenty sheep.’ (*sĩj*)
- b. *pègè-mbó* *mùjú* *má* [*sĩn* *nô:y*]
 sheep-Pl thousand **and** [hundred two]
 ‘one thousand two hundred sheep’
- c. *pègè-mbó* [*sĩn* *nô:y*] *pó-tà:ndi:*
 sheep-Pl [hundred two] ten-three
 ‘two hundred and thirty sheep’
- d. *pègè-mbó* [*mùjú* *nô:y*] [*sĩn* *tà:ndi:*]
 sheep-Pl [thousand two] [hundred three]
 ‘two thousand three hundred sheep’

The ‘million’ term *milyô:ⁿ*, a loanword, does not easily enter into compactly expressed combinations of these types. Typically the ‘million’ term (with or without its own modifiers) and a numeral phrase denoting a lesser quantity are conjoined by *má* ‘and’, and if a modified noun is present it is repeated.

- (xx3) [[*pègè-mbó* *milyô:ⁿ* *kúndú*] *má*] [*pègè-mbó* *mùjú* *píyéfi*]
 [[sheep-Pl million.L one] **and**] [sheep-Pl thousand ten]
 ‘one million, ten thousand sheep’

A single-digit add-on uses *sǐgá*. When the larger expression is also modified by a single digit ‘3’ to ‘9’ (as in ‘301’), this single-digit term undergoes the same segmental modifications seen above in combinations of single-digits with decimal terms (e.g. ‘12’, ‘57’). However, *nô:y* ‘two’ modifying ‘hundred’ or ‘thousand’ (as in ‘203’ or ‘2006’) does not undergo a segmental reduction. All single-digit terms preceding *sǐgá* (including ‘2’) end in a high tone. For ‘(one) hundred/thousand’, *má* ‘and’ is used before *sǐgá*. The paradigm of *sǐŋ* ‘hundred’ is given in (xxx); that of *mùjú* ‘thousand’ is entirely parallel.

(xxx)	gloss	independent	with following <i>sǐgá</i> (and digit)
	‘100’	<i>sǐŋ</i>	<i>sǐm má sǐgá ...</i>
	‘200’	<i>sǐn nô:y</i>	<i>sǐn nó:y sǐgá...</i>
	‘300’	<i>sǐn tà:ndí:</i>	<i>sǐn tà:ndí sǐgá...</i>
	‘400’	<i>sǐn kɛ:jɛy</i>	<i>sǐn kɛ:jɛ sǐgá ...</i>
	‘500’	<i>sǐn nùmí:</i>	<i>sǐn nùm sǐgá ...</i>
	‘600’	<i>sǐn kúlɛy</i>	<i>sǐn kúlɛ sǐgá ...</i>
	‘700’	<i>sǐn swɛy</i>	<i>sǐn swɛ sǐgá ...</i>
	‘800’	<i>sǐn sá:gǐ:</i>	<i>sǐn sá:gǐ sǐgá ...</i>
	‘900’	<i>sǐn twây</i>	<i>sǐn twá sǐgá ...</i>

4.7.1.5 Currency

The local currency for several decades has been the West African CFA franc. In all native languages, amounts under a million francs are expressed in multiples of the 5 CFA unit (in some languages still called by a term such as “riyal” originally denoting a French-colonial coin not in use since Independence). In Najamba this is called *kɛ̀lú:* or (Fulfulde loan) *m̀bú:dù*. Both terms can also mean ‘money’. *kɛ̀lú:* (Pl *kɛ̀lɛ̀*) also means ‘cowry shell(s)’, formerly used as a kind of currency (and still used as decorations, and by fortune-tellers). Since 5 CFA is worth about one American penny, numeral phrases denoting currency sums are often quite large. One effect is that it is usually unnecessary to specify that one is talking about currency. Thus 100,000 CFA francs is expressed literally as “twenty thousand riyals” (*cɛ̀lú: mùjú p̃:-nòy*), or more often as just “twenty thousand” (*m̀jú p̃:-nòy*), there being few other countable entities of this numerical magnitude.

For sums beginning with 1,000,000 CFA francs, expressions based on the French loan *mílyô:ⁿ* is used. Here it denotes one million CFA francs, not one million riyals.

4.7.1.6 *Distributive numerals*

Distributives are adverbial in nature, specifying a spacing (in position or time) between more or less identical entities, which may express any grammatical relation in the clause. Distributives are expressed as reduplications of numerals (xx1).

- (xx1) a. **kúndú-kúndú** **jénjá**
one-one take
 ‘Take (them) one at a time (one by one).’
- b. [yàwó: bé] tán-tán w-ô:
 [woman.Pl Def.AnPl] **three-three** come.Perf-Ppl
 ‘The women came three at a time (by threes).’

Some reductions occur in the forms of the numerals. For single-digit terms, the forms are those in (xx2). Note the **uniform high tones**, and minor segmental reductions seen in other combining forms of these numerals. For ‘1’, the Distributive form is based on the choice among two simple forms associated with different nouns.

(xx2)	gloss	form	distributive
‘1’		kúndé, kúndú	kúndé-kúndé, kúndú-kúndú
‘2’		nô:y	nóy-nóy
‘3’		tà:ndi:	tán-tán
‘4’		ké:jêy	kéjé-kéjé
‘5’		nùmí:	núm-núm
‘6’		kúlêy	kúlé-kúlé
‘7’		swêy	swé-swé
‘8’		sá:gǐ:	ságí-ságí
‘9’		twây	twá-twá
‘10’		píyéǎ	píyéǎ-píyéǎ

Examples involving larger numerals are in (xx3). The main issue is how much of a complex numeral to repeat in the Distributive. For ‘20’, we get either a full iteration based on the combining form **pó:-nó** (as used before **sígá** in ‘21’ through ‘29’), or an interesting partial reduplication of the single-digit component only, where the first occurrence takes the combining form (**-nó-**) and the second takes the fuller form **-nóy**. The latter is most often used in connection with currency (i.e. items that are sold for ‘20 riyals’ = 100 francs

CFA each). Distributives for ‘30’ through ‘90’ are constructed by adding the respective single-digit Distributive from (xx1), above, to *pǔ:-* or *pǔ́-*. Distributives based on unmodified ‘hundred’ or ‘thousand’ involve stem-iteration with lexical tones preserved. Distributives based on complex numerals containing the single-digit connective *sǐgá* reduplicate only the following single-digit term, as in ‘35’ in (xx3).

(xx3)	gloss	form	Distributive
	‘20’	<i>pǔ:-nòy</i>	<i>pǔ:-nó-pǔ:-nó</i> <i>pǔ:-nó-nòy</i> (especially for
	currency)		
	‘30’	<i>pó-tà:ndí:</i>	<i>pó-tán-tán</i>
	‘50’	<i>pǔ́lǔ-nùmí:</i>	<i>pǔ́lǔ-núm-núm</i>
	‘100’	<i>sǐŋ</i>	<i>sǐŋ-sǐŋ</i>
	‘200’	<i>sǐŋ nò:y</i>	<i>sǐŋ nóy-nóy</i>
	‘1000’	<i>mùjú</i>	<i>mùjú-mùjú</i>
	‘35’	<i>pó-tà:ndí sǐgá nùmí:</i>	<i>pó-tà:ndí sǐgá nùm-núm</i>

4.7.2 Ordinal adjectives

4.7.2.1 ‘First’ and ‘last’

‘First’ as ordinal adjective is *dùlě:*. Like (other) modifying adjectives, but unlike numerals from ‘2’ up, it forces tone-dropping on the noun. The plural is *dùlǔ:*. There is no difference between inanimate and animate.

- (xxx) a. *pòlè* *dùlě:*
knife.L first
‘the first knife’
- b. *pòl-mbò* *dùlǔ:*
knife-Pl.L first.Pl
‘the first knives’
- c. *yè:* *dùlé:*
woman.L first
‘the first woman’
- d. *yàwò:* *dùlǔ:*
woman.Pl.L first.AnPl

‘the first women’

In complex numerals ending in ‘1’, such as ‘21’, the numeral *tómây* has an ordinal *tòmà-né:* (see the immediately following subsection).

Adverbial ‘first’ as in ‘we will finish the work first, then we will eat’ is *ǵirmà*. A related form *ǵirngí:* (pl *ǵirngú:*) means ‘first, in the lead (in a race or other competition)’, cf. French *en tête*.

‘Last’ as ordinal (opposite to ‘first’ in a finite temporal sequence, or to denote bringing up the rear in a competition) is *bàndǵí:*, Pl *bàndùgú:*, regardless of animacy.

- (xxx) a. *pòlè* *bàndǵí:*
knife.L last
‘the last knife’
- b. *pòl-mbò* *bàndùgú:*
knife-Pl.L last.Pl
‘the last knives’
- c. *yè:* *bàndǵí:*
woman.L last
‘the last woman’
- d. *yàwò:* *bàndùgú:*
woman.Pl.L last.Pl
‘the last women’

4.7.2.2 Other ordinals (suffix *-ně:*, *-nǎ:*)

There are no animacy distinctions in ordinals. ‘Second’ (*nòjě:*, *nòjǒ:*) is irregular, though the onset *nò* resembles the onset of other forms of ‘2’.

Ordinals from ‘third’ up are based on a suffix *-ně:* or *-nǎ:*, depending on agreement (for humans and other animates, *-nǎ:* is plural). When the Ordinal suffix is added to single-digit stem, various minor segmental changes are observed. In a complex numeral phrase, the suffix is added to the final numeral stem.

The relevant stem drops its tones before the suffix. Tone-dropping applies to the entirety of tightly-knit decimal combinations, as in ‘thirtieth’, and it extends to the *sǵá* ‘plus’ linker in complex numerals ending in a single-digit term (‘11’, ‘28’). However, tone-dropping does not extend to decimal or larger terms at the beginning of complex numerals. Thus in ‘eleventh’, based on a

cardinal numeral of the form ‘ten plus one’, the ordinal drops the tones of ‘plus one’ but not of “ten.”

(247)	E agreement	O agreement	gloss
	a. single-digit numeral		
	nòjě:	nòjǒ:	‘second’
	tàn-ně:	tàn-nǎ:	‘third’
	kějè-ně:	kějè-nǎ:	‘fourth’
	nùm-ně:	nùm-nǎ:	‘fifth’
	kùlè-ně:	kùlè-nǎ:	‘sixth’
	swè-ně:	swè-nǎ:	‘seventh’
	sàgĩ-ně:	sàgĩ-nǎ:	‘eighth’
	twà-ně:	twà-nǎ:	‘ninth’
	p̣yèl-ně:	p̣yèl-nǎ:	‘tenth’
	b. decimal		
	p̣ò:-nòy-ně:	p̣ò:-nòy-nǎ:	‘twentieth’
	p̣ò-tàn-ně:	p̣ò-tàn-nǎ:	‘thirtieth’
	p̣òlò-kějè-ně:	p̣òlò-kějè-nǎ:	‘fortieth’
	c. decimal plus single-digit numeral		
	pé: sǐgà tòrà-ně:	pé: sǐgà tòrà-nǎ:	‘eleventh’
	d. larger units (unmodified)		
	tè:mèndèrè-ně:	tè:mèndèrè-nǎ:	‘hundredth’
	sǐn-ně:	sǐn-nǎ:	‘hundredth’
	mùjù-ně:	mùjù-nǎ:	‘thousandth’
	e. hundred plus decimal numeral (two levels)		
	sǐn p̣ò:-nòy-ně:	sǐn p̣ò:-nòy-nǎ:	‘hundred and twentieth’

5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

The formulae used in this chapter to quickly capture the structure of a compound type are the following: a) n = noun, v = verb, a = adjective, x = variable word-class (usually a noun); b) using x as the example, \bar{x} = regular tones (i.e. no tone change in compounding), \acute{x} = all-high tones, \grave{x} = all-low tones, \check{x} = {LH} (rising) tone contour. For example, the formula (\check{x} \bar{n}) means that the compound ends in a noun with its regular tones, and begins with a stem of variable word class with all tones dropped.

5.1.1 Compounds of type (\check{x} \bar{n})

The productive type of noun-noun compound is of this type, with low-toned initial, and with the regular tones of the final. In addition to the examples covered in this section, the tone-dropped initial also features in compounds with final verbal noun (§5.1.2), agentives with a compound initial (§5.1.4), compounds with a final ending in suffix -n (§5.1.xxx), ‘child’ compounds (§5.1.6), and ‘egg-beater’ type instrument nominals (§5.1.xxx). A low-toned initial is clearly a major ingredient in compounds.

Since nouns also drop their tones before modifying adjectives, the combination **noun-adjective** is not clearly distinguishable syntactically from **noun-noun compounds**. There are quite a few cases where a stem (with nominal suffixation) occurs in only one or two combinations with a preceding low-toned noun stem, so that it is impossible to determine whether the final stem is a nominal compound final, or a postnominal adjective with narrow semantic range.

(xxx)	compound	gloss	components
	sùn-[kǐná-ṅó]	‘bone behind ear’	súnù: ‘ear’, kǐná-ṅó ‘bone’
	gǐrò-gùjú	‘eyelid’	gǐró ‘eye’, gùjú ‘skin’
	kǐnjà-gǐró	‘nostril’	kǐnjâ: ‘nose’, gǐró ‘eye’
	dàwà-tòndô:	‘ink gourd’	dáwà ‘ink’, tòndô: ‘can’

Either the initial or (less often) the final may itself be a compound.

(xxx)	compound	gloss	components
	[nà:-pègèlò:]-gíró	‘anklebone’	nǎ: ‘foot’, pègèlò: ‘hill’, gíró ‘eye’

5.1.2 Compounds with final Verbal Noun, type (\bar{x} \bar{n})

A verbal noun with suffix **-lé** may take a compound initial. Usually it is a noun, denoting the object (xx1.a) or occasionally the subject (xx1.b). It may also be a simple postpositional phrase (xx1.c).

- (xx1) a. **bàn-[ná:-m-lé]**
horse.L-[drink-Caus-VbIN]
‘(time for) letting horses drink’
- b. **ùjùṅgò-[déṅ-lé]**
sun.L-[fall-VbIN]
‘sunset’
- c. **[sùnù-mà]-[ṅú-lé]**
[ear.L-in]-[hear-VbIN]
‘what someone has heard’

For more examples and discussion, see §xxx.

5.1.3 Compounds of type (\bar{x} \bar{n})

Compounds where the initial has its lexical tones (\bar{x}) and the final drops to low tones are identical in form to the sequence of **possessor plus possessed noun**.

(xx1)	compound	gloss	components
	gǔṅ nǐṅgè	‘okra sauce’	gǔṅ ‘okra’, nǐṅgè ‘green sauce’
	yógé bà:nà:	‘millet porridge’	yógé ‘millet’, bà:nà: ‘porridge’
	[gíró dù:] kǐnà-ṅgò	‘cheekbone’	gíró dù: ‘base of eye’, kǐnà-ṅgò ‘bone’
	pègèlò: nò:	‘mountaineer’	pègèlò: ‘hill’, nò: ‘person’

In lexical elicitation, informants sometimes gave this possessive-type compound first, then (in follow-up) gave the same combination in the ($\check{x} \bar{n}$) compound type. For example, *yógó bà:nà:* could be glossed literally as ‘porridge of millet’ (cf. *cream of wheat*), and one can easily convert this into *yògè-bà:nă:*.

5.1.4 Agentive compounds of type ($\check{x} \check{v}$)

In an agentive compound (cf. *basket-maker*, *rabbit hunter*), the initial represents the NP theme, which would otherwise appear as a direct object in most cases. This noun appears in bare form and in low tone, as in other noun-noun compounds. The examples are divided into those where the nominal is unrelated to the verb (xx1.a) and those involving cognate nominals (xx1.b).

(xx1)	agentive	gloss	noun	verb (chaining)
a.	<i>nàmà-sèmé</i>	‘butcher’	<i>námá</i> ‘meat’	<i>sémé</i> ‘slaughter’
	<i>dòngòlò-tìyé</i>	‘basket-maker’	<i>dòngòlò:</i> ‘basket’	<i>tíyé</i> ‘weave’
	<i>òlè-ònjé</i>	‘house builder’	<i>ólé</i> ‘house’	<i>ónjé</i> ‘build’
	<i>kòrìyò-sèmé</i>	‘calabash-cutter’	<i>kòrìyò</i> ‘calabash’	<i>sémé</i> ‘saw’
	<i>gàlà-gàné</i>	‘dye-er’	<i>gàlá</i> ‘indigo’	<i>gǎn</i> ‘put’
	<i>gùjù-kòndé</i>	‘tanner’	<i>gùjú</i> ‘skin’	<i>kóndé</i> ‘make well’
	<i>tè:-kèré</i>	‘wood-gatherer’	<i>té:</i> ‘firewood’	<i>kéré</i> ‘search for (firewood)’
	<i>kèlè-mìjé</i>	‘cowry-tosser’	<i>kèlè</i> ‘cowries’	<i>mìjí</i> ‘toss’
	<i>gè:jù-tìyé</i>	‘weaver’	<i>gè:jú</i> ‘thread’	<i>tíyé</i> ‘weave’
b.	<i>dàbàrù-dàbé</i>	‘magician’	<i>dàbàrù</i> ‘magic’	<i>dàbí</i> ‘do (magic)’
	<i>dùgà-dùgé</i>	‘sorcerer’	<i>dùgô:</i> ‘sorcery’	<i>dùgí</i> ‘do (sorcery)’
	<i>ɲwàná-ɲwàné</i>	‘singer’	<i>ɲwànă:</i> ‘song’	<i>ɲwǎn</i> ‘sing’
	<i>mànà-màné</i>	‘cook’	<i>mànâ:</i> ‘meal’	<i>mǎn</i> ‘cook’
	<i>gòlè-gòlé</i>	‘farmer’	<i>gólè:</i> ‘farming’	<i>gòlé</i> ‘do farming’
	<i>sàn-sàné</i>	‘Muslim’	<i>sân</i> ‘prayer’	<i>sán</i> ‘perform (prayer)’

5.1.5 Compounds with final suffix -n

In (xx1), the compound denotes the location where the action occurs. The compound initial is low-toned, and the nominalization with -n has {LHL} contour realized as L<HL>. There is some similarity with uncompounded -n nominals like óbì-n ‘place to sit’, see (xx2.a-b) in §4.2.2.2, but the tone contours are somewhat different.

(xx1)	compound	gloss	noun + verb
a.	nàllò-[kànî-n]	‘conversation place’	nàllò kán ‘make conversation’
	kèlèn-[kànî-n]	‘defecating place’	kélén kán ‘go to defecating area at edge of village’
b.	mànà-[mànî-n]	‘kitchen’	mànâ: ‘meal’, mǎn ‘cook meal’
c.	kòmbî-[dèbî-n]	‘sanctuary in rocks’	kòmbî: ‘cave(s)’, dèbé ‘cover’
d.	pùmèrè-[sànî-n]	‘holiday prayer place’	pùmèrè ‘group prayer on Muslim holiday’, sán ‘pray’
e.	mòmè-[nà:-mí-è]	‘place for sacrifices’	mòmé ‘fetish’, nǎ:-m ‘cause to drink’

The -n nominal has no plural.

In (xx2), the compound denotes a state. The initial is again low-toned, but this time the nominalized verb has low tone except for a final rise (realized on the -n suffix). For uncompounded Abstractive nominals of this type, see (xx1) in §4.2.2.2.

(xx2) a.	kèndà-nàmĭ-n	‘anxiety (waiting)’	kéndà: ‘heart’, nǎm ‘be ruined’
b.	pèrè-dùmĕ-n	‘being pampered’	péré dùmé ‘be pampered’

Possibly belonging here is à:lè-mǎ:n ‘drought, dry spell’. The initial is clearly à:lé ‘rain’, and the final is obscurely related to mǎy ‘hard’.

In òlè-súgí-n ‘host (who lodges a visitor)’, -súgí-n corresponds obscurely to súgó-ndí ‘cause to go down’ (with uncommon Causative suffix -ndí), hence ‘lodge, provide lodging for’ (one “goes down” to one’s home after the day’s work).

5.1.6 Compounds of the type ‘X-child’

The uncompounded noun for ‘child’ has singular èndê: and plural òndô:. It is regularly used with names of animal species, as in pègè-èndê: ‘sheep-child’ (i.e. ‘lamb’) and kòr-èndê: ‘chicken-child’ (i.e. ‘chick’).

However, unlike the case in northeastern Dogon languages, this term does not occur in Najamba compounds of the type ‘baobab-child’ to denote the fruit or other productive part of a tree or plant species. Instead, ‘fruit of X’ is expressed using a distinct noun, òmô: ‘fruit’. Likewise, ‘child’ compounds are not widely used to denote small objects paired with larger objects.

However, there are some (semi-)frozen nouns ending in ...ndê: (plural ...ndô:) or in ...ndô: (plural ...ndê:) that appear to have originated as ‘X-child’ compounds.

(xx1)	singular	gloss	components or comments
	nùmàndê:	‘small grindstone’	used on large grindstone (nùngé)
	tùmàndô:	‘pestle’	synonym tùmô:, used with mortars (túní:)
	ògòndê:	‘rich person’	ògó ‘chief’
	bà:ndê:	‘rival’	bă: ‘father’
	púlàndê:	‘Fulbe person’	plural púlàndú: or púlàndô:

5.1.7 Compounds with ‘man’ (ánè) or ‘woman’ (yě:)

The uncompounded noun for ‘man’ is ánè or ánĩ (dialectal variants), plural án-à:. That for ‘woman’ is yě:, plural yàwó:.

These forms are also used as adjectives following e.g. names of animals. For example, ně: denotes ‘bovine, cattle’, and may be specified for sex as nê: ánè ‘bull’ or nê: yě: ‘cow’. (More often, adult male livestock animals are described more specifically as ‘castrated male’ or ‘uncastrated male’.)

The nouns meaning ‘man’ and ‘woman’ may be modified by adjectives. Examples with ‘woman’ as yê: ká:bà ‘full-grown woman with children (up to age 40)’ and yê: kùmí: ‘unmarried woman’ (plurals yàwò: ká:bà-mbò, yàwò: kùm-bò). Compare àn kùmí: ‘unmarried man’ (plural ànà: kùm-bò). However,

there are some combinations where ‘woman’ takes a special form *yà-* (in one case, *yà:-*) instead of *yě:*. Since *yà-* does not change in the plural, while *yě:* is replaced by *yàwó:* in the plural (even with a following adjective), *yà-* must be considered to be a compound initial, as opposed to an ordinary modified noun. At least two of the combinations have male equivalents, with invariant *àná-* as the initial.

(xx1)	form	gloss	plural
a.	<i>yà-sílè</i>	‘old woman’	<i>yà-síl-mbò</i>
	<i>yá-yè</i>	‘woman who just gave birth’	<i>yâ-y-mbò</i>
	<i>yà-pàndé</i>	‘widow’	<i>yà-pàndú-mbó</i>
	<i>yà-púnà</i>	‘menstruating woman’	<i>yà-púnà-mbò</i>
	<i>yà:-bû:</i>	‘blood relatives (maternal)’	—
b.	<i>àná-pàndé</i>	‘widower’	<i>àná-pàndú-mbó</i>
	<i>àná-bû:</i>	‘blood relatives (paternal)’	—

The compound finals *-sílè*, *-yè*, and *-bû:* are not attested in other combinations. (‘Old man’ is *àné kúnjé:*.) For the ‘widow(er)’ terms compare the verb *pándí-lé* ‘(man) marry (widow)’. For ‘menstruating woman’, compare *púnă:* ‘menstrual blood’ and *pùnàn-ólé* ‘house for menstruating women’.

5.1.8 ‘Owner of’ (*dòmbă:*)

The uncompounded noun ‘owner’ is *dòmbă:* (plural *dòmbà-mbó*). It occurs in (possessive) compounds of the type ‘X’s owner’. The singular is usually heard as *dòmbà* with final short vowel. Example: *ólé dòmbà* ‘house owner’ (plural *ólé dòmbà-mbò*). Since the possessor noun (here ‘house’) has full NP form, its grammatical number varies independently of that of the ‘owner’ noun (hence ‘house owner’, ‘house owners’, ‘houses owner’, ‘houses owners’ are all possible, depending on how many structures and how many proprietors are involved).

Further examples illustrating the range of usage follow. Those in (xx1.a) are simple compounds with a preceding noun. In (xx1.b) we have a similar compound that functions as an adjectival phrase, modifying a preceding low-toned noun.

(xx1)	a.	<i>dàlídí dòmbà</i>	‘one who commands respect’
		<i>sònjǒ: dòmbà</i>	‘old-stock person’ (from an old family in a village)

dè-dégè dombà	‘fortune-teller who holds seances’
tó:rù dombà	‘fetish-worshiper’
né:ḍi dombà	‘mild-mannered person’

b. sàmbè [dúgà: dombà] ‘spear with clanging attachments’

more textual examples of dombà

In (xx2), excerpted from (xx27) in the sample text, the compound initial is actually a verb form. For the generalized use of 1Sg subject in anaphoric contexts, see §18.2.2.

(xx2) ... [àybà-mbó-m̀ dombà:]≡ỹ
 ... [humiliate-Fut-1SgS owner.L]=it.is
 '(It's you who) are involved in humiliating P.'

5.1.9 Product-of-action expressions (‘boiled eggs’) (-bà:)

The initial in these expressions is a noun denoting a category of entities, in low-toned form (as in noun-noun compounds and in noun-adjective sequences). The second element is a kind of adjective alluding to the process of making a particular kind of this category (compare English *boiled eggs*, *fried eggs*, *poached eggs*, etc.).

The most common construction is one where the verb takes its chaining form, i.e. the E-stem for verbs with {e ɔ} vowel-harmonic class and the I/U-stem for those with {e o} vocalism. This is followed by -bà:, which is here treated as a unit morpheme, but which is at least historically a **participial version of the Past Passive** ≡b-à:≡ỹ (§10.5.1).

(xxx) t̀ngà:r̀ k̀b̀é-bà:	‘large conical hat’	k̀b̀é	‘apply hide to’
s̀b̀è k̀b̀é-bà:	‘amulet’	k̀b̀é	‘apply hide to’
p̀ǹè ǹng̀é-bà:	‘sifted flour’	ǹng̀é	‘sift’
g̀òr̀ù t̀p̀íné-bà:	‘embroidered skullcap’	t̀p̀íné	‘embroider’
s̀àp̀ùn m̀ng̀í-bà:	‘soap ball’	m̀ng̀í	‘shape into balls’
s̀òlè j̀ng̀í-bà:	‘cream of millet (type)’	j̀ng̀í	‘pound with water’
s̀òlè ǎ:n-bà:	‘cream of millet (type)’	ǎ:n	‘cook in pot with oil’
ỳǎlì b̀i:-r-bà:	‘field lying fallow’	b̀i:-r-	‘cause to lie down’

If the entity denoted is countable, the plural is expressed by the noun, holding the -bà: form constant: s̀àb̀ù: k̀b̀é-bà: ‘amulets’.

In [sè: nǎm-bà:] pùnè ‘ground millet cooked between two hot stones’, the product-of-action expression (sê: ‘grains’, nǎm ‘grind’) is morphosyntactically the possessor of púnè ‘flour’.

5.1.10 Function-of-noun compounds (‘water for drinking’) (-mb-à:)

These expressions are of the type ‘drinking water’ = ‘water for drinking’. The verb denotes the action that the entity is intended for. The noun is low-toned, and may be considered to be the head NP of a relative clause. The verb ends in -mb-à:, a participle-like ending that is closely related to Present Passive -mb-à:≡y (§10.5.3). Consistent with this morphological association, the verb is in the **A/O-stem**, and has tonal formula **((X))H...(L)**. This formula means there is an obligatory high tone, with a stem-final low-tone if another (final) syllable is available, and the lexical initial tone X is also expressed if there is another available mora at the beginning; any remaining moras between the initial lexical tone and the stem-penultimate high tone are also high. So the stem appears as H, HL, XHL, XHHL, etc., depending on prosodic structure.

- (xx1)
- | | | |
|----|----------------------|--|
| a. | sìrà hámpà-mb-à: | ‘chewing tobacco’ |
| b. | sìrà síngí-yò-mb-à: | ‘snuff (sniffing tobacco)’ |
| c. | ĩngè ná-mb-à: | ‘drinking water’ |
| d. | ĩngè díyà-mb-à: | ‘bathing water’ |
| e. | sò-ngò gòrí-yò-mb-à: | ‘cloth head covering’ (gòrí-y ‘put on one’s hat’) |
| f. | tàbà námà-mb-à: | ‘tobacco for crushing’ (often pronounced <i>tàbà nâ:-mb-à:</i>) |

In the plural, only the initial noun changes: swè: gòrí-yò-mb-à: ‘cloth head coverings’, plural of (xx1.e).

Note the distinction between *tàbà námà-mb-à:* (variant *tàbà nâ:-mb-à:*) ‘tobacco for crushing’ (xx1.f) and *tàbà nǎm-bà:* ‘crushed tobacco (for snuff or for chewing)’, both from verb *nǎm* ‘crush, grind’. The latter is a product-of-action compound of the type described in the preceding section.

5.1.11 Instrument-nominal compounds in -í: (‘egg-beater’)

Uncompounded instrument nominals (‘steamer’, ‘covering’, ‘scrubber’) with singular -í-ngò and plural -í: were covered in §4.2.2. Compounds based on such instrument nominals add an initial noun denoting a common direct object of the relevant action (‘egg-beater’). The entire compound may function by itself as a

noun, or it may be added as a modifying adjective to a noun denoting the general class of objects ('milk-drawing calabash').

In elicitation, my primary assistant typically adjusted the grammatical number of the nominal initial to that of the compound, e.g. singular 'egg-beater' versus plural 'eggs-beaters'. He had some experience teaching French (and Dogon) grammar, and at times self-consciously applied this "rule of grammar" in our vocabulary elicitation sessions. In less self-conscious speech, the nominal initial tends to be stable, taking singular or collective form for mass nouns, and plural or collective form for countable nouns.

- (xx1) plural instrumental (component noun and verb)
- a. [ònjù-\[dòŋ-î:\]](#) [ónjù:](#) 'breast', [dòŋé](#) 'put under'
breast.L-[put.under.L-Instr]
'bras' (Sg [ònjù-\[dòŋ-gò\]](#))
- b. [\[sà-gò\]-\[hà:s-î:\]](#) [sá-gò](#) 'cotton', [há:sé-](#) 'card'
[cotton-Sg.L]-[card(verb).L-Instr]
'cotton card(er)s (for carding ginned cotton)' (Sg
[\[sà-gò\]-\[hà:sí-ŋgò\]](#))
- c. [ìně:-\[gǐj-î:\]](#) [ìně:\ìně:](#) 'tooth', [gǐjé](#) 'brush'
tooth.Pl.L-[brush(verb).L-Instr]
'chewsticks' (stick used like toothbrush) (Sg [ìně:-\[gǐj-ŋgò\]](#))
- d. [kàrìyè](#) [èmə-\[èm-î:\]](#) [émè:](#) 'milk', [émé](#) 'milk(verb)'
calabash-Pl.L milk.L-[milk(verb).L-Instr]
'calabashes for milking' (Sg ... [èmə-\[èm-gò\]](#))
- e. [èlè-\[à:n-î:\]](#) [éle](#) 'peanut', [ǎ:n](#) 'roast with
oil'
peanut.Pl.L-[dry.roast.L-Instr]
'pot for dry-roasting millet or peanuts (in a little oil)' (Sg
[èlè-\[ǎ:n-gò\]](#))

Other examples from the dictionary, given this time in the singular: [gòn-gò ìnjè-\[n-î-ŋgò\]](#) 'waterjar for drinking water', [nà:-\[tàm-b-î-ŋgò\]](#) 'foot-pedal (for loom)', [kàrìyè bègìlù:-\[bègìl-î-ŋgò\]](#) 'winnowing calabash', [gòlò-\[kér-ŋgò\]](#) 'fire lighter' (i.e. traditional flint lighter), [pà: ìŋgè-\[dǐy-ŋgò\]](#) 'basin for bathing', [dèbì-\[dèb-î-ŋgò\]](#) 'stopper for closing gunpowder chamber', [kà:bù sà-n-sǎn-gò](#) 'mat for praying', [kǐ:-\[tǔŋ-gò\]](#) 'pillow' ("head-rester-er", verb [túnjé](#) 'rest [head]')

In [yèmbì-lè]-[yèmb-ú-ɲgò] ‘square fan’, yémbí-lé is the verbal noun of yèmbé ‘(to) fan’, the verb that is the basis for [yèmb-ú-ɲgò].

In (xx2), the instrument compound (which by itself means ‘straining basket for liquids’) is the possessor of the class noun.

- (xx2) ɲgè-[sèj-î:] tèmè
 water.L-[filter(verb).L-Instr] sieve.L
 ‘water-filtering sieve’ (ɲgé ‘water’, séjé ‘filter’, tèmè ‘sieve’)

In the case of gǐ:-pòlè damb-î: ‘small harvesting knife (pushed into base of millet grain spike)’, the semantic relationship is different. damb-î: ‘pusher’ can also be used by itself in the same sense. However, gǐ:-pòlé ‘harvest knife’ does not denote the logical object (since the knife itself does the pushing). Instead, ‘harvest knife’ is the larger class of implements of which this is a type. In other words, it is a ‘pushing harvest-knife’, not a ‘pusher of harvest-knives’.

The other type of uncompounded instrument nominal, where -î: is the singular and **Plural suffix -mbò** is added to it, is less common but attested in at least one compound (xx4). Note, incidentally, the interesting semantic shift in this compound (perhaps somewhat euphemistic).

- (xx4) singular instrumental (component noun and verb)
 tëndè-[kòmìl-î:] tëndé ‘shell’, kómìl ‘crack open’
 shell.L-[crack.open.L-Instr]
 ‘scrapers (for removing baby’s excrement)’

5.1.12 Other nominal compounds

The compounds in (xx1) are somewhat opaque.

- (xx1) a. mǐsò:rò tǎ:-mb-ò:
 ‘simple head shawl (modern fabric)’
 b. mǐsò:rò-gǐ tǎ:-mb-è:
 [= (a)]
 c. bà:-gò túb-á:
 ‘staff (stick) with forked end’

(xx1.a-b) have *mīsó:rò* ‘head shawl’ (< Fr *mouchoir*) as initial. The final looks like a frozen participle. No verb of this shape is in use, but my assistant suggested a connection with adverbial *tṣ̣:-tṣ̣:* ‘simple, plain’.

(xx1.c) begins with *bǎ:-gò* ‘stick, staff’. The final is a participle or adjective, related obscurely to the verb *túbí-yé-* ‘lean on’.

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi compounds

Bahuvrihi compounds have meanings like ‘four-footed’ or ‘fleet-footed’. They describe an individual or subset from a class (‘person’, ‘animal’, etc.) by characterizing or quantifying a body part or similar attribute. The bahuvrihi compound is by nature adjectival, but it may also be used absolutely, with the relevant class noun understood.

5.2.2 Noun-adjective bahuvrihi (“Blackbeard”) compounds (*n̄ ā*)

In the bahuvrihi construction attested with adjectives, the attribute noun is followed by the adjective, **both keeping their regular tones** (instead of the noun dropping tones before the adjective). **Agreement on the adjective is with the class noun** (overt or covert), hence with ‘person’ in ‘black-hearted (person)’, not with the attribute noun (‘heart’). Thus compare (xx1.a) with *këndà: gémè-ṅgò* ‘(a) black heart’ (plural *këndè: gémè* ‘black hearts’), noting the tones and (in the singular) the agreement.

- (xx1) a. *nò: kéndà:-gémè*
 person.L heart-black
 ‘cruel (“black-hearted”) person’
- b. *tṅgà kī:-bánè*
 agama head-red
 ‘red-headed agama lizard’
- c. *èndè: kī:-bīnì:*
 child.L head-big
 ‘big-headed child’

The plurals, respectively, are *nò-mbò kéndà:-[gê:-mbò]* ‘cruel persons’, *tṅgà-mbò kī:-[bân-bò]* ‘red-headed agamas’, and *òndò: kī:-[bīn-bó]* ‘big-

headed children’. The class noun (‘person’, etc.) and the final adjective agree, while the form of the attribute noun is unchanged from its form in the singular bahuvrihi.

Further examples: *gùjú-gémè* ‘black-skinned one (= African)’, *gùjú-bánè* ‘red-skinned one (= white person)’, *sémbé-pàlê*: ‘having little strength (= weak)’, *gòji-màlê*: ‘having a firm body (= energetic)’, *kĩnjâ:-sèrê*: ‘having a pointed snout’, *pò:lò ìbí-wàyá*: ‘waterskin with wide mouth’, *[bí-ŋgán]-[nàmí-yè]* ‘of difficult nature’ (one who is difficult to get along with); *kí:-[mǎy-yè]* ‘hard-headed’ (i.e., stubborn), *dánà-bìní*: ‘big-headed person’, *nǎ:-gòndé* ‘having bent leg(s)’ (= ‘bowlegged’), *nó:nò-nè:ndé*: ‘unlucky, ill-fated’, *nó:nò-[něy-yè]* ‘fortunate, blessed with good fortune’.

5.2.3 Noun-numeral bahuvrihi (‘four-footed’) compounds (-mbé)

In another construction, attested in my data only with numerals, a suffix with agreement forms *-mbé* or *-mbó* (for humans and animates, *-mbé* is singular and *-mbó* plural) is added to the all-low toned sequence of the attribute noun and the adjective or numeral. I will gloss the suffix as ‘having’ in interlinears.

- (xx2) a. *nà:-kèjè-mbé*
 foot.L-four.L-having
 ‘quadruped, four-footed’ (*nǎ:*, *ké:jèy*)
- b. *nè: kǐ:-nòy-mbé*
 cow.L head.L-two.L-having
 ‘two-headed cow’ (*kǐ:*, *nô:y* ; plural *nàwò: kǐ:-nòy-mbó*)

As (xx2.a) suggests, some numerals have a reduced form before the suffix in this construction. A final semivowel is dropped (‘7’, ‘9’, but not ‘2’). A final short high vowel is dropped after an unclustered sonorant (‘10’). A final long vowel is shortened (‘3’, ‘8’), or dropped after an unclustered sonorant (‘5’).

(xxx)	gloss	numeral	‘having X head(s)’
	‘1’	<i>kúndé</i>	<i>kǐ:-kùndè-mbé</i>
	‘2’	<i>nô:y</i>	<i>kǐ:-nòy-mbé</i>
	‘3’	<i>tà:ndI:</i>	<i>kǐ:-tà:ndi-mbé</i>
	‘4’	<i>ké:jèy</i>	<i>kǐ:-kèjè-mbé</i>
	‘5’	<i>nùmí:</i>	<i>kǐ:-nùm-bé</i>
	‘6’	<i>kúlèy</i>	<i>kǐ:-kùlè-mbé</i>

'7'	swêy	kĩ:-swè-mbé
'8'	sá:gǐ:	kĩ:-sà:gǐ-mbé
'9'	twây	kĩ:-twà-mbé
'10'	píyéli	kĩ:-pìyèl-mbé
'1000'	mùjú	kĩ:-mùjù-mbé

5.2.4 Noun-adverbial bahuvrihi compounds

A bahuvrihi may end in an adverbial phrase, including the particle *nè* (§8.xxx). Such adverbials often have expressive adjective-like senses and may be used predicatively (with *bò-* 'be'). These bahuvrihis are often used in insulting and mocking expressions.

- (xxx) a. *pùrmbě:* [sòjí⇒ *nè*]
 buttock [skinny Adv]
 'one with skinny buttocks'
- b. *pùrmbě:* [gèṅgǐrí⇒ *nè*]
 buttock [tilted Adv]
 'one with tilted buttocks'

6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1 Linear order

The basic linear ordering of elements within a NP (excluding relative clauses) is illustrated by the examples in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [m̀ b̀] òlè g̀ndé: nô:y
[1SgP father] house.L big two
'my father's two big houses'
- b. òlè nô:y ěy
house.L two.L those.Inan
'those two houses'
- c. òlè g̀ndé: đin
house.L big each
'each big house'
- d. òlè ěy yè đin
house these.Inan Def.InanPl.L all
'all these houses'
- e. ànà: bé
man.Pl Def.AnPl
'the men'
- f. ànà: m̀y-mb̀ bé
man.Pl.L solid-Pl Def.AnPl
'the solid (=able-bodied) men'
- g. òlè g̀ndé: ké:jèy yé
house.L big four Def.InanPl
'the four big houses'
- h. òlè g̀ndé: tà:ndí:

house.Pl.L	big.InanPl	three	
[mí	yè]	yè	dín
[1SgP	Poss-InanPl]	Def.InanPl	all
‘all my three big houses’			

There are two alternative positions for possessors; a nonpronominal possessor always preceded the possessed noun (xx1.a), while a pronominal possessor may either precede, as in [mí bà] ‘my father’ in (xx1.a), or follow, as in (xx1.h). When the pronominal possessor follows the possessed noun, it requires a possessive classifier agreeing with the possessed noun, so in a sense the pronominal possessor is still pronominal).

The order of elements is therefore that in (xx2), it being understood that only one of the two possessor slots may be filled in any given NP.

- (xx2)
- a. (prenominal) possessor NP or pronoun
 - b. noun
 - c. modifying adjective(s)
 - d. cardinal numeral
 - e. (postnominal) possessor pronominal followed by possessive classifier
 - f. demonstrative or Definite determiner
 - g. universal quantifier (‘all’)

6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

A NP may be constructed with the central noun slot empty. This can happen when the lexical category (e.g. ‘tree’) is understood from previous discourse context or other shared knowledge, or when the lexical category is indefinite (‘what is this?’). The NP may take the form of an adjective (with or without determiner), a determiner, or a numeral.

- (xx1)
- a. [gǐndó: kó] dèŋè-Ø,
 [big.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] fall.Perf-3SgS
 [mènjú: kó] ɪŋà-Ø
 [small.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] stand.Stat-3SgS
 ‘The big one fell down, the small one is (still) standing.’
 (after being asked how the two trees in the courtyard are doing after a windstorm)
 - b. òm nálé:, òmá: nálé:≠là-Ø
 Prox.AnSg good.AnSg, Far.AnSg good.AnSg≠not.be-3SgS

‘This one is good, that one (over there) is no good.’
(two motorcycles)

- c. [t̩à:n̩d̩i: yé] d̩ɛŋɛ-Ø,
[three Def.InanPl] fall.Perf-3SgS,
[n̩ô:y yé] ɪŋgà-Ø
two Def.InanPl stand.Stat-3SgS
‘Three fell, two are standing.’ (trees)

6.1.3 Detachability (in relatives)

In relative clauses, the head NP remains inside its clause but undergoes tone-dropping. In addition, a determiner and/or ‘all’ quantifier that would otherwise have occurred with this NP are shifted to the position immediately following the (verbal) participle at the end of the relative clause. Possessors, modifying adjectives, and cardinal numerals remain with the head NP inside the clause. For details and examples, see §xxx.

6.1.4 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping

Tone-dropping (to stem-wide all-low tone) applies to a noun when followed by a modifying adjective or demonstrative.

- (xxx) a. p̩ɛg̩ɛ òm
sheep.L this.AnSg
‘this sheep’
- b. p̩ɛg̩ɛ n̩álé:
sheep.L good.AnSg
‘a good sheep’
- c. p̩ɛg̩ɛ n̩àlè: òm
sheep.L good.AnSg.L this.AnSg
‘this good sheep’
- d. òlè g̩ɪnd̩è: b̩án-gè
house.L big.InanSg.L red-InanSg.E
‘a big red house’

In examples like ‘this good sheep’ and ‘(a) big red house’, there is no way to tell whether the final element has induced tone-dropping on both preceding words, or whether tone-dropping is cyclical, with each modifier inducing tone-dropping on the adjacent element.

Tone-dropping does not apply to a noun before a **cardinal numeral** or the distributive quantifier (‘each’).

- (xxx) a. pègέ dīn
 sheep each
 ‘each sheep’
- b. pègè-mbó nùmî:
 sheep-Pl five
 ‘five sheep’

When the universal quantifier (‘all’) follows a noun with Definite morpheme, the particle but not the noun drops tones. The ‘all’ quantifier also has this effect on pronouns.

- (xxx) a. pègè-mbó bè dīn
 sheep.Pl Def.AnPl.L all
 ‘all (of) the sheep’
- b. ólé yè dīn
 house Def.InanPl.L all
 ‘all (of) the houses’

6.2 Possessives

There are two ways to construct a possessed NP with the meaning ‘X’s Y’, when X is a pronoun (‘my house’, ‘his goat’). In one, the possessor X (in its regular form) precedes the possessed noun Y, which drops its tones. The formula here is therefore [X Y.L], where L indexes tone-dropping. In the second, the possessed noun Y comes first in its regular form, followed by a possessed nominal classifier that agrees with Y in number and animacy. The formula is [Y; [X Class]_i], where subscript “i” indicates number and animacy categories. The two constructions are exemplified in (xx1.a-b), using ngwě: ‘dog’

- (xxx) a. mí ngwè:
 1SgP dog.L

‘my dog’

- b. $\eta gw\check{e}:$ [mí yè]
dog [1SgP Poss.AnSg]
‘my dog’

Only the type [X Y.L] is available when X is a nonpronominal NP.

6.2.1 Possessor precedes possessed [x y.L]

The possessor NP has its regular form, and appears to the left of the possessed core NP. The latter drops its tones. If the core NP contains one or more modifying adjectives, all stems other than the final adjective are already tone-dropped, so the only audible tone-dropping due to the possessor is that of the final adjective. A cardinal numeral following the core NP is also tone-dropped under the influence of a possessor (xx1.c). Any determiners and non-numeral quantifiers that follow at the end of a NP are not affected tonally by the presence of a possessor. Possessed NP’s may end in a definite determiner agreeing with the head (xx1.b-d) but it is optional.

- (xx1) a. $\acute{a}:\text{m}\grave{a}d\grave{u}$ $\grave{o}l\grave{e}$
Amadou house.L
‘Amadou’s house’ ($\acute{o}l\acute{e}$)
- b. $\acute{a}:\text{m}\grave{a}d\grave{u}$ $p\grave{e}g\grave{e}$ $m\acute{o}$
Amadou sheep.L Def.AnSg
‘Amadou’s sheep-Sg’ ($p\grave{e}g\acute{e}$)
- c. $\acute{a}:\text{m}\grave{a}d\grave{u}$ $\grave{o}l\grave{e}$ $n\grave{u}m\grave{i}:$ $y\acute{e}$
Amadou house.L five.L Def.InanPl
‘Amadou’s five houses’ ($\acute{o}l\acute{e}$, $n\grave{u}m\acute{i}:$)
- d. $\acute{a}:\text{m}\grave{a}d\grave{u}$ $\grave{o}l\grave{e}$ $g\grave{i}nd\grave{e}:$ $k\acute{e}$
Amadou house.L big.InanSg.E.L Def.InanSg.E
‘Amadou’s big house’ ($\acute{o}l\acute{e}$)

Kin terms are treated like other possessed nouns (xxx).

- (xxx) $\acute{a}:\text{m}\grave{a}d\grave{u}$ $n\grave{i}:$
Amadou mother.L
‘Amadou’s mother’

- f. **tánɛ̀** [mó yɛ̀]
granary.PI [3SgP Poss.InanPI]
'his/her granaries'
- g. **dèlá:** [mí yɛ̀]
elder.sibling [1PIP Poss.AnSg]
'my elder (same-sex) sibling' (dèlá:)

The shift of /dèlá:/ to **dèlá:** before high-toned /mí/ in (xx2.g) is by Word-Final R-to-H Raising (§xxx).

The possessor pronominal is closely fused with the classifier phonologically, and the two could be transcribed as one word. In particular, the **o** or **e** of the classifiers obligatorily induces harmony on a mid-height vowel of the pronominal. This affects second and third person forms (xx3).

(xx3) category	usual form	before classifier
2Sg	ó	ó
2Pl	é	é
3Sg	mó	mó
3Pl	bé	bé

Other contractions also occur, but they are optional. The /y/ or /g/ of the classifier may lenite or disappear, resulting in optional contractions of the type /mó gɔ̀/ > phonetic [mô:] and /é yɛ̀/ > phonetic [ê:]. 1Sg **mí** may drop its vowel and have its nasal assimilate, as in /mí gɔ̀/ > phonetic [ɲgò].

Modifiers such as numerals and adjectives may be added to the possessed noun (xx4)

- (xx4) a. **pɛ̀gɛ̀-mbó** **nùmí:** [ó bɔ̀]
sheep-Pl five [2SgP Poss.AnPl]
'your-Sg five sheep'
- b. **pɛ̀gɛ̀** **jémè** [ó yɛ̀]
sheep.L black [2SgS Poss.AnSg]
'your-Sg black sheep-Sg'

A determiner and/or a universal quantifier may be added after the possessor pronominal and the classifier.

- (xx5) a. **pɛ̀gɛ̀** [ó yɛ̀] **ǒm**

sheep [2SgP Poss.AnSg] this.AnSg
 ‘this sheep-Sg of yours-Sg’

- b. pègè-mbó [mí b̀] b̀ d̄in
 sheep-Pl [1SgP Poss.AnPl] Def.AnPl.L all
 ‘all (of) my sheep’

Uncommonly, a possessive classifier may follow a nominal (i.e. nonpronominal) possessor without an intervening 3Sg or 3Pl possessor pronominal. In this event we get /k/ rather than /g/ in the Inanimate Singular classifiers. An example is *jěnjà k̀* ‘God’s’ in (xx54) in the sample text. [conditions on this?](#)

6.2.3 Choice among possessive constructions

Only the [x y.L] construction is available when the possessor is a nonpronominal NP. For pronominal possessor, the choice is as follows.

The classifier construction is avoided before basic kin terms, so only the [x y.L] construction is in normal use (xx1.a). Both constructions were readily elicited for body parts like ‘foot’ (xx1.b-c), with no change in meaning, as well as for clearly alienable possessions like ‘rope’ (xx1.d-e).

- (xx1) a. mí bà
 1SgP father.L
 ‘my father’
- b. mí nà:-g̀ò
 1SgP foot-Sg.L
 ‘my foot’
- c. nà:-g̀ó [mí g̀ò]
 foot-Sg [1SgP Poss.InanSg.O]
 ‘my foot’
- d. mí s̄:-ng̀ò
 1SgP rope-Sg.L
 ‘my rope’
- e. s̄:-ng̀ó [mí g̀ò]
 rope-Sg [1SgP Poss.InanSg.O]
 ‘my rope’

6.2.4 Possessed forms of kin terms

Most kin terms behave exactly like other nouns in the relationship between **absolute** (unpossessed) and **tone-dropped possessed** forms. For example, *bɔ̀jɔ̀* ‘father’s younger brother’ occurs in possessed forms like *mí bɔ̀jɔ̀* ‘my ...’.

Several kin terms end in a long *i*: or *a*: in the absolute form that is heard as a short vowel in the possessed form (xx1.a). This is systematic, unlike the inconsistent phonetic shortening of final long vowels in other nouns in low-toned possessed form. The ‘great-grandparent’ term (xx1.b) keeps its long *ɛ*:. There is no shortening in the monosyllabic noun ‘cross-cousin’ (xx1.c).

(xx1)	absolute	possessed	gloss
a.	<i>nějĩ:</i>	<i>nèjĩ</i>	‘mother’s brother’
	<i>sějĩ:</i>	<i>sèjĩ</i>	‘father’s sister’
	<i>pòbǎ:</i>	<i>pòbà</i>	‘grandparent’
b.	<i>jènjê:</i>	<i>jènjè:</i>	‘great-grandparent’
b.	<i>tĩ:</i>	<i>tĩ:</i>	‘cross-cousin’

For ‘father’ and ‘mother’, special possessed forms are in use. For all pronominal possessors, ‘father’ is reduced from *bǎ:* to *bà*, and ‘mother’ is reduced from *nĩ:* to just *ñ*, which syllabifies with the pronominal. 1Sg *mí bà* ‘my father’ often reduces to *mí bà*. For 3Sg possessor, in addition to forms with *mó* as possessor, parallel to those for the other pronominal persons, there are special forms with suffix *-ñ* after a long vowel, forming a <LHL> syllable, with no preceding pronominal possessor. After any nonpronominal NP, *bǎ:* ‘father’ and *nĩ:* ‘mother’ have their regular tone-dropped forms *bà:* and *nĩ:*.

(xx2)	gloss	absolute	‘my’	‘your’	‘his/her’	after NP (X)
	‘father’	<i>bǎ:</i>	<i>mí bà</i>	<i>ó bà</i>	<i>mó bà</i> <i>bǎ:-ñ</i>	X <i>bà:</i>
	‘mother’	<i>nĩ:</i>	<i>mí ñ</i>	<i>ó ñ</i>	<i>mó ñ</i> <i>nĩ:-ñ</i>	X <i>nĩ:</i>

There are also a range of related forms. Related to ‘father’ are the vocative *bâ:* ‘dad!’, along with *bàbâ:*, a respectful vocative that may be addressed to any man. The father’s brothers are called *bà gĩndé* ‘big father’

a.	sĩ:-ηgó rope-Sg	sĩ: ropes	
b.	sĩ:-ηgò nálá: sĩ:-ηgò gémè-ηgò sĩ:-ηgò jàlá-ηgò	sĩ: nálé: sĩ: gémè sĩ: jàlé:	‘good’ ‘black’ ‘long’

The combination of noun plus adjective(s) constitutes the **core NP**, which may be followed by a numeral and/or a determiner, and/or preceded by a possessor.

6.3.2 Adjective *gàndí* ‘certain (ones)’

The adjective *gàndí* is used with countable entities in the sense ‘certain (ones), some (as opposed to others)’. It typically occurs twice in parallelistic passages, translatable as ‘some, (while) others ...’. For human reference the full noun-adjective sequence is of the type *nò-mbò gàndí* ‘certain people’, with plural noun (*nò-mbó* ‘people’) in low-toned form before an adjective. This is often simplified to just *gàndí* when the class of entities is already clear from preceding discourse (xx1).

(xx1)	<i>gàndí</i>	<i>ínà:</i>	<i>sèmá-mb-à,</i>
	certain.ones	goat.Pl	slaughter-Fut-3PIS,
	<i>gàndí</i>	<i>pègè-mbó</i>	<i>sèmá-mb-à</i>
	certain.ones	sheep-Pl	slaughter-Fut-3PIS

‘Some (people) will slaughter goats, while others will slaughter sheep-Pl.’

gàndí is not used to my knowledge in the singular sense ‘a certain (individual)’. However, it may be used with a mass noun to denote segments, in parallelistic constructions of the same type.

(xx2)	[<i>yògè</i>	<i>gàndí</i>]	<i>sàngí</i>	<i>kwă-mb-à:≡ȳ,</i>
	[millet.L	some]	now	eat-Fut-Pass=it.is
	<i>gàndí</i>	<i>bèjǒ-mb-à:≡ȳ</i>		
	some	store-Fut-Pass=it.is		

‘Some of the millet will be eaten now, some (= the rest) will be stored.’

gàndí may also function syntactically as a constituent separate from that of the noun that it ostensibly modifies. Here we could analyse it either as an adverb, or as a noun in apposition to the other noun. The diagnosis of this

construction is that *gàndí* does not force tone-dropping on any noun. In (xx3), lines 1 and 3, [*gàndí mà*] ‘in certain (ones)’ has no tonal effect on the preceding *kéngè* ‘place’. The general point of the passage is that there used to be much vegetation by the roadside, so a solitary traveler had little protection.

- (xx3) *kéngè* [*gàndí mà*] [*hâl nõ: wé nè*]
 place.L [**certain** in] [until person come Adv.SS]
 [[*ó gǐ*] [*dèmbù né*] [*ĩbǒ-ŋgà=y káná-l-Ø mé*]
 [[2Sg Acc] [surprise Adv] [catch-Fut=it.is do-PerfNeg-3SgS if]
kéngè [*gàndí mà*] *yá-m=bà-l-ó:*,
 place [**certain** in] see-Impf=Past-PerfNeg-2SgS,
 [*püllò yà:*] *kùrè-Ø mé dǐndǐ*
 [twilight Foc] be.dense.Perf-3SgS if all
 ‘In certain places if a person came, if he didn’t surprise you and catch hold of you (you wouldn’t know he was there); in certain (other) places you didn’t (= couldn’t) see (the person), if the twilight [focus] was dense (= dark).’ (2005-1a)

Another textual example of this type is (xx4). Note that *dúmé:* ‘animals’ (variant *dúmó:* also possible here) has high tones.

- (xxx) [*dúmé:* [*gàndí bè dǐn*] *dòng-â:*] *ĩn-ó: mé*
 [animal.Pl [**certain** Def.AnPl.L all] touch-Purp] go.Perf-2SgS if
 ‘if you went in order to touch any other (livestock) animals’ (2005-1a)

6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences

More than one modifying adjective may follow the noun within a core NP. The order of adjectives is partially predictable, with color and other material-related adjectives first, followed by size, then by abstract (e.g. evaluative) adjectives.

- (xxx) a. *gòn-gò* *bàn-gò* *gǐndó:*
 waterjar-InanSg.O.L red-InanSg.O.L big-Inan.Sg.O
 ‘a big red (or brown) waterjar’
- b. *gòn-gò* *gǐndò:* *nálá:*
 waterjar-InanSg.O.L big-InanSg.O.L good-Inan.Sg.O
 ‘a good big waterjar’

In such sequences, only the final adjective has lexical tones (including at least one high tone), while the preceding words are tone-dropped. There is no way to determine whether the final adjective forces tone-dropping simultaneously on all preceding words within the core NP, or whether tone-dropping applies cyclically, with each adjective forcing tone-dropping in turn on the preceding word.

Even the final word in the core NP may undergo tone-dropping due to wider morphosyntactic considerations, for example as head NP of a relative clause.

6.3.3.2 *Adjectival intensifiers*

6.3.3.3 *'Near X', 'far from X'*

A predicate adjective (§xxx) 'near' or 'far, distant' may take a locative complement denoting the reference point.

- (xx1) a. [sònjó: kɛ́] [pègèlò: mà] dũ̀m̀
 [village Def.InanSg.E] [hill in] near.3SgS
 'The village is near a/the (rocky) hill.'
- b. [dǎy kɛ́] [[sònjó: kɛ́] mà] wàgú-m̀
 [well Def.InanSg.E] [[village Def.InanSg.E] in] far-3SgS
 'The well is far from the village.'

Such a locative complement are not commonly used with adjectives functioning as NP-internal modifiers.

6.3.3.4 *'Good to eat'*

This construction is used with adjectival predicates (§xxx). The adjective (e.g. 'good') is the predicate. The action verb is expressed as a verbal noun with postposition *má* 'in' (high-toned).

- (xx1) a. [bì:-ngò òm̀:] [ónjì-lé má] èlú-m̀
 [Sclerocarya-Sg fruit.L] [suck-VbIN in] be.good-3SgS
 'The fruit of Sclerocarya tree is good to suck.'
- b. [sògólù: bà:-gò] [tám̀bí-lé má] mǎ̀ỳ
 [Anogeissus stick-Sg.L] [cut-VbIN in] hard.3SgS

‘The wood of Anogeissus tree is hard to cut.’

This construction is not attested within a NP (?‘a good-to-suck fruit’).

6.4 Noun plus cardinal numeral

The numeral ‘one’ is treated as an adjective. It agrees in nominal features with the noun, and the noun drops its tones (xx1.a). Other numerals are morphosyntactically in apposition to the core NP, so both the numeral and the core NP have the same tones as they would in isolation. The numeral does not agree in nominal features with the noun, and instead has invariant form (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. *gòn-gò* *kúndú*
waterjar-InanSg.O one.InanSg.O
‘one waterjar’
- b. *gòné* *nùmí:*
waterjar.Pl five
‘five waterjars’
- c. [*gònè* *bánè*] *nùmí:*
[waterjar.L red.InanPl] five
‘five red (= brown) waterjars’

Numerals remain with the core NP in relative clauses (‘the five waterjars that I left here’), rather than being repositioned after the verbal participle. See §xxx.

6.5 Noun plus determiner

6.5.1 Prenominal *kó*

A prenominal *kó* is always interpretable morphologically as Inanimate Singular pronoun *kó* in possessor function. In some examples, the *kó* itself appears to be nonreferential, or not clearly referential. As with a true possessor-possessed sequence, the head noun drops its tones.

- (xx1) *jěnja* [*kó* *jàm*] [*í* *gǐ*] *ndí-ná*
God [InanSgP peace.L] [1Pl Acc] give-Hort.3Sg
‘May God give us the peace of that (= that peace)’ (2005-2a)

6.5.2 Postnominal demonstratives

For the paradigms of demonstrative pronouns, see §4.xxx. A demonstrative pronoun may be used **absolutely**, i.e. by itself (*ɲgú* ‘this one’), or it may follow a noun, core NP, or sequence of core NP plus numeral. In (xx1), we see that the demonstrative forces **tone-dropping** on the noun or adjective that precedes it. The noun or adjective is otherwise unchanged, and specifically it keeps its regular number marking, even though the demonstrative also includes number and agreement-class information.

- (xx1) a. *gòn-gò* *ɲgú*
 waterjar-InanSg.O.L Dem.InanSg.O
 ‘this waterjar’
- b. *gònè* *ěy*
 waterjar.Pl.L Dem.InanPl
 ‘these waterjars’
- c. *gòn-gò* *bàn-gò* *ɲgú*
 waterjar-InanSg.O.L red-InanSg.O.L Dem.InanSg.O
 ‘this red waterjar’

In (xx2.b), the demonstrative follows a noun plus numeral combination. Without the demonstrative, both the noun and the numeral would have regular tones including at least one high tone (xx2.a). The demonstrative forces tone-dropping simultaneously on the noun and the demonstrative (xx2.b).

- (xx2) a. *gòné* *nùmí:*
 waterjar.Pl five
 ‘five waterjars’
- b. *gònè* *nùmǐ:* *ěy*
 waterjar.Pl.L five.L Prox.InanPl
 ‘these five waterjars’

When any NP containing a demonstrative functions as head NP of a relative, the demonstrative (like a Definite morpheme) relocates to a position following the verbal participle, leaving the core NP behind; see §xxx.

6.5.3 Definite morphemes

The Definite morphemes are identical in form to Near-Distal demonstrative pronouns. However, as Definite markers, these morphemes **do not induce tone-dropping**. Thus contrast the true demonstrative in (xx1.a) with the corresponding Definite form in (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. **bà:-gò** **kó**
 stick-InanSg.O.L NearDist.InanSg.O
 ‘that stick (near you)’
- b. **bǎ:-gò** **kó**
 stick-InanSg.O.L Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the stick’

A Definite morpheme cannot co-occur with a true postnominal demonstrative. The Definite morphemes are best thought of as weak demonstratives, “pointing” to preceding discourse or to shared knowledge.

6.6 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.6.1 ‘Each X’ and ‘all X’ (**đin**, **kámà**)

The invariant particle **đin** can be used as a distributive quantifier ‘each’ and as a universal quantifier ‘all’.

The plural personal pronouns, and postnominal determiners, are elsewhere H-toned but drop to L-tone before **đin**.

(xx1) category	usual form	with đin
1Pl	í	ì đin
2Pl	é	è đin
3Pl	bé	bè đin
Def.AnPl	bé	bè đin
Def.InanPl	yé	yè đin

Typical **distributive** examples are in (xx2). **đin** is here added to the singular form of a countable noun, with no determiners.

- (xx2) a. **nǒ:** **đin**
 person each

‘each person’

- b. *t̥imô:* *ɗin*
tree each
‘each tree’

Distributive *ɗin* may be added to a possessed singular noun (xx2).

- (xx3) [[*èndê:* [*mí* *yè*]] *ɗin*] *gĩ*] *bú:di* *ndê-m̄*
[[[child [1SgP Poss.AnSg] each] Acc] money give.Perf-
1SgS
‘I gave money to each of my children.’

In the **universal** sense ‘all’, *ɗin* is typically added to a plural definite NP (or to a plural personal pronoun with definite reference). Recall that the Najamba counterparts of English mass nouns like ‘sugar’ are readily pluralizable.

- (xx4) a. *nò-mbó* *bè* *ɗin*
person-Pl Def.AnPl.L all
‘everybody, all the people’
- b. *t̥imê:* *yè* *ɗin*
tree.Pl Def.InanPl.L all
‘all the trees’
- c. *súkàrà* *yè* *ɗin*
sugar.Pl Def.InanPl.L all
‘all the sugar’ (lit.: ‘all the sugars’)

A distinction between universal (‘all’) and distributive (‘each’) readings can be tested by pronominal-subject agreement.

- (xx5) a. [*nò:* *ɗin*] [*kó* *gĩ*] *ɗimbì-yè-∅*
[person all] [InanSg.O Acc] follow-MP.Perf-3SgS
‘Everyone has followed (= done) that.’ (2005-1a)
- b. [*nò-mbó* *bè* *ɗin*] [*kó* *gĩ*] *ɗimbì-y-à:*
[person-Pl Def.AnPl all] [InanSg.O Acc] follow-MP.Perf-3PlS
‘All of the people have followed (= done) that.’

A purely distributive morpheme *kámà* 'any' is used in a very small number of fixed phrases with semantically light nouns, which are always singular in form. The high-frequency forms are *nò: kámà* 'anyone' (*nò:* 'person') and the slightly irregular *kòŋ-kámà* 'anything' (*kòŋgò* 'thing'). Note that the noun undergoes tone-dropping. An informant disapproved of the combination of *kámà* with *kéŋgè* 'place'.

6.6.2 'No X'

Expressions like 'no children have died' where (in English) the negation combines with 'some/any' to produce a negative quantifier within the NP, are expressed in Najamba with a negative predicate following an NP with ordinary quantifier (e.g. 'one'). *hâl* 'until' may be added for emphasis ('not even').

- (xx1) [*hâl* [*èndè: kúndé*]] *tíba-l*
 [until [child.L one.AnSg]] die-PerfNeg-3SgS
 'Not even one child (has) died.' (= 'No child died')

6.6.3 Universal quantifier combined with a numeral

A numeral may be followed by a Definite determiner and then *ďin*. It is easiest to elicit such examples when no noun preceding the numeral is present.

- (xx1) [*kúlèy* *bè* *ďin*] *tíb-à:*
 [six Def.AnPl.L all] die.Perf-3PIS
 'All six (people) died (were killed).'

6.7 Apposition

7 Coordination

7.1 NP coordination

7.1.1 NP conjunction ('X and Y')

In ordinary NP conjunction, both the left and the right conjunct are followed by the coordinator *ma*⇒ 'and'. This particle adopts the phonological tone of the ending of the preceding word, but is subject to intonational modification of its pitch as well as duration. In allegro speech the intonational prolongation is not always heard.

(xxx) [ánà: mà⇒] [yàwó: má⇒]
[man.Pl **and**] [woman-Pl **and**]
'men and women'

7.1.2 "Conjunction" of verbs or VP's

Verbs and VPs are "conjoined" by the various chaining mechanisms described in Chapter xxx.

7.2 Disjunction

7.2.1 'Or' (*wàlá*⇒)

The disjunctive particle *wàlá*⇒ (a regional form ultimately from Arabic) intervenes between the two coordinands.

(xxx) a. ánà: wàlá⇒ yàwó:
man.Pl **or** woman.Pl
'men or women'

b. kúndú wàlá⇒ nô:y
one **or** two
'one or two'

- c. [dɛ̀njà:jú má] nàmâ: wàlá⇒ núbé kwá-njò-y
 [evening in] meat or cow.peas eat-Pres-1PIS
 ‘In the evening we eat meat or cow-peas.’

7.2.2 NP (and adverbial) disjunction (...ma⇒, wàlá⇒)

Two constructions are available. In one, which is closely related to the form of polar interrogatives (§13.2.1), the particle **ma⇒** with intonational prolongation is added to the end of the first option. The particle has no intrinsic tone in this function, but typically adopts the preceding tone, which may then be modified or overridden phonetically by intonational pitch raising or lowering (transcription: **mà⇒↑** or **mà⇒↓** after a low tone, **má⇒↑** or **má⇒↓** after a high tone). In some examples it has a falling pitch not unlike the dying-quail intonation (transcription: **mâ⇒**). I have noticed this pitch pattern when the ‘or’ disjunction functions like a subordinated clause; see (xx2) in §17.4.5 (‘I forgot that ...’) and (xx2) in §17.4.7 (‘I’m afraid that ...’).

In (xx1.a), **ma⇒** is repeated after the second option (such repetition is optional). In this case, the pitch may be lower on the final **ma⇒** regardless of tonal environment, since a sharp final pitch drop serves to indicate finality. In (xx1.b), **ma⇒** occurs at the end of the first option, and is followed by (always low-pitched) **mà⇒** ‘or’ at the beginning of the second option. Since phrase-final **ma⇒** in such disjunctions is difficult to distinguish from a polar interrogative, I will gloss it as ‘or?’. The phrase-initial L-toned **mà⇒** in (xx1.b) is glossed ‘or’ without the question mark.

- (xxx) a. [ɔ̀:rè mà⇒] [níngé má⇒↓]
 [rice or?] [millet.cakes or?]
 ‘(Do you want) cooked rice, or millet cakes (with sauce)?’
- b. [mótĩ mà] nà:-mbó-ỳ mà⇒↑,
 [Mopti in] spend.night-Fut-1PIS or?,
 mà⇒ [ségù mà]=ỳ
 or [Segou in]=it.is
 ‘We will stop for the night in Mopti or in Segou.’

The disjunction **wàlá⇒** ‘or’ may also be used, inserted between the two disjunctive options (xx2). This is a local variant of a regionally widespread form of Arabic origin.

- (xxx) [[bà:ná: dombà] wàlá⇒ túmbilé] y-ǎ: mé, yóbá
 [[outback owner.L] or hyena] see.Perf-2SgS if, run.Imprt

‘If you-Sg see a lion or a hyena, flee!’

7.2.3 Clause-level disjunction

In an interrogative asking whether X or Y (two usually incompatible propositions) is true, **má⇒** may appear as a disjunctive particle at the end of the first clause. The regular interrogative particle **ló** may appear at the end of the entire sequence.

- (xx1) [ɲgí nù:] [mí mà] kóndò-∅ má⇒
[Prox.InanSg.E now] [1Sg Dat] be.done.well.Stat-3SgS or
kóndò-ndí-∅ ló
be.done.well-StatNeg-3SgS Q
‘Is this done well for me now, or is it not done well?’ (2005-1a)

8 Postpositions and adverbials

8.1 Accusative *gĩ* and all-purpose postposition *mà* (*má*)

8.1.1 Accusative *gĩ*

Direct object NPs (animate or inanimate) and pronouns may be followed by Accusative postposition *gĩ*. The postposition is optional but rather common.

- (xx1) a. [[*dôm kó*] *gĩ* *dámá-m̀*
 [[speech Def.InanSg.O] Acc] speak-Fut.3SgS
 ‘He will speak the words.’ (2005-1a)
- b. [[*ná: ó gòrè=b-è: ḱé*] *gĩ*
 [[foot 2SgS stretch.Perf=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc]
bĩndĩ ǹè
 turn Adv.SS
 ‘having turned (= shifted) the part (= edge of the blanket) where
 you had stretched out your legs’ (2005-1a)
- c. [*ó gĩ ǹgè-∅ dĩndĩ*
 [2Sg Acc] discourage.Perf-3SgS all
 ‘if it discouraged you’ (2005-1a)

In combination with pronouns, /*gĩ*/ may be reduced to /*i*/ (or less), and the difference between its (reduced) presence and absence is phonetically subtle. This is especially true of 1Sg [*mí gĩ*] and 1Pl [*i gĩ*], where elision of the /*g*/ results in a falling-toned form, phonetic [*mĩ:*] or [*ĩ:*], which in allegro speech simply shade into the unmarked pronominal forms /*mí*/ and /*i*/.

Accusative *gĩ* rather than Dative *mà* is regularly used to mark the recipient of ‘give’.

