A Grammar of Dogul Dom

Dogon Language Family

Mali

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For my sisters:

Samantha, whom I signed up for more than she bargained for,

and Laura, who thankfully did the same to me.

And for Jeff, our *patron* and field father.

Contents

Author's note

Please be advised that this grammar is currently a draft, and they call it a "rough draft" for a reason! While I have fleshed out the most important aspects of the grammar, there are still many dozens of sections that need to be written (and for which data still needs to be collected!). These unfinished tinkerings have been dragged behind the curtain in order to make this document as "pretty" as possible. As a result, many of the cross-references (like "see §2.1") won't work, and they'll show up as "§**??**."

For the most part, I stand firmly behind what I've included in this draft publication, but it's not perfect. I apologize in advance for any inaccuracies (of which I hope there are few) and internal inconsistencies (of which I'm sure there are several); they will be worked out as quickly as possible. If you find any things of this nature, I invite you to email me and let me know. Credibility is built from criticism.

My goal is to produce a descriptive grammar, fully faithful to the language, which has thorough analyses that are in line with the most recent theories and schools of thought. Furthermore, I want to produce a grammar which goes beyond a simple description of a language most will never hear; I want to create a resource that will be accessible to as many people as possible. To this end, my plan is to include topics, notes, theories, and analyses particular to:

- historical and comparative linguistics
- language acquisition
- sociolinguistics and dialectology
- syntax, phonology, and the Dogon interface between the two (tonosyntax)
- phonetics, morphology, semantics, typology, discourse analysis…

While clearly not all of these have been included so far, I hope to be able to provide a well-rounded grammar in the end. I believe this is a necessary step forward that will make field linguistics an active part of the mainstream theoretical discussion once again.

I'd like to add a quick note of thanks to a few people in a way that isn't quite appropriate for the Acknowledgements section. First, an alphabetical thank

you to my dear friends Samantha Farquharson, Laura McPherson, Emmie Ocker, and Caroline Welles. In particular, thank you to Kline Gilbert for keeping me sane from afar while I came to this place. Thank you to my advisor, Dr. Misha Becker, for showing so much interest in my work, and to all of the professors in UNC's linguistics department, who prepared me in the best way imaginable for this experience—I'll be the first to admit that this would not have been possible without their endless guidance. Thank you to Dr. Fhunsu, who taught me how to say so much with so few words, and to Dr. Mamarame Seck for his unconditional support and care. And special thanks to my family and friends for believing in my outrageous pursuit of knowledge across the Atlantic.

As I say later in the document: Thank you. You are the giants on whose shoulders I have stood.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Dogon Languages

The Dogon language family comprises more than 20 languages spoken primarily on the plains and plateaus of Mali (with some crossover into northern Burkina Faso). The family itself belongs (arguably) to the Niger-Congo phylum, but its location relative to the other Niger-Congo branches (e.g. Mande, Gur) is still unknown. Because there has been no thorough, systematic study of the Dogon family prior to our own Dogon and Bangime Linguistics Project, the internal classification of the Dogon languages is also not yet clear. Our work aims to fill this gap.

For more information on the Dogon family or on individual languages, please consult our project's web site at www.dogonlanguages.org.

1.2 Dogul Dom

Dogul Dom is spoken in a contiguous block of the high plateau that begins a short distance north of Bandiagara. The Dogul Dom-speaking villages known at this time are between W 03°29' (Benndieli) and W 03°42' (Tinngourou), and between N 14°26' (Boro) and N 14°40' (Banguel Toupe). The high plateau is well separated from the low plateau to its south, which includes Bandiagara.

The name *Dogul Dom* is an endonym comprised of the ethnic term *Dogulu* and the word dóòm 'language'. It is also referred to simply as *Dogulu* or as *Dogulu Dom*. Throughout the grammar the term Dogul Dom will refer to the language and Dogulu to its speakers.

To the west, the Dogulu area extends to the edge of the high plateau and

overlooks a wide sandy valley that runs roughly north to south. The largest village cluster at this edge is Banguel Toupe. Following the edge farther north, near the headwaters of the valley river, are Fulfulde-speaking villages. Across the valley, on another section of the high plateau, are villages where other Dogon languages are spoken.

To the south, Dogul Dom does not quite reach the edge of the high plateau, as Kalibombo and a few other villages near the edge speak Kamma-Sɔ (also known as Donno-Sɔ). There is also a Mombo-speaking village, Vaou, and a Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ outlier, Diommo, on the southwestern fringe.

To the east, there are more Kamma-Sɔ villages. To the north, Dogulu country is bounded by Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ villages, including the important market town of Kendie. The main road in the high plateau runs north to south from Kendie to Bandiagara, passing diretly through the Dogon villages of Pelani, Sogodougou, Koundialan, and Benndieli. The Wednesday market in Kendie is served by buses, vans, and trucks from Bandiagara, with some originating as far away as Sikasso or even Bamako. A list of the known villages where Dogul Dom is the primary language can be found in appendix A.

1.2.1 Dogul Dom Multilingualism

Native speakers of one Dogon language are almost always fluent in another, and this is certainly the case with Dogul Dom. Dogul Dom speakers typically also speak Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ (although this is not always the case), and a fair number speak Kamma-Sɔ, as well. Hochstetler of SIL International remarked (somewhat jovially) in a Dogon sociolinguistic survey that:

> Dogulu-dom speakers take pride in the fact that, "We understand everybody; nobody understands us." Some probing revealed that "everybody" here means the people from the "so" varieties: Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ, and Donno-sɔ... When we played the [stories we recorded in] Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ, Donno-sɔ, and Tomo-kan... the first two were understood by at least some people, whereas the last one was not even recognized as being Dogon. (Hochstetler, 2004:p. 29)

1.2.2 A Note on Dialectology

This grammar draws on data from two relatively distinct dialects of Dogul Dom. The primary consultant is from the village of Koundialan, and his dialect will be referred to as the Koundialan dialect when the data necessitates a meaningful distinction. Much of the elicitation work was done *in situ* in the village of Benndieli, and the people there contributed in a number of ways to the grammatical and lexical data. Their dialect will be referred to as the

Benndieli dialect when necessary. This grammar reflects data from each dialect in equal parts as much as possible.

1.3 Environment

The high Dogulu plateau is remarkably flat. Some cultivated fields can be found on the high plateau itself, but in many places the earth is hard and strewn with rocks. The rocky rubble in the western part of the plateau (around Irigili and to the east of Douro) makes vehicular travel difficult. Irigili itself is on one of the few rocky elevations taht rise slightly above the rest of the plateau.

Although virtually all of the villages are up on the high plateau, they are strategically located near rocky ravines or wider sandy valleys that provide water and arable land. There are seasonal rivers in the ravines and valleys, and dams have been built to hold water to allow gardening in the dry season.

Much of the high plateau is a wooded savanna, with Combretum being the dominant family of trees. Typical trees and shrubs are the drier areas are gùsá (*Combretum glutinosum*) and túnú (*Combretum micranthum*), followed by séŋè (balanzan, *Faidherbia albida*), mɔ̀ɔ́lɔ̀ (wild date, *Balanites*), sóméè (tamarind), kúrɛ́è (wild grape, *Lannea microcarpa*), símù (borassus palm, *Borassus aethiopum*), bìí (*Sclerocarya birrea*), and ɔ̀rɔ́ (baobab, *Adansonia*). Many other species are represented more sparsely or more locally.

The rainy season from June to September is the main farming season, as it is across most of Mali and with the Dogon in particular. The main staple crop is millet (*Pennisetum glaucum*). Other cereals grown are sorgum and fonio (*Digitaria exilis*), along with a few pockets of maize and rice. Cow-pea (*Vigna unguiculata*), peanut, roselle, and a little sesame are also grown in the rainy season. The primary dry-season cash crop grown in gardens during the dry season is onion, followed (in no particular order) by lettuce, cabbage, cucumber, tomato, African eggplant (*Solanum aethiopicum*), chili pepper, and calabash (gourd).

1.4 Previous and Contemporary Study of Dogul Dom

1.4.1 Previous Studies

The first known publication that includes data from Dogul Dom was a sociolinguistic survey by Bertho (1953), who compared and classified 14 different Dogon varieties. Dogul Dom was mentioned in a more recent and

comprehensive sociolinguistic study by SIL International, which investigated 19 varieties and provided comparative wordlists of each (Hochstetler, 2004). The only other known publication with reference to Dogul Dom is by Plungian, the most prolific author of papers on the Dogon languages prior to our project. Plungian and Tembiné (1995) discussed the results of their own survey administered to Dogon speakers. Whereas Bertho's survey focused on comparison, Plungian and Tembiné asked questions pertaining to speakers' attitudes with regard to the sociolinguistic landscape and development of their languages.

Neither of these publications included significant comments on the grammar or a large amount of data. This grammar is the first comprehensive documentation and analysis of the Dogul Dom language.

1.4.2 Fieldwork and Methodology

The data in this grammar were collected in Mali and Burkina Faso from speakers from the Dogon villages of Benndieli and Koundialan in 2011 and 2012. Fieldwork was done both *in situ* (in Benndieli) and in the nearby city Sevare (with the Koundialan informants). In 2012, fieldwork was conducted in the country of Burkina Faso, just south of Mali, due to political instability following the 2012 coup d'etat. Informants were transported to the research site in Burkina Faso.

My informants for the Koundialan dialect included Malick Nantoumé and Mouctar Nantoumé. My informants for the Benndieli dialect included Amadou Tapily, Yaboudou Tapily, Chief Adama Tapily, and Garibou Tapily. My informants included individuals between 18 years and 50 years and a mix of men and women. Differences between the two dialects are restricted, with most differences being predictable phonological variations. The Koundialan dialect here is the default, but differences in the Benndieli dialect will be highlighted.

The bulk of this grammar has been derived from targeted elicitation rather than textual analysis. The reason for this is twofold. First, textual analysis is significantly more time consuming, and the six months of fieldwork conducted so far did not include a considerable amount of time for textual elicitation. Second, targeted elicitation allows the linguist to cover more ground at a quicker pace. While textual analysis does provide more natural, context-embedded data, elicitation with an informant who has strong metalinguistic sensibilities can provide deep insight into the syntactic underpinnings of the language.

Elicitation sessions with my primary informant, Malick Nantoumé, were very conversational. After eliciting a few variations of a grammatical feature, I would follow up with extensive questions to untangle the examples provided, and he and I would discuss such topics as why certain examples are grammatical while others are not, why some forms sound better than others,

and what differentiates one lexeme from another in a particular context. These conversations were very frequent and often gave me a deeper look into the language than I was able to glean from texts.

All of my research was done on an Apple MacBook Pro using Mac OS X. Recordings were made using Olympus LS-7 and LS-10 linear PCM recorders and analyzed using Praat. Other software that facilitated this research include Scrivener for my own organization of the documentation project, Apple Numbers for the organization of phonological and paradigmatic data, and Microsoft Excel for Mac for organization of the lexicon. The use of an Apple iPad facilitated this fieldwork. The grammar (this document) was written on a Mac with LaTeX in the editing program TeXnicle.

1.4.3 Acknowledgements

This research has been conducted under the aegis of the Dogon and Bangime Linguistics Project, which receives its funding from grant BCS 0853364 through the Documenting Endangered Languages (DEL) program of the National Science Foundation.

I am deeply indebted first and foremost to our project director, Dr. Jeffrey Heath. Without his support, knowledge, and endless patience, this research would not be what it is today. In fact, not one page of this grammar would exist, and the same can be said of perhaps every grammar produced by our project. Dr. Heath's generosity and expertise has single-handedly given every member of the project the perfect opportunity and environment in which to work, and we are all very thankful. I would also like to thank our support networks in Mali (Minkailou Djiguiba, Boukel Togo, and Seydou Moro) and in Burkina Faso (Marie Dallo, Frank Dallo, Zacharia LastName) for their dedication to our project. I am also very grateful to the chief and people of Benndieli for warmly welcoming me into their lives for much of my time in Mali.

For my trips to the field, I was lucky to have an outstanding primary grammatical consultant, Malick Nantoumé, who persevered through my feeble attempts to speak French with constant kindness and good humour. Also thanks to my additional informants Amadou Tapily, Mouctar Nantoumé, Yaboudou Tapily, Adama Tapily, and Garibu Tapily.

I am indebted to (and partially funded by) the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, Netherlands. Thanks in particular to Dr. Asifa Majid for inviting me so work under her excellent guidance, for pushing me to do better, and for opening many doors for me; to Dr. Mark Dingemanse for his long discussions on theoretical issues, for his kind hospitality, and most importantly for his friendship; to assistants Renske Schilte and George Saad for their generous facilitation of my work while in Nijmegen; and to the rest of the Language and Cognition group for welcoming me so much.

Special thanks to Dr. Misha Becker, my advisor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who prepared me in the best way possible for this research. Thank you to my thesis committee members (in additon to Dr. Becker), Dr. Jennifer Smith and Dr. Davíd Mora-Marín, for their insight into this grammar. A few esteemed colleagues in particular have helped me more than they realize. First, thanks to Dr. Christopher Green (Center for the Advanced Study of Language), who, from the very outset, never hesitated to answer my questions and give me advice. Thanks to Samantha Farquharson (UNC-Chapel Hill) for making my trip to the field during the summer of 2012 enjoyable rather than tolerable. Thanks in particular to my mentor and *grande sœur* Laura McPherson (UCLA), who gave me the idea to study Dogon, the courage to follow through, and the sanity to make it out alive. Her impact on my career is unmatched, and I am profoundly grateful.

Finally, thanks to my friends and family, who never wavered in their faith and support.

To all of the above: Thank you. You are the giants on whose shoulders I have stood.

Chapter 2

Sketch

This chapter aims to provide a basic outline of the main features of Dogul Dom while introducing the notations and conventions that will be used throughout the document.

Throughout this grammar, particularly the electronic version, there is some colour-coding to assist the reader. Blue is used to make words and sounds in Dogul Dom stand out from the text; however, his convention is not used in tables and examples because the Dogul Dom forms are more distinguishable here. Green is used for construction formulae (as with the NP constituent ordering formula in example (1)) from chapter 6, examples from other Dogon languages (see §3.4.6.8 on nasal harmony in Toro-Tegu), or hypothesized reconstructions from proto-Dogon (see §4.1.2 on the word for *child*).

2.1 Phonology

This grammar uses primarily the transcription system of the IPA, but it does deviate in certain instances, detailed in table 2.1.[1] These deviations typically reflect the conventions of the Africanist tradition.

IPA	transcription
d͡ʒ	j
t͡ʃ	c
j	y
r and ɾ	r

Table 2.1: Transcription conventions and their IPA equivalents

[1] See §3.2.2 for a note on the notation of /w/.

Nasalization is marked with a tilde (ṽ) and tone by the use of diacritical accents (high v́, low v̀, rising v̌, and falling v̂). Long vowels are notated as two consecutive vowels (v́v́) rather than by the use of the IPA diacritic (v́ː). If a long vowel has a contour tone (rising or falling), the contour is split between the two vowels (v̀v́, v́v̀).

To refer to the two mid front vowels /e ɛ/ as a class collapsed over the [ATR] feature, the symbol E will be used. Similarly, O stands for the class of mid back vowels /o ɔ/.

Tones have an extremely important role in every aspect of Dogul Dom grammar. High tones will be referred to as H, low tones as L. Rising and falling contour tones are notated as <LH> and <HL>, respectively. Angular brackets (as in <HL>) indicate the tones on a single syllable, while curly braces (as in {HL}) denote the tonal shape of an entire stem or word.

2.1.1 Segmental Phonology

Dogul Dom has 20 phonemic consonants and seven phonemic vowels. The Dogon languages (including Dogul Dom) are typically marked by the presence some or all of the nasal sonorants /w̃ ỹ r̃/. In Dogul Dom, /w̃/ and /ỹ/ have been observed. For a detailed look at the consonant inventory, see §3.2.

Vowes are distinguished by a number of features, including length (short and long), nasality (oral and nasal), and [ATR] ([+ATR] /e o/ and [−ATR] /ɛ ɔ/). §3.3 provides a thorough investigation of vowel phonology. Throughout the grammar, the symbols E and O refer to a mid vowel that is underspecified for the [ATR] feature. An example of this is the -wɛ̀ suffix for plurality in the human class, which takes its value for [ATR] from the noun stem (§4.1.1).

2.1.2 Prosody

write this section

2.1.3 Key Phonological Processes

One of the most salient processes in Dogul Dom phonology is the apocope of final /u/, referred to as u-apocope. In these instances, word-final -u is deleted after any consonant except /n/. The tone may or may not be preserved on the preceding mora. See §3.4.5 for more information and examples of this in action.

2.2 Inflectable Verbs

Inflectable verbs have a rich morphology, and this can be divided into two primary categories: derivative morphology and inflectional morphology.

2.2.1 Derivational Morphology

Derivative affixes create new, fully-inflectable verbs from existing verbs, and these new verbs fall into very distinct classes. The reversive suffix -lE functions very much like the English prefix 'un-,' and it's used to create verbs like 'untie' from 'tie' (kɔ̀mmà-lɛ́ from kɔ̀mmɛ́) and 'unfold' from 'fold' (mùnnò-lé from mùnné). It's also used to create some less transparent verbs that are lexicalized in English, as in ìrɛ̀-lɛ́ 'remember' derived from ìrɛ́ 'forget'. The causative suffix -mE functions in much the same way, turning bùndé 'hit' into bùndò-mé 'make hit'. Causatives are often less transparent than reversives or causatives, with derivations like ɲàà-mɛ́ 'feed' (from ɲɛ̀ɛ́ 'eat') and tìgì-mɛ́ 'inform' (from tìgìyɛ́ 'know').

For more information on verbal derivation and a full list of derivational classes (e.g. transitive, mediopassive), see chapter 9.

2.2.2 Inflectional Morphology

Throughout the grammar, paradigmatic tense-aspect-negation conjugations of verbs will be referred to with the term *inflectional categories*, since referring to a category as a *tense* doesn't capture all of its important features (or fully isolate it from the other categories). In Dogul Dom, the inflectional morphology is very complex and affixes are chained on the end of a stem in succession. Chapter 10 describes this inflection in extensive detail.

Dogul Dom has three moods: indicative (the most common, used for typical speech and questions), imperative (for second-person commands), and hortative (for first-person *Let's...* exhortations). The indicative mood (§10.2) is divided into four aspects: perfect, progressive, imperfective, and experiential. The former two aspects are subdivided into two tenses (past and present), while the latter two are undivided. Each of these inflectional categories has an unmarked positive form and a marked negative form. In addition, all of these categories have full inflection with regard to the person of the subject, described in §10.5.

The imperative mood (§10.8.1) is comprised of imperative forms (in the positive) and prohibitive forms (in the negative). Each of these has a singular and a plural form, and all have an understood second-person subject.

The hortative mood includes the hortative and the inhibitive, both in a first-person dual form (for the speaker and one other entity) and a first-person plural form (for the speaker and two or more entities).

2.3 The Noun Phrase (NP)

Nouns have remarkably little morphology, which contrasts directly with the heavily concatenating morphology of verbs. The only morphosyntactic change to nouns is optional plural marking: -wɛ̀ for human nouns and -yà for everthing else. Marking plurality is significantly more common on human nouns than on nonhuman nouns, although the distinction is made to avoid ambiguity. NP morphology is handled in §4.1.

The typical linear order of a noun phrase can be found in (1).

(1) (possessor) noun (adjective)∗ (numeral) (demonstrative) (quantifier)

If there is a postnominal possessive pronoun rather than a possessor NP (or preposed possessive pronoun), it fits in between the numeral and the demonstrative. See §6.1.1 for examples and a discussion on the ordering of NPs.

An NP takes on an all-low tonal contour, referred to as the \PTC, when it's modified by a reference-restricting element (possessor NP, adjective, or demonstrative). The reference-restrinct element, however, keeps its lexical tones. A full description of this aspect of the tonosyntax can be found in chapter 6.1.

2.4 Case Marking and Adpositions (PP)

2.4.1 Case Marking

Case-marking is very different between nouns and pronouns. The five cases represented in the data are nominative (for subjects), genitive (possession), dative (indirect object), accusative (direct object), and allative (adposition complements).

All cases are unmarked on nouns with the exception of the dative case. In instances of the dative of recipient and addressee, the dative case is marked with a -y or -i case-marker, which is described in more detail in §4.1.3. Case marking on pronouns is much more complicated, with tonally or morpholoically distinct forms in each person and number for the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, and allative cases. The morphology of pronouns is explained in §**??**.

2.4.2 Adpositions

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2.5 Main Clauses and Constituent Order

write this section

2.6 Nominalized Clauses and Constituent Order

write this section

2.7 Relative Clauses

write this section

2.8 Interclausal Syntax

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Chapter 3

Phonology

This chapter describes the phonology (and to an extent, the phonetics) of Dogul Dom. §3.1 provides an account of the possible syllable and mectrical structures of lexical stems. §§3.2 and 3.3 describe the phonemic inventory of the language and provide a cursory overview of important phonetic idiosyncrasies and processes. The discussion then turns to phonological processes (§3.4) and cliticization (§3.5). 3.6 is particularly important because it gives a thorough description of tones and the way they pattern; this will be relevant when the grammar investigates the tonosyntax of Dogul Dom in later chapters. Finally, the last section gives an overview of the intonational features of the language.

See 2.1 for information on the phonological and tonal notation particular to this grammar.

3.1 Internal Phonological Structure of Stems and Words

write this section

3.1.1 Syllables

write this section

3.1.2 Metrical Structure

write this section

3.2 Consonant Inventory

Dogul Dom has 20 phonemic consonants, with four other segments occurring as restricted allophones of larger phonemes. In table 3.1, the categories of postalveolar and palatal have been condensed and the lateral approximant has been grouped with other oral approximants. The presence of the canonical nasal approximants /ỹ w̃ r̃/ is a marked feature of the Dogon languages, but they are not present in Dogul Dom. Segments in parentheses are restricted allophones explained in the subsections that follow.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	p b	t d		k g	ʔ
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
fricative	f	s (z)	(ʃ) (ʒ)		h
affricate		(c) j			
approximant	w	l	y		
trill/tap		r			

Table 3.1: The consonant inventory of Dogul Dom

Table 3.2 shows examples of each phoneme in use. Allophones are included at the bottom in a phonetic transcription of the (typical) pronunciation.

Phoneme	Example	Gloss	Phoneme	Example	Gloss
p	pùró	'village'	f	fú	'all'
b	bé	'they'	s	sálá	'bad'
t	tɔ́m'ɔ	'one'	h	hááŋ	'other'
d	dàárá	'mother'	j	júúg	'week'
k	kàndá	'now'	w	wál	'work'
g	gúzúg	'skin'	y	yáágà	'night'
m	mmɔ̀	'my'	l	léésù	'uncle'
n	nóó	'person'	r	árá	'rice'
ɲ	ɲɛ̀ɛ́	'eat'	ʔ	ʔɲì	'water'
ŋ	àŋá	'where'			
ʃ	ʃómù	'horse'	z	sìzíŋ	'line'
ʒ	álʒérí	'Algeria'	c	lácìrì	'couscous'

Table 3.2: Dogul Dom consonant phonemes in context

3.2.1 Voiceless Labials /p f/

Although they were probably distinct phonemes, there is now a free variation between [p] and [f] in words which probably have a lexical /f/. When

presented with two forms, for example [fú] and [pú] for 'all', speakers will accept either form as correct. This is perhaps because local schools teach that the Dogon languages have no /f/ phoneme, so it is often edited out of their speech. However, it is worthy to note that even when [p] occurs in the surface representation of one of these words, it is very highly aspirated. It should also be noted that this variation is one-way: all words that have underlying /f/ may have a heavily aspirated [p] in the output, but words with an underlying /p/ are produced faithfully.

3.2.2 Labial Approximants [w β̞]

The labiovelar approximant /w/ has two outputs that have been observed consistently in each dialect of Dogul Dom. Most of the time, it is produced as a cannonical labiovelar approximant [w]. However, before front vowels [i e ɛ], it loses the [DORSAL] feature and becomes a bilabial approximant. This sound is represented in the IPA as [β̞], a lowered voiced bilabial fricative, but the distinction has not been made in the notation throughout the grammar.

3.2.3 Sibilants [s ʃ z ʒ]

Of these fricatives, only /s/ appears to be lexical. In the data, [ʃ] and [z] occur as allophones of /s/, but no minimal or near-minimal pair has been found to date for either form. The sound [ʃ] occurs primarily before high vowels, but occasionally makes an appearance in front of high-toned back vowels, as well, as in ʃómù 'horse'. The sound [z] tends to occur intervocalically. It should be noted that these allophones do not occur all the time; words with an /s/ in these positions will sometimes be produced with an [s] and sometimes with the allophone.

The sound [ʒ] only occurs in the data in French loan words.

3.2.4 Postalveolars [c j]

The voiceless postalveolar affricate [c] occurs only as an allophone of /k/ before front vowels. Its voiced counterpart [j] is not overwhelmingly represented in the data, but it doesoccur in environments sufficiently contrastive to other similar sounds that they may be considered independent phonemes from each other and other segments. It may also be an allophone of [g] before front vowels, as words that satisfy this environment may be produced with either segment. The [j] is often replaced by [g] if the speaker is asked to repeat the word many times.

3.2.5 Glottal Consonants [ʔ h]

The glottal stop often occurs phonemically before a nasal, as in ʔɲńì 'water'. If the word is pronounced without a strong [ʔ] before the nasal, it is rejected by native speakers.

Very few words have [h], such as háàŋ 'other'.These words are almost certainly borrowings from Fulfulde.

3.2.6 Nasal Sonorants /w̃ ỹ/

The Dogon languages tend to be marked by the presence of phonemically nasal sonorants from the set /w̃ ỹ r̃/. Interestingly, Dogul Dom lacks all of these segments both in the lexicon and in derived environments (such as nasal harmony).

3.2.7 Consonant Clusters

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3.2.7.1 Word- and Morpheme-Initial CC Clusters

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3.2.7.2 Medial Geminate CC Clusters

write this section

3.2.7.3 Medial Non-Geminate CC Clusters

write this section

3.2.7.4 Medial Triple-Consonant Clusters

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3.2.7.5 Final CC clusters

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3.3 Vowel Inventory

Dogul Dom has seven phonemic vowels, which are plotted in the vowel chart (skewed to reflect human perception) in figure 3.1. The values plotted reflect data taken from my primary informant from Koundialan. 61 lexemes were selected from the lexicon on the basis of the location of the vowel within the word (initial, medial, final) and the environments surrounding the lexeme in order to prevent environmental bias. 588 formant values were taken from this session.[1] The difference between H/L for tone and short/long for length were not found to have an effect on the vowel formants and so were not distinguished in the chart below.

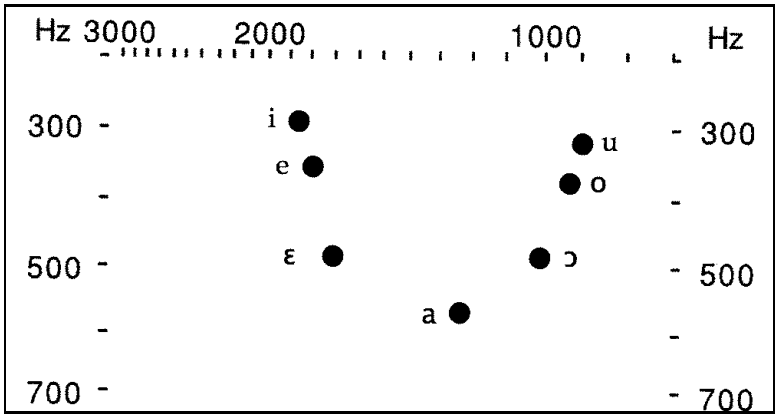

Figure 3.1: A vowel chart for Dogul Dom's seven phonemic vowels, skewed to reflect human auditory perception

The vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ and the vowels /o/ and /ɔ/ often show a regular alternation in certain morphemes with regard to [ATR]. The vowels /e/ and /o/ are [+ATR], while /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are [−ATR].

