

A Grammar of Ben Tey (Dogon of Beni)

Dogon language family
Mali

Jeffrey Heath
University of Michigan

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author's email
schweinehaxen@hotmail.com

color codes

- blue: regular phonemic transcription of Ben Tey forms
- green: reconstructions, IPA, underlying, other Malian languages

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1 Introduction

1.1 Dogon languages

This work is part of a larger project on Dogon languages. Dogon is a family of at least twenty languages and many more locally named varieties. The family is traditionally 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). However, to date this has not been established.

1.2 Ben Tey language

The language is referred to by its speakers in Beni and Gamni villages as *bê:n téy*, literally ‘Beni’s language’. I write it as Ben Tey, abbreviation BenT. The Koumboye dialect is locally called *kùmbôy téy* ‘Koumboye’s language’.

The combined population of Beni, Gamni, and Komboy was said to be around 3000 in 2004-5.

The genetically most closely related Dogon languages are Bankan Tey and Nanga. Bankan Tey is spoken in Walo, north of Douentza at the base of Gandamiya inselberg. Nanga is spoken in several villages south of Beni including Anda, Namakoro, and Wakara.

Jamsay is spoken as a second language by virtually every native speaker Ben Tey. It is the lingua franca among Dogon in the zone. Many young people have gone to school recently in Jamsay-speaking Dianwely Maoudé, which also has a modest market on Tuesdays. Jamsay is replacing Ben Tey as in-group language among younger speakers in Gamni, though Ben Tey is still locally dominant in Beni.

Fulfulde is also widely spoken as a second language. It is used locally in contacts with Fulbe people, who are commissioned by Dogon livestock owners to herd the animals, and whose women make the rounds selling fresh and curdled milk. Fulfulde is also the primary language of Douentza, which has the major regional market on Sundays.

Other local Dogon languages that are often known to people from Beni are Nanga and Tommo-So.

Bambara is not yet widely spoken in the area. However, many young men and some young women migrate annually to Mopti, Bamako, or other southern cities for seasonal work. Others stay in the south for several years, often working as domestics or street pedlars, then return to their native village. These people pick up a basic knowledge of Bambara in the south.

French is the major language of education and is spoken to a variable extent by those who have passed through the school system.

1.3 Locations and environment

Ben Tey is spoken in the communities in (1). GPS readings are in degrees, minutes, and decimal fractions (.000 to .999) of minutes.

Beni and Gamni are located on a large flat rocky shelf between an inselberg cliff and the sandy plain. Standard Jamsay is spoken in villages in the plains such as Dianwely. Farther south on the same rocky shelf as Beni and Gamni is the village of Pergue, where an unusual dialect of Jamsay is spoken. Across the sandy plains from Beni is another long inselberg ridge leading in the north to Fombori near Douentza. Koumboye is located at the base and on the lower slopes of this inselberg.

- (1) a. village of Beni (*bê:n*), locally also called *bè:n ná*: ‘Beni mother’ (i.e. ‘Beni proper’) to distinguish it from (b). Coordinates are N 14 51.144 by W 02 56.785, about 3 km SSE of Dianwely Maoudé, a Jamsay-speaking market town some 13 km south of Douentza. Beni is on the edge of the rocky shelf overlooking the plains on one side and a deep ravine on the other. Beni people cultivate fields in the plains below, primarily millet, and some light herding (often entrusted to local Fulbe); there is some off-season gardening in the ravine (African eggplant, chili pepper, yam, lettuce, sugar cane, onion) along with guava and mango; other activities are bee-keeping (apiaries in trees and in caves), spinning and weaving (cotton cloth), and oil extraction from fruit pits (wild grape *Lannea*, wild date *Balanites*, and karité *Vitellaria*). Surnames are Kagoye and Morogoye.
- b. Beni-Djinekala (*bê:n jîr"è kàlá* "Beni house new", archaic name *mà:-táŋà*), an offshoot of Beni proper; coordinates N 14° 51.248' by W 02° 56.860'. Same activities and surnames as Beni.
- c. Gamni (*gàmnú*) village, on the same rocky shelf as Beni but at the base of the cliffs some distance from the plains at N 14 50.770' by W 02 54.965'. Cultivated fields are mostly on the rocky shelf, some light herding, no significant off-season gardening. Other industries are indigo dye-ing (Timte women), weaving, wooden beds, and leather sandals. Surnames are Djire, Dielekoumaga, and Timte. Younger people are becoming Jamsay-dominant, while most older people are bilingual.
- b. Koumboye (*kùmbóy*) hamlet cluster, about 6 km south of Douentza, at the base and on the lower slope of the mountain ridge including Fombori (2 km from Douentza). Kumboy's coordinates are N 14 56.043 by W 02 55.586. Mostly scattered thatch huts on the plains at the base of the mountain, but two families have stone houses on the lower slope. Farming and light herding, no gardens. Industries include woven doum-palm fans and mats, and wooden beds and stools. Surnames are Ouologuem, Seiba, and Guindo. There are no close social relations with Beni-Gamni.

Beni and Gamni are said to be among the oldest villages in the zone, pre-dating the Jamsay-speaking villages in the plains.

In the past, Beni and Walo were closely affiliated, with the chieftaincy rotating from one to the other on the death of a chief (Hogon). Walo is well-separated from the Ben Tey-

speaking communities, as Walo is north of Douentza while Beni, Gamni, and Kouboye are south of Douentza. Combined with the strict Islamization of the entire zone, which has led to a ban on most traditional ceremonies and to the destruction of masks, idols, and tomtoms, this geographical separation has led to a severe attenuation of social relations between Beni and Walo.

1.4 Previous and contemporary study of Ben Tey

The existence of this language was long unknown both to western scholarship and to Dogon government linguists in Bamako. Aside from myself, the only linguist known to have visited the area is Roger Blench, who made a brief survey of the language of Walo in March 2005. He was told that the Walo variety was a dialect of the language under study here. He referred to the language provisionally as Walo-Kumbe in a survey report and word list disseminated on his website since 2005.

1.4.1 Fieldwork

I began work on Jamsay in mid-2004. Jamsay is the major Dogon language of the zone south of Douentza, with extensions to Mondoro and to near Koro. It is therefore a kind of Dogon lingua franca in this area, and is widely spoken as a second Dogon language by native speakers of Ben Tey, Nanga, Najamba, and Toro Tegu languages.

During September 2004 I began surveying these four non-Jamsay Dogon languages, spending one week for each in a representative village. Much of this early work involved making contacts, and doing flora-fauna vocabulary (many insects and plants are only collectible in the late rainy season). I returned to Beni for 4-6 day visits on several subsequent occasions.

Additional fieldwork on Ben Tey was done in 2006-11 as part of the larger project. Texts were recorded and transcribed, an extensive general lexicon developed, and the grammar drafted. A few details were checked between 2011 and 2015.

1.4.2 Audiovisual and internet

This grammar and the text transcriptions/translations are in conventional print form. The lexical data are currently included in a pan-Dogon spreadsheet that is also the basis for the lexical pages in the project website:

<http://www.dogonlanguages.org>

The flora-fauna terms are currently in separate spreadsheets on Dogon flora and Dogon fauna, also available on the project website.

The lexical senses (in English and French), and the flora and fauna taxa, are associated with five-digit reference numbers (internal to our project). Audiovisual materials, which include photos (jpg), short video clips that illustrate individual lexical senses, and longer videos that might be described as amateur documentaries. The photos and the short lexical clips have the relevant five-digit number codes in their file names, so it is relatively easy to go back and forth between lexical entries and associated images and clips.

With help from Salif Morogoye and Minkailou Djiguiba, I have produced a number of videos about practical activities in Beni, including agriculture, food preparation, collecting honey, and weaving. These may be viewed on the project website or on my personal page at Linguistics Dept, U Michigan.

1.4.3 Acknowledgements

The original Jamsay-focused project, which included the first short visit to Beni, was funded by grant PA-50643-04 from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The larger Dogon project during which most of the work on BenT has been done has been supported by the National Science Foundation: grants BCS-0537435 (2006-09), BCS-0853364 (2009-13), and BCS-1263150 (2013-16). Additional support has been obtained from the University of Michigan.

2 Sketch

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

2.1 Prosody

The most important linguistic-theoretical interest of Dogon languages is the grammaticalization of (usually stem-wide) tone overlays, which erase lexical tone melodies and are controlled by a nearby word. I call this **tonosyntax**, defined as the imposition of a tone contour on one or more words (the **targets**) by another word or constituent (the **controller**). A brief summary of the tone overlays in BenT is in §3.7.2. Tone overlays are indexed by superscripts like ^L or ^{HL}, positioned on the edge of the targeted word that “faces” the controller. These superscripts are not phonetic diacritics, since the tone overlays have already been applied to the targeted word; the superscripts are simply indexes that a tonosyntactic process has applied.

Some Dogon languages, including BenT, also have more exaggerated word-final “intonational” contours (prolongation, with or without slowly falling pitch as in the dying-quail intonation), which can be lexicalized, grammaticalized, or (as in English) discourse-sensitive. See §3.8 for a summary.

The syllabic tones in BenT, whether lexical or grammatical, are H, L, <HL>, <LH>, and bell-shaped <LHL>. The latter occurs lexically in some monosyllabics, and can also be created secondarily by combining tones from a stem syllable and a suffix, or by docking a floating L-tone (1Sg possessor) on a monosyllabic noun. There is no <HLH> syllable tone.

Stems (except for some expressive adverbials) must have at least one H-tone. The normal lexical melodies are /H/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/, and /HLH/, the latter exemplified by *bisém* ‘tree sp. (*Acacia tortilis*)’. /HLH/ is disallowed in most Dogon languages, but it is allowed in Toro Tegu as well as in BenT. Nouns with contours like /HLHL/ are treated prosodically by native speakers as compounds.

Tone overlays controlled by elements to the right are always {L}, i.e. stem-wide L-tone, also known as **tone-dropping**. {L} is overlaid on a noun before an adjective, on a noun or adjective before a demonstrative, ib a word (not already tone-dropped) in the head NP of the relative, on a verb stem before a negative inflectional suffix, or on a verb in the unsuffixed perfective.

BenT also has the intonational prolongation feature (symbol →) built into some lexical stems, chiefly expressive adverbials like *dém*→ ‘straight, directly’. BenT makes extensive use of phrase-final intonational features (prolongation, rise or fall in final pitch) in parallelistic constructions (‘X or Y’, polar interrogative ‘will you go, or will you not go?’).

Possessed nouns (plus any adjectives and numerals) have a different tone overlay controlled by a preceding possessor (NP or pronoun). The possessor-controlled overlay is {HL} if the possessor is a determined/quantified NP or a pronoun. For simple (undetermined and unquantified) nonprominal possessors, the overlay on the possessed NP is {HL} after final H-tone and {L} after final L-tone. There are further complications, including differences

between alienable and inalienable (kin-term) possession as to whether numerals are included in the targeted domain.

1Sg possessor is marked only by a floating L-tone that docks on the left edge of the possessed noun. The latter has the possessor-controlled {HL} overlay, which combines with the floating L-tone of the 1Sg to produce {LHL}, more accurately represented as L+{HL}. For a rare noun like *beyⁿ* ‘beard’ that already consists of a lexically <LHL> syllable, the possessed stem with the {HL} overlay is ^{HL}*beyⁿ*, and the 1Sg form with the extra L-tone on the left edge is therefore ^{L+HL}*beyⁿ* ‘my beard’, identical (to my ears) to the unpossessed form.

Because a possessor has tonal effects on a noun to its right, while an adjective or demonstrative has tonal effects on a noun to its left, we must consider what happens when the noun is caught in the cross-fire. In BenT, a possessor has tonosyntactic control over the possessed sequence consisting maximally of a noun, one or more modifying adjectives, and a following numeral, as in Poss ^{(H)L}[N Adj Num]. The relevant possessed-noun overlay, {HL} or {L}, targets the full domain.

There is a process reminiscent of terminal intonation modulation in verbal morphology, where 1Sg *-y* and 1Pl *-y:*, and likewise 2Sg *-w* and 2Pl *-w:*, differentiate plural from singular by means of prolongation of the preceding vowel and by imposition of [HL] (falling) pitch on the final syllable. Whether this can be handled using ordinary phonological length and tone, or must be classified as intonational, is discussed in §3.8.3.

2.2 Inflectable verbs

The system of derivational and inflectional categories is similar to those of other Dogon languages. The major suffixal derivations (chapter 9) are **reversive** (e.g. ‘untie’) and **causative** for verbs, and **inchoative** and **factive** for adjectives. There are also some passive-like constructions. The verb stem, simple or suffixally derived, is followed by an **aspect-negation** (AN) suffix plus a **pronominal-subject suffix**, or by a **modal suffix** that also includes pronominal-subject information. For example, *tó-jé-w* ‘you-Sg have sowed (seeds)’, the verb is followed by recent perfect *-jé-* and then by 2Sg subject *-w*.

The principal AN categories are based on the intersection of the perfective-imperfective aspectual opposition with polarity (positive, negative). The core of the indicative system therefore consists of the four poles perfective (positive), perfective negative, imperfective (positive), and imperfective negative. There is little morphological connection between positive and negative forms. The (positive) perfective and imperfective both have a (more or less) unsuffixed basic form, and a few more specialized categories marked by suffixes. The perfective (positive) system therefore includes marked experiential perfect, recent perfect, and resultative, while the imperfective (positive) system includes a reduplicated variant and a marked progressive that can also be habitual.

At a higher level, these AN categories are subordinated to an opposition between present (unmarked) and **past** (marked by a conjugated clitic). For example, past imperfective is a higher-level past category dominating imperfective.

Stative forms can be derived from some regular verbs including stance verbs ('be sitting' as opposed to dynamic 'sit down'), and there are several defective stative quasi-verbs ('be', 'have', etc.). Suffixally marked modal categories are **imperative** and **hortative**. There is a special verb form for **quoted imperatives** (QuotImprt).

An example of a verb form is *Ió:-rè-w* ‘you-Sg went’, markup go-Pfv1a-2SgSbj. The perfective-1a is a suffixal form used with motion verbs and more or less mediopassive intransitives (including inchoatives derived from adjectives).

2.3 Noun phrase (NP)

For nouns, the main morphological feature is the opposition between (animate) singular *-m*, and zero both for (animate) plural and for inanimate (undifferentiated singular and plural). In several other Dogon languages, human or animate singular is *-n(u), versus plural *-m or similar. Rather than trying to reconcile BenT animate singular *-m*, it is more reasonable to derive BenT *-m* from *-n(u) via *-ŋ (preserved in Nanga).

Typical modifying adjectives have a three-way suffixal distinction, with *-m* (animate singular), zero (animate plural), and *-w* (inanimate). Such adjectives directly follow the noun, and control tone-dropping on it. A numeral or determiner may follow the adjective. Numerals and definite *kù* do not control tone-dropping on a preceding word, but demonstrative pronouns do.

As previously indicated, a possessor may precede the noun and its modifiers. A possessor controls an {HL} or {L} overlay.

An example of a NP is *[yà^L pě-m]^{HL} [ínjè pérù]* ‘(a/the) old woman’s ten dogs’. The NP *yà^L pě-m* is marked up [woman^L old-AnSg], where superscript ^L indexes tonosyntactic tone-dropping of the noun. The animate singular suffix shows up only once, at the end of the core NP (noun plus any adjective). The adjective controls tone-dropping on the noun, which appears without an adjective as *yǎ-m*. This NP functions as proposed possessor of the noun-numeral sequence that would otherwise appear as *ínjé pérú*, mark-up ‘dog-Pl ten’, with zero marking of animate Pl. This noun-numeral combination is subject to a possessor-controlled {HL} tone overlay. The mark-up of the possessed NP is ^{HL}[dog ten], realized as [^{HL}dog ^Lten].

2.4 Postposition phrase (PP)

Postpositions include dative *mâ:*, instrumental *nâyⁿ* ‘with’, and locative *wo*. The latter is atonal, and gets its tone by spreading from the final tone of the preceding NP or pronoun. Postpositions do not usually affect the form of the NP complement, except for minor tone sandhi.

Complex postpositions are created by combining locative *wo* with a form that functions like a possessed noun. For example, ‘behind X’ is expressed as *[[X^{HL} túlù]^L wò]*, literally ‘in X’s rear’, where *túlù* ‘rear’ takes possessed-noun {HL} overlay.

Examples of PPs are, with another composite postposition, *[tiwⁿěyⁿ^{HL} bélè]^L wò* ‘beside (a/the) tree’ (originally ‘in/at the tree’s side’), mark-up [[tree^{HL}side] in], and the simple PP *ňjé nâyⁿ* ‘with what?’, mark-up [what? with].

2.5 Main clauses and constituent order

BenT is verb-final. The basic order of nonpronominal constituents is SOV. Pronominal objects and dative PPs immediately precede the verb unless focalized or topicalized. There is

no case-marking for subject NPs. Object NPs including pronominals have an optional accusative clitic =*ni* that sometimes marks object focus.

Temporal, and to some extent spatial, adverbs often precede the subject NP, especially when they describe the general spatiotemporal setting. In (2a), ‘yesterday’ typically precedes the subject, but the place name ‘Douentza’ follows it because it is a complement of ‘come’. ‘Yesterday’ can also follow the subject NP (2b). On the other hand, (2c-d) show both temporal and spatial adverbs preceding subjects.

- (2) a. *yéŋgù bɔ:* *dúwánsán yé-ʷ=be-*Ø
 yesterday 1SgPoss-father D come-3SgSbj=Past-3SgSbj
 ‘My father came to Douentza yesterday.’
- b. *bɔ:* *yéŋgù dúwánsán yé-ʷ=be-*Ø
 [= (a)]
- c. *yéŋgù bê:n bɔl èsíⁿ→ mìrⁿè-*Ø
 yesterday Beni rain(n) a.lot rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Yesterday it rained a lot in Beni (village).’
- d. *yéŋgù [ðrⁿɔ:] dá: ìsùwⁿè-[yì-të:]-*
 yesterday [outback around] boy-[children]
jáy jàyà-bò
 fight(n) fight.Pfv^L-3PlSbj
 ‘Yesterday the young men had a fight (squabble) in the fields.’
- e. *nǔ: nàwⁿâ: bâyⁿ→ kùwò-bò*
 person.Pl meat a.lot eat.meat.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘The people ate a lot of meat.’
- f. *yì-të: ñâyⁿ→ súyó-ré*
 children thus hit-Proh
 ‘Don’t-2Sg hit children like that!’

Many of the common “adverbs,” other than full PPs and spatiotemporal adverbs, are expressive adverbials syntactically (§8.6.7).

2.6 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in BenT are fairly similar to those in Jamsay and other Dogon languages (other than Toro Tegu). The head NP remains, up to and including a numeral, inside the clause, but peripheral elements (determiners, non-numeral quantifiers) appear after the verb. The “verb” is a participle, agreeing with the head NP (not the subject, if distinct) in animacy and number. However, the agreement suffixes differ in form from those on nouns and those on adjectives. A relative morpheme *kà:ⁿ* optionally occurs at the end of the clause-internal head NP. The relative clause as a whole controls tone-dropping on one or more words in the clause-internal head NP. The noun in the head NP is not repeated as a possessed noun after the entire relative clause as it can be in Jamsay and Togo Kan. In nonsubject relatives, if the

subject is pronominal it is expressed by an independent pronoun that is proclitic to the participle. In a nonsubject relative, if the subjects of the relative and main clauses are coindexed third persons, the relative clause has a reflexive pronoun as subject (§18.2.3).

The schemas in (3) give the general idea of how main clauses are converted into subject and nonsubject relatives. ‘Stone’ is tone-dropped in (3c) as the head NP, but not in (3b) where it is not the head. The main clause (3a) has a pronominal-subject suffix on the verb, but the relative clauses (3b-c) replace this with a participle that agrees with the head NP.

- (3)
 - a. main clause
 [stone see-Ipfv-1SgSbj]
 ‘I see a stone.’
 - b. subject relative
 [person-PI^L stone see-Ipfv.Ppl-AnPl Definite]
 ‘the people who see a stone’
 - c. nonsubject (in this case, object) relative
 [stone^L 1Sg see-Ipfv-Inan Definite]
 ‘the stone that I see’

Among several peculiarities of BenT relative clauses is the use of agentive forms as imperfective participles for animate heads (§14.1.6.6).

Relativization is covered in chapter 14.

2.7 Verb-chaining

Verbs and VPs may be chained together. In these cases, the final verb has its regular inflected form. In a **direct** verb-verb chain, the nonfinal verbs are in the **bare stem**, which is also used in some inflectional forms, and the verbs in question are immediately adjacent (i.e. in a compound-like structure). This is typical of semantically tight combinations where each verb denotes an aspect of a larger event structure (co-events). An example is *děy dùsó-* ‘put down and leave’, where the nonfinal verb remains in the bare stem while AN and pronominal-subject affixes occur only on the final verb.

There are also looser chains, where one complete clause or VP is linked to another by means of a clause-final subordinator like *=náyⁿ* (§15.1.9) or other morpheme on the nonfinal VPs. In loose chains, the eventualities denoted by the various clauses may be spatiotemporally distinct and need not be construable as co-events.

Both direct verb-verb chains, and (to a large extent) loose chains such as those with *=náyⁿ*, are associated with same-subject (SS) sequences. The corresponding different-subject (DS) clause-final subordinating particle is *=ní ~ =ñ*, which suspiciously resembles the accusative morpheme that is optionally added to direct-object pronouns and other NPs. For example, *yé=náyⁿ* ‘come=and.SS’ occurs in contexts like ‘I came and (then) went back’, while *yé=ñ* ‘come=and.DS’ can occur (with a preceding subject NP or pronoun) in contexts like ‘He came and (then) I went away’.

Chaining (serialization) and switch-reference subordination is described in detail in chapter 15.

2.8 Interclausal syntax

VP chains and relativization account for a good part of the interclausal syntax, since some matrix verbs like ‘can(not)’ take the form of direct chains, and since many spatiotemporal and manner adverbial clauses are special cases of relativization. In addition, a subordinated clause (or VP) may be expressed with the verb in verbal-noun form.

The basic clause-final ‘if’ particle in conditional antecedents is *de*, which takes its tone from the preceding word. This particle also occurs in pseudo-conditional clauses that function to link one future event to another that will follow it in time (§16.1.2).

2.9 Quotations

Quotations have a rather complex syntax (§17.1). Quoted material can be framed by an explicit ‘say’ verb *gūyⁿ*, or just by a clause-final unconjugated quotative clitic *wa*. The subject of a quoted sentence is set off by a special quotative subject (QuotSbj) morpheme. First and second person pronominal subjects are not expressed in the usual way by suffixation on the verb. Instead, they appear as independent pronouns with the quotative subject morpheme at the beginning of the clause, and the verb has an unmarked 3Sg suffix. However, 3Pl subject is marked on the verb. This is one of several cases in BenT (mirrored in several other Dogon languages) where 3Pl subjects get special favored treatment in verbal agreement. The schema in (4) shows how a 1Sg subject is treated in main clauses and in the corresponding quotation.

- (4) a. donkey(-Acc) tie-Pfv1b-**1SgSbj**
 ‘I tied the donkey.’
- b. [1Sg QuotSbj] donkey(-Acc) tie-Pfv1b-3SgSbj Quot
 ‘(X) said that I tied the donkey.’

When the quoted speaker (or thinker) is coindexed to a NP within the quoted matter, i.e. when the original speaker (thinker) used “I/me,” it takes the form of a logophoric pronoun. So if (4a) were uttered by X, and the current speaker is quoting him/her, we get the schema (5).

- (5) [**LogoSg** QuotSbj] donkey(-Acc) tie-Pfv1b-3SgSbj Quot
 ‘(X) said that he/she (=X) tied the donkey.’

Logophorics have the same form as third-person reflexive pronouns in BenT (unlike e.g. Tomo Kan, where the two series differ in form).

Imperatives (‘go!?’) and hortatives (‘let’s go!?’) can also be quoted, but here too there is a special morphosyntax for such (jussive) complements. In addition to the usual hortative (‘let’s go!?’), there is a quoted imperative (QuotImprt) verb form. It is used in wishes/implications like ‘may God be with you’ and in quoted or indirect commands like ‘let him (=tell him to) come?’ (§10.5.7, (§17.1.3.1)).

3 Phonology

3.1 General

Syllables and metrical structure are briefly covered in §3.2. The consonants are presented in §3.3, followed by vowels in §3.4. The vowel-harmony system (§3.4.5) is not much of a factor in the morphophonology. Segmental (i.e. non-tonal) phonological processes are covered in §3.5, followed by remarks on cliticization in §3.6. The tonology is §3.7, and intonation patterns (some of them grammaticalized) are reviewed in §3.8.

3.2 Internal phonological structure of stems and words

3.2.1 Syllables

Monosyllabic words are *Cv*, *Cv:*, or *CvC*, rarely *Cv:C*.

Verb stems are fond of the *Cv* shape. Nearly all monosyllabic verb stems are of this monomoraic shape, for example *dɔ̄* ‘burn’, *mă* ‘shape (pottery)’, *ló* ‘go’. The vowel is lengthened before a derivational suffix such as reversive or causative, but remains short before an inflectional suffix or when chained to another following verb. Even a rising tone does not force an additional mora: *yě-* ‘come’, *nú-* ‘hear’, *gɔ̄-* ‘jab’. We do get a long vowel in *jē:-* ‘bring’ with its <LHL> tone.

With the exception of a few *Cv* nouns and adjectives, stems other than verbs have at least two moras, so vowel-final monosyllabic stems are usually of the shape *Cv:*, as in *kû:* ‘head’, *ná:* ‘big’.

The defective noun *ná* ‘time(s)’ is always short-voweled. It is always closely combined with a following numeral or other quantifier: *ná yěy* ‘twice’. Other nouns and adjectives that appear to be lexically *Cv* are /yă/ ‘woman’, /nú/ ‘person’, /ó/ ‘mouse’, /só/ ‘horse’, reduplicated /tì-té/ ‘hawk’, /pě/ ‘old’, and /lă/ ‘other’. However, the vowels of these stems are lengthened when they are unsuffixed, presumably because they all have contour tones; see Contour-Tone Mora-Addition §3.7.4.1.

BenT (like Najamba) has a large number of nouns ending in a final long vowel with falling tone. For example, ‘meat’ is *nàw^{nâ}:*; compare Jamsay *nòw^{nɔ̄}* and Toro Tegu *nàmá*. The final rising tone is also found in two Dogon languages subgrouped with BenT: Nanga *nàmâ*, Bankan Tey *nàmâ:*. If we reconstruct *nàmá-, we must consider the possibility that BenT and its relatives have preserved a trace of an original L-toned suffix.

3.2.2 Metrical structure

Weak positions in metrical structure are characterized by raising and/or reduction of short vowels. Metrical structure is not a major factor in BenT in (uncompounded) noun, adjective, or numeral stems. The initial syllable is arguably a strong position, and there are many bisyllabic stems with an initial heavy syllable, e.g. *bò:tó* ‘sack’, *jémbé* ‘bag’. However, nouns

like *sègérè* ‘filtering basket’ show no phonological signs of strong and weak positions; in particular, the second syllable of a trisyllabic stem is stable. In a bisyllabic stem, a final short high vowel {*i u*} may be apocopated under some conditions, e.g. *CvCi* → *CvC* (§3.5.3.2, below).

In verbs, there are some suggestions of metrical structure insofar as some types of nonmonosyllabic verb stems show alternations between final *a* and a somewhat unstable high vowel {*i u*}. Other Dogon languages often associate the high vowel in such alternations with weak metrical position (the high vowel may reduce to schwa, is subject to coloring by nearby consonants and vowels, and may be deleted entirely). However, there is a cart-and-horse issue here; does weak metrical position favor raising and lenition of a vowel, or does an independently occurring vocalic alternation happen to feed into lenition of the high-vowel alternant?

In BenT, the verbs with a final-vowel alternation have final *a* in the imperative, and final high vowel (or zero) throughout the remainder of the paradigm, including forms where the final high vowel is “strengthened” by a tautosyllabic final consonant. For example, ‘think’ has imperative *mǎ:nà*, bare stem *mà:ní* (e.g. in chains), perfective *mà:ní-tí-*, imperfective *mì-mà:ní-mì*, etc.

In verbal derivation, there are some cases where the final vowel of a bisyllabic input is raised before a derivational suffix, as in *tárá-* ‘paste (on), affix’, reversive *tálí-rí-* ‘remove (something pasted or affixed)’, where the second syllable of *tálí-rí-* is our focus. However, there are several reversives like *gòlò-ró* ‘uncover (someone)’, *kúmjó-ró-* ‘uncrumple’, etc., where no raising of the second-syllable vowel is observed. So metrical structure plays a relatively small role in BenT phonology.

3.3 Consonants

The consonants are listed in (6).

(6) Consonants

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
labial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>(f)</i>		<i>w</i>	<i>wⁿ</i>		
alveolar	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>rⁿ</i>		
alveopalatal	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>n̪</i>	<i>((š))</i>		<i>y</i>	<i>yⁿ</i>		
velar	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ŋ</i>						
laryngeal						<i>(h)</i>	<i>((?))</i>		

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

key to columns: 1) aspirated voiceless stops (*c* is somewhat affricated); 2) voiced stops; 3) nasals, 4) voiceless fricatives (including sibilants); 5) laterals; 6-7) respectively unnasalized and nasalized sonorants; 8-9) laryngeals

3.3.1 Alveopalalats (*c, j, p*)

As elsewhere in the northeastern Dogon language zone, there is some fluctuation between {*k g*} and {*c j*} pronunciations before front vowels {*i e ε*}. Where both pronunciations have been recorded, I normalize the transcription as {*c j*}.

p is fairly common before a vowel. Examples: *péyⁿ péré* ‘eat a meal’, *pá:rⁿí* ‘hold near fire’, *párⁿù* ‘night’, and *púwⁿó* ‘do for a long time’.

An interesting alternation of *y* and *p* is intransitive *yuró* ‘(someone) wake up’ and transitive *pú:rⁿú* ‘wake (someone) up’. In other languages, cognates have either a nasal element in both forms (Jamsay *p*, Bankan Tey *n*), or a non-nasal element in both forms (Nanga and Najamba *w*).

3.3.2 Voiced velar stop *g* and *g*-Spirantization (/g/→*y*)

Spirantization of intervocalic /g/ to *y* is fairly common, though not obligatory, when intervocalic within a word and flanked by vowels from the set {*a o*}. Thus *kù-dàyá* ‘agemate’, *dɔyɔ* ‘state of being disdained’. One may consider *g* to be phonologically basic.

Historically, some original **g* have been deleted between nonhigh vowels, resulting in long vowels in BenT. For example, *àrsé:-m* ‘domestic animal’ reflects *(*g*)àrsègé, cf. Jamsay and Nanga *gàsègé*. It is ultimately from Arabic. Likewise *dɔ:* ‘Dogon (people)’ and *ɔ:* ‘chiefs’ derive from **dògó* and **ðogó*. For deletion of **ŋ* in similar contexts see §3.3.3 below.

3.3.3 Velar nasal (*ŋ*)

Aside from the homorganic clusters *ŋg* and *ŋk*, we get *ŋ* in *àŋâyⁿ* ‘how?’, *pàŋá* (variant *pàŋgá* ‘strength’, *ŋây*→ ‘thus’, *dùŋ dùŋó* ‘get dressed’, *sòŋjó:rⁿɔy* ‘spinal cord’, and several other stems.

As with **g*, original **ŋ* has disappeared intervocally in certain words, e.g. *nǎ:-m* ‘cow’ (**nàŋá*), though it is retained in *nàŋà-nà:rⁿú* ‘butter (from cow’s milk)’, which may have been borrowed from the identical form in Jamsay. In *séwⁿú* ‘make thorn-branch fence’, we seem to have *wⁿ* for **ŋ* (Jamsay *sánjá*, Nanga *séŋj*).

3.3.4 Voiceless labials (*p, f*)

As in other Dogon languages, *f* is not a full-fledged consonant, and a borrowed word containing it may show *p*. Thus *màrpâ:* ‘rifle’, *kàpê:* (alongside *kàfê:*) ‘coffee’, *pùrù-púrù* ‘wheat-flour fritters’.

I have recorded *f* in some loanwords that I assume also have variants with *p*: *cé:fám* ‘fever’, *té:fâ* ‘fee paid to witness of livestock sale’, *fârnî:* ‘wheat-flour fritters’, *ná:fígù* ‘trouble-makers’, *dófê* ‘good-for-nothing adult’, *nàfâ:* ‘usefulness’, *má:fê* ‘red sauce’, *sá:fâ* ‘evening prayer’, and a few others. However, I also recorded *f* in *jófû* (intensifier for ‘wet’)

3.3.5 Laryngeals (*h*, *?*)

h occurs in loans, chiefly from Fulfulde (some of these were originally Arabic). One of these is the important particle *hāl* ‘until, all the way to’. Others include *hɔ:lé* ‘trust (verb)’, *hàrām* ‘a Muslim holy day’, *híjì* ‘pilgrimage to Mecca’, and *hí:lé* ‘dupe, trick’.

? (glottal stop) is found in *gúrù?á:nà* ‘Koran (book)’, where it reflects Arabic *?*, and in the semi-linguistic utterance *᳚᳛᳚᳛* ‘nope!’. A glottal stop is also inserted after a *v-* (for *Cv-*) reduplicative segment before a vowel-initial stem, see e.g. §10.2.1.9.

3.3.6 Sibilants (*s*, *š*, *z*, *ž*)

Only *s* is clearly established as a phoneme. Other sibilants {*š* *z* *ž*} occur in a few loanwords from French: *álážérí*: ‘Algeria’, *zánmá* ‘gendarmes’, *šinwâ*: ‘Chinese’. There is no strong tendency to phonetically palatalize *s* before front vowels.

3.3.7 Nasalized sonorants (*rⁿ*, *wⁿ*, *yⁿ*)

These nasalized sonorants can be independent phonemes in (noninitial) intervocalic position within words. In stems like *bàrⁿá* ‘beat (tomtom)’, *káwⁿá* ‘mash (to press out oil)’, *éwⁿé* ‘milk (a cow)’, *pí:yⁿí* ‘confine’, *díyⁿà* ‘old’, and *gáyⁿ* ‘put’, the sonorant is the only nasal or nasalized segment. In such words, BenT intervocalic *wⁿ* corresponds to *m* in some other languages, e.g. BenT *nùwⁿî*, Jamsay *ním*, Nanga *ními* ‘cow-pea’.

yⁿ and *wⁿ* may also occur syllable-finally, though only *yⁿ* is common here: *gáyⁿ* ‘put’, *káyⁿ* ‘do’, *péwⁿ* (sound of fart).

When a consonant from the set {*rⁿ wⁿ yⁿ*} occurs in a word with a preceding nasal or nasalized consonant, and no intervening non-nasal consonant, the nasalization in {*rⁿ wⁿ yⁿ*} may be attributed to Nasalization-Spreading, which normally operates from left to right within a word. In such cases, the sonorant is lexically unspecified for nasalization. Examples are *nàwⁿâ*: ‘meat’, *néwⁿé* ‘taste’, *nàrⁿá* ‘mother’, *jémⁿeyⁿ* ‘metal protrusions on rifle cock’, *mùyⁿí* ‘(shoulder) be dislocated’. However, the predictability of nasalization is compromised by cases where *m* reflects **mb*, as in *màrá* ‘become lost’ (cf. Bankan Tey *m̩bàrà*), where the *r* is not nasalized.

In e.g. *nàrⁿiyⁿ-wⁿ* (for /nàrⁿìyⁿ-wⁿú/) ‘expand (e.g. one’s herd)’, we observe spreading of nasalization across the entire word, which includes a suffix (elsewhere *-w̩*). This is possible when there is no intervening nonnasal consonant to block the spread from left to right.

A syllable-final *yⁿ* or *wⁿ* in a nasalizing environment could be transcribed with or without the nasalization diacritic. I generally transcribe without the diacritic, except for verbs (in the citation form with final vowel apocopated), since when suffixes are present the final semivowel is intervocalic and clearly nasalized. Thus noun *siyⁿaw* ‘lover’, pronounced [síjⁿǎwⁿ], and verb *nàrⁿiyⁿ-wⁿ* ‘expand (e.g. one’s herd)’.

In *áwⁿyⁿí* ‘(wound) swell’, *éwⁿèyⁿ* ‘milk (noun)’, *jírⁿéy* ‘rainy season’, and some few other stems, there are two mutually reinforcing consonants from the set {*rⁿ wⁿ yⁿ*}. Given that Nasalization-Spreading primarily works from left to right, if one must identify a (lexically) primary nasalized consonant it would be the leftmost one.

Initial *wⁿ* was heard in certain words, suggesting a modest tendency for nasalization to spread from the right to the onset of the word. Examples: some pronunciations of the

(undoubtedly borrowed) term for ‘rice or millet pancake’ (*wⁿó:pù*, but also *wó:njù*, etc.); the final element (not otherwise attested) in *kɔnjɔ-wⁿayⁿáyⁿ* ‘strong, effervescent millet beer’ (cf. *kɔnjɔ* ‘millet beer’); *wⁿà:rⁿú* ‘(vine) spread out’. There is no general leftward Nasalization-Spreading, as shown by examples like *wòmbí* ‘uproot peanuts’ and *yàmdí* ‘be useless’. ‘Woman’ is *yá:-m*, plural *yá:* (unnasalized).

3.3.8 Consonant clusters

3.3.8.1 Initial *CC* clusters

Word-initial *CC* sequences are nasal-stop sequences *ŋg* and *m̩b*. *ŋg* is seen in demonstrative *ŋgú* ‘this’ and in some other deictics, in *ŋgó* ‘not be’, and a few Fulfulde loanwords like *ŋgú:rè* ‘livelihood’. Initial *m̩b*, which often alternates with simple *m*, is illustrated by *m̩bɔ: ~ mɔ:* ‘mouth’ and *m̩báw ~ mǎw* ‘interethnic cousinhood’; intermediate pronunciations like [m̩bɔ:] with a faint oral release on the nasal are also observed.

When spoken in isolation, or after a word ending in a consonant, the initial nasal is syllabified separately. It is pronounced with low pitch in this position, but arguably this is phonetic pitch rather than phonological tone.

3.3.8.2 Medial geminated *CC* clusters

Geminated medial *CC* clusters are generally limited to Fulfulde (and other) borrowings.

Geminated clusters in words not likely to have been borrowed are:

ll: *illá* ‘slightly’, *kíllíyé* ‘be lost to sight’, *péllí* ‘break or cut off’, *illé* ‘lift from underneath’.

nn: *dánní* ‘hunt (verb)’, *kɔnnà* ‘ladle (noun)’ (variant of *kɔtúnà*).

Other geminated clusters attested in probable loanwords are exemplified below:

bb : *tóbbè-tóbbè* ‘spotted’.

cc : *hóccé* ‘chew cud’.

dd : *sáddà àyí* ‘be responsible for’.

gg : *lóggí* ‘make dirty’.

jj : *híjjì* ‘pilgrimage to Mecca’.

kk : *júkké* ‘assess a fine’.

mm : *júmmà* ‘Friday prayer’.

pp : *síppé* ‘describe’.

rr : *yárró:rè* ‘tolerance’.

tt : *métté* ‘be desperate’.

yy : *láyyà* ‘Feast of the Ram’

There are no attestations of #*ff*, #*hh*, #*ss*, #*ww*.

3.3.8.3 Medial non-geminate *CC* clusters

These clusters typically begin with a syllable-final sonorant. The following syllable-initial consonant may be any full-fledged consonant phoneme. The most common type is the homorganic nasal-stop cluster. Those found in native vocabulary are:

- mb* : *témbù* ‘traditions’.
- nd* : *súndù* ‘child’s medicine’.
- nt* : *bènté* ‘loincloth’.
- nj* : *kònjas* ‘millet beer’.
- ŋg* : *kóngoró* ‘chew on (bone)’
- ŋk* : *yóŋkù* ‘soul’

Attested in Fulfulde loanwords:

- mp* : *hámpé* ‘chew (tobacco)’.

There are no attestations for *#nc*.

Another cluster that occurs in native vocabulary is this:

- lg* : *jélgé* → ‘dangling’.

Other non-geminate *CC* clusters attested are found mostly in loanwords, especially from Fulfulde. They include many combinations beginning with a sonorant {*y w r l*}.

- yb* : *háybé* ‘watch over’.
- yk* : *táyké* ‘notice’.
- yl* : *léylà* ‘night of 27th of Ramadan’.
- yn* : *láyné* ‘chant (invoking God)’.
- yr* : *bóyri* ‘porridge’.
- yt* : *séytâ:n* ‘demon’.
- wd* : *jáwdù* ‘livestock’.
- wg* : *tíwgú* ‘be disoriented’.
- wl* : *dáwlè* ‘renown’.
- wt* : *sáwté* ‘be fed up’.
- wy* : *ówyí* ‘(hen) brood’.
- wⁿyⁿ* : *jáwⁿyⁿí* ‘branch out’.
- rb* : *dárbo* ‘sword’.
- rd* : *wírdù* ‘saying one’s beads’.
- rg* : *dòrgú* ‘ransom’.
- rk* : *àrkélè* ‘armpit’.
- rm* : *bármá* ‘pot’.
- m* : *fârnâ* : ‘wheat-flour fritters’.
- rp* : *màrpâ* : ‘rifle’.
- rs* : *mórsínâ* ‘large gunpowder horn’.
- rt* : *sártù* ‘deadline’.
- lb* : *àlbárka* ‘thanks!’.
- lc* : *àlcêw* ‘stirrup’.
- lj* : *áljúmá:rè* ‘Friday’.
- lk* : *àlkàmí:sà* ‘Thursday’.

3.3.8.4 Medial triple *CCC* clusters

These are rare and occur only in Fulfulde loans. The attested clusters, illustrated below, consist of a sonorant *y* or *r* plus a homorganic nasal-stop cluster.

- yŋg* : *póyŋgôl* ‘illumination’.
- yŋk* : *sóŋyŋkè* ‘Songhay (people)’.
- rnd* : *bérndè* ‘cattle disease’.
- rbm* : *kàrbmú* ‘horse’s muzzle’

In poorly assimilated loanwords there are also a few cases like *kɔmplē*: ‘(clothing) outfit’ (Fr *complet*).

3.3.8.5 Final CC clusters

None.

3.4 Vowels

3.4.1 Short and (oral) long vowels

The inventory of oral vowels is the same as for other Dogon languages. The vowel qualities are high {*i u*}, mid-height [+ATR] {*e o*}, mid-height [-ATR] {*ɛ ɔ*}, and low *a*. The qualities all occur in short and long forms.

(7) short oral long oral

<i>u</i>	<i>u:</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>o:</i>
<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ:</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>a:</i>
<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɛ:</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>e:</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i:</i>

3.4.2 Nasalized vowels

Phonemically nasalized vowels are fairly rare, except for a reasonable number with *a*-vowel. Examples below are sorted by vowel quality. Those with a high vowel have an expressive or onomatopoeic character. I know of no cases with +ATR *e* or *o* vocalism. The attested nasalized vowels are in (8).

(8) short nasal long nasal

<i>uⁿ</i>	<i>u:ⁿ</i>
—	—
<i>ɔⁿ</i>	<i>ɔ:ⁿ</i>
<i>aⁿ</i>	<i>a:ⁿ</i>
—	<i>ɛ:ⁿ</i>
—	—
—	<i>i:ⁿ</i>

jî:n ‘odor’, *gí:n* (or *gíy:n*) ‘fart (noun)’, *cí:n-cà:n-cí:n* ‘creaking sound (onomatopoeic)’, *èsi:n*—‘very much’ (intonational prolongation makes identification of phonological length

impossible), *jí:ⁿ-jà:ⁿ* ‘staggering or stumbling along’ (expressive adverbial), *sî:ⁿ* ‘liquid animal fat (for sauce)’.

sǔ:ⁿ súⁿ ‘breath’.

kó:ⁿ ‘possession (of someone)’; *jô:ⁿ jôⁿ* ‘make a criticism’.

cê:ⁿ ‘inheritance’.

aⁿ and *a:ⁿ*: *-kă:ⁿ* ‘doers’ (agentive) as in *sîrdî-kă:ⁿ* ‘magicians’; *gă:ⁿ* ‘put-ers’ (agentive) as in *yù:rù-gă:ⁿ* ‘fortune-tellers who analyse fox tracks’, *páⁿ* ‘take (a step)’, *àjăyⁿ jáⁿ* ‘sow (seeds) in a pit with manure’.

3.4.3 Initial vowels

Words may begin with any oral vowel quality. Examples are *árwú* ‘thunder (verb)’, *éwⁿèy* ‘milk’, *éw-yé* ‘sit’, *ósù* ‘road’, *ùsú* ‘sun’, *ìrëy* ‘ripe’, *ðrú* ‘fresh’. Long vowels are uncommon but attested: *írⁿéy* ‘iron’.

3.4.4 Stem-final vowels

A fairly large number of nouns end in a long vowel, often with a <HL> or <LHL> tone: *nàwⁿâ:* ‘meat’, *lèmdê:* ‘tongue’

3.4.5 Vowel harmony

The active vowel-harmonic sets in Dogon languages are {*e o*} versus {*e o*}, whether analysed in terms of relative height or in terms of the feature [±ATR]. Typically vowels from the same set may co-occur, but mixing the two sets (especially within an unsegmentable stem) is not allowed. High vowels {*i u*} are extraharmonic and may combine with vowels of either set, while the relationship of *a* to the harmonic sets is variable. The languages differ as to whether vowel harmony extends through to the end of words (i.e. from stem or suffix, or vice-versa). In compounds, each stem may have its own harmonic character. Since nouns and adjectives have little suffixal morphology, the issues generally apply only to verbal derivation and inflection.

In BenT, uncompounded stems of all word-classes respect harmony at the lexical level and do not mix the two active sets. To a large extent this is a trivial consequence of the strong preference for repeating the same mid-height vowel quality across a stem, as in *jémbé* ‘bag’, *cé:lé* ‘do well’, *sóró* ‘sprinkle’, and *dòsó* ‘(rain) strike’. In other words, even combinations of *e* with *ɔ*, or of *e* with *o*, are uncommon. However, we do seem to have harmonic effects in the nativization of loanwords such as *pístólê:* ‘pistol’ from French, and *hó:lé* ‘trust (verb)’ from Fulfulde.

3.5 Segmental phonological rules

3.5.1 Trans-syllabic consonantal processes

3.5.1.1 Nasalization-Spreading

Nasalization (from a nasal or nasalized consonant) can spread from left to right within a word, affecting the sonorants {*r w y*}, which become {*rⁿ wⁿ yⁿ*}. The spreading occurs over intervening vowels, but is blocked by an intervening non-nasal consonant. Spreading is iterative within a word, so that e.g. /n...r...w.../ becomes *n...rⁿ...wⁿ...*. I do not normally transcribe the nasalization in word-final position in nouns and other non-verb words.

In reversive verbs (§9.1), note *pí:yⁿí-* ‘shut’, reversive *pí:ⁿrⁿí-* ‘open’ (i.e. ‘un-shut’). A causative example is *áwⁿyⁿí-* ‘be swollen’, causative *áwⁿyⁿí-wⁿú-* ‘cause to swell’.

The situation is complicated by cases where the potential target of Nasalization-Spreading is separated by a vowel from a preceding original *mb or *ŋg cluster that now alternates between the original nasal-stop pronunciation and a simple nasal {*m n*}, or that has now shifted entirely to the simple nasal pronunciation. In most such cases, Nasalization-Spreading fails to apply, which makes it important to transcribe nasalization in other words with similar sequences where it does apply. Examples of non-application are in (9). Nasalization-Spreading does apply in *èmeyⁿ* ‘sorghum’ (compare Bankan Tey *èmbéy*) and for younger speakers in *máyⁿ* ‘hard’ (archaic *ìmbáy* is also attested).

- | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------------|---|
| (9) | a. | <i>bámàrà</i> | ‘Bambara (ethnicity)’ |
| | | <i>màrá</i> | ‘become lost’ (cf. Bankan Tey <i>ìmbàrà</i>) |
| | | <i>mì-rá-</i> | ‘not want’ (cf. Bankan Tey <i>ìmbírá-</i>) |
| | | <i>dámáy</i> | ‘courtyard’ (cf. Bankan Tey <i>dámbáy</i>) |
| | | <i>sùmøy</i> | ‘earth, dirt’ (cf. Bankan Tey <i>sùmbáy</i>) |
| | b. | <i>táŋgày ~ táŋgày</i> | ‘side’ |
| | | <i>ŋgú-rù ~ ŋú-rù</i> | ‘here’ |
| | | <i>kòŋgòrɔ́ ~ kòŋgòrɔ́</i> | ‘stem’ |
| | | <i>ðŋgòrɔ́ ~ ðŋgòrɔ́</i> | ‘husband’ |

Furthermore, some verbal inflectional endings undergo Nasalization-Spreading while others do not. In particular, the (third) plural category appears to be allergic to secondary nasalization. For example, perfective negative suffix *-rí-* is regularly nasalized to *-rⁿí-* in combinations like *nì-rⁿí-* ‘did not give’ (verb *ní-*), hence 3Sg *nì-rⁿí-Ø*, 1Sg *nì-rⁿí-ŷⁿ*, 1Pl *nì-rⁿí-ŷⁿ..*, 2Sg *nì-rⁿú-wⁿ*, and 2Pl *nì-rⁿú-ŵ..*, but the 3Pl form is *nì-r-á* ‘they did not give’ with unnasalized *r*. Likewise, a suffix *-yè* with various plural or 3Pl functions (plural of adjectives, 3Pl of imperfective), does not nasalize: *ní-yè* ‘they do/will give’. Other suffixes that do not nasalize are perfective-1a *:-rè-* (*nú:-rè-* ‘did not go in’), progressive *:-rà-* (*nú:-rà-* ‘is not going in’), and purposive *-rá:* ~ *-ré:*.

3.5.2 Vocalism of suffixally derived verbs

3.5.2.1 Suffixal Vowel-Spreading

Reversive suffix *-rv̄-* occurs (disregarding nasalization of the rhotic to *rⁿ*) in the forms *-rí-* (interchangeable with *-rú-*), *-ró-*, and *-ré-*. The less common surface forms *-ró-* and *-ré-* continue the *o* or *e* vocalism of the input stem or at least its final syllable (*kúmjó-ró-* ‘uncrumple’, *gòlò-ró-* ‘uncover’, *néngé-ré-* ‘become uncaught’). The example *píré-rí-* ‘get unbogged’ shows that *-rí-* may occur even where the phonological conditions permitting *-ré-* appear to be present. For the data, see §9.1.

Causative *-wú-* has invariant suffixal vocalism (§9.2.1), as does the minor causative suffix *-gí-* (§9.2.2). The vocalism of transitive suffix *-rv̄-* (rarely *-lv̄-*, §9.4) is consistent with that of reversive *-rv̄-* (surface forms are *-rí-* and *-ré-*). In *dì-ré-* ‘bathe (someone)’ from intransitive *dì-yé-* ‘bathe’, and in *sí-lé-* ‘take down’ from intransitive *sí-yé-* ‘go down’, the suffixal *e* is carried over from the intransitive stem-final vowel, even though its syllable is truncated in the causative. Data are in §9.2.

Deadjectival inchoatives are tricky, since they are not necessarily formed by adding a suffix directly to the adjective. Focusing on the form of the inchoative verb itself, we note that stem-wide vocalism limited to {*o u*} vowels is associated with *-ló-* ~ *-ró-*, i.e. with suffixal *o* (*dùgú-* ‘fat’, inchoative *dùgù-ló-*; *dùsú-* ‘heavy’, inchoative *dùsù-ló-*; *kúnjù-m* ‘coarse’, inchoative *kúnjú-ló-*, *órù-m* ‘smooth’, inchoative *óló-ró-*; *núm* ‘difficult’, inchoative *núm-dó-*). There are some unusual cases where an *e* or *a* in the adjective is associated with a shift to *e* vocalism the suffix and in the stem itself in the inchoative (*érím* ‘sweet’, inchoative *élé-ré-*; *pílé* ‘white’, inchoative *pílé-ré-*; *jéwⁿè-* ‘black’, inchoative *jém-dé-*; *párù-m* ‘sour’, inchoative *pálé-ré-*; *gárlù-m* ‘bitter’, inchoative *gàlè-ré-*). We also get suffixal *e* in *sím* ‘pointed’, inchoative *sím-dé-*, i.e. in the one case where the adjective has only *i* vowel(s). Other stems with an {*e a*}, and all stems with an *o* anywhere in the stem, have *i* in the suffix: *gùrò-* ‘long’, inchoative *gùlù-rí-*; *èsú-* ‘good’, inchoative *ésí-lí-*; *ásù-m* ‘half-sweet, slightly bitter’, inchoative *ásí-lí-*, and a few others. See §9.7 for more data.

3.5.2.2 Presuffixal V₂-Raising

In verbal derivation, the final syllable of a *CvCv-* (or similar) input sometimes shifts to a high vowel.

In reversives, a shift from stem-final {*e a*} to a high vowel occurs in several cases (which also have *i* as the suffixal vowel): *pégé-* ‘nail (verb)’, reversible *pégí-rí-* ‘remove (nail)’; *páyá-* ‘tie’, reversible *págí-rí-* ‘untie’, *iré-* ‘forget’, reversible *ílí-rí-* ‘remember’, *tárá-* ‘paste, affix’, reversible *tálí-rí-* ‘unpaste, remove (something affixed)’. I know of no reversives involving input stem-final *o*. When the input stem-final is {*e o*}, no shift occurs in this vowel before the suffix: *góro-* ‘cover’, reversible *gòlò-ró-* ‘uncover’; *néngiyé-* ‘be caught in tree’, reversible *néngé-ré-* ‘become uncaught’, *píré-* ‘get bogged’, *píré-rí-* ‘get unbogged’. For data see §9.1.

There is no shift in stem-final vowel quality before causative *-wú-* (§9.2.1). With a different causative suffix allomorph, we do get vowel raising in *ùrò-* ‘go up’, causative *ùlù-rú-* ‘take up’. Similarly, the two verbs with causative *-gí-* (*káwá-* ‘separate oneself’ and *sáyá-* ‘be dispersed’) delete the stem-final *a*, presumably after first raising it to a high vowel: *káw-gí-* ‘separate (X from Y)’, *sáy-gí-* ‘disperse (others)’.

Overall there is reasonable evidence for a process raising stem-final {*e a ɔ*} in nonmonosyllabic stems to a high vowel (variably pronounced *i* or *u*) before a verbal derivational suffix other than causative *-wú-*.

3.5.3 Vocalic rules sensitive to syllabic or metrical structure

3.5.3.1 Vowel-Lengthening before verbal derivational suffix

Cv with short vowel is an acceptable shape for verb stems, e.g. *tó* ‘step on’. Such short vowels are lengthened before derivational (but not inflectional) suffixes: reversive derivative *tó:-rí-* ‘remove foot from (something that one has stepped on)’ but e.g. perfective (inflectional) *tó-tí:-* ‘stepped on’. Causative examples include *né-* ‘eat (meal)’, causative *né:-w"ú-* ‘feed, give food to’ and *nú-* ‘enter’, causative *nú:-w"ú-* ‘cause to enter’.

Failure to lengthen was observed in irregular (frozen) causatives that involve truncation of an intransitive *Cv-yv-* stem to *Cv-*, rather than an underlying /*Cv*/ stem: *dí-yé-* ‘bathe, take a bath’, causative *dí-ré-* ‘bathe (someone)’; *sí-yé-* ‘go down’, causative *sí-lé-* ‘take down’.

3.5.3.2 Syncope and Apocope

A short high vowel {*i u*} can be deleted at the end of an unsuffixed stem (nouns, verbs, etc.), or at the end of a stem before a consonant-initial suffix (verbs). The deletion is generally optional. **Syncope** denotes deletion before a suffix, while **Apocope** is the term for word-final deletion not specifically involving a following word. For a discussion of weak metrical positions, those that lend themselves to reduction or deletion of a vowel, see §3.2.2, above.

When the stem in question ends in ...*yi* or ...*wu*, the deletion is very common and the variant without the final high vowel is the most common form heard. For example, verb *déwú* ‘cover (something)’ is normally heard as *déw*, both as simple *déw* in chains and in suffixed forms like perfective-1b *déw-tí:-Ø*. Pronunciations *déwú* and *déwú-tí:-Ø* are possible in careful speech. The bisyllabic character of such verbs is better brought out in e.g. imperative *déwà* (with a vowel mutation) and imperfective (*dí-)déwú-m* ‘he/she covers’. Other verbs with similar patterns include *àwú-* ‘receive’, *dà:yí-* ‘encounter’, and *wàyí-* ‘hold’, which are heard as *ăw-*, *dă:y-*, and *wăy-* in the relevant environments.

Of the other sonorants, *r* is frequently associated with Syncope and Apocope in similar positions. Examples are *jár"í-* ‘call’, *bárí-* ‘help’, and *lárí-* ‘chase’, which are often heard as *jár-, bár-, and lár-*.

Nouns like *yárú* ‘cloudy weather’ have both full and reduced (*yăr*) pronunciations, with the full pronunciation favored in isolation and the reduced one common before a consonant-initial word, as in *yăr gó-* ‘cloudy weather go out (= end)’.

3.5.4 Local consonant cluster and consonant sequence rules

3.5.4.1 Derhoticization ($/\text{r}^n/$ to n)

It is difficult to find contexts where a short vowel following $/\text{r}^n/$ obligatorily syncopates (or apocopates). The forms of the word-family ‘red’ retain a vowel after r^n , e.g. adjective $\text{bár}^n\ddot{\text{a}}-$ ‘red’. There is no synchronic r^n in e.g. káy^n- ‘do, make’.

The best example of $/\text{r}^n/ \rightarrow \text{n}$ is probably the agentive compound $\text{tìn-tír}^n\ddot{\text{i}}-\text{m}$ ‘wood-gatherer’, whose initial is the noun $\text{tìr}^n\ddot{\text{u}} \sim \text{tìr}^n\ddot{\text{i}}$ ‘firewood’.

Stem- or word-final $\dots \text{r}^n\text{i}$ or $\dots \text{r}^n\text{u}$ optionally drop the vowel before certain consonants, especially alveolars { t d n }, and in this case the $/\text{r}^n/$ may be realized as n .

3.5.4.2 Rhotic Assimilation

There are no synchronically clear cases, since a short high vowel after r or r^n does not usually totally syncopate or apocope. For a list of stems with ll , which in other northeastern Dogon languages sometimes arise from $*\text{rl}$, see §3.3.8.2.

3.5.4.3 $/\text{y}^n\text{r}/ \rightarrow \text{n}$ in perfective negative

Perfective negative $-\text{rí}-$ combines with final $/\text{y}^n/$ in verb stems to produce $-\text{ní}-$. The three verbs with final y^n are káy^n- ‘do, make’, găy^n- ‘put’, and gùy^n- ‘say’. Their perfective negative forms are $\text{kà-ní}-$, $\text{gà-ní}-$, and $\text{gù-ní}-$. The origin of this shift is more complex than the synchronic data suggest. ‘Do, make’ has cognates in other Dogon languages with bisyllabic shape and a medial consonant { n y r^n }, e.g. Jamsay $\text{kár}^n\ddot{\text{a}}-$.

3.5.4.4 $/\text{y}^n\text{r}/ \rightarrow \text{l}$ in hortative negative and purposive

The $/\text{y}^n/$ of the three Cvy^n verbs (see preceding section) combine with hortative negative $-\text{rè-ím}/$ (§10.5.6) to give $-\text{lè-ím}$. Thus ká-lè-ím ‘let’s not do!’ from káy^n ‘do’, and gă-lè-ím ‘let’s not put!’ from găy^n . The same fusion occurs with purposive subordinator $-\text{rá}:/-$ (§17.5.1.1), e.g. $\text{kà}^L-\text{lá}:$ ‘in order to do’.

3.5.4.5 $/\text{r}\dots\text{r}/$ becomes $\text{l}\dots\text{r}$ or $\text{l}\dots\text{l}$ in verbal morphology

Reversive verbs (§9.1) normally add $-\text{rv}-$ suffix to the stem. When the stem is of the shape Cvrv with medial r , the output in most cases is CvIv-rv- rather than # Cvrv-rv- (10a), converging with the output from input stem CvIv (10b). This suggests that a **dissimilatory** shift of $/\text{r}\dots\text{r}/$ to $\text{l}\dots\text{r}$ has taken place in the reversives in (10a). That this is **not fully productive** is suggested by one exception in (10c), which involves a somewhat less common reversible (therefore less likely to be lexicalized).

(10)	input	gloss	reversive	gloss
a.	<i>gòró-tárá-iré-</i>	'cover (person)' 'paste, affix' 'forget'	<i>gòlò-ró-tálí-rí-ilí-rí-</i>	'uncover (person)' 'unpaste, detach' 'remember'
b.	<i>kólí-</i>	'hook, hang up'	<i>kólí-rí-</i>	'unhook, take down (sth hanging)'
c.	<i>píré-</i>	'get bogged'	<i>píré-rí(gō)</i>	'get unbogged'

The **causative** suffix allomorph *-rv-* is responsible for a similar, though frozen and isolated, alternation in *ùrò-* 'go up', causative *ùlù-rú-* 'take up'.

Similar alternations take place in deadjectival **inchoative** verbs, where we get e.g. *érù-m* 'sweet', inchoative *élé-ré-* 'become sweet', and *gùrò-* 'long', inchoative *gùlù-rí-* 'become long'; for more examples see §9.7.

These alternations are typical of suffixal derivation, but are not systematic in AN inflection. In particular, perfective negative *-rí-* does not regularly induce the shift of an *r* in the stem to *I*. Thus *térè-rí-* 'did not chop', *gùrò-rí-* 'did not steal', *bàngìrì-rí-* 'did not hide', etc.

However, the verb *béré-* 'get, obtain' does combine with perfective negative *-rí-* as *bél-lí-* 'did not get', a form that is multiply attested in texts. The key difference between *bél-lí-* and e.g. *térè-rí-* is syncope, which is not regular for *Cvr-* verbs with final non-high vowels but which does apply idiosyncratically to */bérè-rí-/*. When syncope does apply, the resulting /rr/ cluster is realized as *ll*. Evidently /rr/ is disfavored. Indeed, *rr* clusters do not occur within stems, in native Dogon vocabulary, though there are some Fulfulde loans like *yárrò:rè* 'tolerance'.

Another example of the *ll* output from /rr/ after syncope is *sìyé-I=là: from /sìyè-rí=rà:/* 'it has not gone down' (text 2005.1b.05). Another is *dà:l-lí-*, syncopated variant of *dà:ri-rí-* 'did not please'.

The shift /rv/ to *ll* is arguably accomplished in two stages, a dissimilation to /r(v)l/ or /l(v)r/ (perhaps before syncope), followed by an assimilation (after syncope) to *ll*. There is one attestation of unassimilated *rl*, namely *láyâ:r=lá* 'it isn't a sacrificial animal', for */láyâ:rù=rá*, text 2005.1b.04, where only the dissimilation has occurred (noun *láyâ:rù* is a multisyllabic Fulfulde loanword and apparently resists modification of its rhotic, but the clitic shifts *r* to *I*). On the other hand, we have seen unassimilated *lvr* from /rv/ in unsyncopated reversives (10a). Underlying /lvr/ also becomes as *ll* after syncope in *tál-lí-*, syncopated variant of *tálí-rí-* 'did not transform' (§10.2.3.2).

3.5.4.6 {w wⁿ} → *m*

When a stem with shape like *Cvww-* or *Cvwⁿv-* undergoes Syncope or Apocope of the final vowel, the now syllable-final semivowel is converted to *m* under limited conditions. This may occur in conjunction with a shift in a following consonant from {*r I*} to *d* as well.

The adjective *äm* 'plump' corresponds to inchoative verb ('become ADJ') *áwⁿá-* 'become plump'. Here the alternation of *m* with *wⁿ* is clearly conditioned by syllabic position.

Many other inchoatives are formed using inchoative derivational suffix *-lv-* or less often *-rv-* (§9.7). In the case of 'black', we get adjective *jéwⁿè-* but inchoative

jèm-dé- ‘become black’ (the *md* cluster is pronounced [mnd] in careful style). Likewise, *kawà-* ‘spacious, wide (space)’ corresponds to inchoative *kám-dí-* ‘become (more) spacious’.

A minor inchoative suffix allomorph is *-yv̄-*. For ‘cold’, the adjective is *tâm* while the inchoative is *táwⁿ-yⁿí-* ‘become cold, cool off’.

/w/ does not shift to *m* in adjectives with a following nominal suffix (singular, plural). Thus *ðw* ‘hot, fast’, animate singular *ðw-m*, animate plural *ðw-yè*. The shift also does not occur before reversive derivational suffix *-rí-* (§9.1), to judge by the one known example: *děw* ‘cover (object)’, reversive *děw-rí-* ‘uncover (object)’. It does not apply before the minor causative suffix *-gv̄-* in *kawá-* ‘separate oneself’, causative *kaw-gí-* ‘separate (X from Y)’.

3.5.4.7 /r/ → d

Negative clitics beginning with *r*, and verbal derivational suffixes beginning with *r*, shift the liquid to *d* after a nasal.

The most common case is stative negative clitic *=rá-*. It becomes *=dá* in e.g. *í=m=dá* ‘it isn’t me’, where it follows the ‘it is’ clitic *=m*, see §11.2.1.4.

See also *dim-dí-* ‘cause to follow’ with transitive suffix (§9.4) from /dimbí-rí/, and *tím-dí-* ‘uncover (remove lid)’ from /tímbí-rí/ with reversive suffix (§9.1), in both cases after Syncope.

3.5.4.8 CCC simplification

If a disallowed triple consonant cluster is produced by syncope from /CCvC/, the cluster is simplified. The examples known to me involve /mbvr/ becoming *md*, for example in *dím-dí-* ‘take (sth) along’, transitive of mediopassive *dimbí-yí-* ‘follow’, and in *tím-dí-* ‘take lid off’, reversive of *tímbí-* ‘put a lid on’. I interpret this as deletion of the /b/, followed by hardening of /r/ to *d*, see §3.5.4.7 just above.

3.5 Vowel-vowel and vowel-semivowel sequences

3.5.5.1 VV-Contraction

Contraction of two vowels to one vowel occurs in verbal morphology.

In verbs, the **progressive** suffix appears as *:-rà-*, i.e. as lengthening of a stem-final vowel followed by *rà*. The suffix could be represented as */-vrà-/* with an underspecified initial vowel (“v”) that contracts with a preceding short vowel to form a long vowel with the quality features of the first vowel.

The **perfective-1b** suffix likewise appears as *:-rè-*, and could be represented as */-vrè-/*.

There are no opportunities for **VV-Contraction** to arise in nominal inflectional morphology, where the few suffixes are consonant-initial.

Hiatus between vowels requires a **glottal stop** (arguably nonphonemic), as in the noun *i-?éwⁿrⁿè* ‘tree sp.’ (*Spondias*), which may be reduplicative. Clearer cases of reduplication occur in verbal morphology. The usual reduplicative syllable is an initial *Cì-*, but when the verb stem is vowel-initial (as in *éw-yé-* ‘sit’) we get reduplicated forms like *i-?éw-yè-w* ‘he/she is sitting’, again with glottal stop between the *i* and the first *e*.

3.5.6 Local vowel-consonant interactions

3.5.6.1 Fluctuation between short high vowels {*i u*}

There is much fluctuation between the two short high vowels, especially in noninitial syllables of verb stems. While the same verb can be heard in different variants in the same positions, some of the fluctuation involves assimilation to an adjoining consonant, especially semivowels *y* versus *w* but also {*j c p*} versus *m*, and/or to a non-low front versus back vowel in an adjoining syllable (this vowel may itself be unstable).

My general sense is that short high vowels in noninitial syllables of verb stems tend toward unrounded [i] when adjacent segments are not rounded or labial. Thus *yòlì-rí-* ‘(meat) become tender’ seems more common than *yòlù-rú-* in spite of the initial-syllable *o*, while the causative *yòlù-rù-wú-* favors rounded vowels because of the *w* of the causative suffix.

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

Syllable-final (i.e. word-final or preconsonantal) /iy/ monophthongizes phonetically to [i:], and /uw/ likewise monophthongizes to [u:]. In general I transcribe *iy* and *uw* since this brings out the morphological structure more clearly.

Examples are the perfective-1b combinations 1Sg *-tí-ŷ* [tî] and 2Sg *-tú-ŵ* [túù], and a few similar cases in verbal inflectional morphology. This transcriptional practice permits an orthographic distinction in the perfective-1b between 1Sg *-tí-ŷ* and 3Sg *-tî:-∅* (the latter is from /-tî-∅/ with the /i/ lengthened to permit articulation of the contour tone), although the two are homophonous.

Further examples occur in bare stems of nonmonosyllabic verb stems ending in sequences like /...iyi/ and /...iwi/. When the final short vowel syncopates or apocopes, we get syllable-final /iy/ and /uw/, which then monophthongize. This happens with e.g. *dògiyí-* ‘look up at’, *bàngì-yí-* ‘hide (oneself)’, and *gònjùwú-* ‘turn around (and go back)’, which appear in some contexts as [dògi:] etc..

Inanimate suffix *-w* may be added to adjectives that end in *u*, as in *yòrú-w* ‘tender (e.g. meat)’, which is heard as [jòrû:].

3.6 Cliticization

The boundary between clitics (enclitics) and suffixes is not sharp. All clitics are of the phonological (rather than floating) type; that is, they are independent functional elements that happen to be pronounced as part of the preceding word. The best candidates for clitic status are those mentioned below.

If Nasalization-Spreading is determined to be characteristic of word-internal morphology, the failure of a “suffixal” {*y w r*} to be nasalized after a nasal syllable could be taken as an indicator of clitic status. In this analysis, passive *-yéy* (§9.5), adjectival plural *-yè* (§4.5.1), and even progressive *-rà-* (§10.2.2.3) would have to be reassigned to clitic status. I am reluctant to do this, since the progressive is in other respects clearly suffixal, but readers may disagree.

3.6.1 ‘it is’ clitic =*m̩*~ =∅

The ‘it is’ morpheme is classified as a clitic on phonological as well as semantic grounds. The phonology of this clitic is complex and heavily morphologized, and I cover it in the section on this clitic (§11.2.1).

3.6.2 Past clitic =*bɛ-*

The motivation for treating this as a clitic is that it constitutes an outer morphological layer with its own pronominal-subject inflection, following a (somewhat reduced) internal verb-suffix combination; see §10.4.1.

3.6.3 Stative negative =*rá-*

Stative negative =*rá-* (§10.2.3.4) is more clitic-like than the regular perfective and imperfective negative suffixes. It is added to already complete word forms, rather than replacing a positive suffix. It can also be added to the positive ‘it is’ clitic (§11.2.1.4).

3.7 Tones

Tones at the level of syllables are H[igh], L[ow], <LH> (rising), <HL> (falling), and **bell-shaped** <LHL>. There are no <HLH> syllables, though /HLH/ melody is allowed in nonmonosyllabic stems. 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 <HL>).

Contour-toned syllables usually have at least two moras. In other words, light Cv syllables are normally simple H or L. Exceptions are Cv verb stems, and initial Cv syllables in nouns when 1Sg possessor (floating L-tone) docks from the left to create Cv. In these exceptional cases, the rising tone is difficult to hear. Heavy Cv: or CvC and superheavy Cv:C syllables may be H, L, <LH>, <HL>, or <LHL>. There is no increase in duration for <LHL> as opposed to <HL> or <LH> syllables; the three tone segments are articulated over a similar duration, with the initial L-tone segment generally brief. Thus *jɛ:* ‘bring’ does not have noticeably greater duration than e.g. *cē:* ‘scale’, and *gāw* ‘tall’ is pronounced with a short vowel.

3.7.1 Lexical tone patterns

3.7.1.1 At least one H-tone in each stem

Lexically, **each stem must have at least one H-tone segment**, i.e., at least one H, <LH>, <HL>, 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.

For the possibility that some nouns might have no lexical H-tones, see §3.7.1.7. Whether lexical or not, even these nouns must have at least one H-tone element in surface forms, except when an {L} overlay has erased all lexical tones.

3.7.1.2 Lexical tone patterns for verbs

In their **bare stem** (used in chains and before many inflectional suffixes), regular verbs end in an H-tone. The primary tone melodies are /H/ (all-high) and /LH/ (rising). Every verb is lexically either /H/ or /LH/, except for one /LHL/ verb, *jē:* ‘bring’. A verb-stem-initial voiced obstruent {*b d j g*} is strongly associated with /LH/ melody, and the counterexamples are mostly Fulfulde loanwords. A verb-stem-initial voiceless obstruent {*p t c k s*} is strongly associated with /H/ melody. Stems beginning with a sonorant or with zero initial consonant (i.e. with initial vowel) have a lexical choice between /H/ and /LH/. The voicing of noninitial consonants is irrelevant to lexical tone melody. As will be indicated below, the strong association between initial-obstruent voicing and tone melody applies only to verb stems, and even for verbs it is often overridden.

For /LH/ stems, **the tone break is just before the right edge** of the stem. The patterns are therefore *CV*, *CV:*, *CVCV*, *CV:CV*, *CVCVCV*, etc. This pattern is enforced for suffixal derivatives as well as for underived stems; for example, a *CVCV* stem has suffixal derivatives of the shape *CVCV-CV*.

Examples of lexical verb stems of one syllable (not counting reduplicative *Ci-*) are in (11). For a fuller list see §10.1.3.

(11) Monosyllabic verb tone melodies

stem	gloss	reference
a. /H/ melody		
<i>nú</i>	‘enter’	
<i>né</i>	‘eat (meal)’	
<i>káyⁿ</i>	‘do, make’	§10.1.3.6
b. /LH/ melody		
<i>gō</i>	‘go out’	
<i>yě</i>	‘come’	§10.1.3.3
<i>nǔ</i>	‘hear’	
<i>gáyⁿ</i>	‘put’	§10.1.3.6
<i>gúyⁿ</i>	‘say’	§10.1.3.6
c. <LHL> melody (only example)		
<i>jē:</i>	‘bring’	§10.1.3.4

Some bisyllabic and longer stems of /H/ and /LH/ melodies are in (12).

(12) Nonmonosyllabic verb tone melodies

stem	gloss
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a. /H/ melody

<i>tíwé</i>	'die'
<i>páyá</i>	'tie'
<i>pégírí</i>	'unbutton'
<i>tógoró</i>	'chew'

b. /LH/ melody

<i>jíyé</i>	'kill'
<i>wàrá</i>	'do farm work'
<i>wà:r'ú</i>	'spread out'
<i>bíliré</i>	'roll oneself (on the ground)'
<i>dàngírí</i>	'break in half'

Cv:Cv- stems with /LH/ melody are pronounced *Cv̄:Cv̄-* in careful speech. However, especially when the final vowel is {i u} and the medial consonant is a sonorant, syncope can occur, resulting in *Cv̄:C-*. A pronunciation *Cv̄:Cv̄-* is also possible, with the pitch rise jumping the gun. An example is *bà:rú-* ~ *bà:rí-* 'go around (obstacle)', whose alternative pronunciations include *bă:r-* and *bă:rí-* (with faintly articulated final vowel).

These lexical melodies are subject to modification in inflected forms. See chapter 10 for details.

3.7.1.3 Lexical tone patterns for unsegmentable noun stems

Nouns are subject to the general rule that there must be at least one H-tone segment in the stem, but are otherwise rather unconstrained. Unlike verbs (in their lexical melody), nouns may end in either an L- or H-tone.

Examples of lexical stems of **one syllable** (not counting reduplicative *Ci-*) are in (13). The animate singular suffix *-m* present in some examples does not affect the tone.

(13) stem gloss

a. H tone

<i>yí-m</i>	'child'
<i>ná</i>	'time(s)' (with numeral)
<i>ná:</i>	'entire (e.g. plant)'
<i>dɔ:-m</i>	'(a) Dogon'

b. <LH> tone

<i>yă:</i>	'women' (Sg. <i>yă-m</i>)
<i>pō:</i>	'knife'
<i>něm</i>	'salt'

c. <HL> tone

<i>kû:</i>	'head'
<i>kô:</i>	'scab'
<i>yû:</i>	'millet'
<i>dâm</i>	'gunpowder'

d. <LHL> tone (fairly full list, excluding *C᷑-ᷔ* verbal nouns)

<i>᷑:</i>	'guinea-fowls'
<i>᷒:</i>	'fiber, tree bark' (contrast <i>ᷓ:</i> 'chiefs')
<i>d᷒:</i>	'Dogon'
<i>m᷒:</i>	'cut (wound)'
<i>g᷒:</i>	'fire'
<i>g᷒.ⁿ</i>	'pigeons'
<i>b᷒yⁿ</i>	'beard'
<i>b᷒yⁿ</i>	'tibia of bird's leg'

with initial L-toned *Ci-/Cu-* reduplication

<i>t᷒-t᷒:</i>	'hyenas' (Sg <i>t᷒-t᷒:-m</i>)
<i>c᷒-c᷒:</i>	'beetles, bugs'
<i>k᷒-k᷒:</i>	'grasshoppers'
<i>s᷒-s᷒:</i>	'grubs, worms'
<i>j᷒-j᷒.ⁿ</i>	'flies'
<i>t᷒-t᷒.</i>	'termites'
<i>t᷒-t᷒y</i>	'dancing ground'

with initial H-toned *Ci-/Cu-* reduplication

<i>g᷒-g᷒.ⁿ</i>	'crows'
<i>g᷒-g᷒:</i>	(<i>p᷑r᷑-g᷑r᷑ g᷒-g᷒:</i> 'vinaceous dove')

with L-toned compound initial

<i>s᷒w᷒-s᷒:</i>	'tall grass sp. (<i>Andropogon</i>)'
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e. <HLH> tone

[none]

Some rather complex tonal patterns occur in noun stems of two or more syllables. However, these stems are probably understood as prosodically composite by native speakers. Hyphenation is usually omitted in (14), but the natural prosodic break is suggested by spaces (not used elsewhere) and by the tone formulae above. If divided in the manner suggested, the tone patterns of the components are unremarkable.

(14) stem gloss

/H/ /LH/
á-kùŋgùrō 'giant turtles' (§4.1.6)

/H/ /LHL/
k᷒r p᷒: 'tree sp.' (*Piliostigma*)
s᷒ g᷒: 'ostriches'
t᷒j g᷒: 'hornbills'
í- ?᷑wⁿrⁿè 'tree sp.' (*Spondias*)

<i>pété pɛ:</i>	‘grasshopper sp.’ (<i>Oedaleus</i>)
<i>séjér"é sɛ:n</i>	‘grasshopper sp.’ (<i>Kraussella</i>)
<i>pélé gîrê:</i>	‘doves’
<i>-sá kèlê:</i>	‘tiny scorpions’ (compound final)
/LH/ /H/	
<i>pòrú yóló</i>	‘weaver (bird)’
<i>gòróm gómjó</i>	‘millipedes’
/LH/ /HL/	
<i>jòlóm jórù</i>	‘herb sp.’ (<i>Xysmalobium</i>)
<i>pèlém péru</i>	‘tall herb sp.’ (<i>Aeschynomene</i>)
/LH/ /LH/	
<i>măy kir"é</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Maerua</i>)
/LH/ /LHL/	
<i>àr"á wĕy</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Crataeva</i>)
<i>bă: kɔ:</i>	‘glossy starling sp.’
<i>tütü: běndè</i>	‘herb sp.’ (<i>Cassia</i>)
<i>kéręŋ kě:sù</i>	‘shellfish’
/L/ /LHL/	
<i>yì-të:</i>	‘children’ (plural of <i>yí-m</i>)
<i>yà-të:</i>	‘female (lizard)’ (cf. <i>yà-</i> ‘woman’)
<i>kòtò kɔ:</i>	‘lice’

With these compound-like forms factored out, the regular lexical tone melodies for noun stems are /H/, /HL/, /LH/, /LHL/, and /LHL/. The melodies are best illustrated with stems of two syllables, not counting any initial reduplication (15). /LHL/ is rather typical of BenT nouns. /L/ is ruled out by the constraint that all noun stems must have at least one H-tone element. This constraint insures that tonosyntactically controlled tone-dropping is always audible.

(15)	melody	stem	gloss
/H/	<i>kí-kéré-m</i>	‘cricket’	
/HL/	<i>tɔrɔ</i>	‘mountain’	
/LH/	<i>jèsú</i>	‘body’	
/LHL/	<i>sèŋgû:</i>	‘waterjar’	
/LHL/	<i>bísém</i>	‘tree sp. (<i>Acacia tortilis</i>)’	

3.7.1.4 Lexical tone patterns for adjectives and numerals

Adjectives are generally mono- or bisyllabic. The tone patterns (allowing for possible accidental gaps) appear to be the same as for nouns.

(16)	stem	gloss
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a. /H/ melody

<i>nínáyⁿ</i>	'respectable'
<i>pílē</i>	'white'

b. /LH/ melody

<i>lă-</i>	'other' (<i>lă-w</i> , <i>lă-m</i> , <i>lă:</i>)
<i>mă:</i>	'dry'
<i>gòlú</i>	'crooked'
<i>kòrōy</i>	'empty, bare'
<i>bòlòrōy</i>	'half-ripe'

c. /HL/ melody

<i>ጀw</i>	'hot'
<i>kálà</i>	'new'
<i>érù-</i>	'sweet' (<i>érù-m</i> , etc.)
<i>tám</i>	'cold'

d. /LHL/ melody

<i>mènjê-</i>	'thin' (<i>mènjê-w</i> etc.)
<i>sòsû-</i>	'nearby' (<i>sòsû-w</i> , etc.)
<i>sõ:rò</i>	'young'

The inventory of **numerals** is more limited. The attested tone patterns are illustrated in (17). There is no clear indication that numerals differ from nouns, and adjectives, in their tonal possibilities.

(17)	stem	gloss
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a. /H/ melody

<i>pérú</i>	'ten'
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b. /LH/ melody

<i>tă:nú</i>	'three'
<i>nă:yⁿ</i>	'four'
<i>nùmă:yⁿ</i>	'five'
<i>tè:sím</i>	'nine'

c. /HL/ melody

<i>súyⁿጀyⁿ</i>	'seven'
<i>gá:rày</i>	'eight'

d. /LHL/ melody, in part

<i>tùwⁿጀ-</i>	'one' (<i>tùwⁿጀ tùwⁿጀ-<i>m</i> tùwⁿጀ-<i>yè</i></i>
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3.7.1.5 Tone-Component location for bitonal noun stems

The bitonal melodies are /HL/ and /LH/. Both are well-attested for nouns and other non-verb stems. In some /LH/ cases, one could argue that the final H-tone is secondary.

There is no suspense about tone-component location when the stem is monosyllabic, or a bimoraic (i.e. *CvCv*) bisyllabic (18).

(18)	stem	gloss
<LH>		
	<i>b<small>i</small>:ⁿ</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Sclerocarya</i>)
	<i>g<small>ü</small>y<small>n</small></i>	‘sedge’
	<i>j<small>ɔ</small>:ⁿ</i>	‘hares’ (Sg <i>j<small>ɔ</small>:ⁿ-m</i>)
	<i>s<small>e</small>:</i>	‘mongooses’ (Sg <i>s<small>e</small>:-m</i>)
<HL>		
	<i>s<small>ü</small>:</i>	‘francolin (bird)’ (Sg <i>s<small>ü</small>:-m</i>)
	<i>â:ⁿ</i>	‘bee’ (Sg <i>â:ⁿ-m</i>)
	<i>ô:</i>	‘mice’ (Sg <i>ô-m</i>)
L.H		
	<i>w<small>à</small>r<small>ní</small>ú</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Anogeissus</i>)
	<i>d<small>ù</small>rú</i>	‘spear for fruits’
	<i>sisé</i>	‘father’s sister’
H.L		
	<i>lósù</i>	‘duiker (mammal)’
	<i>wárá</i>	‘daba (hoe)’

In bisyllabics of the types *Cv:Cv* and *CvCCv*, the tone break is **at the syllable boundary** (19).

(19)	stem	gloss
L.H		
	<i>p<small>è</small>.lú</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Detarium</i>)
	<i>k<small>à</small>.rú</i>	‘crack’
	<i>k<small>à</small>.sá</i>	‘wool (fabric)’
	<i>j<small>à</small>m<small>b</small>á</i>	‘betrayal’
	<i>j<small>ò</small>lg<small>ò</small></i>	‘foot-chain’
H.L		
	<i>j<small>á</small>:sù</i>	‘shiftlessness’
	<i>t<small>ó</small>:rù</i>	‘idol’
	<i>d<small>á</small>wl<small>è</small></i>	‘recognized value’
	<i>s<small>á</small>lg<small>ù</small></i>	‘ablutions’

When the second syllable of a bisyllabic stem has two moras, the situation is more complex. Stems of this shape with /LH/ melody have the tone break at the syllable boundary if the final syllable is *Cv:* with long vowel (20a), but delay it to the final moraic boundary when the final syllable is diphthongal *Cvy* (20b). Stems of this shape with /HL/ melody have the tone break at the syllable boundary if the final syllable is *Cv:* (20c), but those with final *CvC* (diphthongal or not) divide into two sets, one with syllable-boundary tone break (20d) and the other with final-mora break (20e). (20d) seems to be typical of native vocabulary, (20e) of Fulfulde loanwords.

(20)	stem	gloss
a. LH with break at syllable boundary		
<i>final Cv:</i>		
<i>sà:yú:</i>	‘wild fonio grass’	
<i>ðr"ð:</i>	‘(the) bush, outback’	
<i>dùmdɔ:</i>	‘end (finish)’	
b. L<LH> with break in middle of final syllable		
<i>final CvC</i>		
<i>pèrèy</i>	‘caïlcédrat tree’	
<i>jàmseý</i>	‘grass sp.’	
<i>ðsðy</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Grewia</i>)	
<i>cìrgéy</i>	‘spike, point (of spear)’	
<i>morphologically composite</i>		
<i>gù:-gǔ:</i>	‘shrub sp.’ (<i>Calotropis</i>)	
<i>â-kí:</i>	‘edible winged termites’	
c. H.L with break at syllable boundary		
<i>final Cv:</i>		
<i>wúrò:</i>	‘shrub sp.’ (<i>Salvadora</i>)	
<i>sínjì:</i>	‘knee’	
<i>kúrì:</i>	‘rosary, prayer beads’ (variant)	
d. H.L with break at syllable boundary		
<i>final CvC</i> (also a few numerals like <i>súy"ðyⁿ</i> ‘seven’)		
<i>éw"èyⁿ</i>	‘milk’	
<i>sómðyⁿ</i>	‘spices’	
<i>ðw"ðyⁿ</i>	‘cemetery’	
<i>térèw</i>	‘truth’	
<i>sádàm</i>	‘expense’	
e. H.<HL> with break in middle of final syllable		
<i>final CvC</i> (mostly Fulfulde loans)		
<i>dárþôy</i>	‘single-edged sword’	
<i>ká:fây</i>	‘sword’	
<i>póyŋgôl</i>	‘illumination (on horizon)’	
<i>tílây</i>	‘certainty’	
<i>gárþâl</i>	‘animal market’	

In bitonal trisyllabic stems that are not treated prosodically as composite, if the final syllable has only one mora, the tone break is always at the final syllable boundary (21). Some quadrisyllabic L.L.L.H cases are also included in (21), but they are most likely structured prosocially as L.L-L.H compounds.

(21)	stem	gloss
L.L.H with final monomoraic syllable		
<i>òsòrò</i>	‘baobab tree’	
<i>kèrkèlé</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Dalbergia</i>)	
<i>gàngàrá</i>	‘herb sp.’ (<i>Cassia</i>)	
<i>bìyà:kú</i>	‘guava’	
L.L.L.H with final monomoraic syllable		
<i>dòŋ-gòm-dò:rú</i>	‘burry herb sp.’ (<i>Pupalia</i>)	
<i>kàmàkòrò</i>	‘vine sp.’ (<i>Leptadenia</i>)	
<i>àsápèrú</i>	‘herb sp.’ (<i>Cassia</i>)	
H.H.L		
<i>kóngólù</i>	‘doum palm’	
<i>tí-táwrù</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Boscia</i>)	
<i>sátéllè</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Bauhinea</i>)	
<i>ná:fígù</i>	‘trouble-maker’	

However, there are a minority of trisyllabic /LH/ noun stems that shift tones **after the first syllable** (22). I suspect that most of these examples are etymologically composite (L-HH with L-toned initial). *ànsá:rá* is borrowed and was probably contracted from *àñísá:rá as in some other local languages.

(22)	stem	gloss
L.H.H		
<i>cèmkúsú</i>	‘tall herb sp.’ (<i>Sesbania</i>)	
<i>sàsɔŋɔm</i>	‘grass sp.’ (<i>Aristida</i>)	
<i>sùpúrgú</i>	‘nightjars’	
<i>tàwéré</i>	‘ducks’	
<i>ànsá:rá</i>	‘white people’	

As with bisyllabics, if the final syllable is bimoraic, there may be (in theory) a lexical choice in trisyllabic nouns between having tone breaks at the final syllable boundary, or in the middle of the final syllable, though good examples (not composite prosodically) are difficult to find. In most cases the break is in the middle of the final syllable (23).

(23)	stem	gloss
L.L.<LH> or L.L.L.<LH> with tone break in middle of final syllable		
<i>bà:rⁿàm(-)bǎm</i>	‘tall grass sp.’ (<i>Panicum</i>)	
<i>pùtùm(-)pǔ:</i>	‘herb sp.’ (<i>Commelina</i>)	
<i>èsègèrēy</i>	‘lemon grass sp.’	
H.H.<HL> with tone break in middle of final syllable		
<i>báláŋgál</i>	‘donkey-cart poles’	

3.7.1.6 Tone-Component location for tri- and quadri-tonal noun stems

Leaving compounds aside, /LHL/ is moderately common as a tone melody for nouns and other non-verb stems. There are also several cases of /HLH/.

Bisyllabic /LHL/ may be realized as L.<LH> (24a) or <LH>.L (24b-c). The difference between L.<LH> and <LH>.L usually correlates with syllabic structure. If the final syllable ends in a long vowel, we get L.<LH> (24a); if the final syllable is monomoraic, we get <LH>.H (24b). Judging from (24c), a final sonorant (or at least a final semivowel) is disregarded.

(24)	stem	gloss
a. L.<HL>, ends in long vowel		
<i>inanimate</i>		
<i>òmdō:</i>	‘tamarind’	
<i>kùrō:</i>	‘wild grape’ (<i>Lannea</i>)	
<i>m᷑:rⁿ᷑:</i>	‘wild date’ (<i>Balanites</i>)	
<i>jimbē:</i>	‘shrub sp.’ (<i>Feretia</i>)	
<i>animate</i>		
<i>ènjé:</i>	‘chickens’ (Sg <i>ènjé-m</i>)	
<i>cèŋgū:</i>	‘agama lizards’ (Sg <i>cèŋgū-m</i>)	
b. <LH>.L, ends in short vowel		
<i>kěrsù</i>	‘grass sp.’ (<i>Cynodon</i>)	
<i>yǔ:rù</i>	‘sand foxes’	
c. <LH>.L (disregarding cpd initial), ends in CvC syllable		
<i>gà:yⁿ-k᷑:lòy</i>	‘tree sp.’ (<i>Ficus sur</i>)	
<i>kèlè-p᷑:lày</i>	‘spleen’	

However, there is something circular about the correlation of tone contour with final vowel length. This is because a word-final short-voweled /C^Y/ can be easily lengthened to /C^Y:/ by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). One could therefore posit underlying /òmdō:/ etc. for (24a), with the same syllabic and moraic structure as e.g. *kěrsù* in (24b). The animate nouns ‘chickens’ and ‘agama lizards’ in (24a) have singulars with suffix *-m* after a short vowel.

Examples of the /LHL/ melody with noun stems of three or four syllables are in (25). If the final syllable is short, we get (L.)L.H.L (25a). If the final syllable has a long vowel, we

get L.L.<HL>. The data on nouns with a final short vowel plus semivowel are too sparse to allow generalizations (25c-d).

(25)	stem	gloss
a. L.H.L or L.L.H.L, ends in short vowel		
	<i>màŋgórò</i>	'mango'
	<i>sèkúrù</i>	'bush sp.' (<i>Hibiscus</i>)
	<i>gà:ní:kò</i>	'tree sp.' (<i>Celtis</i>)
	<i>lásá:sù</i>	'rifle'
	<i>sàrⁿákúyò</i>	'squirrels'
	<i>tàbàtéru</i>	'colubrid snake sp.'
	<i>wògòtórò</i>	'donkey cart'
b. L.L.<HL> or L.L.L.<HL>, ends in long vowel		
	<i>mù-mùrⁿû:</i>	'scorpions'
	<i>èdùnû:</i>	'owls'
	<i>àságùsɔ:</i>	'tree sp.' (<i>Combretum</i>)
c. L.H.L, ends in short vowel plus semivowel		
	<i>kànárⁿày</i>	'watermelon'
	<i>tùŋgírèy</i>	'segment'
	<i>sòŋjòⁿòyⁿ</i>	'spine'

So much for /LHL/. The other tritolal pattern, /HLH/, is less common. The examples known to me are in (26). They are of the type (H).H.<LH>, with rising tone in the final syllable. The final <LH>-toned syllable drops to L-tone before an H-tone, and is pronounced as a more or less level mid-tone prepausally. That the final syllable is structurally <LH> is brought out by the fact that a following possesum (or noun-based postposition) has {HL} rather than {L} tone overlay. See §3.7.4.5 for the phonology.

(26)	stem	gloss
H.<LH>		
<i>plants</i>		
	<i>bá:rⁿám</i>	'tree sp. (<i>Acacia nilotica</i>)'
	<i>bísém</i>	'tree sp. (<i>Acacia tortilis</i>)'
	<i>nórⁿɔyⁿ</i>	'néré tree (<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>)'
	<i>séwrém</i>	'tree sp. (<i>Cassia sieberiana</i>)'
	<i>dáŋgéy</i>	'grass sp. (<i>Dactyloctenium</i>)'
	<i>múyⁿám</i>	'aromatic sedge tubers'
<i>ethnicities</i>		
	<i>púlš:</i>	'Fulbe (people)', Sg <i>púlš-m</i>
	<i>sórgš:</i>	'Bozo (people)', Sg <i>sórgš-m</i>
	<i>jémbě:</i>	'blacksmiths', Sg <i>jémbě-m</i>
<i>other nouns</i>		
	<i>bú:sám</i>	'marrow'
	<i>húkúm</i>	'tent'

<i>déwr̥em</i>	‘pit-trap’
<i>só:r̥m</i>	‘upstairs’
	H.H.<LH>
<i>pórúyőm</i>	‘bush sp. (<i>Pergularia tomentosa</i>)’
<i>sémégẽm</i>	‘tree sp. (<i>Acacia seyal</i>)’

I know of three bisyllabic <LH>.<LH> nouns, all flora terms: *yámbõm* ‘tree sp. (*Gyrocarpus americanus*)’, *đ:mbõm* ‘grass sp. (*Andropogon gayanus*)’, and *kě:lěy* ‘tree sp. (*Cola cordifolia*)’. It is possible that these, or at least the first two, are analysed (by native speakers) as compounds prosodically.

We can summarize the analysis of tone-element positioning in nouns as follows: the tone breaks are located as far to the right as possible, but there is some variation as to whether break points occur at syllable or mora boundaries in cases where the two can be distinguished.

3.7.1.7 Possibility of lexically /L/-toned nouns

Most apparently /LH/-toned animate nonmonosyllabic noun stems that end in a short vowel are **arguably lexically L-toned** with a final H-tone added by phonological rule (to satisfy an output constraint against all-low stems). The examples in (27a) simply add singular *-m* to the final-H-toned stem. By contrast, those in (27b), which constitute a majority, have singulars with final-syllable rising tone (with the H-tone on the suffixal *-m*). One could argue that the stems in (27b) lack a lexical H-tone.

(27)	plural	singular	gloss
a.	<i>wàrú</i>	<i>wàrú-m</i>	‘antelope sp.’
	<i>mùnjú</i>	<i>mùnjú-m</i>	‘Mossi’ (ethnicity)
	<i>tèŋú</i>	<i>tèŋú-m</i>	‘Tengou’ (ethnicity)
	<i>bìr̥'ì-pìgìrí</i>	<i>bìr̥'ì-pìgìrí-m</i>	‘spotted skink sp.’
b.	<i>àwⁿá</i>	<i>àwⁿá-m</i>	‘aardvark’
	<i>àwá</i>	<i>àwá-m</i>	‘snake’
	<i>ùlú</i>	<i>ùlú-m</i>	‘whiptail lizard’
	<i>ànjá</i>	<i>ànjá-m</i>	‘tree snake sp.’
	<i>àrⁿà-mòr̥ó</i>	<i>àrⁿà-mòr̥ó-m</i>	‘grey heron’
	<i>sèrù-kùwⁿá</i>	<i>sèrù-kùwⁿá-m</i>	‘crowned crane’
	<i>ìnjé</i>	<i>ìnjé-m</i>	‘dog’
	<i>gùlš</i>	<i>gùlš-m</i>	‘slave’
	<i>nì-nìwⁿé</i>	<i>nì-nìwⁿé-m</i>	‘cat’
	<i>pèré</i>	<i>pèré-m</i>	‘sheep’
	<i>kòlòró</i>	<i>kòlòró-m</i>	‘genet (mammal)’
	<i>àsèmbé</i>	<i>àsèmbé-m</i>	‘striped skink’
	<i>sàrⁿà-gàlàrà</i>	<i>sàrⁿà-gàlàrà-m</i>	‘mongoose sp.’
	<i>àbù:ló</i>	<i>àbù:ló-m</i>	‘spotted skink sp.’
	<i>á-kùngùr̥ó</i>	<i>á-kùngùr̥ó-m</i>	‘giant tortoise’

/

If we were to decide to represent these stems as /L-toned lexically, there would be no reason not to do the same for inanimate nouns and kin terms that have LH-tones with the H-tone on the final mora.

3.7.2 Grammatical tone patterns

3.7.2.1 Grammatical tones for verb stems

Verbs have a **bare stem** that is used in most aspect-negation categories (but not the derived stative or the imperative). Verbs are lexically either /H/-toned, or have a rising tone pattern /LH/ with the rise on the final syllable.

In the perfective negative (suffix *-tí-*), and in the unsuffixed perfective, regular verbs undergo **tone-dropping** to {L}. The exception is the irregular verb *jé:-* ‘bring’, which preserves its unique /LHL/ melody in both of these morphological contexts.

Modifications of the tone melody of the bare stem also occur in several other inflections. In the unsuffixed imperfective, monosyllabics and bimoraic bisyllabics shift to {H}-toned stems if not already lexically /H/. Within the perfective system, the reduplicated perfective and the reduplicated stative have an {HL} overlay on the stem (following the reduplicative segment).

Significant tonal changes also occur in the imperative and hortative forms.

3.7.2.2 Grammatical tones for noun stems

When they are present, tone overlays on noun stems completely erase lexical melodies.

Nouns undergo **tone-dropping** to {L} when followed by a reference-restricting modifier (adjective, demonstrative pronoun); see §6.1.4. Thus *isè:* ‘village’, *isè:^L èsú* ‘a good village’, *i isè:^L ñgá* ‘that-Distant village’. There is no tone-dropping before definite singular *kù* or definite plural *bù:*, which are only borderline reference restrictors.

When a noun has escaped tone-dropping from such NP-internal controllers, if the NP functions as **head NP of a relative clause**, the noun drops its tones. Therefore in a relative like ‘a village that I know’ or ‘the village that is on top of the hill’, *isè:* ‘village’ will appear as *isè:* even without a following adjective or demonstrative. This is best modeled by having the relative clause (another reference restrictor) originate as a postnominal modifier, then allowing the portion of the overall NP to the left of the relative clause move down/rightward into the relativization site, but only after tone-dropping §14.1.1.

In some kinds of **compounds**, a nominal compound initial drops its tones; see §5.1.1-3.

Nouns, and more generally core NPs (also including, for example, an adjective) have an {HL} or {L} overlay when **preceded by a possessor**. In the case of {HL}, the H-tone element is confined to the first syllable of a bisyllabic or longer noun, or to the first mora of a monosyllabic noun (*Cv:* or *CvC*). This {HL} contour is clearly heard when the possessor ends in an H-tone, as in *í^{HL} isè:* ‘your-Sg village’. When the possessor ends in an L-tone, we get an apparent {L} overlay, as in *í^L isè:* ‘your-Pl village’. One can argue whether this is a true {L} overlay, or is the more general {HL} possessed-noun contour plus an idiosyncratic tone-assimilation process applying (locally) to the first syllable of the possessed noun, deleting the H-tone. See §3.7.3.4 for discussion.

3.7.2.3 Grammatical tones for adjectives and numerals

A modifying (i.e. NP-internal) adjective not followed by a reference restrictor (another adjective or a demonstrative) has its regular tones in most syntactic environments. The same is true of all cardinal numerals.

An adjective that is followed by another modifying adjective in the same NP drops its tones, as a noun would in the same position. Therefore only the final word in a core NP (noun plus adjectives) escapes tone-dropping.

In adjectival predicates with following ‘be’ verb *bâ-*, the final mora of the adjective shifts to H-tone, with some further adjustments. The adjective ends up with H- or LH-tones at word level. The phonological analysis depends on whether the adjectival stems (minus nominal suffixes) are assumed to have /H/ and /LH/ melodies, or are assumed to have /HL/ and /LHL/. See §11.4.1.

If a demonstrative pronoun follows a core NP, the final word in the core NP is tone-dropped. See (124a-c) in §6.5.2.

Numerals do not interact tonally with a preceding core NP. Therefore in e.g. [[house^L big] [two]] ‘two big houses’, there is no tonal interaction between the numeral and the core NP, and both have the same tones they would have elsewhere. However, a demonstrative pronoun following the numeral forces simultaneous tone-dropping on the numeral and on (the last word of) the core NP. For example, in [[[house big]^L [two^L]] that] ‘those two big houses’, the demonstrative forces tone-dropping on both ‘big’ and ‘two’. For an example see (125b) in §6.5.2.

Any modifying adjectives and/or numerals in a NP are bundled together with the noun in constituting the target domain of the possessed-noun tone overlay required by a preceding possessor. Since the possessed-noun overlay is {HL} or {L}, and since the initial H-tone in {HL} never extends beyond the first syllable of the noun, the effect is that a modifying adjective or a numeral in the tonal scope of a possessor always appears in L-toned form. A complicating factor is that the order of adjective and numeral may be inverted in the presence of a possessor. See, for example, (102a-e) in §6.2.3.

A modifying adjective or a numeral that has dodged all of these bullets is still subject to stem-wide tone-dropping when the NP in question is the head of a relative clause (§14.1.1).

3.7.3 Tonal morphophonology

3.7.3.1 Autosegmental tone association (verbs)

Verbs, whether underived or suffixally derived (e.g. causative, reversive), may have a lexical all-high /H/ or rising /LH/ tone melody. In the /LH/ case, the break between the L- and H-toned portions is at the onset of the stem-final syllable. In cases like *wàsá-* ‘remain’ and its causative *wàsà-wú-* (the latter often subsequently apocopated to *wàsà-w̄*), we see that the /LH/ melody is (re-)applied to the derived trisyllabic stem, there being no tonal trace of an earlier cycle with an H-tone on the *sa* syllable.

As in e.g. Jamsay, this suggests an autosegmental analysis with /LH/ on a tonal tier separate from the segmental tier.

3.7.3.2 Phonology of {HL} and {LH} tone overlays

We start with {HL}. Lexically /HL/-toned nouns position the tone break near the right edge. For example, trisyllabic nouns have syllable sequence H.H.L if the final syllable is light, and either H.H.L or H.H.<HL> if the final syllable is heavy (§3.7.1.5).

However, tonosyntactic {HL} overlay works differently. The main context for this overlay is the possessor-controlled {HL} on possessed nouns (the target domain includes an adjective, and under some conditions a following numeral), see §6.2. {HL} is also overlaid on adjectives in comparative clauses after *mégré* ‘more, most’ (§12.1.1). There is also a type of ‘while VERB-ing’ clause involving {HL} overlaid on an imperfective verb (§15.2.1.5), and the reduplicated perfective has {HL} on the base following L-toned reduplicant, §10.2.1.9.

If the domain targeted for {HL} has more than one syllable, the H-tone is positioned on the initial syllable and the L-tone is spread out over the remaining syllables. Thus in *ú túŋgùrùm* ‘your-Sg stool’, the initial H-tone is coterminous with the syllable [tun]. If the target domain is monosyllabic, the {HL} overlay is, as we would expect, realized as a falling tone: *ú^{HL} bêyⁿ* ‘your-Sg beard’, phonetically [úbêyⁿ] with the L-tone on the final semivowel.

Although a modifying adjective following the noun is included in the target domain of the possessed-noun tone overlay controlled by the possessor, the boundary between the noun and the adjective is still recognized. For example, a monosyllabic noun like *néyⁿ* ‘meal’ has falling tone in (28c), even though an adjective follows. If the boundary between the noun and the adjective were not recognized, so that the segmental string /nèyⁿdumdɔ:/ were treated as an undifferentiated unit, we would have expected that the tone break between the H and the L of the {HL} overlay would have occurred at the syllable boundary (#*ú néyⁿ dumdɔ:*), as in e.g. *ú ársè:* ‘your animal’.

- (28) a. *néyⁿ*
meal
- b. *ú* ^{HL}*nêyⁿ*
2SgPoss ^{HL}meal
'your-Sg meal'
- c. *ú* ^{HL}[*nêyⁿ* ^{HL}*dùmdɔ:*]
2SgPoss [meal last]
'your-Sg last meal'

Lexically /LH/-toned trisyllabic noun stems are usually realized as L.L.H, or L.L.<LH> if the final syllable is heavy, but there are a number of cases of L.H.H (perhaps mainly frozen *L-HH compounds), see §3.7.1.5. /LH/-toned trisyllabic verb stems likewise appear as L.L.H with the tone break near the right edge.

The same bias is found in tonosyntactically controlled {LH} overlays. This pattern occurs in the final of agentive compounds, as in *tògorò-[tògùrú-m]* ‘meat-chewer’ (§5.1.3) from verb *tógoró-* ‘chew’.

3.7.3.3 Tone-Grafting (1Sg possessor)

The only clear case of a floating tone that must be grafted (or docked) onto an adjacent morpheme is the 1Sg possessor morpheme. Possessors precede possessed nouns, and pronominal possessors control {HL} overlay on the possessum, with the H-tone on the first syllable (or the first mora of a monosyllabic stem).

The 1Sg possessor morpheme is a floating L-tone, so when it is grafted onto the left edge of the possessed noun, the possessed noun ends up with {LHL}, analysable as L+{HL}. If the noun is monosyllabic, this produces an <LHL> syllable. If the noun has more than one syllable, we get rising tone on the first syllable, then L-tones starting with the second syllable.

(29)	noun	gloss	possessed {HL}	'my ...'
a.	<i>nă:</i>	'hand'	<i>nă:</i>	<i>nă:</i>
b.	<i>túngúrúm</i>	'stool'	<i>túngùrùm</i>	<i>túngùrùm</i>
c.	<i>bánàkù:</i>	'cassava'	<i>bánàkù:</i>	<i>bánàkù:</i>

The articulatorily and perceptually difficult case is (29c), because the 1Sg possessor form has a rising tone on a nonfinal monomoraic *Cv* syllable. On occasion the H-tone element spills slightly into the onset of the second syllable, which makes it easier for an addressee to catch the bell-shaped LHL-tones. I have also noticed pronunciations, especially in elicitation, where an initial voiced consonant, especially {*b m*}, is slightly prolonged, again making it easier to hear the tones.

3.7.3.4 Phonology of possessed noun tone overlays

A possessed noun, with or without a following adjective and/or numeral, is subject to an overlay {HL} or {L}. Some syntactic types of possessor require {HL} on the possessum. Other syntactic types of possessor require either {HL} or {L} on the possessum, depending on whether the possessor itself ends in an H- or L-tone.

The basic rules for choosing between {HL} and {L} overlay on the possessum are these. First, if the possessor is a **determined NP**, defined here as one ending in definite *kù* or in a non-numeral quantifier such as plural *bè*, it controls {HL} on the possessum. An example is *[úrò bè] ^{HL}yí-té:* '(the) children of (the) houses', for markup see (93a) in §6.2.1. Further examples are in (31) below. Second, if the possessor is a **pronoun** or an **undetermined NP**, i.e. one ending in a noun, adjective, or numeral, its final tone (L or H) determines the form of the overlay. Final L on possessor requires {L} on possessum, as in *á:mádù ^Lúrò* 'Amadou's house' (91a). Final H on possessor requires {HL} on possessum, as in *yá-m ^{HL}úrò* '(the) woman's house' (92a).