- (xx2) a. *jěnjà jám [i gĩ] ñdí-ná*
 God peace [1Pl Acc] give-Hort.3Sg
 ‘May God give us peace!’ (2005-1a)
- b. *jěnjà ùsfɔ: [dòmbâ-n gĩ] ñdá:-l-∅ mé tán↑*
 God path [fellow Acc] give-PerfNeg-3SgS if only

‘If God hasn’t given the path to the fellow’ (2005-1a)

- c. [[[ó kèndà:] mà] ònd-ó:] sàgù]
 [[[2SgP heart.L] in] not.be-PplS.InanSg.O] responsibility]
 [nǒ: gǐ] ònd-ó: mé↑
 [person Acc] give.Perf-2SgS if
 ‘if you have given the responsibility (= right to speak) of what is
 not in your heart to a person’ (2005-1a)

gǐ may also be used with gǐné ‘say’ and dá:ndí ‘tell’.

- (xxx) a. [[nò: kúlmá] gǐ] dôm dámá gǐn-à: mé
 [[person.L elder] Acc] speech speak.Imprt say.Perf-3PlS if
 ‘if they tell (= ask) an elder to speak’ (2005-1a)
- b. [í gǐ] dá:ndí-lé kó↑, gày-nô:-wò:
 [1Pl Acc] tell-VblN Def.InanSg.O, delay-ImprtNeg-Hort.3Pl
 ‘May they not neglect (= delay) to tell us (the information)!’ (2005-1a)

However, the pragmatic equivalent of an indirect object of ‘say’ is usually expressed as a vocative at the beginning of the quotation itself. Instead of ‘I said to him: jump!’, the usual Najamba pattern is ‘I said: (hey) So-and-So, jump!’.

8.1.2 All-purpose postposition mà and variant má

The most common and structurally basic variant is mà.

8.1.2.1 Low-toned mà

The low-toned variant is used after all words or particles ending in a low tone, and after many that end in a high tone: all determiners (Definite morphemes, demonstrative pronouns), basic spatial terms (e.g. bándí ‘rear’, gǐr ‘front’), human and animal terms (e.g. nǒ: ‘person’, yě: ‘woman’), and some others.

ólé ‘house’ is high-toned, but the final syllable is low in ólè mà ‘at home’. This is reminiscent of the more pervasive “tonal locative” of Jamsay, except that in Jamsay the tonal change by itself is sufficient to mark the form as a locative adverb phrase. In Najamba, this tone shift does not apply to bà:-ólé

‘native village’ (lit. “father-house”), the locative of which is *bà:-ólé má* with high-toned *má*.

In the spatial domain, this very common postposition can be used in static locative, allative, and ablative functions. It is also used in dative (“for, to”) and instrumental function (“by means of”). In other words, it is an all-purpose postposition. It is not unusual to have two or more PPs with this postposition in the same clause, in different functions (xx1).

- (xx1) [*ké* *mà*] [*mó* *mà*] *kòndó-m̀*
 [InanSg.E in] [AnSg Dat] be.good-Fut.3SgS
 ‘It will be good for him in that place.’ (2005-1a)

In **static locative** function we get examples like those in (xx1).

- (xx2) a. [*dǎy* *mà*] *b-è:*
 [well in] be-3PIS
 ‘They are at the well.’
- b. [*ṅgállù* *mà*] *bíró:* *d̀ùmè-m̀*
 [city in] work get.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I found work in the city.’
- c. [[*mí* *gòjì*] *mà*] *péndé* *b̀o:-Ø*
 [[my body.L] in] sore.Pl be-3Sg
 ‘There are sores on my body.’ (*gòjì*)
- d. *t̃ngá* [[*òlè-gègèlé* *ké*] *mà*] *ínò-njò-Ø*
 agama [[house.L-wall Def.InanSg] in] go.Impf-3SgS
 ‘The agama lizard is climbing on the wall.’

See also the more explicit ‘inside (X)’ complex postposition [[X *k̀ùl*] *m̀à*] described in §8.3.xxx, below. Informants often preferred this fuller construction to translate ‘in (a house, a recipient, etc.)’.

With a human complement, in spatial contexts *m̀à* means ‘in the presence of’ or ‘at the house of’, cf. French *chez*.

- (xxx) [[*mí* *̀n*] *m̀à*] *s̀ugò-mbó-m̀*
 [[1SgP mother] in] go.down-Fut-1SgS
 ‘I will go down (= spend the night) at my mother’s.’

Allative function, in conjunction with a verb of motion like ‘go’ or ‘run’, is expressed by the same postposition *m̀à*. The motional sense is strictly

due to the verb, not to the postposition itself, which I continue to gloss simply as ‘in’.

- (xxx) a. [dúmánsá mà] ínò-njò-Ø
 [Douentza in] go-Pres-3SgS
 ‘He/She is going to Douentza.’ (dúmánsâ)
- b. [[mí sònjò:] mà] ìnè-ńí
 [[1SgS village.L] in] go.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I went to my village.’

The same postposition can be used in what translates as **ablative** function (‘from X’). This requires a verb like ‘go out’. Again, it is the verb (not the postposition) that contributed the vectorial nuance.

- (xxx) a. [[mó sònjò:] mà] gwè-Ø
 [[3SgP village.L] in] go.out.Perf-3SgS
 ‘She went out of (=left) her village.’
- b. [náfà mà] gwè-Ø
 [usefulness in] go.out.Perf-3SgS
 ‘It has become kaput.’ (lit. “it has gone out of usefulness”)

Most of the **complex spatial postpositions** described in the sections bellow include mà along with what was originally a noun, cf. English *in front of*, *in back of*, etc.

Instrumental (and related) senses are seen in e.g. *sémbé mà* ‘by force’ and in (xxx).

- (xxx) a. *té-ɲgó* [[gùlâ: mó] mà] kèjè-Ø
 wood-Sg [[ax Def.AnSg] with] cut.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She cut the (piece of) wood with the ax.’

mà is also the basic **Dative** postposition, although ‘give’ usually expresses its recipient in direct object form (gĩ).

8.1.2.2 High-toned *má*

In most combinations involving just an **inanimate noun** and the postposition (without an intervening modifier or determiner), if the noun ends in a high tone, we find high-toned *má*. Evidently the final high tone (idiosyncratically) spreads

8.2 Other spatial postpositions

8.2.1 ‘In, inside of’ (kùl mà)

‘In X’ or ‘inside of X’ can be expressed by a complex postposition literally meaning “in the belly of X.” The noun *kùl* ‘belly’ functions as possessed noun, and the phrase takes the form *[[X kùl] mà]*.

- (xxx) a. *[[ólé kùl] mà] nóyò-njò-∅*
 [[house belly.L] in] sleep-Pres-3SgS
 ‘He is sleeping in(side) the house.’
- b. *[[mí jìbà] kùl] mà*
 [[1SgP pocket.L] belly.L] in
 ‘in my pocket’
- c. *[òlè ségín] [[sònjó: ké kùl] mà] bô:-∅*
 [house.L many] [[village Def.InanSg.E belly.L] in] exist-3SgS
 ‘There are many houses in the village.’

8.2.2 ‘About’ (dòm)

The sense ‘(speak) about X’, i.e. ‘(speak) on the subject of X’ is expressed as “(speak) the talk of X.” The noun for ‘talk, language, words’ is *dòm*, which here appears in low-toned possessed form.

- (xxx) *[[nĩ:-m̀bó bé] d̀òm] dà:"bó-ỳ*
 [[bird-Pl Def.AnPl] speech.L] speak.Impf-1PlS
 ‘We will talk about the birds.’

8.2.3 ‘On’ (kĩ: mà)

The nouns meaning ‘head’ are *dánà* and *kĩ:*. Of these, *dánà* has a literal sense denoting the physical body part, while *kĩ:* has a wider range of senses including ‘intelligence’. *kĩ:* is also used in a compound postposition literally meaning ‘in/on the head of X’, where X is expressed as the possessor. We therefore get *[[X kĩ:] mà]* (note the tones). This complex postposition may be glossed ‘on X’, denoting location on a surface or resting on the top of a larger object. It can also

be glossed ‘onto X’ or ‘off of X’ (=‘from on top of X’) if the verb provides an allative or ablative context.

- (xxx) a. [màṅgórò kó]
 [mango Def.InanSg]
 [[[tà:bǎl kó kǐ:] mà] bò
 [[[table Def.InanSg] head.L] in] be.3SgS
 ‘The mango is on (top of) the table.’
- b. [sǐbá-ṅó kó]
 [bundle-Sg Def.InanSg]
 [[[ká:bù kó kǐ:] mà] bėjó
 [[[mat Def.InanSg] head.L] in] put.Imprt
 ‘Put-Sg the bundle (of millet) on the mat!’
- c. màṅgórò [[mí kǐ:] mà] dèṅè-Ø
 mango [[1Sg head.L] in] fall.Perf-3SgS
 ‘A mango fell on me.’
- d. á:màdù [[[ká:bù kó kǐ:] mà] bẹ̀fi-yè-Ø
 Amadou [[[mat Def.InanSg] head.L] in] get.up-MP.Perf-3SgS
 ‘Amadou has gotten up off the mat.’

8.2.4 ‘Next to, beside’ (sòn)

The postposition sòn indicates position near the side of the reference object.

- (xxx) a. [[ólé ké] sòn]
 [[house Def.InanSg] beside]
 ‘beside the house’
- b. [[mí sòn] bò]
 [[1Sg beside] be.3SgS]
 ‘He/She is next to me.’

8.2.5 ‘In front of’ (gír mà)

The complex postposition [[X gír] mà] is related somewhat irregularly to gíró ‘eye’.

- (xxx) a. [[mí gǐr mà]
 [[1Sg front] in]
 ‘in front of me’
- b. [[[ólé ké] gǐr mà]
 [[[house Def.InanSg] front] in]
 ‘in front of the house’

The form *gǐr mà* (note the tones) is used without a complement noun in the adverbial sense ‘in front, ahead’.

8.2.6 ‘behind’, ‘after’ (*bàndī mà*)

‘Behind X’ is expressed with the complex postposition [[X *bàndī*] *mà*]. (Compare Songhay postposition *bande* ‘behind’). Like other spatial postpositions it can be glossed as a static locative, as an allative, or as an ablative depending on the verbal context.

- (xx1) a. [[[sònjó: ké] *bàndī*] *mà*] *ìnè*
 [[[village Def.InanSg] behind] in] go.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He has gone behind the village’
- b. [[mí *bàndī*] *mà*] *bê:*
 [[1SgS behind] in] be.3PIS
 ‘They are behind me.’

The corresponding adverb is *bàndī mà* ‘behind, in the rear’ (note the tones).

bàndī mà can also be used in temporal contexts in the sense ‘after X’ (xx2.a). Here, however, it competes with temporal clauses with senses like ‘when X has ended, ...’.

- (xx2) [[*láyà* *bàndī*] *mà*] *wó-m*
 [[Feast.of.Ram behind] in] come-Fut.3SgS
 ‘He/She will come after the Feast of the Ram.’

8.2.7 ‘Under’ (*dù: mà*)

‘Under X’ is [[X *dù:*] *mà*].

- (xxx) a. [tàgú: bè]
 [[shoe.Pl Def.InanPl]
 [[[tá:bál kó] dù:] mà] gán-è:
 [table Def.InanSg] under.L] in] be.in.Stat-3PlS
 ‘The shoes are under the table.’ (tàngú:)
- b. [[[tímó: kò] dù:] mà] nóyò-njò-Ø
 [[[tree Def.InanSg] under.L] in] sleep-Pres-3SgS
 ‘He/She is sleeping under the tree.’ (tímô:)
- c. òê: [[kínú: kò] dù:] mà] njwè-Ø
 mouse [[stone Def.InanSg] under.L] in] go.in.Perf-3SgS
 ‘The mouse went in under the rock.’ (kínú:)

The adverbial form is **dú: mà** ‘below’, based on **dú:** ‘bottom, lowest part’.

8.2.8 ‘Between’ (bènàn mà)

This is expressed by the complex postposition **bènàn mà**. The complement may be a simple NP or pronoun denoting a set of two or more entities, or a conjoined NP.

- (xxx) a. [[í bènàn] mà]
 [[1Pl between.L] in]
 ‘between us’
- b. [[á:jà mà⇒] [kúnjà-gâ: mà⇒] bènàn] mà
 [[Adia and] [Kubewel and] between.L] in
 ‘between Adia and Kubewel (villages)’

Cf. noun **bènan** ‘middle’.

8.2.9 ‘Around’ (gèndè)

Postposition **gèndè** means ‘around, in the area of’. There is a related noun **gèndèngé** ‘side, end (e.g. of blanket)’ with somewhat frozen Singular *-ngé.

- (xxx) a. [yàfi: gèndè] d̀̀gè-m̀̀
 [field around] leave.Perf-1SgS

Since a relative clause is syntactically an expanded NP, it may be followed by **dân** (§14.1). For **dân** indicating approximate quantity, see §8.4.3.1. For **dân** in symmetrical comparatives, see §12.2.1-2. For **dân** in manner adverbials ('like the way ...'), see §15.2.5.

There is also a (Perfective subject) **participle** **dàmb-é:** or **dàmb-ó:** (depending on agreement-class) 'being like (something)', generally in negative sentences ('there is nothing like ...'). No nonparticipial verb semantically related to this could be elicited. It may be a compressed form of **dân** 'like' plus the participial variant **b-é:**, **b-ó:** from **bô:** 'be present' (§xxx).

(xxx) [mó **dàmb-é:** là] òndú-Ø
 [AnSg be.like-Ppl.AnSg also] not.be-3SgS
 'There is (likewise) no one like him/her.' (2005-1a)

The transitive verb 'X resemble Y' is **mùlí-y**.

8.4.2 Extent

8.4.2.1 'A lot', 'a little' (**ségín**, **nǎ:n nè**, **tégì nè**)

'Much/many' is expressed by the adjective **ségín** (invariant) and the related verb **ségé** 'be abundant or numerous'. There is also a derived noun **sègě-n** 'number (quantity)'.

Adverbial 'a lot, very much, to a great extent' is **nǎ:n nè**.

Adverbial 'a little, somewhat' is **tégì nè**.

8.4.2.2 'Totally' (**láy**)

This is an emphatic element when clause-final. However, it is adverbial morphologically, and may occur in the typical adverbial phrase (**láy nè**).

The phrase **[[láy nè] ìgí]** with **ìgí** 'be finished' is idiomatic for '(man) die without leaving heirs'.

8.4.3 Specificity

8.4.3.1 ‘Approximately’

dân ‘like’ (§8.4.1) is used to indicate an approximate quantity (xx1.a). For time expressions, a possessed form of **wàgàfi mà** ‘at the time of’ may be used (xx1.b). For spatial locations, postposition **gèndè** ‘around’ is available (xx1.c).

- (xx1) a. [pègè-mbó pǔ:-nòy dân] jógò-m
 [sheep-Pl ten-two like] have-1SgS
 ‘I have something like twenty sheep.’
- b. [[[sà:gé tǐbò-nd-ô:] wàgàfi mà] ìnò-mbó-ỳ
 [[[month die-Fut-Ppl.InanSg.O] time.L] in] go-Fut-1PlS
 ‘We will go around the end of the month.’
- c. [kúnjà-gâ: gèndè] à:lé tètè-Ø
 [K around] rain rain.fall.Perf-3SgS
 ‘It rained around (in the vicinity of) Kubewel (village).’

8.4.3.2 ‘Exactly’ (*témbé*)

In (xx1), **témbé** is used to insist that the quantity, time, or location is exact. In (xx1.a,c), **témbé** is adverbial in function; note that it follows the Locative postposition **mà** in (xx1.c). With time expressions it is adjectival, modifying **mǐdǐ**: ‘noon’, and preceding the Locative postposition (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. pègè-mbó pǔ:-nòy témbé jógò-m
 sheep-Pl ten-two exactly have-1SgS
 ‘I have exactly twenty sheep.’
- b. [[mǐdǐ: témbé] má] kwà-mbó-ỳ
 [[noon exactly] in] eat-Fut-1PlS
 ‘We will eat at noon sharp.’
- c. [[kúnjàgâ: mà] témbé] à:lé tètè-Ø
 [K at] exactly] rain rain.fall.Perf-3SgS
 ‘It rained right at Kubewel (village).’

8.4.3.3 ‘Specifically, personally’ (*kĩ: mà*)

In (xx1), a reflexive construction of the form “in my head” (= ‘myself’), see §xxx, occurs along with *témbé* ‘exactly’ to emphasize the specificity of the subject.

- (xx1) [[*mí* *kĩ:*] *mà*] *témbé* *nàmâ:* *kùbó-nù-ńí*
 [[1SgP head] in] exactly meat eat.meat-PresNeg-1SgS
 ‘I personally do not eat meat.’

8.4.4 Evaluation

8.4.4.1 ‘Well’ and ‘badly’

Where possible, an adjective ‘good’ (*síyè-*, *nàlá:*) or ‘bad’ (*nè:ndá:*) is added to a direct object or other relevant constituent, so there is no true adverb.

- (xx1) a. [*nàjàmbà-ɲgè* *síyè-ɲgè*] *dámà-nj-ò:*
 [Najamba-InanSg.E good-InanSg.E] speak-Pres-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg speak Najamba well.’ (“You speak good Najamba”)
- b. [*nàjàmbà-ɲgè* *nè:ndá:*] *dámà-nj-ò:*
 [Najamba-InanSg.E bad.InanSg.E] speak-Pres-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg speak Najamba badly.’ (“You speak bad Najamba”)

The verb *kóndí* ‘do well’ and its mediopassive *kóndí-y* ‘be done well’ are used in a wide range of contexts including ‘(artisan) make (product)’, ‘repair (something damaged)’. Here the evaluative ‘well’ is built-in.

8.4.4.2 ‘Proper, right’

The stem *yàgí* ‘means ‘be proper, right, normal, appropriate, acceptable’, with reference to behavior. It is regularly followed by *jòg-â:*, participle of ‘have’. It is not obvious whether *yàgí* itself is a verb, followed by ‘have’ in Perfect function, or a noun functioning as direct object of ‘have’. In (xx1), the sense of the bracketed phrase is like that of French *comme il faut*.

- (xx1) [*yàgí* *jòg-â:* *dân*] *gòl-ǎ:*
 [be.right have-Ppl like] do.farming.Perf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg have done the farming in the right way.’

yàgí may take a clausal complement in Verbal Noun form; see §17.4.9.
yàgí jòg-â: is negated as Perfective Negative *yàgá-l-ó:*. ‘it isn’t right’.

8.4.5 Epistemic modals (‘maybe’, ‘definitely’)

‘Maybe’ is expressed by converting the main proposition into an adverbial clause with final *nè* (§xxx). This is followed by the invariant form *bǎ-m̀* ‘it will be’ (xx1.a). The corresponding negation involved a Perfective Negative verb followed by *kán* ‘be done, happen’ and the adverbial *nè* (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. [à:lé tégé nè] bǎ-m̀
 [rain rain.fall Adv] be-Fut.3SgS
 ‘Maybe it will rain.’
- b. [à:lé tégá-l kán nè] bǎ-m̀
 [rain rain.fall-PerfNeg happen Adv] be-Fut.3SgS
 ‘Maybe it won’t rain.’

The sense ‘definitely, certainly’ may be expressed by *ñlây* or less often *táffòrò* (both from Fulfulde, the latter with *f* representing preglottalized [ʕ]), preceding an unsubordinated main clause. The sense is one of necessity.

- (xx1) *ñlây* à:lé tégá-m̀
 necessarily rain rain.fall-Fut.3SgS
 ‘It will definitely (necessarily) rain.’

8.4.6 Manner

Manner adverbials based on an adjectival concept may be expressed by chaining the corresponding Inchoative verb (‘be/become ADJ’) to a following inflected verb.

- (xx1) a. *dòyá-ndí-mbò* *yóbà-njò-Ø*
 rapid-Inch-and run-Pres-3SgS
 ‘He/She runs rapidly.’
- b. *péjá-ndí-mbò* *yóbà-njò-Ø*
 slow-Inch-and run-Pres-3SgS
 ‘He/She runs slowly.’

‘Thus’ is expressed as ‘like this/that’, e.g. *kó dân* ‘like that (discourse-definite)’, *h̄gú dân* ‘like this (deictic)’.

The nouns *bí-ḡgán* ‘manner (characteristic behavior)’ and *ùsf̄ō*: ‘path, way’ are commonly used in describing manner.

For manner adverbial clauses (‘how ...’), see §xxx.

8.4.7 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.4.7.1 Temporal adverbs

Some basic adverbs (generally nouns that may be used adverbially) are in (xx1). (xx1.b) is a series of terms extending from ‘tomorrow’ through to one week from today, along with term for ‘two weeks from today’.

- | | | | |
|-------|----|--------------------|--|
| (xx1) | a. | <i>íyó</i> | ‘today; nowadays’ |
| | | <i>n̄ǎ:</i> | ‘yesterday; formerly, in the old days’ |
| | | <i>íyó tà:n̄dī</i> | ‘day before yesterday’ |
| | | <i>s̄ǎḡ</i> | ‘now’ |
| | b. | <i>éḡgú</i> | ‘tomorrow; in the future’ |
| | | <i>éndèn</i> | ‘day after tomorrow’ |
| | | <i>éndèn tô:</i> | ‘second day after tomorrow’ |
| | | <i>tòndī kándà</i> | ‘third day after tomorrow’ |
| | | <i>tòndī mínà</i> | ‘fourth day after tomorrow’ |
| | | <i>bùrùdù tô:</i> | ‘fifth day after tomorrow’ |
| | | <i>tò:-tà:-tô:</i> | ‘sixth day after tomorrow’ (one week from today) |
| | | <i>p̄l-ḡgò</i> | ‘two weeks from today’ |
| | c. | <i>ḡǒl</i> | ‘last year’ |
| | | <i>n̄àḡgǔl</i> | ‘next year’ |
| | | <i>úḡwá</i> | ‘this year’ |

The terms for ‘yesterday’, ‘today’, and ‘tomorrow’ also mean, respectively, ‘in the past (= in the old days)’, ‘nowadays’, and ‘in the future’. Some of the texts compare the good times of the past (pre-1970) with the hard times of the present, or changes in social mores, and the temporal setting at any given point is repeatedly expressed as *n̄ǎ:* ‘yesterday’ or *íyó* ‘today’. See, for example, (xx3) in the sample text.

The texts do not often talk much about the future, but ‘tomorrow’ = ‘in the future’ can be illustrated by the textual passage in (xx2). The context is that

of a farmer writing down an annual agricultural calendar or schedule this year with dates and locations (e.g. for planting) that can be followed in subsequent years. See also (xx55) in the sample text.

- (xx2) [[ké gĩ] tɔŋɛ́] ó dùm-ô:,
 [[InanSg.E Acc] write 2SgS get.Perf-Ppl,
 [éŋgú là] [dèŋàn ké yà:] wò-mb-ê:
 [tomorrow also] [day.L Near.InanSg.E Foc] come-Fut-Ppl.Foc
 ‘If you have had a chance to write them (times and places), in the future (“tomorrow”) too it’s that day [focus] that will come.’ (2005-1a)

For adverbial clauses with *jǎ*: ‘since ...’ and *hâl* ‘until ...’, see §xxx.

8.4.7.2 ‘First’ (*tô:y*, *gĩŋgĩ-y*)

tô:y is also the form of the numeral ‘1’ in counting sequences (‘one, two, three, ...’). As an adverb it may mean ‘firstly (before something else)’ (xx1.a) or ‘at first, initially’. The sence ‘firstly’ may also be expressed by a form of the word-family centered on *gĩr* ‘in front’, such as the verb *gĩŋgĩ-y* ‘precede, go ahead (of others)’ (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. *tô:y* [bíró: kó] bĩré-y mé, ...
firstly [work Def.InanSg.O] work.Perf-1PIS if, ...
 ‘We will do the work first, (then ...)’
- b. [bíró: kó] gĩŋgĩ-y-é-y mé,
 [work Def.InanSg.O] **precede**-MP.Perf-1PIS if,
yòmbó kwà-mbó-ỳ
 cooked.food eat-Fut-1PIS
 ‘We will work first, (then) we will eat a meal.’

8.4.7.3 Spatial adverbs

Adverbs, generally nouns with adverbial functions, are in (xx1). For deictics (‘here’, ‘there’, etc.) see §4.xxx.

- (xx1) a. *kĩ:* ‘above, top, summit’ lit. “head”
dũ: ‘below, bottom, down’
- b. *dũn* ‘east’

yéndè ‘west’
 kórál ‘north’
 tómbál ‘south’

- c. bándè-bándè ‘going backward, in reverse’
 ġir má ‘forward’ ġiró ‘eye’

‘Left’ and ‘right’ are not used as directional terms (cardinal direction terms and ‘backward’ or ‘forward’ are used instead). Adjective ‘right (hand, foot)’ is *nè-ŋgó* (*ně:*), also ‘plain, simple’. Adjective ‘left (hand, foot)’ is *nàndā:* (*nàndě:*).

8.4.8 Expressive adverbials

8.4.8.1 Expressive adverbials with and without Adverbial *nè* (*nè, nĕ*)

Expressive adverbials, which include (or blur into) adjectival intensifiers (on which see §xxx), commonly occur with following **Adverbial particle** *nè* in sentential context. When the adverbial has {e o} vowel harmony, this spreads into the particle, which becomes *nè*. A minority of these adverbials are **all-low-toned**, in which case the particle is **high-toned** (xx1.h). Some iterated adverbials are used with no Adverbial particle (xx1.c). Adverbial *nĕ* is also perhaps a (somewhat frozen) part of *annĕ* (or *añĭnĕ*) ‘how?’ and of *kĕnĕ* ‘thus, in that way’.

As in other Dogon languages, adverbials are abundant. Some examples are in (xx1), grouped by phonological features. The iterated stems in (xx1.a) belong to a type especially common with adjectival intensifiers (§xxx). The examples in (xx1.e,g) show intonational prolongation (⇒). Probably because of the *nè*, this prolongation is less conspicuous in Najamba than in northeastern Dogon languages (which have no Adverbial particle).

(xx1)	form	gloss	related form/comment
a.	full iteration of mono-/bisyllabic, tones repeated (usually all-high)		
	<i>dúŋgáy-dúŋgáy</i>	<i>nè</i> ‘lumbering along’	
	<i>nónóy-nónóy</i>	<i>nè</i> ‘(walking) stiffly’	
	<i>gárán-gárán</i>	<i>nè</i> ‘fit, in good shape’	
	<i>dángó-dángó</i>	<i>nè</i> ‘conspicuously visible’	also <i>dóngó-dóngó</i> <i>nè</i>
	<i>góló:-góló:</i>	<i>nè</i> ‘lined (e.g. paper)’	
	<i>síjé:-síjé:</i>	<i>nè</i> ‘striped’	noun <i>síjĕ:</i> ‘stripes’

tòṅě:-tòṅě: nè	‘blotched, with large spots’	
légí-légí nè	‘soaring, at the summit’	
dóm-dóm nè	‘conspicuously visible’	
yór-yór nè	‘poorly, weakly (work)’	adjective yòrê:
đím-đím nè	‘towering high’	also just đím nè
géṅ-géṅ nè	‘fit, in good shape’	
táy ⁿ -táy ⁿ nè	‘adequately sugared’	
jém-jém nè	‘somewhat elongated (half-full sack)’	
ṅém-ṅém nè	‘flimsy, insubstantial’	
dúm-dúm nè	‘scattered’	
dôy-dôy nè	‘almost alongside (e.g. in a race)’	
dây-dây nè	‘freely, for nothing’	also just dâ y nè
měy-měy nè	‘flickering’	
gěṅ-gěṅ nè	‘staggering’	

b. like (a), based on -n nominal (§4.xxx)

[dɛ́ŋí-n]-[dɛ́ŋí-n] nè ‘(walk) clumsily, falling’ dɛ́ŋé ‘fall’

c. full iteration of trisyllabic, LHL-LLL tone contour (**not used with nè**)

đíníyà-đíníyà	‘(going along) bumpily’
gèṅgíríyà-gèṅgíríyà	‘(walk) tilting to one side then the other’
jùmbíyà-jùmbíyà	‘(walk) with head bent forward’
wùndíyà-wùndíyà	‘meandering’

d. three-part full iteration with low-toned /a/ in medial

gěṅ-gàṅ-gěṅ nè ‘struggling under heavy load’

e. reduplicated C̀v-C̀vC̀v⇒ with intonational prolongation

bè-bèlí⇒ nè	‘out of shape physically’
gò-gòlóló⇒ nè	‘(door) ajar, slightly open’

f. onomatopoeic

sórrrr nè	‘dripping rapidly’	onomatopoeic
kǎ:-kǎ: nè	‘(laugh) loudly (ha! ha!)’	with màndí ‘laugh’

g. unreduplicated, intonational prolongation ⇒

gòṅgírí⇒ nè	‘rickety, shaky’	
gèṅgírí⇒ nè	‘precariously positioned’	
jèmbèlé⇒ nè	‘improperly placed’	
dòndòlóló⇒ nè	‘in a circle, round’	also dèndèlé⇒ nè
jùgùjǐ⇒ nè	‘woolly, furry’	jùgùjǐ-y ‘be woolly’

yùgùjǐ⇒ nè	‘woolly, furry’	yùgújǐ-y ‘be woolly’
péndè⇒ nè	‘brick-shaped (elongated)’	
béndè⇒ nè	‘brimming, full (with liquid) up to the rim’	
tèrè⇒ nè	‘brimming, full (with liquid) up to the rim’	
sórò⇒ nè	‘short and cylindrical’	also sórò⇒ nè
pújè⇒ nè	‘foaming, frothily’	cf. verb bùjé ‘foam’
dùrí⇒ nè	‘sticking out, extruding’	
pó⇒ nè	‘right now, immediately’	
nǎy ⁿ ⇒ nè	‘wide open (eyes)’	
pǎy ⁿ ⇒ nè	‘wide open (eyes)’	
kǎy ⁿ ⇒ nè	‘blazing (sun)’	
dǎy⇒ nè	‘(e.g. child) walking clumsily’	
séw⇒ nè	‘silently’	
jéy⇒ nè	‘(looking) hard (at something)’	
gégè⇒ nè	‘squeezing tightly’	
kān⇒ nè	‘squeezing tightly’	
búm⇒ nè	‘solidly built (body)’	
púy⇒ nè	‘solidly built (body)’	
wá⇒ nè	‘gaping, wide open’	

h. other, with **low tones then high-toned né**

pàràjày né	‘having small spots or stripes’
pùrùjày né	‘blotched, having large spots’
yùgùjày né	‘woolly, furry’
téndèlè: né	‘having too much momentum to stop’
gàngàlà né	‘wide, extending laterally’ (person, horned animal)
đìyàw né	‘(umbrella, tree) be spread out overhead’
jùngày né	‘(e.g. fruits) in clusters’
nàngày né	‘(e.g. fruits) in clusters’
yùjày né	‘(tree) with roots spreading’
sùyày né	‘(bush) with thick foliage’
bòjù né, bòjù né	‘soaking wet’

i. other, with low-toned nè

tégì-tégì nè	‘slightly, a little’
gómbóŋ nè	‘protruding horizontally’
símbéy nè	‘hanging out over’
búndúm nè	‘filled out (bag)’
kóróy nè	‘(ears etc.) turned out’
júrúm nè	‘withdrawn and downcast’
kájàl nè	‘(running) hard’

yágáw nè ‘inconsequential, insignificant’
 sém nè ‘pointed’ (adjective sèmê:)

Like other adverbials, these can be made **predicative** by adding a conjugated form of *bò-* ‘be’, hence [gòŋgírí⇒ nè] *bò-* ‘be rickety, shaky’.

8.4.8.2 ‘Straight’ (*dé⇒ nè*, *dém⇒ nè*)

The adverb ‘straight (direct trajectory to a location)’ is /*dé⇒ nè*/ or /*dém⇒ nè*/. The *m* in *dém⇒* is intonationally prolonged. (*dém⇒* occurs widely in northeastern Dogon languages as well).

- (xx1) a. [*dé⇒ nè*] [*dúmasá mà*] ìn-ò:
 [straight Adv] [D in] go.Perf-3PIS
 ‘They went straight to Douentza (with no detours or stops).’
- b. [*ŋgîn gwé-mbò*]
 [here go.out-and]
 [[*dém⇒ nè*] [*kúnjà-gâ: mà*] ìn-é-mí]
 [[straight Adv] [K in] go.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I left here and went straight to Koubewel.’

Iterated *dém-dém* is used as an intensifier for ‘straight’.

The gloss ‘straight’ in the sense ‘not crooked’, referring to e.g. a stick, is expressed by an unrelated adjective *tëndô:* (*tëndê:*).

8.4.8.3 ‘Apart, separate’ (*nágá*)

nágá ‘apart, separate, distinct’ is used as a predicate indicating the physical separation or distinct identity of two or more entities. It may be iterated for distributive sense. It may be conjugated by adding *bò-* ‘be’.

- (xxx) a. *nágá-nágá* *b-è:*
 separate-separate be-3PIS
 ‘They are distinct (not the same).’
- b. [*embá yé*] *nágá*,
 [sorghum Def.InanSg.E] separate,
 [*yógó yé*] *nágá*
 [millet Def.InanSg.E] separate

‘Sorghum and millet are distinct.’

‘X and Y are (not) the same’ is often expressed as ‘X and Y are (not) one’.

(xxx) [yàwó: má⇒] [ánà: má⇒] kúndú=lá
[woman.PI and] [man.PI and] one=not.be
‘Women and men are not the same.’

8.4.8.4 ‘Always’ (àsú), ‘never’

‘Always, constantly’ is àsú. The phrase wágáfi dín ‘every time’ may also be used.

‘Never’ is the ubiquitous àbádá (from Arabic). It is also used as an emphatic negative (‘not on your life’).

For the Experiential Negative construction for verbs (‘have ever done’, ‘have never done’), see §10.xxx.

8.4.8.5 ‘Carelessly’

yògòrò-yógòrò (variant yògòlè-yógòlè) is a noun or adjective meaning ‘careless(ness)’, denoting sloppy or nonchalantly performed work.

8.4.8.6 ‘Together’ (sǎ)

Adverbial ‘(being) together’ is sǎ.

(xx1) sǎ: kwà-mbó-ỳ
together eat-Fut-1PIS
‘We will eat together.’

‘Neighbor’ is sò:-jǐngán, which may begin with this morpheme.

8.4.9 Reduplicated (iterated) adverbials

8.4.9.1 *Distributive adverbial iteration*

For distributive numerals ('two by two', etc.), see §xxx. Similar examples involving iterations of other stems are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. **dûm-dûm nè** 'scattered, here and there' (adverb)
b. **tég-tég** 'dripping, one drop at a time' **téǵí** '(a) drop'
c. **lú:bà-lú:bà** 'by turns'
górrè-górrè 'by turns'
d. **sórtòl-sórtòl** 'arranged in rows'

A more productive construction is one with explicit 'and' conjunctions. For example, 'house by house' is expressed as 'house and house'.

- (xx1) **jámálà-mbò** [**ólé má⇒**] [**ólé má⇒**] **ɲw-à:**
thief-Pl [house and] [house and] go.in.Perf-3PIS
'The thieves went in house by house.'

8.4.9.2 *Other (non-distributive) adverbial iteration*

I can cite (xx1).

- (xx1) **bàndè-bàndè** 'going backward' cf. **bàndí** 'back (body)'

9 Verbal derivation

The passive is discussed in connection with verbal inflection (§10.xxx) since it interacts with aspect-negation (AN) marking. This chapter covers derivational suffixes attached directly to the stem, or to other derivational suffixes, preceding AN and pronominal-subject inflectional suffixes.

9.1 Reversive verbs

Dogon languages typically have a range of reversive verbs, formed by derivational suffixation. In (xx1) the morphologically most straightforward examples are given, with the “input” followed by its reversive derivative.

The reversive also adopts the tone contour, either all-high or {LH}, of the simple stem. The final vowel of the stem shifts to *i*.

The suffix acquires its vowel-harmonic status from the input in most cases. Therefore the chaining form has *-lé* (Perfective *-lè*) for stems with {*e o*} vocalism, and */-lí/* (Perfective *-lè*) after stems with {*e o*} vocalism. The exception is that stems with nonfinal a-vowels have {*e o*} vocalism as simple verbs, but their reversives shift to {*e o*} vocalism (xxx.c).

Both the simple stem and the reversive are subject to Post-Sonorant High-Vowel Deletion (§3.xxx). In the simple stem, deletion is seen in the chaining form if the final /i/ is preceded by an intervocalic sonorant, as in *kíl* ‘fence in’ from */kíli/*. In reversives, since the final vowel of the input stem shifts to /i/ for all verbs, we see deletion of this presuffixal /i/ in examples like */úli-lé/* > *úli-lé* ‘disinter’ (xx1.a). Reversives that adopt {*e o*} vocalism from the input stem have suffixal */-lí/* in the chaining form, and we observe deletion of its final /i/ in cases like */mùndí-lí/* > *mùndí-l* ‘uncrumple’ (xx1.d). However, deletion cannot apply both to stem-final and suffixal /i/ in the same verb; where the stem-final /i/ is in position to delete, it does delete and this creates a consonant cluster that prevents the suffixal /i/ from deleting, as we see in */kíli-lí/* > *kíli-lí* ‘remove fence from’ (xx1.d).

(xxx)	input	gloss	reversive	gloss
a.	all-high toned, { <i>e o</i> }			
	<i>téŋé</i>	‘hobble’	<i>téŋ-lé</i>	‘unhobble’
	<i>tímbé</i>	‘cover with lid’	<i>tímbi-lé</i>	‘take lid off’

níṅgé	‘shut’	níṅgí-lé	‘open’
úlé	‘bury’	úl-lé	‘disinter’
sóṅgé	‘curse’	sóṅgí-lé	‘retract curse’

b. (LH) toned, {ε ɔ}

gùbé	‘hook, hang up’	gùbí-lé	‘unhook, take down’
mèmé	‘twist (cord)’	mèmí-lé	‘untwist (cord)’
[no deletion of /i/ was observed in mèmí-lé (two informants)]			
gòré	‘hold out (arm)’	gòr-lé	‘pull back (arm)’

c. stem a-vowels, shift from {e o} to {ε ɔ}

págí\pàgè	‘tie’	págí-lé	‘untie’
tá:n\tà:nè	‘step on’	tá:n-lé	‘remove foot from’
dàgí\dàgè	‘lock’	dàgí-lé	‘unlock’
yàmbí\yàmbè	‘cover’	yàmbí-lé	‘uncover’
ságí\sàgè	‘put up’	ságí-lé	‘take (back) down’

d. simple stem and reversive have {e o} vocalism

kíl\kìlè	‘fence in’	kíl-lí	‘remove fence from’
mùndí	‘crumple’	mùndí-l	‘uncrumple’
gõr	‘put on (hat)’	gõr-lí	‘take off (hat)’
(also pronounced gõl-lí)			

e. tone shift

dīyé	‘carry on head’	díl-lé	‘take (load) off head’
[cf. dī:-ré ‘put (load) on someone else’s head’]			

The examples in (xx2) are more complex. In (xx2.a), we see clearly that Mediopassive suffix *-yé* in the input verb appears to the right of the Reversive suffix *-lí-*. The same structure with *i* instead of *ε* occurs in (xx2.b), but is obscured by vocalic contractions. Minor patterns are observed in (xx2.c-e).

- (xx2) a. *ságí-yé* ‘be caught (in tree)’ *ságí-lí-yé* ‘get free (from tree)’
dàṅgí-yé ‘be stuck (to sth)’ *dàṅgí-lí-yé* ‘become unstuck’
- b. *nǐgǐjǐ-y* ‘be tangled’ *nǐgǐjǐ-lí-y* ‘be untangled’
tóndí-y ‘be bent’ *tóndí-lí-y* ‘be straightened’
tíbí-y ‘get stuck’ *tíbí-lí-y* ‘get unstuck’
dèmbé ‘get bogged’ *dèmbí-lí-yé* ‘get unbogged’

c.	jībī-y	‘attach (wrap)’	jībī-l	‘untie, take off (wrap)’
d.	iré	‘forget’	íl-lí-yé	‘remember’
e.	pégé-ré	‘drive in (nail)’	pégí-lé	‘remove (nail)’
	jü:-r	‘flip over’	jü:-l	‘unflip, put back right-side-up’

9.2 Deverbal causative verbs

9.2.1 Productive Causative suffix -m

Causative derivatives have a wide range of senses including ‘cause X to VP’, ‘let/allow X to VP’, and ‘have X VP’.

The productive causative suffix is **-m** in the chaining form (xx1), apocopated from /-mi/. The verb takes the A/O-stem. Causative **-m** commonly follows Mediopassive **-yé/-y** (xx1.d).

(xx1)	input	gloss	causative	gloss
a.	ǎy	‘be tired’	àyá-m	‘weary (sb)’
	jùgέ	‘recognize’	jùgá-m	‘cause to know’
	tíngέ	‘go past’	tíngá-m	‘take past’
	dènέ	‘spend day’	dèná-m	‘have (sb) spend day’
	wòlé	‘get used to’	wòlá-m	‘accustom (sb)’
	fó:rέ	‘dress up’	fó:rá-m	‘adorn’
b.	sán	‘be dispersed’	sáná-m	‘disperse’
	wàjí	‘be left over’	wàjá-m	‘cause to remain’
c.	tómbí	‘jump’	tómbó-m	‘cause to jump’
	pór	‘escape’	póró-m	‘let escape’
	ín	‘go’	ínó-m	‘cause to go’
	sín	‘be full, sated’	sínó-m	‘make full (sated)’
	kúbí	‘eat (meat)’	kúbó-m	‘give meat to’
d.	píbí-y	‘be inflated’	píbí-yó-m	‘inflate’
	gǐgílí-y	‘rotate’	gǐgílí-yó-m	‘cause to rotate’
	ḍimbí-yé	‘follow’	ḍimbí-yá-m	‘cause to follow’
	ká:jí-yé	‘overflow’	ká:jí-yá-m	‘cause to overflow’

táǵí-yé	‘put on (shoe)’	táǵí-yá-m	‘put shoe on (sb)’
bèlíyé	‘get up’	bèlíyá-m	‘cause to get up’

When the base stem is a **short-voweled monosyllabic**, i.e. Cǵ or Cwǵ, three treatments are observed. The vowel may remain short (xx2.a). Usually it is lengthened, in which case we can get either a H-toned or a rising-toned causative (xx2.b-c). A similar split occurs in the Perfective Negative (§10.1.4.2).

(xx1)	input	gloss	causative	gloss
a.	ǵwé	‘go out’	ǵǵ-m	‘take out, remove’
b.	kwé	‘eat (meal)’	kwá:-m	‘feed’
	ǵwé	‘go in’	ǵwá:-m	‘take in’
	swé	‘pour’	swá:-m	‘cause to pour’
c.	nàǵǵó nǵ	‘weep’	nàǵǵó nǵ:-m	‘cause to weep’
	né	‘drink’	nǵ:-m	‘give drink to’
	yé	‘see’	yǵ:-m	‘cause to see’
	bé	‘remain’	bǵ:-m	‘cause to remain’
	jé	‘take’	jǵ:-m	‘cause to take’
	ǵwé	‘hear’	ǵwǵ:-m	‘cause to hear’
	dwé	‘pound’	dwǵ:-m	‘cause to pound’

A representative set of forms for two of the causatives is in (xxx). Note the consistent **e** (not **ǵ**) in ‘have (sb) spend day’, compare the underived base **dèné** ‘spend the day’.

(xxx)	category	‘have (sb) spend day’	‘let escape’
	bare stem	dèná-m	póró-m
	VbIN	déná-m-lé	póró-m-lé
	3Sg Perf	déná-mè	póró-mè
	3Sg Pres	déná-mà-nǵò	póró-mò-nǵò
	3Sg Fut	dèná-má-m	pòrò-mó-m
	3Sg PerfNeg	dèná-má-l	póró-mó-l
	3Sg ProgNeg	dèná-mà-nǵò-ndí	póró-mò-nǵò-ndí
	3Sg FutNeg	dèná-mǵ-ndí	pòrò-mǵ-ndí

9.2.2 Other Causatives suffixes **-ndí**, **-gí**

The cases known to me of Causative **-ndí** with no other suffixation are given in (xx1.a). The suffix is added to the **A/O-stem** of the verb (see especially ‘cause to get up’). The **-ndí** causative generally preserves the lexical tone contour of the stem, all-high or {LH}, the latter reapplied to the whole derived stem. The examples in (xx1.b) have **-ndí** added on top of **-ré-** (see §9.2.3), forming a transitive opposed to a mediopassive in **-yé/y**. In (xx1.c), the irregular falling-tone on the simple stem is replaced in the derived stem by the {LH} contour typical of verb stems beginning in a voiced stop. In (xx1.d), a cluster **ŋg** in the input is simplified to **ŋ** in the causative.

(xx1)	input	gloss	causative	gloss
a.	ìlé	‘go up’	ìlá-ndí (cf. also índí	‘cause to go up’ ‘lift’)
	ìgí	‘be finished’	ìgó-ndí	‘finish, use up’
	súgí	‘go down’	súgó-ndí	‘take down’
	bìlé	‘change, turn’	bìlá-ndí	‘lengthen (thread) by winding between sticks’
	tógé	‘(fire) be lit’	tógá-ndí	‘light (fire)’
	gǐlí-yé	‘be rekindled’	gǐlá-ndí	‘rekindle (fire)’
	bèlí-yé	‘get up’	bèlá-ndí	‘cause to get up’
	dàgí	‘be rebalanced’	dàgá-ndí	‘rebalance (e.g. chair)’
	mùlé	‘come together’	mùlá-ndí	‘bring together, assemble’
	dòlé	‘be excessive’	dòlá-ndí	‘do too much’
	wùlé	‘wake up’	wùlá-ndí	‘wake (someone) up’
b.	íŋgí-yé	‘stand, stop’	íŋgí-rá-ndí	‘halt (someone)’
	íbí-yé	‘fear, be afraid’	íbí-rá-ndí	‘scare (someone)’
c.	dwê:	‘arrive’	dǒ:-ndí	‘cause to arrive’
d.	tíŋgé	‘pass by’	tíŋá-ndí	‘cause to pass by’

The known examples of **-gí** are in (xx2).

(xx2)	input	gloss	causative	gloss
	nǎm	‘malfunction’	námá-gí	‘damage, waste’
	sél	‘be diluted’	séló-gí	‘dilute, water down’

pár	‘snap’ [intr]	pára-gí	‘pull off’
sán	‘disperse’ [intr]	sána-gí	‘scatter; expose (secret)’
	(cf. regular Causative	sána-m	‘cause to disperse’
đíbí	‘be lost’	đíbó-gí	‘cause to be lost’
pújí	‘crumble’ [intr]	pújó-gí	‘crumble’ [tr]
dǒl	‘be punctured’	dǒló-gí	‘puncture’
tójé	‘be blistered’	tójá-gí	‘cause blisters’

Possible frozen cases, no longer clearly segmentable, include *sélóndí* ‘tease’, *kímógí-* ‘extinguish (fire)’, *dámágí* ‘denigrate’ (cf. *dám* ‘speak’), *gínágí* ‘break in half’, and *điṅóndí* ‘console’.

Obscurely related to *dámágí-* ‘denigrate’ and *dám* ‘speak’ is another verb, *dám-gí-y* ‘(two or more persons) have a debate (argument)’. The tone suggests syncope of a medial high vowel, pointing to a prototype **dámígí-yí*. Perhaps this too contains suffix *-gí*, but the stem-vocalism (**dámí-*) is not consistent with the A/O-stems seen in (xx2).

At least one Causative with *-ndí* can itself function as input to the productive causative with suffix *-m*. This is *ìgó-ndí* ‘finish (something)’ (causative of *ìgí* ‘be finished’), which has a regular *-m* Causative, viz., *ìgó-ndó-m* ‘cause (someone) to finish’.

Omitted here are the occasional cases where both a simple and a causative verb (suffix *-in-*) from Fulfulde have been borrowed, e.g. *jángí* ‘study’ and causative *jángíné* ‘teach’.

9.3 Transitive and and Mediopassive suffixes

9.3.1 Mediopassive *-yé/-y* derived from unsuffixed verb

The **Mediopassive (“MP”)** suffix *-yé/-y* is quite productive. It’s semantic core is indeed mediopassive, and its distribution is reminiscent of the Romance (e.g. Spanish) reflexive. The mediopassive nature is especially clear in cases where *-yé/-y* is opposed to a transitive form in *-ré/-r* or *-lé/-l*, on which see the following section.

English passives with unspecified external agents (‘be eaten’, ‘be seen’, ‘be given’) are usually expressed as **transitives with generic third plural subject**: ‘it isn’t eaten (= is inedible)’ is *kó kwǎ-ndí-yà* ‘they won’t (= don’t) eat it’; ‘the (cooked) food has been completely eaten up’ is *[yòmbó kò đín] kwé k̄ir-ò*: ‘they completed eating all the food’. ‘X be born’ is usually expressed (somewhat illogically) as ‘they gave birth to X’ (*[X ḡi] nàl-à*), though a mediopassive version similar to the English construction is also found: *[X nàli-yè]*.

In most examples the **morphophonology** of the mediopassive derivation is straightforward. In all examples known to me, the suffix is added to a form of the stem ending in **i**, and this **i** is not subject to syncope. For nearly all verbs, this is identical to the **I/U-stem** as used before Verbal Noun suffix **-lé**. However, for monosyllabic stems of the shape **Cwé** we get mediopassive **Ci-yé** versus verbal noun **Cú-lé**. The only example in common use is this: transitive **swé** ‘pour, spill’, verbal noun **sú-lé**, and mediopassive **sí-yé** ‘be spilled, be poured’. I was also able to elicit **yí:-yé ~ yí-yé** ‘be seen’ (transitive **yé** ‘see’, verbal noun **yí-lé**). Perhaps the suffixal semivowel **y** has forced the use of homorganic **i** rather than **u**. Except sometimes in **yí(:)-yé** ‘be seen’, where the flanking homorganic /y/ semivowels mask the length of the **i** (facilitating ambiguity and historical shifts), a Cv- stem does not lengthen its vowel before the Mediopassive suffix.

The cases in (xxx) involve a Mediopassive in **-yé/-y** in opposition to a **morphologically unmarked transitive**. Many other such pairs can be found in the lexicon, or readily elicited.

- | | | | |
|-------|----|--|--|
| (xxx) | a. | wùjǐ
wùjǐ-y | ‘swing (something)’
‘(something) dangle’ |
| | b. | pé:
pí:-yé | ‘let (mud-manure mix) ferment’
‘(mud-manure mix) ferment’ |
| | c. | m̀mbé
m̀mbí-yé | ‘assemble (a group)’
‘(group) be assembled’ |
| | d. | kábilé
kábíli-yé | ‘separate (X from Y)’
‘(individual) separate oneself’ |
| | e. | yàmbí
yàmbí-yé
(reversive yàmbí-lé | ‘cover (someone)’
‘cover oneself’
‘uncover’) |
| | f. | nǐgǐjǐ
nǐgǐjǐ-y | ‘mix (X and Y)’
‘(X and Y) be mixed’ |
| | g. | tóndǐ
tóndǐ-y | ‘bend, curve (something)’
‘be curved’ |
| | h. | bǐné
bǐní-yé | ‘lean (something, against something)’
‘lean one’s shoulder (against something)’ |

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|---|
| i. | dùmé
dùmí-yé | ‘get, obtain’
‘be obtainable (available)’ |
| j. | bàrí
bàrí-yé | ‘add, increase (something)’
‘(e.g. herd) increase, expand’ |

The Mediopassive suffix **may follow the Reversive** suffix, as in *níngí-lí-yé* ‘(e.g. door) be opened’ from *níngí-lé* ‘open (door)’, reversive of *níngé* ‘shut (door)’. Likewise *dángí-lí-yé* ‘(something stuck on) become unstuck, be taken off’ and *nóggí-lí-yé* ‘(something caught in a tree) become uncaught’.

The Mediopassive suffix **cannot follow Causative -m**. However, the sequence **Mediopassive-Causative is common**. It appears as *-yá-m* or *-yo-m* depending on vowel-harmonic class. An example is the derivational chain of *bìlé* ‘change (something)’, mediopassive *bìlí-yé* ‘(something) evolve, change’, and causative of mediopassive *bìlí-yá-m* ‘transform (something)’. Other examples (among many) are *píbí-yó-m* ‘inflate’ (cause to be inflated) and *yùgúlí-yó-m* ‘drive (someone) crazy’ (cause to become crazy).

The Mediopassive suffix may follow the minor, more lexicalized Causative allomorphs. From *bàndí-gí* ‘cause to remain behind’ (noun *bàndí* ‘back’) we get mediopassive *bàndí-gí-y* ‘remain behind’.

There are many verbs that end in *...yé* or *...y* that fit the mediopassive semantics for the suffix, but for which segmentation is not transparent due to the lack (at least at this stage of lexicographic work) of attested counterparts without the suffix or with a different suffix. My practice is to hyphenate where the sense is consistent with mediopassive semantics. A few among many examples are in (xxx).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (xxx) | gèlí-yé
yèndé-lí-yé
túbí-yé
pírí-y
tráp’
pírgí-y
bá:lí-yé
gèrí-y
gĩmbí-y
ájí-yé | ‘keep’
‘flap in wind’ (cf. <i>yèndí</i> ‘hang
‘lean on (a cane)’
‘fly (away)’ (poor semantic match with <i>pír</i> ‘catch,
trap’)
‘(dying animal) flop around’
‘wilt, shrivel’
‘bend over backward’
‘lean forward, bow’
‘cross one’s arms’ |
|-------|--|---|

9.3.2 Paired Mediopassive -yé/-y and Transitive -rê/-r or -lé/-l

Mediopassive -yé/-y, introduced in the preceding section, is sometimes paired with a corresponding transitive with suffix -rê/-r or less often -lé/-l. (Not included here is Reversive -lê/-l, on which see §9.1, above).

Such doublets occurs, for example, in verbs of change of stance (xx1.a) and in verbs of donning garments (xx1.b). In (xx1.a), one is tempted to say that -r is semantically a causative ('cause to sit'). However, the comparison with (xx1.b) suggests that the apparent intransitive ('sit down') might really be a mediopassive ('seat oneself'), i.e. distinguishing an agent from a coreferential object. Compare Romance reflexive verbs like Spanish *sentarse* 'sit' and *ponerse el sombrero* 'put on one's hat'.

- (xx1) a. óbí-y 'sit down'
 óbí-r 'cause to sit, seat (someone)'
- b. gĩbí-y 'put a hat on (oneself)'
 gĩbí-r 'put a hat on (someone else)'
 gĩbí 'replaster (wall)'
 (cf. reversive gĩbí-l 'take hat off [oneself or someone else]')

Further examples are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. jèngí-yé '(something) tilt'
 jèngí-lé 'cause (something) to tilt'
- b. kúmbí-y 'hold (something)'
 kúmbí-r 'entrust (something, to someone else)'
- c. érí-yé 'become tangled' (also 'be tripped')
 él-lé 'tangle (something)'
 [éré 'trip up']
- d. síbí-y 'hide oneself'
 síbí-r 'hide (something)'
 [unrelated to síbí 'lay the second layer in basket or bag']
- e. tóndí-y 'be curved'
 tóndí-r 'bend, curve (something)'
 tóndí "
- f. dògí-y 'be facing up'

	dògí-r	‘hold (something) facing up’ [unrelated to dògí ‘(woodpecker) peck deeply into tree’]
g.	dàbí-yé dàbí-lé	‘lie in wait for’ ‘stalk (prey)’
h.	dīgí-yé dīgí-ré	‘(objects) be joined (at ends)’ ‘join (two objects)’
i.	gògí-y gògí-r gògí	‘(bowl) be hung (e.g. on rock)’ ‘hang (bowl, e.g. on rock)’ “
j.	sóbí-yé sóbí-ré sóbé	‘(knife) sink in’ ‘skewer (e.g. meat, for brochette)’ ‘jab, puncture’
k.	ḍimbí-yé ḍimbí-ré	‘follow (someone)’ ‘chase away, drive out; align (in rows)’

In (xx3), the transitive form has an irregular suffix complex including the (rare) Causative suffix allomorph **-ndí** (§6.xxx).

(xx3)	a.	ínjí-yé ínjí-rá-ndí	‘stop, stand’ ‘cause to stop or stand’
	b.	íbí-yé íbí-rá-ndí	‘fear, be afraid’ ‘scare (someone)’

9.3.3 Paired -yé/-y and -ré/-r after Cv- stem

In (xx1) we have apparent examples of the opposition of Mediopassive **-yé/-y** and Transitive **-ré/-r**, but this time after **monomoraic Cv-** stems. The semantic relationships (stance, holding, etc.) are consistent with the other examples of this pairing given above. If this analysis is accepted, it would follow that **Cv-** is **lengthened to Cv:-** before the Transitive suffix, but **not before the Mediopassive**.

In spite of the pattern that emerges from an abundance of examples, there are several reasons to suspect that native speakers are reluctant to segment the **Cvyv-** intransitive shape. The first is the failure of the vowel to lengthen, as just noted. The second is that there are Stative inflected forms, and cognate

nominals, that include the *yv* syllable for *Cvyv* verbs, while omitting suffixal *-yé/-y* after longer stems. A Stative example is *bíyò-* ‘be lying down’, preserving the semivowel *y*, whereas statives of nonmonosyllabic stems drop the Mediopassive *-yé/-y* suffix (§xxx). The cognate nominal for *nóy* ‘(go to) sleep’ is *nóyè* ‘sleep’. I therefore hesitate to hyphenate the intransitives as *bǎ-y*, *nó-y*, etc., though readers may consider this possibility.

- | | | | |
|-------|----|--|--|
| (xx4) | a. | <i>bǎy</i> (or: <i>bǎ-y</i>)
<i>bǎ:-ré</i> | ‘learn’
‘instruct (someone)’ |
| | b. | <i>nóy</i> (or: <i>nó-y</i>)
<i>nó:-r</i> | ‘sleep’
‘put (someone) to sleep’ |
| | c. | <i>ínǵé ðiyé</i> (or: <i>ði-yé</i>)
<i>ínǵé ði:-ré</i> | ‘bathe’ (<i>ínǵé</i> ‘water’)
‘cause to sit, seat (someone)’ |
| | d. | <i>ðiyé</i> (or: <i>ði-yé</i>)
<i>ði:-ré</i> | ‘carry on one’s head’
‘put on (someone else’s) head’ |
| | e. | <i>póy</i> (or: <i>pó-y</i>)
<i>pó:-r</i>
else) | ‘carry on back’
‘put (something) on the back of (someone else)’ |
| | f. | <i>bǐy</i> (or: <i>bǐ-y</i>)
<i>bǐ:-r</i> | ‘lie down, go to bed’
‘cause to lie down, put to bed’ |

9.4 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

A number of adjectives have an associated intransitive **inchoative** verb (‘be/become X’), with no obvious derivational suffixation in either direction, and not always with the same lexical tone contour. The adjective and the inchoative verb are clearly members of the same word-family, but their forms are independently lexicalized. In (xx1), an Inanimate Singular form of the adjective (A) is shown, along with the Inchoative (‘become A’) and the **factitive** (‘cause to become A’). The Factitive is morphologically the causative of the inchoative, and ends in **Causative -m**.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|----------------|--|----------------------------|
| (xx1) | gloss | adjective | Inchoative | Factitive |
| | a. | { <i>ɛ ɔ</i> } | vowel-harmonic set in adjective and Inchoative | |
| | | | { <i>LH</i> } | tone contour in Inchoative |

‘rotten’	gòmô:	gòmé	gómá-m
‘big, adult’	gìndó:	gìndé	gìndá-m
‘black’	jèmè	jèmé	jèmá-m
‘feeble’ (variant)	bèbô:	bèbé	bòbá-m
<i>all-H tone contour in Inchoative</i>			
‘old (person)’	kúnjé:	kúnjé	kúnjá-m
‘be ripe’	ílà	ilé	ílá-m

b. {e o} vowel-harmonic set in adjective and Inchoative

{LH} tone contour in Inchoative

‘blunt’	dùmbé	dùmbí	dùmbó-m
‘tall’	gàbô:	gàbí	gàbá-m
‘straight’	tèndô:	tèndí	tèndó-m
‘cramped’	àngô:	àngí	àngá-m
‘hard’	măy-yè	măy	măyá-m
<i>all-H tone contour in Inchoative</i>			
‘skinny’	kómbé	kómbí	kómbó-m
‘sour, salty’	ámí-yè	ám	ámá-m

In a minority pattern (xx2), the Inchoative is formed in the same way, but the Factitive uses an alternative Causative suffix *-ndí*.

(xx2)	gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
	‘slack, loose’	yòrô:	yòré	yòrá-ndí
	‘full’	jòyó:	jòy	jòyó-ndí

The Inchoatives and the adjective stems themselves do show consistency in vowel-harmonic class (the Causative requires {e o} vocalism). There is no consistency between adjective and Inchoative in tone contour, however. The Inchoatives follow the usual pattern by which all-high tone is required by initial voiceless obstruents (such as stops), while {LH} tone contour is strongly associated with voiced stops.

Many other adjectives are verbalized by means of an overt **Inchoative suffix -ndí**, from which is formed a factitive by adding **Causative -m**. The Inchoative suffix (like the Causative suffix) requires the **A/O-stem**, which also entails a requirement of {e o} vowel harmony. Again, the tone contour of the Inchoative (and therefore of the Factitive) correlates with (but is not always predictable from) the initial consonant.

(xxx)	gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
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a. verbs have {LH} tone contour

‘fat, thick’	bínú:	bínó-ndí	bínó-ndó-m
‘hot; fast’	dwěy ⁿ -yè	dòyá-ndí	dòyá-ndá-m
‘flat; spacious’	wàyé:	wàyá-ndí	wàyá-ndá-m
‘distant’	wàgí-yè	wàgá-ndí	wàgá-ndá-m
‘nearby’	dùmí-yè	dùmó-ndí	dùmó-ndó-m
‘bitter’	gàlí-yè	gàlá-ndí	gàlá-ndá-m
‘thin’	mènjí:	mènjó-ndí	mènjó-ndó-m
‘long’	jàlé:	jàlá-ndí	jàlá-ndá-m
‘deep’	mìní-yè	mìnó-ndí	mìnó-ndó-m
‘short’	dèndú-ṅgó	dèndó-ndí	dèndó-ndó-m
‘thin’	mènjú-ṅgò	mènjó-ndí	mènjó-ndó-m

b. verbs have all-high tone contour

‘heavy’	nímí-yè	nímó-ndí	nímó-ndó-m
‘good’	něy-ṅgò	néyá-ndí	néyá-ndá-m
‘narrow’	pèmbi:	pémbá-ndí	pémbá-ndá-m
‘slow’	pèjí-yè	péjá-ndí	péjá-ndá-m
‘sweet’	èlí-yè	élá-ndí	élá-ndá-m
‘difficult’	námí-yè	námá-ndí	námá-ndá-m
‘small, young’	pàlá:	pálá-ndí	pálá-ndá-m
‘hard’	mây-ṅgò	máyá-nd-í:	máyá-ndá-m

Many verbs are attested with an **Inchoative suffix** *-yé/-y*. This is added either directly to the stem (xxx.a), or to the suffix *-ndí-* (xxx.b). The corresponding Factitive is formed by adding Causative suffix *-m*.

(xxx)	gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
a.	‘coarse’	yágàjà	yàgájí-yé	yàgájí-yá-m
	‘ripe, cooked’	ìlà	ìlí-yé	ìlí-yá-m
	‘cool’	yégèlè	yègíli-y	yègíli-yó-m
	‘slow’	támàlà	támáli-yé	támáli-yá-m
	‘smooth, sleek’	ónánà	ónání-yé	ónání-yá-m
	‘blind’	gǐrbà	gǐrbí-y	gǐrbí-yó-m
b.	‘sweet’	èlí-yè	élá-ndí-yé	élá-ndí!-yá-m
	‘bad, ugly’	nè:ndá:	néndá-ndí-yé	néndá-ndí-yá-m
			[also néndá-ndí-]	
	‘bitter’	gàlí-yè	gàlá-ndí-yé	gàlá-ndí-yá-m
	‘feeble’ (variant)	bèbô:	bèbá-ndí-yé	bèbá-ndí-yá-m
	‘slow’	pèjí-yè	péjá-ndí-yé	péjá-ndí-yá-m

Two verbs have a **Factitive suffix** *-ré/-r* added directly to the stem, paired with an **Inchoative** with *-yé/-y* (xxx). The pairing of Transitive *-ré/-r* with Mediopassive *-yé/-y* is well attested in other semantic domains (§9.xxx).

(xxx)	gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
a.	‘wet’	témbô:	témbí-y	témbí-r
b.	‘curved’	tòndô:	tóndí-y	tóndí-r (also <i>tóndí</i>)

The colors ‘white’ and ‘red’ have complex Inchoatives with Mediopassive *-yé* added to *-lí-*. The usual Factitive, on the other hand, is based on adding Causative *-m* to a (nonexistent) Inchoative without derivational suffix, compare ‘black’ in (xx1.a), above.

(xxx)	gloss	adjective	Inchoative	Factitive
	‘white’	pílè	pílá-lí-yé	pílá-m
	‘red’	bánè	báná-lí-yé	báná-m

9.5 Denominal verbs

There are no productive denominal verbalizations. Examples of word-families including a noun and a verb where a case can be made for such a verbalization are in (xx1). *bàndí* ‘back’ (xx1), apparently a Songhay borrowing, is part of a larger word family including postposition *[[X bàndí] mà]* ‘behind X’ and adverb *bàndè-bàndè* ‘going backward’. *sérè* ‘witness’ (xx1.b) is the local instance of a regionally widespread (e.g. Fulfulde) word family.

(xx1)	a.	<i>bàndí</i>	‘back (body)’	<i>bàndí-gí</i>	‘cause to remain behind’
	b.	<i>sérè</i>	‘witness (noun)’	<i>sérí-y</i>	‘testify’

9.6 Obscure verb-verb relationships

Occasionally a pair of verbs is obviously related, but they do not follow any well-trodden derivational channel.

(xx1)	a.	<i>ùgí</i>	‘roast, bake’	<i>ùgí-r</i>	‘burn (incense)’
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10 Verbal inflection

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

To give an initial impression of the morphology of inflected verbs and their participles (which are used in relative clauses), the paradigm of *yé* ‘see’ in (xx1) may be useful. For the inflectable column, the 3Sg subject form is given for indicative categories (xx1.b-c), 2Sg for the Imperative (xx1.d), and 1Pl dual inclusive for the Hortative (xx1.e). Participles agree with the head nouns of their relative clauses, hence the variable vocalic endings. The participles ending in *-ngà* have an (animate) plural form *-ngà-mbò*. Slightly different participial forms are used in subject relatives and in non-subject relatives.

(xx1)	category	simple	inflected	participle	
				subject	non-subject
a.	chaining form	<i>yé</i>			
	Verbal Noun	<i>yí-lé</i>			
	Progressive	<i>yá-mbò</i>			
b.	Perfective		<i>yè-∅</i>	<i>y-é:/-ó:</i>	<i>y-ê:/-ô:</i>
	Present		<i>yá-njò-∅</i>	<i>yá-ngà</i>	<i>yá-ngà</i>
	Future		<i>yá-m̀</i>	<i>yǎ-ngà</i>	<i>yǎ-ngà</i>
			or:	<i>yà-ngà</i>	<i>yà-ngà</i>
c.	Perfective Negative		<i>yǎ:-l-∅</i>	<i>yà:-l-é:/-ó:</i>	<i>yà:-l-è:/-ò:</i>
	Future Negative		<i>yǎ-ndí-∅</i>	<i>yǎ-nd-è/-ò:</i>	<i>yà-nd-è/-ò:</i>
	Present Negative		<i>yâ-ndí-∅</i>	<i>yâ-nd-é/-ó:</i>	<i>yá-nd-è/-ò:</i>
d.	Imperative		<i>yá</i>		
	Imperative Negative I		<i>yá-là</i>		
	Imperative Negative II		<i>yè-nô:</i>		
e.	Hortative		<i>yà-ý</i>		
	Hortative Negative		<i>yá-là-ỳ</i>		

The details about each category, including full pronominal paradigms where relevant, and with examples of a variety of prosodic stem shapes, will be

given in the various sections below and (for participles) in Chapter 14 on relative clauses. However, certain points can be mentioned here before we get into the nitty-gritty.

One stem, which I call the **E-stem** although I take it to be lexically basic, always ends in **e/ε** (for this verb, **ε**). It is seen in the chaining form, the Perfective (positive), and the Imperative Negative with suffix **-nô:**. What I call the **I/U-stem** usually ends in **i** (as for this verb), though some other monosyllabics have **Cu-**. It occurs before Verbal Noun suffix **-lé** (it is also used before the Reversive derivational suffix). All remaining forms in (xx1) are based on the **A/O stem** (for this verb, **ya-**). As we will see, the A/O stem also involves a neutralization of nonfinal stem vowels of the {**ε o**} and {**e o**} vowel-harmonic classes, so this stem cannot be taken as lexically basic. I take **i/u** and **a/o** to be morphologically conditioned mutations of the lexical stem final **e/ε**, and do not hyphenate any of them.

The **tone contour** of a complete verb form (including suffixes) is in some cases entirely determined by the grammatical category (built-in suffixal tones, plus an overlaid tone contour on the stem). For example, the verbal noun with suffix **-lé** is always entirely high-toned. In some forms (chaining, Perfective Negative), the onset of the verb form respects the distinction between all-high and {LH} lexical tones, though the tones of the remainder of the word are determined by the grammatical category. (As only one verb is presented here, and a monosyllabic at that, the relevance of lexical tones will only emerge in the relevant sections below).

In the **participles**, tone contours play two distinct roles in differentiating categories. For the participial categories involving suffix **-ŋga-**, the difference between e.g. **x̄x̄-ŋgà-** and **x̄x̄-ŋgà-**, where each **x** represents a stem syllable, distinguishes the tenses (Present and Future, respectively). However, these tone contours are not sensitive to the distinction between subject and non-subject participles. On the other hand, the participial categories expressed by a final long-vowel ending (Perfective, plus the two negative indicative categories) use tones to distinguish subject from non-subject participles (there is a high-tone element somewhere in the subject participle that corresponds to a low tone in the non-subject participle).

10.1.1 Stem shapes

All monosyllabic verb stems with full paradigms that are known to me are in (xx1). I include **ndé** ‘give’, which differs only in having an extra homorganic nasal in the onset (the low tone is automatic). The verbs in (xx1) are grouped by phonological similarity. Most (xx1.a-d) have short vowels in the forms shown (though **Cv-** lengthens to **Cv:-** before derivational suffixes, see §3.xxx). Long

vowels do occur in a some verbs (xx1.e-g). Lexically, as seen in the chaining and Perfective forms, most of the verbs (xx1.xxx) have ϵ -vowel, while a few (xx1.b,d,g) have e-vowel. Also, as seen in the chaining forms, there is only one tonal possibility for (monomoraic) Cv- stems (xx1.a-b), and the Cwv- stems behave in the same way (xx1.c-d).

(xx1)	chaining	Perfective	A/O	gloss
a.	jé	jè-	ja-	‘take’
	yé	yè-	ya-	‘see’
	bé	bè-	ba-	‘remain’
	ɲé	ɲè-	ɲa-	‘weep’
	né	nè-	na-	‘drink’
	ndé	ndè-	nda-	‘give’
b.	wé	wè-	wo-	‘come’
c.	kwé	kwè-	kwa-	‘eat’
	ɲwé	ɲwè-	ɲwá-	‘go in’
	ɲwé	ɲwè-	ɲwá-	‘hear’
	dwé	dwè-	dwa-	‘pound in mortar’
	dwé	dwè-	dwa-	‘insult’
	twé	twè-	twa-	‘slash earth (to sow)’
	swé	swè-	swa-	‘pour; spit’
d.	gwé	gwè-	go-	‘go out’
e.	dwê:	dwè:-	dɔ:-	‘arrive at, reach’
	né:	nè:	na:-	‘stay up at night’
	té:	tè:	ta:-	‘sting’
	té:	tè:	ta:-	‘avoid (taboo)’ (noun tǎ:)
	té:	tè:	ta:-	‘sprout; grow (hair)’
	mé:	mè:	ma:-	‘make bricks’
	ké:	kè:	ka:-	‘shave’
	ké:	kè:	ka:-	‘tell (a riddle)’ (noun ámbà-kà:)
	pé:	pè:	pa:-	‘let ferment (e.g. earth)’
	wé:	wè:	wa:-	‘remain to the end of the farming season’
g.	jê:	jê:	jô:-	‘bring’

For the possibility of analysing the verbs in (xx1.c-e) as having desyllabified {o ɔ} rather than true /w/, see §3.xxx.