3.3.1 Length Contrast in Oral Vowels

Although vowels can be characterized as being short or long, the data contain no minimal pairs based solely on vowel length. Monosyllabic words are either CVV or NCV in shape, perhaps because there is a restriction that words must be bimoraic in the input (even if one of these morae is deleted in the output; see §3.6.1). The few exceptions to this rule that have been found are the quantifier fú 'all' and certain functional categories like some determiners (§4.4) and the quotative particle wá (§17.1.3).

[1] A smaller version of this experiment was run one year after the original test, and the formant values did not differ in any significant way.

3.3.2 Nasal Vowels

Vowels are often phonetically nasalized by nasal harmony, which is triggered by another [NAS] segment. The data contain only one word with nasal vowel without another nasal segment: bɛ̀ɛ́ 'beard'. Even so, this does not seem to suggest a set of vowels phonemically distinguished by nasality, as bɛ̀ɛ́ has no minimal pair, such as ∗bɛ̀ɛ́.

Perhaps the existence of this word is explained by historical change. While all of the Dogon languages studied so far have a very similar word for 'beard', and many of them contain a [NAS] segment. Compare Dogul Dom bɛ̀ɛ́ with Najamba bɛ́ɛ̀-ŋgò, Ben Tey and Bankan Tey bɛ̀ɛ́ỳ, and Mombo bɛ́ɛ́ kùlè.

3.3.3 Initial Vowels

All seven vowels are attested in word-initial position, as shown in table 3.3 with examples.

Vowel	Example	Gloss
i	ìsígú	'sun'
e	ébà	'market'
ɛ	ɛ́nnɛ̀	'wind'
a	ámbá	'god'
ɔ	ósɔ̀	'chin'
o	ósùgù	'road'
u	úwùŋ	'honey'

Table 3.3: Inventory and examples of word-initial vowels in Dogul Dom

Vowels in word-initial position may be lexically either H- or L-toned; the examples above are all H for consistency. Most vowels (/i e a o/) can be either long or short in this position, but it should be noted that the [−ATR] vowels /ɛ ɔ/ occur only as short vowels. Furthermore, the vowel /u/ is never long in word-initial position (although this seems to be the case with all Dogon languages).

3.3.4 Stem-Final Vowels

While all vowels may appear stem-finally (see table 3.4 for examples), only non-high vowels may be long in this position (except in monosyllabic words).

As a result of u-apocope, word-final -u is often deleted. See §3.4.5 for a discussion and examples.

Vowel	Example	Gloss
i	páyì	'old'
e	ííyè	'today'
ɛ	ámɛ̀rɛ̀	'chief'
a	áálà	'rain'
ɔ	gɛ̀nɔ́	'good'
o	dúlò	'tail'
u	júrù	'upside down'

Table 3.4: Inventory and examples of stem-final vowels in Dogul Dom

3.3.5 ATR Harmony

write this section

3.3.6 Vocalism of Verb Stem Alternations

write this section

3.4 Segmental Phonological Processes

write this section

3.4.1 Trans-Syllabic Consonantal Processes

write this section

3.4.1.1 Forward Nasalization

write this section

3.4.1.2 Consonantal Metathesis in Suffixal Derivatives of Verbs

write this section

3.4.2 Vocalism of Derived Verbs

write this section

3.4.2.1 Stem Vowel-Spreading to Suffix

write this section

3.4.2.2 Presuffixal V2-Raising

write this section

3.4.3 Other Vocalic Processes Sensitive to Syllabic or Metrical Structure

write this section

3.4.3.1 Epenthesis

write this section

3.4.3.2 Syncope

write this section

3.4.4 Apocope

write this section

3.4.5 u-Apocope

In Dogul Dom, the high back vowel /u/ is extraordinarily common in stem-final position underlyingly, but it is almost always lost on the surface. This is a phenomenon that has also been observed in numerous other Dogon languages. McPherson (2010) describes the process of u-apocope very thoroughly in her grammar of Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ, and one of the interesting aspects of Dogul Dom is how different the process is in comparison. In Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ, final high vowels are typically lost after a sonorant, and their tone shifts onto the preceding syllable (often creating a contour tone) to preserve the contour.

In Dogul Dom, the process is much more widespread. u-Apocope can happen after any segment, regardless of whether it's a sonorant or not. Therefore, the words náágù 'cow' and ʃómù 'horse' are almost always realized as náàg and sôm. As the former example shows, the tone may be preserved on the

preceding mora, which may create a contour tone. However, it should be noted that this is not always the case, and the tone is often lost.

Interestingly enough, u-apocope almost never happens after /n/.

3.4.5.1 Apocope across Word Boundaries

write this section

3.4.6 Local Consonant Sequence Processes

write this section

3.4.6.1 Derhoticization (/r̃/ to [n])

write this section

3.4.6.2 Rhotic Assimilation

write this section

3.4.6.3 Rhotic Cluster/Sequence Lateralization

write this section

3.4.6.4 Rhotic Fortition

write this section

3.4.6.5 Rhotic Cluster Fortition

write this section

3.4.6.6 Glide Fortition

write this section

3.4.6.7 Glide Assimilation

write this section

3.4.6.8 Alternations of /l/ with /r/ and /n/

While dialects of Dogul Dom each tend to maintain consistency within themselves with regard the underlying lexical form of a word or morpheme, the phoneme /l/ tends to be affected by intra-dialectal alternations. For example, an alternation between /l/ and /r/ has been observed between the dialects of Benndieli and Koundialan. In the Benndieli dialect, the present progressive positive morpheme is -rà-; the same morpheme in Koundialan is -là-. This alternation is not absolute (i.e., not all words and morphemes with Ben. /l/ become /r/ in Koun.), but the affected forms are affected quite consistently within the dialect.

This alternation is not confined to being an inter-dialectal environment; at times it can occur across speakers of the same dialect. Two speakers from Koundialan and within the same age group consistently produced a locative particle differently from each other: The first speaker gave [rá] while the second gave [lá] in identical environments.

There is a marked alternation between these two dialects with regard to the presence of a lexical /l/ or /n/. For example, many nouns that begin with an /l/ in Ben. begin with /n/ in Koun. Examples include Ben. léésù (Koun. néésù) 'uncle' and Ben. lègéégù (Koun. nègéégù) 'bird'.

This is certainly not the only time an alternation between /l/ and /n/ has been observed in the Dogon languages. In Toro Tegu, backward nasalization affects SV syllables (where *S* refers to the nasalizable sonorants, see §3.2.6) when followed by a nasal segment (i.e., in pattern SVNV where *N* refers to nasal segments) (Heath, 2010b). Backward nasalization does not affect /w y/ if syncope or deletion creates this environment, but it does affect /l/ under these circumstances; in these instances, the nasalized /l/ ([l̃]) becomes [n].

Furthermore, Heath argues that words that can undergo this backward-nasalization alternation were historically ∗/n/ instead of /l/, and many of the other languages retain the historical nasal in their modern form. For more information, see Heath (2010b) and Cansler (2011).

3.4.7 Vowel-Vowel and Vowel-Glide Sequences

write this section

3.4.7.1 Hiatus between Vowels in Reduplications

write this section

3.4.7.2 Vowel Coalescence

Vowel coalescence plays a vital role in Dogul Dom phonology, particularly across morpheme boundaries in verbs. It's also one of the most phonologically-intriguing phenomena because of the way it patterns with tone-association.

3.4.8 Local Vowel-Consonant Interactions

write this section

3.4.8.1 Vowel-Glide Assimilation

write this section

3.4.8.2 Monopthongization

write this section

3.5 Cliticization

write this section

3.6 Tone

write this section

3.6.1 Mora Restrictions

write this section

3.6.2 Moraic Segments

write this section

3.6.3 Lexical Tone Batterns

write this section

3.6.3.1 At Least One H in Each Stem

write this section

3.6.3.2 Lexical Tones of Verbs

write this section

3.6.3.3 Lexical Tones of Unsegmentable Noun Stems

write this section

3.6.3.4 Lexical Tones of Adjectives and Numerals

write this section

3.6.3.5 Tone Contours or Pitch Accent?

write this section

3.6.3.6 Tone-Component Location for Bitonal Noun Stems

write this section

3.6.3.7 Tone-Component Location for Tritonal Noun Stems

write this section

3.6.4 Grammatical Tone Patterns

write this section

3.6.4.1 Grammatical Tone Patterns for Verb Stems

write this section

3.6.4.2 Grammatical Tone Patterns for Noun Stems

write this section

3.6.4.3 Grammatical Tone Patterns for Adjectives and Numerals

write this section

3.6.5 Tonal Morphophonology

write this section

3.6.5.1 Autosegmental Tone Association

write this section

3.6.5.2 Phonology of {HL} Tone Contour

write this section

3.6.5.3 Tonal Changes in Decimal Numerals

write this section

3.6.5.4 Tone Reassignment onto Underspecified Morphemes

write this section

3.6.6 Low-Level Tone Processes

write this section

3.6.6.1 Rising-Tone Mora Addition

write this section

3.6.6.2 Contour-Tone Stretching

write this section

3.6.6.3 Final Tone Resyllabification

write this section

3.6.6.4 Rightward H-Spreading

write this section

3.6.6.5 Stranded-Tone Relinking

write this section

3.6.7 Final-CV R-to-H Reduction

write this section

3.7 Intonation Contours

write this section

3.7.1 Phrase- and Clause-Final Terminal Contours (↑ ↓ →)

write this section

3.7.2 Expressive Elements with Lexically Specified Prolongation (→)

write this section

Chapter 4

Nominal, Pronominal, and Adjectival Morphology

The Dogon languages are stereotypically marked by a stark contrast between minimal nominal morphology and very complex agglutinative verbal morphology. This chapter describes the basic morphology of Dogul Dom nominals and modifiers: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals. It also highlights the most interesting patterns, points out unusual irregularities, and describes clitics and affixes that accompany these categories.

This chapter is organized in the following way. Section 4.1 explains the affixal and clitic morphology of both regular and irregular nouns, while 4.2 extends the discussion to derived nominals (agentives and gerunds). Section 4.3 details the pronominal system of the language in all four cases (nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative) and briefly touches on other pronominals (suffixal pronouns used with verbs, logophoric pronouns, and reflexives; demonstratives are deferred to the discussion on other determiners). The final sections describe the structure and morphology of categories that modify nominals (determiners, adjectives, and numerals). For the morphosyntax of compounds with a nominal element, see Chapter 5; for a thorough analysis of how these elements combine to form a noun phrase, see Chapter 6.

4.1 Nouns

Nominal morphology in Dogul Dom is fairly straightforward, but it does have its peculiarities. This section is concerned only with the morphology of simple noun stems.

4.1.1 Regular Nouns

Most Dogon languages have remnants (both productive and unanalyzable) of a complex noun class system that has since been lost, but each language is very different in how these remnants are manifested. The Dogon languages form a kind of continuum with regard to noun class marking, with Bondu So and its abundant noun class marking on one end and Dogul Dom on the other end with almost no class system whatsoever. Anything that does remain in any of these languages is vaguely related to an animacy distinction. Some languages (like Bondu So) have a strict dichotomy between animates and inanimates. Others (like Yanda Dom) have a tripartite division between humans, non-human animates, and inanimates. To date, Dogul Dom is the only language documented by the Dogon and Bangime Linguistics Project in which noun classification is based solely on possession, with alienably possessed nouns belonging to a different class from inalienably possessed nouns. The closest to this are languages like Jamsay, which has a plural suffix -m that cannot be used with kin terms; instead, kin terms take an independent plural particle bé. However, Jamsay also draws in more complicated animacy-based distinctions, as well. In this way, noun classes and possession classes (with regard to alienability) are identical. These will be referred to as possession classes.[1]

All nouns have an unmarked singular form, regardless of possession class:

(1) animate alienable: dààrá 'mother'

(2) inanimate alienable: béèg 'stick'

(3) (animate) inalienable: néésù 'uncle'

Nouns are also unmarked in the plural most of the time. Overt plural marking is primarily used to clarify in cases of ambiguity or when special emphasis is required. Even so, all lexical (underived) nouns may be pluralized, and these plural forms fall into two fairly distinct classes[2] based on possession.

For nouns that are or would be alienably possessed (§6.3.1), the plural clitic =ya (with allmorph =ìyà after consonants) is affixed to the end of the noun phrase. This clitic is underlyingly toneless and receives its tone from the final mora of the noun (examples (4) and (5)); if the final vowel of the noun has a contour tone, the tones are reassigned; see §3.6.5.4 for details on tone reassignment and (5) below for an example. Notice that (6) is ungrammatical because néésù 'uncle' is an inalienably possessed kin term. This =ya clitic will be referred to as the alienable plural clitic and glossed as PL.ALIEN.

(4) dààrá=yá
mother=PL.ALIEN

[1] It should be noted that all nouns in the inalienable class are animate nouns; however, not every animate noun is in the inalienable class.

[2] See §4.1.2 for exceptions.

'mothers'

(5) béég=ìyà
'sticks'

(6) ∗ néésù=yà
'uncles'

If the noun phrase includes postnominal modifiers, the clitic attaches to its final constituent. This is the most concrete evidence that these are clitics rather than suffixes.

(7) ínà bè-ŋ=ìyà
goat 3PL-GEN=PL.ALIEN
'their goats'

Only inalienably possessed nouns may be marked with the plural clitic =wÈ, which exhibits [ATR] harmony with the noun stem. (This affix may be traceable to the Jamsay plural clitic bè briefly mentioned above.) The examples below use the kin term tíí 'cousin', which may be alienably or inalienably possessed. This differs from most other nouns, for which possession type is mandatory. When tíí is inalienably possessed by a preposed pronoun (as in (8)), the clitic =wÈ is used as expected; when it is unpossessed (example (10)) or alienably possessed by a postposed genitive pronoun (example (9)), =wÈ is ungrammatical and =ya is used. The inalienable plural clitic will be glossed as PL.INALIEN.

(8) mí tíí=wè
1SG cousin=PL.INALIEN
'my cousins'

(9) tíí=yá
cousin=PL.ALIEN
'cousins'

(10) tíí bè-ŋ=ìyà
cousin 3PL-GEN=PL.ALIEN
'their cousins'

(11) ∗ tíí=wɛ̀

(12) ∗ tíí bè-ŋ=wè

This morphology is very often omitted, however, as context typically distinguishes the number of the noun. Marking is used primarily in cases of ambiguity.

4.1.2 Irregular Nouns

The nouns yáá 'woman, wife', ánà 'man, husband', and nóó 'person' are morphologically regular except that they always take the inalienable plural suffix, even when unpossessed or alienably possessed. The =wÈ clitic always affixes to the nouns themselves, with optional double marking occurring at the end of the full NP.

(13) yáá=wɛ̀ mmɔ̀
woman=PL.INALIEN 1SG.GEN
'my wives'

(14) ánù=wè
man=PL.INALIEN
'men'

(15) nóó=wè dɔ́gɔ̀ è-ŋ=ìwè
person=PL.INALIEN Dogon 2PL-GEN=PL.INALIEN
'all your Dogon people'

The noun for 'water' has two forms: ʔɲúù and ʔɲù, which is peculiarly low-toned. My primary informant, who has a strong track record with metalinguistic judgments, tells me that the difference is analogous to that between *eau* and *l'eau* in French. Morphologically, the French distinction is by definiteness, with *l'* as the definite article; semantically, this distinction doesn't translate well into English. Although it would be Dogul Dom's only example of a morphologically inflected change in definiteness, this is not unimaginable. ʔɲù may in fact be a concatenation of 'water' with the definite determiner: /ʔɲùù ŋ̀gì/ → [ʔɲù]. This would explain both divergent forms and the {L} tonal contour.

Only one noun in the data—égù 'child'[3]—exhibits highly irregular morphology. In many Dogon languages the plural for 'child' is suppletive: Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ has íí in the singular and úlùm in the plural. It therefore is to be expected that this form would be at least irregularly inflected. It appears that 'child' was once a segmentable form that is now frozen, such as ∗é-gù; this may be related to, for example, Nanga's singular definite -gu affix, and the idea is backed by a number of other words with an unsegmentable final - in Dogul Dom and other languages. The Dogul Dom word yáá 'woman' becomes yáágù in compounds. Its plural form is usually é=wè, yet there are a number of other possible forms: é=wè=yà, é=yá=wè, and égì=yà. All four forms are segmentally indistinguishable. There is also evidence of double-marking NPs with the head noun égù, as seen by the semantically identical examples (16) and (17) below.

[3] and monosyllabic allomorph éèg, with compensatory lengthening and tone reassignment after final u-Apocope

(16) égù mmɔ̀=yà
child 1SG.Gen=PL.ALIEN
'my children'

(17) é=wɛ̀ mmɔ̀=yà
child=PL.INALIEN 1SG.GEN=PL.ALIEN
'my children'

4.1.3 Dative Case Marking

Nouns are marked for the dative case when they are used as the recipient, beneficiary, or addressee—the typical uses of a language's dative case. Table 4.1 lists the allomorphs of the dative case marker.

ALLOMORPH	ENVIRONMENT	EXAMPLE
-ì	consonant-final	ìbràhím-ì
-ì	ending in -u	áámàd-ì
-ỳ	ending in -i, -a, -e, -ɛ	ándà-ỳ
-ø	ending in -o and -ɔ	nóó-ø

Table 4.1: Allomorphs of the dative case marker in Dogul Dom with examples

Examples of the dative case in use are listed below. Because there is overt marking of the dative case, word order is flexible, but the standard order is SBJ INDOBJ DIROBJ VERB.

(18) dative of recipient:
a. mí áámàd-ì ínà ǹdɛ́-ŋ
1SG Amadou-DAT goat give-1SG
'I gave Amadou a goat.'

(19) dative of beneficiary:
a. ándà-ỳ sólògò yégòrè-ø
Anda-DAT cream prepare-3SG
'He prepared the cream of millet for Anda.'

(20) dative of addressee:
a. ó málìk-ì ŋgóón póléé-b-ò
2SG Malick-DAT what say-IMPF-2SG
'What did you tell Malick?'

For dative case-marking on pronouns, see §4.3.1.3. Note that if the beneficiary of an action is pronominal, the genitive case is used rather than the dative. For more on the pronominal genitive of beneficiary, see §4.3.1.2.

4.1.4 'What's-His-Name', 'So-and-So'

One lexical peculiarity in the Dogon languages is how speakers refer to a person whose name they either don't know or won't use. When someone's name is unknown, it is substituted by gòón 'thing' (with gòòn=íyá in the plural). This is a modified form of gɔ̀ɔ́ 'thing', perhaps related to a nasal human suffix in other Dogon languages (Tommo So, Jamsay, etc.). If someone's name is known yet the speaker chooses not to use it for one reason or another (if it's sacred, for example), the word máàn is used instead.

(21) níŋáà mí gòón èbá ní wɛ̀ɛ́-ŋ
yesterday 1SG thing.HUM market LOC see-1SG
'Yesterday I saw what's-his-name in the market.'

(22) éndɛ̀nɛ̀ máàn méné-b-ø
day.after.tomorrow so.and.so come-IMPF-3SG
'So-and-so is coming the day after tomorrow.'

These are analogous to Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ, which uses kídɛ́ 'thing' for unknown names and identical máàn for unspoken names.

4.1.5 Diminutive

The diminutive suffix -Ég in Dogul Dom is clearly derived from égù 'child'.[4] Semantically, it denotes a physically smaller (and, for animate nouns, semantically younger) version of the stem noun. This is a very productive affix, so the examples here show only a small subset of the diminutive forms that occur in the data. Note that the vowel exhibits [ATR] harmony, and that it optionally coalesces with a final vowel.

(23) a. pòr-ég 'small village, hamlet' (*from* pòró)
b. kùnn-ɛ́ɛ́g 'little calabash' (*from* kùnnɔ́)
c. ìnà-ég 'little goat', ìn-éég (*from* ínà)
d. èg-éég 'small child' (*from* égù)
e. nòò-ég 'small person' (*from* nóó)
f. yààg-éég 'girl' (*from* yáágù)
g. àn-ég 'boy' (*from* ánà)

Some derivations name a related object rather than simply describing a smaller version of the stem noun, as with the derivation of kùn-éég 'pestle' from kùnnúŋ 'mortar'.

[4] This confirms McPherson's analysis of Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ's diminutive suffix -ý as being derived from íí 'child'.

Morphosyntactically, this suffix overlays a {L} tone on the stem, making the final form look exactly like a compound. Only modification of the NP, most easily through adjectival modifiers, can reliably[5] show a difference between the diminutive suffix and a compound; compare the diminutives in (24) with (25) below.

(24) a. bòmb-èèg gémèŋ
scorpion\ATC-DIM black
'a little black scorpion'

b. kùnn-ɛ̀ɛ̀g pàyí
calabash\ATC-DIM old
'an old little calabash'

(25) a. bòmbɔ̀ gèmèŋ égù
scorpion\ATC black\CTC child
'young black scorpion', 'baby black scorpion'

b. kùnnɔ̀ pàyì égù
calabash\ATC old\CTC child
'a piece of an old calabash'

In the former examples, both the stem noun and the diminutive suffix are tone-dropped because of adjectival modification; in the latter, the stem noun is tone-dropped because of the adjective, and the adjective is in turn tone-dropped because of the compound structure. Furthermore, égù 'child' follows the noun-adjective pair in compounds, whereas it intervenes in diminutives.

4.1.6 Reduplication

In Dogul Dom, nominal reduplication typically uses an initial reduplicant. This reduplicant is often (but not always) {L}-toned, and it may be a full reduplication of the noun stem, or it may be a partial reduplicant of an initial (C)V(C)-.

(26) a. bɔ̀rɔ́m-bɔ̀rɔ̀ŋ 'blister beetle'
b. dùgù-dúgù 'sorcerer'
c. kàrà-kárà 'underarm'
d. kɛ́ɛ́-kɛ́ɛ̀ 'bug'
e. mènù-ménù 'ant'
f. òlò-ólò 'dew'

[5] Another effect of this clitic is that it deletes any stem-final vowel, but because there are many words that are consonant final (at least on the surface), this cannot reliably differentiate between the clitic and a compound.

g. pál-pàlà ‘*Sesbania sesban* (tree)’

The nouns in (26) have no unreduplicated counterpart. However, all of the above have truncated forms; for example, dù-dúgù, dùg-dúgù, and dùgù-dúgù are all grammatical reduplications for ‘sorcerer’. Only two nouns in the data have both a reduplicated and unreduplicated form: (àrà-)árà ‘rice’ and (ɔ̀rɔ̀-)ɔ́rɔ̀ ‘baobab tree’. There are some examples of final reduplication, such as àn-tón-tòŋ ‘praying mantis’.

There is another reduplication process that is fairly productive with nominals in other Dogon languages, including Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ. It takes the pattern X-mà-X or similar, but there is only one instance of this for Dogul Dom nominals: the grasshopper species dɔ̀r-mà-ndɔ́rù ‘Hieroglyphus daganensis’. This is an exceptionally productive intensifying pattern for adjectives (compare pàyí ‘old’ with pày-máá-pày ‘very old’), but it is not particularly productive with nominals in Dogul Dom.

Reduplication is much more common with adjectives and ideophones than with nominals; see for analyses and examples of patterns.

4.1.7 Frozen Initial a- or aŋ- in Nouns

As in many Dogon languages including Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ and Jamsay, Dogul Dom has a few words that seem to have a once-segmentable affix a(N)-. A complete list of these words that appear in the data is shown in (27).

(27) a. á-mùndà ‘aardvark’
b. àn-dáŋ ‘*Ximenia americana* shrub’
c. àn-díŋjɛ̀ŋ ‘chameleon’
d. àn-dúmbúlé (káágù) ‘toad grasshopper’
e. àn-tón-tòŋ ‘praying mantis’
f. àn-tùndùŋ (káágù) ‘grasshopper species’
g. áŋ-júkòlò ‘roselle’
h. àŋ-gùlúŋ ‘handful (of food)’

So far, the data shows no cognate base-forms to which a segmentable affix may have been added.

4.2 Processes of Nominalization

As with inflectional morphology, nouns look like amateurs when compared with verbs in the realm of derivational morphology. Even so, there are a few interesting morphophonological processes by which a single noun is derived from other syntactic categories like adjectives or verbs.

4.2.1 Characteristic Derivative

write this section

4.2.2 Deverbal Derivation

write this section

4.2.3 Creation of Cognate Substantives

There are three seemingly unproductive methods for creating nouns from verbs, adjectives, and (rarely) other nouns. The method used in a particular instance is unpredictable and unanalyzable, and my own cursory explorations into the matter have not shown them to be productive. The most common of these in the data is the suffixation of -o or -u to a verb stem (§4.2.3.1), but there are two rarer processes on the side: vocalic changes (§4.2.3.2) and the suffixation of -VN (§4.2.3.3). The final subsection describes the relationship between cognates when there is no clear morphophonological change that occurs.

In most of the examples below, the tone is highly unpredictable, while the verbal counterparts are remarkably regular. This may be an indication that the verb has been derived by opposite processes from the substantives. There is currently no evidence to decide the matter in favour of either analysis, so this subsection is simply a description of the data that exists.

4.2.3.1 Through Suffixation of -O or -u

The process of affixing a final -O or -u to a verb stem is unexpected in two ways. First, the environments for affixation hardly fall into a clear-cut distinction; even nasals are divided. Second, final u-apocope is extraordinarily widespread in Dogul Dom (see §3.4.5), so a process that affixes highly deletable vowels is somewhat unusual. Note, however, that three of the four examples of -u-suffixation occur following a final alveolar nasal—an environment in which u-apocope is rarely successful.

There is no obvious way of predicting whether a noun will take an ending in -O or -u except to say (based on this scant data) that final alveolar sonorants will take -u, while other segments will take -O (innocent until proven guilty). Perhaps further data would elucidate this, but this process is unfortunately only mildly productive at best. Its status as a former morpheme is dubious because of the unpredictability of the tones; in just the nine examples in table 4.2.3.1, there are four tonal contours represented ({H}, {HL}, {LH}, and {L<HL>}).

Noun	Gloss	Derived from
dúgó	'magic, spell'	dùgé 'cast (a spell)'
gíyò	'dance (n.)'	gìyé 'dance (v.)'
íbíyó	'desire, wish'	ìbìyé 'like'
nùŋɔ́ɔ̀	'song'	nùŋɛ́ 'sing'
tìbɔ́	'death'	tìbɛ́ 'die'
jíŋú	'smell, odour'	jìŋé 'sniff, smell'
kɛ́nnù	'mouth'	kɛ̀ŋjɛ́ 'bite off'
máárù	'belief'	mààrɛ́ 'think'
nínnù	'soul'	nìnné 'be alive'

Table 4.2: Examples of nouns derived from verbs by suffixing -O or -u

If the suffixed vowel used to be a concrete morpheme, there is no lingering evidence of this in the semantics. Some of these form noun-verb pairs that are very common, as with gíyò gìyé 'dance a dance'. With constructions like this, the periphrastic noun-verb pair is almost always preferred over a simple verb. On the other hand, some seemingly analogous pairs (e.g. tìbɔ́ from tìbɛ́) form no such pair: One does not 'die a death' (∗tìbɔ́ tìbɛ́) in Dogul Dom.

4.2.3.2 Through Vocalic Changes

While not the poorest represented of nominalization processes, vocalic changes to verb stems is not a highly productive process. The data so far only reflects bimoraic bisyllabic verbs, and all but one example is taken from a [−atr] verb. The final vowel of the verb is dropped, and the remaining vowel in the stem may be lengthened. This may be accompanied by a change in vowel quality (height, backness, or [atr] class) or, in one datum, final-consonant manner of articulation.

Noun	Gloss	Derived from
dɔ́b	'joke'	dɔ̀bɛ́ 'be kidding'
dóòm	'speech, language'	dàmɛ́ 'speak, say'
éèm	'milk (n.)'	èmé 'milk (v.)'
gɛ́ɛ́l	'harvest (n.)'	gɛ̀lɛ́ 'harvest millet'
kɛ́l	'fun, enjoyment'	kɛ̀ndɛ́ 'have fun'
séèŋ	'ax'	sàŋɛ́ 'chop down'
tɔ̀ɔ́ŋ	'creation'	tɔ̀ŋɛ́ 'create'

Table 4.3: Examples of nouns derived from verbs through vocalic changes

Some of these nouns are clear derivatives, as with 'joke' from 'be kidding' or 'speech' from 'speak'. While the logic behind such a derivation is always clear,

some are more obscure, as with 'ax' from 'chop down'.