The same distribution of {H} and {HL} overlays on the possessum occur when the possessor is an N-Adj or N-Num combination, as long as there is no following definite morpheme or non-numeral quantifier. Therefore *isé:* 'village' as possessum appears as ^{HL}*ísé:* or ^L*ísé:* after N-Adj (30a-b) or N-Num (30c-d), depending on the final tone of the preceding word. If the possessor is itself possessed, like 'your uncle' in (30e), the final possessum

(‘village’) always has {L} overlay, but this is only because the medial possessum (‘uncle’) itself has {HL} or {L} overlay and therefore always ends in an L-tone.

- (30) a. *[àrⁿà^L díyⁿà] L^L ìsè:*
 [man.Pl^L big.Pl]^L village
 ‘a big men’s village’ (=a village of big [=old] men)
- b. *[àrⁿà^L èsú] L^L HL^{HL} ìsè:*
 [man.Pl^L good.Pl]^L village
 ‘a big men’s village’ (=a village of good men)
- c. *[árⁿà kúròy] L^L ìsè:*
 [man.Pl six]^L village
 ‘a village of six men’
- d. *[árⁿà tà:nú] HL^{HL} ìsè:*
 [man.Pl three]^{HL} village
 ‘a village of three men’
- e. *[ú HL lésù] HL^{HL} L^L ìsè:*
 [2SgPoss HL uncle]^{HL} village
 ‘your-Sg uncle’s village’

Only {HL} overlay is allowed when the possessor ends in plural *bè* (31a-b) or definite *kù* (31c), so we get strictly the {HL} overlay on *HL* *ìsè:* in spite of the L-tones of these particles.

- (31) a. *[ú HL lésù HL bè] HL^{HL} ìsè:*
 [2SgPoss HL uncle Pl]^{HL} village
 ‘your-Sg uncles’ village’
- b. *[péré HL bè] HL^{HL} ìsè:*
 [sheep Pl]^{HL} village
 ‘a village of sheep-Pl’
- c. *[[árⁿà-m kù] HL^{HL} ìsè:]*
 [[man-AnSg Def]^{HL} village
 ‘the man’s village’

One might assume that {HL} on the possessum is also controlled by a postnominal demonstrative (‘this’, ‘that’). This is correct, but since all such demonstratives end in an H-tone (§4.4.1) we can’t be certain that their final tones are not a factor.

One might speculate that the (historical) reason why definite *kù* and plural *bè* allow following {HL}-toned possessums is that they were originally H-toned **kú* and **bé*. Definite *kù* is etymologically an offshoot of near-distant demonstrative *kú*, and the definite marker is still heard with H-tone in a few combinations, for example with ‘it is’ clitic in *[árⁿà-m kú]=m* ‘it’s the (aforementioned) man’ (333b) in §11.2.1.1. Likewise, *bè* becomes *bé:* before some clitics and simple postpositions, see (127) in §6.6. But these H-toned forms are vestigial, and there is no phonological process in BenT that would account for dropping

underlying H-tones to L in these morphemes. In most contexts, definite *kù* is distinct from near-distant *kú*, precisely by their tones (§4.4.1). So the fact that NP-final *kù* and *bè* control {HL} overlay is synchronically a morphosyntactic fact.

Still, one is tempted to unify the {HL} and {L} melodies, taking one of them as underlying and the other as derived by a tone sandhi process, even if morphosyntactically conditioned. Since {HL} has the broader distribution, we could take it as basic and derive {L} by a tone-sandhi rule (perhaps called “Initial H-Tone Suppression”) of the type L#HL → L#LL, essentially a tone-flattening process by which the final L-tone of the first word spreads into the second word, killing its initial H.

There are scattered examples elsewhere in the grammar of more or less similar alternations. *mégé* ‘more’ can be lowered to *mègè* after a dative comparandum, which always ends in an L-tone. However, the tone-lowering here is optional (§12.1.1). A better comparison is with the alternation of <HL> and L-toned forms of conjugated ‘it is’ clitics matching the final tone of the preceding noun, e.g. 1Sg =*m-í-ŷⁿ* versus =*m-ì-ŷⁿ* (§11.2.1.2). This could be analysed as an L#HL → L#LL process. However, here too it is unclear whether the HL-toned or L-toned forms are more basic. Moreover, there is no regular L#HL → L#LL process in BenT. This is shown by the persistence of initial H-tone on the stative negative clitic in 1Sg *X=ṁ=dá-ŷ* ‘I am not X’, and in 3Pl *X=rá-bó* ‘they are not X’ after L-tone as in *injé:=Ø=rá-bó* ‘they are not dogs’ (§11.2.1.5-6). Unpossessed nouns with lexical /HL/ melody (§3.7.1.3) do not lose their H-tone after a word ending in L. So an L#HL → L#LL process, if we posit one, would have to be quite severely morphologically restricted. This makes it difficult to argue that such a tone sandhi process should be separated from the overlay process itself.

The other way to reduce {HL} and {L} to one basic overlay is to choose {L} for this honor. In this case, the {HL} version require a tone sandhi rule of the type H#LL → H#HL, i.e. a rightward spreading of a final H-tone into the onset of an L-toned word. Again, however, this would have to be sharply restricted morphologically, to possessed NPs and to the ‘it is’ clitic paradigm. Elsewhere there are many combinations of H-final word and following L-initial word, as in *ú [nù]^L yàyá-só-ṁ kù* ‘you-Sg who fell’ (427) or *gàmbú dùwò-y:* ‘we left some’ (110b). Many African languages have productive H#LL → H#HL processes, but not BenT.

I therefore see no good alternative to the complex, two-part rule formulated above, making reference both to syntactic type of the possessor and, if the possessor is an undetermined nonpronominal NP, the final tone of the possessor.

See §6.2.1 for more detail.

3.7.3.5 Atonal-Syllabic-Suffix Tone-Spreading

The 3Pl pronominal-subject suffix has a wide range of allomorphs depending on the AN category (-*bó*, -*yé*, etc.). Of interest here is the 3Pl perfective-1b form -*tí-yà*. The perfective-1b suffix is /-t̄i-/ (3Sg -*t̄i-*-Ø with an extra mora added, 1Sg -*tí-ŷ*, 2Sg -*tú-w*, etc.). The general tonal structure of verbal inflectional suffixes suggests that 3Pl -*ya* (like most other pronominal-subject suffixes) is atonal, acquiring its tone from the preceding morpheme. To get from /-t̄i-ya/ to -*tí-yà*, the L-tone part of the HL-tone in /-t̄i-/ must be delinked from the perfective-1b suffix and must be transferred to the 3Pl ending -*ya*.

Arguably, the same thing is going on in the recent perfect, with suffix /-jé-/. The 3Pl form appears as -*j-â:*, which could be derived from /-jé-a/ via /-jé-â/.

A similar process may be at work in a suffix *-ma*, which occurs both as yet another 3Pl subject allomorph, in experiential perfect *-tâ-mâ* (§10.2.1.7), and as a participial suffix for (animate) plural head NP in perfective relative clauses (§14.1.6.1). If we represent the experiential perfect suffix as *-tâ-* with <HL> tone, its other forms (*-tâ-m*, *-tâ-w*) are analysable as having atonal suffixes. One could envision a similar analysis for *-tâ-mâ*, namely as underlying /-tâ-mâ/, the only difference being that this time the final L-tone element is realized on a syllabic suffix.

3.7.4 Low-level tone rules

3.7.4.1 Contour-Tone Mora-Addition

At the end of a word, a mora is added to a final short-voweled *Cv* syllable, lengthening its vowel, to allow a contour (i.e. non-level) tone to be articulated with ease. Contour tones are <HL>, <LH>, and <LHL>. In the case of final <LH>, lengthening is pre-empted when the preceding syllable is L-toned. In this case, Final-*Cv* <LH>-to-H Reduction (§3.7.4.3) applies, simplifying the final <LH> to H, at which point there is no contour tone and therefore no basis for adding a mora (i.e. lengthening the vowel).

Contour-Tone Mora-Addition is observable in verbal morphology, when an aspect-negation (AN) suffix of the shape /-Câ-/ is followed by 3Sg (zero) pronominal-subject ending. The relevant suffixes are perfective-1b /-tî-/ (§10.2.1.5) and recent perfect /-jê-/ (§10.2.1.8). The 3Sg forms are heard as *-tî:-Ø* and *-jê:-Ø*, respectively, which show the extra mora in the form of vowel length. For the underlying short vowel of the AN suffixes, cf. e.g. 3Pl perfective-1b *-tí-yâ* and 2Sg recent perfect *-jé-w*.

All cases of this type in verbal morphology involve falling tone. In nouns and adjectives, examples with rising as well as falling tone can be adduced. ‘Woman’ is an example of rising tone. In singular *yâ-m*, the suffixal sonorant is sufficient to carry to final H-tone element, but in the unsuffixed plural /yâ/ there is no such cushion, so the vowel is lengthened and we get *yâ:* ‘women’. A bisyllabic example is /púlš/ ‘Fulbe (ethnic group)’, where singular *púlš-m* corresponds to plural *púlš:*. However, if the penult is L-toned, lengthening does not apply to a final rising tone, which instead shifts to H-tone as mentioned earlier. An example is /injé/ ‘dog’ with singular *injě-m* and plural *injé*. A final short <HL> vowel in a noun stem is lengthened in all available examples, which are either monosyllabic, or nommonosyllabic with L-toned penult: /ô/ ‘mouse’ with singular *ô-m* and plural *ô:*, /cèngû/ ‘agama lizard’ with singular *cèngû-m* and plural *cèngû:*.

Adjectives are treated like nouns as far as the data reveal. Adjectives: /pě-/ ‘old’ with animate singular *pě-m* and animate plural *pě:*, /nà:r"â/ ‘easy, cheap’ with animate singular *nà:r"â-m* and animate plural *nà:r"â:*. The only relevant numeral is ‘one’, and here the data are somewhat tricky, as both *tùw"ɔ:* and *tùw"ɔ* are attested (in different senses) alongside *tùw"ɔ-m*, see §4.7.1.1.

There is no lengthening of vowels in non-final syllables. Contour tones are rare in monomoraic nonfinal syllables, but they can be created secondarily by adding the 1Sg possessor morpheme (floating L-tone) to a noun. The result is a noun whose first syllable begins with LH tones, as in *úrò* ‘my house’ (*úrò* ‘house’). Speakers have difficult articulating the contour tone on the first syllable (the H-tone element may spill into the onset of the second syllable), but I have never observed lengthening of the first-syllable vowel to accommodate the contour tone.

3.7.4.2 Contour-Tone Stretching

In cases where a vowel-final stem is followed by an atonal suffix consisting of a (sonorant) consonant, such as 1Sg *-y*, 1Pl *-y..*, 2Sg *-w*, or 2Pl *-w..* in inflected verbs, or (animate) singular *-m* for nouns and adjectives, the tone of the stem-final vowel spreads to the end of the syllable. This is phonetically trivial when the tone in question is a simple high or a simple low. When it is a contour tone (falling, rising, or <LHL>), the **final tone gravitates toward the suffixal sonorant**. For example, recent perfect *-jē-* combines with (atonal) 2Sg *-w* as *-jé-w*, where the pitch drop is roughly coterminous with the final semivowel. Likewise, in *yā-m* ‘woman’ from noun stem /yā/ plus (atonal) animate singular *-m*, the H-tone peaks on the suffixal nasal.

3.7.4.3 Final-*Cv* <LH>-to-H Reduction (after L-tone)

A few nonmonosyllabic animate noun stems ending in **short vowels** have an L-toned penult, and a final short syllable that has <LH>-tone when animate singular *-m* is present but becomes H-toned when unsuffixed (i.e. in the plural). Example: *injē-m* ‘dog’, plural *injé*. See (37c) in §4.1.1, below.

It seems reasonable to posit lexical representations of the type /injē/ with a rising-toned short final vowel. When a suffix consisting of a sonorant consonant is added, the rising tone is articulated over the now bimoraic final syllable, as in *injē-m*, phonetically [indʒēm]; see Contour-Tone Stretching (§3.7.4.2), above. When there is no suffixal consonant, the rising tone cannot be articulated since the final syllable is monomoraic. If it is a falling tone as in /cèngū/ ‘agama lizards’, or if it is a rising tone following an H-toned syllable as in /jémbē/ ‘blacksmiths’, the vowel is lengthened by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (*cèngū*: ‘agama lizards’, *jémbē*: ‘blacksmiths’). This lengthening is pre-empted in stems like ‘dog’, i.e. those with underlying final /...Cv(C)Cv/, by Final-*Cv* <LH>-to-H Reduction, resulting in final ...CvCv.

Another type of final <LH>-to-H raising affects **final rising-toned long vowels** in nonmonosyllabic stems that are followed by a word beginning in an H-tone. Examples of the words affected are *yārī*: ‘sky’, *kōmbī*: ‘burrow, animal’s hole’ (distinct from *kōmbī*: ‘shell’), and *àrsē*: ‘(livestock) animal’. The raising seems to be most consistent before monosyllabic postpositions (locative *wō*) and similar clitic-like elements, but it is at least optional in some other combinations.

Examples (using the nouns just listed), involving locative *wō*, are *yārī: wō* ‘in the sky’ and *kōmbī: wō* ‘in the burrow’. An example with conjunction particle *yá→* is *àrsē: yá→* ‘animals and ...’. An example with a numeral is *àrsē: kúrōy* ‘six animals’, contrast *àrsē: lēy* ‘two animals’.

<LH>-to-H raising does not apply to monosyllabic stems. For example, *mă*: ‘dry’ remains rising-toned in *gòyò mă: wō* ‘in the dry season’, as does *tă*: ‘pond’ in *tă: wō* ‘in the pond’.

3.7.4.4 <LHL>.H to downstepped <LH>.⁴H

There are few opportunities for a <(L)HL> syllable to be followed within a word by an H-toned suffix or clitic. This is because verb stems (with one exception) end in an H-tone, and because nominal suffixes are atonal (acquiring their surface tone by spreading) or L-toned.

However, there is one <LHL>-toned verb, *jé:-* bring'. When it is followed by an H-toned suffixal or clitic syllable, the verb stem simplifies to <LH> and its final L-tone is heard as downstep (partial pitch drop) on the H-toned suffix or clitic. An example is perfective negative *jé:-⁴trí-Ø* 'he/she didn't bring'. The symbol ⁴ indicates downstep of the following syllable. If the suffixal/clitic syllable is <HL>-toned, the delinking and downstep do not occur; instead, the falling tone is clearly articulated. See §10.1.3.4 for more examples.

The external conditions for downstep are also present in some complex verb forms. The most common is the imperfective negative *-m-dó-* (3Pl form *-m-n-é*) which is preceded by an H-tone (§10.2.3.3). However, in this case the L-tone does not delink; it is clearly audible on the *-m-* formative. The pitch of the following *-dó-* is usually lower than that of the preceding H-tone, so we have a kind of downdrift, but this is not quite the same as downstep.

A somewhat similar reduction of <LHL> syllable to <LH> occurs in certain combinations involving the high-frequency noun *yì-té:*, irregular plural of *yí-m* 'child' (§4.1.2), especially in *yì-té: mà:*, which can be either dative *má:* ~ ^L*mà:* (§8.3) or quotative-subject *má:* ~ ^L*mà:* (§17.1.1.1). Since both morphemes take L-toned form after an L-tone, the underlying final L-tone of *yì-té:* is manifested indirectly. Similarly, a possessum or noun-like postposition following *yì-té:* takes {L} rather than {HL} tone overlay, as it would after any common noun ending in L-tone: [*yì-té: ^Ltùlù*] *wò* 'behind (the) children'.

3.7.4.5 H.<LH> to H.M, or to H.L before H

There are a number of H.<LH> bisyllabic noun stems, see (26) in §3.7.1.6. In isolation, the structurally <LH> syllable is usually pronounced as a level mid-tone, as in *bá:rⁿám* 'tree sp. (*Acacia nilotica*)' pronounced [bá:rⁿám]. That it is structurally <LH> is shown by the fact that a following possessum, including noun-based postpositions, have {HL} rather than {L} tone overlay, which occurs when a common-noun possessor ends in an H-tone: [*bá:rⁿám* ^{HL}*túlù* ^L*wò* 'behind (a/the) acacia']. However, in this combination the noun has lost its final H-tone. *púlɔ:=Ø=rá-bó* 'they are not Fulbe (people)', see (345c) in §11.2.1.6, with H.<LH>-toned *púlɔ:* 'Fulbe (people)' followed by H-toned stative negative =*rá*, I hear [púlɔ:rābō], i.e. the *ɔ:* is not dropped to *ɔ*; and the ceiling for the pitch of H-tones is lowered.

3.8 Intonation contours

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

Especially in texts transcribed from recorded dialogues, I use arrows from time to time to indicate a conspicuous terminal intonation of a clause.

In many cases, intonation functions in BenT, as in English, to characterize the pragmatic relationship between a phrase or clause and others that it adjoins. Dogon discourse is rich in parallelistic phrasing. A final pitch rise (↑) and/or prolongation (→) is typical of nonfinal phrases in such parallel constructions; I use →↑ to indicate that both prolongation and at least

somewhat higher than usual pitch are present. The final phrase in the parallelistic progression typically has neutral or unusually low final pitch; the latter is indicated by ↴. Where the final phrase ends with intonational prolongation in addition to a low pitch, I use →↳.

Before (rather than after) a word or syllable, ↴ indicates downstep.

3.8.2 Lexically built-in intonational prolongation (→)

Many expressive adverbials have a lexically built-in intonational prolongation, symbol →. This is distinct from vowel length, as seen especially in cases like *dém*→ ‘straight’, where the prolonged segment is the final nasal, not the vowel. For examples of expressive adverbials, see §8.6.7.

3.8.3 Dying-quail word-final prosody (..)

This final-syllable prosody involves prolongation and a terminal low pitch.

In Jamsay, a conspicuous **dying-quail** intonational effect is observed on both coordinands in NP or pronoun conjunction. This is not the case in BenT conjoined NPs. Instead, in BenT the dying-quail effect is used to pluralize pronominal-subject suffixes, taking the corresponding singular as input. This is also the case in Nanga, but with many differences in detail.

The phonetic implementation of .. is also different from language to language. In Jamsay, the final syllable begins with high or low pitch depending on its phonological tone, so a pitch decline is only observable when the phonological tone is high (or falling). In Jamsay, the prolongation applies to the syllable coda, so that *Cvn* with final nasal prolongs the nasal rather than the vowel. H-toned *Cvn..* is heard as [Cvñ̩], with most of the pitch decline realized slowly as the nasal is prolonged.

In BenT, .. with pronominal-subject suffixes is realized as [HL] pitch, erasing the phonological tone, combined with lengthening of the vowel. In Nanga, the phonetic realization of .. is more complex, and in some contexts it involves the penult as well as the final syllable.

In BenT, prosodic effects of this general type (prolongation and final low pitch) are associated with plural pronouns and with their associated pronominal-subject suffixes in verbal inflection. However, there is an issue whether this is intonational (notably, with high variability in duration) or phonological (combination of ordinary tones and vowel-length).

First, consider the plural independent pronouns as they relate to the corresponding singulars (32).

(32)	person	singular	plural
first		í	î:
second		ú	û:
third		ér̩'é	bû:
logophoric/reflexive		á	â:

In three of the four persons, the plural is transparently derived from the singular by lengthening the vowel and by transitioning from high to low pitch. The remaining plural

form, *bû:*, is unrelated segmentally to the corresponding singular but shows the same prosodic shape as the other plurals. Structurally, an interesting possibility would be to transcribe the plurals as *í::*, *ú::*, *bú::*, and *á::*, with the understanding that *::* is phonetically implemented as length plus terminal low pitch. This would essentially match the Jamsay dying-quail intonational effect. Since the BenT pronouns lack coda consonants, it is moot whether the extra duration would be on such a coda consonant if present (as in Jamsay).

However, I cannot detect any consistent audible difference between the duration of the syllabic nucleus in the plural pronouns and that of ordinary stems of *CV:* shape, in similar clausal positions. Independent pronouns are always nonfinal in clauses, except in rather artificial citation-form pronunciation. In nonsubject relative clauses, these pronouns occur in immediate preverbal (i.e. preparticipial) position, so it is possible to compare their duration with those of *CV:* nouns as objects in subject relatives. The plural pronouns in (33a) directly precede the participle, as does ‘millet’ in (33b). I was unable to detect any difference in the pitch or duration of the long <HL>-toned vowels in the pronouns and in ‘millet’ in this position. Likewise, in (33a), no prosodic distinction was audible in the sequence of ‘millet’ and a plural pronoun.

- (33) a. *ùsù^L* *yû:* *û:* (*î:, bû:, â:*)
 day^L millet 2PlSbj (1PlSbj, 3PlSbj, LogoPlSbj)
 kósú-w̄ *kù*
 harvest.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the day when we (you-Pl, they, they-Logophoric) harvested the millet’
- b. *àrⁿà^L* *yû:* *kósú-m̄* *kù*
 man^L millet harvest.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the man who harvested the millet’

Similar examples, this time with a *CV:* noun (‘water’) as the comparandum, are in (34). Again, I could detect no prosodic difference between the plural pronouns and the noun.

- (34) a. *ùsù^L* *nî:* *î:* (*û:, bû:, â:*)
 day^L water 1PlSbj (2PlSbj, 3PlSbj, LogoPlSbj)
 n᷑-w̄ⁿ *kù*
 drink.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the day when we drank the water’
- b. *àrⁿà-m^L* *nî:* *n᷑-m̄* *kù*
 man^L water drink.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the man who drank the water’

3Pl *bû:* is also homophonous (to my ear) with inanimate participial *bú-w̄* from the existential-locational quasi-verb *bù-* ‘be’ (§14.1.6.3), and with 3Sg *bû:-Ø* ‘he/she/it is’ in adjectival predicates (§11.4.1).

I will therefore transcribe the plural pronouns as *î:, û:, bû:, and â:*. However, the prosodic derivation from singulars suggested above remains attractive.

The situation is different for pronominal-subject suffixes on verbs. Unlike independent pronouns, inflected verbs are clause-final (except for emphatic particles and clause-linking morphemes). Furthermore, the relevant prolongation and pitch modification occur in

noninitial syllables within the verb (or tightly-knit verb chain, if suffixally marked perfective verbs are analysed as chains). A further difference is that the pronominal-subject cases involve superheavy *C^h:C* rather than just *C^h*: syllables. Such syllables are rare even in monosyllabic stems and do not otherwise occur at the end of multisyllabic words (in the absence of a compound break). Since the terminal prosody of the relevant inflected verb forms stands out in sharp relief in this context, and since it is typically clause-final (prepausal), I consider it to be intonational in the same sense as the Jamsay dying-quail intonation on coordinands, although the phonetic implementation differs from BenT to Jamsay. I will therefore transcribe the relevant plural-subject forms as the corresponding singular-subject forms plus *..*:

This dying-quail intonation applies to 1Pl and 2Pl suffixes on indicative (but not imperative or hortative) verbs and other predicates. There is no logophoric category in verbal inflection, as logophoric subjects have the usual 3Sg and 3Pl verbal suffixes.

1Sg suffix *-y* and 2Sg *-w* are word-final in verbs, following the stem and any nonzero AN suffix. The effect is to create a final *Cv-y* or *Cv-w* syllable with “v” a short vowel. In the great majority of cases, this syllable is noninitial in the word (or tightly-chained sequence). A monosyllabic *Cv-y* or *Cv-w* inflected verb is possible when a *Cv* stem (verb or quasi-verb) is followed directly by the pronominal suffix (in the unsuffixed perfective). A monosyllabic *Cv:-y* or *Cv:-w* inflected verb occurs in similar forms of *jɛ:* ‘bring’.

The dying-quail effect is realized on 1Pl and 2Pl counterparts of these 1Sg and 2Sg forms as follows: the vowel is prolonged, and a falling [HL] pitch contour replaces the regular phonological tone of the final syllable.

(35) gives examples for 1Pl suffixes; the 2Pl forms with *-w..* are parallel prosodically. The table shows the 1Sg form in the central column. The right-hand column shows the phonetic realization of the 1Pl form, which consists structurally of the 1Sg form plus the *..* effect. Verbs in (35) are *dùyɔ* ‘pound (in a mortar, to dislodge grains from grain spike)’ in several forms, *ló* ‘go’ (perfective-1a), and *bì-yé* ‘lie down’ (statives).

(35) Dying-quail intonation for 1Pl suffixes

	1Sg	1Pl (i.e. 1Sg plus <i>..</i>)
a. Sg <i>C^h-y</i> > Pl [<i>C^h:-j</i>]		
‘have’ (H-toned)	<i>yá só-y</i>	[jásô:j]
‘be there’	<i>yá bú-y</i>	[jábû:j]
b. Sg <i>C^h-y</i> > Pl [<i>C^h:-j</i>]		
progressive	<i>dùyɔ:-rà-y</i>	[dùjɔ:râ:j]
perfective-1a	<i>ló:-rè-y</i>	[ló:rê:j]
reduplicated stative	<i>bì-bíyè-y</i>	[bìbíjê:j]
simple stative	<i>yá bí-yé-y</i>	[jábíjê:j]
c. Sg <i>C^h-y</i> > Pl [<i>C^h:-j</i>]		
unsuffixed perfective	<i>dùyɔ-ỳ</i>	[dùjɔ:ỳ]
perfective negative	<i>dùyɔ-rí-ỳ</i>	[dùjɔ:rí:ỳ]
perfective-1b	<i>dùyɔ-tí-ỳ</i>	[dùjɔ:tí:ỳ]
experiential perfect	<i>dùyɔ-tá-ỳ</i>	[dùjɔ:tâ:ỳ]
resultative	<i>dùyɔ-só-ỳ</i>	[dùjɔ:sô:ỳ]
recent perfect	<i>dùyɔ-jé-ỳ</i>	[dùjɔ:jé:ỳ]

unsuffixed imperfective	<i>dúyɔ́-ŷ</i>	[dújâ:j]
imperfective negative	<i>dúyɔ́-m̄-dó-ŷ</i>	[dújóm̄dô:j]
past imperfective	<i>dúyɔ́-m̄=bè-y</i>	[dújóm̄bê:j]
past stative	<i>(bì-)bí-yé-w=bé-ŷ</i>	[(bì)bíjéwbê:j]
stative negative	<i>bì-yè-w=rá-ŷ</i>	[bijèwrâ:j]
progressive negative	<i>dùyɔ́:-rà=rá-ŷ</i>	[dùjó:ràrà:j]
‘not have’	<i>sò-ló-y</i>	[sòlô:j]
adjectival predicate	<i>mòsú bú-ŷ</i>	[mòsúbû:j]
‘be (a child)’ (copula)	<i>yí-m=m-í-ŷⁿ</i>	[jím:î:j ⁿ]
‘be (a Fulbe)’ (copula)	<i>púlɔ̄-m=m-í-ŷⁿ</i>	[púlôm:î:j ⁿ]
‘not be (somewhere)’	<i>ŋgó-ŷ</i>	[ŋgô:j]

Whether the 1Sg form has a final syllable with H-tone (35a), L-tone (35b), or <HL>-tone (35c), the 1Pl has <HL>-tone. In other words, ∴ erases the input tone on this syllable. The vowel (but not the suffixal semivowel) is also noticeably prolonged; in (35c) prolongation is the only audible change from the 1Sg.

To determine whether the dying-quail effect can be expressed by regular phonological vowel-length and regular falling tone, it would be necessary to compare the forms in the 1Pl column of (34) with other *Cv:y* and *Cv:w* syllables in comparable positions in the word and the clause. Such syllables do occur in noun and verb stems, but only in a limited number of surface monosyllabics. All verbs of these (apparent) shapes are really bisyllabic *Cv:yi* and *Cv:wu*, respectively.

Among true nouns, the only examples of *Cv:y* and *Cv:w* stems known to me are *tă:yⁿ* ‘shed’, *pđ:yⁿ* ‘fonio (a cultivated grain)’, *dúwâ:w* ‘blessing’ (<Arabic), and *jìrè-jě:yⁿ* as cognate nominal in the collocation *jìrè-jě:yⁿ jě:yⁿí* ‘glare at’. ‘Shed’ and ‘fonio’ are frozen diminutives with *-ýⁿ, see §5.1.4. There are also a few *Cv:-m* nouns including the animate singular suffix, e.g. *nă:-m* ‘cow’ and *ă:ⁿ-m* ‘monitor lizard’.

Among adjectives, I can cite *wă:w* ‘distant’ and the related noun (‘distance’) or adverb (‘far away’) *wă:w*, *gđ:w* ‘short’, suffixed forms of *dâ:-* ‘small’ (*dâ:-w*, *dâ:-m*), and *gă:yⁿ* in *irⁿi gă:yⁿ* ‘molar tooth’.

The marginal status of superheavy syllables in final syllables of nonmonosyllabic stems, combined with the productivity of the prosodic features in 1Pl and 2Pl suffixal forms, suggests that the latter do have a special prosodic status outside of the regular tone system. I will therefore transcribe them with ∴ following the transcription used for the singular.

4 Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival morphology

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Simple noun stems

Inanimate nouns (including flora terms) have no regular singular/plural distinction. Thus *tiwⁿɛyⁿ* ‘tree’ may denote a single tree or a number of trees. These nouns appear as simple stems with zero suffix.

Most **animate** (including human) nouns take animate singular *-m* suffix and zero plural suffix. For exceptional animate nouns that do not allow animate singular *-m*, including several kin terms, see §4.1.3. I will often simplify “animate singular” to “singular” and “animate plural” to “plural,” especially in interlinears (Sg, Pl).

(36) Nominal Suffixes

- m* (animate) singular
- Ø* (animate) plural, inanimate

Animate singular suffix *-m* may follow a vowel or a semivowel. It is omitted when the noun is followed by an adjective or demonstrative pronoun (in this case, the noun is also tone-dropped). Because of alternations of final long and short vowels there are some phonological decisions to make. Length patterns for final vowels in nonmonosyllabic animate stems of two or more syllables are exemplified in (37).

(37) Animate nouns (nonmonosyllabic)

gloss	singular	plural	before adj
a. final level-toned short vowel not subject to lengthening			
‘European’	ànsá:rá- <i>m</i>	ànsá:rá	ànsà:rà ^L
‘man’	ár"à- <i>m</i>	ár"à	àr"à ^L
‘farmer’	wòŋgùrò-wàrú- <i>m</i>	wòŋgùrò-wàrú	wòŋgùrò-wàrù ^L
b. final <HL>-toned short vowel subject to lengthening, §3.7.4.1			
‘Messor ant’	<i>cì-cèrⁿû-m</i>	<i>cì-cèrⁿû:</i>	<i>cì-cèrⁿû</i> ^L
c. final short <LH>-toned after L-tone, simplified to H-tone, §3.7.4.3			
‘dog’	<i>ìnje-m</i>	<i>ìnje</i>	<i>ìnje</i> ^L
‘snake’	àwá- <i>m</i>	àwá	àwà ^L
d. final short <LH>- after H-tone, subject to lengthening, §3.7.4.1			
‘blacksmith’	<i>jémbě-m</i>	<i>jémbě:</i>	<i>jèmbè</i> ^L
‘Fulbe’	<i>púlš-m</i>	<i>púlš:</i>	<i>pùlò</i> ^L

- e. final <LH>-toned long vowel not subject to shortening (only known ex.)
 ‘animal’ àrsě:-m àrsě: àrsě^L

- f. final semivowel (rare)
 ‘Jamsay’ jàmsăy-m jàmsăy jàmsăy^L
 ‘X’s kinsman’ X tōw-m X tōw —

The basic types of monosyllabic animate nouns are in (38).

(38) Animate nouns (monosyllabic)

gloss	singular	plural	before adj
a. short <LH> or <HL> tone subject to lengthening, §3.7.4.1			
‘woman’	yă-m	yă:	yă
‘person’	nŭ-m	nŭ:	nū
‘hawk’	tī-tē-m	tī-tē:	tī-tē
b. long vowel not subject to shortening			
‘chief’	ጀ: -m	ጀ:	ጀ:
‘hyena’	tī-tă:-m	tī-tă:	tī-tă:

Compounds may preserve archaic *Cv-* forms of stems that are now regularly *Cv:*. For more examples and discussion, see §6.3.1.

Animate singular *-m* is a puzzle historically. Jamsay and other languages outside the BenT/Bankan Tey/Nanga subgroup have human/animate singular *-n(v)* (possibly related to a noun ‘person’) and human/animate plural *-m*, *-mbo*, etc. I suspect that BenT (and Bankan Tey) *-m* is a mutation from **-n*, possibly via a lenited **-ŋ* (preserved in Nanga as a rare singular suffix in e.g. *yă-ŋ* ‘woman’). The ‘it is’ (also focalizing) clitic very likely played a decisive role. Its fullest variant is *=m̩* but it is often reduced to *=∅* in BenT. It readily fuses with nominal suffixes to the left, and with pronominal-subject suffixes to the right, in a manner favoring resegmentations and reanalyses.

4.1.2 Irregular human nouns ('child', 'boy', 'girl')

As an uncompounded noun, ‘child’ has the forms in (39a). The singular has suffix *-m* as expected. The plural is irregular, though it begins in the same *yi* segmental sequence. Since *yi* in *yì-tē:* has L-tone, *yì-tē:* may have originated as a noun-adjective sequence ('child-small'). As compound final with human reference (39b), we get *-yî-m* (with <HL>-tone) and regular plural *-yî:* in terms for ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ (39b).

- (39) a. ‘child’ yí-m yì-tē:
 b. ‘boy’ àsùwⁿè-yî-m àsùwⁿè-yî: ~ àsùwⁿè-[yì-tē:]
 ‘girl’ yă:-yî-m yă:-yî: ~ yă:-[yì-tē:]

For *-yî*: as compound final with nonhuman reference (e.g. ‘seed/fruit of X’), see §5.1.4.

4.1.3 Use of singular and plural suffixes with kin terms

Many kin terms (and a few other nouns) have a distinctive morphosyntax; I refer to them as “inalienable” although they may occur in unpossessed as well as possessed forms.

Most kin terms do not require the animate singular suffix *-m* in either possessed or unpossessed forms (but see below). Instead, the unsuffixed form is interpreted as singular, and plural particle *bè* is added to mark plurality. Thus *nàrⁿá* ‘mother’, plural *nàrⁿá bè* ‘mothers’, possessed *ú nárⁿà* ‘your-Sg mother’ and *û: nárⁿà bè* ‘your-Pl mothers’.

In the terms for ‘cross-cousin’ and ‘younger sibling’ (usually same-sex but not always), animate singular suffix *-m* appears consistently in possessed forms. It is usually absent in unpossessed forms, though I did record *tìyé-m* as a variant of *tìyé* for ‘cousin’.

(40)	gloss	singular	plural
a.	‘(a) cousin’ ‘your-Sg cousin’	<i>tìyé, tìyé-m</i> <i>ú tìyé-m</i>	<i>tìyé bè</i> <i>ú tìyé bè</i>
b.	‘younger sibling’ ‘your-Sg y. sibling’	<i>ònjó</i> <i>ú ónjò-m</i>	<i>ònjó bè</i> <i>ú ónjò bè</i>

As noted just above, animate singular *-m* is not required with most kin terms even when the reference is singular. However, *-m* can be used with apparently unpossessed singular kin terms when they have specific reference, that is, when a specific possessor is implied. In the indefinite context ‘I don’t have a (father, mother, ...)’, singular *-m* is absent (*bɔ:*, *nàrⁿá*, ...). However, in texts one finds such forms as *bɔ:-m* ‘(the) father’ and *nàrⁿà-m* ‘(the) mother’, with a contextually clear, already named possessor, i.e. as alternatives to an explicit third-person possessor combination. Other attested forms of this type are *ònjò-m* ‘younger sibling’ and *dérè-m* ‘elder sibling’.

The term for ‘child’ (singular *yí-m*, plural *yí-tè:*), which is in essence a common noun that can also be used (with a possessor) as a kin term, has singular *-m* in unpossessed and possessed forms (*yí-m* ‘a child’, *ú^{HL} yí-m* ‘your child’).

4.1.4 ‘So-and-so’ (*mâ:n, à-mâ:n*)

The ‘So-and-so’ noun, denoting a variable personal name, is *à-mâ:n* or *mâ:n* (as in Jamsay). It is common in descriptions of generic activities, as in a text about name-giving ceremonials (baptisms) where the generic father is quoted as saying ‘I want the newborn child to be called So-and-so.’

4.1.5 Reduplicated noun stems

4.1.5.1 Frozen *Cì-* or *Cù-* reduplication in nouns

Examples of a more or less frozen initial *Cì-* or *Cù-* reduplication are in (41). The form is often but not always heard as *Cu-* when the first syllable of the base has a rounded vowel. The reduplicant is normally L-toned, but there are a handful of apparent H-toned cases. If the base is V-initial, the resulting vowel sequence is pronounced with a glottal stop.

(41) *Cì-* and *Cù-* nouns

form	gloss	related form
a. insects/arthropods		
<i>cì-cĕ:-m</i>	‘beetle, bug’	
<i>kì-kă:-m</i>	‘grasshopper’	
<i>sì-sǐ:-m</i>	‘grub, worm’	
<i>tù-tū:-m</i>	‘termite’	
<i>gì-gĕ:ⁿ-m</i>	‘fly’	
<i>cì-cèrⁿû-m</i>	‘Messor ant’	
<i>cì-céwⁿè-m</i>	‘mosquito’	
<i>nì-n᷑ɔ:rⁿɔyⁿ-m</i>	‘spider’	
<i>mù-mùrⁿû-m</i>	‘scorpion’	
<i>gù-gòŋgórù-m</i>	‘ant’ (generic)	
<i>H-toned reduplicant</i>		
<i>kí-kéré-m</i>	‘cricket’	
b. birds/bats		
<i>gì-gísì-m</i>	‘bat; swift’	
<i>tì-tê-m</i>	‘hawk’	
c. other fauna		
<i>kù-k᷑sú-m ~ kì-k᷑sú-m</i>	‘viper sp.’	
<i>nì-nìwⁿĕ-m</i>	‘cat’	
<i>tì-tă:-m</i>	‘hyena’	
<i>gù-gùsú-m</i>	‘giant pouched rat’	
d. plants and plant parts		
<i>(jì-)jĕlēy</i>	‘leaf’	
<i>gù-gùmtò:ró</i>	‘bush sp. (<i>Datura</i>)’	
<i>[jì-jàm]-dòrō</i>	‘thorny herb (<i>Tribulus</i>)’	<i>dòrō</i> ‘thorn’
<i>kù-k᷑mbî: ~ kì-k᷑mbî:</i>	‘tree bark’	also unredup.
<i>H-toned reduplicant</i>		
<i>í-?ěwⁿrⁿè</i>	‘tree sp. (<i>Spondias</i>)’	
<i>tí-táwrù</i>	‘tree sp. (<i>Boscia angustifolia</i>)’	
<i>kú-k᷑rō</i>	‘tree sp. (<i>Sarcocephalus</i>)’	
<i>kí-k᷑sò</i>	‘dried-out leaves on ground’	

e. body parts and similar

<i>sù-sò:</i>	'sweat'
<i>pì-pă:</i>	'shank'
<i>gù-gùwǒ:</i>	'front-leg section (butchery)'
<i>kì-kìlē:</i> ~ <i>kì-kilé</i>	'shade'
<i>gì-gòlī:</i> ~ <i>gù-gòlī:</i>	'soft spot below knee'
<i>tù-tòsī:</i> ~ <i>tù- ðsī:</i>	'calf (of leg)'

H-toned reduplicated syllable

<i>nà:-[tí-tòw]</i> ~ <i>-[tú-tòw]</i>	'elbow'	<i>nă:</i> 'hand'
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f. verbal concepts

<i>kù-kǒ:</i> ~ <i>kì-kǒ:</i>	'cowardice'
<i>lù-ló:rùm</i>	'cowardice'
<i>tí-tírù</i>	'mission'
<i>ti-tāy</i>	verb <i>ti-</i> 'send'

g. weather, time, space

<i>tì-tǎm</i>	'cool weather'
<i>nì-nǐ:</i>	'sun'
<i>H-toned reduplicant</i>	
<i>tí-tém</i>	'dune, elevation'
<i>dú-dûm</i>	'mound'

h. artefacts

<i>dì-dê:</i>	'statuette'	<i>dì-dê:-m</i> 'midgit'
<i>tù-tù:lú</i>	'horn (for blowing)'	
<i>pì-pàtárá</i>	'vat, basin'	<i>-pàtárá</i> in cpds
<i>H-toned reduplicant</i>		
<i>dí-dám</i>	'large basin/vat'	

i. substances

<i>kù-kùmbó</i>	'smoke'
<i>pì-pòtú</i> ~ <i>pù-pòtú</i>	'mud'

4.1.5.2 Other reduplicated and iterated nouns

The data are presented in (42) without further commentary.

- (42) a. *CvC-CvC* (noisy birds, onomatopoeic)
kàwⁿ-kàrⁿâwⁿ-m 'white-bellied bustard'
cèwⁿ-cèrⁿêwⁿ-m 'black-headed lapwing'

b. final *-Cv:* or *-CvC* with repeated initial *C*

final is <LHL>-toned

<i>kàtà-kă:-m</i>	'spotted thick-knee'
<i>pété-pě:-m</i>	'grasshopper sp. (<i>Oedaleus</i>)'
<i>séjérⁿé-sě:-m</i>	'small grasshopper sp. (<i>Kraussella</i>)'

<i>kòtò-kɔ̃:-m</i>	‘louse’
<i>[kì-kàrà]-kăy</i>	‘gravelly terrain’ (variant <i>kàgàrà-kăy</i>)
<i>final is <HL>-toned</i>	
<i>tì-tà: kóyórⁿ́-kɔ̄y</i>	‘spotted hyena’ (<i>tì-tà:</i> ‘hyena’, 2 spp.)
<i>final is <LH>-toned</i>	
<i>pùtùm-pǔ:</i>	‘herb sp. (<i>Commelina</i>)’
<i>wà:rùm-wǎ:</i>	‘vine sp. (<i>Cissus</i>)’
<i>bà:rⁿ́-àm-bám</i>	‘tall grass sp. (<i>Panicum</i>)’

c. full iteration

<i>gù:-gǔ:</i>	‘shrub sp. (<i>Calotropis</i>)’
<i>pé:-pé:</i>	‘herb sp. (<i>Evolvulus</i>)’
<i>wîl-wîl</i>	‘hawk-moth’ (hums)
<i>tím-tím</i>	‘herb sp. (<i>Scoparia</i>)’

d. double or triple iteration with final or medial *a*-vowel(s)

<i>o-a</i>	
<i>òsòy-[kòró-kàrá]</i>	‘tree sp. (<i>Grewia flavescens</i>)’
<i>o-a-o</i>	
<i>tó:-tà:-tó:-m</i>	‘woodpecker’
<i>hó:-hà:-hó:</i>	‘loud chatter’
<i>kòró-kàrà-kòró</i>	‘noise, din’
<i>u-a-u</i>	
<i>kúr-kàr-kúr</i>	‘hubbub’
<i>e-a-e</i>	
<i>tèm-tàm-tê-m</i>	‘black cricket’
<i>ɛ-a-ɛ</i>	
<i>cé:ⁿ-cà:ⁿ-cé:ⁿ</i>	‘rattling sound’
<i>kě:-kà:-kě:</i>	‘croacking (of toad)’
<i>i-a-i</i>	
<i>cí:ⁿ-cà:ⁿ-cí:ⁿ</i>	‘creaky sound’
<i>i-ɔ-i</i>	
<i>pì:-pò:-pî:</i>	‘motorcycle’ (archaic)

e. iteration (?) flanking an unrelated medial (only example)

<i>dòŋ-gòm-dò:rú</i>	‘burry herb sp. (<i>Pupalia</i>)’
	cf. Jamsay <i>dòŋ-nà:-dòŋ</i> for this sp.

f. miscellaneous

<i>pèlém-pérù</i>	‘tall herb sp. (<i>Aeschynomene</i>)’
<i>jásúm-jásárà</i>	‘tiny grass sp. (<i>Tripogon</i>)’
<i>górom-gómjó-m</i>	‘giant millipede’

Roughly similar to (42b) are expressive adverbials *gómbó-góm* and *jémbé-gém*, both meaning ‘jutting out’ (along with *gómbò-gómbó→*).

4.1.6 Frozen initial *à*- in nouns

An original **à*- prefix of unclear meaning may survive in the ‘so-and-so’ noun *à-mâ:n* with variant *mâ:n*, in *à-jèrú* ‘wrestling’, in cognate nominals *à-pétù* ‘(a) jump’ and *à-jayⁿ* ‘act of sowing in a pit with manure’ (§11.1.5.1), and in several fauna terms: *à-kř:* ‘edible winged termites’, *à-bù:lō-m* ‘spotted skink’, *à-sèmbě-m* ‘five-lined skink’, and *á-kùngùrō-m* ‘giant tortoise’. In some other cases where Jamsay has initial *à*, the BenT form lacks this vowel: *kèngû-m* ‘agama lizard’, *pàrà:* ‘millet-cake meal’, *témbù* ‘tradition(s)’ (Jamsay *à-cě:y ~ cě:y*, *à-pálá*, *à-têm*). I refrain from segmenting the initial *a* in *àsàpèrú* ‘herb sp. (*Cassia nigricans*)’ and *àságùsô:* ‘tree sp. (*Combretum*)’, since they can be parsed prosidically as CvCv-CvCv compounds (*àságùsô:* is also a borrowing, from Songhay).

4.2 Derived nominals

4.2.1 Characteristic derivative (-gú-)

The characteristic nominal derivational suffix is *-gú-*. The animate singular is *-gú-m* and its plural is *-gú*. Examples are in (43).

(43)	stem	gloss	characteristic	gloss
a. mostly nominal				
	<i>dăy</i>	‘wealth’	<i>dày-gú-m</i>	‘rich person’
b. mostly adjectival				
	<i>lòyò</i>	‘filth’	<i>lòyò-gú-m</i>	‘dirty (one)’
	<i>térē</i>	‘intelligence’	<i>térē-gú-m</i>	‘smart (one)’

4.2.2 Verbal nouns (-i: ~ -ȳ)

The regular verbal noun suffix is *-i:*. With a monosyllabic Cv- or Cv:- stem we get Cv-ŷ with short stem vowel). For longer stems (which always end in a short vowel), the *-i:* replaces the final vowel.

The stem syllables drop tones to {L} before the suffix. This is automatic with nonmonosyllabic stems. Most monosyllabic stems respect the rule, hence Cv-i:, but there are a few exceptional monosyllabic stems with H-toned verbal noun (Cv-i:).

With monosyllables, the *-i:* suffix shows a tendency to desyllabify. One can transcribe either Cv-i: or Cv-ŷ (or even Cv-ŷ), for example *dò-i:* or *dò-ŷ* ‘arriving’. I still hear three tonal components (L, H, L), so if we transcribe Cv-ŷ we must recognize that the two moras manage to express three tone components.

The rare semivowel-final verb-stem type, namely in *găyⁿ* ‘put’ and *kăyⁿ* ‘do’, has a <LHL> verbal noun pattern *Cà-i:ⁿ* (or *Că-ŷⁿ*), indistinguishable from that of *Ca(:)ⁿ*- stems.

(44)	gloss	bare stem	VblN
a. nonmonosyllabic			
‘hide’	<i>bàŋgi</i>	<i>bàŋg-î:</i>	
‘hit’	<i>súyó</i>	<i>sùy-î:</i>	
‘tie’	<i>páγá</i>	<i>pág-î:</i>	
‘shout’	<i>píyé</i>	<i>piy-î:</i>	
‘winnow in wind’	<i>pèrⁿiyⁿí</i>	<i>pèrⁿiyⁿ-î:</i>	
b. monosyllabic			
‘drink’	<i>nɔ̄</i>	<i>nɔ̄-ŷ</i>	
‘go’	<i>ló</i>	<i>lō-ŷ</i>	
c. irregular monosyllabic verb			
‘bring’	<i>jɛ̄:</i>	<i>jɛ̄-ŷ</i>	
d. <i>Cvyⁿ</i> stems			
‘put’	<i>găyⁿ</i>	<i>găⁿ-ŷⁿ</i>	
‘do’	<i>káyⁿ</i>	<i>kăⁿ-ŷⁿ</i>	

A number of verbs have a high-frequency cognate nominal (§11.1.5.1) that is often used instead of the verbal noun. However, even here the regular verbal noun is also in use, especially in combination with the cognate nominal (i.e. in compound form). For example, the phrase *jáy jàyá-* ‘fight a fight’ with cognate nominal *jáy* ‘(a) fight’ has a verbal noun *jày^L-[jày-ŷ:*J*]* ‘fighting fights’, where the cognate nominal takes the form of an L-toned compound-initial.

Suffix *-ú* after {L}-toned nonmonosyllabic stem, which corresponds in form to the productive Jamsay verbal noun, is found in BenT only in its secondary Jamsay function as a device for converting verbs into resultative modifiers (compound finals or adjectives), see §5.1.10.

4.2.3 Deverbal nominals with final *í:* and *y*

A number of nouns or adjectives have an H-tone and final *í:*, suggesting that this was once a regular suffixal derivation. In (45a), the noun is still clearly related to the verb or other stem from the same word-family. In (45b), the noun is isolated, and whether it belongs with (45a) even historically is unclear. Adjectives or perhaps compound finals are in (45c).

(45)	stem	gloss	related form
a. cognate nominals			
<i>m᷑:lí:</i>	‘collective (feast)’	<i>m᷑:lí-</i> ‘gather’	
<i>yóri:</i>	‘(s) stroll’	<i>yáriyí-</i> ‘take a stroll’	
<i>góri:</i>	‘blanket, sheet’	<i>góró-</i> ‘cover (w. blanket)’	
<i>jéwí:</i>	‘(a) curse’	<i>jèwé-</i> ‘curse’ (note <i>e/e</i> alternation)	
<i>òròsù-págí:</i>	‘woman’s wrap’	<i>págí-</i> ‘tie’	
<i>yà-pémbí:</i>	‘woman’s wrap’	<i>pémbí-</i> ‘gird (with rifles)’	

tímbí:	‘lid’	tímbí- ‘cover’
má:ní:	‘thought, worry’	má:ní- ‘think’
sú:r"í:	‘rest (noun)’	sú:r"ú- ‘rest, relax’
túmbí:	‘small mound’	túmbú- ‘make (mound)’
ùsù-dér"í:	‘daytime’	dér"é- ‘spend mid-day’
dá:rí:	‘nostalgia’	dá:rá- ‘miss (sb)’
túmdí:	‘beginning’	túmdí- ‘begin’
úsúrí:	‘question’	úsúrú- ‘ask (question)’

b. other nouns

té:lí:	‘wooden bed’	—
túní:	‘mortar’	(Nanga túndí etc.)
bíní:	‘ladder’	
ùrò-jéngí:	‘neighbors’	

c. adjectives or compound finals

kúsí:	‘private (field)’
túmbí:	‘massive (rock)’

There are also a few **instrument nominals** with {L}-toned stem and suffix *-î*, like *èmbî*: ‘tweezers’ (verb *émbí-* ‘hold by pinching’), *dì:sî*: ‘file (tool)’ (verb *dì:sé-* ‘file’), and perhaps *ìnìr"î*: ‘name’. In BenT this is the productive verbal noun formation, so I do not include these examples in (45).

Final *-y* occurs in *túmbó-y* ‘sunrise’, cf. verb *túmbú* ‘(sun) rise’, *ùmgó-y* ‘draught, mouthful’, verb *úmgó-* ‘fill up (mouth)’, *kòsđ-y* ‘(millet) harvest’, cf. verb *kósú-* ‘harvest (with knife)’, *mùy"đ-y"n* ‘patience’, cf. *múy"đ-* ‘be patient, wait’, *pòrđ-y* ‘row’, cf. verb *pòrđ-* ‘align, form into rows’, and *pàyă-y* ‘tied bundle’, from *páyá-* ‘tie’. The compound final in *kòsù-[nàr"ă-y"n]* ‘gourd fruit’ and *yù:-[nàr"ă-y"n]* ‘millet plant that has grown a substantial spike’ is related to verb *nàr"á-* ‘give birth, bear (fruit)’. See also the cognate nominals *tøy*, *jimbøy*, and *mòngøy* in §11.1.5.1. Note the predominance of L.<LH> tone patterns except for ‘sunrise’.

4.2.4 Uncompounded agentives

Agentives (always animate) are based on verb stems but have nominal inflection. The regular singular suffix *-m* is used, and the plural is unsuffixed, as with other animate nouns. In the predominant agentive formation, the stem ends in *i ~ u* before animate singular *-m* and with *u* in the unsuffixed plural, and the stem has {LH} **overlay**.

Most agentives include a compound initial, so for further examples of the forms see (§5.1.3). *jòngú-m* ‘healer’ (Pl *jòngû*) is attested both in a simple form, see C’s second turn in (678) in the sample text, and with a cognate nominal as {L}-toned compound initial: *jòngì-jòngú-m*.

One older speaker used a morpheme *-mù* in apparent agentive plural function, following a stem-shape identical to that of the singular (46). My younger assistant had difficulty understanding this, and it is clearly not typical of agentives.

(46)	<i>búnúgóy</i>	<i>yèy</i> ,		
	group	two,		
	<i>[[mǎ:</i> HL <i>Iṣṣò]</i>	<i>dìmbì-yí-mù</i>	<i>yà→'</i>	
	[[dry HL foot]]	follow-MP.Agent-PI	and]	
	<i>[[nî:</i> L <i>Iṣṣò]</i>	<i>dimbì-yí-mù</i>	<i>yà→]</i>	
	[[water L foot]]	follow-MP.Agent-PI	and]	
	‘two groups, those who followed a dry route, and those who followed the water route (along the river).’ [2005.2a.08]			

I can cite one uncompounded noun with agentive sense in common use (47), but it does not have the same morphological structure as the productive agentive compound construction.

(47)	verb	gloss	agentive	agentive plural
	<i>dànní-</i>	‘hunt’	<i>dănnà-m</i>	<i>dănnà</i>

Underived nouns with agentive-like sense include *wáyá:jè-m* ‘butcher’ and *jémbě-m* ‘blacksmith’. Most such nouns really denote a social category or caste rather than a trade as such.

4.2.5 Irregular reduplicated nominal (*tì-tírù*)

The noun *tì-tírù* ‘mission, commissioned task’ (also in Jamsay) is irregularly related to the verb *tí-* ‘send (sb, on a mission)’.

4.2.6 Deadjectival abstract nominals

Abstractive nominals are most common with **scalar adjectives**. In (48), the modifying adjectives (leftmost column) are shown in the inanimate form, which is generally expressed by the suffix *-w* (opposed to animate singular *-m* and animate plural *-yè*). Adjectives already ending in a consonant, including those with a final formative *-m*, have no suffix (48b). The productive abstractive nominal has {LH} tone overlay, with only the final mora H-toned. In most cases the abstractive is segmentally identical to the inanimate form of the adjective, including the suffixal *-w*. However, some *u*-final adjectives have inanimate *-w* but no suffix on the nominal (48a). Many abstractive nouns shift to an {H}-toned form in comparative constructions, after *mégé* ‘more’, specifying the domain of comparison (e.g. ‘X is more than Y with respect to height’). Some other abstractives keep their {LH} tones in comparatives. The forms used with *mégé* recur in predicative adjectives before ‘be’ quasi-verb variant *bâ-*, see §11.4.1. Not shown here is a {HL}-toned form that is also used in comparatives, but which is syntactically adjectival rather than nominal (§12.1.1).

(48) Abstractive nominals from adjectives

adjective	gloss	noun	gloss (nouns)
		regular /LH/	with <i>mégré</i> {H} or {LH}
a. <i>u</i> -final, no {H}-toned form			
<i>inanimate</i> - <i>w</i>			
<i>dùgû-w</i>	'fat, thick'	<i>dùgú</i>	<i>dùgú</i> 'thickness'
<i>dùsû-w</i>	'heavy'	<i>dùsú</i>	<i>dùsú</i> 'weight; respect'
<i>sòsû-w</i>	'near'	<i>sòsú</i>	<i>sòsú</i> 'vicinity'
<i>yòrû-w</i>	'soft'	—	<i>yòrú</i> 'softness'
<i>jèr"û-w</i>	'light'	—	<i>jèr"ú</i> 'lightness (weight)'
<i>inanimate</i> -Ø			
<i>mòsú-Ø</i>	'nasty'	—	<i>mòsú</i> 'nastiness'
<i>èsú-Ø</i>	'good'	<i>èsú</i>	<i>èsú</i> '(good) quality'
b. consonant-final			
<i>final w or m, no {H}-toned form</i>			
<i>gǎw-Ø</i>	'tall'	<i>gǎw</i>	<i>gǎw</i> 'height'
<i>wǎ:w-Ø</i>	'distant'	<i>wǎ:w</i>	<i>wǎ:w</i> 'distance'
<i>ãm-Ø</i>	'plump'	—	<i>ãm</i> 'plump'
like preceding, but reduplicated in basic abstractive form			
<i>tām-Ø</i>	'cold, cool'	<i>tì-tām</i>	<i>tám</i> 'coolness'
<i>nǔm-Ø</i>	'difficult'	<i>nù-nǔm</i>	<i>nǔm</i> 'poverty'
<i>final -m</i> formative, {H}-toned in comparative			
<i>érù-m</i>	'sweet'	<i>èrú-m</i>	<i>érú-m</i> 'sweetness'
<i>gárù-m</i>	'bitter'	<i>gárú-m</i>	<i>gárú-m</i> 'bitterness'
c. ends in vowel other than <i>u</i>			
{H}-toned form in comparative			
<i>díy"à-wⁿ</i>	'big'	<i>díy"ă-wⁿ</i>	<i>díy"á-wⁿ</i> 'size'
<i>wòr"ɔ-wⁿ</i>	'deep'	<i>wòr"ɔ-wⁿ</i>	<i>wóř"ɔ-wⁿ</i> 'depth'
<i>káwà-w</i>	'thick'	<i>kàwǎ-w</i>	<i>káwá-w</i> 'thickness'
no {H}-toned form			
<i>gùrɔ-w</i>	'long'	<i>gùrɔ-w</i>	<i>gùrɔ-w</i> 'length'

For 'big', cf. also the noun *díy"á* 'status of being the oldest freeborn man in the village'. *wǎ:w* can also be used adverbially ('far').

In addition to these morphologically marked abstractives, ordinary adjectives are attested in nominal function. These are arguably headless core NPs with the noun omitted. They do not allude to scales, rather they have a more absolute sense (cf. *take the good along with the bad*). (49) is from a passage discussing the typically bad relations among co-wives (women who share a husband). The first adjective 'bad' is combined with a semantically light noun 'thing'; the second adjective 'good' has no noun.

- (49) [yà-nòrⁿú mâ:] /kò.ⁿ^L mòsú] jâ:wⁿ,
 [co.wife Dat] [thing^L bad] normal,
 èsú [érⁿé mâ:] jâ:wⁿ=rá
 good [3Sg Dat] normal=StatNeg
 '(For) to a co-wife, (giving/doing) something bad is normal. (To give) something
 good to her isn't normal.' (2005.1a.05)

There are no nominals derived from expressive adverbials.

4.3 Pronouns

4.3.1 Basic personal pronouns

The basic morphological series are those in (50).

- (50) a. independent (also used for preparticipial subject [e.g. in relative clauses], and optionally for object)
 b. accusative (optional for direct object)
 c. pronominal-subject suffix on verbs
 d. possessor form, also used for complements of postpositions

The basic forms are given in (51). 3Sg and 3Pl are animate categories (including humans and animals), while Inan[imate] applies to plants and non-living things.

(51) Personal Pronouns

		subject				
		indep.	accusative	_Verb	Verb- ₋	poss/PP
a.	1Sg	í	í=nì	í	-ỳ	Ø(+L)
	1Pl	î:	î=nì	î:	-ỳ:.	î:
b.	2Sg	ú	ú=nù	ú	-ù	ú
	2Pl	û:	û:=nì	û:	-ù:.	û:
c.	3Sg	ér ⁿ é	ér ⁿ é=nì	ér ⁿ é	[see below]	ér ⁿ é
	3Pl	bû:	bû:=nì	bû:	[see below]	bû:
d.	Inan	kú	kú=nù	kú	[see below]	kú
e.	3RefISg	á	á=nì	á	[see below]	á
	3RefIPl	â:	â:=nì	â:	[see below]	â:

The morphology is rather simple and regular. In both first and second persons, there is a singular/plural split expressed by vowel-length and tone (the singular has a short vowel and H-tone, the plural has a long vowel and <HL>-tone). The accusative is =nì except for 2Sg ú=nù and inanimate kú=nù, where the short ú of the first syllable has induced rounding in the suffixal syllable.

Of interest is the use of *érⁿé* as all-purpose nonsuffixal 3Sg morpheme. It is evidently cognate to Jamsay *ènē*, which however is an anaphoric 3Sg pronominal (used for reflexive possessor and as a logophoric). It is likely that Jamsay (not BenT) shifted the functions of this morpheme.

In the verbal suffixes, the animacy opposition is neutralized, so 3Sg and Inan[imate] have the same forms. For this 3Sg/Inan category, and even more so for often irregular 3Pl, the form of the verbal suffix depends on the AN category. This is seen in (52), using *ló-* ‘go’ and (for the perfective-1b) *dàmbí-* ‘push’. For fuller discussion of pronominal-subject suffixes, see §10.3.

(52)	category	3Sg/Inan	3Pl
a.	perfective-1a	<i>ló:-rè-</i> Ø	<i>ló:-r-à:</i>
	perfective-1b	<i>dàmbí-tí:-</i> Ø	<i>dàmbí-tí-yà</i>
b.	imperfective	<i>lì-ló-ñ</i>	<i>lì-ló-yè</i>
c.	perfective negative	<i>lò-rí-</i> Ø	<i>lò-r-á</i>
d.	imperfective negative	<i>ló-ñ-ló</i>	<i>ló-ñ-n-é</i>

4.3.2 Discourse-definite function of inanimate pronoun *kú*

Inanimate *kú* in its various forms can be used to denote an abstraction, such as a situation or eventuality just described in preceding discourse. A good example of this is (53), where *kú* toward the end resumes the earlier proposition.

(53)	<i>nǔ-m</i>	<i>érⁿé</i>	<i>gòrⁿɔ-</i> Ø,
	person-AnSg	3SgObj	be.stronger.Pfv-3SgSbj,
	[<i>bē:n nǔ-m]</i>	<i>kú</i>	<i>àw-rí-</i> Ø
	[B person-AnSg ^L]	InanSgObj	accept-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
	‘(That) someone (else) has dominated (=been stronger than) him, the person (=man) of Beni did not accept that.’ [2005.2b.04]		

This discourse-resuming function of *kú* is apparent in a number of adverbial phrases that resume something just stated. For example, instrumental PP [*kú nǎyⁿ*] ‘with that’ or ‘in that way’ is a common phrase in texts, connecting one clause or paragraph to the next.

kú can also be used as a **prenominal** pseudo-possessor (*kú*^{(H)L}*X*) in a similar resumptive fashion. This construction functions as a **strong discourse-definite**, as opposed to the weak discourse-definite postnominal *kù* (i.e., *X kù*), see §4.4.1 below and §6.5.1. In this prenominal pseudo-possessor function, the interlinear abbreviation is “DiscDef.” Prenominal *kú* and postnominal *kù* often co-occur: *kú*^{(H)L}*X kù*.

4.4 Demonstratives and definites

4.4.1 Demonstrative pronouns ('this', 'that') and definite markers

Animate and inanimate demonstrative pronouns and definite markers are shown in (54). They follow nouns, adjectives, and numerals within NPs. As usual, overt pluralization of inanimates is optional.

(54)	form (Sg)	gloss	Pl form
A. deictic categories (control tone-dropping)			
a.	<i>mǔ:</i>	'this' (proximal, animate)	<i>mǔ: bè</i>
	<i>ŋgú</i>	'this' (proximal, inanimate)	<i>ŋgú bè</i>
b.	<i>-m kú</i>	'that' (near-distant, animate)	<i>-m kú bè</i>
	<i>-Ø kú</i>	'that' (near-distant, inanimate)	<i>-Ø kú bè</i>
c.	<i>mbá ~ mbá</i>	'that' (far-distant, animate)	<i>mbá bè</i>
	<i>ŋgá</i>	'that' (far-distant, inanimate)	<i>ŋgá bè</i>
B. definite marker (does not control tone-dropping)			
d.	<i>-m kù</i>	'the (same)' (definite, animate)	<i>-Ø bù:</i>
	<i>-Ø kù</i>	'the (same)' (definite, inanimate)	<i>-Ø kù bè</i>
[see also the strong discourse-definite prenominal <i>kú</i> , §4.3.2]			

For more on the definite morphemes, see §6.7. Definite plural *bù:* is identical in form to the 3Pl independent pronoun. Definite *kù* is normally distinguishable from near-distant *kú* by tones (including those on the preceding noun if present).

The deictic categories (proximal, near-distant, far-distant) apply to entities at successive distances from the speaker. Near-distant is often specifically associated with the addressee, but the precise spatial range is flexible and relative. The far-distant category can be used in discourse as a kind of **obviative**, denoting the 'other' of two paired or otherwise homologous protagonists or locations ("Meanwhile, the other brother was ..."). For example, in a tale where Hare and Hyena travel together, after a passage focusing on Hyena the topic shifts to Hare, who is reintroduced into the discourse as *mbá* 'that (far-distant) one'. A similar example is *mbá* in the second line of (660) in the sample text. Except for this special case, the usual postnominal discourse-definite forms are those in (54d).

The **animate singular suffix** *-m* is not used on the noun stem before *mǔ:* or *mbá*. Example: *yá-m* 'woman', *yá mǔ:* 'this woman', *yá mbá* 'that woman'. One could argue that the *m* of *mǔ:* and that of *mbá* are actually instances of the (animate) singular suffix *-m*, but since the demonstratives can be used absolutely (*mǔ:* 'this one', *mbá* 'that one'), and since they are not dropped in the plural, I take the *m* to be part of the demonstrative. Before near-distant *kú* and definite *kù*, *-m* is present on animate singular nouns.: *yá-m kù* 'that (aforementioned) woman', cf. plural *yá: kù bè*.

Tone-dropping occurs on a modified noun before all of the deictic demonstratives: proximal, near-distant, and far-distant. **Tone-dropping does not occur before definite *kù*.** Tones (on both words) distinguish near-distant from definite NPs (55).

- (55) a. *nà:-m^L* *kú*
 cow-AnSg^L NearDist.Inan
 ‘that cow (e.g. near you)’
- b. *nă:-m* *kù*
 cow-AnSg Def
 ‘that (same) cow (e.g. that we were talking about)’

The **plural** is expressed by adding *bè*. For *mǔ:* and *mbá*, the noun (if present) has the same form as in the singular: *yă-m* ‘woman’ and plural *yă:* ‘women’, with demonstrative *yà^L mǔ:* ‘this woman’ and plural *yà:^L mǔ:* *bè* ‘these women’. For near-distant *kú*, the plural is expressed by adding *kú bè* to the regular plural form of the noun (with tones dropped): *yà-m^L kú* ‘that (aforementioned) woman’, plural *yà:^L kú bè* ‘those (aforementioned) women’ (the plural is based on *yă:* ‘women’ with long vowel).

4.4.2 Demonstrative adverbs

4.4.2.1 Locative adverbs

The adverbs in (56) are the most common all-purpose spatial adverbs based on demonstrative stems, and may be used to indicate specific, well-defined locations. The forms with *-dá:* (sometimes pronounced *-rá:*, though not by all speakers) denote a more general space (56).

- (56) a. *ŋgú-rù ~ yú-rù* ‘here’
 ŋgá-rù ~ yá-rù ‘there’ (deictic)
 yâ: ‘there’ (discourse-definite)
- b. *ŋgú-dá:* ‘around here; on this side’
 ŋgá-dá: ~ àŋá-dá: ‘around there; on that side’
 yá-dá: ~ yá-rá: ‘around there’ (discourse-definite)
 kú-dá: ~ kú-rá: ‘there’ (discourse-definite)

4.4.2.2 Emphatic/approximative modifiers of adverbs

já:tì, a regional emphatic (e.g. Fulfulde), can be added to a demonstrative adverb: *ŋgú-rù já:tì* ‘right here’, *yâ: já:tì* ‘right there (in that same place)’.

For approximate location, there are expressions like *bèlè ŋgú-rù* ‘around here’ and (especially for younger speakers) *tàngay ŋgú-rù* ‘around here’.

For ‘the near/far side of X’ (with reference to the deictic center and to a fixed location X), we get expressions involving a motion verb ‘reach’ or ‘pass’ (57).

- (57) a. *L+HL ȶr^ŋà*
 1SgPoss.^{HL}field
 [bé:nì ú d᷑:-rè mà:] bù-∅
 [Beni 2SgSbj reach-Pfv1a before] be-3SgSbj
 ‘My field is this side of Beni.’ (lit. “... it is before you reach Beni”)

- b. L^{+HL}***ír-nà***
 1SgPoss.^{HL}field
 [bé:nì láwá:-rè-w dé] bù-∅
 [Beni pass-Pfv1a-2SgSbj if] be-3SgSbj
 ‘My field is on the far side of Beni (lit. “... it is when you have passed Beni”)

4.4.2.3 ‘Like this/that’ (*áŋjàyⁿ*)

áŋjàyⁿ ‘like this, like that, thus’ is normally accompanied by a visual demonstration or by preceding explanatory text. It differs tonally from *àŋjàyⁿ* ‘how?’.

4.4.3 Presentatives

The presentative morpheme is *úŋgòy*, used with following ‘be’ quasi-verb, a stance or motion verb, or a VP denoting an activity. A subject NP generally precedes *úŋgòy*, presumably as a topicalized NP. However, a subject NP can optionally follow *úŋgòy* if there is at least one other constituent separating the subject NP from the verb. Non-subject NP’s (if not topicalized) follow *úŋgòy*.

- (58) a. ***ɔ:-m*** *úŋgòy* *bù-∅*
 chief-AnSg here’s! be-3SgSbj
 ‘Here’s the chief!’
- b. ***úŋgòy*** *y-ɛ:*
 here’s! come.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 ‘Here they come!’
- c. ***úŋgòy*** *éw-yê-y*
 here’s! sit-MP.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘Here I am, sitting!.’ (= ‘I’m sitting over here! ’)
- d. ***úŋgòy*** *bíré* *bíré-m*
 here’s! work(n) work.Ipfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Here he/she is, working!’
- e. ***M*** ***úŋgòy*** *bíré* *bíré-m*
 e'. ***úŋgòy*** ***M*** *bíré* *bíré-m*
 M here’s! M work(n) work.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘Here is M (personal name), working!’

4.5 Adjectives

4.5.1 Underived adjectives

The adjectives in (59) are used in modifying function after a noun. There is frequently a three-way distinction between inanimate *-w*, (animate) singular *-m*, and (animate) plural *-yè* (59a). In another important set of forms, the inanimate form is unsuffixed, versus singular *-m* and plural *-yè* (59b). If the stem itself ends lexically in *m*, both the inanimate and animate singular forms are unsuffixed, or at least have no audible suffix, and the *m* is heard before animate plural *-yè* (59c). A number of adjectives have *-m* as an **inanimate/animate singular suffix**, versus animate plural *-yè* without the *m* (59d). There are a handful of adjectives with a noun-like unsuffixed plural instead of animate plural suffix *-yè* (59e). For nouns that do allow *-yè*, the suffix is sometimes omitted in collective contexts. For example, the phrase *nù^L díyⁿà* ‘big (i.e. old) people’ occurs frequently in texts with collective plural sense, although the form *díyⁿà-yè* is attested elsewhere.

A number of other adjectives have incomplete paradigms for semantic reasons. They are inapplicable either to inanimates (59f) or to animates (59g). In (59g), if the only existing form ends in *m*, the decision whether to segment it as the inanimate or animate singular suffix mentioned above, or to take it as part of the lexical stem, can be decided when there is an associated inchoative verb. The absence of *m* from the inchoative verb suggests segmentation in the cases of bisyllabic *ásù-m*, *párù-m*, and *kúnjù-m*. The inclusion of *m* in the inchoative verbs for monosyllabic *sím-Ø* ‘pointed’ and *núm-Ø* ‘difficult’ shows that in these cases the *m* is lexical. No verb corresponding to *góm-Ø* ‘foul’ or to *gúm-Ø* ‘bland’ is known, so this test does not work for them. However, all monosyllabic *Cvm* stems that do have full paradigms (*ám-Ø* ‘plump’, *tám-Ø* ‘cold, slow’) or for which the inchoative-verb test is available (*sím-Ø*, *núm-Ø*) have lexical *m*, so there is no good reason to segment the *m* as a suffix in monosyllabic *góm-Ø* and *gúm-Ø*.

The suffixes *-w* (inanimate) and *-m* (animate singular) are atonal (in my analysis), so the tone of the final syllable of the adjectival stem proper simply fills out the relevant syllable including the suffix; see Contour-Tone Stretching (§3.7.4.2). An alternative analysis in which these suffixes are L-toned would work for many cases, but *-m* is atonal as nominal suffix (animate singular), and is clearly not L-toned in several adjectives in (59b) and (59f). The suffix *-yè* is always L-toned.

Nasalization-Spreading affects inanimate *-w* (which is tautosyllabic with the source of the nasalization), but *y* in plural *-yè* is unaffected. In general, *-yè* acts like an independent particle and does not interact phonologically with the stem. It reflects a very old plural noun **ye/é* (Nanga *ye* ‘things’) that evolved into a plural suffix for adjectives or demonstratives (e.g. Najamba adjectival inanimate plural *ye*), or into a plural possessive classifier (e.g. Nanga_{HL} *ye*).

(59) Adjectives

gloss	Inan	AnSg	AnPl
-------	------	------	------

- a. Inan *-w*, Sg *-m*, Pl *-yè* (Inan ... *û-w* arguably just lengthened ... *û:-Ø*)
/HL-toned, stem-final unrounded vowel
- | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| ‘big, adult’ | <i>díyⁿà-wⁿ</i> | <i>díyⁿà-m</i> | <i>díyⁿà-yè</i> |
| ‘spacious’ | <i>káwà-w</i> | <i>káwà-m</i> | <i>káwà-yè</i> |

‘small, young’	<i>dâ:-w</i>	<i>dâ:-m</i>	<i>dâ:-yè</i>
<i>like preceding, colors (for <i>bârⁿâ-yⁿ</i>, <i>jéwⁿê-yⁿ</i>, see discussion below)</i>			
‘red’	<i>bârⁿâ-wⁿ</i>	<i>bârⁿâ-m</i>	<i>bârⁿâ-yè</i>
‘black’	<i>jéwⁿê-wⁿ</i>	<i>jéwⁿê-m</i>	<i>jéwⁿê-yè</i>
<i>/LH/-toned</i>			
‘good’	<i>èsú ~ èsû-w</i>	<i>èsú-m ~ èsí-m</i>	<i>èsí-yè</i>
<i>/LHL/-toned</i>			
‘fat, thick’	<i>dùgû-w</i>	<i>dùgû-m</i>	<i>dùgú-yè</i>
‘heavy’	<i>dùsû-w</i>	<i>dùsû-m</i>	<i>dùsú-yè</i>
‘soft (skin)’	<i>yòrû-w</i>	<i>yòrû-m</i>	<i>yòrú-yè</i>
‘lightweight’	<i>jèrⁿû-wⁿ</i>	<i>jèrⁿû-m</i>	<i>jèrⁿú-yè</i>
‘nearby’	<i>sòsû-w</i>	<i>sòsû-m</i>	<i>sòsú-yè</i>
‘bad, ugly’	<i>mòsû-w</i>	<i>mòsû-m</i>	<i>mòsú-yè</i>
‘long, tall’	<i>gùrô-w</i>	<i>gùrô-m</i>	<i>gùró-yè</i>
‘thin’	<i>mènjê-w</i>	<i>mènjê-m</i>	<i>mènjé-yè</i>

b. Inan *-Ø*, Sg *-m*, Pl *-yè*

<i>/H/-toned</i>			
‘white’	<i>pílé-Ø</i>	<i>pílé-m</i>	<i>pílé-yè</i>
‘respectable’	<i>nínáyⁿ-Ø</i>	<i>nínáyⁿ-m</i>	<i>nínáyⁿ-yè</i>
‘skinny’	<i>kómbó-Ø</i>	<i>kómbó-m</i>	<i>kómbó-yè</i>
‘living’	<i>úwⁿó-Ø</i>	<i>úwⁿó-m</i>	<i>úwⁿó-yè</i>
<i>/HL/-toned</i>			
‘hot, fast’	<i>đw-Ø</i>	<i>đw-m</i>	<i>đw-yè</i>
‘new’	<i>kálà-Ø</i>	<i>kálà-m</i>	<i>kálà-yè</i>
<i>/LH/-toned</i>			
‘old’	<i>pě:-Ø</i>	<i>pě-m</i>	<i>pě:-yè</i>
‘empty, bare’	<i>kòrøy-Ø</i>	<i>kòrøy-m</i>	<i>kòrøy-yè</i>
‘unripe, raw, fast’	<i>cèsú-Ø</i>	<i>cèsú-m</i>	<i>cèsú-yè</i>
‘crooked’	<i>gòlú-Ø</i>	<i>gòlú-m</i>	<i>gòlú-yè</i>
<i>/LHL/-toned</i>			
‘tight’	<i>ěw-Ø</i>	<i>ěw-m</i>	<i>ěw-yè</i>
‘short’	<i>gő:w-Ø</i>	<i>gő:w-m</i>	<i>gő:w-yè</i>
‘distant’	<i>wǎ:w-Ø</i>	<i>wǎ:w-m</i>	<i>wǎ:w-yè</i>
‘young’	<i>ső:rò-Ø</i>	<i>ső:rò-m</i>	<i>ső:rò-yè</i>
‘flat’	<i>pâtâ-pátâ-Ø</i>	<i>pâtâ-pátâ-m</i>	<i>pâtâ-pátâ-yè</i>
‘easy, cheap’	<i>nâ:rⁿâ:-Ø</i>	<i>nâ:rⁿâ-m</i>	<i>nâ:rⁿâ-yè</i>

c. *m*-final with Inan *-Ø*, Sg *-Ø*, Pl *-yè*

<i>/LHL/-toned</i>			
‘plump’	<i>ăm-Ø</i>	<i>ăm-Ø</i>	<i>ăm-yè</i>
<i>/HL/-toned</i>			
‘cold, slow’	<i>tâm-Ø</i>	<i>tâm-Ø</i>	<i>tâm-yè</i>

d. Inan *-m*, Sg *-m*, Pl *-yè*

<i>/HL/-toned</i>			
‘sweet; sharp’	<i>érù-m</i>	<i>érù-m</i>	<i>érù-yè</i>
‘bitter’	<i>gárù-m</i>	<i>gárù-m</i>	<i>gárù-yè</i>

‘smooth, sleek’	<i>óru-m</i>	<i>óru-m</i>	<i>óru-yɛ</i>
e. unsuffixed plural			
/LH/-toned			
‘other’	<i>lǎ-w</i>	<i>lǎ-m</i>	<i>lǎ:-∅</i>
[<i>lǎ-w</i> is often adverbial ‘otherwise, further’]			
‘blind’	<i>jimdú</i>	<i>jimdí-m</i>	<i>jimdú-∅</i>
f. no inanimate form			
/H/-toned	—	<i>cété-m</i>	<i>cété-∅</i>
‘runty’	—	—	—
g. no animate forms			
/LH/-toned			
‘half-ripe’	<i>bòlòrōy-∅</i>	—	—
‘ripe, cooked’	<i>ìrēy-∅</i>	—	—
‘rotten’	<i>òmbú-∅</i>	—	—
‘weak, diluted’	<i>sérē-∅</i>	—	—
‘dry’	<i>mă:-∅</i>	—	—
‘difficult, costly’	<i>nǔm-∅</i>	—	—
/HL/-toned			
‘deep’	<i>wጀrጀ-∅</i>	—	—
(variant <i>wórጀ-∅</i>)	—	—	—
‘coarse’	<i>kúnjù-m</i>	—	—
‘dense’	<i>úlì-∅</i>	—	—
‘full’	<i>bâ:-∅</i>	—	—
‘pointed’	<i>sîm-∅</i>	—	—
‘unflavored, bland’	<i>gûm-∅</i>	—	—
‘foul (odor)’	<i>gôm-∅</i>	—	—
‘half-bitter’	<i>ásù-m</i>	—	—
‘sour, salty’	<i>párù-m</i>	—	—
/LHL/-toned			
‘thin (wall)’	<i>pèŋgû-w</i>	—	—

For ‘red’ and ‘black’ there are alternative forms, perhaps archaic, with suffix *-y* instead of *-w* and with L<HL> tones. These forms occur in a few highly lexicalized combinations, all inanimate. For ‘black’: *sèngù jèwጀ-ê-y* ‘earthenware cooking pot’ (lit. “black pottery”) and *èlèy jèwጀ-êy* ‘groundnut’ (lit. “black peanut”). For ‘red’: *nàwጀ-à: bârጀ-â-y* ‘flesh, muscle tissue’ (lit. “red [i.e. not cooked] meat”), and combinations of *bârጀ-â-y* with terms for certain fruits (mango, wild grape, zaban, kola) denoting ripeness as manifested by redness.

A probably unresolvable issue is whether inanimate forms of *u*-final stems like *dùgû-w* should be treated as having inanimate suffix *-w*, or as having suffix *-∅* with long vowel due to Contour-Tone Mora-Addition. In the latter case, they should be transcribed as *dùgû-∅*, and shifted from (59a) to (59b). There is no audible difference between *ü:* and *üw* in BenT, to my ear.

Vowel-length is distinctive in *Cv(:)* and *Cv(:)C* adjectives, as in nouns. We see consistent long vowels in *dâ:-* ‘small, young’ (59a), and in *gô:w* ‘short’ and *wâ:w* ‘distant’ (59b), though in the two latter cases the final *-w* might be segmentable. *lǎ-* ‘other’ (59e) and perhaps *pě-*

‘old’ (59b) are lexically short-voweled, but are lengthened when unsuffixed (and not tone-dropped) by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). Plural *pɛ:-yè* might argue against this formulation, but *-yè* itself is arguably a clitic or even a separate particle (it does not interact phonologically with the stem, for example resisting Nasalization-Spreading). We also have short-voweled *CvC* adjectives (*ɔw-* ‘hot, fast’, *ɔw-* ‘tight’, *ãm-* ‘plump’, *tãm-* ‘cold’).

Many adjectives use a form segmentally identical to the inanimate modifying form (but with final H-toned syllable) as an all-purpose predicative form for all pronominal categories (§11.4.1).

The two semantically adjective-like elements meaning ‘many, much’ are *jó→* and *bãy^n→*. Both are syntactically (expressive) adverbials, though like adjectives they immediately follow the element they have scope over. They have no suffixal morphology. Tone-dropping (as for nouns before true adjectives) occurs only sporadically with *jó→*, so that in e.g. *úrò jó→* ‘many houses’, *úrò* ‘house’ has lexical tones. However, there are some textual occurrences where a noun is tone-dropped before *jó→*.

4.6 Participles

Participles are forms of verbs with more or less adjective-like suffixes that agree with the head NP of a relative clause. The forms are rather complex and depend on the aspect-negation (AN) category of the verb. For the morphology, see §14.1.6.

4.7 Numerals

4.7.1 Cardinal numerals

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

The numeral for ‘1’ is based on a stem *tùw^nɔ̄*, which has a presuffixal (and occasionally unsuffixed) form *tùw^nɔ̄-* (note the L.<HL> tone pattern). It is treated as a **modifying adjective**, so a preceding noun drops tones and omits its own inflectional suffix (the L.<HL> pattern is likewise characteristic of adjectives). Examples: *nà:^L tùw^nɔ̄-m* ‘one cow’ (*nǎ:-m* ‘cow’), *àr^nà^L tùw^nɔ̄-m* ‘one man’ (*árnà-m*), *kùr^nù^L tùw^nɔ̄* ‘one stone’ (*kúr^nù*).

In the sense ‘(the) same’ (indicating identity or other substantive sameness), the inanimate form is *tùw^nɔ̄:* with L.<HL> tones, and the animate forms are the same singular *tùw^nɔ̄-m* and plural *tùw^nɔ̄-yè* as in the numeral function. The ‘same’ function is most common in predicates, either as a modifier of a predicative noun (60a) or as an adjectival predicate (60b).

- (60) a. *[nù^L mǔ: bè] [nù^L tùw^nɔ̄-yè]*
 [person^L Prox.An Pl] [person^L one-Pl]
 ‘Those people are the same (e.g of a single extended family).’
- b. *[kɔ́rbɔ́rɔ́ yà→'] [púlɔ́: yá→'] tùw^nɔ̄:*
 [Songhay and] [Fulbe and] same.be
 ‘Songhay and Fulbe (ethnicities) are the same.’

The common phrases ‘one (=same) mother’ and ‘one (=same) father’, used in phrases distinguishing full from half-siblinghood, are *nàrⁿá tìwⁿó* and *bɔ̄: tìwⁿó*, respectively.

In the phrase *ùsú tìwⁿó-m* ‘one day’ (i.e. a certain day in the past), we unexpectedly get **-m** suffix (elsewhere animate singular), as in (527) in §15.2.4 and in (616) in §18.2.2. I am hesitant to suggest a connection with the use of suffix **-m** for both animate singular and inanimate in some adjectives, such as *éru-m* ‘sweet’ (§4.5.1).

Warning: English ‘same’ in the discourse-definite sense (‘that same dog that I mentioned before’) can be expressed using definite *kù* (§6.7) or a prenominal demonstrative pseudo-possessor *kú* (§4.3.2).

4.7.1.2 ‘2’ to ‘10’

The forms of these simple numerals are in (61).

(61)	gloss	form
‘2’		<i>yěy</i>
‘3’		<i>tà:nú ~ tǎ:n</i>
‘4’		<i>nǐ:yⁿ</i>
‘5’		<i>nùmūyⁿ</i>
‘6’		<i>kúròy</i>
‘7’		<i>súyⁿòyⁿ</i>
‘8’		<i>gá:rày</i>
‘9’		<i>tè:sím</i>
‘10’		<i>pérú</i>

Numerals ‘6’ to ‘8’ have a fixed H.L tone pattern with final *y* (or *yⁿ*), a pattern that is conspicuous when reciting the numeral sequence.

With numerals other than ‘1’, a preceding **modified noun has its regular tones** (no tone-dropping occurs).

With a preceding noun and before a pause (or in isolation), numerals with final-syllable <LH>-tone (i.e. ‘2’ to ‘5’ and ‘9’) regularly omit the final H-tone component and appear with **all-L-tone**: *nǎ: yèy* ‘two cows’, *úrò nùmùyⁿ* ‘five houses’. The lexical <LH>-tone reappears if there is a following modifier, like the definite marker in *nǎ: yěy bû*: ‘the two cows’ and in *úrò nùmùyⁿ kù* ‘the five houses’. The lexical tone is also usually audible when an NP ending in the numeral is followed quickly by a verb or other clause-internal constituent: *nǎ: yěy sèwⁿè-yⁿ* ‘I slaughtered two cows’. The lexical tone is also audible in isolation (e.g. in counting sequences): *yěy* ‘two’.

Both the preservation of the tone of a preceding modified noun, and the dropping of the final <LH>-tone of the numeral prepausally after a modified noun, distinguish noun-numeral combinations for numerals ‘2’ and up’ (62a) from ordinary sequences of noun plus modifying adjective (62b), including the numeral ‘1’ (62c) and ordinals.

(62)	a.	<i>nǎ:</i>	<i>yěy</i>
		cow	two
		‘two cows’	

- b. *nà:*^L *pɛ:-m*
cow^L old-AnSg
‘(an) old cow’ (*nă:*)
- c. *tɔrɔ*^L *tùwⁿʒ*
mountain^L one
‘one mountain’ (*tɔrɔ*)

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

The decimal terms, with *pérú* ‘10’ as the base, are in (63). *pérú* is modified in various ways when compounded with a following single-digit numeral to produce ‘20’ through ‘90’.

(63) gloss form

‘10’	<i>pérú</i>
‘20’	<i>pérí-yéy</i>
‘30’	<i>pé-tǎ:n ~ pé-tà:nú</i>
‘40’	<i>pé-nǐ:yⁿ</i>
‘50’	<i>pé-nùmūyⁿ</i>
‘60’	<i>pèr-kúròy</i>
‘70’	<i>pèr-súyⁿòyⁿ</i>
‘80’	<i>pèr-gá:rày</i>
‘90’	<i>pèr-tè:sím</i>

When one recites the list out loud, as one would do in counting, one notices more readily that adjacent decimal terms have similar forms of *pérú-*. Thus ‘30’ through ‘50’ begin with *pé-*, while ‘60’ through ‘90’ begin with *pèr-*. The tonal difference between these two variants correlates inversely with the first tone component of the following single-digit numeral, so we get H-toned *pé-* before an L-initial numeral in ‘30’ to ‘50’, and L-toned *pèr-* before an H-initial numeral in ‘60’ through ‘90’. However, there is no phonological basis for the loss of *r* in *pé-* and its preservation in *pèr-*. Note that in ‘30’ and ‘90’ the following numeral begins in *t*.

As with the numerals ‘2’ to ‘9’ (see just above), a **modified noun** preceding a decimal numeral has its regular lexical tones (64a-b). If the decimal numeral itself ends in an <LH>-toned syllable (‘20’ through ‘50’), the <LH>-tone reduces to L-tone prepausally and in isolation (64a) but not before another constituent (64b).

- (64) a. *úrò* *pérí-yèy*
house ten-two
‘twenty houses’
- b. *nă:* *pé-nùmūyⁿ* *kù*
cow ten-five Anaph
‘those (same) five cows’

A decimal term may be combined with a single-digit ('1-9') numeral to produce **compound numerals** like '11' and '59'. The morpheme *sâ:* follows the single-digit numeral; I gloss it as 'plus' but it is confined to numerals.

- (65) a. *péré* [tùwⁿʒ] *sâ:*
ten [one plus]
'eleven'
- b. *pé-nùmŷⁿ* [tè:s̥im] *sâ:*
ten-five [nine plus]
'fifty-nine'
- c. *ùsú* [pé-tă:n] *tă:n* *sâ:*
day [ten-three three plus]
'thirty-three days'

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

The key stems are in (66). They can be considered to be nouns, and (like any countable noun) can be followed by any of the numerals given above.

- (66) gloss form
- a. 'hundred' *té:mdérè* (<Fulfulde)
- b. 'thousand' *mùsú*
- c. 'million' *mìlyɔ:ⁿ* (<French)

Like other numerals '2' and up, these numerals do not force tone-dropping on a preceding modified noun: *nă: té:mdérè* '(one) hundred cows', *nă: mùsú* '(one) thousand cows', *nă: mìlyɔ:ⁿ* '(one) million cows'.

The archaic term *sùngú* is still used among older people for '80' in connection with currency (see below).

These nouns may be directly followed by a **single-digit** numeral '2' to '9' denoting the number of higher units: *té:mdérè yěy* 'two hundred', *mùsú tă:n* 'three thousand'. A single-digit numeral ending in <LH>-tone drops to L-tone under the usual conditions, hence e.g. *té:mdérè yěy* prepausally.

Numerals involving **more than one level** ('1-99', hundreds, thousands) normally require repetition of a modified noun (67).

- (67) [*péré* *mùsú* *yěy*] [*péré* *té:mdérè* *nùmŷⁿ*]
[sheep thousand two] [sheep hundred five]
[*péré* *pérí-yěy*]
[sheep ten-two]
'two thousand, five hundred, (and) twenty sheep'

When there is no modified noun, *ya→*, which might be analysed as a variant of the ‘and’ particle, is optionally used between a hundred (or thousand) term and a ‘1-99’ term. In careful speech, it is grouped prosodically with the following component (68). It is always heard with intonational prolongation. Although there may be prosodic breaks after the two nonterminal right brackets in (68), these breaks are associated with nonterminal intonation (i.e. anticipating more to come), so the final <LH>-tones in *yěy* and *nùmūy^{n†}* are audible.

- (68) [mùsú *yěy[†]*] [té:mdérè nùmūy^{n†}]
 [thousand two] [hundred five]
[yá→ pérí-yěy]
 [and ten-two]
 ‘two thousand, five hundred, (and) twenty’

4.7.1.5 Currency

The official unit is the CFA franc. In all native languages, the unit for currency expressions less than one million CFA francs is what in colonial times was called the riyal, equivalent to five CFA francs. Thus ‘100’ when referring to money means ‘100 riyals’, i.e. ‘500 CFA francs’. The noun meaning ‘riyal’ is *bú:dù*, shared with Fulfulde, Jamsay, and some other regional languages. ‘5 CFA francs’ is therefore *bú:dù tìwⁿʒ*, ‘10 CFA francs’ is *bú:dù yěy*, etc.

For very large amounts, *mìlyōⁿ* ‘million’ is used, meaning ‘one million CFA francs (not riyals)’.

4.7.1.6 Distributive numerals

A numeral may be iterated to denote price per unit, or other distributive numeral (e.g. ‘ten each’, ‘ten by ten’, ‘ten at a time’).

- (69) *máŋgórò* [*pérí-yěy* *pérí-yěy*] *tíyé-yè*
 mango [ten-two ten-two] sell.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They sell mangoes for twenty riyals (=100 francs) each.’

With ‘1’, the form is invariant *tìwⁿʒ-tìwⁿʒ* even with animate referents (70). Compare animate singular *tìwⁿʒ-m*.

- (70) *nǎ:-Ø* *tìwⁿʒ-tìwⁿʒ* *yè-bɔ̄*
 cow-Pl one-one come.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘The cows came one by one.’

4.7.2 Ordinal adjectives

4.7.2.1 ‘First’ and ‘last’

These ordinals differ in form from the bulk of ordinals (on which see just below). They both end in *ó*, which is otherwise not observed with numerals or with modifying adjectives. As with ordinary adjectives, a modified noun drops its tones before ‘first’ and ‘last’.

- (71) a. *ùrò^L* *kùyó:*
 house^L first
 ‘the first house’
- b. *ùrò^L* *dùmdó:*
 house^L last
 ‘the last house’

Singular forms are seen in *nù^L kùyó:-m* ‘the first person’ and *nù^L dùmdó:-m* ‘the last person’. The plurals are *nù^L kùyó:* and *nù^L dùmdó:*.

4.7.2.2 Other ordinals (suffix *-nè*)

All other numerals have an ordinal with suffix *-nè* after tone-dropped numeral stem. Slightly irregular forms are *tày-né* ‘third’ and *pèr-né* ‘tenth’. Representative examples are in (72). Ordinals behave morphosyntactically like modifying adjectives and induce tone-dropping on a preceding noun: *ùrò^L yèy-né* ‘the second house’.

- | (72) | form | gloss |
|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. single-digit numeral | | |
| | <i>yèy-né</i> | ‘second’ |
| | <i>tày-né</i> | ‘third’ |
| | <i>nì:-nè</i> | ‘fourth’ |
| | <i>kùròy-né</i> | ‘sixth’ |
| | <i>pèr-né</i> | ‘tenth’ |
| b. decimal | | |
| | <i>pèrì-yèy-né</i> | ‘twentieth’ |
| c. decimal plus single-digit numeral | | |
| | <i>pèrè tìwⁿò sà:-nè</i> | ‘eleventh’ |
| d. hundred | | |
| | <i>tè:mdèrè-né</i> | ‘hundredth’ |
| e. hundred plus ‘1-99’ numeral (two levels) | | |
| | <i>té:mdérè yà: pèrì-yèy-né</i> | ‘hundred and twentieth’ |

4.7.3 Fractions and portions

‘Half’, or more accurately ‘large fraction’, is *pékérè*. (Someone’s) ‘share’ of a whole is *kériyéy*, e.g. *kériyéy* ‘my share’. The noun or adjective ‘some, certain (ones)’ is *gàmbú* (variant *gám*), see §6.3.2.

5 Nominal and adjectival compounds

5.1 Nominal compounds

Many compounds are expressed with the initial X in its regular (lexical) tone, and the final N in all-L tone (tone-dropped), schematically ($\bar{x} \bar{n}$). This is indistinguishable from the possessive construction with any possessor X other than a first or second person pronoun.

- (73) a. $bé:nì$ ^L*yà:*
B ^Lwoman.Pl
'the women of Beni'
- b. $isê:$ ^L*ɔ:-m*
village ^Lchief-AnSg
'village chief'

In addition to these productive types, the lexicon (especially for flora-fauna) contains many compounds where both initial and final have tone patterns not attributable to tone-dropping or to possessor control. For example, in *ná:-lèmdé:* 'herb sp. (*Portulaca*)', we have an unexpected H-toned variant of *ná:* 'cow' before *lèmdé:* 'tongue'. One would have expected *#ná:^L-lèmdé:* matching Bankan Tey *ná:-lèmbiré:* (applied to the same herb sp.). The regularly possessed form is *ná: lémde:* 'cow's tongue', but this is not used as the flora term. There are quite a few compounds, and prosodically compound-like terms with four or more syllables, that likewise do not fit into the productive patterns that I focus on in this chapter. Some that have a reduplicative flavor are listed in §4.1.5.2.

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

In this construction, the initial drops its tones, while the final has its regular lexical melody. The initial may denote the source, location, substance, or other characteristic of the referent denoted by the final noun.

- (74) a. $màrpà:^L-giyé$
rifle^L-dance
'rifle dance (dance in which rifles are shot off)' (*màrpâ:*)
- b. $ènjè^L-sùwó$
chicken^L-excrement
'chicken excrement' (*ènjè-m*)
- c. $kù:^L-ùrùyí:$
head^L-pain
'headache' (*kû:*)

- d. *sùkòrɔ^L-kìlɔ:*
sugar^L-kilo
'kilo of sugar' (*súkɔrɔ*)
- e. *pèrè^L-kû:*
sheep^L-head
'sheep's head' (*pèrè-m*)
- f. *ìnjè^L-úrò*
dog^L-house
'doghouse' (*ìnjě-m*)

Tone-dropped initials are flagged with superscript ^L in this section, but I usually omit word-internal superscripts in texts.

5.1.2 Compounds with final verbal noun, type (*χ n̄*)

This (*χ n̄*) pattern is also used when the final is a verbal noun and the initial denotes the complement (usually a direct object), as in (75).

- (75) *nàw^{n̄}a^L-[kùw-i:]*
meat^L-[eat-VblN]
'eating meat'

In some compounds of this structure, the verbal noun functions as an adjective-like modifier for the noun, which is therefore the logical head. An example is *nì:^L-[tègir-i:]* 'antivenin (antidote for snakebite)' in line 7 of (671) in the sample text, with *nî:* 'water' and verbal noun of *tégírí* 'revive', i.e. 'water (liquid) of/for reviving'. However, this type of sense, where the compound final specifies the **function or purpose** of the entity, can also be expressed by instrumental relative compounds (§5.1.9).

5.1.3 Agentive compounds of type (*χ v̄-Ppl*)

Most agentives are not simple ('dancer'), rather they are compounds with an initial L-toned noun ('dance-dancer'). In the regular pattern described in this section, the initial drops its tones, while the final has {LH} tones with just the final syllable high. Examples with ordinary noun as compound initial are in (76).

- (76) a. *màngòrò^L-^{LH}[tìyí-m]*
mango^L-^{LH}[sell.Agent-AnSg]
'mango seller' (*màngórò týé-*)
- b. *àrsè:^L-^{LH}[èré-m]*
animal^L-^{LH}[tend.Agent-AnSg]
'herder, shepherd' (*àrsě: béré-*)

- c. *wèrè*^{L-LH} [dànnà-m]
 gazelle^{L-LH}[hunt.Agent-AnSg]
 ‘gazelle-hunter’ (*wéré-m dànní-*)

The plurals are *màŋgòrò*^{L-LH} *tìyú*, *àrsè:*^{L-LH} *bèré*, and *wèrè*^{L-LH} *dànnà*.

Of the examples in (76), that in (76a) illustrates the regular morphophonology of the agentive verb (i.e., the compound final), in that the stem has a final *i ~ u* before singular *-m*, and a final *u* in the unsuffixed plural form. (For trisyllabics, the medial vowel also raises.) The final in ‘herder’ (76b) is related to the noun *bèré*: ‘pasture’. ‘Hunter’ (76c) belongs to the same word-family as verb *dànní-* ‘hunt’ but is not a regular derivational form.

Examples with cognate nominals as compound initials are in (77).

- (77) a. *yògù*^{L-LH} [yògú-m]
 running^{L-LH}[run.Agent-AnSg]
 ‘runner’ (*yógù yòyó-*)
- b. *bìrè*^{L-LH} [bìrí-m]
 work(n)^{L-LH}[work.Agent-AnSg]
 ‘worker’ (*bíré bìrè-*)

Further examples of morphologically regular agentive finals are in (78). The initial has the same form in the singular and plural agentives. (78a) shows the shift of the final vowel from low or mid-height to high in the agentive, for verb stems of two or more syllables. This does not apply to monosyllabic stems, and *găyⁿ* ‘put’ loses its final semivowel (78b).

(78)	verb	gloss	agentive		gloss
			singular	plural	
a.	<i>séwé-</i>	‘saw’	<i>kòsù</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>sèwⁿú-m</i>]	<i>-sèwⁿú</i>	‘calabash-cutter’
	<i>céwⁿé-</i>	‘build’	<i>ùrò</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>cèwⁿú-m</i>]	<i>-cèwⁿú</i>	‘homebuilder’
	<i>tíyé-</i>	‘weave’	<i>gòrⁿù</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>tìyí-m</i>]	<i>-tìyú</i>	‘basket-weaver’
	<i>tírⁿé-</i>	‘get wood’	<i>tìn</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>tìrⁿí-m</i>]	<i>-tìrⁿú</i>	‘wood gatherer’
	<i>wàrá-</i>	‘farm’	<i>wòŋgùrò</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>wàrú-m</i>]	<i>-wàrú</i>	‘farmer’
	<i>nùwⁿó-</i>	‘sing’	<i>nùwⁿɔ</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>nùwⁿú-m</i>]	<i>-nùwⁿú</i>	‘singer’
	<i>jìyé-</i>	‘dance’	<i>jìyè</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>jìyí-m</i>]	<i>-jìyú</i>	‘dancer’
	<i>tí-</i>	‘send’	<i>lè:tèrè</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>tìyí-m</i>]	<i>-tìyú</i>	‘letter-sender’
b.	<i>tóró-</i>	‘pound’	<i>tòri:</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>tòrú-m</i>]	<i>-tòrú</i>	‘pounder (of grain)’
	<i>pété-</i>	‘jump’	<i>àpètù</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>pètú-m</i>]	<i>-pètú</i>	‘jumper’
c.	<i>tó-</i>	‘stomp’	<i>gùsù</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>tó-m</i>]	<i>-tó:</i>	‘(hide-)tanner’
	<i>găyⁿ-</i>	‘put’	<i>gàrà</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>găⁿ-m</i>]	<i>-gă:ⁿ</i>	‘(indigo-)dyer’
	<i>káyⁿ-</i>	‘do, make’	<i>mòsù</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>kăⁿ-m</i>]	<i>-kă:ⁿ</i>	‘evil-doer’
	<i>dú-</i>	‘carry’	<i>dù:</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>dă-m</i>]	<i>-dă:</i>	‘porter, carrier’
d.	<i>tágóró-</i>	‘chew’	<i>tògùrò</i> ^{L-LH} [<i>tògùrú-m</i>]	<i>-tògùrú</i>	‘meat-chewers’

These agentive compounds should be distinguished from the superficially similar resultative compounds (alternatively, noun-adjective sequences) presented in §5.1.10.

As indicated before, tone superscripts are used here, but are usually omitted in text transcriptions.

5.1.4 Compounds with *-yî:* ‘child of’

With a nonhuman referent, a compound with L-toned initial followed by *-yî:* ‘child’ can denote the fruit or other product (of a plant), or other small object closely associated with a larger object. The larger entity may be unmarked, or may itself be a compound with *-ná:* (§5.1.8).

- (79) a. *mò:nò:^L-yî:*
wild.date-child
'wild date' (*mò:nò:* or *mò:nò:-ná:* 'wild date tree')
- b. *[nùm-nà:^L] -yî:*
[-big]-child
'small round grinding stone' (held in hand for grinding on *nùm-ná:* 'large flat grinding stone')

These compounds are distinct from simple possessor-possessed combinations involving *yî-m* ‘child’ or related forms, like that in (80). Here the possessor has its regular tones, while the possessed noun has an {HL} or {L} overlay.

- (80) *úrò ^Lyì-tè:*
house ^Lchildren
'the children of the house'

Numerous nouns with final rising tone and ending in *yⁿ*, such as *tă:yⁿ* ‘shed’, *èmĕyⁿ* ‘sorghum’, *dòyⁿđyⁿ* ‘ashes’, *jèmĕyⁿ* ‘waterjar shard’, and *pđ:yⁿ* ‘fonio (grain)’, originated as diminutive compounds with *-yⁿ (another ‘child’ form) after L-toned stem. Compare Nanga *tă:ⁿ*, *è:mbé*, *dùyá*, *jè:mbé*, and *pđ:ⁿ*. The BenT forms, however, are now frozen.

5.1.5 ‘Woman’ (*yà-*, *yà:-*), ‘man’ (*àrⁿà-*)

‘Woman’ is singular *yă-m*, plural *yă:*. The short-voweled form *yă* is used as a compound initial (or preadjectival noun form) in *yă^L-gùrō-m* ‘adolescent girl’, *yă^L-ságtará-m* ‘full-grown woman’, *yă^L-pĕ:-m* ‘old woman’, *yă^L dâ:-m* ‘junior wife’, *yă^L díyⁿă-m* ‘senior wife’, *yă^L-nòrⁿú* ‘co-wife’, *yă^L-bírím* ‘betrothal’, *yă^L-[tăl-î]* ‘bridal procession’ and *yă^L kálà-m* ‘new bride’. The phonologically more regular long-voweled preadjectival form *yă:^L* is less common but occurs in *yă:^L yî-m* ‘girl’ and *yă:^L kû-m* ‘unmarried woman’.

‘Man’ is *árⁿà-m*, plural *árⁿà*. It has the regular form *àrⁿà* as compound initial or before an adjective: *àrⁿà^L pĕ-m* ‘old man’, *àrⁿà^L kû-m* ‘bachelor’, etc.

As modifying adjectives ('female', 'male'), the same forms as in the nouns 'woman' and 'man' are used, with appropriate agreement.

5.1.6 Possessive-type compounds (ñ ñ, ñ ñ)

A construction indistinguishable in form from a possessor-possessed combination may be lexicalized and function as a compound. The initial is a noun with its lexical tones, and the final is {HL}- or {L}-toned following the usual rules for possessor-controlled tone overlays. Such combinations compete with the basic (x ñ) compound type, but are generally less thoroughly lexicalized, and new ones can readily be constructed.

There are many examples in the flora-fauna vocabulary. For example, *pété-pë:-m* denotes a conspicuous and abundant grasshopper (*Oedaleus senegalensis*), which is common in fields and meadows. Less conspicuous species of the same subfamily that occur in gravelly terrain are called *kì-kàrà-käy*^L *pètè-pè:-m*, literally “gravel’s *Oedaleus*.¹ Creatures associated with a specific plant sp. have similar names, e.g. *gùrù-pírú*^{HL} *kí-kà:-m* ‘grasshopper sp. (*Acridideres*)’, literally “*Guiera* tree’s grasshopper.”

5.1.7 ‘Owner of’ (Sg *bòŋgɔ́* ~ *bòŋɔ́*)

As an uncompounded noun, we have *bòŋgɔ́-m* ~ *bòŋgɔ́-m* ‘owner’, plural *bòŋgɔ́* ~ *bòŋgɔ́* ‘owners’.

Much more often, this noun has possessed-noun tone overlay, i.e. {HL} or {L} depending on the structure and final tone of the preceding noun or NP. In this construction there is no singular *-m*, instead we get singular ^{HL}*bóŋgɔ́* ~ ^L*bóŋgɔ́*, with the plural expressed by adding plural *bè*.