In several other Dogon languages, monosyllabic (including, in some cases, monomoraic Cv-) verb stems split into two tonal classes (like longer stems), with rising-toned Cŷ- in stems with initial voiced obstruent and a subset of stems with initial sonorant. For example, ‘go in’ and ‘hear’ are usually distinguished tonally in these languages, even in the bare stem. For Najamba, I hear only a small phonetic tone depression in the onset of e.g. *jé* ‘take’ and *gwé* ‘go out’, and I hear no difference between the bare stems of ‘go in’ and ‘hear’, or between ‘insult’ and ‘arrive’. However, the original tone-class differences do survive in Najamba in some inflections, such as the Perfective Negative.

Mention may also be made of several defective stative verbs, quasi-verbs, and inflectable clitics with monosyllabic (or in one case nonsyllabic) forms: *bé-* ‘be, remain’, *bò-* ‘be (somewhere)’, *bô-* ‘be present’, *=bè-* Past, *=lá-* ‘is not’, *=y-* ‘is’.

There are many bisyllabic verbs. They can be grouped into four sets by the intersection of **lexical tone contour** (all-high versus rising, always observable in the chaining form) and **lexical vowel-harmonic class** {e ɔ} versus {e o} (always observable in the Perfective ending *e* or *e*).

(xx2)	chaining	Perfective	A/O	gloss
a.	all-high tone, {e ɔ}			
	<i>síyé</i>	<i>sìyè</i>	<i>siya</i>	‘be spilled’
	<i>tégé</i>	<i>tègè</i>	<i>tega</i>	‘(rain) fall’
	<i>pómbé</i>	<i>pòmbè</i>	<i>pomba</i>	‘compete’
b.	all-high tone, {e o}			
	<i>tún</i>	<i>tùnè</i>	<i>tuno</i>	‘put (in)’
	<i>píjì</i>	<i>pìjè</i>	<i>pijo</i>	‘spray’
	<i>númbí</i>	<i>nùmbè</i>	<i>numbo</i>	‘drizzle’
c.	{LH} tone, {e ɔ}			
	<i>dògè</i>	<i>dògè</i>	<i>doga</i>	‘leave’
	<i>yòbè</i>	<i>yòbè</i>	<i>yoba</i>	‘run’
	<i>dònè</i>	<i>dònè</i>	<i>dona</i>	‘but’
d.	{LH} tone, {e o}			
	<i>gǒ-m</i>	<i>gò-mè</i>	<i>go-mo</i>	‘take out’
	<i>dànjí</i>	<i>dànjè</i>	<i>danjo</i>	‘(rain) strike hard’
	<i>bǎl</i>	<i>bàlè</i>	<i>balo</i>	‘gather’

There is one **CvCv̂**: verb with final high vowel and L<HL> tones. This is **ḍinê**: ‘find’. Tonologically, it has similar properties to the two monosyllabic <HL> toned verbs **jê**: ‘bring’ and **dwê**: ‘arrive’. These three verbs preserve their tone contour in a number of inflections where other verbs drop to all-low.

10.1.2 The chaining form

In nonfinal position in chains, verbs have their **chaining form**. For verbs of the {**ɛ ɔ**} vowel-harmonic class, the chaining form is based on the E-stem, and therefore ends in /ɛ/. For verbs of the {**e o**} vowel-harmonic class, the chaining form is based on the I/U-stem, which in most cases ends in /i/, which is subject to deletion after an unclustered intervocalic sonorant. Examples involving (underlying) bisyllabic stems: **nóy** ‘sleep’, **ín** ‘go’, **nǎl** ‘give birth’, and **tár** ‘look’ (compare Perfectives **nòyè-**, **ìnè-**, **nàlè-**, **tàrè-**). Trisyllabics: **óbí-y** ‘sit’, **tógíl** ‘chew (kola nuts)’, **wùjí-y** ‘turn around’ (Perfectives **òbì-yè**, **tògìlè**, **wùjì-yè**).

The chaining form exhibits the lexical tone contour, which is either **all-high or rising (LH)**, except for two monosyllabic verbs with falling tone (**dwê**: ‘arrive’, **jê**: ‘bring’) and one bisyllabic with {LHL} (**ḍinê**: ‘find’). The {LH} contour is expressed as LH(H...), with a single initial low tone followed by one or more high tones to fill out the rest of the stem. Monosyllabic stems are H-toned. Examples of the rising contour are **màmíli-yé** ‘go back’, **gǐnágí** ‘break’, **yòbè** ‘run’, and **nǎl** (</nǎlí/) ‘give birth’. Examples of the all-high contour are **íngí-yé** ‘stand, stop’, **nóy** (</nóyí/) ‘sleep’, and monosyllabics **kwé** ‘eat’, **wé** ‘go out’, and **wé** ‘come’.

The chaining form is the best **citation form**. It directly expresses the lexical tone contour. It either expresses directly, or allows one to infer, the vowel-harmonic class, since all {**ɛ ɔ**} stems have an overt final /ɛ/ in this form, and all {**e o**} stems either have an overt /e/ or /o/ somewhere in the stem or have extraharmonic vowels from the set {**u i a**} and end in a sonorant. Thus from chaining form **tár** ‘look’ we can infer Perfective **tàrè-**.

In the inflected forms to which we now turn, both the lexical harmonic set and the lexical tone contour are frequently overridden by harmonies and tone contours imposed by specific AN (aspect-negation) suffixes.

10.1.3 Perfective and imperfective systems

The indicative aspect-negation (AN) categories are those in (xx1). The Perfective has zero suffix, while all others have suffixes or are periphrastic.

- (xx1) a. Perfective
 Experiential Perfective
- b. Present
 Progressive
 Future
- c. Perfective Negative
 Experiential Perfective Negative
- d. Present Negative
 Future Negative
 Progressive Negative

These are followed (in simple main clauses) by pronominal-subject suffixes (§10.2). The basic AN suffixes and the pronominal-subject suffixes are not completely independent morphophonologically, and it is necessary to give sample pronominal-subject paradigms for each AN suffixal category covered below. For an inflectable Past clitic =bè- that may be added to AN suffixes, see §10.3. Imperatives and hortatives have their own distinctive morphology, see §10.4.

10.1.3.1 *Perfective*

There is an all-purpose Perfective (positive) stem. It denotes completed individual events and is common in narratives. Various past imperfectives are expressed differently, with Past clitic =bè- added to the relevant imperfective stem (§10.3).

The Perfective (except for the 3Pl subject form) is based on the **E-stem**, and therefore ends in either **ɛ** or **e** depending on the vowel-harmonic class of the stem. The **3Pl form** is based on the **A/O stem**. For the 2Sg, 2Pl, and 3Pl, the evidence for whether the E-stem or the A/O-stem is at hand is based on the vocalism of nonfinal stem vowels, since the stem-final vowel contracts with the suffixal vowel. The diagnostic is that the E-stem allows a lexical choice between {**ɛ ɔ**} and {**e o**} vowels, while the A/O-stem merges these as {**e o**}. In addition, the suffixal vowels themselves have harmonically sensitive forms.

The **tone is low** throughout the stem, except for the three verbs that have {HL} or {LHL} lexical tone contours, i.e. that end in a falling tone. For most verbs, therefore, the 3Sg and 3Pl forms are entirely low-toned. 1st/2nd person suffixes end in a high tone.

1Sg and 3Sg forms are given for a few representative verbs in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	1Sg Perfective	3Sg Perfective
a.	‘hit’	dɛ̃njɛ̀-ń	dɛ̃njɛ̀-∅
	‘eat’	kwɛ̀-ń	kwɛ̀-∅
	‘cut’	kɛ̀jɛ̀-ń	kɛ̀jɛ̀-∅
	‘see’	yɛ̀-ń	yɛ̀-∅
	‘drink’	nɛ̀-ń	nɛ̀-∅
	‘bathe’	ɪ̃ŋgɛ̀ ɔ̃iyɛ̀-ń	ɪ̃ŋgɛ̀ ɔ̃iyɛ̀-∅
	‘run’	yɔ̀bɛ̀-ń	yɔ̀bɛ̀-∅
	‘go back’	màmĩiyɛ̀-ń	màmĩiyɛ̀-∅
b.	‘come’	wɛ̀-ń	wɛ̀-∅
	‘go’	ɪ̃nɛ̀-ń	ɪ̃nɛ̀-∅
	‘sleep’	nòyɛ̀-ń	nòyɛ̀-∅
	‘break’	gĩnàgɛ̀-ń	gĩnàgɛ̀-∅
c.	‘bring’	jê:-m	jê:-∅
	‘arrive’	dwê:-m	dwê:-∅
	‘find’	đĩnê:-m	đĩnê:-∅

The verbs in (xx1.a) belong to the {ɛ ɔ} **vowel-harmonic set**. The stem therefore ends in *ɛ*, and any preceding stem vowels of mid height must be *ɛ* or *ɔ*. The verbs in (xx1.b) belong to the {e o} vowel-harmonic set, so they end in *e* and may have preceding {e o} but not {ɛ ɔ} vowels. (xx1.c) illustrates the three verbs whose stems end in a falling tone.

The full pronominal-subject paradigm shows that the 1Pl, 2Sg, and 2Pl are tonally parallel to the 1Sg. However, the 2Sg and 2Pl suffixes are vocalic and therefore contract with the stem-final /e/ or /ɛ/. The 3Pl is tonally parallel to the 3Sg (*gĩnàg-à*: ‘they broke’).

The **3Pl requires {e o} vocalism** in nonfinal stem vowels even with stems with {ɛ ɔ} vocalism in all other Perfective forms. For such stems, the 3Pl suffix is heard as *-à*:, which corresponds in vowel quality to the final *a* that these stems have in the A/O stem (xx2). This (along with other details) suggests that the 3Pl, alone of the Perfective forms, is based on the A/O-stem, which also requires this vocalism.

(xx2)	gloss	1Sg	3Sg	3Pl
	‘hit’	dɛ̃njɛ̀-ń	dɛ̃njɛ̀-∅	dɛ̃nj-à:
	‘eat’	kwɛ̀-ń	kwɛ̀-∅	kw-à:
	‘run’	yɔ̀bɛ̀-ń	yɔ̀bɛ̀-∅	yòb-à:

Sample full paradigms are in (xxx). The 1st/2nd forms are separated from the 3rd person forms to bring out the basic morphological division (expressed by tones).

(xxx)	category	‘ate’	‘hit’	‘go’	‘sleep’	‘break’
	1Sg	kwè-mí	dènjè-mí	ìnè-mí	nòyè-mí	gǐnàgè-mí
	2Sg	k-ǎ:	dènj-ǎ:	ìn-ǎ:	nòy-ǎ:	gǐnàg-ǎ:
	1Pl	kwè-ý	dènjè-ý	ìnè-ý	nòyè-ý	gǐnàgè-mí
	2Pl	kw-ě:	dènj-ě:	ìn-ě:	nòy-ě:	gǐnàg-ě:
	3Sg	kwè-∅	dènjè-∅	ìnè-∅	nòyè-∅	gǐnàgè-∅
	3Pl	kw-à:	dènj-à:	ìn-ò:	nòy-ò:	gǐnàg-à:

For ‘give’, the Perfective is either *ndè-* (3Sg *ndè-∅* ‘he/she gave’) or *ndĩrè-* (3Sg *ndĩrè-∅*).

10.1.3.2 Experiential Perfect ‘have ever’ (*tár jò-*)

The experiential perfect is expressed periphrastically. The semantically substantive verb occurs in its chaining form. It is followed in the positive by the verb *tár* ‘look (at)’, also in chaining form, then an inflected form of Perfect auxiliary *jò-*. The negative counterpart is constructed with an inflected form of Perfect Negative *tára-l-* ‘did not look’. For Perfect *jò-* see §10.1.xxx. Examples are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [bàmàkó mà] ín tár jò-m
 [Bamako in] go have.ever Perfect-1SgS
 ‘I have (once) gone to Bamako.’
- b. èndê: dènjé tára-lú-m
 child hit have.ever-PerfectNeg-1SgS
 ‘I have never hit a child.’

The use of *tár* ‘look’ reflects a basic split in Dogon thought between knowledge, facts, customs, etc. that were transmitted to the current generations by their elders, and those that were witnessed or produced by the younger generations themselves. In texts, the speaker will often specify whether a historical event (such as the introduction of the plow) was ‘encountered, found’

(verb *dinê:*), i.e. took place before the speaker's childhood, or was actually observed (*tár*) by the speaker.

10.1.3.3 Perfect (*jò-*, *jòg-â:-*)

Najamba distinguishes a chain construction with regular verb *jé* 'finish' (§xxx) from a more highly grammaticalized Perfect with auxiliary verb *jò-*. This auxiliary follows a verb in its chaining form.

There is also a fuller form *jòg-â:-*, which similarly follows a verb in chaining form.

The paradigms of *jò-* and *jòg-â:-*, along with the positive Perfective paradigm of 'finish' for comparison, are in (xx1). The paradigm of *jò-* is a fairly conventional verbal pronominal-subject paradigm, except for an unusual 3Pl form, which may reflect avoidance of any form that could be confused with the 3Pl of 'finish'. The paradigm of *jòg-â:-* is quite different. In form it is the conjugation of the 'it is' clitic (§xxx) added to a noun-like participle that has an unmarked singular and a Plural suffix *-mbo-*. In the 3Sg form, the clitic *=y* is optionally omitted (as in the Passive).

(xx1)	category	<i>jò-</i>	<i>jòg-â:-</i>	'finish-Perf'
	1Sg	<i>jò-mí</i>	<i>jòg-â:=m</i>	<i>jè-m</i>
	1Pl	<i>jò-y</i>	<i>jòg-â:-mbo=y</i>	<i>jè-y</i>
	2Sg	<i>j-ǒ:</i>	<i>jòg-â:=w</i>	<i>j-ð:</i>
	2Pl	<i>j-ě:</i>	<i>jòg-â:-mbo=è:</i>	<i>j-è:</i>
	3Sg	<i>jò-∅</i>	<i>jòg-â:(=y)</i>	<i>jè-∅</i>
	3Pl	<i>jògà</i>	<i>jòg-â:-mbo=y</i>	<i>j-à:</i>

Both *jò-* and *jòg-â:-* are probably related historically to the stative quasi-verb *jógò-* 'have' (§xxx). The sense is often that of a recent perfect ('have already VP-ed').

jòg-â:=y may also be followed by an inflected form of *kán* 'do; be done'. (xx2) contains one positive and one negative form of *kán* in this construction.

(xx2)	[ó	jù:]	[ké	mà]	
	[2SgP	comrade]	[InanSg.E	in]	
	ó	dĩmbí-yé	jòg-â:-=y	kànè-∅	mé,
	2SgO	follow-MP	Perfect-Ppl=it.is	be.done.Perf-3SgS	if,

[é bĩrò:] kúndú=ý kànè-Ø,
 [2PIP work.L] one.InanSg.O=it.is be.done.Perf-3SgS
 [[ó jù:] [ké mà]
 [[2SgP comrade] [InanSg.E in]
 ó ðĩmbí-yé jòg-â:-y káná-l-Ø dé]
 2SgO follow-MP **Perfect-Ppl=it.is be.done-PerfNeg-3SgS** if]
 [[mó là] [mó ùsfò:] jè-Ø]
 [[AnSg also] [AnSgP road.L] take.Perf-3SgS

‘If it happens that your-Sg comrade has followed (= supported) you in that, (then) your-Pl work is one (= the same). If your-Sg comrade has not followed you in that, (then) he too will have taken his (own) path.’
 (2005-1a)

10.1.3.4 Future (-m̀-, -mbô-)

There is a suffixally marked Future with a Future suffix that takes the short form **-m̀-** in the 3Sg, and a fuller form **-mbô-** in other pronominal-subject categories. (For uninflectable **-mbò** followed by auxiliary verb **bò-** ‘be’ in the Progressive, see §xxx.)

The Future paradigm is based on the A/O-stem of the verb. Therefore all mid-height stems vowels are of the {e o} class. The 1st/2nd person forms have all-low toned stem, with a falling tone on the suffix complex. In the 3Sg and 3Pl, the stem has {LH} tone contour, and both the L and H must be expressed. In the 3Sg, the suffix **-m̀** is low-toned, so the final high tone on the stem combines with this to give a falling <HL> tone on the final syllable. If the verb is monosyllabic, the combination of the {LH} stem contour with the low-toned **-m̀** results in a <LHL> syllable, as with ‘see’ in (xx1), which also presents forms of two other verbs with lexical {ε ɔ} vocalism.

(xxx)	category	Future	yé ‘see’	kéjé ‘cut’	ðògé ‘leave’
	1Sg	-mbó-m̀	yà-mbó-m̀	kèjà-mbó-m̀	dògà-mbó-m̀
	2Sg	-mb-ô:	yà-mb-ô:	kèjà-mb-ô:	dògà-mb-ô:
	1Pl	-mbó-y	yà-mbó-y	kèjà-mbó-y	dògà-mbó-y
	2Pl	-mb-ê:	yà-mb-ê:	kèjà-mb-ê:	dògà-mb-ê:
	3Sg	-m̀	yǎ-m̀	kèjá-m̀	dògá-m̀
	3Pl	-mb-à	yǎ-mb-à	kèjǎ-mb-à	dògǎ-mbà
			[could also be segmented -m-bà based on 3Sg]		

Some additional 1Sg and 3Sg forms are in (xx2), which also presents the 1Sg Perfective (on the left) for comparison. The stems in (xx1.a) are lexically of the {e o} type, while those in (xx1.b) are of the {e o} type.

(xx1)	gloss	1Sg Perf	1Sg Fut	3Sg Fut
a.	‘see’	yè-mí	yà-mbó-m̀	yǎ-m̀
	‘drink’	nè-mí	nà-mbó-m̀	nǎ-m̀
	‘eat’	kwè-mí	kwà-mbó-m̀	kwǎ-m̀
	‘cut’	kèjè-mí	kèjà-mbó-m̀	kèjá-m̀
	‘run’	yòbè-mí	yòbà-mbó-m̀	yòbá-m̀
	‘hit’	dènjè-mí	dènjà-mbó-m̀	dènjá-m̀
	‘bathe’	ìṅgé ðiyè-mí	ìṅgé ðiyà-mbó-m̀	ìṅgé ðiyá-m̀
	‘break’	g̀nàgè-mí	g̀nàgà-mbó-m̀	g̀nàgá-m̀
b.	‘go’	ĩnè-mí	ĩnò-mbó-m̀	ĩnó-m̀
	‘come’	wè-mí	wò-mbó-m̀	wó-m̀
	‘sleep’	nòyè-mí	nòyò-mbó-m̀	nòyó-m̀

For tips on how to distinguish (in transcribed texts or in real life) 3Sg Future -m̀ as opposed to 1Sg subject suffix -m and Plural Imperative -m, see §10.4.1.xxx.

10.1.3.5 Progressive -mbò b̀-

The combination of a verb form ending in suffix -mbò with a pronominally inflected ‘be’ quasi-verb b̀- results in a progressive construction. For the conjugation of b̀- itself, see §xxx. The -mbò suffix is perhaps related in some way to the Future suffix, which has allomorphs -m̀ (3Sg) and -mbó- (1st/2nd persons). It should be sharply distinguished from another -mbò suffix in ‘and (then)’ constructions, which follows the chaining form of the verb (lexical tones, final /e/ or /i/); on the ‘and then’ construction see §15.1.1.2.

Examples showing the form of verb stems before Progressive -mbò are in (xx1). The vocalism shows that the Progressive (like the Future and other nonzero AN inflections) is based on the A/O-stem of the verb. The tone contour of the stem is H for short-voweled monosyllabics (‘eat’, ‘see’), and {HL} for bimoraic verbs (long-voweled monosyllabics, and short-voweled bisyllabics: ‘leave’, ‘slaughter’, ‘bring’, ‘arrive’). In verbs with three moras, the first mora has the particular verb’s lexical tone onset. Any remaining moras between this initial mora and the H of {HL} are high. Compare all-high toned ‘scrub’ with

{LH} ‘go back’, ‘break’, and ‘instruct’. The tone-contour formula for the stem is therefore ((X))H...(L).

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Progressive
	‘go back’	màmíli-yé	màmíli-yà-mbò
	‘break’	gǐnágí	gǐnágà-mbò
	‘scrub’	túgújé	túgújà-mbò
	‘instruct’	bǎ:ré	bǎ:rà-mbò
	‘leave’	dògè	dógà-mbò
	‘slaughter’	sémé	sémà-mbò
	‘eat’	kwé	kwá-mbò
	‘see’	yé	yá-mbò
	‘bring’	jê:	jô:-mbò
	‘arrive’	dwê:	dô:-mbò

Examples including the inflected form of auxiliary *bò-* are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. gǐnágà-mbò b-è: ‘they are breaking’
 b. gǐnágà-mbò bò-Ø ‘he/she is breaking’
 c. gǐnágà-mbò bò-m ‘I am breaking’

Textual examples are in (xx3).

- (xx3) a. gà:gó ó gíyà-mbò bò-Ø,
 hunger 2SgO kill-Progr be-3SgS
 [[ó nògò mó] gǐ] hàybá-nd-ò:
 [[2SgP husband.L Def.AnSg] Acc] watch.over-FutNeg-2SgS
 ‘Hunger is killing you, (and) you don’t watch over your husband.’
 (2005-2a)

For the Past Progressive in *-mbò bè-* see §10.3.1.6.

10.1.3.6 Present (-njò-)

As in the other suffixal AN forms, the **A/O-stem** of the verb is used. The tone contour of the stem is identical to that of the Progressive (§10.1.3.xxx), with formula ((X))H...(L), i.e. H for monomoraic stems, {HL} for bimoraic stems, initial lexical tone for verbs of three or more moras, and any additional moras H-toned. For the 3Pl, whose suffix begins with a high-tone element, the final L of the stem is obligatory even for monosyllabics.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Present
	‘go back’	màmíli-yé	màmíli-yà-njò-
	‘break’	gǐnágí	gǐnágà-njò-
	‘scrub	túgújé	túgújà-njò-
	‘instruct’	bǎ:ré	bǎ:rà-njò-
	‘leave’	dògé	dógà-njò-
	‘slaughter’	sémé	sémà-njò-
	‘eat’	kwé	kwá-njò-
	‘see’	yé	yá-njò-
	‘bring’	jê:	jô:-njò-
	‘arrive’	dwê:	dô:-njò-

The pronominal-subject paradigm is given in (xx2).

(xxx)	category	with pronominal	example with yé ‘see’
	1Sg	-njò-m	yá-njò-m
	2Sg	-nj-ò:	yá-nj-ò:
	3Sg	-njò-Ø	yá-njò-Ø
	1Pl	-njò-y	yá-njò-y
	2Pl	-nj-è:	yá-nj-è:
	3Pl	-nj-ê:	yâ-nj-ê:

The Present with suffix **-njò-** may be used in progressive (‘be VP-ing’) or habitual senses. Examples are in (xx3).

- (xx1) a. **íngé** **díyà-njò-m**
water bathe-Pres-1Sg
‘I am bathing.’
- b. [**déján** **dín**] **íngé** **díyà-njò-m**
[day each] water bathe-Pres-1Sg
‘I bathe every day.’

10.1.4 Negation of indicative verbs

10.1.4.1 Categories expressed by negative verbs

10.1.4.2 Perfective Negative (-l-)

The Perfective Negative is characterized by a suffix beginning with *-l-*, except for a special 3Pl form *-ndí*. The forms with *-l-* suggest a basic form */-lǎ-/* with a high-toned high vowel, i.e. either */-lí-/* or */-lú-/*. The high vowel is deleted in the zero 3Sg form, contracts with a suffixal vowel in the 2Sg and 2Pl, and appears with (arguably) assimilated vowel quality in 1Sg *-lú-m* and 1Pl *-lí-y* (or *-lí-y*).

The verb is in the **A/O-stem**. For nonmonosyllabic stems, the **tones are lexical**, hence either all-high toned or {LH}. Examples of the 1Sg and 3Sg are in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	1Sg PerfNeg	3Sg PerfNeg
a.	‘hit’	dɛnjé	dɛnjá-lú-m	dɛnjá-l
	‘cut’	kéjé	kéjá-lú-m	kéjá-l
	‘run’	yòbɛ́	yòbá-lú-m	yòbá-l
	‘scrub’	túgújé	túgújá-lú-m	túgújá-l
b.	‘go’	íné	ínó-lú-m	ínó-l
	‘sleep’	nóy	nóyó-lú-m	nóyó-l
	‘sit’	óbí-y	óbí-yó-lú-m	óbí-yó-l
c.	‘break’	gǐnágí	gǐnágá-lú-m	gǐnágá-l

Monosyllabic verbs with short vowel (Cǎ, Cwǎ) are illustrated in (xx2). The Perfective Negative is instructive in that some of these verbs lengthen the stem vowel (xx2.a,c) while others do not (xx2.b), and in that some of the verbs have **high-toned stem** (xx1.a) while others have **low-toned stem** (xx1.b-c).

For the stems with low tone before the Perfective Negative suffix */-lǎ-/*, when the suffixal vowel is deleted (in the zero 3Sg form), the suffixal high tone survives, amalgamating with the stem’s low tone to result in a rising tone (xx2.b-c).

(xx2)	gloss	chaining	1Sg PerfNeg	3Sg PerfNeg
a.	‘eat’	kwé	kwá:-lú-m	kwá:-l-∅
	‘go in’	ɲwé	ɲwá:-lú-m	ɲwá:-l-∅
	‘sow’	twé	twá:-lú-m	twá:-l-∅

	‘insult’	dwé	swá:-lú-m	swá:-l-Ø
b.	‘come’	wé	wò-lú-m	wǒ-l-Ø
	‘drink’	né	nà-lú-m	nǎ-l-Ø
	‘weep’	ɲé	ɲà-lú-m	ɲǎ-l-Ø
	‘be, stay’	bé	bà-lú-m	bǎ-l-Ø
	‘go out’	gwé	gò-lú-m	gǒ-l-Ø
	‘insult’	dwé	dwà-lú-m	dwǎ-l-Ø
	‘pound’	dwé	dwà-lú-m	dwǎ-l-Ø
c.	‘see’	yé	yà:-lú-m	yǎ:-l-Ø
	‘hear’	ɲwé	ɲwà:-lú-m	ɲwǎ:-l-Ø

The tonal and vowel-length splits among C \acute{v} (and Cw \acute{v}) monosyllabics in the Perfective Negative inflection, and in the Causative derivation, are undoubtedly archaic phonological characteristics that have elsewhere been lost, very likely as the result of shortening of these verbs from two to one mora (C \acute{v} : to C \acute{v}). Note in particular that ɲwé ‘go in’ (xx1.a) and ɲwé ‘hear’ (xx2.c) have distinct Perfective Negative forms, though their other inflections are homophonous. These two stems also have different tones in causative ɲwá:-m ‘take in’ and ɲwǎ:-m ‘cause to hear’, and there is comparative evidence that the two stems originally differed in tone. However, while both the Perfective Negative and the Causative split these monomoraic stems into three groups, the inventories are not exactly the same, since in the Causative only ‘go out’ has a short-voweled stem (gǒ-m). See §9.2.1 for details.

Monosyllabic stems with long vowels are illustrated in (xx3).

(xx2)	gloss	chaining	1Sg PerfNeg	3Sg PerfNeg
a.	‘eat’	ké:	ká:-lú-m	ká:-l-Ø
	‘sprout’	té:	—	tá:-l-Ø
	‘stay up’	né:	ná:-l-úm	ná:-l-Ø
	‘sting’	té:	tá:-l-úm	tá:-l-Ø
b.	‘bring’	jê:	jô:-l-úm	jô:-l-Ø
	‘arrive’	dwê:	dô:-l-úm	dô:-l-Ø

For the tonal phonology of 3Sg jô:-l-Ø and dô:-l-Ø (xx2.b), see <HLH>-to-<HL> Reduction (§3.7.4.xxx).

The **3PI form** is distinctive within the Perfective Negative paradigm. The stem has **all-low tone**, and the **final vowel is lengthened**. The suffix is **-ndí**, which is probably opaque to further (synchronic) segmentation. Examples

of the 1Sg, 3Sg, and 3Pl are given in (xxx). The 3Pl forms for ‘enter’ and ‘hear’ in (xx1.a) are homophonous, though the corresponding 1Sg and 3Sg forms are audibly distinct.

(xx1)	gloss	1Sg PerfNeg	3Sg PerfNeg	3Pl PerfNeg
a.	‘see’	yà:-lú-m	yǎ:-l-∅	yà:-ndí
	‘drink’	nà:-lú-m	nǎ:-l-∅	nà:-ndí
	‘go out’	gò:-lú-m	gǒ:-l-∅	gò:-ndí
	‘come’	wò:-lú-m	wǒ:-l-∅	wò:-ndí
	‘eat’	kwá:-lú-m	kwá:-l-∅	kwà:-ndí
	‘enter’	ɲwá:-lú-m	ɲwá:-l-∅	ɲwà:-ndí
	‘hear’	ɲwà:-lú-m	ɲwǎ:-l-∅	ɲwà:-ndí
b.	‘cut’	kéjǎ:-lú-m	kéjǎ:-l-∅	kèjà:-ndí
	‘hit’	dènjǎ:-lú-m	dènjǎ:-l-∅	dènjà:-ndí
	‘run’	yòbǎ:-lú-m	yòbǎ:-l-∅	yòbà:-ndí
	‘go’	ínó:-lú-m	ínó:-l-∅	ìnò:-ndí
	‘jump’	tómbó:-lú-m	tómbó:-l-∅	tòmbò:-ndí

The **1Pl** Perfective Negative suffix complex is always segmentally *-li-y*. The 1Pl suffix *-y* is low-toned. The *-li-* morpheme has a tone opposite to the final tone of the preceding stem. Since the only Perfective Negative forms with stem-final low tone are a subset of the monosyllabic stems, there are only a handful of verbs that show up with 1Pl Perfective Negative *-li-y*. Examples are *yà:-lí-y* ‘we did not see’, *wò:-lí-y* ‘we did not come’. All bisyllabic or longer stems end in a high tone before the Perfective Negative suffix, as do the remaining monosyllabics, and all these verbs have 1Pl Perfective Negative *-li-y* (equivalent to */-lí-y/* with low tone. Thus *kwá:-lí-y* ‘we didn’t eat’, *sémá:-lí-y* ‘we did not slaughter’, *dògá:-lí-y* ‘we did not leave’, *túgújǎ:-lí-y* ‘we did not scrub’. Within the Perfective Negative paradigm, this low tone is unique to the 1Pl.

Sample full paradigms are given in (xxx).

(xxx)	category	with pronominal	with ‘see’	with ‘run’
	1Sg	-lú-m	yà:-lú-m	yòbǎ:-lú-m
	2Sg	-l-ó:	yà:-l-ó:	yòbǎ:-l-ó:
	3Sg	-l-∅	yǎ:-l-∅	yòbǎ:-l-∅
	1Pl	-lí-y	yà:-lí-y	yòbǎ:-lí-y
	2Pl	-l-é:	yà:-l-é:	yòbǎ:-l-é:

3Pl :-ndí yà:-ndí yòbà:-ndí

10.1.4.3 Future Negative (-ndĩ-)

The Future Negative (ImpfNeg) indicates that an eventuality of the relevant type will not occur (in a relevant future time frame).

The suffix is -ndĩ-. The low tone on the vowel distinguishes this suffix from the high-toned Present Negative -ndí- and also from 3Pl Perfective Negative :-ndí (which also lengthens the preceding vowel).

In the Future Negative, the stem **ends in a single H-toned syllable** (for monosyllabics, a single H-toned mora. All preceding syllables are low-toned. The vocalism is that of the **A/O-stem**.

(xx1) gloss	chaining	Future Negative
‘go back’	màmíli-yé	màmíli-yă-ndĩ-
‘break’	gĩnági	gĩnàgă-ndĩ-
‘scrub	túgújé	tùgùjă-ndĩ-
‘instruct’	bă:ré	bà:ră-ndĩ-
‘leave’	dògégé	dògă-ndĩ-
‘slaughter’	sémémé	sèmă-ndĩ-
‘eat’	kwé	kwă-ndĩ-
‘see’	yé	yă-ndĩ-
‘bring’	jê:	jô:-ndĩ-
‘arrive’	dwê:	dô:-ndĩ-

The Future Negative is segmentally identical to the Present Negative (§10.1.4.xxx), but they differ tonally.

The pronominal-subject Future Negative paradigm, and a sample paradigm for ‘jump’, are in (xx1). The 1Sg has -nù-m where one would expect something like #-ndù-m.

(xx1) category	with pronominal	with ‘jump’
1Sg	-nù-m	tòmbó-nù-m
2Sg	-nd-ò:	tòmbô-nd-ò:
3Sg	-ndĩ-Ø	tòmbô-ndĩ-Ø
1Pl	-ndĩ-y	tòmbô-ndĩ-y
2Pl	-nd-è:	tòmbô-nd-è:
3Pl	-ndĩ-yà	tòmbô-ndĩ-yà

10.1.4.4 Present Negative (-ndí-)

The Present Negative denies that the eventuality in question is occurring at the time of speaking, or in some wider time frame including the present.

The Present Negative is **segmentally identical to the Future Negative**. However, the Present Negative has high tone on the suffix **-ndí-**, as well as different stem tones. The **-ndí-** suffix should be distinguished from the special 3Pl Perfective Negative portmanteau **:-ndí**, which is preceded by all-low toned stem and which lengthens the stem-final vowel.

Present Negative **-ndí-** imposes a **low tone on the final syllable** of the stem, and this low tone must be **preceded by a high tone**. Therefore lexical **ĆV́ĆV́** and **C̀V̀C̀V̀** stems merge as **ĆV́C̀V̀-ndí-**. Hence **sémà-ndí-** ‘doesn’t slaughter’ (**sémé**) with the same tone contour as **dógà-ndí-** ‘doesn’t leave’ (**dògé**). Similarly for monosyllabics, all of which have falling tone on the stem: **kwâ-ndí** ‘does not eat’ (**kwé**), **dô:-ndí-** ‘does not arrive’ (**dwê:**), **jô:-ndí-** ‘does not bring’ (**jê:**), **kâ:-ndí-** ‘does not shave’ (**ké:**). So neither short (bimoraic) bisyllabics nor monosyllabics reveal their lexical tones in this inflection.

However, **longer stems do distinguish lexical all-high from {LH}** tone contours by the tone of the first syllable or (for **Cv:Cv** bisyllabics) the first mora: **túgújà-ndí-** ‘doesn’t scrub’ (**túgújé**) with initial high tone, but **màmíli-yà-ndí** ‘doesn’t go back’ with initial low tone (**màmíli-yé**), and **bã.nà-ndí-** ‘does not cook (porridge)’ with rising tone on the first syllable (**bã.n**).

Therefore the overall stem-tone formula for this inflection is: **(X)H...L**, with obligatory H and L elements, with the lexically sensitive onset X tone audible if the H and L do not exhaust the available moras of the stem, and with any remaining intervening syllables high-toned.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Present Negative
	‘go back’	màmíli-yé	màmíli-yà-ndí-
	‘break’	g̃nágí	g̃nágà-ndí-
	‘scrub’	túgújé	túgújà-ndí-
	‘instruct’	bã:ré	bã.rà-ndí-
	‘leave’	dògé	dógà-ndí-
	‘slaughter’	sémé	sémà-ndí-
	‘eat’	kwé	kwâ-ndí-
	‘see’	yé	yâ-ndí-
	‘bring’	jê:	jô:-ndí-
	‘arrive’	dwê:	dô:-ndí-

The pronominal-subject paradigm is exemplified by ‘jump’ in (xxx). The pronominal suffixes as well as the rest of the word forms are identical segmentally to those of the Future Negative.

(xxx)	category	with pronominal	with ‘jump’
	1Sg	-nú-m	tómbò-nú-m
	2Sg	-nd-ó:	tómbò-nd-ó:
	3Sg	-ndí-Ø	tómbò-ndí-Ø
	1Pl	-ndí-ŷ	tómbò-ndí-ŷ
	2Pl	-ndé:	tómbò-nd-é:
	3Pl	-ndí-yà	tómbò-ndí-yà

10.1.4.5 Progressive Negative (-njò-ndí-, -mbò òndú)

The most common Progressive Negative is not closely related morphologically to the periphrastic Progressive (positive) with uninflectable *-mbò* followed by an inflected form of *bò-* ‘be’. Instead, the form that functions as Progressive Negative is formed by adding suffix *-ndí-* (which also appears in the Present Negative and the Stative Negative) to what is morphologically the Present (positive) form in *-njò-*.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Progressive Negative
	‘go back’	màmílí-yé	màmílí-yà-njò-ndí-
	‘break’	g̃ínágí	g̃ínágà-njò-ndí-
	‘scrub	túgújé	túgújà-njò-ndí-
	‘instruct’	bǎ:ré	bǎ:rà-njò-ndí-
	‘leave’	dògé	dógà-njò-ndí-
	‘slaughter’	sémé	sémà-njò-ndí-
	‘eat’	kwé	kwá-njò-ndí-
	‘see’	yé	yá-njò-ndí-
	‘bring’	jê:	jô:-njò-ndí-
	‘arrive’	dwê:	dô:-njò-ndí-

The pronominal paradigm, and examples with ‘jump’, are in (xx2).

(xx2)	category	inflection	with ‘jump’
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1Sg	-njò-nú-m	tómbò-njò-nú-m
2Sg	-njò-nd-ó:	tómbò-njò-nd-ó:
3Sg	-njò-ndí-∅	tómbò-njò-ndí-∅
1Pl	-njò-ndí-y̐	tómbò-njò-ndí-y̐
2Pl	-njò-ndé:	tómbò-njò-ndé:
3Pl	-njò-ndí-yà	tómbò-njò-ndí-yà

It is also possible to negate the periphrastic Progressive (positive) complex directly. In this case, instead of [VERB-*mbò* *bò-*], we get [VERB-*mbò* *òndí-*], keeping the Progressive suffix *-mbò* on the verb, and replacing *bò-* ‘be’ with its own suppletive negative counterpart *òndí-* (variant *òndú-*). Thus (xx3) is interchangeable with 1Sg *tómbò-njò-nú-m* in (xx2).

- (xx3) *tómbò-*mbò* òndí-yó-m̐*
 jump-Prog not.be-MP-1SgS
 ‘I am not jumping.’

10.2 Pronominal paradigms for non-imperative verbs

10.2.1 Subject pronominal suffixes

The subject-pronominal suffixes are slightly variable depending on the presence of a preceding AN suffix, and (when added to the Perfective stem with zero AN suffix) on the vowel-harmonic class of the stem. The forms are summarized in (xx1), with examples from the Perfective and Present (positive) forms of ‘eat’. The alternations *e:/ɛ:* and *o:/ɔ:* in the contracted second person forms are based on the ATR-harmonic quality of the final vowel of the preceding morpheme.

(xx1) category	suffix	‘ate’ (Perfective)	‘eat(s)’ (Present)
1Sg	-m	<i>kwè-m̐</i>	<i>kwá-njò-m</i>
1Pl	-y	<i>kwè-y̐</i>	<i>kwá-njò-y</i>
2Sg	-ɔ:/o:	<i>k-ɔ̌:</i>	<i>kwá-nj-ò:</i>
2Pl	-ɛ:/e:	<i>kw-ɛ̌:</i>	<i>kwá-nj-è:</i>
3Sg	-∅	<i>kwè-∅</i>	<i>kwá-njò-∅</i>
3Pl	-a:/ɛ: (etc.)	<i>kw-à:</i>	<i>kwâ-nj-ê:</i>

The “3Pl” form is generally used for (grammatically) animate nouns. Thus 3Sg *dɛŋɛ-∅* ‘he/she/it fell’ may also be used for plural inanimate subject (e.g. ‘trees’), while *dɛŋ-à:* ‘they fell’ is used when the subject is human, animal, or other grammatically animate noun like ‘motorcycles’.

The 3Pl is the most irregular category morphologically, and not all of its allomorphs with the different AN suffixes are shown here.

For the (slightly) irregular verbs with monosyllabic <HL> or bisyllabic L<HL> stem tone contours, the Perfective paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx1)	category	suffix	‘found’	‘brought’	‘arrived’
	1Sg	-m	<i>ɖíné:-m̀</i>	<i>jê:-m</i>	<i>dwé:-m̀</i>
	1Pl	-y	<i>ɖíné:-ŷ</i>	<i>jê:-y</i>	<i>dwé:-ŷ</i>
	2Sg	-ɔ:/o:	<i>ɖín-ô:</i>	<i>j-ô:</i>	<i>d-ô:</i>
	2Pl	-ɛ:/e:	<i>ɖín-ê:</i>	<i>j-ê:</i>	<i>dw-ê:</i>
	3Sg	-∅	<i>ɖínê:-∅</i>	<i>jê:-∅</i>	<i>dwê:-∅</i>
	3Pl	-a:/ɛ: (etc.)	<i>ɖín-ô:</i>	<i>j-ô:</i>	<i>d-ô:</i>

revise texts by lengthening vowel (1Sg *ɖíné:-m̀*, 1Pl *ɖíné:-ŷ*)

10.3 Supplemental temporal morphemes

10.3.1 Past (=bɛ̀-)

The **Past** morpheme with its pronominal-subject inflection may be added as a clitic (or, arguably, as a separate auxiliary verb), to certain verb forms described in the following sections. It specifies past time for a stative or imperfective verb that might otherwise be taken as including the present, and it shifts a perfect (‘has VP-ed’) to past perfect (‘had VP-ed’, i.e. with reference to a moment in the past).

The pronominal-subject paradigms (positive and negative) of =bɛ̀- are in (xx1).

(xx1)	category	positive	negative
	1Sg	=bɛ̀- <i>mí</i>	=bà- <i>lú-m</i>
	2Sg	=b- <i>ǎ:</i>	=bà- <i>l-ó:</i>
	3Sg	=bɛ̀- <i>∅</i>	=bǎ- <i>l-∅</i>

1Pl	=bè-ý	=bà-l-î:
2Pl	=b-ě:	=bà-l-é:
3Pl	=b-à:	=bà:-ndí

The forms of the Past morpheme might be analysed as Perfective forms of the verb **bé-** 'remain', i.e. Perfective (positive) **bè-** and Perfective Negative **bà-l(i)-**. In forms other than Perfective, this verb can mean 'remain, stay', as in 'I will remain here (while someone else is going away)'. In the Perfective, **bè-** may function as the past-time equivalent of **bò-** 'be (somewhere)', see the following section.

10.3.1.1 Past of 'be (somewhere)'

The past-time equivalent of 'be (somewhere)' is formed by replacing **bò-** by **bè-**. Note that in this case **bè-** is not added to another predicative form. The negative 'was not (somewhere)' is similarly the Perfective Negative of **bè-**.

- (xx1) a. [sònjó: má] bè-Ø
 [village in] be.Past-3SgS
 'He/She was (or: used to be) in the village.'
- b. [sònjó: má] bă-l-Ø
 [village in] be-PerfNeg-3SgS
 'He/She was not in the village.'

In the Perfective, **bè-** often means simply 'was/were (in a location)' (xx2). In this use, it is in effect the equivalent for past time frame of **bò-** 'be (somewhere)' (the two cannot be combined).

- (xx2) [[sònjó: kùl] mà] bè-Ø
 [[village inside.L] in] be.Perf-3SgS
 'He/She was in the village.'

10.3.1.2 Past of 'have', 'know', and 'want'

The Past form of 'have' is **jógò-m** plus the conjugated form of **=bè-**. The sequence **-m=bè-** is also used with other defective statives 'know' and 'want'. The sequence **-m=bè-** is found in the Past Imperfective of regular verbs, but also in the Past form of derived stative verbs. Since stative verbs do not distinguish aspect, it is difficult to gloss the **-m** morpheme; I will gloss it as Stative with

‘have’, ‘know’, ‘want’, and derived statives, and Imperfective in the Past Imperfective of regular verbs. Examples with ‘have’, ‘know’, and ‘want’ are in (xx1). Note that all have {HL} tone contour on the (bisyllabic) stem, which is consistent with tones on other verbs before -m in the Past Imperfective and Past Stative.

- (xx1) a. $\eta gw\check{e}$: $j\acute{o}g\grave{o}-m=b\grave{e}-m$
 dog have-Stat=Past-1SgS
 ‘I had (=used to have) a dog.’
- b. $t\acute{i}g\grave{a}-m=b\grave{e}-m$
 know-Stat=Past-1SgS
 ‘I knew (=used to know).’
- c. $p\grave{e}g\acute{e}$ $k\acute{i}y\grave{o}-m=b\grave{e}-m$
 sheep want-Stat=Past-1SgS
 ‘I wanted a sheep.’

Negative counterparts are in (xx2). The negation of ‘have’ is expressed only in the clitic, which has a Perfective Negative suffix (xx2.a). The negation of ‘know’ is expressed by using the suppletive negative stem meaning ‘not know’, with no marking of negation in the clitic (xx2.b). The negation of ‘want’ is expressed using either of these morphological constructions (xx2.c-d). That (xx2.c) was volunteered by the informant, while (xx2.d) was then suggested by the linguist and agreed to by the informant, suggests that *kélà-* ‘not want’ may tend to pattern as a distinct verb (‘dislike’) rather than as a simple negation of ‘want’; see §17.2.1.

- (xx2) a. $\eta gw\check{e}$: $j\acute{o}g\grave{o}-m=b\grave{a}-l\acute{u}-m$
 dog have-Stat=Past-PerfNeg-1SgS
 ‘I didn’t have a dog.’
- b. $\acute{e}nd\grave{a}-m=b\grave{e}-m$
 not.know-Stat=Past-1SgS
 ‘I didn’t know.’
- c. $p\grave{e}g\acute{e}$ $k\acute{i}y\grave{o}-m=b\grave{a}-l\acute{u}-m$
 sheep want-Stat=Past-PerfNeg-1SgS
 ‘I did not want a sheep.’
- d. $p\grave{e}g\acute{e}$ $k\acute{e}l\grave{a}-m=b\grave{e}-m$
 sheep not.want-Stat=Past-1SgS

‘I did not want a sheep.’

10.3.1.3 Past Stative (-m=bè-)

(xx1) illustrates the use of **-m=bè-** with the **Stative** form of a stance verb (§11.2.3). Since such statives (which end in **o** or **a**) do not distinguish perfective from imperfective, the Past clitic is especially useful with them. (xx1.a) is positive, (xx1.b) negative.

- (xx1) a. **ná:** **ngîn** **óbò-m=bè-Ø**
yesterday here sit-Stat=Past-3SgS
‘Yesterday he/she was sitting here.’
- b. **ná:** **ngîn** **óbò-m=bă-l-Ø**
sit-Stat=Past-Neg-3SgS
‘Yesterday he/she was not sitting here.’

Compare e.g. stative **óbò-Ø** ‘he/she is sitting’, negative **óbò-ndí-Ø** ‘he/she is not sitting’. Other examples involving statives are **jógò-m=bè-** ‘had, used to have’ and **tígà-m=bè-** ‘knew, used to know’.

10.3.1.4 Past of ‘it is’ clitic (=y=bè-)

=bè- may also be used after the ‘**it is**’ clitic **=y** (§11.2.1), which follows a NP (singular or plural). In this combination, the **=y** is invariant (not conjugated), while **=bè-** has its regular pronominal-subject inflection.

- (xx1) a. **sònjó:=y=bè-Ø**
village=it.is=Past-3SgS
‘It was (= used to be) a village.’ (sònjó:)
- b. **gǒ:rè:=y=bè-Ø**
‘kola.nut.Pl=it.is=Past-3SgS
‘It was (= used to be) kola nuts’ (2005.1a)
- c. **gòlè-gòlé:=y=bè-m**
farming.L-do.farming.Agent=it.is=Past-1SgS
‘I used to be a farmer.’
- d. **gòlè-gòlú-mbó:=y=bè-y**

farming.L-do.farming.Agent-Pl=it.is=Past-1PlS
 ‘We used to be farmers.’

In the **negative**, the inner sequence with =y is unchanged from the positive type just illustrated. The Past morpheme takes its regular conjugated negative form (xx2).

(xx2) gòlè-gòlé=y=bà-lú-m
 farming.L-do.farming.Agent=it.is=Past-PerfNeg-1SgS
 ‘I did not use to be a farmer.’

10.3.1.5 Past Imperfective (-m=bè-)

The Past Imperfective consists of the main verb with suffix **-m** plus an inflected form of the Past clitic. It may be used with any verb in **past imperfective** function (‘was VP-ing’, ‘used to VP’).

Examples showing the tones of the stems are in (xx1). The tone-contour formula for the stem is **((X))H...(L)-**. That is, a high tone is obligatory (‘eat’, ‘see’, ‘come’). If there is a second mora, we get {HL} (‘slaughter’, ‘leave’, ‘bring’, ‘arrive’). If there are additional moras, the initial mora respects the lexical (all-high versus {LH}) contour (‘break’, ‘scrub’, ‘instruct’), and any further moras are filled out with high tones (‘go back’). This tone contour is identical to that which precedes the Present (suffix **-njò-**) and that which precedes the morpheme **-m** in the Progressive construction.

The **-m** can be taken here as an **Imperfective** morpheme. It can be connected with the initial nasals in Future-**mbô-** (special 3Sg form **-m̃**) and Present **-njò-**, and more directly with **-m** in the Progressive construction. However, before the Past clitic, **-m̃** is also found after statives (derived and underived).

(xx2) gloss	chaining	Past Imperfective
‘go back’	màmíli-yé	màmíli-yà-m=bè-
‘break’	g̃ínáǵí	g̃ínáǵà-m=bè-
‘scrub’	túǵújé	túǵújà-m=bè-
‘instruct’	bǎ:ré	bǎ:rà-m=bè-
‘leave’	dòǵé	dòǵà-m=bè-
‘slaughter’	sémé	sémà-m=bè-
		[also séyà-m=bè- by Intervocalic Labial-Deletion]
‘eat’	kwé	kwá-m=bè-
‘see’	yé	yá-m=bè-

‘come’	wé	wó-m=bè-
‘bring’	jê:	jô:-m=bè-
‘arrive’	dwê:	dô:-m=bè-

The **negative** replaces the inflected form of (positive) =bè- by the corresponding form of its negative counterpart =bǎ-l- (1Sg =bà-lú-m, etc.). Thus positive *màmíli-yà-m=bè-m* ‘I used to go back’, negative *màmíli-yà-m=bà-lú-m* ‘I did not use to go back’.

The Past Imperfective is used in the **consequent clauses of counterfactual conditionals** (§16.xxx).

10.3.1.6 Future-in-Past (-m=bè-)

A Future-in-Past construction, comparable semantically to the “conditional” of e.g. Romance languages, is segmentally identical to the Past Imperfective, but differs tonally. The Future-in-Past has a stem tone contour (L...H) identical to that of the simple Future inflection (suffix *-mbó-*), with a final low tone preceded by at least one high tone. The sense is ‘was going to VP’ or ‘was about to VP’.

(xx2)	gloss	chaining	Future-in-Past
	‘go back’	<i>màmíli-yé</i>	<i>màmíli-yá-m=bè-</i>
	‘break’	<i>gǐnágí</i>	<i>gǐnágá-m=bè-</i>
	‘scrub’	<i>túgújé</i>	<i>túgùjá-m=bè-</i>
	‘instruct’	<i>bǎ:ré</i>	<i>bà:rá-m=bè-</i>
	‘leave’	<i>dògέ</i>	<i>dògá-m=bè-</i>
	‘slaughter’	<i>sémé</i>	<i>sèmá-m=bè-</i>
			[also <i>sèyá-m=bè-</i> by Labial-Deletion]
	‘eat’	<i>kwé</i>	<i>kwǎ-m=bè-</i>
	‘see’	<i>yé</i>	<i>yǎ-m=bè-</i>
	‘come’	<i>wé</i>	<i>wǒ-m=bè-</i>
	‘bring’	<i>jê:</i>	<i>jǒ:-m=bè-</i>
	‘arrive’	<i>dwê:</i>	<i>dǒ:-m=bè-</i>

The **negative** replaces the inflected form of (positive) =bè- by the corresponding form of its negative counterpart =bǎ-l- (1Sg =bà-lú-m, etc.). Thus *màmíli-yá-m=bè-m* ‘I was going to go back’, *màmíli-yá-m=bà-lú-m* ‘I was not going to go back’.

10.3.1.7 Past Perfect (chaining form plus =bè-)

=bè- is added to the **chaining form**, **without the -m-** seen in the preceding (imperfective and stative) examples, for **past perfect** sense ('had VP-ed'). Positive examples are in (xx4). Note particularly the stem-final /i/ in (xx4.c), versus the final {ε e} in (xx4.a-b), the diagnostic vocalisms of the chaining form.

- (xx4) a. kwé=bè-m 'I had eaten'
 dògè=bè-m 'I had left'
 sémé=bè-m 'I had slaughtered'
- b. wé=bè-m 'I had come'
 jê:=bè-m 'I had brought'
- c. págí=bè-m 'I had tied'
 súgí=bè-m 'I had gone down'
 nóy=bè-m 'I had slept'

The **negative** counterparts consist of the (positive) inflected =bè- preceded by an **inflected Perfective Negative verb**. The subject pronominal category is therefore expressed twice. In (xx5), 1Sg =bè-m is added to an already fully inflected 1Sg Perfective Negative ending in -lú-m.

- (xx4) a. kwá:-lú-m=bè-m 'I had not eaten'
 dògá-lú-m=bè-m 'I had not left'
 séma-lú-m=bè-m 'I had not slaughtered'
- b. wò-lú-m=bè-m 'I had not come'
 jô:-lú-m=bè-m 'I had not brought'
- c. págá-lú-m=bè-m 'I had not tied'
 súgó-lú-m=bè-m 'I had not gone down'
 nóyó-lú-m=bè-m 'I had not slept'

These past perfect forms (positive and negative) are also used in the **antecedent clauses of counterfactual conditionals** (§16.7).

10.3.1.8 Past Progressive (-mbò bèn-)

The regular Progressive is expressed by a form with **-mbò** after the A/O-stem, plus an inflected form of **bò-** 'be', see §10.1.3.5. The Past counterpart replaces **bò-** by **bèn-**.

An example is **yùgúli-yò-mbò b-à:** 'they used to be going crazy' in (xx53) in the sample text, and **[i là] kánà-mbò bèn-ỳ** 'we too used to do it' in (xx16) in the sample text.

10.3.2 'Still', 'up to now', (not) yet'

For 'not yet', the Perfective Negative verb is combined with invariant adverb **táfòn**.

- (xx1) a. **táfòn wò-l-Ø**
not.yet come-PerfNeg-3SgS
'He/She hasn't come yet.'
- b. **táfòn twě twá-lì-y**
not.yet sowing sow-PerfNeg-1PlS
'We haven't planted (the seeds) yet.'

For positive 'until now', 'so far', or 'still (= even now)', **sàngí** 'now' is combined with universal quantifier **đin** 'all' as **sàngí đin**.

- (xx2) a. **[jènǎ: kó] něy [sàngí đin]**
[rainy.season Def.InanSg] is.good [now all]
'The rainy season is good for the time being.'
- b. **[sàngí đin] tégà-njò-Ø ló**
[now all] rain.fall-Pres-3SgS Q
'Is it still raining?'
- c. **[sàngí đin] yógé yé yà:-lú-m**
[now all] millet.Pl Def.InanPl see-PerfNeg-1SgS
'So far (=up to now) we haven't seen (=received) any millet.'

10.4 Imperatives and Hortatives

10.4.1 Imperatives and Prohibitives

10.4.1.1 Positive Imperatives

Positive imperatives have an unsuffixed singular-addressee form that is based on the **A/O stem with no segmental affix**. This means that the stem ends in **a** (corresponding to E in the chaining form and Perfective) or **o** (corresponding to /i/ in the chaining form and e in the Perfective), and that vowels of any nonfinal syllables are subject to {e o} vowel harmony (clearly observable when the stem has a lexical {e o}). In the Imperative (singular), the word has **all-high tone contour**.

For **plural addressee**, a suffix **-m̀** with low tone is added to the (singular) Imperative.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Imprt Sg	Imprt Pl
a.	‘eat’	kwé	kwá	kwá-m̀
	‘cut’	kéjé	kéjá	kéjá-m̀
	‘see’	yé	yá	yá-m̀
	‘drink’	né	ná	ná-m̀
	‘hit’	dɛ̀njé	dénjá	dénjá-m̀
	‘bathe’	ɪ̀ŋgé d̄iyé	ɪ̀ŋgé d̄iyá	ɪ̀ŋgé d̄iyá-m̀
	‘run’	yòbɛ̀	yóbá	yóbó-m̀
	‘instruct’	b̄á:rɛ̀	bá:rá	bá:rá-m̀
	‘scrub’	túgújé	túgújá	túgújá-m̀
	‘go back’	mámílí-yé	mámílí-yá	mámílí-yá-m̀
b.	‘go’	ɪ̀nè-mí	ínó	ínó-m̀
	‘come’	wè-mí	wó	wó-m̀
	‘sleep’	nòyè-mí	nóyó	nóyó-m̀
	‘break’	gínágí	gínágá	gínágá-m̀
c.	‘bring’	jê:	jô:	jó:-m̀
			[Imprt variants jô, jó-m̀]	
	‘arrive’	dwê:	dô:	dô:-m̀

Examples are in (xx2).

(xx2)	a.	[dôm	ó	gò]	dímí-yá
		[talk(noun) 2SgP	Poss.InanSg.O]	follow-MP.Imprt	

‘Continue-2Sg your talk!’ (2005-2a)

- b. [bèlí-yé nè] kúnjá
 [get.up-MP Adv] get.old.Imprt
 ‘Arise and get-2Sg old!’ (2005-2a)

Imperative clauses may be used as abstractives, under the scope of a phrase like ‘there is ...’ or ‘there is no ...’.

- (xx3) [[m mà] dāmá] kà] òndú-Ø
 [[1Sg Dat] speak.Imprt] Top] not.be-3SgS
 ‘There is no (saying) “tell me!”’ (2005-1a)

10.4.1.2 Tips for distinguishing three verbal *-m* suffixes

One may distinguish Plural Imperative *-m̀*, 1Sg *-m*, and 3Sg Future *-m̀* by the key in (xxx) when they **directly follow the stem** (underived or derived). For the 1Sg, this is the case only in the Perfective (positive); the 1Sg suffix may also follow other AN suffixes, in which case there is no possibility of confusion.

(xxx)	category	tone contour	preceding vowel(s)
a.	Plural Imperative	H...	{a o}, i.e. A/O-stem
b.	3Sg Future	L(L...)F	{a o}, i.e. A/O-stem
c.	1Sg Perfective	L(L...)R	{e e}, i.e. E-stem

The 1Sg Perfective always has telltale stem-final *ε* or *e* of the E-stem, as in *kwè-m̀* ‘I ate’ and *ìnè-m̀* ‘I went’. For the two *-m* combinations involving the A/O form of the stem, the distinction is made by noting the **tone contour of the stem**, which is all-high in the Plural Imperative but which begins with a low tone in the 3Sg Future. Thus *sémá-m̀* ‘slaughter-2PI!’ versus *sèmá-m̀* ‘he/she will slaughter’. For **monosyllabic** stems, the distinction between Plural Imperative and 3Sg Future is phonetically subtle but quite real, even with bimoraic word shapes that make the bell-shaped <LHL> tone initially difficult for the foreign linguist to hear: *kwâ-m* ‘eat!-2PI’ versus *kwǎ-m̀* ‘he/she will eat’, *yâ-m* ‘see!-2PI’ versus *yǎ-m̀* ‘he/she will see’.

10.4.1.3 Imperative Negative (Prohibitive)

The negative counterpart of the Imperative, the Prohibitive, is expressed by adding either *-là* or *-nô:* to the stem for singular addressee. As in the (positive) Imperative, for plural addressee a further suffix *-m* is added (*-là-m*, *-nô-m*).

-là and *-nô:* require distinct stem shapes.

Before *-là*, the **A/O-stem** is used. The onset of the stem respects the lexical distinction between all-high and {LH} contours. All short-voweled monosyllabics are high-toned, so no distinctive lexical tones are found here (xx1.a-b). However, bimoraic stems with lexical {LH} contour keep this contour before the suffix (xx1.c), while bimoraic stems with lexical all-high or (for *Cŷ:-*) falling tone appear with {HL} contour (xx1.d-e). In longer stems, the initial mora is based on the lexical tone contour, the final two moras are HL, and any intervening moras are high-toned (xx1.f-g). Therefore the tone-contour formula for the stem is **X((H...))H(L)**, with obligatory H and lexical onset X (though if X is high it fused with the grammatical H), followed by a final L (if there is a mora available), followed by further H-tones where needed to fill out any tonally unspecified moras. In effect, the tones are identical to the lexical tone contour, except that if the stem would otherwise end in two high-toned syllables, the stem-final syllable drops to low tone.

The verb *ín\ìnè* ‘go’ has a slightly irregular syncopated prohibitive *ín-là* ‘don’t go!’ for expected *#ínò-là* (xx1.h), compare e.g. *túnò-là* ‘don’t put!’.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Prohib Sg	Prohib Pl
a.	‘see’	yé	yá-là	yá-là-m
	‘drink’	né	ná-là	ná-là-m
	‘go in’	ɲwé	ɲwá-là	ɲwá-là-m
	‘eat’	kwé	kwá-là	kwá-là-m
	‘hear’	ɲwé	ɲwá-là	ɲwá-là-m
b.	‘come’	wè-mí	wó-là	wó-là-m
	‘go out’	gwé	gó-là	gó-là-m
c.	‘hit’	dɛ̃njé	dɛ̃njá-là	dɛ̃njá-là-m
	‘run’	yòbɛ́	yòbá-là	yòbá-là-m
	‘bathe’	ɪ̃ŋgé ðiyé	ɪ̃ŋgé ðiyé-là	ɪ̃ŋgé ðiyé-là-m
	‘instruct’	bǎ:ré	bǎ:rà-là	bǎ:rà-là-m
d.	‘bring’	jê:	jô:-là	jô:-là-m
	‘shave’	kê:	kâ:-là	kâ:-là-m

e.	‘cut’	kéjé	kéjà-là	kéjà-là-m
	‘spray’	píjì	píjò-là	píjò-là-m
	‘sleep’	nóy	nóyò-là	nóyò-là-m
	‘look’	tár	tàrà-là	tàrà-là-m
	‘put’	tún	túnò-là	túnò-là-m
f.	‘sit’	óbí-y	óbí-yò-là	óbí-yò-là-m
	‘stop’	ìṅgí-yé	ìṅgí-yà-là	ìṅgí-yà-là-m
	‘make stop’	ìṅgí-rá-ndí	ìṅgí-rá-ndà-là	ìṅgí-rá-ndà-là-m
g.	‘go back’	màmílí-yé	màmílí-yà-là	màmílí-yà-là-m
	‘break’	g̃ínágí	g̃ínágà-là	g̃ínágà-là-m
h.	‘go’	ín	ín-là	ín-là-m

Textual examples with *-là* are in (xx2).

- (xxx) a. [bìré nè] [mó gĩ] òdírá nò,
 [work Adv] [AnSg Acc] give.Imprt Emph,
 [mí mà] bírá-là nò
 [1Sg in] work-ImprtNeg Emph
 ‘Work and give (something) to him! Don’t work at my place!’
 (2005.2a)
- b. [inji-yá-nè mà:] kájábà-là
 [stand-MP-Fut.3Sg Q] think-ImprtNeg
 ‘Don’t think that it (= what you say) will stand (= hold).’ (2005.1a)

The alternative form with suffix *-nô:* is added to a stem with **all-low tones** (tone-dropping). As in the chaining form, the vocalism is that of the E-stem for verbs with lexical {e o}, and that of the I/U-stem for verbs with lexical {e o}.

(xxx)	gloss	chaining	Prohib Sg	Prohib Pl
a.	‘see’	yé	yè-nô:	yè-nô:-m
	‘eat’	kwé	kwè-nô:	kwè-nô:-m
	‘drink’	né	nè-nô:	nè-nô:-m
b.	‘come’	wé	wè-nô:	wè-nô:-m

c.	‘go’	ín	ìn-nô:	ìn-nô:-m
	‘sleep’	nóy	nòy-nô:	nòy-nô:-m
d.	‘hit’	dènǰé	dènǰè-nô:	dènǰè-nô:-m
	‘cut’	kéǰé	kèǰè-nô:	kèǰè-nô:-m
	‘bathe’	ìǰǰé ðiyé	ìǰǰé ðiyè-nô:	ìǰǰé ðiyè-nô:-m
	‘go back’	màmíli-yé	màmíli-yè-nô:	màmíli-yè-nô:-m
	‘run’	yòbè	yòbè-nô:	yòbè-nô:-m
e.	‘break’	ǰínáǰí	ǰìnàǰì-nô:	ǰìnàǰì-nô:-m

10.4.2 First Person Inclusive Hortatives

10.4.2.1 Positive Hortatives ‘let’s ...!’ (-ǰ, -ǰ)

When the speaker urges one addressee to join with him or her in a collective act (‘let’s-Du go!’), the **Hortative Dual** is used. This consists of a **low-toned form of the A/O-stem** and a H-toned suffix -ǰ. When more than one addressee is involved, in addition to the speaker, the **Hortative Plural** is used. It is segmentally identical to the Hortative Dual, but has a different tone countour, namely **{LH} stem contour** with the H on the final mora, plus L-toned suffix -ǰ.

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	‘let’s ...!’ (dual)	‘let’s ...!’ (three plus)
a.	‘hit’	dènǰé	dènǰà-ǰ	dènǰá-ǰ
	‘eat’	kwé	kwà-ǰ	kwǎ-ǰ
	‘cut’	kéǰé	kèǰà-ǰ	kèǰá-ǰ
	‘see’	yé	yà-ǰ	yǎ-ǰ
	‘drink’	né	nà-ǰ	nǎ-ǰ
	‘bathe’	ìǰǰé ðiyé	ìǰǰé ðiyà-ǰ	ìǰǰé ðiyá-ǰ
	‘go back’	màmíli-yé	màmíli-yà-ǰ	màmíli-yá-ǰ
b.	‘go’	ìné	ìnò-ǰ	ìnó-ǰ
	‘come’	wé	wò-ǰ	wó-ǰ
	‘bring’	jè:	jò:-ǰ	jǒ:-ǰ
	‘run’	yòbè	yòbà-ǰ	yòbá-ǰ
	‘sleep’	nóy	nòyò-ǰ	nòyó-ǰ
	‘break’	ǰínáǰí	ǰìnàǰà-ǰ	ǰìnàǰá-ǰ

Examples in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. wó mǎnâ: kwà-yí wá
 come.Imprt meal eat-Hort.1Du say
 ‘(He said:) “Come! Let’s eat a meal!”’ (2005.2a)
- b. [[í gò] l=à:] jǎ-yì
 [[1PIP Poss.InanSg.O] not.be=Ppl] take-Hort.1Pl
 ‘Let’s take what is not ours!’ (2005.2a)
- c. [áníyá dīn] kènέ b-è: kó,
 [world all] like.that be-3PlS Def.InanSg.O,
 mòmbí-yé nǎmá-yì
 gather-Mp ruin-Hort.1Pl
 ‘Let’s get together and ruin (= change) the situation where everyone
 is like that.’ (2005-2a)

A hortative may appear in **interrogative clauses** (the Najamba syntax is roughly captured by e.g. ‘let’s do what?’ as opposed to ‘what shall we do?’).

- (xxx) dǎbâr [ǎnné kǎnǎ-yì ló]
 solution [how? do-Hort.1Pl Q]
 ‘(For) the solution, let’s do what?’ (2004-1a)

10.4.3 Imperative with implied first person singular subject

Especially when seeking clarification of another’s wishes, or of an apparent (but not clearly heard) imperative, a yes/no interrogative containing an imperative with understood first person subject may be used.

- (xx1) sǎtǎlà jô: ló
 kettle bring.Imprt Q
 ‘(Did you ask me) to bring the kettle?’

In local French this is *D’amener le bouilloire?*

A first singular (or other) subject may be made explicit. In (xx2), the 1Sg pronoun is focalized. This might be used when the speaker has heard the interlocutor’s request (‘bring the kettle!’), but isn’t sure who it was addressed to.

- (xx1) [mí yà:] sǎtǎlà jô: ló

[1Sg Foc] kettle bring.Imprt Q
 ‘(Did you ask) me [focus] to bring the kettle?’

10.4.3.1 Hortative Negatives ‘let’s not ...!’ (-là-ý, -lá-ỳ, -nô:-ỳ)

The Hortative Negative suffix (‘let’s not ...!’) is expressed by adding 1Pl -y to an Imperative Negative. Since there are two distinct Imperative Negative formations, there are likewise two Hortative Negative formations. The common forms are those in (xx1.a), where Dual and Plural are distinguished tonally. The less common type in (xx1.b) has a single form.

- (xx1) a. -là-ý 1 Dual Inclusive
 -lá-ỳ 1 Plural (three-plus) Inclusive
- b. -nô:-y 1 Dual or Plural Inclusive

Before the suffixes in (xx1.a), the form of the stem is the same as that used before -là in the Imperative Negative (§10.4.1.2). That is, the A/O-stem accounts for the vocalism, and the lexical tones are used, except that if there is a high-toned stem-penultimate syllable, the stem-final syllable is low-toned.

Examples of these forms for several verbs are in (xx2).

- (xx2) gloss ‘let’s not ...!’ (dual) ‘let’s not ...!’ (three or more)
- | | | |
|-----------|----------------|----------------|
| ‘go’ | ínò-là-ý | ínò-lá-ỳ |
| ‘eat’ | kwá-là-ý | kwá-lá-ỳ |
| ‘run’ | yòbá-là-ý | yòbá-lá-ỳ |
| ‘scrub’ | túgújà-là-ý | túgújà-lá-ỳ |
| ‘go back’ | màmíli-yà-là-ý | màmíli-yà-lá-ỳ |

Textual examples are in (xx3).

- (xx3) a. **já:ŋí-yò-lá-ỳ**
 squabble-MP-ImprtNeg-1PIS
 ‘Let us (3+) not squabble!’ (2005-1a)
- b. **dògá-lá-ỳ**
 leave-ImprtNeg-1PIS
 ‘Let’s not leave (abandon)!’ (2005-1a)

The alternative form in *-nô:-y* has the same stem shape as we saw before Imperative Negative *-nô:*, namely a low-toned equivalent of the chaining form, i.e. of the E-stem for verbs of {*ɛ ɔ*} vowel-harmonic class and the I/U-stem for verbs of the {*e o*} vowel-harmonic class.

- (xx1) a. [mó ġĩ] yè-nô:-y
 [3AnSg Acc] see-ImprtNeg-1PIS
 ‘Let’s not see him/her!’
- b. [sònjó: má] ñn-nô:-y
 [village in] go-ImprtNeg-1PIS
 ‘Let’s not go to the village!’

10.4.4 Third person Hortative

10.4.4.1 Positive ‘may he/she ...!’ (3Sg *-ná*, 3Pl *-wó:*)

Exhortations and wishes involving a third person singular agent are expressed by the suffix *-ná*. This suffix is common in imprecations with *jěnjà* ‘God’ as subject, but other subjects are also possible. For third person plural, the suffix is *-wó:* (xx1.d).