4.2.3.3 Through Suffixation of -VN

This process is very poorly attested in the data, with only four examples surfacing in the lexicon. It is unpredictable both with regard to the allomorph that is attached (if such an unproductive "affix" can be said to have allomorphs) and to the compatibility of any given noun with this alternation. One thing that is predictable is the tonal contour on the resulting nominal, which is identical to the original verb: {LH}.

Noun	Gloss	Derived from
dɔ̀gúŋ	'wooden lock'	dàgɛ́ 'lock (v.)'
dùmbáŋ	'large rock'	dùmbɛ́ 'nail in'
kòrúŋ	'circle'	kòré 'surround'
ɲàáŋ	'meal'	ɲɛ̀ɛ́ 'eat'

Table 4.4: Examples of nouns derived from verbs by suffixing -VN

In the first and final examples, the derivational logic is clear; one locks a lock and eats a meal. In the second and third cases, however, the nouns are more obscurely related to their base verb than in the other cognate-forming processes. A large rock may be used to nail something in, and when a group surrounds something, they form a circle. This spectrum of semantic change cannot be satisfactorily encompassed in a single morpheme.

4.2.3.4 Other Cognate Substantives

There are a number of nouns that are related to verb, adjectives, or other nouns by no clearly segmentable process.

The range of changes from verb, adjective, or noun to a new noun is vast and unpredictable, and the semantics are clear in singular cases but patternless overall.

4.2.3.5 Gerunds

Gerund forms refer specifically to the action of a verb (often translated into English as *the act of* VERB-*ing*) rather than to some related substantive in the world. The standard derivational pattern for lexical verbs is to change the final -E of the from the verb stem to -u, affix a final -g to the new stem, and overlay a {H} tonal contour. (All gerunds, even those not formed from the regular pattern, take a {H} tonal contour.) Regular examples are given in (28).

Noun	Gloss	Derived from
dùmàndá	'stroll (n.)'	dùmé 'take a walk'
èllé	'taste, flavour'	èllé 'sweet'
énnè	'wind'	ènìyé 'winnow in the wind'
gémlè	'charcoal'	gémèŋ 'black, dark'
kílì	'feather'	kìlìyé 'fly (v.)'
ɲéélè	'food'	ɲèé 'eat'
sémbà	'strength'	sèmbé 'strong'
táálà	'hunt (n.)'	tàyyé 'hunt (v.)'
wɔ̀ɔ̀gí	'menstruating woman'	wɔ́ɔ́gù 'moon, month'

Table 4.5: Examples of cognate substantives derived from verbs, adjectives, and nouns

(28) a. dɔ́ŋgú-g '(act of) pushing' (*from* dɔ̀ŋgɛ́)
b. dɔ́ŋgú-g '(act of) pounding' (*from* dɔ̀ŋgɛ́)
c. ńdú-g '(act of) giving' (*from* ǹdɛ́)
d. nóyyú-g '(act of) sleeping' (*from* nòyyé)
e. bɔ́lú-g '(act of) leaving' (*from* bɔ̀lɛ́)

Example (28c) shows that if there is no clearly [±ATR] in the verb stem, its class is indistinguishable from the gerund form.

CVV verbs take the shape Cíí-g, changing their long vowel to -íí- and affixing the gerund morpheme. Notice that this often results in the conflation of minimal pairs based on [ATR] class, as it sometime (although rarely) does with longer verbs if there is no class-indicating vowel in the stem.

(29) a. níí-g '(act of) drinking' (*from* nɛ̀ɛ́)
b. gíí-g '(act of) going out' (*from* gèé)
c. jíí-g '(act of) filling' (*from* jèé)
d. jíí-g '(act of) taking' (*from* jɛ̀ɛ́)

Verbs that are mediopassive derivations—and those that mophologically resemble such a verb—drop the mediopassive suffix -yE, change their final vowel to -íí-, and affix the gerund ending.

(30) a. íbíí-g '(act of) liking' (*from* ìbìyé)
b. íllíí-g '(act of) holding' (*from* ìllìyɛ́)

Verbs stems ending in a velar nasal drop the final vowel and attach -gú:

(31) a. núŋ-gú '(act of) entering' (*from* nùŋɛ́)
b. yɛ́ɛ́ŋ-gú '(act of) taking' (*from* yɛ̀ɛ̀ŋɛ́)

4.2.4 Instrumental Nominals

write this section

4.2.5 Uncompounded Agentive Nominals

Only two agentives occur in the data that are not noun-verb compounds: sántáà 'student' and dànné 'hunter'. These are not related to any known words in the language. Pluralization of these nominals is regular, taking the =ya alienable plural clitic when ambiguity may arise.

4.2.6 Expressive Iteration

write this section

4.3 Pronouns

This section details three kinds of pronouns: personal pronouns in §4.3.1, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns in §4.3.2, and logophoric pronouns in §4.3.3. Demonstrative pronouns are outlined with other determiners in §4.4.

4.3.1 Personal Pronouns

Dogul Dom has a pronominal paradigm with the usual three persons (first, second, and third) and the two usual numbers (singular and plural). There are four cases (nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative) and one class of suffixal pronouns (closely related to the corresponding independent pronouns) that are used as inflectional verb endings. This case system is summarized in Table 4.6.

	Base	Nom	Gen	Dat	Acc	Suffixal	
1sg	mi	mí	mmɔ̀	mí-ỳ	mì-ý	-ŋ	1sg
2sg	o	ó	ò-ŋ	ó-ỳ	ò-ý	-O	2sg
3sg	na	í	nà-ŋ	ná-ỳ	nà-ý	-ø	3sg
1pl	i	í	ì-ŋ	í-ỳ	ì-ý	-i	1pl
2pl	e	é	è-ŋ	é-ỳ	è-ý	-E	2pl
3pl	be	bé	bè-ŋ	bé-ỳ	bè-ý	-iya, -n	3pl

Table 4.6: The five pronominal classes in Dogul Dom

Each case is discussed below, and examples are provided. The discussion of suffixal pronouns is deferred to §10.5.

I take an analysis of pronouns in Dogul Dom that is in line with the tonosyntax that pervades the language. All independent pronouns are derived from a base pronoun, listed under BASE in Table 4.6. Tonal overlays and inflectional endings are affixed to these pronouns that distinguish cases, outlined in table 4.7.

CASE	INFLECTION	TONAL OVERLAY
Nominative	-ø	{H}
Genitive	-ŋ	{L}
Dative	-y	{HL}
Accusative	-y	{LH}

Table 4.7: Case inflection rules for Dogul Dom pronouns

While the genitive case suffix is clearly distinguishable, the oblique suffix on the dative and accusative cases can be less transparent. See §4.3.1.3 and §4.3.1.4 below for details.

4.3.1.1 Nominative Pronouns

Nominative pronouns are used as the subject of a clause in Dogul Dom. They are optional in sentences if the verb is inflected for person but obligatory otherwise. They are all monomoraic, meaning they are subminimal. They all take a {H} tone overlay over the base pronouns, and they have no segmental case marker. I do not take an analysis that these are proclitics simply because of the analogy of case inflection that forms other pronouns, which do not appear to be clitics of any sort. The tonal morpheme for the nominative case, the {H} tone overlay, is not glossed because the nominative case is the only case with unsuffixed {H}-toned forms.

(32) ó ínàà bùndè-tì-jó-ò
2SG goat hit-EXP-PRS-2SG
'Have you ever hit a goat?'

(33) yààgù ó námà-ŋ yè wɛ̀ɛ́-ŋ
woman 2SG like-PTCP there see-1SG
'I saw the woman you love.'

Notice that in example (33), the nominative pronoun is obligatory in the relative clause because the verb is in the participial form and uninflected for person.

4.3.1.2 Genitive Pronouns

This section only covers genitive pronouns used in alienable cases (that is, most cases). For more on inalienable possession, see §6.3.1.2.

With the exception of the suppletive first person singular form mmɔ̀, genitive are formed by affixing the genitive case marker -ŋ and overlaying a {L} tone. Like nominative pronouns, these are subminimal forms moraically. These pronouns follow the possessed noun and do not impose a tonosyntactic change on the noun (*à la* Bunoge).

(34) dààrá ò-ŋ bɔ́lɛ̀-ø
mother 2SG-GEN leave-3SG
'Your mother left.'

The first person singular form mmɔ̀ is almost certainly related to Kamma-Sɔ's first person genitive pronoun mmɔ̀ and to Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ's typical genitive marker mɔ (and first person singular genitive pronoun ḿmɔ). Note that the initial m in the Dogul Dom form should, according to the phonotactics of the language, be moraic, but it is not; this is perhaps because all other possessive pronouns are monomoraic or because its proto-form (from which the Kamma-Sɔ and Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ forms would also have been derived) was monomoraic. This suppletive form is the only one that exists: No form like ∗mì-ŋ has been attested.

The genitive pronouns are also used to mark beneficiary in what would be a dative construction with nouns (see §4.1.3).

(35) ʃ̀iyɛ̀ sòlógó ì-ŋ yégòrè-ø
millet cream 1PL-GEN prepare-3SG
'He made us cream of millet.'

Example 35 could also be translated as 'He made *our* cream of millet'.

4.3.1.3 Dative Pronouns

Dative pronouns in all persons and both numbers affix the oblique suffix -y to the base pronouns and then overlay a {HL} tonal contour. The -ỳ dative marker on nouns (and allomorph -ì) is likely derived from this combination of oblique suffix and dative contour.

(36) í-ý ŋgóòn pól-ìyà
1PL-DAT what tell-3PL
'What did they tell us?'

(37) ó-ỳ ínà ńdɛ̀-ø
2SG-DAT goat give-3SG
'She gave you a goat.'

In most cases, the dative pronoun follows the subject but precedes a direct object.

The glide suffix is not always audible after high front vowels like those in the first person singular and plural pronouns. Its presence is assumed based on analogy to the other persons and by the tonal contour on the word.

4.3.1.4 Accusative Pronouns

The accusative pronouns in all forms take the oblique suffix -y and overlay a {LH} tonal contour on the base pronouns.

(38) ná mì-ý búndɛ̀-ø
3SG 1SG-ACC hit-3SG
'He hit me.'

Accusative pronouns follow both subjects and indirect objects.

As with the dative case, the suffix on the first person singular and plural forms is not always clearly audible. Its presence is supported by analogy to the other forms and by the clear tonal contour on the pronoun itself.

4.3.2 Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

Reflexives are periphrastic constructions combining kíígù 'head' (glossed in these instances as REFL) with a genitive pronoun of the appropriate person. Constructions using merely the accusative pronoun and crossovers using the accusative pronoun with the reflexive marker kíígù are ungrammatical. There is no accusative marker in these instances.

(39) a. kíígù mmɔ̀ kɛ̀sɛ́-ŋ
REFL 1SG.GEN cut-1SG
'I cut myself.'

b. áámàdù kíígù nà-ŋ dúyɛ̀
Amadou REFL 3SG-GEN wash-3SG
'Amadou washed himself.'

c. kíígù ò-ŋ búndó
3PL REFL 2SG-GEN hit.IMP
'They hit themselves.'

Reciprocals, on the other hand, use the phrase nóó fú 'all people' and the reciprocal marker nábɔ̀, which is glossed as RECP. This is the form no matter the person of the verb.

(40) a. í nóó fú nábɔ̀ bùndé-ì
1PL person all RECP -1PL
'We hit one another.'

b. nóó fú nábɔ̀ búnd-ìyà
person all RECP -3PL
'They hit one another.'

c. ísá yàŋ núú yàŋ nóó fú nábɔ̀ kɛ́s-ìyà
Isa and Nouhoum and person all RECP -3PL
'Isa and Anda cut one another.'

Even in reflexive constructions, an overt nominative pronoun for the subject is not obligatory with a conjugated verb.

4.3.3 Logophoric Pronouns

Logophoric pronouns are obligatorily co-referenced with a noun or pronoun that appeared earlier in the phrase. The logophoric pronoun in Dogul Dom is mɛ̀, and it has a genitive form mɛ̀-mɔ́ (cf. the first person genitive pronoun in §4.3.1.2).

(41) a. ná góò-ø mɛ̀ ɛ́ɛ́nì bɔ̀lɛ́ɛ́-b-øgínè
3SG say-3SG LOG tomorrow go-IMPF-3SG say-3SG
'He$_i$ said he$_i$ is leaving tomorrow.'

b. ná góò-ømɛ̀ dàárá mɛ̀-mɔ́ búndè-øwá
3SG say-3SG LOG mother LOG-GEN hit-3SG QUOT
'She$_j$ said she$_j$ hit her$_j$ mother.'

4.4 Determiners

Dogul Dom has two classes of determiners: a definite morpheme =ŋ́gì and three deictic demonstratives. This section also includes a discussion of adverbial determiners and presentatives.

4.4.1 Definite Morpheme =ŋ́gì

Definiteness in Dogul Dom is expressed by a single clitic =ŋ́gì. It does not exhibit any nominal concord. It follows the entire NP but intervenes before

any plural clitic (see example (43)). The definite morpheme does not affect the tone of the preceding word.

(42) yáá èɡù ánà=ŋɡì wɛ́ɛ̀-ø
woman child male=DEF saw-3SG
'The woman saw the boy.'

(43) kùnnɔ̀ ǹdé ò-ŋ námà-ŋ ŋɡì-yà ɛ̀bɛ́-ŋ
calabash father 2SG-GEN want-PTCP=DEF=PL buy-1SG
'I bought the calabashes your father wants.'

While determiners and possessors are mutually exclusive in English (e.g. ∗*Kline's the dog*, ∗*the his dog*), they may be used together in Dogul Dom.

(44) ínà mmɔ̀=ŋɡì nà-ý ɲɛ́ɛ̀-ø
goat 1SG.GEN=DEF 3SG-ACC eat-3SG
'My goat ate it.'

(45) áámàdù pùró=ŋɡì
Amadou village-DEF
'Amadou's village'

4.4.2 Deictic Demonstrative Pronouns

Deictic demonstrative pronouns in Dogul Dom come in three flavors: the two proximal pronouns ŋɡù 'this (right here)' and ógù 'this' (with more common allomorphs óg and ók) and the distal pronoun kó 'that'. All three can be pluralized with the suffix -bɛ̀lɛ̀ (which does not undergo [ATR] harmony).

(46) ʃòmù ók
horse that
'that horse'

(47) kùnnɔ̀ ŋɡù-bɛ̀lɛ̀
calabash this-PL
'these calabashes'

The difference between ŋɡù and ók is that the former implies a greater degree of proximity than the latter.

Unlike the simple definite morpheme in §4.4.1, demonstratives do incur tone-dropping on the noun they modify. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 6. The forms ók and kó can be used as discourse definite pronouns, as in *this same* or *that one I just mentioned*.

4.4.3 Demonstrative and Locative Adverbs

There are a few adverbs in Dogul Dom that have a demonstrative and locative meaning, like the English *here* or French *ici*. These forms are summarized in table 4.8. All four forms have a {H<HL>} contour.

Dogul Dom	Gloss
ónîˆ	'here'
ŋ̀ŋ́áà	'around here'
yáŋ́áà	'there', 'around there'

Table 4.8: Demonstrative and Locative Adverbs in Dogul Dom

The use of some of these forms is shown in (48).

(48) a. bómbò mì-ý ónîˆ nɛ̀nɛ̀-nénɛ̀ támbɛ̀-ø
scorpion 1SG-ACC here exactly.IDPH sting-3SG
'The scorpion stung me right here.'

b. ìnà bállà yáŋ́áà yò bù-n
goat\ATC easy there EXT exist-3PL
'There are cheap goats there.'

c. ná mì-ý ŋ̀ŋ́áà bélɛ̀-ø
3SG 1SG-ACC around.here find-3SG
'She found me around here.'

d. ná múlíyò-ø síyè ón ɛ̀bé-ŋ
3SG seem-3SG millet here buy-PTCP
'It seems one can buy millet here.'

e. tólá ná góò-ø ók óm bú-nn-ɔ̀
stone.partridge 3SG say-3SG this here be.somewhere-NEG-2SG
'The stone partridge said, 'Aren't you here by my side?"

The form for ónîˆ 'here' is often truncated to ón (example (**??**)), and the final -n assimilates to a following consonant (example (**??**)).

Note the use of the ideophone nɛ̀nɛ̀-nénɛ̀ to mean '*exactly* here' or 'right here' in (**??**). There is no approximative equivalent of nɛ̀nɛ̀-nénɛ̀ in the data.

4.4.4 Presentatives (*voici*, *voilà*)

There are two presentative forms in Dogul Dom that correspond to the French proximal *voici* and distal *voilà* or the English *here's X* and *there's X*. The proximal form is ómbóò and the distal is kómbóò. Notice that they have the same {H<HL>} tonal contour of the demonstrative adverbs.

(49) a. dàárá mmɔ̀ ómbóò
mother 1SG.GEN PRES.PROX
'Here's my mother.'

b. ḿbùŋ nà-ŋ kómbóò
house 3SG-GEN PRES.DIST
'There's his house.'

At one time these forms were clearly a phrase similar to the English forms (a demonstrative pronoun paired with the copula), but they are no longer segmentable as such.

4.5 Adjectives

Adjectives in Dogul Dom exhibit no concord with nouns along any lines (number, possession class, animacy), much like Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ and Kamma-Sɔ yet unlike Najamba and Jamsay. An adjective follows the noun it modifies and triggers a {L} tonal contour. Clitics and definite morphemes follow the adjective.

(50) a. ìnà úsùŋ=ìyà
goat\ATC fast=PL.ALIEN
'fast goats'

b. ègù sálà
child\ATC bad
'a bad child'

There are no distinguishable morphosyntactic "classes" of adjectives as there is in Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ, but they can be divided into a number of distinct tonal classes.

It should be noted, perhaps, that there are a number of languages (Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ, for example) which have a special class of adjectives that take, in certain environments, a suffix (-go in Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ) when predicated. No class of this nature has been observed in Dogul Dom to date.

4.5.1 Classes of Adjectives

The classes of adjectives below have been divided by tonal contour. Ideophonic adjectives have been left to chapter 19.

4.5.1.1 All-{H} Stems

Table 4.9 shows a sample of adjectives with an all-{H} stem.

Adjective	Gloss
búlí	'spherical'
dáág	'small'
gállá	'bitter'
kɛ́rɛ́ɛ́b	'spicy'
kóló	'half-ripe (fruit)'
mɛ́ŋjɛ́ŋ	'tiny'
némmé	'salty'
nɔ́gúmɔ́	'angry'
ɔ́lúg	'wet'
péélé	'unripe (fruit)'
sááŋ	'good, pleasing'
tíbúg	'dead'
tɔ́ŋúnɛ́	'true, normal'
úsúláŋ	'good-smelling'
yɔ́rúgú	'supple'

Table 4.9: A sample of all-{H} adjectives in Dogul Dom

While these adjectives form no cohesive phonological class (aside from tone) and have wide-ranging semantics, there are tendencies to observe. Many adjectives dealing with smell or taste fall into this class, particularly those with negative connotations (*spicy, bitter, salty*). Both attested words for *small* have {H} tones, but the word for *big* is {LH}. Negative food descriptors (*half-ripe*, *unripe*) and a few other negative words (*dead*, *angry*) also make an appearance, but negative connotations can hardly be used to describe the class. There are other important adjectives like sááŋ 'good, pleasing' and tɔ́ŋúnɛ́ 'true, normal' also have {H} stems.

4.6 Participles

write this section

4.7 Numerals

write this section

4.7.1 Cardinal Numerals

4.7.1.1 'One' and 'Same'

In both sequential counting (e.g. 1, 2, 3...) and as a cardinal adjective (e.g. 'one goat'), the word for 'one' is tɔ́mɔ̀. In Dogul Dom, it's the only numeral that acts tonosyntactically like an adjective, as shown in (51). This means that a noun modified by tɔ́mɔ̀ will be tone-dropped because 'one' is a reference-restricting controller (§6.2). It should be noted that tɔ́mɔ̀ is also the word for '(the) same'.

(51) ìnàà tɔ́mɔ̀
goat one
'one goat', 'the same goat'

4.7.1.2 '1' to '10'

The cardinal numerals up to 10 can be found in table 4.10. The special

Numeral	Dogul Dom
1	tɔ́mɔ̀
2	néégù
3	táándù
4	kɛ́ɛ́sɔ̀
5	ǹnó
6	kúlɛ̀
7	sɔ́ɔ́wɛ̀
8	séélè
9	tùùwɔ́
10	pɛ́ɛ̀l

Table 4.10: The cardinal numerals 1–10 in Dogul Dom

treatment of 'one' has been handled in the previous section, because it behaves differently with regard to the tonosyntax of the NumP. None of the numerals after 'one' are tone controllers, which means that they do not affect the tonosyntax of modified nouns. (This includes those numerals which involve the word 'one', like 'eleven' or 'sixty-one'.) The forms that modify nouns do not differ from those used in counting sequences.

(52) ínà ǹnó
goat five
'five goats'

4.7.1.3 Decimal Multiples ('10', '40', etc.) and Their Composites ('11', '76', etc.)

The remaining numerals are composed with relative simplicity. Multiples of ten (from 10 to 90) are shown in table 4.11. When two forms are shown, the first is more common.

Numeral	Dogul Dom
10	pɛ́ɛ̀l
20	pènéégè
30	pìráándù
40	dɛ̀ɛ́
50	pɛ́nnò
60	pɛ́ɛ̀l kúlɛ̀
70	pɛ́ɛ̀l sɔ́ɔ́wɛ̀
80	sîŋ, pèséélè
90	péttùwà, sîŋ yàŋ kɛ̀lɛ̀pɛ́ɛ̀l

Table 4.11: The decimal multiples from 10–90 in Dogul Dom

To form composite numerals (e.g. '11', '76'), the decimals above (e.g. '10', '70') are followed by the combining form of the second digit (e.g. 'one', 'six'). These combining forms are shown in table 4.12. Essentially, the suffix -sìgà is affixed to the original one-through-nine numeral, and any long vowels are shortened to compensate for the added syllables.[6]

Numeral	Dogul Dom
1	tɔ́mɔ̀sìgà
2	négèsìgà
3	tándùsìgà
4	kɛ́sɔ̀sìgà
5	ǹnósìgà
6	kúlèsìgà
7	sɔ́wɛ̀sìgà
8	sèlésìgà
9	tùwɔ́sìgà

Table 4.12: The combining forms of the numerals 1-9 in Dogul Dom

Therefore, the number 'eleven' is a combination of 'ten' and 'one': pɛ́ɛ̀l tɔ́mɔ̀sìgà. 'Seventy-six' is 'seventy' and 'six' combined: pɛ́ɛ̀l sɔ́ɔ́wɛ̀ kúlèsìgà.

[6] Note that ǹnó 'five' does not shorten its moraic nasal, however. This may be because 'five' is the only monosyllabic numeral in this set, or perhaps because this mora is crucial to the word's tonal contour.

This pattern holds for every composite number between 11 and 99 (sîŋ yáŋ kèlèpéèl tùwɔ́sìgà).

4.7.1.4 Large Numerals ('100', '1000', etc.) and Their Composites

As in most Dogon languages, the word for '100' is a loan word from Fulfulde: téémdèrè. The word 'hundreds' (used in composite forms) is témè,[7] followed by the number of hundreds (e.g. témè táándù 'three hundred'). To form a composite in the hundreds, the conjunction yàŋ 'and' is used between the hundred form and a composite decimal greater than nine; however, composite hundreds without a tens place (e.g. 101–109, 201–209) have no conjunction. A few examples are shown below:

(53) a. téémdèrè sèlé-sìgà
one.hundred eight-LINK
'one hundred eight'

b. téémdèrè yàŋ péèl tɔ́mɔ̀-sìgà
one.hundred and ten one-LINK
'one hundred (and) eleven'

c. témè kéésɔ̀ yàŋ péèl sɔ́ɔ́wè ɲnó-sìgà
hundreds four and seventy five-LINK
'four hundred (and) seventy-five'

d. téémdèrè sɔ́ɔ́wè yàŋ péèl négè-sìgà
hundreds seven and ten two-LINK
'seven hundred (and) twelve'

Observe that in (53a), the word yàŋ is missing; example (53b) and those following do include the conjunction. Furthermore, notice that in (53c), témè is used for 'hundreds'. Example (53d) shows that téémdèrè can also fill this role.

Much larger decimals are similarly patterned. In Dogul Dom, 'thousand' is mùŋjú. This is the form used for '1000' (kélè mùŋjú) and larger thousands like '6000' (mùŋjú kúlè). Notice that kélè precedes mùŋjú for '1000', while in all multiples the numeral follows mùŋjú. There is no chaining conjunction between thousands and hundreds. as there is between hundreds and tens.

(54) mùŋjú ɲnó téémdèrè sɔ́wè yàŋ dèé tùwɔ́-sìgà
thousand five hundred seven and forty nine-LINK
'five thousand, seven hundred (and) forty-nine'

[7] It's worth noting that téémdèrè can substitute for témè to mean 'hundreds', but témè can't stand for téémdèrè to mean '100'.

It should be noted that perhaps kɛ́lɛ̀ is an obsolete form for 'one'. Notice that it also appears in the less common form for '90': sîŋ yàŋ kɛ̀lɛ̀pɛ́ɛ̀l. This makes sense if the phrase for '90' is translated, quite logically, as 'eighty and one ten'.

The word for 'million' is borrowed from French: mìlìyóŋ.

4.7.1.5 Currency

4.7.1.6 Distributive Numerals

4.7.2 Ordinal Numerals

write this section

4.7.2.1 'First' and 'Last'

In Dogul Dom, 'first' is kòsáá and 'last' is sákdè.

4.7.2.2 Other Ordinals (-nnn)

4.7.2.3 Fractions and Portions

Chapter 5

Nominal and Adjectival Compounds

write this section

5.1 Nominal Compounds

write this section

5.1.1 Compounds of [n̄ n̄]

write this section

5.1.2 Compounds of [ǹ n̄]

write this section

5.1.3 Compounds with a Final Gerund ([ǹ v-g])

write this section

5.1.4 Possessive Compounds ABC

write this section

5.1.5 Agentive Compounds ABC

write this section

5.1.6 Compounds with égù 'Child'

write this section

5.1.7 Compounds with ánà 'Man' and yáágù 'Woman'

write this section

5.1.8 Compounds with nnn 'Owner'

write this section

5.1.9 Compounds with nnn 'Authentic, Entire'

write this section

5.1.10 Natural Species Compounds of X-nnn-X

write this section

5.1.11 Instrumental Relative Compounds

write this section

5.1.12 Other Phrasal Compounds

write this section

5.1.13 Unclassified Nominal Compounds

write this section

5.2 Adjectival Compounds

write this section

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi Compounds of [n̄ â] or [n̄ nûm]

write this section

5.2.1.1 With a Final Adjective ([n̄ â])

write this section

5.2.1.2 With a Final Numeral ([n̄ nûm])

write this section

5.2.2 Compounds with nnn- 'Very'

write this section

Chapter 6

Noun Phrase Structure

This chapter provides a detailed description of NP composition. The foundation of this chapter is the typical organization of constitents, explained in §6.1; a vital component of this, simple NPs containing a noun and an adjective, are examined in closer detail in §6.2. Following this, the syntax of possession is described thoroughly because the tonosyntax of possession is a marked characteristic of the Dogon languages. The chapter also provides an account of NumPs (§6.4), the role of determiners in NPs (§6.5), and quantifiers (§6.6).

6.1 Organization of NP Constituents

6.1.1 Linear Order

The composition of complex noun phrases typically follows the linear order in (1) both with a possessor noun and with a postposed possessive pronoun. The items in parentheses are optional.

