**A Grammar of Cliffs Jenaama (Bozo, Mali)**

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**Contents**

[1 Introduction 1](#_Toc115206317)

[1.1 Bozo languages 1](#_Toc115206318)

[1.1.1 Geography and neighboring ethnicities 1](#_Toc115206319)

[1.1.2 Jenaama varieties: languages or dialects? 4](#_Toc115206320)

[1.2 Environment 5](#_Toc115206321)

[1.3 Previous and contemporary study of Jenaama 6](#_Toc115206322)

[1.3.1 Previous work 6](#_Toc115206323)

[1.3.2 Fieldwork 7](#_Toc115206324)

[1.3.3 Acknowledgements 7](#_Toc115206325)

[2 Sketch 8](#_Toc115206326)

[2.1 Phonology 8](#_Toc115206327)

[2.1.1 Segmental phonology 8](#_Toc115206328)

[2.1.2 Tones and tonal diacritics 9](#_Toc115206329)

[2.1.3 Tone sandhi 10](#_Toc115206330)

[2.1.4 Tonal morphophonology and tonal ablaut 10](#_Toc115206331)

[2.1.5 Terminal intonation 11](#_Toc115206332)

[2.2 Verbal and clausal inflection 11](#_Toc115206333)

[2.2.1 Pfv and Ipfv stems of verbs 11](#_Toc115206334)

[2.2.2 Suffixal derivation of verb stems 12](#_Toc115206335)

[2.2.3 Clause-level inflections (TAMP) 12](#_Toc115206336)

[2.3 Noun phrase (NP) 12](#_Toc115206337)

[2.4 Case-marking and PPs 13](#_Toc115206338)

[2.5 Relative clauses 13](#_Toc115206339)

[2.6 Interclausal syntax 14](#_Toc115206340)

[3 Phonology 15](#_Toc115206341)

[3.1 Internal phonological structure of stems and words 15](#_Toc115206342)

[3.1.1 Syllables 15](#_Toc115206343)

[3.1.2 Word-internal metrical structure 16](#_Toc115206344)

[3.2 Consonants 16](#_Toc115206345)

[3.2.1 Stem-final consonants 17](#_Toc115206346)

[3.2.2 Palatoalveolar glide (ɥ) 17](#_Toc115206347)

[3.2.3 Alveopalatals (c j) 18](#_Toc115206348)

[3.2.4 Labial fricative f 18](#_Toc115206349)

[3.2.5 Voiceless stops (p t k) and voiced stops (b d g) 19](#_Toc115206350)

[3.2.6 Labial velars (absent) 19](#_Toc115206351)

[3.2.7 Laryngeals (h ʔ) 19](#_Toc115206352)

[3.2.8 Sibilants (s ʃ z ʒ) 19](#_Toc115206353)

[3.2.9 Nonnasal sonorants (l, r, w, y) 19](#_Toc115206354)

[3.2.10 Nasalized sonorants 20](#_Toc115206355)

[3.2.10.1 Status of wⁿ and yⁿ 20](#_Toc115206356)

[3.2.10.2 rⁿ not a phoneme 23](#_Toc115206357)

[3.2.11 Consonant clusters 24](#_Toc115206358)

[3.2.11.1 Stem-initial NC 24](#_Toc115206359)

[3.2.11.2 Stem-initial Cw and Cy clusters 24](#_Toc115206360)

[3.2.11.3 Medial CC and CCC clusters 26](#_Toc115206361)

[3.2.11.4 Final CC clusters 27](#_Toc115206362)

[3.2.12 Historical linguistic significance of verb-stem alternations 27](#_Toc115206363)

[3.2.12.1 Unusual bisyllabic stem variants 27](#_Toc115206364)

[3.2.12.2 bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ 28](#_Toc115206365)

[3.3 Vowels 28](#_Toc115206366)

[3.3.1 High back unrounded vowel ɯ 29](#_Toc115206367)

[3.3.2 Short and long vowels 31](#_Toc115206368)

[3.3.3 Nasalized vowels 32](#_Toc115206369)

[3.3.4 Initial vowels 33](#_Toc115206370)

[3.3.5 Stem-final vowels 33](#_Toc115206371)

[3.3.6 ATR harmony and Back/Rounding Harmony 33](#_Toc115206372)

[3.3.7 Diphthongs 34](#_Toc115206373)

[3.3.8 Front rounded [y] absent 34](#_Toc115206374)

[3.3.9 Vocalic sound symbolism 34](#_Toc115206375)

[3.3.10 Diphthongization of ɔ to wa absent 34](#_Toc115206376)

[3.4 Segmental phonological rules 35](#_Toc115206377)

[3.4.1 Local segmental processes 35](#_Toc115206378)

[3.4.1.1 l → d and l → w (in independent pronouns and with QTop lāā) 35](#_Toc115206379)

[3.4.1.2 vv-Contraction 35](#_Toc115206380)

[3.4.2 Processeses involving nasality 36](#_Toc115206381)

[3.4.2.1 Word-final vⁿ alternating with vN within phrases 36](#_Toc115206382)

[3.4.2.2 Final wⁿ alternating with homorganic nasal within phrases 42](#_Toc115206383)

[3.4.2.3 Denasalization 43](#_Toc115206384)

[3.4.2.3.1 Denasalization in vv-Contraction and vowel sequences 43](#_Toc115206385)

[3.4.2.3.2 Denasalization in Pfv/Ipfv verb stems 44](#_Toc115206386)

[3.4.2.3.3 Denasalization of 2Sg āⁿ before BCM yè or a-initial proclitic 44](#_Toc115206387)

[3.4.2.4 ɲ#j with yè ‘said’ 44](#_Toc115206388)

[3.4.3 Apocope and Syncope 45](#_Toc115206389)

[3.4.3.1 Apocope (deletion of final u) 45](#_Toc115206390)

[3.4.3.2 Syncope 45](#_Toc115206391)

[3.5 Cliticization 46](#_Toc115206392)

[3.6 Tones 46](#_Toc115206393)

[3.6.1 Lexical tone melodies 48](#_Toc115206394)

[3.6.1.1 Summary of lexical tone melodies of verb stems 48](#_Toc115206395)

[3.6.1.2 Summary of lexical tone melodies for noun stems 49](#_Toc115206396)

[3.6.1.3 Rising melodies: …LH… versus …LM… in nouns 50](#_Toc115206397)

[3.6.1.4 Examples of tonal melodies of nouns 50](#_Toc115206398)

[3.6.1.5 Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals 55](#_Toc115206399)

[3.6.1.6 Tone-break location for bitonal verb stems 55](#_Toc115206400)

[3.6.1.7 Tone-break location for tritonal verb stems 56](#_Toc115206401)

[3.6.1.8 Tone-break location for bitonal non-verb stems 56](#_Toc115206402)

[3.6.1.9 Tone-break location for tritonal non-verb stems 58](#_Toc115206403)

[3.6.2 Grammatical tone patterns 59](#_Toc115206404)

[3.6.2.1 Grammatical tone motifications for verb stems 59](#_Toc115206405)

[3.6.2.2 Grammatical tone modifications for noun stems 59](#_Toc115206406)

[3.6.3 Tonal ablaut (morphophonology) 60](#_Toc115206407)

[3.6.3.1 Floating-Tone Docking 60](#_Toc115206408)

[3.6.3.1.1 After 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) 60](#_Toc115206409)

[3.6.3.1.2 After prenominal demonstratives kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) and ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M) 62](#_Toc115206410)

[3.6.3.2 Tone Leveling 64](#_Toc115206411)

[3.6.4 Low-level tone rules 64](#_Toc115206412)

[3.6.4.1 Upstep absent 64](#_Toc115206413)

[3.6.4.2 Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading 64](#_Toc115206414)

[3.6.4.3 M-Tone Spreading 66](#_Toc115206415)

[3.6.4.4 Final Tone-Raising (L#L to M#L) 67](#_Toc115206416)

[3.6.4.5 M#H-to-L#H 69](#_Toc115206417)

[3.6.4.6 Tonal assimilations and dissimilations in post-subject morphemes 70](#_Toc115206418)

[3.6.5 Downstep and downdrift 70](#_Toc115206419)

[3.6.5.1 Downstep 71](#_Toc115206420)

[3.6.5.2 Downdrift and prepausal pitch-drop 71](#_Toc115206421)

[3.7 Word- or phrase-final intonation effects 71](#_Toc115206422)

[3.7.1 Final H‑tone 71](#_Toc115206423)

[3.7.2 Falling pitch and prolongation at planned pause 72](#_Toc115206424)

[3.7.3 Paired incompletion and completion terminal intonation effects 73](#_Toc115206425)

[4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology 74](#_Toc115206426)

[4.1 Nouns 74](#_Toc115206427)

[4.1.1 Simple nouns (singular, plural) 74](#_Toc115206428)

[4.1.2 Key nouns (‘woman’, ‘man’, ‘child’, ‘person’, ‘thing’, ‘place’) 76](#_Toc115206429)

[4.1.3 Collectives with ‑àmà (absent) 77](#_Toc115206430)

[4.1.4 Nouns with lexicalized full-stem iteration 77](#_Toc115206431)

[4.1.5 Definite singular suffix (absent) 78](#_Toc115206432)

[4.1.6 Associative plural X wùlēē/kùlēē ‘X and family/group’ 78](#_Toc115206433)

[4.2 Derived nominals 78](#_Toc115206434)

[4.2.1 Deverbal nominalizations 78](#_Toc115206435)

[4.2.1.1 Bare verbal noun identical to Pfv stem 78](#_Toc115206436)

[4.2.1.2 CvCe/ɛ verbal nouns 79](#_Toc115206437)

[4.2.1.3 Verbal noun with suffix -gù/-gū 80](#_Toc115206438)

[4.2.1.4 Participial -na as resultative verbal noun 82](#_Toc115206439)

[4.2.1.5 Place nominals 85](#_Toc115206440)

[4.2.1.5.1 Place nominal with suffix -gàwⁿ 85](#_Toc115206441)

[4.2.1.5.2 Place nominal with -lōgū ‘mouth’ as final 86](#_Toc115206442)

[4.2.2 Uncompounded agentives (-yà ~ -yɛ̀) 86](#_Toc115206443)

[4.2.3 Deadjectival abstractives (-àmà) 87](#_Toc115206444)

[4.2.4 Gentilic nominals with -ŋga suffix after spatial noun 88](#_Toc115206445)

[4.3 Pronouns 88](#_Toc115206446)

[4.3.1 Summary of personal pronouns 88](#_Toc115206447)

[4.3.2 Vocalic pronominals and the bidirectional case marker (BCM) 89](#_Toc115206448)

[4.3.2.1 Vocalic subject pronominals before the BCM 89](#_Toc115206449)

[4.3.2.2 Vocalic object pronominals after the BCM 90](#_Toc115206450)

[4.3.2.3 Two vocalic pronominal proclitics flanking the BCM 92](#_Toc115206451)

[4.3.3 Vocalic pronominals and post-subject inflectional particles 95](#_Toc115206452)

[4.3.4 1Sg and LogoSg (nasal pronominal proclitics) 96](#_Toc115206453)

[4.3.4.1 1Sg and LogoSg subjects of perfective positives 97](#_Toc115206454)

[4.3.4.1.1 Intransitive perfective positives 97](#_Toc115206455)

[4.3.4.1.2 Transitive perfective positives with BCM =nàⁿ 97](#_Toc115206456)

[4.3.4.1.3 Cliffs BCM allomorph =nàⁿ versus Djenné post-1Sg nà 101](#_Toc115206457)

[4.3.4.2 1Sg ŋ̀ and LogoSg ŋ̄ subjects before inflectional morphemes 101](#_Toc115206458)

[4.3.4.3 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̀ as nonsubjects 102](#_Toc115206459)

[4.3.4.3.1 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̄ as objects 102](#_Toc115206460)

[4.3.4.3.2 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̄ as possessors 104](#_Toc115206461)

[4.3.4.3.3 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̄ as postpositional complements 104](#_Toc115206462)

[4.4 Determiners 105](#_Toc115206463)

[4.4.1 Definite gu 105](#_Toc115206464)

[4.4.2 ‘This/that’ (prenominal demonstratives) 106](#_Toc115206465)

[4.4.3 Demonstrative adverbs 107](#_Toc115206466)

[4.4.3.1 Locative adverbs 107](#_Toc115206467)

[4.4.3.2 Deictic manner adverb or verb (kìyɛ̀wⁿ) 108](#_Toc115206468)

[4.4.4 Presentatives 109](#_Toc115206469)

[4.4.4.1 kāy ~ kày (‘here’s …!’) 109](#_Toc115206470)

[4.4.4.2 Grammar and functions of presentative 111](#_Toc115206471)

[4.5 Adjectives 112](#_Toc115206472)

[4.5.1 Modifying adjectives 112](#_Toc115206473)

[4.5.1.1 Morphologically simple modifying adjectives 113](#_Toc115206474)

[4.5.1.2 Diminutive adjectives 114](#_Toc115206475)

[4.5.1.2.1 Adjectives with suffix -gu 114](#_Toc115206476)

[4.5.1.2.2 dɛ̀gɛ̀‑náwⁿ ~ dɛ́gɛ́-náwⁿ ‘small’ 115](#_Toc115206477)

[4.5.1.3 Adjective-like participles with suffix ‑nà 115](#_Toc115206478)

[4.5.2 Exemplars as “adjectives” 116](#_Toc115206479)

[4.6 Numerals 117](#_Toc115206480)

[4.6.1 Cardinal numerals 117](#_Toc115206481)

[4.6.1.1 ‘One’ (kēẁⁿ, sànnā) and ‘same (one)’ 117](#_Toc115206482)

[4.6.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’ as postnominal modifiers 118](#_Toc115206483)

[4.6.1.3 ‘1’ to ‘10’ in the counting recitation 119](#_Toc115206484)

[4.6.1.4 Decimal multiples (‘10’, ‘20’, …) and composites (‘11’, ‘59’, …) 120](#_Toc115206485)

[4.6.1.5 Large numerals (‘100’, ‘1000’, …) and their composites 122](#_Toc115206486)

[4.6.1.6 Currency 122](#_Toc115206487)

[4.6.1.7 Distributive iteration of numerals 122](#_Toc115206488)

[4.6.2 Ordinal adjectives 123](#_Toc115206489)

[4.6.2.1 ‘First’ (pānāāⁿ) and ‘last’ (dāgālē) 124](#_Toc115206490)

[4.6.2.2 Other ordinals (-ànà*)* 124](#_Toc115206491)

[4.6.3 Fractions and portions 125](#_Toc115206492)

[5 Nominal and adjectival compounds 126](#_Toc115206493)

[5.1 Nominal compounds 126](#_Toc115206494)

[5.1.1 Nasal linker between initial and final 126](#_Toc115206495)

[5.1.2 Possessor-possessum type versus tone-leveled compounds 126](#_Toc115206496)

[5.1.3 Compounds resembling possessor-possessum NPs 127](#_Toc115206497)

[5.1.3.1 With simple initials 127](#_Toc115206498)

[5.1.3.2 With plural initials 128](#_Toc115206499)

[5.1.4 Compounds with tone-leveled initial 128](#_Toc115206500)

[5.1.5 Compounds with tonally modified finals 130](#_Toc115206501)

[5.1.5.1 Final raised from /L/ melody to M 130](#_Toc115206502)

[5.1.5.2 H-final compounds 131](#_Toc115206503)

[5.1.5.2.1 H-final compounds from temporal subject-verb collocations 131](#_Toc115206504)

[5.1.5.2.2 H-final compounds with spatial PP initials for habitat 132](#_Toc115206505)

[5.1.5.2.3 H-final compounds with noun-verb initials for an activity 132](#_Toc115206506)

[5.1.5.2.4 H-final compounds based on sīī ‘breed’ 133](#_Toc115206507)

[5.1.5.2.5 -kɯ́lɯ́ ‘lack’ 133](#_Toc115206508)

[5.1.6 Nominal compounds that include a verb stem 133](#_Toc115206509)

[5.1.6.1 Verbal-noun final with incorporated object as initial 133](#_Toc115206510)

[5.1.6.2 Agentive compounds with incorporated object 135](#_Toc115206511)

[5.1.6.3 Place-of-action nominal (-gàwⁿ) plus incorporated noun as initial 136](#_Toc115206512)

[5.1.6.4 Function-specifying compounds with included verbal noun 137](#_Toc115206513)

[5.1.7 Diminutives and ‘X-child’ compounds 138](#_Toc115206514)

[5.1.7.1 Diminutives with -náwⁿ 138](#_Toc115206515)

[5.1.7.2 Diminutive and not-so-diminutive -lɛ̄wⁿ (plural -lɛ̄m-bē) 139](#_Toc115206516)

[5.1.7.3 Compounds with ‘child’ as final (-dyɛ̄wⁿ, ‑jēwⁿ , ‑jéwⁿ) 141](#_Toc115206517)

[5.1.8 Compounds with tùgù ‘owner’ 142](#_Toc115206518)

[5.1.9 ‘Male’ (‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū) and ‘female’ (‑yūgōⁿ) as compound finals 143](#_Toc115206519)

[5.1.10 ‘True’ versus ‘false’ 145](#_Toc115206520)

[5.1.10.1 Compound final ŋɔ́mɔ̄ ~ ŋɔ́mɛ̄ ‘false’ 145](#_Toc115206521)

[5.1.10.2 Possessive natural-species compounds 146](#_Toc115206522)

[5.1.11 Noun-verb-noun compounds 147](#_Toc115206523)

[5.2 Adjectival compounds 147](#_Toc115206524)

[5.2.1 Bahuvrihi compounds 147](#_Toc115206525)

[5.2.1.1 With adjectival final 147](#_Toc115206526)

[5.2.1.2 With numeral final 149](#_Toc115206527)

[5.2.2 Other composite adjectives 150](#_Toc115206528)

[6 Noun Phrase structure 151](#_Toc115206529)

[6.1 Organization of NP constituents 151](#_Toc115206530)

[6.1.1 Linear order within multi-word NPs 151](#_Toc115206531)

[6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.) 152](#_Toc115206532)

[6.2 Possessives 153](#_Toc115206533)

[6.2.1 Alienability 153](#_Toc115206534)

[6.2.1.1 Special non-kin forms of kàà ‘father’ 154](#_Toc115206535)

[6.2.2 Form of possessum 154](#_Toc115206536)

[6.2.2.1 No tonal changes except after 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) 154](#_Toc115206537)

[6.2.2.2 Default possessum pàwⁿ 155](#_Toc115206538)

[6.2.3 Nonpronominal possessors 155](#_Toc115206539)

[6.2.4 Pronominal possessors 156](#_Toc115206540)

[6.2.5 Recursive possession 157](#_Toc115206541)

[6.3 Core NP (noun plus adjective) 157](#_Toc115206542)

[6.3.1 Tonal interactions between noun and modifying adjective 157](#_Toc115206543)

[6.3.1.1 Noun plus uncompounded M- or H-initial modifying adjective 157](#_Toc115206544)

[6.3.1.2 Noun plus LH‑toned adjective 162](#_Toc115206545)

[6.3.1.3 tīnāāⁿ ‘other’ 164](#_Toc115206546)

[6.3.2 Set-partitioning quantificational modifiers (‘some’, ‘a certain’) 164](#_Toc115206547)

[6.3.2.1 ‘Certain (ones)’ (pɔ̄-yē, tàá-yè) 164](#_Toc115206548)

[6.3.2.2 ‘A certain one’ (kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ) 164](#_Toc115206549)

[6.3.2.3 Mass-partitioning ‘some (but not all)’ 165](#_Toc115206550)

[6.3.2.4 Distributive-paucal ‘some (times, places)’ 165](#_Toc115206551)

[6.3.3 Expansions of adjective 167](#_Toc115206552)

[6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences 167](#_Toc115206553)

[6.3.3.2 Basic adjective plus quantificational modifieer 169](#_Toc115206554)

[6.3.3.3 Adjectival intensifiers 169](#_Toc115206555)

[6.3.3.4 ‘Good to eat’ 169](#_Toc115206556)

[6.4 Noun or N-Adj plus numeral 170](#_Toc115206557)

[6.4.1 Regular N-Num and N-Adj-Num sequences 170](#_Toc115206558)

[6.4.1.1 Combination of noun plus numeral ‘1’ 170](#_Toc115206559)

[6.4.1.2 Combination of noun plus numeral ‘2’ to ‘10’ 171](#_Toc115206560)

[6.4.1.3 Combination of noun plus decimal numeral 172](#_Toc115206561)

[6.4.1.4 Combination of noun plus higher numeral 172](#_Toc115206562)

[6.4.2 ‘Many’ and ‘few’ 173](#_Toc115206563)

[6.4.2.1 pāà-lōwⁿ ~ pāà-lēwⁿ ‘many/much’ 173](#_Toc115206564)

[6.4.2.2 dāmā-dāmā ‘a few, a little of’ 174](#_Toc115206565)

[6.5 NP with determiner 175](#_Toc115206566)

[6.5.1 Prenominal demonstrative plus noun 175](#_Toc115206567)

[6.5.1.1 Floating M with prenominal demonstrative kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) or ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M) 175](#_Toc115206568)

[6.5.2 Definite gu following noun (and inner modifiers) 176](#_Toc115206569)

[6.6 Universal and distributive quantifiers 176](#_Toc115206570)

[6.6.1 ‘All’ (sāāⁿ) 176](#_Toc115206571)

[6.6.2 Quantifiers with negation 177](#_Toc115206572)

[6.6.2.1 Negation and sāāⁿ ‘all’ 177](#_Toc115206573)

[6.6.2.2 síí and -sí ‘not) any’ 178](#_Toc115206574)

[6.7 Accusative (absent) 179](#_Toc115206575)

[7 Coordination 180](#_Toc115206576)

[7.1 Conjunction (yèⁿ or yèhīīnì) 180](#_Toc115206577)

[7.1.1 NP conjunction 180](#_Toc115206578)

[7.1.2 Three or more conjuncts 181](#_Toc115206579)

[7.1.3 Pronouns as conjuncts 182](#_Toc115206580)

[7.1.4 Plural NPs as both left and right conjuncts 182](#_Toc115206581)

[7.1.5 Preferential ordering of coordinands 183](#_Toc115206582)

[7.1.6 Reflexive possessor ŋ̄ in right conjunct 184](#_Toc115206583)

[7.1.7 ‘X and Y’ with a broad-scope modifier 184](#_Toc115206584)

[7.1.8 ‘X and Y’ with a shared postposition 185](#_Toc115206585)

[7.1.9 Conjunctions under the scope of negation 186](#_Toc115206586)

[7.1.10 Lists (incompleteness intonation plus yèhīīnì) 187](#_Toc115206587)

[7.1.11 “Conjunction” of verbs, VPs, and clauses 188](#_Toc115206588)

[7.2 Disjunction 188](#_Toc115206589)

[7.2.1 ‘Or’ (wàlì, wàlì-màà) 188](#_Toc115206590)

[7.2.2 ‘X? or Y?’ (X tà→ (~ là→), nà→ Y) 189](#_Toc115206591)

[8 Postpositions and adverbials 190](#_Toc115206592)

[8.1 Dative, instrumental, and comitative 190](#_Toc115206593)

[8.1.1 Dative 190](#_Toc115206594)

[8.1.1.1 Dative tē 190](#_Toc115206595)

[8.1.1.2 Dative nā 192](#_Toc115206596)

[8.1.2 Instrumental and comitative 194](#_Toc115206597)

[8.1.2.1 Instrumental (nī) 194](#_Toc115206598)

[8.1.2.1.1 nī versus nì 194](#_Toc115206599)

[8.1.2.1.2 Functions of instrumental nī 194](#_Toc115206600)

[8.1.2.1.3 Focalized instrumental ní 197](#_Toc115206601)

[8.1.2.2 Comitative PPs 200](#_Toc115206602)

[8.1.2.2.1 Forms of comitative postpositions (bwɛ̄ỳ, pà) 200](#_Toc115206603)

[8.1.2.2.2 Functions of postpositions bwɛ̄ỳ and pà 200](#_Toc115206604)

[8.2 Spatial postpositions 205](#_Toc115206605)

[8.2.1 Spatial NPs without postposition 205](#_Toc115206606)

[8.2.2 Locative, allative, and ablative senses 205](#_Toc115206607)

[8.2.3 Suffixal locative (-ỳ) and tonal locative 206](#_Toc115206608)

[8.2.3.1 -ỳ or final tone drop with nouns 206](#_Toc115206609)

[8.2.3.2 ‘X care about it’ 207](#_Toc115206610)

[8.2.3.3 Tonal locative with final H‑tone on place names 208](#_Toc115206611)

[8.2.3.4 ML to HL after H-tone 208](#_Toc115206612)

[8.2.4 Locational postpositions (‘in’, ‘at’, ‘on’) 209](#_Toc115206613)

[8.2.4.1 ‘In(side) X’ (nìŋīì) 209](#_Toc115206614)

[8.2.4.2 Locative ‘at (well)’ or ‘on (body)’ (kānà) 209](#_Toc115206615)

[8.2.4.3 ‘Chez, at the place of’ (X kāẁⁿ) 210](#_Toc115206616)

[8.2.4.4 tóⁿ and tōⁿ 210](#_Toc115206617)

[8.2.4.4.1 tōⁿ as complement of ‘forget’ 211](#_Toc115206618)

[8.2.4.4.2 tóⁿ ‘in/at the place of’ as postposition 211](#_Toc115206619)

[8.2.4.5 ‘In the middle of’ (X bōgì) 212](#_Toc115206620)

[8.2.5 Postpositions of proximity 213](#_Toc115206621)

[8.2.5.1 ‘At the edge of’ (lāgà) 213](#_Toc115206622)

[8.2.5.2 ‘Next to, beside X’ (X sɔ̄gɔ̀y and X sɔ́gɔ́-bwɛ̄ỳ) 213](#_Toc115206623)

[8.2.5.3 ‘Next to, beside X’ (X kùwóm bwɛ̄ỳ) 215](#_Toc115206624)

[8.2.5.4 ‘In the whole area’ (gìyɛ̀lɛ̀-gíyɛ́lɛ́) 215](#_Toc115206625)

[8.2.6 Postpositions of alignment 215](#_Toc115206626)

[8.2.6.1 ‘Between’ ([X yèⁿ Y] nàŋāà) 215](#_Toc115206627)

[8.2.7 Postpositions of spatial relationship 216](#_Toc115206628)

[8.2.7.1 ‘On X’ or ‘over X’ (X kūmà) 216](#_Toc115206629)

[8.2.7.2 ‘In front of’ (X tīgàà*)* 217](#_Toc115206630)

[8.2.7.3 ‘In front of, facing X’ ([X mūūm] bwɛ̄ỳ) 218](#_Toc115206631)

[8.2.7.4 ‘Behind X’ and ‘after X’ (X kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ*)* 219](#_Toc115206632)

[8.2.7.5 ‘Below/under X’ (X mūù) 220](#_Toc115206633)

[8.2.8 ‘Upper’ and ‘lower’ 220](#_Toc115206634)

[8.2.9 ‘Toward X’ or ‘around X’ (X bààcɛ́wⁿ) 221](#_Toc115206635)

[8.3 ‘For’ and ‘because of’ 221](#_Toc115206636)

[8.3.1 Purposive-causal ‘for’ (lāgà) 221](#_Toc115206637)

[8.3.2 ‘For the sake of (someone)’ (kāmà) 222](#_Toc115206638)

[8.4 Other adverbs (or equivalents) 223](#_Toc115206639)

[8.4.1 Similarity (‘like X’) 223](#_Toc115206640)

[8.4.1.1 Predicate ‘Y be like X’ (síí, nùmɛ̄wⁿ) 223](#_Toc115206641)

[8.4.1.2 Adverbial ‘like X’ (hɔ̀nɔ̀) 224](#_Toc115206642)

[8.4.2 Specificity 225](#_Toc115206643)

[8.4.2.1 ‘Specific(ally), personally’ (jáátī) 225](#_Toc115206644)

[8.4.3 Extent 226](#_Toc115206645)

[8.4.3.1 ‘A lot, greatly’ (máɲɛ̀, yāālōⁿ) 226](#_Toc115206646)

[8.4.3.2 ‘A little, somewhat’ (lɛ̄wⁿ, pā-lɛ̄wⁿ) 226](#_Toc115206647)

[8.4.4 Evaluation 227](#_Toc115206648)

[8.4.4.1 ‘Well’ (máɲɛ̀) and ‘badly’ 227](#_Toc115206649)

[8.4.5 Deadjectival and other manner adverbials 228](#_Toc115206650)

[8.4.5.1 ‘Fast, quickly’ and ‘slowly’ 228](#_Toc115206651)

[8.4.5.2 Adverbial ‘far’ and ‘near’ 228](#_Toc115206652)

[8.4.6 Spatiotemporal adverbials 229](#_Toc115206653)

[8.4.6.1 Temporal adverbs 229](#_Toc115206654)

[8.4.6.2 ‘First(ly)’ (sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì), ‘later’ (sāà‑gù kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ), and ‘not yet’ 230](#_Toc115206655)

[8.4.6.3 ‘Still’ and ‘still (has) not’ (hàlì sāà‑gù, hàlī wày) 231](#_Toc115206656)

[8.4.6.4 Spatial adverbs 232](#_Toc115206657)

[8.4.6.5 Adjectival intensifiers 233](#_Toc115206658)

[8.4.6.6 Iterated adjectives for ‘(color)-ish’ and for distributivity 233](#_Toc115206659)

[8.4.7 Expressive adverbials 234](#_Toc115206660)

[9 Verbal derivation 235](#_Toc115206661)

[9.1 Causative 235](#_Toc115206662)

[9.1.1 Causative suffix -ni 235](#_Toc115206663)

[9.1.2 Pseudo-causative of ‘come’ (bīyɛ̀-nì) and ‘go’ (sāā-nì) 236](#_Toc115206664)

[9.1.3 Causative of sē/sē ‘say’ 237](#_Toc115206665)

[9.1.4 Causative ‘make X VP’ phrased as ‘tell X to VP’ 238](#_Toc115206666)

[9.2 No productive passive or antipassive derivations 238](#_Toc115206667)

[9.3 Phonological mutations in verbal derivation 238](#_Toc115206668)

[9.3.1 a/ɔ ~ ɛ and o ~ e mutations 238](#_Toc115206669)

[9.3.1.1 Transitivity pairs with final e/ɛ in antipassive intransitive 238](#_Toc115206670)

[9.3.1.2 Other mutations to verb-final e/ɛ 239](#_Toc115206671)

[9.3.2 Transitivity pair with uu ~ wii alternation 240](#_Toc115206672)

[9.3.3 Shift of final ɛ to (a)y for locative sense 241](#_Toc115206673)

[9.3.4 No special derivation for dō/dō ‘give’ 242](#_Toc115206674)

[9.4 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs 242](#_Toc115206675)

[9.4.1 Modifiers that lack an inchoative counterpart 242](#_Toc115206676)

[9.4.2 Inchoatives without a derivational suffix 243](#_Toc115206677)

[9.4.3 Inchoatives with -(aa)ma 244](#_Toc115206678)

[9.4.4 Inchoatives with -ga ~ -gɛ and -ga-ama 245](#_Toc115206679)

[9.4.5 Iteration of Ipfv verb stems 246](#_Toc115206680)

[10 Verbal inflection 247](#_Toc115206681)

[10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs 247](#_Toc115206682)

[10.1.1 Overview of AN categories 247](#_Toc115206683)

[10.1.2 Verb stem shapes 250](#_Toc115206684)

[10.1.2.1 Bisyllabic and longer verb stems 250](#_Toc115206685)

[10.1.2.2 Monosyllabic verb stems 251](#_Toc115206686)

[10.1.3 Pfv and Ipfv stems of verbs 252](#_Toc115206687)

[10.1.3.1 Ipfv is homophonous to Pfv 252](#_Toc115206688)

[10.1.3.2 Ipfv and Pfv differ in tones only 254](#_Toc115206689)

[10.1.3.3 Ipfv has a syllabic suffix 257](#_Toc115206690)

[10.1.3.3.1 Ipfv suffix -lv (-nv, -dv) with copied vowel 257](#_Toc115206691)

[10.1.3.3.2 Ipfv suffix -na 261](#_Toc115206692)

[10.1.4 Stative form of verbs (participial suffix -na) 263](#_Toc115206693)

[10.1.5 ‘Go’ and ‘come’ 265](#_Toc115206694)

[10.1.5.1 sò/sò ‘go’ 265](#_Toc115206695)

[10.1.5.2 bē/bē ‘come’ 266](#_Toc115206696)

[10.2 Indicative AN categories 267](#_Toc115206697)

[10.2.1 Perfective and perfect categories 267](#_Toc115206698)

[10.2.1.1 Simple perfective (positive and negative) of intransitive verbs 267](#_Toc115206699)

[10.2.1.2 Remote perfective (postverbal gà) 269](#_Toc115206700)

[10.2.1.3 Transitive perfective with forms of pronominal objects 270](#_Toc115206701)

[10.2.1.4 Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ (bāynà gà) 270](#_Toc115206702)

[10.2.1.5 Equivalents of completive perfect 271](#_Toc115206703)

[10.2.1.6 Perfective positive markers in subordinated clauses (post-subject gà, ɲàⁿ) 272](#_Toc115206704)

[10.2.2 Nonperfective categories 273](#_Toc115206705)

[10.2.2.1 Post-subject imperfective particles (positive gà/gā, negative nà/nā) 273](#_Toc115206706)

[10.2.2.2 Future (preverbal gà/gā bē, negative nà/nā bē) 276](#_Toc115206707)

[10.2.2.3 Presentative (kày ~ kāy) 278](#_Toc115206708)

[10.2.2.4 Subjunctive (gālà) 279](#_Toc115206709)

[10.2.2.5 Presentative stative and its negation 280](#_Toc115206710)

[10.3 Shift of reference time 281](#_Toc115206711)

[10.3.1 Shift to past time viewpoint 281](#_Toc115206712)

[10.3.2 Past imperfective (kōndō gà, negative tè kōndō) 281](#_Toc115206713)

[10.3.3 Past stative (kōndō gà, negative tè kōndō) 282](#_Toc115206714)

[10.3.4 Past perfect 283](#_Toc115206715)

[10.4 Imperatives and hortatives 283](#_Toc115206716)

[10.4.1 Imperatives and prohibitives 283](#_Toc115206717)

[10.4.1.1 Imperative (unsuffixed singular, plural yèⁿ) 284](#_Toc115206718)

[10.4.1.2 Form of pronominal objects in imperatives 286](#_Toc115206719)

[10.4.1.3 Prohibitive màⁿ (2Sg ām màⁿ, 2Pl āā màⁿ) 288](#_Toc115206720)

[10.4.1.4 hm̄ ‘here, take this!’ 288](#_Toc115206721)

[10.4.2 Hortatives 289](#_Toc115206722)

[10.4.2.1 Hortative (kèⁿ) 289](#_Toc115206723)

[10.4.2.2 Hortative negative (ē màⁿ) 290](#_Toc115206724)

[10.4.2.3 Combinations of two deontics 291](#_Toc115206725)

[10.4.3 Non-second person-subject deontics 292](#_Toc115206726)

[10.4.3.1 Wishes with third-person agent 292](#_Toc115206727)

[10.4.3.2 Clarifications with a first-person subject 292](#_Toc115206728)

[11 Clause, VP, and predicate structure 294](#_Toc115206729)

[11.1 Clausal constituents 294](#_Toc115206730)

[11.1.1 Subjects 294](#_Toc115206731)

[11.1.1.1 Subjects in indicative main clauses 294](#_Toc115206732)

[11.1.1.2 Temporal and meteorological collocations 296](#_Toc115206733)

[11.1.1.3 Emotion and bodily collocations 299](#_Toc115206734)

[11.1.1.4 Conveyance construction (motion verb plus instrumental PP) 302](#_Toc115206735)

[11.1.1.5 ‘(Don’t) care’ (pāāⁿ) 302](#_Toc115206736)

[11.1.2 Transitives and ditransitives 303](#_Toc115206737)

[11.1.2.1 Direct objects and the bidirectional case marker (BCM) 303](#_Toc115206738)

[11.1.2.1.1 BCM yè 304](#_Toc115206739)

[11.1.2.1.2 BCM =nàⁿ 305](#_Toc115206740)

[11.1.2.1.3 BCM absent in imperatives 306](#_Toc115206741)

[11.1.2.2 tīẁⁿ/tī-nà ‘do’ in collocations 306](#_Toc115206742)

[11.1.2.3 Ditransitives 307](#_Toc115206743)

[11.1.2.4 Valency of causatives 307](#_Toc115206744)

[11.1.3 True versus pro-forma reflexive transitives 309](#_Toc115206745)

[11.1.4 Verb phrase (VP) 311](#_Toc115206746)

[11.2 ‘Be’, ‘become’, and other statives and inchoatives 312](#_Toc115206747)

[11.2.1 Identificational predicates 312](#_Toc115206748)

[11.2.1.1 ‘It is X’ (nì) 312](#_Toc115206749)

[11.2.1.2 ‘It isn’t X’ 313](#_Toc115206750)

[11.2.2 Equational (copular) clauses 313](#_Toc115206751)

[11.2.2.1 ‘Y is X’ (Y gà X nì) 313](#_Toc115206752)

[11.2.2.2 ‘Y isn’t X’ (Y nàwⁿ X nì) 314](#_Toc115206753)

[11.2.3 Locational-existential ‘be’ 315](#_Toc115206754)

[11.2.3.1 ‘Is/are (present)’ (gà/gā) 315](#_Toc115206755)

[11.2.3.2 ‘Was/were (present)’ (kōndō gà) 316](#_Toc115206756)

[11.2.3.3 ‘Is/Are not (present)’ and ‘was/were not (present)’ 317](#_Toc115206757)

[11.2.4 ‘Become (noun)’, ‘happen’, and ‘remain’ predicates 318](#_Toc115206758)

[11.2.4.1 ‘Remain’ (kōndō) 318](#_Toc115206759)

[11.2.4.2 ‘Become, turn into’ (pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀) 318](#_Toc115206760)

[11.2.5 Mental and emotional statives 319](#_Toc115206761)

[11.2.5.1 ‘Know’ (tùyɛ̀/tò) 319](#_Toc115206762)

[11.2.5.2 ‘Want’ (pɔ̄gɔ̄, màà) and ‘need’ (mùrāārú) 321](#_Toc115206763)

[11.2.5.3 ‘Resemble’ (dɔ̀gɔ̀) 322](#_Toc115206764)

[11.3 Quotative verbs 322](#_Toc115206765)

[11.4 Adjectival predicates 322](#_Toc115206766)

[11.4.1 Stative adjectival predicates 322](#_Toc115206767)

[11.4.1.1 Participial predicates with -nā nì 323](#_Toc115206768)

[11.4.1.2 Pseudo-reflexive adjectival predicates 325](#_Toc115206769)

[11.4.1.3 Past adjectival predicates 328](#_Toc115206770)

[11.5 Possessive predicates 329](#_Toc115206771)

[11.5.1 ‘X have Y’ 329](#_Toc115206772)

[11.5.2 ‘Y belong to X’ predicates (pàn nì) 329](#_Toc115206773)

[12 Comparatives 331](#_Toc115206774)

[12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives 331](#_Toc115206775)

[12.1.1 With verb ‘(sur)pass’ (kīyɛ̄/kīyɛ̀ or stative kīyɛ̄-nā) 331](#_Toc115206776)

[12.1.1.1 ‘(Sur)pass’ as main verb 331](#_Toc115206777)

[12.1.1.2 ‘(Sur)pass’ as verb in infinitival VP 332](#_Toc115206778)

[12.1.2 Comparatives from pseudo-reflexive adjectival predicates 333](#_Toc115206779)

[12.1.3 ‘Be better’ (pàyò) 334](#_Toc115206780)

[12.1.4 Superlative ‘most’, ‘best’ 334](#_Toc115206781)

[12.2 Symmetrical comparatives 335](#_Toc115206782)

[12.2.1 Stative ‘be equal’ (kāwⁿ) 335](#_Toc115206783)

[12.2.2 Aspect-marking ‘become equal’ (kājàmà) 335](#_Toc115206784)

[12.2.3 bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ in the sense ‘equal (v)’ 336](#_Toc115206785)

[12.2.4 Adverbial ‘as much (as)’ 336](#_Toc115206786)

[12.2.4.1 With jàté ‘amount’ 336](#_Toc115206787)

[12.2.4.2 Phrased with ‘likeness’ and deverbal participle (suffix -nà) 337](#_Toc115206788)

[13 Focalization and interrogation 339](#_Toc115206789)

[13.1 Focalization 339](#_Toc115206790)

[13.1.1 Basic syntax of focalization 339](#_Toc115206791)

[13.1.2 Interaction of focalization and negation 339](#_Toc115206792)

[13.1.3 Final H‑tone in focalized constituents 340](#_Toc115206793)

[13.1.4 Subject focalization 343](#_Toc115206794)

[13.1.5 Object focalization 345](#_Toc115206795)

[13.1.6 Focalization of PP or other adverbial phrase 346](#_Toc115206796)

[13.1.6.1 Focalization of purposive-causal expression 346](#_Toc115206797)

[13.1.6.2 Focalization of temporal adverb 346](#_Toc115206798)

[13.1.6.3 Spatial and manner adverbs not focalizable 348](#_Toc115206799)

[13.1.7 “Interrogative” terminal prosody for weak focalization in indicatives 349](#_Toc115206800)

[13.2 Interrogatives 350](#_Toc115206801)

[13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives 350](#_Toc115206802)

[13.2.1.1 Clause-initial particles in polar interrogatives 350](#_Toc115206803)

[13.2.1.1.1 Clause-initial tāmà 350](#_Toc115206804)

[13.2.1.1.2 Clause-initial kò(rì) 351](#_Toc115206805)

[13.2.1.2 Polar interrogation by terminal pitch/tone change 351](#_Toc115206806)

[13.2.1.3 Disjunctive polar interrogatives (tà→ ~ là→, nà) 355](#_Toc115206807)

[13.2.1.4 Tag question 355](#_Toc115206808)

[13.2.2 Content (WH) interrogatives 356](#_Toc115206809)

[13.2.2.1 Interrogative topic lāā after subject 356](#_Toc115206810)

[13.2.2.2 ‘Who?’ (wùlāā) 357](#_Toc115206811)

[13.2.2.3 ‘What?’ (màsí), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’ 358](#_Toc115206812)

[13.2.2.4 ‘Where?’ (màtāỳ, lāā-mì , lāā-màtāỳ) 360](#_Toc115206813)

[13.2.2.5 ‘When?’ (‘which time’, etc.) 360](#_Toc115206814)

[13.2.2.6 ‘How?’ (-mɛ̀n- and variants) 361](#_Toc115206815)

[13.2.2.7 ‘How much/many?’ (jèwⁿ) 362](#_Toc115206816)

[13.2.2.8 ‘Which?’ (mwɔ̀ … sīī) 363](#_Toc115206817)

[14 Relativization 365](#_Toc115206818)

[14.1 Basics of relative clauses 365](#_Toc115206819)

[14.1.1 Relative marker màwⁿ 365](#_Toc115206820)

[14.1.2 Nonspecific and double-headed relatives 366](#_Toc115206821)

[14.1.3 nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ ‘if (perfective positive)’ in relatives 367](#_Toc115206822)

[14.1.4 Definite gu at the right edge 367](#_Toc115206823)

[14.2 Internal head NP 367](#_Toc115206824)

[14.2.1 Restrictions on the head of a relative clause 367](#_Toc115206825)

[14.2.2 Conjoined NP as head 368](#_Toc115206826)

[14.2.3 Headless relative clause 368](#_Toc115206827)

[14.2.4 gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ~ gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ as relative head for ‘place’ 369](#_Toc115206828)

[14.3 Position of màwⁿ vis-à-vis postnominal modifiers in head NPs 369](#_Toc115206829)

[14.3.1 Adjectives 369](#_Toc115206830)

[14.3.2 Numerals 370](#_Toc115206831)

[14.3.3 Determiners 370](#_Toc115206832)

[14.3.4 Universal quantifier (‘all’) 371](#_Toc115206833)

[14.3.5 Discourse-functional morphemes 371](#_Toc115206834)

[14.4 Grammatical relation of relativized-on NP 371](#_Toc115206835)

[14.4.1 Subject relative clause 371](#_Toc115206836)

[14.4.2 Object relative clause 372](#_Toc115206837)

[14.4.3 Possessor relative clause 373](#_Toc115206838)

[14.4.4 Relativization on the complement of a postposition 373](#_Toc115206839)

[14.4.5 Presentatives 374](#_Toc115206840)

[14.5 Biclausal relative 374](#_Toc115206841)

[15 Verb or VP chaining and adverbial clauses 376](#_Toc115206842)

[15.1 ‘Be able to VP’ (hīnì ~ ēnì) 376](#_Toc115206843)

[15.2 Chains including a motion verb 378](#_Toc115206844)

[15.2.1 Motion verb plus perfective VP 378](#_Toc115206845)

[15.2.2 Pejorative use of chained ‘go (and …)’ 379](#_Toc115206846)

[15.2.3 ‘Come/go’ preceding a more specific directional motion verb 380](#_Toc115206847)

[15.2.4 bēwⁿ ‘return’ plus another verb 380](#_Toc115206848)

[15.2.5 Directional motion verb following another verb or VP 382](#_Toc115206849)

[15.3 Sequential clauses 385](#_Toc115206850)

[15.3.1 Sequential clauses with bè and Pfv verb 385](#_Toc115206851)

[15.3.2 Sequential bē kìlɛ̀ ‘proceed to’ 388](#_Toc115206852)

[15.3.3 Third person subjects of sequential bè clauses 389](#_Toc115206853)

[15.4 ‘When/after …’, ‘while …’, and ‘as soon as …’ 389](#_Toc115206854)

[15.4.1 ‘When/after …’ clause with final sāāⁿ 389](#_Toc115206855)

[15.4.2 ‘As soon as’ (gìlɛ̄wⁿ) 390](#_Toc115206856)

[15.4.3 Post-subject kàȳlà ‘when’ with perfective or stative 390](#_Toc115206857)

[15.4.4 ‘When’ clause with final definite gu 392](#_Toc115206858)

[15.4.5 ‘When/while’ PP with final -tūwɔ̄ gū (nī) 394](#_Toc115206859)

[15.4.6 Repeated imperfectives as durative background clauses 394](#_Toc115206860)

[15.4.7 Participle plus nìŋíì ‘inside’ as resultative ‘when’ 395](#_Toc115206861)

[15.5 ‘Before …’ clause (sò plus sequential bè clause) 395](#_Toc115206862)

[15.6 Coincidence in time and space (bā=à tīẁⁿ) 396](#_Toc115206863)

[15.7 ‘Since’ and ‘until’ clauses 398](#_Toc115206864)

[15.7.1 ‘Since …’ clauses (hàlì) 399](#_Toc115206865)

[15.7.2 ‘Until …’ or ‘Eventually …’ clauses 400](#_Toc115206866)

[15.7.2.1 hàlì and hàlī-kànà ~ hàlī-kàlà ‘until’ 400](#_Toc115206867)

[15.7.2.2 hàlì plus post-subject gà/gā ‘until’ 400](#_Toc115206868)

[15.7.3 ‘From X to Y’ expressions 402](#_Toc115206869)

[15.7.3.1 ‘From X, until/all the way to Y’ (gìlì, hàlì) 402](#_Toc115206870)

[15.7.3.2 à dēē-[bā-lā] X, bē Y ‘from X (all the way) to Y’ 403](#_Toc115206871)

[15.7.4 ‘VPed until got tired’ = ‘VPed for a very long time’ 404](#_Toc115206872)

[15.7.5 dēē/dēè ‘pick up’ plus imperfective (‘keep doing’) 404](#_Toc115206873)

[15.8 Noun-headed adverbial relatives 405](#_Toc115206874)

[15.8.1 Temporal relative clause (‘[at] the time when …’) 405](#_Toc115206875)

[15.8.2 Spatial adverbial clause (‘[at] the place where …’) 405](#_Toc115206876)

[15.8.3 Manner adverbial clause 406](#_Toc115206877)

[15.8.3.1 Manner clause (‘how/the way …’) 406](#_Toc115206878)

[15.8.3.2 ‘As though …’ clause (hɔ̀nɔ̀) 406](#_Toc115206879)

[16 Conditional constructions 408](#_Toc115206880)

[16.1 Hypothetical conditional 408](#_Toc115206881)

[16.1.1 ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ‘if’, perfective nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ 408](#_Toc115206882)

[16.1.2 ‘Otherwise (=if not)’ 410](#_Toc115206883)

[16.1.3 sāāⁿ ‘all’ as right-edge marker in antecedents 410](#_Toc115206884)

[16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles 411](#_Toc115206885)

[16.2.1 ‘Even if …’ (hàlì) 411](#_Toc115206886)

[16.3 Willy-nilly antecedents (‘whether X or Y …’) 411](#_Toc115206887)

[16.4 Counterfactual conditionals (pàà) 412](#_Toc115206888)

[17 Complement and purposive clauses 414](#_Toc115206889)

[17.1 Quotative complements 414](#_Toc115206890)

[17.1.1 Original addressee converted to third person 414](#_Toc115206891)

[17.1.2 Quotation quasi-verb yè/yē (and variants) ‘said’ 415](#_Toc115206892)

[17.1.3 Inflectable verb sē/sē ‘say, tell’ 418](#_Toc115206893)

[17.1.4 Jussive complement (quoted imperative or hortative) 419](#_Toc115206894)

[17.1.4.1 Quoted imperatives and prohibitives 419](#_Toc115206895)

[17.1.4.2 Quoted hortatives 419](#_Toc115206896)

[17.1.5 Quoted questions 420](#_Toc115206897)

[17.1.6 ‘That …’ complementizers after ‘say’ and other verbs 421](#_Toc115206898)

[17.1.6.1 sèe᷆ ~ sède᷆ ‘(said) thus/as follows, …’ 421](#_Toc115206899)

[17.1.6.2 māàⁿ ‘that …’ or ‘in other words, …’ 421](#_Toc115206900)

[17.2 Full-clause propositional complements 422](#_Toc115206901)

[17.2.1 Clausal complements of ‘know’ and ‘forget’ 422](#_Toc115206902)

[17.2.1.1 ‘(Not) know’ with main-clause or ‘whether’ complement 422](#_Toc115206903)

[17.2.1.2 ‘Forget that/whether’ with ‘whether’ complement 424](#_Toc115206904)

[17.2.2 Perception verb with clausal ‘whether’ complement. 425](#_Toc115206905)

[17.2.3 ‘Fear (lest …)’ with ‘whether’ complement 426](#_Toc115206906)

[17.2.4 ‘Encounter’ with clausal complement 426](#_Toc115206907)

[17.2.5 Weak obligational ‘ought’ (kāmbē, kāⁿ) 427](#_Toc115206908)

[17.3 Subjunctive clausal complements (gālà) 428](#_Toc115206909)

[17.3.1 ‘Be possible’ (màɲɛ̀) with subjunctive clause 428](#_Toc115206910)

[17.3.2 ‘Want’ (pɔ̄gɔ̄/pɔ̄gɔ̀) with subjunctive clausal complement 429](#_Toc115206911)

[17.3.3 Strong obligational ‘must’ (ŋ̄kàlà ~ kàlà plus subjunctive) 431](#_Toc115206912)

[17.4 Subjectless VP complements 432](#_Toc115206913)

[17.4.1 VP complement without an overt subordinator 432](#_Toc115206914)

[17.4.1.1 Perception verbs with imperfective VP complement 432](#_Toc115206915)

[17.4.1.2 ‘Be afraid to’ (kwààⁿ) with imperfective or bē VP complement 432](#_Toc115206916)

[17.4.2 Infinitival VP complement with bè 433](#_Toc115206917)

[17.4.2.1 ‘Forget (to…)’ (nùmàsāwⁿ) with bè and infinitival VP 434](#_Toc115206918)

[17.4.2.2 ‘Prevent’ (hādà) with bè and infinitival VP or with imperfective 434](#_Toc115206919)

[17.4.2.3 ‘Help’ (yìràwⁿ) with bè and infinitival VP 435](#_Toc115206920)

[17.4.2.4 màà/màā ‘be about to’ as fused màà-bè with infinitival VP 436](#_Toc115206921)

[17.4.3 ‘Begin’ (sīndì) with various complements 437](#_Toc115206922)

[17.4.4 ‘Stop’ (tàà, tàà-nì) with nominalized verb or VP complement 438](#_Toc115206923)

[17.4.5 ‘Finish’ (bày) with place-nominal complement 440](#_Toc115206924)

[17.4.6 ‘Abandon’ (bày) with nominalized VP complement 440](#_Toc115206925)

[17.5 Purposive and causal clauses 441](#_Toc115206926)

[17.5.1 Motion verb plus tonally marked purposive VP 441](#_Toc115206927)

[17.5.1.1 Chained intransitive purposive 441](#_Toc115206928)

[17.5.1.2 Chained transitive purposive with pronominal object 445](#_Toc115206929)

[17.5.1.3 Chained transitive purposive with tone-raised object 446](#_Toc115206930)

[17.5.2 Clausal hālà ~ sālà ‘whether’ plus sequential clause 450](#_Toc115206931)

[17.5.3 Nominalized VP plus postposition làgà 451](#_Toc115206932)

[17.5.4 Bare subjunctive clause in purposive function 451](#_Toc115206933)

[17.5.5 hālà ~ sālà or yɛ̄là with future clause in purposive contexts 452](#_Toc115206934)

[17.5.6 māà(ⁿ) ‘that’ 453](#_Toc115206935)

[17.5.7 Causal clause 453](#_Toc115206936)

[17.5.7.1 bàdì ~ bādì ‘because’ 453](#_Toc115206937)

[17.5.7.2 sābì ~ sābù ‘because’ 454](#_Toc115206938)

[18 Anaphora 455](#_Toc115206939)

[18.1 Reflexive 455](#_Toc115206940)

[18.1.1 Reflexive nonsubjects 455](#_Toc115206941)

[18.1.1.1 Simple pronominal reflexive objects 455](#_Toc115206942)

[18.1.1.2 First and second person pronominal reflexives 456](#_Toc115206943)

[18.1.1.3 Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ versus 1Sg 459](#_Toc115206944)

[18.1.1.4 Combined logophoric and third-person reflexive function 462](#_Toc115206945)

[18.1.1.5 3Pl reflexive ē 462](#_Toc115206946)

[18.1.1.6 Full reflexives with ‘head’ 463](#_Toc115206947)

[18.1.1.7 Reflexive imperatives 464](#_Toc115206948)

[18.1.2 Lexicalized reflexive and pseudo-reflexive verbs 465](#_Toc115206949)

[18.1.2.1 Lexicalized reflexives 465](#_Toc115206950)

[18.1.2.2 Pseudo-reflexives 467](#_Toc115206951)

[18.1.3 Reflexive subject in subordinated clauses 467](#_Toc115206952)

[18.1.4 Emphatic pronouns (mostly absent) 469](#_Toc115206953)

[18.2 Obviation 469](#_Toc115206954)

[18.2.1 kēẁⁿ ‘one’ as obviative 469](#_Toc115206955)

[18.2.2 ɲāmā ‘someone else’ 470](#_Toc115206956)

[18.2.3 kú pē ‘that (other) one too’ as obviative 470](#_Toc115206957)

[18.3 Logophoric and indexing pronouns 471](#_Toc115206958)

[18.3.1 Logophorics 471](#_Toc115206959)

[18.3.1.1 No logophorics for second-person 471](#_Toc115206960)

[18.3.1.2 Examples of logophorics 472](#_Toc115206961)

[18.3.2 Logophorics in stacked quotations 474](#_Toc115206962)

[18.4 Reciprocal 474](#_Toc115206963)

[18.4.1 Reciprocal object bwɔ̀ 474](#_Toc115206964)

[18.4.2 Reciprocal bwɔ̀ in other functions 475](#_Toc115206965)

[18.4.3 bwɛ̄ỳ ‘together’ 475](#_Toc115206966)

[19 Grammatical pragmatics 476](#_Toc115206967)

[19.1 Topic 476](#_Toc115206968)

[19.1.1 Topic (kɔ̀ⁿ) 476](#_Toc115206969)

[19.1.2 Interrogative topic (lāā, -dāā, lāà) 477](#_Toc115206970)

[19.1.3 ‘Also, too’ (pē) 479](#_Toc115206971)

[19.1.4 ‘Even’ (hàlì) 479](#_Toc115206972)

[19.1.5 ‘A fortiori’ (sōkàālà) 480](#_Toc115206973)

[19.2 Preclausal discourse markers 480](#_Toc115206974)

[19.2.1 ‘But …’ (kāā, ŋ̄gàà) 480](#_Toc115206975)

[19.2.2 ‘Like …’ (sānà) 481](#_Toc115206976)

[19.3 Pragmatic adverbs or equivalents 481](#_Toc115206977)

[19.3.1 ‘Again’ 481](#_Toc115206978)

[19.3.1.1 Adverb tūⁿ ‘again’ 481](#_Toc115206979)

[19.3.1.2 ‘No longer’ (negation plus tūⁿ) 482](#_Toc115206980)

[19.3.2 ‘Only’ 482](#_Toc115206981)

[19.3.2.1 ‘Only’ particle (dàmá) 482](#_Toc115206982)

[19.3.2.2 ‘Only’ particle (bàānà) 483](#_Toc115206983)

[19.3.2.3 kēẁⁿ ‘one; alone’ versus dàmá ‘only’ for exclusivity 483](#_Toc115206984)

[19.3.2.4 Circumlocution with ‘not (any)’ plus (ŋ̄)kàlà ‘except …’ 485](#_Toc115206985)

[19.3.3 pààŋ-kēẁⁿ ‘already’, ‘definitely’, or ‘thoroughly’ 485](#_Toc115206986)

[19.4 Emphatic particles 486](#_Toc115206987)

[19.4.1 Clause-initial particles 486](#_Toc115206988)

[19.4.1.1 Clause-initial emphatics (mɔ̀rù, héé, hóó) 486](#_Toc115206989)

[19.4.1.2 jākà ‘ló!’ 486](#_Toc115206990)

[19.4.2 Clause-final emphatics 487](#_Toc115206991)

[19.4.2.1 Clause-final emphatics kóy 487](#_Toc115206992)

[19.4.2.2 Clause-final or independent jáátì ‘indeed’ 488](#_Toc115206993)

[19.4.2.3 Clause-final emphatic fɛ́y 488](#_Toc115206994)

[19.4.2.4 Clause-final admonitive dēʔ 488](#_Toc115206995)

[19.4.2.5 Clause-final yàá in emphatic affirmative answers 489](#_Toc115206996)

[19.4.2.6 Clause-final lā 490](#_Toc115206997)

[19.4.2.7 Clause-final wà ‘anyway’ 491](#_Toc115206998)

[19.5 Uptake check and backchannel 491](#_Toc115206999)

[19.5.1 Uptake check 491](#_Toc115207000)

[19.5.2 Backchannel support wālà ~ wàlá ‘voilà!’ 492](#_Toc115207001)

[19.6 Greetings 492](#_Toc115207002)

[19.6.1 All-purpose greetings 493](#_Toc115207003)

[19.6.2 Time-of-day greetings 494](#_Toc115207004)

[19.6.3 Location- or situation-specific greetings 495](#_Toc115207005)

[19.6.4 Travel greetings 497](#_Toc115207006)

[19.6.5 Condolences 497](#_Toc115207007)

[19.6.6 Greetings on major Muslim holy days 498](#_Toc115207008)

[Texts 499](#_Toc115207009)

[Text 2017-01 Founding of Namagué village 499](#_Toc115207010)

[Text 2017-02 The arrival of the leatherworkers 538](#_Toc115207011)

[Text 2017-03 Farming in past times 550](#_Toc115207012)

[Text 2017-04 Tale: Rich boy, poor boy, and prince 567](#_Toc115207013)

[Text 2017-05 Tale: The thief and his traveling companion 583](#_Toc115207014)

[Text 2017-06 Tale: The picky bride and Python 598](#_Toc115207015)

[Text 2017-07 Tale: Hyena, Hare and Lion 608](#_Toc115207016)

[Text 2017-08 Tale: Hyena and Hare 621](#_Toc115207017)

[Text 2017-09 Advice to young people 625](#_Toc115207018)

[References cited 629](#_Toc115207019)

[Abbreviations and symbols 631](#_Toc115207020)

[Abbreviations 631](#_Toc115207021)

[Symbols 632](#_Toc115207022)

[Index 634](#_Toc115207023)

[1. selected morphemes 634](#_Toc115207024)

[2. grammar 638](#_Toc115207025)

# Introduction

This grammar and the more or less simultaneously published parallel grammar of Djenné Jenaama (or Sorogaama) were drafted separately. They have been reorganized so that the chapters and sections correspond more closely in order to facilitate comparison.

Cliffs Jenaama is referred to here simply as Cliffs.

Texts are added at the end of the grammar. Textual passages averaging two lines of Cliffs text are referred to by text number and time index, e.g. 2017-01 @ 03:11.

## Bozo languages

Bozo is a small language family, chiefly of fishers and (nowadays) rice farmers along the Niger and Bani rivers in central Mali, West Africa. It belongs to the large Mande family, and is most closely related to Soninké.

Four Bozo languages have been recognized, some of which have multiple names.

(1) language location(s)

Tiɛma Cɛwɛ Lac Débo

Tigemaxo and Tiéyaxo Diafarabé, pockets near Djenné

Kelenga (= Hainyaxo) Ké-Macina near Ségou

Jenaama (= Sorogaama) Djenné, Mopti, Konna, Youwarou, Lac Débo

Kelenga is the preferred name for that language. Tigemaxo and Tiéyaxo are dialects of a single language.

Jenaama in the broad sense has several varieties in geographically discontinuous areas (see §1.2 below). Its total population now is approximately 300,000 speakers. The other three languages are estimated to have a few thousand speakers each and are spoken in compact zones. Jenaama and its Cliffs variety.

### Geography and neighboring ethnicities

A sociolinguistic survey of Jenaama (Blühberger 2006) notes that Jenaama is spoken by three distinct (sub-)ethnic groups, the Bozo, the Somono, and the Nononké or Marka. The ethnic Bozo and Somono are primarily fishers and are interspersed along the rivers. The Nononké/Marka practice rice cultivation along the river, and extend into the millet-growing sandy plains west of the Dogon plateau, reaching the base of its cliffs. Nowadays other Jenaama-speaking groups have shifted from fishing to rice farming. Blühberger points out that the previously accepted name of the language, Sorogaama, is used in this sense only by the Bozo, while the Somono and the Nononké/Marka call their language Jenaama.

Blühberger lists the Jenaama dialects in (2), based in part on earlier SIL surveys. The list goes from north (downstream) to south (upstream). Débo refers to the swampy Lac Débo zone. Pondori *sensu stricto* is a collection of villages south of Djenné (see below). Mopti is a large cosmopolitan city at the confluence of the Bani and Niger rivers, with several Bozo villages on the riverbanks nearby. Korondougou is a village near Konna, northeast of Mopti. “Kotya” is the commune of Togoro Kotia in the circle of Ténenkou.

(2) North Débo

South Débo

Korondougou

Mopti

Kotya

North Pondori

South Pondori

East Pondori

The Malian government agency responsible for national languages (then called DNAFLA) decided in 1979 to recognize varieties of the main native languages based on geographical locations including specific towns or communes. For Bozo these included three varieties of Jenaama, called “Janaama du Pondori,” “Sorogaama du Kotya,” and “Janaama de Kɔrɔndugu” (i.e. Korondougou). The association of recognized linguistic entities with specific locations was useful for DNAFLA since it specified a precise variety that could potentially be studied, standardized (including an official lexicon), and developed for literacy purposes. However, Jenaama includes many varieties spoken over a wide area, so defining and naming a large dialect group in this way is problematic.

The variety described in this grammar would be included in “Korondougou” in the earlier classifications. However, Korondougou as a linguistic dialect group remains to be validated. This grammar is based on Jenaama as spoken in Namagué, a village at the eastern extreme of the entire Bozo family. Substantially the same variety is spoken in nearby Kargué. The two villages are nestled in the lower slope of the escarpment, on opposite sides of the mouth of the valley that is occupied by the Bangande people, who speak the Bangime language, an isolate with no known linguistic relatives. The villages neighboring Namagué and Kargué to the east (in the sandy plains that stretch toward the major rivers) are Fulfulde-speaking. The Jenaama of Namagué and Kargué is therefore geographically isolated, and this variety was not surveyed in connection with the previous classifications. Linguistically (lexically and grammatically), this veriety is sufficiently distinctive to deserve its own name, Cliffs Jenaama, or (in this grammar) simply Cliffs.

A distinction between Cliffs and the Mopti-Konna Jenaama of the nearest riverine villages (see the following subsection) is recognized by native speakers of Cliffs. Cliffs itself is called pààlɛ̄‑àmà, from pàālɛ̄ỳ ‘cliff zone’, i.e. the area along the western escarpment away from the river. The nearby riverine Jenaama varieties are called būr-āmā, from būrgù ‘river zone’. The key Jenaama-speaking villages associated with the two divisions are listed in (3), along with their native names in Jenaama and their dominant clans (family names).

(3) village native name dominant clan(s)

a. pàālɛ̀-àmà (Cliffs Jenaama)

Bolimba wóndópà Karambé

Bombori-Saré bōmbōlī-kūwōnì Cissé

Dani-Saré dàànì-kúwónì Bako

Goumbo gūmbō Bamani

Kargué kàrgèwⁿ Traoré

Kayel-Toupé kāātūbè Bamani

Madougou mààlù Traoré

Namagué nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ Traoré

b. būr-āmā (part of Mopti-Konna Jenaama)

Bima bìmà Traoré

Bogo bògò (unknown)

Djambakourou jààŋgūlì Fofana

Foussi nùùfīlè Soumaré

Kama kāāmà (unknown)

Konna kɔ̄nà Kampo

Koubi kóbī (unknown)

Kotaga kèrāā (unknown)

Saingo séŋgēwⁿ Nadio

The surname Cissé is associated with the groups that brought Islam to the zone. Some Cissé live in Namagué, where they are a minority.

nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ ‘Namagué’ is a compound with initial nɔ̀gù ‘village’ and final resembling bēwⁿ/bēn-dē ‘go back’. However, locals have more colorful etymologies. One is a borrowing from Bambara *nàmá gɛ̀ⁿ* ‘hunt hyena’. The other is nɔ̀gù bē ‘the village has come’ (see text 2017-01).

There are dual-level schools (*premier cycle* and *deuxième cycle*) at Konna and Djambakourou. There are single-level schools (*premier cycle*) at Kargué (with *deuxième cycle* under construction as of 2020), Bobo, Bombori-Saré, Bima, Saingo, Kama, and Koubi. Students at lycée level begin at Konna but finish in Sévaré.

Many of the official village names go back to French colonial mapping, which made extensive use of Fulfulde names for villages, including non-Fulbe villages (the cartographers’ guides were presumably Fulbe). In Bombori-Saré and Dani-Saré, the ending -Saré means (in Fulfulde) ‘house’ and by extension ‘settled village’. In each case it is contrasted with a variant ending in -Ouro (Bombori-Ouro, Dani-Ouro) denoting a Fulbe camp associated with the main village.

In addition to Bombori-Ouro and Dani-Ouro, other Fulbe villages interspersed among the local Jenaama villages include Ouro-Guéou and Moulentakou-Ouro.

Most adult native Jenaama speakers speak Fulfulde as second language, which is the lingua franca (for example between Bozo and Dogon, or between Bozo and Bangande). Although Bangime- and Tiranige (Dogon)-speaking are adjacent to Cliffs Jenaama villages, there is little bilingualism involving those languages. Cousinage (i.e. interethnic joking relationships) prohibit intermarriage between Bozo and Dogon (the Bangime are considered locally to be Dogon). Exceptional cases of Bozo-Bangime bilingualism are based on an individual speaker’s regular commercial relationships. For example, a handful of old women from Namagué routinely purchase calabashes in Bounou (Bangime-speaking) for resale at the nearby regional markets and can speak Bangime.

### Jenaama varieties: languages or dialects?

Based on the considerations described just above and those presented in the parallel grammar of Djenné Jenaama, for now it seems best to label the divisions of Jenaama by geographical region as follows: Djenné, Mopti-Konna, Cliffs, and Lac Débo. Of these, Mopti-Konna is the least well-defined at this stage and most susceptible to further break-up.

The two varieties of Jenaama that have been studied in this project are Cliffs Jenaama and Djenné Jenaama. The latter is spoken in several villages near Djenné. It has long been suspected (in print) that “Jenaama” may be a language cluster rather than a dialect cluster. Comparison of the linguistic structures and lexicons of Cliffs Jenaama and Djenné Jenaama points in the direction of language rather than dialect divisions. However, much less is known about the geographically intervening varieties and those spoken farther north around Lac Débo, so there is a possibility that Cliffs and Djenné are at the extremes of a dialect chain. It is prudent to defer an official renaming until we are in a better position to identify and circumscribe the linguistic entities, hopefully in a consensual manner. In the meantime, interested parties are welcome to compare the parallel Cliffs and Djenné grammars and their parallel lexicons and form their own opinions.

Not the least of the Cliffs/Djenné differences is that Cliffs has three lexical tone levels, including minimal trios among nouns, along with a complex morpho-tonology, while Djenné has two lexical tone levels and a somewhat simpler morpho-tonology. This difference alone compels separation of the two reference grammars and lexical spreadsheets. Other differences can be assessed by reading the two parallel grammars side by side, and examining the two lexical spreadsheets side by side. Among the more obvious differences are those in (4a-b).

(4) Cliffs Djenné category or gloss

a. phonological

ɯ (absent) back unrounded vowel

3 2 number of distinct tone levels

b. morphological

gù ~ gū -yawⁿ definite/definite singular

ē ííⁿ 1Pl pronoun

yèⁿ sínì ~ sánì ‘and’ (nominal conjunction)

bwɛ̄ỳ, pà pà ‘with’ (comitative postposition

lāgà dáà ‘for’ (purposive postposition, opaquely cognate)

gà ~ Ø gà remote perfective/all-purpose reflexive

nà tà imperfective negative

bāynà gà gíyɛ́ gà bé experiential perfect

(absent) kíniⁿ ~ kúnú progressive

gālà nà subjunctive

kōndō tùⁿ ~ tìⁿ ‘was/were’ (part of past imperfective etc.)

gà X nì X tɛ́(ʔ) ‘isn’t X’

c. lexicon

pɔ̄gɔ̄, màà kìⁿyɛ̀ ‘want’

jénāⁿ díyɛ́wⁿ ‘child’ (opaquely cognate)

pwɔ̄ fá ‘thing’ (opaquely cognate)

The divergence between Cliffs and Djenné is growing among younger generations, mainly because the relevant lingua franca (and source of loanwords) for Cliffs is Fulfulde, while that for Djenné is Bambara.

If it is collectively decided at some point that Djenné Jenaama belongs to one language and Cliffs Jenaama belongs to another, one possibility is to revive the language name Sorogaama for the Djenné variety and related dialects, and keep Jenaama for at least Cliffs.

## Environment

Namagué and Kargué, as noted above, are located on the lower slope of the western escarpment of the Dogon (or Bandiagara) plateau. Other nearby Fulfulde- and Jenaama-speaking villages are in the sandy plains that stretch from the escarpment to the Niger River. The settled villages in the sandy plains primarily practice cultivation of pearl millet (*Cenchrus americanus*, formerly *Pennisetum glaucum*) along with small-scale livestock raising. Other rainy-season crops that can grow in the zone include maize, rice, sorghum, roselle (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*), cow-pea (*Vigna unguiculata*), groundnut (*Vigna subterranea*), and peanut. Cotton is locally cultivated by Namagué and Kargué villagers along with Bangime-speaking Niana villagers in one relatively lush area (called kèlèm̄pōgòy) dominated by borassus palms.

In those locations that benefit from dry-season springs or from receding water in seasonal ponds, off-season gardening is practiced, primarily as cash crops: onion, tobacco, tomato, eggplant, potato, lettuce, chili pepper, and cucumber.

The major weekly markets in the area, both along the main highway, are Konna (Thursday) and Sambéré (Sunday).

## Previous and contemporary study of Jenaama

### Previous work

Surveys of Bozo varieties done for SIL, with enough lexical information to permit lexicostatistical study, are Smeltzer & Smeltzer (1995) and commentary on it by Blecke & Blecke (1997). The Smeltzers included 300-word lists for nine Bozo lects, of which six are from the Jenaama complex.

The most substantial linguistic analysis focused on a specific variety of Jenaama is the work of Christiane Lauschitsky. She did a master’s thesis at Leiden University on verbs (2007), and presented a conference paper on nasality (2009). She was affiliated with SIL International. She is no longer active as a linguist.

Lauschitzky worked on the dialect of Djambakourou village, described as 60 km north of Konna and 10 km west of the main highway. Although this is also within the “Korondougou” dialect area, her data and analysis differ considerably from my data from Namagué. Most importantly, Namagué clearly has three tone levels, all of which are common and both lexically and grammatically significant, while Lauschitzky recognizes just two for Djambakourou. Since Djenné Jenaama also has just two tone levels, I have no reason to doubt Lauschitzky’s analysis. Secondly, Namagué but not Djambakourou has an additional full-fledged vowel quality (back unrounded ɯ) that is apparently not otherwise known in the region, and a somewhat marginal rounded glide ɥ that is known elsewhere as a phoneme only for neighboring Bangime.

Claudia Wintoch’s MA thesis (2000) is a brief study of the tones of the same Djambakourou variety. She had been hosted by Lauschitzky in 1999.

Daget, Konipo & Sanakoua (1953) includes Bozo-wide dialectal information especially on sound correspondences, a grammar sketch focusing on a Jenaama variety spoken around Mopti, a lexicon including some dialectal variants, and short texts from Jenaama dialects of Mopti, Korondougou, and Débo and from the Tiéyaxo of Dia. Jacques Daget was the leading ichthyologist of the zone and the author of what were then the major handbooks on fishes of West Africa.

There are several valuable colonial-era works on the languages and ethnography of riverine Bozo. Some of them (Monteil 1932, Ligers 1964—) do not clearly distinguish data from different Bozo varieties. In general they are based on Djenné Jenaama and Tigemaxo/Tiéyaxo, not on Cliffs Jenaama. For further discussion see the corresponding subsection in the parallel Djenné Jenaama grammar.

### Fieldwork

I did my first week of Cliffs Jenaama study in July 2016, at a time when my fieldwork on Dogon languages was beginning to wind down and after completing (jointly with Abbie Hantgan) a grammar and lexicon of Bangime. I spent about five full days in Namagué, which was sufficient to collect terminology for flora (chiefly in the field) and fauna (chiefly from manuals and from inter-language equivalences), and to record some texts from old-timers.

Subsequent work on the language was done with a young adult native speaker, Amadou Cissé, the son of one of the old-timers and an “interviewer” in the recordings. The work involved completing the lexical spreadsheet, grammatical elicitation to produce an initial draft of this grammar, and transcription, translation, and annotation of the recordings which led to additions and corrections in the grammar and lexicon. This work continued episodically, a week or a month at a time, through 2022, between field sessions on other languages. The security situation around Namagué deteriorated seriously beginning around 2018, so I was never able to return to the village. 2020 was lost to the COVID pandemic when air travel to Mali and Burkina was closed, and since then any travel by white ex-pats to Mopti-Sévaré has become too insecure to work in. In 2021 (in Bamako) and 2022 (in Bobo Dioulasso, Burkina Faso) I did the final follow-up work with Amadou.

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I thank Thomas Blecke of SIL, now based in Ouagadougou, for helpful advice in getting started. I am also greatly indebted to my long-term Dogon project assistant Minkailou Djiguiba, who has kept the Bozo project going in spite of the circumstances.

# Sketch

A few basic typological facts about (Cliffs) Jenaama will serve to begin this sketch.

Like nearly all other Mande languages, Jenaama is SOVX. More specifically, it is S‑infl-O-V-X, where “infl” is a class of clause-level inflectional markers (aspect, negation, mood). X includes any additional material, including dative, instrumental, purposive, and spatiotemporal PPs, and various simple (mostly spatiotemporal) adverbs. Temporal adverbials occur either at the very end or at the very beginning. Jenaama lacks structural case marking for subject and object NPs, and except for a tonal distinction in the 1Sg there are no differences in the form of subject and object pronominal clitics.

An example of a transitive clause is (5). It consists of a subject NP, a post-subject inflectional marker, an object NP, a verb marked for aspect, and a locational expression.

(5) sèēdù gà sūgē-ē sà-nà síbàwⁿ

S Ipfv goat-Pl buy-Ipfv market.Loc

‘Seydou buys goats in the market.’

## Phonology

### Segmental phonology

Cliffs Jenaama has eight vowel qualities {u ɯ o ɔ a ɛ e i}. Vowels may be long or short, and may be oral or nasalized. The high back unrounded vowel ɯ may be unique to the Cliffs variety, and I know of no other dialect or language in the immediate zone that has it. It does occur in some far-away African languages (for example along the Atlantic coast) that typically have ten or more vowel qualities.

There are relatively few phonological processes (rewrite rules) converting underlying to surface forms. The process most likely to cause problems for parsing and morpheme identification is vv-Contraction at compound and word boundaries. Since vowel-initial stems are rare, the bulk of contractions involve a vowel-final word or particle followed by any of several pronominal clitics (1Pl ē, 2Sg āⁿ, 2Pl āā, 3Sg à, 3Pl è). Especially when one of the input vowel qualities or tones is lost by contraction, the enclitic boundary = is used opportunistically as a warning indicator. For example, gē= è in (6) is from Ipfv gà (raised to gā by Final Tone-Raising before L‑tone) contracting with 3Pl object pronominal è.

(6) à gē= è kɔ̄-lɔ̄

3Sg Ipfv 3Pl hit-Ipfv

‘He/She (often) hits them.’

### Tones and tonal diacritics

Cliffs Jenaama has three lexical tone levels H[igh], M[id], and L[ow]. Syllables may be H, M, L, <HL> falling, <ML> falling, <LM> rising, and rarely bell-shaped <LML>, using angled brackets <…> to enclose tone sequences on a single syllable. The nearby language isolate Bangime also has three lexical tone levels. However, Cliffs Jenaama and Bangime form a tiny tritonal enclave surrounded by bitonal (and atonal) languages in east central and northern Mali (Fulfulde, the Songhay and Dogon families, Bambara, Soninke, and apparently all other Bozo varieties). Tritonal systems do occur in far southern Mali (e.g. Senoufo) and they are common in subcoastal and coastal languages of West Africa. Some of the neighboring languages are lexically bitonal but make use of three pitch levels at the phonetic level.

The diacritics used are shown in (7), using ma, maa, and maw as props to illustrate mono- and bimoraic syllables.

(7) tone(s) ma maa maw

H má máá máw

M mā māā māw

L mà màà màw

<HL> mâ máà máẁ

<ML> ma᷆ māà māẁ

<LM> mǎ màā màw̄

<LML> ma᷈ mǎà (or màâ) mǎẁ (or màŵ)

Note in particular that mǎ is <LM>, not <LH>, unless otherwise specified. There appears to be no simple IPA diacritic for <LM> tone. Fortunately there is no meaningful contrast in Jenaama between <LM> and <LH> syllables. <LH> on monomoraic words is rare and occurs only due to focalization.

There are some minimal pairs and triplets among noun stems, e.g. sɔ́gɔ́ ‘milk’, sɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘day (unit)’, and sɔ̀gɔ̀ ‘sheep’.

Using /…/ for lexical melodies, prior to tonal ablaut and tone sandhi, nouns and other non-verb stems can be /H/, /M/, or /L/. However, H- and M‑tones are not distinguishable in contoured melodies (excluding compounds and iterative stems). There is no distinction between /HL/ and /ML/ stems or between /LHL/ and /LML/ stems. I transcribe /ML/ and /LML/ at lexical level (§3.6.1.3). There is likewise no clear distinction between /LH/ and /LM/ stems. I transcribe them at /LH/ at lexical level (§3.6.1.3), except that Ipfv stems of type Cv̀Cv̄ are transcribed with final M-tone. Final M following an L-tone is also used to indicate the application of Final Tone-Raising at boundaries, as when nàà ‘cow’ appears as nàā before an L-tone. I am not confident that there is any consistent phonetic distinction between Cv̀Cv̄ and Cv̀Cv́, but using Cv̀Cv́ and Cv̀Cv̄ as described above will help readers distinguish lexical /LH/ from secondary LM.

Taking the Pfv stem as lexically basic, the only melodies for verb stems are /L/, /M/, /ML/, /LM/, and /LML/. In other words, there are no H‑tones in lexical melodies of verbs. However, verbs can become H‑toned due to the floating H of 1Sg object proclitic ŋ̀ (+H) (§3.6.2.1, §3.6.3.1).

### Tone sandhi

The most important tone sandhi processes are Final Tone-Raising (§3.6.4.4) and M#H-to-L#H (§3.6.4.5). The first raises final L to M, while the second drops M to L. In general, stems and words are cited in their independent tonal form, which precedes tone sandhi and so may differ from the form that appears in example phrases and sentences.

Tone sandhi processes in a word or stem are triggered by the form to its right, and the processes generally work from left to right. Therefore in a sequence X-Y-Z where Y triggers a change in X and Z triggers a change in Z, the fate of X is determined by the input tones of Y rather than from its output tones due to its interaction with Z.

Some grammatical morphemes resist Final Tone-Raising or fail to trigger it in the preceding word or particle. This resistance prevents homophony between clitics 3Pl è and 1Pl ē.

### Tonal morphophonology and tonal ablaut

In some types of noun-noun compounds (chapter 5) and in some sequences of two words within a phrase (see especially chapter 6), the tones of one or both of the juxtaposed stems are modified. The details vary from one construction to another and full coverage is deferred to the relevant primary chapters of the grammar.

Two basic processes can be distinguished at this point. The first is here labeled Floating-Tone Docking (§3.6.3.1), but it is far from a low-level tone sandhi process. The proclitics that come with a floating tone are 1Sg nonsubject allomorph ŋ̀ (+H) (§4.3.4) and the two prenominal demonstratives, kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) and ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M) (§4.4.2, §6.5.1.1). The floating tone is realized, if at all, on the following stem. After 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H), an initial L‑tone in the stem is raised to H, and under some conditions this spreads into the second syllable of the stem. The floating M of demonstratives raises any L-initial stem to all-M. In both cases, if the stem already begins with a nonlow tone, the floating tone has no effect.

The 1Sg proclitic has three allomorphs, depending on grammatical function. ŋ̀ (+H) occurs in the following functions: direct object (floating H realized on verb), possessor (realized on possessum), and postpositional complement (realized on postposition). By contrast, in subject function the allomorphs are ŋ̄ in the perfective positive, i.e. with zero post-subject inflectional particle or with bidirectonal case-marker allomorph =nàⁿ, and ŋ̀ in other inflectional categories, i.e. those with a nonzero post-subject inflectional particle. Neither of the subject allomorphs has a tonal effect on the following word.

The second basic morphotonological process is Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2). It applies, for example, to noun stems as compound initials (§5.1.4) and in noun-adjective combinations (§6.3.1). The initial tone spreads rightward to the end of the stem, e.g. /MLH/ levels to all-M. In addition, an /H/-melody initial is lowered a notch to M.

### Terminal intonation

In a polar interrogative that does not begin with an overt polar interrogative word, Cliffs Jenaama has intonation-like effects raising the pitch of the final syllable or word. Analysis suggests that this is a combination of categorical tone-raising (L or M to H) within the phonology proper (§3.7.1), and gradient pitch raising of the familiar intonational type. See §13.2.1.2 for details.

A similar tone-raising to H, without intonational pitch raising, also occurs in some other constructions. They are listed in §3.7.1 with cross-references to other chapters.

## Verbal and clausal inflection

### Pfv and Ipfv stems of verbs

Verbs have two primary forms, perfective and imperfective, e.g. kwāā ‘hit.Pfv’ versus kɔ̄-lā ‘hit.Ipfv’ (§10.1.3.3.1). To distinguish these morphological categories from VP- and clause-level constructions, the abbreviations **Pfv** and **Ipfv** (with uppercase initial letters) denote the verb-stem categories. The clause-level constructions are referred to by unabbreviated “perfective” and “imperfective”, or (in tables) with lower-case pfv and ipfv (likewise pfvneg, ipfvneg).

Full citation forms of verb stems have a slash between Pfv and Ipfv, e.g. kwāā/kɔ̄‑lā ‘hit’. For a minority of verbs, e.g. sò/sò ‘go’, the Pfv and Ipfv have the same segmental and tonal form. For other verbs, the Ipfv is often marked either by a tonal change on the last syllable (or mora), or by a suffix. This markedness asymmetry is reflected in morphosyntax. The Pfv form such as kwāā ‘hit’ is also used as imperative, after bē in a future construction, and in subjunctive and infinitival complements.

The tones of the Pfv and Ipfv stems are subject to tone sandhi processes when phrased with other elements. Specifically, lexically L‑toned transitive stems have their first syllable or mora raised by floating H after 1Sg object (§4.3.4.3), and all lexically L‑toned stems are subject to Final Tone-Raising before another L‑tone (§3.6.4.4). M‑toned stems drop to L‑toned before an H‑tone by M#H-to-L#H (§3.6.4.5).

### Suffixal derivation of verb stems

The only productive verbal derivation is causative -ni (§9.1.1).

Some verbs have a final vowel mutation distinguishing transitive from intransitive, e.g. dīgā ‘eat (something)’ versus antipassive dīgɛ̄ ‘eat, have a meal’ (§9.3.1.1).

Many verbs also have a participle with suffix -na that can be used in a stative predicate (§10.1.4).

### Clause-level inflections (TAMP)

The aspectual (Pfv/Ipfv) marking on verb stems is complemented by the array of post-subject inflectional particles in (8). These particles complement the verb’s own aspect marking but also mark polarity and (epistemic and deontic) mood.

(8) a. post-subject particles, preceding VPs

(zero) perfective positive (see below on the bidirectional case marker)

nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ ‘if/when’, in perfective positive conditional antecedents

tè perfective negative

gà/gā imperfective positive

gà/gā ‘until.Pfv’ (perfective positive in ‘until’ clauses, §15.7.2.2)

nà/nā imperfective negative

gālà subjunctive

màⁿ/māⁿ prohibitive

b. immediately postverbal

gà remote perfective

There are three gà morphemes in this list. The one in (8b) is postverbal. Of the two in (8a), the imperfective assimilates tones of a preceding subject proclitic (e.g. 2Sg āŋ gā), while the ‘until.Pfv’ dissimilates (e.g. 2Sg āŋ gà), in both cases before further tone sandhi.

## Noun phrase (NP)

The basic linear order is (9) (§6.1.1).

(9) ‘even’ - Poss/Dem - noun - Adj - Num - Def - DiscFunct (-) ‘all’

There is no genitive marker in possessor-possessum combinations, and no gender or noun-class marking. Possessors, numerals, the postnominal discourse-definite marker, discourse-functional elements (‘too’, topic), and ‘all’ have only minor tone-sandhi interactions with the noun and any intervening modifiers. However, adjectives and prenominal demonstratives ɲɔ̀ⁿ ‘that (same)’ and kɔ̀ⁿ ‘this/that’ do have complex tonal interactions with nouns. Additional tonal processes apply within nominal and adjectival compounds.

## Case-marking and PPs

There is no nominative or accusative case-marking. The only possible exception is in the 1Sg pronominal clitic: ŋ̄ as perfective positive subject (with zero post-subject inflectional particle), ŋ̀ as subject of clauses with nonzero particle, and 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) as object. However, the latter also occurs in possessor and postpositional-complement functions.

A few important postpositions are in (10).

(10) tē dative

nā dative (more limited distribution)

nī instrumental

bwɛ̄ỳ comitative (‘with, by’)

pà comitative (‘with, by’)

nìŋīì locative (‘inside’)

lāgà purposive-causal (‘for’ or ‘because of’)

The most common locative is expressed as a suffix (or enclitic) ‑ỳ, which can reduce to a final L‑tone (§8.2.3.1).

## Relative clauses

Relative clauses are usually internally headed. There is no doubling of the noun of the head NP in external position. The NP is likewise not resumed by a pronoun in the main clause, unless the whole relative clause is fronted as preclausal topic. The relative morpheme, singular màwⁿ (or variant mɔ̀ⁿ), plural mà-lè, is added near the end of the internal head NP. This morpheme follows a maximal Poss-N-Adj-Num-Def sequence, but it can itself be followed by ‘all’ and by discourse-functional particles. Internal-headedness makes it easy to relativize on NPs in any grammatical function (subject, object, postpositional complement, possessor).

(11) is a subject relative.

(11) [pɔ̄ mɔ̀ⁿ] [dúgúŋ gú] tūn-nī gà gù

[thing **Rel**] [forest Def] disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv Def

‘the thing that made the forest disappear’ (2017-03 @ 02:06)

In addition to classic restrictive relative-clause function, màwⁿ may also introduce a referentially variable (nonspecific) entity (‘someone’, ‘something’, ‘some time’, etc.). In combination with sāāⁿ ‘all’ the meaning is ‘any’, i.e. ‘who/what/how-ever’. The sense is roughly ‘(suppose there is) [someone who …/something that …]’, introducing a nonspecific (generic) referent in a backgrounded clause. Because of this, the “relative” morpheme can occur twice on different constituents in the same clause, introducing two new referents. This makes a free translation as an English relative clause impossible.

## Interclausal syntax

Cliffs prefers a) finite clausal (i.e. including subjects) complements rather than subjectless VP complements (e.g., §15.3), and b) nominalized verb and VP complements (e.g., §17.4.1‑2). However, there are constructions that include motion verbs and same-subject VPs (§15.2.1-3, cf. §17.5.1).

In addition to complements in the form of regular main clauses, there are subjunctive complements (§17.3). The morpheme gālà fills the post-subject inflectional position in positive subjunctive complements. It is replaced by prohibitive màⁿ/māⁿ in negative complements. Among other constructions, subjunctive and prohibitive complements occur in quoted imperatives and prohibitives (jussive complements, §17.1.4).

# Phonology

## Internal phonological structure of stems and words

### Syllables

Syllables are predominantly Cv and Cvv (with long vowel). Stems of the shapes Cvv, CvCv, CvvCv, CvCvv and longer are common.

Monomoraic Cv stems are allowed. They are few in number but include high-frequency items. There are three Cv verbs including sò/sò ‘go’, and three others of the shape Cwv or Cyv (§10.1.2.2). For Cv nouns I can cite only pā as premodifier form of pwɔ̄ ‘thing’ (§4.1.2, §6.1.2), and sɔ̄ⁿ ‘needle, awl’, but the final nasalization of the latter counts as a mora. There are many Cvwⁿ stems that reduce to Cv(ⁿ) in most clause-medial positions.

Onsets may be Cw and less often Cy rather than just C (§3.2.11.2). There are a few words, mostly borrowings, that begin with NC, i.e. a nasal-stop cluster (§3.2.11.1). The nasal does not bear an independent tone and NC could be analysed as a prenasalized consonant. By contrast, nasal proclitics like 1Sg allomorphs ŋ̀ and ŋ̄ can bear independent tones.

Vowel-initial morphemes are proclitic pronominals like 3Sg à and 1Pl ē (§4.3.1). Vowel-initial lexical stems are limited to borrowings that begin with a (most of them ultimately from Arabic).

Many stems ends in what I transcribe (in citation forms) as wⁿ. It functions as a nasal archiphoneme. The pronunciation wⁿ occurs in citation forms and more generally in prepausal position. Before another word within a sentence, it is pronounced as a nasal homorganic to the following consonant, as nasalization of the preceding vowel, or as zero before another nasal. wⁿ can disappear entirely due to vv-Contraction at boundaries (vwⁿ#v → v#v).

The only common medial CC clusters are homorganic nasal plus voiced stop, e.g. mb and nd. There is no clear phonological evidence as to how e.g. tóndō ‘agama lizard’ should be syllabified (tón-dō or tó-ndō ?), or whether there is any point in attempting to find a syllable boundary. This makes it difficult to determine whether the few nouns with CvvNCv sequences, like māāŋgòró ‘mango’ and kāāŋgō ‘vetiver (grass sp.)’, have superheavy CvvN syllables or just Cvv. The same point applies to words with rare medial triple clusters like tɔ̀lmbé ‘hornbill (bird)’ (§3.2.11.3).

### Word-internal metrical structure

Since syncope and accentual processes are rare in Jenaama, there is not much to say about foot structure. CvCvCv words generally do not syncopate to CvCCv. There is no well-defined stress system as such.

Stem-level tone melodies do not point to a pitch-accent system. Such a system would be more feasible in a two-level rather than three-level tone system. In addition, there is no requirement that a stem have exactly one tonal peak, as it would in a language with obligatory lexical accent. There are /L/-melodic stems, which have no tonal peak. /H/-melodic stems have stem-wide H-tone with no accented syllable. /MLH/-melodic stems have two separate tonal peaks (§3.6.1.4).

There is a minor distinction between L‑toned prosodically light (Cv̀, Cv̀v̀, Cv̀Cv̀) and heavy (e.g. Cv̀Cv̀Cv̀) stems in how far a floating H coming from the left is able to spread its high tone. Light stems become fully H‑toned, e.g. H+ Cv̀Cv̀ → Cv́Cv́. Heavy stems stop the advance of the floating H‑tone at the first syllable, e.g. H+ Cv̀Cv̀Cv̀ → Cv́Cv̀Cv̀ (§3.6.3.1).

## Consonants

Jenaama has the consonants in (12). Consonants in parentheses are arguably allophones of other phonemes. Consonants in double parentheses occur chiefly or only in loanwords but are now at least somewhat entrenched. Consonants in triple parentheses are effectively absent except in onomatopoeias and the like.

(12) Consonants

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

labial p b m ((f)) (((v))) w wⁿ

alveolar t d n s ((z)) l, r (rⁿ)

alveopalatal c j ɲ (ʃ) ((ʒ)) y, ɥ (yⁿ)

velar k g ŋ

laryngeal ((h)), (((ʔ)))

notes: stop j is IPA [ɟ], semivowel y is [j], r is tap [ɾ]

key to columns: 1. aspirated voiceless stops (c is affricated); 2. voiced stops; 3. nasals, 4. voiceless fricatives (including sibilants); 5. voiced fricatives (including sibilants); 6.  nonnasal sonorants; 7. nasalized sonorants; 8. laryngeals

Because v as voiced labial fricative is virtually nonexistent, I use “v” as a vowel variable in formulae like Cv́Cv̀. The lower-case permits tone markings which are difficult typographically for capital V.

Nasalized sonorants and tap r do not occur word-initially. Most consonants do not occur word-finally (see just below). Most unclustered intervocalic consonants in word-medial position are voiced.

### Stem-final consonants

The most common final consonant is wⁿ, but it is unstable except in prepausal position (§3.2.10.1). Other semivowels that can occur finally are y (§3.2.9), yⁿ (§3.2.10.1), and in one case ɥ (§3.2.2).

A word-final syllable mu can be reduced to phonetic [m:] in certain words as an intermediate pronunciation with prolonged nasal consonant that preserves the original prosodic timing, or eventually to simple final m (Apocope, §3.4.3.1).

In compounds and fixed noun-adjective combinations, initials with final sonorants are allowed. In some cases the initials also occur as simple nouns, with a final short high vowel that is evidently syncopated (§3.4.3.2) in the compound. For example, káámū ‘doum palm (and fruit)’ is the initial in káám-kɔ̀lɛ́wⁿ ‘pit of doum-palm fruit’, while sālì ‘prayer, holy day’ occurs in the noun-adjective collocation sàl dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ ‘small(er) holy day’ (at the end of Ramadan). In other cases the noun is compound-like but the initial is opaque: kɔ̀n-dyɛ́wⁿ ‘circumcised boy’.

Evolution toward being lexically m‑final has gone farther in the case of cɛ̄m ‘10’. A bisyllabic pronunciation cɛ̄mū is attested but uncommon. The iterated distributive is cɛ̄m-cɛ̄m ‘ten by ten’. This numeral is also heard as cɛ̄ɛ̄m in the counting sequence (‘1, 2, 3, …’).

sàm-sám is a medicinal plant (*Blepharis linariifolia*). Its singular is pronounced as indicated. Its plural sàm-sámè-è with final long vowel is consistent with a stem-final u (or other short vowel).

### Palatoalveolar glide (ɥ)

This glide is the semivowel equivalent of high front rounded vowel (IPA [y]). The vowel itself does not occur in Jenaama. ɥ is a rarity in languages of the zone, but it also occurs with roughly similar restrictions in the adjacent language Bangime. All known examples in Jenaama are presented in (13).

(13) stem gloss comment

a. stem-initial

ɥɛ̀ɛ̀/ɥɛ̀ɛ̄ ‘open’

ɥīī/ɥīī-lì ‘winnow by shaking’

b. stem-medial

*intervocalic*

sùɥɛ̀/sùɥɛ̄ ‘cook, do cooking’ cf. transitive sùwɔ̀/sùwɔ̄ ‘cook (sth)’

kɯ̀ɥɛ̀/kɯ̀ɥɛ̄ ‘steal’

*in consonant cluster*

tùɥgɛ̀/tùɥgɛ̄ ‘approach’ (related to ‘be short; be near’ below)

*word-final*

tùɥ ‘be short; be near’

Stem-initial ɥ is rare but is attested before a front vowel in two verbs (13a). One could argue that ɥ here is an allophone of w before front vowels. Disregarding initial Cw clusters (kwīī/kwīī-lì ‘roll up’), my only example of stem-initial unpalatalized w before a front vowel is the Fulfulde loanword wɛ̄ɛ̄tà ‘spend a half-day (morning)’, found chiefly in a greeting (§19.6.2).

The medial cases in (13b) are associated with preceding high vowels {i u ɯ}, in some cases combined with a following front vowel. The alternation of sùɥɛ̀/sùɥɛ̄ with its transitive counterpart sùwɔ̀/sùwɔ̄ reflects a final-vowel mutation (§9.3.1.1), and constitutes the only known case of ɥ versus w in similar environments. There are few contrasting examples of intervocalic w after high vowel and before front vowel, but I can cite púwē ‘burrow (n)’.

### Alveopalatals (c j)

Voiceless c occurs word-initially chiefly before front vowels {i e ɛ} and semivowel y, as in cyɛ̄wⁿ/cyɛ̄ẁⁿ ‘carry on head’ and cɛ̄bù/cɛ̄bù ‘put (sth) up (on sth)’. However, there is no synchronic process converting either t or k to c before such vowels, as shown by tīwⁿ/tī-nà ‘do’ and kìyɛ̀wⁿ/kìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘arrive’ among other examples. c is rare before other vowels, but the noun ‘dust’ has variants cɔ̄llɔ̀ and sɔ̄llɔ̀.

Voiced stop j occurs word-initially and occasionally word-medially, before a wide range of vowel qualities. Word-initial examples are jīīⁿ ‘year’, jɛ́nāⁿ ‘child, young person’, jōō ‘borassus palm’, jùgù ‘boubou (garment)’, and jáŋāⁿ ‘shed, stall’. Medial examples are gɛ̀jɛ́ ‘arrow’ (variant gɛ̀sɛ̄) and tàjí ‘square basket’.

### Labial fricative f

f is relatively uncommon. It occurs word-initially in borrowings from Fulfulde: fɛ̄llà/fɛ̄llà ‘explode’, fàāmù/fàāmù ‘understand’, fāātī/fāātī ‘pass away (die)’. ‘Understand’ and ‘pass away’ are ultimately from Arabic.

f in Djenné Jenaama usually corresponds to p in Cliffs, e.g. Cliffs pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘sit’ versus Djenné f(w)ɔ̀/fɔ̀-rɔ̀.

### Voiceless stops (p t k) and voiced stops (b d g)

For c and j, see above. Voiceless stops {p t k} are common word-initially and rare medially. Voiced stops {b d g} are common initially and medially, either intervocalically or in nasal-stop clusters.

### Labial velars (absent)

Labial velars kp, gb, and ŋm as unit phonemes are unattested.

### Laryngeals (h ʔ)

h is limited to word-initial position. There are quite a few h-initial stems, most if not all borrowed from Fulfulde but now well-entrenched. Examples are hīīsà/hīīsà ‘count’ and híílā ‘trick, stratagem’.

Glottal stop ʔ occurs marginally as a prosodic element. It occurs in ‘uhn-uhn!’ type vocalizations, and in the clause-final admonitive particle dēʔ (§19.4.2.4).

### Sibilants (s ʃ z ʒ)

ʒ occurs in a few French loans like ʒāndārmū ‘gendarme’. z does not occur in my working vocabulary as of January 2019 but may occur in unintegrated loanwords.

No s/h alternations have been observed. However, hīnì/hīnì ‘be able to’ corresponds to Djenné Jenaama hìnì ~ sìnì.

ʃ and s contrast before front vowels {i e ɛ}. ʃ is not attested before low or back vowels.

### Nonnasal sonorants (l, r, w, y)

{l w y} freely occur stem-initially: lɔ̄gū ‘mouth’, yōgō ‘shout (n)’, wàŋgé ‘hare’. All of these consonants are common intervocalically and are attested as first member of medial consonant clusters. There is no restriction against yi or wu sequences: wùù ‘night’, yìràwⁿ/yìrān-nà ‘help (v)’. r is attested stem-initially only in the Fulfulde borrowing rɛ̄ɛ̄nà/rɛ̄ɛ̄nà ‘be safe’, used chiefly in greeting formulae.

{l r w y} are common intervocalically: kàlè/kàlē ‘die’, pɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀/pɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ ‘rip, tear’, būwɔ̀/būwɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘do herding’, pìyɛ̄ɛ̀/pìyɛ̄-lɛ̀ ‘lick’.

y occurs word-finally after low or back vowel: kày/kà-nà ‘see’, tōy ‘new’. I have no examples of word-final w, but final nasalized wⁿ is common (see below).

### Nasalized sonorants

There are no cases of stem-initial wⁿ, yⁿ, orrⁿ. Semivowels wⁿ and yⁿ occur in other positions (§3.2.10.1 just below), while rⁿ is not clearly established as a phoneme (§3.2.10.2).

#### Status of wⁿ and yⁿ

Stem-final yⁿ occurs in three stems after a low vowel: kāyⁿ ‘work (n)’ (and related verb forms), māyⁿ/māỳⁿ ‘ruin, damage’, màyⁿ ‘be good’ (stative).

Stem-final wⁿ is common in stems after any vowel qualities except u or o. Examples of noun stems: kùwɔ̀-tɔ̄mɔ̄wⁿ ‘patas monkey’, kòbéwⁿ ‘(finger-)nail’, nàwⁿ ‘mother’, and dàràmà‑yīwⁿ ‘maize’, and diminutive suffix ‑lɛ̄wⁿ. There are also many adjectives and numerals ending in wⁿ. There are some verbs that have final wⁿ in both Pfv and Ipfv, e.g. cyɛ̄ẁⁿ/cyɛ̄ẁⁿ ‘carry on head’, and others that have final wⁿ only in the Pfv while the Ipfv adds a nasal suffix, e.g. kāwⁿ/kā-nā ‘draw (milk)’. As these verb doublets suggest, stem-final wⁿ is unstable. The wⁿ is heard in isolation pronunciations but it is reduced to vocalic nasalization or to a homorganic nasal (i.e. prenasalization) when followed by another word.

In medial intervocalic position, analysis is more difficult. Nasalization is expressed phonetically on syllables, especially on vowels. The choice between transcriptions Cvwvⁿ and Cvwⁿv, between Cvyvⁿ and Cvyⁿv, and between Cvrvⁿ and Cvrⁿv (v = any vowel quality) is based partially on whether the first vowel (as well as the second) is phonetically nasalized, but this test doesn’t work if the first consonant is a nasal. Therefore the main test for determining whether a final vowel is phonemically nasalized is the presence or absence of a phonetic homorganic nasal (i.e. prenasalization) before another word. For example, kùmù ‘sleep (n)’ does not “grow” a homorganic nasal in kùmù bē [kùmùbē] ‘sleep came’, but sūmūⁿ ‘visitor’ does grow one in sūmūm bē ‘a visitor came’. This test works regardless of the nasality of the stem-initial consonant. See also §3.4.2.1 for the distinction between stem-final nasalized and oral vowels.

The relevance of this to the issue of medial yⁿ is brought out by (14). On the right, nouns are followed by the verb bē ‘came’ or the adverb bōẁⁿ ‘here’, both b‑initial. In the phonetic transcriptions in (14c), the under-tilde is used instead of superscript ⁿ for vocalic nasalization to avoid diacritic clutter.

(14) stem gloss with bē ‘came’ or bōẁⁿ ‘here’

a. Ciyvⁿ with nonnasal C

*with* ɛⁿ

cīyɛ̀ⁿ ‘gathering (n)’ cīyɛ̀m bē

*with* oⁿ

tìyòⁿ ‘ax’ tìyòm bē

b. Cvyvⁿ with nonnasal C and initial vowel other than i

*‘long, tall’*

kɔ̄jāⁿ ‘long’ (modifying) kɔ̄jām bē

c. Niyⁿv with nasal N

mīyⁿɛ̄ ‘flea’ mīyⁿɛ̄ bē [mḭ̄jⁿɛ̰̄bē]

mìyⁿɛ̀ ‘fishing (n)’ mìyⁿɛ̀ bē [mḭ̀jⁿɛ̰̀bē]

mìyⁿɛ̀ ‘fish (v)’ mìyⁿɛ̀ bōẁⁿ [mḭ̀jⁿɛ̰̀bō̰ẁⁿ]

ɲīyⁿɛ̄ ‘pity (n)’ ɲīyⁿɛ̄ bē [ɲḭ̄jⁿɛ̰̄bē]

In isolation, both vowels of each stem in (14c) are phonetically nasalized, e.g. [mḭ̄jɛ̰̄ⁿ]. I can detect no difference in the degree of nasalization in the final vowels in (14a‑b) versus (14c), though an instrumental study might reveal a slight difference. Importantly, there is no phonetic homorganic nasal before b in (14c) like that in (14a‑b). I conclude that ‘flea’ etc. in (14c) should be transcribed with phonemic yⁿ to account for the phonetic (but not phonological) nasalization of the final vowel.

The fact that all the stems in (14c) also begin with a nasal consonant raises the possibility that nasalization has spread rightward from the left edge, converting medial y to yⁿ. I return to this question below.

Consider now the stems that have a final yvwⁿ syllable (15). Except when prepausal, the wⁿ disappears but leaves behind a homorganic nasal, e.g. [m] before b. The issue here is whether the medial y is nasalized, pointing to a leftward nasalization-spreading process. In (15a), with initial nonnasal consonant, the preceding i‑vowel is at most slightly nasalized. In (15b) the medial y is flanked by an initial nasal consonant and the final wⁿ, so the whole word sounds nasalized.

(15) stem gloss with bē ‘came’ or bōẁⁿ ‘here’

a. Ciy(ⁿ)vwⁿ with nonnasal C

*‘hot’*

pīyāwⁿ ‘heat (n)’ pīyām bē [pījā̰mbē]

pīyɛ̄wⁿ ‘get hot’ (Pfv) pīyɛ̄m bōẁⁿ [pījɛ̰̄mbō̰ẁⁿ]

pīyɛ̄-nā ‘hot’ —

pīyɛ̄-nī ‘heat (v)’ (Pfv) —

*‘dirty’*

pìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘filth, dirt’ pìyɛ̀m bē [pìjɛ̰̀mbē]

pìyɛ̀-nā nì ‘be dirty’

*‘heavy’*

cīyɛ̄wⁿ ‘heavy’ (predicate) cīyɛ̄m bōẁⁿ [cījɛ̰̄mbō̰ẁⁿ]

*‘arrive’*

kìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘arrive’ (Pfv) kìyɛ̀m bōẁⁿ [kìjɛ̰̀mbōẁⁿ]

*‘shadow’*

yíyēwⁿ ‘shadow’ yíyém bē [jijḛ́mbē]

*‘sorghum’*

síyɛ̄wⁿ ‘sorghum grains’ síyɛ́m bē [síjɛ̰́mbē]

b. Niyⁿvwⁿ with nasal N

*‘head’*

ɲìyⁿɛ̀wⁿ ‘head’ ɲìyⁿɛ̀m bē [ɲḭ̀jⁿɛ̰̀mbē]

*‘easy’*

ɲìyⁿɛ̀wⁿ ‘easy’ (predicate) ɲìyⁿɛ̀m bōẁⁿ [ɲḭ̀jⁿɛ̰̀mbō̰ẁⁿ]

ɲīyɛ̀-gù ‘easy’ (modifying)

*‘thin’*

mìyⁿɛ̀wⁿ ‘thin’ (predicate) mìyⁿɛ̀m bōẁⁿ [mḭ̀jⁿɛ̰̀mbō̰ẁⁿ]

mīyɛ̀-gù ‘thin’ (modifying)

That the situation is unstable is suggested by ‘shadow’ in (15a). It is pluralized as yíyéⁿ-yè or contracted yíyè-è, the latter sometimes pronounced yíyⁿè-è or yíyè-èⁿ. Overall, the evidence for leftward nasalization-spreading is weak.

I now consider the question whether the better established medial yⁿ in mīyⁿɛ̄ ‘flea’ etc. in (14c) above is secondarily nasalized under the influence of the stem-initial nasal, i.e. whether there is a rightward nasalization-spreading process converting Nvyv to Nvyⁿv. The presence of an initial nasal in all known examples of the type (14c) supports this hypothesis. However, other data show that no rightward nasalization-spreading process is productive. In (15b), note especially yⁿ versus y in predicative ɲìyⁿɛ̀wⁿ and mìyⁿɛ̀w versus modifying ɲìyɛ̀‑gù ‘easy’ and mìyɛ̀‑gù ‘thin’. In the modifying forms with suffix ‑gù, the medial ɛ is not phonetically nasalized, so the medial y cannot be transcribed as nasalized. This shows that the stems are lexically ɲìyɛ̀ and mìyɛ̀, and their medial y is subject to secondary nasalization only when flanked by nasals on both sides.

Medial w(ⁿ) behaves essentially like medial y(ⁿ). A final nasalized ɔⁿ or oⁿ or vowel plus wⁿ does not fully nasalize a medial w to its left (16a,c), unless the medial w is flanked by nasals on both sides (16b).

(16) stem gloss with bē ‘came’ or bōẁⁿ ‘here’

a. Cuwvⁿ with nonnasal C

*with* oⁿ

búwōⁿ ‘mortar’ búwóm bē [búwó̰mbē]

būwōⁿ ‘horn’ būwōm bē [būwō̰mbē]

dūwōⁿ ‘hunger’ dūwōm bē [dūwō̰mbē]

dùwóⁿ ‘cheek’ dùwóm bē [dùwó̰mbē]

kùwóⁿ ‘flank’ kùwóm bē [kùwó̰mbē]

pùwóⁿ ‘water lily’ pùwóm bē [pùwó̰mbē]

pùwⁿóⁿ ‘fonio (grain)’ pùwóm bē [pùwó̰mbē]

*with* ɔⁿ

kūwɔ̄ⁿ ‘bone’ kūwɔ̄m bē [kūwɔ̰̄mbē]

kúwɔ̄ⁿ ‘husband’ kúwɔ́m bē [kúwɔ̰́mbē]

b. Nuwⁿv with nasal N

*‘ripe’*

mùwⁿɔ̀-nà ‘ripe’ (participle)

distributive mùwⁿɔ̄-mùwⁿɔ̀-nà

cf. verb mwɔ̀ⁿ/mẁɔ̄ⁿ ‘ripen’

c. Cuwvwⁿ with nonnasal C

*‘small’*

dùwɔ̀wⁿ ‘small’ (predicate) dùwɔ̀m bōẁⁿ [dùwɔ̰̀mbō̰ẁⁿ]

distributive dùwɔ̄n-dùwɔ̀wⁿ [dùwɔ̰̄ndùwɔ̀wⁿ]

dūwɔ̀-gù ‘small’ (modifying)

#### rⁿ not a phoneme

There is no good evidence for phonemically nasalized tap rⁿ. In the noun mūrū ‘donation to poor (after Ramadan)’ and the verb mūrī/mūrì ‘braid (v)’, the r is not nasalized. In other words, there is no rightward nasalization-spreading affecting r. As for leftward nasalization-spreading, the r and the initial vowel of predicative kùrùⁿ ‘(be) short’ and those of dàràmà‑yīwⁿ ‘maize’ are not phonetically nasalized. r does sound nasalized in nàràwⁿ ‘four’, variant of nàtàwⁿ, but in this stem it is flanked by initial and final nasals.

### Consonant clusters

#### Stem-initial NC

Word-initial NC clusters are abnormal in Jenaama. However, initial {mb nd ɲj ŋg} and {mp nt ɲc ŋk} are common in the local lingua franca Fulfulde, which may be the source of the few examples recorded in Cliffs Jenaama. They consist of nouns and preclausal pragmatic particles (17).

(17) cluster stem gloss

mb/mp mbāgārɛ̄ɛ̄wù ‘cheetah’ (from an old speaker)

nd/nt ndūɲāāⁿ ‘world (of the living)’

ɲj/ɲc [none]

ŋg/ŋk ŋ̄gàà ‘but’

ŋgàlù ‘city’

ŋ̄kàlà (~ kàlà) ‘except’; ‘must’; also in greetings

In ŋ̄gàà and in the full pronunciation ŋ̄kàlà the initial nasal bears an independent tone. In nouns like ‘city’ the initial nasal is pronounced in isolation with low pitch, but this is arguably automatic. Clause-medially, as in bē ndūɲāān nìŋīì ‘came into the world’, the initial nasal is syllabified with the vowel to its left, from which it acquires its surface tone.

If nasal pronominal clitics are included (1Sg ŋ̀ ~ ŋ̄, Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄), there are many combinations that begin with [mb], [nd], and the like. In these combinations the nasal may have its own tone (§4.3.4).

#### Stem-initial Cw and Cy clusters

The most common initial clusters are of the form Cw. There are attestations of kw, pw, bw, mw, ŋw, and even ww. They are followed by any vowel except u. Stems like wùù ‘night’ are analysed here as having long vowels, not as e.g. #wwù). The known examples of initial Cw are in (18).

(18) a. verbs related forms

*with long vowel*

kwāā/kɔ̄‑lā ‘hit’

kwààⁿ/kwàāⁿ ‘be afraid’

kwɛ̄ɛ̀ⁿ/kwɛ̄ɛ̀ⁿ-nɛ̄ ‘sweep’

kwīī/kwīī-lì ‘roll up (mat)’

mwàà/mwàā ‘become cold, cool’

mwɛ̄ɛ̄ⁿ/mwɛ̄ɛ̀ⁿ ‘massage’

*with short vowel*

bwō/bwō ‘burn’

dwɔ̄/dɔ̄-lɔ̄ ‘enter’

dwī/dwī ‘stone-grind; crush’

kwē/kwē ‘stretch out (arms, legs)’

pwɔ̀/pɔ̀‑là ‘sit’

wwō/wwō ‘weep’

b. adjectival predicates

kwāāⁿ/kwāàⁿ ‘be white, clean’ variant kɔ̄ɔ̄ⁿ ; as modifier: kūwōwⁿ

mwàà-nà ‘be cold’ as modifier: mūwā-nā

wwō-nà ‘be dry; be hard’ as modifier: wūwò-nà

c. modifying adjectives

wwōⁿ-wwōⁿ ‘empty’

d. nouns

bwɔ̀ ‘peer, age-mate’

kwààⁿ ‘rain (n)’

kwīī ‘terrestrial monitor liquid’

ŋwɛ̀wⁿ ‘millet or rice cake’

pwɔ̄ ‘thing’ (variant pɔ̄- in some combinations)

pwìì-ⁿ-wɔ̄bɔ̄ ‘swelling due to disease’

The adjectival predicates with Cw in (18b) correspond to modifying adjectives with Cuw (shown in the right-hand column). The verbs kwāā/kɔ̄‑lā ‘hit’ (18a) and pwɔ̀/pɔ̀‑là ‘sit’ have Cw only in the Pfv.

Other stems that I analyse as beginning with Cuw, for example pūwō/pūwò ‘jab’, are subject to optional shortening or syncope of the u, making it difficult to distinguish Cuwv from Cwv (v some vowel other than u). Confirmation that there is a real distinction between Cuwv and Cwv comes from tone alternations in verbs. bwō/bwō ‘burn’ and wwō/wwō ‘weep’ have identical tones in the Pfv and Ipfv. This tone pattern is characteristic of monomoraic Cv verbs, whose Pfv/Ipfv pairings are of the types Cv̄/Cv̄ or Cv̀/Cv̀, e.g. bē/bē ‘come’ and sò/sò ‘go’. By contrast, no CvCv verb is of the tonal type #Cv̄Cv̄/Cv̄Cv̄ or #Cv̀Cv̀/Cv̀Cv̀ with the same tone (M or L) throughout both Pfv and Ipfv. Unlike bwō/bwō ‘burn’ and wwō/wwō ‘weep’, verbs like pūwō/pūwò ‘jab’ show the productive Pfv/Ipfv tone pairings for CvCv stems, which have a level-toned Pfv and a contour-toned Ipfv, i.e. either Cv̄Cv̄/Cv̄Cv̀ or Cv̀Cv̀/Cv̀Cv̄. This is supporting evidence for a phonological distinction between Cwv and Cuwv in spite of the latter’s tendency to syncopate.

In some cases a verb and its participle or adjectival modifying form are syllabified differently. Thus mwɔ̀ⁿ/mẁɔ̄ⁿ ‘ripen’ and its participle mùwⁿɔ̀-nà ‘ripe’. A more extreme example is stative predicate kwāāⁿ ‘be white’, participle kwāā-nā, but modifying kūwōⁿ ‘white’ (§4.5.1.1).

There are fewer examples of Cy than of Cw. The three known cases, all verbs, begin with cy or sy (19).

(19) a. cy related forms

cyɛ̄wⁿ/cyɛ̄ẁⁿ ‘carry on head’

cỳɛ̄ẁⁿ/ cỳɛ̄-nɛ̀ ‘weave (basket)’

b. sy

syɛ̄/syɛ̄ ‘put in’ sy=ā-ỳ ‘put (sth) in it’ (§9.3.3)

The transcription syɛ̄/syɛ̄ is supported by its tone pattern, which shows the tonal identity of Pfv and Ipfv typical of Cv verbs.

The adjective ‘heavy’ has postnominal modifying form cīyɛ̄wⁿ ~ cīyɔ̄wⁿ. By analogy to the adjectival predicates in (18b) above, we might expect a predicative form beginning #cyɛ̄ɛ̄ⁿ or the like. The actual predicative form is cīyɛ̄wⁿ ~ cīyɔ̄wⁿ, identical to the modifying form. This is consistent with the overall relative infrequency of Cy as opposed to Cw.

#### Medial CC and CCC clusters

The most common stable medial clusters are those with homorganic nasal and voiced stop. Examples are tèndé ‘well (n)’, wòmbò ‘hollowed-out trunk’, dèŋgè ‘lower jaw’, and kɔ̀njì ‘urine’. Bisyllabic CvNCv with these clusters is treated for tonal purposes as prosodically light, like CvCv. One could argue from this that nd etc. are unit phonemes (prenasalized stops).

Other medial CC clusters occur sporadically, especially in Fulfulde borrowings or in frozen compounds. Some examples are in (20).

(20) cluster stem gloss

a. ŋk tɔ́ŋkɔ́nɔ̄ ‘duck’

mp sūmpōrō ‘tick’

nt kàlàmàntùŋɔ́ ‘giant millipede’

ɲc tègèɲcííⁿ ‘forehead’

b. md tɛ̄ɛ̄mdɛ̄rɛ̄ ‘hundred’

c. yn māynī ‘natural catastrophe’

yg kùygù ‘blacksmith’

rn kɔ̀ɔ̀rnɔ̀ ‘carp’ (variant of kɔ̀rɔ̀nɔ̀)

rm ʒāndārmū ‘gendarme’

d. sk mìskììnà-àmà ‘poverty’

bd àsābdì ‘Saturday’

e. ll cɔ̄llɔ̀ ~ sɔ̄llɔ̀ ‘dust’

Tonal behavior is generally similar for CvCv, CvNCv, and longer verb stems (§10.1.2.1). However, the floating H of 1Sg object ŋ̀ (+H) spreads to the end of (light) CvCv and CvNCv stems, but only to the first syllable of trisyllabic stems (§3.6.3.1.1).

Triple clusters are rare. Within a stem, I can cite the noun tɔ̀lmbé ‘hornbill (bird)’ and the (borrowed) verb hāyndè ‘amaze, astonish’. The variants dɔ̀lùmbé ~ dɔ̀lmbé ‘ring (jewel)’ suggest how such triple clusters may emerge by syncope. Another triple cluster, but involving an obscure morpheme boundary, occurs in the archaic suppletive plural ‘children’ dālm‑bī‑gē, now mostly supplanted by jɛ̄nām‑bī‑gē ‘children’ (contrast H‑toned singular jɛ́nāⁿ ‘child’). These clusters are of the type sonorant plus homorganic nasal-voiced-stop NC cluster. Such clusters are more common in Fulfulde, and additional Cliffs Jenaama examples (borrowed from Fulfulde) may turn up during further lexicographic work.

#### Final CC clusters

There are no stem- or word-final clusters, with the marginal exception of the prolonged [m:] as variant pronunciation of stem-final mu (§3.4.3.1).

### Historical linguistic significance of verb-stem alternations

A historical analysis of variant forms of verb stems requires comparative Bozo and Mande data that are beyond the scope of this grammar. Here I simply point out the alternations of greatest possible comparative interest.

#### Unusual bisyllabic stem variants

A number of verb stems have a verbal noun that mutates the final vowel to e/ɛ. In a few cases, the corresponding verb has a monosyllabic Pfv and a bisyllabic Ipfv with medial l or n. The medial consonant also appears in the verbal noun (§4.2.1.2). The examples are in (21). There are close parallels in Djenné Jenaama.

(21) Pfv/Ipfv gloss verbal noun gloss

a. intransitive has same medial consonant as verbal noun

sīwⁿ/sī-nī ‘bite’ sīnɛ̄ ‘biting’

kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’ kɔ̄lɛ̄ ‘hitting’

b. n/m alternation

kūūⁿ/kū-nū ‘catch’ kūmɛ̄ ‘catching’

Some of the same verbs, and others, have intransitivized stems (antipassive or mediopassive) ending in e/ɛ (§9.3.1.1). The available data show the same medial consonants as in verbal nouns of the type in (21). Thus kūūⁿ/kū-nū ‘catch’, antipassive kūmɛ̄/kūmɛ̀ ‘(trap) catch (an unspecified animal)’.

Subject to verification with data from non-Jenaama Bozo and other Mande languages, a reasonable speculation is that the original forms of the stems in (21) were bisyllabic \*sini, \*kɔla, and perhaps \*kumu. If so, they were reduced to monosyllabic shape as Pfv verbs, and the Ipfv of ‘catch’ may have been reshaped to kū-nū by analogy to verbs like ‘bite’.

#### bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’

The verb ‘exit, go out’ has Pfv bāā (dialectally also bā) and Ipfv bā‑lā. There is a suffixed verbal noun bāā-gū based on the Pfv. Comparison with kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’, mentioned in the preceding section, suggests the possibility that bāā reflects \*bālā, in which case the Ipfv preserves the original bisyllabic form of the stem. In Djenné Jenaama, the verb is bá/bá-rá, which belongs to a fairly productive class with Ipfv suffix ‑RV.

The resultative verbal noun is irregular: bān‑nā, not the expected #bāā-nā based on the Pfv. This could be another indication of an original shape \*baL(v) with some sonorant \*L.

## Vowels

The inventory of vowel qualities is (22). All qualities occur long and short, and oral and nasalized.

(22) back front

[+round] [-round]

high u ɯ i

mid [+ATR] o e

[-ATR] ɔ ɛ

low a

This is essentially the regionally widespread 7-vowel system found in nearby Mande languages, Bangime, and Dogon languages, with the surprising addition of a high back unrounded vowel ɯ. There is an ATR-like distinction, or arguably just a Romance-type open/closed distinction, in the mid-height vowels but not in the high or low vowels. See §3.3.6 for ATR harmony.

### High back unrounded vowel ɯ

This vowel is unmistakable when it occurs. Acoustically it is not close to any other vowel quality. However, its distribution is limited. The known examples are in the left column in (23), with Djenné Jenaama cognates in the right column. The majority are mono- and bisyllabic stems that begin with a velar stop and contain no other vowel quality. Exceptions: ‘new’ in (23c) has a variant tɯ̄ɯ̄ with initial alveolar, and ‘steal’ in (23a) has a final ɛ vowel.

(23) form gloss Djenné Jenaama cognate

a. after k

kɯ̀ɯ̀/kɯ̀ɯ̄ ‘run’ kìyè/kìyē ‘run’

kɯ̄ɯ̄/kɯ̄ɯ̀ ‘catch fire’ kìyè-nìⁿ/kìyè-nīⁿ ‘turn on (light)’

kɯ̀ɥɛ̀/kɯ̀ɥɛ̄ 'steal' kwɛ̀ɛ̀/kwɛ̀ɛ̄ ‘steal’

kɯ̄ɯ̄ ‘moon, month’ kóó ‘moon, month’

kɯ̀ɯ̀ (1) ‘maternal uncle’ kòò-kɛ̀ɛ̀wù ‘maternal uncle’

kɯ̀ɯ̀ (2) ‘shea tree’ kòò ‘shea tree (*Vitellaria*)’

kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘a certain (one)’ (see comment below)

kɯ̀ɯ̀ⁿ ‘pit, hole’ kìyèⁿ ‘pit, hole’

kɯ́gɯ̄ ‘thigh’ kíyè ‘thigh’

kɯ̀lɯ̀ ‘baobab’ kèrè ‘baobab’

kāŋāāŋ-kɯ̀yɯ̀ⁿ ‘termitary’ —

*from old men, forms and glosses need checking:*

kɯ́ɯ́ⁿ ‘roan antelope’ kòó ‘roan antelope’

kɯ̀ɯ́m ‘eagel sp.’ kòóⁿ ‘fish eagle’ (*Haliaeetus*)

kɔ̄nī-kɯ̄ɯ̀ ‘green pigeon’ —

b. after g ; see also kɯ́gɯ̄ ‘thigh’ in (a)

gɯ̄gɯ̄jō/gɯ̄gɯ̄jò ‘bite off’ —

gɯ̄lɯ̄ ‘bat (mammal)’ géréⁿ ‘bat’

gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ~ gɯ̄yɯ̄ⁿ ‘place’ gíyéⁿ ‘place’

*from old men, needs checking:*

gɯ̀lɯ̀m-gɯ̀jɯ̀ ‘agave’ (?) —

c. other

pā tɯ̄ɯ̄ nī ‘new (thing)’ twèè ‘new’

(variant pā tōy nī)

Additional clues as to the origin of this vowel at least in Cɯɯ monosyllabics comes from comparisons between Cliffs Jenaama and the nearby Konna variety. My limited data on the latter include kēw ‘moon, month’ and kèw ‘maternal uncle’, corresponding to Cliffs kɯ̄ɯ̄ and kɯ̀ɯ̀. Within Cliffs, the quantificational adjective kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘a certain (one)’, always singular, is likely related to the numeral kēẁⁿ ‘one’, though the connection is synchronically opaque. Similarly, the noun gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘place’ has an idiosyncratic iterative form gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ varying with gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ as relative head (§14.2.4).

From Lauschitzky (2007), which focuses on verbs, the cognates in (24) can be gleaned. They are from Djambakourou near Konna, with a Mopti variant shown for ‘moon’ (24b). Some of the forms are not tone-marked.

(24) Djambakourou Mopti gloss page

a. toi ‘new’ 11

b. kóó kéú ‘moon’ 11

c. kɛ̀ɛ́ ‘to steal’ 10

d. kìé ‘to run’ 24

e. kiɛ ‘to light’ 24

Overall, these data appear to suggest \*(k/g)ew as one source for Cliffs (k/g)ɯɯ in monosyllables, especially if some cases of \*(k/g)oo in other Jenaama varieties can be traced back to \*(k/g)ew.

There is no productive process in Cliffs that converts another vowel quality into ɯ after a velar stop. Examples of stem-initial k/g before various vowel qualities are in (25).

(25) form gloss

a. before u

kūūⁿ/kū‑nū ‘catch’

kùgù ‘daytime’

gūnūⁿ ‘courtyard’

b. before o

kògò ‘newly built house’

kōlō ‘Nile monitor lizard’

gòró ‘kola nut’

c. before e

kèŋgé ‘dream (n)’

kégú ‘cream of millet’

gēỳ ‘herb with potato-like tuber (*Raphionacme*)’

d. before ɛ

kɛ̄lɛ̄ ‘fight’

kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘man’

gɛ̀jɛ́ ‘arrow’

ɯ does not occur in any nearby language known to me (Dogon family, Bangime, Songhay family) or in the lingue franche Bambara and Fulfulde. It is evidently an isolated local development in Cliffs Jenaama.

### Short and long vowels

In native vocabulary, long vowels occur mainly in Cvv monosyllabics and in stem-initial syllables in longer stems. Most noninitial syllables have short vowels but some cases of long vowels are also known.

Bimoraic Cvv with a long vowel is common in all open-ended stem classes. Examples are nàà ‘cow’, tēē ‘meat’, ɲīī ‘(be) bad’, dāāⁿ ‘distant’, mūūⁿ/mū-nū ‘insult (v)’, and ɥɛ̀ɛ̀/ɥɛ̀ɛ̄ ‘open (v)’.

Monomoraic Cv verbs are uncommon, but five high-frequency stems have this shape in both Pfv and Ipfv: sò/sò ‘go’, bē/bē ‘come’, sē/sē ‘say’, kò/kò ‘provide (with)’, and dō/dō ‘give’. There is also a stative adjectival predicate kōⁿ ‘(be) many, numerous’, and there are a handful of Cwv and Cyv verbs (§10.1.2.2).

For nouns, the Cv shape with oral vowel is limited to ‘thing’, a semi-grammaticalized stem whose full form pwɔ̄ reduces to pā before a modifier (§4.1.2). There are no Cv adjectives or numerals.

Many grammatical morphemes have Cv shape.

Many examples of CvCv stems are in §10.1.2.1 (verbs) and §3.6.1.2 (nouns). In nonmonosyllabic stems, vowel-length oppositions occur mainly in initial syllables, e.g. CvCv versus CvvCv. The stems in (26) are nonmonosyllabics with a single long vowel. Bisyllabic #CvvCvv with two long vowels is unattested, though trisyllabics may begin with this sequence (kāābūūsì ‘pistol’).

(26) shape stem gloss

CvvCv bāànā ‘manner’

gùùsúⁿ ‘giant pouched rat’

CvCvv hìnɛ̄ɛ̀ ‘what one can, one’s best’

jàmááⁿ ‘crowd’

CvCvCv kàbárī ‘news’

màsírī ‘jewelry’

CvvCvCv pūūtūrù ‘red ochre’

wààjíbí ‘obligation’

CvCvvCv àlāābà ‘Wednesday’

dùgáálā ‘stone-ground millet’

CvCvCvv kìrìkēè ‘saddle’

màsàkūù ‘sweet potato’

Among vowel-length minimal pairs are kūūnū/kūūnù ‘crawl’ versus Ipfv kū‑nū ‘catches’, and pɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀/pɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ ‘rip, tear’ versus pɛ̄rɛ̀/pɛ̄rɛ̀ ‘split (nut)’.

Even in initial syllables, a long vowel before a consonant cluster is rare except at compound boundaries and in poorly assimilated borrowings. An example of the latter is the Fulfulde loanword tɛ̄ɛ̄mdɛ̄rɛ̄ ‘hundred’.

Most stem-final syllables have short vowels. Some with final long vowels are the Pfv’s in pìyɛ̄ɛ̀/pìyɛ̄‑lɛ̀ ‘lick’ and sùwōò/sùwō-lò ‘sing’, and the nouns kèbāà ‘flint lighter’ and kìrìkēè ‘saddle (n)’.

### Nasalized vowels

Nasalized vowels occur chiefly in word- or morpheme-final position, with vowels of any quality. Examples not involving nasal consonants include pīīⁿ ‘black’, súgūⁿ ‘harvested rice heap’, búwōⁿ ‘mortar’, sɔ̄ⁿ ‘needle’, kēlēŋ-kālāⁿ ‘forked stick’, síyɛ̄ⁿ ‘sorghum kernels’, and 2Sg pronominal āⁿ.

Nasalized vowels in nonfinal syllables not involving a nasal consonant are rare. Aside from compounds, I can cite dòⁿsò ‘hunter’, whose s does not allow a preceding full nasal (#ns). There are no similar examples with medial semivowels, an important difference vis-à-vis Djenné Jenaama which has several stems like kúⁿwɔ́ ‘bone’ (Cliffs kūwɔ̄ⁿ).

Vowels following nasal or nasalized consonants are subject to a degree of phonetic nasalization. However, the difference between e.g. na and naⁿ is audible on careful listening. A generally reliable test is the pronunciation of such syllables before words beginning with an obstruent such as a stop, or with l. For example, phonemic na combines with t as [na̰t], while phonemic naⁿ combines with it as [na̰nt], including a nasal consonant that is assimilated to the position of the t (or, arguably, prenasalization of t). See §3.4.2.2 below on such alternations.

### Initial vowels

Vowel-initial morphemes are primarily proclitic pronominals like 3Sg à and 1Pl ē (§4.3.1). These morphemes readily contract with preceding vowels.

Very few Jenaama words other than pronouns and pronominal clitics begin with a vowel. Nearly all of the stems that begin with vowels are Arabic noun borrowings (via Fulfulde), plus àrjo᷆ⁿ ‘radio’ from French where the initial vowel avoids a disallowed initial tap r.

### Stem-final vowels

All vowel qualities may occur stem-finally, and therefore word-finally.

### ATR harmony and Back/Rounding Harmony

As noted in §3.3 above, the opposition between {e o} and {ɛ ɔ} in languages of the zone is often described as an ATR (advanced tongue root) distinction, though its actual articulation needs further study.

Because there is so little affixal morphology, there are few opportunities to apply vocalic harmony to affixes. However, there are some verbs that “mutate” a final vowel to distinguish transitive from intransitive (antipassive) and/or in suffixal derivations (§9.3.1). The mutations are from stem-final {a ɔ} to ɛ, and from stem-final o to e, preserving ATR value.

This can, incidentally, be used as evidence that a is treated as ‑ATR. However, there is no constraint against combining a and {e o} within stems: kārāndē ‘tamarind’, kāsò ‘jail’, kèbà ‘marriage ceremony’.

### Diphthongs

In cases like pwɔ̀ ‘sit.Pfv’ and kwāā ‘hit.Pfv’, the w is part of the syllable onset and there is no need to recognize diphthongs as a phonological category. Metrically sensitive phonological processes treat initial Cw like initial C.

Word-final rising diphthongs, i.e. sequences of low or mid-height vowel plus semivowel, are well-attested. Most involve final wⁿ after any vowel quality except u or o, e.g. bílāwⁿ ‘torch’, pāà-lɛ̄wⁿ, ‘many’, kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ ‘five’, and dībìwⁿ/dībìn‑nà ‘roast’. Other final semivowels that are attested are w, y, and yⁿ, as in sáw ‘millet-based meal’, tòy ‘intelligence’, and kāyⁿ ‘work (n)’.

### Front rounded [y] absent

A phonetic front rounded vowel, IPA [y] like French “u,” occurs in stems ending in (underlying) uwɛ/uwe for some speakers in Djenné Jenaama. This has not been observed in Cliffs, where the rounding in e,g, sùɥɛ̀/sùɥɛ̄ ‘cook, do cooking’ is centered on the medial semivowel.

### Vocalic sound symbolism

I currently have no examples of vocalic sound symbolism in Cliffs Jenaama parallel to those in some other languages of the zone, where vocalic mutations within verb stems and some adverbials correlate in some way with size or intensity. Diminutive morphemes -náwⁿ and ‑lɛ̄wⁿ (§5.1.7.1-2), adjective dɛ̀gɛ̀‑náwⁿ ‘small’, and jɛ́nāⁿ ‘child’ lack strong phonaesthetic features of the *teeny-weeny* type.

### Diphthongization of ɔ to wa absent

This diphthongization, present in some Djenné Jenaama dialects, is generally absent in Cliffs. However, there are a handful of lexically specific alternations of Cwɔ with Cɔ. The noun pɔ̄ ~ pā ‘thing’ has a variant pwɔ̄. The verb ‘sit’ is pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀. An even more isolated case is the verb kwāā/kɔ̄‑lā ‘hit’.

## Segmental phonological rules

### Local segmental processes

#### l → d and l → w (in independent pronouns and with QTop lāā)

The alternation of d and l is not productive. It is observed in a handful of high-frequency morphemes. The alternation is archaic and occurs in some of the same forms in Djenné Jenaama.

Independent pronouns take the form pronominal proclitic plus lɔ̀gɔ̀ in plural categoriesː ē‑lɔ̀gɔ̀ ‘we’ (also logophoric plural), è‑lɔ̀gɔ̀ ‘they’, āā‑lɔ̀gɔ̀ ‘you-Pl’. The singular pronouns are 1Sg ǹ‑dɔ́gɔ́, logophoric singular n̄-dɔ̀gɔ̀, 2Sg ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀, and 3Sg wɔ̀gɔ̀, the latter with an uncommon variant lɔ̀gɔ̀. All except the unsegmentable 3Sg wɔ̀gɔ̀ ~ lɔ̀gɔ̀ are transcribed with hyphens. Taking lɔ̀gɔ̀ as basic requires a rule l → d after a nasal for 1Sg and 2Sg, and a (phonetically un motivated) l → w for 3Sg.

In Djenné Jenaama, dùwɔ̀ ~ lùwɔ̀ occurs in independent pronouns and also as plural focus marker. In Cliffs, lɔ̀gɔ̀ does not function as a focus marker.

Interrogative topic (QTop) lāā shows l → d in 1Sg ǹ-dāā, logophoric singular n̄-dāā, and optionally in 2Sg ān lāā ~ ān-dāā (§19.1.2). The -dāā forms are written with hyphens.

There is no general l → d rule even after nasals. For example, lɔ̄gū ‘mouth’ has possessed forms including ǹ lɔ̄gū ‘my mouth’ and ān lɔ̄gū ‘your-Sg mouth’. There are also no other l ~ w alternations.

#### vv-Contraction

Two vowels come together at boundaries only under limited conditions. The second element is a vocalic pronominal proclitic with V2 either e or a (1Pl ē, 2Sg āⁿ, 2Pl āā, 3Sg à, 3Pl è). These contract with preceding morphemes ending in a vowel (V1), which is generally a grammatical morpheme ending in e or a, less often a particle or verb ending in another vowel. Some all-pronominal subject-object combinations, in the perfective positive (when they are not separated by a bidirectional case marker), also contract. For example, 2Sg āⁿ (as subject) can combine with 3Sg à (as object), resulting in contracted ā= à (§3.4.2.3), and 2Sg āⁿ can combine with itself (as reflexive object), resulting in ā(ⁿ)= āⁿ (§18.1.1.2).

When V1 and V2 contract, the result is a long vowel with the quality of V2. To some extent the tones of the inputs are respected, so that v̀ plus v̄ is realized as v̀v̄ with rising tone, and v̄ plus v̀ is realized as v̄v̀ with falling tone. However, in allegro speech there is some tendency to level contoured tones originating from such contractions.

Array (27) illustrates the four most common V1-V2 input combinations (aa, ae, ee, ea), with Ipfv gà and PfvNeg tè followed by a pronominal.

(27) input output example gloss

a. identical input vowel qualities

/a a/ aa gā= à Ipfv plus 3Sg

/e e/ ee tē= è PfvNeg plus 3Pl

b. nonidentical input vowel qualities

/a e/ ee gè= ē Ipfv plus 1Pl

gē= è Ipfv plus 3Pl

/e a/ aa tā= à PfvNeg plus 3Sg

Examples with a different V1 are in (28).

(28) inputs output gloss

a. dɔ̄-lɔ̄ ā-ỳ dɔ̄-lā= ā-ỳ ‘enters into it’

b. hàlì ē hàlè= ē ‘until we’

c. tīyē [à nī] tīyā= [à nī] ‘ask about it’

d. kìlɛ̀ [à nìŋíì] kìlā= [ā nìŋíì] ‘get (sth) in it’

e. dō [à tē] dā= [à tē] ‘give to him/her’

Some final semivowels can delete before a vowel, leading to contraction of the resulting vowels. This can occur with presentative kày and hortative kèyⁿ, which then behave like kà and kè(ⁿ) and contract with the next vowel.

For loss of V1ⁿ nasality in vv-Contraction, see §3.4.2.3 below.

### Processeses involving nasality

#### Word-final vⁿ alternating with vN within phrases

There are alternations between word-final nasalized vowels and sequences of vowel plus nasal consonant, at word boundaries.

As an example of a final nasalized vowel, consider 2Sg pronominal clitic āⁿ. Pronunciation as āⁿ with nasalized vowel is normal in isolation and before s, h, and semivowels (29a). Before other consonants it is often realized as [āⁿ] plus a homorganic nasal (29b-e).

(29) a. āⁿ before {s w y h}

**āⁿ** sèwⁿ / wɔ̀bɔ̀ / yàbà / hɔ̄ɔ̄là

2Sg road / disease / guinea.fowl / trust

‘your-Sg road/disease/guinea-fowl/trust’

b. an before alveolar

**ān** lɔ̄gū / tòy / dàgà / nɔ̀gù

2Sg mouth / intelligence / totem / village

‘your-Sg mouth/intelligence/totem/village’

c. āɲ before palatoalveolar

**āɲ** jūgū / cɔ̄llɔ̀ / ɲīnā

2Sg medicine / dust / mouse

‘your-Sg medicine/dust/mouse’

d. ām before labial

**ām** bārmā / pòwⁿ / mùlè

2Sg modern.pot / wife / sugarcane

‘your-Sg pot/wife/sugarcane’

e. aŋ before velar

**āŋ** kèw / gàlà

2Sg uncle / indigo

‘your-Sg (maternal) uncle/indigo’

The same alternations occur in the 1Sg allomorph nàⁿ of the bidirectional case morpheme.

(30) a. pronounced [nàⁿ] or (before L‑tone) <LM> toned [nǎⁿ]

n̄ **=nǎⁿ** wɔ̀bɔ̄ / yàbā / … kày

" " … / … /. sèŋ̄ "

1Sg Sbj/Obj disease / guinea.fowl / road see.Pfv

‘I saw the disease/guinea-fowl/road.’ (< wɔ̀bɔ̀, yàbà, sèwⁿ)

b. pronounced [nàn] or [nàn̄]

n̄ **=nàn** lɔ̄gū / … / … / … kày

" **=nàn̄** / … / tòȳ / dàgā / nɔ̀gū "

1Sg Sbj/Obj mouth / intelligence / totem / village see.Pfv

‘I saw the mouth/intelligence/totem/village.’ (< tòy etc.)

c. pronounced [nàɲ] or [nàɲ̄]

n̄ **=nàɲ** jūgū / cɔ̄llɔ̄ / ɲīnā kày

1Sg Sbj/Obj medicine / dust / mouse see.Pfv

‘I saw the medicine/dust/mouse.’ (< cɔ̄llɔ̀)

d. pronounced [nàm] or [nàm̄]

n̄ **=nàm** bārmā / … kày

" **=nàm̄** … / pòŋ̄ / mùlē "

1Sg Sbj/Obj modern.pot / wife / sugarcane see.Pfv

‘I saw the pot/wife/sugarcane.’ (< pòwⁿ, mùlè)

e. pronounced [nàŋ] or [nàŋ̄]

n̄ **=nàŋ̄** kɯ̀lɯ̄ / gàlā kày

1Sg Sbj/Obj baobab / indigo see.Pfv

‘I saw the baobab/indigo.’ (< kɯ̀lɯ̀, gàlà)

Neither 2Sg āⁿ nor 1Sg bidirectional n̄ =nàⁿ occurs prepausally or in isolation (except artificially).

Many noun, verb, and other stems have similar alternations. Unlike the grammatical morphemes described above, these stems do occur prepausally. In this position they show the nasalized vowel with no final nasal consonant. (31) lists noun stems ending in nasalized vowels.

(31) Nouns with final nasalized vowel

a. Cvvⁿ with nonnasal C

sááⁿ ‘wild grape tree’ or ‘thorn-branch fence’

sàáⁿ ‘well bag’

sààⁿ ‘honey’

jááⁿ ‘fishhook’

jīīⁿ ‘year’

cííⁿ ‘trunk (of tree)’

kūūⁿ ‘boat’

sɔ̄ɔ̄ⁿ ‘needle’

sūūⁿ ‘fly (insect)’

pīīⁿ ‘grain(s)’ or ‘millet’

tùùⁿ ‘body’

pāāⁿ ‘mound (in field)’

wāāⁿ ‘okra’

b. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Cvvⁿ with nonnasal C

sírāāⁿ ‘tobacco plant’

súbāāⁿ ‘morning’

tègèncííⁿ ‘forehead’

ɲāmāŋ-kūùⁿ ‘ginger’

bànàŋ-kūùⁿ ‘cassava’

kɔ̀n-kūūⁿ ‘vulture’

c. Nvvⁿ with nasal consonant N

mùùⁿ ‘cold (n)’

nùùⁿ ‘belly’

ɲīīⁿ ‘tooth’

d. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Nvvⁿ with nasal consonant N

jáŋāāⁿ ‘shelter’

kànààⁿ ‘friend’

kūlāàⁿ ‘hip’

síbɛ́ⁿ-nūūⁿ ‘week’

súmāāⁿ ‘waterskin’

ǹdūɲāāⁿ ‘world’

e. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Nvⁿ (alphabetized by final nasal N)

sūmūⁿ ‘visitor’

jɛ́nāⁿ ‘child’

kɔ̀ɲɔ́ⁿ ‘slave’

mùɲúⁿ ‘harvested millet heap’

sɔ̄ŋɔ̄ⁿ ‘the bush (outback)’

sùŋɔ́ⁿ ‘crocodile’

f. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Cvⁿ (alphabetized by final nonnasal C)

kābōⁿ ‘shoes’

jàmbóⁿ ‘grasshopper’

dòn-dóⁿ ‘hourglass-shaped tomtom’

ɲōgōⁿ ‘soul’

súgūⁿ ‘harvested rice heap’

yùgòⁿ ‘woman’

tàà-yūgōⁿ ‘grandmother’

wùjúⁿ ‘giant pouched rat’

tùwɔ̀-kɔ́lɔ́ⁿ ‘testicle’ (Konna dialect)

kéléŋ-kālāⁿ ‘forked stick’

kānā-kòlóⁿ ‘throat (external)’

tūwɔ̄-būlōⁿ ‘elephant’ (“ear-big”)

wōlōⁿ-wōlōⁿ ‘bell’

wòtōròⁿ ‘cart’

gùrū-gùsúⁿ ‘hedgehog’

bōŋgūsɔ̄ⁿ ‘malevolent object’

sɔ̀ⁿ-sɔ̀ⁿ ‘sand’

búwōⁿ ‘mortar’

būwōⁿ ‘horn’

dūwōⁿ ‘hunger’

dùwóⁿ ‘cheek’

kàlàmàntùwɔ́ⁿ ‘giant millipede’ (variant)

kààŋ-kúwɔ́ⁿ ‘crow’

kūwɔ̄ⁿ ‘bone’

kùwóⁿ ‘flank’

kúwɔ̄ⁿ ‘husband’

pùwóⁿ ‘water lily’

pàām-pùwóⁿ ‘sesame’

cīyɛ̀ⁿ ‘gathering, assembly’

síyɛ̄ⁿ ‘sorghum grains’

tìyòⁿ ‘ax’

Many other noun stems have a subphonemically nasalized final vowel that is simply the phonetic carry-over from a nasal or nasalized consonant (32). These stems do not usually have variants with final assimilated nasal consonant.

(32) Nouns with oral (nonnasal) vowel after nasal consonant N

a. monosyllabic Nvv

nàà ‘cow’

b. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Nvv

kàmāà ‘tale’

sānāā ‘gazelle’

c. nonmonosyllabic ending in …yⁿv (see §3.2.10.1 for discussion)

mīyⁿɛ̄ ‘flea’

ɲīyⁿɛ̀ ‘pity (n)’

d. nonmonosyllabic ending in …Nv with nasal N (alphabetized by this N)

nùmà ‘rope’

kùmù ‘sleep (n)’

sɔ̀mɔ́ ‘pick-hoe’

tímī ‘odor’

tìmì ‘rock python’

ɲīmī ‘person’

sɔ̀mɔ̀ ‘louse’

kāmà ‘reason’

kɔ̀mɔ́ ‘sickle’

kìtɔ́mɔ́ ‘conical hat’

mànàmì ‘dance (n)’

ɲōòmɔ́ ‘camel’

ɲàmà-ɲāmā ‘trash’

kààmà ‘lie (n), untruth’

síí-mā ʽsort (n), kind’

kūlāàⁿ-nùmà ‘belt’

sīrāān-dūmà ‘snuff tobacco’

māynī ‘disaster’

ságánī ‘bunch (unit of sale)’

bànà (~ bàndà) ‘fatigue’

bànù ‘pestle’

kānà ‘throat’

kānū ‘breast’ or ‘gold’

bɔ̀nɛ̀ ‘trouble’

kɔ̄nɔ̄ ‘lungfish’

ɲīnā ‘mouse’

tɔ̀ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ ‘truth’

tùjūnù ‘pigeon’

kùwōnì ‘settled area’

ɲīmīnà ‘nose’

tɔ́ŋkɔ́nɔ̄ ‘duck’

bāànā ‘way, manner’

wùù-tīnā ‘night’

kùgū-tàànà ‘afternoon’

ʃèètāānà ‘devil’

kàɲá ‘calabash saw’

ɲāāɲì ‘face’ (Konna dialect)

sìbò-ɲɔ̄ŋɔ̄ ‘pig’

nìŋīì ‘interior’

Similar data from adjectives are in (33).

(33) Adjectives

a. final nasalized vowel

*after nasal or nasalized consonant*

dēmōⁿ ‘sweet’

tīnāāⁿ ‘other’

*after other consonant*

dāāⁿ ‘distant’

kɔ̄jāⁿ ~ kɔ̄yāⁿ ‘long’

pīīⁿ ‘black’

b. unnasalized final vowel after nasal consonant

bīllà-nà ‘narrow, tight’ (and others with participial suffix -na)

bánū ‘thick’

ɲīī-ɲīī ‘coarse’

ɲɔ̄ŋɔ̄ ‘bad, nasty’

#### Final wⁿ alternating with homorganic nasal within phrases

Dozens of stems end in a syllable that is pronounced Cvwⁿ prepausally (e.g. clause-finally or in isolation). For verbs, this form is limited to the Pfv stem. All vowel qualities may precede the wⁿ, though a and ɛ are especially common. After a back rounded vowel, the labialization may be faint, but the nasality is clear. Representative examples are in (34). Stems of the shape Cuuⁿ like kūūⁿ ‘boat, skiff’ might be added if analysed as Cuwⁿ.

(34) a. non-verbs

mɛ̀wⁿ ‘iron, metal’

nàwⁿ ‘mother’

pòwⁿ ‘wife’ or ‘tomtom’

bōẁⁿ ‘here’

yāẁⁿ ‘there (discourse-definite)’

sébēwⁿ ‘amulet’

bíyɛ̄wⁿ ‘egg’

dàràmà-yīwⁿ ‘maize’

sìgèwⁿ ~ sìkèwⁿ ‘three’

b. verbs (Pfv only)

bāwⁿ ‘shave’ (Pfv)

bēwⁿ ‘go back’ (Pfv)

kɛ̄wⁿ ‘snap, break’ (Pfv)

sīwⁿ ‘bite’ (Pfv)

pīyɛ̄wⁿ ‘get hot’ (Pfv)

Some grammatical morphemes are of this type. They include nàwⁿ/nāwⁿ ‘if’ (post‑subject, in perfective positive conditional antecedents, §16.1.1), relative marker màwⁿ (§14.1.1), postpositions kāẁⁿ ‘chez’ (§8.2.4.3) and bààcɛ́wⁿ ‘toward, around’ (§8.2.9), diminutive ‑náwⁿ (§5.1.7.1), default possessum pàwⁿ (§6.2.2.2), and place nominal morpheme ‑gàwⁿ (§4.2.1.5.1).

When these stems and morphemes are followed by another word within a prosodic group, the labialization usually disappears, leaving a final nasal vowel behind. This vowel behaves phonologically like the nasal vowels described in the preceding subsection. For example, nàwⁿ ‘mother’ can be heard as nàⁿ, or after point of articulation assimilation as nàm, nàn, nàɲ, or nàŋ depending on the following consonant. However, the labialization is sometimes audible even in such combinations, making transcription of rapidly spoken passages difficult.

There are only a handful of stems ending in yⁿ, including the verb māyⁿ/māỳⁿ ‘malfunction’ and the noun kāyⁿ ‘work’. When these are followed by another word, the y remains audible. For example, kāyⁿ can be heard without change, or by assimilation as kāym, kāyn, kāyɲ, or kāyŋ.

The frequency asymmetry between final wⁿ and final yⁿ, along with the general absence of word-final nasal consonants (§3.2.1), suggests a diachronic hypothesis: most examples of final wⁿ reflect original final nasal consonants, including \*ŋ and perhaps \*m and \*n.

#### Denasalization

##### Denasalization in vv-Contraction and vowel sequences

When the first element in vv-Contraction is a nasalized vowel, its nasality is lost when it contracts.

(35) a. **ā=** à kày

2Sg 3Sg see.Pfv

‘You-Sg saw him.’ (< /āⁿ à kày/)

b. sèēdù **yè=** ē-lɔ̀gɔ̀

S and 1Pl-Indep

‘Seydou and us’ (< /yèⁿ ē-/)

c. **yè=** è kwāā

Imprt.2Pl 3Pl hit.Pfv

‘Hit-2Pl them!’ (< /yèⁿ è/)

Denasalization of a vowel can also occur at a word boundary where it is followed by another vowel, without actual contraction. An example is (571a) in §12.1.2.

##### Denasalization in Pfv/Ipfv verb stems

A few irregular verbs have nasal syllables in the Pfv stem, but lose the nasality in the suffixed Ipfv stem.

(36) Pfv Ipfv gloss related form

yàwⁿ yà-là ‘descend’ causative yɛ̀lì/yɛ̀lī ‘take down, unload’

wẁo᷆ⁿ wẁō-lò ‘dry off’

The regularly formed Ipfv’s would be #yà-nà and #wẁō-nò (§10.1.3.3.1). Compare Djenné Jenaama unnasalized yà/yà‑rà ‘descend’ and fully nasalized wùwóⁿ/wùwó-nò ‘dry (v)’. It may be that Cliffs Pfv yàwⁿ ‘descended’ acquired wⁿ secondarily by analogy to tāwⁿ ‘ascended’. However, the vast majority of verbs whose Pfv’s end in a nasalized vowel or in wⁿ preserve the nasality in the Ipfv.

On the other hand, another irregular verb shows nasality only in the Ipfv (37). For Ipfv kà‑nà we would expect Pfv #kàwⁿ. (Djenné Jenaama unsuffixed kày/kàý ‘see’ and Kelenga hɛ́ɛ̀/hɛ́ɛ́-lɛ̀ ‘see’ are nonnasal.)

(37) Pfv Ipfv gloss reference

kày kà-nà ‘see’ (424) in §10.1.3.3.2

##### Denasalization of 2Sg āⁿ before BCM yè or a-initial proclitic

2Sg subject proclitic āⁿ combines with bidirectional yè (§11.1.2.1) in perfective positive transitive clauses as ā yè without nasality, as in ā yè=ē kwāā ‘you-Sg hit us’. This is in addition to denasalization of 2Sg āⁿ as first vowel in vv-Contraction (§3.4.3.2.1).

#### ɲ#j with yè ‘said’

yē ~ yè ‘said’ is an invariant perfective positive quasi-verb that introduces quoted material (§17.1.2). It is preceded by a subject NP or pronominal clitic but has no other verb-like behaviors.

Pronominal subject proclitics that consist of a nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel harden the semivowel y to a palatoalveolar stop j before the ‘said’ quasi-verb, whose input is L‑toned yè in the relevant combinations. The nasalized vowel in 2Sg āⁿ then breaks into a vowel and a nasal consonant homorganic to j, by regular phonology. Therefore ‘you-Sg said’ is structurally /āⁿ yè/, realized as āɲ jè. For the full paradigm see §17.1.2.

The issue does not arise with 2Sg subject before bidirectional case marker yè, where the 2Sg morpheme denasalizes (see the preceding subsection).

### Apocope and Syncope

#### Apocope (deletion of final u)

Word-final mu in words of two or more syllables can reduce to [m:] (prolonged) or m. For singular nouns, the optional prolonged pronunciation occurs, for example, in kāmū ~ [kām:] ‘wing’ and káámū ~ [káám̄:] ‘doum palm (and fruit)’. In suffixal plurals, Apocope and nasal prolongation fail to occur: kāmū‑yē ‘wings’, káámú-yè ~ káámé-è ‘doum palms’.

cɛ̄m ‘10’ is most often heard without the original final u in all positions. Bisyllabic cɛ̄mū is attested but uncommon.

sémú ‘right side’ combines with postposition pà as sém pà ‘on the right side’.

For dropping of final short high vowels in the initial stem in compounds, see the following section. This could be classified either as Apocope or Syncope.

A few compounds drop a final short high vowel after a sonorant (especially r) in the initial stem. This could be considered Apocope or Syncope.

#### Syncope

Closely related to Apocope (word-final) is Syncope at the end of compound initials. Syncope is not widespread but it does occur in a few compounds with prosodically heavy initials that end in a sonorant plus short high vowel.

(38) stem gloss compound gloss

a. lèmūrù ‘citrus fruit’ lèmùr-kūmūⁿ ‘lemon’

b. mɔ̄lì ‘marabout’ mɔ̄l-kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘butterfly’ (< “holy man”)

sālì ‘prayer; holy day’ sàl-[dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ] ‘eid al fitr (after Ramandan)’

c. bànù ‘pestle’ (dialectal) bàn-dyɛ̄wⁿ ‘pestle’

As noted in §3.2.11.2, Cuwv is distinct lexically from Cwv, but there is a low-level tendency to shorten or syncopate the u in Cuwv. Likewise with Ciyv and Cyv.

## Cliticization

There are no moveable, e.g. second-position, clitics.

In the absence of a weight-sensitive accentual system, cliticization is of little phonological importance. This is especially the case with proclisis. However, proclisis is important morphosyntactically.

Pronouns have full independent forms, but also proclitic forms that occur before verbs (as subjects or objects), before nouns (as possessors), and before postpositions. Some of the independent pronouns can be segmented into a proclitic and a noun-like stem. For example, 1Pl is independent ē‑lɔ̀gɔ̀ or proclitic ē. The only significant phonological interaction of proclitics with following stems is that 1Sg allomorph ŋ̀ (+H) causes a following L‑tone to raise to H, as in nàà ‘cow’, ŋ̀ náá ‘my cow’. The ŋ̀ (+H) allomorph occurs in object, possessor, and pre-postposition functions, but not in subject function. Nasal proclitics like these also assimilate in position to following consonants, but this is not limited to proclitics.

Other candidates for proclisis are prenominal demonstratives like kɔ̀ⁿ ‘this, that’, which have distinct forms when not followed by a noun, and which induce tonal changes on the noun.

Enclisis, on the other hand, is not sharply distinguishable from suffixation. Candidates for the status of enclitics include plural ‑ye (though transcribed as a suffix) and definite gu in NPs, and nì ‘it is’ following a predicate NP or participle. ‑ye and gu acquire their tones by spreading from the preceding stem. Plural ‑ye often contracts with a preceding vowel to form a long vowel, especially in longer stems, e.g. bàń-bànú ‘shrub sp.’, plural bàń-bàné‑è varying with bàń-bànú‑yè. Identificational nì ‘it is’ is a good candidate for enclitic status, since a pronoun must take independent rather than proclitic form before it: ē-lɔ̀gɔ̄ nì ‘it’s us’.

## Tones

There are three tone levels in Cliffs Jenaama, represented here as H[igh], M[id], and L[ow]. All three occur in lexical melodies for non-verb stems. Verbs have lexical melodies consisting only of M and L tones and their combinations. By contrast, Djenné Jenaama and, based on Lauschitzy’s work in Djambakourou, even the Jenaama spoken just west of the Cliffs villages, have only two lexical tone levels. This is also true of Kelenga.

The three-way distinction is clearest in the initial syllable of stems, and in stems that have a mono-tonal melody (/H/, /M/, or /L/). In contour-toned words, M and H tones are difficult to distinguish. For example, no lexical opposition of /LML/ to /LHL/ melody, or of /LM/ to /LH/ melody, have been observed. However, focalization and some other grammatical contexts raise the word-final tone to H, which shows that H and M should be distinguished even word-finally.

Syllables may be level-toned (monotonal) H, M, or L, or they may be contour-toned <ML> (falling), <LH> (rising), or rarely <LML> (bell-shaped) as in wẁo᷆ⁿ ‘dried off (Pfv)’. <ML> syllables not due to floating H are bimoraic with either a long vowel or a sonorant coda, and these can be written with tone diacritics on both moraic segments, as in nànāà ‘mint’. Likewise, <LH> syllables are bimoraic and can be written with tones on both segments. There is no /HL/ lexical melody, but <HL> syllables occur when an initial L-toned syllable hosts a floating H from the left, as in ŋ̀ sâbá ‘my chicken’ from sàbá ‘chicken’. /HM/ lexical melody and <HM> syllables are absent.

Two lexical minimal triplets or near-triplets of nouns are (39a-b). sɔ́gɔ̄ ‘milk’ is lexically /sɔ́gɔ́/, and búwɔ̄ ‘mound’ is lexically /búwɔ́/. In isolation forms (which are used here in citation) and prepausally, the final syllable drops to M‑toned.

(39) a. sɔ́gɔ̄ ‘milk’

sɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘day’ (unit)

sɔ̀gɔ̀ ‘sheep’ (often in diminutive form sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄wⁿ)

b. búwɔ̄ ‘mound (in field)’

būwɔ̄ ‘line (drawn)’

bwɔ̀ ‘peer, agemate’

Another set of segmentally identical stems, this time distinguishing L, HL, M, and ML tones, is (40). It includes two Ipfv verbs, one of which has a modified tone after 1Sg object ŋ̀ (+H), contrast third person reflexive ŋ̄ kà-nà ‘sees himself/herself’ with no tonal change on the verb. The fourth form in (40) is a noun.

(40) kà-nà ‘see.Ipfv’

ŋ̀ ká-nà ‘see.Ipfv me’

kā-nā ‘milk.Ipfv (a cow)’

kānà ‘throat’

The L‑toned words in (39) and (40) above have LM variants (sɔ̀gɔ̄, bẁɔ̄, kà-nā) by tone sandhi when preceding another L‑tone.

Verbs in Cliffs have lexical melodies consisting of M and L tones, and regular tone sandhi processes do not raise them to H. So verbs have what amounts to a two-level tone system at the lexical level. However, the floating H associated with 1Sg object proclitic ŋ̀ (+H) does raise lexical tones to H, as in ŋ̀ ká-nà ‘see.Ipfv me’ in (40), so at phrase level verbs as well as other stems distinguish three tones.

Formulae using periods (full stops) like L.H and M.L specify the tones of syllable sequences. Cv̀v̄Cv̀ has the sequential formula LM.L, for example. The separator . makes angled brackets unnecessary in such formulae.

### Lexical tone melodies

Lexical tone melodies are represented in slashes /…/. Lexical melodies are subject to modification by ablaut and by tone sandhi processes.

#### Summary of lexical tone melodies of verb stems

Verbs occur in Pfv/Ipfv stem pairs. The Pfv can be taken as basic on grounds of morphology (it is not suffixal) and grammatical distribution (imperative, verbal noun, etc.). The Ipfv stem may involve a tonal modification and/or addition of a syllabic suffix. The Ipfv stem can usually be predicted from the Pfv stem and the mora/syllable count.