Some simple elicited examples are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. *yòbí-ná* ‘may he/she run!’
 b. *màmíli-y-ná* ‘may he/she go back!’
 c. *đimbí-y-ná* ‘may he/she follow!’
 d. *té:-ngó kéré-ná* ‘may he/she go look for firewood!’

The examples in (xx2) are from texts, except that (xx2.d) was elicited as a plural-subject counterpart of (xx2.c).

- (xx2) a. *jěnjà* [í ġĩ] *sútùrà* *kán-ná*
 God [1Pl Obj] protection do-**Hort.3Sg**
 ‘May God protect us.’ (2005.2a)
- b. *kà:* *jěnjà* *ké* [í ġĩ] *yámí-r-ná*
 but God InanSg.E [1Pl Obj] cover-Tr-**Hort.3Sg**
 ‘But may God cover (= remove) that for us.’ (2005.2a) (*yámí*)
- c. [[ó yè:] ġĩ] *kùmbĩ-y-ǎ:*,
 [[2SgP woman.L] Acc] hold-MP.Perf-2SgS

[[ó yè: là] ó kúmbí-y-ná
 [[2SgP woman.L also] 2SgO hold-MP-**Hort.3Sg**
 ‘(If) you have held (= watched over) your wife, may your wife too hold you.’ (2005.2a)

- d. [[ó yàwò:] gǐ] kùmbĩ-y-ǒ;
 [[2SgP woman.Pl.L] Acc] hold-MP.Perf-2SgS
 [[ó yàwò: là] ó kúmbí-y-wó:
 [[2SgP womanPl.L also] 2SgO hold-MP-**Hort.3Pl**
 ‘(If) you have held (= watched over) your wives, may your wives too hold you.’ [plural version of (c)]

10.4.4.2 Negative ‘may he/she not ...!’ (3Sg -nô:-nà, 3Pl -nô:-wò:)

A Negative morpheme -nô:- also seen as an option in the Imperative Negative is placed between the verb stem and the (positive) third person Hortative suffixes, which are here heard with low tones: 3Sg -nà, 3Pl -wò:. As in the Imperative Negative, -nô:- requires a low-toned stem, with vocalism as in the chaining form.

- (xx1) a. jěnjà kó [í gǐ] kànà-m-nô:-nà
 God InanSg.O [1Pl Acc] do-Caus-**ImpprtNeg-Hort.3Sg**
 ‘May God not make us do that!’ (2005.1a)

- b. jěnjà [í gǐ] nè:ndá: ñdè-nô:-nà
 God [1Pl Acc] bad.InanSg.O give-**ImpprtNeg-Hort.3Sg**
 ‘May God not give us anything bad (= trouble)!’

- c. [nè:ndá: í gò]
 [bad.InanSg.O 1Pl Poss.InanSg.O]
 [bé gǐ] dwè:-nô:-nà
 [3Pl Acc] arrive-**ImpprtNeg-Hort.3Sg**
 ‘May our trouble not reach them!’

- d. [í gǐ] dá:ndí-lé kó↑, gày-nô:-wò:
 [1Pl Acc] tell-VblN Def.InanSg.O, delay-**ImpprtNeg-Hort.3Pl**
 ‘may they not neglect (= delay) to tell us (the information)!’ (2005-1a)

10.4.5 Obligational -mb-è:-

An obligational form ('X must VP') can be formed by using a Future participle plus an 'it is' clitic. It is negated by the 'it is not' clitic =lá-. A pronominal subject is expressed with a clause-initial pronoun.

For one assistant, the form used is the regular Future participle with -ngà.

- (xx1) a. mí dǒgǎ-ngà=ỳ
 1Sg leave-Fut.Ppl=it.is
 'I must (or: ought to) leave (it).'
- b. mí dǒgǎ-ngà=lá
 1Sg leave-Fut.Ppl=it.is.not
 'I must not (or: ought not to) leave (it).'

Another speaker produced a special participial form consisting of -è:- added to the Future verb stem, forming -mb-è:-, with the regular Future tone contour of the preceding stem. This speaker conjugated the 'it is' clitic directly, instead of using clause-initial subject pronouns. The positive paradigm is (xx2). The data should be used with caution since this assistant had evident difficulty producing the forms, and since the other assistant did not recognize them.

check with third informant

- (xx2) category
- | | |
|-----|-----------|
| 1Sg | -mb-è:≡m̃ |
| 1Pl | -mb-ò:≡ỳ |
| 2Sg | -mb-è:≡w̃ |
| 2Pl | -mb-è:≡∅ |
| 3Sg | -mb-è: |
| 3Pl | -mb-è:≡ỳ |

Positive examples are (xx3). Negative examples are (xx4).

- (xx2) a. [kéré mà] ñǒ-mb-è:≡m̃
 [bush in] go-Fut-Oblig=it.is.1SgS
 'I must go to the fields.'
- b. mó mí dǒgǎ-mb-è:

AnSg 1SgO leave-Fut-Oblig
 ‘He/She must leave me.’

c. mí dògǎ-mb-ò:≠ỹ
 1SgO leave-Fut-Oblig.3Pl≠it.is
 ‘They must leave me.’

(xx3) a. [kéré mà] ñǒ-mb-è:≠lá-m
 [bush in] go-Fut-Oblig≠it.is.not-1SgS
 ‘I must not go to the fields.’

b. mí dògǎ-mb-ò:≠y≠lá
 1SgO leave-Fut-Oblig.3Pl≠it.is≠it.is.not
 ‘They must not leave me.’

10.5 Passive (Indefinite-Subject)

What is here loosely referred to as the **Passive** is characterized by a suffix **-à:-**, which follows either the chaining form of the verb plus Past clitic **≠bè-** (Perfective positive), or a stem with Imperfective (Future or Present) **-mb-** (cf. Future **-mbô-**). Because **-à:-** is always preceded by a /b/, morphemic segmentation is less than transparent.

In most cases the Passive **-a:-** is itself followed by what I take to be the ‘it is’ clitic **≠y**, or its negation **≠la**. This use of the ‘it is’ clitic is reminiscent of its occurrence after Perfect **jògâ:-** (§10.xxx). Both **jògâ:-** and verbs with Passive **-à:-** look very much like **participles** (most of which end in a long vowel).

In addition to the simple Passive verbs described in the sections immediately below, a connection may be suggested to certain relative-clause constructions that show what is arguably the same **-à:-** suffix, but in **participial** (i.e. relative-clause) function. For example, **gínà-mb-à:-** ‘what is called (X)’ is similar to the Present Passive described below, but it is participial and therefore has an Animate Plural counterpart **gínà-mb-à:-mbò** (§14.4.2.2). There are also many lexicalized, compound-like forms denoting products of a verbal action (**-bà:-**) or the function of an object (**-mbà:-**) that must have at least originated as (passive) participles (§5.1.9-10), whatever their synchronic analysis.

The Passive is not (further) inflected for pronominal subject. For this reason, and since final /a:/ (and short /a/) are elsewhere associated with the 3Pl pronominal-subject inflection, I take the Passive to be really an **indefinite-subject** category. The forms are generally not identical to the true 3Pl subject forms, and true 3Pl (like other regular pronominal-subject suffixes) is not compatible with the ‘it is’ clitic except in special syntactic contexts. The **direct**

object is not promoted to subject position, and it may occur overtly with Accusative case-marker /gi/.

As one would expect given the indefinite-subject feature, the Passive is typically used in **general statements** about recurrent eventualities.

10.5.1 Past Passive (=b-à:≠ŷ, =b-à:≠lá) in present perfect function

In this construction, the main verb occurs in its chaining form. This is followed by =b-à:≠ŷ in positive clauses, and by =b-à:≠lá in negative clauses. The =b- may be identified as Past =bè, which follows the chaining form of a verb in past perfect sense ('had VP-ed'). The Passive =b-à:≠ŷ is used more like a **present perfect** ('has VP-ed'), and has a **resultative** flavor (the original event has defined the current situation).

Textual examples of positive =b-à:≠ŷ are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [dálí:dī jógò-Ø wà],
 [judgement have-3SgS say]
 [dálí:dī kó] [mó gĩ] ñdè=b-à:≠ŷ
 [judgement Def.InanSg.O] [AnSg Acc] give=**Past-Pass=it.is**
 'He has (achieved) a sound judgement. He has been given sound judgement.' (2005-1a)
- b. [swě: gĩ] [ké:sù mà] jòyó-ndí=b-à:≠ŷ,
 [garment.Pl Acc] [trunk in] be.full-Caus=**Past-Pass=it.is**,
 [[swě: yé] gĩ] dáy=b-à:≠ŷ,
 [[garment Def.InanPl] Acc] lay.out=**Past-Pass=it.is**,
 [[swě: yé] gĩ] [òlè-gègèlé mà]
 [[garment Def.InanPl] Acc] [house.L-wall in]
 jǎb=b-à:≠ŷ
 put.on.wall=**Past-Pass=it.is**
 'The clothes have been filled (= stuffed) into a trunk, the (other) clothes have been laid out (on the ground), the (other) clothes have been hung on the wall of the house.' (2005-2a)

The corresponding **negative** is with =b-à:≠lá. Textual examples are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. kó [bà:-ólé má]
 Def.InanSg.O [father-house in]
 dīnê:≠b-à:≠lá kǒy
 encounter=**Past-Pass=it.is.not** Emph

‘It definitely used to not be found in the family.’ (2005-1a)

- b. kóngòl bǐrɛ̀=̀b-̀à:̀=̀lá kǒy
 honor work(verb)=**Past-Pass=it.is.not** Emph
 ‘(The work of) honor has definitely not been done.’ (2005-1a)

10.5.2 Future Passive (-mb-̀à:̀=̀ỳ, -mb-̀à:̀=̀lá)

A **Future Passive** is formed by -̀à:̀=̀ỳ added to the Future with suffix -mb- (cf. -mbô- in the regular inflected Future). The stem has the same tone contour that it has before Future Participial -̀ngà-, namely stem-final high tone element (realized on the /m/), preceded by low tones (formula L...H).

- (xx1) a. [mó gǐ] pònǎ-mb-̀à:̀=̀ỳ mà⇒
 [[AnSg Acc] wring-**Fut-Pass=it.is** Q
 ‘Will he (= short person) be wrung (= stretched)?’ (2005-1a)
 [rhetorical question, general context]

- b. [àbí nè] gǐbì-y-ó: mé,
 [catch Adv.SS] wrap.on-MP-2SgSP if,
 ó dàmàgǎ-mb-̀à:̀=̀ỳ
 2SgO denigrate-**Fut-Pass=it.is**
 ‘If you take (a wrap [woman’s garment] that is also used by others) and put it on, you will be denigrated’ (2005-2a)

Although this form is morphologically based on the Future inflection, it is used in a **generalized imperfective** sense. For example, ‘you will be denigrated’ in (xx1.b) is meant as a general statement about what happens nowadays.

Consistent with this semantic interpretation is the fact that -mb-̀à:̀=̀ỳ may combine with the unmarked (hence elsewhere 3Sg) form of a following Past clitic =bè to produce a **Past Imperfective Passive**.

- (xx2) [kèné wǒ-mb-̀à:̀=̀ỳ=̀bè-Ø]
 [thus come-**Fut-Pass=it.is=Past-3Sg**]
 ‘It used to come (= happen) like that’ (2005-1a)

The **negative** counterpart of -mb-̀à:̀=̀ỳ is -mb-̀à:̀=̀là, with the usual replacement of positive ‘it is’ clitic =y by negative =la ‘it is not’.

- (xx3) a. [[dóm kó] gǐ] dàmá-m̀,

[[speech Def.InanSg.O] Acc] speak-Fut.3SgS,
 [dôm [mó gò] kó],
 [[speech [AnSgP Poss.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O]
 àbǎ-mb-à:≡là
 catch-Fut-Pass=it.is.not
 ‘He will speak the talk (= words), (but) his talk won’t be accepted.’
 (2005-1a)

- b. [nǒ: dīn] [[mó kǐ:] sàgù]
 [person each] [[AnSgP head.L] responsibility.L]
 ñdǎ-mb-à:≡là
 give-Fut-Pass=it.is.not
 ‘Each one will not be given his own (separate) right to speak
 (= authority).’ (2005-1a)

10.5.3 Present Passive (-mb-à:≡ỹ), Past Imperfective Passive (-mb-à:≡ỹ=bè)

A **Present Passive** describing a recurrent activity that takes place in a time frame including the present may be formed with -mb-à:≡ỹ. The stem has the tone contour typical of the inflected Present form with suffix -njò-, i.e. ((X))H...(L). This means that a CvCv- stem has HL tone contour before -mb-à:≡ỹ, versus LH before its Future counterpart (preceding section). The obligatory H tone is seen in e.g. kwá-mb-à:≡ỹ ‘is eaten’. The Present Passive differs only tonally from the Future Passive.

To form the negative, the ‘it is’ clitic =y is replaced by its negative counterpart =là ‘it is not’, or occasionally the latter is tacked on (=y=la).

- (xx1) a. [bíró: gǐ] bírà-mb-à:≡ỹ
 [work(noun) Acc] work-**Pres-Pass=it.is**
 ‘The work is done (these days).’
 b. [bíró: gǐ] bírà-mb-à:≡là
 [work(noun) Acc] work-**Pres-Pass=it.is.not**
 ‘The work is not done (these days).’

As noted in §10.5.xxx, the Future Passive is often used to make general statements, so there is active competition between the Future Passive and the Present Passive.

The Present Passive is closely related to a participial compound construction denoting the function of an entity (e.g. ‘water for drinking’); see

§5.1.10. This participial form also occurs in the ‘what is called “X” construction (§15.xxx).

Adding Past clitic =bè we get a **Past Imperfective Passive -mb-â:≡y≡bè** (‘used to be VP-ed’). This is rather common in texts (xx2).

- (xx2) a. **bà:-ólé** **tõ:n** **tàrà-mbò,**
 father-house Recip-Dual look.at-and,
[bíró: **gǐ]** **bírà-mb-â:≡y≡bè** **gǐn-â:**
 [work(noun) Acc] work-**Pres-Pass=it.is=Past** say.Perf-3PlS
 ‘The families looked at each other (= had a discussion), (and) they said (= it was said) that they used to do the work.’ (2005-1a)
- b. **nǎ:** **[[kúlmá dòm]** **gǐ]**
 yesterday [[elder speech.L] Acc]
dǐmbí-yà-mb-â:≡y≡bè⇒
 follow-MP-**Pres-Pass=it.is=Past**
 ‘In the past, the talk of an elder was followed (= obeyed).’ (2005-1a)
- c. **nǎ:** **[jènà:-gólé:** **má]** **bǐrè:**
 yesterday [rainy.season.L-farm.work in] work.Pl.L
bírà-mb-â:≡b-è:, **bírà-m≡bè-y**
 work-**Pres-Pass=Past-PplNS.InanPl,** work-**Impf=Past-1PlS**
 ‘In the past, in the rainy-season farming, the activities that used to be done, we did (them).’ (2005-1a)

10.5.4 ‘Where to go’

In a construction like ‘know [where to go]’, when the subject of ‘to go’ is indefinite or obvious, the Passive in -â: is used in the complement.

- (xx1) a. **ínò-mb-â:** **éndà-Ø,**
 go-**Impf-Pass** not.know-3SgS,
[[wó-mb-â: **ké]** **gǐ]** **éndà-Ø**
 [[come-**Press-Pass** Def.InanSg.E] Acc] not.know-3SgS
 ‘He doesn’t know where to go, (and) he doesn’t know where to come.’ (2005-1a)
- b. **ínò-mb-â:** **éndà:-m**
 go-**Pres-Pass** not.know-1SgS
 ‘I don’t know where to go.’

However, the '(know) what to VERB' construction is rather different, being based on a Future participle in -[ηγά](#). See [\(xx2\) in §14.1.7.xxx](#).

11 VP and predicate structure

11.1 Regular verbs and VP structure

11.1.1 Verb Phrase

A verb phrase (VP) is essentially a clause without a subject.

11.1.2 Fixed subject-verb combinations

The best examples involve celestial bodies and meteorological phenomena.

With *ùjúngó* ‘sun’ as subject we have *ùjúngó dɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀* ‘sun set’ and *ùjúngó túmbí* ‘sun rise’. *dɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀* is the common verb ‘fall’, but *túmbí* elsewhere has meanings like ‘(tree) grow leaves’, ‘(e.g. onion) grow from a graft or bulb’, and ‘make a mound of earth’, suggesting that sunrise is seen as an organic bulging.

The usual verb used with noun *à:lé* ‘rain’ as subject is *tégé* (as in *à:lé tégé-Ø* ‘it rained’), which elsewhere means ‘put a pinch (of gunpowder)’ or ‘cook (lunch)’.

Many terms for emotional state have *kéndà*: ‘liver/heart’ as subject or direct object, usually possessed (e.g. ‘my ...’).

11.1.3 Idiomatic and cognate objects

11.1.3.1 Noncognate object-verb combinations

Some examples where the noun and verb function together to express a lexical sense, grouped by verb stem, are in (xx1).

(xx1)	noun	gloss	nominal+verb	gloss
a.	<i>swé</i>	‘pour, spill’		
	<i>sùndè</i>	‘spittle’	<i>sùndè swé</i>	‘spit’ (‘pour spittle’)
	<i>sùndè-jáń</i>	‘slobber’	<i>sùndè-jáń swé</i>	‘drool, emit slobber’
b.	<i>ímbí</i>	‘plant (e.g. stick in ground)’		
	<i>kǐnjâ:</i>	‘nose’	<i>kǐnjâ: ímbí</i>	‘blow one’s nose’

c. kán ‘make; be made’ (many examples)			
hátìyò	‘(a) sneeze’	hátìyò kán	‘sneeze’
sùjú:dù	‘prostration’	sùjú:dù kán	‘prostrate (oneself) in Muslim prayer’
sùrà	‘board game’	sùrà kán	‘play the board game’
jìngà	‘taking sides’	jìngà kán	‘take sides (in a dispute)’
d. ìbí ‘catch’			
rúkù	‘bowing’	rúkù ìbí	‘bow and place hands on knees (in Muslim prayer)’
sálìgì	‘ablution’	sálìgì ìbí	‘perform ablutions (before Muslim prayer)’
bírí	‘wrestling’	bírí ìbí	‘wrestle (someone)’
ámà:nà	‘promise’	ámà:nà ìbí	‘make a promise’
ìbí	‘mouth’	[X ìbí] ìbí	‘shut up’
e. jé ‘take’			
ámà:nà	‘promise’	ámà:nà jé	‘make a promise’
á:dí	‘promise’	á:dí jé	‘make a promise’
gíbi	‘wraps’	gíbi jé	‘take a woman’s wrap; (girl) be excised’
jàmàlà-ṅgó	‘theft’	jàmàlà-ṅgó jé	‘commit a theft’
kéndà:	‘heard’	kéndà: jé	‘get angry’
ánñyà	‘intention’	ánñyà jé	‘have an intention’
f. dàgí ‘shoot (bullet); beat with stick; lock’			
pómbè	‘applause’	pómbè dàgí	‘applaud’
sùrà	‘bucking’	sùrà dàgí	‘(quadruped) buck; kick out’
tǎl	‘history’	tǎl dàgí	‘recount the history (of a village)’
g. né ‘drink’			
bà:nà:	‘porridge’	bà:nà: né	a) ‘drink porridge’ b) ‘undergo circumcision’

bĩn	‘sacred place’	bĩn né	‘take an oath (and drink) at the sacred place’
nĩngé	‘sauce’	nĩngé né	‘drink sauce; skim sauce off of top of grain meal’
h. págí	‘tie’		
èyà-ŋgó	‘marriage’	èyà-ŋgó págí	‘contract a marriage’
ĩbí	‘mouth’	ĩbí págí	‘(millet) begin to form a grain spike’
i. tún	‘put’		
kèrè-néndé	‘tickling’	kèrè-néndé tún	‘tickle (someone)’
j. té:	‘sting; shoot; sprout; avoid (taboo)’		
kòmbé	‘war’	kòmbé té:	‘wage war’
kùlé	‘hair’	kùlé té:	‘grow hair’
jây	—	jây té:	‘dive into water’
lk pújí	‘explode; gush out’		
wòlé	‘roots’	wòlé pújí	‘put down roots’
kĩnjà-díné	‘nosebleed’	kĩnjà-díné pújí	‘nose bleed’

11.1.3.2 Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb

In (xx1), there is no consistent pattern in the relationship between the nominal and the verb. Like the verb, the nominal usually ends in a vowel. Nouns with final short vowel, including some cases where a final high vowel has arguably been deleted, are in (xx1.a). In (xx1.b), the noun and verb **disagree in vowel-harmonic class**. When the noun is nonmonosyllabic and ends in a long vowel (xx1.c), the odds of an original suffixed origin increase, but there is no recognizable suffix on the noun. Some combinations involve nouns and verbs **borrowed separately** from the same word family in Fulfulde (xx1.e); or perhaps the noun was borrowed and the verb (re-)created based on existing cognate-nominal/verb patterns.

Because verb stems are subject to much tighter phonological constraints (vocalism, tone contour) than are nouns, it is not surprising that the cognate nominals show a wide range of phonological details that are not predictable from those of the verbs. However, vowel-harmonic patterns are consistent between the noun and the verb, with the exceptions in (xx1.b).

(xx1)	nominal	gloss	nominal+verb	gloss
a. final short vowel or zero				
	mǒnjè	‘urine’	mǒnjè mónjí	‘urinate’
	úlè	‘vomit’	úlè úl	‘vomit’
	gǐyè	‘fart(s)’	gǐyè gǐy ⁿ é	‘fart, emit farts’
	sùnjú	‘breath’	sùnjú súnjí	‘breathe’
	níngé	‘green sauce’	níngé níngí	‘cook green sauce’
	díbì	‘grill’	díbì dībí	‘grill (meat) over a fire’
	gī:	‘knife harvest’	gī: gǐy	‘harvest with a knife’
	háwsá	‘mud (as mortar)’	háwsá háwsé	‘lay mud (as mortar between bricks)’
	tě:n	‘harvest pile’	tě:n téné	‘make large harvest pile’
	sân	‘prayer’	sân sán	‘pray, perform a prayer’
	yál	‘(a) walk’	yál yàlí-yé	‘take a walk’
	jīm	‘tale or riddle’	jīm jīm	‘tell a tale or a riddle’
	sífà	‘description’	sífà sífě	‘make a description; give traveling directions’
	tùmbó	‘mound’	tùmbó túmbí	‘make a mound’
	bándè	‘swimming’	bándè bàndí	‘go swimming’
	nállò	‘conversation’	nállé	‘converse (in daytime)’
	wírri	‘saying beads’	wírri wírré	‘say one’s beads (with Muslim rosary)’
	wá:jù	‘sermon’	wá:jù wá:jé	‘preach a sermon’
	wá:tè	‘oath’	wá:tè wá:té	‘swear (truth)’
	kàjábù	‘thought’ (variant)	kàjábù kájábí	‘think a thought’
	dwâ:	‘insult’	dwâ: dwé	‘make an insult’
	tǎ:	‘taboo’	tǎ: té:	‘avoid (a taboo)’
	yándú	‘(a) call’	yándú yàndí	‘make a call (summons)’
	jáyrè	‘criticism’	jáyrè jáyré	‘make a criticism, denigrate’
	jángà	‘study, education’	jángà jángí	‘study, go to school’
	játè	‘count, calculation’	játè játé	‘do a count or calculation’

dógú	‘prop’	dógú d̀̀́	‘prop up’ (g/ŋ §3.5.1.2)
nóyè	‘sleep’	nóyè nóy	‘sleep’

b. change in vowel or in vowel-harmonic class

dèbí	‘roof’ (cf. also dèbǎ: ‘roof-building’)	dèbí dèbé	‘cover; put a roof on’
twě	‘sowing’ (cf. noun twě: ‘seedstock’)	twě twé	‘do the sowing (planting)’
dôm	‘talk, words’	dôm dãm	‘speak’
dëndã:	‘evening chat’	dëndã: dëndé	‘chat in the evening’
mómbò	‘dues, ante’	mómbò mómbé	‘pay dues, ante up’
kábìlò:	‘part, division’	kábìlò: kábilé	‘divide into parts’

c. final long vowel (except -û:)

yámbú:	‘blanket, covering’	yámbú: yàmbí	‘cover, put a blanket on’
àmǒ:	‘fuzz’	àmǒ: ámbí	‘(millet spikes) grow a reddish fuzz (flowers)’
wàjǒ:	‘remainder’	wàjǒ: wàjí	‘remainder remain(s)’
kàlá:	‘price’	kàlá: kál	‘negotiate price’
mànâ:	‘meal’	mànâ: mǎn	‘cook a meal’
pàrà:	‘soft millet cakes’	pàrà: pár	‘cook soft millet cakes’
gólè:	‘farm work’	gólè: gòlé	‘do farm work’
tùrê:	‘late grain’	tùrê: túr	‘harvest the late-ripening grain spikes’
dúgò:	‘spells’	dúgò: dùgí	‘cast magical spells’
gúfi:	‘sheds’	gúfi: gǔl	‘build a shed’
tǐbǎ:	‘death’	tǐbǎ: tǐbé	‘death take place’
díyá:	‘load’	díyá: díyé	‘carry load on head’
gǐyâ:	‘(a) dance’	gǐyâ: gǐy	‘do a dance’
bà:nâ:	‘porridge’	bà:nâ: bǎ:n	‘make porridge’
ŋwànǎ:	‘song’	ŋwànǎ: ŋwǎn	‘sing a song’
kògò:	‘shell, slough’	kògò: kógí	‘slough off skin’ (etc.)
j̀̀́:	‘medicine’	j̀̀́: j̀̀́	‘practice medicine’
pàbǎ:	‘untruth’	pàbǎ: pábí	‘say an untruth’
yàrà:	—	yàrà: yàrí	‘overstep, go too far’
kàlá:	‘price’	kàlá: kál	‘negotiate price’
s̀̀́:	‘payment’	s̀̀́: s̀̀́	‘pay (= make) a payment’

yèr-û:	‘cry of joy’	yèr-û: yěy	‘(women) emit cries of joy’
nèb-û:	‘betrothal’	nèb-û: nébé	‘become engaged’
kàjàb-û:	‘thinking’	kàjàbû: kájábí	‘reflect, think’
bèbìl-û:	‘bellowing’	bèbìl-û: bèbí	‘(bull, billygoat) bellow’
b.	àyí-n ‘yawn’ (contrast àyĩ-n ‘fatigue’)	àyí-n ăy	‘yawn’
	bègî-n ‘hiccup’	bègî-n bègí	‘have the hiccups’
	pèbî-n ‘whistling’	pèbî-n pébí	‘give out a whistle’
c.	màgî-n ‘magic’	màgî-n màgí	‘tell fortunes’
	bògî-n ‘barking’	bògî-n bògí	‘(dog) bark’
	gîmbě-n —	gîmbě-n gîmbí	‘darkness fall’
	sòngǎ-n ‘curse’	sòngǎ-n sòngé	‘utter a curse’
d.	já:ŋí-n ‘squabble’	já:ŋí-n já:ŋí-y	‘have a squabble’
e.	kíryè-n ‘praise’	kíryè-n kíryé	‘give public praise’

In (xx3), the noun contains an **original Singular suffix** *-ŋgo or *-go. In (xx3.a), there is no trace of this suffix in the plural of the nominal, so the -ŋgo suffix is still clearly segmentable (even without reference to the verb). The plurals of the forms shown in 9xx3.a) are èyě:, nèmbìl-î:, gòjù-mbó, and dímbé-mbó. In (xx3.b), the old *-ŋgo or *-go is now unsegmentable ... (ŋ)go in the noun, which has a (probably new) plural in ... (ŋ)ge (káŋgé, nàŋgé, jòyègé) with the common plural shift from back to front vowel. In the case of jò:gó ‘shame’, plural jòyè-gé, the break in vowel harmony from {ɛ ɔ} to {e o} supports continued recognition of a morpheme boundary. For the cases in (xx3.c), no plural could be elicited, so we cannot determine whether they belong in (xx3.a) or (xx3.b). In (xx3.d), it may be that an **original Plural suffix** *-mbo likewise became a fused part of the cognate nominal, was reanalysed as singular, and has since developed a new plural (gìlàmbé, gîmbé) with the final vowel fronted.

(xx3)	a. noun has plural without Sg -ŋgo		
	èyà-ŋgó ‘marriage’	èyà-ŋgó éyé	‘(bride) move to husband’s house’
	nèmbìl-ŋgó ‘plea’	nèmbìl-ŋgó némbíl	‘make a plea, beg’
	gòjù-ŋgó ‘illicit sex’	gòjù-ŋgó gòjí-y	‘have an out-of-wedlock sexual’

relationship
(concubinage)
 dímbé-ηgó ‘following’ dímbé-ηgó dímbí-yé (euphemism for the preceding)

b. old Sg *-ηgó now unsegmentable ... (ηgó, plural in ... ηgé)

káηgó ‘challenge’ káηgó káη ‘make a challenge’
 ηàηgó ‘weeping’ ηàηgó ηé ‘weep’
 jè:gó ‘shame’ jè:-gó jèyé ‘be ashamed, show deference’

c. no plural elicitable

jǎy-ηgò ‘sowing ...’ jǎy-ηgò jǎy ‘sow seeds in a pit with manure’
 ìbìnà-ηgó ‘fear’ ìbìnà-ηgó íbí-yé ‘have a scare, be afraid’

(noun also ìbí-ηgó)

d. gǐlambó ‘sound ...’ gǐlambó gǐlé ‘(something unseen) make a sound’
 gǐmbó ‘odor’ gǐmbó gǐη ‘smell an odor’

The cognate nominal is sometimes **reduplicated** (xx4).

(xx4) bùjè-bújè-ηgò bùjé ‘form a froth’
 jà:rà-já:rà já:ré ‘incite, provoke’
 yòlà-yòlà: yòlé ‘provoke (with an insult or accusation)’

The cognate nominal may be a **compound**, or a fixed **noun-adjective** combination (xx5). The verb, which may be historically secondary (imitative of the nominal), **is related to the final stem** in the composite nominal, even if this is a simple adjective (‘cook dumplings’, ‘do the second round ...’). In this way the combination of cognate nominal plus verb has the same quasi-reduplicative effect as in the simpler cases illustrated above.

(xx5) ègà-tábù: tábí ‘have breakfast’
 ámbà-kà: ké: ‘tell a riddle’
 ègà-dà:bú dàbí ‘get up early in the morning’
 àn-tàηǎ: táη ‘spread (limbs)’
 sùndè-jáři jǎr ‘emit slobber, drool’
 bèrè-kéjè kéjé ‘tell an outright lie’
 kèndà-[tèg-î:] tégé ‘have lunches’

[màná píì-ṅgò] píì	‘cook dumplings’ (píì ‘white’)
[gòlè nòjǔ:] nójǔ	‘do the second round of farm work’ (nòjǔ: ‘second’)
dòṅgòlò-sìbǎ: síbí	‘lay the second layer of millet grain spikes in container’
[sàndò bǐn-gó] bǐné	‘dam up (rivulet)’ (bǐn-gó ‘big-Sg’)
[àṅà-mbò]-dùmbú dùmbí	‘lay the first layer of millet grain spikes in container’
sèjǔyò-[yóbí-n] yòbé	‘(bride) return to home village after three months and come back’

11.1.3.3 Grammatical status of cognate nominal

If the cognate nominal is referential, it generally denotes a logical object of the action. However, in a few cases the cognate nominal is the subject: jíṅè jǐṅé ‘late millet ripen(s)’.

The cognate nominal may be modified, quantified over, or possessed.

- (xxx) a. [dwà: ségín] dwá-njò
[insult.L many] insult-Pres
‘He/She makes many insults.’
- b. [dwè: nè:ndé:] dwá-njò
[insult.Pl.L bad.InanPl] insult-Pres
‘He/She makes bad (= nasty) insults.’
- c. [kó jà:ṅǐ-n] [mó mà]
[3Inan.Sg.O.P fight-Nom.L] [3AnSg in]
já:ṅǐ-yó-l-ó: mé kày, ...
fight-MP-PerfNeg-2SgS if Topic
‘if (on the other hand) you-Sg have not made the squabble of (= about) that with him’ (2005.1a.01)

11.1.4 ‘Do’ (kán)

The all-purpose ‘do, make’ verb is kán (3Sg Perf kánè). It occurs in many combinations with other stems (usually in object function syntactically) that carry the main semantic burden. This construction is regularly used to incorporate loanwords.

Examples: *jâw kán* ‘fly a short distance in a low arc’, *jêŋ kán* ‘fail’, *tóŋkè-tóŋkè kán* ‘become spotted’, *hóynà kán* ‘(God) make (sb) well’, and *kóróy-kàrày kán* ‘do hurriedly’.

kán is also used intransitively in the sense ‘be done, be made’, hence ‘happen’.

11.2 ‘Be’, ‘become’, and other statives

11.2.1 Copula clitic ‘it is ...’ (=y, =i:)

11.2.1.1 Unconjugated forms

The common use of this clitic is in simple, verbless clauses like (xxx), where a discourse referent that is already established, or that is introduced by deixis, is identified by an NP or adverbial.

- (xx1) a. *ně:≡ý*
 cow=it.is
 ‘It (=previously introduced referent) is a cow.’ (*ně:*)
- b. *ǒm* *ně:≡ý*
 this.AnSg cow=it.is
 ‘This is a cow.’ (*ně:*)

The clitic may be used without plural or animacy agreement (xx2.a). The identificational element may be a first or second person pronoun (xx2.b).

- (xxx) a. *nàwó:≡ý*
 cow.Pl=it.is
 ‘They are cows.’
- b. *mí≡ý*
 1Sg=it.is
 ‘It’s me.’

The clitic takes the form =y after a vowel, and =i: after a consonant (including y). The tone is carried over from the end of the word to which it is attached. Thus we get H-tone in (xxx.a), and L-tone in (xxx.b). A word ending in a C also spreads a simple (non-contour) tone into the clitic syllable (xxx.d). However, a C-final word ending in a contour tone (falling or rising) divides the contour tone into its components due to the resyllabification brought about by

the clitic, so we get a simple H or L tone on the stem-final syllable, and the second tonal component is expressed on the clitic syllable (xxx.e-f).

(xxx)	gloss	form	‘it is X ...’
a.	‘this.InanSg’ ‘1Sg’ ‘2Sg’ ‘house’	̀̀gú mí ó ólé	̀̀gú=y mí=y ó=y ólé=y
b.	‘goat’ ‘city’	̀̀nè ̀̀gállù	̀̀nè=y ̀̀gállù=y
c.	‘pick-hoe’	cènjú:	cènjú:=y
d.	‘many’	ségín	ségín=i:
e.	‘this.AnSg’ ‘hundred’	òm sĩŋ	òm=i: sĩŋ=i:
f.	‘here’ ‘there (distant)’	̀̀jĩn ̀̀gâ:n	̀̀jĩn=i: ̀̀gâ:n=i:

11.2.1.2 Conjugated forms

When the discourse referent to be identified is a first or second person pronominal, a conjugated form of the ‘it is’ clitic is used. Thus compare third person (xx1.a) with 1Sg (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. ̀̀nè=y
man=it.is
‘It (=he/she) is a man.’
- b. ̀̀nè=m
man=it.is.1Sg
‘I am a man.’

The paradigm is (xx2). In the 1Pl and 2Pl forms, Pl suffix -mbo appears (with tone depending on the preceding stem) even where it is not otherwise present on a plural noun, as with *nàwó*: ‘cows’.

(xx2)	category	after V	after C
	1Sg	=m̀	=i:-m̀
	2Sg	=ẁ	=i:-ẁ
	1Pl	(-mbo)=ỳ	(-mbo)=ỳ
	2Pl	(-mb)=è:	(-mb)=è:

Nearly all actually occurring forms are postvocalic, since nearly every noun, adjective, and personal pronoun ends in a vowel. For the singular pronouns, it is possible to elicit combinations based on demonstrative *òm* ‘this.AnSg’. For the plural, with some difficulty it was possible to elicit combinations based on the numeral *šij* ‘hundred’. Examples are in (xx3). In the (syllabic) clitics, i.e. 1Pl and 2Pl and the postconsonantal allomorphs for 1Sg and 2Sg, a final H-tone from the stem is carried over into the nucleus of the clitic syllable.

(xxx)	category	‘X is a cow/are cows’	‘X is this’
	1Sg	ně:=m̀	òm=i:-m̀
	2Sg	ně:=ẁ	òm=i:-ẁ
	1Pl	nàwó:(-mbó)=ỳ	šim(-mbó)=ỳ
	2Pl	nàwó:(-mb)=è:	šim(-mb)=è:

11.2.1.3 ‘It is not ...’ (=lá)

The positive ‘it is’ clitic is replaced by =lá.

- (xx1) a. *ně:=lá*
 cow=it.is.not
 ‘It is not a cow.’
- b. *nàwó:=lá*
 cow.Pl=it.is.not
 ‘They are not cows.’

A final H-tone in a personal or demonstrative pronoun drops to L-tone before =lá, but H-toned nouns have their usual tone (xx2)

(xx2)	gloss	form	‘it is not X ...’
a.	‘this.InanSg’	ḡgú	ḡgù=lá

	'1Sg'	mí	mǐ=lá
	'2Sg'	ó	ò=lá
	'house'	ólé	ólé=lá
b.	'goat'	ínè	ínè=lá
	'city'	ḡgállù	ḡgállù=lá
c.	'pick-hoe'	cènjú:	cènjú:=lá
d.	'many'	ségín	ségín=lá
e.	'this.AnSg'	ǒm	ǒm=lá
	'hundred'	sǐḡ	sǐḡ=lá
f.	'here'	ḡjĩn	ḡjĩn=lá
	'there (distant)'	ḡgâ:n	ḡgâ:n=lá

The conjugated forms for 1st and 2nd person are given in (xxx).

(xx2)	category	after V or C
	1Sg	=lá-m̀
	2Sg	=lá-ẁ
	1Pl	=lá-ỳ, (-mbo)=lá-ỳ
	2Pl	(-mbo)=l-ê:

Again, Pl suffix -mbo is often added before the 1Pl and 2Pl clitics even after nouns that do not elsewhere take this suffix.

11.2.2 Existential and locative quasi-verbs and particles

There is no accompanying Existential particle as there is in northern Dogon (e.g. Jamsay).

In the (high-frequency) case where present time reference is relevant, a special set of positive and negative existential-locational 'be present/absent, be/not be (in a place)' are in use. In other AN categories, regular forms of a verb **bé** 'remain, stay' are used.

11.2.2.1 Positive existential-locational quasi-verb (*bô:*, *bò*)

In existential-locational expressions, the predicative element takes the form *bô:* when the location is not specified ('be present', more loosely 'exist'), and *bò* when it follows a locational (xx1). One could argue that the post-locational form is a clitic; in any event it is a slightly reduced version of the fuller form. It is questionable whether these forms have a historical relationship to the regular verb *bé-* 'remain'.

- (xx1) a. *á:màdù* *bô:-∅*
 Amadou be-3SgS
 'Amadou is present (here/there).'
- b. *á:màdù* [*móttĩ* *mà*] *bò-∅*
 Amadou [Mopti in] be-3SgS
 'Amadou is in Mopti.'

The pronominal paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx2) category	'be present'	'be in (a place)'
1Sg	<i>bô:-m</i>	<i>bò-m</i>
2Sg	<i>bô:-w</i>	<i>bò-w</i>
3Sg	<i>bô:-∅</i>	<i>bò-∅</i>
1Pl	<i>bô:-y</i>	<i>bò-y</i>
2Pl	<i>b-ê:</i>	<i>b-è:</i>
3Pl	<i>b-ê:</i>	<i>b-è:</i>

The shift from {*e o*} vocalism to /*ɛ*/ in the 3Pl is notable, especially since it results in certain homophonies: with 2Pl *b-è:* in (xx3), below, and with *b-ê:* non-subject participle of *bé-* 'remain (be)'.

For past time reference, the paradigm is (xx3). These forms seem to require an overt locational.

(xx3) category	'was in (a place)'
1Sg	<i>b-è-m</i>
2Sg	<i>b-è:</i>
3Sg	<i>b-è-∅</i>
1Pl	<i>b-è-y</i>

2Pl	b-è:
3Pl	b-à:

11.2.2.2 Negative existential-locational quasi-verbs (*òndí, òndú*)

The negative counterpart of *bô:* (and *bò*) is *òndí*, dialectally *òndú*.

- (xx1) a. *á:màdù òndí-Ø*
 Amadou be.Neg-3SgS
 ‘Amadou is absent (=not here/there).’
- b. *á:màdù [mótĩ mà] òndí-Ø*
 Amadou [Mopti in] be.Neg-3SgS
 ‘Amadou is not in Mopti.’

The conjugated paradigm of *òndí* is (xx2). Note the *-yo-* augment, which can perhaps be identified as the Mediopassive (MP) verb suffix.

(xx2) category ‘be absent’

1Sg	<i>òndí-yò-m</i>
2Sg	<i>òndí-yò-w</i>
3Sg	<i>òndí-Ø</i> (dialectally <i>òndú-Ø</i>)
1Pl	<i>òndí-yò-y</i>
2Pl	<i>òndí-y-è:</i>
3Pl	<i>òndí-yà</i>

11.2.2.3 Cliticized quasi-verbs after inflected verb or ‘it is’ clitic

11.2.3 Stative stance and ‘hold’ verbs with final *o/a* (‘be sitting’)

A form based on the **bare A/O-stem** of the verb, with {HL} tone contour, is used as a stative with verbs of stance (‘be sitting’, ‘be standing’) and of holding. The corresponding change of state (‘sit down’, ‘stand up’) is expressed by a Mediopassive form of the verb with suffix *-yé/-y*.

To denote static position (‘be sitting’ = ‘be seated’), the stem is *óbò*. This is related to the Mediopassive verb *óbí-y* ‘sit down’ (3Sg Perfective *òbí-yè*). The negative counterpart of *óbò* is *òbò-ndí-*, with **Stative Negative** suffix *-ndí-*.

- (xx1) a. **óbò-m**
 be.sitting-1SgS
 ‘I am sitting.’
- b. **òbò-nú-m**
 be.sitting-Neg-1SgS
 ‘I am not sitting.’

Sample paradigms are in (xx2). The tones show that the H of {HL} is expressed on the first syllable only for 3Sg and 3Pl, but extends into the second syllable in the 1st/2nd person forms, resulting in a final falling-tone syllable. This enables 2Pl and 3Pl to be distinguished even for ‘be standing’, where both 2Pl and 3Pl have the same segments.

(xxx) category	‘be sitting’	‘not be sitting’	‘be standing’	‘not be standing’
1Sg	óbò-m	òbò-nú-m	ìṅgà-m	ìṅgà-nú-m
2Sg	óbò-w	òbò-nd-ó:	ìṅgà-w	ìṅgà-nd-ó:
3Sg	óbò-Ø	òbò-ndí-Ø	ìṅgà-Ø	ìṅgà-ndí-Ø
1Pl	óbò-y	òbò-ndí-ỳ	ìṅgà-y	ìṅgà-ndí-ỳ
2Pl	ób-è:	òbò-nd-é:	ìṅg-è:	ìṅgà-nd-é:
3Pl	ób-è:	òbò-ndí-yà	ìṅg-è:	ìṅgà-ndí-yà

Other examples involving stance are in (xx3). In the cases of ‘lie down’ and ‘(bird) alight’, the fact that the medial **y** is included in the stative is an argument against a synchronic segmentation into Cv- stem plus Mediopassive **-yé/-y** in spite of the obvious parallelism with the longer change-of-state verbs.

(xx3) change of stance	gloss	stative	gloss
ìṅgí-yé	‘stand up’	ìṅgà	‘be standing’
yèndí-y	‘be hung’	yéndò	‘be hanging (on rope)’
sómbí-y	‘squat down’	sómbò	‘be squatting’
nàṅjí-yé	‘kneel’	náṅjà	‘be kneeling’
gòbí-y	‘stand on tiptoes’	gòbò	‘be on tiptoes’
bìní-yé	‘lean on (sth)’	bínà	‘be leaning’
tíjí-y	‘hold self up’	tíjò	‘be holding self up’
jèṅgí-yé	‘become tilted’	jéṅgà	‘be tilted, be atilt’
bíy (or: bí-y)	‘lie down’	bíyò	‘be lying down’
tíy (or: tí-y)	‘(bird) alight’	tíyò	‘be perched’

<i>gèrí-y</i>	‘lie on back’	<i>gérò</i>	‘be lying on back’
<i>jàbí-yé</i>	‘lie on belly’	<i>jábà</i>	‘be lying on belly’

Transitive verbs of **putting** objects (in some position) have (intransitive) statives that denote being in the relevant position (xx4).

(xx4)	putting	gloss		stative	gloss
	<i>gǎn</i>	‘put X in Y’		<i>gánà</i>	‘X be in Y (container)’
	<i>tún</i>	‘put X (somewhere)’		<i>túnò</i>	‘X be in (place)’
	<i>ságí</i>	‘put X up (on Y)’		<i>ságà</i>	‘X be up (on Y)’

Verbs of **holding and carrying** are exemplified in (xx5). The ‘taking hold’ version is a transitive verb (in Mediopassive form) that denotes the act of placing the object (child, basket, etc.) in the position indicated. The stative describes the static position of the object being held or carried. The same issue regarding segmentation mentioned above is applicable to ‘carry on head’ and ‘carry on back’.

(xx5)	taking hold	gloss		stative	gloss
	<i>séli-y</i>	‘carry on shoulders’		<i>sélò</i>	‘be carrying on shoulders’
	<i>nìbí-yé</i>	‘carry on shoulder’		<i>níbà</i>	‘be carrying on shoulder’
	<i>úbí-yé</i>	‘carry at one’s ribs’		<i>ubà</i>	‘be carrying at one’s ribs’
	<i>tíndí-y</i>	‘balance on head’		<i>tíndà</i>	‘be balancing on head’
	<i>đíyé</i> (or: <i>đi-yé</i>)	‘carry on head’		<i>đíyà</i>	‘be carrying on head’
	<i>póy</i> (or: <i>pó-y</i>)	‘carry on back’		<i>póyò</i>	‘be carrying on back’

Verbs of **attaching** also have statives. To make the aspectual distinctions clear, I used ‘become ...’ for the ordinary Mediopassive derivative, and ‘be ...’ for the statives that denote the continuing state of being attached.

(xx6)	become ...	gloss		stative	gloss
	<i>págí-y</i>	‘become tied’		<i>págà</i>	‘be tied’
	<i>đígí-y</i>	‘become connected’		<i>đígà</i>	‘be connected’

All examples of this stative formation in my data are **bisyllabic**.

11.2.4 ‘Know’ (tígà:-, negative éndà:-)

For ‘know’ (object can be a fact, or a person, cf. French *savoir* and *connaître*), the positive stem used with present time reference is tígà:- (3Sg tígà-Ø), supplented by negative éndà:- (3Sg éndà-Ø).

(xxx)	category	‘know’	‘not know’
	1Sg	tígà:-m	éndà:-m
	2Sg	tígà:-w	éndà:-w
	3Sg	tígà-Ø	éndà-Ø
	1Pl	tígà:-y	éndà:-y
	2Pl	tíg-è:	énd-è:
	3Pl	tíg-è:	énd-è:

The verb jùgέ means ‘recognize’.

11.2.5 ‘Is not connected’ (dígà-ndí)

The negative expression dígà-ndí (cf. Jamsay dígè-lá), with Stative Negative -ndí, means literally ‘is not connected’. In addition to its literal use, it may be used in the (meta-)pragmatic sense ‘it (e.g. what you’re saying) is not connected (= relevant, appropriate)’.

11.2.6 Morphologically regular verbs

11.2.6.1 ‘Remain’ (bé-)

The (positive and negative) existential-locational quasi-verbs described above have no further AN categories. When the time reference in question excludes the present, the quasi-verbs are replaced by regular inflected forms of bé- ‘remain’.

In the positive, for future time reference, bé- takes the regular Future paradigm: 3Sg bá-m̄, 1Sg bà-mbó-m̄, etc.

(xxx)	a.	éngú	ḡgîn	[wé	nè]	bà-m-Ø
		tomorrow	here	[come	and]	remain-Fut-3SgS
		‘He/She will come and be (=stay) here tomorrow.’				

- b. **ɲǎ:** **ɲgĩn** **b-à:**
 yesterday here remain.Perf-3PIS
 ‘They were here yesterday.’

For past time reference, a special set of morphologically Perfective forms based on **bè-** is used; these are closely related to the forms of the Past clitic (§10.3.1), but the 1st/2nd person forms have an (unreliably audible) rising tone. The Perfective (or Past) paradigm of **bé-** is (xxx). The gloss can be ‘remained’ or just ‘was (in a place)’; that is, in this paradigm, there is no necessary emphasis on continuity before and after a reference time.

(xxx)	category	Perfective forms of bé ‘remain’
	1Sg	bè-mí
	2Sg	b-ǎ:
	3Sg	bè-∅
	1Pl	bè-ý
	2Pl	b-ě:
	3Pl	b-à:

In the negative, for past time reference, the Perfective Negative is used: 3Sg **bǎ-l-∅**. 3Pl **bà:-ndí**, 1Sg **bà-lú-m**, etc.. Other negative stems are Present Negative **bâ-ndí-** and Future Negative **bǎ-ndí-**.

- (xxx) a. **ɲgĩn** **bǎ-l-∅**
 here remain-PerfNeg-3SgS
 ‘He/She wasn’t (=didn’t stay) here.’
- b. **éngú** **ɲgĩn** **bǎ-ndí-∅**
 tomorrow here be-FutNeg-3SgS
 ‘He/She will not be (=stay) here tomorrow.’

11.2.6.2 ‘Become X’ (*kán*, *bĩlí-yé*), ‘X happen’

The ‘become’ verb follows an ‘it is’ construction with clitic **≡y**. The lexical options are the rather neutral **kán** ‘be made’ (intransitive use of **kán** ‘make’) and **bĩlí-yé** ‘become, be transformed into’. The ‘it is’ construction does not change when the ‘become’ verb is negated (xx1.d).

- (xxx) a. **dógè≡y** **kànè-mí**

Dogon=it.is become.Perf-1SgS
'I became (=was made) a Dogon.'

b. *dógò:=ỳ* *kàn-à:*
Dogon.Pl=it.is become.Perf-3PIS
'They became Dogon.'

c. *kòjá=ỳ* *bĩfi-yè-∅*
frog=it.is become-MP-3SgS
'He/she was transformed into a frog.'

d. *dógè:=ỳ* *káná-l-∅*
Dogon=it.is become-PerfNeg-3SgS
'He/She did not become a Dogon.'

kán 'be made' is also used in the sense '(event, action) happen'. The phrase *kànè mé* 'if it happens' is often added to the end of a sentence in the sense 'if it has happened that ...' or 'in case ...'.

11.3 Quotative verb and quasi-verb

11.3.1 'Say' (*gĩnè*)

This regular verb can be used with a NP complement (xxx.a), or with a quotative complement (xxx.b).

(xxx) a. *ségín* *gĩnè-∅*
much say.Perf-3SgS
'He/She said a lot.'

b. *wó-njò-m* *gĩnè*
come-Impf-1SgS say.Perf-3SgS
'He said that he was coming.' (lit. "He said 'I am coming'")

11.4 Adjectival predicates

11.4.1 Conjugated adjectival predicate

(xx1) gives the paradigms of 'be small', 'be straight', and 'be short' as positive adjectival predicates.

(xx1)		‘be small’	‘be short’	‘be heavy’
	3Sg	pàlá	dèndú-m̀	nĩm̀
	3Pl	pàl-ê:	dèndí-y-è:	nĩmí-y-è:
	2Sg	pàlá-ẁ	dèndí-y-ò:	nĩmí-y-ò:
	2Pl	pàl-ê:	dèndí-y-è:	nĩmí-y-è:
	1Sg	pàlá-m̀	dèndí-y-ò-m	nĩmí-y-ò-m
	1Pl	pàlá-ỳ	dèndí-y-ò-y	nĩmí-y-ò-y

‘Be small’ (corresponding to modifying adjective *pàlê:*, *pàlá:*) has no inflectional suffix other than the pronominal-subject suffix. ‘Be short’ (cf. modifying adjective *dèndú:*, *dèndí:*, *dèndú-ŋgó*, etc.) and ‘be heavy’ (*nĩmí-yè*, *nĩm-gò*, *nĩm-bò*) have a suffix *-yò-*. The types ‘be short’ and ‘be heavy’ differ in the 3Sg,

but the difference is phonologically conditioned, as the ‘be heavy’ type with zero 3Sg suffix consists of stems ending in {*m y*} after the final vowel (if any) is deleted.

Lists of adjectives with these predicative forms are in (xx2), using the 3Sg form (with the 1Sg in parentheses where relevant). The corresponding modifying forms can be found in §4.5.xxx. Some adjectives were unelicitable in a specifically predicative form (as opposed to the ‘it is’ clitic form, or a verbalization).

(xx2) a. no suffix (like ‘be short’)

pàlá ‘it is small’ (1Sg *pàlá-m̀*), *nè:ndá* ‘it is bad’ (1Sg *nè:ndá-m̀*); *tàmàlá* ‘be slow’, *èndá* ‘it is displeasing (not sweet)’.

b. 3Sg *-m̀*, others based on *-yò-*, stem bisyllabic

dèndú-m̀ ‘it is short’ (*dèndí-y-ò-m*); *èlú-m̀* ‘it is sweet’ (*èlí-y-ò-m*); *bĩnú-m̀* ‘it is big, stout’ (*bĩní-y-ò-m*); *mènjú-m̀* (*mènjí-y-ò-m*); *gàlú-m̀* ‘be bitter’ (*gàlí-y-ò-m*); *pèmbú-m̀* ‘it (passage) is narrow’ (*pèmbí-y-ò-m*); *wàgú-m̀* ‘it is distant’ (1Sg *wàgí-y-ò-m*); *pèjú-m̀* ‘it is slow’ (1Sg *pèjí-y-ò-m*); *mĩnú-m̀* ‘it is deep’ (1Sg *mĩní-y-ò-m*); *bùrú-m̀* ‘it (= meat) is tender’ (1Sg *bùrí-y-ò-m*); *pĩbú-m̀* ‘rancid’ (1Sg *pĩbí-y-ò-m*)

c. ends in *m* or *y*, 3Sg zero (with low tone), others based on *-yò-*.

nĩm̀ ‘it is heavy’ (1Sg *nĩmí-y-ò-m*); *mǎyⁿ* ‘it is difficult’ (1Sg *mǎy-y-ò-m*); *nǎm̀* ‘it is difficult’ (1Sg *nàmí-y-ò-m*); *dwěyⁿ* ‘it is hot;

it is fast' (1Sg *dwěyⁿ-yò-m*); *ǎm* 'it is sour' (1Sg *àmí-yò-m*); *dùm*
'it is near' (1Sg *dùmí-yò-m*)

Predicative 'be good' is usually not expressed with a form related to the modifying *nálá:*, *nálé:* 'good'. Aside from *èlú-m* 'sweet; good', there is a special predicative form *něy* 'it is good' (1Sg *něy-yò-m*).

A number of adjectives are attested in a 3Sg predicative form ending in *-m*, but 1st/2nd person forms were not elicitable (xxx).

- (xxx) a. stem has both predicative (final *a/o*) and modifying forms

bisyllabic

jàlá-m 'it is long'; *wàyá-m* 'it is wide'

trisyllabic

ònáná-m 'it is smooth', *yàgàjá-m* and near-synonym *kàgàjá-m* 'it is coarse', *àmàlá-m* 'it (e.g. mango) is slightly bitter', *yègèló-m* 'it (= water) is cool'.

- b. stem is attested in this 3Sg predicative form only

bisyllabic

ènú-m 'it is thin', *kèrú-m* 'it is pungent'

trisyllabic

kùjàjá-m 'having unpleasant smell (e.g. urine, burning hairs or feathers)'; *šínáná-m* 'it has a crispy taste', *èjèjò-m* 'it is lightly salted or sugared'.

For color adjectives, both informants checked used the 'it is' clitic on an adjective with appropriate nominal agreement.

- (xxx) a.

<i>[ólé</i>	<i>ké]</i>	<i>pílè-ŋgè=ỳ</i>
[house	Inan.Sg.E]	white-InanSg.E=it.is
‘The house is white.’		
- b.

<i>[řimô:</i>	<i>kó]</i>	<i>pílè-ŋgò=ỳ</i>
[tree	Inan.Sg.O]	white-InanSg.O=it.is
‘The tree is white.’		
- b.

<i>[řimê:</i>	<i>yé]</i>	<i>pílè=ỳ</i>
[tree.Pl	Inan.Pl.E]	white.InanPl.O=it.is
‘The trees are white.’		

Some adjectival senses are expressed by terms that are morphosyntactically **adverbials** (§xxx). These may be made predicative by

adding the usual Adverbial *nè*, plus a conjugated form of *bò-* ‘be’. For example, ‘lightweight’ is *yéréw nè* as an adverbial, and can easily be made predicative as [*yéréw nè*] *bò-* ‘be lightweight’.

11.4.2 Adjectival predicates with ‘it is’ clitic

Some adjectives are attested in a construction with the ‘it is’ clitic. See §11.2.1 for this clitic and its conjugation. An example is ‘new’, which does not seem to have a simple inchoative verb. Perhaps we should understand the adjective as being nominal in function, e.g. ‘I am a new (one)’ and the like.

The adjective takes the appropriate form (for animacy and number), and is followed by *=y* (with tone spread from the left) for any third person subject, or by a pronominally inflected form of the clitic for 1st or 2nd person subject.

- (xxx) a. *kàndé:=m̀*
new.Sg=*it.is*.1SgS
‘I am new.’
- b. *kàndá:=ý*
new.Pl=*it.is*
‘They are new.’
- c. *kàndé:=lá-m̀*
new.Sg=*it.is*.not-1SgS
‘I am not new.’
- d. *kàndá:=lá*
new.Pl=*it.is*.not
‘They are not new.’

11.4.3 Inchoative adjectival verbs

A number of adjectives have no predicate form as such. Instead, the corresponding inchoative verb is used. See §9.5 for lists of such verbs. For stative predicate ‘X is (adjective)’, the verb is followed by the **Perfect auxiliary** *jò-* (xxx).

- (xxx) Adjectival predicates with Perfect *jò-*

gàbí jò-Ø ‘it is tall’; *témbí jò-Ø* ‘it is wet’; *téndí jò-Ø* ‘it is straight’; *gòmé jò-Ø* ‘it is rotten’; *gìndé jò-Ø* ‘he/she is big (adult)’; *kúnjé jò-Ø* ‘he/she is old’; *mǎl jò-Ø* ‘it (rope) is tight’; *yàré jò-Ø* ‘it is loose, slack’; *mǎy jò-Ø* ‘be hard’

If an adjective has both an Inchoative derivative and a predicate-adjective form, either can be used in descriptive predicates (xx2).

(xx2) *nǐmí-yò-m* = *nǐmó-ndí-jò-m*
 be.heavy-Impf-1SgS heavy-Inch-Impf-1SgS
 ‘I am heavy.’

11.4.4 Negative adjectival predicates (=lá-)

Adjectives with predicate forms may negate them by adding ‘it is not’ clitic =lá-, which can be conjugated (xx10).

(xx1) *nǐm=dá-nè*
 heavy=it.is.not-1SgS
 ‘I am not heavy.’

If the predicate is expressed by an Inchoative verb, it is negated by the regular Perfective Negative (xx2). These are literally of the type ‘have not become ADJ’.

(xx2) a. *gàbá-lú-m*
 be.tall-PerfNeg-1SgS
 ‘I am not tall.’
 d. *nǐmó-ndó-lù-m*
 heavy-Inch-PerfNeg-1SgS
 ‘I am not heavy.’

11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 ‘Have’ (jógò-)

The positive forms are based on a stem *jógò-*. The negative forms are based on *jògò-ndí-*. The paradigms are in (xx1).

(xx1)	subject	positive	negative
	1Sg	jógò-m	jògò-nú-m
	2Sg	jóg-ò:	jògò-nd-ó:
	1Sg	jógò-Ø	jògò-ndí-Ø
	1Pl	jógò-y	jògò-ndí-ỳ
	2Pl	jóg-è:	jògò-nd-é:
	3Sg	jóg-è:	jògò-ndí-yà

The ‘have’ verb follows the NP denoting the possessed entity (xx2).

- (xxx) a. ně: jógò-m
 cow have-1SgS
 ‘I have a cow.’
- b. ně: jògò-ndí-Ø
 cow have-PerfNeg-3SgS
 ‘He/She doesn’t have a cow.’

11.5.2 ‘Belong to’ predicates

The construction ‘X belongs to Y’, i.e. ‘X is Y’s’, is expressed as X [Y(‘s) possession]=it.is, with clitic =y. The form glossed ‘possession’ in this literal translation has distinct forms for animacy, class, and number. In (xxx), the forms are shown along with the final =y. It seems likely that at least gò originated as a noun meaning ‘thing’, but a full paradigm has developed, parallel to those of demonstrative pronouns and Definite markers.

(xxx)		singular	plural
	Inanimate E-class	gè=y	yè=y
	Inanimate O-class	gò=y	yè=y
	Animate	yè=y	bò=y

The regular negation of =y ‘it is’ is =lá ‘it is not’, and this is used in the corresponding negations: gè=lá, etc.

If the possessor is a pronoun, the ‘possession’ noun cliticizes to it. Vowel o in a pronoun (3Sg mó, 2Sg ó) appears as ɔ, harmonizing with the e or ɔ of the ‘possession’ noun.

- (xxx) a. [tímô: kó] mí=gò=y
 [tree Def.InanSg.O] 1Sg=Poss.InanSg.O=it.is
 ‘The tree is mine.’
- b. [nè: òm] mǒ=yè=y
 [cow.L this.AnSg] [3Sg=Poss.AnSg=it.is]
 ‘This cow is his/hers.’
- c. [táŋà ké] ó=gè=lá
 [granary Def.InanSg.E] 2Sg=Poss.Inan.Sg.E=it.is.not
 ‘The granary is not yours-Sg.’

Before a stop, the 1Sg pronoun may have its regular full form *mí*, as in (xxx.a), above, or it may syncopate. In this event, the resulting nasal undergoes point-of-articulation assimilation to the stop. Hence *mí=gò=y* or *í=gò=y* ‘it (InanSg.O) is mine’, *mí=gè=y* or *í=gè=y* ‘it (InanSg.E) is mine’, and *mí=bò=y* or *í=bò=y* ‘they (An) are mine.’ No contraction takes place before *y*.

Textual examples are in (xxx).

- (xx1) a. *yě:* *bíró:* *bírè-∅* *mé↑*,
 woman work(noun) work.Perf-3SgS if,
 [[ánè mó] kò]=y
 [[man Def.AnSg] Poss.InanSg.O]=it.is
 ‘If a woman did the work, it belonged to the man.’ (2005-1a)

12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 ‘Head’ and ‘mother’ as superlatives

In addition to the productive morphosyntactic constructions covered below, it is worth noting that *nĩ*: ‘mother’ and *kĩ*: ‘head’ can be used in superlatives with senses like ‘most important’. Quite independently of Saddam Hussein and ‘the mother of all battles’, Najamba speakers use ‘mother’ (along with ‘head’) in passages like (xx1). In this text, the speaker has commented at length on the pros and cons of farming, herding, and commerce as the three common professions.

- (xx1) *kà:* [*nĩ:* *mó*] *mó=ý,*
 but [**mother** Def.AnSg] AnSg=it.is,
 [[[*àdúná* *òlè*] *bĩrò:*] *kĩ:* *dĩndĩ*]
 [[[world house.L] work.L] **head.L** all]
gĩn-à: *mé=ý,*
 say.Perf-3PIS if=it.is,
 [*gólè:* *kó* *yà:*] [*bíró:* *kĩ:*]=*ý*
 [[farming Def.InanSg.O Foc] [work(noun) **head.L**]=it.is
 ‘But it’s he (= farmer) [focus] who is the mother (= most essential). If they say (= speak of) the head (= chief) of (types of) work of (= in) the entire world, farming [focus] is the head (= chief) of (types of) work.’
 (2005-1a)

12.1.2 Comparatives with *tóló* ‘more’ (especially non-subject comparanda)

When the comparanda are **non-subjects**, the ‘more/most’ expression is always *tóló*, and this form can also occur in subject comparatives (where, however, forms based on verb *ĩró-* are more common, see below). The comparandum phrase /X *nèn*/ (‘than X’) may precede or follow the rest of the clause. In (xx1), the comparanda are objects or adverbials, with the subject held constant. In (xx1.c), we see that a direct object NP containing *gĩ* may be followed by *nèn* ‘than’.

- (xx1) a. [èmbá nèn] yógè tóló tígà:-m
[sorghum.Pl **than**] millet.Pl **more** know-1SgS
'I know millet more than (I know) sorghum.'
- b. númbè tóló kíyò-m [élé nèn]
cow-pea.Pl **more** want-1SgS [peanut.Pl **than**]
'I like cow-peas more than (I like) peanuts.'
- c. [mí gǐ] tóló òdè [[ó gǐ] nèn]
[1Sg Acc] **more** give.Perf-3SgS [[2Sg Acc] **than**]
'He gave me more than (he gave) you-Sg.'
- d. íyó tóló bǐrè-m [jǎ: nèn]
today **more** work-1SgS [yesterday **than**]
'I worked more today than (I worked) yesterday.'
- e. íyó tóló bǐr-à: [jǎ: nèn]
today **more** work.Perf-3PIS [yesterday **than**]
'They worked more today than (they worked) yesterday.'

The 'it is' clitic =y is often added to tóló in textual examples like those in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [mó tóló=y [[[dúmé: yé] kùl] mà]
[AnSg **more=it.is** [[[animal.Pl Def.AnPl] inside] in]
[ó gǐ] náǐ jòg-â:
[2Sg Acc] benefit(verb) Perfect-Ppl
'Among the (livestock) animals, it (= favorite animal) has benefited you the most.' (2005-1a)
- b. mó tóló=y [ó nàfâ: kó]
AnSg **more=it.is** [2SgP benefit.L Def.InanSg.O]
yé jòg-â:=y
see Perfect-Ppl=it.is
'It (= favorite animal) has seen your benefit (= good treatment) more (than others have).' (2005-1a)

See also (xx1.e) in §13.1.1.3 ('will go in front the most').

12.1.3 ‘Be better, more’ (ìró-)

In the sense ‘X be better than Y’ or ‘X be more than Y’, a verb ìró- ‘be better than’ or ‘be more than’, with object complement, is used.

- (xx1) a. [mí gǐ] ìró-Ø
 [1Sg Acc] be.better-3SgS
 ‘He/She is better than I (am).’
- b. [ó gǐ] ìró-m̀
 [2Sg Acc] be.better-1SgS
 ‘I am better than you-Sg (are).’
- c. ně: [pègégé gǐ] ìró-Ø
 cow [sheep Acc] be.better-3SgS
 ‘A cow is better than a sheep.’
- d. píyéfí [nùmí: gǐ] ìró-Ø
 ten [give Acc] be.more-3SgS
 ‘Ten is more than five.’

12.1.4 Comparatives with ìr-ê:, ìr-ô: ‘more’ (subject comparanda)

The participial forms ìr-ê: or ìr-ô: (note the falling tone) are used when the subjects of the two respective underlying clauses are compared asymmetrically with respect to a scalar domain of comparison. The lesser comparandum is directly followed by a ‘than’ particle nèn (elsewhere purposive ‘for’). The normal sequence is therefore [X nèn] ìrê: followed by the VP.

If the domain is not explicitly specified, the unmarked interpretation (for human comparanda) is ‘older than’.

- (xx1) [mí nèn] ìr-ê:
 [1Sg than] be.more-Ppl.AnSg
 ‘He/She is older than I (am).’

The domain of comparison may be explicitly specified in a predicate, following the entire sequence ending in ìr-ê: or ìr-ô:. In (xx1.a-b), the adjectival-verb predicate specifies the domain of comparison. In (xx1.c-d), an adjectival predicate specifies the domain.

- (xx1) a. [mí nèn] ìr-ê: kúnjé jò-Ø

[1Sg **than**] **be.more-Ppl.AnSg** be.old Perfect-3SgS
 ‘He/She is older than I (am).’

b. [ó nèn] ãr-ê: kúnjé jò-m
 [2Sg **than**] **be.more-Ppl.AnSg** be.old Perfect-1SgS
 ‘I am older than you-Sg (are).’

c. [mí nèn] ãr-ê: jàlá-m
 [1Sg **than**] **be.more-Ppl.AnSg** tall-be.3SgS
 ‘He/She is longer (= taller) than I (am).’

c. [mí nèn] ãr-ê: gábí jò-Ø
 [1Sg **than**] **be.more-Ppl.AnSg** be.tall Perfect-3SgS
 ‘He/She is taller than I (am).’

d. [mó nèn] ãr-ê: gábí jò-m
 [AnSg **than**] **be.more-Ppl.AnSg** be.tall Perfect-1SgS
 ‘I am taller than he/she (is).’

In (xx2), the focal comparanda are again subjects, but this time with transitive verbs.

(xx2) a. á:màdù [ó nèn] ãr-ê: tígà-Ø
 Amadou [2SgS **than**] **be.more-Ppl** know.Stat-3SgS
 ‘Amadou knows more than you-Sg (know).’

b. [mí nèn] ãr-ê: númbè kwǎ-m
 [1Sg **than**] **be.more-Ppl** cow-pea.Pl eat.Fut-3SgS
 ‘He/She will eat cow-peas more than I (eat cow-peas).’

c. [ó nèn] ãr-ê: bǎyè kéjé jà-mbò-m
 [2SgS **than**] **be.more-Ppl** stick.Pl cut can-Fut-1SgS
 ‘I can chop wood more (=better) than you (can chop wood).’

In (xx3), there is no single focal comparandum constituent, since the subjects and objects of the two clauses are both disjoint referentially. The entire comparandum clause is nominalized. A fairly literal gloss would be “I know millet(s) more [than [your knowing sorghum]].”

(xx3) [èmbá ó tígà-ŋgà kó] nèn]
 [[sorghum.Pl 2SgS know-Stat.Ppl Def.InanSg.O] **than**]
 ãr-ê: yógé tígà:-m

be.more-Ppl millet.Pl know.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I know millet more than the extent to which you-Sg know sorghum.’

For humans and other animates, the form *ĩr-ô:* is used when the subject is plural (xx4). For inanimates, following the usual agreement rules, *ĩr-ê:* is used for plural subject and for E/E-class singulars, while *ĩr-ô:* is used for O/E-class singulars.

(xx2) [nò-mbò tò-mbó ĩr-ô: bé]
 [person-Pl.L Recip-Pl **be.better**-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl]
 [jěnjà [bé gĩ] sàgĩ-rè-Ø]
 [God [AnPl Acc] superimpose.Perf-3SgS
 ‘(As for) persons who are better than each other (= unequal in wealth),
 God has put them one above the other.’ (2005-1a)

12.1.5 Comparatives from other verbs

Although direct elicitation always resulted in the comparative constructions describe(d) in the immediately preceding sections, a pattern with the same kind of participle seen in *ĩr-ê:* (with final falling tone) is attested in the texts with verb *áy\\àyè* ‘be weary’, in the participial form *ày-ê:*. This occurs both with and without *tóló* in the passage (xx1).

(xx1) kà: ó tóló=ý ày-ê:,
 but 2SgS **more=it.is** **be.weary-Ppl**,
 [[gòlè-gòlé sòm] mà] ín nè,
 [[farmer beside] in] go Adv.SS,
 èbà-kálé mí ày-ê:
 merchant 1SgS **be.weary-Ppl**
 ‘But (you say) you are the most tired (= work the hardest). (You) go up to the farmer (and say) “I the merchant am (the most) tired.”’ (2005-1a)

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 With *dân* ‘like’

In (xxx), the two equal comparanda are expressed respectively with *dân* ‘like’ (§8.4.1) and *là* ‘too’. Literal translations are therefore of the type “I too am tall like you.”