(1) a. (possessor) noun (adjective)∗ (numeral) (demonstrative) (quantifier)

b. noun (adjective) (numeral) (possessive pronoun) (quantifier)

(2) áámàdù lèèsù-wè páyì néégù kó-bùlè fú
Amadou uncle-PL.INALIEN old two that-PL all
'all those two old uncles of Amadou'

A heavily modified NP is shown in (2). In general, the order is a mirror image of English order. The NPs in (3) break this structure down into some of its component parts.

(3) a. lèèsù-wè páyì
uncle-PL old
'old uncles'

b. lèèsù-wè páyì néégù
uncle-PL old two
'two old uncles'

c. lèèsù-wè nèègù kó-bùlè
uncle-PL two these-PL
'those two uncles'

d. lèèsù-wè kó-bùlè fú
uncle-PL these all
'all those uncles'

e. áámàdù lèèsù-wè
Amadou uncle-PL
'Amadou's uncles'

f. áámàdù lèèsù-wè páyì
Amadou uncle-PL old
'Amadou's old uncles'

g. lèèsù-wè páyì mmɔ́ fú
uncle-PL old my all
'all my old uncles'

An NP with a preposed pronoun of inalienable possession follows the same pattern as a nominally-possessed NP, as in (1a). See §6.2 details on the tonosyntax of adjectivally-modified nouns and §6.3 for possessed nouns. .

6.1.2 Headless NPs

write this section

6.1.3 Bifurcation of Head NP of a Relative Clause

write this section

6.1.4 Internal Bracketing and Tone-Dropping in Unpossessed NPs

write this section

6.2 Core NP (Noun-Adjective)

The term *core NP* refers to a simple NP with a head noun and one or more adjectival modifiers. The core NP is subjected to a number of particular syntactic and tonosyntactic phenomena, which are detailed below.

6.2.1 Noun-Adjective Relationship

An adjective typically follows the noun it modifies. A noun is tone-dropped when modified by an adjective.

(4) m̀bùŋ bánùŋ
house red
'red house'

(5) èɡù sálá
child bad
'bad child'

It is perhaps worth questioning how the tone-dropping of a modified noun is related to the tone-dropping of a possessed noun. The syntax of possessor-noun and noun-adjective pairs may be related in Dogul Dom at least as far as tonosyntax is concerned. Heath and McPherson (to appear) argue that reference-restricting modifiers, or controllers, are identical in the ways they affect their targets. Generally speaking, the Dogon languages exhibit L-tone overlays that override the lexical tones on nouns modified by these controllers. These controllers include modifying adjectives, determiners, and possessor NPs.

The data from Dogul Dom support their claims. Adjectives, determiners, and possessor NPs always impose an all-L tonal overlay on their targets, as does the clearly reference-restricting modifier tɔ́mɔ̀ 'one, same' (§4.7.1.1). Modifiers that do not restrict the semantic referent of the object (such as numerals) do not have this effect. One interesting quirk in Dogul Dom is that the definite marker ŋ̀gì does not cause tone-dropping.[1]

6.2.2 Adjective nnn 'Certain'

write this section

[1] Heath and McPherson note that the Dogon languages differ with regard to whether the definite marker acts as a reference-restrictor (like demonstratives) or not.

6.2.3 Adjective Expansions

write this section

6.2.3.1 Adjective Sequences

write this section

6.2.3.2 Adjectival Intensifiers

write this section

6.2.3.3 'Good to Eat'

write this section

6.3 Possessives

The tonosyntax of possession is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Dogon languages. In some cases Dogul Dom expresses alienable and inalienable possession differently, so these will be discussed in turn below.

The following abbreviations are used throughout this section: PR-NP (possessor NP) PD-NP (possessed NP), and PTC (possessor-controlled tone contour). When showing the tonosyntactic contour as an independent morphosyntactic entity is vital to the gloss, this is done by separating the contour description by a backslash (\, e.g. ègù 'child\PTC').

6.3.1 Alienable Possession

Typically the Dogon languages have no free possessive morpheme like the English *of*,[2] and Dogul Dom follows this pattern. When a PR-NP precedes a PD-NP, the former keeps its lexical tone and imposes a PTC on the latter. The specific tones that make up the PTC vary by language; in Dogul Dom, the contour is {L}. In a sense, this PTC is almost like a possessed case marking by signifying the possessed entity that is possessed rather than the possessing entity.

[2] Although Jamsay is an exception; see Heath (2008).

6.3.1.1 Nonpronominal NP as a Prenominal Alienable Possessor

Recall the organization of an NP from §6.1.1.

(1a) (possessor) noun (adjective)∗ (numeral) (demonstrative) (quantifier)

In Dogul Dom (and the other Dogon languages studied to date), a PR-NP typically precedes a PD-NP.

(6) yɔ́ŋùmɛ̀
'camel'

(7) áámàdù yɔ̀ŋùmɛ̀
Amadou camel\PTC
'Amadou's camel'

(8) ánà yɔ̀ŋùmɛ̀
man camel\PTC
'the man's camel'

(9) ánà yɔ̀ŋùmɛ̀ ók
man camel\PTC this
'this camel of the man'

(10) ànà ŋ̀gú yɔ̀ŋùmɛ̀
man\PTC this camel\PTC
'this man's camel'

(11) ànà ŋ̀gú yɔ̀ŋùmɛ̀ ók
man\PTC this camel\PTC this
'this camel of this man'

The possessive phrases in (7)–(11) show a number of technical details that characterize possession in Dogul Dom. The PR-NP precedes the PD-NP, as discussed above, and the {L} PTC overwrites the lexical tones (in (6)) of the latter. The placement of determiners is shown in the later examples; §6.3.1.3 addresses their tonosyntax in possessive phrases.

6.3.1.2 Pronominal Alienable Possessor

Alienable possession that is indicated by pronouns uses the postnominal pronouns from table 4.6 in §4.3. With the exception of the first person singular form mmɔ̀, they are formed by adding the genitive -ŋ to the L-toned accusative pronouns.

The postnominal pronominal possessor follows the noun and any numerals and adjectives that modify it, but it precedes any determiners and quantifiers.As shown in (12)–(13), prenominal possessive pronouns are not tone-controllers.

(12) kùnnɔ́ ò-ŋ
calabash 2SG-GEN
'your calabash'

(13) ʃómù ì-ŋ fú
horse 1PL-GEN all
'all our horses'

Refer to §4.3.1.2 for more examples of pronominal alienable possession.

6.3.1.3 Tone Contour of Alienably-Possessed Noun Modifiers

The following examples show PD-NPs modified in different ways:

(14) ìbràhímà ègù sàlà
Ibrahim child\PTC bad\PTC
'Ibrahima's bad child'

(15) séédù nààgù nnó
Seydou cow\PTC five
'Seydou's five cows'

(16) ámbá nàlè nàlìyò kó
god friend\PTC beautiful that
'that beautiful friend of God'

While the adjectives in both (14) and (16) take on the PTC, note that the determiner in the latter and the numeral in (15) are unaffected. Even when part of a PD-NP, determiners, numerals (except 'one', see §4.7.1.1), and quantifiers retain their lexical tone. Therefore, the PR-NP ámbá 'god' keeps its lexical contour, but both nálè 'friend' and nálìyò 'good' take the PTC (i.e. are tone-dropped). The demonstrative kó is still H-toned, unaffected by the PTC, and the same thing happens with quantifiers like fú 'all'. This imperviousness occurs for reasons pertaining to the PR-NP's scope, which extends to one tonosyntactic unit to its right. This unit has been dubbed a tonosyntactic island by Heath and McPherson (to appear). APs and NPs form a tonosyntactic island and are therefore affected by tone-contour overlays together, but DPs, NumPs, and QPs are independent. Consult the cited paper for a more detailed analysis.

6.3.2 Inalienable Possession

6.3.2.1 Kin Terms and Similar Items

Some kin terms systematically exhibit an inversion of the noun and the possessive adjective. For example, tíì 'cousin' is preceded by a special form of

the possessive pronoun, which is identical to the H-toned nominative case pronouns (see §4.3.1.2). This is shown in (17) alongside a typical noun for comparison:

(17) a. léésù nà-ŋ
uncle 3SG-GEN
'his uncle'

b. ná tîi
his cousin
'his cousin'

Many (but not all) kin terms, which may be thought of as *inalienable* exhibit this phenomenon. Examples include nàlé 'friend' and ánà 'husband' (but not yáá 'wife').

6.3.2.2 Tone Contour of Inalienably-Possessed Noun Modifiers

write this section

6.3.3 Recursive Possession

write this section

6.4 Numeral Phrase (NumP)

write this section

6.4.1 Typical NumPs

write this section

6.4.2 Adjective-Numeral Inversion

write this section

6.5 NPs with Determiners

write this section

6.5.1 Prenominal nnn 'the (Afore-Mentioned)'

write this section

6.5.2 Postnominal Demonstratives

write this section

6.5.3 Definite Morphemes with Nouns

write this section

6.6 Universal and Distributive Quantifiers

write this section

6.6.1 'All', 'Each' (fú)

write this section

6.6.2 Quantifiers with Negation

write this section

Chapter 7

Coordination

7.1 Conjunction (yàŋ 'and')

7.1.1 Phrase-Level Conjunction

Conjunction of NPs is done by means of the conjunct morpheme yàŋ,[1] which follows each coordinand. The final velar nasal assimilates to the place of assimilation of a following consonant.

(1) a. ínà yàŋ kùnnɔ́ yàŋ
goat and calabash and
'a goat and a calabash'

b. ʃómù yàn náágù yàŋ
horse and cow and
'a horse and a cow'

c. ánà yàŋ yáá yàm ḿbùŋ bè-ŋ yàŋ
man and woman and house 3PL-GEN and
'a man, a woman, and their house'

Coordination has no effect on the tones of nouns. There is no limit on the number of NPs that can be coordinated in this way. There are also no conventions on the ordering of coordinands (e.g. *you and I* versus *I and you*).

7.1.1.1 Conjunction with a Modifier or Postposition

When a modifier is used with each noun in a ConjP, it is typically repeated for each noun in the series.

[1] This is also the Dogul Dom word for *with* in an accompaniment sense.

7.1.2 Clause-Level Conjunction

The conjunction described above is only for NPs. For verbs and VPs, chaining mechanisms are used, as in (2) below. For more information on chaining verbs and predicates, see chapter 15.

(2) mí gìyó gìyé-ŋ nùŋɔ́ ŋùŋɛ́-ŋ
I n.dance v.dance-1SG.PRF song sing-1SG.PRF
'I danced (a dance) and sang (a song).'

Notice the lack of any conjunction morphemes.

7.2 Disjunction (màà 'or')

7.2.1 Phrase-Level Disjunction

Disjunction works similarly to conjunction in Dogul Dom, but the word for 'or' is mà'a. The disjunction morpheme follows both coordinands in this instance, as well. The same examples from (1) are reworked in (3) to show disjunction for comparative purposes:

(3) a. ínà màà kùnnɔ́ màà
goat or calabash or
'a goat or a calabash'

b. ʃómù màà náágù màà
horse or cow or
'a horse or a cow'

c. ánà màà yáá màà mbùŋ bè-ŋ màà
man or woman or house 3SG-GEN or
'a man, a woman, or their house'

Notice that like conjunction, there are no tonal effects on the noun, and any number of NPs may be coordinated in this way. There are no conventions with disjunction with regard to the ordering of coordinands.

7.2.2 Clause-Level Disjunction

Clause-level disjunction is expressed with the method described in the previous section. The example below mirrors the similar conjunction example in (2) for comparison:

(4) mí gìyó gíyé-bù-ŋ màà nùŋɔ́ ŋúŋɛ́-bù-ŋ màà
1SG n.dance v.dance-IMPF-1SG or song sing-IMPF-1SG or
'I will dance or sing a song.'

The disjunction morphemes follow the entire coordinated predicate, not just the verb (although at times there may be no difference).

Chapter 8

Postpositions and Adverb

write this section

8.1 Dative and Instrumental

write this section

8.1.1 Dative

write this section

8.1.2 Instrumental

write this section

8.2 Locational Postpositions

Much of this section is derived from Melissa Bowerman and Eric Pederson's topological relations stimulus set (also known as BowPed), available through the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen (Bowerman and Pederson, 1992).

8.2.1 Basic Locative Particles

Dogul Dom makes use of three locative particles that are more or less interchangeable, with only a few fuzzy semantic distinctions: ndá (and variant ná in Benn.), láà (Benn. ráà), and ní. They are used with nouns as postpositions to form locative phrases, with noun-like postpositions to make complex PPs, and with locative-stative verbs such as gɔ̀ndɛ́ 'be hanging' and kɔ̀mmɛ́ 'be attached.'

The most common of these is ndá, and it is important to point out that the preconsonantal nasal is nonmoraic. This particle may have been derived from a common source to that of Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ's multipurpose oblique postposition nɛ (McPherson, 2010). An alternation between /d/ and /n/ is not unattested between the two languages: Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ has náá 'mother' for Dogul Dom dààrá and dìlɛ́ 'change' for Dogul Dom nèlé. If nda were derived from a CV syllable, the nonmoraic nasal is unsurprising. Furthermore, Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ nɛ is underspecified for tone. While speakers say that this particle is used for distal settings, it is used almost interchangeably with ní in their own speech.

Dogul Dom ní is related to Kamma-Sɔ ni, both of which are probably derived from Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ le, Jamsay lé,and similar forms in other Dogon languages (Farquharson, 2012; McPherson, 2010; Heath, 2008). This /l-n/ alternation is widely attested within Dogul Dom (§3.4.6.8), so such a historical transmutation is relatively unsurprising. Speakers say that this postposition is for very close locatives, although this is somewhat variant.

Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ has a postposition báà, which is probably a close cousin to Dogul Dom láà. McPherson (2010) remarks that "báà is phonologically different from the other postpositions in that it has a long vowel [and] its own underlying falling tone. . . though in fast speech, this sometimes sounds more like a downstepped high" (127–128). All of these are true for láà as well, so it follows that these particles would have a common ancestor. This particle is used very rarely in compound postpositions, in which instances speakers say there is no difference between its use and that of ní or ndá.

Contrary to Tɔmmɔ-Sɔ, in which locatives are often toneless, locatives in Dogul Dom are either {H} (ndá and ní) or {HL} (láà). They are also tone controllers when part of a compound postposition like dànà ndá 'on top of' (from LOC ndá and dánà 'top, upper').

The primary function of these locative particles is to act as very basic postpositions. These take the form [Ñ LÓC] and often precede the locative existential quasi-verb bɔ̀ (§11.2.3) in either the positive or negative.

(1) í [bùrkɛ̀ná láà] bɛ̀-ì
1PL [Burkina.Faso LOC] be.somewhere-1PL
'We're in Burkina Faso.'

(2) [póró ní] bù-nnú-ø
[village LOC] be.somewhere-NEG-3SG
'He's not in the village.'

Equally common is to see one of these particles, particularly ndá, in a compound postposition with a noun-like postposition (like dànà 'top'). In these constructions, the complete PP is [Ñ ÈP [LÓC]].

(3) kìŋìnɔ́ pɛ̀gɔ́ɔ̀ [dànà ndá] bɔ́-ø
tree mountain top LOC be.somewhere-3SG
'The tree is on top of the mountain.'

Finally, the last important function of these particles is as optional locative markers with locative-stative verbs. In positive sentences, this may occur with or without the existential particle yɛ̀ (§11.2.2).

(4) béégù sìyíŋ ní ɛ́mmà-ø
stick rope LOC be.attached-3SG
'The stick is attached to the rope.'

(5) kíndó kógùl ní yɛ̀ jámà-ø
image wall LOC EXT be.hanging-3SG
'The picture hangs on the wall.'

8.2.2 Locative, Allative, and Ablative Functions

write this section

8.2.3 Simple and Complex PPs

write this section

8.2.4 Locative 'in, on' (nnn)

write this section

8.2.5 Locative nnn with Place Names

write this section

8.2.6 'On (the Head of) X' (nnn)

write this section

8.2.7 'Next to, beside X' (nnn)

write this section

8.2.8 'In front of X' (nnn)

write this section

8.2.9 'Behind/after X' (nnn)

write this section

8.2.10 'Over X' (nnn), 'under X' (nnn)

write this section

8.2.11 'Between X and Y' (nnn)

write this section

8.2.12 'From X to Y' (nnn)

8.3 Purposive-Causal 'for' (nnn)

write this section

8.4 Other Adverbs (or Equivalents)

write this section

8.4.1 Similarity (nnn 'like')

write this section

8.4.2 Extent ('a Lot,' 'a Little')

write this section

8.4.3 Specificity

write this section

8.4.3.1 'Approximately' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.3.2 'Exactly' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.3.3 'Specifically' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.4 Evaluation

write this section

8.4.4.1 'Well' and 'Badly'

write this section

8.4.4.2 'Proper, Right, (Socially) Normal' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.5 Manner Adverbs

write this section

8.4.6 Spatiotemporal Adverbs

write this section

8.4.6.1 Temporal Adverbs

write this section

8.4.6.2 'First' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.6.3 Spatial Adverbs

write this section

8.4.7 'Flat and Wide'

write this section

8.4.7.1 'Straight' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.7.2 'Apart, Separate' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.7.3 'Always' (nnn) and 'Never' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.7.4 'Exclusively, Together' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.7.5 'All, Entirely' (nnn)

write this section

8.4.8 Reduplicated Adverbials

write this section

8.4.8.1 Distributive Adverbial Iteration

write this section

8.4.8.2 'Scattered, Here and There' (nnn)

write this section

Chapter 9

Verbal Derivation

Dogul Dom has the standard set of morphological verbal derivations found in many Dogon languages. The first several sections address verbs derived from other verbs: the reversive (§9.1), the causative (§9.2), the mediopassive (§9.3), the transitive (§9.4), and the passive (§9.5). There is a brief discussion of unergatives and unaccusatives in §9.6 and of unusual morphological relationships between verbs in (§9.7). The chapter closes with an overview of verbs from other parts of speech with an overview of verbal derivation from adjectives (§9.8) and nouns (§9.9).

9.1 Reversive Verbs (-lE)

Reversive verbs have their semantic roots in the derivation from 'do VERB' to 'un-do VERB', although this may not always be perfectly clear in practice. The affix to derive a reversive verb is -lE, which exhibits [ATR] harmony with the verb. The affix takes its tone from the overall tonal contour of the underlying nonderived verb form; in the case of the chaining form, this means that the affix will always appear H-toned because this form is underlyingly {LH} for all verbs.

Table 9.1 shows typical reversive verbs in Dogul Dom. While it includes the most common reversives, this list is not exhaustive.

The derivation of 'close' and 'open' is interesting from a morphophonological perspective because it involves compensatory lengthening. Here, the -ré of the original verb is dropped and the -l- of the affix is lengthened in order to maintain the same number of morae within the word.

Derivative Verb	Gloss	Reversive Verb	Gloss
ìré	'close, shut'	ìllé, ìrèlé	'open'
dɛ̀bɛ́	'cover'	dɛ̀bɛ̀lɛ́	'uncover'
kɔ̀mmɛ́	'tie'	kɔ̀mmɛ̀lɛ́	'untie'
ìrɛ́	'forget'	ìrɛ̀lɛ́	'remember'

Table 9.1: Examples of typical reversive verbs in Dogul Dom with their derivative verbs and their glosses

9.2 Causative Verbs (-mE)

write this section

9.3 Mediopassive Verbs (-nnn)

write this section

9.4 Transitive Verbs (-nnn)

write this section

9.5 Passive Verbs (-nnn)

write this section

9.6 Unergatives and Unaccusatives

write this section

9.7 Obscure Verb-Verb Relationships

write this section

9.8 Deadjectival Inchoative and Factitive Verbs

write this section

9.9 Denominal Verbs

write this section

Chapter 10

Verbal Inflection

Dogul Dom has three moods in its verbal conjugation system: the indicative, the imperative, and the hortative. This chapter will detail each mood's uses and outline their full conjugational paradigms after a brief discussion of verb stem shapes.

In the interest of keeping dozens of lengthy, full-page tables out of the main text of the grammar, all of the conjugational paradigms have been consolidated into two appendices. Appendix B shows the paradigms of each inflectional category (e.g. present perfective positive, past progressive negative). Appendix C shows the full inflection for each class of verbs (e.g. bisyllabic [+ATR], trisyllabic [−ATR]).

10.1 Verb Stem Shapes

Lexical verbs[1] range from one to four syllables. Because tonal contours play a big role in verbal inflection, all verb are, at minimum, bimoraic. When referencing lexical verbs, the bare chaining form (discussed in chapter 15) is used because the full conjugational paradigm can be constructed from this form.

While most Dogon languages exhibit a variety of basic stem shapes, Dogul Dom is significantly more restricted. There are no consonant-final verb stems attested: The stem in every verb in the data has a final -ɛ or -e. The basic tonal contour of a chaining stem takes the form {LH}, and for this reason even monosyllablic verbs are bimoraic. All nonfinal morae in the chaining form are L, and the final mora is H. This is equally true for monosyllables (dèé 'arrive') and longer verbs (tìmbùrɛ́ 'cover').

[1] A study of derived verbs (causatives, reversives, etc.) has been left to chapter 9.

There are two major groups of verbs: [+ATR] and [−ATR]. The paradigms of each group are typically in tandem, and for the most part, all verbs within each group pattern the same way regardless of stem shape. For ease of reference purposes, verb classes are referred to by their stem shape (e.g. CVV, NCV, CVCV) and their [ATR] class, with + indicating [+ATR] stems and − indicating [−ATR] stems. For example, CVV+ refers to all regular verbs with a [+ATR] stem of the shape CVV; CVCV− includes regular verbs with a [−ATR] stem of CVCV. When syllable structure is more important than segmental patterns, verbs classes will be referred to with a shorthand in which σ stands in for a syllable (e.g. $\sigma\sigma$- for bisyllabic [−ATR] verbs).

10.1.1 CVV Stems

While monosyllabic verb stems are vastly less common than bisyllabic stems, they do occur; in fact, all of the monosyllabic verbs have quite important meanings, like 'eat', 'see', and 'take'. No monomoraic verb of the shape CV has been found, presumably because tone contours play an important role in verbal inflection and because of the restriction on the input that all words be bimoraic (§3.6.1). Bimoraic monosyllabic verbs take on the shape CVV or NCV (see §10.1.2). Table 10.1 is a comprehensive list of all lexical verbs with a CVV stem that have been encountered. Note that both possible [ATR] classes, CVV+ and CVV-, are attested.

Verb	Gloss
dèé	'arrive'
gèé	'go out'
jèé	'fill'
dɛ̀ɛ́	'go forward, advance'
jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
nɛ̀ɛ́	'drink'
kɛ̀ɛ́	'clear throat'
ɲɛ̀ɛ́	'eat'
sɛ̀ɛ́	'urinate'
wɛ̀ɛ́	'see'

Table 10.1: Lexical CVV verb stems in Dogul Dom

Both [ATR] categories are present in the CVV class. As in most other Dogon languages (e.g. Bondu-So; see Heath, 2010a) [−ATR] verbs are more common in monosyllables. This is true of most other stem shape classes, as well.

10.1.2 NCV Stems

It seems that in Dogul Dom, the NCV class is not so much a class but rather a single borrowing. The only verb found with an NCV shape is ǹdɛ́ 'give', but it behaves identically to bisyllabic verbs. The preconsonantal nasal is moraic and substitutes for the first vowel in a bisyllabic verb. For this reason, the NCV class will not be conjugated independently in paradigms and explanations.

10.1.3 Irregular Monosyllabic Verbs

At this point, all monosyllabic verbs in the data are regular in their full conjugational paradigms. Perhaps worth mentioning is the peculiarity of dèé 'arrive' and dɛ̀ɛ́ 'go forward'. The only conjugational difference between these two verbs is in [ATR] class, which is

10.1.4 Bisyllabic Stems

Bisyllabic verbs form by far the largest group of vebs in Dogul Dom, and among them, the majority are of the [−ATR] class. Bisyllabic stems may take any of the following shapes: The data currently contain no verbs of the shape

Shape	Verb	Gloss
VCV+	èmé	'milk'
VCV−	àwɛ́	'uproot (peanuts)'
VVCV+	ììré	'close'
VVCV−	ɔ̀ɔ̀nɛ́	'mix mud and excrement'
VCCV+	ìmbé	'wipe nose'
VCCV−	ɔ̀njɛ́	'suck'
CVCV+	dàmé	'speak'
CVCV−	gɛ̀lɛ́	'harvest'
CVCCV+	dòŋgé	'pound in mortar'
CVCCV−	dɔ̀ŋgɛ́	'push'
CVVCV+	kùùré	'pour water on'
CVVCV−	jɔ̀ɔ̀rɛ́	'hide'
CVVCCV+	bòòndé	'call'
CVVCCV−	mɔ̀ɔ̀ndɛ́	'tangle up'

Table 10.2: Possible shapes of lexical bisyllabic verb stems in Dogul Dom with examples and glosses

VVCCV of either [ATR] class.

When a bisyllabic verb contains a long vowel in its first syllable–thereby making the stem trimoraic–the tonal contours reflect bisyllabicity rather than

trimoraicity. That is, the long vowel does not receive a contour tone in conjugated forms even though trisyllabic trimoraic verbs would put tonally split the first two morae:

(1) a. jÓÓrÈ-làà-bìyÉ-N
hide-PROG-PST-1SG
'I was hiding'

b. yégòrè-làà-bìyÉ-N
prepare-PROG-PST-1SG
'I was preparing'

Verbs with a medial consonant cluster all of the shape CVNCV, with the nasal acting as a nonmoraic coda to the first syllable rather than as the moraic part of a complex onset for the second (CVN.CV, not CV.NCV) However, these observations are not intended to rule out possible verbs that have not been encountered.

10.1.5 Irregular nàmìyɛ́ 'Want'

Only one irregular bisyllabic stem has been found in the data: nàmi̋ɛ́ 'want' Representative first person plural forms of its irregular inflectional categories can be found in Table 10.3.

TAN Category	1PL Form
present imperfective positive	nàmá-ì
present imperfective negative	nàmá-nn-ì
past perfective negative	nàmì-bìyáá-lí-ì, nàmìyɛ̀-bìyáá-lí-ì

Table 10.3: An overview of the irregular TAN categories for nàmìyɛ́ 'want, like'

It is important to note that while regular verbs have two morpheme orderings for the past perfective negative (e.g. tìmbùrè-bìyáá-lí-ì and tìmbùráá-l-bìyɛ́-ì for tìmbùrɛ́ 'cover'), nàmìyɛ́ can't take the latter ordering (nàmìyɛ̀-bìyáá-lí-ì and nàmì-bìyáá-lí-ì but ∗nàmìyáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì and ∗nàmáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì).

10.1.6 Trisyllabic and Quadrisyllabic Stems

While they occur very rarely, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic stems are not at all common in Dogul Dom, or in fact across the constituent languages of the Dogon family. Most of the lexically trisyllabic stems that have been collected are often truncated to be bisyllabic, and all of the lexically quadrisyllabic stems are truncated to be trisyllabic unless speakers are pressed for the longer form.

Very few lexical verbs are trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic, as well: Most of the long forms in the data are formed by derivational suffixes on a shorter stem.

10.1.6.1 Lexically Trisyllabic Stems

Examples of the trisyllabic stem shapes are listed and glossed in table 10.4 alongside their shorter truncations. They have the underlying shape CVCVCV, although the final syllable is /-yɛ/ and is often shortened to be CVCV. While the longer lexical form always ends in /-ɛ/ or /-e/, the shortened form ends in /-i/ (because all trisyllabic verbs have this in the penultimate syllable). After the truncation, the <H> tone of the last syllable moves leftward onto the -i- in order to satisfy the requirement of stems to have a {LH} contour. These verbs are very uncommon, and to date only two have been discovered.