Here we summarize tone patterns schematically; for details and examples see chapter 10. (41) shows tonal patterns in verbs that do not have an Ipfv suffix.

(41) Verbs with segmentally invariant stem

Pfv/Ipfv melody

a. tones also invariant (Pfv = Ipfv)

M/M (Cv, Cwv, and Cyv) /M/

L/L (only sò/sò ‘go’) /L/ or covert /LM/

ML/ML /ML/

LML/LML /LML/

LH/LH (one example) /LH/

b. tones distinguish Pfv (level-toned) from Ipfv (contour-toned)

M/ML (bimoraic and longer stems) /M/

L/LH (bimoraic and longer stems) /L/

Verbs of type (41a), with homophonous Pfv and Ipfv, are either monomoraic (e.g. Cv, Cwv, Cyv), which are too short to allow overt contour tones in the Ipfv, or they are heavier stems that have a contour-toned lexical melody (/ML/, /LML/, /LH/). Verbs of type (1b) have a level-toned Pfv, and form the Ipfv by shifting the the final syllable or monosyllabic mora up (L to H) or down (M to L). The result is that Pfv L corresponds to Ipfv LH, and Pfv M corresponds to Ipfv ML. The verbs of type (41b) have two or more moras and do not show a contour tone in the Pfv. These verbs are assumed to have level /L/ or /M/ melody, presenting as such in the Pfv. Both subtypes in (41b) apply broadly to stems of two or more moras that have level-toned Pfv’s.

(42) summarizes tonal patterns for verbs that do have an Ipfv suffix. A hyphen represents the boundary between stem and Ipfv suffix.

(42) Verbs with Ipfv suffix

Pfv/Ipfv melody

a. tones invariant

*Cvv, Cvw, and similar light Pfv’s with Cv-Cv Ipfv’s*

M/M-M /M/

L/L-L /L/

ML/M-L (only tīẁⁿ/tī-nà ‘do’) /ML/

*C(w)vv, Cvy, and similar Pfv’s with C(w)vv-Cv or Cvy-Cv Ipfv*

M/M-L /M/

*bisyllabic and other heavy stems*

LML/LM-L /LML/

b. Ipfv tones differ from Pfv tones

*bisyllabic stems*

L/LM-L /LM/ (?)

ML/ML-L /ML/

#### Summary of lexical tone melodies for noun stems

Attested tone melodies for simple noun stems (i.e. excluding those that are transparently composite or that are treated phonologically as composite) are those in (43).

(43) a. monosyllabic (Cvv, CvC, CCvv)

/H/, /M/, /L/, /ML/ (loanwords)

b. light bisyllabic (CvCv, CvNCv)

/H/, /M/, /L/, /LH/, /ML/

c. bisyllabic with heavy initial syllable (CvvCv, CvvNCv, CvCCv except CvNCv)

/H/, /M/, /L/, /LH/, /ML/, /MLH/

d. bisyllabic with heavy final syllable (e.g. CvCvv, CvCvC)

/H/, /M/, /L/, /LH/, /ML/, /LML/

e. trisyllabic (e.g. CvCvCv)

/H/, /M/, /L/, /LH\*/, /L\*H/, /M\*L/, /ML\*/, /LML/, /MLH/

Before giving examples of each type in §3.6.1.4, it is necessary to explain why no /(…)LM/ or /LHL/ melodies are recognized.

#### Rising melodies: …LH… versus …LM… in nouns

There is no opposition between …LH… and …LM… either initially or finally within uncompounded noun stems. I transcribe the relevant nouns as …LH stem-finally (hence /LH/, /MLH/), and as LM… stem-initially (/LML/). The absence of contrasts between H and M in the same noninitial positions makes these transcriptions tricky. It also allows speakers to be less precise in pitch articulation than would be the case if there were oppositions.

The best evidence that yòrógō ‘cat’ (lexically /yòrógó/), mākàrí ‘macari spice’, and other nouns with rising tone patterns end lexically in H rather than M is their plurals. These have L‑toned plural suffix ‑yè, reliably in clause-medial position and often in citation forms. ‑yè also occurs under the same conditions after H‑toned nouns (44a). By contrast, M‑toned nouns consistently have M‑toned suffix -yē (44c). See §4.1.1 for more examples. The most straightforward analysis of these facts is that the plural suffix is basically ‑yè but assimilates to a preceding M.

(44) a. yòrógó-yè ‘cats’

kúŋgóló-yè ‘dogs’

b. sūgō-yē ‘goats’

The next issue is why transcribe the bell-shaped tone as LML rather than LHL given that there is no opposition between the two in uncompounded stems? For example, why kìrìkēè ‘saddle’ instead of #kìrìkéè, and why mòbōlì ‘vehicle’ instead of #mòbólì. Here there is no natural experiment that could resolve the question, so the choice must be based on phonetics. In all /LML/-melody words, the pitch rise in the middle is to mid rather than high pitch. For example, mòbōlì has the same pitch profile as sìbō pà ‘with the snake’. This is distinct from the sharper pitch rise and fall in sàbá pà ‘with the chicken’ or the compound bààyáŋ-dùgòⁿ which is part of some Islamic month names related to the Mawlūd holy day (bààyáwⁿ). Taking nouns like ‘saddle’ and ‘vehicle’ as having /LML/ melody also accords with the existence of /ML/ but not /HL/ as a bitonal lexical melody.

#### Examples of tonal melodies of nouns

The arrays presented below include the simple singular, the suffixed plural, and both singular and plural with 1Sg possessor.

Monosyllabic nouns are in (45). The productive melodies are monotonal /H/, /M/, and /L/. The contoured melody /ML/ is rare in monosyllabics where it may be limited to loanwords.

All tone melodies are distinguished in the simple singular. There is a syncretism between /H/ and /L/ in the ‘my’ singular form since /L/ shifts to H after 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) with floating H‑tone.

(45) Sg Pl ‘my’ (Sg) ‘my’(Pl) gloss

/H/ déé déé-yè ǹ déé ǹ déé-yè ‘cotton’

jááⁿ jááⁿ-yè ɲ̀ jááⁿ ɲ̀ jááⁿ-yè ‘fishhook’

/M/ kūūⁿ kūûⁿ-yē ŋ̀ kūūⁿ ŋ̀ kūūⁿ-yē ‘boat’

tēē tēē-yē ǹ tēē ǹ tēē-yē ‘meat’

kāyⁿ kāyⁿ-yē ŋ̀ kāyⁿ ŋ̀ kāyⁿ-yē ‘work’

/L/ dɔ̀ɔ̀ dɔ̀ɔ̀-yè ǹ dɔ́ɔ́ ǹ dɔ́ɔ́-yè ‘knife’

nàà nàà-yè ǹ náá ǹ náá-yè ‘cow’

kwààⁿ kwààⁿ-yè ŋ̀ kwááⁿ ŋ̀ kwááⁿ-yè ‘rain (n)’

nàwⁿ nàyⁿ-yè ǹ náwⁿ ǹ náyⁿ-yè ‘mother’

tòy tòy-yè ǹ tóy ǹ tóy-yè ‘intelligence’

kèw kèw-yè ŋ̀ kéw ŋ̀ kéw-yè ‘maternal uncle’

/ML/ (loanwords)

tēè tēè-yè ǹ tēè ǹ tēè-yè ‘tea’

sīì sīì-yè ŋ̀ sīì ŋ̀ sīì-yè ‘saw (n)’

L‑toned Cvv stems like nàà ‘cow’ undergo Final Tone-Raising before a word beginning with L‑tone (46).

(46) **nàā** tè bē wày

cow PfvNeg come.Pfv today

‘The cow didn’t come today.’

Examples of light bisyllabic stems are in (47). /H/ is realized as H.M prepausally, as in our citation forms. These nouns are either CvCv or CvNCv with homorganic nasal and voiced stop medially. sàⁿáⁿ ‘well-bag’ (French *puisette*) patterns as bisyllabic and belongs here. I tentatively include cɔ̄llɔ̀ ‘dust’ here. The floating H of 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) extends over both syllables of /L/ melody nouns, merging them with /H/ melody nouns.

(47) Sg Pl ‘my’ (Sg) ‘my’(Pl) gloss

/H/ gándā gándá-yē ŋ̀ gándā ŋ̀ gándá-yè ‘country’

kégū kégú-yē ŋ̀ kégū ŋ̀ kégú-yè ‘cream of millet with milk’

búwōⁿ búwóⁿ-yē m̀ búwōⁿ m̀ búwóⁿ-yè ‘mortar’

/M/ bōgū bōgū-yē m̀ bōgū m̀ bōgū-yē ‘zaban (fruit)’ or ‘middle’

lɔ̄gū lɔ̄gū-yē ǹ lɔ̄gū ǹ lɔ̄gū-yē ‘mouth’

sɔ̄gū sɔ̄gū-yē ŋ̀ sɔ̄gū ŋ̀ sɔ̄gū-yē ‘grass’

dūwōⁿ dūwōⁿ-yē ǹ dūwɔ̄ⁿ ǹ dūwōⁿ-yē ‘hunger’

nāndō nāndō-yē ǹ nāndō ǹ nāndō-yē ‘scorpion’

/L/ kìyɛ̀ kìyɛ̀-yè ŋ̀ kíyɛ̄ ŋ̀ kíyɛ́-yè ‘stick’

dàmbà dàmbà-yè ǹ dámbā ǹ dámbá-yè ‘daba’

sɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ sɔ̀ŋgɔ̀-yè ŋ̀ sɔ́ŋgɔ̄ ŋ̀ sɔ́ŋgɔ́-yè ‘price’

/LH/ sàbá sàbá-yè ŋ̀ sâbá ŋ̀ sâbá-yè ‘chicken’

bɛ̀bɛ́ bɛ̀bɛ́-yè m̀ bɛ̂bɛ́ m̀ bɛ̂bɛ́-yè ‘mud brick’

sàⁿáⁿ sàⁿáⁿ-yè ŋ̀ sâⁿáⁿ ŋ̀ sâⁿáⁿ-yè ‘well-bag’ (*puisette*)

wùjúⁿ wùjúⁿ-yè ŋ̀ wûjúⁿ ŋ̀ wûjúⁿ-yè ‘pouched rat’

tèndé tèndé-yè ǹ têndé ǹ têndé-yè ‘well (n)’

jàmbóⁿ jàmbóⁿ-yè ɲ̀ jâmbóⁿ ɲ̀ jâmbóⁿ-yè ‘grasshopper’

kàmbá kàmbá-yè ŋ̀ kâmbá ŋ̀ kâmbá-yè ‘side of face’

/ML/ (mostly loanwords)

mɔ̄lì mɔ̄lì-yè m̀ mɔ̄lì m̀ mɔ̄lì-yè ‘holy man’

ālà ālà-yè ŋ̀ ʔālà ŋ̀ ʔālà-yè ‘God’

kɔ̄rɔ̀ kɔ̄rɔ̀-yè ŋ̀ kɔ̄rɔ̀ ŋ̀ kɔ̄rɔ̀-yè ‘meaning’

cɔ̄llɔ̀ cɔ̄llɔ̀-yè ɲ̀ cɔ̄llɔ̀ ɲ̀ cɔ̄llɔ̀-yè ‘dust’

Examples of bisyllabics with heavy first syllables are in (48). The /L/ melody nouns of this weight category allow the floating H of 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) to extend only over the first syllable.

(48) Sg Pl ‘my’ (Sg) ‘my’(Pl) gloss

/H/ báásī báásí-yè m̀ báásī m̀ báásí-yè ‘war’

káádō káádó-yè ŋ̀ káádō ŋ̀ káádó-yè ‘Dogon’

/M/ bārmā bārmā-yē m̀ bārmā m̀ bārmā-yē ‘pot’

māynī māynī-yē m̀ māynī m̀ māynī-yē ‘catastrophe’

tāānā tāānā-yē ǹ tāānā ǹ tāānā-yē ‘crazy person’

/L/ tààpè tààpè-yè ǹ táápè ǹ táápè-yè ‘wrap (n)’

kùŋkù kùŋkù-yè ŋ̀ kúŋkù ŋ̀ kúŋkù-yè ‘trouble’

kùygù kùygù-yè ŋ̀ kúygù ŋ̀ kúygù-yè ‘blacksmith’

/LH/ kàànú kàànú-yè ŋ̀ káànú ŋ̀ káànú-yè ‘calabash’

/ML/ (loanwords)

sāākù sāākù-yè ŋ̀ sāākù ŋ̀ sāākù-yè ‘sack’

hɔ̄ɔ̄là hɔ̄ɔ̄là-yè ŋ̀ hɔ̄ɔ̄là ŋ̀ hɔ̄ɔ̄là-yè ‘trust (n)’

/MLH/

bāàná bāàná-yè m̀ bāàná m̀ bāàná-yè ‘manner’

ɲōòmɔ́ ɲōòmɔ́-yè ɲ̀ ɲōòmɔ́ ɲ̀ ɲōòmɔ́-yè ‘camel’

Bisyllabic stems with heavy final syllables are in (49).

(49) Sg Pl ‘my’ (Sg) ‘my’(Pl) gloss

/H/ bíyⁿɛ̄wⁿ bíyⁿɛ́w-yè m̀ bíyⁿɛ̄wⁿ m̀ bíyⁿɛ́wⁿ-yè ‘egg’

kíbāwⁿ kíbáyⁿ-yè ŋ̀ kíbāwⁿ ŋ̀ kíbáyⁿ-yè ‘door’

/M/ gīlɛ̄wⁿ gīlɛ̄ⁿ-yē ŋ̀ gīlɛ̄wⁿ ŋ̀ gīlɛ̄ⁿ-yē ‘thirst’

/L/ kànàà kànàà-yè ŋ̀ kánàà ŋ̀ kánàà-yè ‘friend’

/ML/ ɲīŋàwⁿ ɲīŋà-yè ɲ̀ ɲīŋàwⁿ ɲ̀ ɲīŋà-yè ‘face’

pārày pārà-yè m̀ pārày m̀ pārà-yè ‘exterior’

/LH/ kɔ̀béwⁿ kɔ̀béⁿ-yè ŋ̀ kɔ̂béwⁿ ŋ̀ kɔ̂béⁿ-yè ‘fingernail’

kɔ̀yɔ́wⁿ kɔ̀yɔ́ⁿ-yè ŋ̀ kɔ̂yɔ́wⁿ ŋ̀ kɔ̂yɔ́wⁿ-yè ‘stone’

/LML/ kèbāà kèbāà-yè ŋ̀ kêbāà ŋ̀ kêbāà-yè ‘flint lighter’

nìŋīì nìŋīì -yè ǹ nîŋīì ǹ nîŋīì-yè ‘interior’

nànāa nànāà-yè ǹ nânāà ǹ nânāà-yè ‘mint’

Trisyllabic shapes are in (50). The most difficult to analyse are the CvCvCv nouns shown under /L\*H/. The unsuffixed isolation form, e.g. màlìfá ‘rifle’, can be pronounced with a stepwise pitch increase approximating L.M.H màlīfá. However, this is probably a phonetic realization process superimposed on phonological /L\*H/ (in this case structural L.L.H). I hear the 1Sg possessed forms as HLH, e.g. ŋ̀ málìfá ‘my rifle’. In the clearly L\*H noun tɔ̀sìbíí ‘rosary, prayer beads’, the final syllable has a long vowel, and there is no stepwise pitch increase.

(50) Sg Pl ‘my’ (Sg) ‘my’(Pl) gloss

/H/ ɲárágō ɲárágó-yè ɲ̀ ɲárágō ɲ̀ ɲárágó-yè ‘calabash cover’

wágátū wágátú-yè ŋ̀ wágátū ŋ̀ wágátú-yè ‘time’

tímɔ́gɔ̄ tímɔ́gɔ́-yè ǹ tímɔ́gɔ̄ ǹ tímɔ́gɔ́-yè ‘hearth’

/M/ wārābā wārābā-yē ŋ̀ wārābā ŋ̀ wārābā-yē ‘lion’

/L/ tɔ̀ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ tɔ̀ŋɔ̀nɔ̀-yè ǹ tɔ́ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ ǹ tɔ́ŋɔ̀nɔ̀-yè ‘truth’

kàmàrì kàmàrì-yè ŋ̀ kámàrì ŋ̀ kámàrì-yè ‘reason’

/L\*H/ (four or more moras)

tɔ̀sìbíí tɔ̀sìbíí-yè ǹ tɔ́sìbíí ǹ tɔ́sìbíí-yè ‘rosary’

kɔ̀rɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ́ kɔ̀rɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ́-yè ŋ̀ kɔ̀rɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ́ ŋ̀ kɔ̀rɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ́-yè ‘trimming hatchet’

/L\*H/ (CvCvCv, can be realized as L.M.H)

jàmànáⁿ jàmànáⁿ-yè ɲ̀ jámànáⁿ ɲ̀ jámànáⁿ-yè ‘time period’

màlìfá màlìfá-yè m̀ málìfá m̀ málìfá-yè ‘rifle’

/LH\*/ bùkúrū bùkúrú-yē m̀ bûkúrū m̀ bûkúrú-yē ‘buttock’

mìsírī mìsírí-yē m̀ mîsírī m̀ mîsírí-yē ‘mosque’

yòrógō yòrógó-yè ŋ̀ yórógō ŋ̀ yórógó-yè ‘cat’

/M\*L/ ɲīmīnà ɲīmīnà-yè ŋ̀ ɲīmīnà ŋ̀ ɲīmīnà-yè ‘nose’

sūkɔ̄rɔ̀ sūkɔ̄rɔ̀-yè ŋ̀ sūkɔ̄rɔ̀ ŋ̀ sūkɔ̄rɔ̀-yè ‘sugar’

/ML\*/ kūjààmà kūjààmà-yè ŋ̀ kūjààmà ŋ̀ kūjààmà-yè ‘quantity’

/LML/ mòbōlì mòbōlì-yè m̀ môbōlì m̀ môbōlì-yè ‘vehicle’

tùjūnù tùjūnù-yè ǹ tûjūnù ǹ tûjūnù-yè ‘pigeon’

kìrìkēè kìrìkēè-yè ŋ̀ kírìkēè ŋ̀ kírìkēè-yè ‘saddle’

/MLH/ mākàrí mākàrí-yè m̀ mākàrí m̀ mākàrí-yè ‘macari spice’

#### Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals

Morphologically simple modifying adjectives (§4.5.1) have apparent melodies /H/ (uncommon) or /M/ (common). Suffixed adjectives, with diminutive -gù or participial -na, are /M/ or /ML/. There are also some derived adjectives, including diminutives and bahuvrihis, with L-H tones.

*(*51) melody adjective gloss

a. underived

/H/ sílē ‘old’

/M/ tōy ‘new’

b. suffixed

/M/ kūy-gū ‘deep’

mwāā-nā ‘cold’

/ML/ pūlù-gù ‘soft’

sāmtà-nà ‘intermediate’

c. composite

/L-H/ dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ ‘small’

bòndò-bánū ‘big-headed’

Consideration of predicative forms shows that the apparent /M/-melodic modifying adjectives are divided into two sets, one with true melody /L/ and the other with true melody /M/. These converge as M‑toned in modifying (i.e. postnominal) position. For example, pìyɛ̀-nà ‘dirty’ and pīyɛ̄-nā ‘hot’ are distinct as predicates, but converge as pīyɛ̄-nā when modifying a noun.

Uncompounded numerals (excluding ‘one’ which patterns as an adjective) are ‘2’ to ‘10’, ‘40’, and ‘90’. Their tone melodies are divided between /L/ and /M/ (§4.6.1.2, §4.6.1.4). /L/ shifts to LM in the counting recitation (§4.6.1.3).

#### Tone-break location for bitonal verb stems

Recall that lexical melodies of verb stems are based on the Pfv.

There is no lexical tone break for verbs with monotonal /L/ or /H/ melodies. However, when /L/-melodic verbs of two or more syllables raise the final tone to M to form the Ipfv, the break is right-biased as in kùlùbɛ̀/kùlùbɛ̄ ‘knead’. The situation is parallel with /H/-melodic verbs that drop the final tone in the Ipfv, as in gɯ̄gɯ̄jō/gɯ̄gɯ̄jò ‘bite off’.

Tone breaks at the melodic level are relevant to stems with /LM/ and /ML/ melodies, observed in the Pfv (as well as in the Ipfv). The positioning of the break is best seen in trisyllabic verbs. I can cite no underived /LM/-melodic trisyllabic verbs, but there are several underived /ML/-melodic trisyllabics. The tone break in most cases is right-biased, as in bīrījà/bīrījà ‘(quadruped) roll over’. However, suffixal derivatives like ɲīŋà‑àmà/ɲīŋà-àmā ‘become bad’ are left-biased. So are kājàmà/kājàmà ‘coincide, become equal’ (originally a suffixal derivative) and pīyɛ̀rɛ̀/pīyɛ̀rɛ̀ ‘rip, tear’ (variant pɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀/pɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀). This suggests a minor contrast between /M\*L/ and /ML\*/ (sub)melodies.

#### Tone-break location for tritonal verb stems

In /LML/-melodic sùmààⁿsīyɛ̀/sùmààⁿsīyɛ̀-lɛ̀ ‘present (sth, to sb)’, we see that the tone breaks are right-biased. Other known verbs with /LML/ melody are shorter (i.e. trimoraic) and are less informative on this matter.

#### Tone-break location for bitonal non-verb stems

Uncompounded bitonal noun stems have falling /ML/ or rising /LH/ melodies.

/ML/ is illustrated in (52). The break is generally right-biased or, for monosyllabics, at the mora break. Trisyllabic and longer stems split into right-biased /M\*L/, the dominant type, and left-biased /ML\*/.

(52) stem gloss

a. mono- and bisyllabics

kūù ‘yam’

jām̀ ‘well-being’

hūyà ‘courage’

bārkè ‘being blessed’

būūrù ‘bread (baguette)’

b. trisyllabics and longer

*/M\*L/*

bāsīlà ‘tree sp. (*Anogeissus*)’

jāpɛ̄rɛ̀ ‘donkey saddle’

tūbālāājì ‘traditional pants’

*/ML\*/*

kūjààmà ‘quantity’

/LH/ melody is illustrated in (53). This melody is very rare for monosyllabics. It is common for stems of two or more syllables, where the break is at a syllable boundary. Trisyllabic and longer stems favor a right-biased break, e.g. L.L.H, and are labeled as /L\*H/. However, again some trisyllabics have the break at the leftmost syllable boundary and are labeled /LH\*/. Even the trisyllabics of /L\*H/ type, if the middle vowel is short, are often heard as L.M.H with a partial anticipatory pitch rise on the middle syllable. There may be an incipient /LMH/ melody for these stems.

(53) stem gloss

a. mono- and bisyllabics

tèẃⁿ ‘arboreal snake sp.’

tàá ‘half’

wàláⁿ ‘tablet (for koranic pupil)’

wàŋgé ‘hare’

yàbááⁿ ‘henna’

gɛ̀ɛ̀nɛ́ ‘sweet peanut-millet balls’

b. trisyllabics and longer

*/L\*H/*

dèŋgèlé ‘kneading stick’

dɛ̀rɛ̀ndé ‘burrgrass’

dɔ̀lùmbé ‘ring (on finger)’

kɔ̀rɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ́ ‘trimming hatchet’

lààràbú ‘Arab (person)’

kùrùwáá ‘rope attaching donkey saddle’

wɔ̀kùlɔ̀níí ‘evil dwarf’

kàlàmàntùŋɔ́ ‘giant millipede’

*/LH\*/*

kààpírí ‘nonbeliever’

kàsíní ‘succulent plant spp. (*Caralluma*, *Desmidorchis*)’

The situation is complicated by the existence of compounds. An /L/ stem can be followed by a compound final of melody /H/ or /M/, creating such syllable sequences as L.L.H.H and L.L.M(.M), as in (54). It is best to analyse these as composite /L/-/H/ and /L/-/M/ melodies, rather than as a single melody based on their syllable-by-syllable tone sequence. The final as well as the initial may have more than one syllable. Stems of four or more moras, including CvvCvCv and CvCvCvCv, tend to behave prosodically like compounds (Cvv‑CvCv, CvCv‑CvCv) even when the components are not identifiable. By contrast, CvCvvCv doesn’t parse easily as a compound. Homorganic voiced NC clusters are treated like simple consonants in this heaviness calculation.

(54) stem gloss

a. /L/-/H/ compounds, and heavy stems treated as compounds)

dɛ̀sɛ̀-káá ‘petiole of borassus palm’

ɲìyɛ̀ŋ-kúrū ‘fontanel’

b. /L/-/M/ compounds

kùwɔ̀-sɔ̄ⁿ ‘grass sp. (*Enteropogon*)’ (“monkey-needle”)

kɯ̀lɯ̀-n-dūū ‘baobab fruit pith’

To the extent that /L/-/H/ compounds become opaque over time, they risk being categorized as L.L.H, with no tendency toward L.M.H pronunciation (see above).

#### Tone-break location for tritonal non-verb stems

Tritonal noun stems have /LML/ and /MLH/ melodies. Most of them are trisyllabic, with one tone per syllable, or else bisyllabic ending in a contour-toned heavy syllable. However, /LML/ is realized as L.L.M.L on a few uncompounded quadrisyllabics, so the correct formula is L\*ML. The exception yògōbāà ‘sky’ is unsegmentable in Cliffs but is composite etymologically (Djenné Jenaama yòó‑bàà, Kelenga yògó-fàà). All known examples of /MLH/ are trisyllabic.

(55) a. L\*ML

nànāà ‘mint’

pààlɛ̄ỳ ‘cliffs area’

lèmūrù ‘orange (citrus)’

lààsārà ‘4PM Muslim prayer’

ʃèètāānà ‘devil (djinn)’

làmbāānà ‘mule’

*quadrisyllabic*

làtìkɔ̄rɔ̀ ‘perfume’

màgàsālà ‘cucumber-like melon’

àlìkāmà ‘wheat (flour)’

gìrìpēè ‘grafted fruit tree’

*exception*

yògōbāà ‘sky’

b. MLH

nāàwó ‘euphorb (shrub)’

mākàrí ‘macari (spice)’

sāŋgòló ‘broom’

māāŋgòró ‘mango’

### Grammatical tone patterns

#### Grammatical tone motifications for verb stems

If we accept the claim that the Pfv form of a verb carries the lexical melody, the Ipfv is produced by the following rule if it is unsuffixed:

(56) Pfv Ipfv

L.L → L.M (for prosodically light stems)

M.M → M.L (for all stems)

M.L → M.L (no change)

The generalization is that if the Pfv is monotonal, the Ipfv shifts the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) up or down one notch.

Verbs can acquire H-tones by Floating-Tone Docking after 1Sg object ŋ̀ (+H); see §3.6.3.1.1.

#### Grammatical tone modifications for noun stems

The most common tonal modification for noun stems occurs in N-Adj combinations (§6.3.1) and in the main type of nonpossessive N-N compounds (§5.1.4), both of which are subject to Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2 below). In some compounds the final stem is raised to all-H tone (§5.1.5.2).

In N-Num combinations with numerals from ‘2’ up (§6.4.1.2) and in N-Quantifier combinations (§6.6), regular tone sandhi processes apply. Discourse-definite gu, the only postnominal determiner, does not affect the tone of the noun (the determiner gets its tone by spreading from the noun).

Prenominal modifiers are demonstratives and possessors. Some of them come with a floating tone that is realized on following L-initial nouns. This is the case with demonstratives kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) and ŋɔ̀ⁿ (+M), and with 1Sg possessor ŋ̀ (+H). For the tonology see especially §3.6.3.1.2 (demonstratives) and §3.6.3.1.1 and §6.2.1.1 (1Sg). Other possessors do not affect the tones of the possessum.

### Tonal ablaut (morphophonology)

The two principal processes of tonal morphophonology, excluding low-level tone sandhi, are Floating Tone-Docking and Tone Leveling. Both are limited to specific morphosyntactic contexts.

#### Floating-Tone Docking

“Floating” tones associated with a proclitic element are realized on a following noun or adposition. The relevant proclitics are 1Sg nonsubject ŋ̀ (+H) and two prenominal demonstratives with floating M. In both cases, only stems otherwise beginning with L‑tone are affected.

For 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H), raising from L to H is limited to the first syllable, except that if the stem is a light bisyllabic both of its syllables are raised to H. For the demonstrative proclitics, the entire stem becomes M-toned.

##### After 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H)

The 1Sg pronominal morpheme is variably ŋ̄, ŋ̀, or ŋ̀ (+H), depending on its grammatical function (§4.3.4). The last of these includes a floating H‑tone that is manifested, if at all, on the immediately following word. ŋ̀ (+H) functions as possessor before nouns, as direct object before verbs, and as complement of a following postposition. In other words, it is the nonsubject form of the proclitic.

The floating H has no overt effect when the following word begins with a nonlow tone (M or H). It raises a following L‑tone to H. This extends to the second syllable in unsegmentable CvCv, CvNCv, and CvCvwⁿ stems, i.e. in light bisyllabics, as well as Cvv. If there is a boundary between the two syllables, as in the iterative stem sɔ̀ⁿ‑sɔ̀ⁿ ‘sand’, only the first segment is tone-raised. Heavy stems, such as CvvCv and trisyllabics, raise only the first syllable. If the first syllable is L but the second is nonlow (M or H), wherever possible the first syllable is realized with <HL> tone, allowing both the floating H and the initial lexical L to be audible, and the remainder of the stem is unchanged. However, in simple Cv̀Cv́ stems like sàbá ‘chicken’, the idealized output (sâbá) is articulatorily challenging and it is sometimes simplified to sábā, perhaps interpretable as downstepped sáꜜbá. Likewise, /LH\*/‑melodic Cv̀Cv́Cv̄ should become Cv̂Cv́Cv̄ but may resyllabify to Cv́Cv̀Cv́ (‘mosque’, ‘ladder’, ‘cat’).

The tonology is illustrated for 1Sg possessor of nouns in (57).

(57) noun gloss ‘my …’

a. /L/ melody noun

*prosodically light*

nàà ‘cow’ ǹ náá ‘my cow’

sɔ̀ŋɔ̀ ‘price’ ŋ̀ sɔ́ŋɔ̄ ‘my price’

sìmbò ‘chin’ ŋ̀ símbō ‘my chin’

kòlòwⁿ ‘skin’ ŋ̀ kólōwⁿ ‘my skin’

*iterative*

sɔ̀ⁿ-sɔ̀ⁿ ‘sand’ ŋ̀ sɔ́ⁿ-sɔ̀ⁿ ‘my sand’

*heavy*

kànàà(ⁿ) ‘friend’ ŋ̀ kánàà(ⁿ) ‘my friend’

tààpè ‘wrap (n)’ ǹ táápè ‘my wrap (garment)’

tɔ̀ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ ‘truth’ ǹ tɔ́ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ ‘my truth’

tɔ̀ŋgɛ̀yà ‘fortune-teller’ ǹ tɔ́ŋgɛ̀yà ‘my fortune-teller’

sèmpùwò ‘donkey’ ŋ̀ sémpùwò ‘my donkey’

b. L-initial contour melodies

sàbá ‘chicken’ ŋ̀ sábā ~ sâbá ‘my chicken’

tàjí ‘basket’ ǹ tâjí ‘my basket’

tèndé ‘well (n)’ ǹ têndé ‘my well’

mìsírī ‘mosque’ m̀ mîsírī ~ m̀ mísìrí ‘my mosque’

tìmbɔ́gɔ̄ ‘ladder’ ǹ tîmbɔ́gɔ̄ ~ ǹ tímbɔ̀gɔ́ ‘my ladder’

tɔ̀sìbíí ‘prayer beads’ ǹ tɔ́sìbíí ‘my prayer beads’

yòrógō ‘cat’ ŋ̀ yôrógō ~ ŋ̀ yórògó ‘my cat’

tùjūnù ‘pigeon’ ǹ tûjūnù ‘my pigeon’

c. nouns beginning with nonlow tone

sūgō ‘goat’ ŋ̀ sūgō ‘my goat’

kúŋgólō ‘dog’ ŋ̀ kúŋgólō ‘my dog’

tēè ‘tea’ ǹ tēè ‘my tea’

Examples with postpositions are comitative m̀ pá ‘with me’ (postposition pà) and ŋ̀ kɔ̂rɛ̄ỳ ‘behind me’ (postposition kɔ̀rɛ̄ỳ).

A few examples with 1Sg object before transitive verb are in (58). The phonology is the same as for nouns.

(58) clause gloss input form of verb

a. all-L verbs

à ŋ̀ káy ‘he/she saw me’ kày ‘see.Pfv’

à ŋ̀ kɛ́rɛ́ ‘he/she threw me’ kɛ̀rɛ̀ ‘throw.Pfv’

à ŋ̀ kíí-nì ‘he/she awakened me’ kìì-nì ‘awaken.Pfv’

*trisyllabic*

à m̀ míyɛ̀-nì ‘he/she fixed me (up)’ mìyɛ̀-nì ‘fix.Pfv’

b. L-initial verb

à gā ŋ̀ kɛ̂rɛ̄ ~ kɛ́rɛ̄ ‘he/she throws me’ kɛ̀rɛ̄ ‘throw.Ipfv’

c. no change in verb beginning with nonlow tone

à ŋ̀ kwāā ‘he/she hit me’ kwāā ‘hit.Pfv’

1Sg possessor ŋ̀ (+H) has a consistent tonal effect on the following possessum regardless of whether the possessum is modified by an adjective. In other words, the tonal effect of the possessor trumps that of the adjective. Without the possessor, the adjective would trigger require Tone Leveling, which spreads the leftmost tone of the noun rightward at least to the word boundary. The noun in (59d) therefore has the same tones as in (59b), not those of (59c).

(59) a. sìbò ‘snake’

b. ŋ̀ síbó ‘my snake’

c. sìbò tɔ̄mɔ̄wⁿ ‘red (brown) snake’

d. ŋ̀ síbó tɔ̄mɔ̄wⁿ ‘my red (brown) snake’

For the interaction of the floating H in 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and the purposive {L\*H} overlay, see §17.5.1.2-3 below.

##### After prenominal demonstratives kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) and ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M)

Prenominal demonstratives kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) and ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M), see §4.4.2 and §6.5.1.1, also have tonal effects on following nouns, but not in the same way as 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H). The latter spreads its associated H to the first L-toned syllable or (for light bisyllabics) both L‑toned syllables of the target. The demonstratives raise entire L-initial stems to M.

Illustrating with (mostly deictic) kɔ̀ⁿ (+M), nouns that begin with a nonlow tone are unaffected (60a). Nouns beginning with an L‑tone (over one or more syllables) raise the L to M (60b). The paradigm is exactly the same with discourse-definite ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M), not shown here.

(60) Noun plus visible demonstrative (‘this/that’)

gloss melody citation ‘this/that \_\_’

a. no tone change

‘day’ /M/ sɔ̄gɔ̄ kɔ̀ⁿ sɔ̄gɔ̄

‘ashes’ /H/ síbō kɔ̀ⁿ síbó (cf. ‘snake’ below)

‘dust’ /ML/ cɔ̄llɔ̀ kɔ̀ɲ cɔ̄llɔ̄

b. tone change on noun with initial L‑tone

‘cow’ /L/ nàà kɔ̀ⁿ nāā

‘snake’ /L/ sìbò kɔ̀ⁿ sībō (cf. ‘ashes’ above)

‘porridge’ /L/ bɛ̀lɛ̀ kɔ̀m bɛ̄lɛ̄

‘folding knife’ /L/ sìrìmbè kɔ̀ⁿ sīrīmbē

‘rifle’ /L\*H/ màlìfá kɔ̀m mālīfā

‘cat’ /LH\*/ yòrógō kɔ̀ⁿ yōrōgō

‘house’ /LML/ yàmbāà kɔ̀ⁿ yāmbāā (Pl kɔ̀ⁿ yāmbāā-yē)

‘sky’ /LML/ yògōbāà kɔ̀ⁿ yōgōbāā

‘pigeon’ /LML/ tùjūnù kɔ̀n tūjūnū

‘horse’ /LH/ sìyéwⁿ kɔ̀ⁿ sīyēwⁿ

‘mosque’ /LH\*/ mìsírí kɔ̀m mīsīrī

‘prayer beads /L\*H/ tɔ̀sìbíí kɔ̀n tɔ̄sībīī

In (61a-b), the noun is flanked by the demonstrative on its left and an adjective on its right. In (61a), ‘ashes’ drops from /H/ melody to M‑tone as usual for pre-adjectival nouns, while the demonstrative raises ‘snake’ from /L/ melody to M‑tone. In (61b), the H‑toned adjective triggers M#H-to-L#H on the noun, undoing the effect of the floating M.

(61) a. kɔ̀n sībō tɔ̄mɔ̄wⁿ

**Dem** snake/ashes **red**

‘this/that brown snake/ashes’ (< sìbò ‘snake’ or síbō ‘ashes’)

b. kɔ̀n sìbò bánū

**Dem** snake/ashes **big**

‘this/that big snake/ashes’

#### Tone Leveling

In this process, the leftmost tone of a stem spreads to the right edge of the stem. In addition, H merges into M. As a result, there are only two outputs for the relevant stems: all-L and all‑M. Schematic examples are in (62). The all-M outputs then merge with all-L when followed by an H‑tone, by the tone sandhi process M#H-to-L#H, but even in this case the original distinction between all‑M and all‑L determines whether a preceding L‑toned word undergoes Final Tone-Raising.

(62) lexical tone-leveled as compound initial

a. /LH/ all-L

/LML/ all-L

b. /ML/ all-M

/MLH/ all-M

/H/ all-M

Details and examples are best presented in treatments of the relevant constructions. For Tone Leveling of nouns as initials in compounds, see §5.1.4 through §5.1.6. For Tone Leveling of nouns preceding modifying adjectives, see §6.3.1.1.

### Low-level tone rules

#### Upstep absent

Djenné Jenaama, which has only two phonemic tone levels, applies upstep (from L tone to a mid tone/pitch) to third person proclitics (3Sg à → ā and 3Pl è → ē) before L‑tone. Clause-initially or otherwise post-pausally, a similar upstep for these proclitics occurs in Kelenga.

Upstep has not been observed as a systematic process in Cliffs.

For downstep see §3.6.5 below.

#### Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading

This process applies to a few suffixes and enclitic-like particles that have no intrinsic tone. They acquire their tones by copying the preceding tone.

Post-nominal definite gu (§4.4.1) is such an atonal morpheme. gu copies the preceding tone (H, M, or L), and it has no tonal or segmental effect on the preceding word.

Simple combinations of gu (§4.4.1) with nouns are in (63). In entirely L‑toned combinations like sìbò gù (63a), the noun does not undergo Final Tone-Raising (#sìbō gù). Expected #yàmbāà gù ‘that house’ is slightly modified to yàmbāā gù (63a) by M-Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.3) so that the tone break coincides with a syllable boundary.

(63) Noun plus discourse-definite demonstrative

gloss melody stem ‘the (same) \_\_’

a. L‑toned gù after final L‑tone (prior to further tone sandhi)

‘snake’ /L/ sìbò sìbò gù

‘porridge’ /L/ bɛ̀lɛ̀ bɛ̀lɛ̀ gù

‘tea’ /ML/ tēè tēè gù

‘dust’ /ML/ cɔ̄llɔ̀ cɔ̄llɔ̀ gù

‘house’ /LML/ yàmbāà yàmbāā gù

‘vehicle /LML/ mòbōlì mòbōlì gù

b. M‑toned gū after final M‑tone

‘meat’ /M/ tēē tēē gū

‘goat’ /M/ sūgō sūgō gū

c. H‑toned gú (shown as prepausal gū) after final H‑tone

‘cotton’ /H/ déé déé gū → gú nonfinally

‘ashes’ /H/ síbō síbó gū "

‘mortar’ /H/ búwōⁿ búwóŋ gū "

‘horse’ /LH/ sìyéwⁿ sìyéŋ gū "

‘prayer beads’ /L\*H/ tɔ̀sìbíí tɔ̀sìbíí gū "

‘rifle’ /L\*H/ màlìfá màlìfá gū "

Many verbs form the Ipfv stem by adding a suffix -lv or consonantal variant to the Pfv stem, where v is a segmental copy of the preceding vowel. The suffix copies the final tone of the Pfv (always L or M), with minor readjustments whose main effect is to align tone breaks with syllable boundaries (64). For details and possible exceptions see §10.1.3.3.

(64) Pfv Ipfv gloss

bāā bā-lā ‘exit (v)’

tàà tà-là ‘stand’

tūù tūū-lù ‘spit’

pìyɛ̄ɛ̀ pìyɛ̄-lɛ̀ ‘lick’

#### M-Tone Spreading

The plural marker on NPs including simple nouns is -yè. It is heard as L‑toned -yè at word-level (i.e. prior to focalization and tone sandhi) after a noun ending in an L‑tone (65) or in an H‑tone (66).

(65) singular melody plural gloss

a. /L/ melody

nàà /L/ nàà-yè ‘cow’

pàgù /L/ pàgù-yè ‘pond’

sìrìmbè /L/ sìrìmbè-yè ‘folding knife, razor’

b. other melodies ending in L

pārày /ML/ pārày-yè ‘outside’

sāākù /ML/ sāākù-yè ‘sack’

yàmbāà /LML/ yàmbāà-yè ‘house’

(66) singular melody plural gloss

a. /H/ melody

jááⁿ /H/ jááⁿ-yè ‘fishhook’

kɔ́lɔ̄ⁿ /H/ kɔ́lɔ́ⁿ-yè ‘ball (shape)’

kúŋgólō /H/ kúŋgóló-yè ‘dog’ (contracted plural kúŋgólé-è)

b. other melodies ending in H

wàŋgé /LH/ wàŋgé-yè ‘hare’

wùjúⁿ /LH/ wùjúⁿ-yè ‘pouched rat’

wààjíbí /LH\*/ wààjíbí-yè ‘duty’

bààdígé /LH\*/ bààdígé-yè ‘manner’

yòrógō /LH\*/ yòrógó-yè ‘cat’

tɔ̀sìbíí /L\*H/ tɔ̀sìbíí-yè ‘prayer beads’

sāŋgòló /MLH/ sāŋgòló-yè ‘broom’

ɲōòmɔ́ /MLH/ ɲōòmɔ́-yè ‘camel’

In isolation and prepausally the drop from H to L on the plural suffix may be incomplete, in which case the final syllable sounds M‑toned. The normal transcription disregards this and marks the final syllable as L. When the stem-final vowel contracts with the plural suffix, e.g. ó-yè → é-è, the contracted vowel is heard variably as <HL> or <ML> in careful pronunciation but sometimes as L in allegro speech. Therefore ‘dogs’ can be kúŋgóló-yè or contracted kúŋgólé-è, sometimes heard as kúŋgólē-è or kúŋgólè-è.

In (67), after /H/-melodic noun the plural suffix is L‑toned since it is followed by a word beginning with nonhigh tone.

(67) n̄ =nàɲ jááⁿ-yè / … / … tōlō

=nàŋ … / kɔ́lɔ́ⁿ-yè / kúŋgóló-yè

1Sg Sbj/Obj fishhook-Pl / ball-Pl / dog-Pl sell.Pfv

‘I sold the fishhooks/balls/dogs.’

L‑toned -yè is raised secondarily to -yē by tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) before an L‑tone.

If the stem (or a compound final) is all-M‑toned, the M‑tone is carried over to the suffix regardless of stem weight and regardless of position (prepausal or clause-medial).

(68) singular plural gloss

kūūⁿ kūūⁿ-yē ‘boat (skiff)’

sūgō sūgō-yē ‘goat’

tāānā tāānā-yē ‘fool’

wārābā wārābā-yē ‘lion’

The term M-Tone Spreading is used here since only M‑toned spread rightward, assuming that the lexical form of the plural suffix is L‑toned ‑yè.

Other processes that involve spreading of M tones, but also L and/or H tones, are Atonal-Morpheme Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.2 above) and Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2).

#### Final Tone-Raising (L#L to M#L)

When an L‑toned word is followed by another L‑toned word, the tone of the final mora of the first word is raised in most combinations. The raised mora is transcribed as M-toned, but as noted elsewhere the distinction between e.g. L.M#L and L.H#L is questionable and is of little or no structural importance.

Final Tone-Raising is a dissimilatory process, converting flat (L)L#L to a more rhythmical (L)M#L. It is a useful phonetic cue of word boundaries. It occurs twice in (69).

(69) wà**ȳ** yè**ɲ̄** ɲàànù

/wày yèⁿ ɲàànù/

today and tomorrow

‘today and tomorrow’

M‑toned words like kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘man’ do not dissimilate to a following L or M tone.

(70) a. kɛ̄ɛ̄**gū** bē

man come.Pfv

‘A/The man came.’

b. kɛ̄ɛ̄**gū** yèɲ jɛ́nā

man and child

‘A man and a child’

/ML/- and /LML/-melodic words usually also) ‘the snake did not go to the village’ raise the final L-toned syllable before another L-tone, i.e. (L.)M.L#L to (L.)M.M#L. For example, sèēdù ‘Seydou’ (personal name) is usually sèēdū before an L-tone. Likewise, subjunctive gālà often becomes gālā before an L-tone. However, raising of the final L in /(L)ML/-melodic words is less reliable than L#L to M#L, especially in elicitation, and transcriptions are not completely consistent.

Final Tone-Raising does not apply to N-Adj combinations or (nonpossessive) N-N compounds. These are effectively fused into composite stems by Tone Leveling. In addition, certain grammatical morphemes fail to undergo or to trigger the process. Pronominal proclitics 3Sg à, 3Pl è, and (nonsubject) 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) do not raise by themselves before another L-tone. The 3Sg and 3Pl proclitics, and under some conditions the 1Sg proclitic, do trigger raising of a preceding L. In combinations like X tè à kò … ‘X did not furnish him/her (with …)’, à triggers raising of tè to tē and the two fuse into an ML-toned unit tā= à, which then usually raises to tā= ā before the L-toned kò.

Post-subject inflectional morphemes gà/gā (Ipfv) and nà/nā (IpfvNeg) do not trigger raising of a preceding L even in their L-toned forms (§10.2.2.1). This is probably a vestige of an older stage of the language when they were consistently M-toned. By contrast, PfvNeg tè does trigger it and can also undergo it. Postverbal RemPfv gà (§10.2.1.2) triggers raising of a preceding L‑toned syllable on the verb, but gà generally resists raising when it is followed by another L-tone.

Tone sandhi including Final Tone-Raising usually applies in **left-to-right** fashion. The effect is that in a sequence of words and particles X-Y-Z, the underlying (pre-tone sandhi) form of Y determines how tone sandhi applies to X, then the underlying (pre-tone sandhi) form of Z determines how tone sandhi applies to Y, and so forth. One consequence is that Final Tone-Raising can apply to a string of adjacent L-toned syllables. For example, underlying sìbò tè sò nɔ̀gù‑ỳ ‘the snake did not go to the village’ is realized as sìbō tē sō nɔ̀gī-ỳ (with raised syllables underlined.

The tone-sandhi rule M#H-to-L#H does not feed Final Tone-Raising. Consider a string of the input tonal shape LL#[M-H]. The /M/‑melodic element drops to L before the H‑tone by M#H-to-L#H, resulting in LL#[L-H]. This now seemingly fits the triggering environment for Final Tone-Raising to LM#[L‑H]. However, raising fails to occur, at least when the /M/‑melodic stem is recognizable to the speaker. In (71a-b), Ipfv gà fails to raise to gā since ‘the bush’ and ‘tree’ are recognizable as lexically /M/‑melodic stems.

(71) a. à **gà** sɔ̀ŋɔ̀ŋ-kúŋgóló kà-nà

3Sg Ipfv the.bush-dog see-Ipfv

‘He/She sees a jackal (“bush dog”).’ (< sɔ̄ŋɔ̄ⁿ ‘the bush’)

b. à **gà** jùgù-náŋ kà-nà

3Sg Ipfv tree-Dimin see-Ipfv

‘He/She sees a shrub (or sapling).’ (< jūgū ‘tree’)

This is another example of left-to-right application of tone sandhi. gà fails to raise in (71a-b) because it senses a following M-toned rather than L-toned syllable.

At the end of a prosodic phrase, the presence or absence of Final Tone-Raising in the penultimate word (or particle) is useful in determining the structural tone of the final word (or particle). This is because final words are often pronounced with low pitch, making identification of their structural tones difficult. For example, in (72) sāāⁿ ‘when’ is usually heard with low pitch, but it is structurally M-toned as shown by the failure of preceding sò ‘go’ to raise to gā.

(72) ē nǎⁿ **sò** sāāⁿ

1Pl if.Pfv go.Pfv when

‘when we go’ (2017-08 @ 00:25)

#### M#H-to-L#H

Within a phrase or a compound, an M‑toned morpheme followed by an H‑tone drops to L‑tone. This involves polarization (maximal dissimilation) rather than assimilation.

For example, à tāwⁿ ‘he/she ascended’ is lowered to à tàwⁿ before an adverbial phrase beginning with H‑tone, as in à tàwⁿ [bóndó kúmà] ‘he/she went up to the highlands’.

sɔ̄ŋɔ̄ⁿ (~ sɔ̄ŋgɔ̄) ‘the bush’ is a frequent compound initial corresponding to English *wild* (i.e. nondomestic) as in *wild turkey*. It remains M‑toned in e.g. sɔ̄ŋɔ̄-ɲīnā ‘bush mouse (*Arvicanthis*)’, but before H‑tone it drops to L, as in sɔ̀ŋɔ̀ŋ-kúŋgúlō ‘jackal’ (“bush-dog”).

Unlike most modifying adjectives, bánū ‘big’ is H‑toned. It triggers M#H-to-L#H on preceding nouns, as in sùgò bánū ‘big goat’ from sūgō ‘goat’.

H‑toned diminutive compound final -náwⁿ (§5.1.7.1) drops a preceding M to L: yɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘fish’, yɔ̀gɔ̀‑náwⁿ ‘minnow’; jūgū ‘tree’, jùgù-náwⁿ ‘sapling’.

When a word or compound final is secondarily raised to H, as in some compounds and in some purposive clauses or under focalization, it triggers M#H-to-L#H in the preceding word or compound initial. For example, jīī nìŋīì ‘in water’ drops to L‑tones in the habitat-specifying compound. [jìì‑nìŋì]‑púlēwⁿ ‘aquatic bird’, whose final (pùléwⁿ ‘bird’) has been raised (§5.1.5.2.2). Likewise, as object in a transitive purposive clause following 'go' or 'come', iterative noun sɔ̄gɔ̄‑sɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘round basket’ and N-Adj tīmī sūwōⁿ ‘foul smell’ raise the second element to H. The results are sɔ̀gɔ̀-sɔ́gɔ́ and tìmì súwóⁿ (§17.5.1.3).

Likewise, bē/bē ‘come’ is M‑toned in both perfective and imperfective clauses. ‘Meat’ is lexically M‑toned tēē, so in (73a) it has no tonal effect on the preceding bē. However, in a purposive construction involving main-clause ‘come’ or ‘go’, tēē is raised to téé (§17.5.1.3). A collateral effect of this is that bē drops to bè (73b).

(73) a. à gà **bē** [tēē bāgā]

3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [meat remove.Pfv]

‘He/She comes and takes away the meat.’

(or: ‘He/She will take away the meat.’)

b. à gà **bè** [téé bāgā]

3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [meat remove.Pfv]

‘He/She comes in order to take away the meat.’

#### Tonal assimilations and dissimilations in post-subject morphemes

Some of the inflectional morphemes that occur in post-subject position interact tonally with a preceding word or particle. There are three distinct patterns. PfvNeg tè has no special tonal interactions with preceding words or particles. Imperfective morphemes (Ipfv gà/gā, IpfvNeg nà/nā) assimilate the final tone (L, M, or H) of the preceding word or particle. If the subject is a pronominal proclitic, the combination is M-M or L-L, e.g. 2Sg Ipfv āŋ gā versus 3Sg Ipfv à gà. If the subject is a noun, examples with Ipfv gà/gā are kúŋgóló gá (‘dog’), sūgō gā (‘goat’), and sìbò gà (‘snake’). Thw assimilated tone is then subject to further tone sandhi triggered by a word to the right of the imperfective particles.

Some other inflectional morphemes, such as prohibitive màⁿ/māⁿ, do the opposite. They dissimilate to preceding elements. They are M‑toned after L‑tones, and L‑toned after nonlow tones. Examples are 2Sg āⁿ màⁿ and 3Sg à māⁿ. Again, the resulting tones may be subject to further tone sandhi due to another word to the right.

See §10.1.1 for a list of post-subject morphemes of both types.

### Downstep and downdrift

Except for word-internal cases like kēŋ-ꜜkēwⁿ, downstep and downdrift are predictable and so not explicitly marked in the basic transcription used here.

#### Downstep

Downstep is less conspicuous in Cliffs than in Djenné Jenaama. However, there are a few cases where an H‑toned word or morpheme drops its pitch to approximately that of M‑tone, or where an M‑toned word or morpheme drops to the pitch level of an L‑toned word. When LH‑toned sàbá ‘chicken’ acquires a floating H at the left edge, the result is idealized as sâbá. It is often heard as sábā, arguably a downstepped sáꜜbá (§3.6.3.1 above) as the awkward initial <HL> tone shifts rightward. Similarly, the distributive iteration of kēẁⁿ ‘one’ is heard as kēŋ‑ꜜkēwⁿ with downstepped M (§6.3.2.4).

Sequences of post-subject Cv̀ inflectional particles plus an L‑toned vocalic object pronominal take the form Cv̄= v̀ after Final Tone-Raising and vv-Contraction. Example: gā= à (Ipfv plus 3Sg object). If this is followed by an L-tone, it levels to gā= ā. If instead it precedes an M‑toned verb like kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’, the result is e.g. gā= à kwāā in fairly careful speech. However, in allegro speech the tones can shift rightward, resulting in phonetic gā= ā ꜜkwāā. Here downstepped ꜜkwāā has lower than modal pitch for M‑tone, but it does not behave as L‑toned (it does not undergo Final Tone-Raising when followed by a true L‑tone).

#### Downdrift and prepausal pitch-drop

Downdrift is the lowering of pitch from the early part of an intonation group to its end. It is most conspicuous on the final word preceding the prosodic break, where tonal distinctions are not reliably made. This includes isolation pronunciations of nouns and other forms that do not otherwise occur prepausally. The transcription used here indicates the pitch drop in the final syllable of nonmonosyllabic /H/-melodic words by using the M‑tone diacritic, as in púnāwⁿ ‘Fulbe person’. Since there is no lexical /HM/ melody, such transcriptions are always to be understood as involving /H/ melody. For example, the noun cited as púnāwⁿ is heard (and transcribed) as púnáwⁿ in non-prepausal position (e.g. subject, object, or postpositional complement).

In prepausal position, higher than modal pitch of the last syllable is associated with polar interrogation (§13.2.1.2).

## Word- or phrase-final intonation effects

### Final H‑tone

In some grammatical contexts, the final tone of a word is raised from L or M to H. If this tone is already H, there is no audible change. This effect occurs in the contexts in (74).

(74) a. focalization of noun or pronoun (§13.1.3)

b. first word in purposive VP following ‘go’ or ‘come’ (17.5.1.3)

c. final word of polar interrogative in the absence of an initial interrogative particle (§13.2.1.2)

d. nonfinal items in lists (§7.1.10)

e. tonal locative of place names (§8.2.3.3)

This process is tonal, within the regular phonology of the language, rather than a gradient intonational overlay.

Evidence for this is that the final H has indirect effects on the tones of preceding syllables. For example, an M.M.M trisyllabic word becomes L.L.H, since the final H is incompatible with a preceding M within a word or phrase. In addition, contour-toned words ending in L‑tone, like the /LML/-melodic personal name sèēdù ‘Seydou’, push the lexical tones leftward, in this case producing LMLH‑toned sèe᷆dú under focalization.

See the sections listed in (74) for details and examples.

Of diachronic interest: focalization in Djenné Jenaama is expressed by a particle wò following the focalized constituent, and wò behaves in some tone-sandhi contexts as though H‑toned.

### Falling pitch and prolongation at planned pause

When a quotative introducer ‘X said (to Y), “…” ’ is separated from the quoted matter by a prosodic break planned by the speaker, the last word before the break is prolonged and gets ML‑tones. This can apply to the quasi-verb yè/yē ‘said’ when it immediately precedes quoted matter (75a). If yè/yē ‘said’ is followed by a dative PP, this intonational effect can apply to the dative postposition tē (75b).

(75) a. à yēè→, …

3Sg **said**, “…”

‘He said, “…” ’ (2017-04 @ 02:38)

b. à yē [ɲ̄ jā= [à tēè(→)], …

3Sg said [LogoSg said [3Sg **Dat**], “…”

‘He said, “I said to him, ‘…’ ” ’ (2017-04 @ 03:19)

A similar case is gāà→ ‘be’ before pause at the beginning of an open-ended list, see (277) in §7.1.10. Occasionally a preposed topicalized NP shows a similar pitch pattern. For example, kàŋgé gú ‘the hyena’ appears as kàŋgé gúù at a planned pause before the regular clause in 2017-08 @ 00:51.

This terminal intonational effect is similar to the “dying-quail” effect that occurs in Dogon languages such as Jamsay and Togo Kan. All of these phenomena combine the phonetics, namely uncalibrated prolongation (and pitch decline), that are typical of “intonation,” with the grammatical (and for Dogon also lexical) functions of tone and vowel length. I call this combination “tonation” (to be understood as a hybrid term “tone-ation”).

### Paired incompletion and completion terminal intonation effects

As in many languages, parallelistic sequences of the type X (and) Y can be expressed with incompletion intonation (higher than modal pitch) on the final syllable of X, and completion intonation (low pitch) on the final syllable of Y. Though usually omitted from transcriptions, it is occasionally indicated by ↑ and ↓, respectively, where it is conspicuous in texts.

(76) [kàŋgé gú] pwɔ̀↑,

[hyena Def] sit.Pfv,

[wàŋgé gú] pwɔ̀↓

[hare Def] sit.Pfv

‘Hyena sat down and Hare sat down.’ (2017-07 @ 00:36)

# Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

## Nouns

### Simple nouns (singular, plural)

Nouns generally have an unmarked singular and a suffixal plural with ‑yè. At word level (prior to tone sandhi), the suffix is realized as M‑toned ‑yē after M‑tone (by M‑Tone Spreading, §3.6.4.3), and as L‑toned ‑yè after H or L. I transcribe -yè (or -yē) as a suffix, but one could also consider it to be an enclitic, since in N‑Adj combinations it appears on the adjective. (For minor plural patterns see below.)

There is no morphological distinction between human, nonhuman animate, and inanimate nouns.

Some human nouns are in (77). Those in (77b) are derivatives with -yà whose plural is here transcribed ‑y‑è (contracted from /‑yà‑yè/).

(77) Human nouns

singular plural gloss

a. simple noun

kùygù kùygù-yè ‘blacksmith’

púnāwⁿ púná(ⁿ)-yè ‘Fulbe person’ variant plural pūnàm-bē

káádō káádó-yè ‘Dogon person’

nɔ̀lɔ̀ nɔ̀lɔ̀-yè ‘Bangande person’

sūmūⁿ sūmū-yē ‘visitor’

b. agentive derivatives with singular -yà

bɔ́ɔ̀-yà bɔ́ɔ̀-y-è ‘herder’

sɔ̀gɔ̀-yà sɔ̀gɔ̀-y-è ‘farmer’

Some nonhuman nouns, animate and inanimate, are in (78).

(78) Nonhuman nouns

stem marked plural gloss

a. animate

kúŋgólō kúŋgóló-yè ‘dog’

sūgō sūgō-yē ‘goat’

nàà nàà-yè ‘cow’

sɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̄wⁿ sɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̄wⁿ-yē ‘sheep’ (dialectally sɔ̀gɔ̀ ~ sùwɔ̀)

b. inanimate

kìyè kìyè-yè ‘stick’

kɔ̀yɔ́wⁿ kɔ̀yɔ́wⁿ-yē ‘stone’

jūbū jūbū-yē ‘tree’

There is one Cvⁿ noun stem, sɔ̄ⁿ ‘needle; pointed instrument’, and one other that has a premodifier form Cv (pwɔ̄ ‘thing’, premodifier pā). The nasal in sɔ̄ⁿ counts as a mora. With the exception of pā, the minimal syllabic shape of a noun stem is bimoraic Cvv, Cvⁿ, Cvwⁿ, Cvy(ⁿ), or CvCv.

A minor plural suffix -bè (-bē after M‑tone) occurs in a few nouns, sometimes varying with -yè (79). See also ‘child’ and ‘woman’ in the following subsection.

(79) singular plural (-bè) variant plural gloss

a. compounds

tàà-yūgōⁿ tàà-yūgōm-bē ‘grandmother’

sābāɲ-dīyāwⁿ sābāɲ-dēm-bē ‘koranic school pupil’

b. other human nouns

dùgòⁿ dùgòm-bè ‘younger sibling’

pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-nɔ́wⁿ pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-nɔ́m-bè ‘young woman’

nɔ̀lɔ̀wⁿ nɔ̀lɔ̀m-bè ‘Dogon (person)’

púnāwⁿ pūnɔ̀m-bè púnáⁿ-yè ‘Fulbe (person), Pullo’

c. nonhuman animate (former diminutives, all known examples)

sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄wⁿ sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄m-bē ‘sheep’

pùléwⁿ pùlém-bè ‘bird (any)’

Plural suffix ‑lè occurs in ɲīmī-lè ‘people’, plural of ɲīmī ‘person’. This rare plural suffix occurs elsewhere only in definite plural kù-lè (§4.4.1) and relative plural mà‑lè (§14.1.1).

Noun stems may have any of several lexical tone melodies, whose expression is spread out over the entire stem. See §3.6.1.2 for details and examples. The lexical melodies are heard in citation forms (except that …H.H is heard as …H.M), but are subject to change in combinations with adjectives and other modifiers (chapter 6).

### Key nouns (‘woman’, ‘man’, ‘child’, ‘person’, ‘thing’, ‘place’)

High-frequency nouns whose plurals are frequently irregular in other languages of the zone are in (80). ‘Man’ and ‘thing’ are morphologically regular. ‘Woman’, ‘person’, and ‘child’ have irregular plurals (the regular plural suffix is -yè). Of interest is that all of the irregular and suppletive ‘children’ terms drop from H‑tone to word-level M‑tone, though the regular plural jɛ́náⁿ-yè preserves the H‑tones of the singular.

(80) singular plural gloss

a. human

yùgòⁿ yùgòm-bè ‘woman’

kɛ̄ɛ̄gū kɛ̄ɛ̄gū-yē ~ kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē ‘man’

ɲīmī ɲīmī-lè or ɲīmī-yē ‘person’ (see comment below)

jɛ́nāⁿ jɛ̄nām-bī-gē or jɛ́náⁿ-yè ‘child’ (§4.1.2)

— dālm-bī-gē ‘children’ (plural only)

— dēm-bē ‘children (offspring)’ (plural only)

b. nonhuman

pwɔ̄ pwɔ̄-yē ‘thing’ (see comment below))

gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-yē ‘place’ (see comment below)

There are distinct ‘child’ forms used in the kinship sense (‘son or daughter’), see §5.1.7.3 for these forms and their compounds.

ɲīmī ‘person’ has a special form in front of ŋ-kēẁⁿ ‘one’, hence ɲā ŋ̄-kēẁⁿ ‘one person’.

pwɔ̄ ‘thing’ becomes pā (dialectally pɔ̄) before any modifier.

gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ, one of the few stems with high back unrounded ɯ, occurs in an unusual iterated form gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēw̄ⁿ (and variants) in relatives (§14.2.4).

For compounds containing ‘child’, ‘woman’, and ‘man’ as initials or finals, with L-H tone overlay, see §5.1.7.3 and §5.1.9.

### Collectives with ‑àmà (absent)

In Djenné Jenaama, this suffix forms collectives, for example of ethnicities, as well as abstractives. It is part of the alternative language name Sorogaama. Examples with collective sense are not attested in Cliffs. The noun jànà-àmà means ‘Jenaama language’ and is morphologically somewhat opaque. For abstractive nominals with ‑àmà see §4.2.3.

### Nouns with lexicalized full-stem iteration

A few nouns have the appearance of full-stem iterations. In some cases the vowel quality is different in the two parts (81b). Often the uniterated form is unattested. Several examples are flora terms. ‘Tomtom’, ‘bell’, and ‘wooden trough’ are (or can be used as) percussion instruments.

(81) a. no vocalic change

*L-M tones*

yùrùgù-yūrūgū ‘corruption’ cf. yùrùgù ‘this year’

ɲàmà-ɲāmā ‘garbage’ also simple ɲàmà

*LH-LH tones*

ɲòýⁿ-ɲòýⁿ ‘chameleon’

wɔ̀ɲɔ́ⁿ-wɔ̀ɲɔ́ⁿ ‘bush sp. (*Senna occidentalis*)’

*L-L tones*

sɔ̀ⁿ-sɔ̀ⁿ ‘sand’

*L-H tones*

dòn-dóⁿ ‘hourglass-shaped tomtom’

sàm-sám ‘medicinal herb (*Blepharis*)’

kàà-káá ‘tall herb sp. (*Senna obtusifolia*)’

*M-M tones*

būm-būⁿ ‘red kapok tree (*Bombax*)’

wōlōⁿ-wōlōⁿ ‘bell’

kōlōŋ-kōlōⁿ ‘wooden trough’

kɔ̄bāŋ-kɔ̄bāⁿ ‘tree sp. (*Dichrostachys*)’

*ML-ML tones*

pēgù-pēgù ‘fromager tree (*Ceiba*)’

*ML-H tones*

dūwɔ̀n-dúwɔ́ⁿ ‘mistletoe (Loranthaceae)’

b. with vocalic change

kéléŋ-kālāⁿ ‘forked stick’

yìrí-yàrá ‘tree sp. (*Cassia*)’

### Definite singular suffix (absent)

The definite singular suffix ‑yàwⁿ in Djenné Jenaama does not occur in Cliffs. Discourse definiteness is marked by a number-neutral particle (or enclitic) gu of demonstrative origin (§4.4.2).

### Associative plural X wùlēē/kùlēē ‘X and family/group’

If X is a human personal name or another expression denoting an individual, an associative plural can be formed by adding wùlēē ~ kùlēē. This form is related to the discourse-definite plural demonstrative kù‑lè ~ wù‑lè (§4.4.2).

The associative plural denotes the individual plus his/her associates (family, household, companions, etc.).

(82) a. [sèēdū wùlēē] bē

[S AssocPl] come.Pfv

‘The Seydou’s (=Seydou and his group) have come.’

b. [sèēdū wùlèè] kúŋgólō

[S AssocPl] dog

‘the dog of the Seydou’s’

An alternative with personal names like Seydou is to just add the plural suffix: sèēdù‑yè ~ sèēdè‑è ‘the Seydou’s’. This simpler associative plural is usual in the ‘chez X’ construction (i.e. ‘at X’s place’): sèēdù‑yè kāwⁿ ‘at the Seydou’s’. The ‘chez X’ construction, when it denotes a home, strongly favors a plural noun as complement unless the individual lives alone.

## Derived nominals

### Deverbal nominalizations

#### Bare verbal noun identical to Pfv stem

This and the following subsection describe the forms of uncompounded verbal nouns. For verbal nouns with incorporated object nouns functioning as compound initials, see §5.1.6.1.

For many verbs, the abstract verbal noun, denoting the pure event type as in ‘running is easy’ without aspectual bounding, is unsuffixed (bare). A bare verbal noun is homophonous to the Pfv stem of the verb (83a), except that monomoraic Cv lengthens its vowel (83b). Most intransitives readily form bare verbal nouns without a “possessor.” It is possible to elicit bare verbal nouns for many transitives, but some like ‘give’ and ‘say’ require an overt object, minimally a pro forma 3Sg à as “possessor.”

(83) verbal noun gloss verb (Pfv/Ipfv) verb gloss

a. verbal noun = Pfv (no final tone shift as in Ipfv)

*M‑toned verbal noun and Pfv*

ɲīnī ‘washing’ ɲīnī/ɲīnì ‘wash’

kēbē ‘building’ kēbē/kēbè ‘build’

pīīrī ‘flying’ pīīrī/pīīrì ‘fly (v)’

*L‑toned verbal noun and Pfv*

kɯ̀ɯ̀ ‘running’ kɯ̀ɯ̀/kɯ̀ɯ̄ ‘run’

mɛ̀wⁿ ‘drinking’ mɛ̀wⁿ/mɛ̀-nɛ̀ ‘drink’

mìyⁿɛ̀ ‘fishing’ mìyⁿɛ̀/mìyⁿɛ̄ ‘fish (v), go fishing’

sɔ̀gɔ̀ ‘farming’ sɔ̀gɔ̀/sɔ̀gɔ̄ ‘cultivate’

sùbè-nì ‘breast-feeding’ sùbè-nì/sùbè-nī ‘breastfeed’

*ML‑toned verbal noun and Pfv*

sɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘pounding’ sɛ̄gɛ̀/sɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘pound (in mortar)’

b. verbal noun based on Pfv = Ipfv but lengthened from Cv to Cvv

bēē ‘coming’ bē/bē ‘come’

sòò ‘going’ sò/sò ‘go’

dōō ‘give’ dō/dō ‘give’

sēē ‘say’ sē/sē ‘say’

#### CvCe/ɛ verbal nouns

Some verbal nouns differ from the Pfv and Ipfv stems by final vocalic mutation to ɛ or e (depending on the ATR vocalism of the stem). The fronted vowel keeps the tone of the corresponding vowel in the Pfv stem. There is a bisyllabic target which requires monosyllabic stems to add a syllable. Similar ablauted verb stems with final ɛ/e function as intransitivizations of some transitive verbs (§9.3.1.1).

(84) verbal noun gloss verb gloss

a. mutation of final vowel only

bāgɛ̄ ‘removal’ bāgā/bāgà ‘take away, remove’

wɔ̀gɛ̀ ‘killing’ wɔ̀gà/wɔ̀gā ‘kill’

tɔ̀ŋɛ̀ ‘looking at’ tɔ̀ŋɔ̀/tɔ̀ŋɔ̄ ‘look at’

b. mutation of final vowel in verbal noun and intransitive (antipassive)

dīgɛ̄ ‘eatng’ dīgā/dīgà ‘eat (meal)’ (transitive)

dīgɛ̄/dīgɛ̀ ‘eat’ (intransitive)

c. mutuation of final vowel plus stem change

*medial m*

kūmɛ̄ ‘catching’ kūūⁿ/kū-nū ‘catch’

*medial n*

sīnɛ̄ ‘biting’ sīwⁿ/sī-nī ‘bite’

kɔ̄lɛ̄ ‘hitting’ kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’

*medial g*

sìgè ‘departure’ sò/sò ‘go’

In the cases of ‘bite’ and ‘hit’ (84c), the verbal noun more closely resembles the Ipfv than the Pfv stem, by virtue of showing the same medial consonant. However, ‘catch’ has m instead of n in the nominal, and the apparent Ipfv characteristics of the nominal may really be a byproduct of a CvCv template that the Pfv stems do not fit. The verbs in (84c) also show the stem variant with ɛ/e in other derivatives, such as kūmɛ̄-nā, kɔ̄lɛ̄-nā, and sīnɛ̄-nā resultative verbal nouns (§4.2.1.4). See §3.2.12.1 on the diachronic background.

#### Verbal noun with suffix -gù/-gū

Other verbs form the verbal noun by adding the suffix -gù/-gū to the Pfv stem. This is distinct from postnominal definite gu of variable tone. The tone of the verbal-noun suffix is L after L‑tone (a combination that triggers Final Tone-Raising on the preceding syllable or mora), in some cases giving the false impression that the suffix is added to the Ipfv stem (85a). The suffixal tone is M after M‑tone, by M-Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.3). No verb ends in H‑tone so the verbal-noun suffix is never H‑toned. For verbs whose Pfv and Ipfv stems are segmentally distinct, it is clear that the suffix is added to the Pfv (85b).

(85) verbal noun gloss verb (Pfv/Ipfv) gloss

a. verbal noun same as or based on identical Pfv= Ipfv, plus -gù

kɔ̀ɲɔ̄-gù ‘snoring’ kɔ̀ɲɔ̄/kɔ̀ɲɔ̄ ‘snore’

ɲɔ̀lī-gù ‘pointing’ ɲɔ̀lī/ɲɔ̀lī ‘point at’

tèmbē-gù ‘encountering’ tèmbē/tèmbē ‘encounter’

*stem-final vowel shortened*

kùgɛ̄-gù ‘kneeling’ kùgɛ̄ɛ̀/kùgɛ̄ɛ̀ ‘kneel’

wòlō-gù ‘snatching’ wòlōò/wòlōò ‘snatch’

*stem-final vowel lengthened*

sɔ̀ŋgīī-gù ‘pecking’ sɔ̀ŋgī/sɔ̀ŋgī ‘peck at’

b. verbal noun same as or based on Pfv, plus -gù

bē-gū ‘coming’ bē/bē ‘come’ (2017-05 @ 00:12)

pwɔ̀-gù ‘sitting’ pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘sit’

bāā-gū ‘exiting’ bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’

kēē-gù ‘calling’ kēē/kēē-lì ‘call’

sūū-gū ‘rubbing in’ sūū/sū-lū ‘rub in (lotion)’

tūū-gù ‘spitting’ tūù/tūū-lù ‘spit’

tàà-gù ‘stopping’ tàà/tà-là ‘stop, stand’

sēŋ-gū ‘falling’ sēwⁿ/sēn-dē ‘fall’

tēŋ-gū ‘jumping’ tēwⁿ/tēlēwⁿ ‘jump’

bēŋ-gū ‘returning’ bēwⁿ/bēn-dē ‘return’

bāŋ-gū ‘shaving’ bāwⁿ/bā-nā ‘shave’

tāŋ-gū ‘ascending’ tāwⁿ/tā-nā ‘ascend’

yàŋ-gù ‘descending’ yàwⁿ/yà-là ‘descend’

sɛ̀y-gù ‘pulling/tying’ sɛ̀y/sɛ̀-lɛ̀ ‘pull, tie’

bōy-gù ‘greeting’ bōỳ/bōy-lì ‘greet’

kōy-gù ‘weaving’ kòȳ/kòȳ-lì ‘weave (fabric)’

tīyē-gū ‘question (n)’ tīyē/tīyè ‘ask (question)’

sùwō-gù ‘singing’ sùwō/sùwō-lò ‘sing’

cīyɛ̀ŋ-gù ‘assembling’ cīyɛ̀ⁿ/cīyɛ̀-nɛ̀ ‘assemble’

kwɛ̄ɛ̀ŋ-gù ‘sweeping’ kwɛ̄ɛ̀ⁿ/kwɛ̄ɛ̀-nà ‘sweep’

sūgòŋ-gù ‘squatting’ sūgòⁿ/sūgòn-nà ‘squat’

sīŋàŋ-gù ‘breathing’ sīŋàwⁿ/sīŋàn-nà ‘breathe’

-gù/-gū is disallowed in verbal-noun phrases that include a preverbal constituent. For example, ‘snatching’ without a complement is wòlōò-gù (86b), but when an overt object is added the ‑gù is dropped (86c).

(86) a. à wáléⁿ wòlōò

3Sg money snatch.Pfv

‘He/She snatched the money.’ (wáléwⁿ ~ wóléwⁿ)

b. wòlōò-gù nà m̀ māỳⁿ

snatch-VblN Neg PsRefl be.good

‘Snatching isn’t good.’

c. [wáléⁿ wòlōò] nà m̀ māỳⁿ

[money snatch.VblN] Neg PsRefl be.good

‘Snatching money isn’t good.’

Verbal-noun suffix -gù ~ -gū does not behave tonally like definite gù. The latter does not trigger Final Tone-Raising in a preceding L‑toned word (noun, adjective, or numeral), and it is not raised to M‑toned after an M‑tone. The definite marker can also be added at the end of a clause in subordinating function (§15.4.4), in which case it may happen to follow a verb. No tonal interactions with an L‑toned verb occur in this case.

#### Participial -na as resultative verbal noun

Participial suffix -na occurs productively in deverbal adjectives (§4.5.1.3), including adjectival predicates (§11.4.1.1). It also occurs in a stative predicate construction with otherwise active (aspectually dynamic) verbs (§10.1.4).

This subsection, however, is concerned with the occurrence of this participial form in a function that can be described as resultative verbal noun. It denotes an actual instance of the event type and the state that results from it. My assistant glosses it as ‘the fact of Vb‑ing’ (*le fait de …*). It differs aspectually from the pure abstractive verbal nouns described in preceding subsections, which do not denote bounded instantiations. It never occurred in abstractive contexts like ‘Vb-ing is difficult’ without a subject or object.

Except when predicative, the resultative verbal noun requires a preceding object or “possessor,” minimally 3Sg pronominal à.

The resultative verbal noun can be preposed to a clause. In (87a) ‘his/her exiting’ is a preposed topic and is resumed (and focalized) by a 3Sg pronoun. In (87b), ‘his/her ascent’ functions as a temporal-setting adverbial. Even without an overt ‘after’ or ‘behind’ element, it is understood that the ascent preceded the event described in the following main clause,. The free translation (‘having …’) tries to capture the resultative flavor.

(87) a. [à bān-nā] wɔ̀gɔ̄ màɲɛ̄ gà

[3Sg exit(v)-**Ppl**] 3Sg.Indep be.good.Pfv RemPfv

‘(The fact of) his/her exiting, that was good (=appropriate).’

b. [à tān-nā gū] à= à tōlō

[3Sg ascend-**Ppl** Def] 3Sg 3Sg sell.Pfv

‘Having gone up (e.g. traveled south), he/she sold it.’

The regular forms of the resultative verbal noun are shown in (88), alongside the regular Pfv and Ipfv forms. The resultative verbal noun is M-, ML-, or L‑toned, following the tones of the Pfv. The segmental form is also derived from the Pfv in most cases where the Pfv and Ipfv differ segmentally. Monomoraic Cv is lengthened to Cvv one way or another, or in the case of ‘go’ Cv is replaced by an alternative bisyllabic form that can also occur by itself as a kind of verbal noun. Among intransitives, ‘exit (v)’ is irregular. Several transitives use a variant stem-form CvCɛ/e before ‑na, as in several other derivatives (§4.2.1.2, §9.3.1). In the cases of ‘eat’ and ‘sell’, this variant form is used without reference to transitivity.

(88) Pfv Ipfv with -nà gloss comment

a. intransitive

sēwⁿ sēn-dē sēn-nā ‘fall’

tāwⁿ tā-nā tān-nā ‘ascend’

yàwⁿ yà-là yàn-nà ‘descend’

wwō wwō wwō-nā ‘weep’

kùmù kùmū-nà kùmù-nà ‘sleep’

*irregular*

bāā bā-lā bān-nā ‘exit (v)’

*suppletive*

sò sò sìgè-nà ‘go’ cf. noun sìgè ‘departure’

Cv *lengthened before suffix*

bē bē bēē-nā ‘come’

b. transitive

mɛ̀wⁿ mɛ̀-nɛ̀ mɛ̀n-nà ‘drink’

tīẁⁿ tī-nà tīn-nà ‘do’

pɛ̄jɛ̄ pɛ̄jɛ̀ pɛ̄jɛ̄-nā ‘split (firewood)’

cɛ̄bù cɛ̄bù cɛ̄bù-nà ‘push’

Cv *lengthened before suffix*

dō dō dōē-nā ‘give’

tùyɛ̀ tò tòè-nà ‘know’

*based on alternative* CvCɛ/e *form of stem (§4.2.1.2, §9.3.1)*

dīgā dīgà dīgɛ̄-nā ‘eat’

tōlō tōlò tōlē-nā ‘sell’

kwāā kɔ̄-lā kɔ̄lɛ̄-nā ‘hit’

kūūⁿ kū-nū kūmɛ̄-nā ‘catch’

sīwⁿ sī-nī sīnɛ̄-nā ‘bite’

wɔ̀gà wɔ̀gā wɔ̀gɛ̀-nà ‘kill’

For transitives, an object is optionally included. If the object is an unmodified singular common noun and has generic reference, it could be taken as a kind of compound initial (89). If both the incorporated noun and the verbal noun are L‑toned, Final Tone-Raising applies at the boundary (89c).

(89) object + verb gloss noun gloss

a. sūbā pɛ̄jɛ̄-nā ‘splitting firewood’ sūbā ‘firewood’

b. kúŋgóló kɔ̄lɛ̄-nā ‘hitting a/the dog’ kúŋgólō ‘dog’

c. dùwɔ̄ mɛ̀n-nà ‘drinking beer’ dùwɔ̀ ‘beer’

The object can be expanded to a full NP (DP) as in 90. This suggests that the NP in question is either a full-fledged object NP or a possessor.

(90) [ǹ dēm-bē sāāŋ] kɔ̄lɛ̄-nā

[1Sg child-Pl all] hit-VblN

‘the fact of hitting all of my children’

The object may also be expressed as a personal name or as a pronominal. There is no difference in form between objects and possessors, so the pronominals could be marked up as either.

(91) a. ŋ̀ kɔ̄lɛ̄-nā ‘the fact of hitting me’

sèēdù kɔ̄lɛ̄-nā ‘the fact of hitting Seydou’

b. ŋ̀ wɔ́gɛ̀-nà ‘the fact of killing me’

sèēdū wɔ̀gɛ̀-nà ‘the fact of killing Seydou’

A phrase consistent in form with a resultative verbal noun is obligatory in a comparative construction where it functions as a kind of compound initial for síí ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2). A pronominal subject is included in possessor form preceding the resultative verbal noun. The presence of this subject puts some limits on the possible forms of an overt object. If the object cannot be expressed as a simple compound initial, it is phrased as a separate PP (§12.2.4.2).

#### Place nominals

##### Place nominal with suffix -gàwⁿ

Addition of suffix -gàwⁿ to a verb produces a place nominal. The stem is identical to the Pfv stem in most cases (92a). Final Tone-Raising raises a final L‑tone to M‑tone before the suffix, showing that -gàwⁿ is treated prosodically as a separate word. The plural is ‑gè‑è or ‑gàⁿ‑yè. The examples in (92b) involve verbs that are ordinarily transitive but here take antipassive intransitive form with final e/ɛ.

(92) nominal gloss verb and gloss

a. initial identical to Pfv stem

mūrī-gàwⁿ ‘hairdressing place’ mūrì/mūrì ‘braid (a girl)’

kāyⁿ-gàwⁿ ‘workplace’ kāyⁿ/kāỳⁿ ‘work (v)’

kēbē-gàwⁿ ‘construction site’ kēbē/kēbè ‘build’

sāā-gàwⁿ ‘bedroom’ sāā/sāà ‘lie down’

*initial = Pfv with Final Tone-Raising*

yàŋ̄-gàwⁿ ‘(the) way down’ yàwⁿ/yàw̄ⁿ ‘descend’

ɥɛ̀ɛ̄-gàwⁿ ‘opening (passage)’ ɥɛ̀ɛ̀/ɥɛ̀ɛ̄ ‘open’

mɛ̀w̄ⁿ-gàwⁿ ‘drinking place’ mɛ̀wⁿ/mɛ̀-nɛ̀ ‘drink’

kìì-nī-gàwⁿ ‘ignition (of vehicle)’ kìì-nì/kìì-nì ‘wake (sb) up’

sìɥɛ̄-gàwⁿ ‘kitchen’ sìɥɛ̀/sìɥɛ̄ ‘cook (in a pot)’

sɔ̀gɔ̄-gàwⁿ ‘cultivating place’ sɔ̀gɔ̀/sɔ̀gɔ̄ ‘cultivate (field)’

*initial segmentally = Pfv but not Ipfv*

pùgēwⁿ-gàwⁿ ‘hiding place’ pùgèwⁿ/pùgēn-nà ‘hide’

sāā-gàwⁿ ‘bedroom, sleeping place’ sā(g)ā/sāgà ‘lie down, go to bed’

b. initial with final e/ɛ and L‑toned (becoming LM by tone sandhi)

tōlē-gàwⁿ ‘shop (n)’ tōlō/tōlò ‘sell’

kɔ̀lɛ̄-gàwⁿ ‘scene of assault’ kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’

The independent noun meaning ‘place’ is gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ, which may be etymologically related.

Place nominals also function as complements of kìlɛ̀wⁿ/kìlɛ̄n-nà ‘finish (VP-ing)’ (§17.4.5).

Transitive verbs can incorporate an object noun. In this case they do not take antipassive form with e/ɛ as in (92b). For such compound place nominals, see §5.1.6.3.

##### Place nominal with -lōgū ‘mouth’ as final

A variant of the noun lɔ̄gū ~ lāgū ‘mouth’ can occur as compound final in place nominals based on verbs of entering and existing. It takes the form -lōgū. Examples: dūwɛ̄-lōgū ‘entrance’, bāā‑lōgū ‘exit (n)’.

### Uncompounded agentives (-yà ~ -yɛ̀)

The suffix is -yà ~ -yɛ̀, plural usually contracted as -y-è (from /-yà‑yè/). For verbs with segmentally identical Pfv and Ipfv, the tones in the agentive are those of the Pfv (93a‑b), and verbs with suffixes in the Ipfv do not show them in the agentive (93a,c). The suffix is L‑toned after another L (93a-b); ‘singer’ (93c) is contracted from /sùwōò-yà/ so it is not a real counterexample. The suffix is M‑toned vy M-Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.2) after /M/-melodic stems (93d), but not after truncated /LML/-melodic stems (93c). Verbs that have a semantically antipassive intransitive with final vowel mutated to ɛ/e (§9.3.1.1) use this form in the agentive if no object noun is incorporated (93f). For compounds with incorporated object see §5.1.6.2.

(93) verb gloss agentive gloss

a. būwɔ̀/būwɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘tend (herd)’ būwɔ̀-yà ‘herder’

b. jàgò/jàgō ‘deal (buy/sell)’ jàgò-yà ‘dealer, merchant’

sɔ̀gɔ̀/sɔ̀gɔ̄ ‘cultivate’ sɔ̀gɔ̀-yà ‘farmer’

c. sùwōò/sùwō-lò ‘sing’ sùwō-yà ‘singer’

d. kēbē/kēbè ‘build’ kēbē-yā ‘builder’

e. kòȳ/kòȳ-lì ‘weave’ kòȳ-yà ‘weaver’

f. sìɥɛ̀/sìɥɛ̄ ‘do cooking’ sìɥɛ̀-yà ‘cook (n)’

tōlē/tōlè ‘do selling’ tōlē-yā ‘merchant’

There are also a agentive-like lexical nouns such as bārù ‘builder, mason’, dòⁿsò ‘hunter (*chasseur*)’, wààkɛ̀ ‘butcher’, sàgè ‘carpenter’, mììmá ‘leatherworker (*cordonnier*)’, and kùygù ‘blacksmith’. However, mììmá and kùygù are hereditary, in-marrying castes that are traditionally connected with the trades indicated by the translations, rather than pure agentives denoting occupations. Compare kòlón-tùgù ‘leatherworker, shoemaker’ (“skin-owner”) as an actual occupation agentive regardless of ancestry.

### Deadjectival abstractives (-àmà)

Adjectives denoting scalar qualities or measurable dimensions have an abstractive nominal with suffix ‑àmà. It becomes ‑āmā after an M‑tone by regular tone sandhi. The abstractive is typically possessed (‘its length’, etc.). It is not formed from color or taste adjectives. It is not used as a collective denoting ethnic populations as it is in Djenné Jenaama.

The abstractive has some phonological traits shared with the predicative form of the adjective, others with its modifying form. The tones correlate with those of the predicative form. There is also an abstractive, admittedly rather irregular, related to predicative kōⁿ ‘be many’, which has a more or less suppletive modifying form (94b). On the other hand, the -gù suffix that occurs with some adjectives in the modifying form is also present, preceding the abstractive suffix (94a).

(94) predicate modifying gloss abstractive gloss

a. predicative form L‑toned

-gu *absent in modifying form*

kɔ̀yàⁿ kɔ̄yāⁿ ‘long’ kɔ̀yà-àmà ‘length’

(~ kɔ̀jàⁿ, etc.)

bùlòⁿ būlōⁿ ‘big’ bùlà-àmà ‘size, bigness’

kùrùⁿ kūrū ‘short’ kùrà-àmà ‘shortness’

-gu *present in modifying form*

kùyⁿ kūy-gū ‘deep’ kùy-gà-àmà ‘depth’

wààⁿ wāā-gū ‘wide’ wàà-gà-àmà ‘width’

dùwɔ̀wⁿ dūwɔ̀-gù ‘small’ dùwɔ̀-gà-àmà ‘smallness’

b. predicative form M‑toned

*M‑tone extends to suffix*

nɔ̄gɔ̄rɔ̄wⁿ nɔ̄gɔ̄rɔ̄wⁿ ‘difficult’ nɔ̄gɔ̄rā-āmā ‘difficulty, expensiveness’

*shift to ML*

kōⁿ (pāà-lōwⁿ) ‘many’ kūyà-àmà ‘number, abundance’

ɲīī ɲɔ̄ŋɔ̄ ‘nasty’ ɲīŋà-àmà ‘nastiness’

The noun mìskíínī ‘pauper, poor person’, which can also be used as a modifier ‘poor, indigent’, has an abstractive mìskììnà-àmà ‘poverty’. The antonym is nàfòlò-tūgā‑āmā ‘wealthiness’, based on an ‘owner of X’ compound with -tùgù (§5.1.8).

### Gentilic nominals with -ŋga suffix after spatial noun

Many adverb-like nouns denoting locations or spatial directions can be nominalized by suffix ‑ŋga. The noun then denotes an individual associated with that location, cf. English *northerner*. The suffix gets its tone by spreading from the left. tīgāā-ŋgā shows tone-leveling (95c).

(95) spatial gloss gentilic gloss

a. jííŋ-kóndō ‘north’ jííŋ-kóndó-ŋgā ‘northerner’

jíín-sémū ‘south’ jíín-sémú-ŋgā ‘southerner’

jííⁿ-cííⁿ ‘east’ jííⁿ-cííⁿ-ŋgā ‘easterner’

jííŋ-kàmāà ‘west’ jííŋ-kàmāā-ŋgà ‘westerner’

b. bóndó-kúmà ‘on top’ bóndó-kúmá-ŋgā ‘highlander’

dàmī-ỳ ‘at bottom’ dàmīī-ŋgà ‘lowlander’

c. tīgàà ‘in front’ tīgāā-ŋgā ‘leader, one in front’

kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ ‘in back’ kɔ̀rɛ̄ɛ̄-ŋgà ‘laggard, one in back’

Gentilics can be formed from place names, cf. *New York-er*, *Paris-ian*. For example, the name of the village Namagué is nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ. The gentilic is nɔ̀gù-bè-ŋgà.

## Pronouns

### Summary of personal pronouns

The system distinguishes three persons and two numbers (singular versus plural), plus third-person logophorics/reflexives. Each pronominal category has a simple proclitic form consisting of either a nasal (1Sg, logophoric singular), a short oral or nasalized vowel, or a long oral vowel. The proclitic form can occur in most grammatical functions (subject, object, possessor, postpositional complement). The corresponding independent form occurs as a citation form and can substitute for the proclitic under partial or full focalization. Independent pronouns consist of the proclitic plus ‑lɔ̀gɔ̀, hardening to ‑dɔ̀gɔ̀ after a nasal (for d/l see §3.4.1.1), and a variant wɔ̀gɔ̀ without proclitic for 3Sg. The independent forms shift a final L‑tone to H under (full) focalization, e.g. 3Sg wɔ̀gɔ́.

(96) Personal pronouns

independent object subject possessor in PP

1Sg ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ ŋ̀ (+H)*̀* ŋ̄, ŋ̀ ŋ̀ (+H) ŋ̀, ŋ̀ (+H)

1Pl ē-lɔ̀gɔ̀ ē ē ē ē

2Sg ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀ āⁿ āⁿ āⁿ āⁿ

2Pl āā-lɔ̀gɔ̀ āā āā āā āā

3Sg wɔ̀gɔ̀ à à à à

3Pl è-lɔ̀gɔ̀ è è è è

Logo/3ReflSg n̄-dɔ̀gɔ̀ ŋ̄ ŋ̄ ŋ̄ ŋ̄

Logo/3ReflPl ē-lɔ̀gɔ̀ ē ē ē ē

For 1Sg and 2Sg, there is some tendency for interrogative topic forms ǹ‑dāā (1Sg) and ān‑dāā (2Sg) to replace independent ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ and ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀ (§13.2.2.1).

Most pronominals have stable forms, except for tone sandhi. Logophorics and third-person reflexives are identical. Ordinary 3Pl è differs tonally from 1Pl ē and from Logo/3ReflPl ē, though this can be obscured by further tone sandhi. Likewise, 1Sg differs tonally from Logo/3ReflSg, though in some contexts the tonal distinction is actually made indirectly, on the following morpheme (§4.3.4).

### Vocalic pronominals and the bidirectional case marker (BCM)

The BCM morpheme occurs, in some cases optionally, between subjects and objects that are not separated by a nonzero inflectional morpheme (§11.1.2.1). There are some interactions between the BCM and certain pronominal subjects and objects. It is best to treat the vocalic pronominals (1Pl, 2Sg, 2Pl, 3Sg, 3Pl, LogoPl) separately from the nasal pronominals (1Sg, LogoPl).

#### Vocalic subject pronominals before the BCM

After vocalic subject pronominals the BCM is yè, as it is for nonpronominal subjects (97a‑b). It becomes yē before L-tone by Final Tone-Raising. The BCM is optional and rather uncommon before nonpronominal objects. 2Sg proclitic āⁿ denasalizes (§3.4.2.3.3) before an overt yè, resulting in ā yè. As a result, in this combination 2Sg ā is distinguished from 3Sg à only by tone, and from 2Pl āā only by length. 2Sg is bolded in (97a-b). 3Pl è irregularly becomes ì before overt yè, resulting in ì yè.

(97) a. ē/ **āⁿ** /āā/à/è Ø sèēdū kày

ē/ **ā** /āā/à/ì yē sèēdū kày

1Pl/**2Sg**/2Pl/3Sg/3Pl (Sbj/Obj) S see.Pfv

‘We/you-Sg/you-Pl/they saw Seydou.’

b. ē/ **āⁿ** /āā/à/è Ø āāmādū kày

ē/ **ā** /āā/à/ì yè " "

1Pl/**2Sg**/2Pl/3Sg/3Pl (Sbj/Obj) A see.Pfv

‘We/you-Sg/you-Pl/they saw Amadou.’

c. ì yē= [ē (yē) sèēdū kày]

3Pl said [LogoPl (Sbj/Obj) S see.Pfv]

‘Theyx said that theyx saw Seydou.’ (< è yè è)

#### Vocalic object pronominals after the BCM

Since these pronominals are vocalic, they contract with a preceding BCM yè by vv‑Contraction (§3.4.1.2). In perfective positive transitives with a nonpronominal subject (like ‘Seydou’), the BCM yè is usually omitted. Omission of yè is also common before some vocalic object pronominals, especially 2Sg āⁿ and 3Sg à, less often 2Pl āā. 3Sg à is raised to ā when followed by L-tone.

(98) a. sèēdù Ø āŋ kwāā/kày

S (Sbj/Obj) 2Sg hit.Pfv/see.Pfv

‘Seydou hit/saw you-Sg.’

b. sèēdū Ø à kwāā / …

ā … / kày

S (Sbj/Obj) 3Sg hit.Pfv/see.Pfv

‘Seydou hit/saw him/her/it.’

c. sèēdù Ø āā kwāā/kày

S (Sbj/Obj) 2Pl hit.Pfv/see.Pfv

‘Seydou hit/saw you-Pl.’

Omission of yè is more problematic before proclitics consisting of an e-vowel. These are 1Pl or Logo/3ReflPl ē and regular 3Pl è. 3Pl è (like 3Sg à) raises to ē by tone sandhi before an L‑tone (as with kày ‘see.Pfv’), which creates the risk of confusion with 1Pl ē. The forms with yè omitted are in (99). My assistant’s intuition is that ē in (99a) is higher-pitched than ē in (99c) even before kày. I hear no difference in pitch when they are pronounced seamlessly, though even a slight prosodic reset permits the postpausal L‑toned pronunciation of 3Pl è. If the preceding word or particle ends in L‑tone, as with the name sèēdù, tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) can indirectly distinguish 3Pl from 1Pl. Confusion between LogoPl ē (99b) and either of the others is less consequential, and less likely in grammatical context since logophorics occur only in quotations.

(99) a. sèēdù Ø ē kwāā/kày

S (Sbj/Obj) 1Pl hit.Pfv/see.Pfv

‘Seydou hit/saw us.’

b. … sèēdù Ø ē kwāā/kày

… S (Sbj/Obj) LogoPl hit.Pfv/see.Pfv

‘(Theyx said that) Seydou hit/saw themx.’

c. sèēdū Ø è kwāā / …

ē … / kày

S (Sbj/Obj) 3Pl hit.Pfv/see.Pfv

‘Seydou hit/saw them.’

The overt presence of the BCM yè results in fewer potential ambiguities, but does require some ad hoc morphophonological adjustments. The second person object combinations (100a) are phonologically straightforward. They show regular vv-Contraction, and both yà= āŋ and yà= ā(ā) have rising pitch. The 3Sg and 3Pl combinations (100b), from /yè à/ and /yè è/, undergo Final Tone-Raising (yè → yē) and then vv-Contraction.

Before M‑toned kwāā ‘hit‑Past’, they often go a further low-level shift (usually not indicated in transcription) of the types yā= à kwāā → yā= ā ꜜkwāā (3Sg) and yē= è kwāā → yē= ē ꜜkwāā, where the L‑tone de-links from the pronominal and downsteps the verb.

In (100c), vv‑Contraction would normally convert /yè ē/ to #yè= ē, but my assistant further contracts this to y= ē. This is fortunate since it increases the audible difference between 1Pl and Logo/3ReflPl y= ē on the one hand, and regular 3Pl yē= è (~ yē= ē ꜜ) on the other. y= ē is best taken as a fused portmanteau.

(100) object before kwāā ‘hit’ before kày ‘saw’

a. 2Sg (āⁿ) sèēdū yà= āŋ kwāā sèēdū yà= āŋ kày

2Pl (āā) sèēdū yà= ā(ā) kwāā sèēdū yà= ā(ā) kày

b. 3Sg (à) sèēdū yā= à kwāā sèēdū yā= ā kày

(~ sèēdū yā= ā ꜜkwāā)

3Pl (è) sèēdū yē= è kwāā sèēdū yē= ē kày

(~ sèēdū yē= ē ꜜkwāā)

c. 1Pl (ē) sèēdù y=ē kwāā sèēdù y= ē kày

Logo/3ReflPl (ē) sèēdù y=ē kwāā sèēdù y= ē kày

#### Two vocalic pronominal proclitics flanking the BCM

The preceding subsection used nonpronominal ‘Seydou’ as subject. Here we replace ‘Seydou’ with a vocalic pronominal proclitic. Now both subject and object are vocalic proclitics.

Again there is a choice between presence and absence of the BCM yè, but the details are different. Omission of the BCM is possible when both proclitics have a-vowels (101a-b). 2Sg āⁿ as subject denasalizes before the other a-vowel (101b). Homophony between 2Sg→3Sg and 3Sg→3Sg is averted by irregularly keeping the tones of 3Sg→3Sg à= à low, allowing neither mora to undergo Final Tone-Raising, even before L‑toned kày ‘saw’.

(101) subject object before kwāā ‘hit’ before kày ‘saw’

a. 3Sg 2Sg à= āŋ kwāā à= āŋ kày

2Pl à= ā(ā) kwāā à= ā(ā) kày

3Sg à= à kwāā à= à kày

b. 2Sg 3Sg ā= ā kwāā ā= ā kày

2Sg (reflexive) ā= āŋ kwāā ā= āŋ kày

c. 2Pl (various) (omission of yè not allowed)

When one or both of the pronominals has vowel quality e, this option is not viable.

BCM yè is optionally added to any of the combinations in (101a-b) above, and is obligatory for other pronominal subject-object combinations, namely those involving an e‑vowel as either subject or object, plus all combinations with 2Pl āā as subject. (102) presents the combinations with overt BCM yè. The combinations flagged with “(!)” are discussed below.

(102) subject object before kwāā ‘hit’ before kày ‘saw’

a. 3Sg 1Pl à y= ē kwāā à y= ē kày

Logo/3ReflPl à y= ē kwāā à y= ē kày

2Sg à yà= āŋ kwāā à yà= āŋ kày

2Pl à yà= ā(ā) kwāā à yà= ā(ā) kày

3Sg (!) à yā= à kwāā à yā= ā kày

(~ à yā= ā ꜜkwāā)

3Pl à yè= è kwāā à yē= ē kày

b. 3Pl 1Pl ì y= ē kwāā ì y= ē kày

Logo/3ReflPl ì y= ē kwāā ì y= ē kày

2Sg ì yà= āŋ kwāā ì yà= āŋ kày

2Pl ì yà= ā(ā) kwāā ì yà= ā(ā) kày

3Sg ì yà= à kwāā ì yā= ā kày

3Pl ì yè= è kwāā ì yē= ē kày

c. 2Sg 1Pl ā y= ē kwāā ā y= ē kày

Logo/3ReflPl ā y= ē kwāā ā y= ē kày

3Sg (!) ā(ⁿ) yà= à kwāā ā(ⁿ) yā= ā kày

3Pl ā yè= è kwāā ā yē= ē kày

d. 2Pl 1Pl āā y= ē kwāā āā y= ē kày

Logo/3ReflPl āā y= ē kwāā āā y= ē kày

3Sg āā yà= à kwāā āā yā= ā kày

3Pl āā yè= è kwāā āā yē= ē kày

e. 1Pl Logo/3ReflPl ē y= ē kwāā ē y= ē kày

2Sg ē yà= āŋ kwāā ē yà= āŋ kày

2Pl ē yà= ā(ā) kwāā ē yà= ā(ā) kày

3Sg ē yà= à kwāā ē yā= ā kày

3Pl ē yè= è kwāā ē yē= ē kày

f. Logo/3ReflPl 1Pl ē y= ē kwāā ē y= ē kwāā

Logo/3ReflPl ē y= ē kwāā ē y= ē kwāā

2Sg ē yà= āŋ kwāā ē yà= āŋ kày

2Pl ē yà= ā(ā) kwāā ē yà= ā(ā) kày

3Sg ē yà= à kwāā ē yā= ā kày

3Pl ē yè= è kwāā ē yē= ē kày

In most cases, the tonal form of the BCM depends on the object rather than on the subject. The regular BCM-object combinations, other than those flagged by “(!)” above, are summarized in (103).

(103) category BCM plus object

a. 2Sg yà= āⁿ

2Pl yà= āā

b. 3Sg yà= à before H, yā= ā before L

3Pl yè= è before H, yē= ē before L

c. 1Pl y= ē

Logo/3ReflPl y= ē

Again, the second-person combinations are phonologically regular; the third-person forms are tonally irregular; and 1Pl and Logo/3ReflPl are truncated.

The 3Sg/3Pl combinations are the only ones in (103b) that differ from those with nonpronominal ‘Seydou’ as subject (see the preceding subsection). After ‘Seydou’, BCM‑3Sg object is yā= à (~ yā= ā ꜜ), and BCM-3Pl object is yē= è (~ yē= ē ꜜ). With a vocalic pronominal subject as in (103b), the forms are phonologically irregular portmanteaus: yà= à and yè= è before M‑toned verbs, and yā= ā and yē= ē before L‑toned verbs. The forms yā= ā and yē= ē have arguably undergone an irregular version of Final Tone-Raising before L‑tone.

This brings us to the two flagged combinations in (102a,c). For 3Sg→3Sg, we would expect #à yà= à kwāā (with ‘hit’) by analogy to most other X→3Sg combinations, but the actual form is à yā= à kwāā (variant à yā= ā ꜜkwāā) Although this combination is “irregular” in the context of the paradigms in (102), it is actually phonologically regular, since /à yè à kwāā/ should indeed end up as à yā= à kwāā by Final Tone-Raising and vv‑Contraction. That à yā= à kwāā diverges from the other X→3Sg combinations is not accidental, since this divergence reinforces the distinction between 3Sg→3Sg à yā= à kwāā and 2Sg→3Sg ā(ⁿ) yà= à kwāā. This important distinction between two of the most common transitive combinations can be further reinforced by optionally restoring the nasality of the 2Sg subject proclitic āⁿ, which is denasalized in other combinations.

The treatment of 3Sg and 3Pl objects is the major difference in tonal behavior between BCM yè and the true inflectional morphemes (see just below).

### Vocalic pronominals and post-subject inflectional particles

The expression “(true) inflectional” or “post‑subject inflectional” particles is used here to refer to the set of PfvNeg tè, Ipfv gà, and IpfvNeg nà. These particles plus the bidirectional case marker (BCM) are referred to by the broader term “(post‑subject) grammatical” particles. The forms taken by pronominal proclitics when adjacent to the BCM are presented in the preceding subsection.

2Sg āⁿ is denasalized before IpfvNeg nà, in the sense that there is no audible distinction between āⁿ and ā before n. 2Sg subject āⁿ is also denasalized when it precedes BCM yè or an a-initial pronominal object. As in those cases, the effect is that 2Sg ā differs from 3Sg à only by tone, and from 2Pl āā only by length.

(104) a. ā nà bē ‘you-Sg don’t come’

à nà bē ‘he/she/it doesn’t come’

āā nà bē ‘you-Pl don’t come’

b. ē nà bē ‘we don’t come’ or ‘they (logophoric) don’t come’

è nà bē ‘they don’t come’

The other interaction is between the inflectional particles and an immediately following object pronominal. (The same interactions occur when the pronominal is the the possessor of the noun denoting the object.)

Here the relevant combinations are those in (105). They are shown before /M/‑melodic kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’ and before /L/-melodic kày/kà-nà ‘see’ (indented). Subjects are omitted, but the forms shown are correct when the subject is either nonpronominal or an L-toned pronominal proclitic. If instead the subject is an M-toned pronominal proclitic, Ipfv gà and IpfvNeg nà assimilate tonally to gā and nā (§3.6.4.6) before vv-Contraction, so gè=, gà=, nè=, and nà= in (105a‑b) become M‑toned.

(105) object PfvNeg Ipfv IpfvNeg

a. 1Pl, Logo/3ReflPl tè= ē kwāā gè= ē kɔ̄-lā nè= ē kɔ̄-lā

tè= ē kày gè= ē kà-nà nè= ē kà-nà

b. 2Sg tà= āŋ kwāā gà= āŋ kɔ̄-lā nà= āŋ kɔ̄-lā

tà= āŋ kày gà= āŋ kà-nà nà= āŋ kà-nà

2Pl tà= āā kwāā gà= āā kɔ̄-lā nà= āā kɔ̄-lā

tà= āā kày gà= āā kà-nà nà= āā kà-nà

c. 3Sg tā= à kwāā gā= à kɔ̄-lā nā= à kɔ̄-lā

tē= ā kày gā= ā kà-nà nā= ā kà-nà

3Pl tē= è kwāā gē= è kɔ̄-lā nē= è kɔ̄-lā

tē= ē kày gē= ē kà-nà nē= ē kà-nà

Because object pronominals 1Pl and Logo/3ReflPl ē, 2Sg āⁿ, and 2Pl āā are M‑toned, the preceding particles remain L‑toned. By contrast, 3Sg à and 3Pl è are lexically L‑toned, so they trigger Final Tone-Raising on the particles (which become tē, gā, and nā). The third-person pronominals are themselves then raised by the same tone sandhi process in case they precede L‑toned kày/kà‑nà ‘see’, but they remain L‑toned (in careful pronunciation) before M‑toned kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’. vv-Contraction then applies, affecting the vowel features but not the tones of the particles.

Optional low-level tonal modifications like tā= à kwāā → tā= ā ꜜkwāā (with downstep) occur, parallel to those involving BCM yè, see discussion after (99) above.

A different low-level process applies to M‑toned proclitics preceding an M‑toned verb. After vv-Contraction, the M‑toned proclitic is part of a rising <LM>-toned long-voweled syllable. The pitch rise in the long <LM> syllable is often faint or even inaudible. This is the case with combinations like tè= ē kwāā ‘did not hit us’, which is heard either with a faint rise or with none at all (as tè= è kwāā). In such cases, the cue that listeners focus on is the L‑tone of the inflectional particle, here tè. This is sufficient to distinguish 1Pl tè= ē kwāā ~ tè= è kwāā from 3Pl tē= ē kwāā, since the latter begins with M‑toned tē. The transcription used here writes the 1Pl combination as tè= ē kwāā even though the medial pitch rise is not consistently heard.

### 1Sg and LogoSg (nasal pronominal proclitics)

The nasal pronominal proclitics are in (106), before place assimilations.

(106) category form grammatical function

1Sg ŋ̄ subject (perfective positive)

ŋ̀ subject (before inflectional particles)

ŋ̀ (+H) nonsubject

LogoSg ŋ̄ all functions

The nasal assimilates in point of articulation to following stops, nasals, and l, and is transcribed accordingly. LogoSg ŋ̄ is subject to M#H-toL#H.

#### 1Sg and LogoSg subjects of perfective positives

##### Intransitive perfective positives

In intransitive clauses, 1Sg (107a-b) and LogoSg (107c-d) are homophonous.

(107) a. **m̄** bē

1Sg come.Pfv

‘I came.’

b. **ŋ̄** sò

1Sg go.Pfv

‘I went.’

c. à yē [**m̄** bē]

3Sg said [LogoSg come.Pfv]

‘Hex said that hex came.’

c. à yē [**ŋ̄** sò]

3Sg said [LogoSg go.Pfv]

‘Hex said that hex went.’

See also (823-824) in §18.1.1.3.

##### Transitive perfective positives with BCM =nàⁿ

An allomorph =nàⁿ of the bidirectional case marker (BCM), replacing the usual allomorph yè, occurs when 1Sg or LogoSg is subject in a transitive perfective positive. Without the BCM, subject and object are directly adjacent in this construction. Such adjacency is possible (and common) when the object is nonpronominal and does not begin with a pronominal possessor.

(108a-c) show =nàⁿ before nonpronominal objects. The final nasal feature in =nàⁿ assimilates to a following stop or nasal (108b-c). =nàⁿ is raised to <LM>-toned =nǎⁿ (assimilated =nàŋ̄ etc.) before an L‑tone (108b). =nǎⁿ is sometimes flattened to =nāⁿ.

(108) a. n̄ =nàⁿ sūgō kwāā

1Sg Sbj/Obj goat hit.Pfv

‘I hit-Past the goat.’

b. n̄ =nàn̄ nàà kwāā

1Sg Sbj/Obj cow hit.Pfv

‘I hit-Past the cow.’

c. n̄ =nàŋ kúŋgóló kwāā

1Sg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv

‘I hit-Past the dog.’

Versions without the optional BCM are in (109a-c). The M‑tone of the 1Sg morpheme before another M‑tone in (109a) supports the claim that 1Sg subject ŋ̄ is M‑toned here, as it is in intransitive perfective positives. Without (109a), the other examples (109b‑c) and the BCM combination n̄ =nàⁿ in (108a-c) above would be compatible with either ŋ̄ or L‑toned ŋ̀ in view of tone sandhi.

(109) a. n̄ Ø sūgō kwāā

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv

‘I hit-Past the goat.’ [=(108a)]

b. n̄ Ø nàà kwāā

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) cow hit.Pfv

‘I hit-Past the cow.’ [=(108b)]

c. ŋ̀ Ø kúŋgóló kwāā

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) dog hit.Pfv

‘I hit-Past the dog.’ [=(108c)]

Overt =nàⁿ is obligatory when the following object is another pronominal, whether vocalic or nasal. The final nasal feature in =nàⁿ is lost under vv-Contraction and is elided before a nasal pronominal. This effectively reduces bimoraic =nàⁿ to monomoraic =nà in these combinations. (110) illustrates 1Sg subject with various pronominal objects before kwāā ‘hit’ (which does not affect the tones of the pronominals) and before kày ‘saw’ (which induces Final Tone-Raising on the 3Sg and 3Pl object combinations).

(110) subject object before kwāā ‘hit’ before kày ‘saw’

a. 1Sg 2Sg n̄ =nà= āŋ kwāā n̄ =nà= āŋ kày

2Pl n̄ =nà= ā(ā) kwāā n̄ =nà= ā(ā) kày

3Sg n̄ =nā= à kwāā n̄ =nā= ā kày

3Pl n̄ =nē= è kwāā n̄ =nē= ē kày

Logo/3ReflPl n̄ =nè= ē kwāā n̄ =nè= ē kày

b. 1Sg Logo/3ReflSg n̄ =nà ŋ̄ kwāā n̄ =nà ŋ̄ kày

1Sg reflexive n̄ =nà ŋ̀ kwāā n̄ =nà ŋ̀ káy

The same combinations also occur when 1Sg subject is followed by a nonpronominal object that begins with a pronominal possessor. For example, n̄ =nā= à with 3Sg à occurs in both (111a) and (111b).

(111) a. n̄ =nā= à kwāā

1Sg Sbj/Obj **3Sg** hit.Pfv

‘I hit-Past him/her/it.’

b. n̄ =nā= [à kúŋgóló] kwāā

1Sg Sbj/Obj [**3Sg** dog] hit.Pfv

‘I hit his/her dog.’

Since verbs begin with nonhigh (L or M) syllables, M#H-to-L#H does not affect pronominal objects, but it does affect M‑toned pronominal possessors like 2Sg āⁿ before H‑initial possessums (112).

(112) n̄ =nà= [**àŋ** kúŋgóló] kwāā

1Sg Sbj/Obj [2Sg dog] hit.Pfv

‘I hit your-Sg dog.’

LogoSg ŋ̄ occurs only in quoted matter. (113) shows its combinations with pronominal objects. It shares the BCM allomorph =nàⁿ with 1Sg. Since =nàⁿ is L‑toned, the M‑tone of LogoSg n̄ in n̄ =nàⁿ could reflect lexical M‑tone or it could be due to Final Tone-Raising from ŋ̀. I assume lexical M-tone by extrapolation from ŋ̄ as subject without =nàⁿ as in (115a) below.

(113) LogoSg subject with pronominal object (perfective positive)

subject object before kwāā ‘hit’ before kày ‘saw’

a. LogoSg 1Pl n̄ =nè= ē kwāā n̄ =nè= ē kày

2Sg n̄ =nà= āŋ kwāā n̄ =nà= āŋ kày

2Pl n̄ =nà= ā(ā) kwāā n̄ =nà= ā(ā) kày

3Sg n̄ =nā= à kwāā n̄ =nā= ā kày

3Pl n̄ =nē= è kwāā n̄ =nē= ē kày

b. LogoSg reflexive n̄ =nà ŋ̄ kwāā n̄ =nà ŋ̄ kày

1Sg n̄ =nà ŋ̀ kwāā n̄ =nà ŋ̀ káy

As with 1Sg, the BCM =nàⁿ is optional before unpossessed nonpronominal objects. (114a-c) are versions with overt BCM.

(114) a. à yē [n̄ =nàŋ sūgō kwāā]

3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj goat hit.Pfv]

‘Hex said that hex hit-Past the goat.’

b. à yē [n̄ =nàn̄ nàà kwāā]

3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj cow hit.Pfv]

‘Hex said that hex hit-Past the cow.’

c. à yē [n̄ =nàŋ kúŋgóló kwāā]

3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv]

‘Hex said that hex hit-Past the dog.’

Versions without the BCM are in (115). (115a) shows that LogoSg ŋ̄ is lexically M‑toned, since here this tone cannot be explained by tone sandhi.

(115) a. à yē [**ŋ̄** Ø sūgō kwāā]

3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj goat hit.Pfv]

‘Hex said that hex hit-Past the goat.’ [=(114a)]

b. à yē [n̄ Ø nàà kwāā]

3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj cow hit.Pfv]

‘Hex said that hex hit-Past the cow.’ [=(114b)]

c. à yē [ŋ̀ Ø kúŋgóló kwāā]

3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv]

‘Hex said that hex hit-Past the dog.’ [=(114c)]

In subject function within quoted matter, 1Sg ŋ̄ is indistinguishable from LogoSg ŋ̄. Some examples with 1Sg subject (bolded) are in (116a-c). They are homophonous with (115a-c) above.

(116) a. à yē [**ŋ̄** Ø sūgō kwāā]

3Sg said [1Sg (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv]

‘He/She said that I hit-Past the goat.’

b. à yē [**n̄** Ø nàà kwāā]

3Sg said [1Sg (Sbj/Obj) cow hit.Pfv]

‘He/She said that I hit-Past the cow.’

c. à yē [**ŋ̀** Ø kúŋgóló kwāā]

3Sg said [1Sg (Sbj/Obj) dog hit.Pfv]

‘He/She said that I hit-Past the dog.’

##### Cliffs BCM allomorph =nàⁿ versus Djenné post-1Sg nà

The homologue to Cliffs post-subject =nàⁿ in Djenné Jenaama is nà. Although both are confined to perfective positive clauses, the Djenné morpheme has a different distribution. It occurs only after 1Sg ŋ̀ in the combination ń nà, and it does not occur after LogoSg ŋ́. On the other hand, it occurs in intransitive as well as transitive clauses, so it cannot be analysed as a bidirectional case-marker. It could, however, be analysed in at least some Djenné dialects as a **linker** between 1Sg subject ŋ̀ and the VP, separating them when they would otherwise be adjacent (i.e. when there is no nonzero post-subject inflectional morpheme). For subdialectal detail and further analysis, see the parallel grammar.

#### 1Sg ŋ̀ and LogoSg ŋ̄ subjects before inflectional morphemes

The nonzero post-subject inflectional particles that can immediately follow subjects are Ipfv gà, IpfvNeg nà, PfvNeg tè, perfective positive conditional nāⁿ, and subjunctive gālà (§10.1.1).

Before a post‑subject inflectional particle, the 1Sg proclitic is L‑toned ŋ̀. It does not itself undergo Final Tone-Raising in these combinations. It does not raise the tone of the particle (i.e. there is no associated floating tone). ŋ̀ gà, ǹ nà, and ǹ tè in (117a-c) function prosodically as single L‑toned words, i.e. as portmanteaus.

(117) a. ŋ̀ gà bē

1Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘I come/am coming/will come.’

b. ǹ nà bē

1Sg IpfvNeg come.Pfv

‘I do/will not come.’

c. ǹ tè bē

1Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv

‘I did not come.’

The L‑toned inflectional morphemes do raise to gā, nā, and tē by regular tone sandhi when the following verb begins with L‑tone, as in ŋ̀ gā sò ‘I go’. This raising has nothing to do with the 1Sg subject proclitic.

M‑toned LogoSg ŋ̄ (118) is tonally distinguishable in these contexts from the L‑toned 1Sg proclitic illustrated above. The post-subject inflectional particles have, or begin with, L or M tone (not H tone), so in this construction LogoSg ŋ̄ never drops to L‑tone by M#H-to-L#H.

(118) a. à yē [ŋ̄ gā bē]

3Sg said [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]

‘Hex says that hex comes/is coming/will come.’

b. à yē [n̄ tē sò]

3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg go.Ipfv]

‘Hex says that hex didn’t go.’

#### 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̀ as nonsubjects

As preverbal objects, as possessors, and as complements of postpositions (except as specified below), the 1Sg proclitic takes the form ŋ̀ (+H). The floating H raises a following L‑tone to H, extending to a second syllable under some conditions. If the following word already begins with a nonlow tone, the floating H has no overt effect. For more details on the phonology, see §3.6.3.1.1.

Since the 1Sg nonsubject proclitic remains L‑toned in these constructions by avoiding Final Tone-Raising, it is distinguishable tonally from LogoSg ŋ̄ except when the latter (as possessor) undergoes M#H-to-L#H before an H‑tone. Since the basic facts are straightforward, the following subsections are brief. The homologous 1Sg nonsubject proclitic in Djenné Jenaama induces a much more complex set of tonal changes on following words, described in the parallel grammar under the rubric Tone Inversion.

##### 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̄ as objects

Examples (119a‑b) illustrate 1Sg object before a nonlow-toned verb ‘hit’ (119a) and an L‑toned verb ‘saw’ (119b). Versions with and without BCM yè are shown. kày ‘saw’ is raised to H‑tone by the floating H associated with the 1Sg proclitic, and is bolded here (119b). The 1Sg proclitic is L‑toned in both examples.

(119) a. sèēdū Ø ŋ̀ kwāā

sèēdù yē

S (Sbj/Obj) 1Sg hit.Pfv

‘Seydou hit me.’

b. sèēdū Ø ŋ̀ **káy**

sèēdù yē

S (Sbj/Obj) 1Sg see.Pfv

‘Seydou saw me.’ (< kày)

LogoSg ŋ̄ remains M‑toned before both verbs, and does not raise kày to káy (120). Since all verbs begin with either L or M tone in the absence of floating H, LogoSg and 1Sg object do not merge.

(120) a. à yē [sèēdù Ø ŋ̄ kwāā]

[sèēdū yè

3Sg said [S (Sbj/Obj) LogoSg hit.Pfv]

‘Hex said that Seydou hit himx.’

b. à yē [sèēdù Ø ŋ̄ kày]

[sèēdū yè

3Sg said [S (Sbj/Obj) LogoSg saw.Pfv]

‘Hex said that Seydou saw himx.’

Forms of 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ as objects after post-subject inflectional morphemes are summarized in (121). The floating H is not shown here. Before an M‑toned verb, the pitch rise in the Logo/3ReflSg combinations is faint and sometimes undetectable, so the primary acoustic cue is the M versus L tone on the post-subject particle. Before an L‑toned verb the pitch rise in the Logo/3ReflSg combinations is more clearly audible. Imperfective gà and nà also become M-toned even before ŋ̄ when preceded by an M-toned subject proclitic (§3.6.4.6).

(121) inflection 1Sg Logo/3ReflSg

usual after M-toned proclitic

a. PfvNeg tē ŋ̀ tè ŋ̄ tè ŋ̄

b. Ipfv gā ŋ̀ gà ŋ̄ gā ŋ̄

c. IpfvNeg nā ŋ̀ nà ŋ̄ nā ŋ̄

##### 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̄ as possessors

Since nouns can begin wtih L, M, or H tones, while the melodies of all verbs and of all common postpositions begin with M or L, possessor-possessum phrases are especially revealing phonologically.

In (122a), we see that when the possessum’s lexical melody begins with nonlow H or M, the floating H associated with the 1Sg possessor proclitic has no tonal effect on the possessum. As shown in (122b), at least the onset (bolded) of an /L/‑melodic possessum is raised to H‑tone.

(122) a. ŋ̀ kúŋgólō / sūgō

1Sg dog / goat

‘my dog/goat’

b. ŋ̀ **kólówⁿ** / **káá** / **tɔ́**ŋɔ̀nɔ̀

1Sg skin / father/ / truth

‘my skin’ (< kòlòwⁿ, kàà, tɔ̀ŋɔ̀nɔ̀)

For details on the phonology and for further examples, see §3.6.3.1.1 above.

LogoSg ŋ̄ as possessor remains M‑toned except when followed by an H‑tone as in (123a), where it undergoes regular M#H-to-L#H. It has no tonal effect on the possessum.

(123) a. à yē [ŋ̀ kúŋgóló …]

3Sg said [LogoSg dog …]

‘Hex said that hisx dog…’

b. à yē [ŋ̄ sūgō / kàà …]

3Sg said [LogoSg goat / father …]

‘Hex said that hisx goat/ hisx father…’

##### 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and LogoSg ŋ̄ as postpositional complements

Many postpositions originate as possessed nouns (‘side’, ‘back’, ‘front’), so it is not surprising that 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) behaves similarly in the two constructions. In (124a), the postposition already begins with a nonlow tone, so the floating H has no effect. In (124b), the L‑toned comitative postposition is raised to H.

(124) a. ǹ tīgàà

1Sg front

‘in front of me’

b. m̀ **pá**

1Sg Comit

‘with me’ (< pà)

The tonal effects of Cv̄ and Cv̀ postpositions are displayed in (125).

(125) postposition gloss 1Sg Logo/3ReflSg 2Sg ‘snake’ ‘Seydou’

a. tē dative ǹ **tē** n̄ tē ān tē sībō tē sèēdù tē

nā dative ǹ **nā** n̄ nā ān nā sībō nā sèēdù nā

b. pà ‘with’ m̀ **pá** m̄ pà ām pà sìbō pà sèēdū pà

Because these PPs typically occur at the end of a prosodic groups, tones are often indistinct phonetically. Their tones can be “unmasked” by adding another word.

(126a-b) show that Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ remains M‑toned before M or L tone.

(126) a. à yē [… n̄ tīgàà …]

3Sg said [… LogoSg front …]

‘Hex said that … in front of himx…’

b. à yē [… m̄ pà …]

3Sg said [… LogoSg with …]

‘Hex said that … with himx…’

## Determiners

### Definite gu

The forms of the (discourse-)definite determiner are in (127).

(127) singular X gu ~ X wu

plural X kù-lè ~ X wù-lè ~ X gu-yè

This enclitic-like determiner follows nouns and the noun’s inner modifiers. It is generally weakly discourse-definite. That is, it recalls a referent that has previously been introduced into the discourse. It is not an all-purpose definite like English *the*. It originated as a postnominal counterpart to demonstrative kú (see the following subsection).

Singular gu (~ wu) gets its tone by spreading from the preceding tone. It is realized as M‑toned gū by M‑Tone Spreading (§3.6.4.3) triggered by the preceding word. It is L‑toned after an L‑tone (before further tone sandhi) and it does not then trigger Final Tone-Raising on the noun stem. After an H‑toned word it is structurally H‑toned, but prepausally (as in citation) it is lowered to mid pitch and transcribed as M‑tone.

(128) sūgō gū ‘that goat’

kúŋgóló gū ‘that dog’ (kúŋgóló gú nonfinally)

bùwà gù ‘that shoulderbag’

Plural kù-lè is invariant tonally (129). It triggers Final Tone-Raising on the final syllable of a preceding L‑toned noun, as with ‘those shoulderbags’. The rare plural suffix ‑lè occurs elsewhere only in ɲīmī-lè ‘people’ (< ɲīmī ‘person’) and in relative plural mà‑lè (§14.1.1).

(129) sūgē-ē kù-lè ‘those goats’

kúŋgólé-é kù-lè ‘those dogs’

bùwà-yē kù-lè ‘those shoulderbags’

Postnominal gu can co-occur with, but is not required by, a prenominal demonstrative kɔ̀ⁿ or ɲɔ̀ⁿ (on which see the following subsection) In this combination, the plural is gu-yè with the productive nominal plural ending -yè.

The combination ɲɔ́ŋ gú with discourse-definite demonstrative ɲɔ́ⁿ directly followed by definite gu is attested (2017-02 @ 00:17).

### ‘This/that’ (prenominal demonstratives)

Demonstratives are **deictic** (‘this/that’, pointing) or **discourse-definite** (referring to previously introduced discourse referents). Singular and plural forms of the demonstratives are shown in (130), in absolute form (without a noun) and as modifiers of a noun X. The definite marker gu is optionally added (130c), but its plural in this case is gu-yè (not kù-lè). The notation X‑ye represents any plural noun (including those with plural suffixes other than -yè). There is no human/nonhuman or animacy distinction.

(130) category singular plural

a. absolute forms (without a noun)

general kú kú-yè

discourse-definite ɲɔ́ⁿ ɲɔ́ⁿ-yè

b. combinations with noun X without definite

general kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) X kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) X-yè

discourse-definite ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M) X ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M) X-yè (~ ɲàⁿ …)

c. combinations with noun X and definite

general kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) X gu kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) X gu-yè

discourse-definite ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M) X gu ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M) X gu-yè

~ ɲàⁿ … in some combinations, e.g. (370e)

We can speak informally of k-forms and ɲ-forms. The ɲ-forms are discourse-definite (‘that same one’), more strongly so than simple definite gu. The k-forms are the only ones in use in deictic (pointing) contexts. The k-forms also spill over from deictic into discourse-definite contexts and therefore compete with ɲ-forms. This is consistent with the fact that both k- and ɲ-forms are compatible with definite gu. However, gu can be difficult to detect in rapid or overlapping speech, making transcriptions of recordings unreliable.

In absolute function, both demonstratives are H‑toned (130a). Preceding a noun, they are L‑toned but have a tonal effect (floating M) on the noun (130b-c). The floating M raises the tone of an L‑initial noun to all-M. For the distinction between floating M and the floating H of nonsubject 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H), see §3.6.3.1.2 above. For the syntax of NPs including a demonstrative, see §6.5.

What may be a homophone ɲɔ́ⁿ functions as a possessed noun or compound final with abstract meaning (‘situation, matter, problem’) as in (131). My assistant interprets this possessed ɲɔ́ⁿ as a contracted form of the noun ɲɔ̄gɔ̄‑lɛ̄wⁿ ‘eye(s)’ (with frozen diminutive ending).

(131) a. [à ɲɔ́m] màà

[3Sg **situation**] look.for.Pfv

‘You-Sg figure out a solution for it!’

b. àⁿ wóléⁿ-ɲɔ́ŋ kìlɛ́

2Sg money-**situation** get.Pfv.Q

‘Did you-Sg resolve the money situation?’

### Demonstrative adverbs

#### Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs based on demonstrative-like categories are in (132).

(132) form gloss

bōẁⁿ ‘here’

kìntá ‘over there’ (deictic, not far)

yāẁⁿ ‘there’ (discourse-definite)

For nondemonstrative spatial adverbs, see §8.4.6.4.

#### Deictic manner adverb or verb (kìyɛ̀wⁿ)

kìyɛ̀wⁿ can be an invariant deictic manner adverb ‘like this/that’. It follows the main verb but does not agree with it in aspect marking (133a-b). In (133c) it functions as object of ‘do’ and is tonally focalized (§13.1.3) to kìyɛ́wⁿ.

(133) a. è kúŋgóló kwāā gà kìyɛ̀wⁿ

1Pl dog hit.Pfv RemPfv **like.this**

‘We hit-Past the dog like this.’

b. ē gā= à kɔ̄-lɔ̄ kìyɛ̀wⁿ

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg hit-Ipfv **like.this**

‘We (often) hit it like this.’

c. ē gā= kìyɛ́n tū-nà

1Pl Ipfv **like.this.Foc** do-Ipfv

‘This (way) [focus] is how we do it.’ (variant of tī-nà)

In the absence of a main verb like ‘hit’ in (133), kìyɛ̀wⁿ itself can function as a transitive verb. kìyɛ̀wⁿ is the Pfv stem, versus Ipfv kìyɛ̀-nà. They are often focalized tonally to Pfv kìyɛ́wⁿ, Ipfv kìyɛ̀‑ná as in (134a).

(134) a. ē gā= ā kìyɛ̀-ná

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg **do.like.this**-Ipfv.**Foc**

‘We’ll do it like this/that [focus].’

b. ē gā= ā kìyɛ̀-nà bōẁⁿ

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg **do.like.this**-Ipfv here

‘We’ll do it like this/that here.’

c. ē nā= ā kìyɛ̀-nà

1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg **do.like.this**-Ipfv

‘We won’t do it like this/that.’

d. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ gá= ā kìyɛ̀-nà

1Sg-Indep Ipfv 3Sg **do.like.this**-Ipfv

‘It’s I [focus] who will do it like this/that.’

e. ē yā= ā kìyɛ̄ŋ gà

1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg **do.like.this**.Pfv RemPfv

‘We did it like this/that.’

### Presentatives

#### kāy ~ kày (‘here’s …!’)

The presentative morpheme kāy ~ kày follows the topical NP. This morpheme has diverged in part tonally and grammatically from its probable etymological source, kày/kà-nà ‘see’, whose Pfv kày might once have been usable as an imperative (135c), cf. French *voilà!*. Synchronically the only way to express ‘see Seydou!’ is ‘look at Seydou!’ with a different verb (135d).

(135) a. sèēdù kāy

S Prsntv

‘Here’s Seydou!’

b. ŋ̀ káy

1Sg Prsntv

‘Here I am!’

c. (internally reconstructed)

\*sèēdū kày

\*S see.Pfv

\*‘See Seydou!’

d. sèēdū tɔ̀ŋɔ̀

S look.at.Pfv

‘Look at Seydou!’

The presentative morpheme is M‑toned kāy after a nonpronominal NP. Therefore in (136a) kāy does not trigger Final Tone-Raising on the final syllable of nɔ̀gù. kāy drops to kày before H‑tone by regular tone sandhi; compare kāy (136b) with kày (136c). Even when kāy has dropped to kày in this way, it does not allow Final Tone-Raising on the preceding syllable (136d).

(136) a. nɔ̀gù kāy

village **Prsntv**

‘There’s/Here’s a village!’

b. nɔ̀gù-n-tómbó kāy

village-Link-abandoned **Prsntv**

‘There’s the former village site!’

c. nàmàgɛ̄lɛ̄ gà [ē nɔ̀gù-n-tómbó kày] [bóndó kūmà]

N be.Loc [1Pl village-Link-abandoned **Prsntv**] [top on]

‘Namaguele is located at our former village site, on top.’ (2017-02 @ 02:27)

d. nɔ̀gù kày [bóndó kūmà]

village **Prsntv** [top on]

‘above the village here’

The third person forms (137c) and the 1st/2nd person forms other than 1Sg (137b) spread the L or M tone of the pronominal into the presentative morpheme. Compare the tonal assimilations for post-subject inflectional morphemes like Ipfv gà/gā (§3.6.4.6). The logophoric pronominals take their usual M‑toned forms. 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) raises the tone to káy, which presupposes a basic L‑toned form kày as in the third person forms, since floating H raises L but not M to H. The 1Sg form with floating tone, as in object function, is consistent with the origin of the presentative construction as a transitive imperative ‘see me!’.

(137) Presentatives with pronouns

a. 1Sg ŋ̀ káy

b. 1Pl ē kāy

2Sg āŋ kāy

2Pl āā kāy

LogoSg ŋ̄ kāy

LogoPl ē kāy

c. 3Sg à kày

3Pl è kày

#### Grammar and functions of presentative

The 2Sgcombination āŋ kāy occurs in conversation in the sense ‘you see?’ (usually a rhetorical question, not answered).

Presentatives may occur after an NP or pronoun without additional predicates, as in ‘here’s X’ and ‘there’s X’.

The presentative morpheme may also be added to an NP or pronoun within a clause that has another predicate, cf. French *voilà Jean qui court!* and the more awkward English *there’s John running!* Examples with kāy/kày in subject NPs are in (138); see also (452) in §10.2.2.3. Presentatives are associated with imperfective aspect for aspectually dynamic predicates as in (138a‑b). Here kāy/kày replaces Ipfv gà, and aspect-marking verbs take Ipfv form. Presentative subjects also readily combine with stative predicates (138c). There is no prosodic break between the presentative subject and the remainder of the clause, and no resumptive pronominal in these imperfective and stative examples.

(138) a. [sèēdù kāy] kɯ̀ɯ̄ / tā-nā

[S **Prsntv**] run.Ipfv / ascend.Ipfv

‘There’s Seydou running/climbing!’

b. [sèēdù kāy] tēē kūlēn-nà

[S **Prsntv**] meat cut-Ipfv

‘There’s Seydou cutting the meat!’

c. [sèēdù kāy] pwɔ̀-nà

[S **Prsntv**] sit.Pfv-Ppl

‘There’s Seydou sitting (stative)!’

(French *voilà Seydou assis!*)

Presentative subjects are not possible with perfective predicates. Such combinations must be phrased as two distinct clauses. Either the referent is presented with kāy/kày and then resumed by a subject pronominal (139a), or an initial à kày (originally imperative ‘see it!’) with fixed 3Sg pronominal (resuming the entire scene) is followed by a perfective clause (139b).

(139) a. [sèēdù kāy] [à sēwⁿ]

[S **Prsntv**] [3Sg fall.Pfv]

‘There’s Seydou, he fell!’

b. [à kày] [jɛ̄nām-bī-gē sēwⁿ gà]

[3Sg **Prsntv**] [child-Pl fall.Pfv RemPfv]

‘Look, the children have fallen down.’

A nonsubject constituent such as the object of a transitive verb can be presentative, but in the form of a presentative relative clause (140a). This resembles a fuller proto-presentative construction with ‘you’ as subject and Ipfv kà-nà ‘see(s)’ (cf. Pfv kày) as verb in the relative (140b).

(140) a. ŋ̀ gà bē [jūgū màwⁿ kāy] kūlēwⁿ

1Sg Ipfv Fut [tree **Rel Prsntv**] cut.Pfv

‘I will cut down the tree that there it is! (=that is visible over there).’

b. ŋ̀ gà bē [āŋ gā [jūgū màŋ̄] kà-nà] kūlēwⁿ

1Sg Ipfv Fut [2Sg Ipfv [tree **Rel**] **see-Ipfv**] cut.Pfv

‘I will cut down the tree that you-Sg see (over there).’

There is a textual example of a spatial location predicate with kāy in the predicate. See (136c) in the preceding section.

When an NP ending in kāy/kày functions as relative head, the relative morpheme precedes kāy/kày, but the definite marker follows. See §14.4.5 for an example.

## Adjectives

This section presents forms of postnominal modifying adjectives. For adjectival predicates see §11.4. For deadjectival verbs (inchoative and factitive) see §9.4.

Modifying adjectives immediately follow the noun. The N-Adj1 combination has tonal features of N-N compounds. If a second adjective is added (Adj2), it presents with its lexical tones, i.e. it is prosodically separate from N-Adj1.

Combinations of nouns with numerals (§4.6) have different tonal patterns (§6.4.1.2), except that ‘one’ behaves like an adjective (§6.4.1.1).

### Modifying adjectives

§4.5.1.1 presents morphologically simple (unsuffixed) modifying adjectives. §4.5.1.2 presents those with suffix -gu, which has diminutive associations. §4.5.1.3 presents participial adjectives with suffix -na. Some adjectival stems including the three basic color terms (‘black’, ‘white’, ‘red’) occur frequently in both simple and participial forms.

#### Morphologically simple modifying adjectives

The majority of noncomposite modifying adjectives have /M/ or /ML/ melody, but there are two core adjectives with /H/ melody. At the margins of the adjective class is /LH/‑melodic sèlé ‘soft, brittle (rock)’, which is only attested in two combinations: sīlē sèlé ‘soft rock’ and sòōⁿ sèlé ‘sandstone’. One could consider sèlé to be a compound final. In fact, there is little difference between N-N compounds and N-Adj strings either morphologically or tonally, in Bozo and other languages of the zone.

L‑toned postnominal adjectives are absent. Adjectival stems that are L‑toned as predicates (§11.4.1) are M‑toned postnominally.

(141) Adj1 (N-\_\_) ‘it is \_\_’ gloss

a. modifying adjective is H‑toned

bánū à m̀ bánū ‘big (and solid), massive, thick’

sílē ‘old’

b. modifying adjective is M‑toned

*stative predicate is also M-toned*

cīyɛ̄wⁿ à ɲ̀ cīyɛ̄wⁿ ‘heavy’

dāāⁿ à ǹ dāāⁿ ‘distant’

dēmōⁿ à ǹ dēwⁿ ‘delicious, sweet’

kāā à kāā-mā-nā nì ‘wet; raw; unripe’

kāgājī à ŋ̀ kāgājī ‘bitter’

kāmnā à ŋ̀ kāmnā ‘old (person)’

nɔ̄gɔ̄rɔ̄wⁿ nɔ̄gɔ̄rɔ̄wⁿ ‘difficult’

ɲɔ̄ŋɔ̄ à ɲ̀ ɲīī ‘bad; nasty’

sūmūⁿ à gà sūmū nì ‘foreign’

*stative predicate is L-toned*

būlōⁿ ~ būrōⁿ à m̄ bùlòwⁿ ‘big (in outer dimensions); fat; wide, loose’

kɔ̄jāⁿ ~ kɔ̄yāⁿ à ŋ̄ kɔ̀jàwⁿ ‘long; tall’

kūrūⁿ à ŋ̄ kùrùⁿ ‘short’

māɲāwⁿ à m̄ màyⁿ ‘good’

*no stative predicate*

tīnāāⁿ — ‘other’

tōy — ‘new’

*primary color adjectives (stative predicate is participial)*

kūwōⁿ kwāā-nā nì ‘white’

pīīⁿ pìyⁿɛ̀-nā nì ‘black’

tɔ̄mɔ̄wⁿ tɔ̀mɔ̀-nā nì ‘red’

*iterative adjectives (stative predicate is participial)*

wwōⁿ-wwōⁿ wwōⁿ-mā-nā nì ‘empty; isolated, by itself’

ɲīī-ɲīī ɲīī-ɲīī-nā nì ‘coarse’

c. /LH/ melody (adjectival status doubtful)

sèlé — ‘soft, breakable (rock)’

d. modifying adjective is L-, ML-, MLH-, or LMH‑toned

[none]

Nouns undergo tonal changes before adjectives (§6.4.1.2, §3.6.3.2).

#### Diminutive adjectives

##### Adjectives with suffix -gu

Several adjectives have a suffix -gu in modifying function. The stem ends in M- or L‑tone, and this tone spreads to the suffix. The corresponding predicates (if attested) are pseudo-reflexives (§11.4.1.2, §18.1.2.2). The stative predicates lack ‑gu but show final nasalization.

(142) Adj1 (N-\_ ) ‘it is \_’ gloss

a. /M/ melody

kūy-gū à ŋ̄ kùyⁿ ‘deep’

pēlū-gū à m̄ pēlūwⁿ ‘light(weight)’

b. /HL/ melody

dūwɔ̀-gù à n̄ dùwɔ̀wⁿ ‘small’

tūɥ̀-gù à n̄ tùɥⁿ ‘nearby’

mīyɛ̀-gù à m̄ mìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘thin’

ɲīyɛ̀-gù à ɲ̄ ɲìyàwⁿ ‘easy’

pūlù-gù à m̄ pùlùⁿ ‘soft’

Inspection of the glosses suggests a connection with intrinsic diminutivity, though ‘deep’ is a semantic outlier. -gu does not occur with nouns in diminutive function.

##### dɛ̀gɛ̀‑náwⁿ ~ dɛ́gɛ́-náwⁿ ‘small’

-náwⁿ is the productive diminutive suffix with nouns, especially those that denotes inanimates (§5.1.7.1). It is also part of the adjective ‘small’: dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ, which occurs in modifying function only. It is replaced in predicative function by pseudo-reflexive dùwɔ̀wⁿ as in à n̄ dùwɔ̀wⁿ ‘it is small’. Even as modifying adjective, dɛ̀gɛ̀‑náwⁿ ~ dɛ́gɛ́-náwⁿ competes with dūwɔ̀-gù.

(143) a. yàmbàà dɛ́gɛ́-náwⁿ

house small

‘a small house’

b. kùŋgòlò tɔ̀mɔ̀n dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ

dog red small

‘a small red (=brown) dog’

The stems in dɛ̀gɛ̀‑náwⁿ and dūwɔ̀-gù may be etymologically related, though any synchronic connection is opaque. Compare Djenné Jenaama dúwɔ̀-gù ‘meager’ and Kelenga lɔ́gɔ̀ ‘be small, tiny’.

#### Adjective-like participles with suffix ‑nà

The participial suffix -nà ~ -nā added to a verb stem creates a modifying adjective denoting the result of an action applied to something. For its use in stative predicates see §10.1.4 and §10.2.2.5.

(144) a. māātīgɛ̄ / tēē ɲɛ̄ŋɛ̄-nā

peanut / meat fry-Ppl

‘lightly fried peanuts/meat’ (< ɲɛ̀ŋà ‘shallow-fry, cook with a little oil’)

b. gòrò pɛ̄rɛ̀-nà

kola.nut split-Ppl

‘split kola nuts’ (< pɛ̄rɛ̀ ‘split’)

c. tēē kōy-nā

meat char-Ppl

‘charred (over-roasted) meat’ (< kōy ‘become charred’)

d. pīīⁿ sɛ̄gɛ̀-nà

millet pound-Ppl

‘millet grain that has been pounded in a mortar’ (< sɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘pound in mortar’)

The more adjective-like participles are in (145). Modifying forms are shown in the left-hand column. Predicates (inchoative, stative) are shown for comparison in other columns.

(145) Adj1 (N-\_\_) as predicate stative predicate gloss

a. M‑toned as modifier

kījī-nā à kìjì-nā nì à kìjì ‘plump’

kūmā-nā à kūmā-nā nì à kūmā ‘lean, emaciated’

kūrī-nā à kùrì-nā nì à kùrì ‘full-strength, undiluted’

mūwā-nā à mwàà-nā nì à mùwà ‘cold’

ɲāāmū-ɲāāmū-nā ɲāāmū-ɲāāmū-nā nì à ɲāāmū-ɲāāmū ‘multicolored (spotted, striped)’

pān-nā à pān-nā nì à pāā ‘full’

pīyɛ̄-nā à pīyɛ̄-nā nì à pīyɛ̄wⁿ ‘hot’

pīyɛ̄-nā à pìyɛ̀-nā nì à pìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘dirty’

pōrē-nā à pōrē-nā nì à pòrè ‘wet’

wwōmā-nā à wwōⁿ nì à wwō-mā (inch.) ‘empty’

à wwōⁿ-wōⁿ nì (‘it is’)

b. HL‑toned as modifier

bīllà-nà à bīllà-nā nì à bīllà ‘narrow, tight’

dāātà-nà à dāātà-nā nì à dāātà ‘smooth’

tāndà-nà à tāndà-nā nì à tāndà ‘sour’

wūwò-nà à wwō-nā nì à wwōⁿ ‘dry; hard’

*iterative*

yɔ̄rɔ̄-yɔ̄rɔ̀-nà à yɔ̄rɔ̀-yɔ̄rɔ̀-nā nì à yɔ̄rɔ̀-yɔ̄rɔ̀ ‘loose, slack’

### Exemplars as “adjectives”

‘Yellow’ is based on the exemplar nɛ̀rɛ̀n-dūū ‘powdery bright yellow meal (flour) inside pods of néré tree (*Parkia biglobosa*)’. The compound initial is based on the Bambara word for the tree (cf. Cliffs nàndò). As modifying color adjective, ‘yellow’ is contracted and tone-raised to nɛ̄lɔ̄ndūū, e.g. jùgù nɛ̄lɔ̄ndūū ‘yellow cloth’.

‘Green’ is based on the exemplar sɔ̄gū kāā ‘wet (=fresh) grass’. As color adjective it is usually contracted to sɔ̄gɔ̄-kāā or sɔ̄ɔ̄‑kāā, as in jùgù sɔ̄ɔ̄-kāā ‘green cloth’.

These exemplar adjectives have no simple predicative forms. ‘X is yellow/green’ is expressed as ‘X is a yellow/green thing’ with pā ‘thing’.

These exemplars for ‘yellow’ and ‘green’ are widespread in languages of the zone.

## Numerals

### Cardinal numerals

The numeral system combines decimal and quadragesimal bases i.e. with ‘10’ and ‘40’ as bases, along with a hint of vigesimal ‘20’.

#### ‘One’ (kēẁⁿ, sànnā) and ‘same (one)’

In the counting recitation (‘1, 2, 3, …’), ‘1’ is expressed by sànnā. Elsewhere ‘1’ is kēẁⁿ ~ kēèⁿ either postnominally (attributively) as in (146a) or absolutely as in (146b). In postnominal use as a numeral, it is accompanied by a nasal linker ŋ- unless the noun already ends in a nasalized vowel (146a). In absolute function (without a noun), the linker is absent (146b). kēẁⁿ can occasionally combine with a discourse-definite determiner, if the referent has been established in preceding discourse (146c). kēẁⁿ can be repeated in each of two parallel clauses; the free translation is ‘one …, the other …’ (146d).

(146) a. sàbà ŋ̀-kēẁⁿ

chicken Link-**one**

‘one chicken’ (< sàbá)

b. ŋ̀ kó [kēǹ nī]

1Sg furnish.Pfv [**one** Inst]

‘Give me one!’

c. [kēŋ̀ gù] dō [ǹ tē]

[**one** Def] give.Pfv [1Sg Dat]

‘Give me the one (e.g., the one that you mentioned).’

d. [tèw̄ⁿ yèn̄ dùgòŋ] kōndō gà,

[elder.sib and younger.sib] stay.Pfv RemPfv,

[kēǹ sò↗] [kēŋ̀ kōndō yāẁⁿ]

[one go.Pfv] [one stay.Pfv there.Def]

‘There were two brothers, elder and younger, were (there). One left, the other stayed there.’ (kōndō §10.3.2)

‘One person’ is irregularly ɲā ŋ̄-kēẁⁿ, compare ɲīmī ‘person’ in all other contexts.

An extra syllable -lawⁿ occurs between a modified noun and kēẁⁿ. This syllable is common or obligatory for nonhuman nouns and occurs optionally or contextually for human nouns except ‘person’. It might be analysed as ‑la plus nasal linker ŋ̀-. It spreads the noun’s initial tone rightward, showing that ‘one’ behaves like an adjective morphophonologically.

(147) noun with ‘one’ gloss

màrpá màrpà-là ŋ̀-kēẁⁿ ‘one rifle (musket)’

sāākù sāākū-lā ŋ̄-kēẁⁿ ‘one sack’

nàà nàà-là ŋ̀-kēẁⁿ ‘one cow’

sūgō sūgō-lā ŋ̄-kēẁⁿ ‘one goat’

ɲárágō ɲárágó-lá ŋ́-kēẁⁿ ‘one calabash cover’

Distributive (ŋ-)kēŋ̀-kēẁⁿ ‘one at a time’, ‘one by one’, ‘one each’ also has distributive-paucal sense ‘scattered, here and there’ (§4.6.1.7). It can also be pronouncd (ŋ-)kēŋ̄-ꜜkēẁⁿ.

In addition to its use as a numeral (‘1’ as opposed to ‘2’ or more), kēẁⁿ can function as a modifier in the sense ‘X alone’ (i.e. not with anyone else), provided that X denotes a single individual. In this construction X may be any singular NP, such as a personal name or a pronominal clitic. There is no nasal linker. See §19.3.2.3 for examples.

‘1’ can likewise have the sense ‘same, identical’. A common phrase involving this sense is ‘one mother, one father’ to indicate that two individuals are full siblings. The nasal linker is present, but -lawⁿ is absent.

(148) sēēnì yèn̄ lààsīnè, [nàⁿ ŋ̀-kēⁿ] [kàà ŋ̀-kēn] nì

O and L, [mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is

‘Ouséni and Lasine (twin brothers), (they) were (of) the same mother and the same father.’ (2017-01 @ 01:32)

The singular-only quantificational adjective kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘a certain’ (§6.3.2.2) is likely etymologically related to kēẁⁿ but it is now semantically and morphosyntactically as well as phonologically divergent.

#### ‘2’ to ‘10’ as postnominal modifiers

The forms in (149) are postnominal.

(149) gloss form melody

‘2’ pēndē /M/

‘3’ sìgèwⁿ /L/

‘4’ nàtàwⁿ ~ nàràwⁿ "

‘5’ kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ "

‘6’ tùùmì "

‘7’ yìyènì /L/

‘8’ sɛ̄kī /M/

‘9’ kàpì /L/

‘10’ cɛ̄m ~ cɛ̄mū /M/

Final Tone-Raising (§3.6.4.4) is triggered by an /L/-melodic numeral: nàà ‘cow’, nàā nàtàwⁿ ‘4 cows’; sɔ̀gɔ̀ ‘sheep’, sɔ̀gɔ̄ kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ ‘5 sheep’.

The bisyllabic variant cɛ̄mū for ‘10’ is often pronounced [cɛ̄m:] with prolonged nasal.

For numerals in bahuvrihis (e.g. ‘two-headed’), see §5.2.1.2.

#### ‘1’ to ‘10’ in the counting recitation

In the counting recitation (‘1, 2, 3, …’), an incantational prosody is overlaid. A suppletive form of ‘1’ is used. ‘10’ is lengthened to cɛ̄ɛ̄m. ‘3’ is pronounced with k instead of g. The overall pitch during the recitation is close to monotonal, in the general pitch area of ordinary M‑tone, but L and M tones are distinguished. The complete cycle through ‘10’, including ‘1’, is (150). From ‘1’ to ‘3’ may be pronounced either with uniform pitch (sānnā pēndē sīkɛ̄wⁿ), or with audibly distinct L and M tones (sànnā pēndē sìkɛ̄wⁿ). In the latter case, the final tone of sànnā is at the same pitch level as the following pēndē. Similarly, the numerals from ‘3’ up that are L‑toned as postnominal modifiers raise the pitch of their final syllables to M. This sounds vaguely like “list” (enumeration) intonation in many languages. However, in the sequences ‘3‑4’, ‘4-5’, ‘5-6’, and ‘6-7’, the pitch rise is also justified by tone sandhi within Cliffs, if we assume that adjacent numerals are phrased together and therefore subject to Final Tone-Raising. Admittedly, the same LM tones occur in ‘7’ and ‘9’, which are lexically L‑toned and are followed in the counting sequence by an M‑toned numeral which should not trigger Final Tone-Raising. So not all of the LM‑toned words can be explained by tone sandhi (even when they are phrased without a break).

(150) counting recitation

gloss form tones

‘1’ sànnā L.M

‘2’ pēndē M.M

‘3’ sìkēwⁿ L.M

‘4’ nàtāwⁿ "

‘5’ kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̄wⁿ "

‘6’ tùùmī "

‘7’ yìyènī "

‘8’ sɛ̄kī M.M

‘9’ kàpī L.M

‘10’ cɛ̄ɛ̄m M

#### Decimal multiples (‘10’, ‘20’, …) and composites (‘11’, ‘59’, …)

The multiples of ‘10’ are in (151). dɛ̀bɛ̀ ‘40’ and yōlō ‘80’ are the only simple, monomorphemic forms. ‘20’ and ‘30’ consist of the numeral ‘2’ or ‘3’ following tāⁿ-, which suppletes cɛ̄m ‘ten’ (compare English *-ty* in *twenty* etc.). A similar composite structure is observed in tààlmā-sìgèwⁿ ‘60’. Its final is clearly a variant of sìkèwⁿ  ‘3’, so tààlmā- must be a suppletive term for ‘20’. The odd-numbered decimal terms ‘50’, ‘70’, and ‘90’ add ‘10’ to the preceding decimal, following a linker-like element -è, originally the ‘and’ conjunction. The combination with ‘10’ is realized as -è-cɛ̄m. The linker contracts with a preceding vowel. In normal speech the contracted vowel is shortened and behaves like a short stem-final vowel in tone sandhi. The effect in ‘50’, ‘70’, and ‘90’ is that the final vowel of the first stem shifts to e. In the case of ‘70’, the other option is to substract ‘10’ from the next higher decimal (cɛ̄m‑àà‑kèwⁿ roughly ‘one less ten’).

(151) tām-pēndē 20

tāⁿ-sīgēwⁿ 30

dɛ̀bɛ̀ 40

dɛ̀bè-Ø-cɛ̄m 50

tààlmā-sìgèwⁿ 60

tààlmā-sìgè-Ø-cɛ̄m 70

yōlō-cɛ̄m-àà-kèwⁿ "

yōlō bàmārà 80

yōlè-Ø-cɛ̄m 90

Combinations of decimal terms in (151) with the digit ‘1’ are in (152). Only ‘10’ has a new form distinct from those seen above, namely tēm(b)è-Ø- (including the linker). It is used in all numerals from ‘11’ to ‘19’, whose single-digit forms show no irregularities. L‑toned dɛ̀bè‑Ø‑ ’40‑and’ is subject to Final Tone-Raising before an L‑tone: dɛ̀bē‑Ø‑nàtàwⁿ ‘44’. L‑toned nouns likewise raise their final syllables to M before dɛ̀bɛ̀, as in sɔ̀gɔ̄ dɛ̀bɛ̀ ’40 sheep’.

(152) ‘11’ tēm(b)è-Ø-kēẁⁿ

‘21’ tām-pēndè-Ø-kēẁⁿ

‘31’ tāⁿ-sìgè-Ø-kēẁⁿ

‘41’ dɛ̀bè-Ø-kēẁⁿ

‘51’ dɛ̀bè-Ø-cɛ̄m-è-kēẁⁿ

‘61’ tààlmā-sìgè-Ø-kēẁⁿ

‘71’ tààlmā-sìgè-Ø-cɛ̄m-è-kēẁⁿ

yōlō-cɛ̄m-àà-gè-kēẁⁿ

‘81’ yōlō-(è-)kēẁⁿ

‘91’ yōlè-(è-)cɛ̄m(ù)-è-kēẁⁿ

The otherwise M‑toned digits ‘2’ and ‘8’ rise to H‑toned in such combinations. This triggers a drop in tones of a preceding M‑toned stem like ‘10’ by M#H-to-L#H (the original ‘and’ linker does not block this). The full set of digit terms in their form following decimal numerals, with ‘11’ to ‘19’ as examples, is (153).

(153) numeral postnominal after decimal ‘11’ to ‘19’

‘1’ kēẁⁿ -kēẁⁿ tēmbè-Ø-kēẁⁿ

‘2’ pēndē -péndē tèmbè-Ø-péndē

‘3’ sìgèwⁿ -sìgèwⁿ tēmbē-Ø-sìgèwⁿ

‘4’ nàràwⁿ -nàràwⁿ tēmbē-Ø-nàràwⁿ

‘5’ kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ -kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ tēmbē-Ø-kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ

‘6’ tùùmì -tùùmì tēmbē-Ø-tùùmì

‘7’ yìyènì -yìyènì tēmbē-Ø-yìyènì

‘8’ sēkī -sékī tèmbè-Ø-sékī

‘9’ kàpì kàpì tēmbē-Ø-kàpì

As with numerals ‘2’ through ‘9’, higher numerals including a decimal term do not interact tonally with preceding nouns except for tlow-level Final Tone-Raising. This process applies to the combination of an /L/‑toned noun and a numeral beginning with an L‑tone like dɛ̀bɛ̀ ‘40’, as in sìbō dɛ̀bɛ̀ ’40 snakes’.

#### Large numerals (‘100’, ‘1000’, …) and their composites

The stems in (154) are noun-like morphosyntactically.

(154) tɛ̄ɛ̄mdɛ̄rɛ̀ hundred

mùjù thousand

mīlyōⁿ million

The numeral ‘1’ is not normally present after any of these: sɔ̀gɔ̀ tɛ̄ɛ̄mdɛ̄rɛ̀ ‘a hundred sheep’.

In examples like sɔ̀gɔ̄ mùjù ‘a thousand sheep’ (< sɔ̀gɔ̀), the final syllable of the L‑toned noun is raised by regular Final-Tone Raising to M before the L‑toned numeral.

In combinations with smaller numerals, the linear order is from higher to lower number. The uncontracted conjunction yèyⁿ or yèhīīnì ‘and’ connects the two.

(155) sɔ̀gɔ̀ tɛ̄ɛ̄mdɛ̄rɛ̀ pēndē yèⁿ yōlō

sheep hundred two **and** eighty

‘Two hundred and eighty sheep’

#### Currency

As in all languages of the zone, currency is calculated by means of a currency unit equivalent to five CFA francs. Thus ‘one thousand FCFA’ is expressed as ‘two hundred (units)’. The unit is called dārì in Cliffs. The smallest coin is for 5 FCFA.

Most actual occurrences of higher numerals from ‘100’ up in everyday speech are references to money. dārì is usually omitted when money is understood to be the topic, for example in market transactions. dārì is also normally contracted to dɛ̄ɛ̄ before numerals from ‘2’ to ‘99’, thus dārì ŋ̀-kēẁⁿ ‘one unit’ (5 FCFA) but dɛ̄ɛ̄ pēndē ‘two units’ and so forth, up to dārì tɛ̄ɛ̄mdɛ̄rɛ̀ ‘one hundred units’ (500 FCFA).

The 5000 FCFA banknote is called mùjū-sìlāāmù or (especially among older speakers) sìlāāmū-mùjù, and the 10000 FCFA banknote is called mùjù-pēndē-sìlāāmù. These compounds contain mùjù ‘thousand’, pēndē ‘2’, and a compounding element related to sìláámā ‘Muslim’.

#### Distributive iteration of numerals

Numerals are iterated to form distributive adverbs: ‘two each’, ‘two by two’, ‘two at a time’, etc. The forms for the basic numerals are in (156).

(156) gloss digit distributive

‘1’ kēẁⁿ (ŋ-)kēŋ̀-kēẁⁿ ~ (ŋ-)kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

‘2’ pēndē pēndē-pēndē

‘3’ sìgèwⁿ sìgēn-sìgèwⁿ

‘4’ nàràwⁿ nàrān-nàràwⁿ

‘5’ kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̄ŋ-kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ

‘6’ tùùmì tùùmī-tùùmì

‘7’ yīyènì yìyènī-yìyènì

‘8’ sēkī sēkī-sēkī

‘9’ kàpì kàpī-kàpì

‘10’ cɛ̄m cɛ̄m-cɛ̄m

‘20’ tām-pēndē tām-pēndē-tām-pēndē

‘40’ dɛ̀bɛ̀ dɛ̀bɛ̄-dɛ̀bɛ̀

kēẁⁿ ‘1’ differs from the nonsingular numerals in being an adjective, with consequences for tonal interactions with the noun. Its distributive iteration kēⁿ-ꜜkēẁⁿ likewise behaves differently from distributives based on nonsingular numerals, both in its tonal interactions and its predilection for a nasal linker. See §6.3.2.4 for the phonology of its combinations with nouns. kēⁿ-ꜜkēẁⁿ may also mean ‘scattered, infrequent, here and there’.

For ‘3’, ‘4’, ‘5’, ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘9’, and ‘40’, all of which are based on L‑toned digit terms, the tones of the distributives are explained by regular operation of Final Tone-Raising. This converts LL-LL to LM-LL.

Complex numerals other than ‘20’ and ‘30’ that end in a clearly recognizable digit term usually just iterate this digit term.

(157) a. dɛ̀bè-(è-)cɛ́m-cɛ́m‘fifty by fifty’

b. tēmbè-(è-)kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ‘eleven by eleven’

See also interrogative jèɲ̄-jèwⁿ ‘how much/many each?’ (§13.2.2.7).

Distributives based on nonsingular numerals do not control tonal changes on preceding nouns, except for tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) where applicable. Thus yàmbāà pēndē-pēndē ‘two houses at a time’, mànàmī sìgēn-sìgèwⁿ ‘three dances each’ (< mànàmì), māāŋgòró kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̄ŋ‑kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ ‘five mangoes each’. In other words, prior to tone sandhi the noun has the same form it would have before a simple (nondistributive) numeral.

### Ordinal adjectives

Ordinals derived from numerals are presented below. The ordinal interrogative is jèyⁿ-ànà ‘how-manieth?’ (French *quantième*, §13.2.2.7).

#### ‘First’ (pānāāⁿ) and ‘last’ (dāgālē)

pānāā(ⁿ) ‘first’ is a suppletive ordinal (compare English *first* and many other parallels). Its antonym is dāgālē ‘last’. Tonal interactions with preceding nouns are the normal ones for M‑toned adjectives (158).

(158) noun gloss ‘first’ ‘last’

a. nàà ‘cow’ nàà pānāā(ⁿ) nàà dāgālē

b. sūgō ‘goat’ sūgō pānāā(ⁿ) sūgō dāgālē

c. kúŋgólō ‘dog’ kūŋgōlō pānāā(ⁿ) kūŋgōlō dāgālē

Example (159) presents the positive predicate forms ‘be first/last’. pānāā is M‑toned, but dàgàlè is L‑toned (before tone sandhi).

(159) a. ŋ̀ gà pānāāⁿ nì

1Sg be first it.is

‘I am first.’

b. ŋ̀ gā dàgàlē nì

1Sg be last it.is

‘I am last.’

#### Other ordinals (-ànà*)*

Other ordinals are formed by adding -ànà to the numeral. It surfaces as ‑ānā after M‑tone (§3.6.4.3).