- (xxx) a. [mó dân] [mí là] gàbí-jò-m
 [3Sg like] [1Sg too] be.tall-Impf-1SgS
 ‘I am as tall as he/she (is).’
- b. [mí dân] [ó là] bîré kóndò-mb-ò:
 [1Sg like] [2Sg too] work[n] do.well-Impf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg work as well as I (work).’

12.2.2 ‘(Not) so much’

The comparandum phrase [X dân] ‘like X’ can also be used with a negative predicate, as in (xxx).

- (xxx) [mí dân] bírà-ndí-Ø
 [1Sg like] work-Impf-3SgS
 ‘He/She doesn’t work like (=as hard as) I (work).’

12.2.3 ‘Attain, equal’ (gwé, dwê:)

The verbs gwé ‘go out’ or the verb dwê: ‘arrive; attain, reach’ may be used in the sense ‘attain the level of, equal (sb, in some respect)’. (In northeastern Dogon languages, ‘arrive’ is commonly used in this sense, but ‘go out’ is not.)

In comparatives, the ‘go out’ or ‘arrive’ verb is often negated, hence ‘X does not equal Y’, as in (xx1.a). This is the only way to express ‘X is less than Y’. The verb may also be used in positive clauses, expressing a symmetrical comparative (xx1.b) or a mathematical equivalence (xx1.c). The examples here are with ‘go out’. The versions with ‘arrive’ would have dô:-l-Ø (xx1.a) and dwê:-jò-Ø (xx1.b-c).

- (xx1) a. [bîré kóndó-m̀]
 [work[n] do.well.Impf-3SgS]
 ká: [dèlân gí] gǒ-l-Ø
 but [elder.brother Acc] go.out-ImpfNeg-3SgS
 ‘He works well, but he doesn’t equal his elder brother (in work).’
- b. [dèlân gĩ] gwé-jò-Ø
 [elder.brother Acc] go.out-Impf-3SgS
 ‘He is equal to (=as good as) his elder brother.’
- c. [nùmî: mà:] [nùmî: mà:] píyéfi gwé-jò-Ø

[five and] [five and] ten go.out-Impf-3SgS
'Five plus five equals ten.'

gwé 'go out' is also used in the sense 'be enough'.

12.3 'A fortiori' (sákò)

The 'a fortiori' word sákò is a variant of a widespread regional form.

- (xxx) a. pó:-nôy jògò-nú-m sákò [sǎn nô:y]
ten-two have-ImpfNeg-1SgS a.fortiori [hundred two]
'I don't have 20 riyals (=100 francs), never mind 100 riyals.'

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

The focalized constituent is fronted. It is optionally, but often, immediately followed by Focus particle *yà:*.

When the subject is focalized, special participial forms of the verb replace the usual inflected verb. Non-subject focalization requires the use of the same inflected verb that would appear in an unfocalized sentence.

Focalized negative clauses are uncommon for pragmatic reasons, but they are grammatical. The invariant Participle ending *-è:* is used after the Perfective Negative Future Negative, and Present Negative, after their regular AN suffixes.

13.1.1 Subject focalization

13.1.1.1 Focalized Perfective positive (zero suffix) and negative (*-l-è:*)

In the Perfective (positive), under subject focalization, the verb has the **regular Perfective stem** (not a participle), but omits any pronominal-subject suffix (i.e., it occurs in a form identical to the zero 3Sg). Thus we have *dènjè* ‘hit’ with both 1Sg and 3Pl subjects (xx1.a.b).

- (xx1) a. [mí yà:] [ɲgwě: mó gǐ] dènjè
[1Sg Foc] [dog Def.AnSg Acc] hit.Perf
‘It was I [focus] who hit the dog.’
- b. [bé yà:] [ɲgwě: mó gǐ] dènjè
[1Sg Foc] [dog Def.AnSg Acc] hit.Perf
‘It was they [focus] who hit the dog.’
- c. [mí yà:] wè
[1Sg Foc] come.Perf
‘It was I [focus] who came.’

In the **negative**, the verb stem and Perfective Negative suffix combine in the same way (including irregularities in vocalism) as in main clauses, except

that the stem (and word) is **all-low toned**. The Participial suffix **-è:** follows the Perfective Negative suffix **-l-**.

- (xx2) a. [mí yà:] dèṅà-l-è:
 [1Sg Foc] fall-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc
 ‘It is I [focus] who did not fall.’
- b. [mí yà:] ndà:-l-è:
 [1Sg Foc] give-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc
 ‘It is I [focus] who did not give.’
- c. [ó gò kó yà:] dùmà-l-è:
 [2SgP Poss.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] Foc get-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc
 ‘It’s yours (=your benefit) [focus] that you-Pl haven’t gotten.’
 (2005-1a)

13.1.1.2 *Subject-focalized Present positive (-nj-è:) and negative (-nd-è:)*

In the **Present** (positive), Participial suffix **-è:** is added to the regular AN suffix **-njò-**, producing **-nj-è:**, under subject focalization. The verb is low-toned.

- (xx2) a. [mí yà:] èní: bǐrà-nj-è:
 [1Sg Foc] here work-Pres-Ppl.Foc
 ‘It is I [focus] who work here.’
- b. [nùmǎ: [mí gò] yà:] jènò-nj-è:
 [hand [1SgP Poss] Foc] hurt-Pres-Ppl.Foc
 ‘It’s my hand [focus] that hurts.’
- c. [nùmě: [mí yè] yà:] jènò-nj-è:
 [hand.Pl [1SgP Poss] Foc] hurt-Pres-Ppl.Foc
 ‘It’s my hands [focus] that hurt.’
- d. [kwé-ṅgò yà:] mó jènò-nj-è:
 [food-InanSg.O Foc] AnSgO bring-Pres-Ppl.Foc
 ‘Food [focus] is what takes (= attracts) him (there).’ (2005-1a)

In the **negative**, we get **-nd-è:** (cf. regular Present Negative suffix **-ndí-**), with all-low tones. This form differs only tonally from the corresponding Future Negative focalized form (see below).

- (xx1) a. [mí yà:] sèmà-nd-è:
[1Sg Foc] slaughter-**PresNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who don't slaughter.'
- b. [mí yà:] yà-nd-è:
[1Sg Foc] see-**PresNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'it's I [focus] who don't see.'
- c. [mí yà:] yòbà-nd-è:
[1Sg Foc] run-**PresNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'it's I [focus] who don't run.'
- d. [mí yà:] màmbìfi-yà-nd-è:
[1Sg Foc] go.back-**PresNeg-Ppl.Foc**
'it's I [focus] who don't go back.'

13.1.1.3 *Subject-focalized Future positive (-mb-ê:) and negative (-nd-è:)*

In the **Future** (positive), the invariant participle ends in **-mb-ê:** after a low-toned stem under subject focalization. This is (morphologically) the participial equivalent of the 1st/2nd person portion of the regular Future paradigm, which has **-mbô-** after low-toned stem. In texts, I sometimes hear low-toned **-mb-è:**, as in (xx1.f).

- (xx1) a. [mí yà:] ìndò-**mb-ê:**
[1Sg Foc] go-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
'It is I [focus] who will go.'
- b. [fántà yà:] ìndò-**mb-ê:**
[Fanta Foc] go-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
'It is Fanta [focus] who will go.'
- c. [òndò ánà: bé yà:] ìndò-**mb-ê:**
[child.Pl.L male.AnPl Def.AnPl Foc] go-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
'It is Fanta [focus] who will go.'
- d. má òmá: tònđi-yò-**mb-ê:** mà⇒
or Far.AnSg bend-MP-**Fut-Ppl.Foc** Q
'or is it the counterpart (= that one) who will bend?' (2005.1a)
- e. kó tóló=ý [ǵír mà] ìndò-**mb-ê:**↑

InanSg.O more=it.is [front in] go-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘That [focus] is what will go in front the most’ (2005-1a)

- f. ñgú àngú kòndò-mb-è: ló↑,
 Prox.InanSg.O which? do.well-**Fut-Ppl.Foc** Q,
 ñgú kòndò-mb-è:
 Prox.InanSg.O do.well-**Fut-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘What will make this well? This [focus] will make (it) well.’ (2005-1a)

In the **negative**, we get a participial form that is segmentally identical to that used in the corresponding Present form. In the Future Negative version, the suffix complex **-nd-è:** is low toned, and the preceding verb stem has a final high tone element and is otherwise low-toned. Compare the regular inflected Future Negative with suffix **-ndĩ-** and the same L...H stem tone contour.

- (xxx) a. [mí yà:] ñnó-nd-è:
 [1Sg Foc] go-**FutNeg-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It is I [focus] who will not go.’
- b. [mí yà:] sèmá-nd-è:
 [1Sg Foc] slaughter-**FutNeg-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It is I [focus] who will not slaughter.’
- c. [mí yà:] wó-nd-è:
 [1Sg Foc] come-**FutNeg-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It is I [focus] who will not come.’

13.1.1.4 Subject-focalized Progressive positive (-mbò b-è:) and negative (-njò-nd-è:)

In the **Progressive** (positive) construction, the verb with Progressive **-mbò** is followed, under focalization, by invariant participial **b-è:** or **jòg-è:** (xx1)

- (xx1) a. [mí yà:] bíró: bírà-mbò b-è:
 jóg-è:
 [1Sg Foc] work(noun) work-**Progr** be/have-**Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It is I [focus] who will be working.’
- b. [yàwó: bé] ñngé érà-mbò b-è:
 [woman.Pl Def.AnPl] water get.water-**Progr** be-**Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It’s the women [focus] who are getting water (at the well).’

- (xx1) a. **ǎm yà: wò-l-è: ló**
 who? Foc come-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc Q
 ‘Who has not (= did not) come?’
- b. **ǎm yà: sèmà-l-è: ló**
 who? Foc slaughter-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc Q
 ‘Who has not (= did not) slaughter (an animal)?’

13.1.1.6 Subject-focalized Past positive (=b-è:) and negative counterparts

Under subject focalization, Past morpheme =b-è- takes a Participial form =b-è:.

In the most common morphological construction, the **Past Imperfective** (and the Past Stative) with Imperfective -m-, the whole word is **low-toned**.

- (xx1) a. **ǎm ðìgà-m=b-è:**
 who? know-Stat=**Past-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘Who knew?’ (= ‘Who used to know?’)
- b. **[í yà:] ðìgà-m=b-è:**
 [1Pl Foc] know-Stat=**Past-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It’s we [focus] who knew.’
- c. **sěydù bǐrà-m=b-è:**
 S work-Impf=**Past-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] who was working.’

In the **Future-in-Past** form, we again get =b-è: following a verb ending in Imperfective -m-, but with Future tone contour, i.e., high tone on the stem-final syllable (xx2).

- (xx2) **[mí yà:] màmbìfi-yá-m=b-è:**
 [1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-Impf=**Past-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It’s I [focus] who was going to go back.’

In the **Past Perfect**, =b-è: follows the low-toned Perfective form of the verb, without Imperfective -m-.

- (xx3) **[mí yà:] màmbìfi-yè=b-è:**
 [1Sg Foc] go.back-MP.Perf=**Past-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It’s I [focus] who had gone back.’

The corresponding **negatives** are illustrated as follows: Past Imperfective Negative in two variants (xx4.a-b), Future-in-Past in two variants (xx5.a-b), and Past Perfect (xx6). The variants reflect differences between my two primary assistants.

- (xx4) a. **sěydù** **bìrà-m=bà-l-è:=bè**
 S work-Impf=Past-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc=Past
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] who was not working.’
- b. **sěydù** **bìrà-m=bà-l-è:**
 S work-Impf=Past-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc
 [= (a)]
- (xx5) a. [**mí** **yà:]** **màmìlì-yá-m=bà-l=b-è:**
 [1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-Impf=Past-PerfNeg=Past-Ppl.Foc
 ‘It was I [focus] who was not going to go back.’
- b. [**mí** **yà:]** **màmìlì-yá-m=bà-l-é:**
 [1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-Impf=Past-PerfNeg-Ppl.Foc
 [= (a)]
- (xx6) [**mí** **yà:]** **màmìlì-yá-l=b-è:**
 [1Sg Foc] go.back-MP-PerfNeg=Past-Ppl.Foc
 ‘It was I [focus] who had not gone back.’

13.1.1.7 Subject-focalized Stative quasi-verbs

For ‘exist, be (somewhere)’ (**existential-locational**), both **bô:-** ‘be present (here/there)’ and low-toned **bò-** ‘be (in a specified place)’ become participial **b-è:** under subject focalization. The ‘be present, be here/there’ examples, corresponding to **bô:-** in unfocalized main clauses, are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. **ǎm** **b-è:**
 who? **be-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘Who is (present) here/there?’
- b. [**mí** **bà** **yà:]** **b-è:**
 [1SgP father **Foc**] **be-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It’s my father [focus] who is (present) here/there.’

Examples corresponding to low-toned *bò-* ‘be’ following a locational expression are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [ǎm yà:] [sònjó: má] b-è:
 [who? Foc] [village in] **be-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘Who is in the village?’
- b. [sěydù yà:] [sònjó: má] b-è:
 [S Foc] [village in] **be-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who is in the village.’
- c. é àngú [[é kèndà:] mà] b-è: ló
 2Pl which? [[2PIP heart.L] in] **be-Ppl.Foc Q**
 ‘(As for) you-Pl, which (= what) is in your heart?’ (2005-1a)

The negative counterpart of both *bò-* and *bô:-* has *ònd-è:*.

- (xx3) [sěydù yà:] [sònjó: má] ònd-è:
 [S Foc] [village in] **not.be-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who is in the village.’

‘Have’ (*jògà-*) has a Participial form *jòg-è:* under subject focalization.

- (xx4) a. ǎm kènjû: jòg-è:
 who? pick-hoe **have-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘Who has a pick-hoe?’
- b. [mí yà:] kènjû: jòg-è:
 [1Sg Foc] pick-hoe **have-Ppl.Foc**
 ‘It’s I [focus] who have a pick-hoe.’

13.1.1.8 Subject-focalized forms of other stative verbs

For ‘know’, the subject-focalization form is *tīg-è:* (xx1).

- (xx1) a. ǎm tīg-è:
 who? know-**Ppl.Foc**
 ‘Who knows?’
- b. mí tīg-è:
 1SgS know-**Ppl.Foc**

‘It’s I [focus] who knows.’

A fuller list of such statives in subject-focalized participial form, positive and negative, is in (xx2).

(xx2)	gloss	subject-focus participle	comment
	‘know’	tĩg-è:	
	‘not know’	ènd-è:	
	‘want’	kĩy-è:	
	‘not want’	kèl-è:	
	‘can, be able to’	jà-mb-è:	Future forms
	‘cannot’	jà-nd-è:	

There is no special subject-focus form of the ‘it is’ clitic, which has few morphological properties of inflectable verbs.

(xx3)	[mí	yà:]	[kí:	mó]=ỳ
	[1Sg	Foc]	[head	Def.AnSg]=it.is
	‘I [focus] am the chief.’			

13.1.2 Object focalization

The Focus particle may follow an object NP, or an object pronominal, with or without Accusative *gĩ*. The verb has its **regular main-clause form** and is therefore inflected for pronominal-subject as well as for AN category.

- (xxx) a. [éle yà:] kiyò-m
 [peanuts.Pl Foc] want.Stat-1SgS
 ‘Peanuts [focus] are what I like.’
- b. [mǎlfā yà:] d̀̀gè-Ø
 [rifle Foc] leave.Perf-3SgS
 ‘It was a rifle [focus] that he/she left.’
- c. [[ó gĩ] yà:] kiyò-Ø
 [[2Sg Acc] Foc] want.Stat-3SgS
 ‘It’s you-Sg that he/she likes.’

- d. [élé yà:] kùbò-mbó-m̀
 [peanuts.Pl Foc] eat-Fut-1SgS
 ‘Peanuts [focus] are what I will eat.’
- e. [àtê: yà:] nâ-ndĩ-Ø
 [tea Foc] drink-PresNeg-3SgS
 ‘Tea [focus] is what he/she doesn’t drink.’

In the **Perfective**, the (inconsistently pronounced) high tone on the final mora of a 1st/2nd person subject suffix is absent (xxx).

- (xxx) a. [[ḥgwě: mó] gĩ yà:] dɛnjè-m̀
 [[dog Def.AnSg] Acc Foc] hit.Perf-1SgS
 ‘It was the dog [focus] that I hit.’
- b. [ḥgú yà:] kàn-ò:
 [Dem.Sg Foc] do.Perf-2SgS
 ‘This [focus] is what you-Sg did.’

13.1.3 Focalization of PP or other adverbial

Adverbials may be focalized. The Focus particle *yà:* is optionally present, though in practice often omitted (focal status is suggested by the fronting of the adverbial, and by the absence of a pause suggestive of topicalization or scene-setting). The verb has its regular main-clause inflected form.

- (xxx) a. [[sònjò: ḥgí] kùl] mà yà:]
 [[village.L Dem.Sg] inside] in Foc]
 mí nǎl=b-à:≡ỹ
 1SgO bear(child)=Past-Pass=it.is
 ‘It is in this village [focus] that I was born.’
- b. ḥgĩn t̃ibè-Ø
 here die.Perf-3SgS
 ‘It is here [focus] that he/she died.’
- c. ḥgĩn kwá-njò-y
 here eat-Pres-1PIS
 ‘It is here [focus] that we eat?’

13.1.4 Focalization of postpositional complement

A PP as a whole may be focalized, like other adverbials (see the preceding section). I have no examples where just the complement NP inside the PP is focalized.

13.2 Interrogatives

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives (ló, ma⇒)

Examples of clause-final *ló* forming yes/no questions are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. *ĩn-ò:* *ló*
 go.Perf-3PIS Q
 ‘Did they go?’
- b. *ĩnó-mb-à* *ló*
 go-Fut-3PIS Q
 ‘Will they go?’
- c. [*mó* *gĩ*] *dènj-ó:* *ló*
 [3Sg Acc] hit.Perf-2SgS Q
 ‘Did you-Sg hit him/her?’

If the preceding word (normally a verb or other predicate) has two or more syllables and would normally end in a rising tone, this tone is raised to high by Word-Final R-to-H Raising (xx1) in §3.7.3.4, as in (xx1.c), cf. *dènj-ó:* ‘you-Sg hit’. Final rising tone is regular with 1st/2nd person forms of Perfective (positive) verbs.

When an interrogative is presented as a choice between two propositions (such as ‘P’ and ‘not P’), a particle *ma⇒* with intonational prolongation and raised pitch, is placed after the first option (xx2), and optionally also at the beginning or end of the second option, see §7.2.2.

- (xx2) *ĩn-ò:* *ma⇒↑* *ĩnò:-ndí↓*
 go.Perf-3PIS or? go-PerfNeg.3PIS
 ‘Did they go or didn’t they go?’

In several other Dogon languages (e.g. Jamsay) there is a particle *ma⇒* that is both the productive yes/no interrogative and the productive disjunctive

'or' particle. In Najamba, *ma*⇒ has a more circumscribed distribution but it often has both interrogative and disjunctive qualities.

13.2.1.1 Tag-question

There is no tag question (*n'est-ce pas?*) construction. Polar (yes/no) questions are often presented in two-part form, with at least an inflected verb in the second clause, whose polarity value is the opposite of that of the first clause ('Will you go to Bamako, or won't you go?').

13.2.2 'Who?' (*ǎm*)

'Who?' is *ǎm*, with rising tone. It is here exemplified as subject (xx1.a), object (xx1.b), possessor (xx1.c), and as complement of 'it is' clitic (xx1.d).

- (xx1) a. *ǎm* *wò-mb-ê:*
 who? come-Fut-3SgS
 'Who will come?'
- b. *kělè* [*ǎm* *gĩ*] *nd-ǒ:*
 money.Pl [who? Acc] give.Perf-2SgS
 'To whom did you-Sg give the money?'
- d. [*ǎm* *pègè*] *ḍibè-∅*
 [who? sheep.L] be.lost.Perf-3SgS
 'Whose sheep was lost?'
- d. *ǒm* *àm=i:*
 this.AnSg who?=it.is
 'Who is this?'

In (xx1.d), /*ǎm=i:*/ with atonal clitic is realized as *àm=i:* as the contour tone is expressed over the full word form (§3.xxx).

The sense 'who?' is just a special case of the animate singular form of 'which?'; see §13.xxx, below, for the full set of forms.

13.2.3 ‘What?’ (yèngé), ‘with what?’ (yèngé mâ), ‘why?’ (yèngé nèn, àngú nèn)

‘What?’ is yèngé in subject, object, or similar function (xxx.a-b). With the ‘it is’ clitic, we get yéngè=y (xxx.c).

- (xxx) a. yèngé dũndà-nj-è:
 what? look.for-Impf-2PlS
 ‘What are you-Pl looking for?’
- b. yèngé ó dùmè-Ø
 what 2SgO get.Perf-3SgS
 ‘What has gotten (=afflicted) you-Sg?’
- c. yéngè=y
 what?=it.is
 ‘What is it?’

Among the common combinations of yèngé are [yèngé mâ] ‘with what?’ (xxx.a) and ‘for what?’ = ‘why?’ (xxx.b).

- (xxx) a. [yèngé má] bírà-nj-ò:
 [what? with] work-Pres-2SgS
 ‘What do you-Sg work with?’
- b. [yèngé nèn] w-è:
 [what? for] come.Perf-2PlS
 ‘Why did you-Pl come?’

13.2.4 ‘Where?’ (ànî:, àndè)

ànî: ‘where?’ and its approximative counterpart àn-dè ‘whereabouts?’, like all locationals, can be used in static locative, allative, or ablative function depending on the context (presence/absence of allative or ablative verbs like ‘go’ and ‘leave’).

- (xxx) a. ànî: ìndè-nj-ò:
 where? go-Pres-2SgS
 ‘Where are you-Sg going?’
- b. ànî: gwè-Ø
 where? go.out.Perf-3SgS

‘Where did he/she come from?’

- c. àní: kwà-mbó-ỳ
where? eat-Fut-1PlS
‘Where will we eat?’

13.2.5 ‘when?’ (àṅgí sàrà)

‘When?’ is àṅgí sàrà, literally “(at) which time?”

- (xxx) a. [àṅgí sàrà] wò-mb-ò:
[which? time] come-Fut-2SgS
‘When will you-Sg come?’
- b. [àṅgí sàrà] [à:lé ké] tẹ̀gè-Ø
[which? time] [rain(n) Def.InanSg.E] fall.Perf-3SgS
‘When did the rain fall?’
- c. [àṅgí sàrà] nàlè-Ø ló
[which? time] bear(child).Perf-3SgS Q
‘When did she give birth to a child?’ (2005-1a)
- d. [àṅgí sàrà yà:] tò-mbó jè:rà-mb-è:
[which? time Foc] Recip-Pl encounter-Fut-2PlS
‘When will you-Pl encounter each other?’ (2005-1a)

Note also àṅgí déṅán ‘(on) what day?’.

13.2.6 ‘How?’ (ànné, àṅjíné)

The form is variably pronounced ànné and àṅjíné, even by the same speaker.

- (xxx) a. ànné bírà-nj-ò:
how? work-Pres-2SgS
‘How do you-Sg work?’
- b. ànné [[pègòlò: kó] mà] ìlè-Ø
how? [[mountain Def.InanSg.O] in] go.up.Perf-3SgS
‘How did he/she go up the mountain?’

The forms *ànné* and *àṅiné* could be analysed as containing Adverbial particle *né* (following a low-toned adverbial stem). For this adverbial-phrase pattern, see (xx1.h) in §8.4.8.1. The transcriptions would then become these: *àn né*, *àṅi né*. One could then compare *àn* and *àṅi* more directly to other interrogatives (*àni*: ‘where?’, *àṅú* ‘which?’, etc.).

13.2.7 ‘How much?’, ‘how many’ (*àṅêy*)

àṅêy can be translated ‘how many?’ with a countable noun (xx1.a-b), and ‘how much?’ with a measurable mass noun (xx1.c). The same form may be used before a postposition. However, the distributive reduplication is *àṅé-àṅé* (xx1.d).

- (xxx) a. [*nàwó:* *àṅêy*] *jòg-ò:*
[cow.Pl how.many?] have-2SgS
‘How many cows do you-Sg have?’
- b. [*pègè-mbó* *àṅêy*] *ḍib-ò:*
[sheep-Pl how.many?] be.lost.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
‘How many sheep were lost?’
- c. [*súkàrà* *àṅêy*] *wàjè-Ø*
[sugar how.much?] remain.Perf-3SgS
‘How much sugar is left?’
- d. [*kèṅjì:* *àṅêy* *mà*] *bíró:* *bírà-nj-ò:*
[ax.Pl how.many? with] work(n) work-Pres-2SgS
‘With how many axes do you-Sg work?’
- e. [*pègè-mbó* *bé*] [*àṅé-àṅé* *mà*] *tùlà-nj-è:*
[sheep-Pl Def.AnPl] [how.much?-how.much in] sell-
Prese-3PIS
‘(For) how much each (=at what price) do they sell sheep?’

13.2.8 ‘Which?’ (*àṅú*, etc.)

This is a modifying adjective that induces tone-dropping on the preceding noun.

- (xxx) a. [[*sònjè:* *ǎy*] *mà*] *ìnè-Ø*
[[village.Pl.L which.InanPl?] in] go.Perf-3SgS

‘To which village did he/she go?’

- b. [kènjù: àṅgú mà] bîrà-mb-ô:
 [ax.L which.InanSg.O? with] work-Impf-2SgS
 ‘With which ax will you-Sg work?’

The forms for ‘which?’ agree with the modified noun in animacy, class, and number. The full set of forms is in (xx2). Note that AnSg 2 is also the interrogative ‘who?’ (§13.2.xxx).

(xxx)	InanSg.E	InanSg.O	InanPl	AnSg	AnPl
	àṅgí	àṅgú	ǎy	ǎm	àbíyè

13.2.9 ‘So-and-so’ (má:nĩ, mâ:n)

The ‘So-and-so’ word *má:nĩ*, often pronounced *mâ:n*, is used as a function over personal names of people. It has a plural *mâ:n-bò*. These forms are used by themselves, not combined with nouns. The homophony with *mâ:n* ‘grey hornbill’ (bird) is probably accidental.

- (xxx) a. *má:nĩ* *ṅgwè:*
 So.and.so dog.L
 ‘the dog of So-and-so’
- b. *mâ:n-bò* *ṅgwè:-mbò*
 So.and.so-Pl dog-Pl.L
 ‘the dogs of So-and-so’s’

nõ: tòmê:, literally ‘one person’, is also used in this context, and the pattern may be extended to other nouns: *yě: tòmê:* ‘such-and-such a woman’, etc.

pùlâ:l (ultimately < Arabic *fulaan-*) is used as a ‘such-and-such’ term for places and other nonhuman entities. It is combined with a preceding demonstrative, the unmarked form being Proximate; this combination is then juxtaposed to the relevant noun in an appositional construction, so that no tonal interactions occur: *kéngè [ṅgí pùlâ:l]* ‘such-and-such a place’, *dúmé-ṅgó [ṅgú pùlâ:l]* ‘such-and-such an animal’.

13.2.10 ‘Whatchamacallit?’

No all-purpose ‘whatchamacallit?’ (French *comment dirais-je?*) form, i.e. a filler used while the speaker tries to remember a name or word, has been recorded. A relevant class noun such as *kóŋgò* ‘thing’ or *kéŋgè* ‘place’ is sometimes used for this purpose.

13.2.11 Embedded interrogatives

Embedded interrogatives occur as complements of ‘know’, especially ‘don’t know’.

- (xxx) a. [ǎm wò-mb-ê: mà⇒] éndà:-m
[who? come-Fut-Ppl.AnSg Q] not.know-1SgS
‘I don’t know who is coming.’ (wò-mbê:)
- b. mó ǎndè ìn-è: mà⇒] éndà:-m
3Sg where? go.Perf-Ppl.AnSg Q] not.know-1SgS
‘I don’t know where he/she went.’

̀ngǐ-yá-ỳ

stand-MP-Hort.Pl

‘let’s stop (= end up) in (something) like the position that is right’
(2005-1a)

c. [kòndò-ngà

[be.done.well-Pres.Ppl

jěnjà

God

[í

gǐ]

[1Pl Acc]

kó

Def.InanSg.O

téndó-m-ná

be.straight-Caus-Hort.3Sg

là]

also]

‘May God have us go straight to what is done well also!’ (2005-1a)

14.2 Syntax of relative clauses

14.2.1 Tone-dropping on final word(s) of NP in relative clause

Tone-dropping is a crucial feature of relative clauses, since it identifies which of the NPs in the clauses is the head NP. The relationship between ordinary NPs and the same NPs used as head NPs in a relative is indicated in (xx1). Seydou (man’s name) here is a possessor. Italicization indicates tone-dropping that occurs already in the ordinary NP (and is carried over to the relative-head NP). Underlining indicates additional tone-dropping that occurs only in the relative-head NP. Square brackets enclose the core NP (noun plus modifying adjectives). Determiners are not shown since, if present, they move from NP-final to post-participial position.

(xx1) ordinary NP

[dog]

[dog black]

[dog black big]

[dog] five

[dog black] five

Seydou [dog]

Seydou [dog] five

as head NP (‘a/the __ who ...’)

[dog]

[dog black]

[dog black big]

[dog] five

[dog black] five

Seydou [dog]

Seydou [dog] five

The following points can be made. First, possessors are insulated from tone-dropping that applies to the head NP as a whole; they are **tonological islands**. (See, however, §14.4 on possessor relatives, where the possessor NP is itself the head NP and the possessed NP is then insulated from tone-dropping). Second, the final (non-possessor) word is usually audibly tone-dropped in a relative-clause head, the only exception being the (textually uncommon) type where the head NP contains both a possessor and a numeral. Third, while

numerals and core NPs do not interact with each other tonally in regular NPs, the final word of the core NP and the numeral are simultaneously and audibly tone-dropped in a relative-clause head.

Examples are in (xx1) and scattered throughout this chapter. For the tone-dropped words, the regular form is given in parentheses after the free translation. The noun of the head NP is always tone-dropped. In addition, the adjective ‘good’ in (xx1.a) and the numeral ‘three’ in (xx1.b) are tone-dropped, while the possessor ‘Seydou’ in (xx1.a) is unaffected. In a main clause, the core NPs would be, respectively, *bĩrò: síyè-ɲgò*, *nò-mbò tà:nđi:*, and *ɲgwè:*.

- (xx1) a. *[[bĩrò: síyè-ɲgò] [bã:-n mà]*
 [[**work**(noun).L **good**-InanSg.O.L] [father-3SgPoss with]
mó đin-ô: kó] gĩ,
 AnSgS find.Perf-PplNS Def.InanSg.O] Acc,
bĩré nè, ...
 work Adv.SS, ...
 ‘(Each person,) having performed the good work that he found with
 (= learned from) his father, ...’ (2005-1a) (*bĩrò:*, *síyè-ɲgò*)
- b. *[nò-mbò tà:nđi:] bármé jòg-â:-mbò bé*
 [**person**.Pl.L **three**.L] be.wounded Perfect-PplS-Pl Def.AnPl
 ‘the three people who were wounded’ (*nò-mbò*, *tà:nđi:*)
- c. *[séydù ɲgwè:] tĩb-é: mó*
 [**S** dog.L] die.Perf-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg
 ‘the dog of Seydou’s that died’
- d. *[séydù ɲgwè-mbò nùmĩ:] ín-ó: bé*
 [**S** dog-Pl.L five.L] go.Perf-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘Seydou’s five dogs who went’

14.2.2 Restrictions on the head noun in a relative clause

A pronoun may not be the head NP directly. However, a first or second person pronoun may occur at the beginning of a relative clause, in what I take to be an appositional relationship to the actual head NP, which may be overt (*nò:* ‘person’, plural *nò-mbò* ‘people’), or omitted as in (xx1). Note that the pronouns *é* and *ĩ* are at the left edge of the clause (I would say, outside the clause), and do not undergo tone-dropping.

- (xxx) *[é [bàmàkó mà] ɲnǒ-ɲgà-mbò bé má]*

[2PI [B in] go-Fut.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl and]
 [i ñgîn wàjǎ-ŋgà-mbò bé má]
 [1PI here remain-Fut.Ppl-Pl AnPl and]
 jěnjà nàngǔl [jâm mà] [i gǐ] yá:-m-ná
 God next.year [peace in] [1PI Acc] see-Caus-Hort.3Sg
 ‘You-Pl who are going to Bamako, and we who are staying here, may
 God make us see (= show us) next year in peace.’

14.2.3 Coordinated relatives with a shared head

It is possible for one relative clause to follow another, with a shared head NP that is not repeated in the second such clause. There is no conjunction.

(xx1) [nò: [yàfi: nùmî:] jó-ŋgà],
 [person.L [field five] have-Stat.**Ppl**],
 [dúmé-ŋgó jògò-nd-é:] tígà:-m
 [animal-AnSg have-StatNeg-**Ppl**.AnSg] know.Stat-1SgS
 ‘I know a man who has five fields and/but who has no animal(s).’

While this type of example is elicitable, in natural Najamba speech the usual construction would be to express the first clause as a chained VP (‘a man who, having five fields, has no animal’).

14.2.4 Relative clause with conjoined NP as head

Usually a translation like ‘the men and women who went to Bamako’ is expressed as ‘the men who went to Bamako and the women who went to Bamako’, so the two entire NPs with their respective relative clauses are conjoined. However, when the predicate involves reciprocal action or some other event type that does not lend itself semantically to this type of conjunction, the speaker has no choice but to express the relative with a conjoined NP as head. In this case, the conjoined NP acts as a **tonological island**, and neither coordinand undergoes tone-dropping.

(xx1) [[dógò: mà⇒]
 [[Dogon.Pl and]
 [púlàndù: mà⇒] já:ŋí-y-ó: bé]
 [Fulbe.Pl and] squabble-MP.Perf-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl]
 nǐngá-mb-à:⇒y
 confine-Fut-Pass=it.is

‘The Dogon and the Fulbe who fought will be locked up.’

14.2.5 Headless relative clause

Most headless relative clauses (those with no overt head NP) in texts are adverbial relatives with an implied head NP ‘the time/place/situation in which ...’. See §xxx for examples.

Other headless relatives are also attested. In (xx1), the reference is so indefinite that no concrete head NP is possible.

- (xx1) a. [jěnjà [í mà] tàgà-l-è: kέ] gĩ,
 [God [1Pl Dat] create-PerfNeg-Ppl.InanSg.EDef.InanSg.E] Acc
 dùndà-mbó-ỵ
 look.for-Fut-1PlS
 ‘What (things) God didn’t create for us, we will look for (= try to make).’ (2005-2a)
- b. [nò: gĩ] kóndò-ηgà kó má↑,
 [person Acc] be.good-Pres.Ppl Def.InanSg.O and,
 [nò: gĩ] jàmá-gà-ηgà kó má↓,
 [person Acc] be.ruined-Caus-Pres.Ppl Def.InanSg.O and,
 [kó gĩ] dùmé-y mé
 [InanSg.O Acc] get.Perf-1PlS if
 ‘That which makes (=helps) a person, and that which ruins a person, if we have gotten that, ...’ (2005-1a)

In (xx2), the omitted subject is clearly human, and one could easily rephrase it with overt *nò*: ‘a person (who) ...’.

- (xx2) [ké gĩ] ðimbĩ-yà-ηgà ðĩn là,
 [InanSg.E Acc] follow-MP-Pres.Ppl all also,
 [láy nè] [ùsfó: má] sájà-ndĩ-Ø
 [Emph Adv] [path in] slide-PresNeg-3SgS
 ‘Any person who follows that (path) like that, he certainly does not slide in the road.’ (2005.1a)

14.2.6 Preparticipial subject pronominal in non-subject relative clause

In non-subject relatives, the subject is not expressed in the verb as it is in main clauses. Therefore a subject pronominal, as well as a noun-headed full subject

NP, occurs in preverbal (more accurately, preparticipial) position. The subject pronoun usually **immediately precedes** the participle, following even an object pronominal (xx1.c) or an immediately preceding chained bare verb like ‘go back’ in (xx1.d).

- (xx1) a. *ngwè: mí gǐy-ê: mó*
 dog.L **1SgS** kill.Perf-Ppl Def.AnSg
 ‘the dog that I killed’
- b. *dèṅàṅ [pègè mó]*
 day.L [sheep Def.AnSg]
bé sém-ê: ké
3PlS slaughter.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
 ‘the day when they slaughtered the sheep-Sg’
- c. *dèṅàṅ [ó gǐ] mí y-ê: ké*
 day.L [2Sg Acc] **1SgS** see.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
 ‘the day when I saw you-Sg’
- d. *wùjí-y dèṅàṅ màmílí-yé mó w-ê:*
 turn.around-MP day.L go.back-MP **3SgS** come.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E
 ‘the day when he turns around and comes back’ (2005.1a)

However, there are some textual examples where the pronoun occurs before the (low-toned) head noun, as in (xx2). My assistant commented that this ordering is acceptable, as is the alternative with immediately preparticipial subject pronominal (*kòṅgò í kàṅṅà-ṅà dǐndǐ*).

- (xx2) *í kòṅgò kàṅṅà-ṅà dǐndǐ*
1PlS thing.L do-Fut.Ppl all
 ‘everything that we will do’ (2005-1a)

3Sg mó and **3Pl bé** are used in this construction for **inanimate as well as animate** nouns. Therefore such forms as *kó* and *yé* do not occur in this function (i.e. as subject pronominals in non-subject relatives). For example, (xxx.a) shows that ‘sun’ is an inanimate noun with O-class agreement, and (xxx.b) shows that ‘sun’ as subject of a subject relative requires O-class agreement on the participle and on the post-participial determiner. However, when ‘sun’ is represented by a pre-participial pronoun in a non-subject relative, we get the all-purpose 3Sg form *mó*, which in other morphosyntactic contexts is specifically Animate Singular. This is seen in (xxx.c), where the noun *ùjúṅgó* is

a preclausal topical NP, and is resumed by a 3Sg pronoun in the following adverbial relative clause headed by ‘time’.

- (xxx) a. **ùjúngó** **kó**
 sun Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the sun’
- b. **ùjùngò** **túmb-ò:** **kó**
 sun.L sun.rise.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the sun that rose (e.g. this morning)’
- c. **ùjúngó**, [**wàkàfi** **mó** **túmb-è:** **ké**], ...
sun, [time.L **3SgS** rise.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E], ...
 ‘the sun, at the time when it rose, ...’

14.2.7 Relative clause involving verb- or VP-chain

In a chain, the final verb takes participial form, and the preceding chained verbs have their usual chaining form. In (xx1.a-b), the final verb **já-** ‘can, be able to’ takes a participial ending with the relevant AN category marking, while the preceding verb **bǐré** is in the chaining form.

- (xx1) a. **nò:** **bíró:** **bǐré** **jà-ngà** **mó**
 person.L work(noun) work can-Pres.Ppl Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who can perform work’
- b. **nò-mbò** **bíró:** **bǐré** **jà-ngà-mbò** **bé**
 person-Pl.L work(noun) work can-Pres.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who can work’
- c. **nò:** **bíró:** **bǐré** **jà-nd-è:** **mó**
 person.L work(noun) work can-PresNeg-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who cannot work’
- d. **nò-mbò** **bíró:** **bǐré** **jà-nd-ò:** **bé**
 person-Pl.L work(noun) work can-PresNeg-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who cannot work’

Perfective relative clauses with **jé-** ‘finish’ (§17.5.1) as the final verb in the chain are in (xx2). Compare **bǐré jè-Ø** ‘he/she has finished working’.

- (xx2) a. *nò:* *bíró:* *bǐré* *j-é:* *mó*
 person.L work(noun) work finish.Perf-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who has finished working’
- b. *nò-mbò* *bíró:* *bǐré* *j-ó:* *bé*
 person-Pl.L work(noun) work finish.Perf-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who have finished working’

14.2.8 Final morphemes added to relative clause (non-tone-dropping)

Relative clauses are quite commonly followed by either *đĩn* (*đĩndĩ*) ‘any, all’ or by any of the set of **Definite** morphemes (e.g. animate singular *mó*). These morphemes are logically part of the head NP, but they appear after the verbal participle in relative clauses rather than at the end of the head NP proper. These morphemes have **no tonal effect** on the participle.

Many examples throughout this chapter end in a Definite determiner (*mó*, *bé*, *kó*, *ké*, *yé*). Some examples of a final universal quantifier are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. *kòngò* *wé* *jòg-â:* *đĩndĩ*
 thing.L come have-Ppl all
 ‘every thing that has come’ (2005-1a)
- b. *òndò:* *wǒ-ngà-mbò* *bè* *đĩn*
 child.Pl.L come-Fut.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl.L all
 ‘all of the children who will come’

In complex relative constructions (‘the one who came, and who saw, and who conquered’), the final morpheme occurs once, after the participle of the final clause. The ‘all, every’ or Definite morpheme therefore, among its other functions, serves as a **right-edge marker**, making it easier for the addressee to process such a complex construction. In (xxx), Definite *ké* is such a right-edge marker. Note that the entire relative clause (as NP) functions as object of ‘believe’ and therefore takes Accusative /gi/, which also occurs just once, after Definite *ké*.

- (xx2) *[[bà:-ólé má] nǎ: í đĩn-ô:]*
 [[father-house in] yesterday 1PIS encounter.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O]
[í gĩn-ê:]
 [1PIS say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E]
[í ngw-ê: ké] gĩ,
 [1PIS hear.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E **Def.InanSg.E** **Acc,**

[ké gǐ] [yámbí-ndá: kó] dógá-lá-ỳ
 [InanSg.E Acc] [believe-VbIN Def.InanSg.O] leave-HortNeg-1Pl
 ‘What we found (= inherited/learned), what we said, and what we heard
 formerly in the family, may we not leave (= abandon) believing in it!’
 (2005-1a)

Demonstrative pronouns (as opposed to Definite morphemes) are not common as final morphemes with relative clauses. However, the combination does occur in texts and is readily elicited. Although demonstrative pronouns force tone-dropping on an immediately preceding noun, they do not have this effect on relative clauses. Therefore the participles in (xxx.a-b) have their usual tone contour, which preserves the distinction (tonal only) between Future and Present participles.

- (xxx) a. éngú nò: sèmǎ-ngà òm
 tomorrow person.L slaughter-FutPpl **Prox.AnSg**
 ‘this person who will slaughter (a sheep) tomorrow.’
- b. nò-mbò sèmǎ-nd-ò: èlìyè
 person-Pl.L slaughter-FutNeg-Ppl.AnPl **Prox.AnPl**
 ‘these people who will not slaughter (a sheep)’

14.2.9 Final morphemes added to relative clause (tone-dropping)

There are no final morphemes that induce tone-dropping on the participle. However, when **ɗin** ‘all’ follows a Definite determiner, the latter drops its tone from high to low (e.g. Animate Plural **bé**, with ‘all’ **bè ɗin**), as always in this sequence of morphemes.

- (xx1) nò-mbò sém-ó: bè ɗin
 person-Pl.L slaughter.Perf-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl.L all
 ‘all the people who have slaughtered (sheep)’

14.2.10 Repetition of head noun

Rarely, the noun from the head NP within the relative clause is repeated after the relative clause proper (without modifiers or determiners). It takes low-toned form, indicating that the repeated noun is “possessed” by the relative clause proper. This doubling of the noun is more common in Jamsay.

I have only one textual example (xx1).

- (xx1) [[kòŋgò ó dùmǎ-ŋgà kà] kòŋgò] òndú-Ø kǒy
 [[**thing.L** 2SgS get-Fut.Ppl Top] **thing.L**] not.be-3SgS Emph
 ‘There is definitely nothing that you get.’ (2005-1a)

14.3 Morphology of verbal participles in relative clauses

The “verb” of the relative clause is a **participle** that agrees with the head NP in nominal features (but not person). The participle consists, maximally, of the verb stem, an AN (aspect-negation) suffix except in the suffixless Perfective (positive), and an ending agreeing with the nominal categories of the head NP. In this morphological type, tones are used to distinguish subject participles (i.e. when the head NP is a subject) from non-subject participles (when the head NP is anything else). However, the Present and Future participles are specialized.

The relationship between regular inflectable AN stems and their participles is summarized schematically in (xx1). The symbol $-\alpha:$ is used for the long-vowel agreement ending (representing $-e:$, $-e:$, $-o:$, and $-o:$), and tone-marking is added to it (for the tones of the stems, see below). “E” means E-stem (as in the Perfective), “A/O” the A/O stem.

(xx1)	category	inflected	participle	
			subject	non-subject
b.	Perfective	E	E- $\acute{\alpha}:$	E- $\grave{\alpha}:$
	Present	A/O- $\eta j\grave{o}$	A/O- $\eta g\grave{a}$	
	Future	A/O- m	A/O- $\eta g\grave{a}$	
c.	Perfective Negative	A/O-l	A/O-l- $\acute{\alpha}:$	A/O-l- $\grave{\alpha}:$
	Present Negative	A/O- $nd\grave{i}$	A/O- $nd-\acute{\alpha}:$	A/O- $nd-\grave{\alpha}:$
	Future Negative	A/O- $nd\grave{i}$	A/O- $nd-\acute{\alpha}:$	

The Perfective participle and the various negative participles show class agreement in the form of the final $-\alpha:$, which has an E form and an O form. For animates (including humans), E is singular and O is plural. All inanimate plurals are E. Inanimate singulars are E or O depending on their agreement class. The stems and AN suffixes in the participles for these categories are as for the inflected stems (though there are some tonal differences in the stem). In the Perfective (positive) and the Perfective Negative, the subject participles end in high-toned $-\acute{\alpha}:$, while the non-subject participles have low-toned $-\grave{\alpha}:$. For the **Present Negative** and Future Negative, both subject and non-subject participles end in low-toned $\grave{\alpha}:$. In the **Present Negative**, the subject and non-subject

participles are distinguished by stem tone (the non-subject participles are tone-dropped to all-low). The Future Negative does not (reliably) distinguish subject from non-subject participles, but its participles **are distinguished by tones** from the (segmentally identical) Present Negative participles.

The Present (positive) and Future (positive) participles have a different structure. Here we find a morpheme **-ŋga-** replacing both Present **-njò-** and Future **-m̀** (and the latter's allomorph **-mbó-**). Subject and non-subject participles are not distinguished. The **-ŋga-** participles **do not agree** with the E or O class of the head NP, but if the head NP is animate plural, the **Animate Plural suffix -mbò** is added (**-ŋgà-mbò**, **-ŋgà-mbò**).

A few examples here will give the flavor (details are in the following sections).

- (xx1) a. **nàmà mí kúb-ò: kó**
 meat.L 1SgS eat.meat.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the meat that I ate’
- b. **nàmà mí kùbò-l-ò: kó**
 meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-PerfNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the meat that I did not eat’
- c. **nàmà mí kùbò-ŋgà-∅ kó**
 meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-Impf-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the meat that I eat’
- d. **nàmà mí kùbò-ŋgà-∅ kó**
 meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-Fut-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the meat that I will eat’
- e. **nàmà mí kùbò-nd-ò: kó**
 meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-PresNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the meat that I do not eat’
- f. **nàmà mí kùbò-nd-ò: kó**
 meat.L 1SgS eat.meat-FutNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the meat that I will not eat’

Examples showing the full set of animacy, class, and gender categories are given in §14.3.1, below (object relatives).

In the subsections below, the symbol **-α:** (with tones: **-á:**, **-à:**, **-â:**) represents long-voweled Participial endings for agreement classes {**ε:**, **e:**, **o:**}, or a subset thereof.

14.3.1 Participle of Perfective verb (-á:, -à:, -â:)

The participle ends in a long-vowel suffix agreeing with the head NP. The suffixes are -ɛ: and -ɔ: for verbs replacing final /ɛ/ in the inflectable Perfective stem, and -e: and -o: replacing final /i/, in accordance with vowel harmony. For humans, the -ɛ:/-e: ending is singular, the -ɔ:/-o: ending plural. Final tones distinguish subject from non-subject participles.

For all but the three falling-toned verbs, the tone contour of the stem (i.e. omitting the final participial vowel) is either all-high, or {LH} with a single initial low-toned mora, depending on the lexical tone. In (xx1.b-c), the initial mora of the participles is low-toned for ‘leave’ and ‘be born’, respecting the lexical {LH} tone contour of these stems that is also seen in the chaining form. The stem-tone formula is therefore XH... where X is the initial-mora lexical variable.

The subject participles of (tonally) regular verbs end in a high-toned long vowel. The non-subject participles end in a low-toned vowel, except that this vowel is falling-toned for monosyllabic verbs (xx1.a), and for {LH}-toned Cv(C)Cv bisyllabics like ‘leave’ (xx1.b). In other words, the non-subject participles end in a low-tone element that fills the entire final long vowel for most verbs including all trisyllabic and longer stems, but is confined to the final mora when the preceding high tone would otherwise be completely obliterated.

For the three falling-toned verbs, the falling tone is preserved throughout, so the subject and non-subject participles are indistinguishable (xx1.d).

(xx1)	gloss	chaining	Perfective	participle	
				subject	non-subject
a.	‘come’	wé	wè-	w-é:	w-ê:
				w-ó:	w-ô:
	‘see’	yé	yè-	y-é:	y-ê:
				y-ó:	y-ô:
b.	‘slaughter’	sémé	sèmè-	sém-é:	sém-è:
	‘teach’	bǎ:ré	bà:rè-	sém-ó:	sém-ò:
				bǎ:r-é:	bǎ:r-è:
	‘leave’	dògé	dògè-	bǎ:r-ó:	bǎ:r-ò:
				dòg-é:	dòg-è:
‘say’	gǐné	gǐnè-	dòg-ó:	dòg-ò:	
			gǐn-é:	gǐn-è:	

	‘cover’	yàmbí	yàmbè-	gǐn-ó: yàmb-é: yàmb-ó:	gǐn-ô: yàmb-ê: yàmb-ô:
c.	‘scrub’	túgújé	tùgùjè-	túgúj-é: túgúj-ó:	túgúj-è: túgúj-ò:
	‘be born’	nàlí-yé	nàlí-yè-	nàlí-y-é: nàlí-y-ó:	nàlí-y-è: nàlí-y-ò:
	‘rinse self’	sámbílí-yé	sámbíli-yè-	sámbílí-y-é: sámbílí-y-ó:	sámbílí-y-è: sámbílí-y-ò:
d.	‘bring’	jê:	jê:-	j-ê: j-ô:	j-ê: j-ô:
	‘arrive’	dwê:	dwê:-	dw-ê: d-ô:	dw-ê: d-ô:
	‘find’	đínê:	đínê:-	đín-ê: đín-ô:	đín-ê: đín-ô:

Textual examples of **subject participles** are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. táwè dùmí-y-ó: òndú-Ø
 maybe get-MP-Perf-PplS.InanSg.O not.be-3Sg
 ‘Basically nothing was gained.’ (dùmí-yé)
 (lit. “Maybe [what was gained] does not exist.”)
- b. [[ó bà] [ó nàl-é: mó]]
 [[2SgP father.L] [2SgO bear.child.Perf-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg]]
 ó kélà-Ø
 2SgO not.want-3SgS
 ‘your father who bore (= sired) you doesn’t want/love you.’ (2005-1a) (nál)
- c. [já: jàng-é: mó yà:]
 [yesterday begin.Perf-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg Foc]
 kúmbí-y jà-mb-è:
 keep-MP can-Impf-Ppl.Foc
 ‘(Only) one who began yesterday (= in the past) [focus] can maintain them.’ (2005-1a)

14.3.2 Participle of Perfective Negative verb (-l-α:)

In this participle, the stem is segmentally identical to the inflectable Perfective Negative with suffix *-l-*. This is followed by agreement suffixes *-e:* and *-o:*. For humans, *-e:* is singular and *-o:* plural. In the non-subject participles, the entire word is low-toned. In the subject participles, the suffix is high-toned, and the stem is high-toned except that lexically {LH} stems of two or more syllables have a low-toned stem-initial syllable, and monosyllabic stems that have low tone before Perfective Negative *-l-* in the inflectable paradigm (realized as rising tone on the stem before the vowelless 3Sg *-l-∅*) retain this low tone in the participle.

(xx1)	gloss	Perfective Negative		participle
		subject	non-subject	
a.	‘come’	wò-l-	wò-l-é: wò-l-ó:	wò-l-è: wò-l-ò:
	‘see’	yà:-l-	yà:-l-é: yà:-l-ó:	yà:-l-è: yà:-l-ò:
b.	‘slaughter’	sémá-l-	sémá-l-é: sémá-l-ó:	sèmà-l-è: sèmà-l-ò:
	‘leave’	dògá-l-	dògá-l-é: dògá-l-ó:	dògà-l-è: dògà-l-ò:
c.	‘scrub’	túgújá-l-	túgújá-l-é: túgújá-l-ó:	tùgùjà-l-è: tùgùjà-l-ò:
	‘be born’	nàlí-yá-l-	nàlí-yá-l-é: nàlí-yá-l-ó:	nàlí-yà-l-è: nàlí-yà-l-ò:
	‘rinse self’	sámbíli-yá-l-	sámbíli-yá-l-é: sámbíli-yá-l-ó:	sàmbíli-yà-l-è: sàmbíli-yà-l-ò:

Textual examples of **subject participles** are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [gàjí dùmá-l-é: mó là]
 [snatch obtain-PerfNeg-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg also]
 [ànné yà:] ñngì-yá-m̀
 [how Foc] stand-MP-Fut.3SgS
 ‘(Any-)one who has not gotten (something) to appropriate for himself, he for his part, how will he stop (= end up)?’ (2005.1a)

- b. *jáŋgà* *kána-l-é:*,
 study do-PerfNeg-PplS.AnSg,
[kòŋgò mó t̥gà-ŋgà] *pàlá-Ø*
 [thing.L 3SgS know-Pres.PplNS] be.small-3SgS
 ‘One who does not study (= go to school), the thing that he/she
 knows is small.’ (2005-1a)

14.3.3 Participle of Present verb (-ŋgà)

As an inflected stem, the Present has suffix *-njò-* plus pronominal-subject suffix. In the participle, *-njò-* is replaced by a suffix *-ŋgà-*. The verb has the A/O stem in both the inflected paradigm and the participles. The participle does not agree with the E or O class of the head NP. However, for human (and other animate) head NPs, the Plural suffix *-mbò* is added after the *-ŋgà-* suffix. The **subject and non-subject Present participles are identical** (tonally as well as segmentally).

This participle occurs in two tonal variants, one with **all-low tones**, and the other with the typical **((X))H...(L) stem-tone contour** also found in the inflectable Present with suffix *-njò-*. There may be subtle differences in usage, but I have not been able to distinguish the meanings. Both variant tone contours are distinguishable from the contour of the corresponding Future participles, which always have rising tone on the final stem-syllable.

The variants with all-low tones are illustrated in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	Present	participle simple	participle with Pl <i>-mbò</i>
a.	‘come’ ‘see’	<i>wó-njò-</i> <i>yá-njò-</i>	<i>wò-ŋgà</i> <i>yà-ŋgà</i>	<i>wò-ŋgà-mbò</i> <i>yà-ŋgà-mbò</i>
b.	‘slaughter’ ‘leave’	<i>sémà-njò-</i> <i>dógà-njò-</i>	<i>sèmà-ŋgà</i> <i>dògà-ŋgà</i>	<i>sèmà-ŋgà-mbò</i> <i>dògà-ŋgà-mbò</i>
c.	‘scrub’ ‘be born’ ‘rinse self’	<i>tùgùjà-njò-</i> <i>nàlí-yá-njò-</i> <i>sámǐlí-yà-njò-</i>	<i>tùgùjà-ŋgà</i> <i>nàlí-yà-ŋgà</i> <i>sámǐlí-yà-ŋgà</i>	<i>tùgùjà-ŋgà-mbò</i> <i>nàlí-yà-ŋgà-mbò</i> <i>sámǐlí-yà-ŋgà-mbò</i>

The variants with ((X))H...(L) stem-tone contour are illustrated in (xx2).

(xx2)	gloss	Present	participle
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		simple	with Pl -mbò
a.	‘come’ ‘see’	wó-njò- yá-njò-	wó-ηgà yá-ηgà
		wó-ηgà yá-ηgà	wó-ηgà-mbò yá-ηgà-mbò
b.	‘slaughter’ ‘leave’	sémà-njò- dógà-njò-	sémà-ηgà dógà-ηgà
		sémà-ηgà dógà-ηgà	sémà-ηgà-mbò dógà-ηgà-mbò
c.	‘scrub’ ‘be born’ ‘rinse self’	túgújà-njò- nàlí-yá-njò- sámbíli-yà-njò-	túgújà-ηgà nàlí-yà-ηgà sámbíli-yà-ηgà
		túgújà-ηgà nàlí-yà-ηgà sámbíli-yà-ηgà	túgújà-ηgà-mbò nàlí-yà-ηgà-mbò sámbíli-yà-ηgà-mbò

Textual examples are in (xx3). All-low tones are seen in (xx3.b-d). An example with ((X))H...(L) stem-tone contour is (xx3.a).

- (xx3) a. [[ó kǐ:] mà:mǐ-n] mà] bǐrò:
 [[2SgP head.L] ability] in] work(noun).L
 ó bírà-ηgà
 2SgS work-**Pres.PplNS**
 ‘the work that you perform within your own capabilities’ (2005-1a)
- b. bǐrò: ó bírà-ηgà dǐndǐ,
 work(noun).L 2SgS work-**Pres.PplNS** all,
 [[bíró: ó gò kó] bǎy nè]
 [[work(noun) 2SgP Poss Def.InanSg.O] learn Adv.SS]
 bírá
 work.Imprt
 ‘(In) every job that you do, learn your work and do (it).’
- c. ó ìndò-ηgà
 2SgS go-**Pres.PplNS**
 ‘(the place) where you-Sg are going’ (2005-1a)
- d. [[něy-ηgò kó]
 [[good-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
 [[gǐr mà] ìndò-ηgà kó]
 [[front in] go-**Pres.PplS** Def.InanSg.O]
 ‘the good (thing), (the one) that goes forward’ (2005-1a)

14.3.4 Participle of Future verb (-*ngà*)

The regular inflected form of the Future verb has 3Sg suffix *-m̀*, and other pronominal-subject forms are based on *-mbó-* (*sèmá-m̀* ‘he/she will slaughter’, *sèmà-mbó-m̀* ‘I will slaughter’). The corresponding participle replaces these suffixes with **suffix** *-ngà-*. The preceding stem has a final rising-toned syllable, all preceding stem tones being low, just as in the inflectable Future stem. The high tone element is realized on the nasal of *-ngà-*. There is no change from subject to non-subject participles. For human (and animate) plural head NP, Plural *-mbo* is added (*-ngà-mbò*).

The Future participle is **segmentally identical to the Present participle**, and differs only in the tone contour of the stem.

(xx1)	gloss	Future (3Sg)	participle simple	participle with Pl <i>-mbò</i>
a.	‘come’ ‘see’	<i>wǒ-m̀</i> <i>yǎ-m̀</i>	<i>wǒ-ngà</i> <i>yǎ-ngà</i>	<i>wǒ-ngà-mbò</i> <i>yǎ-ngà-mbò</i>
b.	‘slaughter’ ‘leave’	<i>sèmá-m̀</i> <i>dògá-m̀</i>	<i>sèmǎ-ngà</i> <i>dògǎ-ngà</i>	<i>sèmǎ-ngà-mbò</i> <i>dògǎ-ngà-mbò</i>
c.	‘scrub’ ‘be born’ ‘rinse self’	<i>tùgùjá-m̀</i> <i>nàlí-yá-m̀</i> <i>sàmbìlí-yá-m̀</i>	<i>tùgùjá-ngà</i> <i>nàlí-yǎ-ngà</i> <i>sàmbìlí-yǎ-ngà</i>	<i>tùgùjá-ngà-mbò</i> <i>nàlí-yǎ-ngà-mbò</i> <i>sàmbìlí-yǎ-ngà-mbò</i>

The Future participle is used in the ‘(know) what to VERB’ construction (xx2).

(xx2)	<i>mí</i>	<i>kànǎ-ngà</i>	<i>éndà:-m</i>
	1SgS	do-Fut.Ppl	not.know-1SgS
	‘I don’t know what to do.’		

For a different construction meaning ‘(know) where to go/come’, see §10.5.4.

Textual examples are in (xx3). Further examples are in the section on ‘before ...’ adverbial clauses (§15.2.3.5).

(xx3)	a.	<i>[íyó [í gǐ] kòngò gò-mǒ-ngà]</i>	<i>éndà:-m</i>
		[today [1Pl Acc]thing.L go.out-Caus-Fut.PplS]	not.know-1SgS

‘I don’t know any (other) thing that will get us out nowadays.’
(2005-1a)

- b. [yè dī⇒n] nèn,
 [InanPl.L all] for,
 nĩ: bǎl mòmǎ-ŋgà mó↑,
 mother gather assemble-**Fut.PplS** Def.AnSg,
 [ándàl kó]=ý
 [knowledge Def.InanSg.O]=it.is
 ‘for all those (things), the mother (= chief) that will gather (them)
 and put (them) together is knowledge.’ (2005-1a)

14.3.5 Participle of Present Negative verb (-nd-à:)

The participle corresponding to Present Negative **-ndí-** is segmentally identical to the participle corresponding to Future Negative **-ndĩ-**, just as the regular inflected conjugations of the two categories are segmentally identical. Again it is tones that distinguish the two.

In the participle, the stem has a **((X))H...(L)** contour, similar but not quite identical to the (X)H...L that the has in its inflected Present Negative paradigm. The difference between the stem tone contour in the inflected and participial forms is that the final low tone is not obligatorily expressed in the participle (i.e. it does not occur in Cv- or Cwv- monosyllabics). The reason for this is presumably that in the participles the suffix itself is low-toned rather than high-toned, so a final low-tone element in the stem can simply merge with the low tone of the suffix.

For subject relatives, the participial ending is **-é:** or **-ó:** depending on agreement. For non-subject relatives, the ending is **-è:** or **-ò:**.

(xx1)	gloss	Present Negative	participle	
			subject	non-subject
a.	‘come’	wô-ndí-	wô-nd-é: wô-nd-ó:	wó-nd-è: wó-nd-ò:
	‘see’	yâ-ndĩ-	yâ-nd-é: yâ-nd-ó:	yá-nd-è: yá-nd-ò:
b.	‘slaughter’	sémà-ndí-	sémà-nd-é: sémà-nd-ó:	sémà-nd-è: sémà-nd-ò:
	‘leave’	dógà-ndí-	dógà-nd-é: dógà-nd-ó:	dógà-nd-è: dógà-nd-ò:

14.3.6 Participle of Future Negative verb (-nd-à:)

The participles are based on the inflected Future Negative with low-toned suffix **-ndi-** following a verb with L...H tones. The participles end in **-è:** and **-ò:** for both subject and non-subject.

For both of my assistants, in positive participles the stem has the same tone contour (L...H) as in the inflected Future Negative. That is, an initial low tone and a stem-final (presuffixal) high tone are obligatory, with any remaining medial syllables being low tones (monosyllabic R, bisyllabic LH, trisyllabic LLH, etc.). This tone contour insures that the Future Negative participle is tonally distinguishable from the Present Negative participle.

One assistant consistently gave the same forms (including tone contour) for the non-subject participles as for the subject participles. In particular, the stem-final high tone element was always audible. In this system, all Future Negative participles are clearly distinguishable from Present Negative participles, but at the cost of sacrificing an audible distinction between subject and non-subject Future Negative participles.

The second assistant, in elicitation, sometimes gave non-subject Future Negative participles identical to the corresponding subject participles, like the first assistant. I therefore take this pattern to be predominant. However, on other occasions his non-subject Future Negative participles had all-low tones. In this latter pattern, the distinction between subject and non-subject Future Negative participles is audibly expressed, but at the cost of merging the non-subject Future Negative participles with the non-subject Present Negative participles, which are also all-low toned. This neutralization of categories cannot be recovered (by the listener) from other clues in the relative clause.

I think it likely that this reflects leakage from Present Negative to Future Negative, which have considerable semantic overlap (the Future is often used in Najamba to make general statements). Especially given the subtlety of the tonal distinctions, some confusion in direct elicitation (using French cues) is not surprising. Therefore the tables in (xx1) are based on the pattern, which I take to be basic, where subject and non-subject Future Negative participles are identical in form, having the stem-final high tone.

(xx1)	gloss	Future Negative	participle	
			subject	non-subject
a.	‘come’	wǒ-ndi-	wǒ-nd-è: wǒ-nd-ò:	wǒ-nd-è: wǒ-nd-ò:
	‘see’	yǎ-ndi-	yǎ-nd-è: yǎ-nd-ò:	yǎ-nd-è: yǎ-nd-ò:

b.	‘slaughter’	sèmǎ-ndĩ-	sèmǎ-nd-è: sèmǎ-nd-ò:	sèmǎ-nd-è: sèmǎ-nd-ò:
	‘leave’	dògǎ-ndĩ-	dògǎ-nd-è: dògǎ-nd-ò:	dògǎ-nd-è: dògǎ-nd-ò:
c.	‘scrub’	tùgùjǎ-ndĩ-	tùgùjǎ-nd-è: tùgùjǎ-nd-ò:	tùgùjǎ-nd-è: tùgùjǎ-nd-ò:
	‘be born’	nàlǐ-yǎ-ndĩ-	nàlǐ-yǎ-nd-è: nàlǐ-yǎ-nd-ò:	nàlǐ-yǎ-nd-è: nàlǐ-yǎ-nd-ò:
	‘rinse self’	sàmbǐlǐ-yǎ-ndĩ-	sàmbǐlǐ-yǎ-nd-è: sàmbǐlǐ-yǎ-nd-ò:	sàmbǐlǐ-yǎ-nd-è: sàmbǐlǐ-yǎ-nd-ò:

The identity of subject and non-subject participles is illustrated in (xxx.a-b), where the participle is *tùgùjǎ-nd-ò:* (note the stem-final high tone) in both cases.

- (xxx) a.. *nò-mbò* [sò-ŋgó *kó*
 person-Pl.L [garment-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
tùgùjǎ-nd-ò: *bé*
 scrub-FutNeg-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘people who will not scrub the garment’
- b. *sò-ŋgò* *mí* *tùgùjǎ-nd-ò:* *kó*
 garment-InanSg.O 1SgS scrub-FutNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the garment that I will not scrub’

As in these examples, there are usually clues elsewhere in the relative clause that allow the listener to correctly construe the syntax. For example, the presence of a pre-participial pronominal subject (1Sg) in (xxx.b) is sufficient to recognize a non-subject relative clause. Of course, selectional restrictions on subjects and objects are also helpful when the verb is e.g. ‘slaughter’, ‘eat’, ‘chop’, ‘cook’, or the like.

14.3.7 Participle of Progressive Negative verb (-*ŋjo-nd-α:*)

The participle is closely related to the regular inflectable stem of this category, which ends in *-ŋjò-ndĩ-*. In the subject participle, the stem has the same tone contour as in the inflected forms, and the Participial suffix is *-é:* or *-ó:* depending on agreement. The non-subject forms are segmentally identical but are all-low toned.

(xx1)	gloss	Progressive Negative subject	participle non-subject	
a.	‘come’	wó-njò-ndí-	wó-njò-nd-é: wó-njò-nd-ó:	wò-njò-nd-è: wò-njò-nd-ò:
	‘see’	yá-njò-ndí-	yá-njò-nd-é: yá-njò-nd-ó:	yà-njò-nd-è: yà-njò-nd-ò:
b.	‘slaughter’	sémà-njò-ndí-	sémà-njò-nd-é: sémà-njò-nd-ó:	sèmà-njò-nd-è: sèmà-njò-nd-ò:
	‘leave’	dógà-njò-ndí-	dógà-njò-nd-é: dógà-njò-nd-ó:	dògà-njò-nd-è: dògà-njò-nd-ò:
c.	‘scrub’	túgújà-njò-ndí-	túgújà-njò-nd-é: túgújà-njò-nd-ó:	tùgùjà-njò-nd-è: tùgùjà-njò-nd-ò:
	‘be born’	nàlí-yà-njò-ndí-	nàlí-yà-njò-nd-é: nàlí-yà-njò-nd-ó:	nàfi-yà-njò-nd-è: nàfi-yà-njò-nd-ò:
	‘rinse self’	sàmbìlí-yá-njò-ndí-	sàmbìlí-yà-njò-nd-é: sàmbìlí-yà-njò-nd-ó:	sàmbìlí-njò-nd-è: sàmbìlí-njò-nd-ò:

14.3.8 Participle of Perfect verb (jògâ:-)

The inflectable Perfect construction (‘have VP-ed’) involves an inflected form of either *jò-* or *jògâ:-* (§10.xxx).

Participles based on *jògâ:-* are illustrated in (xx1). In the subject participles, the main verb has its usual chaining form with lexical tones, e.g. {LH} for ‘get up’ (xx1.a-b). In the non-subject participles, **both the participle *jògâ:-* and the main verb have low tones** (xx1.c).

(xx1)	a.	èndè: child.L	bèlí-yé get.up-MP	jòg-â: Perfect-PplS	mó Def.AnSg
		‘the child who has already gotten up’			
	b.	òndè: child.L	bèlí-yé get.up-MP	jòg-â:-mbò Perfect-PplS-Pl	bé Def.AnPl
		‘the children who have already gotten up’			

- c. wàkàfì [òndô: bé] bèfi-yè
 time.L [child.Pl Def.AnPl] **get.up-MP.L**
 jòg-à: ké
Perfect-PplNS Def.InanSg.E
 ‘the time when the children have already gotten up’

Textual examples are in (xx2). (xx2.a) is the regular construction as described above. (xx2.b) is an example of a distinct construction where the verb *há:né* ‘ought’ and the participle *jòg-â:* retain their tones, and the participle is optionally followed by the ‘it is’ clitic *≡ȳ* (in this particular example the option is not exercised).

- (xx1) a. [ó gàn jòg-â: ðin]
 [2SgS **put.in.L** **Perfect-PplNS** all]
 ‘everything you-Sg have put in’ (2005-1a)
- b. [[òlè-bàndí má] kán-lé há:né jòg-â:]
 [[house.L-behind in] do-VblN ought **Perfect-PplNS**]
kánà-mb-à: ≡ȳ ≡bè-∅,
 do-Impf-Pass = it.is = Past-3SgS
 [[sònjò: kùl] mà] kán-lé há:nè jòg-â:]
 [[village inside.L] in] do-VblN ought **Perfect-PplNS**]
kánà-mb-â: ≡ȳ ≡bè-∅ [búndán má]
 do-Impf-Pass = it.is = Past-3SgS [open.space in]
 ‘what one was supposed to do behind (= at the edge of) the village, it used to be done (thus), (and) what one was supposed to do inside the village, it used to be done at the open space.’ (2005-1a)

14.3.9 Participle of Past verb (≡b-è:, ≡b-ò:)

A verb form that ends in the **Past morpheme** *≡bè-* or its negation *≡bǎ-l* (*/≡bà-lí/*) in a main clause corresponds to a participle with *≡b-ě:* or *≡b-ǒ:* in the positive subject participle, and with *≡b-è:* or *≡b-ò:* in the positive non-subject participle. The **negative** counterparts have *≡bà-l-é:* or *≡bà-l-ó:* (subject relative), or *≡bà-l-è:* or *≡bà-l-ò:* (non-subject relative), but in some combinations the positive participles of *≡bè-* are added to an already negated verb. The final vowel variation follows the usual rules for agreement classes.

14.3.9.1 *Participle of Past Imperfective (positive and negative)*

The Past Imperfective contains *-m* as a kind of Imperfective morpheme, plus the Past clitic (§10.3.1.3).

Positive subject participles are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. *nò:* *ḡḡin* *bírà-m=b-ě:* *mó*
 person.L here work-Impf=Past-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who used to work here.’
- b. *nò-mbò* *ḡḡin* *bírà-m=b-ě:* *bé*
 person-Pl.L here work-Impf=Past-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who used to work here.’