Shape	Lexical Form	Gloss
VCVCV+	ìlìyé	'like'
VCVCV−	ɛ̀nìyɛ́	'winnow'
CVCVCV+	yègòré	'prepare'
CVCVCV−	màlìyɛ́	'wait'
CVCCVCV+	nèndìyé	'listen'
CVCCVCV−	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'

Table 10.4: A representative list of trisyllabic verb stem shapes in Dogul Dom

10.1.6.2 Lexically Quadrisyllabic Stems

Quadrisyllabic stems are just as scarce as those which are trisyllabic, and all of them are usually shortened to a trisyllabic form. Almost all of the verbs in this class include derivational morphemes (reversive -rE-, causative -mE-, mediopassive -yE-, etc.). Table 10.5 lists all of the trisyllabic verb stem shapes found in the data.

Shape	Example	Gloss
CVCVCVCV+	kìgìlìyé	'go back'
CVCVCVCV−	nɛ̀bùgùrɛ́	'make dirty'
CVCCVCVCV+	tòndùlùmé	'slide, slip'
CVCCVCVCV−	dàmbùlìyɛ́	'be increased'

Table 10.5: Possible shapes of quadrisyllabic verb stems in Dogul Dom with examples and glosses

The concatenation of derivational morphemes can create more bizarre stem shapes such as CVCVCCVCV, as in nɛ̀mɛ̀ndìyɛ́ 'get dirty'.

10.2 Inflection of Regular Indicative Verbs

When compared with the majority of other Dogon languages, verbal inflection in Dogul Dom is surprisingly regular both in terms of segmental morphology and tonology. The basic structure of a typical verb in the indicative mood is shown in (2).

(2) STEM-TENSE-ASPECT-NEGATION-SUBJECT

The stem is always present, but certain inflectional categories may have a segmentally-null tense-aspect-negation (TAN) marker or subject suffix. For example, the present perfective positive has no segmentally-overt TAN marker; the first person singular typically has no overt subject marker. In these instances, the tonal contours distinguish the meaning.

10.2.1 Overview of TAN Categories

The lines between tense and aspect are notoriously fuzzy and mutable across languages, and most of the time they aren't quite set in stone within a particular language, either. In Dogul Dom, the tense-aspect system is centralized on the distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspects, with small crossovers into the progressive and the experiential, and some tense inflection, as well. These are then subdivided on the basis of negation (positive and negative). This four-sided system is the foundation for the basic inflectional categories of Dogul Dom.

Table 10.6 details all of the inflectional categories that appear in the data, along with examples and glosses of each category for the verb dòné 'sell'. The 1PLform has been used both for consistency and because it is typically regular.

See §10.2.1.1 for a list of the inflectional affixes found in Dogul Dom, to the exception of pronominal suffixes (§10.5). Each inflectional category is analyzed in detail and presented with a number of examples in §10.3–10.4, and imperatives, prohibitives, hortatives, and inhibitives are addressed in §10.8.

10.2.1.1 Analysis of TAN Affixes

All of the TAN affixes in the data are shown in Table 10.7. Each is ascribed a general meaning and is shown with a list of categories in which each affix occurs. Also listed is whether the affix can be considered to carry information

Category	Example	Gloss
present perfective positive	dòné-ì	
past perfective positive	dóné-bìyɛ́-ì	
present progressive positive	dóné-làà-jó-ì	
past progressive positive	dónè-láá-bìyɛ́-ì	
present imperfective positive	dóné-b-ì	
past imperfective positive	dónò-m-bìyɛ́-ì	
future imperfective positive	dónò-mbó-ì	
present resultative positive	dóné-jó-ì	
past resultative positive	dónè-jù-bìyɛ́-ì	
present experiential positive	dònè-tì-jú-ì	
present perfective negative	dònáá-lí-ì	
past perfective negative I	dònè-bìyáá-lí-ì	
past perfective negative II	dònáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì	
present progressive negative	dóné-làà-jù-nn-í	
past progressive negative	dóné-láá-bìyáá-lí-ì	
present imperfective negative	dòné-nn-ì	
past imperfective negative	dónò-m-bìyáá-lí-ì	
future imperfective negative	dónò-mbó-nn-í	
present resultative negative	dóné-jù-nn-í	
past resultative negative	dónè-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì	
present experiential negative	dònè-táá-lí-ì	
imperative (2SG, 2PL)	dónó, dónó-ŋ	
prohibitive (2SG, 2PL)	dònè-lá, dònè-lá-ŋ	
hortative (1DU, 1PL)	dònè-má, dònè-má-ŋ	
inhibitive (1DU, 1PL)	dóné-nn-í, dónó-nn-í-yá	

Table 10.6: A list of the indicative inflectional categories of Dogul Dom verbs, with examples from dòné 'sell'

primarily about tense, aspect, or negation. See table 10.6 (§10.2.1) for examples and glosses. Unless stated otherwise, the Inflectional Categories column refers to both the positive and the negative.

This table is intended solely as a tool for ease of reference. Please keep in mind that most these morphemes do not fall as neatly into semantic categories as it may appear at first blush. The lines are very muddy and the semantic categories overlap significantly. In fact, only the aspect morphemes laa and ti can be so easily contained in a quick tagline.

Affix	Primary Meaning	Inflectional Categories	T/A/N
ø	perfective	present perfective past perfective	aspect
b	present imperfective	present imperfective positive	aspect
biyɛ	past	past perfective, past progressive, past imperfective, past resultative	tense
ju	present	present progressive, present resultative, past resultative, present experiential positive	tense
l	negative	present perfective negative, past perfective negative I and II, past progressive negative, past imperfective negative, past resultative negative, present experiential negative, prohibitive	negation
laa	progressive	present progressive, past progressive	aspect
m	past imperfective	past imperfective	tense
mbO	future imperfective	future imperfective	tense
nn	negative	present progressive negative, present imperfective negative, future imperfective negative, present resultative negative, inhibitive	negation
ti	experiential	present experiential	aspect

Table 10.7: A list of the TAN affixes that occur in Dogul Dom verbs alongside their typical meanings and categories in which they appear

10.2.1.2 TAN Affixes or Chained Auxiliary Verbs?

With some Dogon languages, one can argue whether TAN markers are true affixes or whether they are a special class of auxiliary verbs chained with the stem. This typically occurs in languages in which many conjugated forms of the verb have a stem identical to the chaining form. It seems that for Dogul Dom, these forms are very clearly affixes on the verb.

Phonological evidence is primarily tonal: Only one inflectional category, the present imperfective negative (§10.4.3), uses a stem with the {LH} tonal contour of the chaining form. All other categories use some other manipulation of tone, vowel height, or vowel backness in conjugation. Often, the TAN affix doesn't satisfy the requirement that words must be at least bimoraic.

Morphosyntactic evidence also supports a suffixation analysis. The TAN affix that most closely resembles a full verb is the past marker -biyɛ-, but the differences in affix ordering in the past perfective negative I and II (§10.4.1.2) show that this is indeed an affixed morpheme. No elements have been found that can intervene between a verb stem and a TAN affix. In light of this evidence, it is safe to consider TAN morphemes to be affixes rather than specialized auxiliary verbs chained onto a stem.

10.3 Positive Indicative TAN Categories

As one may surmise from the table above, only negation is overtly marked on verbs. All of the positive classes are simply unmarked with regard to negation. Of the four aspects perfect, progressive, imperfect, and experiential, the present/past tense distinction cross-cuts the former two. These will be addressed first, followed by the latter.

10.3.1 Perfective Positive System

There are two tenses within the perfect positive system: the present perfective and the past perfective (or pluperfect).

10.3.1.1 Present Perfective Positive

The present perfective is formed by adding the personal endings directly to the stem. This inflectional category uses no TAN affixes. Furthermore, the present perfective tense has these other characteristics:

1. in verbs with bisyllabic stems, the final -ɛ is dropped from the stem in bisyllabic (and NCV) verbs in the third person plural form;
2. in monosyllabics, trisyllabics, and quadrisyllabics, the initial -i- of the third person plural subject ending is dropped instead; and
3. the tone contour for the first and second persons is {LH}, while for the third person it's {HL}.

The table in appendix B.1.1 shows each verb class conjugated in the present perfective positive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

A few simple sentences are shown below as examples:

(3) a. ínà fú èbɛ́-ì
goat all buy-1PL
'We've bought all the goats.'

b. ènnè kélè néè-ø
wind cold drink-3SG.PRF
'He drank in the cold air.' (MN01_2011_6_30_Story_A1)

The meaning of the present perfective is rather simple. It is typically best translated as 'I VERB-ed' or 'I have VERB-ed'.

10.3.1.2 Past Perfective Positive

The past perfective is formed by adding the past tense affix -bìyɛ́ to the stem, followed by the personal endings. The following items should also be considered with this inflectional category:

1. the -ɛ- of the TAN affix and the -o of the second person singular affix coalesce to become -ɔ: /bùndé-bìyɛ̀-ò/ → [bùndè-bìy-ɔ̀];
2. the secind person plural ending adopts the [ATR] feature of the TAN affix: /bùndé-bìyɛ̀-è/ → [bùndè-bìyɛ́-ɛ̀];[2]
3. the -ɛ- of the TAN affix and the -i- of the third person plural ending are both dropped in the interest of harmony between the two glide segments: /bùndé-bìyɛ̀-ìyà/ → [bùndè-bíy-yà];
4. the tonal contour of all persons is {LH(L)}, with the H falling on the final mora before the personal ending;
5. in the second person singular (in which the H syllable coalesces with the personal ending) and the third person singular forms, the H falls on the final mora.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the present perfective positive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

Example (4) below shows the past perfective in use.

(4) a. é-wè séwáár bɔ̀lɛ̀-bíy-yá
child-PL Sevare go.away-PST.PRF-3PL
'The children had gone to Sevare.'

b. ná kùnnɔ́ néégè èbè-bìyɛ́-ø
he calabash two buy-PST.PRF-3SG
'He had bought two calabashes.'

The past perfective is often translated as 'I had VERB-ed' (or occasionally 'I VERB-ed (before...)' in less formal translation).

[2] For a description of vowel coalescence in Dogul Dom, see §3.4.7.2.

10.3.2 Progressive Positive System

There are two tenses within the perfect positive system: the present progressive and the past progressive. For both subcategories, bisyllabic verbs have an optional truncated form in which the -l- of the progressive TAN affix -la- is deleted and the -a- coalesces with the -ɛ of the verb stem. This turns (e.g.) the 1SG present progressive ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jù-ŋ into bɔ́làà-jù-ŋ (from bɔ̀lé 'leave').

10.3.2.1 Present Progressive Positive

This inflectional category is formed by adding two TAN affixes: the progressive l-la-and then the present -ju-. The suffixal pronouns are attached after this. There are two points of interest:

1. the tone contour of every form is {HL}, with the H falling only on the first mora;
2. the -u- of the -ju- affix is lost before a non-high vowel, but not before another high vowel: compare second person singular búndé-làà-j-ò with first person plural búndé-làà-jù-ì.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the present perfective positive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(5) a. kándá séwáár ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jù-ŋ
now Sevare go-PROG-PRS-1SG
'I'm going to Sevare now.'

b. dùmàndá dúmɛ̀-là-jù-ìyà
n.walk v.walk-PROG-PRS-3PL
'They are taking a walk.'

The present progressive is translated by the English 'I am (currently) VERB-ing (now)' or perhaps 'I am VERB-ing (right now)'.

10.3.2.2 Past Progressive Positive

The formation of the past progressive positive can be conceptualized rather simply with relation to the three inflectional categories described above. Like the present progressive positive (§10.3.2.1), its structure is the combination of the aspectual marker for the progressive, -la-, and a tense affix, both of which are added to the stem. Unlike its present counterpart, however, the tense affix is the past affix -biyɛ-. This affix undergoes the same vocalic changes when adding the personal suffixes as described in items **??**–**??** of §10.3.1.2. The tonal contour of this inflectional category is {HL}, again with the H falling only on the first mora.

The table in appendix B.1.4 shows each verb class conjugated in the present perfective positive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

An example of the past progressive are shown below:

(6)

(7) mí ínà ɛ́bɛ̀-là-bìyɛ̀-ŋ
I goat buy-PROG-PST-1SG
'I was buying a goat [e.g. when something happened].'

The past progressive is translated 'I was VERB-ing (at that time).'

10.3.3 Present Imperfective Positive

The imperfective aspect is not divided by the present/past tense distinction, but it does split along present/future. The present imperfective positive category is formed by adding the present imperfective aspect marker -b- to the stem and then affixing the pronominal endings. There are a few peculiarities:

1. in the first person sigular form, a -u- is epenthesized to break up the bŋ cluster;
2. the third person singular form has no personal ending, meaning it simply ends in -b;
3. for bisyllabic (and NCV) verbs, the final vowel of the stem is lengthened;
4. the tonal contour of the full form is {LH(L)}, with the H falling on the final mora of the stem.[3]

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the present imperfective positive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

The present imperfective is an important category in Dogul Dom because it does double duty, serving both as the present tense and, often, the future tense (even though Dogul Dom has a dedicated future tense; see §10.3.4).

(8) a. gèé bɛ̀lɛ́-b-ø
go.out can-IMPF-3SG
'I can go out.'

b. ɛ́ɛ́nì kìgìlìyé-b-ùŋ
tomorrow go.back-IMPF-1PL
'I will go back tomorrow.'

As the examples show, the best translations are typically 'I VERB' for the present and 'I will VERB' for the future interpretation.

[3] For bisyllabic/NCV stems with a lengthened vowel, this H falls on the final *two* morae.

10.3.4 Future Imperfective Positive

The future imperfective positive is used less often than the present imperfective to refer to the future time, but it is important to distinguish its conjugation. The future tense morpheme is -ŋbO- or -mbO-; both are found, but the more common latter form is an assimilated allomorph of the former. This morpheme is affixed to the stem, with pronominal endings following. The tonal contour of the full form is {HLLH}, with only the first and final morae being H. All verbs in this inflectional category take a {HL} verb stem ending in -O-. The following notes should be observed:

1. the future tense morpheme undergoes [*h*ATR]armony;
2. the third person singular form has no overt ending, so the future tense morpheme—as the final mora—is H;
3. the third person plural form can take either of two pronominal endings: -yá- (a shortened form from -ìyá-) or -É-[4];
4. the second person plural form undergoes backness harmony with the pronominal ending -E-.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the future imperfective positive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugations of each verb class in each tense.

10.3.5 Present Experiential Positive

The experiential aspect is also undivided with regard to tense, with only one form in its positive system. Like the present imperfective, it is also semantically present. To form the experiential positive, add the experiential aspect marker -ti- to the stem, and then add the present marker -ju-. The inflectional endings follow, with the same vowel interactions described for the present progressive positive in §10.3.2.1. This category has the following tonal features:

1. all forms except the third person plural have the contour {LH}, with the H falling on the final mora;
2. in the third person plural, the H falls on the present marker (bùndè-tì-jú-yà), taking on the contour {LHL}.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the present experiential positive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

The experiential negative is often used in questions and answers, as shown in (9).

[4] This appears to be analogous to the pattern between the second and third person singular forms.

(9) a. bámákó bɔ̀lɛ̀-tì̩-jó-ò
Bamako go-EXP-PRS-2SG
'Have you ever been to Bamako?'

b. ííòò bɔ̀lɛ̀-tì̩-jú-ŋ
yes go-EXP-PRS-1PL
'Yes, I have been to Bamako.'

In the positive, the best translations for the experiential aspect are (as a question) 'Have you ever VERB-ed?' and (as a response) 'I have VERB-ed (before)', with the appropriate changes made with regard to person and number.

10.4 Negative Indicative TAN Categories

The negation of any given inflectional category is formed by adding one of the two negative morphemes immediately before the personal ending. These morphemes are -l- and -nn-, but they are not interchangeable. The former is used with tenses that refer to action done in the past, regardless of the tense of the verb with regard to the time of utterance. Therefore, -l- is used with the past progressive, the present perfect, the past perfect, and the experiential. The -nn- morpheme is used with tenses that refer to present or future action: the present progressive, the present imperfective, and the future imperfective.

It should be noted that the -l- morpheme triggers a systematic phonological change in the verb. The vowel immediately preceding this negation morpheme becomes --áá-, regardless of whether that vowel is part of the stem or another TAN morpheme. Therefore, the present perfective positive bɔ̀lɛ̀-ŋ 'I went' becomes bɔ̀láá-l-ùŋ 'I didn't go'. In every category except the past progressive negative, this -áá- is the only H tone in the verb.

Also worth noting is that the future imperfective morpheme -mbO- affects a unique change in each stem. For all verbs, the stem ends in -Ò- in the future forms with the sole exception of monosyllabic [−ATR] verbs such as ɲɛ̀ɛ́ 'eat' and ɲɛ̀ɛ́ 'see'. These forms take a regular stem ending in -ɛ́ɛ̀- as in the stem for 'eat' (ɲɛ́ɛ̀).

There is one minor exception to this vowel change. In CVV [+ATR] verbs, the original vowel is retained and the stem becomes Còòwáá- (instead of ∗Cáá-). Therefore, the first person singular of gèé 'go out' in the present perfective negative is gòòwáá-l-ùŋ, not ∗gáá-lùŋ. This exception only effects the present perfective negative (§10.4.1.1) and one configuration of the past perfective negative (§10.4.1.2). CVV [−ATR] verbs are regular, however: compare gòòwáá-l-ùŋ with the same form for wɛ̀ɛ́ 'see', which is wáá-l-ùŋ.

Both -l- and -nn- require the epenthesis of a -ù- before the first person singular ending to break up the -bŋ- cluster.

The negation of inflectional categories follows the same distinctions as the positive: the perfect and progressive are cross-cut into present and past, while the present imperfective and the experiential are not divided. Each of these will be addressed below.

10.4.1 Perfect Negative System

The tenses in the perfect negative system mirror those in the positive: the present perfective and the past perfective (or pluperfect).

10.4.1.1 Present Perfective Negative

The present perfective negative is formed by adding the -l- negation morpheme to the stem, after changing the final -ɛ vowel to -áá-. The personal endings are added after this. The tonal contour of the verb is {LHHL}, with the H on the -áá- and all other vowels with a L-tone. See §10.4 for a note on the vowel change here.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the present perfective negative. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(10) séwáár bɔ̀láá-l-ì
Sevare go-NEG-1PL
'We didn't go to Sevare.'

The best translation for the present perfective negative is 'I didn't VERB'.

10.4.1.2 Past Perfective Negative

The past perfective negative is a unique tense in that it has two equally acceptable forms. In the first, the -l- negation morpheme is added to the past perfective positive form after changing the final -ɛ of the past morpheme -biyɛ- into -áá-. The personal endings follow. The tonal contour of the past perfective negative is {LHHL}, with the H on the -áá- and all other morae being L.

The second form inverts the tense and negation morphemes. The -l- negation morpheme is affixed directly to the stem (whose final vowel -e or -ɛ change to -áá-). The tense morpheme -biyɛ- affixes to this (with no epenthesized vowel), and the personal endings follow.

Following this pattern, then, there are two possible forms for 'she had not come': mɛ̀nɛ̀-bìyáá-l-ø and mɛ̀náá-l-bìyɛ̀-ø.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the past perfective negative. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense. In both appendices the forms following mɛ̀nɛ̀-bìyáá-l-ø and mɛ̀náá-l-bìyɛ̀-ø are listed as Past Perfective Negative I and II, respectively.

(11) ná yáá wɛ̀ɛ̀-bìyáá-l-ø
he woman see-PST-NEG-3SG
'He had not seen the woman.'

The past perfective negative is typically rendered as 'I had not VERB-ed (before X)' in English.

10.4.2 Progressive Negative System

The progressive negative system has two forms: the present progressive and the past progressive.

10.4.2.1 Present Progressive Negative

The present progressive negative is formed by adding the -nn- negation morpheme to the present progressive positive form, followed by the personal endings. The tonal contour is {HL} with the H on the first mora alone.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the present progressive negative. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(12) é ɲ ɛ́ɛ̀-lá-jù-nn-è
2PL eat-PROG-PRS-NEG-3PL
'You are not eating.'

The present progressive negative is translated 'I am not VERB-ing (right now)'.

10.4.2.2 Past Progressive Negative

To form the past progressive negative, the -l- negation morpheme is added to the past progressive positive form and the past morpheme -biyɛ- becomes -bìyáá-. The personal endings are added to the end. The tonal contour is {HLHHL}, with a H on the first mora as well as on the two of the -áá-.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the past progressive negative. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(13) ʔɲíì nɛ́ɛ̀-là-bìyáá-l-ø
water drink-PROG-PST-NEG-3SG
'He wasn't drinking the water.'

The past progressive negative is translated 'I was not VERB-ing (then)'.

10.4.3 Present Imperfective Negative

The present imperfective negative is formed by adding the -nn- negation morpheme to the stem, followed by the personal endings. The tonal contour is {LHL} with the H on the final mora before the negation marker.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the present imperfective negative. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(14) nùŋóò nùŋɛ́-nn-ùŋ
n.song sing-NEG-1SG
'I won't sing a song.'

The present imperfective negative is typically translated 'I don't VERB' or 'I won't VERB'.

10.4.4 Future Imperfective Negative

The future imperfective negative is formed by adding the future tense morpheme -ŋbO- (or assimilated allomorph -mbO-) and then the -nn- negation morpheme to the stem, followed by personal endings. The tonal contour is {HLLH}, with only the first and final morae being H. Remember that the future imperfective negative takes a {HL} stem ending in an

-harmonic -O-. The sole exception to this is the class of monosyllabic [−ATR] verbs, which take a stem in -ɛ-. Also recall that the future tense morpheme undergoes

-harmony.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the future imperfective negative. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugations of each verb class in each tense.

10.4.5 Present Experiential Negative

The present experiential negative is formed by adding the -l- negation morpheme to the experiential positive, and the experiential marker is changed

from -ti- to -táá-. The personal endings follow the negative morpheme. The tonal contour is {LHHL} with the H on the -áá- triggered by the negation marker.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the present experiential negative. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(15) ámɛ̀ríḱ bɔ̀lɛ̀-táá-l-íyà
America go-EXP-NEG-3PL
'They have never been to America.'

The present experiential negative is typically translated 'I have never VERB-ed (before)'.

10.5 Pronominal Inflectional Affixes

The person and number of an inflected verb is expressed on a pronominal suffix that follows the typical three-person singular-plural distinctions. Table 10.8 shows these suffixes and, if applicable, their allomorphs.

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	-ŋ	-i
2	-o	-e
3	u, -ø	-iya, -n, -uniya

Table 10.8: The pronominal affixes for inflected verbs in Dogul Dom, divided by person and number

Only the third person forms have allomorphs; the other persons are very regular. Although in most tenses the third person singular ending is -ø, a few tenses (in particular the present imperfective negative [§10.4.3] and perhaps the experiential negative [§10.4.5]) consistently have -u. It seems likely that the -u ending was originally consistent as the third person singular ending throughout the entire verbal paradigm but has since been lost to u-apocope (see §3.4.5).

The allomorphs of the third person plural forms are triggered by their phonological and morphological environments. The ending -iya is acceptable in any TAN category, but the other two have specific restrictions on where they may occur. The ending -n may only occur in tenses where the final TAN morpheme has an underlying -u- as its final segment[5].

[5] Note that this final segment is typically found in the first person singular, also.

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10.7.2 'Still', 'up to Now', '(Not) Yet'

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10.8 Imperatives and Hortatives

write this section

10.8.1 Imperatives and Prohibitives

The formation of the imperative and the prohibitive (imperative negative) is described below.

10.8.1.1 Imperative

The formation of the imperative is a very regular process, and this form is very useful in determining to which [ATR] class a verb belongs. In the singular, [+ATR] verbs end change the -e- of the stem to -o-. For [−ATR] verbs, the -ɛ- changes to -a-. All imperatives have a simple {H} contour. The plural affix is -ŋ.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the imperative. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(16) a. nà búndó-ø
him hit-2SG
'Hit him!'

b. ínà ɛ́bá-ŋ
goat buy-2PL
'Buy a goat!'

The imperative has an understood second person subject, with the translation often corresponding to the English '(you) VERB!'.

10.8.1.2 Prohibitive

The formation of the prohibitive, is also very regular. For all forms, the prohibitive ending -lá- is added to a L-toned stem. All prohibitives have a {LH} contour, with the only H tone falling on the prohibitive marker. The plural affix is -ŋ.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the prohibitive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(17) a. ó tîì bùndè-lá-ø
your cousin hit-PROH-2SG
'Don't hit your cousin!'

b. náágù ɛ̀bɛ̀-lá-ŋ
goat buy-PROH-2PL
'Don't buy a cow!'

The prohibitive also has an understood second person subject, with a typical English translation as 'Don't (you) VERB!'.

10.8.2 Hortatives and Inhibitives

The hortative is an interesting mood semantically because it implies an interesting situation. It typically involves the speaker trying to encourage one or more people to do something. In Dogul Dom, the hortative appears in a positive form (called the hortative) and a negative form (the inhibitive). Each of these occurs in both dual ('let (the two of) us go') and plural ('let's all go') forms.

10.8.2.1 Hortative

The hortative is formed by adding the hortative marker -má- to a L verb stem. The unmarked form has a dual meaning, said by one person to one other person. The plural marker is -ŋ, as with the imperative and prohibitive of §10.8.1. This is said by one person to a group of two or more people.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the hortative positive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(18) a. bɔ̀lɛ̀-má-ø
go-HORT-1DU
'Let's (you and me) go!'

b. búú nà-ý ǹdɛ̀-má-ŋ
money him-DAT give-HORT-1PL
'Let's give him (some) money.'

The hortative has an understood first person plural subject, translated by the English 'Let's VERB'.

10.8.2.2 Inhibitive

The inhibitive is formed very differently from the hortative. In the dual form, it's composed of a fully {H} stem, the negative marker -nn-, and the first person plural ending -i. In the trial form, the stem of the verb has the final -ɛ- changed to an -ɔ-. The negative marker -nn- is attached to this, followed by the first person plural ending -i-, and then a plural marker -ya is affixed to the end. Prohibitive forms are {H}-toned.

The table in appendix **??** shows each verb class conjugated in the inhibitive. See appendix C for the full paradigmatic conjugation of each verb class in each tense.

(19) a. bɔ́lɛ́-nn-í-ø
go-NEG-1-DU
'Let's not go!'

b. búú nà-ý ǹdɔ̀-nn-í-yá
money him-DAT give-HORT-1-PL
'Let's not give him (any) money.'

The inhibitive also has an understood first person plural subject, translated by the English 'Let's not VERB'.

10.8.3 Special Hortatives

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Chapter 11

Structure of Clauses, VPs, and Predicates

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11.2 Statives and Inchoatives

Statives refers to any predicated morphemes that act primarily as linking elements or indicators of state. The most common form in English is the verb 'be', but Dogul Dom has many forms that shall be addressed here. True statives include presentative clitics (§11.2.1), existential particles (§11.2.2), locative predicators (§11.2.3), and possessive predicators (§11.2.4). Also discussed here are important eventive stative verbs like 'become' and 'happen, remain' (§11.2.5), the mental and emotional statives know and 'want, like' (§11.2.6), and the quotative 'say' verbs (§11.2.8).

11.2.1 Presentative Clitics

The presentative clitic =ỳ 'it is' and its negative counterpart =lóò 'it is not' are used to create predicates out of substantives.

11.2.1.1 Positive ('It Is')

The presentative clitic =ỳ is used to predicate nouns, NPs, and some (primarily temporal) adverbs. It's translation is typically along the lines of English *It's (a)* as in *it's me!* or *That's a dog!* It takes three allomorphs, described in Table 11.1.

Environment	Allomorph	Example
vowels, except:	=ỳ	yáá → yáá=ỳ
u	=ø	jìŋú → jìŋú=ø
consonants, except:	=ì	màrìyám → màrìyám=ì
n ŋ	=ø	ḿbùŋ → ḿbùŋ=ø

Table 11.1: Allophones of the presentative clitic in Dogul Dom

That /u n ŋ/ pattern together as an independent class is somewhat unusual, and /n ŋ/ will pattern independently from other nasals in the negative, as well. In substantives ending in any of these three segments, there is not even a tonal change on the noun. There is one exception: The indefinite pronoun ǹŋgóón 'what' does take a overt clitic. Example (1) shows this and other examples of this clitic in use.

