

A Grammar of Walo

Dogon language family
Mali

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very fragmentary draft dated August 2009
contains some info about nominal and verbal morphology and relative clauses
most sections empty or consist of grammar template material (brown)
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1 Introduction

1.1 Dogon languages

This work is part of a larger project on a number of Dogon languages, beginning with Jamsay. Dogon is a family of perhaps twenty languages, though no complete survey has been undertaken. The family is considered to be part of the vast Niger-Congo family, which includes Bantu, Mande (e.g. Bambara and Boso), and West Atlantic (e.g. Fulfulde), but to date it has not been shown to be particularly close to any other Niger-Congo branch.

1.2 Walo language

The language of Walo (and closely associated small villages) is closely related to the language of Beni (and Gamni), and the two villages formerly alternated a chiefship. However, the two are effectively separated from each other. Walo is on the western edge of the very long inselberg Gamdamiya, about 7 km north of Douentza, and its villagers typically speak Fulfulde (West Atlantic), Tondi Songway Kiini (Songhay), and to a lesser extent Jamsay (Dogon) as second languages. Beni and nearby Gamni are on a rocky plateau about 16 km south of Douentza, and their villagers speak Jamsay and to lesser extents Fulfulde and Nanga (Dogon) as second languages. The Songhay influence on Walo, and the Jamsay influence on Beni, have resulted in fairly substantial lexical differentiation.

1.3 Environment

Walo is said to be older than Beni. The two villages were closely affiliated politically prior to the arrival of orthodox Islam in the region. They are said to have alternated the chiefdom, a new chief from Beni replacing a deceased chief from Walo and vice-versa. Since the joint chiefdom was associated with ritual as well as political life, the affiliation did not survive the arrival of orthodox Islam, when the ritual objects were burned and the original ritual leadership abandoned.

Walo has three distinct sections. Some families still live on the summit of the inselberg (Gandamiya). The bulk of the people live in a village on the lower slope of the inselberg, facing south. The new school building and some newer residential construction is on the plains below.

1.4 Previous and contemporary study of Beni-Walo

Roger Blench gathered some vocabulary there on a one-day visit and has made this (and much other Dogon material) available on his website.

1.4.1 Fieldwork

Work on the Walo language has been part of a larger project on Dogon languages in which my role has been the study of the set of languages in the northeastern zone. I began with Jamsay in mid-2004; this is the largest-population Dogon language and is used as a lingua franca among other Dogon in the Douentza and Boni areas. As the Jamsay work advanced, in 2005-6 I began working in an overlapping way on the other Dogon languages of the zone: Walo, Beni, Nanga, Najamba (Bondu), and Tabi-Sarinyere.

It initially appeared that Walo and Beni were dialects of a single language (Beni-Walo). As the research progressed, it became clear that it was best to treat Walo and Beni separately, even though they have much in common grammatically.

1.4.2 Acknowledgements

The bulk of the work on Walo has been done under a grant from the National Science Foundation. Some preliminary survey work (on flora-fauna) began under the earlier Jamsay-focused grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (PA-50643). The University of Michigan also provided important supplemental support.

2 Sketch

In this chapter some major features of the language are introduced. For all topics raised, fuller coverage can be found in the following chapters.

2.1 Prosody

2.2 Inflectable verbs

2.3 Participles

2.4 Noun phrase (NP)

2.5 Postposition phrase (PP)

2.6 Main clauses and constituent order

2.7 Nominalized clauses and constituent order

2.8 Relative clauses

2.9 Interclausal syntax

3 Phonology

3.1 General

3.2 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.2.1 Syllables

3.2.2 Embryonic metrical structure

3.2.3 Nominal compounds

3.3 Consonants

3.3.1 Alveopalatals (c, j, ñ)

3.3.2 Voiced velar stop g and g-Spirantization (g→ɣ)

3.3.3 Velar nasal (ŋ)

3.3.4 Voiceless labials (p, f)

3.3.5 Laryngeals (h, ʔ)

3.3.6 Sibilants (s, š)

3.3.7 Nasalized sonorants (rⁿ, wⁿ, yⁿ)

3.3.8 Consonant clusters

3.3.8.1 Initial CC clusters

3.3.8.2 Medial geminated CC clusters

3.3.8.3 Medial non-geminate CC clusters

3.3.8.4 Medial triple CCC clusters

3.3.8.5 Final CC clusters

3.4 Vowels

3.4.1 Short and (oral) long vowels

3.4.2 Nasalized vowels

- 3.4.3 Initial vowels
- 3.4.4 Stem-final vowels
- 3.4.5 Vocalic harmony
- 3.5 Segmental phonological rules
 - 3.5.1 Trans-syllabic consonantal processes
 - 3.5.1.1 Nasalization-Spreading
 - 3.5.1.2 Consonantal metathesis in suffixal derivatives of verbs
 - 3.5.2 Vocalism of suffixally derived verbs
 - 3.5.2.1 Suffixal Vowel-Spreading
 - 3.5.2.2 Presuffixal V₂-Raising
 - 3.5.3 Vocalic rules sensitive to syllabic or metrical structure
 - 3.5.3.1 Epenthesis
 - 3.5.3.2 Post-Sonorant Syncope (verbs)
 - 3.5.3.3 VbIN V₂-Lenition
 - 3.5.4 Deletion of final u (u-Apocope)
 - 3.5.4.1 Word-Final u-Apocope (Verbal Nouns)
 - 3.5.4.2 Inter-Word u-Apocope
 - 3.5.5 Local consonant cluster rules
 - 3.5.5.1 Derhoticization (/rⁿ/ to n)
 - 3.5.5.2 Rhotic Assimilation
 - 3.5.5.3 Rhotic-Cluster Lateralization (/rr/→ll)
 - 3.5.6 Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences
 - 3.5.6.1 Hiatus between adjacent vowels
 - 3.5.6.2 VV-Contraction
 - 3.5.7 Local vowel-consonant interactions

3.5.7.1 /i/ > u before labial

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

3.6 Cliticization

3.6.1 Phonology of \Rightarrow clitic

3.6.2 'Be' quasi-verbs (k̀̀, ẁ̀-) and k̀̀n- 'be in' as clitics

3.7 Tones

Tones at the level of syllables are H[igh], L[ow], R[ising] = <LH>, F[alling] = <HL>, and **bell-shaped** <LHL>. There are no <HLH> syllables. Angled brackets are used to express contour tones within a syllable. Stem- or word-level patterns involving more than one syllable, including at least one contour tone, are expressed as e.g. H<HL> (H followed by F).

In word-nonfinal syllables, contour tones (R, F) must be spread over at least two moras. Word-finally, R-tone must have two moras. Word-finally, F-tone does not require two moras, so there are words ending with F-toned CV syllable (this differentiates Walo from Beni and most other Dogon languages so far studied).

Bell-shaped tones occur on CvC, Cv:, and Cv:C syllables. When they occur on bimoraic CvC or Cv:, there is no noticeable lengthening over and beyond the usual duration of such syllables.

yě 'come' ???

3.7.1 Lexical tone patterns

3.7.1.1 At least one H-tone in each stem

Except due to grammatically conditioned tone overlays, **each stem must have at least one H-tone segment**, i.e., at least one H, R, F, or <LHL> syllable. This applies to noun, adjective, numeral, verb, and adverb stems; it does not necessarily apply to functional elements (such as pronominal clitics and clause-final subordinating morphemes).

3.7.1.2 Lexical tones of verbs

Regular inflectable verbs split into those with {H} and {LH} tone contours. These contours are most clearly audible in the bare stem (used in chains) and before syllabic suffixes in the (positive) perfective system.

For verbs (but not other word-classes), the tone contour correlates partially with, but is not automatically derivable from, the initial consonant of the stem. Except for monomoraic Cv stems (on which see below), we reliably get {H} if the initial consonant

is a voiceless obstruent (stop or /s/), and (less reliably, but often) {LH} if the initial consonant is a voiced obstruent (stop or /z/). If the stem begins in a sonorant or has no initial consonant, the tone contour is lexically specified.

The correlation of tone contour with initial consonant has been complicated by the influx of Fulfulde verb loans, most of which have {H} contour regardless of initial consonantism.

In Walo, {LH} verb stems are realized as follows in the bare stem and in the positive perfective-system suffixal forms: monosyllabic Cǎ:, bisyllabic CǎCǎ, CǎCCǎ, and Cǎ:Cǎ, and trisyllabic CǎCǎCǎ. That is, the tone break is near the left edge of the stem, following the first vocalic mora. This is also the pattern in Nanga, but not in Beni or Jamsay, which position the tone break near the right edge.

discussion of Cv- verbs

3.7.1.3 Lexical tone patterns for unsegmentable noun stems

“Nouns” is interpreted broadly here, including some noun-like adverbs.

give exx. of tone contours beginning with monosyllabics and ending with tri- and multi-syllabics. Monosyllabics: H, <HL>, <LH>, <LHL> (list all known examples of the latter), usually no #L or #<HLH>. Bisyllabics: distinguish CvCv (bimoraic), CvCCv, Cv:Cv, and counterparts with final Cv: or CvC cluster. Trisyllabic and longer: distinguish compounds (including frozen compounds) from monomorphemic stems; for the latter, pay attention especially to the final two syllables. Notation: angled brackets as in <LH> for contour tone pattern of a single syllable, hence L<LH> (= LR) means a low-toned syllable plus a rising-toned syllable; curly brackets {LH} is an abstract stem-wide rising-tone contour, whether lexical or overlaid, that is realized as <LH>, LH (bisyllabic), LLH or LHH (trisyllabic), etc., depending on the language. Terminology: monotonal is e.g. {H}, bitonal is {HL} or {LH}, tritonal is {LHL} or {HLH} (the latter does occur in some languages, e.g. Tabi-Sarinyere).

mention any productive deverbal nominalizations that produce <LHL> tones (nominals in -y after monosyllabic stem?)

3.7.1.4 Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals

tone contours usually about the same as for nouns, but not many monosyllabic stems

3.7.1.5 Default final H, or autosegmental mapping?

discussion of whether, in this language, it might be possible to argue that there are some {L} stems with no lexical high tone, with the surface form (with high tone on final syllable, or on final mora) due to a constraint against all-low-toned stems. Evidence for the latter might be in the form of nouns/adjectives with CvCv-m/-n suffixed form (singular, plural) and unsuffixed CvCv. However, this pattern can also be interpreted as underlying (lexical) /CvCv/, with a rising tone converted by phonological rule to high tone on a monomoraic final syllable. If there are all-low-toned adverbials (as in Nanga), this must also be considered.

3.7.1.6 Tone-Component location for bitonal noun stems

For bi- and tritonal noun stems, where are the tone breaks in CvCv, Cv:Cv, CvCCv, CvCvC, etc. Before last syllable (even if heavy) as in CvCv: and CvCvC, before last mora as in CvCv: and CvCvC, or before last vocalic mora as in CvCv: and CvCvC? Or is the choice lexically variable?

3.7.1.7 Tone-Component location for tritonal noun stems

Similar to preceding, paying attention to syllabic structure especially of final syllable. Nouns usually prefer LLH rather than LHH, even in languages that have LHH as the {LH} contour for verbs.

3.7.2 Grammatical tone patterns

subsections below discuss how the morphology and syntax change the lexical tone contours of stems. Distinguish stem-wide tone overlays (which erase the underlying lexical tone contour) from local modifications.

3.7.2.1 Grammatical tones for verb stems

*tone-dropping before (some?) Negative inflectional suffixes?
all-low tone in (unsuffixed) Perfective?
specific tone contours for stems before other suffixes?
tone of imperative stem?*

*tone of verb stem in nominals (agentive compounds, verbal nouns)
participles?*

if system is complex (as in Najamba), a tabular summary would help

3.7.2.2 Grammatical tones for noun stems

tonal modifications are generally due to syntax (multi-word NPs, relative-clause head NP). Give brief summary of the patterns here along with a few examples, but defer full analysis and exemplification to chapters on NP and on Relativization.

1) unpossessed NP (not relative clause head): within core NP (noun + adj), final word retains lexical tones, nonfinal words tone-dropped; following numeral does not interact tonally with core NP. Do determiners ('this./that', Definite) induce tone-dropping (on both final word of core NP and numeral)?*

2) possessed NP (not relative clause head): if possessor precedes possessed NP without a Possessive (=Genitive) morpheme (Jamsay ma), usually the possessor has its regular tones while the possessed NP undergoes tonal changes, with overlaid {L} or {HL} depending on the language and, in some languages, on the final tone of the possessor.

3) unpossessed NP as relative-clause head: taking (1) as the starting point, what further changes happen in relative clauses? Usually the final word of the core NP, and any following numeral, are simultaneously tone-dropped.

4) possessed NP as relative-clause head (note that determiners and 'all' quantifier are usually shifted to position following the participle, so they are no longer part of the clause-internal head NP strictly speaking). Any further tonal changes? Usually no change in possessor NP (but Jamsay inalienables, e.g. [Seydou father.HL], do tone-drop both possessor and possessed as relative-clause head, to [Seydou.L father.L]). Possessed-noun contour should override (block) relative-head tone-dropping, though this is audible only when the possessed-noun contour is not all-low {L}, i.e. only in languages where the possessed-noun contour is {HL}. If the latter is the case, check e.g. [Seydou dog.HL] as relative clause head: if 'dog' still has {HL} contour in 'Seydou's dog that barked', then the entire possessor-possessed sequence is a tonological island impervious to tone-dropping from the relative construction; if 'dog' drops tones to [Seydou dog.L] only as relative head, then there is no island effect. In languages where the possessed-noun contour is {L}, one can't tell whether the relative clause has induced tone-dropping.

5) possessor NP (not possessed NP) as relative head ('the man whose dog barked'): the possessor NP should be subject to tone-dropping like the possessed NP in (3); the possessed noun should have its lexical tones (as though unpossessed).

3.7.2.3 Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals

Final word in unpossessed core NP (often an adjective) not a relative-clause head is not tone-dropped. With a possessor ('Seydou's big house'), the overlaid possessed-NP contour {L} or {HL} should apply to the first word (i.e. the noun stem), so that {HL} is realized as <HL> on a monosyllabic noun, with the low-tone in {L} or {HL} then

spreading to the end of the core NP (i.e. to all modifying adjectives), as in [Seydou('s) dog.HL big.L].

Does the low tone also spread to a numeral, as in [Seydou('s) dog.HL three.L]?

If determiners induce tone-dropping, check these possessed-NP patterns in NPs without an overt determiner.

Cardinal numeral should be tonally autonomous from core NP (if no possessor, and if not relative-clause head). Usually a numeral and (the final word of) the core NP simultaneously tone-drop as relative clause head ('[a/the] three dogs who barked') and, in languages where determiners force tone-dropping, before a determiner ('these three dogs', 'the three dogs').

3.7.3 Tonal morphophonology

the more purely phonological side of tonology

3.7.3.1 Autosegmental tone association (verbs)

Especially for verbs, it may be possible to detach the tone contour, e.g. {LH}, from the segmental and syllabic level(s). In this case, the L and the H of {LH} must be connected to various syllabic shapes by explicit rules. The tone break may be after the first (vocalic) mora or before the final (vocalic) mora (=final syllable, if no final long vowels on nonmonosyllabic verb stems), depending on the language. This autosegmental approach is most useful in languages with the latter pattern, since it accounts directly for the tone contour of suffixal derivatives (reversive, causative), as in CvCv, derived CvCv-Cv.

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

summary of data presented elsewhere as to how the {HL} contour is expressed in various word classes and morphological contexts, for example HLL or HHL on trisyllabics.

Consider: {HL} as lexical contour for nouns, adjectives, numerals; {HL} as possessed-noun contour; any {HL} contours in verbal morphology; {HL} on adjective or numeral as compound final in bahuvrihi compounds ('Blackbeard', 'three-head[ed]'); and special tone contours in iterated (fully reduplicated) verbs, e.g. {HL}-{L}-{L}... iterations of verbs to emphasize prolongation of an activity (such as motion) in a story. The different contexts may involve different ways of applying the H and L components, e.g. HLL versus HHL.

3.7.3.3 Tonal changes in decimal numerals

If there are unusual tonal changes in numerals in decimal terms ('20' to '90'), which begin with 'ten' and add a numeral '2' to '9' (often with phonological mutations), they can be briefly described here.

3.7.3.4 Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading

Suffixes (with shapes like -C and -Cv) and clitics (including some postverbal subordinating particles like 'if') may be atonal (no intrinsic tone) and acquire tone by spreading from the final tone element of the preceding word. Give a list of such morphemes.

3.7.4 Low-level tone rules

3.7.4.1 Rising-Tone Mora-Addition

Word-final /Cv/ with rising tone requires lengthening of the vowel (i.e. addition of one mora) to permit the contour tone to be articulated. In some languages, this lengthening also applies to word-final /Cv/ with falling tone.

3.7.4.2 Contour-Tone Stretching

A contour tone (<HL> or <LH>) that occurs on a Cv:x syllable (x = a sonorant) is usually realized with the tone break at the x, even when an atonal -x suffix is added to Cv:- or Cv:-. This involves shifting the tone break slightly to the right, e.g. /Cv:-x/ > /Cv:-x/ (Atonal-Morpheme Tone-Spreading) > Cv:-x (Contour-Tone Stretching)

3.7.4.3 Final-Tone Resyllabification

If a word-final syllable with contour tone <LH> or <HL> is followed by a clitic that has Cv shape, the contour tone may divide into an initial tone element that remains on the word-final syllable, and a second tone element that is realized on the clitic (or merges with the clitic's tone if the two tones are identical). Jamsay example: em 'squeezed' (adj), really /em/, and with clitic em≡iN 'it is squeezed'.

3.7.4.4 Rightward H-Spreading

A high tone may spread to the right within a word, perhaps across a morpheme boundary. Examples may include partial spillover into the onset of a final short low-toned vowel as in Nanga.

3.7.4.5 Stranded-Tone Re-Linking

If the vowel to which a tone was attached has disappeared due to Syncope or Apocope, the tone is usually reattached to the preceding (or, less often, following) syllable. Thus CvCvCv > CvCCv.

3.7.4.6 Final-Cv R-to-H Reduction

In some cases, a word-final /Cv/ is not expressed as Cv&~ by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition, rather as Cv.

3.8 Intonation contours

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

This refers to the kind of clause- or phrase-final pitch modifications (rising or falling tone) that occur in all languages, for example final rising pitch to indicate that a “paragraph” is not finished, that the speaker wishes to hold the floor, or that a question is being asked. Explain the notation that you use in texts to indicate such phenomena.

3.8.2 Adverbs and particles with lexically specified prolongation (⇒)

Examples in NE Dogon are dem⇒ ‘straight (direction)’ and deyⁿ⇒ ‘apart, separate’. There are many such adverbials. The prolongation may affect the final sonorant, or (in other cases) the vowel of the final syllable (in which case one should transcribe e.g. de⇒m)

3.8.3 Dying-quail intonational effect ∴

The symbol ∴ is used to indicate dying-quail intonation, which is expressed as prolongation along with a slow fall in pitch (distinct from simple falling tone). In Jamsay this is the way to conjoin two NPs (X∴ Y∴ meaning ‘X and Y’). Something similar occurs in IPl, 2Pl, and perhaps Logophoric Pl pronouns and/or pronominal-subject suffixes on verbs in Beni and Nanga. When the underlying phonological tone is

(already) low, languages differ as to whether the pitch is falling or is simply low as the final segment is prolonged.

4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Simple nouns

Animate nouns have a Singular suffix -m, versus an unmarked plural.

(xx1)	gloss	Sg	Pl
	‘sheep’	pèrě-m	pèré
	‘goat’	bérù-m	bérù
	‘blacksmith’	zémbě-m	zémbě
	‘snake’	àwǎ-m	àwá
	‘grub’	sísí-m	sísí:
	‘cow’	nǎ:-m	nǎ:
	‘mouse’	õ:-m	õ:
	‘Dogon’	dõ:-m	dõ:
	‘Tengou’	tèngú-m	tèngú

suffixes marking (human/animate) singular, (human/animate) plural, nonhuman/inanimate?

form of Cv/Cv: nouns (Cv with short vowel possible?) List such nouns.

4.1.2 Irregular nouns (‘woman’, ‘child’, ‘person’, ‘thing’)

The most important non-kinship human nouns are in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	Sg	Pl
	‘woman’	yǎ-m	yǎ:
	‘man’	ár ⁿ à-m	ár ⁿ à
	‘child’	yí-m	yítě:
	‘person’	àsùmǎ-m	àsùmǎ:

‘Thing’ is kón.

describe the morphology of these nouns, even if regular

4.1.3 ‘So-and-so’

‘So-and-so’ (Fr un tel), variable denoting a function over personal names.

4.1.4 Initial Cv- reduplication in nouns

The languages often have nouns with apparent initial reduplication Cv- (animal names, etc.). The vowel may be fixed (Ci-) or it may be a copy of the initial vowel of the stem. Typical glosses: ‘grasshopper’ (generic), ‘beetle/bug’ (generic), ‘hyena’, ‘hawk (kite)’, ‘scorpion’. List examples, organizing them by tone contours.

4.1.5 Final reduplications in nouns

Perhaps an occasional noun with apparent final partial reduplicative segment, cf. Nanga bEgiri-bE: ‘stone partridge’ and kOrON-kO: ‘louse’, and with another pattern pEtE-pEy ‘grasshopper sp. (Oedaleus)’ and sENErⁿE-sEyⁿ ‘grasshopper sp. (Kraussella)’

4.1.6 Nouns with full-stem iteration

Many nouns have (frozen) iterative (=full reduplicative) form, e.g. gadu-gadu or pikiri-pikiri, with segments that do not occur in simple (non=iterated) form. Give all examples, organized by tone pattern. Separately, give all examples of iterations with a vowel change, e.g. piki-paka or three-part piki-paka-piki.

4.1.7 Frozen initial a- or aN- in nouns

Give a list of nouns beginning in a- or an- that may represent an archaic morpheme (animal and insect names, implements, etc.). Note that this (native Dogon) pattern may have been fortuitously amplified by Arabic loans (based on nouns with Arabic Definite prefix al-, whose /l/ assimilates to following coronals, and on nouns with initial a, e.g. ansa:ra or variant ‘white person, European’ and ama:na ‘promise, vow’)

4.2 Derived nominals

4.2.1 Characteristic derivative

Suffix (Jamsay -gu-, Nanga -gi-, etc.) deriving a noun of the logical type 'one who has (or is characterized by) X' from noun X (which is usually tone-dropped). Give several examples.

(xx1)	Sg	Pl	gloss	input noun
	kò:-gú-m	kò:-gú	'coward'	kǒ: 'fear'
	gàndàl-gú-m	gàndàl-gú	'vain person'	gándàl 'vanity'
	gùmbìrè-gú-m	gùmbìrè-gú	'hunchback'	gúmbírè 'curved back'
	dày-gú-m	dày-gú	'rich person'	—

4.2.2 Verbal Nouns

describe suffixed verbal-noun forms (Jamsay -y or with nonmonosyllabics -u, Beni -i: and variants, Najamba -le), etc.).

(xx1)	verb	VbIN	gloss
	wàrá	wàr-í:	'do farm work'
	n̄èr ⁿ íy ⁿ í	n̄èr ⁿ íy ⁿ -í:	'winnow in wind'
	gó	gǒ-ỳ	'go out'
	má	mǎ-ỳ ⁿ	'build'

4.2.3 Instrument nominals

nouns derived from verbs with meanings like 'file (tool)', 'scrubber', '(blacksmith's) bellows'.

4.2.4 Uncompounded agentives

Usually agentives are compounds (deer-slay-er). 'Hunter' is sometimes uncompounded but does not necessarily follow the tonal and suffixal pattern of compounded agentives.

4.2.5 Expressive iteration

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

4.3 Pronouns

4.3.1 Basic personal pronouns

The most common personal pronominal forms are summarized in (xx1). The 1Pl is generally derived from the 1Sg by lengthening the vowel or suffixal semivowel, and forcing the pitch down. The 2Pl is likewise derived from the 2Sg, and the Logophoric/3Reflexive. An unusual feature is that the 1Sg independent pronoun is low-toned, as in ǐ káy ‘as for me’.

(xx1) Personal Pronouns

	indep.	accusative	subject	
			preverbal	suffixed
1Sg	ǐ	í	í	-y
1Pl	ǐ:	ǐ:	ǐ:	-y.:
2Sg	ú	ú	ú	-w
2Pl	ú:	ú:	ú:	-w.:
3AnSg	é	é	é	-∅
3AnPl	bú	bú	bú	[varies by AN category]
Inan	kú	kú	kú	-∅
Logo/3Ref1Sg	á	á	á	-∅
Logo/3Ref1Pl	â:	â:	â:	=3AnPl

Pronominal possessors always precede possessed nouns, which have a basic {HL} possessed-noun tone contour that overrides the lexical tone. 1Sg possessor is expressed by an initial low tone that docks on the onset of the possessed noun. 2Sg, 3Sg, 3Pl, and Logo/3Ref1Sg possessors are expressed by high-toned pronominals, which have no further effect on the tone of the possessed noun. 1Pl, 2Pl, and Logo/3Pl possessors are expressed by falling-toned pronominals, the final low tone of which induces a drop to all-low tone on the possessed noun.

(xx2) Pronominal possessors

category	possessor form	example (nǎ:-m ‘cow’)	
1Sg	(low tone)	nǎ:-m̀	‘my cow’
2Sg	ú	ú nâ:-m	‘your-Sg cow’
3Sg	é	é nâ:-m	‘his/her cow’
3Pl	bú	bú nâ:-m	‘their cow’
Logo/3ReflSg	á	á nâ:-m	‘his/her (own) cow’
1Pl	î:	î: nâ:-m̀	‘our cow’
2Pl	û:	û: nâ:-m	‘your-Pl cow’
Logo/3PlPl	â:	â: nâ:-m	‘their (own) cow’

4.3.2 Personal pronouns as complements of postpositions

Give the forms used as complement of postpositions, which will often be identical to (prenominal) possessor pronominals.

Dative pronominals (with the Dative postposition) are often irregular, especially 1Sg and 1Pl. They should be presented here even if quite regular in form.

4.4 Demonstratives

4.4.1 Definite morphemes

There may be a single all-purpose Definite morpheme, or a set of demonstrative-like morphemes agreeing with the noun in e.g. animate/inanimate (or human/nonhuman) and number. Mention tonal alternations, and tonal effects on the preceding core NP and numeral (discussed more fully in chapter on NP).

4.4.1.1 ‘This/that’ (deictic demonstrative pronouns)

Demonstrative pronouns are used to modify a preceding core NP, which undergoes tone-dropping (§xxx). The animate forms (for humans and animals) are attested only in modifying function. There is an issue of segmentation involving animate singular nouns, which elsewhere take Singular suffix -m. This suffix is omitted in the demonstrative, hence nǎ:-m ‘cow’, nâ: mú ‘this cow’, and nâ: má: ‘that cow (far-distant)’. Since these animate demonstratives begin with /m/, one might question whether this /m/ is really the Singular suffix, and transcribe e.g. nâ:-m ú. The test for this should be the animate plural, since plural nouns (nǎ: ‘cows’) are suffixless. For the Proximate, both nâ: í-mbè: ‘these cows’ and nâ: mú-mbè: ‘these cows’ are attested as

plurals of ‘this cow’ (nà: mú), so it would appear that even native speakers have been unconsciously asking this question.

(xx1) category	Inanimate		Animate	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Proximate	ḡgú	ḡgú-mbè:	mú	í-mbè:, mú-mbè:
Near-Distant	kú	kú-mbè:	mér ⁿ é	mér ⁿ é-mbè:
Far-Distant	ḡgá:	ḡgá:-mbè:	má:	mă:-mbè:

4.4.1.2 Prenominal Discourse-Definite *ko* ‘that (same)’

ko or ku, a spinoff of the Inanimate Singular (personal or demonstrative) pronoun (originally in possessor function), can be used prenominally in discourse-definite sense with nouns of any animacy category: ‘that (same, aforementioned) ...’. Gloss as “Dem” in interlinears. Discuss the synchronic relationship between the true InanSg possessor form (‘its top’, ‘its mouth/door’) and the discourse-definite demonstrative. This demonstrative can often be used with a distinct possessor, as in [ko 2Sg uncle] ‘that (same) uncle of yours’.

May co-occur in NP with a postnominal demonstrative or Definite morpheme.

4.4.1.3 Anaphoric/logophoric demonstrative pronouns

Give the forms of anaphoric (i.e. reflexive and logophoric) pronouns, and briefly mention any morphological features, with cross-reference to chapter on Anaphora.