Negative subject participles are illustrated in in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. *nò:* *ḡḡú* *kánà-m=bà-l-é:* *mó*
 person.L Prox.InanSg.O do-Impf=Past-Neg-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who didn’t use to do that’
- b. *nò-mbò* *ḡḡú* *kánà-m=bà-l-ó:*
 person-Pl.L Prox.InanSg.O do-Impf=Past-Neg-PplS.AnPl
bé
 Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who didn’t use to do that’

Positive non-subject relatives are illustrated in (xx3).

- (xx3) a. *[[i ḡwà-m=b-è:* *ké]* *mà]*
 [[1PIS hear-Impf=Past-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.Inan.Sg.E] in]
gwè-Ø
 go.out.Perf-3SgS
 ‘It (=Najamba community) has left (=ceased to practice) what we
 (=young people) used to hear about.’ (2005-1a)
- b. *[sà:ḡí-mbó nò:y tà:ndi:]*
 [month-Pl two three]
ó *kwà-m=b-ò:* *kó*
 2SgS eat-Impf=Past-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O
 ‘(They now eat in one day) what you-Sg used to eat in two or three
 months.’ (2005-1a)

- c. [bíró: nǎ: yàli: é gòlà-m=b-è:
 [work(noun) yesterday field.L 2PIS farm-Impf=**Past-Ppl.InanSg.E**
 dīn] [gòlé kǐrè-y↑]
 all] [farm(verb) complete.Perf-1PIS
 ‘(For) every field that you-Pl did farm work on in the past, we-Pl
 completed the farming.’ (2005-1a)

Negative non-subject relatives are in (xx4).

- (xx4) a. í
 1PIS
 kwà-m=bà-l-è:=b-è:
 eat-Impf=**Past-PerfNeg-PplNS.InanSg.E=Past-Ppl.InanSg.E**
 ké
 Def.InanSg.E
 ‘what we didn’t use to eat’
- b. kòngò í
 thing.L 1PIS
 kànà-m=bà-l-ò:=b-ò:
 do-Impf=**Past-PerfNeg-PplNS.InanSg.O=Past-Ppl.InanSg.O**
 kó
 Def.InanSg.O
 ‘the thing that we didn’t use to do’

14.3.9.2 Participle of Future-in-Past

The Future-in-Past form is segmentally identical to the Past Imperfective, but it has the characteristic Future stem-tone contour with a single final H-tone (§10.3.1.4).

Below are relatives containing, respectively, a positive subject participle (xx1.a), a positive non-subject participle (xx1.b), a negative subject participle (xx1.c), and a negative non-subject participle (xx1.d).

- (xx1) a. nò: màmlí-yá-m=b-ě: mó
 person.L go.back-MP-Fut=**Past-PplS.AnSg** Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who was going to go back’
- b. dèhàn mó màmlí-yá-m=b-è: ké
 day.L 3SgS go.back-MP-Fut=**Past-PplNS.InanSg.E** Def.InanSg.E
 ‘the day (when) he/she was going to go back.’

- c. *nò:* *màmǐlǐ-yá-m=bà-l-é:=b-ě:* *mó*
 person.L go.back-MP-Fut=Past-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who was not going to go back’
- d. *dèngàn mó* *màmǐlǐ-yá-m=bà-l-é:=b-ě:* *ké*
 day.L 3SgS go.back-MP-Fut=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
 ‘the day (when) he/she was not going to go back.’

14.3.9.3 *Participle of Past Perfect (positive and negative)*

The Past Perfect (§10.3.1.5) is formed by adding the Past clitic to the chaining form of the verb. The relatives below have, respectively, a positive subject participle (xx1.a), a positive non-subject participle (xx1.b), a negative subject participle (xx1.c), and a negative non-subject participle (xx1.d).

- (xx1) a. *nò:* *màmǐlǐ-yé=b-ě:* *mó*
 person.L go.back-MP=Past-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who had gone back’
- b. *dèngàn mó* *màmǐlǐ-yè=b-è:* *ké*
 day.L 3SgS go.back-MP=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
 ‘the day (when) he/she had gone back.’
- c. *nò:* *màmǐlǐ-yá-l-é:=b-ě:*
 person.L go.back-MP-PerfNeg-PplS.AnSg=Past-PplS.AnSg
mó
 Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who had not gone back’
- d. *dèngàn mó* *màmǐlǐ-yá-m=bá-l-é:=b-è:* *ké*
 day.L 3SgS go.back-MP=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
 ‘the day (when) he/she had not gone back.’

Two **positive non-subject participles** occur in the textual example (xxx). Note that this particular participle type is entirely low-toned. The speaker’s point is that one can reverse the ends of a blanket without affecting its functionality.

- (xx1) *[sò-ngò]-yámbú:* *kày,*
 [fabric-InanSg.O]-covering Top,

[[[nǎ: ó gòrè=b-è: kɛ́ gǐ]
 [[[foot 2SgS stretch.Perf=**Past-Ppl**.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc
 bǐndí nɛ̀] ... [[kí: gèndè] tíŋá-ndí jà-mb-ò:↑],
 turn Adv.SS] ... [[head beside] pass-Caus can-Impf-2SgS],
 [[[kí: ó tùŋgè=b-è:] gèndè],
 [[[head 2SgS rest.head.Perf=**Past-Ppl**.InanSg.E] beside],
 bǐndí nɛ̀] [[nǎ: gèndè] tíŋá-ndí jà-mb-ò:]
 turn Adv.SS] [[foot beside] pass-Caus can-Impf-2SgS]

‘As for a blanket, having turned (= shifted) the part (= edge of the blanket) where you had (previously) stretched out your legs, you can pass (= shift) it toward the (= your) head, (and) if you turn (= shift) (the part) where (= under which) you had (previously) laid down your head, you can pass (= shift) it toward the (= your) feet.’ (2005-1a)

14.3.10 Participle of defective stative verbs and quasi-verbs

Positive statives like *tígà:-* ‘know’ have two alternative participial formations. One is equivalent to the **Present participle** of regular verbs, with suffix *-ŋgà*, as in *tígà-ŋgà*, human (and animate) plural *tígà-ŋgà-mbò*. As usual for Present participles, all tones are low, and there is no difference between subject and non-subject participles.

- (xx1) a. *nò-mbò* *tígà-ŋgà-mbò* *bé*
 person-Pl.L know.L-Pres.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who know’
- b. *kòŋgò* *mí* *tígà-ŋgà* *kó*
 thing.L 1SgS know.L-Pres.Ppl Def.InanSgO
 ‘the thing (= what) I know’

A fuller list of *-ŋgà* participles from statives and quasi-verbs is in (xx2). *jógò-* ‘have’ loses its second stem syllable in the participle.

(xx2)	gloss	inflected form	participle	Animate Plural participle
	‘be’	<i>bò-</i>	<i>bò-ŋgà</i>	<i>bò-ŋgà-mbò</i>
	‘can, be able’	<i>jà-</i>	<i>jà-ŋgà</i>	<i>jà-ŋgà-mbò</i>
	‘have’	<i>jógò-</i>	<i>jò-ŋgà</i>	<i>jò-ŋgà-mbò</i>
	‘know’	<i>tígà-</i>	<i>tígà-ŋgà</i>	<i>tígà-ŋgà-mbò</i>
	‘be sitting’	<i>òbò-</i>	<i>òbò-ŋgà</i>	<i>òbò-ŋgà-mbò</i>
	‘want’	<i>kíyò-</i>	<i>kíyò-ŋgà</i>	<i>kíyò-ŋgà-mbò</i>

The alternative is a participle constructed by **adding the long-vowel agreement suffixes directly to the stem**. Morphologically, this formation is akin to the Perfective Participle of regular verbs. The forms are in (xx3). I was unable to elicit forms of this type for ‘can, be able’.

(xx3)	gloss	inflected form	participle	
			subject	non-subject
‘be’		bò-	b-é:	b-ê:
			b-ó:	b-ô:
‘have’		jógò-	jóg-è:	jòg-è:
			jóg-ò:	jòg-ò:
‘know’		tígà-	tíg-è:	tǐg-è:
			tíg-ò:	tǐg-ò:
‘be sitting’		òbò-	ób-è:	òb-è:
			ób-ò:	òb-ò:
‘want’		kíyò-	kíy-è:	kìy-è:
			kíy-ò:	kìy-ò:

The essential interchangeability of the two participial types is exemplified by (xx4.a-b).

- (xx4) a. nò: [mí gǐ] tíg-è: mó
 person.L [1Sg Obj] know-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who knows me’
- b. nò: [mí gǐ] tǐgà-ngà mó
 person.L [1Sg Obj] know-Pres.Ppl Def.AnSg
 ‘the person who knows me’

The participles of **bò-** ‘be’ are also used in the periphrastic positive **Progressive**. Here (as in English) the simple inflected forms are of the type **bíró: bírà-mbò b-ò-m** ‘I am working’, with the uninflectable Progressive suffix **-mbò** on the semantically substantive verb, followed by the inflected form of **bò-** ‘be’. The corresponding **Progressive participle** is based on the participial forms of **bò-**, i.e. **b-è-ngà** or one from the set {**b-é: b-ó: b-è: b-ò:**).

- (xx5) a. wàgàtí bíró: bírà-mbò mí b-è-ngà òm
 time.L work(noun) work-**Prog** 1SgS **be**-Pres.Ppl all
 ‘any time when I am working’

- b. *nò-mbò* *bíró:* *bírà-mbò* *bò-ṅgà-mbò* *bé*
 person-Pl.L work(noun) work-**Prog** **be**-Pres.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who are working’
- c. *nò-mbò* *bíró:* *bírà-mbò* *b-ó:* *bé*
 person-Pl.L work(noun) work-**Prog** **be**-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who are working’

Negatives of ‘have’ and of stative stance verbs such as ‘be sitting’ have inflected forms based on **Stative Negative -ndí-** after low-toned stem (*jògò-ndí* ‘he doesn’t have’, *òbò-ndí* ‘he is not sitting’). The corresponding participles are subject *-nd-é:* or *-nd-ó:*, non-subject *-nd-è:* or *-nd-ò:*, after the same low-toned stem (e.g. *jògò-nd-é:*, *ògò-nd-é:*).

The suppletive negative quasi-verb ‘not be’ is *òndí* (or *òndú*). Its participles have long-vowel agreement suffixes: subject participle *ònd-é:* or *ònd-ó:*, non-subject participle *ònd-è:* or *ònd-ò:*. Since *òndí* (*òndú*) is also used in the Progressive Negative (after an verb with uninflectable Progressive suffix *-mbò*), these participles are also used in the Progressive Negative participle.

- (xx6) a. *[[sònjò: kùl] mà] nò-mbò* *ònd-ó:* *bé*
 [[village inside.L]in] person-Pl.L **not.be**-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who are not in the village’
- b. *nò-mbò* *bíró:* *bírà-mbò* *ònd-ó:* *bé*
 person-Pl.L work(noun) work-**Prog not.be**-PplS.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who are not working’

A fuller set of participles from **suppletive negative statives** is in (xxx). Observe that ‘not know’ and ‘not want’ have {e o} vocalism in the participles, versus {e o} vocalism in the inflected stem, while ‘not be’ is {e o} in both. The subject participles have a high tone, while the nonsubject participles are all-low toned.

(xxx)	gloss	inflected	subject	nonsubject
‘not be’		<i>òndú-</i>	<i>ònd-é:</i> <i>ònd-ó:</i>	<i>ònd-è:</i> <i>ònd-ò:</i>
‘not know’		<i>éndà-</i>	<i>énd-è:</i> <i>énd-ò:</i>	<i>ènd-è:</i> <i>ènd-ò:</i>
‘not want’		<i>kélà-</i>	<i>kél-è:</i> <i>kél-ò:</i>	<i>kèl-è:</i> <i>kèl-ò:</i>

Examples with participles of ‘not know’ and ‘not want’ are in (xxx).

- (xxx) a. **nò-mbò** **énd-ò:** **bé**
 person-Pl.L **not.know-PplS.AnPl** Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who do not know’
- b. **nò-mbò** **kél-ò:** **bé**
 person-Pl.L **not.want-PplS.AnPl** Def.AnPl
 ‘the people who do not want’
- c. [**mó** **nò:** **kèl-è:**] **òndú-Ø**
 [3SgS person.L not.want-Ppl.AnSg] not.be-3SgS
 ‘There is nobody whom he dislikes more.’ (2005-1a)

14.3.11 Participle of ‘it is’ (=y) and ‘it is not’ (=lá) clitics

There is no participle based on the positive ‘it is’ clitic =y (and allomorphs). For singular reference, instead of saying e.g. ‘(the) one who is a dog’, one simply says ‘a/the dog’. However, one can work around this with a periphrasis when a universal quantifier is added. In this case, the ‘it is’ expression in its normal form is followed by particle *gà* (elsewhere a Topic particle, but also used at the end of factive complements), then by a participle based on *bò-* ‘be’.

- (xx1) a. **nò:** **púlàndê:=y** **gà** **bò-ŋgà** **ďin**
 person Fulbe.Sg=**it.is** **Top** be-Stat.**Ppl** **all**
 ‘any person who is a Fulbe’
- b. **nò-mbò** **púlàndô:=y** **gà** **bò-ŋgà-mbò** **ďin**
 person-Pl.L Fulbe.Pl=**it.is** **Top** be-Stat.**Ppl-Pl** **all**
 ‘any people who are Fulbe’

A participle can be formed from the ‘it is not’ clitic =lá. The participial form is =l-è:. Compare the examples below with e.g. *öm púlàndê:=lá-Ø* ‘this one is not a Fulbe’.

- (xx2) a. **nò:** **púlàndê:=l-è:** **ďin**
 person.L Fulbe.Sg=**it.is.not** all
 ‘any person who is not a Fulbe’
- b. **nò-mbò** **púlàndû:=l-à:** **ďin**
 person.L Fulbe.Sg=**it.is.not** all

already been described, but for each type it is useful to see examples showing how the pieces combine.

14.4.1 Subject relative clause

The subject NP (as relative head) undergoes tone-dropping, indicated by “.L” in interlinear. There is no pronominal subject marking (there is always at least an understood head NP). The verb has participial form, agreeing with the head. A Definite determiner or ‘all’ quantifier follows the participle, agreeing with the head. Other complements and adverbials have their regular main-clause form and precede the participle.

- (xxx) a. ànè w-é: mó
 man.L come.Perf-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg
 ‘the man who came’
- b. ànè wò-ηgà mó
 man.L come-Pres.Ppl Def.AnSg
 ‘the man who comes’
- c. ànè wò-ηgà-∅ mó
 man.L come-Fut.Ppl Def.AnSg
 ‘the man who will come’
- d. ànè [mí gǐ] tígà-ηgà-∅
 man.L [1Sg Acc] know-Impf-Ppl.AnSg
 ‘the man who knows me’
- e. ànè [mí gǐ] énd-è:
 man.L [1Sg Acc] not.know-Ppl.anSg
 ‘the man who does not know me’
- f. cǐnù dèη-ó:
 rock.L fall.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
 ‘the rock that fell’
- g. cǐ-mbò dèη-ó:
 rock-Pl.L fall.Perf-Ppl.InanPl
 ‘the rocks that fell’
- h. tàηà dèη-é:

granary.L fall.Perf-Ppl.InanSg
 ‘the granary that fell’

i. *tàŋè* *dèŋ-é:*
 granary.Pl.L fall.Perf-Ppl.InanPl
 ‘the granaries that fell’

j. *ànè* *dèŋ-é:*
 man.L fall.Perf-Ppl.AnSg
 ‘the man who fell’

k. *ànà* *dèŋ-ó:*
 man.Pl.L fall.Perf-Ppl.AnPl
 ‘the men who fell’

14.4.2 Object relative clause

14.4.2.1 Ordinary object relative clause

The object NP undergoes tone-dropping. The subject, if pronominal, is expressed by an independent pronoun before the verb. The verb is a participle agreeing with the object NP (i.e. with the head). If definite, a Definite determiner follows the verb, agreeing in animacy, class, and number with the head NP.

In (xx1.a-d), the head is the animate noun ‘dog’ (or its plural).

- (xx1) a. *ŋgwè: mí dèŋj-è: mó*
 [dog.L 1SgS hit.Perf-PplNS.AnSg Def.AnSg]
 ‘the dog that I hit-Past.’
- b. *ŋgwè:-mbò mí dèŋj-ò: bé*
 [dog.Pl.L 1SgS hit.Perf-PplNS.AnPl Def.AnPl]
 ‘the dogs that I hit-Past.’
- c. *ŋgwè: mí dèŋjä-ŋgà mó*
 [dog.L 1SgS hit-Fut.Ppl Def.AnSg]
 ‘the dog that I will hit.’
- d. *ŋgwè:-mbò mí dèŋjä-ŋgà-mbò bé*
 [dog.Pl.L 1SgS hit-Fut.Ppl-Pl Def.AnPl]
 ‘the dogs that I will hit.’

NP (we really should also get *sár-ò:* in the second clause but there is an incantational quality to the "refrain" here which interferes with agreement switches).

- (xx1) a. *[[jěnjà kòŋgò jò:-l-ò:] gĩ],*
 [[God thing.L bring-PerfNeg-PplNS.InanSg.O] Acc],
tòmá í tún-ò:
 only 1PIS put.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O
 ‘a thing that God didn’t bring, that we we alone put (=brought)’
 (2005.2a)

- b. *[[í gĩ] tĩmè:*
 [[1Pl Acc] tree.Pl.L
bé sár-è: yé má,
 3PIS ask.Perf-**PplNS**.InanPl Def.InanPl and,
[kèbè-kèbè]-mbò [í gĩ]
 [beetle]-Pl.L [1Pl Acc]
bé sár-è: yé má,
 3PIS ask.Perf-**PplNS**.InanPl Def.InanPl and,
éyyô: kèrè-nàmâ:-mbò [í gĩ]
 yes bush-meat-Pl [1Pl Acc]
bé sár-ò: yé má,
 3PIS ask.Perf-**PplNS**.AnPl Def.InanPl and,
sò:mè [í gĩ]
 grass.Pl.L [1Pl Acc]
bé sár-è: yé má,
 3PIS ask.Perf-**PplNS**.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E and,
 ‘the trees that they have asked us (about), and the beetles that they have asked us (about), and the wild animals that they have asked us (about), and the plants that they asked us (about)’ (2005.1a)

14.4.2.2 ‘What is called “X”’

This construction involves the ‘say’ verb with suffix complex *-mb-à:*, which I take to be a participial (relative-clause) version of Present Passive *-mb-à:≡ŷ* (10.5.3). The tone contour and vocalism of the ‘say’ verb here are consistent with this morphological connection. Examples are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. *[ǒm yà:] [yógé kèjèmbèlè]*
 [Prox.AnSg Foc] [millet.Pl blister.beetle.L]
gínà-mb-à: mó≡ŷ

say-Pres-Pass.Ppl Near.AnSg=it.is
 ‘That (deictic) [focus] is what is called “millet’s blister beetle”’

- b. èbíyè yà: [yógé kèjèmbèl-mbò]
 [Prox.AnPl Foc] [millet.Pl blister.beetle.L]
 gínà-mb-à:-mbò bé=ý
 say-Pres-Pass.Ppl-Pl Near.AnSg=it.is
 ‘Those (deictic) are what are called “millet’s blister beetles”.’
- c. [kèjèmbèl gínà-mb-à: mój ên òndí-Ø]
 [blister.beetle say-Pres-Pass.Ppl Def.AnSg] here is.not-3SgS
 ‘What they call “blister beeter” isn’t (found) here.’

For other cases of participial *-mb-à:*, see the ‘water for drinking’ type compounds in §5.1.10.

14.4.3 Possessor relative clause

The possessor NP is treated like any other relativized NP. The possessor noun is tone-dropped. Interestingly, a tone-dropped possessor noun no longer forces the usual tone-dropping on the following possessed noun, which therefore reverts to its normal tones (as though unpossessed). For example, *kóngò* ‘thing’ and *bàrkè* ‘blessed state’ usually combine as *kóngò bàrkè* ‘the thing’s blessed state’. However, in (xx1.a) *kóngò* is relativized on and drops tones to *kòngò*, whereupon *bàrkè* reverts to its usual tones. (xx1.b) is a similar elicited example.

- (xx1) a. [kòngò bàrkè] ó kwè jòg-à: díndí
 [thing.L blessedness] 2SgS eat Perfect-PplNS all
 ‘any thing whose blessedness you have eaten’ (2005.1a.01)
- b. [nò: párngá] ó jàmìlè jòg-à: òn,
 [person.L donkey] 2SgS steal.L Perfect-PplNS all,
 [ó gǐ] òmbirá-m
 [2Sg Acc] pursue-Fut.3SgS
 ‘Any person whose donkey you have stolen will pursue you.’

14.5 PP relative clause

My assistant omitted simple postpositions (dative, instrumental) in examples like (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [gùlà: té: mí kóyò-ŋgà mó]
 [ax.L firewood 1SgS chop-Pres.Ppl Def.AnSg]
 ðìbè-Ø
 be.lost.Perf-3SgS
 ‘The ax with which I chop firewood has been lost.’
- b. [nò: ñgú mí gǐn-ê: mó] ñnè-Ø
 [person.L Dem 1SgS say.Perf-Ppl.AnSg Def.AnSg] go.Perf-3SgS
 ‘The person to whom I told this has gone.’
- c. [òlè mí nà=b-à: ké] ðɛŋè-Ø
 [house.L 1SgO bear=Past-Passive.Ppl Def.InanSg.E] fall.Perf-3SgS
 ‘The house where (= in which) I was born has fallen.’
- d. [jěnjà, ùsfɔ: nò: ñdé jòg-â: dǐndǐ],
 [God, road person.L give Perfect-Ppl all],
 ùsfɔ: ðùmè-Ø
 road get.Perf-3SgS
 ‘(If there is) someone to whom God has given the (correct) path,
 (then) he has gotten the (correct) path. (2005.1a)

Compare *gùlà: mà* ‘with (by means of) an ax’, *nò: mà* ‘to a person’ (dative), *ólé kùl mà* ‘in a house’.

The listener must use context to judge the exact grammatical function of the head NP in the examples in (xx1). The distinction between subject and non-subject participles is helpful in this regard. For example, in (xx1.b), the non-subject participle *gǐn-ê:* is a clue that excludes the reading ‘the person who told me this’, which would have *gǐn-ê:* with final high tone (it would also have 1Sg dative *mí mà*). Also relevant is the fact that the postposition *mà* is used in a variety of functions (dative, instrumental, locative, allative, ablative), so its omission in relative clauses is not as serious as it would be in a language that put greater functional load on postpositions.

With a more specific compound postposition that cannot be inferred from context, such as ‘under (which)’, my assistant produced (xx2). Here the head NP (‘tree’) has the usual low tone. The postposition, elsewhere low-toned (like a possessed noun), here allows its lexical tones to resurface. In other words, the usual tone-dropping required by the postpositional complement (i.e. possessor) is suspended.

- (xx2) [tǐmò: [dú: mà] bé b-ɔ̃: kó]
 [tree.L [under in] 3PIS be.Perf-Ppl.O Def.InanSg.O]

dɛŋɛ-∅

fall.Perf-3SgS

‘the tree under which they were has fallen.’

In effect, the compound postposition has become detached from the noun ‘tree’ and is expressed as an independent adverbial ‘underneath, below, at the bottom’. So this is best not considered to be a simple syntactic expression of a postpositional relative, rather as an alternative phrasing that gets around a structural problem in including a postposition.

15 Verb (VP) chaining and adverbial clauses

15.1 Chaining

15.1.1 Major types of verb and VP chains

15.1.1.1 Compound-like chains with bare verb stem and no linking morpheme

A subjectless VP, perhaps consisting solely of a verb, may be combined with a final (main) clause with fully inflected verb (xx1). In many cases this is the way to express a **complex but conceptually integrated** eventuality using two or more verbs. The nonfinal verbs in the chain have bare-stem form, with no overt subordinator. The subjects of the clauses are understood to be coindexed. The two verbs must be **directly adjacent** (except, in relative clauses, for a preparticipial subject pronominal) suggesting a kind of verb-verb compounding. Additional arguments may precede the chained verbs.

- (xx1) a. *dɛŋɛ* *tʃib-à:*
 fall die.Perf-3PlS
 ‘They fell and died.’ (= ‘They died by falling’)
- b. *kwé* *sɪnè-m*
 eat be.satisfied.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I got full eating.’ (= ‘I ate and my hunger was satisfied’)

15.1.1.2 Chains with *-mbò* ‘and (then)’

In this construction, the temporal clause is subjectless (i.e. like a gerund), and its verb ends in invariant *-mbò*. **This is not the Progressive suffix *-mbò*** that is used in the Progressive construction (§10.1.3.5), and in chains with progressive aspectual character (next section, below).

In the ‘and then’ construction, the stem preceding *-mbò* is segmentally identical to the **chaining form**, ending in /ɛ/, /e/ or /i/ (the latter is subject to syncope after an unclustered sonorant). The tone-contour formula for the stem is **(X)H...((L))**, hence H-tone for a monomoraic monosyllabic, lexical tones for a bimoraic stem, and lexical tones except for presuffixal L-tone for trisyllabic and longer stems. By contrast, Progressive *-mbò* requires the A/O-stem of the verb,

- d. [[yàfi: tèt:-ngò] jèt:-mbò] ó gĩn-ô:
 [[field firewood-InanSg.O.L]bring-**and**]2SgS say.Perf-InanSg.O
 ‘when you have brought (a bundle of) firewood of (= for) the field’
 (2005.1a)

In another large set of textual examples, **-mbò** occurs with a following **chained motion verb** (xx3). (xx3.b) also contains the **-mbò** plus ‘say’ construction illustrated above.

- (xx3) a. [[dòm síyèt:-ngò] dǎ:-mbò gw-é: mé là]
 [[speech.L good-InanSg.O]speak-**and** go.out.Perf-2PlS if also]
 [[nò-mbó bé] mà] kúmbà=ỳ↑]
 [[person-Pl Def.AnPl] Dat] unawareness=it.is
 ‘If you-Pl have gone out and said good words, the people are unaware.’ (2005-1a, first NP slightly emended; /dámá-mbò/ ‘speak and’)
- b. [hâl íyó] í-mbò [[kéré má] sǎŋ
 [until today] go-**and** [[outback in] now
 yàlí-yèt:-mbò] í gĩn-ô:,
 go.around-MP-**and** 1PlS say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O,
 màmlí-yèt:-mbò wèt-ý
 go.back-MP-**and** come.Perf-1PlS
 ‘Even today we have gone into the bush (outback) and walked around now, and we have come back.’ (2005-1a; /in-mbò/ ‘go-and’)
- c. íyó [í mà] wé-mbò ɲwèt-∅ kóy↑
 today [1Pl Dat] come-**and** go.in.Perf-3SgS Emph
 ‘It (= work) has indeed come in to us nowadays (= recently).’
 (2005-1a)

Other textual examples, **not involving a following ‘say’ or motion verb**, are in (xx4). In (xx4.a), **-mbò** is close in function to the **nè** in the preceding parallel segment, and the speaker clearly intends a chronological sequence between ‘learn’ and ‘work’ in both segments.

- (xx4) a. [[bíró: ó gò kó]
 [[work(noun) 2SgP Poss.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
 bǎy nè] bírá,
 learn Adv.SS] work.Imprt
 [bíró: bǎy-mbò] bírà-ɲjò-nd-ó: mé dínđi, ...

[work(noun) learn-**and**] work-Progr-Neg-2SgS if all, ...
 ‘learn your work and do (it). If you aren’t performing your work
 after first learning it, ...’ (2005-1a)

- b. [ɲwé-mbò [[é gǐ] sàrè-Ø]] kán-ná,
 [hear-**and** [[2Pl Acc] ask.Perf-3SgS] be.done-Hort.3Sg,
 é wé-mbò kúndé [mó mà] dàmgǐ-yè
 2PlS come-**and** one.AnSg [AnSg Dat] speak-MP-Perf
 kán-ná
 be.done-Hort.3Sg
 ‘(Or) be it that he has heard (and) he has asked you-Pl, or be it that
 you-Pl came and one (of you) has spoken with him.’ (2005-1a)

gǐné-mbò ‘say and ...’ is combined with an inflected form of Perfect
jògò- ‘have’ in (xx5). The context suggests a sense along the lines of ‘although
 (you say/know that ...)’. For *gǐné-mbò* in purposive constructions, see §17.6.2.

- (xx5) [[bè dǐn] [ó dùmè:]≡ȳ gǐné-mbò jòg-ò:]
 [[3Pl.L all] [2SgP animal.Pl.L]=it.is say-**and** have-2SgS]
 [ǒm [ó gǐ] dǐmbǐ-yá-m̄]
 [Near.AnSg [2Sg Acc] follow-MP-Fut.3SgS]
 [ǒm [ó gǐ] dǐmbí-yà-ndí-Ø]
 [Near.AnSg [2Sg Acc] follow-MP-FutNeg-3SgS]
 ‘Although all of them are your animals, this one (= the favorite) will
 follow you (and) this (other) one does not follow you.’ (2005-1a)

For *jànjí-mbò* in purposive clauses, see §17.6.1.

15.1.1.3 Chains with Progressive -mbò ‘(while) VP-ing’

In the preceding section I took pains to distinguish the ‘and (then)’ chaining
 suffix -mbò from the Progressive suffix -mbò. As a reminder, the Progressive
 suffix is based on the A/O-stem of the verb, while the ‘and (then)’ suffix is
 based on the chaining form (ending in *ɛ* or /i/, which may syncopate). There are,
 however, some chain-like constructions where the Progressive suffix is in fact
 present on the nonfinal verb.

This construction may be used in chains ending with a motion verb in
 senses like ‘came singing’ (as opposed to ‘came and sang’), i.e. where the two
 co-events are simultaneous; for examples see §15.xxx, below. The construction
 is also regular in chains ending with a time-of-day verb in senses like ‘spend the
 night singing’; for examples, see §15.xxx, below.

15.1.1.4 Chains with Same-Subject *nè* ‘and’ for events in sequence

The particle *nè* may be added to a VP ending in a verb in its **chaining form** (§10.1.1). A *nè* clause is nonfinal in its chain, so the final clause has regular main-clause form. The subjects of the relevant clauses must be coindexed. The particle is glossed ‘and.SS’ (for “same subject”) in interlinears. The events described are understood to occur in sequence.

- (xx1) a. *té:ŋgó kéré nè, [bèlí-yé nè] ìnò-mb-ô:*
 firewood-Sg gather **and.SS**, [get.up-MP **and.SS**] go-Fut-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg will gather firewood and get up and go.’ (2005-1a.01)
- b. *[yé nè] éndà:-w*
 [see and.SS] not.know-2SgS
 ‘(if) you saw it and didn’t know it’ (2005-1a.01)
- c. *[í yà:] [óbí-y nè] dôm dàmà-nj-è:*
 [1Pl Foc] [sit-MP and.SS] speech speak-Pres-Ppl.Foc
 ‘it’s we [focus] who sit and speak the words’ (2005-1a)

nè is also found in same-subject complement clauses with main-clause verb ‘want’, as in ‘I want [to go]’. See §17.4.xxx for examples and details.

Unlike Adverbial *nè*, which is heard as *nè* after adverbials with {e o} vocalism, Same-Subject *nè* is invariant in form. An example showing this is *[óbí-y nè]* (not #*óbí-y nè*) in (xx1.c).

15.1.2 Morphosyntax of chains

15.1.2.1 Verbal Noun of chained verbs

Verbs that are directly chained, without a linking morpheme (e.g. *-mbò, nè*), may form a verbal noun. The nonfinal verb appears in low-toned form as a compound initial.

- (xx1) a. *kwè-[sín-lé]* ‘eating and (= until) being satisfied’
- b. *dèŋè-[tíbí-lé]* ‘falling down and dying’

15.1.2.2 Negation of verb chains and ‘without VP-ing’ clauses

In a direct chain, the only simple way to negate any portion is to negate the entire sequence, with the negative morpheme appearing on the final verb. Therefore (xx1) could be used to deny that the falling and dying took place, or that either one of the component co-events took place.

- (xx1) **dèṅé** **tí bá-l-∅**
 fall die-PerfNeg-3SgS
 ‘He/She didn’t fall down and die.’

AN suffixes are not normally permitted in the nonfinal verbs in a chain. However, there is a ‘**without VP-ing**’ construction that includes a Perfective Negative suffix on the nonfinal verb in the chain. This allows the speaker to selectively negate a nonfinal chained VP.

In (xx1.a), the Perfective Negative suffix takes the form **-fi**, and is followed by what appears to be a Progressive form of **bò-** ‘be’, the whole phrase being chained to a following verb. This was followed, shortly afterward in the same textual passage, by (xx1.b), which compresses the ‘without’ phrase into a single verb form. In other textual examples, (xx1.c) is similar to (xx1.a) while (xx1.d) has the same compressed form seen in (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. [**bírá-fi** **bó-mbò**] **dù mí-yà-ndí-∅**
 [work-PerfNeg **be-Progr**] get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS
 ‘It (= gain) is not gotten without working.’ (2005-1a)
- b. [**bírá-l-mbò** **là**] **dù mí-yà-ndí**
 [work-PerfNeg-Progr also] get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS
 ‘It (= gain) is furthermore not gotten without working.’ (2005-1a)
- c. [**áyá-fi** **bó-mbò**]
 [become.weary-PerfNeg **be-Progr**]
 [**kòṅgò** **ó** **dù mà-ṅà** **kà**]
 [thing.L 2SgS get-Pres.Ppl Top]
kóṅgò **òndú-∅** **kǒy**
 thing not.be-3SgS Emph
 ‘Without (your) getting tired, there is definitely nothing that you get.’ (2005-1a)
- d. **sà:gú-mbó** **nô:y,**
 month-Pl two,
[táwè **[ṅí** **mà**] **màmíli-yá-l-mbò**]

[perhaps [Prox.InanSg.E in] go.back-MP-PerfNeg-Progr]
 [[ké mà] bírà-mbò bǎ-m̀]
 [[Near.InanSg.E in] work-Progr remain-Fut.3SgS
 ‘(He may go and stay there) for two months, perhaps without
 coming back here, he may remain there working.’ (2005-1a)

15.1.2.3 Arguments of chained verbs

The issue of possible restrictions on arguments of verbs arises only in the case of direct chaining without intervening linking morphemes (-mbò, nè), since the linking morphemes always allow a full set of non-subject constituents in both clauses.

In direct chains, there is normally considerable conceptual integration of the two co-events. In such a direct chain, when both verbs are transitive they normally have the same direct object and other constituents, which are therefore unproblematically expressed before the verb chain (xx1).

(xx1) gǒn-gó téṅé d̀òg-à:
 waterjar-InanSg.O set.down leave.Perf-3PIS
 ‘They put (= set) down and left a waterjar.’

In contexts where the two verbs do not naturally have the same complements, the strong tendency in elicitation was to use the looser type of chain construction, with -mbò ‘and (then)’ on the verb of the first clause. This construction allows the two verbs to directly follow their own logically natural constituents.

(xx2) a. ỳb̀bé-mbò [[gǒn-gó kó] t̀èṅè-Ø]
 run-and.SS [[waterjar-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] set.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She ran and put down the waterjar.’

b. [[[d̀ulé ké] mà] d̀èṅé ṅwé-mbò]
 [[hole Def.InanSg.E] in] fall go.in-and.SS]
 [[nà:-gó kó] g̀ĩnè-Ø]
 [[foot-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] break.Perf-3SgS]
 ‘He fell into the hole and broke his foot.’

Occasionally, we get a bracketing paradox where a constituent to the left of the first verb in a direct chain or one with -mbò belongs logically with the second verb. These are good examples of how a chain can represent the conflation of two co-events into a unified conceptual and syntactic structure.

- (xx3) [gǒn-gó kó] ηwé-mbò jènjè-Ø
 [waterjar-InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] go.in-and.SS pick.up.Perf-3SgS

‘He/She went in and picked up the waterjar.’

15.1.3 Recurrent final verbs in chains

Some verbs are especially common in chains.

For example, **gǎn** ‘put’ occurs in **wǎl gǎn** ‘ladle (out) and ...’ = ‘serve (food, from cooking pot to eating bowl), **twé gǎn** ‘sow (and) ...’ = ‘oversow (sow seeds in spots where the first seeds did not sprout)’, and **èré gǎn** ‘draw (water) and put (it) in (container)’.

Some other common chain-final verbs are described in the following sections.

15.1.3.1 Chains ending in a time-of-day verb

In (xx1), the time-of-day verb such **né:** ‘spend night’ or **déné:** ‘spend day’ specifies a time frame that a chained activity VP more or less fills up. The chained verb occurs in the **Progressive** form (which is based on the A/O-stem of the verb, plus suffix **-mbò**).

- (xx1) a. [nàm kúndó:] [ηwàná: ηwánà-mbò] nè:-ní
 [night.L all] [song sing-Progr] spend.night.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I sang all night.’ (= ‘I spent the night singing.’)
- b. [bíró: bírà-mbò] देंè-ý
 [work(n) work-Progr] spend.day.Perf-1PIS
 ‘We worked all day.’ (= ‘We spent the day working.’)

When the time of day is a time interval during which an event (perhaps punctual) took place, a simple temporal adverbial is used (xx2). The noun denoting the time period (‘day’, ‘night’, etc.) is the complement of a locative postposition such as **mà** ‘in’ or **kùl mà** ‘inside’.

- (xx2) [nám má] देंè-Ø
 [night in] fall.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She fell down at night.’

15.1.4 Chains including **dògè** ‘leave’ or **swé** ‘pour, spill’

As in other Dogon languages, **dògè** ‘**leave, abandon**’ may be added to another verb where it would be omitted (but implied) in English. For example, English *I put the kettle down* normally implies (or even entails) that the kettle was left in that position (at least for a time); this is typically made explicit in Dogon languages.

- (xxx) a. **sátàlà:** **bèjí** **dògè-m**
 kettle put.down leave.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I put down and left the kettle.’

swé ‘**pour, spill**’ and its mediopassive **sí-yé** occur in a more abstract sense in several recurrent chain combinations, including **àbí swé** ‘(rifle) fail to discharge bullets properly’ (literally “catch spill”), and in **dògè sí-yé** ‘abandon’ (literally “leave spill”).

15.1.5 Chains including a motion verb or ‘pick up, take’

Verbs of **motion** (‘go’, ‘come’, ‘enter’, ‘go out’, ‘go past’, etc.) and their transitive counterparts the verbs of **conveyance** (‘bring’, ‘take’, etc.) are commonly chained **with no linking morpheme**. Thus **tíngé** ‘go past’ in **tómbí tíngé** ‘jump over/across’, **dòlé tíngé** ‘intrude by overstepping (e.g. into a neighboring field)’, **wùjí tíngé** ‘(bird) swoosh by’, **gǐy tíngé** ‘step over (something)’. Examples with **ɲwé** ‘go in’ include **yòbé ɲwé** ‘travel to a distant location (for work)’ (lit. “run and go in”) and **tómbí ɲwé** ‘jump in’. Chains with **ɲwé** ‘go in’ and **gwé** ‘go out’ are especially useful, in the absence of explicitly directional (allative or ablative) postpositions.

The chain construction with **Progressive suffix -mbò** on the chained verb is used when the motion event is simultaneous with the other event (xx1).

- (xxx) a. [**ɲwànǎ:** **ɲwànǎ-mbò**] **w-ò:**
 [song sing-Progr] come.Perf-3PIS
 ‘They came singing.’

When the motion event is followed by the other event, it is usually implied that the motion was undertaken in order to carry out another action. A purposive construction is normal. See §17.xxx, below.

When the motion event follows the other event, no such purposive element is implied. A construction with **nè** or **mé** may be used.

- (xxx) [inǰé ðiyé nè] wó-m-Ø
 [water bathe and.SS] come-Fut-3SgS
 ‘He/She will bathe and come.’ (= ‘Having bathed, he/she will come.’)

15.1.6 Chains including *mùlé* ‘come together’

mùlé ‘be/do together’ may occur in chained VP with *nè*.

- (xx1) [mùlé nè] ìnó-mb-à
 [get.together and] go-Fut-3PlS
 ‘They will gather together and go.’

An example like (xx1) can often be translated as ‘they will go together’. In English, the act of assembling (before carrying out a joint activity) is usually unexpressed, but in Dogon languages it is usually overt.

However, in Najamba there is also an alternative ‘(do) together’ construction with a simple adverb *sǒ*: (§18.3.3).

15.1.7 Chains with *jógò* ‘have/take with’

There is no suppletive chaining form meaning ‘taking (something) along’. The quasi-verb ‘have’ may be used in this sense. In (xx1), *jógò* is chained (as it often is in this construction) to a following motion verb.

- (xx1) a. [mó kà] [[kó gǐ] jógò-mbò ìnè mé
 [AnSg Top] [[InanSg.O Acc] **have-*Progr*** go.Perf-3SgS if
 ‘if he for his part has gone taking that with him’ (2005-1a)
- b. [nǒ: mó] [kó gǐ] jógò-mbò ìnó-m
 [person Def.AnSg] [InanSg.O Acc] have-**and** go-Fut.3SgS
 ‘The person will take it along with him.’ (2005-1a)

15.2 Adverbial clauses

15.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses based on *gǐné* ‘say’

An expression based on *gǐné* ‘say’ is common at the end of clauses that function as background for subsequent clauses.

There are two constructions. First, *gǐné* may occur with regular inflection, followed by conditional *mé* ‘if/when’. Or it may occur in a (generally headless) non-subject relative in the participial form *gǐn-ô*:

Sometimes the reference is to actual speech, or to articulated thought. Often, however, no actual speech or thought is referred to, in which case it is best to disregard the ‘say’ expression in the free translation. Often the main function is to specify a **temporal sequence** between the event denoted by the clause under the scope of ‘say’, and that denoted by the following main clause.

15.2.1.1 *Inflected form of gǐné ‘say’ plus mé ‘if/when ...’*

mé is a high-frequency clause-final ‘if/when ...’ particle, most often combining with a preceding Perfective verb. The combination with an inflected form (often 3Sg) of *gǐn-è*- ‘say-Perfective’ often combines with a preceding main clause as a kind of temporal adverbial clause. In (xx1), for example, what translates literally as ‘if/when he has said’ is tacked onto what is already an explicit temporal clause (with low-toned ‘day’ as head of a relative). As in this case, there may never have been an actual speech event to report.

- (xx1) [[èndè kónjê ɲwê:m-ɲwê:m-ɲwê:m mó] gǐ]
 [[child.L newborn bawling Def.AnSg] Acc]
 ó jò-ɲgà ké,
 2SgS have-Ppl Def.InanSg.E,
 dèɲàn [ó mà] mó néndá-nd-è:
day.L [2Sg Dat] AnSgS bad-Inch.Perf-PplINS.AnSg
gǐn-è-∅ *mé*,
say.Perf-3SgS **if**,
 tílày, [mó gǐ] dǐmbǐ-yà-mb-ô:
 necessary, [AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut-2SgS
 ‘When you have a crying young baby, the day when it becomes nasty
 with you (= cries a lot), you have no choice but to follow (= obey) him.’
 (2005-2a)

15.2.1.2 *Participial and subordinated forms of gǐné ‘say’ (gǐn-ô, gǐn-è-n)*

A Perfective non-subject participle of *gǐné*, namely *gǐn-ô*: (Inanimate Singular O form), occurs in this construction after a chained clause with suffix *-mbò* ‘and’. The syntax is that of a non-subject relative clause based on ‘say’. The form *gǐn-ô*: is immediately preceded by a pronominal subject marker. In (xx1.a), we

may equate the 3Pl subject pronominal with ‘Muslims’ (subject of the preceding chained clause), but in (xx1.b) the 3Sg subject pronominal seems *pro forma*.

The construction commonly has perfect value, i.e. it indicates that the eventuality in question precedes in time that denoted by the following clause. The two clauses may have same or different subjects.

- (xx1) a. [[àlsilâ:m mðmbí-yè-mbò] bé gǐn-ô:]
 [[Muslim gather-MP-and] 3PIS say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
 [dúwâ: kàn-à: mé]
 [blessing do.Perf-3PIS if]
 ‘when the Muslims had gathered and performed the blessing, ...’
 (2005-1a)
- b. íyó [yè:-jǐngán má⇒] [èndê: ìnèn-tùn-lè mà⇒↑]
 today [marriage and] [child name-put-VblN.L and]
 [yè ðin] wé-mbò kégírí-yè-mbò
 [InanPl.L all] come-and align-MP-and
 mó gǐn-ô:
 3SgS say.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O,
 [àngú tóló=y gǐndó:=y mà⇒]
 [which? more=it.is big.InanSg.O=it.is Q]
 ká:-ngó=y
 debate-InanSg.O=it.is
 ‘Nowadays, a wedding (= marrying women) and a child’s name-giving, (now that) both have come and become equal (in cost), which (of them) is bigger (= more expensive) is a (subject for) debate.’ (2005-1a)

When the subjects of the two clauses are distinct, one may also use the different-subject subordinated form *gǐnè-n*. See (xx6.a) in §15.2.3.6.

15.2.2 ‘Since ...’ clauses (jǎ:)

jǎ: ‘since’ (cf. Songhay **zǎ:*, including *já:* in Koyra Chiini) is placed at the beginning of the ‘since’ clause, which takes the form of a (headless) relative clause, with final *mà* ‘in’. It does not matter whether or not the ‘since’ clause and the main clause have the same subjects.

- (xx1) a. [[jǎ: mó w-ê:] mà] gó-l-Ø
 [[since 3SgS come-Ppl] in] go.out-PerfNeg-3SgS
 ‘Since she came, she hasn’t gone out.’

- b. [[jǎ: mó w-ê:] mà] mó yà:-lú-m
 [[since 3SgS come-Ppl] in] 3SgO see-PerfNeg-1SgS
 ‘Since she came, I haven’t seen her.’

15.2.3 Other temporal adverbial clauses

15.2.3.1 Temporal anteriority, same-subject (*jé-mbò* ‘after having ...’)

When the subjects of the temporal and main clauses are shared, the temporal clause ends in invariant *jé-mbò*, i.e. *jé-* ‘finish’ (§17.5.1) plus subordinator *-mbò* ‘and (then)’ (§15.1.1.2). We may translate freely as ‘after having (finished) ...’ or ‘when ... had (finished)’.

- (xxx) a. [kwé jé-mbò] ìnè-Ø
 [eat finish-and] go.Perf-3SgS
 ‘When he had finished eating, he went.’
- b. [kwé jé-mbò] ìnè-y
 [eat finish-and] go.Perf-1PIS
 ‘When we had finished eating, we went.’

15.2.3.2 Temporal anteriority, different-subject (*j-ê*; *bándi mà*)

When the subjects of the temporal and main clauses are divergent, we find a relative clause structure with the logical head (‘time’ or the like) omitted. The temporal clause ends in a participial form *j-ê*: ‘finish’ following the regular verb (in bare-stem form). If there is a pronominal subject, it is expressed by an independent pronoun.

- (xxx) a. [mó kwé j-ê: ké] ìnè-y
 [3SgS eat finish-Ppl Def.InanSg.E] go.Perf-1PIS
 ‘When he/she had finished eating, we went.’
- b. [ì kwé j-ê: ké] ìnè-Ø
 [1PIS eat finish-Ppl Def.InanSg.E] go.Perf-3SgS
 ‘When we had finished eating, he/she went.’

It is also possible to express the temporal sequence more explicitly by adding the complex postposition *bándi mà* ‘after’.

- (xxx) [mó kwé j-ê: bándi mà] ìnè-ý
 [3Sg eat finish-Ppl after in] go.Perf-1PlS
 ‘After he finished eating, we went.’

15.2.3.3 *Temporal simultaneity (kùl mà ‘while ...’)*

The complex postposition *kùl mà* ‘inside’ can be used with a (headless) temporal relative clause ‘(the time) when ...’ to produce a temporal clause specifying temporal simultaneity ‘while ...’. The subject is expressed within the temporal clause, at least by an independent pronoun. Therefore there is no difference in the form of the temporal clause depending on whether or not the main clause has the same subject.

- (xxx) a. [[bíró: mí bírà-ηgà-∅ ké]
 [[work(n) 1SgS work-Impf-Ppl.InanSg Def.InanSg.E]
kùl mà] gó-nù-m
 inside in] go.out-ImpfNeg-1SgS
 ‘When I am working, I don’t go out.’

- (xxx) a. [[bíró: mí bírà-ηgà-∅ ké]
 [[work(n) 1SgS work-Impf-Ppl.InanSg Def.InanSg.E]
kùl mà] gǒ-ndĩ-∅
 inside in] go.out-FutNeg-3SgS
 ‘When I am working, he/she won’t (= doesn’t) go out.’

15.2.3.4 *Noun-headed temporal clause (‘the time when ...’)*

In this construction, the ‘time’ noun (often omitted) is overtly present. The lexical forms of the nouns are *wákáfi* (<Fulfulde) and *sàrà*, but as relative heads they appear here in tone-dropped form (*wàkàfi*, *sàrà*). The ‘time’ noun may appear anywhere in the clause prior to the participle. In (xx1), the two ‘time’ nouns are interchangeable.

- (xx1) [[kǎ:-mbò bé]
 [[grasshopper-Pl Def.AnPl]
wàkàfi w-ê: ké]
sàrà
 time.L come.Perf-Ppl.AnPl Def.InanSg]
 ‘(at) the time when the grasshoppers (=locusts) came’

déṅán 'day' in low-toned form **dèṅàn** is also common in temporal relatives ('the day when ...'. Examples are in §14.2.6 and §14.3.9.2.

15.2.3.5 *Reverse anteriority ('before ...')*

The 'before ...' clause may precede or follow the main clause. It consists of a headless relative clause with Future participle (**-ṅà-** after stem with final high tone), followed by either **mà** 'in' or a particle **wâ:n**.

- (xxx) a. [à:lé tɛ̀gã-ṅà mà] twě twé jè=bè-m
 [rain(n) rain-Fut.Ppl in] seeds sow finish.Perf=Past-1SgS
 'Before the rain fell, I had finished sowing the seeds.'
- b. [[bándâ ké] njúló]
 [[courtyard Def.InanSg.E] sweep.Imprt]
 [mó wǒ-ṅà mà]
 [3SgS come-Fut.Ppl in]
 'Sweep-Sg the courtyard, before he/she comes.'
- c. bé [wé nè] nùmă: tũnǒ-ṅà mà
 3PIS [come Adv] hand put-Fut.Ppl in
 'before they had come and put their hands (in the bowl)' (2005-2a)
- d. [[ó nò-mbò] ó yǎ-ṅà wâ:n,
 [[2SgP person-Pl.L] 2SgS see-Fut.Ppl before,
 [mí mà] dámá]
 [1Sg Dat] speak.Imprt
 'Tell me, before you see your folks!' (2005-1a)

An alternative 'before ...' construction is of the logical type 'when not (yet) ...'. The main verb is fully inflected ('we didn't go in' in (xxx)), and is followed by a chaining form **bó-mbò** (with suffix **-mbò**) of **bò** 'be'.

- (xxx) [[bíró: kó] mà] ṅwá:-l-iy bó-mbò,
 [[work(noun) Def.InanSg.O] in] go.in-PerfNeg-1PIS be-and,
 bàyé-y mé↑
 learn.Perf-1PIS if
 'if we learn before we go into (= while we have not yet gone into) the work' (2005-1a)

15.2.3.6 *Different-Subject clauses with -n*

A verb stem is directly followed by suffix *-n* in a Different-Subject (DS) clause. A pronominal subject is expressed by a pronominal preceding the verb, from the same series used in non-subject relatives.

There are **two forms** of the verb with *-n*, with distinct vocalism. Both are low-toned, except for the three verbs with lexical falling tones ('bring', 'arrive', 'find'), which as usual keep their lexical tones. One form is based on the **E-stem** of the verb. The other is based on the **A/O-stem** of the verb, and therefore (in addition to the final /a/ or /o/) has obligatory {e o} vocalism in the rest of the stem. Examples of the forms are in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	chaining form	-n (E-stem)	-n (A/O-stem)
	'go'	ín	ĩnè-n	ĩnò-n
	'look'	tár	tàrè-n	tàrà-n
	'run'	yòbɛ́	yòbè-n	yòbà-n
	'say'	gìnɛ́	gìnè-n	gìnà-n
	'bring'	jê:	jê:-n	jô:-n
	'find'	đínê:	đínê:-n	đínô:-n

Distinctions like those in (xx2.a-b) for 'look' were made in elicitation by my assistant, who was asked to provide examples of *tàrè-n* and *tàrà-n*. In (xx2.a), the act of entering precedes that of seeing (what is seen is circumstantial evidence of the entry), and *tàrè-n* is used. In (xx2.b), the act of entering is viewed by the protagonist, so the two eventualities are contemporaneous, and *tàrà-n* is the form used.

- (xx2) a. [bé *tàrè-n*] *ɲwè-∅*
 [3PIS **look-DS**] go.in.Perf-3SgS
 'they looked (and saw) where he went in.'
 'they looked (and saw) that he/she had gone in.'
- b. [bé *tàrà-n*] *ɲwè-∅*
 [3PIS **look-DS**] go.in.Perf-3SgS
 'While they watched (= in their presence), he/she went in.'

The type in (xx2.b) is corroborated by textual examples like (xx3.a), and indeed the phrase *í tàrà-n* 'while we observed' is commonly used in the texts to label events that occurred in the memory of the speaker (as opposed to

earlier events reported by oral tradition). The textual example of *tàrè-n* is (xx3.b), which seems basically consistent with its function in (xx2.a).

- (xx3) a. [támàrò yé] ñwè-Ø, [í tàrà-n] ñwè-Ø
 [date InanPl] go.in.Perf-3SgS, [1PIS look-DS] go.in.Perf-3SgS
 ‘The dates came in (= were included), they came in while we observed (= in our memory).’ (2005-1a)
- b. [mó tàrè-n] [[ké [ùsfó: má] ìnò-ndí]
 [[3SgS look-DS] [[InanSg.E [path in] go-PresNeg-3SgS]
 kànè mé là]
 be.done.Perf-3SgS if also]
 ‘If on the other hand he looks (= evaluates) and if it isn’t going on the (right) path, (he says: ...)’ (2005-1a)

Elicited data (xx4.a-b) are also available for *ìn\ìnè* ‘go’. In (xx3.a), *ìnò-n* denotes an act of going that is simultaneous with the act of seeing. In (xx3.b), *ìnè-n* denotes an act of going that leads to another, subsequent event. This example happens to have another instance of *-n*, namely *bé òbò-n* ‘while they were sitting’, based on the Stative form of *óbí-y* ‘sit’.

- (xx4) a. [bǎyè jé-mbò] bé ìnò-n, yè-mí
 [stick.Pl take-and.SS] 3PIS go-DS, see.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I saw them take the sticks and go.’
- b. [[ólé ké] mà] mí ìnè-n,
 [[house Def.InanSg.E] in] 1SgS go-DS,
 [bé òbò-n] òbò-n
 [[3PIS sit.Stat-DS] find.Perf-1SgS
 ‘When I went to the house, I found them sitting.’

Textual examples of *ìnè-n* and *ìnò-n* are in (xx5). In (xx5.a), the act of going is not (specifically) simultaneous to the (abstract) eventuality denoted by the following clause (which would be recognized by the merchant only after spending some time in the new market), and *ìnè-n* is used. (xx5.b) is a corroborating example from the same textual passage. On the other hand, *ìnò-n* occurs in (xx5.c), since the animal (here, a sheep or other livestock animal) is following directly behind the herder as the herder goes.

- (xx5) a. [[ké mà] [mó mà] [mó ìnè-n]] [ké nèn nè],
 [[InanSg.E in] [AnSg Dat] [3SgS go-DS]] [[InanSg.E than Adv],
 [mó bèlí-y-è: ké]

[3SgS get.up-MP.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E
 [mò mà] kǎy⇒ kànè-Ø mé là
 [AnSg Dat] better be.done.Perf-3SgS if also
 ‘When he (= merchant) goes to that (new) place, if it turns out that
 the place that he got up (= left) from is better for him than that (new
 place), ...’ (2005-1a)

- b. ébán là, [[èbàn ñgí] mà] ó ìnè-n, ...
 commerce also, [[market.L Prox.InanSg.E] in] 2SgS **go-DS**, ...
 ‘Commerce for its part, when you (= a merchant) go into this
 (= such-and-such a) market, (if they buy more from you elsewhere
 ...)’ (2005-1a)
- c. [ó ìnè-n] [ó gĩ] ðimbì-yà-njò mé dīndī
 [2SgS **go-DS**] [2Sg Acc] follow-MP-Pres-3SgS if all
 ‘when you (= herder) go, if it (= an animal) follows you, ...’ (2005-
 1a)

For *gìnè-n* and *gìnà-n* from *gìné* ‘say’, the elicited examples are (xx6.a) with *gìnè-n*, where the following clause denotes a response (necessarily subsequent in time), and (xx6.b) with *gìnà-n*, where the following clause (‘[what] we heard’) denotes a simultaneous event of perception.

- (xx6) a. [[ó gĩ] sár-mbò] mí gìnè-n,
 [[2Sg Acc] ask-and.SS] 1SgS **say-DS**,
 [ó wá⇒] [gwè wà]
 [2SgS say] [go.out.Perf say]
 ‘When I asked for you-Sg, (they) said you had gone out.’
- b. [nò-mbò kúlmá-mbó] bé gìnà-n,
 [person-Pl.L elder-Pl] 3PlS **say-DS**,
 í ñ-ǎ,
 1PlS hear.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O
 dùlè: nǒ: [[kéré má] gwé nè]
 first person [[bush in] go.out Adv.SS]
 wó-njò-Ø mè,
 come-Pres-3SgS if,
 [diyá: [mó gò]] ábà-mb-à:⇒y
 [load(noun) [AnSgP Poss.InanSg.O] receive-Pres-Pass=it.is
 ‘(According to) what we heard the elders say, formerly when
 someone left the bush and was coming (to the village), his load

(carried on head) was taken (and carried, by others).’ (ŋ-ḡ: < /ŋw-ḡ:/)

The form *gĩnè-n* is rather common in texts, as an alternative to participial *gĩn-ḡ:* (§15.2.1.2), in constructions with an ostensible quotative clause. Often there is no actual quotation, and the ‘say’ verb may be omitted from translations. This construction typically functions like a perfect (‘have VP-ed’), indicating a chronological separation between the eventuality in question and that denoted by the following clause (§15.2.1.2). A participial form *gĩn-ḡ:* may also be used in this construction, whether the subjects of the two clauses in question are same or different (xx7.b). This example also includes an instance of *jê:-n* from *jê:* ‘bring’.

- (xx7) a. [gḡlé kír-mbò] [ó gĩnè-n]
 [farming do.completely-and.SS] [2SgS say-DS]
 [bíró: bírà-nd-ó:] wè-Ø mé dīndī
 [work(noun) work-PresNeg-2SgS]come.Perf-3SgS if all
 ‘when you-Sg have completed the farming, if (the accusation) that you don’t work has come, ...’ (2005-1a)
- b. [[[dôm mà] ɪŋgí-yé jé-mbò] ó gĩn-ḡ:]
 [[[speech in] stand-MP finish-and] 2SgS say-Ppl.InanSg.O]
 [[nǒ: mó] [ó mà] mó jê:-n]
 [[person Def.AnSg] [2Sg Dat] 3SgS bring-DS]
 [[dôm kó] gĩ] fã:m
 [[speech Def.InanSg.O] Acc] understanding
 dùmá:-l-ó: mé dīndī]
 get-PerfNeg-2SgS if all]
 ‘if you have stopped in speaking, if the person has brought you (a case), if you have not gotten an understanding of the words, ...’ (2005-1a)

Further elicited examples involving perception verbs are in (xx8). In (xx8.a-d) we have the A/O variant of the -n subordinator, as the perception was simultaneous to the event.

- (xx8) a. [[[mí dáy] mà] ɪŋgé ó èrà-n] yè-mí
 [[[1SgP well.L] in] water 2SgS draw.water-DS] see.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I saw you-Sg draw water at my well.’
- b. [ên mó bìyò-n] yè-mí

[here AnSg lie.down-DS] see.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I saw him/her lie down here.’

c. [bé jà:ŋĩ-yò-n] ɲwè-mí
 [AnPl fight-MP-DS] hear.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I heard them fight(ing).’

d. [túmbúl-mbó bàrí-yé bé kòrò-n] ɲwè-mí
 [hyena-Pl cry-MP 3PlS cry-DS] hear.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I heard the hyenas howl(ing).’

15.2.4 Spatial adverbial clause (‘where ...’)

The noun *kèngè* ‘place’ is the head of a relative clause, in L-toned form *kèngè*. It is often omitted, since the locative postposition *mà* is usually present.

(xx1) [(kèngè) mí bíró: bírà-ŋgà-Ø ké]
 mà
 [(place.L) 1Sg work(noun) work-Impf-Ppl.InanSg Def.InanSg.E]
 in
 ‘at (the place) where I work’ = ‘where I work’

15.2.5 Manner adverbial clause (‘how ...’)

dân ‘like’ (§8.4.1) may follow a headless relative clause to create a manner adverbial ‘(in) the way ...’ (xx1). In the examples, note the participles, and the preparticipial subject pronominals, both diagnostic of relative-clause constructions.

(xx1) a. [[mó bírà-ŋgà ɲgú] dân]
 [[3SgS work-Pres.Ppl this.InanSg.O] like]
 àbádá kóngò dùmà-ndí-Ø
 never thing obtain-ImpfNeg-3SgS
 ‘The way he works, he will never gain (=earn) anything.’

b. [[sǎŋ kà] hâl é bò-ŋgà dân đin]
 [[now Top] until 2PlS be-Stat.Ppl like all]
 ‘even the way you-Pl are now (= numerous)’ (2005-1a)

There is also a version with a ‘manner, way’ noun as head. The noun is *gìró*, which also means ‘eye’, or the Fulfulde loan *àlgàdrà*.

- (xx2) a. [àlgàdrà mó kwà-ŋgà kó]
 [manner.L 3SgS eat-Pres.Ppl Def.InanSg.O]
 [mí gî] èndá-Ø
 [1Sg Acc] unpleasant-3SgS
 ‘The way he/she eats is displeasing to me.’
- b. [gìrò mó bîrà-ŋgà èndà:-m]
 [manner.L 3SgS work-Pres.Ppl] not.know-1SgS
 ‘I don’t know how he/she works.’ (lit. “I don’t know the manner ...”)

15.2.6 Headless relative as adverbial clause

Spatio-temporal and manner adverbials often appear in the form of a headless non-subject relative clause. A covert head noun like ‘time’, ‘place’, or ‘manner’ is understood.

The distinction between nouns with (singular) **E-class and O-class** agreement plays a role in deciphering such headless relatives. This is because covert ‘manner’ head noun (*gìró* ‘eye; manner’) has O-class agreement, while covert ‘place’ (*kéŋgè*) and ‘time’ (e.g. *wákàñi*) have E-class agreement. The participle makes class distinctions in some inflectional categories (e.g. Perfective), though not in others (e.g. Present, Future). In any event, a final Definite morpheme is common in such headless adverbial relatives, with O-class *kó* suggesting ‘manner’ and E-class *ké* suggesting ‘place’ or ‘time’. Even in the absence of such a Definite morpheme, a following *dân* ‘like’ suggests manner, while a following postposition *mà* (most often locative) suggests place.

A headless **manner** adverbial is in (xx1).

- (xx1) [[í dîn-ô: kó] dân]
 [[1PIS find.Perf-PPl.InanSg.O Def.Inan.O] like]
 [dògé nè là] ñnò-mbó-ỳ
 [leave Adv.SS also] go-Fut-1PIS
 ‘(The same way) as we found (it), we will leave it (behind) and go.’
 (2005-2a)

Headless **spatial** adverbials are in (xx2). One should add that ‘place’ is often extended to abstractions like ‘situation’ (cf. the multiple meanings of English *position*).

- (xx2) a. $\dot{u}j\acute{u}ng\acute{o}$ [[$m\acute{o}$ $t\grave{u}mb\grave{o}-m\equiv b-\grave{e}:$] $m\grave{a}$]
 sun [[AnSgS sun.rise-Impf=Past-Ppl.InanSg.E] in]
 $gw\grave{e}-\emptyset$ $l\acute{o}$
 go.out.Perf-3sgS Q
 ‘Has the sun gone away from (= moved) (the place) where it used to rise?’ (2005.2a)
- b. [[$m\acute{o}$ $d\grave{e}n\grave{a}-ng\grave{a}$] $m\grave{a}$] $gw\grave{e}-\emptyset$ $l\acute{o}$
 [[AnSg set-Pres.Ppl] in] go.out.Perf-3sgS Q
 ‘Has it (= sun) gone away from (= moved) (the place) where it sets?’ (2005.2a)

15.2.7 ‘From X, until (or: all the way to) Y’

The verb $j\acute{e}$ ‘take’ is used at the end of the ‘from X’ expression. The clause- or phrase-initial morphemes $j\grave{a}$: ‘since, starting from’ and $h\grave{a}l$ ‘until, all the way to’ occur in the respective clauses or phrases. Literally the first part is ‘taking from X’. Compare the temporal use of English *picking up (at ...)*, and French *repandre*, though these English and French parallels have a more complex temporal structure (restarting).

In (xx1.a), the Imperfective chaining form $-mb\grave{o}$ is used, and this clause begins with $j\grave{a}$: ‘since’. In (xx1.b), a participial form is used.

- (xxx) a. [$j\grave{a}$: [$s\acute{e}w\grave{a}:r\acute{e}$ $m\grave{a}$] $j\acute{e}-mb\grave{o}$] [$h\grave{a}l$ [$m\acute{o}t\ddot{i}$ $m\grave{a}$]]
 [since [S in] take-Impf] [until [M in]
 $\dot{u}ng\grave{a}-mb\grave{o}$ $\grave{i}n-\grave{o}:$]
 [stand.Stat-and go.Perf-3PlS]
 ‘They (= people) went and stood up all the way from Sévaré to Mopti.’
- b. [[$\grave{e}y\grave{a}-ng\acute{o}$ $\dot{u}ng\grave{d}\acute{o}:$] $m\grave{a}$] $m\acute{o}$ $j-\hat{s}:\uparrow$,
 [[marriage side.L] in] AnSgS take-Perf.Ppl,
 [[$b\acute{i}-ng\acute{a}n$ $\dot{u}ng\grave{d}\acute{o}:$] $m\grave{a}$]
 [[existence side.L] in]
 ‘from (the issue) concerning marriage, to (the issue) concerning (co-) existence’ (2005-1a)

See also (xx3) in §4.3.2 (‘all the way to Douentza’).

15.2.8 ‘As though ...’ clause (**dân**)

dân ‘like’ can follow a clause in the sense ‘like, as though ...’. The clause has subject-participial form (xx1)

- (xx1) [[**ó** **sígírí-yé** **jògâ:**] **dân**] **ínò-nj-ò:**
[[2Sg get.drunk-MP Perf.Ppl] like] go-Pres-2SgS
‘You-Sg are walking like (=as though) you had gotten drunk.’

16 Conditional constructions

A conditional construction consists of an **antecedent** ('if') clause and a **consequent** ('then') clause.

Most conditionals are **hypothetical**, specifying a causal or similar entailing relationship between an uncertain future (or generic) eventuality X and a second eventuality Y. Less common are **counterfactual** conditionals, which specify a similar causal or entailing relationship between a potential past eventuality that did not occur and a second eventuality that would have ensued if it had occurred.

16.1 Hypothetical conditionals

The common 'if' particles following the predicate of the antecedent clause are **dé** and **mé**. The universal quantifier **dín** (variant **dindì**) 'all' may be added after the 'if' particle. The particle **tán** 'only' (< Fulfulde) may also follow **dé** or **mé**, or it may appear by itself as a substitute 'if' particle.

Since the 'if' particles are high-toned, a preceding 1st/2nd person Perfective positive verb form shifts its final syllable from rising to (level) high tone unless it is monosyllabic (§3.xxx). Occasionally, the 'if' particle itself is omitted, but the tone shift applies nevertheless, serving as an index of the missing 'if' particle. 3Sg and 3Pl Perfective positive verb forms are all-low toned.

In hypothetical conditionals, the unmarked AN sequence is **Perfective** (positive or negative) for the antecedent clause, and **Future** (positive or negative) for the consequent clause. This applies when the two clauses denote events that are relatively well bounded in time. In other contexts, the antecedent clause may be Present, Stative, or the like, and/or the consequent may be Present, or a deontic modal clause (Imperative, Hortative).

16.1.1 Particle **dé** 'if' at end of antecedent

The passage in (xx1), which describes generic situations, contains one Perfective and one Perfective Negative antecedent clause, both followed by Future consequent clauses.

- (xx1) yě: nàlè-∅ dé,
 woman bear(child).Perf-3SgS **if**,
 [[ó tǝgù đĩn] mà] dǎ:ndí tǝyá-mb-â:=ỹ,
 [[2SgP kin.L all] Dat] tell send-Fut-Pass=it.is,
 [mó là] wó-m̄,
 [AnSg also] come-Fut.3SgS,
 [tǝyá:-l-ó: dé là] [[ó gĩ] pèbá-m̄]
 [send-Perf.Neg-2SgS **if** also] [2Sg Acc] accuse-Fut.3SgS]
 ‘If a woman (= your wife) has given birth, the word **will** be sent to all
 of your kin group, it (= your kin) will come. **If** on the other hand you-
 Sg don’t send (the word), it (= your kin) **will** denounce you.’ (2005-1a)

Further textual examples of **dé** are in (xx2).

- (xx1) a. [bé là] bày-é: dé↑,
 [AnPl also] know.Perf-2PIS **if**,
 ‘If you-Pl know them (= whites), ... ’ (2005-1a)

more textual exx.

16.1.2 Particle **mé** ‘if’ at end of antecedent

In the usual conditional construction, where an antecedent event yet to occur is asserted to cause a second event, the ‘if’ particle **mé** is used. The consequent clauses takes normal main-clause form.

- (xxx) a. mǎngórè, [[ébán má] đĩnê:-y mé] dònà-mbó-ỹ
 mango.Pl, [[market in] find-1PIS **if**] buy-Fut-1PIS
 ‘If we find any mangoes in the market, we’ll buy them.’
- b. [ñgĩn w-ǝ: mé] [mí sǝbǝ-yò-mbó-m̄]
 [here come.Perf-2SgS **if**] [1SgS hide-MP-Fut-1SgS]
 ‘If you-Sg come here, I will hide.’
- c. [à:lé í:gòndĩ: tǝgè-∅ mé]
 [rain abundantly rain.fall.Perf-3SgS **if**]
 jèná: kóndó-m̄
 rainy.season do.well-Fut.3SgS
 ‘If the rain falls abundantly, the rainy (=growing) season will turn
 out well.’

16.1.3 Particle *tán* ‘(if) only’ at end of antecedent

The particle *tán* ‘only’, from Fulfulde, is largely limited to conditional antecedent clauses in Najamba. as in several other Dogon and Songhay languages of the zone. In (xx1), *tán* follows a regular ‘if’ particle.

- (xxx) a. *jěnjà ùsfǎ: [dòmbâ-n gǐ] ñdá:-l-∅ mé tán↑,*
 God path [fellow Acc] give-PerfNeg-3SgS **if if.only,**
dòm kó kây,
 speech.L Near.InanSg.O Top,
[kèŋ ké kây] [í sémbé jògò-ndí ní]
 [place Def.InanSg.E Top] [this power have-StatNeg-3SgS Emph]
 ‘If God hasn’t given the path to the fellow, those words, as for the
 place (= situation), in this (situation) this (fellow) has no power.’
 (2005-1a)

more exx from texts

16.1.4 Multiple antecedent clauses

When the antecedent contains two clauses, the two antecedent eventualities may be logically related in any of the following ways: a) set-theoretic union (both eventualities must be independently true), b) chronological sequence, or c) logical nesting (the first antecedent clause creates a context for the second).

One way to express such complex antecedents is by using a chaining device to combine the two clauses into one complex clause, with a single ‘if’ at the end (xx1).