(1) a. ám=ì
who=COP
'Who is it?'

b. mí=ỳ
1SG=COP
'It's me!'

c. ŋ̀góón=ì
what=COP
'What is it?'

d. ḿbùŋ=ø
house=COP
'It's a house.'

e. ḿbùŋ mmɔ́=ỳ
house 1SG.GEN=COP
'It's my house.'

f. dóòm=ì
language=COP
'It's a language.'

g. é dógɔ̀=ỳ
2PL Dogon=COP
'You are Dogon.'

11.2.1.2 Negative ('It Isn't')

The negative presentative clitic =lóò means 'it's not' and is syntactically identical to the presentative clitic =ỳ, except that there is no allophonic variation. The only peculiarity is that a final alveolar nasal [n]or velar nasal [ŋ]is deleted before this clitic. This is similar to abnormalities in the presentative positive. Example (2) shows this clitic in use.

(2) a. bèég=lóò
who=COP.NEG
'It's not a stick.'

b. mí=lóò
1SG=COP.NEG
'It's not me!'

c. m̀bú=lóò
cloud=COP.NEG
'It's not a house'

d. ḿbùŋ mmɔ̀=lóò
house 1SG.GEN=COP.NEG

'It's not my house.'

e. bé háwsáà=lóò
3PL Hausa=COP.NEG
'They aren't Hausa.'

11.2.2 Existential Particles

Dogul Dom has an existential particle yɛ̀ that is used in positive unfocalized clauses with quasi-verbs denoting existence or possession. Unlike presentative clitics (§11.2.1), there is no negative counterpart for this particle. It may be loosely related to the mediopassive affix -yE, which derives stative verbs, or it may have originated as a discourse-definite pronoun like *there* in English. Although the particle alternates between yɛ̀ and yɔ̀ fairly freely, there is a somewhat reliable tendency for yɛ̀ to be used with first- and second-person quasi-verbs, while yɔ̀ is used with third-person verbs.

The existential particle is used in three primary environments: With bɔ̀ 'exist, be (somewhere)' (*see* **??**,[1] with jɔ̀ 'have' (see 12), and with the mental and emotional verbs tìgìyɛ́ 'know', ìbìyɛ́ 'like', and nàmìyɛ́ 'want' (see 11.2.6). Please consult the relevant examples for more information.

The particle yɛ̀ is also used optionally with locative-stative verbs like gɔ̀ndɛ́ 'be hanging' and kɔ̀mmɛ́ 'be attached'. In most occurrences, this also triggers the use of the locative particle ní (§8.2.1), although ndá or láà may also occur.

(3) màngòrò égù yɛ̀ gɔ́ndà-ø
mango\CTC child LOC be.hanging-3SG
'The mango is hanging (on the tree).'

(4) kíndó kógùl ní yɛ̀ jámà-ø
picture wall LOC EXT be.hanging-3SG
'The picture is hanging on the wall.'

This particle is not used in negative sentences, relative clauses, or in sentences in which some constituent is focalized.

(5) negative sentences:
a. ámbá bù-nnú-ø
god be.exist-NEG-3SG
'There is no God.'

(6) relative clauses:

[1] The existential particle is not used with this quasi-verb when the meaning is locative, which always requires another locative element.

a. ànà ínà jɔ́-ŋ ŋ̀gí wɛ̀ɛ́-ŋ
man\RTC goat have-REL DEM see-1SG
'I saw the man who has a goat.'

(7) focus:

a. ám ḿbùŋ jɔ́-ø=ỳ
who house have-3SG=FOC
'Who has a house?'

Because yɛ̀ is solely a positive particle, it is logical that it would be absent in negative phrases. That it is absent in relative clauses in the presence of focalized constituents implies, for different reasons, that the existential particle is itself treated as an unmarked focalized constituent in the absence of another focus. Relative clauses require that clause-internal focalization be stripped away, leaving no element focused; for the existential particle, this would mean that it is simply deleted. If it is indeed focused, it makes sense that it would alternate with other focalized elements, losing the battle when something is overtly marked for focus.

11.2.3 Locative Quasi-Verb and Locative Particles

The need for a simple copula-like verb in simple sentences with predicated postpositional phrases is filled by the locative-existential quasi-verb bɔ̀ 'be (somewhere)' in Dogul Dom. There are also three freely interchangeable locative particles used with postpositions, the locative quasi-verb, and locative-stative verbs.

11.2.3.1 Locative-Existential bɔ̀ 'Be (Somewhere)'

As mentioned briefly in §11.2.1, the locative-existential quasi-verb may be used in a solely existential sense meaning *There is sugar* (as opposed to *There's no sugar (left)*). Positive existential sentences necessitate the use of the existential particle yɛ̀ immediately preceding the quasi-verb. Negative sentences do not employ this particle. The verb bɔ̀ is conjugated as in Figure 11.2 in the positive and the negative.

positive			negative	
singular	plural	person	singular	plural
bù-ŋ	bɔ́-ì	1	bù-nnú-ŋ	ibù-nn-í
bɔ́-ɔ̀	bɛ́-è	2	bù-nn-ɔ́	bù-nn-ɛ́
bɔ́-ø	bù-n	3	bù-nnú-ø	bù-nn-ìyá

Table 11.2: Conjugation of bɔ̀ 'be (somewhere)' in the positive and negative

In addition to a purely existential reading (example (8)), bɔ̀ also occurs with postpositions (example (9)), locative particles (example (10)), and locative adverbs (example (11)).

(8) a. árà yɔ̀ bɔ́-ø
rice EXT be.exist-3SG
'There's rice.'

b. ó yɛ̀ bɔ́-ɔ̀
2SG EXT be.exist-2SG
'You exist.' (='You're here.')

c. jín bù-nnú-ø
jinn be.exist-NEG-3SG
'There are no jinn.' ('Jinn don't exist.')

(9) a. dàgúŋ pɛ̀gɔ́ɔ̀ dànà ndá bɔ́-ø
cloud mountain top LOC be.located-3SG
'The cloud is over the mountain.'

b. ná gógó bòmbò ndá bù-nnú-ø
3SG fire side LOC be.located-NEG-3SG
'She's not by the fire.'

(10) a. ínà kógùl ndá bɔ́-ø
goat wall LOC be.located-3SG
'The goat is on the wall.'

b. ná bù-nnú-ø
he be.somewhere-NEG-3SG
'He's not around.'

(11) a. ónì bù-ŋ
here be.somewhere-1SG
'I'm here.'

11.2.3.2 Locative Particles

Dogul Dom has three locative particles: ndá, láá, and ní. They are frequently used with postpositions or with locative-stative verbs like gɔ̀ndɛ́ 'be hanging' and kɔ̀mmɛ́ 'be attached' Locative part.icles are addressed in §8.2.1.

11.2.4 Possessive Predicates

Dogul Dom has two kinds of possessive predicates: those involving jɔ̀ 'have' and those with ????? 'belong to'.

11.2.4.1 'X Have Y' (jɔ̀)

The quasi-verb jɔ̀ is conjugated in Figure **??**. As it means 'have',it is a typical bivalent verb that takes the possessor as its subject and the possessed entity as its object. Word order is S-O-Y-V, where Y stands for the existential particle yɛ̀.

positive			negative	
singular	plural	person	singular	plural
jù-ŋ	jɔ́-ì	1	jù-nnú-ŋ	jù-nn-í
jɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́-ɛ̀	2	jù-nn-ɔ́	jù-nn-ɛ́
jɔ́-ø	jù-yá	3	jù-nnú-ø	jù-nn-ìyá

Table 11.3: Conjugation of jɔ̀ 'have' in the positive and negative

This verb always occurs with existential yɛ̀ in the positive but stands alone in the negative.

(12) mí ínà yɛ̀ jù-ŋ
1SG goat EXT have-1SG
'I have a goat.'

(13) ánà ḿbùŋ jù-nnú-ø
man house EXT have-NEG-3SG
EXT rans 'The man has no house.'

11.2.4.2 'Y Belong to X' Predicates

While the quasi-verb jɔ̀ is used to express possession in a strict transitive way ('X has Y'), this meaning can be turned around to mean 'Y belongs to X'. The morphemic analysis of this construction is somewhat unclear. A few examples will set the stage:

(14) a. mmɔ̀-ɔ̀ý
1SG.GEN-BELONG
'it's mine'

b. bè-ŋ ɔ̀ý
3PL-GEN BELONG
'it's theirs'

c. kùnnɔ́ ò-ŋ ɔ̀ý
calabash 2SG-GEN BELONG
'the calabash is yours', 'the calabash belongs to you'

(15) a. ḿbùŋ fù mmɔ̀-ɔ̀ý
house all 1SG.GEN-BELONG
'All the houses are mine'

11.2.5 'Become', 'Happen', and 'Remain' Predicates

write this section

11.2.5.1 'Become, Be Transformed into' (nnn)

write this section

11.2.5.2 'Happen' (nnn)

write this section

11.2.5.3 'Remain' (nnn)

write this section

11.2.6 Mental and Emotional Statives

(16) mental and emotional verbs tìgìyɛ́, ìbìyɛ́, nàmìyɛ́:

a. w̃ɛ̀ɛ́ nà-ŋ yɛ̀ tìgá-ì
age 3SG.GEN EXT know-1PL
'You know his age.'

b. dààrá ò-ŋ yɛ̀ ìbá-ŋ
mother 2SG-POSS EXT like-1SG
'I like your mother.'

c. ínà ók yɔ̀ námà-ø
goat DEM EXT want-3SG
'He wants this goat.'

11.2.6.1 'Know' (tìgìyɛ́)

write this section

11.2.6.2 'Want' (nàmìyɛ́)

write this section

11.2.7 'Like' (ìbìyé)

write this section

11.2.8 Quotative Verbs nnn 'Say'

write this section

11.3 Adjectival Predicates

write this section

11.3.1 Positive

write this section

11.3.2 Negative

write this section

11.4 Uninflected Verb Iteration

write this section

Chapter 12

Comparatives

write this section

12.1 Asymmetrical Comparatives

write this section

12.1.1 Predicate Adjectives with nnn 'than' and Comparandum

write this section

12.1.2 Verbal Predicate with nnn 'than'

write this section

12.1.3 'Surpass' (nnn)

write this section

12.1.4 'Be Better, Be More' (nnn)

write this section

12.1.5 'Best' (nnn)

write this section

12.2 Symmetrical Comparatives

write this section

12.2.1 'Equal, Be as Good as' (nnn)

write this section

12.2.2 'Same (Equal)' (nnn)

write this section

12.2.3 'Attain, Equal' (nnn)

write this section

12.3 '*A Fortiori*' (nnn)

write this section

Chapter 13

Focus and Interrogation

write this section

13.1 Focus

write this section

13.1.1 Basic Syntax of Focus

write this section

13.1.1.1 Focus-Able Constituents

write this section

13.1.1.2 Linear Position

write this section

13.1.1.3 Form of the Focused Constituent

write this section

13.1.1.4 Form of the Following Verb

write this section

13.1.1.5 Effects on Verb Duplication

write this section

13.1.1.6 Other Effects of Focus

write this section

13.1.2 Subject Focus

write this section

13.1.3 Object Focus

write this section

13.1.4 PP or Adverb Focus

write this section

13.1.5 PP Complement Focus

write this section

13.1.6 Verb or VP Focus

write this section

13.2 Interrogatives

write this section

13.2.1 Polar Interrogatives

write this section

13.2.2 'Who?' nnn

write this section

13.2.3 'What?' nnn, 'with What?', 'Why?'

write this section

13.2.4 'Where?' nnn

write this section

13.2.5 'When?' nnn

write this section

13.2.6 'How?' nnn

write this section

13.2.7 'How Much/Many?' nnn

write this section

13.2.8 'Which?' nnn

write this section

13.2.9 'So-and-So?' nnn

write this section

13.2.10 Embedded Interrogatives

write this section

Chapter 14

Relativization

write this section

14.1 Overview of Relative Clauses

write this section

14.2 Head NumP

write this section

14.2.1 Relative Clause Tone-Dropping

write this section

14.2.2 Restrictions on the Head of a Relative Clause

write this section

14.2.3 Conjoined NP as a Head

write this section

14.2.4 Headless relative Clause

write this section

14.3 Preverbal Subject Pronoun in Non-Subject Relative Clauses

write this section

14.4 Verbs in Relative Clause

14.4.1 Participles of Positive Verbs

write this section

14.4.1.1 Perfect System

write this section

14.4.1.2 Imperfective System and Statives

write this section

14.4.2 Participles of Negative Verbs

write this section

14.4.2.1 Perfect System

write this section

14.4.2.2 Imperfective System and Statives

write this section

14.4.3 Participle of Past Clitic (-nnn)

write this section

14.5 Relative Clauses with Verb Chains

write this section

14.6 Late-NP Elements

write this section

14.6.1 Determiners

write this section

14.6.2 Free Plural Particle (nnn)

write this section

14.6.3 Quantifiers

write this section

14.7 Syntactic Relationship to NP

write this section

14.7.1 Subject Relative Clauses

write this section

14.7.2 Object Relative Clauses

write this section

14.7.3 Possessor Relative Clauses

write this section

14.7.4 Relativization on a PP Complement

write this section

Chapter 15

VP Chaining and Adverbial Clauses

write this section

15.1 Direct Chains

write this section

15.1.1 Gerunds of Chained Verbs

write this section

15.1.2 Presence of TAN Morphemes in Direct Chains

write this section

15.1.3 Arguments of Chained Verbs

write this section

15.1.4 Negation of Chained Verbs

write this section

15.1.5 Chains including bɔ̀lɛ́ 'Leave'

write this section

15.1.6 Chains with Motion Verbs

write this section

15.1.7 Durative Verb Iterations Chained to Motion Verbs

write this section

15.1.8 Chains Including nnn 'Be/Do Together'

write this section

15.1.9 Chains Including nnn 'Go with, Take Along'

write this section

15.2 Overt Subordinating Morphemes

write this section

15.2.1 Temporal Simultaneity

write this section

15.2.1.1 Noun-Headed Temporal Clauses ('at the Time When...')

write this section

15.2.1.2 Background Durative Clauses (nnn)

write this section

15.2.1.3 Imperfective Subordinator (-nnn)

write this section

15.2.1.4 Imperfective -nnn on Activity Verbs with Time-of-Day Verbs

write this section

15.2.1.5 Imperfective -nnn with nnn 'Be'

write this section

15.2.1.6 'Since...' Clauses (nnn)

write this section

15.2.2 Adverbial Clauses with Chronological Sequencing

write this section

15.2.2.1 With nnn 'and Then' (Different Subject, Anterior)

write this section

15.2.2.2 With nnn 'and Then' (Same Subject, Anterior)

write this section

15.2.2.3 With nnn 'and Then' (Same Subject, Anterior, Future)

write this section

15.2.2.4 With nnn 'No Sooner Did..., than...'

write this section

15.2.3 Chronological Reversal ('Before...')

write this section

15.3 Spatial and Manner Adverbials

write this section

15.3.1 Spatial Adverbial Clause ('Where...')

write this section

15.3.2 Manner Adverbial Clause ('How...')

write this section

15.3.3 Headless Adverbial Clause

write this section

15.3.4 'From X to (until, All the Way to) Y'

write this section

15.3.5 'As Though...' Clauses

write this section

Chapter 16

Conditional Constructions

write this section

16.1 Hypothetical Conditionals with nnn 'if'

write this section

16.1.1 Antecedent Clause with Pronominal Subject Suffix

write this section

16.1.2 'Unless' Antecedent

write this section

16.2 Alternative 'if' Particles

write this section

16.2.1 'Even if...' (nnn)

write this section

16.2.2 'As Soon as...' (nnn)

write this section

16.3 Disjunctive Antecedents ('Whether X or Y...')

write this section

16.4 Counterfactual Conditionals

write this section

Chapter 17

Complement and Purposive Clauses

write this section

17.1 Quotative Complement

write this section

17.1.1 Direct vs. Indirect Speech

write this section

17.1.2 'Say that...' with Inflectable 'Say' (nnn)

write this section

17.1.3 Quotative Particle (wá)

write this section

17.1.4 Jussive Complement

write this section

17.1.4.1 Quoted Imperative

write this section

17.1.4.2 Embedded Hortative

write this section

17.2 Factive (Indicative) Complement

write this section

17.2.1 'Know that...' Clauses

write this section

17.2.2 'See (Find, Hear) that...' Clauses

write this section

17.2.2.1 Direct Perception Construction

write this section

17.2.2.2 Recognition (Inference) or Hearsay Construction

write this section

17.3 Gerund Complement

write this section

17.3.1 Structure of Gerund Phrase

write this section

17.3.2 'Prevent' (nnn)

write this section

17.3.3 'Dare' (nnn)

write this section

17.3.4 'Consent' (nnn)

write this section

17.3.5 'Cease, Stop' (nnn)

write this section

17.3.6 'Want' (nnn)

write this section

17.3.7 'Forget' (nnn)

write this section

17.3.8 'Have to', 'Must' (nnn)

write this section

17.3.9 'Be Afraid to' (nnn)

write this section

17.3.10 'Begin' (nnn)

write this section

17.3.11 'Finish' (nnn)

write this section

17.4 Locative Gerund and Other Nominal Complements

write this section

17.4.1 'Help' (nnn)

write this section

17.5 Direct Chain Complements

write this section

17.5.1 'Be Able to', 'Can' (nnn)

write this section

17.6 Purposive, Causal, and Locative Clauses

write this section

17.6.1 In PPs with nnn 'For'

write this section

17.6.2 With Imperfective Participle

write this section

17.6.3 With Verbs of Motion

write this section

17.6.4 Causal Clause with 'Because' (nnn)

write this section

17.6.5 'Because of' (nnn)

write this section

17.7 *Tough* Constructions and Raising Verbs

write this section

Chapter 18

Anaphora

Anaphora are morphemes which are coindexed with a sentence-internal antecedent. The Dogon languages vary greatly with regard to the manifestation of anaphora and the lines drawn between the categories. Anaphora in Dogul Dom are diverse, with each category of anaphor having a distinct morphological composition syntactic behavior. Dogul Dom has reflexive anaphora (with a clause-internal antecedent, §**??**), emphatic pronouns (as in *I did it myself*, §**??**), reciprocal pronouns (*each other*, §**??**), logophoric pronouns (with an antecedent that is the author of a quoted statement, §**??**), and topic-indexing anaphora (with a preposed topical NP as an antecedent, §**??**).

18.1 Reflexives

Reflexive pronouns are anaphora which have an antecedent in the same clause, as in *He hurt himself*. Each major function (object, PP complement, possessor) of reflexives in Dogul Dom is addressed in turn and presented with examples.

18.1.1 Reflexive Object (kíígù poss)

Reflexive objects in Dogul Dom take the form kíígù poss, which translates as 'POSS's head'. Literally, then, a sentence such as *He hurt himself* would translate as *He hurt his head*. For all persons and both numbers, the possessive pronoun is the typical postnominal genitive form discussed in §4.3.1.2 and has no apparent modification in this context.

(1) kíígù è-ŋ bùndé-è
head 2PL-GEN hit-2PL.PRF

'You (all) hit yourselves.'

(2) ááməàdù kíígù nà-ŋ búndè-ø
Amadou head 3SG-GEN hit-3SG.PRF
'Amadou hit himself.'

Notice in (2) that kíígù maintains its lexical tone instead of taking on the {L} PTC (§6.3.1). Although ááməàdù and the antecedent of nàŋ have the same referent, ááməàdù does not syntactically possess kíígù. The sense here is one of a subject-object relationship (*Amadou-hit-head*) rather than of a possessor-possessed relationship (∗*Amadou's-head-hit-itself*).

18.1.2 Reflexive PP Complement (nnn, nnn)

write this section

18.1.3 Reflexive Possessors (nnn, nnn)

write this section

18.1.4 Antecedent-Reflexive Relationships in Conjuncts

write this section

18.2 Emphatic Pronouns (nnn, nnn)

write this section

18.3 Reciprocals

Reciprocals here is used to refer both to the distributive *each other* sense and to the collective *together* sense. A discussion of each is presented independently below.

18.3.1 Simple Reciprocals (nóó fú nábɔ̀)

Reciprocal forms are typically plural in referentiality and is semantically coreferenced in a distributive way with the subject. In Dogul Dom, reciprocity expressed by the phrase 'all the people RECP', or nóó fú nábɔ̀. An English

sentence such as *They hurt each other* would be rendered as *They hurt all the people* RECP.

(3) nóó fú nábɔ̀ bùndé-ì
people all RECP hit-1PL.PRF
'We hit each other.'

(4) áámàdù yàŋ áándà yàŋ nóó fú nábɔ̀ nám-ìyà
Amadou and Anda and people all RECP like-3PL.PRF
'Amadou and Anda like each other.'

18.3.2 'Together' (nnn)

write this section

18.4 Logophoric and Indexing Pronouns

write this section

18.4.1 True Third Person Logophoric Function

write this section

18.4.2 Non-Logophoric Topic-Indexing Function

write this section

Chapter 19

Ideophones and Expressive Adverbials

Dogul Dom has two classes of words that deserve special treatment apart from the typical grammatical description of the language. Section 19.1 aims to tackle a special class of words known as *ideophones* in Dogul Dom using the groundbreaking research of Dingemanse (2011) as a foundation in the hopes that other scholars will follow suit. Section 19.2 looks at a related class with some overlap known as *expressive adverbials* (after **?**). These words pair with a verb to convey a very specific and illustrative manner of the verbal action. There is also a brief section on sound symbolism in §19.3

19.1 Ideophones

The marked structure and evocative meanings of ideophones have made them the topic of a vast range of studies within the disciplines of linguistics, psychology, and to an extent anthropology, and each new interpretation of ideophones (and there are indeed many) details an unanticipated new perspective on this class of words. Dingemanse's (2011) exceptional dissertation on ideophones in Siwu (a Ghana-Togo mountain language spoken in Ghana) has perhaps laid the final groundwork necessary to advance the study of ideophones as a unified front, with researchers from multiple disciplines contributing to a united body of scholarship.

19.1.1 Defining Ideophones in Dogul Dom

A widely accepted definition of ideophones has never truly been part of the literature. The status of ideophones as a class can hardly be contested, but which words fall into this class and which fall outside its borders depends solely on the definition one uses to cut up the linguistic pie. Dingemanse puts forth a definition that is both concise and appropriate: "Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory imagery" (2011:25).

19.2 Expressive Adverbials

write this section

19.3 Sound Symbolism

write this section

Chapter 20

Grammatical Pragmatics

write this section

20.1 Topic

write this section

20.1.1 Topic (nnn)

write this section

20.1.2 'Now' (nnn)

write this section

20.1.3 'Also' (nnn)

write this section

20.1.4 'Even' (nnn)

write this section

20.2 Preclausal Discourse Markers

write this section

20.2.1 'As Much as...' (nnn)

write this section

20.2.2 'Well,...' (nnn)

write this section

20.2.3 'So,...' (nnn)

write this section

20.2.4 'But,...' (nnn)

write this section

20.2.5 'Lo,...' (nnn)

write this section

20.3 Pragmatic Adverbs

write this section

20.3.1 '(Not) Again', 'on the Other Hand'

write this section

20.4 'Only', 'Just (One)'

write this section

20.5 Final Emphatics

write this section

20.5.1 Phrase-Final Confirmative'Exactly' (nnn)

write this section

20.5.2 Clause-Final Agreement 'Sure' (nnn)

write this section

20.5.3 Clause-Final Admonative (nnn)

write this section

20.6 Phatic Discourse Markers

write this section

20.7 Greetings

The greeting exchanges of the Dogulu are in line with the rest of the Dogon languages in that they are an intrinsic and unquestioned part of the culture. In fact, this is a feature of greetings across most of west Africa in particular and, to some extent, greater Africa in general. Many discourse functions fall under the general umbrella of greetings here, including time-of-day greetings, situational greetings, condolences, benedictions, and Islamic greetings.

20.7.1 Time of Day Greetings

Greetings are particular to the time of day. The typical formulae are shown in (1)–(3), with *A* and *B* referring to speakers. When one person encounters a group of people, it's quite common for the group to speak in unison as a single entity, so *A* and *B* may refer to the role of a single speaker or of a group. In all greetings, the second line (ɔ́ɔ̀) may be substituted with à wáà.

The morning greeting extends from the time one wakes until approximately midday.

(1) A: yègá námà
B: ɔ́ɔ̀
A: ín nàáy
B: jámmùn nàáy
A:nàáy jùý
B: è jámmùn nàáy yé

The afternoon greeting is typically used only from midday until approximately 15:00 (3 PM).

(2) A: wál̀ pòó
B: ɔ́ɔ̀
A: séémbè
B: jímmènnì
A: àlà pìyɛ́mbɛ̀
B: jìmmáálí

Finally, the evening greetings are used from 15:00 (3 PM) until one goes to bed.

(3) A: dènèmá
B: ɔ́ɔ̀
A: è déné
B: jámmùn déné, è déné
A: jámmùn déné
B: déné jùý

It should be well noted that these greetings are exceptionally formulaic. They are almost never altered, and they are often used with the same person many times a day. At the very least, the first time A encounters B during each of the three times of day, the full greeting ritual is performed. Subsequent encounters between the same individuals during the same period may warrant a simple French greeting, such as *ça va?*.

20.7.2 Situational greetings

write this section

20.7.3 Condolences

write this section

20.7.4 Benedictions

write this section

20.7.5 Islamic greetings

write this section

Chapter 21

Perception in Dogul Dom

write this section

21.1 Overview

write this section

21.1.1 Experimental Design

21.2 Visual Perception: Colour

write this section

21.3 Visual Perception: Shape

write this section

21.4 Auditory Perception

write this section

21.5 Olfactory Perception

write this section

21.6 Gustatory Perception

write this section

21.7 Tactile Perception

write this section

Chapter 22

Texts

write this section

22.1 Conventions

write this section

22.2 Text A: Title

write this section

22.3 Text B: Title

write this section

Appendix A

Dogul Dom Villages

The table below lists the known Dogul Dom-speaking villages. Coordinates are in degrees, minutes, and thousandths of minutes; those in parentheses are roughly estimated from maps.

Official Name	Dogul Dom Name	North	West
Andia	ánjà	14°34.738’	03°32.967’
Banguel Toupe	bàŋgù-túbɔ̀	*see below*	
(three villages)	bàŋgù-tùbɔ̀ kàà-nɔ́ŋgù	*unknown*	*unknown*
	bàŋgù-tùbɔ̀ kùnjàlàŋ-nɔ́ŋgù	14°39.360’	03°39.383’
	bàŋgù-tùbɔ̀ céŋgèl	14°39.833’	03°38.673’
Benndieli	bénéèl	*see below*	
(three villages)	béɲèl-dánà	14°29.673’	03°33.623’
	béɲèl-gìrkɔ́mbɔ̀	14°29.336’	03°33.381’
	béɲèl-sìgɛ́	14°28.497’	03°35.257’
Bini	bínnù	14°28.135’	03°32.021’
Boro	bórɔ̀	14°26.307’	03°35.253’
Dari	dáàrù	*unknown*	*unknown*
Upper Dari	dààr-dánà	14°29.523’	03°36.904’
Diamangolo	jàmàŋgólò	(14°37’)	(03°35’)
Dongossoro	dóŋgùsóórò	14°37.717’	03°34.634’
Dounali	dúnnáàl	14°39’	03°32’
Douro	dùrɔ́	*see below*	
(three villages)	dùrɔ́ nìînú	14°34.113’	03°35.303’
	dùrɔ́ máádínɛ̀	*unknown*	*unknown*
	dùrɔ́ sòòkúrà	*unknown*	*unknown*
Irigili (Kia)	írìgìl	*unknown*	*unknown*
Komoni	kɔ́mmɔ́nú	*see below*	
(three villages)	kɔ̀mmɔ̀n-sìgɛ́	*unknown*	*unknown*
	kɔ̀mmɔ̀n-dánà	*unknown*	*unknown*
	kɔ̀mmɔ̀n-nɛ́ɛ́mɛ̀	*unknown*	*unknown*

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Official Name	Dogul Dom Pronunciation	North	West
Kentaba	kèntàbá	*see below*	
(two villages)	kèntàbà-dánà	14°36.717’	03°29.998’
	kèntàbà-sìgɛ́	14°36.891’	03°30.393’
Koundialan	kùnjùlɔ̃	14°31.196’	03°34.151’
Koundougou	kúntùgù	*see below*	
(two villages)	kùntùgù-táŋáŋ	*unknown*	*unknown*
	làáyyà kùntùgù	14°27.846’	03°33.023’
Menemene	méɛ̀nméɛ̀n	*unknown*	*unknown*
Pelani	pɛ́lɛ́n	14°36.834’	03°33.153’
Sogodougou	sògɔ́-dùgù	14°37.278’	03°32.533’
Somoli	sómmôl	(14°36’)	(03°33’)
Tinngourou	téŋgùrù	(14°38’)	(03°41’)
Waynoro Tinngourou	wàynɔ̀ɔ̀rù-téŋgùrù	*unknown*	*unknown*

Appendix B

Inflectional Category Paradigms

In the interest of keeping dozens of lengthy, full-page tables out of the main text of the grammar, all of the inflectional paradigms have been consolidated into this appendix and appendix C. For all of the paradigms in this section, he number of syllables is indicated by the number of σ's (e.g. bisyllabic is $\sigma\sigma$). Also, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic verbs have been combined because there is no difference between their conjugational paradigms.