4.4.2 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.2.1 Locative adverbs

ḡgúřĩ ‘here’

ḡgářĩ ‘over there’

kúřĩ ‘there (definite)’

‘here’, ‘over there’ (pointing), ‘there’ (discourse-definite)

‘around here/this way’ etc. if expressed by a single word

4.4.2.2 Emphatic and Approximative modifiers of adverbs

'right here' (precisely here), 'right there', etc. May involve adding an expressive adverbial to the adverb.

'(somewhere) around here' or 'this way' etc. if expressed by a demonstrative adverb plus a modifier

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

*Presentative forms, which may or may not distinguish plurality and animacy. Cf. French *voici, voilà*.*

*examples including e.g. 'here's the water', 'here's Seydou' 'here they come', 'here I am', French *le voilà qui arrive* (with VP).*

mèrⁿé 'voilà'

4.5 Adjectives

4.5.1 Types of adjectives

Adjectives are morphologically noun-like stems that typically follow (modify) a noun ('red house'), or occur in predicative function ('the house is red'). They usually have morphological features that distinguish them from nouns, which should be presented here. If the predicative form is morphologically specialized (as opposed to the same stem plus a 'be' verb), there may be distinctions within the set of adjectives as to whether, and in what form, the predicative form occurs. If adjectives agree morphologically with the noun (or referent), there may be some that have defective paradigms since they make sense only with human/animate ('kindly'), or only with inanimate ('deep') referents. However, some of the inanimate-only adjectives can occasionally be used with human/animate reference in some sense or other. After identifying major subtypes of adjectives, give extended lists of each type organized by morphophonological patterning. Give cross-ref to section on inchoative and factitive verbalizations (Chapter 9). Briefly mention interesting semantic syncretisms like 'hot' = 'fast'.

'big (house)'

'small (house)'

'young (child, animal)'

'young, adolescent (man/woman)'

'old (man, woman)'

'adult, full-grown (but not old)'

'old, used (object)'
'new'

'hot' = 'fast'
'cold, cool' = 'slow'
'lukewarm, tepid'

'good'
'bad' = 'nasty, evil' = 'ugly'

'smooth, sleek (surface)'
'soft (skin)'
'coarse (surface)'

'dry (clothing)' = 'hard(ened)' (= 'expensive, high [price]')
'wet (clothing)'
'soft (and moist)' = 'fresh (grass, vegetable)'
'hard, solid (e.g. rock)'
'thick, syrupy (liquid)'

'deep (well, hole)'

'difficult (work)' = 'expensive'
'easy (work)' = 'cheap'

'lightweight'
'heavy'

'delicious, sweet' (= 'good') = 'sharp (blade)'
'blunt (blade)'
'pointed'
'sugary, sweet (e.g. tea)'
'bland-tasting'
'bitter (like some medicines, e.g. from caillcédra tree)'
'sour, acrid (like lemon)'
'sour, curdled (milk)'
'half-curdled (milk)'
'crispy (taste/texture, like sweet-potato strips fried in oil)'

'ripe (grain)' = 'cooked, done (meat)'
'ripe (mango, banana)'
'red' = 'ripe' (mango, some other fruits)
'half-ripe (mango, edible but hard)', perhaps two distinct terms here
'unripe (grain, fruit)' = 'raw, uncooked'
'over-ripe (e.g. mango that has become soft, but still edible)'
'rotten (fruit, meat)'
'foul, bad-smelling (urine, garbage)'

'red (brown)'
'black (dark)'
'white (light-colored)'
'yellow' (perhaps = 'nééré flour')
'green' (perhaps = 'fresh grass')
'off-white, dirty white, khaki'
'blue' (often e.g. bula-bula from the name of a soap product)
'multicolored, striped'
'spotted' (dark spots on light, light spots on dark, sometimes distinguished)

'long' (= 'tall')
'tall (person)', sometimes distinct from 'long'
'lofty, towering (tree, mountain)'
'short (rope, person)'
'runty' (unusually short person, breed of goats)

'narrow (passageway)'
'wide (passageway)'
'spacious (courtyard)'
'cramped (courtyard)'

'thick (wall)'
'thin (wall)'
'thick, massive (tree trunk)'
'slender (person)'
'fat, stout (person)'
'plump (animal)'
'lean (animal)'

'strong' (perhaps Characteristic 'having strength')
'weak, feeble'

'full (container)'
'empty' = 'deserted'

'useless, good-for-nothing (person, donkey, tool)'

'full-strength, undiluted (milk, cream of millet)'
'diluted, watered-down (milk, cream of millet)'

'living, alive'

'respectable (adult person)'

4.5.2 Adverbials with adjectival sense ('flat')

A number of semantically adjective-like stems are grammatically adverbials (no morphology, function adverbially or are made predicative by adding 'be'). Of special interest are terms for 'flat' (often more precisely e.g. 'flat and wide' and similar senses); check terms for 'flat-topped (head)', 'flat (nose)', 'flat (grinding stone)', and 'flat (terrain)'. In some languages, several such terms occur, distinguished by vowel quality (pata, pEtE, pOtO, etc., with tone and perhaps final intonational lengthening varying from language to language).

4.5.3 Iterated (fully reduplicated) adverbials

e.g. Nanga types exemplified by the following. List, and organize by tone contour, final intonation effect, and syllabic shape

*pEmbE-pEmbE=> 'shaped like a flattened calabash'
gombo-gombo 'projecting (rock)'*

distinct from agentive nominal from verb with (incorporated) cognate nominal as compound initial, e.g. Nanga jinja-jinji 'noisy' (noun or adjective) from phrase (cognate nominal object plus verb) jinja jinji- 'make noise'.

4.6 Participles

Cross-reference to main discussion of morphology of participles in the chapter on relative clauses.

4.7 Numerals

4.7.1 Cardinal numerals

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

In a counting sequence ('one, two, three, ...'), '1' is tùmá: As a modifying numeral it is tùmá (inanimate) or tùmă-m (animate) and is treated tonally as an adjective rather than like other numerals. The noun is therefore tone-dropped: ùrò tùmá 'one house' (ùrò 'house'). Animate nouns add Singular -m to the adjective, not to the noun: nà: tùmă-m 'one cow' (nă:-m 'cow').

'Other' is the adjective ñďăw (animate singular ñďăw-m): ùrò ñďăw 'another house', nà: ñďăw-m 'another cow', nà: ñďăw 'other cows'.

4.7.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’

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

(xx1)	gloss	form
	‘2’	yǒy
	‘3’	tà:ní
	‘4’	nǐŋŋěy ⁿ
	‘5’	nùmmǔy ⁿ
	‘6’	kúròy
	‘7’	síy ⁿ ǎy ⁿ
	‘8’	gá:rày
	‘9’	tè:súm
	‘10’	pé:rú

These numerals and core NPs do not interact tonally. Thus ná: yǒy ‘two cows’, úrò nùmmǔyⁿ ‘five houses’.

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

The multiples of ‘10’ are given in (xx1).

(xx1)	gloss	form
	‘10’	pé:rú
	‘20’	pèrí-yèy
	‘30’	pé-tà:nǐ
	‘40’	pé-nǐŋŋèy ⁿ
	‘50’	pé-nùmmùy ⁿ
	‘60’	pèrù-kúròy
	‘70’	pèrù-síy ⁿ ǎy ⁿ
	‘80’	pèrù-síy ⁿ ǎy ⁿ
	‘90’	pé:rú-tè:sùm

comment on unusual segmental or tonal aspects of these composite decimal terms.

describe combinations of the above with single-digit terms like ‘11’ and ‘59’. There is usually a linking morpheme that might be glossed ‘plus’, as in ‘ten plus one’, etc. Give two examples.

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

The stems in (xx1) are usually noun-like morphosyntactically.

(xx1)	gloss	form
a.	'hundred'	té:mèndérè (<Fulfulde?)
b.	'thousand'	mùsú
c.	'million'	mĩlyô: ⁿ (<French)

These can be followed by a numeral (exx for 'two hundred', 'three thousand', etc.).

Expression of numerals combining more than one level ('1-99', hundreds, thousands). Is the noun repeated, or does it occur just at the beginning or just at the end? (five thousand sheep [and] fifty sheep). Any special intonational features on the nonfinal numerals?

4.7.1.5 Currency

name of currency unit (= 5 francs CFA).

Archaic '100' term (Nanga seNi, etc.) still used to mean '500 francs' (or '400 francs') by older people?

4.7.1.6 Distributive numerals

example: 'one-one' = 'one at a time, one by one, one each', etc.

4.7.2 Ordinal adjectives

*Cross-reference to 'how-many-eth?' (French *quantième*) term in section on interrogatives in chapter on focalization and interrogation.*

4.7.2.1 'First' and 'last'

'First' (e.g. in a time sequence) is kùyá (animate singular kùyă-m). 'Last' is dùmǒyⁿ (animate singular dùmǒyⁿ-m). Both are treated as normal adjectives.

4.7.2.2 Other ordinals (suffix -xxx)

Other ordinals are formed by adding -nó to the numeral, whose tones are dropped. The animate singular form is -nǎ-m. There are no lexical irregularities.

(xx1)	form	gloss
a.	single-digit numeral	
	yòy-nó	‘second’
	tà:n-nó	‘third’
	nǐŋɛ̀y ⁿ -nó	‘fourth’
	nùmmù ⁿ -nó	‘fifth’
	kùròy-nó	‘sixth’
	sǐy ⁿ ǎy ⁿ -nó	‘seventh’
	gà:rày-nó	‘eighth’
	tè:sùm-nó	‘ninth’
	pè:rù-nó	‘tenth’
b.	decimal	
	pèrù-yèy-nó	‘twentieth’
c.	decimal plus single-digit numeral	
	pèru-tùmà-nó	‘eleventh’
d.	hundred	
	tè:mèndèrè-nó	‘hundredth’
e.	hundred plus ‘1-99’ numeral (two levels)	
	tè:mèndèrè pèrǐ-yèy-nó	‘hundred and twentieth’

4.7.3 Fractions and portions

terms meaning ‘half’ or (more vaguely) ‘portion, section, division’.

5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

The compound types in this chapter are distinguished by the word-classes of the initial and final, and by tone-contour. Using n for noun, a for adjective, and v for verb, and x for a variable word class (noun, adjective, perhaps adverb), one can represent the types with notation like [x n], [n n], [n v], and (with a suffix) [n v-VblN], with diacritics on “x n v” to mark tones (acute = all high tone, circumflex = HL contour, hacek = LH contour, grave = low tone, macron = regular lexical tone). Put each compound type in its own subsection. Comment on morphophonological similarity or identity between certain compound types and a) possessor-possessed combinations, and b) noun-adjective combinations. Give several examples of each pattern.

5.1 Nominal compounds

5.1.1 Compounds of type (n n) [both n’s with macrons]

both the initial and the final are nouns with their regular tones (no special tonal change in compound). Not common.

5.1.2 Compounds of type (n n) [first noun with grave accent, second with macron]

Initial is a noun (perhaps occasionally an adverb) that is tone-dropped, final is a noun with its regular tones. Common. May compete with possessor-type compounds, but if so this type is more typical of the fully lexicalized compounds.

5.1.3 Compounds with final Verbal Noun, type (n VblN)

Verbal nouns with incorporated object, e.g. ‘millet-farming’. The initial is tone-dropped in some languages (but retains its lexical tones in Nanga). The final is a regular verbal noun (with the Verbal Noun suffix, and showing any tonal changes required by this suffix).

There may also be a semantically similar compound type without the Verbal Noun. Nanga has a second pattern with low-toned initial and {HL} toned verb stem as final (with no VblN suffix).

Elicit in contexts like ‘millet-farming is difficult’, with a predicative adjective

5.1.4 Possessive-type compounds (n̄ n) [first with macron, second with grave or circumflex as the language requires]

May have the same tone patterns as possessor-possessioned combinations, in which case it is not obvious that “compound” and “possessioned noun” are really distinct. Typically the initial has its regular tones, while the final has the tone contour of a possessioned noun, i.e. {HL} or all-low depending on the language.

In lexical elicitation, this pattern may occur commonly the first time the informant utters the compound. Sometimes the informant will later repeat it with the [n̄ n] pattern, which is typical of more lexicalized compounds.

5.1.5 Agentive compounds of type (x̄ v-Ppl) [with diacritics; -Ppl suffix is sometimes zero]

low-toned initial is an incorporated object noun or some other complement, final is a verb ending in a participial ending (i.e. a Sg or Pl nominal suffix). In some languages, there is no suffix.

examples: ‘millet-farmer’, ‘beer-drinker’, ‘hyena-hunter’. Also covers combinations involving a cognate nominal: ‘farming-farmer’, ‘dance-dancer’, ‘song-singer’, etc.

5.1.6 Compounds with xxx ‘child’ (and xxx ‘fruit’)

Compounds whose final is the term for ‘child’.

In some languages, also used for ‘fruit of X’ and similar terms, where X is a tree or other plant sp., and for ‘small item associated with X’, where X is a (relatively large) implement. Other languages have a distinct term for ‘fruit’.

5.1.7 ‘Man’ (xxx), ‘woman’ (xxx)

Adjectives ‘male’ and ‘female’ (e.g. after animal terms).

‘woman’ noun often has irregular forms as a compound initial (try ‘young adult woman’, ‘woman who has just given birth’, ‘new bride’). This may be distinct from the form used in less lexicalized combinations like ‘pretty woman’ and ‘three women’.

comment on ‘man’ in such combinations, even if regular

‘boy’ and ‘girl’ terms may be frozen compounds

5.1.8 Compounds with xxx ‘owner’

start with ‘homeowner’, ‘owner of shop’, etc.

may also apply to ‘master (of slave)’. Uncompounded form as in ‘I do not have a master’.

e.g. ‘hunchback’ = ‘owner of hump’, competing with Characteristic derivative

5.1.9 Loose and tight compounds with xxx (‘authentic’, ‘entire’)

A term related to a term for ‘mother’ may be used as a compound final (or adjective?) in the sense ‘authentic (not false)’ or ‘entire (e.g. tree)’, especially with terms like ‘mango’ where the unmarked referent is a fruit.

Also indicate the term for ‘false (i.e. nonprototypical) X’, e.g. ‘false jujube’ or ‘false wild-grape’. Two or three cases of this should turn up in the flora-fauna terminology.

5.1.10 Natural-species compounds with medial linking element

A few flora-fauna terms may have a structure like X-ma:-X or X-na:-X, with a linking element separating two iterations of an element X. -na:- is the linker in Jamsay, -ma:- in some other Dogon languages. If this pattern is absent, say so.

5.1.11 Instrumental relative compounds (‘oil for rubbing’)

try ‘water for drinking’ versus ‘water for bathing’

this construction is often a relative clause, with or without an overt 3PI subject pronominal (‘water that they drink’)

5.1.12 Other phrasal compounds

any other complex, phrase-like compounds

5.1.13 Unclassified nominal compounds

any that do not fit into the above categories

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi (“Blackbeard”) compounds (n a) [n with macron, a with circumflex)

Correspond to English compounds with -ed, like ‘big-bellied’ or ‘two-headed’. Final is either an adjective or a numeral. The whole compound describes a person or other entity that is characterized by the modified or quantified noun.

Often bahuvrihi compounds have an initial with its lexical tones, and a final with {HL} contour overlaid. This is tonally different from a noun-adjective combination with the same lexical items (‘big belly’, ‘two heads’).

5.2.1.1 With adjectival compound final

give examples

5.2.1.2 With numeral compound final

give examples

5.2.2 Compounds of xxx- ‘very’ plus adjective

compound-like pattern with an initial meaning ‘very’ (Nanga O-). Not found in all languages.

6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1 Linear order

basic linear ordering of elements (allowing for some variation in position of 'each', with different senses, see below)

*prenominal demonstrative (e.g. ku)
possessor
noun
modifying adjective
(postnominal possessor pronoun plus possessive classifier)
cardinal numeral or 'each'
demonstrative pronoun or Definite morpheme
universal quantifier ('all') or 'each'*

give exx. showing all ordering relationships of adjacent elements

'each' (distributive quantifier) usually combines with a simple noun (or noun plus adjective): 'each person', 'each big house'. If it occurs later in the NP, it usually means 'each of ...', as in 'each of the three women'

6.1.2 Headless NPs (absolute function of demonstratives, etc.)

'this/that' demonstratives and 'all' quantifier may be used absolutely (as NP, with no over noun). Give examples in sentences.

6.1.3 Detachability (in relatives)

Identify the elements that remain with the clause-internal head NP in a relative construction: possessor, noun, adjectives, cardinal numerals.

Identify the elements that normally occur at the end of a NP that are (re-)located after the verbal participle in a relative clause: determiners, non-numeral quantifiers

cross-ref to fuller discussion, with examples, in chapter on Relativization

6.1.4 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping

detailed analysis of tone-dropping within unpossessed NPs (not head NPs of relatives). Typically:

all non-final words in core NP (noun plus any number of modifying adjectives) are tone-dropped;

final word in core NP and any following adjective are tone-dropped before a demonstrative pronoun (in some languages, also before a Definite morpheme);

'each' (distributive quantifier) forces tone-dropping on the final word of a core NP, and in the sense 'each of ...' it may force tone-dropping on other preceding elements (including demonstratives and cardinal numerals)

Interlinear glosses in examples: '.L' at the end of the interlinear gloss means that tone-dropping has applied.

lots of examples showing tone-dropping

no tone-dropping: noun plus cardinal numeral; core NP plus 'all' quantifier, core NP plus postnominal possessor (pronominal possessor with classifier)

complications: the combo of a possessed NP with a possessor NP may constitute a tonological island that is unchanged when a determiner is added at the end. Try 'my house this', 'my houses these', etc.

possessor plus [noun adjective]. The adjective elsewhere forces tone-dropping on the noun. However, this may be overridden by the possessed-noun tone contour forced on the noun (and adjective) by the possessor. Try 'a woman's big house', etc.. Perhaps something like [woman [house.HL big.L]], if {HL} is the usual possessed-noun contour.

situation is more complicated if a (pronominal) possessor is postnominal.

'each of your houses' (distributive quantifier interacting with possessor); what is the tone contour?

6.2 Possessives

6.2.1 Alienable possession (P Q.L)

For special features of kin terms (with pronominal possessor), see the immediately following section on inalienable possession.

6.2.1.1 Nonpronominal NP as prenominal possessor

'Seydou's house', 'a woman's house', '[this man's] house', 'the man's house', etc. Describe tone contours, with examples. Does the final tone of the possessor, especially in the absence of a determiner on the possessor, affect the tone contour of the possessed noun?

6.2.1.2 Treatment of modifiers following the possessed noun

'Seydou's big house' = [Seydou [house big]], describe tone contour with specific reference to the adjective.

try 'Seydou's six houses': does the numeral undergo tone-dropping?

try 'Seydou('s) house the/this'; does the determiner undergo tone-dropping?

6.2.1.3 Pronoun plus classifier as postnominal possessor

If the language has possessed NPs of the type [house [1Sg thing]] 'my house' and [sheep [1Sg critter]] 'my sheep-Sg', describe here.

6.2.2 Inalienable possession

6.2.2.1 Kin terms and similar relationship terms

Kin terms (and 'friend', 'agemate', 'co-wife', etc.) may be treated like any other possessed noun, or there may be a distinct construction.

'Seydou's uncle'; does this have the same form as e.g. 'Seydou's house'?

how about 'my uncle' versus 'my house'?

try with modifiers: 'my six uncles', 'my bad uncles'

'wife' (= 'woman') and 'child' are usually not treated as inalienable (if inalienable and alienable possession are distinguished).

6.2.2.2 Tone of numeral after possessed kin term

In e.g. 'my six uncles', see whether 'six' drops tones in the same fashion as after a nonpronominal possessor.

6.2.3 Recursive possession

e.g. 'my father's house' = [[1Sg [father]] house]

6.3 Noun plus adjective

6.3.1 Noun plus regular adjective

Noun drops tones before modifying adjective.

examples

6.3.2 Adjective xxx 'certain (ones)'

Stem meaning 'some/certain one(s)' (also used in parallelistic 'some people went to Bamako, some [other] people stayed here') may pattern either as a modifying adjective, forcing tone-dropping on the noun, or as an adverbial (no tonal effect on noun).

With mass nouns like 'sugar', xxx means 'some of (X)', denoting a portion of a larger quantity (xx4).

6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjective sequences

noun plus two or more modifying adjectives (noun.L adj.L adj)

6.3.3.2 Adjectival intensifiers

No clear boundary between these intensifiers and (other) expressive adverbials (chapter 8).

list of intensifiers, with semantically associated adjective (or verb)

6.3.3.3 'Good to eat'

distinguish e.g. 'hedgehogs are good to eat' from e.g. 'it's good to eat hedgehogs'.

6.4 Noun plus cardinal numeral

cardinal numeral follows core NP but precedes determiners

no tonal interaction between cardinal numeral and core NP in normal clauses

with following demonstrative (and Definite morpheme?), or as head of relative, both the core NP and the numeral are tone-dropped.

examples

when NP is head of relative clause, numeral remains with head NP inside the clause rather than being shifted to post-participial position.

6.5 Noun plus determiner

6.5.1 Prenominal *ko* ‘the (afore-mentioned)’

ko (ku) before a noun is discourse-definite (‘that same ...’)

*is there a tonal distinction (on the following noun) between true possessor *ko* ‘its’ and this demonstrative-like *ko* ?*

can this (originally possessor) element now co-occur with an authentic possessor (NP or pronoun)?

*there is potentially a bracketing issue, since a NP-initial *ko* could have scope over either the immediately following possessor, or over the entire possessed NP. It may be possible to have double *ko* marking*

[ko [ko X] Y] ‘that same Y of that same X’

6.5.2 Postnominal demonstrative pronouns

for the subcategories and forms of demonstrative pronouns, see §4.xxx.

order is [[core NP] numeral] Demonstrative], where core NP is noun plus any adjectives.

demonstrative pronouns normally induce tone-dropping on the final word of the core NP (the nonfinal words are already tone-dropped), and on a numeral if present.

examples

a complication is that this tone-dropping pattern may be blocked when the noun is possessed: ‘[[Seydou dog] this] ‘this dog of Seydou’s.

examples

when a NP functioning as head of a relative clause contains a demonstrative (‘this dog that you see’), the demonstrative is detached from the head NP within the clause, and appears after the verbal participle. See chapter on relativization.

6.5.3 Definite morpheme plus noun

for the form(s), see §4.xxx.

Do Definite morphemes induce tone-dropping (in the same manner as demonstrative pronouns)?

examples, with and without a possessor (‘the houses of Seydou’)

Like the demonstrative pronouns, Definite morphemes are separated from a NP that functions as head of a relative, and are placed after the verbal participle (§14.xxx).

6.6 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.6.1 ‘All’ (xxx)

(there may be more than one form with this translation)

normally ‘all’ (universal quantifier) is NP-final, following even demonstrative pronouns and the definite morpheme

examples

6.6.2 ‘Each’ (xxx)

there is not always a sharp semantic distinction between ‘each’ (distributive) and ‘all’ (universal)

the ‘each’ quantifier is most often directly combined with a core NP (noun plus any adjectives).

tone-dropping effect on final word in core NP?

partitive construction ‘each of us’, ‘each of those three sheep’

6.6.3 Universal and distributive quantifiers with negation

'not at all' = 'absolutely not' (= none, never) versus 'not all'

6.7 Accusative -xxx

(some Dogon languages have an Accusative suffix added to nouns and pronouns in object function, especially for animate NPs and pronouns)

if such a morpheme is present, does it occur only once at the end of a NP? Follows demonstrative pronouns, Definite morpheme, 'each' quantifier. and 'all' quantifier.

does the Accusative morpheme precede or follow the 'all' quantifier)

intrinsic tone, or atonal (getting tone from the preceding word)?

compatible with a possessor preceding the noun?

7 Coordination

7.1 NP coordination

7.1.1 NP conjunction ('X and Y')

Often there is a conjunction morpheme M (e.g. low-toned yo) that occurs in parallel after both conjuncts: [X M] [Y X] 'X and Y'. In some languages this morpheme has disappeared but lives on in the form of dying-quail intonation (prolongation plus slowly falling pitch, symbol :.).

- (xx1) a. [ĩ yá] [ú yá]
 [1Sg and] [2Sg and]
 'you-Sg and I'
- b. [û: yà] [ĩ: yà]
 [2Pl and] [1Pl and]
 'you-Pl and us'
- c. [yǎ: yá] [árⁿà yà]
 [woman and] [man and]
 'women and men'

7.1.1.1 Ordering of coordinands

'you and I' versus 'I and you', etc.

7.1.1.2 Conjunction with final quantifier

'all' quantifier may occur at the end of the entire conjoined NP.

7.1.2 "Conjunction" of verbs or VP's

conjunction particles described above are not used with verbs or VPs; for chaining mechanisms see §xxx.

7.2 Disjunction

any distinction (segmental form, intonation, or preferred verbal inflectional category) between 'or' in (indicative) 'every day we slaughter a sheep or a goat' and the polar (yes/no) interrogative morpheme?

7.2.1 'Or' (xxx)

'X or Y' as in (indicative) 'every day we slaughter a sheep or a goat', 'you or I must go there tomorrow', 'every market day we sell three or four sheep'

'or' particle may be repeated: [X or] [Y or] 'X or Y', or it occurs just once, between the coordinands: [X or Y]. For whichever patterns are observed, describe intonation contours, and in the case of [X or Y] indicate whether 'or' is prosodically grouped (and thus bracketable) with X or with Y.

7.2.2 Clause-level disjunction

it may be difficult to distinguish 'S or T' with two indicative clauses from polar interrogative 'S? or T?'.

*'Either you will go to Bamako or you will stay here (but you won't go to Mopti)'
'Either it will rain soon, or the millet will be ruined'
'Every day, either we get millet from the granary or we buy some millet'*

can an imperative be combined disjunctively with another imperative, or with any other clause? ('eat the meal, or get up!'). If not, how is such an idea expressed?

8 Postpositions and adverbials

For atonal postpositions that lack an intrinsic tone, instead getting a tone by spreading from the left, omit tones in the citation form. Any general comments about phonological (segmental or tonal) interactions between postpositions and preceding nouns/pronouns can go here.

In some languages (e.g. Jamsay), dative, instrumental, and basic locative are the same postposition, so some merging of sections is needed. In this event, give plenty of examples to show the range.

If there are any “tonal locatives” (as in Jamsay and marginally elsewhere), expressed solely by a tone change, they should have their own section.

‘about X’ as in ‘let’s talk about (= on the subject of) X’ is expressed variously. Include this in whatever subsection is relevant.

8.1 Dative and instrumental

8.1.1 Dative (bâ:, bà)

This postposition is used for the indirect object of ‘say’, and in contexts like ‘there’s nothing for X’ or ‘I have a message for X’ indicating a beneficiary.

The forms (bâ: and bà) depend on the final tone of the complement NP, with bâ: following a high tone and bà (note the short vowel) following a low tone.

The pronominal combinations are in (xx1). 1Sg is expressed by an initial low tone that combines with the <HL> tone of bâ: to produce <LHL>.

(xx1)	category	Dative
	1Sg	bă:
	2Sg	ú bâ:
	1Pl	î: bà
	2Pl	û: bà
	3Sg	é bâ:
	3Pl	bú bâ:
	Inan	kú bâ:
	Logo/3Ref1Sg	á bâ:

Logo/3RefPIl â: bà

description of the semantic range of 'dative' (beneficiary as in 'I cooked some cream of millet for you', addressee in 'he said to me that ...', recipient in 'she gave/showed me the basket'. Note that 'give' and 'show' sometimes have another construction with the recipient treated as direct object; cross-ref to "valency" discussion §11.1.1.

morphology: are any pronominal datives irregular? If so, repeat from §4.3.2.

examples

8.1.2 Instrumental (ñâŋ)

Instrumental postposition ñâŋ has its falling tone when the preceding NP ends in a high tone. If that NP ends in a low tone, we get low-toned ñâŋ.

The postposition is used with the obvious set of NP complements denoting tools and the like. It may also be used with vehicles as means of transport (xx1.c), and with ingredients in cooking (xx1.d). It may also be used in comitative function (xx1.e), although in this case there are alternative ways to phrase the sense (e.g. a conjunction 'Seydou and I went' or a transitive verb 'I accompanied Seydou').

- (xx1) a. [wàrà ñâŋ] wàrà:-rà-ỳ
[daba Inst] do.farm.work-Impf-1SgS
'I do farming with a daba (hoe).'
- b. [põ: ñâŋ] nàmâ: késé:-rà-y
[knife Instr.] meat cut-Impf-1SgS
'I cut-Present (the) meat with a knife.'
- c. [ĩnjé ñâŋ] ñdó-m-ù
[what? Inst] go-Impf-2SgS
'With what (e.g. vehicle) will you-Sg go?'
- d. [[nèm kú] ñâŋ] sómèyⁿ céŋgíl-là-ỳ
[[salt Def] Inst] sauce prepare-Impf-1SgS
'I prepare sauce with the salt.' (céŋgírè-)
- e. [séydù ñâŋ] ñdò-y
[S with] go.Perf.L-1SgS
'I went with Seydou.'