- (xx1) *[jèná: kóndí nè] [yógé ìlè-∅ mé]*
 [rainy season be.good and.SS] [millet.Pl ripen.Perf-3SgS **if**]
[nò-mbó bé gǐ] èlà-ndá-m-∅
 [person-Pl Def.AnPl Acc] please-Fut-3SgS
 ‘If the rainy season is good, and the millet has ripened, the people will
 be happy (“it will please the people”).’

It is also possible to string two or more antecedent clauses together, each ending in an ‘if’ particle (xx2).

- (xx2) *[kó là] kànè-∅ dé dǐndí,*
 [InanSg.O also] be.done.Perf-3SgS **if** all,
mà:njĩ-yé-ý mé,

do.one's.best-MP.Perf **if**,
 [nǎ: í b-ḡ: kó] dân,
 [yesterday 1PlS be-PplNS.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] like,
 kènέ bǎ-y̌ wá
 like.that remain-Hort.1Pl say
 'If that has happened, if we have done our best (to get by), like (the way) we were in the past, let's remain like that.' (2005-1a)

16.1.5 Temporal-sequencing use of *mé*

The particle *mé* may be used after an inflected Present verb or Progressive construction, or their negative counterparts. The time references of the temporal and main clauses coincide.

- (xx1) a. [mí bíró: bírà-njò-m mé] gó-nù-m
 [[1Sg work(n) work-Pres-1SgS while] go.out-ImpfNeg-1SgS
 'When I am working, I don't go out.'
- b. [bíró: bírà-njò-nú-m mé] gwé jà-mbò-m
 [work(n) work-Prog-Neg-1SgS while] go.out can-ImpfNeg-1SgS
 'When I am not working, I can go out.'

The same particle may be used with other inflected verbs.

- (xxx) a. [mùlé-y mé] ñò-mbó-y̌
 [get.together-1Pl and] go-Fut-1PlS
 'We will gather together and go.'
- b. [mùl-à: mé] ñó-mb-à
 [get.together-3PlS and] go-Fut-3PlS
 'They will gather together and go.'
- c. [mùl-é: mé] ñò-mb-ê:
 [get.together-2PlS and] go-Fut-2PlS
 'You-Pl will gather together and go.'

16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles

Universal quantifier *đin* ‘all’ can be used at the end of a conditional antecedent instead of *mé* ‘if’, especially at the end of a complex (multi-clause) antecedent.

exx from texts

16.3 Willy-nilly and disjunctive antecedents (‘whether X or Y ...’)

The universal quantifier *đin* ‘all’ can be added at the end of a polar pair of clauses (one the negation of the other), to form a complex conditional antecedent translatable ‘whether or not ...’. Interrogative particle *ma*⇒ may be added at the end of both clauses (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. [w-ô: wò-ndí-∅ đin] kwà-mbó-ỳ
 [come.Impf-3SgS come-ImplNeg-3SgS all] eat-Fut-1PlS
 ‘Whether he/she comes or doesn’t come, we will eat.’
- b. [yě: mó] [kàndá gwè-∅ mà⇒]
 [woman Def.AnSg] [seclusion go.out.Perf-3SgS Q]
 [gǒ-l má⇒] đin
 [go.out-PerfNeg-3SgS Q] all
 [yðbè-∅ mé] pós!
 [run.Perf-3SgS if] poof!
 ‘whether the woman (= new bride) has emerged from seclusion (after the marriage) or hasn’t emerged, if she runs away, (it’s) poof!’ (2005-1a)

16.4 ‘Unless’ antecedent

The only ‘unless’ antecedent that I have elicited is one with a negative antecedent and negative consequent clauses (xx1).

- (xx1) [mótĩ mà] ñó-nù-m
 [Mopti to] go-FutNeg-1SgS
 [ó [mí sôn] ñó-nd-ò: mé]
 [2Sg [1SgO with] go-FutNeg-2SgS if]
 ‘I won’t go to Mopti unless you-Sg go with me.’
 (lit. “I won’t go to Mopti if you-Sg don’t go with me.”)

16.5 Counterfactual conditional

The same ‘if’ particle *mé* occurs at the end of the antecedent. The verb of the antecedent clause is Past Imperfective (§10.xxx) or Past, containing an inflected form of Past morpheme *=bè-*, following a (positive or negative) perfective stem. The verb of the consequent also contains *=bè-*, this time following an Imperfective stem with *-m-*.

- (xxx) a. [[*dágè* [*ǒ yè*] *yé*] *jé=b-ò:* *mé*]
 [[medication.Pl [2Sg Poss.InanPl] Def.InanPl] take=*Past-2SgS* if]
sá:mí-yà-m=bà-l-ó:
 get.sick-MP-*Impf*=*Past-Neg-2SgS*
 ‘If you-Sg had taken your medications, you wouldn’t have gotten sick.’
- b. [[[*dágè* [*ǒ yè*] *yé*]
 [[[medication.Pl [2Sg Poss.InanPl] Def.InanPl]
jà-l-ó:=b-ò: *mé*] *tíbà-m=b-ò:*
 take-*PerfNeg-2SgS*=*Past-2SgS* if die-*Impf*=*Past-2SgS*
 ‘If you-Sg had not taken your medications, you-Sg would have died.’
- c. *ngú* *kwé=b-ò:* *mé,* *tíbà-m=b-ò:*
 Prox.InanSg.O eat=*Past-2SgS* if, die-*Impf*=*Past-2SgS*
 ‘If you-Sg had eaten this, you would have died.’
- d. *tár=bè-mí* *mé,* *déṅà-m=bà-lú-m*
 look=*Past-1SgS* if, fall-*Impf*=*Past-PerfNeg-1SgS*
 ‘If I had looked, I wouldn’t have fallen.’
- e. [*kínú:* *kó*] *yà:-lú-m=bè-mí* *mé,*
 [stone Def.InanSg.O] see-*PerfNeg-1SgS*=*Past-1SgS* if,
déṅà-m=bè-mí
 fall-*Impf*=*Past-1SgS*
 ‘If I hadn’t seen the stone, I would have fallen.’

17 Complement and purposive clauses

17.1 Quotative complement

17.1.1 ‘Say that ...’ with inflectable ‘say’ verb (*gĩné*)

The verb *gĩné* ‘say’ can take NP as well as quotative complements. It has a full range of AN categories.

- (xxx) a. *yènggé* *gĩn-ò:*
 what? say.Perf-2SgS
 ‘What did you-Sg say?’
- b. [*à:lé* *kén-dè* *tègè-Ø*] *gĩnǎ-l-Ø*
 [rain(n) there-Approx rain.fall.Perf-3SgS] say-Perf.Neg-3SgS
 ‘He/She did not say that it (had) rained there.’

17.1.2 Quotative clitic /*wa*/

Clause-final uninflectable Quotative particle /*wa*/, glossed ‘say’ in interlinears, indicates that the preceding material is a quotation. It functions like a ‘hearsay’ evidential. However, in many contexts (where the relevant speaker is understood from prior context) it obviates the need for an explicit, pronominally inflected quotative verb ‘say’ (stem *gĩné*). However, the particle *wa* may co-occur with *gĩné* or other verbs of speaking.

/*wa*/ is lexically atonal, acquiring its phonological tone from the final tone of the preceding word. However, since it occurs in clause-final position, it is subject to intonational modifications depending on discourse context.

- (xx1) a. *à:lé* [[*mó* *sònjò:*] *mà*] *tègè-Ø* *wà↑*
 rain [[3SgP village.L] in] rain.fall.Perf-3SgS say
 ‘He said that it rained in his village.’
- b. *kóndé⇒* *wá* *gíná*
 all.right say say.Imprt
 ‘Say: “all right!”.’ (2005.1a)

/wa/ is typically repeated after each quoted sentence in an extended quotation. Presentential elements (topical NP, vocative, independent 'yes!' or 'no!' interjection, etc.) are also followed by wa, as in (xx2).

- (xx2) [ó: wá] [hákkìlè dǔndà-nj-ò: wà]
 [yes! say] [idea look.for-Pres-2SgS say]
 '(you) say: yes, you are seeking an idea (= deliberating)' (2005-1a)

For lengthened wa⇒ after subject pronominals in quoted imperatives and hortatives, see §17.1.4, below.

17.1.3 Unframed quotations

Najamba discourse abounds in phrases taken from quotations, but not overtly marked as such (by quotative markers or other subordinators), that function as NPs. In (xx1.a), 'you don't work' functions as subject of 'come'.

- (xx1) a. [ó bíró: bírà-nd-ó:]
 [2SgS work(noun) work-PresNeg-2SgS]
 wè-∅ mé dǐndǐ
 come.Perf-3SgS if all
 'Suppose that it (= accusation) has come that you-Sg don't work (in the fields).' (2005-1a)

more exx from texts

17.1.4 Jussive complements

17.1.4.1 Embedded imperative

In the embedded imperative, the original addressee (i.e. the subject of the imperative clause) appears with a following wa⇒. Most textual examples involve subject pronouns. The verb is in imperative form (xx1.a,c). If the original addressee is plural, one may use either the singular or plural imperative form (xx1.b,d). No confusion arises as long as the plural subject is expressed by a clause initial NP or pronoun, as it regularly is.

- (xx1) a. [mí wá⇒] wó gǐnè-∅
 [1Sg say] come.Imprt say.Perf-3SgS
 'He/She told me to come.'

- b. [é wá⇒] wó gǐnè-Ø
 wó-m̀
 [2Pl say] come.Imprt say.Perf-3SgS
 come-Imprt.Pl
 ‘He/She told you-Pl to come.’
- c. [mí wá⇒] wó-là gǐnè-Ø
 [1Sg say] come-Imprt.Neg say.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She told me not to come.’
- d. [é wá⇒] wó-là gǐnè-Ø
 wó-là-m̀
 [2Pl say] come-Imprt.Neg say.Perf-3SgS
 come-Imprt.Neg-ImprtPl
 ‘He/She told you-Pl not to come.’
- e. [mí wá⇒] [̀njùlù: kó] jô: gǐnè-Ø
 [1Sg say] [broom Def.InanSg.O] bring.Imprt say.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She told me to bring the broom.’

The subject may be a regular NP instead of a pronoun (xx2). In this case the intonational lengthening of *wa* is sometimes but not always heard.

- (xx2) [gǐrbà wà⇒] nõ: térí-yá, ìnò-ndí-Ø
 [blind.person say] person lead.by.arm-MP.Imprt, go-PresNeg-3SgS
 ‘If one asks a blind man to lead someone (by the arm), he doesn’t go.’
 (2005-1a)

17.1.4.2 Embedded hortative

analysis

- (xxx) a. [mí wá⇒] ìnò-ý gǐnè-Ø
 [1Sg say] go-Hort say.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She said to me, let’s go!’

17.2 Volition-verb complements

17.2.1 ‘Want’ (kíy, kélà-), ‘need’ (nàmí-yé)

The positive ‘want’ verb is *kíy*. In the positive, it occurs most often in the Stative form *kíyò*, though it does have other forms (e.g. Perfective *kíyè*). In the negative, it is supplented by a stem *kélà-*. The Adverbial morpheme *nè* ‘and’ occurs at the end of a **same-subject** complement clause.

- (xx1) a. [[móttì mà] ín nè] kíyó-m̀
 [[Mopti to] go and-SS] want.Stat-1SgS
 ‘I want to go to Mopti.’
- b. [m̀ǹǹ-ńńgé kwé nè] kíy-è:
 [millet.cakes eat and.SS] want.Stat-3PIS
 ‘They want to eat millet cakes (with sauce).’
- c. [m̀ǹǹ-ńńgé kwé nè] kél-è:
 [millet.cakes eat and.SS] not.want-3PIS
 ‘They do not want to eat millet cakes (with sauce).’

The positive and negative paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx2) category	‘want’	‘not want’
1Sg	<i>kíyò-m</i>	<i>kélà:-m</i>
2Sg	<i>kíyò-w</i>	<i>kélà:-w</i>
3Sg	<i>kíyò-Ø</i>	<i>kélà-Ø</i>
1Pl	<i>kíyò-y</i>	<i>kélà:-y</i>
2Pl	<i>kíy-è:</i>	<i>kél-è:</i>
3Pl	<i>kíy-è:</i>	<i>kél-è:</i>

‘Not want’ also has some non-stative inflected forms based on *kéli-yé*, which includes Mediopassive *-yé*. This form is translatable as ‘dislike, detest, hate’, as in Present Negative *kéli-yà-ndí-* ‘does not hate’. That *kélà-* is tending to be lexicalized as a distinct verb, rather than as merely a negation of ‘want’, is suggested by the fact that past-time ‘did not want’ can be expressed either by a negation of ‘want’ or by adding the Past clitic to *kélà-*, see §10.3.1.2.

When the complement clause has a **different subject**, we get participial complements. A pronominal subject in the complement is expressed as a preverbal pronoun. The verb of a positive complement ends in invariant

Participial *-ngà* (xxx.a). It is possible to elicit negative complements, though as in other languages the normal way to express ‘I want them not to come’ is ‘I don’t want them to come,’ with the overt negation on the higher ‘want’ verb (xxx.c). When the complement itself is negated, we get a participle based on Negative *-ndi-* (xxx.b).

- (xxx) a. [pègé bé sèmă-ngà] kiyò-m
 [sheep 3PIS slaughter-Fut.Ppl] want-1SgS
 ‘I want them to come.’
- b. [pègè-mbó bé sèmă-nd-ò:] kiyò-m
 [sheep-Pl 3PIS slaughter-FutNeg-Ppl.O] want-1SgS
 ‘I want them to not slaughter any sheep-Pl.’
- c. [pègé bé sèmă-ngà] kélà:-m
 [sheep 3PIS slaughter-Fut.Ppl] not.want-1SgS
 ‘I don’t want them to come.’

forms of 'not want' from Sample text
kéli-yà-ndi 'doesn't dislike', cf. *kélà-*
 likewise *kèfi-yè jòg-à:*
 but *kèlè-n=lá* 'it isn't from disliking'

For ‘X need Y’, the verb is *námí-yé*, with locative complement. It has a Stative form *nàmà*, as in [ó mà] *nàmà-m* ‘I need you-Sg’.

17.3 Factive (indicative) complements

17.3.1 ‘Know that ...’ complement clause

The ‘know’ verbs (positive *tígà:-*, suppletive negative *éndà:-*), see §11.2.4, follows a normal main-clause with no overt subordinator.

- (xxx) a. ìnè-Ø tígà:-m
 go.Perf-3PIS know-1SgS
 ‘I know that he/she has gone.’
- b. [[kôŋ kámà] jògò-nú-m] tígà-Ø
 [[thing any] have-ImpfNeg-1SgS] know-3SgS
 ‘He/She knows that I don’t have anything.’

17.3.2 ‘The fact that ...’

A proposition (denoting a fact or situation) may function as an NP in a higher clause. In this case it takes non-subject relative-clause form, with implied head NP (‘fact’). It is treated as Inanimate O-class for agreement purpose, and normally ends in Definite determiner *kó*. For example, in (xx1.a), a proposition had previously been stated as a normal main clause (not shown). The speaker then asks why this situation has come about, repeating the proposition in factive-clause form. (xx1.b) begins with a similar factive complement.

- (xx1) a. [[yè ðin mà] [[í ġì]
 [InanPl all] in] [1Pl Acc]
mó ð̀-ì-ò: kó]
3SgS reach-PerfNeg-PplNS.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
 ‘The fact that it didn’t do us much good in all those (fields), (how did it happen?)’ (2005-1a)
- b. [í ènd-à: kó]
 [1PIS not.know-PplNS.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
 [[yèngé yà:] kó kàn j-è:]
 [[what Foc] InanSg.O make Perfect-Ppl.Foc]
 ‘The fact that we do not know, what made (= caused) that?’ (2005-1a)

17.3.3 ‘See/find that ...’

The ‘see’, ‘find’, or ‘hear’ verb comes at the end, preceded by a simple main clause that is either followed by Inanimate *kó* (overt factive complement) or by no complementizer. The sense is ‘X see/find that [P]’ where P is a proposition denoting an already existing situation.

- (xxx) a. [[nò-mbó bé] ġy ġy j-à:]
 [[person-Pl Def.AnPl] harvest(noun) harvest finish.Perf-3PIS]
yè-m
 see.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I saw that the people had finished harvesting.’
- b. [[bíró: ðin] òndí ðinê:-m
 [[work(n) all] not.be find.Perf-1SgS]

‘I found that there was no work (there).’

- c. [ó t-ǎ: kó] yè-mí
 [2SgS sow.Perf-2SgS Def.InanSg] see.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I saw that you-Sg had sown (= planted).’

In the sense ‘see [NP VP-ing]’ where the perception and the perceived event are simultaneous, the Different-Subject subordinator *-n* is used; see §15.2.3.6.

17.3.3.1 Hearsay

A proposition learned by hearsay is expressed using the verb ‘hear’ and a quotative clause.

- (xx1) [[ó wá⇒ [bàmàkó mà] inè] bé gǐnà-n] ŋwá-njò-m
 [[2Sg say [B in] go.Perf] 3PIS say-DS] hear-Pres-1SgS
 ‘I hear them say that you-Sg went to Bamako.’

17.3.4 Complement of *kán* ‘do, be done’

The verb *kán* is transitive ‘do, make’ or intransitive ‘be done, be made’ in simple main clauses. The 3Sg Perfective *kànè-∅* ‘it was (or: has been) done’ is often used to resume a preceding passage, especially in the conditional clause *kànè-∅ mé* (or *kànè-∅ mé dǐndǐ*), literally ‘if it has been done’, which often serves as a link between paragraph-like units of discourse (cf. English *After that, ...*).

kán is part of many collocations, since it can make a non-verb (or a morphologically inert borrowing) into a transitive or intransitive verb. Examples from the sample text include *tó:rù kán* ‘do (=use) fetishes’ (with noun *tó:rù*), *lútà kán* ‘do rejecting, reject (e.g. God)’, and *sútùrà kán* ‘(e.g. God) do protection (for), protect’. *kán* can also be used with adverbs, as in *jèné kán* ‘do like this’.

In (xxx), *kànè-∅* follows an ‘it is’ predication.

- (xxx) [bíró: kó] bǐrè-ý↑,
 [work(noun) Def.InanSg.O] work.Perf-1PIS,
 jàmô:⇒y kànè-∅
 waste=it.is be.done.Perf-3SgS
 ‘We have done the work, (but) it has been a waste.’ (2005-1a)

An unusual property of *kán* is that it may occur, in morphologically positive form (any tense-aspect), in combination with a **preceding bare Perfective Negative** stem (suffix *-l*). The pronominal subject category is expressed by a suffix on *kán*, not on the preceding negative verb. The free translation is negative, but there is usually some modal qualification (‘perhaps’, ‘it may be’), and the construction is common in conditional antecedents where such modal qualification is automatic. The syntactic structure, however, is similar to English *X happen [not to VP]*.

- (xxx) a. [[jàngí-lé yàgí jòg-â: ké] mà]
 [[begin-VbIN be.right Perfect-Ppl Def.InanSg.E] in]
 [jàngí dùmá-l kàné-y mé]
 [begin get-PerfNeg do.Perf-1PIS if]
 ‘if we can’t manage to begin (at the place) where one should begin’
 (2005-1a)
- b. [tò-mbó mà] [ǎ:r-ɲgó má] b-è: mé,
 [Recip-Pl with] [understanding in] be-2PIS if,
 áyá-l kànà-mb-è:
 be.weary-PerfNeg do-Fut-2PIS
 ‘if you-Pl are in a state of mutual understanding, you-Pl will not suffer.’ (2005-1a)
- c. [kên ñò-ɲò-m gîn-ó: mé]
 [there go-Pres-1SgS say.Perf-2SgS if]
 [[kên là] mó dīnô:-l kànà-mb-ò:
 [[there also] 3SgO encounter-PerfNeg do-Fut-2SgS
 ‘If you-Sg say (intend) that you will go there following him, you will perhaps not find him there.’ (2005-1a)

17.3.5 Factive complement with *táΔðrò* ‘it is certain’

Fulfulde *táΔðrò* (Δ = preglottalized stop) ‘it is certain’ may precede an imperfective clause (for a probable future event) or a perfective clause (inferring a past event).

- (xx1) a. *táΔðrò* *éɲgú* *à:lé* *tègá-n̄*
 certainly tomorrow rain(noun) rain.fall-Fut.3SgS
 ‘It will certainly rain tomorrow’
- b. *táΔðrò* *ɲá:* *ɲgîn* *à:lé* *tègè-∅*

certainly yesterday here rain(noun) fall.Perf-3SgS
 ‘It must have rained here yesterday.’

17.4 Verbal Noun (and other nominal) complements

17.4.1 Structure of Verbal Noun Phrase

The verbal noun with suffix *-lé* is high toned. It may be preceded by a **low-toned nominal compound initial** denoting the **logical object**.

- (xx1) a. *ĩbí-[págí-lé]*
 mouth.L-[tie-VbIN]
 ‘fasting’ (*ĩbí*)
- b. *kàlà-[kál-lé]*
 price.L-[haggle-VbIN]
 ‘haggling over prices’ (*kàlà:*)

A noun denoting the **logical subject** may also serve as the compound initial (cf. English *sunset*), if there is no other compound initial.

- (xxx) a. *ùjùṅgò-[túmbí-lé]*
 sun.L-[(sun)rise-VbIN]
 ‘sunrise, dawn’ (*ùjùṅó*)

The low-toned compound initial may include singular or plural marking, if the noun in question is countable. However, if the object is a more complex NP, i.e. including a numeral, or a determiner (such as a demonstrative or Definite morpheme), a possessor, or if the NP is conjoined, it may not appear as a low-toned compound initial. Instead, such a complex NP must take the form of possessor, retaining its own usual tones and forcing tone-dropping on the verbal noun (xxx.b).

- (xxx) a. *pègè-[sémi-lé]* ‘slaughtering a sheep’
[pègè-mbò]-[sémi-lé] ‘slaughtering sheep-Pl’
- b. *[[pègè-mbó nò:y] sèmi-lè]* ‘slaughtering two sheep’
[[pègè-mbó èbíyè] sèmi-lè] ‘slaughtering these sheep’
[[mí pègè] sèmi-lè] ‘slaughtering my sheep’
[[pègè má⇒ inè mà:] sèmi-lè] ‘slaughtering a sheep and a goat’

17.4.2 ‘Prevent’ (gámdé)

This verb takes NP (xx1.a) and clausal (xx1.b) complements. The person who is prevented is expressed as an object (postposition *gĩ*) of the main verb; this may precede or follow the main complement.

- (xx1) a. *bíró:* [*mí* *gĩ*] *gámdè-Ø*
 work(n) [1Sg Acc] prevent.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She prevented me from work(ing).’
- b. [*mí* *gĩ*] [[*móttĩ* *mà*] *ín-lé*] *gámdè-Ø*
 [1Sg Acc] [Mopti to] go-VbIN] prevent.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She prevented me from going to Mopti.’
 (alternative ordering: [[*móttĩ* *mà*] *ín-lé*] [*mí* *gĩ*] *gámdè-Ø*])

17.4.3 ‘Consent’ (àbí)

The verb *àbí* ‘receive, take (sth given)’ is used with VbIN complement in the sense ‘consent, agree (to do sth)’ with the same subject in the clauses.

- (xx1) *wí-lé* *àbè-Ø*
 come-VbIN consent.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She agreed to come.’

With different subjects, a Future Participle complement is used.

- (xx2) [*mí* *twě* *tš-ŋgà*] *àbè-Ø*
 [1Sg sowing slash.to.sow-Fut.Ppl] consent.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He consented that I sow the seeds.’

17.4.4 ‘Cease’ (dògè)

The common transitive verb *dògè* ‘leave, abandon’ can be used with VbIN complement in the sense ‘cease (doing sth)’, especially in contexts involving abandonment of a formerly practiced activity.

- (xxx) [[*gĩyâ:* *bê:* *kó*] *gíy-lé*]
 [[dance(noun) 3PIP.Poss.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] dance-VbIN]
dòg-à:

leave.Perf-3PIS

‘They have left off (= they no longer perform) their dance.’

[bê: = bé gò ‘their thing’, §6.2.2]

17.4.5 ‘Forget (to ...)’ (iré)

A same-subject complement is expressed as a VblN phrase.

- (xx1) [[ébám má] ín-lé] ìrè-mí
[[market to] go-VblN] forget.Perf-1SgS
‘I forgot to go to the market.’

An example of ‘forget’ with a factive complement (‘forget that ...’), phrased as an ‘or’ disjunction (§7.2.2), is (xx2).

- (xx2) [íyó [bitígì yè] níngé=b-à:≡y] mâ⇒]
[today [shop Def.InanPl] shut=Past-Pass=it.is or?]
ìrè-mí
forget.Perf-1SgS
‘I forgot that the shops were (=are) closed today.’

17.4.6 ‘Begin’ (jàngí)

This verb takes NP or VblN complements. A VblN complement requires that the (logical) subjects of the main and complement clauses be coindexed.

- (xxx) a. [íngé ní-lé] jàng-à:
[water drink-VblN] begin.Perf-3PIS
‘They began to drink the water.’
- b. mómbí-y-lé jàng-à: mé
gather-MP-VblN begin.Perf-3PIS if
‘(when) they have begun to assemble’ (2005.1a)

17.4.7 ‘Be afraid to’ (íbi-yé)

The verb íbi -yé ‘fear, be afraid of’, which contains Mediopassive -yé, may take NP or clausal complement. In the latter case, the clause appears in verbal-noun form.

- (xx1) [ɲgĩn wí-lé] íbì-yè-Ø
 [here come-VbIN] fear-MP.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She is afraid to come here.’

An example with different subjects in the two clauses is (xx2). The embedded clause has the form of an ‘or’ disjunction (§7.2.2), i.e. literally “I am afraid (wondering) whether”

- (xx2) [mí kèrà-mb-ò: mâ⇒] ìbì-yè-mí
 [1SgO bite-Fut-2SgS or?] fear-MP-1SgS
 ‘I’m afraid that you-Sg will/might bite me.’

17.4.8 Weak obligational ‘ought to’ (há:nè ~ há:nà, há:né)

This Fulfulde borrowing can either take the nominal form *há:nè* or *há:nà*, which is combined with following *kán* ‘do’. In the positive this is normally inflected with Perfect auxiliary verb *jò-* (xx1.a). The usual negation is with the Perfective Negative (xx1.b). The complement is expressed with a verbal noun (*-lé* or *-ndá:*)

- (xx1) a. [nò: kúlmá yà:] dám-lé há:nà kán j-è:
 [person.L elder Foc] speak-VbIN **ought do** Perfect-Ppl.Foc
 ‘An elder [focus] ought to speak (it).’ (2005-1a)
- b. èndê: dám-lé há:nà káná-l-Ø
 child speak-VbIN ought do-PerfNeg-3SgS
 ‘A child ought not to speak.’

A set of alternative constructions based on the same Fulfulde word-family has a directly inflectable verb *há:né*. There are several ways to construct the sentence. In (xx2.a) *há:né* takes Perfect auxiliary *jò-*, in (xx2.b) it takes the same-subject ‘and’ chaining morpheme *nè* and is followed by a Future form of *bà-* ‘remain’, and in (xx2.c) it occurs in the Past Perfect construction with Past clitic *≡bè-*. The complement is either a verbal noun (xx2.b-c) or the chaining form with *nè* (xx2.a).

- (xx2) a. [yè: nǎl jòg-â: mó]
 [woman.L bear.child Perfect-PplS Def.AnSg]
 [nàmâ: kúbí nè]
 [meat eat.meat Adv.SS]
 há:né jò-Ø

ought Perfect-3SgS
 ‘The woman who has (just) given birth ought to eat meat.’

b. mí [jàngà-[kán-lé] há:né nè] bà-mbò-m
 1SgS [studying.L-[do-VblN] ought Adv.SS] remain-Fut-1SgS
 ‘I ought to study (= go to school).’

c. gíndí-lé há:né=bè-Ø, gíndá-l-Ø
 become.big-VblN ought=Past-3SgS, become-big-PerfNeg-3SgS
 ‘It was supposed to grow (= get bigger), (but) it hasn’t grown.’

17.4.9 ‘Be right (proper, acceptable)’ (yàgí)

The stem **yàgí** was introduced in §8.4.4.2. It occurs in the locution **yàgí jòg-â:** ‘what is right’, which classifies a behavior pattern or action as following socially laudable or at least acceptable norms (‘it was the right thing to do’).

yàgí may take a verbal-noun complement. The verbal noun precedes **yàgí jòg-â:**, which is participial in form and may be followed by Definite **ké**. This NP is often the complement of all-purpose postposition **mà**.

(xx1) [[jángí-lé yàgí jòg-â: ké] mà]
 [[begin-VblN be.right Perfect-Ppl Def.InanSg.E] in]
 ‘(at the place) where one should begin’ (2005-1a)

17.5 Complement clause with bare stem (chaining form) of verb

17.5.1 ‘Finish’ (jé)

The verb **jé** ‘finish’ (also a **transitive verb ‘take’**) follows a VP ending in a bare verb stem. It is ordinarily used in the perfective in the sense ‘finish’, but other aspects are possible (‘I will finish eating’), and regular imperatives and hortatives occur. Examples of the ‘finish’ construction are in (xx1).

(xx1) a. mànâ: kwé j-š: ló
 meal eat finish-2SgS Q
 ‘Have you finished eaten?’

b. kwé jà-lú-m
 eat finish-PfNeg-1SgS
 ‘I haven’t finished eating.’

The positive and negative perfective paradigms are in (xx2).

(xx2)	category	Perfective	Perfective Negative
	1Sg	jè-mí	jà-lú-m
	1Pl	jè-ý	jà-lí-ỳ
	2Sg	j-š:	jà-l-ó:
	2Pl	j-ě:	jà-l-é:
	3Sg	jè-∅	jă-l
	3Pl	j-à:	jà:-ndí

The Perfective Negative paradigm, and that of other AN categories based on the A/O-stem, are homophonous with those of *já-* ‘can, be able to’. In practice this is not much of a problem since the ‘can’ verb occurs predominantly in the Future inflection (§17.5.xxx).

17.5.2 ‘Help’ (*bǎr*)

This verb (which in other contexts means ‘add, increase’) takes an object (postposition *gĩ*) and an optional complement clause with a chained verb stem. The subject of the complement verb is (seemingly) coindexed with the object of the chained verb, as in ‘[X help Y [Y do the work]]’. However, if *bǎr* is taken to mean literally ‘add (oneself)’, i.e. ‘join in’, it may be that the subject of *bǎr* is included in the set of agents of the chained verb.

(xxx)	[mí	gĩ]	[bíró:	bìré]	bàrè-∅
	[1Sg	Acc]	[work(noun)	work]	help.Perf-3SgS
	‘He/She helped me work (=do) the work.’				

17.5.3 Capacitative constructions

17.5.3.1 ‘Be able to, can’ (*já*)

The basic positive and negative paradigms of *já* ‘can, be able to’, used for time reference including the present (including permanent capability), are in (xx1). The *-mbò-* suffix in the positive can probably be identified as the Future

morpheme, but the tone of the stem is low. The negative resembles the regular Future Negative but the stem has high rather than rising tone.

(xx1)	subject	positive	negative
	1Sg	jà-mbò-m	jà-nù-m
	2Sg	jâ-mb-ò:	jà-nd-ò:
	3Sg	jà-m-Ø	jà-ndĩ-Ø
	1Pl	jà-mbò-y	jà-nd-ĩ:
	2Pl	jà-mb-è:	jà-nd-è:
	3Pl	jà-mb-à	jà-ndĩ-yà

Regular perfective forms are also possible: jà-lú-m ‘I could not’, jè-m ‘I could’. The Perfective Negative paradigm is homophonous with that of jè- ‘finish’ (§17.5.xxx). Thus [VP jà-lú-m] can mean either ‘I could not VP’ or ‘I didn’t finish VP-ing’.

The ‘can’ verb follows a VP with a bare verb stem (xx2). The combination could be analysed as a straight verb chain with no linking morpheme.

- (xxx) a. [kĩnû: kó] jènjé jà-mb-ò: ló
 [stone Def.InanSg.O] lift can-Fut-2SgS Q
 ‘Can you-Sg lift the stone?’
- b. [kĩnû: kó] jènjé jà-nù-m
 [stone Def.InanSg.O] lift can-FutNeg-1SgS
 ‘I can’t lift the stone.’
- c. [èndê: bà:] gĩné já-ndĩ-Ø
 [child father.L] say can-FutNeg-3SgS
 ‘The father of a child cannot say (that).’ (2005-1a)
- d. [tɔ⇒ nè] [iyó là] mà mí lí-yé nè là]
 [fast Adv] [today also] go.back-MP Adv.SS also]
 wé jà-m
 come can-Fut.3SgS
 ‘He can come back (to it) quickly today.’ (2005-1a)
- e. áñĩ [yě: dòm] ñdíy já-ndĩ-Ø,
 man [woman speech.L] listen can-FutNeg-3SgS
 yě: [áñĩ dòm] ñdíy já-ndĩ-Ø

woman [man speech.L] listen can-FutNeg-3SgS
 ‘A man can’t listen to the words of a woman, a woman can’t listen
 to the words of a man.’ (2005-1a)

17.5.3.2 ‘Have a chance to’ (*dùmé*)

The ‘get, obtain’ verb *dùmé* is not the common ‘can VP’ predicate, though verbs with the basic sense ‘get, obtain’ do have this function in Jamsay and several other Dogon languages.

In Najamba, *dùmé* ‘get, obtain’ does occur occasionally in texts in a construction with the sense ‘have a chance (opportunity) to VP’.

(xx1) *óbí-y dùmà-njò-ndí-yà*
 sit-MP **get**-Progr-Neg-3PIS
 ‘They (= women) have no chance to sit down.’

17.6 Purposive, causal, and locative clauses

17.6.1 Motion verb with Purposive suffix *-â:*

A motion verb may take a purposive complement. The verb of the complement clause has Purposive suffix *-â:*, replacing the stem-final vowel, with no further inflectional suffixation. The vocalism of nonfinal syllables is consistent with the **A/O-stem**. The stem has **low tones** in nonfinal syllables. The combination of *-â:* with a monosyllabic stem results in a <LHL> syllable. Examples of the form of the Purposive are in (xx1).

(xx1) gloss	chaining	Purposive
‘bathe’	<i>diyé</i>	<i>diy-â:</i>
‘slaughter’	<i>sémé</i>	<i>sèm-â:</i>
‘scrub’	<i>tújújé</i>	<i>tùgùj-â:</i>
‘cut’	<i>kéjé</i>	<i>kèj-â:</i>
‘shave’	<i>ké:</i>	<i>k-â:</i>
‘pour’	<i>swé</i>	<i>sw-â:</i>
‘bring’	<i>jê:</i>	<i>j-â:</i>

Examples of the construction are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. [*íngé diy-â:*] *ínè-Ø*

[water bathe-**Purp**] go.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She went to bathe.’

b. [swě: m̀òg-â:] ín-ò:
 [garment.Pl wash-**Purp**] go.Perf-3PlS
 ‘They went to wash the clothes.’

c. kw-ǎ: wè-mí
 eat-**Purp** come.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I have come (in order) to eat.’

d. [pègè m̀ó] [[m̀í bà] gǐ]
 [sheep Def.AnSg] [[1SgP father.L] Acc]
 ñd-â: jè:-m̀í
 give-**Purp** bring.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I brought the sheep-Sg in order to give (it) to my father.’

e. [gõn-gó má] [tàgã: má] [ĩngé èr-â:]
 [waterjar-InanSg.Owith] [pond in] [water draw.water-**Purp**]
 ñn-ó: mé d̀ĩndĩ
 go.Perf-2SgS if all
 ‘If you go to the pond to draw water with a water jar’ (2005-1a)

f. [dúmé: [gàndĩ bè d̀ĩn] d̀òng-â:]
 [animal.Pl [some Def.AnPl.L all] touch-**Purp**]
 ñn-ó: mé
 go.Perf-2SgS if
 ‘if you went in order to (= if you tried to) touch any other
 (livestock) animals’ (2005-1a)

j̀ànjí-mb̀ò, a chaining form (§15.1.2) of *j̀ànjí* ‘do on purpose’, may be placed at the beginning of the Purposive clause with *-â:*.

(xx3) [[hál ngâ:n] [nǒ: m̀ó] bèlí-y-ò:]
 [[until there] [person Def.AnSg] get.up-MP.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O
j̀ànjí-mb̀ò yèpà:bé d̀ùnd-â: tó má-tó má
do.on.purpose-and.SS thing.Pl look.for-**Purp** one-one
 ‘The person (= the linguist) got up (= came from) as far away as there
 (= overseas) solely in order to look for things.’ (2005.1a)

17.6.2 Purposive clause with *gǐné-mbò* ‘saying’

A more general purposive clause type, expressing the motive for an action and compatible with any type of main clause (not just motion verbs), involves the invariant form *gǐné-mbò* ‘say and’ (or ‘saying’), based on *gǐné* ‘say’ (or, as here, ‘say to oneself, think, intend’). This ‘say’ verb has a complement with the same subject and a Future verb ending in *-mbó-* plus pronominal-subject suffix. Examples with 1st/2nd person subjects bring out the structure most clearly (xx1).

- (xx1) a. *[[kě̀lè dùmà-mbó-ỳ] gǐné-mbò] bíró: bírà-njò-y*
 [[money.Plobtain-Fut-1PlS] say-and] work(noun) work-Pres-1PlS
 ‘We work (=do) work, in order to get money.’
- b. *[[kě̀lè dùmà-mb-ò:] gǐné-mbò] bíró: bírà-nj-ò:*
 [[money.Plobtain-Fut-2SgS]say-and] work(noun) work-Pres-2SgS
 ‘We work (=do) work, in order to get money.’
- c. *[gúfì: ké] [bìyò-mbó-ỳ gǐné-mbò]*
 [shed Def.InanSg.E] [lie.down-Fut-1PlS] say-and]
gùlè-ỳ
 build.shed.Perf-1PlS
 ‘We built the shed in order for us to sleep (there).’

For third person subject, the Future verb in the purposive clause takes the fixed form *-mbó-m̀*, morphologically the 1Sg. Since the purposive is structured as a (thought) quotation, this can be considered as reflecting the underlying direct (thought) quotation of the type ‘He build the shed, saying (=thinking) “I will sleep there.”’ However, for 3Pl subject the same 1Sg Future form is used. The regular 3Sg Future is *-m̀*, and the regular 3Pl Future is *-mb-à*.

- (xx1) a. *[[mànâ: kwà-mbó-m̀] gǐné-mbò] òbì-y-ò:*
 [[meal eat-Fut-1SgS] say-and] sit-MP.Perf-3PlS
 ‘They sat down to eat a meal.’
- b. *[gúfì: ké] [bìyò-mbó-m̀ gǐné-mbò]*
 [shed Def.InanSg.E] [lie.down-Fut-1SgS] say-and]
gùlè-Ø
 build.shed.Perf-1PlS
 ‘He built the shed in order for himself to sleep (there).’

- c. [[mànâ: kwà-mbó-m̀] g̀iné-mb̀] òbì-yè-Ø
 [[meal eat-Fut-1SgS] say-and] sit-MP.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She sat down to eat a meal.’

17.6.3 Causal (‘because’) clause

The most common ‘because’ clause type begins with *sábù*, a regionally widespread form related to noun *sábà:bù* ‘reason’. Such clauses describe the causal forces behind an eventuality, or the epistemological evidence for drawing a conclusion.

- (xxx) *sábù* k̀i-[èl-ŋg̀é↑],
because luck]
 [[[n̄: t̀m̀ó:] [b̄: t̀m̀ó:]] k̀i-[èl-ŋg̀è]] k̀undú=là-Ø
 [[[mother one] [father one]] luck.L] one=not.be-3SgS
 ‘(Not everyone is successful.) Because good luck (= fortune), the fortunes of (children, even of) the same mother and the same father are not the same.’ (2005-1a; ‘luck’ = “head-sweetness”)

An alternative construction is to state the proposition that denotes the causing eventuality. This sentence is then resumed by Inanimate Singular *kó* plus Purposive postposition *nèn* (cf. English *that’s why ...*) and the proposition denoting the caused eventuality is stated (xx2).

- (xx1) [b̀and̄i:-mb̀] [[s̀ònj̀ó: k̀é] mà] ŋw-à:]
 [bandit-Pl [village Def.InanSg.E] in] enter.Perf-3PIS]
 [k̀ó nèn] k̀êŋ g-ò:
 [that.InanSg.O for] there go.out.Perf-3PIS
 ‘Bandits came into the village, for that (reason) they (=villagers) went away.’

Another construction is seen in (xx3). Again the causing eventuality is expressed before the caused eventuality. Here, however, the clause denoting the causing eventuality ends in *g̀iné-mb̀* ‘saying (=thinking)’. It reflects the (human) motivation for the event of the first clause.

- (xx3) [[b̀and̄i:-mb̀] k̀êŋ ŋw-à:] g̀iné-mb̀]
 [[bandit-Pl there enter.Perf-3PIS] say-and]
 [[[s̀ònj̀ó: k̀é] mà] g-ò:],
 [[[village Def.InanSg.E] in] go.out.Perf-3PIS]

‘They (= villagers) went away from the village, because bandits came into there.’

17.6.4 ‘Because of’, ‘(more) than’, ‘a fortiori’

‘Cause, reason, motive (for doing something)’ can be expressed by the noun *sàbà:bù*, ultimately from Arabic, or by the noun *dú*. The postposition ‘for, on account of’ is *nèn* (§8.xxx).

In (xx1), a complex postposition *[[X sàbà:bù] mà]* built on the possessed form of *sàbà:bù* plus the all-purpose postposition *mà* creates a ‘because of X’ construction, compare English *on account of*.

- (xx1) [ké là] bǎ-l=bè-∅ gǐn-â:
 [InanSg.E also] be-PerfNeg=Past-3SgS say.Perf-Ppl,
 [[[jènjà mà⇒] [[dí:nà kó] má⇒] sàbà:bù] mà],
 [[[God and] [[religion Def.InanSg.O] and] reason.L] in]
 [ké là] wè-∅
 [InanSg.E also] come.Perf-3SgS
 ‘That (= slaughtering an animal on a holy day) didn’t use to happen (before Islam). That came because of God and (Islamic) religion.’
 (2005-1a)

‘A fortiori, much less, not to mention’ (local French *à plus forte raison*) is expressed by the phrase-initial particle *sákò* or *sákkò*, a variant of a widespread regional form (Fulfulde, etc.). It occurs in contexts like ‘I don’t have one dollar to my name, much less (= never mind) a thousand dollars’. That is, the first clause expresses a proposition of the ‘not (even)’ type, and the a fortiori clause that follows negates a proposition with a wider quantificational scope or denoting a rarer or more difficult eventuality, for rhetorical effect.

- (xxx) íyó, èndê: nàl-ó: mé,
 today, child bear.Perf-2SgS if,
 [[èndê: mó] gǐ] ó dènjà-mà-ndí-yà,
 [[child Def.AnSg] Acc] 2SgS hit-Caus-PresNeg-3PlS,
 sákò [yě: mó] gày là]
a.fortiori [woman Def.AnSg Top also]
 ‘Nowadays, if you have borne a child, they don’t let you beat the child, never mind (beat) the woman.’ (2005-2a)

17.6.5 Negative purposive (=prohibitive) clause

Elicited negative purposive clauses take the form of a Future Negative participle (O-class) followed by Purposive postposition *nèn* ‘for’. The subject of the negative purposive clause and that of the main clause may be the same or different.

- (xx1) a. [èndê: mó] [[kĩnû: kó mà]
 [child Def.AnSg] [[[stone Def.InanSg.O with]
 mó ðĩñ-yá-nd-ò:] nèn] tòmbè-Ø
 3SgS bump-MP-FutNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O] for] jump.Perf-
 3SgS
 ‘The child jumped (away) so as not to be in a collision with (= so as not to be hit by) the stone.’
- b. [[sěydù kéndà: mó já-nd-ò:] nèn]
 [S heart.L Def.AnSg take-FutNeg-Ppl.InanSg.O] for]
 [[tê: ké] mà] súkàrà ígò-ndí gànè-mí
 [[tea Def.InanSg.E] in] sugar a.lot put.Perf-1SgS
 ‘So that Seydou wouldn’t get angry (“take a heart”), I put a lot of sugar in the tea.’

18 Anaphora

18.1 Reflexive

18.1.1 Reflexive non-subject arguments (with *kĩ:* ‘head’)

A possessed form of *kĩ:* ‘head’, e.g. *mí kĩ:* ‘my head’, may be used in reflexive object function (xx1). No further determiners are possible in this type of reflexive phrase, and Accusative *gĩ* is omitted.

- (xx1) a. [*mí kĩ:*] *dènjé* *jè-mí*
[1SgP head.L] hit finish.Perf-1SgS
‘I hit myself.’
- b. [*mó kĩ:*] *dènjé* *jê-∅*
[3SgP head.L] hit finish.Perf-3SgS
‘She hit herself.’
- c. [*bé kĩ:*] *dènjé* *j-â:*
[3PIP head.L] hit finish.Perf-3PIS
‘They hit themselves.’
- d. [[*ó kĩ:*] *dènjá-l-ó:* *mé*]
[[2SgP head.L] hit-PerfNeg-2SgS if]
[*nǒ:* *mǎ:mà-nd-ó:*]
[person defeat-PresNeg-2SgS
‘If you haven’t hit yourself (first), you can’t handle (= beat) (another) person.’ (2005-1a)

The only cases involving the complement of a simple (non-composite) postposition and a coidnexed clausemate subject that I was able to elicit were with Purposive *nèn* ‘for’. Here the explicit reflexive is required (xx2). For composite postpositions, see the following section.

- (xx2) [[*bé kĩ:*] *nèn*] *bírà-nj-ê:*
[[3PIP head] for] work-Pres-3PIS
‘They work for themselves.’

18.1.2 Reflexive possessor

There is **no special marking** of reflexive possessor, as in ‘X saw [X’s Y]’, where the possessor of the non-subject NP is coindexed with the clausemate subject. Instead, the regular pronominal possessor forms are used. When the subject is third person (xx1.b,d), this results in ambiguity, as in English (*He_i drank his_i /his_j tea*). In textual examples (xx1.e), the translation indicates the contextually appropriate reference.

- (xxx) a. [àtê: mí gè] nê-mí
 [tea 1SgS Poss.InanSg.E] drink.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I drank my tea.’
- b. [àtê: mó gè] nê-∅
 [tea **AnSgP** Poss.InanSg.E] drink.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He_i drank his_i/his_j tea.’
- c. [[mí bà] tàr-â:] ínò-njò-mì
 [[1SgP father.L] visit-Purp] go-Pres-1SgS
 ‘I will go visit my father.’
- d. [[mó bà] tàr-â:] ínò-njò-∅
 [[**AnSgP** father.L] visit-Purp] go-Pres-3SgS
 ‘He_i will go to visit his_i/his_j father.’
- e. [nǒ: đin là] [[mó òlò] mà] kán-lé
 [person all also] [[**AnSgP** house.1] in] do-VbIN
 mó há:nè b-ò:]
 AnSg ought be-Ppl.InanSg.O
 ‘what each person is supposed to do in his (own) house’ (2005-1a)

Several adverbial postpositions are complex, of the type [X *bàndi*] mà] ‘in X’s back’ = ‘behind X’. When the clausemate subject is coindexed with the complement of the complex postposition (which is really a possessor), the resulting construction is comparable to e.g. (xx1.d), above, and the overt reflexive pronoun is not required. We therefore have the plain 3Sg (animate) possessor *mó* in (xx2.a), whether or not *mó* is coindexed with the subject. For emphasis or to avoid confusion, the explicit reflexive is used (xx2.b). (xx2.c) does have the reflexive since the pragmatic context requires foregrounding of the coindexation.

- (xx2) a. *é*é [[*m*ó *b*àndi] *m*à] *s*ĩbĩ-rè-∅
 peanuts [[3SgP back] in] hide-Tr.Perf-3SgS
 ‘She hid the peanuts behind herself/him.’
- b. *é*é [[[*m*ó *k*ĩ:] *b*àndi] *m*à] *s*ĩbĩ-rè-∅
 peanuts [[[3SgP head] back] in] hide-Tr.Perf-3SgS
 ‘She hid the peanuts behind herself.’

18.2 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

18.2.1 True logophoric function

No specialized logophoric pronoun has been observed. Instead, regular pronominal forms (including subject-pronominal inflection on verbs) occur in quoted clauses. A third person pronominal in a quoted clause may or may not be coindexed with a third person quoted speaker. Therefore in (xx1), 3Sg *m*ó as direct object may, but need not be, coindexed with the subject (Sidi).

- (xx1) *s*ĩ:đi [[*m*ĩ *y*à:] [*m*ó *g*ĩ] *d*ěnjè] *w*á,
 S [[1Sg Foc] [3Sg Acc] hit.Perf] say,
*k*à: *p*àbǎ:ǎy
 but untruth=it.is
 ‘Sidi_x says (= claims) that I hit him_x/him_y but it’s untrue.’

18.2.2 First person as logophoric

In (xx1), the free translation follows the English pattern whereby pronominals and other indexicals are updated in indirect discourse. In Najamba, however, ‘you will go’ is expressed as ‘I will go’. In other words, the 1Sg pronoun captures the original first-person quality of the reported speech/thought (quoted directly): ‘If you say, ‘I will go ...’” This logophoric use of the 1Sg is limited to subject position, and is expressed by the 1Sg pronominal-subject suffix *-m*.

- (xx1) *k*ên ñnò-njò-*m* *g*ĩn-ó: *m*é
 there go-Pres-1SgS say.Perf-2SgS if
 ‘If you-Sg say (intend) that you will go there, ...’ (2005-1a)

That the 1Sg suffix is becoming **specialized as a general logophoric subject** in this context is shown by the fact that it may be used with plural

referent, where we might have expected a 1Pl using the direct-discourse logic expressed above.

- (xx2) *kên ñò-njò-m gĩn-é: mé*
 there go-Pres-1SgS say.Perf-2PlS if
 ‘If you-Pl say (intend) that you will go there, ...’

In addition, the ostensible 1Sg pronominal is disregarded in any further anaphoric operations involving referential identity. Instead, the actually denoted referent functions as the antecedent. In (xx3.c), the object of ‘kill’ is a snake. Replacing this with a (true) 1Sg object (xx3.b), we get a reading where the apparent 1Sg subject suffix *-m*, in logophoric function, is referentially disjoint from the 1Sg object, so we get no reflexive morphology. By contrast, when the direct object of ‘kill’ is in fact coindexed with the logophoric antecedent, as in (xx3.c), we do get reflexive morphology (‘you head’ = ‘yourself’).

- (xx3) a. *kòngò-[jàlá-ngó] gǐyà-mbó-m gĩn-ó: mé*
 thing.L-[long-InanSg.O] kill-Fut-1SgS say.Per-2SgS if
 ‘if you-Sg say (intend) to kill a snake, ...’
- b. *[mí gǐ] gǐyà-mbó-m gĩn-ó: mé*
 [1Sg Acc] kill-Fut-1SgS say.Per-2SgS if
 ‘if you-Sg say (intend) to kill me, ...’
- c. *[[ó kǐ:] gǐ] gǐyà-mbó-m gĩn-ó: mé*
 [[2SgP head.L] Acc] kill-Fut-1SgS say.Per-2SgS if
 ‘if you-Sg say (intend) to kill me, ...’

Further textual examples are in (xx2). (xx2.a) is of the literal type “He says, ‘I am tired’.” In (xx2.b), the quoted speaker is the addressee, as indicated by the preposed 2Sg pronoun *ó*. This is coindexed, as in the other examples of this section, by a 1Sg pronominal-subject suffix. What is interesting about (xx2.b) is that the direct object of the verb of the quoted clause is a true 1Sg pronominal, so the Najamba construction translates literally as “you_x will say [I_x won’t give to me_y].” Note that the first 1Sg pronominal in this literal translation, but not the second 1Sg pronominal, is coindexed to ‘you’ as attributed author of the quotation.

- (xx2) a. *kà: [mó là] àyè-m gínà-njò-Ø*
 but [AnSg also] be.weary.Perf-1SgS say-Pres-3SgS
 ‘But he too says (= claims) that he is tired.’ (2005-1a)

- b. ... gǐné-m mé,
 ... say.Perf-1SgS if,
 ó [mí gǐ] ndá-nù-m gǐnà-mb-ô:
 2Sg [1Sg Acc] give-FutNeg-1SgS say-Fut-2SgS
 ‘If I say (that), you will say that you won’t give (him/her) to me.’
 (2005-2a)

For a similar generalized 1Sg verb form in an ‘owner of X’ compound, see ex. (xx2) in §5.1.8.

18.2.3 ‘The guy/fellow’ (dòmbâ-n)

A noun **dòmbâ-n** can be used to index a previously introduced generic or indefinite discourse referent, as in discussions of general truths, or a referent whose identity is not known to the speaker. Example: ‘I ran into a young man in the park; **the guy/fellow** was too drunk to talk clearly’.

dòmbâ-n is related to **dòmbă**: ‘owner’, and the plural of both is **dòmbà-mbó** ‘the guys; owners’. An example occurs at the end of the extended passage in (xx1).

- (xx1) ùsfǒ: ndá:-l-é: mó là,
 path give-PerfNeg-Ppl AnSg also,
 [jáŋgé jòg-â: mà] ðimbà-ndí-Ø↑,
 [study(verb) have-Ppl in] follow-StatNeg-3SgS,
 [jáŋgá-l-é: má] ðimbà-ndí↓,
 [study(verb)-PerfNeg-Ppl in] follow-StatNeg-3SgS,
 jěnjà ùsfǒ: [dòmbâ-n gǐ] ndá:-l-Ø mé tán↑, ...
 God pather [**guy** Acc] give-PerfNeg-3SgS if only, ...
 ‘On the other hand, (someone) to whom He (= God) has not given (=shown) the path, it doesn’t matter if he been educated, it doesn’t matter if he hasn’t been educated. If God hasn’t given the path to **the fellow**, ...’ (2005-1a)

Another textual example is (xx2), with two occurrences of **dòmbâ-n**, from a similar passage about general truths.

- (xx2) bǎrkè kó↑, dòmbâ-n ðimbì-yá-m̀,
 blessing Def.InanSg.O, **guy** follow-MP-Fut.3SgS,
 bǎrkè dòmbân [ó mà] kwá:-l-Ø mé ðin,
 blessing **guy** [2Sg in] eat-PerfNeg-3SgS if all,
 [ó gǐ] ðimbì-yà-ndí-Ø

X: Will he (=short person) be wrung (=stretched), or will **that one** (=tall person) bend? If he bends, **that one** (=tall person) will suffer. If you-Sg pull **this one** (=short person) and make him reach there (=that height), he too will suffer.

Demonstrative adverbs ('here', 'over there', etc.) may also be used in this way. See §4.4.3.2 for an example ('The sun rises here, and the sun sets around here'), where two locations (east and west horizons) are indicated by Proximal 'here', the second adding an Approximative suffix ('around here').

18.3 Reciprocal

18.3.1 Simple reciprocals (tò-mbó, tǔ:n)

Reciprocal constructions are based on the nouns tò-mbó (used for groups of three or more) and tǔ:n (for two persons). They are related to the noun tǔ: 'comrade, agemate' (plural tò-mbó). These are used in direct object function to indicate reciprocal coindexation with a nonsingular clausemate subject. There is no agreement with the noun-class or pronominal person of the subject. Accusative gĩ, which is largely predictable here, is optional. When it is present, /tǔ:n gĩ/ is usually heard as [tǔ:ŋgĩ] with the /n/ assimilating to the velar.

- (xx1) a. [nò-mbó bè dīn] [tò-mbó (gĩ)] tǎr-à:
 [person-Pl Pl.L all] [Recip-Pl (Acc)] look.at.Perf-3PlS
 'All the people looked at each other.'
- b. [[yě: mó má⇒] [ánè mò mà⇒]]
 [[woman Sg and] [man Sg and]]
 [tǔ:ŋ gĩ] tǎr-à:
 [RecipDu Acc] look.at.Perf-3PlS
 'The woman and the man looked at each other.'
- c. tò-mbó tǎr-è-y
 Recip-Pl look.at.Perf-1PlS
 'We (three or more) looked at each other.'

In (xx2), the Reciprocal noun is used with **Locative** postposition mà. /tǔ:n mà/ is often pronounced [tǔ:m:à] as the /n/ assimilates to the m.

- (xx2) a. [kīn-bò nô:y] [tǔ:n mà] dīn-y-à:
 [stone-Pl two] [RecipDu in] bump-MP.Perf-3PlS

‘Two stones bumped into each other.’

- b. [nò-mbó bè ðin] [tò-mbó mà] ðinĩ-y-à:
 [person-Pl Pl.L all] [Recip-Pl in] bump-MP.Perf-3PlS
 ‘All the people bumped into each other.’

tò-mbó is a **possessor** in (xxx). It therefore forces tone-dropping on the following possessed noun.

- (xxx) jěnjà [tò-mbó sèmbè kó là]
 God [Recip-Pl strength.L Def.InanSg.O also]
 [ĩ ġì] sémbá-m-ná
 [1Pl Acc] strong-Fact-Hort.3Sg
 ‘May God fortify us (with) each other’s (= mutual) strength (to work together).’ (2005-1a)

18.3.2 ‘together’ (sǎ:)

The simple adverb sǎ: can be used to indicate collective activity (xx1). An alternative is to use a chain involving the verb mùlé ‘assemble, come together’ (§15.1.xxx, above).

- (xxx) a. sǎ: bǐrà-mbó-ỳ
 together work-Fut-1SgS
 ‘We will work together.’
- b. [bé kà ðin] [àlhâ:l bé ġò]
 [AnPl Top all] [situation AnPlP Poss.InanSg.O]
 sǎ: ínò-njò-Ø
 together go-Pres-3SgS
 ‘Both of them (= herder and merchant), their situation goes together (= is similar).’ (2005-1a)

19 Grammatical pragmatics

19.1 Topic

19.1.1 Topic (*kày, gày, gà, kây*)

A topicalized constituent is normally fronted, and may either be preclausal (in which case a topicalized NP may be resumed by a pronoun in the clause proper) or part of the clause. The Topic particle has variant forms *kày, gày, and gà*.

Topics are commonly contrastive, i.e. tend to occur at the point where attention shifts from one discourse referent to another. The Topic particle competes with *là* ‘also, too, likewise’, which occurs in contexts where the two referents occupy similar semantic positions. Examples of Topic particles with NPs, pronouns, and adverbs are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. *mâ:n* [*mí mà*] *j-ô:* *kó* *gày*
 so.and.so [1Sg Dat] bring.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.ODef.InanSg.O **Top**
 ‘As for (what) So-and-So has brought to me, ...’ (2005-1a)
- b. [*í mà*] *bé wé jòg-à:* *kó* [*í gày*],
 [1Pl Dat] AnPl come Perf-PplNS Def.InanSg.O [1Pl **Top**]
 [*kòngò, í ògà-ngà*] *pàlà:=y*
 [thing.L, 1PlS know-Pres.Ppl] small=it.is
 ‘(the fact) that they have come to us, as for us, the thing that we know is small’ (2005.1a)
- c. [*nǎ: gà*] [*inèn-[tún-lé] má↑*], *gǒ:rè:=y=bè-Ø*
 [yesterday Top][name-[put-VblN]in], kola=it.is.=Past-3SgS
 ‘As for (what happened) in the past, in name-giving (ceremonies), it used to be kola nuts (that were offered to visitors).’ (2005-1a)

A dative PP is topicalized in (xx2).

- (xx2) [*nè:ndá:* *dǎ:-mbò gw-è:* *mé là*]
 [bad.InanSg.O speak-and go.out.Perf-2PlS if also]
 [[*nò-mbó bé*] *mà kà*] *kúmbà:=y*
 [[person-Pl Def.AnPl] Dat **Top**] unawareness=it.is

‘(and) furthermore if you-Pl have gone out and said bad ones (= words), the people for their part are unaware’ (2005-1a) (/dàmá-mbò/)

A common device is to introduce a NP or proposition, then resume it as a topicalized demonstrative as a transition to a following clause in which the referent functions as an argument. An example is *kó gà* in (xx3).

- (xx3) [kóngò kó] ínèn jògò-ndí↑,
 [thing Def.InanSg.O] name have-StatNeg,
 [kó gà] kánà-ndí-Ø↓
 [InanSg.O Top] be.done-PresNeg-3SgS
 ‘(the possibility) that the thing does not have a name, that (= being nameless) doesn’t happen (= is impossible)’ (2005-1a)

Topicalization is very common and is sometimes best disregarded in the free translation, especially since the English *as for X* construction is so clumsy. It is not unusual to find **two “topics”** in the same breath (xxx).

- (xxx) [dè:gó kó] [íyó gà] [í gà] yá-njò-ndí-ỳ
 [truth Def.InanSg.O] [today Top] [1Pl Top] see-Progr-Neg-1PlS
 ‘The truth, as for us nowadays, we don’t see (it).’ (2005-1a)

It is also not unusual to find a Topic particle combined with other discourse particles in ways that make a literal translation unthinkable. In (xxx), the second instance (out of three) of Topic morpheme *kà* is followed by Focus *yà:* and then by *là* ‘also, too, likewise’. The Focus particle is clearly appropriate in context, as the clause in question is exactly parallel to the preceding focalized clause. The fact that *ngú* ‘this’ (here a nonspecific place-holder, like ‘such-and-such’) denotes something different in the two parallel clauses is responsible for both the Topic and ‘also, likewise’ particles.

- (xxx) [tĩmê: yé] [[ngú yà:] jónà-njò-Ø]
 [tree.Pl Def.InanPl] [[Prox.InanSg.O Foc] treat-Pres-3SgS
 ... [í kà] dà:ndà:-ndí,
 ... [1Pl Top] tell-PerfNeg.3PlS,
 [[ngú kà yà: là]1
 [[[Prox.InanSg.O Top Foc also]
 nǒ: kóndò-njò-Ø] [í kà] dà:ndà:-ndí
 person do.well-Pres [1Pl Top] tell-PerfNeg.3PlS
 ‘(Of) those trees, they didn’t tell us (that) this (i.e. disease) [focus] is what it (tree) treats, likewise they didn’t tell us (that) this [focus] is what a person makes (from it).’ (2005-1a)

gà and *kà* also occur at the end of factive complements (§xxx).

19.1.2 ‘Now’ (*sǎŋ* ~ *sàŋgí*, *nû:*)

sǎŋ ~ *sàŋgí* is the basic ‘now’ adverb with temporal sense. It is often clause-initial (specifying a temporal setting for the following), and it may combine with Topic marker *kà* (or variant). Examples are *sǎŋ* in (xx3.a) in §15.1.1.2 and in (xx25) in the sample text, and topicalized *sǎŋ kà* in (xx1.a) in §15.2.5. It also occurs in *sàmmá* ‘fast, quickly’ (§3.3.11.2), a probable combination with the high-toned variant of all-purpose postposition *mà* (§8.1.2).

Another form, *nû:*, is more of a pragmatic marker. It may occur clause-finally, an anomalous position for a true spatiotemporal adverb or adverbial phrase. Examples are (xx1), (xx7), and (xx41) in the sample text.

The distinction between ‘nowadays’ and ‘formerly, in the old days’ is regularly expressed as *íyó* ‘today’ versus *nǎ:* ‘yesterday’. This opposition is extremely common in my texts from Adia village, which talk at length about how life has changed since the speakers’ childhood.

19.1.3 ‘Also, too, likewise’ (*là*)

The very common phrase-final particle *là* can be glossed ‘also, too’. However, its semantic range is greater than these glosses suggest. Najamba discourse is full of parallelistic passages (compare Biblical Hebrew, Rotinese, and other poetic traditions favoring parallelism). This lends itself to high-frequency use of *là* in the noninitial clauses or phrases of a parallelistic sequence. In some cases, ‘also, too’ is the best free translation, i.e. when a portion of two clauses is identical and only one or two constituents or grammatical categories are changed: ‘you went to Douentza; I too went to Douentza’; see (xx1.a-b). However, *là* is also common in contexts where the segments are parallel (in a pragmatic sense) but do not involve repeated constituents. In these cases I favor ‘likewise’ as a gloss in free translations: ‘you went to Douentza; I likewise will go to Mopti.’ Even ‘likewise’ is sometimes stretching the parallelism, which may verge into mildly contrastive territory (xx1.c). Because of this, *là* intrudes into the territory of Topic morpheme *kày* (and variants): ‘you went to Douentza, as for me (by contrast) I will go to Mopti’.

Even when the logical scope of *là* would seem to be clausal, it is normally **attached (clitic-like)** to a NP or similar constituent. Clause-initial pronouns are especially favored for this purpose.

- (xx1) a. kó tóló=ý [gĩr mà] ìnò-mb-ê:↑,
 InanSg.O more=it.is [front in] go-Fut-Ppl.Foc,
 [kó tóló là] [bàndí mà] nǚy
 [InanSg.O more **also**] [behind in] is.good
 ‘That [focus] is what will go in front the most (= is best). That same
 thing is best in the rear **too**.’ (2005-1a)
- b. [tóndí-y jòg-â:=ỳ] kànè-Ø mé,
 [bend-MP Perfect-Ppl=it.is] be.done.Perf-3SgS if,
 òmá: áy jòg-â:=ỳ,
 Far.AnSg suffer Perfect-Ppl=it.is,
 [[òm gĩ] jùmbé nǚ]
 [[Prox.AnSg Acc] pull Adv.SS]
 [ḡgâ:n jùmbé dò:-nd-ò: dé],
 [there pull arrive-Caus.Perf-3PlS if]
 [mó là] áy jòg-â:=ỳ
 [AnSg **also**] suffer Perfect-Ppl=it.is
 ‘If he (= tall person) bends, that one (= tall person) will suffer. If
 they pull this one (= short person) and make him reach there
 (= stretch him to the height of the tall person=), **he too** will suffer.’
 (2005-1a)
- c. [òmá: là] yô:-mbò yálà-Ø
 [Far-AnSg **also**] run-Progr go.around.Stat-3SgS
 [kír-gé: mó gà]
 [herder Def.AnSg Top]
 ‘(A farmer can host a visitor.) That (other) one (= herder), he
 likewise goes running around, the herder for his part.’ (2005-1a)
 (/yóbà-mbò/)

là is compatible with **negation**, where the English free translation could have ‘nor’ or ‘(not) either’.

- (xxx) [tĩmê: yé] [[ḡgú yà:] jónà-njò-Ø] ...
 [tree.Pl Def.InanPl] [[Prox.InanSg.O Foc] treat-Pres-3SgS] ...
 [í kà] dà:ndà:-ndí,
 [1Pl Top] tell-PerfNeg.3PlS,
 [[ḡgú kà yà: là] nǚ: kóndò-njò-Ø]
 [[Prox.InanSg.O Top Foc **also**] person do.well-Pres-3SgS]
 [í kà] dà:ndà:-ndí
 [1Pl Top] tell-PerfNeg.3PlS

‘(Of) the trees, they didn’t tell us (that) this (i.e. disease) [focus] is what it (tree) treats, **nor** did they tell us (that) this [focus] is what a person makes (from it).’ (2005-1a)

là is also used in the pragmatic sense ‘**furthermore**, moreover, in addition’, where the speaker is adding information to that already expressed, whether or not the eventualities denoted by the respective clauses are themselves parallel in any fashion. Even in such cases, where the logical scope of **là** includes the entire proposition, it is generally cliticized to a pronominal or other constituent near the beginning of the clause.

(xxx) [bírà-l-mbò là] dùmí-yà-ndí
 [work-PerfNeg-Progr also] get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS
 ‘It (= gain) is furthermore not gotten without working.’ (2005-1a)

Although **là** is normally cliticized to a pronoun or similar constituent near the beginning of a clause, it readily occurs after clause-final **mé** ‘if’ in **conditional antecedents**. The combination is pronounced **mé là**.

(xxx) [[tò-mbó mà] pã:m jògò-nd-é: mé là]
 [[Recip-Pl in] understandinghave-StatNeg-2PIS **if** **also**]
 ‘If furthermore you-Pl have no (mutual) understanding among you agemates’ (2005-1a)

19.1.4 ‘Even’ (**hâl**)

Phrase- or clause-initial **hâl**, the ‘until’ or ‘all the way to’ particle, is also used in phrases with the sense ‘even X’. An example is (xx3.b) in §15.1.1.2 (**hâl íyó** ‘even today’. Examples like (xx3) in §17.6.1 (**hâl ñgâ:n** ‘[from] as far away as there’, i.e. ‘even from that far away’) are semantically transitional.

19.2 Presentential discourse markers

19.2.1 ‘Well, ...’ (**háyà**)

As in other languages of the zone, **háyà** is common as a ‘well, ...’ particle preceding a clause.

19.2.2 ‘All right, ...’ (kóndé⇒)

The particle *kóndé⇒* ‘all right’ may be used to express assent or acceptance (e.g. of someone’s proposal). It is also used as a discourse particle preceding a clause. It is related to verb *kóndí* ‘do well, make well; be done well’.

19.2.3 ‘But ...’ (kà:)

The regionally ubiquitous clause-initial ‘but’ particle is usually pronounced with low pitch in my data, and I transcribe *kà:*. Occasional high-pitched variants are also heard; I incline to attribute the high pitch to intonational modification.

19.2.4 ‘So, ...’

The Purposive PP *kó nèn* ‘for that’ can be placed at the beginning of a clause as an approximation to (causal) ‘so ...’. I have found no close correspondent to the discourse-particle (‘So, how’s life?’).

19.2.5 ‘Lo, ...’ (jákà)

As in other languages of the zone, *jákà* is used in anecdotes and narratives as a ‘lo and behold’ expression preceding a surprising or climactic clause.

19.3 Pragmatic adverbials or equivalents

19.3.1 ‘(Not) again’

The adverb *wòndé* ‘(not) again’ is used with a negation. For intensification, *àbádá* ‘never’ may be added.

- (xx1) a. *ên* *gǒl* *wè-∅*,
 here last.year come.Perf-3SgS,
kǎ: *wòndé* *màmíli-yé* *wǒ-l-∅*
 but not.again go.back-MP come-PerfNeg-3SgS
 ‘She came here last year, but she hasn’t come back again.’
- b. *àbádá* *wòndé* [*sê:* *kònjè*] *ná-nù-m*
 never not.again [grain beer.L.] drink-FutNeg-1SgS

‘I will never again drink millet beer.’

19.3.2 ‘And so forth’

Something like ‘and so forth’ or ‘etcetera’ can be expressed as ‘it has no limit’ at the end of a partial list.

- (xx1) [pègè-mbó má⇒] [ínà: mà⇒] [párngá-mbó má⇒]
 [sheep-Pl and] [goat.Pl and] [donkey-Pl and]
 kàló: jògò-ndí-Ø yè-mí
 limit have-StatNeg-3SgS see.Perf-1SgS
 ‘I saw sheep, goats, donkeys, etcetera.’

19.4 ‘Only’ particles

19.4.1 ‘Only’ (tómá, tán)

The usual ‘only’ particle is *tómá*. This is related to certain forms of the numeral ‘one’ (§4.7.1.1). Where possible semantically, *tómá* is placed at the end of the (non-verb) constituent that defines the limits of the proposition (xx1). It is invariant in form.

- (xx1) a. [bû:d pǒ:-nòy tómá] [mí gǐ] ñdè-Ø
 [riyal ten-two **only**] [1Sg Acc] give.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She gave me only ten riyals (100 francs CFA).’
- b. [íyó tómá] bírá-m̀
 [today **only**] work-Fut.3SgS
 ‘He/She will work today only.’
- c. [òndô: bé tómá] bírà-nj-è:
 [child.Pl Pl only] work-Pres-Ppl.Foc
 ‘Only the children work.’

When the verb, VP, or clause as a whole is under the logical scope of ‘only’, we can get a **predicative form** (‘it is’), agreeing with the subject, based on singular *tómá* or animate plural *tómá-mbó*. This construction is used when the temporal scope of the proposition is wide or indefinite, so that ‘only’ is baked into the nature or characteristic behavior of the subject. In one variant of this, the predicate is a **nominalization** of the verb, with senses like ‘(act of)

sitting’, ‘food/eating’, or ‘speech, talk’, if such a noun is available. Thus ‘you only {eat, drink, talk, sleep}’ is literally expressed as ‘you are just {food, beverage, words, sleep}’ (xx2). In this construction, the predicate nominal itself is not conjugated.