B.1 Indicative Positive Paradigms

B.1.1 Present Perfective Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present perfective positive. Refer to §10.3.1.1 for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	gèé-ŋ	gèé-ì
2	g-òó	gèé-è
3	géè-ø	géè-yà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ̀ɛ́-ŋ	jɛ̀ɛ́-ì
2	j-ɔ̀ɔ́	jɛ̀ɛ́-è
3	jɛ́ɛ̀-ø	jɛ́ɛ̀-yà
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	bùndé-ŋ	bùndé-ì
2	bùndó-ò	bùndé-è
3	búndè-ø	búnd-ìyà
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ̀bɛ́-ŋ	ɛ̀bɛ́-ì
2	ɛ̀bɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ̀bɛ́-è
3	ɛ́bɛ̀-ø	ɛ́b-ìyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yègòré-ŋ	yègòré-ì
2	yègòró-ò	yègòré-è
3	yégòrò-ø	yégòr-ìyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tìmbùrɛ́-ŋ	tìmbùrɛ́-ì̀
2	tìmbùrɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùrɛ́-è
3	tímbùrò-ø	tímbùr-ìyà

Table B.1: The paradigm of the present perfective positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.1.2 Past Perfective Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the past perfective positive. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use. This section also contains information on possible vowel backness alternations in the stem of this inflectional category

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	géé-bìyɛ́-ŋ	géé-bìyɛ́-ì
2	géé-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	géé-bìyɛ́-è
3	géé-bìyɛ́-ø	géé-bíy-yà
σ [−ATR]	jèɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ́ɛ́-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-bìyɛ́-ì
2	jɛ́ɛ́-bìy-ɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-bìyɛ́-è
3	jɛ́ɛ́-bìyɛ́-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-bíy-yà
σσ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndé-bìyɛ́-ŋ	búndé-bìyɛ́-ì
2	búndé-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	búndé-bìyɛ́-è
3	búndé-bìyɛ́-ø	búndé-bíy-yà
σσ [−ATR]	èbɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɛ́-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɛ́-ì
2	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɛ́-è
3	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɛ́-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-bíy-yà
σσσ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégóró-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yégóró-bìyɛ́-ì
2	yégóró-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yégóró-bìyɛ́-è
3	yégóró-bìyɛ́-ø	yégóró-bíy-yà
σσσ [−ATR]	tìmbùré	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbúré-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tímbúré-bìyɛ́-ì
2	tímbúré-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúré-bìyɛ́-è
3	tímbúré-bìyɛ́-ø	tímbúré-bíy-yà

Table B.2: The paradigm of the past perfective positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.1.3 Present Progressive Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present progressive positive. Refer to §10.3.2.1 for notes on its formation and use. Please note that the -ju- present morpheme may be replaced by the -b- imperfective morpheme in this inflectional category with no consequential change in meaning.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	géé-làà-jú-ŋ	géé-làà-jó-ì
2	géé-làà-jó-ò	géé-làà-jé-è
3	géé-làà-jó-ø	géé-làà-jú-yà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jú-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ì
2	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jé-è
3	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jú-yà
σσ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndé-làà-jú-ŋ	búndé-làà-jó-ì
2	búndé-làà-jó-ò	búndé-làà-jé-è
3	búndé-làà-jó-ø	búndé-làà-jú-yà
σσ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jú-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ì
2	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jɛ́-è
3	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jú-yà
σσσ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégóré-làà-jú-ŋ	yégóré-làà-jó-ì
2	yégóré-làà-jó-ò	yégóré-làà-jé-è
3	yégóré-làà-jó-ø	yégóré-làà-jú-yà
σσσ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbúré-làà-jú-ŋ	tímbúré-làà-jɔ́-ì
2	tímbúré-làà-jɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúré-làà-jé-è
3	tímbúré-làà-jɔ́-ø	tímbúré-làà-jú-yà

Table B.3: The paradigm of the present progressive positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.1.4 Past Progressive Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the past progressive positive. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	géè-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	géè-làà-bìyɛ́-ì
2	géè-làà-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	géè-làà-bìyɛ́-è
3	géè-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	géè-làà-bíy-yà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ́ɛ̀-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ̀-làà-bìyɛ́-ì
2	jɛ́ɛ̀-là-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ̀-làà-bìyɛ́-è
3	jɛ́ɛ̀-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	jɛ́ɛ̀-làà-bíy-yà
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndè-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	búndè-làà-bìyɛ́-ì
2	búndè-làà-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	búndè-làà-bìyɛ́-è
3	búndè-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	búndè-làà-bíy-yà
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	èbɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bè-làà-bìyè-ŋ	ɛ́bè-làà-bìyɛ́-ì
2	ɛ́bè-làà-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bè-làà-bìyɛ́-è
3	ɛ́bè-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	ɛ́bè-làà-bíy-yà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégòrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yégòrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ì
2	yégòrè-làà-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yégòrè-làà-bìyɛ́-è
3	yégòrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	yégòrè-làà-bíy-yà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ì
2	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɛ́-è
3	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	tímbùrè-làà-bíy-yà

Table B.4: The paradigm of the past progressive positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.1.5 Present Imperfective Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present imperfective positive. Refer to §10.3.3 for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	géé-bù-ŋ	géé-b-ì
2	géé-b-ò	géé-b-è
3	géé-b-ø	géé-b-ìyà, géé-n
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ́ɛ́-bù-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-b-ì
2	jɛ́ɛ́-b-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-b-è
3	jɛ́ɛ́-b-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-b-ìyà, jɛ́ɛ́-n
σσ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndéé-bù-ŋ	búndéé-b-ì
2	búndéé-b-ò	búndéé-b-è
3	búndéé-b-ø	búndéé-b-ìyà, búndéé-n
σσ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-bù-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-ì
2	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-è
3	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-ø	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-ìyà, ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-n
σσσ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégóréé-bù-ŋ	yégóréé-b-ì
2	yégóréé-b-ò	yégóréé-b-è
3	yégóréé-b-ø	yégóréé-b-ìyà, yégóréé-n
σσσ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-bù-ŋ	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ì
2	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ɔ̀	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ɛ́
3	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ø	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ìyà, tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-n

Table B.5: The paradigm of the present imperfective positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.1.6 Past Imperfective Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the past imperfective positive. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	góò-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	góò-m-bìyɛ́-ì
2	góò-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	góò-m-bìyɛ́-è
3	góò-m-bìyɛ́-ø	góò-m-bìy-yá
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ì
2	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-è
3	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ø	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìy-yá
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndò-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	búndò-m-bìyɛ́-ì
2	búndò-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	búndò-m-bìyɛ́-è
3	búndò-m-bìyɛ́-ø	búndò-m-bìy-yá
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	èbɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ì
2	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-è
3	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ø	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìy-yá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégòrò-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yégòrò-m-bìyɛ́-ì
2	yégòrò-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yégòrò-m-bìyɛ́-è
3	yégòrò-m-bìyɛ́-ø	yégòrò-m-bìy-yá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ì
2	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-è
3	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ø	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìy-yá

Table B.6: The paradigm of the past imperfective positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.1.7 Future Imperfective Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the future imperfective positive. Refer to §10.3.4 for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	góò-mbó-ŋ	góò-mbó-ì
2	góò-mbó-ò	góò-mbé-è
3	góò-mbó-ø	góò-mb-ìyá, góò-mbé-ø
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ́-ŋ	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ́-ì
2	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ́-ɔ̀	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɛ́-è
3	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ́-ø	jɔ́ɔ̀-mb-ìyá, jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɛ́-ø
σσ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndò-mbó-ŋ	búndò-mbó-ì
2	búndò-mbó-ò	búndò-mbé-è
3	búndò-mbó-ø	búndò-mb-ìyá, búndò-mbé-ø
σ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ́-ŋ	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ́-ì
2	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɛ́-è
3	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ́-ø	ɛ́bɔ̀-mb-ìyá, ɛ́bɛ̀-mbɛ́-ø
σσσ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégòrò-mbó-ŋ	yégòrò-mbó-ì
2	yégòrò-mbó-ò	yégòrò-mbé-è
3	yégòrò-mbó-ø	yégòrò-mb-ìyá, yégòrò-mbé-ø
σσσ [−ATR]	tìmbùré	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ́-ŋ	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ́-ì
2	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɛ́-è
3	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ́-ø	tímbùrɔ̀-mb-ìyá, tímbùrɔ̀-mbɛ́-ø

Table B.7: The paradigm of the future imperfective positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.1.8 Present Resultative Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present resultative positive. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	géé-jú-ŋ	géé-jó-ì
2	géé-jó-ò	géé-jé-è
3	géé-jó-ø	géé-jù-yá
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ́ɛ́-jú-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-jɔ́-ì
2	jɛ́ɛ́-jɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-jɛ́-è
3	jɛ́ɛ́-jɔ́-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-yá
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndé-jú-ŋ	búndé-jó-ì
2	búndé-jó-ò	búndé-jé-è
3	búndé-jó-ø	búndé-jù-yá
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	èbɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ébɛ́-jú-ŋ	ébɛ́-jɔ́-ì
2	ébɛ́-jɔ́-ɔ̀	ébɛ́-jɛ́-è
3	ébɛ́-jɔ́-ø	ébɛ́-jù-yá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégóré-jú-ŋ	yégóré-jó-ì
2	yégóré-jó-ò	yégóré-jé-è
3	yégóré-jó-ø	yégóré-jù-yá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbúré-jú-ŋ	tímbúré-jɔ́-ì
2	tímbúré-jɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúré-jɛ́-è
3	tímbúré-jɔ́-ø	tímbúré-jù-yá

Table B.8: The paradigm of the present progressive positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.1.9 Past Resultative Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the past resultative positive. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	géè-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	géè-jù-bìyɛ́-ì
2	géè-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	géè-jù-bìyɛ́-è
3	géè-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	géè-bíy-yà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ́ɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-ì
2	jɛ́ɛ̀-là-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	nj'ɛɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-è
3	jɛ́ɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	jɛ́ɛ̀-bíy-yà
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndè-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	búndè-jù-bìyɛ́-ì
2	búndè-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	búndè-jù-bìyɛ́-è
3	búndè-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	búndè-bíy-yà
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	èbɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ̀-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-ì
2	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-è
3	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	ɛ́bɛ̀-bíy-yà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégòrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yégòrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ì
2	yégòrè-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yégòrè-jù-bìyɛ́-è
3	yégòrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	yégòrè-bíy-yà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùré	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ì
2	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɛ́-è
3	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	tímbùrè-bíy-yà

Table B.9: The paradigm of the past progressive positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.1.10 Present Experiential Positive Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present experiential positive. Refer to §10.3.5 for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	gèè-tì-jú-ŋ	gèè-tì-jú-ì
2	gèè-tì-jó-ò	gèè-tì-jé-è
3	gèè-tì-jó-ø	gèè-tì-jú-yà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ̀ɛ̀-tì-jú-ŋ	jɛ̀ɛ̀-tì-jú-ì
2	jɛ̀ɛ̀-tì-jɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ̀ɛ̀-tì-jɛ́-ɛ̀
3	jɛ̀ɛ̀-tì-jú-ø	jɛ̀ɛ̀-tì-jú-yà
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	bùndè-tì-jú-ŋ	bùndè-tì-jú-ì
2	bùndè-tì-jó-ò	bùndè-tì-jé-è
3	bùndè-tì-jú-ø	bùndè-tì-jú-yà
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jú-ŋ	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jú-ì
2	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jɛ́-ɛ̀
3	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jú-ø	ɛ̀b'ɛ-tì-jú-yà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yògùré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yògùrè-tì-jú-ŋ	yògùrè-tì-jú-ì
2	yògùrè-tì-jó-ò	yògùrè-tì-jé-è
3	yògùrè-tì-jú-ø	yògùrè-tì-jú-yà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tìmbùrè-tì-jú-ŋ	tìmbùrè-tì-jú-ì
2	tìmbùrè-tì-jɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùrè-tì-jɛ́-ɛ̀
3	tìmbùrè-tì-jú-ø	tìmbùrè-tì-jú-yà

Table B.10: The paradigm of the present experiential positive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.2 Indicative Negative Paradigms

B.2.1 Present Perfective Negative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present perfective negative. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	gòáá-lú-ŋ	gòáá-lí-ì
2	gòáá-ló-ò	gòáá-lé-è
3	gòáá-l-ø	gòáá-l-íyà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jàá-lú-ŋ	jàá-lí-ì
2	jàá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jàá-lɛ́-è
3	jàá-l-ø	jàá-l-íyà
σσ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	bùndáá-lú-ŋ	bùndáá-lí-ì
2	bùndáá-ló-ò	bùndáá-lé-è
3	bùndáá-l-ø	bùndáá-l-íyà
σσ [−ATR]	èbɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	èbáá-lú-ŋ	èbáá-lí-ì
2	èbáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	èbáá-lɛ́-è
3	èbáá-l-ø	èbáá-l-íyà
σσσ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yègòráá-lú-ŋ	yègòráá-lí-ì
2	yègòráá-ló-ò	yègòráá-lé-è
3	yègòráá-l-ø	yègòráá-l-íyà
σσσ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tìmbùráá-lú-ŋ	tìmbùráá-lí-ì
2	tìmbùráá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùráá-lɛ́-è
3	tìmbùráá-l-ø	tìmbùráá-l-íyà

Table B.11: The paradigm of the present perfective negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.2.2 Past Perfective Negative I Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the past perfective negative in its first manner of affix ordering (tense before negation). Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	gèè-bìyáá-lù-ŋ	gèè-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	gèè-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	gèè-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	gèè-bìyáá-l-ø	gèè-bíyáá-l-ìyá
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ̀ɛ̀-bìyáá-lù-ŋ	jɛ̀ɛ̀-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	jɛ̀ɛ̀-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ̀ɛ̀-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	jɛ̀ɛ̀-bìyáá-l-ø	jɛ̀ɛ̀-bíyáá-l-ìyá
σσ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	bùndè-bìyáá-lù-ŋ	bùndè-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	bùndè-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	bùndè-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	bùndè-bìyáá-l-ø	bùndè-bíyáá-l-ìyá
σσ [−ATR]	èbɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	èbɛ̀-bìyáá-lù-ŋ	èbɛ̀-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	èbɛ̀-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	èbɛ̀-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	èbɛ̀-bìyáá-l-ø	èbɛ̀-bíyáá-l-ìyá
σσσ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yègòrè-bìyáá-lù-ŋ	yègòrè-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	yègòrè-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	yègòrè-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	yègòrè-bìyáá-l-ø	yègòrè-bíyáá-l-ìyá
σσσ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tìmbùrɛ̀-bìyáá-lù-ŋ	tìmbùrɛ̀-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	tìmbùrɛ̀-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùrɛ̀-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	tìmbùrɛ̀-bìyáá-l-ø	tìmbùrɛ̀-bíyáá-l-ìyá

Table B.12: The paradigm of the past perfective negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom showing the first manner of conjugation

B.2.3 Past Perfective Negative II Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the past perfective negative with its second affixal configuration (negation before tense). Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	gòáá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	gòáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì
2	gòáá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	gòáá-l-bìyɛ́-è
3	gòáá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	gòáá-l-bìy-yá
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jáá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì
2	jáá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	jáá-l-bìyɛ́-è
3	jáá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	jáá-l-bìy-yá
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	bùndáá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	bùndáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì
2	bùndáá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	bùndáá-l-bìyɛ́-è
3	bùndáá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	bùndáá-l-bìy-yá
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	èbé	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	èbáá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	èbáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì
2	èbáá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	èbáá-l-bìyɛ́-è
3	èbáá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	èbáá-l-bìy-yá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yègòráá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yègòráá-l-bìyɛ́-ì
2	yègòráá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yègòráá-l-bìyɛ́-è
3	yègòráá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	yègòráá-l-bìy-yá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɛ́-ì
2	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɛ́-è
3	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	tìmbùráá-l-bìy-yá

Table B.13: The paradigm of the past perfective negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom showing the second manner of conjugation

B.2.4 Present Progressive Negative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present progressive negative. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use. Please note that the -ju- present morpheme may be replaced by the -b- imperfective morpheme in this inflectional category with no consequential change in meaning.

σ [+ATR]		gèé	'go out'
		Singular	Plural
	1	géé-làà-jù-nnú-ŋ	géé-làà-jù-nn-í
	2	géé-làà-jù-nn-ó	géé-làà-jù-nn-é
	3	géé-làà-jù-nnú-ø	géè-làà-jù-nn-ìyá
σ [−ATR]		jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
		Singular	Plural
	1	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nnù-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nn-í
	2	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ɔ́	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ɛ́
	3	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nnú-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ìyá
σσ [+ATR]		bùndé	'hit'
		Singular	Plural
	1	búndé-làà-jù-nnù-ŋ	búndé-làà-jù-nn-í
	2	búndé-làà-jù-nn-ó	búndé-làà-jù-nn-é
	3	búndé-làà-jù-nnú-ø	búndé-làà-jù-nn-ìyá
σσ [−ATR]		èbɛ́	'buy'
		Singular	Plural
	1	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jù-nn-úŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jù-nn-í
	2	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ɔ́	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ɛ́
	3	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jù-nnú-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ìyá
σσσ [+ATR]		yègòré	'prepare'
		Singular	Plural
	1	yégóré-làà-jù-nnù-ŋ	yégóré-làà-jù-nn-í
	2	yégóré-làà-jù-nn-ó	yégóré-làà-jù-nn-é
	3	yégóré-làà-jù-nnú-ø	yégóré-làà-jù-nn-ìyá
σσσ [−ATR]		tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
		Singular	Plural
	1	tímbúrɛ́-làà-jù-nnù-ŋ	tímbúrɛ́-làà-jù-nn-í
	2	tímbúrɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ɔ́	tímbúrɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ɛ́
	3	tímbúrɛ́-làà-jù-nnú-ø	tímbúrɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ìyá

Table B.14: The paradigm of the past progressive negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.2.5 Past Progressive Negative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the past progressive positive. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	géé-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	géé-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	géé-làà-bìyáá-ló-ò	géé-làà-bìyáá-lé-è
3	géé-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	géé-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndé-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	búndé-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	búndé-làà-bìyáá-ló-ò	búndé-làà-bìyáá-lé-è
3	búndé-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	búndé-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégóré-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	yégóré-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	yégóré-làà-bìyáá-ló-ò	yégóré-làà-bìyáá-lé-è
3	yégóré-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	yégóré-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbúrɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	tímbúrɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	tímbúrɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúrɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	tímbúrɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	tímbúrɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà

Table B.15: The paradigm of the past progressive negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.2.6 Present Imperfective Negative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present imperfect negative. Refer to §10.4.3 for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	gèé-nnù-ŋ	gèé-nn-ì
2	gèé-nn-ò	gèé-nn-è
3	gèé-nn-ù	gèé-nn-ìyà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ̀ɛ́-nnù-ŋ	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-ì
2	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-ɔ̀	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-ɛ̀
3	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-ù	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-ìyà
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	bùndé-nnù-ŋ	bùndé-nn-ì
2	bùndé-nn-ò	bùndé-nn-è
3	bùndé-nn-ù	bùndé-nn-ìyà
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ̀bɛ́-nnù-ŋ	ɛ̀bɛ́-nn-ì
2	ɛ̀bɛ́-nn-ɔ̀	ɛ̀bɛ́-nn-ɛ̀
3	ɛ̀bɛ́-nn-ù	ɛ̀bɛ́-nn-ìyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yègòré-nnù-ŋ	yègòré-nn-ì
2	yègòré-nn-ò	yègòré-nn-è
3	yègòré-nn-ù	yègòré-nn-ìyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tìmbùrɛ́-nnù-ŋ	tìmbùrɛ́-nn-ì
2	tìmbùrɛ́-nn-ɔ̀	tìmbùrɛ́-nn-ɛ̀
3	tìmbùrɛ́-nn-ù	tìmbùrɛ́-nn-ìyà

Table B.16: The paradigm of the present imperfective negative for each class of verbs in in Dogul Dom

B.2.7 Past Imperfective Negative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the past imperfective negative. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	góò-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	góò-m-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	góò-m-bìyáá-ló-ò	góò-m-bìyáá-lé-è
3	góò-m-bìyáá-l-ø	góò-m-bìyáá-l-íyà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-ø	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndò-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	búndò-m-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	búndò-m-bìyáá-ló-ò	búndò-m-bìyáá-lé-è
3	búndò-m-bìyáá-l-ø	búndò-m-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-ø	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégòrò-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	yégòrò-m-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	yégòrò-m-bìyáá-ló-ò	yégòrò-m-bìyáá-lé-è
3	yégòrò-m-bìyáá-l-ø	yégòrò-m-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
3	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-ø	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-íyà

Table B.17: The paradigm of the past imperfective negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.2.8 Future Imperfective Negative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the future imperfective negative. Refer to §10.4.4 for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	góò-mbò-nnú-ŋ	góò-mbò-nn-í
2	góò-mbò-nn-ó	góò-mbò-nn-é
3	góò-mbò-nnú-ø	góò-mbò-nn-ìyá
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ŋ	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-í
2	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɔ́	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɛ́
3	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ø	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ìyá
σσ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndò-mbò-nnú-ŋ	búndò-mbò-nn-í
2	búndò-mbò-nn-ó	búndò-mbò-nn-é
3	búndò-mbò-nnú-ø	búndò-mbò-nn-ìyá
σσ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ŋ	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-í
2	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɔ́	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɛ́
3	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ø	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ìyá
σσσ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégòrɔ̀-mbò-nnú-ŋ	yégòrɔ̀-mbò-nn-ì
2	yégòrɔ̀-mbò-nn-ó	yégòrɔ̀-mbò-nn-é
3	yégòrɔ̀-mbò-nnú-ø	yégòrɔ̀-mbò-nn-ìyá
σσσ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ŋ	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-ì
2	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɔ́	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɛ́
3	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ø	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ìyá

Table B.18: The paradigm of the future imperfective negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.2.9 Present Resultative Negative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present resultative negative. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	géé-jù-nnú-ŋ	géé-jù-nn-í
2	géé-jù-nn-ó	géé-jù-nn-é
3	géé-jù-nnú-ø	géè-jù-nn-ìyá
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nnù-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nn-í
2	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nn-ɔ́	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nn-ɛ́
3	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nnú-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nn-ìyá
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndé-jù-nnù-ŋ	búndé-jù-nn-í
2	búndé-jù-nn-ó	búndé-jù-nn-é
3	búndé-jù-nnú-ø	búndé-jù-nn-ìyá
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-úŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-í
2	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-ɔ́	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-ɛ́
3	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nnú-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-ìyá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégóré-jù-nnù-ŋ	yégóré-jù-nn-í
2	yégóré-jù-nn-ó	yégóré-jù-nn-é
3	yégóré-jù-nnú-ø	yégóré-jù-nn-ìyá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nnù-ŋ	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nn-í
2	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nn-ɔ́	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nn-ɛ́
3	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nnú-ø	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nn-ìyá

Table B.19: The paradigm of the present resultative negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.2.10 Past Resultative Negative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present resultative negative. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	géé-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	géé-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	géé-jù-bìyáá-ló-ò	géé-jù-bìyáá-lé-è
3	géé-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	géé-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɛ́-è
3	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	búndé-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	búndé-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	búndé-jù-bìyáá-ló-ò	búndé-jù-bìyáá-lé-è
3	búndé-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	búndé-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	èbɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɛ́-è
3	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	yégóré-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	yégóré-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	yégóré-jù-bìyáá-ló-ò	yégóré-jù-bìyáá-lé-è
3	yégóré-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	yégóré-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì
2	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɛ́-è
3	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà

Table B.20: The paradigm of the past resultative negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.2.11 Present Experiential Negative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the present experiential negative. Refer to §10.4.5 for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]		gèé	'go out'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	1	gèè-táá-lú-ŋ	gèè-táá-lí-ì
	2	gèè-táá-ló-ò	gèè-táá-lé-è
	3	gèè-táá-l-ø	gèè-táá-l-íyà
σ [−ATR]		jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	1	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-lú-ŋ	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-lí-ì
	2	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
	3	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-l-ø	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-l-íyà
σσ [+ATR]		bùndé	'hit'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	1	bùndè-táá-lú-ŋ	bùndè-táá-lí-ì
	2	bùndè-táá-ló-ò	bùndè-táá-lé-è
	3	bùndè-táá-l-ø	bùndè-táá-l-íyà
σσ [−ATR]		ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	1	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-lú-ŋ	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-lí-ì
	2	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
	3	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-l-ø	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-l-íyà
σσσ [+ATR]		yègòré	'prepare'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	1	yègòrè-táá-lú-ŋ	yègòrè-táá-lí-ì
	2	yègòrè-táá-ló-ò	yègòrè-táá-lé-è
	3	yègòrè-táá-l-ø	yègòrè-táá-l-íyà
σσσ [−ATR]		tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	1	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-lú-ŋ	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-lí-ì
	2	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
	3	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-l-ø	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-l-íyà

Table B.21: The paradigm of the present experiential negative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.3 Imperative and Hortative Paradigms

Both the imperative and hortative moods (in the positive and negative) have been consolidated in this section.

B.3.1 Imperative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the imperative. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	góó-ø	góó-ŋ
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	jáá-ø	jáá-ŋ
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	búndó-ø	búndó-ŋ
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	ɛ́bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	ɛ́bá-ø	ɛ́bá-ŋ
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	yégóró-ø	yégóró-ŋ
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	tímbúrá-ø	tímbúrá-ŋ

Table B.22: The paradigm of the imperative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.3.2 Prohibitive (Imperative Negative) Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the prohibitive (imperative negative). Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	gèè-lá-ø	gèè-lá-ŋ
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀é	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	jɛ̀ɛ̀-lá-ø	jɛ̀ɛ̀-lá-ŋ
σσ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	bùndè-lá-ø	bùndè-lá-ŋ
σσ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	ɛ̀bɛ̀-lá-ø	ɛ̀bɛ̀-lá-ŋ
σσσ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	yègòrè-lá-ø	yègòrè-lá-ŋ
σσσ [−ATR]	tìmbùré	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	tìmbùrè-lá-ø	tìmbùrè-lá-ŋ

Table B.23: The paradigm of the prohibitive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.3.3 Hortative Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the hortative. Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]	gèé	'go out'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	gèè-má-ø	gèè-má-ŋ
σ [−ATR]	jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	jɛ̀ɛ̀-má-ø	jɛ̀ɛ̀-má-ŋ
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	bùndé	'hit'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	bùndè-má-ø	bùndè-má-ŋ
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	ɛ̀bɛ̀-má-ø	ɛ̀bɛ̀-má-ŋ
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]	yègòré	'prepare'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	yègòrè-má-ø	yègòrè-má-ŋ
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]	tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
2	tìmbùrɛ̀-má-ø	tìmbùrɛ̀-má-ŋ

Table B.24: The paradigm of the hortative for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

B.3.4 Inhibitive (Hortative Negative) Paradigm

The table below shows a verbal paradigm for the inhibitive (hortative negative). Refer to §?? for notes on its formation and use.