(160) full form gloss contracted variants

a. from single-digit numeral

pēndē-ānā ‘second’ pēn-ānā

sìgà-ànà ‘third’

nàtà-ànà ~ nàrà-ànà ‘fourth’

kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀-ànà ‘fifth’ kɔ̀ɔ̀gà-ànà

tùùmì-ànà ‘sixth’

yìyènà-ànà ‘seventh’

sēkī-ānā ‘eighth’

kàpì-ànà ‘ninth’

cɛ̄ɛ̄mū-ānā ‘tenth’

b. decimal

tām-pēndē-ānā ‘twentieth’ tām-pēn-ānā

c. decimal plus single-digit numeral

tēmbè-(è-)kē-ànà ‘eleventh’

tèmbè-(è-)pén-ànà ‘twelfth’

d. hundred

tɛ̄ɛ̄mdɛ̄rɛ̀-ànà ‘hundredth’

Ordinals behave like other adjectives in tonal interactions with preceding nouns, e.g. kūŋgōlō pēn-ānā ‘second dog’ (< kúŋgólō).

### Fractions and portions

‘Half’ (always with a possessor) is tàá or pɛ́jɛ̄. The minimal form is à tàá or à pɛ́jɛ̄ ‘half of it’. A full NP possessor occurs in [wóléŋ gú] tàá or [wóléŋ gú] pɛ́jɛ́ ‘half of that money’. Diminutive tàà‑lɛ̄wⁿ can mean ‘(small) portion’ of variable size. There are no terms specifically meaning ‘a third’ or other fraction.

Also relevant are kúrū ‘piece (of meat)’, kùrí ‘piece, segment (of a long object such as a rope or a stem)’, pɛ́rɛ̄ ‘half (of a split object, e.g. kola nut or watermelon)’, and the very general kómbē ‘piece (of cloth), shard (of broken calabash)’. The related verb kōmbō/kōmbò means ‘remove a piece’.

# Nominal and adjectival compounds

## Nominal compounds

### Nasal linker between initial and final

Scattered throughout the compounds presented in the following sections of this chapter are some with a nasal linker separating the initial from the final. The nasal assimilates in position to following stops, nasals, and l. Some examples are in (161).

(161) compound gloss lexical form of initial

a. pùù-ɲ-jɛ̄wⁿ ‘heart of palm’ pùù ‘germinated borassus palm nut’

b. nàà-m-būwɔ̀-yà ‘cowherd’ nàà ‘cow’

c. sīlē-n-sàbá ‘stone partridge’ sīlē ‘rock’

kēẁⁿ ‘one’ appears with a nasal linker (ŋ-kēẁⁿ) after a noun when it functions as a numeral (§4.6.1.1, §6.4.1.1).

Such nasal linkers separating compound initials and finals occur, sometimes sporadically and unpredictably, in other languages of the zone (Bangime, Dogon, Songhay).

### Possessor-possessum type versus tone-leveled compounds

The following sections will show that there are two main types of N-N compound. They are distinguished mainly by tones.

One is modeled on possessor-possessum NPs. The first element (possessor or compound initial) and the second element (possessum or compound final) both present their regular tones. The exception is that tone sandhi applies at the boundary, which confirms that the two elements are distinct prosodic words. The tone-sandhi rules in question are Final Tone-Raising (whereby LL#L dissimilates to LM#L, §3.6.4.4) and M#H-to-L#H (§3.6.4.4‑5). In a few cases the initial is invariant plural, as in [dālm-bī-gē]-kɔ̀nù ‘barn owl’, literally “children’s bird.”

The other N-N compound type is expressed by Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2). This process also applies to N-Adj combinations. Unlike the possessive type, the tone-leveled type is treated tonally as a single complex word. The initial cannot be plural. The leftmost tone in the initial spreads rightward at least to the internal compound boundary. The tonal behavior of the final depends on the particular type of compound, but often involves some form of tone-leveling.

A possessor-possessum compound can be thought of as a possessed noun that is in the process of lexicalizing. The initial is no longer easily quantified (e.g. pluralized) or determined (by a demonstrative, definite suffix, or its own possessor). Full lexicalization, where there is no longer any salient trace of possession, is typically expressed by shifting to the tone-leveled type.

### Compounds resembling possessor-possessum NPs

#### With simple initials

In this type, the initial and final retain their lexical tones, and Tone Leveling does not apply to the initial. If the initial ends in L‑tone and the final begins with L‑tone, Final Tone-Raising (tone sandhi) applies at the boundary. The semantic relationship of initial and final is highly variable. The initial and/or final may itself be composite.

Many such compounds could be parsed morphosyntactically as true possessor-possessum combinations (e.g. ‘donkey’s ear’ as opposed to ‘donkey-ear’). A compound, however, behaves morphosyntactically (as well as semantically) as a noun. In particular, the initial cannot be separately modified by a possessor or a demonstrative. Similarly, unless the initial is lexicalized in plural form (see the following subsection), the initial in a compound cannot normally be independently pluralized.

A further distinction between compounds and true possessor-possessum combinations is that some compounds present a nasal linker between initial and final (§5.1.1) that does not occur elsewhere.

The examples in (162) show tonal features of possessive-type compounds. Indicators include the application of Final Tone-Raising as in ‘sun’ (162a), and the failure of the initial to level tones in (162b-d).

(162) a. kùgū-ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘sun’

kùgù ‘daytime’ plus ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘head’

b. kàŋgé-[pùù-n-jɛ̄wⁿ] ‘wild onion spp.’

kàŋgé ‘hyena’ plus pùù-ǹ-jɛ̄wⁿ ‘heart of palm’

c. [yùgòn-sílé]-ɲīī ‘trailing vine sp.’

yùgòn sílé ‘old woman’ plus ɲīī ‘tooth’

d. màlìfá-būūrūⁿ ‘barrel of rifle’

màlìfá ‘rifle’ plus būūrūⁿ ‘tube, pipe’

In some cases the tones are compatible with either a possessive-type or tone-leveled compound. This is the case when the initial is already of /L/ or /M/ melody and when the final shows no special tonal behavior, as in (163a‑b). In such cases, inferences about the probable compound type are based on analogy with sets of semantically similar compounds with the same initial or the same final.

(163) a. sīlē-n-sàbá ‘stone partridge’ (*Ptilopachus*)

sīlē ‘rock’ plus sàbá ‘chicken’

b. ʃèmpùwò-[túwɔ́-lɛ̄wⁿ] ‘aloe’

ʃèmpùwò ‘donkey’ plus túwɔ́-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘ear’

c. nàà-kūmū ‘trailing herb with bends at nodes (*Portulaca*)’

nàà ‘cow’ plus kūmū ‘knee’ (dialectal)

d. kùwɔ̀-sɔ̄ɔ̄ⁿ ‘grass sp. (*Enteropogon*)’

kùwɔ̀ ‘monkey’ plus sɔ̄ɔ̄ⁿ ‘needle’

#### With plural initials

Some possessive-type compounds, especially for minor flora-fauna species, are lexicalized with a morphologically plural initial (compare English *men’s wear*). The initial here denotes a collective “possessor,” such as an animal species, an ethnicity, or an age-sex category.

(164) a. kùwɔ̀-yē nàm-jīī ‘floating vegetative pond scum’

kùwɔ̀-yè ‘monkeys’ plus nàm-jīī ‘baobab-leaf sauce’

b. pùlé-mbē pùwɔ́ⁿ ‘herb sp. (*Amaranthus*)’

pùlé-mbè ‘birds’ plus pùwɔ́ⁿ ‘fonio (grain)’

c. nɔ̀lɔ̀m-bē sɔ̀m̄-bàà-tīī ‘prickly herb sp. (*Achyranthes*)’

nɔ̀lɔ̀m-bè ‘Dogon-Pl’ plus sɔ̀m̄-bàà-tīī ‘pubic hairs’

### Compounds with tone-leveled initial

This is the second major type of N-N compound. The final is either a lexical noun or a deverbal nominal (verbal noun or agentive). The initial can express various semantic functions, including that of incorporated object before a deverbal nominal.

The initial becomes all-L or all-M. This is achieved by spreading the leftmost tone of the initial to the compound boundary, and by merging H into M. All-L‑toned initials are not subject to Final Tone-Raising. Examples of initials in such compounds are in (165).

(165) melody noun gloss as initial in these compounds

a. melody begins with L, becoming all-L

/LH/ kàŋgé ‘hyena’ kàŋgè‑

/LH\*/ kìtɔ́mɔ́ ‘conical hat’ kìtɔ̀mɔ̀‑

/L\*H/ màlìfá ‘rifle’ màlìfà-

/LML/ yàmbāà ‘house’ yàmbàà‑

b. melody begins with M, becoming all-M

/ML/ sīīsò ‘scissors’ sīīsō‑

/MLH/ mākàrí ‘macari’ mākārī-

c. melody is /H/, dropping to M‑toned

/H/ kúŋgóló ‘dog’ kūŋgōlō-

Examples are in (166). There are many cases where an /L/-melodic final is raised to M (166a), merging with /M/ melody (166b). /ML/ and /LML/ merge as ML-toned 166c).

(166) melody noun gloss as final in these compounds

a. melody is /L/, raising to M‑toned (§5.1.5.1 below)

/L/ dɛ̀gɛ̀ ‘pain’ -dɛ̄gɛ̄

cìyè ‘field’ -ɲ-cīyē

wɔ̀gɛ̀ ‘killing’ -wɔ̄gɛ̄

b. melody is /M/, unchanged

/M/ dīgɛ̄ ‘eating’ -dīgɛ̄

c. melody is contour-toned, becoming ML‑toned

/ML/ būwɔ̀-yà ‘herder’ -būwɔ̀-yà

/LML/ yàmbāà ‘house’ -yāmbàà

d. melody is raised to H‑toned (§5.1.5.2.2)

/LH/ sàbá ‘chicken’ -sábá

### Compounds with tonally modified finals

#### Final raised from /L/ melody to M

The /L/-melodic noun cìyè ‘field’ combines with a compound initial as -n-cīyē, with tone raised to M and with an intercalated nasal linker (unless the stem already ends in a nasal). Initials of level-toned /M/ and /L/ melodies retain their lexical tones (167a). For other melodies, the leftmost tone of the initial spreads to the boundary, and H merges with M.

(167) compound gloss initial

a. initial has L-initial melody (/L/, /LH/)

kèndè-ɲ̀-cīyē ‘sorghum field’ kèndè

pùwɔ̀ɲ-cīyē ‘fonio field’ pùwóⁿ

[dàràmà-yìɲ]-cīyē ‘maize field’ dàràmà-yīwⁿ

sàbùlà-ɲ-cīyē ‘cow-pea field’ sàbúlá

b. initial has M-initial melody (/M/, /ML/)

dūgā-ɲ̄-cīyē ‘rice field’ dūgā

pīīɲ-cīyē ‘millet field’ pīīⁿ

tābā-cīyē ‘tobacco field’ tābà

c. intial has H-initial melody

kūū-ɲ̄-cīyē ‘yam field’ kúū (< /kúú/)

dēē-ɲ̄-cīyē ‘cotton field’ déé

Another /L/-melodic noun that is common as compound final is dɛ̀gɛ̀ ‘pain, illness’. Some of its compounds are in (168).

(168) compound gloss initial

a. initial has L-initial melody

kɔ̀rɔ̀-n-dɛ̄gɛ̄ ‘back pain’ kɔ̀rɔ̀

nùùn-dɛ̄gɛ̄ ‘upset stomach’ nùùⁿ

ɲɛ̀lɛ̀n-dɛ̄gɛ̄ ‘tongue disease’ ɲɛ̀lɛ́wⁿ

ɲìyɛ̀n-dɛ̄gɛ̄ ‘headache’ ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ

b. initial has M-initial melody

ɲīīn-dɛ̄gɛ̄ ‘toothache’ ɲīīⁿ

c. initial has H-initial melody (lowered to M)

[tūwɔ̄-lɛ̄n]-dɛ̄gɛ̄ ‘ear-ache’ túwɔ́-lɛ̄wⁿ

Another final of this type is sɔ̀rdāāsì ‘soldier’.

(169) compound gloss initial

a. initial has L-initial melody

tùbàà-ⁿ-sɔ̄rdāāsī ‘European soldier’ tùbáábú ‘white person’

b. initial has M-initial melody

gɔ̄ŋɔ̄-sɔ̄rdāāsī ‘slave soldier’ gɔ̄ŋɔ̄ ‘slave’

c. initial has H-initial melody (lowered to M)

pūnān-sɔ̄rdāāsī ‘Fulbe soldier’ púnāwⁿ ‘Fulbe’

See also §5.1.8 for ‑tūgū from tùgù ‘owner’ in some compounds.

#### H-final compounds

In this type, the final raises tones to all-H. The initial is tone-leveled, but level-M initials are then dropped to L by M#H-to-L#H.

##### H-final compounds from temporal subject-verb collocations

Of the subject-verb collocations in §11.1.1.2, two correspond to H-final compounds (170a‑b). These compounds denote events rather than cardinal directions (‘west’, ‘east’).

(170) a. [kùgù-ɲìyɛ̀n]-túⁿ ‘sunset’

kùgū-ɲìyɛ̀n tūⁿ ‘the sun has set’ (lit. “has gotten lost”)

b. [kùgù-ɲìyɛ̀n]-táwⁿ ‘sunrise, dawn’

kùgū-ɲìyɛ̀n tāwⁿ ‘the sun has risen’ (lit. “has ascended”)

It was not possible to elicit compounds of this type corresponding to ‘day break’ or ‘night fall’.

##### H-final compounds with spatial PP initials for habitat

In this type, the initial is a spatial PP that specifies the habitat of the referent of the final. The PP is tone-leveled. The final is raised to all-H, which then drops a preceding M to L. sɔ̄ŋɔ̄ⁿ ‘the bush’ (171c) does not need a postposition. Recall that H-toned stems are transcribed in prepausal (citation) form, with final H.H syllables transcribed as H.M.

(171) PP gloss final

compound

a. jīī nìŋīì ‘in water’

[jìì-nìŋì]-púlēwⁿ ‘aquatic bird’ pùléwⁿ ‘bird’

[jìì-nìŋì]-sábā ‘aquatic chicken, waterfowl’ sàbá ‘chicken’

b. sīlē kūmà ‘on rock’

[sìlè-kùmà]-sábā ‘stone partridge (*Ptilopachus*)’ sàbá ‘chicken’

(synonym sīlē-n-sàbá)

c. sɔ̄ŋɔ̄ⁿ ‘the bush (*la brousse*)’

sɔ̀ŋɔ̀n-sábā ‘wild chicken’ sàbá ‘chicken’

sɔ̀ŋɔ̀m-púlēwⁿ ‘bush birds’ pùléwⁿ ‘bird’

##### H-final compounds with noun-verb initials for an activity

In this type, the initial is a noun-verb compound that denotes the characteristic activity of the referent denoted by the final. Examples are the compounds in (172). The corresponding noun-verb combinations (in Pfv form) and the nouns functioning as finals are shown under the compounds.

(172) a. [kùwò-cyɛ̀ŋ]-kúmbúrū ‘dung beetle (scarab)’

kùwò cyɛ̄wⁿ ‘carry excrement on head’

kùmbùrù ‘bug, beetle’

b. [nàm-sɛ̀gɛ̀]-búwōⁿ ‘mortar for pounding sauce ingredients’

nàm sɛ̄gɛ̄ ‘pound dried baobab leaves’

búwōⁿ ‘mortar’

##### H-final compounds based on sīī ‘breed’

The noun sīī means ‘kind, type’ or ‘breed, clan, race, species’. In the sense ‘clan’ it occurs several times in the texts as -síí following the L‑toned form of a clan name. Thus bààkɔ̀lɔ̀‑ⁿ‑síí‑yè ‘the Bakoro clans’ (2017-01 @ 08:31), ɲànàgɔ̀-ⁿ-síí-yè ‘the Yanogué clans’ (2017-02 @ 01:50), and sìnɔ̀gɔ̀‑ⁿ‑síí-yè ‘the Sundago clans’ (2017-02 @ 01:54).

##### -kɯ́lɯ́ ‘lack’

This final is attested in kwààŋ-kɯ́lɯ́ ‘drought’, cf. kwààⁿ ‘rain’.

### Nominal compounds that include a verb stem

The following subsections cover deverbal nominals (verbal noun, agentive, place of action) that additionally incorporate a noun that denotes a characteristic object. These are followed by a section on function-specifying compounds that indicate the use to which the entity is put.

Most of these complex compounds are of the tone-leveling type as described in the preceding section. That is, the leftmost tone of the first stem spreads rightward to the first compound boundary, some /L/-melodic finals are raised to M‑tone, and /LML/ finals surface as ML-toned.

#### Verbal-noun final with incorporated object as initial

In this construction, a transitive verb takes verbal-noun form. The initial is an incorporated noun that denotes the general category of object. Tone Leveling applies: initials are leveled to all-L or all-M. /L/-melodic finals raise to M. Note the unmodified contour-toned final -sɛ̄gɛ̀ (173d).

The uncompounded verbal noun is shown if elicitable, but some occur only in compounds.

(173) compound gloss lexical form of initial

a. < verb dīgɛ̄/dīgɛ̀ ‘eat (antipassive)’

dīgɛ̄ ‘eating’

tēē-dīgɛ̄ ‘meat-eating’ tēē

kēgū-dīgɛ̄ ‘cream of millet-eating’ kégū

mākārī-dīgɛ̄ ‘macari-eating’ mākàrí

b. < verb wɔ̀gɛ̀/wɔ̀gɛ̄ (variant wàgɛ̀/wàgɛ̄) ‘kill (antipassive)’

wɔ̀gɛ̀ ‘killing’

kūŋgōlō-wɔ̄gɛ̄ ‘dog-killing’ kúŋgólō

sūgō-wɔ̄gɛ̄ ‘goat-killing’ sūgō

kàŋgè-wɔ̄gɛ̄ ‘hyena-killing’ kàŋgé

yòrògò-wɔ̄gɛ̄ ‘cat-killing’ yòrógō

kùmbùrù-wɔ̄gɛ̄ ‘bug-killing’ kùmbùrù

c. < verb kūūⁿ/kū-nū ‘catch’

kūmɛ̄ ‘catching’

kūŋgōlō-kūmɛ̄ ‘dog-catching’ kúŋgólō

kàŋgè-kūmɛ̄ ‘hyena-catching’ kàŋgé

tōōrū-kūmɛ̄ ‘fetish-catching’ tōōrù

gīlɛ̄ŋ-kūmɛ̄ ‘cowry-catching’ gīlɛ̀wⁿ

d. < verb sɛ̄gɛ̀/sɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘pound (in mortar)’

màkàrì-sɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘macari-pounding’ mākàrí

nàm-sɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘baobab-pounding’ nàmù

pīīⁿ-sɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘millet-pounding’ pīīⁿ

e. < verb mìyɛ̀nì/mìyɛ̀nī ‘fix; manufacture’

màlìfà-mīyɛ̄nī ‘rifle-making’ màlìfá

būwōm-mīyɛ̄nī ‘mortar-making’ búwōⁿ

kìyɛ̀-kùlà-mīyɛ̄nī ‘bowl-making’ kìyɛ̀-kūlā

kìtɔ̀mɔ̀-mīyɛ̄nī ‘conical hat-making’ kìtɔ́mɔ́

sīīsō-mīyɛ̄nī ‘scissors-making’ sīīsò

f. < verb mɛ̀wⁿ/mɛ̀-nɛ̀ ‘drink’

dùwɔ̀-mɛ̄wⁿ ‘beer-drinking’ dùwɔ̀

sɔ̄gɔ̄-mɛ̄wⁿ ‘milk-drinking’ sógɔ̄

jīī-mɛ̄wⁿ ‘water-drinking’ jīī

tēē-mɛ̄wⁿ ‘tea-drinking’ tēè

g. < verb kēbē/kēbè ‘build’

yàmbàà-kēbē ‘house-building’ yàmbāà

tùbà-kēbē ‘granary-building’ tùbà

jāŋāāŋ-kēbē ‘shed-building’ jáŋāāⁿ

mìsìrì-kēbē ‘mosque-building’ mìsírī

These are true compounds to the extent that the initial is invariant in form (not separately pluralizable or determined). However it is possible to free the initial from these restrictions and rephrase it as a full NP. In this case it may be pluralized or otherwise modified (174a), or it may be pronominal (174b). In these cases there is no way to determine whether the NP or pronoun in question is still a direct object of the verb, or a possessor of the nominalized verb.

(174) a. [kɔ̀n nāā-yē kù-lè] kɔ̄lɛ̄

[Dem cow-Pl Def-Pl] hit.VblN

‘hitting those cows’ (< nàà-yè)

b. ŋ̀ kɔ̄lɛ̄

1Sg hit.VblN

‘hitting me’

When the object of the transitive verb is a high-frequency lexicalized plural, the distinction between full NP and compound initial may be blurred, unless additional modifiers are present. It is possible that ‘children’ in (175a) is just a compound initial, like ‘child’ in (175b).

(175) a. [jɛ̄nām-bī-gē]-kɔ̄lɛ̄ ‘children-hitting’

b. jɛ̄nāŋ-kɔ̄lɛ̄ ‘child-hitting’

#### Agentive compounds with incorporated object

For uncompounded agentives with suffix -yà ~ -yɛ̀, see §4.2.2. Some agentives allow an incorporated object for more specificity. Tone Leveling applies: the initial is leveled to all-L or all-M, and an /L/-melodic final raises to M.

(176) compound gloss basic form of initial

a. būwɔ̀-yà ‘herder’ (< būwɔ̀/būwɔ̀-lɔ̀)

nàà-m-būwɔ̀-yà ‘cowherd’ nàà

sūgō-būwɔ̀-yà ‘goatherd’ sūgō

[sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̀m]-būwɔ̀-yà ‘sheep herder’ sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄wⁿ

b. tōlē-yā ‘seller’ (< antipassive of tōlō/tōlò)

kūŋgōlō-tōlē-yā ‘dog seller’ kúŋgólō

nàà-tōlē-yā ‘cattle seller’ nàà

pīīn-tōlē-yā ‘grain seller’ pīīⁿ

kààn-tōlē-yā ‘calabash seller’ kàànú

màlìfà-tōlē-yā ‘gun seller’ màlìfá

c. sɛ̀nɛ̀-yà ‘buyer’ (< antipassive of sàwⁿ/sà-nà)

pīīⁿ-sɛ̄nɛ̄-yā ‘millet buyer’ pīīⁿ

d. sɔ̀gɔ̀-yà ‘cultivator’ (< sɔ̀gɔ̀/sɔ̀gɔ̄)

pīīⁿ-sɔ̄gɔ̄-yā ‘millet farmer’ pīīⁿ

A textual example is jīī-kāy-yā ‘water-draw-Agent’, i.e. ‘water carrier’ (2017-04 @ 00:51).

#### Place-of-action nominal (-gàwⁿ) plus incorporated noun as initial

The usual noun ‘place’ is gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ. A diachronically related form -gàwⁿ occurs as compound final following a verb (usually in the Pfv). Examples with no further compound initial are in §4.2.1.5.1.

If the verb is transitive, an incorporated object may be added as compound initial. The forms and tones are those of a verbal noun with incorporated object (§5.1.6.1 above), plus ‑gàwⁿ. /L/‑melodic Pfv verbs are subject to Final Tone-Raising and a resulting bimoraic <LM> syllable can flatten to M (177b,d-e).

(177) a. mōtōm-mīyɛ̄nī-gàwⁿ

motorcycle-repair.VblN-place

‘garage, motorcycle-repair place’ (< mōtōⁿ, verb mìyɛ̀nì/mìyɛ̀nī)

b. ɲàmà-m-pīī-gàwⁿ

garbage-dump.VblN-place

‘refuse heap’ (< ɲàmà, verb pìì/pìī)

c. yàmbàà-kēbē-gàwⁿ

house-build.VblN-place

‘place for building a house’ (yàmbāà, verb kēbē/kēbè)

d. dùwɔ̀-mɛ̄ŋ-gàw

beer-drink.VblN-place

‘beer-drinking place’ (dùwɔ̀, verb mɛ̀wⁿ/mɛ̀-nɛ̀)

e. sàbà-wɔ̄gɛ̄-gàwⁿ

chicken-kill.VblN-place

‘chicken-slaughtering place’ (sàbá, verb wɔ̀gà/wɔ̀gā)

The homologue of ‑gàwⁿ in Djenné Jenaama is -wúwɔ̀ⁿ, which is added to fully tone-leveled noun-verb combinations.

#### Function-specifying compounds with included verbal noun

Nouns like ‘water’, ‘oil’, and ‘wood’ denote substances that are put to different uses. In the case of ‘oil’ the uses correlate with source (peanut, shea-tree, etc.). This is less so with wood and much less so with water.

To distinguish water, oil, and wood reserved for different functions, these nouns are combined with a compound initial that denotes the prototypical action. This may be a verbal noun with -gu (§4.2.1.3). It may also be an unsuffixed verbal noun, with or without a final-vowel mutation or a variant form of the stem (§4.2.1.2). Tone-Leveling applies, and /L/-melodic finals raise to M-tone (178c).

(178) noun gloss verb (Pfv/Ipfv)

a. jīī ‘water’

mɛ̀ɲ-jīī ‘drinking water’ mɛ̀wⁿ/mɛ̀-nɛ̀ ‘drink’

ɲīnī-jīī ‘dishwater; bathwater’ ɲīnī/ɲīnì ‘wash’

b. tīyɛ̄ ‘oil’

[sūū-gū]-tīyɛ̄ ‘lotion, rubbing oil’ sūū/sū-lū ‘rub on’

[dīgɛ̄-gū]-tīyɛ̄ ‘cooking (eating) oil’ dīgɛ̄/dīgɛ̀ ‘eat’

c. kìyɛ̀ ‘wood, stick’

kēbē-kīyɛ̄ ‘lumber (for building)’ kēbē/kēbè ‘build’

[kɯ̄ɯ̄-nī]-kīyɛ̄ ‘firewood’ kɯ̄ɯ̄-nī/kɯ̄ɯ̄-nì ‘ignite’

[sūgū-kūmɛ̄]-kīyɛ̄ ‘staff held in hand’ kūūⁿ/kū-nū ‘catch’, sūgū ‘hand’

[būwɔ̄-gū]-kīyɛ̄ ‘herder’s staff’ būwɔ̀/būwɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘tend (herd)’

d. búwōⁿ ‘mortar’

[sɛ̀gɛ̀-gù]-búwōⁿ ‘mortar for pounding’ sɛ̄gɛ̀/sɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘pound (in mortar)’

pììm-búwōⁿ ‘millet mortar’ pīīⁿ ‘millet’

e. bàn-dyɛ̄wⁿ ‘pestle’

[sɛ̄gɛ̄-gū]-bān-dyɛ̄wⁿ ‘pestle for pounding’ sɛ̄gɛ̀/sɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘pound (in mortar)’

f. kūwɔ̄ⁿ ‘bone’

sīnɛ̄-kūwɔ̄ⁿ ‘bone for biting’ sīwⁿ/sī-nī ‘bite’

A verb and an incorporated object may combine before the instrument noun (179).

(179) a. [sūbā-pɛ̄jɛ̄]-tīyōⁿ

[firewood-split]-ax

‘ax for splitting wood’ (< sūbā, pɛ̄jɛ̄/pɛ̄jɛ̀, tìyòⁿ)

b. [pììⁿ-sɛ̀gɛ̀]-búwōⁿ

[millet-pound]-mortar

‘mortar for pounding millet grain’ (< pīīⁿ, sɛ̄gɛ̀/sɛ̄gɛ̀, búwōⁿ)

Sometimes a verb is not necessary, and the initial simply denotes the object, as in pīīm‑[bàn‑dyɛ̀wⁿ] ‘millet pestle’.

### Diminutives and ‘X-child’ compounds

#### Diminutives with -náwⁿ

This suffix is the productive diminutive for inanimate nouns. For adjective dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ ‘small’ see §4.5.1.2.2.

Diminutive nouns tend to be at least partially lexicalized. Those based on ‘tree’ or tree-species names denote saplings (180a). Those based on terms for tools or other man-made objects denote recognizable smaller-scale subtypes (180b). For example, mortars and pestles are manufactured in different sizes for different tasks (pounding entire millet grain spikes to knock off the grains, pounding whole grains to knock off the chaff, pounding grains into flour, pounding spices for sauce-making, etc.). Diminutive ‘pants’ in (180c) has an idiosyncratic semantic relationship to its host noun, and denotes leggings of any size (from shorts to long pants).

(180) a. jūgū ‘tree’ jùgù-náwⁿ ‘sapling’

kɯ̀lɯ̀ ‘baobab (tree)’ kɯ̀lɯ̀-náwⁿ ‘baobab sapling’

b. kūlā ‘eating bowl’ kùlà-náwⁿ ‘small eating bowl’

búwōⁿ ‘mortar’ bùwò-náwⁿ ‘small mortar’

bàn-dyɛ̄wⁿ ‘pestle’ bàn-dyɛ̀n-náwⁿ ‘small pestle’

yàmbāà ‘house’ yàmbàà-náwⁿ ‘small house’

àrjo᷆ⁿ ‘radio’ àrjòn-náwⁿ ‘small radio’

kūūⁿ ‘boat (skiff)’ kùùn-náwⁿ ‘small boat; brick mold’

c. tàbà ‘foot, leg’ tàbà-náwⁿ ‘pants, shorts, leggings’

An example of a noun that occurs only in diminutive form is sàmà-náwⁿ ‘soap’. This variant of a regionally widespread word (e.g. Fulfulde *saabunde*, French *savon*) has been secondarily reshaped as a diminutive.

The diminutive in -náwⁿ is distinct tonally and semantically from compounds with final ‑nàwⁿ ‘mother’. The distinction is important for jūgū ‘tree’ and tree species names. The compound jūgū‑nàwⁿ, literally “tree-mother,” means ‘(entire) tree’ as opposed to jūgū‑dyɛ̄wⁿ “tree-child,” which means ‘fruit of tree’. jūgū-nàwⁿ differs tonally from diminutive jùgù-náwⁿ ‘sapling’ (180a).

-náwⁿ can combine with terms of animals. It is not the productive compound type for juveniles (puppy, goat kid, lamb, calf), which have -lɛ̄wⁿ instead of -náwⁿ, see (182) in the following section. However, -náwⁿ can be used to denote an unusually small (e.g. stunted) animal. With human nouns ‘woman’ and ‘man’, -náwⁿ has a specialized use in denoting preadolescent children (181b). My assistant rejected ‑náwⁿ with other human nouns such as ɲīmī ‘person’ or ethnicity and caste terms like ‘Fulbe person’ and ‘blacksmith’.

(181) a. nàà-náwⁿ ‘small (e.g. stunted) cow’

[sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̀n]-náwⁿ ‘small (e.g. stunted) sheep’

sùgò-náwⁿ ‘small (e.g. stunted) goat’

b. yùgòn-náwⁿ ‘girl’ (around 7-8 years old)

kɛ̀ɛ̀gù-náwⁿ ‘boy’ (around 7-8 years old)

In the animal cases (181a), the compound with -náwⁿ has more or less the same sense as the noun plus adjective dɛ̀gɛ̀‑náwⁿ ‘small’. This adjective can also combine with any human noun to denote an individual of small stature, of whatever age (‘small woman’, ‘small person’, ‘small Fulbe person’, ‘small blacksmith’, etc.).

#### Diminutive and not-so-diminutive -lɛ̄wⁿ (plural -lɛ̄m-bē)

A semantically somewhat opaque formative -lɛ̄wⁿ occurs in a number of nouns. It was originally diminutive (cf. Djenné Jenaama nominal diminutive -liyɛwⁿ ~ -liyawⁿ), and therefore likely etymologically related to -dyɛ̄wⁿ ‘child’ (compound final), dyɛ̄wⁿ ‘child (son or daughter)’, and jɛ́nāⁿ ‘child (young person)’. However, the relationship is synchronically obscure in Cliffs, and there is no transparent synchronic connection. ‑lɛ̄wⁿ has a distinctive plural ‑lɛ̄m‑bē which is especially common for semantically diminutive nouns, compare the variant plural dēm‑bē ‘children’. ‑lɛ̄m‑bē competes with the productive plural ‑lɛ̄ⁿ‑yē, which is favored in nouns that have no clear diminutive sense.

With most animal terms, -lɛ̄wⁿ denotes the juvenile (182a). For ‘sheep’, however, sɔ̀gɔ̀‑lɛ̄wⁿ is in common use for adults as well as juveniles, and is more common than the unsuffixed form (182b). -lɛ̄wⁿ does not normally occur on human nouns, but jɛ́nán-lɛ̄wⁿ can replace the usual ‘child’ noun jɛ́nāⁿ in ironic contexts, as when a child attempts unsuccessfully to perform an adult feat (182c). The plural in this context is jɛ̄nām-bī-gē-lɛ̄m-bē.

(182) juvenile gloss based on

a. animals (juvenile)

sūgō-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘goat kid’ sūgō ‘goat’

nàà-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘calf (yearling)’ nàà ‘cow, bovine’

kúŋgóló-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘puppy’ kúŋgólō ‘dog’

pùlén-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘chick’ pùléwⁿ ‘bird’

b. animals (all life stages)

sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘sheep’ sɔ̀gɔ̀ ‘sheep’

c. humans

jɛ́nán-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘child’ (special contexts) jɛ́nāⁿ ‘child’

A fair number of inanimate nouns also end in -lɛ̄wⁿ. Small external body-part terms are included. The noun pā-lɛ̄wⁿ ~ pɔ̄-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘a little’, diminutive of pwɔ̄ ‘thing’, is used as a noun or adverb (§8.4.3.2). The other inanimate examples are likewise rather lexicalized, but -lɛ̄wⁿ is phonologically conspicuous, making segmentability easier. The plural with -lɛ̄m-bē is sometimes used instead of ‑lɛ̄ⁿ-yē. Some of the inanimates have an obscure relationship to an independently existing noun, not involving any apparent diminutivity or endearment (183a). Others are lexically isolated (183b).

(183) derivative gloss based on

a. inanimates with recognizable initial

jūgū-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘wild prune tree (*Sclerocarya*)’ jūgū ‘tree (in general)’

kùgù-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘blazing hot sun (at mid-day)’ kùgù ‘daytime’

kùgū-ɲɛ̀wⁿ ‘sun’ (celestial body)

b. inanimates without a recognizable initial

dùbà-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘mirror’

kàɲà-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘tall grass sp.’

kōgū-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘tall grass sp. (*Andropogon*)’

kwāā-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘shrub sp. (*Sarcocephalus*)’

nɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘eye(s)’

pɔ́mɔ́-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘herb sp. (*Commelina*)’

tígé-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘cut (wound)’

túwɔ́-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘ear’

tùwɔ̀-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘penis’

wōō-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘groundnut (*Vigna subterranea*)’

wóó-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘cataract’

c. H‑toned

dúgú-lɛ́wⁿ ‘thorny scrub acacia spp.’ dúgūⁿ ‘dense forest, thicket’

kùgù-lɛ̄wⁿ (183a) emphasizes mid-day heat. In the collocation (184a) below, uncompounded kùgù occurs since there is no specific reference to heat. kùgù-lɛ̄wⁿ occurs in (184b) which does emphasize heat.

(184) a. kùgū tàà-nà

**daytime** stand-Ppl

‘The sun is at its zenith (mid-day).’

b. kùgù-lɛ̄m bàà máɲɛ̄ wày

**sun** exit.Pfv a.lot today

‘The sun is really blazing hot today.’ (< bāā)

For -lɛ̄wⁿ in adverbial expressions meaning ‘a little, not much’, see §8.4.3.2.

#### Compounds with ‘child’ as final (-dyɛ̄wⁿ, ‑jēwⁿ , ‑jéwⁿ)

The following uncompounded terms for (human) ‘child’ and ‘children’ occur. The plurals are often irregular or suppletive. The forms in (185a) denote age grades. Those in (185b) denote relationships to parents.

(185) singular plural gloss

a. juvenile person

jɛ́nāⁿ jɛ̄nām-bī-gē, jɛ́náⁿ-yè ‘child’

— dālm-bī-gē ‘children’

b. offspring (kinship)

dyɛ̄wⁿ dyɛ̄ⁿ-yē, dēm-bē, dēm-bē-yē ‘child, son or daughter’

Only dyɛ̄wⁿ is in use as a compound final. It is pluralized as -dēm-bē. It can denote a young member of a given ethnicity or other human category (186). These compounds are possessive-type, without Tone Leveling of the initial as shown by (186c).

(186) noun gloss ‘child’ ‘children’

a. púnāwⁿ ‘Fulbe person’ púnán-dyɛ̄wⁿ púnán-dēm-bē

b. kùygù ‘blacksmith (caste)’ kùygù-dyɛ̄wⁿ kùygù-dēm-bē

c. mììmá ‘leatherworker (caste)’ mììmá-dyɛ̄wⁿ mììmá-dɛ̄m-bē

‘Child’ as compound fnal can also extend into nonhuman domains. In (187a), two paired objects of different sizes are distinguished by the use of this compound final.

(187) a. dwī-sīlē

grind.Pfv-stone

‘large stone on which grain is ground’

b. dwī-sīlē-dyɛ̄wⁿ

grind.Pfv-stone-child

‘smaller round stone held in hand for grinding grain’

‘Heart of (borassus) palm’ is pùù-ǹ-dyɛ̄wⁿ, compare pùù ‘germinated borassus palm nut’.

### Compounds with tùgù ‘owner’

The noun tùgù ‘owner’ requires a possessor or compound initial, minimally 3Sg possessor à (188).

(188) ǹ nā= [ā tùgū] tò

1Sg IpfvNeg [3Sg owner] know.Ipfv

‘I don’t know its owner.’

The plural is tùgù-yè, often pronounced tùgè-è.

Examples of compounds denoting ownership are in (189). The tonal patterns are those of possessive-type compounds.

(189) bìtígí-tùgù ‘shop owner (storekeeper)’

dáábá-tùgù ‘owner of livestock’

yàmbāā-tùgù ‘homeowner’ < yàmbāà

sìrìmbē-tùgù ‘folding knife-owner’ < sìrìmbè

In addition, -tùgù ‘owner’ occurs in a wide range of compounds denoting attributes, ranging from conditions to unusual body parts to abstractions.

(190) noun gloss ‘owner of X’ gloss

a. condition

wɔ̀bɔ̀ ‘disease’ wɔ̀bɔ̄-tùgù ‘sick person, carrier of disease’

b. body part

sìmbò-cīī ‘beard’ sìmbò-cīī-tùgù ‘bearded (person)’

kùlù ‘hump’ kùlū-tùgù ‘humped, hunchback’

c. abstract attribute

dáwlā ‘aura of success’ dáwlá-tùgù ‘one who is constantly successful’

-tūgū with M‑tones is also attested. The known examples are nāmbārā-tūgū ‘dishonest person’, nùùn-tūgū ‘pregnant woman’ (nùùⁿ ‘belly’), tàbà-tūgū ‘young man’ (tàbà ‘foot’), and nàpɔ̀rɔ̀‑tūgū and synonym wólén-tūgū ‘wealthy person’.

(191b) is formed from the compound noun that appears as final in (191a).

(191) a. ɲīmī-[sɔ̀gɔ̀-bēwⁿ]

person-[serious(ness)]

‘responsible (trustworthy) person’

b. [sɔ̀gɔ̀-bèn]-tūgū

[serious(ness)]-owner

‘responsible one (person)’

### ‘Male’ (‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū) and ‘female’ (‑yūgōⁿ) as compound finals

kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘man’and yùgòⁿ ‘woman’ can be added as modifiers to another noun in the senses ‘male’ and ‘female’. Some common combinations denoting human relationships are in (192).

(192) a. bwɔ̀ ‘age-mate, peer, generation-mate’

bwɔ̀‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘male age-mate’

bwɔ̀‑yūgōⁿ ‘female age-mate’

b. cìyè‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘grandfather’

tàà‑yūgōⁿ ‘grandmother’

c. dùgòⁿ ‘younger sibling’

dùgòŋ‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘younger brother’

dùgòⁿ‑yūgōⁿ ‘younger sister’

d. tèⁿ ~ tèwⁿ ‘elder sibling’

tèŋ‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘elder brother’

tèⁿ‑yūgōⁿ ‘elder sister’

Any sex-differentiated animal species (livestock or wild) can combine with these compound finals (193).

(193) a. sàbá ‘chicken’

sàbà‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘rooster’

sàbà‑yūgōⁿ ‘hen’

b. kàŋgé ‘hyena’

kàŋgè‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘male hyena’

kàŋgè‑yūgōⁿ ‘female hyena’

c. kúŋgólō ‘dog’

kūŋgōlō‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘male dog’

kūŋgōlō‑yūgōⁿ ‘bitch’

d. sūgō ‘goat’

sūgō‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘billygoat’

sūgō‑yūgōⁿ ‘nannygoat’

e. yɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘fish’

yɔ̄gɔ̄‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘male fish’

yɔ̄gɔ̄‑yūgōⁿ ‘female fish’

The ‘male’ form can apply to any plant term to indicate sterility (no fruits borne) or other gender-like feature (194a). For dioecious plants such as palms the male-female distinction is botanically correct (194b). In (194c), fruits of *G. flavescens* are eaten while those of *G. bicolor* are not. (194d) is a figurative use of an ostensibly human term to denote an insect.

(194) a. kārāndē ‘tamarind (tree and fruit)’

kārāndē‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘sterile tamarind tree’

kārāndē‑yūgōⁿ ‘fruit-producing tamarind tree’

b. yīyē ‘borassus palm’

yīyē‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘male borassus palm’

yīyē‑yūgōⁿ ⁿ ‘female (fruit-bearing) borassus palm’

c. sāmbōⁿ ‘shrub sp. (any *Grewia* sp.)’

sāmbōŋ‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘shrub (*Grewia bicolor*)’

sāmbōⁿ‑yūgōⁿ ‘shrub (*Grewia flavescens*)’

d. mɔ̄lì ‘holy man, marabout’

mɔ̄l‑kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ‘butterfly’

### ‘True’ versus ‘false’

There is no single mechanism for distinguishing valuable ‘true’ plant species from inferior ‘false’ or ‘wild’ ones. Adjectives ‘good’ (māɲāwⁿ) and ‘bad’ (ɲɔ̄ŋɔ̄) can always be added opportunistically.

There is likewise no all-purpose construction for ‘main, principle’. The main men’s shed (palaver house) in a village is simply called ‘big shed’ (jāŋām būlōⁿ). See also jáátī ‘exactly, truly’ (§8.4.2.1).

In at least two cases the true and false versions of a cultivated plant are denoted by unrelated lexical items (195a-b). In another, a diminutive is used (by some speakers) to distinguish the nonprototypical species (195c).

(195) a. pīīⁿ ‘millet (cultivated *Cenchrus americanus*, formerly *Pennisetum glaucum*)

sùwòⁿ ‘false millet’ (stray millet plants, not sown from seedstock)

b. dūgā ‘rice’ (cultivated *Oryza sativa*)

kɔ̄bà ‘wild rice’ (wild *Oryza* spp.)

c. ʃìì ‘wild fruit tree sp. (*Vitex doniana*)’

ʃìì-náwⁿ ‘sapling of ʃìì tree’ or ‘related tree sp. (*Vitex madiensis*)’

Some other devices are illustrated in the following subsections.

#### Compound final ŋɔ́mɔ̄ ~ ŋɔ́mɛ̄ ‘false’

By ‘false’ plant species are meant wild species that resemble a more conspicuous or more useful species, especially a crop plant. The ‘false’ species is typically not edible or otherwise useful. ŋɔ́mɔ̄ ~ ŋɔ́mɛ̄ ‘false’, which could be analysed as a compound final or as an adjective since it does not occur elsewhere, is added to the name of the prototypical plant. It can also function as a self-standing noun ‘false one’. The form ŋɔ́mɔ̄ is used by older speakers, ŋɔ́mɛ̄ by younger ones. Two compounds are in use.

(196) a. pàā-m-pùwóⁿ ‘sesame’ (cultivated *Sesamum indicum*)

pàà-m-pùwòŋ ŋɔ́mɔ̄/ɛ̄ ‘false sesame’ (wild *Sesamum alatum*)

b. sààgù ‘roselle’ (cultivated *Hibiscus sabdariffa*)

sààgù ŋɔ́mɔ̄/ɛ̄ ‘wild roselle’ (stray roselle, not from seedstock)

#### Possessive natural-species compounds

Several natural species are referred to by a possessor-possessum construction ‘X’s Y’, where Y denotes a prototypical species and X denotes an animal or a human ethnicity that are said (sometimes jokingly) to use or inhabit the species. Flora terms of this type are in (197).

(197) a. sàbúlá ‘cowpea’ (cultivated *Vigna unguiculata*)

ɲīnā sàbúlá “mouse(’s) cowpea” (wild *Vigna* spp.)

b. sɔ̄ⁿ ‘needle’

kùwɔ̀-sɔ̄ⁿ “monkey(’s) needle” (*Enteropogon*, a grass)

c. tìgèn-dīyɛ̄wⁿ ‘African eggplant’ (cultivated *Solanum aethiopicum*)’

sàbé-ē tìgèn-dīyɛ̄wⁿ “chicken’s eggplant” (*S. incanum*)

d. sááⁿ ‘wild grape tree (*Lannea*)’

būwɔ̄-yè ‘herders’ (plural)

[būwɔ̄-yè]-sááⁿ “herders’ wild grape” (vine with berries, *Ampelocissus*)

A different semantic relationship is evident in (198), where a plant is named after the body part of an animal or human category based on shape and appearance.

(198) a. kūmū ‘knee’

nàà-kūmū “cow(’s) knee” (purslane, *Portulaca*)

b. tùwɔ̀-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘penis’ (with diminutive suffix)

yàrā-tùwɔ́ “lion-penis” (*Stachytarpheta*)

c. túwɔ́-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘ear’

sòmpùwò-[túwɔ́-lɛ̄wⁿ] “donkey(’s) ear” (aloe)

d. ɲīīⁿ ‘tooth’

yùgòⁿ-sílé ɲīīⁿ “old woman’s tooth” (*Tribulus*)

### Noun-verb-noun compounds

‘Rainwater’ is expressed in two ways, depending on whether it refers to rain as it falls or to rainwater on the ground after a downpour. The former corresponds structurally but not semantically to English *rain‑water*. The latter adds an intervening verb ‘(rain) fall, precipitate’ in Pfv form.

(199) a. kwààɲ-jīī ‘rain (water, as it falls)’

b. kwààn-sàɲ-jīī ‘rainwater (on ground)’

The initial is kwààⁿ ‘rain (n)’. The final is jīī ‘water. The verb in (199b) is sàwⁿ/sà-nà ‘(rain) fall, precipitate’, here in Pfv stem.

## Adjectival compounds

### Bahuvrihi compounds

Bahuvrihis can function as modifiers or as nouns. A bahuvrihi describes individuals who have a feature (such as a body part) of a specified quality (e.g. size, color) or quantity. Compare English adjectives *big-bellied* and *two-headed*, and nouns *Blackbeard* and *greenhorn*.

#### With adjectival final

In a noun-adjective bahuvrihi, such as “hand-big” (having big hands), the adjective and the noun are subject to tonal modifications. Modifying adjectives have M-, ML-, or in a few cases H‑tones. These tones are preserved in the bahuvrihi. The compound initial inside the bahuvrihi shifts to M‑tone (200a-b,e), but this is then dropped to L before an H‑toned adjective by M#H-to-L#H (200c-d).

(200) a. sìbò bōndō- / ɲīyɛ̄ⁿ- / pīyɛ̄- pīīⁿ

snake neck- / head- / tail- black

‘black-necked/-headed/-tailed snake’

(< bòndò, ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ, píyɛ̄)

b. kɛ̄ɛ̄gū sūgū- / būkūrū- / ɲīyɛ̄ⁿ- [dūwɔ̀-gù]

man hand- / buttock- / head- [small-Adj]

‘a small-handed/-buttocked/-headed man’

(< sūgū, bùkúrú, ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ)

c. kɛ̀ɛ̀gù / jɛ̀nàⁿ sùgù- / bùkùrù- / bòndò- bánū

man / child hand- / buttock- / neck- big

‘a big-handed/-buttocked/-necked man/child’

(< jɛ́nāⁿ, sūgū, bùkúrú, bòndò)

d. sìbò pìyɛ̀- bánū

snake tail- big

‘a big-tailed snake’

(< píyɛ̄)

e. sìbò kōlōn- dāātà-nà

snake skin- smooth

‘a sleek-skinned snake’

(< kòlòwⁿ)

The tonal forms of the noun in the bahuvrihi are summarized in (201). When the adjective is M‑toned ‘black’, all initials become M‑toned. By extrapolation from this, one can infer that the initials preceding ‘big’ initially become M‑toned, but are then dropped to L by M#H-to-L#H.

(201) lexical melody before M ‘black’ before H ‘big’

a. /H/ M L

píyɛ̄ ‘tail’ pīyɛ̄-pīīⁿ pìyɛ̀-bánū

kɯ́gɯ̄ ‘thigh’ kɯ̄gɯ̄-pīīⁿ kɯ̀gɯ̀-bánū

b. /M/ M L

sūgū ‘hand’ sūgū-pīīⁿ sùgù-bánū

lɔ̄gū ‘mouth’ lɔ̄gū-pīīⁿ lɔ̀gù-bánū

c. /ML/ M L

ɲīŋàwⁿ ‘face’ ɲīŋām-pīīⁿ ɲìŋàm-bánū

d. /L/ M L

bòndò ‘neck’ bōndō-pīīⁿ bòndò-bánū

ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘head’ ɲīyɛ̄m-pīīⁿ ɲìyɛ̀m-bánū

e. /LH/ M L

ɲɛ̀lɛ́wⁿ ‘tongue’ ɲɛ̄lɛ̄m-pīīⁿ ɲɛ̀lɛ̀m-bánū

bùkú(rú) ‘buttock’ būkū(rū)-pīīⁿ bùkù(rù)-bánū

#### With numeral final

Examples of noun-numeral bahuvrihis as postnominal modifiers are in (202).

(202) a. sìbò ɲīyɛ̄ⁿ- kēẁⁿ / sìgèwⁿ

snake head- one / three

‘one-/three-headed snake’

(< ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ)

b. sìbò lɔ̄gū- ŋ-kēẁⁿ / sìgèwⁿ / kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ

snake mouth- one / three / five

‘one-/three-/five-mouthed snake’

(< lɔ̄gū)

There is variation in my data between two tonal systems for noun-numeral bahuvrihis. One is to pronounce them in the same way as the corresponding noun-numeral sequences. I suspect that this is typical of unfamiliar combinations that are not in common use. For example, nùù ‘belly’ combines with sìgèwⁿ ‘three’ as nùū sìgèwⁿ ‘three bellies’, and this can function as bahuvrihi in (203). Both ‘snake’ and ‘belly’ show the effects of tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) in this example.

(203) sìbō nùū-sìgèwⁿ

snake belly-three

‘three-bellied snake’ (< sìbò, nùù)

The other pattern, which differs tonally from other constructions and which therefore may be the “authentic” noun-numeral bahuvrihi pattern, follows the lead of noun-adjective bahuvrihis in merging the tone melodies of the initial into all-M. Unlike noun-adjective bahuvrihis, this pattern also optionally raises an M‑toned numeral to H‑toned (204a). This has the secondary effect of dropping the now M‑toned initial to L‑toned. However, an L‑toned head noun remains L‑toned before the tone-dropped compound initial, hence sìbò (not sìbō) in both versions of (204a). In other words, in sìbò ɲìyɛ̀m-péndé the initial ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ is first raised from L to M (whereupon sìbò cannot undergo Final Tone-Raising), and then ɲīyɛ̄wⁿ is dropped back to L. Alternatively, sìbò ɲìyɛ̀m‑péndé might be analysed as a tone-leveled compound bracketed as [sìbò ɲìyɛ̀m]-péndé.

(204) a. sìbò ɲìyɛ̀m-péndé

~ ɲīyɛ̄m-pēndē

snake head-two

‘two-headed snake’ (< pēndē)

b. sìbò ɲīyɛ̄ⁿ-sìbèwⁿ

snake head-three

‘three-headed snake’

### Other composite adjectives

The adjective ‘fast, rapid, speedy’ is bàà‑ⁿ-húúⁿ, as in mòbòlì bàà‑ⁿ-húúⁿ ‘fast vehicle’. It includes an incorporated noun bàà ‘body’ (term used chiefly in speed expressions), along with a nasal linker. In predicates, bàà is rephrased as the possessum of the subject and is followed by stative predicate hùùⁿ (205a-c). There is also an inchoative verb hūmā/hūmā‑nā ‘be(come) fast’ that appears in non-present-time contexts (205d).

(205) a. [[m̀ môbōlì] bàā] hùùⁿ

[[1Sg vehicle] body] be.fast

‘My car is fast.’

b. [[m̀ môbōlì] bàā] nǎⁿ hùùⁿ

[[1Sg vehicle] body] not.be be.fast

‘My car is not fast.’

c. [m̀ báá] hùùⁿ

[1Sg body] be.fast

‘I am fast.’

d. [[m̀ môbōlì] bàà] gà bē hūmā

[[1Sg vehicle] body] Ipfv Fut be.fast.Pfv

‘My car will be(come) fast.’

# Noun Phrase structure

## Organization of NP constituents

### Linear order within multi-word NPs

The order of elements within an NP that contains modifiers as well as a head noun is summarized in (206). Determiners split into prenominal demonstratives and a postnominal definite marker, which can co-occur. Discourse-functional morphemes include ‘also’, ‘only’, and ‘as for’ (topic). “Pl” is a suffix added to a noun or N-Adj.

(206) ‘even’ - Poss/Dem - noun - Adj – Num/Pl - Def - DiscFunct (-) ‘all’

Examples showing the relative orderings, except for discourse-function versus ‘all’ (covered below), are in (207).

(207) a. sèēdù sūgō pīīm pēndē

S goat black two

‘Seydou’s two black goats’ Poss-N-Adj-Num

b. sūgō pēndē gū

goat two Def

‘these/those two goats’ N-Num-Dem

c. kɔ̀ⁿ sūgē-ē gū sāāⁿ

Dem goat-Pl Def all

‘all these/those goats’ Dem-N-Def-‘all’

d. hàlī sèēdù sūgē-ē

even S goat-Pl

‘even Seydou’s goats’ ‘even’-Poss-N

The relative order of discourse-functional morphemes (pē ‘too’, topic kòwⁿ) and the universal quantifier sāāⁿ ‘all’ is not completely fixed in templatic fashion. In examples produced spontaneously by my assistant, sāāⁿ ‘all’ always followed the other morpheme. It follows pē ‘too’ in (208a) and topic-marking kɔ̀ⁿ in (208b).

(208) a. n̄ =nàⁿ [sūgē-ē sāān] tōlō,

1Sg Sbj/Obj [goat-Pl all] sell.Pfv,

[yèn̄ [sàbé-è pē sāān]] tōlō

[and [chicken-Pl **too all**]] sell.Pfv

‘I sold all the goats, and I sold all the chickens too.’

b. n̄ =nàⁿ [sūgē-ē sāān] tōlō,

1Sg Sbj/Obj [goat-Pl all] sell.Pfv,

[ŋ̄gàà [sàbé-è kù-lē kɔ̀n sāāŋ] gà bōẁⁿ

[but [chicken-Pl Def-Pl **Topic all**] be.Loc here

‘I sold all the goats, but as for all the chickens, they’re all (still) here.’

In (208a), there is a possibility that the second ‘all’ is a final summation encompassing ‘goats’ and ‘chickens (too)’, somewhat analogous to floating adverbial *all* in English intransitive clauses (*[the goats and the chickens] will all come*). However, only a narrow-scope reading of ‘all’ is possible in (208b).

Less often, pē ‘too’ follows sāāⁿ. Asked if a sequence ‘chickens-all-too’ was possible, my assistant produced (209).

(209) n̄ =nàⁿ [sūgē-ē sāān] tōlō,

1Sg Sbj/Obj [goat-Pl all] sell.Pfv,

[m̀ bē [sàbé-è sāām pē]] kwē= [è bwɛ̄ỳ]

[1Sg Seq [chicken-Pl **all** **too**]] hit.Pfv [3Pl Comit]

‘I sold all the goats, and I (then) added all the chickens too.’ (< kwāā)

By specifying that the sale (or gift) of the chickens was a separate event from the sale of the goats, the assistant rules out a summative reading of ‘all’ with scope over ‘goats’ and ‘chickens’. This is evidently a factor in the ordering of ‘all’ and ‘too’.

### Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

A numeral or demonstrative by itself may function as an NP in the absence of a noun (210a‑b).

(210) a. ŋ̀ kó [kú nī]

1Sg furnish.Pfv [**Dem** Inst]

‘Give me that!’

b. ŋ̀ kó [kēǹ nī]

1Sg furnish.Pfv [**one** Inst]

‘Give me one!’ (< kēẁⁿ)

However, adjectives require a noun, minimally pā ‘thing’ (premodifier form) (211a). Likewise, sāāⁿ ‘all’ requires at least a pronominal clitic (211b).

(211) a. ŋ̀ kó [pā tɔ̄mɔ̄n] nī]

1Sg furnish.Pfv [**thing red**] Inst]

‘Give me a/the red one!’

b. ŋ̀ kó [à sāān] nī]

1Sg furnish.Pfv [**3Sg all**] Inst]

‘Give me all (of it)!’ = ‘Give me everything!’

## Possessives

Possessors immediately precede possessed nouns (possessums). There is no segmental genitive morpheme. Regular tone sandhi applies at the possessor-possessum boundary. 1Sg possessor casts a floating H-tone onto possessums.

### Alienability

There is no distinction in form between alienable and inalienable possession. Kin terms and partonyms have paradigms like those above. Inalienable ‘father’ is parallel to alienable ‘cow’, and inalienable ‘hand’ is parallel to alienable ‘medication’

(212) kàà nàà sūgū jūgū

‘father’ ‘cow’ ‘hand’ ‘medication’

1Sg ŋ̀ káá ǹ náá ǹ sūgū ɲ̀ jūgū

1Pl ē kàà ē nàà ē sūgū ē jūgū

2Sg āŋ kàà ān nàà ān sūgū āɲ jūgū

2Pl āā kàà āā nàà āā sūgū āā jūgū

3Sg à kà à nàà à sūgū à jūgū

3Pl è kà è nàà è sūgū è júgú

Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ kàà n̄ nàà ŋ̄ sūgū ɲ̄ jūgū

Logo/3ReflPl ē kàà ē nàà ē sūgū ē jūgū

#### Special non-kin forms of kàà ‘father’

However, ‘father’ does have some idiosyncratic features. The simple form ŋ̀ káá ‘my father’ can be compounded with the personal name of any respected male friend of an older generation or sometimes of the speaker’s own generation, not necessarily related by kinship. In this context ‘my father’ takes the tonal form ŋ̀ kāā (followed by a nasal linker before consonants) plus the personal name, as in ŋ̀ kāā‑ǹ‑dīndì ‘my dad Dindi’ (2017-01 @ 06:20). Lowering káá to M‑toned kāā is typical of compound initials (§5.1.4), suggesting that ŋ̀ káá ‘my father’ with the floating H already applied to kàà is the starting point for the initial, which is then subject to Tone-Leveling (§3.6.3.2). The nasal linker also occurs with other possessors, as in āŋ kàà-n-dīndi ‘your-Sg dad Dindi’. Without the personal name, ŋ̄ kàà is attested as a vocative addressed to a male friend of any age (even much younger than speaker): ‘(hey) my pal!’ (2017-05 @ 00:03).

### Form of possessum

#### No tonal changes except after 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H)

The relationship between lexical melody (/…/) and the tonal form of a possessum is shown in (213). The possessum forms were checked with a nonpronominal possessor (sèēdù ‘Seydou’). Such possessors have no effect on the tones of the possessum: sìbò ‘snake’, sèēdù sìbò ‘Seydou’s snake’, and so forth. However, 1Sg possessor ŋ̀ (+H) raises a following L to H.

(213) melody noun ‘Seydou’s ‘my’ gloss

a. 1Sg raises tones of first L of possessum to H

*raises entire /L/ melody stem to H*

/L/ sìbò sèēdù sìbò ŋ̀ síbó ‘snake’

*converts initial-syllable L to H before LH*

/LH/ màlìfá sèēdù màlìfá m̀ málìfá ‘rifle’

/L\*H/ tɔ̀sìbíí sèēdù tɔ̀sìbíí ǹ tɔ́sìbíí ‘prayer beads’`

*converts initial-syllable L to <HL> before a nonlow tone*

/LH/ tèndé sèēdù tèndé ǹ têndé ‘well (n)’

/LH\*/ mìsírī sèēdù mìsírī m̀ mîsírī ‘mosque’

~ m̀ mísìrí

/LML/ tùjūnù sèēdù tùjūnù ǹ tûjūnù ‘pigeon’

b. 1Sg does not affect tones of possessum with initial nonlow tone

/M/ jūgū sèēdù jūgū ɲ̀ jūgū ‘medication’

/H/ jáŋā sèēdù jáŋā ɲ̀ jáŋā ‘shed’

/ML/ sīīsò sèēdù sīīsò ŋ̀ sīīsò ‘scissors’

For more on the phonology of 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) and following possessum, see §3.6.3.1.1.

#### Default possessum pàwⁿ

When the category of the possessum (e.g. ‘dog’ or ‘house’) is already contextually understood, the possessum is expressed minimally by the noun pàwⁿ, plural pàⁿ-yè. This is the case in parallel sequences (214a-b) or more generally whenever the possessum type is contextually clear. The 1Sg possessor form is m̀ páwⁿ, plural m̀ páⁿ-yè.

(214) a. [sèēdù yàmbāā] gà bōẁⁿ,

[S house] be.Loc here,

[m̀ páⁿ] yè ŋ̀ dāāⁿ [bōm̀ bwɛ̄ỳ]

[1Sg **Poss**] Sbj/Obj PsRefl distant [here Comit]

‘Seydou’s house is here, (but) mine is far from here.’

b. [sèēdù yàmbāà-yè] gà bōẁⁿ,

[S house-Pl] be.Loc here,

[m̀ páⁿ-yē] yè ǹ dāāⁿ [bōm̀ bwɛ̄ỳ]

[1Sg **Poss-Pl**] Sbj/Obj PsRefl distant [here Comit]

‘Seydou’s houses are here, (but) mine are far from here.’

pàwⁿ also occurs in the ‘Y belong to X’ predicate, in the combination pàn nì including the ‘it is’ enclitic (§11.5.2). However, predicative pàn nì is rather fused and does not pluralize or undergo tone sandhi.

### Nonpronominal possessors

Nonpronominal possessors immediately precede possessums. There is no genitive morpheme. There are no tonal interactions, except for tone sandhi processes such as Final Tone-Raising in examples like nàā tàbà ‘the cow’s foot’, from nàà ‘cow’. The possessor and possessum can be separately pluralized (215b-c).

(215) a. jɛ́náⁿ yàmbāà

child house

‘the child’s house’

b. jɛ̄nām-bī-gē yàmbāà

child-Pl-Pl house

‘the children’s house’

c. jɛ̄nām-bī-gē yàmbāà-yè

child-Pl-Pl house

‘the children’s houses’

### Pronominal possessors

Pronominal possessors are in (216), excerpted from §4.3.1.

(216) category possessor

1Sg ŋ̀ (+H)

1Pl ē

2Sg āⁿ

2Pl āā

3Sg à

3Pl è

Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄

Logo/3ReflPl ē (identical to 1Pl)

1Sg possessor comes with a floating H‑tone that is overtly expressed when the possessum begins with L‑tone. It has no overt effect when the possessum begins with M or H. See §3.6.3.1.1.

1Pl ē and 3Pl è are distinguished by tones before possessums beginning with M‑ or L‑tone. This is helped by the fact that 3Pl è (and 3Sg à) are not subject to Final Tone-Raising before L‑tone. However, M‑toned pronominals do drop to L before H‑tone by the tone sandhi process M#H-to-L#H, which merges 1Pl and 3Pl. (217) illustrates 1Sg, 1Pl, and 3Pl possessor before nouns of various tone melodies.

(217) pronoun sɔ̀gɔ̀ lɔ̄gū jáŋā kāsò kɔ̀bɔ́

‘sheep’ ‘mouth’ ‘shed’ ‘jail’ ‘knee’

/L/ /M/ /H/ /ML/ /LH/

**1Sg** m̀ sɔ́gɔ̄ ǹ lɔ̄gū ɲ̀ jáŋā ŋ̀ kāsò ŋ̀ kɔ̂bɔ́

1Pl ē sɔ̀gɔ̀ ē lɔ̄gū è jáŋā ē kāsò ē kɔ̀bɔ́

3Pl è sɔ̀gɔ̀ è lɔ̄gū è jáŋā è kāsò è kɔ̀bɔ́

### Recursive possession

A possessed NP can itself be a possessor. Normal tone sandhi occurs, like Final Tone-Raising in ‘father’ in (218a).

(218) a. [sèēdù kàā] yàmbāà

[S father] house

‘Seydou’s father’s house’ (< sèēdù, kàà)

b. [sèēdù kúŋgóló] píyɛ̄

[S dog] tail

‘Seydou’s dog’s tail’

## Core NP (noun plus adjective)

### Tonal interactions between noun and modifying adjective

#### Noun plus uncompounded M- or H-initial modifying adjective

Basic adjectives can have H, M, or ML tones in postnominal position; see the inventory in §4.5.1. There are no basic modifying adjectives that begin with L‑tone since adjectives that have L‑toned predicative forms have M‑toned postnominal forms. With this glaring gap, the tonal patterns are summarized in (219) and illustrated below.

(219) Tonal forms of nouns before adjectives

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **adjective** | /M/ | /ML/ | /H/ |
| **Noun** |  |  |  |  |
| /H/ |  | M | M | L (< M) |
| /M/ |  | M | M | L (< M) |
| /ML/ |  | M | M | L (< M) |
| /MLH/ |  | M | M | L (< M) |
| /L/ |  | L | L | L |
| /LH/ |  | L | L | L |
| /LML/ |  | L | L | L |

Nouns whose melody begins with H or M merge as all-M before adjectives that begin with M‑tone. This merger feeds into the tone sandhi rule M#H-to-L#H, accounting for the “L (<M)” cells in (219). A consequence is that all nouns are L‑toned before H‑toned adjectives. Nouns whose melody begins with L merge as all-L before adjectives of any tone melody. Such Tone Leveling (§3.6.3.2) also applies to nouns as compound initials.

Several minimal pairs of independent noun stems are merged in noun-adjective combinations. For example, H‑toned kólō ‘squared basket’ and M‑toned kōlō ‘Nile monitor lizard’ merge as kōlō before an adjective beginning with a nonhigh tone, and as kòlò before an H‑toned adjective.

Although L-initial and non-low initial (H- and M-initial) nouns merge as L‑toned before an H‑toned adjective, the L-initial and non-low-initial nouns have different tone-sandhi effects on a preceding L‑toned word or particle. The noun undergoes Final Tone-Raising prior to the application of M#H-to-L#H on the noun. In (220), observe the tone of Ipfv gà/gā. It is raised to M in (220a) because the following noun ‘chicken’ or ‘cow’ begins in a lexical (though not surface) L‑tone. It is not raised in (220b) because the following noun ‘goat’ or ‘dog’ begins with a nonlow tone lexically.

(220) melody noun gloss ‘I (regularly) sell a big \_\_ ’

a. /LH/ sàbá ‘chicken’ ŋ̀ **gā** [sàbà bánú] tōlò

/L/ nàà ‘cow’ ŋ̀ **gā** [nàà bánú] tōlò

b. /M/ sūgō ‘goat’ ŋ̀ **gà** [sùgò bánú] tōlò

/H/ kúŋgólō ‘dog’ ŋ̀ **gà** [kùŋgòlò bánú] tólò

Similarly, only nouns with L-initial lexical melodies are accessible to floating tones coming from the left, specifically from a preceding 1Sg possessor ŋ̀ (+H) or demonstrative kɔ̀ⁿ (+M). In (221), note the initial tone of the bolded nouns preceding ‘big’, which show the effect of the floating H in (221a) but not (221b).

(221) melody noun gloss ‘my big \_\_’ ‘this big \_\_’

a. /LH/ sàbá ‘chicken’ ŋ̀ **sábà** bánū kɔ̀ⁿ **sàbà** bánū

/L/ nàà ‘cow’ ǹ **náà** bánū kɔ̀n **nàà** bánū

b. /M/ sūgō ‘goat’ ŋ̀ **sùgò** bánū kɔ̀ⁿ **sùgò** bánū

/H/ kúŋgólō ‘dog’ ŋ̀ **kùŋgòlò** bánū kɔ̀n **kùŋgòlò** bánū

In these combinations 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) is always distinguishable from Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄, which remains M‑toned and does not have a floating tone.

The following data arrays are organized on the basis of the lexical melodies of the noun. The order of presentation is /H/, /M/, /L/, then the contoured melodies.

Combinations with /H/-melodic sááⁿ ‘thorn-branch fence’ and ɲárágō ‘calabash cover’ are in (222). They drop from /H/ melody to M‑toned (222b-c), and in (222a) they drop further from M to L.

(222) a. adjective has /H/ melody

sààn sílē ‘old fence’

ɲàràgò sílē ‘old calabash cover’

b. adjective has /M/ melody

sāān tōy ‘new fence’

ɲārāgō tōy ‘new calabash cover’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

ɲārāgō pūlù-gù ‘soft calabash cover’

ɲārāgō bīllà-nà ‘narrow calabash cover’

Combinations with /M/-melodic pwɔ̄ ‘thing’ (becoming pā before modifier) and yɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘fish’ are in (223). They show the same tonal patterns seen in (222) above.

(223) a. adjective has /H/ melody

pà sílē ‘old thing’

yɔ̀gɔ̀ sílē ‘old fish’

b. adjective has /M/ melody

pā tōy ‘new thing’

yɔ̄gɔ̄ tōy ‘new fish’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

pā pūlù-gù ‘soft thing’

pā bīllà-nà ‘narrow thing’

Combinations with /L/-melodic nàà ‘cow’, sìbò ‘snake’, kànàà ‘friend’, and tɔ̀ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ ‘truth’ are in (224). These nouns remain L‑toned throughout.

(224) a. adjective has /H/ melody

nàà sílē ‘old cow’

sìbò sílē ‘old snake’

kànàà sílē ‘old friend’

tɔ̀ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ sílē ‘old truth’

b. adjective has /M/ melody

nàà tōy ‘new cow’

sìbò tōy ‘new snake’

kànàà tōy ‘new friend’

tɔ̀ŋɔ̀nɔ̀ tōy ‘new truth’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

nàà pūlù-gù ‘soft cow’

nàà bíllà-nà ‘narrow cow’

Combinations with /LH/-melodic nouns gɛ̀jɛ́ ‘arrow’ and wùjúⁿ ‘giant pouched rat’, /LH\*/‑melodic gàríbū ‘child beggar’ and mìsírī ‘mosque’, and /LML/‑melodic mòbōlì ‘vehicle’ and yàmbāà ‘house’, are in (225). These nouns all begin with L‑tone followed by a higher tone. They level to all-L before adjectives.

(225) a. adjective has /H/ melody

gɛ̀jɛ̀ sílē ‘old arrow’

wùjùn sílē ‘old pouched rat’

gàrìbù sílē ‘old child beggar’

mìsìrì sílē ‘old mosque’

mòbòlì sílē ‘old vehicle’

yàmbàà sílē ‘old house’

b. adjective has /M/ melody

gɛ̀jɛ̀ tōy ‘new arrow’

wùjùn tōy ‘new pouched rat’

gàrìbù tōy ‘new child beggar’

mìsìrì tōy ‘new mosque’

mòbòlì tōy ‘new vehicle’

yàmbàà tōy ‘new house’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

gɛ̀jɛ̀ bīllà-nà ‘narrow arrow’

gɛ̀jɛ̀ pūlù-gù ‘soft arrow’

mìsìrì bīllà-nà ‘narrow mosque’

yàmbàà bīllà-nà ‘narrow house’

Combinations with /ML/-melodic nouns tēè ‘tea’, kāsò ‘jail’, mɔ̄lì ‘holy man’, cɔ̄llɔ̀ ‘dust’, sāākù ‘sack’, ɲīŋàwⁿ ‘face’, and gīlàwⁿ ‘cowry’ are in (226). They level to all-M before level-toned adjectives, and in (226a) the all-M then drops to all-L before H‑tone. In (226b), the ML#M combination is realized as MM#L, with the familiar tone-leveling of the noun but also with the shift of the noun’s final L‑tone onto the adjective. The ML#ML combinations in (226c) undergo no tone changes; they are the only combination that fails to tone-level a contour-toned noun.

(226) a. adjective has /H/ melody

tèè sílē ‘old tea’

kàsò sílē ‘old jail’

mɔ̀l(ì) sílē ‘old holy man’

cɔ̀llɔ̀ sílē ‘old dust’

sààkù sílē ‘old sack’

ɲìŋàⁿ sílē ‘old face’

gìlàⁿ sílē ‘old cowry’

b. adjective has /M/ melody

tēē tòy ‘new tea

kāsō tòy ‘new jail’

mɔ̄l(ī) tòy ‘new holy man’

cɔ̄llɔ̄ tòy ‘new dust’

sāākū tòy ‘new sack’

ɲīŋān tòy ‘new face’

gīlān tòy ‘new cowry’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

cɔ̄llɔ̀ pūlù-gù ‘soft dust’

sāākù bīllà-nà ‘narrow sack’

Combinations with /MLH/-melodic bāàná ‘manner’ and māāŋgòró ‘mango’ are in (227). They too level to all-M before M (227b-c), and then drop from all-M to all-L before H (227a).

(227) a. adjective has /H/ melody

bàànà sílē ‘old manner’

mààŋgòrò sílē ‘old mango’

b. adjective has /M/ melody

bāānā tōy ‘new manner’

māāŋgōrō tōy ‘new mango’

c. adjective has /ML/ melody

bāānā pūlù-gù ‘soft manner’

māāŋgōrō pūlù-gù ‘soft arrow’

bāānā bīllà-nà ‘narrow manner’

māāŋgōrō bīllà-nà ‘narrow mango’

#### Noun plus LH‑toned adjective

As noted in the preceding section and elsewhere, there are no basic modifying adjectives with /L/ or /LH/ melodies, since adjectives that have L‑toned predicative forms become M‑toned as postnominal modifiers. There are, however, some composite L-H toned modifiers, with L‑toned initial and H‑toned final. This means that the L‑toned initial may have been dropped from a nonlow tone due to the H‑toned final.

There are three kinds of L-H modifiers. One is dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ ‘small’, which ends in a recognizable diminutive derivational suffix (§5.1.7.1). The stem dɛ̀gɛ̀- does not occur without the suffix and corresponds transparently to no verb (§4.5.1.2.2), so its lexical melody is opaque. The second kind is bahuvrihis such as bòndò‑bánū ‘big-necked’ (§5.2.1.1). The initial in bahuvrihis does occur independently, so its lexical melody is determinable, in this case bòndò ‘neck’. Both dɛ̀gɛ̀‑náwⁿ and bahuvrihis interact with preceding nouns in the manner of adjectives. The third type consists of the quantifier tàá‑yè ‘certain (ones)’ (§6.3.2.1), which behaves tonally like other quantifiers.

(228) shows how nouns of varying melodies combine with ‘small’ and with a bahuvrihi.

(228) melody noun gloss ‘small’ ‘big-necked’

a. /H/ kólō ‘basket’ kōlō dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ kōlō bòndò-bánū

/M/ yɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘fish’ yɔ̄gɔ̄ dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ yɔ̄gɔ̄ bòndò-bánū

/ML/ sāākù ‘sack’ sāākū dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ sāākū bòndò-bánū

/MLH/ māāŋgòró ‘mango’ māāŋgōrō dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ māāŋgōrō bòndò-bánū

b. /L/ sìbò ‘snake’ sìbò dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ sìbò bòndò-bánū

/LH/ wùjúⁿ ‘rat’ wùjùn dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ wùjùm bòndò-bánū

/LH\*/ mìsírī ‘mosque’ mìsìrì dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ mìsìrì bòndò-bánū

/LML/ mòbōlì ‘vehicle’ mòbòlì dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ mòbòlì bòndò-bánū

The initial tone in contour-toned nouns spreads to the end of the stem, and /H/-melodic nouns merge with /M/, so all nouns before ‘small’ or ‘big-necked’ are either all-M (228a) or all-L (228b). The latter fail to undergo Final Tone-Raising before the initial L‑tone of the modifiers. This is the case even with bòndò-bánū ‘big-necked’, whose initial is the /L/‑melody noun bòndò. Instead, they form an unbroken L‑toned string (or terrace) that leads to the H‑toned final.

Floating tones attach from the left, triggered by proclitics. The domain to which the floating H of 1Sg 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) is applied is the entire N-Adj complex, so even when the noun (like ‘snake’ or ‘rat’) is the prosodically light Cv̀Cv̀, and by itself would become Cv́Cv́ with a floating H, it appears as Cv́Cv̀ in N-Adj combinations (229a,c). Logo/3ReflSg possessors are well-separated tonally from 1Sg (229b). Prenominal demonstrative kɔ̀ⁿ applies its floating M to the noun stem but not to the adjective (229c).

(229) a. ŋ̀ síbò / wújùⁿ / … dìgɛ̀-náwⁿ

m̀ … / … / mísìrì

1Sg snake / rat / mosque small

‘my small snake/rat/mosque’ (< sìbò, wùjúⁿ, mìsírí)

b. ŋ̄ sìbò / wùjùⁿ / … dìgɛ̀-náwⁿ

m … / … / mìsìrì

Logo/3ReflSg snake / rat / mosque small

‘his/her (logophoric or reflexive) small snake/rat/mosque’

c. [kɔ̀ⁿ sībō / wūjūⁿ / mīsīrī dìgɛ̀-náwⁿ]

[Dem snake / rat / mosque small]

‘this small snake/rat/mosque’

The remaining /LH/ melody modifier is the quantifier tàá-yè ‘certain (ones)’ (§6.3.2.1). As with the universal quantifier sāāⁿ, the preceding noun preserves its lexical melody, except for productive tone sandhi. Final Tone-Raising applied to /L/ melody ‘snake’.

(230) melody noun gloss ‘certain (ones)’

/H/ kólō ‘basket’ kóló tàá-yè

/M/ yɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘fish’ yɔ̄gɔ̄ tàá-yè

/ML/ sāākù ‘sack’ sāākù tàá-yè

/MLH/ māāŋgòró ‘mango’ māāŋgòró tàá-yè

/L/ sìbò ‘snake’ sìbō tàá-yè

/LH/ wùjúⁿ ‘rat’ wùjún tàá-yè

/LH\*/ mìsírí ‘mosque’ mìsírí tàá-yè

/LML/ mòbōlì ‘vehicle’ mòbōlì tàá-yè

Retention of lexical melodies in nouns also occurs with other specific indefinite quantifiers: sùrù ‘the remaining one’ (plural sùrè-è), singular-only kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘a certain (one)’, and the latter’s suppletive plural pɔ̄-yē ‘certain (ones)’. pɔ̄-yē and kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ are M‑toned, but preceding nouns do not undergo the tonal changes required before M-initial basic adjectives. These quantificational adjectives behave tonally like nonsingular numerals, and do not control tonal ablaut on preceding nouns.

#### tīnāāⁿ ‘other’

This modifier behaves like an adjective, not as a possessed noun (as in Djenné Jenaama). An example is sàbà tīnāāⁿ ‘(an)other chicken’ from sàbá.

### Set-partitioning quantificational modifiers (‘some’, ‘a certain’)

#### ‘Certain (ones)’ (pɔ̄-yē, tàá-yè)

pɔ̄-yē and tàá-yè are interchangeable stems, always plural, that function as quantificational modifiers or (when the noun is omitted) nouns. They partition off a subset (‘some Xs’) of a larger set (‘all Xs’). One common construction is a parallelistic juxtaposition of two clauses, each with an identical quantified NP (except that the noun is often omitted in the second clause), in the same grammatical function. Especially when the predicates are positive and negative, the two subsets exhaust the larger set. In this case, idiomatic free translations have ‘some Xs’ in the first clause and ‘the others’ in the second.

(231) [ŋ̀ sūgō pɔ̄-yē / tàá-yè] bē,

[1Sg goat **certain**-Pl] come.Pfv,

pɔ̄-yē / tàá-yē tè bē

**certain**-Pl PfvNeg come.Pfv

‘Some of my goats came (back), the others didn’t come (back).’

Nouns do not undergo the tonal changes typical of ordinary noun-adjective combinations when they are followed by pɔ̄-yē or tàá-yè. Instead, the nouns preserve their lexical tones, as they do before nonsingular numerals. See §6.3.2.1 above for additional examples with tàá‑yè. Further examples with pɔ̄‑yē are kúŋgóló pɔ̄‑yē ‘certain dogs’, mìsírí pɔ̄‑yē ‘certain mosques’, and yàmbāà pɔ̄‑yē ‘certain houses’.

#### ‘A certain one’ (kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ)

When one individual is picked out of the larger set, the quantificational modifier kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ is used instead of pɔ̄‑ or tàá‑.

(232) ŋ̀ gà [ɲīmī kɯ̄ɯ̄n] tò

1Sg Ipfv [person **a.certain**] know.Ipfv

[màŋ gà kú tī-nà]

[Rel Ipfv Dem do-Ipfv]

‘I know a certain person who does that.’

The etymological affinity between kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ and the numeral kēẁⁿ ‘one’ is no longer apparent to native speakers.

Combinations of noun plus kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ do not follow the tonal rules for noun-adjective combinations. Nouns preserve their lexical tones before kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ, as they do before nonsingular numerals and before the plural quantificational modifieres pɔ̄-yē and tàá-yè. Examples: kúŋgóló kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘a certain dog’, mìsírí kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘a certain mosque’, yàmbāà kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘a certain house’.

#### Mass-partitioning ‘some (but not all)’

For mass nouns, there is no dedicated quantificational modifier of the types described above (‘certain ones’, ‘a certain’). However, pā-lɛ̄wⁿ ~ pɔ̄-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘a little’ can be used in a comparable parallel construction.

(233) [sɔ́gɔ́ pā-lɛ̄ⁿ] pìì↗,

[milk **a.little**] spill.Pfv,

[(sɔ́gɔ́) pā-lɛ̄ŋ] kōndō

[(milk) **a.little**] stay.Pfv

‘Some (of the) milk was spilled, some (=the rest) has remained.’

#### Distributive-paucal ‘some (times, places)’

Distributive-paucal ‘some’ in contexts like temporal ‘now and then, at times’ and spatial ‘here and there’ is expressed by iteration of kēẁⁿ ‘one’, pronounced kēŋ-ꜜkēwⁿ with downstep. If the noun does not already end in a nasalized vowel, a linker ŋ- precedes kēŋ-ꜜkēwⁿ. A similar nasal linker occurs in some compounds.

(234) a. wɔ́gátú ŋ́-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

time **one-one**

‘now and then, occasionally, at times’

b. jàmànàⁿ ŋ̀-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

time **one-one**

[=(a)] (< jàmānáⁿ)

c. gɯ̄ɯ́ⁿ ŋ́-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

place **one-one**

‘here and there, in places’

The noun preceding kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ undergoes tonal adjustments illustrated in (235). The initial tone of the noun spreads rightward to the end of the noun, after which a final M‑toned mora is raised to H.

(235) melody noun gloss ‘certain (ones)’

a. H-initial noun

/H/ kólō ‘basket’ kóló ŋ́-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

b. M-initial noun

/M/ yɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘fish’ yɔ̄gɔ́ ŋ́-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

/ML/ sāākù ‘sack’ sāākú ŋ́-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

/MLH/ māāŋgòró ‘mango’ māāŋgōró ŋ́-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

c. L-initial noun

/L/ sìbò ‘snake’ sìbò ŋ̀-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

/LH/ wùjúⁿ ‘rat’ wùjùŋ kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

/LH\*/ mìsírí ‘mosque’ mìsìrì ŋ̀-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

/LML/ mòbōlì ‘vehicle’ mòbòlì ŋ̀-kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ

Roughly corresponding to English *now and then* and *here and there*, but iterating a single adverb, are the expressions in (236). The first two are distributive-paucal in sense, and my assistant finds that the times and places referred to are even more sparsely distributed than in the preceding cases with ‘one-one’. (236c) has a different sense; it occurs in contexts like ‘the doctor will see you shortly’ (reassuring an anxious patient).

(236) a. bōⁿ yèm bōẁⁿ

here and here

‘here and there’ (< bōẁⁿ)

b. wɔ́gátú yèⁿ wɔ́gátū

time and time

‘from time to time’

c. sāà‑gū yèⁿ sāà‑gù

now and now

‘soon, shortly’ (< sāà‑gù)

### Expansions of adjective

#### Adjective sequences

Two adjectives may follow the same noun (N-Adj1-Adj2). The linear order of the adjectives is rather free. My assistant generally prefers the order size-evaluation-color following the noun.

In most N-Adj1-Adj2 combinations, Adj2 is raised to H‑toned. For example, ‘black’ and ‘big’ are M‑toned as modifiers in simple N-Adj1 strings (237a‑b), but whichever adjective is the second adjective in (237c-d) becomes H‑toned. The N-Adj1 sequence then drops to L‑toned before Adj2 by regular tone sandhi (M#H-to-L#H).

(237) a. yàmbàà pīīⁿ

house black

‘a black house’

b. yàmbàà būlōwⁿ

house big

‘a big house’

c. yàmbàà bùlòm pííⁿ

house big black

‘a big black house’

d. yàmbàà pììm búlōwⁿ

house black big

[=(c)]

Further examples are in (238). Note in particular that /H/-melodic bánū ‘thick’ drops to L‑toned as Adj1 in (238c).

(238) a. yàmbàà màɲàm pííⁿ

house good black

‘a good black house’

b. yàmbàà bùlòm máɲāwⁿ

house big good

‘a good big house’

c. kìyɛ̀ bànù pííⁿ

stick thick black

‘a thick black stick’ (< kìyɛ̀, bánū)

d. sìlè pììɲ cíyɛ̄wⁿ

rock black heavy

‘a heavy black rock’ (< sīlē)

e. kùŋgòlò pììn dígɛ́-náwⁿ

dog black small

‘a small black dog’ (< kúŋgóló, pīīⁿ, dìgɛ̀-náwⁿ)

Example (239) shows the same structure when two color adjectives are combined. Here the English translation requires ‘and’. My assistant indicated that the order shown sounds better to the ear.

(239) yàmbàà kùwòm pííⁿ

house white black

‘a white-and-black house’

Although the L-L-H tone pattern of the preceding examples is regular, a minority tone pattern (all-M) is attested when Adj1 is dɛ̀gɛ̀‑náwⁿ ‘small’. (240a) with L‑L‑H corresponds to the reordered (240b) with M‑M‑M.

(240) a. kùŋgòlò pììn dɛ́gɛ́-náwⁿ

dog black small

‘a small black dog’ (< kúŋgóló, pīīⁿ, dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ)

b. kūŋgōlō dɛ̄gɛ̄-nām pīīⁿ

dog small black

[=(a)]

#### Basic adjective plus quantificational modifieer

Quantificational modifiers are plural pɔ̄-yē or tàá-yè ‘certain (ones)’ and singular kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘a certain (one)’. As illustrated in §6.3.2.1, they interact tonally with preceding nouns in the fashion of numerals rather than basic adjectives. Likewise, quantificational adjectives follow other adjectives.

(241) a. yàmbàà pīīŋ kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ

house black **a.certain**

‘a certain black house’

b. yàmbàà pīīm pɔ̄-yē / …

" pīīn … / tàá-yè

house black **certain-Pl**

‘certain black houses’

#### Adjectival intensifiers

An adjective functioning as an NP-internal modifier cannot be directly intensified. All-purpose extent modifiers (‘a lot’, ‘a little’) are adverbial adjuncts and combine only with adjectival predicates (242). Lexicalized adjectival intensifiers were not elicitable (§8.4.6.6).

(242) [ŋ̀ yâmbāa] pìyɛ̀-nā nì yāālōⁿ / pā-lɛ̄wⁿ

[1Sg house] be.black-Ppl it.is a.lot / a.little

‘My house is very/slightly black.’

See §8.4.3 for more on extent expressions.

#### ‘Good to eat’

‘X is good to eat’ is phrased as ‘X-eating is good’, and so forth. The subject is a verbal noun. The verbal concept cannot directly modify the predicate adjective.

(243) a. tɔ̄mɔ̄n-dīgɛ̄ m̀ màyⁿ

jujube-eating(n) PsRefl **be.good**

‘Jujube fruits are good to eat.’

b. [[kɔ̀ɲ jùgù] kúléⁿ] yè ɲ̀ ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ

[[Dem tree] cut.up.VblN] Sbj/Obj PsRefl **be.easy**

‘Chopping up that tree is easy.’ (< kɔ̀ɲ jūgū)

c. sūūŋ-kūmɛ̄ yē ǹ nɔ̄gɔ̄rɔ̄wⁿ

fly(n)-catch.VblN Sbj/Obj PsRefl **be.difficult**

‘Flies are difficult to catch.’

## Noun or N-Adj plus numeral

### Regular N-Num and N-Adj-Num sequences

Numerals follow nouns and N-Adj combinations. No inversion of numeral and adjective is allowed (244c).

(244) a. sūgō pēndē

goat two

‘two goats’

b. sūgō pīīⁿ

goat black

‘(a/the) black goat’

c. sūgō pīīm pēndē

goat black two

‘two black goats’ (not #sūgō pēndē pīīⁿ)

There is no plural marker (-yè) in NPs containing a nonsingular numeral.

#### Combination of noun plus numeral ‘1’

Examples of kēẁⁿ ‘1’ (§4.6.1.1) after nouns of different tone classes are in (245). The tonal patterns show that kēẁⁿ is treated like a postnominal adjective (§6.4.1.1). The linking element ‑laŋ (M or L tone spread from the noun stem), arguably analysable as -la plus the nasal linker, is added to most nouns that do not already end in diminutive -lɛ̄wⁿ or -náwⁿ. Any noun beginning with a non-low tone merges tonally with the M‑toned onset of the numeral (245a), by regular Tone Leveling. Any noun beginning with L‑tone is likewise leveled to all‑L (245b), except that L-H toned diminutives, like ‘sapling’ (245d), can flatten to M-toned.

(245) melody noun ‘one …’ gloss

a. /H/ kólō kōlō-lāŋ kēẁⁿ ‘Nile monitor lizard’

/M/ yɔ̄gɔ̄ yɔ̄gɔ̄-lāŋ kēẁⁿ ‘fish’

/ML/ kāsò kāsō-lāŋ kēẁⁿ ‘jail’

b. /L/ sìbò sìbò-làŋ kēẁⁿ ‘snake’

yùgòⁿ yùgòⁿ-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘woman’

/LH/ gɛ̀jɛ́ gɛ̀jɛ̀-làŋ kēẁⁿ ‘arrow’

sàáⁿ sààⁿ-làŋ kēẁⁿ ‘well-bag (*puisette*)’

/LH\*/ mìsírī mìsìrì-làŋ kēẁⁿ ‘mosque’

/LML/ mòbōlì mòbòlì-làŋ kēẁⁿ ‘vehicle’

c. irregular (human)

/M/ ɲīmī ɲāŋ kēẁⁿ ‘person’

d. diminutive nouns

/L-H/ jùgù-náwⁿ jūgū-nāŋ kēẁⁿ ‘sapling’ (< jūgū ‘tree’)

/M-M/ yɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄wⁿ yɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄ŋ kēwⁿ ‘minnor’ (< yɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘fish’)

e. compounds

/L-H/ nàpòrò-tūgū nàpòrò-tùgù-làŋ kēwⁿ ‘rich man’

For distributive (ŋ-)kēŋ-ꜜkēẁⁿ see §6.3.2.4.

#### Combination of noun plus numeral ‘2’ to ‘10’

Basic numerals have either /L/ or /M/ melody (§4.6.1.2). Using /M/-melody sɛ̄kī ‘8’ and /L/‑melody nàtàwⁿ ‘4’ as examples, combinations with nouns of various tone classes are in (246). There is no special tonal ablaut between noun and numeral, in contrast to N-Adj combinations. Routine tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) occurs in the combination of an L‑toned noun and the L-toned numeral ‘4’ (246b). This process can also apply to kāsò and mòbōlì, resulting in variants kāsō nàtàwⁿ ‘four jails’and mòbōlì nàtàwⁿ ‘four.

(246) melody noun ‘eight …’ ‘four …’ gloss

a. /H/ kólō kóló sɛ̄kī kóló nàtàwⁿ ‘Nile monitor lizard’

/M/ yɔ̄gɔ̄ yɔ̄gɔ̄ sɛ̄kī yɔ̄gɔ̄ nàtàwⁿ ‘fish’

/ML/ kāsò kāsò sɛ̄kī kāsò nàtàwⁿ ‘jail’

/LH/ gɛ̀jɛ́ gɛ̀jɛ́ sɛ̄kī gɛ̀jɛ́ nàtàwⁿ ‘arrow’

/LH\*/ mìsírī mìsírí sɛ̄kī mìsírí nàtàwⁿ ‘mosque’

/LML/ mòbōlì mòbōlì sɛ̄kī mòbōlì nàtàwⁿ ‘vehicle’

b. /L/ nàà nàà sɛ̄kī nàā nàtàwⁿ ‘cow’

/L/ sìbò sìbò sɛ̄kī sìbō nàtàwⁿ ‘snake’

/L/ bìrìgì bìrìgì sɛ̄kī bìrìgī nàtàwⁿ ‘manure’

Different tonal rules apply when the noun-numeral sequence is a bahuvrihi compound like ‘two-headed’ (§5.2.1.2).

#### Combination of noun plus decimal numeral

These combinations have the same tonal pattern as nouns plus numerals ‘2’ to ‘10’.

(247) a. mìsírí dɛ̀bɛ̀

mosque forty

’40 mosques’

b. mìsírí tām-pēndē

mosque ten-two

‘twenty mosques’

#### Combination of noun plus higher numeral

These combinations are also tonally regular.

(248) a. mìsírí [tɛ̄ɛ̄mdɛ̄rɛ̀ pēndē]

mosque [hundred two]

’200 mosques’

b. mìsírí mùjù

mosque thousand

‘1000 mosques’

### ‘Many’ and ‘few’

#### pāà-lōwⁿ ~ pāà-lēwⁿ ‘many/much’

This quantificational adjective follows both count nouns (‘many Xs’) and mass nouns (‘much X’). It does not occur as a predicate adjective, in which function it is replaced by kōⁿ ‘be many’, a pseudo-reflexive verb, as in ē yè ŋ̀ kōⁿ ‘we are many’.

pāà-lōwⁿ ~ pāà-lēwⁿ has ML.M tones, a typical compound pattern, as suggested by the hyphens. Its combinations with nouns of various melodic classes in (249) show that it is treated tonally like adjectives and the (adjectival) numeral ‘one’, rather than like nonsingular numerals and the free quantificational modifiers. Neither the noun nor the quantifier takes plural suffix ‑yè. I use the variant pāà-lōwⁿ here but the variant pāà-lēwⁿ can substitute for it.

(249) melody noun ‘many/much …’ gloss

a. /H/ kólō kōlō pāà-lōwⁿ ‘Nile monitor lizard’

/M/ yɔ̄gɔ̄ yɔ̄gɔ̄ pāà-lōwⁿ ‘fish’

/ML/ kāsò kāsō pāà-lōwⁿ ‘jail’

b. /L/ sìbò sìbò pāà-lōwⁿ ‘snake’

/LH/ gɛ̀jɛ́ gɛ̀jɛ̀ pāà-lōwⁿ ‘arrow’

/LH\*/ mìsírī mìsìrì pāà-lōwⁿ ‘mosque’

/LML/ mòbōlì mòbòlì pāà-lōwⁿ ‘vehicle’

While pāà-lōwⁿ differs from kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘a certain’ and the latter’s relatives in its tonosyntactic properties, the two occur in the same linear position, following other adjectives.

(250) yɔ̀gɔ̀ pììm pāà-lōwⁿ

fish black many

‘many black fish’ (not #yɔ̀gɔ̀ pàà-lòm pīīⁿ)

‘A lot’, either abstract or with understood but covert common noun, is pā pàà-lōwⁿ, literally ‘many things’. Note the unexpected tone of pàà-lōwⁿ in this combination. This ‘a lot’ phrase can function adverbially, but in (251) it is treated as an object NP, effectively transitivizing ‘sleep’ in the process (compare ŋ̄ kùmù ‘I slept’).

(251) a. n̄ =nàm [pā pàà-lēⁿ] tōlō

1Sg Sbj/Obj [thing **many**] sell.Pfv

‘I sold a lot/many.’

b. n̄ =nàm [pā pàà-lōŋ] kùmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj [thing **many**] sleep.Pfv

‘I slept a lot.’

The noun modified by pāà-lōwⁿ may take a possessor, expressing a partitive relationship (252a‑b). If ‘many’ modifies a plural pronoun, the phrasing can be either ‘our/your/their many people’ (252c) or possessive ‘a lot of our/your/their people’ (252d).

(252) a. [[ǹ náá] pāà-lōwⁿ] wàà

[[1Sg cow] many] die.Pfv

‘Many of my cows died.’

b. n̄ =nā [[ǹ náá] pāà-lōwⁿ] tōlō

1Sg Sbj/Obj [[1Sg cow] many] sell.Pfv

‘I sold many of my cows.’

c. ē ɲīmī pāà-lōwⁿ

1Pl person many

‘many of us’

d. [ē ɲīmī] pā pàà-lōwⁿ

[1Pl person] thing many

[=(c)]

#### dāmā-dāmā ‘a few, a little of’

This quantificational adjective requires a preceding noun, minimally a light noun like pā ‘thing’ or ɲīmī ‘person’. In addition to countable nouns, it can co-occur with some but not all mass nouns, namely those that denote granular substances (but not liquids like ‘water’). The tones are the regular ones for N-Adj sequences with M‑toned adjectives. An ML‑toned noun (‘sugar’, ‘tea’) shifts its L‑tone onto the adjective. There is no plural suffixation.

(253) noun dāmā-dāmā gloss

yàmbāà yàmbàà dāmā-dāmā ‘a few houses’

kúŋgólō kūŋgōlō dāmā-dāmā ‘a few dogs’

nàà nàà dāmā-dāmā ‘a few cows’

yùgòⁿ yùgòn dāmā-dāmā ‘a few women’

ɲīmī ɲīmī dāmā-dāmā ‘a few people’

jénāwⁿ jēnān dāmā-dāmā ‘a few children’

pwɔ̄ pā dāmā-dāmā ‘a few things’

sūkɔ̄rɔ̀ sūkɔ̄rɔ̄ dàmà-dàmà ‘a little sugar’

tēè tēē dàmà-dàmà ‘a little tea’

tēē tēē dāmā-dāmā ‘a little meat’

In text 2017-01 @ 00:34, the (young) speaker says ‘we have a few questions’, using French *question* with dāmā-dāmā.

Adjective dāmā-dāmā ‘a few’ is evidently related to the adverb dàmá ‘only’ (§19.3.2.1). The adverb has its own iterative form dàmá-dàmá.

(254) māāŋgòró dàmá-dàmá gā= [à sūgì-y]

mango **Iter-only** be.Loc [3Sg hand-Loc]

‘He has only (=nothing but) mangoes.’

## NP with determiner

### Prenominal demonstrative plus noun

The demonstratives that occur without modified nouns are those in (255), repeated from §4.4.2 above.

(255) type singular plural

a. general kú kú-yè

b. discourse-definite ɲɔ́ⁿ ɲɔ́ⁿ-yè

The following subsections present combinations of demonstratives, in different forms, with nouns. Unlike other modifiers, these demonstratives precede rather than follow the modified noun. It is possible to add definite gu later in the NP.

#### Floating M with prenominal demonstrative kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) or ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M)

Prenominal demonstratives kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) or ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M) come with a floating M‑tone that is realized on the following noun if the noun’s lexical melody begins with L. Unlike 1Sg possessor ŋ̀ (+H), whose floating H is limited to the first one or two syllables of the noun, the M of kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) or ɲɔ̀ⁿ (+M) spreads over the entire noun stem. See §3.6.3.1.2 for details and examples of the tonal patterns.

### Definite gu following noun (and inner modifiers)

Discourse-definite demonstrative gu (§4.4.2) follows the noun and its inner modifiers. It is atonal, and gets its surface tone from the noun. See §3.6.4.2 for the tonology.

## Universal and distributive quantifiers

### ‘All’ (sāāⁿ)

The basic universal quantifier is sāāⁿ, following the noun and any inner modifiers. It can be added directly to pronouns. The tonal form of the noun (or the noun plus inner modifiers) is not affected by sāāⁿ. A pronunciation hāāⁿ has also been recorded.

In the sense ‘all’, if the noun denotes a set of individuals as opposed to a mass, it is normally marked for plurality (suffix -yè or irregular plural) for human and animate sets, less reliably for inanimates. Mass nouns like ‘milk’ do not pluralize (255a). As an alternative to plural noun plus sāāⁿ, one can add plural -yè directly to sāāⁿ. (255b) therefore has two versions.

(256) a. à [sɔ́gɔ́ sāām] mɛ̀wⁿ

3Sg [milk **all**] drink.Pfv

‘He/She drank all the milk.’

b. à [ŋ̄ yàmbāā-yè sāāⁿ] tōlō

yàmbāà sāāⁿ-yè]

3Sg [3ReflSg house(-Pl) **all**(-Pl)] sell.Pfv

‘He sold all of his houses.’

c. à gè= [=ē sāāⁿ] wàgā

3Sg Ipfv [1Pl **all**] kill.Ipfv

‘He/She will kill us all.’

d. kú sāāⁿ

Dem **all**

‘all that’

e. [nɔ̀gù sāān] nìŋīì

[village **all**] Loc

‘in all the villages’

‘Everything’ is à sāāⁿ with 3Sg pronominal possessor in partitive function (257a). Its plural à sāāⁿ‑yē means ‘all of them’ with reference to a nonhuman set. ‘Everyone’ is è sāāⁿ with 3Pl pronominal (257b).

(257) a. à= [à sāān] dīgā

3Sg [3Sg **all**] eat.Pfv

‘He/She ate everything.’

b. [è sāām] bē

[3Pl **all**] come.Pfv

‘Everyone has come.’

sāāⁿ can also function as distributive ‘each’. In this case neither the noun nor the quantifier is pluralized. Distributive sense is clearest when the NP with sāāⁿ is paired with another quantified or possessed NP. In (258), ‘child’ is singular in form and is coindexed distributively with the possessor of ‘father’.

(258) [jɛ́náⁿ sāāⁿ] bē [[ŋ̄ kàà] nī]

[child all] come.Pfv [[3ReflSg father] Inst]

‘Each childx brought his/herx father.’

mà sāāⁿ (variant mà hāāⁿ) is a specialized form ‘each one, anyone’, ranging from human to inanimate, that can be used when no other noun or pronoun is present (§14.1.2). It is a slightly irregular combination of relative màwⁿ and sāāⁿ.

(259) [mà sāān] nàm bē, āŋ gālā= à sē

[**Rel all]** if.Pfv come.Pfv, 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv

[ǹ nà bōẁⁿ]

[1Sg not.be.Loc here]

‘If anyone comes, say that I am not here.’

See also mà sāāⁿ in (329c) in §8.4.4.4.

### Quantifiers with negation

#### Negation and sāāⁿ ‘all’

Clausal negation scopes over a universal quantifier.

(260) ǹ tè [bíyɛ́ⁿ sāāⁿ] dīgā

1Sg PfvNeg [egg all] eat.Pfv

‘I didn’t eat all the eggs.’

#### síí and -sí ‘not) any’

‘Nothing’ is pà-sí under clausal negation (261a). pā is the premodifier form of pwɔ̄ ‘thing’. -sí is contracted from síí ‘any’. pwɔ̄ by itself can mean ‘anything’ or ‘something’ (261b). In (261a), tè remains L‑toned on the grounds that the following pā is lexically M‑toned, though it is dropped by tone sandhi to pà in pà‑sí.

(261) a. ǹ tè pà-sí dīgā

1Sg PfvNeg **anything** eat.Pfv

‘I haven’t eaten anything.’

b. āⁿ nàm pwɔ̄ dīgā,

2Sg if.Pfv **anything** eat.Pfv,

à gà= āⁿ wɔ̀bɔ̀-nì

3Sg Ipfv 2Sg sicken-Caus.Ipfv

‘If you-Sg eat something/anything, it will make you sick.’

c. sèēdù pwɔ̄ dīgā,

3Sg **something** eat.Pfv,

wɔ̀gā= ā wɔ̀bɔ̀-nī gà

3Sg.Indep 3Sg sicken-Caus.Pfv RemPfv

‘Seydou ate something, that’s what made him sick.’

síí ~ sí ‘(not) any’ is added to other nouns under the scope of negation (262a). The short form sí occurs in lexicalized forms with bare singular nouns and is transcribed as a suffix, as in pà-sí illustrated just above and ɲìmì-sí ‘anyone’ (262d). For bàà sí in greeting sequences, see (898a) in §19.6.1. Alternatively, síí can be added in partitive function to a morphologically pluralized noun (262b) or to a pronominal proclitic (262e). Subjects, just like NPs in any other function, can take sí(í) (262c-d).

(262) a. ǹ tē [yàmbāà síí] tōlō

1Sg PfvNeg [house **any**] sell.Pfv

‘I haven’t sold any houses.’

b. ǹ tē [[kɔ̀ⁿ yàmbāā-yè] síí] tōlō

1Sg PfvNeg [[Dem house-Pl] **any**] sell.Pfv

‘I haven’t sold any of these houses.’

c. [yàmbāà síí] tè sēwⁿ

[house **any**] PfvNeg fall.Pfv

‘No house(s) fell.’

d. ɲìmì-sí nà bē sò

person-**any** IpfvNeg Fut go.Pfv

‘Nobody will go.’

e. à yē [n̄ nā dwɔ̄ [[è síí] kàwⁿ]]

3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg enter.Pfv [[3Pl **any**] chez]]

‘She said, “I won’t go in with any of them, …” ’ (2017-06 @ 00:26)

My assistant rejected the combination of sāāⁿ ‘all’ with immediately following sí.

## Accusative (absent)

There is no morphological accusative marking on direct object NPs.

# Coordination

## Conjunction (yèⁿ or yèhīīnì)

The usual ‘and’ conjunction between two NPs or adverbial X and Y is yèⁿ.

There are two other particles of the same form yèⁿ. One functions as bidirectional case-marker, separating subject from (mainly pronominal) objects in the inflectionally unmarked perfective positive. Another occurs in plural-addressee imperatives. All three yèⁿ particles contract with a following vocalic pronominal like 3Sg à or 3Pl è, resulting in long vowels that do not carry over nasality, e.g. yèⁿ à → yā= à (including Final Tone-Raising).

For this reason, there is a risk of confusing these three particles with a fourth morpheme, yè ~ yē ‘said’, which also contracts with a following vowel, and to some extent with nominal plural ‑yè. On the latter see §7.1.4 below.

### NP conjunction

Two NP conjuncts are linked by yèⁿ ‘and’. To avoid any mis-parsing, a longer variant yèhīīnì can also be used.

yèⁿ raises to yěⁿ (<LM>‑toned, but often heard with mid pitch when the nasal is not articulated as a homorganic consonant) by Final Tone-Raising before an L‑tone (263a,b,d). An L‑toned left conjunct also undergoes Final Tone-Raising before yèⁿ (263c,e,f) when the conjoined NP is tightly phrased (263f).

(263) a. kɛ̄ɛ̄gū yěⁿ yùgòⁿ

man and woman

‘a man and a woman’

b. dìgéwⁿ yěⁿ wày

yesterday and today

‘yesterday and today’

c. bōwⁿ yèⁿ yāẁⁿ

here and there.Def

‘here and there (definite)’ (< bōẁⁿ)

d. sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɔ̄n yèn̄ nàà

sheep and cow

‘a sheep and a cow’ (< sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɔ̄wⁿ)

e. nàā yèⁿ sūgō

cow and goat

‘a cow and a goat’ (< nàà)

f. sòmpùwō yèn̄ nàà

donkey and cow

‘a donkey and a cow (< sòmpùwò)

See also wùlāā [yěⁿ wùlāā] ‘who and who?’ in §13.2.2.2. For yèⁿ or vestiges of it in composite numerals see §4.6.1.4‑5.

The extended variant yèhīīnì is illustrated in (264).

(264) a. kɔ̀yɔ́wⁿ yèhīīnì bíyɛ̄wⁿ

stone and egg

‘a stone and an egg’

b. nàmà-gēwⁿ yèhīīnì bàrà

Namagué and Bara

‘Namagué and Bara (villages)’

c. tùbā yèhīīnì yàmbāà

granary and house

‘a granary and a house’ (< tùbà)

For conjoined NPs as heads of relative clauses, see §14.2.2.

### Three or more conjuncts

It is possible to conjoin three or more NPs. The conjunction yèⁿ may precede all nonitial conjuncts, or it may occur only once, before the final conjunct (265a‑b). Triple and longer conjunctions are more often expressed as lists (enumerations) with their distinctive prosody (§7.1.10).

(265) a. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́↗(,) [yà= ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀↗(,) [yē= è-lɔ̀gɔ̀]

1Sg-Indep(,) [**and** 2Sg-Indep] [**and** 3Pl-Indep]

‘me, you-Sg, and them’

b. yùgòm-bè↗ kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē↗ yèɲ jēnā-mbī-gē

woman-Pl man-Pl **and** child-Pl-Pl

‘women, men, and children’

### Pronouns as conjuncts

In the absence of conjunction, simple pronominal arguments are most often proclitic (266a), unless focalized (266b). When a pronoun is the left or right conjunct of a conjoined NP, it takes full independent pronominal form regardless of syntactic function or focalization (266c‑d). # means ungrammatical.

(266) a. m̄ bē

1Sg come.Pfv

‘I have come.’

b. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ bē

1Sg-Indep come.Pfv

‘I have come.’

c. [sèēdū yē ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́] bē

[S and 1Sg-**Indep**] come.Pfv

‘Seydou and I came.’

d. [ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ yē [ŋ̀ káá]] gá bē

[1Sg-**Indep** and [1Sg father]] Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘I and my father will come.’

e. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ yē [ŋ̀ sūgō]

[1Sg-**Indep** and [1Sg goat]

‘I and my goat’

### Plural NPs as both left and right conjuncts

When both conjuncts are plural NPs other than pronouns, the left conjunct sometimes takes unmarked “singular” form although it is interpreted as plural. Therefore (267a) has one variant with plural-marked left conjunct and another without this marking.

(267) sūgō yèn̄ sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄m-bē

sūgē-ē

goat(**-Pl**) and sheep-Pl

The background to this is that the productive plural suffix is -ye (-yē or -yè depending on the tones of the stem). It may contract with the stem-final syllable especially in longer words. More to the point, it can also contract with yèⁿ ‘and’ as -yē=èⁿ (or as -yē=ēⁿ before L‑tone), just as it can contract with the bidirectional case marker yè. It may be that such contractions have led to a reanalysis whereby plural suffixation is optionally dropped on left conjuncts in contexts where plurality can be inferred. That such reanalysis is going on is suggested by combinations where the noun functioning as left conjunct has a different plural form (suffix ‑be) that is not at risk of misinterpretation.

(268) a. sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄ⁿ yèn sūgē-ē

sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄m-bē

sheep(**-Pl)** and goat-Pl

‘sheep and goats’

b. yùgōⁿ yèŋ kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē

yùgòm-bē

woman(**-Pl**) and man-Pl

‘women and men’

c. kɛ̄ɛ̄gū yěⁿ yùgòm-bē

kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē

man(**-Pl**) and woman-Pl

‘men and woman’

### Preferential ordering of coordinands

There are some preferential tendencies for relative ordering of left and right coordinands. Other things being equal, the preferred ordering of two pronouns is 1st>2nd>3rd. Other orders are not ungrammatical but are less common.

(269) a. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ yà= ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀

1Sg-Indep and 2Sg-Indep

‘me and you’

b. ān-dɔ̀gɔ̄ yěⁿ wɔ̀gɔ̀

2Sg-Indep and 3Sg.Indep

‘you-Sg and him/her’

There appear to be no preferences based on nominal semantics or euphony. For example, there is no preferred ordering of ‘men’ versus ‘women’ or of ‘sheep’ versus ‘goats’.

### Reflexive possessor ŋ̄ in right conjunct

If one conjunct denotes an individual X and the other denotes a possession or a relative of X, X normally takes left conjunct position. If the NP serving as left conjunct denotes a single individual other than the current speaker or addressee, it binds a 3Sg reflexive pronominal possessor (§18.1.3) in the right conjunct (270).

(270) sèēdū yè [ŋ̄ kàà]

S and [3ReflSg father]

‘Seydoux and hisx father.’

### ‘X and Y’ with a broad-scope modifier

The basic principle is that both conjuncts in a conjoined NP must be complete.

When a modifier (possessor, adjective, determiner, numeral) has scope over both conjuncts, it is repeated. In (271), the repeated modifier is bolded in the interlinear. It is a possessor in (271a-b), an adjective in (271c), a demonstrative in (271d), and a numeral in (271e). Omission of the repeated modifier results in ungrammaticality (or in a narrow-scope reading). Free English translations show optional “conjunction” reduction (except with numerals).

(271) a. à [[ŋ̄ sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄m-bē] yè [ŋ̄ sūgē-ē]] tōlō

3Sg [[3ReflSg sheep-Pl] and [**3ReflSg** goat-Pl] sell.Pfv

‘Hex sold hisx sheep and hisx goats.’

b. è yè= [[ē sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄m-bē] yè= [ē sūgē-ē]]

3Pl Sbj/Obj [[3ReflPl sheep-Pl] and [**3ReflPl** goat-Pl]

tōlō

sell.Pfv

‘Theyx sold theirx sheep and (theirx) goats.’

c. n̄ =nà [[sùgò sílé(-yē)] yěⁿ [sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄ⁿ sílé=yē]] sàwⁿ

1Sg Sbj/Obj [[goat old(-Pl)] and [sheep **old-Pl**]] buy.Pfv

‘I bought some old goats and (old) sheep.’

d. [kɔ̀ⁿ sɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄m-bē] yěŋ [kɔ̀ⁿ sūgē-ē]

[Dem sheep-Pl] and [**Dem** goat-Pl]

‘these sheep and (these) goats’

e. [sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄m pēndē] yèⁿ [sūgō pēndē]

[sheep two] and [goat **two**]

‘two sheep and two goats’

The universal quantifier ‘all’ may occur after the entire NP with broad scope (272a,c). My assistant was uncomfortable with a proposed alternative with sāāⁿ repeated after the left conjunct ‘women’. He suggested that such a duplicate ‘all’ could only occur in a preclausal double-topic construction with pauses, without yèⁿ ‘and’, and with a resumptive pronoun and another ‘all’ in the clause proper (272b).

(272) a. [[yùgōⁿ yèŋ kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē] sāāⁿ] bē

[[woman and man-Pl] **all**] come.Pfv

‘All the women and men came.’

b. yùgòm-bè sāāⁿ, kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē sāāⁿ, [è sāāⁿ] bē

woman-Pl **all**, man-Pl **all**, [3Pl **al**l] come.Pfv

‘All the women, all the men, they all came.’

c. n̄ =nā= à sē

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv

[[[kɛ̄ɛ̄gū yěⁿ yùgòm-bè] sāān] tē]

[[[man and woman-Pl] **all**] Dat]

‘I told (=said it) to all the men and women.’

### ‘X and Y’ with a shared postposition

A single postposition can readily take an entire conjoined NP as its complement (273a-b).

(273) a. à ŋ̀ kó [[sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄ⁿ yèⁿ sūgō] nī]

3Sg 1Sg furnish.Pfv [[sheep **and** goat] **Inst**]

‘He gave me (=provided me with) a sheep and a goat.’ (< ŋ̀(+H) kò)

b. n̄ =nā= à sē

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv

[[[ŋ̀ káá] yà= [āŋ kàà]] tē]

[[[1Sg father] **and** [2Sg father] **Dat**]

‘I told (“said it”) to my father and (to) your father.’

c. ālà gālà ē kō [[wìī yèŋ kɛ̄nā-āmā] nī]

God Sbjn 1Pl furnish.Pfv [[long.life **and** health] **Inst**]

‘May God give us long life and good health.’ (< kò wìì) (2017-01 @ 04:21)

For (273b) but not (273a), my assistant accepted a variant with conjoined PPs, i.e. with a duplicate postposition (274). However, he prefers (273b) with just one postposition.

(274) n̄ =nā= à sē

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv

[[[ŋ̀ káá] tē] yà= [[āŋ kàà]] tē]

[[[1Sg father] **Dat**] and [[2Sg father] **Dat**]

‘I told (“said it”) to my father and (to) your father.’

Two PPs with different postpositions (or nouns with locative suffixes) can be conjoined.

(275) ē gā sō [tèndé kánà] yèhīīnì sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y

1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv [well(n) **at**] and the.bush-**Loc**

‘We are going to the well and out to the bush.’

### Conjunctions under the scope of negation

Unlike English, a conjunction has scope over negation. (276) is literally “I don’t like [couscous and cowpea].” It doesn’t mean that I dislike the combination. It means I can’t stand couscous and I can’t stand cowpeas. Note ‘or’ rather than ‘and’ in the free translation.

(276) ǹ nà [lākīrī yèn̄ sàbúlá] pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Sg IpfvNeg [couscous and cowpea] like.Ipfv

‘I don’t like (either) couscous or cowpeas.’ (< lākīrì)

### Lists (incompleteness intonation plus yèhīīnì)

Long enumerations of nouns or NPs require an {LH} overlay on each nonfinal listed item with just the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) H‑toned. The final item has its regular tones. It may be preceded by yèhīīnì ‘and (finally)’, which functions as an extended form of yèyⁿ ‘and’.

In (277), gā ‘be’ at the end of the first line, before the list proper, is prolonged with slowly falling pitch (§3.7.2). The items in the list proper, except the final one, have incompleteness prosody as in polar questions (§13.2.1.2). This is expressed by raising a final L‑or M‑toned syllable to H, further enhanced by an above-modal terminal pitch level. The nonfinal items optionally prolong their final syllable (→). The extra duration (when present) is variable (uncalibrated).

(277) [ē gā mà-lē sɔ̀gɔ̄] gāà→,

[1Pl Ipfv Rel-Pl cultivate] be,

pìíⁿ→,

millet

dùgá→,

rice,

kèndé→,

sorghum,

pàà-m-pùwóⁿ→,

sesame,

sààgú→,

roselle,

wòò-lɛ́wⁿ→,

groundnut,

sàbùlá→,

cowpea,

bògò-[dù-tɔ̀mɔ́ⁿ]→,

melon-[?-red].

yèhīīnì màgàsālà

as well as yellow.melon

‘What we cultivate is: millet, rice, sorghum, sesame, roselle, groundnut, cow-pea, watermelon, and (finally) yellow melon.’

(< pīīⁿ, dūgā, kèndè, pàā-m-pùwóⁿ, sààgù, wōō-lɛ̄wⁿ, sàbúlá, bògò-[dù-tɔ̄mɔ̄wⁿ])

This prosody also occurred in a text listing clan surnames, and in follow-up elicitation. In (278a) and its inversion (278b) the clans are tārāwōrē ‘Traoré’ and cìsē ‘Cissé’. (278c) adds a third clan, bààkɔ̀lɔ̀ ‘Bakoro’. For these names, the nonfinal items have the tonal form of focalized names.

(278) a. tàràwòré-sìsé ‘Traoré (and) Cissé’ (2017-01 @ 08:34)

b. sìsé-tàràwòrè ‘Cissé (and) Traoré’

c. sìsé-tàràwòré-bààkɔ̀lɔ̀ ‘Cissé, Traoré, and Bakoro’

### “Conjunction” of verbs, VPs, and clauses

Verbs, VPs, and clauses cannot be conjoined by yèⁿ. See chapter 15 for various mechanisms to combine VPs and clauses.

## Disjunction

### ‘Or’ (wàlì, wàlì-màà)

Examples (279a-c) presents NP and adverb disjunctions ‘X or Y’ in indicative clauses. The disjunctive particle is wàlì or wàlì-màà. Phonologically similar forms occur in other languages of the zone (e.g. Songhay wàlà).

(279) a. [sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄wⁿ bòndò kūlɛ̄wⁿ] [wàlì-màà sūgō]

[sheep neck cut.Pfv] [**or** goat]

‘Slaughter-2Sg a sheep, or a goat!’

b. [ŋ̀ gà kāỳⁿ wàȳ] [wàlì-māā ɲàànù]

[1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv today] [**or** tomorrow]

‘I will work today or tomorrow.’ (< wày)

c. [[ŋ̀ káá] wàlì-màà [āŋ kàà]]

[[1Sg father] **or** [2Sg father]]

[ŋāŋ kēⁿ] ŋ̀ kāmbē sò

[person one] PsRefl ought go.Pfv

‘My father or your father, one (of them) should go.’

The ‘or’ disjunction normally occurs clause-initially or in NPs that are external to a clause. For example, (279a) is literally ‘Slaughter a sheep, or (slaughter) a goat’ with the second clause pruned, rather than ‘Slaughter [a sheep or a goat]’. (279b) is likewise arguably ‘I will work today, or (I will work) tomorrow.’ (279c) begins with a disjunctive topicalized NP that is then resumed by ‘one person’ in the clause proper.

Two imperative clauses cannot be combined as a disjunction. Instead, only the first clause is imperative in form (i.e. with a Pfv verb). The second clause is subjunctive.

(280) [ǹ túgó] [wàlì-màà āŋ gālā sò]

[1Sg pay.Pfv] [**or** 2Sg **Sbjn** go.Pfv]

‘Pay me, or go!’

French *ou bien* ‘or (else)’ is widely used by younger speakers.

### ‘X? or Y?’ (X tà→ (~ là→), nà→ Y)

A two-part polar interrogative in which two mutually exclusive options are presented can be expressed as X tà→, nà(→) Y. The first part ends in a prolonged tà→ followed by a pause. là→ seems to have this function in 2017-02 @ 01:29. The second part begins with nà. The rest of the second part can be omitted when it is obvious (such as the negation of the first part). In this case, nà→ is prolonged and ends with slightly rising pitch though not a phonological H‑tone. If the second part is spelled out and follows nà without a break, it is not set off prosodically. In (281) nà contracts with 3Pl è.

(281) [mà-lè sāām] pẁɔ̄ gà bōẁⁿ]

[Rel-Pl all] sit.Pfv RemPfv here]

[[è sāāɲ] jàmu] gà— tārāwōrē ǹ tà→,

[[3Pl all] clan.name] be— T it.is **or.Q**,

nè= [[è bē gà bōŋ] kɔ̀rɔ̀ bwɛ̄ỳ]

**or.else.Q** [[3Pl come.Pfb RemPfv here] back Comit]

[[wɔ̀gɔ̄ nì] tràòrē kìlɛ̄ gà]

[[3Sg.Indep it.is] T be.gotten.Pfv RemPfv]

‘All those who settled here, was the (original) clan name of all of them Traoré? Or was it after they came here that (the clan name) Traoré was gotten?’

(2017-01 @ 05:39)

# Postpositions and adverbials

## Dative, instrumental, and comitative

### Dative

There are two dative postpositions. tē is required with verbs of speaking. Either tē or nā may occur with ditransitives like ‘give’.

#### Dative tē

This dative postposition occurs in the contexts in (282).

(282) a. addressee of ‘say’

b. recipient of ‘give’ (competing with nā)

c. experiencer for ‘please (X), be pleasing (to X)’

d. ‘than X’ phrase in some comparatives

e. general benefactive ‘for X’

A postverbal PP with dative postposition tē is regularly used for the indirect object of ‘say’ (283a‑b). This applies to the regular verb sē/sē ‘say, tell’ and to the quotative quasi-verb yè/yē (~ jè/ē) ‘said’.

(283) a. sèēdù màsí sē gà= [ān tē]

S what? say.Pfv RemPfv [2Sg **Dat**]

‘What did Seydou say to you-Sg?’

b. ām màsí sē gà [sèēdù tē]

2Sg what? say.Pfv RemPfv [S **Dat**]

‘What did you-Sg say to Seydou?’

c. ɲ̀ jē [sèēdù tē] ɔ̀ⁿɔ́ⁿ

1Sg said [S **Dat**] uh.huh

‘I said yes to Seydou.’

There are two constructions translatable as ‘X gave [Y to Z]’. One of them is English-like, with the theme Y as direct object (preverbal) and ‘to Z’ as a postverbal dative PP. The verb is dō/dō ‘give’ (284a). This morphosyntax is also the only possibility for ‘show’ (284b).

(284) a. n̄ (=nàn̄) nàà dō [sèēdù tē]

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) cow give.Pfv [S **Dat**]

‘I gave a cow to Seydou.’

(variant n̄ nàà … without the Sbj/Obj linker)

c. n̄ (=nàn̄) nàà wɔ̄jī [sèēdù tē]

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) cow show.Pfv [cow **Dat**]

‘I showed a cow to Seydou.’

If however the recipient rather than the theme is treated as preverbal direct object, the theme appears as a postverbal instrumental PP and there is no dative PP. The verb here is kò/kò and the morphosyntax is like that of English ‘X furnish Z [with Y]’ (285).

(285) ŋ̄ Ø sèēdū kō [nàà nī]

n̄ nǎⁿ

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) S furnish.Pfv [cow **Inst**]

‘I gave Seydou a cow.’ (= ‘I furnished Seydou with a cow.’)

Dative tē also occurs in one version of ‘X have Y’, expressed as ‘Y be [X Dat]’, cf. French *Y est à X*. See §11.5.1 for examples of this construction, and of a competing construction of the form [Y be [in X’s hand]] which has no dative PP.

Dative X tē also occurs postverbally after dēmōⁿ/dēmòⁿ ‘please, be pleasing to’ (286). ‘X like(s) Y’ is expressed as ‘Y pleases X’ with dative X.

(286) [[āā bē-gū] dēmōⁿ [ē tè] máɲɛ̀]

[[2Pl come.VblN] please.Pfv [1Pl **Dat**] a.lot]

‘Your-Pl coming (here) has pleased us very much.’ (2017-01 @ 00:26)

Dative [X tē] also occurs in the sense ‘than X’ in comparatives that do not involve the verb ‘(sur)pass’, which requires dative [X nā]. The comparatives that lack ‘(sur)pass’ include those with a simple adjectival predicate, so that [X tē] is the only indicator of a comparison. See §12.1.2 for examples.

(287a-b) illustrate a broader benefactive sense, not tightly bound to any particular verb or clausal construction.

(287) a. āā gā màn tī-nà [ālà tē]

2Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv [God **Dat**]

māā kwààŋ gà bē

that rain(n) Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘what you-Pl do for God, so that rain comes’ (2017-02 @ 02:13; slightly edited)

b. [è sāāⁿ] kɛ̄ɛ̄gū màā [à tē]

[3Pl all] man look.for.Pfv [3Sg **Dat**]

‘They all looked for a man (i.e. a husband) for her.’ (2017-06 @ 00:26)

Combinations of dative tē with nouns of various melodies are in (288). The postposition is M‑toned tē throughout.

(288) melody noun with tē gloss

a. noun of /L/ melody

/L/ nàà nàà tē ‘cow’

b. nouns of other melodies

/LML/ tùjūnù tùjūnù tē ‘pigeon’

/M/ ɲīmī ɲīmī tē ‘person’

/MLH/ ɲōòmɔ́ ɲōòmɔ́ tē ‘camel’

/H/ kúŋgólō kúŋgóló tē ‘dog’

The pronominal paradigm is (289).

(289) a. 1Sg ǹ tē

b. 1Pl ē tē

2Sg ān tē

2Pl āā tē

3Sg à tē

3Pl è tē

Logo n̄ tē

#### Dative nā

The other dative postposition is nā. Its range is summarized in (290).

(290) a. recipient of ‘give’ (competing with tē)

b. adjunct with ‘pass (by)’, including ‘surpass’

c. adjunct with ‘join, be added to X’

[X nā] can occur in place of [X tē] with ditransitives ‘give’ and ‘show’, but not with ‘say’. Both postpositions are possible in (291a), but only tē is possible in (291b). tē is more common than nā even with the ditransitives.

(291) a. n̄ =nàⁿ wólén dō [sèēdù nā/tē]

1Sg Sbj/Obj money give.Pfv [S **Dat**]

‘I gave the money to Seydou.’

b. n̄ =nā= à sē [sèēdù (# nā) / tē]

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg say.Pfv [S **Dat**]

‘I told (=said it to) Seydou.’

nā occurs in the context ‘X pass (by) Y’. In (292) the sense is literal. Namagué and Madougou are villages.

(292) è bè kīyɛ̄ [nɔ̀gù-bèn nā]

3Pl Seq pass.Pfv [N **Dat**]

è bē sō mààlù

3Pl Seq go.Pfv M

They passed Namagué. Then they went (on) to Madougou.’ (2017-01 @ 01:40)

The same ‘pass (by)’ verb, in the more abstract sense ‘(sur)pass’, occurs in asymmetrical comparatives. The ‘than X’ phrase is dative X nā in such comparatives. See §12.1.1.1 for examples.

X nā can also occur in the ‘Y be added to X’ construction, which includes the ‘hit’ verb and either a dative or comitative PP. The dative version is (293).

(293) à gā sò kɔ̄-lā= [à nā]

3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv be.added-Ipfv [3Sg **Dat**]

‘She was going to join her at work.’ (2017-06 @ 00:54)

The 1Sg combination is ǹ nā. The other combinations likewise have invariant nā.

### Instrumental and comitative

#### Instrumental (nī)

##### nī versus nì

Postposition nī, which occurs in postverbal instrumental PPs, should be distinguished from identificational nì ‘it is’ (§11.2.1). This is in spite of the fact that both are usually clause-final and heard with low pitch. Their tonal distinction is brought out most clearly by the fact that Final Tone-Raising applies to L‑toned words when they precede nì ‘it is’, but not when they precede instrumental nī. The tonal situation is further complicated by the fact that instrumental nī can be focalized by raising its tone to ní. Leaving focalization aside for the moment, the distinction between nī and nì is illustrated in (294). The application and non-application of Final Tone-Raising is apparent in the ‘it is \_\_’ column in (294a).

(294) noun gloss instrumental PP ‘it is \_’

a. sìrìmbè ‘razor’ sìrìmbè nī sìrìmbē nì

dàmbà ‘daba (hoe)’ dàmbà nī dàmbā nì

b. dēē ‘blood’ dēē nī dēē nì

déé ‘cotton’ déé nī déé nì

sūgū ‘hand’ sūgū nī sūgū nì

##### Functions of instrumental nī

The functions of instrumental nī are summarized in (295).

(295) a. instrument (e.g. tool, raw material)

b. theme (object transferred) in a VP of conveyance (‘bring’, ‘convey/take’)

c. manner

d. transformed object

The typologically usual function, denoting an implement that is used in a task, is illustrated in (296a-c). This can be extended to slightly more abstract instruments like ‘force’ and modes of locomotion (296d-e).

(296) a. n̄ nàŋ kúŋgóló kwāā [kìyɛ̀ nī]

1Sg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv [stick **Inst**]

‘I hit-Past (a/the) dog with (a/the) stick.’ (< kìyɛ̀)

b. ŋ̀ gā sɔ̀gɔ̄ [dàmbà nī]

1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [daba **Inst**]

‘I cultivate (=do farm work) with a daba (hoe).’

c. ŋ̄kàlà āŋ gālā= ā kày [[ān ɲōgō-lɛ̄n] nī]

must 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg see.Pfv [[2Sg eye] **Inst**]

‘You-Sg must see it with your own eye(s).’ (2017-06 @ 01:49)

c. è dwɔ̄ gà [sɛ̄mbɛ̄ nī]

3Pl enter.Pfv RemPfv [force(n) **Inst**]

‘They entered by force.’

d. à bē gà [mòbōlì nī]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [vehicle **Inst**]

‘He/She came in the vehicle (e.g. by bus, by car).’

3Sg à nī ‘by means of it’ often resumes a previously introduced NP denoting an object that can be used as an instrument (297).

(297) n̄ (=nàn̄) dɔ̀ɔ̀ dēē gà

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) knife take.Pfv RemPfv

[m̀ bè tēē kūlēⁿ [à nī]

[1Sg Seq meat cut.up.Pfv [**3Sg Inst**]

‘I took a knife to cut up meat with (it).’

The instrumental is also the postposition for the theme (transferred entity) unless the theme is phrased as direct object. Of the two ways of saying ‘X give Y to Z’ (§11.1.2.3), the version with verb kò/kò ‘furnish, provide’ expresses the theme as a postverbal instrumental PP (298a). Likewise, conveyance of an entity (§11.1.1.4) is expressed by a motion verb (often ‘come’ or ‘go’) plus a postverbal instrumental PP (298b). The linear order of instrumental and dative PPs in (298b) is variable.

(298) a. à ŋ̀ kó [tēē nī]

3Sg 1Sg furnish.Pfv [meat **Inst**]

‘He/She provided me with (=gave me) meat.’

b. à bē [tēē nē=] [ē tē]

3Sg come.Pfv [meat **Inst**] [1Pl Dat]

‘He/She brought us the meat.’

In conveyance examples like (298b), the theme marked by nī is a kind of secondary object that cannot be expressed in the object-verb core of the VP and is therefore “demoted” to an adjunct position. Clearer cases of this process occur in causatives of transitive verbs like ‘eat’ (in ‘X cause Y to eat Z’ expressed as ‘X feed Y by means of Z’) and ‘kill’ (in ‘X cause Y to kill Z’). To form these causatives, the transitive verb is first instransitivized (antipassivized) as ‘eat’ (have a meal) and ‘kill, commit a killing’, which can then be easily causativized. The object Z is optionally added as an instrumental adjunct to the causative. For examples see §11.1.2.4.

Adjuncts denoting manner or enclosing situation also use instrumental nī.

(299) a. āā syēŋ gà [nɛ̄ɛ̄mà nī]

2Pl spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [cool.weather **Inst**]

‘Did you-Pl spend the midday pleasantly?’ (i.e., ‘how was your day?’)

(greeting formula, 2017-01 @ 00:04)

b. è bē gà bōẁⁿ [[mẁɔ̄ bàànà-síí] nī]

3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here [[which? manner-kind.Foc] **Inst**]

‘In what way did they come here?’ (2017-01 @ 00:44)

c. [à dùgā=] ā tìbɛ̄ŋ gà [īīsūbù nī]

[3Sg younger.sib] 3Sg baptise.Pfv RemPfv [Y **Inst**]

‘His younger brother baptised him as Yousouf.’ (2017-01 @ 03:54)

d. yèŋ kā= à yàgā [kìyɛ̄ⁿ nī]

Imprt.2Pl Hort 3Sg put.down.Ipfv [like.this **Inst**]

‘Let’s-2Pl decide (the issue) like this.’ (2017-01 @ 04:45)

e. [wɔ̄gɔ̄tū ŋ̄-kɯ̄ɯ̄n nī],

[time Link-one **Inst**],

à kīyɛ̄= [ē nɔ̀gù] nā]

3Sg pass.Pfv [3Pl village] Dat]

‘In a flash he passed by their (i.e. Fatouma’s) village.’ (2017-04 @ 03:17)

Related to manner is the use of instrumental nī to denote the result of a transformation.

(300) a. kālā è gā mà-lè kū-nū [sɔ̀rdāāsì nī]

except 3Pl Ipfv Rel-Pl catch-Ipfv [soldier **Inst**]

‘except the ones whom they took (recruited) as soldiers’ (2017-01 @ 06:06)

b. hàlī-kànā à gā pẁɔ̄ [kàpàráⁿ nī]

until 3Sg until.Pfv become.Pfv [corporal **Inst**]

‘Eventually he became (=was promoted to) corporal.’ (2017-01 @ 06:30)

c. sāà-gù, à pwɔ̀ [dūgā-ɲ̄-cīyē nī]

now, 3Sg become.Pfv [rice-Link-field **Inst**]

‘Now it (=riverbed) has turned into a rice field.’ (2017-03 @ 00:54)

d. [ŋ̀ káá] yā= ā yàgà [dēēⁿ-n̄-cīyē nī]

[1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.down.Pfv [cotton-Link-field **Inst**]

‘My father made it into a cotton field.’ (2017-03 @ 01:21)

e. à bē sò ŋ̄ wɔ̄bì [[āādāmā-dyɛ̄m mɔ̄ɲɔ̄] nī]

3Sg Seq go.Pfv 3ReflSg change.Pfv [[Adam-child good] **Inst**]

‘It (=python) went and turned itself into a fine human being.’ (2017-06 @ 00:36)

Another extension based on the manner function is the sense ‘for X’ in the context ‘Y asks Z for X’.

(301) a. ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv

[ē gālà= ān tīyē [[pā kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ] nī] *quoi*

[1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv [[thing a.certain] **Inst**]

‘We would like to ask you-Sg for a certain thing.’ (2017-02 @ 00:13)

b. [ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀] [ē gālà= ān tīyē]

[1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv] [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv

[[kàmāà gù] nī]

[[tale Def] **Inst**]

We would like to ask you for a tale.’ (2017-04 @ 00:11)

##### Focalized instrumental ní

Instrument NPs, as complements of the instrumental postposition, are frequently focalized. Focalization of a noun or nominal phrase is marked by raising the final tone to H; for fuller analysis and more examples see §13.1.3. In principle, only the NP and not the postposition should be focalized. However, my assistant often did raise the postposition from nī to ní in addition to raising the final tone of the noun. With /H/-melodic nouns like ‘dog’, only the raising of nī to ní marks focalization. The situation is complicated by the fact that instrumental PPs are usually clause-final (hence prepausal), i.e. in the position where a final nonlow-toned word or syllable has its pitch lowered a notch. The phonetic difference between prepausal focalized ní and regular nī is therefore expressed by mid pitch for ní versus low pitch for nī.

(302) melody noun instrumental gloss

regular focalized

a. /H/ túwɔ̄ túwɔ́ nī túwɔ́ ní ‘handle’

bílāⁿ bílán nī bílán ní ‘torch’

búwōⁿ búwón nī búwón ní ‘mortar’

déé déé nī déé ní ‘cotton’

kúŋgólō kúŋgóló nī kúŋgóló ní ‘dog’

b. /LH/ sɔ̀mɔ́ sɔ̀mɔ́ nī sɔ̀mɔ́ ní ‘pick-hoe’

bɛ̀bɛ́ bɛ̀bɛ́ nī bɛ̀bɛ́ ní ‘brick’

kàɲá kàɲá nī kàɲá ní ‘saw (n)’

c. /LH\*/ tìmbɔ́gɔ́ tìmbɔ́gɔ́ nī tìmbɔ́gɔ́ ní ‘ladder’

d. /MLH/ māāŋgòró māāŋgòró nī māāŋgòró ní ‘mango’

In another set of cases, the extra H‑tone marking focalization on the right edge of the noun has shifted onto the postposition, leaving the noun L‑toned. In (303a), this affects bimoraic monosyllabics of /L/ melody. For example, expected #dɔ̀ɔ́ nī is reshaped as dɔ̀ɔ̀ ní. In (303b), whose nouns are at least bisyllabic and end with falling ML‑tone, not only is the extra H shifted onto the postposition, even the nonfinal M‑tone of the noun is dropped, so the entire noun becomes L‑toned.

(303) melody noun instrumental gloss

regular focalized

a. /L/ dɔ̀ɔ̀ dɔ̀ɔ̀ nī dɔ̀ɔ̀ ní ‘knife’

tàwⁿ tàn nī tàn ní ‘mat’

tòy tòy nī tòy ní ‘intelligence’

b. /M\*L/ dāgānà dāgānà nī dàgànà ní ‘cream of millet’

/ML/ kɔ̄rɔ̀ kɔ̄rɔ̀ nī kɔ̀rɔ̀ ní ‘meaning’

/LML/ kèbāà kèbāà nī kèbàà ní ‘flint lighter’

Prosodically light /M/-melodic stems (Cv̄v̄, Cv̄Cv̄, or Cv̄NCv̄ with homorganic nasal-voiced stop) are able to mark focalization directly, with incidental help from the tones of the postposition. In these cases, the focalizing H‑tone spreads over both moras of the stem (304).

(304) melody noun instrumental gloss

regular focalized

a. /M/ tēē tēē nī téé ní ‘meat’

dēē dēē nī déé ní ‘blood’

b. /M/ tīyɛ̄ tīyɛ̄ nī tíyɛ́ ní ‘oil, butter’

sūgū sūgū nī súgú ní ‘hand’

sɛ̄mbɛ̄ sɛ̄mbɛ̄ nī sɛ́mbɛ́ ní ‘force’

This leaves /L/-melodic nouns of two or more syllables, and /M/-melodic heavy stems such as trisyllabics. In these cases, the focalization H does apply to the final syllable of the noun. When this happens to a heavy /M/-melodic noun (e.g. trisyllabic or Cv̄v̄Cv̄), the added final H triggers M#H-to-L#H word-internally, so the focalized stem goes from M.M.M to L.L.H, as with ‘man’ and ‘tamarind’ (305c). A synchronic oddity is that stem-final a is lengthened (305d).

(305) melody noun instrumental gloss

regular focalized

a. /L/ tìgè tìgè nī tìgé ní ‘baggage’

tìyòwⁿ tìyòn nī tìyón ní ‘ax’

ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ ɲìyɛ́n nī ɲìyɛ́n ní ‘head’

b. /L/ sìrìmbè sìrìmbè nī sìrìmbé ní ‘razor (folding knife)’

c. /M/ kārāndē kārāndē nī kàràndé ní ‘tamarind’

kɛ̄ɛ̄gū kɛ̄ɛ̄gū nī kɛ̀ɛ̀gú ní ‘man’

d. /L/ dàmbà dàmbà nī dàmbáá ní ‘daba (hoe)’

tàbà tàbà nī tàbáá ní ‘foot’

For interrogative màsí nī ‘with what?’ see §13.2.2.3.

#### Comitative PPs

The two postpositions bwɛ̄ỳ and pà are often interchangeable. They have a wide semantic range, from concrete and spatial (‘with/among/next to X’) to more abstract (‘together with, associated with’). Younger speakers tend to favor bwɛ̄ỳ.

##### Forms of comitative postpositions (bwɛ̄ỳ, pà)

bwɛ̄ỳ originated as the suffixal locative in ‑ỳ (§8.2.3.1) of bwɔ̀ ‘agemate, peer’, which functions elsewhere as reciprocal (§18.4). It is invariant in form, e.g. 1Sg m̀ bwɛ̄ỳ ‘with me’. The final semivowel is not always audible. bwɛ̄ỳ can also function as a stand-alone adverb ‘together’ (§18.4.3). In addition, it is part of composite postpositions sɔ́gɔ́-bwɛ̄ỳ ‘right next to’ (§8.2.5.2), kùwóm bwɛ̄ỳ ‘next to’ (§8.2.5.3), and mūūm bwɛ̄ỳ ‘in front of’ (§8.2.7.3).

pà is the only L‑toned monomoraic postposition. It combines with 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) as m̀ pá. It triggers Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L‑tone, as in sìbō pà ‘with the snake’ (< sìbò) and sèēdū pà ‘with Seydou’ (< sèēdù).

##### Functions of postpositions bwɛ̄ỳ and pà

These postpositions have a wider range of meaning than the label comitative suggests. In some contexts it has dative-like functions. Free translations can be ‘with’, ‘by’, or ‘to’.

Position next to or approaching a landmark object is illustrated in (306) for pà and (307) for bwɛ̄ỳ.

(306) a. [[bààkùwɔ̀ kɛ́rɛ́] kùwòɲ jáátí] pà gù

[[B wall] flank precisely] **Comit** Def

‘right beside Bakuwo’s wall’ (2017-01 @ 02:41)

b. [à gā kēēm pwɔ̀-nì [[ǹ sém] pà],

[3Sg until.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg right] **Comit**],

[à gā kēēm pwɔ̀-nì [[ŋ̀ kóndó] pà]

[3Sg until.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg left] **Comit**]

‘It (=bird) had one sit on its right side, and it had the other sit on its left side.’

(2017-06 @ 02:41)

(307) a. [[jàwálè kùwóm] bwɛ̄ỳ] yāẁⁿ

[[OG flank] **Comit**] there.Def

‘next to Ouro Guéou (village) there.’ (2017-01 @ 01:01)

b. hàlī-kàlā= à gā tɯ̀ɥ-gà [yāẁⁿ bwɛ̄ỳ],

until 3Sg until.Pfv approach.Pfv [there.Def **Comit**]

‘Eventually he approached there.’ (2017-04 @ 00:33)

c. [jīīnì kāy] pwɔ̀-nà [bɛ̄tɛ̀hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ jūgū gū] bwɛ̄ỳ

[djinn Prsntv] sit-Ppl [[B tree Def] **Comit**]

‘A djinn (genie) was sitting (there) by the tree of Betehere.’ (2017-04 @ 02:26)

The sense ‘in the midst of (a large group)’ is illustrated in (308). Both postpositions are featured in (308a), just bwɛ̄ỳ in (308b-c).

(308) a. wɔ̀gɔ́ sɛ̄mɛ̄-nā nì [ē bwɛ̄ỳ] bōẁⁿ,

3Sg.Indep.Foc be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl **Comit**] here,

sɔ̀gɔ̀ jáátí-jáátí kɔ̀ⁿ,

farming(n) specific Top,

[[kɔ̀m pā sìgèwⁿ] sɛ̄mɛ̄-nā nì [ē pà] bōẁⁿ]

[[Dem thing three] be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl **Comit**] here]

‘That [focus] is what is important among us here. As for farming specifically, those three (cereal crops) are important among/for us here.’

(2017-03 @ 00:42 to 00:45)

b. à kìyɛ̄wⁿ [sìbw-è bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Sg arrive.Pfv [snake-Pl **Comit**]

‘He arrived in the snakes’ midst.’ (2017-04 @ 01:53)

c. dūwōn nè= [ē bwɛ̄ỳ]

hunger not.be [LogoPl **Comit**]

‘(they said:) “We were not hungry.” ’ (2017-05 @ 00:56)

Greeting sequences, which are abundantly illustrated at the beginning of several texts beginning with 2017-01, include questions like ‘how are things with/among you-Pl?’ and replies like ‘there is no trouble with/among us’. Both pà and bwɛ̄ỳ occur in these questions and replies.

Both postpositions occur in the context ‘X add self to (=joined with) Y’ (hence ‘X be included in Y’) or ‘Z add X to Y’. pà is illustrated in (309). bwɛ̄ỳ, which seems to be more common than pà in this context, is illustrated in (310).

(309) è bè bē= ē kwāā [[jànàŋgē-ē kù-lē] pà]

3Pl Seq come.Pfv 3ReflPl **add**.Pfv [[Bozo-Pl Def-Pl] **Comit**]

‘They then came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’

(2017-02 @ 01:27)

(310) a. bē (ŋ̀) kɔ̄-lā [[ɲààn-[súbááⁿ-sóⁿ] bwɛ̄ỳ

come (3ReflSg) **be.added**-Ipfv [[tomorrow-[morning]] **Comit**

‘including (=even) tomorrow morning’

b. bē kɔ̄-lā [wày-kúgú bwɛ̄ỳ]

come **be.added**-Ipfv [today-Dem **Comit**]

‘including (even) today’

c. [à sāāⁿ] gā pā kɔ̄-lā [hūnɛ̄ bwɛ̄ỳ]

[3Sg all] Ipfv thing **add**-Ipfv [staple.food **Comit**]

‘They (=gourd plants and sesame) complement the staple foods (i.e. grains).’

(2017-03 @ 01:47)

More generally, comitative PPs can specify the endpoint (e.g. target, recipient, successor) of a trajectory in space and/or time, concrete or abstract. Comitative rather than dative is usual for the recipient of conveyed items (‘bring/convey X to Y’). (311) illustrates with pà, and (312) with bwɛ̄ỳ.

(311) a. màŋ gà tēn-nā= [ā pà]

Rel be be.adjacent-Ppl [3Sg **Comit**]

‘the one who succeeded him (as chief)’ (2017-01 @ 04:11)

b. sāà-gū dìgàmū tè bē [[ē dēm-bē] pà]

now talk(n) PfvNeg come.Pfv [[1Pl child-Pl] **Comit**]

‘Now the word (=time to govern) hasn’t come for our young people.’

(2017-01 @ 04:25)

c. è gārdè-è tūwē-nīⁿ gà= [ā pà]

3Pl guard-Pl follow-Caus.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg **Comit**]

‘They had (military) guards follow him.’ (2017-01 @ 06:54)

d. ē gā= à bāgā [[kùwò-lògū]-[kùwò-lògū] pà]

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg take.out.Ipfv [[doorway]-[doorway] **Comit**]

‘We take it out (=distribute it) doorway by doorway.’ (2017-02 @ 02:45)

e. à nìmì [[tēē gū] pà]

3Sg desire.Pfv [[meat Def] **Comit**]

‘I it (hyena) wanted the meat.’ (2017-07 @ 00:17)

f. [kɔ̀ndɔ́ bē gà= [à nī] [m̄ pà]

[desperation.Foc come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [LogoSg **Comit**]

‘(he said:) “Desperation [focus] is what brought it to me.” ’ (2017-05 @ 03:29)

g. ŋ̄ wɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ gà [yùwōm pà]

LogoSg crave.Pfv RemPfv [woman **Comit**]

‘(He said:) “I have a craving for a woman.” ’ (2017-05 @ 01:19)

h. [ān dūɲāā-lātīgɛ̄] gā bē pwɔ̀ [ām pà] [kāyⁿ nī] dēʔ

[2Sg world-crossing] Ipfv Fut become.Pfv [2Sg **Comit**] [work(n) Inst] Emph

‘Your-Sg future will become work (=suffering) for you.’ (2017-09 @ 00:17)

i. à gālà nɔ̄ɔtɔ̄-mɔ̄-nī [kàlāàm pà]

3Sg Sbjn have.courage.Pfv [reading **Comit**]

‘May he/she be dedicated to studying.’

(312) a. è gē= [ē màrfé-è] tūkà= [à bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl rifle-pl] point.at.Pfv [3Sg **Comit**]

‘They (the other two) pointed their muskets at him.’ (2017-04 @ 01:23)

b. è bā= à tàbà-m-būwɔ̄ dēē,

3Pl Seq 3Sg foot-Link-line pick.up.Pfv,

è bè= ē tūwō [à bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Pl Seq 3ReflPl depart.Pfv [3Sg **Comit**]

‘They picked up (=started with) his footprints, and they went after him.’

(2017-05 @ 03:20)

c. [kú gà wāājū nì, bē [jɛ̄nām-bī-gē bwɛ̄ỳ]

[Dem be advice it.is, come [children **Comi**t]

‘This is advice, coming (=intended) for young people.’ (2017-09 @ 00:01)

d. [à jūgū pìī-sē= [è bwɛ̄ỳ]

[3Sg medication throw.Pfv [3Pl **Comit**]

‘He threw a (magic) potion (=cast a spell) on them.’ (2017-05 @ 03:04)

e. à kɔ̄lɛ̄ gà= [à bwɛ̄ỳ] sāā

3Sg touch RemPfv [3Sg **Comit**] when

‘when he touched it (=tree), …’ (2017-04 @ 02:44)

f. à n̄ dɛ̀ŋɛ̀ [jūgū bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Sg 3ReflSg lean.Pfv [tree **Comit**]

‘He leaned on a tree (trunk).’ (2017-05 @ 01:50)

g. à gālà n̄ dūkɔ̄rɔ̄ [à bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Sg Sbjn 3ReflSg take.care.Pfv [3Sg **Comit**]

‘May he/she take care of it (=education).’

More classically comitative sense (‘with X’, ‘associated with X’) also occurs for pà (313) and with bwɛ̄ỳ (314). bwɛ̄ỳ is favored by my relatively young assistant.

(313) è bē gà [tārāwōrē nē=] [ē pà]

3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [T Inst] [3ReflPl **Comit**]

‘They brought Traoré (clan) with them(selves).’ (2017-01 @ 05:58)

(314) a. ŋ̀ gà kāỳⁿ [sèēdù bwɛ̄ỳ]

1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [S **Comit**]

‘I work with Seydou.’

b. à gà kāỳⁿ [ē bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [1Pl **Comit**]

‘He/She works with us.’

c. ŋ̀ gā sō bàmàkɔ́ [sèēdù bwɛ̄ỳ]

1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv B [S **Comit**]

‘I’m going to Bamako with Seydou.’

d. è gà bē [sààn nī] [m̄ bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Pl Ipfv come.Ipfv [honey Inst] [3ReflSg **Comit**]

‘He is bringing (the) honey with him.’ (< nì)

bwɛ̄ỳ is also part of the ‘think of/about’ construction, which can also mean ‘remember, be reminded of’. The verb mīīlà/mīīlà (< Fulfulde) is reflexive.

(315) n̄ =nàⁿ ŋ̀ mīīlā [sèēdù bwɛ̄ỳ]

1Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg think.Pfv [S **Comit**]

‘I thought of/about Seydou.’

pà seems to be preferred to bwɛ̄ỳ in expressions of affliction (316), and in combination with ‘road’ in the sense ‘on the road’ (317).

(316) à gā [[m̀ pē] pà]

3Sg be.Loc [[1Sg too] **Comit**]

‘It (e.g. scarification, skin sores, disease) is on/in me too.’

(317) [ɲ̄ ɲìŋì-bwɔ̄] kàlē [sèm pà]

[LogoSg travel.companion] die.Pfv [road **Comit**]

‘(He said:) “My traveling companion died on the road.” ’ (< bwɔ̀ ; < kàlè)

(2017-05 @ 02:29)

## Spatial postpositions

### Spatial NPs without postposition

Place names such as names of villages and cities, in other than subject or object position, are assumed to be locative adverbs. No postposition is present.

(318) a. ŋ̀ gà sēwāārè

1Sg be.Loc S

‘I am in Sevaré (city).’

b. ŋ̀ gà kāỳⁿ sēwāārè

1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv S

‘I work in Sevaré (city).’

Most names of villages and cities in the area end in an L‑tone. Therefore one cannot exclude the possibility that, in adverbial use, they belong with tonal locatives (§8.2.3.3).

### Locative, allative, and ablative senses

The distinction between (stationary) locative, allative (‘to’), and ablative (‘from’) is not made by PPs, rather by verbs, as in all languages of the zone. Thus the city name ‘Sevaré’ and the zone ‘the bush’ (see preceding section) can be used without change in any of these three contexts.

With ‘village’, my assistant prefers the explicit ‘in(side)’ postposition in stationary locative function (319a), and prefers to omit it with ‘go’ or ‘leave’ (319b‑c).

(319) a. ŋ̀ gā [[ǹ nɔ́gú] nìŋi᷆]

1Sg be.Loc [[1Sg village] inside]

‘I am in my village.’ (< nɔ̀gù)

b. ŋ̀ gā sò [ǹ nɔ́gì-ỳ]

1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [1Sg village-Loc]

‘I am going to my village.’ (< nɔ̀gī-ỳ)

c. m̀ bāā gà [ǹ nɔ́gì-ỳ]

1Sg leave.Pfv RemPfv [1Sg village-Loc]

‘I have left (=come from) my village.’

### Suffixal locative (-ỳ) and tonal locative

#### -ỳ or final tone drop with nouns

Several nouns have a suffixal (or enclitic) locative ending, used in the usual range of stationary locative, allative, and ablative contexts depending on verbs. The form ends in L‑toned -ỳ, which can trigger Final Tone-Raising on an L‑toned noun (‘village’). In the case of síbɛ̄wⁿ ~ síbāwⁿ ‘market’, which ends in wⁿ, the locative is heard only as a drop in the final-syllable tone.

(320) a. ŋ̀ gā sò sɔ̄ŋ(g)ɔ̀-y / síbɛ̀wⁿ / …

sō … / … / nɔ̀gī-ỳ

1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc / market.Loc / village-Loc

‘I am going out to the bush (=outback)/to the market/to the village.’

b. ŋ̀ gà sɔ̄ŋ(g)ɔ̀-y / síbɛ̀wⁿ / …

gā … / … / nɔ̀gī-ỳ

1Sg be.Loc the.bush-Loc / market.Loc / village-Loc

‘I am (out) in the bush (=outback)/in the market/in the village.’

Some examples are in (321).

(321) gloss noun locative

a. ‘distant place’ gɯ̄ɯ̄n dāāⁿ gɯ̄ɯ̄n dāāⁿ-ỳⁿ

‘ignorance’ kúmbā kúmbà-y

‘village’ nɔ̀gù nɔ̀gī-ỳ

‘the bush (=outback)’ sɔ̄ŋ(g)ɔ̄ sɔ̄ŋ(g)ɔ̀-y

‘hand’ sūgū sūgì-ỳ

‘nearby place’ gɯ̄ɯ̄n tūɥ-gù gɯ̄ɯ̄n tūɥ-gū-ỳ

‘field’ tùɥè ~ cìyè tùɥē-ỳ ~ cìyē-ỳ

‘section of village’ túlū túlù-y

b. ‘market’ síbɛ̄wⁿ síbɛ̀wⁿ

‘mosque’ mìsírí mìsírì

c. 3Sg pronoun à ā-ỳ

3Pl pronoun è ē-ỳ

For pronominal ā-ỳ (very common!) and ē-ỳ see especially the rather fused combinations with syɛ̄/syɛ̄ ‘put (sth) in’, discussed in §9.3.3.

sūgì-ỳ ‘in the hand’ is part of a construction meaning ‘X have Y’, phrased as ‘Y be [in X’s hand]’ (§11.5.1). The postposition nìŋīì ‘inside’ and the related noun nìŋīì ‘interior’ may also have originated as forms containing the same suffixal locative. From kɔ̀rɔ̀ ‘back (of body)’ is derived kɔ̀rɛ̄‑ỳ, which can function as a noun or adverb ‘(in the) rear, behind’.

The noun kùwōnì ‘(in) the settled area’ (as opposed to ‘the bush’) is used adverbially and may belong to this pattern, but there is no difference in form between noun and adverb.

#### ‘X care about it’

The ‘X (not) care about/be concerned by it’ construction is phrased as ‘[X’s care/interest] (not) be (on) it’, with locational-existential gà ‘be (present)’ or its negation nà ‘not be (present), be absent’ (322a-b). The past-time counterpart has kōndō ‘stayed’ (322c), which forms similar past-time counterparts for other statives. If ‘it’ is replaced by an NP denoting the object of concern, this NP takes a dative postposition and -ỳ is absent (322d).

(322) a. [m̀ pāāŋ] gā= ā-ỳ

[1Sg care(n)] be.Loc 3Sg-**Loc**

‘I care about it.’ = ‘It concerns (=is relevant to) me.’

b. [m̀ pāān] nā= ā-ỳ

[1Sg care(n)] not.be.Loc 3Sg-**Loc**

‘I don’t care about it.’ (French *je m’en fous*)

c. [m̀ pāān] tè kōndā= ā-ỳ

[1Sg care(n)] PfvNeg stay.Pfv 3Sg-**Loc**

‘I didn’t (use to) care about it.’ (< kōndō)

d. [m̀ pāān] nā [kwààn tē]

[1Sg care(n)] not.be.Loc [rain(n) **Dat**]

‘I don’t care about the rain.’

In (322a‑c) ā-ỳ is rather fused phonologically with the verb, cf. §9.3.3.

#### Tonal locative with final H‑tone on place names

A tonal locative is attested with several geographic names and cardinal directions. As with focalization, the key change is raising the final tone to H (§3.7.1). In the available examples, the noun is otherwise /L/‑ or /M/-melodic, and the nonfinal syllables fall to L before the final H‑tone (cf. M#H-to-L#H, §3.6.4.5).

(323) location (map name) name locative

a. monosyllabic

Lowol-Guéou (commune) jēw jèẃ

b. nonmonosyllabic

Namagué (village) nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ nɔ̀gù-béwⁿ (2017-05 @ 00:12)

Kargué (village) kàrgèwⁿ kàrgéwⁿ

Bounou (village) būnū bùnú

‘East’ is jííɲ-cííⁿ ~ jííⁿ-cííⁿ (§8.4.6.4). A tonal variant jììⁿ-cííⁿ occurs in texts (2017-01 @ 05:26, 2017-06 @ 02:27), apparently with the locative tone adjustment. If so, it suggests a stem-wide {LH} overlay.

#### ML to HL after H-tone

Bisyllabic /ML/-melodic postpositions usually raise to HL-toned when immediately preceded by an H-tone. The effect is that there is no pitch drop across the noun-postposition boundary, except in careful speech.

Relevant /ML/-melodic postpositions are kānà ‘at (well)’, bōgì ‘in the middle of’, lāgà ‘at the edge of’ or purposive ‘for’, sɔ̄gɔ̀y ‘next to’, kūmà ‘on’, tīgàà ‘in front of’, and kāmà ‘for the sake of’.

Data involving monosyllabic /ML/-melodic postpositions with two moras are mixed. The assimilation has been observed with mūù ‘below’ (→ múù) but not with comitative bwɛ̄ỳ.

### Locational postpositions (‘in’, ‘at’, ‘on’)

#### ‘In(side) X’ (nìŋīì)

Location inside a container or other enclosing space (such as a house or vehicle), or in an encompassing mass (like water) is expressed by nìŋīì. This word can also be used as a noun ‘interior’. nìŋīì may have originated as a derivative of an earlier form of nùù ‘belly’ (cf. Kelenga núŋù ‘belly’). Its form resembles that of suffixal locatives like nɔ̀gī-ỳ ‘in/to the village’ (see the preceding subsection).

(324) a. ŋ̀ gā [yàmbáá nìŋīì]

1Sg be.Loc [house.Foc inside]

‘I am in the house [focus].’

b. ŋ̀ gā sò [jīī nìŋīì]

1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [water inside]

‘I am going in(to) the water.’

c. sìbò gā [sɔ̀gū nìŋīì]

snake be.Loc [grass inside]

‘The snake is in the grass.’

d. n̄ =nǎⁿ ʃɛ̀ⁿ syɛ̄ [bùwā nìŋīì]

1Sg Sbj/Obj squirrel put.Pfv [shoulderbag inside]

‘I put-Past the squirrel in the shoulderbag.’ (< ʃɛ̀wⁿ)

e. ŋ̀ gā sō bàmàkɔ̀ [káár nìŋīì]

1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv B [bus inside]

‘I (will) go to Bamako in the bus.’ (< bàmàkɔ́)

nìŋīì requires an overt complement, minimally 3Sg à. It is not used adverbially without such a complement.

#### Locative ‘at (well)’ or ‘on (body)’ (kānà)

Location ‘at’ a well (to draw water by letting down a rope with a waterbag attached) is expressed by kānà, which is also the noun ‘throat’. The image is the large circular form of the well as a ‘neck’ with a ‘throat’ inside. After H‑tone, the postposition can raise to kánà (325a).

(325) a. ŋ̀ gā [tèndé kánà]

1Sg be.Loc [well(n) **at**]

‘I am at the well.’ (< tèndé)

b. [tèndè būlōŋ] kānà

[well(n) big] **at**

‘at the big well’

In addition, kānà can take a complement that denotes a human. The topic can be a garment covering the upper body or an accessory such as a necklace.

(326) jùgū gā [[m̀ pé] kánà]

boubou be.Loc [[1Sg too] **on.neck.of**]

‘A boubou (=garment) is on me too.’ = ‘I am wearing a boubou too.’

#### ‘Chez, at the place of’ (X kāẁⁿ)

This postposition is used like French *chez*, i.e. in the sense ‘at the place (or home) of X’. X is normally phrased as a plural when referring to a dwelling or housing compound, since in most contexts it is culturally inappropriate to specify a single owner. A singular noun such as a personal name can be made into an associative plural for this purpose (327b).

(327) a. ē kāẁⁿ

1Pl **chez**

‘at our place’

b. sèēdù-yè kāẁⁿ

S-Pl **chez**

‘at Seydou’s place’ (lit. “chez the Seydou’s’)

c. kúŋgóló kāẁⁿ

dog **chez**

‘at the dog’s place’

#### tóⁿ and tōⁿ

tōⁿ is a possessed noun ‘X’s place/position’.