8.2 Locational postpositions

8.2.1 Locative, allative, and ablative functions

In the various locational postpositions described below, there is no distinction between static locative ('in', 'at', etc.), allative ('to'), and ablative ('from'). Directionality is indicated by verbs like 'go in' and 'go out', which are commonly chained with other verbs.

8.2.2 Simple and complex PPs

The complex PPs are parallel to English 'in front of X' or the like. In Dogon languages they involve a possessed noun expressing the spatial relation ('top' = 'over', 'bottom' = 'under', 'front', etc.). This possessed spatial noun is then followed by the simple Locative postposition xxx (§8.3.3).

tone of the possessed noun is normally consistent with that of other possessed nouns

8.2.3 Locatives

In many contexts, a simple NP with no explicit postposition is used in locative function (xx2).

- (xx2) a. úrò ñdó-m-ĩ
'I'm going home' (úrò 'house')
- b. ðrⁿó: ñdó-m-ĩ
'I'm going into the bush (outback).'
- c. ñírⁿà: yá b-è:
'they are in the fields'
- d. ùsù-bórⁿò bírá: ñgó
'in the hot season there's no work'
- e. ìsô: ñdê-Ø
village go.Perf-3SgS
'He/She went to the village.'

With a verb of motion ('go') or a locational-existential ('be'), and in other contexts where there is no likelihood of confusion, a place name is understood to be locative in function without explicit postpositions (xx1).

- (xx1) éyⁿ bàməkó ñdó-m-ĩ
tomorrow B go-Impf-1SgS

‘I’m going to Bamako tomorrow.’

8.2.4 ‘In, on’ (nĩ)

The postposition *nĩ* can be used with locative adverbs like *ɲgúřĩ* ‘here’ and with NPs based on common nouns denoting locations. It is low-toned regardless of the final tone of the complement.

- (xx1) a. [ɲgúřĩ nĩ] ná-m-∅
 [here in] spend.night-Impf-3SgS
 ‘He/She will sleep (=spend the night) here.’
- b. [ɲgà-tá: nĩ] ná-m-∅
 [over.there in] spend.night-Impf-3SgS
 ‘He/She will sleep over there.’
- c. [ðrⁿó: nĩ] ná-m-∅
 [the.bush in] spend.night-Impf-3SgS
 ‘He/She will sleep in the bush (=outback).’

8.2.5 ‘In, during’ (wó)

Another simple (uncompounded) postposition has the form /wó/ after a high tone and /wò/ after a low tone. It is used instead of /nĩ/ when the complement denotes a time period (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [ńárù wò] jěy jè-jé-m-bè
 ‘they will dance at night’ (ńân)
- b. [ùsí:ⁿ wó] bírá: bĩ-bíré-m-ĩ:
 ‘we will work during the day’
- c. [zèrⁿěy wó] [ɲgúřĩ nĩ] ɲgó:-∅
 [rainy.season in] [here in] not.be-3SgS
 ‘He/She is not here during the rainy season.’

/wó/ is also part of compound postpositions to be described in sections below. This suggests that /wó/ was formerly an all-purpose Locative postposition, but has come to be circumscribed (as a simple postposition) to temporal phrases.

8.2.6 ‘On (the head of) X’ or ‘over X’ ([[X kú] wò])

‘On X’ with reference to position on a surface is expressed as ‘on X’s head’ (xx1). kû: ‘head’ (é kû: ‘his/her head,’ etc.) is shortened to kú (or, after a low tone, kù) in this phrase. The phrase may also mean ‘over X’, though a more explicit ‘over X’ phrase is available (see below).

- (xx1) a. [[kàrá kú] wò]
 [[mat head.HL] on]
 ‘on the mat’
- b. nǐ-m [tǐmèyⁿ ñgú] kú wò kǐsǐyè-Ø
 bird-Sg [tree Prox] head.HL on] fly.Perf-3SgS
 ‘The bird flew over this tree.’
- c. [ǐ: kù] wò kǐsǐyé lǎwè-Ø
 [1PIP head] in] fly pass.Perf-3SgS
 ‘It flew past over us.’

8.2.7 ‘Next to, beside X’ ([[X kéré] wò])

The noun kéré: ‘side’ furnishes a complex postposition of the type ‘at [the side of X]’, with Locative wò following the possessed form kéré (which may further contract to kèr). After a low tone we get kèrǐ wò.

- (xx1) [[[tǐmèyⁿ kù] kéré] wò] bǐyò-ŋ
 [[[tree Def] side.HL] in] lie.down-xxx
 ‘He is lying down beside the tree.’

The 1Sg form ‘beside me, next to me’ is kèrǐ wò.

The adverbial counterpart is kéré: wó ‘(off) to the side’.

8.2.8 ‘In, inside of’ ([X pírè])

pǐré ‘belly’, treated as a possessed noun, provides an explicit ‘in, inside of’ locative postposition (xx1). The form is pírè after high tone, pǐrè after low tone.

- (xx1) a. [ǐsô: kù] pírè] yá bú
 ‘He/She is in the village.’
- b. sèngí: pǐrè nǐ: gârⁿi-y
 ‘I put-Past water in (the) waterjar.’

- c. ð:-m [[á ñírⁿɛ] pĩrè] nú-ndè-∅
 mouse-Sg [[3ReflPSgP hole.HL] in] enter-xxx-3Sg
 ‘(The) mouse went into its hole.’

8.2.9 ‘In front of’ ([X jíró])

The ‘in front of’ postposition is jíró after a high tone, jĩró after a low tone.

- (xx1) [nú: jíró] t̂ey-∅
 [people in.front.HL] speak.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He spoke in front of the people.’

The corresponding adverb is jĩró: ‘in front, ahead, forward’.

These forms are likely historically related to gĩré ‘eye’.

‘In front of the house’ is usually translated as ‘at the door’ (xx2).

- (xx2) wòtóró [òró-mbú wó] í:-rí-m-ĩ
 cart [house.L-mouth in] stand-Caus-Impf-1SgS
 ‘I will stop the cart at the door (=in front of the house).’

8.2.10 ‘Behind/after X’ ([X túndù] wò)

From túndú ‘behind’, cf. túndù-gòrú ‘back (body part)’, we get a compound postposition with the possessed form of túndú followed by Locative wò. The form is túndù wò after a high tone and túndù wò after a low tone.

- (xx1) [[t̂iměyⁿ túndù] wò
 [[tree back.HL] at
 ‘behind the tree’

This can also be used in the temporal sense ‘after, following’.

- (xx2) [[láyá:rù túndù] wò] ʃsô: ñdó-m-ĩ
 [[feast.of.ram back.HL] in] village go-Impf-1SgS
 ‘After the Feast of the Ram I’ll travel.’

The adverbial phrase is túndú wó ‘in the rear, in the back’.

8.2.11 ‘Over/above X’ ([[X m̀b̀ar̀ù] ẁò]), ‘under X’ ([[X bú] ẁò])

‘Over X, above X’ is [[X m̀b̀ar̀ù] ẁò] (xx1.a), related to the adverb m̀b̀ar̀ú ẁò ‘above, on top, overhead’. ‘Under X’ is [[X bú] ẁò] (xx1.b), which is not transparently segmentable since it is not closely related to a noun or adverb. As usual the possessed noun is all-low toned after a low tone. The noun b̀ond̀ò: ‘base, bottom’ can also be used in postposition-like function ‘at the base of X’ or ‘under X’ (xx1.c).

- (xx1) a. [[ú̀r̀ò m̀b̀ar̀ù] ẁò]
 [[house over.L] in]
 ‘above the house’
- b. [[s̀è̀ng̀í: bù] ẁò]
 [[waterjar under.L] in]
 ‘under the waterjar’
- c. ú b̀ond̀ò:
 2SgP base.HL
 ‘under you-Sg’

Adverbial ‘(down) below, underneath’ is [d̀ú: ẁò]. The noun b̀ond̀ò: ‘base, bottom (of sth)’

8.2.12 ‘Between’ ([[X g̀and̀ù] ẁò])

Where X denotes a plurality, [[X g̀and̀ù] ẁò] means ‘between X’.

- (xx1) a. [í: g̀and̀ù] ẁò
 [1PIP between.L] in
 ‘between us’
- b. [[d̀úẁánzá yá] [m̀ót̀t̀í yà] g̀and̀à] ẁò
 [[D and] [M and] between.L] in
 ‘between Douentza and Mopti (cities)’
- c. [bú g̀and̀ù] ẁò
 [3PIP between] in
 ‘between them’

8.2.13 ‘From X to Y’

How does one express e.g. the following?

'they ran all the way to Mopti'
'they ran from Mopti to Bandiagara'

8.3 Purposive-Causal 'for' (xxx)

Perhaps a simple (not complex) postposition.

semantics rather complex

prospective (usually purposive): 'they came for the honey'

retrospective (usually causal): 'they fled because of the rain'

abstract motive: 'they gave me some money [for (the sake of) God]' (= as charity)

8.4 Other adverbs (or equivalents)

8.4.1 Similarity (xxx 'like')

May be atonal

Usually follows the argument that it has scope over, like postposition (but may also follow a clause)

examples. Also mention the 'like this/that, thus' adverb (either 'like' after an inanimate/nonhuman pronoun, or a special form)

8.4.2 Extent ('a lot', 'a little')

adverb 'a lot, greatly, very', perhaps an expressive adverbial used in a wide range of syntactic environments. May function (at least in translation) as a NP 'a large amount' as in 'they gave me a lot'. Give several examples.

adverb 'a little, slightly, somewhat' likewise may have NP-like readings ('a small amount') as well as other readings

cross-refs to §4.4.2.2

8.4.3 Specificity

8.4.3.1 'Approximately'

'I will buy approximately fifty sheep' (Fr environ)

for 'somewhere around here' etc., see §4.4.2.2.

8.4.3.2 'Exactly' (xxx, xxx, xxx)

there may be several such forms, including expressive adverbials (/lok/, /cOk/, /tee/, etc.) and a variant of regional /jaati/).

a) 'exactly one' (perhaps also used with other numerals)

b) 'exactly the same (e.g. height)'

c) 'at exactly noon (at 12:00 sharp)', *Fr midi pil.*

d) 'exactly correct' (said to confirm the truth of what the interlocutor has said)

8.4.3.3 'Specifically' (xxx)

Expressive adverbial (e.g. /tee/) after the relevant constituent. See also preceding section

*'He gave it specifically to you-Sg'
'I personally don't drink tea'*

8.4.4 Evaluation

8.4.4.1 'Well' and 'badly'

'he works well', perhaps [he does [good work]], likewise 'he works badly'

8.4.4.2 'Proper, right'

Perhaps an expressive adverbial used predicatively with 'it is' clitic or its negative counterpart, in senses like 'it's (not) right, normal, appropriate', with reference to actions. (Jamsay jaaN with nasalized vowel)

8.4.5 Manner

manner "adverbs" usually take the form of [noun adjective] complements of verbs, as in 'he does [fast work]'. There are also some adverbial PPs like 'with force/strength'

mention the noun meaning 'way, manner (of being or doing)'. This may be used in low-toned form as relative-clause head in manner adverbial clauses, see §15.5.

for 'like' phrases, see §8.4.1.

8.4.6 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.4.6.1 Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. xxx 'today; nowadays'
xxx 'again'
xxx 'yesterday; formerly, in the old days'
xxx 'day before yesterday'
xxx 'now'
- b. xxx 'tomorrow; in the future'
xxx 'day after tomorrow'
xxx 'second day after tomorrow' (third from today)
xxx 'third day after tomorrow' (fourth from today)
xxx 'fourth day after tomorrow' (fifth from today)
xxx 'fifth day after tomorrow' (sixth from tomorrow)
- c. xxx 'last year'
xxx 'next year'
xxx 'this year'

8.4.6.2 'First' (xxx)

Adverb 'first, firstly, at first', local French *en première position* (i.e. before something else). This may be an expressive adverbial, or it may be identical to the ordinal 'first' (as in English).

'We'll finish the work first, then we'll eat'

8.4.6.3 Spatial adverbs

- (xx1) a. **xxx** 'above, top, summit'
xxx 'below, bottom, down'
- b. **xxx** 'east'
xxx 'west'
xxx 'south'
xxx 'north'
- c. **xxx** 'going backward, in reverse'
xxx 'in the rear'
xxx 'forward; in front'

'forward' related to noun 'eye'?

discussion, especially of cardinal-direction terms

'left' and 'right' are adjectives, not adverbs, used with body-part nouns ('right hand', 'left hand'). Discuss the forms, especially if segmentable. ('right' related to 'eat'?)

8.4.7 Expressive adverbials

Expressive adverbials may function syntactically as predicates (in which case they are followed by an inflected form of 'be'), or as adverbs. Semantically, some of them are adjective-like, but they do not induce tone-dropping on a noun and in general are not integrated morphosyntactically into NPs.

Expressive adverbials typically have unusual phonological features, either final intonational prolongation ⇒ (less often, dying-quail pitch fall ∴) or strange interjection-like shapes like CvC. In Nanga they may also be completely low-toned. In some languages they are regularly followed by an Adverbial morpheme (Najamba nE), in which case the intonational prolongation may be reduced or absent.

Give a complete or at least generous list of such expressive adverbials from the lexicon. Organize by phonological pattern (reduplication, segmental shape, tone pattern, final intonation). Begin by dividing into reduplicated or unreduplicated. Within each, organize into subgroups based on shape such as CvC and CvV, with separate sections for distinctive tone patterns and for final intonational prolongation ⇒. If any adverbials are related to another word (noun, verb, adjective), this should be indicated.

A special class of expressive adverbials, adjectival intensifiers, is described and exemplified in §6.3.3.2. These intensifiers have phonological forms similar to those described here.

Examples of glosses of expressive adverbials

'flapping'

'swaying'

'walking along with hips swaying' (cow, elephant, fat woman)

'gaping (hole)'

'wide open (doorway)'

'face to face'

'(head) long and bending forward'

'chubby, puffy'

'woolly (texture, e.g. velvet), disheveled (hair)'

'wide open (eyes)'

'tilting'

'with head tilting'

'ajar (door)'

'rickety, shaky, poorly encased'

'brief shower (rain)'

'fat (woman, cow)'

'fat and clumsy'

'froth forming'

'towering, lofty'

'straight-nosed'

'slightly open (mouth)'

'slightly open (eyes)'

'motionless'

'many small identical objects'

'all together'

'many small identical objects' (var.)

'shiny new'

'suddenly encountering'

'runty and weak'

'drizzle (light rain)'

'going backward'

'almost alongside'

'staggering or stumbling along'

A few other important adverbials are discussed in the sections below. For other high-frequency expressive adverbials, see §8.4.2-3, above.

8.4.7.1 'Straight' (xxx)

'straight (line or trajectory', as in 'we went straight (= directly) to Mopti', or predicative 'the road is straight'.

iterated (reduplicated) form (adverbial or adjective)?

usually a distinct lexical item for 'straight' as in 'straight (not crooked) stick'

8.4.7.2 'Apart, separate' (xxx)

The adverbial xxx is used in parallel constructions of the type 'X is apart, Y is apart' (meaning 'X and Y are separated or distinct').

'goats are apart, sheep are apart' (= not the same, or physically separated)

iterated form?

8.4.7.3 'Always' (xxx), 'never' (xxx)

8.4.7.4 'Exclusively, together' (xxx)

Either a general 'together' adverbial, as in 'they are together', or a more nuanced version 'they are together (and separated from others)'

'together' in English translations may also be expressed in other ways: verb chain 'assemble (=get together) and VP', PP ('beside each other'), or numeral ('[we two] work'). See also §18.3.2.

8.4.7.5 'All, entirely' (kerew, soy)

The basic 'all' quantifier xxx may co-occur with an intensifier xxx. Alternatively, this 'all' quantifier may be replaced by another expressive adverbial xxx 'all, entirely, absolutely'.

iterative form?

8.4.8 Reduplicated (iterated) adverbials

8.4.8.1 Distributive adverbial iteration

Any numeral, or the interrogative xxx 'how many?', can be iterated to form a distributive adverb with meanings like 'six at a time', 'six apiece', or 'six by six'. Such phrases can be used, among other things, to specify the price per unit of a commodity for sale.

examples

8.4.8.2 ‘Scattered, here and there’ (xxx)

indicates irregular and sparse distribution. If not reduplicated, relocate this section.

‘The seeds have sprouted here and there.’

9 Verbal derivation

The productive suffixal derivations (stem to stem) for verbs are the Reversive ('un-...') and the Causative. Some verbs occur with either of two endings, Mediopassive and Transitive. Adjectives have corresponding intransitive (Inchoative) and transitive (Factitive) verb forms, but these are in most cases not directly formed from the adjective by adding a suffix.

9.1 Reversive verbs (-ri-)

The Reversive suffix is -xxx- (allomorphs?). It is common in verb pairs like 'shut/open' and 'cover/uncover' that denote complementary actions, (at least) one of which reverses or undoes the other. The Reversive is often transitive ('X opened the door') but may also be used intransitively ('the door opened').

The Reversive is often chained with a following intransitive xxx- 'go out, exit' or transitive xxx 'take out, remove', which helps to clarify the valency. The chain construction also makes it unambiguous that a reversive sense is intended (some reversives are homophonous with nonreversive transitives). For verbs that have no morphological Reversive, the chain construction can be used as a periphrastic reversive.

Comments on morphophonology. Input stem must be mono- or bisyllabic? Derived stem respects constraints on form of (underived) bi-/trisyllabic verb (vowel sequences, tone contours)? Any cases involving medial syncope?

Complete list organized by morphophonological pattern, including treatment of final vowel of (underived) input verb. Adjust subdivision labels as the language requires, with a special section for monosyllabic inputs. Example of subcategories:

*monosyllabic input
stem-final non-high vowel of input raised to high vowel before Reversive
like preceding, but this high vowel syncopated
input stem already ends in high vowel
Mediopassive -yv- dropped before Reversive
input with Cvrv- (plain or nasalized /r/)
irregular reversives*

representative reversive glosses (not exhaustive; gather from lexicon)

<i>(xx1)</i>	<i>input</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>reversive</i>	<i>gloss</i>
--------------	--------------	--------------	------------------	--------------

.xxx-	'bend'	.xxx-	'unbend'
.xxx-	'cover (object)'	.xxx-	'uncover (object)'
.xxx-	'shut'	.xxx-	'open'
.xxx-	'fence in'	.xxx-	'un-fence'
.xxx-	'tie (knot)'	.xxx-	'untie (knot)'
.xxx-	'braid (rope)'	.xxx-	'unbraid (rope)'
.xxx-	'roll turban'	.xxx-	'unroll turban'
.xxx-	'crumple'	.xxx-	'uncrumple'
.xxx-	'lock'	.xxx-	'unlock'
.xxx-	'nail'	.xxx-	'remove (nail)'
.xxx-	'braid (rope)'	.xxx-	'unbraid (rope)'
.xxx-	'surround'	.xxx-	'un-surround'
.xxx-	'bury'	.xxx-	'disinter'
.xxx-	'immobilize'	.xxx-	'allow to move'
.xxx-	'tie'	.xxx-	'untie'
.xxx-	'insert'	.xxx-	'remove inserted item'
.xxx-	'hobble'	.xxx-	'unhobble'
.xxx-	'tangle'	.xxx-	'untangle'
.xxx-	'put lid on'	.xxx-	'take lid off'
.xxx-	'step on'	.xxx-	'remove foot from'
.xxx-	'cover (person)'	.xxx-	'uncover (person)'
.xxx-	'press to wall'	.xxx-	'release (sth pressed to wall)'
.xxx-	'roll up (pants)'	.xxx-	'unroll (pants)'
.xxx-	'fold'	.xxx-	'unfold'
.xxx-	'sag'	.xxx-	'bounce back'
.xxx-	'be caught in tree'	.xxx-	'be un-caught'
.xxx-	'go into coma'	.xxx-	'come to (= recover)'
.xxx-	'prop up'	.xxx-	'remove a prop from'
.xxx-	'put on a wrap'	.xxx-	'take off wrap'
.xxx-	'be hooked'	.xxx-	'be unhooked'
.xxx-	'put in'	.xxx-	'take out'
.xxx-	'be affixed'	.xxx-	'affixed item come off'
.xxx-	'forget'	.xxx-	'remember'
.xxx-	'hook, hang'	.xxx-	'unhook'
.xxx-	'forget'	.xxx-	'remember'
.xxx-	'affix'	.xxx-	'remove affixed item'
.xxx-	'seal up'	.xxx-	'unseal'
.xxx-	'become lost'	.xxx-	'lost item be found'; 'recover lost item'

representative conjugation (inflectable aspect-negation stems) of a regular reversive verb

Some synchronically unsegmentable trisyllabic stems ending in *-ri* may have originated as reversives. (examples)

9.2 Deverbal causative verbs

9.2.1 Productive causative with suffix *-xxx-*

The productive Causative suffix added to verb inputs is *-xxx-*.

usually preserves the tonal contour, {H} or {LH}, of the stem, but (if the language has LLH trisyllabics) the {LH} is reapplied to the derived stem, so that LH-toned bisyllabic has LL-H toned causative.

in languages where verbs with final high vowel and those with final non-high vowel have distinctive verbal morphophonology, organize the example lists accordingly (as below), otherwise organize by syllabic shape and tone contour of input.

representative glosses

<i>input</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>causative</i>	<i>gloss</i>
<i>xxx-</i>	'drink'	<i>xxx-</i>	'give drink to'
<i>xxx-</i>	'know'	<i>xxx-</i>	'inform'
<i>xxx-</i>	'help'	<i>xxx-</i>	'make help'
<i>xxx-</i>	'cover'	<i>xxx-</i>	'make cover'
<i>xxx-</i>	'creak'	<i>xxx-</i>	'make creak'
<i>xxx-</i>	'enter'	<i>xxx-</i>	'make enter'
<i>xxx-</i>	'frisk'	<i>xxx-</i>	'make frisk'
<i>xxx-</i>	'cover'	<i>xxx-</i>	'make cover'
<i>xxx-</i>	'shut'	<i>xxx-</i>	'make shut'
<i>xxx-</i>	'make noise'	<i>xxx-</i>	'cause to make noise'
<i>xxx-</i>	'speak'	<i>xxx-</i>	'make speak'
<i>xxx-</i>	'ride double'	<i>xxx-</i>	'have ride double'
<i>xxx-</i>	'put on shoes'	<i>xxx-</i>	'put shoes on (sb)'

representative structure of list:

- (xx1) Causatives with *-xxx-* (input verb ends in non-high vowel)
 - a. {H}-toned
 - b. {LH}-toned
- (xx1) Causatives with *-xxx-* (input verb ends in /i/)
 - a. input has preceding non-high vowel {a E O}

- b. input has preceding {u i} only
- c. input has preceding /i/ only, nasal allows variant /e/
- d. after Mediopassive -yi-

representative conjugation (inflectable aspect-negation stems) of a regular causative verb

9.2.2 Minor causative suffixes

Additional causatives of unproductive types are in (xx1).

(xx1) Causatives with Other Suffixes

try:

- 'go down' > 'take down'
- 'go up' > 'take up'
- 'become separated' > 'separate [tr]'
- 'go out' > 'take out'

(omit cases where -rv- is a transitive alternative to Mediopassive -yv-, see below)

9.3 Passive and Transitive

9.3.1 Mediopassive -yv- and Transitive -rv-

Alternations of Mediopassive (MP) -yv- and Transitive (Tr) -rv-

try: verbs of stance; verbs of putting on/wearing garments; verbs of carrying and holding. Note that in some languages this morphological alternation is no longer productive (but there may be some vestigial examples). A sign of lack of productivity is that the regular Causative suffix is added directly to the -yv- form. In some cases (not many), the -yv- and -rv- forms co-occur with an unsuffixed form (hence all three of CvCv-, CvCv-yv-, and CvCv-rv-)

semantics: 'sit' vs. 'cause to sit, seat'; 'put (boubou, hat, shoes) on (oneself)' vs. 'put (...) on (someone else)', 'carry (child) on one's (own) back' vs. 'put (child) on (someone else's) back'.

any ex. of -rv- added to a Cvrv- stem (with plain or nasalized /r/)?

examples (not exhaustive). If the unsuffixed CvCv- verb also occurs, give it and its gloss in parentheses to the right of, or under, the suffixal forms)

(xx1)	MP	gloss	stem	gloss
-------	----	-------	------	-------

<i>a. stance</i>			
xxx-	'lie down'	xxx-	'have lie down, put to sleep'
xxx-	'sit down'	xxx-	'have sit, seat'
xxx-	'stand up, stop'	xxx-	'stop (sth)'
xxx-	'kneel'	xxx-	'cause to kneel'
<i>b. wearing clothes</i>			
xxx-	'put one's shoes on'	xxx-	'put shoes on (sb)'
xxx-	'roll on turban'	xxx-	'put turban on (sb)'
xxx-	'put one's hat on'	xxx-	'put hat on (sb)'
xxx-	'tie one's belt on'	xxx-	'tie belt on (sb)'
<i>c. carrying/holding</i>			
xxx-	'carry on back'	xxx-	'put on (sb's) back'
xxx-	'carry on head'	xxx-	'put on (sb's) head'
xxx-	'cling to'	xxx-	'cause to cling'
<i>d. other</i>			
xxx-	'bathe'	xxx-	'bathe (sb)'
xxx-	'hide (oneself)'	xxx-	'hide (sb, sth)'
xxx-	'be spilled'	xxx-	'spill (sth)'

If the vowel length of a monosyllabic Cv- stem with high vowel is inconsistent from the Mediopassive to the Transitive, as in bi-ye- 'lie down' versus bii-re- (with long vowel) 'cause to lie down', the segmentability of the Mediopassive is questionable; one could alternative transcribe biye- and /biy-re-/.

9.3.2 Passive suffix -xxx

Several languages have a minor Passive suffix, often identical in form to the productive Causative suffix, used with the verbs 'find, encounter' (> 'be found/findable, be present', cf. Fr se trouver) and 'get, obtain' (> 'be obtainable, available').

Try also 'be seen (see-able)', 'be drunk/drinkable', etc.

Nanga has an unusual (but productive) Passive suffix -yE that occurs in a complex construction with affinities to relative clauses.

9.4 Ambi-valent verbs without suffixal derivation

give a few exx. from the lexicon where a verb is used, without suffixal modification, both transitively and intransitively.

*antipassive (unergative) type, with understood or vague direct object omitted
cf. English 'hit' in 'I'm hitting second today' (baseball)
'they ate'*

*passive (unaccusative) type, with agent omitted (theme becomes subject):
cf. English 'it reads well'
'it broke'*

9.5 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

give a full list of adjectives that have corresponding inchoative (intransitive) and Factitive verbs, with morphological analysis.

often the verbs are not directly derived from the adjective (there is some discrepancy in the tones and/or vocalism, occasionally consonants--shifts involving sonorants), rather the adjective and the verbs are parts of a loosely defined word-family. For example, verbs (in general) normally obey the association of {LH} contour with initial voiced stops and of {H} with initial voiceless obstruents, while adjectives don't, and verbs (with rare exceptions) must end in a vowel while adjectives need not. However, if the inchoative has an Inchoative suffix such as -yv-, one could consider the possibility that it is derived from the adjective in at least some cases, perhaps by feeding the adjective into the verb-constraint grinding machine.

the factitive may have the same form as the inchoative; or the factitive may be the causative derivative of the inchoative; or the inchoative may have -yv- and the factitive has -rv-.

organize the data accordingly. for a list of adjectival senses see §4.5.1.

(xx1) Unsuffixal Inchoative

<i>gloss</i>	<i>adj</i>	<i>inchoative</i>	<i>factitive</i>
--------------	------------	-------------------	------------------

a. factitive identical in form to inchoative

[if none, indicate this]

b. Factitive suffix -xxx- (inchoative ends in high vowel)

c. Factitive suffix -xxx- (inchoative ends in non-high vowel)

(xx2) Suffixal Inchoative

gloss adj inchoative factitive

- a. Inchoative suffix -xxx-, factitive identical in form to inchoative
- b. Inchoative suffix, Factitive -xxx- added to inchoative
- c. Inchoative -yv- alternating with Factitive -rv-

(duplicate these sections as needed if there are two or more Inchoative or Factitive suffixes)

(xx3) *Phonologically complex or irregular Inchoative/Factitive*

[try 'hot/fast', 'sweet', 'smooth', 'moist and wet', and anything with a rhotic]

examples of adjectives that do not have any associated inchoative/factitive verb: try 'new', 'other', 'living', 'runty', and any adjectives with unusually bulky forms (e.g. trisyllabic or CvCvC).