- (xx2) a. [ó gà] bíró: bírà-nd-ò:,
 [2Sg Top] work(noun) work-Pres.Neg-2SgS,
 óbì-n tó má=̀ẁ
 sit-Nom only=it.is.2SgS
 ‘You-Sg don’t work, you-Sg just sit.’
- b. [é gà] bíró: bírà-nd-è:,
 [2Sg Top] work(noun) work-Pres.Neg-2SgS,
 óbì-n tó má-mb=è:
 sit-Nom only-Pl=it.is.2PIS
 ‘You-Pl don’t work, you-Pl just sit.’
- c. kwé-̀ngò tó má=̀ẁ
 food-InanSg.O only=it.is.2SgS
 ‘You-Sg just eat.’

Another version of this general construction is a **double predicate** with the conjugated *tó má* following a conjugated ‘it is’ form of an **agentive nominal**.

- (xx3) a. swè:-mògé=̀ẁ tó má=̀ẁ
 cloth.Pl.L-wash.Agent=it.is.2SgS only=it.is.2SgS
 ‘You-Sg just wash clothes.’
- b. swè:-mògí-mb=è: tó má-mb=è:
 cloth.Pl.L-wash.Agent-Pl=it.is.2PIS only-Pl=it.is.2PIS
 ‘You-Pl just wash clothes.’

It is also possible to just add unconjugated *tó má* at the end of a regular main clause. This is not the favored construction, but it can be used when the temporal scope is limited and when there is no convenient direct object or other complement of the verb to hang the ‘only’ particle on (xxx).

- (xxx) m̀g-̀š: tó má
 wash.Perf-2SgS only
 ‘You only washed.’

19.4.2 ‘A mere ...’ (lók)

lók is a more emphatic ‘only’ particle, pronounced as an interjection with high pitch (the preceding word lowers its pitch intonationally to increase the pitch contrast). It is most often used after ‘one’, but it can be used after other quantifiers. The pragmatic context is one of dissatisfaction or surprise at the meagerness of the entity. The reduplication **lók-lók** is also in use. It is not distributive (‘one here, one there’), just an alternative to **lók**.

- (xx1) a. [ɛ̀lè-ŋgò kúndú lók] [mí ġĩ òdè-∅]
[peanut-Sg.L one.InanSg.O mere] [1Sg Acc] give.Perf-3SgS
‘He/She gave me one lousy peanut.’
- b. [ĩĩ kúndé lók-lók] dùmè-m
[fish.Sg.L one.InanSg.E mere-mere] get.Perf-1SgS
‘I got (= caught) one lousy fish.’

19.4.3 ‘If (only)’ (tán)

The particle **tán** (‘only’ in Fulfulde) is used chiefly as an alternative ‘if’ particle at the end of conditional antecedent clauses (§xxx).

19.5 Phrase-final emphatics

19.5.1 Phrase-final **já:ĩ**

examples from texts

19.5.2 Clause-final **kǒy**

examples from texts

19.5.3 Clause-final **dé**

examples from texts

19.5.4 Clause-final ‘(not) at all!’ particles (**péy-péy**, **pés**)

péy-péy and **pés** are emphatics that may precede or follow the negation.

(xx1) ‘He/She didn’t eat at all’, expressed as follows (**kwá:-l** ‘did not eat’):

- a. **pés** **kwá:-l-Ø**
- b. **kwá:-l-Ø** **pés**
- c. **péy-péy** **kwá:-l-Ø**
- d. **kwá:-l-Ø** **péy-péy**

19.6 Greetings

Time-of-day greetings and their responses are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. **kàndá** ‘good morning’ (from pre-dawn prayer to 9 AM, to one person)
kàndá-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: **yó.:**
- b. **pǒ:** ‘good day’ (from 9 AM to noon, to one person)
póyá-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: **yó.:**
- c. **pǒ: jùmà** ‘good afternoon’ (from noon to 2 PM, to one person)
póyà ú júmá-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: **yó.:**
- d. **pǒ: dèndá: má** ‘good afternoon’ (from 2 PM to dusk, to one person)
póyà dèndá: má-m [same, to two or more persons]
reply: **yó.:**
- e. **dèné** ‘good evening’ (from dusk to pre-dawn prayer, to one person)
dèné-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
reply: **yó.:**

- f. *jámmà nâ:y* ‘good night’ (to one or more persons)
jěnjà í mà síyè-ŋgè ná:m ná [reply]

Situational (activity-related) greetings and their responses are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. *póyà bǐrò: má* ‘hello’ (to one at work, farming, etc.)
póyà bǐrò: má-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
 reply: *yó:.*
- b. *àjě: ŋwê:* ‘welcome’ (to one returning from farming)
àjě: ŋwé-m̀ [same, to two or more persons]
 reply: *yó:.*
- c. *àjê:* ‘welcome’ (to one returning with water)
àjê:-m [same, to two or more persons]
 reply: *yó:.*
- d. *àjá māmìlè* ‘welcome’ (to one returning from another village)
àjá māmìlè-m [same, to two or more persons]
 reply: *yó:.*
- e. *[ó má] [ébám má]* ‘welcome’ (to one returning from the market)
[ó má] [ébám má] [same, to two or more persons]
 reply: *ébán yè-m̀* ‘I’ve seen the market.’
 reply: *ébán yè-ý* ‘we’ve seen the market.’

20 Sample text

This is the first part of a recording made in Adia village in 2005. Speaker P is a middle-aged woman, speaker R is a man. P does most of the talking in this passage, with R as the attentive listener, occasionally intervening as at (xx11).

- (xx1) P: *kó nû: jàngǎ-mb-à:≡là, háyà bīsīmīllâ:y,1*
 InanSg.O now begin-Fut-Pass=it.is.not, well by.God,
ínò-mbò kábīl káná,
 person-Pl excuse(noun) do.Imprt,
 [[*í bà-mbò*] [*í ñ-bò*]] *mà*]
 [[1PIP father-Pl.L] [1PIP mother-Pl.L]] in]
í dīn-ô:,
 1PIS find.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O,
 [*í bà-mbò í ñ-bò*] *dīné:-y,*
 [1PIP father-Pl.L] [1PIP mother-Pl.L] find.Perf-1PIS,

P: Is it (= recording) not being begun now? Well, in God's name. My people (= kinsmen), excuse me. What we found (= inherited) from our fathers and our mothers. We found (=were born among) our fathers and our mothers.

[*bīsīmīllâ:y* Arabic invocation at the onset of a speech, trip, etc.; *kábīl káná* 'excuse me!' said by a woman when speaking to a group of men; Future Passive negative *-mb-à:≡là* §10.5.2]

- (xx2) [*dògò-gwǎ:n má*] *jà: b-ô: kày,*
 [Dogon.L-country in] yesterday remain.Perf-PplS.O Top,
 [*mànê: kwá-m≡bè-y*] [*sòlé ná-m≡bè-y*]
 [meal.Pl eat-Impf=Past-1PIS] [cream.of.millet drink-Impf=Past-1PIS]
 [*émè: ná-m≡bè-y*] [[[*í ñ-bò*] [*í bà-mbò*]]]
 [milk drink-Impf=Past-1PIS] [[[1PIP mother-Pl.L] [1PIP father-Pl.L]]]
í kómándíyà-m≡b-à:,
 1PIO take.care.of-Impf=Past-3PIS]

As for what there was formerly in Dogon country, we used to eat meals, we used to drink cream of millet, we used to drink milk, our mothers and our fathers used to take good care of us.

[Participle *b-ô:* from 'remain/be' verb §11.2.6.1; Past Imperfective *-m≡bè-* §10.3.1.3.]

- (xx3) [í bà-mbò] [nàwó: ínà:] jógò-m=b-à:,
 [1PIP father-Pl] [cow.Pl goat.Pl] have-Stat=Past-3PlS,
 [tò-mbó gǐ] ðimbí-yè-mbò,
 [Recip-Pl Acc] follow-MP-and.then,
 [tò-mbó mà] < pǎ:m-- > [nǎ:n nè] pǎ:m ðùmí-yé=bè,
 [Recip-Pl with] < ... > [well Adv] understanding get-MP=Past,
 kày [iyó nù:], í òndú-Ø,
 Topic [today now], this not.be-3Sg,
 nǎ: [í bà-mbò],
 yesterday [1PIP father-Pl.L]
 [[bé òndò:] gǐ] [sě⇒ nè] kúmbí-y kóndí nè,1
 [[3PIP child.Pl.L] Acc] [well Adv] hold-MP do.well and.SS,

Our fathers had cows and goats, they (= family members) followed each other (= lived together), and understanding (=harmony) among each other was well gotten (= they got along well), as for (that). Nowadays, this does not exist. Formerly, our fathers watched carefully over their children in tranquility.

[Reciprocal tò-mbó §18.3.1; -mbò 'and then' after E-stem of verb §15.1.1.2; Demonstrative í §xxx; nè same-subject subordinator §15.1.1.4]

- (xx4) bǎ: [[mó èndè:] gǐ] kúmbò-Ø mé,
 father [[3SgP child] Acc] hold.Stat-3SgS if,
 èndè: [bǎ:-n gǐ] ðimbà-m=bè-Ø, kà: [iyó nù:],
 child [father-3SgP Acc] follow-Impf=Past-3SgS, but [today now]
 [èndè: mó] [[bǎ: mó] gǐ] ðimbà-ndí-Ø,
 [child Def.AnSg] [[father Def.AnSg] Acc] follow-PresNeg-3Sg,
 [[bǎ: mó] là] [[èndè: mó] gǐ] ðimbà-ndí-Ø,
 [[father Def.AnSg] too] [[child Def.AnSg] Acc] follow-PresNeg-3SgS,

If a father watched over his child, the child would follow (=obey) his father. But nowadays, the child doesn't follow the father, and the father doesn't follow the child.

[no special reflexive possessor form §18.1.2; Stative kúmbò §11.2.3; mé 'if' §16.1; bǎ:-n 'his father' §6.2.4; Present Negative inflection §10.1.4.4]

- (xx5) kó àṅgú=y ló,
 InanSg.O which?=it.is Q,
 [gwǎ: ké] nàm j-è:,
 [country Def.InanSg.E] be.ruined Perfect-Ppl.Foc
 [[gwǎ: ké] nǎm-bò]
 [[country Def.InanSg.E] be.ruined-and.then]
 [mó gǐn-ô:],

[AnSg say.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O]

What is it, (the reason why) the country (=world) [focus] has become ruined? The country has become ruined to this extent.

[àṅgú 'which, what?' §13.2.3, §13.2.8; subject focalization with low-toned verb plus Perfect verb §13.1.1.5; -mbò 'and then' §15.1.1.2; mó ġin-ô: indicating extent §15.2.1.2]

- (xx6) [gwà:-[nàmí-n] kó là] àṅgú=yí ló,
 [country.L[ruin-Nom] Def.InanSg.O too] which?=it.isQ,
 [à:lé yà:] tégà-nd-è:, wánà: né:mà òndú-Ø,
 [rain Foc] fall-PresNeg-Ppl.Foc, truly good.times not.be-3SgS,
 né:mà òndú-Ø mé nù:, háwràl bà-m ló,
 good.times not.be-3SgS if now, agreement remain-Fut.3SgS Q,
 [gà:-gé mà] pã:m dùmà-mb-ò: ló,
 [hunger-Char in] understanding get-Fut-2SgS Q,
 [áy jòg-â:] [im mà] síyè-ṅò gò-m ló,
 [be.tired Perfect-PplS] [[mouth in] good-InanSg.O go.out-Fut.3SgS Q

(As for) the ruining of the country, what is (the reason for) that? It's the fact that rain [focus] doesn't fall. Now the good times do not exist. Now if the good times do not exist, will there be agreement (=good relations)? Will you get agreement in (=from) a hungry person? A weary person, will something good come out of his mouth?

[nàmí-n 'damage' §4.2.3.3; Present Negative focalization with -nj-è: Characteristic nominal suffix -gé §4.2.2.2; §13.1.1.2; im < /ibi/, possessed form of 'ibi 'mouth']

- (xx7) kèlã-n=lá kǒy,
 not.want-Nom=it.is.not Emph,
 nõ: [mó èndè:] kéli-yà-ndí-Ø,
 person [3SgP child.L] not.want-MP-PresNeg-3SgS,
 [èndè: là] [ní:-n ġi] kéli-yà-ndí-Ø,
 [child too] [mother-3SgP Acc] not.want-MP-PresNeg-3SgS,
 kà:èndè: nù:, [ní:-n ġi] mà:má-mè,
 but child now, [mother-3SgP Acc] be.stronger-Fut.3SgS,

It's not (from) hatred. A person (=adult) doesn't dislike his/her child, a child doesn't dislike its mother. But a child now, it will be more important than its mother.

[kèlã-n 'not wanting, hatred' §4.2.3.3; ní:-n 'mother' §6.2.4]

- (xx8) [[èndè kónjê ṅwê:m-ṅwê:m-ṅwê:m mó] ġi]
 [[child.L newborn weeping(adverbial) Def.AnSg] Acc]
 ó jò-ṅà ké,

2SgS have-Ppl Def.InanSg.E
 dèṅṅàn [ó mà] mó néndá-nd-è: gǐnè-Ø mé,
 day.L [2Sg Dat] AnSgS be.bad-Inch-Ppl.InanSg.E say.Perf-3SgS if,
 tílày, [mó gǐ] dǐmbǐ-yà-mb-ô:,
 certainty, [AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut-2SgS,

When you-Sg have a crying young baby, the day when it becomes nasty with you (= cries a lot), you have no choice but to follow (=obey) it.

[jò-ṅgà 'having' §14.3.10; temporal relative with dèṅṅàn 'the day when ...' §15.2.3.4]

(xx9) [bíró: bǐrà-m=b-ò: mé]
 [work(noun) work-Impf=Past-2SgS if]

[bǐrò: kó] dògà-mb-ô:,
 [work(noun).L NearDist.InanSg.O] leave-Fut-2SgS,
 òbì-yò-mb-ô:, [mó gǐ] dǐṅòndò-mb-ô:,
 sit-MP-Fut-2SgS, [AnSg Acc] console-Fut-2SgS,

If you-Sg were working, you will leave (=give up) that work. You will sit (=stay home), you will console (=pacify) it (=baby)

[kó Near-Distant demonstrative after low-toned noun §4.4.1.1; óbì-y 'sit' §9.3.2]

(xx10) [èndè: yà:] kànè-Ø,
 [child Foc] do.Perf-3SgS,
 èndè: [[kéndà:=y kó]=lá mé],
 child [[heart=it.is Def.InanSg.O]=it.is.not if],
 [mó gǐ] [pâ⇒ nè] jàr-ò: mé, tíbá-m̀,
 [AnSg Acc] [violently Adv] knock.down.Perf-2SgS if, die-Fut.3Sg
 [tǐbè mé] [mó gò] mó w-ô: kǒy,
 [die.Perf if] [AnSgP Poss.InanSg.O] AnSg come.Perf-Ppl Emph,
 [ó gò] [àyǐ-n ó gò]
 [2SgP Poss.InanSg.O] [fatigue 2SgP Poss.InanSg.O]
 ó nǐmsà-mb-ê:, kóndé⇒
 2SgS regret-Fut-Ppl.Foc, all.right

The child [focus] has done that. The child, if it weren't for (your) heart, you-Sg would knock (=throw) it down violently, it (=child) would die. If it has died, for its part, (the way) it has come; for your part, (in) your weariness, it's you [focus] who will be sorry. All right.

[Perfective subject-focalization §13.1.1; possessive classifier gò §6.2.2; Future subject-focalization -mb-ê: §13.1.1.3]

(xx11) R: èndè: èlú-m̀
 child be.good-3SgS

R: A child is good.

[predicate adjective with 3Sg -m §11.4.1]

- (xx12) P: èndê: èlú-m̀ [nǎ:n nè], nǎ:, < í kùlmà-- >,
 child be.good-3SgS [very Adv], yesterday, < ... >,
 [í kùlmà-mbò], tó:rù kánà-m=b-à:,
 [1PIP elder-Pl.L], fetish do-Impf=Past-3PlS,
 íyó òndú-Ø, nǎ: kònjé kúliyò-m=b-à:,
 today not.be-3SgS, yesterday beer brew-Impf=Past=3PlS,
 íyó òndú-Ø,
 today not.be-3SgS,

P: A child is very good. Formerly, our elders, they used to do (=use) fetishes (=idols). Nowadays there are none. Formerly, they used to brew millet beer. Nowadays there is none.

["went and found Najamba," i.e. went to the ancestral Najamba village of Dioni to hold a large-scale animist ceremony before the farming season]

- (xx13) nǎ: [bèlí-yé nè] --,
 yesterday [get.up-MP and.SS] --,
 [ín nè] [nàjàmbá gĩ] òndê: nè,
 [go and.SS] [Najamba Acc] find and.SS,
 [[nàjàmbá òndê] mà] àní: ló,
 [[Najamba all] in] where? Q,
 [jòn mà]=y,
 [Dioni in] =it.is

Formerly, they got up and—, they went and found Najamba. In all of Najamba, where is it? It's at Dioni (village).

- (xx14) kên ín nè, [bílá gĩné nè] [óbí-y nè],
 there go and.SS, [exchange.Imprt say and.SS] [sit-MP and.SS]
 [yèpà:bé òndê] kán kír nè,
 [thing.Pl all] make do.completely and.SS,
 sábará gĩyé nè, kên óbí-y nè,
 tall.grass kill and.SS, there sit-MP and.SS,
 dǎmgí-y nè, [jòn mà] ín nè,
 debate-MP and.SS, [Dioni in] go and.SS,
 bàndúl-bây,
 sacred.meeting,

Going there (=to Dioni village), telling (others) to exchange (views), sitting and making all the things (=disputes) finish, killing (=cutting down) tall grass stems (to cover the sacred objects), sitting there, debating, going to Dioni, (and finally) having a sacred meeting.

[*kên* discourse-definite 'there' §4.4.3.1; jussive clause (quoted imperative) §17.1.4.1]

- (xx15) [*yè* *đin*] *kánà-m=bè-y*,
 [InanPl.L all] do-Impf=Past-1PIS,
jènà-giyâ: *gĩné nè,*
 rainy.season.L-dance(noun) say and.SS,
 [*kànjé-mbó,* *kán nè,* *dégù:* *gĩné nè,*
 [beer-Pl, make and.SS], statuette say and.SS,
 [*yè* *đin*] *gõm nè,*
 [InanPl.L all] remove and.SS,
giyâ: [*gíyò-mbò* *dêné*]
 dance(noun) [dance(verb)-Prog spend.day]
 [*gíyò-mbò* *né:*],
 [dance(verb)-Prog spend.night]

We used to do everything. Saying (let's do) the harvest (lit. "rainy season") dance, making lots of millet beer, saying (=on account of) the idols, taking everything out (from storage), (they would) spend the day dancing and spend the night dancing.

[*yè* *đin* with low-toned form before *đin* 'all' §6.6.1; my Kubewel assistant prefers *dě:rù* in this sense ('statuette') and restricts *dè-dégè* (Pl *dè-dégù:*) to another sense, but several cognates of the latter such as Jamsay *đi-dégè* mean 'statuette'; Progressive *-mbò* after A/O-stem of verb §10.1.3.5; *dêné* and *né:* are chaining forms of verbs, trailing off with an implied but unexpressed following inflected verb]

- (xx16) [*í* *mà*] *né:mà* *bè-Ø, né:mà* *kó* *là,*
 [1Pl in] good.times be-3SgS, good.times Def.InanSg.O too,
 [[[*í* *kùlmà-mbò* *gàndí*] *nùmà:*] *mà*] *kà*] *điné:-y,*
 [[[1PIP elder.Pl.L certain] hand.L] in] Top] find.Perf-1PIS,
 [*í* *là*] *kánà-mbò* *bè-y,*
 [1Pl too] do-Prog be.Perf-1PIS,

There used to be good times (=prosperity) among us. We found (=experienced) the good times in the hand(s) of certain of our elders. We too used to do it.

[*bè-Ø* 'was (somewhere)' §10.3.1; *gàndí* 'certain (ones), some' §6.3.2, the context being that some elders held onto their animist ritual objects while others discarded or sold them under the influence of Islam; Past Progressive *-mbò* *bè-* §10.3.1.6]

- (xx17) *háya*
 well

[[yè dī⇒n] kòngò [í gĩ] dògá-m-ó: kó]
 [[InanPl.L all] thing.L [1Pl Acc] leave-Caus.Perf-PplS Def.InanSg.O]
 àngú=y, kǐ:-gĩndè-gé=lá, ògòndí-gé=lá,
 which?=it.is, head.L-big.L-Abstr=it.is.not, rich.L-Abstr=it.is.not,
 [gà:gó yà:] [í mà] kàn j-è:,
 [hunger Foc] [1Pl in] do Perfect-Ppl.Foc

Well, what was the thing that made us (=led us to) leave all that? It wasn't stubbornness. It wasn't wealth (=being too rich). Hunger [focus] is what has done (this) among us.

[dògá-m causative §9.2.1 < dògè 'leave', in subject Perfective participle form §14.3.1; Abstractive nominal -gé §4.2.2.2]

(xx18) gà:gó àbádá tõe:n ñimbí-yá-l-Ø,
 hunger never Recip follow-MP-PerfNeg-3SgS,
 háwràl dùmí-yà-ndí-Ø,
 agreement get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS,
 [gà:gé: kòngò kán-ò:] nè:ndá,
 [hungry thing.L do.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O] be.bad

Hunger (= hungry people) never followed each other. No agreement (=good relations) will be gotten (between them). (Any) thing that a hungry person has done is bad.

[tõe:n Reciprocal for two persons §18.3; Perfective object relative clause §14.4.2]

(xx19) kà: íyó [[gwǎ: í gè ké] mà]
 but today [[country 1PIP Poss.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E in]
 nàm-gó wè-Ø,
 difficult-Abstr come.Perf-3SgS,
 [nàm-gò w-ó: kó]
 [difficult.Abstr.L come.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O]
 [[tò-mbó gĩ] í kèfi-yè jòg-à: kó]=y,
 [[Recip-Pl Acc] 1PlS not.want-MP.L Perfect-PplNS Def.InanSg.O]=it.is,

But nowadays hardship (=high cost of living) has come into our country. The hardship that has come, it's because of the fact that we don't like each other (=don't get along).

(xx20) [kó là] [nõ: mó] [í mà]
 [InanSg.O too] [person Def.AnSg] [1Pl in]
 [séyé mó dólè-n] kèfi-yè-n=lá,
 [much AnSg exceed-DS] not.want-DS=it.is.not,
 [bìw dùmé dólé-mbò=lá], àndá=lá,
 [suddenly get exceed-and.then=it.is.not, other.InanSg.O=it.is.not,

That (=the fact that we don't get along) isn't from disliking the fact that people are too numerous (from overpopulation). It's not (from) gaining too much suddenly, nor anything else.

[nò: 'person' can be emended to plural *nò-mbó*; different-subject subordinating suffix *-n* after E-stem of verb §15.2.3.6; *-mbò* 'and then' with implied 'say/think' §15.1.1.2]

- (xx21) [gwă: nàmà-ndè-Ø m'é] < *nò-mbó* -- >
 [country difficult-Inch.Perf-3SgS if] < ... >
 [nò: kámà] [hâyⁿ hó:ràm]=i:,
 [person.L any] [himself]=it.is,
 [nò: dīn] [mó kī:] dúndà-njò-Ø,
 [person all] [3SgP head.L] look.for-Pres-3SgS,
 [[ó kī:] dúndà-nj-ò:],
 [[2SgP head.L] look.for-Pres-2SgS,
 [[ó èndè:] kèfi-yà-mb-ò: sákò],
 [[2SgP child.L] not.want-MP-Fut-2SgS not.to.mention],
 [[ké bāndī] mà]
 [[InanSg.E behind.L] in]
 [[kòngò àndă:] [i mà] bò-ŋgà dīn] òndú-Ø,
 [[thing.L other.InanSg.O] [1Pl in] be-Ppl all] not.be-3SgS

If the country has become hard (=full of hardship), every person will be selfish, everyone will look out for for himself. You-Sg are looking out (just) for yourself, not to mention that you will not love your child. After (=besides) that, there is nothing else that is among us.

[nò: *kámà* 'anyone, each person' §6.6.1; *hâyⁿ hó:ràm* 'himself' is in Fulfulde; [[X *bāndī*] *mà*] 'behind X' §8.2.6]

- (xx22) kà: [nǎ: í dīn-ê: ké]
 but [yesterday 1PIS find.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E]
 [íyó là], nǎ: [[sò-ŋgò]-gǐbù kúndú],
 [today too]. yesterday [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap.L one.InanSg.O],
 í [yàwó: té:mdèrè] [[sò-ŋgò]-gǐbù kúndú],
 1Pl [woman.Pl hundred] [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap one.InanSg.O]
 gǐbí-yò-m=bè-y,
 gird-MP-Impf=Past-1PIS,

But what we found (=experienced) formerly, now also (=by contrast), formerly a single wrap (woman's garment), one hundred of us women used to gird ourselves with (=wear) one (=the same) wrap.

[Numerals *kúndú* 'one' §4.7.1 and *té:mdèrè* 'hundred' §4.7.1.4; 1Pl *í* before *yàwó:* is appositional, not a possessor]

(xx23) í íyó, [[ó nǐyò̀mè]
 1Pl today, [[2SgP close.cousin.L]
 [[nǐ: tòmè:]] [bǎ: tòmè:]] sò-ɲgò gǐ]
 [[mother one.AnSg] [father one.AnSg] cloth-InanSg.O] Acc]
 [àbí nè] gǐbì-y-ó: mé,
 [receive and.SS] gird-MP.Perf-2SgS if,
 ó dàmàgǎ-mb-à:≡ỹ, ó gǐrìyé:≡w̃,
 2Sg denigrate-Fut-Pass=it.is, 2Sg impoverished=it.is.2SgS,

We nowadays, if you take (in your hands) a garment of (even) your a close cousin, (her mother and yours being) of the same mother and the same father, and you gird yourself (=wrap it around your body), you will be denigrated (=gossiped about), (saying) you are poor (impoverished).

[sò-ɲgó 'cloth, garment' is here possessed by 'close cousin', while 'one mother one father' is a complex adjectival phrase modifying 'close cousin' though referring to the parentage of the respective parents; Future Passive §10.5.2; conjugated 'it is' form of adjectival predicate ('impoverished') §11.4.2]

(xx24) kóndé⇒ nǎ: --, ó bǐrà-nd-ô:,
 all.right yesterday--, 2SgS work-PresNeg-2SgS,
 ó gǐrìyé:≡w̃, ó dàmàgǎ-mb-à:≡ỹ,
 2Sg impoverished=it.is.2SgS, 2Sg denigrate-Fut-Pass=it.is,
 [m má⇒] [ó má⇒] [nǐ: tòmè:≡ỹ],
 [1Sg and] [2Sg and] [mother one.AnPl:=it.is.1Pl],

All right, formerly—. (Or they'll say:) you don't work, you are poor. You will be denigrated. You and I, (we are of) one mother.

[conjunction with atonal ma⇒ following both conjuncts §7.1.1; 'one mother' agreeing with plural subject §4.7.1.1]

(xx25) sǎɲ [mí dǒlé gwè-m mé dǐn]
 now [1Sg go.past go.out.Perf-1SgS if all]
 [P gǐnè-∅ mé] yǎ-ndī-∅ mâ⇒
 [P say.Perf-3SgS if] see-FutNeg-3SgS or?
 [P wà⇒ lá:rí-yé dǒlè-∅ wà], ê:
 [P say be.shiftless-MP exceed.Perf-3SgS say], eh!

Now if I go out, P will say (to my husband): won't he see, (namely that) R is very shiftless (good-for-nothing)? Eh.

[phrase-final ma⇒ 'or?' §7.2.2; wa quotative particle §17.1.2]

(xx26) R: jě̀njâ [[nǒ: dǐn] gǐ] tàgá ò̀ndá:l-∅
 God [[person each] Acc] character give-PerfNeg-3SgS
 R: God didn't give everyone the (same) character.

[Accusative *gĩ* with recipient of 'give' §8.1.1]

(xx27) P: [P *là:r-gè*]=*lá* *kǒy*,
 [P shiftless-Abstr.L]=it.is.not Emph,
 [*ó yà:*] [P *àybà-mbó-m̀* *dòmbà:*]=*ỳ*, *kóndé*⇒,
 [2Sg Foc] [P humiliate-Fut-1SgS owner.L]=it.is, all.right,
 [*mí là*] [*ó d̀l̀s g-ǒ:* *mé*]
 [1Sg too] [2Sg leave go.out.Perf-2SgS if]
 [*yǎ-nd-ò:* *ló*],
 [see-FutNeg-2SgS Q]

P: It's definitely not P's shiftlessness. It's you-Sg [focus] who are involved in humiliating P. All right, I too, if you-Sg have gone out, won't you see?

[*d̀l̀s* variant of *d̀l̀é* 'leave' in verb chains; *dòmbà:* 'owner' after 1Sg verb §5.1.8 and cf. §18.2.2]

(xx28) [Y *gà*] [[*mó tò-mbò èbíyè d̄in*] *j̀nèné kánà-nj-è:*]
 [Y Top] [[3SgP comrade-Pl.L Prox.AnPl all] like.this do-Pres-3PIS]
 [*mó tò-mbò èbíyè*] *nǒ:ỳ kánà-nj-è:*,
 [[3SgP comrade-Pl.L Prox.AnPl] prospering do-Pres-3PIS]

As for Y, all these pals (agemates) of his do like this (to him). These pals of his have prospered.

[*èbíyè* Animate Plural Proximate demonstrative pronoun §4.4.1.1; *j̀nèné* 'like this' §4.4.3.3]

(xx29) *j̀njà-nd̀s:=ỳ*, [*j̀njà mà*] *bèlì-yà-njò-Ø*,
 God.L-give=it.is, [God in] get.up-MP-Pres-3SgS,
 [[*ỳ d̄in*] *gĩ*] *í d̀g-ò:*,
 [[InanPl.L all] Acc] 1PIS leave.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O,
 [*j̀njà gĩ*] *í lútà kán-ò:* *kó*,
 [God Acc] 1PIS rejecting do.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O,
j̀njà [*kó yàrù kó*]
 God [InanSg.O.P credit(noun).L Def.InanSg.O]
 [*í mà*] *sójà-njò-Ø*,
 [1Pl in] pay-Pres-3SgS,

It's God's giving. It arises in (=due to) God. The fact that we have have left (=abandoned) all those (things), and (that) we have rejected God, God is repaying us for that.

[factive clause with final *kó* §17.3.2 (here takes scope over both 'leave' and 'reject' clauses; final clause lit. "God is repaying that debt among us")]

(xx30) [*néndá-ndí* *d̀l̀-ó:* *mé*]

[be.bad exceed.Perf-2SgS if]
 [[né:mà kó] [[ó sònjò:] mà] wǒ-ndi],
 [[good.times Def.InanSg.O] [[2SgP village.L] in] come.FutNeg-3SgS,
 [àlàhórmà jògò-nd-ó: mé] [àlàhórmà dúmà-nd-ó:],
 [deference have-Neg-2SgS if] [deference get-PresNeg-2SgS],
 [nó: yàmbá-l-ó: mé] [ó yámbà-ndí-yà],
 [person cover-PerfNeg-2SgS if] [2SgO cover-PresNeg-3PlS]
 jěnjà áybè kélà-Ø,
 God humiliation not.want-3SgS,

If you-Sg are excessively bad, prosperity will not come to your village. If you are are not deferential (to your elders), you won't get deference (from others). If you haven't covered (= been protective of) a person, they will not cover you. God doesn't like humiliation (of people).

[not want' §17.2.1]

(xx31) íyó [í mà] sùgí jòg-â:, áybè=yè,
 today [1Pl in] go.down Perfect-PplS, humiliation=it.is
 [áybè kó] [í gĩ] náfa-ndí-Ø,
 [humiliation Def.InanSg.O] [1Pl Acc] benefit-PresNeg-3SgS,
 jěnjà [í gĩ] sùtùrà kán-ná,
 God [1Pl Acc] protection do-Hort.3Sg,
 jěnjà [dây nè] sùtùrà-ndí-Ø kǒy,
 God [freely Adv] protect-PresNeg-3SgS Emph,
 [bò-ngà dân] bà-l-ó: mé,
 [be-Ppl like] remain-PerfNeg-2SgS if,
 wàllá:y [bò-ngà dân] bǎ-yè,
 by.God [be-Ppl like] remain-Hort.1Pl,

What has descended on us nowadays, it's humiliation. The humiliation does not benefit us. May God protect us! God definitely doesn't protect us for nothing. If you-Sg don't remain the way one is (=ought to be), by God, let's remain the way one is.

[3Sg Hortative -ná in exhortations §10.4.4.1, 1Pl Hortative -yè 'let's ...!' §10.4.2.1]

(xx32) [[ó èndè:] gĩ] ñmbì-y-ǒ:,
 [[2SgP child.L] Acc] follow-MP-2SgS,
 [[ó yè:] gĩ] kùmbì-y-ǒ:,
 [[2SgP woman.L] Acc] hold-MP-2SgS,
 [[ó yè: là] ó kúmbì-y-ná,
 [[2SgP woman.L too] 2SgO hold-MP-Hort.3Sg,

(If) you have followed your child, (if) you have held (=watched out for) your wife, may your wife too hold you.

(xx33) [nĩ: òndú-Ø] [bǎ: òndú-Ø],
 [mother not.be-3SgS] [father not.be-3SgS],
 [ó nògò] [ó bà]=y,
 [2SgP husband.L] [2SgP father.L]=it.is,
 [ó nògò] [ó gĩ] dúwà kànè-Ø mé,
 [2SgP husband.L] [2Sg Acc] blessing do.Perf-3SgS if,
 àbá-m̀, [i g̀] nǎ:
 catch-Fut.3SgS, [1Pl Top] yesterday
 [i kùlmà-mbò mà⇒] [i má⇒] kènέ yè-y,
 [1PIP elder.Pl.L and] [1Pl and] like.that see.Perf-1PlS,

(If) there is no mother and there is no father, your husband is (the equivalent of) your father. If your husband has blessed you, it (= blessing) will take hold. As for us, formerly our elders and we saw (= experienced) like that.

[traditionally one seeks formal blessings from one's father]

(xx34) í kùlmà-mbò,
 1PIP elder.Pl.L,
 nǎ: [sò-ηgò]-yàmbù ηgú,
 yesterday [cloth-InanSg.O.L]-covering.L Prox.InanSg.O,
 sǎj mí yàmbà-ηgà ηgú, nám kànè-Ø mé,
 now 1SgO cover-Pres.Ppl.L Prox.InanSg.O, night do.Perf-3SgS if,
 [[kó gĩ] yàmbi-lé òd-à: mé]
 [[InanSg.O Acc] cover-Rev give.Perf-3PlS if]
 [[kó gĩ] yàmbi-yà-mbó-ỳ],
 [[InanSg.O Acc] cover-MP-Fut-1PlS],

Our elders, formerly this covering (e.g. blanket), (like) this (blanket) that covers me now, when night would fall, when they had taken it off and given it (to us), we would put it over ourselves (=cover ourselves with it).

[Present participle -ηgà with low-toned stem §14.3.3; Reversive verb ('uncover') §9.1]

(xx35) [ègá: bèfi-y-à: mé]
 [morning get.up-MP.Perf-3PlS if]
 [bé [[kó gĩ] jĩbí-y nè]
 [AnPl [[InanSg.O Acc] gird-MP and.SS]
 dándà: gǒ-mb-à),
 outside go.out-Fut-3PlS],

When they had gotten up in the morning, they would wrap it around themselves, they would go outside.

- (xx36) *íyó* [ó *èndè:* *mó*],
 today [2SgP child.L Def.AnSg],
 [swě: *gĩ*] [ké:sù *mà*] *jòyó-ndí=b-à:=ŷ*,
 [cloth.Pl Acc] [trunk in] be.full-Caus=Past-Pass=it.is,
 [[swě: *yé*] *gĩ*] *dăy=b-à:=ŷ*,
 [[cloth.Pl InanPl] Acc] lay.out=Past-Pass=it.is,
 [[swě: *yé*] *gĩ*] [[òlè-gègèlé] *mà*] *jăb=b-à:=ŷ*,
 [[cloth.Pl InanPl] Acc] [[house.L-corner] in] hang=Past-Pass=it.is,

Nowadays, your child, the clothes have been filled (= stuffed) into a trunk, the (other) clothes have been laid out (on the ground), the (other) clothes have been plastered (=hung) on the corner (=outside wall) of the house.

[*jòyó-ndí* 'make full' §9.4; Past Passive =b-à:=ŷ §10.5.1]

- (xx37) *gà:gó* *ó* *gíyà-mbò* *bò-Ø*,
 hunger 2SgO kill-Prog be-3SgS,
 [[*ó* *nògò* *mó*] *gĩ*] *hàybă-nd-ò:*,
 [[2SgP husband.L Def.AnSg] Acc] watch.over-FutNeg-2SgS,

Hunger is killing you, (and) you don't watch over (=take care of) your husband.

- (xx38) [ó *nògò* *mó*]
 [2SgP husband.L Def.AnSg]
 [*déján* *tòmô:*] *běfi-yè* *mé*,
 [day one.InanSg.O] arise-MP.Perf-3SgS if,
 [[*ĩngè* *tă-ngè*] *mà*] [*dándà:* *mà*] *gǒ-m̀*,
 [water.L plain-InanSg.E] with] [outside in] go.out-Fut.3SgS,

Your husband, one day he will go outside with (= having drunk) plain water (i.e. without a solid breakfast).

[*déján tòmô:*, variant of *déján tòmê:*, no tone-dropping of noun before this numeral, §4.7.1.1]

- (xx39) [[*ĩngè* *tă-ngè*] *mà*]
 [[[water.L plain-InanSg.E] with]
nò: [*dándà:* *mà*] *gw-é:* *mó* *má⇒*]
 person.L [outside in] go.out-PplS.AnSg Def.AnSg and]
 [ó *má⇒*] [*hàwrà-mb-ê:* *mà⇒* ↑],
 [2Sg and] [get.along-Fut-2PIS or?]

'Will you and someone (=your husband) who has gone outside with plain water (be able to) get along?'

- (xx40) *hàwràl* *dùmí-yà-ndí-Ø*, *kóndé⇒*,

understanding get-MP-PresNeg-3SgS, all.right,
 [[ánè mó] kèndà: mó] jàm-ò:,
 [[man Def.AnSg] heart.L Def.AnSg] be.ruined.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O
 [[yě: mó] gǐ] mó jé-̀n̄,
 [[woman Def.AnSg] Acc] AnSgS man.marry-DS,
 [yě: mó] [mó gǐ] kóntà-njò-ndí-Ø,
 [woman Def.AnSg] [AnSg Acc] esteem-Prog-Neg-3SgS,
 [mó gà] nè:ndá,
 [AnSg Top] be.bad,

There will be no mutual understanding (= good relations). All right, when a man's heart is ruined (= he is unhappy), if he has married a woman, the woman doesn't hold him in high regard. She is nasty.

[headless adverbial relative §14.2.5 and §15.2.6, -njò-ndí- Progressive Negative §10.1.4.5]

(xx41) [àndí mó nè:ndá gǐné-mbò] [mó d̀g̀g̀ sǐ-y-ǔ:],
 [knowing AnSg be.bad say-and.then] [AnSg leave pour-MP-2SgS],
 < mó gǐ-- > [mó nè:ndá⇒] [[mó gǐ] d̀g̀g̀ sǐ-y-ǔ:]
 < ... > [AnSg be.bad] [[AnSg Acc] leave pour-MP-2SgS]
 [[yè: yúgúl] j-ǔ: mé n̄:],
 [[woman.L crazy] man.marry.Perf-2SgS if now

Saying (= thinking) that she is nasty, you have discarded (= divorced) her. She is nasty, (and) you have discarded her, then if you have taken (= married) a crazy woman (as a new wife) now.

(xx42) kó b̀n̄é bàr̄i-y-ǔ: k̄y,
 InanSg misfortune add-MP-2SgS Emph,
 àbádá dúkùr [ó mà] ḡ-ì-Ø,
 never deep.sorrow [2SgP Dat] go.out-PerfNeg-3SgS,
 [nò: mó gà] dúkùr bàr̄i-yè-Ø,
 [person.L Near.AnSg Top] deep.sorrow add-MP.Perf-3SgS,

You have definitely added misfortune to that for yourself. The deep sorrow has never left you. That person (= man) has added to his deep sorros.

[Near-Distal Animate Singular demonstrative mó with low-toned preceding noun §4.4.1.1]

(xx43) kà: j̄njà [[ké sàrr̄i ké] mà]
 but God [[InanSg.E misfortune Def.InanSg.E] in]
 [í gǐ] àbí-ná,
 [1Pl Acc] catch-Hort.3Sg,
 j̄njà [[í gǐ] ̀r-ò:] [í gǐ] wà: kán-ná,

God [[1Pl Acc]be.more-Ppl.InanSg.O][1Pl Acc]far(adv) do-Hort.3Sg,
 But, may God catch us (=keep us away) from that misfortune. May God
 keep us safe from what is bigger than us (= calamity).

[ké (noun) ké determiner sandwich §4.3.2; comparative ɿr-ô: §12.1.4]

- (xx44) tínnà kàné-y mé↓,
 effort do.Pref-1PIS if,
 [[pǎ: [i kùlmà-mbò] b-ê: ké] gĩ]
 [[yesterday [1PIP elder-Pl.L] be-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc]
 tɛwɲé-y mé,
 head.for.Perf-1PIS if,
 [jɛnjà òbèlé] ígò-ndí jógò-Ø, wàllâ:y-ní,
 [God Chief] a.lot have-3SgS, by.God,
 If we make our best effort, if we head for (there) where our elders were
 in the past, Almighty God has much.
 [non-subject participle b-ê: from bé- 'remain']

- (xx45) [[ó bà] gĩ] jòy-ó: mé dīn,
 [[2SgP father.L] Acc] respect.Perf-2SgS if all,
 jɛnjà ó yàmbì-rá-m̀,
 God 2SgO cover-Tr-Fut.3SgS,
 If you are deferential (= obedient) to your father, God will cover
 (= protect) you.

- (xx46) R: [ó èndè:] ó jòyá-m̀
 [2SgP child.L] 2SgO respect-Fut.3SgS
 R: Your child will be deferential to you.

- (xx47) P: [ó èndè:]--, [[[ó bà] gĩ] jòy-ó: mé]
 [2SgS child.L]--, [[[2SgP father.L] Acc] respect.Perf-2SgS if]
 [[ó èndè:] ó jòyá-m̀],
 [[2SgP child.L] 2SgO respect-Fut.3SgS],
 [[[ó ò] gĩ] jòy-ó: mé]
 [[[2SgP mother.L] Acc] respect.Perf-2SgS if]
 [[ó èndè:] ó jòyá-m̀],
 [[2SgP child.L] 2SgO respect-Fut.3SgS]
 P: Your child—. If you are deferential to your father, your child will be
 deferential to you. If you are deferential to your mother, your child will be
 deferential to you.

- (xx48) [ó ò mà⇒] [ó bà mà⇒]
 [2SgP mother.L and] [2SgP father.L and]

[market in] put.Perf-2SgS if now,
 nò-mbó mó tàǎ-ndí-yà mà,
 person-Pl 3SgO look.at-FutNeg-3Pls Q,

P: It's you [focus] who have given (= initiated) the hitting. He didn't protect yours (= your parent). If now you have taken yours (= your parent) and put him in the market, won't the people look at him?

[Perfective with subject focalized §13.1.1.1; yè Animate Singular possessive classifier §6.2.2]

(xx52) R: kènέ bò-∅
 like.that be-3SgS
 R: It is that way.

(xx53) P: kóndé⇒ jǎ: nò-mbó yùgùfi-yò-mbò b-à:,
 all.right yesterday person-Pl be.crazy-MP-Prog Past-3Pls,
 yùgùfi-y-ò: mé, jóǵà-mbò b-à:,
 be.crazy-MP.Perf-3Pls if, treat-Prog Past-3Pls,
 pórò-mbò bè-∅,
 escape-Prog Past-3SgS,
 [nò: nùmà:] bô:-∅↑, [jǎjǎ nùmà:] bô:-∅↓,
 [person hand.L] be-3SgS, [God hand.L] be-3SgS

P: All right, formerly, the people used to be going crazy. If they went crazy, they (= others) treated them, it (= craziness) would escape (=be over). There is the hand of a human, (and) there is the hand of God.

[i.e. some people are cured by human healing, others only by God; Past Progressive -mbò bè- §10.3.1.6; bô: 'be present, exist' §11.2.2.1]

(xx54) [[[jǎjǎ nùmà:] mà] bò-ŋgà kó gà]
 [[God hand.L] in] be-Ppl Def.InanSg.O Top]
 jǎjǎ kán jòg-â:⇒y,
 God do Perfect-Ppl=it.is.
 [[[nò: nùmà:] mà] gwé-mbò]
 [[[person hand.L] in] go.out-and.then]
 bǐré=b-à: kó má⇒]
 work(verb)=Past-Passive Def.InanSg.O and]
 [jǎjǎ kò kó má⇒] kúndú=lá,
 [God Poss.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O and] one.InanSg.O=it.is.not

As for what is in the hand of God, God has done (it). What has come out of the hand of a human and has been produced (by humans), and God's (work), are not the same (=are not comparable).

[jòg-â:⇒y is the 'it is' form of a Perfect participle, but it can be used predicatively §10.1.3.3; Inanimate Singular O-class possessive classifier kò

directly following possessor noun without an intervening pronominal
§6.2.2]

(xx55) *kà:* *jěnjà* [*nè:ndà-kàné* *gĩ*] *kìyò-Ø*,
but God [bad.L-do.Agent Acc] want.Stat-3SgS,
[[*nè:ndà-kàné* *gĩ* *mó* *kìyò-ṅgà*] [*ṅgú=ý* *ló*],
[[bad.L-do.Agent Acc] AnSgS want.Stat-Ppl] [which?=it.is Q],
júkkèrè=ỳ *éṅgú*,
fine=it.is tomorrow,

But God likes (= tolerates) an evil-doer. The fact that He likes an evil-doer, what is (the reason for) it? It's punishment in the future ("tomorrow").

(xx56) [*lá:kàrà* *mà*] [*júkkèrè* *gĩndó:*]
[Hereafter in] [fine.L big.InanSg.O]
mó *gĩ* *dĩmbà-Ø*, *wá:ṅbè*,
[AnSg Acc] follow.Stat-3SgS, certainly,
[[*í* *kùlmà-mbò*] *ĩm*] *mà*] *ṅèné* *ṅwè-ý*,
[[1PIP elder-Pl.L] mouth.L] in] like.this hear.Perf-1PIS,
< *í bàbà:-mbò--* > [*í* *bàbà:-mbò* *mà⇒*] [*í* *ṅ-bò* *mà⇒*]
< ... > [1PIP father-Pl.L and] [1PIP mother-Pl and]
dĩné:-ỳ *kǒy*,
find.Perf-1PIS Emph,

In the Hereafter (= Afterworld), a great punishment follows (=will afflict) him. We certainly heard this in (= from) our elders' mouth(s). We definitely found (= experienced) our fathers and mothers.

[*júkkèrè* 'fine (penalty)', by extension 'divine punishment'; Agentive compound §5.1.4; 'want' §17.2.1; factive clause in nonsubject relative-clause form §17.3.2, can be emended by adding *kó* after *kìyò-ṅgà*; *ṅgú* 'which, what?' §13.2.3, §13.2.8; *ĩm* < /*ĩbí*/ 'mouth'; *bàbà*: 'father, daddy', alternative to *bǎ*: 'father']

(xx57) [*í* *bàbà:*] *ó* *wá⇒*,
[1PIP father.L] 2Sg(vocative) say,
[dôm *mà*] [*ó* *ĩbí*] *ĩr-ó:*]
[speech in] [[2SgP mouth.L] be.more-Ppl.InanSg.O]
bô:-Ø *wà* *kǒy*,
be-3SgS say Emph,
[kwé-ṅgò *mà*] [*ó* *ĩbí*] *ĩr-ó:*]
[food-InanSg.O in] [[2SgP mouth.L] be.more-Ppl.InanSg.O]
bô:-Ø *wa*,
be-3SgS say,

Our father said: hey you, in speech there is definitely something that is bigger than (what comes from) your mouth; in food there is something that is bigger than (what you put in) your mouth.

[quotative particle *wa*⇒ after vocative, then *wa* after sentence proper §17.1.2]

- (xx58) *kwé-ŋgò* [[*kéré* *má* *wá* *ín* *nè*]
 food-InanSg.O [[outback in] say go and.SS]
đinê: *mé,* [[[*ó* *ìm* *mà*]
 get.Perf if, [[[2SgP mouth.L] in]
há:né *jòg-à:* *kó* *kwè* *mé,*
 be.possible Perfect-PplINS Def.InanSg.O] eat.Perf if,
 [[[*ó* *ìm* *mà*] *há:ná-l-ó:*] *jê:-n*]
 [[[2SgP mouth.L] in] be.possible-PerfNeg-PplS.InanSg.O] take-DS]
 [[*ó* *sà:rà:* *mó* *gì* *ndír* *wá,*
 [2SgP parent.L Def.AnSg] Acc] give.Hort3Sg say,

He (=our father) said: if you have gone out to the bush and gotten (some) food, having eaten what is possible (=what fits) in your mouth, you (should) bring that which is not possible (= does not fit) in your mouth and it should be given to your parent.

[Quotative *wa* at the end of the quoted passage and also after an adverbial phrase near the beginning; *đinê:* and *kwè* would normally be 2Sg *đin-ô:* and *k-ô:* in this context; *ndír* is a variant of *ndé* 'give']

- (xx59) *íyó* [*ó* *sà:rà:* *mó*]
 today [2SgP parent.L Def.AnSg]
 [[*ólé* *ké*] *mà* *kên* *bíyò-Ø↑,*
 [[house Def.InanSg.E] in] there lie.down.Stat-3SgS,
ó [*kéré* *má*] *ó* *g-ô:↓,*
 2Sg [outback in] 2SgS go.out.Perf-PplINS.InanSg.O,
 [[*nàmà:* *sĩ:-gá:*] [*ó* *gò*]
 [[meat.L fat.L-Char.InanSg.O] [2SgP Poss.InanSg.O]
kwé⇒ *dǎ:n* *ó* *kúb-ô:*]
 sizzling(adv) roast 2SgS eat.meat.Perf-PplINS.InanSg.O]
 [[*ó* *sà:rà:*] *ndá-l-ó:*],
 [[2SgP parent.L] give-PerfNeg-2SgS]
 [[*ó* *yè:* *tòmê:*] *ndá-l-ó:*]
 [[2Sg woman.L one.AnSg] give-PerfNeg-2SgS]
 [*ó* *èndè:* *tòmê:*] *ndá-l-ó:*,
 [2SgP child.L one.AnSg] give-PerfNeg-2SgS,

Nowadays, your parent is lying down there in the house, (while) you have gone out to the bush, you have roasted (directly on a fire) your

sizzling fatty meat and eaten it (out in the bush), without your having given (any) to your parent, and without your having given (any) to a single (= any) wife of yours or to a single your having given any to a single child of yours.

[*kên* discourse-definite 'there' §4.4.3.1, Perfective nonsubject relative §14.3.1; *sì:-gé:/-gá:* Characteristic *-gá:* §4.2.2.1; *kwé*⇒ 'sizzling' onomatopoeic adverbial; *tòmê:* 'one' after negation = '(not even) a single one'; Perfective Negative clauses following a positive clause can be freely glossed "without having VPed"]

(xx60) *síyà,* *dúwàw* *bô:-Ø,*
 well, blessing be-3SgS,
 Well, is there a (parental) blessing here?

(xx61) R: *òndí-Ø*
 not.be-3SgS
 R: There is none.

(xx62) P: *ké* *dân* *yà:--*, [*ké* *dân*] *bò-y* *mé* *đín*,
 InanSg.E like Foc--, [InanSg.E like] be- 1PlS if all,
 [[*ĩ* *gwà:* *ngí*] *mà*] *né:mà* *bá-m*
 [[1PlP countr.P Prox.InanSg.E] in] good.times remain-Fut.3Sg
 P: Like that—, if we were (= behaved) like that (i.e. in the old way), prosperity would remain in this land of ours.

(xx63) R: *éngú* *yàrú* *ó* *sòjà-mb-à:≡y*
 tomorrow debt 2SgO pay-Fut-Pass=it.is
 R: Tomorrow you will be repaid what you are owed.
 [Future Passive *-mb-à:≡y* §10.5.2]

(xx64) P: *éngú* [*yàrú* *yé*] --
 tomorrow [debt Def.InanPl]--
 P: Tomorrow the debts (owed to you)—.

(xx65) R: *síyè-ngò* *kàn-ó:* *mé,*
 good-InanSg.O do.Perf-2SgS if,
jěnjà [*ó* *kán-ò:* *kó*]
 God [2SgS do.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O]
 [*ó* *gĩ*] *yóbà* *kán-ná,*
 [2Sg Acc] repaying do-Hort.3Sg
 [*ó* *kèndà:]* *sùgè-Ø* *mé,*
 [2SgP heart.L] defecate.Perf-3SgS if,

[1Pl Acc] cover-Tr-PresNeg-3SgS,

If we follow Him (= God), He will definitely cover (= protect) us. If we don't follow Him, He will not cover us.

[low-toned 1Pl Perfective Negative -fi-y §10.1.4.2]

(xx70) [i tàrà-n], [i kùlmà-mbò],
 [1Pls look-DS], [1PIP elder-Pl.L],
 sògólè, yàwó: gǐbì-y-ò: wê:,
 yellow.dye, woman.Pl gird-MP.Perf-3PlS ugh!,
 ánà:, yé nùñí-yà-m=b-à:,
 man.Pl, InanPl wear.garment-MP-Impf=Past-3PlS,

As we watched (=in our memory), our elders, (garments of) yellow bogola dye (from *Anogeissus* tree), what women wore (around their bodies), ugh! (As for) men, they used to wear these (garments, too).

[tàrà-n different-subject form with A/O-stem of verb §15.2.3.6; 'ugh!' expresses the attitude of today's women to old-fashioned bogola clothing made with vegetable dyes; yellow dye for traditional bogola fabric is made from leaves of the tree *Anogeissus leiocarpus*; 'gird' because women's wraps (outer garments) are wrapped and tied around the body]

(xx71) [tàgù kó:sù-mbò]↑,
 [shoe.L leather.sandal-Pl],
 [bé gǐ] tágí-yà-mb-à:=y=bè-Ø,
 [AnPl Acc] wear.shoe-MP-Pres-Pass=it.is=Past-3SgS,
 nè:-gùjú, iyó [[nè: gùjú] [[ó yè:] gǐ]
 cow.L-skin, today [[cow.P skin.L] [[2SgP woman.L] Acc]
 tàgǐ-r-ó: mé]
 wear.shoe-Tr.Perf-2SgS if]
 [[ó gǐ] bìlá-mè mà⇒↑],
 [[2Sg Acc] be.peaceful.for-Fut.3SgS Q],

Leather sandals, they were worn, (of) cowhide. Nowadays, if you have your wife wear cowhide (shoes), will it be peaceful (=turn out well) for you?

[Animate Plural [bé gǐ] because 'shoes' is a grammatically animate noun; Present Passive §10.5.3, differing only in tones from Future Passive; note co-occurrence of compound 'cow-skin' and possessed NP 'cow's skin'; mediopassive *tágí-yé* 'put shoes on (oneself)' vs. transitive *tágí-ré* 'put shoes on (someone else)'; final question is rhetorical]

(xx72) kóndé⇒ [nè: gùjú kó]
 all.right [cow.Pl.P skin.L Def.InanSg.O]
 [nò: ðín là kó dúmà-ndí,

[person all too] InanSg.O get-PresNeg-3SgS,
wàllâ:y [[nǒ: [ně: gùjù] tágà-Ø]
by.God [[person [cow.Pl skin.L] wear.Stat-3SgS]
y-ǎ: mé dǐndǐ,
see.Perf-2SgS if all],
ògòndê:≡ȳ [kǐnjàn-gé: tágà-Ø],
rich=it.is [life.L-Char wear.Stat-3SgS],

All right, (formerly) not everyone could get cowhide. By God, if you saw someone wear cow's hide (shoes), he was rich, (it was as though) he was wearing a living one (= entire live cow).

[assistant says tágà-n is also possible instead of the first tàgà; final comment is a way of exaggerating the wealth of any person wearing leather sandals in the past]

(xx73) R: já:fi, jǎ: kènέ yà: bè-Ø
exactly, yesterday like.this Foc be-3SgS
R: Exactly. Formerly like that [focus] is how it was.

(xx74) P: [mánà tàgǐ:] nú: yěŋ kǎngòy,
[plastic.P shoe.L] now what? be.done,
mánà=lá má, [yèŋgé má] dímbà-Ø
plastic=it.is.not Q, [what? Dat] follow.Stat-3SgS

P: Plastic shoes now, what good was it? Was it not plastic? What was it for?

[lit. kǎngòy, roughly 'be done' in this specific phrase, is obscurely related to kán 'do, make'; the final clause is literally 'what did it follow?']

(xx75) R: sòjó-m̄
melt-Fut.3SgS
R: It would melt.

(xx76) P: háyà [kó yà:] [kǐr-gé: bàm]=i:,
well [InanSg.O Foc] [herder.P share.L]=it.is,
kà: [ně: tàgǐ:] tàgǐ-y-ó: mé,
but [cow.Pl.P shoe.L] wear.shoe-MP-2SgS if,
ně: tàgǐ-y-ǎ:,
cow.Pl wear.shoe-MP-2SgS,
[nǒ: đin] mó dúmà-ndí-Ø kǒy,
[person all] AnSgO get-PresNeg-3SgS Emph,
òmòlò-bèlé=ý nò,
patas.monkey.L-getting=it.is no?,
jěnjà [bàndí kέ] [í mà] síyá-ndá-m-ná,

God [behind InanSg.E] 1Pl Dat] good-Inch-Fact-Hort.3Sg,

P: Well, that [focus] was a herder's share. But if you wore cow(-hide) shoes, (it was as though) you were wearing a (whole) cow. Definitely not everyone could get (=afford) it. It's what we call "patas monkey's getting," no? May God make our end (= destiny) good.

["patas monkey's chance" is said to be a Tommo-So phrase, cf. Najamba ðmélè 'patas monkey', the point being (apparently) that it's difficult to pick high-hanging fruits left by the monkeys]

- (xx77) kà: nàmà-ndè-Ø kǒy [í mà],
 but difficult-Inch-3SgS Emph [1Pl Dat],
 [nǎ: kòŋgò í yà-m=b-ò: mà]
 [yesterday thing.L 1PlS see-Impf=Past-PplNS.InanSg.O in]
 [[íyó í yà-ŋgà] [hâl kúndú] òndú-Ø]
 [[today 1PlS see-Ppl.Pres] [until one.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgS]
 [kà:ná: [[[bðné=y mé] bândi] mà],
 [except [[[trouble=it.is if] behind.L] in],
 [t̃bð: kòlò:] mà, [sà:mà-n nè:ndá:] má,
 [death.L unripe] or, [disease.L bad] or,

But it has certainly been difficult on us. In (=among) the thing(s) that we saw formerly, there is not even a single thing that we (still) see nowadays, other than in the aftermath of troubles: unripe (=premature) death or bad disease.

- (xx78) sà:mǎ-n [í là] sà:mǐ-yè-Ø,
 disease [1Pl too] get.sick-MP-3SgS,
 [í kǐ:] jòŋé já-ndǐ-ỹ,
 [1PIP head.L] treat can-Neg-1PlS,
 [bèlí-yé nè] kúnjá, t̃b-ǝ:,
 [get.up-MP and.SS] get.old.Imprt, die.Perf-2SgS,

Furthermore, when we catch a disease, we cannot treat ourselves (medically). (They say:) arise and get old! You are dead.

["our head" = reflexive object §18.1.1]

- (xx79) [[nǎ: jónà-mb-à:=b-ǝ: ké] mà]
 [[yesterday treat-Impf-Pass=Past-PplNS.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] in]
 [íyó jónà-ndí-yà],
 [today treat-PresNeg-3PlS],
 [nò: tòmê: mó] kòŋ-kámàéndà-Ø,
 [person one Def.AnSg] thing.L-any not.know-3SgS,
 mó jòŋé=ỹ wà, gwé yàli-yè-Ø má,
 AnSg heal.Agent=it.is say, go.out go.around-MP.Perf-3SgS Q,

In the place(s) where (people) used to be treated (by healers), now they don't treat (them). One person (=quack healer) doesn't know anything, (but) he claims to be a healer. Did he (=sick person) go out and walk around (i.e. in good health)?

[jòŋé uncompounded Agentive §4.3.2.5; jòŋé=y wà is heard phonetically as [dzòŋêw:à], i.e. with /yw/ fusing as [w:].

- (xx80) [sá:mà gà] [jěnjà bô:-Ø mà⇒] éndà-Ø,
 [sick.person Top] [God be-3SgS or?] not.know-3SgS,
 [mó gǐ] ðimbĩ-yá-m, [mó gǐ] táppà káná-m,
 [AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut.3SgS, [AnSg Acc] hitting do-Fut.3SgS,
 kwǎ-m, lày, tĩbá-m,
 eat-Fut.3SgS, Emph, die-Fut.3SgS,

The sick person doesn't know whether (=that) God is there. He (=sick person) will follow him (=healer). He (=healer) will hit (=fleece) him, (he will) eat (him) up, totally. He (=sick person) will die.

- (xx81) kóndé⇒ [jón mà], gô: mà, jòŋà-mb-à wà,
 all.right [Dioni in], Go in, treat-Fut-3PIS say,
 jěnjà-[nèmbĩl-ŋgó] bè-Ø wà,
 God.L-[pleading-InanSg.O] be-3SgS say,
 [gô: mà] ínò-njò-ndĩ-ỳ,
 [Go in] go-Prog-Neg-1PIS,
 [ðimbĩrá mà] bè-Ø, ínò-njò-ndĩ-ỳ,
 [Lamordé in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PIS,
 [ðindǎl mà] bè-Ø, ínò-njò-ndĩ-ỳ,
 [Dindari in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PIS,
 [á:jà mà] bè-Ø, ínò-njò-ndĩ-ỳ,
 [Adia in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PIS,
 [gùndàpâl mà] bè-Ø, ínò-njò-ndĩ-ỳ,
 [Gundapari in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PIS,
 [yèl mà] bè-Ø, ínò-njò-ndĩ-ỳ,
 [Ogoyeri in] be-3SgS, go-Prog-Neg-1PIS,
 [[dèmběl mà] bè-Ø] ínò-njò-ndĩ-ỳ
 [[Dembeli in] be-3SgS] go-Prog-Neg-1PIS,
 [[tàbâ: mà] bè-Ø] ínò-njò-ndĩ-ỳ,
 [[Tabako in] be-3SgS] go-Prog-Neg-1PIS,
 [mùgĩ: mà] ínò-njò-ndĩ-ỳ,
 [Mougi in] go-Prog-Neg-1PIS,

All right, in Dioni (village), at Go, they would treat (the sick), it is said. There used to be praying to (animist) God. We aren't going to Go (any longer). It was (also) at Lamordé, (but) we aren't going (now). It was at

Dindari, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Adia, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Gundapari, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Ogoyeri, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Dembeli, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Tabako, (but) we we aren't going. We we aren't going to Mougi.
 [Go is a secret place with an underground spring]

- (xx82) *nàjàmbá* *í-mbò* *jólà* *kàló:≡ỹ,*
 Najamba go-and Débééré boundary=it.is,
kên *kálí-yé* *jò-∅,*
 there stop.at.boundary-MP Perfect-3SgS,
[yè *ḍín]* *í* *dòg-ḍ:*,
 [InanPl.L all] 1PIS leave.Perf-Ppl.InanSg.O,
[í *ḍi:nà]* *gòmè-ỹ,*
 [1PIP religion.L] take.out.Perf-1PIS,

Najamba (country) went to (its) boundary at Débééré and stopped at its boundary there. When we left (=ceased practicing) all that, we took out (=adopted) our religion (=Islam).

- (xx83) *[[[í* *ḍi:nà]*
[[[1PIP *religion.L]*
í *gòm-ô:* *kó]* *mà]*
 1PIS take.out.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O] Def.InanSg.O] in]
[nàfà *í* *y-ḍ:]* *òndú-∅* *köy,*
 [benefit.L 1PIS see.Perf-PplNS.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgS Emph,
 (Since) we adopted our religion, there is no benefit that we have seen.

- (xx84) *[íyó* *[nàwó: té:mèndérè]* *ó* *jògò-n]* *ḍiné-m* *mé,*
 [today [cow.Pl hundred] 2SgS have-DS] find.Perf-1SgS if,
[éndèn *wè-mí* *mé]*
 [day.after.tomorrow come.Perf-1SgS if]
[[nè: *mó]* *kúndé=ý]*
 [[cow Def.AnSg] one.AnSg=it.is]

(Since) we adopted our religion, there is no benefit that we have seen. If I find that you have one hundred cows today, if I come (back) in a couple of days, the cow is (just) one.

- (xx85) R: *ìgí* *jòg-à:≡ỹ*
 finish Perfect-PlsNS=it.is
 R: They have finished (= died off).

- (xx86) P: *nǎ:* *[[sò-ṅgò]-jībù* *kùndù*
 yesterday [[cloth-InanSg.O.L]-wrap.L one.InanSg.O.L

kó] [í gĩ] náfě=bè-Ø kǒy, jǎ:--
 Near.InanSg.O] [1Pl Acc] benefit.Perf=Past-3SgS Emph, since--

P: Formerly, that single (woman's) wrap definitely served us well.
 Since—

qqq

R [overlapping]: That—. Excuse me (for interrupting). We have turned away from that (= old customs). It will remain like we want (it). I will do something bad, I will do something short too, even if it's not good I will do it too.

Formerly, if you-Sg did the bad thing, the fetish (= idol) would show you immediately. Likewise, if you did the good thing, it would show you immediately. Well, nowadays, whether it pleases or doesn't please someone, I will do (it). I will remain (= live) as I please.

God too, in this (base) world, doesn't take out (a person) and show you at all that So-and-So is an evil-doer. (If) you have done a certain type of evil, He (= God) will bring down a catastrophe in the land, perhaps as for you, you don't care. You're (still) doing it (= evil).

Formerly, the fetish, if you did (something), it would show you immediately. Nowadays, we have said (it's) praying (= Islamic worship), (but) we haven't followed (= been consistent with) the praying either. There is no candor.

Trickery, and swindling, and stealing, and let's-take-what-is-not-ours, because those (things) [focus] are what have us nowadays. Have you not seen that we will remain (= live) as we want? It is what made us leave the fetish.

qqq

Y [overlapping]: kó--, ó kàbìl káná, kó í wòndè
 jògà: kó, [í kǐyò-ṅgà dân] bà-mbó-mèi:,
 nè:ndá: kànà-mbó-mè↑, [dě-ṅgò=yè gà là] kànà-mbó-mè,
 [èndá=yé mé là] kànà-mbó-mè,
 nǎ: [nè:ndá: kó] kàn-ó: mé, [pó: nè] ó
 tè:rà-mè [tó:rù kó], [sìyè-ṅgò kó] kàn-ó: mé là,
 [pó: nè] ó tè:rà-mè, áywà, íyó, [[nǒ: mà] èlùm
 èndá dīn] kànà-mbó-mè↑, [[m mà] èl-ṅgò dân]
 bà-mbó-mè↑, <xxx>,

[jěnjà là] [áníyá-òlò mà], gòm nè, mà:n
 nè:ndà:-kàné=y, [láy nè] ó tè:rà-ndĩ, [[nè:ndá:
 tòmô: kó] kàn-ó: mé] [bàlăw [[gwă: ké] mà]
 sùgò-ndò-m], táwè ó [[ó hà:jè] òndú], kánà-mbò
 jógò-w,

ňă: [[tó:rù kó], [kàn-ó: mé đĩn] [pó: nè] ó
 tè:rà-m=bè, íyó sán gĩnè-ỳ, [[sán kó] gĩ là],
 đĩmbà-ndĩ-ỳ, [kèndà-[èjě-n]] òndĩ,

[hí:là mà⇒] [pĩl-pá:là mà⇒] [jàmàlà-ηgó má⇒↑],
 [i gò l=à:] jă-ỳ mà⇒, pàskè íyó ké yà:
 [i gĩ] jòg-è:, [[i kĩyò-ηgà đân] bà-mbó-ỳ
 kó] yà:-l-ò:, [tó:rù í dògà-m-ò: kó]=y,

new vocab from text 2005-2

kómándíy 'take care of'
wánà: ('now?'), perhaps *violà*
háwràl 'agreement'
ɲwê:m-ɲwê:m-ɲwê:m weeping (adv)
néndá-ndí 'be bad'
pâ⇒ nè] 'violently'
bílá 'exchange!' (Imprt ??, dict has bílà-bílà kán)
bàndûl bây⇒ banging of the Hogon's stick
nàm-gó 'difficulty' (in grammar but not in Dict)
bîw 'suddenly'
ɲèné 'like this' (compare kènè 'like that')
nǒ:y kán 'prosper, be prosperous'
áybè 'humiliation'
lútà kán 'reject (e.g. God)'
sútùrà kán = verb sùtúré '(e.g. God) protect, give refuge to (sb)'
(iŋgè) tâ-ŋgè 'plain water'
kónté 'hold (sb) in high regard, esteem' (considérer)
àndí clause-initial pragmatic particle (cf. Jamsay 'be it known that ...')
dògò sí-yé '(man) divorce/get rid of (woman)'
wâ: kán '(God) keep (sb) safe (from sth)'
tínnà kán 'do one's best'
ní phrase-final particle (wàllâ:y ní)
sá:rà: 'parent' can denote one's mother or father or any of their younger same-sex siblings
síyà (sample text, particle by itself) well, ... (related to 'good')
há:ná-l-∅ it's impossible
đimbí-lí-yé see sample text (xx67) 'lag (behind sb)'
tàgù kó:sù-mbò (pl) 'cowhide shoes', variant of tàkó-sì in dict
lày Emphatic clause-final ('totally')

correct Walo typo ('mother-in-law') in dict

Koira Beiri speaker 2009

déjàn đĩn sèmànjàm
I slaughter every day

nò: déjándĩn sémànjà: m ân bó ló
'where is the person who slaughters every day'

nòmbò déḡán ḡin sémànjò: bé ân bé: ló
'where are the people who slaughter every day?'

déḡán ḡin kèḡ ó sémànjè: ân bó ló
'where is the place where you-Sg slaughter (every day)?'

nò: sémànjòlém ân bó ló
'where is the person who does not slaughter'

nòmbò sémànjòlò: bé ân bé: ló
'where is the person who does not slaughter'

déḡán ḡin ó kèḡ sémànjòlè: ân bó ló
'where is the place where you-Sg do not slaughter every day?'

éḡ sémámbèm
I will slaughter tomorrow

éḡ nò: sémámbèm ân bò ló
'where is the person who will slaughter tomorrow?'

éḡ pègè ó sémámbèm ân bó ló
'where is the sheep that you-Sg will slaughter tomorrow?'

éḡ sémánùm
I will not slaughter tomorrow?

éḡ nò: sémándè: m ân bó ló
'where is the person who will not slaughter tomorrow?'

éḡ nòmbò sémándò: bé ân bé: ló
'where are the people who will not slaughter tomorrow?'

éḡ ó pègè sémándè: m ân bò ló
'where is the sheep that you-Sg will not slaughter tomorrow?'

éḡ ó pègèmbò sémándò: bé ân bò ló
'where are the sheep-Pl that you-Sg will not slaughter tomorrow?'