##### tōⁿ as complement of ‘forget’

M‑toned tōⁿ as noun ‘(someone’s) place’ is the regular complement of the verb ‘forget’.

(328) ŋ̄ ŋùmàsāⁿ [sèēdù tōⁿ]

1Sg **forget**.Pfv [S **place**]

‘I have forgotten Seydou.’

Other mental verbs do not use ‘place’ in their complements. ‘X think of/about Y is expressed by mīīlà/mīīlà ‘think’(reflexive verb) plus a PP with comitative bwɛ̄ỳ. ‘X remember Y’ is expressed as ‘X’s mind come [to Y]’ with a dative PP.

##### tóⁿ ‘in/at the place of’ as postposition

As a postposition ‘at X’s place’ in contexts of substitution or separation tóⁿ is H‑toned. For final H-tone in place names see §8.2.3.3. Substitution (replacement) is the context in (329).

(329) a. à sō [ǹ tóⁿ]

3Sg go.Pfv [1Sg **place.Loc**]

‘He/She went in my place.’ = ‘He/She went instead of me.’

b. à gà tōlē [sèēdù tóⁿ]

3Sg Ipfv sell.Ipfv [S **place.Loc**]

‘He/She is selling (=running the shop) in Seydou’s place.’

The comparison with English *instead of* is apt since it implies that tóⁿ is postposition-like even in (329a-b).

In (330) the context is separateness (being in separate locations) or having distinct identities. The postposition requires possessive pronominals in these examples since the pronominal is coindexed with the subject, or in (330c) with the object.

(330) a. [káádó-yē yèɲ̄ jànà-ŋgè-è sāāŋ] gè= [è tóⁿ]

[Dogon-Pl and Bozo-Pl all] be.Loc [3ReflPl **place.Loc**]

‘Dogon and Bozo (are) separate.’

b. sèēdù gà [ǹ tóⁿ], āāmādū gà [ǹ tóⁿ]

S be.Loc [3ReflSg **place.Loc**], A be.Loc [3ReflSg **place.Loc**]

‘Seydou and Amadou are in separate places.’

c. n̄ =nàm̄ [mà sāāⁿ] bàȳ gà [ǹ tóⁿ]

1Sg Sbj/Obj [Rel all] leave.Pfv RemPfv [3ReflSg **place.Loc**]

‘I left (=put) each one in his (respective) place.’

#### ‘In the middle of’ (X bōgì)

Corresponding to the noun bōgū ‘middle’ (e.g. near the center of a village or field, or in middle position in an oriented line), and to adverb bōgì ‘in the middle’, is postposition bōgì (331a). It can also be used in temporal contexts (331b). It can co-occur with plural pronouns (331c) and with 3Sg denoting e.g. a village (331d), but not with pronouns that denote a person (1Sg #m̀ bōgì, 2Sg #ām bōgì). It can raise to bógì after H-tone.

(331) a. nɔ̀gù bōgì

village **amidst**

‘in the middle of the village’

b. wùù bōgì

night **amidst**

‘in the middle of the night’

c. ē / āā / è bōgì

1Pl / 2Pl / 3Pl **amidst**

‘in our/your-Pl/their midst’

d. à bōgì

3Sg **amidst**

‘in the middle of it’

e. jɛ̄nām-bī-gē bōgì

child-Pl-Pl **amidst**

‘in the middle of/amidst the children’

A compound postposition [X bōgū] ŋìníì ‘in(side) the middle of X’ is also possible with similar sense.

The gentilic derivative denoting something or someone in the middle, e.g. of a long line (queue), is bōgī-ŋgā.

### Postpositions of proximity

These postpositions primarily specify nearness to a reference object (landmark), though they may have some residual directional implications. The PPs are often complemented by ‘here’ or ‘there’ adverbs.

#### ‘At the edge of’ (lāgà)

Obscurely related to noun lɔ̄gū ‘mouth’ is postposition lāgà ‘at (the outskirts/bank of)’ or ‘at the entrance of)’. The complement may denote a body of water, a market, a village, a forest, or a dwelling. lāgà assimilates to lágà after /H/-melodic noun (332c,e).

(332) a. pàgù lāgà

pond **at.edge.of**

‘at (the edge of) the pond

b. dèbò lāgà

river **at.edge.of**

‘at (the bank of) the river

c. à bè [síbɛ́n lágà]

3Sg come.Pfv [market **at.edge.of**]

‘He/She came to the approaches to the market’ (< síbɛ̄wⁿ)

d. tēlè lāgà

television **at.edge.of**

‘at the edge of (=watching) the TV’

e. dúgúⁿ lágà

forest **at.edge.of**

‘at the edge of the forest’

For lāgà in purposive-causal sense, see §8.3.1.

#### ‘Next to, beside X’ (X sɔ̄gɔ̀y and X sɔ́gɔ́-bwɛ̄ỳ)

The noun sɔ̄gɔ̀y means ‘vicinity, proximity (of sth)’. It may contain locative ‑ỳ (§8.2.3.1) at least diachronically. It can be used as a postposition meaning ‘next to’ or ‘beside’, without specifying the orientation of the landmark. The landmark may be human or nonhuman.

(333) a. ŋ̀ gā [sèēdù sɔ̄gɔ̀y]

1Sg be.Loc [S **vicinit**y]

‘I am next to Seydou.’

b. sèēdù gā [yàmbàà sɔ̄gɔ̀y]

S be.Loc [house **vicinity**]

‘Seydou is next to the house.’

c. [è sāā gè=] [ē kùmū gà] sāāⁿ↑,

[3Pl lie.down.Pfv RemPfv] [3Pl sleep.Pfv RemPfv] when,

[à gā kìī-[bā-lā] [[kēèⁿ gù] sɔ̄gɔ̀y]

[3Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv-[ascend-Ipfv] [[one Def] **next.to**]

‘After they (=two travelers) had lain down to sleep, he got up next to the other one.’ (2017-05 @ 01:09)

Examples with nouns of various tone melodies are in (334). sɔ̄gɔ̀y assimilates to sɔ́gɔ̀y after /H/‑melodic noun (334a).

(334) melody noun ‘next to X’ gloss

a. noun ends in H‑tone

/H/ kúŋgólō kúŋgóló sɔ́gɔ̀y ‘dog’

/LH/ màlìfá màlìfá sɔ́gɔ̀y ‘rifle’

/LH/ tèndé tèndé sɔ́gɔ̀y ‘well (n)’

/MLH/ mākàrí mākàrí sɔ́gɔ̀y ‘macari (spice)’

b. noun ends in L‑ or M‑tone

/L/ tàbà tàbà sɔ̄gɔ̀y ‘foot’

/ML/ dōōrò dōōrò sɔ̄gɔ̀y ‘whip (n)’

/M/ ɲīmī ɲīmī sɔ̄gɔ̀y ‘person’

‘Beside/next to me’ is ŋ̀ sɔ̄gɔ̀y. ‘Beside/next to us’ is ē sɔ̄gɔ̀y.

A composite postposition sɔ́gɔ́-bwɛ̄ỳ means ‘right next to’ or ‘adjacent to’, as in 1Sg ŋ̀ sɔ́gɔ́‑bwɛ̄ỳ ‘right next to me’.

Adverbial ‘on/to the side’ without an overt landmark was not elicitable.

#### ‘Next to, beside X’ (X kùwóm bwɛ̄ỳ)

This composite postposition is based on the noun kùwóⁿ ‘flank of body at the ribs’. It is attested with a place name as landmark, denoting a nearby location (2017-01 @ 01:06). Even with a human landmark, it denotes proximity in any direction rather than specifically lateral position. It appears to be interchangeable with sɔ̄gɔ̀y.

(335) a. ē bè bē pwɔ̀ jēw-kàmɛ̄wⁿ,

1Pl Seq come.Pfv sit.Pfv J-K,

[[jāwālē kùwóm] bwɛ̄ỳ] yāẁⁿ

[[OG **flank**] **Comi**t] there.Def

‘Then we came and settled in Jew-Kamew (a now-abandoned place), next to Ouro Guéou (a Fulbe village) there.’ (2017-01 @ 01:01)

b. sèēdù gà [[ŋ̀ kûwóm] bwɛ̄ỳ] bōẁⁿ

S be.Loc [[1Sg **flank**] **Comit**] here

‘Seydou is here next to (=close to) me.’

#### ‘In the whole area’ (gìyɛ̀lɛ̀-gíyɛ́lɛ́)

This word may be an expressive adverbial. It occurs in this passage in a tale:

(336) [à nìmɛ̀n-[tábá-túgú] tē kìlɛ̀

[3Sg like-[young.man] PfvNeg be.gotten.Pfv

[[yāŋ̀ gìyɛ̀lɛ̀-gíyɛ́lɛ́ sāāⁿ] nìŋīì]

[[there.Def **around** all] inside]

‘No young man the likes of him could be found anywhere in that area.’

(2017-06 @ 00:36)

### Postpositions of alignment

#### ‘Between’ ([X yèⁿ Y] nàŋāà)

The ‘between’ postposition is nàŋāà, prepausally sometimes shortened to nàŋa᷆. It can be added to a conjoined NP (chapter 7).

(337) [ǹ nɔ́gú] gā

[1Sg village] be.Loc

[[sēwāārē yèŋ kɔ̄nà] nàŋāà]

[[S and K] **between**]

‘My village is (located) between Sevaré and Konna (cities).’ (< nɔ̀gù)

The postposition can also be added to any NP or pronoun denoting two or more entities,

(338) a. ē nàŋāà

1Pl **between**

‘between us’

b. kànààm-bē nàŋāà

friend-Pl **between**

‘among friends’

### Postpositions of spatial relationship

These postpositions locate a referent by its directional position in comparison to a reference object (landmark).

#### ‘On X’ or ‘over X’ (X kūmà)

In this PP, the landmark X is conceptualized as being held up by an extended surface, whether horizontal (mat) or vertical (wall), or else as being in the atmosphere above something (object or surface). kūmà raises to kúmà by assimilation to a preceding /H/-melodic noun (339d).

(339) a. kɔ̀yɔ́ŋ gā yàgà-nā [tàŋ kūmà]

stone be be.put-Ppl [mat **on**]

‘The stone is on the mat.’ (< kɔ̀yɔ́wⁿ, gà, tàwⁿ)

b. n̄ =nàŋ̄ kɔ̀yɔ́ⁿ yàgā [tàŋ kūmà]

1Sg Sbj/Obj stone put.Pfv [mat **on**]

‘I put the stone on the mat.’

c. kìyɛ̀ sēⁿ [ŋ̀ kūmà]

stick fall.Pfv [1Sg **on**]

‘The stick fell on me.’

d. tóndó gà [kɛ́rɛ́ kúmà]

agama be.Loc [wall **on**]

‘The agama lizard is on the wall.’ (< kɛ́rɛ̄)

Combinations with nouns of different tone melodies are in (340).

(340) melody noun ‘on/over X’ gloss

a. noun ends in H‑tone

/H/ kúŋgólō kúŋgóló kúmà ‘dog’

/LH/ tèndé tèndé kúmà ‘well (n)’

/LH/ màlìfá màlìfá kúmà ‘rifle’

/MLH/ ɲōòmɔ́ ɲōòmɔ́ kúmà ‘camel’

b. noun ends in L‑tone

/L/ tàbà tàbà kūmà ‘foot’

/ML/ kāsò kāsò kūmà ‘jail’

/LML/ yàmbāà yàmbāà kūmà ‘house’

c. noun ends in M‑tone

/M/ ɲīmī ɲīmī kūmà ‘person’

The pronominal paradigm is (341). The tonal form is kūmà throughout.

(341) 1Sg ŋ̀ kūmà

1Pl ē kūmà

2Sg āŋ kūmà

2Pl āā kūmà

3Sg à kūmà

3Pl è kūmà

#### ‘In front of’ (X tīgàà*)*

The noun tīgàà ‘front’ can function as a postposition ‘in front of’. The 1Sg form is ǹ tīgàà ‘in front of me’. tīgàà can raise to tígàà after an H-tone (342c).

(342) a. ŋ̀ gā [sèēdù tīgàà]

1Sg be.Loc [S **front**]

‘I am in front of Seydou.’

b. sèēdù gā [yàmbāà tīgàà]

S be.Loc [house **front**]

‘Seydou is in front of the house.’

c. kúŋgóló tígàà

dog **front**

‘in front of the dog’

This postposition can also have the temporal sense ‘before X’.

(343) à gà bē ŋ̄ kìlɛ̀ⁿ [ǹ tīgàà]

3Sg Ipfv Fut 3ReflSg finish.Pfv [1Sg **front**]

‘He/She will finish before me (=before I do).’

Adverb ‘in front, ahead’ is tīgàà.

(344) à gà / sò tīgàà

3Sg be / go.Pfv **in.front**

‘He/She is/went in front.’

The alternative is an instrumental PP with noun tīgàà and the landmark expressed as possessor.

(345) sò [[ān tīgàà] nī]

go.Pfv [[2Sg **front**] Inst]

‘Go-2Sg ahead (of yourself)!’ (i.e., ‘Go-2Sg straight (ahead)!’)

‘The one in front’, i.e. the one in the lead in a race or procession, or at the head of a line, is tīgāā-ŋgā (§4.2.4).

#### ‘In front of, facing X’ ([X mūūm] bwɛ̄ỳ)

In this construction, the landmark is either an oriented inanimate entity (house, vehicle, cart) or a topographic feature that can be construed as oriented. Human landmarks are not allowed. The focal entity whose position is specified need not be oriented; it may be a person, a vehicle, or a tree.

The composite postposition mūūm bwɛ̄ỳ is based on the noun mūūⁿ ‘lower face, mouth and chin’. My assistant sharply distinguishes this from mūù ‘under’. The noun mūūⁿ with the sense ‘lower face’ in Cliffs appears to be cognate to mūū ‘nose’ in the nearby Konna-area dialect. For ‘nose’, Cliffs has ɲīmīnà.

#### ‘Behind X’ and ‘after X’ (X kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ*)*

The noun kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ ‘rear’, cf. kɔ̀rɔ̀ ‘back (n)’, serves as the postposition ‘behind, in back of’.

(346) a. ŋ̀ gā [sèēdù kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ]

1Sg be.Loc [S **back**-Loc]

‘I am behind Seydou.’

b. sèēdù gā [yàmbāà kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ]

S be.Loc [house **back**-Loc]

‘Seydou is behind the house.’

The 1Sg form is ŋ̀ kɔ̂rɛ̄-ỳ ‘behind me’.

The temporal sense ‘after X’ where X is a temporal reference point is expressed either by this same postposition, by a composite postposition kɔ̀rɔ̀ bwɛ̄ỳ or synonymous kɔ̀rɔ̄ pà (with a choice of comitative postpositions) or by a phrase of the type ‘(when) X has passed’.

(347) a. sālì kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ

holy.day **back**-Loc

‘behind (=after) the holy day’

b. sāà‑gù kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ

now **back**-Loc

‘later, afterwards (not now)’

c. kú kɔ̀rɔ̀ bwɛ̄ỳ

" kɔ̀rɔ̄ pà

Dem **back Comit**

‘after that’

d. sālī nāŋ kìyè

holy.day If.Pfv **pass**.Pfv

‘when the holy day has passed’

Only kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ occurs in ‘after X’ where X is a person, in the context ‘in X’s absence’ or ‘after X is no longer around’. Example: ŋ̀ kɔ̂rɛ̄-ỳ ‘after me’.

‘The one in back’, i.e. ‘the last one, the one bringing up the rear’ (in a line of people, animals, etc.) is kɔ̀rɛ̄ɛ̄-ŋgà (§4.2.4).

kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ can also function as an adverb ‘behind, in back, to the rear’ without an overt landmark.

(348) à gā / sō kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ

3Sg be / go.Pfv **in.back**

‘He/She is/went in/to the rear.’

#### ‘Below/under X’ (X mūù)

The noun mūù ‘base, bottom part’ (also abstractly ‘reason, cause, grounds’ for a situation) can function as postposition ‘below X, under X’. The 1Sg form is ŋ̀ mūù. The form múù occurs after an H‑tone.

(349) a. ŋ̀ gà [sīlē mūù]

1Sg be.Loc [rock **under**]

‘I am below/under the rock.’

b. sīlē gā [ŋ̀ mūù]

stone be.Loc [1Sg **under**]

‘The rock is below/under me.’

c. kúŋgúló múù

dog **under**

‘under the dog’

The adverb ‘down below’ is dàmī-ỳ.

For ‘over X, above X’, see kūmà §8.2.7.1 above.

### ‘Upper’ and ‘lower’

Many villages along the escarpment have two sections or quartiers (túlū), upper and lower. These can be distinguished by the compounds in (350). The initials are based on bōndō‑kūmà ‘hilly area’ and dàmī-ỳ ‘below’.

(350) a. bōndō-kūmā túlū ‘upper section’

b. dàmì túlū ‘lower section’

These can be made into PPs by changing túlū to túlù-y, a suffixal locative.

### ‘Toward X’ or ‘around X’ (X bààcɛ́wⁿ)

‘Toward X, in the direction of X’ in connection with a motion event is expressed with the postposition bààcɛ́wⁿ following a term for a spatial reference. The postposition may have originally contained a form of bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ but my assistant does not recognize cɛ́wⁿ as an independent element. The tones are compatible with tonal locatives (final H‑tone).

(351) è bè bē [ɲɔ́n nì] jííŋ-kàmāà,

3Sg Seq come.Pfv [Dem Inst] west,

[nɔ̀gù-bēŋ bààcɛ́wⁿ]

[N **toward**]

‘They brought that one to the west, toward Namagué (village).’ (2017-01 @ 05:12)

‘Toward here (this way, in this direction)’ should be bōẁⁿ bààcɛ́wⁿ, but it is usually contracted to ū‑mààcɛ́wⁿ (2017-01 @ 05:23).

bààcɛ́wⁿ can take a pronominal complement: ē bààcɛ́wⁿ ‘toward us’.

Like French *vers* ‘toward’ (motion) or ‘around, in the vicinity of’ (static location), bààcɛ́wⁿ can indicate nonspecific static location (352).

(352) sááⁿ-lɛ́wⁿ gá kìlɛ̄ [nɔ̀gù-bɛ̄ŋ bààcɛ́wⁿ]

wild.grape Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv [N **around**]

‘Wild grape trees (*Lannea*) can be found around Namagué (village).’

No lexicalized postposition ‘away from X’ could be elicited.

## ‘For’ and ‘because of’

For purposive and causal (‘because’) clauses, see §17.5.

### Purposive-causal ‘for’ (lāgà)

Purposive ‘for’ (generally prospective) and causal ‘because’ (generally retrospective) are expressed by the postposition lāgà. After H-tone it can assimilate as lágà (353d). For this postposition or a homonym in the spatial sense ‘at (the outskirts of)’, see §8.2.5.1. For L‑toned purposive làgà after verbal nouns, see §17.5.3.

(353) a. ē dwɔ̄ gà [kwààn lāgà]

1Pl enter.Pfv RemPfv [rain(n) **Purp**]

‘We went in(side) because of the rain.’ (< kwààⁿ)

b. è bē gà [sààn lāgà]

3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [honey **Purp**]

‘They came for (the) honey.’ (< sààⁿ)

c. à sò [kāyⁿ lāgà] nɔ̀gī-ỳ

3Sg go.Pfv [work(n) **Purp**] village-Loc

‘He/She went to the city for work.’

also with different order: à sō nɔ̀gī-ỳ [kāyⁿ lāgà]

d. wólén lágà

money **Purp**

‘for/because of money’ (< wólēwⁿ ~ wálēwⁿ)

lāgà can be expanded by adding the noun sààbí ‘cause, reason’ (ultimately from Arabic *sabab-* of similar meaning). The L.H tone pattern of sààbí may have originated as a focalized form, but no other tonal form is attested. The expanded PP is [X sààbí] lāgà, as in [sìbó sààbí] lāgà ‘on account of a snake’, with assimilated variant [X sààbí] lágà. One common context is ‘in the name of/out of respect for X’, where X is God or some respected individual. In the case of God, lāgà is often omitted and the result is ālā sààbí (354b).

(354) a. à =à dō gà [ǹ tē] [[sèēdù sààbí] lāgà]

3Sg Tr give.Pfv RemPfv [1Sg Dat] [[S **cause**] **Purp**]

‘He/She gave (it) to me for the sake of (=out of respect for) Seydou.’

b. à ŋ̀ yīrɛ̄wⁿ gà [ālā sààbí]

3Sg 1Sg help.Pfv RemPfv [God **cause**]

‘He/She helped me for God (i.e. without expecting recompense)’

### ‘For the sake of (someone)’ (kāmà)

kāmà ‘cause’ can function as a postposition meaning ‘for the sake of X’ or ‘out of respect for X’, where X is a person. The PP may be clause-initial (pre-subject) or clause-final.

(355) [nɔ̀gù-míírù kāmà] ŋ̀ gà bā= āŋ kō [cìyè nī]

[village-chief **sake**] 1Sg Ipfv Fut 2Sg provide.Pfv [field Inst]

‘Out of respect for the village chief, I will give you-Sg a field.’

## Other adverbs (or equivalents)

### Similarity (‘like X’)

#### Predicate ‘Y be like X’ (síí, nùmɛ̄wⁿ)

‘Y is like (similar to) X’ is expressed as ‘Y is [X’s likeness]’, with either síí or nùmɛ̄wⁿ as the noun ‘likeness’. For the phrasing compare French *Y est le semblable de X* and certain English locutions like *Y is the spitting image of X*. The frame contains gà/gā ‘be’ or its negation nà/nā after the subject Y, and the ‘it is’ particle nì after the predicate nominal. For past time kōndō ‘stay’ (negative tè kōndō) replaces ‘be’ in the usual way (§10.3.1). X may be plural but ‘likeness’ remains singular (356d).

(356) a. ŋ̀ gā [sèēdù síí / nùmɛ̄n] nì

1Sg be [S **likeness**] it.is

‘I am like Seydou.’

b. ǹ nā [sèēdù síí / nùmɛ̄n] nì

1Sg not.be [S **likeness**] it.is

‘I am not like Seydou.’

c. ŋ̀ Ø kōndō gà [sèēdù síí / nùmɛ̄n] nì

ǹ tè " "

1Sg (PfvNeg) stay.Pfv RemPfv [S **likeness**] it.is

‘I was (not) like Seydou.’

d. ē gā [pūnàm-bè síí] nì

1Pl be [Fulbe-Pl **likeness**] it.is

‘We are like the Fulbe (people).’

The similarity may be between a possession or attribute of X and the corresponding one of Y. The possessum is ‘house’ in (357a), which is phrased with the ‘have’ construction (§11.5.1). The default possessum is pàⁿ (§6.2.2.2), which depending on context may refer to a physical possession (357b) or an abstract attribute like behavior or character (357c). In the latter case there is little practical difference between presence and absence of pàⁿ.

(357) a. [[sèēdù yàmbāà] síí] gā [ǹ tē]

[[S house] **likeness**] be [1Sg Dat]

‘I have the same kind of house as Seydou.’ (< yàmbāà)

b. [[sèēdū pàⁿ] síí] gā [ǹ tē]

[[S Poss] **likeness**] be [1Sg Dat]

‘I have the same kind of thing as Seydou.’

c. ŋ̀ kōndō gà [[sèēdū pàⁿ] síí] nì

1Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv [[S Poss] **likeness**] it.is

‘I was like Seydou (in behavior).’

For síí and nùmɛ̄wⁿ in symmetrical comparatives, see §12.2.4.2. For manner adverbial relatives, see §15.8.3.1.

síí ‘likeness’ may be related to the nouns sīī ‘description, breed, race, species, type’ and síí‑mā ‘sort, kind’. síí, reduced to suffixal -sí in some lexicalized combinations, is also an indefinite quantifier ‘(not) any’ (§6.6.2.2).

#### Adverbial ‘like X’ (hɔ̀nɔ̀)

An adverbial phrase ‘like X’ attached to a main verb begins with hɔ̀nɔ̀ ‘like’ (< Fulfulde *hono*), which is followed by ‘X’s likeness’ using either síí or nùmɛ̄wⁿ as possessum (see the preceding section). X may be expanded by adding the default possessum pàwⁿ, especially when X is pronominal (358b).

(358) a. ŋ̀ gà kāyⁿ [hɔ̀nɔ̄ [sèēdù nùmɛ̄wⁿ]]

1Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv [**like** [S **likeness**]]

‘I work like Seydou.’ (< kāỳⁿ)

b. sèēdù gà kāyⁿ [hɔ̀nɔ̄ [m̀ páⁿ] síí]

S Ipfv work.Ipfv [**like** [1Sg Poss] **likeness**]

‘Seydou works like me.’ (< kāỳⁿ)

c. sèēdù gà kāyⁿ [hɔ̀nɔ̄ [ŋ̀ síí]

S Ipfv work.Ipfv [**like** [1Sg **likeness**]

[=(b)]

For other manner adverbs see §4.4.3.2 (‘like this/that’) and §8.4.5. For manner relatives (‘the way X VPs’) see §15.8.3.

### Specificity

#### ‘Specific(ally), personally’ (jáátī)

/H/-melodic jáátī can occur at the end of an NP in the sense ‘specific(ally)’ or ‘personally’ (359a‑b).

(359) a. sèēdù gā / nā [ŋ̀ káá jáátí] nì

S be / not.be [1Sg father **precise**] it.is

‘Seydou is/is not my real father.’

b. [pūnàm-bè sāāŋ] gā būwɔ̀-lɔ́,

[Fulbe-Pl all] Ipfv tend.livestock-Ipfv,

[ŋ̀ kɔ́n jáátí] ná =à pɔ̄gɔ̀

[1Sg Topic **precise**] IpfvNeg 3Sg like.Ipfv

‘All the (other) Fulbe tend cattle, (but) I personally don’t like it.’

An otherwise unmodified pronoun combined with jáátī takes independent pronoun form (360).

(360) ǹ nā [ɲ̀ jɛ̄m] bàȳ sò,

1Sg IpfvNeg [1Sg child] leave.Ipfv go.Ipfv,

[ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ jáátí] gā sò

[1Sg-**Indep** **precise**] Ipfv go.Ipfv

‘I won’t (just) send my son; (rather) I will go myself (in person).’ (< jɛ̄wⁿ)

As NP-final word, jáátī can be iterated as jáátí-jáátī for emphasis (361).

(361) [kɛ̀lɛ̀ jáátí-jáátí màⁿ] āŋ gā tò kóy

[war **Iter-precise** Rel] 2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv Emph

‘the very same war that you-Sg know (of)’ (2017-01 @ 06:20) (< kɛ̄lɛ̄)

For HL‑toned jáátì ‘indeed’ as an independent or clause-final form, confirming an interlocutor’s statement, see §19.4.2.2.

### Extent

#### ‘A lot, greatly’ (máɲɛ̀, yāālōⁿ)

The two key adverbs are those in (362). máɲɛ̀ can denote extent (‘a lot’) or quality (‘well’). yāālōⁿ denotes extent only and is the stronger expression of the two. The gloss ‘too much’ captures the heightened extent but also has some semantic baggage that is not applicable to Cliffs.

(362) a. máɲɛ̀ ‘a lot, very much’, also ‘well’

b. yāālōⁿ ‘greatly, excessively, too much’

Examples are in (363).

(363) a. ŋ̄ kɯ̀ɯ̀ máɲɛ̀

1Sg run.Pfv **a.lot/well**

‘I ran a lot / ran hard.’

b. à kɯ̀ɯ̀ / dīgɛ̄ yāālōⁿ

3Sg run.Pfv / eat.Antip.Pfv **a.lot**

‘He/She ran/ate a lot (or: too much).’

For quantificational adjective pāà-lōwⁿ ‘many, much’ see §6.4.2.1.

#### ‘A little, somewhat’ (lɛ̄wⁿ, pā-lɛ̄wⁿ)

The usual NP meaning ‘a lot’ is pā-lɛ̄wⁿ ~ pɔ̄-lɛ̄wⁿ. For -lɛ̄wⁿ without pā- see the end of this section.

pā-lɛ̄wⁿ is a diminutive (§5.1.7.2) of pwɔ̄ ‘thing’ (before modifiers pā). It functions as a direct object in (364a) and as the complement of a postposition in (364b). It is adverbial in (364c).

(364) a. à pā-lɛ̄ŋ kìlè

3Sg **a.little** get.Pfv

‘He/She got a little.’

b. à ŋ̀ kó [pā-lɛ̄n nī]

3Sg 1Sg furnish.Pfv [**a.little** Inst]

‘He/She gave me a little.’ (< kò)

c. ŋ̄ kɯ̀ɯ̀ pā-lɛ̄wⁿ

1Sg run.Pfv **a.little**

‘I ran a little.’

pā-lɛ̄wⁿ can function as a quantificational modifier of another noun. It can be freely translated as ‘a little’ with a mass noun and as ‘a few’ with a countable noun.

(365) a. [pīīm pā-lɛ̄ŋ] gā [ŋ̀ sūgì-y]

[millet **a.little**] be.Loc [1Sg hand.Loc]

‘I have a little millet.’

b. m̄ bē [[sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄m-bē pā-lɛ̄n] nī]

1Sg come.Pfv [[sheep-Pl **a.little**] Inst]

‘I brought a few sheep.’

Diminutive ‑lɛ̄wⁿ can also be added to other nouns. In (366) it follows the compound ɲɔ̄gɔ̄lɛ̄wⁿ‑nūmɛ̀ ‘blink (n)’.

(366) à gālà ɲɔ̄gɔ̄lɛ̄wⁿ-nūmɛ̀-lɛ̄n dàmá tūⁿ

3Sg Sbjn eye-blink.Pfv-Dimin only again

‘(said to him:) “Blink your eyes only a little!” ’ (2017-03 @ 03:22)

A disdainful term for an unsatisfactory amount is túwɔ́-lɛ̄n-dūū. It literally denotes the pinch of powder (dūū), i.e. gunpowder, put in the “ear” (túwɔ́-lɛ̄wⁿ) of an old-fashioned musket before firing a shot.

### Evaluation

#### ‘Well’ (máɲɛ̀) and ‘badly’

máɲɛ̀ is an adverb ‘well’, i.e., in a good or competent manner. It combines with a wide variety of predicates. As with French *bien*, it can easily shift from qualitative to quantitative (§8.4.3), with (367b) an example of the transition.

(367) a. sèēdù gà pīīn sɔ̀gɔ̀ máɲɛ̀

S Ipfv millet cultivate.Ipfv **well(adv)**

‘Seydou farms millet well (=is good at farming millet).’ (< sɔ̀gɔ̄)

b. sèēdù kúŋgóló kwàà máɲɛ̀

S dog hit.Pfv **well(adv)**

‘Seydou really hit the dog.’ = ‘Seydou gave the dog a good beating.’ (< kwāā)

There is no adverb ‘badly, poorly’. The sense is expressed by negating the clause containing máɲɛ̀.

### Deadjectival and other manner adverbials

There is no productive mechanism for converting adjectives into adverbs or adverbial phrases. Certain adjective-like senses do have an adverbial phrase, however.

#### ‘Fast, quickly’ and ‘slowly’

Adverb ‘fast, quickly’ is heard as [kɯ̀ɯ̄nà]. It is a participle of kɯ̀ɯ̀/kɯ̀ɯ̄ ‘run’, and this verb may co-occur with it (368a). The adverb is compatible with predicates denoting other time-sensitive activities (368b).

(368) a. sèēdù kɯ̀ɯ̄ kɯ̀ɯ̄-nà

S run.Pfv **run-Ppl**

‘Seydou ran fast.’

b. sèēdù gà kāyⁿ kɯ̀ɯ̄-nà

S Ipfv work.Ipfv **run-Ppl**

‘Seydou works fast.’ (< kāỳⁿ)

However, ‘drive (vehicle) fast’ is phrased with máɲɛ̀ ‘well’ or ‘greatly’, compare English *drive hard*.

The antonym ‘slowly’ or ‘gently, not hard’ is mìyɛ̄-nà. It is another participle, related in a slightly irregular way to adjective mīyɛ̀-gù ‘thin’ (§4.5.1.2.1), hence ‘meager, insignificant’, its pseudo-reflexive stative predicate mìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘be thin’ (§11.4.1.2), and inchoative verb mìyɛ̀‑gà/mìyɛ̀‑gā ‘become thin’ (§9.4.4).

#### Adverbial ‘far’ and ‘near’

With motion verb ‘run’, ‘walk’, etc. adverbial ‘far away’ is expressed using the NP ‘distant place’. In one version, the motion verb is (unusually) treated as transitive, so ‘distant place’ is direct object (369a). In the other, ‘distant place’ takes a suffixal locative form (§8.2.3.1) and follows the motion verb.

(369) a. à (tè) [gɯ̄ɯ̄n dāāŋ] kɯ̀ɯ̀ / …

" " [ " dāāɲ] … / ɲìŋì

3Sg (PfvNeg) [place **distant**] run.Pfv / walk.Pfv

‘He/She ran/walked (did not run/walk) far away.’

b. à (tè) kɯ̀ɯ̀ / ɲìŋì [gɯ̄ɯ̄n dāāⁿ-ỳⁿ]

3Sg (PfvNeg) run.Pfv / walk.Pfv [place **distant-Loc**]

[=(a)]

The antonym gɯ̄ɯ̄n tūɥ̀-gù ‘nearby place’ and its locative gɯ̄ɯ̄n tūɥ̀-gū-ỳ occur in the same frames.

### Spatiotemporal adverbials

#### Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (370). The terms for ‘now’ based on sāà- are part of a regional complex (Bambara, Fulfulde) that may derive from Arabic saaʕ-at- ‘hour’. The European (and Arab) 7‑day cycle is used by the two major nearby weekly markets, Sambere (market day is Sunday) and Konna (Thursday).

(370) a. wày ‘today; nowadays’

wày-kúgú ‘nowadays’ (2017-01 @ 05:32)

tūⁿ ‘again (another time)’ (§19.3.1)

sāà-gù ‘now’ (< \*‘time-Def’ < \*‘time-this’)

sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ ‘now; then, after that’ (< \*‘time-Topic’)

sásààlèwⁿ ‘right now, just now’

b. dìgéwⁿ ‘yesterday’

dìgéⁿ-sá ‘day before yesterday’

dìgéⁿ-sá-sā ‘two days before yesterday’

pānāāⁿ ‘formerly; in the old days’

sílēwⁿ ‘formerly; in the old days’

c. ɲàànù ‘tomorrow; in the future; the next day (in a narrative)’

ɲàànū-sèwⁿ ‘day after tomorrow’

ɲàànū-sèŋ kɔ̄rɛ̄ɛ̄ŋgà ‘second day after tomorrow’ (“…behind”)

d. sègɔ̀ ~ ʃègɔ̀ ‘last year’

kɔ̀nɔ̀sè ‘next year’

yùrùgù ‘this year’

e. ɲàn sóⁿ ‘at that time, in those days’

ɲàⁿ wɔ́gátū ‘at that time, in those days’

Several of these temporal adverbs are lexically L‑toned or otherwise (as with ‘now’) end in two L‑toned syllables as shown in the array above. However, in final position in positive sentences without a focalized constituent they are subject to a process raising the final-syllable tone to H, hence túⁿ, ɲàànú, and so forth. The syntactic restrictions on this process imply weak focalization of the adverb (§13.1.6).

dìgéwⁿ ‘yesterday’ is also part of the compound dìgèⁿ-síbɛ̄wⁿ ‘the last (=most recent) market day’. This can be further elaborated by adding either tèwⁿ ‘elder sibling’ or an iterative form with two occurrences of tèwⁿ separated by pē ‘also’. Either of these additions pushes the time back one unit.

(371) dìgèⁿ-síbɛ́n tèm-pē-tèwⁿ

yesterday-market elder.sib-also-elder.sib

‘two market days ago’ (i.e. the market day before last)

The seven days of the week are expressed by Arabic terms as generally in the region. The initial a in several of the day names is from Arabic definite prefix *al-* or variant, but the initial vowel has been dropped in ‘Tuesday’ and ‘Thursday’. The terms for ‘Monday’ and ‘Friday’ begin with an extra g of unknown but clearly secondary origin, likely reflecting the marginality of vowel-initial nouns in Bozo and some other languages of the zone.

(372) gàtīnɛ̀ ‘Monday’

tàlāātà ‘Tuesday’

àlāābà ‘Wednesday’

lààmūsà ~ làāmsà ‘Thursday’

gàjūmà ‘Friday’

àsābdì ‘Saturday’

àlāādì ‘Sunday’

The night between two days is expressed as the night of the following day, beginning with the 4PM prayer. For example, the period beginning at 4PM Sunday is called “Monday night” (gàtīnɛ̄ wùù).

#### ‘First(ly)’ (sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì), ‘later’ (sāà‑gù kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ), and ‘not yet’

These adverbials function to sequence two or more time intervals and associated activities. sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì is not transparently segmentable. sāà-gū kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ means ‘behind/after now’. kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ is also a noun or adverb ‘(in the) rear, behind’.

(373) a. ē gā kāỳⁿ sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì, ē bè dīgɛ̄

1Pl Ipfv work.Ipfv **firstly**, 1Pl Seq eat.Antip.Pfv

‘We’ll work first, then we’ll eat.’

b. ē gē= ēn(d)è= [ē sīnì] [sāà-gù kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ]

1Pl Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [1Pl begin.Ipfv] [**now behind**]

‘We can begin later.’

Under negation, sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì means ‘(not) yet’.

(374) a. ǹ tè dīgɛ̄ sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì

1Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv **firstly**

‘I haven’t eaten (yet).’

b. kùgù-lɛ̄n tè sāgā sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì

sun PfvNeg lie.down.Pfv **firstly**

‘The sun hasn’t set yet.’

c. sèēdū tè bē sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì

S PfvNeg come.Pfv **firstly**

‘Seydou hasn’t come yet.’

#### ‘Still’ and ‘still (has) not’ (hàlì sāà‑gù, hàlī wày)

hàlì sāà‑gù ‘(all the way) until now’, with hàlì ‘until’ (§15.7.2.1), specifies a time interval extending from a point in the past all the way to the present. This adverbial can be translated ‘still’ in positive clauses (375a). Under negation, the unmarked ‘not yet’ construction uses sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì ‘firstly’, as indicated in the preceding section. hàlì sāà‑gù can be added to make this more emphatic (‘still hasn’t’) (375b).

(375) a. ɲ̀ jā= [à gālā kɯ̀ɯ̄ tàà-nì],

1Sg said [3Sg Sbjn run.Nom stop-Caus.Pfv]

ŋ̄gàà [=àlì sāà‑gù] à gā kɯ̀ɯ̄

but [**until now**] 3Sg Ipfv run.Ipfv

‘I told him/her to stop running, but he/she is still running.’

b. [hàlì sāà-gū] sèēdū tè bē sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì

[**until now**] S PfvNeg come.Pfv **firstly**

‘Seydou still hasn’t come.’

hàlī wày (variants hǎl wày, hàl wāỳ) ‘until today’ or more generally ‘(up) until now, still’ can also be used in the same way. The time interval in this case can range from a few minutes to several years. Examples occur in the ethnohistorical text 2017‑01. In allegro speech it can contract to hàl wāỳ. However, hàlī wày can also mean ‘at this point’, with no requirement of a long time interval, as in text 2017-01 @ 07:59, 08:42, and 08:44.

#### Spatial adverbs

The following are the main nouns used in simple spatial adverbials.

(376) a. bóndó-kúmà ‘above, on top; upstairs’ (§8.2.7.1)

dàmī-ỳ ‘below, (at) the bottom, down; downstairs’ (§8.2.7.5, §8.2.8)

dùgūbāà ‘on the ground; on the plains (below the cliffs)’

b. jííɲ-cííⁿ ~ jííⁿ-cííⁿ ‘east’ (cf. cííⁿ “source; trunk [of tree]”)

jííŋ-kàmāà ‘west’ (? cf. kàmbà ‘occipital bone (above nape)’)

jííⁿ-sémū ‘south’ (cf. sémū ‘right (hand)’)

jííŋ-kóndō ‘north’ (cf. kóndō ‘left (hand)’)

c. kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ ‘(in) the rear, behind’ (§8.2.7.4)

tīgàà ‘forward, ahead, (in) front’ (§8.2.7.2)

Gentilic nominals with suffix -ŋgà are derivable from these adverbs, see §4.2.4. For tonal variant jììⁿ-cííⁿ ‘east’ see §8.2.3.3.

dùgūbāà ‘on the ground’ (376a), along with the noun yògōbāà ‘sky’, end in a syllable bāà that corresponds to a spatial compound final or postposition fáà in Kelenga (e.g. yògó fáà ‘above, on top’). However, the Kelenga morpheme may also correspond to Cliffs and Djenné Jenaama postposition pà, so the diachrony may be complex.

Instead of using the terms given in (376b) above for ‘north’ and ‘south’ to describe the direction of travel, speakers use tāwⁿ/tā-nā ‘ascend’ in the sense ‘head south (to Mopti, Bamako, etc.)’ and yàwⁿ/yà-là ‘descend’ in the sense ‘head north (to Konna, Douentza, etc.)’. Using the same vertical imagery, they use kùmà-sèwⁿ ‘upper road, high road’ for the road to Mopti and Bamako, and dàmì-séwⁿ ‘lower road, low road’ for the road to Douentza and Gao. Conventionally, sō kùmà‑sèwⁿ ‘go (on) the high road’ means ‘go (south) to a big city (for work)’ (local French *aller en exode*).

The stems for ‘right’ and ‘left’ (side) are sémú and kóndó. ‘Right hand/arm’ is sēmū‑sūgū, as in à sēmū-sūgū ‘his/her right hand’ from sùgù ‘hand’. ‘Left hand’ is kōndō‑sūgū. The final ‑sūgū may be omitted in both compounds if the context is clear. ‘Right leg/foot’ is sēmū‑tābā and ‘left leg/foot’ is kōndō‑tābā from tàbà ‘foot’.

‘Right’ and ‘left’ may be used to indicate relative position with comitative postposition bwɛ̄ỳ, as in àⁿ sémú bwɛ̄ỳ ‘to your right’, àŋ kóndó bwɛ̄ỳ ‘to your left’. Likewise with direction: sò àⁿ sémú bwɛ̄ỳ ‘go to your right!’.

#### Adjectival intensifiers

My assistant denied knowledge of any lexical adjectival intensifiers of the *brand new*, *dead wrong*, or *jet black* types. For ordinary extent modifiers like ‘very’, ‘a lot’, and ‘a little’, see §8.4.3.

#### Iterated adjectives for ‘(color)-ish’ and for distributivity

Color adjectives may be fully iterated with L-H tone overlay to indicate a moderate degree of the quality. Postnominal modifying forms are in (377a). My assistant rejected iterations in this function for several classes of adjectives including dimension and taste. For these stems, stem-iteration occurs only in distributive plural sense and is based on lexical tone melodies rather than the L-H overlay (377b).

(377) a. pīīⁿ ‘black’ pììm-pííⁿ ‘blackish’

kūwōⁿ ‘white’ kùwòŋ-kúwóⁿ ‘whitish, off-white’

tɔ̄mɔ̄wⁿ ‘red’ tɔ̀mɔ̀n-tɔ́mɔ́ⁿ ‘reddish’

b. dègɛ̀-náwⁿ ‘small’ dɛ̀gɛ̀-nàn-dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ ‘all small’

kūrū ‘short’ kūrū-kūrū ‘all short’

kɔ̄yāⁿ ‘long’ kɔ̄yāŋ-kɔ̄yāⁿ ‘all long’

Adjectival iteration also occurs in predicates. There is no tone overlay, and color adjectives take participial form. The only tonal modifications are due to tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising) where applicable.

(378) a. à pìyⁿɛ̄-pìyⁿɛ̀-nā nì

3Sg black-black-Ppl it.is

‘It is blackish.’ (< pìyⁿɛ̀-nā nì)

b. ì yè ŋ̀ kɔ̀yāŋ-kɔ̀yàⁿ

3Pl Sbj/Obj PsRefl long-long

‘Each of them is long.’ = ‘They are all long.’

### Expressive adverbials

Only a handful of ideophone-like expressive adverbials have been observed. An example is kíw! ‘dense; crowded’ in (379).

(379) dúgúŋ gá kɔ̄n-nā-ỳ kíw!

forest Ipfv hit-Ppl-Loc **dense**

‘The forest was impenetrable.’ (2017-03 @ 02:33)

# Verbal derivation

The productive suffixal derivation for verb stems is causative -ni (§9.1.).

There is no Dogon-style reversive derivation (‘un-tie’, etc.). Verbs denoting reversive actions are lexicalized and unrelated to the corresponding primary verb. The verb ɥɛ̀ɛ̀/ɥɛ̀ɛ̄ ‘open (v)’ is common in reversive contexts, e.g. ‘untie’ reversing sɛ̀y/sɛ̀-lɛ̀ ‘tie’, and ‘un-braid, undo braids of’ reversing mūrì/mūrì ‘braid the hair of (a woman)’. The sense ‘open (v)’ is itself construable as the reversive of tɛ̄gɛ̄/tɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘shut’. Likewise, bāgā ‘remove’ can function as reversive of several verbs that have senses like ‘put in’ and ‘put on, wear’.

Intransitive/transitive alternations can be expressed in three ways, only one of which involves derivational morphology. First, a transitive verb can take reflexive objects in mediopassive function, as in à=ŋ̀ kɛ̄wⁿ ‘it (e.g. a stick) snapped’, compare regular transitive verb à=à kɛ̄wⁿ ‘he/she snapped it’. Another pattern is the use of a labile verb in both transitive and intransitive senses, e.g. transitive kìlè/kìlè ‘get’ as intransitive in e.g. à gā kìlē ‘it is obtainable, it is found (there)’. The third possibility is derivational intransitivization by fronting the final stem vowel (§9.3.1).

## Causative

### Causative suffix -ni

The causative suffix is -ni (atonal). The input may be transitive or intransitive, but intransitives are more common. For all but a few monosyllabic verbs, the suffix is added directly to the verb stem.

(380) presents representative examples of input-causative relationships, for verbs that have a tonal distinction between Pfv and Ipfv (§10.1.3.1). In (380a), the Pfv is M and the Ipfv ML, in both input and causative. In (380b), the input has Pfv L and Ipfv LM, while the Pfv and both causative stems are L.

(380) input gloss causative gloss

Pfv/Ipfv Pfv/Ipfv

a. input and causative M/ML

kɯ̄ɯ̄/kɯ̄ɯ̀ ‘catch fire’ kɯ̄ɯ̄-nī/ kɯ̄ɯ̄-nì ‘ignite’

sāgā/sāgà ‘lie down’ sāgā-nī/sāgā-nì ‘lay down’

pīyɛ̄wⁿ/pīyɛ̀wⁿ ‘get hot’ pīyɛ̄-nī/pīyɛ̄-nì ‘heat (sth)’

b. input L/LM, causative L/L

kìì/kìī ‘get up’ kìì-nì/kìì-nì ‘awaken, get (sb) up’

tàà/tàā ‘stop, stand’ tàà-nì/tàà-nì ‘stop (sth)’

mwɔ̀ⁿ/mẁɔ̄ⁿ ‘ripen; heal’ mẁɔ̀-nì/mẁɔ̀-nì ‘cause to ripen; heal (sth)’

kwààⁿ/kwàāⁿ ‘fear (v)’ kwààⁿ-nì/kwààⁿ-nì ‘frighten’

sùbè/sùbē ‘suckle’ sùbè-nì/sùbè-nì ‘(woman) breastfeed (baby)’

bàndà/bàndā ‘get tired’ bàndà-nì/bàndà-nì ‘weary, pester (sb)’

c. input M/M-M (suffixal Ipfv), causative M/ML

tūūⁿ/tū-nū ‘get lost’ tūn-nī/tūn-nì ‘cause to disappear’

Array (381) shows the treatment of verbs whose inputs have invariant M in both Pfv and Ipfv. The causative is M in the Pfv, but ML in the Ipfv. This indicates that the M/M type is not possible for trisyllabics.

(381) input gloss causative gloss

Pfv/Ipfv Pfv/Ipfv

input M/M, causative M/ML

dwɔ̄/dɔ̄-lɔ̄ ‘enter’ dūwɛ̄-nī/dūwɛ̄-nì ‘take/bring in’

wwō/wwō ‘weep’ wwō-nī/wwō-nì ‘cause to weep’

### Pseudo-causative of ‘come’ (bīyɛ̀-nì) and ‘go’ (sāā-nì)

The basic conveyance construction is of the type “X come [with Y]” meaning ‘X bring Y (here)’ and “X go [with Y]” meaning ‘X take Y away, X remove X’ or with a spatial expression ‘X take/deliver Y to (somewhere)’ (§11.1.1.4).

When Y is a human, there is also a causative ‘cause to come/go’ with what looks like causative -nì. The forms are in (382).

(382) input gloss pseudo-causative gloss

Pfv/Ipfv Pfv/Ipfv

a. input M/M, causative ML/ML

bē/bē ‘come’ bīyɛ̀-nì/bīyɛ̀-nì ‘bring; cause to come’

b. input L/L, causative L/LM

sò/sò ‘go’ sāā-nì/sāā-nì ‘convey; cause to go’

less often: sōā-nì/sōā-nì

bīyɛ̀-nì has also been heard as byɛ̄ɛ̀‑nì.

Clausal examples including preverbal objects, showing that these function as transitive verbs, are in (383).

(383) a. n̄ =nāⁿ sèēdù bīyɛ̀-nì / sāā-nì

1Sg Sbj/Obj S come-/go-Caus.Pfv

‘I made/had Seydou come/go.’

b. ŋ̀ gā sèēdù bīyɛ̀-nì / sāā-nì

1Sg Ipfv S come-/go-Caus.Ipfv

‘I (often) make/have Seydou come/go.’

In the perfective positive, these verbs can be followed by Pfv gà (384), like ordinary causatives.

(384) à yē [[mwɔ̀ láá=] ām bīyɛ̀-nī gà]

3Sg said [[which? QTop.Foc] 2Sg come-Caus.Pfv **RemPfv**]

‘He said, “What has brought you (here)?” ’ (2017-04 @ 02:36)

Synchronically, these can be analysed as causatives with irregular extensions to the inner stem. However, diachronically they reflect reanalysis and fusion of combinations of ‘come’ and ‘go’ with instrumental PP à nī ‘with it’, which is by far the most common postverbal PP in the conveyance construction. Thus \*bē à nī ‘come with it, bring it’ was reanalysed as ‘cause (it) to come’, and \*sō à nī ‘go with it, convey it’ was reanalysed as ‘cause (it) to go’.

### Causative of sē/sē ‘say’

The other Cv verb that can be causativized is sē/sē ‘say’. It has a causative sēē‑nī/sēē‑nì ‘cause (X) to say (Y, to Z)’. In (385a) sēē‑nī is followed by a subjunctive complement. In (385b) the original quotation is a 3Sg pronominal within a PP à nī that contracts with sēē-nī as phonetic [sē:nā:nì]. This contracted form could be in very early stages of reanalysis as a an irregular causative sēē-nāā-nì with an augment -nāā- preceding causative suffix -nì. However, there is not yet any morphosyntactic sign of this reanalysis, and the imperfective version in (385c) has phonetic [sē:na᷆:nī], whose tones point to sēē-nì [à nī] before tone sandhi and vv-Contraction.

(385) a. [ŋ̀ káá] yē ŋ̀ sēē-nī [sèēdù tē]

[1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 1Sg **say-Caus**.Pfv [S Dat]

[à gālà bē]

[3Sg Sbjn come.Pfv]

‘My father made me tell Seydou to come.’

b. [ŋ̀ káá] yè ŋ̀ sēē-nā= [à nī] [sèēdù tē]

[1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 1Sg **say-Caus**.Pfv [3Sg Inst] [S Dat]

‘My father made me say it to Seydou.’

c. [ŋ̀ káá] gā ŋ̀ sēē-nā= [à nī] [sèēdù tē]

[1Sg father] Ipfv 1Sg **say-Caus**.Ipfv [3Sg Inst] [S Dat]

‘My father (often) makes me say it to Seydou.’ (< Ipfv sēē-nì)

### Causative ‘make X VP’ phrased as ‘tell X to VP’

Something functionally similar to a true causative can be cobbled together as a quoted imperative (‘say’ plus subjunctive clause), the implication being that the command was carried out.

(386) [ŋ̀ káá] yē [ŋ̀ gālà bē]

[1Sg father] said [1Sg Sbjn come.Pfv]

‘My father told me to come.’ ( ≅ ‘My father made me come.’)

## No productive passive or antipassive derivations

Many verbs are ambi-valent (labile), thus kɛ̄wⁿ/kɛ̄-nɛ̀ ‘break, snap’ in transitive ‘X break Y’ and in intransitive (middle) ‘Y break’.

There is no productive passive derivation. However, when stative suffix -na is added to a transitive verb that denotes an enduring impact on an object, it functions like a resultative passive (§10.1.4). Since the stative suffix is also common with intransitives (especially stance verbs), passivization is not its main function. Moreover, the input to the stative is arguably an already intransitive counterpart to the transitive verb, given the prevalence of ambi-valency.

There is likewise no productive antipassive derivation. See, however, the transitivity-related vocalic mutations in the following section.

## Phonological mutations in verbal derivation

### a/ɔ ~ ɛ and o ~ e mutations

#### Transitivity pairs with final e/ɛ in antipassive intransitive

A few verb stems occur in transitivity doublets with a vocalic mutation (387a-b). In both cases the intransitive is semantically antipassive (omitting the object). The transitive ends in a low or back mid-height vowel {a ɔ o}. The intransitive has ɛ corresponding to a or ɔ, and o corresponding to e. This is a rare example of ATR harmony in derivation (§3.3.6).

(387) transitive intransitive gloss

a. dīgā/dīgà dīgɛ̄/dīgɛ̀ ‘eat (a meal)’

b. sùwɔ̀/sùwɔ̄ sìɥɛ̀/sìɥɛ̄ ‘cook (in a pot)’

c. tōlō/tōlò tōlē/tōlè ‘sell’

‘Cook (in a pot)’ (387b) is phonologically interesting since the shift from ɔ to ɛ brings about the fronting of w to ɥ, before which the distinction between i and u is neutralized (§3.3.2).

A related alternation is seen in (388), where however the transitive perfective form has apparently contracted from bi- to monosyllabic, and where the intransitive form has a medial consonant m that differs from the n in the transitive Ipfv.

(388) transitive kūūⁿ/kū-nū ‘catch’

intransitive kūmɛ̄/kūmɛ̀ ‘(trap) catch (an unspecified animal)’

#### Other mutations to verb-final e/ɛ

The stem-final vocalic mutations described in the previous section are not limited to transitivity alternations. For the verbs that do have such transitivity alternations, the stem variant ending in e/ɛ also occurs in the otherwise unsuffixed verbal noun and in various suffixal derivatives.

(389) a. ‘eat’

dīgɛ̄ ‘eating’ verbal noun

tēē-dīgɛ̄ ‘meat-eating’ verbal noun with object

dīgɛ̄-nī/dīgɛ̄-nì ‘feed (v)’ causative

dīgɛ̄-pwɔ̄ ‘food’ compound (pwɔ̄ ‘thing’)

dìgɛ̀-nà ‘eating’ with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)

*with incorporated object*

tēē-dīgɛ̄ ‘meat-eating’ verbal noun with object

tēē-dīgɛ̄-yà ‘meat-eater’ agentive with object

b. ‘cook (in pot)’

sìɥɛ̀-yà ‘cook (n)’ agentive

sìɥɛ̄‑gàwⁿ ‘kitchen, cooking area’ place nominal

sìɥɛ̀-nà ‘cooking’ with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)

c. ‘sell’

tōlē-yà ‘seller, merchant’ agentive

tōlē-gàwⁿ ‘selling place’ place nominal

tōlē-nā nì ‘be (already) sold’ stative (resultative)

tòlè-nà ‘selling’ with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)

d. ‘catch’

kūmɛ̄ ‘catching’ verbal noun

kūmɛ̄-nā nì ‘be (already) caught’ stative (resultative)

kūmɛ̄-yà ‘collector, captor’ agentive

kùmɛ̀-nà ‘catching’ with ‘likeness’ (§12.2.4.2)

Examples like tēē-dīgɛ̄ ‘meat-eating’ and tēē-dīgɛ̄-yà ‘meat-eater’ with incorporated object (389a) show that the form in e/ɛ occurs even in “transitive” contexts with an incorporated object, in spite of the fact that the transitive form (dīgā/dīgà) is obligatory in transitive main clauses with on overt object (X tēē dīgā ‘X ate meat’).

Another verb that presents an ɔ/ɛ alternation is ‘enter’. Since the variant with final ɔ is already intransitive, no transitivity pairing occurs. However, its suffixal derivatives mutate ɔ to ɛ in the same way seen with ‘eat’.

(390) a. dwɔ̄/dɔ̄-lɔ̄ ‘enter’

b. dūwɛ̄-ní/dūwɛ̄-nì ‘cause to enter, take/put in’

dūwɛ̄-gàwⁿ ‘entering place, access’

dūwɛ̄-gù ‘entering’ (verbal noun)

c. dūwɛ̄ ‘circumcision’

For ‘circumcision’ (390c), the diachronic background is clarified by counterparts in the parallel Djenné Jenaama grammar.

### Transitivity pair with uu ~ wii alternation

Somewhat similar to the preceding is the alternation in (391), where pwìì perhaps results from resyllabification of older \*pùwì.

(391) transitive pùù/pùù ‘blow on; inflate’

intransitive pwìì/pwìì ‘(body part) become swollen’

There is no shift of pùù to pwìì in suffixal derivatives: pùū-gàwⁿ ‘inflating place’. This weakens the connection with the cases described in preceding sections. Djenné Jenaama has fùù/fùú for both transitive ‘blow (on)’ and intransitive ‘swell’.

### Shift of final ɛ to (a)y for locative sense

The transitive verb syɛ̄/syɛ̄ ‘put X (in Y)’ is exemplified in (392a-c).

(392) a. n̄ =nàn̄ dàndì syɛ̄ [kɔ̀lū nìŋīì]

1Sg Sbj/Obj chili **put.in**.Pfv [pot inside]

‘I put-Past the chili peppers in the pot.’

b. n̄ =nàn̄ dàndì syɛ̄

1Sg Sbj/Obj chili **put.in**.Pfv

‘I put-Past the chili peppers in.’

c. n̄ =nā= à syɛ̄ [kɔ̀lū nìŋīì]

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg **put.in**.Pfv [pot inside]

‘I put-Past it in the pot.’

syɛ̄/syɛ̄ can also combine with a following ā-ỳ ‘in it’ or ē-ỳ ‘in them’ (§8.2.3.1). The two words fuse in a way that gives the initial appearance of a suffixal derivation.

(393) a. n̄ =nā= à sy= ā-ỳ

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg **put.in**.Pfv 3Sg-**Loc**

‘I put it (=chili) in (it).’

b. à nà sɔ́mɛ́ sy= ē-ỳ

3Sg IpfvNeg condiments **put.in**.Ipfv 3Pl-**Loc**

‘She doesn’t put (enough) condiments in (them).’

c. ān tā= à syɛ̄,

2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg put.in.Pfv

è nā= à sy= ā-ỳ

3Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg **put.in**.Ipfv 3Sg-**Loc**

‘If you-Sg (=a man) don’t put it in (=provide or pay for food), they (=women) won’t put it (=condiments) in (the pot).’

The cultural context needed to understand (393c) is that an old woman, acting as treasurer, is responsible for providing condiments (or money to pay for them) for the family. The adage (393c) refers to this.

That ā-ỳ or ē-ỳ is a separate word, not a derivational suffix, is shown in examples with remote perfective gà separating the two.

(394) n̄ =nā= à syɛ̄ gà= ā-ỳ

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.in.Pfv **RemPfv** 3Sg-Loc

‘I put-Past it in (it).’

### No special derivation for dō/dō ‘give’

Djenné Jenaama (Sorogaama) has two versions of the ‘give’ verb, dɔ́/dɔ́-rɔ́ when followed by a dative recipient, and dúwò/dúwò-rò when there is no overt dative PP.

There is no similar variation in Cliffs. The verb dō/dō ‘give’ has the same form with or without an overt dative.

## Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

Most but not all basic modifying adjectives have a corresponding intransitive inchoative verb. In some cases, the “adjective” is itself derived from the verb.

The factitive is in every case the morphological causative of the intransitive inchoative. Thus ‘red-Inch’ meaning ‘X redden, turn red’ has a factitive ‘become.red-Inch-Caus’ meaning ‘Y make X turn red’. For example, ɲìyɛ̀-gà ‘become easy/cheap’ (§9.4.4) has factitive ɲìyɛ̀-gà-nì (395).

(395) [ālà gā= ā ɲìyɛ̀-gà-nī]

[God Ipfv 3Sg easy-**Inch-Caus**.Ipfv]

‘God facilitates it.’ (2017-01 @ 01:16)

### Modifiers that lack an inchoative counterpart

Some modifying adjectives correspond to periphrastic inchoative predicates featuring the verb pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘become’ (or ‘sit’). Usually in the sense ‘become’ it takes NP complements (e.g. ‘become/evolve into a man’ or ‘turn/be transformed into a frog’). Adjective-like modifiers (which may really be nouns or expressive adverbials syntactically) of this type are in (396). The modifier in (396a) is lexically iterative in form and may be an expressive adverbial. The noun-like “adjectives” in (396b) occur with instrumental nī.

(396) a. pwɔ̀ ɲīī-ɲīī ‘become coarse’

b. pwɔ̀ [sūmū nī] ‘become foreign’

pwɔ̄ [tīnààn nī] ‘become other’

In the case of ‘new’, an actual noun, minimally ‘thing’ (pā), is required to form a predicate (397).

(397) pwɔ̀ [[pā tōy] nī] ‘become a new thing’

### Inchoatives without a derivational suffix

In (398), the inchoative is identical or similar to the modifying adjective, without an obvious derivational suffix.

(398) Deadjectival inchoatives without derivational suffix

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv) modifying gloss

a. sīlē / sīlè sílē ‘old’

dēmō / dēmò dēmōⁿ ‘delicious, sweet’

tɔ̀mɔ̀ / tɔ̀mɔ̄ tɔ̄mɔ̄wⁿ ‘red’

b. kwāāⁿ / kwāàⁿ kūwōⁿ ‘white; clean’

c. màɲɛ̀ / màɲɛ̄ māɲāwⁿ ‘good’

d. pìyⁿɛ̀wⁿ / pìyⁿɛ̄wⁿ pīīⁿ ‘black’

In (399), the only attested modifying adjective is derived from the inchoative by suffix -na, in some cases with minor phonological adjustments of the stem. The inchoative is generally one tone level lower than the modifying adjective, unless the latter is already L‑toned.

The set ‘black’, ‘dirty’, and ‘hot’ is interesting phonologically. ‘Dirty’ (399b) has the same inchoative as ‘black’ in (398d) above, except for a faint and likely unreliable distinction in nasality (§3.2.10.1), but their modifying adjectives differ segmentally. ‘Hot’ (399b) differs tonally from the other two in the inchoative, and from ‘dirty’ in the (participial) modifying form.

(399) Modifying adjective is inchoative plus -na

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv) modifying gloss

a. inchoative L‑toned, modifying adjective M‑toned

kìjì / kìjī kījī-nā ‘plump’

kūmā / kūmà kūmā-nā ‘lean, emaciated’

mwàà / mwàā mwāā-nā ‘cold’

pìyɛ̀wⁿ / pìyɛ̄wⁿ pīyⁿɛ̄-nà ‘dirty’

pòrè / pòrē pōrē-nā ‘wet’

b. inchoative and modifying adjective M‑toned

ɲāāmū-ɲāāmū / ɲāāmū-ɲāāmù ɲāāmū-ɲāāmū-nā ‘multicolored, spotted, striped’

pāā / pā-lā pān-nā ‘full’

pīyɛ̄wⁿ / pīyɛ̀wⁿ pīyɛ̄-nā ‘hot’

c. inchoative and modifying adjective ML‑toned

bīllà / bīllà bīllà-nà ‘narrow, tight’

dāātà / dāātà dāātà-nà ‘smooth’

tāndà / tāndà tāndà-nà ‘sour’

d. inchoative <LML>‑toned, modifying adjective ML(-L)-toned

wwo᷈ⁿ / wwǒ-lò wūwò-nà ‘dry; hard’

### Inchoatives with -(aa)ma

In (400), the inchoative verb ends in a suffix -(aa)ma of variable tone, not already part of the adjective. In (400a), the stem in the inchoative has lower tone than it does as modifying adjective.

(400) Deadjectival inchoatives with -(aa)ma

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv) modifying gloss

a. …à-àmà/…à-àmā

*H/M alternation*

bānà-àmà / bānà-àmā bánū ‘big, massive, thick’

*M/L alternation*

bùlà-àmà / bùlà-àmā būlōⁿ ‘big; wide, loose’

kɔ̀jà-àmà / kɔ̀jà-àmā kɔ̄jāwⁿ ‘long; tall’ (variant)

kɔ̀yà-àmà / kɔ̀yà-àmā kɔ̄yāwⁿ ‘long; tall’ (variant)

kùrà-àmà / kùrà-àmā kūrū ‘short’

ɲīŋà-àmà / ɲīŋà-àmā ɲɔ̄ŋɔ̄ ‘bad; nasty’

b. …ā-āmā/…ā-āmà

kāgājā-āmā / kāgājā-āmà kāgājī ‘bitter’

kāmnā-āmā / kāmnā-āmà kāmnā ‘old (person)’

nɔ̄gɔ̄rā-āmā / nɔ̄gɔ̄rā-āmà nɔ̄gɔ̄rɔ̄wⁿ ‘difficult’

c. -mā/-mà

cīyē-mā / cīyē-mà cīyēwⁿ ‘heavy’

dāā-mā / dāā-mà dāāⁿ ‘distant’

kāā-mā / kāā-mà kāā ‘wet; raw; unripe’

wwō-mā / wwō-mà wwōⁿ-wwōⁿ ‘empty’

A suppletive and tonally slightly irregular inchoative is kūsā-āmà/kūsā-āmà (or variants with j instead of s) ‘abound, multiply, become many’, cf. modifying adjective pāà-lōwⁿ ‘many’.

For inchoatives with suffix combination -ga-ama, see (402) below.

### Inchoatives with -ga ~ -gɛ and -ga-ama

In (401), the inchoative ends in -ga or -gɛ, corresponding to -gu in the modifying adjective. The stems are L‑toned in the inchoatives.

(401) Deadjectival inchoatives with -ga ~ -gɛ

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv) modifying gloss

a. -ga

mìyɛ̀-gà / mìyɛ̀-gā mīyɛ̀-gū ‘thin’

ɲìyɛ̀-gà / ɲìyɛ̀-gā ɲīyɛ̀-gù ‘easy’

dùwɔ̀-gà / dùwɔ̀-gā dūwɔ̀-gù ‘small’

b. -gɛ or -ga

tùɥ-gɛ̀ / tùɥ-gɛ̄ tūɥ̀-gù ‘nearby’

or: tùɥ-gà / tùɥ-gā

There are also some inchoatives that combine -gu- with -ama (402). Again the modifying adjective has -gu.

(402) Deadjectival inchoatives with -ga-ama

inchoative (Pfv/Ipfv) modifying gloss

a. stem L‑toned in inchoative

pùlù-gà-àmà / pùlù-gà-àmā pūlù-gù ‘soft’

kùy-gà-àmà / kùy-gà-àmā kūyⁿ ‘deep’

b. stem remains M‑toned in inchoative

pēl-gà-àmà / pēl-gà-àmā pēlù-gù ‘light(weight)’

### Iteration of Ipfv verb stems

Ipfv and occasionally Pfv verb stems can be iterated in full to express patterned repetition of events and actions. “Iter” is shown in the interlinear. It is arbitrarily associated with the left iteration, but there is no real distinction between base and reduplicant. In (403), we see that Final Tone-Raising applies at the main internal boundary if the two iterations are L‑toned, cf. yà-là ‘descend(s)’ (Pfv yàwⁿ).

(403) à gā [yà-lā]-[yà-là]

3Sg Ipfv **Iter**-[descend-Ipfv]

‘He/She descends over and over.’

In bùrù/bùrū ‘cut (sth long) in two’ and its iteration bùrū-bùrù (Pfv) / bùrū-bùrū-nà (Ipfv) ‘cut (sth) up into pieces’, the Ipfv suffix -nà occurs only in the iteration. Elsewhere -nà is common when the Pfv is contour-toned. This indicates that the raised medial M‑tone in Pfv bùrū-bùrù has been lexicalized, though it originated as tone sandhi.

tɛ̄gɛ̄/tɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘cover’ or ‘shut’ has iteration tɛ̄gɛ̄-tɛ̄gɛ̄ (Pfv) and tɛ̄gɛ̄-tɛ̄gɛ̀ (Ipfv), see (699) in §15.4.4.

Some verbs that denote intrinsically repetitive events are attested only in iterative form. There is always at least one nonlow tone in the Pfv stem, but the Ipfv forms differ lexically. Examples: kììnī-kììnì (Pfv=Ipfv) ‘stir (porridge)’, kùjù-kūjù (Pfv=Ipfv) ‘shake up and down (in a container)’, pīrī-pīrī/pīrī-pīrì ‘writhe’, wīyⁿāⁿ-wīyⁿāwⁿ/wīyⁿāⁿ-wīyⁿā-nà ‘spread out (leaves) to dry’, and (sigh!) the inevitable jɔ̀gì-jɔ̄gī/jɔ̀gì-jɔ̄gì ‘jog’.

# Verbal inflection

## Inflection of regular indicative verbs

At the word level, verbs have two basic indicative forms, Pfv and Ipfv. Many verbs also have a participial suffix -nà that can function either as a modifier or in stative predicates. The abbreviations **Pfv**, **Ipfv**, and **Ppl** are used here to refer to these stems. In interlinears, Ipfv glosses the post-subject imperfective particle, and -Ipfv and -Ppl gloss suffixes on verbs. When referring to larger VP or clausal constructions in the main text, the terms perfective, imperfective, and stative are not abbreviated, except where necessary in table headings which then use lowercase (e.g. pfv, pfvneg, ipfv, ipfvneg, ppl).

Some verbs have identical Pfv and Ipfv stems. Some distinguish them only by tones, others by suffixation or other segmental changes in the Ipfv stem.

A minority of verbs have a distinct form of the stem ending in ɛ/e that can intransitivize a transitive verb and that also occurs in verbal nouns and other derivatives (§9.3.1).

Clauses are inflected more broadly for aspect, polarity, and mood by post-subject inflectional particles, e.g. IpfvNeg nà. There is also a postverbal remote perfective particle. Since these particles interact are coordinated verb forms, both the stem morphology of verbs (Pfv, Ipfv, Ppl) and the clausal inflectional system are covered in this chapter.

### Overview of AN categories

The indicative categories are those in (404), which omits some tonal variants of the particles. Some of the categories are expressed by stem choice plus post-subject or postverbal particles and auxiliaries. “Sbj” indicates the position of the subject. “X” indicates the position of the object NP in transitive verbs. Pfv, Ipfv, and Ppl are three different stems of the verb. The Ipfv stem occurs after positive gà and kày and negative nà. The Pfv verb form, which is also morphologically simple, occurs in a wider range of constructions and is the unmarked stem in form and function.

(404) category positive negative

a. perfective and perfect

perfective Sbj X Pfv Sbj tè X Pfv

future Sbj gà bē X Pfv Sbj nà bē X Pfv

remote perfective Sbj X Pfv gà Sbj tè X Pfv gà

b. imperfective system

imperfective gà X Ipfv nà X Ipfv

presentative kày X Ipfv —

presentative stative kày X Ppl nà X Ppl

c. some composite categories

experiential perfect (‘have ever’) bāynà gà X Ipfv tè bāynà gà X Ipfv

‘already’ pààŋ-kēẁⁿ (§19.3.3) —

‘(not) yet’ — sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì (§8.4.6.2)

The post-subject inflectional morphemes and their tonal variants are presented more fully in (405). Postverbal inflectional morphemes are omitted. The “basic” forms occur before M-tone and underly the forms that occur (after tone sandhi) before L or H tone. Where two variants are given for the “basic” form, the choice depends on the subject as detailed below.

(405) category gloss basic \_\_ L‑tone \_\_ H-tone

perfective (positive)

in main clause Pfv (zero) (zero) (zero)

in ‘if’ clause if.Pfv nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ nā(w)ⁿ nà(w)ⁿ

in ‘until’ clause until.Pfv gà/gā gā gà

perfective negative PfvNeg tè tē tè

imperfective (positive) Ipfv gà/gā gā gà

imperfective negative IpfvNeg nà/nā nā nà

presentative(-progressive)

positive Prsntv kày/kāy kàȳ kày

future (positive) Fut bē (not applicable)

imperative (positive)

singular addressee (Imprt) (zero) (zero) (zero)

plural addressee Imprt.2Pl yèⁿ yēⁿ yèⁿ

prohibitive Proh màⁿ/māⁿ māⁿ màⁿ

hortative Hort kèⁿ kěⁿ (<LM>) kèⁿ

subjunctive Sbjn gālà gālà gālà

(406) below presents forms of most of these particles before bē/bē ‘come’ and sò/sò ‘go’. The subjects are sìbò ‘snake’, 1Pl ē (representing the M-toned proclitics), and 3Pl è (representing the L‑toned proclitics). Ipfv gà/gā and IpfvNeg nà/nā fail to trigger Final Tone-Raising on preceding morphemes, even when L-toned. In (406a), sìbò ‘the snake’ remains L-toned even when followed by L-toned gà and nà, which should trigger raising (to sìbō) as in fact happens before the other particles in (406b-c). The diachronic reason for this is that gà/gā and nà/nā formerly had nonlow tones, i.e. the M-toned variants gā and nā were once generalized. Another important takeaway from (406) is that Ipfv gà/gā and IpfvNeg nà/nā (406a) **assimilate** to the preceding tone (subject to further tone sandhi), the particles in (406c) **dissimilate** to the preceding tone of the proclitic (M after L, L after M) subject to further tone sandhi, and PfvNeg tè neither assimilates nor dissimilates. The data are superficially complicated by the application of Final Tone-Raising to an L-tone preceding sò/sò ‘go’, so the forms with bē/bē ‘come’ are more revealing.

(406) ‘the snake’ 1Pl 3Pl

a. L after nonpronominal NP, tone-**assimilating** to pronominal proclitic

Ipfv sìbò gà bē ē gā bē è gà bē

sìbò gā sò ē gā sò è gā sò

IpfvNeg sìbò nà bē ē nā bē è nà bē

sìbò nā sò ē nā sò è nā sò

b. neither assimilating nor dissimilating to proclitic

PfvNeg sìbō tè bē ē tè bē è tè bē

sìbō tē sò ē tē sò è tē sò

c. L after nonpronominal NP, tone-**dissimilating** to pronominal proclitic

Proh sìbò mām bē ē màm bē è mām bē

sìbò mān sò ē mān sò è mān sò

‘if.Pfv’ sìbò nām bē ē nàm bē è nām bē

sìbò nān sò ē nān sò è nān sò

‘until.Pfv’ sìbò gā bē ē gà bē è gā bē

sìbò gā sò ē gā sò è gā sò

[likewise yè/yē ‘said’ and its variants (§17.1.2)]

d. M-toned after nonpronominal NP, tone-**assimilating** after pronominal proclitic

Prsntv sìbò kāy bē ē kāy bē è kày bē

sìbò kāy sò ē kāy sò è kàȳ sò

Presentative kày/kāy (§4.4.4.1) diverges somewhat from the assimilating type (406a). First, it is M-toned after a nonpronominal subject. Second, its 1Sg form is ŋ̀ káy with H-toned káy, since the presentative originated as a transitive imperative with 1Sg object ŋ̀ (+H) rather than 1Sg subject ŋ̄.

### Verb stem shapes

#### Bisyllabic and longer verb stems

Most uncompounded and unsuffixed verb stems are bisyllabic. Typical shapes are CvCv, CvNCv with homorganic nasal-voiced stop cluster, and CvvCv, plus any of the preceding with a final wⁿ. A few examples are in (407).

(407) gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. CvCv

‘sleep’ kùmù kùmū-nà

b. CvNCv

‘stay’ kōndō kōndò

c. CvYNCv

‘amaze’ hāyndè hāyndè

d. CvvCv

‘crawl’ kūūnū kūūnù

‘fly (v)’ pīīrī pīīrì

‘pass away (die)’ fāātī fāātì

e. CvCvwⁿ

‘arrive’ kìyɔ̀wⁿ kìyɔ̀wⁿ

A few unsegmentable verb stems are trisyllabic (408).

(408) gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. CvCvCv

‘roll over’ bīrījà bīrījà

‘replaster’ bīyɛ̄gà bīyɛ̄gà

‘bite off shell’ gɯ̄gɯ̄jō gɯ̄gɯ̄jò

‘coincide’ kājàmà kājàmà

‘entrust’ kàlìfà kàlìfà

b. CvCvNCv

‘twist’ kòlōmbì kòlōmbì

#### Monosyllabic verb stems

The known Cv verb stems (excluding Cvwⁿ and Cvⁿ which pattern as bimoraic) are the two most basic motion verbs plus ‘give’ (409a). There are also a few Cwo and Cyɛ stems (409b) which pattern as monomoraic. The Pfv/Ipfv alternations are discussed in §10.1.3.1 below.

(409) gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. ‘go’ sò sò

‘come’ bē bē

‘give’ dō dō

‘provide’ kò kò

b. ‘burn’ bwō bwō

‘stone-grind, crush’ dwī dwī

‘put in’ syɛ̄ syɛ̄

‘weep’ wwō wwō

Other monosyllabic stems are of the shapes Cvv (with long vowel), Cvwⁿ, and Cvyⁿ. Cvwⁿ ends in a nasal(ized) element of variable pronunciation, usually wⁿ prepausally and an assimilating nasal before another word. A partial inventory is (410a-c). These stems are able to distinguish Pfv from Ipfv by tones (‘get up’, ‘run’, ‘ruin’), or by addition of a syllabic suffix in the Ipfv.

(410) gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. Cvv

‘get up’ kìì kìī

‘run’ kɯ̀ɯ̀ kɯ̀ɯ̄

‘stand’ tàà tà-là

b. Cvwⁿ

‘descend’ yàwⁿ yà-là

‘ascend’ tāwⁿ tā-nā

c. Cvyⁿ

‘ruin’ māyⁿ māỳⁿ

### Pfv and Ipfv stems of verbs

#### Ipfv is homophonous to Pfv

For some verbs, the Ipfv and Pfv stems are **identical** tonally as well as segmentally (411).

To begin with, the short verbs just mentioned in (409) are of this type (411). There also are a handful of M‑toned Cwō and Cyɛ̄ stems, alternatively transcribable as diphthongal Cu̯o and Ci̯ɛ, and that in any event behave tonally like monomoraic stems (411b).

(411) Ipv identical to Pfv

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

a. L‑toned

Cv

‘go’ sò sò

b. M‑toned

Cv

‘come’ bē bē

‘give’ dō dō

Cwv *or* Cyv

‘burn’ bwō bwō

‘stone-grind, crush’ dwī dwī

‘put in’ syɛ̄ syɛ̄

‘weep’ wwō wwōphonetic [wu̯ō]

The other verbs with identical Pfv and Ipfv are bisyllabic or heavier and have contour-toned melodies (observed in the Pfv). The majority are /ML/- or /LML/-melodic with final falling tone pattern (412a-b). The few that are /LM/-melodic with rising tone pattern (412c) either show hints of being Cv̀Cv́ reduced from older Cv̀Cv́v̀, or denote bodily noises, or both. /L/‑melodic examples are also rather limited and do not include Cv̀Cv̀ (412d).

(412) a. /ML/‑melodic (among many others)

CvCv

‘push’ cɛ̄bù cɛ̄bùalso ‘put up on fire’

‘be able to’ hīnì hīnì

‘blink’ ŋɔ̄mɛ̀ ŋɔ̄mɛ̀ ‘touch lightly (as sign)’

‘begin’ sīnì sīnì reflexive (variant sīndì)

CvCCv

‘burst’ fēllà fēllà

CvvCv

‘pass away, die’ fāātì fāātì

‘reply’ jāābì jāābì

‘rip, tear’ (var.) pɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ pɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀variant pīyɛ̀rɛ̀

‘count’ hīīsà hīīsà synonym yīyē

‘think’ mīīlà mīīlà reflexive verb

CvCvCv

‘rip, tear’ (var.) pīyɛ̀rɛ̀ pīyɛ̀rɛ̀variant pɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀

‘slip’ yīyɛ̀rɛ̀ yīyɛ̀rɛ̀

b. /LML/‑melodic (all known examples excluding causatives)

CvCvv

‘court (a girl)’ gìnāà gìnāà

‘wail’ kɔ̀mɔ̄ɔ̀ kɔ̀mɔ̄ɔ̀

‘kneel’ kùgɛ̄ɛ̀ kùgɛ̄ɛ̀variant kùgāà

‘stutter’ sùsūù sùsūù

‘snatch’ wòlōò wòlōò

CvvCv

‘understand’ fàāmù fàāmù

trisyllabic

‘give a blessing’ dùwāwù dùwāwù

‘converse’ gàlwāājà gàlwāājà

‘beg’ gàrībù gàrībù

‘twist’ kòlōmbì kòlōmbì

‘protect’ sùtūrà sùtūrà

‘develop (intr.)’ yìrīwà yìrīwà

c. /LM/‑melodic (all known examples)

CvCv (bodily sounds)

‘hiccup (v)’ gègū gègū

‘ululate’ kɔ̀mɔ̄ kɔ̀mɔ̄ variant kɔ̀mɔ̄ɔ̀/kɔ̀mɔ̄ɔ̀

‘snore’ kɔ̀ɲɔ̄ kɔ̀ɲɔ̄

CvCv (auxiliary-like)

‘as soon as’ gìlɛ̄wⁿ gìlɛ̄wⁿ (§15.4.2)

CvNCv

‘pick (a lock)’ pɔ̀ndɛ̄ pɔ̀ndɛ̄

‘peck’ sɔ̀ŋgī sɔ̀ŋgī verbal noun sɔ̀ŋgīī-gù

d. /L/‑melodic (all known examples of two or more moras)

‘become swollen’ pwìì pwìì

‘pardon (v)’ yààfɛ̀ yààfɛ̀

‘entrust’ kàlìfà kàlìfà

‘renege’ nàmbàrà nàmbàrà

CvCvwⁿ

‘arrive’ kìyɛ̀wⁿ kìyɛ̀wⁿ

‘become black’ pìyⁿɛ̀wⁿ pìyⁿɛ̀wⁿ

‘become dirty’ pìyɛ̀wⁿ pìyɛ̀wⁿ

#### Ipfv and Pfv differ in tones only

For other verbs that lack an Ipfv suffix, the Pfv and Ipfv are segmentally identical but differ tonally, before any further tone-sandhi. The verbs of this type have a level-toned (i.e. monotonal) Pfv, of either /L/ or /M/ melody, while the Ipfv raises or lowers the tone of the final syllable or mora.

In (413a-e), the Pfv is L‑toned while the Ipfv is LM‑toned with M on the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora). This is the standard pattern for verbs of with at least two moras that have an L‑toned Pfv. The two L-toned monomoraic Cv̀ verbs sò/sò ‘go’ and kò/kò ‘furnish’ (preceding section) arguably belong here structurally, but are too short to allow an overtly contoured tone in the Ipfv stem. LM‑toned Ipfv’s are reduced to all-L by tone sandhi (M#H-to-L#H) before an H‑tone, masking the distinction between Pfv and Ipfv. This is rarely a serious problem because H-initial stems are uncommon and because imperfectivity is expressed separately by post-subject particles.

(413) Pfv L‑toned, Ipfv LM‑toned

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

a. Cvv

‘get up’ kìì kìī

‘look for’ màà màā

‘run’ kɯ̀ɯ̀ kɯ̀ɯ̄

‘pour out’ pìì pìī

‘blow’ pùù pùū

‘laugh (v)’ sàà sàā

‘wipe, erase’ sìì sìī

‘die’ wàà wàā

‘do long time’ wùù wùū

‘fear’ kwààⁿ kwàāⁿ

b. Cvy

‘leave, abandon’ bày bàȳ

c. CvCv

‘curse (v)’ jìgà jìgā

‘dispossess’ kàmà kàmā

‘throw’ kɛ̀rɛ̀ kɛ̀rɛ̄

‘obtain’ kìlè kìlē

‘open’ ɥɛ̀ɛ̀ ɥɛ̀ɛ̄

‘walk’ ɲìŋì ɲìŋí

‘dig’ sàgà sàgā

‘cultivate’ sɔ̀gɔ̀ sɔ̀gɔ̄

‘cook in pot’ sùwɔ̀ sùwɔ̄

‘look at’ tɔ̀ŋɔ̀ tɔ̀ŋɔ̄

‘kill’ wàgà wàgā

‘put down’ yàgà yàgā

‘give birth’ yɛ̀gɛ̀ yɛ̀gɛ̄

‘take down’ yɛ̀lì yɛ̀lī

d. CvNCv

‘get tired’ bàndà bàndā

‘betray’ jàmbà jàmbā

‘carry on back’ tìndì tìndī

e. trisyllabic

‘talk (v)’ dìgɛ̀mù dìgɛ̀mū

‘dance (v)’ mànàmì mànàmī variant mɔ̀nɔ̀mì/mɔ̀nɔ̀mī

‘fix, repair’ mìyɛ̀nì mìyɛ̀nī

The last verb in (413e), mìyɛ̀nì/mìyɛ̀nī ‘fix, repair’, may be etymologically a causative, distantly related to màɲɛ̀/màɲɛ̄ ‘become good’ and its relatives.

As noted elsewhere, a phonemic distinction between e.g. L.M and L.H is questionable. The transcription here uses LM (e.g. Cv̀Cv̄) for verb stems with rising tone patterns.

(414) below gives representative examples of verbs whose Pfv is M‑toned, but whose Ipfv drops the tone of the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) to L. This M/ML type is the mirror image of the L/LM type in (413) above. It is the productive pattern for verbs with M‑toned Pfv’s of all prosodic shapes except monomoraic Cv̄, Cwō, and Cyɛ̄ (see the preceding subsection) which are probably too short to allow contour-toned Ipfv’s. The Pfv (M) versus Ipfv (ML) opposition is masked when the following word begins with L‑tone, because ML‑toned words usually raise the final tone to M before an L‑tone by Final Tone-Raising, so both Pfv and Ipfv end up as all-M.

(414) Pfv M‑toned, Ipfv ML‑toned

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

a. Cvv

‘shatter (sth)’ kāā kāà

‘pick up; take’ dēē dēè

‘catch fire’ kɯ̄ɯ̄ kɯ̄ɯ̀

‘melt’ yāā yāà

b. Cvy

‘ruin (v)’ māyⁿ māỳⁿ

c. CvCv

Ciye*,* Ciyɛ

‘count’ yīyē yīyèsynonym hīīsà

‘ask, inquire’ tīyē tīyè

‘pass’ kīyɛ̄ kīyɛ̀also ‘(day) break’

Cuwo*,* Cuwɔ

‘winnow in wind’ pūwō pūwò(homophone)

‘jab, poke’ pūwō pūwò(homophone)

*other* CvCv

‘scrape’ kāgā kāgà

‘build’ kēbē kēbè

‘die’ lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ lɔ̄gɔ̀ⁿ

‘nudge’ mɛ̄mɛ̄ mɛ̄mɛ̀

‘bathe, wash’ ɲīnī ɲīnìreflexive or transitive

‘like (v)’ pɔ̄gɔ̄ pɔ̄gɔ̀

‘lie down’ sāgā sāgà

‘get old’ sīlē sīlè

‘shut; cover’ tɛ̄gɛ̄ tɛ̄gɛ̀

‘sell’ tōlō tōlò

‘show’ wājī wājì

d. CvCvwⁿ

‘become hot’ pīyɛ̄wⁿ pīyɛ̀wⁿ

e. CvCCv and CvNCv

‘remain’ kōndō kōndò

f. CvvCv

‘fly (v)’ pīīrī pīīrì

‘crawl’ kūūnū kūūnù

‘rub’ sāālō sāālò

‘ask for’ wāālē wāālè

‘chew’ kwōōlō kwōōlò

g. trisyllabic

‘paw (v)’ sɔ̄gɔ̄rī sɔ̄gɔ̄rì

‘lay down’ sāgā-nī sāgā-nìcausative

‘bite off’ gɯ̄gɯ̄jō gɯ̄gɯ̄jò

‘get old’ kāmnā-āmā kāmnā-āmà

#### Ipfv has a syllabic suffix

A sizeable number of verbs distinguish Pfv from Ipfv by adding a syllabic suffix in the Ipfv. In one subtype of Ipfv-suffixing verbs, the Ipfv stem ends in a suffix -lv, -nv, or -dv, where “v” is a copy of the preceding stem-final vowel, or it is copied and syllabified from a stem-final y (§10.1.3.3.1 just below). In a second subtype (§10.1.3.3.2), the Ipfv stem ends in a suffix ‑na with fixed vowel. When ‑na follows a verb that ends in aⁿ or Na with some nasal N, we cannot determine whether the suffix is -nv with copied vowel, or ‑na with fixed vowel.

##### Ipfv suffix -lv (-nv, -dv) with copied vowel

The first subtype, with copied suffixal vowel quality, is presented first. A sizeable number of heavy monosyllabic verbs, i.e. those whose Pfv stem has a heavy onset or a heavy rime, are shortened to Cv- when the Ipfv suffix is added. This involves shortening a long vowel and/or dropping a coda or post-C1 semivowel.

The suffix is -lv after nonnasal stems (415). The Pfv has level M or L tones and the Ipfv suffix gets the same tone by spreading.

(415) Ipfv -lv

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

a. Cvv Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix

*long vowel shortened*

‘exit (v)’ bāā bā-lā

‘enter’ dwɔ̄ dɔ̄-lɔ̄

‘fill up (intr)’ pāā pā-lā

‘stand’ tàà tà-là

‘sow; bury’ cīī cī-lī

‘rub on/in’ sūū sū-lū

b. Cwv Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix

‘sit’ or ‘become’ pwɔ̀ pɔ̀-lɔ̀

c. diphthongal Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix

‘pull; tie’ sɛ̀y sɛ̀-lɛ̀

*denasalized*

‘descend’ yàwⁿ yà-là irreg. causative yɛ̀lì/yɛ̀lī

The discrepancy in nasality between yàwⁿ and its Ipfv yà-là is irregular. However, there is one other case of this: wẁo᷆ⁿ/wẁō-lò ‘dry off’ in (419b) below.

The irregular verb ‘hit’ or ‘add’ has sharply distinct Pfv and Ipfv stems.

(416) ‘Hit’ or ‘add’

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

‘hit’ kwāā kɔ̄-lā verbal noun kɔ̄lɛ̄

The suffix takes the form ‑nv with copied vowel after nasal stems in (416). Unlike the isolated yàwⁿ/yà-là ‘descend’ in the preceding array, whose Ipfv is denasalized, other C/wⁿ Pfv stems correspond to Cv‑nv Ipfv’s. As in (415-416), the verbs in (417) have level-toned M or L Pfv stems, and the Ipfv suffix gets its tone by spreading.

(417) Ipfv -nv

gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. Cvv Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix

‘catch’ kūūⁿ kū-nū

‘insult (v)’ mūūⁿ mū-nū

‘get lost’ tūūⁿ tū-nū

a. Cvv Pfv shortened to Cv- before suffix

‘milk (v)’ kāwⁿ kā-nā

‘bite’ sīwⁿ sī-nī

‘shave’ bāwⁿ bā-nā

‘ascend’ tāwⁿ tā-nā

‘break (tr)’ kɛ̄wⁿ kɛ̄-nɛ̄

‘carve’ sɛ̄wⁿ sɛ̄-nɛ̄

‘drink’ mɛ̀wⁿ mɛ̀-nɛ̀

‘buy’ or ‘(rain) fall’ sàwⁿ sà-nà

‘swallow (v)’ tɔ̀wⁿ tɔ̀-nɔ̀

Not all level-toned heavy monosyllabic verbs have the Pfv/Ipfv pairings illustrated in (416-417) above. Some lack the Ipfv suffix, and distinguish Pfv from Ipfv by tone rather than by an Ipfv suffix (§10.1.3.2 above).

The three known verbs with Cēwⁿ Pfv’s have irregular Ipfv stems. Two have Ipfv Cēn‑dē (418a) for expected #Cē‑nē. The other has an unusual infixed Ipfv affix (418b).

(418) Irregular Cēwⁿ stems (Ipfv Cēn-dē or Cē-lē-wⁿ)

gloss Pfv Ipfv

a. ‘fall’ sēwⁿ sēn-dē

‘go back’ bēwⁿ bēn-dē

b. -lv- seemingly infixed before final semivowel

‘jump’ tēwⁿ tē-lē-wⁿ

It is possible that the Cēn-dē Ipfv forms in (418a) are archaic, with -de as post-nasal variant of ‑le. If so, the Cv-nv Ipfv’s in (417) above may have contracted \*nd to n. This hypothesis is best put on hold until Bozo languages overall are better described.

Another set of verbs with Ipfv suffix -lv (or nasalized -nv) have contour-toned melodies, directly observable in the Pfv. There are a few heavy monosyllabics of this type, all with /HL/ or /LHL/ melody (419). Those with a heavy rime express the final tone element only on the Ipfv suffix. ‘Spit; set (trap)’ does not shorten its vowels.

(419) Contour-toned monosyllabic verbs with Ipfv suffix

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

a. /ML/ melody

‘spit; set (trap)’ tūù tūū-lù

‘do’ tīẁⁿ tī-nà

‘sneeze (v)’ cȳɛ̀ⁿ cȳɛ̀-nɛ̀

‘assemble (intr)’ cȳɛ̀ⁿ cȳɛ̀-nɛ̀ homonym of preceding

b. /LML/ melody

‘weave (basket)’ cỳɛ̄ẁⁿ cỳɛ̄-nɛ̀ also ‘spin (cotton)’

‘dry off’ wẁo᷆ⁿ wẁō-lò Ipfv denasalized

For Pfv ‘sneeze (v)’ and ‘assemble (intr)’ one could argue for a bisyllabic transcription cī(y)ɛ̀ⁿ.

Few nonmonosyllabic verbs have Ipfv ‑lv ~ -nv with copied vowel. Two verbs with Cv̀Cv̄v̀ Pfv’s, i.e. with /LML/ melody, do have this suffix. They shorten the final vowel and express the final L‑tone only on the suffix (420).

(420) Cv̀Cv̄v̀ verbs with Ipfv suffix after shortened stem

gloss Pfv Ipfv

‘lick’ pìyɛ̄ɛ̀ pìyɛ̄-lɛ̀

‘sing’ sùwōò sùwō-lò

One suspects that these stems were once \*Cv̀Cv̄Cv̀ and lost a C3 (such as \*l or \*r). The Kelenga cognate for ‘lick’ is fɛ́ɛ́lɛ̀/fɛ́ɛ́lɛ̀‑lɛ̀, perhaps pointing to \*pvyɛlɛ.

Several other Cv̀Cv̄v̀ verbs have unsuffixed Ipfv stems that are homophonous with corresponding Pfv stems (§10.1.3.1). These data show that Cliffs (unlike Djenné Jenaama) has no strong correlation between contour-toned verb stems and presence of a syllabic Ipfv suffix.

An interesting diachronic question is whether the tight Djenné Jenaama correlation of Ipfv suffix with contour-tone melodies is original, and Cliffs has drifted away from it, or whether the Cliffs system is original.

Consider now the verbs in (421), which show the Ipfv suffix ‑lì. Although this can be interpreted as a regular variant of ‑lv with copied vowel, it is possible that they now constitute a distinctive verb class of their own.

(421) C(w)vv and Cvy verbs with Ipfv suffix -lì

gloss Pfv Ipfv (Djenné Jenaama cognate)

a. C(w)īī

*Pfv M‑toned*

‘winnow up and down’ ɥīī ɥīī-lì —

‘roll up’ kwīī kwīī-lì (kwìì/kwìí)

b. Cvywith invariant -lì

*Pfv M‑toned*

‘greet’ bōy bōy-lì (bóỳ/bóy-rì)

‘call’ kēē kēē-lì (kéèⁿ/kéé-nì)

*Pfv rising-toned*

‘weave (cloth)’ kòȳ kòȳ-lì (kòý/kòý-rì)

The two verbs in (421a) are unusual in that the Ipfv suffix occurs after an unshortened stem vowel, and in that the Ipfv has M-L tones which would normally point to /ML/ melody observable in the Pfv (#ɥīì, #kwīì). The three verbs in (421b) show the same tonal patterns. They are also marginally unusual in that the semivowel y rather than the preceding nuclear vowel determines the quality of the suffixal vowel. The other known Ipfv-suffixing Cvy verb is sɛ̀y/sɛ̀‑lɛ̀ ‘tie’ or ‘pull’, which drops the semivowel before the Ipfv suffix. The Djenné Jenaama cognates for the (421b) verbs all show contour tones in the Pfv, either falling or rising. Cliffs has level M‑toned Pfv’s and M-L toned Ipfv’s for two of the three verbs.

##### Ipfv suffix -na

For verbs that have Ipfv suffix ‑na, the Ipfv and the participle with suffix ‑na may be homophonous. However, the participle and the Ipfv occur in different constructions, and only a minority of verbs have Ipfv suffix ‑na, so actual confusion is unlikely.

The verbs in (422) have Ipfv -na after a nasal syllable with vowel a. It is therefore indeterminate (except by extrapolation) whether they have suffix -na or a nasalized variant of ‑lv with copied vowel as described in the preceding subsection. The subgroupings in (422) are based on the Pfv/Ipfv tones.

(422) Indeterminate Ipfv -na or -lv ~ -nv

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

a. ML/ML-L

‘breathe’ sīŋàwⁿ sīŋàn-nà

b. LM/LM-L

‘lock (v)’ tàbāwⁿ tàbān-nà

‘forget’ nùmàsāwⁿ nùmàsā-nà

c. L/LM-L

‘help (v)’ yìràwⁿ yìrān-nà

d. LML/LML-L

‘narrate’ kàmāà kàmāā-nà

‘read’ kàlāàⁿ kàlāā-nà

The verbs in (423) below have Ipfv -na after a nasal syllable whose vowel is other than a, so this ‑na cannot be derived from ‑lv. Since the tonal subtypes in (422) have equivalents in (423), with the exception of ‘narrate’ and ‘read’ in (422d), it is reasonable to assume that the verbs in at least (422a‑c) have Ipfv ‑na rather than ‑lv ~ ‑nv. All known underived nonmonosyllabic verbs ending in a nasal syllable belong to one of the subtypes in (421-422). This excludes suffixally derived verbs with causative ‑ni (§9.1.1) or inchoative ‑(aa)ma (§9.4.3).

(423) Clear Ipfv -na

gloss Pfv Ipfv comment

a. M/M-L

‘spend mid-day’ syēwⁿ syēn-nà

b. ML/ML-L

‘sweep’ kwɛ̄ɛ̀ⁿ kwɛ̄ɛ̀-nà

‘roast in oven’ dībìwⁿ dībìn-nà

‘squat’ sūgòⁿ sūgòn-nà

‘copulate’ tīgèwⁿ tīgèn-nà reciprocal verb

‘heal (tr)’ sābūlèwⁿ sābūlèn-nà

c. LM/LM-L

‘bow (v)’ sùnū sùnū-nà

‘turn (sth)’ kɛ̀ŋɛ̄ kɛ̀ŋɛ̄-nà variant kɛ̀ŋgɛ̄/kɛ̀ŋgɛ̄-nà

d. L/LM-L

‘sleep (v)’ kùmù kùmū-nà

‘finish (v)’ kìlɛ̀wⁿ kìlɛ̄n-nà

‘wait’ kùlèwⁿ kùlēn-nà

‘tilt (intr)’ sɛ̀ŋɛ̀wⁿ sɛ̀ŋɛ̄n-nà

‘rinse’ sàŋgòⁿ sàŋgōn-nà

The irregular verb ‘see’ has Ipfv suffix -nà (arguably from -lv ~ -nv) without having a nasal syllable in the Pfv (424). (Compare Djenné Jenaama kày/kàý ‘see’ with unsuffixed Ipfv.)

(424) Irregular verb

gloss Pfv Ipfv

‘see’ kày kà-nà

The verb ‘encounter’ or ‘welcome (a visitor)’ has Pfv tèmbē and Ipfv either tèmbē-lè or tèmbē-nà.

### Stative form of verbs (participial suffix -na)

A stative stem is derived from several aspect-marking verbs by means of participial suffix -na. The suffix gets its tone by spreading from the stem (‑nā or ‑nà). For some verbs of shape Cv̀Nv̀ like ‘squat’ and ‘sleep’, the stative is at least partially homophonous with the Ipfv.

(425) compares stative with active (Pfv and Ipfv) forms of stance verbs. My assistant alternated between kùmù-nà and kùmū-nà ‘asleep’, making it difficult to pin down the relationship between stative and Ipfv for that verb (425b).

(425) stative gloss Pfv Ipfv gloss (active)

a. stative segmentally distinct from Ipfv

*from intransitive*

pùwɔ̀-nà ‘be sitting (=seated)’ pwɔ̀ pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘sit down’

tàà-nà ‘be standing, be up’ tàà tà-là ‘stand up’

sāgā-nā ‘be lying down’ sāgā sāgà ‘lie down’

sēn-nā ‘be fallen’ sēwⁿ sēn-dē ‘fall down’

*from transitive*

tɛ̄gɛ̄-nā ‘be shut’ tɛ̄gɛ̄ tɛ̄gɛ̀ ‘shut’

māyⁿ-nā ‘malfunction, be ruined’ māyⁿ māỳⁿ ‘ruin (v)’

kɛ̄n-nā ‘be broken’ kɛ̄wⁿ kɛ̄-nɛ̄ ‘break (tr)’

kwīī-nā ‘be rolled up’ kwīī kwīī-lì ‘roll up’

b. stative versus Ipfv suffix variant -nà

sùnū-nà ‘be squatting’ sùnù sùnū-nà ‘squat’

kùmù-nà ‘sleep, be asleep’ kùmù kùmū-nà ‘sleep (v)’

~ kùmū-nà

Morphosyntactically, these stems are participles. They can be predicates, or they can function as postnominal modifiers. They are closely related to one set of adjectives, which have -na when functioning as predicates. Statives are especially common with intransitive stance verbs, denoting the state resulting from taking the position. Statives are also formed from transitive verbs, denoting the resulting state of the object (resultative passive).

In positive predicates, the stative form is followed by nì ‘it is’, whether or not a locational expression follows (426a). L‑toned suffix variant -nà rises to -nā before nì by regular tone sandhi (Final Tone-Raising). The positive predicate of statives is like that of NPs, which likewise have nì when functioning as predicates. However, nì is absent in negative stative predicates, which instead have IpfvNeg nà (426b). By contrast, negative NP predicates have both post-subject nà and clause-final ni. Overall, the morphosyntax of predicates connects statives not to nouns and NPs, rather to a class of adjectives including color adjectives (§11.4.1.1).

(426) a. à sāgā-nā nì bōẁⁿ

3Sg lie.down-**Ppl** **it.is** here

‘He/She is lying down (e.g. asleep) here.’

b. à nà sāgā-nā bōẁⁿ

3Sg **not.be** lie.down-Ppl here

‘He/She is not lying down (e.g. asleep) here.’

An idiomatic use of the stative is apparent in (427). The literal image is of disinflation as of a balloon. The usual context is that Seydou is no longer in the state of being blessed by his father.

(427) [sèēdù cíyɛ́ⁿ] bān-nā nì

[S air] exit(v)-Ppl it.is

‘Seydou’s air has gone out.’ = ‘The air has gone out of Seydou.’

An important but tricky issue is the relationship between the stative predicate and the resultative verbal noun with the same (or homophonous) suffix -na (§4.2.1.4). The fact that the latter can have a resultative sense is relevant.

### ‘Go’ and ‘come’

#### sò/sò ‘go’

The basic noncentripetal motion verb is sò (Pfv and Ipfv). The verb can be used alone, or followed by a spatial expression. It becomes M‑toned by regular tone sandhi before an L‑tone, as in ē sō nɔ̀gì-y ‘we went to the village’.

It combines with remote perfective particle gà as sō gà, which may take the slightly irregular form sū gà. The particle occurs optionally when a spatial expression is overt. In this context ‘go’ raises to M‑tone, and gà also raises to gā before an L‑tone. My assistant rejected (#) the bisyllabic variant in the absence of the spatial expression.

(428) a. à sò

" (#sù-gà)

3Sg go.Pfv

‘He/She went (has gone).’

b. à sō Ø nɔ̀gì-y

" sū gā "

3Sg go.Pfv (RemPfv) village-Loc

‘He/She went to the village.’

The particle is required when the clause contains a focalized constituent, for example a content interrogative.

(429) a. wùlāā sū gà

" " (#Ø)

who? go.Pfv

‘Who went?’

b. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ sū gà

" " (#Ø)

1Sg-Indep go.Pfv

‘It’s I [focus] who went.’

c. āⁿ sū gā màtāỳ

" " (#Ø) "

2Sg go.Pfv where?

‘Where did you-Sg go?’

sò occurs clause-initially in a ‘before …’ clause type (§15.5).

For pseudo-causative sāā-nì/sāā-nì ‘convey; cause to go’ see §9.1.2. For ‘go’ plus instrumental PP in the main ‘convey/take X (somewhere)’ construction, see §11.1.1.4.

#### bē/bē ‘come’

In its motion-verb sense, this verb is morphologically regular. It is a simple intransitive, though it can be followed by a spatial expression like ‘here’ ot ‘in(to) the village’. 1

(430) à bē (bōẁⁿ)

3Sg come.Pfv (here)

‘He/She came here.’

This verb is the likely source for three important grammatical morphemes not involving motion, sequential bè, infinitival bè, and future bē.

In the sequential construction, a regular main clause is followed by a sequential clause, consisting of subject (usually pronominal), bè, and a VP with Pfv verb (§15.3.1). bè raises to bē by tone sandhi before an L‑tone.

As infinitival marker, bè is structurally identical to a sequential clause minus the subject. The main and subordinate clauses are integrated semantically rather than expressing distinct sequences of events (§17.4.2).

The future construction contains imperfective markers (positive gà, negative nà) plus bē and the main VP in perfective form (§10.2.2.2).

In addition, bē occurs in a two-part construction translatable as ‘(all the way) from X to Y’, involving two spatial landmarks. The first part has the form à dēē-[bā‑lā] X, literally ‘it picked up (and) exited X’. The second part is just bē Y (§15.7.3.2).

For pseudo-causative bīyɛ̀-nì/bīyɛ̀-nì ‘bring; cause to come’ see §9.1.2. For ‘come’ plus instrumental PP in the main ‘bring X’ construction, see §11.1.1.4.

## Indicative AN categories

### Perfective and perfect categories

There is only one morphological perfective (Pfv) category at word level (§10.2.1.1). Additional tense-aspect categories that elaborate perfectivity in one direction or another are the remote perfective (expressed by a postverbal particle), the experiential perfect (expressed by a preceding auxiliary with imperfective complement), and the recent perfect (expressed by adding a particle at the end of the subject NP).

The perfective positive differs from other indicative categories in that the subject and object are not separated by a regular inflectional particle such as Ipfv gà. The result is that pronominal subjects and pronominal subject-object combinations have special forms not found in other clauses clauses.

#### Simple perfective (positive and negative) of intransitive verbs

The simple perfective is used to report a bounded event that has been completed in the past, before the present (or other reference time). When used without a following particle gà, it may denote an event that has just occurred.

The Pfv has no segmentable suffix. The stem has a lexical melody, most often /L/ or /M/, for bisyllabics also /H/, /ML/, or /LM/, and for trisyllabics also /LML/. There is no inflectional particle in positive clauses, and no auxiliary. The main verb therefore immediately follows the subject in positive perfective clauses. The perfective is negated by adding PfvNeg tē between subject and verb.

(431) has a pronominal-subject paradigm for ‘slept’, which is L‑toned. 1Sg subject is M‑toned ŋ̄ in the positive, L‑toned ŋ̀ in the negative (as in imperfective clauses). The PfvNeg particle is tè, rising to tē before an L‑tone. 1Sg ŋ̄ ~ ŋ̀ assimilates to the position of the following consonant, e.g. negative ǹ tè.

(431) ‘slept’ ‘didn’t sleep’

1Sg ŋ̄ kùmù ǹ tē kùmù

1Pl ē kùmù ē tē kùmù

2Sg āŋ kùmù ān tē kùmù

2Pl āā kùmù āā tē kùmù

3Sg à kùmù à tē kùmù

3Pl è kùmù è tē kùmù

Array (432) has a subject paradigm for ‘fall’. This verb is M‑toned, so negative tè remains L‑toned in all combinations.

(432) ‘fell’ ‘didn’t fall’

1Sg ŋ̄ sēwⁿ ǹ tè sēwⁿ

1Pl ē sēwⁿ ē tè sēwⁿ

2Sg āⁿ sēwⁿ ān tè sēwⁿ

2Pl āā sēwⁿ āā tè sēwⁿ

3Sg à sēwⁿ à tè sēwⁿ

3Pl è sēwⁿ è tè sēẁⁿ

A fuller set of intransitive perfectives showing 1Sg, 1Pl, and 3Sg forms is in (433).

(433) Perfective

gloss 1Sg 1SgNeg 1Pl 1PlNeg 3Sg 3SgNeg

a. L‑toned verb

‘get up’ ŋ̄ kìì ǹ tē kìì ē kìì ē tē kìì à kìì à tē kìì

‘run’ ŋ̄ kɯ̀ɯ̀ ǹ tē kɯ̀ɯ̀ ē kɯ̀ɯ̀ ē tē kɯ̀ɯ̀ à kɯ̀ɯ̀ à tē kɯ̀ɯ̀

‘go’ ŋ̄ sò ǹ tē sò ē sò ē tē sò à sò à tē sò

‘stand’ n̄ tàà ǹ tē tàà ē tàà ē tē tàà à tàà à tē tàà

‘descend’ ŋ̄ yàwⁿ ǹ tē yàwⁿ ē yàwⁿ ē tē yàwⁿ à yàwⁿ à tē yàwⁿ

‘arrive’ ŋ̄ kìyɔ̀wⁿ ǹ tē kìyɔ̀wⁿ ē kìyɔ̀wⁿ ē tē kìyɔ̀wⁿ à kìyɔ̀wⁿ à tē kìyɔ̀wⁿ

‘sleep’ ŋ̄ kùmù ǹ tē kùmù ē kùmù ē tē kùmù à kùmù à tē kùmù

‘sit’ m̄ pwɔ̀ ǹ tē pwɔ̀ ē pwɔ̀ ē tē pwɔ̀ à pwɔ̀ à tē pwɔ̀

b. M‑toned verb

‘exit’ m̄ bāā ǹ tè bāā ē bāā ē tè bāā à bāā à tè bāā

‘come’ m̄ bē ǹ tè bē ē bē ē tè bē à bē à tè bē

‘fall’ ŋ̄ sēwⁿ ǹ tè sēwⁿ ē sēwⁿ ē tè sēwⁿ à sēwⁿ à tè sēwⁿ

‘ascend’ n̄ tāwⁿ ǹ tè tāwⁿ ē tāwⁿ ē tè tāwⁿ à tāwⁿ à tè tāwⁿ

‘weep’ ŋ̄ wwō ǹ tè wwō ē wwō ē tè wwō à wwō à tè wwō

‘enter’ n̄ dwɔ̄ ǹ tè dwɔ̄ ē dwɔ̄ ē tè dwɔ̄ à dwɔ̄ à tè dwɔ̄

‘stay’ ŋ̄ kōndō ǹ tè kōndō ē kōndō ē tè kōndō à kōndō à tè kōndō

‘crawl’ ŋ̄ kūūnū ǹ tè kūūnū ē kūūnū ē tè kūūnū à kūūnū à tè kūūnū

‘die’ n̄ lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ ǹ tè lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ ē lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ ē tè lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ à lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ à tè lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ

‘lie down’ ŋ̄ sāgā ǹ tè sāgā ē sāgā ē tè sāgā à sāgā à tè sāgā

#### Remote perfective (postverbal gà)

The particle gà immediately following a Pfv verb indicates that the event occurred some time ago. The combination of an L‑toned verb and gà can undergo Final Tone-Raising: sɔ̀gɔ̀ ‘cultivate.Pfv’, remote sɔ̀gɔ̄ gà.

In main clauses, a simple Pfv without gà may function as a recent past (cf. the English present perfect). For example, (434a) might be uttered to explain why a child is now weeping. (434b) by contrast is a report of an event that occurred at an earlier time (this morning, last year, etc.).

(434) a. à sēwⁿ

3Sg fall.Pfv

‘He/She (just) fell.’

b. à sēŋ gà

3Sg fall.Pfv RemPfv

‘He/She fell (some time ago).’ (< sēwⁿ)

polar interrogative tone/intonation (§13.2.1.2) is compatible with gà.

(435) ān dāwā gàá

2Sg travel.Pfv **RemPfv.Q**

‘You went on a trip?’ (< dāwà)

gà is only awkwardly compatible with negation (436).

(436) ? à tè sēŋ gà

3Sg Neg fall.Pfv RemPfv

‘He/She didn’t fall (some time ago).’ (< sēwⁿ)

In practice, negative perfectives with RemPfv gà are limited to specific discourse contexts, especially in the polar interrogative (§13.2.1.2) form gàá. My assistant stated that (437) could be uttered when the speaker has some reason to believe that the referent may have suffered a fall (out of the speaker’s sight).

(437) à tè sēŋ gàá↗

3Sg PfvNeg fall.Pfv RemPfv.Q

‘He/She didn’t fall?’

In subordinated clauses, the presence or absence of gà is determined by the construction, without consideration of time gaps. RemPfv gà is obligatory in perfective positive relative clauses (Chapter 14 passim). It is also obligatory in perfective positive ‘when’ clauses with clause-final definite gu, provided that post-subject kàȳlà ‘when’ is absent (§15.4.4). By contrast, RemPfv gà is disallowed when kàȳlà and clause-final gu are both present (§15.4.3), even though the three morphemes occur in different linear “slots” in the clause and ought to be semantically compatible. Thus a distinction (presence/absence of gà) that is semantically subtle in main clauses becomes automatic in subordinated clauses.

#### Transitive perfective with forms of pronominal objects

Given S-infl-OVX order, when a transitive clause is in the perfective positive (which has no overt inflectional marker), the subject and object risk being directly adjacent, unlike the situation in all other inflectional categories. Under some conditions, mainly involving pronominal subjects and/or objects, subject and object are separated by yè. This is a **bidirectional case-marker** (BCM), i.e. a linker that requires the presence of both NPs in overt form (§11.1.2.1.1), though its distribution is less rigorously controlled than that of its counterparts in Soninke or mainstream eastern Songhay. After 1Sg and LogoSg subject (the two pronominals consisting of nasal consonants), the BCM takes the form =nàⁿ, which is transcribed as an enclitic (§11.1.2.1.2).

When subject and object are nonpronominal NPs, yè is elicitable but it is usually absent. It is shown as optional in (438a-b). The interlinear gloss is “Sbj/Obj”.

(438) a. sèēdù (yè) jɛ́náŋ kwāā

S (Sbj/Obj) child hit.Pfv

‘Seydou hit the child.’

b. sèēdù (yè) sɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ́ŋ / kɔ̀yɔ́ŋ kwāā

S (Sbj/Obj) sheep / rock hit.Pfv

‘Seydou hit the the sheep-Sg / the rock.’

When the object of a perfective positive verb is pronominal that follows a nonpronominal NP like ‘Seydou’, its forms are those given in §4.3.2.2. For combinations of pronominal subject and pronominal object in transitive perfective positive clauses, see §4.3.2.3 and §4.3.4.1.2.

#### Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ (bāynà gà)

This construction denotes a past event that may have occurred long ago but that has left an imprint in the subject’s memory and/or status. It corresponds to *have ever* and to its negation *have never* in English. Its main ingredient is the auxiliary bāynà, which behaves as a Pfv verb, as shown by its negation with PfvNeg tè (439c). The following subjectless VP ends with an Ipfv verb. This suggests that the gà that follows bāynà is the positive Ipfv particle. It might alternatively be taken as the remote perfective particle, on the grounds that Vb2 (second verb) in some two-verb constructions can occur in the Ipfv stem (§15.2.5). However, the combination bāynà gà is rather fused, and might be analysed as a single-word portmanteau.

(439) a. ām bāynà gà tūwɔ̄-būlōŋ kà-nà ↗

2Sg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv.Q

‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant?’

b. m̄ bāynà gà tūwɔ̄-būlōŋ kà-nà

1Sg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv

‘I have (once) seen an elephant.’

c. ǹ tè bāynà gà tūwɔ̄-būlōŋ kà-nà

1Sg PfvNeg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv

‘I have never seen an elephant.’

#### Equivalents of completive perfect

There is no regular inflectional marking of completive perfect (‘has already VPed’) or recent perfect (‘has just VPed’).

In elicitation, something like completive perfect is expressed with a regular perfective positive clause (without remote perfective gà). To add the sense ‘already’, i.e. completion before the moment of speaking when this had been uncertain, my assistant adds either or both of two elements. First, the subject followed by a morpheme kɔ̀ⁿ that is homophonous with with topic morpheme ‘as for’ (§19.1.1). It is not set off prosodically or resumed by a subject pronoun, as is common with topicalized constituents, and it is difficult to see a semantic connection between topicalization and completive perfect. In addition or instead, a clause-final morpheme kòy is added. This morpheme is segmentally identical to clause-final emphatic kóy (§19.4.2.1). It does sound H-toned in the infrequent case that it is followed by another morpheme, as in (440f), where however kóy might alternatively be parsed as the emphatic morpheme. When it is clause-final, however, it has lower pitch than one would expect for emphatic kóy even allowing for prepausal pitch drop (§3.6.5.2). I provisionally gloss both post-subject kɔ̀ⁿ and clause-final kòy as ‘already’ in (440).

(440) a. [ŋ̀ kɔ́n] dīgɛ̄ kòy

[1Sg **already**] eat.Antip.Pfv already

‘I’ve already eaten.’ (< ŋ̀ (+H) kɔ̀ⁿ) (e.g. in response to an invitation to a meal)

b. [à kɔ̌ⁿ] yè n̄ **tūwō** kòy

[3Sg **already**] Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg depart.Pfv already

‘He/She has already left.’

c. [ŋ̀ kɔ́ŋ] kìyɛ̀ kūlēŋ kòy

[1Sg **already**] wood cut.Pfv Emph

‘I’ve already cut (=chopped) the wood.’

d. [ŋ̀ kɔ́ⁿ] yā =à kūlēŋ kòy

[1Sg **already**] Sbj/Obj 3Sg cut.Pfv **Emph**

‘I’ve already cut (=chopped) it.’

e. [āŋ kɔ̀ŋ̄] kìyɛ̀ kùlèŋ kóy

[2Sg **already**] wood cut.Pfv **Emph**

‘You-Sg have already cut (=chopped) the wood.’ (< kūlēwⁿ)

f. [à bè kóy] [ŋ̄gàà à tè bē [pà-sí nī]]

3Sg come.Pfv **already**] [but 3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv [anything Inst]]

‘He/She has already come (=arrived here) but he/she didn’t bring anything.’

A concrete indication that completive perfect kòy can be structurally L-toned is that remote perfective gà combines with it as gàā kòy.

For negative ‘have not yet VPed’, see 8.4.6.2.

#### Perfective positive markers in subordinated clauses (post-subject gà, ɲàⁿ)

In a few subordinated clause types, a nonzero Pfv particle occurs after the subject, making the bidirectional case marker unnecessary (and ungrammatical).

gà/gā functions as a Pfv marker in one type of ‘until’ clause, where it co-occurs with a Pfv verb (§15.7.2.2). This must be distinguished from the much more common use in the same post-subject position of a segmentally identical gà/gā as ‘be’ verb or Ipfv particle, in both cases limited to positive clauses. The two gà/gā morphemes interact tonally with preceding pronominal proclitics in different ways; the ‘until.Pfv’ marker dissimilates tonally, while the Ipfv particle and ‘be’ verb assimilate tonally (§3.6.4.6). Both are easily distinguished from remote perfective gà, which follows the verb rather than following the subject.

In perfective positive conditional antecedent clauses, nà(w)ⁿ (glossed ‘if.Pfv’) occurs in post-subject position. It therefore forms a positive/negative opposition with PfvNeg tè in this construction. See §16.1 for details and examples.

### Nonperfective categories

The nonperfective indicative categories are a) imperfective, b) future, and c) presentative. They are expressed by a combination of verbal morphology and preverbal particles.

The presentative can function as progressive positive. As usual with presentatives (but not progressives), there is no negative counterpart. This is because presentatives must be veridical and deictic, while progressives need not be. Progressive negative (‘X is not VP-ing’) is merged with imperfective negative.

#### Post-subject imperfective particles (positive gà/gā, negative nà/nā)

The general imperfective may denote habitual or gnomic eventualities, ongoing processes, or future events. It is expressed by the combination of post-subject inflectional particles, and the Ipfv stem of the verb.

The particle gà/gā intervenes between the subject NP and the VP in positive clauses. It is replaced by nà/nā in negative clauses. gà/gā is closely related to gà/gā ‘be’ in locational-existential predicates (§11.2.3), where its negative counterpart is again nà/nā. gà/gā is also copular ‘be’ as in ‘X is Y’, but its negative counterpart is nàwⁿ/nāwⁿ. The tonal patterns described below apply to the Ipfv particle and to the ‘be (present)’ and copular ‘be’ verbs.

A pronominal-subject paradigm for the imperfectives of ‘fall’ is in (441). Thie verb is M‑toned. The tones of gà/gā and or nà/nā are copied from that of a preceding pronominal proclitic. L‑toned proclitics are followed by gà and nà, M‑toned proclitics by gā and nā, before further tone sandhi. Nonpronominal NPs are followed by gà and nà.

(441) ‘fall(s)’ ‘didn’t/doesn’t fall’

a. 1Sg ŋ̀ gà sēn-dē ǹ nà sēn-dē

3Sg à gà sēn-dē à nà sēn-dē

3Pl è gà sēn-dē è nà sēn-dē

b. 1Pl ē gā sēn-dē ē nā sēn-dē

2Sg āŋ gā sēn-dē ān nā sēn-dē

2Pl āā gā sēn-dē āā nā sēn-dē

LogoSg ŋ̄ gā sēn-dē n̄ nā sēn-dē

LogoPl ē gā sēn-dē ē nā sēn-dē

If the verb is L‑toned, the particles are uniformly M‑toned gā and nā, whether the M-tone comes from a pronominal subject proclitic or whether it is due to Final Tone-Raising. This is exemplified by the pronominal-subject paradigm for the imperfectives of ‘sleep’ (442).

(442) ‘sleep(s)’ ‘don’t/doesn’t sleep’

a. 1Sg ŋ̀ gā kùmū-nà ŋ̀ nā kùmū-nà

3Sg à gā kùmū-nà à nā kùmū-nà

3Pl è gā kùmū-nà è nā kùmū-nà

b. 1Pl ē gā kùmū-nà ē nā kùmū-nà

LogoPl ē gā kùmū-nà ē nā kùmū-nà

2Sg āŋ gā kùmū-nà ān nā kùmū-nà

2Pl āā gā kùmū-nà āā nā kùmū-nà

LogoSg ŋ̄ gā kùmū-nà n̄ nā kùmū-nà

Examples with nonpronominal subjects ending in various tones are in (443). As with the pronominal subjects, the final tone of the subject is carried over to ga or na. Final Tone-Raising applies in ‘Seydou sleeps (not)’ in (443a).

(443) subject final tone ‘sleeps (not)’ ‘falls (not)’

a. ‘Seydou’ L sèēdù gā /nā kùmū-nà gà /nà sēn-dē

b. ‘goat’ M sūgō gā /nā kùmū-nà gā /nā sēn-dē

c. ‘dog’ H kúŋgóló gá /ná kùmū-nà gá /ná sēn-dē

The diagnostic 1Sg and 1Pl subject forms for a larger set of intransitive verbs is in (444). (444b) shows the effects of the forward tone-assimilation rule. (444a) has also undergone this process, but in the 1Sg subject forms it has been followed by Final Tone-Raising.

(444) Imperfective (first person)

gloss 1Sg 1SgNeg 1Pl 1PlNeg

a. L‑toned verb

*unsuffixed*

‘get up’ ŋ̀ gā kìì ǹ nā kìì ē gā kìì ē nā kìì

‘run’ ŋ̀ gā kɯ̀ɯ̀ ǹ nā kɯ̀ɯ̀ ē gā kɯ̀ɯ̀ ē nā kɯ̀ɯ̀

‘go’ ŋ̀ gā sò ǹ nā sò ē gā sò ē nā sò

‘arrive’ ŋ̀ gā kìyɔ̀wⁿ ǹ nā kìyɔ̀wⁿ ē gā kìyɔ̀wⁿ ē nā kìyɔ̀wⁿ

*suffixed*

‘stand’ ŋ̀ gā tà-là ǹ nā tà-là ē gā tà-là ē nā tà-là

‘descend’ ŋ̀ gā yà-là ǹ nā yà-là ē gā yà-là ē nā yà-là

‘sit’ ŋ̀ gā pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ǹ nā pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ē gā pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ē nā pɔ̀-lɔ̀

‘sleep’ ŋ̀ gā kùmū-nà ǹ nā kùmū-nà ē gā kùmū-nà ē nā kùmū-nà

b. M‑toned verb

*unsuffixed*

‘come’ ŋ̀ gà bē ǹ nà bē ē gā bē ē nā bēe

‘weep’ ŋ̀ gà wwō ǹ nà wwō ē gā wwō ē nā wwō

‘enter’ ŋ̀ gà dwɔ̄ ǹ nà dwɔ̄ ē gā dwɔ̄ ē nā dwɔ̄

*unsuffixed, final L‑tone*

‘stay’ ŋ̀ gà kōndò ǹ nà kōndò ē gā kōndò ē nā kōndò

‘crawl’ ŋ̀ gà kūūnù ǹ nà kūūnù ē gā kūūnù ē nā kūūnù

‘die’ ŋ̀ gà lɔ̄gɔ̀ⁿ ǹ nà lɔ̄gɔ̀ⁿ ē gā lɔ̄gɔ̀ⁿ ē nā lɔ̄gɔ̀ⁿ

‘fly (v)’ ŋ̀ gà pīīrì ǹ nà pīīrì ē gā pīīrì ē nā pīīrì

‘lie down’ ŋ̀ gà sāgà ǹ nà sāgà ē gā sāgà ē nā sāgà

*suffixed*

‘exit’ ŋ̀ gà bā-lā ǹ nà bā-lā ē gā bā-lā ē nā bā-lā

‘fall’ ŋ̀ gà sēn-dē ǹ nà sēn-dē ē gā sēn-dē ē nā sēn-dē

‘ascend’ ŋ̀ gà tā-nā ǹ nà tā-nā ē gā tā-nā ē nā tā-nā

Normally Ipfv gà/gā and IpfvNeg nà/nā must be followed by a verb. The exception is that the verb may be omitted in truncated replies to polar interrogatives. In this case, the particle is clause-final, and takes M‑toned form gā or nā regardless of the subject. (445) involves a question by one speaker and a reply by another with gā after L‑toned proclitic.

(445) speaker 1:

ou bien [sīī tīnāāⁿ] gā ɲ̄ ɲāāmū [à nìŋīì]

or.else [breed other] Ipfv 3ReflSg mix.Ipfv [3Sg inside]

‘… or does another clan mix in (=intermarry) with it?’

speaker 2:

à gā, à gā

3Sg **Ipfv**, 3Sg **Ipfv**

‘It does (mix), it does.’ (2017-01 @ 07:21 to 07:23)

Example (446) illustrates clause-final IpfvNeg nā.

(446) [[mà hāāⁿ] nā= à sē [n̄= nā] gū]

[[Rel Pl] if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [LogoSg **IpfvNeg**] Def

‘If there is anyone (=you) who says “I will not” (=refuses), …’ (2017-01 @ 04:47)

Even the L‑toned gà and nà fail to trigger Final Tone-Raising on preceding words. This is likely because the proto-forms were M‑toned \*gā and \*nā. The syllable that fails to tone-raise is bolded in (447a-c).

(447) a. [[ē mīīrù-**yè**] gā sō [bẁɔ̄ kày] yāẁⁿ]

[[1Pl chief-Pl] Ipfv go.Ipfv [Recip see.Pfv] there.Def]

‘Our chiefs (still) go and see each other (=meet) there.’ (2017-01 @ 01:16)

(< gà sò)

b. [à **tèèŋ**] gà bā-lā [[ŋ̄ sìyéⁿ] kūmà] sāāⁿ

[3Sg elder.sib] Ipfv exit(v)-Ipfv [[3Refl horse] on] when

‘When his older brother was getting off his horse, …’ (2017-01 @ 02:52)

c. [bààkɔ̀lɔ̀-ⁿ-síí-yè kù-**lè**] nà= āā bāgà kūjààmà-ỳⁿ dēʔ

B-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl] IpfvNeg 2Pl equal.Ipfv number-Loc Emph

‘The Bakoro clans do not match you-Pl in population.’ (2017-01 @ 08:31)

#### Future (preverbal gà/gā bē, negative nà/nā bē)

The future makes use of the same Ipfv gà/gā (positive) and nà/nā (negative) inflectional particles already seen with the present. However, it adds a second element before the primary verb, namely bē, which is at least etymologically the ‘come’ verb bē/bē, presumably in the Ipfv stem. The following main verb takes Pfv (!) form, further distinguishing this construction from the regular imperfective construction. This aligns future gà bē with two other constructions that likely contain reflexes of ‘come’ but in L‑toned form (prior to tone sandhi), sequential bè (§15.3.1) which requires a subject, and subjectless infinitival bè (§17.4.2).

In allegro speech, before another nonlow tone gà bē and nà bē are often heard as low-pitched [gàbè] and [nàbè] with the M‑tone of bē suppressed or indistinct. However, bē is not treated as L‑toned in tone sandhi, so gà and nà do not raise to gā and nā by Final Tone-Raising in this combination.

In one text, an expected n̄ nā bē dwɔ̄ ‘(he said) “I will go in” ’ is reduced to n̄ nā dwɔ̄ by omitting bē (2017-06 @ 00:26). When this happens, the combination of nà/nā and Pfv stem is future negative, versus nà/nā plus Ipfv stem for imperfective negative.

The 1Pl combination ē gā bē, and the 3Pl combination è gà bē, can assimilate in vowel quality to ē gē bē and è gè bē, respectively. This is common in allegro speech but generally corrected in elicitation.

Future paradigms for L‑toned ‘sleep’ are in (448). The verb takes Pfv form kùmù, compare Ipfv kùmū‑nà.

(448) ‘will sleep’ ‘won’t sleep’

1Sg ŋ̀ gà bē kùmù ŋ̀ nà bē kùmù

1Pl ē gā bē kùmù ē nā bē kùmù

2Sg āŋ gā bē kùmù ān nā bē kùmù

2Pl āā gā bē kùmù āā nā bē kùmù

3Sg à gà bē kùmù à nà bē kùmù

3Pl è gà bē kùmù è nà bē kùmù

The future paradigm of M‑toned ‘fall’ is (449). The verb again takes Pfv stem sēwⁿ rather than Ipfv sēn‑dē.

(449) ‘will fall’ ‘won’t fall’

1Sg ŋ̀ gà bē sēwⁿ ǹ nà bē sēwⁿ

1Pl ē gā bē sēwⁿ ē nā bē sēwⁿ

2Sg āŋ gā bē sēwⁿ ān nā bē sēwⁿ

2Pl āā gā bē sēwⁿ āā nā bē sēwⁿ

3Sg à gà bē sēwⁿ à nà bē sēwⁿ

3Pl è gà bē sēwⁿ è nà bē sēwⁿ

If the clause is transitive, bē is followed by the object. It drops to bè by tone sandhi before an H‑tone (450a), but remains bē before M or L tone (450b).

(450) a. ŋ̀ gà bè kúŋgóló tōlō

1Sg Ipfv **Fut** dog sell.Pfv

‘I will sell the dog.’

b. ŋ̀ gà bē sūgō / yàmbāà tōlō

1Sg Ipfv **Fut** goat / house sell.Pfv

‘I will see the goat/house.’

#### Presentative (kày ~ kāy)

The presentative morpheme has allomorphs kày (becoming kàȳ by tone sandhi before L‑tone) and kāy. kày is homophonous to the Pfv stem of kày/kà-nà ‘see’, its likely etymological source. Compare French *voici* and *voilà* from the imperative of *voire* ‘see’.

The forms used in simple presentatives that are not combined with a VP are in (451), repeated from §4.4.4.1 where the tones are discussed.

(451) a. NP

sèēdù kāy ‘here/there is Seydou’

yàbà kāy ‘here/there is the guinea-fowl’

b. 1Sg with floating H

ŋ̀ káy ‘here I am’

c. M-toned pronominal proclitics

ē kāy ‘here we are’

āŋ kāy ‘here/there you-Sg are’

āā kāy ‘here/there you-Pl are’

ŋ̄ kāy ‘here he/she is’ (logophoric)

ē kāy ‘here they are’ (logophoric)

c. L-toned pronominal proclitics

à kày ‘here/there he-or-she is’

è kày ‘here/there they are’

In (452), the presentative sequence functions as subject with a following Ipfv VP yà‑là ‘descend, go down’. This combination is awkwardly translatable into English. The sense is captured by French *le voilà qui descend!* but the morphosyntax is very different. The form of the presentative morpheme is as in (451), except that L‑toned kày in the third-person pronominal forms undergoes Final Tone-Raising to kàȳ before the L‑toned verb.

(452) a. NP

[sèēdù kāy] yà‑là ‘here/there is Seydou descending’

[yàbà kāy] yà-là ‘here/there is the guinea-fowl descending’

b. 1Sg

[ŋ̀ káy] yà-là ‘here I am descending’

c. M-toned proclitics

[ē kāy] yà-là ‘here we are descending’

[āŋ kāy] yà-là ‘here/there you-Sg are descending’

[āā kāy] yà-là ‘here/there you-Pl are descending’

[ŋ̄ kāy] yà-là ‘here I am descending’ (logophoric)

[ē kāy] yà-là ‘here we are descending’ (logophoric)

d. L-toned pronominals

[à kàȳ] yà-là ‘here/there he-or-she is descending’

[è kàȳ] yà-là ‘here/there they are descending’

An object NP, if present, follows kày.

(453) a. [à kày] tēē kūlēn-nà

[3Sg **Prsntv**] meat cut-Ipfv

‘Look, he/she is cutting the meat.’

b. [à kā=] à kūlēn-nà

[3Sg **Prsntv**] 3Sg cut-Ipfv

‘Look, he/she is cutting it.’

My assistant rejected a direct negation of this presentative form, probably because a negative presentative would make no sense (#‘here he/she isn’t!’). One can, however, combine a presentative predicate with a separate full clause that is negative (454).

(454) à kày [à nà tā-nā]

3Sg Prsntv [3Sg IpfvNeg ascend-Ipfv]

‘There he/she is, not going up!’

#### Subjunctive (gālà)

The post-subject particle gālà occurs in irrealis contexts, as opposed to assertions. For example, it can express intended, suggested, or otherwise possible but uncertain future actions. It can sometimes be informally glossed as a hortative (‘let’s …’) or as a suggestion (‘why don’t you …’). The verb in the following VP is in the Pfv stem. There is no negative counterpart (other than the prohibitive).

Some textual examples are in (455).

(455) a. ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv

[ē gālà= à tīyē …]

[1Pl **Sbjn** 3Sg ask.**Pfv** …]

‘We would like to ask it, …’ (2017-03 @ 00:07)

b. à bè sēwⁿ [[wàŋgé gú] nùmà],

3Sg Seq fall.Pfv [[hare Dem] rope],

ŋ̄ gālā [kàŋgé gú] hīīlà

LogoSg **Sbjn** [hyena Def] deceive.**Pfv**

‘It occurred to that hare to deceive the hyena.’ (2017-07 @ 00:13)

c. gīlɛ̄wⁿ gà= [ām bwɛ̄ỳ]

thirst be.Loc [2Sg Comit]

āŋ gālà = ām mɛ̀m bōẁⁿ

2Sg **Sbjn** 2Sg drink.Pfv here

‘You are thirsty. You must drink here.’ (2017-07 @ 01:16)

d. [ē nè bēm-bē sàⁿ,

[1Pl when come.back.Pfv when,

[[ē gālà bē [tēē gū] dè]

[1Pl **Sbjn** come.**Pfv** [meat Def] pick.up.Pfv]

[ē bē sò [à nī]]

[1Pl Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]

‘When we come back, we’ll come and take the meat and go off with it.’

(2017-07 @ 00:26)

#### Presentative stative and its negation

The presentative construction with kày (§10.2.2.3 above) is also used in stative as opposed to progressive contexts, but with the participial form of the verb (§10.1.4). Ppl suffix ‑na gets its tones by spreading. The distinction between stative and progressive is important for stance verbs.

The negative version replaces kày by nà, which is elsewhere the negative locational-existential (‘be absent’) or the IpfvNeg particle. This suggests that kày is structurally parallel to Ipfv (positive) particle gà. Both kày and nà are subject to Final Tone-Raising when followed by L‑tones. English translations (‘be sitting’, etc.) can be misleading since English fails to distinguish progressive from stative with stance verbs.

(456) a. à kàȳ pùwɔ̀-nà

3Sg **Prsntv** sit-**Ppl**

‘He/She is sitting (=seated).’

b. à nā pùwɔ̀-nà

3Sg **not.be** sit-**Ppl**

‘He/She is not sitting (=seated).’

The construction also accepts detransitivized resultatives like ‘be laid out’ in (457c). A corresponding transitive is in (457a). There is no active intransitive for this verb, so an aspect-marked construction is reflexive in form (457b).

(457) a. n̄ =nàn̄ tààⁿ sīnā

1Sg Sbj/Obj mat lay.Pfv

‘I laid out the mat.’

b. tàāⁿ yè ŋ̄ sīnā

mat Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg lay.Pfv

‘The mat was laid out.’ (lit. “The mat laid itself out.”)

c. [tàŋ kāy] sīnā-nā

[mat **Prsntv**] lay.out-**Ppl**

‘The mat is (over there) laid out.’

## Shift of reference time

### Shift to past time viewpoint

Ordinary tense-aspect marking (perfective, present, future, progressive, stative) presupposes the perspective of the here-and-now of the speech event. The time interval of an event or situation that is described is automatically compared to the moment of speaking. However, mechanisms are available to shift the reference time to the past.

In addition to the constructions in §10.3.2-4 below, the construction with màà/màā ‘look for’ as a kind of auxiliary can be glossed ‘was on the verge of VPing’, i.e. a type of future-in-past.

### Past imperfective (kōndō gà, negative tè kōndō)

This construction consists of a Pfv form of kōndō ‘stay’ as auxiliary, followed by a VP with Ipfv verb. The particle gà is usually present immediately after kōndō but it can be omitted. There is some ambiguity as to whether this is the Ipfv particle gà/gā, anticipating the imperfective VP to follow, or the RemPfv particle gà which follows Pfv verbs (like kōndō). In favor of the latter analysis is the fact that this gà remains L-toned before another L-tone, whereas the Ipfv particle undergoes Final Tone-Raising to gā in this position. The ungrammaticality of #kōndō nà/nā, with IpfvNeg nà/nā, also favors the RemPfv reading of gà in kōndō gà.

In any event, the combination kōndō gà can be contracted to kūnà, which is glossed simply as “Past.Ipfv” rather than unpacked morphemically (458b). kōndō is negated by the usual PfvNeg tè. Negation of kōndō entails no change in the following VP (458c). This VP cannot itself be directly negated (458d).

The sense is either past habitual or past progressive.

(458) a. jɛ́náŋ kōndō (gà) kɯ̀ɯ̄

child **stay.Pfv (RemPfv)** run.Ipfv

‘The child was running/used to run.’

b. tàmà déé kūnà ŋ̄ sɔ̀gɔ̄ bōm̀ pānāāⁿ

Q cotton **Past.Ipfv** 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv here formerly

‘Was cotton cultivatd here formerly?’ (2017-03 @ 00:58)

c. jɛ́nán tè kōndō (gà) kɯ̀ɯ̄

child **PfvNeg stay.Pfv (RemPfv)** run.Ipfv

‘The child was not running/didn’t use to run.’

d. #jɛ́náⁿ (tè) kōndō nā kɯ̀ɯ̄

child (PfvNeg) stay.Pfv **IpfvNeg** run.Ipfv

[intended: ‘The child was not running/didn’t use to run.’]

### Past stative (kōndō gà, negative tè kōndō)

kōndō (gà) can also be added to a stative to shift its time to the past. (459a) illustrates with a stative derived from an active verb pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘sit’. Other semantically stative constructions are illustrated in (459b-e).

(459) a. à kōndō (gà) pùwɔ̀-nà

3Sg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) sit-**Ppl**

‘He/She was sitting (=seated).’

b. ŋ̄ kōndō (gà) nɔ̀gī-ỳ

1Sg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) village-Loc

‘I was in the village.’

c. yàmbāà kōndō (gà) [ǹ tē]

house stay.Pfv (RemPfv) [1Sg Dat]

‘I had a house.’

d. ŋ̄ kōndō (gà) sɔ̀gɔ̀-yā nì

1Sg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) cultivate-Agent it.is

‘I used to be a farmer.’

e. ŋ̄ kōndō (gà) sābūlèⁿ-yā tò

1Sg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) heal-Agent **know**.Ipfv

‘I used to know a healer.’

### Past perfect

No past perfect involving kōndō was elicitable. kɔ̀ⁿ with the subject along with clause-final kòy (§10.2.1.5) suggest the sense ‘already’ in the present (460a). To indicate that an event had already happened at a reference time in the past, RemPfv gà can follow the Pfv verb. This can approximate the past perfect in conjunction with the ‘already’ morphemes (460b).

(460) a. [à kɔ̀ⁿ] n̄ tūwō kòy

[3Sg **already**] 3ReflSg depart.Pfv **already**

‘He/She has already left.’

b. [ā kɔ̀ⁿ] n̄ tūwō gà kòy

[3Sg **already**] 3ReflSg depart.Pfv **RemPfv** **already**

‘He/She had already left (e.g. when I arrived).’

## Imperatives and hortatives

### Imperatives and prohibitives

All imperatives and prohibitives are based on the Pfv stem of the verb. The paradigm for these deontics is summarized in (461), for intransitive ‘come’ and ‘stop’.

(461) particle ‘come’ ‘stop’

a. (positive) imperative

singular addressee (zero) bē tàà

plural addressee yèⁿ yèm bē yēn tàà

b. prohibitive

singular addressee màⁿ ām màm bē ām mān tàà

plural addressee màⁿ āā màm bē āā mān tàà

#### Imperative (unsuffixed singular, plural yèⁿ)

The Pfv stem is used, without any preverbal material (subject pronoun, inflectional particle) as intransitive singular-addressee imperative.

(462) a. M‑toned imperative (= Pfv)

bē ‘come!-2Sg’

tāwⁿ ‘ascend!-2Sg’

dwɔ̄ ‘enter!-2Sg’

sāgā ‘lie down!-2Sg’

kōndō ‘stay!-2Sg’

pīīrī ‘fly away!-2Sg’

b. L‑toned imperative (= Pfv)

sò ‘go!-2Sg’

tàà ‘stop!-2Sg’ (or ‘stand up!’)

pwɔ̀ ‘sit!-2Sg’

yàwⁿ ‘descend!-2Sg’

c. other tones: imperative (= Pfv)

yīyɛ̀rɛ̀ ‘slide!-2Sg’

tīgɛ̀ ‘cough!-2Sg’

As usual the all-L‑toned stems undergo Final Tone-Raising before another L‑tone. This applies to the monomoraic sò in (463a), but not in (463b) where it is followed by a nonlow tone.

(463) a. sō nàmàgèwⁿ

go.Pfv Namagué

‘Go-2Sg to Namagué (village)!’

b. sò mɔ̄ptì

go.Pfv Mopti

‘Go-2Sg to Mopti (city)!’

Transitive singular-addressee imperatives likewise begin with the object, with no overt subject. This is the only clause type that begins with an object NP (464a-b). As in indicative clauses, 1Sg object ŋ̀ (+H) raises the tone of a following L‑toned verb to H, e.g. wágá from wàgà in (464a).

(464) a. ŋ̀ kwāā / wágá

1Sg hit.Pfv / kill.Pfv

‘Hit-/Kill-2Sg me!’ (< ŋ̀ (+H), wàgà)

b. sɔ́gɔ́ mɛ̀wⁿ

milk drink.Pfv

‘Drink-2Sg the milk!’

For plural addressee, yèⁿ appears clause-initially. It raises to yēⁿ before L‑tone. The remainder of the clause is as for singular addressee.

(465) a. yèɲ jɛ́náŋ kwāā

Imprt.2Pl child hit.Pfv

‘Hit!-2Pl the child!’

b. yēⁿ yùgòŋ kwāā

Imprt.2Pl woman hit.Pfv

‘Hit!-2Pl the woman!’

c. yēŋ kɯ̀ɯ̀

Imprt.2Pl run.Pfv

‘Run!-2Pl’

yèⁿ also occurs in hortatives, but not in prohibitives.

There is an ambiguity about the grammatical function of yèⁿ. It does not resemble the 2Pl pronoun āā, so it is not a true pronominal as such. It could be treated as a post-subject inflectional particle occupying the same linear position as prohibitive màⁿ. There are similar difficulties in many languages of the zone in identifying and glossing morphemes that occur in plural-addressee imperatives.

Two imperative clauses cannot be juxtaposed and phrased together as in ‘come and eat!’. Instead, the first clause is imperative and the second is a subjunctive clause.

(466) sò [āŋ gālà m̀ báy bōẁⁿ]

go.Pfv [2Sg **Sbjn** 1Sg leave.Pfv here]

‘Go and leave me here!’ (2017-05 @ 02:09) (< bày)

#### Form of pronominal objects in imperatives

Because transitive imperatives are the only construction with clause-initial objects, the forms of non-second-person pronominal objects are exemplified below. For singular addressee, the forms are in (467). 1Sg object ŋ̀ (+H) has its usual tonal effect on the L‑toned verb wàgà (467b). 3Sg à and 3Pl è remain L‑toned before wàgà (467c).

(467) a. ŋ̀ / ē / à / è kwāā

1Sg/1Pl/3Sg/3Pl hit.Pfv

‘Hit-2Sg me/us/him-or-her/them!’

b. ŋ̀ wágá

1Sg kill.Pfv

‘Kill-2Sg me!’

c. ē / à / è wàgà

1Pl/3Sg/3Pl kill.Pfv

‘Kill-2Sg us/him-or-her/them!’

The forms for plural addressee are in (468). The combinations of yèⁿ with pronominal objects are fused. The nasality in plural-addressee imperative yèⁿ is lost in the contractions. The yèⁿ morpheme does not raise to M‑tone before an L‑toned object pronominal.

(468) a. yè=ŋ̀ / yè=ē / yà=à / yè=è kwāā

Imprt.2Pl=1Sg/=1Pl/=3Sg/=3Pl hit.Pfv

‘Hit-2Pl me/us/him-or-her/them!’

b. yè= ŋ̀ wágá

Imprt.2Pl 1Sg kill.Pfv

‘Kill-2Pl me!’

c. yè= ē / è wàgà

Imprt.2Pl 1Pl/3Pl kill.Pfv

‘Kill-2Pl us/them!’

d. yà = à wàgà

Imprt.2Pl 3Sg kill.Pfv

‘Kill-2Pl him-or-her!’

Reflexive imperatives are (469a-b-b′) for singular addressee. In high-frequency lexicalized reflexives denoting ordinary actions like ‘bathe’, the simple 2Sg pronominal āⁿ is usual (469a). Here āⁿ could be labeled as either regular 2Sg object (cf. n̄ =nà= āɲ ɲīnī ‘I bathed you-Sg’) or as 2Sg reflexive object. With reflexives like ‘kill oneself’ that make a clear distinction between agent and patient, the same construction is sometimes used (469b). However, my assistant prefers a full reflexive construction with ‘your head’ as object (469b′). This can also be used with ‘bathe’ when reflexivity is not contextually obvious.

(469) a. āɲ ɲīnī

2Sg bathe.Pfv

‘Bathe-2Sg (yourself)!’

b. āⁿ wàgà

2Sg kill.Pfv

‘Kill-2Sg yourself!’

b′. [āɲ ɲɛ̀w̄ⁿ] wàgà

[2Sg head] kill.Pfv

[=(b)]

Reflexive imperatives for plural addressee are in (470).

(470) a. yà= āā ɲīnī

Imprt.2Pl 2Pl bathe.Pfv

‘Bathe-2Pl (yourselves)!’

b. yà= āā wàgà

Imprt.2Pl 2Pl kill.Pfv

‘Kill-2Pl yourselves!’

b′. yà= [āā ɲɛ̀w̄ⁿ] wàgà

Imprt.2Pl [2Pl head] kill.Pfv

[=(b)]

For quoted imperatives see §17.1.4. For indirect commands and imprecations, see §10.4.3.2.

#### Prohibitive màⁿ (2Sg ām màⁿ, 2Pl āā màⁿ)

Prohibitives have a particle màⁿ. It is preceded by a regular second person proclitic (2Sg āⁿ, 2Pl āā). It dissimilates to them as L-toned màⁿ, but may be re-raised by Final Tone-Raising before another L-tone (471a,d).

(471) a. āⁿ māŋ kɯ̀ɯ̀

2Sg **Proh** run.Pfv

‘Don’t-2Sg run!’

b. āā màⁿ wwō

2Pl **Proh** weep.Pfv

‘Don’t-2Pl cry!’

c. ām màɲ jɛ́náŋ kwāā

2Sg **Proh** child hit.Pfv

‘Don’t-2Sg hit the child!’

d. āā māⁿ yùgòŋ kwāā

2Pl **Proh** woman hit.Pfv

‘Don’t-2Pl hit the woman!’

For prohibitive clauses with open-ended subjects, see §10.4.3.1 and §17.1.4.1. When the prohibitive morpheme follows 3Sg à or 3Pl è in such clauses, it dissimilates tonally to them and raises to M‑toned even before another M‑tone: à mām bē ‘may he/she not come!’, è mām bē ‘may they not come!’. Another post-subject morpheme that has this tonal patterning is nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ ‘if.Pfv’ (§16.1.1).

#### hm̄ ‘here, take this!’

hm̄ is a specialized imperative uttered when the speaker hands something to the addressee, cf. English *here!* and French *tiens!* or *tenez!*. It is pronounced with lips closed during the syllabic rime after a brief aspiration.

It has a plural imperative form yèⁿ hm̄, but it cannot be negated. The only way to add an “object” is to combine hm̄ with a presentative clause.

(472) hm̄ māāŋgòró kāy

**here!** mango Prsntv

‘Here! (Take) a mango!’

### Hortatives

#### Hortative (kèⁿ)

In the first inclusive plural hortative (‘let’s VP!’), hortative morpheme kèⁿ precedes the VP. It regularly becomes <LM>-toned kěⁿ (assimilated kèm̄, kèn̄, etc.) by Final Tone-Raising before an L‑tone. kèⁿ denasalizes when it contracts with a following vocalic pronominal. For example, it combines with 3Pl object as kē= è, which also shows leveling of <LML> to <ML> after vv-Contraction. There is no overt pronominal subject when there is a single addressee (473). Reciprocal and reflexive objects are possible (473e‑f).

(473) a. kěⁿ yàwⁿ / …

kèn̄ … / tàà

**Hort** descend.Pfv / stand.Pfv

‘Let’s-2Sg go down!/stop!’

b. kèm bāā / bē

**Hort** exit(v).Pfv / come.Pfv

‘Let’s-2Sg go out!/come!’

c. kèn tēē dīgā

**Hort** meat eat.Pfv

‘Let’s-2Sg eat the meat!’

d. kèŋ̄ kùù dīgā

**Hort** meal eat.Pfv

‘Let’s-2Sg eat a meal!’

e. kèm̄ bwɔ̀ kwāā

**Hort** Recip hit.Pfv

‘Let’s-2Sg fight (=hit each other)!’

f. kè= [ē ɲìyɛ̄wⁿ] wàgà

**Hort** [1Pl head] kill.Pfv

‘Let’s (each) kill ourselves!’

For two or more addressees, 2Pl imperative pronominal yèⁿ is added in the subject slot: yèŋ kēm bāā ‘let’s (all) go out!’. This brings out the imperative element in such hortatives,

‘Let’s go!’ is the highest-frequency hortative. It is slighly irregular tonally and segmentally (474).

(474) ‘Let’s go!’

a. kèⁿ só

kè só

kò só

It is slightly irregular: kèⁿ só with H‑toned só instead of expected L‑toned Pfv sò (cf. ē sò ‘we went’). This is optionally shortened to kè só, and this in turn optionally assimilates vowel qualities to kò só. A specific locational expression may be added.

(475) kè só (síbɛ̀wⁿ)

**Hort** go.Pfv (market.Loc)

‘Let’s go (to the market)!’

#### Hortative negative (ē màⁿ)

Hortatives are negated by ē màⁿ, consisting of regular 1Pl ē plus the same negative marker màⁿ used in prohibitives (2Sg ā màⁿ, 2Pl āā màⁿ).

(476) a. ē māⁿ yàwⁿ / …

màn …. / tāwⁿ

1Pl **Proh** descend.Pfv / ascend.Pfv

‘Let’s not go down!/go up!’

b. ē màm bāā / bē

1Pl **Proh** exit(v).Pfv / come.Pfv

‘Let’s not go out!/come!’

c. ē māⁿ sò

1Pl **Proh** go.Pfv

‘Let’s not go!’

#### Combinations of two deontics

Two complete perfective clauses (477a) or two complete future clauses (477b) can be seamlessly juxtaposed. This is not the case with two imperatives. Instead, the second of two notional imperatives is expressed by a subjunctive clause with gālà (477c‑d). Elsewhere, subjunctive clauses also express indirect commands to third parties and quoted imperatives like ‘he told me to go up’ (§17.1.4).

(477) a. [à dīgɛ̄] [à tāwⁿ]

[3Sg eat.Antip.Pfv] [3Sg ascend.Pfv]

‘He/She ate and (then) went (away).’

b. [à gà bē dīgɛ̄] [à bè tāwⁿ]

[3Sg Ipfv Fut eat.Antip.Pfv] [3Sg Fut ascend.Pfv]

‘He/She will eat and (then) go up.’

c. dīgɛ̄ [āŋ gālà tāwⁿ]

eat.Antip.Pfv [2Sg **Sbjn** ascend.Pfv]

‘Eat-2Sg and go up!’

d. [yèn dīgɛ̄] [āā gālà tāwⁿ]

[Imprt.2Pl eat.Antip.Pfv] [2Pl **Sbjn** ascend.Pfv]

‘Eat-2Pl and go up!’

It is, however, possible to juxtapose two hortatives when the second is ‘let’s go!’ (478a). Other combinations require a subjunctive (478b).

(478) a. [yèŋ kēn dīgɛ̄] [kè só]

[Imprt.2Pl Hort eat.Antip.Pfv] [Hort go.Pfv]

‘Let’s-2Pl eat and then go!’

b. kèn dīgɛ̄ [ē gālā kùmù]

Hort eat.Antip.Pfv [1Pl **Sbjn** sleep.Pfv]

‘Let’s-2Sg eat and then go to sleep!’

### Non-second person-subject deontics

#### Wishes with third-person agent

A wish, blessing, curse, or other imprecation involving a third-person agent is expressed with subjunctive gālà if positive, and with prohibitive màⁿ if negative.

(479) a. ālà gālà ē yìràwⁿ

God **Sbjn** 1Pl help.Pfv

‘May God help us!’

b. à gālà tāwⁿ

3Sg **Sbjn** ascend.Pfv

‘May he/she go up!’

c. à mān tāwⁿ

3Sg **Proh** ascend.Pfv

‘May he/she not go up!’

These wishes have the same form as quoted imperatives (jussives), as in ‘I told Seydou (not) to come’. See §17.1.4.1 for this construction. The similarity in form suggests the possibility that wishes like (479a-b), which consist of a single overt clause, are reduced from biclausal constructions with a higher ‘say’ clause and a quoted imperative. However, one might argue against this on cultural grounds when ‘God’ is the subject as in (479a).

#### Clarifications with a first-person subject

A first-person agent occurs when the speaker seeks clarification or confirmation of a wish or command from an interlocutor.

(480) a. ŋ̀ gālà bē [tēè nī]

1Sg **Sbjn** come.Pfv [tea Inst]

‘Should I bring the tea?’ (i.e. do you want me to bring the tea?)

b. m̀ mām bē [tēè nī]

1Sg **Proh** come.Pfv [tea Inst]

‘Should I not bring the tea?’ (i.e. do you want me to not bring the tea?)

c. ŋ̀ gālā= à sē-sò

1Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv-go.Pfv

‘Should I go on telling it?’ (2017-04 @ 01:36)

# Clause, VP, and predicate structure

## Clausal constituents

Constituent order is S-infl-O-V-X. In perfective positive main clauses, the “infl” position is empty if the clause is intransitive. The “infl” position is unfilled in intransitive perfective positive main clauses. In transitive perfective positive main clauses, it is either filled by the bidirectional case marker (BCM) or unfilled, depending on the subject and object. In main clauses in other categories (imperfective and/or negative), and in subordinate clauses, it is filled by an inflectional particle. There is a single preverbal object slot; if a second “object” is present it must follow the verb as part of the residual X, which also includes adverbs. (481a) is S‑V‑Adv. (481b) is S-O-V-Adv. (481c) is S-BCM-O-V-PP. (481d) is S‑infl‑V‑PP.

(481) a. sèēdù bē dìgēwⁿ

S come.Pfv yesterday

‘Seydou came yesterday.’

b. sèēdù [sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄wⁿ bòndò] kūlēn dìgēwⁿ

S [sheep neck] cut.Pfv yesterday

‘Seydou slaughtered (=cut the throat of) the sheep yesterday.’

c. n̄ =nǎⁿ sèēdù kò [wōlēⁿ nī]

1Sg Sbj/Obj S furnish.Pfv [money Inst]

‘I gave Seydou the money.’ (= ‘I furnished Seydou with the money.’)

d. sèēdù tè bē [tēè nī]

S PfvNeg come.Pfv [tea Inst]

‘Seydou didn’t bring the tea.’

### Subjects

#### Subjects in indicative main clauses

The 1Sg clitic pronominal is ŋ̄ for perfective positive subjects, ŋ̀ for other subjects, and ŋ̀ (+H) for objects, possessors, and postpositional complements. With this exception, there is no difference in form for NPs in subject versus object function. Nevertheless, it is easy to distinguish subjects from objects on the basis of their linear position and some other properties.

Subjects, both pronominal and noun-headed, occur in a fixed clause-initial position. Except in imperatives and a few subordinated constructions, an overt nonzero subject is obligatory. Subjects are preceded only by elements of the types listed in (482).

(482) a. discourse markers (e.g. ŋ̄gàà ‘but’)

b. optional polar interrogative markers

c. preclausal temporal setting adverbials (e.g. ‘today’, ‘after the holy day’)

d. preclausal topicalized constituents

Subjects are immediately followed by any of a number of inflectional morphemes, marking aspect and polarity for indicatives and some modals. The main ones are listed in (483).

(483) a. indicative

gà/gā perfective positive in ‘until’ clauses

nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ perfective positive in ‘if’ clauses

gà/gā imperfective positive

nà/nā imperfective negative

tè perfective negative

b. gālà subjunctive

màⁿ prohibitive

bè sequential or infinitival

The post-subject “infl” position may also be empty, as in intransitive perfective positive main clauses (484). Here the subject NP is immediately followed by the verb or other predicate.

(484) sèēdū sō nɔ̀gī-ỳ

S go.Pfv village-Loc

‘Seydou went to the village.’

In perfective positive transitive clauses, the empty post-subject inflectional “slot” is often, but not always, filled by a bidirectional case-marker (BCM). This morpheme, if present, takes the form =nàⁿ after nasal pronominal proclitics, and the form yè after other subjects (485).

(485) ē yē= ē kày

1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl see.Pfv

‘We saw them.’

Singular-addressee imperative clauses lack overt subjects, and also lack an overt modal marker. Such clauses begin with the verb, or (for transitives) with the object. Plural-addressee imperatives clauses begin with a morpheme yèⁿ that precedes the VP. It is here glosses as Imprt.2Pl, a portmanteau. Prohibitives (negative imperatives) do have regular second person subject proclitics, 2Sg āⁿ and 2Pl āā, preceding the prohibitive morpheme. In positive hortatives (‘let’s VP!’) there is again a difficulty in glossing clause-initial kèⁿ, which has no clear connection to 1Pl ē. In negative hortatives 1Pl ē does appear, before the prohibitive morpheme. See §10.4.1-2 for more on imperatives and prohibitives.

“Subject” as a syntactic category is relevant to anaphora. Reflexive objects and possessors, which have a distinctive form for 3Sg and 3Pl, are normally coindexed to clausemate subjects, though under limited conditions they may instead be coindexed to clausemate objects (§18.1).

Since reflexive objects can occur in imperative as well as indicative clauses, the preponderance of evidence supports recognition of imperative subjects, even if covert.

#### Temporal and meteorological collocations

Unusual subject-verb collocations denote transitions between day and night. In (486a), the noun functioning as subject elsewhere means ‘year’. In (486b), the subject wùù is a short form for ‘night’. The full term for ‘night’ is the compound wùù-tīnā.

(486) a. jīīŋ kīyɛ̄

year pass.Pfv

‘Day has broken.’

b. wùù tūūⁿ

night be.lost.Pfv

‘Night has fallen.’

Collocations with ‘sun’ as subject are in (487). The term for ‘sun’ as a celestrial body is kùgū‑ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ ~ kùgū‑ɲɛ̀wⁿ, literally “daytime-head.” In the sense ‘blazing hot sun (at mid-day)’ it is replaced by kùgù‑lɛ̄wⁿ, with an ending that is elsewhere sometimes diminutive in sense (§5.1.7.2). (487c) has simple kùgù as subject.

(487) a. kùgū-ɲìyɛ̀n tāwⁿ

daytime-head ascend.Pfv

‘The sun has risen.’ (= ‘It has dawned.’)

b. kùgū-ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ sāgā

sun-head lie.down.Pfv

‘The sun has set.’

c. kùgū tàà-nà

daytime stand-Ppl

‘The sun (is) at its zenith.’ (mid-day)

Examples (487a-b) are not reflexive object constructions with possessed ‘head’ as object (§18.1.1.6). This is shown by the position of PfvNeg tè in e.g. kùgū-ɲìyɛ̄n tè tāwⁿ ‘the sun has not risen.’ (487c) has a participial (stative) predicate; the aspectually dynamic counterpart is kùgū tàà ‘the sun has reached its zenith’.

Expressions with kāāgà ‘rainy season’ (roughly June to September) as subject are in (488). The use of ‘arrive’ in (488a) is explained by the fact that this verb has a primary sense ‘arrive at the door or gate (of a house)’, i.e. waiting to be invited in.

(488) a. kāāgā kìyɛ̀wⁿ

rainy.season arrive.Pfv

‘The rainy season is about to begin.’ (around late May) (< kāāgà)

(local French: *l’hivernage s’annonce*)

b. kāāgā dùwɔ̀

rainy.season enter.Pfv

‘The rainy season has begun.’ (timing variable, often June or July)

c. kāāgà tāwⁿ

rainy.season ascend.Pfv

‘The rainy season is over.’ (e.g. late October)

Expressions with jààmūndè ‘harvest (n)’ as subject are in (489). They are similar to those for ‘rainy season’ above, except that there is a second option (‘descend’) in (489b). The reference is to the main millet harvest when everyone is in the fields.