9.6 Denominal verbs

Verbs that arguably derive from, and in any case are related to, underived nouns. Glean from dictionary. The known exx. in Nanga are:

(xx1)	noun	gloss	verb	gloss
	xxx	'load'	xxx-	'load (e.g. cart)'
	xxx	'family name'	xxx-	'(griot) chant the ancestry of (sb)'
	xxx	'forest'	xxx-	'(zone) become dense (e.g. after rains)'
	xxx	'(a) share'	xxx-	'share, divide up'
	xxx	(greeting)	xxx-	'greet'
	xxx	'filth'	xxx-	'soil, make dirty'
	xxx	'injury'	xxx-	'injure, wound (someone)'

9.7 Obscure verb-verb relationships

Listed without comment.

(xx1)	verb	gloss	related verb	gloss
	xxx-	'spend night'	xxx-	'greet in morning'
	xxx-	'malfunction'	xxx-	'do harm to, ruin'

10 Verbal inflection

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

Inflected indicative verbs are normally followed by an aspect-negation (AN) suffix, the major divisions being perfective/imperfective and positive/negative. The AN suffix is directly followed (except in relative clauses) by a pronominal-subject suffix. The 3Sg suffix is zero.

(is there an unaffixed Perfective, and/or an unaffixed Imperfective?)

Alternatively, the AN suffix (perhaps with very limited pronominal-subject marking) is followed by the Past clitic, which itself is conjugated for pronominal subject.

There are also non-indicative deontic categories, Imperative and Hortative.

singular Imperative audibly distinct from all indicative forms?

10.1.1 Suffixes and chained verbs

Particularly with the suffixally marked perfective positive categories, one can debate whether the AN morpheme is a suffix to the verb, or a specialized chained verb. This is because the (main) verb occurs in the same bare stem form that is used in nonfinal position in chains. However, in a chain analysis, we must stipulate that the AN element is specialized to this construction, and it may be low-toned (which is not possible for normal verb stems).

(discussion. A possible test is the location of the preverbal subject pronominal in relative clauses--before the main verb, or before the "suffix"? However, in relative clauses, the usual pattern is for suffixally marked perfective AN categories to merge into the unaffixed Perfective, so this test relies on the existence of exceptions to this rule.)

10.1.2 Overview of categories

perfective positive system

unaffixed Perfective (perhaps involving final e/E vowel)

Perfective-1 (1a -ya- or -ErE-, 1b -ti-)

Perfective-2 (-so/sa-)

reduplicated Perfective

Recent Perfect (-jE-, perhaps alternatively 'finish VP-ing')
Experiential Perfect (in some languages, clearly a verb chain)

imperfective positive system

unsuffixed Imperfective (or Imperfective with -m- suffix)

suffixed Imperfective (1 or 2 categories)

reduplicated Imperfective

perfective negative system

Perfective Negative

Experiential Perfect Negative

imperfective negative system

Imperfective Negative

there are also stative-type categories, which may pattern as subtypes of the perfective systems or as a distinct system of their own

10.1.3 Verb stem shapes

Underived verbs have from one to three syllables. Derivational suffixes usually add one syllable each (chapter 9), but are treated for inflectional purposes like underived verbs.

*The **basic stem** (or: chaining form) is used in nonfinal position in direct verb chains (§15.1). This can be taken as the lexical form of the verb. In addition to its use in chains, it occurs with its lexical tones in the suffixed perfective positive system. With tonal overlays, it also occurs in some other inflectable stems.*

Sections below describe verb-stem shapes, beginning with monosyllabics.

10.1.3.1 Cv (or Cv: ?) verb stems

(complete list from lexicon of monosyllabic stems: Cv- or long-voweled Cvv- depending on the language, also counterparts with a nasalized vowel). CvC- (excluding CvCv- with final Syncope) is uncommon but does occur in some languages (Cvn- or Cuy-).

organize list below by vowel, and by tone contour

(xx1) H-toned R-toned gloss

with /a/

xxx-

xxx-

with nasalized /a/

xxx-

xxx-

with /o/

xxx-

	xxx-
with /O/	
xxx-	xxx-
with /e/	
xxx-	xxx-
with /E/	
xxx-	xxx-
with /i/ (distinct from Ciy- stems?)	
xxx-	xxx-
with /u/	(none?)

10.1.3.2 /xxx/ 'see'

(often irregular tonally and/or segmentally, give and discuss paradigm even if regular)

(xx1) Paradigm of 'see'

xxx	<i>bare stem</i>
xxx	<i>Verbal Noun</i>
xxx	<i>unsuffixed Perfective</i>
xxx	<i>Perfective-1b</i>
xxx	<i>Perfective-2</i>
xxx	<i>Recent Perfect</i>
xxx	<i>Experiential Perfect</i>
xxx	<i>Perfective Negative</i>
xxx	<i>reduplicated Imperfective</i>
xxx	<i>reduplicated Progressive</i>
xxx	<i>Imperfective Negative</i>
xxx	<i>Imperative</i>
xxx	<i>Imperative Negative</i>
xxx	<i>Hortative</i>

10.1.3.3 Cuy- and Ciy- verbs

Try 'go in', 'hear', 'put down', 'send', and 'put (earth in hole)'. It may be difficult to demonstrate underlying /Cvy/ status, as opposed to /Cvyi/ with Syncope. Evidence for bisyllabic status may come from inflectable stems where the stem-final vowel shifts (Perfective Negative, Hortative, ...?).

10.1.3.4 nCv- and mCv- verbs

*If initial *i tends to drop in verb stems, try 'go', 'give', 'go up' as possible cases of nCv-*

'go' may be irregular even if not nCv- shaped. Give paradigm if useful.

(xx2) *Paradigm of 'go'*

<i>xxx</i>	<i>bare stem</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Verbal Noun</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>unsuffixed Perfective</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Perfective-1b</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Perfective-2</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Recent Perfect</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Experiential Perfect</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Perfective Negative</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>reduplicated Imperfective</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>reduplicated Progressive</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Imperfective Negative</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Imperative Negative</i>
<i>xxx</i>	<i>Hortative</i>

10.1.3.5 Regular bisyllabic stems

All non-monosyllabic stems end in a short vowel. Bisyllabics are (C)vCv, (C)v:Cv, (C)vCCv, and rarely (C)v:CCv. The initial C position may be empty. Except in recent French or Fulfulde loanwords, there are tight restrictions on vocalism.

(in some languages, stems ending in /i/ are treated differently than those ending in non-high vowels. Those not ending in /i/ typically have identical non-high vowels, or an initial {i u} followed by a mid-height vowel, {e E} for /i/ and {o O} for /u/.

(xx1) stem gloss

a. identical non-high vowels

xxx ‘...’
xxx ‘...’

b. high vowel followed by non-high vowel

xxx ‘...’
xxx ‘...’

Verbal loans from Fulfulde normally end in /E/ regardless of other vowels in the stem, and unless further assimilated they often have vowel sequences in violation of the tight patterns illustrated in (xx2.a). The final /E/ is also typical of French loans (xx2.b), reflecting both an extension of the Fulfulde pattern to a wider range of loans, and the convenient fact that French verbs have several high-visibility forms ending in phonetic [e] or [E] (written -er, -ez, -ait, etc.).

(xx2) stem gloss

a. xxx-
xxx-

b. xxx- ‘win (match, election)’ (gagner)

The second major pattern for bisyllabic stem vowelism is with **final /i/** (in some environments fluctuating with /u/). There are no clear restrictions on the quality of the preceding vowel, but {E O} are more common than {e o}. The /i/ is subject to syncope/apocope after an unclustered sonorant, most systematically after a semivowel.

(this i-final type is absent in some languages [Jamsay])

exx.: try ‘put, ‘cure/heal’, ‘cover’, ‘put down’, ‘help’, ‘take (sth, sb) away’, ‘put lid on’, ‘gather’

(xx3) stem gloss

a. CvCi-

b. Cv: Ci-

c. CvCCi-

d. Cv:CCi-

10.1.3.6 Trisyllabic stems

(organize lists by whether stem ends in non-high vowel or /i/, and on overall vowel sequence)

(xx1) *Trisyllabics with final non-high vowel*

stem *gloss*

a. /e i e/ or /o u o/

b. (o...i...e)

c. (CoCCo after syncope)

d. (initial high vowel, final mid-height vowel)

(xx2) *Trisyllabics ending in /i/*

stem *gloss*

a. initial vowel other than {e o}, final /i/

b. final ...iyi heard as [i:]

c. syncope to CvCCi- (with LHH realized as <LH>H)

10.2 Positive indicative AN categories

10.2.1 Perfective positive system (including perfect)

10.2.1.1 Unaffixed Perfective with all-low toned stem

A few sample paradigms are given in (xx1).

(xx1) Unaffixed Perfective paradigm

category	‘begin’	‘go out’	‘pass’	‘go back’
1Sg	tùmbĩrĩ-ý	gò-ý	làwà-ý	bĩrĩyè-ý
2Sg	tùmbĩrĩ-ń	gò-ń	làwà-ń	bĩrĩyè-ń

1Pl	tùmbĩrĩ:-ỳ	gò-ỳ.:	làwà-ỳ.:	bĩrĩyè-ỳ.:
2Pl	tùmbĩrĩ:-w̃	gò-w̃.:	làwà-w̃.:	bĩrĩyè-w̃.:
3Sg	tùmbĩrĩ-∅	gwê-∅	lávè-∅	bĩrĩyè-∅
3Pl	tùmbír-à:	g-ô:	láv-â:	bĩrĩy-ô:

this form is used only when preceded by other constituents, especially by a focalized constituent, as in WH questions; it is also extremely common (in participial form) in relative clauses.

stem has no audible AN suffix, but in many languages is segmentally based on the E-stem, which ends in /e/ or /E/. With monosyllabic Cv(v)- stem, the result is often Cve-/CvE-, with a kind of diphthong, subject to further phonological processes.

representative paradigms

(xxI)	category	'leave'	'die'	'rob'
	1Sg	xxx	xxx	xxx
	1Pl	xxx	xxx	xxx
	2Sg	xxx	xxx	xxx
	2Pl	xxx	xxx	xxx
	3Sg/InanSg	xxx	xxx	xxx
	3Pl/InanPl	xxx	xxx	xxx

discussion of morphology

*1st-2nd person forms may be distinct from 3Sg and 3Pl in some way
3Pl may be irregular*

if monosyllabic diphthongs occur, give examples with a Ca(a)- verb, also Ce(e)-, CE(E)-, co(o)-, cO(O)-. If there is an E-stem here, it should produce CaE-, Ce(e)-, CE(E)-, Coe-, and COE-. In diphthongs aE, oe, OE, the initial part may be desyllabified.

10.2.1.2 Perfective-1a -xxx-, Perfective-1b -xxx-

There are two suffixally marked Perfective forms. The suffixes are -xxx- (e.g. -yv- or -ErE-), which I label Perfective-1a, and -xxx- (e.g. -ti-), which I label Perfective 1-b. The stem has its lexical form (not the special form used in the unsuffixed Perfective) before both of these suffixes.

The two Perfective-1 suffixes compete most directly with the Perfective-2 with suffix -xxx- (-sa/so-). (The unsuffixed Perfective is used when a non-verb constituent has at least some degree of focalization.)

Perfective-1a -xxx- is used with motion and stance verbs ('go', 'sit down'), with deadjectival inchoatives and other non-active intransitives, with a few low-impact transitives like 'forget', and optionally with transitive verbs of holding and wearing (which often contain Mediopassive -yv-).

(xxx) *Perfective-1a -xxx-*

gloss stem Perfective

- a. monosyllabic Cv:-*
- b. bisyllabic with final non-high vowel*
- c. bisyllabic with final /i/*

(discussion of phonology of Perfective-1a)

Perfective-1b -xxx- is used with most transitives, and with active intransitives denoting speech or thought.

(xxx) *Perfective-1b -xxx-*

gloss stem Perfective

- a. monosyllabic Cv:-*
- b. bisyllabic with final non-high vowel*
- c. bisyllabic with final /i/*

(discussion of phonology of Perfective-1b)

pronominal paradigms:

<i>(xxx)</i>	<i>category</i>	<i>form of -xxx- (1a)</i>	<i>form of -xxx- (1b)</i>
	<i>1Sg</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>
	<i>1Pl</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>
	<i>2Sg</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>
	<i>2Pl</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>
	<i>3Sg/Inan</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>
	<i>3Pl</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>

10.2.1.3 Perfective-2 (-so/sa-)

(xx1) a. [béré nĩ] ăy-só-ỳ
 'I'm holding a stick (in my hand)

10.2.1.4 Experiential Perfect ‘have ever’ (tí-)

The conjugatable morpheme tí-, which sounds prosodically separate from the preceding verb stem and is therefore written as a separate word, creates the Experiential Perfect: ‘have (ever) VPed’. The main verb is in its basic stem (as in chains).

- (xx1) a. gǔ:-m yí tí-w̃ mà
 elephant-Sg see ExpPf-2SgS Q
 ‘Have you-Sg ever seen an elephant?’
- b. bàməkó bírá: b̃iré tí-ỳ
 B work(noun) work ExpPf-1SgS
 ‘I have (at least once) worked in Bamako.’

The paradigm, which is essentially the regular unsuffixed Perfective, is (xx2). All forms except the 1Pl and 2Pl show a falling tone. This includes the 3Sg. In the 1Pl and 2Pl, the pitch pattern is <LHL>, suggesting a phonological low tone plus the dying-quail intonation.

(xx2) Experiential Perfect

category	form	pitch pattern
1Sg	tí-ỳ	<HL>
2Sg	tí-w̃	<HL>
1Pl	t̃i-ỳ.:.	<LHL>
2Pl	t̃i-w̃.:.	<LHL>
3Sg/Inan	t̃i-∅	<HL>
3Pl	tí-yà	<HL>

For the negative (‘have never VPed’), see §xxx, below.

10.2.1.5 Recent Perfect (zê-)

Phonologically, this category is parallel to the Experiential Perfect: the conjugatable stem zê- is set off prosodically, and has a basic falling tone.

The usual sense is ‘has just VPed’ or ‘has (just) finished VPing’.

(xx2) Recent Perfect

category	form	pitch pattern
----------	------	---------------

1Sg	zê-ỳ	<HL>
2Sg	zê-Ẁ	<HL>
1Pl	zè-ỳ ∴	<LHL>
2Pl	zè-Ẁ ∴	<LHL>
3Sg/Inan	zê-∅	<HL>
3Pl	z-â:	<HL>

10.2.1.6 Reduplicated Perfective (Cv-)

*(usually a variant of the unsuffixed Perfective, plus an initial Cv- reduplication)
(may be distinct from stative and imperfective reduplications)*

examples and analysis of the sense

pronominal paradigm (or indication that the paradigm is the same as for the unsuffixed Perf)

10.2.2 Imperfective positive system

10.2.2.1 Imperfective (positive) (-xxx-)

(xxx) Imperfective

category	form
1Sg	-m-ĩ
1Pl	-m-ĩ ∴
2Sg	-m-ù
2Pl	-m-ù ∴
3Sg/Inan	-m̀
3Pl	-m-b̀è

(xx1) Imperfective paradigm (3Sg form)

category	‘begins’	‘goes out’	‘passes’	‘goes back’
1Sg	túmbírí-m-ĩ	gó-m-ĩ	lává-m-ĩ	bíríyé-m-ĩ
1Pl	túmbírí-m-ĩ.:	gó-m-ĩ.:	lává-m-ĩ.:	bíríyé-m-ĩ.:
2Sg	túmbírí-m-ù	gó-m-ù	lává-m-ù	bíríyé-m-ù
2Pl	túmbírí-m-ù.:	gó-m-ù.:	lává-m-ù.:	bíríyé-m-ù.:
3Sg	túmbírí-m	gó-m	lává-m	bíríyé-m
3Pl	túmbírí-m-bè	gó-m-bè	lává-m-bè	bíríyé-m-bè

The unmarked (most common) Imperfective form may be suffixed (e.g. -m-) or unsuffixed (in Jamsay it is marked only by a final low-tone formative).

if there is also a specifically Future form, then this one should be called Present rather than Imperfective

discuss phonology (tones, vocalism)

(xxx) *Imperfective (stem ends in non-high vowel)*

<i>bare stem</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>gloss</i>
------------------	---------------------	--------------

- a. *monosyllabic Cvv-*
- b. *CvCv- (bimoraic)*
- c. *CvCCv-*
- d. *CvvC(C)v-*
- e. *trisyllabic*

(xxx) *Imperfective (stem ends in high vowel)*

<i>bare stem</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>gloss</i>
------------------	---------------------	--------------

- a. *monosyllabic Cii-*
- b. *CvCi-*
- c. *CvCCi-*
- d. *CvvC(C)i-*
- e. *trisyllabic with final /i/*

pronominal paradigm

examples

10.2.2.2 Reduplicated Imperfective (Cv-)

*(usually based on Imperfective stem, but with initial Cv- reduplication)
(distinct tonally and/or segmentally from other Cv- reduplications?)*

10.2.2.3 Progressive (-r̀à-)

The alternative positive imperfective form is :-r̀à-, where the colon indicates lengthening of the final vowel of the verb stem (if not already long). Thus b̀iré:-r̀à- ‘be working’ from b̀iré- ‘work’. The paradigm is (xx1). Note in particular the final -ŋ in the 3Sg form.

(xx1) Progressive

category	form
1Sg	:-r̀à-y
1Pl	:-r̀à-y.:
2Sg	:-r̀à-w
2Pl	:-r̀à-w.:
3Sg/Inan	:-r̀à-ŋ
3Pl	:-r̀-è

10.2.3 Negation of indicative verbs

Except for statives (including the progressive), which have a special Stative Negative -xxx-, the positive indicative inflections correspond to a Perfective Negative -xxx- or to an Imperfective Negative -xxx-.

10.2.3.1 Perfective Negative -r̀í-

(xxx) Perfective Negative

category	form	‘did not go’
1Sg	-r̀í-ỳ	̀nd̀ò-r̀í-ỳ
1Pl	-r̀í-ỳ.:	̀nd̀ò-r̀í-ỳ.:
2Sg	-r̀ú-̀ẁ	̀nd̀ò-r̀ú-̀ẁ

may require discussion of pronominal forms. 3Pl irregular?

10.2.3.2 Experiential Perfect Negative (-tà-rí-)

The sense ‘have not (ever) VPed’ is expressed by *tà-rí-*. This is the slightly irregular Perfective Negative of *tí-* in Experiential Negative sense (§10.xxx, above). While the preceding verb is prosodically set off in the positive, in this negative construction the **tone-dropping** (triggered by Perfective Negative *-rí-*) **extends to the preceding verb**. The (Arabic) adverb *àbádá* ‘never’ is optionally added.

- (xx1) a. *àbádá gǔ:-m yǐ-tà-rí-ỳ*
 never elephant-Sg see.L-ExpPf-Neg-1SgS
 ‘I have never seen an elephant.’
- b. *nũ: àbádá bàməkó bírá:*
 1SgP.person never B work(noun)
bĩrè-tà:-ndú
 work.L-ExpPf-Neg.3PlS
 ‘My people (=kin) have never worked in Bamako.’

10.2.3.3 Recent Perfect Negative (zè-rí-)

This negative construction is used in the sense ‘have not (yet) finished VPing’. In form it is the regular Perfective Negative of *zé-*. The preceding verb, e.g. ‘eat meal’ in (xx1), is not tone-dropped, though *zé-* itself is tone-dropped to *zè-*.

- (xx1) *ñěyⁿ ñé zè-rí-ỳ*
 meal eat.meal RecPf-Neg-1SgS
 ‘I have not finished eating (the meal).’

The 3Pl form is *zà:-ndú*.

10.2.3.4 Imperfective Negative -m-dó-

The basic Imperfective form (present or future reference if the moment of speaking is the reference point) is characterized by a suffix *-m-*. The negative counterpart is *-m-dó-*, which in careful speech is pronounced [m̀ndó]. The paradigm is (xx1).

- (xx1) category ImpfNeg ‘does not (will not) go’
 1Sg -m-dó-ỳ ñdó-m-dó-ỳ

1Pl	-m-dó-ỳ .:	ndó-m-dó-ỳ .:
2Sg	-m-dó-w	ndó-m-dó-w
2Pl	-m-dó-w .:	ndó-m-dó-w .:
3Sg	-m-dó-∅	ndó-m-dó-∅
3Pl	-m-d-é:	ndó-m-d-é:

(xx1) stem ImpfNeg gloss

- a. monosyllabic, lexical {LH} tone
- b. monosyllabic, lexical {H} tone
- c. CvCv, lexical {LH} tone
- d. CvCv, lexical {H} tone
- (etc.)

10.2.3.5 Progressive Negative (:-rà-ndá-)

The Progressive form in :-rà- is negated by adding a conjugated form of the clitic ≡ndá- ‘it is not’ to the positive stem in :-rà- (xx1).

(xx1) bírá: bírɛ:-rà≡ndá-ỳ
work(noun) work-Prog-
‘I am not working.’

The paradigm is (xx2). Note that ≡ndá- combines with 1st/2nd person suffixes to produce falling-toned syllables, which are merely prolonged by the dying-quail intonation of 1Pl and 2Pl. The 3Sg and 3Pl clitics are high-toned. In the 3Pl, we get :-rè- rather than :-rà- before the clitic, indicating that the 3Pl is **doubly conjugated** (once on the primary verb, once on the clitic).

(xx2) Progressive Negative

category	form
1Sg	:-rà≡ndá-ỳ
1Pl	:-rà≡ndá-ỳ .:
2Sg	:-rà≡ndá-w
2Pl	:-rà≡ndá-w .:
3Sg/Inan	:-rà≡ndá-∅
3Pl	:-rè≡nd-é

10.3 Pronominal paradigms for non-imperative verbs

10.3.1 Subject pronominal suffixes

*Usual form of pronominal-subject suffix on indicative verbs:
(3Sg usually zero; 3Pl usually several allomorphs depending on category)*

<i>(xxx)</i>	<i>category</i>	<i>suffix</i>
	<i>1Sg</i>	<i>-xxx</i>
	<i>1Pl</i>	<i>-xxx</i>
	<i>2Sg</i>	<i>-xxx</i>
	<i>2Pl</i>	<i>-xxx</i>
	<i>3Sg</i>	<i>-∅</i>
	<i>3Pl</i>	<i>[see below]</i>

Does 3Sg have a nonzero suffix in the Imperfective?

discussion of 3Pl allomorphs

10.3.2 Nonhuman versus 3Sg subject

any difference in pronominal-subject suffixes?

10.3.3 Vowel-semivowel interactions of AN and pronominal suffixes

e.g. /iw/ > uu or other assimilations/dissimilations

10.3.4 Tones of subject pronominal suffixes

Often atonal, but some surprises in particular aspect-negation categories

10.4 Stative form of verbs (reduplicated and unreduplicated)

10.4.1 Derived Stative (positive)

A conjugatable Stative form can be derived from ordinary verbs (such as verbs of stance: 'sit', 'stand', etc.) that lend themselves to this semantically (and in terms of

phonological shape). The Stative has a distinctive stem form to be described below. Its pronominal paradigm is (xx1). The most distinctive Stative suffix is 3Sg -ŋ.

(xx1)	category	Stative	‘be sitting’
	1Sg	-y	è-ʔéyyò-y
	1Pl	-y.:	è-ʔéyyò-y.:
	2Sg	-w	è-ʔéyyò-w
	2Pl	-w.:	è-ʔéyyò-w.:
	3Sg	-ŋ	è-ʔéyyò-ŋ
	3Pl	-è:	è-ʔéyy-è:

- (xx2) a. òrò-mbũ: pĩ-píyà-ŋ
‘The door is shut.’
- b. òròzú kò-kólà-ŋ
‘The clothes are hanging up.’
- c.

There may be an active/stative opposition applicable to verbs of stance, holding and carrying, and others. Active = enter into the state (‘sit down’, ‘take hold of’, ‘become closed’). Stative = be in the state (‘be sitting’, ‘be holding’, ‘be closed’).

Statives typically do not distinguish perfective from imperfective, though they may have morphological affinities to one or the other aspect-defined systems (usually perfective). Statives likewise have a distinct Stative Negative suffix or clitic, distinct from the PerfNeg and ImperfNeg of active verbs.

The Stative may have a Cv- or Ci- reduplication, at least optionally. If so, it indicate how it differs from perfective and imperfective reduplications (tone, stem-vocalism). If the reduplication is optional, does its presence depend on whether the verb is preceded by other constituents?

If the Stative applies to verbs whose active forms usually take Mediopassive -yv- (or Transitive -rv-), the latter suffixes are usually dropped in the Stative. However, this might not be true when the stem is monosyllabic (‘stand’, ‘lie down’, ‘carry on head’)

examples (it is useful to compare with the bare stem or Imperative, and perhaps a Perfective-1a form to show stem-vocalism changes.

representative glosses ‘be leaning (on sth)’, ‘be leaning back’, ‘be kneeling’, ‘be holding (sth)’, ‘be carrying (child) on back’, ‘be sitting’, ‘be squatting’, ‘(bird) be perched’, ‘be sleeping’, ‘be lying down’, ‘(door) be closed’, ‘(door) be open’, ‘be standing (stopped)’, ‘be afraid’

(xx1)	gloss	Imperative	Perfective-1a	reduplicated Stative
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- a. bisyllabic stem (unsegmentable)
- b. bisyllabic stem plus Mediopassive -yv-
- c. monosyllabic stem plus Mediopassive -yv-

pronominal-suffix paradigm, with representative paradigm

10.4.2 Stative Negative (=xxx-)

Stative Negative clitic (or suffix) =xxx-

*'I am not sitting/holding'
 'the door is not closed'
 'he is not afraid'*

conjugated paradigm with representative verb

(xx1)	category	Stative Negative	'not be sitting'
	1Sg	=ndá-ỳ	èyyò=ndá-ỳ
	1Pl	=ndá-ỳ ∴	èyyò=ndá-ỳ ∴
	2Sg	=ndá-Ẁ	èyyò=ndá-Ẁ
	2Pl	=ndá-ỳ ∴	èyyò=ndá-Ẁ ∴
	3Sg	=ndá-∅	èyyò=ndá-∅
	3Pl	=nd-é	èyyò=nd-é

10.5 Post-verbal temporal particles

10.5.1 Past clitic (=bE-)

Dogon languages usually have a conjugatable Past clitic (=bE-) that is added to a verb or other predicate (which is already inflected at least for aspect-negation category), or a post-verbal Past particle (Jamsay jiiN with nasalized vowel) that may be uninflectable.

Clitic =bE-: intrinsic tone, or tone carried over from the preceding verb?

table showing the aspect-negation categories that may combine with the Past clitic, and the form of the combination. May not be necessary if there is an uninflectable Past particle that does not interact morphologically with the verb.

(xx1)	<i>AN category</i>	<i>AN suffix</i>	<i>AN + Past</i>
	<i>positive</i>		
	<i>Imperfective</i>	-xxx-	-xxx=bE-
	<i>Progressive</i>	-xxx-	-xxx=bE-
	<i>unsuffixed Perfective</i>	(zero)	=bE- (<i>Past Perfect</i>)
	<i>Perfective-1b</i>	-xxx-	-xxx=bE-
	<i>Perfective-1a</i>	-xxx-	-xxx=bE-
	<i>Perfective-2</i>	-xxx-	-xxx=bE-
	<i>Recent Perfect</i>	-xxx-	-xxx=bE-
	<i>negative</i>		
	<i>perfective</i>	-xxx-	-xxx=bE-
	<i>imperfective</i>	-xxx-	-xxx=bE-

if the AN suffix before the clitic is pronominally conjugated, briefly describe this pattern here and give fuller details in the specific subsections below. In some languages only 3Pl is expressed on the AN suffix before the clitic, other pronominal categories having zero or whatever the 3Sg suffix is elsewhere.

paradigm of =bE- with subject-pronominal endings. If =bE- can be either high or low toned, present in two columns

(xx2)	<i>category</i>	<i>form with =bE-</i>	
		<i>after high tone</i>	<i>after low tone</i>
	<i>1Sg</i>	=xxx	=xxx
	<i>1Pl</i>	=xxx	=xxx
	<i>2Sg</i>	=xxx	=xxx
	<i>2Pl</i>	=xxx	=xxx
	<i>3Sg</i>	=xxx	=xxx
	<i>3Pl</i>	=xxx	=xxx

in subsections below, this paradigm need not be repeated. However, give paradigms if there are any interesting tonal patterns, or if the AN suffix as well as the Past clitic is conjugated. (Give 3Pl subject form in any case, even if regular.)