- (81) a. *úrò* ^L*bòŋgɔ́*
house ^Lowner
‘home-owner (head of household)’
- b. *wògòtórò* ^L*bòŋgɔ́* *bè*
cart ^Lowner Pl
‘cart-owners’
- c. *[[úrò tà:n]^L jìgú] ^{HL}*bóŋgɔ́**
[[house three]^L Prox.Inan] ^{HL}owner
‘the owner of these three houses’
- d. *[úrò kù] ^{HL}*bóŋgɔ́**
[house Def] ^{HL}owner
‘owner of the (aforementioned) house’

The sense can be ‘owner of X’ or more generally ‘someone associated with X’ (e.g. ‘resident or native of X village’). For the latter, see two examples near the end of (673) in the sample text.

5.1.8 Loose and tight compounds with *ná:* ('authentic', 'entire')

With flora terms, adding *ná:* to the L-toned noun as compound initial unambiguously denotes the entire plant. *ná:* is often omitted since the most common reference is to the entire plant, but without *ná:* the noun can also loosely denote the fruit or other part. *ná:* can also be used adjectivally in the sense '(the) main, (the) primary', denoting the most prototypical or most important member of a set. Since the initial noun is {L}-toned in both noun-adjective sequences and noun-noun compounds, there is no sharp boundary between the two analyses.

- (82) a. *òsòrò^L-ná:*
baobab^L-entire
'baobab tree'
- b. *tà:y^{nL} ná:*
shelter^L main
'togu-na, main palaver shelter of a village'
- c. *sùngòy^L ná:*
boubou^L main
'large, elegant boubou (man's robe)'
- d. *yù:^L ná:*
millet^L main
'ordinary millet'

nùm-ná: 'large grindstone' is now fused; the small grindstone held in the hand while grinding on the larger stone is *[nùm-nà:]^L-yâ:*, not #*nùm-yâ:*.

5.1.9 Instrumental relative compounds with *-yè* ('oil for rubbing')

A loose compound consisting of a nominal compound initial (L-toned) and an imperfective verb with suffix *-yè* is used to define a type of object by its typical function. The verb stem plus *-yè* has the form of a 3Pl imperfective, but here it is used as a participle; see discussion of (436) in §14.1.6.2.

In the cases relevant to the present section, e.g. 'drinking water' is phrased as 'water (that) they drink'. This and other examples are in (83).

- (83) a. *nì:^L-[nó-yè]*
water^L-[drink.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl]
'drinking water'
- b. *nì:^L-[dàyé-yè]*
water^L-[bathe.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl]
'water for bathing'
- c. *nèy^{nL}-[né-yè]*
food^L-[eat.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl]

‘food to eat’ [2005.1a.05]

5.1.10 Resultative compounds ending in nominalized verb (-ú)

There are also some combinations where a verb in L-toned form with suffix **-ú** functions as a compound final (or, arguably, modifying adjective) to a preceding {L}-toned noun. The final denotes an event or process that has left the entity in a changed state. (In Jamsay, the form in **-ú** is the productive verbal noun for nonmonosyllabic verb stems, but it is also used in resultative modifying functions.)

- (84) a. *yù:^L-[yàg-ú]*
millet^L-[fall-Nom]
‘fallen-off millet grain spikes’ (verb *yàyá* ‘fall’)
- b. *nàwⁿà:^L-[sìmb-ú]*
meat^L-[roast-Nom]
‘roasted (=grilled) meat’ (verb *símbé*)
- c. *pìrⁿà^L-[sàr-ú]*
cream.of.millet-[coarsely.grind-Nom]
‘coarsely ground millet’ (verb *sárá*)

Perhaps also *mùrⁿù^L-[kès-ú]* ‘long pants’ (verb *késé* ‘cut’).

These resultative compounds superficially resemble agentive compounds with incorporated theme nouns (§5.1.3).

5.1.11 Phrasal compounds

[*kǎ: lè*] *iré-m* ‘I am bigger than a grasshopper’, borrowed entirely from Jamsay, denotes tiny birds such as the cricket warbler (*Spiloptila* [=*Prinia*] *clamans*).

s᷑:-imí-lè-m, from a Tommo-So phrase meaning ‘talk-doesn’t.like’, i.e. unsociability, denotes a psychid caterpillar that carries its sheath around and hides in it when disturbed.

5.2 Adjectival compounds

5.2.1 Bahuvrihi (“Blackbeard”) compounds (ñ ã)

In this type, the initial has its usual tones, while the final has an {HL} tone overlay. In the uncommon case where the final has more than two tones, the H spreads to the penultimate syllable, leaving just one L-toned syllable.

5.2.1.1 With adjectival compound final

Examples are in (85).

- (85) a. *àrⁿà^L pìré-^{HL}dúgù-m kù*
 man^L belly-^{HL}fat(adj)-AnSg Def
 ‘the big-bellied (=pot-bellied) man’ (*dùgû*)
- b. *àrⁿà^L pìré-^{HL}dúgù-yè*
 man^L belly-^{HL}fat(adj)-Pl
 ‘big-bellied men’
- c. *pìré-^{HL}[pátá-pátá]-m*
 belly-^{HL}flat-AnSg
 ‘flat-bellied’ (*pátá-pátá*)
- d. *kû:-^{HL}kóròy-m*
 head-^{HL}empty-AnSg
 ‘empty-headed’ (*kóròy*)
- e. *lôsô:-^{HL}césì-m*
 foot-^{HL}fast-AnSg
 ‘fleet-footed’ (*cèsú*) [2005.2a.09]

A double bahuvrihi is *tém-^{HL}dúgù nàwⁿá-^{HL}érù*, literally “fat-femured, sweet-meated.” It denotes (and accurately describes) the grasshopper *Acorypha glaucopsis*. This compound also occurs in Jamsay.

5.2.1.2 With numeral compound final

Examples are in (86).

- (86) a. *nà:-^L kû:-^{HL}nî:yⁿ-m*
 cow^L head-^{HL}four-AnSg
 ‘four-headed cow’ (*nî:yⁿ*)
- b. *gìré-^{HL}túwⁿɔ-m*
 eye-^{HL}one-AnSg
 ‘one-eyed person’ (< /tùwⁿɔ/)
- c. *sàmbà:-^L mõ:-^{HL}yêy*
 spear^L mouth-^{HL}two
 ‘spear with blades at both ends’ (*yêy*)

6 Noun Phrase structure

6.1 Organization of NP constituents

6.1.1 Linear order

The ordering of elements within NPs is indicated in (87).

(87) Order within NP

- a. prenominal possessor
 - b₁. possessor NP
 - b₂. pronominal possessor
 - b₂. inanimate *kú* ‘its’ in discourse-anaphoric sense
- b. **noun**
- c. modifying adjective(s)
- d. cardinal numeral (or distributive)
- e. deictic demonstrative pronoun ‘this/that’
- f. definite morpheme *kù* (~ *kû*)
- g. plural *bè*
- h. universal quantifier ‘all’ (*dàⁿ-wôy*)

The primary ordering relationships can be seen in (88). (88a) has all slots filled except that for numerals. A numeral does occur in (88b).

- (88) a. *á:mádù Lùrò Ldìyⁿà-wⁿ ïgú kù bè dàⁿ-wôy*
Amadou L^{house} L^{big-Inan} Prox.Inan Def Pl all
‘all of those big houses of Amadou’
- b. *ú HL[úrò dìyⁿàwⁿ tâ:nù] kù*
2SgPoss HL[house big three] Def
‘your-Sg three big houses’

When plural *bè* is combined with a demonstrative, the sequence is tightly-knit and may be followed by a numeral: *mǔ: bè yěy* ‘these two’.

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

ŋgú ‘this’ (inanimate, proximal) can be used absolutely: *ŋgú mǎ: ní* ‘give me this!’.

An adjective can be used absolutely, with an understood but unexpressed noun: *[bárⁿà-wⁿ kù] mǎ: ní* ‘give me the red one!’.

A numeral can be used absolutely: *tà:nú mǎ: ní* ‘give me three!’.

6.1.3 Bifurcation of NP (in relatives)

As head NP of a relative (chapter 14), a NP is (seemingly) bifurcated, with a core portion remaining clause-internal and the remainder appearing after the verbal participle.

The bifurcation point in a long head NP is usually after, but may also be before, the numeral. So at least the core NP, and often an entire N-(Adj-)Num sequence, remains clause-internal. Late-NP morphemes (determiners, ‘all’, the independent plural morpheme), and occasionally the numeral, follow the verb-participle. See chapter 14 for more examples. (89a) shows the numeral following the participle, (89b) shows it preceding.

- (89) a. *[[nà:^L jèwⁿè]^L yàgá-s-è:ⁿ tà:nú bû:]*
 [[cow^L black]^L fall-Reslt-Ppl.AnPl three DefPl]
 yá yǐ:-rà-w
 Exist see-Prog-2SgSbj Q
 ‘Do you-Sg see the three fallen black cows?’
- b. *[[nà: kùròy]^L í éwé-mà bû:]*
 [[cow six]^L 1SgSbj buy-Pfv.Ppl DefPl]
 án-dá: b-è:ⁿ
 where? be-3PISbj
 ‘Where are the six cows that I bought?’

In §14.1 below, I show that apparent “bifurcation” is due to the initial location of the relative clause in the position between numeral and determiner, prior to movement.

6.1.4 Internal bracketing and tone-dropping of NPs

BenT NPs have internal structure over and above linear ordering of NP elements and the location of the bifurcation point in relatives. This section gives a schematic outline of this internal structure. Examples and further details are given in later sections in this chapter and in chapter 14 on relative constructions.

The following elements control tone overlays on an adjacent noun or on a word-string containing the noun: adjectives, demonstratives, relative clauses, and possessors. Elements that do not control tone overlays on other words in the NP are numerals from ‘2’ up’, definite morphemes, ‘all’ quantifiers, and discourse-functional elements (topic, ‘also’, ‘even’, ‘only’). The generalization is this: elements that **restrict reference** by intersecting the set denoted by a common noun, thereby including and excluding specific individuals in the set, are tonosyntactic controllers.

The noun stem (simple or compound), plus any modifying adjectives, constitutes the **core NP**. Within the core NP, leaving aside the tonal effects of a possessor NP, all nonfinal words **drop their tones**. In other words, an adjective controls {L} overlay on the noun and any preceding adjective. Therefore N-Adj appears as [N^L Adj], and N-Adj₁-Adj₂ appears as [N^L Adj₁^L Adj₂], analysable tonosyntactically as [N Adj₁]^L Adj₂].

An additional feature of core NPs is that animate singular *-m*, the only overt animacy-number suffix that can appear on a noun, is added to the adjective if one is present. Thus *ìnjè-m* ‘(a) dog’, but *ìnjè^L jéw^{nè}-m* ‘(a) black dog’. See §6.3 below for full treatment of N-Adj combinations.

A numeral follows the core NP. *tùw^{nɔ}* ‘1’ behaves like an adjective. Higher numerals have no tonal interaction with preceding nouns or N-Adj sequences, and do not show animacy-number agreement. See §6.4 for examples.

A **demonstrative pronoun** (§6.5.2) controls {L} on a preceding word or word-string going back to the noun. The resulting combinations are [N^L Dem], [[N^L Adj]^L Dem], [[N Num]^L Dem], and [[N^L Adj Num]^L Dem], where all words enclosed in a bracket marked with following ^L superscript are tone-dropped under the control of the word to the right.

Definite morphemes (§6.7) have the same linear position as demonstratives, but they do not control {L} on preceding words. Universal quantifiers (‘all’) and discourse-functional morphemes bring up the rear in the NP. They too fail to control {L} on preceding words.

These comments take care of postnominal modifiers (except relative clauses). The only tone overlay controlled by any of these postnominal elements is {L}, and it always targets words to the left of the controller. However, an NP may also be preceded by a possessor, either a pronoun or a nonpronominal NP. Possessors also control tone overlays on the noun (and some postnominal modifiers). In BenT, the possessor controls either {HL} or {L} on the possessed NP depending on its own structure and final tone. Simple possessed nouns therefore appear either as [Poss^{HL}N] or as [Poss^LN]. Here the tone superscript is on the left edge of the noun, “pointing” toward the controller, which in this case targets words to its right.

When multiple right-to-left (R-to-L) controllers occur in the same NP, the effect is that all nonfinal words are tone-dropped. There is no uncertainty about the output, but there is an analytical question whether tone-dropping applies cyclically or in one step. For example, in [[N^L Adj]^L Dem] both the noun and the adjective are {L}-toned. This result can be achieved either by having the demonstrative tone-drop both preceding words, or by having the adjective tone-drop the noun on an inner cycle and then having the demonstrative tone-drop the adjective.

When a possessor (the only L-to-R controller) co-occurs with one or more R-to-L controllers, conflicts ensue. This is most obvious when the possessor is of the type that controls {HL} rather than {L} on the following possessed NP. Just one example of conflict resolution will be given in this section. In (90a-b), *úrò* ‘house’ and *ìnjè-m* ‘dog’ have overlaid {HL} overlay controlled by the preceding possessor ‘(a) woman’.

- (90) a. *yǎ-m* ^{HL}*úrò* *ŋgú*
 woman-AnSg ^{HL}house Prox.Inan
 ‘this house of a woman’ (< *úrò*)
- b. *yǎ-m* ^{HL}*ínjè* *mǔ:*
 woman-AnSg ^{HL}dog Prox.An
 ‘this dog of a woman’ (< *ìnjè-m*)

In the absence of a possessor, the demonstrative controls {L} on the noun: *ùrò*^L *ŋgú* ‘this house’. However, in (90a-b) the demonstrative has no effect on the tone of ‘house’ or ‘dog’ (or for that matter on ‘woman’). One could emphasize the demonstrative’s lack of tonosyntactic effect by showing the Poss-N sequences as tonosyntactic **islands**, e.g. *Cyǎ-m_{HL} ìnjè* mǔ:

6.2 Possessives

Several Dogon languages sharply distinguish alienable from inalienable (kinship) possession; for example, pronominal possessors precede kin terms but follow alienables. This does not happen in BenT, where all possessors are pronominal.

There is likewise no tonosyntactic distinction between simple alienable and inalienable Poss-N combinations, as both types of possessors control {HL} and {L} tone overlays under the same conditions. However, when additional postnominal modifiers are added, specifically numerals, some distinctions between alienable and inalienable possession become apparent. In addition, kin terms have some distinctive morphological features.

1Sg possessor is segmentally zero but is expressed by a floating L-tone that docks on the left edge of the possessed NP, which always has {HL} tone overlay, resulting in a bell-shaped surface melody that we can represent as L+{HL}. For possessors other than 1Sg, the basic rules for possessum overlays are as follows.

- a) If the possessor is a pronoun or an undetermined NP (i.e. not ending in definite *kù* or plural *bè*), the final tone of the possessor determines the overlay. Possessor-final H-tone requires {HL}-toned possessum, while possessor-final L-tone requires {L}-toned possessum.
- b) If the possessor is an NP ending in definite *kù* or plural *bè*, the following possessum gets the {HL} overlay, even though *kù* and *bè* are L-toned.

The possessum also gets {HL} if the possessor ends in a demonstrative. However, since all demonstratives end in H-tones, the correct overlay could be produced by either (a) or (b).

For detailed discussion of possible (but flawed) ways to model the relationship between {HL} and {L} overlays, see §3.7.3.4

6.2.1 Nonpronominal NP possessor

There is **no genitive marking** on the possessor, which has its normal form and is simply juxtaposed to a following possessed noun. The latter, however, undergoes a tonal change to {L} or to {HL}.

When the possessor is a nonpronominal NP ending in a noun, modifying adjective, or cardinal numeral, the **final tone of the possessor** determines the tone of the possessum. If the NP ends in an H-tone (including rising <LH>), the possessum has **{HL} overlay**, with the H component on the first syllable (or the first mora of a monosyllabic stem). If the NP ends in an L-tone (including falling <HL>), the possessum has **{L} overlay**.

In the following examples, the unpossessed form of the possessed noun, revealing the lexical tones, is shown in parentheses after the free translation. In (91), the possessor NP ends in an L-tone, so the possessed noun has the {L} overlay.

- (91) a. *á:mádù* ^L*ùrò*
 Amadou ^Lhouse
 ‘Amadou’s house’ (*úrò*)
- b. *á:mádù* ^L*yà-m*
 Amadou ^Lwoman-AnSg
 ‘Amadou’s woman (=wife)’ (*yà-m*)
- c. *á:mádù* ^L*ìnjè-m*
 Amadou ^Ldog-AnSg
 ‘Amadou’s dog’ (*ìnjè-m*)
- d. *á:mádù* ^L*wògòtòrò*
 Amadou ^Lpushcart
 ‘Amadou’s pushcart’ (*wògòtòrò*)
- e. *[yà:* ^L*gá:rày]* ^L*ìnjè-m*
 [woman eight] ^Ldog
 ‘the dog of (the) eight women’ (*ìnjè-m*)
- f. *[yà*^L ^L*dâ:-m]* ^L*ìnjè-m*
 [woman^L small-AnSg] ^Ldog
 ‘the dog of (the) small woman’ (*ìnjè-m*)

In (92), the possessor NP ends in an H-tone, so the possessed noun has the {HL} overlay.

- (92) a. *yà-m* ^{HL}*úrò*
 woman-AnSg ^{HL}house
 ‘(the) woman’s house’ (*úrò*)
- b. *yà-m* ^{HL}*ìnjè-m*
 woman-AnSg ^{HL}dog-AnSg
 ‘(the) woman’s dog’ (*ìnjè-m*)
- c. *yà-m* ^{HL}*wògòtòrò*
 woman-AnSg ^{HL}pushcart
 ‘(the) woman’s pushcart’ (*wògòtòrò*)
- e. *[yà:* ^L*yěy]* ^{HL}*ìnjè-m*
 [woman.Pl two] ^{HL}dog-AnSg
 ‘the dog of (the) two women’ (*ìnjè-m*)
- f. *[yà*^L ^L*pě-m]* ^{HL}*ìnjè-m*
 [woman^L old-AnSg] ^{HL}dog-AnSg
 ‘the dog of (the) old woman’ (*ìnjè-m*)

If the possessor NP ends in a free plural morpheme *bè* or in a determiner (definite or demonstrative), we again get {HL} on the possessed noun. The plural and definite

morphemes end in an L-tone (93a-b), while demonstratives end in an H-tone (93c), so in these cases the syntactic category of the final word in the possessor (determiner, non-numeral quantifier) trumps the phonology (final tone of possessor). If the possessor is itself a possessed NP, as in '[X's Y]'s Z', but it does not end in one of these determiners/quantifiers, it is treated as undetermined. The first possessor (X) will always control {L} or {HL} on the next NP (Y). Therefore, so [X's Y] always ends in an L-tone, and as possessor it will then always control {L} on a following possesum (Z), as in (93d). See also §6.2.4 on recursive possession.

- (93) a. *[úrò bè] HL yí-tè:*
 [house Pl] HL children
 ‘(the) children of (the) houses’ (*yí-tè:*)
- b. *[nǔ: yě kù] HL ínjè-m*
 [person two Def] HL dog-AnSg
 ‘the dog of the two people’ (*ínjè-m*)
- c. *[nù^L mǔ:] HL ínjè-m*
 [person^L Prox.An] HL dog-AnSg
 ‘this person’s dog’
- d. L-HL *bɔ:* L *ínjè-m* L
 1SgPoss. HL father L dog-AnSg L
 ‘my father’s dog’

The phonology of the {HL} overlay is illustrated in more detail in (94). In (94a), there is no audible change since the lexical melody happens to already be /HL/. In (94b-d) we do observe audible changes. The monosyllabic stems in (94b) end up with <HL>-tone. The nonmonosyllabic examples have H-tone on the first syllable, whether this first syllable is short (*Cv-*), heavy (*CvC-*, *Cv:-*), or superheavy (*Cv:C-*) (94c-e).

(94)	gloss	lexical form	{HL} possessed form
a.	‘house’ ‘road’ ‘water’	úrò ósù ní:	HL úrò HL ósù HL ní:
b.	‘women’ ‘person’	yă: nǔ-m	HL yâ: HL nû-m
c.	‘fabric’ ‘children’	òròsù yí-tè:	HL óròsù HL yí-tè:
d.	‘mango’ ‘stool’ ‘dog’ ‘kola nut’	màŋgórò túŋgúrúm ínjè-m gó:rò	HL màŋgòrò HL túŋgúrùm HL ínjè-m HL gó:rò

e. ‘short hoe’ *dà:mbâ:* ^{HL} *dá:mbà:*

6.2.2 Pronominal possessor

Pronominal possessor forms are in (95). They are identical to the forms used as postpositional complements, reflecting the close relationship between possessor-possessed and complement-postposition constructions (§8.2-5). Except for the zero 1Sg, these forms are also identical to those used as independent pronoun, as preparticipial subject pronominal, and optionally as direct object.

(95)	category	possessor form (preceding possessed noun)
	1Sg	(zero, with floating L-tone)
	1Pl	<i>i:</i>
	2Sg	<i>ú</i>
	2Pl	<i>û:</i>
	3Sg	<i>érⁿé</i>
	3Pl	<i>bû:</i>
	Inan	<i>kú</i>
	3ReflSg	<i>á</i>
	3ReflPl	<i>â:</i>

The tonal pattern of the following possessum depends on which pronominal possessor is at hand, as summarized in (96). Except for the special case of 1Sg possessor, the pronominal data are consistent with those seen for nonpronominal NPs above. Specifically, if the possessor ends in an H-tone, the possessed noun has {HL} tone overlay, while if the possessor ends in an L-tone, the possessed noun has all-L tones.

(96)	possessors	possessed noun
a.	1Pl <i>i:</i> , 2Pl <i>û:</i> , 3Pl <i>bû:</i> , 3ReflPl <i>â:</i>	{L}
b.	2Sg <i>ú</i> , 3Sg <i>érⁿé</i> , 3ReflSg <i>á</i> , Inan <i>kú</i>	{HL}
c.	1Sg (segmentally zero)	L+{HL}

The **1Sg possessor is segmentally zero**, but is expressed by a bell-shaped tone overlay on the possessed noun. The initial L of this tone pattern is presumably the real 1Sg possessor morpheme, i.e. a floating L-tone that “docks” on the onset of the possessed noun, while the residual ...HL is identical to the {HL} overlay controlled by other singular possessors. However, the details of tone association for the 1Sg differ from those that are valid for the other pronouns that precede {HL}-overlaid possessed nouns. Consider the data in (97).

			possessed, after ...		
	stem	gloss	...2Sg	...1Pl	...1Sg

a.	<i>yû:</i>	'millet'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>yû:</i>	<i>î: yù:</i>	<i>L+HL yû:</i>
	<i>kû:</i>	'head'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>kû:</i>	<i>î: kù:</i>	<i>L+HL kû:</i>
	<i>sîw</i>	'hoe'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>sîw</i>	<i>î: sîw</i>	<i>L+HL sîw</i>
	<i>ě:</i>	'well'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>ě:</i>	<i>î: ě:</i>	<i>L+HL ě:</i>
	<i>bëyⁿ</i>	'beard'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>bëyⁿ</i>	<i>î: bëyⁿ</i>	<i>L+HL bëyⁿ</i>
b.	<i>á:rá</i>	'rice'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>á:rà</i>	<i>î: ^Lá:rà</i>	<i>L+HL á:rà</i>
	<i>ènjî:</i>	'roselle'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>énjî:</i>	<i>î: ^Lènjî:</i>	<i>L+HL ènjî:</i>
	<i>dâ:mbâ:</i>	'short hoe'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>dâ:mbâ:</i>	<i>î: ^Ldâ:mbâ:</i>	<i>L+HL dâ:mbâ:</i>
	<i>gó:rò</i>	'kola nut'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>gó:rò</i>	<i>î: ^Lgó:rò</i>	<i>L+HL gó:rò</i>
	<i>bârmëy</i>	'corn'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>bârmëy</i>	<i>î: ^Lbârmëy</i>	<i>L+HL bârmëy</i>
c.	<i>úrò</i>	'house'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>úrò</i>	<i>î: ^Lùrò</i>	<i>L+HL úrò</i>
	<i>kârâ</i>	'mat'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>kârâ</i>	<i>î: ^Lkârâ</i>	<i>L+HL kârâ</i>
	<i>béré</i>	'stick'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>bérè</i>	<i>î: ^Lbérè</i>	<i>L+HL bérè</i>
	<i>èmëyⁿ</i>	'sorghum'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>émëyⁿ</i>	<i>î: ^Lèmëyⁿ</i>	<i>L+HL èmëyⁿ</i>
	<i>dûrù</i>	'long pole'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>dûrù</i>	<i>î: ^Ldûrù</i>	<i>L+HL dûrù</i>
	<i>mòbil</i>	'vehicle'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>mòbil</i>	<i>î: ^Lmòbil</i>	<i>L+HL mòbil</i>
d.	<i>tûngûrùm</i>	'stool'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>tûngûrùm</i>	<i>î: ^Ltûngûrùm</i>	<i>L+HL tûngûrùm</i>
	<i>mângôrò</i>	'mango'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>mângôrò</i>	<i>î: ^Lmângôrò</i>	<i>L+HL mângôrò</i>
e.	<i>bânàkû:</i>	'cassava'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>bânàkù:</i>	<i>î: ^Lbânàkù:</i>	<i>L+HL bânàkù:</i>
	<i>gì-gàsâ:</i>	'pioche'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>gí-gàsâ:</i>	<i>î: ^Lgí-gàsâ:</i>	<i>L+HL gí-gàsâ:</i>
	<i>kânár"âyⁿ</i>	'melon'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>kânár"âyⁿ</i>	<i>î: ^Lkânár"âyⁿ</i>	<i>L+HL kânár"âyⁿ</i>
	<i>òsò-kôrò</i>	'throat'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>òsò-kôrò</i>	<i>î: ^Lòsò-kôrò</i>	<i>L+HL òsò-kôrò</i>
	<i>kù-kùyò</i>	'hair'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>kù-kùyò</i>	<i>î: ^Lkù-kùyò</i>	<i>L+HL kù-kùyò</i>
f.	<i>bîyà:kú</i>	'guava'	<i>ú</i> ^{HL} <i>bîyà:kú</i>	<i>î: ^Lbîyà:kú</i>	<i>L+HL bîyà:kú</i>

In the 1Sg possessor forms, we observe the following:

- (98) a. a monosyllabic stem has <LHL> tone (97a).
b. in bisyllabic and longer stems: the initial syllable has < LH>-tone and the rest of the word is L-toned

Phonetically, when the initial syllable is monomoraic (*Cv*), the H-tone component is pushed to the right by the L-tone of the 1Sg possessor morpheme, and the H-tone may spill over into the onset of the second syllable. This is understandable, since it is difficult to clearly articulate both the L and H components of a rising tone on a nonfinal *Cv* syllable. Possibly in connection with this, I have noticed occasional pronunciations of the 1Sg possessor form where an initial voiced consonant, especially {*b m*}, is slightly prolonged and allows an earlier phonetic expression of the 1Sg possessor's L-tone, so that e.g. ^{L+HL}*bérè* 'my stick' approaches phonetic [ðb:érè].

For human and other animate nouns, the tone overlays apply to the entire input noun including singular *-m* (99a) and the regular plural form (99b).

(99)	stem	gloss	possessed, after ...		
			...2Sg	...1Pl	...1Sg
a.	<i>ìnjé-m</i>	'dog'	ú ^{HL} ínjè-m	î: ^L ìnjè-m	L+HL ^{L+HL} ìnjè-m
	<i>pèrè-m</i>	'sheep-Sg'	ú ^{HL} pérè-m	î: ^L pérè-m	L+HL ^{L+HL} pérè-m
	<i>yá-m</i>	'woman'	ú ^{HL} yâ-m	î: ^L yâ-m	L+HL ^{L+HL} yâ-m
	<i>yí-m</i>	'child'	ú ^{HL} yî-m	î: ^L yî-m	L+HL ^{L+HL} yî-m
b.	<i>ìnjé</i>	'dogs'	ú ^{HL} ínjè	î: ^L ìnjè	L+HL ^{L+HL} ìnjè
	<i>pèrè</i>	'sheep-Pl'	ú ^{HL} pérè	î: ^L pérè	L+HL ^{L+HL} pérè
	<i>yá:</i>	'women'	ú ^{HL} yâ:	î: ^L yâ:	L+HL ^{L+HL} yâ:
	<i>yí-tè:</i>	'children'	ú ^{HL} yí-tè:	î: ^L yí-tè:	L+HL ^{L+HL} yí-tè:

6.2.3 Domain of possessor-controlled tone overlay

The domain of the possessor-controlled overlay normally extends to the end of the core NP, i.e. includes any modifying adjectives (100a-b). This is indicated by placing the overlay diacritic, e.g. ^{HL}, at the left edge of the bracketed string that functions as the targeted domain. All but one of the examples in (100) are of the type [Poss ^(HL)[N Adj (Adj)]], where the overlay, either {HL} or {L}, extends to the final adjective. The exception is that the controller pecking order is optionally reversed in the specific case of **inalienable** [Poss [N Adj]] when the possessor is a monomoraic (*Cv*) pronominal (2Sg ú, 3Refl/LogoSg á). This sequence can therefore appear either as [Poss ^{HL}[N Adj]] or as [[Poss N]^L Adj], as shown by the two options in (100c). In the variant *[ù lèsù]^L mòsù-m*, the (phonologically light) 2Sg pronoun ú is tone-dropped along with the following noun, while the adjective surfaces with its lexical tones. This option is not available with alienable possession (100e), or even in inalienable possession when the possessor is phonologically heavy (100d) or is integrated segmentally into the possessed noun, i.e. in the 1Sg possessor form (100f).

- (100) a. ú ^{HL}[úrò *diyⁿà-wⁿ*]
2SgPoss ^{HL}[house big-Inan]
'your-Sg big house' (< *úrò*, *diyⁿà-wⁿ*)
- b. ú ^{HL}[lèsù *mòsù-m*]
2SgPoss ^{HL}[uncle bad-AnSg]
'your bad (nasty) uncle' (< *lèsú*, *mòsù-m*)
- c. ú ^{HL}[lèsù *mòsù-m*]
or: ú *[lèsù]^L mòsù-m*
2SgPoss uncle bad-AnSg
'your-Sg bad (nasty) uncle'

- d. **ú** ^{HL}[*lésù*] *mòsù-m]*
- not:** #**[ù** ^L*lèsù*]^L *mòsù-m*
 #2SgPoss uncle bad-AnSg
 ‘your bad (nasty) uncle’
- e. **ú** ^{HL}[*ínjè*] *mòsù-m]*
- not:** #**[ù** ^L*ínjè*]^L *mòsù-m*
 #2SgPoss dog bad-AnSg
 ‘your bad (nasty) dog’
- f. ^{L+HL}[*ínjè*] *mòsù-m]*
- ^{L+HL}[1Sg-dog bad-AnSg]
 ‘my bad (nasty) dog’
- g. **ú** ^{HL}[*úrò*] *díyⁿà-wⁿ* *bárⁿà-wⁿ*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}[house big-Inan red-Inan]
 ‘your-Sg big red (=brown) house’ (<*úrò*, *díyⁿà-wⁿ*, *bárⁿà-wⁿ*)

With **alienable** possession, a **numeral** ‘2’ or greater is also included in the scope of the possessor-controlled overlay. The schema here is [Poss ^{(H)L}[N Num]] (101a). Inalienables sometimes follow the same [Poss ^{(H)L}[N Num]] pattern. More often, an inalienable possessor treats the numeral as **external to the overlay**, resulting in [Poss ^{(H)L}N Num] where {(H)L} is applied only to the noun. The observable difference is whether the numeral is tone-dropped (101b). In the external-number type, plural particle *bè* may follow the noun, further suggesting the peripherality of the following numeral. I suspect that the variant that follows the alienable pattern was biased by elicitation context (where alienable and inalienable examples were elicited together).

- (101) a. **ú** ^{HL}[*úrò*] *pèrù* *(kù)*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}[house ten] (Def)
 ‘your-Sg ten houses’
- b. **ú** ^{HL}[*lésù*] *pèrù* (*bû:*)
or: **ú** ^{HL}*lésù* *pérú*
or: **ú** ^{HL}*lésù* **bè** *pérú*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}uncle Pl ten (DefPl)
 ‘your-Sg ten uncles’

The wide-domain alienable overlay is unaffected by Adj-Num Inversion (§6.4.2). (102) below shows the same wide domain of the {HL} overlay in both uninverted (102a) and inverted (102b) versions, which are schematized respectively as [Poss ^{(H)L}[N Adj Num]] and [Poss ^{(H)L}[N Num Adj]]. As one might expect from the externality of the numeral in the previous inalienable examples, Adj-Num Inversion is more problematic for inalienables. One speaker, whose outputs follow a logical pattern, produced the uninverted version (102c) as [[[Poss N]^L Adj] Num], with the final numeral tonosyntactically external as expected. His inverted version was (102d), schematically [[Poss N Num]^L Adj]. Here, shifting the adjective to the end allowed it to control a broadened domain that now includes the numeral. Another speaker broke the inverted version up into three parts (102e), namely a) [*ú* ^{HL}*lésù*] ‘your uncle’, b)

pérú ‘ten’ (note the lexical /H/ melody), and c) *mòsí-yè* ‘bad-AnPl’, whose normal tone overlay is nowhere to be seen. (102e) may be unrepresentative, but it does make some sense insofar as it takes the tonosyntactic externality of the numeral to an extreme.

- (102) a. *ú* ^{HL}[*úrò*] *dìy^{nà}-wⁿ* *pérù* *(kù)*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}[house] big-Inan ten] (Def)
 ‘your-Sg ten big houses’
- b. *ú* ^{HL}[*úrò*] *pérù* *dìy^{nà}-wⁿ* *(kù)*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}[house] ten big-Inan (Def)
 [= (a)]
- c. *[ù lèsù]^L* *mòsí-yè* *pérú*
 [2SgPoss uncle]^L bad-AnPl ten
 ‘your-Sg ten bad (nasty) uncles’
- d. *[ù lèsù* ^L *pérù]* ^L *mòsí-yè*
 [2SgPoss uncle] ten] bad-AnPl
 [= (c)]
- e. *[ú* ^{HL}*lésù]* *pérú* *mòsí-yè* *(bû;)*
 [2SgPoss ^{HL}uncle] ten bad-AnPl (DefPl)
 [= (c,d)] [from another informant]

Late-NP morphemes such as *wôy* ‘all, each’ are not included in a possessor-controlled domain under any conditions (104).

- (103) *[ú* ^{HL}*lésù* / ^{HL}*úrò* *wôy]*
 [2SgPoss ^{HL}uncle/ ^{HL}house each]
 ‘all/each of your-Sg uncles/houses’

The same is true with definite markers like plural *bû;*, which occurs optionally in several preceding examples where it has no tonal effect on other words. The discourse-functional particles covered in chapter 19 (e.g. topic *kày*, *kálà* ‘even’, *săy* ‘only’) likewise have no effect on the form of preceding words in the NP.

For [\subset Poss ^{(H)L}N \supset Dem], where the possessor-noun behaves as a tonosyntactic island, see [[ú ^{HL}*lésù*] *mă:* *bè*] ‘these uncles of yours’ in §6.6.

6.2.4 Recursive and embedded possession

Complex possessed NPs of the type [X’s Y’s Z] are normally bracketed as [[X’s Y]’s Z]. Y in [X’s Y] has either {L} or {HL} overlay depending on what X is, and is L+{HL} with (segmentally zero) 1Sg possessor. In any case, [X’s Y] ends in an L-tone, and as a possessor it controls {L} on the following possessum Z. Examples are in (104).

- (104) a. $\overset{\text{L+HL}}{ná}r^{\text{nà}}$ $\overset{\text{L}}{bɔ̄:$
 1SgPoss. $\overset{\text{HL}}{\text{mother}}$ father
 ‘my mother’s father’
- b. $[ú \overset{\text{HL}}{ná}r^{\text{nà}}]$ $\overset{\text{L}}{bɔ̄:$
 [2SgPoss. $\overset{\text{HL}}{\text{mother}}$] father
 ‘your mother’s father’
- c. $[á:mádù \overset{\text{L}}{ná}r^{\text{nà}}]$ $\overset{\text{L}}{bɔ̄:$
 [Amadou $\overset{\text{L}}{\text{mother}}$] father
 ‘Amadou’s mother’s father’

6.3 Noun plus adjective

6.3.1 Noun plus regular adjective

A noun may be followed by one or more modifying adjectives. For this purpose, ordinals ('first', 'second', ...) function as modifying adjectives. The adjectives agree with the noun in nominal features (animate singular and plural, inanimate). In fact, many adjectives overtly distinguish the unsuffixed animate plural from inanimate (suffix $-w$). With nouns, animate plural and inanimate both have zero suffix.

Simple examples are in (105). When an adjective is added, it controls {L} on the noun (105b-c). When two adjectives follow the noun, the final adjective controls {L} on the two preceding words (105d).

- (105) a. $màngóró$
 ‘mango’
- b. $màngóró^{\text{L}} dìgù-w$
 ‘(a) big mango’
- c. $màngóró^{\text{L}} bár^{\text{nà}}-w^n$
 ‘(a) red (= ripe) mango’
- d. $[màngóró^{\text{L}} dìgù-w]^{\text{L}} bár^{\text{nà}}-w$
 ‘(a) big red mango’

When they occur without an adjective, most animate nouns other than kin terms have animate singular suffix $-m$, which is opposed to a suffixless plural. When an adjective follows the noun, the suffix appears only on the adjective, not on the noun.

Different patterns of final vowel length are observed. For monosyllabic animate $Cv(:)$, noun stems, the common pattern is (106a), with consistent long vowel. A few nouns with $<\text{HL}>$ or $<\text{LH}>$ tone (106b) are $Cv-$ before animate singular $-m$ and (often) when {L} is imposed on them by a controller to the right. However, all of these nouns happen to have contour tones. Without the {L} overlay, or when unsuffixed, these nouns lengthen their vowel to $Cv:$ by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1).

(106) Monosyllabic animate nouns

gloss	Sg	Pl	before adjective
a. underlying <i>Cv:</i> , length retained in all positions			
‘cow’	<i>nă:-m</i>	<i>nă:</i>	<i>nă:^L èsú-m</i> ‘good ...’
‘francolin’	<i>sû:-m</i>	<i>sû:</i>	<i>sû:^L dùgû-m</i> ‘big ...’
‘monitor liz.’	<i>ă:ⁿ-m</i>	<i>ă:ⁿ</i>	<i>ă:ⁿ^L pílé-m</i> ‘white ...’
‘honey bee’	<i>â:ⁿ-m</i>	<i>â:ⁿ</i>	<i>â:ⁿ^L mòsû-m</i> ‘nasty ...’
<i>reduplicated</i>			
‘grub, worm’	<i>sì-sî:-m</i>	<i>sì-sî:</i>	<i>sì-sî:^L dâ:-m</i> ‘small ...’
‘beetle, bug’	<i>cì-cë:-m</i>	<i>cì-cë::</i>	<i>cì-cë:^L mòsû-m</i> ‘beetle sp.’
‘hyena’	<i>tì-tă:-m</i>	<i>tì-tă:</i>	<i>tì-tă:^L pílé-m</i> ‘white (i.e. striped) hyena’
b. underlying <i>C᠁</i> , <i>C᠁</i> , lengthened when contour tone audible			
< <i>LH</i> >-toned			
‘person’	<i>nǔ-m</i>	<i>nǔ:</i>	<i>nǔ^L èsú-m</i> ‘good ...’
‘woman’	<i>yă-m</i>	<i>yă:</i>	<i>yă^L èsú-m</i> ‘good ...’
‘horse’	<i>sō-m</i>	<i>sō:</i>	<i>sō^L jéwⁿè-m</i> ‘black ...’
< <i>HL</i> >-toned			
‘mouse’	<i>ô-m</i>	<i>ô:</i>	<i>ô^L jéwⁿè-m</i> ‘black ...’
‘hawk’	<i>tì-tê-m</i>	<i>tì-tê:</i>	<i>tì-tê^L dùgû-m</i> ‘big ...’
c. irregular monosyllabic			
like (b) but H-toned singular			
‘child’	<i>yí-m</i>	<i>yî:</i>	<i>yî:^L èsú-m</i> ‘good ...’
(human ‘children’ expressed by irregular <i>yì-të:</i>)			

Compounds and possessed forms complicate the situation. ‘Hyena’ is now usually treated as *Cv:* (106a), but occurs as *Cv-* in two archaic compounds: *tà-dùngú-m* ‘lion’ and *tà-jòrⁿɔ-m* ‘leopard’. Conversely, ‘woman’, and ‘horse’ (106b) have *Cv:-* forms in some compounds. For those with ‘woman’ see §5.1.5. For ‘horse’ as compound initial I have *C᠁:-* in e.g. *sò:-pétù* ‘horse race’ but *C᠁-* in e.g. *sò-nêm* ‘horse bridle’ (I suspect there is inter-speaker variation in the ‘horse’ compounds, though the ‘woman’ compounds are fixed).

While ‘person’, ‘woman’, ‘horse’, and ‘mouse’ are regularly *C᠁* before adjectives, they have long vowels when plural and preceded by a possessor ending in an L-tone: *gánà^L nù:* ‘people of Ghana’, *bē:n^L yà:* ‘women of Beni’, *bē:n^L sò:* ‘the horses of Beni’, *bē:n^L ò:* ‘the mice of Beni’. See §6.2 and §6.2.1 for discussion.

For longer animate nouns, the patterns are those in (107). If we take the stem-final vowels to be underlyingly short in (107a-d), but long in (107e), we can account for all the data based on the underlying final tone, in the cases of (107c-d) also considering the preceding tone. Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1) lengthens the vowels of the unsuffixed plurals in (107b,d). This lengthening is pre-empted in (107c) by Final-*Cv* <LH>-to-H Reduction (§3.7.4.3), which fails to apply here because of the H-tone in the preceding syllable.

(107) Nonmonosyllabic animate nouns

	gloss	Sg	Pl	with {L} overlay
a.	final short level H- or L-tone, no lengthening in plural			
	‘left-hander’	<i>bàrìyà-m</i>	<i>bàrìyà</i>	<i>bàrìyà^L èsú-m</i> ‘good ...’
	‘fish’	<i>ísì-m</i>	<i>ísì</i>	<i>ísì^L jéwⁿè-m</i> ‘black ...’
	‘cricket’	<i>kí-kérè-m</i>	<i>kí-kérè</i>	<i>kí-kérè^L bárⁿà-m</i> ‘red ...’
b.	final <HL>, lengthened in plural (§3.7.4.1)			
	‘agama lizard’	<i>cèngù-m</i>	<i>cèngù:</i>	<i>cèngù^L èsú-m</i> ‘good ...’
	‘bird’	<i>nì:yⁿî-m</i>	<i>nì:yⁿî:</i>	<i>nì:yⁿî^L bárⁿà-m</i> ‘red ...’
	‘scorpion’	<i>mù-mùrⁿû-m</i>	<i>mù-mùrⁿû:</i>	<i>mù-mùrⁿû^L mòsû-m</i> ‘nasty ...’
	‘frog’	<i>èkùnjù-m</i>	<i>èkùnjù:</i>	<i>èkùnjù^L dùgû-m</i> ‘big ...’
c.	final short <LH> after L, flattened to H in plural (§3.7.4.3)			
	‘owner’	<i>bòñgōd-m</i>	<i>bòñgō</i>	<i>úrò^L bòñgōd</i> ‘house owner’
	‘wasp’	<i>àrgàlă-m</i>	<i>àrgàlá</i>	<i>àrgàlă^L mòsû-m</i> ‘bad ...’
	‘snake’	<i>àwá-m</i>	<i>àwá</i>	<i>àwá^L bárⁿà-m</i> ‘red ...’
d.	final short <LH> after H, lengthened in plural (§3.7.4.1)			
	‘blacksmith’	<i>jémbě-m</i>	<i>jémbě:</i>	<i>jémbě^L èsú-m</i> ‘good ...’
	‘Fulbe’	<i>púlō-m</i>	<i>púlō:</i>	<i>púlō^L èsú-m</i> ‘good ...’
e.	final underlying long vowel (never shortened)			
	<LH>			
	‘animal’	<i>àrsé:-m</i>	<i>àrsé:</i>	<i>àrsé:^L èsú-m</i> ‘good ...’

Inanimates lack the *-m* and *-yè* suffixes, but similar issues arise in comparing independent and tone-dropped (e.g. preadjectival or compound-initial) forms. Again we start with monosyllabics. The majority pattern is (108a), where again the final vowel is always long, compare the animates in (106a) above.

(108) Inanimate monosyllabic nouns

	gloss	independent	tone-dropped	gloss
a.	underlying <i>Cv</i> , length retained in all positions			
	‘hand’	<i>nă:</i>	<i>nă:^L dùgû-w</i>	‘big ...’
	‘water’	<i>nî:</i>	<i>nî:^L tâm</i>	‘cold ...’
	‘tree sp.’	<i>bǐ:n</i>	<i>bǐ:ⁿ^L gâw-Ø</i>	‘tall ...’
	‘millet’	<i>yû:</i>	<i>yû:^L èsû-w</i>	‘good ...’
	‘fire’	<i>gō:</i>	<i>gō:^L dùgû-w</i>	‘big ...’
	‘head’	<i>kû:</i>	<i>kû:^L dâ:-w</i>	‘small...’
	<i>reduplicated</i>			
	‘sweat’	<i>sù-sō:</i>	<i>sù-sò:^L páru-m</i>	‘sour ...’
	<i>iterated</i>			
	‘shrub sp.’	<i>gù:-gǔ:</i>	<i>gù:-gù:^L dùgû-w</i>	‘big ...’

- b. underlying *CV*, *CV*, lengthened when contour tone audible
 [none]

For *kû*: ‘head’ (especially as abstraction), tone-dropped *kû*^L is productive, as in *kû*^L-*bòrnî*: ‘fontanel’ and *kû*^L-*dùgû-w* ‘big head’. However, (probably archaic) *kû*^L- occurs in *kû*^L-*tógoró* ‘head’, *kû*^L-*célè* ‘crown of head’, *kû*^L-*kɔsû*: ‘top and back of head’, and *kû*^L-*tùŋùrî*: ‘head of bed’, cf. also the composite postposition [*X*^{HL}*kú*^L*wò*] ‘on (the head of) X’ (§8.4.4). Similarly, *nâ*: ‘hand’ keeps its long vowel in most combinations, e.g. *nâ*^L-*dùgû-w* ‘big hand’, but a short form occurs in the probably archaic *nâ*^L-*bàñay*ⁿ ‘left hand’ and *nâ*^L-*jéy*ⁿ ‘right hand’, and in old verbal-noun compounds denoting span measures using the arm or hand (*nâ*^L-*súy*, *nâ*^L-*tây*ⁿ). These data further support the view that **CV* was formerly more widespread.

Nonmonosyllabic inanimates are in (109). The type with final short vowel (109a) is unproblematic and only token examples are given. Of the stems with final long vowel in the independent form, most retain length under tone-dropping before an adjective (109b). However, a few appear with short vowels when tone-dropped before an adjective (109c). I treat them as underlying short vowels, lengthened by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition. The stems in question occur very often with adjectival modifiers or compound finals.

(109) Nonmonosyllabic inanimate nouns

gloss	independent	with {L} overlay	gloss
a. consistent final short vowel with level tone (among many)			
‘eyes’	<i>jiré</i>	<i>jirè</i> ^L <i>pílē</i>	‘white eyes’
‘soap’	<i>sámnâ</i>	<i>sàmnâ</i> ^L <i>jéw<small>n</small>è-w<small>n</small></i>	‘black soap’
b. final underlying long vowel preserved before adjective			
<HL>-toned final syllable			
‘leaf’	<i>jèlê:</i>	<i>jèlè:</i> ^L <i>dâ:-w</i>	‘small ...’
‘medicine’	<i>àyâ:</i>	<i>àyâ:</i> ^L <i>èsû-w</i>	‘good ...’
‘village’	<i>ìsê:</i>	<i>ìsê:</i> ^L <i>èsû-w</i>	‘good ...’
‘tea’	<i>átê:</i>	<i>átê:</i> ^L <i>érù-m</i>	‘sweet ...’
‘grass’	<i>sàwâ:</i>	<i>sàwâ:</i> ^L <i>ɔrú</i>	‘fresh ...’
‘wild grape’	<i>kùrô:</i>	<i>kùrô:</i> ^L <i>gâw-Ø</i>	‘tall ...’
‘leaves’	<i>bìyâ:</i>	<i>bìyâ:-[liy-î:]</i>	‘cooked ...’
‘children’	<i>yì-tê:</i>	<i>yì-tê:</i> ^L <i>bì-bànî:</i>	‘newborn babies’
‘spear’	<i>sàmbâ:</i>	<i>sàmbâ:</i> ^L <i>sîm-Ø</i>	‘sharp ...’
‘waterjar’	<i>sèŋgû:</i>	<i>sèŋgû:</i> ^L <i>kó:ró-Ø</i>	‘worn-out ...’
‘tongue’	<i>lèmdê:</i>	<i>lèmdê:</i> ^L <i>dâ:-w</i>	‘small ...’
‘rifle’	<i>mârpâ:</i>	<i>mârpâ:</i> ^L <i>dùgû-w</i>	‘big ...’
‘waterskin’	<i>òmdô:</i>	<i>òmdô:</i> ^L <i>ésé-Ø</i>	‘clean ...’
‘pick-hoe’	<i>(gì-)gàsâ:</i>	<i>(gì-)gàsâ:</i> ^L <i>pě:-Ø</i>	‘old ...’
‘daba’	<i>dâ:mbâ:</i>	<i>dâ:mbâ:</i> ^L <i>èsû-w</i>	‘good ...’
‘plow’	<i>sàrî:</i>	<i>sàrî:</i> ^L <i>pě:-Ø</i>	‘old ...’
‘grindstone’	<i>tòngđô:</i>	<i>tòngđô:</i> ^L <i>èsû-w</i>	‘good ...’
‘tree sp.’	<i>àságùsô:</i>	<i>àságùsô:</i> ^L <i>gâw-Ø</i>	‘tall ...’
‘indigo’	<i>gàrà:</i>	<i>gàrà:</i> ^L <i>è èsû-w</i>	‘good ...’

<H>-toned final syllable			
'tomtom'	bàlpó:	bàlpò: ^L èsû-w	'good ...'

c. underlying final short <HL> syllable (/kɔ̄sû/ etc.)			
'calabash'	kɔ̄sû:	kɔ̄sû ^L pè:-∅	'old ...'
'foot'	lɔ̄sɔ̄:	lɔ̄sɔ̄ ^L èsû-w	'good ...'
'pottery'	sèŋgû:	sèŋgû ^L èsû-w	'good ...'

For ènjî: 'roselle', tone-dropped ènjì: is productive, as in ènjì:-tèwéy 'stray roselle'. Another compound, ènjí-kɔ̄:rò 'roselle cultivars with large calices', shows a short-voweled variant of ènjî: with final H-tone.

6.3.2 Adjective-like partitioning quantifier *gàmbú* 'certain'

An NP containing this partitioning quantifier denotes a strict subset of a set, or a portion of a whole. The pronunciation varies from *gàmbú* to *gǎm*. It is treated syntactically like a cardinal numeral, so both *gàmbú* and the preceding NP keep their usual tones.

- (110) a. *nǔ:* *gàmbú* *ló:-r-à:*,
 person certain go-Pfv1a-3PlSbj
nǔ: *gàmbú* *wásá:-r-à:*
 person certain remain-Pfv1a-3PlSbj
 'Some people went away, some (=others) stayed.'
- b. *yâ:* *bélé* *gàmbú* *ne=ń,*
 millet part certain eat=and,
bélé *gàmbú* *dùwò-y.:*
 part certain leave.Pfv-1PlSbj
 'We ate some of the millet and left some (=the rest).'
- c. *[[́r̩n̩d̩* *gàmbú]* *wó]* *ló-w* *dè*
 [[place certain] in] go.Pfv-2SgSbj if
 'if you-Sg go to certain spots' [2005.1a.10]

Further examples of paired *gàmbú* ~ *gǎm* clauses are in B's turns in (659) and (665) in the sample text.

6.3.3 Expansions of adjective

6.3.3.1 Adjectival intensifiers

Like all Dogon languages and others in the zone, BenT is rich in interjection-like or stem-iterated intensifiers for adjectival and some other senses. The closest English equivalents are those seen in phrases like *brand new* and *dead drunk*, but the BenT intensifiers are more distinctive phonologically (by virtue of intonational prolongation, or some form of iteration or reduplication), and generally do not also occur as ordinary nouns or other stems. There is no

sharp distinction between these intensifiers, which may co-occur with a semantically more ordinary adjective (or other stem) with the same general sense, and expressive adverbials, which are more autonomous.

The first and largest batch of examples are full-stem iterations, mostly H-toned (111a-c). The pattern **CíCí-CíCí** is found when **C₂** = **C₄** is an obstruent, versus **CíC-CíC** when **C₂** = **C₄** is a sonorant. Minor patterns are listed in (111d-f). In most cases the stem is a “nonsense” syllable not found elsewhere in the lexicon.

(111)	form	gloss	associated stem
a. CvCvC-CvCvC , H-toned			
	<i>párⁿáy-párⁿáy</i>	‘shiny new’	<i>kálà</i> ‘new’
	<i>káláj-káláj</i>	‘very dry’	<i>mă:</i> ‘dry/hard’
b. CvCv-CvCv , final C = obstruent, H-toned			
	<i>bédú-bédú</i>	‘very fine (powder)’	<i>bútɔ</i> ‘fine’
	<i>bédú-bédú</i>	‘very supple (hide)’	<i>yɔ́rú</i> ‘supple’
	<i>bódú-bódú</i>	‘very soft’	
	<i>cétú-cétú</i>	‘very short’	<i>gɔ:w-</i> ‘short’, <i>cété</i> ‘runty’
	<i>cítí-cítú</i>	‘nauseating’	(2nd /i/ influenced by the preceding /c/)
	<i>kátú-kátú</i>	‘very bitter’	<i>gárim</i> ‘bitter’
	<i>kúsú-kúsú</i>	‘glare at’	
	<i>kúsú-kúsú</i>	‘very black’	<i>jéwⁿè-</i> ‘black’
	<i>légué-légé</i>	‘sharply pointed’	<i>sím</i> ‘pointed’
	<i>púlá-púlá</i>	‘very hot’	<i>ðw</i> ‘hot’
	<i>tüká-tüká</i>	‘very dusty, lots of dust’	<i>kù-kòrɔy</i> ‘dust’
	<i>tégú-tégú</i>	‘very dusty, lots of dust’	<i>kù-kòrɔy</i> ‘dust’
	<i>párú-párú</i>	‘very white’	<i>pílē</i> ‘white’
c. CvC-CvC , final C = sonorant, H-tone			
	<i>bóm-bóm</i>	‘very thick (linear object)’	
	<i>búyⁿ-búyⁿ</i>	‘very red’	<i>bárⁿà-</i> ‘red’
	<i>céw-céw</i>	‘very lightweight’	<i>nérⁿú</i> ‘lightweight’
	<i>dím-dím</i>	‘very straight’	<i>dém⇒</i> ‘straight’ (adverb)
	<i>dém-dém</i>	‘very straight’	<i>dém⇒</i> ‘straight’ (adverb)
	<i>dónj-dónj</i>	‘furious, seething’	<i>célè bárⁿá</i> ‘be angry’
	<i>dúy-dúy</i>	‘very rotten’	<i>ðmbú</i> ‘rotten’
	<i>gáyⁿ-gáyⁿ</i>	‘very full (sated)’	<i>bá</i> ‘(meal) sate (sb)’
	<i>gáyⁿ-gáyⁿ</i>	‘very tight (rope)’	<i>ɛw</i> ‘tight (rope)’
	<i>géj-géj</i>	‘very tight (tomtom)’	<i>ɛw</i> ‘tight (rope)’
	<i>káyⁿ-káyⁿ</i>	‘very crowded’	<i>éngí</i> ‘(market) be crowded’
	<i>káyⁿ-káyⁿ</i>	‘very hard’	<i>m(^b)áw</i> ‘hard’
	<i>kéy-kéy</i>	‘very tight (tomtom)’	<i>ɛw</i> ‘tight (rope)’
	<i>kéy-kéy</i>	‘very hard’	<i>mă:</i> ‘dry’
	<i>kúy-kúy</i>	‘very stocky’	
	<i>péy-péy</i>	‘very unripe (fruit)’	<i>cèsú</i> ‘unripe’
	<i>pém-pém</i>	‘very tight (garment)’	<i>ɛw</i> ‘tight (rope)’

<i>pál-pál</i>	‘very hot’	<i>ðw</i> ‘hot’
<i>péw-péw</i>	‘completely used up’	<i>dùwⁿó</i> ‘be finished’
<i>púl-púl</i>	‘brand new’	<i>kálà</i> ‘new’
<i>sél-sél</i>	‘very tall’	<i>gùrð-</i> ‘long, tall’
<i>sél-sél</i>	‘very long and thin’	
<i>sél-sél</i>	‘very long and thin’	
<i>sól-sól</i>	‘very long’	<i>gùrð-</i> ‘long, tall’
<i>táw-táw</i>	‘very hot (sun)’	<i>ðw-</i> ‘hot’
<i>táw-táw</i>	‘very fast’	<i>ðw-</i> ‘fast’
<i>tém-tém</i>	‘fully inflated’	<i>píté</i> ‘be inflated’
<i>èsè-[téw-téw]</i>	‘very unfertilized (field)’	<i>ésé</i> ‘be unfertilized’
<i>èsè-[téw-téw]</i>	‘very bland (meal)’	<i>ésé</i> ‘be unfertilized’

- d. *CvC-CvC*, final *C* = sonorant, rising tones

<i>táyⁿ-táyⁿ</i>	‘very sweet’	<i>érím</i> ‘sweet’
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- e. *CvCv-CvCv*, final *C* = sonorant, L.H-L.H toned

<i>lóró-lóró</i>	‘clean-shaven (head)’	
<i>léré-léré</i>	‘cleaned up completely’	
<i>nèwⁿé-nèwⁿé</i>	‘very smooth/sleek’	<i>óru-m</i> ‘smooth, sleek’
<i>círⁿé-círⁿé</i>	‘very thin’	<i>mènjé-</i> ‘thin’

- f. *CvCvCv-CvCvCv*, L.L.H-L.L.H toned

<i>cérⁿiyⁿé-cérⁿiyⁿé</i>	‘brand new’	<i>kálà</i> ‘new’
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A more modest number of intensifiers show more unusual, partially reduplicated forms (112). Some of these clearly share phonological material with the semantically related ordinary term (‘very sour’, ‘very heavy’, ‘foul, stinking’, and ‘very sweet’, and perhaps *ásásá* ‘very bright’ if related to the word-family including noun *ésè* ‘light’). Others are unrelated to any ordinary lexical item.

(112)	form	gloss	associated stem
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- a. type *í₁C_xí₂C_xí₂*

<i>ísásá</i>	‘well-branched’	<i>jàwⁿyⁿi-</i> ‘ramify’
<i>óyóyó</i>	‘very bright (light)’	<i>ésè</i> ‘light’ (noun)
<i>ásásá</i>	‘very bright (light)’	<i>ésè</i> ‘light’ (noun)

- b. type *C_vC_xí₁C_xí₂C_xí₂* (with *rⁿ/n* and *r/l* alternations)

<i>dùsúsúsú</i>	‘very heavy’	<i>dùsú</i> ‘heavy’
<i>cérⁿénéné</i>	‘very cold’	<i>tâm</i> ‘cold’
<i>pòrólóló</i>	‘foul, stinking’	<i>pórùm</i> ‘strong (odor)’
<i>pàrlálálá</i>	‘very sour’	<i>párim</i> ‘sour’, <i>pálé-ré-</i> ‘be sour’

- c. type *í₁C_xí₂C_xí₃C_xí₄C_xí₄* (with *r/l* alternation)

<i>èlérélélé</i>	‘very sweet’	<i>érím</i> ‘sweet’, <i>élé-ré-</i> ‘be sweet’
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The isolated examples in (113) are not iterative or reduplicative, but have some prosodic similarity to the quadrisyllabic examples in (112b), above. The first part of *lèrè-gèděw* may be related to *lèré-lèré* in (111e), above.

(113)	form	gloss	associated stem
a.	<i>lèrè-gèděw</i>	‘absolutely everything’ <i>nájánà:</i> or <i>dàⁿ-wôy</i> ‘all’	
b.	<i>kánárⁿáná</i>	‘(running) very fast’ <i>ðw</i> ‘fast’	

The remaining examples have no reduplicative features. Those in (114a) are of shape *CóC(ù)*, including several with final unvoiced stop (not allowed as final consonant in ordinary stems) and one with *f*, a supposedly “non-Dogon” consonant. Those in (114b-c) have built-in “intonational” prolongation of the final consonant (symbol →). Aside from *pútúm*→, which is attested with two distinct senses (114b), these are of the shape *CVC*→ with a final sonorant. None of the intensifiers in (114a-c) is phonologically related to the corresponding semantically related stem.

(114)	form	gloss	associated stem
a. interjection-like			
	<i>jófū</i>	‘very wet’	<i>ðrú</i> ‘wet’
	<i>cék</i>	‘completely, every bit’	
	<i>lók, lóy</i>	‘sole, lone’	<i>tùwⁿð</i> ‘one’
	<i>pép</i>	‘very full (container)’	<i>bá</i> ‘be full’
b. prolongation, final sonorant, bisyllabic (<i>CVC</i> →)			
	<i>pútúm</i> →	‘with many flowers’	<i>pùrⁿüy</i> ‘flower’
	<i>pútúm</i> →	‘very foggy’	<i>jájá</i> ‘mist, fog’
c. prolongation, final sonorant, monosyllabic H-toned (<i>CVC</i> →)			
	<i>póm</i> →	‘enormous’	<i>díyⁿà</i> ‘big’
	<i>jáyⁿ</i> →	‘very uncooked (meat)’	<i>cèsú</i> ‘raw, uncooked’
	<i>táyⁿ</i> →	‘very full (sated)’	<i>bá</i> ‘(meal) sate (sb)’
d. prolongation, final sonorant, monosyllabic <LH>-toned (<i>CVC</i> →)			
	<i>cěyⁿ</i> →	‘tiny’	
	<i>kǒyⁿ</i> →	‘emaciated’	<i>kómbó</i> ‘lean’
	<i>kǎyⁿ</i> →	‘oversized (eyes, teeth)’	<i>sàlâ:, dâ:, tě:, ilâ:</i> ‘small’
	<i>jiré dám</i> →	‘totally blind’	<i>jimdú</i> ‘blind’
	(contains <i>jiré</i> ‘eye’)		

6.3.3.2 ‘Near X’, ‘far from X’

Adjectives ‘near’ and ‘far, distant’ can be expanded by adding an adverbial phrase when used as predicates (115b), but not when used as simple modifying adjectives (‘the nearby house’, etc.).

- (115) a. *úrò wǎ:w / sɔsú bû:-Ø*
 house distant / near be-3SgSbj
 ‘The house is far away/nearby.’
- b. *úrò [isê: L-pàyⁿ] wǎ:w / sɔsú bû:-Ø*
 house [village with] distant / near be-3SgSbj
 ‘The house is far from/close to the village.’

6.3.3.3 ‘Good to eat’

‘Grasshoppers are good to eat’ is phrased as ‘[grasshoppers’ eating-VblN] is sweet’ (116). The verbal noun in this case is L-toned as a possessed noun (following a possessor that ends in an L-tone).

- (116) *[kì-kă: L-kùw-i:] érúm*
 [Rdp-grasshopper L-eat.meat-VblN] be.sweet
 ‘Eating (of) grasshoppers is sweet.’ (*kùw-i:*)

6.4 Cardinal numeral

6.4.1 Noun (and adjective) plus cardinal numeral

A noun, or more generally a core NP (noun with or without following modifying adjectives), may be followed by a cardinal numeral. Both the core NP and the numeral have the same tones they would have in isolation. In other words, there is no tonal interaction between the core NP and the numeral (they are in a kind of prosodic “apposition”). In (117b), the tone-dropping on ‘cow’ is due to the adjective, not the numeral.

- (117) a. *nă: tă:nú*
 cow three
 ‘three cows’
- b. *[nă: L díyⁿà] tă:nú*
 [cow^L big.PL] three
 ‘three big cows’

6.4.2 Adjective-Numeral Inversion

In bare NPs or in NPs with only a final definite morpheme like *kù*, the order N-Adj-Num is fixed. However, in the presence of a possessor or a demonstrative, or when the NP is the head of a relative clause, the adjective and the numeral optionally (but often) switch positions. We may think of the possessor, the demonstrative, and the relative clause as **licensors** of this inversion. These same elements are also reference-restricting elements that can function as tonosyntactic controllers.

In (118), the order is fixed. In (119-21), the numeral and adjective may occur in either order, the inversion having been licensed by the demonstrative (119), the possessor (120), or the relative clause (121). The numeral is bolded in the interlinears.

- (118) *ùrò*^L *díyⁿà-wⁿ* *kúròy* (*kù*)
 house^L big-Inan six (Def)
 ‘six big houses’ (inverted #*àdò kúròy díyⁿà-wⁿ* (*kù*) was rejected)
- (119) a. *[ùrò*^L *díyⁿà-wⁿ* *kúròy]*^L *ŋgú* *bè*
 [house^L big-Inan six]^L Prox.Inan Pl
 ‘these six big houses’
- b. *[ùrò*^L *kúròy* *díyⁿà-wⁿ]*^L *ŋgú* *bè*
 [house^L six big-Inan]^L Prox.Inan Pl
 [= (a)]
- (120) a. *ú*^{HL} *[úrò* *díyⁿà-wⁿ* *kúròy]* *kù*
 2SgPoss ^{HL} [house big-Inan six] Def
 ‘your-Sg six big houses’
- b. *ú*^{HL} *[úrò* *kúròy* *díyⁿà-wⁿ]* *kù*
 2SgPoss ^{HL} [house six big-Inan] Def
 [= (a)]
- (121) a. *[ùrò*^L *díyⁿà-wⁿ* *kúròy]*^L *yàyá-à* *kù* *bè*
 [house^L big-Inan six]^L fall-Partpl.Inan Def Pl
 ‘the six big houses that fell’
- b. *[ùrò*^L *kúròy* *díyⁿà-wⁿ]*^L *yàyá-à* *kù* *bè*
 [house^L six big-Inan]^L fall-Partpl.Inan Def Pl
 [= (a)]

It is difficult to determine whether switching from Adj-Num to Num-Adj order allows the adjective to control tone-dropping on the numeral. This is because other controllers are also present (they license the inversion), as we see from the fact that ‘six’, lexically *kúròy* as in (118), is tone-dropped to *kúròy* in all of the (a) as well as (b) examples in (119-21). However, in §6.2.3 above I showed that inalienably possessed [Poss N^L Adj Num] (102c) can be inverted to [[Poss N Num]^L Adj] (102d), which does allow the adjective to control {L} on a target domain to its left that includes the numeral.

6.5 Noun (or core NP) plus demonstrative

6.5.1 Prenominal *kú* (pseudo-possessor as strong discourse-definite)

It was pointed out in §4.3.2, above, that the inanimate pronoun *kú* may be used to resume a proposition or other abstraction from preceding discourse. As a (pseudo-)possessor, i.e. in NP-initial position, *kú* is a strong discourse-definite demonstrative (‘that same X we were

talking out'). For example, (122) occurs in a text just after the initial mention of two groups of settlers (who followed different routes). Like true possessors, *kú* controls a tone overlay on the “possessed” noun and its immediate modifiers.

- (122) [kú HL[búnùgòy yèy] kù],
 [DiscDef HL[group two] Def],
 â: káwá-w kù
 3ReflPlSbj separate.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘Those two (just-mentioned) groups, (when) they separated.’ [2005.2a.08]

The {HL} tone overlaid on the noun *búnúgóy* ‘group’ shows that *kú* behaves tonosyntactically like a possessor. A case might be made for a literal syntactic interpretation along these lines in some passages, but in (122) such a reading would be quite abstract and somewhat forced: ‘the two groups of that (discourse/situation)’. In any event, *kú* basically functions here as a discourse-definite demonstrative, stronger than the simple NP-final definite morpheme *kù*. Pseudo-possessor *kú* and the postnominal definite *kù* (or other determiner) often co-occur, as in (123).

- (123) [kú HL[nár"ù kù] yà: L-jiyé
 [DiscDef HL[night Def] woman^L-dance(n)
 jìyé ná-yè=b-à:
 dance spend.night.Ipfv-3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
 ‘That night (the night of that same day), they used to dance the women’s dance all night.’ [2005.1b.01]

6.5.2 Postnominal demonstratives

A postnominal demonstrative pronoun controls tone-dropping on a preceding string within an NP, beginning with the noun. (124a) shows N^L Dem, (124b-c) show [N Adj]^L Dem.

- (124) a. ùrò^L ïgú
 house^L Prox.Inan
 ‘this house’ (*úrò*)
- b. [ùrò^L bár"à-w"n]^L ïgú
 [house^L red-Inan]^L Prox.Inan
 ‘this red house’ (*ùrò bár"à-w"n*)
- c. [yà^L bár"à]^L mǔ:
 [woman^L red]^L Prox.An
 ‘this red (=brown-skinned) woman’

Animate singular *-m* (the only nonzero nominal suffix) is omitted before demonstratives beginning in *m* (which perhaps result from resegmentation), but is present in near-distant *-m* *kú*. See §4.4.1 for discussion.

If a N-Adj combination (core NP) is followed by a numeral and then a demonstrative pronoun, the demonstrative controls {L} on the entire string to its left. Both ‘house’ nor ‘six’

show lexical tone melodies (125a), but both are tone-dropped before the demonstrative in (125b).

- (125) a. *úrò* *kúròy*
 house six
 'six houses'
- b. *[ùrò* *kúròy]^L* *ŋgú*
 [house six]^L Prox.Inan
 'these six houses'

6.6 Free plural (*bè*)

Postnominal plural particle *bè* is morphosyntactically quite unlike the regular plural marking for animate nouns, which is zero suffix versus singular *-m*, as in *nǎ:-m* 'cow' versus *nǎ:* 'cows' and in *yǎ-m* 'woman' versus *yǎ:* 'women'. Free plural *bè* occurs late in the NP, often well-separated from the noun. It follows demonstrative pronouns: *[Cú^{HL} lésù^L mǔ: bè]* 'these uncles of yours' [\subset 2SgPoss^{HL}uncle \supset this Pl]. It also occurs after the verb-participle in relative clauses.

Free plural *bè* is optional with inanimate nouns when denoting a nonsingular set. Ordinarily such nouns make no singular/plural distinction, either in the NP or in subject agreement. Thus *kúrⁿù* 'stone' or 'stones', alternatively *kúrⁿù bè* to clearly specify plural 'stones'.

- (126) *yâ:* *òmdò:^L* *íyà-ñ* *bè*
 there tamarind^L stand.Stat-Ppl.Inan Pl
 'the tamarind trees that are standing there' [2005.1a.05]

bè is also regularly used with nouns denoting animate beings, if the nouns (for one reason or another) are not capable of marking grammatical number suffixally. This is the case with some kin terms that do not allow singular suffix *-m* and therefore have no suffixal distinction between singular and plural. For example, 'your-Sg (maternal) uncle' is *ú^{HL} lésù*, and its plural 'your-Sg uncles' is *ú^{HL} lésù bè*.

When **accusative** clitic *=nì ~ =ñ* or **locative** postposition *wō* is added to *bè*, the results are *bé:=nì ~ bé:=ñ* and *bé: wō*, respectively, with a long vowel and an H-tone. The lengthening is difficult to analyse.

- (127) a. *[ðmð: ínjírí:-rè-Ø dè]*
 [morning get.up-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]
[sèytà:n^L mǔ: bé:=ñ] tó:rú-m wà
 [seytan^L Prox.An Pl=Acc] instruct.Ipfv-3SgSbj Quot
 '(It is said:) if he gets up in the morning, he gives orders to these *seytans*'
 [2005.1b.11]
- b. *[bû: yě [[úlì bé:] wó] b-è:ⁿ-bò]*
 [3Pl come [forest Pl] in] be-3PlSbj-3PlSbj]
 'They (=dwarves) come and stay in the (dense) forests' [2005.1b.11]

When the ‘it is’ clitic (also used for focalization) is added to *bè*, we get [...] = Ø (§11.2.1.1). An example is in C’s second turn in (661) in the sample text.

We also find **H-toned (but unlengthened) *bé*** before the dative postposition *mâ:* (128a) and before *wôy* ‘all’ (128b) and optionally in other contexts where the relevant NP is closely grouped prosodically with some following material.

- (128) a. [cèrêy jɛ:]
 [money bring]
 [[â: L bɔ: bé] mâ:] ní-yè
 [[3ReflPlPoss Lfather Pl] Dat] give.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They bring money and give (it) to their fathers.’ [2005.1b.06]
- b. [[bû: L tâ: bé wôy] nî: yí-yè] wà
 [[3Pl Lpond Pl all] water see.Ipfv-3PlSbj] Quot
 ‘(It is said:) they (=short people) even see water in their (=dwarves’) ponds.’
 [2005.1b.11]

Therefore plural *bè*, like definite *kù*, shows signs of being **underlyingly (or at least historically) H-toned**, though in phrase-final position it is always heard as L-toned.

With animate nouns that already distinguish singular from plural by suffixes, *bè* is at best marginal. This statement does not apply to conjunctions of the type *[iyă: bē→] [ár"à bē→]* ‘men and women’ (§7.1.2).

6.7 Definite (*kù*, *bû*)

The definite morpheme is *kù* for (animate) singular and for inanimates: *nă:-m kù* ‘the cow’, *kúr"ù kù* ‘the stone’. Inanimates are optionally pluralized by adding plural *bè* to *kù*, as in *kúr"ù kù bē* ‘the stones’. (Animate) plural has a special definite form, *bû:*, as in *nă: bû:* ‘the cows’, though *kù* can also be used in this context.

Unlike the demonstrative pronouns, definite *kù* and *bû:* do not interact tonally with the preceding words in the NP.

Definite *kù* does not usually co-occur with demonstrative pronouns (‘this’, ‘that’) at the end of a noun-headed NP. However, *kù* does occasionally follow demonstratives that function as referential-tracking devices, where *kù* indicates that the referent is the same as one previously introduced; see *m'bá kù* ‘that (same) other one’, with far-distant demonstrative in obviative function, in (660) in the sample text.

kù can also follow a personal pronoun, as in *[ér"é kù]* ‘he’ (reactivating a previously introduced discourse referent) in the second line of (666) in the sample text.

kù may occur before other NP-final discourse particles such as *néy* (and variants) ‘now’ and topic *kay*. In this non-NP-final position, *kù* may appear as H-toned *kú*. However, in specific textual passages it can be difficult to distinguish between e.g. [noun *kú X*], where X is a discourse particle added to a definite noun, from [noun] *[kú X]*, where *kú* is an inanimate pronoun (e.g. resuming an already described situation).

6.8 Universal and distributive quantifiers

6.8.1 ‘Each X’ and ‘all X’ (*wôy*, *dàⁿ-wôy*, *cêm* ~ *cêw*)

The stylistically unmarked quantifier for ‘all’ and ‘each’ is *wôy*, which is often extended as *dàⁿ-wôy* (variants *dò-wôy*, *dèⁿ-wôy*), with no apparent change in meaning. In (129a), it is clearly distributive ‘each’ and occurs with a noun in singular form with no determiner. In examples like (120b-c), with the universal-quantifier sense ‘all’, the nouns are marked as plural (if morphologically possible) and allow definite determiners.

- (129) a. *[á̄rⁿà-m wôy] Lmà:] [yû: Lsà:gù]*
 [[man-AnSg each] ^LDat] [millet ^Lsack]
tùwⁿó-tùwⁿó ní-ŷⁿ:
 one-one give.Ipfv-1PlSbj
 ‘We will give one sack of millet to each man.’
- b. *[nă: bû: dàⁿ-wôy] sá:té:-r-à:*
 [cow.Pl Def.Pl all] animal.die-Pfv1a-3PlSbj
 ‘All of the cows died (without being slaughtered).’
- c. *[^{L+HL}yítè: dàⁿ-wôy] pàrⁿí-ŷ*
 [1SgPoss.^{HL}children all] call.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I will call (= summon) all of my children.’

For *wôy* as right-edge marker in regular conditional antecedents, see §16.1.1 below.

Another ‘all’ quantifier is *cêm* ~ *cêw*, which may reflect Jamsay influence. It too is used as a kind of right-edge marker, specifically in willy-nilly conditional antecedents (§16.3). In reduplicated or iterated form (*cí-céw*, *céw-céw*) it means ‘equal(ly)’ (§12.2.3).

For the more emphatic *sóy* ‘entirely’ and noun *nàjàná:* ‘entirety’ (becoming ^{HL}*nájànà:* when “possessed”), see §8.6.7.5.

6.8.2 *[X wé→ X]* ‘from (one) X to (another) X’

The combination *[X wé→ X]*, where X is a common noun denoting a set of entities, means ‘from (one) X to (another) X (in succession)’ or ‘each X (independently)’. It can function as a stylistically strong way of saying ‘each/every X’.

- (130) a. *àsìwⁿè-yî-m wé→ àsìwⁿè-yî-m, tă: ló-m*
 boy-child-AnSg to boy-child-AnSg, pond go.Ipfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Each boy (=young man) goes to a water source (e.g. pond), (and) he gets water and brings (it).’ [2005.1a.11]

- b. [démde] wé → démdé
 [roofing] to roofing]
 /bɔ:-úrò mɔ:lì=náyⁿ] dèmbí-yè
 [father-house assemble=then.SS] cover.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 'From (one) roof-building to (another) roof-building (=on each roof-building occasion), the villagers will get together and do the roofing.' [2005.1a.11]

It is possible that *wé*→ is a variant of *wé:y* 'as well as' (§7.1.3).

6.8.3 '(Not) any X' (*kâ:n*)

The stem *kâ:n* 'any' modifies the noun, which is singular in form (where morphologically relevant). The animate singular is *kâ:n-m*. There is no suffix for inanimate singular. This morphology suggests that *kâ:n* is structurally a noun rather than an adjective or numeral-like quantifier. Specifically, *kâ:n* resembles a nominal compound final, see §5.1.1.

The preceding noun has {L} overlay, and animate singular *-m* (the only nonzero animacy-number suffix that occurs in nouns) is omitted on the noun (*nà:L kâ:n-m* 'any cow', *yà:L kâ:n-m* 'any woman', *àr:nà:L kâ:n-m* 'any man'). The tonal and morphological facts are consistent with compound-initial status.

The verb (or other predicate) is negated.

- (131) a. [yi^L kâ:n-m] jàrⁿú-m-dó-ŷ
 [child^L any-AnSg] call-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj
 'I will not call (= summon) any child(ren).'
- b. [ùrò^L kâ:n] éwé-m-dó-ŷ
 [house^L any.Inan] buy-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj
 'I will not buy any house.'
- c. [kɔ:ⁿ^L kâ:n]=rá-∅
 [thing^L any.Inan]=not.be-3SgSbj
 'It isn't anything.'

kɔ:ⁿ^L kâ:n 'nothing, anything', *nù:L kâ:n-m* 'nobody, anybody', and *ɔrⁿɔ:L kâ:n* 'nowhere, anywhere' are common combinations.

kâ:n may be used in the sense 'any' in a conditional antecedent clause in the absence of negation, like English *any* (132).

- (132) [[kɔ:ⁿ^L kâ:n] yí-jé-wé dè], ...
 [[thing^L any] see-RecPf-2SgSbj if], ...
 'if you-Sg see anything, ...'

In several other Dogon languages, cognates of *kâ:n* (< *kámà) also occur in positive contexts in distributive sense 'each X'. I have not observed this in BenT. For the possible relationship between *kâ:n* '(not) any' and relative morpheme *kà:n*, see the end of §14.1.10.

7 Coordination

7.1 NP coordination

A conjoined NP ‘X and Y’ of the type *[[X ya→] [Y ya→]]* or *[[X be→] [Y be→]]* does not systematically undergo tone-dropping as relative-clause head, though a full study might reveal the existence of variants with at least partial tone-dropping (e.g. of the second coordinand only) as in e.g. Jamsay. See §14.1.3 for discussion.

7.1.1 NP conjunction (*X ya→, Y ya→*)

The common NP conjunction construction is symmetrical, with a particle *ya→* following each conjunct. The individual coordinands may be singular or plural.

- (133) *[árŋà yà→'] [yǎ: yá→']*
[man.Pl and] [woman.Pl and]
‘men and women’

The vowel of *ya* is extended intonationally (→) after both conjuncts. The phonological tone is carried over from the final tone of the preceding conjunct, but the parallelistic structure lends itself to sharp intonational modification of the pitch. The pitch on the first *ya→* is typically rather high (symbol ↗) even when phonologically L-toned, and the pitch on the second *ya→* is either close to what one would expect from the phonological tone (no symbol) or else has the pitch lowering typical of the final phrase in a series (symbol ↘). In careful speech (in elicitation sessions), the intonational differences between the first and the second *ya→* tend to level out.

The same construction is used with two pronouns (134a), or with a pronoun and a nonpronominal NP (134b).

- (134) a. *[í yá→'] [ú yá→']*
[1Sg and] [2Sg and]
‘I and you-Sg’
- b. *[í yá→'] [^{L+HL} bɔ: yà→']*
[1Sg and] [1Sg Poss.^{HL} father and]
‘I and my father’

7.1.1.1 Conjunction with final quantifier

A concluding ‘all’ quantifier, such as emphatic *sóy* ‘all, every last one’ (in context also ‘both’) may be added at the end of a conjunction. In this case, there is less noticeable intonational variation on the *ya→* conjunction itself.

- (135) [árⁿà yá→] [yá: yá→] [yì-té: yá→] sóy
 [man.Pl and] [woman.Pl and] [children and] all
 ló-yè
 go.Ipfv-3PLSbj
 ‘Men, women, and children are all going.’

7.1.1.2 Interrogation of one coordinand

In (136), one of the two ‘X and Y’ coordinands is the interrogative ‘who?’. A literal translation is “[who? and a lion] fought a fight?” No syntactic island here!

- (136) [[ám yá→] [tà-dùŋgú-m yá→]]— jáy jàyà-bò
 [[who? and] [lion-AnSg and] fight(n) fight.Pfv-3PLSbj
 ‘Who was it who fought with a lion?’ [2005.2b.05]

7.1.2 NP conjunction (*X bè→, Y bè→*)

The conjunctive particle *ya→* is optionally replaced by *bè→*, with the same variable intonational prolongation and the same pitch pattern. This is most common when either a) the coordinands are plural (including inanimates not otherwise overtly marked for plurality), or b) the overall conjunction functions as a list that is, or might have been, extended to more than two coordinands.

- (137) a. [árⁿà bè→] [yá: bé→]
 [man.Pl and] [woman.Pl and]
 ‘men and women’
- b. [[kɔ́rⁿíyɔ́m HL táŋgày] ḷgú]
 [[K HL side] Prox.Inan]
 [í: bè→] [pérge] HL nû: bè→] ló-wè dè
 [1Pl and] [P HL people and] go.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if
 ‘If this Koriyom side (=area) goes (=extends) between us (=Beni) and the people of Pergué (a village)’ [2005.1a.06]
- c. [[gâw bè→] [kònggòl^L-yî: bè→], [nà:^L-sùwó bè→],
 [[onion and] [doum^L-child and], [cow^L-excrement and],
 jâyⁿ] úgúró-ŷ.: [hâl cé:lé-ṁ]
 Inst] give.scent.Ipfv-1PLSbj [until be.good.Ipfv-3SGSbj]
 ‘We give it a smell using onion, and doum-palm nuts, and cow manure, until it’s good.’ [2005.1a.09]

In (137c), instrumental postposition *jâyⁿ* takes scope over the conjoined sequence, but is set off prosodically. This is typical of such conjoined NPs.

An abbreviated construction [*X bè→ X*], with the same common noun X **repeated in singular form**, with just one occurrence of *bè*, is also attested. It means, in effect, ‘all X’s’.

- (138) [í: [árⁿà-m bē→ árⁿà-m] kày]
 [1Pl [man-AnSg and man-AnSg] Top]
 [jɔ́rɔ̄ jɔ́rɔ̄^L-ré:] ló:-rà-ŵ
 [search(n) seek^L-Purp] go-Prog-Ppl.Inan
 'The fact that all of us men go in order to search (for work)' [2005.1b.06]

7.1.3 wê:y ‘as well as’

A phrase-final morpheme **wê:y** is recorded in the sense ‘as well as, along with’ (French *ainsi que*). The phrasing is **[X wê:y] Y** ‘X, as well as Y’ (139). The textual context of the example suggests an emphasis on the accumulated quantity of territory. This particle is also used in ‘a fortiori’ clauses (§12.3). It can be intonationally prolonged as **wê:y→**, and could perhaps be transcribed **wé:y:** with dying-quail intonation. It may be related to **wé→** in the **[X wé→ X]** ‘from X to X’ construction (§6.8.2).

- (139) é:, [tórɔ̄ kù wê:y] [kú ^{HL}írⁿà kù]
 yes, [mountain Def as.well.as] [InanPoss ^{HL}field Def]
 [àyú-ŵ dè]
 [take.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if]
 'Yes, if it takes (=including) the mountain along with its field(s)' [2005.1a.07]

7.1.4 “Conjunction” of verbs or VP’s

Verbs are not conjoined using the same mechanisms found with NP or pronominal conjunction. Instead, they may be chained in various ways; see chapter 15.

7.2 Disjunction

The ‘or’ disjunction **ma** is difficult to separate from the interrogative particle **ma** in polar (yes/no) interrogatives, which often take the parallelistic form ‘X, or not X?’. Pragmatically, ‘X or Y’ suggests doubt as to whether X or Y (or both) are valid, so ‘X or Y’ and interrogative ‘X? or Y?’ are closely related. In both cases, **ma** is clause-final, is obligatory after the first phrase and commonly repeated after the second, gets its phonological tone from the end of the preceding word, and is highly subject to intonational prolongation and pitch modification.

7.2.1 ‘Or’ (**ma→**) with NPs and pronouns

The disjunctive particle is **ma**, which regularly shows intonational prolongation (symbol →). In (140a-b), a single occurrence of **ma→** occurs, between the two coordinands. There is no clear intonational break either before or after the particle, except when the speaker hesitates (e.g. while searching for a term as right coordinand).

- (140) a. *ú* *má→* *[ú* ^{HL}*átiyà-m]*
 2Sg and [2SgPoss ^{HL}friend-AnSg]
 ‘you or your friend’
- b. *[nàwⁿâ:* *mà→* *nùwⁿî:*] *èsú* *bû:-∅*
 [meat or cow.peas] good be-3SgSbj
 ‘(Either) meat or cow-peas is fine.’

In either example, a second occurrence of *ma→* after the second coordinand is possible but not required.

7.2.2 ‘Or’ (*ma→*) with adverbs

An example is (141), with temporal adverbs.

- (141) *[íyé* *má→]* *[éyⁿ* *má→]* *yě-ìn*
 [today or] [tomorrow of] come-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He/She will come today or tomorrow.’

My assistant also gave a version of this with ‘it is’ clitic on ‘today’ and ‘yesterday’, beginning *[íyé=ìn mà→] ...*

7.2.3 Clause-level disjunction

It is especially difficult to distinguish the ‘or’ particle from the interrogative particle in these cases, where two propositions are involved. The elicited examples (142) and (143) were designed to force a disjunctive rather than interrogative reading.

In (142), the two ‘if’ clauses do not exhaust the set of possibilities, since the “Goldilocks” scenario remains in play (it might rain the just-right amount, not too much or too little). Therefore the context does not lend itself to a ‘whether X or Y’ interpretation, which would verge on a polar interrogative.

- (142) *[bòlú* *mìrⁿè-rⁿí-∅* *má→'*]
 [rain(n) rain.fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj or]
[mìrⁿé *lóyó:-rè-∅* *mà→'*]
 [rain.fall overflow-Pfv1a-3SgSbj of]
yù: *gô-m-dô-∅*
 millet go.out-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
 ‘If it doesn’t rain, or if it rains too much, the millet won’t come out.’

In (143), the speaker is making a promise in two alternative versions, and an interrogative reading (in the usual sense) is not possible.

- (143) *[yɛ-ŷ mà→']*
[come-Ipfv.1SgSbj or]
[nū-m tí-ŷ mà→']
[person-AnSg send-Ipfv.1SgSbj or]
'(Either) I will come (myself), or I will send someone.'

8 Postpositions and adverbials

8.1 Tonal locatives (absent)

No synchronic tonal locatives of the Jamsay type have been observed. It may be of historical interest that *úró* ‘house’ has the falling tone pattern of Jamsay tonal locative *úrò* ‘at home’ (based on /H/-toned Jamsay noun *úró* ‘house’). However, in BenT *úró* shows the lexical melody.

8.2 Accusative *=ni* ~ *=ñ*

Accusative *=ni* (postvocally also *=ñ*) which I transcribe as a clitic, could be taken as a suffix (but then it is the only suffix added directly to pronouns), or as a postposition (but it interacts in its segmental phonology with the preceding element in a manner not typical of postpositions). Like postpositions, it occurs at the end of an already complete NP.

It is **optional** even in clear direct-object function. For its forms with personal pronouns, including 2Sg *ú=ni* and inanimate *kú=ni* where the clitic vowel has assimilated to the pronoun’s back rounded vowel, see §4.3.1. The clitic is also used (optionally) with other NPs (144), though it is most common with personal names. The clitic is particularly common when the direct object is **focalized** (§13.1.2).

- (144) [bɔ:(=ni)] *yì-ŷ*
[1SgPoss-^{HL}father(=Acc)] see.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I saw my father.’

The accusative morpheme is occasionally added to other nonsubject NPs that have some focal properties. See, for example, *[úsúrí wó]=ñ* ‘(we come) on (=because of) a request’ in (654) in the sample text, and *yâ:=ñ* ‘there’ at the end of B’s long turn in (676) in the sample text.

An interesting issue is whether there is an affinity, perhaps even morphemic identity, between accusative *=ni* ~ *=ñ* added to nouns and pronouns, and **different-subject** chaining morpheme *=ni* ~ *=ñ* added to a nonfinal clause in a (loose) clause chain (§15.1.10). Shades of Choctaw?

The accusative occurs optionally on objects of imperatives, as on objects of other inflected verbs. An example is the (culturally unlikely!) (145).

- (145) [L+HL bɔ:(=ni)] *súy᷑*
[1SgPoss-^{HL}father(=Acc)] hit.Imprt
‘Hit-2Sg my father!’

However, the accusative morpheme does not occur in head NPs in object relatives (§14.3.1).

8.3 Dative and instrumental

8.3.1 Dative *mâ:* ~ ^L*mà:*

This postposition has a basic form *mâ:*, becoming L-toned ^L*mà:* after a segmentally nonzero NP (possessed or unpossessed) or pronoun that ends in L- or <HL>-tone. The L-toned variant ^L*mà:* is homophonous with the L-toned form of quotative subject (QuotSbj) morpheme *má:*, which occurs in clause-initial NPs (chiefly subjects, §17.1.1.1). Its relationship to *mâ:* ‘before’ (§15.2.1.6) is unclear. The 1Sg dative form is <LHL> toned ^{L+}*mă:* with no segmentally overt pronominal (146c).

- (146) a. *[sùmáylà* ^L*mâ:] bú:dù* *ní-tî:-Ø*
 [Soumaila ^LDat] money give-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
 ‘I gave the money to Soumaila.’
- b. *èwⁿrⁿé* *[ú* *mâ:]* *ì-?éwⁿrⁿú-ì*
 story [2Sg Dat] Rdp-narrate.Ipfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She will tell you-Sg a story.’
- c. *bú:dù* ^{L+}*mă:* *nì-Ø*
 money Dat.1Sg give.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She gave me the money.’
- d. *[[ú* ^{HL}*úrò-jèngì:]* ^L*mâ:]* *ní-ώⁿ*
 [[2SgPoss ^{HL}house-neighboring] ^LDat] give.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘You-Sg will give (honey) to your-Sg neighboring house (=neighbors)’
 [2005.1a.09]

The dative is used for the indirect object of ‘give’ and ‘say’, and in more abstract contexts like (147), which occurs in a text about collecting honey from apiaries.

- (147) *[[yěy* *kù]* *mâ:]* *àŋâyⁿ* *ká:ⁿ-rà-ώⁿ:*
 [[honey Def] Dat] how? do-Prog-2PlSbj
 ‘What do you-Pl do for (=with) the honey?’ [2005.1a.09]

‘X call Y “Z”’ (Y discourse referent, Z its name or other designation) is expressed as ‘X say Z [Y-Dative]’.

- (148) *[kú* *mâ:]* *tòy-bísí* *gúⁿ-ỳⁿ:*
 [DiscDef Dat] sowing-moist say.Ipfv-1PlSbj
 ‘We call that (activity) “toy-bisi.”’ [2005.1a.10]

8.3.2 Instrumental *nâyⁿ*

Standard instrumental senses (‘with/by means of a stick’) and more abstract extensions (‘by force’) are expressed by the postposition *nâyⁿ*. It appears as ^L*nàyⁿ* after an undetermined noun or core NP ending in L- or <HL>-tone.

- (149) a. [wárá ^Lnâyⁿ] wárá-ŷ
 [daba Inst] farm.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 'I do farming work with a daba (hoe).'
- b. [isê: kù] [pàŋgá nâyⁿ] ày-bó
 [village Def] [force Inst] take.Pfv-3PlSbj
 'They took (control of) the village by force.'

The instrumental is also used in various more or less **spatial functions** (150a-b) and in expressions denoting **points in time** (150c). The instrumental therefore competes to a limited extent with locative postpositions.

- (150) a. [û: yà] [[isê: kù] nâyⁿ] wǎ:w bú-ŵ.:
 [2Pl too] [[village Def] Inst] distant be-2PlSbj
 'you-Pl are far from the village.' [2005.1a.07]
- b. [ése nâyⁿ] tí-yè
 [shoulderbag Inst] pour.out.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 'They dump (the millet spikes) with (=from) the shoulderbags?' [2005.1a.10]
- b. [[midi trente dògùrù^L ɿgú] nâyⁿ]
 [[noon thirty time^L Prox.Inan] Inst]
 'at 12:30 (PM)'

The high-frequency phrase *[kú nâyⁿ]* ‘with that’ can be translated in context ‘at that point’, ‘that being the case’, or just ‘then’. It essentially resumes a situation just described, as background for the next section of discourse.

8.4 Locational postpositions

8.4.1 Locative, allative, and ablative functions

As in all languages of the zone, spatial adverbials including locative PPs denote locations only and are neutral as to whether the referent in question is located in, heading toward, arriving at, or departing from the location. This information is expressed in motion verbs, either alone or chained to other verbs. *gó-* ‘go out, exit, leave’ expresses the ablative (‘from’) when combined with a preceding locational expression. In its absence, *ló-* ‘go’ or other motion verb normally implies allative (‘to’) when combined with a locational.

8.4.2 ‘In, on, at’ (*wo*)

The most general locative postposition is *wo*, appearing as *wó* or *wò*. The tone is carried over from the preceding tone.

The postposition is used in various temporal (151a) as well as spatial (151b) senses. It competes most directly with the semantically more precise *píre* ‘inside’ (§8.4.3, below).

- (151) a. *[jìrⁿɛyⁿ ^{HL}wó] bíré èsíⁿ→ bíré-ŷ.:*
 [rainy.season ^{HL}in] work(n) very work-Ipfv.1PlSbj
 ‘During the rainy season we work a lot (=work hard).’
- b. *[[isè:^L díyⁿà-wⁿ] (kù) ^Lwò] kò:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ ñgó-∅*
 [[village^L big-Inan] (Def) ^Lin] things not.be-3SgSbj
 ‘There is nothing in the big village (=city).’
- c. *séwè [tò: ^{HL}wó] tárá-tí-ŷ*
 paper [wall ^{HL}in] affix-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
 ‘I stuck (pasted, pinned) the paper on the wall.’
- d. *[[isè:^L bè] wò] ná-ŷ.:*
 [[village Pl] in] spend.night-1PlSbj
 ‘We’ll spend the night in (various) villages.’

wo is also part of many of the complex postpositions described below. Since the immediately preceding stem is usually a noun-like element that takes possessed-noun {HL} overlay, *wo* appears in L-toned form as ^L*wò* in these combinations.

8.4.3 ‘Inside, within’ (*X^{HL}pírè*)

This postposition, based on noun *pírè*: ‘interior’ but with final short vowel, is sometimes interchangeable with locative *wo* (see above). However, ^{HL}*pírè* is more concrete, meaning ‘inside, within’, with reference to a container-like entity (house, sack, etc.) capable of enclosing something. The form is ^L*pírè* after L- or <HL>-tone.

- (152) a. *[úrò ^Lpírè] b-è:ⁿ*
 [house ^Linside] be-3PlSbj
 ‘They are in(side) the house.’
- b. *súkórò [jémé ^{HL}pírè] găyⁿ-tí-ŷ*
 sugar [bag ^{HL}inside] put-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
 ‘I put-Past the sugar in(side) the sack.’

8.4.4 ‘On; on the head of’ (*[X^{HL}kú]^Lwò*)

This composite postposition is historically related to *kâ*: ‘head’, though it is now phonologically distinct from *kâ*: ^L*wò* ‘on the head’. For vestiges of short-voweled forms of ‘head’ see discussion of (108) in §6.3.1. In (*[X^{HL}kú]^Lwò*, I assume that monomoraic intermediate /kâ/ is realized as [kú] before a tightly phrased L-toned syllable. (*[X^{HL}kú]^Lwò* is used in contexts where something is (physically or metaphorically) weighing down on the reference object or person. The metaphor is resonant in a society where people, especially women, carry burdens (pails of water, large baskets full of millet or other products) on their heads over long distances.

- (153) [[kóró:jù **kù**] ^{HL}**dû:** **nàŋàná:**]
 [[family Def] HLburden all]
 [[ú ^{HL}**kú**] ^L**wò**] **bù-**Ø
 [[2SgPoss HLhead] L_{in}] be-3SgSbj
 ‘The whole burden of (supporting) the family is on you-Sg.’

8.4.5 ‘On’ ($X^{HL} mánì: L wò$)

The complex postposition *mánì: L wò* consists of locative *wò* and a form ^{HL}*mánì:* that has the {HL} tone pattern of a possessed noun. It is related to the adverb *mànî:* ‘above’. The tonal form *mánì: L wò* occurs after an L-tone.

- (154) *nàwⁿá [[túngúrúm ^{HL}*mánì:]] L wò] dèyì-ŷ*
 meat [[stool ^{HL}on] L_{in}] put.down.Pfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I put-Past the meat on the stool.’*

In most cases this postposition specifies location of a smallish object at or near the apex of, or on the upper side, of the reference object. However, it may be extended to a wall, if the focal object gives the impression of being supported by it. This is the case with house geckos, lizards capable of moving or “standing” on walls (155).

- (155) *ákèlêm [[tō: ^{HL}*mánì:]] ^{HL}*wò] ló-m***
- gecko [[wall ^{HL}on] ^{HL}in] go.Ipfv-3SgSbj
 ‘The gecko is moving on the wall.’

8.4.6 ‘Close to, near’ ($X^{HL} dósù L wò$)

This complex postposition is frozen, there being no noun #*dósú* or the like. Nevertheless, ^{HL}*dósù* has the HL pattern typical of bisyllabic possessed nouns.

- (156) a. *[[ú ^{HL}*dósù]] L wò] bù-Ø
 [[2SgPoss ^{HL}beside] L_{in}] be-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She/It is near you-Sg’.**
- b. *[[árⁿà ^L*dósù]] L wò]*
 [[man.Pl ^Lbeside] L_{in}]
 ‘near the men’*

8.4.7 ‘In front of’ ($X^{HL} jírè$)

This postposition has the form ^{HL}*jírè*, becoming ^L*jírè* after L- or <HL>-tone.

- (157) a. *[tóṛà Ljìrè] bù-∅*
 [mountain Lin.front.of] be-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She/It is in front of (the) mountain.’
- b. *tìwⁿɛyⁿ HLjírè*
 tree HLin.front.of
 ‘in front of (the) tree’

‘In front of the house’ is generally expressed as ‘at the doorway’ (158).

- (158) *[òrùmò: HLwó] yá éw-yé-w*
 [doorway HLin] Exist sit-MP.Ipfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She is sitting in front of the house.’

8.4.8 ‘Behind, after’ (*[X HLtúlù] Lwò*)

The possessed form of the noun *túlú* ‘rear (area)’, cf. *túlù L-kéle* ‘back (body part)’, is the basis for a compound postposition, with locative *wò*. The regular possessed forms of *túlú* are used.

- (159) a. *[úṛò Ltúlù] Lwò*
 [house Lrear] Lin
 ‘behind (the) house’
- b. *[ú HLtúlù] Lwò*
 [2SgPoss HLrear] Lin
 ‘behind you-Sg’
- c. *L+HLtúlù Lwò*
 1SgPoss.HLrear Lin
 ‘behind me’

8.4.9 ‘Beside’ (*[X HLbélè] Lwò*)

The noun *bélè* ‘side (of object or body)’ is the basis for *[X HLbélè] Lwò* ‘beside, at the side of’.

- (160) a. *[tìwⁿɛyⁿ HLbélè] Lwò*
 [tree HLside] Lin
 ‘beside (the) tree’
- b. *[i: Lbélè] Lwò*
 [1Pl Lside] Lin
 ‘beside us’

8.4.10 ‘Under’ ($[X \text{ } ^{\text{HL}}\text{bòlò}]^{\text{L}}\text{wò}$)

The noun *bòlò* ‘bottom, lower part’ is used in the compound postposition $[X \text{ } ^{\text{HL}}\text{bòlò}]^{\text{L}}\text{wò}$ ‘under’. We get ${}^{\text{L}}\text{bòlò} {}^{\text{L}}\text{wò}$ after a L- or <HL>-tone.

- (161) a. *séwè* $[[jémbé]$ ${}^{\text{HL}}\text{bòlò}]$ ${}^{\text{L}}\text{wò}$ *yá* *bú-* \emptyset
 paper [[sack ${}^{\text{HL}}$ underside]] ${}^{\text{L}}\text{in}$] Exist be-3SgSbj
 ‘The paper is under (the) sack.’
- b. *[û:]* ${}^{\text{L}}\text{bòlò}]$ ${}^{\text{L}}\text{wò}$
 [2PlPoss ${}^{\text{L}}$ underside] ${}^{\text{L}}\text{in}$
 ‘under you-Pl’

The noun *bírní* ‘rear end’ is used in the sense ‘at the base of’, when the reference object is e.g. a tree or a mountain.

- (162) $[\text{tiw}^n\text{ey}^n$ ${}^{\text{HL}}\text{bírní}]$ ${}^{\text{L}}\text{wò}$
 [tree ${}^{\text{HL}}$ bottom] ${}^{\text{L}}\text{in}$
 ‘at the base of (=under) the tree’

8.4.11 ‘Between’ ($[[X \text{ } Y] \text{ } ^{\text{HL}}\text{gálù}]^{\text{L}}\text{wò}$, $[X \text{ } Y] \text{ } ^{\text{HL}}\text{bérkèlàw}$)

$[[X \text{ } Y] \text{ } ^{\text{HL}}\text{gálù}] \text{ } wò$ is a compound postposition meaning ‘between X and Y’. It can also mean ‘within (a duration)’.

- (163) $[[\text{úsú} \text{ } \text{péru}]]$ ${}^{\text{HL}}\text{gálù}]$ ${}^{\text{L}}\text{wò}$
 [[day ten] ${}^{\text{HL}}$ between] ${}^{\text{L}}\text{in}$
 ‘within ten days’ [2005.1a.14]

${}^{\text{HL}}\text{bérkèlàw}$ ‘between’, based on noun *bér-kélà*: ‘middle’, is used in its literal (spatial) sense (164). If both endpoints are specified, they are conjoined (§7.1.1).

- (164) $[\text{bé:nì} \text{ } \text{yà} \rightarrow]$ $[\text{dúwásán} \text{ } \text{yá} \rightarrow]$ ${}^{\text{HL}}\text{bérkèlàw}$
 [Beni and] [Douentza and] ${}^{\text{HL}}$ between
 ‘between Beni and Douentza’

It can be used in literal and figurative senses with human reference objects. Of course a single NP or pronoun denoting the endpoints can be used instead of a conjunction (165).

- (165) *i:* ${}^{\text{L}}\text{bérkèlàw}$
 1Pl ${}^{\text{L}}$ between
 ‘between us’ (literally, or e.g. in confidence between us)

8.5 Purposive and causal postpositions

8.5.1 Purposive *g̥in* (and variants) ‘for’

This postposition is illustrated in (166). It can have purposive or causal (‘because of’) sense, but the purposive sense (‘for’, ‘in order for’) is most prominent. The variant forms attested are *g̥in*, *g̥iní*, *g̥un*, and *g̥uní*. The postposition is slightly mutated from *g̥uyⁿ=ní* (variant *g̥iyⁿ=ní*), a same-subject clause-linking form of *g̥uyⁿ ~ g̥iⁿ* ‘say’. In other words, ‘he came for meat’ originated as ‘saying (=thinking) meat, he came’. This use of a quotative expression in purposive contexts is typical of Dogon languages, and other African languages.

- (166) a. [nàwⁿâ: g̥in] yè-y
[meat Purp] come.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I came for the meat [focus].'
- b. [ú g̥in] yè-y
[2Sg Purp] come.Pfv-1SgSbj
'I came on account of you-Sg.'

For *g̥in* with a clausal complement (purposive or causal clause), see §17.5.3 and §17.5.2.2. In the latter section, I point out that native speakers are aware of the relationship between *g̥in* (with its variants) and the ‘say’ verb *g̥uyⁿ ~ g̥iyⁿ* (§11.3.1), which combines with the same-subject clause chaining clitic =ní as *g̥ù=ní* or *g̥ì=ní*. So there is a connection between e.g. ‘I came on account of you’ and ‘I came saying/thinking “you.”’

8.5.2 Causal *déngèy* and *g̥in* ‘because of’

The postposition ^{HL}*déngèy* has a {HL} overlay, cf. noun *déngèy* ‘reason, cause’. It can be glossed ‘because of’, specifying the causal factor that impels an action. *g̥in* (see preceding section) may also be used in this context, though its core meaning is purposive (future-oriented).

- (167) [bòlú ^{HL}*déngèy*] nù-bó
[" g̥in] "
[rain because.of] go.in.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They went inside because of the rain.'

8.5.3 Causal *[[X ^{HL}*ní:*] wò]*

This is a complex postposition involving a noun-like element *ni:* and locative *wò*. Particle *ni:* is not used in similar sense elsewhere, but I will gloss it as ‘cause’ in interlinears. The lexical tone of *ni:* cannot be determined, since X always functions as a possessor and imposes an overlay on *ni:*, either {HL} or {L}. The final tone segment of *ni:* is therefore always L, and this spreads into the locative postposition, which is therefore always L-toned *wò*.

*[[X ^{HL}*ní:*] wò]* can be translated ‘because of X’ or ‘on account of X’. There is no sharp semantic distinction between this and other causal constructions, but in the textual examples

[[X^{HL} n̩i:] wò] usually expresses a human motivation rather than physical causality. That is, *[[X^{HL} n̩i:] wò]* describes the background situation within which the following eventuality makes sense.

The most common combinations are *[kú^{HL} n̩i:] wò* ‘because of that, for that (aforementioned) reason’ and *[[ŋgú^{HL} n̩i:] wò]* ‘because of this/that, for this/that reason’. *[kú^{HL} n̩i:] wò* is always anaphoric, resuming prior discourse and establishing it as the motivational background for the following eventuality (168a). *[[ŋgú^{HL} n̩i:] wò]* is based on the inanimate proximal deictic demonstrative (*ŋgú* ‘this’) and may be cataphoric (prospective), when the speaker is about to describe a motivational background, as in (168b) in the context of its text (the speaker went on to give the explanation).