(489) a. jààmūndē kìyɛ̀wⁿ

harvest(n) arrive.Pfv

‘The harvest season is not far off.’ (around end of September)

b. jààmūndē yàwⁿ / dùwɔ̀

harvest(n) descend.Pfv / enter.Pfv

‘It is harvest season.’ (October)

c. jààmūndè tāwⁿ

harvest(n) ascend.Pfv

‘The harvest season is over.’ (November)

Ambient temperature extremes are phrased with ‘cold (n)’ and ‘sun’ as subjects of locational ‘be’.

(490) a. mùù gà yāẁⁿ

cold(n) be.Loc there.Def

‘It is cold (out).’ (French *il fait froid*)

b. kùgù-lɛ̄wⁿ gà yāẁⁿ

sun be.Loc there.Def

‘It is hot (out).’ (French *il fait chaud*)

kwààⁿ ‘rain (n)’ is the subject in (491). (491a) and (491b) are more or less interchangeable.

(491) a. kwàāⁿ sàwⁿ

rain(n) fall.Pfv

‘Rain fell.’

b. kwààm bē

rain(n) come.Pfv

‘Rain came (=fell).’

c. kwàān tàà

rain(n) stand/stop.Pfv

‘The rain has ended.’

d. kwààŋ gà mīɲī-mīɲì

rain(n) Ipfv drizzling(adv)

‘It is drizzling (raining very lightly).’

The subject in (492) is cīyɛ̄wⁿ ‘wind’. The same collocations occur with cɔ̄llɔ̀ ‘dust’, which in this region generally refers to ‘airborn dust, dust storm’. Dust storms are fairly common locally in the dry season.

(492) a. cīyɛ̄ⁿ / cɔ̄llɔ̄ kìì

wind(n) / dust get.up.Pfv

‘The wind/dust (storm) has risen/kicked up (=is blowing).’

b. cīyēwⁿ tàà / sāgā

wind(n) stand / lie.down.Pfv

‘The wind has died down.’

c. cɔ̄llɔ̄ tàà / …

cɔ̄llɔ̀ … / sāgā

wind(n) / dust stand / lie.down.Pfv

‘The dust (storm) has died down.’

#### Emotion and bodily collocations

Afflictions such as hunger, thirst, and most named diseases are subjects of ‘be with X’ where X is the sufferer (493a-c). However, sleepiness “catches” the person (493d).

(493) a. dūwōŋ gā [sèēdù bwɛ̄ỳ]

hunger be.Loc [S Comit]

‘Seydou is hungry.’

b. gīlɛ̄wⁿ gā [sèēdù bwɛ̄ỳ]

thirst be.Loc [S Comit]

‘Seydou is thirsty.’

c. sɔ̀mū / kùrù-kūrū gā [sèēdù bwɛ̄ỳ]

Guinea.worm / measles be.Loc [S Comit]

‘Seydou has (=suffers from) Guinea worm/measles.’

d. kùmū kàŋgé kūūⁿ

sleep(n) hyena catch.Pfv

‘Hyena became sleepy.’ (or ‘Sleep overcame Hyena’) (< kùmù)

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For ‘fever’ a different construction is used. Possessed ‘body’ (tùùⁿ) is subject. The fact that ‘body’ belongs with the possessor rather than with ‘hot’ is shown by the position of the negative particle in (494b).

(494) a. [sèēdū tùùⁿ] pīyɛ̄-nā nì

[S body hot-Adj it.is

‘Seydou is running a fever (e.g. malaria).’

b. [sèēdū tùùn] nà pīyɛ̄-nā nì

[S body] IpfvNeg hot-Adj it.is

‘Seydou is not running a fever.’

The anger of someone ‘gets up’ and ‘lies down’ (495).

(495) a. [sèēdū bìrìsí] kìì (m̀ bwɛ̄ỳ)

[S anger] get.up.Pfv (1Sg Comit)

‘Seydou got angry (with me).’

b. [sèēdū bìrìsí] tē kìì

[S anger] PfvNeg get.up.Pfv

‘Seydou did not get angry.’

c. [sèēdū bìrìsí] sāgā

[S anger] lie.down.Pfv

‘Seydou cooled off (after being angry).’

Euphoria and dysphoria have either the experiencer or his/her ‘body’ or ‘soul, vital spirit’ as subject, with adjectival (including participial) predicates. A negative particle in each case follows the subject and precedes the adjective. hūyà in (496a‑b) is a Fulfulde borrowing.

(496) a. sèēdù hūyà-nā nì

S happy-Adj it.is

‘Seydou is happy.’

b. sèēdù nà hūyà-nà

S IpfvNeg happy-Adj

‘Seydou is not happy.’

c. [sèēdù tùùⁿ] wàà-nā nì

[S body] die-Adj it.is

‘Seydou is sad/disappointed.’

d. [sèēdù ɲōgōⁿ] wwō-nā nì

[S soul] weep-Adj it.is

‘Seydou is devastated/heart-broken.’

‘X bleed’ is phrased as ‘X’s blood ooze’ (497a), or in extreme cases as ‘X’s blood run’ (497b). ‘Nose’ can be substituted for ‘blood’ to describe bloody noses (nosebleeds) (497c‑d).

(497) a. [sèēdù dēē] gà pūndì

[S blood] Ipfv ooze.Ipfv

‘Seydou is bleeding.’ (blood is oozing out slowly)

b. [sèēdù dēē] gā kɯ̀ɯ̀

[S blood] Ipfv run.Ipfv

‘Seydou is bleeding profusely.’ (blood is pouring out)

c. [sèēdù ɲīmīnà] pūndì

[S nose] ooze.Pfv

‘Seydou has gotten a bloody nose.’

d. [sèēdù ɲīmīnā] tè pūndì

[S nose] PfvNeg ooze.Pfv

‘Seydou has not gotten a bloody nose.’

A similar construction is used for sweat using the verb ‘exit, go/come out’ (498).

(498) [sèēdù wāā] bāā

[S sweat(n)] exit.Pfv

‘Seydou (has) sweated (=is sweaty).’

The related transitive verb bālī/bālì ‘cause to exit, remove, take out’ occurs in (499) where the emission comes from a liquid.

(499) tēè / dùwɔ̀ púlá bā-lī

tea / beer foam(n) cause.to.exit.Pfv

‘The tea/beer foamed up.’

Toilet excretions are ‘put (in)’.

(500) a. sèēdū kɔ̀njì syɛ̄

S urine put.in.Pfv

‘Seydou urinated.’

b. sèēdū kùwò syɛ̄

S excrement put.in.Pfv

‘Seydou defecated.’

c. sèēdù tūwɔ̄ⁿ syɛ̄

S fart(n) put.in.Pfv

‘Seydou farted.’

‘Burp, belch’ and ‘hiccough’ are expressed by simple intransitive verbs.

#### Conveyance construction (motion verb plus instrumental PP)

Verbs of conveyance (‘bring’, ‘take/deliver’) are expressed as intransitive motion verbs plus instrumental PPs with nī.

(501) a. à bē [tēè nī]

3Sg come.Pfv [tea Inst]

‘He/She brought the tea.’

b. à sò [tēè nī]

3Sg go.Pfv [tea Inst]

‘He/She took the tea away.’

A spatial expression can be added to (501b) in the sense ‘X take/deliver Y to (somewhere)’.

A less common alternative is to use the (pseudo-)causatives of ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the senses ‘bring’ and ‘take/convey’ (§9.1.2).

#### ‘(Don’t) care’ (pāāⁿ)

In this somewhat opaque construction, a form pāāⁿ which can be taken as a possessed noun is followed by gà ‘be’ or its negation nà, then either a dative PP with postposition tē (502c) or, as default, ā-ỳ ‘in it, therein’.

(502) a. [m̀ pāān] nà= ā-ỳ

[1Sg concern(n)] not.be.Loc 3Sg-Loc

‘I don’t care (about it).’ or ‘It doesn’t concern me.’

b. [m̀ pāāŋ] gà= ā-ỳ

[1Sg concern(n)] be.Loc 3Sg-Loc

‘I care about it.’

c. [m̀ pāān] nā [kwààn tē]

[1Sg **concern**(n)] not.be [rain(n) **Dat**]

‘I don’t care about the rain.’

### Transitives and ditransitives

The inventory of transitive verbs resembles that of English. Simple transitives include verbs of impact and creation (‘hit’, ‘cut’, ‘make/fix’), perception (‘see’, ‘hear’), acquisition (‘get’), and transportation (‘carry’).

The inflectable ‘say’ verb, sē/sē, is transitive. It has an obligatory 3Sg pronominal object (‘say it’) even when followed by quoted matter (§11.3, §17.1.3). There is also a ‘said’ quasi-verb yè/yē (or variant) preceding actual quoted matter, but it is not a true verb and cannot be inflected (e.g. negated).

Simple predicates of conveyance (‘bring X’, ‘take/convey X’) are expressed as ‘come [with X]’ and ‘go [with X]’, i.e. as intransitives plus comitative PPs (§11.1.1.4).

Ditransitives like ‘give’ add another constituent to the basic transitive frame; see §11.1.2.3 below.

#### Direct objects and the bidirectional case marker (BCM)

The S-infl-O-V-X linear order makes it easy to identify objects and study their properties, even though there is no accusative marking. Direct object NPs including pronominals follow the subject NP and any post-subject inflectional particles (e.g. Ipfv gà) and immediately precede the verb.

(503) sèēdù gà sūgō sà-nà bōẁⁿ

S Ipfv goat buy-Ipfv here

‘Seydou (often) buys a goat here.’

In perfective positive main clauses, which have no true post-subject inflectional particle, a bidirectional case marker (BCM) can separate the subject NP from the object NP. The distribution of overt BCM’s in perfective positive clauses is summarized in (504). NP here means nonpronominal NP.

(504) subject object BCM

a. NP NP usually absent

pronoun NP optional, often absent

b. NP plural pronoun present

NP singular pronoun sometimes present

c. pronoun plural pronoun present

pronoun singular pronoun sometimes present

##### BCM yè

The regular form of the BCM is yè, except after nasal pronominal subject proclitics 1Sg and LogoSg where it is replaced by =nàⁿ (see the following subsection). The BCM is glossed “Sbj/Obj.”

When both subject and object are nonpronominal NPs, BCM yè is marginally grammatical but is usually absent (505).

(505) a. sèēdù Ø sūgō sàm bōẁⁿ

?sèēdū yè " " "

S (**Sbj/Obj**) goat buy.Pfv here

‘Seydou bought a goat here.’ (< sàwⁿ)

b. sèēdù Ø āāmādū kày

?sèēdū yè " "

S (**Sbj/Obj**) A see.Pfv

‘Seydou saw Amadou.’

When the subject is pronominal and the object is a nonpronominal NP, the BCM is optional (506) and fairly uncommon.

(506) à (yē) sèēdù kwāā

3Sg (**Sbj/Obj**) S hit.Pfv

‘He/She hit Seydou.’

If the subject is a nonpronominal NP and the object is a plural pronoun (1Pl or Logo/3ReflPl ē, 2Pl āā, or 3Pl è), the BCM is required.

(507) sèēdù y= ē kwāā

S **Sbj/Obj** 1Pl hit.Pfv

‘Seydou hit us.’

If the subject is a nonpronominal NP and the object is a singular pronoun, i.e. 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H), 2Sg āⁿ, 3Sg à, or LogoSg ŋ̄, the BCM is optional.

(508) sèēdù Ø ŋ̀ kwāā

sèēdū yè

S (**Sbj/Obj**) 1Sg hit.Pfv

‘Seydou hit me.’

If the subject is a pronoun and the object is a plural pronoun, the BCM is regularly present (509). An exception is that 3Sg→2Pl can be à āā as an alternative to à yà= āā.

(509) à y= ē kwāā

3Sg **Sbj/Obj** 1Pl hit.Pfv

‘He/She hit us.’

If the subject is a pronoun and the object is a singular pronoun, the BCM is usually present (510) but if both pronominals have a-vowels the BCM may be omitted (510b).

(510) a. ē yā= à kwāā

1Pl **Sbj/Obj** 3Sg hit.Pfv

‘We hit him/her/it.’

b. à Ø à kwāā

3Sg **(zero)** 3Sg hit.Pfv

‘He/she hit him/her/it.’

The BCM and a following pronoun tend to fuse into a single prosodic word, with some irregularities. For more details, see §4.3.2.

##### BCM =nàⁿ

The BCM takes the enclitic form =nàⁿ after 1Sg subject ŋ̄ or LogoSg subject ŋ̄, resulting in n̄ =nàⁿ. Here nàⁿ is obligatory when the object is a pronoun or a possessed noun beginning with a pronoun. It is optional before other nonpronominal objects (511). See §4.3.4.1.2 for details.

(511) n̄ =nàⁿ sūgō sàn̄ dìgéwⁿ

ŋ̄ Ø

1Sg (**Sbj/Obj)** goat buy.Pfv yesterday

‘I bought a goat yesterday.’

##### BCM absent in imperatives

Singular-addressee imperative clauses begin with objects. Likely because there is no overt subject, the BCM does not occur in such clauses (512a). In plural-addressee imperatives, the object follows Imprt.2Pl yèⁿ. Since yèⁿ also occurs in intransitive imperatives, it cannot be analysed as being, or containing, a BCM.

(512) a. sūgō sàwⁿ

goat buy.Pfv

‘Buy-2Sg a/the goat!’

b. yèⁿ sūgō sàwⁿ

Imprt.2Pl goat buy.Pfv

‘Buy-2Pl a/the goat!’

#### tīẁⁿ/tī-nà ‘do’ in collocations

This verb occurs in a modest number of collocations with object NPs.

(513) a. n̄ =nà [m̀ páⁿ] tīẁⁿ

1Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg **Poss**] **do**.Pfv

‘I did my part (=my share).’

b. n̄ =nà [ŋ̀ hīnɛ̄] tīẁⁿ

1Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg **capability**] **do**.Pfv

‘I did my best (=what I could).’

c. à bɔ̀nɛ̀ tīwⁿ sèyⁿ-ỳⁿ

3Sg **trouble** **do**.Pfv road-Loc

‘He/She caused an incident on the way.’ (< sèwⁿ)

In some cases the “object” is not otherwise attested as a noun, and apparently only occurs in a lexicalized collocation with ‘do’.

(514) [wàŋgé gú] pūrī tīwⁿ

[hare Def] **sneaking(n)** **do**.Pfv

‘Hare sneaked away.’

However, the ‘do’ verb is not required in the integration of verbs borrowed from Fulfulde, since Fulfulde verbs can be directly borrowed as Cliffs verbs. Predicates meaning ‘hunt (v), go hunting’, ‘work (v)’, and ‘bless, give a blessing’ are single verbs rather than combinations of ‘do’ plus a nominal.

#### Ditransitives

‘Give’ is the prototypical ditransitive verb cross-linguistically, but in Cliffs ‘X give Z to Y’ can be expressed by either of two verbs, each with its own syntax. The verb dō/dō ‘give’ takes a preverbal direct object denoting the theme, and is followed by a dative PP denoting the recipient.

(515) à jīī dō [ǹ tē]

3Sg water **give**.Pfv [1Sg **Dat**]

‘He/She gave water to me.’

The other verb is kò/kò which is glossed ‘provide, furnish’ because its preverbal direct object denotes the recipient. The theme is expressed as an instrumental PP. In spite of the gloss, this verb is at least as common as dō/dō in ‘give’ predicates.

(516) à ŋ̀ kò [jīī nī]

3Sg 1Sg **provide**.Pfv [water **Inst**]

‘He/She gave me water (provided me with water).’

‘Show’ is wɔ̄jī/wɔ̄jì. Its syntax is like that of dō/dō rather than like that of kò/kò (517a). ‘Entrust’ is kàlìfà/kàlìfà. Its syntax is like those of dō/dō and wɔ̄jī/wɔ̄jì except that it has a comitative rather than dative PP.

(517) a. à jīī wɔ̄jī [ǹ tē]

3Sg water **show**.Pfv [1Sg **Dat**]

‘He/She showed water to me.’

b. à [ŋ̀ sūgō] kàlìfā [m̀ bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Sg [3ReflSg goat] **entrust**.Pfv [1Sg **Comit**]

‘He/She entrusted his/her goat to/with me.’

#### Valency of causatives

Most suffixal causatives are based on intransitive verbs. The subject of the intransitive (518a) becomes the object of the causative (518b).

(518) a. jɛ́nán tēwⁿ

child jump.Pfv

‘The child jumped.’

b. n̄ =nàɲ jɛ́nán tēn-nī

1Sg Sbj/Obj child jump-Caus.Pfv

‘I made the child jump.’

bēẁⁿ/bēn-dē ‘return, go back’ is a lexically reflexive verb, i.e. it has a pro forma reflexive object that is coindexed with the subject (519a). The reflexive object is omitted in the causative (519b).

(519) a. à m̄ bēwⁿ

3Sg 3ReflSg return.Pfv

‘He/She went back.’

b. n̄ =nā= à bēn-nì

1Sg Sbj/Obj **3Sg** return-**Caus**.Pfv

‘I made him/her return.’ = ‘I sent him/her back.’

Among transitive verbs that are readily causatived are ‘eat’ and ‘drink’. The causative of ‘eat’, glossed ‘feed (v)’, is illustrated in (520a-b). The specific food is optionally expressed by an instrumental NP (520b). This corresponds to the direct object of simple ‘eat’ (520c). However, this causative is based on the intransitivized (antipassive) stem dīgɛ̄ (§9.3.1), not on transitive dīgā, even when the specific food term is added as an instrumental.

(520) a. n̄ =nàɲ jɛ́nán dīgɛ̄-nī

1Sg Sbj/Obj child eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv

‘I fed the child.’

b. n̄ =nàɲ jɛ́nán dīgɛ̄-nī [sàbúlá ní]

1Sg Sbj/Obj child eat.Antip-Caus.Pfv [**cowpea Inst.Foc**]

‘I fed the child with cowpeas (=beans).’

c. jɛ́nán sàbúlá dīgā

child **cowpea** eat.Pfv

‘The child ate cowpeas (=beans).’

The syntax of mɛ̀n-nì ‘cause to drink, give something to drink to (sb)’ is the same.

Other transitives are less frequently causativized. However, my assistant did produce wɔ̀gɛ̀‑nì/wɔ̀gɛ̀-nī ‘X cause Y [to kill Z]’. As with the ‘eat/feed’ examples above, here too the transitive verb ‘kill’ (wɔ̀gà/wɔ̀gā) is first intransitived (antipassivized) to wɔ̀gè/wɔ̀gɛ̄-ni ‘do/commit a killing’, then this is the basis for the causative. Again, the object in the simple transitive (521a) becomes an instrumental PP in the causative (521b).

(521) a. n̄ =nàŋ kúŋgóló wɔ̀gà

1Pl Sbj/Obj **dog** kill.Pfv

‘I killed the dog.’

b. à ŋ̀ wɔ́gɛ̀-nì [kúŋgóló nī]

3Sg 1Sg kill.Antip-Caus [**dog** **Inst**]

‘He/She had/made me kill the dog.’

The use of instrumental PPs for “demoted” objects is reminiscent of their use in predicates of conveyance based on motion verbs (‘come [with X]’ = ‘bring X’), where no demotion from transitive object has occurred.

### True versus pro-forma reflexive transitives

True reflexives are special cases of transitive verbs where the object happens to be coindexed with the subject (522).

(522) sèēdù ŋ̄ kwāā

S **3ReflSg** hit.Pfv

‘Seydou hit himself.’

See §18.1.1.1 for this reflexive-object construction.

There are also some verbs that occur only in morphologically reflexive constructions, with no detectable true reflexive sense. These can be called pro forma reflexive verbs. An example is the verb tūwō/tūwò ‘depart’ (523a-b). This cannot be used as a simple transitive #‘X depart Y’ in any sense. However, tūwō/tūwò can be intransitivized (antipassivized) and then causativized (suffix ‑ni) to add a higher agent (523c).

(523) a. sèēdū yè n̄ tūwō

S Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg depart.Pfv

‘Seydou has departed.’

b. sèēdù gà bē n̄ tūwō

S Ipfv Fut 3ReflSg depart.Pfv

‘Seydou will depart.’

c. n̄ =nǎⁿ sèēdù tūwē-nī

1Sg Sbj/Obj S depart.Antip-**Caus**.Pfv

‘I made/had Seydou depart.’ = ‘I sent Seydou away.’

The verbs whose regular (i.e., noncausative) forms occur only in pro-forma reflexive clauses are in (524). They do not occur in simple intransitive form. They cannot take nonreflexive objects as transitives, unless first converted into causatives by suffixation.

(524) bēwⁿ/bēn-dē ‘return, go back’

kìlɛ̀wⁿ/kìlɛ̄n-nà ‘finish’

mīīlà/mīīlà ‘think, reflect’

pīrī-pīrī/pīrī-pīrì ‘(body) writhe’

tānī/tānì ‘vomit (v)’

tūwō/tūwò ‘depart’

There are also several ambi-valent (labile) verbs that occur in pro-forma reflexives functioning as (mediopassive) intransitives, but that also occur as transitives without having to be causativized. Several examples are in (525).

(525) verb gloss (transitive) gloss (pro-forma reflexive)

bàà-būwō ‘warm (sth) up at a fire’ ‘warm oneself up at a fire’

dāŋgè/dāŋgè ‘post, affix, stick (sth) on’ ‘adhere, stick, be posted’

kāā/kāà ‘shatter (sth)’ ‘be shattered’

kɛ̄wⁿ/kɛ̄-nɛ̄ ‘snap, break (sth)’ ‘(sth) snap, break’

ɲīnī/ɲīnì ‘bathe (sb), wash (sth)’ ‘bathe (oneself)’

pāndì/pāndì ‘make a fissure in (sth)’ ‘become cracked (fissured)’

pùgèwⁿ/pùgēn-nà ‘hide (sb, sth)’ ‘hide (oneself)’

sɛ̀ŋɛ̄ẁⁿ/sɛ̀ŋɛ̄n-nà ‘tilt (sth)’ ‘tilt, lean over’

sīndī/sīndì ‘begin (sth)’ ‘begin’

sùnù/sùnū-nà ‘bend (sth, sb) over’ ‘bow, bend (oneself) over’

The verb kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’ is usually a normal transitive. However, in the sense ‘add’ or ‘be added, join’ it functions as pro-forma reflexive in a construction with adverb bwɛ̄ỳ ‘together’, related to the comitative position bwɛ̄ỳ.

(526) i ye= è kwāā bwɛ̄ỳ

3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl hit.Pfv together

‘They assembled (=joined each other).’

The verb ‘drink’, usually transitive ‘X drink Y’, can be intransitivized (antipassivized) by replacing the normal object (the liquid) with a reflexive pronominal object. The liquid is water, beer, or milk and is usually obvious in context.

(527) a. n̄ =nàⁿ m̀ mɛ́wⁿ

1Sg Sbj/Obj **1Sg** drink.Pfv

‘I drank/had a drink.’ (< ŋ̀ (+H) mɛ̀wⁿ)

b. à m̄ mɛ̀wⁿ

3Sg **3ReflSg** drink.Pfv

‘He/She drank/had a drink.’

This construction is less common with ‘eat’, where the morphology already provides a distinction between transitive dīgā/dīgà ‘X eat Y’ and (antipassive) intransitive dīgɛ̄/dīgɛ̀ ‘X eat’; for the vocalic mutation see §9.3.1. My assistant allowed reflexive versions of ‘eat’ for 1Sg, 3Sg, and 3Pl subjects but tended to reject them (when proposed) for other subject pronominals. The verb takes the morphologically intransitivized form.

(528) a. n̄ =nàⁿ ǹ dīgɛ̄

1Sg Sbj/Obj **1Sg** eat.Antip.Pfv

‘I have eaten.’

b. à n̄ dīgɛ̄

3Sg **3ReflSg** eat.Antip.Pfv

‘He/She has eaten.’

c. ì yè= ē dīgɛ̄

3Pl Sbj/Obj **3ReflPl** eat.Antip.Pfv

‘They have eaten.’

### Verb phrase (VP)

VP, consisting of a clause minus subject and post-subject aspect and polarity markers, is relevant to Cliffs syntax especially in connection with some types of chaining and complementation. For example, motion verbs are chained to same-subject VPs in various ways (§15.2). However, the broader tendency in Cliffs is to favor either finite subordinated clauses (including subjects) or nominalized VPs.

## ‘Be’, ‘become’, and other statives and inchoatives

### Identificational predicates

#### ‘It is X’ (nì)

Clause-final nì occurs in identificational predicates, which minimally have the form X nì where X is a noun or NP. If X is a pronoun, it takes independent rather than clitic form. The “subject” to be identified is omitted, but contextually clear. nì is glossed as “it.is” in interlinears, but it is not specifically third person. An L‑toned noun preceding nì undergoes Final Tone-Raising (529e).

(529) a. màsí nì

what? it.is

‘What is it?’

b. sūgō nì

goat it.is

‘It’s a goat.’

c. wùlāā nì

who? it.is

‘Who is it?’

d. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ nì

1Sg it.is

‘It’s me.’

e. bùwā nì

shoulderbag it.is

‘It’s a shoulderbag.’ (< bùwà)

Array (530) presents the full set of forms with pronominal predicates. Final Tone-Raising applies regularly to third person forms (530c) and optionally to the forms in (530b).

(530) category ‘it is’

a. 1Sg ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ nì

b. 1Pl ē-lɔ̀gɔ̀ nì ~ ē-lɔ̀gɔ̄ nì

2Sg ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀ nì ~ ān-dɔ̀gɔ̄ nì

2Pl āā-lɔ̀gɔ̀ nì ~ āā-lɔ̀gɔ̄ nì

c. 3Sg wɔ̀gɔ̄ nì

3Pl è-lɔ̀gɔ̄ nì

#### ‘It isn’t X’

The positive identificational predicates described above, with no overt subject, do not have a dedicated negative counterpart. Instead, ‘it isn’t X’ is phrased as ‘Y is not X’ (§11.2.2.2 below), i.e. as a negative copular clause with an obligatory subject, the default being a 3Sg pronominal.

### Equational (copular) clauses

#### ‘Y is X’ (Y gà X nì)

The identificational ‘it is X’ construction (preceding section) may be elaborated by adding an overt subject. In this case, the subject is followed by gà/gā, which can be equated with Ipfv particle gà/gā and with existential-locational gà/gā ‘be (present)’. In equational clauses gà/gā functions as a copula ‘be’.

(531) a. kú gā màsí nì

Dem **be** what? **it.is**

‘What is that?’

b. ŋ̀ gà káádó nì

1Sg **be** Dogon **it.is**

‘I am a Dogon.’

c. ē gà káádó-yè nì

1Pl **be** Dogon-Pl **it.is**

‘We are Dogon.’

d. ŋ̀ gā ɲìyɛ̄n nì

1Sg **be** head **it.is**

‘I am the chief.’ (< ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ)

e. ē gā ɲìyɛ̀ⁿ-yē nì

1Pl **be** head-Pl **it.is**

‘We are the chiefs.’

f. wùlāā gā kēbē-yān nì

who? **be** build-Agent **it.is**

‘Who is a builder?’

#### ‘Y isn’t X’ (Y nàwⁿ X nì)

Under negation, gà/gā is replaced by nàwⁿ/nāwⁿ ‘not be’. Its final nasalization distinguishes it from IpfvNeg nà and from negative existential nà ‘not be (present), be absent’. The final nasalization is heard as a homorganic nasal before stops or l. In (532a), nàⁿ ‘not be’ (negative copula) is realized as [nàm] before the labial stop of ‘herder’. In (532b-c), there is no similar homorganic nasal consonant before b, showing that a different morpheme (negative locational or imperfective negative) is at hand.

(532) a. à nàm būwɔ̄-yā nì

3Sg not.be tend.animals-Agent it.is

‘He/She is not a herder.’ [ànàmbūwɔ̄jānì] (< būwɔ̄-yà)

b. à nà bōẁⁿ

3Sg not.be.Loc here

‘He/She is not here.’ [ànàbōẁⁿ]

c. à nà bē

3Sg IpfvNeg come.Ipfv

‘He/She doesn’t come.’ [ànàbē]

Negative copula nàwⁿ is treated as bimoraic and can therefore become <LM>-toned nàw̄ⁿ before an L‑tone by Final Tone-Raising.

(533) à nàn̄ⁿ sɔ̀gɔ̀-yà nì

3Sg not.be cultivate-Agent it.is

‘He/She is not a farmer.’

Corresponding to identificational X nì ‘it is X’ with no overt subject (534a), the only negative counterpart is a negative equational clause of the type à nàwⁿ X nì ‘he/she/it isn’t X’, with 3Sg subject pronominal à (534b-c).

(534) a. nàā nì

cow it.is

‘It’s a cow.’ (< nàà)

b. à nàn̄ nàā nì

3Sg **not.be** cow it.is

‘It isn’t a cow.’

c. à nàwⁿ sūgō nì

3Sg **not.be** goat it.is

‘It isn’t a goat.’

### Locational-existential ‘be’

The constructions described below express ‘X be (present) [in a location]’. In the limiting case where the location is nonspecific, free translations of the type ‘X exists’ or ‘there is/are some X(x)’. The key morphemes are post-subject gà (positive) and nà (negative), which elsewhere function as imperfective positive and imperfective negative particles.

#### ‘Is/are (present)’ (gà/gā)

The basic positive locational or existential ‘be (present)’ verb is gà/gā. When the preceding subject is a pronominal proclitic, ‘be’ assimilates the tone of the proclitic. This shows that ‘be (present)’ is closely related to (positive) Ipfv gà/gā, which shows the same tone assimilations (§10.1.1, §10.2.2.1).

Except in truncated responses to questions, gà/gā must be followed by an overt locational expression, the defaults being gà bōẁⁿ ‘be here’ (535a) and gà yāẁⁿ ‘be there (definite)’.

(535) a. à gà bōẁⁿ / yāẁⁿ

3Sg **be.Loc** here / there.Def

‘He/She/It is here/there.’

b. à gā nɔ̀gī-ỳ / nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ

3Sg **be.Loc** village-Loc / N

‘He/She/It is in the village / in Namagué.’

c. wùlāā gà [jūgū kūmà]

who.Foc? **be.Loc** [tree on]

‘Who is up in the tree?’

d. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ gà [jūgū kūmà]

1Sg-Indep **be.Loc** [tree on]

‘I [focus] am up in the tree.’

When it occurs prepausally, ‘be present’ takes M‑toned form gā. This is only possible in truncated replies to questions (536).

(536) question: sūgō gà bôⁿ

goat be.Loc here

‘The goat is here?’ (pronounced [sùgògàbôⁿ])

answer: à gā

3Sg be.Loc

‘(Yes,) it is (here).’

As noted in §10.1.1, Ipfv gà may itself undergo Final Tone-Raising to gā before L‑tone, but it does not itself trigger Final Tone-Raising on a preceding L‑toned noun. This is also true of gà as locational ‘be’ verb. For example, sìbò in (537a) and its plural sìbò-yè in (537b) remain L‑toned. Contrast this with sìbō sò ‘the snake went’ and sìbò-yē sò ‘the snakes went’, with tone-raised nouns. This suggests that Ipfv gà is treated as M‑toned for purposes of tone sandhi.

(537) a. sìbò gà sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-ỳ

snake **be.Loc** the.bush-Loc

‘A snake is out in the bush.’

b. sìbò-yè gà sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-ỳ

snake-Pl **be.Loc** the.bush-Loc

‘A snake is out in the bush.’

#### ‘Was/were (present)’ (kōndō gà)

kōndō ‘stay.Pfv’ shifts the reference time to the past (538a), as it does with other statives and in past perfects. Post-subject inflectional particles precede kōndō. The following gà is probably the postverbal RemPfv particle, but could also be interpreted as ‘be’. After kōndō and before an overt locational, gà is optionally omitted (538b). When there is no following locational adverb, it occurs in L‑toned form gà (538c.

(538) a. ē kōndō gà bōẁⁿ

1Pl **stay.Pfv RemPfv** here

‘We were here.’ or ‘We stayed here.’

b. ē kōndō bōẁⁿ

1Pl **stay.Pfv** here

[=(a)]

c. ē kōndō gà

1Pl **stay.Pfv RemPfv**

‘We were present.’ or ‘We stayed.’

d. wùlàà kōndō gà bōẁⁿ

who? **stay.Pfv** **RemPfv** here

‘Who was here?’ or ‘Who stayed here?’

#### ‘Is/Are not (present)’ and ‘was/were not (present)’

Negation of present-time locationals (and existentials) is expressed by nà replacing gà (539a). It is closely related to IpfvNeg nà before verbs.

The tones of the negative locational are exactly like those of gà, including nā in negative existential sense in the absence of a locational, which can occur in truncated responses to questions (539b).

(539) a. à nà bōẁⁿ

3Sg not.be.Loc here

‘He/She/It is not here.

b. à nā

3Sg not.be.Loc

‘He/She/It is absent’ or ‘There is/are none.’

For past time, kōndō is directly negated as tè kōndō, which can also mean ‘did not stay’. After tè kōndō, RemPfv gà is optionally omitted if it is followed by an overt locational (540a), but obligatory in the relevant sense if there is no overt locational (540b).

(540) a. à tè kōndō (gà) bōẁⁿ

3Sg PfvNeg stay.Pfv (RemPfv) here

‘He/She/It was not here.’

b. à tè kōndō gà

3Sg PfvNeg stay.Pfv RemPfv

‘He/She/It was absent.’ or ‘There was none.’

In the greeting phrase [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ ‘there is no trouble’ (§19.6.1), likely reduced from an earlier longer phrase where kɔ̀ⁿ was just a topic marker, kɔ̀ⁿ now appears to function synchronically as a simple existential negative.

### ‘Become (noun)’, ‘happen’, and ‘remain’ predicates

#### ‘Remain’ (kōndō)

As a simple intransitive verb, kōndō means ‘stay, remain’.

(541) à kōndō bōẁⁿ

3Sg remain.Pfv here

‘He/She remained here.’

kōndō can also precede a second verb to shift the temporal perspective to the past (‘X was here’, ‘X was sweeping’, etc.). For this function, see (540) above and especially §10.3.

#### ‘Become, turn into’ (pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀)

‘Become (something)’, with a noun or NP (rather than an adjective) as complement, is pwɔ̀ (Pfv) or pɔ̀-lɔ̀ (Ipfv). The predicate nominal is part of an instrumental PP with postposition nī. By regular tone sandhi the verb becomes pẁɔ̄ or pɔ̀‑lɔ̄ before an L‑tone. Its basic lexical meaning as an intransitive is ‘sit’.

(542) a. sèēdū pẁɔ̄ [pùlén / tìmì nī]

S become.Pfv [bird / python Inst]

‘Seydou became (= turned into) a bird/python.’ (< pùléwⁿ)

b. hàlī-kànā à gā pẁɔ̄ [kàpàrán nī]

until 3Sg until.Pfv become.Pfv [corporal Inst]

‘Eventually he became (=was promoted to) corporal.’ (2017-01 @ 06:30)

[for gà see §15.7.2.2]

The semantically causative counterpart is noncognate transitive yàgà ‘put down’ or wābì ‘change’, with the same final PP as in (543).

(543) n̄ =nàn̄ sèēdù wābī [pùlén nī]

1Sg Sbj/Obj S change.Pfv [bird Inst]

‘I turned Seydou into a bird.’

### Mental and emotional statives

These predicates described below (‘know’, ‘want’, ‘resemble’) have senses that can be construed as stative (aspect-neutral). However, the Cliffs verbs are aspectually dynamic, with stative-like senses in the imperfective.

#### ‘Know’ (tùyɛ̀/tò)

‘Know’ is a regular transitive verb. Minimally, a 3Sg pronominal object is required. In normal contexts the clause has time reference including the present. In stative sense, the Ipfv form tò is regular.

(544) ŋ̀ gā= ā tò

1Sg Ipfv 3Sg **know**.Ipfv

‘I know (it/him/her).’

tò can mean ‘know (a fact)’ or ‘know, be familiar with (someone)’, cf. French *savoir* and *connaître*. For propositional (factive) complements, see §17.2. The familiarity sense is exemplified in (545).

(545) ŋ̀ gā sèēdū tò

1Sg Ipfv S **know**.Ipfv

‘I know Seydou.’

Negation is regular (imperfective negative).

(546) ǹ nā= ā tò

1Sg **IpfvNeg** 3Sg know.Ipfv

‘I don’t know it/him/her.’

For past time stative ‘knew’, kōndō ‘stay’ is added as an auxiliary.

(547) a. à kōndō (gà) sèēdù tò

3Sg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) S know.Ipfv

‘He/She knew Seydou.’

b. ǹ tè kōndō à tò

1Sg PfvNeg **stay**.Pfv 3Sg know.Ipfv

‘I didn’t know it.’

The Pfv form is tùyɛ̀ (~ tùɥɛ̀). It occurs in special contexts like ‘recognize, identify’ or ‘find out’.

(548) a. à gà bā= ā tùyɛ̀

3Sg Ipfv Fut 3Sg **know**.Pfv

‘He/She will know/recognize (it).’ (< bē)

b. ǹ tā= ā tùyɛ̀

1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg **know**.Pfv

‘I didn’t find out about it.’

c. ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv

[ē gālā= ā tùyɛ̀

[1Pl Sbjn 3Sg **know**.Pfv

[nɔ̀gù-bēm pẁɔ̄ gà [bāànā màwⁿ]]

[N sit.Pfv RemPfv [manner Rel]]

‘We would like to know (=learn) the way Namagué (village) was settled.’

(2017-01 @ 00:36 to 00:38)

What would be a regular causative derivative ‘cause to know’ (#tò-nì or whatever) does not exist. However, a suspicously similar verb tòynì/tòynī occurs in the specific context of transmitting esoteric knowledge, i.e. initiation into tribal or family secrets (549).

(549) kàā yè [n̄ dīyɛ̄ⁿ] tòynì [kɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀ nī]

father Sbj/Obj [3ReflSg child] **initiate**.Pfv [secret Inst]

‘The father initiated his son into tribal (or family) secrets.’

tòynì/tòynī may be more directly related to the noun tòy ‘intelligence; knowledge’, but both are distantly related etymologically to tò/tò ‘know’.

The absence of an all-purpose causative ‘cause to know; inform’ (cf. English *let X know* and French *faire savoir*) is partially made up for by expressions involving the noun kúmbā ‘ignorance, not being aware’ or its suffixal locative kúmbà‑y. ‘Inform X’ is phrased as ‘remove X from ignorance’ (550a).

(550) a. n̄ =nǎⁿ sèēdū bāgā kúmbà-y

**1Sg Sbj/Obj** S remove.Pfv **ignorance**-Loc

‘I informed Seydou.’

b. jɛ̄n-tībɛ̄m pẁɔ̄ [sèēdù bwɛ̄ỳ] [kúmbá nī]

baptism sit.Pfv [S Comit] [**ignorance** Inst]

‘The baptism (name-giving) took place unbeknownst to Seydou.’

#### ‘Want’ (pɔ̄gɔ̄, màà) and ‘need’ (mùrāārú)

Two transitive verbs can be used in the general sense ‘want (something)’. These are pɔ̄gɔ̄/pɔ̄gɔ̀ ‘want; like’ and màà/màā ‘look for, seek’ or ‘(actively) want, try to get’. They occur in the same inflectional frames as other verbs, including perfective (551c). However, past stative ‘wanted’ is expressed with kōndō gà and Ipfv verb (551d).

(551) a. āŋ gā màsí màā

2Sg Ipfv what? **look.for**.Ipfv

‘What are you-Sg looking for?’ (= ‘What do you want?’)

b. ǹ nà tēè pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Sg IpfvNeg tea **want**.Ipfv

‘I don’t want/like tea.’

c. ǹ tā= ā màà / pɔ̄gɔ̄

1Sg PfvNeg 3Sg **look.for**.Pfv / **want**.Pfv

‘I didn’t want it.’

d. à kōndō gà sɔ́gɔ́ màā / pɔ̄gɔ̀

3Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv milk **look.for**.Ipfv / **want**.Ipfv

‘He/She wanted milk.’

For clausal complements (‘want [to VP]’, ‘want [X to VP]’, see §17.3.2.

‘Need X’ is expressed by an entirely different construction. A possessed form of the noun mùrāārū ‘need (n)’ (originally from Arabic) or focalized mùrààrú is the subject, followed by gà ‘be’ or its negation and then by a comitative PP (‘with X’).

(552) a. [m̀ múrààrú] gà [wólém bwɛ̄ỳ]

[1Sg **need(n).Foc**] be.Loc [money **Comit**]

‘I need money.’

b. [sèēdū mùrààrú] nā [kòmbò bwɛ̄ỳ]

[S **need(n).Foc**] not.be.Loc [charcoal **Comit**]

‘Seydou doesn’t need any charcoal.’

#### ‘Resemble’ (dɔ̀gɔ̀)

In stative contexts (‘resemble’), this transitive verb too normally takes Ipfv form (553a-b). The perfective means ‘imitate, act like’ (553c).

(553) a. sèēdù gā= ā dɔ̀gɔ̄

S Ipfv 3Sg **resemble**.Ipfv

‘Seydou resembles him/her.

b. à nā ǹ dɔ́gɔ̀

3Sg IpfvNeg 1Sg **resemble**.Ipfv

‘He/She doesn’t resemble me.’

c. ì yà= ā dɔ̀gɔ̀

3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg **resemble**.Pfv

‘They resembled/imitated him.’

However, ‘imitate’ is better expressed by a dedicated verb: bààndīyɛ̀/bààndīyɛ̀-lɛ̀.

## Quotative verbs

‘Say’ is expressed either by a regular verb sē/sē, compatible with all inflectional categories, or with an invariant quasi-verb yè ‘said’ that is only used in perfective positive (i.e. veridical) contexts. See §17.1 for the syntax.

## Adjectival predicates

### Stative adjectival predicates

Tis section focuses on stative predicates of the type ‘X be red/heavy’ etc., as opposed to inchoative (change-of-state) predicates of the type ‘X become red/heavy’.

For sílē ‘old’, no stative predicate was elicitable, so the inchoative verb sīlē ‘get old’ is the only option. For example, à sīlē ‘he/she has gotten old’ is the way to say ‘he/she is old’. Similar cases are ‘wet’ and ‘full’.

For sūmū ‘foreign, strange’, tīnāāⁿ ‘other’, and tōy ‘new’, an NP predicate including an overt noun is required (‘is a foreign animal’, etc.).

#### Participial predicates with -nā nì

Basic color adjectives can illustrate the morphosyntax of participial predicates. Stative predicates take the form of identificational predicates, elsewhere typical of nominal predicates (‘be a man/woman’, etc.). The adjective takes participial suffix ‑na. The identificational (‘it is’) particle nì (§11.2.1.1-2) occurs clause-finally in positive clauses. A subject, minimally 3Sg à, is required in positive as well as negative clauses. 1Sg subject has ŋ̄ with M‑tone in positive predicates. There is no plural marking in the predicate. Negation is by IpfvNeg nà in post-subject position, without the clause-final nì. The 1Sg negative has ǹ nà with L‑toned ŋ̀ as in the imperfective negative of active verbs.

(554) a. à / ē tɔ̀mɔ̀-nā / pìyⁿɛ̀-nā / kwāā-nā nì

3Sg/1Pl red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is

‘It is red/black/white.’

b. n̄ tɔ̀mɔ̀-nā / … / … nì

m̄ … / pìyⁿɛ̀-nā / … nì

ŋ̄ … / … / kwāā-nā nì

1Sg red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl it.is

‘I am red/black/white.’

c. à nā tɔ̀mɔ̀-nà / pìyⁿɛ̀-nà / …

à nà … / … / kwāā-nā

3Sg IpfvNeg red-Ppl / black-Ppl / white-Ppl

‘He/She is not red/white.’

This morphosyntax applies to a large number of participial adjectives. They are listed in (555). The predicative forms are shown alongside the modifying forms used in N-Adj combinations. Addition of nì ‘it is’ (not shown) in positive predicates raises ‑nà to ‑nā by Final Tone-Raising.

(555) predicative modifying gloss

a. predicative identical to modifying

*/ML/ tones*

wwō-nà wwō-nà ‘dry; hard’

bīllà-nà bīllà-nà ‘narrow, tight’

tāndà-nà tāndà-nà ‘sour’

dāātà-nà dāātà-nà ‘smooth’

*/M/ tones*

kūmā-nā kūmā-nā ‘lean, emaciated’

kɔ̄ɔ̄-nā kɔ̄ɔ̄-nā ‘clean, clear’

pīyɛ̄-nā pīyɛ̄-nā ‘hot’

wwōmā-nā wwōmā-nā ‘empty’

*/M/ tones, iterative*

ɲāāmū-ɲāāmū-nā ɲāāmū-ɲāāmū-nā ‘multicolored (e.g. spotted, striped)’

b. like (a) but no -na in modifying

ɲīī-ɲīī-nā ɲīī-ɲīī ‘coarse’

c. predicative L‑toned, modifying M‑toned

mwàà-nà mwāā-nā ‘cold’

wàà-nà wāā-nā ‘dead; slow’

pòrè-nà pōrē-nā ‘wet’

kìjì-nà kījī-nā ‘plump’

kùrì-nà kūrī-nā ‘full-strength, undiluted’

pìyɛ̀-nà pīyɛ̄-nà ‘dirty’

*iterative*

yɔ̀rɔ̀-yɔ̄rɔ̄-nā yɔ̄rɔ̄-yɔ̄rɔ̀-nà ‘loose, slack’

d. like (c), but no -na in modifying

tɔ̀mɔ̀-nà tɔ̄mɔ̄wⁿ ‘red’

e. more complex cases

kāā-mā-nā kāā ‘wet; raw; unripe’

pāā-nā pān-nā ‘full’

pìyⁿɛ̀-nà pīīⁿ ‘black’

kwāā-nā kūwōⁿ ‘white’

*iterative*

wwōⁿ-mā-nā wwōⁿ-wwōⁿ ‘empty’

#### Pseudo-reflexive adjectival predicates

Certain adjectives have adjectival and other stative predicates that superficially resemble reflexive-object constructions (§18.1). The key morpheme is pseudo-reflexive ŋ̀ preceding the predicate. There is some danger of confusing it with 3ReflSg ŋ̄, which occurs in a similar preverbal position in the reflexive-object construction. Tonally, ŋ̀ and ŋ̄ merge as ŋ̀ before H‑tone, and they merge as ŋ̄ before L‑tone, due to tone sandhi rules. However, ŋ̀ and ŋ̄ remain tonally distinct before M‑tone. More importantly, ŋ̀ in adjectival-stative predicates combines with all subjects, including the full set of pronominal subject proclitics, whereas 3ReflSg ŋ̄ requires a third-person singular subject (3Sg pronoun or a nonpronominal NP).

In Djenné Jenaama, by contrast, the relevant adjectival-stative predicates are genuinely reflexive in form. Each pronominal-subject category combines with its own specific reflexive form, so that ŋ̄ occurs only after 3Sg subjects, exactly as in reflexive-object clauses.

Although Cliffs distinguishes pseudo-reflexive adjectival statives with invariant ŋ̀ from reflexive-object clauses, both constructions are morphosyntactically transitive. The transitivity of the pseudo-reflexive construction is transparent when the subject is a plural pronominal, since the bidirectional case marker yè separates the pronominal subject from pseudo-reflexive ŋ̀ (556a). The 1Sg-subject version likewise has its characteristic bidirectional allomorph nàⁿ, hence n̄ =nàⁿ ŋ̀ (556b). This superficially matches 1Sg reflexive n̄ =nàⁿ ŋ̀ (+H), but the two differ in that pseudo-reflexive ŋ̀ never raises the tones of a following L-toned word, even with 1Sg subject. The bidirectional case marker is omitted after 3Sg and 2Sg subjects in pseudo-reflexives (556d‑e), as in true reflexives.

(556) a. ì / ē / āā yè ɲ̀ cīyɛ̄wⁿ

3Pl / 1Pl / 2Pl Sbj/Obj PsRefl be.heavy

‘They/We/You-Pl are heavy.’

b. n̄ =nà ɲ̀ cīyɛ̄wⁿ

1Sg Sbj/Obj PsRefl be.heavy

‘I am heavy.’

c. n̄ =nàⁿ ŋ̄ kɔ̀jàwⁿ

1Sg Sbj/Obj PsRefl be.long

‘I am long (=tall).’

d. à ɲ̀ cīyɛ̄wⁿ

3Sg PsRefl be.heavy

‘He/She/It is heavy.’

e. āⁿ ɲ̀ cīyɛ̄wⁿ

2Sg PsRefl be.heavy

‘You-Sg are heavy.’

Negation is by what is elsewhere the IpfvNeg morpheme nà (557a‑b). In the 1Sg subject form, positive n̄=nàⁿ ŋ̀ is distinguished from negative ǹ nà ŋ̀ by the tone of the initial 1Sg pronominal. In all cases the pseudo-reflexive ŋ̀ becomes ŋ̄ by regular tone-sandhi before an L‑tone (557b).

(557) a. à nà ɲ̀ cīyɛ̄wⁿ

3Sg **IpfvNeg** PsRefl heavy

‘He/She is not heavy.’

b. n̄ nà ŋ̄ kɔ̀jàwⁿ

1Sg **IpfvNeg** PsRefl long

‘I am not long (=tall).’

Irregularly, ‘(be) good’ is màyⁿ in positive predicates but its tones shift to māỳⁿ in negative ones. The PsRefl morpheme does not raise to M-tone before màyⁿ.

(558) a. à m̀ màyⁿ

3Sg PsRefl **be.good**

‘He/She/It is good.’

b. à nà m̀ māỳⁿ

3Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl **be.good**

‘He/She/It is no good.’

Care must be taken to distinguish ‘be good’ from a segmentally identical but semantically opposite verb ‘malfunction (v)’ or ‘be ruined’ (559). The main danger is confusion of negative predicative nà m̀ māỳⁿ ‘is not good’ as in (557b) above with the imperfective negative nà māỳⁿ ‘does not malfunction’ as in (559b).

(559) a. à māyⁿ

3Sg malfunction(v).Pfv

‘It malfunctioned.’ or ‘It was ruined.’

b. à nà māỳⁿ

3Sg IpfvNeg malfunction.Ipfv

‘It doesn’t malfunction.’

The inventory of adjectives that have predicates of the type described above is (560). The predicate adjectives are shown alongside their modifying forms (those that occur in N‑Adj combinations). Negative predicative forms are shown in the middle column only for L‑toned stems. The negative forms are identical to the positive forms except for ‘good’.

(560) predicate Adj1 gloss

a. predicate has same form as modifying

*H‑toned*

m̀ bánū bánū ‘big (and solid), massive, thick’

*M‑toned*

ɲ̀ cīyɛ̄wⁿ cīyɛ̄wⁿ ‘heavy’

ǹ dāāⁿ dāāⁿ ‘distant’

ŋ̀ kāgājī kāgājī ‘bitter’

ǹ nɔ̄gɔ̄rɔ̄wⁿ nɔ̄gɔ̄rɔ̄wⁿ ‘difficult’

b. predicate L‑toned, modifying M‑toned

m̄ bùlòwⁿ būlō(w)ⁿ ‘big (in outer dimensions); fat; wide, loose’

ŋ̄ kɔ̀jàwⁿ kɔ̄jā(w)ⁿ ‘long’ (variants with y for j)

c. tones as in (b), plus segmental changes

ŋ̄ kùrùⁿ kūrū ‘short’

m̄ màyⁿ māɲāwⁿ ‘good’

d. tones consistent, but segmental changes

dēwⁿ dēmōⁿ ‘sweet’

ɲīī ɲɔ̄ŋɔ̄ ‘bad, nasty’

e. -gu in modifying

*L‑toned as predicate*

n̄ dùwɔ̀wⁿ dūwɔ̀w-gù ‘small’

ŋ̄ kùyⁿ kūy-gū ‘deep’

n̄ tùɥⁿ tūɥ̀-gù ‘nearby’

m̄ mìyɛ̀wⁿ mīyɛ̀-gù ‘thin’

ɲ̄ ɲìyàwⁿ ɲīyɛ̀-gù ‘easy’

m̄ pùlùwⁿ pūlù-gù ‘soft’

*M‑toned as predicate*

m̀ pēlūwⁿ pēlū-gū ‘light(weight)’

f. suppletive

ŋ̀ kōⁿ pāà-lōwⁿ ‘numerous, abundant, many’

See also (ŋ̀) kāmbē ‘ought (to VP)’ and related forms in §17.2.5.

#### Past adjectival predicates

As with stative verbs, the time frame for adjectival predicates is shifted to the past with kōndō ‘stay’. Adjectives that have identificational predicates (§11.4.1.1) show the same participial form of the stem, but without the final nì in the positive. kōndō is optionally followed by RemPfv gà, which could alternatively be parsed as ‘be’.

(561) a. à kōndō (gà) tɔ̀mɔ̀-nà (# nì)

3Sg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) red-**Ppl** (# it.is)

‘He/She/It was red.’

b. à tè kōndō (gà) tɔ̀mɔ̀-nà

3Sg PfvNeg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) red-**Ppl**

‘He/She/It wasn’t red.’

More surprisingly, several pseudo-reflexive adjective predicates optionally shift to participles (of inchoative vebs) when preceded by kōndō (562).

(562) a. à kōndō (gà) cīē-mā-nā / nɔ̄gɔ̄rā-āmā-na / kùy-gà-àmà-nà

3Sg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv) heavy-/difficult-/deep-Inch-**Ppl**

‘He/She/It was heavy/difficult/deep.’

b. à tè kōndō (gà)

3Sg PfvNeg **stay**.Pfv (RemPfv)

cīē-mā-nā / nɔ̄gɔ̄rā-āmā-na / kùy-gà-àmà-nà

heavy-/difficult-/deep-Ø -Inch-**Ppl**

‘He/She/It was not heavy/difficult/deep.’

These verbs may alternatively keep their pseudo-reflexive form when combined with kōndō, as in à kōndō ɲ̀ cīyɛ̄wⁿ ‘it was heavy’.

The tonal distinction between positive màyⁿ ‘be good’ and negative māỳⁿ ‘(not) be good’, described in the preceding subsection, is preserved (along with its pseudo-reflexive morphology) in the past forms. There is no participialization.

(563) a. à kōndō [m̀ màyⁿ]

3Sg stay.Pfv [PsRefl **good**]

‘He/She/It was good.’

b. à tè kōndō [m̀ māỳⁿ]

3Sg PfvNeg stay.Pfv [PsRefl **good**]

‘He/She/It was no good.’

## Possessive predicates

### ‘X have Y’

‘X have Y’ is expressed as ‘Y be [in X’s hand]’ (564a,c) or as ‘Y be [X-Dative]’ (564b,d). For sūgì‑ỳ, suffixal locative of sūgū ‘hand’, see §8.2.3.1. For dative postposition tē, see §8.1.1.1.

(564) a. kúŋgóló gā [ŋ̀ sūgì-ỳ]

dog **be.Loc** [1Sg hand-Loc]

‘I have a dog.’

b. kúŋgóló gā [ǹ tē]

dog **be.Loc** [1Sg Dat]

‘I have a dog.’

c. kúŋgóló nā [ŋ̀ sūgì-ỳ]

dog **not.be.Loc** [1Sg hand-Loc]

‘I don’t have a dog.’

d. kúŋgóló nā [ǹ tē]

dog **not.be.Loc** [1Sg Dat]

[=(c)]

### ‘Y belong to X’ predicates (pàn nì)

A predicate of (long-standing) possession, translatable ‘Y belongs to X’ or ‘Y is X’s’, takes the form ‘Y is [X Poss] it.is’. Following the subject Y is positive gà/gā ‘be’ or its negation nàwⁿ/nāwⁿ ‘not be’. This is followed by X denoting the owner, a default possessum pàⁿ (§6.2.2.2), and the ‘it is’ clitic nì. If X is a pronoun, it takes independent form, compare m̀ páⁿ ‘mine’ as default possessum with ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ pàn nì ‘it is mine’. In the positive, Y and gà/gā may be omitted if the reference of Y is understood, hence just [X pàn] nì. In the negative, nàwⁿ/nāwⁿ is required and Y is expressed minimally by 3Sg subject pronominal à, hence à nàwⁿ [X pàn] nì.

Although the bracketing Y gà/nàwⁿ [X pàn] nì, literally ‘Y is (not) X’s’, is semantically reasonable, pàⁿ and nì fuse into a monolithic predicative form pà(n)nì. The combination pàn nì does not undergo the tone sandhi process Final Tone-Raising to become #pàn̄ nì. Also, whereas pàⁿ as default possessum has a plural pàⁿ-yè, predicative pàn nì does not allow pluralization to #pàⁿ-yē nì (565e).

(565) a. [kɔ̀ⁿ yāmbāà] gā [wùlāā pàn] nì

[Dem house] be [who? **Poss**] it.is

‘This/That house belongs to who(m)?’

b. cìyē gà [ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ pàn̄] nì

field be [1Sg-Indep **Poss**] it.is

‘The field is mine.’

c. à nà= [ān-dɔ̀gɔ̄ pàn̄] nì

3Sg not.be [2Sg-Indep **Poss**] it.is

‘It isn’t yours-Sg.’

d. [yàmbāà gù] gà [sèēdū pàn̄] nì

[house Def] be [S **Poss**] it.is

‘That house is Seydou’s.’

e. [yàmbāà gù-yè] gà [sèēdū pàn] nì

[house Def-Pl] be [S **Poss**] it.is

‘Those houses are Seydou’s.’

# Comparatives

## Asymmetrical comparatives

### With verb ‘(sur)pass’ (kīyɛ̄/kīyɛ̀ or stative kīyɛ̄-nā)

#### ‘(Sur)pass’ as main verb

The intransitive motion verb ‘X go past, X pass (by), X move on’ is kīyɛ̄ (Pfv) or kīyɛ̀ (Ipfv). As a motion verb, it can mean ‘X pass (by) Y’, where Y is expressed as the complement of dative postposition nā (§8.1.1.2). An example is (566a), which can denote change of position (rank) in a race. (566a) can also be used abstractly (‘surpass’) to denote change of rank in a comparative context not involving literal motion. In the stative form kīyɛ̄-nā ‘(be) more than, outdo’, it denotes static (temporally extended) rank (566b).

(566) a. āāmādù kīyɛ̄ [sèēdù nā]

A **pass**.Pfv [S **Dat**]

‘Amadou passed Seydou.’ (e.g. in a race)

or: ‘Amadou has surpassed Seydou.’

b. āāmādù kīyɛ̄-nā [sèēdù nā]

A **pass-Ppl** [S **Dat**]

‘Amadou outdoes Seydou.’

default interpretation: ‘Amadou is better than Seydou.’

A domain of comparison, e.g. strength or wealth, may be expressed overtly as a PP with postposition nìŋīì ‘in, inside’.

(567) a. āāmādù kīyɛ̄ [sèēdù nà] [sɛ́mbɛ́ / wóléⁿ / tàā-gū nìŋīì]

A pass.Pfv [S Dat] [strength / money / stand-VblN **inside**]

‘Amadou has moved past Seydou in strength/wealth/height.’ (< tàā-gù)

(= ‘Amadou has become stronger/richer/taller than Seydou.’)

b. āāmādù kīyɛ̄-nā [sèēdù nà] [sɛ́mbɛ́ / wóléⁿ / tàā-gū nìŋīì]

A pass-Ppl [S Dat] [strength / money / stand-VblN **inside**]

‘Amadou is stronger/richer/taller than Seydou.’

#### ‘(Sur)pass’ as verb in infinitival VP

When the comparison is about an event type that requires expression by its own verb, like ‘eat’ or ‘give’, the ‘pass’ verb is chained to it in a biclausal construction that ends in an infinitival VP with bè (§17.4.2). The context can be quantitative (‘more than Y’) or qualitative (‘better than Y’). If the context is quantitative, the main clause normally includes an extent quantifier (§8.4.3). When the main clause has two or more human arguments, the comparandum phrase (‘than Y’) does not overtly indicate which grammatical role is at hand. This accounts for alter**̄**tive readings of sentences like (568b) and (568d).

(568) a. āāmādù dīgɛ̄ (yāālōⁿ) [bè kīyɛ̄ [sèēdù nā]]

A eat.Antip.Pfv (greatly) [**Infin** **pass.**Pfv [S Dat]]

‘Amadou ate more than Seydou (ate).’

b. āāmādū yè ŋ̀ kó máɲɛ̀ [bè kīyɛ̄ [sèēdù nā]]

A Sbj/Obj 1Sg give.Pfv greatly [**Infin** **pass.**Pfv [S Dat]]

‘Amadou gave me more than Seydou (gave me).’

or: ‘Amadou gave me more than (Amadou gave to) Seydou.’

c. ŋ̄ tēē mɛ̀wⁿ [bè kīy= [ān nā]]

1Sg tea drink.Pfv [**Infin** **pass.**Pfv [2Sg Dat]]

‘I drank more tea than you-Sg (drank).’

d. sèēdū yè ŋ̀ kwāā [bè kīy= [āāmādū nā]]

S Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv [**Infin** **pass.**Pfv [A Dat]]

‘Seydou hit me more than Amadou (hit me).’

or: ‘Seydou hit me more than (Seydou hit) Amadou.’

e. sèēdù bānà-àmà [bè kīy= [āāmādū nā]]

S stout-Inch.Pfv [**Infin** **pass.**Pfv [A Dat]]

‘Seydou has gotten fatter than Amadou.’

or: ‘Seydou has grown more than Amadou (has grown).’

f. āŋ gā mànàmī [bè kīyɛ̄ [ǹ nā]]

2Sg Ipfv dance.Ipfv [**Infin** **pass.**Pfv [1Sg Dat]]

‘You-Sg dance better than I (dance).’

The same chain construction is used for some stative adjectival predicates. This does not apply to pseudo-reflexive adjectival predicates, on which see the following section. It does apply to adjectival predicates with participialized adjectives and with final ‘it is’ clitic (569a-b).

(569) a. [āⁿ sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄ŋ] kūmā-nā nì

[2Sg sheep] skinny-Ppl it.is

[bè kīyɛ̄ [[ŋ̀ sɔ́gɔ́-lɛ̄n] nā]]

[**Infin** pass.Pfv [[1Sg sheep] Dat]

‘Your sheep-Sg is more emaciated than my sheep (is).’

b. āāmādū pìyɛ̀ⁿ-nā nì [bè kīyɛ̄ [sèēdù nā]]

A black-Ppl it.is [**Infin** pass.Pfv [S Dat]]

‘Amadou is darker than Seydou.’

### Comparatives from pseudo-reflexive adjectival predicates

Some adjectives have a special pseudo-reflexive predicate (§11.4.1.2). In the corresponding comparative construction, the verb ‘(sur‑)pass’ is absent. Instead, the regular predicative form of the adjective is followed by the comparandum. The latter is expressed with dative tē, not nā.

(570) a. āāmādū yè m̀ bánú [sèēdù tē]

A Sbj/Obj **PsRefl** stout [S **Dat**]

‘Amadou is stouter than Seydou.’

b. n̄ =nà ŋ̀ kāmnā [sèēdù tē]

1Sg Sbj/Obj **PsRefl** old [S **Dat**]

‘I am older than Seydou.’

This is also the way to compare quantity (numbers or measures). The pseudo-reflexive adjectival verb in this case is kōⁿ ‘much’ or ‘many’. Plural suffix -ye (of variable tone) is usually omitted before yè (~ yē) bidirectional case marker (571b). In (571a), kōⁿ denasalizes before a vowel (§3.4.2.3.1).

(571) a. jēnām-bī-gē yē ŋ̀ kō [ē tē]

child-Pl-Pl Sbj/Obj PsRefl **many** [1Pl Dat]

‘The young people outnumber us.’

b. kúŋgóló(-yè) yē ŋ̀ kōⁿ [yòrógó-yè tē]

dog(-Pl) Sbj/Obj PsRefl **many** [cat-Pl Dat]

‘There are more dogs than (there are) cats.’

### ‘Be better’ (pàyò)

This predicate takes pseudo-reflexive form like some adjectival predicates. In (572a) it occurs with a comparandum in dative form with tē. The same sense can be expressed by using noncomparative ‘be good’, since juxtaposing a dative comparandum forces a comparative reading (572b). A third way to express ‘be better than’ is to use a stative form of ‘pass, surpass’ with dative nà. For the two dative postpositions see 8.1.1.1-2.

(572) a. kú m̄ pàyò [kú tē]

Dem PsRefl **be.better** [Dem **Dat**]

‘This is better than that.’

b. kú m̀ màyⁿ [kú tē]

Dem PsRefl **be.good** [Dem **Dat**]

[= (a)]

c. kú kìyɛ̀-nà [kú nā]

Dem **pass**-Ppl [Dem **Dat**]

‘This surpasses (=is better than/exceeds) that.’ (< kīyɛ̄-nā)

pàyò ‘be better’ can also occur without an overt comparandum (573). In this case, replacing it with ‘be good’ or ‘pass’ would lose the comparative element.

(573) [āŋ gālà ām bēwⁿ] [wɔ̀gɔ̄ m̄ pàyò]

[2Sg Sbjn 2Sg return.Pfv] [3Sg.Indep 3ReflSg **be.better**]

‘You-Sg should go back, that is (=would be) better (i.e. than going on).’

### Superlative ‘most’, ‘best’

There is no dedicated superlative construction. Something like a superlative reading can be forced by adding an expression denoting or presupposing a pool of individuals, either as possessor or in an adverbial adjunct. An example is ‘village’ as possessor in (574).

(574) sèēdù gā [nɔ̀gū dòⁿsò māɲāⁿ] nì

S be [village hunter good] it.is

‘Seydou is the village’s good (=best) hunter.’ (< nɔ̀gù)

In (575), ‘be many’ emphasized by ‘greatly’ functions as superlative, especially with ‘in the village’ delimiting the pool.

(575) [m̀ pē] gā= à kūmbày

[1Sg also] Ipfv 3Sg be.aware.of.Ipfv

[māà tārāwōrē wɔ̀gɔ́ ŋ̀ kōⁿ

[that T 3Sg.Indep.Foc PsRefl be.many

[nɔ̀gū nìŋīì] máɲɛ̀

[village inside] greatly

‘I too am aware that the Traore (clan), it [focus] is most abundant (=the majority) in the village.’ (2017-01 @ 08:01)

## Symmetrical comparatives

### Stative ‘be equal’ (kāwⁿ)

kāwⁿ ‘equal’ occurs in the pseudo-reflexive predicate construction, preceed by ŋ̀. The subject is plural, either a conjunction of two NPs or an otherwise semantically plural NP or pronoun. The universal quantifier sāāⁿ ‘all’ or ‘both’ occurs at the end of the subject in either case (e.g. ē sāāⁿ ‘both/all of us’). If the domain of comparison is understood in context, no further adjunct is needed (576a). As in asymmetrical comparatives, it is possible to add an overt locative PP specifying the domain of comparison (576b-c).

(576) a. [sèēdū yèⁿ āāmādù sāāⁿ] yè ŋ̀ kāwⁿ

[S and A **all**] Sbj/Obj PsRefl **equal**

‘Seedu and Amadou are equal.'

b. [sèēdū yèⁿ āāmādù sāāⁿ] yè ŋ̀ kāwⁿ [tàā nìŋīì]

[tàā-gū

[S and A **all**] Sbj/Obj PsRefl **equal** [stand(-VblN) **inside**]

‘Seedu and Amadou are of the same height.'

c. [jɛ̄nām-bī-gē sāāⁿ] yē ŋ̀ kāwⁿ [ɲìyɛ̄n-tàā nìŋīì]

[child-Pl-Pl **all**] Sbj/Obj PsRefl **equal** [head-stand.Nom inside]

‘All the young people are of the same height.’

### Aspect-marking ‘become equal’ (kājàmà)

The verb kājàmà/kājàmà ‘coincide; become equal’ denotes the process of convergence of two or more individuals in some measure (577a). If the two comparanda are separated syntactically into subject and nonsubject, with the subject denoting the individual most responsible for the convergence, transitive kājàmà-nì/kājàmà-nì (causative in form) is used (577b). The nonsubject is expressed as a comitative PP ‘with Y’.

(577) a. è kājàmà

3Pl **become.equal**.Pfv

‘They have become equal.’

b. n̄ =nā= à kājàmà-nì [āāmādù bwɛ̄ỳ]

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg **be.equal-Caus**.Pfv [A **Comit**]

‘I have equaled it (some measure) with Amadou.’

### bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ in the sense ‘equal (v)’

The versatile verb ‘exit (v)’ can mean ‘equal (v), match (v)’ (578).

(578) [bààkɔ̀lɔ̀-ⁿ-síí-yè kù-lè] nà= āā bāgà kūjààmà-ỳⁿ dēʔ

[B-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl] IpfvNeg 2Pl **equal**.Ipfv number-Loc Emph

‘The Bakoro clans do not match you-Pl (=Cissé clan) in population.’

(2017-01 @ 08:31)

### Adverbial ‘as much (as)’

#### With jàté ‘amount’

The noun jàté ‘amount, quantity, count’, borrowed from Fulfulde, combines with a possessed NP with default possessum pàwⁿ (§6.2.2.2) in this construction. jàté may be NP‑final, or it may be followed by another noun that heads the NP (but has partitive semantic function), like ‘meat’ in (579b). In either case, the 3Sg independent pronoun wɔ̀gɔ̀ is required as the direct object before the final verb, presumably resuming the preceding ‘amount’ NP.

(579) a. āŋ gā [[m̀ páɲ] jàté] wɔ̀gɔ̀ dīgà / …

wɔ̀gɔ̄ … / mɛ̀-nɛ̀

2Sg Ipfv [[1Sg Poss] **amount**] 3Sg.Indep.Foc eat.Ipfv/drink-Ipfv

‘You-Sg eat/drink as much as I (eat).’ (< ŋ̀ (+H) pàwⁿ)

b. āŋ gā [[[m̀ páɲ] jàté] tēē] wɔ̀gɔ̀ dīgà

2Sg Ipfv [[[1Sg Poss] **amount**] meat] 3Sg.Indep eat.Ipfv

‘You-Sg eat as much meat as I (eat).’

#### Phrased with ‘likeness’ and deverbal participle (suffix -nà)

Somewhat the same pragmatic effect, but without an overt quantitative expression, is achieved using similarity expressions (§8.4.1.1). (580a) is a simple symmetrical comparison ‘fall(s) like me’, by extension ‘fall(s) as much as I (do)’. (580b) is a more interesting construction consisting of a deverbal participle with -na, síí ‘likeness, the likes of’, and ‘do’. The phrasing resembles that of the resultative verbal noun construction (§4.2.1.4). sēn‑nā drops to sèn‑nà by tone sandhi (M#H‑to‑L#H). A literal paraphrase would be “do(es) like my falling.”

(580) a. à gà sēn-dē [hɔ̄nɔ̄ [ǹ nûmɛ̄wⁿ]]

3Sg Ipfv fall-Ipfv [**like** [1Sg **likeness**]]

‘He/She falls like (=as much as) I (fall).’ (< nùmɛ̄wⁿ §8.4.1.1)

b. à gā [[ŋ̀ sèn-nà] síí] tī-nà

3Sg Ipfv [[1Sg fall-**Ppl**] **likeness**] **do**-Ipfv

‘He/She falls as much as I (fall).’ (< sēn-nā)

With transitive verbs, an object can be expressed in two ways. In (581a), my assistant preferred to append ‘dog(s)’ as a PP following the final ‘do’ verb. In other cases he did place the object in the “correct” position preceding the nominalized verb (581b). ‘Firewood’ in (581b) is really a compound initial (incorporated object) and undergoes M#H-to-L#H along with the compound final.

(581) a. à gā [[ŋ̀ kɔ̀lɛ̀-nà] síí] tī-nà

3Sg Ipfv [[1Sg hit-**Ppl**] **likeness**] do-Ipfv

[kúŋgól-é bwɛ̄ỳ]

[dog-Pl Comit]

‘He beats dogs as much as I (do).’ (< kɔ̄lɛ̄-nā)

b. à gà= [[āⁿ sùbà-pɛ̀jɛ̀-nà] síí] tī-nà

3Sg Ipfv [[2Sg firewood-split-**Ppl**] **likeness**] do-Ipfv

‘He cuts wood as much as you-Sg do.’ (< sūbā-pɛ̄jɛ̄-nā)

c. à gà= [[ān dùwɔ̀-mɛ̀n-nà] síí] tī-nà

3Sg Ipfv [[2Sg beer-drink-**Ppl**] **likeness**] do-Ipfv

‘He drinks beer as much as you-Sg do.’ (< dùwɔ̀)

When the object is a pronominal, as in (582) below, the participial construction exemplified by (581b‑c) above is awkward. My assistant shifts the ‘like X’ segment to the position following the transitive verb, as an adverbial adjunct.

(582) à gà= [[ām mū-nū] [hɔ̀nɔ̀ [[m̀ pàⁿ] síí]] 3Sg Ipfv [[2Sg insult-Ipfv] [**like** [[1Sg Poss] **likeness**]]

‘He/She insults you-Sg like me (=as much as I do).’ (< m̀ páwⁿ)

See also manner relatives (§15.8.3).

# Focalization and interrogation

## Focalization

### Basic syntax of focalization

Constituents that can be focalized are NPs (subjects, objects, possessors, postpositional complements) and adverbs (which are noun-like).

Focalization is expressed mainly by modifications in the form of the focalized constituent, which usually remains in its regular linear position. These modifications are summarized in (583).

(583) a. replace ordinary proclitic-like pronominals (e.g. 2Sg āⁿ, 3Sg à) with independent pronouns (e.g. 2Sg ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀, 3Sg wɔ̀gɔ̀ ; see §4.3.1 for the full set)

b. raise the final tone of the focalized constituent to H

In addition, perfective positive clauses require remote Pfv particle gà if a constituent is focalized. ‘Seydou’ is unfocalized in (584a) but focalized in (584b).

(584) a. n̄ =nǎⁿ sèēdù kày

1Sg Sbj/Obj S see.Pfv

‘I saw Seydou.’

b. n̄ =nǎⁿ sèe᷆dú kàȳ gà

1Sg Sbj/Obj S.Foc see.Pfv **RemPfv**

‘It’s Seydou [focus] who I saw.’

Under limited conditions, a constituent can be focalized by fronting with the ‘it is’ clitic, compare English clefts of the type ‘it is/was X [focus] that …’. This construction is attested with purposive-causal adverbials, as in ‘why [focus] …?’ and ‘it/that [focus] is why …’ (§13.1.6.1).

### Interaction of focalization and negation

RemPfv gà is generally avoided in simple perfective negative clauses. This applies to unfocalized (585a) and focalized (585b) clauses.

(585) a. ǹ tē sèēdù kày (#gà)

1Sg PfvNeg S see.Pfv (**#RemPfv**)

‘I didn’t see Seydou.’

b. ǹ tē sèe᷆dú kày (#gà)

1Sg PfvNeg S.**Foc** see.Pfv (**#RemPfv**)

‘It isn’t Seydou [focus] who I saw.’

Compare the contrasting negative and positive clauses in (586), where gà occurs only in the positive clause.

(586) ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ tē sò,

1Sg-**Indep.Foc** PfvNeg go.Pfv,

sèe᷆dú sō gà

S.Foc go.Pfv **RemPfv**

‘It isn’t I [focus] who went, it was Seydou [focus] who went.’

However, gà can co-occur with negation in a construction with ‘go’ or ‘come’ plus a VP that contains a focalized nonsubject. (587a) is unfocalized and lacks gà, (587a) focalizes the 3Sg object and has gà after the motion verb (preceding the focalized object).

(587) a. ǹ tē sō (#gà) [à kwāā]

1Sg PfvNeg go.Pfv (**#RemPfv**) [**3Sg** hit.Pfv]

‘I didn’t go and hit him/her.’

b. ǹ tē sō gà wɔ̀gɔ́ kwāā

1Sg PfvNeg go.Pfv **RemPfv** 3Sg.**Indep.Foc** hit.Pfv

‘It wasn’t him/her [focus] that I went and hit.’

Semantically, negation scopes over focalization, as is suggested by the free translations. For example, (585b) above can be paraphrased as ‘it is not the case that [it was Seydou [focus] who I saw].’

### Final H‑tone in focalized constituents

As noted above, pronouns are focalized by replacing short proclitic-like pronominals with full independent pronouns. When independent pronouns are focalized, they change the final tone to H. This is vacuous in the case of 1Sg ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ from ŋ̀ (+H) plus /-lɔ̀gɔ̀/, since its final syllable is already H‑toned due to the floating H (588a). The other independent pronouns end in …ɔ̀gɔ̀, and appear as …ɔ̀gɔ́ when focalized (588b). The tonal marking, whether audible or not, is indexed in the interlinear by “.Foc”.

(588) a. à ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ kwāā gà

3Sg 1Sg-Indep.**Foc** hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘It’s me [focus] who he/she hit.’

b. ē wɔ̀gɔ́ / ān-dɔ̀gɔ́ kwāā gà

1Pl 3Sg.Indep.**Foc** / 2Sg-Indep.**Foc** hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘It’s him-or-her / you-Sg [focus] who we hit.’

Raising the final tone to H also occurs when the focalized constituent is a noun. This tonal pattern also occurs in polar interrogatives (§13.2.1) and in purposive VPs following ‘come’ or ‘go’ (§17.5.1). If the noun already ends in structural H‑tone, there is no structural change in the tones (589a). As a reminder, transcriptions like síbō reflect prepausal pronunciation of unfocalized /H/-melodic nouns.

(589) noun gloss focalized

a. /H/ melody

síbō ‘ashes’ síbó

sɔ́gɔ̄ ‘milk’ sɔ́gɔ́

sórógō ‘door-lock’ sórógó

tìmbɔ́gɔ̄ ‘ladder’ tìmbɔ̀gɔ́

b. /LH/ and /MLH/

tàjí ‘basket’ tàjí

sɔ̀mɔ́ ‘pick-hoe’ sɔ̀mɔ́

māāŋgòró ‘mango’ māāŋgòró

If the noun ends in L, as in /L/, /ML/, and /LML/ melodies, the noun raises its final syllable or monosyllabic mora to H. For /L/ melody, there are no further changes (590a). For /(L)ML/ nouns, the expected MLH tone sequence is overtly realized when the stem is heavy enough to accomodate three tone units, i.e. has at least three moras. This may require pushing the lexical final-syllable tone back into the penult, as with ‘dust’ and ‘Seydou’ in (590b). A Cv̄v̀ stem like ‘tea’ is (590b) is too short, and preservation of lexical tones overrides the added H‑tone, so there is no overt change. Stem-final a is lengthened as well as tone-raised under focalization, as with ‘daba (hoe)’ in (590a).

(590) noun gloss focalized

a. /L/ melody

dɔ̀ɔ̀ ‘knife’ dɔ̀ɔ́

sìbò ‘snake’ sìbó

dàndì ‘chili pepper’ dàndí

tìŋgè ‘stool’ tìŋgé

dàmbà ‘daba (hoe)’ dàmbáá

tìyòwⁿ ‘ax’ tìyéⁿ

kùmbùrù ‘insect’ kùmbùrú

sòmpùwò ‘donkey’ sòmpùwó

b. /ML/ and /LML/

sɔ̄llɔ̀ ‘dust’ sɔ᷆llɔ́

sūkɔ̄rɔ̀ ‘sugar’ sūkɔ̀rɔ́

sèēdù ‘Seydou’ sèe᷆dú

*no audible change*

tēè ‘tea’ tēè

If the noun ends in M‑tone, its final syllable shifts to H. If the noun (or compound final) is prosodically light (Cvv, CvCv, CvNCv) it becomes all-H‑toned (591a). Longer /M/-melody stems become L(L)H (591a). Converting e.g. trisyllabic MMM to focalized LLH could be modeled as imposition of a stem-wide {L\*H} overlay. However, a simpler model is that the final syllable is raised to H, as more clearly in the /L/-melody nouns illustrted above, whereupon preceding M‑tones drop to L by tone sandhi (M#H-to-L#H).

(591) noun gloss focalized

a. /M/ melody

*short*

tēē ‘meat’ téé

tyɛ̄ ‘oil’ tyɛ́

yɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘fish’ yɔ́gɔ́

tīmī swōⁿ ‘foul smell’ tìmì swóⁿ

kēndē ‘chest (body) kéndé

*longer*

tīgēlɛ̄wⁿ ‘cut (wound)’ tìgèlɛ́wⁿ

sūmpōrō ‘biting fly sp.’ sùmpòró

wārābā ‘lion’ wàràbá

sɔ̄gɔ̄-sɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘round basket’ sɔ̀gɔ̀-sɔ̀gɔ́

If a multi-word NP or compound noun is focalized, only the final stem is affected by the tonal changes (592a‑c).

(592) unfocalized focalized gloss

a. N-Adj

yɔ̄gɔ̄ kūwōⁿ yɔ̀gɔ̀ kúwóⁿ ‘white fish’

yɔ̄gɔ̄ pēlù-gù yɔ̄gɔ̄ pēlù-gú ‘lightweight fish’

b. N-Num

yɔ̄gɔ̄ kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀wⁿ yɔ̄gɔ̄ kɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ́wⁿ ‘five fish’

c. N-Def

yɔ̄gɔ̄-gū yɔ̀gɔ̀-gú ‘the fish’

d. compound noun

kēndē-kūwɔ̄ⁿ kèndè-kúwɔ́ⁿ ‘breastbone’

pɔ́rí-pūwɔ̄ pɔ́rí-púwɔ́ ‘slingshot’

sāāⁿ ‘all’ is rather emphatic in any context. In recordings can be is difficult to tell when it is tonally focalized and when not, but in elicitation a clear example is (593). Compare unfocalized yɔ̄gɔ̄-yē sāāⁿ.

(593) [yɔ̀gɔ̀-yè sááⁿ] bē

[fish-Pl all.Foc] come.Pfv

‘All the fish [focus] came.’

One might suspect that the semantic awkwardness of this combination means that ‘all’ cannot be focalized. However, sāāⁿ also resists tone-raising in objects of purposive VPs after motion verbs (§17.5.1.3).

### Subject focalization

Example (594a) is a simple clause with an unfocalized subject expressed as a pronominal proclitic. Replacing the proclitic by an independent pronoun (§4.3.1) weakly focalizes the subject pragmatically, but raising the final tone to H makes focalization complete. 1Sg ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ already has H‑tones, but other independent pronouns audibly raise the final tone of the independent pronoun to H to mark focus. For both 1Sg and the other independent pronouns, under focalization the pitch level of adjoining words can be raised. This raising is most conspicuous in grammatical particles (Ipfv gá, future gá bé, BCM yé) after focalized subjects. Where one might expect focalized discourse-definite demonstrative ɲɔ́ⁿ referring back to a recently described referent (as in ‘beans, that’s what I want’), focalized 3Sg wɔ̀gɔ́ is usual (594d).

(594) a. ē gā bē tāwⁿ

1Pl Ipfv Fut ascend.Pfv

‘We will go up.’ (no focalization)

b. ē-lɔ̀gɔ́ gá bé tāwⁿ

1Pl-**Indep** Ipfv.Foc Fut.Foc ascend.Pfv

‘It’s we [focus] who will go up.’

c. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ gá bé tāwⁿ

1Sg-**Indep** Ipfv.Foc Fut.Foc ascend.Pfv

‘It’s I [focus] who will go up.’

d. wɔ̀gɔ́ gá mẁɔ̄m pānāaⁿ

3Sg.**Indep**.Foc Ipfv.Foc ripen.Ipfv firstly

‘It’s that [focus] which would ripen before (other crops).’ (2017-03 @ 00:22)

Because the pitch-raising on particles like gá in examples (594b-d) is secondary and likely not systematic, it is not marked in the usual transcriptions here.

In (595a), there is no focalization, and the nonpronominal NP subject ‘donkey’ appears with its lexical /L/ melody. In (595b), the “same” clause shows a final H‑tone on ‘donkey’.

(595) a. sòmpùwò bē [pīīn nī]

donkey come.Pfv [millet Inst]

‘The donkey brought the millet.’

b. sòmpùwó bē gà [pīīn nī]

donkey.**Foc** come.Pfv RemPfv [millet Inst]

‘It was the donkey [focus] who brought the millet.’

Deictic ‘this/that’, and discourse-definite ‘that’ resuming a just-introduced discourse referent, are well-suited to be focalized subjects (596a-b).

(596) a. kú yè ŋ̀ kwāā gà

**Dem** Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘This hit me.’ or ‘This [focus] is what hit me.’

b. ɲɔ́ⁿ gā ŋ̀ kɔ̄-lā

**Dem.Def** Ipfv 1Sg hit-Ipfv

‘That (definite) hits me.’ or ‘That (definite) [focus] is what hits me.’

However, kú and ɲɔ́ⁿ are already H‑toned, so focalization is not well-marked on them in subject position (deictic kú can be lengthened to kúú in object function, see below). Likely for this reason, the 3Sg independent pronoun is unexpectedly often focalized in contexts calling for a focalized demonstrative, as in (594d) above.

### Object focalization

Example (597a) has an unfocalized pronominal object. (597b) focalizes the object, which is not fronted.

(597) a. sèēdù yè ŋ̀ kwāā gà

S Sbj/Obj **1Sg** hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘Seydou hit me.’

b. sèēdù yà= ān-dɔ̀gɔ́ kwāā gà

S Sbj/Obj 2Sg-**Indep.Foc** hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘It’s you-Sg [focus] that Seydou hit.’

c. ān tē ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ kwāā,

2Sg PfvNeg 1Sg-**Indep.Foc** hit.Pfv,

āⁿ sèe᷆dú kwāā gà

2Sg S.**Foc** hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘It wasn’t me [focus] that you-Sg hit, it was Seydou [focus] that you hit.’

The same tonal changes that apply to subject-focalized nouns apply to focalized objects. For example, wārābā ‘lion’ is unfocalized in (598a) but it is focalized by tonal modification in (598b).

(598) a. n̄ =nàⁿ wārābā kày

1Sg Sbj/Obj **lion** see.Pfv

‘I saw a lion.’

b. n̄ =nǎⁿ wàràbá kàȳ gà

1Sg Sbj/Obj lion.**Foc** see.Pfv RemPfv

‘It’s a lion [focus] that I saw.’

In object position, deictic demonstrative kú can be effectively focalized by lengthening as kúú.

(599) ē gà kúú sɔ̀gɔ̄

1Pl Ipfv Dem.Foc cultivate.Ipfv

‘That [focus] is what we cultivated.’ (2017-03 @ 00:15)

### Focalization of PP or other adverbial phrase

Overt focalization is possible with purposive-causal and temporal adverbials, as described just below. Both types of adverbial are somewhat peripheral to the semantic core of a sentence. Often the focalized adverbial resumes preceding discourse material, as in ‘my father got sick; it’s for that reason [focus] that I came’.

Spatial adverbs like ‘here’ do not allow focalization.

Instrumental PPs (postposition nī) have a distinctive tonal pattern when focalized. Both the noun and the postposition are involved, the postposition becoming H‑toned ní. See §8.1.2.1.3 for details and examples.

#### Focalization of purposive-causal expression

A purposive-causal expression is focalized by clefting, i.e. it is clause-initial and followed by the ‘it is’ clitic, in (600). kú lāgà (or assimilated variant kú lágà) ‘for/because of that’ resumes preceding discourse that spells out the purpose in detail (not shown).

(600) [kú lāgā nì] m̄ bē gà

[Dem Purp **it.is**] 1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv

‘That [focus] is why I came.’

The same construction is used with interrogative màsí lāgà (~ màsí lágà) ‘why?’ (§13.2.2.3).

#### Focalization of temporal adverb

In (601), a temporal relative clause occurs first, headed by a temporal noun ‘(moment in) time’, ‘day’, or ‘year’. The head may occur clause-finally (as shown) or it may be clause-initial; such variation in order is typical of temporal adverbials. The temporal adverbial clause is then resumed and focalized at the beginning of the main clause. Clause-initial ɲàwⁿ functions here as a near-distant discourse-definite demonstrative. It is tonally (and semantically) distinct from clause-initial ɲāwⁿ ‘if’ in conditionals. Overall the two-clause construction resembles a correlative construction (a specialty of South Asian languages).

(601) m̄ bē gà [wɔ́gɔ́tú / tálám / jīīm màwⁿ]

1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [time / day / year **Rel**]

[ɲàⁿ wɔ́gɔ́tú / táláɲ / jīīɲ (jáátí) nà=] à lɔ̄wɔ̄ŋ gà

[Dem time / day / year (precise) **it.is**] 3Sg die.Pfv RemPfv

‘The time/day/year when I came, (at/on/in) that (very) time/day/year [focus] is when he/she died.’ (< nì à lɔ̄wɔ̄ⁿ)

It is also possible to resume the temporal adverbial clause with 3Sg independent pronoun wɔ̀gɔ́ (focalized from wɔ̀gɔ̀) (602).

(602) [[jīīm màⁿ] jɛ̄nām-bī-gē gā sùwō-lò]

[[year Rel] child-Pl-Pl Ipfv sing-Ipfv]

[wɔ̀gɔ́ nì] ŋ̄ kìyɛ̄ŋ gà

[**3Sg.Indep.Foc** it.is] 1Sg arrive.Pfv RemPfv

‘The year when the children were singing, that [focus] is when I arrived.’

Simple temporal adverbs like ‘tomorrow’ and ‘now’ can occur clause-finally (603a). In that position they can be focalized by the usual tonal modification (final tone raises to H), as in (603b). These adverbs can also occur clause-initially, but they cannot take focalized tonal form in the absence of a prosodic break (603c). Clause-initial temporal adverbs can be (semi‑)focalized by clefting (603d).

(603) a. ē gā bē sō ɲàànù

1Pl Ipfv Fut go.Ipfv **tomorrow**

‘We will go tomorrow.’

b. ē gā bē sō ɲàànú

1Pl Ipfv Fut go.Ipfv **tomorrow.Foc**

‘Tomorrow [focus] is when we will go.’

c. ɲàànù (# ɲàànú) ē gā sò

**tomorrow** 1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv

‘Tomorrow we will go.’

c. [ɲàànū nì] ē gā sò

[**tomorrow it.is**] 1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv

‘It’s tomorrow [focus] that we are going.’

#### Spatial and manner adverbs not focalizable

Spatial adverbs like bōẁⁿ ‘here’ and yāẁⁿ ‘there’ cannot be overtly focalized. They occur only at or near the end of clauses, being followed only by any temporal adverb that may be present. The spatial adverbs cannot be fronted, and they have no raised tonal variants. In (604) there is no overt marking of focalization.

(604) ŋ̀ gà kōndò bōẁⁿ

1Sg Ipfv stay.Ipfv **here**

‘It’s here [focus] that I will stay.’

or: ‘I will stay here.’

Example (605) was elicited using the same correlative frame (in French) that successfully produced overtly focalized purposive-causal and temporal expressions. However, the resumptive (discourse-definite) yāẁⁿ ‘there’ is clause-final with no overt sign of syntactic focalization, though the optional jáátī ‘precise’ makes semantic focus evident.

(605) [n̄ =nàn̄ tìŋgē bàȳ gà gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ]

[1Sg Sbj/Obj stool leave.Pfv RemPfv place-Rel-place]

ē gā pɔ̀-lɔ̀ [yāẁⁿ (jáátī)]

1Pl Ipfv sit-Ipfv [**there**.Def (precise)]

‘(At) the place where I left the stools, (right) there [focus] is where we will sit.’

Manner adverbials are likewise not usually focalizable. In (606) there is no way to tell whether clause-final kìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘like this/that’ is focalized or not.

(606) ē gā pɔ̀-lɔ̄ kìyɛ̀wⁿ

1Pl Ipfv sit-Ipfv **like.this**

‘We will sit like this.’

or: ‘(Like) this [focus] is how we will sit.’

However, under limited conditions kìyɛ̀wⁿ can be focalized as kìyɛ́wⁿ; see (133c) in §4.4.3.2, where the focalized form is preposed to the verb as an object. Focalization by tone-raising has also been observed with the deictic manner verb kìyɛ̀wⁿ/kìyɛ̀‑nà ‘do like this/that’; see focalized Ipfv kìyɛ̀‑ná in (134a) in §4.4.3.2.

### “Interrogative” terminal prosody for weak focalization in indicatives

The same phonological and phonetic effects that occur in polar interrogative prosody (§13.2.1.2) can also apply to the final word of statements that do not function as interrogatives. This is striking given that the default terminal intonational effect on statements is a pitch drop.

This prosodic effect is strongly associated with clause-final temporal adverbs. Unlike other adverbs (e.g. spatial), temporal adverbs can occur clause-initially as well as clause-finally, showing that they are on the outer periphery of their clauses.

In (607a) below, slightly modified from (603a-b) above, the clause-final adverb ‘tomorrow’ has either of two tonal forms: ɲàànù with the regular lexical /L/ melody, and ɲàànú. The latter is also the form this adverb takes clause-finally in polar interrogatives (§13.2.1.2). However, all examples in (607a-c) are statements (assertions) rather than questions. The variant ɲàànú is ungrammatical (symbol #) in negative statements (607b). It is also ungrammatical in the presence of a distinct (semantically) focal constituent such as a content interrogative or a focalized independent pronoun (607c-d). In other words, ɲàànú is an option only in positive statements without a focalized constituent, aside from polar interrogatives.

(607) a. ē gā sō ɲàànú

ɲàànù

1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv tomorrow

‘We will go tomorrow.’

b. ē nā sō ɲàànù

(# ɲàànú)

1Pl IpfvNeg go.Ipfv tomorrow

‘We won’t go tomorrow.’

c. wùlāā gā sō ɲàànù

(# ɲàànú)

who? Ipfv go.Ipfv tomorrow

‘Who is going tomorrow?’

d. ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ sō ɲàànù

(# ɲàànú)

1Sg-Indep go.Ipfv tomorrow

‘It’s I [focus] who am going tomorrow.’

The temporal adverbs that have similar tonal variants with the same restrictions are listed in (608). dìgéwⁿ ‘yesterday’ is already /LH/-melodic so it cannot express an overt tonal distinction.

(608) lexical form raised form gloss

kɔ̀nɔ̀sè kɔ̀nɔ̀sé ‘next year’

ɲàànù ɲàànú ‘tomorrow’

sāà‑gù sāà‑gú ‘now’

sègɔ̀ sègɔ́ ‘last year’

tūⁿ túⁿ ‘again’ (§19.3.1)

yùrùgù yùrùgú ‘this year’

The ungrammaticality of tonally raised forms like ɲàànú under negation and in the presence of another focal constituent suggests that these forms are at least weakly focal.

## Interrogatives

The following sections in this chapter describe questions that function as main clauses. For quoted questions see §17.1.5. For propositional complements of ‘know’ and ‘not know’, see §17.2.1.1.

### Polar (yes/no) interrogatives

Most polar interrogatives are expressed by clause-final pitch/tone raising (§13.2.1.2). Under limited conditions there is a clause-initial interrogative particle, or a clause-final disjunction (‘or’).

#### Clause-initial particles in polar interrogatives

##### Clause-initial tāmà

Clause-initial tāmà is another mechanism for converting a statement into a yes/no question. It functions like French *est-ce que*, which is also used by younger speakers. When this morpheme is present, there is no tone/pitch rise on the final word of the clause.

(609) a. tāmà ān dīgɛ̄

**Q** 2Sg eat.Antip.Pfv

‘Have you-Sg eaten?’

b. tāmà āŋ gā sò síbɛ̀wⁿ

**Q** 2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc

‘Are you going to the market?’

The only textual example of tāmà is 2017-03 @ 00:58, where the younger assistant asks a complex question of an older speaker.

tāmà can also follow the clause, see (888a) below.

##### Clause-initial kò(rì)

The other clause-initial interrogative particle kòrì, likely borrowed from Fulfulde and sometimes truncated to kò, occurs in polite inquiries of the ‘are you fine?’ type (§19.6.1). There are many examples in the greeting cycles at the beginning of several of the texts, starting with 2017-01 @ 00:06. kòrì can also occur elsewhere under limited conditions. (610) can be said to an addressee who has just stated that he/she has been frantically seeking a particular thing. The speaker isn’t sure of the outcome but hopes that the answer is ‘yes’.

(610) kòrì ā= ā kìlɛ̀

**Q** 2Sg 3Sg get.Pfv

‘So did you (hopefully) get it?’

#### Polar interrogation by terminal pitch/tone change

Much more often, polar interrogation is expressed solely by a change in pitch on the clause-final word. Whether this pitch change is best described as phonological (i.e. tonal) or extra-phonological, or a combination of both, is an interesting question. To the extent that the process is tonal, it should be expressible by shifting from L or M to H‑tone, or perhaps from L to M‑tone.

Because Cliffs is a verb-final language, most full clauses including interrogatives end in a verb, an adverb, or a postposition. The presentation below therefore focuses on verbs, but the end of this section discusses polar interrogatives that end with an adverb or noun.

(611a) is indicative (i.e. a statement). The corresponding interrogative is (611b) which for the moment is shown in phonetically-tinged tonal notation as bé. The audible difference is in pitch level of the final verb. There is no intonational prolongation (extra duration).

(611) a. [āŋ kàà] bē

[2Sg father] come.Pfv

‘Your-Sg father has come.’

b. [āŋ kàà] bé

[2Sg father] come.Pfv.Q

‘Has your-Sg father come?’

The indicative (611a) is subject to prepausal pitch drop (§3.6.5.2), which might be represented as bē↘ or perhaps even ꜜbē with downstep diacritic. The main question here is the status of what is written phonetically as bé in (611b). There are three possibilities: a) M‑toned bē has been raised to H‑tone, correctly transcribed bé ; b) the pitch of bē has been raised by a gradient intonational process, transcription bē↗; or c) the tone has been raised to H with additional add‑on intonational pitch raising, transcription bé↗. To consider this issue it is useful to examine in turn how verbs with different input tones are treated.

When the input ends in L or M tone, the interrogative counterpart has higher pitch than modal H‑tone in this position (612). This is compatible with either of the two models, (b) and (c), that include intonational ↗.

(612) a. ām bāynà gà tùwɔ̀bùlōŋ kà-ná↗ (or kà-nà↗ ?)

2Sg ExpPf Ipfv elephant see-Ipfv.**Q**

‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant?’ (< kà-nà)

b. à dwɔ́↗ (or dwɔ̄↗ ?)

3Sg enter.Pfv**.Q**

‘Did he/she go in?’ (< dwɔ̄)

Further examples with inputs that begin with L are in (613). They are transcribed here with final H‑tone, plus ↗ as an add-on. In (613a‑b), the same ambiguity as in (612) is present. However, in (613c), an LML input surfaces as LLH (not \*LMH). This can be analysed as a shift to final H‑tone that triggers the tone sandhi process M#H-to-L#H.

(613) indicative interrogative example gloss

a. indicative L‑toned

*monomoraic*

Cv̀ Cv́↗ sò → só↗ ‘go’ (Pfv/Ipfv)

*bimoraic or heavier*

Cv̀y Cv̀ý↗ kày → kàý↗ ‘see’ (Pfv)

Cv̀Cv̀ Cv̀Cv́↗ kà-nà → kàná↗ ‘see’ (Ipfv)

jìŋɛ̀ → jìŋɛ́↗ ‘accept’ (Pfv)

Cv̀NCv̀ Cv̀NCv́↗ bàndà → bàndá↗ ‘get tired’ (Pfv)

Cv̀Cv̀Cv̀ Cv̀Cv̀Cv́↗ kùlùbɛ̀ → kùlùbɛ́↗ ‘knead’ (Pfv)

b. indicative LM‑toned

Cv̀Cv̄ Cv̀Cv́↗ jìŋɛ̄ → jìŋɛ́↗ ‘accept’ (Ipfv)

Cv̀NCv̄ Cv̀NCv́↗ bàndā → bàndá↗ ‘get tired’ (Ipfv)

Cv̀Cv̀Cv̄w Cv̀Cv̀Cv́w↗ nùmàsāwⁿ → nùmàsáwⁿ↗ ‘forget’ (Pfv)

c. indicative LML‑toned

Cyv̀v̂ Cv̀v̀v́↗ cyɛ̀ɛ᷆ⁿ → cyɛ̀ɛ́ⁿ↗ ‘weave (basket)’ (Pfv)

Cv̀Cv̄Cv̀ Cv̀Cv̀Cv́↗ gàrībù → gàrìbú↗ ‘beg’ (Pfv/Ipfv)

Cv̀Cv̀Cv̄Cv̀ Cv̀Cv̀Cv̀Cv́↗ nùmàsā-nà → nùmàsà-ná↗ ‘forget’ (Ipfv)

However, M#H-to-L#H does not apply when the target word, instead of having a medial M‑tone as in (613c), begins with M‑tone. In this case, the nonfinal syllables remain M‑toned (614). This fits comfortably within the analysis that interrogation is marked solely by intonational ↗ overlaid on a normal tone-marked verb. One could save the analysis that also includes tone-raising to H only by having tone-raising and M#H-to-L#H apply in different orders in (613c) and (614).

(614) indicative interrog. example gloss

a. indicative M‑toned

Cv̄ Cv́ bē→ bé (bē↗ ?) ‘come’ (Pfv/Ipfv)

Cv̄v̄ Cv́v́ bāā→ báá (bāā↗ ?) ‘exit (v)’ (Pfv)

Cv̄Cv̄ Cv́Cv́ kīyɛ̄→ kīyɛ́ (kīyɛ̄↗ ?) ‘pass’ (Pfv)

Cv̄NCv̄ Cv́NCv́ kōndō→ kōndó ‘remain’ (Pfv)

(kōndō↗ ?)

*heavy stems*

Cv̄Cv̄Cv̄ Cv̀Cv̀Cv́ pɛ̄gɛ̄lɛ̄→ pɛ̄gɛ̄lɛ́ ‘winnow by shaking’ (Pfv)

(pɛ̄gɛ̄lɛ̄↗ ?)

Cv̄CCv̄v̄Cv̄ Cv̀CCv̀v̀Cv́ kāmnā-āmā→ kāmnā-āmá ‘get old’ (Pfv)

(kāmnā-āmā↗ ?)

b. indicative ML‑toned

Cv̄Cv̀ Cv́Cv́ kīyɛ̀→ kīyɛ́ (kīyɛ̀↗ ?) ‘pass’ (Ipfv)

Cv̄NCv̀ Cv́NCv́ kōndò→ kōndó ‘remain’ (Ipfv)

(kōndò↗ ?)

*heavy stems*

Cv̄Cv̄Cv̀ Cv̄Cv̄Cv́ nīmīsà→ nīmīsá ‘regret’ (Pfv/Ipfv)

(nīmīsà↗ ?)

Cv̄Cv̄Cv̀ Cv̄Cv̄Cv́ pɛ̄gɛ̄lɛ̄→ pɛ̄gɛ̄lɛ́ ‘winnow by shaking’ (Ipfv)

(pɛ̄gɛ̄lɛ̄↗ ?)

Cv̄CCv̄v̄Cv̀ Cv̄CCv̄v̄Cv́ kāmnā-āmà→ kāmnā-āmá ‘get old’ (Ipfv)

(or kāmnā-āmà↗ ?)

In the minority of indicative clauses that already end in an H‑tone, this tone is enhanced by a further pitch rise in interrogatives. This is the case with clauses that end with dìgéwⁿ ‘yesterday’. (615a) and (615b) are phonologically (including tonally) identical, but they can be distinguished by the slightly above-modal tone of the question, marked by ↗ (615b).

(615) a. sèēdù sō dìgéwⁿ

S go.Pfv yesterday

‘Seydou left yesterday.’

b. sèēdù sō dìgéwⁿ↗

S go.Pfv yesterday.Q

‘Seydou left yesterday?’

To summarize so far, polar questions allow intonational pitch rise, and under some conditions provide evidence for a phonological tone-raising to H.

When nouns (or other clausal fragments), as opposed to clauses ending in verbs or adverbs, are subject to polar interrogative prosody, a more complex situation is revealed. If the noun has stem-wide /L/ or /M/ melody, only the final syllable is tone-raised, consistent with what happens with verbs. However, unlike verbs, nouns in polar interrogatives often prolong their final syllable (symbol →).

(616) noun gloss as polar Q

a. dūgā ‘rice’ dūgá→↗

b. sààgù ‘roselle’ sààgú→↗

Unlike most verbs, nouns may be composite. When the compound final is an M‑toned bisyllable, under polar interrogation it is usually raised to H‑tone as a whole (not just the final syllable), as in -kúwɔ́ⁿ→↗ (617a). L‑toned bisyllabic final segments only raise the final syllable (617b).

(617) noun gloss as polar Q

a. kūwɔ̄ⁿ ‘water lily tuber’ kūwɔ́ⁿ→↗

būrūgù-kūwɔ̄ⁿ ‘type of water lily tuber’ būrūgù-kúwɔ́ⁿ→↗

b. bòndò ‘neck’ bòndó→↗

pīīm-bòndò ‘millet grain spike’ pīīm-bòndó→↗

A similar prosodic modification of nouns is also found in open-ended lists (enumerations), see §7.1.10.

#### Disjunctive polar interrogatives (tà→ ~ là→, nà)

In this construction, two clauses with polarized truth conditions are presented to the addressee as alternatives to choose from. The second is often a simple negation of the former (perhaps abbreviated). The first disjunct ends in interrogative tà→ with incompleteness intonation (mid-pitched), and the second disjunct begins with nà ‘or’, which can be prolonged to nà→ if the speaker pauses briefly.

(618) āŋ gā sò síbɛ̀n tà→,

2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc **Q**,

nà= ān nā sò

**or** 2Sg IpfvNeg go.Ipfv

‘Are you-Sg going to the market, or aren’t you going?’

Another example is (281) in §7.2.2. There is an attestation with là→ in place of tà→ in 2017‑02 @ 01:29.

A clause ending in tà→ without a paired second disjunct can also form a polar interrogative. Again, tà→ has above-modal pitch for an L‑toned clause-final particle, and the pitch may have a rising trajectory.

(619) can be used when the speaker needs confirmation that he himself is being summoned by another person. Likewise kú tà→↗ ‘(you mean) that one (over there)?’ and so forth.

(619) ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ tàà→↗

1Sg-Indep Q

‘(You mean) me?’

#### Tag question

The equivalent (roughly) of an English tag question is expressed by preposing wàà or postposing wāà to the relevant indicative clause. The speaker suspects that the proposition is true but requests confirmation. For example, (620a) or (620b) might be used when the speaker has observed the interlocutor walking in the generally direction of a weekly market while carrying products of the sort typically sold there.

(620) a. wàà āŋ gā sò síbɛ̀wⁿ

Q 2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc

‘You’re going to the market, aren’t you?’

b. āŋ gā sò síbɛ̀wⁿ wāà

2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv market.Loc Q

[=(a)]

Preposed wàà does not rise to #wàā before an L‑tone: wàà à (‘he/she …’).

Whether these forms are related to Bambara clause-final interrogative wa is unclear.

### Content (WH) interrogatives

Content interrogatives normally remain *in situ*, i.e. they are not fronted to clause-initial position.

#### Interrogative topic lāā after subject

The particle lāā optionally follows the subject in a clause containing a content interrogative, whether or not this interrogative is itself the subject. It becomes dāā in 1Sg ǹ-dāā, 2Sg ān‑dāā, and logophoric singular n̄‑dāā, which are written here as single words. Nouns ending in wⁿ do not change l to d. When the constituent ending in lāā is focalized the particle appears as láá. The particle is glossed QTop (interrogative topic) in interlinears, or QTop.Foc if focalized. It has some pragmatic similarities to English ‘what about X?’ as a prelude to a question, but the Cliffs phrase X lāā is grammatically and prosodically part of the interrogative clause.

(621) a. [sèēdù lāā] gā bē sāgā màtāỳ

[S **QTop**] Ipfv Fut lie.down.Pfv where?

‘Where will Seydou spend the night?’

b. [mwɔ̀ láá=] ām bīyɛ̀-nī gà

[which? **QTop.Foc**] 2Sg bring.Pfv RemPfv

‘What has brought you (here)?’ (2017-04 @ 02:36)

[for bīyɛ̀-nì see §9.1.2]

There is a tendency for -lāā to become fused with pronominals, weakening or losing the topicality value. Especially 1Sg ǹ-dāā and 2Sg ān-dāā can replace the usual independent pronouns (§4.3.1), with the unproductive d/l alternation (§3.4.1.1) somewhat masking the identity of lāā. Another lāā can then be added in true QTop function, thus 1Sg ǹ‑dāā lāā (2017‑08 @ 00:02), likewise 2Sg ān‑dāā lāā. Fusion may also have occurred in wùlāā ‘who?’ just below.

When QTop lāā is followed by a planned pause, there is some possibility of confusion with phrase-final particle lā from local French *là* ‘there’ (§19.4.2.6).

#### ‘Who?’ (wùlāā)

The human WH interrogative noun is wùlāā. It occurs in the normal range of syntactic environments for NPs. It is dropped to wùlàà before an H‑tone (622c) by M#H-to-L#H.

(622) a. wùlāā gā sò/bē

**who?** Ipfv go.Ipfv/come.Ipfv

‘Who will go/come?’

b. wùlāā bē gà

**who?** come.Pfv RemPfv

‘Who came?’

c. wùlàà kúŋgóló kwāā gà

**who?** dog hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘Who hit the dog?’

d. wùlāā nì

**who?** it.is

‘Who is it?’ (e.g. to someone knocking at the door)

Examples in nonsubject functions are in (623).

(623) a. āⁿ wùlāā kwāā gà

2Sg **who?** hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘Who(m) did you-Sg hit?’

b. ē gā sāgà [wùlàà káwⁿ]

1Pl Ipfv lie.down.Ipfv [**who?** chez.Foc]

‘At whose place will we spend the night?’

c. kú gā [wùlàà kán] nì

Dem be [**who?** chez.Foc] it.is

‘This is whose house?’ (French *chez qui?*)

d. āⁿ wùlāā kàȳ gà síbàwⁿ

2Sg **who?** see.Pfv RemPfv market.Loc

‘Who(m) did you-Sg see in the market?’

When it is understood that multiple individuals are concerned, the plural form wùlāā-yē is optionally used.

(624) a. wùlāā-yē bē gà

**who?-Pl** come.Pfv RemPfv

‘Who-Pl came?’

b. āⁿ wùlāā-yē kàȳ gà

2Sg **who?-Pl** see.Pfv RemPfv

‘Who(m)-Pl did you-Sg see?’

Another possibility is ‘who and who?’. The conjunction yèⁿ becomes yěⁿ (<LM>‑toned) before the initial L‑tone of the second wùlāā.

(625) a. [wùlāā yěⁿ wùlāā] bē gà

[**who?** and **who?**] come.Pfv RemPfv

‘Who and who came?’

b. [wùlāā yěⁿ wùlàà] kúŋgóló kwāā gà

[who? and **who?**] dog hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘Who and who hit the dog?’

c. āⁿ [wùlāā yěⁿ wùlāā] kàȳ gà

2Sg [who? and **who?**] see.Pfv RemPfv

‘Who and who did you-Sg see?’

d. āⁿ [wùlāā yěⁿ wùlāā] kwāā gà

2Sg [who? and **who?**] hit.Pfv RemPfv

‘Who(m) and who(m) did you-Sg hit?’

#### ‘What?’ (màsí), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’

The nonhuman interrogative noun is màsí ‘what?’.

(626) a. màsí (yē) ǹ tīŋ gà

what? (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg do.Pfv RemPfv

‘What (has) happened?’ (lit. “What has done itself?”) (< tīẁⁿ)

b. ām màsí dīgā gà

2Sg what? eat.Pfv RemPfv

‘What did you-Sg eat?’

c. kú gā màsí nì

Dem be what? it.is

‘What is that?’

d. āŋ gā màsí tī-nà

2Sg Ipfv what? do-Ipfv

‘What are you-Sg doing?’

màsí is diachronically segmentable as mà-sí including -sí ‘any’ (§6.6.2.2, §19.3.2.4**)**. This leaves mà-, which may be a variant of mwɔ̀ ‘which?’. mwɔ̀ by itself (without a modified noun) sometimes means abstract ‘what?’ in contexts like ‘what has brought you here?’ (2017-04 @ 02:36), and it is usual in the ‘do what?’ construction (e.g. 2017-05 @ 02:32).

With instrumental postposition nī (§8.1.2.1) the form is màsí nī ‘with what?’ (627a), or focalized màsí ní. This is tonally distinct from focalized clause-initial màsí nì ‘(it is) why?’ (627b). The full form for ‘why?’ is màsí lāgà (clause-initially màsí lāgà nì as focus) (627c-d), or tone-assimilated variant màsí lágà.

(627) a. āŋ gā cī-lī [màsí nī]

2Sg Ipfv sow-Ipfv [what? **Inst**]

‘With what will you-Sg plant (the seeds)?’

b. [màsí nì] āādāmà bē gà

[what? **it.is**] A come.Pfv RemPfv

‘Why did Adama come?’

c. ām bē gà [màsí lāgà]

2Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [what? **Purp**]

‘Why did you-Sg come?’

d. [màsí lāgà nì] ām bē gà

[what? **Purp** **it.is**] 2Sg come.Pfv RemPfv

[=(c)]

#### ‘Where?’ (màtāỳ, lāā-mì , lāā-màtāỳ)

màtāỳ is the main interrogative for locations. It can be adverbial in either static locative or directional (‘to/from where’) function (628a). It can be made predicative by adding the locational ‘be’ quasi-verb gà/gā (628c).

(628) a. āŋ gā sō màtāỳ

2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv where?

‘Where are you-Sg going?’ (2017-05 @ 02:27)

b. màtāỳ

where?

‘Where (is it)?’

c. āŋ gā màtāỳ

2Sg be.Loc where?

‘Where are you-Sg?’

As an alternative to predicative gā màtāỳ ‘be where?’ with locational ‘be’, there are specialized predicative forms lāā-mì and lāā-màtāỳ, both meaning ‘be where?’. They function as predicates with present-time reference (629a). They do not allow aspectual marking (i.e. Ipfv gà). The lāā element has the same form as a topicalizer used in interrogative contexts (§19.1.1.2), but lāā-mì and lāā-màtāỳ cannot be parsed in this fashion. In past-time contexts, only gà/gā ‘be’ plus màtāỳ is possible (629b).

(629) a. ān lāā-mì / lāā-màtāỳ

2Sg **be.where?**

‘Where are you-Sg?’

b. āŋ kōndō gà màtāỳ

2Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv **where?**

‘Where were you-Sg?’

#### ‘When?’ (‘which time’, etc.)

Interrogatives for time are often specified for a specific temporal unit, e.g. ‘which day?’ or ‘which year?’. For shorter time frames (e.g. likely during the same day), the noun wɔ́gátū ‘(moment in) time’ is used as default (630a).

(630) a. āŋ gā bē [mwɔ̀ wɔ́gátū]

2Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [**which? time**]

‘When will you-Sg come (back)?’

b. āŋ gā bē [mwɔ̀ tálāwⁿ]

2Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [**which? day**]

‘When (on what day) will you-Sg come (back)?’

For ‘which?’see §13.2.2.8 below.

#### ‘How?’ (-mɛ̀n- and variants)

The manner interrogative is built from a combination of -mɛ̀n- and the verb ‘do’ (tīẁⁿ/tī-nà). If there is no other main verb, the extended form à-mɛ̀n- functions as direct object, and the ‘do’ verb can occur in any inflected form (631a-b). The à‑ may have originated as a 3Sg possessor, but it seems to be frozen synchronically.

(631) a. ē gā= à-mɛ̀n tī-nà

1Pl Ipfv **how?** do.Ipfv

‘What will we do?’

b. ā(ⁿ) à-mɛ̀n tīŋ gà

1Pl **how?** do.Pfv RemPfv

‘What did you-Sg do?’ (< tīẁⁿ)

c. sèēdū yā= à-mɛ̀n tīŋ gà

1Pl Sbj/Obj **how?** do.Pfv RemPfv

‘What did Seydou do?’ (< tīẁⁿ)

In the presence of another main verb, the ‘how?’ stem without à- usually fuses with the Pfv form of ‘do’ and follows the main verb (632). The combination mɛ̀n tīẁⁿ may occur in perfective and imperfective clauses. The construction is similar to other multiverb constructions where one verb of variable inflection is followed by a verb obligatorily in the Pfv stem (§15.2.1).

(632) a. āŋ gā kāỳⁿ [mɛ̀n tīẁⁿ]

how? Ipfv work.Ipfv [**how?** do.Pfv]

‘How do you-Sg work?’

b. ām bē gà [mɛ̀n tīẁⁿ]

2Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [**how?** do.Pfv]

‘How did you-Sg come?’

With topic-subject, which might happen to be 3Sg à, the form mɛ̀n-tīẁⁿ (in this case written as one hyphenated word) may also function as complement of the ‘it is’ clitic (§11.2.1.1) as in (633a‑c). A past-time counterpart with kōndō (§10.3.2) is (633d).

(633) a. à mɛ̀n-tīn nì

3Sg **how?** it.is

‘How is it?’

b. è mɛ̀n-tīn nì

3Pl **how?** it.is

‘How are they?

c. dīgɛ̄-pwɔ̄ mɛ̀n-tīn nì

food **how?** it.is

‘How is the food?’

d. à kōndō gà mɛ̀n-tīẁⁿ

3Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv **how?**

‘How was it?’

#### ‘How much/many?’ (jèwⁿ)

The interrogative for quantities is jèwⁿ, raising to jèw̄ⁿ before L‑tone by Final Tone-Raising. The wⁿ may surface as a homorganic nasal before a stop or nasal. There is no special tonal form in subject function.

The quantity may be a measure or a number. jèwⁿ may follow a noun or occur by itself. The iterative form is distributive jèn̄-jèwⁿ ‘how much/many each?’ (634e).

(634) a. jèn̄ nì

**how.much?** it.is

‘How much is it?’

b. jèyⁿ-yē nì

**how.much?-Pl** it.is

‘How many are they?’ (e.g. counting sheep)

c. [āā ɲīmī jèŋ] gà bē

[2Pl person **how.much?**] Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘How many of you-Pl are coming?’

d. āⁿ [sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄n jèŋ̄] sàŋ̄ gà

2Sg [sheep **how.much?**] buy.Pfv RemPfv

‘How many sheep did you-Sg buy?’ (< sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄wⁿ, sàwⁿ)

e. sāŋgòló gā jèn̄-jèn̄ nì

broom be **how.much?-how.much?** it.is

‘How much (each) are the brooms?’ (distributive, §4.6.1.7)

Ordinal adjective ‘how-manieth?’ (Fr *quantième*) is jèyⁿ-ànà. This is the ordinal derivative with suffix -ànà (§4.6.2.2).

#### ‘Which?’ (mwɔ̀ … sīī)

The interrogative identificational adjective is mwɔ̀ preceding the noun, as in mwɔ̀ sūgō ‘which goat?’ It becomes mẁɔ̄ by Final Tone-Raising before an L‑tone. The noun is often but not always followed by sīī ‘kind’ (locative sī-ỳ).

(635) a. āŋ gā bā-lā [mẁɔ̄ nɔ̀gù sī-ỳ]

2Sg Ipfv exit-Ipfv [**which?** village **kind**-Loc]

‘What (=which) village are you-Sg from?’

b. ām [mẁɔ̄ nàà sīī] tōlō gà

2Sg [**which?** cow **kind**] sell.Pfv RemPfv

‘Which cow did you-Sg sell?’

c. āŋ gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

2Sg Ipfv 3Sg want.Ipfv

āŋ gālā [mẁɔ̄ nàà sīī] sàwⁿ

2SbSbj Sbjn [**which?** cow **kind**] buy.Pfv

‘Which of my cows do you-Sg want to buy?’

d. [mẁɔ̄ yùgòⁿ sīī] yà= āŋ kēē gà

[**which?** woman **kind**] Sbj/Obj 2Sg call.Pfv RemPfv

‘Which woman called you-Sg?’ (< kēỳ)

e. ām [mẁɔ̄ yùgòⁿ sīī] kēē gà

2Sg [**which?** woman **kind**] call.Pfv RemPfv

‘Which woman did you-Sg call?’

mwɔ̀ is also attested without a noun in combination with tīẁⁿ/tī-nà ‘do’. In this combination, mwɔ̀ ‘what?’ competes with à-mɛ̀n ‘how?’ (§13.2.2.6).

(636) āŋ gā sō mwɔ̀ tīyⁿ yāẁⁿ

2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv **which? (=what?)** do.Pfv there.Def

‘What will you-Sg do there?’ (2017-05 @ 02:32)

# Relativization

Relative clauses are most often restrictive (not parenthetical), except when the head is a first or second person pronominal.

## Basics of relative clauses

### Relative marker màwⁿ

Relative clauses are usually internally headed. The relative morpheme màwⁿ (singular) or mà‑lè (plural) is is positioned at the end of the head NP, which remains *in situ* (i.e. in its regular position within the clause). In perfective positive relatives, RemPfv gà immediately follows the verb. Headless relatives with just màwⁿ or mà‑lè are common.

Examples of simple subject relatives are in 637a-b). In both examples, tone sandhi process Final Tone-Raising occurs repeatedly. Since this process normally operates at word boundaries, we transcribe màwⁿ and gà as separate words.

(637) a. [yùgōm màn̄] dìgɛ̀mū gà

[woman **Rel**] speak.Pfv **RemPfv**

‘the woman who spoke’ (< yùgòⁿ, dìgɛ̀mù)

b. [yùgò-mbē mà-lē] dìgɛ̀mū gà

[woman-Pl **Rel-Pl**] speak.Pfv **RemPfv**

‘the women who spoke’ (< yùgò-mbè, dìgɛ̀mù)

The clause may contain postverbal constituents such as ‘yesterday’ in (638). If so, they follow RemPfv gà.

(638) [yùgōm màn̄] dìgɛ̀mū gà dìgéwⁿ

[woman Rel] speak.Pfv **RemPfv** yesterday

‘the woman who spoke yesterday’

The *in situ* position of the relativized constituent is illustrated by the headless object relative in (639).

(639) kàlā è gā mà-lè kū-nū [sɔ̀rdāāsì nī],

except 3Pl Ipfv **Rel-Pl** catch-Ipfv [soldier Inst]

‘except the ones whom they took (recruited) as soldiers’ (2017-01 @ 06:06)

Less often, the relativized constituent is fronted as a kind of topic, and is resumed by a third person pronominal.

(640) [[dúgúⁿ màⁿ] āŋ gā= ā tò gū] nì

[[forest **Rel**] 2Sg Ipfv **3Sg** know.Ipfv Def] it.is

‘It (=the place just mentioned) is the forest that you-Sg know.’ (2017-01 @ 02:47)

### Nonspecific and double-headed relatives

The head noun with màwⁿ can have indefinite/generalized reference, as in ‘anyone (who …)’ or ‘whoever …’ (641a). For this reason it is possible to have two “heads” in the same clause (641b). Such nonspecific heads often combine with sāāⁿ ~ hāāⁿ ‘all’ (§6.6.1). mɔ̀ⁿ in (641a) is a variant of màwⁿ.

(641) a. [pɔ̄ mɔ̀ⁿ sāān] nī,

[thing **Rel** **all**] Inst,

[ē jè gù] nāⁿ hāŋgà gù,

[1Pl G Def] if.Pfv worry(v).Pfv Def,

‘whatever our Lowol-Guéou (commune) is concerned about’ (2017-01 @ 01:16)

b. [mà hāāŋ] gē= ēnì kāyⁿ màŋ kāyⁿ

[**Rel** **all**] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv work(n) **Rel** work(v).Pfv

‘(whatever) work (e.g. prayers) that anyone can do’ (2017-02 @ 03:04)

A nonspecific indefinite human referent that is introduced in this way can take 2Sg agreement, with generic ‘you’.

(642) [[mà sāāⁿ] nā= à māyⁿ] [à nà m̀ māỳⁿ [ām pà]]

[[**Rel all**] if.Pfv 3Sg ruin.Pfv] [3Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl be.good [**2Sg** Comit]]

‘If anyone (=you) harms it (relations between them), it won’t be good for you-Sg.’

(2017-01 @ 04:27)

### nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ ‘if (perfective positive)’ in relatives

The post-subject morpheme nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ is common in perfective positive conditional antecedents (§16.1.1). It can also occur in relative clauses.

(643) án nàm [pɔ̄ màn] dēē

2Sg **if.Pfv** [thing **Rel**] take-Pfv

‘What(ever) (thing) you-Sg have taken, …’

Examples like (643) are at the crossroads between relative clause (‘the thing that you-Sg have taken’) and conditional antecedents (‘if you have taken a certain thing’). This is consistent with the frequent correlative function of relative clauses, whereby a discourse referent is introduced (or re-introduced) as a kind of topic by a relative clause whose head or heads are then resumed by pronouns or definite expressions in the following clause.

### Definite gu at the right edge

The definite morpheme gu can occur at the end of the relative clause. It probably has its regular definiteness sense here, rather than merely being a semantically empty right-edge marker. It occurs in contexts like ‘the same X that you see/know’.

(644) a. [kàà-ŋ-kàbūwō màⁿ] āŋ kà-nà gù

[Papa-Link-K Rel] 2Sg see-Ipfv Def

‘the Papa Kabuwo whom you-Sg see’ (2017-01 @ 03:41)

b. [āŋ gā [kɛ̄lɛ̄ mà hāāⁿ] tò gū] nì

[2Sg Ipfv [war Rel all] know.Ipfv Def] it.is

‘It was the very war that you know (of).’ (2017- @ 06:24)

## Internal head NP

### Restrictions on the head of a relative clause

Under limited conditions an independent pronoun can function as relative head.

(645) a. [[ē-lɔ̀gɔ̄ mà-lē] gà nɔ̀gī-ỳ] mùrààrú]

[[1Pl-Indep Rel-Pl] be.Loc village.Loc need(n)]

nà= [[àà kɛ́ɛ́rán] tē]

not.be [[2Pl benevolence] Dat]

‘We who are in the village don’t need your charity.’

b. āŋ gā [ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ màn̄] tò gù

2Sg Ipfv [1Sg-Indep Rel] know.Ipfv Def

‘I who(m) you-Sg know’

### Conjoined NP as head

A conjoined NP may function as head, with a single occurrence of the relative morpheme at the end of the NP. My assistant tended to use singular relative màwⁿ after a singular right conjunct (646b), but accepted the plural mà-lè.

(646) a. [yùgò-mbē yèŋ kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē mà-lè] bē gà

[woman-Pl **and** man-Pl **Rel-Pl**] come.Pfv RemPfv

‘the women and (the) men who have come’

b. [yùgōⁿ yèŋ kɛ̄ɛ̄gū màm] bē gà

mà-lè

[woman **and** man **Rel(-Pl)**] come.Pfv RemPfv

‘the woman and the man who have come’

### Headless relative clause

Either singular màwⁿ or plural mà-lè may head a relative clause, without an overt head NP (647a-b). See also (639) above.

(647) a. màŋ kōndō gà

**Rel** stay.Pfv RemPfv

‘(the) one who stayed’

b. [mà-lè gà kāỳⁿ] yē [mà-lè nà kāỳⁿ]

[**Rel-Pl** Ipfv work.Ipfv] and [**Rel-Pl** IpfvNeg work.Ipfv]

‘those who work, and those who don’t work’

### gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ~ gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ as relative head for ‘place’

The noun ‘place’ is gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ. As head of a relative, it takes an unusual iterative form gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ‑mà‑gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ varying with gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ. For the vocalic variation, see §3.3.1. The apparent linking element -mà- is likely an irregularly truncated form of relative màwⁿ, which is otherwise absent. One would have expected #gɯ̄ɯ̄m màwⁿ without the iteration.

(648) [ŋ̀ gà gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gɯ̄ɯ̄n tō] ǹ dāāⁿ

[1Sg Ipfv **place-Rel-place** know.Ipfv] PsRefl distant

‘The place that I know is far away.’

Other examples are (605) in §13.1.6.3 and (755) in §17.2.1.1.

While gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ or gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ is an idiosyncratic iterative compound synchronically, one might internally reconstruct it as \*[gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ màwⁿ LOC] with some locative postposition that was later (mis-)interpreted as an iteration of \*gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ. This would make sense morphosyntactically, since spatial relatives are most often adverbial adjuncts (locative, allative, or ablative) in a higher clause, as in (648), rather than subject and object arguments as in ‘[The place where the child fell yesterday] is far away’. Synchronically, however, gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ‑mà-gēwⁿ or gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ can function as a nominal argument ss well as adjunct. The current locative postpositions in Cliffs, the most productive of which is nìŋīì (§8.2.4.1), do not resemble gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ phonologically.

## Position of màwⁿ vis-à-vis postnominal modifiers in head NPs

Relative màwⁿ follows adjectives, numerals, and the demonstrative gu. It precedes sāāⁿ ‘all’ and discourse-functional particles.

### Adjectives

Modifying adjectives follow the noun in the same way (including tonal internactions) as in main clauses. The relative morpheme follows modifying adjectives.

(649) a. [nɔ̀gù nám-bē mà-lè] gà bōẁⁿ

[village **small**-Pl Rel-Pl] be.Loc here

‘the small villages that are here.’

b. ŋ̄ Ø [yàmbàà tōy mǎⁿ] sàŋ̄ gà

n̄ =nāⁿ

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) [house **new** Rel] buy.Pfv RemPfv

‘the new house that I bought’ (< yàmbāà, sàwⁿ)

### Numerals

Numerals are likewise added to the head noun, preceding the relative marker. After a nonsingular numeral, the plural marking in relative mà‑lè is redundant. The combination with mà‑lè is grammatical, but the singular form màwⁿ is often used instead.

(650) a. ŋ̄ Ø [yàmbāā sìgɛ̀m màāⁿ] sàŋ̄ gà

n̄ =nàⁿ mà-lē]

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) [house **three** Rel(-Pl)] buy.Pfv RemPfv

‘the three houses that I bought’ (< sìgɛ̀wⁿ)

b. [nàā nàrⁿàm̄ màāⁿ] sēŋ gà

mà-lè

[cow **four** Rel(-Pl)] fall.Pfv RemPfv

‘the four cows who fell’ (< sēwⁿ)

### Determiners

The head noun may be directly modified by a prenominal demonstrative (deictic or discourse-definite) and/or by postnominal definite gu. If present, gu precedes the relative marker. Addition of the relative morpheme does not affect tonal interactions between the noun and the prenominal demonstrative (§6.5.1). (651a) exemplifies N-Def-Rel order, while (651b) illustrates Dem-N-Rel order.

(651) a. āⁿ [yàmbāā gū màŋ̄] kàȳ gà

2Sg [house **Def** Rel] see-Ipfv RemPfv

‘that house that you saw’ (discourse-definite)

b. āŋ gā [kɔ̀ⁿ yāmbāā màŋ̄] kà-nà

2Sg Ipfv [**Dem** house **Rel**] see-Ipfv

‘this/that house that you see’ (pointing)

### Universal quantifier (‘all’)

The universal quantifier directly follows the relative morpheme when it has scope over the head. Plural marking in relative mà-lè is redundant and optional. Its singular counterpart màwⁿ may occur in its place even for countable nouns. màⁿ sāāⁿ (652b) optionally contracts to mà‑sāāⁿ with unnasalized vowel in the first element (652c).

(652) a. [jēnā-mbī-gē mà-lè sāāⁿ] sēŋ gà dìgéwⁿ

[child-Pl-Pl **Rel-Pl** **all**] fall.Pfv RemPfv yesterday

‘all the children who fell yesterday’

b. āŋ gā [yàmbāā màⁿ sāāŋ] kà-nà

2Sg Ipfv [house **Rel all**] see-Ipfv

‘all the houses that you-Sg see’

c. [jīīm mà-sāāⁿ] ɲī kwààn nāⁿ sàwⁿ

[year Rel-all] if rain(n) if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv]

‘any year when it has rained well’ (2017-03 @ 0140)

### Discourse-functional morphemes

Topic morpheme kɔ̀wⁿ follows the entire relative construction and is not part of the internal head NP.

(653) [[jēnā-mbī-gē mà-lè] sēŋ gà dìgéŋ kɔ̀m] bē

[[child-Pl-Pl **Rel-Pl**] fall.Pfv RemPfv yesterday **Topic**] come.Pfv

‘As for the children who fell, they have come.’ (< sēwⁿ, dìgéwⁿ, kɔ̀wⁿ)

## Grammatical relation of relativized-on NP

### Subject relative clause

From main clause (654a) is formed the subject relative in (654b). The relative morpheme màwⁿ occurs at the end of the head. RemPfv gà follows the the verb in perfective positive relatives.

(654) a. jɛ́náⁿ / yàmbāà sēn dìgéwⁿ

child/house fall.Pfv yesterday

‘The child/house fell yesterday.’

b. [[jɛ́náⁿ / yàmbāā màⁿ] sēŋ gà dìgéⁿ] lāā-mì

[[child / house **Rel**] fall.Pfv **RemPfv** yesterday] be.where?

‘Where is the child who/the house that fell yesterday?’

The main clause (655a) with plural subject corresponds to the relative clause in (655b).

(655) a. jɛ̄nām-bī-gē / yàmbāà-yè sēn dìgéwⁿ

child-Pl-Pl / house-Pl fall.Pfv yesterday

‘The children/houses fell yesterday.’

b. [[jɛ̄nām-bī-gē / yàmbāà-yē mà-lè] sēŋ gà dìgéⁿ] lāā-mì

[[child-Pl-Pl / house-Pl **Rel-Pl**] fall.Pfv RemPfv yesterday] be.where?

‘Where are the children who/the houses that fell yesterday?’

Example (656a) is perfective negative. (656b) is imperfective positive, and (656c) is imperfective negative.

(656) a. [jɛ́nám màn̄] tè sēwⁿ

[child **Rel**] PfvNeg fall.Pfv

‘the child who didn’t fall’

b. [jɛ́nám màŋ] gà sēn-dē

[child **Rel**] Ipfv fall-Ipfv

‘the child who falls’

c. [jɛ́nám màn] nà sēn-dē

[child **Rel**] IPfvNeg fall-Ipfv

‘the child who doesn’t fall’

### Object relative clause

The object NP functioning as head remains in its regular position, following the subject and post-subject inflectional markers but preceding the verb and any postverbal constituents. In the perfective positive, the verb is again followed immediately by remote perfective gà.

(657) a. [n̄ nàn̄ [nàā màāⁿ] sàŋ̄ gà dìgén] lāā-mì

[1Sg Sbj/Obj [cow **Rel**] buy.Pfv RemPfv yesterday] be.where?

‘Where is the cow that I bought?’ (< sàwⁿ, dìgéwⁿ)

b. [n̄ nàn̄ [nàà-yē mà-lē] sàŋ̄ gà dìgén] lāā-mì

[1Sg Sbj/Obj [cow-Pl **Rel-Pl**] buy.Pfv RemPfv yesterday] be.where?

‘Where are the cows that I bought?’ (< nàà-yè, sàwⁿ)

Further examples of object relatives are perfective negative (658a), imperfective positive (658b), and imperfective negative (658c).

(658) a. ǹ dè [jɛ́nám màŋ̄] kày

1Sg PfvNeg [child **Rel**] see.Pfv

‘the child who(m) I didn’t see’ (dè variant of tè)

b. ŋ̀ gà [jɛ́nám màŋ̄] kà-nà

1Sg Ipfv [child **Rel**] see-Ipfv

‘the child who(m) I see’

c. ǹ nà [jɛ́nám màŋ̄] kà-nà

1Sg IpfvNeg [child **Rel**] see-Ipfv

‘the child who(m) I don’t see’

### Possessor relative clause

Possessors precede possessums with no genitive marker (659a). It is easy to form possessor relatives by adding the relative morpheme to the possessor (659b).

(659) a. kɛ̄ɛ̄gū yàmbāà

man house

‘a/the man’s house’

b. [[kɛ̄ɛ̄gū mǎⁿ] yàmbāà] sēŋ gà

[[man **Rel**] house] fall.Pfv RemPfv

‘the man whose house fell’

### Relativization on the complement of a postposition

A relative can easily be formed from the complement of a postposition. This is illustrated for the dative in (660a), for one of the spatial postpositions in (660b), and for the instrumental in (660c).

(660) a. n̄ =nàⁿ wólén dō gà [[yùgōm màn] tē]

1Sg Sbj/Obj money give.Pfv RemPfv [[woman **Rel**] **Dat**]

‘the woman to whom I gave the money’ (< wólɛ̄wⁿ)

b. n̄ =nàⁿ wóléⁿ syɛ̄ gà [[sāākù màn̄] nìŋīì]

1Sg Sbj/Obj money put.in.Pfv RemPfv [[bag **Rel**] **inside**]

‘the bag into which I put-Past the money’

c. ŋ̀ gā sɔ̀gɔ̄ [[dàmbā màn] nī]

1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[daba **Rel**] **Inst**]

‘the daba (=hoe) with which I cultivate (=work in the field).’

In relatives with gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ ‘place’ as head, the special iterative form gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ‑mà‑gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ (§14.2.4) does not allow the expected locative postposition nìŋīì.

Manner relatives of the type ‘the way X VPs’ do not take the form of relative clauses. Instead, síí ‘likeness’ or a synonym is added to a nominalized form of the subordinated clause (§15.8.3.1).

### Presentatives

Presentative kāy or tonal variant is ordinarily treated as the final word in the highlighted NP. When relativized on, the relative marker precedes kāy, as though the latter were still a verb (cf. kày ‘see.Pfv’).

(661) [jūgū màŋ] kāy gū

[tree **Rel**] **Prsntv** Def

‘the tree that you can see’ (lit., ‘the tree that here it is’) (2017-04 @ 02:38)

(French: *l’arbre que voici*)

## Biclausal relative

A relative clause may be extended by a second clause with the same implied head. In (662), ‘(any) year’ is the head for an initial relative clause, which is followed by a second clause that contains no overt relative markers. The sequential morpheme shows that the second clause is connected to the first.

(662) [jīīm mà-sāāⁿ] [ɲī kwààn nāⁿ sàwⁿ]

[year **Rel-all**] [if rain(n) if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv]

[ē tēlɛ̄wⁿ] bē màɲɛ̀

[1Pl gourd.plant] **Seq** be.good.Pfv

‘any year when it has rained well and our gourd plants have turned out well’

(2017-03 @ 01:40)

# Verb or VP chaining and adverbial clauses

This chapter covers constructions that involve two or more verbs or two or more VPs. This chapter is complemented by chapter 16 on conditionals and by chapter 17 on clausal and VP complements of specific main-clause verbs. The primary coverage of purposive clauses is in chapter 17, but the motion-verb constructions in this chapter can have purposive implications.

Two complete perfective clauses denoting closely coordinated sequenced events may be juxtaposed without an overt connector or subordinator. An example is the combination of ‘lie down’ and ‘sleep’ clauses in (333c) in §8.2.5.2 above. Another is (687a) below.

Cliffs does not have a broadly applicable verb-verb compounding pattern. However, motion verbs including bē/bē ‘come’ and sò/sò ‘go’ can form compound-like sequences with other verbs, often without their usual directional senses. In additiion, hīnì ‘be able, can’ combines directly with following VPs.

Many of the constructions covered in this chapter express temporal relationships between two events or co-events. For example, (663a) and (663b) both combine ‘fall’ and ‘descend’. However, in (663a) there is at least a brief chronological separation of the two events, while in (663b) they are conceptualized as overlapping or simultaneous.

(663) a. sèēdù sēwⁿ [à bē yàⁿ-sò]

S **fall**.Pfv [3Sg Seq **descend**.Pfv-go]

‘Seydou fell and (then) dropped all the way)down.’ (< yàwⁿ)

b. sèēdù sēwⁿ-[yà-là]

S **fall**.Pfv-[**descend**-Ipfv]

‘Seydou fell all the way down.’

## ‘Be able to VP’ (hīnì ~ ēnì)

The verb ‘be able (to VP)’ is hīnì. It occurs in this unreduced form in perfective clauses (positive hīnì, negative tè hīnì) meaning ‘could (not)’. The complement is also perfective.

(664) a. à (tè) hīnī kɯ̀ɯ̀

3Sg (PfvNeg) **be.able.Pfv** run.**Pfv**

‘He/She was (not) able to run.’

b. à (tè) hīnì tāwⁿ

3Sg (PfvNeg) **be.able.Pfv** ascend.**Pfv**

‘He/She was (not) able to go up.’

c. [kú-yē kɔ̀m̄] bè hīnì [dwɔ̄ kẁōnì]

[Dem-Pl Topic] Seq **be.able.Pfv** [enter.**Pfv** settlement]

‘As for those (women), they were able to (re-)enter the settlement.’

(2017-06 @ 03:14)

The more frequently occurring Ipfv stem of ‘be able’ undergoes contraction with the inflectional particle gà/gā (positive) and nà/nā (negative). For example, if gà and nà are L‑toned, assimilating the final tone of the subject, the combinations are gè=ēnì and nè=ēnì, respectively. The complement VP is also imperfective.

(665) a. à gè= / nè= ēnī kɯ̀ɯ̄

3Sg Ipfv / IpfvNeg **be.able.Ipfv** run.**Ipfv**

‘He/She can (not) run.’

b. à gè= / nè= ēnì tā-nā

3Sg Ipfv / IpfvNeg **be.able.Ipfv** ascend-**Ipfv**

‘He/She can (not) go up.’

The position of complements and adjuncts is illustrated in (666). The transitive verb ‘catch’ in (666a) has a preverbal direct object. The intransitive verb in (666b) has a postverbal adverb.

(666) a. à hīnī [sàbá kūūⁿ]

3Sg be.able.Pfv [**chicken** catch.Pfv]

‘He/She could not catch the chicken.’

b. ǹ nè= ēnī [bē wày]

1Sg IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [come.Ipfv **today**]

‘I cannot come today.’

In the previous examples (664-666), the complement VP (‘run’, ‘ascend’) agrees in aspect with hīnì. However, under limited conditions a perfective complement may follow Ipfv ‘be able’. (667a) and (667b) both have Ipfv ‘be able’ but differ in complement aspect.

(667) a. ŋ̀ gè= ēnā= [āⁿ yìràwⁿ]

1Sg Ipfv be.able.**Ipfv** [2Sg help.**Pfv**]

‘I can help you-Sg.’

b. ŋ̀ gè= ēnā= [āⁿ yìrān-nà]

1Sg Ipfv be.able.**Ipfv** [2Sg help-**Ipfv**]

[=(a)]

My assistant explained that (667a) could be an offer for one-shot help, as when the speaker sees that the addressee needs a push to re-start a vehicle or carry a heavy load, and that (667b) would be a more open-ended offer to be helpful. However, in other cases he rejected main/complement aspect mismatches like that in (667a). For example, he rejected a suggested alternative to (665b) above replacing Ipfv tā-nā with Pfv tāwⁿ after Ipfv ‘be able’.

In some contexts the verb kìlɛ̀/kìlɛ̄ ‘get, obtain’ can approximate the sense ‘be able (to VP)’ (668), cf. English *get to VP*.

(668) ǹ tē kìlɛ̀ dīgɛ̄ sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì

1Sg PfvNeg **get**.Pfv eat.Antip.Pfv firstly

‘I haven’t gotten to eat yet.’ = ‘I haven’t been able to eat yet.’

## Chains including a motion verb

### Motion verb plus perfective VP

A motion verb is commonly chained with a following VP or clause that denotes an action that is performed, or planned but not necessarily carried out, after the motion (669). There is sometimes but not always an implication that the motion was intended to make the second action possible, so that the second clause functions as purposive (‘in order to VP’). The second action is expressed by a verb or VP without an overt subordinator. Spatiotemporal adverbs following the second VP, like ‘here’ in these examples, may have broad scope including the motion event. In (669) both clauses have Pfv verbs, denoting a single completed motion event.

(669) a. à bē (gà) mànàmì bōẁⁿ

3Sg **come**.Pfv (RemPfv) dance.**Pfv** here

‘He/She came here to dance.’

or: ‘He/She came here and danced.’

b. à bē [kāyⁿ màà bōẁⁿ]

3Sg **come**.Pfv [work(n) look.for.**Pfv** here]

‘He/She came to look for work here.’

c. à bē (gà) [āŋ kwāā] bōẁⁿ

3Sg **come**.Pfv (RemPfv) [2Sg hit.**Pfv**] here

‘He/She came here in order to hit you-Sg.’

The second clause can be made explicitly purposive either by reducing it to a purposive PP with purposive-causal postposition lāgà, or by phrasing it as a subjunctive (positive) or prohibitive (negative) clause. See §17.5.3 for details and examples.

(670) shows what happens when the perfective ‘come’ clause in (669) is replaced by an imperfective ‘come’ clause. We now see that the second clause is still perfective in form. This construction can denote purposeful motion events, motion events that are merely followed chronologically by another event, or simple future events not involving motion.

(670) a. à gà bē [ŋ̀ kwāā]

3Sg Ipfv **come**.Ipfv [1Sg hit.**Pfv**]

‘He/She (often) comes and hits me.’

or: ‘He/She (often) comes to hit me.’

or: ‘He/She will hit me.’

b. à gà bē sēwⁿ

3Sg Ipfv **come**.Ipfv fall.**Pfv**

‘He/She comes and falls down.’

or: ‘He/She will fall down.’

### Pejorative use of chained ‘go (and …)’

English *go and VP* sometimes has pejorative force and may not even involve motion, as in *the dog went and died on me*. Cliffs sò/sò ‘go’ can likewise be chained to a following VP in this function.

(671) à mān sò [m̄ bīīndī]

3Sg Proh **go**.Pfv [3ReflSg strangle.Pfv]

‘Don’t let it (=sheep tied up in courtyard) go and choke itself (on its rope).’

My assistant consistently added ‘go and’ in this function to ‘lest’ complements of the verb ‘fear, be afraid’, which of course denote unwanted events. The French elicitation cues did not include a motion verb. For examples see §17.2.3.

### ‘Come/go’ preceding a more specific directional motion verb

A primary motion verb ‘come’ or ‘go’ may combine with a more specific directional motion verb (‘ascend’, ‘descend’, ‘enter’, ‘exit’) in either of two ways. The most obvious difference is that ‘come/go’ precedes the other verb in one construction and follows it in the other. This subsection treats the first of these.

In (672a-b), the centripetal (‘come’) or noncentrifigual (‘go’) trajectory begins horizontally and culminates with a vertical subevent denoted by the second verb. For example, the referent goes to a house and then goes up the stairs to the roof terrace. Conceptually, ‘go’ or ‘come’ precedes the second subevent. This is a regular ‘come/go and VP’ construction that has the same structure as e.g. ‘come/go and fall’ (670b). The second verb is Pfv regardless of the aspect of ‘come/go’. The two motion verbs are joined by a hyphen here, since they are always adjacent, but there is no phonological or morphological consequence of their compounding.

(672) a. à bē/sò -tāwⁿ

3Sg **come**.Pfv/**go**.Pfv -ascend.**Pfv**

‘He/She came/went and climbed up.’

b. à gà bē -tāwⁿ

gā sò

3Sg Ipfv **come**.Ipfv/**go**.Ipfv -ascend.**Pfv**

‘He/She (often) goes and climbs up.’

### bēwⁿ ‘return’ plus another verb

bew̄ⁿ/bē-nē ‘return’ combines frequently with a following ‘come’ or ‘go’ in the sense ‘come back’ or ‘go back, return (there)’. The combinations are those in (673).

(673) Pfv Pfv with RemPfv Ipfv gloss

bēwⁿ bēŋ gà bē-nē (~ bēn-dē) ‘return’

bēm-bē bēŋ gà bē bē-nē-bē (~ bēn-dē-bē) ‘come back’

bēⁿ-sò bēŋ gà sò bē-nē-sò (~ bēn-dē-sò) ‘go back’

Unlike ‘come’ and ‘go’, bēwⁿ/bē-nē is a reflexive verb, whether uncompounded or compounded (674).

(674) a. à m̄ bēwⁿ / bēm-bē / bēⁿ-sò

3Sg **3ReflSg** return.Pfv / come.back.Pfv / go.back.Pfv

‘He/She returned/came back/went back.’

b. ē yè= ē bēwⁿ / bēm-bē / bēⁿ-sò

1Pl Sbj/Obj **1Pl** return.Pfv / come.back.Pfv / go.back.Pfv

‘We returned/came back/went back.’

c. è gè= ē bē-nē / bē-ne-bē / bē-ne-sò

3Pl Ipfv **3ReflPl** return.Ipfv / come.back.Ipfv / go.back.Ipfv

‘They (regularly) return/come back/go back.’

The ‘return’ and ‘come back’ verbs can also be combined with activity VPs in the sense ‘repeat, redo’. Such add-ons can take the form of infinitival VPs or sequential clauses, both of which include the morpheme bè. Care must be taken to distinguish Infin/Seq bè (which can raise to bē by tone sandhi) from bē ‘come’.

In (675a), bē-nē is followed by an infinitival VP that begins with bè. No centripetal motion is involved, so the alternative parsing with bē-nē-bē ‘comes back’ is excluded. In (675b), by contrast, motion may occur between the two falling events, so bēm-bē is plausibly parsed as ‘come back’ and there is no infinitival bè. In each of (675c-d) a form of ‘come back’ co-occurs with a sequential clause containing Seq bè.

(675) a. è gè= ē bē-nē [bā= à kēbē]

3Pl Ipfv 3ReflPl **return**-Ipfv [**Infin** 3Sg build.Pfv]

‘They are re-building it.’

b. à sēwⁿ, à kìì,

3Sg fall.Pfv, 3Sg get.up.Pfv,

à m̄ bēm-bē [à sēn] tūⁿ

3Sg 3ReflSg **come.back**.Pfv [3Sg fall.Pfv] **again**

‘He fell, he got back up, and he (came back and) fell again.’ (< sēwⁿ)

c. à gà sēn-dē, à gā kìī,

3Sg Ipfv fall.Ipfv, 3Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv,

à gà m̄ bēn-dē-bē [à bè sēn] tūⁿ

3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg **come.back.**Ipfv [3Sg **Seq** fall.Pfv] again

‘(Often) he falls, he gets back up, and he (comes back and) falls again.’

d. à gà sēn-dē, à gā kìī,

3Sg Ipfv fall.Ipfv, 3Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv,

à bè m̄ bēm-bē [à bè sēn] tūⁿ

3Sg Seq 3ReflSg **come.back**.Pfv [3Sg **Seq** fall.Pfv] again

[=(c)]

### Directional motion verb following another verb or VP

The basic deictic motion verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’, as well as vertical direction verbs ‘ascend’ and ‘descend’ and contained-space motion verbs ‘enter’ and ‘exit (v)’, can function as finals (Vb2) in Vb1-Vb2 or VP-Vb2 combinations. These are transcribed as compounds when the two verbs are adjacent. If Vb1 is followed by a post-verbal RemPfv particle gà or by another postverbal constituent, Vb2 is transcribed as a separate word.

An important question is whether Vb2 agrees with Vb1 in aspect (Pfv/Ipfv), or whether Vb2 has fixed form. As it happens, the verbs that can occur as Vb2 divide into three categories: those that have fixed Ipfv stems (676a), those that take Ipfv or Pfv form by agreement with Vb1 (676b), and those that have identical Pfv and Ipfv stems so their aspectual form as Vb2 in compounds is indeterminate (676c).

(676) Pfv/Ipfv gloss form as Vb2 in compound

a. Vb2 is Ipfv stem

yàwⁿ/yà-là ‘descend’ -[yà-là]

tāwⁿ/tā-nā ‘ascend’ -[tā-nā]

bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ -[bā-lā]

b. Vb2 agrees with Vb1 in aspect

dwɔ̄/dɔ̄-lɔ̄ ‘enter’ -dwɔ̄ (Pfv) or -[dɔ̄-lɔ̄] (Ipfv)

c. Pfv and Ipfv stems are indistinguishable

bē/bē ‘come’ -bē

sò/sò ‘go’ -sò

In all such Vb1-Vb2 compounds, Vb1 takes its regular Pfv or Ipfv form depending on the inflectional category of the clause as a whole.

When it follows sequential bè, the second verb may take the Pfv stem even if the Ipfv stem is usual in other contexts. The evidence for this is è bē sō-yàwⁿ ‘then they went and retired (for the night)’ with Pfv yàwⁿ ‘descend’ (2017-05 @ 00:58).

Vb1 may be another motion verb, for example one of the verbs in (676a‑b) followed by ‘come’ or ‘go’ as Vb2. Alternatively, Vb1 may be a manner-of-motion verb like ‘crawl’, or a non‑motion verb like ‘sing’.

(677) presents combinations of tēwⁿ/tē‑lē‑wⁿ ‘jump’ (also ‘jump over, cross’) as Vb1 with the verbs listed in (676) above as Vb2, with meanings like ‘jump up/down’, ‘jump in/out’, and ‘jump this/that way’. In (677a), Vb2 has invariant form (Ipfv stem) while Vb1 shifts between Pfv and Ipfv depending on the clause-level inflectional category. In (677b), ‘enter’ shows aspect concord with Vb1. In (677c), the aspectual category of ‘come’ or ‘go’ as Vb2 is indeterminate.

(677) directional gloss ‘jumped …’ ‘jumps … (regularly)’

a. yàwⁿ/yà-là ‘descend’ tēⁿ-[yà-là] [tē-lēⁿ]-[yà-là]

. tāwⁿ/tā-nā ‘ascend’ tēn-[tā-nā] [tē-lēn]-[tā-nā]

bāā/bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ tēm-[bā-lā] [tē-lēm]-[bā-lā]

b. dwɔ̄/dɔ̄-lɔ̄ ‘enter’ tēn-[dwɔ̄] [tē-lēd]-[dɔ̄-lɔ̄]

c. bē/bē ‘come’ tēm-bē [tē-lēm]-bē

sò/sò ‘go’ tēⁿ-sò [tē-lēⁿ]-sò

In (678) tāwⁿ/tā-nā ‘ascend’ is Vb1 with ‘come’ or ‘go’ as Vb2. Here Vb2 adds deictic direction, e.g. ‘come’ meaning ‘hither, this way’. At clause level, (678a) is perfective while (678b) is imperfective.

(678) a. à tām bē/sò Ø

bē/sō gà

3Sg **ascend**-Pfv **come** (RemPfv)

‘He/She came up/went up.’

b. à gà tā-nā -bē/-sò

3Sg Ipfv **ascend**-Ipfv **come**/**go**

‘He/She (often) comes/goes up.’

Manner-of-motion verbs kɯ̀ɯ̀/kɯ̀ɯ̄ ‘run’, kūūnū/kūūnù ‘crawl’, and pīīrī/pīīrì ‘fly’ are featured as Vb1 in (679), with ‘ascend’ as Vb2, in perfective clauses. In (679b), a third verb ‘hit’ is added. This third verb takes fixed Pfv form, but it is not Vb3 in a triple compound. Rather, it is the final verb in the motion plus perfective VP construction (§15.2.1).

(679) a. à kɯ̀ɯ̀ / kūūnū / pīīrī -[tā-nā] (gà)

3Sg run.Pfv/crawl.Pfv/fly.Pfv -[ascend-**Ipfv**] (RemPfv)

‘He/She/It ran/crawled/flew up.’

b. à kɯ̀ɯ̀ / kūūnū / pīīrī -[tā-nā] [ē kwāā]

3Sg run.Pfv/crawl.Pfv/fly.Pfv [-ascend-**Ipfv**] [1Pl hit.Pfv]

‘He/She/It ran/crawled/flew up to hit us.’

The first verb or VP in this construction with motion verb as Vb2 may also denote a non-motion co-event that accompanied the motion or that occurred during the motion, like ‘sing’ in (680a‑b) and the transitive verbs in (680c‑e). The first verb may be Pfv or Ipfv depending on utterance-level meaning. The fact that RemPfv gà follows the Vb1-Vb2 combination in (680c) is evidence for verb compounding, and shows that the aspect of Vb1 determines the aspect of the compound even when Vb2 is morphologically in its Ipfv stem (‑tā‑nā ‘ascends’). See, however, (683) below for a different ordering.

(680) a. à sùwōò -bē / -[tā-nā]

3Sg sing.Pfv -**come** / -[ascend-**Ipfv**]

‘He/She came singing/went up singing.’

b. à gā sùwō-lò -bē / -[tā-nā]

3Sg Ipfv sing.Ipfv -**come** / -[ascend-**Ipfv**]

‘He/She came/went up singing.’

c. à sèmpùwò kwāā -bē / [-tā-nā] gà

3Sg donkey hit-Ipfv hit.Pfv -**come** / ascend-**Ipfv** RemPfv

‘He/She came/went up beating the donkey.’

d. à gā sèmpùwò [kɔ̄-lɔ̄] -bē

3Sg Ipfv donkey [hit-**Ipfv**] -**come**

‘He/She came beating the donkey.’

e. yèn tēē dīgā sò

Imprt.2Pl meat eat.**Pfv** go.**Ipfv**

‘Eat-2Pl some meat on the way!’

If forced to label the morphological aspect of ‘come’ and ‘go’ as Vb2, the fact that three of the four other motion verbs in (677a‑b) have fixed Ipfv form suggests that ‘come’ and ‘go’ are most likely fixed Ipfv as Vb2. A counter-argument is that non-motion add-on verbs take the Pfv stem, as shown in §15.2.1 above. So ‘come’ and ‘go’ in this construction could be labeled either Pfv or Ipfv depending on which other construction we extrapolate from. It is safer to omit Pfv/Ipfv labeling for ‘come’ and ‘go’, as in (681).

(681) a. à tāⁿ -bē/ -sò [ē kwāā] (gà)

3SgAbj ascend-Pfv -**come** / -**go** [1Pl hit.**Pfv**] (RemPfv)

‘He/She came/went up to hit us.’

b. à gà tā-nā -bē/ -sò [ē kwāā]

3Sg Ipfv ascend-Ipfv -**come** / -**go** [1Pl hit.**Pfv**]

‘He/She (often) comes/goes up to hit us.’

At least ‘ascend’, ‘descend’, and ‘exit (v)’ show that Vb2 may be morphologically Ipfv even when the clause-level inflection is perfective and Vb1 has Pfv form. Embedding an imperfective co-event within a larger perfective clause is similar to English clauses like *X came singing*.

The semantics of ‘go’ and ‘come’ as Vb2 is somewhat complex. With dènì ‘send (message, package)’, dènī-sò “send-go” is the usual ‘send’ from the location of the sender to the destination. However, if the sender plans to pick up what is sent at the other location in the future, dènì-bē “send-come” can be used (cf. English *send ahead*).

(682) n̄ =nà [ǹ tígé] dènì-bē

1Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg baggage] send.Pfv-come.Pfv

‘I have sent my baggage ahead (for me to pick up later).’

This is distinct from a construction (‘from X all the way to/until Y’) where bē ‘come’ introduces the second part (§15.7.3.2).

(683) shows that postverbal remote perfective (RemPfv) gà can intervene between Vb1 and Vb2. This contrasts with the ordering in (680c) above.

(683) mwɔ̀ [[dúgúŋ gú] tūn-nī gà bā-lā [ē bwɛ̄ỳ] bōẁⁿ]

Rel [[forest Def] disappear-Caus.Pfv **RemPfv** exit-Ipfv [1Pl Comit] here]

‘what made the forest disappear from here among us’ (2017-03 @ 02:02)

For another construction with an aspectually variable verb followed by an imperfective VP, see ‘keep doing’ (§15.7.5 below).

## Sequential clauses

### Sequential clauses with bè and Pfv verb

The morpheme bè, labeled “Seq” (for sequential) in interlinears, combines with a preceding subject and a following perfective VP to denote an event that follows in time the event denoted by the preceding main clause. The main clause can be in any tense-aspect category. Any referents that recur in the two clauses are pronominalized in the bè clause, and spatiotemporal adverbials are generally not repeated.

The sequential clause with bè is distinct from the infinitival VP complement (§17.4.2) that begins with bè and lacks a subject.

Each of (684), (685), and (686) has an (a) version with a perfective main clause and a (b) version with an imperfective main clause. The attached sequential clause is identical in the two versions, with invariant Pfv verb stem. The corresponding Ipfv stems sà-nà ‘buy(s)’, tūwò ‘depart(s)’, and bàȳ ‘leave(s)’ cannot replace the Pfv verbs in these bè clauses.

(684) a. n̄ =nàⁿ sūgē-ē kày,

1Sg Sbj/Obj goat-Pl see.Pfv,

m̀ bē= ē sàwⁿ

1Sg **Seq** 3Pl buy.**Pfv**

‘I saw some goats and bought them.’

b. ŋ̀ gà sūgē-ē kà-nà

1Sg Sbj/Obj goat-Pl see-Ipfv,

m̀ bē= ē sàwⁿ

1Sg **Seq** 3Pl buy.**Pfv**

‘I (regularly) see goats and buy them.’

(685) a. ŋ̀ sāā gà

1Sg lie.down.Pfv RemPfv

[m̀ bē ǹ tūwō]

[1Sg **Seq** 1Sg depart.**Pfv**]

‘I spent the night and left.’

b. ŋ̀ gà sāgà,

1Sg Ipfv lie.down.Ipfv,

[m̀ bē ǹ tūwō]

[1Sg **Seq** 1Sg depart.**Pfv**]

‘I (often) spend the night and leave.’

(686) a. n̄ =nàⁿ sāākū yàgà

1Sg Sbj/Obj sack put.down.Pfv

[m̀ bā= ā bày yāẁⁿ]

[1Sg **Seq** 3Sg leave.**Pfv** there.Def]

‘I put-Past down and left the sack there.’

b. ŋ̀ gà sāākū yàgā

1Sg Ipfv sack put.down.Ipfv

[m̀ bā= ā bày yāẁⁿ]

[1Sg **Seq** 3Sg leave.**Pfv** there.Def]

‘I (often) put down and leave the sack there.’

The two events in this construction are loosely integrated conceptually, for example as two closely spaced events that form a logical sequence within a narrative. Consistently with this, the two clauses may be pronounced with or without a prosodic break between them. The requirement of temporal sequencing (non-overlap) is loosely applied, and the bē clause may describe the natural culmination of the first event.

The semantic distinction between (687a) with two juxtaposed main clauses and (687b) with a sequential bè clause is subtle. If the shot killed the rat more or less immediately, (687a) is appropriate. (687b) can also be used in this context on the grounds that the animal expired soon after the shot. However, (687b) also leaves open the possibility that the shooter later finished off the wounded but still living rat, perhaps with a knife, after the shooting event.

(687) a. à wùjúm pɛ̄llà,

3Sg pouched.rat shoot.Pfv,

à= à wàgà

3Sg 3Sg kill.Pfv

‘He/She shot and killed a pouched rat.’

b. à wùjúm pɛ̄llà

3Sg pouched.rat shoot.Pfv

à bā= ā wàgà

3Sg **Seq** 3Sg kill.Pfv

‘He/She shot and killed a pouched rat.’

The likely etymon for sequential bè is the verb bē/bē ‘come’, which often combines with other verbs and VPs in its literal motion sense. ‘Come’ is also the probable source of future bē and infinitival VP complementizer bè. Sequential bè, like future bē and the complementizer, does not indicate or even imply directional motion.

Sequential bè reflects the culmination of this process by which M-toned \*bē drops to L‑toned bè. A similar process appears to be underway for bē as future morpheme (§10.2.2.2), but for that morpheme there is evidence from tone sandhi that it is still M-toned. The sequential morpheme, by contrast, is now L‑toned. It becomes M‑toned only secondarily, by Final Tone-Raising.

A simple example of the sequential-clause construction is (688).

(688) sèēdù yē [ŋ̄ sāā gà]

S said [LogoSbj lie.down.Pfv RemPfv]

[m̄ bè tāwⁿ]

[**LogoSbj** Seq ascend.Pfv]

‘Seydou said that he spent the night and then went up.’

Since a sequential clause usually has the same subject as the preceding main clause, the subject of the sequential clause is usually a pronominal proclitic. There are other constructions including sequential bè that allow a wider range of subjects, not just pronominal clitics. See, for example, the ‘before’ clauses in §15.5.

### Sequential bē kìlɛ̀ ‘proceed to’

Sequential bè can be elaborated by adding Pfv kìlɛ̀ ‘get, obtain’, which is in turn followed by the open-ended VP. The sense is ‘and proceed(ed) to VP’. In (689a), the overall context is perfective. In (689b) it is future, and in (689c) it is habitual imperfective. The bē kìlɛ̀ clause does not vary according to the inflectional category of the first clause.