10.5.1.1 Past Imperfective (positive and negative)

Past Imperfective (positive) is Past clitic added to a basic Imperfective stem. special 3Pl form?

examples

'I used to go to Mopti every year'

'He used to wrestle'

*Past Imperfective Negative
special 3Pl form?*

examples

'Long ago, we didn't use to go down into the plains'

10.5.1.2 Past forms of stative quasi-verbs ('be', 'have')

- (xx1) a. nàmâ: yá búm≡bé-∅
meat Exist be≡Past-3SgS
'There was (=used to be) some meat.'
- b. kùyá nǎ:-m yá sóm≡bé-ỳ
first cow-Sg Exist have≡Past-1SgS
'Formerly I had (=used to have) a cow.'

stative quasi-verbs 'be (somewhere)' and 'have', and their negations, may take the Past clitic.

(xxx)	gloss	regular form	Past
	<i>positive</i>		
	'be'	.xxx	.xxx≡bE-
	'have'	.xxx	.xxx≡bE-
	<i>negative</i>		
	'not be'	.xxx	.xxx≡bE-
	'not have'	.xxx	.xxx≡bE-

special 3Pl forms?

examples

10.5.1.3 Past Perfect (positive and negative)

The unsuffixed Perfective, and in some languages one or more of the suffixally marked perfective-system AN forms, may be followed by the Past clitic to express a Past Perfect ('X had VP-ed'). This specifies that the event occurred before some other reference time (before the present) that is normally clear in discourse context.

note: “Perfect” [have VP-ed] distinct from Perfective. Past Perfect is a semantically more accurate term for ‘I had VP-ed’ than Past Perfective.

give examples of all perfective-system AN categories that combine with the Past clitic special 3Pl forms?

*‘I/They had gone out.’
‘She/They had seen me.’
‘He had hit me.’*

*Past Perfect Negative is Past clitic added to Perfective Negative.
special 3Pl form?*

examples

Past Perfect also used in one or both clauses of counterfactual conditionals? (see §16.xxx).

10.5.1.4 Past Passive (positive and negative)

(if there is a Nanga-style Passive suffix, it may combine with the Past clitic

10.5.2 ‘Still’, ‘up to now’, (not) yet’

‘He is still in the field(s)’. Note that French ‘il est toujours au champ’ is ambiguous, can also mean ‘He is always in the field(s). It may be easier to elicit ‘still’ in negatives (‘he still hasn’t come’ = ‘he hasn’t come yet’)

examples

10.6 Imperatives and Hortatives

10.6.1 Imperatives and Prohibitives

10.6.1.1 Positive imperatives (Imperative stem, Plural -nĩ)

There is often a phonologically distinct Imperative stem, with its own tone contour and perhaps a change in stem-final vowel, used without further suffixation for the 2Sg imperative. A special 2Pl suffix is added to this stem for the 2Pl imperative. Interlinear glosses of the type ‘go.Imprt’ (singular) and ‘go.Imprt-2Pl.Imprt’ (plural). In free translation, put “-2Sg” or “-2Pl” after imperative verb.

plenty of examples using stems of various syllabic shapes including trisyllabics, both lexical tone contours, and final high and non-high vowels). May require extended commentary on the phonology

(xx1)	gloss	basic	Sg imperative	Pl imperative
	‘come’	wó	wá	wá-nǐ
	‘sit’	éyyé	éyyò	éyyò-nǐ
	xxx	xxx	xxx	
	xxx	xxx	xxx	
	xxx	xxx	xxx	
	xxx	xxx	xxx	

examples with a direct object noun or pronoun (usual direct-object case marking followed in imperatives?)

10.6.1.2 Prohibitives

Prohibitive = negative of Imperative.

Usually has its own suffix, stem-shape not necessarily related to the Imperative stem. This suffixed form is used for singular subject. A plural subject form adds a second suffix, which may be related to the 2Pl Imperative suffix.

relationship of Prohibitive suffix to e.g. Stative Negative?

a couple of examples of singular and plural:

(xxx)	gloss	stem	Sg Prohib	Pl Prohib
	‘come’	wó	wò-ré	wò-ré-nǐ
	‘sit’	éyyé	éyyé-ré	éyyé-ré-nǐ

If plural-subject form is predictable from singular, remainder of section can focus on the form of the singular.

fuller set of examples of singular Prohibitive, organized by phonological pattern as relevant (lexical tones, syllabic shape, final high or non-high vowel)

(xx3) *Prohibitive (bimoraic bisyllabic stem ending in non-high vowel)*

gloss	bare stem	Sg Prohib
‘xxx’	xxx	xxx

commentary on phonology of these forms

10.6.2 Positive hortatives (-xxx, plural -xxx)

Hortative: 'let's go!'

Usually a special inclusive-dual form (speaker and one addressee) is distinguished from a (perhaps more common) plural form.

a couple of examples:

(xx1) Hortative positive

gloss	stem	dual hortative	3+ hortative
'go'	̀ndó	ĩ:yà ̀ndó-ý	ĩ:yà ̀ndó-y-nĩ
'sit'	éyyé	ĩ:yà éyyé-ý	ĩ:yà éyyé-ý-nĩ

(If the dual and the 3+ can be predicted from each other, the remainder of the section can be focused on the 3+ form.)

table below may have to be divided into two if there is a phonological divergence between stems with final non-high and high vowels

(xx2) Hortative (verb with final non-high vowel)

gloss	bare stem	3+ hortative
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10.6.3 Hortative Negative (-xxx, plural -xxx)

Hortative Negative may have the form of the Prohibitive, plus the relevant (positive) Hortative suffix, either Dual or 3+. If so, the table below will suffice, otherwise redo. If the Prohibitive itself is morphophonologically complex, give enough examples here to demonstrate that the Hortative Negative is directly based on the Prohibitive.

(xx1)	gloss	bare stem	Hortative Neg (2)	Hortative Neg (3+)
	'go'	̀ndó	ĩ:yà ̀ndó-ré	ĩ:yà ̀ndó-ré-nĩ
	'sit'	éyyé	ĩ:yà éyyé-ré	ĩ:yà éyyé-ré-nĩ

sentence examples

10.6.4 Hortative with third person pseudo-subject

expressions like ‘may God protect you’ and ‘let him (= tell him to) come’ are often expressed by a third-person form of the Hortative, or by a distinct verb form. Describe the morphology in detail.

3Sg = 3Pl subject?

The 3Sg or 3Pl pronoun (é, bú) plus yà is followed by an indirect imperative verb form -ý or -ÿ. It is used in wishes, i.e. third-person hortatives (‘may he come!’, ‘may God save you!’) and in quoted imperatives (‘I told him to come’, ‘they told me to come’).

(xx1) Third-Person Hortative

gloss	bare stem	3rd person hortative
‘come’	wó	é yà wò-ý
‘xxx’	xxx	xxx
‘xxx’	xxx	xxx
‘xxx’	xxx	xxx

discussion and examples

10.6.5 Imperative with implied first person singular subject

A form, perhaps identical to the third person Hortative form, is used with first person subject in reported imperatives. These are generally requests for clarification: ‘(Did you tell/want) me to come?’, local French: de venir?

examples

11 VP and predicate structure

11.1 Regular verbs and VP structure

11.1.1 Verb types (valency)

distinction between subject and object of transitive clauses (especially for pronouns, perhaps also for nouns if Accusative case marking is present)

simple transitives: impact verbs ('hit', 'cut'), perception verbs ('see', 'hear'), verbs of holding/carrying

examples with an impact verb and a perception verb

distinction between transitive and intransitive complicated by the existence of numerous verbs that have a cognate nominal as (apparent) object. If Accusative marking present for nouns, do such cognate nominals have this marking?

motion verbs intransitive?

case frames for 'give', 'show', 'say' ('give' and 'show' may alternate between two distinct case frames, in one of which the recipient is treated as direct object, the other using dative forms)

case frame of 'put' verbs?

11.1.2 Valency of causatives

case-frame for causative from intransitive base: 'cause to come', 'cause to go in' (= 'take in'). Should be similar to a simple transitive.

case-frame for causative from transitive base: 'X cause Y to VERB Z'. Usually both Y and Z are marked as direct objects.

11.1.3 Verb Phrase

mainly relevant to chains (chapter 15).

11.1.4 Fixed subject-verb combinations

meteorological and seasonal expressions.

'day breaks', 'night falls', 'it's hot season', 'rain falls', etc.

emotional terms

'heart is ruined' etc.

11.1.5 Fixed verb-object combinations

In addition to verbs with a paired cognate nominal, there are some fixed verb-object combinations that do not involve cognates.

try 'eat meal', 'bathe' (if combined with 'water'), 'drink (water)', 'gather (firewood)'

11.1.5.1 Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb

lexicalized cognate nominal, sharing phonological material with the verb

verbs without a lexicalized cognate nominal can simply use their verbal noun

give all known exx. from the lexicon that occur together in phrases. Since verb stems are subject to tighter restrictions on phonological form, organize by the form (syllabic shape, tone) of the noun

(xx1)	noun	verb	gloss of combination
-------	------	------	----------------------

- a. monosyllabic*
- b. bisyllabic, noun {H}*
- c. bisyllabic, noun {LH}*
- d. bisyllabic, noun {HL}*
- e. bisyllabic, noun {LHL}*
- f. trisyllabic, noun {LH}*
- g. trisyllabic, noun {HL}*
- h. trisyllabic, noun {LHL}*

separate table and discussion for cases where

a) there is a change in vocalism from verb to nominal, e.g. e versus E or o versus O

b) the nominal is only partially cognate to the verb (i.e. is a compound, one element of which is cognate; or the verb is based on a modifying adjective)

representative glosses

'build a shed (shelter)'

'avoid, respect (a taboo)'
'give out a whistle'
'tie a knot'
'work, do a job'
'harvest millet, do the millet harvest'
'spend the mid-day'
'roll turban (on head)'
'think a thought'
'(a) death occur'
'make a heap'
'be rivals, have a rivalry'
'dance'
'fart, let out a fart'
'defecate, take a shit'
'speak'
'give a reprimand'
'go search for firewood'
'write, do some writing'
'treat (medically), provide care to'
'sing, perform a song'
'compete, be in a race'
'do the second round of weeding'
'double up, have two'
'give a description'
'chew cud'
'(dog) bark'
'(lion, hyena, elephant) roar'
'(plant stem) split into two'
'be stronger (than)'
'divide into halves'
'sneeze'
'speak'
'belch, emit a belch'
'vomit'
'cook a dish including cottonseed'
'gain, make a profit'
'foam, be frothy'
'foam up'
'poke fun at'
'stutter'
'study, go to school'
'pray, perform the Muslim prayer'
'jump, take a jump'
'make a profit'
'preach a sermon'

'spend a half-day (morning)'
 'swear an oath' (<Fulfulde)
 'tell a story'
 'make a payment'
 'weep'
 'count (recite numbers)'
 'be deceptive, trick'
 'make an insult'
 'forge (tools)'
 'stand/ stop in a position'
 'clear one's throat'
 'ask a question'
 'cook (dish with cow-peas, or millet mixed with roselle leaves)'
 'yawn, make a yawn'
 'let out a groan'
 'urinate'
 'spit, emit a spit'
 'make noise'
 'lay egg'
 '(woman) emit cry of joy'
 'have fun, stage festivities'
 'converse, chat'
 'utter a formal greeting'
 'take animals to pasture'
 'do wage labor (by the day)'
 'take cows out at night'
 '(beggar) sing koranic verses'
 'fight, engage in a fight'
 'dream a dream'
 'snore; (lion) roar'
 'have a discussion'
 'request, beg'
 'make loud noises'
 '(animal) bellow'
 'formally counsel (a young person)'
 'perfume with incense'
 'have a rest'

may have vocalic change:

'sow (seeds); sow the seedstock'
 'run'
 'curse, utter a curse'
 'fall down, take a fall'
 'pay dues, make a contribution'

'cover oneself with blanket'
'laugh, let out a laugh'
'make an addition (top-off)'
'take a walk'
'crawl, drag oneself'
'hold on one's back'
'do (manual) farm work (in field)'
'(sth unseen) make a noise'

may have partial cognate relationship:

'perform black magic'
'sleep'
'provide assistance to'
'scold'
'take a step'
'emit some slobber, drool'
'build a conical roof'
'clap, applaud'
'draw a line (with the hand)'
'cook xxx (lit. "white meal," a millet dish)
'hunt, go on a hunt'
'perform an individual prayer'
'hiccup'
'give out a shout'

irregular cases?

'be afraid'
'stand, be in a position'
'cook sauce'
'lie, tell a lie'

11.1.5.2 Grammatical status of cognate nominal

may be pro forma ('dance a dance'), but may be quantified over or modified

examples (with numeral, with adjectival modifier)

11.2 ‘Be’, ‘become’, ‘have’, and other statives

11.2.1 ‘It is’ clitics

11.2.1.1 Positive ‘it is’ (≡∅ with low tone, ≡m̀)

The unconjugated ‘it is X’ clitic takes zero segmental form when X is a NP headed by a common noun. However, the clitic is expressed as a final low tone on the final segment of X. It is audible when X ends in a high tone, as with unpossessed ‘cow’ and ‘cows’, but inaudible when X ends in a low tone, as with ‘stone’ (lexically {HL}) and with all possessed nouns (which have a {HL} tone contour). Note that (xx1.a) ‘a cow’ and (xx1.d) ‘my cow’ are homophonous in the ‘it is’ combination.

- (xx1) a. ɲgú nǎ:-m̀=∅
 ‘this is a cow’
- b. ɲgú nǎ:=∅
 ‘this (=these) are cows’
- c. ɲgú kúrⁿò=∅
 ‘this is a rock’ (kúrⁿò)
- d. ɲgú nǎ:-m̀=∅
 ‘this is my cow’ (nǎ:-m̀ ‘my cow’)

With WH words, we get ǎm̀=∅ ‘who is it?’ (ǎm) and ɲjê:=∅ ‘what is it?’ (ɲjé). In the latter form, the falling tone requires lengthening the vowel.

In other combinations, the ‘it is X’ clitic takes the form ≡m̀. This happens with pronouns and demonstratives, with adverbials not often used as common (quantifiable) nouns, and with personal names and toponyms.

- (xx2) form gloss
- a. í=̄m̀ ‘it’s me’
 í:=̄m ‘it’s us’
 ú=̄m̀ ‘it’s you-Sg’
 û:=̄m̀ ‘it’s you-Pl’
 é=̄m̀ ‘it’s him/her’
 bú=̄m̀ ‘it’s them’
 kú=̄m̀ ‘it’s it/that (inanimate)’
 á=̄m̀ ‘it’s LogoSg’
 â:=̄m̀ ‘it’s LogoPl’
- b. ɲgú=̄m̀ ‘it’s this’
 ɲgǎ:=̄m̀ ‘it’ that’

- c. íyé≡m̀ ‘it’s today’
 nóŋdòyⁿ≡m̀ ‘it’s now’
- d. sáydù≡m̀ ‘it’s Seydou (man’s name)’
 wá:lò≡m̀ ‘it’s Walo (village)’

‘it is’ clitic (added to nouns, etc.) has a pronominal subject conjugation. Segmental forms may vary depending whether the preceding element ends in vowel or consonant. For tones see below.

The ‘it is’ clitic may be conjugated for pronominal subject (xx3). When the subject is singular, we get such forms as árⁿà-m≡m-ĩ, where the first /m/ is the (animate) Singular suffix and the second /m/ is that of the clitic.

(xx3)	category	postvocalic	postconsonantal
	1Sg	≡m-ĩ	≡xxx
	2Sg	≡m-ù	≡xxx
	1Pl	≡m-ĩ .:	≡xxx
	2Pl	≡m-ù .:	≡xxx
	3Sg/Inan	≡m̀	≡xxx
	3Pl	≡yè .:	≡xxx

discussion of segmental form

tones: clitic may be atonal, getting its tones from the final tone of the preceding stem.

If clitic is vowel initial and added to a ...Cv(v)C stem with contour tone <HL> <LH> or <LHL> on the last syllable, the final tone component may detach itself and be expressed solely on the clitic; see Final-Tone Resyllabification §3.7.4.3.

in Nanga, most such clitic forms are atonal, but 3Sg and Inanimate clitics are low-toned in some combinations (after 3rd person pronoun, interrogative ‘what?’ etc., and demonstrative pronoun) even if they end in a high vowel.

paradigm, and discussion of phonological form

examples

expression of ‘it’s me/you!’ (clitic is 3Sg, or 1Sg/2Sg agreeing with pronoun?)

if a special Inanimate-subject form of the clitic is in use, is it also used in identificational predicates like ‘it’s (=that’s) it!’ or ‘it’s them?’

11.2.1.2 ‘It is not’ (≡ndá:)

The suppletive negative counterpart of the ‘it is’ clitic is ≡ndá:- (for ≡ndá-, see below).

- (xx1) a. ñgú nǎ:-m̄≡ndá:
 ‘this is not a cow’
- b. ñgú nǎ:≡ndá:-yé
 ‘this (=these) are not cows’
- c. ñgú kúrⁿò≡ndá:
 ‘this is not a rock’ (kúrⁿò)
- d. ñgú nǎ:-m̄≡ndá:
 ‘this is not my cow’ (nǎ:-m̄ ‘my cow’)

When the positive ‘it is’ clitic has an audible /m/, this /m/ appears in the negative, which is heard as ≡m̄≡ndá:. Thus í≡m̄≡ndá:. ‘it isn’t me’.

The conjugated forms are in (xx2). The 1st/2nd person forms are based on ≡ndá- with short vowel.

(xx2). category	form
1Sg	≡ndá-ỳ
2Sg	≡ndá-w̄
1Pl	≡ndá-ỳ .:
2Pl	≡ndá-w̄ .:
3Sg, Inan	≡ndá:
3Pl	≡ndá:-yé

*‘I am not a Dogon’
‘that is not a cow’
‘they are not only white people’*

11.2.2 Existential and locative quasi-verbs and particles

11.2.2.1 Existential (ya)

Several northeastern Dogon languages have an immediately preverbal Existential particle /ya/ or /yE/ that is required with a following positive 'be (somewhere)' or 'have' predicate, and optionally with some other predicates. The particle is not present in the corresponding negatives, or in relative clauses or clauses with a focalized constituent. In some languages it is omitted when an overt locational is present. Discuss here and exemplify in §11.2.2.2 ('be') and in §11.5.1 ('have').

it may be impossible to determine which of a) Existential particle (in main clauses) and b) a preverbal subject pronominal (in relative clauses) gets the position closest to the verb.

Other Dogon languages do not have such an Existential particle. If no Existential particle, mention this here.

11.2.2.2 Locational quasi-verb (bùn-, negative xxx-)

The conjugatable 'be (somewhere)' quasi-verb is *bùn-* and allomorphes. It is a lexical stative, with no perfective/imperfective distinction. It is commonly used with an explicit locational.

- (xx1) a. [ɲgúrí nĩ] bùn-∅
[here xxx] be-3SgS
'He/She is here.'
- b. [ńírⁿà: nĩ] b-è:
[field xxx] be-3PlS
'They are in the field.s'

In the absence of an explicit locational, the Existential particle *yá* is used. It indicates presence in a vaguely defined or contextually definite location, and verges on pure existential sense in some contexts. The 'be' quasi-verb begins with a high tone, likely spread from the high tone of *yá*.

- (xx2) a. sáydù yá bún-∅ má
S Exist be-3SgS Q
'Is Seydou there?'
- b. yá bú-ỳⁿ.
Exist be-1PlS
'We are here.'

- c. nàmâ: yá bún-Ø
 meat Exist be-3SgS
 ‘There is (some) meat.’

The pronominal-subject paradigm is (xx3). Observe the nasalization (/n/ or nasalized vowel) in all forms except 3Pl. Note also that the high-tone onset forms have falling tone at the syllable level in the 1st/2nd person forms.

(xx3) ‘be (somewhere)’

category	low tone	high-tone onset
1Sg	bù-y ⁿ	bú-ỳ ⁿ
2Sg	bù-w ⁿ	bú-Ẁ ⁿ
1Pl	bù-y ⁿ ∴	bú-ỳ ⁿ ∴
2Pl	bù-y ⁿ ∴	bú-Ẁ ⁿ ∴
3Sg	bùn-Ø	bún-Ø
3Pl	b-è:	b-é:

The corresponding negative ‘not be (somewhere), be absent’ is ñgó:-. It may co-occur with an explicit locational, but not with Existential yá.

- (xx4) a. nàmâ: ñgó:-Ø
 meat not.be-3SgS
 ‘There is no meat.’
- b. bà màkó ñgó-ỳ
 Bamako not.be-1SgS
 ‘I am not in Bamako.’

The pronominal paradigm is (xx5).

(xx5) Paradigm of ‘not be (somewhere), be absent’)

category	form
1Sg	ñgó-ỳ
2Sg	ñgó-Ẁ
1Pl	ñgó-ỳ ∴
2Pl	ñgó-Ẁ ∴

3Sg	ḥgó:-Ø
3Pl	ḥgó:-yé

11.2.3 ‘Be put in/on’

Some Dogon languages use stative forms, either a regular Stative inflection derived from a ‘put (in/on)’ verb, or an irregular or suppletive stem, in senses like:

‘(sth large) be in (container)’, also metaphorical ‘be in (state, situation)’

‘(sth granulated, e.g. sugar) be in container’

‘(water or other liquid) be in container’

‘be up on (sth)’, e.g. ‘pot (tea kettle) be up on stone oven (burner)’

if these are just part of a regular Stative inflection, give a cross-reference.

used with Existential particle?

if more than one ‘be in (container)’ verb, give lists of representative subject NPs (person, animal, meat, millet grain spike, grains, sugar, water) for each verb.

a few examples

11.2.4 Morphologically regular verbs

[if any verbs below are defective, i.e. stative-only, or otherwise irregular, the subsection may be relocated]

11.2.4.1 ‘Remain, happen’ (bee-)

Morphologically regular verb? Full set of aspect-negation suffixes?

present-time ‘X remains (thus)’, uses imperfective or perfective form?

11.2.4.2 ‘Become, happen’ (xxx)

Morphologically regular verb used with NP

‘he has become a woman’

‘he has become a white man’

‘he has become like a dog’

11.2.4.3 ‘Want, like’ (m̀b̀á:-)

‘X want/live/love Y’ is expressed by a defective (stative only) verb m̀b̀á:-. The negation is m̀b̀i-rá-, with Stative Negative ending. The 3Sg positive form is m̀b̀á:-∅ with rising tone, while the remainder of the positive paradigm is based on m̀b̀á- (1st/2nd person) or m̀b̀á:- (3Pl).

(xx5) Paradigm of ‘want’ and ‘not want’

category	‘want’	‘not want’
1Sg	m̀b̀á-ỳ	m̀b̀i-rá-ỳ
2Sg	m̀b̀á-ẁ	m̀b̀i-rá-ẁ
1Pl	m̀b̀á-ỳ .:	m̀b̀i-rá-ỳ .:
2Pl	m̀b̀á-ẁ .:	m̀b̀i-rá-ẁ .:
3Sg	m̀b̀á:-∅	m̀b̀i-rá-∅
3Pl	m̀b̀á:-yé	m̀b̀i-r-é:

An example of the simple transitive function is (xx2).

(xx2) nàmâ: m̀b̀á-ỳ
 meat want-1SgS
 ‘I want/like meat.’

11.2.4.4 ‘Fear’ (ú:wí-)

‘X fear Y’ is expressed by a regular (not defective) verb ú:wí- with a full set of perfective and imperfective forms. It does have a derived Stative (with shortened /u/ vowel), as in ù-ʔúwⁿà-yⁿ ‘I am afraid’.

11.3 Quotative verb

11.3.1 ‘Say’ (g̀ùn-)

‘X say Y to Z’ is expressed with the conjugatable verb g̀ùn- ‘say’, though it is usually omitted when the Quotative particle /wa/ is present. g̀ùn- is most often used in contexts like (xx1), where the quotation is condensed into ‘what?’ or some similar NP.

(xx1) [n̄jé n̄i] [ú b̀â:] g̀ùn-∅

[what? xxx] [2Sg Dat] say.Perf-3SgS
 ‘What did he/she say to you-Sg?’

The major MAN forms are in (xx2). The forms are consistent with those of the two other CvN stems (gǎŋ ‘put’, káŋ ‘do, make’). This applies specifically to the phonology of the Perfective Negative and the Imperfective, and to the alternation of /n/ and /rⁿ/ in the Perfective.

(xx2)	gǔn	bare stem
	gǔn-∅	Perfective (3Sg)
	gùr ⁿ i-ý ⁿ	Perfective (1Sg)
	gǔn-ní-	Perfective Negative
	gǔn	Imperative
	gù-gú-m̀	Imperfective (3Sg)

11.4 Adjectival predicates

predicates of the type ‘X is heavy’. Distinct from inchoative and factitive verbs (‘become heavy’, ‘make it heavy’), on which see §9.xxx.

11.4.1 Positive adjectival predicates

adjective may be directly conjugated, or followed by ‘be’ quasi-verb or by ‘it is’ clitic. (construction found in some languages)

comments on phonological form of adjective

3Sg form?

11.4.2 Negative adjectival and stative predicates (≡xxx)

adjective followed by conjugated Stative Negative suffix/clitic.

examples

‘I am not tall.’

11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 ‘Have’ (só-, sò-, negative sò-ndó-)

‘X have Y’ denoting possession is expressed by só-, which may follow a NP plus Existential yá (requiring a high-toned só-), or may follow a NP plus /nĩ/ (requiring a low-toned sò-). The corresponding negation is sò-ndó-, without yá. The paradigms are (xx1). These are (defective) quasi-verbs that do not distinguish perfective from imperfective categories.

(xxx) Paradigm of ‘have’ and ‘not have’

category	‘have’		‘do not have’
	with yá	low-toned	
1Sg	yá só-ỳ	sò-ỳ	sò-ndó-ỳ
2Sg	yá só-Ẁ	sò-Ẁ	sò-ndó-Ẁ
1Pl	yá só-ỳ.:	sò-ỳ.:	sò-ndó-ỳ.:
2Pl	yá só-Ẁ.:	sò-Ẁ.:	sò-ndó-Ẁ.:
3Sg	yá só-ń	sò-ñ	sò-ndó-∅
3Pl	yá s-é:	s-è:	s-è-nd-é:

Examples are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [[nǎ: yǒy] nĩ] sò-ỳ
 [[cow two] xxx] have-1SgS
 ‘I have two cows?’
- b. [ùrò ẹ̀sú] yá só-ń
 [house.L good] Exist have-3SgS
 ‘He/She has a good house.’
- c. nàmâ: sò-ndó-ỳ
 meat have-Neg-1SgS
 ‘I don’t have any meat.’

These ‘have’ forms may co-occur with Past clitic; see §10.5.1.2.

form in relative clauses?

11.5.2 ‘Belong to’ predicates

‘X belongs to Y’ or ‘X is Y’s) is expressed by a nominal predicate consisting of an ‘it is’ clitic added to a possessed (therefore {HL} toned) form of kón ‘thing’ (inanimate), yó-m ‘critter, being’ (nonhuman animate singular), or the latter’s plural yó: ‘critters’ (nonhuman animate plural).

- (xx1) a. [ùrò ñgú] [ǎm kó]=m̀
 [house.L Prox.Inan] [who? thing.HL]=it.is
 ‘This house is whose?’
- b. [ùrò ñgú-mbè] [ǎm kó]=m̀
 [house.L Prox.Inan] [who? thing.HL]=it.is
 ‘These houses are whose?’
- c. [nà:-m mú] [ǎm yó-m]=Ø
 [cow-Sg.L Prox.AnSg] [who? critter.HL]=it.is
 ‘This cow is whose?’
- d. [nà: ímbè] [ǎm yô:]=Ø
 [cow-Sg.L Prox.AnSg] [who? critter.HL]=it.is
 ‘This cow is whose?’

My assistant did not accept forms based on ‘critter’ for human topic NPs. Instead, the noun itself was repeated as the predicate.

- (xx2) [yì mú] [ǎm yí-m]=Ø
 [child.L Prox.AnSg] [who? child.HL-Sg]=it.is
 ‘This child is whose child?’

‘X belongs to Y’, perhaps expressed as ‘X, it is Y’s thing/critter (possession)’. The ‘thing/critter’ noun may distinguish objects from animate beings.

- ‘the house is mine’
 ‘the sheep is mine’
 ‘the house is Seydou’s’*

11.6 Verb iteration

11.6.1 Uninflected iteration of type [v₁-v₁(-v₁ ...)]

A verb may be iterated two or more times to form a clause-like background durative segment in narratives, counterpoised to foregrounded event predications.

The iteration may be uninflected (bare stems iterated), and may have unusual superimposed tone contours.

12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 Predicative adjective with xxx 'than' and comparandum

*construction with predicative adjective (perhaps with conjugated 'it is' clitic).
There may be a 'more' element adjacent to the predicate.
There may be a 'than' element adjacent to the comparandum.*

examples

'I am taller than he (is).'
'I am fatter than you-Sg (are).'