σ [+ATR]		gèé	'go out'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	2	géé-nn-í-ø	góó-nn-í-yá
σ [−ATR]		jɛ̀ɛ́	'take'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	2	jɛ́ɛ́-nn-í-ø	jɔ́ɔ́-nn-í-yá
$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]		bùndé	'hit'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	2	búndé-nn-í-ø	búndó-nn-í-yá
$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]		ɛ̀bɛ́	'buy'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	2	ɛ́bɛ́-nn-í-ø	ɛ́bɔ́-nn-í-yá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR]		yègòré	'prepare'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	2	yègòré-nn-í-ø	yègòró-nn-í-yá
$\sigma\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR]		tìmbùrɛ́	'cover'
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	2	tímbúré-nn-í-ø	tímbúrɔ́-nn-í-yá

Table B.25: The paradigm of the inhibitive for each class of verbs in Dogul Dom

Appendix C

Verb Class Paradigms

In the interest of keeping dozens of lengthy, full-page tables out of the main text of the grammar, all of the inflectional paradigms have been consolidated into this appendix and appendix B.

C.1 Monosyllabic Verbs

Only two classes of verbs will be addressed here, although there are technically three types of monosyllabic verbs: CVV [+ATR], CVV [−ATR], NCV [−ATR]. The paradigm of the sole NCV verb ǹdɛ́ 'give' can be derived from the paradigm of *σσ* [−ATR] class.

More information on any inflectional category in particular can be found in chapter 10, which provides information on the morphophonological composition of each category and contains numerous examples on its use and interpretation.

CVV [+ATR] gèé 'go out'			CVV [−ATR] jɛ̀ɛ́ 'take'	
Present Perfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
gèé-ŋ	gèé-ì	1	jɛ̀ɛ́-ŋ	jɛ̀ɛ́-ì
g-òó	gèé-è	2	j-ɔ̀ɔ́	jɛ̀ɛ́-è
géè-ø	géè-yà	3	jɛ́ɛ̀-ø	jɛ́ɛ̀-yà
Past Perfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géé-bìyɛ́-ŋ	géé-bìyɛ́-ì	1	jɛ́ɛ́-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-bìyɛ́-ì
géé-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	géé-bìyɛ́-è	2	jɛ́ɛ́-bìy-ɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-bìyɛ́-è
géé-bìyɛ́-ø	géé-bíy-yà	3	jɛ́ɛ́-bìyɛ́-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-bíy-yà
Present Progressive Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géé-làà-jú-ŋ	géé-làà-jó-ì	1	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jú-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ì
géé-làà-jó-ò	géé-làà-jé-è	2	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jɛ́-è
géé-làà-jó-ø	géé-làà-jú-yà	3	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jú-yà

Past Progressive Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géè-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	géè-làà-bìyɛ́-ì	1	jɛ́è-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jɛ́è-làà-bìyɛ́-ì
géè-làà-bìyɔ́-ò	géè-làà-bìyɛ́-è	2	jɛ́è-làà-bìyɔ́-ò	jɛ́è-làà-bìyɛ́-è
géè-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	géè-làà-bíy-yà	3	jɛ́è-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	jɛ́è-làà-bíy-yà

Present Imperfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géé-bù-ŋ	géé-b-ì	1	jɛ́ɛ́-bù-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-b-ì
géé-b-ò	géé-b-è	2	jɛ́ɛ́-b-ò	jɛ́ɛ́-b-è
géé-b-ø	géé-b-ìyà, géé-n	3	jɛ́ɛ́-b-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-b-ìyà, jɛ́ɛ́-n

Past Imperfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
góò-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	góò-m-bìyɛ́-ì	1	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ì
góò-m-bìyɔ́-ò	góò-m-bìyɛ́-è	2	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɔ́-ò	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-è
góò-m-bìyɛ́-ø	góò-m-bìy-yá	3	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ø	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìy-yá

Future Imperfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
góò-mbó-ŋ	góò-mbó-ì	1	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ́-ŋ	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ́-ì
góò-mbó-ò	góò-mbé-è	2	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ́-ò	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɛ́-è
góò-mbó-ø	góò-mb-ìyá, góò-mbé-ø	3	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ́-ø	jɔ́ɔ̀-mb-ìyá, jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɛ́-ø

Present Resultative Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géé-jú-ŋ	géé-jó-ì	1	jɛ́ɛ́-jú-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-jɔ́-ì
géé-jó-ò	géé-jé-è	2	jɛ́ɛ́-jɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-jé-è
géé-jó-ø	géé-jù-yá	3	jɛ́ɛ́-jɔ́-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-yá

Past Resultative Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géè-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	géè-jù-bìyɛ́-ì	1	jɛ́è-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jɛ́è-jù-bìyɛ́-ì
géè-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	géè-jù-bìyɛ́-è	2	jɛ́è-là-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	j'ɛè-jù-bìyɛ́-è
géè-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	géè-bíy-yà	3	jɛ́è-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	jɛ́è-bíy-yà

Present Experiential Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
gèè-tì-jú-ŋ	gèè-tì-jú-ì	1	jèè-tì-jú-ŋ	jèè-tì-jú-ì
gèè-tì-jó-ò	gèè-tì-jé-è	2	jèè-tì-jɔ́-ɔ̀	jèè-tì-jé-è
gèè-tì-jó-ø	gèè-tì-jú-yà	3	jèè-tì-jú-ø	jèè-tì-jú-yà

Present Perfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
gòáá-lú-ŋ	gòáá-lí-ì	1	jàá-lú-ŋ	jàá-lí-ì
gòáá-ló-ò	gòáá-lé-è	2	jàá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jàá-lé-è
gòáá-l-ø	gòáá-l-íyà	3	jàá-l-ø	jàá-l-íyà

Past Perfective Negative I				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
gèè-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	gèè-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	jèè-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	jèè-bìyáá-lí-ì
gèè-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	gèè-bìyáá-lé-è	2	jèè-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jèè-bìyáá-lé-è
gèè-bìyáá-l-ø	gèè-bíyáá-l-ìyá	3	jèè-bìyáá-l-ø	jèè-bíyáá-l-ìyá

Past Perfective Negative II				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
gòáá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	gòáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì	1	jáá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	jáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì
gòáá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	gòáá-l-bìyɛ́-è	2	jáá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	jáá-l-bìyɛ́-è
gòáá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	gòáá-l-bìy-yá	3	jáá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	jáá-l-bìy-yá

Present Progressive Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géé-làà-jù-nnú-ŋ	géé-làà-jù-nn-í	1	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nnù-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nn-í
géé-làà-jù-nn-ó	géé-làà-jù-nn-é	2	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ɔ́	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ɛ́
géé-làà-jù-nnú-ø	géè-làà-jù-nn-ìyá	3	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nnú-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ìyá

Past Progressive Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géé-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	géé-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì
géé-làà-bìyáá-ló-ò	géé-làà-bìyáá-lé-è	2	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɛ́-è
géé-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	géé-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà	3	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà

Present Imperfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
gèé-nnù-ŋ	gèé-nn-ì	1	jɛ̀ɛ́-nnù-ŋ	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-ì
gèé-nn-ò	gèé-nn-è	2	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-ɔ̀	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-è
gèé-nn-ù	gèé-nn-ìyà	3	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-ù	jɛ̀ɛ́-nn-ìyà

Past Imperfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
góò-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	góò-m-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lí-ì
góò-m-bìyáá-ló-ò	góò-m-bìyáá-lé-è	2	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɛ́-è
góò-m-bìyáá-l-ø	góò-m-bìyáá-l-íyà	3	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-ø	jɔ́ɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-íyà

Future Imperfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
góò-mbò-nnú-ŋ	góò-mbò-nn-í	1	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ŋ	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-í
góò-mbò-nn-ó	góò-mbò-nn-é	2	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɔ́	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɛ́
góò-mbò-nnú-ø	góò-mbò-nn-ìyá	3	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ø	jɔ́ɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ìyá
Present Resultative Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géé-jù-nnú-ŋ	géé-jù-nn-í	1	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nnù-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nn-í
géé-jù-nn-ó	géé-jù-nn-é	2	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nn-ɔ́	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nn-ɛ́
géé-jù-nnú-ø	géè-jù-nn-ìyá	3	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nnú-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-nn-ìyá
Past Resultative Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géé-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	géé-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì
géé-jù-bìyáá-ló-ò	géé-jù-bìyáá-lé-è	2	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɛ́-è
géé-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	géé-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà	3	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	jɛ́ɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà
Present Experiential Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
gèè-táá-lú-ŋ	gèè-táá-lí-ì	1	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-lú-ŋ	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-lí-ì
gèè-táá-ló-ò	gèè-táá-lé-è	2	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-lɛ́-è
gèè-táá-l-ø	gèè-táá-l-íyà	3	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-l-ø	jɛ̀ɛ̀-táá-l-íyà

		Imperative		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
góó-ø	góó-ŋ	2	jáá-ø	jáá-ŋ
		Prohibitive		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
gèè-lá-ø	géé-lá-ŋ	2	jɛ̀ɛ̀-lá-ø	jɛ̀ɛ̀-lá-ŋ
		Hortative Positive		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
gèè-má-ø	gèè-má-ŋ	1	jɛ̀ɛ̀-má-ø	jɛ̀ɛ̀-má-ŋ
		Inhibitive		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
géé-nn-í-ø	góó-nn-í-yá	1	jɛ́ɛ́-nn-í-ø	jɔ́ɔ́-nn-í-yá

C.2 Bisyllabic Verbs

The two paradigms shown below are representative of the full range of possible $\sigma\sigma$ classes. This includes CVCV [+ATR], CVCV [−ATR], CVCCV [+ATR], and CVCCV [−ATR], each with or without the σ_1 onset. It's also the basis for the NCV verb ǹdé 'give', as the preconsonantal nasal behaves tonally like an initial vowel.

More information on any inflectional category in particular can be found in chapter 10, which provides information on the morphophonological composition of each category and contains numerous examples on its use and interpretation.

$\sigma\sigma$ [+ATR] bùndé 'hit'			$\sigma\sigma$ [−ATR] èbé 'buy'	
Present Perfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
bùndé-ŋ	bùndé-ì	1	èbɛ́-ŋ	èbɛ́-ì
bùndó-ò	bùndé-è	2	èbɔ́-ɔ̀	èbɛ́-è
búndè-ø	búnd-ìyà	3	ɛ́bɛ̀-ø	ɛ́b-ìyà
Past Perfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndé-bìyɛ́-ŋ	búndé-bìyɛ́-ì	1	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɛ́-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɛ́-ì
búndé-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	búndé-bìyɛ́-è	2	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɛ́-è
búndé-bìyɛ́-ø	búndé-bíy-yà	3	ɛ́bɛ́-bìyɛ́-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-bíy-yà
Present Progressive Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndé-làà-jú-ŋ	búndé-làà-jó-ì	1	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jú-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ì
búndé-làà-jó-ò	búndé-làà-jé-è	2	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jɛ́-è
búndé-làà-jó-ø	búndé-làà-jú-yà	3	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jɔ́-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-làà-jú-yà

Past Progressive Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndè-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	búndè-làà-bìyɛ́-ì	1	ɛ́bɛ̀-làà-bìyɛ̀-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ̀-làà-bìyɛ́-ì
búndè-làà-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	búndè-làà-bìyɛ́-è	2	ɛ́bɛ̀-làà-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ̀-làà-bìyɛ́-è
búndè-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	búndè-làà-bíy-yà	3	ɛ́bɛ̀-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	ɛ́bɛ̀-làà-bíy-yà

Present Imperfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndéé-bù-ŋ	búndéé-b-ì	1	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-bù-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-ì
búndéé-b-ɔ̀	búndéé-b-è	2	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-è
búndéé-b-ø	búndéé-b-ìyà, búndéé-n	3	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-ø	ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-b-ìyà, ɛ́bɛ́ɛ́-n

Past Imperfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndò-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	búndò-m-bìyɛ́-ì	1	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ì
búndò-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	búndò-m-bìyɛ́-è	2	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-è
búndò-m-bìyɛ́-ø	búndò-m-bìy-yá	3	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ø	ɛ́bɔ̀-m-bìy-yá

Future Imperfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndò-mbó-ŋ	búndò-mbó-ì	1	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ́-ŋ	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ́-ì
búndò-mbó-ɔ̀	búndò-mbé-è	2	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɛ́-è
búndò-mbó-ø	búndò-mb-ìyá, búndò-mbé-ø	3	ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɔ́-ø	ɛ́bɔ̀-mb-ìyá, ɛ́bɔ̀-mbɛ́-ø

Present Resultative Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndé-jú-ŋ	búndé-jó-ì	1	ɛ́bɛ́-jú-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-jó-ì
búndé-jó-ò	búndé-jé-è	2	ɛ́bɛ́-jɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́-jɛ́-ɛ̀
búndé-jó-ø	búndé-jù-yá	3	ɛ́bɛ́-jɔ́-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-yá
Past Resultative Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndè-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	búndè-jù-bìyɛ́-ì	1	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ̀-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-ì
búndè-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	búndè-jù-bìyɛ́-è	2	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-è
búndè-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	búndè-bíy-yà	3	ɛ́bɛ̀-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	ɛ́bɛ̀-bíy-yà
Present Experiential Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
bùndè-tì-jú-ŋ	bùndè-tì-jú-ì	1	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jú-ŋ	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jú-ì
bùndè-tì-jó-ò	bùndè-tì-jé-è	2	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jɛ́-ɛ̀
bùndè-tì-jú-ø	bùndè-tì-jú-yà	3	ɛ̀bɛ̀-tì-jú-ø	ɛ̀bʻɛ-tì-jú-yà
Present Perfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
bùndáá-lú-ŋ	bùndáá-lí-ì	1	ɛ̀báá-lú-ŋ	ɛ̀báá-lí-ì
bùndáá-ló-ò	bùndáá-lé-è	2	ɛ̀báá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ̀báá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
bùndáá-l-ø	bùndáá-l-íyà	3	ɛ̀báá-l-ø	ɛ̀báá-l-íyà
Past Perfective Negative I				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
bùndè-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	bùndè-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	ɛ̀bɛ̀-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	ɛ̀bɛ̀-bìyáá-lí-ì
bùndè-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	bùndè-bìyáá-lé-è	2	ɛ̀bɛ̀-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ̀bɛ̀-bìyáá-lé-ɛ̀
bùndè-bìyáá-l-ø	bùndè-bíyáá-l-ìyá	3	ɛ̀bɛ̀-bìyáá-l-ø	ɛ̀bɛ̀-bíyáá-l-ìyá

Past Perfective Negative II				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
bùndáá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	bùndáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì	1	èbáá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	èbáá-l-bìyɛ́-ì
bùndáá-l-bìyɔ́-ò	bùndáá-l-bìyɛ́-è	2	èbáá-l-bìyɔ́-ò	èbáá-l-bìyɛ́-è
bùndáá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	bùndáá-l-bìy-yá	3	èbáá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	èbáá-l-bìy-yá

Present Progressive Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndé-làà-jù-nnù-ŋ	búndé-làà-jù-nn-í	1	ébɛ́-làà-jù-nn-úŋ	ébɛ́-làà-jù-nn-í
búndé-làà-jù-nn-ó	búndé-làà-jù-nn-é	2	ébɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ɔ́	ébɛ́-làà-jù-nn-é
búndé-làà-jù-nnú-ø	búndé-làà-jù-nn-ìyá	3	ébɛ́-làà-jù-nnú-ø	ébɛ́-làà-jù-nn-ìyá

Past Progressive Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndé-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	búndé-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	ébɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	ébɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì
búndé-làà-bìyáá-ló-ò	búndé-làà-bìyáá-lé-è	2	ébɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ébɛ́-làà-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
búndé-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	búndé-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà	3	ébɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	ébɛ́-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà

Present Imperfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
bùndé-nnù-ŋ	bùndé-nn-ì	1	èbɛ́-nnù-ŋ	èbɛ́-nn-ì
bùndé-nn-ò	bùndé-nn-è	2	èbɛ́-nn-ɔ̀	èbɛ́-nn-è
bùndé-nn-ù	bùndé-nn-ìyà	3	èbɛ́-nn-ù	èbɛ́-nn-ìyà

Past Imperfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndò-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	búndò-m-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	ébɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	ébɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lí-ì
búndò-m-bìyáá-ló-ò	búndò-m-bìyáá-lé-è	2	ébɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ébɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
búndò-m-bìyáá-l-ø	búndò-m-bìyáá-l-íyà	3	ébɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-ø	ébɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-íyà

Future Imperfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndè-mbò-nnú-ŋ	búndè-mbò-nn-í	1	ɛ́bɛ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-í
búndè-mbò-nn-ó	búndè-mbò-nn-é	2	ɛ́bɛ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɔ́	ɛ́bɛ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɛ́
búndè-mbò-nnú-ø	búndè-mbò-nn-ìyá	3	ɛ́bɛ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ø	ɛ́bɛ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ìyá
Present Resultative Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndé-jù-nnù-ŋ	búndé-jù-nn-í	1	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-úŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-í
búndé-jù-nn-ó	búndé-jù-nn-é	2	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-ɔ́	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-ɛ́
búndé-jù-nnú-ø	búndé-jù-nn-ìyá	3	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nnú-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-nn-ìyá
Past Resultative Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndé-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	búndé-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì
búndé-jù-bìyáá-ló-ò	búndé-jù-bìyáá-lé-è	2	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
búndé-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	búndé-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà	3	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	ɛ́bɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà
Present Experiential Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
bùndè-táá-lú-ŋ	bùndè-táá-lí-ì	1	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-lú-ŋ	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-lí-ì
bùndè-táá-ló-ò	bùndè-táá-lé-è	2	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
bùndè-táá-l-ø	bùndè-táá-l-íyà	3	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-l-ø	ɛ̀bɛ̀-táá-l-íyà

		Imperative		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndó-ø	búndó-ŋ	2	ɛ́bá-ø	ɛ́bá-ŋ
		Prohibitive		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
bùndè-lá-ø	bùndè-lá-ŋ	2	ɛ̀bɛ̀-lá-ø	ɛ̀bɛ̀-lá-ŋ
		Hortative Positive		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
bùndè-má-ø	bùndè-má-ŋ	1	ɛ̀bɛ̀-má-ø	ɛ̀bɛ̀-má-ŋ
		Inhibitive		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
búndé-nn-í-ø	búndó-nn-í-yá	1	ɛ́bɛ́-nn-í-ø	ɛ́bɔ́-nn-í-yá

C.3 Trisyllabic (and Longer) Verbs

Trisyllabic and longer verb stems pattern in the same way. The two trisyllabic verbs classes, each reflecting an [ATR] class.

More information on any inflectional category in particular can be found in chapter 10, which provides information on the morphophonological composition of each category and contains numerous examples on its use and interpretation.

σσσ [+ATR] yègòré 'prepare'			*σσσ* [−ATR] tìmbùré 'wait for'	
Present Perfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yègòré-ŋ	yègòré-ì	1	tìmbùrɛ́-ŋ	tìmbùré-ì̀
yègòró-ò	yègòré-è	2	tìmbùrɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùré-è
yégòrò-ø	yégòr-ìyà	3	tímbùrò-ø	tímbùr-ìyà
Past Perfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóró-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yégóró-bìyɛ́-ì	1	tímbúré-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tímbúré-bìyɛ́-ì
yégóró-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yégóró-bìyɛ́-è	2	tímbúré-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúré-bìyɛ́-è
yégóró-bìyɛ́-ø	yégóró-bíy-yà	3	tímbúré-bìyɛ́-ø	tímbúré-bíy-yà
Present Progressive Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóré-làà-jú-ŋ	yégóré-làà-jó-ì	1	tímbúré-làà-jú-ŋ	tímbúré-làà-jɔ́-ì
yégóré-làà-jó-ò	yégóré-làà-jé-è	2	tímbúré-làà-jɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúré-làà-jɛ́-è
yégóré-làà-jó-ø	yégóré-làà-jú-yà	3	tímbúré-làà-jɔ́-ø	tímbúré-làà-jú-yà

Past Progressive Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégòrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yégòrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ì	1	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ì
yégòrè-làà-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yégòrè-làà-bìyɛ́-è	2	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɛ́-è
yégòrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	yégòrè-làà-bíy-yà	3	tímbùrè-làà-bìyɛ́-ø	tímbùrè-làà-bíy-yà
Present Imperfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóréé-bù-ŋ	yégóréé-b-ì	1	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-bù-ŋ	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ì
yégóréé-b-ò	yégóréé-b-è	2	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ɔ̀	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ɛ́
yégóréé-b-ø	yégóréé-b-ìyà, yégóréé-n	3	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ø	tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-b-ìyà, tímbúrɛ́ɛ́-n
Past Imperfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégòrò-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yégòrò-m-bìyɛ́-ì	1	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ì
yégòrò-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yégòrò-m-bìyɛ́-è	2	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-è
yégòrò-m-bìyɛ́-ø	yégòrò-m-bìy-yá	3	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyɛ́-ø	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìy-yá
Future Imperfective Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégòrè-mbó-ŋ	yégòrè-mbó-ì	1	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ́-ŋ	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ́-ì
yégòrè-mbó-ò	yégòrè-mbé-è	2	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɛ́-è
yégòrè-mbó-ø	yégòrè-mb-ìyá, yégòrè-mbé-ø	3	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ́-ø	tímbùrɔ̀-mb-ìyá, tímbùrɔ̀-mbɛ́-ø

Present Resultative Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóré-jú-ŋ	yégóré-jó-ì	1	tímbúré-jú-ŋ	tímbúré-jó-ì
yégóré-jó-ò	yégóré-jé-è	2	tímbúré-jɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúré-jé-è
yégóré-jó-ø	yégóré-jù-yá	3	tímbúré-jɔ́-ø	tímbúré-jù-yá
Past Resultative Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégòrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yégòrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ì	1	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ì
yégòrè-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yégòrè-jù-bìyɛ́-è	2	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɛ́-è
yégòrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	yégòrè-bíy-yà	3	tímbùrè-jù-bìyɛ́-ø	tímbùrè-bíy-yà
Present Experiential Positive				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yògùrè-tì-jú-ŋ	yògùrè-tì-jú-ì	1	tìmbùrè-tì-jú-ŋ	tìmbùrè-tì-jú-ì
yògùrè-tì-jó-ò	yògùrè-tì-jé-è	2	tìmbùrè-tì-jɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùrè-tì-jɛ́-è
yògùrè-tì-jú-ø	yògùrè-tì-jú-yà	3	tìmbùrè-tì-jú-ø	tìmbùrè-tì-jú-yà
Present Perfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yègòráá-lú-ŋ	yègòráá-lí-ì	1	tìmbùráá-lú-ŋ	tìmbùráá-lí-ì
yègòráá-ló-ò	yègòráá-lé-è	2	tìmbùráá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùráá-lɛ́-è
yègòráá-l-ø	yègòráá-l-íyà	3	tìmbùráá-l-ø	tìmbùráá-l-íyà
Past Perfective Negative I				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yègòrè-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	yègòrè-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	tìmbùrè-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	tìmbùrè-bìyáá-lí-ì
yègòrè-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	yègòrè-bìyáá-lɛ́-è	2	tìmbùrè-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùrè-bìyáá-lɛ́-è
yègòrè-bìyáá-l-ø	yègòrè-bíyáá-l-ìyá	3	tìmbùrè-bìyáá-l-ø	tìmbùrè-bíyáá-l-ìyá

Past Perfective Negative II				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yègòráá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	yègòráá-l-bìyɛ́-ì	1	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɛ́-ŋ	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɛ́-ì
yègòráá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	yègòráá-l-bìyɛ́-è	2	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɛ́-è
yègòráá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	yègòráá-l-bìy-yá	3	tìmbùráá-l-bìyɛ́-ø	tìmbùráá-l-bìy-yá

Present Progressive Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóré-làà-jù-nnù-ŋ	yégóré-làà-jù-nn-í	1	tímbúré-làà-jù-nnù-ŋ	tímbúré-làà-jù-nn-í
yégóré-làà-jù-nn-ó	yégóré-làà-jù-nn-é	2	tímbúré-làà-jù-nn-ɔ́	tímbúré-làà-jù-nn-é
yégóré-làà-jù-nnú-ø	yégóré-làà-jù-nn-ìyá	3	tímbúré-làà-jù-nnú-ø	tímbúré-làà-jù-nn-ìyá

Past Progressive Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóré-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	yégóré-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	tímbúré-làà-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	tímbúré-làà-bìyáá-lí-ì
yégóré-làà-bìyáá-ló-ò	yégóré-làà-bìyáá-lé-è	2	tímbúré-làà-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúré-làà-bìyáá-lé-è
yégóré-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	yégóré-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà	3	tímbúré-làà-bìyáá-l-ø	tímbúré-làà-bìyáá-l-íyà

Present Imperfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yègòré-nnù-ŋ	yègòré-nn-ì	1	tìmbùré-nnù-ŋ	tìmbùré-nn-ì
yègòré-nn-ò	yègòré-nn-è	2	tìmbùré-nn-ɔ̀	tìmbùré-nn-è
yègòré-nn-ù	yègòré-nn-ìyà	3	tìmbùré-nn-ù	tìmbùré-nn-ìyà

Past Imperfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégòrò-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	yégòrò-m-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lí-ì
yégòrò-m-bìyáá-ló-ò	yégòrò-m-bìyáá-lé-è	2	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-lɛ́-è
yégòrò-m-bìyáá-l-ø	yégòrò-m-bìyáá-l-íyà	3	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-ø	tímbùrɔ̀-m-bìyáá-l-íyà

Future Imperfective Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégòrò-mbò-nnú-ŋ	yégòrò-mbò-nn-ì	1	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ŋ	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-ì
yégòrò-mbò-nn-ó	yégòrò-mbò-nn-é	2	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɔ́	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ɛ́
yégòrò-mbò-nnú-ø	yégòrò-mbò-nn-ìyá	3	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nnú-ø	tímbùrɔ̀-mbɔ̀-nn-ìyá
Present Resultative Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóré-jù-nnù-ŋ	yégóré-jù-nn-í	1	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nnù-ŋ	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nn-í
yégóré-jù-nn-ó	yégóré-jù-nn-é	2	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nn-ɔ́	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nn-ɛ́
yégóré-jù-nnú-ø	yégóré-jù-nn-ìyá	3	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nnú-ø	tímbúrɛ́-jù-nn-ìyá
Past Resultative Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóré-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	yégóré-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì	1	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lú-ŋ	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lí-ì
yégóré-jù-bìyáá-ló-ò	yégóré-jù-bìyáá-lé-è	2	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
yégóré-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	yégóré-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà	3	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-ø	tímbúrɛ́-jù-bìyáá-l-íyà
Present Experiential Negative				
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yègòrè-táá-lú-ŋ	yègòrè-táá-lí-ì	1	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-lú-ŋ	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-lí-ì
yègòrè-táá-ló-ò	yègòrè-táá-lé-è	2	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-lɔ́-ɔ̀	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-lɛ́-ɛ̀
yègòrè-táá-l-ø	yègòrè-táá-l-íyà	3	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-l-ø	tìmbùrɛ̀-táá-l-íyà

		Imperative		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóró-ø	yégóró-ŋ	2	tímbúrá-ø	tímbúrá-ŋ
		Prohibitive		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yègòrè-lá-ø	yègòrè-lá-ŋ	2	tìmbùrè-lá-ø	tìmbùrè-lá-ŋ
		Hortative Positive		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yègòrè-má-ø	yègòrè-má-ŋ	1	tìmbùrè-má-ø	tìmbùrè-má-ŋ
		Inhibitive		
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
yégóré-nn-í-ø	yégóró-nn-í-yá	1	tímbúré-nn-í-o	tímbúró-nn-í-yá

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