(689) a. à= à sɛ̀ȳ gà↑, à bē kìlā= [à bòndò] kūlēwⁿ

3Sg 3Sg tie.Pfv RemPfv, 3Sg **Seq get.Pfv** [3Sg neck] slash.Pfv

‘He tied it up, then he proceeded to cut its throat (=slaughter it).’

b. à gà bā= à sɛ̀y↑,

3Sg Ipfv Fut 3Sg tie.Pfv

à bē kìlā= [à bòndò] kūlēwⁿ

3Sg **Seq get**.Pfv [3Sg neck] slash.Pfv

‘He will tie it up, then he will proceed to cut its throat.’

c. à gē= è sɛ̀-lɛ̀↑, à bē kìlē= [è bòndò] kūlēwⁿ

3Sg Ipfv 3Pl tie-Ipfv, 3Sg **Seq get**.Pfv [3Pl neck] slash.Pfv

‘He (regularly) ties them up, then he proceeds to cut their throats.’

A textual example is (690).

(690) dàmàŋgārì, … è bē kìlɛ̀ bē pwɔ̀

D, … 3Pl Seq get.Pfv come.Pfv sit.Pfv

‘(They left) Damagari (village). … Then they proceeded to come and settle (here).’

(2017-02 @ 01:17)

It may be that bē kìlɛ̀ is a mutation from bē kìlɛ̀wⁿ with the verb ‘finish’.

### Third person subjects of sequential bè clauses

If the subject of both clauses denote the same third-person referent, the subject of the sequential clause has regular third person (not reflexive) form: 3Sg à, 3Pl è. The subject of the bè clause may bind its own reflexive object clause-internally as in (691b) (‘depart’ is a pseudo-reflexive verb), but this is another matter.

(691) a. à sāā gà bōẁⁿ,

3Sg lie.down.Pfv RemPfv here,

à bè n̄ tūwō

**3Sg Seq** 3ReflSg depart.Pfv

‘He/She spent the night here and left.’

b. è sāā gà bōẁⁿ,

3Pl lie.down.Pfv RemPfv here,

è bè= ē tūwō

**3Pl Seq** 3ReflPl depart.Pfv

‘They spent the night here and left.’

## ‘When/after …’, ‘while …’, and ‘as soon as …’

### ‘When/after …’ clause with final sāāⁿ

sāāⁿ is elsewhere the universal quantifier ‘all’, at the end of an NP or adverb (§6.6.1). Here, however, it is clause-final and does not have quantificational scope over a constituent. The clause is usually perfective including RemPfv gà, denoting an event that is followed in time by another event. The clause may be a backgrounded echo of an already spoken foregrounded event clause.

(692) à= [à píyɛ́] kūūⁿ,

3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv,

à= [à píyɛ́] kūūŋ gà sāāⁿ

3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv **RemPfv** **when**,

[wɔ̄gɔ̄tū ŋ̄-kɯ̄ɯ̄n nī],

[time Link-one Inst],

à kīyɛ̄ [ē nɔ̀gù] nā]

3Sg pass.Pfv [3Sg village] Dat]

‘He caught its tail. When he had caught its tail, in a flash he passed by their village.’

(2017-04 @ 03:17)

Less often, sāāⁿ occurs at the end of a conditional antecedent in similar function. In that case, the truth of the event denoted is not asserted (§16.1.3). By contrast, in typical ‘when/after’ contexts, as in (692), the factuality of the event is assumed. sāāⁿ itself merely indicates chronological sequencing. Whereas sequential constructions are of the type [X VP1 and X proceed to VP2] with both events more or less foregrounded, in the ‘when/after’ construction the first clause is backgrounded (it may merely echo a preceding foregrounded clause) and the second is a new, foregrounded main clause.

For definite gu clause-finally in a similar function, see §15.4.3 below. Both ‘all’ and definite markers also occur as similar right-edge markers in ‘if/when …’ clauses in other languages of the region, e.g. various Songhay languages.

### ‘As soon as’ (gìlɛ̄wⁿ)

The verb gìlɛ̄wⁿ/gìlɛ̄wⁿ is directly followed by a VP to form an ‘as soon as’ clause. The two verbs in this clause are either both Pfv or both Ipfv. The right edge of this clause may be marked by sāāⁿ ‘all’. The ‘as soon as’ clause is paired with a second clause denoting an event that occurred immediately on completion of the ‘as soon as’ event. The overall scenario may be in the past (693a) or in the future (693b). If in the past, RemPfv gà is often present (693a). However, gà is not obligatory and it does not occur in textual example 2017-01 @ 02:11.

(693) a. [à gìlɛ̄m bāā gà sāāⁿ]

[3Sg **as.soon.as** exit.Pfv RemPfv **when**]

[ì yā= ā wɔ̀gà]

[3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg kill.Pfv]

‘As soon as he went outside, they killed him.’

= ‘No sooner did he step outside than they killed him.’

b. [à gā gìlɛ̄m bā-lē=] [ē gā dīgɛ̄]

[3Sg Ipfv **as.soon.as** exit-Ipfv] [1Pl Ipfv eat.Antip.Ipfv]

‘As soon as he/she comes out, we will eat.’ (< bā-lā)

### Post-subject kàȳlà ‘when’ with perfective or stative

Another construction that expresses chronological sequencing is based on kàȳlà. This word occurs in post-subject position in perfective positive clauses and occasionally in stative positive clauses. Recall that the perfective positive has no regular post-subject aspect-polarity marking inflectional particle. RemPfv gà does not occur after the Pfv verb. The clause ends in definite gu (of variable tone), not sāāⁿ ‘all’, as right-edge marker.

(694) a. hàyà è kàȳlà bāā mɛ̄nɛ̄mɛ̄nɛ̀ gù,

okay 3Pl **when** exit(v).Pfv M **Def**,

è bè bē bōẁⁿ

3Pl Seq come.Pfv here

‘All right, when they left Menemene, they came here.’ (2017-02 @ 00:36 to 00:38)

b. wòy dáábè-è kàȳlà bē gū,

today livestock-Pl **when** come.Pfv **Def**,

à nā màɲɛ̀ [sīlē pē-ỳ] sōkàālā dùgūbà

3Sg IpfvNeg be.good.Ipfv [rock too-Loc] a.fortiori on.ground

‘These days, now that livestock have come, it (=tending livestock) doesn’t work on the mountain (atop the cliffs), never mind on the ground (=in the plains below the cliffs).’ (2017-03 @ 01:24 to 01:28)

c. è gē= [ē sìyé] kɯ̀ɯ̀-nì,

3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl horse] run-Caus.Pfv,

è kàȳlà dāā-mā gū

3Pl **when** go.far.Pfv **Def**

‘They rode their horse. When they had gone a long way, …’ (2017-04 @ 01:08)

d. à kàȳlà sāgā gū, [à kàȳ] à bè bē

3Sg **when** lie.down.Pfv **Def**, [3Sg Prsntv] 3Sg Seq come.Pfv

‘When he had spent the night, there he was, coming on.’

(2017-04 @ 03:08 to 03:11)

While most kàȳlà clauses in the texts have Pfv verbs, an example with a stative verb is also attested (695).

(695) è kàȳlà bē-nā gù

3Pl when come-**Ppl** Def

‘when they had come’ (2017-02 @ 01:42)

Echo clauses are a narrative device that repeats the content of one foregrounded event clause A before presenting the next foregrounded event clause B, hence A-A´-B. Some speakers use the construction with RemPfv gà and clause-final gu (see the following section) for the echo clause. Other speakers use kàȳlà without either gà or clause-final gu, as in (696).

(696) [hàlī-kànà è gā [kìbà gù] dwɔ̄],

[until 3Pl until.Pfv [marriage Def] enter.Pfv],

è kàȳlà [kìbà gù] dwɔ̄

3Pl **when** [marriage Def] enter.Pfv

‘… until eventually they entered (=celebrated) the marriage. When they had entered the marriage, (they …)’ (2017-06 @ 00:43 to 00:49)

Many of the textual examples of kàȳlà involve motion verbs, although (694d) above with ‘lie down, spend the night’ shows that this is not obligatory. There is a particular association between kàȳlà and bāā/bā‑lā ‘exit, leave’, as in (694a). As a result, kàȳlà is common in narratives describing travel that includes multiple stops (arrivals) and re-starts (departures). The combination with bāā/bā‑lā also occurs in the more abstract phrase in (697).

(697) ɲɔ́ŋ kàȳlà bāā gū

Dem.Def when **exit**.Pfv Def

‘after that’ (literally “when that had gone out”) (2017-01 @ 03:04)

A short variant kày instead of kàȳlà is attested (698). This raises the question whether kàȳlà may be diachronically related to presentative kày ~ kāy ‘here’s (X)!’ (§4.4.4.1, §10.2.2.3) and therefore (at one remove) related to the verb kày/kà‑nà ‘see’.

(698) è kày bē gù

3Pl **when** come.Pfv Def

‘when they came, …’ (2017-02 @ 01:29)

### ‘When’ clause with final definite gu

In textual passage (699), the definite marker occurs without kàȳlà ‘when’, and in an imperfective context (reinforced by iterating the verb). That is, the clause ending in gu describes a background situation (Hyena shuts eyes drowsily) during which the next foregrounded event (Hare escapes) takes place. This construction may have originally had an overt ‘when/while’ word like kàȳlà, but in its current state clause-final gu has taken on the role of ‘when/while’.

(699) à bè n̄ tēē-n-sò,

3Sg Seq 3ReflSg lie.on.back.Pfv,

à gà ɲɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄n tɛ̄gɛ̄-tɛ̄gɛ̀ gù,

3Pl **Ipfv** eye Iter-shut.Ipfv **Def**,

[wàŋgé gú] pūrī tīwⁿ

[hare Def] sneaking(n) do.Pfv

‘He (=hyena) lay down on his back. While he was shutting his eyes (=dozing off), Hare sneaked away.’ (2017-07 @ 00:52 to 00:54)

The passage (700) illustrates the A-A´-B construction with foregrounded events A and B separated by a backgrounded echo clause A´ that repeats the verb and other constituents from A. The echo clause is usually perfective, includes postverbal RemPfv gà, and ends with definite gu. Post-subject kàȳlà does not occur in this construction with final gu.

(700) hàlīkàlā= à gā kìyɛ̀wⁿ [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāẁⁿ],

until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv [[F chief] chez],

à kìyɛ̄ŋ gà [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāẁⁿ] gù,

3Sg arrive.Pfv **RemPfv** [[F chief] chez] **Def**,

à yē

3Sg said

‘… until he arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place. When he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place, he said: …’ (2017-04 @ 00:56 to 00:60)

The clause can alternatively be stative (with a participial predicate), denoting a state resulting from an event, instead of perfective (701).

(701) súbááⁿ-sóⁿ è bē= è kūūⁿ,

morning 3Pl Seq 3Pl catch.Pfv,

ì yè= è kūū-nā gù, à yē

3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl catch-**Ppl** **Def**, 3Sg said

‘In the morning they caught them. When they had caught them, he said: …’

(2017-05 @ 00:34 to 00:38)

An initial kàȳlà ‘when’ clause (see the preceding subsection) may be followed by one or two additional clauses denoting chronologically sequenced events (‘when …, and (when) …’). In this case the follow-up clauses do not repeat kàȳlà, but do feature RemPfv gà and clause-final definite gu (702).

(702) ē kàȳlà tɔ̄ɔ̄ dw= ā-ỳ gù,

1Pl **when** fire put.in.Pfv 3Sg-Loc **Def**,

tɔ̄ɔ̄ sāā gà gù,

fire lie.down.Pfv **RemPfv Def**,

jīīŋ kīyɛ̄ gà gù

year pass.Pfv **RemPfv Def**

‘When we have set fire in it, and (when) the fire has died out, and (when) day has broken (=the next morning), …’ (2017-03 @ 03:01 to 03:04)

(for jīīŋ kiɛ̄ see (486) in §11.1.1.2)

### ‘When/while’ PP with final -tūwɔ̄ gū (nī)

In this construction, tūwɔ̄ appears to function as a compound final after a verbal noun. tūwɔ̄ is followed by definite gū, which is optionally followed by instrumental postposition nī. The construction is therefore basically an adverbial PP with tūwɔ̄ or composite tūwɔ̄ nī as postposition. tūwɔ̄ is equated with the noun ‘heart’, since /H/-melodic túwɔ̄ ‘heart’ would regularly become M‑toned -tūwɔ̄ as final in a tone-leveled compound.

(703) a. è ɲàŋ gālwāājā-tūwɔ̄ gū

3Pl Dem.Def conversation-**heart Def**

‘during that conversation of theirs, …’ (2017-07 @ 00:42)

b. è ɲàŋ kīīrī-tūwɔ̄ gū

3Pl Dem debate-**heart** **Def**

‘during that discussion of theirs, …’ (2017-07 @ 01:23)

### Repeated imperfectives as durative background clauses

A clause denoting motion or similar atelic process can be iterated once or twice without an overt ‘when/while’ word. They can function as durative background clauses, setting up a new foregrounded clause, which may begin with ‘until’ (704)

(704) à bē [wàŋgé gú] cyɛ̄wⁿ,

3Sg Seq [hare Def] carry.on.head.Pfv,

[à gā sò] [à gā sò]

**[3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv] [3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv]**

hàlī-kànā à gā kìyⁿɛ̀ɲ jīī-lāgà

**until** 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv water-edge

‘He (=hyena) carried the hare on his head. He was going and going (=kept going), until he arrived at the edge of the water’ (2017-07:10)

### Participle plus nìŋíì ‘inside’ as resultative ‘when’

This construction can be used to describe the state resulting from a prior event. There is one textual attestation.

(705) [è bēē-nā] nìŋīì

[3Pl come-**Ppl**] **inside**

‘at the time of their coming’ (2017-01 @ 05:46)

## ‘Before …’ clause (sò plus sequential bè clause)

A ‘before …’ clause begins with sò (becoming sō before L‑tone), most likely etymologically sò/sò ‘go’ but glossed simply as “before” in interlinears.

If chronological sequencing is focal, the subject of the ‘before …’ clause is followed by a clause containing sequential bè and a Pfv verb. ‘Before X’ where X is a noun can be expressed by this construction using ‘arrive’ as the verb (706e).

(706) a. ŋ̄ kɯ̀ɯ̄ gà,

1Sg run.Pfv RemPfv,

sò ʒāndārmū-yē bē yàwⁿ / …

bè … / tāwⁿ

**before** gendarme-Pl **Seq** descend.**Pfv**/ascend.**Pfv**

‘I fled, before the gendarmes came down/came up.’

b. sèēdù bāā gà,

S exit.Pfv RemPfv,

sō m̀ bē kìyɛ̀wⁿ

**before** 1Sg **Seq** arrive.**Pfv**

‘Seydou had (already) left before I arrived (here).’

c. ŋ̀ gā m̀ púgéwⁿ,

1Sg Ipfv 1Sg hide.Pfv,

[sō tùùⁿ-yē bē kìì]

[**before** bee-Pl **Seq** get.up.**Pfv**]

‘I will hide (=take shelter) before the bees get up (=swarm).’ (< bè)

d. ām pùgèwⁿ,

2Sg hide.Pfv,

[sō tùùⁿ-yē bà= āⁿ sīwⁿ]

[**before** bee-Pl **Seq** 2Sg bite.**Pfv**]

‘Hide (=take shelter) before the bees bite you.’ (< bè)

(‘hide’ is reflexive imperative)

e. sò kōrso᷆l bē kìyɛ̀wⁿ

**before** buildup **Seq** **arrive**.Pfv

‘before the buildup to the rainy season arrives’ (2017-02 @ 02:16)

If the ‘before …’ clause denotes a harmful event that is/was avoided, instead of bè one can use prohibitive màⁿ, as in ‘lest’ complements of ‘fear’ (§17.2.3). This alternative is possible in (707d) above, which could therefore be re-phrased as (707a) below. Another example is (707b), which also illustrates the pejorative function of the second sò ‘go’ (§15.2.2) preceding the final VP.

(707) a. ām pùgèwⁿ

2Sg hide.Pfv

sō tùùⁿ-yè mā= āⁿ sīwⁿ

**before** bee-Pl **Proh** 2Sg bite.**Pfv**

‘Hide-2Sg (=take shelter) before/lest the bees bite you.’ (< bè)

b. ŋ̄ kɯ̀ɯ̄ gà,

1Sg run.Pfv RemPfv,

sò ʒāndārmū-yē màⁿ sō [ŋ̀ kwāā]

**before** gendarme-Pl **Proh** **go**.Pfv [1Sg hit.**Pfv**]

‘I fled, before the gendarmes (could) (go and) hit me.’ (< kɯ̀ɯ̀, sò)

## Coincidence in time and space (bā=à tīẁⁿ)

tīẁⁿ/tī-nà ‘do’ can also mean ‘find (by accident), happen upon, encounter (by chance).’ It is often combined with ‘come’ (708a-b). This is a special case of the construction with bē ‘come’ followed by a perfective VP in the sense ‘came and VPed’ or ‘came in order to VP’ (§15.2.1).

(708) a. m̄ bē (gà) [sèēdù tīwⁿ]

1Sg **come**.Pfv (RemPfv) [S **find**.Pfv]

‘I ran into Seydou.’

b. ŋ̀ gà bē [sèēdù tīwⁿ]

1Sg Ipfv Fut [S **find**.Pfv]

‘I (often) run into Seydou.’

tīwⁿ can also have a propositional complement expressed as a regular main clause, which is resumed by 3Sg à as object of tīẁⁿ. The phrase bā=à tīẁⁿ (variant with ti᷆ⁿ) occurs in contexts where an individual X has arrived somewhere and finds (observes) that something has happened or is in progress. Compare English *only to discover/find/learn that …*, which however has a pejorative connotation not necessarily present in Cliffs.

The complement is imperfective or perfective, and positive or negative, depending on what the situation was at the time of arrival of the main-clause subject. Remote perfective gà is not allowed after ‘come’ in this construction.

(709) a. m̄ bā= à tīɲ̀

1Sg come.Pfv **3Sg** **find**.Pfv

[jɛ̄nām-bī-gē gà tēē dīgà]

[child-Pl-Pl Ipfv meat eat.**Ipfv**]

‘I encountered the children eating meat.’

b. m̄ bā= à ti᷆ⁿ

1Sg come.Pfv **3Sg find**.Pfv

[sèēdū sò]

[S go.Pfv]

‘I came only to find that Seydou had (already) left.’

c. sèēdù bā= [à ti᷆ⁿ]

S **come**.Pfv [3Sg do.Pfv]

[[ŋ̄ kànààŋ-kɛ̄ɛ̄] bāā]

[[3ReflSg friend-male] exit(v).Pfv]

‘Seydoux came (only) to find that hisx friend had gone out.’ (< tīẁⁿ)

d. sèēdù gà bē bā= [à ti᷆ⁿ]

S Ipfv Fut **come**.Pfv [3Sg do.Pfv]

[[ŋ̄ kànààŋ-kɛ̄ɛ̄] bāā]

[[3ReflSg friend-male] exit(v).Pfv]

‘Seydoux will come (only) to find that hisx friend has gone out.’

e. sèēdù gà bā= [à ti᷆ⁿ]

S Ipfv **come**.Ipfv [3Sg do.Pfv]

[[ŋ̄ kànààŋ-kɛ̄ɛ̄] bāā]

[[3ReflSg friend-male] exit(v).Pfv]

‘Seydoux (often) comes (only) to find that hisx friend has gone out.’

à tīẁⁿ in this construction may have originally meant ‘it was done; it happened’, with a 3Sg subject (not object) that prospectively (cataphorically) resumes the proposition expressed by the following clause. In this interpretation, the construction X bā=à tīẁⁿ in (709) was originally of the type ‘X came, it happened (that …)’. However, this parsing is no longer transparent as bā=à tīẁⁿ has become fused.

This structurally somewhat opaque bā=à tīẁⁿ occurs frequently at the beginning of subordinated clauses (710). The expected subject pronominal coindexed to the main clause subject is optionally omitted. This optionality suggests that bā=à tīẁⁿ is in the murky zone between a compositional reading including bē ‘come’ and a reading where bā=à tīẁⁿ is fused together.

(710) a. ŋ̄ kìyɛ̄ŋ gà

1Sg arrive.Pfv RemPfv

[(m̄) bā= à tīⁿ]

[**(1Sg)** **come**.Pfv 3Sg **do**.Pfv]

[jēnā-mbī-gē gā sùwō-lò]

[child-Pl-Pl Ipfv sing-Ipfv]

‘I arrived to find that the children were singing.’

b. sèēdū gà bē sō nɔ̀gī-ỳ,

S Ipfv Fut go.Pfv village-Loc,

[(à) bā= à ti᷆ⁿ]

[**(3Sg)** **come**.Pfv 3Sg **do**.Pfv]

[āŋ kwà= ān tūwō]

[2Sg already 2Sg depart.Pfv]

‘Seydou will go to the village, (only) to find that you-Sg have left.’

(< kɔ̀ⁿ §10.2.1.5)

## ‘Since’ and ‘until’ clauses

Elsewhere, hàlì X with an NP or adverbial means variably ‘until X’, ‘all the way to X’, or ‘even X’. The common feature is emphasis on the gap between the referent and some baseline, which is often unexpressed. In other words, the domain may be time, space, or a more abstract domain with a center and a periphery.

It is heard as hàlì before a nonlow tone and as hàlī before a low tone (due to Final Tone-Raising). When its complement is delayed by a pause, whether planned or due to a hesitation, it can be heard as hàlī→ (often repeated) with the final vowel intonationally prolonged and tone-raised. The tone-raising could be interpreted as a truncation of the longer variant hàlī-kànà ‘until’. See the sequence hàlī→, hàlī→, hàlī-kànà … in text 2017-01 @ 06:30.

Emphatic ‘until today’ (i.e. right down to the present) can also be expressed as ‘including today’. This is a truncated phrase beginning with bē ‘come’, then Ipfv kɔ̄-lā ‘be added, join’, a time adverb like wày ‘today’, then comitative bwɛ̄ỳ ‘with’ which accompanies kɔ̄‑lā in the relevant sense (‘be added, join’).

(711) [bē kɔ̄-lā [wày-kúgú bwɛ̄ỳ]]

[come be.added-Ipfv [today Comit]]

ē nā bẁɔ̄ kà-nà

1Pl IpfvNeg Recip see-Ipfv

‘Including (=even) today, we (still) don’t see each other.’ (2017-01 @ 05:32)

### ‘Since …’ clauses (hàlì)

In a ‘since’ clause, or in an adverbial phrase like hàlī dìgéwⁿ ‘(ever) since yesterday’, hàlì emphasizes the distance in time and space from a reference point. It can be forward-looking (‘until’), but here it is retrospective: ‘(going) all the way back to (a time in the past)’. The clause denotes a past event that led to a situation that has persisted. The ‘since …’ clause usually precedes a foregrounded main clause.

(712) a. hàlī m̄ bē gà, ǹ tè dīgɛ̄

**all.the.way** 1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv, 1Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv

‘Since I got here, I haven’t eaten.’

b. hàlā= [ā kàà] lɔ̄gɔ̄ŋ gà,

**all.the.way** [3Sg father] die.Pfv RemPfv,

[à ɲōgōⁿ] wwō-nā nì

[3Sg soul] weep-Ppl it.is

‘Ever since his father died, he has been distraught.’

c. hàlì ŋ̄ kìī gà,

since LogoSg get.up.Pfv RemPfv,

n̄ tè bāā [hījì-sèm pà]

LogoSg PfvNeg exit(v).Pfv [pilgrimage-road Comit]

[ɲā= à nā wàȳ nì]

[if 3Sg not.be today it.is]

‘(said:) “(Ever) since I got up (=was born), I have not set out on the pilgrimage except (=until) today.” ’ (2017-05 @ 02:42 to 02:45)

### ‘Until …’ or ‘Eventually …’ clauses

#### hàlì and hàlī-kànà ~ hàlī-kàlà ‘until’

While ‘since …’ clauses point back to an event in the past, ‘until …’ clauses project forward from an initial state, implying an interlude that may be filled by a continuation of that state.

In some narrative contexts an idiomatic translation can begin with ‘Eventually …’. The simplest ‘until’ clause is a perfective clause beginning with hàlì or its extension hàlī-kànà ~ hàlī-kàlà (sometimes syncopated to hǎl-kànà ~ hǎl-kàlà). Simple hàlì (but not hàlī-kànà) also occurs in ‘since …’ clauses.

If the entire beginning-and-end sequence is in the past, both main and ‘until …’ clauses are perfective.

(713) a. n̄ =nàŋ kúŋgóló kwāā [hàlā= à wàà]

1Sg Sbj/Obj dog hit.Pfv [**all.the.way** 3Sg animal.die.Pfv]

‘I beat the dog until (=to the point that) it died.’

b. n̄ =nǎⁿ [sìbò pīīŋ] kālā [hàlā= à tāwⁿ]

1Sg Sbj/Obj [snake black] chase.Pfv [**all.the.way** 3Sg ascend.Pfv]

‘I chased the spitting cobra until it climbed up.’

#### hàlì plus post-subject gà/gā ‘until’

There is a second type of ‘until’ clause. This one is characterized by post-subject gà/gā (glossed as ‘until.Pfv’ in interlinears) and a Pfv verb. Clause-initial hàlì or hàlī-kànà ‘until’ is often but not always present.

This gà/gā is segmentally homophonous to the high-frequency imperfective positive inflectional marker gà, and the two occur in the same post-subject position. However, the ‘until.Pfv’ dissimilates tonally to the preceding tone, while Ipfv gà/gā assimilates tonally to it. The fact that gà/gā in the ‘until’ clause is followed by a Pfv verb also shows that gà/gā is not the Ipfv morpheme.

Morphosyntactically, gà/gā ‘until.Pfv’ is comparable to post-subject nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ in perfective positive conditional antecedents (§16.1). Combinations of gà/gā ‘until,Pfv’ with various subjects are in (714). The combinations with gà/gā preceding ‘came’ best reveal the tones of gà/gā, whereas L‑toned ‘went’ obscures them by triggering Final Tone-Raising.

(714) category ‘until X came’ ‘until X went’

a. 2Sg āŋ gà bē āŋ gā sò

2Pl āā gà bē āā gā sò

1Pl ē gà bē ē gā sò

LogoSg ŋ̄ gà bē ŋ̄ gā sò

LogoPl ē gà bē ē gā sò

b. 3Sg à gā bē à gā sò

3Pl è gā bē è gā sò

1Sg ŋ̀ gā bē ŋ̀ gā sò

c. ‘Seydou’ sèēdù gā bē sèēdù gā sò

‘the snake’ sìbò gā bē sìbò gā sò

Examples are in (715).

(715) a. à kùmū gà

3Sg sleep.Pfv RemPfv

[hàlī ŋ̀ gā= à kwāā]

[**all.the.way** 1Sg **until.Pfv** 3Sg hit.**Pfv**]

‘He/She slept until I tapped him/her.’ (< kùmù)

b. à tè pà-sí tīẁⁿ,

3Sg PfvNeg thing-any do.Pfv,

hàlī ŋ̀ gā sūgō kwāā

**until** 1Sg **until.Pfv** goat hit.**Pfv**

‘He/She didn’t do anything, until I beat the goat.’

c. [à tàbā-bàā] pàjùgà,

[3Sg foot-body] heal.Pfv,

à gē= [ē tìgè sāāŋ] kɯ̀wɛ̀,

3Sg **until.Pfv** [3Pl baggage all] steal.Pfv,

[à gā= à cyɛ̄wⁿ] [à bè kīyɛ̄]

[3Sg **until.Pfv** 3Sg carry.on.head.Pfv] [3Sg Seq pass.Pfv]

‘His leg healed, until he (was able to) steal all of their possessions and load them up on his head. Then he went on his way.’ (2017-05 @ 03:07-09)

d. è bē= ē tūwō [à bwɛ̄ỳ],

3Pl Seq 3ReflPl depart.Pfv [3Sg Comit],

hǎl-kànà è gā sà= [à kūūⁿ]

until 3Pl **until.Pfv** go.Pfv [3Sg catch]

‘They went after him. Eventually they went and caught him.’

(2017-05 @ 03:20-23)

Example (715c) shows that two gà/gā clauses can be juxtaposed.

One narrator uses gà/gā in a more general manner, competing functionally with sequential bè in the reporting of chronologically sequenced events in narrative. The relevant text is 2017-04.

### ‘From X to Y’ expressions

#### ‘From X, until/all the way to Y’ (gìlì, hàlì)

In this construction, two subordinated clauses specify both endpoints of an extended time interval, which then serves as the temporal setting for a foregrounded clause. The book-ended period may be a specific time interval in the past (716a), or a generic time interval (716b). Both of the book-ending clauses are positive. The first clause is perfective. The second clause is an ‘until’ clause of the second type described in the preceding section, i.e. with post-subject gà/gā ‘until.Pfv’ and a Pfv verb. One or the other of the two book-ending clauses begins with hàlì ‘all the way (to)’, which can be prospective ‘until’ or retrospective ‘since’. If the second clause has hàlì (or its extended variant hàlī-kànà) the first clause is either bare or begins with gìlì ‘since, from the time that’. If the first clause has hàlì, the second clause has no initial subordinator.

The combination gìlì plus hàlì is illustrated in (716a). (716b) has just hàlī-kànà at the beginning of the second clause. (716c) has just hàlì in the first clause.

(716) a. gìlā= à yàŋ̄ gà,

**since** 3Sg descend.Pfv RemPfv,1

hàlā= à gā tāwⁿ,

**until** 3Sg **until.Pfv** ascend.**Pfv**

à tè dīgɛ̄

3Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv

‘From the time that he/she went down, until he/she went (back) up, he/she didn’t eat.’ (< gìlì à yàwⁿ gà, hàlì à)

b. [ì yā= ā yɛ̀gɛ̄ gà]

[3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg give.birth.Pfv RemPfv]

[hàlī-kànà à gā lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ]

[**until** 3Sg **until.Pfv** die.**Pfv**]

[à nà m̀ māỳⁿ]

[3Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl be.good]

‘From the time he is born (“they have borne him”) until he is dying, he is evil.’

(generic statement about an ethnic group)

c. hàlì kúŋgóló bē gà,

**all.the.way** dog come.Pfv RemPfv,

à gā n̄ tūwō,

3Sg until.Pfv 3ReflSg depart.**Pfv**,

ŋ̀ kōndō gà kwàāⁿ= [à tē]

1Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv fear(v).Ipfv [3Sg Dat]

‘From the moment the dog came, until it went away, I was afraid of it.’

#### à dēē-[bā-lā] X, bē Y ‘from X (all the way) to Y’

This construction is attested in the context of spatial or temporal extent stretching between landmarks X and Y. déé-[bá-lá] is a special H‑toned variant, used in this construction only, of the regular verbal compound dēē-[bā-lā] ‘pick up and exit’ (i.e. ‘pick up and take out’). In (717) the context is spatial.

(717) [à déé-[bá-lá] yāẁⁿ,

[3Sg **pick.up**.Pfv-[**exit(v**)-Ipfv] there,

bē [tèŋgèlì-págú mà(w)ⁿ] āŋ gā= ā kà-nà gù

**come** [T-pond Rel] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg see-Ipfv Def

‘(starting) from there, all the way to Tengeli pond that you-Sg see’

(2017-03 @ 02:23)

Here dēē ‘pick up’ indicates the beginning of the trajectory, bā-lā ‘exit (v)’ indicates ablative direction (‘from’), and bē ‘come’ indicates arrival at the endpoint.

dēē-[bā-lā] can be omitted so that bē ‘come’ defines the construction (718).

(718) [nɔ̀gù-bēm pẁɔ̄ gà] bē [sāà-gù bwɛ̄ỳ]

[N sit.Pfv RemPfv] **come** [now Comit]

‘(from when) Namagué was settled until now, …’ (2017-01 @ 06:06)

### ‘VPed until got tired’ = ‘VPed for a very long time’

As in other languages of the region, the duration of an activity can be exaggerated by adding an ‘until X got tired’ clause. The main clause may have a verb like ‘work’ or ‘run’ that makes physical weariness plausible. However, it can also be a verb like ‘laugh’ (719) or ‘speak’ where duration is focal and weariness or pain secondary, compare English *he laughed until his sides ached*.

(719) à sàà [hàlā= ā bàndà]

3Sg laugh.Pfv [**until** 3Sg **get.tired**.Pfv]

‘He/She laughed until he got tired.’ (i.e. he couldn’t stop laughing)

### dēē/dēè ‘pick up’ plus imperfective (‘keep doing’)

In this construction, the main clause with dēē/dēè has a pro forma 3Sg object and may be Pfv or Ipfv. It is followed without a prosodic break by a same-subject imperfective VP with a coindexed pronominal subject that (for third person) is reflexive in form. The construction emphasizes duration, and the entire construction may be repeated verbatim for additional emphasis.

(720) a. è bā= à dē= [ē gā sò],

3Pl Seq 3Sg **pick.up**.Pfv [3ReflPl Ipfv go.Ipfv],

è bā= à dē= [ē gā sò]

3Pl Seq 3Sg **pick.up**.Pfv [3ReflPl Ipfv go.Ipfv]

‘They kept on going, they kept on going.’ (2017-05 @ 01:30)

b. ŋ̀ gā= à dēē [ŋ̀ gà dīgɛ̄]

1Sg Ipfv 3Sg **pick.up**.Pfv [1Sg Ipfv eat.Antip.Ipfv]

‘I kept on eating.’

c. zàkí à dēē [ŋ̄ gā kùmū-nà]

Z 3Sg **pick.up**.Pfv [3ReflSg Ipfv sleep-Ipfv]

‘Zaki kept sleeping.’

## Noun-headed adverbial relatives

### Temporal relative clause (‘[at] the time when …’)

A relative clause headed by a temporal noun (‘time/moment’, ‘day’, ‘year’, etc.) can function as a temporal relative clause, without an additional postposition (721).

(721) ām bē gà [wɔ́gɔ́tú / tálám / jīīm màwⁿ]

2Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [**time / day / year** Rel].

‘(at/on/in) the time/day/year when you-Sg came’

The unmarked ‘while …’ construction is of this type, with wɔ́gɔ́tū ‘time, moment in time’.

(722) ŋ̄ kùmū gà

1Sg sleep.Pfv RemPfv

[[wɔ́gɔ́tú mǎⁿ] sùrù-mbē gā mànàmī]

[[**time Rel**] remainder-Pl Ipfv dance.Ipfv]

‘I slept while the others danced.’

b. n̄ =nàⁿ m̀ mīīlà

1Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg think.Pfv

[[wɔ́gɔ́tú màⁿ] ŋ̀ kōndō gà ɲìŋī]

[[**time Rel**] 1Sg stay.Pfv RemPfv walk.Ipfv]

‘I thought (=reflected) while I was walking.’

### Spatial adverbial clause (‘[at] the place where …’)

The noun ‘place’ is gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ. It has an irregular iterative form as relative-clause head, pronounced either gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ or gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ, instead of expected #gɯ̄ɯ̄m màwⁿ. This occurs in the regular position of spatial adverbials, postverbal and followed only by temporal adverbs.

(723) ē gā bē sò

1Pl Ipfv Fut go.Pfv

[jɛ́náⁿ sēŋ gà gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēn dìgéwⁿ]

[child fall.Pfv RemPfv place-Rel-place yesterday]

‘We will go (to) where the child fell yesterday.’

For additional information on gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ or gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ and its origin, see §14.2.4.

### Manner adverbial clause

#### Manner clause (‘how/the way …’)

Instead of a relative clause like ‘the manner (in) which …’, either as argument or adverbial phrase, the Cliffs construction is a compound ending in síí ‘likeness’ or synonym (§8.4.1.1), preceded by a form of the relevant clause that has a nominalized verb with suffix ‑nà. For details on this deverbal nominal derivation, see §12.2.4.2.

(724) a. ǹ nā [sèēdù kāyⁿ-nà síí] pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Sg IpfvNeg [S work(v)-**Nom** **likeness**] like.Ipfv

‘I don’t like the way Seydou works.’

b. ŋ̀ gā [sèēdù kāyⁿ-nà síí] tī-nā

1Sg Ipfv [S work(v)-**Nom likeness**] do-Ipfv

‘I work the (same) way Seydou does.’

(lit. “I do [Seydou’s working likeness].”]

c. ŋ̀ gā [sèēdù sūgō būwɔ̀-nà síí] tī-nā

1Sg Ipfv [S goat tend-**Nom likeness**] do-Ipfv

‘I tends goats the (same) way Seydou does.’

#### ‘As though …’ clause (hɔ̀nɔ̀)

An ‘as though’ clause takes the form of an instrumental PP (postposition nì) whose complement is a compound noun of the type ‘likeness of [X VP]’. This complement NP begins with hɔ̀nɔ̀ ‘like’ and optionally ends with síí focalized from sīī ‘description, breed, kind’ or synonym.

(725) a. à gà ŋ̄ yàgà

3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg put.down.Ipfv

[[hɔ̀nɔ̀ n̄ nā ǹ tó] ní]

[[**like** 3ReflSg IpfvNeg 1Sg know.Ipfv] Inst.Foc]

‘Hex acts like (pretends that) hex doesn’t know me.’

b. jɛ́náŋ gá wwō

child Ipfv weep.Ipfv

[[hɔ̀nɔ̀ n̄ tè dìgɛ̀] síí] (ní)]

[[**like** 3ReflSg PfvNeg eat,Antip.Pfv] **breed.Foc**] (**Inst.Foc)**]

‘The child is weeping as though he/she hasn’t eaten.’ (< dīgɛ̄)

Another way to express ‘as though’ clauses is to reduce the content of a main-clause proposition to a possessed NP in a juxtaposed manner phrase, with the obligatorily possessed or compounded pàwⁿ (default possessum, e.g. ‘X’s share, portion, role’) referring to a variant of the earlier proposition with one element replaced. This is the case in (726). It was initially given without the final focalized instrumental postposition ní. My assistant later accepted the alternative version with overt postposition.

(726) yùrùgū kwààn nà bē sàwⁿ,

this.year rain(n) IpfvNeg Fut rain.fall.Pfv,

[[hɔ̀nɔ̄ [ʃɛ̀gɔ̄ pàⁿ] síí] (ní)]

[[**like** [last.year **Poss**] **likeness**] (**Inst**)]

‘This year it won’t rain the way it did last year.’

# Conditional constructions

## Hypothetical conditional

### ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ‘if’, perfective nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ

A hypothetical conditional construction consists of an antecedent that denotes a possible but uncertain eventuality, and a consequent that denotes an eventuality that will result (or otherwise be confirmed as true) if the antecedent is true. If the antecedent has an aspect-marking verb as predicate, the verb occurs in perfective aspect, marking relative tense, even when the overall context is habitual, as in ‘if (=whenever) it rains, we go to the fields’. The consequent can be in any main-clause inflectional category. It is imperfective or future if it denotes an event that has not yet occurred; it may also be imperative or hortative.

The antecedent has a clause-initial (pre-subject) ‘if’ marker ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ. The post-subject inflectional slot has a specialized ‘if’ marker nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ, found only in perfective positive clauses, which elsewhere lack a post-subject morpheme. When nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ is present, the clause-initial ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ is optional. In perfective negative antecedents, the only post-subject morpheme is the usual PfvNeg morpheme tè, so the clause-initial ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ is necessary to mark the clause as an antecedent. The forms are summarized in (727).

(727) a. clause-initial ɲāⁿ ~ ɲīⁿ

b. post-subject positive negative perfective nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ tè

Pronominal and other subjects combined with nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ are in (728). The morpheme dissimilates to the tone of a pronominal proclitic (before further tone sandhi). Thus nà(w)ⁿ after M‑toned pronominal (728a) and nā(w)ⁿ after L‑toned pronominal (728b). The distinction between nà(w)ⁿ and nā(w)ⁿ is clear before M‑toned ‘come’, but it is neutralized before L‑toned ‘go’ due to Final Tone-Raising.

(728) subject ‘if X comes’ ‘if X goes’

a. 1Pl ē nàm bē ē nāⁿ sò

2Sg āⁿ nàm bē āⁿ nāⁿ sò

2Pl āā nàm bē āā nāⁿ sò

Logo/3ReflSg n̄ nàm bē n̄ nāⁿ sò

Logo/3ReflPl ē nàm bē ē nāⁿ sò

b. 3Sg à nām bē à nāⁿ sò

3Pl è nām bē è nāⁿ sò

1Sg ǹ nām bē ǹ nāⁿ sò

The tonal alternation in nà(w)ⁿ versus nā(w)ⁿ is paralleled by that of prohibitive màⁿ and māⁿ.

There is no special marking of the consequent, which has the same form as an independent main clause: imperfective positive or negative (729a‑b), hortative (729c), or imperative (729d).

(729) a. ɲāŋ kwààn nāⁿ sàwⁿ, ǹ nā sò sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y

**if** rain(n) **if.Pfv** rain.fall.Pfv, 1Sg **IpfvNeg** go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc

‘If it rains, I won’t go to the bush (=to the fields).’

b. ɲāŋ kwàān tē sàwⁿ, ŋ̀ gā sò sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y

**if** rain(n) **PfvNeg** rain.fall.Pfv, 1Sg **Ipfv** go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc

‘If it doesn’t rain, I will go to the bush.’

c. ɲāŋ kwàān tē sàwⁿ, kò só sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y

**if** rain(n) **PfvNeg** rain.fall.Pfv, **Hort** go.Pfv the.bush-Loc

‘If it doesn’t rain, let’s go to the bush!’ (kò só §10.4.2.1)

d. ɲāŋ kwàān tē sàwⁿ, sò sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y

**if** rain(n) **PfvNeg** rain.fall.Pfv, go.**Pfv** the.bush-Loc

‘If it doesn’t rain, go!-2Sg to the bush!’

The antecedent may denote a state that is a precondition for some act. This includes existential-locative (730a) and ‘have’ (730b) constructions.

(730) a. ɲāⁿ sèēdù gà bōẁⁿ, kúŋgóló ná wwō

**if** S be.Loc here, dog IpfvNeg cry.Ipfv

‘If Seydou is here, the dog won’t bark.’

b. ɲān dàmbà gā [ŋ̀ sūgì-ỳ], ŋ̀ gè= ēnī sɔ̀gɔ̄

**if** daba be.Loc [1Sg hand-Loc], 1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv

‘If I have a daba (=hoe), I can do farm work.’

c. ɲāⁿ= āⁿ sāgā-nā nì,

**if** 2Sg lie.down-Ppl it.is,

āŋ gē= ēnì kāyⁿ mɛ̀n-tīẁⁿ

2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv work(v).Ipfv how?

‘If you are lying down, how can you work?’ (< kāyⁿ)

If both clauses have second person subject, a positive consequent may take subjunctive form with post-subject gālà. This is the case in (731), where the two clauses have the same 2Sg subject. The subjunctive also occurs in quoted imperatives (§17.1.4.1) and in the second of two conjoined imperatives (§10.4.1.1).

(731) ɲā= ān nàⁿ sēwⁿ, āŋ gālā kìì

**if** 2Sg If.Pfv fall.Pfv, 2Sg **Sbjn** get.up.Pfv

‘If you-Sg fall, (you should) get up!’

### ‘Otherwise (=if not)’

This construction is maximally of the type ‘if X, then Y; otherwise (=if not X), then Z’. The ‘otherwise’ expression is phrased as ‘if it is not that’ with discourse-definite demonstrative (732).

(732) ɲāŋ kwààn nāⁿ sàwⁿ

if rain if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv

ē gā kōndò bōẁⁿ,

1Pl Ipfv stay.Ipfv here,

ɲā= à nàɲ ɲɔ́n ní,

**if 3Sg if.Pfv Dem.Def.Foc it.is.Foc**,

ē gā sò sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y

1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc

‘If it rains, we’ll stay here. Otherwise (=if not), we’ll go the fields.’

(< à nāwⁿ)

### sāāⁿ ‘all’ as right-edge marker in antecedents

The universal quantifier sāāⁿ ‘all’ occurs occasionally at the end of an antecedent clause (or a long antecedent with two clauses). It is a kind of right-edge marker for the antecedent and has no literal quantificational sense.

(733) [sābì n̄ nà= āā kò [jíí nī] sāāⁿ],

[because LogoSg if.Pfv 2Pl furnish.Pfv [water Inst] **all**],

āŋ gā pɔ̀-lɔ̀ [[ŋ̀ kólóⁿ] kūmà]

2Sg Ipfv sit-Ipfv [[LogoSg skin] on]

‘(said:) “Because if I provide you-Pl with water, you-Sg will sit on my (sheep-)skin.” ’

(2017-01 @ 01:57 to 02:01)

More often, clause-final sāāⁿ occurs without overt conditional markers in temporal adverbial clauses (‘when/after …’).

## Alternative ‘if’ particles

### ‘Even if …’ (hàlì)

In this construction, the speaker knows that listeners might think that the factuality of the antecedent would block that of the consequent, but the speaker asserts that the consequent will occur regardless. The antecedent begins with hàlì ‘even’ (§19.1.4). It is optionally followed by ɲāⁿ ‘if’, which is absent in (734a) but present in (734b). The remainder of the antecedent is the same as in hypothetical conditionals; note post-subject nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ ‘if.Pfv’ in (734a-b).

(734) a. hàl= ān nàm bē ɲàànú↗,

**even** 2Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv tomorrow,Foc

ān nā dīgɛ̀ bōẁⁿ

2Sg IpfvNeg eat.Ipfv here

‘Even if you-Sg come tomorrow [focus], you won’t eat here.’

b. hàlì ɲāŋ kwààn nāⁿ sàwⁿ,

**even** if rain(n) **If.Pfv** rain.fall.Pfv,

ǹ nà cī-lī ɲàànù

1Sg IpfvNeg sow(v)-Ipfv tomorrow

‘Even if it rains, I’m not going to plant (seeds) tomorrow.’

## Willy-nilly antecedents (‘whether X or Y …’)

In this construction, two paired antecedents have opposite truth conditions. Usually a positive clause is followed by its negation. If so, the second subject is always pronominalized, some adjuncts may be omitted in the second clause, and the verb is repeated. The first antecedent ends with nonterminal intonation (higher than modal pitch for this position). Whichever antecedent turns out to be true is asserted to have no effect on the truth of the consequent. An explicit ‘don’t care about it’ clause (§11.1.1.5) is optional.

(735) [kwàāⁿ sàwⁿ↗] [à tē sàwⁿ],

[rain(n) rain.fall.Pfv] [3Sg PfvNeg rain.fall.Pfv]

[m̀ pāān] nā= ā-ỳ, ŋ̀ gā sò sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y

[1Sg care(n)] not.be.Loc 3Sg- Loc, 1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv the.bush-Loc

‘Whether it rains or it doesn’t rain, I don’t care, I’m going to the bush (=the fields).’

## Counterfactual conditionals (pàà)

In a counterfactual, the eventuality expressed by the antecedent, whether a current state or a past event, is understood to be false. It is asserted that in an alternative world where the antecedent was true, the consequent would also have been realized, as in ‘if you had hit me, I would have killed you’.

The antecedent usually omits the initial ɲāⁿ ‘if’. Instead, it has a post-subject counterfactual (i.e. irrealis) morpheme pàà. It is shortened to pà (becoming pā by tone sandhi) before 1Sg ŋ̀ and contracts with vocalic pronominal objects. Before any other word it is realized as pàà (becoming pàā before L‑tone) The antecedent is in perfective aspect if it denotes an event, but it may also be one of the stative constructions. The post-subject perfective morpheme nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ found in hypothetical conditional antecedents is absent. paā̀ may be followed by PfvNeg tè. The consequent takes the form of an ordinary imperfective main clause.

(736) a. ām pā ŋ̀ kwāā gà dìgéwⁿ,

2Sg **Counterf** 1Sg hit.Pfv RemPfv yesterday,

ŋ̀ gà= āⁿ wàgā

1Sg Ipfv 2Sg kill.Ipfv

‘If you-Sg had hit me yesterday, I’d have killed you.’

b. ām pàā tè bē dìgéwⁿ,

2Sg **Counterf** PfvNeg come.Pfv yesterday

ŋ̀ gā sà= [ām màā]

1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [2Sg look.for.Ipfv]

‘If you-Sg hadn’t come yesterday, I’d have gone looking for you.’ (< sò)

c. à pàā dìrīsā nì

3Sg **Counterf** D it.is,

à nā kɯ̀ɯ̄

3Sg IpfvNeg run.Ipfv

‘If he had been Drisa, he wouldn’t have run.’

The construction can also appear when the antecedent denotes a state that is presently untrue or a future event that is unlikely to happen. This is pragmatically halfway between hypothetical and (past) counterfactual conditionals. My assistant uses both initial ɲāⁿ ‘if’ and post-subject counterfactual pàà in this context. In (737a), pàà seems to have “swallowed” the expected following ‘be’ quasi-verb gà, which is otherwise part of the ‘have’ construction. The negative counterpart has nà ‘not be’ (737b).

(737) a. ɲām mōtōm pā [ŋ̀ sūgì-y]

**if** motorcycle **Counterf** [1Sg hand-Loc]

ŋ̀ gè= ēnì [[sō nɔ̀gī-ỳ] bē]

1Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [[go.Ipfv village-Loc] come.Pfv]

‘If I had a motorcycle, I could go to the village and come back.’

b. ɲām mōtōm pàà nā [ŋ̀ sūgì-y]

if motorcycle **Counterf** not.be.Loc [1Sg hand-Loc]

‘if I didn’t have a motorcycle’

(i.e., ‘were it not for the fact that I have a motorcycle’)

c. ɲāⁿ m̄ pàā nàpòrò-tūgū nì,

**if** 1Sg **Counterf** rich.person it.is,

ǹ nà kōndō nɔ̀gī-ỳ

1Sg IpfvNeg stay.Ipfv village

‘If I were a rich person, I wouldn’t stay in the village.’

d. ɲāⁿ m̄ pàà sēŋ gà

**if** 1Sg **Counterf** fall.Pfv RemPfv

ŋ̀ gā kìī

1Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv

‘If I fell (=if I were to fall), I’d get up.’ (< sēwⁿ)

# Complement and purposive clauses

## Quotative complements

There are two ‘say’ predicates. One is the defective quasi-verb yè/yē ‘said’, which occurs only in veridical perfective positive contexts preceding quoted matter. The other is the fully inflectable verb sē/sē ‘say, tell’, which takes nominal objects. Both predicates allow an optional dative PP specifying the original addressee.

If an NP inside the quoted matter is coindexed with the current speaker or addressee, it is normally updated to correspond to the current role in the speech event.

If an NP inside the quoted matter is coindexed with a third-person quoted speaker (the “author”), i.e. if it corresponds to what was a first person pronoun in the original utterance, it is expressed as a logophoric pronoun (§18.3). For the original addressee, see just below.

### Original addressee converted to third person

A second person pronominal in the original utterance may be replaced by the corresponding third person pronominal in the quoted clause. (738a) is a direct quotation with original 2Sg preserved, while (738b) converts it to 3Sg. (738c-d) are quoted imperatives, with 3Sg representing an original singular addressee (738c) and 3Pl representing original plural addressee (738d).

(738) a. sèēdù āāmādù tīyē [sālà āŋ gā wùlāā nì]

S A ask.Pfv [whether **2Sg** be who? it.is]

‘Seydou asked Amadoux “who are youx?” ’

b. sèēdù āāmādù tīyē [sālā à gā wùlāā nì]

S A ask.Pfv [whether **3Sg** be who? it.is]

‘Seydou asked Amadoux who hex was.’

c. é!, tèēn-tùgù yā= [à gālè= ē kò [jíí nī]]

hey! elder.sib-owner said [**3Sg** Sbjn LogoPl furnish.Pfv [water Inst]]

‘The older one said (to the Dogon), “hey, (please) provide us with (=give us) water!” ’ (2017-01 @ 01:52)

d. à yē [ǹ =nàⁿ lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ sāāⁿ]

3Sg said [LogoSg if.Pfv die.Pfv all]

[è gālā sò [n̄ nī] mààlù

[**3Pl** Sbjn go.Pfv [LogoSg Inst] M

‘He (=Lasine) said, “when I die, take-2Pl me to Madougou.” ’ (2017-01 @ 04:59)

Conversion of second to third person can create ambiguities. (738a) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadoux who youy were’, where ‘you’ is the current addressee rather than Amadou. Similarly, (738b) can also mean ‘Seydou asked Amadoux who he/shey was’, referring to a distinct third individual.

### Quotation quasi-verb yè/yē (and variants) ‘said’

yè/yē functions as a defective (quasi-)verb meaning ‘said’. Its paradigm with nonpronominal and pronominal subjects is (739). It is L‑toned yè after a nonlow tone (739c,e), and M‑toned after an L‑tone, subject to modification by further tone sandhi triggered by the word to the right. This pattern of tonal dissimilation is shared with some other post-subject particles (§10.1.1). If the pronominal is nasal the y hardens (irregularly) to j (739d), see §3.4.2.4. The shift of 3Pl è to ì before y also occurs with bidirectional case marker yèⁿ.

(739) a. sèēdù yē ‘Seydou said’

sūgō yè ‘the goat said’

kúŋgóló yè ‘the dog said’

b. à yē ‘he/she said’

ì yē ‘they said’

c. ē yè ‘we said’

āā yè ‘you-Pl said’

ē yè ‘LogoPl said’

d. ɲ̀ jē ‘I said’

āɲ jè ‘you-Sg said’

ɲ̄ jè ‘LogoSg said’

The tonal difference between yē and yè in (739) is overt when they are followed by an M‑tone (740), since M-tones do not trigger tone sandhi.

(740) a. à / ì **yē** [sūgō sò]

3Sg/3Pl said [goat go.Pfv]

‘He-or-she/They said, the goat has gone.’

b. ē / ē **yè** [sūgō sò]

1Pl / LogoPl said [goat go.Pfv]

‘We/They (logophoric) said, the goat has gone.’

Before L‑tone, yè raises to yē by Final Tone-Raising, and before H‑tone, yē drops to yè by M#H‑to‑L#H. These regular tone sandhi processes obscure the underlying difference between yè and yē, which is clear before M‑tone as (740a-b).

If there is a planned pause between yè/yē and the quoted matter, yè/yē takes the form yēè showing intonational prolongation and falling tone/pitch (§3.7.2).

yè/yē contracts with following vowels. This is common since ‘said’ is often followed without a pause by a pronominal, either a dative complement or the subject of the quoted clause. Examples of contraction of ‘said’ are (740a-b).

(741) a. ē yā= [à bē]

1Pl **said** [3Sg come.Pfv]

‘We said that he/she came.’ (< ē yè à)

b. ì yē= [ē bē]

3Pl **said** [1Pl/LogoPl come.Pfv]

‘Theyx said that we/theyx came.’ (< è yè ē)

The contraction can occasionally lead to confusion with yè (bidirectional case marker) or with yèⁿ ‘and’, which also contract.

yè/yē ‘said’ is a defective quasi-verb and is limited to veridical perfective positive contexts, reporting an actual event of speaking. yè/yē always follows an overt subject. It is itself normally followed without a pause either by a dative PP (742b) or directly by quoted matter. The quoted matter may be a clause or a fragment thereof, such as an NP or adverb (with the rest of the quoted proposition understood). If an overt dative is present, the quoted matter is rarely absent if contextually understood (742e).

(742) a. sèēdù yā= [āⁿ ŋ̄ kwāā]

S **said** [2Sg LogoSg hit.Pfv]

‘Seydoux said that you-Sg hit himx.’

b. sèēdù yē [ǹ tē] [ŋ̄ gā bē]

S **said** [1Sg **Dat**] [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]

‘Seydoux told me that hex is coming.’

c. sèēdù yē ɲàànù

S **said** tomorrow

‘Seydou said (it’s) tomorrow.’

d. sèēdù yè kú

S **said** Dem

‘Seydou said (it’s) that.’

e. sèēdù yē [ǹ tē]

S **said** [1Sg Dat]

‘Seydou told me.’ (uncommon if not followed by quoted matter)

yē is compatible with interrogation (743a-c) and with relativization (743d).

(743) a. tāmā sèēdù yè kú

Q S said Dem

‘Did Seydou say that?’

b. wùláá yē ɲàànù

who?.Foc **said** tomorrow

‘Who said (it’s) tomorrow?’

c. sèēdù yē màsí

S **said** what?.Foc

‘Seydou said what?’

d. [màyⁿ yē ɲàànù] lāā-màtāỳ

[Rel **said** tomorrow] be.where?

‘Where is the one (=the person) who said (it’s) tomorrow?’

yè/yē cannot be negated and it cannot function as a deontic modal (imperative, hortative). It cannot be combined with any preceding nonzero aspect-marking such as Ipfv gà/gā or (in conditional antecedents) perfective positive nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ. In all these combinations, yè/yē must be replaced by the inflectable verb sē/sē (see below). Likewise, only sē/sē occurs as the subordinated ‘say’ verb in ‘X said (that) [Y said …]’, and in other subordinated clauses and VPs (except relatives).

### Inflectable verb sē/sē ‘say, tell’

The verb sē/sē ‘say’ is compatible with any inflectional frame (perfective or imperfective, positive or negative, indicative or modal). It is immediately preceded by a pro forma 3Sg object à if there is no other preverbal object NP, even when an actual quotation follows. This à often contracts with the vowel of a preceding inflectional particle (e.g. Ipfv gà/gā). The à is unmistakable in imperatives where it is clause-initial (744b). The verb sē/sē is followed by an optional dative PP denoting the original addressee (in which case the usual free translation has ‘tell’ rather tha ‘say’), then by quoted material if there is any.

(744) a. ɲāⁿ sèēdù nā= à sē ɲàànù, ŋ̀ gà bē

if S if.Pfv 3Sg **say**.Pfv tomorrow, 1Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘If Seydou says (it’s) tomorrow, I’ll come.’

b. à sē [sèēdù gālà bē]

3Sg **say**.Pfv [S Sbjn come.Pfv]

‘Tell Seydou to come.’ (lit. “Say it to Seydou …”)

c. à tā= à sē [ǹ tē]

3Sg PfvNeg 3Sg **say**.Pfv [1Sg Dat]

‘He/She didn’t tell me.’ (< à tē à)

d. [táláⁿ sāāⁿ] à gā= à sē

[day all] 3Sg Ipfv 3Sg **say**.Ipfv

[ŋ̄ gā bē]

[LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]

‘Every day he/shex says that he/shex is coming.’

A variant tē/tē for sē/sē is attested in an alliterative context where ‘say’ is flanked by PfvNeg tè and dative tē and, as in wàŋgé tā= à **tā**= [à tē] ‘Hare didn’t tell him’. Such a mutation of s to t could also be favored by confusion between the phonologically similar X yā= [à tē] ‘X said to him/her’ (with quasi-verb yè and dative tē) and X yā= à sē ‘X said/told it’ (with bidirectional case marker yè and transitive ‘say, tell’ verb sē). Also, both sē and dative tē are subject to the same intonational modification (sēè, tēè) when the speaker has a planned pause before the quoted matter.

### Jussive complement (quoted imperative or hortative)

#### Quoted imperatives and prohibitives

Quoted imperatives take the form [X say [Y Modal … Verb.Pfv …]]. Modal is subjunctive (Sbjn) or prohibitive (Proh). Y is an open-ended NP coindexed with the covert singular or suffixally expressed plural addressee in the original utterance, but updated in the context of the current speech event. This construction can be elaborated by adding a dative addressee, but the lower subject Y remains obligatory: [X say [to Y (or Z)] [Y …]]. The dative is often omitted, since it is usually understood that the original addressee was also the subject Y of the original imperative. Therefore the usual form is [X say [Y Modal …]], and the free English translation ‘X tell Y [Ø to …]’ with Y functioning as main-clause object is syntactically misleading.

If the original command was positive, the quoted imperative clause has subjunctive gālà after the subject (745a). If it was negative, i.e. if it contained prohibitive màⁿ, the original form of the VP including the prohibitive morpheme is retained verbatim, with the addition of an overt subject (745b).

(745) a. à yē [ŋ̀ gālà tāwⁿ / …]

gālā … / yàwⁿ]

3Sg say.Pfv [1Sg **Sbjn** ascend.Pfv / descend.Pfv]

‘He/She told me to go up/down.’ (or: ‘He said that I must go up/down.’)

b. ɲ̀ jē [sèēdù mān tāwⁿ]

1Sg say.Pfv [S **Proh** ascend.Pfv]

‘I told Seydou not to go up.’ (or: ‘I said that Seydou must not go up.’)

#### Quoted hortatives

A quoted hortative has the same type of structure as described above for quoted imperatives. Positive hortatives are expressed under quotation as subjunctive clauses without a hortative morpheme such as kèyⁿ. Quoted imperative (746a) is similar in syntactic form to quoted hortative (746b).

(746) a. sèēdù yē= [è gālà dīgɛ̄]

S said [3Pl **Sbjn** eat.Antip.Pfv]

‘Seydou told them to eat.’

b. sèēdù yē [ǹ tē] [ē gālà dīgɛ̄]

S said [1Sg Dat] [1Pl **Sbjn** eat.Antip.Pfv]

‘Seydou said to me, “let’s eat!” ’

My assistant did allow overt hortative marking in the case of ‘let’s go!’, which has a special hortative form kò só (and variants). In the quoted hortative, kò só follows the subjunctive morpheme.

(747) sèēdù yē= [ē gālā kò só]

S said [1Pl Sbjn **Hort** go.Pfv]

‘Seydou said (to me), let’s go!’

A main-clause hortative negative has the form of a prohibitive with 1Pl subject. The quoted version therefore has the same form as a quoted prohibitive (preceding section).

(748) sèēdù yē= [ē mǎⁿ sò]

S said [1Pl **Proh** go.Pfv]

a) ‘Seydou said, “let’s not go!” ’

b) ‘Seydou told us not to go.’

### Quoted questions

Both polar and content questions are embedded with sālà ~ hālà ‘whether’. This is all that is needed for polar questions (749a). Content questions additionally retain the content interrogative word (749b‑c).

(749) a. à ǹ tīyē gà

3Sg 1Sg ask.Pfv RemPfv

sālā [ŋ̀ káá] gà bōẁⁿ

**whether** [1Sg father] be.Loc here

‘He/She asked me whether my father was there.’

b. à tīyē gà

3Sg ask.Pfv RemPfv

sālā wùlāā gà bē

**whether** **who?** Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘He/She asked, who is/was coming?’

c. à ǹ tīyē gà

3Sg 1Sg ask.Pfv RemPfv

sālā ŋ̀ gā sō màtāỳ

**whether** 1Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv **where?**

‘He/She asked me where I was going.’

### ‘That …’ complementizers after ‘say’ and other verbs

#### sèe᷆ ~ sède᷆ ‘(said) thus/as follows, …’

Generally yè/yē ‘said’ (or variant) is immediately followed by the quoted matter, except that a dative PP can intervene.

Infrequently (twice in the text corpus), yè/yē (along with the dative PP if present) is followed by a word sèe᷆ ~ sède᷆ (<LML>-toned) ‘thus’ or ‘as follows’ preceding the quoted matter. sèe᷆ is evidently related to the transitive verb sē/sē ‘say, tell’, but here it is not preceded by the usual obligatory object. It is rather formal and has a distinctive pitch contour. The final ML tone (or pitch) is reminiscent of the ML‑toned intonational effect that occurs at planned pauses, as in à yēè→ ‘he/she said, …’ (§3.7.2). sèe᷆ ~ sède᷆ may likewise occur at a planned prosodic break before the quoted matter. However, in (750a) it is followed by a dative PP.

(750) a. [tèèŋ gù] yē sèe᷆ [[n̄ dùgòn] tē]

[elder.sib Def] said **thus** [[3ReflSg younger.sib] Dat]

‘The older sister said to her younger sister, …’ (2017-06 @ 01:37)

b. à yē sèē [bōŋ̀ gà [ŋ̄ kān] nì]

3Sg said **thus** [here be.Loc [LogoSg chez] it.is]

‘He said, “here is my home.” ’ (2017-06 @ 01:19)

#### māàⁿ ‘that …’ or ‘in other words, …’

The particle māà(ⁿ) ‘that …’ precedes embedded propositions, often optionally. It can reduce to mà or mā before a pronominal subject proclitic. Relevant contexts are those in (751), where X denotes a proposition.

(751) a. perception verbs: ‘see that X’, ‘hear that X’ §17.2.2

b. cognition verbs: ‘know that X’, ‘be aware that X’ §17.2.1.1

The māà(ⁿ) clause can also function more loosely as a paraphrase or elaboration of the preceding discourse, roughly as in English *in other words, …* . Textual examples are 2017-02 @ 02:10 to 02:13 and @ 03:00, and 2017-06 @ 03:24.

When the proposition describes an intention or a hoped-for event, the māà(ⁿ) clause functions as a purposive clause (§17.5.6).

## Full-clause propositional complements

### Clausal complements of ‘know’ and ‘forget’

#### ‘(Not) know’ with main-clause or ‘whether’ complement

tùyɛ̀/tò ‘know’ can be a simple transitive, as in ‘I know it’ (where ‘it’ refers to a proposition) and in ‘I know him/her’ in the sense of acquaintance; see §11.2.5.1. When the complement is a proposition like (752a), the complement follows the main clause, which includes the 3Sg object marker. So (752b) is literally ‘I know it [Seydou came]’. A ‘that’ complementizer māà(ⁿ) is optionally preposed to the complement. In positive contexts, as in ‘X know S’, it is understood that the eventuality S denoted by the complement (Seydou’s having come) is veridical. The complement has main-clause form without subordinators.

(752) a. sèēdù bē

S come.Pfv

‘Seydou came (=has come).’

b. ŋ̀ gā =ā tò [(māā) sèēdù bē]

1Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv [(that) S come.Pfv]

‘I know that Seydou has come.’

When ‘know’ is negated, the complement is treated as nonveridical, whether or not the current speaker believes or knows it to be veridical. In other words, the epistemic modal status of the complement is phrased from the perspective of the subject of ‘know’, not that of the speaker. The English distinction between factive ‘that’ and irrealis ‘whether’ is not made. The complement optionally begins with māā ‘that' or sālà ~ hālà ‘whether’ as subordinator. sālà ~ hālà contracts with following vowel-initial pronominals, as in sālè=ē ‘whether we …’. māà(ⁿ) shortens to mà/mā before pronominal subjects, as in mà ē ‘that we …’ and mà ŋ̄ ‘that I …’.

(753) a. m̄ bē

1Sg come.Pfv

‘I came (=have come).’

b. sèēdù nā= ā tò [mā / sālà m̄ bē]

S IpfvNeg 3Sg know [**whether** 1Sg come.Pfv]

‘Seydou doesn’t know whether/that I have come.’

c. ǹ nā= ā tò

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[māāⁿ/sālā sèēdù gà bōẁⁿ]

[**whether** S be.Loc here]

‘I don’t know whether Seydou is here.’

d. [kɔ̄mɔ̄-yārā lā=] à nā= ā tò

[lion QTop] 3Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[māā kɯ̀ɯ̀ŋ gà yāẁⁿ]

[that pit be.Loc there.Def]

‘The lion for his part didn’t know that a pit was there.’ (2017-07 @ 02:30)

Both ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ interrogatives are replaced by relative marker màwⁿ in the relevant position within a clause embedded under ‘(not) know’ (754a-b). The same màwⁿ can be added to a noun, from human to inanimate, functioning then as embedded ‘which?’ (754c-e).

(754) a. ǹ nā= ā tò

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[màŋ gà bē]

[**Rel** Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘I don’t know who/what is coming.’

b. ǹ nā= ā tò

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[sèēdù màn dīgā gà]

[S **Rel** eat.Pfv RemPfv]

‘I don’t know what Seydou ate.’

c. ǹ nā ā tò

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[[yùgōm màŋ] gà bē]

[[woman **Rel**] Ipfv come.Ipfv]

‘I don’t know which woman will come.’

d. ǹ nā= ā tò

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[à [yàmbāā màn̄] sàŋ̄ gà]

[3Sg [house **Rel**] buy.Pfv RemPfv]

‘I don’t know which house he/she bought.’

e. ǹ nā= ā tò

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[à gà bē [táláⁿ màwⁿ]]

[3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv [day **Rel**]]

‘I don’t know on what day he/she will come.’

‘Where?’ is replaced by the special iterated form of the noun ‘place’ (§14.2.4).

(755) ǹ nā= ā tò

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[sèēdù sō gà gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ]

[S go.Pfv RemPfv **place-Rel-place**]

‘I don’t know where Seydou went.’

Other content interrogatives preserve their interrogative form when embedded.

(756) a. ǹ nā= ā tò

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

sèēdù gà bē mɛ̀n-tīẁⁿ

S Ipfv come.Ipfv **how?**

‘I don’t know how Seydou will come.’

b. ǹ nā= ā tò

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[jèŋ gà bē]

[**how.much?** Ipfv come.Ipfv]

‘I don’t know how many will come.’

#### ‘Forget that/whether’ with ‘whether’ complement

The complement S of positive ‘X forget that S’ is treated as nonveridical, since the subject X is presently unaware of its truth status. The ‘whether’ particle in the following examples has variants māà and māẁⁿ.

(757) a. m̄ bē

1Sg come.Pfv

‘I have come.’

b. sèēdū nùmàsāwⁿ [māà ŋ̄ yàwⁿ]

S forget.Pfv [whether 1Sg descend.Pfv]

‘Seydou forgot whether/that I have (=had) gone down.’

The same nonveridical complement is used under negation of ‘forget’.

(758) sèēdū tē nùmàsāwⁿ [māà m̄ bē]

S PfvNeg forget.Pfv [whether 1Sg come.Pfv]

‘Seydou did not forget that I came/had come.’

For ‘X forget (about) Y’ where Y is an NP, see §8.2.4.4.1.

‘Remember’ is expressed with the verb also meaning ‘think, reflect’. It has the same complements as ‘forget’.

(759) sèēdù mīīlà [māà m̄ bē]

S think.Pfv [whether 1Sg come.Pfv]

‘Seydou remembered that (=reflected whether) I came.’

### Perception verb with clausal ‘whether’ complement.

When ‘see’ or ‘hear’ has a complement denoting a propositional fact, acquired by the subject through inference or hearsay rather than immediate observation, the proposition is spelled out in the form of a ‘that’ clause beginning with māà(ⁿ) or variant (§17.1.6.2). The proposition is resumed in the main clause by a pro forma 3Sg object pronoun.

(760) a. n̄ =nā= ā kày

1Sg Sbj/Obj **3Sg** see

[māɲ̀ jɛ̄nām-bī-gē nā yāẁⁿ]

[that child-Pl-Pl not.be.Loc there.Def]

‘I saw that the children were not there.’ (< māẁⁿ)

b. n̄ =nā= ā mìŋɛ̀

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg hear.Pfv

[mā= [āŋ kàā] sò]

[that [2Sg father] go.Pfv]

‘I have heard (=I hear) that your-Sg father left.’ (< māàⁿ)

### ‘Fear (lest …)’ with ‘whether’ complement

In this construction, the subject painfully imagines a hypothetical future event. The complement has prohibitive màⁿ and a Pfv verb. The primary subordinated verb is often chained to ‘go’ in pejorative function with no requirement of actual motion (§15.2.2). The phrasing is “[I fear] [may X not go and VP],” A negative subordinated clause cannot be directly expressed as such; instead an intermediate clause with ‘say’ (761d) or ‘do’ is required.

(761) a. ŋ̀ gā kwààŋ [kúŋgóló mān sō [ǹ sīwⁿ]]

1Sg Ipfv **fear**(v).Ipfv [dog **Proh** go.Pfv [1Sg bite.**Pfv**]]

‘I am afraid that the dog might go and bite me.’

b. ŋ̀ gā kwàān [sèēdù mān sō [ŋ̀ kwāā]]

1Sg Ipfv **fear**(v).Ipfv [dog **Proh** go.Pfv [1Sg hit.**Pfv**]]

‘I am afraid that Seydou might (go and) hit me.’

c. ŋ̀ gā kwàān

1Sg Ipfv **fear**(v).Ipfv

[sèēdù mān sō [[ŋ̀ kó] [[tēē ɲɔ̄ŋɔ̄] nī]]

[S **Proh** go.Pfv [[1Sg give.**Pfv**] [[meat bad] Inst]

‘I am afraid that Seydou might (go and) give me some bad meat.’

d. ŋ̀ gā kwàān

1Sg Ipfv **fear**(v).Ipfv

[sèēdù mān sā= [à sē]

[S **Proh** go.Pfv [3Sg say.Pfv]

[n̄ nā ŋ̀ kó [pà-sí ní]]

[LogoSg IpfvNeg 1Sg provide.Ipfv [anything Inst.Foc]]

‘I am afraid that Seydou might not give me anything.’

(lit. “I fear that Seydoux might go and say hex won’t give me anything.’”)

### ‘Encounter’ with clausal complement

bā= à tīẁⁿ ‘come and find (that …)’ or ‘come only to find (that …)’ can be followed by a complete clause. See §15.6 for analysis and examples.

### Weak obligational ‘ought’ (kāmbē, kāⁿ)

kāmbē ‘ought, should’ is a pseudo-reflexive verb (18.1.2) with a defective inflectional paradigm. As a pseudo-reflexive it is always preceded by ŋ̀.

The positive ‘ought to VP’ construction has kāmbē in a perfective positive frame. There is no imperfective counterpart with gà. The VP complement is perfective in form and undergoes no special tone shifts. The absence of a perfectivity opposition is typical of statives.

(762) a. sèēdù ŋ̀ kāmbē sò / bē / yàw / dìgɛ̀mù

S PsRefl ought go.Pfv/come.Pfv/descend.Pfv/speak.Pfv

‘Seydou ought to go/come/go down/speak.’

b. sèēdù ŋ̀ kāmbē [āŋ kwāā / kày / … / …

[āⁿ … / … / yìràwⁿ / …

[āɲ … / … / … / cīyɛ̄ŋgɛ̄

S PsRefl ought [2Sg hit.Pfv / see.Pfv / help.Pfv / listen.to.Pfv]

‘Seydou ought to hit/see/help/listen to you-Sg.’

c. n̄ =nà ŋ̀ kāmbē yàw

1Sg Sbj/Obj PsRefl ought descend.Pfv

‘I ought to go down.’

d. ì yè ŋ̀ kāmbē tāwⁿ

3Pl Sbj/Obj PsRefl ought ascend.Pfv

‘They ought to go up.’

The negative counterpart of kāmbē requires an imperfective negative frame for its own clause, hence (ideally) nā ŋ̀ kāmbē, but pronounced [nāŋkāmbē]. We might have expected perfective negative #tē ŋ̀ kāmbē, but this is rejected by speakers. The complement VP is still perfective.

(763) a. sèēdù nà ŋ̀ kāmbē sò / yàw / dìgɛ̀mù

S IpfvNeg PsRefl ought go.Pfv/descend.Pfv/speak.Pfv

‘Seydou should not go/go down/speak.’

b. sèēdù nà ŋ̀ kāmbē [āŋ kwāā / kày / … / …

[āⁿ … / … / yìràwⁿ / …

[āɲ … / … / … / cīyɛ̄ŋgɛ̄

S IpfvNeg PsRefl ought [2Sg hit.Pfv / see.Pfv / help.Pfv / listen.to.Pfv]

‘Seydou should not hit/see /help/listen to you-Sg.’

c. ǹ nà ŋ̀ kāmbē yàw

1Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl ought descend.Pfv

‘I should not go down.’

kāmbē is otherwise invariant in form and does not combine with kōndō (§10.3.1) for past time. One can add sílēwⁿ ‘previously’ to the end of a construction with kāmbē.

That kāmbē itself is etymologically composite is suggested by the occurrence of kāⁿ in similar modal contexts with a dative PP instead of a VP as the complement. The residual bē can be identified as the infinitival morpheme.

(764) a. āⁿ ŋ̀ kāŋ [kàláán tē]

2Sg PsRefl ought [studies Dat]

‘You-Sg should study (=go to school).’ (2017-09 @ 00:01)

b. n̄ =nà ŋ̀ kāⁿ [sɔ̀gɔ̀ tē]

1Sg Sbj/Obj PsRefl ought [farming(n) Dat]

‘I ought to do farming.’

## Subjunctive clausal complements (gālà)

Positive subjunctive clauses have post-subject particle gālà followed by a VP with an Ipfv verb. Negative counterparts are similar but substitute prohibitive màⁿ/māⁿ for gālà. In addition to the constructions described just below, subordinated prohibitive clauses occur in quoted prohibitives and quoted negative hortatives (§17.1.4).

One might be tempted to segment gālà as #gā là beginning with Ipfv gà. However, the fact that the following verb is Pfv in form makes this analysis improbable. In addition, #gā là would be expected to have a negation #nā là, which is also nowhere to be seen.

### ‘Be possible’ (màɲɛ̀) with subjunctive clause

Possibility is expressed by juxtaposing an ‘it is possible’ clause with a subjunctive second clause with gālà. The ‘it is possible’ clause has verb màɲɛ̀ and a pro forma 3Sg subject resuming the semantically subordinated proposition. All aspect and polarity combinations with màɲɛ̀ are possible, as in ‘is/was (not) possible’, but imperfective positive gā màɲɛ̀ ‘is possible’ is common. A parallelistic construction where ‘it is possible that …[subjunctive]’ is repeated as ‘it is possible that not …[prohibitive]’ (or in some other mutually incompatible clause) is redundant, but it can occur (765).

(765) à gā màɲɛ̀ [è gālà bē],

3Sg Ipfv **be.possible**.Ipfv [3Pl **Sbjn** come.Pfv],

à gā màɲɛ̀ [è mām bē]

3Sg Ipfv **be.possible**.Ipfv [3Pl **Proh** come.Pfv]

‘Maybe he/she will come, maybe he/she won’t come.’

### ‘Want’ (pɔ̄gɔ̄/pɔ̄gɔ̀) with subjunctive clausal complement

‘Want’ is expressed by either of two transitive verbs, pɔ̄gɔ̄/pɔ̄gɔ̀ ‘want, like’ or màà/màā ‘look for, seek; want’ (§11.2.5.2). pɔ̄gɔ̄/pɔ̄gɔ̀ is a simple transitive in (766).

(766) ŋ̀ gā dùwɔ̀ / mànàmì pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Sg Ipfv beer / dance(n) like.Ipfv`

‘I enjoy beer/dancing.’

The same-subject construction ‘X want [(for X) to VP]’ is illustrated in (767). The main clause has the form ‘X want(s) it’ with 3Sg object resuming the event denoted by the subordinated VP. The ‘want’ clause is normally imperfective in form. The subordinated clause has a pronominal subject coindexed to the main-clause subject. For coindexed third person, the subject of the second clause is logophoric (or arguably reflexive). The subject pronoun is immediately followed by subjunctive subordinator gālà, which becomes gālā by regular tone sandhi before an L‑tone. Negation is expressed in the main (‘want’) clause (767c).

(767) a. sèēdù gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

S Ipfv 3Sg **want**.Ipfv

[ŋ̄ gālà pwɔ̀]

[LogoSg **Sbjn** sit.**Pfv**]

‘Seydou wants to sit down.’

b. jɛ̄nām-bī-gē gā= ā màā

child-Pl-Pl Ipfv 3Sg **look.for**.Ipfv

[ē gālā sàbá dīgā]

[LogoPl **Sbjn** chicken eat.**Pfv**]

‘The young people would like to eat chicken.’

c. ǹ nā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg **want**.Ipfv

[ŋ̀ gālà tēē kày]

[1Sg **Sbjn** tea see.**Pfv**]

‘I don’t want to see the tea.’ (< tēè)

d. āŋ gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

2Sg Ipfv 3Sg **want**.Ipfv

[āŋ gālà tēē mɛ̀ẃⁿ↗]

[2Sg **Sbjn** tea drink**.Pfv**.Q]

‘Do you-Sg want to drink tea?’ (< tēè, mɛ̀wⁿ)

e. sèēdù nā= à pɔ̄gɔ̄

S IpfvNeg 3Sg **want**.Ipfv

[ŋ̄ gālā ŋ̀ kó [wólén nī]

[Logo/3ReflSg **Sbjn** 1Sg provide.**Pfv** [money Inst]]

‘Seydou doesn’t like to give me money.’

f. tāmā āŋ gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

Q 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg **want**.Ipfv

[āŋ gālà bē bōwⁿ]

[2Sg **Sbjn** come.**Pfv** here]

‘Do you-Sg like to come here?’

g. [ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀ [ē gālà āɲ cīyē]

[1Pl Ipfv 3Sg **want**.Ipfv [1Pl **Sbjn** 2Sg ask.**Pfv**]

‘We would like to ask you-Sg …’ (2017-06 @ 00:12)

Different-subject examples are (768a-b). The basic structure is the same, but now the subject of the second clause is open-ended and for third persons it is not logophoric.

(768) a. [āŋ kàà] gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

[2Sg father] Ipfv 3Sg **want**.Ipfv

[āŋ gālà bē]

[2Sg **Sbjn** come.Pfv]

‘Your-Sg father wants you to come.’

b. ŋ̀ gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Sg Ipfv 3Sg **want**.Ipfv

[sèēdù gālà bē]

[S **Sbjn** come.**Pfv**]

‘I want Seydou to come.’

c. ē nā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg **want**.Ipfv

[sèēdù gālà dùwɔ̄ mɛ̀wⁿ]

[S **Sbjn** beer drink.**Pfv**]

‘We don’t want Seydou to drink beer.’ (< dùwɔ̀)

### Strong obligational ‘must’ (ŋ̄kàlà ~ kàlà plus subjunctive)

Impersonal and uninflected clause-initial ŋ̄kàlà ~ kàlà functions like French *il faut que*. The subject is followed by the subjunctive morpheme gālà, then a perfective VP. The Pfv verb in that VP optionally shows the same tonal changes as in polar interrogatives, with final H-tone (§13.2.1.2). The tonal changes occur in (769a,c) but not in (769b,d).

(769) a. ŋ̄kàlà sèēdù gālà kíyɛ́ / bé / … / … / … / …

gālā … / … / yàẃⁿ / sòó / dìgɛ̀mú / kàmnà-àmá

must S Sbjn go.past.Pfv/come.Pfv/descend.Pfv/go.Pfv/speak.Pfvget.old.Pfv

‘Seydou must go past / come / go down / go / get old.’

(< kīyɛ̄, bē, yàwⁿ, sò, dìgɛ̀mù, kāmnā-āmā)

b. ŋ̄kàlà sèēdù gālà [āŋ kwāā / kày / … / …

[āⁿ … / … / yìràwⁿ / …

[āɲ … / … / … / cīyɛ̄ŋgɛ̄

must S Sbjn [2Sg hit.Pfv / see.Pfv / help.Pfv / listen.to.Pfv]

‘Seydou must hit/help/listen to/see you-Sg.’

(< kwāā, kày, yìràwⁿ, cīyɛ̄ŋgɛ̄)

c. kàlā= āā gālà [m̄ bàý]

must 2Pl Sbjn [LogoSg leave.Pfv]

‘(said:) “You-Pl must leave me (here)!” ’ (2017-05 @ 03:31)

d. ŋ̄kàlà āŋ gālā= ā kày [[ān ɲōgō-lɛ̄n] nī]

**must** 2Sg **Sbjn** 3Sg see.Pfv [[2Sg eye] Inst]

‘You must see it with your own eye(s).’ (2017-06 @ 01:49)

Elsewhere ŋ̄kàlà ~ kàlà can precede a NP or adverb in the sense ‘(not) except/unless X’ (§19.3.2.4), and it can replace kòrì at the beginning of some greeting formulae (§19.6.1).

## Subjectless VP complements

Complements in the form of a VP (including direct object of transitives) may lack an overt subordinator, or may begin with bè.

### VP complement without an overt subordinator

#### Perception verbs with imperfective VP complement

When the complement denotes an event or activity that was directly seen or heard, the complement is phrased as an imperfective VP, even if the event was abrupt. The individual observed is expressed as the object of ‘see’ or ‘hear’ and is not repeated in the complement. The complement may be a simple intransitive (770a-b) or a transitive with a preverbal object (770c).

(770) a. n̄ =nàɲ jɛ̄nām-bī-gē kàȳ mànàmī / sēn-dē

1Sg Sbj/Obj child-Pl-Pl **see**.Pfv dance.Ipfv / fall-Ipfv

‘I saw the children dancing/fall(-ing).’

b. n̄ =nàɲ jɛ̄nām-bī-gē mìŋɛ̄ sùwō-lò

1Sg Sbj/Obj child-Pl-Pl **hea**r.Pfv sing-Ipfv

‘I heard the children sing(-ing).’

c. n̄ =nàɲ jɛ̄nām-bī-gē kàȳ [tēē dīgà]

1Sg Sbj/Obj child-Pl-Pl **see**.Pfv [meat eat.Ipfv]

‘I saw the children eat(ing) meat.’

#### ‘Be afraid to’ (kwààⁿ) with imperfective or bē VP complement

The verb kwààⁿ/kwàāⁿ ‘fear, be afraid’ can function as a simple intransitive with optional dative complement.

(771) a. ŋ̀ gā kwàāⁿ [sèēdū tē]

1Sg Ipfv **fear**.Ipfv [S **Dat**]

‘I am afraid of Seydou.’

b. jēnāŋ gā kwàān [tɔ̄ɔ̄ tē]

child Ipfv **fear**.Ipfv [fire **Dat**]

‘The child is afraid of fire.’

If the ‘fear’ verb is Ipfv, it can also take an imperfective VP complement, with covert but implicitly coindexed subject. There is no overt complementizer.

(772) a. à gā kwàāⁿ yà-là

3Sg Ipfv **fear**(v).Ipfv descend-**Ipfv**

‘He/She is afraid to go down.’

b. ŋ̀ gā kwàāⁿ [dùwɔ̄ mɛ̀-nɛ̀]

1Sg Ipfv **fear**(v).Ipfv [beer drink-**Ipfv**]

‘I am afraid of drinking beer.’

c. āŋ gā kwàān [dɔ̄-lā= ā-ỳ]

2Sg Ipfv fear.Ipfv [enter.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc]

‘You-Sg were afraid to go into it.’ (2017-03 @ 02:*52)*

If the ‘fear’ verb is Pfv, denoting a temporary moment of fear in the past, the complement is an infinitival VP with bē (773), on which see the following section.

(773) a. à kwààⁿ [bē yàwⁿ]

3Sg **fear**(v).Pfv [**Infin** descend.Pfv]

‘He/She was (suddenly) afraid to go down.’

b. ŋ̄ kwààⁿ [bē dùwɔ̄ / sɔ́gɔ́ mɛ̀wⁿ]

1Sg **fear(**v).Ipfv [**Infin** beer / milk drink.Pfv]

‘I was (suddenly) afraid of drinking beer/milk.’

### Infinitival VP complement with bè

We have seen that bè occurs in sequential clauses in the post-subject position in an otherwise perfective clause (§15.3.1). Such clauses have an overt pronominal subject. Semantically, a sequential clause typically denotes a separate event that follows in time the event denoted by the preceding clause.

bè also occurs at the beginning of VP complements that lack an overt subject. Such **infinitival** complements are semantically integrated into the main clause rather than denoting distinct events. As in sequential clauses, and as in the future with gà bē (§10.2.2.2), the verb in the infinitival VP is in the Pfv stem. All three morphemes (infinitival, sequential, future) likely derive diachronically from bē ‘come’.

Infinitival bè, like sequential bè, raises to bē by tone sandhi before an L‑tone. The distinction between pre-tone-sandhi bè and bē is audible before M‑tone.

#### ‘Forget (to…)’ (nùmàsāwⁿ) with bè and infinitival VP

The verb nùmàsāwⁿ/nùmàsā-nà ‘forget’ is followed by an infinitival VP complement beginning with bè and containing a Pfv verb, in the sense ‘forget (to VP)’. The complement denotes an action type that the subject intended to carry out but that never happened.

(774) a. n̄ nùmàsām [bè tāwⁿ / bē]

1Sg **forget**.Pfv [**Infin** ascend.Pfv/come.Pfv]

‘I forgot to go up/come.’

b. sèēdū nùmàsām [bè tēē sàwⁿ]

S **forget**.Pfv [**Infin** meat buy.Pfv]

‘Seydou forgot to buy the meat.’

For ‘forget (that …)’ with a propositional complement, see §17.2.1.2.

#### ‘Prevent’ (hādà) with bè and infinitival VP or with imperfective

The verb hādà/hādà, a borrowing from Fulfulde, can function as a simple transitive when the larger context is understood (775).

(775) n̄ =nǎⁿ sèēdù hādà

1Sg Sbj/Obj S **prevent**.Pfv

‘I stymied/blocked Seydou.’

If the stymied action is spelled out explicitly, the action can be expressed as a complement in any of three ways. Two options are a subjectless Ipfv verb (776a) and an imperfective negative clause with subject (776b). In either case, if the final verb is transitive an object is added (776c‑d).

(776) a. sèēdū yè ŋ̀ hādà pɔ̀-lɔ̀

S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent**.Pfv sit.Ipfv

‘Seydou prevented me from sitting down.’

b. sèēdù yè ŋ̀ hādà [ǹ nā pɔ̀-lɔ̀]

S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent**.Pfv [1Sg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv]

[=(a)]

c. sèēdù yè ŋ̀ hādà [sūgō sà-nà]

S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent**.Pfv [goat buy-Ipfv]

‘Seydou prevented me from buying the goat.’

d. sèēdū yè ŋ̀ hādà

S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent**.Pfv

[ǹ nà sūgō sà-nà]

[1Sg IpfvNeg IpfvNeg goat buy-Ipfv]

[=(c)]

A third option for the complement is infinitival bè plus perfective VP (777).

(777) a. sèēdū yè ŋ̀ hādà [bè dīgɛ̄]

S Sbj/Obj 1Sg **prevent**.Pfv [**Infin** eat.Antip.Pfv]

‘Seydou prevented me from eating.’

b. à= ŋ̀ hādà [bē dùwɔ̄ mɛ̀wⁿ]

3Sg 1Sg **prevent**.Pfv [**Infin** beer drink.Pfv]

‘He/She prevented me from drinking beer.’

c. à= ŋ̀ hādà [bè sūgō sàwⁿ]

3Sg 1Sg **prevent**.Pfv [**Infin** goat buy.Pfv]

‘He/She prevented me from buying the goat.’

#### ‘Help’ (yìràwⁿ) with bè and infinitival VP

The verb ‘help’ is yìràwⁿ/yìrān-nà. Its syntax is similar to that of ‘prevent’ (see above). It can be a simple transitive with a human direct object (778a). This can then be expanded by adding an infinitival VP complement with bè.

(778) a. sèēdū (yē) ŋ̀ yíráwⁿ

S (Sbj/Obj) 1Sg **help**.Pfv

‘Seydou helped me.’

b. sèēdù ŋ̀ yíráwⁿ [bè sūgō sɛ̀y]

S 1Sg **help**.Pfv [**Infin** goat tie.Pfv]

‘Seydou helped me tie up the goat.’

The semantics of ‘help’ and ‘prevent’ are slightly distinct. In the case of ‘X prevent Y [from VPing]’, the covert subject of the lower VP is obviously coindexed with Y and cannot be coindexed with X. In the case of ‘X help Y [(to) VP]’, the covert lower subject is coindexed at least with Y but might also be coindexed with X. If X assists Y directly, for example in a two-person job like carrying a heavy object, then the real agent of that activity is the combined ‘X and Y’. Alternatively, the assistance may be indirect (writing a check, giving permission, etc.), in which case the action is carried out singly by Y. This fine distinction between ‘help’ and ‘prevent’ is usually disregarded by the grammar. However, there is a textual passage where ‘help’ is followed by a sequential clause (not just a VP). The exact sense is elusive.

(779) [è bā= ā yìràwⁿ]

[3Pl Seq 3Sg help.Pfv]

[à bè bāā [káráŋgé gú-ỳ]]

[3Sg Seq exit(v).Pfv [trap Def-Loc]]

‘They helped him and he got out of the trap.’

or: ‘They helped him get out of the trap.’ (2017-05 @ 02:59)

#### màà/màā ‘be about to’ as fused màà-bè with infinitival VP

The transitive verb màà/màā means ‘look for, seek’, leaking semantically into ‘want’. In this sense it can take an ordinary direct object NP, as in à gà wálém màā ‘he/she is looking for money’.

In the ‘about to VP’ construction, my assistant pronounces this verb as invariant L‑toned màà, making the aspectual distinction only by means of preverbal inflectional particles (e.g. Ipfv gà). The verb is followed by L‑toned bè and the perfective VP. The effect is that màà-bè (not #màā‑bè) is fused into a single word-form mààbè, even in the Ipfv stem. The examples in (780) show màà and bè as separate words, but one could also transcribe them with mààbè meaning ‘be about (to)’.

(780) a. à màà [bè sēwⁿ]

3Sg **look.for**.Pfv [**Infin** fall.Pfv]

‘He/She was about to fall.’ = ‘He/She nearly fell.’

b. à gā màà [bè sēwⁿ]

3Sg Ipfv **look.for**.Ipfv [**Infin** fall.Pfv]

[=(a)]

c. à tē màà [bè sēwⁿ]

3Sg PfvNeg **look.for**.Pfv [**Infin** fall.Pfv]

‘He/She was not about to fall.’

d. à nā màà [bē sēwⁿ]

3Sg PfvNeg l**ook.for**.Ipfv [**Infin** fall.Pfv]

[=(c)]

e. ŋ̀ gā màà [bē zàkí kwāā]

1Sg Ipfv **look.for**.Ipfv [Infin Z hit.Pfv]

‘I am/was on the verge of hitting Zaki.’

In this construction, bè (or the second syllable of mààbè) undergoes regular Final Tone-Raising to màà‑bē before L‑tone (781).

(781) à màà [bē sò]

3Sg look.for.Pfv [Infin go.Pfv]

‘He/She was about to go.’

There is no pronominal subject before bè, as there is in the sequential construction. One might think that màà bè in the preceding examples is really /màà à bè/, but the absence of a subject is shown by (782).

(782) m̄ / ē màà [bè sēwⁿ]

1Sg/1Pl look.for.Pfv [Infin fall.Pfv]

‘I was/We were about to fall.’

### ‘Begin’ (sīndì) with various complements

‘Begin’ is sīndì/sīndì or sīnì/sīnì. “Intransitive” ‘begin’ is expressed as a reflexive transitive, in either antipassive (783b) or middle (783c) sense.

(783) a. n̄ =nàŋ kāyⁿ sīndì

1Sg Sbj/Obj work(n) **begin**.Pfv

‘I started the job.’

b. sèēdù (yè) ŋ̄ sīndì

S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin**.Pfv

‘Seydou began (e.g. to work).’

c. kāyⁿ (yè) ŋ̄ sīndì

work(n) Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg **begin**.Pfv

‘The work began.’

The semantically active reflexive type (783b) can be elaborated by a complement. The latter takes any of three forms: 1) an imperfective VP (784a,c); 2) an instrumental PP with verbal noun complement (784b); or 3) a full imperfective clause with coindexed subject (784d). The simple first type seems to be associated with intransitive complements.

(784) a. sèēdū yè ŋ̄ sīndī kɯ̀ɯ̄ / yà-là

sèēdù Ø

S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin**.Pfv run.**Ipfv** / descend-**Ipfv**

‘Seydou began to run/to go down.’

b. sèēdū yè ŋ̄ sīndī [kɯ̀ɯ̀ / yàŋ-gù nī]

sèēdù Ø

S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin**.Pfv [run.Nom / descend-VblN Inst]

[=(a)]

c. sèēdū yè ŋ̄ sīndī [ŋ̀ kɔ̄-lā]

sèēdù Ø

S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin**.Pfv [1Sg hit-Ipfv]

‘Seydou began to hit me.’

d. sèēdū yè ŋ̄ sīndī

sèēdù Ø

S (Sbj/Obj) 3ReflSg **begin**.Pfv

[ŋ̀ gā ŋ̀ kɔ̄-lā]

[**3ReflSg** **Ipfv** 1Sg hit-**Ipfv**]

[=(d)]

### ‘Stop’ (tàà, tàà-nì) with nominalized verb or VP complement

Intransitive ‘stop, come to a halt’ is tàà/tà-là (785a). The causative is tàà-nì/tàà-nī ‘stop (something), cause to halt’ (785b).

(785) a. mòbōlī tàà

vehicle **stop**.Pfv

‘The vehicle stopped.’

b. ʒāndārmū mòbōlī tàà-nì

gendarme vehicle **stop-Caus**.Pfv

‘The gendarme stopped the vehicle.’

In the sense ‘stop, interrupt (an activity)’, the object of the causative version can also be a noun that denotes the activity. This may be a suffixed verbal noun (786a-b), or an unsuffixed verb (usually more or less identical to the Pfv stem) that arguably functions here as a noun (786c‑d). If an object noun is included, its form is compatible with that of a compound initial (786e).

(786) a. è sūwō-gū tàà-nì

3Pl sing-**VblN** **stop**-Caus.Pfv

‘They stopped (=interrupted) the song.’

(< sūwō-gù)

b. ē yàŋ-gū tàà-nì

3Pl descend-**VblN** **stop**-Caus.Pfv

‘They stopped (=interrupted) going down.’

(< yàŋ-gù)

c. ē kɯ̀ɯ̄ tàà-nì

3Pl run.**Nom** stop-Caus.Pfv

‘They stopped running.’ (i.e. they interrupted their race)

(cf. Pfv kɯ̀ɯ̀)

d. è wwō / sīŋàn tàà-nì

3Pl weep.**Nom** / breathe.**Nom** stop-Caus.Pfv

‘They stopped weeping/breathing.’

(cf. Pfv sīŋàwⁿ)

e. è tēē-dīgɛ̄ / dùwɔ̀-mɛ̀n̄ tàà-nì

3Pl meat-eat.**Nom** / beer-drink.**Nom** stop-Caus.Pfv

‘They stopped drinking beer.’

(cf. Pfv mɛ̀wⁿ)

### ‘Finish’ (bày) with place-nominal complement

The translation equivalent of intransitive ‘finish’ is a reflexive transitive kìlɛ̀wⁿ/kìlɛ̄n-nà or stative kìlɛ̀-nà (787). It can have antipassive (787a) or middle (787b-c) sense.

(787) a. n̄ =nàⁿ ŋ̀ kílɛ́wⁿ

1Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg finish.Pfv

‘I finished.’

b. mànàmì ŋ̄ kìlɛ̀wⁿ

dance(n) 3ReflSg **finish**.Pfv

‘The festivities are over.’

c. mànàmī kìlɛ̀-nā nì

dance(n) **finish**-Ppl it.is

‘The festivities are coming to an end.’

This verb can take a VP complement consisting of, or ending with, a place nominal with suffix ‑gàwⁿ (uncompounded §4.2.1.5.1, compounded §5.1.6.3). The verb of the complement VP is perfective, subject to minor reductions (sùwōò ‘sang’ to sùwō)

(788) a. ì yè= ē kìlɛ̄ⁿ [sùwō / … -gàwⁿ]

kìlɛ̄m [ … / mànàmī

3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl **finish**.Pfv [sing.Pfv / dance.Pfv **-place**]

‘They have finished singing/dancing.’

(< sùwōò/sùwō-lò ‘sing’)

b. n̄ =nàⁿ ŋ̀ kílɛ́n dùwɔ̀-mɛ̄ŋ-gàwⁿ]

1Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg **finish**.Pfv beer-drink.Pfv**-place**]

‘I have finished drinking beer.’

c. n̄ =nàⁿ ŋ̀ kílɛ́ⁿ [tāŋ / yàŋ̄ -gàwⁿ]

1Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg **finish**.Pfv [ascend.Pfv/descend.Pfv **-place**]

‘I have finished going up/going down.’

### ‘Abandon’ (bày) with nominalized VP complement

The verb ‘leave (sb, sth), abandon, leave alone’ is simple transitive bày/bàȳ (789a). It can also take a nominalized VP complement in the sense ‘(definitively) cease VPing; give up VPing’ (789b-d).

(789) a. n̄ =nāⁿ sèēdū bày

1Sg Sbj/Obj S **leave**.Pfv

‘I have left Seydou (alone).’

b. n̄ =nàŋ̄ kɯ̀ɯ̄ / … / … bày

" =nàn … / tāŋ-gū / dūwɛ̄ "

1Sg Sbj/Obj run.Nom / ascend-Nom / enter.Nom **leave**.Pfv

‘I have (permanently) given up running/going up/going in.’

[< kɯ̀ɯ̀/kɯ̀ɯ̄, tāwⁿ/tā-nā, dwɔ̄/dɔ̄-lɔ̄ ]

c. n̄ =nàn̄ dùwɔ̀-mɛ̀m̄ bày

1Sg Sbj/Obj beer-drink.Nom **leave**.Pfv

‘I have (permanently) given up beer drinking.’

d. n̄ =nàⁿ [[ŋ̀ kúŋgóló-yè] kɔ̄-lɛ̄] bày

1Sg Sbj/Obj [[1Sg dog-Pl] hit-Nom] **leave**.Pfv

‘I have (permanently) given up hitting my dogs.’

## Purposive and causal clauses

A number of constructions can function as purposive clauses. The flexibility is attributable to the fact that a VP or clause immediately following a motion clause is often purposive in function, e.g. ‘come and eat’ = ‘come in order to eat’.

### Motion verb plus tonally marked purposive VP

This construction takes the form of a VP added to a main-clause with ‘come’ or ‘go’. There is no purposive morpheme. Instead, the first word of the purposive VP (excluding object pronominals) is modified tonally. The modified word is therefore an intransitive verb, a transitive verb preceded only by a pronominal object, or a noun functioning as object of a transitive verb.

#### Chained intransitive purposive

A same-subject intransitive purposive VP can be added to a main clause with ‘go’ or ‘come’. The purposive verb is segmentally based on the Pfv, regardless of the inflectional category of the main clause. The Pfv verb may have its usual tonal form, or it may undergo tonal changes in this construction only. For variants without the special tonal form, see the end of this section.

(790) presents simple intransitive main clauses. The verbs are kùmù/kùmū‑nà ‘sleep’, sā(g)ā/sāgà ‘lie down, go to bed’, and pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘sit’.

(790) a. à kùmù

3Sg sleep-Pfv

‘He/She slept.’

b. à sāgā

3Sg lie.down-Pfv

‘He/She lay down.’

c. à pwɔ̀

3Sg sit.Pfv

‘He/She sat down.’

The same verbs in purposive function after a main clause are featured in (791). The main clause can be in any indicative category (tense, aspect, polarity). The purposive verb is invariant. In perfective positive clauses, presence of the otherwise optional RemPfv particle is associated with the tone change in the purposive verb (791-792); see discussion of (795-796) below.

(791) a. à bē gà kùmú/sàgá/pẁɔ́

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

‘He/She came in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

b. m̄ bē gà kùmú/sàgá/pẁɔ́

1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

‘I came in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

c. ŋ̀ gà bē bē kùmú/sàgá/pẁɔ́

1Sg Ipfv Fut come.Pfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

‘I will come in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

d. ŋ̀ gà bē kùmú/sàgá/pẁɔ́

1Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

‘I come (often) in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

e. à tè bē kùmú/sàgá/pẁɔ́

3Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

‘He/She did not come in order to sleep/lie.down/sit down.’

If the main clause is imperative or hortative, the tonally modified purposive verb is not used. Instead, the regular Pfv verb appears (792).

(792) a. (yèⁿ) bē kùmù/sāgā/pwɔ̀

(Imprt.2Pl) come.Pfv sleep.Pfv/lie.down.Pfv/sit.Pfv

‘Come-2Sg(-2Pl) sleep/lie down/sit down!’

b. kè só kùmù/sāgā/pwɔ̀

Hort go.Pfv sleep.Pfv/lie.down.Pfv/sit.Pfv

‘Let’s-2Sg go sleep/lie down/sit down!’

The main clause must have simple bē/bē ‘come’ or sò/sò ‘go’ as its verb. Other motion verbs do not occur in this construction. My assistant rejected (793a). Even when another motion verb is combined with a following ‘come’ or ‘go’, the final verb is in regular Pfv rather than in purposive form (793b‑d).

(793) a. #à tāwⁿ/dwɔ̄ gà kùmú/sàgá/pẁɔ́

#3Sg ascend.Pfv/enter.Pfv RemPfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

intended: ‘He/She ascended/entered in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

b. à tāŋ/dwɔ̄ gà bē

3Sg ascend.Pfv/enter.Pfv RemPfv come.Pfv

kùmù/sāgā/pwɔ̀

sleep.Pfv/lie.down.Pfv/sit.Pfv

‘He/She came up/came in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

c. à tāŋ/dwɔ̄ gà sō kùmù/ pwɔ̀

3Sg ascend.Pfv/enter.Pfv RemPfv go.Pfv sleep.Pfv/sit.Pfv

‘He/She went up/went in in order to sleep/sit down.’

d. à tāŋ/dwɔ̄ gà sò sāgā

3Sg ascend.Pfv/enter.Pfv RemPfv go.Pfv lie.down.Pfv

‘He/She came up/came in in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

The form of the intransitive purposive verb, compared with the regular Pfv and Ipfv stems, is displayed in (794). In (794a‑e) an {L\*H} tone overlay on the segmental form of the Pfv stem produces the purposive. The final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) is raised to H and the rest of the stem is L‑toned. In (794f) this overlay is realized as H on stems of the shape Cvwⁿ, the smallest shape allowed for verbs other than ‘come’ and ‘go’. The stems in (794g‑h) use the tonally unmodified Pfv stem as purposive, except that the verb in (794h) adds final w. The stems in (794g-h) have contour-toned Pfv’s and include onmatopoeias (‘sneeze’ in two variants) and a number of borrowings from Fulfulde.

(794) purposive Pfv Ipfv gloss

a. kùmú kùmù kùmū-nà ‘sleep’

wàá wàà wàā ‘die’

sàá sàà sàā ‘laugh (v)’

nùú nùū nùū-lù ‘swim’

b. pẁɔ́ pwɔ̀ pɔ̀-lɔ̀ ‘sit’

dẁɔ́ dwɔ̄ dɔ̄-lɔ̄ ‘enter’

c. sàgá sā(g)ā sāgà ‘lie down’

d. yìráwⁿ yìràwⁿ yìrān-nà ‘help’

gààmú gāāmū gāāmù ‘yawn’

kùùnú kūūnū kūūnù

e. bìrìjá bīrījà bīrījà ‘roll oneself on ground’

mànàmí mànàmì mànàmī ‘dance’

nùmàsáwⁿ nùmàsāwⁿ nùmàsā-nà ‘forget’

f. téwⁿ tēwⁿ tē-lēwⁿ ‘jump’

séwⁿ sēwⁿ sēn-dē ‘fall’

g. yīɛ̀rɛ̀ yīɛ̀rɛ̀ yīɛ̀rɛ̀ ‘slip’

fāātì fāātì fāātì ‘pass away’

gɔ̄ɔ̄jɔ̀ gɔ̄ɔ̄jɔ̀ gɔ̄ɔ̄jɔ̀ ‘play a child’s game’

fàāmù fàāmù fàāmù ‘understand’

tìsōò tìsōò tìsōò ‘sneeze’

h. cīyɛ̀wⁿ cīyɛ̀ⁿ cīyɛ̀-nɛ̀ ‘sneeze’

My assistant also produces an alternative construction where ‘come’ or ‘go’ is followed by the regular Pfv intransitive verb, without the {L\*H} overlay. This is a different construction rather than a variant of the same construction. When the motion clause is perfective positive, the {L\*H} overlay is consistently applied when remote perfective (RemPfv) gà follows the Pfv motion verb. This construction is interpreted as explicitly purposive (‘in order to’). (795a´) was rejected.

(795) a. à bē/sō gà kùmú / sàgá / pẁɔ́

3Sg come.Pfv/go.Pfv RemPfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

‘He/She came/went in order to sleep/lie down/sit down.’

a´. # à bē/sō gà kùmù / sāgā / pwɔ̀

#3Sg come.Pfv/go.Pfv RemPfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

intended: =(a)

The overlay is absent when gà is absent. (796a) is not explicitly purposive. (796a´) with purposive {L\*H} overlay in the absence of gà was rejected.

(796) a. à bē/sō kùmù/ … /pwɔ̀

" bē/sò … / sāgā / …

3Sg come.Pfv/go.Pfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

‘He/She came/went and slept/lay down/sat down.’

a´. #à bē/sō kùmú/sàgá/pẁɔ́

#3Sg come.Pfv/go.Pfv sleep.Purp/lie.down.Purp/sit.Purp

intended: =(a)

When the motion-verb clause is other than perfective positive, only the presence/absence of the purposive {L\*H} overlay distinguishes the two constructions (797a‑b).

(797) a. à gà bē kùmú

3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv sleep.**Purp**

'He/She comes (regularly) in order to sleep.'

b. à gà bē kùmù

3Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv sleep.**Pfv**

'He/She comes (regularly) and sleeps.'

#### Chained transitive purposive with pronominal object

When the purposive VP following ‘come’ or ‘go’ is transitive and has a pronominal (including reflexive) object, unless the object is 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) the tonal changes described in the preceding section are applied to the verb in purposive function. As with intransitives, the purposive tone overlay is optional but common.

When 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) combines with the {L\*H} overlay, the resulting tone pattern on the verb depends on the verb’s weight and its input tonal form as Pfv stem. If the inputted verb is L‑toned and prosodically light (e.g. CvCv), it becomes all-H-toned. ŋ̀ (+H) by itself is sufficient to raise wàgà to wágá (§3.6.3.1.1), but in this case is makes more sense to apply {L\*H} first (wàgà → wàgá), and then have the floating H raise the tone of wà to wá. See especially (804-805) below where trisyllabics have H.L.H patterns as purposives after 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H). When 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) precedes a verb whose Pfv is contour-toned, the floating H has no effect and the verb gets the purposive {L\*H} overlay (798b).

(798) a. à bē gà ŋ̀ wágá / …

ǹ … / tɔ́ŋɔ́

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv 1Sg kill.Pfv/look.at.Pfv

‘He/She came in order to see me.’

(< wàgà, tɔ̀ŋɔ̀)

b. à bē gà ŋ̀ sìná/mùú

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv 1Sg knock.down.Purp/insult.Purp

‘He/She came in order to knock me down/insult me.’

(< sīnā, mūū)

With pronominal objects (including reflexives) other than 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H), the pronominal has its usual form and the verb shows the same tonal modifications observed with intransitive verbs (preceding section). The verbs in (799) now appear with LH‑tones as opposed to the H‑tones in (798a).

(799) a. m̄ bē gà= à / āⁿ wàgá / …

" " " à / ān … / tɔ̀ŋɔ́

1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv 3Sg/2Sg kill.Purp/look.at.Purp

‘I came in order to kill/look at him-or-her/you-Sg.’

b. à sō gè= è wàgá/tɔ̀ŋɔ́

3Sg go.Pfv RemPfv 3Pl kill.Purp/look.at.Purp

'He/She went in order to kill/look at them.'

c. à bē gà m̄ mɛ̀ẃⁿ

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv 3ReflSg drink.Purp

'He/She came to drink.' (reflexive)

#### Chained transitive purposive with tone-raised object

Examples (800a-b) are simple transitives, perfective and imperfective respectively.

(800) a. à [(n̄) dàndì] bāgā

3Sg [(3ReflSg) chili] take.out.Pfv

‘He/Shex took out (his/herx) chili peppers.

b. à gā Ø dàndì bāgà

gà [n̄ dàndì]

3Sg Ipfv [(3ReflSg) chili] take.out.Ipfv

‘He/Shex takes out (his/herx) chili peppers.

In (801a-b), ‘take out (his/herx) chili peppers’ is converted into a purposive clause with coindexed subject. The main clause with ‘come’ is perfective in (801a) and imperfective in (801b), showing that the purposive clause is insensitive to the aspect of the main clause. The purposive verb, which is ‘take out, remove’ in these examples, has the form of an unmodified Pfv stem in both (801a) and (801b). The only purposive marking is a tonal change on the object: L‑toned dàndì ‘chili (pepper)’ has become LH‑toned dàndí.

(801) a. à bē gā [[Ø dàndí bāgā]

gà [[n̄ dàndí]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[(3ReflSg) chili] take.out.Pfv]

‘He/Shex came to take out (his/herx) chili peppers.’ (< dàndì)

b. à gà bē [[Ø dàndí] bāgā]

[[n̄ dàndí]

3Sg Ipfv come.Pfv [(3ReflSg) **chili**] take.out.Pfv]

‘He/Shex comes to take out (his/herx) chili peppers.’ (< dàndì)

The tonology of object nouns in purposive clauses with the same verb ‘take out’ is exemplified in the arrays below. It is consistent with the tonal changes of the same nouns under focalization (§13.1.3). This involves raising the tone of the final syllable (or monosyllabic mora) of the final word in the object NP to H where phonologically possible, sometimes triggering secondary tonal changes in preceding syllables. It would be incorrect to conclude that transitive purposive clauses require object focalization. For example, pronominal objects do not take focalized independent form in purposive VPs; instead, they are the usual pronominal proclitics, e.g. in (798) and (799) above. Rather, the final H‑tone in a purposive VP is realized on the first prosodic word or constituent of the purposive clause, whether a verb or an object NP.

In an /L/-melodic noun, the final syllable is raised to H before the verb, whether the following verb begins with L or M tone (802a). An /M/-melodic stem is raised in its entirety to H (802b). In iterative and compound nouns and in N-Adj combinations, only the final stem is raised in this way. If the composite input is M-M, it first becomes M-H and ends up as L-H after tone sandhi (M#H-to-L#H). /H/-melodic nouns can’t get any higher-toned, so they do not change (802c). Nouns with contour-toned melodies also do not change (802d-e).

(802) noun gloss ‘in order to take out X’

a. /L/ melody

dɔ̀ɔ̀ ‘knife’ dɔ̀ɔ́ bāgā

dàndì ‘chili pepper’ dàndí bāgā

tìŋgè ‘stool’ tìŋgé bāgā

tìyòwⁿ ‘ax’ tìyóm bāgā

dàmbà ‘daba (hoe)’ dàmbá(á) bāgā

kùmbùrù ‘insect’ kùmbùrú bāgā

sòmpùwò ‘donkey’ sòmpùwó bāgā

b. /M/ melody

*short*

tēē ‘meat’ téé bāgā

tyɛ̄ ‘oil’ tyɛ́ bāgā

tīmī swōⁿ ‘foul smell’ tìmì-swóm bāgā

*longer*

yɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘fish’ yɔ̀gɔ́ bāgā

tīgēlɛ̄wⁿ ‘cut (wound)’ tìgèlɛ́m bāgā

sūmpōrō ‘biting fly sp.’ sùmpòró bāgā

wārābā ‘lion’ wàràbá bāgā

sɔ̄gɔ̄-sɔ̄gɔ̄ ‘round basket’ sɔ̀gɔ̀-sɔ̀gɔ́ bāgā

c. /H/ melody

síbō ‘ashes’ síbó bāgā

sɔ́gɔ̄ ‘milk’ sɔ́gɔ́ bāgā

sórógō ‘door-lock’ sórógó bāgā

d. …LH

sɔ̀mɔ́ ‘pick-hoe’ sɔ̀mɔ́ bāgā

sɔ̄gɔ̀-lɛ́wⁿ ‘gutterspout’ sɔ̄gɔ̀-lɛ́m bāgā

tìmbɔ́gɔ̄ ‘ladder’ tìmbɔ́gɔ́ bāgā

tàjí ‘basket’ tàjí bāgā

e. …ML

tēè ‘tea’ tēè bāgā

sɔ̄llɔ̀ ‘dust’ sɔ᷆llɔ́ bāgā

sūkɔ̄rɔ̀ ‘sugar’ sūkɔ̀rɔ́ bāgā

These tonal changes are not affected by the presence of a pronominal possessor other than 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) before the object noun. In (803a-b), ‘daba’ and ‘chili (pepper)’ have their usual purposive tones.

(803) a. à bē gà [[n̄ dàmbá(á)] bāgā]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[3ReflSg **daba**] take.out.Pfv]

‘He/She came in order to take out his/her (own) daba.’

b. à bē gè= [[ē dàndí] bāgā]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Pl **chili**] take.out.Pfv]

‘He/She came in order to take out our chili pepper(s).’

When the possessor of the object is 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H), the purposive object noun first takes its regular purposive form, then if there is an initial L‑toned sequence, the floating H attaches to the left edge of the noun. The result is HLH, reduced on short noun stems to all-H.

For /L/ melody, if the noun is long enough (trisyllabic, or bisyllabic with initial heavy syllable), both the initial H‑tone from the 1Sg possessor and the final purposive H‑tone are audible, with an intervening L‑tone (804a). If the noun is too short to accommodate the full HLH, it surfaces as H‑toned, effectively sacrificing the medial L (804b).

(804) a. à bē gà [[ŋ̀ sómpùwó / …] sàwⁿ]

[[ǹ … / dândí]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg **donkey/chili**] buy.Pfv]

‘He/She came in order to buy my donkey/chili peppers.’

b. à bē gà [[ǹ tíyóⁿ/tyɛ́/dɔ́ɔ́] sàwⁿ]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg **ax/oil/knife**] buy.Pfv]

‘He/She came in order to buy my ax/oil/knife.’

For /M/ melody, the output has the same tones on the object as with /L/ melody, except that monosyllabic Cvv becomes all-H‑toned (805b).

(805) a. à bē gà [[ŋ̀ wáràbá / …] bāgā]

[[ǹ … / tígèlɛ́wⁿ]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg **lion/cut**] take.away.Pfv]

‘He/She came in order to take away my lion/remove (=heal) my cut.’

b. à bē gà [[ŋ̀ yɔ̀gɔ́ⁿ / téé]] sàwⁿ]

[[ǹ … / téé]]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg **fish/meat**] buy.Pfv]

‘He/She came in order to buy my fish/meat.’

With rising /LH/ melody, the output is HLH if the original L‑toned stretch is long enough, otherwise all-H. Example: kàlàmàntùwɔ́ⁿ ‘giant millipede’, ŋ̀ kálámántùwɔ́ⁿ ‘my giant millipede’ (whether independent or as purposive object). With some /LH/ CvCv stems like tàjí ‘basket’, my assistant seemed to be aiming at 1Sg possessor ǹ tâjí with <HL>H in careful speech but in allegro speech it came out as tájí.

### Clausal hālà ~ sālà ‘whether’ plus sequential clause

Another purposive construction that can be added to any main clause begins with hālà ~ sālà, which also occurs in quoted questions and in dubitative ‘whether …’ clauses (§17.2.1.1). It could be loosely glossed here as ‘in the hope that …’. This is followed by a sequential clause: a subject pronominal, the particle bè, and a VP with Pfv verb. A 3Sg subject pronominal is logophoric if coindexed with the main-clause subject, since the purposive clause expresses the intention of the actor (806a).

(806) a. à dàmbā sàwⁿ

3Sg daba buy.Pfv

[sālà m̄ bè pīīⁿ sɔ̀gā= [à nī]]

[**whether** LogoSg Seq millet cultivate.Pfv [3Sg Inst]]

‘Hex bought a daba (=hoe) in order for himx to cultivate millet with it.’

b. n̄ dàmbā sàwⁿ

1Sg daba buy.Pfv

[sālā m̀ bè pīīⁿ sɔ̀gā= [à nī]]

[**whether** 1Sg **Seq** millet cultivate.Pfv [3Sg Inst]

‘I bought a daba (=hoe) in order for me to cultivate millet with it.’

### Nominalized VP plus postposition làgà

The purposive element can be made explicit by adding làgà (§8.3.1) to a nominalized verb or VP (807). This làgà is a slightly different tonal form of the usual postnominal purposive-causal postposition lāgà (§8.3.1). Because it begins with L‑tone, a preceding L‑toned syllable undergoes Final Tone-Raising (807b).

(807) à bē gà [[ŋ̀ kɔ̄lɛ̄ / …] làgà]

[[ǹ … / tɔ̀ŋɛ̄]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [[1Sg hit.Nom/look.at.Nom] **Purp**]

‘He/She came here for the purpose of hitting/looking at me.’ (< tɔ̀ŋɛ̀)

b. m̄ bē gà [sɔ̀gɔ̄ / kùmū / pwɔ̀-gū làgà]

1Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [cultivate.Nom/sleep.Nom/sit-VblN **Purp**]

‘I came to cultivate/sleep/sit.’

(< sɔ̀gɔ̀/sɔ̀gɔ̄, kùmù/kùmū-nà, pwɔ̀/pɔ̀-lɔ̀)

### Bare subjunctive clause in purposive function

An alternative construction is a motion verb followed by a subjunctive clause, which is bare (without an overt clause-initial complementizer). In (808a-b) the subjects of the two clauses are coindexed, which for third person requires a logophoric subject in the subjunctive clause (808a). It could alternatively be parsed as 3ReflSg, which has the same form as LogoSg.

(808) a. à bē gà [ŋ̄ gālà ŋ̀ wɔ́gá]

3Sg come.Pfv RemPfv [**LogoSg** **Sbjn** 1Sg kill.Pfv]

‘He/She came here in order to kill me.’

b. n̄ =nàn̄ dàmbā sàwⁿ,

1Sg Sbj/Obj daba buy.Pfv,

ŋ̀ gālà [ɲ̀ cíɥé] sɔ̀gā= [à nī]

1Sg **Sbjn** [1Sg field] cultivate.Pfv [3Sg Inst]

‘I bought a daba (=hoe) so I can cultivate my field.’ (< cìɥè, sɔ̀gɔ̀)

The subjunctive construction can also be used when the two subjects are disjoint, as long as the second clause is positive (809a). If the second clause is negative, it takes prohibitive form (809b).

(809) m̄ bē [sàmù-nán nī]

1Sg come.Pfv [soap Inst]

āŋ gālà jùgù-yè ɲīnā= [à nī]

2Sg **Sbjn** garment-Pl wash.Pfv [3Sg Inst]

‘I brought some soap for you to wash the clothes with.’ (< sàmù-náwⁿ, ɲīnī)

b. ē gā bɛ̀ndɛ̀ bīyɛ̄gà

1Pl Ipfv roof replaster.Ipfv

[à māⁿ sō bòwⁿ]

[3Sg **Proh** go.Pfv leak.Pfv]

‘We will replaster the roof (with mud) so it won’t go and leak.’

### hālà ~ sālà or yɛ̄là with future clause in purposive contexts

hālà ~ sālà (§17.5.2) and yɛ̄là are clause-initial dubitative markers that are sometimes translatable as ‘whether’ or ‘hopefully’ and that can occur in quoted or subordinated interrogatives. Here we focus on passages in which the proposition introduced by ‘whether’ expresses an intention or a hoped-for event. In (810a), hālà is best translated as ‘so that’ (purposive). In (810b), yɛ̄là expresses a hoped-for event and the main proposition (chatting) could be construed as the means to this end (Hare keeps talking until Hyena dozes off).

(810) a. [āŋ gā= à kāỳⁿ]

[2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv]

hālà ē gā bē sùtūrā [kwààn-jíí sɛ̀bɛ̄-ỳ]

**whether** 1Pl **Ipfv Fut** be.protected.Pfv [rain-water issue-Loc]

‘You (will) do it (=work), so that we will be protected (by God) in the matter of rain.’ (2017-02 @ 03:07)

b. sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ [wàŋgé gú] gā gàlwāājà

now [hare Def] Ipfv converse.Ipfv

[[kàŋgé gú] bwɛ̄ỳ],

[[hyena Def] Comit],

[yɛ̄là ŋ̄ gā bā= à hīīlà]

[**whether** LogoSg **Ipfv Fut** 3Sg deceive.Pfv]

ŋ̀ gālà n̄ tūwō

Logo Sbjn 3ReflSg depart.Pfv

‘Then the hare was chatting with the hyena. He (=hare) hoped to deceive it (=hyena) and get away.’ (2017-07 @ 00:38 to 00:40)

### māà(ⁿ) ‘that’

For māà(ⁿ) or variant ‘that’ in contexts like ‘see/hear/know that X’, where X is a proposition, see §17.1.6.2.

When the proposition introduced by māà(ⁿ) represents an intention or hoped-for event, the construction can be interpreted as purposive (‘in order that’). The subject of the clause need not be coindexed with a constituent in a higher clause. In (811), ‘rain’ is the subject of the purposive clause but is not present in the higher ‘do’ clause.

(811) āā gā màn tī-nà—, [ālà tē]

2Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv—, [God Dat

māā kwààŋ gà bē

**that** rain(n) Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘What you-Pl do, for God, so that rain comes?’ (2017-02 @ 02:13)

In (812), a same-subject purposive clause is loosely subordinated.

(812) [n̄ tē kìì↑], [mā ŋ̄ gā= ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̄]

[LogoSg PfvNeg get.up.Pfv], [**that** LogoSg Ipfv 3Sg steal.Ipfv]

‘(he said:) “I didn’t get up (intending) that I would steal it.” ’ (2017-05 @ 00:51)

### Causal clause

For many young people, French *parce que* is now standard, as in other languages of the zone. Native alternatives are described below.

#### bàdì ~ bādì ‘because’

‘Because’ is expressed by bàdì ~ bādì at the beginning of the causal clause. It can become bàdī before an L‑tone by Final Tone-Raising.

(813) a. ǹ tē sɔ̀gɔ̀-lɛ̄ⁿ sàwⁿ,

1Sg PfvNeg sheep buy.Pfv,

bàdī [à sɔ̀ŋɔ̄] ŋ̀ kōⁿ yāālōⁿ

**because** [3Sg price] PsRefl be.much a.lot

‘I didn’t buy a sheep, because its price is too much.’

b. sèēdū tè bē,

S PfvNeg come.Pfv,

bàdī [à nàn] nà ŋ̀ kɛ̄nāwⁿ

**because** [3Sg mother] IpfvNeg PsRefl healthy

‘Seydou didn’t come, because his mother is sick.’ (< nàwⁿ)

Textual examples are 2017-01 @ 00:49 and 2017-02 @ 01:42.

#### sābì ~ sābù ‘because’

This is another clause-initial (or preclausal) ‘because’ particle. It belongs to a regional set derived from Arabic *sabab-* ‘reason’. Cf. noun sààbí ‘cause, reason’ in (354) above.

The assistant generally gave bàdì ~ bādì in elicitation, perhaps because he considered it to be more authentic while sābì ~ sābù is a borrowing. Both are frequently set off prosodically from the following clause. sābì ~ sābù is actually more common in texts. Textual examples are at 2017-01 @ 01:57, 2017‑03 @ 00:29, 2017-07 @ 01:58, 2017-08 @ 00:30, 2017-09 @ 00:52.

# Anaphora

## Reflexive

### Reflexive nonsubjects

When the subject and object of a transitive clause are co-indexed, the object is expressed either as a simple pronominal proclitic preceding the verb, or alternatively as a possessed form of ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘head’. Thus ‘I saw myself’ can be expressed as “I saw me” or as “I saw [my head].” Other co-indexed nonsubjects including possessors (of nonsubjects) and postpositional complements are usually expressed by simple pronominal proclitics.

The presentation below begins with the pronominal reflexives and covers the ‘head’ reflexives in §18.1.1.6 below.

#### Simple pronominal reflexive objects

In the pronominal reflexive construction, first and second person pronominals have their regular object forms. Third-person reflexive pronominals have the same form as logophorics, and therefore differ from third-person nonreflexive pronominals.

(814) category regular object reflexive object

a. 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) ŋ̀ (+H)

1Pl ē ē

2Sg āⁿ āⁿ

2Pl āā āā

b. 3Sg à ŋ̄

3Pl è ē

c. Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ ŋ̄

Logo/3ReflPl ē ē

3ReflSg ŋ̄ is segmentally but not tonally identical to 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H). Both of these are sharply distinct at least segmentally from nonreflexive 3Sg à. 3ReflPl ē is identical to 1Pl ē, both of them being tonally distinct from 3Pl è (before tone sandhi).

The pronominal reflexives in (814) can function as object, as nonsubject possessor, or as postpositional complement.

#### First and second person pronominal reflexives

Here the subject is already a 1st/2nd-person pronominal. It has the same form as the subsequent coindexed pronominal, except for variable allomorphs of the 1Sg pronominal.

(815) shows subject-object combinations for perfective positive and imperfective positive. PfvNeg tè and IpfvNeg nà follow the pattern of Ipfv gà. The object proclitics have the same forms as in nonreflexive clauses. For example, 1Sg is ŋ̀ (+H) both in reflexive ‘I saw myself’ and in nonreflexive ‘They saw me.’

(815) perfective Sbj=Obj ipfv pfvneg

unlinked linked

1Sg n̄ =nàⁿ ŋ̀ (+H) ŋ̀ gā ŋ̀ (+H) ǹ tē ŋ̀ (+H)

1Pl ē y= ē ē gē= ē ē tè= ē

2Sg ā= āⁿ (āⁿ yà= āⁿ) āŋ gā= āⁿ ān tà= āⁿ

2Pl āā yà= āā āā gā= āā āā tà= āā

In the perfective positive, the bidirectional case-marker yè is obligatory in the plural categories, and its allomorph =nàⁿ is obligatory after 1Sg subject. BCM yè is possible but is usually omitted in the 2Sg, whereupon the two āⁿ morphemes fuse as ā=āⁿ.

The 1Sg forms are illustrated in (816) with /M/-melodic kwāā/kɔ̄-lā ‘hit’, and with /L/‑melodic kày/kà-nà ‘see’ and kɛ̀rɛ̀/kɛ̀rɛ̄ ‘throw’.

(816) a. n̄ =nàⁿ ŋ̀ kwāā / káy / kɛ́rɛ́

1Sg Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv/see.Pfv/throw-Pfv

‘I hit-Past/saw/threw myself.’

b. ŋ̀ gā ŋ̀ kɔ̄-lā / ká-ná / kɛ́rɛ̀

1Sg Ipfv 1Sg hit-Ipfv/see-Ipfv/throw.Ipfv

‘I (often) hit-Present/see/throw myself.’

c. ǹ tē ŋ̀ kwāā / káy / kɛ́rɛ́

1Sg PfvNeg 1Sg hit.Pfv/see.Pfv/throw-Pfv

‘I did not hit/see/throw myself.’

d. ǹ nā ŋ̀ kɔ̄-lā / ká-ná / kɛ́rɛ̀

1Sg Ipfv 1Sg hit-Ipfv/see-Ipfv/throw.Ipfv

‘I do not hit/see/throw myself.’

The other three pronominal categories in (815) above are illustrated in (817) for the perfective positive, with kwāā ‘hit’ as before, plus tɔ̀ŋɔ̀/tɔ̀ŋɔ́ ‘look at’.

(817) a. ē yè= ē kwāà / tɔ̀ŋɔ̀

1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv

‘We hit-Past/looked at ourselves.’

b. ā(ⁿ)= āŋ kwāà / …

" ān … / tɔ̀ŋɔ̀

2Sg 2Sg hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv

‘You-Sg hit-Past/looked at yourself.’

c. āā yà= āā kwāà / tɔ̀ŋɔ̀

2Pl Sbj/Obj 2Pl hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv

‘You-Pl hit-Past/looked at yourselves.’

Imperfective positive examples are in (818). Counterparts with IpfvNeg nà and PfvNeg tè have the same tonal patterns.

(818) a. ē gē= ē kɔ̄-lā / tɔ̀ŋɔ̄

1Pl Ipfv 1Pl hit.Ipfv / look.at.Ipfv

‘We hit/look at ourselves.’

b. āŋ gā= āŋ kɔ̄-lā / …

" " ān … / tɔ̀ŋɔ̄

2Sg Ipfv 2Sg hit.Ipfv / look.at.Ipfv

‘You-Sg hit/look at yourself.’

c. āā gā= āā kɔ̄-lɔ̄ / tɔ̀ŋɔ̄

2Pl Sbj/Obj 2Pl hit.Ipfv / look.at.Ipfv

‘You-Pl hit/look at yourselves.’

The forms illustrated above for reflexive objects can also function as reflexive possessors of object nouns. (819) illustrates with sìbò ‘snake’.

(819) a. n̄ =nà [ǹ síbó] kày

1Sg Sbj/Obj [**1Sg** snake] see.Pfv

‘I saw my snake.’

b. ā= [āⁿ sìbō] kày

2Sg [**2Sg** snake] see.Pfv

‘You-Sg saw your snake.’

c. āā yà= [āā sìbō] kày

2Pl Sbj/Obj [**2Pl** snake] see.Pfv

‘You-Pl saw your snake.’

b. n̄ ɲīnā dō [[ǹ síbó] tē]

1Sg mouse give.Pfv [[**1Sg** snake] Dat]

‘I gave a mouse to my snake.’

The reflexive possessor forms in (819) are identical to those used for nonreflexive possessor (i.e. not coindexed to the subject). For example, ‘my snake’ has the same form ǹ síbó in (819a) above and in (820).

(820) à [ǹ síbó] kày

3Sg [1Sg snake] see.Pfv

‘He/She saw my snake.’

1st/2nd person pronominals can also occur as postpositional complements, even when coindexed with the subject. The most favorable environment for simple pronominals is when they denote spatial landmarks. In (821), the pronominal complement is coindexed with the subject. As usual for 1st/2nd person pronominals, there is no overtly reflexive morphology.

(821) a. n̄ =nàŋ̄ kɔ̀yɔ́wⁿ yàgā [m̀ mūù]

1Sg Sbj/Obj stone put.down.Pfv [**1Sg** under]

‘I put the stone under myself.’

b. ē kɔ̀yɔ́wⁿ yàgè= [ē mūù]

1Pl stone put.down.Pfv [**1Pl** under]

‘We put the stone under ourselves.’

Dative tē, by contrast, strongly favors full ‘head’ reflexives.

#### Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ versus 1Sg

The simple pronominal reflexive for 3Sg, i.e. when the subject is a 3Sg pronoun, a LogoSg pronoun, or a nonpronominal NP that would have 3Sg agreement, is ŋ̄. It is also the LogoSg pronominal in any syntactic function (including subject).

Logo (or 3ReflSg) ŋ̄ merges with the 1Sg proclitic due to tone sandhi in some contexts but not others.

(822) context 1Sg Logo/3ReflSg relationship

a. perfective positive, intransitive subject ŋ̄ ŋ̄ homophonous

perfective positive, transitive subject n̄ (=nàⁿ) n̄ (=nàⁿ) homophonous

b. subject, before inflectional morpheme ŋ̀ ŋ̄ distinct

c. nonsubject, before L‑tone ŋ̀ (+H) ŋ̄ distinct

nonsubject, before M‑tone ŋ̀ ŋ̄ distinct

nonsubject, before H‑tone ŋ̀ ŋ̀ homophonous

Perfective positive subjects, intransitive and transitive, are illustrated in (823a-b) for LogoSg and (823a-b) for 1Sg. They are homophonous, as pointed out in §4.3.4.1.1-2 above.

(823) a. à yē [**m̄** bē]

3Sg said [LogoSg come.Pfv]

‘He/Shex said that he/shex came.’

b. à yē [**n̄** (=nàⁿ) sūgō kwāā]

3Sg said [LogoSg (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv]

‘He/Shex said that he/shex hit a goat.’

(824) a. **m̄** bē

1Sg come.Pfv

‘I came.’

b. **n̄** (=nàⁿ) sūgō kwāā

1Sg (Sbj/Obj) goat hit.Pfv

‘I hit-Past a goat.’

Subjects in marked inflectional categories are illustrated in (825a-c) for LogoSg and (825a-c) for 1Sg. They are tonally distinct, ŋ̄ versus ŋ̀ (subject to place assimilation, e.g. m̄ versus m̀ before labial).

(825) a. à yē [**n̄** tè bē]

3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg come.Pfv]

‘He/Shex said that he/shex didn’t come.’

b. à yē [**ŋ̄** gā bē]

3Sg said [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]

‘He/Shex said that he/shex comes.’

c. à yē [**n̄** nā bē]

3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg come.Ipfv]

‘He/Shex said that he/shex doesn’t come.’

(826) a. **ǹ** tè bē

1Sg PfvNeg come.Pfv

‘I didn’t come.’

b. **ŋ̀** gà bē

1Sg Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘I come.’

c. **ǹ** nà bē

1Sg IpfvNeg come.Ipfv

‘I don’t come.’

Examples (827a-b) illustrate 3ReflSg in nonsubject position before (lexically) L‑toned words, and (828a‑b) does the same for 1Sg. The floating tone associated with 1Sg is realized on the following word, whereupon Final Tone-Raising cannot apply to the 1Sg morpheme. Therefore 3ReflSg ŋ̄ is doubly distinct from 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H).

(827) a. à **ŋ̄** **kày**

3Sg 3ReflSg see.Pfv

‘He/Shex saw himself/herselfx.’

b. à jíí dó [[**n̄** **sɔ̀gɔ̀**] tē]

3Sg water give.Pfv [[3ReflSg sheep] Dat]

‘He/Shex gave water to his/herx sheep-Sg.’

(828) a. à **ŋ̀** **káy**

3Sg 1Sg see.Pfv

‘He/She saw me.’ (< kày)

b. à jíí dó [[**ǹ** **sɔ́gɔ́**] tē]

3Sg water give.Pfv [[1Sg sheep] Dat]

‘He/She gave water to my sheep-Sg.’ (< sɔ̀gɔ̀)

Examples (829a-b) present 3ReflSg nonsubjects before words that begin with M‑tone. (830a-b) does the same for 1Sg. Because a following M‑tone triggers neither Final Tone-Raising (raising 1Sg ŋ̀ to ŋ̄) nor M#H-to-L#H (dropping Logo/3ReflSg ŋ̄ to ŋ̀), the distinction between 3ReflSg (and LogoSg) ŋ̄ and 1Sg ŋ̀ is preserved.

(829) a. à ŋ̄ kwāā

3Sg 3ReflSg hit.Pfv

‘He/Shex hit himself/herselfx.’

b. à jíí dó [[**n̄** sūgō] tē]

3Sg water give.Pfv [[3ReflSg goat] Dat]

‘He/Shex gave water to his/herx goat.’

(830) a. à ŋ̀ kwāā

3Sg 1Sg hit.Pfv

‘He/She hit me.’

b. à jíí dó [[**ǹ** sūgō] tē]

3Sg water give.Pfv [[1Sg goat] Dat]

‘He/Shex gave water to my goat.’

Nonsubject function before lexical H‑tone is effectively limited to possessor function with /H/‑melodic nouns like kúŋgólō ‘dog’. This is illustrated in (831) for ReflSg and in (832) for 1Sg. Here M#H-to-L#H drops 3ReflSg ŋ̄ to ŋ̀, merging with 1Sg.

(831) à [**ŋ̀** kúŋgóló] kwāā

3Sg [3ReflSg dog] hit.Pfv

‘He/Shex hit his/herx dog.’

(832) à [**ŋ̀** kúŋgóló] kwāā

3Sg [1Sg dog] hit.Pfv

‘He/She hit my dog.’

Here a reflexive reading can be coerced by using the full reflexive form with ‘head’ (§18.1.1.6).

#### Combined logophoric and third-person reflexive function

When the subject is logophoric, a reflexive later in the same clause is both logophoric and reflexive. In both functions the singular form is ŋ̄, making glossing ambiguous although no referential ambiguity is present. Here “3ReflSg” is used in interlinears, somewhat arbitrarily.

(833) a. à yē [n̄ =nà ŋ̄ kwāà / tɔ̀ŋɔ̀]

3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj **3ReflSg** hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv]

‘He/Shex said that he/shex hit/looked at himself/herselfx.’

b. à yē

3Sg said

. n̄ =nà ɲīnā dō [[ŋ̄ sìbò] tē]

LogoSg Sbj/Obj mouse give.Pfv [[**3ReflSg** snake] Dat]

‘He/Shex said that he/shex gave a mouse to his/herx (own) snake.’

#### 3Pl reflexive ē

The Logo/3ReflPl pronominal ē is homophonous with 1Pl ē. Together they contrast with 3Pl è. In the perfective positive, the bidirectional case-marker yè is present before the reflexive pronominal. 3Pl subject è combines with yè as (ì) yè (834a,c).

(834) a. (ì) y= ē kwāà / tɔ̀ŋɔ̀

3Pl Sbj/Obj **3ReflPl** hit.Pfv / look.at.Pfv

‘They hit/looked at themselves.’

b. è gè= ē kwāà / tɔ̀ŋɔ̄

3Pl Ipfv **3ReflPl** hit.Ipfv / look.at.Ipfv

‘They hit/look at themselves.’

c. (ì) y= [ē sìbō] kày

3Pl Sbj/Obj [**3ReflPl** snake] see.Pfv

‘They saw their (own) snake.’

d. è ɲīnā dō [[ē sìbò] tē]

3Pl mouse give.Pfv [[**3ReflPl** snake] Dat]

‘They gave a mouse to their (own) snake.’

e. è kɔ̀yɔ́wⁿ yàgà [ē mūù]

3Pl stone put.down.Pfv [**3ReflPl** under]

‘They put the stone under themselves.’

While 3ReflSg ŋ̄ is partially distinguishable from 1Sg ŋ̀ and variants, 3ReflPl ē is indistinguishable from 1Pl ē in the positions where both are possible.

Since the bidirectional case marker is obligatory in both readings, the same ambiguity occurs when the subject is a plural full NP. (835a) and (835b) are homophonous.

(835) a. yùgòm-bē y= ē sèy

woman Sbj/Obj **3ReflSg** tie.Pfv

‘The women tied themselves.’

b. yùgòm-bē y= ē sèy

woman Sbj/Obj **1Pl** tie.Pfv

‘The woman tied us.’

As with 3Sg reflexive object, the only way coerce a reflexive reading is to use the ‘head’ reflexives (§18.1.6).

#### Full reflexives with ‘head’

All of the examples given above with pronominal reflexive objects can be expanded by using a pronominally possessed form of ɲìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘head’, sometimes heard as ɲɛ̀wⁿ. This is the case with 1st/2nd person pronominals when coindexed to the subject. The floating tone of 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) is absorbed by ‘head’ (836b). ‘Head’ is not pluralized morphologically in this construction, even with plural subject.

(836) a. ē gē= [ē ɲìyɛ̀ŋ] kɔ̄-lɔ̄

1Pl Ipfv [1Pl **head**] hit.Ipfv

‘We hit-Present ourselves.’

b. n̄ =nà [ɲ̀ ɲíyɛ́ŋ] kwāā

1Sg Sbj/Obj [1Sg **head**] hit.Pfv

‘I hit-Past myself.’

For third person, the pronominal possessor of ‘head’ is 3ReflSg ŋ̄ or 3ReflPl ē.

(837) a. à gà [ɲ̄ ɲìyɛ̀ŋ] kɔ̄-lɔ̄

3Sg Ipfv [3ReflSg **head**] hit.Ipfv

‘He/She hits himself/herself.’

b. è gè= [ē ɲìyɛ̀ŋ] kɔ̄-lɔ̄

3Pl Ipfv [3ReflPl **head**] hit.Ipfv

‘They hit-Present themselves.’

The phrasing in (837b) avoids the ambiguity between ‘They hit us’ and ‘They hit themselves” with simple reflexives.

Proposed examples with ‘head’ added to a nonsubject possessor were rejected (“I know what you mean but it sounds bad”). This may reflect the fact that the equation ‘my head’ = ‘my body’ = ‘myself’ is less of a stretch in simple transitives like ‘I hit myself’ than as possessor (‘my head’s dog’) where the body is sublimated.

On the other hand, ‘head’ reflexives are regular and pronominal reflexives rare (“I know what you mean…”) as complements of the dative postposition tē.

(838) a. m̄ bē [tēè nī] [[ɲ̀ ɲíyɛ́n] tē]

1Sg come.Pfv [tea Inst] [[1Sg **head**] Dat]

‘I brought the tea to/for myself.’

b. è yàmbāà kēbē [[ē ɲìyɛ̀n] tē]

1Sg house build-Pfv [[3ReflPl **head**] Dat]

‘They built the house for themselves.’

#### Reflexive imperatives

A general issue in languages of the zone is whether “imperative subjects” are on a par with regular subjects (i.e. in indicative clauses). The interaction of imperatives with pronominal or transpersonal reflexivization (excluding ‘head’ reflexives) is the key decider. Those Dogon languages that have transpersonal reflexives show that imperatives lack true subjects, though they mark addressee number. In Cliffs, there is no clear evidence pointing in this direction.

In Cliffs, singular-addressee reflexive imperatives occur without an overt subject and with either pronominal or ‘head’ reflexive (839).

(839) a. āŋ kwāà

2Sg hit.Pfv

‘Hit yourself!’

b. [āɲ ɲìyɛ̀ŋ] kwāà

[2Sg head] hit.Pfv

[=(a)]

For plural addressee, imperative plural morpheme yèⁿ is required (cf. yèm bē ‘come-2Pl!). It combines with 2Pl āā as yà= āā.

(840) a. yà= āā kwāà

Imprt.2Pl 2Pl hit.Pfv

‘Hit yourselves!’

b. yà= [āā ɲìyɛ̀ŋ] kwāà

Imprt.2Pl [2Pl head] hit.Pfv

[=(a)]

### Lexicalized reflexive and pseudo-reflexive verbs

#### Lexicalized reflexives

Many verbs can occur either in classic transitive clauses and also in reflexive constructions. This is the most common pattern for transitive/mediopassive alternations. In the verbs page in the lexical database, these verbs have double entries, one as “tr” and one as “refl” in the valency column. Some examples are in (841). kùwɔ̀jì and yàgà show sharp semantic shifts.

(841) verb (Pfv/Ipfv) transitive reflexive

bàà-būwō ‘warm (sth) up’ ‘warm (oneself) up (in sun, at fire)’

cīyɛ̀-nì ‘assemble, put together’ ‘assemble, come together’

dāŋgè ‘post, affix, stick on’ ‘adhere, stick (to sth)’

dɛ̀ŋɛ̀/dɛ̀ŋɛ̄ ‘lean (sth) against (sth)’ ‘lean (oneself) on/against (sth)’

dīrā/dīrà ‘push, press’ ‘throw oneself (on sth)’

fēllā/fēllà ‘detonate (sth)’ ‘burst, explode’

kāā/kāà ‘shatter (sth)’ ‘be shattered’

kɛ̄wⁿ/kɛ̄-nɛ̄ ‘break, snap (sth)’ ‘(sth) break, snap’

kìlɛ̀wⁿ/kìlɛ̄n-nà ‘finish (sth)’ ‘(sth) finish’

kùwɔ̀jì/kùwɔ̀jī ‘scour, scrape’ ‘show off, strut’

kwāā/kɔ̄-lā bwɛ̄ỳ ‘assemble, put together’ ‘assemble, come together’

ɲīnī/ɲīnì ‘wash (sth), bathe (sb)’ ‘(sb) bathe’

pālà/pālà ‘put in the way’ ‘get in the way’

pāndì/pāndì ‘make a crack in (sth)’ ‘(sth) crack, show a fissure’

pìī-sò/pìī-sò ‘throw forward’ ‘leap forward’

pùgèwⁿ/pùgēn-nà ‘hide (sth, sb)’ ‘hide (oneself)’

sààlò/sààlō ‘hang up’ ‘hang out (with sb)’

sɛ̀ŋɛ̀wⁿ/sɛ̀ŋɛ̄n-nà ‘tilt (sth)’ ‘(sth) tilt’

sīn(d)ì/sīn(d)ì ‘begin (sth)’ ‘(sth) begin’

sùnù/sùnū-nà ‘bend (sth) over’ ‘bend over, bow’

tēwⁿ/tē-lē-wⁿ ‘put (sth) up against’ ‘put oneself up against’

wābì/wābì ‘change (sth)’ ‘(sth, sb) change’ variant wɔ̄bì

yàgà/yàgā ‘put (down)’ ‘act as though, pretend’

Some other verbs occur only in reflexive clauses (842). If they have transitive counterparts the latter are suffixed causatives. These include verbs of internal or internally caused conditions, but also two motion verbs (bēwⁿ, tūwō).

(842) verb (Pfv/Ipfv) reflexive

bew̄ⁿ/bēn-dē ‘return, go/come back’

bīrījà/bīrījà ‘(donkey, horse) roll over on ground’

dūkɔ̄rɔ̄/dūkɔ̄rɔ̀ ‘take pains’

gūŋgūlī/gūŋgūlì ‘(e.g. barrel) roll along on the ground’

kààmà/kààmā ‘tell a lie’

mīīlà/mīīlà ‘think, reflect on’

mūlēwⁿ/mūlēn-nā ‘do on purpose’

nɔ̄ɔ̄tɔ̄-mɔ̄-nī/nɔ̄ɔ̄tɔ̄-mɔ̄-nì ‘build up courage, buckle up’

pīrī-pīrī/pīrī-pīrī ‘writhe’

tānī/tānì ‘vomit’

tūwō/tūwò ‘depart, leave’

All of these reflexive verbs occur in clausal frames like those in (843). The important point is that the reflexive pronoun in object function agrees with the subject, and that plural pronominal subjects have the yè bidirectional case marker. In the 3Sg case, the reflexive pronominal is ŋ̄ before assimilations.

(843) à m̄ bēwⁿ ‘he/she returned’

ì y= ē bēwⁿ ‘they returned’

āā yà= āā bēwⁿ ‘you-Pl returned’

#### Pseudo-reflexives

Pseudo-reflexives are an important type of adjectival predicate. A partial paradigm of dēwⁿ ‘be sweet, delicious, pleasing’ is (844).

(844) à ǹ dēwⁿ ‘it is sweet’

ì yè ǹ dēwⁿ ‘they are sweet’

āā yè ǹ dēwⁿ ‘you-Pl are sweet’

Comparing this with the preceding subsection, we see that pseudo-reflexives have invariant ŋ̀, versus a full paradigm that includes 3ReflSg ŋ̄ among other pronominals for (true) reflexives. In the very common 3Sg subject case, the two constructions can be confused, especially since tone sandhi merges ŋ̀ and ŋ̄ except before M‑tone.

For further details and an inventory of pseudo-reflexives, see §11.4.1.2.

### Reflexive subject in subordinated clauses

3ReflSg ŋ̄ can also function as subject of a subordinated clause, when coindexed to the main-clause subject (845a‑c). Likewise with 3ReflPl ē (845d).

(845) a. sèēdù nā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

S IpfvNeg 3Sg like.Ipfv

[ŋ̄ gālā ŋ̀ kó [wólén nī]

[**3ReflSg** Sbjn 1Sg provide.Pfv [money Inst]]

‘Seydou doesn’t like to give me money.’ (§17.3.2)

b. sèēdù yè ŋ̄ sīnī

S Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg begin.Pfv

[ŋ̄ gā ŋ̀ kɔ̄-lā]

[**3ReflSg** Ipfv 1Sg hit-Ipfv]

‘Seydou began to hit me.’

c. kwàāⁿ yè n̄ sīnī

S Sbj/Obj 3ReflSg begin.Pfv

[ŋ̄ gā sà-nà]

[**3ReflSg** Ipfv rain.fall-Ipfv]

‘Rain began to fall.’

d. yùgòm-bē yè= ē sīnī

woman-Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl begin.Pfv

[ē gā ŋ̀ kɔ̄-lā]

[**3ReflPl** Ipfv 1Sg hit-Ipfv]

‘The women began to hit me.’

An argument might be made that some such examples have logophoric rather than third-person reflexive subject pronominals. This is a matter of construal, usually involving no referential ambiguity or formal differentiation. For example, in (845a) the subordinated proposition ‘Seydou give me money’ could be construed as part of Seydou’s thought process. However, such a construal would be difficult or impossible in other cases such as (845c).

Further examples with coindexed subjects are (846a‑b), with ‘know’ as the upstairs verb. (846c) with noncoindexed 1Sg downstairs subject ŋ̀ is subtly different tonally from 3ReflSg ŋ̄ (846b).

(846) a. ŋ̀ gā= ā tò

**1Sg** Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv

[ŋ̀ gā màn tī-nà]

[**1Sg** Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv]

‘I know what I’m doing.’

b. sèēdù gā= ā tò

**S** Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv

[ŋ̄ gā màn tī-nà]

[**3ReflSg** Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv]

‘Seydoux knows what hex’s doing.’

c. sèēdù gā= ā tò

**S** Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv

[ŋ̀ gā màn tī-nà]

[**1Sg** Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv]

‘Seydou knows what I’m doing.’

Any potential ambiguity can be avoided by fronting the relative clause as a preclausal topic, with a resumptive pronominal in the following full clause. This is the case in (847a-b), both of which are unambiguous.

(847) a. ŋ̀ gè= ēnī [màn tē]

**1Sg** Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [Rel Dat]

ŋ̀ gā wɔ̀gɔ̀ tī-nà

**1Sg** Ipfv 3Sg.Indep do-Ipfv

‘I do what I can (do).’

(lit. “What I can, that is what I do.”)

b. sèēdù gè= ēnī [màn tē]

**S** Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [Rel Dat]

à gā wɔ̀gɔ̀ tī-nà

**3Sg** Ipfv 3Sg.Indep do-Ipfv

‘Seydoux does what hex can (do).’

(lit. “What Seydou can, that is what he does.”)

### Emphatic pronouns (mostly absent)

Other than regular focalization, there are no special emphatic pronominal forms comparable to the emphatic (nonreflexive) sense of *X‑self/selves* in English.

Exclusivity is marked for pronouns in the same way as for nonpronominal NPs. See especially §19.3.2.3 for ‘one; alone’ and ‘only’ in the context ‘unassisted, without anything else’.

Likewise, specificity in the context ‘personally, in person, instead of someone or something else’ is expressed by jáátī ‘exactly’. See §8.4.2.1 for examples.

## Obviation

### kēẁⁿ ‘one’ as obviative

kēẁⁿ (and variants) ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1) can occuer twice in parallelistic passages denoting different individuals (848).

(848) [à gā kēēm pwɔ̀-nì [[ǹ sém] pà],

[3Sg until.Pfv **one** sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg right] Comit],

[à gā kēēm pwɔ̀-nì [[ŋ̀ kóndó] pà]

[3Sg until.Pfv **one** sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg left] Comit]

‘It (=bird) had one sit on its right side, and it had the other sit on its left side.’

(2017-06 @ 02:41)

kēẁⁿ can also occur spontaneously in the obviative sense ‘the other’, in contrast to another referent that is more topical in a given passage. Both referents must have been previously introduced, either individually or as member of a plural. In this context, kēẁⁿ combines with definite gu. The background to (849) is that two suspects in a theft have been apprehended.

(849) à yē [n̄-dɔ̀gɔ̀ tā= ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̀ kóy],

3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep PfvNeg 3Sg steal.Pfv Emph],

[kēèⁿ gù] ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̄ gà,

[**one Def**] 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv,

[kēèⁿ gù pē] yē [à ŋ̄ kààmà kóy]

[**one Def** also] said [3Sg 3ReflSg lie.Pfv Emph]

‘He (=the thief) said, “I sure didn’t steal it! The other one stole it!” The other one likewise said, “he sure lied.” ’ (2017-05 @ 00:38 to 00:41)

### ɲāmā ‘someone else’

The noun ɲāmā means ‘someone else’, i.e. anyone other than the topical referent (cf. French *autrui*). It is attested as possessor: ɲàmà dáábá ‘somebody else’s (livestock) animal’ (2017‑05 @ 01:34). Cf. ɲīmī ‘person’.

### kú pē ‘that (other) one too’ as obviative

Absolute (non-modifying) demonstrative kú ‘this/that’ is mostly deictic but can also refer back to previously introduced discourse referents. In combination with pē ‘also, too’, it can function as an obviative ‘that (other) one (too)’.

(850) [sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ à gā sò [[tēē gū] dēē gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gìwⁿ]

[now 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [[meat Def] take.Pfv place.where]

jākà [[kú pē] ɲɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄wⁿ] ŋ̄ ɥɛ̀ɛ̀

lo! [[**Dem** **too**] eye] 3ReflSg open.Pfv

‘Now (while) he (=hare) was on his way to take the meat, lo! The eyes of that other one (=hyena) opened.’ (2017-07 @ 00:57)

## Logophoric and indexing pronouns

### Logophorics

The forms used for third-person reflexives, 3Sg ŋ̄ and 3Pl ē, are also used as logophorics. A logophoric is an anaphoric pronominal inside a quotation, which may be a quotation of thought or speech. The pronominal is coindexed to the ascribed author of the quoted material. In other words, a logophoric is an embedded ‘I/me’ or ‘we/us’.

As with reflexives, we must consider the relationship between 3Sg logophoric ŋ̄ and 1Sg ŋ̀ and allomorphs, and that between 3Pl logophoric ē and 1Pl ē (as opposed to regular 3Pl è). We saw in §18.1 above that the 3Sg reflexive is not the same morpheme as 1Sg, though in some contexts they are homophonous. We also saw that 3Pl reflexive converges in form with 1Pl as possessor or as postpositional complement, while converging instead with nonreflexive 3Pl in simple reflexive objects.

The relationship between third person and first person takes on an added dimension in logophorics. Whereas any convergence between these persons in reflexives is a matter of accidental homophony, in logophorics it would have a sound semantic basis. This is because ‘Seydoux said that hex came’ with logophoric (i.e. coindexed) ‘hex’ is the quoted version of ‘I came’ uttered by Seydou.

Logophorics and first-person pronouns fall together systematically as subjects of quoted sentences (ŋ̄). In non-subject functions, logophoric singular and 1Sg do not merge, but logophoric plural and 1Pl do.

#### No logophorics for second-person

Pronominals in quoted material that are coindexed to a second-person author take regular second-person (not logophoric) form. yè/yē ‘said’ after 2nd person subjects combines irregularly with 2Sg subject āⁿ as āɲ jè ‘you-Sg said’. If a referent in the quoted matter following ‘you-Sg said’ or āā yè ‘you-Pl said’ happens to be the current addressee, it appears in 2Sg or 2Pl rather than logophoric form, even though it is coindexed with the quoted speaker (author). In other words, current speech-event deixis trumps logophoricity.

(851) a. āɲ jà= [ām bē]

2Sg said [2Sg come.Pfv]

‘You-Sg said that you-Sg came.’

b. āā yà= [āā bē]

2Pl said [2Pl come.Pfv]

‘You-Pl said that you-Pl came.’

c. āɲ jà= [āā bē]

2Sg said [2Pl come.Pfv]

‘You-Sg said that you-Pl came.’

d. āɲ jè(,) [āā bē]

2Sg said(,) [2Pl come.Pfv]

‘You-Sg said, you-Pl came.’

#### Examples of logophorics

The distinction between 1Sg and 3ReflSg pronouns is covered in §18.1.1.2-3. Since 3ReflSg and LogoSg forms are identical, much of that commentary applies to LogoSg versus 1Sg. One twist specific to logophorics as opposed to reflexives is that logophoric and 1Sg subject pronouns very often follow quotative verbs, the most common of which is the quasi-verb yè/yē ‘said’. This is followed by a logophoric subject only if the subject of ‘said’ is a third person pronoun or an NP (like ‘Seydou’ and ‘the women’) that has third person agreement. The ‘said’ quasi-verb is yē after L-tone (e.g. 3Sg à yē, 3Pl ì yē), otherwise yè, prior to tone sandhi. Examples (852a‑c) are representative.

(852) a. sèēdù yē [m̄ bē]

S said [**LogoSg/1Sg** come.Pfv]

‘Seydoux said that hex/I came.’

b. yùgòm-bè yē= [ē bē]

woman-Pl said [**LogoPl/1Pl** come.Pfv]

‘The womenx said that theyx/we came.’

c. à yē [m̄ bē]

3Sg said [**LogoSg/1Sg** come.Pfv]

‘He/Shex said that he-or-shex/I came.’

d. è yē= [ē bē]

3Pl said [**LogoPl/1Pl** come.Pfv]

‘Theyx said that theyx/we came.’

As subjects of Pfv positive quoted clauses, logophorics are indistinguishable from corresponding first person pronouns. Therefore (852a,c) can also be parsed as having 1Sg (‘Seydou/he-or-she said that I came’) instead of LogoSg, and (852b,d) can be parsed as having 1Pl (‘The women/they said that we came’) instead of LogoPl.

However, if the quoted clause has a marked inflectional particle (negative, imperfective, or subjunctive) following the subject, 1Sg is L‑toned ŋ̀ (853a) and distinct from LogoSg ŋ̄ (853b). With ‘Seydou’ as subject, the distinction is reinforced by the tones of ‘said’.

(853) a. sèēdù / à yē [ǹ tè bē]

S / 3Sg said [**1Sg** PfvNeg come.Pfv]

‘Seydou/He-or-she said that I didn’t come.’

b. sèēdù yē [n̄ tè bē]

S said [**LogoSg** PfvNeg come.Pfv]

‘Seydoux said that hex didn’t come.’

c. à yē [n̄ tè bē]

S said [**LogoSg** PfvNeg come.Pfv]

‘He/Shex said that he/shex didn’t come.’

By contrast, 1Pl ē is still homophonous to LogoPl ē (854).

(854) a. yùgòm-bè yē= [ē tè bē]

woman-Pl said [**LogoPl/1Pl** PfvNeg come.Pfv]

‘The womenx said that theyx/we didn’t come.’

b. è yē= [ē tè bē]

3Pl said [**LogoPl/1Pl** PfvNeg come.Pfv]

‘Theyx said that theyx/we didn’t come.’

Likewise, if the subject of the quoted clause has a pronominal possessor, 1Sg ŋ̀ (+H) is usually distinguishable from LogoSg ŋ̄ (855a-c). When ŋ̀ and ŋ̄ merge as ŋ̀ before an H‑tone (‘dog’) as in (855c), if ‘Seydou’ is the subject of ‘said’ there is still an audible distinction (yē versus yè), but if 3Sg à or 3Pl ì is the subject of ‘said’ this fails and total homophony results.

(855) a. sèēdù / à yē [[ŋ̀ náá / …] sēwⁿ]

[[ŋ̀ … / kúŋgóló]

S / 3Sg said [[**1Sg** cow/dog] fall.Pfv]

‘Seydou/He-or-she said that my cow/my dog fell.’

b. sèēdù/… yè [[n̄ nàà] sēwⁿ]

…/à yē

S/3Sg said [[**LogoSg** cow fall.Pfv

‘Seydoux/He-or-shex said that his/herx (own) cow fell.’

c. sèēdù/… yē [[ŋ̀ kúŋgóló] sēwⁿ

…/à yē

S/3Sg said [[**LogoSg** dog fall.Pfv

‘Seydoux/He-or-shex said that his/herx (own) cow fell.’

In other functions such as postpositional complements, the analysis of first person versus third person reflexives in §18.1 above is applicable to first person versus logophoric.

### Logophorics in stacked quotations

Two clauses down, two logophorics can be coindexed with two quoted authors at different levels (856). In one reading, Seydou accuses Amadou of threatening to kill him. In another, Seydou says that Amadou accused him of threatening to kill him.

(856) sèēdù yē, āāmādù yē

S said, A said

[ŋ̄ gā ŋ̄ wàgā]

[**LogoSg** Ipfv **LogoSg** kill.Ipfv]

‘Seydoux said that Amadouy said that hey will kill himx.’ (Amadou kill Seydou)

or: ‘Seydoux said that Amadou said that hex will kill himy.’ (Seydou kill Amadou)

## Reciprocal

In reciprocals, subject and object NPs denote sets. They are sloppily coindexed, i.e. at least some nonreflexive subject-object pairings within the set are asserted to have occurred.

The reciprocal morpheme morpheme bwɔ̀ is syntactically a noun and represents a grammaticalization of the noun bwɔ̀ ‘peer, agemate, companion’. As a reciprocal it occurs in nonsubject grammatical functions, most often object. It is normally coindexed to the clausemate subject.

### Reciprocal object bwɔ̀

In (857), the sloppily coindexed NP is the object of a transitive verb.

(857) a. ē bẁɔ̄ kày

1Pl **Recip** see.Pfv

‘We saw each other.’

b. jɛ̄nām-bī-gē bwɔ̀ kwāā

child-Pl **Recip** hit.Pfv

‘The children hit each other.’

c. è gā bwɔ̀ kɔ̄-lā

3Pl Ipfv **Recip** hit-Ipfv

‘The children hit-Present each other.’

d. āā mām bwɔ̀ mūūⁿ

2Pl Proh **Recip** insult.Pfv

‘Don’t-2Pl insult each other!’ (< màⁿ)

### Reciprocal bwɔ̀ in other functions

The sloppily coindexed NP may also be the complement of a postposition (858a) or the possessor of a nonsubject NP (858b).