Past clitic may be added to the predicate.

negative version

'I am not taller than he (is).'

Past: 'I was not taller than he (was).'

12.1.2 Verbal predicate plus xxx 'than'

Predicate is an imperfective or perfective verb. There may or may not be an overt 'more' element adjacent to the predicate. There may be a 'than' element adjacent to the comparandum.

examples

12.1.3 'Surpass' (xxx)

The verb 'pass (by)' may also mean 'surpass, exceed', denoting the transition from equality or inferiority to superiority in the relevant dimension. This dimension may be specified by a nonfinal chained verb/VP or by a NP.

examples

12.1.4 'Be better, more' (xxx-)

This construction involves a verb (perhaps a defective stative verb) or a predicate with conjugated 'it is' clitic.

'I am better than you-Sg (are).'

'Mangoes are better than wild grapes.'

If predicate is stative or nonverbal, Past clitic may be added.

12.1.5 'Best' (xxx)

'X is the best (of a set)'

perhaps a nonverbal predicate with 'it is' clitic

how is the set expressed? ('X is the best of the women')

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 'Equal; be as good as' (xxx)

Verb xxx- 'equal, be as much as'.

expression of the dimension of comparison?

12.2.2 'Same (equal)' (xxx)

A quantifier 'each, all' may be used may occur as the predicate in a sense similar to 'be same/equal'.

'we two are same/equal in height'

12.2.3 'Attain, equal' (xxx)

xxx- 'arrive at, reach, attain' may occur in comparatives with the sense 'attain the level of (someone, in some respect)'.

12.3 'A fortiori' (xxx)

'X, a fortiori Y'

'I don't have money to buy a goat, much less (buy) a cow.'
'I don't have anything for myself to eat, much less (anything) to give you.'

this might be expressed with a 'talk' expression:
'I dont have money to buy a goat, much less talk of (buying) a cow'

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

focalization: remainder of clause is backgrounded, one constituent is foregrounded, as in content questions ('who', etc.) and answers to them.

clear or blurry boundary between focalized and unfocalized clauses?

format of examples: in free translations, underline (translation of) focalized constituent and add, in brackets, [focus]. This is necessary since free English translations (with clefts) may be ambiguous, as in 'It's the man who came yesterday', which has two readings (and two syntactic bracketings).

this section: brief summary of major patterns)

focalized NP/adverb: fronted to clause-initial, or remains in its usual position? (i.e. can it be preceded by other such constituents?)

Is there a Focus particle or other morphological marking in the focalized constituent, perhaps the 'it is' clitic functioning as Focus morpheme? Is there is a morphological distinction between subject and non-subject focus?

Are pro-forma (nonreferential) cognate nominals usually omitted when another constituent is focalized? ('Who is weeping?' 'Whom did he insult?')

Existential particle (ya, etc.) in 'be (present)', 'have', and similar predications absent in focalized clauses? ('Who has a cow?')

focalized object pronominal ('It's he whom I saw')

verb has its regular pronominal-subject suffixes, or a special form (absence of pronominal-subject suffix; replacement of verb by a special participle)?

detailed comments on any changes or neutralizations in aspect-negation marking in verbal morphology in a clause with a focalized constituent (similar patterns in relative clauses?) for example:

a) is the reduplicated Cv- syllable dropped (reduplicated Perfective, reduplicated Imperfective, reduplicated Stative)?

b) are the various Perfective (positive) suffixes all in use in focalized clauses, or do they neutralize into one Perfective form? If so, is this one of the suffixally marked forms (e.g. Perfective-2), or an unaffixed Perfective?

c) assuming the Perfective Negative (-rv-, -lv-, etc.) and the Imperfective Negative stems are used with a focalized constituent, do they usually drop tones?

no need for detailed examples here as the following sections can be full of examples

13.1.1 Subject focalization

*Summarize features (mostly already briefly mentioned above)
position and any morphological marking of focalized subject
form of verb*

examples

'It is we [focus] who will sweep.'

13.1.2 Object focalization

*summary of construction
position of focalized object
if language has Accusative suffix/clitic on NPs and/or pronominals, is this marking present on focalized object?
form of verb*

examples

'That [focus] is what I'm looking for.'

13.1.3 Focalization of PP or other adverb

*position of focalized adverb or PP
entire PP (not just the NP complement) is focalized
form of verb*

examples (including spatial, dative, and instrumental)

'It's to the fields [focus] that I am going.'

'It was with this [focus] that I worked.'

'It's to you-Sg [focus] that I said (it).'

13.1.4 Focalization of postpositional complement

Usually the full PP is focalized as a unit; there is no way to distinguish focalization of a PP from focalization of just its NP complement.

[if there is a mechanism for focalizing verbs, VPs, or clauses--in the latter case, other than regular Emphatic particles focalizing the truth of the clause--, add relevant sections]

13.2 Interrogatives

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogatives (xxx)

*Interrogative particle added at the end of an otherwise indicative sentence.
interlinears: Q = (polar) interrogative particle*

intonation?(prolongation, pitch)

phonological tone (to the extent one can detect it in spite of intonational effects) carried over from preceding word?

any exceptions (e.g. low tone after Perfective-2 verbs that end in high tone)?

in polar interrogatives, are both clauses explicitly stated?

(Will he come, or won't he come?)

perhaps there is a range of options, ranging from full form of both options, reduced form of second option, and omission of second option?

If the Q particle is placed between the two options, is it grouped prosodically with the clause to its left or with that to its right?

*Is Interrogative particle distinguishable from or identical to the 'or' particle
(segmental form, tone, intonation)*

examples, including intonational marking

13.2.2 'Who?' (xxx)

In this and other content (WH) interrogatives, is the Q particle also (optionally) present?

Is the content (WH) interrogative overtly focalized?

form of 'who?' word (relationship to other lexical items)

optional plural form?

expandible as e.g. 'who person'?

predicative form?

examples including predicative 'who?'

'Who came yesterday?'

'Who-Pl did you see?'

'It is who?' (= 'Who is it?')

'Who are you?'

13.2.3 'What?' (xxx), 'with what?', 'why?'

form of 'what?' interrogative; relationship to other forms

optional plural form?

predicative form?

examples including predicative forms

'What did you eat?'

'That is what?' ('What is that?')

'with what?' (instrumental form of 'what?')

example

'for what?' = 'why?' (with Purposive postposition?)

13.2.4 'Where?' (xxx)

form of 'where?' interrogative; relationship to other forms

used with Locative postposition or by itself?

predicative form?

examples

'Where are you going?'

'It is where?' ('Where is it?')

'Where are you?'

13.2.5 'When?' (xxx)

form of 'where?' interrogative; relationship to other forms

perhaps more than one form including 'which time?' with noun 'time'

used with Locative postposition or by itself?

predicative form?

examples including predicative forms

13.2.6 ‘How?’ (xxx)

*form of ‘how?’ interrogative; relationship to other forms
optionally iterated? (full reduplication)*

examples

‘How will you fix the basket?’

combined with ‘do’ verb as ‘do how?’ (= ‘do what?’)?

subordinated ‘(by) doing how, ...’ as another way of asking ‘how?’

13.2.7 ‘How much/many?’ (xxx)

*form of ‘how much/many?’ interrogative; relationship to other forms
usually not pluralizable morphologically
combines with preceding core NP (like numeral, with no tonal interaction?)
if noun is countable, does it appear in plural form?*

examples

‘How much sugar did you buy?’

‘How many sheep do you have?’

‘It is how much?’ (predicative)

may co-occur with topicalized expression in partitive function

‘My cows, how many of them died?’

iterated for distributive sense (‘how much [= price] each?’)

*ordinal: how-manieth? (nonexistent English, but cf. French *quantième*)*

13.2.8 ‘Which?’ (xxx)

*form of ‘which?’ interrogative; relationship to other forms
may be used absolutely, or as modifying adjective
tonal effect on preceding core NP? (tone-dropping?)*

examples

‘Which mango do you want?’

‘Which of your cows are you selling?’

13.2.9 ‘So-and-so’ (ama:Na)

‘So-and-so’ = substitute (function over) any of a range of personal names

used in generalized contexts like: ‘If you encounter someone you know in the field at twilight, you should say “Hey So-and-so, let’s go back to the village”’
form of ‘So-and-so’ word; relationship to other forms

examples

‘This cow belongs to So-and-so’

13.2.10 Embedded interrogatives

embedded polar interrogatives:

‘He doesn’t know whether they have arrived in Bamako’

such a construction may also be used constructions with ‘know’ and factive complement (presupposed to be true)

‘He doesn’t know that they have arrived in Bamako’

(better ex: ‘He doesn’t know whether (= that) I am in Douentza’)

embedded content interrogatives: these may take the same form as main-clause interrogatives, or they may involve substitutions, using generic nouns like ‘person’, ‘thing’, ‘place’, ‘time’, ‘manner’, ‘quantity’

‘I don’t know [who is coming]’ or ‘I don’t know [the person [who is coming]]’

examples:

‘I don’t know ...’

‘... who is coming’

‘... what we will eat’

‘... where they are dancing’

‘... when they will come’

‘... how they will farm’

‘... how much they ate’

‘... which house they lodge (“go down”) in’

‘... why they went away’

14 Relativization

note: using French cues in elicitation can lead to misunderstanding [le chien que j'ai frappé] may be misunderstood as focalized (clefted) 'it's the dog [focus] that I struck'. Therefore it's best to put the relative clause in a larger sentential context, such as [Où est [le chien que j'ai frappé]?] or [Voilà [le chien que j'ai frappé]].

14.1 Basics of relative clauses

*brief summary of major features of relative clauses (no examples here, since they will be given in the subsections below)
correct the following feature inventory as needed*

- a. head NP remains in clause-internal position (internally headed) [rarely in Dogon, the head NP is clause-initial and arguably fronted]*
- b. clause-internal unpossessed head NP drops tones; this applies audibly to the final word in a core NP (noun plus any adjectives) and to any following numeral*
- c. if the head noun contains a possessor, the possessor (NP or pronoun) has its usual tonal form, and the possessed NP has its usual possessed-noun tone contour [if this contour is {HL}, it is clear that relative-NP tone-dropping has not applied; if this contour is all-low, it may be impossible to prove that the all-low contour is due to the possessor and not to the relative-clause construction] [note: if a possessor does not induce tone-dropping on a postnominal numeral, as in [my house six], then the numeral may be subject to audible tone-dropping specifically attributable to the relative clause]*
- d. verb of corresponding main clause (with AN suffix and pronominal-subject suffix) is replaced by a participle that has AN marking, possibly modified in form, and/or with some categorial neutralizations, and either invariant zero or a choice of nominal suffixes agreeing with the head NP (e.g. Human/Animate Sg, Human/Animate Pl, Nonhuman/Inanimate) instead of the pronominal-subject suffix.*
- e. in non-subject relatives ('the man whom I saw', 'the day when I saw the man', etc.), since a pronominal subject cannot be expressed by a suffix on the verb, it is expressed by an independent pronoun (or by a special series of pronominal elements) immediately preceding the participle.*
- f. the clause-internal head NP may have a possessor, adjectives, and a numeral; however, determiners (demonstratives and Definite morphemes) and non-numeral quantifiers ('all', 'each') that have logical scope over the head NP are positioned after the participle.*

g. if the possessor NP is the head NP ('the man whose dog ran away'), it is treated like any other head NP; in this event, the (following?) possessed NP ('dog') appears in unpossessed tonal form (i.e. with its regular lexical tones)

(the theoretical interpretation of Dogon relative clauses is interesting; it seems that the participle is a kind of adjective modifying the head NP, but this would be quite difficult to formalize in any syntactic theory)

14.1.1 Coordinated relatives with a shared head

*'[[people_x (who_x) here sleep-Ppl] [(and) (who_x) next day go-away-Ppl]] I like'
'[[people who throw bones] [(and) (who) don't sweep up]] I don't like'*

usually expressed with an overt head NP in the leftmost clause, and zero (i.e. inaudible) NP in the (headless) second clause

the first (as well as the second) relative clause is usually structurally complete, i.e. ending in a determiner or quantifier if semantically appropriate, i.e. the two relative clauses are appositional

sometimes the main-clause verb comes between the two relative clauses, suggesting that the second relative clause is extraposed:

'[[people_x (who_x) here sleep-Ppl] I like] [(and) (who_x) next day go-awayPpl]'

simpler construction (one participle) when the two co-events are merged into a chain

[people who jump go-down-Ppl] = 'people who jump down'

14.1.2 Tone-dropping on final word(s) of NP in relative clause

(xx1) a. pèrè dómборó bù
'the big sheep'

b. ánní [[pèrè dòmборò] ú èwè bú] bê:
mà
'where are the big sheep that you-Sg bought?'

(xxx) a. pèré kúròy bú
'the six sheep'

b. ánní [[pèrè kúròy] ú èwè bú] bê: mà

‘where are the six sheep that you-Sg bought?’

(xxx) a. pě̀rê kùròy bú
‘my six sheep’

b. ánní [[pě̀rê kùròy] ú èwè bú] bê: mà
‘where are my six sheep that you bought?’

(xxx) a. [yí-m méɾⁿé] péré kùròy bú
‘the boy’s six sheep’

b. ánní [[yí-m méɾⁿé] péré kùròy] ú èwè bú]
bê: mà
‘where are the boy’s six sheep that you bought?’

comparison of NPs in their usual main-clause form and in their tone-dropped form.

start with unpossessed NPs of various shapes

noun

noun + adj

noun (+ adj) + numeral

examples

a/the house

a/the house that fell

a/the big house

a/the big house that fell

a/the six houses

a/the six houses that fell

then possessed NPs of various shapes

if the tones of the entire possessed NP do not change when it functions as head NP of a relative, and if the noun, adjective, and numeral are not all-low toned (i.e. if at least the noun has a specifically possessed-noun tone contour), then the combination of possessor and possessed NP (including numeral) is a tonological island that is not affected by the tone-dropping power of the relative clause.

examples

Seydou’s house that fell

Seydou’s big house that fell

Seydou’s six houses that fell

14.1.3 Restrictions on the head noun in a relative clause

*NP may be definite or indefinite
any nonpronominal NP is eligible
relative may lack an audible head NP (headless relative)*

*but: a personal pronoun is not a possible head NP of relative
instead, a pronoun is in apposition to 'person(s)', which heads the relative*

'we who are here' (expressed as 'we [people who are here]')

14.1.4 Relative clause with conjoined NP as head

Tone-dropping of the relative head is problematic when the head NP is a conjunction. Elicitation of examples like (xx1.b-c), based on the conjoined NP (xx1.a), was difficult. My assistant did not consistently tone-drop either conjunct, though some repetitions did have a flat low pitch on the second conjunct. The assistant also sometimes included the Definite marker (here, Definite Plural *bú*) in the two conjuncts (xx1.c), as an alternative to omitting this morpheme inside the head NP and confining it to postparticipial position (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. [árⁿà bú yá] [yǎ: bú yá]
 'the men and the women'
- b. ánní [árⁿà yà] [yǎ: yá] òdò-mbè bú]
 bê: mà
- c. ánní [árⁿà bú yá] [yǎ: bú yá]
 òdò-mbè bú] bê: mà

*usually expressed as two conjoined relative clauses
'the men who eat dog meat and the women who eat dog meat'*

*however, a conjoined NP construction may be forced by semantics (i.e. where the
conjoined-relative construction would have the wrong interpretation
'(These are) the men and women who fought each other?'*

14.1.5 Headless relative clause

*not very common, since semantically light 'thing', 'person', 'critter', 'place', etc. are
common as relative heads*

but examples do occur where the head NP, either a semantically vague element like 'place/situation' or an unspecified or obvious NP, is omitted

for headless relatives as adverbial clauses, see §15.5.3.

14.1.6 Preparticipial subject pronominal in relative clause

In non-subject relatives, if the subject is a pronoun it is expressed as a preparticipial pronoun. Except for 1Pl, 2Pl, and Logophoric/3Reflexive Plural, which have falling tone, the pronouns all have high tone (1Sg í, 2Sg ú, 3Sg éⁿé, 3Pl bú, Logo/3RefISg á).

(xx2) ánní [kùrⁿò ú zé bèrè-m-ndò kú] bùm mà
 'Where is the stone that you-Sg cannot pick up?'

(xxx) a. [ndò ñgá nǐ] wó-m-ì
 'I will go and come (back).'

b. yéngǐ ñdó ní wê:
 'Yesterday he went and came back.'

(xxx) a. pótó síyè-Ø
 'He/She jumped down'

b. ánní [àⁿà pótó síyè éⁿé] bùn mà
 'Where is the man who jumped down?'

c. [[ð^rò ú pótó síyè kú] rǐ] ñdó-m-ì
 'I'm going to the place where you-Sg jumped down.'

d. [ñgú^rǐ nǐ] [ð^rò ú pótó síyè kú]=m̀h
 'This is the place where you-Sg jumped down.'

(xxx) a. é só jê-y
 'I beat him to death.' (= 'I hit and killed him')

b. ñú nǐ [nù í só jè m'é^ré]=m̀h
 'This is the person (=man) whom I will beat to death.'

examples of the preparticipial subject pronominal in non-subject relatives

'the house that I bought'

'the day they saw you'

same form as independent pronoun, or specialized pronominal series (in Jamsay, low-toned and identical to inalienable possessor pronominals)

examples

14.1.7 Verbal participle

morphological description/analysis of the verbal participle

either invariant form, or adjective-like form with final nominal suffix (Sg, Pl, etc.) agreeing with the head NP

indicate if any neutralizations etc. of main-clause AN categories in relative clauses, for example in perfective positive system (some languages require Perfective-2 -sa/so in relatives)

if participle has unusual morphological form, give a table showing the regular AN suffixes (in main-clause verbs) and their participial counterparts

(xx1) *Participles (four basic categories)*

<i>category</i>	<i>suffix</i>	<i>related AN suffix</i>
<i>Perfective</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>Perfective-2 -xxx-</i>
<i>PerfNeg</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>Perfective Negative -xxx-</i>
<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>Imperfective -xxx-</i>
<i>ImpfNeg</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>Imperfective Negative --xxx-</i>

A few marked AN categories may have participial counterparts, whether or not they are in common use.

(xx2) *Participles (all categories of active verbs)*

<i>category</i>	<i>suffix(es)</i>	<i>similar AN morpheme</i>
<i>Perfective</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>? (variable)</i>
<i>Recent Perfect</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>Recent Perfect -xxx-</i>
<i>Experiential Perfect</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>ExpPerf -xxx -</i>
<i>Perfective Negative</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>Perfective Negative -xxx-</i>
<i>Recent Perfect Negative</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>Recent Perfect Neg-xxx-</i>
<i>Experiential Perfect Neg</i>	<i>-xxx</i>	<i>ExpPerfNeg -xxx-</i>
<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>-xxx-</i>	<i>Imperfective -xxx-</i>

<i>Progressive</i>	-xxx	<i>Progressive -xxx-</i>
<i>Imperfective Negative</i>	-xxx	<i>Imperfective Negative -xxx-</i>
<i>Progressive Negative</i>	-xxx	<i>Progressive Negative -xxx-</i>

14.1.7.1 Participles of positive perfective-system verbs

Perfective positive, object

- (xxx) a. ánní [pèrè ú èwè érⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
 ‘Where is the sheep-Sg that you bought?’
- b. ánní [pèrè ú èwè bú] bê:-Ø mà
 ‘Where are the sheep-Pl that you bought?’
- c. ánní [ùrò ú èwè kú] bûn-Ø mà
 ‘Where is the house that you bought?’

Perfective positive, subject

- (xxx) a. ánní [pèrè yòwè érⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
 ‘Where is the sheep-Sg that ran?’
- b. ánní [pèrè yòwè bú] bê:-Ø mà
 ‘Where are the sheep-Pl that ran?’
- c. ánní [ùrò yǎ: sǐyè kú] bûn-Ø mà
 ‘Where is the house that fell?’

There may be some mergers of these categories in relative clause participles. For example, either an unaffixed (i.e. without AN suffix) participle, or a participle based on Perfective-2 -sa-/so-, may be required in relatives. If so, discuss with examples.

14.1.7.2 Participles of positive imperfective-system and stative verbs

Discuss any neutralizations or unusual statistical frequencies of imperfective positive AN categories in relative clauses.

stative verbs: anything unusual in relative-clause participles?

(issue of segmentation of /m/ in -m éⁿé]

Imperfective positive, object

- (xxx) a. ánní [pèrè ú èwè-m éⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the sheep-Sg that you will buy?’
- b. ánní [pèrè ú èwè-mè bú] bê:-Ø mà
‘Where are the sheep-Pl that you will buy?’
- c. ánní [ùrò ú èwè-m éⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the house that you will buy?’

Imperfective positive, subject

- (xxx) a. ánní [pèrè ú yòwò-m éⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the sheep-Sg that will run?’
- b. ánní [pèrè yòwò-mè bú] bê:-Ø mà
‘Where are the sheep-Pl that will run?’
- c. ánní [ùrò yǎ: sǐyè-m éⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the house that will fall?’

14.1.7.3 Participles of positive derived and underived stative verbs

‘be’ (subject)

- (xxx) a) pèrè ñgûn bù-m méréⁿ
‘the sheep-Sg that is here’
- b) pèrè ñgûn bè: bú
‘the sheep-Pl that are here’
- c) ùrò ñgûn bùñ kú
‘the house that is here’
- d) ùrò ñgûn bùñ kú-mbè:
‘the houses that are here’

14.1.7.4 Participles of negative perfective-system verbs

Perfective negative, object

- (xxx) a. ánní [pèrè ú èwè-rĩ éⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the sheep-Sg that you didn’t buy?’
- b. ánní [pèrè ú èwè-rĩ bú] bê:-Ø mà
‘Where are the sheep-Pl that you didn’t buy?’
- c. ánní [ùrò ú èwè-rĩ kú] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the house that you didn’t buy?’

Perfective negative, subject

- (xxx) a. ánní [pèrè yðwè-rĩ éⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the sheep-Sg that didn’t run?’
- b. ánní [pèrè yðwè-rĩ bú] bê:-Ø mà
‘Where are the sheep-Pl that didn’t run?’
- c. ánní [ùrò yǎ: ṣiyè-rĩ kú] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the house that didn’t fall?’

form of participle of Perfective Negative verbs, along with Experiential Perfect and Recent Perfect

14.1.7.5 Participles of negative imperfective-system and stative verbs

Imperfective negative, subject

- (xxx) a. ánní [pèrè yðwð-mdð-m éⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the sheep-Sg that won’t run?’
- b. ánní [pèrè yðwð-mdè bú] bê:-Ø mà
‘Where are the sheep-Pl that won’t run?’
- c. ánní [ùrò yǎ: ṣiyè-mdð-m éⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the house that won’t fall?’

Imperfective negative, object

- (xxx) a. ánní [pèrè ú èwè-mdò-m éⁿé] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the sheep-Sg that you will not buy?’
- b. ánní [pèrè ú èwè-mdò bú] bê:-Ø mà
‘Where are the sheep-Pl that you will not buy?’
- c. ánní [ùrò ú èwè-mdò kú] bûn-Ø mà
‘Where is the house that you will not buy?’

form of participle of Imperfective Negative (including negatives of any marked categories in this general area, e.g. Future or Progressive)

examples

- ‘(I don’t like) a person who doesn’t work’*
‘the cows that they will not milk’
‘a person who is not sweeping (progressive)’

14.1.7.6 Participles of negative i stative verbs

form of participle of Stative Negative inflected form of verb, of ‘not be’, and of negative predicative forms of adjectives (usually with Stative Negative suffix)

examples

- ‘(I don’t like) a person who doesn’t have a house’*
‘a person who isn’t sitting (in seated position)’
‘(I’m looking for) a man who is not tall’
‘a man who is not a Dogon’
‘a moment when I was not in Douentza’

14.1.7.7 Participle of Past clitic =xxx

The Past clitic =xxx has participial forms in several Dogon languages (those in which this clitic is conjugatable).

For positive relative clauses, the form of the participle is shown in (xx1), along with the regular inflectable form for comparison. Negative counterparts are in (xx2).

- (xx1) *Participle of Past clitic (positive polarity)*

<i>AN category</i>	<i>inflected</i>	<i>participle</i>
<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>
<i>Progressive</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>
<i>Past Perfect</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>
<i>Perfective-1b</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>
<i>Perfective-1a</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>
<i>Perfective-2</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>
<i>Recent Perfect</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>

(xx2) *Participle of Past clitic (negative polarity)*

<i>AN category</i>	<i>inflected</i>	<i>participle</i>
<i>Past Perfect Neg</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>
<i>Imperfective Neg</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>

14.1.8 Relative clause involving verb- or VP-chain

Only the final verb in a chain is participialized?

Nonfinal chained verbs have their usual form?

In non-subject relatives, if there is preparticipial subject pronominal, does this pronominal immediately precede the final participialized verb, i.e. splitting the verbs in the chain?

Nonpronominal subject NPs precede the nonfinal verb(s) in a direct verb chain?

May a nonpronominal subject NP be resumed by a pronominal subject marker preceding the participle?

examples

'the cow that I will buy and bring'

'the cow that my father will buy and bring'

'the child who fell down' (< 'fall' plus 'go down')

14.1.9 Determiners following the participle

Determiners ('this/that', 'the') with scope over the head NP appear in post-participial position.

any special tonal patterns for the determiner?

does the determiner force tone-dropping on the participialized verb?

examples

'the house that you see'

'this man whom you see'

'that (aforementioned) child who ran away'

14.1.10 Non-numeral quantifiers following the participle

'all' and 'each' also appear after the participle

tonal effects on the participle?

examples

'Bring all the cows that you have not milked!'

'(For) each house that fell, we are seeking 2 million (francs)'

'any person who has not finished eating'

14.1.11 Indefinite relatives

no determiner, so the relative clause ends in the participle

examples

I'm looking for...

...a cow that you haven't milked'

...two cows that you haven't milked'

14.2 Subject relative clause

this and the following sections mainly exemplify the points already described. Begin each section with a summary of the features relevant to the particular syntactic type of head NP

subject relatives (brief list of features)

head NP tone-dropped (core NP, numeral)

determiners and non-numeral quantifiers shifted to post-participial position

verbal participle agrees with head NP (subject NP)

no preparticipial subject pronominal

examples (mix of elicited and textual exx)

'the man who saw me in the market'

'some men who saw me in the market'

'(Where is) the stone that injured me'

'the person who didn't hit me'

14.3 Object relative clause

object relatives (brief list of features)

head NP tone-dropped (core NP, numeral)

determiners and non-numeral quantifiers shifted to post-participial position

verbal participle agrees with head NP (object NP)

pronominal subject expressed by a preparticipial subject pronominal

Accusative marking on the (object) head NP??

examples (mix of elicited and textual exx)

'the cows that I sold'

'the cows that I did not sell'

'what we ate was not meat'

14.4 Possessor relative clause

possessor relatives (brief list of features)

head NP (possessor NP) tone-dropped (core NP, numeral)

determiners and non-numeral quantifiers shifted to post-participial position

verbal participle agrees with head NP (possessor NP)

pronominal subject expressed by a preparticipial subject pronominal

possessed NP does not show possessed-noun tone contour (it reverts to its regular tones as in main clauses with no possessor)

examples (mix of elicited and textual exx, including alienable and inalienable

possession if this distinction is meaningful in the language

'the man whose house fell'

'the man whose cow died (naturally)'

'the man whose father has gone away'

14.5 Relativization on the complement of a postposition

'the woman to whom I said that' (dative)

'the daba (hoe) with which I do farming' (instrumental)

'the honey for which they came' (purposive)

'the hole (pit) that he is in' (locative)

where (if at all) does the postposition appear in the relative clause?

15 Verb (VP) chaining and adverbial clauses

define direct and loose chains (hold off examples until subsections below)

direct chain: verbs concatenated without overb subordinating morphology, usually treated as forming a single clause, with a single set of complements (preceding the verbs)

loose chain: nonfinal clause has an overt subordinator, maintains its identity as a separate clause to at least some extent (all verbs in chain may be immediately preceded by their respective complements)

15.1 Direct chains (without chaining morpheme)

examples of direct chains

'fall' + 'go down' = 'fall down'

'run' + 'go in' = 'run in(to)'

'put down' + 'leave/abandon' = 'put down (and leave) (sth, in a place)'

'go' + 'come' = 'go (somewhere) and come back'

each verb denotes a co-event, the two (or more) verbs combining into a conceptually integrated whole. In most cases (but not 'go and come back') the co-events overlap in time.

for cases where the final verb is specialized in chain-final function, e.g. 'get, obtain' in the sense 'be able to', see §17.5.

(syntax of direct chains covered in the following subsections)

15.1.1 Verbal Noun of directly chained verbs

Normally the VblN suffix is added only to the final verb in the chain.