- (168) a. *tárá:* *[[kú^{HL} n̩i:] wò]*
 collective.hunt [[DiscDef ^{HL}cause] in]
 tár-yè=b-à:
 hunt.Ipfv-3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
 ‘They used to do the collective hunt for that purpose.’ [2005.1b.01]
- b. *ŷ:* *[yì-té: L n̩ewⁿè:]* *[[ŋgú^{HL} n̩i:] wò]*
 1Pl [children Lbenefit] [[Prox.Inan ^{HL}cause] in]
 ká:n-rà-ŷ::
 do-Ipfv-1PlSbj
 ‘(As for) us, the benefit of (having) children, because of this [focus] we do (it, i.e.
 have lots of children).- [2005.1b.07]

The textual context for (169) contrasts two motivations for slaughtering a goat, *dùsú* ‘respectfulness’ (i.e. to honor someone), and *kálá* ‘sanction’ (i.e. as a penalty), and both nouns occur in the frame *[[X^{HL} n̩i:] wò]*.

- (169) *núwⁿɔyⁿ* *[[dùsú^{HL} n̩i:] wò]* *[n̩u: mā:]*
 now [[respect(n) ^{HL}cause] in] [people Dat]
 bér^L bû: sér-né-ñí
 goat^L 3PlSbj slaughter.Ipfv-Ppl
 ‘Now it’s due to respectfulness that (there is) a goat that they slaughter for (other)
 people,’ [2005.1b.04]

In (170), *[[X^{HL} n̩i:] Lwò]* is not obviously causal. Instead, it gives a context for the main predication, and can be approximately glossed ‘with respect to’ or ‘in the context of’.

- (170) *ènjî:* *[[kðsɔy^{HL} n̩i:] Lwò]*
 roselle [[harvest ^{HL}cause] L in]
 lènjî: kùyɔ: íré-ñí
 [roselle first ripen.Ipfv-3SgSbj]
 ‘Roselle, with respect to the (millet) harvest, roselle ripens first.’ [2005.1a.10]

8.6 Other adverbials (or equivalents)

8.6.1 Similarity (*gâyⁿ→* ‘like’)

This high-frequency adverbial most often follows, and has scope over, an NP or adverb.

- (171) *yă-m* *gâyⁿ→*
woman-AnSg like
'like a woman'

Other examples are in (677) and (682) in the sample texts.

8.6.2 Extent: *èsfⁿ→*, *díyⁿá-wⁿ* *wó* ‘a lot’ *illá*, *dêm→*, *dá:-wó* ‘a little’

Adverbial ‘a lot, greatly, thoroughly’ is usually *èsfⁿ→*. An occasional alternative is *díyⁿá-wⁿ* *wó*, cf. adjective *díyⁿà-* ‘big’, noun *díyⁿá-wⁿ* ‘size’, and locative *wo*. For ‘a lot’ in the quantitative sense (‘many, much’) see *bâyⁿ→* and *jó→* (§4.5.1) See also the intensifiers used with specific adjectival concepts (§6.3.3.1). Adverbial (or nominal) ‘a little’ is either *illá* ~ *ùllá*, *dêm→*, or *dá:-wó*, cf. adjective *dâ:-* ‘small’ and noun *dâ:-w* ‘smallness’.

- (172) a. *èsfⁿ→* *nì:yⁿi-Ø*
a.lot sleep.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She slept a lot.'
- b. *illá* *nì:yⁿi-Ø*
a.little sleep.Pfv-3SgSbj
'He/She slept a little (=briefly).'
- c. *dêm→* *nì:yⁿi-Ø*
a.little sleep.Pfv-3SgSbj
(= b)

These adverbs are often superceded by more specific expressions, notably intensifiers §6.4.4.1.

Emphatic ‘be/do a lot, excessively, too much’ can be expressed by *lóyó-* ‘overflow’, see line 5 of (671) in the sample text.

8.6.3 Specificity

8.6.3.1 ‘Approximately’ (*gâyⁿ→*)

Particle *gâyⁿ→* ‘like’ (§8.6.1) may be used to indicate approximate quantity (173b).

- (173) a. *[úrò* *pérú]* *s-è:ⁿ-bó*
[house ten] have-3PI Sbj-3PI Sbj
'They have ten houses.'

- b. *[úrò pérú gâyⁿ→ s-è:ⁿ-bó*
 [[house ten] like] have-3PlSbj-3PlSbj
 ‘They have like (= approximately) ten houses.’

8.6.3.2 ‘Exactly’ (*cók*)

Particle *cók* ‘exactly’ specifies the exactness of a quantity.

- (174) *[úrò pérú cók] s-è:ⁿ-bó*
 [[house ten] exactly] have-3PlSbj-3PlSbj
 ‘They have exactly ten houses.’

For exactness of locations, see §4.4.2.2.

8.6.3.3 ‘Specifically’ (*té→*)

té→ is used in contexts where the speaker emphasizes the precise identity (rather than quantity) of a referent. It can, for example, be used with singular pronouns as well as with other NPs and pronouns.

- (175) *[ú té→ lùgùró:-rà-ŷ*
 [2Sg specifically] look.for-Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I’m looking specifically for you-Sg.’

8.6.4 Evaluation

8.6.4.1 ‘Well’ and ‘badly’

èsíⁿ→ can mean ‘well’, evaluating the quality of someone’s performance or knowledge, in addition to its quantitative sense ‘a lot, greatly’ (§8.6.2).

- (176) *èsíⁿ→ bén^L-téy júwó-m*
 well Beni^L-language know-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He/She knows Beni language well.’

The verb *cé:lé* has meanings like ‘make, manufacture’ (transitive) or ‘be made, manufactured’ (intransitive), usually with the connotation ‘make well’ or ‘be well-made’. In many contexts the ‘well’ component becomes dominant, resulting in translations like ‘(rainy season) turn out well’.

There is no adverb ‘badly’, so other ways of phrasing the relevant concepts are used. For example, adjective *mòsú* ‘bad’ can modify a direct object noun, perhaps a cognate nominal.

- (177) *[bìré^L mòsú] bíré-m*
 [work(n)^L bad] work-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He/She works does poor work (= works badly).’

8.6.4.2 ‘Appropriate, right’ (*jâ:wⁿ*)

A phrase with *jâ:wⁿ* ‘normal, right, (socially) acceptable’ can be used. It behaves syntactically as a predicative adjective. The positive form is *jâ:wⁿ bû:-Ø* ‘it is normal, right’ or just *jâ:wⁿ*. The negative is *jâ:wⁿ=râ* ‘it isn’t right’. For the morphosyntactic frames see §11.4.1 (positive) and §11.4.4 (negative).

8.6.5 Manner

There is no productive morphological mechanism for producing manner adverbials (cf. English *-ly*). It is very easy to chain verbs together, so most “manner adverbials” are really chained verbs or VPs. Postpositional phrases like *pànjá nâyⁿ* ‘by force’ are also common.

8.6.6 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.6.6.1 Temporal adverbs

Some of the major temporal adverbs are in (178).

(178)	a.	<i>íyé</i>	‘today; nowadays’
		<i>íyâ</i>	‘again’
		<i>píníwⁿú</i>	‘again’ (verb ‘do again’)
		<i>yéŋgù</i>	‘yesterday; formerly, in the old days’
		<i>íyé ùsú tâ:nú</i>	‘day before yesterday’
		<i>núwⁿðyⁿ</i>	‘now’
		<i>né:</i> (and variants)	‘now’ (especially topicalizing)
	b.	<i>éyⁿ, éyⁿ dé</i>	‘tomorrow; in the future’
		<i>érénâ:</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
		<i>èrènâ: túŋgò</i>	‘second day after tomorrow’
		<i>túŋgò tí:</i>	‘third day after tomorrow’
		<i>lég-tèré</i>	‘fourth day after tomorrow’
		<i>bâ:nây</i>	‘fifth day after tomorrow’
	c.	<i>jëyⁿ</i>	‘last year’
		<i>nàŋgúrù</i>	‘next year’
		<i>níyⁿéw ~ nûyⁿð:ⁿ ~ níyⁿð:ⁿ</i>	‘this year’

8.6.6.2 ‘First’ (*kùyó:*)

‘First’ as adverb, in the sense of chronological sequencing of events, is *kùyó:*. As in English, this is identical to the ordinal adjective ‘first (of a series)’.

- (179) *bíré* *kùyɔ:* *bíré* *jè = náyⁿ,*
 work(n) first work ExpPf=then.SS,
ájàyⁿ *néyⁿ* *né-ŷⁿ:*
 like.that meal eat.Ipfv-1PlSbj
 ‘We’ll do the work first, then we’ll eat.’

8.6.6.3 Spatial adverbs

Deictic locative adverbs ('here', 'there') are presented in §4.4.2.1. Other locative adverbs are listed in (180).

- (180) a. *mànî:* ‘above, top, summit’
bòlô: ‘below, bottom, down’
- b. *dâ:* *jirè, dù dâ:* ‘east’
tèŋì dâ:, tèŋ dâ: ‘west’
bòsòn dâ:, bósón ‘north’
mùnjùrò dâ:, gàwⁿ tórò ‘south’
 [*mùnjùrò dâ:* is now archaic]
- c. *tùlì:-túlì:* ‘going backward, in reverse’
tùlú wó, tùlú dâ: ‘in the rear’
jiré: ‘forward; in front’ cf. *jiré* ‘eye’

Note the morpheme *dâ:* in several cardinal-direction terms, but *dâ:* in *tùlú dâ:* ‘in the rear’ (cf. Jamsay *dáyá*).

‘Left hand’ is *nà-bànäyⁿ*, ‘right hand’ is *nà-néyⁿ* (with *nâ:* ‘hand’). Nowadays these can be used as directional terms, as in ‘turn left’.

8.6.7 Expressive adverbials

As in all Dogon languages there are many expressive adverbials. Many of them end in a syllable that is protracted intonationally (symbol →). A few of the most important are given in the following sections. §6.3.3.1 presents adjectival intensifiers, which belong to the larger class of expressive adverbials.

These forms may be used adverbially. They are rather independent, and do not constitute subconstituents of syntactic phrases like NP and PP (181a). However, they can be made predicative by adding an auxiliary verb, either stative quasi-verb *bù-* ‘be’ to denote a state (181b), or the regular verb *bé-* (elsewhere ‘remain’) in the inchoative sense ‘become’. *ŋgó-* ‘not be’ is the negative in the stative sense (181b). The syntax even of predicative forms of expressive adverbials is clearly distinct from that of predicate nouns and predicate adjectives.

- (181) a. *yí-m* *bé:n* *dém→* *yògó* *lò-Ø*
 child-AnSg Beni straight run go.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘The child ran straight to Beni.’

- b. ósù *dém*→ bù-∅
 road straight be-3SgSbj
 '(The) road is straight.'
- c. béré *dém*→ bě:-rè-∅
 stick straight become-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 'The stick became straight.'
- d. ósù *dém*→ ḷgó-∅
 road straight not.be-3SgSbj
 '(The) road is straight.'

8.6.7.1 ‘Straight’ (*dém*→, *sé*n→)

‘Straight’ in the sense of a direct, non-meandering trajectory or path is expressed by the adverbial *dém*→. The *m* is prolonged. Examples are in the immediately preceding section.

‘Straight’ in the context ‘look straight at’ is *sé*n→ or variant *sé*→.

- (182) í=nì *sé*n→ tìnì-bɔ̄
 1Sg=Acc straight look.Pfv-3PLSbj
 'They looked straight at me.'

8.6.7.2 ‘Apart, separate’ (*déy*n→)

To indicate that two objects, or classes of object, are physically separated or are conceptually distinct, both NPs are followed by adverbial *déy*n→ in a parallelistic construction.

- (183) [árⁿà *déy*n→] [yǎ: *déy*n→]
 [man.Pl apart] [woman.Pl apart]
 'Men and women are separate (or: are distinct).'

8.6.7.3 ‘Always’ (*àsú*→), ‘never’ (*àbádá*)

‘Always, forever, eternally’ is *àsú*→, which was perhaps originally a phrase including *ùsú* ‘day’. This adverbial is also found in some other Dogon languages (Nanga, Najamba).

‘Never’, also an emphatic negative (‘in no way’, ‘not on your life’) is the ubiquitous *àbádá* from Arabic. It is used as an addition to a regular negative clause.

8.6.7.4 ‘All together’

No adverbial meaning ‘together’ (cf. Jamsay *sí-só:n* and cognates in other northwestern Dogon languages) was elicitable. Instead, a verb chain beginning with *mɔ:lú* ‘be/do together’ is the only way to express e.g. ‘we work together’. See §15.1.6.

8.6.7.5 ‘All, entirely’ (*sóy*, *nàŋàná:*)

sóy (with interjection-like emphasis) can be used to emphasize that an eventuality applies to the entirety of a set. It is therefore basically an emphatic version of ‘all’ (the less emphatic form is *wôy*).

- (184) [úrò kù] sóy jàwⁿá:-rè-∅
 [house Def] all.Emph be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘All (= every last one of) the houses were ruined.’

nàŋàná: ‘entirety’ (of a group or mass) as possessed noun can emphasize that an eventually applies in a complete or extreme fashion to one or more objects. As a possessed noun the surface form is [*X*^{HL} *nàŋàná:*] or, if X is an undetermined and unquantified NP ending in an L-tone, [*X*^L *nàŋàná:*].

- (185) a. [^{L+HL} úrò kù] ^{HL} nàŋàná: jàwⁿá:-rè-∅
 [1SgPoss-^{HL}house Def] ^{HL} entirely be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘My house was completely ruined.’
- b. [bû: ^L nàŋàná:] sèllè-r-á
 [3PlPoss ^L all] be.healthy-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
 ‘They are all sick.’
- c. [kú ^{HL} nàŋàná:] dùwⁿá:-rè-∅
 [InanPoss ^{HL} all] be.finished-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘It (e.g. sugar) is finished (= depleted).’

For *nàŋàná:* in emphatic pronoun function, see §18.1.4.

8.6.8 Iterated adverbials

8.6.8.1 Distributive adverbial iteration

Iteration of a numeral is used to indicate distribution over time and space (‘two by two’, ‘two apiece’, etc.). In the market, iteration can also indicate the price per unit.

- (186) a. yěy-yěy yè-bó
 two-two come.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They came two by two.’
- b. màngórò pérí-yěy pérí-yěy
 mango ten-two ten-two
 ‘Mangoes are twenty riyals (= 100 francs CFA) apiece.’

8.6.8.2 ‘Scattered, here and there’ (*kálù-kálù*, *kôl-kôl*, *śrⁿđ-śrⁿđ*)

Adverb *kálù-kálù* and variants *kâl-kâl* and *kôl-kôl* (cf. Jamsay *kân-kân*) indicate scattered (not dense) occurrence in several locations not very far apart. I know of no simple (uniterated) form of the stem.

- (187) *yí-m* *sùwɔ̄* *kálù-kálù* *sùwɔ̄-Ø*
child-AnSg excrement here.and.there defecate.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘The child defecated (a little bit) here and there.’

Another iterated adverbial with similar meaning is *śrⁿđ-śrⁿđ*, iteration of *śrⁿđ* ‘place’.

8.6.8.3 Other adverbs with iterated stem

The iterations of adjective stems in (188), with L-toned initial and {HL} toned final, are used as adverbs. The formation is distinct (in form and sense) from distributive iterations.

- (188) form gloss related adjective
- | | | |
|--|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>nà:rⁿà-ná:rⁿà</i> | ‘easily’ | <i>nà:rⁿá</i> ‘easy’ |
| <i>nùm-nûm</i> | ‘with difficulty’ | <i>nûm</i> ‘difficult’ |

9 Verbal derivation

9.1 Reversive verbs (-r̄v-)

The reversive verb-to-verb derivation is like that with English *un-* (or *dis-*, etc.). The basic suffix is *-r̄v-*. The derived stem preserves the lexical /H/ or /LH/ stem-level melody of the input verb, but /LH/ is spread over the entire derived stem. The derivation is most common with (underlying) bisyllabic stems (189a). The inner stem itself shifts its (presuffixal) vowel to a high vowel, here written *i* except where syncopated. This is a weak metrical position in a trisyllabic verb. However, some other reversives discussed below fail to raise the presuffixal vowel, suggesting that this raising is not fully productive. In (189b), the verbs are *pí:yⁿí-* and *pí:-rⁿí-*, to judge by imperatives *pí:yⁿà* ‘shut!’ and *pí:-rⁿà* ‘open!’, but the phonology is murky since *pí:yⁿí-* is usually pronounced [pí:ⁿ]. Stative *pì-píyⁿà-wⁿ* ‘it is shut’ clearly has a short *i* in the medial syllable, suggesting that an alternative representation of ‘shut’ as /píyⁿí/ may also be present. This would then suggest an alternative analysis of ‘open’ as /píyⁿí-rⁿí/, and perhaps of *pí:yⁿí-* as /píyⁿí-yⁿí/. (189c) shows a dissimilation of /r/ to *I* before the suffixal *r*, see §3.5.4.5. In (189d), the end of the input stem is truncated before the suffix, and suffixal /r/ shifts to *d* after *m* (§3.5.4.7). In (189e), a final *-yv-* is lopped off before *-r̄v-*. In the case of ‘caught’/‘uncaught’, this truncation might be attributed to the unacceptability of a trisyllabic stem before the reversive suffix, and/or to deletion of mediopassive *-yv-* before another derivational suffix. The ‘lock’/‘unlock’ case is synchronically messy and isolated (compare Nanga *dàgá/dàgí-rì* and Bankan Tey *dǎ:ⁿ/dà:ⁿ-rⁿí*). (189f) shows lengthening of *Cv-* stem to *Cv:-* before the derivational suffix (§3.5.3.1).

(189)	input	gloss	reversive	gloss
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a. bisyllabic stem as input (predominant type)

<i>dèwí-</i>	‘cover (object)’	<i>dèw-rí-</i>	‘uncover (object)’
<i>mèlí-</i>	‘fold’	<i>mèlì-rí-</i>	‘unfold’
<i>kólí-</i>	‘hook, hang up’	<i>kólí-rí-</i>	‘unhook, take down (sth hanging)’
<i>pégé-</i>	‘nail(v)’	<i>pégí-rí-</i>	‘remove (nail)’
<i>pégé-</i>	‘button’	<i>pégí-rí</i>	‘unbutton’
<i>páyá-</i>	‘tie’	<i>págí-rí-</i>	‘untie’

b. phonology problematic (discussed above)

<i>pí:yⁿí-</i>	‘shut’	<i>pí:-rⁿí-</i>	‘open’
---------------------------	--------	----------------------------	--------

c. /r/ to *I* (§3.5.4.5)

<i>górlò-</i>	‘cover (person)’	<i>górlò-ró-</i>	‘uncover (person)’
<i>írlé-</i>	‘forget’	<i>írlí-rí-</i>	‘remember’
<i>tárá-</i>	‘paste, affix’	<i>tálí-rí-</i>	‘unpaste, detach’

d. syncope (§3.5.3.2), CCC simplification (§3.5.4.8), /r/ to *d* (§3.5.4.7)

<i>tímbí-</i>	‘cover (w lid)’	<i>tím-dí-</i>	‘uncover (remove lid)’
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e. Mediopassive *-yé-* omitted

<i>néngí-yé-</i>	'be caught in tree'	<i>néngé-ré-</i>	'become uncaught'
<i>dà.-n-yí-</i>	'lock'	<i>dà.-n-rí-</i>	'unlock'
[imperative <i>dáⁿ</i>]			

f. *Cv-* lengthened to *Cv:-* before suffix (§3.5.3.1)

<i>tóⁿ-</i>	'wind'	<i>tó.-n-rí-</i>	'unwind'
<i>wǎ-</i>	'pull up (pants)'	<i>wà:-rí-</i>	'let (pants) down'

Some frozen reversives are used only in chained form before *gò-ló-* 'remove, take away' if transitive (190a), and before *gō-* 'go out, exit' if intransitive (190b).

- (190) a. *gònggù-rú* *gò-ló-tî:-Ø*
fence.in-Rev remove-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
'He/She removed the fence (opened up the space).'
b. *píré-rí* *gō:-rè-Ø*
get.bogged-Rev go.out-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'It (e.g. truck) got unbogged.'

Reversive verbs attested only in this construction (with *gò-ló-* or *gō-*) are in (191). As in (189f), *Cv-* verbs lengthen to *Cv:-*.

(191)	input	gloss	reversive	gloss
a. transitive with <i>gò-ló-</i>				
<i>gònggí-</i>	'wall/fence in'	<i>gònggù-rú-</i>	'remove fence from'	
<i>níngí-</i>	'tangle'	<i>níngí-rí-</i>	'untangle'	
<i>tó-</i>	'step on'	<i>tó:-rí-</i>	'remove foot from'	
<i>kó-</i>	'roll up (pants)'	<i>kó:-ró-</i>	'let (pants) down'	
<i>kúmjó-</i>	'crumple'	<i>kúmjó-ró-</i>	'uncrumple'	
b. intransitive with <i>gō-</i>				
<i>píré-</i>	'get bogged'	<i>píré-rí-</i>	'get unbogged'	

9.2 Deverbal causative verbs

9.2.1 Productive causative suffix (*-wú-*)

The productive derivational suffix for deverbal causatives is *-wú-*. It readily nasalizes to *-wⁿú-* by Nasalization-Spreading. It is often apocopated (or syncopated) to *-w-* (or *-wⁿ-* if nasalized) word-finally and before consonants. (For a handful of cases where this suffix is passive rather than causative, see the following section.)

For inputs of more than one mora, the lexical /H/ or /LH/ melody is preserved in the *-wú-* derivative. *Cv* inputs also have their vowels lengthened.

(192) Causatives with **-wú-**

input	gloss	causative	gloss
a. {H}-toned from /H/ toned input (2+ syllables or CvC-)			
pété-	'jump'	pété-wú-	'make jump'
kúwó-	'eat (meat)'	kúwó-wú-	'feed (with meat)'
áw ⁿ y ⁿ í-	'be swollen'	áw ⁿ y ⁿ í-w ⁿ ú-	'cause to swell'
éré-	'escape'	éré-wú-	'let escape'
b. {LH}-toned from /LH/ toned input (2+ syllables or CvC-)			
jùwó-	'know'	jùwò-wú-	'inform'
găy ⁿ -	'put'	gă: ⁿ w ⁿ ú-	'cause to put'
wàsá-	'remain'	wàsà-wú-	'let remain'
dìmbi-yí-	'follow'	dìmbi-yí-wú-	'make follow'
bùró-	'be reanimated'	bùrò-wú-	'reanimate, bring back to life (e.g. fire)'
dùw ⁿ ó-	'end'	dùw ⁿ ò-w ⁿ ú-	'cause to end'
gòngrì-	'spin'	gòngrù-wú-	'make spin'
c. {H}-toned from monosyllabic /H/ input			
pé-	'eat (meal)'	pé:-w ⁿ ú-	'give food to'
ló-	'go'	ló:-wú-	'allow to go'
nú-	'enter'	nú:-w ⁿ ú-	'make enter'
d. {LH}-toned from monosyllabic /LH/ input			
bě-	'remain'	bě:-wú-	'cause to remain'
n᷑-	'drink'	n᷑:-w ⁿ ú-	'give drink to'
y᷑-	'weep'	y᷑:-wú-	'make weep'
g᷑-	'go out'	g᷑:-wú-	'take out' (uncommon)
n᷑-	'hear'	n᷑:-w ⁿ ú-	'make hear'

9.2.2 Minor causative suffix (-gí-)

The known cases of -gí- are in (193).

(193) Causatives with **-gí-**

input	gloss	causative	gloss
káwá-	'separate self'	káw-gí-	'separate (them)'
sáyá-	'be dispersed'	sáy-gí-	'disperse (them)'
bùró-	'come back to life'	bùrù-gó-	'resuscitate'
mòló-	'be punctured'	mòl-gó-	'puncture'

Transitive -rv̚- ~ -lv̚- (§9.4 below) functions much like a causative in some combinations.

9.3 Passive (-wú-)

The verbal derivational suffix **-wú-** is normally causative. It is, however, passive in a very small number of combinations. All known examples are in (194).

- (194) Passive **-wú-**

input	gloss	passive	gloss
<i>témbú-</i>	'find, encounter'	<i>témbú-wú-</i>	'exist, be found (findable, regularly present)'
<i>bérè-</i>	'get, obtain'	<i>bérè-wú-</i>	'be available, obtainable'
<i>pá:mé-</i>	'understand'	<i>pá:mé-wⁿú-</i>	'be understood'
<i>gòrⁿð-</i>	'be stronger than'	<i>gòrⁿð-wⁿú-</i>	'be mastered, dominated'
<i>yí-</i>	'see'	<i>yí:-wú-</i>	'be visible'

témbú-wú- and *bérè-wú-* are often used in imperfective sentences, positive and negative: *bérè-wú-m-dó-Ø* 'it's not obtainable'. These two passive verbs indicate that the entities in question can be found/obtained, i.e. occur in the relevant zone in reasonable number. On the other hand, the attestation of *gòrⁿð-wⁿú-* is an impersonal passive (195).

- (195) [íyé kálà] bû: gòrⁿð-wⁿú-m-dó-Ø
 [today even] 3Pl be.stronger.than-Pass-Ipfv-Neg
 'Even today one cannot dominate them (=men of Beni).' [2005.2b.04]

In the **perfective** positive, the only form used for passive verbs with suffix **-wú** is a **special form** **-wú-ñ**, as in (with Nasalization-Spreading) *pá:mé-wⁿú-ñ* 'it has been understood' (a phrase used to acknowledge understanding what an addressee has just said). The ending might be compared with stative 3Sg **-ñ** and related forms. Alternatively, but less convincingly it could be transcribed **-wû:-Ø** and compared to other falling-toned 3Sg perfective-system forms (§3.2.1.3) as well as to perfective-1b **-tî:-Ø** and recent perfect **-jê:-Ø**. No distinct plural form is used, hence *gùrú témbú-wú-ñ* 'thieves were findable'. The negative counterpart, however, is the regular perfective negative: *pà:mè-wⁿù-rⁿí-Ø* 'it has not been understood'.

9.4 Mediopassive **-yv̄-** and transitive **-rv̄- ~ -lv̄-**

There are a small number of verbs that alternate between a mediopassive in **-yv̄-** and a causative-like transitive whose usual suffix is **-rv̄-** (196a). Monosyllabic (**C**)**v-** inputs are not lengthened to (**C**)**v:-** before either suffix ('bathe', 'lie down'). Two irregular variations on this pattern have been found. In (196b), we appear to get **-lv̄-** instead of **-rv̄-** in the transitive form. This derivational pair ('go down', 'take down') is also irregular in several other Dogon languages. In (196c), an expected /dimbì-rí-/ syncopates to /dim-rí/, then the tap /r/ (which can only occur intervocally) hardens to **d** (see §3.5.4.7).

(196) Mediopassive/transitive alternations

MP	gloss	Tr	gloss
a. <i>-rv̄-</i> replaces <i>-yv̄-</i> to form transitive			
<i>í:-yí-</i>	'stand, stop'	<i>í:-rí-</i>	'make stop/stand'
<i>ú:-yí-</i>	'fear, be afraid'	<i>ú:-rú-</i>	'scare, frighten'
<i>dì-yé-</i>	'bathe'	<i>dì-ré-</i>	'bathe (sb)'
<i>éw-yé-</i>	'sit'	<i>éw-ré-</i>	'seat, cause to sit'
<i>bì-yé-</i>	'lie down'	<i>bì-ré-</i>	'cause to lie down'
<i>túngú-yú-</i>	'kneel'	<i>túngú-rú-</i>	'cause to kneel'
b. <i>-lv̄-</i> is added to bisyllabic stem minus mediopassive <i>-yv̄-</i> ending			
<i>sí-yé-</i>	'go down'	<i>sí-lé-</i>	'take (bring) down'
c. <i>-dv̄-</i> after <i>m</i>			
<i>dìmbì-yí-</i>	'follow'	<i>dìm-dí-</i>	'cause to follow'

Nasalization-Spreading can apply: *tórñí-yñí* 'squat', *cérñí-yñí* '(lightning) flash'. In *témí-yé* 'be soaked', the suffix is unnasalized, as often after *m* from *mb.

There are also a handful of cases where *-lv̄-* is added directly to an unsuffixed monosyllabic intransitive (197a), with *Cv-* lengthened to *Cv:-* (§3.5.3.1) before the suffix, or where *-rv̄-* is added directly to an unsuffixed bisyllabic intransitive (197b).

(197) Transitive suffix added to unsuffixed intransitive

MP	gloss	Tr	gloss
a. <i>-lv̄-</i> added directly to (monosyllabic) stem			
<i>bă-</i>	'learn (a trade)'	<i>bà:-lí-</i>	'teach (sb, a trade)'
<i>dă-</i>	'arrive'	<i>dò:-lí-</i>	'deliver'
b. <i>-rv̄-</i> added directly to unsuffixed stem			
<i>ùrž-</i>	'go up'	<i>ùlù-rú-</i>	'take up'

For *l...-r* instead of expected *r...-r* in 'take up' in (197b), see §3.5.4.5. For other cases of *-rv̄-* or *-lv̄-* being added to a stem without *-yv̄-*, see deadjectival factitives in §9.7.

There are many other verbs ending in ...*yv̄-* that may be frozen derivatives that originally contained the mediopassive suffix. Examples are *ní:yñí* 'sleep' (regular causative *ní:yñí-wñú-*) and *tórñí-yñí* 'squat'.

Transitivity alternations of this type are much more common in Najamba, where *-yéy* is clearly identifiable as a mediopassive suffix.

9.5 Passive (-yéy)

A morpheme that is often heard as [jéj] can be added to an {H}-toned form of the unsuffixed verb stem to produce a **resultative passive**. I take this to be *-yéy* (with H-tone) plus the 'it is'

clitic, which in this phonological context is realized as a final L-tone element (§11.2.1). With (animate) 3Sg subject we get *-yéy=m*, where the ‘it is’ clitic is nonzero. So the form in *-yéy* is syntactically nominal rather than verbal, and I have some examples in NP function without the ‘it is’ clitic, e.g. *mùn-cém^L nó:-wⁿ-yéy* ‘poisoned arrow’, with an {L}-toned form of *mùnjù-cém* ‘bow and arrow’ followed by the {H}-toned passive of *nò:-wⁿú-* ‘cause X to (=let X) drink’, or in this context ‘apply liquid to X’.

The initial *y* of *-yéy* is not subject to Nasalization-Spreading from the preceding stem (198a). This raises the possibility that the morpheme is a clitic not subject to word-internal processes. (198d) is a relative clause.

- (198) a. [úrò kù] céwⁿí-yéy=∅
[house Def] build-Pass=it.is.Inan
‘The house was built.’
- b. yéngù bā: tóngú-yéy=∅-bó
yesterday since write-Pass=it.is-3PlSbj
‘They (=letters) have been written since yesterday.’
- c. L+HL *tíyà-m* jíyé-yéy=m
1SgPoss.^{HL}friend-AnSg kill-Pass=it.is.3SgSbj
‘My friend has been killed.’ (*jíyé-*)
- d. [áŋàyⁿ tí:-yéy kù] bû:=m
[like.that sell-Pass Def] 3Pl=it.is
‘The ones who were sold like that were them.’ [2005.2b.02]
[contraction of *tíyé-yéy*]

First and second person subjects are expressed with the corresponding conjugated forms of the ‘it is’ enclitic. The singular forms are added to (animate) singular suffix *-m*. *-yéy*- has H-tone in these combinations.

- (199) a. í jíyé-yéy-m=m-îy dè
1SgSbj kill-Pass-AnSg=it.is-1SgSbj if
‘if I am killed, ...’
- b. ï: jíyé-yéy=m-îy.: dè
1PlSbj kill-Pass=it.is-1PlSbj if
‘if we are killed, ...’

In at least one combination, the form with *-yéy* functions as a modifying adjective. This is *èlèy wá:mbú-yéy* ‘roasted peanuts’ (local French *cacahuètes*), where *ély* ‘peanut’ is {L}-toned (as it should be before a modifying adjective). This term for ‘roasted peanuts’ competes with *èlèy tìgà-lâm-lâm* (partially borrowed from Fulfulde). I did not record *-yéy* in other such expressions; ‘roast meat’ (local French *viande grillée*) is *nàwⁿà: sìmbú* (cf. verb *símbé-* ‘roast’).

The construction is negated by adding stative negative clitic *=rá* after *-yéy*, which again takes the falling-toned form *-yéy-* suggesting the presence of the ‘it is’ clitic (§11.2.1.4).

- (200) [úrò kù] céwⁿí-yéy=Ø=rá-Ø
 [house Def] build-Pass=it.is=StatNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘The house wasn’t built.’

9.6 Ambi-valent verbs without suffixal derivation

Some verbs have no change in stem shape when shifting between intransitive and transitive functions. An example is *mò:lú-*, which can be intransitive ‘come together’ or transitive ‘bring together, assemble’.

9.7 Deadjectival inchoative and factitive verbs

For an adjective A, the inchoative means ‘(X) become A’, and the factitive (logically a causative of the inchoative) means ‘(Y) make (X) A’. Examples: *pé-* ‘become (=get) old’, *pé:-wú-* ‘make (sb, sth) old, age (sth)’.

In (201), the inchoative has **no derivational suffix**. It is cognate to the adjective, without there being any regular morphological relationship or clear derivational directionality. The factitive is the **regular causative** in *-wú-* of the inchoative.

(201)	gloss	adj	inchoative	factitive
	‘old’	<i>pě:</i>	<i>pé-</i>	<i>pé:-wú-</i>
	‘ripe’	<i>iréy</i>	<i>iré-</i>	<i>iré-wú-</i>
	‘half-ripe’	<i>bòlòrōy</i>	<i>bòlòrō-</i>	<i>bòlorò-wú-</i>
	‘plump’	<i>ām</i>	<i>áwⁿá-</i>	<i>áwⁿá-wⁿú-</i>
	‘red’	<i>bárⁿà-</i>	<i>bárⁿá-</i>	<i>bárⁿà-wⁿú-</i>
	‘empty, bare’	<i>kòrōy</i>	<i>kóró-</i>	<i>kóró-wú-</i>
	‘weak, diluted’	<i>sérē</i>	<i>séré-</i>	<i>séré-wú-</i>
	‘crooked’	<i>gòlú</i>	<i>gòlí-</i>	<i>gòlù-wú-</i>
	‘skinny’	<i>kómbó</i>	<i>kómbó-</i>	<i>kómbó-wú-</i>
	‘easy, cheap’	<i>nà:rⁿá</i>	<i>ná:rⁿí-</i>	<i>ná:rⁿí-wⁿú-</i>
	‘rotten’	<i>ðmbú</i>	<i>ðmbí-</i>	<i>ðmbú-wú-</i>

In the more isolated cases in (202), **factitive suffix** *-lí-* ~ *-rí-* (probably identical to the transitive suffix) is used instead of the usual causative suffix *-wú-*.

(202)	gloss	adj	inchoative	factitive
a. <i>-lí-</i> after monosyllabic				
	‘full’	<i>bă:</i>	<i>bă-</i>	<i>bă:-lí-</i>
	‘firm, solid’	<i>éw</i>	<i>é-</i>	<i>é:-lí-</i>
b. <i>-rí-</i>				
	‘tilted’	<i>jèngú</i>	<i>jèngí-</i>	<i>jèngì-rí-</i>

In many other cases, the **inchoative** is derived suffixally, though idiosyncratic segmental differences between it and the adjective are observed in certain cases. The factitive is again the **regular causative** of the inchoative. The most common type is with *-Iv-* in the inchoative (203a). If the input contains a medial liquid {*l r*}, the inchoative has *l* in the stem, and has *-rv-* instead of *-Iv-* as suffix (203b). In other words, the only liquid sequence allowed in inchoatives is *l...r*, compare §3.5.4.5. If the input contains medial *rⁿ*, the output has *n* in the stem and *-rnv-* as the suffix (203c). A medial *yⁿ* in the stem is associated with suffix *-nv-* in the only relevant example (203d). If the stem ends in *m*, including *m* from underlying /wⁿ/ after Syncope, the inchoative suffix is *-dv-* (203e). In some but not all cases, suffix allomorphs *-rv-* and *-dv-* are associated with a stem-wide vowel-harmonic shift from *e* to *ɛ*; note especially ‘sweet; sharp’ and ‘white’ in (203b).

(203)	gloss	adj	inchoative	factitive
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a. Inchoative *-Iv-*, stem with no {*l r*}

‘squeezed’	<i>pèŋgú</i>	<i>péŋgí-lí-</i>	<i>péŋgí-lí-wú-</i>
‘thin’	<i>mèŋjé-</i>	<i>mèŋjì-lí-</i>	<i>mèŋjì-lí-wú-</i>
‘fat’	<i>dùgú-</i>	<i>dùgù-ló-</i>	<i>dùgù-lò-wú-</i>
‘coarse’	<i>kúnjù-m</i>	<i>kúnjú-ló-</i>	<i>kúnjú-ló-wú-</i>
‘short’	<i>gɔ:w-</i>	<i>gɔ:lí-</i>	<i>gɔ:lù-wú-</i>
‘good’	<i>èsú-</i>	<i>ésí-lí-</i>	<i>ésí-lú-wú-</i>
‘bad, ugly’	<i>mòsú-</i>	<i>mósí-lí-</i>	<i>mósí-lí-wú-</i>
‘heavy’	<i>dùsú-</i>	<i>dùsù-ló-</i>	<i>dùsù-lò-wú-</i>
‘half-sweet’	<i>ásù-m</i>	<i>ásí-lí-</i>	<i>ásí-lí-wú-</i>

b. Inchoative *-rv-* after stem with *l* (from *l* or *r*)

‘sweet; sharp’	<i>érù-m</i>	<i>élé-ré-</i>	<i>élé-ré-wú-</i>
‘white’	<i>pílé</i>	<i>pílé-ré-</i>	<i>pílé-ré-wú-</i>
‘long, tall’	<i>gùrɔ-</i>	<i>gùlù-rí-</i>	<i>gùlù-rù-wú-</i>
‘smooth, sleek’	<i>órù-m</i>	<i>óló-ró-</i>	<i>óló-ró-wú-</i>
‘salty, sour’	<i>páṛù-m</i>	<i>pále-ré-</i>	<i>pále-ré-wú-</i>
‘soft (skin)’	<i>yɔṛú</i>	<i>yɔlì-rí-</i>	<i>yɔlù-rù-wú-</i>
‘moisten’	<i>ɔṛú</i>	<i>ɔlí-rí-</i>	<i>ɔlú-rú-wú-</i>
‘bitter’	<i>gárù-m</i>	<i>gàlè-ré-</i>	<i>gàlè-rè-wú-</i>

c. Inchoative *-rnv-* after stem with *n* (from *rⁿ*)

‘lightweight’	<i>jèrⁿú-</i>	<i>jènì-rⁿí-</i>	<i>jènì-rⁿi-wⁿú-</i>
‘deep’	<i>wⁿɔṛⁿɔ-</i>	<i>wⁿɔnì-rⁿí-</i>	<i>wⁿɔnù-rⁿu-wⁿú-</i>

d. Inchoative *-nv-* after stem with *yⁿ*

‘big, adult’	<i>diyⁿá-</i>	<i>diyⁿà-ní-</i>	<i>diyⁿà-nì-wⁿú-</i>
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e. Inchoative *-dv-* after stem with *m* (from *wⁿ* or *m*)

‘black’	<i>jéwⁿè-</i>	<i>jém-dé-</i>	<i>jém-dè-wú-</i>
‘pointed’	<i>sím</i>	<i>sím-dé-</i>	<i>sím-dé-wú-</i>
‘difficult, costly’	<i>núm</i>	<i>núm-dó-</i>	<i>núm-dó-wú-</i>

A few adjectives containing a labial (including *w*) have an inchoative in *-yv-* (204).

(204)	gloss	adj	inchoative	factive
	'dry'	<i>mă:</i>	<i>mă-yⁿá-</i>	<i>mă-yⁿà-wⁿú-</i>
	'cold'	<i>tâm</i>	<i>táwⁿ-yⁿí-</i>	<i>táwⁿ-yⁿí-wⁿú-</i>
	'hot, fast'	<i>ôw</i>	<i>ów-yí-</i>	<i>ów-yú-wú-</i>

Various idiosyncratic cases are lumped together in (205).

(205)	gloss	adj	inchoative	factive
	'spacious'	<i>káwà-w</i>	<i>kám-dí-</i>	<i>kám-dí-</i>
	'distant'	<i>wă:w</i>	<i>wàn-gí-</i>	<i>wàn-gù-wú-</i>
	'dirty'	<i>lóyò</i>	<i>lóg-gí-</i>	<i>lóg-gú-</i>
	'clean'	<i>ése</i>	<i>ése-</i>	<i>ésí-lí-wú-</i>

For 'spacious', the inchoative fits pattern (203e), above, but the factitive lacks an additional derivational suffix. For *wă:* (<*wágá) 'distant', inchoative *wà-ŋgí-* 'go far away' is now quite opaque morphologically, but the *g* was originally transposed (metathesized) from the **g* of the stem; compare Jamsay *wàyá* 'distant', *wànà-ŋá-* 'go far away'. *lóg-gí-* 'become dirty' is the other case I know of with *g* in the suffix; compare Jamsay *lóyò-jó-* 'become dirty' (and *lóyò* 'filth'). One could argue for a denominal rather than deadjectival inchoative here (see the following section). The factitive is *lóg-gú-*, irregularly contracted from **lóg-gú-wú-*. For 'clean', the factitive is morphologically the causative of a putative inchoative with suffix *-lý-*, but the inchoative in common use is unsuffixed *ése-*.

Adjectives with no corresponding derived verbs, or that have a suppletive inchoative and/or factitive, are in (206).

(206) Adjectives

	gloss	adj	inchoative	factive
a.	suppletive			
	'small'	<i>dâ:-</i>	<i>sálírí-</i>	<i>sálírú-wú-</i>
b.	no verb attested			
	'young'	<i>jókkólè-</i>	—	—
	'unripe, raw'	<i>cèsú</i>	—	—
	'other'	<i>läw</i>	—	—
	'new'	<i>kálà</i>	—	—

9.8 Denominal verbs

A few scattered cases of verbs apparently derived from nouns (rather than adjectives) are in (207a-c). *lóyò* 'filth' (207d) can also be an adjective 'dirty', so *lóg-gí-* may really be deadjectival rather than denominal. The cases in (207e) exemplify noun-verb pairs with no

clear derivational directionality, perhaps best analysed synchronically as involving cognate nominals (§11.1.5.1), but in some cases the verb may be historically denominal.

(207)	noun	gloss	verb	gloss
a. suffix <i>-rv-</i>				
	<i>dâ:</i>	'load'	<i>dù:-rú-</i>	'load (e.g. cart)'
b. suffix <i>-lv-</i>				
	<i>pō:</i>	(greeting)	<i>pó:-lí-</i>	'greet'
c. suffix <i>-gv-</i>				
	<i>úli</i>	'forest'	<i>úlú-gó-</i>	'(zone) become densely vegetated (e.g. after rains)'
	<i>lóyɔ</i>	'filth; dirty'	<i>lóg-gí-</i>	'get dirty'
d.	<i>bármè</i>	'injury'	<i>bármé-</i>	'injure, wound'
	<i>ùrùyí:</i>	'pain'	<i>ùrùyó-</i>	'be in pain'
	<i>kèriyêy</i>	'(a) share'	<i>kéríyé-</i>	'share, divide up'
	<i>tírâ:</i>	'family name'	<i>tírí-</i>	'(griot) chant the ancestry of (sb)'

9.9 Obscure verb-verb relationships

Minor patterns are listed without comment in (208).

(208)	verb	gloss	related verb	gloss
	<i>ná-</i>	'spend night'	<i>ná:-wⁿí-</i>	'greet in morning'
	<i>nàwⁿá-</i>	'malfunction'	<i>nàŋgi-rí-</i>	'do harm to, ruin'

10 Verbal inflection

10.1 Inflection of regular indicative verbs

Verbs have a lexically basic **bare stem** that occurs in nonfinal position in verb chains, and in most aspect-negation inflections. The only categories whose vocalism is not based on that of the bare stem are the imperative and the (derived) stative, both of which change the final vowel if the bare stem is nonmonosyllabic and ends in a high vowel. For most other verbs the stem-vocalism is invariable.

The bare stem as used in chains also preserves the lexical tone melody. This melody also surfaces in some aspect-negation inflections, but others impose a tone overlay.

Because of its wide distribution, the bare stem is used here as the citation form. In many cases it is clearly unsegmentable. However, nonmonosyllabic verbs seem to be divisible into two classes, one of which has a final *f* that may have originally been a suffix (or final-vowel mutation).

10.1.1 Suffixes or chained verb stems?

There is a general issue as to whether nonzero AN (aspect-negation) morphemes following verbs are suffixes or chained verbs. I transcribe them as suffixes, since some of the AN morphemes show clear phonological interactions with the stem (tone-dropping and/or consonantal interactions involving sonorants). However, several positive perfective-system AN morphemes (*-tí-*, *-sô-*, *-tâ-*, *-jé-*) do not induce tone-dropping, do not contain sonorants, and themselves have contour tones. These could be taken as separate verbs, chained with a preceding (uninflected) verb stem.

The best evidence for autonomous word status is the fact that these perfective-system “suffixes” can be separated from the main verb by preparticipial subject pronouns in relative clauses; see §14.1.7. For resultative *sô-*, experiential perfect *tâ-*, and recent perfect *jé-* preceded by subject pronouns, see (441a-c). For perfective-1b *tî-* preceded by a subject pronoun, see (497). However, perfective-1a *-:rè-* and progressive *-:rà-* cannot be separated from the preceding verb in this way and are therefore clearly always suffixes.

10.1.2 Overview of categories

The indicative categories primarily mark aspect and negation, though there are also some perfect categories (here treated as subcategories of the perfective aspect). It is useful to think of the aspect-negation (AN) system as the product of an intersection between a binary perfective/imperfective opposition and polarity (positive/negative).

perfective positive
imperfective positive

perfective negative
imperfective negative

Most inflected verb forms are of the type STEM-AN-Pron, i.e. a verb stem followed by an AN (aspect-negation) suffix then a pronominal-subject suffix. There are also some categories in both the perfective positive and imperfective positive systems with zero AN suffix, so their structure is just STEM-Pron (or STEM-Ø-Pron). These **unsuffixed** AN categories occur in both reduplicated and unreduplicated forms. The reduplication is initial *Ci-* or *Cv-* (choice depends on speaker) in all three reduplicated categories: reduplicated perfective, reduplicated stative, and reduplicated imperfective. The unsuffixed AN categories, both reduplicated and unreduplicated, are distinguished from each other by tone overlays, by third person subject suffix allomorphs, and (in the case of the stative) by a change in stem-final vowel quality for some verbs.

The full set of categories is (209).

- (209) a. perfective positive system
 - unsuffixed perfective
 - regular type with tone-dropped bare stem (§10.2.1.1)
 - type with lexical melody, 3Sg *-w̄*, 3Pl *-mà* (§10.2.1.2)
 - other variants for 3Sg/3Pl only (§10.2.1.10)
 - reduplicated (unsuffixed) perfective (bare stem with {HL} tone)
 - stative
 - unreduplicated, final nonhigh vowel, 3Sg *-w̄*, {H} tone (§10.2.1.10)
 - reduplicated, {HL} tone on stem (§10.2.1.11)
 - perfective-1a *:rè-* after bare stem (motion verbs, intransitives) (§10.2.1.5)
 - perfective-1b *-tî-* after bare stem (mostly transitive/active verbs) (§10.2.1.5)
 - resultative *-sô-* after bare stem (§10.2.1.6)
 - experiential perfect *-tâ-* after bare stem (§10.2.1.7)
 - recent perfect *-jê-* after bare stem (§10.2.1.8)
- b. perfective negative system (§10.2.3.2)
 - perfective negative *-rí-* after {L}-toned bare stem
 - experiential perfect negative *-tâ-lí-* after {L}-toned bare stem
 - recent perfect negative *-jê-rí-* after {L}-toned bare stem
 - stative negative (§10.2.3.4)
- c. imperfective positive system
 - unsuffixed imperfective (bare stem, bisyllabic /LH/ shifted to {H}, 3Sg *-m̄*) (§10.2.2.1)
 - reduplicated (unsuffixed) imperfective (same stem as unsuffixed imperfective) (§10.2.2.2)
 - progressive (also habitual) *:râ-* after bare stem (§10.2.2.3)
- d. imperfective negative system (§10.2.3.4)
 - imperfective negative *-m̄-dó-* after bare stem, bisyllabic /LH/ shifted to {H}
- e. deontic modal categories
 - imperative
 - imperative (positive) (§10.5.-4)
 - singular addressee: imperative stem, no suffix
 - plural addressee: *-n̄ ~ -ni* added to imperative stem

prohibitive (imperative negative) (§10.5.5)
 singular addressee: *-ré* after bare stem
 plural addressee: *-ré-ñ ~ -ré-nì* after bare stem
 hortative (§10.5.6)
 hortative (positive)
 singular addressee: *-mí* after {L}-toned stem
 plural addressee: *-mâyⁿ* after {L}-toned stem
 hortative negative
 singular addressee: *-rè-mí* after bare stem
 plural addressee: *-rè-mâyⁿ* after bare stem
 quoted imperative (QuotImprt) (§10.5.7-8)
 quoted imperative (positive)
 singular subject: *-ý* or *-ŷ*
 plural subject: *-bó* added to 3Sg form
 quoted imperative negative
 singular subject: 3Sg: *-ré-ý* after bare stem
 plural subject: *-ré-ý-bó* after bare stem
 quoted hortative (§10.5.9), based on regular hortative forms

The indicative (non-deontic) AN categories in (209a-d) are all based on the moment of speaking or some narrative “present” as deictic center. The deictic center can be shifted into the past by adding a conjugated past clitic. For details see §10.4.

10.1.3 Verb-stem shapes

10.1.3.1 Generalizations about verb-stem shapes

Verb stems not clearly containing a derivational suffix may be monosyllabic, bisyllabic, or trisyllabic. A causative suffix can be added to increase the stem-syllable count by one. Monosyllabic verbs are mostly short-voweled (monomoraic) *Cv*. All stems of more than one syllable end in a short vowel (which, if a high vowel, is subject to Syncopation and Apocope in some syllabic positions).

Lexical stem tone melodies are all-high /H/ and rising /LH/. The tone split in the /LH/ verbs is at the right edge, as seen in trisyllabic *CvCvCv* (as in e.g. Jamsay, but unlike e.g. Bankan Tey or Nanga where the tone shift occurs after the first mora, hence trisyllabic *CvCvCv*). As explained and exemplified in §3.7.1.2 above, except for a few loanwords stems with initial voiced obstruent {*b d j g*} have /LH/ melody, and those with initial voiceless obstruent {*p t c k s*} have /H/ melody. This leaves stems with initial sonorant or with no initial consonant, which have a lexical choice between /H/ and /LH/.

There is one irregular <LHL> monosyllabic stem: *jé*: ‘bring’.

A few examples of verb stems are in (210), given in the bare stem (which is used in nonfinal position in chains and before several suffixes).

(210)	stem	gloss
<i>n᷑</i>		‘drink’
<i>tí</i>		‘send’
<i>káyá</i>		‘shave’
<i>tíwé</i>		‘die’
<i>bì-yé</i>		‘lie down’
<i>jàngí</i>		‘knock together’
<i>dùsùrō</i>		‘poke’

10.1.3.2 Monosyllabic verbs

A full list of *Cv-* verb stems known to me is (211). Within each set, the verbs are sorted with high vowels at the top. The initial *C* slot may be vacant, though I can cite only the two *é* verbs as lacking the *C*. All oral vowel qualities are represented, though *Cí* and *Cé-* are relatively uncommon. Three stems with nasalized vowels are known; they are included in the list. Only regular inflectable verbs are included (see below for quasi-verbs and inflectional suffixes). If the verb is normally used with a cognate nominal or other fixed nominal, the relevant phrase is given in parentheses after the gloss.

For a discussion of the underlying high versus low lexical tone of the various *Cv-* verbs, see §10.1.3.5, below.

(211)	form	gloss
a. /H/-toned <i>Cv-</i> after voiceless obstruent		
<i>cé</i>		‘take (handful of food)’
<i>cé</i>		‘(grasshopper) bite off (grain)’
<i>k᷑</i>		‘eat (crushed millet)’
<i>kó</i>		‘yawn’ (<i>mò:-kō: kō</i>)
<i>kó</i>		‘(snake) slough (skin)’ (<i>kō: kō</i>)
<i>pá</i>		‘get a mate for’
<i>pé</i>		‘break off (protrusion)’
<i>pé</i>		‘get old’
<i>pé</i>		‘spend the first half of the day’ (<i>əm᷑y-pē: pē</i>)
<i>pó</i>		‘skin and butcher (animal)’
<i>pó</i>		‘heap up (firewood)’ (<i>tir'ī-pō: pō</i>)
<i>pó</i>		‘whistle’ (<i>pō: pō</i>)
<i>sá</i>		‘reply’ (<i>mō: sā</i>)
<i>sá</i>		‘strain off water from’
<i>sá</i>		‘uproot (large plant) with daba’
<i>sé</i>		‘trim (hair, shrub)’
<i>s᷑</i>		‘scoop’; ‘shovel up’
<i>só</i>		‘dip briefly’
<i>súⁿ</i>		‘breathe’ (<i>sū:ⁿ súⁿ</i>)
<i>tá</i>		‘avoid (taboo)’ (<i>tā: tā</i>)
<i>tá</i>		‘(ripening fruit) begin to turn color’
<i>tá</i>		‘shoot’

<i>tá</i>	‘(trap) be sprung’; ‘(bone) be fractured’
<i>té</i>	‘(muddied water) become clear’
<i>té</i>	‘be worried’ (<i>tē: té</i>)
<i>tí</i>	‘send’
<i>tó</i>	‘build (wall)’ (<i>tō: tō</i>)
<i>tó</i>	‘sow (by slashing earth)’ (<i>tōy tō</i>)
<i>tó</i>	‘step on’
<i>tó</i>	‘(millet) grow a stem’
<i>tōⁿ</i>	‘coil up’

b. /JH/-toned *Cv-* after sonorant or with zero initial consonant

<i>é</i>	‘become tight’
<i>é</i>	‘(woman) marry (man)’
<i>ló</i>	‘go’
<i>né</i>	‘eat (meal)’ (<i>néy né</i>)
<i>lá</i>	‘choose, reserve’
<i>ná</i>	‘spend night’
<i>ní</i>	‘give’
<i>nú</i>	‘go in’

c. /LH/-toned *Cv-* after voiced obstruent

<i>bă</i>	‘learn’
<i>bă</i>	‘(container) be full’; ‘(person) be sated’
<i>bě-</i>	‘remain’
<i>bǒ</i>	‘unsheathe’
<i>bǒ</i>	‘sip’
<i>dă</i>	‘endure’
<i>dăⁿ</i>	‘lock’ (also <i>dà:yⁿi</i>)
<i>dě</i>	‘be tired’
<i>dǒ</i>	‘arrive, reach’
<i>dǒ</i>	‘roast, burn’
<i>dǔ</i>	‘carry (on head)’
<i>gă</i>	‘cut (grass, rice) with sickle’
<i>gǒ</i>	‘go out’
<i>gǒ</i>	‘jab’
<i>jǒ</i>	‘pick (out)’
<i>jě</i>	‘take out (hot coals)’
<i>jě</i>	‘(man) marry (woman)’

d. /LH/-toned *Cv-* after sonorant or with zero initial consonant

<i>mă</i>	‘shape (pottery)’
<i>nŭ</i>	‘hear’
<i>nǒ</i>	‘drink’
<i>yǐ</i>	‘see’
<i>yě</i>	‘come’
<i>yǒ</i>	‘weep’ (<i>yǒ: yǒ</i>)
<i>wǒ</i>	‘catch’

- b. <LHL> toned *Cv:*
jɛ: ‘bring’

Except for the irregular verbs ‘come’ and ‘bring’ (discussed below), the quality of the vowel of these monosyllabic vowel-final verbs is stable across inflections, including the imperative.

Quasi-verbs *bù-* ‘be (somewhere)’ and *só-* ‘have’ may also be mentioned. I treat perfective-1b *-tî-*, resultative *-sô-*, experiential perfect *-tâ-*, and recent perfect *-jê-*, as inflectional suffixes, but they could alternatively be analysed as chained auxiliary verbs as mentioned above.

10.1.3.3 ‘Come’ (*yɛ*)

Representative inflected forms of this verb are in (212).

(212)	form	category	comment
a. regular			
	<i>yɛ</i>	bare stem (in chains)	
	<i>yè-rí-</i>	perfective negative	
b. irregular			
	<i>yá</i>	imperative	vowel shift
	<i>yɛ:-rè-</i>	perfective-1a	rising stem-tone
	<i>yì-yé-m</i>	reduplicated imperfective	/ɛ/ → <i>e</i>

Although this is a monosyllabic *Cv-* verb in BenT, it may have originated as a bisyllabic stem with rising tone (cf. Jamsay *yérē*). The shift of the (final) vowel to *a* in the imperative stem is typical of nonmonosyllabic stems. Paradigmatic alternation of *e* with *e* is also found with the ‘come’ verb in Jamsay, though the details differ.

There is no morphological causative or other suffixal derivative, as *jɛ:* ‘bring’ is the functional equivalent of a causative.

10.1.3.4 ‘Bring’ (*jɛ:*)

This verb is unique in having /LHL/ tone melody. It is therefore the only verb stem whose melody ends in an L-tone. The full bell-shaped <LHL> tone is heard in the unsuffixed forms (bare stem and imperative), and before several suffixes. Of particular interest is the fact that suffixes and clitics that force tone-dropping on other verb stems fail to drop the H-tone of ‘bring’. Suffix/clitic-controlled tone-dropping affects verbs with /H/ and /LH/ lexical melodies, but has no effect on the only /LHL/ verb. In other words, suffix/clitic-controlled tone-dropping applies only to stem-final H-tone autosegments (those adjacent to the suffix or clitic). The unsuffixed perfective, which for other verbs has {L} stem tone, likewise retains the full lexical <LHL> tone for this verb: ... *jɛ:-Ø* ‘he/she brought ...’.

When the <LHL>-toned form *jɛ:-* is followed by suffix or clitic with H-, but not <HL>, tone, tone sandhi applies. If the stem is followed by an H-toned suffix/clitic syllable, the verb simplifies to <LH>, but its original final L-tone is audible in the form of downstep (partial

pitch lowering) on the following H-toned syllable. One might expect this to apply when the suffix/clitic is <HL>-toned, but my assistant pronounces the full <LHL> tone on the verb in this case, which allows clear articulation of the falling tone on the suffix/clitic.

The imperfective (and therefore the imperfective negative which is built on it) has the form expected of a simple *CV*-verb, and shifts the stem vowel quality from *e* to *ɛ*.

(213)	form	category	comment
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a. unsuffixed (no audible AN suffix)

<i>jɛ:</i>	bare stem	<LHL>
<i>jā:</i>	imperative	"
<i>jɛ:-</i>	unsuffixed perfective	"

b. imperfective *jé-*

<i>jí-jé-ṁ</i>	reduplicated imperfective	<i>e</i> → <i>e</i>
<i>jé-ṁ-dó-</i>	imperfective negative	"
<i>jé-ṁ</i>	inanimate imperfective participle	"

c. suffix- or clitic-controlled tone-dropping resisted

<LHL>		
<i>jɛ:-rí-ŷ</i>	1Sg perfective negative	<LHL><HL>
<LH> plus downstepped H		
<i>jɛ:-'rí-∅</i>	3Sg perfective negative	<LH>< ⁴ H>
<i>jɛ:-'náyⁿ</i>	same-subject	"

d. non-tone-dropping suffixes and clitics

<LHL> before <HL>		
<i>jɛ:-tî-</i>	perfective-1b	<LHL><HL>
<LHL> before <L>		
<i>jɛ:-râ-</i>	progressive	<LH><L>
<i>jé-ma</i>	plural perfective participle	"
<i>jɛ:-ŷ</i>	1Sg unsuffixed perfective	<LHL>
"	3Sg quoted imperative	"
<i>jé-ŵ</i>	inanimate perfective participle	"
<i>jé-ṁ</i>	singular perfective participle	"
<LH> plus downstepped H		
<i>jɛ:-'ní</i>	same-subject	<LH><L>

The causative is *jè:-wú* (less often *jè:-wú-*) ‘cause to bring’. The more common variant treats the stem as <LH> rather than as <LHL>.

Like *yě-* ‘come’, *jè:-* ‘bring’ may have descended directly from a bisyllabic stem (cf. Jamsay *jè:re*). In Toro Tegu, several paradigmatic forms are based on a tonally irregular <HL>H toned stem *zé:rú-*. At an earlier time, all of these ‘bring’ forms derive from a two-verb combination ‘take, pick up’ plus ‘come’. The ‘take’ verb survives in BenT in specialized senses: *jé* ‘take out (hot coals)’ or ‘(man) marry (woman)’. There was also a complementary two-verb combination with ‘take, pick up’ plus ‘go’, meaning ‘deliver, convey, take (something, somewhere)’. The original two-part ‘bring’ and ‘convey’ construction is best preserved in Donno So.

10.1.3.5 Lexical tone distinctions in *Cv* verbs

Cv verbs (i.e. those with a single mora) distinguish /H/ from /LH/ melodies as do nonmonosyllabic verbs. However, the difference is difficult to hear in *Cv* verbs. It is easier to hear the difference in certain suffixal forms that provide one or more additional moras and that do not override the lexical melody. An example is the **quoted imperative**, which is *Cv*-*ý* for some *Cv*- verbs and *Cv*-*ý* for others. See §10.5.7 for lists.

The distinction between /H/ and /LH/ monosyllables is also respected in suffixal derivatives from these *Cv* stems (214). The stem vowel is lengthened before such a suffix (214).

(214)	stem	gloss	derivative	gloss
a. reverberative from /H/ input				
	<i>tó</i>	'step on'	<i>tó:-rí-</i>	'remove foot from'
b. causative from /H/ input				
	<i>né-</i>	'eat (meal)'	<i>né:-wⁿú-</i>	'give food to'
	<i>ló-</i>	'go'	<i>ló:-wú-</i>	'allow to go'
	<i>nú-</i>	'enter'	<i>nú:-wⁿú-</i>	'make enter'
	<i>sá-</i>	'reply'	<i>sá:-wú-</i>	'make reply'
c. causative from /LH/ input				
	<i>bě-</i>	'remain'	<i>bě:-wú-</i>	'cause to remain'
	<i>n᷑-</i>	'drink'	<i>n᷑:-wⁿú-</i>	'give drink to'
	<i>y᷑-</i>	'weep'	<i>y᷑:-wú-</i>	'make weep'
	<i>n᷑-</i>	'hear'	<i>n᷑:-wⁿú-</i>	'make hear'
	<i>y᷑-</i>	'see'	<i>y᷑:-wú-</i>	'cause to see'
	<i>bă-</i>	'learn'	<i>bă:-lí-</i>	'teach (sb, a trade)'
	<i>d᷑-</i>	'arrive'	<i>d᷑:-lí-</i>	'deliver'

The perfective-1a with suffix *:-rè-* and the progressive with suffix *:-rà-* also make a distinction between /H/ and /LH/ verbs. The perfective-1a suffix is used with a subset of verbs, and is therefore not as useful as the fully productive progressive suffix. Relevant forms of *Cv*- verb stems are in (215). Those in (215a) have H-tone on the stem, those in (215b) have LH-tone.

(215)	gloss	stem	perfective-1a	progressive
a.				
'go'	<i>ló-</i>	<i>ló:-rè-</i>	<i>ló:-rà-</i>	
'spend night'	<i>ná-</i>	<i>ná:-rè-</i>	<i>ná:-rà-</i>	
'go in'	<i>nú-</i>	<i>nú:-rè-</i>	<i>nú:-rà-</i>	
'become tight'	<i>é-</i>	<i>é:-rè-</i>	<i>é:-rà-</i>	
'send'	<i>tí-</i>	—	<i>tí:-rà-</i>	
'shoot'	<i>tá-</i>	—	<i>tá:-rà-</i>	
'reply'	<i>sá-</i>	—	<i>sá:-rà-</i>	
'eat (meal)'	<i>né-</i>	—	<i>né:-rà-</i>	

b.	'(food) sate (sb)' 'fill [intr]'	<i>bă-</i>	<i>bă:-rè-</i>	<i>bă:-rà-</i>
	'arrive'	<i>dă-</i>	<i>dă:-rè-</i>	<i>dă:-rà-</i>
	'go out'	<i>gō-</i>	<i>gō:-rè-</i>	<i>gō:-rà-</i>
	'remain'	<i>bě-</i>	<i>bě:-rè-</i>	<i>bě:-rà-</i>
	'get tired'	<i>dě-</i>	<i>dě:-rè-</i>	<i>dě:-rà-</i>
	'abound'	<i>jō-</i>	<i>jō:-rè-</i>	<i>jō:-rà-</i>
	'see'	<i>yǐ-</i>	—	<i>yǐ:-rà-</i>
	'catch'	<i>wō-</i>	—	<i>wō:-rà-</i>
	'endure'	<i>dă-</i>	—	<i>dă:-rà-</i>
	'pick'	<i>jō-</i>	—	<i>jō:-rà-</i>
	'slash (rice)'	<i>gă-</i>	—	<i>gă:-rà-</i>
	'jab'	<i>gđ-</i>	—	<i>gđ:-rà-</i>
	'shape, form'	<i>mă-</i>	—	<i>mă:-rà-</i>
	'hear'	<i>nǔ-</i>	—	<i>nǔ:-rà-</i>
	'come'	<i>yě-</i>	—	<i>yě:-rà-</i>
	'drink'	<i>nđ-</i>	—	<i>nđ:-rà-</i>
	'weep'	<i>yđ-</i>	—	<i>yđ:-rà-</i>

10.1.3.6 *Cvyⁿ* verbs

Usually a verb heard as e.g. *Cv(:)y* (*y* = vowel) with a final semivowel reflects optional (but very common) syncope or apocope from bisyllabic forms like /Cv(:)yi/. The fuller inflectional paradigm brings out the underlying bisyllabic quality. In particular, the imperative changes the final *i* to *a*. Several suffixal inflections also bring out the bisyllabic quality.

(216)	gloss	bare stem	imperative	imperfective
	'shut'	<i>pí:yⁿ ~ pí:yⁿí</i>	<i>pí:yⁿà</i>	<i>pí:yⁿí-m̄-</i>
	'fart'	<i>gí:yⁿ ~ gí:yⁿí</i>	<i>gí:yⁿà</i>	<i>gí:yⁿí-m̄-</i>
	'take'	<i>ăy ~ àyí</i>	<i>áyâ</i>	<i>àyí-m̄-</i>
	'hold'	<i>wăy ~ wàyí</i>	<i>wáyâ</i>	<i>wàyí-m̄-</i>

There are, however, three very common verbs with true *Cvyⁿ* shape. All happen to have nasalized *yⁿ* (217). The imperative retains the *Cvyⁿ* shape rather than ending in a second-syllable *a*. The *yⁿ* disappears in the imperfective (and other inflections based on it), which is of the form (*Ci-)**Cá-m̄*, arguably from /Cáⁿ-m̄/ with nasalized vowel.

(217)	gloss	bare stem	imperative	imperfective
	'put'	<i>găyⁿ</i>	<i>găyⁿ</i>	<i>gì-gá-m̄</i>
	'do, make'	<i>káyⁿ</i>	<i>káyⁿ</i>	<i>kì-ká-m̄</i>
	'say'	<i>gűyⁿ</i>	<i>gűyⁿ</i>	<i>gù-gú-m̄</i>

The final *yⁿ* is also absent in the perfective negative: *gà-ní-*, *kà-ní-*, *gù-ní-*. The *-ní-* allomorph of the suffix is unique to these verbs (other verbs have *-rí-*, or *-rⁿí-* due to Nasalization-Spreading).

káyⁿ has a causative *ká:ⁿ-wⁿú-* ‘have (someone) do/make’. *káyⁿ* and *gáyⁿ* have agentive forms (with the complement in compound-initial form) with plural *-ká:ⁿ* and *-gá:ⁿ* and singular *-káⁿ-m* and *-gáⁿ-m*.

10.1.3.7 Bisyllabic verbs

Bisyllabic verbs may be of the segmental shape *CvCv*, *CvCCv*, or *Cv:Cv*. The final vowel is always short. The initial *C* position may be vacant (*vCv*), etc. The lexical tone is /H/ or /LH/. In the case of /LH/, the normal tone break is at the syllabic boundary, hence *CVCV*, *CVCCV*, *CV:CV*. However, in *CVCV* and *CV:CV* verbs, when the final vowel is high {*i u*}, it may be lost by Syncope or Apocope, and in this case the first syllable (always a long syllable in this situation) has rising tone.

Except for the imperative, where final high vowels and final *e* shift to *a*, bisyllabic verbs have stable vowel qualities including the final vowel. That is, the **bare stem**, used in chains and with various inflectional suffixes, has constant vowel qualities (disregarding low-level deletion of high vowels in certain positions).

(218)	chains	presuffixal	imperative	gloss
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a. vowels identical except *e* : *CaCa*, *CóCɔ*, *CoCo*, *CeCe*

táwá	táwá-	táwá	‘touch’
nàr ⁿ á	nàr ⁿ á-	nár ⁿ á	‘bear child’
pótó	pótó-	pótó	‘toss’
dòmbó	dòmbó-	dómbo	‘roll on turban’
tégé	tégé-	tégé	‘speak’
cé:lé	cé:lé-	cé:lè	‘do or make well’
éw-yé	éw-yé-	éw-yè	‘sit down’

b. identical *e* vowels: *CeCe* (shift to final *a* in imperative)

éwé	éwé-	éwá	‘buy’
béré	béré-	béra	‘get’

c. {*i u*} plus harmonic mid-height vowel except *e* : *CiCe*, *CuCo*, *CuCɔ*

sí-yé	sí-yé-	sí-yé	‘go down’
gìyé	gìyé-	gíyé	‘dance’
kúwó	kúwó-	kúwó	‘bite’
nùw ⁿ ó	nùw ⁿ ó-	núw ⁿ ó	‘sing’
súsó	súsó-	súsó	‘be cured’
dùyó	dùyó-	dúyó	‘insult’

d. *i* plus harmonic *e*: *CiCe* (shift to final *a* in imperative)

jíyé	jíyé-	jíyá	‘kill’
bíré	bíré-	bírá	‘work’

e. final high vowel (various preceding vowels)

lárí	lárí-	lärà	‘chase’
dà:yí	dà:yí-	dà:yí	‘encounter’

<i>káwrú</i>	<i>káwrú-</i>	<i>káwrà</i>	‘split (nut)’
<i>dèyí</i>	<i>dèyí-</i>	<i>dèyà</i>	‘put down’
<i>ómjí</i>	<i>ómjí-</i>	<i>ómjà</i>	‘urinate’
<i>jòŋgí</i>	<i>jòŋgí-</i>	<i>jóŋgà</i>	‘cure’
<i>tíní</i>	<i>tíní-</i>	<i>tínà</i>	‘look’
<i>túmdí</i>	<i>túmdí-</i>	<i>túmdà</i>	‘begin’
<i>témbí</i>	<i>témbí-</i>	<i>témbà</i>	‘find, inherit’

Although I have included *CvCCv-* and *Cv:Cv-* stems along with *CvCv-* in this section, the phonologically most relevant division of nonmonosyllabic verbs is into **prosodically light *CvCv*** and **prosodically heavy *CvCCv-*, *Cv:Cv-*, and trisyllabic**. This division is relevant to tone overlays in the imperative stem. Therefore nothing much is at stake in the issue whether e.g. *káwrú* ‘split (nut)’ is bisyllabic or, via Syncop of a medial high vowel, trisyllabic (/káwúrú/).

10.1.3.8 Triisyllabic verbs

Verbs with three syllables may be derived or underived (some of the synchronically underived stems may have originated as derivatives). These verbs have fairly complex interactions between the vowels of the three syllables.

The first type to be considered **ends in *e* or *o*** (219). This ending is obligatory when the first vowel is likewise *e* or *o*, and it is possible when the first vowel is high {*i u*}. The **medial syllable has a high vowel (*e...i...e, i...i...e, o...u...o, u...u...o*)**.

(219)	chains	presuffixal	imperative	gloss
<i>e...i...e</i>				
	<i>yègìsé</i>	<i>yègìsé-</i>	<i>yègísè</i>	‘cut up’
<i>i...i...e</i>				
	<i>síríyé</i>	<i>síríyé-</i>	<i>síríyè</i>	‘cut into strips’
	<i>bìlìré</i>	<i>bìlìré-</i>	<i>bìlìrè</i>	‘roll over’
	<i>jìgìré</i>	<i>jìgìré-</i>	<i>jìgírè</i>	‘sway’
<i>o...u...o</i>				
	<i>kógúsó</i>	<i>kógúsó-</i>	<i>kóngúsò</i>	‘cough’
<i>u...u...o</i>				
	<i>dùlùró</i>	<i>dùlùró-</i>	<i>dùlúrò</i>	‘roll on ground’

Patterns *e...e...e* and *o...o...o*, which differ from those in (219) by not raising the medial vowel to {*i u*}, occur occasionally in underived stems. For *e...e...e*, I have recorded *bèléré-* ‘smooth (e.g. a soap ball) by rubbing in one’s palm’, *mèŋgéré-* (with variant *mèŋgíré-*) ‘rub into balls (in one’s hands)’, and *bègéré-* ‘belch’ (used with cognate nominal as *bégérè* *bègéré-* ‘belch, emits belches’). For *o...o...o*, I can cite *dólóró-* ‘shape into balls’.

Additional stem-vowel sequences occur in **suffixal derivatives** of e.g. *CvCv-Cv-* shape when a final non-high vowel of the input *CvCv-* stem is not shifted to a high vowel in the

derivative. Examples are *e...e...e* in reversive *pémbé-ré-* ‘ungird, remove (woman’s) wrap’ and *néngé-ré-* ‘become uncaught (from tree)’, and *u...o...o* in reversive *kúmjó-ró-* ‘uncrumple’.

The other general class of trisyllabic verbs **ends in a high vowel**, which may be either *i* or *u* depending on the surrounding vowels (and semivowels). The medial vowel is also a high vowel. There is a fair amount of fluctuation in pronunciation of these high vowels, but I think *i* is usually more basic, since phonetic [u] is most often heard in the presence of another rounded segment in the stem, i.e. from the set {*u o ɔ w*}.

The general pattern with a final high vowel is obligatory when the vowel of the first syllable is from the set {*a e ɔ*}, and is possible when the first vowel is high {*i u*}. In the imperative, the final high vowel is replaced by *a*, and if the first vowel of the stem is from the set {*a ɔ*}, the vowel of the second syllable assimilates totally to this initial vowel (220).

(220)	chains	presuffixal	imperative	gloss
<i>e...i...i</i>				
	<i>nèrⁿiyí</i>	<i>nèrⁿiyí-</i>	<i>nèrⁿiyà</i>	‘winnow (in wind)’
	<i>pédígí</i>	<i>pédígí-</i>	<i>pédígà</i>	‘winnow (by shaking)’
	<i>sésírí</i>	<i>sésírí-</i>	<i>sésírà</i>	‘filter (liquid)’
<i>i...i/u...i/u</i>				
	<i>wìnjìwú</i>	<i>wìnjìwú-</i>	<i>wìnjíwà</i>	‘spin’
	<i>píníwⁿí</i>	<i>píníwⁿí-</i>	<i>píníwⁿà</i>	‘go back’
	<i>dìmbì-yí</i>	<i>dìmbì-yí-</i>	<i>dìmbí-yà</i>	‘follow’
<i>u...i/u...i/u</i>				
	<i>jùñjùrⁿú</i>	<i>jùñjùrⁿí-</i>	<i>jùñjúrⁿà</i>	‘quiver, move (while stationary)’
<i>a...i...i</i>				
	<i>dàñgírí</i>	<i>dàñgírí-</i>	<i>dàñgárà</i>	‘break in half’
	<i>bàñgírí</i>	<i>bàñgírí-</i>	<i>bàñgárà</i>	‘hide (something)’
<i>ɔ...i...i</i>				
	<i>gòñgírí</i>	<i>gòñgírí-</i>	<i>gòñgárà</i>	‘go around’

In **suffixally derived verbs**, we can also cite patterns that do not occur with underived stems. These are cases where the middle vowel is non-high, in vocalic environments that require a medial high vowel in an underived stem. Examples: *a...a...u* in causative *wàsà-wú-* ‘let remain’, *e...e...u* in causative *éré-wú-* ‘let escape’, *e...e...u* in causative *éw-yé-wú-* ‘cause to sit’, *i...e...i* in reversive *píré-rí-* ‘get unbogged’, *u...o...u* in causative *bùrò-wú-* ‘reanimate’, and *u...ɔ...u* in causative *jùwɔ-wú-* ‘inform’ (cause to know).

10.2 Positive indicative AN categories

10.2.1 Perfective positive system (including perfect and stative)

10.2.1.1 Unsuffixed perfective with {L} toned stem

The unsuffixed perfective (positive) is used instead of a marked perfective-system form **when another constituent is focalized** (whether or not it is overly marked with the focus clitic). In other words, the unsuffixed perfective is used when the verb is part of a defocalized clausal residue.

The unsuffixed perfective is characterized by an {L} **tone** overlay on the stem (tone-dropping). The only exception is *jé:-* ‘bring’ (unsuffixed perfective *jé:-*), although some monosyllabic verbs also have an alternative perfective with long falling-toned vowel (see below). I use the notation “.Pfv” in interlinears.

- (221) a. *ãm-* \emptyset *yû:* *dùy়-* \emptyset
 who?=Foc millet pound.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Who [focus] pounded the millet (ears)?’
- b. *fá:túmà = m* *yû:* *dùy়-* \emptyset
 Fatouma=Foc millet pound.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘It was Fatouma [focus] who pounded the millet (ears).’
- c. *[k়:ⁿ L* *ñjé]* *dùy়-* \emptyset
 [thing^L] what?] pound.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘What [focus] did she pound?’
- d. *án-dá:* *yû:* *dùy়-* \emptyset
 where? millet pound.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Where [focus] did she pound the millet (grain spikes)?’

The **paradigm** is (222), using *dùy়-* ‘pound (grain spikes)’ and *ló-* ‘go’. In the 1Pl and 2Pl, the dying-quail (in)tonation (.:) consists of prolongation of the final vowel and superimposition of a [HL] pitch pattern on the final syllable, keeping an initial L-tone in the case of a monosyllabic. For this “tonation” process, phonetically intonation-like but grammaticalized and integrated with tones, see §3.8.3.

(222) Paradigm of unsuffixed perfective (after {L}-toned stem)

category	suffix	‘pound’	‘go’
1Sg	- \hat{y}	<i>dùy়-</i> \hat{y}	<i>ló-</i> \hat{y}
2Sg	- \hat{w}	<i>dùy়-</i> \hat{w}	<i>ló-</i> \hat{w}
1Pl	- $\hat{y}:$	<i>dùy়-</i> $\hat{y}:$ [dùj \hat{o} →j]	<i>ló-</i> $\hat{y}:$ [l \hat{o} →j]
2Pl	- $\hat{w}:$	<i>dùy়-</i> $\hat{w}:$ [dùj \hat{o} →w]	<i>ló-</i> $\hat{w}:$ [l \hat{o} →w]

3Sg/Inan	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>dùyò-Ø</i>	<i>lò-Ø</i>
3Pl	<i>-bó ~ -bò</i>	<i>dùyò-bó ~ dùyò-bò</i>	<i>lò-bó ~ lò-bò</i>

Note the zero 3Sg, with no lengthening of the final vowel. The 3Pl suffix is often heard as H-toned *-bó* in elicitation, and it was heard as such in some textual examples. However, L-toned *-bò* is also possible, especially when clause-final (pre-pausal). One speaker featured in the texts pronounced the 3Pl suffix as *-bá* (*-bà*) with *a*-vowel. (Jamsay likewise has this dialectal split, with *-bà* in the plains villages such as Dianwely and *-bò* in some montane villages such as Pergué).

The unsuffixed perfective is common (in elicitation), though not obligatory, when a **pronominal direct object** is present (223), even when this object shows no overt signs of focalization. More generally, the mere presence of a preverbal constituent may suffice to license the unsuffixed perfective.

- (223) a. *í siyò-Ø*
 1SgObj hit.Pfv-3SgSbj
 'He/She hit me.'
- b. *ér"é sùyò-ŷ*
 3SgObj hit.Pfv-1SgSbj
 'I hit-Past him/her.'

10.2.1.2 Unsuffixed perfective with lexical tones, 3Sg *-w̄*, 3Pl *-mà*

A distinct unsuffixed perfective, this time with lexical tone melody, has the pronominal-subject paradigm (224). The pronominal endings are all L-toned.

- (224) Paradigm of alternative unsuffixed perfective (lexical tones)

category	suffix	'pound'
1Sg	<i>-ŷ</i>	<i>dùyò-ŷ</i>
2Sg	<i>-w̄</i>	<i>dùyò-w̄</i> [homophonous with 3Sg]
1Pl	<i>-ŷ.:</i>	<i>dùyò-ŷ.:</i>
2Pl	<i>-w̄.:</i>	<i>dùyò-w̄.:</i>
3Sg/Inan	<i>-w̄</i>	<i>dùyò-w̄</i> [homophonous with 2Sg]
3Pl	<i>-mà</i>	<i>dùyò-mà</i>

This paradigm is unusual. For some verbs, the 1st/2nd person forms are indistinguishable from the corresponding **unsuffixed imperfectives**, except that the latter is optionally reduplicated in some contexts.

On the other hand, 3rd person *-w̄* (Sg) and *-mà* (Pl) are identical in form to the suffixes used in **perfective relative-clause participles**, so the difficulty in interpretation is to distinguish these main clauses from relative clauses. When the subject is pronominal, one can observe whether it appears as a preparticipial pronoun. If so, the clause is subordinated

(relative or similar). See §16.1.2 for clauses ending in **-w̄ kù dè** and **-w̄ dè**. However, the distinction between main clause (in a narrative sequence) and a subordinated clause is not very great in BenT discourse.

In addition, **-w̄** is the stative 3Sg subject suffix, and **-mà** also appears in the 3Pl subject form of the experiential perfect.

A textual example of 3Pl **-mà** is **ló-mà** ‘they went’ in line 7 of (684) in the sample text. For more 3Sg and 3Pl examples see (550a-c) in §17.1.1.2.

The clearest 1st/2nd person subject example in the texts is (225). The speaker was offering to add something to what someone else had said in an interview-style text.

(225)	[í kálà] [ŋgú kày] nǔ-ŷⁿ	dá:-wó,
	[1Sg too] [Prox.Inan Top] hear.Pfv-1SgSbj	a.little,
	[ú mâ:] bárù-m	
[2Sg Dat] help-Hort		

‘I too, as for that, I have heard a little. Let me help you-Sg.’ [2005.2b.04]

Elicitation of parallel forms of other verbs produced e.g. **dùwó-ŷ** ‘I (have) left’ and **tóró-ŷ** ‘I (have) pounded’. All such 1st/2nd person forms can also function as unsuffixed imperfectives. However, the sense of (225) in the text was clearly perfective (or resultative), and my assistant rendered the example above into Jamsay with the perfective-2 (**áyá-sà-m** ‘I heard’). Moreover, the assistant gave the (BenT) 3Sg subject counterpart to the 1Sg verb in the example as **nǔ-w̄ⁿ**, and the 3Pl subject equivalent as **nǔ-mà**.

The greeting phrase **jám dèrⁿé-w̄ⁿ** (‘peace’ plus ‘you-Sg spent day’), see (653) in the sample text, is another probable example.

10.2.1.3 Variant third-person perfective **CV:-** with <HL> tone

Some **Cv-** verbs have a variant third-person perfective with <HL> tone, which requires lengthening of the vowel by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). These forms function as alternatives to the regular unsuffixed perfective and suffixally marked perfectives. Attested forms are in (226).

(226)	stem	gloss	<HL> perfective	comment
	ní-	‘give’	nî:-	
	gō-	‘go out’	gô:-	
	dō-	‘arrive’	dô:-	
	dě-	‘be tired’	dê:-	(see §15.2.1.4)
	jě:-	‘bring’	jê:-	[2005.1b.06]

A 3Pl subject form has the usual 3Pl perfective allomorph **-bò**, as in **nî:-bò** ‘they gave’. However, an informant rejected all potential 1st/2nd person subject combinations.

It is likely that the various <HL>-toned perfective-system inflectional suffixes, such as perfective-1b **-tî:-Ø** and recent perfect **-jê:-Ø** (shown here in their lengthened 3Sg forms), originated as similar formations (§10.2.1.5-8).

Textual examples are in (227). (227c) suggests that the <HL> form (like the regular unsuffixed perfective) may occur in clauses with a focalized constituent.

- (227) a. *sù:-díyáy* [bû: L^L*mà:*] francolin^L-thigh [3PL L^LDat]
gò-ló HL *nî:-Ø* go.out-Caus HL give.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘She took out and gave them the francolin thigh.’ [2005.2a.06]
- b. *jɔ:n-m* *yě* HL *dɔ:-Ø*, hare-AnSg come HL arrive.Pfv-3SgSbj
[yě á dɔ-w kù dè] [come 3ReflS arrive.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if]
‘Hare came and arrived. When he had come and arrived, ...’ [2005.2a.07]
- c. *ŋgú=m* [ðrⁿð:-[lō-ŷ]] *kù* HL *jɛ:-Ø* Prox.Inan=Foc [outback^L-[go-VblN] Def] HL bring.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘This [focus] is what has brought (about) that going away (for work).’ [2005.1b.06]

For {HL}-toned nonfinal verbs in chains, attested with verbs of conveyance ('bring', 'take [convey]'), see §15.1.2.2. The relationship between the two constructions, historical and synchronic, is unclear.

10.2.1.4 Other variant third-person perfectives

There is a perfective form *táŋgi-* with a vague sense (here glossed simply as 'do'), combined with a preceding chained VP. The unusual feature here is the {HL} tone pattern, which is reminiscent of the monosyllabic *CV:-* perfectives discussed in the preceding section. In (228b), *táŋgi-* is phonetically reduced to *tâŋ-* in allegro speech.

- (228) a. *[kú* HL *érim* *kù*] [InanPoss HL sweetness Def]
lóyá *láwá* *táŋgi-Ø* overflow pass do.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘Its tastiness was extreme.’ [2005.2a.07]
- b. *bày* [àŋâyⁿ] L^L*nàyⁿ* [bê:n dùwɔ́ tí=n] well [how? Inst] [B leave Perf=and.SS]
bû: *ínjírí* *yòyó* *tâŋ-bò* 3PLSbj get.up run do.Pfv-3PLSbj
‘Well, how was it that they (residents of other villages) got up and fled once and for all, having left Beni (behind)?’ [20045.2b.04]

The {HL} pattern in *táŋgi-* suggests a connection with Jamsay *táŋà:*, which (in this form) is confined to 'if' clauses ('if it happens that ...'). The BenT verb *táŋgi-* can also mean 'cross (e.g. river)', '(fire) be lit', or 'become (something)', and is clearly cognate to Jamsay *táŋá-* with similar meanings. In both languages the {HL}-toned perfective form of this verb is unique. Togo Kan *táŋá yè* with L-toned form of *yě* 'go' corresponds to Jamsay *táŋà:* in conditionals and points to an original verb-chain.

A variant 3Sg form, apparently perfective, with **final short i** replacing a lexical mid-height vowel is attested in (229), if correctly analysed.

- (229) *áywà [lɔsɔ: kù dùr^{n̩i}-Ø*
 well [foot Def] follow.track.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Well, she went following the tracks.’ [2005.2a.07]

10.2.1.5 Perfective-1a *:-rè-*, perfective-1b *-tî-*

The perfective-1 is a suffixally marked perfective. It has two versions, perfective-1a *:-rè-* (which lengthens the preceding vowel), and perfective-1b *-tî-*. Both are added to the bare stem of the verb, with no special tone overlay, so the lexical melodies appear. While the perfective-1a suffix contracts with the stem, the perfective-1b suffix has no phonological interaction with the stem, and could be analysed as a chained auxiliary verb following the bare stem of the main verb.

Perfective-1a *:-rè-* is used with **motion verbs**, **stance verbs**, and a wide range of basically **stative intransitives**. The presence of a locational NP, arguably a “direct object,” with a motion verb does not affect the choice of perfective allomorph, so (230a) and (230b) have the same verb forms.

- (230) a. *ló:-rè-Ø*
 go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She went.’ (*ló-*)
- b. *bàmàkɔ́ ló:-rè-Ø*
 Bamako go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She went to Bamako.’
- c. *éw-yé:-r-à:*
 sit.down-MP-Pfv1a-3PlSbj
 ‘They sat down.’ (*éw-yé-*)
- d. *tége:-rè-Ø*
 become.big-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She has grown up.’ (*tége-*)

Some other verbs taking *:-rè-* include *ùrò-* ‘go up’, *gō-* ‘go/come out’, *yàyá-* ‘fall (down)’, *tíwé-* ‘die’, and adjectival inchoatives like *jèm-dé-* ‘become black’ and *bàr^{n̩á}-* ‘become red’.

Cv- verbs show their lexical /H/ or /LH/ melody in the perfective-1a. Examples of /H/ are *ná:-rè-* ‘spent night’ (*ná-*) and *ló:-rè-* ‘went’ (*ló-*). Examples of /LH/ are *gō:-rè-* ‘went out’ (*gō-*), *dō:-rè-* ‘arrived’ (*dō-*), and *bě:-rè-* ‘remained’ (*bě-*).

A handful of syntactically **transitive verbs** take *:-rè-*. They are noncanonical, non-impact transitives. An example is ‘forget’ (231).

- (231) *éwá: ìré:-rè-ỳ*
 market forget-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
 ‘I forgot the market.’ (*ìré-*)

The paradigm of *:rè-* has 3Pl *:r-à:*, but is otherwise regular (232).

(232) category form

1Sg	<i>:rè-ŷ</i>
2Sg	<i>:rè-ŵ</i>
1Pl	<i>:rè-ŷ:</i>
2Pl	<i>:rè-ŵ:</i> pronounced [r̩→j]
3Sg/Inan	<i>:rè-∅</i>
3Pl	<i>:r-à:</i>

Perfective-1b *-tî-* is used with the great majority of **transitives**, and with several **active intransitives**, including verbs of speaking and thinking but not verbs of motion or stance. These active “intransitives” are marginally transitive, insofar as they are easily combined with cognate nominals in apparent direct-object function. Examples of such active intransitives are *màní-* ‘laugh’, *tégé-* ‘speak’, *píyé-* ‘shout’, *mà:ní-* ‘think’, which are optionally expanded with cognate nominals as *mân* *màní-* ‘laugh (=give out) a laugh’, *têy* *tégé-* ‘speak words’, *píyé-* ‘shout (=give out) a shout’, and *má:ní* *mà:ní-* ‘think (=have) a thought’. These verbs take *-tî-* whether or not the cognate nominal is overt.

- (233) a. *yâ:* *dùyá-tî:-∅*
millet pound-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
'He/She pounded the millet (spikes).'
- b. *nà:[yí-m]* *páyá-tî:-∅*
cow-[child-AnSg] tie-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
'He/She tied up the calf.'
- c. *mánù* *màní-tí-ŷ:*
laugh(n) laugh-Pfv1b-1PlSbj
'We laughed.'
- d. *sú:ⁿ* *súⁿ-tî:-∅*
breathing breathe-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
'He/She breathed.'

VPs regularly expressed by a verb plus a noncognate nominal object also take *-tî-* (235).

- (234) *nî:* *díyé-tú-ŵ*
water bathe-Pfv1b-2SgSbj
'You-Sg bathed.'

Among other verbs taking *-tî-* are *ní-* ‘give’, perception verbs like *yí-* ‘see’, reversives like *pí:-rⁿí-* ‘open’, and causatives like *éw-ré-* ‘cause to sit’.

The third person forms of **-tî-** are 3Sg/Inan **-tî:-Ø** (homophonous with 1Sg **-tî-ŷ**), and 3Pl **-tî-yà** (one could also segment this as **-tî-y-à**). The 1st/2nd person forms are based on **-tî-**, but the vowel assimilates to a following suffixal semivowel. Phonetically, the resulting homorganic vowel-semivowel combination monophthongizes. The **paradigm** is (235).

(235)	category	form	
	1Sg	-tî-ŷ	pronounced [tî:], homophonous to 3Sg
	2Sg	-tú-w	pronounced [tû:]
	1Pl	-tî-ŷ.:	pronounced [tî→]
	2Pl	-tú-w.:	pronounced [tû→]
	3Sg/Inan	-tî:-Ø	
	3Pl	-tî-yà (could also be written -tî-y-à)	

péré- or *pété-* ‘jump’ takes **:-rè-** when formally intransitive, but when a cognate nominal is added it shifts to **-tî-**.

- (236) a. *pété:-rè-Ø*
 jump-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She jumped.’
- b. *à-pétù* *pété-tî:-Ø*
 jump(n) jump-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She jumped (=made) a jump.’

Perfective-1b **-tî-** (but not perfective-1a **:-rè-**) could be interpreted morphophonologically as a chained auxiliary verb. An etymological connection with the verb **tí-** ‘send’ or ‘dump out’ is likely (**tí** ‘pour on’ is an improbable candidate); Donno So has especially relevant comparative data. In some constructions, a perfective-like **tí-** is separated from the main verb, or is treated as the final stem in a verb chain; see §15.1.11.

Both positive perfective suffixes, 1b **-tî-** and 1a **:-rè-**, correspond to **-rí-** in the perfective negative.

10.2.1.6 Resultative **-sô-**

The sense is resultative, i.e., the VP in question describes a state resulting from an action. It can be translated freely, depending on context, as a perfect ('have VP-ed') or with the present tense ('I want'). For example, the event denoted by **ùrð:-rè-Ø** 'he/she went up (=mounted)' leads to the resulting state expressed by (237a). An example with a more clearly transitive verb is (237b).

- (237) a. *sõm* *ùrð-só-w*
 horse go.up-Reslt-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She is mounted on the horse.’

- b. [ú ^{HL}*bú:dù*] ^{HL}*né-só-ώ*
 [2SgPoss money] eat-**Reslt**-2SgSbj
 ‘You-Sg have eaten (= spent) your money.’

Resultative *-sô-* is added to the bare stem of the stem, with no modification to the lexical tone melody. The **paradigm** is (238). Because the 3Sg has suffix *-ώ*, it is **homophonous with the 2Sg**. The 3Pl is irregular.

(238)	category	form
	1Sg	<i>-só-ŷ</i>
	2Sg	<i>-só-ώ</i> homophonous with 3Sg
	1Pl	<i>-só-ŷ:</i> pronounced [sô→j]
	2Pl	<i>-só-ώ:</i> pronounced [sô→w]
	3Sg/Inan	<i>-só-ώ</i> homophonous with 2Sg
	3Pl	<i>-s-ɛ:ⁿ</i>

This suffix is undoubtedly related historically to ‘have’ **quasi-verb** *só-*, but the 2Sg, 3Sg, and 3Pl differ tonally in the two paradigms (for ‘have’ we get 2Sg/3Sg *só-ώ* and 3Pl *s-ɛ:ⁿ* with H-tones). A continuing synchronic connection between the two is suggested by the fact that resultative *-sô-* is sometimes negated as *-sò-ló-*, i.e. with the (irregular) negative form of *só-* ‘have’ (239).

- (239) *sōm* *ùrɔ-sò-ló-∅*
 horse go.up-**Reslt**-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She is not mounted on the horse.’

Resultative *-sô-* is circumscribed by competition with recent perfect *-jê-*, which however puts more emphasis on the recent completion of the event (‘has already VP-ed’). Perception verbs (‘I saw/have seen him’, ‘I [have] heard it’) strongly favor recent perfect *-jê-* (unlike the case in Jamsay, where the resultative *-sâ-* is the unmarked positive past-time AN morpheme for these verbs).

10.2.1.7 Experiential perfect ‘have ever’ *-tâ-*

In positive utterances, the experiential perfect is common in questions (‘have you ever ...?’), but it can also be used in indicatives (‘I have once ...’). It indicates that the subject has, at any point in the past, performed the action denoted by the VP at least once.

- (240) a. *bàmàkɔ* *ló-tá-ώ*
 Bamako go-**ExpPf**-2SgSbj
 ‘Have you ever gone to Bamako?’

- b. *tà-dùngú-m* *yǐ-tá-ỳ*
 lion-AnSg see-**ExpPf**-1SgSbj
 'I once saw a lion.'
- c. *ŋgú* *nǚ-tá-mà*
 Prox.Inan hear-**ExpPf**-3PlSbj
 'They have heard this (before).'
- d. *jìyé* *jìyé-tá-w*
 dance(n) dance-**ExpPf**-3SgSbj
 'He/She danced (once).'

The suffix (arguably an auxiliary verb) is added to the bare stem of the verb, with no change in lexical tone melody. The **paradigm** is (241).

(241)	category	form
	1Sg	<i>-tá-ỳ</i>
	2Sg	<i>-tá-w</i> homophonous to 3Sg
	1Pl	<i>-tá-ỳ.:</i> pronounced [tâ→j]
	2Pl	<i>-tá-w.:</i> pronounced [tâ→w]
	3Sg/Inan	<i>-tá-w</i> homophonous to 2Sg
	3Pl	<i>-tá-mà</i>

Because the 3Sg is expressed by *-w*, it is **homophonous with the 2Sg**. 3Pl *-tá-mà* has the *-mà* ending also seen in plural participles (in relative clauses with plural head NP)

10.2.1.8 Recent perfect *-jê-*

This AN suffix can be translated as ‘already’ plus past tense. It competes with the resultative, since the recent event in question often has a continuing effect, as in (242). However, it emphasizes recent completion.

- (242) a. *pěyⁿ* *pě-jé-ỳ*
 meal eat-**RecPf**-1SgSbj
 'I have already eaten.' (hence: 'I am not hungry')
- b. *láwá-jê:-∅*
 pass-**RecPf**-3SgSbj
 'It (e.g. bus) has already gone past.' (hence: 'You'll have to wait')

-jê- can be used with **perception verbs** *nǚ-* ‘hear’ and *yǐ-* ‘see’, which avoid regular perfective *-ti-* and resultative *-sô-*. Again, the context involves a recently completed event that results in a state. In (243a), for example, the speaker had been asking where the kettle was, and now indicates that he has located it.

- (243) a. *sátálà* *yǐ-jé-ŷ*
 kettle see-**RecPf**-1SgSbj
 ‘I have (just) seen the kettle.’
- b. *cìwérù* *nǔ-jé-ŵ:*
 news hear-**RecPf**-2PlSbj
 ‘Have you-Pl heard the news?’

The suffix *-jé-* is added to the bare stem of the verb, with no change in the lexical tone melody. The **paradigm** is (244). The 3Sg form is not homophonous with the 2Sg form.

(244)	category	form
	1Sg	<i>-jé-ŷ</i>
	2Sg	<i>-jé-ŵ</i>
	1Pl	<i>-jé-ŷ:.</i> pronounced [dʒ̩é→j]
	2Pl	<i>-jé-ŵ:.</i> pronounced [dʒ̩é→w]
	3Sg/Inan	<i>-jé:-∅</i>
	3Pl	<i>-j-â:</i> (- <i>jé:-bó</i> also attested in a text)

For *-jè-* in durative clauses in narrative, see §15.2.1.4.

10.2.1.9 Reduplicated perfective (*Ci-* plus {HL}, 3Sg *-∅*)

In this form, there is an initial reduplication of the form *C_ij-* (with fixed vowel *i*) or *C_iv_i-* (with a copy of the first stem vowel), depending on the speaker. If the first vowel of the stem is from the set {*u o*} (but not *e*), the *i* of the reduplicative segment shifts to *u*. If the verb begins with a vowel, there is no *C_i* in either the reduplicative segment or the base stem. A glottal stop is heard between the two occurrences of the vowel, as in *ù-?úrò-* ‘go up’ and *i-?éwè-* (varying with *è-?éwè-*) ‘buy’.

The reduplicative segment has L-tone (as do all such reduplicative segments in verbal morphology). The **base stem has {HL} tone overlay**, erasing the lexical melody. The H-tone component is expressed on the first stem syllable, or on the first mora of a monosyllable. In third person forms only, a *Cv-* monosyllable like *wō-* ‘catch’ has its short vowel lengthened to permit the <HL>-tone to be expressed; see Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). The tone overlay is illustrated in (245).

(245)	gloss	stem	reduplicated perfective
	‘take’	<i>ǎy-</i>	<i>i-^{HL}?ây-</i>
	‘catch’	<i>wō-</i>	<i>wi-^{HL}wô:-</i>
	‘want’	<i>jɔrɔ-</i>	<i>jì-^{HL}jɔrɔ-</i>
	‘buy’	<i>éwé-</i>	<i>i-^{HL}?éwè-</i>
	‘go up’	<i>ùrò-</i>	<i>ù-^{HL}?úrò-</i>
	‘go back’	<i>píníwⁿi-</i>	<i>pì-^{HL}píníwⁿi-</i>

The reduplicated perfective is not common in texts. An example is (246).

- (246) *jì-^{HL}jóṛ̡-b᷑*
 Rdp-^{HL}want.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They wanted.’

The **paradigm** is (247). The suffixes are the same as those of the unsuffixed perfective. Also shown are paradigms for *w᷑- ‘catch’*, illustrating the lengthening of the stem vowel in 3rd person forms for *Cv-* monosyllables, and *éwé- ‘buy’* as a more typical bisyllabic verb.

(247)	category	suffix	‘catch’	‘buy’
1Sg	-᷑	<i>wi-^{HL}wó-᷑</i>	<i>i-^{HL}?éwè-᷑</i>	
2Sg	-᷑	<i>wi-^{HL}wó-᷑</i>	<i>i-^{HL}?éwè-᷑</i>	
1Pl	-᷑.:	<i>wi-^{HL}wó-᷑.:</i>	<i>i-^{HL}?éwè-᷑.: [ŵe→j]</i>	
2Pl	-᷑.:	<i>wi-^{HL}wó-᷑.:</i>	<i>i-^{HL}?éwè-᷑.: [ŵe→w]</i>	
3Sg	-∅	<i>wi-^{HL}wō:-∅</i>	<i>i-^{HL}?éwè-∅</i>	
3Pl	-b᷑ ~ -b᷑	<i>wi-^{HL}wō:-b᷑ ~ -b᷑</i>	<i>i-^{HL}?éwè-b᷑ ~ -b᷑</i>	

This form is **partially homophonous to the reduplicated stative**, which is attested with stance verbs like ‘sit’ (§10.2.1.11, below). The two are distinguishable by suffixal allomorphs in the third person. The reduplicated perfective and reduplicated stative are both distinguished from the reduplicated imperfective by stem tone (the latter ends in an H-tone).

10.2.1.10 Stative ({H}, 3Sg *-᷑*)

An unreduplicated stative form is derived from certain verbs, particularly verbs of stance (position). The verb has the pronominal-subject paradigm (248). Its most distinctive feature is stative 3Sg *-᷑*, homophonous to 2Sg *-᷑* (contrast L-toned 1Sg *-᷑*).

(248)	category	suffix	‘lie down’
1Sg	-᷑	<i>(yá) bíyè-᷑</i>	
2Sg	-᷑	<i>(yá) bíyé-᷑</i>	[suffix H-toned; homophonous to 3Sg]
1Pl	-᷑.:	<i>(yá) bíyè-᷑</i>	[bíĵe→j]
2Pl	-᷑.:	<i>(yá) bíyé-᷑</i>	[bíĵe→w]
3Sg	-᷑	<i>(yá) bíyé-᷑</i>	[suffix H-toned; homophonous to 2Sg]
3Pl	-᷑-b᷑	<i>(yá) bíyè-᷑-b᷑</i>	[suffix H-toned]

Unless there is a preceding focalized constituent (see below), the verb stem itself is **H-toned** except for the final syllable of the 1Sg form. The stem also **ends in a non-high vowel**. Verbs whose bare stem ends in a high vowel replace it with *a* in the stative (the details are the same as for the reduplicated stative, see the following section for details). All attested examples

have **precisely bisyllabic** stems. For this purpose (presumably), mediopassive *-yv-* is omitted if it is the third syllable of the underlying stem: *jèngì-yí* ‘come up next to (sth)’, *yá jéngé-w* ‘it is up against (sth)’.

The verb is **preceded by a locational element**, such as presentational *ńgòy* ‘here’s ...’, a demonstrative adverb (‘here’, ‘there’, etc.), or existential *yá* (which is associated with predication of location). Examples: *yá bí-yé-w* ‘he/she is lying down’ (*bí-yé-*), and *yá náy"á-w* ‘it (e.g. teapot) is up on (e.g. burner)’ from *náy"í* ‘be put up on’.

From *dèyí-* ‘put down, set’, the stative is *yá déyá-w* with an ATR shift.

In the absence of such a preverbal locational element, the reduplicated stative is normally used, see below. An exception is that in contexts where a preceding constituent is focalized, an **L-toned unreduplicated** stative form may be used (249).

- (249) [[*kú* ^{HL}*nî:*] ^L*wò]* [*nă:* *kù*] *dimbà-w-bò*
 [[DiscDef ^{HL}cause] ^Lin] [cow Def] follow.Stat-3SgSbj-3PlSbj
 ‘It’s for that reason [focus] that they follow (=tend) their cattle.’ [2005.1a.15]

10.2.1.11 Reduplicated stative (*Ci-* plus {HL}, 3Sg *-w*)

A stative reduplication is used with **stance verbs** (‘be sitting’, ‘be connected’, etc.). It belongs to the perfective system, as seen by the use of perfective third person suffix allomorphs, but it has stative sense. The reduplicative segment has the same form as for the reduplicated perfective (just above) and for the reduplicated imperfective (below).

The stem has {HL} **tone overlay**, again as in the reduplicated perfective. By contrast, the reduplicated imperfective always has a stem ending in an H-tone, and the simple (unreduplicated) stative (preceding section) has H-tones.

The reduplicated (and unreduplicative) stative **imposes a bisyllabic shape** on the stem proper (trisyllabic including the reduplicative segment), so for mono- and trisyllabic stems there is a clear difference between the reduplicated stative and the reduplicated perfective. Another difference between the two is in the form of **third person suffixes**. The **three-way distinction** for stance verbs with 3Sg subject is illustrated in (250).

- (250) a. *i-^{HL}?éw-yè-w*
 Rdp-^{HL}sit-MP Stat-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She is sitting (in sitting position)’. [stative]
- b. *i-^{HL}?éw-yè-Ø*
 Rdp-^{HL}sit-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He sat down.’ [perfective, uncommon]
- c. *i-?éw-yé-m*
 Rdp-sit-MP-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He/She will sit down.’ [imperfective]

In the **first and second persons**, for bisyllabic stance verbs (including ‘sit’) that do not end in a high vowel there is no audible distinction between the reduplicated stative and the reduplicated perfective (251a-b), but the two of them are (jointly) audibly distinct from the reduplicated imperfective (251c).

- (251) a. *i^{HL}?éw-yè-ŷ*
Rdp-sit-MP.**Stat**-1SgSbj
'I am sitting (in sitting position)'. [stative]
- b. *i^{HL}?éw-yè-ŷ*
Rdp-^{HL}sit-MP.**Pfv**-1SgSbj
'He sat down.' [perfective, uncommon]
- c. *i-?éw-yé-ŷ*
Rdp-sit-MP.**Ipfv**-1SgSbj
'I will sit down.' [imperfective]

In the reduplicated stative only, **nonmonosyllabic verbs ending in a high vowel shift this vowel to *a***, a mutation that also takes place in the imperative stem. (Final *e* might also shift to *a*, but I have no example of a stative from such a verb.) For verbs undergoing this shift, the three-way distinction among the reduplications is audibly expressed even for first and second person categories. The 3Sg and 1Sg forms for *díyí-* 'be connected' bring this out (252).