(858) a. è gà kāyⁿ [bwɔ̀ bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Pl Ipfv work.Ipfv [**Recip** Comit]

‘They work with each other.’ (< kāỳⁿ)

b. è [bẁɔ̄ yàmbāà] bwō

3Pl [**Recip** house] burn.Pfv

‘They burned each others’ houses.’

### bwɛ̄ỳ ‘together’

This adverb derives from bwɔ̀ ‘agemate’. It is an old locative \*bwɔ̄-ỳ with suffix -ỳ.

(859) è gà bē [kɛ̄ɛ̄gū yèȳⁿ [yùgòm pēndē gū]

3Pl Ipfv Fut [man and [woman two Def]

bàȳ sò bwɛ̄ỳ

leave.Pfv go.Pfv **together**

‘They were going to leave the man and the two women together.’ (2017-06 @ 00:58)

bwɛ̄ỳ is also common as a comitative postposition (§8.1.2.2.1).

# Grammatical pragmatics

## Topic

### Topic (kɔ̀ⁿ)

The morpheme kɔ̀ⁿ is added to an NP or pronominal clitic to make it a topic (‘as for X’). The 1Sg pronominal combination ‘as for me’ is ŋ̀ kɔ́ⁿ, based on 1Sg allomorph ŋ̀ (+H) with floating H‑tone. Otherwise the morpheme is L‑toned kɔ̀ⁿ. Before another L‑tone it is heard as <LM>-toned kɔ̌ⁿ after tone sandhi, and this can be flattened to kɔ̄ⁿ. Nasality is realized as a homorganic nasal before stops, nasals, and l that follow without a prosodic break, hence [ē kɔ̀m] bē ‘as for us, we came’ and [ē kɔ̀m̄] pwɔ̀ ‘as for us, we sat’.

The translation ‘as for’ is misleading since topicalized NPs often occur clause-internally, especially with pronouns. In (860a-b) the topical NP functions as subject and there is no prosodic break between it and the remainder of the clause. Likewise, (860c-d) show topicalized NPs functioning as objects in normal clause-medial object position.

(860) a. [ŋ̀ kɔ́ŋ] gà dūgā dīgà

[1Sg **Topic**] Ipfv rice eat.Ipfv

‘As for me, I eat rice.’

b. [sèēdū kɔ̀n̄] sò

[S **Topic**] go.Pfv

‘As for Seydou, he has gone.’

c. sèēdū tē [ŋ̀ kɔ́ŋ] kwāā

S PfvNeg [1Sg **Topic**] hit.Pfv

‘As for me, Seydou didn’t hit me.’

d. nɔ̄gɔ̄rā-āmā [kāāŋgō gū kɔ̀ⁿ] tūn-nī gà

difficulty [vetiver Def Top] make.disappear.Pfv RemPfv

Hardship (=drought) has caused the vetiver grass to disappear.’ (2017-03 @ 03:10)

For a perhaps unrelated kɔ̀ⁿ in subject topics in clauses often translated as ‘already’, see §10.2.1.5. kɔ̀ⁿ is also commonly part of the greeting response bàà sí kɔ̀ⁿ ‘there is no trouble’ (i.e. ‘we/they are all fine’), and the (slightly worried) greeting question kɛ́ɛ́rɛ́n nī kɔ̀ⁿ ‘is everything all right?’

Topic marker kɔ̀ⁿ is homophonous to demonstrative kɔ̀ⁿ (§4.4.2) but they occur in different positions. This allomorph of the demonstrative precedes a modified noun (which is subject to a floating M‑tone), while kɔ̀ⁿ follows an NP (or more often a pronominal proclitic).

Topic-marking kɔ̀ⁿ can be followed by sāāⁿ ‘all’, at least after pronominal clitics. There is little indication of topicality in this combination. This suggests that kɔ̀ⁿ is on the way to fusing with the pronominals, to form a new series of independent pronouns (861). A similar evolution of lāā is mentioned in the following subsection.

(861) [è kɔ̀ⁿ sāām] bē gè=

[3Pl **Topic all**] come.Pfv RemPfv

[[ē kòlòm-míyɛ́ní] nē=] [ē pà]

[[3ReflPl skin-fixing] Inst] [1Pl Comit]

‘They all brought their leatherworking (skill) to us.’ (2017-02 @ 01:58)

Fusion is also in progress in high-frequency combinations like sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ ‘now’ (§8.4.6.1), which sets the temporal scene.

Topic marker kɔ̀ⁿ can appear prepausally, with or without a preceding complement, in a special type of confirming backchannel utterance made by an interlocutor. For example, if speaker 1 makes a statement or identificational question about Zaki, speaker 2 may reply with zàkí kɔ̌ⁿ. If speaker 1’s utterance ended with ‘Zaki’, speaker 2 may simply utter kɔ̌ⁿ. In these confirming utterances, the tone is <LH> instead of <LM>, suggesting that final H is added for focus. As mentioned previousl, there are not enough IPA tone diacritics to distinguish <LM> from <LH>. In this grammar ɔ̌ etc. usually marks <LM> tone, but it can also mark the rare <LH> syllables that are due to focus or other final-H constructions.

In text 2017-01 @ 08:08-11, speaker 1 asks speaker 2 which clan name is the second most common in the village, and speaker 2 answers: Cissé. Speaker 1 then repeats this name, to show uptake or to request confirmation. Speaker 2 then utters <LH>-toned kɔ̌ⁿ to confirm.

### Interrogative topic (lāā, -dāā, lāà)

This alternative topic morpheme is associated mainly with interrogatives. The abbreviation is QTop in interlinears. It takes the basic form lāā after nonpronominal NPs. Pronominal combinations are written as single words with a hyphen, since some of them undergo the shift l to d (§3.4.1.1). The same shift occurs in independent pronouns.

The context for lāā is somewhat similar to that of Engish topicalizer ‘what about X?’ preceding an interrogative. The topicalized constituent is usually the subject and therefore clause-initial. However, clause-medial topicalized constituents such as objects are also possible (862c).

(862) a. ān-lāā gā màsí dīgà

2Sg-**QTop** Ipfv what? eat.Ipfv

‘And you, what do you eat?’ (variant ān-dāā)

b. [sèēdù lāā] gà bōẁⁿ

[S **QTop**] be.Loc here

‘As for Seydou, is he here?’

c. tāmà sèēdū yà= ān-lāā kwāā

Q S Sbj/Obj 2Sg-**QTop** hit.Pfv

‘As for you, did Seydou hit you?’

The pronominal combinations are in (863).

(863) a. 1Sg ǹ-dāā

LogoSg n̄-dāā

2Sg ān-lāā ~ an̄-dāā

b. 1Pl, LogoPl ē-lāā

2Pl āā-lāā

3Sg à-lāā

3Pl è-lāā

In the form lāà, what appears to be the same morpheme (at least etymologically) occurs clause-finally, creating a topical clause (‘it being the case that …’) that sets up a following clause. In (864), a protagonist has just stated that he is on his way to Mecca.

(864) ì yē [āŋ gā sò māgà lāà],

3Pl said [2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv M **QTop**],

āŋ gā sō mwɔ̀ tīyⁿ yāẁⁿ

2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv which? do.Pfv there.Def

‘They said: “given that you’re going to Mecca, what will you-Sg go and do there?” ’

(< tīẁⁿ) (2017-05 @ 02:32)

However, clause-final lā from (local) French *là* (§19.4.3.6) is easily confused with this lāà.

### ‘Also, too’ (pē)

pē can be added to any NP including pronouns, in any syntactic position. In (865e), pē has scope over the possessor ‘Seydou’ (there is no straightforward English translation that brings this out).

(865) a. [kóŋgóló pē] bē

[dog **too**] come.Pfv

‘The dog came too.’

b. à [m̀ pē] kwāā

3Sg [1Sg **too**] hit.Pfv

‘He/She hit me too.’

c. [à pē] yè =ŋ̀ kwāā

[3Sg **too**] Sbj/Obj 1Sg hit.Pfv

‘He/She too hit me.’

d. àⁿ wólén dō [[m̀ pē] tē]

2Sg money give.Pfv [[1Sg **too**] Dat]

‘He/She gave money to me too.’

e. [[sèēdù pē] mòbōlì] māyⁿ

[[Seydou **too**] vehicle] be.ruined.Pfv

‘Seydou’s vehicle too broke down.’

pē is not used with clausal scope.

### ‘Even’ (hàlì)

‘Even’ can be expressed with hàlì, the local variant of a regionally widespread form. It is limited to clause-initial position, indicating that it is not syntactically bracketed with any specific constituent. In (866a) the pragmatic focus is on the verb, while in (866b) it is on the subject (‘child’). A nonverbal constituent can be singled out by adding pē ‘too’ as in (866b).

(866) a. hàlī à tè bōỳ

**even** 3Sg PfvNeg greet.Pfv

‘He/She didn’t even say hello.’

b. hàlì [jɛ́náⁿ (pē)] gē= ēnì [[kɔ̀ŋ kāyⁿ] tē]

**even** [child (too)] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [[Dem work(n)] Dat]

‘Even a child is capable of (doing) this work.’

### ‘A fortiori’ (sōkàālà)

This form is likely composite at least etymologically, roughly \*so(ŋ)ko plus \*hala. The first part resembles ‘a fortiori’ forms in other languages of the region (e.g. Bambara sǎŋko, Kelenga jàŋgò). For the second part cf. hālà/sālà (§17.5.2).

sōkàālà precedes the relevant constituent. An example is (694b) in §15.4.3, taken from 2017-03 @ 01:24 to 01:28.

## Preclausal discourse markers

### ‘But …’ (kāā, ŋ̄gàà)

‘But …’ is expressed by clause-initial kāā or a variant such as ŋ̄gàà (867a-b). These are local variants of widespread regional forms. kāā occurs several times in the recordings and seems to be the usual form in Cliffs. ŋ̄gàà occurred in several elicited utterances, perhaps under the influence of other Jenaama varieties. In recordings, kāā may shorten to kā before a nasal subject pronominal, as in kā ǹ tē kìì ‘but I did not get up’ (2017-05 @ 03:27). However, kāā can also be set off prosodically before the clause proper, in which case it is subject to intonational effects (including prolongation) that make identification of lexical tones difficult.

(867) a. sèēdù bē [ŋ̄gà= à tè dīgɛ̄]

S come.Pfv [**but** 3Sg PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]

‘Seydou came, but he didn’t eat.’

b. n̄ dīgɛ̄ [ŋ̄gàà sèēdū tè dīgɛ̄]

1Sg eat.Antip.Pfv [**but** S PfvNeg eat.Antip.Pfv]

‘I ate, but Seydou didn’t eat.’

c. kā [ɲ̄= ɲā= ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̄ gà lā]

**but** [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv Emph]

‘(said:) “but when I stole it, …” ’ (2017-05 @ 00:51)

d. kāā tìmī nì

**but** python it.is

‘but it was a python’. (2017-06 @ 00:43)

e. kāā, ē wày

**but**, 1Pl today

‘but, in our time, …’. (2017-09 @ 00:20)

Younger speakers generally use mɛ̀ɛ̀ (French *mais*), as in other languages in the region.

### ‘Like …’ (sānà)

This preclausal particle occurs before a clarifying clause. Compare English *in other words, …* or *that is to say, …* or *for example, …*

(868) ām mìŋɛ̀↑,

2Sg hear.Pfv,

sānà, ān-dāā tè [kú sāāⁿ] fàāmù↑

like, 2Sg-QTop PfvNeg [Dem all] understand.Pfv

‘Did you hear? Like, have you not understood all that?’ (2017-03 @ 02:20)

Similar forms occur in some other languages of the region, including Songhay (e.g. Humburi Senni sàndà).

## Pragmatic adverbs or equivalents

### ‘Again’

#### Adverb tūⁿ ‘again’

The adverb tūⁿ means ‘again (another time)’. Like other temporal adverbs (‘yesterday’, ‘today’, ‘now’, ‘tomorrow’), it can occur preclausally as a setting adverb, in which case it can be set off prosodically. The normal position is clause-final, following all other postverbal elements (spatial adverbs, PPs, and so forth).

(869) a. tūⁿ, kúŋgóló kùmù

**again,** dog sleep.Pfv

‘Again the dog went to sleep.’

b. à kùmù tūⁿ

3Sg sleep.Pfv **again**

‘He/She went to sleep again.’ = ‘He/she went back to sleep.’

c. à tē kùmù bōǹ tūⁿ

3Sg PfvNeg sleep.Pfv here **again**

‘He/She didn’t sleep here again (=go back to sleep).’

d. wùláá kùmū gà bōǹ tūⁿ

who?.Foc sleep.Pfv RemPfv here **again**

‘Who slept here again?’

See also the multi-verb construction with ‘return’, ‘come back’, or ‘go back’ plus a sequential clause in the sense ‘re-VP’ (§15.2.4).

#### ‘No longer’ (negation plus tūⁿ)

Negation plus tūⁿ ‘again’ produces ‘no longer’ or ‘not again, not any more’.

(870) a. à nā nɔ̀gī-ỳ tūⁿ

3Sg **not.be.Loc** village-Loc **again**

‘He/She is no longer in the village.’

b. à tè m̄ bēm-bē nɔ̀gī-ỳ tūⁿ

3Sg **PfvNeg** 3ReflSg return.Pfv-come.Ipfv village-Loc **again**

‘He/She hasn’t come back to the village again.’

### ‘Only’

#### ‘Only’ particle (dàmá)

dàmá ‘only’ is added at the end of an NP, a clitic or (for focus) independent pronoun, or adverbial phrase.

(871) a. [ɲāŋ kēn dàmá] bē gà

[person one **only**] come.Pfv RemPfv

‘Only one person came.’

b. [ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ dàmá] gà yān tò

[1Sg-Indep **only**] Ipfv there.Def know.Ipfv

‘Only I know that place.’ (< yāẁⁿ)

c. ŋ̀ gà [yāwⁿ dàmá] tò

1Sg Ipfv [there.Def **only**] know.Ipfv

‘I know only that place.’

d. ŋ̀ gā sɔ̀gɔ̄ [[dàmbā dàmá] ní]

1Sg Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [[daba **only**] Inst.Foc]

‘I do farm work only with a daba (=hoe) [focus].’

dàmá can also occur clause-finally with scope over at least the VP.

(872) à nà kāỳⁿ, à gā kùmū-nà dàmá

3Sg IpfvNeg work(v).Ipfv, 3Sg Ipfv sleep-Ipfv **only**

‘He doesn’t work, he just sleeps.’

Clause negation scopes over a constituent with dàmá.

(873) [ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ dàmá] nā sò

[1Sg-Indep **only**] **IpfvNeg** go.Ipfv

‘It’s not only I who will go.’

#### ‘Only’ particle (bàānà)

An alternative ‘only’ particle is bàānà. It appears to be used chiefly after plural nouns and pronouns that denote natural groups (‘children’, ethnic groups, ‘we’). My assistant rejected it with singular referents. While dàmá requires independent pronouns, the more noun-like bàānà can take a clitic pronominal and can be followed by a definite marker (874b).

(874) a. [tārāwōrē bàānà] gā bwɔ̀ dēè tà→

[T only] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv or.Q

‘Do Traoré only marry each other?’ (2017-01 @ 07:11)

b. ē bàānà gù

1Pl only Def

‘only us (e.g. our ethnic group)’ (2017-02 @ 03:04)

#### kēẁⁿ ‘one; alone’ versus dàmá ‘only’ for exclusivity

To emphasize that an action was performed by an individual without assistance of others, the numeral kēẁⁿ ‘one’ is added to the relevant NP, which may be pronominal (875b) or nonpronominal. There is no nasal linker in this construction, unlike the case with ŋ-kēẁⁿ ‘one’ following a noun in its function as a numeral. A nonpronominal NP must be singular, but it may be a personal name (875a), which would not otherwise combine with ‘one’ as an ordinary numeral. Unless it is focalized, a pronoun (always singular) takes clitic rather than independent form, as with 1Sg ŋ̀ kēẁⁿ ‘I alone’ (875a), likewise 3Sg à kēẁⁿ and 2Sg āŋ kēẁⁿ.

(875) a. [sèēdù kēɲ̀] jɛ́náⁿ yìrāŋ gà

[S **one**] child help.Pfv RemPfv

‘Seydou alone helped the child.’

b. [ŋ̀ kēɲ̀] jɛ́náⁿ yìrāŋ gà

[1Sg **one**] child help.Pfv RemPfv

‘I alone helped the child.’

As with dàmá, clausal negation scopes over kēẁⁿ in this function.

(876) a. [ŋ̄ kēǹ] nè= ēnī kɔ̀yɔ́n tōndò

[1Sg **one**] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfvchild stone lift.Ipfv

‘I can’t lift the rock by myself.’

b. [sèēdù kēǹ] nè= ēnī kɔ̀yɔ́n tōndò

[S **one**] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfvchild stone lift.Ipfv

‘Seydou can’t lift the rock by himself.’

The exclusivity function of ‘one’ is limited to specific individuals belonging to sets of individuals, including humans in the case of ‘Seydou’ in the last example above. Singular common nouns in generic function are avoided in this construction, since the normal reading of the NP X ŋ̀-kēẁⁿ is ‘one X’ rather than ‘only an X’ (877).

(877) [kɛ̄ɛ̄gū ŋ̀-kēŋ̀] gè= ēnì [[kɔ̀ŋ kāyⁿ] tē]

[man Link-**one**] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [[Dem work(n)] Dat]

‘One man can handle this job.’ = ‘This is a one-man job.’

For masses (878a), nonsingular pronouns (878b), and other nonsingular NPs (878c), dàmá ‘only’ is required and kēẁⁿ is impossible.

(878) a. ē nē= ēnī [kùwɔ̄ dàmá] dīgà

1Pl IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [salt **only**] eat.Ipfv

‘We can’t eat just salt.’

b. [è dàmá] nè= ēnì tā-nā [jūgū kūmà]

[3Pl **only**] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv ascend-Ipfv [tree on]

‘They can’t climb the tree by themselves (=without help).’

c. [jɛ̄nām-bī-gē dàmá] nè= ēnī kɔ̀yɔ́n tōndò

[child-Pl-Pl **only**] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv stone lift.Ipfv

‘The children can’t lift the rock by themselves.’

#### Circumlocution with ‘not (any)’ plus (ŋ̄)kàlà ‘except …’

The first clause is of the ‘not any(-one/-thing/…’ semantic type, denying a non-null set. The second clause adds the exception(s). The first clause include negation and an indefinite quantifier like ‑sí or síí (§6.6.2.2), as in nìmì-sí ‘anybody’, pɔ̀-sí ~ pà-sí ‘anything’, gɯ̀ɯ̀ⁿ-sí ‘anywhere’, or wáléwⁿ síí ‘any money’. There are a few versions of the ‘except X’ expression in the second clause (879).

(879) a. ŋ̄kàlà X ~ kàlà X ‘except …’

b. ɲā= à nam bā X lit. “if it has left …” (i.e. if it does not include)

c. X nì lit. ‘it is X’

(880a) combines ɲā= à nām bā with final nì. The latter is to be construed with the motion verb ‘exit’ in the sense ‘exit with, take out’, i.e. ‘exclude’. (880b) has ŋ̄kālā.

(880) a. nìmì-sí tè kōndō yāẁⁿ,

person-**any** **PfvNeg** stay.Pfv there.Def,

[ɲā= à nām bā] [ān-dɔ̀gɔ̄ dàmá] nì

[if 3Sg if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv] [2Sg-Indep only] it.is

‘There was nobody there, except you-Sg.’

b. pɔ̀-sí nā= [à nìŋīì]],

thing-**any** **not.be.Loc** [3Sg inside]],

ŋ̄kàlā sùwɔ̄ⁿ↑ tìmì↑, …

**except** crocodile, python, …

‘There was nothing in it (=place) except crocodiles, pythons, …’

(2017-04 @ 02:08 to 02:11)

### pààŋ-kēẁⁿ ‘already’, ‘definitely’, or ‘thoroughly’

This adverb, which appears to include kēẁⁿ ‘one’, can mean ‘already’, ‘definitely’, or ‘thoroughly, completely’.

(881) a. à bē pààŋ-kēẁⁿ

3Sg come.Pfv **already**

‘He/She has already/definitely come.’

b. sāà-gù ē yā= à yàgā [dùgūbāà nī] pààŋ-kēwⁿ

now 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg transform.Pfv [on.ground Inst] **completely**

‘Now we have shifted it (=village) completely (down) onto the plain.’

(2017-03 @ 01:51)

See also the comments on completive perfect clauses in §10.2.1.5.

## Emphatic particles

### Clause-initial particles

#### Clause-initial emphatics (mɔ̀rù, héé, hóó)

Any of these emphatics may occur clause-initially, or arguably preclausally. They are glossed as ‘truly’ in interlinears. There are no attestations in the recordings.

(882) a. mɔ̀rù m̄ bàndā wày

héé " " "

hóó " " "

truly 1Sg get.tired.Pfv today

‘I’m really tired (=exhausted) today.’

b. mɔ̀rù kúŋgóló m̀ bùlòwⁿ

héé " " "

hóó " " "

truly dog PsRefl be.big

‘The dog is really big (=huge).’

#### jākà ‘ló!’

This particle, which is part of a regional set, precedes highly foregrounded (e.g. sudden and surpring) events in a narrative. See (850) in §18.2.3 for an example. Two other textual examples are 2017‑07 @ 02:20 and 2017-05 @ 03:00.

### Clause-final emphatics

#### Clause-final emphatics kóy

The clause-final emphatic particle kóy can function to strongly confirm an interlocutor’s statement or the speaker’s own previous statement. It can also accompany a confident answer to a polar interrogative. Compare English *sure* in A: *it’s hot today* followed by B: *it sure is (hot)!*

(883) A: kùgù-lɛ̄m pīyⁿɛ̄-nā nī wày

sun hot-Ppl it.is today

‘It’s hot out today!’

B: à pīyⁿɛ̄-nā nì kóy

3Sg hot-Ppl it.is **Emph**

‘It sure is (hot)!’

Textual examples are in (884).

(884) a. à yā= [āⁿ màⁿ ɲ̀ jámbá kóy]

3Sg said [2Sg Proh 1Sg betray.Pfv **Emph**]

‘He said, “Don’t betray me!” ’ (2017-01 @ 02:18)

b. [nàⁿ ŋ̀-kēēⁿ] [kàà ŋ-kēēⁿ] nì kóy

[mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is **Emph**

‘(The two villages) are of the same mother and the same father.’

(2017-01 @ 04:32)

c. [kēèⁿ gù] yā= [à nè= ē wɔ̀gɔ̀ kóy]

[one Def] said [3Sg IpfvNeg LogoPl kill.Pfv **Emph**]

‘The other one said, “no, it certainly won’t kill us!” ’ (2017-05 @ 01:45)

(contradicting the other person’s statement)

In text 2017-05 @ 00:38 and 00:41, two suspects in a theft add kóy to their statements (roughly ‘I didn’t do it!’ and ‘that guy is lying!’).

Emphatic kóy is a regionally widespread form (Fulfulde, Dogon, Bambara, Songhay).

An apparently distinct morpheme kòy occurs at the end of completive perfect clauses (§10.2.1.5). Another kòy is part of the fixed greeting (borrowed entire from Fulfulde) tyāābù kòy.

#### Clause-final or independent jáátì ‘indeed’

jáátì ‘indeed’ can occur at the end of a clause, with or without a prosodic break. It confirms the correctness of the interlocutor’s statement.

(885) A: à pwɔ̀ [dūgā-ŋ̄-cīyē nī]

3Sg sit.Pfv [rice-Link-field Inst]

‘It (=riverbed) has turned into a rice field.’

B: à pwɔ̀, jáátì

3Sg sit.Pfv, **indeed**

‘It has, indeed.’ (2017-03 @ 00:54)

Since emphatic kóy cannot occur by itself, jáátì is the ordinary way to confirm the correctness of an interlocutor’s statement without repeating it.

In this discourse context (confirming) jáátì is HL‑toned. In the H‑toned form jáátī it can occur as part of an NP in the sense ‘precisely, exactly’ (§8.4.2.1).

jáátì is another regionally widespread form.

#### Clause-final emphatic fɛ́y

This clause-final particle, a regional form possibly borrowed from Fulfulde, means ‘completely’ (886a) or in negative contexts ‘(not) at all’ (886b).

(886) a. wày sāà-gù ē pùwóm bày fɛ́y

today now 1Pl fonio leave.Pfv **completely**

‘Nowadays we have completely abandoned (cutivating) fonio.’

(2017-03 @ 00:34)

b. ē nā= ā mɛ̀-nɛ̀ fɛ́y

1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg drink-Ipfv **at.all**

‘We don’t drink it (alcohol) at all.’

#### Clause-final admonitive dēʔ

This particle, likewise regionally widespread, adds a note of warning or surprise. The speaker encourages the addressee to perform or avoid an action for the addressee’s own good, or informs the addressee of something important that the addressee might not already know. It can be added to imperatives as well as to statements. Compare English unstressed, nontemporal *now* in *don’t get caught out in the cold now!*, or phrases like terminal *mind you* with similar admonitive functions. The glottal stop adds to the emphatic force.

(887) a. ām māⁿ sò / … dēʔ

màm … / bē

2Sg Proh go.Pfv/come.Pfv **Emph**

‘Don’t go/come!’ (warning)

b. kwààŋ gà bē dēʔ

rain(n) Ipfv come.Ipfv **Emph**

‘(Watch out,) it’s about to rain!’ (warning)

c. [kēèⁿ gū] yè= [ē nàn [tēē kāā-kāā] kūwōlō,

[one Def] said [LogoPl if.Pfv [meat Iter-raw] chew.Pfv,

à gà bē= ē wɔ̀gɔ̀ dēʔ

3Sg Ipfv Fut LogoPl kill.Pfv **Emph**

‘The other one said, “if we eat raw meat, it will kill us!” ’ (2017-05 @ 01:43)

d. ā→, kú gā [[sɛ̀bɛ̀ tīrīgī-nā=] nì] sāà‑gù dēʔ

ah!, Dem be [[matter trample-Ppl] it.is] now **Emph**

Ah! This is a perilous situation now!’ (2017-05 @ 01:37)

e. à yē [n̄ nā dēʔ]

3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg **Emph**]

‘‘He (Dogon) said, “I will not, indeed!” ’ (refusal of a request) (2017-01 @ 01:57)

#### Clause-final yàá in emphatic affirmative answers

Clause-final yàá with <LH> tone can be added as a mild emphatic to affirmative answers to polar interrogatives (888), or as a strong emphatic in correcting an interlocutor’s statement.

(888) A: āⁿ sō bàmàkɔ́ tāmà

2Sg go.Pfv B Q

‘Have you-Sg gone to Bamako?’

B: ŋ̄ sō yàá

1Sg go.Pfv **Emph**

‘(Yes) I have gone.’

The flavor is well-captured by the extra *do* verb in English free translations as in B’s response in (889).

(889) A: āŋ gālà pɔ̄ sē= [ē tè] [ɲɔ́n nìŋīì] *quoi*

2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [Dem inside] Ø

‘Could you-Sg tell us something in (=about) it?’

B: ŋ̀ gà pɔ̄ tò ā-y yàá

1Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc **Emph**

‘I do know something in (=about) it.’ (2017-01 @ 00:46)

This emphatic is most often found in cases where there is doubt about the veracity of the proposition, or where two speakers disagree. For example, an exchange of the type A: ‘Seydou knows it’, B: ‘No, Seydou doesn’t know it’, A: ‘Yes, Seydou does know it’ is favorable to the use of yàá in the final item.

(890) [āⁿ hījì gù] tē màɲɛ̀

[2Sg pilgrimage Def] PfvNeg be.good.Pfv

à yā= [à màɲɛ̄ yàá]

3Sg said [3Sg be.good.Pfv Emph]

‘(They told him:) “Your pilgrimage hasn’t been good. He said (=replied): “It has been good!” ’ (2017-05 @ 02:40-42)

yàá is attested in greetings. (891) was a reply to ‘Did peace spend the mid-day with you?’. It is contracted and modified from a fuller clause like ŋ̀ gà= ālà tìgè-nī ‘I thank God’.

(891) āālà tìgɛ̄-nì yàá

God thank(v).Pfv **Emph**

‘Thank God.’ (2017-02 @ 00:05)

#### Clause-final lā

This is another clause-final particle. It is at best weakly emphatic. It is likely French là ‘there’, which is often added at the end of a clause in local French in similar contexts.

(892) [[ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ màwⁿ kāy] kòmbó-ỳ]

[[1Sg-Indep Rel Prsntv] edge.of.village-Loc]

tē pà-sí kìlɛ̀ lā

PfvNeg thing-any get.Pfv Emph

‘I who was (cultivating) at the edge of the village didn’t get anything,’

(2017-03 @ 03:22)

#### Clause-final wà ‘anyway’

This clause-final particle indicates that the event in question occurred in spite of expectations that it would not. It can be glossed ‘anyway’ or ‘nevertheless’. It can occur at the end of formulaic questions in greeting sequences (890c).

(890) a. à bē wà

3Sg come.Pfv **anyway**

‘He/She came (back) nevertheless.’

b. [à sāāŋ] gā digɛ̀mū nī wà

[3Sg all] Ipfv talk(n) it.is **anyway**

‘It’s all words (=oral tradition) anyway.’ (2017-01 @ 05:49)

c. āā rɛ̄ɛ̄nà kɔ̌ⁿ wà

2Pl be.safe.Pfv Topic **anyway**

‘You-Pl are safe?’ (2017-05 @ 00:08)

wà can also occur at the beginning of the clause, preceding the subject.

(891) wà à gā jìɲɛ̄ sāgà

**anyway** 3Sg Ipfv accept.Ipfv lie.down.Ipfv

‘He/She has the nerve to lie down (and sleep).’

## Uptake check and backchannel

### Uptake check

A speaker often requests confirmation that the addressee has processed the preceding material, especially in narratives. The verb is fàāmù ‘understand.Pfv’ or mìŋɛ̀ ‘hear.Pfv’. A full question-reply sequence is (892). In the question, the verbs have interrogative tones (final H). fàāmù and mìŋɛ̀ are normally transitive. The question seemingly treats these verbs as though intransitive, but this is best analysed as contracted from transitive āⁿ (yā=) ā fààmú/mìŋɛ́ ‘did you-Sg understand/hear it’. With optional BCM yè omitted, āⁿ ā would reduce to denasalized ā= ā fààmú, which could be confused with 2Pl āā, so idiosyncratically treating ‘understand’ and ‘hear’ as intransitive here is unsurprising. The reply, with 1Sg subject, always takes transitive form.

(892) Q: āⁿ fààmú

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q

‘Did you-Sg understand?’

R: n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

‘(Yes) I have understood it.’

If the question is expressed in negative form (‘did you not understand/hear it?’), the form is again obligatorily transitive (893).

(893) ān tā= ā fààmú

2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg understand.Pfv.Q

‘Did you-Sg not understand it?’

The “reply” in (892) is sometimes volunteered without the question being asked, or else the reply can be reduced to m-hm or the like, or by a nod.

### Backchannel support wālà ~ wàlá ‘voilà!’

wālà ~ wàlá (< French ‘voilà!’) can be interjected by a listener for strong confirmation of the speaker’s statement (‘that’s it!’). Examples are in 2017-01 @ 00:59 (wàlá) and @ 02:44 (wālà). wàlá could be analysed as the focalized form of wālà.

Routine backchannel of the m-hm type is very common when a single individual is addressed at length, as in most of our recorded texts. It is often not transcribed here.

## Greetings

The transitive verb ‘X greet Y’ is bōỳ/bōy-lì. The noun ‘greeting’ is its verbal noun bōy‑gù (§4.2.1.3). In many of the greetings discussed below, 2Pl āā is favored over 2Sg āⁿ except as noted. This is because inquiries of the ‘how are you?’ type refer to the addressee’s household. Some other features shared by several greetings are tone-dropping on final words, and the use of intransitive verbs with causative meaning in blessings with ‘God’ as subject.

### All-purpose greetings

A simple greeting exchange among two people who encounter each other is (894). A’s greeting is transparently parsable, but B’s response is not.

(894) A: m̄ bōỳ

1Sg greet.Pfv

‘I have greeted!’

B: èn̄nà

The formal Islamic greeting exchange in Arabic, chiefly among men, is the A-B sequence in (895).

(895) A: āsàlāā-mwàlēēkùⁿ

‘Peace to you-Pl!’

B: wāālēkūmā-sàlām̀

‘To you peace, and praise and blessing of God!’

In the recordings, some of which begin with greeting sequences, greetings that include a Fulfulde greeting word (*rɛɛnɛ*, *tiyaabu*) also occurred.

(896) a. āā rɛ̄ɛ̄nà-nā nì

2Pl be.safe-Ppl it.is

‘You-Pl are safe? ’ (2017-01 @ 00:18)

b. āā yèn tyāābù kòy

2Pl and (greeting) ??

‘You-Pl and (greeting).’ (2017-01 @ 00:23)

Fulfulde *kori*, a clause-initial interrogative that occurs in greetings asking about health and welfare, is borrowed as kòrì and is optionally reduced to kò. It is interchangeable in this function with kàlà ~ ŋ̄kàlà, which does not occur in local Fulfulde. For occasional kò(rì) outside of greetings, see §13.2.1.1.

(897) kòrì jām̀ syēwⁿ [āā pà] kɔ̀ⁿ

Q peace spend.midday.Pfv [2Pl Comit] Topic

‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl? ’ (2017-01 @ 00:19)

A common response to inquiries like (897) about health and welfare is (898a). In Cliffs, bàà sí is parsable, including indefinite quantifier sí ‘(not) any’. This quantifier explains the otherwise puzzling negative reading (‘there is no’) of the phrase. The source is the region-wide term *baasi* ‘trouble’ (< Arabic *baʔs-*). This expression requires an overt negative existential in Arabic and in the borrowing languages, e.g. Fulfulde *baasi wala* ‘there is no trouble’. (898b) illustrates Cliffs báásī ‘trouble’ as a regular noun in a rare non-greeting statement. kɔ̀ⁿ functions in (898a) as a clause-final negative; elsewhere it (or a homophone) is the topicalization marker (§19.1).

(898) a. [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

‘(There is) no trouble. ’ (2017-01 @ 00:19)

b. báásí gā

trouble be.Loc

‘(There is) trouble. ’

### Time-of-day greetings

Time-of-day greetings (A) and responses (B) are in (899). (899b) is not used by all speakers. (899c) and (899d) are functionally interchangeable. jām̀ is more common than the approximately synonymous kɛ́ɛ́rāwⁿ.

(899) a. A: jām̀ sāā ‘good morning’ (said until noon or 2 PM)

B: kòrì jām̀ sāā gà= [āā bwɛ̄ỳ] (reply)

b. A: āā wɛ̄ɛ̄tà [jām̀ nì] ‘good day’ (between 10 AM and 1 PM)

B: kòrì jām̀ wɛ̄ɛ̄tà gà= [āā bwɛ̄ỳ] (reply)

c. A: jām̀ syēwⁿ ‘good afternoon’ (from 1 PM to evening)

B: kòrì jām̀ syēŋ gà= [āā bwɛ̄ỳ] (reply)

or: B: kàlà= āā syēwⁿ jām nì

or: A: kɛ́ɛ́ràwⁿ syēwⁿ

B: kàlà āā syēwⁿ jām nì (reply)

Recurring elements in these greeting formulae include jām̀ (< Fulfulde) or kɛ́ɛ́rāwⁿ ‘well-being, peace, safety’ (but HL‑toned in kɛ́ɛ́ràwⁿ syēwⁿ), interrogative kòrì (< Fulfulde, see §13.2.1.1), kàlà ‘only, nothing but’ (cf. ŋ̄kàlà ‘[none] except’), and comitative PP āā bwɛ̄ỳ ‘with you-Pl’. The different times of day are expressed by the verbs sā(g)ā/sāgà ‘lie down, go to bed’, wɛ̄ɛ̄tà ‘spend a half-day (morning)’ (< Fulfulde and not elsewhere in common use except in connection with morning-only wage labor in the fields), and syēwⁿ/syē-nà ‘spend the mid-day’. Each of these is used retrospectively in the greetings, e.g. ‘good morning’ is phrased as (an abbreviated form of) ‘how did you spend the night?’ In jām̀ sāā and jām̀ syēwⁿ, the usual pronunciation is with the L‑tone of m̀ de-linking and downstepping the verb, resulting in jām ꜜsāā and jām ꜜsyēwⁿ. Downstepped M‑tone is indistinguishable from L‑tone in the absence of further tone sandhi. The normal M‑toned forms sāā and sīwⁿ show up in the responses, which are overall more complete and grammatically transparent.

The only time-of-day greetings that are prospective rather than retrospective in literal content are the two alternative ‘good night!’ greetings (900a-b). Both are phrased as blessings (wishes) with ‘God’ as subject and subjunctive gālà. The response, as to all similar blessings, is àmí ‘amen’ or an extended variant àmíínà yàràbì (Arabic for ‘amen oh Lord!’).

(900) a. ālà gālà wùū ɲìyɛ̀-gà-nì

God Sbjn night easy-Inch-Caus.Pfv

‘May God make the night easy!’

b. ālà gālà súbáán dwɔ̄ [ē gàrjàgà-y]

God Sbjn morning enter.Pfv [1Pl luck-Loc]

‘May God put the morning in our (good) luck!’

In (900b), dwɔ̄ is trimmed from the semantically appropriate causative dwɛ̄-nī ‘cause to enter’, and gàrjàgà-y is an L‑toned form of the usual gàrjàgā-ỳ ‘in (someone’s) good luck’, parallel to other suffixal locatives (§8.2.3.1).

### Location- or situation-specific greetings

A greeting from A to B, when B is working (in the field, building a house, etc.) or on his/her way to or from work or some other productive activity, is (901). The response is èn̄nà (not parsable) plus a repetition of the greeting (adjusted for addressee number) if A is also at or on the way to or from work, otherwise just èn̄nà. àmbāà may be used instead of èn̄nà.

(901) A: yā= āā bāāy kāy (plural addressee)

ā= āy kāy (singular addressee)

B: i) èn̄nà yā= āā bāāy kày (plural addressee)

èn̄nà (ā=) āỳ kày (singular addressee)

ii) èn̄nà

These formulae are rather contracted and nontransparent. My assistant “reconstructs” the plural-addressee version of the A greeting as a reduction and deformation of an idealized (902), with generic 3Pl subject.

(902) ì yā= āā bōỳ [āā yèŋ kāyⁿ]

3Pl Sbj/Obj 2Pl greet.Pfv [2Pl and work(n)-Loc]

‘They have greeted you-Pl (=you have been greeted), you-Pl and work!’

Since the initial ì in (902) is not audible in the plural-addressee greeting version, the latter could alternatively be parsed as the imperative of a reflexive transitive (‘greet yourselves at work!’). The singular-addressee greeting is too disfigured to parse completely.

If the addressee is returning home from work, wàlè substitutes for kày in the preceding formulae. This is the noun wālē ‘work completed, accomplishment’, in L‑toned form as with kày < kāỳⁿ.

Greetings of the form ‘you and X’ where X is some noun denoting a situation (work, fatigue, weekly market, etc.) occur widely in the zone. ‘You-Pl and work(n)’ at the end of (902) above is one example. The conjunction begins with either an independent or clitic pronominal, followed by a noun or even a verb (perhaps functioning as a verbal noun even though verbal in form). The second conjunct is pronounced with L‑tones (or low pitch), but it does not trigger Final Tone-Raising in yèⁿ ‘and’. The greeting (903a) can be given to someone met at a weekly market like that of Konna. (903b) can be uttered to someone who is encountered while walking out in the bush.

(903) a. āā(-lɔ̀gɔ̄) yèⁿ sìbɛ̀wⁿ

2Pl(-Indep) and market

‘You-Pl and the market!’ (< síbɛ̄wⁿ or locative síbɛ̀wⁿ)

b. āā(-lɔ̀gɔ̄) yèⁿ ɲìŋì

2Pl(-Indep) and walk.Pfv

‘You-Pl and walking!’ (< ɲīŋī)

This syntactic pattern is also used as a ‘thank you’ expression, usually following a physical action by the addressee. This greeting can have either 2Sg or 2Pl form depending on addressee number. ‘Work’ is probably an L‑toned (or low-pitched) form of the noun kāỳⁿ, cf. the verb kāyⁿ/kāỳⁿ.

(904) a. ān-dɔ̀gɔ̄ yèŋ kàyⁿ

2Sg-Indep and work(n)

‘You-Sg and work!’ (i.e., ‘thanks for the help!’)

b. āā-lɔ̀gɔ̄ yèŋ kàyⁿ

2Pl-Indep and work(n)

‘You-Pl and work!’

### Travel greetings

A departing traveler is given the ‘bon voyage!’ blessing (905a). It can be “reconstructed” with causative kìyɛ̀-nì ‘cause to arrive, deliver’ instead of intransitive kìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘arrive’, and with a 2Sg or 2Pl object pronominal before this causative verb. A similar reconstruction is appropriate for (905b), which greets one returning from a long trip.

(905) a. ālà gālà kìyⁿà= [[ām / āā màɲɛ̀n] nī]

God Sbjn arrive.Pfv [[2Sg/2Pl be.good.VblN] Inst]

‘May God (let you) arrive with your goodness (=in safety).’

b. ālà gà bē gà [[ām / āā màɲɛ̀n] nī]

God Sbjn come.Pfv RemPfv [[2Sg/2Pl good] Inst]

‘God has brought (you) with your goodness (=in safety).’

### Condolences

Either (906a) or (906b) may be said to bereaved relatives of a person who has just passed away.

(906) a. ālà gālà hīīnā= [à nā]

God Sbjn have.pity.Pfv [3Sg Dat]

‘May God have pity on him/her!’ (< hīīnè)

b. ālà gālà [à sāā-gàm] mùwɔ̀-nī [à bwɛ̄ỳ]

God Sbjn [3Sg lie.down-place] cool-Caus.Pfv [3Sg Comit]

‘May God keep his/her resting place cool(ed)!’

If the deceased was a child, (907) is added. The wish expressed is that the woman will successfully bear another child in the future.

(907) ālà gālà ān tùgò

God Sbjn 2Sg pay.Pfv

‘May God compensate you-Sg’

Replies to such formulae are of the ‘amen!’ type.

### Greetings on major Muslim holy days

The three major Muslim holy days in this zone are eid al-adha (Feast of the Ram) called ‘big prayer’ (sālī būlōⁿ), eid al-fitr (at the end of Ramadan) called “little prayer” (sāl dɛ̀gɛ̀-náwⁿ), and Muharram (bɛ̀ndɛ̀). On all three holy days, the A-B greeting sequence in (908) is used. Neither the A greeting nor the B reply is parsable in Cliffs and they are said to be from Soninke (“Sarakole”) language.

(908) A: kēbèrè wāāgà

B: wāāgà dùⁿhēērè

After B’s response, B continues with (909).

(909) ālà gālà ē kwāā [[kɔ̀nɔ̀sē kày-yè] bwɛ̄ỳ]

God Sbjn 1Pl add.Pfv [[next.year see.Nom-Pl] Comit]

‘May God add (=include) us in those who (will) see next year!’

(kwāā ‘hit X’ plus comitative PP → ‘add X [to Y]’)

Response is of the ‘amen!’ type.

# Texts

The audio recordings will eventually be archived at Deep Blue (University of Michigan Libraries). Search the site for Jenaama or Cliffs and the author’s surname.

## Text 2017-01 Founding of Namagué village

Ngaare Traore (village chief, **nt**) and Seydou Cissé (**sc**) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (**ac**)

duration: 08:59

(**00:**04) **ac** [kɛ́ɛ́ràⁿ syēⁿ] nɔ̀gù-mīīrù

[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] village-chief

**nt** āā syēŋ gà [nɛ̄ɛ̄mà nī]

2Pl spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [cool.weather Inst]

**ac**: ‘Good afternoon, village chief!’

**nt**: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday pleasantly?’

*[greeting formulae;* ***nt****’s greeting is optionally preceded by* kòrì *(< Fulfulde) interrogative particle in greetings, abbreviated to* kò *in the following segments;* nɛ̄ɛ̄mā *‘pleasant cool weather’]*

(00:06) **ac** [kò jām̀ syēŋ gà [āā pà]

[Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]

**nt** āā syēŋ gà [nɛ̄ɛ̄mà nī]

2Pl spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [cool.weather Inst]

**ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**ac**: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

**nt**: ‘(Did) you-Pl spend the midday pleasantly?’

**ac**: ‘There is no trouble (conflict).’

*[*kò *<* kòrì *;* bàà sí *‘(not) any trouble’, reparsed from* báásī *‘trouble’ (Fulfulde* baasi *< Arabic);* kɔ̀ⁿ *is elsewhere the topicalization ‘as for X’ marker but in this common greeting formula (§19.6.1) it functions as negative existential]*

(00:09) **nt** kò jām̀ syēⁿ [āā bwɛ̄ỳ]

Q peace spend.midday.Pfv [2Pl Comit]

**ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**nt**: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

**ac** ‘(There is) no trouble.’

(00:10) **nt** yēm bìsīmìlà

Imprt.2Pl be.welcome.Pfv

**ac** ɔ̀ⁿ→

(hesitation)

**nt**: ‘You-Pl are welcome.’

**ac**: ‘Uh, …’

*[****nt*** *invites* ***ac*** *to proceed; plural-addressee imperative* yèⁿ *(§10.4.1.1)]*

(00:12) **nt** yēm bìsīmìlà

Imprt.2Pl be.welcome.Pfv

**ac** *bon*

well

**nt** [āā bē-gū] dēmōⁿ [ē tè] máɲɛ̀

[2Pl come.VblN] be.pleasing [1Pl Dat] a.lot

**nt**: ‘You-Pl are welcome.’

**ac**: ‘Well, …’

**nt**: ‘Your-Pl coming (here) has pleased us very much.’

*[*dēmōⁿ/dēmòⁿ *‘please (sb)’ =* dēwⁿ *; <* ē tē*]*

(00:14) **ac** [kɛ́ɛ́ràⁿ syēⁿ] [sèēdù sìsé]

[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [S C]

**sc** èn̄nāà

(reply)

**ac**: ‘Good afternoon, Seydou Cissé!’

**nt**: (greeting reply)

(00:16) **ac** kò jām̀ syēŋ gà [āā bwɛ̄ỳ]

Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]

**sc** kàlà= āā syēɲ [jām̀ ní]

Q 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [peace Inst.Q]

**ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**ac**: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

**sc**: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday in peace?’

**ac**: ‘There is no trouble.’

*[*kàlà *interrogative in greeting formulae, equivalent to* kòrì*]*

(00:18) **sc** āā rɛ̄ɛ̄nà-nā nì

2Pl be.safe-Ppl it.is

**ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**sc**: ‘You-Pl are safe?’

**ac**: ‘There is no trouble.’

(00:19) **sc** kòrì jām̀ syēwⁿ [āā pà] kɔ̀ⁿ

Q peace spend.midday.Pfv [2Pl Comit] Top

**ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**sc**: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

**ac**: ‘(There is) no trouble.’

(00:21) **sc** àlàhāmdùllày

praise.to.God

**ac** àmbāà

(reply)

**sc** báárìkāllà

God.be.praised

**sc**: ‘Praise to God.’

**ac**: (greeting reply)

**sc**: ‘God be praised.’

*[Arabic expressions]*

(00:23) **ac** hàyà, yā= āā bāāy kày

okay 2Pl work(n)

**sc** āā yèn tyāābù kòy

2Pl and (greeting formula)

**ac**: ‘Well, you-Pl and work!’

**sc**: ‘You-Pl and (greeting).’

*[for situational greeting* yā= āā bāāy kày *see §19.6.3;* kòy *L‑toned in the greeting* tyāābu kòy *(< Fulfulde)]*

(00:26) **sc** hàyà, yā= āā bāāy kày

okay 2Pl work(n)

[[āā bē-gū] dēmōⁿ [ē tè] máɲɛ̀]

[[2Pl come.VblN] please.Pfv [1Pl Dat] a.lot]

**ac** hàyà

okay

**sc**: ‘You-Pl and work! Your-Pl coming (here) has pleased us very much.’

**ac**: ‘All right.’

(00:28) **sc** máɲɛ̀ máɲɛ̀ kóy

a.lot a.lot Emph

**ac** hàyà

okay

**sc** ‘Very much indeed.’

**ac**: ‘All right.’

(00:30) **sc** hàlè= ē nā= ā tò

until 1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv,

[ē gā= ā yàgā gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gìwⁿ]

[1Pl Ipfv 3Sg put.down.Ipfv place-Link-place]

**ac** hàyà

okay

**sc**: ‘To the point that we don’t know where to put it (=our happiness).’

**ac**: ‘All right.’

*[<* hàlì *;* tùyɛ̀/tò *‘know’ requires an object (§11.2.5.1);* gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gìwⁿ *§14.2.4]*

(00:31) **ac** *bon*, ē —

well 1Pl—

**sc** yā= āā bāāy kày

2Pl work(n)

**ac**: ‘Well, we—’

**sc**: ‘They have greeted you-Pl, you-Pl and work!’

*[for* ***sc****’s turn see comment on 00:23 above]*

(00:32) **ac** [ē gā nɔ̀gù-béwⁿ] [ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

[1Pl be N.Loc] [1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv

[ē gālā= à tīyē]],

[1Pl Sbjn 3Sg ask.Pfv]],

‘We are in Namagué (village). We would like to ask.’

*[tonal locative <* nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ*]*

(00:34) **ac** [question dāmā-dāmā] gè= [ē sūgì-y]

[question a.few] be [1Pl hand-Loc]

[ē gālà= āā tīyā= [à nī] *quoi*]

[1Pl Sbjn 2Pl ask.Pfv [3Sg Inst] Ø]

‘We have a few questions, (we’d like) to ask them to you-Pl.’

*[French* quoi *often added clause-finally by younger speakers]*

(00:36) **nt** hāywà, hāywà yēm bìsīmìllà

well, well Imprt.2Pl welcome.Pfv

**ac** bon, ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

well, 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv

**nt**: ‘Well, you-Pl are welcome (to ask).’

**ac**: ‘Well, we would like …’

(00:38) **ac** [ē gālā= ā tùyɛ̀

[1Pl Sbjn 3Sg know.Pfv

[nɔ̀gù-bēm pẁɔ̄ gà [bāànā màwⁿ]],

[N sit.Pfv RemPfv [manner Rel]],

‘… to know (=learn) the way Namagué (village) was settled,’

*[*tùyɛ̀ *Pfv of ‘know’, i.e. ‘recognize’ or ‘find out’ (§11.2.5.1)*

(00:40) **ac** [mwɔ̄ bàànà-síí] nī

[which? manner-kind] Inst

**nt** mhm

uh.huh

**ac**: ‘In what manner.’

**nt**: ‘Uh-huh.’

(00:42) **ac** [wùlāā-yè gā= [[à ɲīmī pānāāⁿ-yē] nì]

[who?-Pl be [[3Sg person first-Pl] it.is]

[māā-mà-lē pẁɔ̄ gā= [à nìŋīì]],

[Iter-Rel-Pl sit.Pfv RemPl [3Sg inside]],

‘Who were its first people, the ones who settled in it?’

(00:44) **ac** *bon* è bē gà bōẁⁿ [[mẁɔ̄ bàànà-síí] nī]

well 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here [[which? manner-kind] Inst]

**nt** mhm

uh.huh

**ac**: ‘Well, in what way did they come here?’

NH: ‘Uh-huh.’

(00:46) **ac** āŋ gālà pɔ̄ sē= [ē tè] [ɲɔ́ⁿ nìŋīì] *quoi* 2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [Dem inside]

**nt** ŋ̀ gā— ŋ̀ gà pɔ̄ tò ā-ỳ yàá,

1Sg Ipfv— 1Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc Emph,

**ac**: ‘Could you-Sg tell us something in (=about) it?’

**nt**: ‘I— I do know something in (=about) it.’

*[final* yàá *in mildly emphatic positive response to polar interrogative (§19.4.2.5)]*

(00:49) **nt** bādì ɲīmī gā [n̄ tòy-pwɔ́] sē

because person Ipfv [3ReflSg knowledge-thing.Foc] say.Ipfv

**ac** ìnʃāllàw

if.God.wills

**nt**: ‘Because a person says what he/she knows.’

**ac**: ‘If God wills.’

*[*bādì *(§17.5.7.1);* ìnʃāllàw *‘if God wills’ (Arabic) functions pragmatically somewhat like ‘hopefully’ (Gallicized as* inchalla*)]*

(00:52) **nt** [ē nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ lāsārī] bāā gā—

[1Pl N origin] exit(v).Pfv RemPfv—

**sc** [ān-dāā gā mɛ̀n-tīẁⁿ sē]

[2Sg-QTop Ipfv how? speak.Ipfv]

**nt**: ‘The origin of our Namagué was—’

**sc** (interrupting): ‘How are you speaking?’.

*[*mɛ̀n-tīẁⁿ *§13.2.2.6]*

(00:54) **sc** [à sē] [ē gālā= ā mìŋɛ̀],

[3Sg say.Pfv] [1Pl Sbjn 3Sg hear.Pfv],

[ǹ túwɔ́-lɛ̄wⁿ gū] nā mìŋɛ̄

[1Sg ear Def] IpfvNeg hear.Ipfv

‘Say it so we can hear it. My ear can’t hear.’

*[****sc*** *was somewhat hard of hearing]*

(00:57) **nt** [[ē nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ gù] lāsārī] bāā gà màndēwⁿ

[[1Pl N Def] origin] exit(v).Pfv RemPfv Mande

**sc** àⁿhāàⁿ→

uh-huh!

**nt** ‘The source of our Namagué exited (=came) from Mande.’

**sc** ‘Uh-huh.’

*[The Mande empire of the Middle Ages is claimed as origin by many ethnicities in the area including Dogon and some montane Songhay; the king’s headquarters may have been in the Mali-Guinea border area, but “Mande” is semi-mythical in ethnohistory;* ***sc****’s “uh‑huh” indicates satisfaction with* ***nt****’s louder speech]*

(00:59) **nt** màndēwⁿ

Mande

**sc** wàlá

that’s.it!

**nt** ‘Mande.’

**sc**: ‘That’s it!’

*[*wàlá *<French* voilà *as supportive backchannel (§19.5.2)]*

(01:01) **nt** ē bè bē kīyɛ̄ kùná,

1Pl Seq come.Pfv pass.Pfv K,

ē bè bē pwɔ̀ jēw-kàmɛ̄ẁⁿ,

1Pl Seq come.Pfv sit.Pfv J-K,

[[jàwálè kùwóm] bwɛ̄ỳ] yāẁⁿ,

[[OG flank] Comit] there.Def,

‘We then came on to Kouna. Then we came and settled in Jew-Kamew, next to Ouro Guéou (village) there.’

*[‘We’ refers to the remote ancestors who founded Namagué many centuries ago; Kouna is a village south of Mopti, just southwest of Somadougou (not to be confused with Konna);* jēw *(locative* jèẃ*) denotes the entire commune of Lowol-Guéou which includes Namagué and Bounou;* jēw-kàmɛ̄ẁⁿ *is a currently uninhabited spot near the entrance to the valley, cf.* jííⁿ-kàmāà *‘west’; Ouro Guéou (Fulfulde* uro gew*) is a Fulbe village in the plains near the entrance to the valley; the Cliffs name* jàwálè *is contracted from* jēw *plus* ‑wálè*, which also occurs in* dàànì-wálè*,* mìtààgù-wálè*, and* bòmbòlì-wálè*, the Cliffs names for the Fulbe villages Daani Ouro, Moulentakou Ouro, and Bombori Ouro, all in the plains near the cliffs]*

(01:08) **nt** àⁿhāàⁿ [[jāwālē kùwóm] bwɛ̄ỳ] yāẁⁿ

uh-huh [[OG flank] Comit] there.Def,

[[sīlē mūūⁿ] bwɛ̄ỳ] [nɔ̀gùⁿ-tómbó màŋ] gà yāẁⁿ,

[[rock lower.face] Comit] [village-abandoned Rel] be.Loc there.Def,

‘Uh-huh, next to Ouro Guéou there, facing the hill, the abandoned village site that is there.’

(01:12) **nt** ē bè bē pwɔ̀ yāẁⁿ, [pɔ̄ mɔ̀ⁿ sāāⁿ] nī,

1Pl Seq come.Pfv sit.Pfv there.Def, [thing Rel all] Inst,

[ē jè gù] nāⁿ hāŋgà gù,

[1Pl G Def] if.Pfv worry(v).Pfv Def,

‘We settled there. If there is whatever that our Lowol-Guéou (commune) is concerned about,’

*[combination relative and conditional introducing a nonspecific discourse referent (§14.1.2)]*

(01:16) **nt** [[ē mīīrù-yè] gā sō [bẁɔ̄ kày] yāẁⁿ]

[[1Pl chief-Pl] Ipfv go.Ipfv [Recip see.Pfv] there.Def]

[ālà gā= ā ɲìyɛ̀-gà-nī],

[God Ipfv 3Sg easy-Inch-Caus.Ipfv],

‘Our chiefs (still) go and see each other (=meet) there. God facilitates it.

*[*ɲìyɛ̀-gà-nī *factitive = causative of adjectival inchoative (§9.4.4)]*

(01:20) **nt** ē bè bāā yāẁⁿ, āⁿ mìŋɛ́

1Pl Seq exit.Pfv there.Def, 2Sg hear.Pfv.Q

**sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt**: ‘Then we left there. Did you hear (me)?’

**sc**: ‘Definitely!’

*[*jáátì *for confirmation (§19.4.2.2)]*

(01:23) **nt** ē bè bē nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ,

1Pl Seq come.Pfv N,

è gā= à sē [nɔ̀gù bē] [nɔ̀gù bē] gù,

3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say.Ipfv [village come.Pfv] [village come.Pfv] Def,

‘Then we came to Namagué. They say, “a village has come! a village has come!”

*[a locally popular etymology of* nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ*]*

(01:27) **nt** āⁿ mìŋɛ̀ dé,

2Sg hear.Pfv Emph.Q,

ān tè [[[āāmādù jāŋkābā] kògō] kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ],

2Sg PfvNeg [[[A J] new.house] behind],

ān tē gɯ̀ɯ̀ⁿ-náⁿ-lɛ̄wⁿ kàȳ kùwòlì-nà yáwⁿ,

2Sg PfvNeg place-Dimin-Dimin see.Pfv surround-Ppl there.Def.Q,

‘Did you-Sg hear? Have you-Sg not, behind the house of Amadou Jankaba, have you not seen a little plot there, surrounded (by stones)?’

*[clause with heavy constituents, restarted in the middle; diminutive (§5.1.7.1)]*

(01:32) **nt** sēēnì yèn̄ lààsīnè, [nàⁿ ŋ̀-kēēⁿ] [kàà ŋ̀-kēēⁿ] nì,

O and L, [mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is,

[è sāāⁿ] gā [sìyé kūmà],

[3Pl all] be.Loc [horse on],

‘Ouséni and Lasine (twin brothers), (they) were (of) the same mother and the same father. They were both (riding double) on a horse.’

*[Ouséni (< Husein), Lasine (< Hasan), these names are typical of elder and younger twin brothers]*

(01:37) **nt** āⁿ mìŋɛ́,

2Sg hear.Pfv.Q,

è gā [sìyé kūmà] gù,

3Pl be.Loc [horse on] Def,

‘Did you hear? When they were on the horse,’

(01:40) **nt** è bè kīyɛ̄ [nɔ̀gù-bèn nā]

3Pl Seq pass.Pfv [N Dat]

è bē sō mààlù,

3Pl Seq go.Pfv M,

**sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt** :‘They passed Namagué. Then they went (on) to Madougou.’

**sc**: ‘Exactly!’

*[Madougou is the village after Namagué as one goes deeper into the valley]*

(01:44) **nt** è kàȳlà sō mààlù gù,

3Pl when go.Pfv M Def,

tèēⁿ yè ɲɔ̄llā —

elder.sib said herewith —

ya᷆ⁿ lāā nā [jànàmà-sēē-y-ē tààgàn] ní,

there.Def QTop not.be [Jenama-speak-Agent-Pl outer.bound] it.is.Q,

‘When they had gone to Madougou, the elder brother said “Herewith, isn’t the outer bound of Jenaama speakers there (=Madougou)” ’

*[*kàȳlà *‘when’;* tèwⁿ *~* tèèⁿ *‘elder sibling’;* ɲɔ̄llā *precedes an important statement]*

(01:48) **nt** è bè bē [kāādō kɛ̄ɛ̄gū] tābà

3Pl Seq come.Pfv [Dogon man] find.Pfv,

[à gā pwɔ̀-nà [[ŋ̄ kòlòⁿ] kūmà]],

[3Sg be sit-Ppl [[3ReflSg skin] on]],

**sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt**:‘They came and encountered a Dogon man, he was seated on his (sheep-)skin (=mat).’

**sc**: ‘Exactly!’

(01:52) āⁿ mìŋɛ́, é!, tèēn-tùgū yā=

2Sg hear.Pfv.Q, hey! elder.sib-owner said

[à gālè= ē kò [jíí nī]]

[3Sg Sbjn LogoPl furnish.Pfv [water Inst]]

[ē gālè= ē mɛ̄wⁿ],

[LogoPl Sbjn Logo/3ReflPl drink.Pfv],

‘Did you hear? The older one said (to the Dogon), “hey, (please) provide us with water, so we might have a drink.” ’

*[*tèēn-tùgù *‘oldest of a group of friends or siblings’; <* yè *‘said’; 3Sg* à *rather than 2Sg in the quotation, denoting the Dogon; subjunctive* gālà *(§10.2.2.4)]*

(01:57) **nt** à yē [n̄ nā dēʔ],

3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg Emph],

[sābì n̄ nà= āā kò [jíí nī] sāāⁿ],

[because LogoSg if.Pfv 2Pl furnish.Pfv [water Inst] all],

‘He (Dogon) said, “I will not, indeed! Because if I provide you-Pl with water, …” ’

*[i.e. if I get up off my mat to get water for you;* dēʔ *is an emphatic particle used in admonitive or other adversarial contexts (§19.4.2.4);* sāāⁿ *‘all’ as right-edge marker in conditional antecedent]*

(02:01) **nt** āŋ gā pɔ̀-lɔ̀ [[ŋ̀ kólóⁿ] kúmà],

2Sg Ipfv sit-Ipfv [[LogoSg skin] on],

[n̄ dāā] [āⁿ nàm̄ pwɔ̀ [[ŋ̀ kólóⁿ] kúmà] sāāⁿ]

[LogoSg QTop] [2Sg if.Pfv sit.Pfv [[LogoSg skin] on] all]

[n̄ dēŋēwⁿ],

[LogoSg be.outcast.Pfv],

‘ “… you-Sg will sit on my (sheep-)skin. As for me, if you-Sg sit on my (sheep‑)skin, I (will) become an outcast.’

*[*dāā *variant of* lāā*, topic mainly in interrogative contexts (‘what about X?’); ‘be outcast’ means losing one’s esoteric powers and being forced to leave]*

(02:05) **nt** [hàl wāỳ] [è kòlòⁿ] gā mààlù-mísírí,

[until today] [3Pl skin] be.Loc M-mosque.Loc,

(…)

(unintelligible)

‘Even today, their (sheep-)skin is (still) in Madougou (village).’

*[<* hàlī wày *; tonal locative of compound, cf. possessive* mààlū mìsírí *‘Madougou mosque’]*

(02:08) **nt** ŋ̀ dēŋēŋ gū—, ì yā [à gālā sò]

1Sg curse(n) Def—, 3Pl said [3Sg Sbjn go.Pfv]

[è nā pɔ̀-lɔ̀],

[3Pl IpfvNeg sit-Ipfv].

‘My curse—. They told him (=Dogon) to go, they (=Bozo) would not sit down.’

(02:11) **nt** à gìlɛ̄ŋ kìì sāāⁿ,

3Sg as.soon.as get.up.Pfv when,

sēēnì māŋ gā dùgōⁿ nì gù,

O Rel be younger.sib it.is Def,

‘As soon as he (=Dogon) got up, Ouséni who was the younger brother,’

(02:15) **nt** à yē [lààsīnà tēè→],

3Sg said [L Dat]

[ŋ̀ kɔ́ⁿ] gá yà-lá,

[1Sg Topic] Ipfv descend-Ipfv.Q,

‘He said to Lasine, ‘as for me, I will dismount?’ ”

*[*tēè→ *for dative* tè *at pause before quotation (§3.7.2); final H‑tone on* yà‑là *‘descend-Ipfv’ as in questions, here suggesting that Ouséni’s action is subject to his elder brother’s veto]*

(02:18) **nt** à yā= [āⁿ màⁿ ɲ̀ jámbá kóy],

3Sg said [2Sg Proh 1Sg betray.Pfv Emph],

sāāⁿ sēēnì tēⁿ-[yà-là],

all O jump.Pfv-[descend-Ipfv],

‘He (=Lasine) said, “Don’t betray me!” Immediately Ouséni jumped down.’

*[*jàmbà/jàmbā *‘betray, renege on, swindle’; Lasine had given his word to the Dogon; ‘jump-descend’ with Pfv-Ipfv verb sequence (§15.2.5)]*

(02:21) **nt** à pwɔ̌ [kòlòŋ kūmà], sēēnì pwɔ̌ [kòlòŋ kūmà] sāāⁿ,

3Sg sit.Pfv [skin on], O sit.Pfv [skin on] when,

[kāādō gū] bē gà sāāⁿ, à jíí pàɲɛ̀,

[Dogon Def] come.Pfv RemPfv when, 3Sg water sprinkle.Pfv,

‘He sat on the (sheep-)skin. After he sit on the (sheep-)skin, when the Dogon came, he (=Dogon) spilled the water.’

(02:27) **nt** à yē [ŋ̀ dēŋēwⁿ, [à kɔ̀ⁿ] n̄ tūwō,

3Sg said [1Sg be.outcast.Pfv], [3Sg Topic] 3ReflSg depart.Pfv,

à yē [[ǹ tèèŋ gù] tē]

3Sg said [[3ReflSg elder.sib Def] Dat]

‘He said, “I am cast out.” As for him (=Dogon), he left. He (Ouséni) said to his elder brother,”

(02:32) **nt** āŋ gālà bē [ē gālā yàwⁿ],

2Sg Sbjn come.Pfv [1Pl Sbjn descend.Pfv],

à yē [n̄ =nā yà-là],

3Sg said [LogoSg IipfvNeg descend.Ipfv],

‘(younger to elder:) “Why don’t you-Sg come, let’s (both) dismount!” He (=elder) said, “I will not dismount.” ’

(02:34) **nt** [ŋ̄ kɔ̀ⁿ]— nà háádí māỳⁿ,

[LogoSg Topic]— IpfvNeg promise ruin.Ipfv,

[tèèŋ gū] bè m̄ bēm-bē,

[elder.sib Def] Seq 3ReflSg return-come.Pfv,

‘(elder:) “As for me, I will not break (my) oath.” The elder brother came back.’

(02:38) **nt** [jāŋāām būlōⁿ] kɔ̀rɔ̀ gù,

[shed big] back Def,

**sc** sìlè-kúrú

stone

**nt**: ‘The back of the big palaver shed (at Namagué).’

**sc**: ‘The rock.’

*[refers to a sacred spot with a large rock, surrounded by a ring of stones]*

(02:41) **nt** [[sìlè-kúrú ka᷆ⁿ] yāŋ̀ gù]

[[stone chez] there.Def Def]

[[[bààkùwɔ̀ kɛ́rɛ́] kùwòɲ jáátí] pà gù],

[[[B wall] flank precisely] Comit Def],

‘At the rock there, right beside Bakuwo’s wall.’

*[<* kùwóⁿ *; NP-final* jáátī *(§8.4.2.1); Bakuwo is the name of a woman]*

(02:44) **nt** tèēⁿ-tùgū bè bē yāẁⁿ,

elder.sib-owner Seq come.Pfv there.Def,

[à pé] bè yàⁿ-[bà-lā] [[ŋ̄ sìyéⁿ] kūmà],

[3Sg also] Seq descend.Pfv-[exit(v)-Ipfv] [[3ReflSg horse] on],

**sc** wālà

voilà

**nt**: ‘The older brother (Lasine) came there. He too dismounted from his horse.’

**sc**: ‘Right.’

(02:47) **nt** [ɲàⁿ sóⁿ] nɔ̀gū-sùrù gà dúgúⁿ nì, āⁿ fààmú,

[Dem time] village-remainder be forest it.is, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

[[dúgúⁿ màⁿ] āŋ gā= ā tò gū] nì

[[forest Rel] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv Def] it.is

‘At that time, the rest of the village (Namagué) was a forest. Did you understand? It’s the forest that you-Sg know.’

*[*āⁿ fààmú *‘did you understand (it)?’, seemingly intransitive (§19.5.1); unusual relative with fronted head NP and resumptive 3Sg pronoun (§14.1.1)]*

(02:52) **nt** [à tèèŋ] gà bā-lā [[ŋ̄ sìyéⁿ] kūmà] sāāⁿ,

[3Sg elder.sib] Ipfv exit(v)-Ipfv [[3ReflSg horse] on] when,

à bē pwɔ̀-[yà-là],

[3Sg Seq sit.Pfv-[descend-Ipfv],

‘When his older brother was getting off his horse, he sat down.’

(02:56) **nt** [wɔ̀gɔ́ gā [nɔ̀gù bē],

[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [village come.Pfv],

**sc** [wɔ̀gɔ́ gā [nɔ̀gù bē],

[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [village come.Pfv],

**nt**: ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.” ’

**sc**: ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.” ’

*[suggested etymology for* nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ *‘Namagué (village)’;* wɔ̀gɔ̀ *3Sg independent pronoun, here with final H‑tone for focus (§13.1.3)]*

(02:58) **nt** [nɔ̀gù bē] è gā= à sē nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ,

[village come.Pfv] 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say.Ipfv N,

**sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt**: ‘ “The village has come.” They call it Namagué.’

**sc**: ‘Indeed!’

(03:01) **nt** āⁿ fààmú

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q

**sc** [wɔ̀gɔ́ gā [nɔ̀gù bē] nì,

[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [village come.Pfv] it.is,

**nt** [wɔ̀gɔ́ gā [nɔ̀gù bē] nì,

[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [village come.Pfv] it.is,

**nt**: ‘Did you understand?’

**sc**: ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.” ’

**nt**: ‘That [focus] is “the village has come.” ’

(03:04) **nt** āywà, ɲɔ́ŋ kàȳlà bāā gū,

well, Dem when exit.Pfv Def,

[ē kɔ̀ⁿ] gè= [ē tìgè-kɛ́ɛ́gɛ̄-è mà-lē] tò kóy,

[1Pl Topic] Ipfv [1Pl grandparent-man-Pl Rel-Pl] know Emph,

‘All right, when that had gone out (=after that), our grandfathers whom we definitely knew,’

*[post-subject* kàȳlà *‘when’ plus clause-final “definite”* gu *(§15.4.3); internally-headed object relative (§14.4.2) with plural head]*

(03:11) **nt** [sēēnì kàȳlà bāā gū] [àlɛ̄ɛ̄ bē pwɔ̀],

[O when exit.Pfv Def] [A Seq sit.Pfv],

àlɛ̄ɛ̄ kàȳlà bāā gū, lààmū-ỳ gù, dīndì bē pwɔ̀,

A when exit.Pfv Def, authority-Loc Def, D Seq sit.Pfv

‘When Ouséni left (=died), Allaye then sat (=as chief). When Allaye left power (=the chiefhood), Dindi then sat (as chief).’

*[smooth out as* àlɛ̄ɛ̄ kàȳlà bāā lààmū-ỳ gù*]*

(03:21) **nt** dīndì kàȳlà bāā gū, īīsūbù bē pwɔ̀,

D when exit.Pfv Def, Y Seq sit.Pfv,

īīsūbù kàȳlà bāā gū, bùkāārɛ̀ bē pwɔ̀,

Y when exit.Pfv Def, B Seq sit.Pfv

‘When Dindi left, Yousouf thenb sat (as chief). When Yousouf left, Boucary then sat (as chief).’

(03:28) **nt** āⁿ fààmú, bùkāārɛ̀ kàȳlà bāā gū,

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, B when exit.Pfv Def,

bwāākārè bē pwɔ̀,

B Seq sit.Pfv,

**sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt**: ‘Did you understand? When Boucary left, Bacary then sat (as chief).’

**sc**: ‘Exactly!’

(03:34) **nt** bwāākārè kàȳlà bāā gū, bàāyàm bē pwɔ̀

B when exit.Pfv Def, B Seq sit.Pfv

**sc** bàāyàm bē pwɔ̀

B Seq sit.Pfv

**nt**: ‘When Bacary left, Bayaou sat (as chief).’

**sc**: ‘Bayaou sat (as chief).’

*[Bayaou is the name given to anyone born in the first 10 days of Maouloud (Muslim month)]*

(03:36) **nt** [[ŋ̀ kɔ́ⁿ] kàā] tē lààmà

[[1Sg Topic] father] PfvNeg govern.Pfv

**sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt**: ‘As for me, my father didn’t govern.’

**sc**: ‘Indeed!’

*[topicalized pronominal as possessor]*

(03:38) bàāyàŋ kàȳlà bāā gū,

B when exit.Pfv Def,

[īīsūbù m̄ bēm-bē gà tūⁿ] à bē lààmà,

[Y 3ReflSg return-come.Pfv RemPfv again], 3Sg Seq govern.Pfv,

‘When Bayaou left, Yousouf came back, he governed then.’

(03:41) [kàà-ŋ-kàbūwō yɛ̀lɛ̀ⁿ], [kàà-ŋ-kàbūwō màⁿ] āŋ kà-nà gù,

[Papa-Link-K namemate], [Papa-K Rel] 2Sg see-Ipfv Def,

ì yā= [à tíbɛ́ⁿ] gà [ísìyáákà [lààm pānāāⁿ]—

Pl said [3Sg name] be [Isiaka [authority first]—

[[sèmpùwō kàà] bwɛ̄ỳ], wɔ̀gɔ́ gà īīsūbù nì,

[[S father] Comit], 3Sg.Indep.Foc be Y it.is,

‘Papa Kabuwo’s namemate, the Papa Kabuwo whom you-Sg see, they said that his name is, (in) the first chiefhood of Issiaka [error]— (same name) with the father of Sempuwo, that is Yousouf.’

*[this passage somewhat broken;* X yɛ̀lɛ̀wⁿ *‘namemate of X’ (person who shares the same name), Papa Kabuwo is an alternative name for a man whose baptismal name is Yousouf;* sèmpùwò *~* sòmpùwò *‘donkey’ is a nickname given to a newborn whose mother has had several children die young, in the hope that the name will prevent early death]*

(03:47) **sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt** pānāāⁿ, [ē mīīrù pānāāⁿ]—

formerly, [1Pl chief first] —

[[[ē kàà-yē] tìgè-kɛ́ɛ́gū] mīīrū pānāāŋ gū],

[[[1Pl father-Pl] grandparent-man] chief first Def],

**sc**: ‘Indeed!’

**nt**: ‘In the old days, our first chief, the first chief of the grandfathers of our fathers,’

(03:51) **nt** [wɔ̀gɔ́ gā [[kààŋ kàbūwō] yɛ̀lɛ̄n] nì.

[3Sg.Indep.Foc be [[Papa K] namemate] it.is,

āŋ gā= ā tò [[kú-yè kɔ̀n̄] nàŋāàⁿ] ǹ dāāⁿ

2Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv [[Dem-Pl Topic] interval] PsRefl be.distant

**ac** nàŋāàⁿ ǹ dāāⁿ

interval PsRefl be.distant

**nt**: ‘He [focus] was Papa Kabuwo’s namemate. You-Sg know that the (time) interval between those (two) was distant (=long).’

**ac**: ‘The interval was distant.’

(03:54) **nt** hāⁿ, hāyà, [[[kààŋ kàbūwō yɛ̀gɛ̀-nā] kɔ̀rɔ̄] pà] nì→,

Huh?, well, [[[Papa K give.birth-Ppl] back] Comit] (??),

[à dùgā=] ā— [à dùgā=] ā tìbɛ̄ŋ gà,

[3Sg younger.sib] 3Sg— [3Sg younger.sib] 3Sg baptise.Pfv RemPfv,

īīsūbù nī

Y Inst

‘Huh? Well, when (another) Papa Kabuwo was born, his (old Papa Kabuwo’s) younger brother baptised him, as Yousouf.’

*[the final* nì→ *is superfluous; <* dùgòⁿ*]*

(03:59) **nt** [à pē] bē lààmà,

[3Sg also] Seq govern.Pfv,

wày ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ lààmā gà

today 1Sg-Indep govern.Pfv RemPfv,

‘He too governed. Nowadays it is I [focus] who have taken command.’

(04:01) **sc** wày kú gá lààmū-ỳⁿ

today Dem Ipfv authority-Loc

**ac** àlāāwkùbār

praise.God

**sc**: ‘This one (=**nt**) is in authority.’

**ac**: ‘God be praised’

(04:03) **nt** [kɛ̄ɛ̄gū kàmn-è] gā mà-lē lààmā— lààmū tò gù,

[man old-Pl] Ipfv Rel-Pl [error]— authority know.Ipfv Def,

[nɔ̀gù-mīīrù à [jīīn dɛ̀b-è-cɛ̄m] lààmā gà

[village-chief 3Sg [year 40-and-10] govern.Pfv RemPfv

‘The government that the old men used to know, the chief, he governed for fifty years.’

*[<* lààmù tò *; rephrase more smoothly as* … gā lààmū màn̄ tò gù*]*

(04:09) **ac** wɔ̀gɔ́ gà [mīīrū pānāāⁿ] nì

3Sg.Indep.Foc be [chief first] it.is

**nt** pānāāⁿ

first

**sc**: ‘That was the first chief.’

**nt**: ‘The first one.’

(04:11) **nt** [màŋ gà tēn-nā= [ā pà]]

[Rel be be.adjacent-Ppl [3Sg Comit

[jīīⁿ yìyènī] lààmā gà,

[year seven] govern.Pfv RemPfv,

‘The one who succeeded him governed for seven years.’

*[cf. reflexive verb* tēwⁿ/tē-lēwⁿ *‘put oneself up against’]*

(04:14) **nt** [màŋ gà tēn-nā= [ā pà]]

[Rel be be.adjacent-Ppl [3Sg Comit]]

[jīīn tēmbē-ē-sìgēⁿ] lààmā gà,

[year ten-and-three] govern.Pfv RemPfv,

‘The one who succeeded him governed for thirteen years.’

(04:17) **nt** [ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ yùrùgū gā [ɲ̀ jīīⁿ sìgēⁿ] nì

[1Sg-Indep this.year be [1Sg year three] it.is

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt** āⁿ fààmú

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q

**nt**: ‘Myself, this year is (=adds up to) my three years. Did you understand?’

**sc**: ‘I understood it.’

**nt**: ‘You understood?’

(04:21) **ac** ālà gālà ē kò [[wìī yèŋ kɛ̄nā-āmā] nī]

God Sbjn 1Pl furnish.Pfv [[long.life and health] Inst]

**nt** àmíínà yùrùgū gā [ɲ̀ jīīⁿ sìgēⁿ] nì

amen! this.year be [1Sg year three] it.is

**sc**: ‘May God give us long life and good health.’

**nt**: ‘Amen! This year is (=adds up to) my three years.’

(04:23) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt** [wàȳ kɔ̀ⁿ] ē-lɔ̀gɔ̀ gā kàà-yē nì

[today Topic] 1Pl-Indep be father-Pl it.is

**sc**: ‘I understood it.’

**nt**: ‘Nowadays it’s we [focus] who are the fathers (=elders).’

(04:25) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt** sāà-gū dìgàmū tè bē [[ē dēm-bē] pà],

now talk(n) PfvNeg come.Pfv [[1Pl child-Pl] Comit],

**sc**: ‘I understood it.’

**nt**: ‘Now the word (=time to govern) hasn’t come for our young people.’

(04:27) **nt** [nɔ̀gù-bēⁿ yèŋ̄ mààlū màⁿ] āŋ kā= ā kà-nà gù,

[N and M Rel] 2Sg Prsntv 3Sg see-Ipfv Def,

[[mà sāāⁿ] nā= à māyⁿ]

[[Rel all] if.Pfv 3Sg ruin.Pfv]

[à nà m̀ māỳⁿ [ām pà],

[3Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl be.good [2Sg Comit],

‘Namagué and Madougou (villages) that you-Sg know, if anyone (=you) harms it (relations between them), it won’t be good for you-Sg.’

*[i.e. anyone who does that will be in trouble; <* āⁿ kāy à kà-nà *‘ ,* mà sāāⁿ *‘any who’; mixed conditional and relative (§14.1.2); generic 2Sg agreeing with nonspecific ‘anyone’ (§14.1.2)]*

(04:32) **nt** [nàⁿ ŋ̀-kēēⁿ] [kàà ŋ-kēeⁿ] nì kóy,

[mother Link-one] [father Link-one] it.is Emph,

[wàȳ-wày gù-ỳ] [pɔ̄ nàm bē mààlù]

[Iter-today Def-Loc] [thing if.Pfv come.Pfv M]

‘(The two villages) are of the same mother and the same father. Nowadays if something comes (=happens) to Madougou, …’

(04:35) **nt** è-lɔ̀gɔ́ gá bē bààwɔ̀nɛ̀,

3Pl-Indep.Foc Ipfv.Foc come.Ipfv plead.Pfv,

[pɔ̄ nàm bē mààlù] [ē pē] bē sō bààwɔ̀nɛ̀,

[thing if.Pfv come.Pfv M] [1Pl also] Seq go.Pfv plead.Pfv,

‘They (people of Madougou) [focus] come and plead (to us). If something happens in Madougou (emend to: Namagué), we likewise go and plead (to people in Madougou).’

*[Ipfv ‘come’ plus perfective VP (§15.2.1)*

(04:37) **nt** ān tè= [ē kàbū] kàý

2Sg PfvNeg [1Pl association] see.Pfv.Q

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā kày

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv

**nt**: ‘Have you-Sg not seen our association?

**ac**: ‘I have seen it.’

*[refers to a joint association between the two villages, which arranges marriages]*

(04:39) **nt** [mà hāāⁿ] nā= à māỳⁿ] [à nà hāwrà [ām pà]]

[Rel all] if.Pfv 3Sg harm.Pfv] [3Sg IpfvNeg be.pleasant.Ipfv [2Sg Comit]

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt** mhm

uh-huh

**nt**: ‘If anyone (=you) harms it, it won’t be pleasant for you-Sg.’

**sc**: ‘I understood it.’

**nt**: ‘Uh-huh.’

*[*mà hāāⁿ *variant of* mà sāāⁿ*]*

(04:42) **sc** [ē sāāⁿ] gā [kàbù ŋ̀-kēēⁿ] nì

[1Pl all] be [association Link-one] it.is

**nt** [ē sāāⁿ] gā [kàbù ŋ̀-kēēⁿ] nì

[1Pl all] be [association Link-one] it.is

**sc**: ‘Both of us (=the two villages) are one association.’

**nt**: ‘Both of us are one association.’

(04:44) **nt** [bē (ŋ̀) kɔ̄-lā [[ɲààn-[súbááⁿ-sóⁿ] bwɛ̄ỳ]

[come (Refl) be.added-Ipfv [[tomorrow-[morning]] Comit]

[mà hāāⁿ]— ē nàwⁿ—

[Rel all]— 1Pl if.Pfv—

‘Including (=even) tomorrow morning. Anyone who—. If we—.’

*[i.e. the bond is still unbroken]*

(04:45) **nt** [ē pàà bē pwɔ̀] [[mà hāāⁿ] gā bē]

[1Pl if.Counterf Seq sit.Pfv] [[Rel all] Ipfv come.Ipfv]

[è bā= à sē]

[3Pl Seq 3Sg say.Pfv]

[yèŋ kā= à yàgā [kìyɛ̄ⁿ nī]],

[Imprt.2Pl Hort 3Sg put.down.Ipfv [like.this Inst]],

‘If we have sat down (at a meeting), anyone who comes, they would then say, “let’s decide (the issue) like this.” ’

*[*pàà bè *in hypothetical conditional antecedent (§16.4); hortative* kèⁿ *(§10.4.2.1)*

(04:47) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt** [[mà hāāⁿ] nā= à sē [n̄= nā] gū]

[[Rel Pl] if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg] Def,

[à nà m̀ māỳⁿ [ām pà]],

[3Sg IpfvNeg PsRefl be.good [2Sg Comit]],

**ac**: ‘I understood it.’

**nt**: ‘If there is anyone (=you) who says “I will not” (=refuses), it won’t be good for you.’

(04:50) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt** hàyà, [sēēnì gù] lɔ̄gɔ̄ŋ gà pānāâⁿ,

well, [O Def] die.Pfv RemPfv firstly,

**ac**: ‘I understood it.’

‘All right, that Ouséni died first (i.e. before Lasine),’

(04:53) **nt** [[màŋ̄ pẁɔ̄ gà [mààlù gù]]

[[Rel sit.Pfv RemPfv [M Def]]

[wɔ̀gɔ́ lɔ̄gɔ̄ŋ gà pānāāⁿ],

[3Sg.Indep.Foc die.Pfv RemPfv first],

‘The one who had settled in Madougou, it was he [focus] who died first.’

(04:55) **nt** à kàȳlà lɔ̄gɔ̄ŋ gù↑,

3Sg when die.Pfv Def,

[à tèŋ̄ màŋ] gà bōŋ̀ gù, lààsīnɛ̀ gù,

[3Sg elder.sib Rel] be here Def, L Def,

‘When he died, his elder brother who was here (in Namagué), that Lasine,’

*[*bōẁⁿ *‘here’]*

(04:59) **nt** à yē [n̄ =nàⁿ lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ sāāⁿ]

3Sg said [LogoSg if die.Pfv when]

[è gālā sò [n̄ nī] mààlù,

[3Pl Sbjn go.Pfv [LogoSg Inst] M,

‘He (=Lasine) said, “when I die, take-2Pl me to Madougou.” ’

*[original addressees expressed as 3Pl in quotation]*

(05:01) **nt** āⁿ fààmú, à lɔ̄gɔ̄ŋ gà sāāⁿ,

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, 3Sg die.Pfv RemPfv when,

è bē sō [à nī] mààlù,

3Pl Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst] M,

‘Did you understand? When he died, they took him to Madougou.’

(05:04) **nt** è kàȳlà sō [à nī] mààlù gù,

3Pl when go.Pfv [3Sg Inst] M Def,

[sēēnì gū] gà jííⁿ-cííⁿ,

[O Def] be.Loc east,

‘When they had taken him to Madougou, Ouséni was to the east.’

(05:08) **nt** āⁿ fààmú, [lààsīnɛ̀ màŋ] gā—

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, [L Rel] be—

[lààsīnɛ̀ màŋ] gā tèēn nī gù,

[L Rel] be elder.sib it.is Def,

‘Did you understand? Lasine who was the elder brother,’

*[<* màwⁿ gà tèèⁿ nì gu*]*

(05:12) **nt** è bè bē [ɲɔ́n nì] jííⁿ-kàmāà,

3Sg Seq come.Pfv [Dem Inst] west,

[nɔ̀gù-bēm bààcɛ́wⁿ],

[N toward],

‘They brought that one (=Lasine) to the west, toward Namagué.’

(05:15) **nt** hàl wāỳ, ē nā kɔ̄n-nā-bwɛ̄ỳ kòy,

until today, 1Pl not.be be.added-Ppl-together already,

[nɔ̀gù-bēⁿ yē mààlū] kɔ̀ⁿ↑,

[N and M] Topic,

[è kábúrú] nà kɔ̄n-nā-bwɛ̄ỳ,

[1Pl tomb] not.be be.added-Ppl-together,

‘Even today, we (=the two villages) have (still) not joined together. As for Namagué and Madougou, our tombs are (still) not joined together.’

*[<* hàlī wày *; participle (stative) of reflexive verb* kwāā-bwɛ̄ỳ/kō-lā-bwɛ̄ỳ *‘be added together, assemble’ (§11.1.3);* kòy *(§10.2.1.5)]*

(05:20) **nt** [hǎl wāỳ] nàŋāàŋ gè= [ē tē],

[until today] separation be.Loc [1Pl Dat],

[kàà ŋ̀-kēēⁿ] [nàŋ Ø‑kēēⁿ] nī gù,

[father Link-one] [mother Link-one] it.is Def,

‘Even today we have a separation, (although) it is (=we are of) same father, same mother.’

(05:23) **nt** nɔ̀gù-bè-ŋgà nān lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ↑,

N-Gent if.Pfv die.Pfv,

ē gā= ā [yàgā]-bē ū-mààcɛ́wⁿ

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg [put.down.Ipfv]-come this way

**sc** jáátì

exactly

**nt**: ‘If a person from Namagué has died, we come bury him/her this way.’

**sc**: ‘Indeed!’

*[parallel to the following segment; Gentilic suffix* -ŋgà *(§4.2.4); ‘come’ compounded to a preceding verb (§15.2.5);* ū-mààcɛ́wⁿ *contracted <*bōẁⁿ bààcɛ́wⁿ *‘toward here’]*

(05:26) **nt** mààlù-ŋgà nān lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ↑,

M-Gent if.Pfv die.Pfv,

ē gā= ā [yàgā]-sò jììⁿ-cííⁿ

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg [put.down.Ipfv]-go east.Loc

‘If a person from Madougou has died, we go bury him to the east.’

(05:29) **sc** mààlù gā sò jììⁿ-cííⁿ↑—

M Ipfv go.Ipfv east.Loc—

**nt** ē-lɔ̀gɔ̀ ē gā bē jííⁿ-kàmāà

1Pl-Indep 1Pl Ipfv come.Ipfv west

**sc** ē-lɔ̀gɔ̀ ē gā bē ū-mààcɛ́wⁿ

1Pl-Indep 1Pl Ipfv come.Ipfv this.way

**sc**: ‘Madougou goes east—’

**nt**: ‘(And) we [focus] come west.’

**sc**: ‘(And) we [focus] come this way (=west).’

(05:32) **nt** [bē kɔ̄-lā [wày-kúgú bwɛ̄ỳ]]

[come be.added-Ipfv [today-Dem Comit]]

ē nā bẁɔ̄ kà-nà,

1Pl IpfvNeg Recip see-Ipfv,

‘Including (=even) today, we (still) don’t see each other.’

*[i.e. we have separate burial sites (separated by stone boundary markers)]*

(05:34) **nt** [ē gā [kàà ŋ-kēēⁿ] [nàŋ Ø-kēēⁿ] nì]

[1Pl be [father Link-one] [mother Link-one] it.is]

[ālàà gā ǹdūɲāā-sɛ̀bɛ̄ tò],

[God Ipfv world-matters know.Ipfv],

‘We are of one father and one mother. (Only) God knows the affairs of this world.’

*[*ālà *‘God’, here pronounced* ālàà *with long vowel as in Arabic]*

(05:36) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt** [ɲɔ́n làà] [kú gā kìbárú nì]

[Dem QTop] [Dem be information it.is]

**ac** àlāāwkùbār

praise.God

**ac**: ‘I understood it.’

**nt**: ‘As for that (matter), that is the information (that I have).’

**ac**: ‘God be praised’

(05:39) **ac** bon, [mà-lè sāāⁿ] pẁɔ̄ gà bōẁⁿ]

well, [Rel-Pl all] sit.Pfv RemPfv here]

[[è sāāⁿ] jàmù] gà— tàràwòré ǹ tà→,

[[3Pl all] clan.name] be— T.Foc it.is or.Q,

‘All right. All those who settled here, was the (original) clan name of all of them Traoré?

*[disjunction in polar interrogative with* tà→ *at end of first option; <*tārāwōrē*]*

(05:42) **ac** nè= [[è bē gà bōŋ] kɔ̀rɔ̀ bwɛ̄ỳ]

or.else.Q [[3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here] back Comit]

[[wɔ̀gɔ́ nì] tārāwōrē kìlɛ̄ gà]

[[3Sg.Indep.Foc it.is] T get.Pfv RemPfv]

‘Or was it after they came here that it (the clan name) Traoré was gotten?’

*[<* nà *‘or else’ (§7.2.2)]]*

(05:44) **nt** [mà-lè sāāⁿ] pẁɔ̄ gà bōẁⁿ,

[Rel-Pl all] sit.Pfv RemPfv here,

[ē kɔ̀ⁿ]—

[1Pl Topic]—

‘All those who came here, as for us (=as far as we know)—'

(05:46) **nt** [[è bēē-nā] nìŋīì]

[[3Pl come-Ppl] inside]

[ē kɔ̀ⁿ] ē yē [ē tàràwòrè-àmá] mìŋɛ̄ gà,

[1Pl Topic] 1Pl Sbj/Obj [3Pl Traoré-hood.Foc] hear.Pfv RemPfv,

‘In (=at the time of) their coming, as for us, we heard about their Traoré-hood (=the Traoré clan).’

*[i.e., ‘we have heard that they were already named Traoré on their arrival’; focalized <*tārāwōrē‑āmā*]*

(05:49) **nt** [à sāāⁿ] gā dìgɛ̀mū nī wà,

[3Sg all] Ipfv talk(n) it.is anyway,

[ē kɔ̀ⁿ] tārāwōrē — [hàlè= [è lásárí] pà,

[false start] — [since [1Pl origin] Comit,

‘It’s all words (=oral tradition) anyway. As for the Traoré—. Ever since our origin, ’

*[*wà *(§19.4.2.7);* hàlì *occurs both in ‘until’ and ‘ever since’ clauses (§15.7.1-2)]*

(05:52) **nt** hàlì— [sēēnì wùlēē] pà, è lásírí,

until— [O AssocPl] Comit, 3Pl origin,

[tārāwōrē gū] nì

[T Def] it.is

**ac** [tārāwōrē gū] nì

[T Def] it.is

**nt**: ‘Even the Ouséni’s, their origin, it was Traoré.’

**ac**: ‘It was Traoré.’

*[associative plural (§4.1.6)]*

(05:58) **nt** è bē gà [tārāwōrē nē=] [ē pà]

3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [T Inst] [3ReflPl Comit]

**ac** è bē gà [tārāwōrē nē=] [ē pà]

3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [T Inst] [3ReflPl Comit]

**nt**: ‘They brought Traoré with them(selves).’

**ac**: ‘They brought Traoré with them(selves).’

*[<* nī [ē pà] *]*

(06:01) **ac** *bon*, [nɔ̀gù-bēm pẁɔ̄ gà] bē [sāà-gù bwɛ̄ỳ],

okay, [N sit.Pfv RemPfv] come [now Comit],

è bāynà gā sò [kɛ̄lɛ̄— kɛ̄lɛ̄ bwɛ̀ý]

3Pl ExpPf Ipfv go.Ipfv [war— war Comit.Q]

‘Okay. (From when) Namagué was settled until now, did they ever go to war?’

*[‘come’ following another verb (Pfv or Ipfv stem indeterminate) (§15.2.5) ;* bāynà gà *experiential perfect (§10.2.1.4)]*

(06:06) **nt** [nɔ̀gù-bēm pẁɔ̄ gà] bē [sāà-gù bwɛ̄ỳ],

[N sit.Pfv RemPfv] come [now Comit],

sē— kàlā è gā mà-lè kū-nū [sɔ̀rdāāsì nī],

(false start) except 3Pl Ipfv Rel-Pl catch-Ipfv [soldier Inst],

‘(From when) Namagué was settled until now, (not) except the ones whom they took (recruited) as soldiers.’

*[*bē *‘come’ at beginning of ‘until’ phrase (§15.7.3.2).* kàlà *~* ŋ̄kàlà *‘except’ (§19.3.2.4)]*

(06:11) **nt** āⁿ mìŋɛ́, ān tìgè-kɛ̄ɛ̄gū— [ŋ̀ káá] sò,

2Sg hear.Pfv.Q 2Sg grandfather— [1Sg father] go.Pfv,

ān tìgè-kɛ̄ɛ̄gū sò, āⁿ fààmú,

2Sg grandfather go.Pfv, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

‘Did you hear? Your grandfather— My father went. Your grandfather went. Did you understand?’

(06:18) **nt** [kú-yè kɔ̀ⁿ sāāⁿ] sò kɛ̄lɛ̄-gàwⁿ

[Dem-Pl Topic all] go.Pfv combat(v).Pfv-place

**ac** [è sāāⁿ] sò kɛ̄lɛ̄-gàwⁿ

[3Pl all] go.Pfv combat(v).Pfv-place

**nt**: ‘Those both went to the war zone.’

**ac**: ‘They both went to the war zone.’

*[*-gàwⁿ *place nominal added to Pfv verb (§4.2.1.5.1)]*

(06:20) **nt** [kɛ̀lɛ̀ jáátí-jáátí màⁿ] āŋ gā tò kóy,

[war Iter-precise Rel] 2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv Emph,

[āŋ kàà]— [ān tìgè-kɛ̄ɛ̄gū sùwɔ̀māānì] yēⁿ [ŋ̀ kāā-ǹ-dīndì],

[2Sg father]— [2Sg grandfather S] and [1Sg father-Link-D],

‘The very same war that you-Sg know (of). Your father— (or rather) your grandfather Suleyman and Papa Dindi.’

*[*ŋ̀ kāā-ⁿ-X *‘my dad X’ informal, including a personal name (§6.2.1.1)]*

(06:24) **nt** [è kɔ̀ⁿ] [āŋ gā [kɛ̄lɛ̄ mà hāāⁿ] tò gū] nì,

[3Pl Topic] [2Sg Ipfv [war Rel all] know.Ipfv Def] it.is,

**sc** dīndì tàràwòrè

D T

**nt** dīndì tàràwòrè

D T

**nt**: ‘As for them, it was the very war that you know (of).’

**sc**: ‘Dindi Traoré.’

**nt**: ‘Dindi Traoré.’

(06:28) **sc** wɔ̀gɔ́ dẁɔ̄ gà kɛ̄lɛ̄-ỳ

3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv Pfv war-Loc

**nt** wɔ̀gɔ́ dẁɔ̄ gà kɛ̄lɛ̄

3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv Pfv war

**sc**: ‘He [focus] joined in the war.’

**nt**: ‘He [focus] joined the war.’

*[i.e. the French colonial army; Malians were recruited into the Senegalese tirailleurs]*

(06:30) **nt** hàlī→, hàlī→, hàlī-kànā à gā pẁɔ̄ [kàpàráⁿ nī]

until, until, until 3Sg until.Pfv become.Pfv [corporal Inst]

**ac** hàlī-kànā à gā pẁɔ̄ [kàpàráⁿ nī]

until 3Sg until.Pfv become.Pfv [corporal Inst]

**nt**: ‘Eventually he became (=was promoted to) corporal.’

**ac**: ‘Eventually he became corporal.’

*[*gà/gā *‘until.Pfv’ (§15.7.2.2); ‘become NP’ construction (§11.2.4.2); < French* caporal*]*

(06:34) **sc** [à tībɛ̄ŋ] gā kàpàrán nì

[3Sg name] be corporal it.is

**ac** [è gā wɔ̀gɔ́ sē]

[3Pl Ipfv 3Sg.Indep.Foc say.Ipfv]

**sc**: ‘His name was “corporal” ’

**ac**: ‘That [focus] is what they called (him)—

*[i.e. when he returned after the war he was called “corporal”]*

(06:36) **ac** ɲɔ́ŋ gà— gɛ̄ɛ̄r, [ǹdūɲāāⁿ sāāŋ gɛ̄ɛ̄r pànááⁿ] nì tà→,

Dem be— war, [world all war first.Foc] it.is or.Q,

pènà-àná nì

two-Ord.Foc it.is

‘Was that the war—, the first world war? (Or) was it the second?’

*[French* guerre *; <* pānāāⁿ *and* pēn(d)ā-ānā *ordinals (§4.6.2.2); second part of disjunction interrupted]*

(06:38) **nt** hàlī tùbààbù-tɔ́mɔ̄ⁿ

until white.person-era

**sc** tùbààbù-tɔ́mɔ̄ⁿ

white.person-era

**nt** tùbààbù-tɔ́mɔ̄ⁿ

white.person-era

**nt**: ‘(It was) back in the colonial (“white person”) era.’

**sc**: ‘The colonial era.’

**nt**: ‘The colonial era.’

*[*tùbààbù-tɔ́mɔ̄ⁿ *apparently an H-final compound (§5.1.5.2), initial <* tùbáábū*, final not otherwise attested]*

(06:40) **sc** à nā màlí nì kóy

3Sg not.be M it.is Emph

**nt** tùbààbù-tɔ́mɔ̄ⁿ

white.person-era

**sc** tùbààbù-tɔ́mɔ̄ⁿ

white.person-era

**sc**: ‘It wasn’t (independent) Mali!’

**nt**: ‘The colonial era.’

**sc**: ‘The colonial era.’

*[Mali became independent in 1960]*

(06:43) **ac** deuxième guerre mondiale

second war global

**sc** tùbààbù-tɔ́mɔ̄ⁿ

white.person-era

**ac**: ‘The second world war.’

**sc**: ‘The colonial era.’

(06:45) **sc** wɔ̀gɔ́ dẁɔ̄ gà kɛ̄lɛ̄-ỳ

3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv RemPfv war-Loc

**nt** wɔ̀gɔ́ dẁɔ̄ gà kɛ̄lɛ̄-ỳ

3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv RemPfv war-Loc

**sc**: ‘That [focus] (=the colonial power) is what went into the war.’

**nt**: ‘That [focus] (=the colonial power) is what went into the war.’

(06:47) **sc** hàlī-kànà è gā= ā yàgā [kàpàrán nī],

until 3Pl until.Pfv 3Sg put.Pfv [corporal Inst],

wɔ̀gɔ́ gà [kú kàā] nì

3Sg.Indep.Foc be [Dem father] it.is

‘Eventually they made him corporal. That [focus] was this one’s (=**nt**’s) father.’

*[*yàgà/yàgā *‘put (down)’ also means ‘transform, make into’, i.e. the causative of ‘become’ (§11.2.4.2)]*

(06:50) **nt** [à bā= à sē [è gālà yààpɛ̀ [m̄ pà]],

[3Sg Seq 3Sg say.Pfv [3Pl Sjbj forgive.Pfv [LogoSg Comit]],

[[ŋ̄ kàā] yèⁿ [n̄ nàn̄] dàbì] ŋ̄ kūūⁿ,

[[LogoSg father] and [LogoSg mother] longing] LogoSg catch.Pfv,

‘Then he asked them (=military) to excuse him, he missed his father and his mother.’

*[*yààpɛ̀ *~* yààfɛ̀*]*

(06:54) **nt** [tálám mà] ì yā= [ā kày bē] gū,

day Rel 3Pl said [3Sg Prsntv come.Pfv] Def,

è gārdè-è tūwē-nīŋ gà= [à pà],

3Pl guard-Pl follow-Caus.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Comit],

‘The day (when) they said he was coming, they had (military) guards follow him.’

*[presentative in progressive function (§10.2.2.3)]*

(06:58) **nt** [hàlī tùbáábé-è gándá-ỳ↑,

[all.the.way white.person-Pl country-Loc,

[hàlā= [[ā nàŋ] gūndū-ỳ]

[all.the.way [[3Sg mother] courtyard-Loc]

‘All the way from the white people’s country, all the way to his mother’s courtyard.’

(07:01) **ac** [tùbáábé-è gándá-ỳ [bā= [[à nàŋ] gūnī-ỳ]]

[white.person-Pl country-Loc [come [[3Sg mother] courtyard-Loc]]

**nt** mhm, è bè bā= [ā pà] gù

uh.huh, 3Pl Seq come.Pfv [3Sg Comit] Def

**ac**: ‘(From) white people’s country to his mother’s courtyard.’

**nt**: ‘Uh-huh. Then they came with him.’

*[<* bē à nàwⁿ*]*

(07:03) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**sc** wɔ̀gɔ́ gà [kú kàā] nì

3Sg.Indep.Foc be [Dem father] it.is

**ac**: ‘I understood it.’

**sc**: ‘That [focus] was this one’s (**nt**’s) father.’

(07:05) **nt** wɔ̀gɔ́ gā [ŋ̀ káá] nì,

3Sg.Indep.Foc be [1Sg father] it.is,

wɔ̀gɔ́ [kɛ̀lɛ̀ jáátí kɔ̀ⁿ] tīŋ gà,

3Sg.Indep.Foc [war precise Topic] do.Pfv RemPfv,

‘That [focus] was my father. That one [focus] did the real war.’

(07:08) **sc** [wɔ̀gɔ́ dẁɔ̄ gà kɛ̄lɛ̄-ỳ

[3Sg.Indep.Foc enter.Pfv RemPfv war-Loc

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù jáátì

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly

**sc**: ‘That one went into the war.’

**ac**: ‘I understood it exactly.’

(07:11) **ac** è→, è gā= à sē mɛ̀ⁿ-tīẁⁿ, kìbà-bāànā lāā,

(hesitation), 3Pl Ipfv 3Sg say.Ipfv how?, marriage-manner QTop,

bon [tārāwōrē bàānà] gā bwɔ̀ dēē tà→,

okay [T only] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv or.Q,

‘Uh, what do they call it? Marriage practices, okay, do Traoré only take (=marry) each other?’

*[*lāā *topic marker especially with questions (§19.1.2); <* dēè*]*

(07:17) **ac** nà tārāwōrē— [nɔ̀gù-bēm bàānà] ǹ tà→,

or T— [N only] it.is or.Q,

nà [tārāwōrē mà-lè] gā kìlɛ̄

or [T Rel-Pl] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv

mààlú yèm [[pɔ̄gē-ē] nìŋīì],

M.Loc and [[whatchamacallit?-Pl] inside],

‘Or do Traoré— (Do they marry) only in Namagué (to other local Traoré)? Or (do they also marry) Traoré people who are found in Madougou and whatchamallits (=other small villages)?’

*[*tà→ *and* nà *in disjunctive questions (§7.2.2);* pɔ̄gū *‘whatchamacallit?’ (substitute for a name or noun that is not remembered in time), related to* pwɔ̄ gū *‘the thing’]*

(07:21) **ac** [nà [è-lɔ̀gɔ́ bàānà dàmá] gá bwɔ̀ dēē tà→]

[or [3Pl-Indep.Foc only only] Ipfv Recip take.Ipfv or.Q]

ou bien [sīī tīnāāⁿ] gā ɲ̄ ɲāāmū [à nìŋīì]

or.else [breed other] Ipfv 3ReflSg mix.Ipfv [3Sg inside]

‘Or do they (Traoré) only marry each other or does another clan mix in with it?’

*[i.e. do they also marry with other clans, such as Cissé?]*

(07:23) **nt** à gā, à gā,

3Sg Ipfv, 3Sg Ipfv,

[[ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ ǹ náⁿ] jàmū] gā bààkɔ̀lɔ́ nì

[[1Sg-Indep 1Sg mother] clan.name] be B.Foc it.is

‘It does (mix), it does. Myself, my mother’s clan name was Bakoro.’

*[truncated reply to polar interrogative with Ipfv* gā *(§10.2.2.1); <* jàmù*]*

(07:27) **ac** bààkɔ̀lɔ̀

B

**nt** bààkɔ̀lɔ̀, à bāā gà mìtààgú

B, 3Sg exit.Pfv RemPfv M.Loc

**ac**: ‘Bakoro.’

**nt**: ‘Bakoro. She came from Moulentakou Ouro (village).’

*[<*mìtáágū*]*

(07:29) **ac** mìtáágū

M

**nt** mhm mìtáágū, [[ǹ nám] bāā gà mìtáágū]

uh.huh M, [[1Sg mother] exit.Pfv RemPfv M]

**ac**: ‘Moulentakou Ouro’

**nt**: ‘Moulentakou Ouro. My mother came from Moulentakou Ouro.’

(07:32) **nt** [à jàmū] gā bààkɔ̀lɔ́ nì

[3Sg clan.name] be B.Foc it.is

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt**: ‘Her clan name is Bakoro.’

**ac**: ‘I understood it.’

(07:35) **nt** āⁿ fààmú

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù jáátì

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly

**nt**: ‘Did you understand?’

**ac**: ‘I understood it exactly.’

(07:38) **nt** [ŋ̀ kāā-ⁿ-yāākūbā] nàwⁿ, à bāā gà kàrgéwⁿ,

[1Sg dad-Y] mother, 3Sg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv K.Loc,

[à jàmū] gà tùùré nì, āⁿ fààmú,

[3Sg clan.name] be Touré it.is, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

‘The mother of my Papa Yacouba, she came from Kargué (village). Her clan name was Touré. Did you understand?’

*[<* kàrgèwⁿ*]*

(07:44) **nt** [ē jànààmā kɔ̀ⁿ] [sīī mà hāāⁿ] nàⁿ ɲ̄ ɲāāmū

[1Pl J Topic] [breed Rel all] if.Pfv 3ReflSg mix.Pfv

jàmù—, [sīī nè= ēnì—

clan.name—, [breed IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv—

‘(Among) us Jenaama people, if any clan has been mixed (by intermarriage), the clan name—. A clan cannot (mix).’

(07:48) **nt** [ē jàmù-yè] gè= ē ɲāāmū [bwɔ̀ bwɛ̄ỳ],

[1Pl clan.name-Pl] Ipfv 3ReflPl mix.Ipfv [Recip Comit],

kú-yè gà tùùrè-é nì, kú-yè gà bààkɔ̀lɔ̀-yé nì,

Dem-Pl be T-Pl.Foc it.is, Dem-Pl be B-Pl.Foc it.is,

kú-yè gà sìsè-é nì

Dem-Pl be C-Pl.Foc it.is

‘Our clan names are mixed with each other. These (people) are the Touré’s [focus], these are the Bakoro’s [focus], these are the Cissé’s [focus].’

*[i.e. there is intermarriage among clans but the clans remain distinct; <*ɲāāmù*]*

(07:52) **sc** kú-yè gà sìsè-é nì

Dem-Pl be C-Pl.Foc it.is

**nt** ām mìŋɛ́, [ē kɔ̀ⁿ sāāŋ] gā bwɔ̀ dēè

2Sg hear.Pfv.Q, [1Pl Topic all] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv

**sc** [ē kɔ̀ⁿ sāāŋ] gā bwɔ̀ dēè, tout

[1Pl Topic all] Ipfv Recip take.Ipfv, all

**sc**: ‘These are the Cissé’s.’

**nt**: ‘Did you hear? All of us marry each other.’

**sc**: ‘All of us marry each other. All.’

(07:57) **nt** [[ē kɔ̀ⁿ] sīī mà hāāŋ] gā bwɔ̀ dēè

[[1Pl Topic] breed Rel all] Ipfv Recip pick.up.Ipfv

**ac** [āɲ jààbí] dēmō [ē tè] jáátì,

[2Sg answer(n)] be.pleasing [1Pl Dat] exactly,

**nt** ‘As for us, any of our clans marry each other.’

**ac** ‘Your-Sg answer pleases us indeed.’

*[<* ē tē*]*

(07:59) **ac** [hǎl wày] ŋ̀ gālā= à pɔ̄gɔ̄

[until today] 1Sg Sbjn 3Sg like.Pfv

[ŋ̀ gālà= āā cīyē sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ,

[1Sg Sbjn 2Pl ask.Pfv now,

‘At this point I would like to ask you-Pl now,’

(08:01) **ac** [ɲ̀ jáátí kɔ̀ⁿ] [m̀ pē] gā= à kūmbày

[1Sg exactly Topic] [1Sg also] Ipfv 3Sg be.aware.of.Ipfv

[māà tārāwōrē wɔ̀gɔ́ ŋ̀ kōⁿ

[that T 3Sg.Indep.Foc PsRefl be.many

[nɔ̀gū nìŋīì] máɲɛ̀,

[village inside] greatly,

‘I myself, I too am aware that the Traore (clan), it [focus] is most abundant (=the majority) in the village.’

*[‘Traoré’ is resumed by a 3Sg pronoun in focus function]*

(08:04) **ac** sāà-gù lāā, [[ān-dāā jìgí] bwɛ̄ỳ], [tārāwōrē nàm bāā]

now QTop, [[2Sg-QTop awareness] Comit], [T if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv]

[mẁɔ̄ jàm sīī] yè ŋ̀ kōⁿ [nɔ̀gū nìŋīì] tūⁿ

[which? clan.name breed] Sbj/Obj PsRefl be.many [village inside] again

‘Now, in your-Sg opinion, aside from the Traoré, which (other) clan name is also abundant in the village?’

(08:08) **nt** ɲīn tārāwōrē nàm bāā,

if T if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv

[sànā wàȳ kɔ̀ⁿ] màŋ̄ ŋ̀ kōⁿ, sìsé

[like today Topic] Rel PsRefl be.many, C

‘Aside from the Traoré, like nowadays, the one that is (most) abundant, (it is) Cissé.’

*[<* màwⁿ ŋ̀ kōⁿ*]*

(08:11) **ac** sìsé

C

**nt** kɔ̌ⁿ

Topic.Foc

**ac**: ‘Cissé.’

**nt**: ‘As for (it).’

*[*kɔ̌ⁿ *here is <LH> toned, with final H‑tone superimposed on* kɔ̀ⁿ *; this is typical of confirmations (§19.1.1)]*

(08:13) **nt** [āā kàà-yāmbāà gù] jīīdì-nā nì [[sùrù gù sāān] tē]

[2Pl father-house Def] multiply-Ppl it.is [[remainder Def all] Dat]

**sc** sìsé

Cissé

**nt**: ‘Your-Pl father’s-side extended family is more numerous than all (=any of) the remaining ones.’

CS: ‘Cissé’

*[*kàà-yāmbāà*, cf.* kàà *‘father’,* yàmbāà *‘house’]*

(08:17) **nt** ē-lɔ̀gɔ̀ ē gà tārāwōrē nì,

1Pl-Indep 1Pl be T it.is

[jōnsāārē-ē gà tārāwōrē nì,

[D-Pl be T it.is,

‘Us, we are Traoré. Dionsaré (man’s name) and his group are Traoré.’

(08:21) **nt** [ē kɔ̀ⁿ sāāⁿ] [ē kàà-yāmbāā-yē wù-lè],

[1Pl Topic all] [1Pl father-house-Pl Dem-Pl],

āā-lɔ̀gɔ̀ [āā kàà-yāmbāà gù],

2Pl-Indep [2Pl father-house Def]

‘All of us, these paternal extended families­—’

*[*wù-lè *(variant of* kù-lè*), plural of definite* gù*]*

(08:25) **nt** [à nām bāā] [[ē kàà-yāmbāà] nìŋīì]

[3Sg if.Pfv exit.Pfv] [[1Pl father-house] inside]

[āā sùrù] ŋ̀ kōⁿ [[nɔ̀gù sāān] tē]

[2Pl remainder] PsRefl be.many [[village all] Dat]

‘Aside from our paternal extended family (=Traoré), you-Pl the remainder (Cissé) are (most) numerous of the villages.’

*[emend as* āā-lɔ̀gɔ̀ ŋ̀ kōⁿ [[sùrù gù sāāⁿ] tè *‘you-Pl are the most numerous of the remainder’]*

(08:29) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù jáátì

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly

**nt** āā mìŋɛ̀ dēʔ, āā-lɔ̀gɔ̄ sììsé-ē nì

2Pl hear.Pfv Emph, 2Pl-Indep C-Pl it.is

**ac**: ‘I understood it exactly.’

**nt**: ‘Did you-Pl hear? You-Pl are the Cissé’s.’

*[*dēʔ *(§19.4.2.4)]*

(08:31) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt** [bààkɔ̀lɔ̀-ⁿ-síí-yè kù-lè] nà= āā bāgà kūjààmà-ỳⁿ dēʔ

[B-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl] IpfvNeg 2Pl equal.Ipfv number-Loc Emph

**ac**: ‘I understood it.’

**nt**: ‘The Bakoro clans do not match you-Pl in population.’

*[H-final compound with* sīī *as final]*

(08:34) **nt** tàràwòré-sìsé kú-yè ŋ̀ kōⁿ

T-C Dem-Pl PsRefl be.many

**ac** tàràwòré-sìsé

T-C

**nt**: ‘Traoré and Cissé, those are numerous.’

**ac**: ‘Traoré and Cissé.’

*[variant of list prosody for the conjunction ‘Traoré and Cissé’ (§7.1.10)]*

(08:37) **nt** mhm, kú-yè ŋ̀ kōⁿ

uh.huh Dem-Pl PsRefl be.many

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt**: ‘Uh-huh, those are numerous.’

**ac**: ‘I understood it.’

(08:42) **nt** [hǎl wày] [ālà sàgù] [āā sàgù],

[until today] [God trust(n)] [2Pl trust(n)],

‘At this point, (I leave it in) God’s trust (and) your-Pl trust.’

*[conventional leave-taking formula]*

(08:43) **nt** yà= āā bāāỳ kày

2Pl work(n)

‘You-Pl and work!’

*[for this greeting formula, see §19.6.3]*

(08:44) **nt** [hǎl wày] [ŋ̄ kàà] [ān dùkòrò],

[until today] [1Sg father] [2Sg have.courage.Pfv],

‘At this point, my friend, have courage (energy, fortitude).’

*[vocative* ŋ̄ kàà *‘my friend’ (prepausally* ŋ́ kàá*) based on* ŋ̀ káá *‘my father’ but with different tones (§6.2.1.1);* ān dùkòrò *2Sg reflexive imperative (2Pl counterpart* yà= āā dùkòrò*)]*

(08:46) **nt** [āā [kēē gū] dēmō [ē tè] máɲɛ̀,

[2Pl [call(n) Def] please [1Pl Dat] a.lot.

‘Your-Pl calling (us) pleases us a lot.’

(08:47) **nt** āā bē gà nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ gù,

2Pl come.Pfv RemPfv N Def,

wàllāỳ à dēmō [ē tē],

by.God 3Sg please [1Pl Dat],

‘The fact that you came to Namagué, by God it pleases us.’

(08:50) **nt** [nɔ̀gù-bēn nɔ̀gù-bèŋ gù] ì yē [nɔ̀gù bē]

[N N Def] 3Pl said [village come.Pfv]

‘The (name) Namagué, Namagué, they said “a village has come” ’

(08:53) **nt** ɲɔ́n lāā, āā gālā bìsīmìlà [hǎl wày]

Dem QTop, 2Pl Sbjn be.welcome.Pfv [until today]

**ac** ìnʃāllàw

if.God.wills

‘As for that, you-Pl should be welcome until today (=any time).’

(08:57) **nt** ē tè yēēwà [āā pà] kóy

1Pl PfvNeg disrespect.Pfv [2Pl Comit] Emph

**sc** ē tè kóy

1Pl PfvNeg Emph

**nt**: ‘We did not disrespect you-Pl (=take you lightly).’

**sc**: ‘We sure didn’t.’

## Text 2017-02 The arrival of the leatherworkers

Ngaare Traore (village chief. **nt**) and Seydou Cissé (**sc**) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (**ac**)

duration 03:17

(00:01) **ac** [kɛ́ɛ́ràⁿ syēⁿ] sèēdù↑,

[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] S,

sèēdù [kɛ́ɛ́ràⁿ syēwⁿ]

S [welfare spend.midday.Pfv]

‘Good afternoon, Seydou. [louder:] Seydou, good afternoon.’

*[repeated more loudly since Seydou is hard of hearing; <* syēwⁿ*]*

(00:03) **nt** kàlà= āā syēɲ [jām̀ nī]

Q 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [peace Inst]

**sc** [kɛ́ɛ́ràⁿ syēwⁿ]

[welfare spend.midday.Pfv]

**nt**: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday in peace?’

**sc**: ‘Good afternoon.’

(00:05) **ac** kò jām̀ syēŋ gà= [ām bwɛ̄ỳ]

Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Sg Comit]

**sc** āālā tìgɛ̄-nī yàá

God thank(v).Ipfv Emph

**ac**: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Sg?’

**sc**: ‘Thank God.’

*[*kò *contracted <* kòrì *interrogative in greetings; formula modified <* ālā tègè-nì *‘thank God!’;* yàá *clause-final emphatic (§19.4.2.5)]*

(00:06) **ac** ā= āy kày

2Sg and work(n)

**ac**: ‘You and work!’

*[*ā= āy kày *(§19.6.3)]*

(00:07) **sc** kòrì jām̀ syā= [āā pà]

Q peace spend.day.Pfv [2Pl Comit]

**ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**sc**: ‘Did peace spend the day with you-Pl?’

**ac**: ‘(There is) no trouble.’

*[<* syēwⁿ *;* bàà sí *(§19.6.1)]*

(00:08) **sc** yā= āā bāāy kày

2Pl work(n)

**ac** èn̄nà (ā=) āy kày

(reply) 2Sg work(n)

**sc**: ‘You-Pl and work!’

**ac**: ‘Likewise you-Sg and work!’

*[for these formulae see §19.6.3]*

(00:10) **sc** ā= āy tīyāābù kòy

2Sg (greeting) indeed

**ac** àmbā= (ā) āy kày

(reply) 2Sg work(n)

**sc**: ‘You and (greeting)!’

**ac**: ‘Likewise, you and work!’

*[< Fulfulde* tiyaabu koy*]*

(00:12) **sc** ā= āy wàlè

2Sg completed.work

**sc**: ‘You and (completed) work!’

*[< noun* wālē*, this greeting addressed to someone returning home from work (§19.6.3)]*

(00:13) **ac** à, ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

uh, 1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv

[ē gālà= ān tīyē [[pā kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ] nī] *quoi*

[1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv [[thing a.certain] Inst]

**sc** máɲɛ̀

a.lot

**ac**: ‘We would like to ask you-Sg for a certain thing.’

**sc**: ‘By all means.’

*[*kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ *‘a certain (one)’ (§6.3.2.2), related to* kēwⁿ *‘one’]*

(00:15) **ac** ì yē sālā mììmé-è bē gà bōwⁿ nɔ̀gī-ỳ,

3Pl said whether leatherworker-Pl come.Pfv RemPfv1Pl here village-Loc,

[[mwɔ̀ bāànā-sīī] nī]

[[which? manner-breed] Inst]

‘They have said (asked) in what way the leatherworks (caste) came here to the village.’

*[*sālà *~* hālà *‘whether’ after ‘said’ in interrogative/dubitative contexts (§17.1.5, §17.2.1.1)]*

(00:17) **ac** sālà āŋ gā pɔ̄ tò

whether 2Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv

[[ɲɔ́ŋ gú] nìŋí]

[[Dem.Def Def] inside.Q]

‘(I wonder) whether you-Sg know something in (=about) that?’

*[discourse-definite demonstrative* ɲɔ́ⁿ *directly followed by definite* gu *(§4.4.1)]*

(00:18) **sc** mììmé-è wù-lè↑, ŋ̀gɔ̄ɔ̄ŋgà ŋ̀ gā= ā tò

leatherworker-Pl Def-Pl, truly 1Sg Ipfv 3Sg know.Ipfv

‘The leatherworkers, truly I know (about) it.’

*[*wù-lè *~* kù-lè *plural of definite* gu *(§4.4.1); < Fulfulde* (ŋ)gooŋga *‘truly’]*

(00:23) **sc** mììmé-è wù-lè↑, è kàȳlà—

leatherworker-Pl Def-Pl, 3Pl when—

è kày bē bɔ̄ŋ̀ gù, āⁿ fààmú,

3Pl Prsntv come.Ipfv here Def, 2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

‘The leatherworkers, when they—. They were coming here. Did you understand?’

*[smooth out as* è kàȳlà bē bɔ̄ŋ̀ gù*]*

(00:30) **sc** àywà, è bāā gà mɛ̄nɛ̄mɛ̄nɛ̀

well, 3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv M

**ac** mɛ̄nɛ̄mɛ̄nɛ̀

M

**sc** mɛ̄nɛ̄mɛ̄nɛ̀

M

**sc**: ‘Well, they left (=came from) Menemene (village).’

**ac**: ‘Menemene.’

**sc**: ‘Menemene.’

*[Menemene is a village in the Dogul Dom (Dogon) speaking zone in the high plateau north of Bandiagara]*

(00:36) **sc** āŋ gā= ā fàám,

2Sg Ipfv 3Sg understand.Ipfv.Q

hàyà è kàȳlà bāā mɛ̄nɛ̄mɛ̄nɛ̀ gù,

okay 3Pl when exit(v).Pfv M Def,

‘Do you understand it? All right, when they left Menemene,’

*[=* fààmú*]*

(00:38) **sc** è bè bē bōẁⁿ,

3Pl Seq come.Pfv here,

wɔ̀gɔ́ gà [[hāmmādì sēēbà] kàà-yāmbàà gū] nì,

3Sg.Indep.Foc be [[H S] father-house Def] it.is,

‘Then they came here. That [focus] is the paternal extended family of Hammadi Seiba.’

*[Seiba is the clan name of the leatherworkers in the zone.]*

(00:43) **sc** wɔ̀gɔ́ gà [[[hāmmādì sēēbà] kàà-yāmbàà gū] nì],

3Sg.Indep.Foc be [[[H S] father-house Def] it.is],

**sc**: ‘That [focus] is the paternal extended family of Hammadi Seiba.’

**nt**: ‘You are facing that.’

(00:44) **nt** [ān tīgē] gā [wɔ̀gɔ̀ tē],

[2Sg front.side] be [3Sg.Indep Dat],

[āŋ gā dìgɛ̀m̄ bōẁⁿ

[2Sg Ipfv speak.Ipfv here

‘You face that. [louder:] You speak here.’

*[<* dìgɛ̀mū *;* ***nt*** *is instructing* ***sc*** *how to position himself near the microphone]*

(00:48) **sc** hāmmādì, hāmmādì, [hāmmādì sēēbà-yē] kàà-yāmbàà gù,

(hesitations) [H S-Pl] father-house Def,

è bā gà mɛ̄nɛ̄mɛ̄nɛ̀,

3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv M,

‘The paternal extended family of Hammadi Seiba and family, they left Menemene.’

*[*bā gà *variant of* bāā gà*]*

(00:55) **sc** ɔ̀ⁿ→ kú, [àlɛ̀ɛ̀ pīīⁿ-yē] kàà-yāmbàà gù,

uh Dem, [A black-Pl] father-house Def,

āⁿ faàmú, è bā gà ūndùgù,

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q, 3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv O,

‘Uh, that one, the paternal extended family of Black Allaye, they left Oungoudou.’

*[there are two adult Allaye’s in Namagué who are distinguished as ‘red’ and ‘black’; Oundougou on the Dogon plateau is the single most important archeological site in the zone]*

(01:03) **ac** ūndùgù

O

**sc** ūndùgù

O

**ac** ūndùgù

O

**ac**: ‘Oundougou.’

**sc**: ‘Oundougou.’

**ac**: ‘Oundougou.’

(01:04) **sc** [è kàà-yāmbàà] bāā gà yāẁⁿ,

[3Pl father-house] exit(v).Pfv RemPfv there.Def.

‘Their paternal extended family left (=came from) there.’

(01:07) **sc** [[hāmmādì sēēbà-yè] kàà-yāmbàà] bāā ūndùgù— mɛ̄nɛ̄mɛ̄nɛ̀↑,

[[H S-Pl] father-house] exit(v).Pfv O— M,

[[àlɛ̀ɛ̀ pīīⁿ-yē] kàà-yāmbàà] bāā ūndùgù,

[[A black-Pl] father-house] exit(v).Pfv O,

‘Hammadi Seeba’s paternal extended family left Oundougou— (or rather) Menemene, (whereas) Black Allaye’s paternal extended family left Oundougou.’

(01:15) **ac** ūndùgù

O

**sc** āŋ gā ŋ̀ fààmú,

2Sg Ipfv 1Sg understand.Ipfv,

**ac**: ‘Oundougou.’

**sc**: ‘Do you understand me?’

(01:17) **sc** [sàbāādɔ̀gɔ̀-yē kàà-yāmbàà gù, dàmàŋgārì

[S-Pl father-house Def, D

**ac** dàmàŋgārì

D

**sc** kɔ̀m pā sìgɛ̀ŋ gù, è-lɔ̀gɔ̄ gā mììmé-è nì,

Dem thing three Def, 3Pl-Indep be leatherworker-Pl it.is,

‘Sabadogo’s paternal extended family, (they left) Damagari. Those three ones (extended families).’

*[cf. Sawadogo, a common surname in Burkina Faso; Damagari is a village in the nearby Tiranige-speaking zone; demonstrative* kɔ̀ⁿ (+M) *(§4.4.2); <*è-lɔ̀gɔ̀ gà*]*

(01:24) **sc** è bē kìlɛ̀ bē pwɔ̀

3Pl Seq find.Pfv come.Pfv sit.Pfv

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù jáátì

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly

**sc**: ‘They then proceeded to come and settle (here).’

**ac**: ‘I understood it exactly.’

*[*bē kìlɛ̀ *(§15.3.2)]*

(01:27) **sc** è bè bē= ē kwāā [[jànàŋgē-ē kù-lē] pà]

3Pl Seq come.Pfv 3ReflPl add.Pfv [[Bozo-Pl Def-Pl] Comit]

**ac** è bē= ē kwāā [[jànàŋgē-ē kù-lē] pà]

3Pl come.Pfv 3ReflPl add.Pfv [[Bozo-Pl Def-Pl] Comit]

**sc**: ‘They then came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’

**ac**: ‘They came and added themselves to (=joined) the Bozos.’

*[*kwāā/kɔ̄-lā *‘hit’ plus comitative PP = ‘add to’, here reflexive]*

(01:29) [è kày bē gù], è bē gà [[ē kòlòm-míyɛ́ní—]

[3Pl when come.Pfv Def], 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [[3Pl skin-fix.VblN—]

[[kòlòm-míyɛ́ní]-tòy nē= [ē bwɛ̄ỳ] là→,

[[skin-fix.VblN]-knowledge] Inst] [1Pl Comit] or.Q,

‘When they came, did they bring their knowledge (=skill) in leather-working with them to us?’

*[*kày *here short for* kàȳlà *‘when’;* mìyɛ̀nì/mìyɛ̀nī *‘fix; manufacture’, here in H‑final compound tones (§5.1.5.2);* là→ *(§7.2.2)*

(01:32) **ac** [nè= è bē gà bōẁⁿ]

[or 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv here]

[wɔ̀gɔ́ nì] ì yā= ā tùyɛ̄ gà

[3Sg.Indep.Foc it.is] 3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg know.Pfv RemPfv

‘Or did they come here and that [focus] is (when) they got to know it?’

*[*nà→ *‘or’ at the beginning of the second part of a disjunctive question (§7.2.2)*

(01:33) **sc** kòlòm-míyɛ́ní gū, è bē gà= [à nē=] [ē pà]

skin-fixing Def, 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

**ac** è bē gà= [à nē=] [ē bwɛ̄ỳ]

3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

**sc** è bē gà= [à nē=] [ē pà]

3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

**sc**: ‘Leather-working, they brought it into our midst.’

**ac**: ‘They brought it to us.’

**sc**: ‘They brought it to us.’

*[good example of the interchangeability of comitative postpositions* pà *and* bwɛ̄ỳ*]*

(01:39) **sc** āŋ gā= ā fààmú,

2Sg Ipfv 3Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

kòlòm-míyɛ́ní gù, è bē gà= [à nē=] [ē pà]

skin-fixing Def, 3Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [1Pl Comit]

‘Do you undertsand it? Leather-working, they brought it to us.’

(01:42) **sc** bàdì, [mɛ̄nɛ̄mɛ̄nɛ̄-ŋgē-ē wù-lè], è kàȳlà bē-nā gù,

because, [M-Gent-Pl Def-Pl], 3Pl when come-Ppl Def,

[kāādò sēēbè-è] [ē tìgè-kɛ́ɛ́gū], à gā kòlōm mìyɛ̀nī,

[K S-Pl] [1Pl grandfather], 3Sg Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv,

‘Because, the people from Menemene, when they had come, the grandfather of Kado Seiba and family, our grandfather, he was working hides.’

*[Gentilic* -ŋga *(§4.2.4);* kàȳlà *‘when’ with participial stative (§15.4.3)]*

(01:50) **ac** à gā kòlōm mìyɛ̀nī

3Sg Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**sc** ɲànàgɔ̀-ⁿ-síí-yè wù-lè, [è pē] gā kòlōm mìyɛ̀nī

Yanogué-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl, [3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**ac**: ‘He was working hides.’

**sc**: ‘The Yanogué clans, they too work hides.’

(01:54) **ac** [è pē] gā kòlōm mìyɛ̀nī

[3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**sc** [sìnɔ̀gɔ̀-ⁿ-síí-yè wù-lè, [è pē] gā kòlōm mìyɛ̀nī

[S-Link-breed-Pl Def-Pl, [3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**ac**: ‘They too work hides.’

**sc**: ‘The Sundago clans, they too work hides.’

(01:58) **ac** [è pē] gā kòlōm mìyɛ̀nī

[3Pl also] Ipfv skin fix.Ipfv

**sc** [è kɔ̀ⁿ sāāⁿ] bē gè=

[3Pl Topic all] come.Pfv RemPfv

[[ē kòlòm-míyɛ́ní] nē=] [ē pà]

[[3ReflPl skin-fixing] Inst] [1Pl Comit]

**ac**: ‘They too work hides.’

**sc**: ‘They all brought their leatherworking (skill) to us.’

(02:00) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù jáátì

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly

àsàlāāmàlēēkùn nɔ̀gù-mīīrù

peace.to.you village-chief

‘I understood it exactly. [to **nt**:] Peace to you, village chief!’

*[formal Arabic greeting]*

(02:03) **nt** wālēēkùmāsàlāàm

and.peace.to.you

**ac** ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv

[ē gālà= ān tīyē [[pā kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ] nī]

[1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv [[thing one] Inst]

**nt** ‘Peace to you likewise.’

**ac**: ‘We would like to ask about something.’

(02:07) **ac** ɲāŋ kwàān tè bē,

if rain(n) PfvNeg come.Pfv

[nɔ̀gū nìŋīì] ɲāŋ kwàān tè bē,

[village inside] if rain(n) PfvNeg come.Pfv,

‘If it hasn’t rained, in the village if it hasn’t rained,’

(02:10) **ac** *bon*, [mà-sí gà āālààndá nì]

okay, [what? be custom it.is

māà āā gā màn tī-nà

that 2Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv

‘Okay, what is the custom, so that what you-Pl do—’

(02:13) **ac** māà — āā gā màn tī-nà—, [ālà tē]

that— 2Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv—, [God Dat]

māā kwààŋ gà bē

that rain(n) Ipfv come.Ipfv

‘So that— what you-Pl do, for God, so that rain comes.’

(02:16) **nt** ē gā màn tī-na, ē pānāāŋ-kāmnē-ē wù-lè.

1Pl Ipfv Rel do-Ipfv, 1Pl first-old.person-Pl Def-Pl,

**sc** ŋgwāāŋgà

truly

**nt** sò kōrso᷆l bē kìyɛ̀wⁿ,

before rain.build.up Seq arrive.Pfv.

**nt**: ‘What we do. The old people of times past, …’

**sc**: ‘True.’

**nt**: ‘… before the buildup to the rainy season arrives,’

*[*ŋgwāāŋgà *variant of* ŋgɔ̄ɔ̄ŋgà *;* sò *in ‘before …’ clause (§15.5)]*

(02:23) **nt** ē gā nàā wàgā, āⁿ fààmú,

1Pl Ipfv cow kill.Ipfv, 2Sg understand.Pfv,

yèēⁿ sàbá sìgèwⁿ

and chicken three

‘We slaughter a bovine (cow or bull). Did you understand? Along with three chickens.’

(02:27) **nt** [sàbá sìgèwⁿ] gā sò nàmàgɛ̄lɛ̄,

[chicken three] Ipfv go.Ipfv N,

nàmàgɛ̄lɛ̄ gà [ē nɔ̀gù-ⁿ-tómbó kày] [bóndó kūmà],

N be.Loc [1Pl village-Link-abandoned Prsntv] [top on],

‘Three chickens go (=are taken) to Namagele. Namaguele is located at our former village, on top.’

*[*nàmàgɛ̄lɛ̄ *is a rocky area in an abandoned village site; postnominal presentative* kāy/kày *added to locational predication with* gà *‘be.Loc’]*

(02:31) **sc** nàmàgɛ̄lɛ̄ à kày

N 3Sg Prsntv

**nt** à kày bōẁⁿ

3Sg Prsntv here

**sc**: ‘There’s Namaguele!’

**nt**: ‘Here it is (here)!’

(02:32) **nt** [nàà pīīⁿ] bē ŋ̄ wàgà [[jāŋāām būlōm] mūù],

[cow black] Seq 3ReflSg kill.Pfv [[shed big] under],

ān tè sìlè-kúrú kàȳ kùwòlì-nà yāwⁿ

2Sg PfvNeg rock see.Pfv surround-Ppl there.Def

‘Then a black bovine is killed under the big palaver shed. Have you not seen the rocks ringing (the shed) there?’

*[*tè *remains low toned, cf.* sīlē *‘rock’ prior to M#H-to-L#H]*

(02:36) **ac** [n̄ =nā= ā kày

[1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv

**nt** hàáⁿ

huh?

**ac** [n̄ =nā= ā kày

[1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv

**ac**: ‘I have seen it.’

**nt**: ‘Huh?’

**ac**: ‘I have seen it.

(02:38) **nt** [nàà pīīⁿ] bè ŋ̄ wàgà [[jāŋāām būlōm] mūù],

[cow black] Seq 3ReflSg kill.Pfv [[shed big] under],

à gà ŋ̄ kāɲɛ̀ yāẁⁿ,

3Sg Ipfv 3ReflSg share(v).Ipfv there.Def,

‘Then a black bovine is killed under the big palaver shed. It is (butchered and) divided up there.’

(02:41) **nt** à nāⁿ ŋ̄ kāɲɛ̀, mà sāāⁿ—, [kùwò-lògù sāāⁿ],

3Sg if.Pfv 3ReflSg share.Pfv, Rel all—, [doorway all],

ē nā= à bāgà [[lāmpò bàgà-yē] pà] kóy,

1Pl IpfvNeg 3Sg take.out.Ipfv [[head.tax take.out-Agent.Pl] Comit] Emph,

‘When it has been divided up, everyone who— Each doorway (gets a share). We sure don’t take it out (=distribute it) to those who take out (=pay) the head tax!’

*[i.e. each household gets one; some other items (government payments, fish piled up after a collective fishhunt) are distributed with one share for each individual who has paid the annual head tax]*

(02:45) **nt** ē gā= à bāgā [[kùwò-lògū]-[kùwò-lògū] pà],

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg take.out.Ipfv [[doorway]-[doorway] Comit,

[āŋ kēēⁿ] nàm̄ pwɔ̀ [āŋ kāẁⁿ],

[2Sg one] if.Pfv sit.Pfv [2Sg chez],

‘We take it out (=distribute it) doorway by doorway. If you sit (=dwell) alone in your house,’

(02:49) **nt** ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ [ɲīmī cɛ̄m] nàm̄ pẁɔ̄ [ŋ̀ kāẁⁿ],

1Sg-Indep [person ten] if.Pfv sit.Pfw [1Sg chez],

ē gā— ē bā= à bāgā,

1Pl Ipfv— 1Pl Seq 3Sg take.out.Pfv,

‘And if I (have) ten people sit (=dwell) at my house, we— we then take it out,’

*[i.e., it doesn’t matter how many people are in a household]*

(02:52) **nt** [jīīⁿ sāāⁿ] sō kwàām bē sàwⁿ,

[year all] before rain(n) Seq rain.fall.Pfv,

[ē gà [ɲɔ́ŋ kɔ̀m] bāgà,

[1Pl Ipfv [Dem Topic] take.out.Ipfv,

‘Every year, before the rain falls, we take that out.’

*[<* ē gā ɲɔ́ⁿ*]*

(02:55) **nt** [jīīⁿ sāāⁿ] sō kwàām bē sàwⁿ,

[year all] before rain(n) Seq rain.fall.Pfv,

[ē gà [ɲɔ́ŋ kɔ̀m] bāgà,

[1Pl Ipfv [Dem Topic] take.out.Ipfv,

‘Every year, before the rain falls, we take that out.’

*[repetition of previous segment]*

(02:57) **nt** sāà-gù [[ɲɔ́n nàⁿ m̄ bāgā] kɔ̀rɔ̄] pà,

now [[Dem if.Pfv 3ReflSg take.out.Pfv] back] Comit,

āywà à nā= ā gààyī,

well 3Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg prevent.Ipfv

‘Now, after that has been taken out, that doesn’t prevent it,’

(03:00) **nt** māà ē nē= [ē wāālē tīnāā-yē] tī-nà,

that 1Pl IpfvNeg [1Pl request(n) other-Pl] do-Ipfv,

ē gā dɔ̄-lɔ̄ [mìsírí nìŋīì],

1Pl Ipfv enter-Ipfv [mosque inside],

‘(namely) that we make our other prayers (for rain). We go into the mosque,’

(03:04) **nt** ē gā= à tī-nà, ɲīmī-lē pàà kīyɛ̄, ē bàānà gù,

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg do-Ipfv, person-Pl if.Counterf pass.Pfv, 1Pl only Def,

[mà hāāŋ] gē= ēnì [kāyⁿ màŋ] kāyⁿ,

[Rel all] Ipfv be.able.Ipfv [work(n) Rel] work(v).Pfv,

‘And we do it (prayer for rain, in the mosque). If people were to pass by, among ourselves, (whatever) work (e.g. prayers) that anyone can do,’

*[counterfactual (§16.4)]*

(03:07) **nt** [āŋ gā= à kāỳⁿ]

[2Sg Ipfv 3Sg work(v).Ipfv]

hālà ē gā bē sùtūrā [kwààn-jíí sɛ̀bɛ̄-ỳ]

whether 1Pl Ipfv Fut be.protected.Pfv [rain-water issue-Loc]

‘You (will) do it (=work), so that we will be protected (by God) in the matter of rain.’

*[*hālà *‘whether’ in purposive clause (§17.5.2)]*

(03:09) **ac** hālà ē gā bē sùtūrà [kwààn-jíí sɛ̀bɛ̄-ỳ],

whether 1Pl Ipfv Fut be.protected.Pfv [rain-water issue-Loc],

n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù jáátì

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly

n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù jáátì

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv exactly

‘So that we will be protected in the matter of rain. I understood that exactly. I understood that exactly.’

## Text 2017-03 Farming in past times

Ngaare Traore (village chief, **nt**) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (**ac**) and Seydou Cissé (**sc**)

duration 03:58

note: [mhm] at the right margin indicates murmured backchannel by the interlocutor (**nt** or **ac**)

(00:01) **ac** àsàlāāmùàlēykùm

peace.to.you

**nt** wāālēykūmāsàlāàm

to.you.peace

**ac**: ‘Peace to you.’

**nt**: ‘And to you peace.’

*[formal Arabic greeting and reply]*

(00:04) **ac** *bon* [hàlì sāà-gù] ē gā [tīyē-gū]-tàbā tìnī

okay [until now] we Ipfv [ask-VblN]-foot solidify.Ipfv

**nt** àⁿhàⁿ, yēm bìsīmìlà

uh-huh, Imprt.2Pl welcome

**ac**: ‘Now we are solidifying (=deepening) the question(s).’

**nt**: ‘(You are) welcome.’

*[*tīyē-gū *‘question (n)’; collocation* [X tàbā] tìnì *‘solidify X’s foot (on solid ground)’]*

(00:07) **ac** ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv

[ē gālā= à tīyē [[bààná màⁿ] nī↑], [mhm]

[1Pl Sbjn 3Sg ask.Pfv [[manner.Foc Rel] Inst],

‘We would like to ask, in what way (=how),’

*[relativization on the complement of a postposition; focalized <* bāàná *]*

(00:09) **ac** [pānāāⁿ màsí gá ŋ̄ sɔ̀gɔ̄]

[formerly what? Ipfv 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv

[yèhīīnì à nà ŋ̄ sɔ̀gɔ̄ sāà-gù], [mhm]

[and 3Sg Neg 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv now],

‘What was cultivated in the past, and (yet) it is not cultivated nowadays?’

(00:11) **ac** màsí gá ŋ̄ sɔ̀gɔ̄ sāà-gù↑, [mhm]

what? Ipfv 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv now

pānāāⁿ à nà ŋ̄ sɔ̀gɔ̄

formerly 3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv

‘(And) what is cultivated nowadays, that wasn’t cultivated in the past?’

(00:15) **nt** pānāāⁿ, [mhm]

formerly,

pīīⁿ↑, [mhm]

millet,

kèndè↓, [mhm] sorghum,

pùwóⁿ, [mhm]

fonio,

ē gà kúú sɔ̀gɔ̄,

1Pl Ipfv Dem.Foc cultivate.Ipfv,

‘In the past, millet, sorghum, fonio. That [focus] is what we cultivated.’

*[pearl millet =* Cenchrus americanus *(older names* C. spicatus*,* Pennisetum glaucum*); sorghum =* Sorghum bicolor*; fonio =* Digitaria exilis; < ē gā *;* kúú *focus form of demonstrative* kú *(§13.1.5)]*

(00:22) **nt** pùwóŋ gú↑, [mhm]

fonio Def,

sò pīīm bē mwɔ̀ⁿ, [mhm]

before millet Seq ripen.Pfv,

wɔ̀gɔ́ gā mẁɔ̄m pānāāⁿ, [mhm]

3Sg.Indep.Foc Ipfv ripen.Ipfv firstly,

‘The fonio, before the millet ripened, it (=fonio) [focus] would ripen first.’

*[*sò *‘before’ (§15.5);* gā *pronounced with higher pitch after focalized pronoun, see (594d) in §13.1.4]*

(00:26) **nt** ē bā= à kūlēwⁿ, [mhm]

1Pl Seq 3Sg reap.with.sickle.Pfv,

à bē= ē sùtūrà, [mhm]

3Sg Seq 1Pl protect.Pfv,

‘Then we reaped it (fonio, with sickle), it protected us.’

*[i.e. it kept us fed when the granaries were empty, before the main annual millet-sorghum harvest]*

(00:29) **nt** sābì, [ɲàⁿ wɔ̄gɔ̄tū] kāà-kāà gà yāẁⁿ kóy, [mhm]

because [Dem time[ African.rice be there.Def Emph,

kàlà [ɲāŋ kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ], [mhm]

except [person one-one],

wɔ̀gɔ́ gá= ā sɔ̀gɔ̄, [mhm]

3Sg.Indep.Foc Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv,

‘Because, at that time African rice was there indeed. Only a few people cultivated it.’

*[African rice,* Oryza glaberrima*, distinct from the Asian rice* Oryza sativa *which is now widely cultivated along the Niger R.;* kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ *variant of* kēēⁿ-kēẁⁿ*]*

(00:34) **nt** à nà [ɲīmī sāāⁿ] nì, [mhm]

3Sg Neg [person all] it.is,

wày sāà-gù ē pùwóm bày fɛ́y, [mhm]

today now 1Pl fonio leave.Pfv completely,

‘It wasn’t everyone (who cultivated African rice). Nowadays we have completely abandoned fonio.’

(00:37) **nt** sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ, ē yè= ē dīrā gà pííⁿ, [mhm]

then 1Pl Sbj/Obj 1Pl push.on.Pfv RemPfv millet.Foc,

kèndé, [mhm]

sorghum.Foc,

dùgá, [mhm]

rice.Foc

‘Nowadays we have come to rely on millet, sorghum, (and) rice.’

*[each crop name in the list is focalized]*

(00:42) **nt** sāà-gù [kɔ̀m pā sìgèwⁿ], [mhm]

now [Dem thing three],

wɔ̀gɔ́ sɛ̄mɛ̄-nā nì [ē bwɛ̄ỳ] bōẁⁿ, [mhm]

3Sg.Indep.Foc be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl Comit] here,

‘Nowadays, those three (crops), that [focus] is what is important among us here.’

*[*sɛ̄mɛ̄-nā nì *stative adjectival predicate (§11.4.1.1), cf. noun* sɛ́mbɛ̄ *‘power, force, authority’]*

(00:45) **nt** sɔ̀gɔ̀ jáátí-jáátí kɔ̀ⁿ, [mhm]

farming(n) specific Top,

[[kɔ̀m pā sìgèwⁿ] sɛ̄mɛ̄-nā nì [ē pà] bōẁⁿ]

[[Dem.Pl thing three] be.strong-Ppl it.is [1Pl Comit] here]

‘As for farming specifically, those three (cereals) are important among/for us here,’

*[iteration based on* jáátī *‘specific’]*

(00:48) **nt** sāà-gù [ē kāyⁿ-lɔ̄gū] gā [[kɔ̀m pā sìgèwⁿ] kūmà], [mhm]

now [1Pl work-mouth] be [[3Sg thing three] on]

[kèndē yèm pīīŋ kɔ̀ⁿ sāāⁿ] gā bwɛ̀ [gɯ̄ɯ̄ŋ kēēⁿ-ỳⁿ], [mhm]

[sorghum and millet Top all] be.Loc together [place one-Loc],

‘Now(adays) our occupation is (based) on those three. As for sorghum and millet, they are both together in the same place (=same field).’

*[Sorghum is usually planted in the moister parts of a millet field; “work-mouth” with* lɔ̄gū *in the sense ‘edge, boundary’ as in ‘riverbank’;* bwɛ̀ *variant of* bwɛ̄ỳ *‘together’, related to comitative* bwɛ̄ỳ*]*

(00:52) **nt** sāà-gù [ē jāmū gū], [mhm]

now [1Pl river(-bed) Def]

pānāāⁿ ē nā [ɲɔ̀ⁿ híílá] tò, [mhm]

formerly 1Pl IpfvNeg [Dem method] know.Ipfv,

‘Now (as for) our river(-bed), in the past we didn’t know the right way to use it.’

*[*híílā *‘cleverness, trick, strategem, method’]*

(00:54) **nt** sāà-gù, à pwɔ̀ [dūgā-ɲ̄-cīyē nī], [mhm]

now, 3Sg become.Pfv [rice-Link-field Inst],

**sc** à pwɔ̀, jáátì

3Sg sit.Pfv, indeed

**nt**: ‘Now it (=riverbed) has turned into a rice field.’

**sc**: ‘It has, indeed.’

*[*pwɔ̀ *‘sat’, here ‘become, turn into (sth)’ (§11.2.4.2);* cìyè *‘field’ becoming* ‑ɲ‑cīyē *as compound final (§5.1.5.1), see also @ 01:10 below]*

(00:58) **ac** pānāāⁿ, tāmà déé

formerly, Q cotton

kūnà ŋ̄ sɔ̀gɔ̄ bōm̀ pānāāⁿ

Past.Ipfv 3ReflSg cultivate.Ipfv here formerly

‘Formerly (=in the old days), was cotton cultivated here formerly?’

*[*tāmà *interrogative (§13.2.1.1);* kūnà *contracted from* kōndō gà *(past imperfective) (§10.3.2), also @ 01:59 below]*

(01:01) **nt** bōẁⁿ, [mhm]

here,

máɲɛ̀, [mhm]

a.lot,

ē yà= [à pē] bày, [mhm]

1Pl Sbj/Obj [3Sg too] leave.Pfv,

‘Here, a lot. (But) we have abandoned it too.’

(01:04) **nt** [ɲāⁿ= à nāwⁿ bā]

[if 3Sg if.Pfv exit.Pfv]

dáábá kūsā-āmā gà [pānāān tē], [mhm]

livestock abound.Pfv RemPfv [formerly Dat],

‘Afterwards (=since then), livestock have increased in comparison with formerly.’

*[phrase meaning ‘thereafter’]*

(01:06) **nt** pānāāⁿ, [mhm]

formerly

āŋ kāy, àⁿ→,

2Sg Prsntv, (hesitation),

‘Formerly, you see,’

*[*kāy *M‑toned in this presentative phrase (plural addressee* āā kāy*), compare transitive perfective* ā=ā kày *‘you saw him/her/it’ and 3Sg presentative* à kày *(§4.4.4.1)]*

(01:10) **nt** bàà-n-sōrī gā [cìyē màw̄ⁿ] sɔ̀gɔ̄

B Ipfv [field Rel] cultivate.Ipfv

sò ām bē kìyɛ̀wⁿ [āā cìyè gù], [mhm]

go 2Sg Seq arrive.Pfv [2Pl field Def],

dēē-n̄-cīyē nì, [mhm]

cotton-Link-field it.is,

‘The field that Baansori (man’s name) cultivates, before you-Sg (**ac**) arrive at your-Pl (=your family’s) field, it was (formerly) a cotton field.’

*[‘before’ construction with* sò … bè *(§15.5)]*

(01:15) **nt** àⁿ→ [[sōrōgō-pīīⁿ-yè kàȳ] cìyē māⁿ sɔ̀gɔ̄]

(hesitation) [[**sp**-Pl Prsntv] field Rel cultivate.Ipfv]

tèŋgèlì-págú [è sāāⁿ lāā] nā [cìyè ŋ̀-kēēⁿ] ní]

T-pond [3Pl all QTop] not.be [field one] it.is.Q]

‘The field that **sp** (name) here and company cultivate, and (the field at) Tengeli pond, are they not the same field (i.e. next to each other)?’

*[***sp** *was present at the recording, hence the presentative; plural* -yè *after man’s name = associative plural; <* cìyè màⁿ *;* tèŋgèlì *is the name of a forested area, here compounded with* pàgù *‘pond’]*

(01:18) **nt** jīī-ŋ̄-kɯ̀ɯ̄ⁿ nē= [ē nàŋáá],

water-Ling-hole not.be.Loc [3Pl between.Q],

[à pē] gà dēē-n̄-cīyē nì,

[3Sg too] be cotton-Link-field it.is,

**ac** [à pē] gà dēē-n̄-cīyē nì,

[3Sg too] be cotton-Link-field it.is,

**nt**: ‘Is not the creek bed between them? It too was a cotton field.’

**ac**: ‘It too was a cotton field.’

*[<* nàŋáà*]*

(01:21) **nt** [āŋ kāy] [[tèŋgèlì búlóⁿ] màw̄ⁿ] kà-nà gù, [mhm]

[2Sg Prsntv] [[T big] Rel] see-Ipfv Def,

[ŋ̀ káá] yā= ā yàgà [dēēⁿ-n̄-cīyē nī], [mhm]

[1Sg father] Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.down.Pfv [cotton-Link-field Inst],

‘The Big Tengeli (forest) that you there see, my father made it into a cotton field.’

*[relative clause with final definite morpheme;* yàgà *‘put down’ in the sense ‘convert, turn (sth) into (sth)’ (§11.2.4.2)]*

(01:24) **nt** [ɲàwⁿ sóⁿ] dáábē-è nà ŋ̄ kōŋ kìyɛ̀wⁿ, [mhm]

[Dem time] livestock-Pl IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.many thus,

wòy dáábē-è kàȳlà bē gū, [mhm]

today livestock-Pl when come.Pfv Def,

‘At that time (=in the old days), livestock were not so abundant. These days, now that livestock have come.’

(01:28) **nt** à nā màɲɛ̀ [sīlē pē-ỳ] sōkàālā dùgūbāà, [mhm]

3Sg IpfvNeg be.good.Ipfv [rock too-Loc] a.fortiori on.ground,

ē nàn tāwⁿ sīlè-ỳ, [mhm]

1Pl if.Pfv ascend.Pfv rock-Loc,

‘It (=tending livestock) doesn’t work on the mountain (atop the cliffs), never mind on the ground (=in the plains below the cliffs). If we climb the mountain,’

*[*sōkàālà *‘a fortiori’ (§19.1.5)]*

(01:31) **nt** ē gà déw, [mhm]

1Pl Ipfv cotton.Foc,

pàā-m̄-pùwóⁿ, [mhm]

sesame.Foc,

ē gā= [à sāāⁿ] kìlɛ̄ [sīlē gū-ỳ] yāẁⁿ, [mhm]

1Pl Ipfv [3Sg all] get.Ipfv [rock Def-Loc] there.Def,

‘We (used to cultivate) cotton, (and) sesame. We used to get both of them on the mountain there.’

*[nonterminal intonation on ‘cotton’ and ‘sesame’ (list intonation);* à sāāⁿ *can refer to just cotton and sesame or to a wider range of crops]]*

(01:36) **sc** yèn tēlɛ̄wⁿ

and gourd.plant

**nt** yèn tēlɛ̄wⁿ

and gourd.plant

**sc** and **nt**: ‘And gourd plant(s).’

*[cultivated vine,* Lagenaria siceraria*, source of gourds, calabashes, and ladles]*

(01:37) **nt** tēlɛ̄wⁿ dàmá gá [yàmbāà lāmpò] bāgà, [mhm]

gourd.plant only Ipfv [house tax] remove.Ipfv,

[[ē yàmbāà kāy] jàtɛ́ mǎⁿ]-ỳⁿ gù,

[[1Pl house Prsntv] calculation Rel]-Loc Def,

‘The gourd plant takes out (=pays for) the tax on the household, in the amount of (=for) this household of ours.’

*[*lāmpò *(French* l’impôt*) the annual head tax collected by the government; selling calabashes (sawed half-gourds) and gourds is enough to cover the tax for a family;* mǎ-ỳⁿ *synonymous with* màw̄ⁿ nìŋīì *‘in which’]*

(01:40) **nt** āⁿ mìŋɛ̀↑, [mhm]

2Sg hear.Pfv,

[jīīⁿ mà-sāāⁿ] [ɲī kwààⁿ nāⁿ sàwⁿ]

[year Rel-all] [if rain(n) if.Pfv rain.fall.Pfv]

[ē tēlɛ̄wⁿ] bē màɲɛ̀,

[1Pl gourd.plant] Seq be.good.Pfv,

‘Did you hear? Any year when it has rained well and our gourd plants turn out well,’

*[*mà-sāāⁿ *quantificational variant of relative* màwⁿ *(§14.3.4); biclausal relative (§14.5)]*

(01:43) **nt** à gè= [[ē yàmbāà] lāmpò] bāgà,

3Sg Ipfv [[1Pl house] tax] remove.Ipfv,

pàā-m̄-pùwóⁿ, à gè= [[ē yàmbāà] lāmpò] bāgà,

sesame.Foc, 3Sg Ipfv [[1Pl house] tax] remove.Ipfv,

‘It takes out the tax on our household. Sesame, it takes out the tax on our household.’

*[sesame,* Sesamum indicum*, is mainly a cash crop]*

(01:47) **nt** [à sāāⁿ] gā pā kɔ̄-lā [hūnɛ̄ bwɛ̄ỳ]

[3Sg all] Ipfv thing add-Ipfv [staple.food Comit]

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt**: ‘They (=gourd plants and sesame) complement the staple foods (i.e. grains).’

**ac**: ‘I have understood.’

*[‘hit’ plus comitative PP = ‘add to’ or ‘be added to’ = ‘join’]*

(01:50) **nt** sāà-gù ē bā sílē-ỳ

now 1Pl exit.Pfv rock-Loc

‘Now we have left the mountain.’

*[The villagers had lived on top of the cliffs, but around 2003 they moved down to the plain below the cliffs where most of the fields were]*

(01:51) **nt** sāà-gù ē yā= ā yàgā [dùgūbāà nī] pààⁿ-kēwⁿ

now 1Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg transformed.Pfv [on.ground Inst] exclusively

**ac** āā yā= ā yàgā [dùgūbāà nī]

2Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg put.down.Pfv [on.ground Inst]

**nt**: ‘Now we have shifted it (=village) completely (down) onto the plain.’

**ac**: ‘You-Pl have relocated it down onto the plain.’

*[<* ē yà à yàgà*]*

(01:54) **ac** è→. hàlī wày, ŋ̀ gà= āā tīyè↑, [mhm]

(hesitation), until today, 1Sg Ipfv 2Pl ask.Ipfv,

[pānāāŋ gū] [[ē kɔ̀ⁿ] gā= ā mìŋɛ̄]

[formerly Def] [[1Pl Top] Ipfv 3Sg hear.Ipfv]

‘Uh, as of today, I ask you-Pl, as for us (=young people), we hear (that) in the past,’

(01:59) **ac** [è gā= à jāntà] [dúgúŋ gà bōẁⁿ], [mhm]

[3Pl Ipfv 3Sg recount.Ipfv] [forest be here],

dúgúŋ kūnà bōẁⁿ máɲɛ̀, [mhm]

forest Past.Ipfv here a.lot,

‘(according to what) they (=older people) recount, a forest was here, the forest used to be all over here.’

*[*kūnà *(§10.3.2)]*

(02:02) **ac** sāà-gù [ɲàn dúgúŋ gú lāā] mẁɔ̄ sū gà—, dúgúⁿ—

now [Dem forest Def QTop] which? go.Pfv RemPfv—, forest—,

[[dúgúŋ gú] tūn-nī gà bā-lā [ē bwɛ̄ỳ] bōẁⁿ]

[[forest Def] disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv exit-Ipfv [1Pl Comit] here]

‘Now, that forest, what made it go (away)—, made the forest disappear from here among us,’

*[interrupted segment could be completed as* mẁɔ̄ sū gā= [à nī] *‘what conveyed it (away)’, but the speaker rephrased with* tūn‑nī *;* bā-lā *as Vb2 (§15.2.5)]*

(02:06) **ac** [hàlī-kànā à gā kwāāŋ kìyɛ̀wⁿ,

[until 3Sg until.Pfv become.clean.Pfv thus,

**nt** [pɔ̄ mɔ̀ⁿ] [dúgúŋ gú] tūn-nī gà gù, [mhm]

[thing Rel] [forest Def] disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv Def,

**ac**: ‘… to the point that it has become clean (=deforested) like this?’

**nt**: ‘The thing that made the forest disappear,’

*[<* kwāàⁿ *;* pɔ̄ mɔ̀ⁿ *variant of* pā màwⁿ*]*

(02:09) **nt** kwààⁿ-kɯ́lɯ́ dúgún tūn-nī gà, [mhm]

drought forest disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv,

[āŋ kāy] [[āāmādū jàŋkābā] cìyē màw̄ⁿ] kà-nā [ʃɛ̀pɛ̄l kūmà], [mhm]

[2Sg Prsnt] [[A J] field Rel] see-Ipfv [Š on],

‘Drought is what made (the) forest disappear. The field of Amadou Dyankaba that you here see on (=alongside) Chepel (pond),’

(02:14) **nt** [[yààkūbà sēēnì kāy] cìyē màw̄ⁿ] sɔ̀gɔ̄ [ʃɛ̀pɛ̄l kūmà], [mhm]

[Y S Prsntv] [field Rel] cultivate.Ipfv [Š on],

[[mwàājù kāy] cìyē màw̄ⁿ] sɔ̀gɔ̄ [ʃɛ̀pɛ̄l kūmà], [mhm]

[[M Prsntv] field Rel] cultivate.Ipfv [Š on],

‘(and) the field that Yacouba Seyni here cultivates on Chepel (pond), (and) the field that Mouadjou here cultivates on Chepel (pond),’

(02:20) **nt** āⁿ mìŋɛ̀↑, [mhm]

2Sg hear.Pfv,

sānà, ān-dāā tè [kú sāāⁿ] fàāmù↑, [mhm]

like, 2Sg-Pron PfvNeg [Dem all] understand.Pfv,

‘Did you hear? Like, have you not understood all that?’