Do nonfinal verbs drop tones (i.e. function as compound initials)?

examples:

'fall' + 'go down-VblN' = 'falling down'

(etc.)

15.1.2 Presence of AN suffix in nonfinal verb in direct chains

Usually no aspect-negation suffix in nonfinal verbs in chains. However, there may be some cases where an AN suffix does occur in nonfinal verbs (e.g. Imperfective -m- in Nanga durative clauses).

Perfective (positive) system suffixes (e.g. Perfective-1b -ti-) sometimes have variant forms that may occur after a nonfinal chained verb. This suggests the possibility that the suffixes in question might themselves be best analysed as (syntactically specialized) chained verbs.

Negative suffixes are not used on nonfinal verbs in chains in most Dogon languages.

15.1.3 Arguments of directly chained verbs

Since directly chained verbs generally collapse into a conceptually unified whole, they generally take a single set of complements. This is most visible when one of the verbs is normally intransitive and the other is transitive.

examples

[sheep hit kill-Perf-3SgS] = 'he/she hit and killed the sheep'

[sheep go kill-Perf-3SgS] = 'he/she went and killed the sheep'

[sheep kill get-Impf-3SgS] = 'he/she can kill the sheep'

usually it is not possible to break up the chained verbs with non-verb constituents (other than proclitic pronominals),

e.g. no #'run [sheep kill-Perf-3SgS] = 'he/she ran and killed the sheep'.

15.1.4 Negation of direct verb chains

Only the final verb in the chain may be negated; the negation has semantic scope over the entire sequence.

15.1.5 Direct chains including xxx 'leave'

Transitive xxx 'leave, abandon (sth)' is often added to verbs like 'put down', 'tie up', and 'knock down' denoting actions that typically result in the theme being stationary in a location. Often the 'leave' verb is not needed in an idiomatic English free translation.

examples

15.1.6 Direct chains including a motion verb or ‘pick up, take’

*‘go/come and VP’ (the VP denoting an event subsequent to the motion)
sometimes there are unusual features (tones etc.) in the form of the motion verb
examples*

*‘fall/jump and go.down’ = ‘fall down’, ‘jump down’
‘run and go.up/go.down’ = ‘run up’, ‘run down’*

‘run and go.in/go.out’ = ‘run in(side)’, ‘run out’

*‘go/come while VP-ing’ (i.e. ‘come while singing’)
[belongs in another subsection if the VP is expressed with a subordinator]
examples*

15.1.7 Durative verb-iterations chained to a motion verb

*Nanga-type construction
dance(noun) dance(verb)-dance(verb) come ‘come dancing’*

special tone contour on the iterated verb?

*If there is such a construction, with no subordinating morpheme, describe here and
include a cross-ref to this section in §15.2, below.*

15.1.8 Chains including xxx- ‘be/do together’

*By itself, the verb xxx is an intransitive verb meaning ‘gather together, assemble’. It
occurs chained with another VP to translate adverbial ‘together’. Thus ‘work together’
is expressed as ‘get together and work’.*

examples

15.1.9 Chaining with xxx ‘go with’

*The stem xxx (Jamsay jijE, Nanga jEjE, etc.) functions syntactically like a transitive
verb with a sense like ‘have/take (something) with oneself’. It occurs only in nonfinal
position in chains, chiefly with motion verbs.*

*takes a direct object (even with final intransitive verb)
Accusative marking on the object?*

examples

'X took the sheep along with him'
'They took him along (with them)'

15.2 Adverbial clauses with overt chaining or subordinating morpheme

First few subsections below describe various durative or imperfective VP and clause types.

remaining subsections describe constructions specifying a temporal divergence between the two eventualities.

many of the subsections in this section may have to be deleted, combined, split, or rearranged (and reorganized) to suit a particular language.

15.2.1 Backgrounded durative clauses (xxx)

Particle xxx is used in backgrounded durative clauses, which precede a foregrounded event predication. The xxx clause denotes a temporally extended activity, such as motion, that persists through a temporal span T that leads up to and may overlap with the following event E. Usually the activity is first introduced as a main clause, and the verb is then repeated (one or more times) in durative-clause form, before the next event E is introduced.

xxx related to inflectable Imperfective suffix on verbs?

form of verb that xxx follows (bare stem, etc.).

if anything unusual, give a table with representative examples with and without xxx

(xx1)	<i>bare stem</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>gloss</i>
	<i>xxx</i>	<i>xxx</i>	<i>'come'</i>

must the two clauses have the same subject?

is the subject overtly indicated in the [... verb xxx] clause, or just in the surrounding main clauses?

is the [... verb xxx] durative clause often iterated as a whole in narratives?

examples, including textual examples

*'The two of them were coming; **come xxx, come xxx, come xxx** [= they kept coming and coming]. (Then) a storm arose.' (xxx).*

see also durative complements of 'see' and 'find' (§17.2.2.1).

15.2.2 Imperfective subordinator -xxx

Subordinating suffix/particle morphemically identifiable as the regular Imperfective suffix, but this time on a verb without pronominal-subject inflection in a nonfinal VP followed by an intrinsically durative or stative final verb.

[§15.2.2.1 and/or §15.2.2.2 may be combined with the preceding section §15.2.1 if there is no formal distinction]

15.2.2.1 Imperfective -xxx on activity verb plus time-of-day verb

Imperfective VP denoting a prolonged activity (ending in Imperfective subordinator), followed by a time-of-day verb ('spend the night dancing' = 'dance all night').

two verbs are conceptually integrated as in direct chains, but here the nonfinal verb is explicitly imperfective and has an overt subordinator

examples

15.2.2.2 Imperfective -xxx plus xxx- (bu- etc.) 'be'

VP ending in Imperfective subordinator, followed by 'be (somewhere)' quasi-verb (bu-, etc.).

a kind of progressive ('be a-running') may be the regular progressive, or (if there is a distinct progressive inflection) this may involve a more literal spatial 'be (somewhere)'

examples, including negative

'My friend is (here) eating a meal.'

'My friend is not (here) eating a meal.'

[if any other constructions involving the Imperfective suffix are attested, add extra subsections]

15.2.3 'worked until got tired' = 'worked for a very long time'

Special construction with a verb meaning 'get tired', used in contexts implying long duration?

examples, including negative

15.2.4 Clauses with xxx ‘and then’ (different subject, anterior)

*[not all Dogon languages have an explicitly different-subject subordinator]
[conceivably a language could have more than one different-subject subordinators, with
different temporal profiles]*

interlinear gloss: ‘and.DS’

*Clauses with xxx following the verb denote eventualities that precede in time the
reference time (in the main clause). The subject of the xxx clause is
referentially disjoint from that of the main clause, and is therefore overtly
expressed (for example, by an independent pronoun).*

form (including tones) of verb to which xxx is attached?

expression of pronominal subject?

examples

‘Amadou pulled the rope and (then) it snapped’

‘You went to him, (but) he didn’t give it to you.’

15.2.5 Clauses with xxx (same-subject, anterior)

*subordinator xxx requiring that the clause have the same subject as the reference clause
(usually a following main clause), and specifying that the two eventualities are
chronologically sequenced (cf. English ‘having VP-ed, ...’)*

entire temporal sequence in the past, or it could also be in the future?

no subject expressed in xxx clause?

interlinear gloss: ‘and.SS’

form (including tones) of verb to which xxx is attached?

examples

‘They came and sat.’

‘You went to him and/but you didn’t find him there.’

15.2.6 Clauses with xxx ‘and then’ (same-subject, anterior, future time)

*similar to preceding but the entire temporal sequence is in the future (so the following
clause has a verb in imperfective/future, imperative, or hortative form)*

interlinear gloss: 'then.SS'

form (including tones) of verb to which xxx is attached?

examples:

'Let's eat and then go!'

'He/She will do farm work and then go.'

15.3 Other temporal adverbial clauses

15.3.1 'Since ...' clauses (xxx)

[possibly more than one construction; if so, add subsections §15.3.1.1, etc.]

description and examples

'Since they came, they have not eaten any meat'

'Since she got sick, she has not gone outside'

brief mention of the 'since X' construction where X is a noun/adverb ('since yesterday')

15.4 Noun-headed temporal clause ('the time when ...')

type 'at the time when he fell'

relative clause with 'time' or similar noun ('day', 'year', 'moment', 'era') as head

Locative postposition at end of entire relative clause?

Definite morpheme frequent at end of relative clause?

examples

15.4.1 Reverse anteriority clause 'before ...'

'before' clauses are highly variable in structure in Dogon languages

describe in detail

form of verb

subordinators

expression of subject (NP or pronoun)

examples

'Before they came back, I hid (myself).'

'We'll work before we eat'

15.4.2 'No sooner ..., than ...' (xxx)

Cf. French dès que ...

indicates that the following event took place or began immediately afterwards

may involve an expressive adverbial 'all' element (puu⇒ etc.) at the end of the clause.

expression of pronominal subject?

structural difference between same-subject and different-subject combinations?

examples

'As soon as we came (=arrived here), we went to bed'

'As soon as we came, it rained'

'As soon as we arrive in Douentza, we will go to bed'

'As soon as you touch Seydou, he will weep'

'As soon as Fanta sits down, (every time) she falls asleep'

see also §16.2.2

15.5 Spatial and manner adverbials

15.5.1 Spatial adverbial clause ('where ...')

The noun xxx 'place' occurs in L-toned form as the relative head.

examples

'Go to the place where ...'

'The place where he fell is far way'

15.5.2 Manner adverbial clause ('how ...')

A relative clause with xxx 'manner' as head NP may function as a NP (xx1.a).

With xxx 'like' this can become a manner adverbial clause (xx1.b).

examples

(xx1) a. *'The way he/she works isn't good.'*

b. *'I work (like) the (same) way he/she works.'*

15.5.3 Headless adverbial clause as spatiotemporal or manner clause

The 'time', 'place', or 'manner' head noun may be omitted. The result is a headless adverbial relative clause whose exact interpretation requires contextual decipherment. In some cases there may be no determinable specific head noun, and something like 'situation' may be useful in translation. Contextual clues may force one or the other reading; for example, a 'like' particle forces a manner adverbial reading.

examples:

'(The time) when he/she fell is far away (= was long ago).'

'I work like (the way) he/she works.'

15.5.4 'From X, until (or: all the way to) Y'

here: X and Y are clauses (not NPs)

the 'from X' construction (X = clause) is cross-linguistically variable

note: direct translation from French may produce non-idiomatic constructions; one idiomatic Dogon construction involving the verb 'take, pick up' (Jamsay yaNa etc.) at the end of the 'since' clause, hence 'VP take Subordinator, ...' = 'from (the time that) VP, ...'

example

'From when they (= their mothers) bear them_x (=they are born), until when they_x die, they are wicked.'

15.5.5 'As though ...' clause

examples

'You-Sg are crying (weeping) as though you hadn't eaten.'

'They are crying as though they hadn't eaten.'

16 Conditional constructions

'if X' (X=clause) may also be used in the sense 'when X' (including recurrent events), e.g. 'if/when the sun comes up'. That is, the probability of X occurring may be anywhere from unlikely to 100%.

antecedent clause ('if'), consequent clause ('then')

There is often one primary 'if/when' particle (occasionally two with similar sense), and a couple of other substitutes (with core meanings 'all', 'even', 'only')

16.1 Hypothetical conditional with xxx 'if'

temporal context: future or (present) habitual

*most common logical relationship: cause and effect (entailment)
(*'if X, then Y' = 'X is a sufficient condition for Y'*)*

*form of 'if/when' particle
tones spread from final tone of preceding word?*

*typical aspect categories of antecedent and consequent clauses
unmarked category for antecedent: perfective (if cause-and-effect conditional)
--may also be imperfective in special contexts
unmarked category for consequent: imperfective, future, imperative, hortative*

both clauses have normal main-clause form (AN suffix, pronominal-subject suffix)

16.1.1 Regular antecedent clause with pronominal subject suffix

give examples of the normal conditional construction

'If you-Sg see Amadou in the market, flee!'

'If I see Amadou in the market, I will flee.'

'If Hawa doesn't eat, she will die.'

any unusual patterns in AN marking of antecedent?

preference for one or another of the various perfective-system forms?

16.1.2 ‘Unless’ antecedent

often a regular hypothetical conditional in which the antecedent clause is negative.

examples

‘Unless the rain falls (“if the rain didn’t fall”) heavily, we cannot sow (millet).’

‘Unless the chiefs are here (“if the chiefs are not present”), we cannot slaughter a sheep.’

‘Unless you-2Sg do (“f you-2Sg don’t do) the farm work, how will you eat?’

16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles

16.2.1 ‘Even if ...’ (xxx)

usually the ‘even’ particle replaces the ‘if/when’ particle in Nanga, a Purposive particle is used in this construction

examples

‘Even if he/she comes, he/she won’t eat here.’

‘Even if you-Sg come, you won’t eat here.’

‘Even if it rains, we’ll go to the field(s).’

16.2.2 ‘As soon as ...’ (xxx)

Perhaps a particle meaning ‘only, just’ replaces the ordinary ‘if/when’ particle in languages under Fulfulde influence, often /tan/

may compete with another construction, see §15.4.2

16.3 Willy-nilly and disjunctive antecedents (‘whether X or Y ...’)

two mutually incompatible conditions (both irrelevant to the consequent) are spelled out

final ‘all’ quantifier after the second condition?

examples

‘Whether it rains or not, we are going.’

‘He doesn’t look at (= care whether) “it somebody’s”, he doesn’t look at “it is mine,” as for him, he eats everything.’

16.4 Counterfactual conditional

antecedent denotes an eventuality that seemed possible at some point in the past but did not in fact occur

often both the antecedent and the consequent involve the Past clitic/particle.

antecedent: Past Perfect form (Perfective plus Past)

consequent: Past Imperfective form

examples

'If the locusts hadn't come, we would have gotten (= were going to get) a lot of millet in the granary.'

'If the doctor had been there, I would have been cured.'

17 Complement and purposive clauses

note: the suggested subsection organization is subject to modification depending on what type of complement clause occurs in the semantic context indicated; in particular, the division of labor between verbal-noun complements and other constructions (such as simple direct chains) is variable from language to language.

17.1 Quotative complement

Quotations are marked by up to three distinct features:

- (xx1) a. inflectable **'say' verb** (xxx), preceding or following the quotation, §17.1.2;
b. invariable **quotative particle** xxx (e.g. /wa/ or /lo/) following the quotation (or multiple segments of the quotation), §17.1.3;
c. **logophoric** pronouns substituting for (original) first person pronouns, §18.xxx.

17.1.1 Direct versus indirect in quotative complements

reported speech involves a mix of direct and indirect discourse

direct features:

initial vocatives ('hey [you]!')
aspect category on verb usually same as original
no 'that' complementizer

indirect features:

pronominal person category recomputed
so 'hey you!' appears in most contexts as 'hey 3Sg!'
logophoric replaces original 1Sg or 1Pl (in direct quote)

17.1.2 'Say that ...' with inflectable 'say' verb (xxx)

may precede or follow quotation?

when it precedes, set off prosodically, or followed by special interjection?
form of pronominal subject?

examples

'He_x said that he_x is going tomorrow.'

'I said that I am not going.'

'She_x will say that she_x is sick.'

'(The) people will say that they are cured.'

'I didn't say that I can stop the locusts.'

'He_x didn't say that they_y will come.'

The 'say' verb may also take a NP complement ('what?', 'that', 'nothing', etc.)

'say' verb usually omitted when invariant Quotative clitic/particle is present?

17.1.3 Quotative clitic xxx

occurs at the end of quoted clauses, and after quoted vocatives or topicalized constituents

also after subject of quoted clause?

tone borrowed from element to the left?

typically used when quoted speaker is third person (hearsay modality)

also used with first/second person quoted speaker to indicate "quotation marks," as in [did you say "dog"?] and [yes, I said "dog"]

also used with quoted imperatives/hortatives (jussive complements)?

examples

'He/she_x said that he/she_x has no sugar.'

'Hyena said to hare: hey you, go!'

'Amadou said that the people have sown (the millet).'

extended quotations: xxx is typically repeated after each clause

examples

'He/she said that the people will come, (but that) they won't eat here.'

omitted when it would be adjacent to the 'say' verb?

omitted in negative contexts ('X didn't say that ...')?

examples:

'Amadou did not say that the people have sown (the millet).'

'Did he say that the people have sown (the millet)?'

omitted with factive complement (ending in Definite morpheme)?

example:

'If he says (= claims) that the people have sown (the millet), it's false.'

17.1.4 Jussive complement (reported imperative or hortative)

17.1.4.1 Quoted imperative

When imperative 'Sweep the courtyard!' is quoted ('They told him [to sweep the courtyard]'), the original imperative may appear in the same imperative form (Jamsay), or in a 3rd person Hortative as in e.g. 'may God protect you!' (Nanga).

*singular and plural subject of Imperative distinguished or merged?
quotative particle added at end?*

overt pronominal denoting the original addressee may be present, perhaps as a quoted vocative ('hey you!' expressed as 'hey 3Sg!')

examples

'I told him to slaughter a sheep.'

'They told me to come.'

reported prohibitives (negative imperatives)

examples

'I told him not to slaughter a sheep.'

'They told me not to come.'

17.1.4.2 Embedded hortative

quoted form of 'let's go!' (hortative)

verb takes regular hortative form, or a special quoted-hortative form

expression of the original IPl (dual or plural) subject? (perhaps a dative in the 'say' clause, or perhaps a quoted vocative)

quotative particle present at end?

any difference between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person quoted speaker?

examples

'They said (to me), let's go!'

'He said (to me), let's go!' (original dual-subject hortative)

'You said (to him), let's go!'

'You said (to me), let's go!'

'I said (to him), let's go!'
'I said (to you), let's go!'

reported hortative negative

examples

17.2 Factive (indicative) complements

This type of complement may be translated as '(the fact/proposition) that ...'. It occurs with verbs like 'know' and 'see/hear' in the main clause. There is no 'that' complementizer. The verb of the complement clause has regular AN-marking, but a pronominal subject is sometimes expressed by an independent pronoun rather than by the usual pronominal-subject suffix on the verb. Alternatively, the subject of the factive clause may be expressed as a possessor. The factive clause functions like a NP and may be followed by a Definite morpheme.

Briefly describe the structure here, and give examples in the subsections below.

17.2.1 'Know that ...' complement clause

if the 3Pl subject inflections are somewhat irregular or formally specialized in main-clause inflectional morphology, for example in negative AN inflections, be sure to include examples with 3Pl subject in these subsections.

examples

'I know that you are not coming.'
'You know that I am not coming.'
'You know that he is not coming.'
'You know that they are not coming.'

'I know that you did not come.'
'You know that I did not come.'
'You know that he did not come.'
'You know that they did not come.'

'I know that you will come.'
'I know that they will come.'

'I know that you came.'
'I know that they came.'

*no distinction between 'X doesn't know [that S]' and 'X doesn't know [whether S]'?
(see §13.2.2)*

17.2.2 'See (find, hear) that ...'

distinction between direct perception ('I saw him fall[ing]') and recognition after the fact, often by inference from circumstantial evidence ('I saw that he had fallen').

some but not all of these examples may have factive complements of the same type as with 'know', but other examples may take other forms (imperfective or durative complements, passive or resultative complements). It's best to keep them all here even if some have affinities to subordinated clause types covered elsewhere.

17.2.2.1 Direct-perception type (relative-clause complement)

complement generally treated as imperfective or durative, even when the event is rather brief or sudden ('fall')?

examples

'I saw the cow fall[ing]' or 'I saw the cow about to fall'

'I saw the children dance (dancing).'

17.2.2.2 Recognition (inference, hearsay) construction

factive complement?

perhaps competing with a passive or resultative complement?

perceiver has not perceived the actual event, but perceives the aftermath and infers what has happened

examples (including negative complements)

'I saw that the cow had fallen' = 'I saw the cow (having) fallen'

'I saw (= see) that you-Sg didn't take the motorcycle away.'

'I heard (= hear) that you-Sg are going to Bamako.'

17.2.3 Factive complement with xxx 'it is certain'

xxx 'it is certain' may precede an ordinary indicative clause, denoting a future event that is (all but) certain, or a situation or a past event that one infers from strong evidence or reasoning. tilay is a regionally ubiquitous form.

examples

'It's certain (definite) that I will go to Anda.'

'He/She has certainly left Severe (by now).'

17.3 Verbal Noun (and other nominal) complements

Complements whose verb is in morphological verbal-noun form.

Complement often really a VP (subjectless), but some main-clause control verbs ('prevent') also require a subject

Definite morpheme at end?

17.3.1 Structure of Verbal Noun Phrase

describe the form of subject NP and object NP

--same as in main clause? (e.g. Accusative marking on object)

--possessor form?

describe the form of subject pronominal and object pronominal

--object same as in main clause, or possessor?

--subject expressed as possessor, or as independent pronoun?

subsections below are for specific main-clause verbs that take these complements; if the verbs do not in fact take verbal-noun complements, the subsection should be relocated elsewhere. If the verb takes a mix of verbal-noun and other complements, the subsection may remain here.

17.3.2 'Prevent' (xxx)

describe semantics of verb (perhaps more than one such verb)

perhaps a basically transitive verb like 'cut' or 'block'

complement is verbal-noun clause, with the agent specified

agent in possessor form?

or treated as direct object of 'prevent' verb in main clause?

examples

'The rain prevented me from going to Douentza.'

'Millet farming [topic], the hot sun prevented me from doing it.'

'The noise prevented Amadou from sleeping.'

17.3.3 'Dare' (xxx)

describe semantics of verb (may be fairly tricky)

subjects of two clauses are coindexed, so complement does not repeat subject

examples

'They don't dare go down.'

'Do you-Sg dare get close to the elephant(s)?'

'He/She dared (had the audacity) to speak to me.'

17.3.4 'Consent' (xxx)

semantics of verb (often identical to 'accept, receive' transitive verb)

distinguish same- from different-subject constructions

examples

'The chief has agreed to come.' (same subject)

'Our father has consented to our going to Bamako.' (different subject)

'He did not agree that we do the marriage.'

17.3.5 'Cease' (xxx)

discuss semantics of verb(s)

may be special case of the transitive 'leave, abandon' verb

may suggest a definitive abandonment of the activity, or it may just mean 'finish, stop (doing)' in a particular instance

examples:

'He has ceased to eat meat.' (= has had enough for now, or has become a vegetarian?)

'I will stop singing.' (retire from a singing career, or finish up a song set?)

17.3.6 'Want' (xxx)

semantics of 'want' verb ('want, like, love', etc.)

same-subject vs. different-subject constructions

examples (same subject)

'I want to go.'

'We don't even want to see him/her.'

examples (different subject), requiring expression of complement subject
'Your-Sg father doesn't want you-Sg to come here.'

17.3.7 'Forget' (xxx)

discussion of semantics of verb.

verb may have irregular or defective paradigm; if so, give a table of its most important inflectable stems

(xxI) 'Forget'

Perfective-Ia	xxx-
Perfective Negative	xxx-
Imperfective	xxx--
Imperfective Negative	xxx-
Imperative	xxx
Imperative Negative	xxx-

may take factive as well as verbal-noun complements, in different senses
factives: subject may be same or different, complement denotes prior event
verbal noun: main-clause subject forgets to do sth that he/she intended to do

examples (factive)

'I forgot that you had come.'

'I forgot that I had told him to come.' (be careful with semantics)

examples (verbal-noun)

'Don't forget to come tomorrow!'

'I forgot to water the garden'

brief mention of 'remember' (perhaps reverse of 'forget')

17.3.8 Obligational (xxx 'duty')

'X must VP' may be expressed as e.g. '[X's ... verb-VblN] [it's a duty]', including the 'it is' predicative form of the noun 'duty, obligation.' There may be variants of this construction.

examples

'I must go to Severe.' ("My going to Severe is a duty.")

'I had to go to the field.' ("I went to the field out of a duty.")

17.3.9 'Be afraid to' (xxx)

In the sense 'X be afraid to VP', where the VP has the same logical subject as the main clause, the complement may have a verbal noun.

example

'He was afraid to come here.'

complement with different subjects?

example:

'I'm afraid he/she will hit me.'

'He_x's afraid I will hit him_{x/y}.'

17.3.10 'Begin' (xxx)

The main and subordinated clauses must have a shared subject.

complement: chained verb, or verbal noun?

examples

'He/She began to eat (the meal).'

'He/She began to weep.' (cognate nominal, cf. **koyo koyo-**)

'He/She began to slaughter the sheep.'

17.3.11 'Finish' (xxx)

The construction is similar to that of 'begin' (preceding subsection).

examples

'He/She doesn't stop (= keeps on) eating.'

'They have finished farming (=weeding).'

'I havent' (yet) finished writing.'

alternative constructions with similar meaning?

'Their farming is finished' = 'they have finished farming'

Recent Perfect (jE- etc.) also used in the sense 'finish VP-ing' as well as 'have (already) VP-ed'?

17.4 Locative verbal noun or other nominal complement

In this construction, the complement consists of a Locative PP, whose complement in turn is a verbal-noun clause.

17.4.1 ‘Help’ (ba:ri-)

semantics of ‘help’ (in some lgs, a special case of ‘add, increase’), perhaps ‘increase the manpower (in accomplishing sth)’

may also take the form ‘X help Y [in [VP-ing]]’ with verbal noun (or other nominal, e.g. a cognate nominal related to a verb)

examples

‘He/She helped me to sit down.’

‘Amadou helped me (= doctor) to treat you’

‘He/She helped me to tie up the cow.’

‘Amadou helped you in (doing) the farming’

17.5 Chained-verb complement clause

special cases of direct verb chains, but with a specialized final verb.

cross-refs to any instances of this construction in earlier sections in this chapter.

17.5.1 ‘Be able to, can’ (xxx)

usually ‘get, obtain’ is the final verb, preceded by a VP ending in a bare (or chaining-form) verb

subject of lower clause coindexed with that of the main clause

examples

‘He/she cannot work.’

‘Can you-Sg go up?’

‘I can’t come tomorrow.’

‘Can you-Sg lift the stone?’

‘Can you-Sg help me?’

in relative clause

‘the day (when) you can come’

17.6 Purposive, causal, and locative clauses

17.6.1 Purposive clauses with postposition xxx ‘for’

(purposive clauses including the Purposive postposition)

there may be more than one such construction, involving e.g. Imperfective marking, Imperfective Negative marking, and perhaps Imperative Negative (and Imperative positive?) complement verbs. If so, one might divide this into two or more subsections

examples (same subject)

*‘They will go up (and stand) on the barrel in order to replaster the house (= ceiling).’
‘We have come in order to speak with the chief.’*

examples (different subject)

*‘I put the pot down, so that they (could) eat.’
‘Hex gave us hisx bicycle, so that we (could) go to Anda.’*

examples (negative complement)

*‘We’ll fix the roof, so the roof beam(s) won’t fall.’
‘We (have) blocked the doorway, so that the sheep-Pl will not eat the mango(s).’
‘We’ll take food (along), so as not to die (= starve) on the way.’ [same subject]
‘I will make noise, so that you-Sg do not sleep.’
‘I will spend the night in a chair, so as not to sleep.’*

17.6.2 Purposive clauses with Imperfective participle

an Imperfective complement may occur in combinations suggesting (but not forcing) a purposive reading

example

‘They are sitting eating’ (= in order to eat.)

17.6.3 Purposive clause with motion verb

there may be a specific type of purposive clauses used in combination with a main-clause motion verb (‘go’, ‘come’, etc.)

*Jamsay: complement has a bare verb with overlaid {HL} contour
Nanga: bare verb with tone-dropping, followed by Locative postposition*

examples:

‘She_x went to in order to bring her_x father.’ (je:)

'I went in order to put out the fire.'
'They came in order to drink the water.'

no negative counterpart?

17.6.4 Causal ('because') clause (xxx)

'because' particle at beginning or end of causal clause?

clause otherwise in main-clause form

examples

'We can't go to the village because the road isn't good.'

17.6.5 'Because of' (xxx)

'because of X' (X a NP)

perhaps a special case of the Purposive postposition

perhaps a more specific morphology

examples:

'We went into the house because of the rain.'

18 Anaphora

brief summary of the main forms and their functions: Reflexive (antecedent is clausemate subject), Emphatic ('I did it myself'), Logophoric (antecedent is attributed author of quoted proposition), Topic-Indexing (antecedent is a preposed topical NP), and Reciprocal ('each other').

In some languages, Reflexive, Logophoric, and Topic-Indexing are different functions of the same pronominal forms.

18.1 Reflexive

18.1.1 Reflexive object (Sg xxx, Pl xxx)

Direct object is coindexed with clausemate subject. Usually a special Reflexive pronoun is used in third-person cases.

forms of 3rd person reflexive object

singular distinct from plural?