(252) 'be connected'	3Sg	1Sg
reduplicated stative	<i>dì-^{HL}díyà-w</i>	<i>dì-^{HL}díyà-ŷ</i>
reduplicated perfective	<i>dì-^{HL}díyì-∅</i>	<i>dì-^{HL}díyì-ŷ</i>
reduplicated imperfective	<i>dì-díyí-m</i>	<i>dí-díyí-ŷ</i>

I had no difficulty eliciting reduplicated stative forms where they made sense semantically (denoting stances and similar physical positions). Examples are in (253), in 3Sg subject form. For the verbs in (253a), the segmentation of *-yí/-yé-* is based on intransitive/causative alternations (*i-rí-* 'cause to stand/stop', *bi-ré-* 'cause to lie down', *éw-ré-* 'cause to sit', *túngú-rú-* 'cause to kneel'), though segmentability is semi-opaque. The *-yí/-yé-* is retained in the reduplicated stative when the root is monosyllabic. 'Stand, stop' appears to shorten its long *i*, though one could alternatively argue that the *-yí-* suffix of the bare stem has been lopped off and the remaining *i-* treated as though /íyí-/ (253a). In any event, there is no general shortening of long vowels in the first stem syllable of the stative, see (253c). The examples in (253b-c) are prosodically straightforward. The trisyllabic verbs in (253d) probably originated as *Cv(C)Cv-yv- with mediopassive suffix *-yv-, but segmentation is now somewhat opaque (for *tórríyí-* the causative elicited was *tórríyí-wú-*). Even if we segment the stems in (253d), there is no basis for claiming that intransitive -yv- is systematically omitted from the reduplicated stative, since the much clearer cases of *-yí/-yé-* in (253a) do not drop the suffix. I therefore prefer to analyse the examples in (253d) as involving truncation of a final syllable to satisfy a bisyllabic output constraint.

(253)	gloss	bare stem	reduplicated stative
a. 'stand, stop'		<i>i:-yí-</i>	<i>i^{HL}í-yà-w</i> (segmentation arguably <i>i-íyà-w</i>)
'lie down'		<i>bì-yé-</i>	<i>bì^{HL}bí-yè-w</i>
'sit'		<i>éw-yé-</i>	<i>ì^{HL}?éw-yè-w</i>
'kneel'		<i>túngú-yú-</i>	<i>tù^{HL}túngà-w</i>

b.	'be tilted' 'be hanging' '(mat) be laid out'	<i>jèŋgí-</i> <i>kɔ́lí-</i> <i>téyí-</i>	<i>jì-^{HL} jéŋgà-w</i> <i>kì-^{HL} kóla-w</i> <i>tì-^{HL} téyà-w</i>
c.	'be right-side up' 'be arranged'	<i>tá:rí-</i> <i>té:lí-</i>	<i>tì-^{HL} tárà-w</i> <i>tì-^{HL} té:là-w</i>
d.	'squat' 'sit up'	<i>tór"íy"í-</i> <i>bèŋgìyí-</i>	<i>tì-^{HL} tór"à-w</i> <i>bì-^{HL} béŋgà-w</i>

The reduplicated stative pronominal-suffix paradigm is (254). The 2Sg and 3Sg are homophonous. The 3Pl is built by adding the (perfective) 3Pl suffix *-bó* (-bò) to the 3Sg suffix *-w̄*. All of the pronominal endings are L-toned, unlike the case with the unreduplicated stative where only 1Sg *-ȳ* is L-toned.

(254)	category	suffix	'sit'
	1Sg	<i>-ȳ</i>	<i>i-^{HL} ?éw-yè-y</i>
	2Sg	<i>-w̄</i>	<i>i-^{HL} ?éw-yè-w</i>
	1Pl	<i>-ȳ:.</i>	<i>i-^{HL} ?éw-yè-y.: [i?éwjê→j]</i>
	2Pl	<i>-w̄:.</i>	<i>i-^{HL} ?éw-yè-w.: [i?éwjê→w]</i>
	3Sg	<i>-w̄</i>	<i>i-^{HL} ?éw-yè-w</i>
	3Pl	<i>-w̄-bó ~ -w̄-bò</i>	<i>i-^{HL} ?éw-yè-w-bó ~ -bò</i>

10.2.2 Imperfective positive system

10.2.2.1 Unsuffixed imperfective (unreduplicated)

An unreduplicated form with no segmentally characterized AN suffix is used in positive indicative clauses with present or future time reference. The pronominal suffixes are L-toned, so one could analyse the imperfective morpheme as a floating L-tone segment that docks on the pronominal suffix (compare Jamsay). However, I will not transcribe *-Ø* in imperfective forms.

Historically, it is possible that the ending was *-m̄- throughout the paradigm (except perhaps 3Pl), and that the nasal segment has vanished in the 1st/2nd person forms.

This is the normal all-purpose imperfective form used after an overtly focalized preverbal constituent, such as a WH-interrogative (255).

(255)	<i>án-dá:</i>	<i>ló-w̄</i>
	where?	go.Ipfv-2SgSbj
	'Where are you-Sg going?' = 'Where will you-Sg go?'	

With a preverbal constituent that is not overtly focalized, or with no preverbal constituent, there is a choice between this form and the reduplicated imperfective (see the following

section). In elicitation, my assistant suggested that the reduplicated imperfective tended to have future sense (256).

- (256) a. *nàwⁿâ: kúwó-ŷ*
 meat eat.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 'I eat meat.'
- b. *nàwⁿâ: kù-kúwó-ŷ*
 meat Rdp-eat.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 'I will eat meat.'
- c. *nó-m*
 drink-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 'He/She drinks.'
- d. *nì-nó-m*
 Rdp-drink-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 'He/She will drink.'

The **stem tone**, and the **third person pronominal suffixes**, differ from those of the reduplicated perfective and of the reduplicated stative described in preceding sections. The stem tone of the unsuffixed imperfective, which **always ends in an H-tone element**, is determined as in (257).

(257) Stem tone of unsuffixed imperfective

- a. lexical tone melody /H/ is preserved (all prosodic weights);
- b. {H} overlay erases /LH/ melody: *C᷑* and *C᷑yⁿ* monosyllabics, prosodically light bisyllabics (*C᷑C᷑* and *C᷑NC᷑*, but not *C᷑:C᷑*) ending in a non-high vowel;
- c. no change in lexical /LH/ melody: all nonmonosyllabic stems ending in a high vowel; all heavy bisyllabic (*C᷑:C᷑*), trisyllabic and longer stems.

The only audible tonal change vis-à-vis the lexical melody is that **/LH/-toned short-voweled bisyllabic stems ending in a non-high vowel, and rising-toned monosyllabic stems, have an {H} overlay** (258c). This overlay does not apply to the frozen causative *gó-ló-* 'take out, remove' or to the parallel (and semantically close) *jò-ló-* 'take away, convey (sth, somewhere)' (258d). The overlay does not apply to any prosodically heavy stem. Minor segmental changes occur in the irregular verbs in (258b), and in three *Cvyⁿ* verbs that lose the final semivowel.

(258) gloss bare stem unsuffixed imperfective

- a. stem already /H/-toned, no audible change, all prosodic weights

<i>'go'</i>	<i>ló-</i>	<i>ló-</i>
<i>'tie'</i>	<i>páyá-</i>	<i>páyá-</i>
<i>'take down'</i>	<i>sí-lé-</i>	<i>sí-lé-</i>
<i>'go back'</i>	<i>píníwú-</i>	<i>píníwí-</i>
<i>'cough'</i>	<i>kógúsó-</i>	<i>kógúsó-</i>

<i>Cvyn</i> , becoming <i>Cvn</i> -		
'do, make'	<i>káyⁿ-</i>	<i>káⁿ-</i>

b. irregular monosyllabics, shift of short or long /ɛ(:)/ to e

'come'	<i>yě-</i>	<i>yé-</i>
'bring'	<i>jě:-</i>	<i>jé-</i>

c. prosodically light /LH/-toned stem, {H} overlay applies

<i>Cv</i>		
'go out'	<i>gō-</i>	<i>gó-</i>
'drink'	<i>n᷑-</i>	<i>n᷑-</i>
'hear'	<i>n᷒-</i>	<i>n᷒-</i>

<i>Cvyn</i> , becoming <i>Cvn</i> -		
'put'	<i>găyⁿ-</i>	<i>gáⁿ-</i>
'say'	<i>gűyⁿ-</i>	<i>gúⁿ-</i>

<i>CvCv</i>		
'pound (spikes)'	<i>dùy᷑-</i>	<i>dúy᷑-</i>
'steal'	<i>gùrō-</i>	<i>gúrō-</i>
'dance'	<i>jìyé-</i>	<i>jíyé-</i>
'fall'	<i>yàyá-</i>	<i>yáyá-</i>

<i>CvBCv</i>		
'split'	<i>gùmbó-</i>	<i>gúmbó-</i>
'roll on turban'	<i>dòmbó-</i>	<i>dómbo-</i>
'place in basket'	<i>dùmbó-</i>	<i>dúmbó-</i>
'stutter'	<i>bèmbé-</i>	<i>bémbé-</i>

d. exceptional *CvCv* verbs that resist {H} overlay

transitive/causative -lív ~ -rví, mediopassive -yé:

'take out'	<i>gò-ló-</i>	<i>gò-ló-</i>
'take away'	<i>jò-ló-</i>	<i>jò-ló-</i>

mediopassive -yé:

'make lie down'	<i>bì-ré-</i>	<i>bì-ré-</i>
'bathe'	<i>dì-yé-</i>	<i>dì-yé-</i>

e. light bisyllabic ending in high vowel, /LH/ preserved

<i>CvCv</i>		
'receive'	<i>àwú-</i>	<i>àwú-</i>
'help'	<i>bàrí-</i>	<i>bàrú-</i>
'call'	<i>jnàrⁿí-</i>	<i>jnàrⁿú-</i>
'cover'	<i>dèwú-</i>	<i>dèwú-</i>
'put down'	<i>dèyí-</i>	<i>dèyí-</i>
'hold'	<i>wàyí-</i>	<i>wàyí-</i>
'laugh'	<i>màní-</i>	<i>mànú-</i>

<i>CvNCv</i>		
'uproot'	<i>wòmbú-</i>	<i>wòmbú-</i>

f. prosodically heavy stems, /LH/ preserved

ending in non-high vowel

‘tease’	<i>bè:ré-</i>	<i>bè:ré-</i>
‘be moving’	<i>jì:ré-</i>	<i>jì:ré-</i>
‘lie in wait’	<i>yò:ró-</i>	<i>yò:ró-</i>
‘cut up’	<i>yègìsé-</i>	<i>yègìsé-</i>
‘roll on ground’	<i>dùlùró-</i>	<i>dùlùró-</i>
‘roll’	<i>bìliré-</i>	<i>bìliré-</i>

ending in high vowel

‘fill’	<i>bà:lí-</i>	<i>bà:lí-</i>
‘think’	<i>mà:ní-</i>	<i>mà:ní-</i>
‘dig’	<i>gànjí-</i>	<i>gànjú-</i>
‘hide (sth)’	<i>bàngìrí-</i>	<i>bàngìrí-</i>
‘winnow in wind’	<i>pèr"iy"í-</i>	<i>pèr"iy"í-</i>
‘follow’	<i>dìmbì-yí-</i>	<i>dìmbì-yí-</i>

The pronominal **paradigm** is exemplified in (259), using *ló-* ‘go’, *dúyó-* ‘pound (millet ears)’, and *páyá-* ‘tie’. The 1st/2nd person forms are regular. In the third person, we get 3Sg/inanimate *-m̄* and 3Pl *-yè* (dialectally also *-yà*).

(259)	category	‘go’	‘pound’	‘tie’
	1Sg	<i>ló-ŷ</i>	<i>dúyó-ŷ</i>	<i>páyá-ŷ</i>
	2Sg	<i>ló-w̄</i>	<i>dúyó-w̄</i>	<i>páyá-w̄</i>
	1Pl	<i>ló-ŷ.:</i>	<i>dúyó-ŷ.:</i>	<i>páyá-ŷ.: [ŷâ→j]</i>
	2Pl	<i>ló-w̄.:</i>	<i>dúyó-w̄.:</i>	<i>páyá-w̄.: [ŷâ→w]</i>
	3Sg/Inan	<i>ló-m̄</i>	<i>dúyó-m̄</i>	<i>páyá-m̄</i>
	3Pl	<i>ló-yè</i>	<i>dúyó-yè</i>	<i>páyá-yè</i>

3Pl *-yè* is not subject to Nasalization-Spreading, hence *ní-yè* ‘they (will) give’.

As this paradigm shows, the unsuffixed imperfective has no overt AN suffix. This could, in theory, result in confusion between the unsuffixed imperfective and the unsuffixed perfective. However, the two can always be distinguished. To begin with, the third person suffixes are different in the two paradigms. In addition, while the unsuffixed perfective drops stem tones to {L}, the unsuffixed imperfective stem always has at least one H-tone. Lexical /H/ melody is preserved, and lexical /LH/ is either preserved or overlaid to {H}.

10.2.2.2 Reduplicated imperfective (*Ci-*, 3Sg *-m̄*)

In the absence of a preverbal constituent, an **unsuffixed imperfective is normally reduplicated**. As a result, the reduplicated imperfective is very common in texts, much more so than the reduplicated perfective.

The reduplicative segment has the same form as for the reduplicated perfective (§10.2.1.9, above). However, the reduplicated imperfective has the **same stem-tones as in the unreduplicated imperfective**. A mono- or bisyllabic stem is entirely H-toned whether

the lexical melody is /H/ or /LH/. Heavier stems keep their lexical melody, either /H/ or /LH/. There is no lengthening of the short vowel of a *Cv*- monosyllable like *wō-* ‘catch’.

- (260) a. *lì-ló-ŷ*
Rdp-go.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I will go.’ (*ló-*)
- b. *ù-?úrð-ŷ*
Rdp-go.up-1SgSbj
‘I will go up.’ (*ùrð*)
- c. *sù-súyð-ŷ*
Rdp-hit.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I will hit (it).’
- d. *i-?éwé-ŷ*
Rdp-buy.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I will buy (it).’ (*éwé-*)
- e. *wì-wó-ṁ*
Rdp-catch-Ipfv.3SgSbj
‘He/She will catch.’ (*wō-*)
- f. *gù-gùlù-rú-ṁ*
Rdp-long-Fact-Ipfv.3SgSbj
‘He/She will lengthen.’ (*gùlù-rí-*)

That imperfective verbs are often reduplicated in the absence of a preverbal constituent is illustrated in (261), which contains two perfective-imperfective sequences denoting actions performed in a given order in constructing a wooden apiary for honey bees. In the first sequence, the imperfective verb is not reduplicated because it has a preverbal object NP. In the second, there is only an implied object and the imperfective verb is reduplicated.

- (261) *kám-dí:-rè-∅* *dó* *wōy,*
wide-Inch-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if all,
mò:-tímbí: *jórá-ŷ-:,*
mouth-covering want.Ipfv-1PlSbj,
tímbí-tí-ŷ-: *dè,* *ù-?úgúró-ŷ-:*
cover-Pfv1b-1PlSbj if, Rdp-scent.Ipfv-1PlSbj
‘When it (=section of hollowed tree trunk) has become wider, we look for a covering (to close up the opening). When we have covered (the opening), we give it (=apiary) a smell.’ [2005.1a.09]

The **paradigm** is (262). The specifically imperfective suffixes for 3Sg and 3Pl are noteworthy.

(262)	category	suffix	'go'
	1Sg	-ŷ	<i>lì-ló-ŷ</i>
	2Sg	-w̄	<i>lì-ló-w̄</i>
	1Pl	-ŷ.:	<i>lì-ló-ŷ.:</i> [lō→j]
	2Pl	-w̄.:	<i>lì-ló-w̄.:</i> [lō→w]
	3Sg	-m̄	<i>lì-ló-m̄</i>
	3Pl	-ȳe	<i>lì-ló-ȳe</i>

The reduplicated imperfective is distinguished from the reduplicated perfective by the **tone of the stem**. The reduplicated imperfective has H-tones for light stems, and preserves lexical /H/ or /LH/ for heavy stems. The reduplicated perfective and the reduplicated stative have {HL} tone overlay on the stem. The third person endings also distinguish the reduplicated imperfective from the others.

The 3Sg form of the reduplicated imperfective (suffix *-m̄*) should not be confused with a temporal adverbial construction with initial H-toned reduplication, {HL} stem overlay, and final *-m*, type *i-?iyà-m* 'while standing' (§15.2.1.9).

10.2.2.3 Progressive (and habitual) (:-r̄a-)

A form with suffix *:-r̄a-*, lengthening the stem vowel, has progressive and habitual functions. I will label it the **progressive**. The stem has its lexical tone melody.

- (263) a. *bíré* *bíré:-r̄a-ŷ.:*
 work(n) work-Prog-1PlSbj
 'We are working (now).' (*bíré-*)
- b. *dànní:-r̄a-w̄*
 hunt-Prog-3SgSbj
 'He/She hunts (regularly).' (*dànní-*)
- c. *bérù-m* *wō:-r̄a-ŷ*
 goat-AnSg catch-Prog-1SgSbj
 'I am catching the goat.' (*wō-*)
- d. L+HL *kū:* *í* *ùrùyó:-r̄a-w*
 1SgPoss.^{HL}head 1SgObj hurt-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
 'My head is/was hurting me' (= 'I have/had a headache')

The **paradigm** is (264). The 3Sg is homophonous to the 2Sg, as in stative inflections. The 3Pl adds *-bɔ* ~ *-bɔ̄* to the 3Sg.

(264) category suffix

1Sg	<i>:rà-ŷ</i>		
2Sg	<i>:rà-w̄</i>		
1Pl	<i>:rà-ŷ.:</i>	pronounced [râ→j]	
2Pl	<i>:rà-w̄.:</i>	pronounced [râ→w̄]	
3Sg	<i>:rà-w̄</i>		
3Pl	<i>:rà-w̄-bō</i>	(often heard as <i>:rà-w̄-bō</i>)	

Cv- verbs reveal their lexical /H/ or /LH/ tone in this form. Attestations of /LH/ tone are: *yě:-rà-* ‘comes’ (*yě-*), *wō:-rà-* ‘catches’ (*wō-*), *gō:-rà-* ‘goes out’ (*gō-*), *nū:-rà-* ‘hears’ (*nū-*), *gă:-rà-* ‘slashes (rice)’ (*gă-*), *yǐ:-rà-* ‘sees’ (*yǐ-*), *yō:-rà-* ‘weeps’ (*yō-*), *dă:-rà-* ‘endures’ (*dă-*), *bă:-rà-* ‘fills’ (*bă-*), *jō:-rà-* ‘abounds’ (*jō-*), *dě:-rà-* ‘gets tired’ (*dě-*), *mă:-rà-* ‘gives shape to’ (*mă-*), *jō:-rà-* ‘picks’ (*jō-*), and *nō:-rà-* ‘drinks’ (*nō-*).

Examples of /H/ tone are *nú:-rà-* ‘goes in’ (*nú-*), *ló:-rà-* ‘goes’ (*ló-*), *tí:-rà-* ‘sends’ (*tí-*), *tá:-rà-* ‘shoots’ (*tá-*), *sá:-rà-* ‘replies’ (*sá-*), *ná:-rà-* ‘spends the night’ (*ná-*), and *né:-rà-* ‘eats (meal)’ (*né-*).

/LHL/ toned *jě:-rà-* ‘bring’ has *jě:-rà-* ‘brings’.

The progressive verb form is optionally preceded by existential particle *yá* (§11.2.2.1). For an example see (89a) in §6.1.3. This implies an affinity between progressive and stative.

Examples of the progressive in the sample text are in B’s first turn in (654), C’s second turn in (656), C’s first turn in (660), C’s first turn in (664), and in (669) and (678).

10.2.3 Negation of indicative verbs

10.2.3.1 Categories expressed by negative verbs

There is little resemblance in form between positive and negative inflectional categories. Most perfective and perfect positive categories correspond to perfective negative *-rí-*. Most imperfective positive categories correspond to imperfective negative *-m-(n)dō-*.

10.2.3.2 Perfective negative (*-rí-*) and related forms

The basic perfective negative is formed with suffix *-rí-*, before which a stem has {L} overlay.

The /r/ is subject to **Nasalization-Spreading**, becoming *rⁿ* after a nasal, in *nu^L-r^{ní}-∅* ‘he/she did not hear’, *bārⁿa^L-r^{ní}-* ‘did not beat (tomtom)’, *dùwⁿō^L-r^{ní}-* ‘did not finish (was not used up)’, and *nì:yⁿi^L-r^{ní}-* ‘did not sleep’. Nasalization-Spreading **does not apply to the 3Pl form -r-á**, hence *nù^L-r-á* ‘they did not hear’.

Verbs of the shape *Cvyn-* combine /yⁿ/ and suffixal /r/ as *n : gù^L-ní-* ‘did not say’ (*gūyⁿ-*), *gà^L-ní-* ‘did not put’ (*gàyⁿ-*), *kà^L-ní-* ‘did not do’ (*káyⁿ-*), see §3.5.4.3.

béré- ‘get, obtain’ forms *bél^L-lí-* ‘did not get’ (showing syncope of the stem-final vowel and /rr/ replaced by /l/, §3.5.4.5). By contrast, other verbs with final *r* plus vowel have unsyncopated forms: *tòrò^L-rí-* ‘did not pound’, *sò:rù^L-rí-* ‘did not slide in’, *pèrè^L-rí-* ‘did not clap’. The verb *tálí-* ‘transform, convert’ has *tál^L-lí-* as a variant of *tálí^L-rí-* ‘did not

transform', showing that when a short high vowel is syncopated the resulting /l_r/ cluster is realized as *ll*. One might use this datum to argue that the conversion of /r...r/ to *l...l* in *bēl^L-lī-* (see beginning of this paragraph) has an intermediate (dissimilated) stage /l...r/.

- (265) a. *yē^L-rī-∅*
come^L-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
'He/She didn't come.'
- b. *ú* *yī^L-rī-ŷ*
2SgObj see^L-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
'I didn't see you-Sg.'
- c. *bū:* *pàyà^L-rú-w̄*
3PIOBJ tie^L-PfvNeg-2SgSbj
'You-Sg didn't tie them up.'
- d. *lō^L-r-á*
go^L-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
'They didn't go.'

The irregular /LHL/ toned 'bring' (*jē:-*) is not subject to the {L} overlay on the stem. Its perfective negative is 3Sg subject *jē:-'rī-∅* prepausally, with <LH> tone on the stem and downstepped H-tone on the suffix. It is *jē:-rī-*, with <LHL> tone on the stem, before a clause-final particle or with a nonzero pronominal suffix.

The pronominal-subject **paradigm** is (266).

(266) Paradigm of perfective negative

category	suffix	
1Sg	<i>-rī-ŷ</i>	pronounced [r̄i:]
2Sg	<i>-rú-w̄</i>	pronounced [rú:]
Pl	<i>-rī-ȳ.:</i>	pronounced [r̄i→]
2Pl	<i>-rú-w̄.:</i>	pronounced [r̄u→]
3Sg/Inan	<i>-rī-∅</i>	
3Pl	<i>-r-á</i>	(not subject to Nasalization-Spreading)

Note the phonetic monophthongization in the 1Sg and 2Sg, and the H-tone of the 2Sg form. 3Sg/Inan *-rī-∅* does not lengthen its vowel.

The **experiential perfect negative** is formed by adding perfective negative allomorph *-lī-* to an L-toned form of experiential perfect *-tā-*, resulting in *-tā^L-lī-*. The preceding stem also has {L} tone overlay, showing that the final suffix controls tones on the entire word. The combination is common, as it is the usual way to express 'have never VPed'. The pronominal endings are the same as for perfective negative *-rī-*.

- (267) a. *bàmàkɔ́ lò-tà^L-lí-ŷ*
 Bamako go-ExpPf-Neg-1SgSbj
 ‘I have never gone to Bamako.’
- b. *ŋgú yì-tà^L-l-á*
 ProxInan see-ExpPf-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
 ‘They have never seen this (before).’

The synchronically puzzling shift of *r* to *l* is best explained historically, since cognates of *-tâ-* contain a rhotic (e.g. Jamsay *-tére-*), and since underlying /rv-r/ sequences in verbal morphology may shift one or both rhotics to *l* (§3.5.4.4-5).

Perfective negative *-rí-* may follow recent perfect *-jê-*, in the sense ‘have not finished VP-ing’. In this combination, the main verb stem keeps its lexical tone, but *-jê-* drops its tone to *jê^L*. In other words, the main verb and *jê-* behave tonally like two verbs in a chain. The pronominal endings are the same as for simple *-rí-*.

- (268) *wóngóró wàrá-jê^L-rí-ŷ*
 farming farm-RecPf-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
 ‘I haven’t (yet) finished farming.’

An explicit negation of resultative *sô-* (cf. quasi-verb *só-* ‘have’) is not common in texts, but it is elicitable. The negative paradigm is identical to that of ‘have’, thus *-sò-ló-* plus the pronominal-subject suffix. For an example, see (619c) in §18.3.1. Segmentation of the irregular 3Pl form is difficult.

(269) Paradigm of resultative negative

category	suffix
1Sg	<i>-sò-ló-ŷ</i>
2Sg	<i>-sò-ló-w̄</i>
1Pl	<i>-sò-ló-ŷ.:</i> pronounced [lô→j]
2Pl	<i>-sò-ló-w̄.:</i> pronounced [lô→w]
3Sg/Inan	<i>-sò-ló-∅</i>
3Pl	<i>-sè-né</i> alternative segmentaton: <i>-s-ɛ-n-é</i>

10.2.3.3 Imperfective negative (*-m̄-dó-, :-rà = rá-*)

The imperfective negative is based on *-m̄-dó-*, except for an irregular 3Pl form *-m̄-n-é*. In careful speech, *-m̄-dó-* is heard as [m̄ndó], i.e. the nasalization extends beyond the transition from labial to alveolar place of articulation. Native speakers correct the linguist’s pronunciation when the [n] is left out.

The *-m̄-* is identifiable with the 3Sg *-m̄* suffix in the unsuffixed imperfective (positive). Furthermore, the stem of the imperfective negative has the same tones as those of the corresponding unsuffixed imperfective, H or LH depending on the stem. This strongly

suggests that the imperfective negative **-m̄-dó-** is directly built on the unsuffixed imperfective (positive), specifically on the 3Sg form of the latter, merely adding a negative suffix **-dó-**. Thus **dùy᷑-** ‘pound (millet ears)’, unsuffixed imperfective (positive) **dúy᷑-** (3Sg form **dúy᷑-m̄**) with H-toned stem, and imperfective negative **dúy᷑-m̄-dó-** with the same tones. In interlinears I gloss **-m̄-** in this combination as “Ipfv” and **-dó-** as “Neg.”

The **paradigm** is (270). Segmentation of the irregular 3Pl form is again difficult.

(270) Paradigm of imperfective negative

category	suffix
1Sg	-m̄-dó-ŷ
2Sg	-m̄-dó-ŵ
1Pl	-m̄-dó-ŷ:
2Pl	-m̄-dó-ŵ:
3Sg/Inan	-m̄-dó-∅
3Pl	-m̄-n-é

A similar **=m̄ =dá** is the negation of the ‘it is’ clitic **=m̄** (§11.2.1.4).

The HLH tone sequence involving stem plus **-m̄-dó-** is pronounced with a lower pitch on **-dó-** than on the H-toned part of the stem. Since this is a predictable phonetic implementation (a kind of downdrift), I do not mark it explicitly and do not consider it to constitute downstep (§3.7.4.4).

Examples are in (271).

- (271) a. **tē:** **nó-m̄-dó-∅**
 tea drink-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She doesn’t drink tea.’

- b. **ŋgú-rù** **bíré** **bíré-m̄-n-é**
 here work(n) work-Ipfv-Neg-3PlSbj
 ‘They don’t work here.’

The final H-tone is often heard as low in texts when prepausal. The H-tone is easier to hear before a clause-final particle such as emphatic **kòy**.

Progressive **:rà-**, whose positive conjugation already shows stative features (3Sg **-ŵ**), is negated by adding conjugated stative negative **=rá-**, resulting in **:rà =rá-**. The verb stem retains the same tones as in the positive.

- (272) a. **íyé** **dùw᷑-rà =rá-∅**
 today leave-Prog=StatNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘Nowadays it (=water) doesn’t cease (=run out).’ [2005.1a.04]

- b. [ɛsù^L bû: jɛ:-rà-̀w] [good^L 3PISbj bring-Prog-Pp.Inan]
yǐ:-rà = rá-ŷ.:
see-Prog=StatNeg-1PISbj
‘We don’t see anything good that they bring (back).’ [2005.1b.06]

The paradigm is (273). Only the final stative negative clitic is conjugated.

(273) Paradigm of progressive negative

category	suffix	
1Sg	:rà = rá-ŷ	
2Sg	:rà = rá-̀w	
Pl	:rà = rá-ŷ.:	pronounced [fâ→j]
2Pl	:rà = rá-̀w.:	pronounced [fâ→w]
3Sg/Inan	:rà = rá-∅	
3Pl	:rà = rá-bó	

10.2.3.4 Stative negative (= *rá-* without reduplication)

Compare positive example (274a), from §10.2.1.11 above, with its negative counterpart (274b).

- (274) a. *i-?*éw-yè-*y*
Rdp-sit-MP.Stat-1SgSbj
‘I am sitting.’
- b. *èw-yè-̀w=rá-ŷ*
sit-MP-Stat=StatNeg-1SgSbj
‘I am not sitting.’

In the negative form (274b), the reduplicative segment is gone. The stem drops to L-tone, as it does before the perfective negative suffix *-rí-*. Negative clitic = *rá-* is added to *-̀w-*, which could be identified morphemically with *-̀w*, the 3Sg subject allomorph used in the stative positive (cf. *i-?*éw-yè-w ‘he/she is sitting’). However, *-̀w=rá-* is the basis for the entire stative negative **paradigm** (275), not just the 3Sg, so I gloss it in this combination as “Stat” in interlinears.

(275) category suffix

1Sg	-̀w=rá-ŷ	
2Sg	-̀w=rá-̀w	note H-tone

1Pl	$\text{-}\dot{\text{w}}=\text{rá-}\dot{\text{y}}\text{:}$	pronounced [râ→j]
2Pl	$\text{-}\dot{\text{w}}=\text{rá-}\dot{\text{w}}\text{:}$	pronounced [râ→w]
3Sg/Inan	$\text{-}\dot{\text{w}}=\text{rá-}\emptyset$	
3Pl	$\text{-}\dot{\text{w}}=\text{rá-}\text{b}5$	

The H-toned 2Sg suffix has parallels in other negative paradigms (perfective negative, progressive negative).

10.3 Pronominal-subject suffixes for indicative verbs

10.3.1 Subject pronominal suffixes

To pull together data from the various AN categories given above, the basic forms of **first/second person** pronominal-subject suffixes on inflected verbs are those in (276).

(276) category suffix

1Sg	$\text{-}\dot{\text{y}}$
2Sg	$\text{-}\dot{\text{w}}$ (sometimes H-toned $\text{-}\acute{\text{w}}$)
Pl	$\text{-}\dot{\text{y}}\text{:}$
2Pl	$\text{-}\dot{\text{w}}\text{:}$

There is an issue as to whether these suffixes have intrinsic tones or get their tones from the preceding morpheme. Many of the AN categories have suffixes that end in a falling tone in the zero 3Sg form, and the unsuffixed perfective stem is L-toned. In these forms, the L-tone on a first/second person suffix could be analysed as due to Contour-Tone Stretching (§3.7.4.2). The test is therefore what happens when the first/second person suffix follows an H-tone. This happens in the perfective negative with suffix $\text{-}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{i}}$ and in the stative negative with $\text{-}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{a}}$, but here the evidence is split. The 1Sg combination has falling tone in both ($\text{-}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{i-}}\dot{\text{y}}$, $\text{-}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{a-}}\dot{\text{y}}$) suggesting an intrinsic L-tone on 1Sg $\text{-}\dot{\text{y}}$. However, the 2Sg combinations have H-tone ($\text{-}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{u-}}\dot{\text{w}}$, $\text{-}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{a-}}\dot{\text{w}}$), implying that the tone has spread from the negative suffix to the 2Sg suffix. The 1Pl and 2Pl suffixes are moot in this respect, because of their dying-quail intonation which overrides final-syllable L- or H-tone.

Segmental irregularities in combinations involving first/second person suffixes are minor and usually have a clear phonological basis. 1Sg $\text{-}\dot{\text{y}}$ undergoes monophthongization with a preceding i , both in the marked perfective $\text{-}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{i-}}\dot{\text{y}}$ and in the perfective negative $\text{-}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{i-}}\dot{\text{y}}$. The original falling tone of the AN suffix is preserved in the <HL>-toned monophthong. A parallel monophthongization with 2Sg $\text{-}\dot{\text{w}}$ occurs in the marked perfective-1b $\text{-}\acute{\text{t}}\acute{\text{u-}}\dot{\text{w}}$ and in the perfective negative $\text{-}\acute{\text{r}}\acute{\text{u-}}\dot{\text{w}}$.

For **3Sg/Inan**, the allomorphs are as in (277).

(277)	3Sg/Inan allomorph	AN category	suffix + 3Sg/Inan
a.	-∅	unsuffixed perfective reduplicated perfective perfective-1a perfective negative imperfective negative stative negative	-∅ -∅ :-rè-∅ -rí-∅ -m̄dó-∅ -w̄-rá-∅
b.	-∅ (long vowel)	perfective-1b recent perfect	-t̄i:-∅ -j̄e:-∅
c.	-w̄	experiential perfect resultative imperfective stative reduplicated stative	-t̄á-w̄ -só-w̄ :-r̄à-w̄ -w̄ -w̄
d.	-m̄	unsuffixed imperfective reduplicated imperfective	-m̄ -m̄

The **-w̄** in (277c) suggests a morphological connection with **-w** as an adjectival suffix (inanimate). In verbal morphology, 3Sg **-w̄** entails **homophony between 3Sg and 2Sg**. The lengthening of the vowel of the AN suffix in (277b) is necessary to permit the contour tone to be expressed; see Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). In the specific case of perfective **-t̄i:-∅**, the lengthening results in (accidental) homophony with the 1Sg, which monophthongizes from /-t̄i-y/ to phonetic [t̄i:].

As with the first/second person suffixes, one can argue whether the nonzero 3Sg allomorphs, **-w̄** and **-m̄**, are intrinsically L-toned, or acquire their tones by spreading from the left.

The **3Pl forms** are especially irregular (278). In parsing texts, it is particularly worth noting that 3Pl **:r-à:** is from perfective-1a **:rè-** and not from progressive **:r̄à-**.

(278)	3Pl allomorph	AN category	AN suffix + 3Pl
a.	-b̄ó (-b̄ɔ)	unsuffixed perfective progressive reduplicated perfective reduplicated stative stative negative	-b̄ó ~ -b̄ɔ :-r̄à-w-b̄ó -b̄ó -w̄-b̄ó -w̄-rá-b̄ó
b1.	-à (-yà)	perfective-1a perfective-1b recent perfect perfective negative	:-r-à: (< :rè-) -t̄í-yà (< -t̄i-) -j-à: (< -j̄e-a) -r-á (< -r̄i-)
b2.	-ȳè	unsuffixed imperfective reduplicated imperfective	-ȳè -ȳè

b3. -è	imperfective negative	-m̄-n-é (< -m̄-dó-)
c. -m̄á	experiential perfect	-tá-m̄á

One could perhaps group (278b1-b3) together into a set {-à -è -yà -yè}, but the phonological relationships among the variants are opaque. The quite distinct form -bó (278a) resembles the 3Pl independent pronoun bû:, while the allomorph -m̄á (278c) could be identified with the plural perfective participial suffix (in relative clauses).

-bó is basically H-toned. The other 3Pl allomorphs are heard with L-tone, but in those cases one could argue that the L-tone is spread from the left.

10.4 Deictic temporal clitics and particles

10.4.1 Past =bè- (=bê-) and its conjugated forms

The past clitic =bè- or =bê- repositions the deictic center from which an eventuality is observed into a past time frame. The L-toned, always short-voweled form =bè- is used in certain combinations where it follows an L-toned verb form. The form =bê- with falling tone, which expands to =bê:-Ø when followed by zero 3Sg suffix (by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition, §3.7.4.1), is used when the preceding verb form ends in an H-tone, and in a few other combinations.

I suspected originally that L-toned =bè- might really just be a downstepped version of <HL>-toned =bê-, but careful listening indicated that =bê- is entirely L-toned. The pitch does not rise from the preceding L-tone, and there is no falling tone internal to the syllable =bê-.

=bè ~ =bê is conjugated for pronominal subject, in two paradigms that occur in distinct constructions. The **regular paradigm** including tones is (279). The 1st/2nd person forms are based on =bé- and are regular in form. 3Sg/Inan =bê:-Ø has a long, <HL>-toned vowel. 3Pl =b-â: can be interpreted as the contraction of =bê:- (or presurface /=bê-/) with 3Pl -a.

The paradigms of the two variant forms of the clitic are in (279).

(279) category <HL>-tone form L-tone variant

1Sg	=bé-ŷ	=bè-ŷ
2Sg	=bé-ŵ	=bè-ŵ
1Pl	=bé-ŷ::	=bè-ŷ:: both pronounced [bê→j]
2Pl	=bé-ŵ::	=bè-ŵ:: both pronounced [bê→w]
3Sg/Inan	=bê:-Ø	=bè-Ø
3Pl	=b-â:	=b-â:

The first and second person forms are unremarkable. In the 3Sg, the <HL>-tone form has a long vowel as noted above. The 3Pl forms involve a suffixed /-a/ that contracts with the /e/ of the clitic.

There are four major combinations of the past clitic with inflectable verb stems: past unsuffixed imperfective, past progressive, past stative, and past perfect (a better label than

past perfective, as we will see). There are positive and negative versions for each of these. The past perfect marks pronominal subjects both on the verb proper and on the clitic, though the 3Sg and 3Pl suffixes on the verb proper appear to be participial. In the other past AN categories, either **-m-** (imperfective) or **-w-** (stative) generalizes as the ending of the verb before the past clitic, except that (in most cases) the 3Pl has double suffixal marking, on the verb proper and again on the past clitic.

The past forms of the unsuffixed positive AN categories are first up here: unsuffixed imperfective, stative, and unsuffixed perfective, in that order, before turning to combinations with nonzero AN suffixes. The corresponding negations will also be given immediately after each positive type.

10.4.1.1 Past unsuffixed imperfective (positive and negative)

The **past unsuffixed imperfective** is rather common ('was working', 'used to work'). The verb form preceding the clitic generalizes the **-m̄** suffix that, in the simple inflected paradigm, expresses 3Sg/inanimate subject, to all subject categories except 3Pl. So we see **-m̄ = bè-** for example with 1Sg (280a), 1Pl (280b), and 3Sg subjects (280c). The past clitic is L-toned because it follows the L-toned suffix **-m̄**. Before the past clitic, I gloss **-m̄** simply as "Ipfv" in interlinears. In the 3Pl, the regular 3Pl imperfective suffix **-yè-** appears before the past clitic, so there is double marking of the 3Pl category (280d).

(280) Past unsuffixed imperfective

- a. *bíré* *bíré-m̄ = bè-ŷ*
work(n) work-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj
'I was working.'
- b. *bíré* *bíré-m̄ = bè-ŷ:* 'We were working.'
- c. *bíré* *bíré-m̄ = bè-Ø* 'He/She was working.'
- d. *bíré* *bíré-yè = b-à:* 'They were working.'

The morpheme sequence **-m̄ = b-à:** does not belong here; instead, it is a variant of **-mà = b-à:** (3Pl past perfect), §10.4.1.3.

A textual example of **-yè = b-à:** is (281).

- (281) *nàŋàná:* *ðŋgɔrɔ-úrò* *yě* *táŋgú-m̄,*
entirely husband^L-house come transfer.Ipfv-3SgSbj,
áŋayⁿ *káⁿ-yè = b-à:*
thus do.Ipfv-3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
'she (=bride) would definitively come and move to the husband's house. They used to do thus.' [2005.1a.14]

The **past imperfective negative** is based on the conjugated imperfective negative with suffix complex **-m̄-dó-**. This form of the suffix complex occurs in all subject categories except 3Pl. The latter adds the 3Pl form of the past clitic to the already 3Pl suffix complex **-m̄-n-é-**. Since **-m̄-dó-** and 3Pl **-m̄-n-é-** end in a H-tones, the past clitic takes its falling-tone form.

(282) Past imperfective negative

- a. *bíré* *bíré-ñ-dó=bé-ŷ*
work(n) work-Ipfv-Neg=Past-1SgSbj
'I was not working.'
- b. *bíré* *bíré-ñ-dó=bé-ŷ.:* 'We were not working.'
- c. *bíré* *bíré-ñ-dó=bê:-Ø* 'He/She was not working.'
- d. *bíré* *bíré-ñ-n-é=b-â:* 'They were not working.'

10.4.1.2 Past stative

In the past stative (chiefly for stance verbs: 'I am/was sitting/standing'), the verb form preceding the past clitic has the regular stative stem shape segmentally, but it is H-toned. The initial reduplication is optionally present. The stative stem is followed by suffix *-w-*, which has generalized from 3Sg stative *-w*, but here also has **H-tone**, so the past clitic has its falling-toned form. The 3PI has *-w-* before the past clitic, as do the other pronominal categories. The *-w-* suffix before the past clitic is glossed simply as "Stat[ive]" in interlinears. Since statives like 'be sitting' make no perfective/imperfective distinction, the past suffix is especially useful with these verbs. The examples in (283) use the stative form of *ew-yé-* 'sit'.

(283) Past stative

- a. *(i-?)éw-yé-w=bé-ŷ*
(Rdp-)sit-MP-Stat=Past-1SgSbj
'I was sitting.'
- b. *(i-?)éw-yé-w=bé-ŷ.:* 'We were sitting.'
- c. *(i-?)éw-yé-w=bê:-Ø* 'He/She was sitting.'
- d. *(i-?)éw-yé-w=b-â:* 'They were sitting.'

Negative counterparts add **stative negative** clitic *=rá-* before the past clitic. The stative negative clitic controls {L} overlay on the preceding stem. Thus *èw-yè-w=rá=bé-ŷ* 'I was not sitting'.

10.4.1.3 Past perfect

The third and last positive AN category with no audible AN suffix is the unsuffixed perfective. The (more or less) related form used with the past clitic is somewhat different formally, and the sense is past perfect ('had VP-ed'). It is used, for example, in counterfactual conditional clauses (§16.5), and I will refer to it as **past perfect** (instead of past perfective).

Before the past clitic, the verb takes the **bare stem** (including H-tones, which are suppressed in the regular inflected unsuffixed perfective). The verb, moreover, takes a full set of pronominal-subject suffixes, so the subject is marked both on the verb and on the past clitic. The suffixes for first and second person subject are L-toned, so the past clitic takes its

L-toned form. *Cጀ-* verbs like *yጀ-* ‘come’ that have /LH/ tones in some similar syllabic positions **have H-tone** (284).

(284) Past perfect (first/second person)

- a. *yጀ-ጀ = bጀ-ጀ*
come-2SgSbj=Past-2SgSbj
‘You-Sg had come.’
- b. *yጀ-ጀ.: = bጀ-ጀ.:*
come-1PlSbj=Past-1PlSbj
‘We had come.’
- c. *kú gò-ló-ጀ = bጀ-ጀ*
Inan.Sg go.out-Caus-1SgSbj=Past-1SgSbj
‘I had taken it out.’

In the past perfect, **special third person suffixes** are used in the verb preceding the clitic: 3Sg/inanimate *-ጀ-* (285a), and 3Pl *-mà-* or less often *-m-* (285b). The 3Pl suffix variant *-mà-* is identical in form to the plural perfective participial suffix *-mà*. In this light, one might connect the 3Sg *-ጀ-* suffix to the inanimate perfective participial suffix *-ጀ*, though it seems odd that a specifically inanimate morpheme would generalize to animate 3Sg. The 3Pl variant *-m-* could cause the uninitiated to misparse a 3Pl past perfect as a 3Pl past imperfective. Thus *ló-m = b-à:* ‘they had gone’ (text 2005.1a.08) was initially misconstrued by the fieldworker as ‘they were going’ by analogy to (non-3Pl) past imperfective forms like 3Sg *ló-m = b-ጀ-* ‘he/she was going’. However, the sense ‘they were going’ is actually expressed by *ló-yጀ = b-à:*

(285) Past perfect (third person)

- a. *yጀ-ጀ = bጀ-∅*
come-3SgSbj=Past-3SgSbj
‘He/She had come.’
- b. *yጀ-ጀ = b-à:*
come-3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
‘They had come.’

A version of the past perfect in relative-clause form with suffix *-ጀ* is recorded in a text: *yጀ-ጀ = bጀ-ጀ* ‘they (locusts) had come (many years earlier)’ [2005.1a.08].

The **past perfect negative** (‘had not VP-ed’) is built on the perfective negative with *-rí-*, which (as usual) controls {L} overlay on the preceding verb. The form in *-rí-* with no further suffix generalizes to all subject categories except 3Pl, which has its regular perfective negative form *-r-á* before the past clitic (286d).

(286) Past perfect negative

- a. *yè-rí=bé-ŷ*
come^L-PfvNeg=Past-1SgSbj
'I had not come.'
- b. *yè-rí=bé-ŵ* 'You-Sg had not come.'
- c. *yè-rí=bê:-∅* 'He/She had not come.'
- d. *yè-r-á=b-â:* 'They had not come.'

10.4.1.4 Past of perfective-1a

Though the combination is uncommon, an explicitly perfective-1a form with suffix *-rè-* is attested with the past clitic. In (287), the speaker first used this form, then restarted the clause and repeated the same verb without the past clitic, suggesting that he preferred the latter phrasing. My assistant did indicate that the combination with past clitic is grammatical, though not common.

- (287) [kú HL árⁿà-gùsù] [[pé-nùműyⁿ nùműyⁿ sâ:]
[DiscDef HL year] [[ten-five five plus]
dɔ:-rè=bè-∅ *gùyⁿ-bɔ*—,
arrive-Pfv1a=Past-3SgSbj] say.Pfv-3PlSbj—,
dɔ:-rè-∅ *gùyⁿ-bɔ*
arrive-Pfv1a say.Pfv-3PlSbj
'That year was the 55th year since they (=locusts) had (last) arrived, they said.'
[2005.1a.08]

10.4.1.5 Past progressive

The **past progressive** with suffix *-rà-* can be followed by the past clitic. In this combination, the form that generalizes throughout the paradigm has suffix *-ŵ-* (as in the past stative) added to the progressive suffix. In the 3Pl, I recorded a form with *-rà-ŵ-bɔ* before the clitic.

(288) Past progressive

- a. *bíré* *bíré:-rà-ŵ=bé-ŷ*
work(n) work-Prog-Stat=Past-1SgSbj
'I was working.'
- b. *bíré* *bíré:-rà-ŵ=bê:-∅*
'He/She was working.'
- c. *bíré* *bíré:-rà-ŵ-bɔ=b-â:*
'They were working.'

The **past progressive negative** adds stative negative *=rá-* before the past clitic (289).

(289) Past progressive negative

- a. *bíré* *bíré:-rà=rá=bé-ŷ*
work(n) work-Prog=StatNeg=Past-1SgSbj
'I was not working.'
- b. *bíré* *bíré:-rà=rá=bé:-Ø*
'He/She was not working.'
- c. *bíré* *bíré:-rà=rá=b-â:*
'They were not working.'

For *kâⁿ-wⁿ=bè* 'it happened' and its negation *kàn-í=bé:*, see §11.1.6.

10.4.1.6 Past of 'be' and 'have'

Defective stative quasi-verbs 'be (somewhere)' and 'have', and their negations, can combine with the past clitic. For 'was', the stem itself ends in an H-tone, with or without *yá*, and the 3Pl form is doubly conjugated.

(290) Paradigms of 'was' and 'was not'

category	'was'	'was not'
1Sg	<i>bú=bé-ŷ</i>	<i>ŋgó=bé-ŷ</i>
2Sg	<i>bú=bé-ŵ</i>	<i>ŋgó=bé-ŵ</i>
1Pl	<i>bú=bé-ŷ.:</i>	<i>ŋgó=bé-ŷ.:</i>
2Pl	<i>bú=bé-ŵ.:</i>	<i>ŋgó=bé-ŵ.:</i>
3Sg	<i>bú=bé:-Ø</i>	<i>ŋgó=bé:-Ø</i>
3Pl	<i>b-éⁿ=b-â:</i>	<i>ŋgó=b-â:</i>

bé- may also replace *bú-*, as in *yá bē:-Ø* 'there used to be ... (3Sg)' in text 2005.1b.01.

For 'have', the positive forms (except the doubly-conjugated 3Pl) are based on *só-ŵ-*, with stative *-ŵ-*.

(291) Paradigms of 'had' and 'did not have'

category	'had'	'did not have'
1Sg	<i>só-ŵ=bé-ŷ</i>	<i>sò-ló=bé-ŷ</i>
2Sg	<i>só-ŵ=bé-ŵ</i>	<i>sò-ló=bé-ŵ</i>
1Pl	<i>só-ŵ=bé-ŷ.:</i>	<i>sò-ló=bé-ŷ.:</i>
2Pl	<i>só-ŵ=bé-ŵ.:</i>	<i>sò-ló=bé-ŵ.:</i>

3Sg	<i>só-w=b̂e:-∅</i>	<i>sò-ló=b̂e:-∅</i>
3Pl	<i>s-é:n=b-â:</i>	<i>sè-né=b-â:</i>

The **resultative** verb form, with suffix *-só-*, is occasionally combined with past clitics, and has the same forms as for ‘have’.

- (292) *mòsú mà:ní-só-w=b̂e-w* *kálà*
 bad think-Reslt-Stat=Past-2SgSbj even
 ‘even if you-Sg were to think (something) evil’ [2005.1b.07]

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

‘Still’ is *àsú*→ (also ‘always’), optionally expandible as *àsú*→ *dàⁿ wôy*.

- (293) *[àsú→ dàⁿ wôy] sèllè-rí-∅* *má*
 [still all all] be.healthy-PfvNeg-3SgSbj Q
 ‘Is he/she still sick?’

‘Up to now, as of now’ can be expressed as *dôm kálà* or as *núwⁿòyⁿ kálà*, with *kálà* ‘even’.
 ‘(Not) yet’ is expressed with a negative predicate plus *dôm* ‘(up to) now’.

- (294) *dôm yè-rí-∅*
 up.to.now come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She hasn’t come yet.’

10.5 Imperatives and hortatives

10.5.1 Imperative and prohibitive

A representative paradigm of positive and negative imperatives is in (295), for the verb ‘come’ (*yé*). The (positive) imperative is based on the imperative stem (§10.5.2, below), which for this verb involves a shift in the final vowel to *a*. The prohibitive (=negative imperative) forms are based on a dedicated prohibitive suffix *-ré-*. In both cases, there is no further affixation for 2Sg addressee, while **2Pl addressee** is marked by a suffix *-ñ*.

- | form | gloss |
|----------------|------------------|
| <i>yá</i> | ‘come!-Sg’ |
| <i>yá-ñ</i> | ‘come!-Pl’ |
| <i>yé-ré</i> | ‘don’t come!-Sg’ |
| <i>yé-ré-ñ</i> | ‘come!-Sg’ |

Because basic reflexive-object pronouns (*á*, plural *â*) are limited to third person subjects, they cannot be used to test whether imperatives have a syntactically operative **covert second person subject**. In (296a), the object is 2Sg with no reflexive marking, compare (296b) with a disjoint subject. NPs with possessed *kû*: ‘head’ can occur in imperatives as in other types of

clause, but their status as anaphors is questionable (296c). Reciprocal objects are also allowed in plural-subject imperatives (296d). Optional **accusative marking** of objects, as in (296a), shows that these NPs have the same grammatical status as objects in ordinary clauses.

For some verbs the imperative stem has the same vocalism as the unsuffixed perfective, in which case the distinction between e.g. 2Sg imperative (296a) and 3Sg perfective (296e) is made only by tone overlay.

- (296) a. *ú=nì* *súy᷑*
 2Sg=Acc hit.Imprt
 'Hit-2Sg yourself!'
- b. *ú=nì* *sùy᷑-b᷑*
 2Sg=Acc hit.Pfv-3PlSbj
 'They hit-Past you-Sg.'
- c. *[ú* ^{HL}*kâ:]* *súy᷑*
 [2SgPoss ^{HL}head] hit.Imprt
 'Hit-2Sg yourself!'
- d. *t᷑:* *súy᷑-ñ*
 Recip hit,Imprt-Imprt.Pl
 'Hit-2Pl each other!'
- e. *ú=nì* *sùy᷑-Ø*
 2Sg=Acc hit.Pfv-3SgSbj
 'He/She hit-Past you-Sg.'

10.5.2 Imperative stem

The imperative stem, which is used without further modification as a singular-addressee positive imperative ('come!'), is not always identical to the simple bare stem used in chains and before indicative suffixes.

The **imperative stem and the bare stem are identical** for H-toned monosyllabics not ending in *e* (297a), for HH-toned bisyllabic *C᷑C᷑* stems (bimoraic, with light initial syllable) ending in {*a e o ò*}, i.e. not ending in a high vowel or in *e* (297b), and for *Cvyⁿ* stems (297c). As always, the stem-initial *C* position in these schemas may be vacant.

- (297) /H/ melody, prosodically light

gloss	bare stem	imperative
a. monosyllabic		
'go'	<i>l᷑</i>	<i>l᷑</i>
'spend night'	<i>n᷑á</i>	<i>n᷑á</i>
'give'	<i>n᷑í</i>	<i>n᷑í</i>
'enter'	<i>n᷑ú</i>	<i>n᷑ú</i> (homophonous with 'hear')

b.	light bisyllabic, final nonhigh vowel		
	'jump'	pétē	pétē
	'speak'	tégé	tégé
	'go down'	sí-yé	sí-yé
	'affix, paste'	tárá	tárá
	'choke'	póró	póró
c.	<i>Cayⁿ</i>		
	'do'	káy ⁿ	káy ⁿ
	'put'	gáy ⁿ	gáy ⁿ

Verb stems with other shapes undergo an audible tonal change to **final L-tone**, and/or a **mutation of the final vowel to a**. These changes are predictable from the phonological form of the simple bare stem.

/LH/-melody monosyllabic stems, and /LH/-melody bisyllabic stems with light first syllable, i.e. **CVCV**, have {H} **overlay** in the imperative. Because of this, all **Cv** and **CvCv** stems (regardless of lexical tone melody) have H-toned imperatives. Therefore the identity between bare stem and imperative for the lexically /H/-toned **Cv** and **CvCv** stems described above is accidental (resulting from a phonetically inaudible {H} tone overlay on an already /H/ toned verb). (298) shows audible {H} overlay on lexical /LH/ melodies.

(298) /LH/ melody, prosodically light

gloss	bare stem	imperative
a. monosyllabic		
'go/come out'	gő	gó
'drink'	nő	nó
b. CvCv , final nonhigh vowel		
'pull'	básá	básá
'stop up'	músó	músó
'sprinkle'	misé	misé
'kill'	jíyé	jíyá

Trimoraic bisyllabic stems, which have a heavy initial syllable, and all bisyllabic stems regardless of syllable weight that **end in a high vowel {i u}**, add a **stem-final L-tone formative** in the imperative. If the lexical melody is /H/, the result is an HL tone pattern (299a,c). If the lexical melody is /LH/, the result is an <LH>L pattern (299b,d). In the case of bimoraic lexical **CVCV** stems (299d), the <LH> portion of <LH>L is expressed chiefly on the first syllable even though this syllable is monomoraic. Phonetically, there can be some spillover of the H-tone element into the onset of the second syllable. A similar issue of phonetic realization was seen with 1Sg possessor forms of **CvCv** noun stems (§6.2.2).

(299)	gloss	bare stem	imperative
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a. prosodically heavy, /H/ melody, final nonhigh vowel

'screw in'	pí:ré	pí:rè
'sit'	éw-yé	éw-yè
'do well'	cé:lé	cé:lè

b. prosodically heavy, /LH/ melody

final high vowel

'think'	mà:ní	mǎ:nà
'rake up'	yàwrú	yǎwrà
'finish'	dùmdú, dùmdí	dǔmdà

final nonhigh vowel

'sneak up on'	yò:ró	yǒ:rò
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c. prosodically light (*CvCv*, *CvNCv*), /H/ melody, final high vowel

'look'	tíní	tínà
'hang up'	kílí-	kílā
'encounter'	témbí	témbà

d. prosodically light (*CvCv*, *CvNCv*), /LH/ melody, final high vowel

'put down'	dèyí	děyà
'chase away'	lärí	lěrà
'help'	bärí	běrà
'take'	àyí	ǎyà
'dig'	gànjí	gǎnjà

Stems of **three syllables** also shift the final tone to low. An /H/-melody verb shifts from H.H.H to H.H.L (300a). /LH/-melody trisyllabics shift from L.L.H in the bare stem to L.H.L in the imperative; the lexical H-tone element is preserved, but **displaced to the medial syllable** (300b).

(300) Trisyllabic

gloss	bare stem	imperative
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a. /H/ melody

'get up'	ínjírí	ínjírà
'cough'	kóglúsó	kóglúsò

b. /LH/ melody

'roll on ground'	dùlùró	dùlúrò
'roll over'	bìliré	bìlirè
'hide'	bàngírí	bàngárà
'go around'	gòngírí	gòngárà

In addition to the tonal changes, the imperative may change the final vowel to a, and if so this may affect the medial vowel (in trisyllabics).

If the stem ends in *e*, it shifts to *a*, even in *Ce* monosyllabics (301a). If it already ends in *a*, the imperative also has *a*, and it is moot whether a vowel mutation has occurred (301b). If it ends in {*e o ɔ*}, there is no mutation to *a* (301c). Monosyllabic *Ci* and *Cu* verbs also do not mutate (301d). Bi- and trisyllabic stems ending in a high vowel all shift it to *a* (301e-f). In the case of trisyllabics, the shift to final *a* induces the medial vowel, elsewhere a high vowel (due to weak metrical position), to harmonize with the initial vowel (301f).

(301) Vocalism of imperative stem

gloss	bare stem	imperative
a. final <i>e</i> → <i>a</i>		
<i>monosyllabic</i>		
‘come’	<i>yě-</i>	<i>yá</i>
‘take (hot coals)’	<i>jě-</i>	<i>já</i>
‘bring’	<i>jě:-</i>	<i>jā:</i>
<i>bisyllabic</i>		
‘hone’	<i>nérⁿé-</i>	<i>nérⁿá</i>
‘kill’	<i>jíyé-</i>	<i>jíyá</i>
‘swallow’	<i>mírⁿé-</i>	<i>mírⁿá</i>
b. stem already <i>a</i> -final		
‘tie’	<i>páyá</i>	<i>páyá</i>
‘bear (child)’	<i>nárⁿá</i>	<i>nárⁿá</i>
‘spend night’	<i>ná</i>	<i>ná</i>
c. no change in final { <i>e o ɔ</i> }		
<i>monosyllabic</i>		
‘drink’	<i>n᷑</i>	<i>n᷑</i>
‘catch’	<i>w᷑</i>	<i>w᷑</i>
<i>bisyllabic</i>		
‘take down’	<i>sí-lé-</i>	<i>sí-lè</i>
‘do well’	<i>cé:lé</i>	<i>cé:lè</i>
‘file’	<i>dí:sé-</i>	<i>dí:sè</i>
‘eat (meat)’	<i>kúwó</i>	<i>kúwó</i>
‘hit’	<i>súy᷑</i>	<i>súy᷑</i>
d. no change in final high vowel in monosyllabics with high vowel		
‘see’	<i>yí-</i>	<i>yí</i>
‘hear’	<i>nǔ-</i>	<i>nú</i> (homophonous with ‘enter’)
e. final high vowel → <i>à</i> , bisyllabics		
‘fill’	<i>bà:lí-</i>	<i>bă:là</i>
‘push’	<i>dàmbí-</i>	<i>dămbà</i>
‘tamp down’	<i>dēŋgí-</i>	<i>dēŋgà</i>
‘clean off’	<i>ká:sí-</i>	<i>kă:sâ</i>
‘caress’	<i>pú:rú-</i>	<i>pú:rà</i>

‘scare’	<i>ú:rú-</i>	<i>ú:rà</i>
‘pinch’	<i>émbí-</i>	<i>émbà</i>
‘push down on’	<i>lésí-</i>	<i>lésà</i>
‘put up on’	<i>náy"í-</i>	<i>náy"à</i>

f. trisyllabics with medial high vowel

all vowels high

‘twist’	<i>únjúwú-</i>	<i>únjúwà</i>
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final high vowel, initial nonhigh vowel, medial vowel changes

‘hide’	<i>bàŋgírí-</i>	<i>bàŋgárà</i>
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‘go around’	<i>gòŋgùrú-</i>	<i>gòŋgósà</i>
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10.5.3 Irregular imperative stems

All verbs including ‘come’, ‘go’, and ‘take’ have regular imperative stems.

Certain greetings are imperative-like in form, and have a plural-addressee form ending in *-ní* that resembles imperative plural suffix *-ñà*, but these greetings are somewhat irregular and difficult to parse; see §19.5.

10.5.4 Imperative plural (positive) *-ñà* (*-ní*)

The (positive) plural-addressee imperative is expressed by adding *-ní* ~ *-ñà* to the imperative stem. An imperative of the tonal type *bárà* ‘help!’ simplifies to plural-addressee *bárá-ñà*, which to my ear is homophonous to the corresponding form of *bárá* ‘gather!’ (302b).

(302)	gloss	bare stem	Imprt Sg	Imprt Pl
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a. various shapes

‘go’	<i>ló</i>	<i>ló</i>	<i>ló-ñà</i>
‘come’	<i>yé</i>	<i>y-á</i>	<i>yá-ñà</i>
‘twist’	<i>únjúwú-</i>	<i>únjúw-à</i>	<i>únjúwà-ñà</i>
‘tie’	<i>páyá</i>	<i>páyá</i>	<i>páyá-ñà</i>
‘hide’	<i>bàŋgírí</i>	<i>bàŋgár-à</i>	<i>bàŋgár-à-ñà</i>
‘think’	<i>má:ní</i>	<i>má:n-à</i>	<i>má:n-à-ñà</i>
‘finish’	<i>dúmdú</i> ~ <i>dúmdí</i>	<i>dúmd-à</i>	<i>dúmd-à-ñà</i>
‘put down’	<i>déyí</i>	<i>déy-â</i>	<i>déy-á-ñà</i>

b. distinct bare stems, homophonous imperatives

‘gather’	<i>bárá</i>	<i>bárá</i>	<i>bárá-ñà</i>
‘help’	<i>bárí</i>	<i>bárà</i>	<i>bárá-ñà</i>

10.5.5 Prohibitive *-ré* ~ *-lé*, plural *-ré-ñà* ~ *-ré-ní* ~ *-lé-ñà* ~ *-lé-ní*

The prohibitive stem includes a suffix *-ré*, which has no phonological interactions with the stem. It is compatible with any stem-vocalism (i.e. its vowel does not harmonize to stem-

vowels *e* or *o*). The rhotic is not subject to Nasalization-Spreading under the influence of a nasal in the stem. The verb occurs in the bare stem, with its lexical tone melody.

(303)	gloss	bare stem	prohibitive
	'go'	<i>ló</i>	<i>ló-ré</i>
	'go in'	<i>nú</i>	<i>nú-ré</i>
	'come'	<i>yě</i>	<i>yě-ré</i>
	'hear'	<i>nǔ</i>	<i>nǔ-ré</i>
	'drink'	<i>nǒ</i>	<i>nǒ-ré</i>
	'take out'	<i>gò-ló</i>	<i>gò-ló-ré</i>
	'do well'	<i>cé:lé</i>	<i>cé:lé-ré</i>
	'hit'	<i>súyó</i>	<i>súyó-ré</i>
	'swallow'	<i>mír"é</i>	<i>mír"é-ré</i>
	'hide'	<i>bàngirí</i>	<i>bàngirí-ré</i>
	'pinch'	<i>émbí-</i>	<i>émbí-ré</i>
	'get up'	<i>ínjírí</i>	<i>ínjírí-ré</i>
	'twist'	<i>únjúwú</i>	<i>únjúwú-ré</i>

The three *Cvyⁿ* stems have prohibitives with *-lé*, whose *l* replaces the *yⁿ* of the stem, leaving no trace of nasalization. Thus *gáyⁿ* 'put', prohibitive *gá-lé* 'don't put!'. Likewise *ká-lé* 'don't do!', *gù-lé* 'don't say!'.

The prohibitive stem is used without further modification as the singular-addressee prohibitive ('don't-Sg ...!'). For **plural addressee**, the suffix *-n̄ ~ -ní* is added, as for the (positive) imperative. Thus *nú-ré* 'don't-Sg go in!', *nú-ré-n̄* 'don't-Pl go in!'

10.5.6 Hortatives (-m̄, Pl -mâyⁿ) and their negation (-rè-m̄ ~ -lè-m̄)

For a singular addressee, the **hortative** suffix is *-m̄* following the bare stem in {L}-toned form. Prototypically, the speaker encourages the addressee(s) to join the speaker in carrying out some action.

- (304) a. *lò-m̄*
go-Hort
'Let's-2 go!'
- b. *něyⁿ* *nè-m̄*
meal eat-Hort
'Let's-2 eat (the meal)!'
- c. *èw-yè-m̄*
sit-MP-Hort
'Let's-2 sit down!'

Further examples of the simple hortative are in (305). Stems ending in a short high vowel pronounce it as *u* before *-m̄*, and if there are no other *i* vowels or palatal consonants the

rounded pronunciation spreads leftward to a noninitial medial syllable, as in ‘hide’. The *Cvyⁿ* stems (‘say’, ‘put’, ‘do’) lose the final semivowel.

(305)	gloss	bare stem	hortative
a. final nonhigh vowel			
‘hit’	<i>súyɔ̄</i>		<i>sùyɔ̄-m̄</i>
b. final high vowel			
‘hide’	<i>bàŋgìrí</i>		<i>bàŋgùrù-m̄</i>
‘go back’	<i>píníwⁿí</i>		<i>píníwⁿù-m̄</i>
‘pinch’	<i>émbí-</i>		<i>èmbù-m̄</i>
c. <i>Cvyⁿ</i>			
‘say’	<i>gúyⁿ</i>		<i>gùⁿ-m̄</i>
‘put’	<i>gáyⁿ</i>		<i>gàⁿ-m̄</i>
‘do’	<i>káyⁿ</i>		<i>kàⁿ-m̄</i>

The suffix *-mâyⁿ* is added to a verb stem with {L} tone overlay to produce a **3+-plural** hortative, normally used when the speaker is addressing two or more persons, so the implied subject is first person plural (minimally three referents).

(306) a.	<i>lò-mâyⁿ</i>		
	go-Hort.Pl		
	‘Let’s-3+ go!’		
b.	<i>jněyⁿ</i>	<i>jnè-mâyⁿ</i>	
	meal	eat-Hort.Pl	
	‘Let’s-3+ eat (the meal)!’		
c.	<i>èw-yè-mâyⁿ</i>		
	sit-MP-Hort.Pl		
	‘Let’s-3+ sit down!’		

A **hortative negative** is formed by adding *-rè-m̄* or (plural) *-rè-mâyⁿ* to the stem (which has its regular tones). The negative element *-rè-* has some similarity to perfective negative *-rí-*, but *-rè-* does not force tone-dropping on the verb stem, and its *r* is not subject to Nasalization-Spreading triggered by a nasal in the stem. It is therefore to be directly connected to prohibitive *-ré-*.

(307) a.	<i>ló-rè-m̄</i>		
	go-Neg-Hort		
	‘Let’s-2 not go!’		
b.	<i>jněyⁿ</i>	<i>jné-rè-m̄</i>	
	meal	eat-Neg-Hort	
	‘Let’s-2 not eat (the meal)!’		

- c. *éw-yé-rè-mí*
sit-MP-Neg-Hort
'Let's-2 not sit down!'
- d. *Ió-rè-mâyⁿ*
go-Neg-Hort.Pl
'Let's-3+ not go!'

For *nú-* 'enter' and *nǔ-* 'hear', I recorded *nú-rè-mí* 'let's-2 not go in!' and *nǔ-rè-mí* 'let's-2 not hear!'.

The *r* of *-rè-mí* combines with the final nasal of *Cvyⁿ*- verb stems as *I*. Thus *káyⁿ*- 'do, make' has *ká-lè-mí* 'let's not do!', *gáyⁿ*- 'put' has *gá-lè-mí* 'let's not put!'.

As mentioned before, the prototypical context for a hortative is that the speaker proposes to the addressee(s) that they jointly perform an action. There are textual examples with hortative *-mí* in a clause proposing an action by a **third party**. For example, near the end of B's turn in (685) in the sample text we see *érⁿé jíyé jùwⁿò-mí* 'let him (=the linguist) kill (=turn off the recorder)'.

The hortative form in *-mí* can also be used as a **1Sg hortative**, where the speaker exhorts the addressee(s) to allow the speaker to do something. This requires an explicit 1Sg pronoun *í* preceding the verb, and the examples I have of this also involve a syntactic frame including either imperative *dùwó* 'leave (=let, allow)' or a special invariant form *jé:* (cf. verb *jé:* 'bring') with similar sense, as in (308a). The corresponding plural-subject form has 1Pl pronoun *î* and hortative plural *-mâyⁿ*, which in this context may denote any number of persons from two up.

- (308) a. *í:yà, jé: í àyì-mí*
stand.Imprt, let! 1SgSbj take-Hort.1Sg
'Stand-2Sg (=wait), let me take (=get) it!'
- b. *í:yà-ñ, jé: î ày-mâyⁿ*
stand.Imprt-Imprt.Pl, let! 1SgSbj
'Stand-2Pl (=wait), let us (instead of you-Pl) take (=get) it!'

A quoted form of a clause like (308), with logophoric *á* instead of 1Sg *í*, is attested in a text (2005.2a.07).

In (309), the 1Sg hortative construction is used to make an offer to help.

- (309) *[í kálà] [yâ: ùllà^L í nǔ-w]*
[1Sg too] [there a.little^L 1SgSbj hear.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]
[[ùllá sây] yâ: bárù-mí
[[a.little only] there help-Hort
'I too, what little I have heard there (=about that), let me add (=help) just a little there.' [2005.2b.04]

See also §17.1.3.2, below, on explicitly embedded hortative clauses.

10.5.7 Quoted imperative (-y ~ -ŷ) and its negation (-r̥e-y)

A third-person subject form here labeled **QuotImprt** (in earlier drafts: third-person hortative) occurs in imprecations and wishes of the type ‘may/let (e.g. God) him/her/them VP’, expressing a wish or imprecation. In this function it may be conjugated for 3PI subject. The QuotImprt form is also used in quoted commands (jussives), which use the quotative-subject construction instead of conjugating the verb (§17.1.3.1).

The QuotImprt suffix is *-y*, added directly to the stem. It is subject to Nasalization-Spreading. There is no distinct plural-subject form, except in imprecations (which lack the quotative-subject construction).

For **Cv-** monosyllabic stems, the lexical tone melody is preserved (310a-b), so the suffix is H-toned *-y* (or nasalized *-yⁿ*). ‘Bring’ keeps its lexical <LHL> tones, and the whole word comes out as <LHL> rather than <LHLH> (310c). The three **Cvyⁿ** verbs have QuotImprt forms homophonous to the bare stems (310d).

(310) Monosyllabic

gloss	bare stem	QuotImprt
a. /H/ melody		
‘go’	<i>ló</i>	<i>ló-y</i>
‘eat’	<i>né</i>	<i>né-yⁿ</i>
‘give’	<i>ní</i>	<i>ní-yⁿ</i>
‘go in’	<i>nú</i>	<i>nú-yⁿ</i>
‘sow’	<i>tó</i>	<i>tó-y</i>
‘spend night’	<i>ná</i>	<i>ná-yⁿ</i>
‘reply’	<i>sá</i>	<i>sá-y</i>
‘shoot’	<i>tá</i>	<i>tá-y</i>
‘(woman) marry (man)’	<i>é</i>	<i>é-y</i>
‘choose, reserve’	<i>lá</i>	<i>lá-y</i>
b. /LH/ melody		
‘come’	<i>yɛ</i>	<i>yè-y</i>
‘drink’	<i>nɔ</i>	<i>nò-yⁿ</i>
‘see’	<i>yǐ</i>	<i>yì-y</i>
‘go out’	<i>gɔ</i>	<i>gò-y</i>
‘catch’	<i>wɔ</i>	<i>wò-y</i>
‘arrive’	<i>dɔ</i>	<i>dò-y</i>
‘hear’	<i>nǔ</i>	<i>nù-yⁿ</i>
‘learn’	<i>bă</i>	<i>bà-y</i>
‘(food) sate (sb)’	<i>bă</i>	<i>bà-y</i>
‘shape (pottery)’	<i>mă</i>	<i>mà-yⁿ</i>
c. /LHL/ melody (only example)		
‘bring’	<i>jɛ:</i>	<i>jɛ:-y</i>

d. *Cvyⁿ*(segmentation of QuotImprt ambiguous)

/LH/ melody

'put'	<i>găyⁿ</i>	<i>găyⁿ-Ø</i> (or: <i>găⁿ-yⁿ</i>)
'say'	<i>gŭyⁿ</i>	<i>gŭyⁿ-Ø</i> (or: <i>gùⁿ-yⁿ</i>)

/H/ melody

'do, make'	<i>káyⁿ</i>	<i>káyⁿ-Ø</i> (or: <i>káⁿ-yⁿ</i>)
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Bi- and trisyllabic verbs ending in a non-high vowel are illustrated in (311). When the lexical melody is /H/, the QuotImprt remains H-toned if bimoraic (311a), but HL-toned with the low on the final syllable prosodically heavy (311b). Frozen causatives *gò-ló-* ‘take out’ (cf. *gō-* ‘go out’) and *sí-lé-* ‘take/bring down’ (cf. *sí-yé-* ‘go/come down’), along with another verb of conveyance *jò-ló-* ‘convey, take (somewhere)’, are treated for this purpose as prosodically heavy (311c). For bisyllabic stems (*CvCv*, *CvCCv*) with /LH/ melody, the QuotImprt has an L-toned stem followed by an H-toned suffix *-y* (311d). Trisyllabic stems with /LH/ melody have bell-shaped L.H.L tone in the QuotImprt (311e).

(311) Nonmonosyllabic stems with final non-high vowel

gloss	bare stem	QuotImprt
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a. /H/ melody, *CvCv* (light)

'cut'	<i>césé</i>	<i>césé-y</i>
'hit'	<i>súyó</i>	<i>súyó-y</i>
'tie'	<i>páyá</i>	<i>páyá-y</i>
'go down'	<i>sí-yé</i>	<i>sí-yé-y</i>

b. /H/ melody, heavy

'do well'	<i>cé:lé</i>	<i>cé:lè-y</i>
'sit'	<i>éw-yé</i>	<i>éw-yè-y</i>
'destroy'	<i>hálké</i>	<i>hálkè-y</i>
'cough'	<i>kógúsó</i>	<i>kógúsò-y</i>

c. *CvCv-*, frozen causatives (all relevant examples)

/H/ melody

'take down'	<i>sí-lé</i>	<i>sí-lè-y</i>
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/LH/ melody

'take out'	<i>gò-ló</i>	<i>gó-lò-y</i>
'convey'	<i>jò-ló</i>	<i>jó-lò-y</i>

d. /LH/ melody, *CvCv-* and *Cv(N)Cv-* (light)

CvCv

'leave'	<i>dùwó</i>	<i>dùwò-y</i>
'work'	<i>biré</i>	<i>birè-y</i>
'go up'	<i>ùró</i>	<i>ùrò-y</i>

CvNCv

'roll turban'	<i>dòmbó</i>	<i>dòmbò-y</i>
'stutter'	<i>bèmbé</i>	<i>bèmbè-y</i>

e. /LH/ melody, heavy		
‘poke’	<i>dùsúró</i>	<i>dùsúró-ŷ</i>

Bi- and trisyllabic stems ending in a high vowel are in (312). The bisyllabic ones, whether lexically /H/ (312a) or /LH/ (312b), have an HL-toned QuotImprt. In the trisyllabic cases, the first syllable preserves the initial tone of the lexical melody, so we get H.H.L for /H/ trisyllabics (312c) and L.H.L for /LH/ trisyllabics (312d).

(312) Nonmonosyllabic stems with final high vowel

gloss	bare stem	QuotImprt
a. /H/ melody, bisyllabic		
‘ignite’	<i>tálí</i>	<i>tálí-ŷ</i>
‘look’	<i>tíní</i>	<i>tíní-ŷ</i>
‘encounter’	<i>témbí</i>	<i>témbí-ŷ</i>
‘begin’	<i>túmdí</i>	<i>túmdí-ŷ</i>
‘split nut’	<i>káwrú</i>	<i>káwrí-ŷ</i>
b. /LH/ melody, bisyllabic		
‘help’	<i>bári</i>	<i>bári-ŷ</i>
‘cover’	<i>déwí</i>	<i>déwí-ŷ</i>
‘receive’	<i>áwú</i>	<i>áwí-ŷ</i>
‘hold’	<i>wáyí</i>	<i>wáyí-ŷ</i>
‘dig’	<i>gánjí</i>	<i>gánjí-ŷ</i>
‘finish’	<i>dúmdú, dùmdí</i>	<i>dúmdí-ŷ</i>
‘encounter’	<i>dá:yí</i>	<i>dá:yí-ŷ</i>
c. /H/ melody, trisyllabic		
‘go back’	<i>píníwⁿi</i>	<i>píníwⁿi-ŷ</i>
d. /LH/ melody, trisyllabic		
‘hide [tr]’	<i>bàngí-rí-</i>	<i>bàngí-rí-ŷ</i>
‘hide [intr]’	<i>bàngí-yí-</i>	<i>bàngí-yí-ŷ</i>

Examples of the QuotImprt are in (313). For the syntax of jussives and further examples, see §17.1.3.1. Some greeting formulae may contain quoted imperatives (§19.5).

(313)	a.	<i>jínjè</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>hálkè-ŷ</i>
		God	2SgObj	destroy-QuotImprt
		‘May God destroy you-Sg!’ (<i>hálké-</i>)		
	b.	<i>jínjè</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>dùwò-ŷ</i>
		God	2SgObj	leave-QuotImprt
		‘May God leave you-Sg (in peace)!’ (<i>dùwò-</i>)		

- c. *S ló-ý*
 S go-QuotImprt
 ‘May S (person’s name) go!’ (*ló-*)

-ý undergoes **monophthongization** with a preceding *i*, resulting in a phonetic long [i:] with the appropriate tone. Thus, the QuotImprt forms in (314a-b) are pronounced [ní:] and [bári:], respectively.

- (314) a. *jínjè jâm [ú mâ:] ní-ý*
 God peace [2Sg Dat] give-**QuotImprt**
 ‘May God give you-Sg peace (and well-being)!’ (*ní-*)
- b. *jínjè ú bári-ý*
 God 2SgObj help-**QuotImprt**
 ‘May God help you-Sg!’ (*bári-*)

In such imprecations, which lack the quotative-subject construction, the 3Pl-subject QuotImprt (positive) adds *-bó* (i.e. the 3Pl subject allomorph used with the unsuffixed perfective and a few other inflected verb forms) to the QuotImprt suffix: *gó-ý-bó* ‘may they go out!’, *gánjì-y-bó* ‘may they dig!’, *páyá-ý-bó* ‘may they tie!’.

The **QuotImprt negative** is expressed by *-ré-ý* added to the regular bare stem of the stem: *gó-ré-ý* ‘may he/she not go out!’, *gánjí-ré-ý* ‘may he/she not dig!’. Without further suffixation this functions as the 3Sg-subject QuotImprt.

The 3Pl-subject QuotImprt negative adds *-bó* to the QuotImprt negative suffix complex in imprecations: *gó-ré-ý-bó* ‘may they not go out!’, *gánjí-ré-ý-bó* ‘may they not dig!’

10.5.8 Quoted imperative form with 1Sg subject reference

To verify that an interlocutor or a third party wants the speaker to perform an action, the speaker may use a phrase like those in (315), essentially an implied indirect quotation based on an imperative. Local French equivalents have clause-initial *de* plus infinitive (*d’acheter du lait?*, etc.). An overt independent pronoun can be added if necessary (315g).

- (315) a. *éwⁿèy éwé-ý má*
 milk buy.Ipfv-QuotImprt Q
 ‘(Did you/they ask/tell/want) me to buy some milk?’ (*éwé-*)
- b. *yâ: dûyó-ý má*
 millet pound-QuotImprt Q
 ‘(Did you/they ask/tell/want) me to pound the millet (ears)?’ (*dûyó-*)
- c. *gó-ý má*
 go.out-QuotImprt Q
 ‘(Did you/they ask/tell/want) me to go out?’ (*gó-*)

- d. *bári-ŷ* *mà*
 help-QuotImprt Q
 '(Did you/they ask/tell/want) me to help?' (*bári-*)
- e. *sátálâ* *jě:-ŷ* *mà*
 kettle bring.Ipfv-1SgSbj Q
 '(Did you/they ask/tell/want) me to bring the kettle?' (*jě:-*)
- f. *yè-ŷ* *má*
 come.Ipfv Q
 '(Did you/they ask/tell/want) me to come?' (*yé-*)
- g. *î:* *gò-ŷ* *má*
 1Pl go.out-QuotImprt Q
 '(Did you/they ask/tell) us to go out?

Here *ma* is the standard morpheme for polar interrogatives. Since the 1Sg subject suffix is *-y* (atonal), one is initially inclined to assume that this suffix is present in the verbs of (316). However, inspection of the forms (especially the tones) shows that the verb here is in the **QuotImprt** form (see preceding section). All of the examples in (315) can also be read as true jussive sentences: '(Did you/they ask/tell) him/her to go out?' and so forth.

In most cases, the question format and the conversational context make it clear that the subject is 1Sg. It is possible, however, to add an explicit independent pronoun to clarify the pronominal category of the subject. This can be done, for example, to specify 1Pl (exclusive) instead of 1Sg subject.

10.5.9 Quoted hortative

Quoted hortatives are based on the regular hortative forms *-m̩* and *-mâyⁿ* (§10.5.6). The two forms can be neutralized in quotations as the simpler form *-m̩* (316).

- (316) *[[î: sôy] lõ-m]* *gìyⁿ-b᷑*
 [[1Pl all] go-Hort] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 'They said, let's all go!'

11 VP and predicate structure

11.1 Regular verbs and VP structure

11.1.1 Verb types (valency)

Verbs are intransitive (no direct object) or transitive. The distinction in transitivity is less important than in e.g. English since some verbs occur with a **cognate nominal** as a kind of pro-forma object.

ní ‘give’ takes a dative NP denoting the recipient, and a direct object denoting the entity transferred (317).

- (317) a. *pèrɛ-m* *mă:* *ní-tî:-∅*
sheep-AnSg 1Sg.Dat give-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He/She gave me a sheep.’
- b. *[sĕydù* ^L*mă:]* *pèrɛ-m* *ní-tî:-∅*
[S ^LDat] sheep-AnSg give-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He/She gave a sheep to Seydou.’
- c. *mă:* *ní-tî:-∅*
1Sg.Dat give-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He/She gave (it) to me.’

cé:ri- ‘show’, however, takes two direct objects.

- (318) a. *pèrɛ-m* *í* *cé:ri-tî:-∅*
sheep-AnSg 1SgObj show-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He/She showed me a sheep.’
- b. *í* *cé:ri-tî:-∅*
1SgObj show-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He/She showed (it) to me.’

Basic directional motion verbs *gō-* ‘go out; leave, depart from’, *yě-* ‘come’, and *ló-* ‘go’ may take simple NPs (not explicitly marked by postpositions as locative) as apparent direct objects. However, one could argue for a covert locative postposition in such cases.

- (319) a. *[bê:n* *gò=ní]* *[dúwánsán* *yè-∅]*
[B leave=and.SS] [D come.Pfv-3SgSbj]
‘He/She left Beni and came to Douentza.’
(= ‘He/She came from Beni to Douentza.’)

- b. *isē:* *lò-* \emptyset
 village go.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She went to a/the village.’

‘Say’ (*gǔyⁿ*~*gǐ.*ⁿ) takes a dative complement denoting the person addressed.

- (320) [kɔ:ⁿ_L] kâ:ⁿ] mā: g̃i-ní- \emptyset
 [thing^L] any] 1Sg.Dat say-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She didn’t say anything to me.’

11.1.2 Valency of causatives

Most causatives are simple transitive verbs derived from intransitive inputs. However, it is also possible to make causatives from already transitive input verbs. In this case, there are two direct objects, one of which represents the logical subject (agent) of the embedded clause.

- (321) a. *ðsɔ̄rɔ̄*^L-*nìngú* í *nè:-wⁿi-* \emptyset
 baobab^L-sauce 1SgObj eat-Caus.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She fed (= caused me to eat) millet cakes (with baobab sauce).’
- b. *pèr̄e-m* í *sèwⁿè-wⁿi-* \emptyset
 sheep-AnSg 1SgObj slaughter-Caus.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She had me slaughter the sheep-Sg.’

11.1.3 Verb Phrase

The concept of verb phrase (VP), excluding the subject but including direct objects and other arguments, is most useful in the context of the chaining of a VP to another VP (or to a verb), with subjects held constant. See chapter 15.

11.1.4 Fixed subject-verb combinations

In the following phrases, the subject precedes the verb stem. The most obvious examples are those involving weather and celestial bodies, along with emotions; a few examples are in (322).

- | | subject | verb | gloss | comment |
|----|------------------------------|-------------|---|---------|
| a. | <i>ùsú túmbó-</i> | ‘sun rise’ | <i>túmbó-</i> also ‘emasculate by crushing (testicles)’
and ‘hammer with the butt of one’s hand’ | |
| | <i>ùsú yàyá-</i> | ‘sun set’ | <i>yàyá-</i> ‘fall’ | |
| b. | <i>bòlú mìrⁿé</i> | ‘rain fall’ | <i>mìrⁿé-</i> ‘(water) submerge (sb)’, also ‘frustrate (sb) by being stingy’, ‘swallow’ | |

- c. *yār gō-* ‘cloudy weather go out (= end)’ (circa October)
yār dō- ‘cloudy weather approach’ (circa May-June)
[~ *yāru*]
- d. *X cēlē bārⁿá-* ‘X get angry’ (‘X liver get.angry’)

In (322a), the other senses of verb *túmbó-* listed under “comments” might give rise to rather violent, Goya-esque celestial imagery. Jamsay *tímō-* and Nanga *túmbó-* have similar semantic ranges. However, Bankan Tey *ùsú túmbó* ‘sun rise’ is unrelated to *túwó* ‘hammer with ...’, suggesting that the two senses of BenT *túmbó-* may reflect accidental homophony. Najamba *túmbí-* means ‘(sun) rise’ and also e.g. ‘(tree) grow leaves’, suggesting a more benign cosmic image.

The ‘X get angry’ construction may well have originated as ‘[X’s liver] become.red’, where *cēlē* (or *kēlē*) ‘liver (plus heart)’ is the seat of the emotions, and the ‘get angry’ verb originally meant ‘become red; become fiery’. However, X (not X’s liver) is now the syntactic subject. In (323a), the HL tones of *cēlē* are incorrect for a noun possessed by *bō:* ‘my father’ (which ends in an L-tone), cf. *bō:*^L *cēlē* ‘my father’s liver’ with {L}-toned ‘liver’. In (323b), *cēlē* is separated from the subject by an intervening constituent. The same-subject (SS) subordinator in the first clause in (323c) confirms that ‘my father’ and not ‘liver’ is subject of the second clause.

- (323) a. *bō:*^{L+HL} *cēlē* *bārⁿá:-rè-*Ø
1SgPoss-HL-father liver be.angry-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘My father got angry.’
- b. *bō:*^{L+HL} *jāyⁿ* *cēlē* *bārⁿá:-rè-*Ø
1Sg-with liver be.angry-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘My father got angry at me.’
- c. *[ŋgú* *yǐ=ní* *cēlē* *bārⁿá:-rè-*Ø
[Prox.Inan see=and.SS] liver be.angry-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He saw this and got angry.’

Similar constructions where a body-part or other noun functions as a pseudo-subject (really a kind of adverb) are *X pārⁿá gō-* ‘X show(s) off’, *X cīn-dúrū gō-* ‘X have a bloody nose (nosebleed)’, and *X mō:-nī: gō-* ‘X slobber’. Although the blood and the saliva are what ‘go out’ (*gō-*), the syntactic subject in each case is X, an NP that is not a possessor (there is no possessor-controlled tone overlay on the pseudo-subject).

11.1.5 Idiomatic and cognate objects

Some examples of fixed combinations of object noun and verb are in (324). Many more can be found in the lexicon.

- (324) a. with *gāyⁿ* ‘put’
sé:njè: gāyⁿ ‘tell a story (tale)’
álbátárà gāyⁿ ‘tell a riddle’

<i>gá:jè găyⁿ</i>	‘tell (crack) a joke’
<i>só:rú găyⁿ</i>	‘slip a stone (under)’; ‘sheathe (knife)’
<i>hácclè găyⁿ</i>	‘pay attention to’
<i>kó:rⁿò găyⁿ</i>	‘(e.g. lion) let out a roar’
<i>gùrò-gàdăy găyⁿ</i>	‘tie hobbles on (quadruped)’
<i>tôròmbá:sù găyⁿ</i>	‘tie a slipknot’

b. with *káyⁿ* ‘do, make’ (complement may be nominal or adverbial)

<i>cé:rè káyⁿ</i>	‘be amazing (to sb)’
<i>dáwru káyⁿ</i>	‘take actions’
<i>kútibá káyⁿ</i>	‘(imam) read fixed part of sermon’
<i>tábsî:r káyⁿ</i>	‘give unofficial sermon’
<i>sírdì káyⁿ</i>	‘do magic tricks’

c. others (among many)

<i>wóngóró wàrá-</i>	‘do (manual) farm work (in field)’
<i>něyⁿ bìré-</i>	‘cook a meal’

11.1.5.1 Formal relationships between cognate nominal and verb

A representative set of pairs of verb and cognate nominal are given in (325). It is somewhat difficult to sort them into groups, since both the noun and the verb are of variable shape. Since verb shapes are tightly constrained, the bias in organizing the data is toward the shape of nouns. In general, the order proceeds from cases where the noun may derive from a specific suffixal pattern, most likely deverbal (325a-h), to cases where the noun seems autonomous and the verb may be secondary (325i-p). Fulfulde borrowings bring up the rear.

(325) noun verb gloss of combination

a. noun in form of verbal noun (§4.2.2)

<i>sérⁿ-î:</i>	<i>sérⁿé-</i>	‘(woman) emit cry of joy’
<i>tɔŋg-î:</i>	<i>tɔŋgú-</i>	‘write, do some writing’
<i>těy</i>	<i>tégé-</i>	‘speak’
<i>tárî:</i>	<i>tárá-</i>	‘lay egg’

c. *Cvy* noun, *CV-* verb (cf. §4.2.3)

with ATR shift

<i>tɔy</i>	<i>tɔ-</i>	‘sow (seeds); sow the seedstock’
------------	------------	----------------------------------

d. bisyllabic noun with final falling-tone vowel

<i>lémđé:</i>	<i>lémdé-</i>	‘request, beg’
<i>sé:njé:</i>	<i>sé:njí-</i>	‘do the second round of weeding’
<i>pàrâ:</i>	<i>páří-</i>	‘cook <i>pàrâ:</i> (a dish with cow-peas)’

e. bisyllabic, noun ends in *vy* diphthong not present in verb (cf. §4.2.3)

final *y* in noun only

<i>jímbăy</i>	<i>jímbí-</i>	‘double up, have two’
---------------	---------------	-----------------------

<i>kòsʃy</i>	<i>kósú-</i>	‘harvest (with knife), do the harvest’
<i>final y in noun corresponds to yv in verb</i>		
<i>mòngdøy</i>	<i>mònggùyó-</i>	‘(insects) be one on top of the other’

f. noun ends in long *í:* (cf. §4.2.3)

<i>úsúrí:</i>	<i>úsúrú-</i>	‘ask a question’
<i>jéwí:</i>	<i>jèwé-</i>	‘curse, utter a curse’
<i>góŋgírí:</i>	<i>góŋgùrú-</i>	‘make a circuit (trip)’
<i>tíwⁿrⁿÍ:</i>	<i>tíwⁿrⁿú-</i>	‘formally counsel’

g. /LH/-toned bisyllabic noun ending in *u* (possible old VblN)

<i>kòrú</i>	<i>kóró-</i>	‘lie, tell a lie’
<i>tírⁿú</i>	<i>tírⁿé-</i>	‘go search for firewood’

h. /HL/-toned bisyllabic noun ending in *u* not present in verb

<i>pérù</i>	<i>péré-</i>	‘clap, applaud’
<i>sálù</i>	<i>sálá-</i>	‘pray, perform the Muslim prayer’
<i>dúrù</i>	<i>dùró-</i>	‘let out a groan’
<i>mánù</i>	<i>màní-</i>	‘laugh, let out a laugh’
<i>bémبù</i>	<i>bèmbé-</i>	‘stutter’
<i>dóm^b, dóm</i>	<i>dòmbó-</i>	‘roll turban (on head)’

with ATR shift

<i>yógù</i>	<i>yògó-</i>	‘run’
<i>jóngù</i>	<i>jòŋgí-</i>	‘treat (medically), provide care to’

i. *CV*: noun, *CV-* verb

<i>yɔ:</i>	<i>yɔ-</i>	‘weep’
<i>pō:</i>	<i>pó-</i>	‘give out a whistle’
<i>tă:</i>	<i>tá-</i>	‘avoid, respect (a taboo)’

j. bisyllabic, verb and noun end in same non-high vowel

<i>jìyé</i>	<i>jìyé-</i>	‘dance’
<i>sùwɔ</i>	<i>súwɔ-</i>	‘defecate, take a shit’
<i>tíwé</i>	<i>tíwé-</i>	‘(a) death occur’
<i>bíré</i>	<i>bíré-</i>	‘work, do a job’
<i>dùwɔ</i>	<i>dùwɔ-</i>	‘perform black magic’
<i>góso</i>	<i>góso-</i>	‘divide into parts’
<i>gúrò</i>	<i>gúrɔ-</i>	‘vomit’
<i>bérè</i>	<i>béré-</i>	‘gain, make a profit’
<i>cémné</i>	<i>cémné-</i>	‘have fun, stage festivities’
<i>éwⁿrⁿé</i>	<i>éwⁿrⁿú-</i>	‘converse, chat’
<i>nùwⁿɔ</i>	<i>nùwⁿó-</i>	‘sing, perform a song’

k. trisyllabic, verb and noun end in same non-high vowel

<i>yímíré</i>	<i>yìmíré-</i>	‘(beggar) sing koranic verses’
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l. noun *Cvy*, verb bisyllabic with final non-high vowel

<i>jáy</i>	<i>jàyá-</i>	‘fight, engage in a fight’
------------	--------------	----------------------------

- m. verb and noun end in high vowel or zero
- | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>gíyⁿ</i> | <i>gi:yⁿí-</i> | ‘fart, let out a fart’ |
| <i>tă:yⁿ</i> | <i>tá:yⁿí-</i> | ‘build a shed (stall)’ |
| <i>cĕl</i> | <i>célí-</i> | ‘dig rainwater channel’ |
| <i>dăwrù</i> | <i>dàwrú-</i> | ‘cast a spell’ |
- n. bisyllabic, noun ends in non-high vowel, verb ends in high vowel
- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| <i>pòmbó</i> | <i>pómbú-</i> | ‘compete, be in a race’ |
| <i>dănnà</i> | <i>dànní-</i> | ‘hunt, go on a hunt’ |
- o. *CvCvCv*, noun with HHL tone
- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------|
| <i>gólórò</i> | <i>gòlùrú-</i> | ‘snore’ |
| <i>bégérè</i> | <i>bègéré-</i> | ‘belch’ |
- p. other
- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>ùwăw</i> | <i>ú:-yí-</i> | ‘be afraid’ |
|-------------|---------------|-------------|
- q. Fulfulde borrowing, final *e* in noun and verb, noun HL, verb HH
- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>tínè</i> | <i>tíné-</i> | ‘make a profit’ |
| <i>jáyrè</i> | <i>jáyré-</i> | ‘poke fun at’ |
| <i>píllè</i> | <i>píllé-</i> | ‘tell a story’ |
| <i>wá:tè</i> | <i>wá:té-</i> | ‘swear an oath’ (<Fulfulde) |
- r. Fulfulde borrowing, final *e* in noun, verb ends in high vowel
- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>wá:jè</i> | <i>wá:jí-</i> | ‘preach a sermon’ |
|--------------|---------------|-------------------|

In (326), there is a **partial cognate relationship**. In (326a), the noun has an initial vocalic formative that is absent in the verb. In (326b), the final syllable of the noun is truncated in the verb. In (326c), the noun is really a frozen noun-adjective sequence (cf. *cèsú* ‘unripe; raw’), with the verb based on the noun only. In (326d), the noun contains a compound initial that is disregarded in the verb.

(326) noun verb gloss of combination

- a. initial *a-* on noun but not on verb (§4.1.6), noun with final *u*
- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>à-pétù</i> | <i>pété-</i> | ‘jump, take a jump’ |
| <i>à-jăyⁿ</i> | <i>jăⁿ-</i> | ‘sow in a pit with manure’ |
- b. final syllable of noun truncated in verb (noun probably borrowed)
- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------------------|
| <i>sámbâl</i> | <i>sámbí-</i> | ‘hire (sb) by the day’ |
|---------------|---------------|------------------------|
- c. noun-adjective combination
- | | | |
|------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>piyè cèsú</i> | <i>piyé-</i> | ‘give out a shout’ |
|------------------|--------------|--------------------|
- d. noun has compound initial
- | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>àr'â-tă:</i> | <i>tó-</i> | ‘scold’ |
| <i>jirè-nî:</i> | <i>ní:yⁿí-</i> | ‘sleep’ (<i>jiré</i> ‘eye’) |
| <i>cĕlè-bégù</i> | <i>bégé-</i> | ‘hiccup’ |

nà:-sìnjéy *sínjé-* ‘draw lines’

11.1.5.2 Grammatical status of cognate nominal

The cognate nominal may be modified adjectivally (327b) or quantified over (327c).

- (327) a. *jáy* *jàyá-tî:-Ø*
fight(n) fight-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He/She fought (= got into) a fight.’
- b. *[jày]^L* *díyⁿà-wⁿ]* *jàyá-tî:-Ø*
[fight(n)^L] [big] fight-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He/She fought (= got into) a big fight.’
- c. *[jáy* *yěy]* *jàyá-tî:-Ø*
[fight(n) two] fight-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He/She fought (= got into) two fights.’

11.1.6 ‘Do’ or ‘be done’ *káyⁿ*

The verb ‘do, make’, also used intransitively (‘be done’), has bare stem *káyⁿ*, perfective *káyⁿ-tî-*, unsuffixed imperfective *káⁿ-* (3Sg *káⁿ-m̄*), and imperative *káyⁿ*. The perfective negative is *kà-ní-*, and the imperfective negative is *káⁿ-m̄-dó-*.

The intransitive forms of *káyⁿ* can also mean ‘happen, take place’, with reference to e.g. a celebration or other activity. Only 3Sg/Inan forms with inanimate subject are attested. In the positive example (328a), the verb is in stative form with stative 3Sg suffix *-w̄*. (328b) is perfective negative. Both have the past clitic, with (as usual) *=bè* after an L-tone and *=b̄ē:* after an H-tone.

- (328) a. *cèmné* *káⁿ-w̄ⁿ=bè-Ø*
festivity be.done-Stat=Past-3SgSbj
‘The festivities (e.g. dancing) had taken place.’
- b. *cèmné* *kà-ní=b̄ē:*
festivity be.done-PfvNeg=Past
‘The festivities had not taken place.’

For some fixed collocations involving *káyⁿ* and a noun or adverb, see (324b) in §11.1.5, above.

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

11.2.1 Copula clitic $=\dot{m}$ ($=\emptyset$) ‘it is ...’

This clitic has unconjugated and pronominally conjugated forms. The morphological analysis is tricky because the clitic itself sometimes appears only in the form of a slight tone change on a noun or adjective. There has also probably been a partial historical fusion with nominal suffixes (animate singular $-m$, animate plural/inanimate \emptyset), but the split in ‘it is’ clitic allomorphs groups (animate) plural with singular, so there is no clean synchronic connection.

For the ‘it is’ clitic with passive $-yéy-$, see §9.5.

11.2.1.1 Unconjugated positive forms

A clitic with various allomorphs is added to an NP (e.g. an independent pronoun) or to an adverbial in predicative function, as an identificational predicate. We begin with the impersonal form of the clitic, which is not conjugated for subject pronominal category. It resembles ‘it is ...’ in English, as in ‘it’s me’ or ‘it’s dogs [focus] that I don’t like.’ This form is identical to the 3Sg conjugated form, as in ‘he/she/it is ...’. The full set of conjugated forms is described in the following subsection.

After a **pronoun**, **demonstrative pronoun**, or **demonstrative adverb** (all of which end in vowels), the clitic is $=\dot{m}$, with L-tone. In (329) and later examples, the ordinary form is given in parentheses after the translation. Note that animate and inanimate referents are involved.

- (329) a. $\acute{e}r^n\acute{e}=\dot{m}$
3Sg=it.is
‘It’s him/her.’ ($\acute{e}r^n\acute{e}$)
- b. $\acute{i}=\dot{m}$
1Sg=it.is
‘It’s me.’ (\acute{i})
- c. $b\acute{u}:=\dot{m}$
3Pl=it.is
‘It’s them.’ ($b\acute{u}:)$)
- d. $\grave{\eta}g\acute{u}-r\grave{u}=\dot{m}$
here=it.is
‘It’s here.’ ($\grave{\eta}g\acute{u}-r\grave{u}$)
- h. $\grave{\eta}g\acute{u}=\dot{m}$
Prox.Inan=it.is
‘It’s this.’ ($\grave{\eta}g\acute{u}$)
- i. $\acute{a}r^n\grave{a}$ $m\acute{u}:]=\dot{m}$
[man^L Prox.An]=it.is
‘It’s this man.’ ($\acute{a}r^n\grave{a} m\acute{u}:)$)

Inanimate nouns take a (segmentally) **zero allomorph** of the ‘it is’ clitic. We first consider **vowel-final stems**. If the final vowel is otherwise H-toned, as in *ɔrⁿɔ:* ‘bush (outback)’ or *bòlú* ‘rain’, it appears in the ‘it is’ construction with <HL>-tone. A final short vowel is lengthened to permit this contour tone to be articulated; see Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1). Likewise, if the stem-final vowel is <LH>-toned, as in *tă:* ‘water source’, in the ‘it is’ combination it appears with bell-shaped <LHL> tone. In other words, the ‘it is’ clitic in this instance is audible only by grafting of a **segmentally empty L-toned morpheme** (floating L) at the right edge of the stem. There is no audible change when the ‘it is’ clitic is added to a noun that already ends in a long L- or <HL>-toned vowel, like *isē:* ‘village’, its possessed form *isē:*, and *tórð* ‘mountain’ (330a-c). The final L-tone is audible in (330d-f).

- (330) a. *isē: = Ø*
village=it.is
‘It’s a village.’ (*isē:*)
- b. *[ú ^{HL}íslē:] = Ø*
[2SgPoss ^{HL}village]=it.is
‘It’s your-Sg village.’ (*ú ^{HL}íslē:*, from *isē:*)
- c. *tórð = Ø*
mountain=it.is
‘It’s a mountain.’ (*tórð*)
- d. *ɔrⁿɔ: = Ø*
outback=it.is
‘It’s the bush (=outback).’ (*ɔrⁿɔ:*)
- e. *bòlú: = Ø*
rain=it.is
‘It’s (the) rain.’ (*bòlú*)
- f. *tă: = Ø*
water.source=it.is
‘It’s a water source (pond etc.).’ (*tă:*)

If the noun **ends in a consonant** (either lexical or suffixal), the clitic again appears as (segmental) zero, with a final L-tone component that is audible only when the noun would otherwise end in an H- or <LH>-toned syllable (331a-b). It is inaudible when the noun would otherwise already end in an L- or <HL>-toned syllable (331c-d). Care must be taken to distinguish animate singular suffix *-m* (which has no intrinsic tone) from the ‘it is’ clitic allomorph *=m̄*. However, historically it is likely that the ‘it is’ variant *=m̄* was partially shaped by resegmentation of old animate singular forms.

- (331) a. *injě-m̄ = Ø*
dog-AnSg=it.is
‘It’s a dog’ (*injě-m̄*)

- b. *tù:-búnúgôy=∅*
age.group-group=it.is
'It's a group of age-mates.' (*tù:-búnúgôy*)
- c. *árⁿà-m=∅*
man-AnSg=it.is
'It's a man.' (*árⁿà-m*)
- d. *[ärⁿà^L mǔ:] HL yâ-m]=∅*
[[man^L Prox.An] HL woman]=it.is
'It's the woman (= wife) of this man.' (*[... HL yâ-m]*, from *yâ-m*)

The (usually optional) plural particle *bè* behaves as though H-toned *bé*, and therefore appears (regularly) as *bê:=∅* (lengthened to permit the <HL>-tone to be articulated).

- (332) a. *isê: bè*
village Pl
'(some) villages'
- b. *isê: bê:=∅*
village Pl=it.is
'It's (some) villages.'

Definite particle *kù* is treated as though it were H-toned inanimate pronoun *kú*. We therefore get *kú=m* (333), homophonous to *kú=m* 'that's it'.

- (333) a. *árⁿà-m kù*
man-AnSg Def
'the (aforementioned) man'
- b. *[árⁿà-m kú]=m*
[man-AnSg Def]=it.is
'It's the (aforementioned) man'

There are quite a few nouns that end in a long <HL>-toned vowel, whether underlying or due to lengthening by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition; see (109b-c) in §6.3.1. The 'it is' form is homophonous to the simple independent form, e.g. *kòsû:* 'calabash', *kòsû:=∅* 'it is a calabash'.

Vowel-final animate nouns, including personal names like 'Amadou' and certain kin terms like 'father', present analytical problems. In the singular, the 'it is' combination has a final *m̩* even where the stem lacks this final consonant elsewhere. In (334a,c), 'father' lacks (animate) singular suffix *-m̩* in other contexts, but a final *m̩* appears in the 'it is' combinations (334b,d). (334d) shows final *m̩* after a personal name in the 'it is' construction. One can argue whether the *m̩* in (334b,d-e) is the 'it is' clitic itself, or a morphosyntactically specialized instance of (animate) singular suffix *-m̩*. I will take it to be the 'it is' clitic.

- (334) a. *ú* ^{HL}*bɔ:*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}father
 ‘your-Sg father’
- b. *mǔ:* *[ú* ^{HL}*bɔ:] = *m**
- Prox.An [2SgPoss ^{HL}father]=it.is
 ‘This (man) is your-Sg father’
- c. *bɔ:*
 father
 ‘(a) father’
- d. *bɔ: = m*
 father=it.is
 ‘It’s a father.’
- e. *á:mádù = m*
 A=it.is
 ‘It’s Amadou (man’s name).’

Some other singular kin terms are more complex, since they have (animate) singular *-m* and {HL} tone overlay in their possessed forms, as for ‘mother’ in (335a-d). In the possessed form, the ‘it is’ clitic is now inaudible, as we see by comparing (335b) to (335a). In the unpossessed forms, however, the ‘it is’ clitic is clearly audible as *=m* (335d), contrast (335c).

- (335) a. *ú* ^{HL}*nárⁿà-m*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}mother-AnSg
 ‘your-Sg mother’
- b. *mǔ:* *[ú* ^{HL}*nárⁿà-m] = Ø*
- Prox.An [2SgPoss ^{HL}mother-AnSg]=it.is
 ‘This (woman) is your-Sg mother’
- c. *nárⁿá*
 mother
 ‘(a) mother’
- d. *nárⁿá = m*
 mother=it.is
 ‘It’s a mother.’

In the plural, kin terms take plural particle *bè*. In the ‘it is’ combination, we get the same *bè: = Ø* described above.

- (336) a. *ú* ^{HL}*bɔ:* *bè*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}father Pl
 ‘your-Sg fathers’ (i.e. father and father’s brothers)

- b. *ú* ^{HL}*bɔ:* *bê: = Ø]*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}father Pl]
 ‘It’s your-Sg fathers.’

Likewise, for ‘... are your-Sg mothers’, ... *ú* ^{HL}*nárⁿà bê: = Ø*.

11.2.1.2 Conjugated positive forms (1st/2nd persons)

The simple clitic *=m̄* can be conjugated for 1st/2nd person subject.