(02:23) **nt** [kùlù-náwⁿ màwⁿ] kāy [[bōwⁿ bààcɛ́wⁿ] kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ] gù, [mhm]

[elevation-Dimin Rel] Prsntv [[here toward] behind] Def,

[à déé-[bá-lá] yāẁⁿ,

[3Sg pick.up.Pfv-[exit(v)-Ipfv] there,

‘The small elevation that is behind (=just outside) around here, (starting) from there …’

*[*déé-[bá-lá]*, H‑toned version of* dēē-[bā-lā]/dēē-[bā-lā] *‘pick up and take out’ (§15.7.3.2)]*

(02:27) **nt** bē [tèŋgèlì-págú mà(w)ⁿ] āŋ gā= ā kà-nà gù, [mhm]

come [T-pond Rel] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg see-Ipfv Def,

[à sāāⁿ] gà dūgā—,

[3Sg all] be rice—,

‘all the way to Tengeli pond that you-Sg see, it was all rice [error]—’

*[H-final compound, cf.* pàgù *‘pond’; <* màwⁿ āⁿ*]*

(02:29) **nt** [à sāāⁿ] gà kāāŋgō nì

[3Sg all] be vetiver it.is

**ac** [à sāāⁿ] gà kāāŋgō nì

[3Sg all] be vetiver it.is

**nt**: ‘—(or rather) it was all vetiver (grass).’

**ac**: ‘It was all vetiver (grass).’

*[vetiver grass (*Chrysopogon nigritanus*, ex* Vetiveria nigritana*), a tall clumpy grass that forms colonies in moist ground near water]*

(02:31) **sc** yè= [ē cìyē] [pèlèmpéléɲ jāmù-y]

and [1Pl field] [P river-Loc]

**nt** [pèlèmpéléɲ jāmū-ỳ] [à sāāⁿ] gà kāāŋgō nì, [mhm]

[P river-Loc] [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is,

**sc**: ‘And our field in Pelempelen creek.’

**nt**: ‘Pelempelen creek. It was all vetiver.’

*[*pèlèmpéléⁿ *is a seasonal creek]*

(02:33) **nt** [āŋ kāy] [[pèlèmpéléɲ jāmū] màw̄ⁿ] kà-nà gù, [mhm]

[2Sg Prsntv] [[P river] Rel] see-Ipfv Def,

dúgúŋ gá kɔ̄n-nā-ỳ kíw!,

forest be hit-Ppl-Loc dense,

‘The Pelempelen creek that you see, the forest was impenetrable.’

*[participial* kɔ̄n-nā *‘hit, beaten’ here implies being thick with objects (here trees);* kíw! *is an interjection-like expressive adverbial (§8.4.7)) with similar sense (too crammed to enter, as a crowded vehicle)]*

(02:37) **nt** à nè= [ē cìyē kɔ̀w̄ⁿ] sèw̄ⁿ nì,

3Sg not.be [1Pl field Top] road it.is,

‘It isn’t (on) the way to our field.’

*[spoken softly, perhaps an aside to someone present]*

(02:39) **nt** sànā kwààⁿ-jíí bè nɔ̄gɔ̄rā-āmā bōẁⁿ, [mhm]

like rain(n)-water Seq difficult-Inch.Pfv here,

ē gā [kāāŋgō gū] sàgā, [mhm]

1Pl Ipfv [vetiver Def] chop.Ipfv,

‘Like, (when) rain is difficult (=rare) here, we cut down the vetiver grass.’

*[*sàgà/sàgā *‘cut (stem)’ or ‘dig’ with chopping or slashing motion, distinct from* bùrù/bùrū *‘cut (into pieces)’ usually with a knife]*

(02:42) **nt** mà-sāāⁿ nàwⁿ kāāŋgō sàgà gù, [mhm]

Rel-all if.Pfv vetiver chop.Pfv Def,

āŋ gā kèndē kìlɛ̄,

2Sg Ipfv sorghum get.Ipfv,

‘Anyone who has chopped down (=cleared away) the vetiver grass, you-Sg will get sorghum.’

*[‘anyone’ resumed with 2Sg pronoun in generic sense; after clearing out the vetiver grass, sorghum is planted; it will grow in a normally swampy terrain when the rains are light]*

(02:45) **nt** mà-sāāⁿ nàwⁿ kāāŋgō sàgà gù, [mhm]

Rel-all if.Pfv vetiver chop.Pfv Def,

āŋ gā kèndé kìlɛ̄, [mhm]

2Sg Ipfv sorghum.Foc get.Ipfv,

‘Anyone who has chopped down (=cleared away) the vetiver grass, you-Sg will get sorghum.’

*[repeats preceding segment]*

(02:47) **nt** wɔ̀gɔ́ [[kāāŋgō gū] sīī-mā] tūn-nī gà,

3Sg.Indep.Foc [[vetiver Def] type] disappear-Caus.Pfv RemPfv,

[āŋ kāy [āā dūgā-ɲ-cīyē màw̄ⁿ] kà-nà gù]

[2Sg Prsntv [2Pl rice-Link-field Rel] see-Ipfv Def]

‘That [focus] is what has caused the species of vetiver to disappear. Your-Pl rice field that you-Sg see, …’

(02:50) **nt** [āā gā= ā sɔ̀gɔ̄ wày gù], [mhm]

[2Pl Ipfv 3Sg cultivate.Ipfv today Def],

tèŋgèlì yāẁⁿ gù, [mhm]

T there.Def Def,

‘(and) that you-Pl cultivate nowadays, there at Tengeli’

*[final* gù *(twice) at end of relative clause (§14.1.4)]*

(02:52) **nt** [pānāāŋ kāāŋgō hàlē= è nā= āŋ kālà]

[formerly vetiver even 3Pl if.Pfv 2Sg drive.out.Ipfv]

āŋ gā kwàān dɔ̄-lā= ā-ỳ,

2Sg Ipfv fear.Ipfv enter.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc.

‘In the past, the vetiver, even if they (=other people) don’t drive you away, you were afraid to go into it (=vetiver).’

*[i.e. because it was so dense;* dwɔ̄/dɔ̄-lɔ̄ *‘enter’; ‘be afraid to VP’ construction (§17.4.1.2)]*

(02:55) **ac** àllááẁkùbāārù

by.God

**nt** sèw̄ⁿ màw̄ⁿ—

time Rel

[[sèw̄ⁿ màw̄ⁿ] ē sō gà pɛ̀w̄ⁿ-gàẁⁿ]

[[road Rel] 1Pl go.Pfv RemPfv do.collective.hunt.Pfv-place]

**ac**: ‘By God!’

**nt**: ‘One time—, one time we went on the annual collective hunt,’

*[*sèwⁿ *‘road, path’ here in the sense ‘(one) time/occasion’; <* ē sò gà*]*

(02:59) **nt** [ē yè= [ē gā kwààⁿ wāālè]],

[1Pl said [1Pl Ipfv rain(n) ask.for.Ipfv]],

ē bē kìyⁿɛ̀wⁿ yāẁⁿ

1Pl Seq arrive.Pfv there.Def

‘And we said we would pray for rain.’

(03:01) **nt** ē bè tɔ̄ɔ̄ dw= ā-ỳ,

1Pl Seq fire put.in.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,

ē kàȳlà tɔ̄ɔ̄ dw= ā-ỳ gù,

1Pl when fire put.in.Pfv 3Sg-Loc Def,

‘Then we set fire in it (vetiver grass). When we have set fire in it,’

*[<* dwɔ̄ ā-ỳ *; can also be phrased* ē tɔ̄ɔ̄ dwɔ̄ gā= à-y gù*]*

(03:04) **nt** tɔ̄ɔ̄ sāā gà gù,

fire lie.down.Pfv RemPfv Def,

jīīŋ kīyɛ̄ gà gù,

year pass.Pfv RemPfv Def,

‘and (when) the fire has died out, and (when) day has broken (=the next morning),’

*[“year passed” as collocation ‘day broke’ (§11.1.1.2)]*

(03:06) **nt** mà-sāāⁿ sū gà

Rel-all go.Pfv RemPfv

[pūnāⁿ-kɛ̀rɛ̀bɛ́ kɔ̀ⁿ] āŋ gā= à kwɛ̄ɛ̀ⁿ-nā

[tortoise Top] 2Sg Ipfv 3Sg sweep-Ipfv

‘(If there is) anyone (=you) who has gone (to the hunt), as for tortoise(s), you will sweep (=gather) it (=them) up.’

*[*Pelomedusa subrufa *(aquatic tortoise)]*

(03:10) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù,

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv,

**nt** nɔ̄gɔ̄rā-āmā [kāāŋgō gū kɔ̀ⁿ] tūn-nī gà,

difficulty [vetiver Def Top] make.disappear.Pfv RemPfv,

**ac**: ‘I have understood it.’

**nt**: ‘Hardship (=drought) has caused the vetiver grass [topic] to disappear.’

*[clause-medial topicalized NP (§19.1.1)]*

(03:13) **nt** [sāà-gū nì] ē gā kwààⁿ-n-jíí kìlɛ̀ pā-lɛ̄wⁿ-pāl-ɛ̄wⁿ,

[now it.is] 1Pl Ipfv rain-Link-water get.Pfv Iter-a.little,

pānāāⁿ [à sāāⁿ] gà dúgúⁿ nì

formerly [3Sg all] be forest it.is

‘It’s now (=recently) that we have gotten a fair amount of rain. In the past it was all forest.’

*[*pā-lɛ̄wⁿ *‘a little’ (§8.4.3.2), here iterated]*

(03:17) **nt** nɔ̄gɔ̄rā-āmā [kāāŋgō gū kɔ̀ⁿ] tūn-nī gà,

difficulty [vetiver Def Top] make.disappear.Pfv RemPfv,

ɛ̄→, [āɲ cìyè]—

(hesitation), [2Sg field]—

‘Hardship (=drought) has caused the vetiver grass to disappear. Uh, your-Sg field,’

(03:19) **nt** [āɲ cìyē] gà [kāāŋgō nì] ā= ā sàgà,

[2Sg field] be [vetiver it.is] 2Sg 3Sg chop.Pfv,

āŋ kèndē kìlā= [ā nìŋīì],

2Sg sorghum get.Pfv [2Sg inside],

‘Your-Sg field was vetiver (grass), you cut (=cleared) it. You have gotten sorghum in it (=field).’

*[<* āⁿ à sàgà *; <* kìlɛ̀ à nìŋīì*]*

(03:22) **nt** [[ǹ-dɔ́gɔ́ màwⁿ kāy] kòmbó-ỳ]

[[1Sg-Indep Rel Prsntv] edge.of.village-Loc]

tē pà-sí kìlɛ̀ lā,

PfvNeg thing-any get.Pfv Emph,

‘I here who was (cultivating) at the edge of the village didn’t get anything,’

*[weakly emphatic final* lā *from local French* là *; farming at the edge of the village has become unproductive due to poor rains]*

(03:24) **nt** sè-táláwⁿ [m̀ pē] nā sò

another.day [1Sg too] IpfvNeg go.Ipfv

[m̀ pā] sɔ̀gɔ̀

[1Sg thing] cultivate.Pfv

‘Will not I too go and cultivate mine (=my property) next time?’

*[alludes to his property farther away near the river, where vetiver can be cleared out to grow sorghum]*

(03:26) **ac** ìnsāllàw

hopefully

**nt** kú nì

Dem it.is

**ac**: ‘Hopefully.’

**nt**: ‘That is it (=the reason).’

(03:28) **ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù jáátì

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv indeed

**nt** [āŋ kāy] mà-sāāŋ kà-nà [à sāāⁿ] gà kāāŋgō nì,

[2Sg Prsntv] Rel-all see-Ipfv [3Sg all] be vetiver it.is,

**ac**: ‘I have understood indeed.’

**nt**: ‘Everything that you could see, it was all vetiver grass.’

(03:30) **nt** hàlā= āŋ gālà bā= ān tēwⁿ

until 2Sg Sbjn come.Pfv 2Sg put.against.Pfv

[bóndó kūmà] bōẁⁿ,

[top on] here,

‘All the way (from the watercourses) to (where) you may come and station yourself here on the top.’

*[‘top’ refers to the position of the village, on the cliffside above the plain and the vetiver swamps]*

(03:33) **nt** [[kàà-ŋ-kàbúwó] cìyè]— àⁿ→ [kàà-ŋ-kàbúwó-yè] cìyè-yè,

[[Papa-K] field]— (hesitation) [Papa-K-Pl] field-Pl

àⁿ→ nàà-yè kày kú— dɔ̀lāỳ bōẁⁿ,

(hesitation) cow-Pl Prsntv Dem— D here,

‘Papa Kabuwo’s (previous chief’s name) field— (or rather) the fields of Papa Kabuwo and company, uh, here are the cattle (pass)—, here at Dolay.’

*[Dolay is the name of an agricultural zone near the dam; <* kāy*]*

(03:37) **nt** [à sāāⁿ] gà kāāŋgō nì

[3Sg all] be vetiver it.is

**sc** [à sāāⁿ] gà kāāŋgō nì

[3Sg all] be vetiver it.is

**nt**: ‘It was all vetiver.’

**sc**: ‘It was all vetiver.’

(03:40) **nt** [jōōⁿ-sāārè kāy] dūgā màw̄ⁿ sɔ̀gɔ̀

[JS Top] rice Rel cultivate.Pfv

[à sāāⁿ] gà kāāŋgō nì

[3Sg all] be vetiver it.is

‘The rice (field) that Djonsaare has cultivated, it was all vetiver.’

*[Fulfulde* joon-saare *‘owner-village’, here a nickname for a man named* Maama Traoré*, a speaker in recordings 2017-06 and 2017-09]*

(03:43) **sc** [à sāāⁿ] gà dúgúⁿ nì

[3Sg all] be forest it.is

**nt** [à sāāⁿ] gà dúgúⁿ nì.

[3Sg all] be forest it.is,

**sc**: ‘It was all forest.’

**nt**: ‘It was all forest.’

(03:45) [ɲàwⁿ wɔ̄gɔ̄tū], dáábē-ỳ sèmpùwò-yè

[Dem time], livestock-Pl donkey-Pl

[è kōndō gà [kāāŋgō gū] kūwōlò,

[3Pl stay.Pfv RemPfv [vetiver Def] chew.Ipfv,

‘At that time, livestock, donkeys, they used to graze on the vetiver.’

*[past imperfective with* kōndō gà *and Ipfv verb (§10.3.2)]*

(03:48) wày ān tā= ā kày

today 2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv

[ē sèmpùwò-yè sāāⁿ] gā sò

[1Pl donkey-Pl all] Ipfv go

‘Nowadays, have you-Sg not seen that all our donkeys go …’

(03:50) **nt** [ɲā-à-nāwⁿ [sàrdīŋà nī]] è nā tà-lā gɯ̀ɯ̀ⁿ-sí,

[if.not [garden Inst]] 3Pl IpfvNeg stop-Ipfv place-any,

[nɔ̀gɔ̀rà-àmá bē gà [ɲɔ́n nī],

[difficulty.Foc come.Pfv RemPfv [Dem.Def Inst],

‘(and) they don’t stay anywhere other than in gardens. The hardship (=drought) [focus] brought that (about).’

*[*ɲā-à-nāwⁿ *‘if it isn’t’, i.e. ‘other than’]*

(03:52) **nt** [wɔ̀gɔ̄ nì] [kāāŋgō gū] tūŋ gà

[3Sg.Indep it.is] [vetiver Def] disappear.Pfv RemPfv

**ac** n̄ =nā= ā fàāmù

1Sg Sbj/Obj 3Sg understand.Pfv

**nt**: ‘That [focus] is why the vetiver has disappeared.’

**ac**: ‘I have understood it.’

*[focalization by clefting (§13.1.6.1)]*

## Text 2017-04 Tale: Rich boy, poor boy, and prince

(old) †Amadou Cissé (called Sorogo-Pi, abbrev **sp**) accompanied by (young) Amadou Cissé (**ac**)

duration: 03:33

note: **ac**’s [mhm] backchannel at pauses is omitted here

(00:02) **ac** [kɛ́ɛ́ráwⁿ syɛ̄wⁿ] sōrōgō-pīīⁿ

[safety spend.day.Pfv] **sp**

**sp** kàlà= àà syɛ́ⁿ [jām̀ nī]

Q 2Pl spend.day.Pfv.Q [peace inside]

**ac**: ‘Good evening, **sp**’

**sp**: ‘Did you-Pl spend the day in peace?’

*[*kɛ́ɛ́rāwⁿ *‘welfare, absence of harm, safety’; 2Pl meaning ‘you and your household’;* syɛ́ⁿ *tone-raised in question;* kàlà *~* ŋ̄kàlà *clause-initial interrogative particle in some formulae]*

(00:03) **ac** kò jām̀ syɛ̄ŋ gà [āā pà]

Q peace spend.day.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]

**sp** àà syɛ́ŋ gà [kɛ̄nā-āmā ní]

2Pl spend.day.Pfv.Q RemPfv [health Inst.Q]

**ac**: ‘Did peace spend the day with you-Pl?’

**sp**: Did you-Pl spend the day in (good) health?’

*[*kò(rì) *clause-initial interrogative particle in some formulae (< Fulfulde)]*

(00:05) **ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**sp** [āā kènà-àmà-nà] syɛ́ŋ gà kɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ wà

[2Pl be.healthy-Ppl] spend.day.Pfv.Q RemPfv Top anyway

**ac**: ‘There’s no trouble.’

**sp**: ‘You spent the day in good health?’

*[*kɔ̀ⁿ *(elsewhere topical ‘as for’) has negative sense in the formulaic phrase* bàà sí kɔ̀ⁿ *based on reanalysis of* báásī *‘trouble’ (< Fulfulde < Arabic), see §19.6.1;* kɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ wà *is obscure but occurs in formulaic greeting questions (see also the following segment)]*

(00:07) **ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**sp** āā rɛ̄ɛ̄nà kɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ wà

2Pl be.safe.Pfv Top anyway

**ac**: ‘There’s no trouble.’

**sp**: ‘Are you-Pl unharmed?’

*[*rɛ̄ɛ̄nà *< Fulfulde]*

(00:08) **ac** àmbāà tàbārìkāllà

fine praise.God

**sp** ē pẁɔ̄ gà [kɛ́ɛ́ráⁿ nī]

1Pl sit.Pfv RemPfv [welfare Inst]

**ac**: ‘(We’re) fine, thank God.’

**sp**: ‘We have sat down (here) with safety.’

*[*àmbāà *greeting response;* tàbārìkāllà *< Arabic]*

(00:09) **sp** ālà gālè= ē kìì-nì [kɛ́ɛ́ráⁿ nì]

God Sbjn 1Pl get.up-Caus.Pfv [welfare inside]

**ac** àmíínà yàràbì

amen oh.Lord

**sp**: ‘May God get us up in safety.’

**ac**: ‘Amen oh Lord.’

*[*àmíínà yàràbì *< Arabic]*

(00:11) **sp** ɔ̀ⁿ→, bɛ̄tɛ̀hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀

(hesitation), P

**ac** [ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀] [ē gālà= ān tīyē]

[1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv] [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv]

[[kàmāà gù] nī]

[[tale Def] Inst]

**sp**: ‘Uh, Betehere (village name).’

**ac**: ‘We would like to ask you for a tale.’

*[here* ***sp*** *gives the name of the legendary village of Fatouma Ardo, see below]*

(00:14) **ac** ɲā= à nām bā= [à tīẁⁿ]

if 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [3Sg do.Pfv]

[āŋ gā màn̄ tò]

[2Sg Ipfv Rel know.Ipfv]

‘If it happens that, (from) what you-Sg know,’

*[‘if it happens that’, cf. local French ‘si ça trouve que’;* màwⁿ *in headless relative]*

(00:16) **ac** [āŋ gālà pɔ̄ sē= [ē tā=] [à nìŋīì] *quoi*

[2Sg Sbjn something say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside]

**sc** hàyà bìsīmìllà,

okay welcome,

**ac** ‘… you might tell us something in (=from) it.’

**sc**: ‘All right, you’re welcome.’

*[cf.* pwɔ̄ *‘thing’; French clause-final* quoi *;* bìsīmìllà *< Arabic ‘by the name of God’, used regionally to invite guests to enter, to eat, etc., cf. @ 00:41 below]*

[the remainder of this text is spoken by **sp** except for two words by **ac** at 01:41]

(00:18) máɲɛ̀ [kú gà [kɛ́ɛ́rɛ́ⁿ nì]],

well(adv) [Dem be [safety inside]],

mìskííní dyɛ̄wⁿ,

pauper child,

nàpòrò-tūgū dyɛ̄wⁿ,

wealth-owner child,

kàànàŋkè djɛ̄wⁿ,

leader child,

‘Good, that’s fine. A pauper’s child (=son), a rich man’s child (=son), and a prince.’

*[given in list format without a conjunction, with slightly lower terminal pitch on the last ‘child’;* kàànàŋkè *‘leader, prince’, cf. Kelenga* kàâⁿ *‘ahead, in front’ ]*

(00:23) fāātūmà ārdò,

F chief

è gā= [ā kàbár] tò,

3Pl Ipfv [3Sg news] know.Ipfv,

‘Fatouma Ardo (chief’s daughter), they (the three sons) knew (=had heard) about her.’

*[Fulfulde* faatuma *(woman’s name); Fulfulde* ardo *‘chief’ is added to the personal name of a chief’s daughter]*

(00:28) ì yē= [ē gā sò [sīyā= [à tē]],

3Pl **said** [LogoPl Ipfv go.Ipfv] [visit.Pfv [3Sg Dat]],

[mìskíín dyɛ̄wⁿ gū], ɔ́ⁿʔɔ̀ⁿ [nàpòrò-tūgū dyɛ̄wⁿ gū],

[pauper child Def], unh.unh [wealth-owner child Def],

à gā [ŋ̄ sìyɛ́wⁿ] kɯ̀ɯ̀-nì,

3Sg until.Pfv [3ReflSg horse] run-Caus.Pfv,

‘They said (=decided) they would go and visit her. The pauper’s son—or rather the rich man’s son, he then rode his horse,’

*[<* sīyɛ̄wⁿ à tè*, verb* sīyɛ̄wⁿ *elsewhere means ‘pay a visit (to a woman who has recently given birth)’; throughout this text this speaker uses* gà/gā *‘until.Pfv’ (§15.7.2.2) like sequential* bè*; the speaker gets mixed up about the order of visitors: at 00:41 below it becomes apparent that the first suitor to ride his horse to Fatouma would have been the prince, who outranks the rich man’s and the pauper’s sons]*

(00:33) hàlī-kàlā= à gā tɯ̀ɥ-gà [yāẁⁿ bwɛ̄ỳ],

until 3Sg until.Pfv approach.Pfv [there.Def Comit],

[à gā tàà yāẁⁿ]—

[3Sg until.Pfv stop.Pfv there.Def]—

[à gā kìyɛ̀wⁿ], [à gɔ̄ŋɔ̄-yūgɔ̄ⁿ] kāẁⁿ,

[3Sg until.Pfv stop.Pfv], [3Sg slave-woman] chez,

‘Eventually he approached there, he stopped there—he arrived, at the place of her slave woman.’

(00:38) à yē [ŋ̄ kìyɛ̀wⁿ [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāẁⁿ],

3Sg said [LogoSg arrive.Pfv [[F chief] chez],

à gā tàà yāẁⁿ,

3Sg until.Pfv stop.Pfv there.Def,

‘He said (=thought) he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place.’

(00:41) [kú yā= [à tē] bìsīmìlla]

[Dem said [3Sg Dat] welcome

[à gā pwɔ̀],

[3Sg until.Pfv sit.Pfv],

‘That one (=slave) said to him, “come in!” and he sat down. ’

(00:43) ā= ā fààmú,

2Sg 3Sg understand.Pfv.Q

[nàpòrò-tūgū dyɛ̄wⁿ gū pē],

[wealth-owner child Def also],

‘Have you-Sg understood? The rich man’s son too,’

(00:47) [à pē] gà [ŋ̄ sìyéwⁿ] kɯ̀ɯ̀-nī,

[3Sg too] until.Pfv [3ReflSg horse] run-Caus.Pfv

hàlīkànā= à gā kìyɛ̀wⁿ [[gūnūŋ gū] nìŋīì],

until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv [[courtyard Def] inside],

‘… he too rode his horse, until he arrived at the courtyard.’

*[*gūnūⁿ *‘courtyard’ or ‘empty lot’]*

(00:49) [à pē] kìyɛ̀wⁿ,

[3Sg too] arrive.Pfv,

à yē [[m̄ pē] kìyɛ̀wⁿ [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāẁⁿ],

3Sg said [[LogoSg too] arrive.Pfv [[F chief] chez],

‘He too arrived. He too thought that he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place.’

*[lit. “he said that he too …”]*

(00:51) kúú gà= [à jīī-kāy-yā] nī,

Dem.Foc be [3Sg water-draw-Agent] it.is,

kēēŋ̀ gù pē,

one Def too,

‘That one (=the woman whom he met) [focus] was her (=Fatouma’s) water carrier. The other one (=pauper’s son) too (went),’

*[agentive with incorporated object (§5.1.6.2)]*

(00:54) mìskíín dyɛ̄wⁿ gū,

pauper child Def,

[à pē] [ŋ̄ sìyéwⁿ] kɯ̀ɯ̀-nì,

[3Sg too] [3ReflSg horse] run-Caus.Pfv,

‘The pauper’s son, he too rode his horse,’

(00:56) hàlīkàlā= à gā kìyɛ̀wⁿ [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāẁⁿ],

until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv [[F chief] chez],

à kìyɛ̄ŋ gà [[fāātūmà ārdò] kāẁⁿ] gù,

3Sg arrive.Pfv RemPfv [[F chief] chez] Def,

‘until he arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place. When he had arrived at Fatouma Ardo’s place,’

*[backgrounded perfective echo clause (‘when …’) with RemPfv* gà *and definite* gu *(§15.4.4) setting up the next foregrounded event (‘he said’)]*

(01:00) à yē [n̄ =nā= ā sùmààⁿsīyɛ̄ [gòró-pāɲān nī]],

3Sg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg offer.Pfv [kola-chest Inst]],

à pwɔ̀ yāẁⁿ,

3Sg sit.Pfv there.Def,

‘He said, “I presented you with a kola-nut box.” He sat down there.’

*[*sùmààⁿsīyɛ̀ *‘present (gifts, offerings) to an honored person’]*

(01:03) fāātūmà ārdò,

F chief,

à gā [ŋ̄ dɔ̀lmbɛ́] bāgā,

3Sg until.Pfv [3ReflSg ring] take.out.Pfv,

‘Fatouma Ardo, she took off her ring.’

*[syncopated variant of* dɔ̀lùmbé*]*

(01:06) à gā= à dwā= [à sūgì-ỳ],

3Sg until.Pfv 3Sg put.in.Pfv [3Sg hand-Loc],

è gā sò,

3Pl until.Pfv go.Pfv

‘She handed it (=ring) to him. They went.’

*[<* dwɔ̄*]*

(01:08) è gē= [ē sìyé] kɯ̀ɯ̀-nì,

3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl horse] run-Caus.Pfv,

è kàȳlà dāā-mā gū,

3Pl when go.far.Pfv Def,

‘They rode their horse. When they had gone a long way,’

*[at around this point the three young men meet up]*

(01:12) sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ ɔ̀ⁿ→ bā= ā tàbà ɔ̀ⁿ→

then (hesitation) come.Pfv 3Sg find.Pfv (hesitation)

[kàànàŋkè dyɛ̄wⁿ gū],

[leader child Def],

‘Then, as it happened, the prince,’

*[high-frequency phrase reduced from e.g.* à bā= ā tàbà … *‘he/she came, only to find that …’, variant* à bā= à tīẁⁿ… *as at 02:08 below]*

(01:15) à yē

3Sg said

[n̄-dɔ̀gɔ́ [[fāātūmà ārdò] sīyèⁿ] kìlɛ̄ gà],

[LogoSg-Indep.Foc [F chief] pail] get.Pfv RemPfv],

‘He said “it was I [focus] who got Fatouma Ardo’s pail.” ’

*[the pail was gotten from the slave woman]*

(01:17) [nàpòrò-tūgū dyɛ̄wⁿ gū pē] yè

[wealth-owner child Def too] said

[n̄-dɔ̀gɔ́ yā= ā kìlɛ̄ gà,

[LogoSg-Indep.Foc Sbj/Obj 3Sg get.Pfv RemPfv,

‘The rich man’s son for his part said “it was I [focus] who got her.” ’

*[the pail was gotten from the slave woman; presumably the rich man’s son got something similar from the water-carrier to show the others]*

(01:20) [mìskíín dyɛ̄wⁿ gū pē]

[pauper child Def too]

yè [ŋ̄ sūgū] tōndō,

Sbj/Obj [3ReflSg hand] hold.up.Pfv,

‘The poor man’s son for his part held up his hand.’

(01:21) à yē [n̄-dɔ̀gá= ā kìlɛ̄ gà]

3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep.Foc 3Sg get.Pfv RemPfv]

[à dɔ̀lmbé kāy] [ŋ̄ sūgì-ỳ],

[3Sg ring Prsntv] [LogoSg hand-Loc],

‘He said “it was I [focus] who got her, here’s her ring on my hand.” ’

(01:23) è gē= [ē màrfé-è] tūkà= [à bwɛ̄ỳ],

3Pl until.Pfv [3ReflPl rifle-pl] point.at.Pfv [3Sg Comit],

ì yē= [ē gā= à kɔ̄-la],

3Pl said [LogoPl Ipfv 3Sg hit.Ipfv],

‘They (the other two) pointed their muskets at him. They said, “we are going to hit you.” ’

*[*tūkà *< Fulfulde]*

(01:26) [kú bāā būmàcɛ́wⁿ]

[Dem exit(v).Pfv around.here]

[kú bāā būmàcɛ́wⁿ],

[Dem exit(v).Pfv around.here],

‘This one (=one of them) went over on this side, this one (=the other) went over on this side.’

*[the two positioned themselves on opposite flanks of the pauper’s son; parallel use of demonstrative* kú *to denote different individuals;* būmàcɛ́wⁿ *contracted from* bōẁⁿ bààcɛ́wⁿ *‘over here (pointing)’ with* bōẁ*ⁿ ‘here’ and* bààcɛ́wⁿ *‘around’ (§8.2.9), cf. verb* bāā *‘exit(v).Pfv’]*

(01:28) è màrpá pēndē gū,

3Pl rifle two Def,

kú kú kìlɛ̀↑,

Dem Dem get.Pfv

kú kú kìlɛ̀↓,

Dem Dem get.Pfv

‘Their two muskets, this one got (=shot) that one, and this (other) one got that one.’

*[the two shooters accidentally shot each other, expressed by parallel clauses with demonstrative* kú *shifting reference]*

(01:31) āⁿ fààmú,

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

è sēwⁿ↑,

3Pl fall.Pfv,

‘Did you understand? They fell.’

(01:33) è sò↓,

3Pl go.Pfv,

kẁōnì yāwⁿ,

settlement there.Def,

‘They went, to the village.’

(01:36) āywà kú,

well Dem

[ŋ̀ gālà tàà [kúú bwɛ̄ỳ] lā]

1Sg Sbjn stop.Pfv [Dem.Foc Comit] Emph]

[ŋ̀ gālā= à sē-sò],

[1Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv-go.Pfv],

‘Well, as for this, should I stop with this [focus] (=at this point)? Or should I go on telling it?’

*[1Sg subject subjunctive ‘should I …?’ (§10.4.3.2); clause-final* lā *from French* là *‘there’;* sē-sò *(§15.2.5)]*

(01:41) **sp** ŋ̀ gālā= à sè-só,

1Sg Sbjn 3Sg say.Pfv-go.Pfv.Q

**ac** à sē-sò

3Sg say.Pfv-go.Pfv

**sp**: ‘Should I go on telling (it)?’

**ac**: ‘Go on telling it!’

*[transitive imperative from* ***ac****]*

(01:43) **sp** āⁿ fààmú,

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

è bē kìì tūⁿ,

3Pl Seq get.up.Pfv again

‘Did you understand? They got up again.’

(01:45) ì yè [[fāātūmà ārdò] kàbár] mìŋɛ̀,

3Pl Sbj/Obj [[F chief] news] hear.Pfv,

à nà ŋ̄ kɛ̄nāwⁿ,

3Sg IpfvNeg 3ReflSg be.healthy.

‘They had heard about Fatouma Ardo, (that) she was ill.’

*[cf. positive* à ŋ̄ kènāwⁿ *‘he/she is in good health’]*

(01:49) ē gā sō [à kāẁⁿ],

LogoPl Ipfv go.Ipfv [3Sg chez],

[kēēŋ̀ gù] bāā,

[one Def] exit(v).Pfv,

‘(They said) “we will go to her place.” One of them left.’

(01:52) [kàànàŋkè dyɛ̄wⁿ gū] bāā,

[leader child Def] exit(v).Pfv,

à kìyɛ̀wⁿ,

3Sg arrive.Pfv,

‘The prince left. He arrived.’

*[*kàànàŋkè *is unclear on the recording but makes sense in context]*

(01:53) à kìyɛ̄wⁿ [sìbw-è bwɛ̄ỳ],

3Sg arrive.Pfv [snake-Pl Comit],

ì yā= ā wàgà,

3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg kill.Pfv,

‘He arrived in the snakes’ midst. They (=snakes) killed him.’

*[<* sìbò-yè *‘snakes’]*

(01:56) [nàpòrò-tūgū dyɛ̄m pē] kìì,

[wealth-owner child too] get.up.Pfv,

[à pē] sò,

[3Sg too] go.Pfv,

‘The rich man’s son too got up. He too went.’

(01:59) à tùɥ-gà,

3Sg approach.Pfv,

āⁿ fààmú,

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

ʃètāānè-è bwɛ̄ỳ,

devil-Pl Comit,

‘He approached—did you understand?—among the devils.’

(02:03) ì yā= ā wàgà,

3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg kill.Pfv,

mìskíín dyɛ̄wⁿ gū,

pauper child Def,

à kìì,

3Sg get.up.Pfv,

‘They (=devils) killed him. The pauper’s child, he got up (=set off).’

(02:06) à sò,

3Sg go.Pfv,

à kìyɛ̀wⁿ bɛ̄tɛ̀hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀,

3Sg arrive.Pfv B,

‘He went. He arrived in Betehere (village).’

(02:08) bɛ̄tɛ̀hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ gù,

B Def

à bā= à tīwⁿ

3Sg come.Pfv 3Sg do.Pfv

[pɔ̀-sí nā= [à nìŋīì]],

[thing-any not.be [3Sg inside]],

‘That Betehere, it happened that there was nothing in it,’

*[definite* gu *on second local mention of village name]*

(02:11) ŋ̄kàlā sùwɔ́ⁿ↑,

except crocodile,

tìmì↑,

python,

[è-lɔ̀gɔ̄ dàmá] gā= [à nìŋīì],

[3Pl-Indep only] be.Loc [3Sg inside],

‘except crocodiles and rock pythons. Only they were in it (the place).’

*[*ŋ̄kàlà *‘except’ (§19.3.2.4);* dàmá *‘only’ (§19.3.2.1)]*

(02:15) ʃètāānù gù,

devil Def,

à gā— [à gā [tùwɔ̀-ŋ-kúrú pēndē] dēē]

(false start)— [3Sg until.Pfv [earth-Link-lump two] pick.up.Pfv]

à gā= à dā= [à tē],

3Sg until.Pfv 3Sg give.Pfv [3Sg Dat],

‘The devil. He— He (=devil) picked up two lumps of earth and he gave it (=two lumps) to him (pauper’s son).’

*[cf.* tūwɔ̄ *‘earth’; <* dō/dō *‘give’]*

(02:18) à kìyɛ̀wⁿ,

3Sg arrive.Pfv,

à gā kēēŋ kɛ̀rɛ̀ [[dèbò gū] nìŋīì],

3Sg until.Pfv one throw.Pfv [[river Def] inside],

‘He arrived. He threw one (lump) into the river.’

(02:21) à kàȳlā= ā kɛ̀rɛ̀ [[dèbò gū] nìŋīì],

3Sg when 3Sg throw.Pfv [[river Def] inside],

[è sāāⁿ] tùⁿ,

[3Pl all] get.lost.Pfv,

‘When he threw it (=the lump) into the river, they all disappeared.’

*[the river disappeared along with the lump]*

(02:23) [à cyɛ̄wⁿ] [[ŋ̄ sìyéwⁿ] kūmà] [à kīyɛ̄],

[3Sg mount.Pfv [[3ReflSg horse] on] [3Sg pass.Pfv],

à kàȳlā kìyɛ̀wⁿ, bɛ̄tɛ̀hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ gù,

3Sg when arrive.Pfv, B Def,

‘He mounted on his horse, and he continued on his way. When he arrived, (at) that Betehere (village),’

(02:26) à bā= à tīẁⁿ,

3Sg come.Pfv 3Sg do.Pfv,

[jīīnì kāy] pwɔ̀-nà,

[djinn Prsntv] sit-Ppl,

[bɛ̄tɛ̀hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ jūgū gū] bwɛ̄ỳ,

[B tree Def] Comit,

‘It happened that a djinn (genie) was sitting (there) by the tree of Betehere.’

(02:30) à kìyɛ̀wⁿ,

3Sg arrive.Pfv,

à [ŋ̄ bōẁⁿ-sìlè-kúrú] kɛ̀rā= ā-ỳ,

3Sg [3ReflSg here-rock-piece] throw.Pfv 3Sg-Loc,

‘He arrived. He threw his piece of rock here at it (=tree).’

*[unusual occurence of* bōẁⁿ *‘here’ as apparent compound initial; one of the lumps of earth has turned out to be a piece of rock]*

(02:34) ɔ̀ⁿ→ [ʃètāānù gū] yā= [à tē],

(hesitation) [devil Def] said [3Sg Dat.],

ān-dɔ̀gɔ̄ gā wùlāā nì,

2Sg-Indep be who? it.is

‘The devil said to him, “who are you?” ’

*[the narrator is using* ʃètāānù *‘devil’ and* jīīnì *‘djinn, genie’ interchangeably, but the distinction can be made: ‘devils’ are invisible and maleficent, djinns are visible and may or may not be maleficent]*

(02:36) **sp** à yē [n̄-dɔ̀gɔ̄ gā flààná nì],

3Sg [said [LogoSg-Indep be so.and.so it.is],

à yē [[mwɔ̀ láá=] ām bīyɛ̀-nī gà],

3Sg said [[which? QTop.Foc] 2Sg come-CausPfv RemPfv],

‘He (pauper’s son) said, “my name is So-and-so.” He (devil) said, “What has brought you (here)?” ’

*[i.e., he gave whatever his name was;* mwɔ̀ *‘which?’ can mean ‘wshat?’ in the absence of a modified noun, here it takes interrogative topic* lāā*;* bīyɛ̀-nì *(pseudo)-causative verb (§9.1.2)]*

(02:38) à yēè→ [[jūgū màŋ kāy gū],

3Sg said [[tree Rel Prsntv Def],

ŋ̄ gà bē— ŋ̄ gā wɔ̀gɔ́ màā,

(false start) LogoSg Ipfv 3Sg.Indep.Foc look.for.Ipfv,

‘He (pauper’s son) said, “the tree that is here (=that you see), it [focus] is what I am looking for,” ’

*[*yē *‘said’ pronounced* yēè→ *before planned pause (§3.7.2); presentative in relative clause (§14.4.5)]*

(02:41) ŋ̄ gālà sò [fāātūmà ārdò] sābūlèwⁿ,

LogoSg Sbjn go.Pfv [F chief] cure.Pfv,

āⁿ fààmú,

2Sg understand.Pfv.Q,

‘so I may go and cure Fatouma Ardo (with it). Did you understand?’

*[*sābūlèwⁿ/sābūlèn-nà *‘cure (sb)’;* jūgū *means ‘tree’ or ‘medicine’, the two senses being closely associated]*

(02:44) à bè tāwⁿ,

3Sg Seq ascend.Pfv,

è bè [jūgū gū]—

3Pl Seq [tree Def]—

à kɔ̄lɛ̄ gà= [à bwɛ̄ỳ] sāāⁿ,

[3Sg touch RemPfv [3Sg Comit] when,

‘Then he climbed the tree. They (touched) the tree—. When he touched it (=tree),’

*[*kɔ̄lɛ̄/kɔ̄lɛ̀ *intransitivized <* kwāā/kɔ̄-lā *‘hit’]*

(02:48) ʃètāānà kà{lè}— ʃètāānà kàlè,

devil die.Pfv— devil die.Pfv,

è kɔ̀mɔ̄ɔ̀,

3Pl wail.Pfv,

‘The devil di[ed]— the devil died. They (=devils) wailed.’

*[‘die’ is usually* wàà/wàā *in Cliffs dialect,* kàlè/kàlè *in nearby riverine dialects]*

(02:51) à [kɯ̄ɯ̄m bwɔ̀] bā gà tūⁿ,

3Sg [one other] remove.Pfv RemPfv again,

ʃètāānà kɔ̀mɔ̄ɔ̀,

devil wail.Pfv,

‘He took another one (piece of wood) off. The devil (women) wailed.’

*[*kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ bwɔ̀ *dialectal for* kēēm bwɔ̀*]*

(02:54) à à à à, (??) tūⁿ

3Sg (hesitations) (inaudible) again

hàlīkànā à gā kìyɛ̄wⁿ sìgɛ̄-ỳⁿ,

until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv three-Loc,

‘He (verb inaudible) again, until he reached the third (time).’

*[“??” sounds like* āŋgālā *on recording, but my assistant couldn’t make sense of it; locative of* sìgɛ̀wⁿ *‘three’]*

(02:58) à yē ʃì—

3Sg said (false start)—,

à yā= [à gālà sāgā bōẁⁿ],

3Sg said [3Sg Sbjn lie.down.Pfv here],

‘He (=devil) told him, “lie down (=go to bed) here!”

*[quoted imperative in subjunctive clause form, with 3Sg for original 2Sg addressee]*

(03:00) sìyé-è gà bā-lā, bɛ̄tɛ̀hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ nìŋíì,

horse-Pl Ipfv exit(v)-Ipfv, B inside,

è nām bē

3Pl if.Pfv come.Pfv,

‘(Devil:) “Horses are coming out from Betehere (village). When they come,” ’

(03:03) sìyèwⁿ kūwōⁿ,

horse white,

à gà bē bē= [ē nàŋāà],

3Sg Ipfv Fut come.Pfv [3Pl between],

‘(Devil:) “A white horse will come among them.” ’

(03:06) [[à píyɛ́] gà kwāā-nā]

[[3Sg tail] be white-Ppl] .

[[à píyɛ́] gā pìyɛ̀-nà],

[[3Sg tail] be black-Ppl],

‘(Devil:) “It’s tail is black and white.” ’

*[expressed as two parallel clauses without a prosodic break]*

(03:08) à gālā= à kūūⁿ,

3Sg Sbjn 3Sg catch.Pfv,

[à pē]— [à kàȳlà sāgā gū],

[3Sg too]— [3Sg when lie.down.Pfv Def],

‘(Devil:) “Catch it!” ’ For his part— When he had spent the night,’

(03:11) [à kàȳ] à bè bē,

[3Sg Prsntv] 3Sg Seq come.Pfv,

à kìyɛ̄wⁿ gà— sìyé-è kù-lē kìyɛ̀wⁿ sāāⁿ,

3Sg arrive.Pfv RemPfv— horse-Pl Dem-Pl arrive.Pfv when,

‘There he was, coming on. He arrived (error)— When those horses arrived,’

*[the presentative and sequential ‘come’ are used here to foreground a new scene, cf. French* voilà que …*]*

(03:15) à= [à píyɛ́] kūūⁿ,

3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv,

à= [à píyɛ́] kūūŋ gà sāāⁿ,

3Sg [3Sg tail] catch.Pfv RemPfv when,

‘He caught its tail. When he had caught its tail,’

*[perfective echo clause as background]*

(03:17) [wɔ̄gɔ̄tū ŋ̄-kɯ̄ɯ̄n nī],

[time Link-one Inst],

à kīyɛ̄= [ē nɔ̀gù] nā],

3Sg pass.Pfv [3Pl village] Dat],

‘In a flash he passed by their (i.e. Fatouma’s) village,’

(03:19) à gā m̄ bēm-bē tūⁿ,

3Sg until.Pfv 3ReflSg come.back.Pfv again,

à gā— à yē [ɲ̄ jā= [à tēè→],

(false start) 3Sg said [LogoSg said [3Sg Dat]],

‘Then he came back. He (=devil) said, “I told you-Sg,” ’

*[<* ŋ̄ yē *‘Logo said’;* tēè→ *for dative* tē *at planned prosodic break before quoted matter (§3.7.2)]*

(03:22) à gālà [ɲɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄wⁿ]-nūmɛ̀-lɛ̄n dàmá tīẁⁿ,

3Sg Sbjn [eye]-blink.Pfv-Dimin only do.Pfv,

[à [ɲɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄wⁿ]-nūmɛ̀-lɛ̄n tīẁⁿ gà sāāⁿ]

[3Sg [eye]-blink.VblN-Dimin do.Pfv RemPfv when]

‘(devil:) “ ‘Blink your eyes just a little!’ ” When he had blinked his eyes a little,’

*[diminutive* -lɛ̄wⁿ*, see (366) in §8.4.3.2]*

(03:25) [à bā= à tīẁⁿ]

[3Sg come.Pfv 3Sg do.Pfv]

[ŋ̄ gā tàà-nà [è gūnī-ỳ],

[LogoSg be stand-Ppl [3Pl courtyard-Loc]

‘He found himself standing in their (=Fatouma’s) courtyard.’

*[*gūnūⁿ *‘courtyard’]*

(03:27) [ǹ tóy] tàà bōẁⁿ,

[1Sg knowledge] stop.Pfv here,

[ǹ tóy] tàà bōẁⁿ

[1Sg knowledge] stop.Pfv here

‘My knowledge has stopped here.’

*[i.e., ‘that’s all I know’;* tòy *‘intelligence, knowledge’]*

## Text 2017-05 Tale: The thief and his traveling companion

†Adama Badji Kamian (**ak**) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (**ac**)

duration: 03:39

(00:03) **ac** [kɛ́ɛ́rán syēⁿ] [ŋ̀ kāā-āādāmà]

[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [1Sg father-A]

**ak** [kɛ́ɛ́rán syēⁿ] [ŋ̄ kàá]

[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [1Sg father]

**ac**: ‘Good afternoon, Papa Adama!’

**ak**: ‘Good afternoon, friend!’

*[<* ŋ̄ kàà *‘(hey) my pal!’ (§6.2.1.1)]*

(00:05) **ac** kò jām̀ syēŋ gà [āā pà]

Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]

**ac**: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

(00:06) **ak** kàlà= āā syēɲ [jām̀ nī]

Q 2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [peace Inst]

**ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**ak**: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday in peace?’

**ac** ‘There is no trouble.’

(00:07) **ak** kòrì jām̀ syā= [āā bwɛ̄ỳ]

Q peace spend.midday.Pfv [2Pl Comit]

**ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**ak** ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

**ac** ‘There is no trouble.’

(00:08) **ak** āā rɛ̄ɛ̄nà kɔ̌ⁿ wà

2Pl be.safe.Pfv Topic anyway

**ac** m̀bāā tàbāārìkāllà

(reply) praise.God

**ak**: ‘You-Pl are safe?’

**ac**: ‘Fine, praise God.’

(00:10) **ak** bāārìkāllà

praise.God

**ac** m̀bāā tàbāārìkāllà

(reply) praise.God

**ak**: ‘Praise God.’

**ac**: ‘Fine, praise God.’

(00:12) **ak** m̀bāā

(reply)

**ac** à, ē gā nɔ̀gù-béwⁿ,

ah, 1Pl be.Loc N.Loc

**ak**: ‘Fine.

**ac**: ‘Ah, we are in Namagué.’

*[<* nɔ̀gù-bèwⁿ *with final H‑tone as locative or focus (§8.2.3.3)]*

(00:14) **ac** *bon* [ē bē jànààmà pɔ̄-lɛ̄ŋ kàlāàⁿ]

okay [1Pl come.Pfv Jenaama a.little read.Pfv]

ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀ [ē gālà= ān tīyē [[kàmāà gù] nī]]

1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv] [[tale Def] Inst]]

‘All right. We have come in order to study Jenaama language a little. We would like to ask you-Sg for a tale.’

(00:16) **ac** ɲā= à nām bā= à tīẁⁿ

if 3Sg if.Pfv Seq 3Sg be.found.Pfv

[āŋ gā [pɔ̄ màn̄] tò],

[2Sg Ipfv [thing Rel] know.Ipfv,

‘If it happens that (there is) something that you-Sg know,’

(00:18) **ac** āŋ gālà pɔ̄ sē [ē tā=] [ā nìŋīì] *quoi*

2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside]

**ak** ŋ̀ gà pɔ̄ tò ā-ỳ yàá,

1Sg Ipfv thing know.Ipfv 3Sg-Loc Emph,

**ac**: ‘(we ask) that you-Sg tell us something about it.’

**ak**: ‘I do know something about it.’

(00:23) **ak** àywà, kɛ̄ɛ̄gū-kāmnā pēndē, [è bā gà]

well, old.man two, [3Pl exit(v).Pfv RemPfv]

[è gā sò māgà],

[3Sg Ipfv so.Ipfv M],

‘Well, (there were) two old men. They left, they were going to Mecca.’

[the remainder of this text is spoken by **ak**]

(00:27) [è māgà-sèŋ kūūŋ gà gù

[3Pl M-road catch.Pfv RemPfv Def

è bē sō yàɲ [ɲīmī kāẁⁿ],

3Pl Seq go.Pfv descend.Pfv [person chez],

‘When they had taken (=set out on) the road to Mecca, they went and retired (for the night) at a (certain) person’s house.’

(00:30) è yàŋ̄ gà [ɲīmī kāŋ̀] gù,

3Pl descend.Pfv RemPfv [person chez] Def,

[kɛ̀ɛ̀gù sílé kēēŋ] gā kɯ̀ɥɛ̀-yā nì,

[man old one] be steal.Pfv-Agent it.is,

‘When they had retired at the person’s house, one old man was a thief.’

(00:34) à bē kɯ̀ɥɛ̀, súbááⁿ-sóⁿ è bē= è kūūⁿ,

3Sg Seq steal.Pfv, morning 3Pl Seq 3Pl catch.Pfv,

ì yè= è kūū-nā gù,

3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Pl catch-Ppl Def,

‘He then stole (=committed a theft). In the morning they (the residents) caught them. When they had caught them,’

(00:38) à yē [n̄-dɔ̀gɔ̀ tā= ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̀ kóy],

3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep PfvNeg 3Sg steal.Pfv Emph],

[kēèⁿ gù] ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̄ gà,

[one Def] 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv,

‘He (=the thief) said, “I sure didn’t steal it! The other one stole it!” ’

*[*kēèⁿ gù *in obviative sense ‘the other one’ (§18.2.1)]*

(00:41) [kēèⁿ gù pē] yē [à ŋ̄ kààmà kóy],

[one Def also] said [3Sg 3ReflSg lie.Pfv Emph],

[n̄-dɔ̀gɔ̀ tā= ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̀] [wɔ̀gā= ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̄ gà],

[LogoSg-Indep PfvNeg 3Sg steal.Pfv] [3Sg.Indep 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv],

‘The other one likewise said, “he sure lied. I didn’t steal it. He [focus] stole it.” ’

(00:44) è bē= è kūūⁿ máɲɛ̀-máɲɛ̀,

3Pl Seq 3Pl catch.Pfv Iter-a.lot,

hǎl-kànā à gā dɛ̀gɛ̀,

until 3Sg until.Pfv hurt.Pfv,

‘They (= residents) took hold of them thoroughly, to the point that it hurt.’

(00:47) à dɛ̀gɛ̄-nā gù, è bā= à tīyē tūⁿ,

3Sg hurt-Ppl Def, 3Pl Seq 3Sg ask.Pfv again,

à yē [sò gwɔ̄ɔ̄ŋgà] [n̄-dɔ̀gā= à kɯ̀ɥɛ̄ gà],

3Sg said [Ø truly] [LogoSg-Indep 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv],

‘When it had hurt, they asked him again. He said, “to be truthful, I stole it.” ’

*[*sò gwɔ̄ɔ̄ŋgà *is an extension of simple* gwɔ̄ɔ̄ŋgà*]*

(00:51) kāā [ɲ̄= ɲā= ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̄ gà lā]

but [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg steal.Pfv RemPfv Emph]

[n̄ tē kìì↑], [māà ŋ̄ gā= ā kɯ̀ɥɛ̄]

[LogoSg PfvNeg get.up.Pfv], [that LogoSg Ipfv 3Sg steal.Ipfv]

‘ “But when I stole it, I didn’t get up (intending) that I would steal it.” ’

*[*ɲ̄=ɲàⁿ *variant of* n̄=nàⁿ *;* lā *(< French* là *‘there’) here equivalent to definite* gu*;* māà(ⁿ) *‘that’ in purposive function (§17.5.6)]*

(00:54) [dūwē= ē kūūŋ gà],

[hunger LogoPl catch.Pfv RemPfv],

[kēèⁿ gù pē] yā=

[one Def also] said

‘ “We were hungry.” The other one for his part said …’

*[<* dūwōⁿ *‘hunger’]*

(00:56) [à ŋ̄ kààmà], dūwōn nè— [dūwōn nè= [ē bwɛ̄ỳ]]

[3Sg 3ReflSg lie.Pfv], hunger not.be— [hunger not.be [LogoPl Comit]]

[sīrāpānā gè= [ē sūgì-ỳ]],

[provisions be.Loc [LogoPl hand-Loc],

‘ “He lied, we were not hungry. We have provisions.” ’

*[lit. “hunger was not among us”]*

(00:58) è bē= è kālā, è kīyɛ̄-nā yāŋ̀ gù,

3Pl Seq 3Pl expel.Pfv, 3Pl pass-Ppl there.Def Def,

è bē sō-yàŋ [gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ nìŋīì] tūⁿ,

3Pl Seq go.Pfv-descend.Pfv [place inside] again,

‘They (=residents) drove them out. After they moved on, they again went and retired (for the night) in a place.’

(01:02) [yùgòⁿ sílé] gà yāẁⁿ, è bē yā= [à kāẁⁿ],

[woman old] be.Loc there.Def, 3Pl Seq descend.Pfv [3Sg chez],

[kɛ̄ɛ̄gū-kāmnā kēèⁿ gù] bē [yùgòⁿ sílé gú] pɔ̄gɔ̄,

[man-old one Def] Seq [woman old Def] like.Pfv,

‘An old woman was there. They retired (for the night) at her house. One old man was attracted to the old woman.’

*[‘descend’ here ‘retire for the night’]*

(01:06) ŋ̄ gālā= ā yàgà [[m̄ pòn] nī],

LogoSg Sbjn 3Sg transform.Pfv [[3ReflSg wife] Inst],

[à tā= à sē [[m̄ pēn-ānā] tē],

[3Sg PfvNeg 3Sg say.Pfv [[3ReflSg two-Ord] Dat],

‘(He wanted) to make her his wife (=concubine). He didn’t tell his second (=his companion).’

*[<* pòwⁿ*]*

(01:09) [è sāā gè=] [ē kùmū gà] sāāⁿ↑,

[3Pl lie.down.Pfv RemPfv] [3Pl sleep.Pfv RemPfv] when,

[à gā kìī-[bā-lā] [[kēèⁿ gù] sɔ̄gɔ̀y],

[3Sg Ipfv get.up.Ipfv-[exit-Ipfv] [[one Def] next.to],

‘After they (=two travelers) had lain down to sleep, he got up next to the other one (=the other old man).’

(01:12) à gā sò [n̄ dīrā] [[yùgòⁿ si̋lé] kūmà].

3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [3ReflSg push.Pfv] [[woman old] on],

[yùgòⁿ sílé] gá kɔ̀mɔ̄,

[woman old] Ipfv cry.out.Ipfv,

‘He went and threw himself onto the old woman. The old woman was crying out.’

(01:15) à yā= [āā tā= ā kàý],

3Sg said [2Pl PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv.Q],

āā yā= [āā gà sūmē-ē nì]

2Pl said [2Pl be visitor-Pl it.is]

‘She said, “have you-Pl not seen? You-Pl said that you-Pl are visitors.’

(01:17) [āā bē gà [yàŋ [ŋ̄ kāẁⁿ]]]

[2Pl come.Pfv RemPfv [descend.Pfv [LogoSg chez]]]

[[āā bē gà ɲ̄ jìnà],

[[2Pl come.Pfv RemPfv LogoSg fornicate.Pfv].

‘ “You-Pl came to retire (for the night) at my house (and) you came to rape me.”

(01:19) kú yè n̄ tè bā= [ān jìnà] kóy,

Dem said LogoSg PfvNeg come.Pfv [2Sg fornicate.Pfv] Emph,

ŋ̄ wɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ gà [yùwōm pà],

LogoSg crave.Pfv RemPfv [woman Comit],

‘That one (=old man) said “I didn’t come to rape you-Sg. I had a craving for a woman.” ’

(01:22) ŋ̄ wɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ gà [yùwōm pà] gù,

LogoSg crave.Pfv RemPfv [woman Comit] Def,

sāā-kɔ̀ŋ [kú pē] yà= [ā= āŋ kààmà],

now [Dem also] said [2Sg 2Sg lie.Pfv]’

‘When (he had said) “I was desperate for a woman”, now that other one (=old man) said, “you lied.” ’

*[*wɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ *‘crave (sth to which one is accustomed but hasn’t had recently)’*

(01:25) [[ān tè wɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̄ [yùwōm pà]]

[[2Sg PfvNeg crave.Pfv [woman Comit]]

[[dìgéⁿ-sá tēm̀] ām bāā gà [[ām pòŋ] kāẁⁿ]],

[[day.before.yesterday just] 2Sg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv [[2Sg wife] chez]],

‘ “You weren’t desperate for a woman. It was just the day before yesterday that you left your wife’s place.’

(01:27) è bē bẁɔ̄ mwɔ̀-nì yāẁⁿ,

3Pl Seq Recip ripen-Caus.Pfv .Def,

[è bē= è kālē=] [è bè bāā yām̀ pē],

[3Pl Seq 3Pl expel.Pfv] [3Pl Seq exit(v).Pfv there.Def also]

‘They reprimanded each other sharply. They (=residents) drove them out. They (=old men) left there too.’

*[“cause to ripen” = ‘reprimand, scold, sharply criticize’]*

(01:30) [è bē sèŋ kūūn tūⁿ,

[3Pl Seq road catch.Pfv again,

è bā= à dē= [ē gā sò],

3Pl Seq 3Sg pick.up.Pfv [3ReflPl Ipfv go.Ipfv],

è bā= à dē= [ē gā sò],

3Pl Seq 3Sg pick.up.Pfv [3ReflPl Ipfv go.Ipfv],

‘They took the road again. They kept on going, they kept on going.’

*[*dēē *‘pick up’ as ‘keep VPing’ (§15.7.5)]*

(01:34) hàlī-kànà è gā bā= à tīẁⁿ

until 3Pl until.Pfv come.Ipfv 3Sg find.Pfv

[[ɲàmà dáábá] wàà],

[[sb.else’s animal] die.Pfv],

‘Eventually they came and found that someone else’s livestock animal had died.’

*[<* ɲāmā*]*

(01:36) è bè [dáábá gú]— è bā= à wūwò,

3Pl Seq [animal Def]— 3Pl Seq 3Sg butcher.Pfv,

[à tēē gū]— sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ dūwōŋ gē= [è bwɛ̄ỳ],

[3Sg meat Def]—, now hunger be.Loc [3Pl Comit],

‘They … the animal—, they butchered it. Its meat—. They were hungry now.’

(01:40) è gā= [à tēē gū] kūwōlò,

3Pl Ipfv [3Sg meat Def] chew.Ipfv,

à kāā-kāā gū,

3Sg Iter-raw Def,

‘They were eating its meat. It was raw.’

(01:43) [kēèⁿ gù] yè= [ē nàn [tēē kāā-kāā] kūwōlō,

[one Def] said [LogoPl if.Pfv [meat Iter-raw] chew.Pfv,

à gà bē= ē wɔ̀gɔ̀ dēʔ,

3Sg Ipfv Fut LogoPl kill.Pfv Emph,

‘The other one said, “if we eat raw meat, it will kill us!” ’

*[emphatic* dēʔ *in a warning (§19.4.2.4)]*

(01:45) [kēèⁿ gù] yā= [à nè= ē wɔ̀gɔ̀ kóy],

[one Def] said [3Sg IpfvNeg LogoPl kill.Pfv Emph],

‘The other one said, “no, it certainly won’t kill us!” ’

*[emphatic* kóy *in a strong assertion (§19.4.2.1)]*

(01:47) è dāā-mā gà sò sāāⁿ,

3Pl go.far.away.Pfv RemPfv go when,

[[kēèⁿ gū] nù=] à dɛ̀gɛ̀,

[[one Def] belly] 3Sg hurt.Pfv,

‘When they had gone far away, the other one’s stomach hurt him.’

*[<* nùùⁿ*]*

(01:50) [[à nù=] ā dɛ̀gɛ̄ gà sāāⁿ]

[[3Sg belly] 3Sg hurt.Pfv RemPfv when],

[à n̄ dɛ̀ŋɛ̀ [jūgū bwɛ̄ỳ]],

[3Sg 3ReflSg lean.Pfv [tree Comit]],

‘When his stomach had hurt him, he leaned on a tree (trunk).’

(01:51) [à n̄ dɛ̀ŋɛ̄ gà [jūgū bwɛ̄ỳ] gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēŋ gū,

[3Sg 3ReflSg lean.Pfv RemPfv [tree Comit] place-Rel-place Def,

sāā-kɔ̀= [à kɔ̀ⁿ], ā pẁɔ̄ [à pà] [ɲōgōm-bāgɛ̄ nī],

now [3Sg Topic], 3Sg become.Pfv [3Sg Comit] [soul-taking Inst],

‘In the place (=situation) where he leaned on the tree, now, as for him, it became for him a soul-taking.’

*[i.e., he gave up his soul (=he died);* gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ *(§14.2.4));* bāgɛ̄ *nominal from* bāgā *‘remove’ (§4.2.1.2)]*

(01:55) [à kàlè yāẁⁿ], [kēèⁿ gù] yà= [ān tā= ā kàý],

[3Sg die.Pfv there.Def, [one Def] said [2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv.Q],

[āⁿ [tēē gū] kūwōlō gà]

[2Sg [meat Def] chew.Pfv RemPfv]

‘He died there. The other one said, “have you-Sg not seen it? You ate the meat.” ’

(01:59) [ān tā= ā kà= [à= āⁿ wàgá]],

[2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv [3Sg 2Sg kill.Pfv.Q]],

kú yè á!, [ŋ̀ kɔ́n] tè mùlèŋ kóy,

Dem said “oh!, [1Sg Topic] PfvNeg do.on.purpose Emph,

‘ “Have you-Sg not seen (that) it has killed you?” That one said, “oh! as for me, I didn’t mean to do it!” ’

*[direct quotation with 1Sg, not logophoric; <* tè mūlēwⁿ*]*

(02:02) màŋ̄— kàlè-púwógú, à yē [n̄ tè mùlèŋ kóy],

Rel— die-blind, 3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg do.on.purpose Emph],

[kú pē] yè [ɲɔ́ŋ kɔ̀ⁿ] ān tē wàà,

[Dem also] said [Dem Topic] 2Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv,

‘The one who—, the dead one, he said “I didn’t mean to do it!” This one said, “anyway, you didn’t die.” ’

*[i.e. if you were dead you wouldn’t be able to speak]*

(02:06) [ān tē wàà kóy] [à dɛ̀gɛ̄ gà],

[2Sg PfvNeg die.Pfv Emph] [3Sg hurt.Pfv RemPfv]

kìì [ē gālā sò],

get.up.Pfv [1Pl Sbjn go],

‘ “You didn’t die, it (just) hurt. Get up and let’s go!” ’

(02:09) à yē [[ŋ̀ kɔ́n] nā sò]

3Sg said [[1Sg Topic] IpfvNeg go.Ipfv]

[sò [āŋ gālà m̀ báy bōẁⁿ]],

[go.Pfv [2Sg Sbjn 1Sg leave.Pfv here]].

‘He said, “as for me, I won’t go. (You) go and leave me here!” ’

*[double imperative expressed as imperative plus subjunctive (§10.4.1.1)]*

(02:11) à bā= ā bày yāẁⁿ,

3Sg Seq 3Sg leave.Pfv there.Def,

à bè kīyɛ̄,

3Sg Seq pass.Pfv,

‘Then he left him there. He went on his way.’

(02:13) à kīyɛ̄ gà sāāⁿ, [à pē] sò tigàà sāāⁿ,

3Sg pass.Pfv RemPfv when, [3Sg also] go.Pfv ahead when,

[à tàbà] dwɔ̀ káráŋgé-ỳ,

[3Sg foot] enter.Pfv trap-Loc,

‘When he had gone on his way, and when the other one too had gone ahead, his foot entered (=was caught in) a trap.’

(02:17) káráŋgé à kūūⁿ sāāⁿ,

trap 3Sg catch.Pfv when,

sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ ɲììgàⁿ-sígé-yē-è gà kīyɛ̀,

now trip-go-Agent-Pl Ipfv pass.Ipfv,

‘After the trap caught him, now some travelers were passing by.’

*[‘traveler’: cf*. ɲìŋī-gàwⁿ *‘place of walking’ hence ‘trip, voyage’,* sìgè *‘departure’]*

(02:20) à yē [è gālà bē m̄ bāgā],

3Sg said [3Pl Sbjn come LogoSg take.out.Pfv],

káráŋgé ŋ̄ kūūŋ gà,

trap LogoSg catch.Pfv RemPfv,

‘He said, “please come and get me out! A trap has caught me.”

(02:22) ì yā= [à bāā gà màtāỳ],

3Pl said [3Sg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv where?],

à yē [n̄ nā [m̄ bāā-gāŋ] tò,

3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg [3ReflSg exit(v).Pfv-place] know.Ipfv ,

‘They said (=asked), “where did you leave (=come from)?” He said, “I don’t know my place of origin.” ’

*[*bāā-gàwⁿ *(§4.2.1.5.1); can be rephrased as* à yē [n̄ nā= ā tò [m̄ bāā gà gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ‑mà‑gēwⁿ]] *]*

(02:25) [n̄ nā [m̄ bāā-gāŋ] tò]

LogoSg IpfvNeg [3ReflSg exit(v).Pfv-place] know.Ipfv]

[ān nā= ām bāā-gāŋ] tò]

[2Sg IpfvNeg 2Sg exit(v).Pfv-place] know.Ipfv]

[ān nā= ām bāā-gāŋ] tò]

[2Sg IpfvNeg 2Sg exit(v).Pfv-place] know.Ipfv]

‘ “I don’t know my place of origin.” “You-Sg don’t know your place of origin!” “You-Sg don’t know your place of origin!” ’

*[this turn spoken rapidly in one breath; the passers-by are incredulous]*

(02:27) ì yā= [āŋ gā sō màtāỳ],

3Pl said [2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv where?],

à yē [ɲ̄ jè [ŋ̄ gā sò jììɲ-cííⁿ]]

3Sg said [LogoSg said [LogoSg Ipfv go east.Loc]]

‘They said (=asked), “where are you-Sg going?” He said, “I said (=planned) that I’m going east.” ’

(02:29) ŋ̄ gā sò māgà,

LogoSg Ipfv go.Ipfv M,

[ɲ̄ ɲìŋì-būwɔ̄] kàlē [sèm pà],

[LogoSg travel.companion] die.Pfv [road Comit],

‘ “I am going to Mecca. My traveling companion died on the road.”

(02:32) āywà, ì yē [āŋ gā sò māgà lāà],

well, 3Pl said [2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv M QTop],

āŋ gā sō mwɔ̀ tīyⁿ yāẁⁿ,

2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv which? (=what?) do.Pfv there.Def,

‘Well, they said: “given that you’re going to Mecca, what will you-Sg go and do there?” ’

*[<* tīẁⁿ*;* mwɔ̀ *‘which?’ in the sense ‘what? with ‘do’ (§13.2.2.8)]*

(02:35) à yē [ŋ̄ gā sò—] [ŋ̄ gā sò—]

3Sg said [LogoSg Ipfv go.Ipfv—] [LogoSg Ipfv go.Ipfv—]

ŋ̄ gā sò hījì-gàwⁿ,

LogoSg Ipfv go.Ipfv perform.pilgrimage-place,

‘He said, “I am going to the pilgrimage site (in Mecca).” ’

*[*-gàwⁿ *(§4.2.1.5.1)]*

(02:38) ì yē [hījì-yā kɔ̀ⁿ],

3Pl said [perform.pilgrimage-Agent Topic],

[[káráŋgé kɔ̀n] nā= āŋ kūūⁿ sāāⁿ]

[[trap Topic] if.Pfv 2Sg catch.Pfv all]

‘They said, “as for a pilgrim (=you), if a trap has caught you-Sg, …” ’

(02:40) [āŋ gālà ām bēwⁿ] [wɔ̀gɔ̄ m̄ pàyò],

[2Sg Sbjn 2Sg return.Pfv] [3Sg.Indep PsRefl be.better],

[āⁿ hījì gù] tē màɲɛ̀,

[2Sg pilgrimage Def] PfvNeg be.good.Pfv,

‘ “You-Sg should go back, that is (=would be) better. Your pilgrimage hasn’t been good.” ’

*[*pàyò *(§12.1.3)]*

(02:42) à yā= [ā màɲɛ̄ yàá], [ɲ̀ jáátí-jáátí kɔ̀ⁿ],

3Sg said [3Sg be.good.Pfv Emph], [LogoSg Iter-exactly Topic],

hàlì ŋ̄ kìī gà,

since LogoSg get.up.Pfv RemPfv,

‘He said, “it has been good! As for me personally, (ever) since I got up (=was born),” ’

*[emphatic* yàá *(§19.4.2.5)]*

(02:45) n̄ tè bāā [hījì-sèm̄ pà]

LogoSg PfvNeg exit(v).Pfv [pilgrimage-road Comit]

[ɲā= à nā wàȳ nì],

[if 3Sg not.be today it.is],

‘ “I have not set out on the pilgrimage except (=until) today.” ’

*[lit. “if it is not today”; <* sèwⁿ*]*

(02:48) [[wàȳ mà] m̄ bā gà pē]

[[today Rel] LogoSg exit(v).Pfv RemPfv also]

[káráŋgé ŋ̄ kūūŋ gà gù],

[trap LogoSg catch.Pfv RemPfv Def],

‘ “This day on which I set out, when the trap caught me,” ’

(02:50) ɲ̄= ɲàⁿ ālà tùyɛ̀

LogoSg Sgj/Obj God know.Pfv

[ālàà kɔ̄dɔ̄rì gà [m̄ bwɛ̄ỳ]

[God ordain.Pfv RemPfv [LogoSg Comit]

‘ “I recognized God, God ordained it on me.” ’

(02:52) [ɲɔ́n lāā] è gālà— ɲē= è nāⁿ ɲ̄ ɥɛ̀ɛ̀

[Dem QTop] (false start) if 3Pl if.Pfv LogoSg untie.Pfv

[è gālà m̄ bày bōẁⁿ],

[3Pl Sbjn LogoSg leave.Pfv here],

‘ “That being the case, when you-Pl free me (from the trap), you should leave me here.” ’

*[third person for original addressee in quotation]*

(02:54) [kú-yè pē] yè= [ē nā= ā bày kóy],

[Dem-Pl also] said [LogoPl IpfvNeg 3Sg leave.Pfv Emph],

‘Those (passers-by) in turn said, “we certainly won’t leave you-Sg!”

(02:56) [à kày [káráŋgé nìŋīì] [bāànā màŋ gù] ,

[3Sg Prsntv [trap inside] [manner Rel Def],

ē gā= à bāgā,

LogoPl Ipfv 3Sg remove.Pfv,

‘ “The same way (=in the same condition) that you-Sg are in the trap there, (that’s how) we will get you out (and leave you).” ’

*[relative with definite* gù*]*

(02:59) [è bā= ā yìràwⁿ]

[3Pl Seq 3Sg help.Pfv]

[à bè bāā [káráŋgé gú-ỳ]],

[3Sg Seq exit(v).Pfv [trap Def-Loc]],

‘They helped him and he got out of the trap.’

(03:00) è bāā [káráŋgé nìŋīi] sāāⁿ,

3Pl exit.Pfv [trap inside] when,

jākā kɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀ gā= [à sūgì-y],

lo! magic be.loc [3Sg hand-Loc],

‘When they came away from the trap, lo! he had esoteric powers.’

(03:04) è pẁɔ̄ gà= [à sɔ̄gɔ̀y] sāāⁿ,

3Pl sit.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg beside] when,

[à jūgū pìī-sē= [è bwɛ̄ỳ],

[3Sg medication throw.Pfv [3Pl Comit],

‘When they sat down next to him, he threw a (magic) potion on them.’

*[<* pìī-sò *“pour.out-go”]*

(03:07) [kùmù kīyɛ̄= [è kūmà]],

[sleep(n) pass.Pfv [3Pl on]],

[à tàbā-bàā] pàjùgà,

[3Sg foot-body] heal.Pfv,

‘Sleep came over them. His leg healed.’

(03:09) à gē= [ē tìgè sāāⁿ] kɯ̀ɥɛ̀,

3Sg until.Pfv [3Pl baggage all] steal.Pfv,

[à gā= à cyɛ̄wⁿ] [à bè kīyɛ̄]

[3Sg until.Pfv 3Sg carry.on.head.Pfv] [3Sg Seq pass.Pfv]

‘Until he (was able to) steal all of their possessions and load them up on his head. Then he went on his way.’

*[*gà/gā *‘until.Pfv’ (§15.7.2.2)]*

(03:12) [[kú-yè pē] ɲɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄wⁿ] ɲ̄ ɥɛ̀ɛ̀ sāāⁿ,

[[Dem-Pl also] eye] 3ReflSg open.Pfv when,

[è bā= à tīẁⁿ— à kày— ā n̄ tūwō,

[3Pl Seq 3Sg find.Pfv— 3Sg Prsntv— 3Sg 3ReflSg depart.Pfv,

‘When those (passers-by’s) eye opened (again), they discovered that he had gone away.’

[at this point a listener interjects a comment (unintelligible on the recording) to the narrator]

(03:20) è bā= à tàbà-m-būwɔ̄ dēē,

3Pl Seq 3Sg foot-Link-line pick.up.Pfv,

è bè= ē tūwō [à bwɛ̄ỳ],

3Pl Seq 3ReflPl depart.Pfv [3Sg Comit],

‘They picked up (=started with) his footprints, and they went after him.’

(03:23) hǎl-kànà è gā sā= [à kūūⁿ], à yè á!,

until 3Pl until.Pfv go.Pfv [3Sg catch], 3Sg **said** oh!,

à yè [sá-sàà-lēŋ kɔ̀ⁿ] [āā yè ŋ̄ kūūŋ kɔ̀ⁿ]

3Sg said [just.now Topic] [2Pl Sbj/Obj LogoSg catch.Pfv Topic],

‘Eventually they went and caught him. He said, “oh!” He said, “since you-Pl have just now caught me,” ’

*[<* è gà sò *; <* à yē *;* sá-sàà-lèwⁿ *‘right now, just now’]*

(03:27) kā n̄ tē kìì

but LogoSg PfvNeg get.up.Pfv

[ŋ̄ gā= [à pīì gù] sāā-nì kóy,

[LogoSg Ipfv [3Sg property Def] go-Caus.Pfv Emph,

‘ “But I did not get up (intending that) I would go off with your-Sg property.” ’

*[<* sāā-nì *(§9.1.2)]*

(03:29) [kɔ̀ndɔ́ bē gā= [à nī] [m̄ pà],

[desperation.Foc come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg Inst] [LogoSg Comit],

[ɲɔ́n lāā] [[wàȳ-sùrùgū kɔ̀n̄] nìŋīì],

[Dem QTop] [[today-remainder Topic] inside],

‘Desperation [focus] is what brought it to me. From today on, ’

*[<* kɔ̀ndɔ̀*]*

(03:31) kàlā= āā gālà [m̄ bàý],

must 2Pl Sbjn [LogoSg leave.Pfv],

[è pē] yè= [ē nā= ā bày],

[3Pl also] said [LogoPl IpfvNeg 3Sg leave.Pfv],

‘ “You must leave me (here).” They in turn said, “we won’t leave you.” ’

*[*kàlà *~* ŋ̄kàlà *‘must’ (§17.3.3)]*

(03:34) hàyà, à tàā gà bōẁⁿ

well, 3Sg end.Pfv RemPfv here

‘Well, it has ended here.’

## Text 2017-06 Tale: The picky bride and Python

Djonsare Traoré (**dt**) accompanied by Amadou Cissé (**ac**)

duration 03:34

(00:01) **ac** [kɛ́ɛ́rán syēŋ [ŋ̀ kāā-ɲ-jōnsāārè],

[welfare spend.midday.Pfv] [1Sg father-Link-D]

**dt** [kɛ́ɛ́rán syēm bàbà]

[welfare spend.midday.Pfv Dad]

**ac**: ‘Good afternoon, Papa Dionsare!’

**dt**: ‘Good afternoon, friend.’

(00:03) **ac** kò jām̀ syēŋ gà [āā pà]

Q peace spend.midday.Pfv RemPfv [2Pl Comit]

**dt** āā syēɲ [nɛ̄ɛ̄mà nī]

2Pl spend.midday.Pfv [pleasant.weather Inst]

**ac**: ‘Did peace spend the midday with you-Pl?’

**dt**: ‘Did you-Pl spend the midday pleasantly?’

(00:05) **ac** āā yèŋ [kɛ̄nāŋ kɔ̀ŋ̄] wà

2Pl and [health Topic] anyway

**dt** āā gā [kɛ̄nā-āmā-ỳⁿ kɔ̀ŋ̄] wà

2Pl be.Loc [health-Loc Topic] anyway

**ac**: ‘You-Pl and good health?’

**dt**: ‘You-Pl are in good health?’

*[singular-addressee counterpart of first part is* āŋ [kɛ̄nāŋ kɔ̀ŋ̄] wà*]*

(00:06) **ac** [bàà sí] kɔ̀ⁿ

[trouble any] not.be

**dt** [āā ɲīmī-lē lāā

[2Pl person-Pl QTop

**ac**: ‘There is no trouble.’

**dt**: ‘What about your people (=kin)?’

(00:07) **ac** [bàà sí] nē= [ē pà]

[trouble any] not.be.Loc [3Pl Comit]

**dt** bāārìkāllà

praise.God

**ac** ‘There’s no trouble among them.’

**dt**: ‘Praise God.’

(00:08) **ac** m̀bāā tàbāārìkāllà

(reply) God.be.praised

**dt** èn̄nà ā ȳ kày

(reply) 2Sg and work(n)

**ac**: ‘Fine, God be praised.’

**dt**: ‘Fine, you-Sg and work!’

*[greeting formula reduced <* āⁿ yèŋ kāyⁿ*]*

(00:09) **ac** *bon*, ē gā nɔ̀gù-bēwⁿ, ē gā bōẁⁿ,

well, 1Pl be.Loc N, 1Pl be.Loc here,

à [tálám pēndē] bāgā,

3Sg [day two] remove.Pfv,

‘Okay, we are in Namagué. We are (=have been) here, it has removed (=taken) a couple of days.’

*[‘two’ here is meant as ‘a couple’, ‘a few’]*

(00:12) **ac** donc [ē kāyⁿ gū kɔ̀ⁿ], [[ē kāyⁿ] lɔ̄gɔ̄ⁿ]

so [1Pl work(n) Def Topic], [[1Pl work(n)] be.completed.Pfv]

[ē gā= à pɔ̄gɔ̀ [ē gālà āɲ cīyē]

[1Pl Ipfv 3Sg like.Ipfv [1Pl Sbjn 2Sg ask.Pfv]

‘So, as for our work, our work is completed. We would like to ask you-Sg,’

(00:15) **ac** [ɲā= à nām bā= à tīẁⁿ

[if 3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv 3Sg find.Pfv

[kàmāà màŋ] gà= [ān sūgì-ỳ],

[tale Rel] be.Loc [2Sg hand-Loc],

‘If it happens that (there is) a tale that you-Sg,’

(00:16) **ac** [āŋ gālà pɔ̄ sē [ē tā=] [à nìŋīì] *quoi*

[2Sg Sbjn thing say.Pfv [1Pl Dat] [3Sg inside]

**dt** yēm bìsīmìlà

Imprt.2Pl welcome

**ac**: ‘Please tell us something in it.’

**dt**: ‘You-Pl are welcome.’

[the remainder of this text is spoken by **dt**]

(00:19) kú gà kɛ́ɛ́rán nì, kú gā [pɔ̀ŋɔ̀náŋ kɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ] nì,

Dem be welfare it.is, Dem be [young.woman a.certain] it.is,

kàā yèn̄ nàwⁿ, ɲīmī-lē yèn̄ sùmɛ̀ŋkārē-ē

father and mother, person-Pl and relative-Pl

‘This is a blessing. This is a young woman. (Her) father and mother, (her) people, and (her) close kin.’

(00:26) [è sāāⁿ], yùgòⁿ — kɛ̄ɛ̄gū màā [à tē],

[3Pl all], woman— man look.for.Pfv [3Sg Dat],

à yē [n̄ nā dwɔ̄ [[è síí] kàwⁿ]],

3Sg said [LogoSg IpfvNeg enter.Pfv [[3Pl any] chez]],

‘They all looked for a woman— (or rather) a man for her. She said, “I will not go in with any of them, …” ’

*[<* màà *(Pfv);* nā dwɔ̄ *reduced from* nā bē dwɔ̄ *(future negative)]*

(00:30) ŋ̄kàlà [n̄ dēm-āātī gū kɛ̄ɛ̄gū],

except [LogoSg beloved Def male],

*bon*, tìmī bè ɲɔ́m mìŋɛ̀,

okay, python Seq Dem.Def hear.Pfv,

‘ “…except (=unless it is) my beloved man.” All right, a python heard that.’

*[emend to* n̄ [dēm-āāti]-kɛ̄ɛ̄gū gù *]*

(00:36) à bē sò ŋ̄ wɔ̄bì [[āādāmā-dyɛ̄m mɔ̄ɲɔ̄] nī]

3Sg Seq go.Pfv 3ReflSg change.Pfv [[Adam-child good] Inst]

[à nìmɛ̀n-[tábá-túgú] tē kìlɛ̀

[3Sg like-[young.man] PfvNeg be.gotten.Pfv

[[yāŋ̀ gìyɛ̀lɛ̀-gíyɛ́lɛ́ sāāⁿ] nìŋīì],

[[there.Def around all] inside],

‘It (=python) went and turned itself into a fine human being. No young man the likes of him could be found anywhere in that area.’

*[compound with L-H tones from* nìmɛ̄wⁿ *‘like’ and* tàbà-tūgū *‘young man’]*

(00:43) kāā tìmī nì, *bon*, à bè kōndō yāẁⁿ

but python it.is, okay, 3Sg Seq remain.Pfv there.Def

[hàlī-kànà è gā [kìbà gù] dwɔ̄],

[until 3Pl until.Pfv [marriage Def] enter.Pfv],

‘But it was a python. All right, it remained there until eventually they entered (=celebrated) the marriage.’

(00:49) è kàȳlà [kìbà gù] dwɔ̄, è bē [yùwòŋ gù]—

3Pl when [marriage Def] enter.Pfv, 3Pl Seq [woman Def]—

è bā= [à dùgòn] tūwē-nī [à pà] māà→,

3Pl Seq [3Sg younger.sib] follow-Caus.Pfv [3Sg Comit] that,

‘When they had entered the marriage, they … the woman—, they had her younger sibling go with her so that—.’

(00:54) [kúú gā= [à dyɛ̄-nā] nì]

[Dem be [3Sg small-Ppl] it.is]

[à gā sò kɔ̄-lā= [à nā]

[3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv help-Ipfv [3Sg Dat]

kāyⁿ-gàwⁿ, [ŋ̄ kāỳⁿ] yāẁⁿ,

work-place, [3ReflSg chez] there.Def,

‘That was her little (sister), she was going to help her at work, at her home there.’

*[<* ŋ̄ kāẁⁿ*]*

(00:58) è gà bē [kɛ̄ɛ̄gū yèȳⁿ [yùgòm pēndē gū]

3Pl Ipfv Fut [man and [woman two Def]

bàȳ sò bwɛ̄ỳ,

leave.Pfv go.Pfv together,

‘They were going to leave the man and the two women together.’

(01:02) sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ [è gā sò], [è gā sò], [è gā sò], [è gā sò],

now [3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv] (repetitions)

[è nāŋ kìyɛ̀ŋ gɯ̄ɯ̄-mà-gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ sāāⁿ] [à yè á!],

[3Pl if.Pfv arrive.Pfv place-Rel-place all] [3Sg said oh!

‘Now they kept going along. Wherever they arrived, she said “oh!” ’

*[the python, the woman, and the woman’s younger sister are walking to the python’s supposed village; <* à yē*]*

(01:07) [hǎl wāỳ] [ē kɔ̀ⁿ] nā kìyɛ̄ⁿ [āā nɔ̀gì-ý]

[until today] [1Pl Topic] IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv [2Pl village-Loc.Q]

[à yē= [ē tē kìyɛ̀wⁿ]],

[3Sg said [LogoPl PfvNeg arrive.Pfv]],

‘ “Are we still not arriving at your-Pl village?” He said, “we haven’t arrived.” ’

(01:09) hǎl-kàlā→, è gā dèbò tēwⁿ,

until, 3Pl until.Pfv river cross.Pfv,

è kàȳlā dèbò tēŋ gù,

3Pl when river cross.Pfv Def,

‘Eventually they crossed a river. When they had crossed the river,’

(01:14) [è bē sō kìyɛ̀wⁿ [[sīlē-kùlù ɲāāfīnjē-ē] kāẁⁿ],

[3Pl Seq go.Pfv arrive [[rock-hump enormous-Pl] chez],

[pàmbá-yè gā= [ā nìŋīì],

[cave-Pl be.Loc [3Sg inside],

‘They went and arrived at some enormous mountains. There were caves in it.’

*[*ɲāāfīnjɛ̄wⁿ *‘huge, monstrous’ (subregional, from a Songhay vulgarity)]*

(01:19) [à bā= ā ɲùwɔ̀lì]

[3Sg Seq 3Sg point.at.Pfv]

à yē sèe᷆ [bōŋ̀ gà [ŋ̄ kān] nì],

3Sg said thus [here be.Loc [LogoSg chez] it.is],

‘He pointed to it. He said thus: “here is my home.” ’

*[*sèe᷆ *~* sèdē *‘thus’ after* yè/yē *‘said’, preceding quoted matter, in formal style (§17.1.6.1)]*

(01:22) ì yē hèē!, [āŋ kɔ̀n] [nɔ̀gè-è sāām] bày kāā kāā—

3Pl said hey!, [2Sg Topic] [village-Pl all] leave.Pfv but but—

ām pwɔ̀-nā nī [[kɔ̀m pámbá-yè] nìŋīì] bɔ̄ǹ ní

2Sg sit-Ppl it.is [[Dem cave-Pl] inside] here it.is.Q

‘They said, “hey! As for you, you have left (=come from) all (these) villages, and yet you are settled inside these caves here?” ’

*[the final ‘it is’ is grammatically superfluous, but here it supports the interrogaive final H‑tone]*

(01:27) [à yē mhm], [[à lāā] gā tìmī nì]

[3Sg said uh.huh], [[3Sg QTop] be python it.is]

[à ŋ̄ wɔ̄bì gà [āādāmā-dyɛ̄n nī],

[3Sg 3ReflSg change.Pfv RemPfv [Adam-child Inst],

‘It said “uh-huh!” (It explained:) it was a python, it had turned himself into a human.’

*[third-person in summarized/paraphrased rather than quoted speech]*

(01:31) āywà, è wùù yāẁⁿ, sāāⁿ

well, 3Pl do.long.time.Pfv there.Def, when,

ì yā= ā kày [à ŋ̄ wɔ̄bì [tìmì nī]],

3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv [3Sg 3ReflSg change.Pfv [python Inst]],

‘Well, they were there for a long time. They saw it as it turned (back) into a python.’

*[‘see’ with propositional complement]*

(01:37) [tèèŋ gù] yē sèe᷆ [[n̄ dùgòn] tē] [elder.sib Def] said thus [[3ReflSg younger.sib] Dat]

[kú lāā] [ē lāā] [kú lāā] mɛ̀n tī-nà,

[Dem QTop] [LogoPl QTop] [Dem QTop] how? do-Ipfv,

[ā→, kú gā [[sɛ̀bɛ̀ tīrīgī-nā=] nì] sāà-gù dēʔ,

[ah!, Dem be [[matter trample-Ppl] it.is] now Emph,

‘The older sister said to her younger sister, “as for us, how is this? Ah! This is a perilous situation now!” ’

(01:45) kāā è nā= à sē [āŋ gālà [mà sāāⁿ] tīẁ,

but 3Pl if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [2Sg Sbjn [Rel all] do.Pfv,

ām bā— āŋ gā sàŋgī [[è sāāⁿ] nā] wù,

(false start) 2Sg Ipfv refuse.Ipfv [[3Pl all] Dat] Def,

‘(Older sister:) “But all the things that they tell you to do, You must refuse them all.” ’

(01:49) [pɔ̄ sùrù kɔⁿ]

[thing remainder Topic]

ŋ̄kàlà āŋ gālā= ā kày [[ān ɲōgō-lɛ̄n] nī],

must 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg see.Pfv [[2Sg eye] Inst],

‘(Older sister: “(But there’s) one remaining (=other) thing. You must see it with your own eye(s).” ’

(01:52) [ŋ̄ kàā] yè n̄ dò [kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē nā]

[LogoSg father] Sbj/Obj LogoSg give.Pfv [man-Pl Dat]

[ɲ̄ jē [n̄ =nā= ā màā]],

[LogoSg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg want.Ipfv],

‘ “My (=our) father gave me to men, (but) I said I didn’t want it.” ’

(01:53) [n̄ nàⁿ] yè n̄ dò [kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē nā]

[LogoSg mother] Sbj/Obj LogoSg give.Pfv [man-Pl Dat]

[ɲ̄ jē [n̄ =nā= ā màā]],

[LogoSg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg want.Ipfv],

‘ “My mother gave me to men, (but) I said I didn’t want it.” ’

(01:56) [bàà kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē] bē [ì yè n̄ dò [kɛ̄ɛ̄gē-ē nā]

[dad man-Pl] come.Pfv [3Pl Sbj/Obj LogoSg give.Pfv [man-Pl Dat]

[ɲ̄ jē [n̄ =nā= ā màā]],

[LogoSg said [LogoSg Sbj/Obj 3Sg want.Ipfv],

‘The brothers came, they gave me to men, (but) I said I didn’t want him.” ’

*[*bàà *‘Dad’, mainly a vocative for adult men]*

(01:58) n̄ =nà n̄ sààlō gà [màm̄ pà] gù,

LogoSg Sbj/Obj Logo/3ReflSg hang.up.Pfv RemPfv [Rel Comit] Def,

[à tē pwɔ̀ [āādāmā-dyɛ̄n nī],

[3Sg PfvNeg become.Pfv [Adam-child Inst],

‘ “What I hooked up with, it didn’t become (=it wasn’t) a human.” ’

(02:01) [á, àlā— à māyⁿ [ē sūgì-ỳ] sāā-kɔ̀n dēʔ,

[ah, (false start) 3Sg be.ruined.Pfv [LogoPl hand-Loc] now Emph,

ì yē hàyà,

3Pl said well,

‘ “Ah, it has gone bad in our hands now! They said (=decided), well,’

(02:05) sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ ē gālā= ā bày

now LogoPl Sbjn 3Sg leave.Pfv

[[tìmī gū] gālà n̄ dɛ̀ŋɛ̀, ē gālā kɯ̀ɯ̀,

[[[python Def] Sbjn 3ReflSg lean.on.Pfv, LogoPl Sbjn run.Pfv,

‘ “Now we should let (=wait for) the python to come up close, so we can flee.” ’

(02:10) ē gā bē kɯ̀ɯ̀, ɲē= ē nàŋ̄ kìyɛ̄n [dèbò kāẁⁿ],

LogoPl Ipfv Fut run.Pfv, if LogoPl if.Pfv arrive.Pfv [river chez],

[à tēŋ-gū] gā bē= ē yōmbà,

[3Sg cross-VblN] Ipfv Fut LogoPl worry.Pfv,

‘ “We will flee. When we arrive at the river, crossing it will be a headache for us.” ’

(02:16) *bon*, è bē kɯ̀ɯ̀, è kìyɛ̄n [dèbò kāẁⁿ],

okay, 3Pl Seq run.Pfv, 3Pl arrive.Pfv [river chez],

[è [tàá sāān] tɔ̀ŋɔ̀, kūūn nā yāẁⁿ,

[3Pl [half all] look.Pfv, skiff not.be.Loc there.Def,

‘All right, they fled then. They arrived at the river. They looked all over. The skiff (=ferry) was nowhere to be seen.’

(02:23) [dàbùlɛ̀n tìnàà síí] nē= [è sūgì-y],

[solution other any] not.be [3Pl hand-Loc],

[è kɔ̀ŋ] gà tē-lē-ŋ gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēwⁿ,

[3Pl Topic] Ipfv cross.Ipfv place-Rel-place

‘They had no other way out. Where they were (supposed) to cross,’

*[<* tē-lē-w*ⁿ (§10.1.3.3.1)]*

(02:26) ì yè= [ē ɲōgō-lɛ̄ŋ] kwāā sò sāāⁿ, pùlém bē tàà,

3Pl Sbj/Obj [3ReflPl eye] hit.Pfv go when, bird Seq stop.Pfv,

kàlā [è pē=] ē bàȳ gà, ì yē

must [3Pl idea] 3ReflPl leave.Pfv RemPfv, 3Pl said

‘When they aimed their eyes, a bird landed. A sudden inspiration came to them. They said (sang):’

*[<* è pā*, idiomatic combination with reflexive form of ‘leave’]*

(02:33) [song in Bambara]

*[tìgɛ́ tìgɛ́ [báá là] [kɔ̀nɔ̀nì fííⁿ]*

[cross cross [river Loc] [sparrow black]

*[káŋ-kàlà jàⁿ]— káŋ-kàlà mà jàⁿ,*

[neck-stem long]— [neck-stem long]

‘ “Little black sparrow with a long neck, cross the river!” ’

(02:38) *[tìgɛ́ tìgɛ́ [báá là] [kɔ̀nɔ̀nì fííⁿ]*

[cross cross [river Loc] [sparrow black]

*káŋ-kàlà mà jàⁿ*

[neck-stem long]

‘ “Little black sparrow with a long neck, cross the river!” ’

[end of song]

(02:41) [à gē= [è sāān] dēgī,

[3Sg until.Pfv [3Pl all] pick.up.Pfv,

[à gā kēēm pwɔ̀-nì [[ǹ sém] pà],

[3Sg until.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg right] Comit],

[à gā kēēm pwɔ̀-nì [[ŋ̀ kóndó] pà],

[3Sg until.Pfv one sit-Caus.Pfv [[LogoSg left] Comit],

‘Eventually it (=bird) picked them both up. It had one sit on its right side, and it had the other sit on its left side.’

*[<* sémú*]*

(02:47) à gā— à gā [dèbò gù] tēwⁿ, āywà,

(hesitation)— 3Sg until.Pfv [river Def] cross.Pfv, well,

[ɲɔ́n nìŋīì] sāāⁿ, ì yē kɔ̀rɔ̀ wɔ̄bì sāāⁿ

[Dem inside] when, 3Pl Sbj/Obj back change.Pfv when,

‘It crossed the river. Well, in that (situation), when they turned around (to look back),’

(02:52) [ì yā= ā kày] [[tìmì gù pē] gā bē],

[3Pl Sbj/Obj 3Sg see.Pfv] [[python Def also] Ipfv come.Ipfv],

[pùléŋ gú] gá bā= [à pē] tēn-nī,

[bird Def] Ipfv Fut [3Sg also] cross-Caus.Pfv,

‘They saw it, the python too was coming (after them). The bird was going to take it across too.’

*[complement of ‘see (that)’]*

(02:57) hàyà à kàȳlà— tìmì kàȳlà— kàȳlà kìyɛ̄n [dèbò lāgà] wù,

well 3Sg when— python when— when arrive.Pfv [river at.edge] Def,

kàlē= è pē= ē bàȳ gà

must [3Pl idea] 3ReflPl leave.Pfv RemPfv

‘Well, when the python reached the edge of the river, a sudden inspiration came to them.’

(03:01) [song in Bambara]

*[kàná= à tìgɛ̀ [báá là]] [kɔ̀nɔ̀nì fííⁿ]*

[Proh 3Sg cross [river Loc]] [sparrow black]

*[káŋ-kàlà mà jàⁿ],*

[neck-stem long]

‘ “Don’t take it across the river, Little black sparrow with a long neck!” ’

(03:04) *[í kàná= à tìgɛ̀ báá là fííⁿ—*

[2Sg Proh 3Sg cross (false start)

*[báá là] [kɔ̀nɔ̀nì fííⁿ] [káŋ-kàlà mà jàⁿ], kó [mɔ̀gɔ̀ tɛ́],*

[river Loc] [sparrow black] [neck-stem long], said [person it.is.not],

‘ “Don’t take it across the river, Little black sparrow with a long neck, cross the river!” [end of song] (They) said (in Bambara): “it isn’t a person!” ’

(03:09) à nàɲ ɲīmī nì,

3Sg not.be person it.is

pùlém bè m̄ bùwɔ̀jì-[bā-lā=] [à mūù],

bird Seq 3ReflSg strip.off-[exit(v)-Ipfv] [3Sg under],

‘(in Jenaama:) “It isn’t a person!” The bird pulled itself out from under it (=python).’

(03:14) à bā= à pìī yāẁⁿ,

3Sg Seq 3Sg pour.out.Pfv there.Def,

[kú-yē kɔ̀m̄] bè hīnì [dwɔ̄ kẁōnì],

[Dem-Pl Topic] Seq be.able.Pfv [enter.Pfv settlement],

‘It (=bird) dumped it (=python). As for those (women), they were able to (re-)enter the settlement.’

(03:18) bā= à tē= [è rɛ̄ɛ̄nà-nā nì],

Seq 3Sg find.Pfv [3Pl be.safe-Ppl it.is],

[āywà, wɔ̀gɔ̄ nì, kú gà— wāājū nì,

[well, 3Sg.Indep it.is, Dem be— advice it.is,

‘It turned out that they were safe. Well, that is it. That is advice.’

*[subjectless* bā= à tīẁⁿ *‘it happened (that), it turned out (that)’, cf. local French* ça trouve/trouvait (que …)*]*

(03:24) [māā pɔ̀gɔ̀-nɔ́m-bē, è gā—

[that young.woman-Pl, 3Pl Ipfv—

[è mān sàŋgì [[ē ɲīmī-lè] tē],

[3Pl Proh refuse.Pfv [[3ReflPl people] Dat],

‘Namely, that young women, they—, they must not disobey their people (=kin).’

(03:29) [bē kìyɛ̀ŋ [gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ sùrì-ỳ]

[come arrive.Pfv [place remainder-Loc]

‘To the point of ending up in a foreign (=dangerous) place.’

*[‘come’ meaning ‘all the way to’ (§15.7.3.2)]*

## Text 2017-07 Tale: Hyena, Hare and Lion

narrator †Adama Badji Kamian (**ak**) accompanied (murmured “mhm” only) by Amadou Cissé (**ac**)

duration: 02:48

note: [mhm] at the right margin is **ac**’s murmured backchannel at pauses in **ak**’s narration

(00:02) áywà, kú gā [kàmāā gū] nì,

well, Dem be [tale Def] it.is,

[ŋ̀ ká(y)] bē [kàmāā gù] sē sāà-gù,

[1Sg Prsntv] Seq [tale Def] tell.Ipfv now,

‘Well, this is the tale. Here I am to tell the tale now.’

(00:06) wàŋgé yēŋ kàŋgé, [mhm]

hare and hyena,

è sū gà sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y, [mhm]

3Pl go.Pfv RemPfv the.bush-Loc,

‘Hare and hyena, they went out into the bush.’

*[<* sù *~* sò *‘went’]*

(00:10) è bè bā= à tīwⁿ↑, [mhm]

3Pl Seq come.Pfv 3Sg find.Pfv,

tēw gā yɛ̀gɛ̀-nà, [mhm]

meat be put.down-Ppl,

‘They came and found that some meat (a carcass) had been put down.’

*[<* bè bē à *;* tēw *variant of* tēē*]*

(00:13) à bè sēwⁿ [[wàŋgé gú] nūmā], [mhm]

3Sg Seq fall.Pfv [[hare Def] in.mind],

ŋ̄ gālā [kàŋgé gú] hīīlà, [mhm]

LogoSg Sbjn [hyena Def] deceive.Pfv,

‘It occurred to that hare to deceive the hyena.’

*[cf.* à gā [ǹ nūmā] *‘it’s in my mind, I haven’t forgotten it’,* à gā [ŋ̀ nūmā] ŋ̀ gà bē sò *‘I have in mind to go, I’m thinking of going’; unrelated to* nùmà *‘rope’,* ǹ númá *‘my rope’]*

(00:17) [kàŋgé gú pē lāā], [mhm]

[hyena Def too QTop],

à nìmì [[tēē gū] pà], [mhm]

3Sg desire.Pfv [[meat Def] Comit]

‘As for the hyena, it too wanted the meat.’

(00:19) [à yē ŋ̄ gā [tēē gū] dēè, [mhm]

[3Sg said LogoSg Ipfv [meat Def] pick.up.Ipfv,

wàŋgé yā= [à tēè→], [mhm]

hare said [3Sg Dat],

‘He (=hyena) said (=thought), “I will take the meat.” Hare said to him,’

*[<* yè à tē *with intonational final falling-tone/pitch on* tē *at a planned prosodic break (§3.7.2)]*

(00:22) [āⁿ mām bè [tēē gù] dēē kìyɛ̀wⁿ kóy, [mhm]

[2Sg Proh Seq [meat Def] pick.up thus Emph,

kèⁿ só [kɔ̀ŋ gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ flààná-ỳ], [mhm]

Hort go [Dem place such.and.such-Loc],

‘(Hare:) “Don’t take the meat like that. Let’s go to such-and-such a place.” ’

*[*kèⁿ só *irregular hortative for ‘let’s go!’ (§10.4.2.1);* flààná *< Arabic* fulaan- *‘such-and-such’, a function over names]*

(00:26) [ē nè= ē bēm-bē sāāⁿ, [mhm]

[1Pl if.Pfv 1Pl come.back.Pfv when,

[[ē gālà bē [tēē gū] dēē]

[1Pl Sbjn come.Pfv [meat Def] pick.up.Pfv]

[ē bē sō [à nī]], [mhm]

[1Pl Seq go.Pfv [3Sg Inst]],

‘When we come back, we’ll come and take the meat and go off with it.’

*[<* ē nàⁿ ē bēm-bē*; <* ē bè sò à nì*]*

(00:30) kàŋgé yè áyyò, [mhm]

hyena said okay,

[ē gālà sò, à yō mm, [mhm]

[1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv, 3Sg said uh.huh,

‘Hyena said “all right, let’s go.” He (=hare) said, “uh-huh” ’

(00:33) è bē sò, [mhm]

3Pl Seq go.Pfv,

è sū gà sāāⁿ↑, [mhm]

3Pl go.Pfv RemPfv when,

‘They went. When they had gone,’

(00:36) [kàŋgé gú] pwɔ̀↑,

[hyena Def] sit.Pfv,

[wàŋgé gú] pwɔ̀↓, [mhm]

[hare Def] sit.Pfv,

‘The hyena sat down and the hare sat down.’

*[incompletion then completion terminal intonation (§3.7.3)]*

(00:38) sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ [wàŋgé gú] gá gàlwāājà

now [hare Def] Ipfv converse.Ipfv

[[kàŋgé gú] bwɛ̄ỳ], [mhm]

[[hyena Def] Comit],

‘Then the hare was chatting with the hyena.’

(00:40) [yɛ̄là ŋ̄ gā bā= à hīīlà]

[whether LogoSg Ipfv Fut 3Sg deceive.Pfv]

ŋ̄ gālà ŋ̄ tūwō, [mhm]

Logo Sbjn 3ReflSg depart.Pfv,

‘He (=hare) hoped to deceive (hyena) and get away.’

(00:42) è ɲàŋ gālwāājā-tūwɔ̄ gū, [mhm]

3Pl Dem.Def conversation-heart Def,

[kàŋgé bā= à dēē [à gā pwà-nà]

[hyena Seq 3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg be sit-Ppl]

[à bā= à dēē [à gā pwà-nà]

[3Sg Seq 3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg be sit-Ppl]

‘During that conversation of theirs, hyena just sat for a long time, he just sat for a long time,’

*[*túwɔ̄ *‘heart’ as compound final in durative construction (§15.4.5)]*

(00:45) [wàŋgé gú] gá dìgàmū, [à mẁɔ̄ gà] [mhm]

[hare Def] Ipfv speak.Ipfv, [3Sg be.cooked.Pfv RemPfv]

[à mẁɔ̄ gà sāāⁿ], [mhm]

[3Sg be.cooked.Pfv RemPfv when],

‘(Only) hare was speaking. It became heated (=lively). When it (=conversation) had become heated,’

*[*mwɔ̀ *‘(food) became cooked, done’ or ‘ripen’, here by extension ‘(conversation) become lively’; however, the hare was droning on and the hyena was probably getting bored]*

(00:48) kùmū kàŋgé kūūⁿ, [mhm]

sleepiness hyena catch.Pfv,

kùmū [kàŋgé gú] kūūŋ gà sāāⁿ, [mhm]

sleepiness [hyena Def] catch.Pfv RemPfv when,

‘Sleep overtook the hyena. When the hyena became sleepy,’

*[*kùmù *‘sleep (n)’]*

(00:52) à bè n̄ tēē-n-sò, [mhm]

3Sg Seq 3ReflSg lie.on.back.Pfv,

à gà ɲɔ̄gɔ̄-lɛ̄n tɛ̄gɛ̄-tɛ̄gɛ̀ gù, [mhm]

3Pl Ipfv eye shut-shut.Ipfv Def,

‘He (=hyena) lay down on his back. While he was shutting his eyes (=dozing off),’

*[*tēē-n-sò/tēl-ē-n-sò *‘lie on back’,* #tēē/tē-lē *not attested as simple verb]*

(00:54) [wàŋgé gú] pūrī tīwⁿ, [mhm]

[hare Def] sneaking(n) do.Pfv,

[wàŋgé pūrī tīwⁿ] [à kɯ̄ɯ̄ gà sāāⁿ], [mhm]

[hare sneak.away do.Pfv] [3Sg run.Pfv RemPfv when],

‘Hare sneaked away. When hare had sneaked away and run away,’

*[*pūrī tīwⁿ *(§11.1.2.2)]*

(00:57) à gā sò [[tēē gū] kāẁⁿ] yāẁⁿ, [mhm]

3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [[meat Def] chez] there.Def,

[sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ à gā sò [[tēē gū] dēē gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gìwⁿ]

[now 3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [[meat Def] take.Pfv place.where]

jākà [[kú pē] ɲɔ̄gɔ̄lɛ̄wⁿ] ŋ̄ ɥɛ̀ɛ̀, [mhm]

lo! [[Dem too] eye] 3Refl open.Pfv,

‘He (=hare) was on his way to where the meat was there. Now (while) he was on his way to take the meat, lo! The eyes of that other one (=hyena) opened.’

*[<* kāwⁿ yāẁⁿ *; obviative* kú pē *‘that one too’ (§18.2.3)]*

(01:00) [à bē kɯ̀ɯ̄-sā=]

[3Sg Seq run.Pfv-go.Pfv]

[à bē sā= à tābā yàẁⁿ, [mhm]

[3Sg Seq go 3Sg rejoin.Pfv there.Def,

‘He (=hyena) ran, he went and found him (= hare).’

*[<* sò à *; < /*tābà yāẁⁿ*/ ]*

(01:02) [à bè [ŋ̄ tàbà-làwⁿ kēwⁿ] dè]

[3Sg Seq [3ReflSg foot one] pick up]

[à bā= ā yàgā [à kūmà], [mhm]

[3Sg Seq 3Sg put.down [3Sg on],

‘He (=hyena) lifted up one paw and put it down on it (=meat).’

*[*-làwⁿ *before numeral ‘one’ (§4.6.1.1); /*kēẁⁿ dē*/]*

(01:04) à yè há! [ŋ̄ kàà] , [mhm]

3Sg said hey! [1Sg friend],

àn-dàà [kú gā mẁɔ̄ⁿ nì], [mhm]

2Sg-QTop [Dem be which? it.is],

‘He (=hyena) said, “Hey, my pal, you, what is that?” ’

*[i.e., what have you been up to?;* ŋ̄ kàà *vocative ‘my pal!’]*

(01:06) à yā= [[ām pē lā] m̀ báy gà yāẁⁿ]

3Sg said [[2Sg too QTop] 1Sg leave.Pfv RemPfv there.Def]

[mẁɔ̄ⁿ nì], [mhm]

[which? it.is],

‘He (=hyena) said, “why did you too leave me there?” ’

(01:08) à bè [n̄ tàbà] yàgā [à kūmà]

3Sg Seq [3ReflSg foot] put.on.Pfv [3Sg on]

[à bā= à tīrīgī], [mhm]

[3Sg Seq 3Sg trample.Pfv],

‘He (=hyena) then put his foot on it (=the meat), and he trampled it (rubbing it into the ground).’

(01:09) [[[kàŋgé gú] pē] bè gīrīwⁿ]

[[[hyena Def] too] Seq be.startled.Pfv]

[à bē kìì], [mhm]

[3Sg Seq get.up.Pfv],

‘He (=hyena) jumped up startled.’

*[*gīrīwⁿ/gīrī-nà*]*

(01:10) à bē [wàŋgé gú] cyɛ̄wⁿ, [mhm]

3Sg Seq [hare Def] carry.on.head.Pfv,

[à gā sò] [à gā sò]

[3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv] [3Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv]

‘Then he (=hyena) carried hare on his head. He was going and going (=kept going),’

*[rapidly spoken durative background clause]*

(01:13) hàlī-kànā à gā kìyⁿɛ̀ɲ jīī-lāgà, [mhm]

until 3Sg until.Pfv arrive.Pfv water-edge

à yē hàyà sāà-gù, [mhm]

3Sg said okay now,

‘Until he arrived at the edge of the water. He (=hare) said, “okay now,” ’

*[*-lāgà *especially in compounds, cf.* lɔ̄gū *‘mouth’ as noun (§4.2.1.5.2)]*

(01:16) gīlɛ̄wⁿ gà= [ām bwɛ̄ỳ]

thirst be [2Sg Comit]

āŋ gālà= āⁿ mɛ̀m bōẁⁿ, [mhm]

2Sg Sbjn 2Sg drink.Pfv here,

‘(Hare:) “You are thirsty. You must drink here.’

*[‘(have a) drink’ without an object is reflexive; this passage uses direct quotation with 2Sg and 1Sg pronominals]]*

(01:18) wàŋgé yē [ŋ̀ kɔ́ⁿ]

hare said [1Sg Top]

gīlɛ̄wⁿ nā [m̀ pà] kóy, [mhm]

thirst not.be [1Sg Comit] Emph,

‘Hare said, “As for me, I certainly am not thirsty.” ’

(01:20) ɲɛ̄ŋ gīlɛ̄wⁿ gā [ān-dɔ̀gɔ́ pà]

if thirst be [2Sg-Indep.Foc Comit]

[āŋ gālà= āⁿ mɛ̀wⁿ], [mhm]

[2Sg Sbjn 2Sg drink.Pfv],

‘(Hare:) “If it’s you [focus] who are thirsty, you should drink.” ’

*[*ɲɛ̄ⁿ *~* ɲāⁿ *‘if’; independent 2Sg pronoun* ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀ *in focus tones]*

(01:22) [kú pē] yè úⁿʔùⁿ

[DemSg too] said unh.unh!

ǹ =nà m̀ mɛ́-nɛ́, [mhm]

1Sg IpfvNeg 1Sg drink-Ipfv,

‘The other (=hyena) said, “Nope! I won’t drink.” ’

*[<* ŋ̀ nà ŋ̀(+H)mɛ̀-nɛ̀*/]*

(01:23) è [ɲàŋ kīīrī-tūwɔ̄ gū, [mhm]

3Pl [Dem debate-heart Def,

[kàŋgè tīnā] bē [[è kɔ̀rɔ̀] bwɛ̄ỳ], [mhm]

[hyena other] come.Pfv [[3Pl back] Comit],

‘During that discussion of theirs, another hyena came (to the meat) in their absence.’

*[*túwɔ̄ *‘heart’ as compound final in durative construction (§15.4.5)]*

(01:26) [à [tēē gū] dēē]

[3Sg [meat Def] pick.up.Pfv]

[à n̄ tūwā= [à nī], [mhm]

[3Sg 3ReflSg depart.Pfv [3Sg Inst],

‘He (=other hyena) picked up the meat and went away with it.’

*[<* tūwō*]*

(01:28) à yē hàyà sāā-kɔ̀ŋ kèèⁿ só, [mhm]

3Sg said okay now Hort go,

[ē gālā sò] [bāā [[ē tēē gù] kúmbà-ỳ], [mhm]

[1Pl Sbjn go.Pfv] [exit.Pfv [[1Pl meat Def] uncertainty-Loc],

‘He (=hare) said, “okay, now let’s go and find out about (=check on) our meat” ’

*[*baā̀ kúmbà-y *‘exit uncertainty’ = ‘find out’]*

(01:30) [sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ ē bā= à tīẁⁿ]

[now 1Pl Seq 3Sg do.Pfv]

[ē ɲìmì-sí] né= =ēnì [[m̄ bwɔ̀] tē], [mhm]

[1Pl person-any] IpfvNeg be.able.Ipfv [[3ReflSg Recip] Dat],

‘ “Now we have found (=verified) that neither of us can (dominate) on the other.” ’

(01:32) ì yè= ē bēwⁿ gà sò gù, [mhm]

3Pl Sbj/Obj 3ReflPl return.Pfv RemPfv go Def,

è tè [tēē gū] tābà yāẁⁿ, [mhm]

3Pl PfvNeg [meat Def] rejoin.Pfv there.Def,

‘When they had returned (to where the meat had been), they did not find the meat there.’

(01:35) [kàŋgé gú] yēè→, [mhm]

[hyena Def] said,

à yē [wàŋgé tē]

3Sg said [hare Dat]

[ān tā= ā kày [āⁿ= ŋ̀ hīīlà]

[2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg see.Pfv [2Sg 1Sg deceive.Pfv]

‘Hyena said, he said to hare, “Haven’t you seen that you tricked me?” ’

*[< /*āⁿ ŋ̀ hīīlà*/]*

(01:37) ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀ bē gà kàŋgé—

2Sg Seq RemPfv hyena—

ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀ bē gà [tēē gū] dēē, [mhm]

2Sg Seq RemPfv [meat Def] take.Pfv,

‘(Hyena:) “You (took) hyena’s—. You took the meat!”’

(01:39) [kú pē] yè n̄ tè bā= à dèè kóy,

[DemSg too] said LogoSg PfvNeg come.Pfv 3Sg take.Pfv Emph

[ŋ̄ kɯ̀ɯ̀] yā= à dēē gà, [mhm]

[LogoSg uncle] Sbj/Obj 3Sg take.Pfv RemPfv,

‘The other (=hare) said, “I didn’t come and take it. My uncle took it.’

*[<* à dēē kóy *;* ŋ̀ kɯ́ɯ́ *‘my (materna)l uncle’]*

(01:42) à yā= [āⁿ ɲàŋ kɯ̄ɯ̄] bāā gà màtāỳ, [mhm]

3Sg said [2Sg Dem uncle] exit(v).Pfv RemPfv where?

à yē [ŋ̄ ɲàŋ kɯ̄ɯ̄]

3Sg said [LogoSg Dem uncle]

bāā gà sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y bē, [mhm]

exit(v).Pfv RemPfv the.bush-Loc come,

‘He (=hyena) said, “that uncle of yours left (=comes from) where?” He (=hare) said, “that uncle of mine has left the bush and come.”

*[combination Poss-Dem-N;* sɔ̄ŋɔ̀-y *suffixal locative (§8.2.3.1) of* sɔ̄ŋɔ̄ *‘the bush (brousse)’]*

(01:45) à yē hàyà, sò

3Sg said okay, go.Pfv

[āŋ gālà [[āŋ kɯ̀ɯ̀] tōⁿ] wājī [ǹ tē]]

[2Sg Sbjn [[2Sg uncle] place] show.Pfv [1Sg Dat]]

‘He (=hyena) said, “All right, go and show me where your uncle is!” ’

(01:47) [kāā ɲà n̄ tà= [āŋ kɯ̀ɯ̄] kày]

[but if LogoSg PfvNeg [2Sg uncle] see.Pfv]

ŋ̀ gà= āⁿ wɔ̀gā, [mhm]

1Sg Ipfv 2Sg kill.Ipfv,

‘(Hyena:) “But if I don’t see your uncle, I will kill you.” ’

*[hypothetical conditional (§16.1)]*

(01:49) à yē hàyà kè só, [mhm]

3Sg said okay Hort go,

[è gā= à dēē=] [è gā sò]

[3Pl Ipfv 3Sg pick.up.Ipfv] [3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv]

[è gā= à dēē=] [è gā sò], [mhm]

[3Pl Ipfv 3Sg pick.up.Ipfv] [3Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv],

‘He (=hare) said, “all right, let’s go!” They went and kept going,’

*[background durative passage (§15.7.5); <* dēè è*]*

(01:51) hàlī-kànē= è gā dāā-mà, [mhm]

until 3Pl until.Pfv distant-Inch.Ipfv,

è dāā-mā gà sāāⁿ, [mhm]

3Pl distant-Inch.Pfv RemPfv when,

‘Until they were going far away. When they had gone far away,’

*[<* hàlī-kàna *‘until’]*

(01:54) à gà kɔ̄mɔ̄-yārā sōynà, [mhm]

3Sg Ipfv lion espy.Ipfv

à yē hàyà [ŋ̄ kɯ̀ɯ̀ kāy], [mhm]

3Sg said okay [LogoSg uncle Prsntv],

‘He (=hare) perceived a lion at a distance. He said, “all right, there’s my uncle.” ’

*[*kāy *presentative (§4.4.4.1)]*

(01:56) kú yè [āⁿ= āⁿ hōōtù]

DemSg said [2Sg 2Sg lie.Pfv]

[kú kɔ̀ⁿ] nà= [āŋ kɯ̀ɯ̄] nì, [laughs]

[Dem Top] not.be [2Sg uncle] it.is,

‘That one (=hyena) said, “you lied, that one (=lion) isn’t your uncle,”

*[cf. 1Sg* n̄ =nà ŋ̀ hōōtù *‘I lied’]*

(01:58) sābì kú bānà-àmà, [laughs]

because DemSg big-Inch.Pfv,

[à yā= [à bānà-àmà]] [à yē ʔùⁿúⁿ], [mhm]

[3Sg said [3Sg big-Inch.Pfv]] [3Sg said uh.huh],

‘(Hyena:) “because that one is big.” He (=hare) asked, “it’s big?” and he (=hyena) said, “yes!”

(02:01) à yē hàà-kóy [āⁿ mām bā= à tīẁⁿ] [mhm]

3Sg said hey! [2Sg Proh Seq 3Sg do.Pfv]

à yè á! [ŋ̀ kɯ́ɯ́] ǹ dēʔ, [mhm]

3Sg said oh! [1Sg uncle] it.is Emph,

‘He (=hare) said, “Hey, don’t do (=say) it!” He said, “it really is my uncle!” ’

*[prohibitive;* ǹ *<* nì *‘it is’;* dēʔ *adversarial emphatic]*

(02:04) à yē [à nà= [āŋ kɯ̀ɯ̄] ǹ dēʔ, [mhm]

3Sg said [3Sg not.be [2Sg uncle] it.is Emph,

[kú pē] bā= à tīyē, [mhm

[DemSg too] Seq 3Sg ask.Pfv,

‘He (=hyena) said, “No it isn’t your uncle!” That one (=hyena) asked him (=lion).’

(02:07) à yē [n̄-dɔ̀gɔ̀ jáátí] gā [à kɯ̀ɯ̄] nì, [mhm

3Sg said [LogoSg-Indep indeed] be [3Sg uncle] it.is,

mẁɔ̄ gà= [āā nàŋāà], [mhm

which? be [2Pl between],

‘He (=lion) said, “I am indeed his uncle.” What is (going on) between you-Pl?” ’

(02:09) à yā= [à [n̄ tēw] kɯ̀ɥɛ̄ gà], [mhm]

3Sg said [3Sg [LogoSg meat] steal.Pfv RemPfv],

ān-dɔ̀gɔ̀ bī gà= [à tēē gū] dēē, [mhm]

2Sg-Indep come.Pfv RemPfv [3Sg meat Def] pick.up.Pfv,

‘He (=hyena) said (to the lion), “he stole my meat. (Or maybe) you came and took his meat.” ’

*[*bī gà *=* bē gà *‘came’]*

(02:13) à yē [n̄ tā= [à tēē gū] dēē]

3Sg said [LogoSg PfvNeg [3Sg meat Def] take.Pfv]

[kāā ɲà= ān tā= ā yɛ̀lì sāà-gù], [mhm]

[but if 2Sg PfvNeg 3Sg take.down now],

ŋ̀ gà= āⁿ wɔ̀gā, [mhm]

LogoSg Ipfv 2Sg kill.Ipfv,

‘He (=lion) said, “I didn’t take his meat. But if you don’t take him down (off your head) now, I’ll kill you.’

(02:16) à yē hàyà [sāà-kɔ̀m bē kè só]

3Sg said okay [and.then come.Pfv Hort go.Pfv]

[ē tēē kìlɛ̀]

[1Pl meat get.Pfv]

‘He (=hare) said, “all right, then come and let’s go. We got some meat.” ’

(02:18) ē gālā [à tōⁿ] wɔ̄jā= [ān tē], [mhm]

1Pl Sbjn [3Sg place] showPfv [2Sg Dat],

è bā= à sāā-nì [mhm]

3Pl Seq 3Sg go-Caus.Pfv

‘(Hare:) “We’ll show you-Sg where it is (=was).” They conveyed him (=lion) there.’

*[<* wɔ̄jī *;* sāā-nì *‘cause to go’ (§9.1.2)]*

(02:20) [è bē sō-kìyɛ̀wⁿ]

[3Pl Seq go.Pfv-arrive.Pfv]

[jākā kɯ̀ɯ̀ŋ gā sàgà-nà yāẁⁿ], [mhm]

[lo! pit be dig-Ppl there.Def],

‘They went and arrived, and lo, a pit had been excavated there,’

*[cf. Ipfv* sō-kìyɛ̄wⁿ *; hare and lion had excavated and covered a pit trap]*

(02:23) è gà bā= à hīīlà gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gìwⁿ, [mhm]

3Pl Ipfv Fut 3Sg deceive.Ipfv place.where,

[kú— wàŋgé yē hàyà]

[DemSg— hare said okay]

‘where they (=hare and lion) were going to trick him (=hyena). That (one)— Hare said, “all right,” ’

(02:26) ɲē= ē nàŋ̄ kìyɛ̀m bōẁⁿ sāāⁿ, [mhm]

if 1Pl if.Pfv arrive.Pfv here when,

ē gālā tàà,

1Pl Sbjn stop.Pfv,

‘(Hare:) “when (=now that) we have arrived here, let’s stop” ’

*[perfective conditional antecedent with* ɲāⁿ~ɲīⁿ *and post-subject* nà(w)ⁿ/nā(w)ⁿ *(§16.1.1);* sāāⁿ *‘when’ after conditional antecedent (§16.1.3)]*

(02:28) ē nàn̄ tàà [pò-lɛ̀wⁿ]-náwⁿ sāāⁿ, [mhm]

1Pl if.Pfv stop.Pfv [a.little]-Dimin when,

ē bè kīyɛ̄, [mhm]

1Pl Seq pass.Pfv,

‘(Hare:) “when we have stopped for a little while, then we’ll continue on our way.’

*[diminutive of* pō-lɛ̄wⁿ *(~* pā-lɛ̄wⁿ*) ‘a little’]*

(02:30) [kɔ̄mɔ̄-yārā lā=] à nā= ā tò

[lion QTop] 3Sg IpfvNeg 3Sg know.Ipfv

[māā kɯ̀ɯ̀ŋ gà yāẁⁿ], [mhm]

[that pit be.Loc there.Def],

‘The lion for his part didn’t know that a pit was there.’

(02:32) è kìyɛ̄wⁿ gà yāwⁿ sāāⁿ, [mhm]

3Pl arrive.Pfv RemPfv there.Def when,

[wàŋgé gú kɔ̀ⁿ] tēwⁿ gà sāāⁿ, [mhm]

[hare Def already] jump.Pfv RemPfv when,

‘When they arrived there, when the hare had jumped,’

*[subject-final* kɔ̀ⁿ *in past perfect (§10.3.4)]*

(02:35) à m̄ pìī-sò [ŋ̄ kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ], [mhm]

3Sg 3Refl pour.Pfv-go.Pfv [3Refl behind-Loc],

[à pūrī tīẁⁿ] [à dwɔ̀ dúgíⁿ-ỳⁿ], [mhm]

[3Sg sneaking(n) do.Pfv] [3Sg enter.Pfv forest-Loc],

‘He (=hare) threw himself backward. He sneaked away into the forest.’

*[<* dwɔ̄*]*

(02:38) [kàŋgé gú] gá sò

[hyena Def] Ipfv go.Ipfv

[m̄ bɛ̄wⁿ] gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-mà-gēēⁿ sāāⁿ, [mhm]

[3Refl return.Pfv] place.where when,

‘When the hyena was going to (=tried to) go back,’

*[*gā *M‑toned by spreading from* gū*]*

(02:40) kɔ̄mɔ̄-yārā— [kɔ̄mɔ̄-yārā gū] à kūūⁿ, [mhm]

lion— [lion Def] 3Sg catch.Pfv,

[è pēndē sāāⁿ] sēwⁿ-sò [kɯ̀ɯ̀ŋ gū-ỳ] yāẁⁿ

[3Pl two all] fall.Pfv-go.Pfv [pit Def-Loc] there.Def

‘(The) lion caught him (=hyena), and they both fell into the pit there.’

*[*sēwⁿ *‘fell’; suffixal locative added to definite morpheme]*

## Text 2017-08 Tale: Hyena and Hare

(old) †Amadou Cissé (dit Sorogo-Pi, abbrev **sp**) accompanied (murmured “mhm”) by (young) Amadou Cissé (**ac**)

initial comment to **sp** by †Adama Badji Kamian (**ak**)

duration: 1:00

note: [mhm] near right margin is **ac**’s backchannel at pauses in **sp**’s narration

(00:02) **sp** [ǹ-dāā lāā] gā bē màsí sē sāà-gù

[1Sg-Indep QTop] Ipfv Fut what? tell.Ipfv now

‘What should I say now?’

*[*ǹ-dāā *treated as simple independent pronoun (§13.2.2.1)]*

(00:04) **ak** à yā= āŋ gā= à sē

3Sg said 2Sg Sbjn 3Sg tell.Pfv

[kú gā [kàmāā gū] nì

[DemSg be [tale Def] it.is

‘He said for you to say that this is the tale.’

*[*āŋ gā *contracted from* āŋ gālà *;* kàmāà *‘tale’]*

(remainder of recording is **sp** speaking, with **ac**’s murmured backchannel [mhm])

(00:05) [kú gā [kàmāā gū] nì

[DemSg be [tale Def] it.is

‘This is the tale.’

(00:07) wàŋgé, [mhm]

hare,

yēŋ kàŋgé [mhm]

and hyena

‘Hare, and hyena.’

(00:12) kàŋ— wàŋgé—, kàŋgé mmm bè sāā-jūgū sàwⁿ, [mhm]

hye[na]— hare—, hyena (hesitation) Seq blanket buy.Pfv,

kàjà, [mhm]

wool.blanket,

‘Hare— (or rather) hyena bought a blanket, a wool blanket.’

*[some confusion initially between hare and hyena; old-fashioned wool blanket* kàsà *(archaic pronunciation), now often* kàjà*]*

(00:17) āⁿ fààmú, [mhm]

2Sg understand.Pfv,

wàŋgé lāā, [mhm]

hare QTop,

sāā-jūgū nā= [à sūgì-y], [mhm]

blanket not.be [3Sg hand-Loc],

‘Did you understand? (As for) hare, he did not have a blanket.’

*[‘X have Y’ expressed as ‘Y be in X’s hand’ (§11.5.1); it turns out later that hare had an old, worn-out wool blanket]*

(00:21) à bā= à sē [kàŋgé tēè→], [mhm]

3Sg Seq 3Sg say.Pfv [hyena Dat],

[ŋ̄ kɔ̀ⁿ] tēē gà [ŋ̄ sūgì-ỳ] gɯ̄ɯ̄ⁿ-ỳ, [mhm]

[LogoSg Top] meat be [LogoSg hand-Loc] place-Loc,

‘He (=hare) then said to hyena, “As for me, I have some meat in a place.” ’

*[dative postposition with special tone/pitch before a planned pause (§3.7.2)]*

(00:25) ɲā= à nāɲ jùɲɛ̀, [mhm]

if 3Sg if.Pfv accept.Pfv,

[à nām bē] [ē nǎⁿ sò sāāⁿ], [mhm]

[3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv] [1Pl if.Pfv go.Pfv when],

‘(Hare:) “If you agree, when you come and when we go,” ’

(00:28) ŋ̄ gā bā= ā kò [tēē nī], [mhm]

LogoSg Ipfv Fut 3Sg provide.Pfv [meat Inst],

‘(Hare:) “I will provide you with meat.” ’

(00:30) sābì, ŋ̄ kàjà sílé gū, [mhm]

because, LogoSg wool.blanket old Def,

à gà tēē yɛ̀lī, [mhm]

3Sg Ipfv meat bring.down.Ipfv,

‘Because my old wool blanket, it brings down meat.’

(00:32) āⁿ fààmú, [mhm]

2Sg understand.Pfv,

[è kàȳlā] kìyɛ̀ⁿ sāāⁿ, [mhm]

[3Pl when] arrive.Pfv when,

‘Did you understand? When they arrived,’

(00:36) [wàŋgé kàȳlà]—

[hare when]—

[[kàŋgé gú] kàjà gù] dēē sāāⁿ, [mhm]

[[hyena Def wool.blanket Def] take.Pfv when,

‘When hare picked up hyena’s wool blanket,’

(00:38) à bā= ā kɛ̀rɛ̄-sò, [mhm]

3Sg Seq 3Sg throw.Pfv-go.Pfv,

tèè-kúrú bè sēwⁿ, [mhm]

meat-piece Seq fall.Pfv,

‘He threw it (=blanket) ahead, and a piece of meat fell out.’

*[hare has taken hyena’s new blanket and is showing hyena that hare’s own old blanket magically produced meat]*

(00:42) kàŋgé bā= à kūwōlō, [mhm]

hyena Seq 3Sg chew.Pfv,

[ɲàànù pē] è bē sò, [mhm]

[tomorrow too] 3Pl Seq go.Pfv,

‘Hyena chewed (=ate) it (=meat). The next day they went again.’

(00:45) [ɲɔ́ⁿ nìŋīì] à bā= à tīwⁿ [à bwɛ̄ỳ] tūⁿ, [mhm]

[Dem.Def inside] 3Sg Seq 3Sg do.Pfv [3Sg Comit] again,

à bā= à kūwōlō, [mhm]

3Sg Seq 3Sg chew.Pfv,

‘In that (way), he (=hare) did it (=throwing) with it (=hare’s old blanket) again.’

(00:48) màŋ gà bē gū, [mhm]

Rel Ipfv come.Ipfv Def,

[à sìgà-ànà gù], [mhm]

[3Sg three-Ord Def],

‘What was coming, the third (time),’

(00:51) [kàŋgé gúù], [mhm]

[hyena Def],

à tè tēē tābā yāẁⁿ, [mhm]

3Sg PfvNeg meat rejoin.Pfv there.Def

‘(As for) hyena, he didn’t find any meat there (this time).’

*[<* kàŋgé gú*, for the falling tone/pitch see §3.7.2]*

(00:54) à tē wàŋgé tābā yāẁⁿ↑, [mhm]

3Sg PfvNeg hare rejoin.Pfv there.Def,

à tè [ŋ̄ kàjà] tābā yāẁⁿ↓, [mhm]

3Sg PfvNeg [LogoSg wool.blanket] rejoin.Pfv there.Def,

‘He didn’t find hare there, and he didn’t find his own (new) wool blanket there.’

*[incompletion then completion terminal intonation (§3.7.3)]*

(00:56) hàyà n̄ tàā gà bōẁⁿ

okay 1Sg stop.Pfv RemPfv here

‘All right, I have stopped here.’

## Text 2017-09 Advice to young people

Dionsare Traoré (**dt**) accompanied (murmured “mhm”, not shown) by Amadou Cissé (**ac**)

duration 01:29

(00:01) [kú gà wāājū nì, bē— bē [jɛ̄nām-bī-gē bwɛ̄ỳ],

[Dem be advice it.is, (hesitation)— come [children Comit]

jɛ́nāⁿ, āŋ ŋ̄ kāŋ [kàlāàn tē],

child, 2Sg Refl ought [study Dat],

‘This is advice, coming (=intended) for young people. (As) a young person, you-Sg should get educated.’

*[*kāⁿ *‘ought (to)’ with dative PP complement (§17.2.5)]*

(00:08) [kàlāàŋ gù], nàfá gā [wɔ̀gɔ̄ nìŋīì],

[study Def], benefit be [3Sg.Indep inside],

jɛ́nāⁿ, [āŋ kɔ̀n̄] tē [pɔ̀-sì]-[pɔ̀-sí] kàlāàⁿ,

child, [2Sg Topic] PfvNeg Iter-anything read.Pfv,

‘Education, there is benefit in it. Young person, (suppose) you-Sg have studied nothing at all.’

*[*[pɔ̀-sì]-[pɔ̀-sí] *iteration of* pɔ̀-sí *~* pà-sí *‘anything’]*

(00:17) á!, [ān dūɲāā-lātīgɛ̄]

ah!, [2Sg world-crossing]

gā bē pwɔ̀ [ām pà] [kāyⁿ nī] dēʔ,

Ipfv Fut become.Pfv [2Sg Comit] [work(n) Inst] Emph,

‘Ah, your-Sg future will become work (=suffering) for you.’

*[< Bambara* lá-tìgɛ̀*]*

(00:20) kāā, ē wày,

but, 1Pl today,

[ē kāy] [sɔ̄ŋɔ̄ màm] bōẁⁿ wàȳ-wàȳ kɔ̌ⁿ-ỳ,

[1Pl Prsntv] [the.bush Rel] here Iter-today Topic-Loc,

‘But, in our time, out here in the bush where we are these days,’

*[relative on locative PP, but locative* -ỳ *occurs too far to the right to attract relative* màwⁿ*]*

(00:24) ē nā [ā valeur] tò,

1Pl IpfvNeg [3Sg value] know.Ipfv,

nàfyɛ́ gā= [à tē],

benefit be.Loc [3Sg Dat],

‘We don’t know (=appreciate) its value.’

(00:27) à nàfyɛ̀ pānāāⁿ, hàlā= ān nà= [àn tíbɛ́n] tùɥɛ̀,

3Sg benefit first, even 2Sg if.Pfv [2Sg name] know.Pfv,

nàfyɛ́ nì,

benefit it.is,

‘Its first benefit (is), even if you-Sg have (only) learned (to read and write) your name, it’s a benefit.’

(00:33) à nām bāā yāẁⁿ,

3Sg if.Pfv exit(v).Pfv there.Def,

è nā= à sē [kāyⁿ bē nɔ̀gī-ỳ]

3Pl if.Pfv 3Sg say.Pfv [work(n) come.Pfv village-Loc]

‘If it leaves there (=aside from that), if they say (=if you hear) that work has come to the village,’

(00:36) è gā kàlāā-nè-è kēē-lì,

3Pl Ipfv read-Ppl-Pl call-Ipfv,

[à nàfyɛ́ sìgà-ànà],

[3Sg benefit three-Ord],

‘They will call on the educated ones. Its third benefit (is),’

*[ordinal]*

(00:38) [àn jáátí gú] gá bē [ān dūɲāā-lātīgɛ̄] tīẁⁿ

[2Sg precisely Def] Ipfv Fut [2Sg world-crossing] do.Pfv,

[àŋ gáyⁿ] [[lɔ̀gɔ́ tɔ̀nɔ̄] nìŋīì],

[2Sg work.Foc] [[3Sg.Indep.Foc profit] inside],

‘You yourself will find your destiny in the profit of (=from) your work [focus].’

*[3Sg independent pronoun* lɔ̀gɔ̀ *(variant of* wɔ̀gɔ̀*) resumes* āŋ kāyⁿ *‘your work’, both with tonal focus marking (final H‑tone)]*

(00:43) [ē gālè= ē nɔ̄ɔ̄tɔ̄-mɔ̄-nī] [ē gālà kàlāàⁿ],

[1Pl Sbjn 1Pl have.courage.Pfv] [1Pl Sbjn read.Pfv],

[ē gālè= [ē jɛ̄nām-bī-gē] dwɔ̄ kàlāāŋ-gàwⁿ,

[1Pl Sbjn [1Pl children] put.in.Pfv read-place,

‘Let’s be dedicated to studying. Let’s put our children in school.’

*[*dwɔ̄ *‘entered’ here used transitively instead of* dwɛ̄-nì*]*

(00:48) [jɛ́nám mà= [à nām bē n̄ tīẁⁿ] [à gā kàlāā-nà],

[child Rel [3Sg if.Pfv come 3ReflSg find.Pfv] [3Sg Ipfv read-Ipfv],

[à gālà nɔ̄ɔtɔ̄-mɔ̄-nī [kàlāàm pà],

[3Sg Sbjn have.courage.Pfv [reading Comit],

‘If (there is) a child who, it happens, is (already) studying, may he/she be dedicated to studying.’

(00:52) sābù, ɲàànù gā [wɔ̀gɔ̄ nìŋīì],

because, tomorrow be 3Sg.Indep inside],

[ām bè ɲīmī-lē tòy-nì,

[2Sg Seq people make.intelligent.Pfv,

‘Because, tomorrow (=the future) is in that. You-Sg (=that child who goes to school) have made people smarter.’

(00:57) bā= à tīẁⁿ [[ān tòȳ] gà= [ān nìŋīì],

Seq 3Sg find.Pfv [[2Sg intelligence] be [2Sg inside],

[ām bē jàmàná tòy-nì,

[2Sg Seq era make.intelligent.Pfv,

‘Meanwhile it happens that your intelligence is (still) in you. You have made the era (=country) smarter.’

*[i.e. ‘you don’t lose anything by making others smarter; the sequential clauses with* bè *here and below may refer to future rather than past (con)sequences]*

(01:00) bā= à tīẁⁿ [[ān tòȳ] gà= [ān nìŋīì],

Seq 3Sg find.Pfv [[2Sg intelligence] be [2Sg inside],

[[āŋ kɔ̀m̄] pàn-tóy] ná sò [gɯ̀ɯ̀ⁿ sí-ỳ],

[[2Sg Topic] share(n)-intelligence] IpfvNeg go.Ipfv [place any-Loc]

‘Meanwhile it happens that your intelligence is (still) in you. Your own share of intelligence doesn’t go anywhere.’

*[*tòy *‘intelligence’, here as H‑toned compound final]*

(01:05) kāā āŋ gē= ēnì ɲīmī-lē tòy-nī

but 2Sg Ipfv be.able.Ipfv people make.intelligent.Ipfv

[è pē] bē bẁɔ̄ tòy-nī sò,

[3Pl also] Seq Recip make.intelligent.Pfv go,

‘But you-Sg can make people smarter, they for their part then make each other smarter.’

(01:08) à bē= [ē kìlɛ̄] yìrīwà-nì,

3Sg Seq [1Pl production] develop-Caus.Pfv,

[à bē, [ē jàmàná pē] bāgā, [pìyɛ̀n̄ nìŋīì],

[3Sg Seq, [1Pl era too] remove.Pfv, [dirtiness inside],

‘It then develops our production (=economy). It then takes our era (=country) out of squalor (backwardness).’

*[<* pìyɛ̀wⁿ*]*

(01:15) [ē gālè= ē nɔ̄ɔ̄tɔ̄-mā-nī]

[1Pl Sbjn 1Pl have.courage.Pfv]

[ē gālè= [ē dēm-bē] kàlāā-nì],

[1Pl Sbjn [1Pl child-Pl] read-Caus.Pfv],

‘Let’s buckle up and send our kids to school.’

(01:17) [à nām bā= [à tīẁⁿ]

[3Sg if.Pfv come.Pfv [3Sg find.Pfv],

[à gālà n̄ nɔ̄ɔ̄tɔ̄-mā-nī

[3Sg Sbjn 3ReflSg have.courage.Pfv]

à gālà— [à gālà n̄ dūkɔ̄rɔ̄ [à bwɛ̄ỳ],

(hesitation) [3Sg Sbjn 3ReflSg take.care.Pfv [3Sg Comit],

‘If it happens to be the case (i.e. that the child is already in school), may he/she be dedicated to taking care of it (=education).’

(01:21) ɔ̀ⁿhɔ̀ⁿ kú gà wāājū nì [jɛ̄nām-bī-gē tē]

uh.huh Dem be advice it.is [child-Pl Dat]

‘Uh-huh. This is advice for young people.’

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# Abbreviations and symbols

## Abbreviations

Adj adjective

Agent agentive nominal

ATR advanced tongue root (vowel feature)

BCM bidirectional case marker (§11.1.2.1)

C consonant (in formulae like CvCv)

Caus causative

Counterf counterfactual conditional

Dat dative postposition

Def (discourse-)definite

Dem demonstrative

Dimin diminutive

DiscFunct discourse-functional

Emph emphatic (clause-final particle)

ExpPf experiential perfect

Fact factitive (causative of adjectival inchoative)

Fut future

Gent gentilic (cf. New York-er, Paris-ian)

H high (tone)

Hort hortative

Imprt imperative

Inch inchoative (deadjectival verb)

Inst instrumental postposition

Ipfv imperfective

Iter iteration (full reduplication)

L a) low (tone)

b) any sonorant (in formulae like CvL)

Loc locative

Logo logophoric

M mid tone

N a) noun (in e.g. “N-Adj”)

b) nasal consonant (in formulae like CvN)

(n) noun, in glosses like ‘work (n)’

Neg negative

Nom nominalization

NP noun phrase

Num numeral

Obj object

Pf perfect (in ExpPf)

Pfv Pfv

Pl plural

Poss possessive, possessor

PP postpositional phrase

Ppl participle

Pron pronoun

Proh prohibitive

Prsntv presentative (‘here’s X!’), §4.4.4.1-2 , §10.2.2.3

PsRefl pseudo-reflexive (ŋ̀, §11.4.1.2)

Purp purposive

Q question

Recip reciprocal

Refl reflexive

Rel relative marker (in relative clause)

RemPfv remote Pfv

S subject (in e.g. “SOV order”)

Sbj subject

Sbj/Obj bidirectional case marker

Sbjn subjunctive

Seq sequential

Sg singular

Stat stative

V a) verb (in e.g. “SOV order”)

b) vowel (in names of phonological rules)

v vowel (in formulae like CvCv)

(v) verb, in interlinear glosses like ‘fight (v)’

VblN verbal noun

VP verb phrase

## Symbols

\* reconstructed

# ungrammatical, unacceptable, unattested

/L/, /LH/, etc. lexical tone melody of a stem

<HL>, <LH>, <LML> contour-toned syllable, e.g. <HL>, <LH>, <LML>

M.M.H, etc. syllable-by-syllable tone pattern of a word

→ gradient prolongation of final segment of a word

= clitic boundary

tone diacritics on vowels

á, etc. high tone (H)

à, etc. low tone (L)

ā, etc. mid tone (M)

â, etc. falling high-low tone (HL)

a᷆, etc. falling mid-low tone (ML)

ǎ, etc. lexical low-high (LH) or sandhi-induced low-mid (LM) tone a᷈, etc. bell-shaped tone (LML)

# Index

## 1. selected morphemes

notes:

in suffixes, “v” is a variable vowel;

alphabetization: ɛ follows e, ɔ follows o, nasals ordered n then ɲ then ŋ ;

atonal morphemes are not tone-marked here;

not all variants due to tone sandhi are presented;

verb-stem pairings shown in Pfv/Ipfv format

a

à (ā) 3Sg pronominal clitic, §4.3.1

āā 2Pl pronominal clitic, §4.3.1

āⁿ 2Sg pronominal clitic, §4.3.1

denasalized, §3.4.2.3.3

-ama abstractive, §4.2.3

-ana ordinarl, §4.6.2.2

bā(ā)/bā‑lā ‘exit (v)’, Pfv stem, §3.2.12.2

in sense ‘equal, match (v)’, §12.2.3

in multi-verb constructions, §15.2.5

dēē-[bā-lā], §15.7.3.2

bààcɛ́wⁿ ‘toward, around’, §8.2.9

bā-lā (see bā(a))

be

bē a) ‘come’, §10.0.5.2

in multi-verb constructions, §15.2

b) future (gà bē), §10.2.2.2

c) ‘all the way to’, §15.7.3.2

bè a) sequential, postsubject, §15.3

b) infinitival, VP-initial, §17.4.2

bōgì postposition ‘in the middle of’, §8.2.4.5

bwɛ̄ỳ a) comitative postposition, ‘with’, §8.1.2.2.1

b) adverb ‘together’, §18.4**.3**

bwɔ̀ reciprocal, §18.4

dēē ‘take, pick up’,

in temporal constructions, §15.7.5, §15.7.3.2

-dɔ́gɔ́, -dɔ̀gɔ̀ (see -lɔ̀gɔ̀)

e

è (ē) 3Pl pronominal clitic, §4.3.1

ē 1Pl pronominal clitic, §4.3.1

ga

gà/gā a) imperfective positive, post-subject, §10.2.2.1

gà/gā b) ‘until’, post-subject, §15.7.2.2

gà c) remote perfective, postverbal, §10.2.1.2

gàá (see remote perfective gà)

gālà subjunctive, §10.2.2.4

-gàwⁿ place nominals, §4.2.1.5.1

in compounds, §5.1.6.3

gìlɛ̄wⁿ ‘as soon as’, §15.4.2

gìlì ‘since’, §15.7.3.1

gu

gu definite, §4.4.1

clause-final, §15.4.4-5

-gu verbal noun, §4.2.1.3

hàlì a) ‘until’, §15.7.2, §15.7.3.1, §8.4.6.3

b) ‘since’, §15.7.1, §15.7.3.1

hɔ̀nɔ̀ ‘like X’, §8.4.1.2

jaati

jáátī ‘precise’, at the end of an NP, §8.4.2

jáátì ‘exactly’ (confirmation), §19.4.2.2

kàlà (see ŋ̄kàlà)

kāmà postposition ‘for the sake of (sb)’, §8.3.2

kānà postposition ‘at (a well)’ or ‘on (body), §8.2.4.2

kāẁⁿ postposition ‘at the place of, chez’, §8.2.4.3

kày/kāy presentative, §4.4.4.1, §10.2.2.3

kàȳlà ‘when’, §15.4.3

kēẁⁿ ‘one’, §4.6.1.1

kìyɛ̀wⁿ ‘thus’, §4.4.3.2

kò reduced variant of kòrì

kōndō ‘stay’

shift to past time, §10.3.1

kòrì clause-initial in some greeting questions (synonym ŋ̄kàlà), §19.6.1

kɔⁿ

kɔ̀ⁿ a) demonstrative ‘this/that’ before a noun, §4.4.2, §3.6.3.1.2

b) recent perfect after subject, §10.2.1.5

c) topic marker, §19.1.1

kɔ̀rɛ̄-ỳ postposition ‘behind’, §8.2.7.4

kùlēē associative plural, §4.1.6

kūmà postposition ‘on’ or ‘over’, §8.2.7.1

kūnà past imperfective, contraction of kōndō gà, §10.3.2

kùwóm bwɛ̄ỳ ‘next to’, §8.2.5.3

laga

lāgà a) purposive-causal postposition ‘for, because of’, §8.3.1

b) postposition ‘at (the outskirts of)’, §8.2.5.1

làgà in purposive construction, §17.5.3

lɛ̄wⁿ ‘a little’, §8.4.3.2

-lɔ̀gɔ̀ suffix on independent pronouns, §4.3.1

māà ‘that’ complementizer, §17.1.6.2, §17.5.6

mà-lè relative marker (plural), §14.1

máɲɛ̀ a) ‘a lot, greatly’, §8.4.3.1

b) ‘well’ (adverb), §8.4.4.1

màwⁿ relative marker (singular), §14.1

mūù postposition ‘below, under’, §8.2.7.5

na

nà/nā negative, following the subject

imperfective negative, §10.2.2.1

stative negative, §10.2.2.5

nā dative postposition, §8.1.1.2

‘than’ in comparatives, §12.1.1.1

-na a) participle of any verb

predicate, §11.4.1.1

modifier, §4.5.1.3

b) participial stative of some verbs, §10.1.4

c) imperfective (Ipfv) suffix for some verbs, §10.1.3.3.2

nàŋāà postposition ‘between’, §8.2.6.1

ni

nī instrumental postposition, §8.1.2.1

focalized ní, §8.1.2.1

nì ‘be’ (identificational or equational), §11.2.1-2

-ni causative sufffix on verb, §9.1.1

nìŋīì postposition ‘in, inside’, §8.2.4.1

in ‘when’ clause, §15.4.7

ŋ̄kàlà a) ‘(not) except/unless X’ before a constituent X, §19.3.2.4

b) ‘must’, clause-initially before subjunctive, §17.3.3

c) clause-initial in some greeting questions (synonym kòrì), §19.6.1

nùmɛ̄wⁿ ‘likeness’, §8.4.1.1

ŋ

ŋ̄ 1Sg subject pronominal clitic, perfective positive, §4.3.1

ŋ̀ a) 1Sg subject pronominal clitic, except in perfective positive, §4.3.1

ŋ̄ b) 3Sg anaphoric pronominal clitic

3Sg reflexive object, possessor

3Sg reflexive subject (subordinated clause)

3Sg logophoric

c) pseudo-reflexive (transpersonal)

in adjectival predicates

ŋ̀ (+H) 1Sg clitic (possessor, object, or postpositional complement), §4.3.1, §3.6.3.1.1

pa

pā ‘thing’ (form of pwɔ̄ before modifier), §4.1.2

pā-lɛ̄wⁿ ‘a little’, §8.4.4.2

pà comitative postposition, §8.1.2.2.1

pààŋ-kēẁⁿ ‘already’ or ‘exclusively’, §19.3.3

pānāāⁿ ‘first’, §4.6.2.1

pwɔ̄ ‘thing, §4.1.2 (see also pā)

saa

sāà-gù ‘now’, §8.4.6.1

sāā-kɔ̀ⁿ ‘now’, §8.4.6.1

sāāⁿ a) ‘when’, clause-final, §15.4.1

b) ‘all’ or ‘each’, §6.6.1

after conjoined NPs, §7.1.7, §12.2.1

after relative marker màⁿ, §14.3.4

after topicalizer kɔ̀ⁿ, §19.1.1

à sāāⁿ ‘everything’, §6.6.1

è sāāⁿ ‘everyone’, §6.6.1

sē ‘say’, §11.3, §17.1.3

causative of, §9.1.3

sèe᷆ ‘(said) thus’, §17.1.6.1

sède᷆ ‘(said) thus’, §17.1.6.1

síí ‘likeness’, §8.4.1.1

sò a) ‘go’, §10.0.5.1

in multi-verb constructions, §15.2

b) clause-initial ‘before’, §15.5

sɔ̄gɔ̀y postposition ‘next to’, §8.2.5.2

sɔ̄ŋɔ̀nì ‘firstly’ or ‘(not) yet’, §8.4.6.2

te

tē dative postposition, §8.1.1.1

tè perfective negative, post-subject, §10.2.1.1

tīgàà postposition ‘in front of’, §8.2.7.2

toⁿ

tóⁿ postposition ‘instead of, in the place of’, §8.2.4.4.2

tōⁿ complement of ‘forget’, §8.2.4.4.1

tūwɔ̄ in ‘when/while’ construction, §15.4.5

wùlēē associative plural, §4.1.6

-ỳ locative suffix, §8.2.3.1

ya

yà= (yā=) contraction of yè

yāālōⁿ ‘a lot, greatly’, §8.4.3.1

ye

yè (yē) a) bidirectional case marker separating otherwise adjacent subject and object (perfective positive)

b) ‘said’, invariant form in perfective positive (i.e. veridical) contexts

y → j after nasal, §3.4.2.4

yè-hīnì ‘and’, §7.1.1

yèⁿ a) ‘and’, §7.1.1

b) plural imperative

## 2. grammar

‘abandon’ §17.4.6

abstractive (deadjectival) §4.2.3

accusative (absent) §6.7

adjective §4.5

tones §3.6.1.5

ordinal §4.6.2

NP syntax §6.3

expansions §6.3.3

‘-ish’ §8.4.6.6

deadjectival verb §9.4

deadjectival adverb §8.4.5.2 (‘near’, ‘far’)

deadjectival abstractive §4.2.3

as predicates §11.4

comparative §12.1.2-3

in relative clauses §14.3.1

bahuvrihi §5.2.1.1

intensifiers §8.4.6.5

adverb §8.4

demonstrative §4.4.3

‘as much as’ §12.2.4

focalization §13.1.6

adverbial clause §15.8

‘again’ §19.3.1

agentive §4.2.2, §5.1.6.2

alienability §6.2.1

‘all’ §6.6.1

in relatives §14.3.4

clause-final ‘when’ §16.1.3

‘also’ §19.1.3

ambi-valent verbs §9.2

anaphora chapter 18

antipassive §9.3.1.1

‘any’ §6.6.2.2

apocope §3.4.3.1

aspect §10.1.3 (verb morphology), §10.2

associative plural §4.1.6

atonal morphemes §3.6.4.2

ATR-harmony §3.3.6

Back/Rounding Harmony §3.3.6

backchannel §19.5.2

bahuvrihi compound §5.2.1

‘be’

locational §11.2.3

‘identificational ‘it is’ §11.2.1

equational §11.2.2

‘be (adjective)’ §11.4.1

‘because’

clause §17.5.7.1

‘because of (NP)’ §8.3

‘become’

with noun §11.2.4.2

with adjective §9.4

‘before …’ clause §15.5

‘begin’ §17.4.3

‘but’ §19.2.1

‘can’ §15.1

case §2.4

causal §17.5.7

causative

morphology §9.1

valency §11.1.2.4

‘cease’ complements §17.4.4

‘certain one(s)’ §6.3.2.1-3

chaining of verb/VP/clause chapter 15

comparatives §12.1.1.2

purposives §17.5.1

‘child’ §4.1.2

compound final §5.1.7.3

cliticization §3.5

clusters (consonants) §3.2.11

‘come’ *(see “motion verb”)*

comitative §8.1.2.2

comparatives chapter 12

compounds chapter 5

conditionals chapter 16

conjunction §7.1

consonants §3.2

conveyance construction §11.1.1.4

coordination chapter 7

counterfactual §16.4

dative §8.1.1

deadjectival verb *(see under “adjective”)*

definite §4.4.1

in NPs §6.5.2

subordinated clauses §15.4.4-5

deictic §4.4.3

demonstrative

demonstrative pronoun §4.4.2

demonstrative adverb §4.4.3

as headless NP §6.1.2

in NPs §6.5

in relative clauses §14.3.3

denasalization §3.4.2.3

deontic modals §10.4

deverbal adjectives §4.5.1.3

diminutive §5.1.7, §4.5.1.2

diphthongs §3.3.7

discourse-definite §4.4.2

discourse markers chapter 19

disjunction §7.2

in polar questions §13.2.1.3

distributive §6.3.2.4

‘each’ §6.6.1

iterated numerals §4.6.1.7

ditransitive verb §11.1.2.3

‘do’

in collocations §11.1.2.2

‘how?’ construction §13.2.2.6

coincidence construction §15.6

subordinated clauses

‘fear (lest) §17.2.3

‘encounter (find)’ §17.2.4

downstep §3.6.5.1

downdrift §3.6.5.2

dying-quail intonation §7.1.10 (lists)

‘each’ §6.6.1

emotions §11.1.1.3

emphatic

pronouns §18.1.4

clause-final particles §19.4.2

equational §11.2.2

evaluative adverbs §8.4.4

existential §11.2.3

‘even’ §19.1.4

‘even if’ §16.2.1

exemplar §4.5.2

experiential perfect §10.2.1.4

extent adverbs §8.4.3

factitive deadjectival verb §9.4

‘false’ §5.1.10.1

‘fear’

complements §17.2.3

‘finish’ §17.4.5

Final Tone-Raising §3.6.4.4

Floating-Tone Docking §3.6.3.1

focalization chapter 13

‘forget’ complements §17.2.1.2, §17.4.2.1

fraction §4.6.3

‘from’ §8.2.2, §15.7.3

future §10.2.2.2

‘be about to’ §17.4.2.4

gender §5.1.9 (‘male/female’ compounds)

gentilic §4.2.4

‘give’

form §10.1.2.2, §9.3.4

syntax §8.1.1.1-2, §8.1.2.1, §11.1.2.3

‘go’ *(see “motion verb”)*

greetings §19.6

‘have’ §11.5.1

‘help’ §17.4.2.3

hortative §10.4.2

quoted §17.1.4.2

hypothetical conditional §16.1

identificational §11.2.1

imperative §10.4.1

quoted §17.1.4.1

imperfective

verb forms §10.1.3

inflectional particles §10.2.2.1

categories §10.2.2

past imperfective §10.3.2

multi-verb constructions

‘come’ and ‘go’ §15.2.5

‘encounter’ §17.2.4

perception verbs §17.4.1.1

‘fear’ §17.4.1.2

inchoative (deadjectival) §9.4

infinitival complement §17.4.2

instrumental §8.1.2.1

intensifier (adjectival) §6.3.3.3

interrogatives §13.2

intonation §3.7.1

polar §13.2.1

content (WH) §13.2.2

embedded §17.1.5

topical NP §19.1.2

intonation §3.7, §13.1.7

polar questions §13.2.1.2

lists §7.1.10

iteration

lexicalized (nouns) §4.1.4

distributive (numerals) §4.6.1.7

‘-ish’ (adjectives) §8.4.6.6

jussive §17.1.4

‘know’ §11.2.5.1

complements §17.2.1.1

labile verbs §9.2

‘like’ (similarity) §8.4.1

‘as though’ clause §15.8.3.2

lists §7.1.10

locative (spatial)

adverbs §4.4.3.1, §8.4.6.4

not focalizable §13.1.6.3

postpositions §8.2.1-3

in compound initials §5.1.5.2.2

verb ending §9.3.3

spatial adverbial clauses §15.8.2

in gentilic derivative §4.2.4

‘be (somewhere)’ §11.2.3

logophoric §18.3

M#H-to-L#H §3.6.4.5

M-Tone Spreading §3.6.4.3

manner

adverb §4.4.3.2

‘fast’ and ‘slowly’ §8.4.5.1

not focalizable §13.1.6.3

adverbial clause §15.8.3

‘many/much’ §6.4.2.1

melody (lexical tones) §3.6.1

mental verbs §11.2.5

meteorology §11.1.1.3

metrical structure §3.1.2

modal *(see imperative, hortative, obligation, ‘can’)*

motion verb

‘go’ and ‘come’ §10.1.5

in verb/VP/clause chains §15.2

nasal linker in compounds §5.1.1

nasalized

semivowel §3.2.10

vowel §3.3.3

stem-final alternations §3.4.2.2

‘need’ §11.2.5.2

negation

indicative clauses §10.2.1-2

‘is not X’ §11.2.1.2, §11.2.2.2

‘not be (somewhere)’ §11.2.3.3

‘not be (adjective)’ §11.4.1

scope issues §6.6.2.2, §7.1.9

noun phrase chapter 6

numeral §4.6

in relative clauses §14.3.2

distributive iteration §4.6.1.7

bahuvrihi compounds §5.2.1.2

object §11.1.2

pronominal §4.3.2.2, §4.3.4.1.2, §4.3.4.3.1

focalization §13.1.5

relativization §14.4.2

incorporated §5.1.6

obligation

weak (‘ought to’) §17.2.5

strong (‘must’) §17.3.3

obviation §18.2

‘only’ §19.3.2

ordinal §4.6.2

‘owner’ §5.1.8

participle §4.5.1.3, §4.2.1.4

passive §9.2

past §10.3

adjectival predicates §11.4.1.3

perception verb

complements §17.2.2, §17.4.1.1

perfect

experiential perfect §10.2.1.4

completive perfect §10.2.1.5

recent perfect §10.2.1.5

past perfect §10.3.4

perfective

verb forms §10.1.3

clausal inflections §10.2.1

in subordinated clause §10.2.1.6

in conditionals §16.1.1

sequential clauses §15.3.1

obligational clause §17.2.5

person  *(see “pronouns”)*

place nominal §4.2.1.5, §5.1.6.3

complement of ‘finish’ §17.4.5

plural

nouns §4.1.1

in compound initials §5.1.3.2

in conjunctions §7.1.4

addressees §10.4

1Pl versus logophoric Pl §18.3

possessive

possessed NP §6.2

compounds §5.1.3

reflexive possessor §18.1.3, §7.1.6

predicates §11.5

possessor relative §14.4.3

postposition and PP §8.1-3

focalization §13.1.6

relativization §14.4.4

prepausal pitch-drop §3.6.5.2

presentative §4.4.4, §10.2.2.3-5

‘prevent’ complements §17.4.2.2

prohibitive §10.4.1.3

pronouns §4.3

emphatic §18.1.4

reflexive §18.1.1

logophoric §18.3

pseudo-causative §9.1.2

pseudo-reflexive §11.4.1.2

in comparatives §12.1.2

purposive

postposition §8.3

focalization §13.1.6.1

clause §17.5

quantification *(see “extent”, ‘all’, ‘each’, ‘many/much’, ‘certain’*

quasi-verb

‘said’ §17.1.2

‘it is’ §11.2.1-2

‘be (somewhere)’ §11.2.3

quotation *(see also ‘say’, “logophoric”)*

quoted clauses §17.1

recent perfect §10.2.1.5

reciprocal §18.4

reduplication *(see “iteration”)*

reflexive §11.1.3, §18.1

relative clauses chapter 14

‘remain’ §11.2.4.1

resultative verbal noun §4.2.1.4

‘say’

inflectable verb §17.1.3

invariant quasi-verb §17.1.2

‘show’ §11.1.2.3

‘since …’ (temporal) §15.7.1

‘some; certain ones’ §6.3.2.1-3

sound symbolism §3.3.9

spatial *(see “locative”)*

stative (verb) §10.1.4 (morphology)

‘be’, ‘have’, etc. §11.2

presentative §10.2.2.3

past stative §10.3.3

adjectival predicates §11.4.1

‘stop’ complements §17.4.4

subject §11.1.1

subjunctive §10.2.2.4

complements §17.3, §17.5.4

syllables §3.1.1

syncope §3.4.3.2

temporal *(see also “past”)*

adverbs §8.4.6.1-3

focalization §13.1.6

‘before’ §8.2.7.2

‘after’ §8.2.7.4

times of day, seasons §11.1.1.2

relative clause §15.8.1

‘that’ complementizer §17.1.6, §17.5.6

‘together’ §18.4.3

tone §2.1.2-4, §3.6

floating H and M §3.6.3.1

in compounds §5.1.4, §5.2

noun plus adjective §6.3.1

noun plus numeral §6.4.1

final H-tone §3.7.1, §8.2.3.3

‘too’ §19.1.3

topic §19.1

uptake check §19.5.1

valency

transitives §11.1.2.1

ditransitives §11.1.2.3

causatives §11.1.2.4

verb

derivations chapter 9

inflections chapter 10

verbal noun §4.2.1.1-4

in compounds §5.1.6.1

in complements

‘stop’ §17.4.4

‘abandon’ §17.4.6

verb phrase §11.1.4 *(see also “chaining”)*

vowels §3.3

fronting in verb stems §9.3.1

vv-Contraction §3.4.1.2

‘want’ §11.2.5.2

complements §17.3.2

‘whether’ complements §17.2.1-2, §17.5.2

WH interrogatives §13.2.2

willy-nilly §16.3

‘with’  *(see “instrumental” and “comitative”)*