Accusative marking present?

discussion of form

same as Logophoric and Topic-Indexing?

noun-like, or pronoun-like?

relationship to other nouns ('person', 'soul', etc.)

examples

'They cut themselves'

'He saw himself (in the mirror)'

regular object form used for 1st/2nd persons?

examples

'You cut yourself.'

'I saw myself (in the mirror).'

18.1.2 Reflexive PP complement (Sg xxx, Pl xxx)

Antecedent is again the clausemate subject, but now the target is the complement of a postposition (e.g. dative).

examples

'They sent the money to themselves.'

'He sent the money to himself.'

'Amadou found (a/the) boubou under himself.'

'I sent the money to myself.'

18.1.3 Reflexive possessor (Sg xxx, Pl xxx)

Here the target is the possessor of a direct object or other non-subject NP. Again the antecedent is the clausemate subject.

remind readers of the basic possessor-possessed construction (for alienable and inalienable possessors); if personal pronouns have a distinctive possessive construction (e.g. pronominal possessor follows possessed noun, and/or pronominal possessor co-occurs with a possessive classifier), does reflexive possessor pattern like nominal or pronominal possessor?

examples (alienable and inalienable)

'He hit his (own) dog.'

'He hit his (own) father.'

'They sold their (own) sheep-Pl.'

'I hit my (own) dog.'

'I hit my (own) father.'

18.1.4 Emphatic pronouns

Emphatic pronouns ('I did it myself', etc.) are morphologically associated with reflexives in English and many other languages, so they are described in this chapter.

perhaps two or three types (each gets a subsection)

a) adverbial xxx '(by) oneself' after an independent pronoun;

b) numeral 'one' after independent pronoun ('1Sg one' = 'me, alone (by myself)'

c) possessed form of 'head' or other body-part noun ('my head' = 'myself'), though in some languages this might be the simple reflexive form (in which case it belongs in the preceding section); is e.g. 3Pl form 'their head' with singular 'head'?

discuss sense and pragmatic context of each type (for example, 'I did it myself' implies that it might have been expected that other people share in the work, but they did not, = 'I did it alone')

examples (including textual examples, with comments on context); include examples where the emphatic pronoun is direct object or other non-subject

'He didn't send his son, (rather) he came himself.'

'We will do the farming ourselves.'

'Hamidou went himself (in person).'

'She didn't call my son, she called me myself (i.e. directly).'

'You can't cut up the meat alone.'

'I can't lift the water jar by myself.'

'The children can't pick up the water jar by themselves (=without help).'

'My father cannot do the farming by himself.'

'We work for ourselves.' (lit.: "we do the work of our head" ?)

'They work for themselves.'

'I work for myself.'

18.2 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

18.2.1 True third person logophoric function

pronoun coindexed with attributed author of a speech or thought quotation; corresponds to 1Sg and 1Pl in the original (direct) quotation

logophorics used only when the author is a third person (not the current speaker or addressee)?

forms (with discussion)

same as reflexive, topic-indexing?

syntax

as subject, requires regular 3Sg or 3Pl pronominal-subject suffix on verb?

behaves like personal pronouns, or like nouns?

a) in morphological appearance

b) as possessors (if special construction for pronominal possessors)

c) as subjects (check linear position in relative clause containing a direct chain, e.g. 'he_x said that [the cow that he-Logo_x killed (and) left-Participle] is still there' = [... fall go.down-Participle]; same linear position as e.g.

preparticipial 1Sg in '[[the cow that I killed (and) left-Participle] is still there] (?)

Accusative marking in direct-object function? ('He said that I hit him')

elicited examples (ordinary clause, and quoted equivalent) showing relationship of logophoric to nouns and to other pronouns

'he jumped down'

'the man jumped down'

'I jumped down'

'he_x said that he-Logo_x jumped down'
(non-logophoric) 'he_x said that she_y jumped down'

elicited examples including relative-clause subject position
'the day he/she jumped down'
'the day the man jumped down'
'He_x said, the day he-Logo_x jumped down, ...'

no logophoric with current 1st/2nd person as quoted author?
'I said that I can't come.'
'You-Sg said that you-Sg can't come.'

singular antecedent included in plural logophoric
'Amadou_x said that they_{xy} (e.g. Amadou and Seydou) are going to Mopti.'
'Amadou_x said you went to their-LogoPl_{xy} (=Amadou & his family's) house.'

more examples including textual exx. of logophorics

long-distance anaphora (logophoric in embedded clause)
'Amadou_x said [you saw that [he-Logo_x was injured]]'
'Amadou_x said [you said [that you would kill him-Logo_x]]'

quotation embedded in another quotation: can higher antecedent bind a logophoric in the embedded quotation (resulting in ambiguity)?
'Amadou_x said [Seydou_y said [he-Logo will kill him-Logo]]
(perhaps ambiguous as to which antecedent each logophoric is coindexed to (Seydou kill Amadou, or Amadou kill Seydou); if reflexive pronoun is identical to logophoric pronoun, this sentence should also have two additional readings in which he-Logo is antecedent of him-Refl (Amadou kill Amadou, Seydou kill Seydou)).

18.2.2 Non-logophoric topic-indexing function

subject of main clause coindexed to the subject of a relative clause (the latter may have a Reflexive/Logophoric pronoun). If reflexive and logophoric are identical in form, such cases (which do not involve quotation) should be labeled Refl in interlinears.

examples
'I will do as much as I can.'
'Amadou_x will do as much as he_x can.'
'The people will do what they can.'

no anaphora when antecedent is object, dative, or other non-subject
'He_x showed me a bird that he_x (had) killed.' (antecedent is subject)
'I showed him_x the damage that he_x (or: she_y) had made.' (antecedent is object or dative)

18.3 Reciprocal

18.3.1 Simple reciprocals (xxx)

clausemate subject (normally plural, referentially) is coindexed in a distributive fashion with object or other non-subject NP.

form of Reciprocal (with discussion)

recognizable relationship to a noun? ('friend', 'agemate', etc.)?

distinction between dual-subject ('[Amadou and Seydou] saw each other') and 3+-plural subject ('[The ten men] saw each other')? If so, do the respective Reciprocal forms differ morphologically as singular (e.g. 'friend') and plural ('friends')?

Accusative marking in direct-object function?

examples

'We saw each other.'

'They fought each other.'

'You-Pl hit each other.'

Reciprocal morpheme optionally preceded by plural pronominal possessor (1Pl, 2Pl, 3rd Reflexive Pl)? (would be consistent with origin as 'our friend(s)', 'your-Pl friend(s)', etc.). Possessed-noun tone (all-low, {HL}) on Reciprocal morpheme in this case?

if so, examples

'We saw each other.' (same as 'We saw our agemate(s).')

'They saw each other.' (same as 'They saw their (own) agemate(s).')

'They_x saw their_y (another group's) agemate(s).'

18.3.2 'Together' (xxx)

Some Dogon languages have a '(we/you/they) together' construction consisting of a 'together' noun (with possessed-noun tone contour) preceded by a nonsingular pronominal possessor that is usually coindexed to the clausemate subject.

<i>(xx1)</i>	<i>category</i>	<i>form</i>
	<i>1Pl</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>2Pl</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>Reflexive Plural</i>	<i>xxx</i>

examples

'We came together.'

'The people farmed (= raised) millet together.'

antecedent may be direct object instead of subject
'We cooked [leaves and onions] together.'

18.4 Restrictions on reflexives

18.4.1 No antecedent-reflexive relation between coordinands

example

'Amadou_x and his_x father.' (regular 3Sg possessor, not a reflexive)
(so reference of 'his' is ambiguous)

19 Grammatical pragmatics

19.1 Topic

19.1.1 Topic (xxx)

*'as for X, he ...' (topicalized X with Topic particle)
X may be pronoun or nonpronominal NP
often occurs at topic-changing site in discourse*

combinations with pronouns (if irregular, give table)

<i>(xx1)</i>	<i>category</i>	<i>topicalized pronoun</i>
	<i>1Sg</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>1Pl</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>2Sg</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>2Pl</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>3Sg</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>3Pl</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>InanSg</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>InanPl</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>LogoSg</i>	<i>xxx</i>
	<i>LogoPl</i>	<i>xxx</i>

a few examples (including textual examples, with some context)

is topicalized constituent preclausal, or part of clause?

evidence for preclausal topic:

topicalized X is "resumed" by a pronoun within the clause proper

evidence for clause-internal topic:

topicalized X is marked for case (Accusative, Dative)

topicalized X is preceded by other clause-internal elements

example (topicalized direct object)

'He/She hit my friend, but me he/she didn't hit.'

19.1.2 'Now' (xxx)

In addition to the temporal adverb 'now' (xxx), there is a short 'now' form that is used in a kind of topicalizing function with a preceding NP or pronoun (e.g. 'me now, ...').

examples (textual)

This 'now' particle may also be topicalized itself 'as for now, ...'?

19.1.3 'Also' (xxx)

form (including tones)

idiomatic translation may be 'also, too' or more loosely 'likewise, in a similar fashion'.

may follow PP, or Accusative or Dative NP/pronoun

examples (several, including textual exx.)

'My friend is going to Bamako, and I'm going there too!'

'If you give (some) to him/her, give (some) to me too!' (after object/dative pronominal)

'I do farm work with an ox, (and) I do farm work with a camel also.' (after PP)

avoidance of clause-final position? (preference for locating the particle after a non-verb constituent, perhaps a cognate nominal instead of the verb)

example:

'He/She cooks, and he/she sweeps too.' (perhaps expressed as '... [sweeping too] he/she sweeps' with cognate nominal)

19.1.4 'Even' (xxx)

(in some languages, may be the same form as 'also', see above)

form (including tones)

examples

'Even the little kids will do farm work (= weeding).'

'He/She didn't even greet (=say hello).'

cross-refs to other sections in grammar involving 'even', e.g. 'even if' conditional antecedents §16.2.1.

19.2 Preclausal discourse markers

(add sections as needed)

19.2.1 ‘As much as ...’ (xxx)

The particle xxx is phrase- or clause-initial, unlike the bulk of subordinating particles, postpositions, and the like which are phrase- or clause-final. The core sense is ‘as far as, all the way to (location)’, or ‘up until (time)’, preceding a NP or adverb (§15.5.4).

In this section we consider discourse extensions, where xxx has scope over the entire clause. A positive example is (xx1). The sense is close to ‘even’; compare §16.2.1 and §19.1.4.

example

‘He/She even sang (a song).’ (i.e., ‘... went so far as to sing’)

The construction is common with a negative predicate (xx2).

examples

‘He/She didn’t say as much as hello to me.’

‘He/she didn’t give me as much as a red cent.’

‘He/She didn’t come as much as (=even) once.’

19.2.2 ‘Well, ...’ (xxx)

This is the common ‘well, ...’ expression, giving the speaker time to formulate a clause.

xxx = /haya/ etc. in many Dogon languages; a regional form also in Fulfulde etc.

examples, preferably from texts

19.2.3 ‘So, ...’ (xxx)

French voilà, in the form /walaal/, is used in some Dogon languages as a kind of ‘so, ...’ preclausal pragmatic marker.

French donc used by younger speakers?

other forms?

examples, preferably from texts

19.2.4 Clause-initial emphatic particle (xxx, xxx)

(often more than one such form)

Emphatic clause-final particle in ‘not at all’ clauses (‘not on your life’, etc.)

examples:

'I haven't eaten at all.' ('... haven't eaten a lick', etc.)

can such particles also be used as emphatics in positive clauses?

examples (positive):

'I'm perfectly healthy.'

19.2.5 'But ...' (xxx)

clause-initial 'but' particle

in several Dogon languages: kaa or gaa (fairly widespread regional form), but mEE (< French) used by younger speakers

phonological tone of particle may be hard to determine because of heavy intonational overlay

examples (from texts)

19.2.6 'Lo, ...' (xxx)

This particle is used in narrative to highlight a following clause denoting a surprising or climactic event.

form: often jaka or iterated jaka-jaka in northeastern Dogon (and Fulfulde).

19.3 Pragmatic adverbs or equivalent

19.3.1 'Again', 'not again', 'on the other hand'

may be expressed by the adverb xxx 'again' or by a chained verb xxx 'go back, return'. The latter is especially common in negative contexts. 'Again' may indicate that an event type recurred (here 'again' is part of the core proposition), or it may be a pragmatic adverb 'then again' or 'on the other hand'.

in some languages, 'again' is identical to, or slightly different phonologically from, the 'today' adverb.

examples (for pragmatic function, use textual examples)

'I won't go to Hombori again.'

'If you come here again, you'll get trouble.'

'Having eaten at home, he ate here again.'

19.4 ‘Only’ particles

19.4.1 ‘Only’ (xxx)

The particle xxx ‘only’ follows and has scope over a NP or adverb.

examples:

‘I have only one hundred (riyals).’

The ‘only’ particle may also have clausal scope.

examples:

‘He/She doesn’t work, he/she just sleeps.’

Alternatively, ‘only’ may be expressed by a more complex ‘nothing but’ construction

examples:

‘He only works in the rainy season.’ (= ‘He doesn’t work, except in the rainy season.’)

‘Boura wants nothing other than honey.’

19.4.2 ‘Just (one)’ (xxx)

This is a colorful intensifier for the numeral xxx ‘one’.

‘I have a single (= only one) cow.’

19.5 Phrase-final emphatics

19.5.1 Phrase-final xxx ‘exactly’

form: usually jaati in northern Dogon (regional form, also Fulfulde, Songhay)

may be used by itself as a single-word confirmation: ‘exactly!’, often replying to what the interlocutor has just said

may also be phrase- or clause-final examples, including textual examples

‘Yes, indeed it is a viper.’

‘precisely (exactly) you-Sg’

19.5.2 Clause-final xxx

Expresses agreement with an interlocutor's proposition, or mild emphasis on the truth of one's own proposition (allaying any doubt on the part of the interlocutor). Cf. English adverbial sure, or mild emphatics as in 'Boy, ...'.

form: often /koy/ in northern Dogon languages, as in Fulfulde

examples

Q: Did you see the fire?

A: I sure did.

'Money sure is hard to come by.'

19.5.3 Clause-final xxx

form: usually /de/ or /dey/ in northern Dogon, as in Fulfulde, Songhay, etc. Also used in local French.

has an admonitive pragmatic function, cf. unstressed pragmatic adverb now in English

examples

'Beware of wild animals now!'

'Now don't you go to the field without a hat!'

19.6 Backchannel and uptake checks

In dialogue texts, forms like 'Do you understand?' or 'Did you hear?' (uptake checks); 'uh-huh' or 'amen' etc. (backchannel)

19.7 Greetings

group the greetings into categories like the following:

- a) time-of-day greetings from 'good morning' to 'good night'*
- b) situational greetings like 'hello (to one in a field)'*
- c) greetings to travelers (departing and arriving)*
- d) condolences*
- e) good wishes at marriages and major Muslim holidays*
- f) Islamic greetings*

begin with a discussion of verbs meaning 'X greet Y' (perhaps more than one, for different times of day, e.g. 'greet in the morning')

present the greetings and comment on forms. Some greetings have distinct forms for singular and plural addressee

ask if the old people use(d) greetings now out of fashion with younger people
give the response to each greeting

a) good morning (e.g. sunrise to 10 AM); good day late afternoon and evening greetings; indicate the approximate time-of-day range for each greeting by clock time or e.g. 'late afternoon until sunset')

the 'good morning' and 'good evening' greetings may be retrospective, i.e., respectively 'how did you spend the night?' and 'how did you spend the day?' The mid-day greeting is often unmarked ('hello!'). However, the form of the 'spend the night/day' verb may be specialized, or Imperative in form.

'good morning' and its reply may be followed up with more specific questions, e.g. 'did you sleep well?'

in addition to the retrospective greetings, there may be a 'good night' greeting of the prospective type (cf. 'sleep well!' or 'let's spend the night in peace', etc.).

b) situational greetings referring to activities (and related locations)

'hello in the field!'

'hello at work!'

'hellow at the well (or other water source)!'

'hellow in the market!', etc.

there may be two constructions, one of the type '[field in] greetings!' with locative PP, another of the type 'you and (the) field!'

are these greetings also addressed to someone who is returning to the village from the activity/location specified, or just to someone who is currently there?

c) to a traveler

'welcome (to this house)!' (perhaps 'arrive/approach the house!')

'bon voyage' (perhaps 'arrive there in health!')

d) condolences (presented at the home of the deceased)

from the visitor to the deceased's family

e.g. 'greetings in high worth'

to the visitor as he is about to depart

e.g. 'may God lengthen your life'

or 'may God put distance between us (and the deceased)

to one returning home after presenting condolences in another village

e.g. 'greetings in running'

analysis may require cultural explanations

e) good wishes

at marriages and at the two major Islamic holidays

e.g. 'may God show you next year!'

f) Islamic greetings and other formulae

invitation (to eat, etc.): usually bisimil(l)a (< Arabic 'in the name of God')

formal greeting, especially among men:

asalaamu-aleykum (or variant) < Arabic 'peace to you-PI'

reply: maleykumma-salaam (or variant) < Arabic 'to you-Pl peace'
'amen' (often a reply to a good wish)
'thanks' (albarka, < Arabic 'the blessing'), said to one's host after a meal, also
said to a merchant in politely declining to buy at the price proposed

20 Text

information about circumstances of recording (informants remain anonymous, use e.g. X, Y as speaker labels). Use tabs to align text with interlinear glosses. Organize the text into small units that seem to function like small paragraphs (perhaps including several clauses). Use hyphens and clitic boundary = in interlinears to correspond to the same markers in the text. Use brackets [...] in both the Dogon text and the interlinear to indicate phrasal groupings. Foreign (e.g. French, Bambara) items should be italicized. In addition to interlinear glosses, add free translations for each segment, followed by comments in [...]. These comments should identify constructions or other grammatical features, and give a reference to a section of the grammar describing them.

(xxx) xxx
[formulaic story opening phrase; audience should respond xxx⇒]

(xxx) xxx,
[hare and hyena and] [day.labor.L-work in] go.Perf.L-3PIS,
xxx
[ReflPl two] [day.labor.L-work in] go and.SS,
xxx
[wage.L-work in] [3Pl Obj] receive.Perf-3PIS
xxx
apiary build-Impf-3PIS
'Hare and hyena went to (get) day-labor work. The two of them went to (get) paid work, and they (= people) took them in paid work. They were going to build apiaries (man-made beehives).'

[X yo Y yo 'X and Y' §7.1; topic-indexing Reflexive Plural xxx: §18.2.2; xxx 'and.SS' in same-subject VP chains §xxx]

.....

(xxx) xxx
[story submerged] [finish(noun) submerged] Emph
[story-closing formula]

sample verbs

chain Impf	Imprt ImpfNeg	Perf	PerfNeg
Cv verbs			
‘see’			
yí	yí	yí-\\yí-ý	yí-rí-
yí-yí-m̀	yí-m̀-dó-		
‘come’			
wó	wá	wê-\\wò-ý	wò-rí-
wò-wó-m̀	wó-m̀-dó-		
‘weep’ (with yǎ:)			
yó	yó	yê-\\yò-ý	yò-rí-
yò-yó-m̀	yó-m̀-dó-		
‘catch’			
wó	wó	wê-\\wò-ý	wò-rí-
wò-wó-m̀	wó-m̀-dó-		
‘give’			
ní	ní	ní-\\ní-ý ⁿ	ní-r ⁿ í-
ní-ní-m̀	ní-m̀-dó-		
‘hear’			
nú	nwí	nwí-\\nù-ý ⁿ	nù-r ⁿ í-
nù-nú-m̀	nú-m̀-dó-		
‘go out’			
gó	gó	gwê-\\gò-ý	gò-rí-
gò-gó-m̀	gó-m̀-dó-		
‘go in’			
nú	nú	nwí-\\nù-ý ⁿ	nù-r ⁿ í-
nù-nú-m̀	nú-m̀-dó-		
‘spend night’			
ná	ná	nê-\\nà-ý ⁿ	nà-r ⁿ í-
nà-ná-m̀	ná-m̀-dó-		
‘build’			
má	má	mwê-\\mà-ý ⁿ	mà-r ⁿ í-
mà-má-m̀	má-m̀-dó-		
‘send’			
ní tí	ní tí	ní tí-\\ní tí-ý	ní tí-rí-
ní-ní tí-m̀	ní tí-m̀-dó-		
‘arrive’ (often with wá)			
dó	dó	dê-\\dò-ý	dò-rí-
dò-dó-m̀	dó-m̀-dó-		

‘pick up’				
zé	zá	zê-\\zè-ý	zè-rí-	
zè-zé-m	zé-m-dó-			
‘shoot’				
tá	tá	tê-\\tà-ý	tà-rí-	
tà-tá-m	tá-m-dó-			
‘get old’				
pé	pé	pê-\\pè-ý	pè-rí-	
pè-pé-m	pé-m-dó-			
‘learn’				
dá	dá	dê-\\dà-ý	dà-rí-	
dà-dá-m	dá-m-dó-			
‘kill’				
jé	já	jê-\\jè-ý	jè-rí-	
jè-jé-m	jé-m-dó-			
‘be enough’				
bá	—	bê-\\—	bà-rí-	
bà-bá-m	bá-m-dó-			
‘hit’				
só	só	swê-\\sò-ý	sò-rí-	
sò-só-m	só-m-dó-			
‘eat (meal)’				
ñé	ñá	ñê-\\ñè-ý ⁿ	ñè-r ⁿ í-	
ñè-ñé-m	ñé-m-dó-			
‘drink’				
nó	nó	nwê-\\nò-ý ⁿ	nò-r ⁿ í-	
nò-nó-m	nó-m-dó-			

Cvv verbs

‘bring’				
zõ:	zõ:	zwê:-\\zõ:-ý	zõ:-rí-	
zò-zõ:-m	zõ:-m-dó-			
‘(dog) bark’ (with bô:)				
bõ:	bó:	bwê:-\\bò:-ý	bò:-rí-	
bò-bó:-m	bó:-m-dó-			
‘fart’ (with zĩ: ⁿ)				
zĩ: ⁿ	zĩ: ⁿ	zĩ: ⁿ -\\zĩ:-ý ⁿ	zĩ: ⁿ -r ⁿ í-	
zĩ ⁿ -zĩ: ⁿ -m	zĩ: ⁿ -m-dó-			
‘tie’				
pá:	pá:	pê:-\\pà:-ý	pà:-rí-	
pà-pá:-m	pá:-m-dó-			
‘pick (fruit)’				

pó:	pó:	pwê-\pò:-ý	pò:-rí-
pò-pó:-m̀	pó:-m̀-dó-		
‘stand’			
í:	íyà	ĩ:-\\ĩ:-ý	ĩ:-rí-
ĩ-?í:-m̀	í:-m̀-dó-		
‘re-grind’			
wǎ:	wó:	wê:-\\wǎ:-ý	wǎ:-rí-
wǎ-wǎ:-m̀	wó:-m̀-dó-		
‘burst [intr]’			
dǎ:	—	dáè-\\dǎ:-ý	dǎ:-rí-
dǎ-dǎ:-m̀	dǎ:-m̀-dó-		
‘lock’			
dǎ: ⁿ	dǎ: ⁿ	dáè ⁿ \\dǎ: ⁿ -ý ⁿ	dǎ: ⁿ -r ⁿ í-
dǎ-dǎ: ⁿ -m̀	dǎ: ⁿ -m̀-dó-		
‘shut’			
pí: ⁿ	pí: ⁿ	pí: ⁿ -\\pí: ⁿ -ý ⁿ	pí: ⁿ -r ⁿ í-
pí-pí: ⁿ -m̀	pí: ⁿ -m̀-dó-		

nCv verbs

‘go’			
ńdó	ńdó	ńdé\\ńdò-ý	ńdò-rí-
ńdò-ńdó-m̀	ńdó-m̀-dó-		
‘go up’			
ùrá	ùrá	ùré\\ùrà-ý	ùrà-rí-
ù-?ùrá-m̀	ùrá-m̀-dó-		

nCvv verbs

‘wash (hands)’			
m̀bǎ:	m̀bó:	m̀bwê:\\m̀bǎ:-ý	m̀bǎ:-rí-
m̀bǎ-m̀bǎ:-m̀	m̀bó:-m̀-dó-		

CvCv verbs (final nonhigh V)

‘go down’			
síyé	síyó	síyè\\síyè-ý	síyè-rí-
sǐ-síyé-m̀	síyé-m̀-dó-		
‘go past’			
lává	lává	lávè\\lávà-ý	lávà-rí-
là-lává-m̀	lává-m̀-dó-		
‘leave’			
dùwá	dùwá tí	dùwá tí\\-tí-ý	dùwá tí-rí-

dù-dùwá tí-m̀	dùwá tí-m̀-dó-		
‘get’			
bèrɛ̀	bérá	bèrɛ̀-\\bèrɛ̀-ý	bèrɛ̀-rí-
bè-bérɛ̀-m̀	bérɛ̀-m̀-dó-		
‘pound’			
tóró	tóró	tórɛ̀-\\tórɛ̀-ý	tórɛ̀-rí-
tò-tóró-m̀	tóró-m̀-dó-		
‘jump’ (with pótù)			
pótó	pótó	pótɛ̀-\\pótɛ̀-ý	pótɛ̀-rí-
pò-pótó-m̀	pótó-m̀-dó-		
‘die’			
tíwé	tíwá	tíwɛ̀-\\tíwɛ̀-ý	tíwɛ̀-rí-
tĩ-tíwé-m̀	tíwé-m̀-dó-		

CvCCv verbs (nonhigh V)

‘tsit’			
éyyé	éyyò	éyyɛ̀-\\éyyɛ̀-ý	éyyɛ̀-rí-
è-?éyyé-m̀	éyyé-m̀-dó-		
‘take down’			
si-ńdɛ̀	sí-ndò	sí-ndɛ̀-\\sí-ndɛ̀-ý	sí-ndɛ̀-rí-
sĩ-si-ńdɛ̀-m̀	si-ńdɛ̀-m̀-dó-		
‘take away’			
zòndó	zónndò	zónndɛ̀-\\zò-ndò-y	zónndò-rí-
zò-zòndó-m̀	zòndó-m̀-dó-		
‘take out’			
gòndó	gónndò	gónndɛ̀-\\gò-ndò-ý	gòndò-rí-
gò-gòndó-m̀	gòndó-m̀-dó-		

CvvCv verbs (nonhigh V)

‘bite off’			
ké:rɛ̀	kê:rò	ké:rɛ̀-\\kê:rɛ̀-ý	kê:rɛ̀-rí-
kè-ké:rɛ̀-m̀	ké:rɛ̀-m̀-dó-		
‘chew’			
tó:ró	tò:rò	tó:rɛ̀-\\tò:rò-ý	tò:rò-rí-
tò-tó:ró-m̀	tó:ró-m̀-dó-		
‘(water) become muddied’			
m̀bù:ró	—	m̀bù:rɛ̀-\\—	m̀bù:rò-rí-
m̀bù-m̀bù:ró-m̀	m̀bù:ró-m̀-dó-		

CvCvCv verbs (nonhigh V)

‘return’				
bíríyé	bíríyò	bíríyè\ bíríyè-ý	bíríyè-rí-	
bì-bíríyè-m	bíríyè-m-dó-			
‘break off’				
péndiré	péndirò	péndirè-\ péndirè-ý	péndirè-rí-	
pè-péndiré-m	péndiré-m-dó-			

CvN verbs

‘say’				
gùn	gǔn	gùn\ gùr ^m i-ý ⁿ	gùn-ní-	
gù-gú-m	gú-m-dó-			
‘put’				
gǎŋ	gǎŋ	gâŋ\ gâr ^m i-ý ⁿ	gân-ní-	
gà-gá ⁿ -m	gá ⁿ -m-dó-			
‘do, make’				
káj	káj	kân\ kâr ^m i-ý ⁿ	kàn-ní-	
kà-ká-m	ká-m-dó-			

CvCi verbs

‘receive’				
ǎw	ǎw	âw\ àwĩ-ý	àw-rí-	
à-?áw-m	áw-m-dó-			
‘lay out’				
téy	téy	têy\ tèyĩ-ý	tèy-rí-	
tè-téy-m	téy-m-dó-			
‘dig’				
gází	gází	gázĩ-\ gàzĩ-ý	gàzĩ-rí-	
gà-gází-m	gází-m-dó-			
‘cook in pot’				
sírí	sírí	sírĩ-\ sírĩ-ý	síl-lí-	
sĩ-sírí-m	sírí-m-dó-			
‘drive out’				
ndàrí	ndárá	ndárí-\ ndàrí-ý	ndàl-lí-	
ndà-ndàrí-m	ndàrí-m-dó-			

CvCCi verbs

‘pound with water into dough’				
zàngí	zàngí	zàngĩ-\ zàngĩ-ý	zàngĩ-rí-	
zà-zàngí-m	zàngí-m-dó-			