(337)	category	after H-tone	after L-tone
	1Sg	<i>=m-í-ŷⁿ</i>	<i>=m-ì-ŷⁿ</i>
	2Sg	<i>=m-ú-ŵⁿ</i>	<i>=m-ù-ŵⁿ</i>
	1Pl	<i>=m-í-ŷⁿ::, =m-ú-ŷⁿ::</i>	<i>=m-ì-ŷⁿ::, =m-ù-ŷⁿ::</i>
	2Pl	<i>=m-ú-ŵⁿ::</i>	<i>=m-ù-ŵⁿ::</i>

The tone alternations are similar to those of possessed nouns following undetermined possessors; see §3.7.3.4. In both cases it is difficult to determine whether the HL-toned or L-toned variant is structurally basic, and any tone-sandhi rule that could be proposed to account for the alternations would have to be morphosyntactically restricted.

For some speakers, the 1Pl and 2Pl clitics are added to a noun stem without singular *-m*, as in *[bê:n nù]=mù-ŷⁿ::* ‘we are the people of Beni’ [2005.1a.06], as pronounced by an older speaker. For other speakers, including my younger assistant (born 1986), even the plural-subject forms are (at least seemingly) added to nouns that are singular in form (with animate singular suffix *-m*), when the subject is 1Pl or 2Pl. The audible effect is that we hear a geminate [**mm**] in (338b) as well as (338a), and in (338d) as well as (338c). My assistant pronounced the same expression just given as *[bê:n nù-m]=mì-ŷⁿ::* ‘we are the people of Beni’, in the same recorded text.

The further examples in (338) have interlinears that take the first *m* to be the (animate) singular suffix.

- (338) a. *yí-m=m-í-ŷ*
 child-AnSg=it.is-1SgSbj
 ‘I am a child.’
- b. *yí-m=m-í-ŷ::*
 child-AnSg=it.is-1PlSbj
 ‘We are children.’ (cf. *yì-të*: ‘children’)
- c. *púlɔ-m=m-ú-ŵ*
 Fulbe-AnSg=it.is-2SgSbj
 ‘You-Sg are a Fulbe.’

- d. *púlɔ̄-m=m-ú-ŵ.:*
 Fulbe-AnSg=it.is-2PlSbj
 ‘You-Pl are Fulbe.’

However, there are indications that the geminate [mm] may function for these speakers as an allomorph =*mm*- of the =*m*- ‘it is’ clitic, rather than as the sequence of animate singular -*m*- and the =*m*- clitic. In this analysis, the examples in (338) above are segmented as *yí=mm-í-ŷ*, *yí=mm-í-ŷ.:*, *púlɔ̄=mm-ú-ŵ*, and *púlɔ̄=mm-ú-ŵ.:*. The best evidence for this is that the geminated *mm* is heard after vowel-final singular nouns (339).

- (339) a. *á:mádù=mm-ì-ŷ*
 A=it.is-1SgSbj
 ‘I am Amadou.’
- b. *[érⁿé]^{H^L}* *bɔ̄:]*=*mm-ì-ŷ*
 [3SgPoss]<sup>H^L father]=it.is-1SgSbj
 ‘I am his/her father.’</sup>

However, there is also some counterevidence to this (re-)analysis. In a case like *púlɔ̄-m* ‘Fulbe person’, plural *púlɔ̄*: ‘Fulbe (people)’, there is a difference in stem-final vowel length, correlated with presence/absence of the (animate) singular suffix -*m*. We saw in (338d) above that *púlɔ̄-m=m-ú-ŵ.:* ‘you-Pl are Fulbe’ resembles *púlɔ̄-m* with short vowel. A similar example is *nú-m=m-í-ŷ.:* ‘we are people’, cf. *nú-m* ‘person’ and its long-voweled plural *nú:* ‘people’. A partisan of the =*mm*- analysis of the clitic could respond that the shortening may be due to a (perhaps morphologized) phonological rule, e.g. /*púlɔ̄:*=*mm-ù-ŵ/* with long /ɔ:/ shortening to o.

For the noun *yí-m* ‘child’ and (irregular) plural *yí-të:* ‘children’, the idiomatic expressions seem to be based on *yí-m*, e.g. *yí-m=m-í-ŷ.:* ‘we are children’ (338b). However, in elicitation I also recorded *yí-të:-=m̄m-ì-ŷ.:* ‘we are children’, based on the irregular plural stem.

11.2.1.3 Conjugated positive forms (3Pl =*∅-bɔ̄*)

The 3Pl conjugated form is =*∅-bɔ̄*, with an ending that resembles 3Pl subject inflectional suffix -*bɔ̄* (-*bɔ̄*) in certain verb paradigms including the unsuffixed perfective, see (278) in §10.3.1. Unlike the case with 1Pl and 2Pl clitics just illustrated, an animate noun takes its normal morphological plural form (without singular suffix -*m*), e.g. *púlɔ̄:* ‘Fulbe (people)’, before 3Pl =*∅-bɔ̄*. However, the stem (if otherwise ending in H- or <LH>-tone) undergoes the tonal changes characteristic of the =*∅* clitic allomorph (see above), for example in ‘dogs’ in (340e). Nouns (such as ‘father’ and ‘village’) that would otherwise take plural particle *bè* omit this particle before =*∅-bɔ̄*. In (340a), an H.<LH> noun is realized as H.L before the H-toned clitic; see §3.7.4.5 on the tones.

- (340) a. *púlɔ̄:=∅-bɔ̄*
 Fulbe.Pl=it.is-3PlSbj
 ‘They are Fulbe.’

- b. *isê: =Ø-bɔ̄*
village=it.is-3PlSbj
'They are villages.'
- c. *[mú: bɔ̄] [ú HL bɔ̄:] =Ø-bɔ̄*
[Prox.An Pl] [2SgPoss HL father]=it.is-3PlSbj
'These (men) are your-Sg fathers'
- d. *yì-tɛ: =Ø-bɔ̄*
children=it.is-3PlSbj
'They are children.' (never #*yí-m = bɔ̄*)
- e. *injê: =Ø-bɔ̄*
dogs=it.is-3PlSbj
'They are dogs.' (*injê*)

11.2.1.4 Unconjugated negative 'it is not ...' (= *m̄ = dá*, Ø = *râ*)

Where the positive 'it is' form has *=m̄*, the corresponding negative is expressed by *=m̄ = dá-*. The stem has the same tones as with the positive *=m̄* clitic. In slow speech, the negative morpheme is pronounced [...*ndá*], and native speakers correct the linguist's pronunciation when the [*n*] is omitted. However, in normal allegro speech I hear just [...*m̄dá*] with no distinct alveolar nasal, and the phonetic [*n*] can be explained as a timing divergence between the labial release and the closing of the velar passage in the articulation of the *m*. I therefore transcribe *=m̄ = dá*, and I take *=dá* to be a postnasal form of stative negative *=rá-*.

- (341)
- a. *kú = m̄ = dá*
Inan=it.is=StatNeg
'It isn't that (discourse-definite).'
 - b. *í = m̄ = dá*
1Sg=it.is=StatNeg
'It isn't me.'
 - c. *á:mádù = m̄ = dá*
A=it.is=StatNeg
'It isn't Amadou.'
 - d. *ŋgú = m̄ = dá dé*
Prox.Inan=it.is=StatNeg if
'if it isn't this' (= 'other than this, aside from this')

The 'if it isn't ...' construction illustrated in (341d) is very common, with demonstrative *ŋgú* 'this' (inanimate) or discourse-definite *kú* 'that (aforementioned)' as the host of the clitic.

For inanimate nouns or adjectives, the 'it is not ...' construction is expressed by *=Ø = rá*. As with the positive *=Ø*, the stem must end in an L-tone.

- (342) a. *isê: = Ø = rá*
 village=it.is=StatNeg
 ‘It is not a village.’ (*isê:*)
- b. *[ú [HL ísè:] = Ø = rá*
 [2SgPoss [HL village]=it.is=StatNeg
 ‘It is not your-Sg village.’ (*ú* [HL *íse:*], from *isê:*)
- c. *tɔrɔ: = Ø = rá*
 mountain=it.is=StatNeg
 ‘It is not a mountain.’ (*tɔrɔ:*)
- d. *ɔrɔ: = Ø = rá*
 outback=it.is=StatNeg
 ‘It is not the bush (=outback).’ (*ɔrɔ:*)
- e. *bòlù: = Ø = rá*
 rain=it.is=StatNeg
 ‘It is not (the) rain.’ (*bòlù*)
- f. *tă: = Ø = rá*
 water.source=it.is=StatNeg
 ‘It is not a water source (pond, etc.).’ (*tă:*)
- g. *kɔsû: = Ø = rá*
 calabash=it.is=StatNeg
 ‘It is not a calabash.’

11.2.1.5 Conjugated negative ‘it is not ...’ forms (1st/2nd persons)

This *=m̄ = dá* ‘it is not’ clitic sequence can be conjugated pronominally for 1st/2nd person subject (343).

- (343) a. *injé-m̄ = Ø = dá-ŷ*
 dog-AnSg=it.is=StatNeg-1SgSbj
 ‘I am not a dog.’
- b. *púlɔ-m̄ = Ø = dá-w̄*
 Fulbe-AnSg=it.is=StatNeg-2SgSbj
 ‘You-Sg are not a Fulbe (person).’

The **paradigm** for first and second person categories is (344). The 2Sg ends in H-tone.

- (344) ‘It is not’ (1st.2nd person)

1Sg	<i>=m̄ = dá-ŷ</i>
2Sg	<i>=m̄ = dá-w̄</i> (H-toned)

1Pl	=m̄ =dá-ŷ.:
2Pl	=m̄ =dá-w̄.:

11.2.1.6 Conjugated negative ‘it is not ...’ forms (3Pl)

The 3Pl conjugated form is *=Ø=rá-bó*, with a 3Pl subject morpheme added to the end. The construction is based on the regular plural form of the noun, as for the irregular plural ‘children’ in (345b) and *púlɔ:* ‘Fulbe (people)’ in (345c). However, the noun is subject to the usual final tonal modification associated with the *=Ø* clitic if it would otherwise end in H- or <LH>-tone, as with ‘dogs’ in (345a), which appears with final <HL>-tone and has its final vowel lengthened accordingly by Contour-Tone Mora-Addition (§3.7.4.1).

- (345) a. *injɛ: =Ø=rá-bó*
 dog=it.is=StatNeg-3PlSbj
 ‘They are not dogs.’ (*injɛ*)
- b. *yì-tɛ: =Ø=rá-bó*
 children=it.is=StatNeg-3PlSbj
 ‘They are not children.’ (*yì-tɛ:*)
- c. *púlɔ: =Ø=rá-bó*
 Fulbe=it.is=StatNeg-3PlSbj
 ‘They are not Fulbe (people).’ (*púlɔ:*; cf. 340a and §3.7.4.5)

11.2.2 Existential and locational quasi-verbs and particles

11.2.2.1 Existential (*yá*)

The morpheme *yá* is used before a positive stative (quasi-)verb of existence or possession.

- (346) a. *nàwⁿâ: yá bú-Ø*
 meat Exist be-3SgSbj
 ‘There is some meat.’
- b. *bérù-m yá só-ŷ*
 goat-AnSg Exist have-1SgSbj
 ‘I have a goat.’

For *bù-* ~ *bú-* ‘be’, see §11.2.2.2-3 just below. For *só-* ‘have’ see §11.5.1, below.

The existential morpheme is disallowed if there is a **focalized constituent**, such as a WH-interrogative (347).

- (347) a. *[kɔ:ⁿL ñjé] bù-Ø*
 [thing^L what?] be-3SgSbj
 ‘What is there?’

- b. *ãm*=∅ *bérù-m* *sò-*∅
 who?=Foc goat-AnSg have-3SgSbj
 ‘Who has a goat?’

In other words, *yá* is disallowed before a defocalized ‘be’ or ‘have’ quasi-verb. These quasi-verbs occur only in a single (positive) series, and so cannot themselves express the distinction between ordinary and defocalized status. In effect, *yá* rectifies this morphological gap. The form with *yá* is the functional equivalent of a suffixally marked perfective, while the form without *yá* is the equivalent of the (defocalized) unsuffixed perfective.

yá is also disallowed in **negative clauses** (348).

- (348) a. *nàw^{nâ}:* *ŋgó-*∅
 meat not.be-3SgSbj
 ‘There is no meat.’
- b. *bérù-m* *sò-ló-ŷ*
 goat-AnSg have-Neg-1SgSbj
 ‘I do not have a goat.’

yá is, however, compatible with **conditional antecedents** (349).

- (349) *nàw^{nâ}:* *yá* *bú-*∅ *dé*
 meat Exist be-3SgSbj if
 ‘If there is some meat, ...’

With the ‘have’ quasi-verb, my assistant made a distinction between presence and absence of *yá* even in positive contexts, whereby *yá só-* indicates ownership or other lasting possession, and *sò-* indicates temporary possession (custody). See §11.5.1-2, below.

yá is occasionally used with progressive and imperfective verb. A **progressive** example is (89a) in §6.1.3. Imperfective examples are (474) in §15.1.2.1, and (612b) in §18.2.1. Although *yá* is not very common in these constructions, the fact that it can occur at all suggests an affinity between progressiveness, constant recurrence, and stativity.

11.2.2.2 Locational quasi-verbs (*bù-* ~ *bú-* ‘be’, *ŋgó-* ‘not be’)

A locational predicate ‘be (in a place)’ is expressed by an inflected form of quasi-verb *bù-* following the locational expression, which may be a place name (without spatial postposition) (350a), a locative demonstrative adverb (350b), or a locational PP (350c). In this construction, *bù-* is L-toned and has a short vowel (unless lengthened by a suffix). L-toned *bù-* is also used to make expressive adverbials into predicates (§8.6.7). I will usually cite the stem as *bù-*. However, in a number of other constructions we get H-toned *bú-* or a form based on it. The H-toned form occurs after existential *yá* (§11.2.2.3) and is the likely basis for <HL>-toned variant *bû-* in adjectival predicates (§11.4.2) and for relative-clause participles like inanimate *bú-w* (§14.1.6.3).

- (350) a. *dúwⁿósán* *bù-* \emptyset
 Douentza be-3SgSbj
 'He/She/It is in Douentza'
- b. *ŋgú-rù* *bù-ŷ*
 here be-1Sg
 'I am here.'
- c. *[úrò* *tùlù-dá:]* *b-è:ⁿ*
 [house behind] be-3PlSbj
 'They are behind the house.'

The **paradigm** is (351). Only the 3Pl form is irregular. There is a single positive paradigm, morphologically comparable to the unsuffixed (L-toned) perfective of regular verbs. This single series is used without reference to temporal boundaries, and is usually translatable with a present-tense English verb.

(351)	category	form
	1Sg	<i>bù-ŷ</i>
	2Sg	<i>bù-w̄</i>
	1Pl	<i>bù-ŷ.:</i>
	2Pl	<i>bù-w̄.:</i>
	3Sg	<i>bù-</i> \emptyset
	3Pl	<i>b-èⁿ: ~ b-èⁿ-bó</i>

The **negative** counterpart is *ŋgó-* (352).

- (352) *bàmàkó* *ŋgó-ŷ*
 Bamako not.be-1SgSbj
 'I am not in Bamako.'

The negative paradigm is (353). The 2Sg form (disregarding the nasal) is H-toned *ŋgó-w̄*, not <HL>-toned #*ŋgó-w̄*. The other 1st/2nd person forms are regular. The 3Pl form *né-bó* consists of 3Pl subject allomorph *-bó* plus a thoroughly irregular allomorph *né-* instead of *ŋgó-*.

(353)	category	form
	1Sg	<i>ŋgó-y</i>
	2Sg	<i>ŋgó-w̄</i>
	1Pl	<i>ŋgó-ŷ.:</i>
	2Pl	<i>ŋgó-w̄.:</i>
	3Sg	<i>ŋgó-</i> \emptyset
	3Pl	<i>né-bó</i>

11.2.2.3 Existential quasi-verbs with *yá*

In existential function (and in vaguely defined locational function, e.g. ‘be present’ with no locational adverb), the ‘be’ quasi-verb is preceded by existential *yá*.

- (354) a. *súkóṛɔ* *yá* *bú-Ø*
 sugar Exist be-3SgSbj
 ‘There is some sugar.’
- b. *péré* *yá* *b-è:n*
 sheep.Pl Exist be-3PlSbj
 ‘There are some sheep.’
- c. *yá* *bú-ỳ*
 Exist be-1SgSbj
 ‘I am present.’

The **paradigm** is in (355). The ‘be’ verb takes the H-toned form *bú-*, and the 2Sg (for which we might expect <HL>-toned #*bú-w*) appears as H-toned *bú-w*. The 3Pl form *b-è:n*, however, is L-toned, as it is in locational function without *yá*.

(355)	category	form
	1Sg	<i>yá bú-ỳ</i>
	2Sg	<i>yá bú-w</i> (H-toned)
	1Pl	<i>yá bú-ỳ:.</i>
	2Pl	<i>yá bú-w:.</i>
	3Sg	<i>yá bú-Ø</i>
	3Pl	<i>yá b-è:n</i> ~ <i>yá b-è:n-bó</i>

11.2.3 ‘Be in, on’

No suppletive stative verbs of the type ‘be (put) in’ or ‘be on’, as in Jamsay, have been noted for BentT. The combination *yá bú-* ‘be (in a place)’ is used in all such contexts, with an appropriate locational. For postpositions meaning ‘on’ see §8.4.4-5.

11.2.4 Stative stance verbs ‘be sitting’, ‘be lying down’

I have recorded no suppletive or irregular stative stance verbs comparable to those of Jamsay (where stative ‘be sitting’ and active ‘sit down’, for example, are expressed by different lexical items).

The reduplicated stative stem (§10.2.1.11) is used with stance verbs to denote static position (356). The same verbs occur in other AN stems in the active sense ('sit down', 'stand up', 'lie down', etc.).

- (356) a. *i-ʔéw-yè-y*
Rdp-sit-MP.Stat-1SgSbj
‘I am sitting.’
- b. *i-íyà-y*
Rdp-stand.Stat-1SgSbj
‘I am standing.’
- c. *bì-bí-yè-w*
Rdp-lie.down-MP.Stat-2SgSbj
‘You-Sg are lying down (=in prone position).’

11.2.5 ‘Doesn’t connect’ (*dìmbà-w=rá-*)

Parallel to Jamsay *digè=lá-*, BenT uses *dìmbà-w=rá-* ‘does not follow’ (which may take pronominal-subject suffixes). In form, this is the negative (with stative negative clitic =*rá*) of the stative, cf. positive *dì-dímbà-w* ‘it follows, is positioned following (something else)’. The phrase can be translated contextually as ‘(I) don’t care whether ...’ or ‘it doesn’t matter whether ...’. The context lends itself to parallelistic constructions (357).

- (357) [nár'ù=Ø *dìmbà-w=rá-bó'*]
[night=it.is follow-Stat=Neg-3PlSbj]
[ðmɔ̄=Ø *dìmbà-w-rá-bó'*]
[morning=it.is follow-Stat=Neg-3PlSbj]
‘They don’t care whether it’s night or morning (= day).’

11.2.6 Morphologically regular verbs

11.2.6.1 ‘Remain’ (*bě*)

This verb is used to indicate the stability of a situation. It is not used in the sense ‘(quantity) be left over’, which is expressed by *wàsá-*.

- (358) a. *dàw'á ŋây^n→ bě-y*
thing thus remain.Stat-3SgSbj
‘The problem has remained like that.’
- b. *ŋây^n→ bě-rí-Ø*
thus remain-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
‘It didn’t remain like that.’

The bare stem is *bě*. As (358b) shows, the verb has a regular perfective negative. The primary positive paradigm in **stative** function is (359). An unusual feature is that the third person forms end in -*y* and are homophonous to the 1Sg forms.

(359)	category	form
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1Sg	<i>bè-ŷ</i>
2Sg	<i>bè-ŵ</i>
1Pl	<i>bè-ŷ.:</i>
2Pl	<i>bè-ŵ.:</i>
3Sg/Inan	<i>bè-ŷ</i>
3Pl	<i>bè-ŷ</i>

In contrast to its usual sense ‘remain, stay’, *bě-* is **inchoative** (‘become’) when it follows an expressive adverbial (eg. ‘become straight’). See §8.6.7 for examples and for more on the syntax of expressive adverbials.

11.2.6.2 ‘Become, happen’ (*táŋgí-*)

In addition to *káyⁿ-* ‘be done’ (hence ‘happen, take place’), on which see §11.1.6 above, there is a verb *táŋgí-* ‘become’, with NP complement (360).

(360)	<i>ð:-m</i>	<i>táŋgí:-rè-∅</i>
	chief-AnSg	become-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
‘He became chief.’		

See also ‘he has become a man’ (*árⁿà-m táŋgí:-rè-∅*) in B’s turn in (664) in the sample text.

táŋgí- also denotes other types of transition in the senses ‘(fire) be lit’, ‘(liquid) freeze’, and ‘(person) move out, relocate’, and with *láwá* ‘go past’ in the chain *táŋgí láwá* ‘go across (sth); step over’.

11.3 Quotative verb and quasi-verb

11.3.1 ‘Say’ (*gǔyⁿ-*)

The inflectable ‘say’ verb, following a quotation, is *gǔyⁿ-* (variant *gǐyⁿ-*). It is one of three monosyllabic *CvYⁿ* stems. These are the only *CvC* or otherwise C-final verbs in the language (§10.1.3.6). The imperfective 3Sg is *gù-gú-ñ̄*. The same-subject chaining form is *gù=ní ~ gí=ní*, and this is the probable etymological source of purposive postposition *gín ~ gìní ~ gún ~ gúní* (§8.5.1).

For uninflectable quotative particle *wa*, commonly used instead of an inflected ‘he/she said’ verb, see §17.1.2.

11.4 Adjectival predicates

If there is a focalized constituent (as in ‘that [focus] is what is good’), an adjectival predicate is a {L}-toned inanimate form of the adjective (§11.4.3).

In the absence of focalization, there are two adjectival predicate constructions. One has the relevant inflected form of the **locational-existential quasi-verb** *bû-* ‘be (in a place), exist’ following the adjective (which has **invariant “inanimate” form**). *bû-* has falling tone in this function (§11.4.1 below). The other construction has the adjective, in animate or inanimate form (depending on referent), followed directly by a pronominally conjugated ‘it is’ clitic (§11.4.2 below).

Some adjectives are regularly used with *bû-*, others with ‘it is’ clitics. There is a fairly good correlation between the choice of predicate construction and the final segment of the stem and/or with presence/absence of inanimate suffix *-w*.

bû- is common with stems that have inanimate suffix *-w* (361a) and is required with those ending in labial {*w u m*} (361b-d). These are the modifying forms, not the predicative forms, on which see the following section.

(361) Adjectives with *bû:-* predicative form

gloss	modifying form (inanimate)
a. vowel-final, with inanimate suffix <i>-w</i>	
‘big, adult’	<i>díyⁿà-wⁿ</i>
‘spacious’	<i>káwà-w</i>
‘good’	<i>èsû-w</i>
‘fat’	<i>dùgû-w</i>
‘long’	<i>gùrô-w</i>
‘heavy’	<i>dùsû-w</i>
‘nearby’	<i>sòsû-w</i>
‘small’	<i>dâ:-w</i>
‘thin’	<i>mènjê-w</i>
‘soft’	<i>yòrû-w</i>
‘lightweight’	<i>jèrⁿû-wⁿ</i>
b. with final <i>w</i>	
‘tight; brave’	<i>ɛw</i>
‘hot’	<i>ɔw</i>
‘distant’	<i>wă:w</i>
c. with final <i>u</i>	
‘crooked’	<i>gòlú</i>
‘bad, ugly’	<i>mòsú</i>
d. with final <i>m</i>	
‘plump’	<i>ãm</i>
‘cold, slow’	<i>tâm</i>
‘coarse’	<i>kúnjù-m</i>

Adjectives that take ‘it is’ clitics in their predicative forms are in (362). This construction is found with some vowel-final adjectives that take inanimate *-w* (362a), and is required with vowel-final adjectives that have zero inanimate marking (362b), as well as with adjectives

ending in *y* (362c). Again, the forms in (362) are modifying adjectives, not predicates (on which see §11.4.2 below).

(362) Adjectives with ‘it is’ clitic in predicative form

gloss	modifying form (inanimate)
a. vowel-final, with inanimate suffix <i>-w</i>	
‘unripe’	<i>kèsû-w</i>
‘deep’	<i>wɔ̄r^nɔ̄-w</i>
‘other’	<i>lă-w</i>
‘red’	<i>bár^nà-w^n</i>
‘black’	<i>jéw^nè-w^n</i>
b. vowel-final, with zero inanimate suffix	
‘white’	<i>pílé</i>
‘skinny’	<i>kómbó</i>
‘living’	<i>úw^nɔ̄</i>
‘old’	<i>pě:</i>
‘weak, diluted’	<i>séré</i>
‘new’	<i>kálà</i>
‘flat’	<i>pátâ-pátâ</i>
‘easy, cheap’	<i>nà:r^ná</i>
‘runty’	<i>céte-m</i> (animate singular)
c. final <i>y</i>	
‘half-ripe’	<i>bòlòrøy</i>
‘empty’	<i>kòrøy</i>

11.4.1 Positive adjectival predicates with ‘be’ quasi-verb (*bû-*)

In the regular pattern described here, the form of the predicative adjective is often but not always segmentally identical to the inanimate modifying adjective, but it usually differs tonally. The adjective is followed by an inflected form of *bû-*, a special <HL>-toned version *bû-* of the locational-existential ‘be’ quasi-verb *bù- ~ bú-* (§11.2.2.2-3). The 3Sg (and inanimate) form is *bû:-Ø*, and the 3Pl form is *b-ɛ:^n*. While the predicative adjective itself is invariant in form, a Sg/Pl distinction is made in this way by the quasi-verb.

The predicative adjective before *bû-* is either {LH}- or {H}-toned, depending on the adjective. In most cases this form is tonally distinct from the inanimate modifying form, which respects the lexical tone melody of the adjective, often /HL/ or /LHL/, less often /LH/, and only rarely /H/. The form of the predicative adjective is identical to that of the **abstractive nominal**, specifically the form, {H}-toned for some adjectives, used in comparative constructions to specify the domain of comparison (§12.1.1).

(363) gloss Inan modifying predicative with *bû-*

a. /LH/ in both functions, no nonzero suffix

final u

'crooked'	<i>gòlú-Ø</i>	<i>gòlú</i>
'nearby'	<i>sòsú-Ø</i>	<i>sòsú</i>
'bad, ugly'	<i>mòsú-Ø</i>	<i>mòsú</i>
'good'	<i>èsú-Ø</i> (~ <i>èsû-w</i>)	<i>èsú</i>

b. /LHL/ modifying with *-w*, {LH} predicative without *-w*

final u

'heavy'	<i>dùsû-w</i>	<i>dùsú</i>
'fat'	<i>dùgû-w</i>	<i>dùgú</i>
'soft'	<i>yòrû-w</i>	<i>yòrú</i>
'lightweight'	<i>pèrⁿû-wⁿ</i>	<i>pèrⁿú</i>

final o

'long'	<i>gùrɔ̄-w</i>	<i>gùrɔ̄-w</i>
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c. /LHL/ modifying, {LH} predicative, both with final *w*

with -w

'thin'	<i>mènjē-w</i>	<i>mènjě-w</i>
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lexical final w

'short'	<i>gɔ̄:w-Ø</i>	<i>gɔ̄:w</i>
'tall'	<i>gāw-Ø</i>	<i>gāw</i>
'distant'	<i>wā:w-Ø</i>	<i>wā:w</i>

final consonant, no suffix

'plump'	<i>ãm-Ø</i>	<i>ãm</i>
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d. /HL/ modifying, {H} predicative

final a, with -w

'small'	<i>dâ:-w</i>	<i>dâ:-w</i>
'big, adult'	<i>díyⁿâ-wⁿ</i>	<i>díyⁿâ-wⁿ</i>
'spacious'	<i>káwâ-w</i>	<i>káwâ-w</i>

final u, with -m

'sweet; sharp'	<i>érù-m</i>	<i>érú-m</i>
'coarse'	<i>kúnjù-m</i>	<i>kúnjú-m</i>

final consonant, no suffix

'hot'	<i>ɔ̄w-Ø</i>	<i>ɔ̄w</i>
'cold, slow'	<i>tâm-Ø</i>	<i>tám</i>

e. irregular output {H} with nasal extension

'tight; brave'	<i>ëw-Ø</i>	<i>én</i>
'full'	<i>bâ-w</i>	<i>bání</i>

Even aside from the outright irregularities in (363e), the tonal phonology is somewhat opaque. Analysis depends on whether the final L in the /LHL/ and /HL adjectives in the middle column of (363a-d) is attributed to the stem (with suffixes inanimate *-w* and animate

singular *-m* underlyingly atonal) or to the suffix. In the first analysis, to get the correct outputs in the rightmost column we would need a rule converting /LHL/ to {LH} and /HL/ to {H}. Call it **Adjectival Final L-Tone Deletion**. In the second analysis, the final L is not part of the stem proper, and the tones in the rightmost column are exactly the lexical melodies, so no tone rule is needed. This second analysis is preferable but I leave the question open.

Examples of the adjectival predication type with 3Sg/Inan *bû:-Ø* are in (364). *bû:-Ø* is homophonous with 3Pl pronoun *bû:* and with inanimate participial *bú-w* (§14.1.6.3).

- (364) a. *mòsú* *bû:-Ø*
 bad be-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She/It is nasty.’ (*mòsú*)
- b. *ăm* *bû:-Ø*
 plump be-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She/It is plump.’ (*ăm*)
- c. *mènjě-w* *bû:-Ø*
 thin-Inan be-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She/It is thin.’ (*mènjě-w*)
- d. *gđ:w* *bû:-Ø*
 short be-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She/It is short.’ (*gđ:w*)
- e. *káwá-w* *bû:-Ø*
 spacious-Inan be-3SgSbj
 ‘It is spacious.’ (*káwá-w*)
- f. *díyⁿá-wⁿ* *bû:-Ø*
 big-Inan be-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She/It is big.’ (*díyⁿá-wⁿ*)
- g. *érú-m* *bû:-Ø*
 sweet-Inan be-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She/It is sweet.’ (*érú-m*)

See also *nǔm bû:-Ø* ‘(it) is difficult’ in line 4 of (673) in the sample text.

For 3Pl subject, *b-ê:ⁿ* ‘they are’ follows the adjective (365).

- (365) a. *mòsú* *b-ê:ⁿ*
 bad be-3PlSbj
 ‘They are bad.’ (*mòsú*)
- b. *ăm* *b-ê:ⁿ*
 plump be-3PlSbj
 ‘They are plump.’ (*ăm*)

For first and second person subject, the appropriate inflected form of *bû-* ‘be’ is used (366).

- (366) a. *mòsú* *bû-y* (or: *bî-y*)
 bad be-1SgSbj
 'I am bad' (*mòsú*)
- b. *ăm* *bû-y*
 plump be-1SgSbj
 'I am plump.' (*ăm*)
- a. *ăm* *bû-w.:*
 plump be-2PISbj
 'You-Pl are plump.' (*âm*)

For adjectives that have a suffix *-w* or *-m* when modifying an inanimate noun, this suffixal form is used predicatively for all pronominal categories.

- (367) a. *mènjé-w* *bû:-Ø*
 short-Inan be-3SgSbj
 'He/She/It is thin.'
- b. *mènjé-w* *bû-y*
 short-Inan be-1SgSbj
 'I am thin.' (*gɔ̃:-w*)
- c. *mènjé-w* *bû-y.:*
 short-Inan be-1PISbj
 'We are thin.' (*gɔ̃:-w*)

11.4.2 Adjectival predicates with 'it is' clitic (= *m*, etc.)

Adjectives may function predicatively without an overt 'be' quasi-verb. In this case, the adjective itself has the same suffixed form it has as a modifying adjective, except that **animate plural is merged into inanimate** (except as noted below). We therefore get *-m̄* for animate singular reference, and *-w* or zero (depending on the adjective, §4.5.1) for animate plural as well as for inanimate reference. An exception is that the 1Pl and 2Pl forms add *-m̄* instead of zero.

The adjective is then followed by the conjugated 'it is' clitic forms in (368).

- | (368) | category | form |
|-------|----------|------------------|
| | 1Sg | = <i>m̄-iy</i> |
| | 2Sg | = <i>m̄-ùw</i> |
| | 1Pl | = <i>m̄-iy.:</i> |
| | 2Pl | = <i>m̄-ùw.:</i> |

3Sg/Inan

- after consonant: $=\emptyset$ (with final L-tone)
- after vowel: $=:\emptyset$ (vowel lengthened, with final L-tone)

3Pl

$=bɔ̄$

Examples with *pílé* ‘white’ and *jéwⁿè-* ‘black’ (the latter taking inanimate singular *-w* suffix) are in (369). Both ‘black’ and ‘white’ have their regular “inanimate singular” forms (*pílé*, *jéwⁿè-wⁿ*) for inanimate or plural reference (369a-b). The lengthening and <HL>-tone in *pílē:-∅=∅* are due to the clitic; a rendition *pílē-∅=:* would capture this better but is typographically ungainly. For animate singular reference, the adjective ends in (animate) singular *-m̄* for both ‘white’ and ‘black’ (369c-d), producing a geminated *mm̄* at the boundary. For animate plural reference, ‘white’ is *pílē-m̄* (“animate singular”) while ‘black’ is *jéwⁿè-ŵⁿ* (morphologically “inanimate”) in (369e-f).

- (369) a. [ú ^{HL}*bérè*
 [2SgPoss ^{HL}stick]
 pílē:-∅=∅ (*jéwⁿè-wⁿ=∅*)
 white-Inan=it.is.3SgSbj (black-Inan=it.is.3SgSbj)
 ‘Your-Sg stick is white (black).’
- b. [ú ^{HL}*bérè* *kù* *bè*]
 [2SgPoss ^{HL}stick Def Pl]
 pílē:-∅=∅ (*jéwⁿè-wⁿ=∅*)
 white-Inan=it.is.3SgSbj (black-Inan=it.is.3SgSbj)
 ‘Your-Sg sticks are white (black).’
- c. *pílē-m=m-îy* (*jéwⁿè-m=m-iy*)
 white-AnSg=it.is-1SgSbj (black-AnSg=it.is-1SgSbj)
 ‘I am white (black).’
- d. *pílē-m̄=∅* (*jéwⁿé-m̄=∅*)
 white-AnSg=it.is.3SgSbj (black-AnSg=it.is.3SgSbj)
 ‘He/She/It (person, animal) is white (black).’
- e. *pílē:-∅=bɔ̄* (*jéwⁿé-ŵⁿ=bɔ̄*)
 white.Inan=it.is.3PlSbj (black.Inan=it.is.3PlSbj)
 ‘They (e.g. people, sheep) are white (black).’
- f. *pílē-m̄=m-îy.:* (*jéwⁿé-ŵⁿ=m-iy.:*)
 white-AnSg=it.is-1PlSbj (black-Inan=it.is-1PlSbj)
 ‘We are white (black).’
- g. *pílē-m̄=m-ûw.:* (*jéwⁿé-ŵⁿ=m-ûw.:*)
 white-AnSg=it.is-2PlSbj (black-Inan=it.is-2PlSbj)
 ‘You-Pl are white (black).’

11.4.3 Bare-stem adjectival predicates

A predicate consisting of just the inanimate form of the adjective, in {L}-toned clause-final form, occurs after a focalized constituent. For example, the regular predicative form *èsú bù* ‘be good’ is replaced by *èsù* in (370a). The other examples in (370) show that the adjective is inanimate in form even with a human singular or plural subject.

- (370) a. *kú=mì* *èsù*
 Inan=Focus good
 ‘That [focus] is what is good.’ (2005.1a.05)
- b. *ŋgú=mì* *gò:-w / èrù-m*
 Prox.Inan=Focus short/sweet-Inan
 ‘This [focus] is what is short/sweet.’
- c. *kú=mì* *dùgù / wà:w*
 [Inan=Foc big/distant.Inan
 ‘That [focus] is what is big/far away.’
- d. *í=mì* *diyⁿà-wⁿ*
 1Sg=Focus big-Inan
 ‘It’s I [focus] who am big (adult).’
- e. *bù:=mì* *diyⁿà-wⁿ*
 3Pl=Focus big-Inan
 ‘It’s they [focus] who are big (adult).’

11.4.4 Negative adjectival and stative predicates (*=rá-*)

The **stative negative clitic** *=rá-* is added to the form of the adjective used as **modifier of an inanimate noun**. After a nasal, the clitic takes the form *=dá-*, which in careful pronunciation comes out as *=ndá-*. The negative suffix induces **tone-dropping** on the stem. The regular pronominal-subject suffixes follow *-rá-*. The paradigm is (371). The 2Sg suffix is H-toned (as in other negative-suffix paradigms). The 3Pl is also H-toned.

(371)	category	form
	1Sg	<i>=rá-ŷ</i>
	2Sg	<i>=rá-ŵ</i> (H-toned)
	1Pl	<i>=rá-ŷ.:</i>
	2Pl	<i>=rá-ŵ.:</i>
	3Sg/Inan	<i>=rá-∅</i>
	3Pl	<i>=rá-b᷑</i> (H-toned)

Examples with 3Sg (animate), inanimate, and 3Pl referents are in (372).

(372)	gloss	'he/she is not ...'	'it is not ...'	'they are not ...'
	'bad'	<i>mòsù-</i> Ø=rá-Ø	<i>mòsù-</i> Ø=rá-Ø	<i>mòsù-</i> Ø=rá-bó
	'red'	<i>bàr</i> "à-w"=rá-Ø	<i>bàr</i> "à-w"=rá-Ø	<i>bàr</i> "à-w"=rá-bó
	'short'	<i>gò:w</i> =rá-	<i>gò:w</i> =rá-	<i>gò:w</i> =rá-bó
	'cold'	<i>tàm-</i> Ø=dá-	<i>tàm-</i> Ø=dá-	<i>tàm-</i> Ø=dá-bó

Examples with *mòsú* ‘bad, ugly’ showing a fuller range of pronominal subjects are in (373).

- (373) a. *mòsù-*Ø=rá-Ø
bad-Inan^L=StatNeg-3SgSbj
'He/She/It is not bad.'
- b. *mòsù-*Ø=rá-bó
bad-Inan^L=StatNeg-3PlSbj
'They are not bad.'
- c. *mòsù-*Ø=rá-ŷ
bad-Inan^L=StatNeg-1SgSbj
'I am not bad.'
- d. *mòsù-*Ø=rá-w̄
bad-Inan^L=StatNeg-2SgSbj
'You-Sg are not bad.'
- e. *mòsù-*Ø=rá-ŷ:
bad-Inan^L=StatNeg-1PlSbj
'We are not bad.'
- f. *mòsù-*Ø=rá-w̄:
bad-Inan^L=StatNeg-2PlSbj
'You-Pl are not bad.'

11.4.5 Past forms of adjectival predicates (*=b̂e:-*, *=b̂e-*)

The **past clitic** (§10.4.1) may be added to a positive or negative adjectival predicate to relocate the time frame into the past. Variant *=b̂e-* with falling tone, therefore surfacing with long vowel when not followed by a consonantal suffix, is used when the adjectival form used in this construction ends in an H-tone. When the adjective ends in an L-tone, we get L-toned and short-voweled *=b̂e-*.

Examples with **third person** subjects are in (374). In the 3Pl, two constructions are possible. One has *=bó=b-â:*, beginning with the 3Pl subject suffix used in perfective positive forms (374b). The other has 3Pl past *=b-à:* added to the plural form of the adjective with suffix *-yè* (374d). Further examples (not reproduced here) confirm that either construction may be used with any adjective. For example, (374d) can also be expressed as *jéw"è=bó=b-â:*

- (374) a. *púlɔ̃-m mɔ̃sú=∅=bɛ:-∅*
 Fulbe-AnSg bad=be.3SgSbj=Past-3SgSbj
 ‘The Pullo (=Fulbe man) used to be bad.’
- b. *púlɔ̃: mɔ̃sú=bɔ̃=b-â:*
 Fulbe.Pl bad=be.3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
 ‘The Fulbe-Pl used to be bad.’
- b. *jéwⁿè-m=bè-∅*
 black-AnSg=Past-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She was black.’
- c. *jéwⁿè-wⁿ=bè-∅*
 black-Inan=Past-3SgSbj
 ‘It (inanimate) was black.’
- d. *jéwⁿè-yè=b-à:*
 black-Pl=Past-3PlSbj
 ‘They (animate) were black.’
- e. *nî: tám-∅=bɛ:-∅*
 water cold-Inan=Past-3SgSbj
 ‘The water was cold.’

Examples with **first/second person** subjects are in (375).

- (375) a. *jéwⁿè-m=bè-y.:*
 black-AnSg=Past-1PlSbj
 ‘We were black.’
- b. *gùrɔ̃-w=bé-ŷ.:*
 long-Inan=Past-1PlSbj
 ‘We used to be tall.’
- c. *kómbó=bé-ŵ*
 skinny=Past-2SgSbj
 ‘You-Sg used to be skinny.’
- d. *dùgú=bé-ŷ*
 fat=Past-1SgSbj
 ‘I was fat.’
- e. *dùgú=bé-ŷ.:*
 fat=Past-1PlSbj
 ‘We were fat.’

Past negative examples are in (376). The structure is the same as above, except for the addition of stative negative clitic *=rá*, which forces tone-dropping on the adjective.

- (376) a. *jèwⁿè-wⁿ=rá=bé-ỳ.:*
 black-Inan^L=StatNeg=Past-1PlSbj
 ‘We were not black.’ (*jèwⁿè-*)
- b. *nî:* *đw-Ø=rá=bé:-Ø*
 water hot-Inan^L=StatNeg=Past-3SgSbj
 ‘The water was not hot.’ (*đw*)
- c. *sàlà=rá=bé:-Ø*
 small=StatNeg=Past-3SgSbj
 ‘It was not small.’ (*sàlà*)

11.5 Possessive predicates

11.5.1 ‘Have’ (*yá só-*, negative *sò-ló-*)

The common ‘have’ predication is a stative quasi-verb *só-* that occurs in a single paradigm, generally with present (or timeless) time reference. In positive clauses with no focalized constituent, and when possession in the sense of ownership or other lasting possession is involved, existential *yá* (§11.2.2.1) immediately precedes re the quasi-verb.

- (377) *úrò* *yá* *só-ỳ*
 house Exist have-1SgSbj
 ‘I have a house.’

The **paradigm** is (378). The 2Sg and 3Sg forms with H-toned suffix *-w̄* are homophonous. The 3Pl is idiosyncratic but is also H-toned.

(378) category form

1Sg	<i>só-ỳ</i>
2Sg	<i>só-w̄</i> (H-toned, homophonous to 3Sg)
1Pl	<i>só-ỳ.:</i>
2Pl	<i>só-w̄.:</i>
3Sg/Inan	<i>só-w̄</i> (H-toned, homophonous to 2Sg)
3Pl	<i>s-é:ⁿ ~ s-é:ⁿ-bó</i> (H-toned)

In the **negative**, the form is *sò-ló-*, used without existential *yá*.

- (379) *nă:-m* *sò-ló-w̄*
 cow-AnSg have-Neg-2SgSbj
 ‘You-Sg don’t have a cow.’

The **negative paradigm** is (380). The 2Sg suffix is again H-toned, but the 2Sg and 3Sg forms are segmentally distinct. The 3Pl form is again idiosyncratic and difficult to segment (the front vowels may constitute two plural morphemes).

(380)	category	form
	1Sg	<i>sò-ló-ŷ</i>
	2Sg	<i>sò-ló-w̄</i> (H-toned)
	1Pl	<i>sò-ló-ŷ.:</i>
	2Pl	<i>sò-ló-w̄.:</i>
	3Sg/Inan	<i>sò-ló-∅</i>
	3Pl	<i>sè-né</i> (alternitive segmentation <i>s-ɛ-n-ɛ</i>)

11.5.2 ‘Have possession of’ (*sò-*)

Jamsay distinguishes the basic ‘have’ verb *sà*, denoting ownership, from verbs of temporary possession (custody) *jìnè* and *jèrè*, roughly ‘hold’. BenT has no such lexical distinction. However, **L-toned *sò-* without existential *yá*** can in some situations be used to express temporary possession, as in (381b). The core sense is ‘be holding, have in custody’.

- (381) a. *nǎ:-m yá sò-ŷ*
cow-AnSg Exist have-1SgSbj
'I have (= own) a cow.'
- b. *nǎ:-m sò-ŷ*
cow-AnSg have-1SgSbj
'I have a cow (with me).'

In (382), the locative adverbials appear to be (contrastively) focalized, so existential *yá* is absent.

- (382) *ú ñgú-rù sò-w̄ dè,*
2Sg here have-2SgSbj if,
[m̄bá yá] ñgá-rù sò-w̄
[FarDist.An also] there.Dist have-3SgSbj
'If you-Sg have (one) here, that (other person) too has (one) there.' [2005.1a.06]

This construction without *yá* did not occur in my data in connection with having money in one’s pockets. Here the full construction was used even when the context was clearly about temporary possession.

- (383) *pérí-yěy yá sò-w̄*
ten-two Exist have-2SgSbj
'Do you have twenty riyals (= 100 CFA francs) on you?'

11.5.3 ‘Belong to’ predicates (^{HL}*kɔ̃:n*, ^{HL}*yɔ̃-m*)

The noun *kɔ̃:n* ‘thing’ is used in predicate genitives (‘X belongs to Y’). It takes possessed form ^{HL}*kɔ̃:n* or ^L*kɔ̃:n* (1Sg possessor ^{L+HL}*kɔ̃:n* ‘is mine’). The subject X is typically a discourse-definite, or deictically anchored, inanimate entity. The ‘it is’ clitic is presumably present, but it has no audible manifestation since ^{HL}*kɔ̃:n* and variants already end in a long vowel and final L- tone.

- (384) a. *[ùrɔ̃^L ñgú] ^{L+HL}*kɔ̃:n=Ø**
 [house^L Prox.Inan] ^{L+HL}1SgPoss.thing=it.is
 ‘This house belongs to me (=is mine).’
- b. *bú:dù [F ^{HL}*kɔ̃:n=Ø]**
 money [F ^{HL}thing=it.is]
 ‘The money belongs to F (personal name).’

For animate (but nonhuman) subject, the noun *yɔ̃-m* ‘(unspecified) animal, critter’ or its plural *yɔ̃:* replaces *kɔ̃:n* ‘thing’. The possessed forms are singular ^{HL}*yɔ̃-m* or ^L*yɔ̃-m* (1Sg ^{L+HL}*yɔ̃-m*), and plural ^{HL}*yɔ̃:* or ^L*yɔ̃:* (1Sg ^{L+HL}*yɔ̃:*). Again, the ‘it is’ clitic is presumably present but has no audible manifestation, as the possessed-noun tone overlay is already falling.

- (385) *pèrɛ-m [ú ^{HL}*yɔ̃-m=Ø]**
 sheep-AnSg [2SgSbj ^{HL}animal-AnSg=it.is]
 ‘The sheep-Sg is yours-Sg.’

12 Comparatives

12.1 Asymmetrical comparatives

12.1.1 ‘More, most’ (*mégré*)

The noun *mégré* ‘more, most’ is common in comparatives. This stem is pronounced with H-tones in isolation (386e). In most actual examples it follows a dative (which always ends in an L-tone), denoting the **comparandum**. Some speakers usually pronounce it in L-toned form as ^L*mègè* in this position, behaving tonally like nouns following a possessor ending in an L-tone. Other speakers clearly pronounce H-toned *mégré* in post-dative position, and this form is shown in the examples below (though some were originally transcribed with *mègè*).

- (386) a. ^{L+}*mă:* *mégré* ^H*díy^{ná}-wⁿ*
Dat.1Sg more Hbig(ness)
‘He/She is older than I (am).’
- b. *[ú mâ:] mégré găw bí-ŷ*
[2Sg Dat] more tall(ness) be-1SgSbj
‘I am taller than you-Sg (are).’
(*bí-ŷ* occasional variant of *bú-ŷ*)
- c. *[û: ^L*mà:] mégré júwó-ŷ*
[2Pl ^LDat] more know.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I know more than you-Pl (do).’*
- d. *[^{L+}*mă:* ér^{né} nî-w kù]*
[1Sg.Dat 3SgSbj give.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def]
*[[ú ^H*kâ:n*] ^L*mâ:] mégré*
[[2SgPoss ^HPoss] ^LDat] more
‘She gave me more than (she gave) you.’
(lit: “What she gave me [is/was] more than yours.”)*
- e. *érlé=ì mégré jè-Ø*
3Sg=Foc more eat.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She ate more (or: the most).’

If the domain of comparison is adjectival and scalar, e.g. height or sweetness, it is optionally expressed in the form of a deadjectival abstractive nominal following *mégré*. Abstractives, in other contexts, have an {LH} tone overlay. Many of them end in a suffix *-w* that resembles the inanimate suffix on modifying adjectives (which, however, generally have a different tone pattern). After *mégré*, several of these abstractive nominals shift to {H}-tone. *díy^{ná}-wⁿ* ‘bigness, size’ in (386a) exemplifies this shift, compare the usual {LH}-toned abstractive

diyⁿà-wⁿ. By contrast, *gǎw* ‘tallness, height’ in (386b) keeps its /LH/ melody in comparatives. For more details and examples, see §4.2.6.

mégré can also occur with an {HL}-toned form of the adjective distinct from both the regular {LH}-toned abstractive and the {H}-toned form with *mégré*. That the {HL}-toned form is an adjective rather than an abstractive nominal is shown by the fact that it **takes nominal suffixes** that agree with the referent. In addition, it occurs with a preceding tone-dropped noun, and is clearly internal to the NP. This construction can be translated as a **comparative** (with implicit comparandum), or as a **superlative**. Examples are in (387).

- (387) a. *màngòrò*^L *mégré* ^{HL}*bárⁿà-wⁿ*
mango^L more ^{HL}red-Inan
‘the reddest mango’ or ‘a redder mango’
- b. *nù*^L *mégré* ^{HL}*bárⁿà-m*
person^L more ^{HL}red-AnSg
‘the reddest (=brownest) person’ or ‘a redder (=browner) person’
- c. *màngòrò*^L *mégré* ^{HL}*dúsù-*Ø
mango^L more ^{HL}heavy-Inan
‘the heaviest mango’ or ‘a heavier mango’
- d. *yà*^L *mégré* ^{HL}*dúgù-yè*
woman^L more ^{HL}fat-AnPl
‘the fattest women’ or ‘some fatter women’

Further examples showing the form of the {HL}-toned adjective (rightmost column), in comparison to the regular adjectival form (middle column) are in (388). Only inanimate forms are given. Except in (388b), the only differences are tonal. The {HL} overlay is realized as H.L.L on trisyllabics, the only attested example being that in (388e).

(388) Inanimate modifying and {HL} comparative adjectives

gloss	modifying	{HL} after <i>mégré</i>
a. <i>-w</i> (not homorganic to preceding vowel) retained after <i>mégré</i>		
<i>adjective has /LHL/ melody</i>		
‘long’	<i>gúrɔ̄-w</i>	^{HL} <i>gúrɔ̄-w</i>
<i>adjective has /HL/ melody</i>		
‘red’	<i>bárⁿà-w</i>	^{HL} <i>bárⁿà-wⁿ</i>
‘spacious’	<i>káwà-w</i>	^{HL} <i>káwà-w</i>
‘big’	<i>diyⁿà-wⁿ</i>	^{HL} <i>diyⁿà-wⁿ</i>
b. <i>-w</i> (following <i>u</i>) as inanimate modifier, omitted after <i>mégré</i>		
<i>adjective has /LHL/ melody</i>		
‘heavy’	<i>dúsû-w</i>	^{HL} <i>dúsû</i>
‘fat’	<i>dúgû-w</i>	^{HL} <i>dúgû</i>

c. *-m*

<i>adjective has /HL/ melody</i>		
‘sweet’	<i>érù-m</i>	^{HL} <i>érù-m</i>

d. final *u* without *-w*

<i>adjective has /LH/ melody</i>		
‘rotten’	<i>ðmbú</i>	^{HL} <i>ðmbù</i>
‘bad’	<i>mòsú</i>	^{HL} <i>mòsù</i>
‘blind’	<i>jìmdú</i>	^{HL} <i>jímdù</i>

e. trisyllabic

<i>adjective has /LH/ melody</i>		
‘half-ripe’	<i>bòlòròy</i>	^{HL} <i>bólòròy</i>

f. other

<i>adjective has /H/ melody</i>		
‘white’	<i>pílē</i>	^{HL} <i>pílè</i>
<i>adjective has /HL/ melody</i>		
‘new’	<i>kálà</i>	^{HL} <i>kálà</i>
‘hot’	<i>ðw</i>	^{HL} <i>ðw</i>
‘cold’	<i>tâm</i>	^{HL} <i>tâm</i>
‘foul’	<i>gôm</i>	^{HL} <i>gôm</i>
<i>adjective has /LH/ melody</i>		
‘dry’	<i>mă:</i>	^{HL} <i>mâ:</i>
‘difficult’	<i>nûm</i>	^{HL} <i>nûm</i>
‘ripe’	<i>ìréy</i>	^{HL} <i>íréy</i>
<i>adjective has /LHL/ melody</i>		
‘tall’	<i>gâw</i>	^{HL} <i>gâw</i>

12.1.2 ‘Surpass’ (*láwá*)

láwá ‘pass by’ can be used in the sense ‘surpass’ (389).

- (389) *kùyá: [érn'é mâ:] mége júwá-ñà=bè-ŷ,*
 first [3Sg Dat] more know-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj,
 gà: nûw"ðy" í láwá-jé:-Ø
 but now 1SgObj pass-RecPf-3SgSbj
 ‘I used to know more than he/she (did), but now he/she has surpassed me.’

12.1.3 ‘Be better, more’ (*ìréw*)

The form *ìréw* ‘better’ is used with ‘be’ quasi-verb to constitute the predicate. The comparandum is dative. Negation is with the stative negative *=rá-* (§10.2.3.4), which induces tone-dropping (390b).

- (390) a. *[ú mā:] ìr̡ew bú-ȳ*
 [2Sg Dat] better be-1SgSbj
 'I am better than you-Sg (are).'
- b. *L+ mā: ìr̡ew=rá-bó*
 Dat.1Sg better=Neg-3PlSbj
 'They are not better than I (am).'

12.2 Symmetrical comparatives

12.2.1 Expressions with *gâyⁿ* → ‘like’

The ‘like’ particle may be used to indicate approximate equality on some measure.

- (391) *[[ú mā:] dàyⁿ í n̄i-wⁿ] gâyⁿ-]*
 [[[2Sg Dat] manner^L 1SgSbj give.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] like]
[ér̡n̄é mā:] n̄i-ȳ
 [3Sg Dat] give.Pfv-1SgSbj
 'I gave him like the way (=as much as) I gave you-Sg.'

12.2.2 ‘Equal; be as good as’ (*bă-*)

The **stative quasi-verb** *bă-* ‘equal’ is used in transitive symmetrical comparatives. One comparandum may be subject, the other direct object (392b).

- (392) a. *[à-jérú wó] [á HL bō:] bá-w̄*
 [wrestling in] [3ReflSgSgPoss HL father] equal.Stat-3SgSbj
 ‘He_x is as good as his_x father in wrestling.’
- b. *[à-jérú wó] [á HL bō:] bá-rí-Ø*
 [wrestling in] [3ReflSgSgPoss HL father] equal-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘He_x is not as good as his_x father in wrestling.’

The **paradigm** (for positive clauses) is (393). The negative counterparts are based on the stem *bă-rí-*, which is morphologically a perfective negative.

(393)	category	form
	1Sg	<i>bá-ȳ</i>
	2Sg	<i>bá-w̄</i>
	1Pl	<i>bá-ȳ:</i>
	2Pl	<i>bá-w̄:</i>
	3Sg	<i>bá-w̄</i>
	3Pl	<i>bá-mà</i>

12.2.3 ‘Equal(ly)’ (*cí-céw*, *céw-céw*)

The stem *cí-céw* ‘equal’ can be used as a predicate. It may be followed by a ‘be’ quasi-verb. If the comparanda are expressed as NPs, the ‘be’ quasi-verb is optionally omitted (394b).

- (394) a. *cí-céw* *b-ɛ:n-bó*
 equal be^L-3PlSbj-3PlSbj
 ‘They are equal.’
- b. *[séydu yà→'] [á:mádù yà→'] [àjérú wó] cí-céw*
 [Seydou and] [Amadou and] [wrestling in] equal
 ‘Seydou and Amadou are equal (=equally good) in wrestling.’

A related adverbial is the reduplicated *céw-céw* ‘equally’ (395).

- (395) *[séydu yà→'] [á:mádù yà→'] céw-céw wàrà-bó*
 [Seydou and] [Amadou and] equally farm.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘Seydou and Amadou did farming (=weeding) to the same extent.’

For simple *céw* in ‘willy-nilly’ conditional antecedents see §16.3. Jamsay *céw* ‘all’ and its derivatives may be the sources of these forms.

12.2.4 ‘Equal(ly)’ and ‘since’ (*bă→*)

An adverbial (with final intonational prolongation) *bă→*, possibly related to the verb *bă-* ‘equal (be equal to)’ (§12.2.2), can be glossed ‘as much (as sb/sth else)’. It may be used predicatively, with following *bù-* ‘be’. The usual context is size (dimensions).

In the combination with following *bù-* (396), one can clearly hear the rising tone.

- (396) *[nà:^L mǔ:] gō:-m bă→ bù-∅*
 [cow^L ProxSg] elephant equally be-3SgSbj
 ‘This cow is as big as an elephant.’

bă→ is also used in the negated ‘... not so much as X’ construction. Here *bă→* is phrase-final, and it is often heard as L-toned.

- (397) *támbú-mì [[m̩bá ^{HL}támb-ì:] ^{HL}kick-VblN] bă→*
 kick.Ipfv-3SgSbj [[FarDist.An kick-VblN] equally]
 ùrùyó-mì-dó
 hurt-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
 ‘It (=centipede) stings, (but) it doesn’t hurt as much as the other one’s stinging.’
 [2005.1b.09]

bă→ is also used in the temporal sense ‘since’ after a noun denoting a time, as in *jéyⁿ bă→* ‘since last year’. A better gloss is ‘(going) back to last year’ or ‘(since) as early as last year’. In the fixed phrase *kùyó: bă→* ‘long ago, (back) in the old days’, the gloss ‘since’ is

inappropriate insofar as there is no reference to the ensuing time span. The sense ‘(going) back to (time T)’ expresses roughly the same telescopic convergence as ‘equal to (X)’.

12.2.5 ‘Attain, equal’ (*dɔ:*)

In the sense ‘X come to equal Y’ (e.g. as the culmination of a gradual improvement), the verb *dɔ-* ‘arrive, reach (destination)’ may be used.

- (398) a. *[àjèrú wó] àbádá [á HL bɔ:]*
 [wrestling in] never [3ReflSgPoss HL father]
dɔ-m̩-dó-∅
arrive-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
 ‘He_x will never (come to) be as good in wrestling as his_x father.’
- b. *gàwá í dɔ-jɛ:-∅*
 height 1SgObj arrive-RecPf-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She has (now) reached the same height as (= is now as tall as) me.’

12.3 ‘A fortiori’ (*wê:y*)

The particle *wê:y*, sometimes *wê:y→* with intonational prolongation, means ‘a fortiori, much less’. It could also be transcribed as *wéy.:* with dying-quail intonation. For this form in the sense ‘as well as’, see §7.1.3.

- (399) a. *ínjírí béré-m̩dó-ŷ [wê:y jìyé]*
 get.up can-IpfvNeg-1SgSbj [much.less dance]
 ‘I can’t (even) get up, much less (can I) dance.’
- b. *[[dɔ:-m yà] [nà:^L gúnúm kù] yì=máyⁿ]*
 [[Dogon-AnSg too] [cow entire Def] see=and.SS]
júwó-m̩-dó-∅
 know-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
wê:y [nà:-dúrò ^Lpàyⁿ] mɔ:lù-∅
a.fortiori [cow^L-tail Inst] gather.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘The Dogon person for his part would not know (=recognize it) if he had seen the entire cow, never mind (just) with the cow tail.’ [2005.1a.16]

13 Focalization and interrogation

13.1 Focalization

The overt **focus clitic** is *=m̄*. It is identical in form to an allomorph of the ‘it is’ clitic (§11.2.1), but unlike the ‘it is’ clitic it is **not conjugated** for pronominal subject category.

This clitic is used after pronouns, demonstratives, and personal names. However, it is not often directly added to ordinary common noun stems. Perhaps this is because it would be difficult to distinguish from (animate) singular suffix *-m*. For example, if the focus clitic were added to *árñà* ‘men’, this would produce #*árnà=m̄*, which would be homophonous to singular *árnà-m* ‘man’. The result is that noun-headed NPs can function syntactically as focalized, without an overt focus morpheme. This focalization is indirectly manifested, in the perfective (positive and negative) by the use of L-toned verb forms, including the (positive) unsuffixed perfective. For subject focus, focalization is also manifested, for 1st/2nd person categories, by the use of a 3Sg pronominal-subject suffix on the verb.

Focalization is largely confined to positive utterances for pragmatic reasons, but negative utterances allow focalization in the right context (‘it was the women [focus] that he/she did not bring’).

Existential particle *yá* is used chiefly with a following quasi-verb *bù-* ‘be’ or *só-* ‘have’. These quasi-verbs are defective and do not themselves distinguish ordinary from (L-toned) defocalized forms. Instead, *yá* is present in ordinary contexts and is disallowed when a constituent is focalized (it is also absent under negation). See §11.2.2.1-3 for details and examples.

13.1.1 Subject focalization

In the (positive) perfective aspect, the **unsuffixed perfective** stem (L-toned) is regular for past-time reference. The verb shows regular third person subject prefixes, *-Ø* for 3Sg/Inan, and *-bɔ* for 3Pl.

- (400) a. *séydu=m̄* *lò-Ø*
Seydou=Foc go.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘It’s Seydou [focus] who went.’
- b. *kúrñù* *yàyà-Ø*
stone fall.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘It was a stone [focus] that fell.’
- c. *árñà* *yè-bɔ*
man.Pl come.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘It was the men [focus] who came.’

For 1st/2nd person subject, the unsuffixed perfective is again used, but the verb has zero (pseudo-)3Sg inflection.

- (401) a. *í=ṁ* *lò-∅*
 1Sg=Foc go.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘It’s I [focus] who went.’
- b. *û:=ṁ* *lò-∅*
 2Pl=Foc go.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘It’s you-Pl [focus] who went.’

In the **imperfective**, the (positive) form in common use is the **unsuffixed imperfective**, without reduplication. Again, the 1st/2nd person subject forms require the (pseudo-)3Sg form of the verb, which in this case is *-ṁ*. True third person subject forms have the usual 3Sg or 3Pl suffix on the verb.

- (402) a. *í=ṁ* *ló-ṁ*
 1Sg=Foc go-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘It’s I [focus] who will go.’
- b. *û:=ṁ* *ló-ṁ*
 2Pl=Foc go-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘It’s you-Pl [focus] who will go.’
- c. *séydu=ṁ* *ló-ṁ*
 Seydou=Foc go-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who will go.’
- d. *árṇà* *ló-yè*
 man.Pl go.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 ‘It’s men [focus] who will go.’

In the **perfective negative**, the defocalization of the verb entails a drop in the tone of the AN suffix, elsewhere *-rí-*, to L-toned *-rì-*.

- (403) a. *séydu=ṁ* *lò^L-rì-∅*
 Seydou=Foc go^L-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] who did not go.’
- b. *î:=ṁ* *lò^L-rì-∅*
 1Pl=Foc go^L-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘It was we [focus] who did not go.’
- c. *árṇà* *lò^L-r-à*
 man.Pl go^L-PfvNeg^L-3PlSbj
 ‘It was the men [focus] who did not go.’

When focus $=\dot{m}$ is absent, only the tone on the AN suffix identifies the clause as focalized. Thus (403c) differs only subtly from unfocalized $\dot{a}r^n\dot{a} \dot{l}\ddot{o}-r-\dot{a}$ ‘men did not go’.

In the **imperfective negative**, the verb stem retains its lexical tone. The AN suffix complex is $-\dot{m}-d\ddot{o}-$. 1st/2nd person subject requires (pseudo-)3Sg suffix on the verb.

- (404) a. $s\ddot{e}yd\ddot{u}=\dot{m}$ $l\ddot{o}-\dot{m}-d\ddot{o}-\emptyset$
 Seydou=Foc go-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
 ‘It’s Seydou [focus] who will not go.’
- b. $\dot{u}=\dot{m}$ $l\ddot{o}-\dot{m}-d\ddot{o}-\emptyset$
 2Sg=Foc go-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
 ‘It’s you-Sg [focus] who will not go.’
- c. $b\ddot{u}:=\dot{m}$ $l\ddot{o}-\dot{m}-n-\acute{e}$
 3Pl=Foc go-IpfvNeg-3PlSbj
 ‘It’s they [focus] who will not go.’

The subject (or topic) of an ‘it is X’ construction can also be focalized. See e.g. $\acute{e}r^n\acute{e}=\dot{m}$ $j\ddot{o}ng\acute{u}-\dot{m}=\emptyset$ ‘it’s he [focus] who was the healer’ in B’s first turn in (679) in the sample text. In this construction, the focalized subject (topic) and the predicate may look alike morphologically.

13.1.2 Object focalization

When the focalized constituent is the direct object, we get the same patterns for AN verbal morphology as in subject focalization. Specifically, we get the L-toned unsuffixed perfective, the L-toned negative AN forms, and the unreduplicated unsuffixed imperfective as basic verb forms. However, in object focalization, the verb carries the **full set of subject pronominal suffixes**.

Nouns and pronouns that take $=\dot{m}$ for subject focus may take accusative clitic $=\dot{n}$ (§8.2) when functioning as focalized objects. This is usual with pronouns and seems common with personal names, but it is not very common with other nouns.

- (405) a. $s\ddot{e}yd\ddot{u}=n\dot{i}$ $y\ddot{i}-y$
 Seydou=Acc see.Pfv-1SgSbj
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] that I saw.’
- b. $y\ddot{a}:$ $y\ddot{i}-\dot{w}$
 woman.Pl see.Pfv-2SgSbj
 ‘It was the women [focus] that you-Sg saw.’
- c. $k\ddot{u}r^n\dot{u}$ $j\ddot{i}s\dot{e}-y$
 stone throw.Pfv-1SgSbj
 ‘It was the stone [focus] that I threw.’

- d. *í=nì* *yì-w*
 1Sg=Acc see.Pfv-2SgSbj
 ‘It was me [focus] that you-Sg saw.’

In (405b-c), only the use of the unsuffixed perfective verb form suggests that ‘women’ and ‘stone’ may be focalized.

In all of my elicited examples, the word with *=nì* clitic is immediately preverbal.

Below are examples of the perfective negative (406a), the imperfective (406b), and the imperfective negative (406c). As in subject relatives, the perfective negative and imperfective negative suffixes have L-tone (*-rì-*, *-mìdò-*) under focalization.

- (406) a. *séydu=nì* *yì^L-rù-w*
 Seydou=Acc see^L-PfvNeg-2SgSbj
 ‘It was Seydou [focus] that you-Sg did not see.’
- b. *yǎ:* *jò-ló-m*
 woman.Pl convey-Caus-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘It’s the women [focus] that he/she will take (there).’
- c. *yǎ:* *jò-ló-mdò-Ø*
 woman.Pl convey-Caus-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘It’s the women [focus] that he/she will not take (there).’

13.1.3 Focalization of PP or other adverbial

Since PPs and similar adverbials have inanimate reference (to times, places, and manners), there is no reason to expect them to allow focus clitics. In (407), ‘in(side) the house’ is focalized, but this is discernible only because the verb is in the unsuffixed (L-toned) perfective.

- (407) *[úrò pìrè] bìrè-bó*
 [house inside] work.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘It was in the house [focus] that they worked.’

13.2 Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives are expressed by a clause-final particle ‘yes/no?’ particle that is not easily distinguished from an ‘or’ disjunction. There is also the usual array of content (WH) interrogatives like ‘who?’

In textual examples, we observe a tendency to topicalize a constituent, then (after a pause) add a question, with a WH word either as predicate (with ‘it is’ clitic, indistinguishable from the focus clitic) or immediately before the predicate. However, ordering is variable, and clause-initial position for the WH word is also possible. The examples in (408) illustrate the various linear positions of WH words. Repetitions of the same question, perhaps slightly rephrased, can show different ordering (408a,d). In (408c) the nominal WH word (‘what?’) is adjacent to a coindexed relative head.

- (408) a. *ìnìrⁿi:* *kù,*
 name Def,
[àŋâyⁿ L nàyⁿ] ìnìrⁿi:-gǎyⁿ béré:-rà-w^{..},
[how? with] name^L-put.VblN get-Prog-2PlSbj
[yí-m HL ìnìrⁿi:] [àŋâyⁿ L nàyⁿ] béré:-rà-w^{..}:
[child-AnSg HL name] [how? with] get-Prog-2PlSbj
 ‘The name (of a newborn child), how do you-Pl get (=determine) the putting (=giving) of the name? The child’s name, how do you get it?’ [2005.1a.02]
- b. *[kú yà] [kú HL kórò] ñjê:=Ø*
 [DiscDef also] [InanPoss HL meaning] what?=it.is
 ‘as for that, its meaning is what?’ [2005.1a.02]
- c. *[kɔ:ⁿL ñjê:=Ø] [[tàŋàsô: L mà:]*
 [thing^L what?=Foc] [[T L Dat]
[ní: kù] lɔyⁿ káyⁿ=ní]
 [water Def] dirtiness make=and.SS]
[ɔ:rɔy [û: L mà:] ká:ⁿ-rà-w^{..}]
 [disease [2Pl L Dat] make-Prog-Ppl.Inan]
 ‘What thing is it that makes the water at Tangaso dirty, and makes (=causes) the sickness for you-Pl?’ [2005.1a.04]
- d. *[nǔ: [kú mâ:] àŋâyⁿ gì:ⁿ-bò,*
 [person.Pl [Inan Dat] how? say.Pfv-3PlSbj,
àŋâyⁿ [kú mâ:] mâ:nù-w^{..}:
 how? [Inan Dat] think.Pfv-2PlSbj
 ‘What did the people say about them (=locusts)? What did you-Pl think about them?’ [2005.1a.08]
- e. *[wòŋgòrò-kùnjú kù yà→] [sè:njê: yà→],*
 [first.weeding Def and] [second.weeding and]
àŋgú=m̩ mégé HL nûm
 which=Foc more HL difficult
 (Between) the *wongoro-kunju* and *senje* [two stages of farm work] which (of them) is more difficult?’ [2005.1a.10]

13.2.1 Polar (yes/no) interrogative (*ma*)

The particle *ma* can be added to a statement to make it into a question. It is subject to optional intonational prolongation. The pitch is also subject to an intonational rise, but its basic phonological tone is copied from the immediately preceding tone. It may, alternatively, have falling pitch (*mâ→*). An example is (409a). Another option is to express both the positive and negative alternatives, linked by *mâ→* ‘or’, as in (409b). This is pragmatically interpreted as a question. When two or more occurrences of *ma* occur, as in (409c), I take clause-final *ma* to be interrogative, and *ma* at the beginning of the second and later options to be disjunctive.

- (409) a. *yɛ:-r-à:* *mà*
 come-Pfv1a-1a3PlSbj Q
 ‘Did they come?’ (or: ‘Have they come?’)
- b. *yɛ:-r-à:* *mà→* *yɛ-r-á*
 come-Pfv1a-3PlSbj or come-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
 ‘Did they come, or did they not come?’
- c. *hónð* *hálkérè* *gâyⁿ→* *mà:nù-w̄:* *mà→*,
 for.example destruction like think.Pfv-2PlSbj Q,
 mà→ [kò:ⁿL àdùnà:rⁿù-náwⁿà] gâyⁿ→ mà:nù-w̄: *má→*
 or [thing^L world^L-ruination] like think.Pfv-2PlSbj Q
 ‘For example, did you-Pl think it was like (divine) destruction? Or did you-Pl
 think it was some kind of ruination of (=from) the world (of the living)?’
 [2005.1a.08]

13.2.2 ‘Who?’ (*ăm*)

‘Who?’ is usually *ăm*, but this form can also be treated as a ‘which?’-type adjectival interrogative and therefore extended as *nù^L ăm* ‘which person?’ = ‘who?’.

In subject function, *ăm* ‘who?’ takes the focus clitic =*m̄* (410).

- (410) a. *ăm=m̄* *tē:* *sírí-m̄*
 who?=Foc tea cook-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘Who will make (=boil) the tea?’
- b. *ăm=m̄* *lò-∅*
 who?=Foc go.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Who went?’

In direct object function, the accusative clitic =*n̄i* is optional.

- (411) a. *ăm(=n̄i)* *yì-w̄*
 who?(=Acc) see.Pfv-2SgSbj
 ‘Who(m) did you-Sg see?’
- b. *[nù^L ăm (=n̄i)] [ùrò^L píré:] yì-w̄:*
 [person who?(=Acc)] [house^L inside] see.Pfv-2PlSbj
 ‘Who(m) did you-Pl see inside the house?’
- c. *sé:dù* *[nù^L ăm]* *jìyè-∅*
 S [person^L who?] kill.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Who(m) did Seydou kill?’

13.2.3 ‘What?’ (*ñjé*), ‘with what?’, ‘why?’

ñjé ‘what?’ may be used by itself, or it may be combined with the noun ‘thing’ to form *kɔ:n^L* *ñjé* ‘what (thing)?’. In this combination it functions adjectivally, and so induces tone-dropping on the noun (412c-d).

- (412) a. *ñjé* *lígúró:-rà-w*
 what? look.for-Prog-2SgSbj
 ‘What are you-Sg looking for?’
- b. *ñjé* *jé-ŷ:*
 what? eat.Ipfv-1PlSbj
 ‘What will we eat?’
- c. *[kɔ:n^L ñjé]* *ú* *bèrè-*Ø
 [thing^L what?] 2SgObj get.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘What has gotten (= is ailing) you-Sg?’
- d. *[kɔ:n^L ñjé]* *sé:dù* *bèrè-*Ø
 [thing^L what?] S get.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘What has gotten (=is ailing) Seydou?’

‘With what?’ is expressed as the instrumental of *kɔ:n^L ñjé*.

- (413) *[[kɔ:n^L ñjé] jâyⁿ] bíré-w*
 [[thing^L what?] Inst] work.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘With what do you-Sg work?’

‘Why?’ is *ñjé gí-náyⁿ* (variant *ñjé gù-náyⁿ*). *gí-náyⁿ* was originally a clause-linking form of *gúyⁿ* ‘say’ (§15.1.9). Another subordinated form of this verb is the source of purposive postposition *gín* (§8.5.1).

- (414) *[ñjé gí-náyⁿ] [kú HL nî: kù]
 [what? for] [DiscDef HL water Def]
 kɔwɔ-m̩-n-é
 get.water-Ipfv-Neg-3PlSbj
 ‘Why do they not take the water of that (place)?’ [2005.1a.05]*

13.2.4 ‘Where?’ (*án-dá:*, *án*, *áŋgòy*)

The common interrogative adverb ‘where?’ is *án-dá:*. The *-dá:* is a common final element in deictic locative adverbials (§4.4.2.1). Perhaps *án-* is historically related to *ăm* ‘who?’ or ‘which?’.

- (415) a. *án-dá:* *ló-w*
 where? go.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘Where are you-Sg going?’

- b. *án-dá:* *gó-m*
 where? exit-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘Where does he/she come from?’
- c. *án-dá:* *sí-yé-ỳ*
 where? go.down-MP.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘Where will I go down (=lodge)?’
- d. *[àrsé: bû:=nì] án-dá: jò-ló-yè]*
 [[animal Def.Pl=Acc] where? convey-Caus-Ipfv.3PlSbj
 ‘Where do they take the livestock animals?’ [2005.1a.15]
- e. *sé:dù án-dá: nàwⁿâ: èwè-*Ø
 S where? meat buy.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Where did Seydou buy the meat?’

Predicative ‘X be where?’ can be expressed by locational-existential quasi-verb *bù-* plus *án-dá:* ‘where?’. For fixed entities such as mountains, houses, and villages), the ‘where?’ adverb may be *ángòy* or *án-dá:*.

- (416) a. *ìsê: ángòy bù-*Ø
 " " " " " " " "
 village where? be.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Where is the village?’
- b. *[tórɔ́ bè] ángòy b-è:ⁿ*
 [" "] " " " "
 [mountain Pl] where? be.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘Where are the mountains?’
- c. *án-dá: bù-ώ*
 where? be.Pfv-2SgSbj
 ‘Where are you-Sg?’

A simple form *ăn* is also attested. The focalized form is *ăn=Ø*, where the focus (=‘it is’) clitic accounts for the final L-tone element. ‘Where are you-Sg going?’, cf. *án-dá: ló-ώ*= in (415a) above, can therefore also be expressed as *ăn=Ø ló-ώ*.

- (417) *ăn=Ø gó-jé:-Ø*
 where?=Foc go.out-RecPf-3SgSbj
 ‘Where did it (=motorcycle) come from?’ [2005.1b.06]

This form may also be expanded as *đrⁿđ ăn=Ø* ‘(in) what place?’, where *ăn* functions like an adjective, cf. *đrⁿđ* ‘place’.

13.2.5 ‘When?’

‘When?’ expressions can be of the type ‘which day?’ based on the noun *ùsú* ‘day’, or of the type ‘in/with which time?’ based on the noun *dógrú* or (from Fulfulde) synonym *wákátù ~ wágátù ~ wáyátù* ‘time’.

- (418) a. *[àŋgú* ^{HL}*úsù]* ^L*wò*
 [which? ^{HL}day] in
 ‘when?’ (= ‘on which day?’)
- b. *[[dògùrù* ^L *ñjé]* *nâyⁿ* *yé-m*
 [[time^L] what?] Inst] come-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘When (= with what time?) will he/she come?’
- c. *sé:dù* *[[dògùrù* ^L *ñjé]* *nâyⁿ*] *yè-*Ø
 S [[time^L] what?] Inst] come.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘When did Seydou come?’

13.2.6 ‘How?’ (*àŋŷⁿ*)

‘How?’ is *àŋŷⁿ* (419a) or its extension *àŋŷⁿ nàyⁿ*. It may be used predicatively with *bù-* ‘be’ (419b). The iterated form *àŋŷⁿ-àŋŷⁿ* is used adverbially (419c). *àŋŷⁿ* is used with *káyⁿ-* ‘do’ in the sense ‘do what?’ (419d).

- (419) a. *túní:* *àŋŷⁿ* *cé:lé-w*
 mortar how make.well.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘How do you-Sg make a (wooden) mortar?’
- b. *àŋŷⁿ* *bù-*Ø
 how? be-3SgSbj
 ‘How is it?’ (= ‘What’s the situation?’)
- c. *àŋŷⁿ-àŋŷⁿ* *tégré:-rà-w:*
 how?-how? speak-Prog-2SgSbj
 ‘How (= what) are you-Pl talking (about)?’
- d. *àŋŷⁿ* *ká:ⁿ-rà-w*
 how? do-Prog-2SgSbj
 ‘What are you-Sg doing?’

13.2.7 ‘How much?’, ‘how many?’ (*à:ŋgá*)

‘How much?’ or ‘how many?’ is *à:ŋgá*. It is adverbial, and when “modifying” a preceding noun, the latter is not tone-dropped. From this are derived distributive *à:ŋgá-à:ŋgá* ‘how much/how many (per unit)?’, which is usually predicative with ‘it is’ clitic, and ordinal *à:ŋgáy-né* ‘how many-th?’ (answer would be ‘first’, ‘third’, etc.).

- (420) a. *pèré* *à:ŋgá* *ɛwè-w*
sheep.Pl how.many? buy.Pfv-2SgSbj
‘How many sheep did you-Sg buy?’
- b. *màŋgórò* *à:ŋgá-à:ŋgâ:=∅*
mango how.much-how.much=it.is
‘How much (apiece) are the mangoes?’

13.2.8 ‘Which?’ (*ăm*, *àŋgú*)

ăm (also ‘who?’, §13.2.2) is used with animate referents, *àŋgú* with inanimates. As adjectival ‘which?’, these control tone-dropping on a preceding modified noun (421a-b). They may also be used absolutely, either when the relevant set is already understood, or after specifying this set in a preclausal topicalized phrase (421c). In the case of *ăm*, the absolute use converges with the sense ‘who?’. Both *ăm* and *àŋgú* may be pluralized by adding free plural particle *bè* (421d).

- (421) a. *[pèrè^L* *ăm]* *jɔ́rɔ́-w*
[sheep^L] which.Sg?] want.Ipfv-2SgSbj
‘Which sheep-Sg do you-Sg want?’
- b. *[tìwⁿèyⁿ^L* *àŋgú]* *jɔ́rɔ́-w*
[tree^L] which.Inan?] want.Ipfv-2SgSbj
‘Which tree do you-Sg want?’
- c. *[yù:* *yà→]* *[èmèy* *yá→]*
[millet and] [sorghum and]
àŋgú=m *mége* ^{HL}*éṣù*
which?=Foc more ^{HL}good
‘(Between) millet and sorghum, which is better?’
- d. *[pèrè^L* *ăm* *bè]* *jɔ́rɔ́-w*
[sheep^L] which.Sg? Pl] want.Ipfv-2SgSbj
‘Which sheep-Pl do you-Sg want?’

13.2.9 ‘So-and-so’ (*à-mâ:n*)

‘So-and-so’, i.e. a substitute for a variable personal name (French *un tel*, *une telle*), is *à-mâ:n*, *mâ:n*, or *má:nù*.

13.2.10 ‘Whatchamacallit?’

The expression *kò:n kú=n* ‘the thing’ can be used as a ‘whatchamacallit?’ filler while a word or name is being searched for.

13.2.11 Embedded interrogatives

An embedded interrogative in a context like ‘I don’t know [who/what/where ...]’ can take its original interrogative form (422a). Alternatively, it is replaced by a relative clause headed by an appropriate semantically light noun (*nǔ-m* ‘person’, *kó:n* ‘thing’, *dógúrú* ‘time’, *śr̥n̥d̥* ‘place’, *dăy:n* ‘manner’) (422b).

- (422) a. *[[kò:n^L ńjé] né-ŷn:.: mā→]*
[[thing^L what] eat.Ipfv-1PlSbj Q]
júwɔ̃-m̥-dó-ŷ
know-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj
‘I don’t know what we are going to eat.’
- b. *[ńgú-rù dăyⁿ gó-yè] júwɔ̃-m̥-dó-ŷ*
[here manner^L exit.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl] know-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj
‘I don’t know how to get out of here.’ (lit. “... the way that they exit here”) [for -
yè see discussion of (436) in §14.1.6.2]

14 Relativization

14.1 Basics of relative constructions

As in most other Dogon languages, BenT has what are traditionally called **internally headed relative clauses** (IHRCs). As a first schematic approximation, ‘the goat that Seydou brought to the market yesterday’ is expressed as *[yesterday Seydou [goat_x (*kà:n*)] [market to] bring-Pfv.Ppl.AnSg Def_x*, where ‘goat’ is coindexed with the entire NP.

The following are major features of BenT relatives.

- the head may be in any grammatical function within the relative clause, such as subject (§14.2), object (§14.3), possessor of another NP (§14.4), complement of a postposition (§14.5), or a spatiotemporal or manner adverbial (§15.2.1.1, §15.2.2-3);
- the **overt head**, maximally Poss-N-Adj-Num, is **internal** to the relative clause, though it may happen to be initial in that clause (§14.2-3);
- if the **internal head** is an unmodified noun, animate singular *-m* (the only nonzero animacy-number suffix for nouns) is omitted on the head noun (as it is before an adjective);
- the overt head is the target of **tone-dropping** controlled by the relative clause, though this may be rendered ineffectual by a possessor-controlled tone overlay (tonosyntactic island);
- an optional **relative morpheme** *kà:n* (§14.1.10), unusual for Dogon languages, can occur at the end of the internal head;
- the relative-clause verb is a **participle** (Ppl) marking the usual aspect-mood-negation inflectional categories, and agreeing in animacy-number features with the head, but not agreeing in pronominal-subject category with the subject (§14.1.6);
- late-NP elements associated with the head NP (determiners, ‘all’, discourse-function morphemes) constitute a **coda** following the participle, some of whose elements control tone-dropping on the participle (§14.1.8-9);
- in **nonsubject relatives**, if the subject is a pronoun, it is expressed as a **proclitic subject pronoun** (§14.1.5) immediately preceding the verbal participle;
- postpositions that are expected to occur with the internal occurrence of the head NP (‘the man to/with whom ...’) are generally omitted (§14.5);
- in possessor relatives (‘the man whose ...’), the possessor NP is treated like other head NPs, and a coindexed **resumptive pronominal possessor** precedes the possessum (§14.4);
- the entire construction (including the coda) functions as a regular argument in the higher phrase or clause, e.g. as subject, object, or complement of a postposition;
- Jamsay-type **doubling** of the head noun following the relative construction (including its coda) did not occur in BenT texts but was accepted in adverbial relative clauses (§15.2.1.1).

In comparison to neighboring Dogon languages, the most notable distinctive features of BenT are the relative morpheme *kà:n* and the omission of animate singular *-m* on the internal head.

The BenT construction can be accounted for by assuming an underlying English-like construction where the relative clause (RC) is one among several postnominal modifiers within the NP, following the maximal Poss-N-Adj-Num string but preceding late-NP elements, e.g. *[goat (Adj) (Num)_x (**kà:n**) [RC... (goat)_x ... Verb-Ppl] Def_x*. After tonosyntax and case morphosyntax, the bolded pre-RC string then moves into the linear position of the relativization site, becoming the internal head in e.g. *[___x [RC... **goat (Adj) (Num)_x (**kà:n**) ... Verb-Ppl] Def_x***.

This analysis accounts for the morphological and tonosyntactic form of the internal head. Tone-dropping is controlled in right-to-left fashion by the relative clause, likw that controlled on nouns by following adjectives and demonstratives. Relative clauses, adjectives, and demonstratives restrict reference in the same manner, so they form a natural class, along with possessors.

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

In other syntactic contexts, a NP is of the form (423), disregarding some details (see chapter 6). The symbol ** indicates the break point within the NP, such that any morphemes to the right follow the participle when the NP functions as relative-clause head.

- (423) (possessor) [noun adjective(s) numeral] ** determiner ‘all’ DF

The maximal form of the internal head is therefore (424), while the late-NP elements appear after the verbal participle.

- (424) (possessor) [noun (adjectives) numeral]

In the absence of a possessor, (424) appears as N, [N^L Adj], [N Num], or [N^L Adj Num]. These all end in one or more words that are (so far) tonosyntactically free, although in some sequences the noun has already been tone-dropped by a following adjective. When such sequences occur as internal heads in relative clauses, the final word(s) undergo further tone-dropping, becoming respectively N^L, [N Adj]^L, [N Num]^L, and [N Adj Num]^L, with every word now {L}-toned. For example, in (425a) both ‘red’ and ‘six’ have at least one H-tone, which disappears when this string (except the final definite morpheme) becomes an internal head (425b).

- (425) a. *[nà:^L bár"à] kúròy bû:*
 [cow^L red.PI] six Def.Pl
 ‘the six brown cows’
- b. *[[nà:^L bár"à kúròy]^L í éwé-mà bû:*
 [[cow.PI]^L red.PI six]^L 1SgSbj buy.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.Pl
 ‘the six brown cows that I bought’

If an NP with the structure in (424), above, contains an alienable possessor, the possessor controls an overlay such as {HL} on the remaining sequence, with the H limited to the first

syllable (or, for a monosyllabic noun, the first mora). We here focus on cases like (426a) where the {HL} overlay remains audible, specifically on the possessed noun ^{HL}*nâ:* ‘cows’ that immediately follows the possessor. In such cases, there is no tonal change when the same Poss-N-Adj-Num string functions as head NP in a relative (426b). In other words, possessor control of {HL} trumps relative-clause control of {L}. If relative-clause control were dominant, we would have gotten the incorrect (426c); note the tones on ‘cows’.

However, with inalienable possession the tonosyntactic issues discussed in connection with (102) in §6.2.3 above come into play. Recall that numerals in Poss-N-(Adj)-Num sequences are included in the possessor-controlled overlay for alienable possessors but usually not for inalienables. In (426d), there are two phonetically slightly different outputs. In one, the numeral is separately tone-dropped by the relative clause, leaving the Poss-N-Adj sequence to take its normal form, here with the monomoraic pronominal possessor included in the domain of {L}. In the other, the relative-controlled {L} has a wide domain and tone-drops all of the words in the head NP. When Adj-Num Inversion applies, as in (426e), the numeral is tonosyntactically bound by the following adjective and the relative-controlled {L} has a wide domain.

- (426) a. *ú* ^{HL}[*nâ:*] *bàrⁿà* *kùròy* *bû:*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}[cow.AnPl red.Pl six] Def.AnPl
 ‘your-Sg six brown cows’
- b. *ú* ^{HL}[*nâ:*] *bàrⁿà* *kùròy*
 2SgPoss ^{HL}[cow.AnPl red.Pl six]
 í *éwé-mà* *bû:*
 1SgSbj buy.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘your-Sg six brown cows that I bought’

not:

- c. #*ú* [*nâ:*] *bàrⁿà* *kùròy*^L
 #2SgPoss [cow.AnPl red.Pl six]^L
 í *éwé-mà* *bû:*
 1SgSbj buy.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
 [intended sense = (b)]

- d. *[[ù* *lèsù*^L *mòsí-yè* *pèrù*^L
or: *[ù* *lèsù* *mòsí-yè* *pèrù*^L
 [2SgPoss uncle bad-Pl ten]
 í *súyó-mà* *kù*
 1SgObj hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def
 ‘your-Sg ten bad (nasty) uncles who hit-Past me’

- e. *[[ù* *lèsù* *pèrù* *mòsí-yè*^L
 [[2SgPoss uncle ten bad-AnPl]^L
 í *súyó-mà* *kù*
 1SgObj hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def
 ‘your-Sg ten bad (nasty) uncles who hit-Past me’

14.1.2 Restrictions on the head noun in a relative clause

A pronoun may not function directly as internal head of a relative. Instead, it is preposed to the clause, its place as internal head within the clause taken by tone-dropped *nù^L* ‘person’.

- (427) *ú [nù^L] yàyá-só-mì kù]*
2SgSbj [person^L] fall-Reslt-AnSg Def]
'you-Sg who fell' (lit. "you-Sg, the person who fell")

'I, whom you see (here)' is expressed by a construction that could be parsed literally as 'I, this (thing) that you see', with the participle pointing to an implicit inanimate rather than animate singular head noun; see *ú yì:-rà-ώ ìgú→* in C's first turns in (660) and (664) in the sample text.

14.1.3 Relative clause with conjoined NP as head

Conjoined NPs are uncommon as heads of relative clauses, since the preferred construction is parallel relative clauses ('the boys who swim and the girls who swim'). However, conjoined NPs are possible as relative heads. In my limited data, the conjoined NP keeps its regular prosody, i.e. it is not tone-dropped under the influence of the relative-clause participle. In other words, conjoined NPs behave as tonosyntactic islands, impervious to syntactically controlled prosodic processes.

(428) is an elicited example involving *be→* as conjunctive particle (§7.1.2).

- (428) *[[árⁿà bè→] [yǎ: bé→] jáy jàyá-mà kù]*
[[man.AnPl and] [woman.AnPl and]
fight(n) fight.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def]
án-dá: b-è:ⁿ
where? be-3PISbj
'Where are [the men and women] who quarreled?'

A similar example with *ya→* as the conjunctive particle is in lines 5-6 of (665) in the sample text.

14.1.4 Headless relative clause

Headless relatives are not typical when the referent is a person, animal, or object. Even when referentially vague (e.g. 'anyone who ...'), a semantically light noun such as *nù^L* 'a person (who ...)' or *kɔ:ⁿ L* 'a thing (that ...)' is most often present. However, especially when the (potential) head NP is a semantically light noun meaning something like 'time', 'place', or 'manner', it may be omitted, resulting in a headless relative that functions as a spatiotemporal or manner clause. The omitted head NP may be even more abstract than these glosses suggest (e.g. 'situation'). For examples and discussion, see §15.2.4.

14.1.5 Preparticipial subject pronominal in nonsubject relative clause

(429), to be read vertically from top to bottom, shows preparticipial subject pronominals in the second row. They have their usual independent form. They immediately precede the verb-participle, and are required when the subject of a nonsubject relative is pronominal. The interlinear word glosses are to the right.

(429) <i>injè</i> ^L	dog ^L
{í î: ú â: ér ⁿ é bû: á â:}	(pronominal subject)
<i>lärú-m̄</i>	chase.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg
<i>kù</i>	Def
'the dog that I/we/you-Sg/you-Pl/3Sg/they/LogoSg/LogoPl chased'	

Examples occur throughout this chapter, for example in the object relatives in §14.3 below.

14.1.6 Participialized verb in relative clause

Relative clauses have participles instead of regular verbs inflected for pronominal subject category. In a relative, the participle agrees in number and animacy with the head noun, not the subject. The categories are therefore (animate) singular, (animate) plural, and inanimate. The morphology of the suffixes will now be described.

14.1.6.1 Participles of unsuffixed perfective verbs (-m̄, -m̄à, -w̄)

In the **perfective positive**, the bare stem (segmentally equivalent to the unsuffixed perfective, but with **lexical tones**) is directly followed by the participial suffixes. The suffixally marked perfectives (perfective-1a/1b, resultative) do not normally occur with participial suffixes. For the occasional participle based on other suffixally marked categories from the perfective positive system (recent perfect, experiential perfect), see §14.1.6.5, below.

The stem has its **lexical vocalism and tone** (e.g. bisyllabic H.H or L.H). In particular, it does not drop tones as does the unsuffixed perfective in main clauses (where this stem expresses defocalization). Thus *yàyá-* ‘fall’ and *tíwé-* ‘die’ have their regular lexical forms in such perfective participles as (animate) singular *yàyá-m̄* and *tíwé-m̄*.

The perfective participial suffixes are in (430). (Animate) singular *-m̄* and inanimate *-w̄* also occur with modifying adjectives, while (animate) plural *-m̄à* is idiosyncratic.

(430) Perfective (positive) participial suffixes (after bare stem)

(animate) singular	<i>-m̄</i>
(animate) plural	<i>-m̄à</i>
inanimate	<i>-w̄</i>

For *Cv-* verbs with rising tone melody, the rising tone appears in the participles with *-m̄* and *-w̄*, whose heavy syllables allow expression of <LHL> tone. Thus, for ‘come’, *yě-m̄* and *yě-w̄*. In plural *yě-m̄à*, the H-tone element may spill into the first part of the second syllable, in which case a phonetic transcription [jěmâ] approximates its pronunciation.

Some perfective participle examples are in (431).

- (431) a. *ùrò^L* *yàyá-ŵ*
 house^L fall.Pfv-Ppl.Inan
 'the house that fell'
- b. *ùrò^L* *bâ:* *dõ-ŵ* *kù*
 house^L 3PLSbj burn.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 'the house that they burned'
- c. *àrⁿà^L* *ló-ñ*
 man^L go.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg
 'the man who went'
- d. *yì-tè:^L* *tíwé-mà*
 child.Pl^L die.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl
 'the children who died'

The participles ending in *-ŵ* (animate singular) and *-mà* (animate plural) are indistinguishable from the 3Sg and 3Pl forms (respectively) of an alternative unsuffixed perfective form that is common in narrative (§10.2.1.2).

14.1.6.2 Participles of unsuffixed imperfective (*-m*, *-Ø*, *-ñ*, *-yè*)

In relative clauses based on (positive) unsuffixed imperfective verbs, there is a set of participles that are used in **subject relatives** and optionally in **nonsubject relatives**. Nonsubject relatives are also attested with a distinct participial construction. We begin with the first, most general type.

In the **unsuffixed imperfective positive**, which is **optionally reduplicated** in the animate participles as it is in the regular inflected form, when the head NP is the subject of its clause, the inanimate participle is identical to the 3Sg form of the inflected paradigm, with suffix *-ñ* (L-toned).

The animate forms have singular *-m* and plural zero, in either case with final-syllable H-tone. These forms are typical of **agentive nominals** (§4.2.4, §5.1.3). For animate plural, an archaic variant *-mù* is attested, see *dîmbi-yí-mù* in (655) in the sample text.

Consistent with this agentive connection, a nonmonosyllabic verb stem shifts its final vowel to *u* (varying with *i* in some contexts, notably in the singular after *y*) in the two animate participles. Also consistent with agentive morphology is the {LH} tone overlay on animate participles.

- (432) Imperfective (positive) participles
 (primary type, required in subject relatives, optional in others)

- a. agentive nominal form (final vowel shifts to *u*, {LH} overlay)

- (animate) aingular *-m*
 (animate) plural *-Ø* (archaic *-mù*)

- b. based directly on unsuffixed imperfective stem
 inanimate -m̄

In addition, a **direct object** in the form of a noun without a following determiner or external quantifier takes **L-toned form**, see (466a-c) in §14.2.1 below. This matches the (incorporated-object) {L}-toned nominal compound initials that occur with most agentives (§5.1.3). However, in the imperfective participles, the initial reduplication is optionally present. Representative participial paradigms are in (433).

(433)	gloss	stem	Ipfv participles		
			Sg (animate)	Pl (animate)	Inanimate
	‘fall’	yàyá-	(yì-)yàgú-m	(yì-)yàgú	yáyá-m̄
	‘go down’	sí-yé-	(sì-)sì-yí-m	(sì-)sì-yú	sí-yé-m̄
	‘go up’	ùrós-	(ù-)ùrú-m	(ù-)ùrú	úrós-m̄
	‘hurt’	bármé-	(bì-)bármú-m	(bì-)bármú	bármé-m̄
	‘shout’	píyé-	(pì-)piyí-m	(pì-)piyú	píyé-m̄
	‘go’	ló-	(lì-)lō-m	(lì-)lō:	ló-m̄
	‘come’	yě-	(yì-)yě-m	(yì-)yě:	yé-m̄
	‘bring’	jé:-	(jì-)jé-m	(jì-)yě:	jé-m̄

Examples involving **subject relatives** are in (434). In the interlinear glosses for the participles, I favor syntactic over morphological analysis (see above), so for example the animate imperfective participles are glossed with Ppl (i.e. participle) rather than as agentives.

- (434) a. *ùrò*^L (yì-)yáyá-m̄
 house^L (Rdp-)fall.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan
 ‘the house that will fall’
- b. *àrñà*^L (lì-)lō-m
 man^L (Rdp-)go.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg
 ‘the man who will go’
- c. *yì*^L tìwú-m kù^L
 child^L die.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the child who will die’
- d. *yì*^L yàgú-m kù^L
 child^L fall.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the child who will fall’
- e. *yì-tè:*^L (tì-)tìwú
 child.Pl^L (Rdp-)die.Ipfv.Ppl.AnPl
 ‘the children who will die’

- f. *[nù^L ú bì-bàrú] yá b-è:ⁿ-bó dé*
 [person^L 2SgObj Rdp-help.Ipfv.Ppl.AnPl] Exist be-3PlSbj-3PlSbj if
 ‘if there are people who will help you-Sg’ [2005.1a.10]

The same participles are also used in **nonsubject relatives**. The object relatives below have participles agreeing with object head NPs that are, respectively, inanimate (435a), animate singular (435b), and animate plural (435c). The participles belong to the type described and exemplified above for subject relatives. (435d) is a textual example with inanimate head.

- (435) a. *nàwⁿà:^L i: kúwó-m*
 meat^L 1PlSbj eat.meat.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan
 ‘the meat that we will eat’
- b. *pèrè^L i: sèwⁿú-m*
 sheep^L 1PlSbj slaughter.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg
 ‘the sheep-Sg that we will slaughter’
- c. *pèrè^L i: sèwⁿú*
 sheep^L 1PlSbj slaughter.Ipfv.Ppl.AnPl
 ‘the sheep-Pl that we will slaughter’
- d. *[[tòy^L mǎ:] ðrⁿð^L ú tó-m] Ldàyⁿ*
 [[sowing^L dry] place^L 2SgSbj sow.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan] Lboundary
 ‘at the boundary of the place (=part of the field) where you are doing the dry-sowing’ [2005.1a.10]

However, the texts also include examples like (436), where the participle (agreeing with animate plural head NP, not with the 2Sg subject) has a suffix *-yè* that could be (mis-)parsed as a 3Pl-subject main-clause imperfective form. In other words, in another context *jóró-yè* can also mean ‘they like/want’.

- (436) *[[[nù^L èsì-yè]^L ú jóró-yè] Lmà:] ní-wⁿ*
 [[[person^L good-Pl]^L 2SgSbj like.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl] LDat] give.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘You-Sg will give (honey) to the good people that you love.’ [2005.1a.09]

The option of using *-yè* instead of the agentive-like participle described above is limited to animate plural subjects. An example with nonspecific ‘they’ is (422b) in §13.2.11. Participial *-yè* is also required in instrumental compounds of the type ‘drinking water, water for drinking’, phrased as ‘water that (they) drink’, with understood nonspecific ‘they’ as subject (not head NP); see §5.1.9 for discussion and examples.

14.1.6.3 Participles of *bù-* ‘be’ and *só-* ‘have’

Quasi-verbs *bù-* ‘be’ and *só-* ‘have’ have similar participles (437). They are based on H-toned variants *bú-* and *só-*, which also occur after existential *yá* (§11.2.2.3, §11.5.1).

Including suffixes, the participles are <HL>-toned. The plural participles are identical segmentally to the corresponding 3Pl inflected forms, which are irregular. Inanimate *bú-w* is homophonous with *bû:-Ø* ‘he/she/it is’ (with predicative adjective) and with 3Pl pronoun *bû:* ‘them’, but I transcribe them differently to bring out their morphological structure.

(437)	category	‘be’	‘have’
	singular	<i>bû-m</i>	<i>sô-m</i>
	plural	<i>b-ê:n</i>	<i>s-ê:n</i>
	inanimate	<i>bú-w</i>	<i>só-w</i>

A participial form of negative *sò-ló-* ‘not have’ occurs at the end of C’s long turn in (664) in the sample text.

14.1.6.4 Participles of stative verbs

Participles can also be formed from statives derived from active verbs. Statives do not distinguish perfective from imperfective, but have morphological affinities to the perfective system, and they use perfective participial suffixes. The participles have {HL} tones, as in the 1Sg form of the unreduplicated stative paradigm (§10.2.1.10) and as in the entire reduplicated stative paradigm (§10.2.1.11). Reduplication itself is absent from the participles.

- (438) a. *tìwⁿèyⁿL àjá-dá: íyà-w kù*
tree^L over.there stand-Ppl.Inan Def
‘the tree that is standing over there.’
- b. *nù^L àjá-dá: íyà-m kù*
person^L over.there stand.Stat-Ppl.AnSg Def
‘the person who is standing over there.’
- c. *nù^L àjá-dá: íyà-mà bû:*
person^L over.there stand.Stat-Ppl.AnPl DefPl
‘the people who are standing over there.’

14.1.6.5 Participles with positive perfective-system suffix

As noted above, perfective (positive) participles are normally built on the simple bare stem, rather than on a suffixally characterized form from the perfective system of AN categories. Perfective-1a *-rè-* does not occur in participles in my data. Perfective-1b *-tî-* is attested in a participle (439), but the combination is infrequent.

- (439) *[dògùrù^L kâ:ⁿ] yěy bû: găyⁿ-tú-w wôy*
[time^L Rel] honey 3PlSbj put-Pfv1b-Ppl.Inan all
‘When they (=bees) have made honey, ...’ [2005.1a.09]

It was possible to elicit participles including **recent perfect** *-jê-* (440a-c), **experiential perfect** *-tâ-* (440d-f), and **resultative** *-sô-* (440g-i). The endings for the recent perfect and experiential perfect are those found in perfective participles (for animates, singular *-m* and plural *-mà*; for inanimates, *-w*). The resultative likewise has (animate) singular *-m* (hence *sô-m*) and inanimate *-w* (in *sô-w*), but the (animate) plural is *-s-ê:^n*, like the 3Pl inflected form.

(440) Participles of recent perfect, experiential perfect, resultative

Recent perfect

- a. *nù^L* *jéyⁿ* *jé-jê-m*
person^L meal eat-RecPf-Ppl.AnSg
'a person who has (already) eaten'
- b. *nù^L* *jéyⁿ* *jé-jé-mà*
person^L meal eat-RecPf-Ppl.AnPl
'people who have (already) eaten'
- c. *kùrⁿù^L* *yáyá-jé-w*
stone^L fall-RecPf-Ppl.Inan
'a stone that has already fallen'

Experiential perfect

- d. *nù^L* *ŋgú-rù* *yé-tâ-m*
person^L here come-ExpPf-Ppl.AnSg
'a person who has (ever) come here'
- e. *nù^L* *ŋgú-rù* *yé-tá-mà*
person^L here come-ExpPf-Ppl.AnPl
'people who have (ever) come here'
- f. *kùrⁿù^L* *yáyá-tá-w*
stone^L fall-ExpPf-Ppl.Inan
'a stone that has (ever) fallen'

Resultative

- g. *nù^L* *sô-m* *ùrɔ-sô-m*
person^L horse-AnSg go.up-Reslt-Ppl.AnSg
'a person who has mounted (= is mounted on) a horse'
- h. *nù^L* *sô:* *ùrɔ-s-ê:^n*
person^L horse-Pl go.up-Reslt-Ppl.AnPl
'people who have mounted (= are mounted on) horses'
- i. *kò:^n^L* *sô-m* *ùrɔ-sô-w*
thing^L horse go.up-Reslt-Ppl.Inan
'a thing that has mounted (= is mounted on) a horse'

A preparticipial subject pronoun may intervene between the verb stem and a marked perfective-system suffix participle. In this construction, the “suffix” behaves more like an auxiliary verb (§10.1.1). This is seen with resultative *sô-* (441a), Experiential perfect *tâ-* (441b), recent perfect *jê-* (441c), and perfective-1b *tí-* (441d). An assistant rejected a similar separation of verb and inflectional suffix/auxiliary in the case of perfective-1a *-rè-*.

- (441) a. *mò:-nèyⁿ*^L *găyⁿ* *ú* *só-ŵ* *kù*
 mouth-food^L put 2SgSbj Reslt-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the food that you-Sg have put down (there)’ [2005.1b.02]
- b. *yĩ-tá-yè* *[[kú* *tâ-m]* *kð:ⁿ*^L
 see-ExpPf-3PlSbj [[InanPoss companion-AnSg] thing^L
yĩ *bû:* *tá-ŵ]*
 see 3PlSbj ExpPf-Ppl.InanSg]
yá *bé:-∅*
 Exist be.Past-3SgSbj
 ‘They have (at some point) seen, there used to be something that they had (at some point) seen of that sort’ [2005.1b.01]
- c. *nàwⁿà:*^L *kúwó* *ú* *jé-ŵ* *kù*
 meat^L eat.meat 2SgSbj RecPf-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the meat that you-Sg have (just) finished eating’
- d. *ùsù*^L *[sèŋgû:* *kù]* *ăy*
 day^L [waterjar Def] take
sí-lé *ú* *tí-ŵ*
 go.down-Caus 2SgSbj Perf1b-Ppl.Inan
 ‘the day you-Sg took and brought down the waterjar’
 [adapted from textual example (497)]

14.1.6.6 Participles with positive imperfective-system suffix

The **progressive** suffix *-rà-* is attested in participial form, with ordinary nominal suffixes for animates (singular *-m*, plural zero), and with (adjective-like) *-ŵ* for inanimates.

- (442) a. *àrⁿà*^L *yòyó:-rà* *bû:*
 man^L run-Prog DefPl
 ‘the men who run’
- b. *àrⁿà*^L *yòyó:-rà-ṁ* *kù*
 man^L run-Prog-AnSg Def
 ‘the man who runs’

- c. [léré-léré nù^L kówɔ́:-rà]
 [occasionally person^L draw.water-Prog]
 yá b-è:ⁿ-bɔ
 Exist be-3PlSbj-3PlSbj
 'There are some people who draw it (water) from time to time.' [2005.1a.05]
- d. jáy â: jàyá:-rà-w kù
 fight(n) 2PlSbj fight-Prog-Ppl.Inan Def
 'when you-Pl have a fight' [2005.1b.05] (headless relative)

14.1.6.7 Participles of negative verbs

Perfective negative -rí- occurs in relatives with the paradigm in (443). The stem has the same {L}-toned version of the bare stem as before -rí- in its inflected forms. The morphology of the participial suffixes is not transparent. All three participles have falling tone on the suffix complex. Adding a final L-tone element directly to the 3Pl and 3Sg/Inan inflected forms would account for the plural and inanimate participles. However, the singular ends in -m̄, which could be taken as the regular nominal and adjectival (animate) singular suffix.

(443) Perfective negative participles

(animate) singular	-rú-m̄
(animate) plural	-r-â:
inanimate	-r̄:

Examples are in (444).

- (444) a. yì^L yòγò-rú-m̄ kù
 child^L run-PfvNeg-Ppl.AnSg Def
 'the child who did not run' (*yí-m̄*)
- b. yì-tè:^L yòγò-r-â: bû:
 children^L run-PfvNeg-Ppl.AnPl DefPl
 'the children who did not run' (*yí-tè:*)
- c. kùrⁿù^L yàγà-r̄: kù
 stone^L fall-PfvNeg-Ppl.Inan Def
 'the stone that didn't fall' (*kúrⁿù*)

imperfective negative -m̄-dó- has the participial forms in (445). The stem has the same segmental form and tone pattern as in the inflected paradigm. In the participial suffixes, we have the same pattern as with the perfective negative, namely, the plural and inanimate participles are identical to the corresponding inflected forms except that a **final L-tone** is added at the right edge (hence the final falling tone), while the singular ends in -m̄ (also with falling tone).

(445) Imperfective negative participles

(animate) singular	<i>-m̄-dó-m̄</i>	(< <i>-m̄-dó-L-m</i>)
(animate) plural	<i>-m̄-n-ē:</i>	(< <i>-m̄-n-é-L</i>)
inanimate	<i>-m̄-d-ō:</i>	(< <i>-m̄-dó-L</i>)

Examples of imperfective negative participles are in (446).

- (446) a. *yí^L* *yóyó-m̄-dó-m̄* *kù*
 child^L run-Ipfv-Neg-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the child who does not run’ (*yí-m̄*)
- b. *yì-tè:^L* *yóyó-m̄-n-ē:* *bû:*
 children^L run-Ipfv-Neg-Ppl.AnPl DefPl
 ‘the children who do not run’ (*yì-tè:*)
- c. *kùr"ù^L* *yáyá-m̄-d-ō:* *kù*
 stone^L fall-Ipfv-Neg-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the stone that didn’t fall’ (*kúr"ù*)

Stative negative clitic =rá-, which is used in stative negative verbs (§10.2.3.4) and with various nominal and adjectival predicates (§11.2.1.4, §11.4.4), has the participial forms in (447). The (animate) plural form is homophonous to the inanimate form, probably by accident (underlying / =râ-à/ versus / =râ-L/ or the like).

(447) Stative negative participles

(animate) singular	=rá-m̄
(animate) plural	=r-â:
inanimate	=r-â:

Examples are in (448), cf. inflected stative *èw-yè-w=rá-Ø* ‘he/she is not sitting’.

- (448) a. *nù^L* *èw-yè-w=rá-m̄*
 person^L sit-MP-Stat=StatNeg-Ppl.AnSg
 ‘a person who is not sitting’
- b. *nù^L* *èw-yè-w=r-â:*
 person^L sit-MP-Stat=StatNeg-Ppl.AnPl
 ‘people who are not sitting’
- c. *kò:n^L* *èw-yè-w=r-â:*
 thing^L sit-MP-Stat=StatNeg-Ppl.Inan
 ‘a thing that is not sitting’

14.1.6.8 Relative-clause participle including past clitic =*bè*-

For regular inflected forms including the past clitic, see §10.4.1. The participles have the suffix combinations in (449), regardless of the final tone of the preceding verb form. In other words, the participles are all based on the falling-toned variant =*bê*-̄. Except for the 3Pl, the suffixes (-*m̄*, -*w̄*) are those of perfective participles.

(449) Participles of past =*bê*-̄

(animate) singular	= <i>bě-m̄</i>
(animate) plural	= <i>b-ă:</i>
inanimate	= <i>bě-w̄</i>

These suffixes are also used in the negative versions of the participles, since the negation is expressed on the preceding verb form rather than in the past clitic.

Participles corresponding to the **past unsuffixed imperfective**, as in *bíré bíré-m̄=bê-∅* ‘he/she was working’, are in (450). As usual for this category, the verb form preceding the clitic has imperfective -*m̄*.

- (450) a. *nù^L* *bíré* *bíré-m̄=bě-m̄*
 person^L work(n) work-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnSg
 ‘a person who was working’
- b. *nù^L* *bíré* *bíré-m̄=b-ă:*
 person^L work(n) work-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnPl
 ‘people who were working’
- c. *kđ.ⁿL* *bíré* *bíré-m̄=bě-w̄*
 thing^L work(n) work-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.Inan
 ‘a thing that was working’
- d. *kùyó:* *bû:* *káⁿ-m̄=bě-w̄* *kù*
 first 3PlSbj do-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘What they used to do formerly (was ...)’ [2005.1b.01] (headless)

Negative counterparts have -*m̄-dó-* before the clitic: *nù^L bíré bíré-m̄-dó=bě-m̄* ‘a person who was not working’.

See also *wárá-m̄=bě-w̄* in (507) in §15.2.1.3.

Participles corresponding to the **past stative**, e.g. *(i-?)éw-yé-w̄=bê:-∅* ‘he/she was sitting’ (§10.4.1.2), are in (451).

- (451) a. *nù^L* *éw-yé-w̄=bě-m̄*
 person^L sit-MP-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnSg
 ‘a person who was sitting’
- b. *nù^L* *éw-yé-w̄=b-ă:*
 person^L sit-MP-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnPl
 ‘people who were sitting’

- c. *kò:ⁿ*^L *éw-yé-w=bě-w*
 thing^L sit-MP-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.Inan
 'a thing that was sitting'

Negative counterparts are of the type *nù^L èw-yè=rá-bě-m* 'a person who was not sitting', with stative negative *=rá-*.

Participles corresponding to the **past perfect** (i.e. the past form of the morphological perfective), cf. *yé-w=bě-Ø* 'he/she had come', are in (452). In elicitation, my assistant produced (animate) singular and inanimate participles with the past clitic added directly to the bare stem of the verb, but (animate) plural participles with a plural morpheme *-mà-* before the clitic. This can be identified as the (animate) plural suffix in simple perfective participles (e.g. *nù yé-mà* 'people who came').

- (452) a. *nù^L* *yé=bě-m*
 person^L come=Past-Ppl.AnSg
 'a person who had come'
- b. *nù^L* *yé-mà=b-ă:*
 person^L come-Pl=Past-Ppl.AnPl
 'people who had come'
- c. *kò:ⁿ*^L *yé=bě-w* (or: *yé-w=bě-w*)
 thing^L come=Past-Ppl.Inan
 'a thing that had come'

In other examples, the same assistant again used *-mà=b-ă:* in plural participles, but used *-m=bě-m* (in form, identical to the past unsuffixed imperfective participle) for the (animate) singular. See plural *bármé-mà=b-ă:* 'who-Pl had been hurt' and singular *bármé-m=bě-m* 'who-Sg had been hurt' in (469a-b) in §14.4. This suggests that the pattern with *=bě-* added directly to the unsuffixed bare stem, as in (452a) and (452c), above, is unstable. In the inflected past perfect, the 3Sg form has suffix *-w-* before L-toned *=bě-*, and is therefore distinguished only by tones from the past stative, on which see §10.4.1.2.

Negative counterparts: *nù^L yè-rí=bě-m* 'a person who had not come', plural *nù^L yè-r-ă=b-ă:* 'people who had not come', inanimate *kò:ⁿ*^L *yè-rí=bě-w* 'a thing that had not come'.

A participle of the past form of 'have' is in (453).

- (453) *[[nù^L kà:ⁿ] ñgá-dá:] [ú ^{HL}kò:ⁿ]*
 [[person^L Rel] around.there [2SgPoss ^{HL}thing]
 [kàrwá só-m=bě-m kù]
 [trust have-Stat=Past-Ppl.AnSg Def]
 'the person there who had (the use of) your-Sg thing (=land) entrusted to him'
 [2005.1b.05]

14.1.7 Relative clause involving direct verb chain

There is no difficulty forming relatives from chains of verbs (or VP's). For example, the combination of *ăy* (from /ayí/) ‘pick up’ and *jò-ló-* ‘convey, take (somewhere)’ in the simple sentence (454a) corresponds to the relative clause in (454b). The nonfinal chained verb occurs in the simple bare stem in both cases. The pre-participial pronominal subject in (454b) intervenes between the two chained verbs.

- (454) a. *sèngù:* *ăy* *jò-ló-tí-ŷ*
 waterjar pick.up convey-Caus-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
 ‘I picked up and took (conveyed) the waterjar.’
- b. *sèngù^L* *ăy* *í* *jò-ló-w* *kù*
 waterjar^L pick.up 1SgSbj convey-Caus.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the waterjar that I picked up and brought’

In nonsubject relatives like this, the position just before the final verb of the subject pronominal allows us to identify direct verb chains in otherwise ambiguous constructions. See the discussion of marked perfective elements (suffixes or chained auxiliaries) in §10.1.1.

Another example, this time with a subject relative, is (455b) from the simple main clause (455a). The verbs are *péré* ‘jump’ and *sí-yé-* ‘go down’.

- (455) a. *péré* *sí-yè-∅*
 jump go.down-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She jumped down.’
- b. *nù^L* *péré* *sí-yé-m* *kù*
 person^L jump go.down-MP.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the person who jumped down’

In textual example (456), the L-toned head *kò:ⁿ* ‘thing’ is logically the object of ‘get water’ in the initial clause, which is chained (by *=náyⁿ*) to the following negated main clause. Here, however, the speaker changed the syntax in mid-stream, beginning with a relative construction (note the {L}-toned *kò:ⁿ^L* ‘thing’) but ending with a regular inflected verb.

- (456) *[kò:ⁿ^L* *kòwò=náyⁿ*]
 [thing^L] get.water=then.SS]
[kù-tóngóò *^Lnàyⁿ* *dù-rú-w*
 [head] with] carry-PfvNeg-2SgSbj
 ‘something that (you-Sg) take and (so) you-Sg don't (have to) carry (water) on the head’ (i.e. an alternative way to transport water) [2005.1a.05]

14.1.8 Final morphemes added to relative clause (non-tone-dropping)

Definite morphemes, plural *bè*, and the ‘each/all’ quantifier *wôy*, follow the relative clause, though they have semantic scope over the head NP.

These morphemes do not induce tonal changes on a preceding word when they occur at the end of regular, main-clause NPs. As we would expect, they likewise have no tonal interactions with the preceding word in a relative clause, which is normally the participle. The examples in (457) involve participles that end in an L-tone.

- (457) a. *nà:^L yàyá-ìn* *kù*
 cow^L fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the cow that fell’
- b. *nà:^L yàyá-mà* *bû:*
 cow^L fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.Pl
 ‘the cows that fell’
- c. *nà:^L yàyá-mà* *wôy*
 cow^L fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl all
 ‘all the cows that fell’
- d. *kùr'ù^L yàyá-w* *bè*
 stone^L fall.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Pl
 ‘(some) stones that fell’
- e. *kùr'ù^L yáyá-ìn* *bè*
 stone^L fall.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan Pl
 ‘(some) stones that fall’

The examples in (458) involve participles that end in an H-tone.

- (458) a. *nà:^L yàgú-m* *kù*
 cow^L fall.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the cow who falls’
- b. *nà:^L yàgú* *bû:*
 cow^L fall.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.Pl
 ‘the cows who fall’
- c. *nà:^L yàgú* *wôy*
 cow^L fall.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl all
 ‘all the cows that fall’

14.1.9 Final morphemes added to relative clause (tone-dropping)

Demonstrative pronouns force tone-dropping on preceding words (final word of core NP, plus any cardinal numeral) within a regular NP. In relative clauses, where demonstrative pronouns immediately follow the participle, they force tone-dropping on this participle. In addition, *mù*: ‘this’ has the same ability to lop off a final animate singular *-m* suffix as it does with preceding nouns. Therefore in (459a), the singular perfective participle *yàyá-ìn* appears

as {L}-toned, suffixless *yàyà*^L before *mǔ:*. In (459b), the plural counterpart *yàyá-mà* drops its tones to *yàyà-mà*^L before the demonstrative.

- (459) a. *nà:*^L *yàyà*^L *mǔ:*
 cow^L fall.Pfv^L Prox.An
 ‘this cow that fell’ (*yàgá-mà*)
- b. *nà:*^L *yàyà-mà*^L *mǔ:* *bè*
 cow^L fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl^L Prox.An Pl
 ‘these cows that fell’ (*yàyá-mà*)

14.1.10 Relative morpheme (*kà:n*)

There is often no relative pronoun or other relative morpheme, other than the participial form of the verb. However, a relative morpheme *kà:n*, immediately following the head NP, does occur in several textual passages, especially those spoken in deliberate or formal styles. In (460a), the fact that the speaker paused at this point in the clause may be significant. Another example is (460b), from the (rather formal) interview-style question leading into a text about the history of Beni.

- (460) a. *[térèw=Ø wà] [bèr-hòggò*^L *kà:n,*
 [truth=it.is Quot] [goat-herd^L Rel,
[[á HL nâ:] L wò]
 [[LogoSgPoss HL hand] L in]
érré dùwó-wà kù nàŋàná:]
 3SgSbj leave.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def all
 ‘She said: it was true; the whole herd of goats that, he (=Lion) had left in her
 hand(s), ...’ [2005.2a.06]
- b. *[ʒrⁿò*^L *kà:n]* *gó=ní, jgú-rù yé=í,*
 [place^L Rel] go.out=and.SS, here come=and.SS,
[ʒrⁿò^L *kà:n]* *í: éw-yé-wà kù,*
 [place^L Rel] 1PlSbj sit-MP.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
[[kú HL kábà:r] [ú mā:] béré-ŷ.: dè]
 [[InanPoss HL news] [2Sg Dat] get.Pfv-1PlSbj if]
jóró-ŷ.:
 want.Ipfv-1PlSbj
 ‘The place that we left to come here, (and) the place that (=in which) we settled,
 we would like to have its story from you-Sg.’ [2005.2a.08]

Further examples of *kà:n* are in (461).

- (461) a. *[[dògùrù*^L *kà:n]* *yéy bù: gáyⁿ-tú-w* *wôy]*
 [[time^L Rel] honey 3PlSbj put-Pfv1b-Ppl.Inan all]
[[[ú HL kû:] L mā:] [párⁿù L wò] ló-w *dé]*
 [[[2SgPoss HL head] L Dat] [night L Loc] go.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
òmdò:-tòngoy páyá-w *dé,*

torch tie.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
 ‘When(-ever) they (=bees) have made honey, you-Sg yourself, at night you-Sg will go and tie a straw torch, (and ...)’ [2005-1a.09]

- b. *[[nù^L kà:ⁿ] [[person.Pl^L Rel]
 [â: L nà:] hàybú]*
 [3ReflPlPoss^Lcow.Pl] watch.over.Ppl.Ipfv.AnPl]
[[kú HL nî:] L wò] [nă: kù] dìmbà-w-bò
 [[DiscDef^{HL}cause] in] [cow.Pl Def] follow-Stative-3PlSbj
 ‘(The/any) people who watch over their (own) cows, it’s for that reason [focus] that they follow (=tend) their cows.’ [2005-1a.15]
- c. *[kò:rⁿɔ^L kà:ⁿ] â: nù:-rà-w^L ògú,*
 [roar(n)^L Rel] 3LogoPlSbj hear-Progr-Ppl.Inan^L Prox.Inan,
jàwⁿâ: [kò:ⁿ L [érⁿé pâyⁿ] jàyá-mà=dá
 crowd [thing^L [3Sg with] fight(v).Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg]=not.be
wá dé
 Quot Emph
 ‘(he said:) (in view of) this roar that they were hearing, a crowd (of people) was not what would fight with it (=lion).’ [2005-2b.05]
- d. *ú [[nù^L kà:ⁿ] [[kò: yà→] [nì-nòrⁿú yá→]]*
 2Sg [[person^L Rel] [hunger and] [thirst and]
[nù^L kà:ⁿ] dá-mà]
 [person^L Rel] endure.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg
 ‘you-Sg (as) a person who (can) endure hunger and thirst’ [2005-1b.10]
- d. *[gám kù] yâ: dùwò-bò,*
 [some Def] there leave.Pfv-3PlSbjbj,
[[gàm^L kà:ⁿ] ínjírí-mà]
 [[some^L Rel] get.up- Ppl.Pfv.AnPl]
[ònjo-m yá→] [dèrè-m ya→] ínjírí-mà kù,
 [y.sib-Sg and] [e.sib and] get.up-Ppl.Pfv.AnPl Def,
[[bû: L mà:] [yúlì L wò] yě=ní]
 [[3Pl^LQuotSbj] [Yuli^LLoc] come=and.SameSubj
èw-yè-bó wá
 sit-MP.Pfv-3PlSbjbj Quot
 ‘They left some (people) there. Some (=the others) who got up, the younger brother and the elder brother who got up, it is said that they came to Yuli and settled (there).’ [2005-2a.08]
- e. *nàwⁿâ: [dògúrù^L kà:ⁿ] gó:-rè-w wòy*
 meat [time^L Rel] go.out-Pfv1a-Ppl.Inan all
 ‘any time (=whenever) meat (=a game animal) comes out’ (< *dóngúrú*)

- f. *[[pèrè tà:nù]^L kà:ⁿ] i: sèwⁿú-m kù*
 [[sheep three]^L Rel] 1PlSbj slaughter.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl Def
 ‘the three sheep-Pl that we will slaughter’

A synchronic connection between relative *kà:ⁿ* and the compound-final-like quantifier *kâ:ⁿ* ‘(not) any’ is initially suggestive. The tonal difference could be attributed to tone-dropping on *kà:ⁿ* as part of a relative head. *kâ:ⁿ* ‘(not) any’ has an animate singular form *kâ:ⁿ-m* that has no counterpart with relative *kà:ⁿ*, but this too could be explained as a morphological consequence of being a relative head (we noted above that simple head nouns do not allow *-m*).

However, relative *kà:ⁿ* occurs freely in positive as well as negative contexts and with any noun, N-Adj, or N-Num combination. By contrast, *kâ:ⁿ* ‘(not) any’ is attested only in negative clauses and semantically similar contexts, and it occurs chiefly in a few high-frequency combinations. Overall, the examples with relative *kà:ⁿ* do not require a maximalized reading (‘any X that...’). A maximalized reading can be forced by adding *wôy* ‘all’ as in (461a,e), but some other examples clearly have specific readings.

A diachronic connection between relative *kà:ⁿ* and the quantifier *kâ:ⁿ* ‘(not) any’ is possible but uncertain. The only known cognate relative marker is Toro Tegu *kà:* ~ *kâ:*. The BenT quantifier *kâ:ⁿ* ‘(not) any’ has cognates like Yanda Dom *kámà* and Nanga *kámâ* that point to an etymon **kámà*.

14.2 Subject relative clause

We have already seen the component features of relative clauses that are relevant: tone-dropping of head NP, participial suffix, relocation of determiners and external quantifiers to postparticipial position. In subject relatives there are no pre-participial subject pronominals since the subject is always the head NP.

Simple perfective subject relatives (without objects) are illustrated in (462). imperfectives are exemplified later in this section.

- (462) a. *yéngù yà^L yě-ìñ kù*
 yesterday woman^L come.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the woman who came yesterday’
 [linear order also: *yéngù yà^L yě-ìñ kù*]
- b. *yà^L yě-mà bû:*
 woman^L come.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl DefPl
 ‘the women who came’
- c. *yì^L yàyá-ìñ kù*
 child^L fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the child who fell’
- d. *yì-tè:^L yàyá-ìñ bû:*
 child.Pl^L fall.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl DefPl
 ‘the children who fell’

- e. *kùrⁿù*^L *yàyá-w* *kù*
 stone^L fall.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the stone that fell’

Nonpronominal direct object NPs in a subject relative have the same form as in main clauses. The optional accusative clitic can appear with human objects (463c).

- (463) a. *yà*^L *éley* *tíyé-m* *kù*
 woman^L peanuts sell.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the woman who sold (the) peanuts’
- b. *yì*^L *injě-m* *súyó-m* *kù*
 child^L dog-AnSg hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the child who hit the dog’
- c. *yì*^L *[á* ^{HL}*bɔ:j](=n)* *súyó-m* *kù*
 child^L [3ReflSgPoss ^{HL}father](=Acc) hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the child who hit his/her (own) father’

A **pronominal direct object** in a subject relative clause has its normal main-clause form, often with the accusative clitic (464).

- (464) a. *yì*^L *í=nì* *súyó-m* *kù*
 child^L 1Sg=Acc hit.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the child who struck me’
- b. *yì*^L *í=nì* *sùyú-m* *kù*
 child^L 1Sg=Acc hit.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the child who hits me’
- c. *yì-tè:*^L *í=nì* *sùyú-∅* *kù*
 child.Pl^L 1Sg=Acc hit.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl Def
 ‘the children who hit-Present me’
- d. *kùrⁿù*^L *í=nì* *dònjó-w* *kù*
 stone^L 1Sg=Acc bump.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the stone that bumped me (=that I stubbed my toe on)’

Relative clauses with quasi-verbs *bù-* ‘be’ and *só-* ‘have’ are in (465).

- (465) a. *[àrⁿà*^L *ŋgú-rù* *b-ɛ:ⁿ* *bû:J* *júwó-ŷ*
 [man^L here be-Ppl.AnPl DefPl] know.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I know the men who live here.’
- b. *[yà*^L *nă:-m* *só-m* *kù]* *júwó-ŷ*
 [woman^L cow-AnSg have-Ppl.AnSg Def] know.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I know the woman who has a cow.’

In an imperfective subject relative, a nonpronominal NP object not followed by a determiner or an external quantifier appears with **L-tone**. This suggests that the object NP here is a **compound initial** before the participle, which makes sense since the participle has the form of an agentive nominal. A modifying adjective, like ‘good’ in (466c), also drops its tones, so a **core NP** (noun plus adjective) as a whole can function here as a compound initial. Such compound initials are generic in reference. When the object NP contains a demonstrative like *ŋgú* ‘this’ (inanimate) in (466d), a cardinal numeral as in (466e), or other external quantifier, a generic interpretation is not possible, and the object NP takes its normal form, with no tone-dropping or other evidence of compounding.

- (466) a. *yà^L* *èlèy^L-tìyú* *bû:*
 woman^L peanuts^L-sell.Ipfv.Ppl.AnPl DefPl
 ‘the women who sell peanuts’
- b. *yà^L* *èlèy^L-[tìyí-m]* *kù*
 woman^L peanuts^L-[sell.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg] Def
 ‘the woman who sells peanuts’
- c. *yà^L* *[èlèy-èṣù]^L-tìyú* *bû:*
 woman^L [peanuts^L-good]^L-sell.Ipfv.Ppl.AnPl DefPl
 ‘the women who sell good peanuts’
- d. *yà^L* *[èlèy^L ïgú] tìyú* *bû:*
 woman^L [peanuts^L Prox.Inan] sell.Ipfv.Ppl.AnPl DefPl
 ‘the women who sell these peanuts’
- e. *yà^L* *[màngóṛò pérú] tìyí-m* *kù*
 woman^L [mango ten] sell.Ipfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the woman who sells ten mangoes.’

14.3 Object relative clause

The main difference between object relatives and the subject relatives illustrated just above is that object relatives (like all nonsubject relatives) may have a pronominal subject, which if present is expressed as a pre-participial independent pronoun. As in other kinds of relatives, the head NP is tone-dropped, the verb takes participial form agreeing with the head NP, and determiners and non-numeral quantifiers are in postparticipial position.

Of interest is the fact that accusative *=nì ~ =ñ*, which is optional for direct objects in main clauses, is not allowed in object relatives. For example, in (467b), *yì-tè:^L* ‘children (who...)’ cannot be followed by *=nì ~ =ñ*, although in the corresponding main clause *yì-tè:
bû:(=ñ)* ‘the children’ has optional accusative marking. There are two possible explanations. One is that, for nonpronominal NPs, overt accusative marking is associated in main clauses with at least some degree of focus, and focalization is not possible in relatives (even subject relatives including objects). The other explanation is that the accusative is subject to the same prohibition that applies to postpositions in connection with relative head NPs.

Simple perfective examples are in (467).

- (467) a. *nàwⁿà:^L* *í:* *kúwó-̀w* *kù*
 meat^L 1PlSbj eat.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the meat that we ate’
- b. *yì-tè:^L* *ú* *yǐ-mà* *bû:*
 child.PI^L 2SgSbj see.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.AnPl
 ‘the children who(m) you-Sg saw’
 [cf. main clause [*yì-tè: bû:(=n)*] *yí-́w=bè-̀w* ‘you had seen the children’]
- c. *nà:^L* *í* *páyá-̀m* *kù*
 cow^L 1SgSbj tie.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the cow that I tied up’
- d. *kùrⁿù^L* *í* *jísé-̀w* *kù*
 stone^L 1SgSbj throw.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the stone that I threw’
- e. *yéngù* *yì-tè:^L* *ú* *yǐ-mà* *bû:*
 yesterday child.PI^L 2SgSbj see.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl DefPl
 ‘the children who(m) you-Sg saw yesterday’ (<*yì-tè:*)
- f. *yéngù* *séydu* *yì-tè:^L* *yǐ-mà* *kù* *bè*
 yesterday Seydou child.PI^L see.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def Pl
 ‘the children who(m) Seydou saw yesterday’ (<*yì-tè:*)

Imperfective examples are in (468).

- (468) a. *nàwⁿà:^L* *í:* *kúwó-̀m* *kù*
 meat^L 1PlSbj eat.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the meat that we will eat’
- b. *yì-tè:^L* *ú* *yǐ:* *bû:*
 child.PI^L 2SgSbj see.Ipfv.Ppl.AnPl DefPl
 ‘the children who(m) you-Sg will see’
- c. *kùrⁿù^L* *ú* *jísé-̀m* *kù*
 stone^L 2SgSbj throw.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘the stone that you will throw (away)’

In all nonsubject relative clauses, including object relatives, if the relative-clause subject is coindexed with a third-person main-clause subject ('Seydou_x has found [the shoulderbag that he_x left]'), the relative-clause subject is expressed by a reflexive pronoun. See §18.2.3 for examples and discussion.

14.4 Possessor relative clause

The possessor is positioned to the left of the possessed NP. In elicited examples, there is a **resumptive pronoun** coindexed with this possessor NP, functioning as (local) possessor of the possessed noun, which therefore takes possessed-noun tone overlay. The possessor NP to the left is tone-dropped, as head NP. A postparticipial definite morpheme, if present, agrees with the head NP (469a-c), though we sometimes find singular *kù* where plural *bû:* would have been possible (469d).

In general, the participle agrees in nominal features with the possessor NP rather than with the possessed NP. This is observed in the examples in (469) below, except that when both possessor and possessed NPs are human there is some fluctuation in participial agreement. For example, in (469b) my main assistant unexpectedly had the participle agree with the adjacent possessed noun ‘children’ rather than at a distance with the relativized-on possessor ‘man’. (469b) was checked with another speaker, who produced the expected possessor agreement. When the possessor is human and the possessed NP inanimate, participial agreement was always with the possessor, as in (469d-f). I conclude that cases like (469b) are aberrant and reflect elicitation difficulties combined with adjacency effects.

- (469) a. [àrⁿà^L [érⁿé^L HL yí-m̄] bármé-m̄ = bě-m̄ kù]
 [man^L [3SgPoss^L child-AnSg] be.hurt-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.AnSg Def]
 tèmbì-rí-ý
 find-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
 ‘I didn’t (= couldn’t) find the man whose child had been hurt.’
 [for slippage between past perfect and past imperfective participles, see discussion following (452) in §14.1.6.8]
- b. [àrⁿà^L [érⁿé^L HL yí-tè:] bármé-m̄ = b-ǎ: kù]
 [man^L [3SgPoss^L child-Pl] be.hurt.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl=Past-3PISbj Def]
 tèmbì-rí-ý
 find-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
 ‘I didn’t (= couldn’t) find the man whose children had been hurt.’
 [given by another informant with *bármé-m̄ = bě-m̄* as in (469a)]
- c. [àrⁿà^L [bû:^L yí-tè:] bármé-m̄ bû:]
 [man^L [3PlPoss^L child-Pl] be.hurt.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def.Pl]
 tèmbì-rí-ý
 find-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
 ‘I didn’t (=couldn’t) find the men whose children were hurt.’
- d. [yí-tè:^L [bû:^L kù:^L bármé-m̄ kù]
 [child^L [3PlPoss^L head be.hurt.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def]
 súsó:-r-ǎ:
 heal-Pfv1a-3PISbj
 ‘The children whose heads were hurt have healed.’

- e. [nù^L [ér^{né} ^{HL}pérè] í éwé-tí-mà wôy]
[person^L [3SgPoss ^{HL}sheep.Pl] 1SgSbj buy-Pfv1b-Ppl.AnSg all]
[ér^{né} mâ:] élé-ré-mà
[3Sg Dat] be.sweet-Inch-Ipfv.3SgSbj
‘Anyone_x whose_x sheep-Pl I buy, he/she_x will be pleased.’
- f. [nù^L [bû: ^Lùrò] gõ: tángú-mà kù]
[person^L [3PlPoss ^Lhouse] fire be.lit.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def]
bärà
help.Imprt
‘Help-2Sg the people whose house burned (down)!’
- g. [àr^{nà}^L [ér^{né} ^{HL}yí-tè:] yàriy-rá: ló-mà kù]
[man^L [3SgPoss ^{HL}child.Pl] go.around-Purp go.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def]
[á sày] wárá-mà
[3ReflSg only] do.farm.work-Ipfv.3SgSbj
‘A man whose children have gone away (to seek their fortune) does farm work by himself.’

In line 4 of (674) in the sample text, translated ‘a young woman whose breasts are fully going out (=developed)’, relative marker *kà.ⁿ* appears instead of a resumptive pronoun. The possessed noun *íru* ‘breast’ is /HL/ toned lexically, and follow-up elicitation with other nouns indicated that the noun in this context retains its lexical tones rather than having the possessed-noun {HL} or {L} overlay.

14.5 PP relative clause

In elicitation, my main assistant consistently **omitted the postposition**. The head NP in (470a-b) corresponds to a dative in unrelativized counterparts (§11.1.1). The head noun in (470c) is logically instrumental, while that in (470d) is logically locative. The alternative, preferred by another speaker who was checked on this point but probably less common, is to add the postposition to a resumptive third person pronoun. Compare (470a) to this other speaker’s version (470e). One suspects that the type with resumptive pronoun is favored by elicitation using cues from French, where the postposition is overt (*l’homme auquel j’ai...*).

- (470) a. àr^{nà}^L bú:dù í ní-mà kù
man^L money 1SgSbj give.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
‘the man to whom I gave the money’
- b. tìw^{nèyⁿ}^L kònjöy bû: gíⁿ-mà kù
tree^L balanzan 3PlSbj say-Ipfv.Ppl.Inan Def
‘the tree that they call “balanzan”.’
- c. bère^L ér^{né}=nì í súyɔ́-wà kù
stick^L 3Sg=Acc 1SgSbj hit.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
‘the stick with which I hit-Past it’

- d. *[jèmbè*^L *súkɔ́rò* í *gǎⁿ-wⁿ* *kù]*
 [sack^L sugar 1SgSbj put.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def]
án-dá: *bù*
 where? be-3SgSbj
 ‘Where is the sack in which I put-Past the sugar?’
- e. *àrⁿà*^L *[éré* *mâ:]* *bú:dù* í *ní-m* *kù*
 man^L [3Sg Dat] money 1SgSbj give.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def
 ‘the man to whom I gave the money’ [from a different speaker]

15 Verb (VP) chaining and adverbial clauses

15.1 Chaining

In the purest form of verb or VP chain, which I call **direct chains**, the nonfinal verb appears in the **simple bare stem**. The final verb has whatever inflected or other form it would have without the chained verbs. In direct chains, the nonfinal verbs are often directly adjacent to the final verb, but this is not obligatory. Direct chains may be partially lexicalized, and some verb-verb combinations might be described as **compounds**.

Direct chaining suggests conceptual integration of the co-eventualities denoted by the individual verbs. It is understood that the subjects of the verbs are identical (coindexed). The free translation is generally based on a conjoined VP with a shared subject or on a phrasal verb.

- (471) a. *éw-yé* [něyⁿ] *né-ŷⁿ:*
sit-MP [meal] eat.Ipfv-1PlSbj]
'We will sit down and eat.'
- b. *péré* *sí-yé:-rè-*Ø
jump go.down-MP-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
'He/She jumped down.'

There is also a type with {HL} tone overlay on the nonfinal verb (§15.1.2.2).

In **loose chains**, which can often be translated with 'and', the nonfinal clause or VP ends with an overt subordinating morpheme. The VPs or clauses are less tightly integrated, prosodically or conceptually, and the respective verbs may be widely separated. There are same-subject (SS) and different-subject (DS) subordinators.

For purposive clauses, which are not always easily distinguished from chains denoting sequences of actions (cf. 'go and eat' versus 'go to eat'), see §17.5.1.

15.1.1 Verbal noun of directly chained verbs

A **verbal noun** may be formed from a direct verb chain. The final verb has its usual verbal noun form in *-î* ~ *-ŷ* (§4.2.2). The nonfinal verbs (usually just one) appear as L-toned compound initials.

- (472) a. *péré* *sí-yé-*
jump go.down-MP-
'jump down'
- b. *pérê*^L-[sì-y-ŷ:]
jump^L-[go.down-MP-VblN]
'(act of) jumping down'

Such a verb-VblN compound may also be **possessed** (e.g. by the logical subject NP), in which case the overlaid possessed-noun {HL} overlay overrides the compound tone pattern. This happens to *lò^L-[dɔ̄-ȳ]* ‘going and coming’ (*ló*, *dɔ̄*) in (473).

- (473) *[ùwɔ̄] tǎ:n] ^{HL}*ló-[dɔ̄-ȳ]**
- [month three] ^{HL}go.[arrive-VblN]
- ‘(upon) three month’s going and arriving (=elapsing)’ [2005.1a.09]

15.1.2 Tone overlay of nonfinal verb stem in chain

15.1.2.1 Medial chained verb occasionally with {L} tone overlay

There is no distinctive tonal treatment for medial chained verbs, i.e. those sandwiched between the initial and final verbs. However, {L} overlay is sometimes observed in medial chained verbs, including iterations of the same initial verb. This seems to be a basically metrical process, with relaxed articulation of the medial verb.

- (474) *gà: núwⁿòyⁿ yà:-ȳ: yɔ̄ȳ ^Lyɔ̄ȳ yá ló-ȳè*
- but now woman-child run ^Lrun Exist go.Ipfv-3PlSbj
- ‘But now girls keep running away.’ [2005.1b.06]

15.1.2.2 Nonfinal chained verb with {HL} tone overlay

In this construction, the uninflected **nonfinal verb has {HL} tone overlay**, while the final verb has its regular tone and inflection. This construction is attested with combinations containing a verb of conveyance ('take/convey', 'bring') as first element. A direct object (if present) precedes the two verbs.

- (475) a. *jémbé ^{HL}*jó-lò* děy-tí-ŷ*
- bag ^{HL}convey-Caus put.down-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
- ‘I took (there) and put down the bag.’ (*jò-lò*)
- b. *sō-m ^{HL}*jó-lò* cè:ri-∅*
- horse-AnSg ^{HL}convey-Caus show.Pfv-3SgSbj
- ‘He took (there) and showed the horse.’ (*jò-lò*)
- c. *nàwⁿâ: ^{HL}*jé:* kùwò-∅*
- meat ^{HL}bring eat.meat.Pfv-3SgSbj
- ‘He/She brought and ate the meat.’ (*jé:*)
- d. *nàwⁿâ: ^{HL}*jé:* kúwó-ṁ*
- meat ^{HL}bring eat.meat-Ipfv.3SgSbj
- ‘He/She will bring and eat the meat.’ (*jé:*)

A possible connection is with the {HL}-toned alternative perfective verb form (§10.2.1.3).

15.1.3 Direct chains including a time-of-day verb

Verbs like *ná-* ‘spend the night’ and *dérⁿé-* ‘spend the (mid-)day’ may be chained to a preceding VP denoting a prolonged activity.

- (476) a. *jìyé* *jìyé* *nà-bó*
 dance(n) dance(v) spend.night.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They danced all night.’
- b. *té:* *sírí* *dérⁿé-yé*
 tea boil spend.day.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They spend the day boiling (= making) tea.’

15.1.4 Direct chains ending in *dúwó-* ‘leave’

This verb is often directly chained to a preceding VP that denotes an act of placing something. It can often be omitted in a free English translation.

- (477) a. *[jémbé* *kù]* *děy* *dúwò-*Ø
 [bag Def] put.down leave.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She put the bag down and left it.’
- b. *nǎ:-m* *páyá* *dúwó-ŷ*
 cow-AnSg tie leave.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I will tie up and leave the cow.’

15.1.5 Direct and loose chains with ‘go’ and ‘come’

The linear order of ‘go’ and ‘come’ is iconic, matching the chronology of motion events. For the very common ‘go and come (back)’, a direct chain including the bare stem *ló* ‘go’ is used (478a). For the less uncommon ‘come and go’, a same-subject subordinated form of ‘come’ occurs (478b).

- (478) a. *ló* *yé-ŷ*
 go come.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I will go and come (back).’
- b. *yè=ń* *ló:-rè-*Ø
 come=and.SS go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She came and went.’

Most other instances of ‘go and VP’ or ‘come and VP’ are expressed suffix *-rá:* ~ *-ré:* on the final non-motion verb, a construction that I classify as purposive (§17.5.1.1).

15.1.6 Chains including *mò:lú*- ‘be/do/put together’

The intransitive verb *mò:lú* ‘come together, assemble’ can be directly chained to a following verb or VP in the sense ‘(do) together’. The linear order of the two verbs makes sense, since coming together normally occurs before the activity itself. For example, ‘work together’ is logically ‘get together and (then) work’ rather than ‘work and (then) get together’ (479a). That a direct chain is a kind of verb-verb compound is suggested by the fact that *mò:lú* is adjacent to the second verb even when this means that it follows complements of that verb, such as a direct object (479d) or cognate nominal (479c). In other words, the direct chain “inherits” the argument structure of the second verb. The chronology can also be made explicit by an overt subordinator, see (486a-b) in §15.1.9 below.

- (479) a. *mò:lú* *bìré:-rà-ŷ:*
come.together work-Prog-1PlSbj
‘We work together.’
- b. *[dɔ:* *bè→]* *[púlɔ:* *bé→]*
[Dogon.Pl and] [Fulbe.Pl and]
mò:lú *b-é:ⁿ=b-â:*
come.together be-3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
‘Dogon and Fulbe (ethnicities) used to be (=live) together.’
- c. *[yă:* *bé→]* *[árⁿà* *bè→]*
[woman.Pl and] [man.Pl and]
jìyé *mò:lú* *jíyé-yè*
dance(n) **come.together** dance.Ipfv-3PlSbj
‘Women and men will dance together.’
- d. *[í* *yá→]* *[séydù* *yà→]*
[1Sg and] [Seydou and]
_{L+HL} *írⁿà* *mò:lú* *wárá-ŷ:*
1SgPoss.^{HL}field **come.together** farm.Ipfv-1PlSbj
‘Seydou and I will farm my field together.’

mò:lú- can also be transitive ‘bring/put together, assemble (them)’. It can therefore be chained with a transitive verb, indicating that the objects (not subjects) are together (480).

- (480) a. *[sá:kù* *yèy* *kú* *mò:lú* *dèyì-ŷ*
[sack two Def] **put.together** put.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I put down the two sacks together.’ (*yèy*)
- b. *[àwǎ-m* *yá→]* *[ô-m* *yà→]*
[snake-AnSg and] [mouse-AnSg and]
mò:lú *dùwà-ŷ*
put.together leave.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I left the snake and the mouse together.’

15.1.7 Negation of verb chains

If the chain denotes essentially a single complex event, as usual with direct chains, negating the final inflected verb suffices to negate the entire chain, or any part of it.

- (481) *nàwⁿâ:* ^{HL}*jé:* ^{HL}*kùwò^L-rí-*Ø
 meat bring eat^L-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She will not bring and eat the meat.’

15.1.8 VP-chaining with same-subject past sequential =ní ~ =ñ

A common device for linking two clauses with the same subject is to put the verb of the first clause in a form ending with =ní, often reduced to =ñ, following the bare stem (with its lexical tone). The interlinear gloss is “and.SS.” The tone distinguishes this clitic from the segmentally homophonous different-subject clitic =nì ~ =ñ, on which see §15.1.10.

=ní ~ =ñ is added to the bare stem of the verb. For Cv verb stems, such tonal distinctions as that between *nú-* ‘go in’ and *nǔ-* ‘hear’ were audible (482c), though not consistently. The one <LHL> monosyllabic, ‘bring’, is heard with <LH>-tone plus downstep of the H-tone of the clitic (482d). Representative data are in (482).

(482)	gloss	bare stem	with =ní
a. <i>Cv=ní</i>			
‘go’	<i>ló</i>	<i>ló=ní</i>	
‘spend night’	<i>ná</i>	<i>ná=ní</i>	
‘shoot’	<i>tá</i>	<i>tá=ní</i>	
b. <i>Cv=ní</i>			
‘come’	<i>yě</i>	<i>yě=ní</i>	
‘arrive’	<i>dž</i>	<i>dž=ní</i>	
c. ‘hear’ and ‘go in’ distinguished (though not easily)			
‘hear’	<i>nǔ</i>	<i>nǔ=ní</i>	
‘go in’	<i>nú</i>	<i>nú=ní</i>	
d. ‘bring’ (<LHL> tone preserved)			
‘bring’	<i>jé:</i>	<i>jé:=ní</i>	
e. <i>Cvyⁿ</i>			
‘put’	<i>gáyⁿ</i>	<i>gáyⁿ=ní</i>	
‘do’	<i>káyⁿ</i>	<i>káyⁿ=ní</i>	
irregular			
‘say’	<i>gúyⁿ</i>	<i>gú=ní</i>	

f. bisyllabic

'tie'	<i>páyá</i>	<i>páyá=ní</i>
'take out'	<i>gò-ló</i>	<i>gò-ló=ní</i>
'leave'	<i>dùwó</i>	<i>dùwó=ní</i>

g. trisyllabic

'poke'	<i>dùsùrō</i>	<i>dùsùrō=ní</i>
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Some examples are in (483).

- (483) a. [*yá-m* *isê:* *gō=ní* *yé:-rè-*Ø
 [woman-AnSg village go.out=and.SS] come-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 'A woman left the village and came (here).'
 b. [*wárá* *áy=ní*] *ðr̩n̩:* *ló:-rè-*Ø
 [daba pick.up=and.SS] outback go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 'He took a daba (hoe) and went to the bush (= fields).'

My assistant used this subordinator consistently for **past-time event sequences with the same subject NP**. In future (and generalized) time contexts,, he used *=náyⁿ* (see the following section) for similar same-subject sequential events.

There is also a phrase *kú=m ní* in the texts, consisting of *kú=m* 'it is that' (i.e. 'that's it') plus a *ní* that might be equated morphemically with same-subject *=ní*, but that merely resumes the situation established by preceding discourse. *kú=m ní* is set off prosodically from preceding and following material. An example is at the beginning of (657) in the sample text. *kú=m* without *ní* is even more common.

15.1.9 VP-chaining with same-subject future sequential *=náyⁿ*

This clitic is attached to an uninflected verb stem that **drops its tones** to {L}. This tone-dropping does not occur with other clause-final particles. The exception to tone-dropping is that the only <LHL>-toned monosyllabic stem, 'bring', retains its tones; the final L is expressed as downstep (↑), i.e. as partial pitch-lowering of an H-tone, on *=náyⁿ* (484d).

- (484) gloss bare stem with *=náyⁿ*

a. *Cv=náyⁿ*

'go'	<i>ló</i>	<i>lò=náyⁿ</i>
'spend night'	<i>ná</i>	<i>nà=náyⁿ</i>
'shoot'	<i>tá</i>	<i>tà=náyⁿ</i>

b. *Cv=náy^ñ*

'come'	<i>yé</i>	<i>yè=náy^ñ</i>
'arrive'	<i>dó</i>	<i>dò=náy^ñ</i>

c. ‘hear’ and ‘go in’ merged

‘hear’	<i>n̄</i>	<i>n̄ = náyⁿ</i>
‘go in’	<i>nú</i>	<i>n̄ = náyⁿ</i>

d. ‘bring’ (<LHL> tone preserved but final L expressed as downstep)

‘bring’	<i>j̄e:</i>	<i>j̄e: = 'náyⁿ</i>
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e. bisyllabic

‘tie’	<i>páyá</i>	<i>páyà = náyⁿ</i>
‘take out’	<i>gò-ló</i>	<i>gò-lò = náyⁿ</i>
‘leave’	<i>dùwɔ</i>	<i>dùwɔ = náyⁿ</i>

f. trisyllabic

‘poke’	<i>dùsùrō</i>	<i>dùsùrò = náyⁿ</i>
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My assistant regularly used *=náyⁿ* to link two **same-subject clauses denoting future (including imperative) and generalized-time (gnomic) event sequences**. He rejected *=náyⁿ* in reports of similar same-subject event sequences in the past, using *=ní* (preceding section) instead. For example, *=náyⁿ* was regular in future-time *lò = náyⁿ yé-ŷ* ‘I will go and come [back]’ and in imperative *lò = náyⁿ yá* ‘go and come[back]!’, but it was replaced with *=ní* in past-time *lò = ní yè-y* ‘I went and came [back]’.

Textual examples like those in (485) generally bear out the future or generalized-time context. The interlinear gloss is “then.SS.”

- (485) a. *[ùrɔ^L = náyⁿ] [â:] [diyⁿà] [páyⁿ]*
 [go.up^L=then.SS] [LogoPlPoss] ^Ldesire with]
ló-yè wà,
 go.Ipfv-3PISbj Quot
 (They said:) they (two) could mount (it) and go at their pleasure’ [2005.2a.06]
- b. *[j̄gú-rù gò^L = náyⁿ]*
 [here go.out^L=then.SS]
[â:m^bá: tûm] ló béré-m̄-dó-∅
 [Ambo ^{HL}mate] go can-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
 ‘... he could not walk (a distance) on the order of leaving here (= Beni) and going to Ambo (village)’ [2005.2b.02]
- c. *[n̄^L diyⁿà] [áyàⁿ wò] bě:-rē-∅ dè,*
 [person^L big.Pl] [like.that ^Lin] remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[j̄iye^L = náyⁿ n̄i] pégé-m̄-n-é wá kōy^t
 [kill^L=then.SS Emph] put.in-Ipfv-Neg-3PISbj Quot Emph
 ‘the old people said: if that was indeed the case, they wouldn’t kill (the girl) (first) and then stick her in (the hole)’ [2005.2a.08]

- d. *[[[tà:^L kà:ⁿ]^L bû: gàⁿ^L =náyⁿ], [lò=náyⁿ], [go^L=then.SS]*
 [[shoe^L any]^L 3PLSbj put^L=**then.SS**], [go^L=**then.SS**]
/isê: gòngurú] bû: láwá-m̩ kù
 [village go.around] 3PLSbj go.past.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan Def
 ‘whatever shoe they put on and go around the village and keep going’
 [2005.2b.04]
- e. *[[[kû: ^Lpàyⁿ] dù^L =náyⁿ] yě-ŷ]*
 [[[head with] carry^L =**and.then**] come-VblN]
wă:w bû:-∅
 distant be-3SgSbj
 ‘(For) carrying (water) with (=on) the head and coming (back), it’s far away.’
 [2005.1a.05]
- f. *[[kì-kà:^L kísíyé-m] yâyⁿ→ yě^L =náyⁿ]*
 [[grasshopper^L flying-AnSg] thus come^L=**then.SS**]
/yû: kù-kúwó-m̩ mâ:-mârⁿá:]
 [millet Rdp-eat.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan amazingly]
yì-tâ^L-lí-ŷ.:]
 see^L-ExpPf^L-PfvNeg-1PLSbj
 ‘We had never seen flying grasshoppers come like that and amazingly eat up the millet.’ [2005.1a.08]
- g. *[kú màyⁿá:-rè-∅ mà:]*
 [Inan dry-Pfv1a-3SgSbj before]
[[pàl =náyⁿ] jé-ŷⁿ.:]
 [[pick^L=**then.SS**] eat.Ipfv-1PLSbj
 ‘Before they (=cow-peas) dry (=ripen fully), we pick (them) and eat (them).’
 [2005.1a.12]

The combination of *=náyⁿ* with *mò:lú* ‘assemble, get together’ is common. Compare English *get together and (VP)*, where the assembling temporally precedes the joint action. The alternative is a direct chain with *mò:lú* preceding the other verb (§15.1.6 above).

- (486) a. *[[ùsú súyⁿòyⁿ] dž:-rè-∅ dè]*
 [[day seven] arrive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]
/mò:lù =náyⁿ] ìnìrⁿî: gáⁿ-ŷ.:]
 [assemble^L=**then.SS**] name put.Ipfv-1PLSbj
 ‘When seven days have arrived (=elapsed), having assembled, we give the name.’
 [2005.1a.02]

- b. *[mɔ:l=náyⁿ]*
 [assemble^L=then.SS]
/isê: wôy] [[póŋgú yéy] mɔ:lú
 [village all] [[neighborhood two] assemble
bɔy bárⁿá-w.: dè] /ló gànjí-yè]
 bell beat-Ipfv.2PlSbj if] [go dig.Ipfv-3PlSbj]
 ‘Having gathered together, when two neighborhoods in each village would assemble and you-Pl would strike the bell, they would go and dig (for water).’
 [2005.1a.04]

The temporal-sequence element is apparently challenged by (487). English speakers would understand ‘help’ and ‘put roof on’ as temporally coextensive. However, in Dogon languages ‘help’ is just a contextual sense of a verb whose core meaning is ‘add, increase’. Therefore ‘help you do the roofing’ is really ‘add (oneself, i.e. join) you, (and then) do the roofing’, so a sequential reading is reasonable.

- (487) *yé ú bár=náyⁿ] dèmbí-yè*
 come [2SgObj help^L=then.SS] put.roof.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They (=young men) will come and help you, and do the roofing’

The same-subject element of the syntax of *=náyⁿ* is challenged by (488), since the person doing the hiding (=stealthy activity) is the (generic) ‘you-Sg’, not the ‘he’ subject of the following main clause. However, *bàŋgiyí* ‘hide’ (here, by extension, ‘do secretly’) is conceptually linked to ‘get and chew tobacco’, so there is a kind of same-subject structure here.

- (488) *[bàŋgiyí=náyⁿ]=dá-Ø dé,*
 [hide^L=then.SS]=StatNeg-3SgSbj if,
táwá béré hámpe-wú-m-dó-Ø
 tobacco get chew.tobacco-Caus-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
 ‘Other than (you) hiding (=in secret), he would not allow (you) to get and chew tobacco’ [2005.2b.03]

In (489), there is some fuzziness as to who the subject of ‘talk’ is. The quoted speaker is with a group, and one could infer that his request is for a collective discussion. However, one could alternatively construe the implied subject of ‘talk’ as coindexed with the quoted speaker, so this is not a clear counterexample to the same-subject requirement.

- (489) *[né: kày] [[[yǎ-m kù] HL tēy kù tègè=náyⁿ]*
 [now Top] [[[woman-AnSg Def] HL word Def] talk^L=then.SS]
á lò-m bá
 LogoSg go^L-Hort Quot
 ‘He said; now they (he?) should talk about (=discuss) the matter of the woman so he might go.’ [2005.2a.01]

The combination *lò=náyⁿ* ‘going’ is used in durative background clauses of the type ‘that (situation) continues, (until ...)’. Such clauses connect the eventuality just described with a succeeding one over a span of time. No concrete referential subject is implied (490a). The

expression may be expanded by chaining *ló* ‘go’ to a preceding *ăy* ‘take’. This construction can be logically interpreted along the lines of ‘taking (the preceding situation) and going (forward), ...’ (490b). One can justify the same-subject subordinators by assuming a higher “subject” such as the narrative itself. Jamsay *yàŋá màyⁿ*, ... ‘taking ...’ is also used in this way. Incidentally, <LH>-toned *dɔ́-y* in (490a) is morphologically the QuotImprt (§10.5.7), not the <LHL>-toned verbal noun *dɔ́-y*.

- (490) a. *[lò=náyⁿ] hâl ló [[ùsú pé-nì:y] dɔ́-y]*
 [go^L=then.SS] until go [[day ten-four] arrive-QuotImprt]
 ‘this (= a woman’s post-partum seclusion) goes on until forty days are complete’
 [2005.1a.01]
- b. *[tòy^L mǎ: kù] tɔ́-jé-w dé wò:-wôy,*
 [sowing^L dry Def] sow-RecPf-2SgSbj if all,
[[né: kày] ăy lò=náyⁿ]
 [[now Top] take go^L=then.SS]
[jìrⁿɛyⁿ dɔ́-rè-∅ —]
 [rainy.season arrive-Pfv1a-3SgSbj—]
 ‘If you-Sg have done the dry sowing, from then until the rainy season has arrived—’ [2005.1a.10]

The combination *gùⁿ=náyⁿ* or *gìⁿ=náyⁿ*, based on *gúyⁿ* (variant *gýyⁿ*) ‘say’, has more or less literal sense in (491a). However, it can also function as a purposive postposition, as in interrogative *[nјé gí=náyⁿ]* ‘why?’ (‘for what?’, §13.2.3), and as in (491b).

- (491) a. *[nú-m gùⁿ=náyⁿ] lă-w [kɔ́:ⁿL kâ:ⁿ]*
 [person-Pl say =then.SS] other-Inan [thing^L any]
 ‘There is no longer any (act) of (people saying)...’ [2005.2a.08]
- b. *dɔ́:-m kày, [gùlɔ́-m=∅ gùⁿ=náyⁿ]*
 Dogon-AnSg Top, [slave-AnSg=it.is say =then.SS]
[púlɔ́-m béré-jé:-∅ dè] máré-m-dó-∅
 [Fulbe-AnSg get-RecPf-3SgSbj if] keep-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
 ‘A Dogon (man), if he has gotten a Fulbe (in this fashion), he would not keep him to be a slave’ [2005.2b.02]

15.1.10 VP-chaining with different-subject =nì ~ =ñ

A common construction for combining two clauses with **different subjects** is for the first clause to end in clitic *=nì*, or its common reduced form *=ñ*, after the simple **bare stem** of the verb, which keeps its lexical tone melody. Only the tone of the clitic distinguishes it from same-subject clitic *=ní ~ =ñ*, described just above (§15.1.8). A **pronominal subject** is expressed as an independent pronoun immediately preceding the verb, as in nonsubject relatives.

The clause with *=nì ~ =ñ* denotes an eventuality that **chronologically precedes** the eventuality denoted by the following clause. *=nì ~ =ñ* is therefore most directly in opposition to same-subject *=náyⁿ*.

- (492) a. *[ú HL *írⁿà*] ú wàrá = nì,*
 [2SgPoss HL field] 2SgSbj farm=and.DS,
yâ: gõ:-m gò-Ø
 there elephant go.out.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘When you-Sg had farmed in your field, an elephant appeared there.’
- b. *[ĩ: lär = nì] lò-r-á*
 [1PlSbj chase.away=and.DS] go-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
 ‘We (tried to) chase them away, but they wouldn’t go.’ [2005.1a.08]
- c. *hà: né: [f: tíní = nì]*
 well, now [1PlSbj look=and.DS]
[ŋgú kày] [dàwⁿá kù]
 [Prox.Inan Top] [thing Def]
[dàwⁿà^L dà:yí-m] = dá
 [thing^L be.compatible.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan]=StatNeg
 ‘Well now, we looked (=considered), and (we felt) the problem was something
 that would not last long.’ [2005.1a.17]
- d. *[isê: kù bû: éggé = ñ],*
 [village Def] 3PlSbj abandon=and.DS,
[yâ: ú bě:-rè-ñ] dè]
 [there 2SgSbj remain-Ipfv-2SgSbj if]
[[ám HL kð:n] = Ø]
 [who? HL thing]=it.is
 ‘If they have abandoned the village, and (if) you-Sg remain there, it (village) is
 whose?’ [2005.1a.07]
- e. *[bû: yé = ñ cêm] [[kðsðy wó] lò-y.:]*
 [3PlSbj come=and.DS all] [[harvest in] go.Pfv-1PlSbj]
 ‘As soon as they (=locusts) came, we went to the harvest (=to the fields to
 harvest).’ [2005.1a.08]

In (493), we have a DS clause with *=ñ*, followed by an SS clause with *=ń*, and a final clause (whose subject is identical to that of the SS clause). The DS clause happens to itself be complex (with *kósú* ‘harvest’ chained to *ná* ‘spend night’), but this is not directly pertinent here.

- (493) *[nárⁿù L wò] kósú i: ná = ñ,*
 [night L in] harvest 1PlSbj spend.night=and.DS]
[bû: ùrð = ñ] [[tiwⁿéyⁿ wó] bì-yè-bð]
 [3PlSbj go.up=and.SS] [[tree in] lie.down-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘We stayed up all night harvesting, while they (=locusts) went up and lay down
 (=slept) in the trees.’ [2005.1a.08]

Instead of expressing a change of subject as *[X Verb-DS] [Y Verb]*, an alternative is to change the first clause to same-subject (SS), and add a medial clause with just the verb *káyⁿ* ‘do’ carrying the DS marking. Schematically, instead of ‘X went-DS, (then) Y ate’, we rephrase as

'X went-SS and did-DS, (then) Y ate'. This construction is very common in narrative as a way to make a clear subject switch.

- (494) a. [bòlō: sí-yé=nì] [érⁿé káyⁿ=nì]
 [down go.down-MP=and.SS] [3SgSbj do=and.DS]
 [injé-m [[érⁿé HL tílù] L wò] dím-dì-bó] wá
 [dog-AnSg [[3Sg HL behind] L in] follow-Caus.Pfv-3PlSbj] Quot
 'When she came down, when she did that, they made a dog follow after her, it is said.' [2005.2a.04]
- b. ðrⁿó: ló=ní ú: káyⁿ=nì,
 outback go=and.SS 2PlSbj do=and.DS,
 yì-të: cèmné cémné-yé
 child.Pl fun have.fun.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 'When you-Pl have gone (out) to the bush, the children will play.'

It is worth asking whether there is an affinity (in the mind of native speakers) between this **=nì** ~ **=ñ** and the same phonological shape functioning (after a noun or pronoun) as optional **accusative** morpheme (§8.2). I first encountered a morphemic identity between different-subject switch-reference marking on verbs, and accusative marking on direct objects, in Choctaw (Muskocean family, southeastern U.S.). However, in Choctaw the structure is made clearer by the use of nominative (subject) markers as corresponding same-subject subordinators. No such parallelism is possible in BenT or other Dogon languages, in the absence of overt nominative morphology.

A particle **nì** (and variants) that may or may not be directly equatable with the different-subject subordinator is found here and there in the texts at the end of already well-formed clauses or phrases. If the phrase is an object NP or another apparently focalized nonsubject NP, I attribute it to accusative **=nì**. An example is **érⁿé=mì=nì** at the beginning of (679) in the sample text, with focalized **érⁿé=mì** 'it was he (who ...)'. More difficult cases involving clause-final **nì** in the sample text are **jìyè=náyⁿ nì** including same-subject **=náyⁿ** in line 3 of (675), and **núm-dó:-rè nì** with perfective-1a verb at the end of (683).

15.1.11 Chaining with perfective linker **tí**

A linking element **tí** related to perfective-1b suffix **-tí-** (§10.2.1.5) is exemplified in (495), where it is followed by **=náyⁿ**, and therefore drops its tone to **ti**. The linker indicates a chronological sequence, which fits with a perfective connection. The free translation reverses the order of the two relevant clauses to make the chronology clearer.

- (495) [núwⁿdyⁿ kày] [á dùwó tì=náyⁿ]
 [now Top] [3Refl leave Perf=then.SS]
 ló-ré-ý wá
 go-ImprtNeg-QuotImprt Quot
 '(younger brother said to elder brother:) he (=elder) should not go away, having left him (= younger brother) now.' [2005.2a.08]

tí is also a regular verb with several senses including ‘send’ and ‘dump out’. This verb is likely related etymologically to the perfective-1b suffix, but they are distinct synchronically. They may co-occur: *tí-tí:-Ø* ‘he/she sent’, as in (629d) in §19.1.3. Furthermore, ‘send; dump out’ can occur in medial position in chains in its literal sense. This is the case in (496a), where the preceding verb (*ló-* ‘go’) is incompatible with perfective-1b suffix (it forms perfective-1a *ló:-rè-*), so this example can only be parsed as a chain. Such sequences should, in principle, be distinguished from the perfective-linker construction in (495) above. The combination *tó: tí-* ‘spill’ is a lexicalized chain (i.e. a kind of verb-verb compound), so *tí-* is found even in the imperfective (*tó: tí-ŷ* ‘I will spill’) and in other non-perfective contexts like the ‘be able to’ construction in (496b).

- (496) a. *[bǎ:-rè dè] ló tí dúwɔ́-w*
 [be.full-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if] go **dump** leave.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘When it (=bag) is full, you-Sg go dump and leave it (in a small pile).’
 [2005.1a.10]
- b. *nî: tó: tí béré-ŷ*
 water spill **dump** get.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I can spill water.’

In another construction, a final inflected *tí-*, separated from a preceding chained verb by an intervening subject pronominal, functions as an **emphatic perfective**, though a hint of the sense ‘send’ is still discernible. The construction is in relative-clause form, hence the preverbal pronoun (497). In this example, the quoted speaker triumphantly confirms that he has performed a nearly impossible feat that had been demanded of him.

- (497) *hà�à [sèngû: kù] ăy sí-lé á tí-w*
 well [waterjar Def] take go.down-Caus LogoSg **Perf1b-Ppl.Inan**
 ‘(He said:) well, now that he had (in fact) taken and brought down the waterjar (to them).’ [2005.2a.01]

15.1.12 Chaining with *jí-jè→* ‘go with’

The word *jí-jè→* functions somewhat like a specialized nonfinal chained verb, where it is regularly followed by a verb of motion. It is not normally directly inflectable. The semantic contribution of *jí-jè→* is to indicate that the entity in motion is taking a person or thing along. It is preceded by an NP complement. The Jamsay counterpart *jíjè* has similar properties.

- (498) *[yǎ-m kù] jí-jè→ gô-w.:*
 [woman-AnSg Def] **go.with** go.out.Ipfv-2PlSbj
 ‘You-Pl will go out (of the village) with the woman.’

In BenT, unlike Jamsay, the final *e* is prolonged intonationally. This suggests that it is interpreted as containing the subordinator *-jè→*, which occurs in backgrounded durative clauses indicating the continuation of an activity; see (512) in §15.2.1.4.

In one text, the form *jí-jé* (looking like a regular verb) is followed by 3Pl subject *-mà*. The 3Sg subject counterpart is *jí-jé-w*, with a final *-w*. These forms are suggestive of perfective participial suffixes (§14.1.6.1).

- (499) *[[[sō: kù] HL mánì:] L wò] náyⁿ-yà,*
 [[[horse Def] HL above] L in] put.up.on.Ipfv-3PlSbj,
jí-jé-mà dè,
go.with-3PlSbj if,
[[bùrúgù L tū-m] ló] týé-yè
 [B L mate-AnSg] go] sell.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They would put them (=children) up on the horses. Taking them (=children) along, they would go for example to Bourougou (village) and sell them.’ [2005.2b.01]

15.1.13 Chaining with *jùwⁿʒ* ‘do first, proceed to’

The verb *jùwⁿʒ* (not to be confused with unnasalized *jùwɔ* ‘know’) occurs a number of times in the texts with a preceding chained VP. My assistant glosses *jùwⁿʒ* in isolation as ‘do first’, but the textual contexts suggest a free translation ‘proceed to VP’ or ‘now/then VP’, implying a brief temporal separation between two chronologically sequenced events.

An example (in hortative form *jùwⁿʒ-m*) is at the end of (685) in the sample text. Another is (500).

- (500) *[dòró yá bú-∅ dè]*
 [thorn Exist be-3SgSbj if]
[ló yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú
 [go rake.up [repetitions]
mð:lú-w dè]
 assemble.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if
gð: gäyⁿ júwⁿʒ-wⁿ
 fire put do.first.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘If there are thorns, you will go and keep raking them together, then you will proceed to put (=set) fire (in them).’ [2005.1a.10]

15.2 Adverbial clauses

15.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

15.2.1.1 Noun-headed temporal relative clause (‘the time when ...’)

These are simple relative clauses with the noun *wákátù ~ wágátù ~ wáyátù* ‘time, moment’ or other temporal noun (‘day’, ‘year’, etc) as head, hence in {L}-toned form.

In (501a-b), a definite imperfective relative headed by ‘time’, and therefore with inanimate participle, is followed by instrumental *nâyⁿ* ‘with’ to create a temporal adverbial clause describing simultaneous eventualities. (501c) is similar construction but with a perfective participle. Definite *kù* is heard as H-toned *kú* when followed by *nâyⁿ*.

- (501) a. *[ʃɔ:-m wàgàtù^L yé-ṁ kú jâyⁿ]*
 [[chief-AnSg time^L come.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan Def] with]
ɔ̄rⁿɔ: *bíré* *bíré-ṁ=bè-ŷ*
 field work(n) work-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj
 ‘At the time when the chief was coming, I was working in the fields.’
- b. *[wàgàtù^L í yé-ṁ kú jâyⁿ]*
 [time^L 1SgSbj come.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan Def] with
 ‘at the time when I was coming’
- c. *[wàgàtù^L úrò yě í dɔ̄-w kú jâyⁿ]*
 [time^L house come 1SgSbj arrive.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def with]
[[L+HL bɔ̄: isē: ló:-rè-∅] tèmbì-ŷ]
 [[1SgPoss.^{HL}father village go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj] find.Pfv-1SgSbj]
 ‘When I arrived home, I found that my father had traveled.’

In (502a), the temporal relative (this time headed by ‘day’) is perfective in form. It functions as the subject of the larger sentence, so instrumental *jâyⁿ* is absent. (502b) is a variant showing **doubling** of the head noun following the verbal participle.

- (502) a. *[kì-kă: ùsù^L (kà:ⁿ) yě-w kù]*
 [Rdp-grasshopper day^L (Rel) come.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def]
ŋgú-rù í tèmbì-∅
 here 1SgObj find.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘The day when the locusts came found me here.’ (< *ùsú*)
- b. *[kì-kă: ùsù^L (kà:ⁿ) yě-w] Lùsù (kù)*
 [Rdp-grasshopper day^L (Rel) come.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] Lday (Def)
 [variant of (a)] (< *ùsú*)

Doubled head nouns were not observed in BenT texts, but examples like (502b) were accepted when proposed. The doubled head noun is normally simple (unmodified), and has the tonal form of a **possessed noun**. The syntax is therefore ‘(the) day of [the day the grasshoppers came]’, with the primary relative construction functioning as possessor.

For headless versions of temporal (and other adverbial) relative clauses, see §14.1.4 and especially §15.2.4, below.

15.2.1.2 ‘While X was VP-ing’ (-ṁ|w=bày, -ṁ|-w dè, ḡ|m|-w nè)

The clitic =bày, apparently related to past =bè- ~ =bē-, is used in a temporal clause meaning ‘while X was VP-ing’. The clause has the syntactic structure of a relative clause; in particular, =bày does not conjugate for subjects, rather a pronominal subject is expressed as a preparticipial pronoun. Except for statives, =bày is preceded by an unconjugated imperfective verb with suffix -ṁ (503a-c) cf. the past unsuffixed imperfective complex -ṁ=bè- (§10.4.1.1). Derived stative verbs have -w instead of -ṁ (504c, below). With quasi-verb bú- ‘be (somewhere)’ we get just bú=bày. The clitic =bày cannot be equated precisely with any normal participial form of =bè- (=bē-).

- (503) a. [érⁿé tímí-**m**=bày]
 [3SgSbj watch-Ipfv=Past.Ppl]
 [érⁿé HL týyà-m] sùyò-bó
 [3SgPoss HL friend-AnSg] hit.Pfv-3PlSbj
 'While he_x watched, they struck his_x friend.'
- b. [bû: tímí-**m**=bày]
 [3PlSbj watch-Ipfv=Past.Ppl]
 [bû: L týyà-m] sùyò-Ø
 [3PlPoss L friend-AnSg] hit.Pfv-3SgSbj
 'While they_x watched, he struck their_x friend.'
- c. ðrⁿó: bíré í bíré-**m**=bày,
 outback work(n) 1SgSbj work-Ipfv=Past.Ppl,
 púlⁿ-m yè-Ø
 Fulbe-AnSg come.Pfv-3Sgs
 'While I was working in the field(s), a Fulbe person came.'

A clause with **-m=bày** may be used as the complement of ‘see’ or ‘find’ in the sense of directly observing an event in progress (‘I saw him fall’, as opposed to the recognitional ‘I saw that he had fallen’). Examples are in (504); see also §17.2.3.

- (504) a. [érⁿé yàyá-**m**=bày] yì-rí-ŷ
 [3Sg fall-Ipfv=Past.Ppl] see-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
 'I didn't see him/her fall.'
- b. [î: yàyá-**m**=bày] yì-w̄
 [1Pl fall-Ipfv=Past.Ppl] see.Pfv-2SgSbj
 'You-Sg saw us fall.'
- c. [érⁿé býé-w̄=bày] tèmbù-Ø wà
 [3Sg lie.down-Stat=Past.Ppl] find.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot
 'she found him lying (in bed), it is said.'

When I sought present-time versions of the **-m=bày** construction, my assistant used **-m|w̄** followed by conditional particle **dè** (or variant, e.g. **déy**) ‘if’ (505). This is not unusual since the ‘if ...’ particle can often be glossed freely as ‘when ...’. The construction resembles that with **-w̄ dè** (§16.1.2), but in the present construction verbs other than statives have **-m** rather than **-w̄**. There are quite a few textual examples of **-m dè**.

- (505) [bíré í bíré-**m** dè] nú-ré
 [work(n) 1SgSbj work-Ipfv if] go.in-ImprtNeg
 'When I am working, don't come in!'

A similar construction, common in narratives, has **-m|w̄ ne**, ending with a reduced variant **ne** of topicalizing particle **né**: ‘now’. In (506) the phrase is repeated three times.

- (506) [íyé yà] [bû: ^Lmà:] bérù-m wò-ý wá,
 [today also] [3Pl ^LQuotSbj] goat-AnSg catch-QuotImprt Quot,
 [bû: wó-m̄ nè] [bû: wó-m̄ nè] [bû: wó-m̄ nè]
 [3PlSbj catch-Ipfv now] ...
 [[bér kù kày] yé=ń] ...
 [[goat Def Top] come=and.SS ...
 '(so) she told them to take a goat this day too. They kept taking (goats). As for the goats, they came and ...' [2005.2a.06]

nè is also attested after defective stative quasi-verb *bù-* ‘be’, as in *bû: bú nè* ‘they kept being (thus)’ in line 6 of (668) in the sample text.

15.2.1.3 ‘While X was VP-ing’ (-m̄ = *bě-w* *kú pâyⁿ*)

A construction that appears to be interchangeable with the *-m̄ = bây* clause type described in the preceding section, but that is more transparent morphologically, has an inanimate past unsuffixed imperfective participle with suffix complex *-m̄ = bě-w*, followed by definite *kú* (H-toned here before a postposition) and instrumental postposition *pâyⁿ* ‘with’.

- (507) [ú ^{HL}írⁿà] ú wárá-m̄ = *bě-w* kú *pâyⁿ*,
 [2SgPoss ^{HL}field] 2SgSbj farm-Ipfv=Past-Ppl.Inan Def Inst,
gó:-m̄ *gò-Ø*
 elephant-AnSg come.out.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘While you-Sg were farming in your field, an elephant appeared.’

15.2.1.4 ‘(While) X continue(-s/-ed) to VP’ (-m̄, *tíném*, *túná*, -jē-, *dē:-*, *wó*)

Several constructions are used in narrative to indicate prolongation of an activity. Any such construction provides a background for a new, foregrounded event. This new event may take place while the activity is continuing (‘while ...’), or it may follow the activity or serve as its endpoint or result.

One construction, which may be used for present or non-present time frames, has the invariant imperfective *-m̄* (cf. past unsuffixed imperfective *-m̄ = bě-*) with no pronominal inflection, repeated three or more times. The subject is expressed by a preparticipial pronoun in each occurrence (508), or it is omitted as in *yárá-m̄ yárá-m̄ yárá-m̄* ‘kept walking around’ in line 4 of (666) in the sample text.

- (508) [yòg-î: *tùndi-Ø*] wá,
 [run-VblN begin.Pfv-3SgSbj] Quot,
[érⁿé yóyó-m̄] [érⁿé yóyó-m̄]
 [3Sg run-Ipfv] [3Sg run-Ipfv]
[érⁿé yóyó-m̄] [érⁿé yóyó-m̄] [érⁿé yóyó-m̄]
 [3Sg run-Ipfv] [3Sg run-Ipfv] [3Sg run-Ipfv]
 ‘... she began to run, it is said. She kept running and running.’
 [2005.2a.02]

A more explicitly durative clause is **-m̄** followed by an adverb **tíném** (or any of several dialectal variants, e.g. **túném**), which suggests an extended temporal continuation of an activity. Because it is an adverb, **tíném** is invariant for pronominal category of subject. There is no requirement for a preparticipial subject pronoun.

- (509) *tì-tǎ:-m* [yàriyí-m̄] **tíném**
 Rdp-hyena-AnSg [stroll-Ipfv continuing]
mùmùr'ú-m̄ *yì-∅*
 scorpion-AnSg see.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘While Hyena was continuing to stroll around, (suddenly) he saw Scorpion.’

The verb plus **tíném** may be repeated three or so times for narrative effect. In (510), the light verb **káyⁿ** ‘do’ substitutes for a more substantive VP given earlier in the discourse.

- (510) *béré-m̄-n-é* *wá,*
 be.able-Ipfv-Neg.3Pl Quot,
áŋàyⁿ *káⁿ-m̄* **tíném** [káⁿ-m̄ **tíném**] [káⁿ-m̄ **tíném**]
 [like.that do-Ipfv continuing]
 ‘... they (=numerous suitors) couldn’t do it (=a heroic feat). They kept doing that (=trying and failing), they kept doing that, they kept doing that. (Then ...)’
 [2005.2a.01]

On tape, **tíném** often sounds L-toned, which I attribute to the influence of the preceding **-m̄** suffix. When **tíném** is followed by another element, such as **bù-** ‘be’ or **bě-** ‘remain’, the H-tone is clearer.

A variant **tún᷑** is attested in similar function (511). Most attestations of this variant are with **bù-** ‘be (somewhere)’. There is no subject pronoun, and no imperfective **-m̄** on the verb. Since **bù-** is a stative quasi-verb, it would not allow specifically imperfective suffixes in any event.

- (511) *[yâ: bù tún᷑] bù-tún᷑ bù-tún᷑ bù-tún᷑ bù-tún᷑*,
 [there be continuing] ...
[yà-gùr᷑ gò=ní]
 [woman-young go.out=and.SS]
 ‘They continued to be there for a long time. (Eventually) she grew up to become a young woman, ...’ [2005.2a.04]

Another durative clause type in narrative is with **-jè→** added directly to the verb stem. The verb may be single, or repeated up to four times. A morphological parsing as perfective **jè:-∅** ‘(3Sg) brought’, or a connection with recent perfect **-jè-**, are excluded since neither has the requisite durative sense. A more likely historical connection is with **jí-jè→** ‘go with’ (§15.1.12), and some examples are compatible with this specific sense, but in other examples there is no indication of literal accompanied motion. Togo Kan same-subject ‘while’ subordinator **-jè** may be related.

- (512) a. *sì-y-î: tÙmdi-Ø wà íyà,*
 go.down-VblN begin.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot again,
 íyà áŋàyⁿ sì-yé-jè→ sì-yé-jè→
 again like.that go.down-MP-continue go.down-MP-continue
 ‘He began to go down, it is said, again. He kept going down. (Then ...)’
 [2005.2a.01]
- b. *káyⁿ-jè→ yè=ń hâl ...*
 do-continue come=and.SS until ...
 ‘Doing that (=singing the song just recited), he came until he ...’ [2005.2a.01]

A somewhat different construction is of the type ‘X did that (=kept doing that) until X got tired’. This is a fairly common narrative construction that does not necessarily denote literal weariness. The verb *dě-* ‘get tired’ is used, in a conjugatable falling-toned perfective form *dě:-* (e.g. 3Pl *dě:-bð*) or in a headless adverbial participial form *dě-w*, after an intonationally prolonged form of a chained verb. The <HL> tone is found in one version of the perfective for third person subject; see §10.2.1.3.

Often the activity in question is described in one clause, followed by a clause denoting its prolongation with *káyⁿ* ‘do’ replacing the VP. In one narrative containing songs, this construction is regularly used after each snatch of song, preceding the next foregrounded event, e.g. (513).

- (513) ... [*káyⁿ→ HL dě:-Ø wáj*
 ... [do *HL get.tired.Pfv-3SgSbj* Quot]
 [i_{sì-y-î:} *àw^L-rí-Ø wáj*, ...
 [go.down-MP-VblN accept^L-PfvNeg-3SgSbj Quot], ...
 ‘[song]. (He) did that (=sang) until he was tired (=for a long time). (But) she refused to come down.’ [2005.2a.03]

For a different construction involving ‘get tired’, see §15.2.1.8 below.

Locative postposition *wó* is attested in a similar durative background clause in (514), with an H-toned stative *dímbá-* ‘follow’ (i.e. continue as before) plus *-w*. This is morphologically interpretable as a 3Sg subject form.

- (514) *ìgú dímbá-w*^{HL} *wój,*
 Prox.Inan follow.Stat-3SgSbj ^{HL}in,
 ìgú dímbá-w^{HL} *wój,*
 Prox.Inan follow.Stat-3SgSbj ^{HL}in,
 ‘This (argument) keeps going on and on, then ...’ [2005.1b.05]

15.2.1.5 ‘While VERB-ing’ (iterated imperfective as adverb)

Adverbs of the type ‘while VERB-ing’ can be derived from activity verbs by iterating a form ending in *m* (compare imperfective *-m* before past clitic), with repeated {HL} tone overlay, expressed as <HL>, H.L, and H.L.L on mono-, bi-, and trisyllabic stems, respectively. Like the corresponding verb, the adverb may take a complement, such as a cognate nominal, and examples of this are included in (515). The special phonological features in (515b-c) are

consistent with the phonology of the corresponding unsuffixed imperfective forms. *yáram-yáram* ‘while taking a walk (= strolling)’ (515f) reduces a trisyllabic stem to bisyllabic by lopping off a final mediopassive suffix. A similar reduction occurs in derived statives, see (253d) in §10.2.1.11).

(515)	gloss	verb	‘while VERB-ing’
a.	‘sow (seeds)’ ‘weep’ ‘shoot’	<i>tōy tō-</i> <i>yō: yō-</i> <i>tā-</i>	<i>tōy tōm-tōm</i> <i>yō: yōm-yōm</i> <i>tām-tām</i>
b.	‘come’ ‘bring’	<i>yē-</i> <i>jē:-</i>	<i>yēm-yēm</i> <i>jēm-jēm</i>
c.	‘do’ ‘put’	<i>káyⁿ-</i> <i>gáyⁿ-</i>	<i>kām-kām</i> <i>gām-gām</i>
d.	‘dance a dance’ ‘chase’ ‘roll on turban’	<i>jīyé jīyé-</i> <i>lārī-</i> <i>dōmbó-</i>	<i>jīyé jīyēm-jīyēm</i> <i>lārūm-lārūm</i> <i>dōmbōm-dōmbōm</i>
e.	‘cut up’ ‘roll over’ ‘cough’ ‘winnow in wind’ ‘hide’ ‘go around’	<i>yēgisé-</i> <i>biliré-</i> <i>kogúsó-</i> <i>pérⁿiyⁿí-</i> <i>bàngirí-</i> <i>gòngirí-</i>	<i>yégisém-yégisém</i> <i>bilirém-bilirém</i> <i>kogúsóm-kogúsóm</i> <i>pérⁿiyⁿím-pérⁿiyⁿím</i> <i>bàngirím-bàngirím</i> <i>góngirím-góngirím</i>
f.	‘walk around’	<i>yārī-yí-</i>	<i>yáram-yáram</i>

15.2.1.6 ‘Before ...’ (*mà:*, *-rè*)

The usual ‘before ...’ clause has a **clause-final particle *mà:*** following a perfective verb. If the subject is pronominal, it is expressed as a **preverbal pronoun** rather than as a pronominal-subject suffix on the verb. Whether there is a historical relationship between *mà:* ‘before’ and dative postposition ^L*mà:* or quotative subject particle *má: ~ L**mà* is unclear.

The modality of the ‘before ...’ clause may be factive (the event in question did in fact take place) or hypothetical (the event may or may not take place).

- (516) a. *Í ínjírí:-rè mà:, gō:-r-à:=b-à:*
 1SgSbj get.up-Pfv1a **before**, go.out-Pfv1a-3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
 ‘Before I got up, they had (already) gone out.’
- b. *[bòlú yē:-rè mà:] [úrò nú]*
 [rain(n) come-Pfv1a **before**] [house enter.Imprt]
 ‘Go-Sg into the house, before the rain comes!’

- c. *[bû: yě:-rè mà:] bàngíy-à*
 [3PlSbj come-Pfv1a before] hide.Imprt
 ‘Hide (yourself), before they come!.’
- d. *[érⁿé=nì í súyó:-rè mà:] lò-Ø*
 3Sg=Acc 1SgSbj hit-Pfv1a before go.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He went away before I (could) hit him.’
- e. *[bòlú yě:-rè mà:] nù-Ø*
 [rain come-Pfv1a before] enter.Pfvl-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She went in before the rain came.’
- f. *pèrě-m [í séwⁿé:-rè mà:] yòyò-Ø*
 sheep-AnSg [1SgSbj slaughter-Pfv1a before] run.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Before I could slaughter the sheep, it ran away (= bolted).’

In the frequent combination with *gǔyⁿ* (and variants) ‘say’, a morpheme *lè* is added, hence *gǔyⁿ lè mà:* ‘before saying’.

- (517) *[láwá:-r-à: bû: gě:ⁿ-lè mà: wôy]*
 [pass-Pfv1a-3PlSbj 3PlSbj say-? before all]
 ‘before they could say that they had passed through’ [2005.2a.02]

Another ‘before ...’ or ‘by the time that ...’ construction is seen in (518), which reports an ultimatum with a time limit. The suffix *-rè* with no pronominal-subject inflection is added to the chaining form of the verb (with no lengthening of the vowel). The word is {HL}-toned. A preverbal subject pronoun (logophoric in this example) is present. All textual examples of this type involve the verb ‘come’, but others were elicitable (^{HL}*gó-rè* ‘before going out’, ^{HL}*pínìwⁿì-rè* ‘before returning’), ^{HL}*dúwò-rè* ‘before leaving’). These examples show that the ‘before’ form has {HL} tone overlay with just the first syllable H-toned.

- (518) *[[ùsù^L lă-w] â: ^{HL}yé-rè]*
 [[day^L other-Inan] LogoPlSbj ^{HL}come-before]
[[tà-dùngú-m ^{HL}dúgù] ñgú dɔ-rí-Ø],
 [[lion-AnSg ^{HL}size] Prox.Inan reach-PfvNeg-3SgSbj],
[jâm wôy] [éré mà:] ñgó-Ø wá
 [peace all] [3Sg Dat] not.be-3SgSbj Quot
 ‘(They said:) By the time they (=Hyena and Hare) came on another day, if this (goat kid) had not attained the size of a lion, there would be no peace for her.’ [2005.2a.06]

‘Before S’ with some clause S can be paraphrased with a negation: ‘(at the time) when not (yet) S’. An association between *-rè* ‘before’ and negation is suggested by examples like (519), which is a relative clause in form. A paraphrase ‘at the time when today had not (yet) come’ would match the syntactic form. Other negative suffixes/enclitics of the segmental shape -rv are not hard to find (prohibitive *-ré*, perfective negative *-rí*, stative negative *=râ*).

- (519) [wàkàtù^L kà:ⁿ] íyé yé-rè
 [time^L Rel] today come-before
 ‘at the time before today (=the present era) came’ [2005.2a.09]

15.2.1.7 Clause-final =rà: ‘when’

There are occasional textual occurrences of a clitic =rà: following an inflected verb form (perfective or stative). My transcription assistant suggested emending by deleting the clitic. However, the examples suggest that the =rà: clause does provide a background for the next clause and I therefore translate it (roughly) as ‘when’. For example, in (520a), Warthog is digging to get at Hyena, and Hyena is advised to spray salt in Warthog’s eyes when he gets too close.

- (520) a. [tóru-m kù gánjì-m gánjì-m gánjì-m
 [warthog-AnSg Def] dig-Ipfv ...
 yé [érⁿé mā:] sósí-lí:-rè-∅=rà;
 come [3Sg Dat] near-Inch-Pfv1a-3SgSbj=when,
 [[érⁿé HL jírè] L wò] písé gáⁿ-y wá,
 [[3SgPoss HL eye] in] spray put-QuotImpf Quot,
 ‘The warthog was digging and digging; when he (=Warthog) came up close to him (=Hyena), he (=Hyena) should spray it (=salt, by spitting) into his (=Warthog’s) eye(s)’ [2005.2a.07]
- b. yà-pě-m sù:-dýáy ñgó-∅=rà;
 woman-old-AnSg francolin-thigh not.be-3Sg=when,
 [íyé yà] [bû: L mā:] bérù-m wò-y wá
 [today also] [3Pl L QuotSbj] goat-AnSg catch-QuotImpf Quot
 ‘The old woman didn’t have a francolin thigh, (so) she told them to take a goat this day too.’ [2005.2a.06]
- c. [nù nínáyⁿ bû:] úrò jé=rà:†,
 [person reliable Def.Pl] house not.be.3Pl=when,
 [yì-té: béré-j-â:] dè wó-yà
 [children get-RecPf-3PlSbj if] catch.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 ‘When the able-bodied people (=Dogon men) were not at home, if they (=Fulbe raiders) found children, they would take (=kidnap) them.’ [2005.2b.01]

15.2.1.8 Lengthened final vowel in complement of ‘be tired’

BenT has a counterpart to a specificalized clause-type found in Nanga. In both languages it occurs in connection with main-clause dě ‘be tired’, expressing extended duration of an activity (‘they met and met until they got tired’, i.e. ‘they kept meeting for a long time’). In addition to the data in (521), I elicited examples with the following: bìr-é: ‘work’, jé-é: ‘eat’, n-ɔ: ‘drink’, and t-í: ‘send’, showing that the first verb lengthens its final vowel.

- (521) a. [tú: mâ:] bát-á: dě:-rè-ŵ.: dé wôy
 [Recip Dat] meet-Dur be.tired-Pfv1a-2PlSbj if all
 ‘when you-Pl are mutually tired of meeting with each other’ [2005.1b.05]
- b. [kú wój líy-é: dě:-rè-∅]
 [Inan in] drag.on-Dur be.tired-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘(If) it drags on for a long time, ...’ [2005.1b.05]

For a different construction involving ‘get tired’, see (513) in §15.2.1.4 above.

15.2.1.9 ‘While standing/sitting’ (type *í-?iyà-m*)

A morphological construction involving initial H-toned reduplication, {HL} stem overlay, and invariant final imperfective *-m̩* is attested with three stance verbs: *í-?iyà-m* ‘while standing’, *é-?ew-yè-m* ‘while sitting’, *bí-bí-yè-m* ‘while lying down’. The association with stance verbs and the {HL} stem overlay suggest an affinity with the reduplicated stative (§10.2.1.11), as opposed to the reduplicated imperfective, but the invariant final *-m̩* and the H-tone of the reduplicative segment show that this is a distinct formation.

These forms are attached to a regular VP with the same subject, and function as one-word temporal adverbial clauses. The relevant textual passage is (522).

- (522) [ú kùyó: érⁿé yì dé]
 [2Sg first 3SgObj see.Pfv if]
 [í-?iyà-m tâ-ŵ]
 [Rdp-stand-Ipfv shoot.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘if you-Sg (=hunter) see it first (=before it sees you), you will shoot while standing’
 (2005.1b.01)]

15.2.2 Spatial adverbial clause (‘where ...’)

The noun *ጀrⁿጀ* ‘place’ (also ‘situation’) may be used, in L-toned form *ጀrⁿጀ^L*, as head of a relative (which therefore takes an inanimate participle). *ጀrⁿጀ* is distinct from *ጀrⁿጀ:* ‘(the) bush, outback, (the) fields (away from the village)’.

- (523) a. ጀrⁿጀ^L bíré bû: bìré-ŵ
 place^L work(n) 3PlSbj work.Pfv-Ppl.Inan
 ‘there where they worked’
- b. sòféc:rù-m ጀrⁿጀ^L éw-yé-ŵ
 driver-AnSg place^L sit-MP.Pfv-Ppl.Inan
 ‘(the place) where the driver sat’

15.2.3 Manner adverbial clause (*dàyⁿ* ... ‘how ...’)

The head noun *dàyⁿ* ‘manner’, in L-toned form *dàyⁿL*, is the head of a relative clause in examples like (524).

- (524) *dàyⁿL bíré érⁿé bìré:-rà-w*
 manner^L work(n) 3SgSbj work-Prog-Ppl.Inan
 ‘the manner in which (= how) he worked’

For quasi-purposive functions of such *dàyⁿ* clauses, see §17.5.1.2.

15.2.4 Headless adverbial clause (-w̄)

Adverbial clauses may take the form of a headless relative clause (§14.1.4), i.e. with covert abstract head NP like ‘time’, ‘place’, ‘situation’, or ‘manner’ that takes inanimate participial suffixes. The most common interpretation is temporal or situational.

For example, (525a) has no head noun. The verb here takes the form of an inanimate perfective participle (suffix *-w̄*). In context, the most common interpretation is as a temporal clause (‘when ...’), which can be made explicit by adding a noun like ‘time’ in L-toned form as head NP (525b).

- (525) a. *àwǎ-m í yǐ-w̄ L pàyⁿ,*
 b. *àwǎ-m wàgàtù L í yǐ-w̄ L pàyⁿ,*
 snake-AnSg time^L 1SgSbj see.Pfv-Ppl.Inan with,
 yòyò-y
 run.Pfv-1SgSbj
 ‘(At the time) when I saw a snake, I fled.’

In (526a-b), universal quantifier *wōy* is added following the participle. This gives a (mildly) emphatic sense that can, in some contexts, be translated freely as ‘ever since ...’. *wōy* is also common at the end of conditional antecedent clauses, §16.1.1.

- (526) a. *[â: yɛ-w̄ wōy] gò-rá-∅*
 [3ReflPl come.Pfv-Ppl.Inan all] go.out-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
 ‘Since they_x came, they_x haven’t gone out.’
- b. *[[érⁿé HL bō:] ɔrúgú-w̄ wōy]*
 [[3SgPoss HL father] get.sick.Pfv-Ppl.Inan all]
 [[á HL isè:] gò-rí-∅]
 [[3ReflSgPoss HL village] go.out-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘Since his_x father got sick, he_x hasn’t left his_x village.’

Headless relative clauses with *-w̄* are often used in narratives instead of regular main clauses. In such contexts they are often best translated as main clauses, each denoting one event among many in a chronological sequence. A typical example is (527), where two relative clauses in *-w̄* (note the preparticipial subject pronominals) denoting sequential events are followed by a clause with a conjugated perfective verb.

- (527) [ùsú t̄uwⁿâ-m] s̄û:-m â: jiye-ŵ,
 [day one-AnSg] francolin-AnSg 3ReflPlSbj kill.Pfv-Ppl.Inan
 [s̄û:-nâwⁿâ: kù] jí-jé→ â: yě-ŵ,
 [francolin^L-meat Def] taking.along 3ReflPlSbj come.Pfv-Ppl.Inan,
 [yà-pě-m] kù mā:] nì-bà
 [woman^L-old-AnSg Def Dat] give.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘One day they (=Hyena and Hare) killed a francolin. They came bringing the
 francolin meat. They gave (it) to the old woman.’ [2005.2a.06]

For *ùsú t̄uwⁿâ-m* ‘one day’ with (pseudo-)animate singular suffix in this example, see §4.7.1.1.

The headless relative clauses in (526a) and (527) have subjects coindexed to the subjects of the following main clauses. This accounts for the third-person reflexive subject pronouns (here 3Reflexive plural *â:*); see §18.2.3.

15.2.5 ‘From X, until (or: all the way to) Y’

The complete construction ‘since/from the time that ..., until ...’, can be expressed by using a loose chaining subordinator on the first verb (e.g. same-subject =*ní*, different-subject =*nì*), then an inflected clause beginning with *hâl* ‘until, all the way to’. This results in a biclausal adverbial that usually constitutes background for another (foregrounded) event expressed in the main clause.

- (528) [[bíré túmdú=*ní*] [hâl d̄uwð-∅]]
 [[work(n) begin=and.SS] [until leave.Pfv-3SgSbj]]
 [p̄eyⁿ j̄è-rⁿí-∅]
 [meal eat-PfvNeg-3SgSbj]
 ‘From the time he started working until he stopped (working), he didn’t eat.’

The verb *d̄uwð-∅* in (528) is a conjugated perfective; the 1Sg equivalent would have *d̄uwð-y*.

(529) is an example where the subjects of the ‘from’ and ‘until’ clauses are disjoint. Therefore the subordinating clitic in the ‘from’ clause is L-toned different-subject =*nì*.

- (529) [érⁿé ^{HL}bɔ: ló=*nì*]
 [3SgPoss ^{HL}father go=and.DS]
 [hâl [érⁿé ^{HL}dérè] yè-∅]
 [until [3SgPoss ^{HL}elder.sibling come.Pfv-3SgSbj]
 p̄eyⁿ j̄è^L-rⁿí-∅]
 [meal eat-PfvNeg-3SgSbj]
 ‘From the time that his father went (away) until his elder brother came, he didn’t eat.’

15.2.6 ‘As though ...‘ clause (*gâyⁿ→*)

In (530), the ‘like’ adverbial *gâyⁿ→* is added at the end of a relative clause denoting a (generic) animate referent.

- (530) *[/[ùsú yěy] něyⁿ nè-rⁿú-ì gâyⁿ→]*
 [[day two] meal eat-PfvNeg-Ppl.Inan like]
[něyⁿ né:-rà-w]
 [meal eat-Prog-3SgSbj]
 ‘He is eating like (someone) who hadn’t eaten for two days.’

In (531), *gâyⁿ→* follows a regular main clause, and the free translation is ‘as though ...’.

- (531) *[bòlú mìrⁿé:-rà=rá-Ø gâyⁿ→]*
 [rain(n) rain.fall-Prog=StatNeg-3SgSbj like]
wóngóró wàrá:-rà-w
 farming do.farm.work-Prog-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She is working in the field as though the rain were not falling.’

15.2.7 ‘Be really true that ...’ (-ì wò bě)

A construction meaning ‘if it is really true that ...’, and contextually ‘X insist (=be dead set) on [VP-ing], X be determined to VP], consists of the appropriate inflected form of *bě* ‘remain’, a clause ending in imperfective *-ì*, and locative ^L*wò* (which often becomes *bò* after the nasal). The phrasing ‘remain on VP-ing’ is not far from the etymological sense of English *insist on*.

- (532) a. *[[[érⁿé má:] yà-sámà jóró-ì] Lbò]*
 [[[3Sg QuotSbj] Y love-Ipfv] L in]
bě:-rà-Ø dé wôy
 remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if all
 ‘(they said): if he insisted on loving Yasama (girl’s name), ...’
 [2005.2a.01; this required achieving a nearly impossible feat]
- b. *hàyà [[[érⁿé má:] lì-ló-ì] Lwò]*
 well [[[3Sg QuotSbj] Rdp-go-Ipfv L in]
bě:-rà-Ø dé
 remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if
 ‘(another girl said to her): well, if she insisted on going (to get a giraffe’s tail), ...’ [2005.2a.02]

The phrasing *[X ^Lwò] bě:-rà-Ø dè* can also be used with X a manner adverb such as *ájàyⁿ* ‘thus, like that’. See (485c) in §15.1.9, above.

A perfective version of the clausal complement with *wò*, followed by *bě:-rà-Ø dé wôy*, is (533).

- (533) *[jàwⁿâ: ínjírí=ní] [[érⁿé má:] pónde:-rà Lwò]*
 [crowd get.up=and.SS] [[3Sg Dat] head.for-Pfv1a L in]
bě:-rà-Ø dé wôy
 remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if all
 ‘if it were the case that a crowd got up and headed for it (=lion)’ [2005.2b.05]

16 Conditional constructions

16.1 Hypothetical conditional with *de* ‘if’

The clause-final ‘if’ particle is *de*. When it is clause-final, its tone is carried over from the preceding morpheme. When followed by another particle it is H-toned *dé*, see §16.1.1 below.

In typical hypothetical conditionals specifying a causal relationship between two temporally bounded events, the **antecedent** has an inflected perfective verb followed by *de*, and the **consequent** is in the imperfective (534a-b).

- (534) a. *éyⁿ* *yɛ:-rè-ŵ* *dè*,
tomorrow come-Pfv1a-2SgSbj if,
nàwⁿâ: *témbú-ŵ*
meat find.Ipfv-2SgSbj
‘If you-Sg (have) come tomorrow, you’ll find some meat.’
- b. *érⁿé* *yè-rí-*Ø *dé*, *pé-m-dó-ŷ*.:
3Sg come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if, eat-Ipfv-Neg-1PlSbj
‘If he/she doesn’t come (=hasn’t come), we won’t eat.’

16.1.1 Extensions of *de* (*dé wôy*, *dé wò wôy*)

The most common extended variant of *de* ‘if’ is *dé wôy*. *wôy* is elsewhere a universal quantifier ‘all’ (§6.8.1). In rapid speech, an optional vocalic assimilation to *dó wôy* is common, but intermediate pronunciations also occur and I have normalized transcriptions to *dé wôy*. An extended form *dé wò-wôy* is also used. In all of these combinations, *dé* has H-tone regardless of the final tone of the preceding word.

dé wôy (or variant) is associated with more emphatic contexts (‘as soon as ...’, ‘unless ...’, etc.); for ‘unless ...’ see §16.4, below. However, in recordings one observes *dé wôy* also in contexts that are not particularly emphatic, more or less interchangeably with simple *de*.

One distinctive function of *dé wôy* (or variant) is marking the **right edge** of an antecedent clause, and especially the right edge of a multi-clausal antecedent. (This is a regional pattern.) The construction can be schematized as [[S₁ *de*, (S₂ *de*,) ... S_n *dé wôy*], S_{n+1}], where S_n is the last in a string of two or more antecedent clauses, and is itself directly followed by the consequent clause (S_{n+1}).

- (535) *[[jírⁿéyⁿ* *cé:lé:-rè-*Ø *dè*],
[[rainy.season be.good-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if],
[bíré *èsíⁿ→* *bíré-tú-ŵ* *dé* *wôy*]],
work(n) very work-Pfv1b-2SgSbj if all],
yû: *bâyⁿ→* *béré-ŵ*
millet much get.Ipfv-2SgSbj

'If the rainy season is good (=rain is abundant), and you-Sg work hard, you-Sg will get a lot of millet.'

16.1.2 -*àw kù dè* (perfective) and -*àw dè* (pseudoconditional)

A construction with a verb form ending in -*àw*, followed by definite *kù* and (apparent) 'if' particle *dè* in L-toned form *dè*, is used in narrative as an alternative to a regular perfective verb form. The -*àw* is perhaps to be identified as the inanimate perfective participle suffix, but the construction is difficult to parse. If the subject is pronominal, it is expressed as a preparticipial pronominal. This syntactic feature distinguishes the current construction from a main-clause perfective verb form where -*àw* functions as the 3Sg subject marker (§10.2.1.2).

- (536) [*ònjo-m* *kù* *yàj*
 [younger.brother-AnSg Def too]
 á *sá-àw* *kù* *dè*,
 3Refl reply.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
 [*á* ^{HL}*dérèj* *mâ:*
 [3Refl ^{HL}elder.brother] Dat
 '... the younger brother for his part replied, to his elder brother: ...' [2005.2a.08]

3Refl *á* expresses coindexation of the subject of the (headless) nonsubject relative to the subject of the following clause (not shown), see §18.2.3.

An informant indicated that the construction in -*àw kù dè* can also be expanded as -*àw kù mà dè*.

A similar construction with -*àw* and *dè* but without the definite *kù* is also attested. The clause in -*àw dè* denotes an eventuality that precedes the one described in the following clause, with no necessary causal relationship. All examples in my data involve future time. I label this the **pseudoconditional**. A similar construction occurs in some other Dogon languages, including Togo Kan.

- (537) a. *érⁿé=nì* *í* *súyó-àw* *dè*,
 3Sg=Acc 1SgSbj hit.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
 [*bórá-àm-dó-Ø* *déj* *yí-ŷ:*
 [result-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj if] see.Ipfv-1PlSbj
 'I will hit him and we'll see whether nothing happens (as a result).'
 [*bórá-àm-dó-Ø* is used in such boasting utterances]
- b. *érⁿé* *gúⁿ-àwⁿ* *dè*,
 3Sg say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
 [*í* *súyó-àw* *dè*,
 [1SgObj hit.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
 ŋgú-rù *í* *lárú-àm]* *bà*
 here 1SgObj chase.away-Ipfv.3SgSbj] Quot
 'He said he will hit me, and (that) he will run me out of here.'

- c. [í yɛ̃-w dè] [nɛyⁿ bírá]
[1SgSbj come.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if] [meal cook.Imprt]
‘Cook-2Sg the meal (only) when I have come back!’
- d. [nɛyⁿ i: bìré-w dè] ná
[meal 1PlSbj cook.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if] eat.Ipfv
‘We’ll cook the meal, then (you) eat!’

For a superficially similar construction with *-m dè* (and stative *-w dè*), see §15.2.1.2.

Historical interpretation of the origin of *-w kù dè* and *-w dè* should consider the probably related Nanga subordinators *-sè gù-nđè* and related forms. One possibility is that Ben Tey *kù* and Nanga *gù-* derive from the ‘say’ verb (Ben Tey *guyⁿ-*, Nanga *kíyé-*, and many Dogon cognates), although the erratic *g/k* correspondences make exact equation difficult.

16.2 Alternative ‘if’ particles

16.2.1 *kálà* ‘even if ...’

kálà ‘even’ may replace *de* ‘if’, resulting in an ‘even if ...’ antecedent clause. Here the consequent is not contingent on the antecedent.

- (538) [yú: yá só-w kálà], ní-m-dó-∅
[millet Exist have-3SgSbj even], give-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
‘Even if he/she has some millet, he/she won’t give (it).’

16.2.2 *tán* ‘as soon as ...’

The particle *tán*, borrowed from the Fulfulde particle ‘only’, is another alternative to *de* ‘if’. It suggests that only the (delayed) instantiation of the eventuality denoted by the antecedent clause is holding up the instantiation of the eventuality denoted by the consequent clause.

- (539) núwⁿdyⁿ yɛ̃-w tán, sú:rⁿà
now come.Pfv-2SgSbj if, rest.Imprt
‘When you-Sg have come, take a rest!’

A translation ‘as soon as ...’ would also work. For another way to express ‘as soon as ...’, see (492f) in §15.1.10.

16.3 Willy-nilly and disjunctive antecedents (‘whether X or Y ...’)

céw (likely borrowed from Jamsay *céw* ‘all’) occurs in reduplicated or iterated form (*cí-céw*, *céw-céw*) in the sense ‘equally’ (§12.2.3). As simple *céw* it occurs at the right edge of a bi-clausal conditional antecedent of the type ‘(whether) S₁ or not-S₁’, or any other combination of two component clauses that are (more or less) truth-conditionally antagonistic.

- (540) *[ú mâ:] éri-m = Ø → èri-m = dá-Ø cêw],*
 [[2Sg Dat] sweet-Inan=it.is sweet-Inan=it.is.not-3SgSbj **equally**]
bíré bíré-ŵ
 work(n) work.Ipfv-2SgSbj
 ‘(Regardless of) whether it pleases or doesn’t please you-Sg (= like it or not), you-Sg will work.’

When the two disjuncts are expressed by verbs (not e.g. by adjectival predicates), with the subject held constant, the first verb may take inanimate participial form, as in (541).

- (541) a. *[árⁿà-m kày] ló = n*
 [man-AnSg Top] go=and.SS
[nàwⁿá-ŵⁿ] nàwⁿà-rí-Ø cêw]
 [be.ruined.Pfv-Ppl.Inan be.ruined-PfvNeg-3SgSbj **equally**]
 ‘As for a man, when he goes, whether he will be ruined or he will not be ruined, (he goes to earn money)’ [2005.1b.06]
- b. *[yí-m jé-ŵ → jé:-rí-Ø cêw]*
 [child-AnSg bring.Pfv-Ppl.Inan bring-PfvNeg-3SgSbj **equally**]
[yá góyⁿá-ŵⁿ]
 [Exist wait.Stat-3SgSbj]
 whether the child (eventually) brings (something) or does not bring (anything), he (=father) waits for (something)’ [2005.1b.06]

16.4 ‘Unless’ antecedent

An ‘unless’ antecedent, i.e. one that specifies a necessary as well as sufficient (positive) condition, can be expressed (542) with a simple negative clause ending in *dé wôy* (§16.1.1).

- (542) *[mòbílì ïgú-rù làwà-rí-Ø dé wôy] tíwé-ȳ:*
 [vehicle here pass-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if all] die.Ipfv-1PlSbj
 ‘Unless a vehicle comes by here, we’ll die.’

16.5 Counterfactual conditional

In counterfactuals, both the antecedent and the consequent are expressed with past perfect predicates involving an inflected form of the L-toned past variant *=bè-* (§10.4.1). The unmarked verbal categories are as follows: for the antecedent, past stative (positive) or perfective negative; for the consequent, past unsuffixed imperfective (positive) or past imperfective negative.

- (543) a. *òmɔ: yé-ŵ=bè-Ø dè,*
 morning come-Stat=Past-3SgSbj if,
bóyì béré-m=bè-Ø
 porridge get-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj
 ‘If he/she had come in the morning, he/she would have gotten some porridge.’

- b. *béré jɛ:-rí=bé-ŷ dè,*
 stick bring-PfvNeg=Past-1SgSbj if,
*àwǎ-m í kúwó-ṁ=bè-*Ø
 snake-AnSg 1SgObj eat-Ipfv=Past-3SgSbj
 'If I hadn't brought my stick, the snake would have eaten me.'
- c. *[ú HL áyà:] mìrⁿé-w=bè-w dè,*
 [2SgPoss HL medication] swallow-Stat=Past-2SgSbj if,
séllê-rí ká-ṁ-dó=bě-w
 be.healthy-PfvNeg do-Ipfv-Neg=Past-2SgSbj
 'If you-Sg had taken your medicine, you wouldn't have gotten sick.'

The antecedent clause may also be based on a nominal or adjectival predicate (544).

- (544) *[ónjò-m=dá=bé-w dè,*
 [younger.sibling-AnSg=StatNeg=Past-2SgSbj if,
ú jíyé-ṁ=bè-ŷ
 2SgObj kill-Ipfv=Past-1SgSbj
 'If you-Sg were not my (younger same-sex) sibling, I'd kill you.'

17 Complement and purposive clauses

17.1 Quotative complement

17.1.1 ‘Say that ...’ with ‘say’ verb (*g̊iyⁿ-*)

The inflectable quotative verb is *g̊iyⁿ-*, variant *g̊iyⁿ-*. In the most common construction with inflected ‘say’ verb, this verb **follows the quotation**. There is also a construction for a preposed ‘say’ verb (§17.1.1.5).

Two major features of quotative clauses are a) the presence of a clause-initial quotative-subject phrase (NP or pronoun followed by QuotSbj *má:* ~ ^L*mà:*), and b) the neutralization of pronominal-subject marking in the verb to 3Sg, except that the verb does agree with a 3Pl (regular or logophoric) subject.

The quotative clitic *wa* (§17.1.2, below) is omitted when the full ‘say’ verb follows the quotative complement.

17.1.1.1 Quotative subject (QuotSbj) *má:* ~ ^L*mà:*

The majority of quoted clauses begin with **quotative-subject phrase**, consisting of either an independent pronoun or a nonpronominal NP, followed by quotative subject particle *má:* ~ *mà:*. For examples, see (547) in the following section. The quotative-subject phrase gives the addressee an “early warning” that the clause in question is quoted. It is present in most quotative clauses, elicited or textual. However, it is optionally omitted after a nonpronominal NP subject, especially a nonhuman one like ‘rainy season’ in (545).

- (545) [kú-dá: jírⁿčyⁿ èsú bû:-Ø] g̊iyⁿ-b̊
[there.DiscDef rainy.season good be-3SgSbj] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
'They said that the rainy season is good there.'

On the other hand, occasionally a topical clause-initial NP or PP that is not a subject is followed by *má:* ~ *mà:*. In (546), the clause-initial constituent followed by QuotSbj *ma:* is a spatial PP rather than the subject. Perhaps this is favored by the low referentiality of the subject *bōl* ‘rain’, cf. §11.1.4.

- (546) [[sùmøy ^Hwó] ^Hmá:] bōl sí-yé-m̊-ndò
[[ground ^Hin] QuotSbj] rain go.down-MP-Ipfv-IpfvNeg
g̊i:ⁿ-b̊
say.Pfv-3PlSbj Quot
'they said that the rain wouldn't come down on the earth, it is said.' [2005.2a.04]
(sùmøy)

Quotative subject *má:* may be followed by NP-final discourse participles such as topic *kày*, see the end of C’s first turn in (660) in the sample text.

The quotative subject particle usually **acquires its tone by spreading** from the final tone of the preceding word, so it appears as *má:* after an H-tone and as ^L*mà:* after an L-tone. However, if the constituent in question is a possessed NP, the possessed NP constitutes a tonosyntactic island and its final L-tone does not spread to *má:*. See (548b) in the following section. This suggests that the quotative subject particle is lexically H-toned (*má:*).

The L-toned form ^L*mà:* is homophonous to ^L*mà:* as L-toned form of dative postposition *mâ:* (§8.3.1). Both instances of ^L*mà:* occur after NPs ending in an L-tone.

17.1.1.2 Complement with regular AN-marked verb

The quotative complement clause often has one or another of the regular AN (aspect-negation) forms of the verb. However, pronominal-suffix marking is restricted in these complements. The usual 1Sg, 1Pl, 2Sg, and 2Pl suffixes are omitted, merging with 3Sg. There is, however, **special marking of 3Pl subjects**.

In (547), the verb inside the quoted clause ends in **imperfective -m̩**, which is used when the subject of the quoted clause is other than 3Pl. This *-m̩* is identical to the 3Sg suffix in the inflected paradigm of the unsuffixed imperfective, but in morphological contexts where pronominal-subject distinctions are neutralized *-m̩* is generalized to other pronominal categories (except 3Pl). Generealization of *-m̩* also occurs in the past unsuffixed imperfective, preceding the conjugated past clitic =*bè-* (or variant). In these neutralizing contexts I gloss *-m̩* simply as imperfective (Ipfv). A pronominal subject is expressed by a quotative-subject phrase (547b). Examples (547a,c) have logophoric subject because the subject of the quoted clause is coindexed with the quoted speaker (§18.2.1). 3Pl subject agreement on the final verb is exemplified in (547g-h).

- (547) a. *[[á má:] yì-yé-m̩] giyⁿ-Ø*
 [[LogoSg QuotSbj] Rdp-come-Ipfv] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He_x said that he_x is coming.’
- b. *[[ú má:] yì-yé-m̩] giyⁿ-Ø*
 [[2Sg QuotSbj] Rdp-come-Ipfv] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She said that you-Sg are coming.’
- c. *séydu [[á má:] júwɔ̃-m̩-dó-Ø]*
 Seydou [[LogoSg QuotSbj] know-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj]
 giyⁿ-Ø
 say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Seydou_x said that he_x doesn’t know.’
- d. *í [[érⁿé má:] yì-yé-m̩]*
 1SgSbj [[LogoSg QuotSbj] Rdp-come-Ipfv]
 gi-ní-ŷ
 say-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
 ‘I didn’t say that he/she is coming.’

- e. *[[s̄eydù Lmà:] yì-yé-m̄] gìyⁿ-yⁿ*
 [Seydou LQuotSbj] Rdp-come-Ipfv] say.Pfv-1SgSbj
 'I said that Seydou is coming.'
- f. *[[â: Lmà:] yì-yé-m̄] gìyⁿ-∅*
 [[2Pl LQuotSbj] Rdp-come-Ipfv] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 'He/She said that you-Pl are coming.'
- g. *yéngù [[â: Lmà:] yì-yé-yè] gúⁿ-yè=b-à:*
 yesterday [[LogoPl LQuotSbj] Rdp-come.Ipfv-3PlSbj]
 say.Ipfv-3PlSbj=Past-3PlSbj
 'Yesterday they_x were saying that they_x were coming (= would come).'
- h. *[[â: Lmà:] wóngóró wárá-yè] gìyⁿ-bó*
 [[LogoPl LQuotSbj] farming do.farm.work.Ipfv-3PlSbj]
 say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 'They_x say they_x will farm.'

The suffixally marked **progressive** may also be quoted (548). The 3Sg form *:-rà-w* generalizes (548a-b,d), except for 3Pl subject (548c).

- (548) a. *[[á má:] wóngóró wàrá:-rà-w] gìyⁿ-∅*
 [[LogoSg QuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-Prog-3SgSbj]
 say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 'He_x says he_x is farming.'
- b. *[[[á HLyî-m] má:] wóngóró wàrá:-rà-w] gìyⁿ-∅*
 [[[LogoP HLchild] QuotSbj] ...
 'He_x says that his_x child is farming.'
- c. *[[â: Lmà:] wóngóró wàrá:-rà-w-bó] gìyⁿ-bó*
 [[LogoPl LQuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-Prog-Stat-3PlSbj]
 say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 'They_x said they_x are farming.'
- d. *[î: Lmà:] wóngóró wàrá:-rà-w] gìyⁿ-∅*
 [1Pl LQuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-Prog-3SgSbj
 say.Pfv-1SgSbj
 'He/She said we are farming.'

The examples in (549a-b) have **perfective** verbs (549a-b). The perfective takes a (pronominally) unsuffixed form (except for 3Pl), identical in form to the zero 3Sg inflected form, but here transcribed as suffixless. The verb may have the **unsuffixed perfective** stem

(L-toned version of the bare stem) as in (549a). **Perfective-1a** suffix *:rè-* is also possible (549b-c), as are perfective-1b suffix *-ti-* (549d) and other perfective-system markers such as recent perfect *-jê-* (549e). Agreement with 3Pl subject is observed in (549c-e).

- (549) a. *[[í: Lmà:] á sùyɔ]* *giyⁿ-∅*
 [1Pl LQuotSbj] LogoSgObj hit.Pfv] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He_x said that we hit him_x.’
- b. *[[û: Lmà:] yɛ:-rè]* *giyⁿ-∅*
 [2Pl LQuotSbj] come-Pfv1a] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She said that you-Pl had come.’
- c. *[[yì-tě: Lmà:] yɛ:-r-à:]* *giyⁿ-∅*
 [[child-Pl LQuotSbj] come-Pfv1a-3PlSbj] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She said that the children had come.’
- d. *[[â: Lmà:] pèrɛ-m sēwⁿé-tí-yà]*
 [[LogoPl LQuotSbj] sheep-AnSg slaughter-Pfv1b-3PlSbj]
giyⁿ-bó
 say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They_x said that they_x have slaughtered a sheep.’
- e. *[[â: Lmà:] neyⁿ ne-j-â:]* *giyⁿ-yè*
 [[LogoPl LQuotSbj] meal eat-RecPf-3PlSbj] say.Ipfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They_x will say that they_x have already eaten.’

The alternative form of the unsuffixed perfective, with lexical tone on the verb stem and with 3Sg *-w̄* (generalized in quotatives to all first and second persons) and 3Pl *-mà* (§10.2.1.2), is illustrated in (550).

- (550) a. *[[í má:] wóngóró wàrá-w̄]*
 [[1SgSbj QuotSbj] farming farm.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]
giyⁿ-∅
 say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She said that I did farming.’
- b. *[[í: mà:] wóngóró wàrá-w̄]*
 [[1PlSbj QuotSbj] farming farm.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]
giyⁿ-∅
 say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She said that we did farming.’
- c. *[[yì-tě: Lmà:] wóngóró wàrá-mà]*
 [[child-Pl LQuotSbj] farming farm.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl]
giyⁿ-∅
 say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She said that the children did farming.’ (< *yì-tě:*, cf. §3.7.4.4)

(551a-b) are perfective negative.

- (551) a. [ú má:] ^Lwóngóró wàrà-rí-∅
 [2Sg QuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 giyⁿ-∅
 say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She said that you-Sg didn’t do farm work.’
- b. [â: ^Lmá:] ^Lwóngóró wàrà-r-á
 [LogoPlSbj ^LQuotSbj] farming do.farm.work-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
 giyⁿ-∅
 say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He_x said that they_{xy} didn’t do farm work.’

(552a-b) are imperfective negative.

- (552) a. [î: ^Lmá:] ^Lyògó-m-dó-∅ giyⁿ-∅
 [1Pl ^LQuotSbj] run-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/she said that we won’t run.’
- b. [â: ^Lmá:] ^Lyògó-m-n-é giyⁿ-bò₂
 [LogoPl ^LQuotSbj] run-Ipfv-Neg-3PlSbj say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They_x said that they_x won’t run.’

17.1.1.3 Complement with stative verb or quasi-verb

As expected, stative predicates follow the same patterns as aspectually-marked verbs in quotative complements, including merger of all 1st/2nd person pronominals into the 3Sg suffix on the verb. (553a-b) illustrates this with the ‘have’ quasi-verb, using 1Pl and (logophoric) 3Pl subjects.

- (553) a. [î: ^Lmá:] ^Lwògòtórò yá só-w giyⁿ-∅
 [1Pl QuotSbj] cart Exist have-3SgSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She said that we have a cart.’
- b. [â: ^Lmá:] ^Lwògòtórò yá s-é:ⁿ giyⁿ-bò₂
 [LogoPl ^LQuotSbj] cart Exist have-3PlSbj say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They said_x that they_x have a cart.’

17.1.1.4 Complement with adjectival predicate

The quotative clauses in (554) contain **adjectival predicates**. The adjective takes the same form it has before *bù-* ‘be’ (§11.4.1), except that with 3Pl subject we get suffix *-bò* (not *-yè*) on the adjective (554c).

- (554) a. *[tórò kù ^Lmà:] gǎw] giyⁿ-yⁿ*
 [[mountain Def ^LQuotSbj] tall] say.Pfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I said that the mountain is high.’
- b. *[úrò ^Lmà:] èsú giyⁿ-bò*
 [house ^LQuotSbj] good say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They said that the house is good.’
- c. *[nǔ: kù ^Lmà:] mὸsú-bó giyⁿ-bò*
 [person.Pl Def ^LQuotSbj] bad-3PlSbj say.Pfv.3PlSbj
 ‘They said that those people are bad.’
- d. *[yěy má:] érúm giyⁿ-bò*
 [honey QuotSbj] sweet say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They said that the honey is sweet.’
- e. *[yěy (má:)] èrùm=dá giyⁿ-bò*
 [honey (QuotSbj)] sweet=StatNeg say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They said that the honey is not sweet.’

17.1.1.5 Construction with preposed quotative verb

When **the quotative verb precedes** the quotation, a special construction is used. It is attested only for reported past speech events ('X said, ...'). The 'say' verb takes what appears to be the inanimate perfective participle form *gúⁿ-wⁿ*, and is followed by *de* (presumably the 'if' particle, but here without any modal force). If the subject of 'say' is pronominal, it is expressed as a preparticipial independent pronoun, as in (555a-c). The quoted clause follows after a prosodic break. The quotative subject construction with particle *ma:* is absent. Clause-final quotative clitic *wa* is possible but uncommon. As usual, except for 3Pl as in (555b), the verb has 3Sg subject form for all subjects.

- (555) a. *érⁿé gúⁿ-wⁿ dè,*
 3Sg say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
[û: ^Lmà:] ñjé ká:ⁿ-rà-w mà→ wà
 [2Sg ^LQuotSbj] what? do-Ipfv-3SgSbj Q Quot
 ‘He/She said (= asked), “hey what are you-Pl doing?”’
- b. *î: gúⁿ-wⁿ dè,*
 1PlSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
[yì-té: yé:-r-à:]
 [child-Pl come-Pfv1a-3PlSbj]
 ‘We said, the children have come.’
- c. *bû: gúⁿ-wⁿ dè, ...*
 3PlSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
 ‘They said, ...’

17.1.2 Quotative clitic *wa* (→ *ba* after nasal)

The **quotative** (Quot) clitic occurs at the end of a quotation. It may be repeated in a multi-clause quotation, at clause boundaries and similar junctures (for example, after a quoted vocative). In extended quotations, particularly of back-and-forth conversations between two or more parties, *wa* replaces the more cumbersome inflectable ‘say’ verb. *wa* may occur at the end of a quotation introduced by *gúⁿ-wⁿ dè*. However, *wa* is not used at the end of a quotation that is directly followed by an inflected form of *gǔyⁿ-* ‘say’ (i.e., *wa* and *gǔyⁿ-* may not occur adjacent to each other (unless they belong to different quotative levels)).

The clitic is usually pronounced *ba* after a nasal, e.g. after 3Sg imperfective *-m̩*. As this suggests, the clitic is phonologically tightly bound to the quotation. It also adopts the final tone of the preceding word. In several Dogon languages, the clause-final quotative particle is identical in form to the quotative-subject particle. This is not the case in BenT, which has quotative subject particle *ma:* and (clause-final) quotative particle *wa*.

Although the clitic representation =wa would be phonologically appropriate in BenT, I write the morpheme as a separate word on grounds of typographic clarity, and in conformity with my practice in transcribing this particle in Jamsay and other Dogon languages.

The quotative clitic, unlike the ‘say’ verb, has a “hearsay” pragmatic quality. It is typically used when the attributed speaker is third person. Under most circumstances, first person attributed speaker (self-quotation, “I said that …”) has no need of a hearsay evidential. Use of a hearsay evidential in cases with second person attributed speaker (“you said that …”) is also pragmatically shaky in noninterrogative contexts, but it is common in requests for clarification or confirmation (*X wà* ‘did you say X?’). The #? notation in (557) indicates that *wa* is disallowed except in special cases.

- (557) a. *í gúⁿ-wⁿ dè, [érⁿé(-ni) súyɔ́-y dè,*
 1SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if, [3SgObj hit.Ipfv-1SgSbj if,
 ŋgú-rù érⁿé lärí-y] (#?wà)
 here 3SgObj chase.away.Ipfv-1SgSbj] (#say)
 'I said I will hit him, and (that) I will run him out of here.'

b. *ú gúⁿ-wⁿ dè, [érⁿé(-ni) súyɔ́-w dè,*
 2SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if, [3SgObj hit.Ipfv-2SgSbj if,
 ŋgú-rù érⁿé lärú-w] (#?wà)
 here 1SgObj chase.away.Ipfv-2SgSbj] (#?say)
 'You-Sg said you will hit him, and (that) you will run him out of here.'

17.1.3 Jussive complement

Jussive complements are reported imperatives or hortatives.

17.1.3.1 Quoted imperative with suffix *-ȳ ~ -ŷ*

In this construction, the imperative verb in the original utterance is replaced by the quoted imperative (**QuotImprt**) form with suffix *-ȳ ~ -ŷ* (§10.5.7), invariant for original addressee number. Singular-addressee imperative (558a) and plural-addressee imperative (558c) both correspond to the invariant quoted imperative *yè-ȳ* in jussives (558b,d-e). If the original addressee is referred to by a pronoun, it appears in a clause-initial quotative-subject phrase (558b,d-e).

- (558) a. *yá*
 come.Imprt
 ‘Come-2Sg!’
- b. *[[í má:]] yè-ȳ] giyⁿ-∅*
 [[1Sg QuotSbj] come-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She told me to come.’
- c. *yá-nì*
 come-Imprt.Pl
 ‘Come-2Pl!’
- d. *[[î: ^Lmá:]] yè-ȳ] giyⁿ-b5*
 [[1Pl ^LQuotSbj] come-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They told us to come.’
- e. *[[bû: ^Lmá:]] yè-ȳ] giyⁿ-∅*
 [[3Pl ^LQuotSbj] come-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘He/She told them to come.’

A direct object NP, if present, has its usual form. For example, ‘sheep’ does not change from the imperative (559a) to the jussive (reported imperative) (559b).

- (559) a. *pèrě-m séwⁿá*
 sheep-AnSg slaughter.Imprt
 ‘Slaughter-2Sg the sheep-Sg!’
- b. *[[ú má:]] pèrě-m séwⁿé-ȳ]*
 [[2Sg QuotSbj] sheep-AnSg slaughter-QuotImprt]
 giyⁿ-ŷ
 say.Pfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I told you-Sg to slaughter the sheep-Sg.’

Negative counterparts are in (560). The form of the verb in the jussive clause (the original imperative) is hortative negative, with suffix complex *-ré-y*. Again, the original distinction between singular and plural addressee in the imperative verb is not carried over into the verb of the jussive.

- (560) a. *yé-ré*
come-ImprtNeg
‘Don’t-2Sg come!’
- b. *[[í má:] yè-rè-y]* *giyⁿ-Ø*
[1Sg Emph] come-ImprtNeg-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She told me not to come.’
- c. *yé-ré-nì*
come-ImprtNeg-2PlSbj
‘Don’t-2Pl come!’
- d. *[[í: mā:] yè-ré-y]* *giyⁿ-bó*
[1Pl QuotSbj] come-ImprtNeg-QuotImprt] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They told us not to come.’
- e. *pér̚-m séwⁿé-ré*
sheep-AnSg slaughter-ImprtNeg
‘Saughter-2Sg the sheep-Sg!’
- f. *[[ú má:] pér̚-m séwⁿé-ré-y]* *giyⁿ-yⁿ*
[2Sg QuotSbj] sheep-AnSg slaughter-ImprtNeg-QuotImprt]
say.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I told you-Sg not to slaughter the sheep-Sg.’

By adding purposive postposition *giň* or variant (§8.5.1) to a quoted imperative, we get a kind of purposive clause; see §17.5.1.3.

Some greeting formulae appear to contain quoted imperatives (§19.5).

17.1.3.2 Embedded hortative (-m̄, -m̄yⁿ)

The hortative in *-m̄* (for two referents) or *-m̄yⁿ* (for three or more) can be embedded without change in a jussive. The subjects are expressed as quotative-subject phrases, with pronominal categories adjusted to the current speech event. Thus (561b) and (561c) are distinct jussives, but both derive from the same original utterance (“Let’s go to Sevare!”). (561b) has 1Pl subject (since the current speaker is included), while (561c) has a logophoric plural subject.

- (561) a. *lò-m̄yⁿ* *giyⁿ-Ø*
go-Hort.Pl say.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She said, “let’s-3+ go!.”’

- b. *éⁿé* *gǔⁿ-wⁿ* *dè*,
 3SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
 [[^L*i:*] [^L*mà:*] *sèwá:rà* *lò-m̄*] *gìyⁿ-Ø*
 [[1Pl QuotSbj] Sevare go-Hort.Du] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He said (to me), let’s (=he and I) go to Sevare.’
 (=‘He suggested that we [=he and I] go to Sevare.’)
- c. *á:mádù* [*séydu* [^L*mà:*] *éⁿé* *gǔⁿ-wⁿ* *dè*,
 Amadou [Seydou [^LDat] 3SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
 [[^L*â:*] [^L*mà:*] *sèwá:rà* *lò-m̄*] *bá*
 [[LogoPl [^LQuotSbj] Sevare go-Hort.Du] Quot
 ‘Amadou said to Seydou, “let’s go to Sevare!”.’
 (=‘A suggested to S that the two of them go to Sevare.’)

See also the discussion of 1Sg subject hortatives (§10.5.6, above).

17.2 Factive (indicative) complements

17.2.1 ‘Know that ...’ complement clause

The complement of *jùwó-* ‘know’ takes regular AN suffixes, but instead of a pronominal-subject suffix on its verb, a pronominal subject (if present) is expressed by an independent pronoun preceding the verb, followed by quotative subject particle *ma:* (§17.1.1.1). In other words, the complement is treated as a quotation.

- (562) [[*i* *má:*] *selle*^L-*rí-Ø*] *júwó-m̄*
 [[1Sg QuotSbj] be.healthy-Neg-3SgSbj] know.Ipfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She knows that I am ill.’

The negative ‘not know (that ...)’ is expressed with an embedded question, i.e. ‘not know (whether ...)’, even when it is now common knowledge that the embedded proposition is true.

- (563) [[*érⁿé* [^{HL}*yá:jí:*] *páyá-tí-yà* *má:*]
 [3SgPoss [^{HL}marriage] tie-Pfv1b-3PlSbj Q]
júwó-m̄-d̄=bé-ŷ
 know-Ipfv-Neg=Past-1Sg
 ‘I didn’t know that he had gotten married.’ (lit., “..., did they contract his marriage?”)

17.2.2 ‘The fact that ...’ with final determiner

A regular main clause may be followed by an apparent definite *kú* or *kù* to constitute a factive clause that can be glossed ‘(the fact) that ...’. The H-toned form is preferred in careful speech. It can be parsed either as the definite morpheme (which has H-toned form before postpositions), or as inanimate near-distant demonstrative *kú* (§4.4.1). The latter would be most appropriate for a proposition that was recently established in the discourse.

- (564) [bòlú yé-^m-dó:-∅ kú] [n̊j̊é:=∅ kàyⁿ]
 [rain come-Ipfv-Neg-Ppl.Inan Def/NearDist.Inan] [what?=it.is do.Pfv]
 ‘The fact that rain isn’t coming, what caused it?’

For an example with L-toned definite *kù* as complement to ‘be afraid (that)’, see (585b) in §17.3.10.

In (565), in addition to the final determiner, the verb of the factive clause is possessed (by its logical subject). Without the {HL} possessed-noun overlay, the verb form would be *àwú-^m-dó-∅* ‘it does not accept’.

- (565) [á ^{HL}áwù-^m-dó-∅ kú]
 [3ReflSgPoss ^{HL}accept-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj Def/NearDist.Inan]
iyé *gò^L-rí-∅*
 today go.out-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘This (fact that) it (=Beni) doesn’t accept (being pushed around), it didn’t come out (=just begin) today’ [2005.2b.04]

17.2.3 ‘See (find, hear) that ...’

An ordinary main clause may function as the complement of a verb of recognition of a state of affairs. The common verb of this type is *témbí* ‘find (a situation, or someone in a situation)’ (566a), but *yí*- ‘see’ is also used in this construction when the subject infers that an eventuality has taken place from circumstantial evidence (566b).

- (566) a. [pèrč-m béré-jé-ʷ] tém̊bi-ŷ
 [sheep get-RecPf-2SgSbj] find.Pfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I found that you-Sg had gotten a sheep.’
- b. [bòlú yé-rí-∅] yí-jé-ŷ
 [rain(n) come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj] see-RecPf-1SgSbj
 ‘I saw (e.g. from observing the dry ground) that rain had not come.’

In examples of the type ‘X see [E]’, where X observed the event E (rather than recognizing from visual or other signs that X had taken place), we get a complement with imperfective suffix *-m̊* on the verb, followed by clitic =*bày*, see (594a-c) in §15.2.1.2.

‘Hear (that ...)’ in the hearsay sense has a different syntax because it involves reported speech by a third party. It therefore has an initial quotative-subject phrase (particle *má:*).

- (567) [[ú má:] kòsɔy kósú-jé:] nù-ŷ
 [[2Sg QuotSbj] harvest(n) harvest-RecPf] hear.Pfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I heard that you-Sg have already harvested.’

17.3 Verbal noun (and other nominal) complements

For the morphology of the basic verbal noun in *-i:* ~ *-ŷ*, see §4.2.2.

17.3.1 Structure of verbal noun phrase

If a simple noun (without a quantifier or determiner) functioning as direct object or as a similar nonsubject complement (such as the locational with ‘go’) directly precedes the verbal noun, it takes L-toned compound-initial form.

- (568) a. *bù:rù^L-[ně-ŷⁿ]*
 bread^L-[eat-VblN]
 ‘eating bread’ (*bú:rù*)
- b. *bè:nì^L-[lō-ŷ]*
 Beni-[go-VblN]
 ‘going to Beni (village)’ (*bé:nì*)

This construction can be extended to cases where the compound initial represents a **core NP** consisting of a noun and an adjective. In (569), the entire core NP, which elsewhere takes the form *bù:rù^L jéwⁿè-wⁿ* ‘black bread’, functions (in L-toned form) as the initial.

- (569) *[bù:rù-[jéwⁿè-wⁿ]]^L-[ně-ŷⁿ]*
 [bread-[black-Inan]]^L-[eat-VblN]
 ‘eating black bread’

NPs containing a postnominal **quantifier** (including cardinal numerals) and/or a **determiner** cannot be reduced to compound-initial form. These NPs are construed morphosyntactically as **possessors**, and therefore control possessed-noun {HL} overlay on the “possessed” verbal noun.

- (570) a. *[èlèy^L ñgú] ^{HL}kúw-ì:*
 [peanut^L Prox.Inan] ^{HL}eat-VblN
 ‘eating these peanuts’ (*kùw-ì.*)
- b. *[màŋgórò nùműyⁿ] ^{HL}ně-yⁿ*
 [mango five] ^{HL}eat.VblN
 ‘eating five mangoes’ (*ně-ŷ*)

If the direct object is separated from the verbal noun by an intervening constituent, such as a pronoun, there is no “possession” or compounding, and the verbal noun appears with its normal {LHL} tone overlay (571).

- (571) *ú ènjé-m [érⁿé mâ:] ně-ŷⁿ,*
 2Sg chicken-AnSg [3Sg Dat] give-VblN,
já:wⁿ bû:-Ø
 appropriate be-3SgSbj
 ‘For you-Sg to give him/her a chicken, it’s right (=proper).’

A personal pronoun functioning logically as direct object may, as in main clauses, have either its unmarked independent form or it may occur with accusative clitic *=n̄ ~ =n̄i*. In either

case, it behaves as a possessor. The verbal noun therefore appears with possessed-noun tone overlay, either {HL} after an H-tone or tone-dropped after an L-tone.

- (572) a. *í* ^{HL}*jíy-i:*
1SgPoss ^{HL}kill-VblN
'killing me' (lit. "my killing")
- b. *í=nì* ^L*jíy-i:*
1SgObj ^Lkill-VblN
'killing me'
- c. *i:* ^L*jíy-i:*
1PlPoss ^Lkill-VblN
'killing us'

17.3.2 'Begin' (*túmdí-*) plus nominal complement

'Begin' takes a verbal noun or other nominal as complement. In (573a), the complement is a cognate nominal. In (573b-c) it is a verbal noun, with a simple noun representing the direct object functioning as L-toned compound initial. In (573d) has a similar structure, but with a pronominal object. The latter can be expressed as simple *í* as in this example, or with accusative clitic as *í=nì*.

- (573) a. *nùwⁿɔ* *túmdí-tí-yà*
song **begin-Pfv1b-3PlSbj**
'They have begun to sing.'
- b. *nùwⁿɔ^L-[nùwⁿ-i:]* *túmdí-tí-yà*
song^L-[sing-VblN] **begin-Pfv1b-3PlSbj**
[= (a)]
- c. *nàwⁿà:^L-[kùw-i:]* *túmdí-yè*
meat^L-[eat-VblN] **begin.Ipfv-3PlSbj**
'They will begin to eat the meat.'
- d. *[í sùy-i:]* *túmdí-tí:-Ø*
[1SgPoss hit-VblN] **begin-Pfv1b-3SgSbj**
'He/She began to hit me.'

17.3.3 'Prevent' (*gà:i lí-*) plus nominal complement

The complement is expressed as a verbal noun (or other nominal). The logical subject of the complement clause functions as a direct object of 'prevent'.

- (574) a. *í=nì bìrè^L-[bìr-î:] gà:lì-∅*
 1Sg=Acc work(n)^L-[work-VblN] prevent.Pfv-3SgSbj
 'He/She prevented me from working.'
- b. *í=nì ènjè^L-[tìy-î:] gà:lì-∅*
 1Sg=Acc chicken^L-[sell-VblN] prevent.Pfv-3SgSbj
 'He/She prevented me from selling the chicken.'

17.3.4 ‘Consent’ (*àwú-*) plus nominal complement

The verb *àwú-* ‘receive, accept (sth given)’, which is usually heard as *ăw*, is used in the sense ‘consent, give permission’ with a verbal noun complement. If there is no overt subject of the complement clause, it is understood that the main-clause subject has consented to perform the action (‘X agreed to come’) (575a). If there is a disjoint subject, it appears overtly (‘X agreed that Y could go’) (575b).

- (575) a. *yě:y àw-jé:-∅*
 come-VblN receive-RecPf-3SgSbj
 'He/She has consented to come.'
- b. *[bàmàkó í lō-y] àw-jé:-∅*
 [Bamako 1SgSbj go-VblN] receive-RecPf-3SgSbj
 'He/She has agreed (=consented) to my going to Bamako.'

17.3.5 Obligational ‘must’ (*wá:jíbù*) plus nominal subject

The noun *wá:jíbù* or *wá:jíbì* ‘obligation’ (from Arabic via Fulfulde) is the predicate. Presumably an ‘it is’ clitic is attached to it (‘it is an obligation’), but the clitic is inaudible since it is an inanimate noun already ending in an L-tone. The NP denoting the necessary action functions as subject NP with ‘(it is) an obligation’ as predicate. This NP may be a verbal noun or other nominal. When the verbal-noun construction is used, the subject (agent) of the verbal-noun clause may be expressed either as a possessor of the verbal noun (576a), or as a dative preceding *wá:jíbù=∅* (576b).

- (576) a. *[bàmàkó érⁿé ^{HL}ló-y] wá:jíbù=∅*
 [Bamako 3SgPoss ^{HL}go-VblN] obligation=it.is
 'He/She must go to Bamako.' (lit. “His/Her going to Bamako (is) an obligation”)
- b. *[ŋgú-rù wàs-î:] ^{L+}mă: wá:jíbù=∅*
 [here remain-VblN] ^{L+}1Sg.Dat obligation=it.is
 'I must remain here.' (lit. “Remaining here is an obligation for me”)

An alternative construction seen in a text puts *wá:jíbù=∅* (or *wá:jíbì=∅*) in front, followed by an imperfective clause. The flavor of the construction can be captured by the phrasing ‘definitely, we will ...’. In (577), the imperfective clause has a verb with *-m* since it is in a quotation (§17.1.1.2).

- (577) *wá:jìbì=Ø* [bérù-m] *ní-ṁ* *bà*
obligation=it.is [goat-AnSg give-Ipfv] Quot
‘She was obligated to give them a goat, they said.’ [2005.2a.06]

17.3.6 ‘Dare’ (*dà:rí-*, *sú:sé-*) plus nominal complement

dà:rí- has a range of senses including ‘crave’ and ‘miss (nostalgically)’. It can be used something like a ‘dare to, have the audacity to’ verb, though perhaps a better gloss would be ‘can’t help (doing)’. It takes a verbal noun or other nominal complement.

- (578) *yě-ŷ* *dà:rú-ṁ*
come-VblN dare-Ipfv.3SgSbj
‘He/She dares to come.’

Another verb *sú:sé-*, from Fulfulde, is also used with a similar syntax.

- (579) *[ŋgú-rù* *èw-y-î:J* *sú:sé-ṁ*
[here sit-MP-VblN] dare-Ipfv.3SgSbj
‘He/She dares to sit here.’

17.3.7 ‘Cease’, ‘desist’ (*dùwó-*) plus nominal complement

The verb *dùwó-* ‘leave, abandon’ may be used to indicate the abandonment of an activity. In this context it takes a verbal noun or similar nominal complement.

- (580) *dɔrɔgù-[nɔ-ŷⁿ]* *dùwó-tí:-Ø*
drug^L-[drink-VblN] leave-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘She has given up drinking (alcohol).’

For ‘finish (VP-ing) with *dùmdú-* ~ *dùmdí-* ‘finish’, see §17.4.1, below.

17.3.8 ‘Want’ (*jɔrɔ-*, *má:-yí-* ~ *m^bá:-yí-*, negative *mì-rá-*) plus complement

The verb *jɔrɔ-* ‘want’ is morphologically regular as far as its paradigm goes. The common positive form is the unsuffixed imperfective (3Sg *jɔrɔ-ṁ* ‘he/she wants’, 3Pl *jɔrɔ-yè* ‘they want’). However, there is a suppletive negative ‘not want’ verb, see below.

When the complement clause has the same subject, we get a verbal noun or similar nominal construction.

- (581) a. *bè:nì-[lɔ-ŷ]* *jɔrɔ-ŷ*
Beni^L-go-VblN want.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I want (= would like) to go to Beni.’ (*bé:nì*)

- b. *núwⁿðyⁿ* *bù:rù-[ně-ŷⁿ]* *jɔ́rɔ́-w* *mà*
now bread^L-eat-VblN want.Ipfv-2SgSbj Q
‘Do you-Sg want to eat some bread now?’ (*bú:rù*)
- c. *[í=ñ* *jiy-î:]* *jɔ́rɔ́-*Ø
[1SgObj kill-VblN] want.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He/She wanted (= tried) to kill me.’

With different subjects, the verb of the complement takes imperfective form and ends with *-m̄*, for all person-number categories of subject. The *-m̄* could be taken as the inanimate imperfective participial suffix *-m̄*, or else as a 3Sg subject imperfective suffix *-m̄* that has generalized in this construction to all subject categories. A pronominal subject in the complement is expressed as a preparticipial pronoun.

- (582) a. *[[érⁿé nâyⁿ] í ló-m̄]* *jɔ́rɔ́-m̄*
[[3Sg with] 1SgSbj go.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan] want-Ipfv.3SgSbj
‘He wants me to go with him.’
- b. *[nây bû: ló-m̄]* *jɔ́rɔ́-ŷ*
[1Sg.with 3PlSbj go.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan] want.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I want them to go with me.’

There is a less common near-synonym *má:-yí-* or *m^bá:-yí-* ‘wish for, want (sth)’, which is used with NP (not clausal) complement. There is a related noun *m̄bâ:* ‘what one wants’.

The negative ‘not want’ verb is *m̄i-rá-* (the expected #*jɔ́rɔ́-m-dó-* is ungrammatical) The segmentation is not transparent, but I will put the morpheme break in on the assumption that native speakers can discern a similarity to stative negative clitic *=rá-*. Nasalization-Spreading does not apply to the rhotic, suggesting an internal reconstruction **m̄bi-rá-*, which is supported by e.g. Bankan Tey *m̄bi-rá-*.

m̄i-rá- occurs in the same syntactic constructions as positive *jɔ́rɔ́-*, as just described: for same subject a verbal noun complement (583a), for different subject an imperfective participial complement (583b).

- (583) a. *ně-ŷⁿ* *m̄i-rá-ŷ*
eat-VblN want-Neg-1SgSbj
‘I don’t want to eat’.
- b. *[bû: ló-m̄]* *m̄i-rá-ŷ:*
[3PlSbj go.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan] want-Neg-1PlSbj
‘We don’t want them to go.’ [2005.1b.06]
(or: ‘We don’t like the fact that they go.’)

Related nouns are *jɔ́rɔ́* ‘wanting’ (cognate to *jɔ́rɔ́-*) and *m^bâ:* ‘(one’s) wish, what one wants’.

17.3.9 ‘Forget’ (*iré-*), ‘remember’ (*ili-rí-*) plus nominal complement

Both ‘forget’ and ‘remember’ take verbal noun or similar nominal complements to express a same subject complement (‘forget/remember to VP’). ‘Remember’ is the suffixally derived reversive of ‘forget’ (§9.1), and may therefore be accompanied by ‘go out’ (584c).

- (584) a. *yě-ŷ* *iré:-rè-**Ø*
 come-VblN forget-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She forgot to come.’
- b. *tâ:^{nL}-[dăⁿ-ŷⁿ]* *iré-ré*
 door^L-[lock.up-VblN] forget-ImprtNeg
 ‘Don’t-2Sg forget to lock the door.’ (*tâ:ⁿ*, *dăⁿ-*)
- c. *tâ:^{nL}-[dăⁿ-ŷⁿ]* *ili-rí* *gō:-rè-y*
 door^L-[lock.up-VblN] remember go.out-Pfv1a-1SgSbj
 ‘I remembered to lock the door.’

17.3.10 ‘Be afraid to’ (*ú:-yí-*) plus complement

The verb *ú:-yí-* ‘fear, be afraid’ (cf. archaic causative *ú:-rú-* ‘frighten, scare’, noun *ùwáw* ‘fear’) takes a verbal-noun complement when the lower clause has the same subject (‘he is afraid to swim’), as in (585a). If the lower clause has a different subject (‘he is afraid that a snake will bit him’), we get a factive complement ending in a definite morpheme (585b), cf. §17.2.2.

- (585) a. *tâmòrɔ^L-[kùw-î:]* *ù-?úwá-w*
 date^L-[eat-VblN] Rdp-fear-Stat.3SgSbj
 ‘He/She is afraid to eat dates.’
- b. *[érⁿé = nì ú súyɔ̄-m̄ kù]* *ù-?úwá-w*
 [3Sg=Acc 2SgSbj hit-Ipfv Def] Rdp-fear-Stat.3SgSbj
 ‘He_x is afraid that you will hit him_x/him_y.’

17.4 Complements with simple bare stem (direct chains)

I include these examples here since we usually think of them as involving a matrix-clause verb like ‘finish’ and a complement clause or VP. However, in BenT they are direct chains (serial construction), see §16.1. That is, the nonfinal VP (“complement clause”) ends in a verb in the simple bare stem, with lexical tones.

In BenT (more so than in e.g. Jamsay), one could seriously consider the possibility of reanalysing the apparent perfective-system AN “suffixes” *-sô-* (resultative), *-jé-* (recent perfect), and *-tâ-* (Experiential perfect) as separate auxiliary verbs. Since the preceding main verb occurs in its bare stem, if these AN morphemes are taken to be separate verbs, the main verb would have to be reanalysed as a nonfinal member of a direct chain. See §10.1.1 and (for pronouns that can intervene between main verb and auxiliary) §14.1.7.

17.4.1 ‘Finish’ (*dùmdú-*) plus nominal complement or chained verb

dùmdú- ~ *dùmdí-* is a transitive verb that can take a nominal complement (586a), or it can be directly chained to the nonfinal VP (586b).

- (586) a. *kòsɔy* *dùmdí-tî:-∅*
 harvest(n) finish-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She finished harvesting (= finished the harvest).’
- b. *[yû: kósí]* *dùmdí-tî:-∅*
 [millet harvest(v)] finish-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She finished harvesting the millet.’

The explicitly biclausal ‘finish VP-ing’ construction gets some competition from recent perfect *-jé-* and its negation *-jè-rí-*. For example, ‘finish eating’ was expressed with the verb *dùmdú-* by my assistant in contexts like the imperative (587a). However, in contexts favoring a perfect reading, he avoided *dùmdú-* and used the recent perfect (587b).

- (587) a. *jé:* *dúmd-à*
 eat finish-Imprt
 ‘Finish-Sg up eating!’
- b. *dôm* *jéyⁿ* *jé-jè-rí-ŷ*
 up.to.now meal eat-RecPf-PfvNeg-1SgSbj
 ‘I haven’t finished eating.’

17.4.2 ‘Help’ (*bàri-*) plus chained verb

As in other nearby Dogon languages, there is a verb with a range of senses including ‘add (to), increase’ and ‘help, assist’. The BenT verb is *bàri-*. The semantic range suggests that ‘help’ is conceptualized as ‘reinforce (effort), add (oneself, to a collective effort)’. See discussion of (487) in §15.1.9.

An example of the ‘help’ sense with a clausal complement is (588). The individual being helped appears as a direct object with optional accusative clitic. The complement verb appears in its simple bare stem, as in chains, and may be preceded by other complements.

- (588) *í=nì* *[wóngoró* *wàrá]* *bàrú-ṁ*
 1Sg=Acc [farming do.farm.work] help-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He/She will help me (to) do the farming.’

In BenT the semantic range of *bàri-* does not extend to ‘gather’, which is expressed by *bàrá-*. The ‘add, increase; help’ and ‘gather’ verbs are homophonous in Jamsay and Toro Tegu.

17.4.3 Capability

17.4.3.1 ‘Be able to, can’ (*bèré-* ‘get’) plus chained verb

The ‘be able to’ verb is *bèré-*, which is also a simple transitive verb ‘get, obtain’. In the ‘be able to’ construction it occurs in imperfective form (positive or negative), so it is heard as {H}-toned *béré-*. The logical subject of the complement clause is coindexed with the subject of ‘be able to’ and is not overtly expressed in the complement, whose verb is in bare stem form as in chains. Direct objects or other complements have the same form as in main clauses.

- (589) a. *ínjírí béré-ìm-dó-Ø*
get.up can-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj
‘He/She cannot get up.’
- b. *[tē: nɔ̄] béré-yè*
[tea drink] can.Ipfv-3PlSbj
‘They can drink tea.’

A more literal construal ‘acquire the means to VP’ (cf. English *be in a position to VP*) is possible in some cases. See *bé:nì béré èw-yè-Ø* ‘Beni was able to be settled’ in B’s second turn in (676) in the sample text, where *béré* is nonfinal in a verb chain.

17.4.3.2 *gòrɔ̄-* ‘be capable of’

gòrɔ̄- is less common but more explicitly denotes capability. It often has a nonpropositional NP complement. Contextual glosses are ‘be capable of, be up to (a challenging task)’ and ‘be stronger than, be able to defeat (sb)’, see (53) in §4.3.2 and (195) in §9.3.

17.5 Purposive, causal, and locative clauses

17.5.1 Purposive clauses

17.5.1.1 Verb with purposive suffix (-rá: ~ -ré:)

In one construction, **purposive suffix** *-rá:* ~ *-ré:* is added to an **L-toned form** of the relevant verb stem. This construction is common when the purposive is subordinated to a verb of motion.

- (590) a. *[pèré tiyè^L-rá:] yè-ŷ*
sheep.Pl sell^L-Purp] come.Pfv-1SgSbj
‘I came in order to sell sheep-Pl.’
- b. *[[á HL ísè:] tìwè^L-rá:] yè-Ø*
[[3ReflSgPoss HL village] die^L-Purp] come.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘He has come back to his village to die.’

- c. [wóngóró wàrà^L-ré:] ló:-iè-∅
 [farming farm^L-Purp] go-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She went to do some farming.’
- d. [bú:rù èwè^L-rá:] ló-ỳ
 [bread buy^L-Purp] go.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I will go and buy some bread.’
- e. [yû: lìgùrù^L-rá:] lò-bó
 [millet look.for^L-Purp] go.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They went to look for (=try to get) some millet.’

See also (138) in §7.1.2 and (469g) in §14.4.

The three *Cvyⁿ* verbs fuse their *yⁿ* with the suffixal *r* to produce *l*, hence apparent allomorph *-lá:*. For the phonology see §3.5.4.4. The two clean examples are *gáyⁿ-* ‘put’ (hence *gà^L-lá:*) and *káyⁿ-* ‘do’ (*kà^L-lá:*). My assistant produced *gùⁿ-lá:* from *gúyⁿ-* ‘say’, in this instance preserving nasalization (on the vowel), but indicated that *gù^{nL}-lá:* is rare.

In (591), the higher clause (here a same-subject clause) and the embedded purposive clause share the same verb (‘arrive’). This is a stylistic narrative device that I try to capture with ‘finally’ in the free translation.

- (591) tórú-m [érⁿé gànjí-m̄ nè]
 warthog-AnSg [3SgSbj dig-Ipfv now] ...
 [érⁿé gànjí-m̄ nè] [érⁿé gànjí-m̄ nè]
 (repetitions)
dɔ^L-rá: érⁿé dɔ=nì, ...
 arrive^L-Purp 3SgSbj arrive=and.SS, ...
 ‘The warthog kept digging. When he had finally come close (to Hyena), ...’
 [2005.2a.07]

This explicitly purposive construction gets some competition from various types of VP chain, where the purposive element is implied rather than stated. This is common when the intended eventuality actually took place. In (592), the same-subject clitic =ni is used.

- (592) [gõ: gáyⁿ=ni] kì-kă: jìyè-bó
 [fire put=and.SS] Rdp-grasshopper kill.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They set a fire and killed (= in order to kill) the grasshoppers.’

17.5.1.2 Quasi-purposive clause in manner-adverbial form (*dàyⁿ*)

In this construction, the purposive clause takes the form of a manner adverbial (§15.2.3), cf. English *in such a way that ...* in vaguely purposive sense. The manner adverbial may precede or follow the main clause. Given the forward-looking temporal context, the verb of the manner adverbial will normally appear as an inanimate imperfective participle (-m̄ after imperfective stem).

- (593) [wògòtórò cé:lé-ỳ.: dè]
 [cart fix.Ipfv-1PlSbj if]
 [dàyⁿ_L wá:lè i: ló-ìn
 [manner^L Walo 1PlSbj go.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan]
 'We will fix the (donkey) cart, so that we may go to Walo (village).'

17.5.1.3 Clauses ending in purposive postposition *gín*

Here purposive postposition *gín*, *gíní*, *gün*, or *gúní* ‘for; because of’ (§8.5.1) follows a verbal noun or other nominal denoting an action. The construction is uncommon in purposive contexts in my data. In (594), the verb of the complement is in **quoted imperative** form, as in jussives (i.e., reported imperatives, §17.1.3.1). This makes sense in that the postposition is related to *gùyⁿ* ‘say’, and specifically to *gùyⁿ=ní* ~ *gìyⁿ=ní* (same-subject past sequential subordinator, §15.1.8).

- (594) L+HL *närⁿà* ñgú-rù í=ñ
 1SgPoss.^{HL}mother here 1Sg=Acc
 [nî: kówó-y gín] tì-∅
 [water draw.water-**QuotImprt** for] send.Pfv-3SgSbj
 'My mother sent me here (telling me) to draw water (at the well).'

Final *gín* is more common in causal ('because') clauses, see §17.5.4.2, below.

17.5.1.4 Purposive clause with [...] ^{HL}*nî:*^L *wò*

This construction occurred once in a text. For *[X* ^{HL}*nî:*^L *wò* as a causal PP, see §8.5.3. *jèy* appears to be a purposive morpheme in (595). Without *jèy*, *[X* ^{HL}*nî:*^L *wò* is attested but uncommon in causal ('because') clauses, see §17.5.2.4 below.

- (595) *dănnà-m*^t, [[á HL *kû:*] L *mà:*],
 hunter-AnSg, [[3ReflSgPoss HL head] L Dat]
 [[á HL *níngì*] élé-ré jèy] HL *nî:* L *wò*],
 [[3ReflSgPoss HL sauce] be.sweet-Fact **Purp**] HL cause] L in],
 dănnà túmdú-ìn
 hunt(n) begin.Ipfv-3Sgs
 'A hunter, himself, in order to make his sauce (=meal) good-tasting, he begins a hunt.' [2005.1b.01]

17.5.2 Causal ('because') clause

The clauses under this rubric are translatable as 'because ...'. Unlike purposives, which are prospective in time reference, causal clauses are retrospective. They express a causal relationship between an eventuality that already exists (or has already occurred) and a second eventuality.

17.5.2.1 Clause-initial *sábù* ‘because’

This clause-initial particle, from Arabic *sabab-* ‘reason, cause’, is now common (in various forms) in all languages of the zone. The following clause has regular main-clause form.

- (596) [ŋgá-dá: yú: irè-rí-∅],
 [around.there millet ripen-PfvNeg-3SgSbj],
 sábù
 because rain(n) fast-Inch come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘The millet hasn’t ripened (well) there, because the rain did not come early (=the rain came late).’

17.5.2.2 Causal clause with *gín* and variants

In §17.5.1.3 above, purposive-causal postposition *gín*, *gìní*, *gún*, or *gùní* (§8.5.1) occurs in a purposive clause. It is more common as a causal complement (‘because’). The clause takes normal main-clause form.

- (597) [[kɔ̄: â: yá só-w̄] ḡi-ní]
 [[hunger ReflPlSbj Exist have-3SgSbj] for]
 isé: ḡò-bó
 village go.out.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They have left the village because they are/were hungry (“had hunger”).’

The origin of *gín* as a same-subject anterior subordinated form of *gúyⁿ* ~ *ḡiⁿ* ‘say’ is not opaque to native speakers, and explains its ability to function in either purposive (prospective) or causal (retrospective) contexts. ‘Say’ here means ‘say to oneself, think’, and focuses on the agent’s motivations rather than on objective causal relationships among events. Therefore (597) could be literally glossed ‘they have left the village, saying (= thinking, on the grounds that) they-Logophoric were hungry’. Another clause-linking form, *ḡi=náyⁿ*, more transparently connected to ‘say’, is also attested (598).

- (598) bénì yé-m̄-dó-∅,
 Beni come-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj,
 [tɔ̄w sò-ló-∅] ḡi=náyⁿ
 [kin have-Neg-3SgSbj] say^{L=then.SS}
 ‘She doesn’t come to Beni, since (= on the grounds that she has no kin (there).’

ḡi=náyⁿ also occurs in a negative purposive clause in (601) in §17.5.3.

17.5.2.3 Clauses with final causal *déngèy*

Clause-final *déngèy* (with possessed {HL} overlay) is more or less interchangeable with clause-initial *sábù*.

- (599) *[ŋgá-dá: yû: irè-rí-∅],*
 [around.there millet ripen-PfvNeg-3SgSbj],
bòlú ógú-rú yè-rí-∅ déngèy
 rain(n) fast-Inch come-PfvNeg-3SgSbj because
 ‘The millet hasn’t ripened (well) there, because the rain did not come early (=the rain came late).’

17.5.2.4 Causal clause with final ${}^{HL}nî: {}^Lwò$

The complex PP $[X {}^{HL}nî: {}^Lwò]$ ‘because of X, on account of X’, which generally refers to human motivation or reasoning rather than to physical causality (§8.5.3), is occasionally used with a clausal complement (600). For purposive $[...jèy {}^{HL}nî: {}^Lwò]$, see §17.5.1.4 above.

- (600) *né: jè:-wⁿ-i: ïgó-∅,*
 now eat-Caus-VblN not.be-3SgSbj
[[kɔ:n^L] bû: nàngù-rú-m] ïgó-∅]
 [[[thing^L 3PLSbj be.ruined-Caus.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan] not.be-3SgSbj]
 ${}^{HL}nî: {}^Lwò$
 ${}^{HL}\text{cause}] {}^L\text{in}$
 ‘Now there is no feeding (= tending the animals), because there is nothing that they (= animals) (can) damage.’ [2005.1a.15]

17.5.3 Negative purposive (= prohibitive) clause

In (601), an imperfective main clause is followed by a negative purposive clause ending in $gi=náy^n$ ‘say and’.

- (601) *tèmbè-kû: bíré-ŷ:.*
 roof replaster.Ipfv-1PLSbj
nî: sí-yé-ré-y gi=náyⁿ
 water go.down-MP-ImprtNeg-QuotImprt say^{L=then.SS}
 ‘We will plaster the roof (with mud), so that (rain) water doesn’t come down (=leak).’

18 Anaphora

18.1 Reflexive and emphatic pronouns

The third person anaphoric pronouns are *á* (Sg) and *â:* (Pl). When used as reflexives (§18.2.1), or to coindex relative-clauses subjects with the higher subject (§18.2.3), I use “3ReflSg” and “3ReflPl” in interlinears. When used as logophorics (§18.2.2), I use “LogoSg” and “LogoPl.”

18.1.1 Third-person reflexive pronouns (*á*, Pl *â:*)

There are no special reflexive forms for first or second person; one says ‘I hit me’, ‘you hit you’, etc.. Examples with ‘cut’ (perfective-1b form) are in (602).

- (602) a. *í césé-tí-ŷ* ‘I cut myself.’
î: césé-tí-ŷ.: ‘We cut ourselves.’
- b. *ú césé-tú-ŵ* ‘You-Sg cut yourself.’
û: césé-tú-ŵ.: ‘You-Pl cut yourselves.’

For third person subjects, a direct object coindexed to the subject is expressed by a third-person reflexive pronoun, singular *á* or plural *â:*, with optional accusative *=nì ~ =ñ*.

- (603) a. *á césé-tî:-∅*
3ReflSgObj cut-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
‘He cut himself.’
- b. *â: césé-tí-yà*
3ReflPlObj cut-Pfv1b-3PlSbj
‘They cut themselves.’
- c. *â:=ñ dànìgí-ñ tíméñ bé-yè*
3ReflPlObj get.ready-Ipfv continue remain.Ipfv-3PlSbj
‘They would be getting themselves ready.’ [2005.2a.09]

18.1.2 Reflexive possessor (*á*, Pl *â:*)

There is no special reflexive form for first or second person possessors. The regular possessor forms are used even when the clausemate subject is coindexed.

- (604) a. L+^{HL}*ínjè-m* *lär-tí-ŷ*
 1SgPoss.^{HL}dog-AnSg chase.away-Pfv1b-1SgSbj
 'I chased my dog away.'
- b. *[ú* ^{HL}*ínjè-m]* *lär-tú-ŵ*
 [2SgPoss ^{HL}dog-AnSg] chase.away-Pfv1b-2SgSbj
 'You-Sg chased your-Sg dog away.'

Third-person reflexives are used when the possessor of a nonsubject NP is coindexed to a third-person clausemate subject. Contrast (605a), where such coindexation applies, to (605b), where the clausemate subject and the possessor are disjoint.

- (605) a. *sěydù* *[á* ^{HL}*ínjè-m]* *lär-tí:-∅*
 Seydou [3ReflSgPoss ^{HL}dog-AnSg] chase.away-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
 'Seydou_x chased his_x (own) dog away.'
- b. *sěydù* *[érⁿé* ^{HL}*ínjè-m]* *lär-tí:-∅*
 Seydou [3SgPoss ^{HL}dog-AnSg] chase.away-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
 'Seydou_x chased her_y (e.g. Hawa's) dog away.'

A singular clausemate subject may be coindexed with a **more inclusive third person possessor**, e.g. denoting the family containing the subject referent. This requires a **plural reflexive** pronominal (606a). Of course the same plural form is used when the coindexed subject and possessor are both plural and denote the same set (606b).

- (606) a. *sěydù* *[â:* ^L*ínjè-m]* *lär-tí:-∅*
 Seydou [3ReflPlPoss ^Ldog-AnSg] chase.away-Pfv1b-3SgSbj
 'Seydou_x chased their_{xy} (= his_x family's) dog away.'
- b. *[sěydù* *yà→'*] *[â:màdù* *yà→'*]
 [Seydou and] [Amadou and]
 [â: ^L*ínjè-m]* *lär-tí-yà*
 [3ReflPlPoss ^Ldog-AnSg] chase.away-Pfv1b-3PlSbj
 'Seydou_x and Amadou_y chased their_{xy} (jointly owned) dog away.'

This issue is especially relevant when the possessed noun is 'house', since one usually says 'our house', 'their house', etc., rather than 'my house' or 'his/her house', even in clauses like 'I went to my/our house'.

18.1.3 Expressions with 'head' (*kâ:*)

Expressions of the literal type 'my head', etc., are not the common reflexives or emphatics in BenT. However, I did elicit a reflexive-like construction with datives (607). In the third person form (607b), the reflexive pronoun *â* is the possessor of 'head'.

- (607) a. *[ú ^{HL}*kâ:*] ^L*mà:*] ^L*kàⁿ-wⁿ**
- [[2SgPoss ^{HL}head] [2SgSbj]] do.Pfv-2SgSbj
- ‘You did (it) to yourself.’
- b. *[á ^{HL}*kâ:*] ^L*mà:*] ^L*kàⁿ-Ø**
- [[3ReflSgPoss ^{HL}head] [3SgSbj]] do.Pfv-3SgSbj
- ‘He did (it) to himself.’
- c. *[í: ^L*kù:*] ^L*mà:*] ^L*kàⁿ-yⁿ:**
- [[1PlPoss ^Lhead] [1PlSbj]] do.Pfv-1PlSbj
- ‘We did (it) to ourselves.’

18.1.4 Emphatic pronouns with *nàjàná*: ‘all’

For *nàjàná*: ‘entirety’, usually appearing with {HL} or {L} overlay as a possessed noun, see §8.6.7.5.

The same construction (with pronominal possessor) may be used as an emphatic. This function is most clearly identified when the pronoun is singular in reference (608).

- (608) ^{L+HL}*nú:* ^L*tí-y,*
 1SgPoss. ^{HL}person.Pl send.Ipfv-1SgSbj,
gà: *[í ^{HL}*nàjàná:*] ^L*ló-m-dó-y**
- but [1Sg ^{HL}all] go-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj
- ‘I am sending my people, but I personally will not go.’

18.2 Logophoric and indexing pronouns

The logophoric pronouns are *á* (Sg) and *â:* (Pl). The same forms are also used as third person reflexive pronouns (§18.1.1-2).

18.2.1 True logophoric function

Logophorics are **original 1Sg or 1Pl pronouns** that occur somewhere within a “logophoric space,” i.e., within a (speech or thought) quotation attributed to an **author** who is a third person (not the current speaker or addressee). Another way to say this is that logophorics are a special type of third person pronominal coindexed to the attributed author of a proposition.

In (609), the logophoric is the **subject** of a quotative clause, and is therefore part of a quotative-subject phrase with particle *ma:* (§17.1.1.1). Recall that e.g. ‘He_x said that he_x isn’t coming’ is a reformulation of the direct quotation ‘He said: “I am not coming.”’

- (609) a. *[á ^L*má:*] ^L*yé-m-dó-Ø] ^L*giyⁿ-Ø***
- [[LogoSg QuotSbj] [QuotSbj] come-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj] say.Pfv-3SgSbj
- ‘He_x said that he_x isn’t coming.’
- b. *[â: ^L*mà:*] ^L*yé-m-n-é] ^L*giyⁿ-b5***

[**LogoPl** ^LQuotSbj] come-Ipfv-Neg-3PlSbj] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They_x said that they_x aren’t coming.’

In (610), the logophoric functions as **direct object** within its clause.

- (610) a. *búrâ:* *gúⁿ-wⁿ* *dè,*
 Boura say-Ipfv.3SgSbj if,
[[ú má:] á sùyò] wà
 [[2Sg QuotSbj] **LogoSgObj** hit.Pfv] Quot
 ‘Boura_x says that you-Sg hit-Past him_x.’
- b. *yì-té:* *bû:* *gúⁿ-wⁿ* *dè,*
 child-Pl 3PlSbj say-Ipfv.3SgSbj if,
[[í má:] â: sùyò] wà
 [1Sg QuotSbj] **LogoPIObj** hit.Pfv] Quot
 ‘The children_x say that I hit-Past them_x.’

In (611a), the logophoric is the **possessor of an object NP** within its clause. Since the clausemate subject is second person, there is no ambiguity as to what the antecedent is. However, (611b) is ambiguous, since the possessive *á* could be parsed either as a reflexive possessor coindexed to the immediate clausemate 3Sg subject or as a logophoric possessor coindexed at a higher level to the attributed author.

- (611) a. *érⁿé* *gúⁿ-wⁿ* *dè,*
 3SgSbj say-Ipfv.3SgSbj if,
[[ú má:] [á ^{HL}ínjè-m] lèrì]
 [[2Sg QuotSbj] **LogoSgPoss** ^{HL}dog-AnSg] chase.away.Pfv]
wà
 Quot
 ‘She_x says that you-Sg chased her_x dog away.’
- b. *érⁿé* *gúⁿ-wⁿ* *dè,* *[[séydu ^Lmà:]*
 3SgSbj say-Ipfv.3SgSbj if, [Seydou ^LQuotSbj]
[[á ^{HL}ínjè-m] lèrì] wà
 [LogoSgPoss ^{HL}dog-AnSg] chase.away.Pfv] Quot
 [3ReflSgPoss ...]
 ‘She_x says that Seydou_y (man’s name) chased her_x/his_y dog away.’

The notion of ‘author’ is stretched to cover examples of the type ‘X knows that …’ and especially ‘X heard that …’. In the case of ‘know’, the propositional knowledge may be unconscious rather than articulated verbally (even as thought). With ‘hear’, the focus is on the hearer as one who processes propositions that originate with other speakers. We do get logophoric (or, arguably, reflexive) third person pronominals in such cases, under the same conditions as with quoted speech. In (612), note logophoric object *á=ñ* or *á*.

- (612) a. *[[í má:] á súyó-m] júwó-m*
 [[1Sg QuotSbj] **LogoSgObj** hit-Ipfv] know-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He_x knows that I will hit him_x.’

- b. *[[s̄eydù Lmà:] á=ñ yá lúgúró-ṁ]*
 [[S LQuotSbj] **LogoSg**=Acc Exist look.for-Ipfv]
nù-∅
 hear.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘She_x heard that Seydou was looking for her_x.’

My assistant did not use logophorics in (613), where the main-clause verb is *témbí-* ‘find’. This verb suggests that one event (here, Amadou’s arrival) happens to coincide with a situation (here, the fact that Seydou is looking for Amadou). Local French *ça trouve/trouvait que ...* is used in the same sense, and its impersonal *ça* captures the pragmatics. So both Amadou and Seydou are resumed by ordinary 3Sg *érⁿé* in (613). The phrasing is [A find S [S look for A]], with S and A pronominalized in the subordinated clause

- (613) *á:mádù s̄eydù [érⁿé=nì érⁿé lúgúró-ṁ=bày]*
 A S [3Sg=Acc 3SgSbj look.for-Ipfv=Ppl.Past]
témbí-∅
 find.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Amadou_x found (= arrived to find) that Seydou was looking for him_x.’

18.2.2 Non-logophoric topic-indexing function

18.2.2.1 Nonreflexive resumptive pronouns for topicalized NP

In some other Dogon languages, logophoric/reflexive pronouns are used to resume the referent of a preposed topical NP: ‘As for Seydou, *he-LogoSg/3ReflSg* is going away.’

In elicitation, my Beni assistant treated the topical NP as part of the clause proper, even when marked by topic particle *kày*. Both the set-up cue with first person topic (614a) and that with the third person cue (614b) elicited this BenT structure. The cues were with *quand même*, which is usual in local French (e.g. *Moi quand même, je pars à Bénî*).

- (614) a. *[í kày] bê:n ló-ŷ*
 [1SgSbj Top] Beni go.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘As for me (*Moi quand même*), I’m going to Beni.’
- b. *[s̄eydù kày] bê:n ló-ṁ*
 [S Top] Beni go-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘As for Seydou, he’s going to Beni.’

It was possible to elicit a topical resumptive pronoun in (615), where the topicalized NP is heavy (a conjunction of two NPs). Here the topical resumptive pronoun is ordinary (i.e. nonreflexive) 3Pl *bâ:*

- (615) *[[s̄eydù yà→] [á:mádù yà→] bâ: ló-ṁ-n-é]*
 [[S and] [A and] 3Pl go-Ipfv-Neg-3PlSbj
 Seydou and Amadou, as for them, they will not go.’

18.2.2.2 Reflexive resumptive pronouns in headless perfective relatives

Although the construction with preposed topic NP and resumptive third person reflexive pronoun is not typical of BenT, we do find something similar in narrative sequences involving headless perfective relatives (verb-participle ending with inanimate **-w̄**), functionally equivalent to regular main clauses. This is rather common in texts. For example, in (616), the relative clause requires a preposed (preparticipial) subject pronoun, which takes third person reflexive form (3ReflPl **â:**) under coindexation with ‘hyena and hare’ in the preceding clause.

- (616) *[[tì-tă:-m yâ→] [jɔ:n-m yá→]]*
 [[Rdp-hyena-AnSg and] [hare-AnSg and]
[kú HL sérè] sè-né,
 [InanSg HL awareness] have-StatNeg.3PlSbj,
[ùsú tūw'ɔ:m] sù:-m â: jiyé-w̄, ...
 [day one-AnSg] francolin-AnSg **3ReflPlSbj** kill.Pfv-Ppl.Inan
 ‘Hyena and Hare were not aware of that. One day they (=Hyena and Hare) killed a
 francolin. ...’ [2005.2a.06]

A similar example is (536) in §16.1.2.

18.2.3 Relative-clause reflexive subject coindexed to higher subject

When a nonsubject relative clause has the same third person subject as the main clause, the relative-clause subject has reflexive/logophoric form (**á**, **â:**). In (617a), there is no coindexation between main and relative clauses. In (617b), Seydou (man’s name) is subject of both clauses, and is expressed by **á** in the preverbal subject marker preceding the relative-clause participle. The head noun ‘shoulderbag’ plays no role in this anaphoric relation.

- (617) a. *[séydu èsè^L dìuwɔ:w̄ kù yí-jé-ŷ*
 [S shoulderbag^L leave.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def] see-RecPf-1SgSbj
 ‘I found the shoulderbag that Seydou left.’
- b. *séydu [èsè^L á dìuwɔ:w̄ kù yí-jé:-∅*
 S [shoulderbag^L 3ReflSgSbj leave.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def]
 see-RecPf-3SgSbj
 ‘Seydou_x has found the shoulderbag that he_x (himself) left.’

Because some temporal and other adverbial clauses (sometimes merely indicating chronological event sequences) have relative-clause form, such third person reflexive pronouns are not uncommon as subjects in texts. Examples involving two headless relatives (i.e. with covert temporal or similar heads) are (526a) and (527) in §15.2.4.

18.3 Reciprocal

18.3.1 Simple reciprocals (*tǔ:*)

The reciprocal pronoun *tǔ:* is invariant in form (i.e. it does not agree with the antecedent in pronominal category). It is related to the ordinary noun *tǔ-m* ‘companion, colleague’, plural *tǔ:*.

In the typical case, *tǔ:* functions as direct object (618a-b), as the complement of a postposition (618c), or as possessor of a nonsubject NP (618d), in each case with the clause-mate subject as antecedent. The clause is not detransitivized.

- (618) a. *tǔ:* *yì-r-á*
Recip see-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
‘They didn’t see each other.’
- b. *[n]jé gìn] tǔ: sùyò-w-:*
[what? for] **Recip** hit.Pfv-2PlSbj
‘Why did you-Pl hit each other?’
- c. *[tǔ: mā:] bú:dù ní-y-:*
Recip [Dat] money give.Ipfv-1PlSbj
‘We give money to each other.’
- d. *[tǔ: HL ónjò] jè-b-:*
Recip [HL younger.sibing.Pl] marry.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They (=two men) married each other’s (younger) sisters.’

In direct-object function, accusative clitic *=nì* (=ñ) is optionally added.

- (619) a. *tǔ:(=nì) sùyò-b-*
Recip(=Acc) hit.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘They hit each other.’
- b. *[n]jé gìn] tǔ:(=nì) sùyò-b-*
[what? for] **Recip(=Acc)** hit.Pfv-3PlSbj
‘Why did they hit each other?’
- c. *[íyé HL úsù kálà] tǔ:=nì dìwò-sò-ló-y-:*
[today HL day even] **Recip=Acc** leave-Reslt-StatNeg-1PlSbj
‘Even nowadays, we have not abandoned (the rites for) each other.’ [2005.2a.09]

In (620), noun *tǔ-m* appears in possessed form with a reflexive possessor, but the sense is essentially reciprocal.

- (620) [kú kày] [sɔsú-sɔsú wó] tɔ-ώ,
 [Inan Top] [near-near in] sow.Ipfv-2SgSbj,
 w"à:r"ú yě [á HL tû-m] níggí-m]
 spread.out come [3ReflP HL companion-AnSg] tangle.Ipfv-3SgSbj
 'then you-Sg will sow it close together, and they (=cow-pea plants) will spread out
 (as a vine) and will come and tangle with each other' [2005.1a.12]

18.4 Restrictions on reflexives

The syntax of reflexives appears to be very close to that in Jamsay. For example, the possessor of a subject NP may not serve as antecedent, so in (621) we get the ordinary 3Sg object pronominal even when it is coindexed to the subject possessor.

- (621) [ér"é HL ínjè-m] ér"é kùwò-∅
 [3SgPoss HL dog-AnSg] 3SgObj bite.Pfv-3SgSbj
 'His_x dog bit him_x.'
 or: 'His_x dog bit her_y.'

A coordinand may not serve as antecedent with respect to the other coordinand. For example, in (622) there is no indication whether possessive *ér"é* 'his' in the right conjunct is coindexed with the left conjunct 'Amadou'.

- (622) [á:mádù yá→] [ér"é HL bɔ: yà→] yě:-r-à:
 [A and] [3SgPoss HL father and] come-Pfv1a-3PlSbj
 'Amadou_x and his_x father came.'
 or: 'Amadou_x and his/her_y father came.'

As with logophorics, it is possible to extend the coindexation from the subject of one clause into the object of a complement clause if there is no intervening third person subject. Therefore the third person subject equivalent of (623a) is (623b), with a reflexive pronominal object in the lower clause.

- (623) a. [í=ñ ér"é sùy-i:] hàdè-ŷ
 [1Sg=Acc 3SgSbj hit-VblN] prevent.Pfv-1SgSbj
 'I prevented him/her from hitting me.'
- b. [á=ñ í sùy-i:] hàdè-∅
 [3ReflSg=Acc 1SgSbj hit-VblN] prevent.Pfv-3SgSbj
 He_x prevented me from hitting him_x'

19 Grammatical pragmatics

19.1 Topic

19.1.1 Topic (*kày*, *kày dè*, *bàndè*, *kɔyⁿ*)

These particles may follow an NP or adverbial. *kày* is the common form. It may directly follow a nonpronominal topical NP (pronominal or otherwise) that is treated prosodically as clause-internal, as in (624a-b). *kày* usually occurs at a shift from one topical referent to another in the broader discourse.

- (624) a. *[í kày] ñgú-rù wásá-ỳ*
[1Sg Top] here remain.Ipfv-1SgSbj
'(As for) me, I'm staying here.'
- b. *[íyé kày] bíré bíré-m̩-dó-ỳ*
[today Top] work(n) work-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj
'(As for) today, I'm not working.'

Alternatively, the topical constituent may be uttered in isolation form as a pre-clausal phrase, followed (after a prosodic break) by an appositional independent pronoun with the topic particle.

When the topical phrase is **postposed** to the main clause, *kày* can be extended as *kày dè* (with *dè* 'if'). Another form that can be used in this context is *bàndè* (which might be divided as *bàn dè* by analogy to *kày dè*, but which occurs as a frozen unit).

- (625) *kúwó-ý wá [érⁿé bàndè]*
eat.meat-QuotImprt Quot [3Sg Top]
'(they said:) she should eat it, as for her.' [2005.2a.06]

kɔyⁿ is attested in texts, e.g. (626), and appears to function like the more common *kày*.

- (626) (one speaker:)
[dùrê: L tɔrɔ́ tūwⁿ́ kù]
[D Lmountain one Def]
[kú= m̩ [[ú: L kɔ: n̩]=Ø]]
[Inan=Foc [[2PlPoss L thing]=it.is]]
'Dure Mountain alone, that's what belongs to you-Pl?'
- (other speaker)
é:, [kú kɔyⁿ] [í: L kɔ: n̩=Ø]
yes, [Inan Top] [1PlPoss L thing]=it.is]
'Yes, as for that, it belongs to us.' [2005.1a.07]

There are many examples in the sample text, e.g. line 2 of (655), and twice in line 2 of (660).

19.1.2 ‘Now’ (*núwⁿòyⁿ, né:*)

The most common ‘now; at this time’ adverb is *núwⁿòyⁿ*. It may be used by itself as in (627). Topicalized as *núwⁿòyⁿ kày* ‘as for now’, it can spill into discourse marker function (‘now’ referring to a point in the discourse rather than to the time of an eventuality).

- (627) a. *núwⁿòyⁿ bíré*
 now work(n) work.Ipfv-1PlSbj
 ‘Now we will work.’
- b. *[núwⁿòyⁿ kày] ùsú dèrⁿé:-rè-*Ø
 [now Top] sun spend.daytime-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
 ‘Now the day is over (= it’s night).’

There are several examples of *núwⁿòyⁿ kày* in the sample text, e.g. in line 4 of (668).

There is also a morpheme *né:* (variant *né: ~ néyⁿ*) which tends to function as a topic marker. This ‘now’ is discourse-centered rather than temporal, as the center of attention shifts from one topical referent to another. It can combine with *kày* in the phrase *né: kày*, as in (628a) and in C’s second turn in (656) in the sample text. Another combination is *né:* with a preceding personal pronoun as in (628b), or with an NP as in line 1 of (659) in the sample text.

- (628) a. *[né: kày] dɔ:-rè-ỳ.:*
 [now Top] arrive-Pfv1a-1PlSbj
 ‘Now we have arrived.’
- b. *ŋgú-dá:^t, [ú né:] [mò:^L ñgú dá:]*
 aroundhere, [2Sg now] [mouth^L Prox.Inan around]
[ú bú-̀w kù] pí:rⁿí-tú-̀w dè,
 [2Sg be-2SgSbj Defl] open-Pfv1b-2SgSbj if,
 ‘Over here, you-Sg now, at the opening on this side, where you-Sg are, you’ll open it (= apiary) up, ...’ [2005.1a.09]

A shortened, L-toned *nè* following a constituent can be analysed as an encliticized form of *né:*. There are two examples at and near the end of (684) in the sample text.

19.1.3 ‘Also, even’ (*kálà, yà*)

The particle *kálà* can be translated as either ‘also, too’ or ‘even’. In the sense ‘also, too’, something is added to a previously mentioned set (of entities, spatiotemporal coordinates, or eventualities). The sense ‘even’ is logically similar, but this time there is an element of surprise in the incremental addition.

The particle follows the constituent that differentiates the overall proposition from others already expressed or assumed. Even when it has logical scope over a VP (or entire clause), it is preferentially attached to a preverbal constituent, such as a cognate nominal. If there is no suitable nominal, it may follow the verb.

The unmarked sense ‘**also, too**’ with a clear connection to a specific constituent is exemplified in (629a-b). With clausal scope, the cognate-object type is (629c), while the postverbal type is (629d).

- (629) a. *[í kálà] ló-ŷ*
 [1Sg too] go.Ipfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I too will go.’
- b. *[íyé bíré bíré-ŷ.:]*
 [today work(n) work.Ipfv-1PlSbj]
 [[íyé n dέ] kálà bíré-ŷ.:]
 [[[tomorrow] too] work.Ipfv-1PlSbj]
 ‘We’re working today, and we’ll work tomorrow too.’
- c. *[giyé gýé-ŷ], [nùw"́ kálà núw"́-ŷ]*
 [dance(n) dance-Ipfv.3SgSbj],
 [[song too] sing-Ipfv.3SgSbj]
 ‘He dances, and he sings too.’
 (lit. “He dances dances, and songs too he sings.”)
- d. *lé:tére tí-tí:-Ø, yì-yé-ŷ kálà*
 letter send-Pfv1b-3SgSbj, Rdp-come-Ipfv.3SgSbj too
 ‘She sent a letter, (and) she is coming too.’

A free translation with the marked sense ‘**even**’ is appropriate in (630). In positive sentences, ‘also, too’ and ‘even’ have no sharp boundary, and free translation of textual examples is sometimes arbitrary. The sense ‘even’ lends itself well to negation (‘not even’). In (630a), there is a clear focus on a constituent. In (630b), ‘even’ has clausal (or at least VP) scope but the particle is positioned after an NP.

- (630) a. *[ámbírí-m kálà] jiyé jiyé-Ø*
 [chief-AnSg even] dance(n) dance.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Even the chief danced.’
- b. *[pō: kálà pō:-lì-rí-Ø]*
 [greeting even] greeting-Verb-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘He/She did not even say hello.’

‘Also, too’ is also expressed by the particle *yà*, which is probably related to *ya* used in conjunctions of the type (*X ya→*, *Y ya→*), see §7.1. Favorite combinations are those involving temporal sequences: *lǎ-w yà* ‘another one’ (as in ‘tell us another one’), *píníw"́ yà* ‘again’. That *yà* ‘also’ is distinct synchronically from the ‘and’ conjunctive particle is suggested by their co-occurrence in the first line of (663) in the sample text.

19.2 Presentential discourse markers

19.2.1 ‘Well, ...’ (*háyà*)

háyà ‘well, ...’ is a preclausal discourse marker. It is used in all languages of the zone.

In BenT texts, it resembles English discourse marker *well* both in marking the beginning of a new narrative section, and in expressing mild disapproval. Both functions of *háyà* are evident in the passage whose free translation is (631).

- (631) ... They asked, what kind of remedy will make him heal? They (=others) said, he will heal with the tail of a giraffe.

Well, one of the girls went out; she said, if her brother’s foot was to be healed, she would go in order to pull off a giraffe’s tail. One (other girl) replied, telling her (=first girl) not to go, (since) getting a giraffe’s tail is difficult. She (first girl) said, if God consents, she would go. She (=second girl) said, **well**, if she insisted on going, she should go and come back in health. [2005.2a.02]

19.2.2 ‘But ...’ (*gà:*)

gà:, often with low pitch is another preclausal pragmatic marker. It occurs in most languages in the region. An example is near the end of C’s first speaking turn in (655) in the sample text.

19.2.3 ‘Lo, ...’ (*jákà*)

The preclausal particle *jákà*, which I gloss as ‘lo, ...’, is used in narrative preceding a clause denoting a surprising or key event. This is another regional particle found in most local languages.

19.3 ‘Only’ particles

19.3.1 ‘Only’ (*săy*)

The basic ‘only X’ phrase takes the form [*X* *săy*]. In many contexts including prepausally, *săy* has low pitch, but I normalize transcription as *săy* and take the low pitch to be intonational rather than phonological.

In the examples below, *săy* follows a pronoun (632a), a nonpronominal NP (632b-c), an adverb (632d), and a PP (632e).

- (632) a. *[ú HL bár-i] mì-rá-ŷ,*
[2SgPoss HL help.Nom] want-StatNeg-1SgSbj,
[í săy] wárá-ŷ
[1Sg only] farm.Ipfv-1SgSbj
‘I don’t want your-Sg help, I’ll do the farming alone (=by myself).’

- b. *[[nă: yèy] sǎy] sò-y*
 [[cow two] only] have-1SgSbj
 ‘I have only two cows.’
- c. *[[nă: yěy] sǎy] b-è:n*
 [[cow two] only] be-3PlSbj
 ‘There are only two cows.’
- d. *[íyé sǎy] bíré bíré-m*
 [today only] work(n) work-Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He/She will work today only.’
- e. *bû: [[nǔ: yěy mâ:] sǎy] nì-bó*
 3Pl [[person two Dat] only] give.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘They gave (some) to two people only.’

When *sǎy* has logical scope over a VP (or clause), it is nonetheless preferentially attached to an NP. This may be a **cognate nominal** of the sort that abounds in Dogon languages (633a). If there is no suitable NP for *sǎy* to attach to, it may **follow the verb** (633b).

- (633) a. *wóngóró wárá-m-dó-Ø,*
 farming farm(v)-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj,
[y᷑: sày] y᷑:-rà-w
 [weeping only] weep-Ipfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He doesn’t do farm work, he just cries.’
- b. *yé-m-Ø sày*
 come-Ipfv-3SgSbj only
 ‘She just comes.’

A clause-final particle *nà→* can sometimes be translated as ‘merely’ or the like, but it is pragmatically more complex; see §19.3.4.

19.3.2 ‘Only (one)’ (*lók*)

Lók is an intensifier for ‘one’, emphasizing that the quantity is not greater than one (perhaps against expectations). In some contexts, the free translation may include a disparaging adjective (e.g. ‘one lousy ...’).

- (634) *[nà:^L tūwⁿ᷑-m] lók] sò-ŷ*
 [cow^L one-AnSg mere] have.Pfv-1SgSbj
 ‘I have (just) a single cow.’

19.3.3 ‘Only’ (*tán*)

The Fulfulde particle *tán* ‘only’, which occurs widely in languages of the zone (especially in conditional antecedents ‘if only’ or ‘as soon as’, see §16.2.2), can be used in the sense ‘only’ in phrase-final (typically prepausal) position, as an alternative to *sáy*.

- (635) a. *[kú dò:-wôy] àr"à-bérù tán*
 [DiscDef all] help only
 ‘All that is simply helping (someone).’ [2005.2b.04]
- b. *[[ú HL yí-tè: bû:] ló bíré-yè]*
 [[2SgPoss HL children DefPl] go work.Ipfv-3PlSbj]
[úró bì-yé-w] tán]
 [house lie.down.Ipfv-2SgSbj only]
 ‘Your children will go and work, you-Sg will just lie down at home.’
 [2005.1a.13]

Clause-final *tán* is also used in a more complex discourse function, indicating a temporal and (usually) causal relationship between the clause in the question and a following clause. In this construction, *tán* can be glossed freely as ‘if’ or ‘as soon as’.

19.3.4 Clause-final adverbial *nà→* ‘just’

Clause-final adverbial *nà→*, with intonational prolongation, suggests a mild adversarial relationship between the clause containing it and the following clause (or a proposition negated by the following clause). The examples in (636) were given by my assistant, who was asked to formulate examples showing the typical function of the morpheme. ‘Just’ combined with an unstressed clause-final ‘now’ (pragmatic, not temporal) or ‘mind you’ in the free gloss seems to capture the flavor.

- (636) a. *cèmnê:=Ø nà→,*
 amusement=it.is just,
[kɔ:nL lă-w]=Ø=rá-Ø
 [thing^L other-Inan=it.is=StatNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘It’s just (for) fun now, it’s not anything else.’ (*cèmné*, *lă-w*)
- b. *tiyè-mánù nà→, jây=Ø=rá-Ø*
 cross.cousin-laughter just, fight(n)=it.is=StatNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘It’s just horseplay (among cross-cousins) mind you, it’s not a (real) fight.’ (*jây*)

Textual examples are in (637).

- (637) a. *[jìgú má:] sèsù-mánù wà nà→*
 [Prox.Inan QuotSbj] grandparent-laughing Quot merely
 ‘That was merely fun (=kidding) with the grandmother, it is said.’ [2005.2a.06]

- b. *[íyé û: jùwⁿʒ:-rè-w.: nà→]*
 [today 2PLSbj be.long.time-Pfv1a-2PLSbj merely]
[[û: ^Lkò:n]=Ø kù]
 [[2P1Poss ^Lthing]=it.is Def]
 Today, merely because you-Pl have been (here) for a long time, (you claim) it is your-Pl property.' [2005.1b.05]
- c. *[[isè: ^L ñgú] ^{HL}kò:n]=Ø nà→]*
 [[[village^L Prox.Inan] ^{HL}thing]=it.is just]
[[isè: ^L ñgá] ^{HL}kò:n]=Ø=rá
 [[village^L FarDist] ^{HL}thing]=it.is=Neg
 'It (=field) simply belongs to this village, it doesn't belong to that village (over there)' [2005.1b.05]

See also the penultimate line in C's first turn in (660) in the sample text.

This particle *nà→* might be related to the ending of *nájánà*: 'all, entirely' (§8.6.7.5). Indeed, *nà→* is attested once in NP-final position in a context where 'just' or 'precisely' is a possible gloss; see C's third turn in (661) in the sample text.

19.4 Phrase-final emphatics

In addition to the forms given below, see also *já:ti* 'exactly', confirming another speaker's statement, at the beginning of (682) in the sample text.

19.4.1 Clause-final *kòy*

kòy is a common clause-final emphatic. It is occasionally heard as *kòy* with rising pitch (perhaps intonational in nature). The particle is regional (Fulfulde, Dogon, Songhay, etc.). It is used in contexts like (638), where the answer to the question is a strong confirmation of the 'yes' answer to the question.

- (638) Q: *úrò jàwⁿá:-rè-Ø mà*
 house be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Q
 'Was the house ruined?'
 A: *jàwá:-rè-Ø kòy*
 be.ruined-Pfv1a-3SgSbj Emph
 'It sure (as hell) was ruined.'

Examples in the sample text: end of (661), end of C's turn in (663), line 5 of (670), beginning of (674), line 3 of (675), beginning of (682).

19.4.2 Clause-final *de*

Clause-final *de*, another regional form, has an admonitive function. It is common in warnings, including admonitive imperatives (positive or negative). English unstressed clause-final

‘now’ (in pragmatic function rather than in a temporal deictic sense) is a reasonable free translation. The tone is carried over from the preceding word, but the pitch is subject to intonational modification.

- (639) a. *yàyá-ré* *dé*
 fall-ImprtNeg Emph
 ‘Don’t fall down, now!’
- b. *gùrú* *táykà* *dè*
 thief.Pl watch.out.Imprt Emph
 ‘Watch out for thieves, now!’

There is one example in the sample text, see end of (654).

19.4.3 Clause-final *yà:*

A clause-final particle *yà:* is used to emphasize the truth of an assertion, especially in the face of an expression of doubt from, or a contradicting assertion by, another party.

- (640) *térew=Ø* *yà:*
 truth=it.is Emph
 ‘It’s definitely the truth!’ [2005.1b.05]

19.4.4 Clause-final *ga*

The tone of this emphatic particle is spread from the preceding word-final tone. Following a word ending in *a*, *gá* is often pronounced [ya], with spirantization suggesting that the morpheme is cliticized to the preceding word.

Among other things, the particle is found as a mild emphatic with (direct or quoted) hortatives, imperatives, and similar constructions. In (641), the original imperatives are reported (in quoted speech) as quoted imperative verb forms.

- (641) *áywà* *[|bù: Lbèri-yì-m] má:]*
 well [[3PlPoss Lgoat-child-AnSg] QuotSbj]]
 [|[kùlùrù L kú] HLpírè] yá bú gá]
 [[[small.house^L NearDist.Inan] HLinside] Exist be **Emph**]
 [dó wò-ý] wá
 [[arrive catch-QuotImprt] Quot
 ‘She said (to Lion and Hare): well, their goat kid was in that shack over there, they should go to (the shack) and take (the goat kid.)’ [2005.2a.06]

In (642), a polite request (or suggestion) is phrased as an imperfective verb.

- (642) *nàfà:^L i: tégé-̀w kù kày, á O,*
 value^L 1PlSbj speak-Ppl.Ipfv.Inan Def Top, ah O,
[bàrí béré-̀w dè] [dêm-→ bàrú-̀w gà]
 [add can.Ipfv-2SgSbj if] [a.little add.Ipfv-2SgSbj Emph]
 ‘The usefulness that we talked about. Ah, O [vocative], if you-Sg can add (anything), you will add a little.’ [2005.1a.17]

ga can also be used with indicative verbs, though it is less common here than *kōy*. In (643), *ga* seems to mark the building of suspense.

- (643) *ló bàngì-yí-̀w, sí-yé-yè,*
 go hide-MP.Ipfv-2SgSbj, go.down-MP.Ipfv-3PlSbj,
júwɔ̃-m̄-n-é gá, íyà wó-m̄,
 know-Ipfv-Neg.3PlSbj Emph, again catch.Ipfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘You-Sg will go hide (yourself). They (=birds) will come down, they don’t know (=are not wary), it (=trap) will catch (a bird) again.’

Examples in the sample text: C’s turn in (663), and line 2 of (685)

19.4.5 Clause-final ‘(not) at all!’ particles (*péy*, *pés*)

The interjection-like ‘(not) at all!’ particle at the end of a clause or phrase is *péy*, or its iteration *péy-péy*. It may occur at the end of a negative predication, or it may be used by itself as a negative answer to a yes/no question.

- (644) a. *bòlú mìrⁿè-rⁿí-∅ péy*
 rain(n) rain.fall-PfvNeg-3SgSbj not.at.all
 ‘It didn’t rain (or: hasn’t rained) at all.’
- b. Q: *[û: ^Lmà: dá:] bòlú mìrⁿé-̀w*
 [2Pl ^LDat around] rain(n) rain.fall.Pfv-Stat.3SgSbj
 ‘Has it rained in your-Pl area?’
- A: *péy-péy*
 not.at.all
 ‘Not a bit.’

A variant *pés* is also in use. Cf. *fés* in Fulfulde.

One may also use the emphatic adverb *sóy* ‘everything’ with a negative predicate, as in *sóy mìrⁿè-rⁿí-∅* ‘it didn’t rain at all’.

19.5 Greetings

The general verb ‘greet (someone)’ is *pó:-I-*, which ends in a transitive suffix that is also used as a causative and inchoative suffix allomorph. The noun ‘greeting’ is *pō:*. The verb phrase ‘reply to a greeting’ is *pō: sá* (with verb *sá* ‘reply’).

Time-of-day greetings and their responses are in (645). The *-nì* in the plural-addressee version of some greetings can be identified with plural imperative *-nì* ~ *-ñì*. The reply form *ó::* has protracted dying-quail intonation.

(645)	greeting (G) response (R)	gloss	situation
a.	<i>náyⁿ</i> <i>náyⁿ-nì</i> <i>ná:-kò</i> <i>ó::</i>	‘good morning-Sg’ ‘good morning-Pl’ (reply, archaic) (reply preferred by younger speakers) (<i>náyⁿ</i> is irregularly related to verb <i>ná-</i> ‘spend night’)	morning to 11 AM
b.	<i>pō:</i> <i>pō:-nì</i> <i>ó::</i>	‘good day-Sg’ ‘good day-Pl’ (reply)	11 AM to dusk
c.	<i>dérⁿè-ýⁿ</i> <i>dérⁿè-ýⁿ-nì</i> <i>dérⁿúwⁿâ:</i> <i>ó::</i>	‘good evening-Sg’ ‘good evening-Pl’ (reply, archaic) (reply preferred by younger speakers)	after sundown

The stems *náyⁿ* (645a) and *dérⁿèyⁿ* (645c) have a fairly clear (to native speakers) connection with the verbs *ná-* ‘spend night’ and *dérⁿé* ‘spend the mid-day’, respectively. The apparent *-ý* suffix here is most likely the quoted imperative suffix *-y* (§10.5.7), which is used in indirect commands. Given the time references, (645a,c) are **retrospective**, referring to the time period already past.

Greetings of the ‘good night!’ variety (i.e. ‘may you have a good night’) are **prospective**.

(646)	<i>jínjà [è</i> sú wó i: ná:-w ⁿ i-ŷ ⁿ	God [good in] 1PIObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt ‘May God have us spend the night in goodness!’
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The formal Arabic greeting, generally used among adult men, and in Muslim prayer, is *àsàlá:mú-àléykùm* (or variant). The response is *wà-àléykùmmásàlá:m* (or variant). The verb phrase ‘pronounce the Arabic greeting’ is *sàlám sálém* (including the cognate nominal), *sàlám gáyⁿ* (with *gáyⁿ* ‘put’), or just *sálíméné* (the latter contains Fulfulde causative *-in-*). Other Arabic exclamations include *àlhámdùrùlâ:y* ‘God be praised!’, and the invitational expression *bísímílâ* ‘in God’s name’ (inviting someone to e.g. share a meal).

There are also some **situation-specific greetings** based on the location the addressee is in (if associated with a regular task or work), or is coming back from. The greeting phrase begins with the noun denoting the location (‘well’, ‘fields’, ‘market’, etc.).

(647)	greeting	gloss	at or coming from...
a.	<i>òrⁿð: pō:</i> <i>òrⁿð: pō:-nì</i> <i>ó::</i>	‘hello-Sg in the field’ ‘hello-Pl in the field’ (reply)	field(s)

- b. *tă: pō:* ‘hello-Sg at the well’ well
tă: pō:-nì ‘hello-Pl at the well’
ó:: (reply)
- c. *dùyó-r"ù pō:* ‘hello-Sg at pounding’ pounding place
dùyó-r"ù pō:-nì ‘hello-Pl at pounding’
ó:: (reply)
- d. *éwá: pō:* ‘hello-Sg at market’ weekly market
éwá: pō:-nì ‘hello-Pl at market’
ó:: (reply)

ó:: (in all contexts) has a variant *àwá→*. In work contexts, *birá→* is used by older speakers as a response to *pō:* greetings.

An alternative greeting to someone in a field is *[ú yá→] [òr"ɔ: yá→]*, literally ‘you-Sg and (the) field(s)’. The plural-addressee equivalent replaces 2Sg pronoun *ú* with 2Pl *û:*. The greeting construction ‘you and X’ that this illustrates is common in regional languages including Songhay. Another alternative in the same situation is *pō: birà→*.

The initial greeting and its response may be followed up by any of a variety of additional greeting formulae. Some of these are more current in, and probably borrowed from, other languages, like *ñisé:* (Bambara), *jâm* ‘peace’ (Fulfulde and Jamsay), *jâm sây* ‘only (= nothing but) peace’ (Jamsay, the source of the language name). Another follow-up, not (to my knowledge) borrowed, is *kánjá-kánjá* ‘peace’.

jâm ‘peace’ and *sé→w*, another term vaguely meaning ‘well-being’ or the like and confined to greetings, occur in phrases like (648) in these greeting sequences. Those with *jâm* may be borrowings from Jamsay.

- (648) a. *sé→w* *bú-w*
 well.being be-2SgSbj
 ‘Are you well?’
- b. *jâm* *dér"é-w"*
 peace spend.day-2SgSbj
 ‘Has your day been (spent) in peace?’
- c. *jâm* *ná-w"*
 peace spend.night-2SgSbj
 ‘Did you spend the night in peace?’ (= ‘Did you sleep well?’)

The reply to *jâm ná-w"* is *jám sây* ‘peace only!’.

‘Excuse me!’ (e.g. after accidentally bumping someone) is *kâwrù kây"* or just *kâwrù*. Here *kây"* ‘do’ is imperative. The response is *kâwrù bâ-rí-Ø*.

On either of the two major Islamic holy days, and at marriages, the formulaic wish (649) is uttered.

- (649) *jînjè* *[nàŋgírì* ^L*jîrè]* *î:* *cé:rì-ŷ*
 God [next.year Lface] 1PlObj show-QuotImprt
 ‘May God show us the face of next year!’

The formulaic A-B sequence in (650) is exchanged among persons who meet where condolences are offered to the bereaved survivors of a departed one.

- (650) A: *[[j̄n̄j̄è Lb̄r̄è] Lp̄à:ȳ”] p̄o:-n̄ì*
 [[God Lwork(n)] with] greeting-Imprt.2Pl
 ‘Greetings to you on the occasion of God’s doing!’
- B: *ó:.*
 [reply]
- A: *m̄ayn̄í ér̄n̄é yá:p̄à-n̄ì*
 take.courage 3SgObj pardon-Imprt.2Pl
 ‘Take-2Pl heart and forgive him/her (the deceased)!’
- B: *yá:p̄é-ŷ:.* *[û: yà] ér̄n̄é yá:p̄à-n̄ì*
 pardon.Ipfv-1PlSbj [2Pl and] 3SgObj pardon-Imprt.2Pl
 ‘We pardon (him/her). And you-Pl too, pardon-2Pl him/her!’
- A: *yá:p̄é-ŷ:.*
 pardon.Ipfv-1PlSbj
 ‘We pardon (him/her).’

Some other greetings are in (651). *jām* ‘peace, well-being’ (< Fulfulde) is a common element in greetings in all local languages.

- | (651) | greeting | gloss | situation |
|-------|--|---|--------------------|
| a. | <i>j̄n̄j̄è ú j̄e:-Ø</i>
<i>j̄n̄j̄è û: j̄e:-Ø</i>
<i>ó:.</i> | ‘God brought you-Sg!’
‘God brought you-Pl!’
(reply) | arriving traveler |
| b. | <i>ló jām d̄ó</i>
<i>ló jām d̄ó-n̄ì</i>
<i>àmí:nà</i> | ‘go arrive-Sg in peace!’
‘go arrive-Pl in peace!’
‘amen!’ (reply) | departing traveler |
| c. | <i>j̄n̄j̄è jām ú d̄ɔ:-l̄i-ŷ</i>
<i>j̄n̄j̄è jām û: d̄ɔ:-l̄i-y</i>
<i>àmí:nà</i> | ‘may God deliver you-Sg in peace!’ (= b)
‘may God deliver you-Sg in peace!’
‘amen!’ (reply) | |

At a leave-taking, (652) may be uttered.

- (652) *j̄n̄j̄è j̄ir̄è-[ȳi-ŷ] p̄od̄é-ŷ*
 God eyeL-[see-VblN] God.bring.about-QuotImprt
 ‘May God grant (= bring about) (our) seeing (each other again)!’

A representative greeting sequence occurs in (653) at the beginning of the sample text.

20 Text

This is text 2005.2a.08, which like my other BenT texts was recorded in 2005. The live-burial sacrifice of Yasumoy (*yà-sùmɔyⁿ* ‘woman-...’) is central to the ethnohistory of the village, and a shelter near her burial site and dedicated to her memory is still maintained (it was formerly the site of an annual celebration). The text includes some song segments in Jamsay. The beginning consists largely of a long greeting sequence. Speakers C and B were older men, S was a younger assistant who served as interviewer and animator. In each segment, the BenT text is organized into lines with interlinear translation underneath; each entire segment is followed by an italicized free translation (which however seeks to capture the phrasing of the original rather than idiomatic English), then in square brackets [] any relevant comments and/or references to grammar sections.

The founding of Beni and Yasumoy’s sacrifice

- (653) S: *û:* *bê:n* *àŋâyⁿ=Ø* *èw-yè*
 2Pl Beni how?=Foc sit-MP
- C: *hà:* B *dèrⁿè-ýⁿ*
 well B spend.day-(greeting)
- B: *dérⁿúwⁿâ:*
 spend.day(greeting)
- C: *jâm* *dèrⁿé-ŵⁿ*
 peace spend.day.Pfv-2SgSbj
- B: *jâm* *sày*
 peace only
- C: *hénjân* *dèrⁿè-ŵⁿ*
 greeting spend.night.Pfv-2SgSbj
- B: *jâm* *sày*
 peace only
- C: *[î: nù:]* ^L*sé:w* *dèrⁿè-bò*
 [1PlPoss Lperson.Pl] well.being spend.day.Pfv-3PlSbj
- B: *àlhámdùrùllâ:y*
 praise.to.God
- C: *[bà:s^L] kâ:ⁿ]* *dèrⁿè-rⁿí-Ø*
 [trouble^L] any] spend.day-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
- B: *jâm* *sày*
 peace only
- C: *tà:ré:yò:*
 Fine
- B: *jâm* *dèrⁿé-ŵⁿ*
 peace spend.day.Pfv-2SgSbj
- C: *jâm* *sày*
 peace only

B: *[ú* [2SgPoss ^{HL}*kórò:jù]* *jâm* *dèrⁿè-bà*
[family] peace spend.day.Pfv-3PlSbj

C: *jâm* *sày*
peace only

B: *[bà:s*^L [trouble^L *kâ:ⁿ]* *dèrⁿè*^L *rⁿí-*Ø
any] spend.day-PfvNeg-3SgSbj

C: *jâm* *sày*
peace only

B: *tà:→ré*
Fine

C: *àwá:*
Fine

S: You-Pl, how did Beni get settled?

C: B [vocative], good evening.

B: Good evening to you.

C: Are you spending the daytime in peace?

B: Only peace.

C: Have you spent the daytime in good health?

B: Only peace.

C: Have our people (=kin) spent the daytime safely?

B: Praise God.

C: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?

B: Only peace.

C: Fine.

B: Are you spending the daytime in peace?

C: Only peace.

B: Did your-Sg family spend the daytime in peace?

C: Only peace.

B: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?

C: Only peace.

B: Fine.

C: Fine.

[several greeting expressions are formulaic and the translations given are rough (e.g. “Fine”), see §19.5 for general treatment; *dérⁿúwⁿâ*: and *héñjân* are archaic, no longer used by young people; 2Sg *dérⁿé-wⁿ* ‘spend night’ used after *jâm* ‘well-being’ is perfective, but shows the lexical /LH/ melody, cf. §10.2.1.2; speakers B and C have distinct 3Pl perfective suffix allomorphs *-bà* and *-bð*]

(654) B: *bísímílâ*
please

C: *háyâ* *wó:di* *yâ*
well yes also

B: *[úsúrí* *wó*=ñ *yě:-râ-ŷ.:*
[question in]=Acc come-Prog-1PlSbj

C: *ńhm̩*
uh-huh

B: *áywâ* *î* *bé:nì* *kù→,* *[òrⁿð*^L *kâ:ⁿ]* *gǒ=ní,*
well 1Pl B Def, [place^L Rel] go.out=and.SS,

$\dot{\eta}gú-rù$ $yě=ń$, [jɔrⁿɔ̄] $kà:n]$ i: éw-yé-ŵ $kù$,
 here come=and.SS, [place^L Rel] 1PlSbj sit-MP.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def,
 $[[kú]$ ^{HL} $kábà:r]$ $[\ú$ $mâ:]$ $bérè-ŷ.:$ $dè]$ $jóró-ŷ.:$
 [[InanPoss ^{HL}news] [2Sg Dat] get.Pfv-1PlSbj if] want.Ipfv-1PlSbj

C: *já:tì*

exactly

B: \hat{u} : [nù^L $díy^nà]$ [jǐnjè ^Lsàw]=∅ $dé$ [\hat{u} : ^Lsàw]=∅
 2Pl [person^L big.Pl] [God ^Ltrust]=it.is Emph [2PlPoss ^Ltrust]=it.is

B: Please.

C: Well, all right.

B: We are coming on (=because of) a request.

C: Uh-huh.

B: Well, we (people of) Beni, the place that we left to come here, (and) the place that (=in which) we settled, we would like to have its story from you-Sg.

C: Exactly.

B: You-Pl the old people, it (=telling the story) is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl.

[accusative = \hat{n} after nonsubject constituent other than direct object §8.2; relative morpheme $kà:n$ §14.1.10; = $ní$ ~ = $ń$ same-subject subordinator §15.1.8; $nù$ ^L $díy^nà$ ‘old people’ in collective without adjectival animate plural - $yè$, §4.5.1; [jǐnjè ^Lsàw]=∅ [\hat{u} : ^Lsàw]=∅ is a common but somewhat opaque formulaic phrase, with noun $sàw$ ‘trust, act of entrusting’]

(655) C: [[jǐnjè $\dot{\delta}y\dot{\delta}$ -ná:m] ^{HL}sàw]=∅,
 [[God Almighty] ^{HL}trust]=it.is,
 $[\hat{b}é:n$ ^Lòrù-m^bò: $kú$ $kày],$
 [B ^Ldoor Def Top],
 $[\hat{j}ínjè$ ^Lsàw]=∅ [\hat{u} : ^Lsàw]=∅,
 [God ^Ltrust]=it.is [2Pl ^Ltrust]=it.is,
 $gà:$ $d\ddot{o};$ $màndé$ $g\ddot{o}=ní$, ...
 but Dogon, M go.out=and.SS, ...

B: *wó:di*

yes

C: ... búnúgój yěy, [[mă: ^{HL}lósò] $dím̄bi-yí-mù$ $yà\rightarrow'$]
 ... group two, [[dry ^{HL}road] follow-MP.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl and]
 $[[n\hat{i}:$ ^Llósò] $dím̄bi-yí-mù$ $yà\rightarrow']$
 [[water ^Lroad] follow-MP.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl and]

B: *wó:di*

yes

C: [kú ^{HL}búnúgòy yěy $kú],$
 [DiscDef ^{HL}group two Prox.Inan],
 $\hat{a}:$ $káwá-ŵ$ $kù$
 3ReflPlSbj separate.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def

B: *wó:di*

Yes

C: It's entrusted to Great God. The opening (“doorway”) of Beni, it is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl. But the Dogon, leaving Mande...

B: Yes.

C: ... two groups, those who followed a dry route, and those who followed the water route (along the river).

B: Yes.

C: Those two groups, they separated.

B: Yes.

[*dìmbì-yí-mù* imperfective participle for animate plural (archaic allomorph, usually *dìmbì-yú* with zero suffix; *â:* 3Reflexive plural marking coindexation of relative-clause and main-clause subject §18.2.3; *káwá-w* perfective participle with inanimate head §14.1.6.1]

(656)	C: [nî: [water	^L <i>lòsɔ̄j</i>	<i>dìmbì-yí-mù</i>	<i>kù,</i>
		[road]	follow-MP.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl	Def,
	[píníw ⁿ ú [again	<i>yà]</i>	[káwàrà [division	<i>yěy]</i>
		too]	two]	<i>kàwà-bò</i>

B: *wó:di*

yes

C: [né: [now	<i>kày]</i>	<i>tă:n</i>	<i>lá:té:-rè-</i> Ø,
	[Top]	three	become.real-Pfv1a-3SgSbj,
áywà,	<i>áyí-m̄</i>	<i>áyí-m̄</i>	<i>yě=ní,</i>
yes,	take-Ipfv	take-Ipfv	come=and.SS,
[ú [2SgSbj	<i>yì:-rà</i> ^L	<i>ŋgú]</i>	<i>û:</i> [B <i>nù;</i> ^L],
	see-Prog.Ppl ^L	Prox.Inan]	2Pl [B person.Pl],
[dày ⁿ ^L	<i>î:</i>	<i>nú-wⁿ]</i>	
[way ^L	1PlSbj	go.in.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]	
[màndé	<i>â:</i>	<i>gō-w̄,</i>	
[M	3RefPlSbj	go.out.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]	

B: *nâ:m*

yes

C: éw-yé-m̄	<i>éw-yé-m̄</i>	<i>yě</i>	<i>múnwîl</i>
sit-MP-Ipfv	sit-MP-Ipfv	come	M

B: *múnwîl*, *wó:di*

M, yes

C: The ones who followed the water route, again they separated into two divisions.

B: Yes.

C: Now they had actually come to be three (groups). That went on. Eventually, this (village) that you-Sg see, you-Pl the people of Beni, how we came in (here), (how) they left (=came from) Mande.

B: Yes.

C: They settled, they settled (here and there), until they came to Munwil (village).

B: Munwil. Yes.

[*áyí-m̄* *áyí-m̄* (and *éw-yé-m̄* *éw-yé-m̄*) backgrounded imperfective clause §15.2.1.4; *ú yì:-râ*^L *ŋgú* ‘this that you see’ with participle tone-dropped before demonstrative *ŋgú* §14.1.9, participle here in animate plural form perhaps referring to population (of village); *dàyⁿ* heading a manner adverbial clause §15.2.3; “Mande” refers to the Mande Empire of Sundiata in southern Mali]

(657)	C: <i>múnwîl</i> , <i>kú=m̄</i>	<i>ní</i> ,	<i>núwⁿdyⁿ</i>	<i>[[bê:n</i> ^L <i>tì:râ:]</i>	^L <i>wò'</i>],
	M,	DiscDef=it.is	and, now	[[B ^L family.name]	^L in],

kà:göy mòrògöy, ká:-kùn-wà-nàm bà,
 Kagoy Morogoy, mouth-be.in-?-difficult Quot,
 séjér"é-ísé-bèrè-∅ wà,
 S-village-get.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot,
 /à-n=î: lòrò-∅ mà]
 [man-HumSg=Foc be.pregnant.Pfv-3SgSbj Q]
 /ne-n=î: lòrò-∅ mà]
 [woman-HumSg=Foc be.pregnant.Pfv-3SgSbj Q]
 lórú-lórú-kúré: pō: kù,
 pregnant-pregnant-belly knife Def,
 íyé múnwîl yá déyá-w
 today M Exist be.set.down.Stat-3SgSbj

B: wó:di

yes

C: Munwil. That was it. Now the patronomic family names of Beni, Kagoy (and) Morogoy. Difficult-to-come-out-of-the-mouth, Sengere-got-the-village, Is-it-a-boy-that-she-is-pregnant-with-or-Is-it-a-girl-that-she-is-pregnant-with? The pregnant-belly-rip knife is set down (=exists) even today in Murwil.

B: Yes.

[ní phrase-finally not after a verb is here glossed ‘and’; patronymics kà:göy and mòrògöy are common in Beni; kà:göy is here etymologized as Jamsay ká: ‘mouth’ plus gö-y ‘going out’; other complex phrases here are traditional formulae uttered by griots, including Jamsay phrases; for ká:-kùn-wà-nàm cf. Jamsay ká: kùn ‘it is in (the) mouth’ and nám ‘difficult’; stative yá déyá-w ‘it is set down’ §10.2.1.10]

- (658) S: [múnwîl kù] [bèlè^L] áñ-dá:]=m
 [M Def] [side^L] where?] =it.is
- C: [múnwîl kù] [wá:iè] ló:-rè-w dè]
 [M Def] [W go-Pfv1a-2SgSbj if]
 [múnwîl ló-w]
 [M go.Pfv-2SgSbj]
- B: wó:di pá:mé-ÿ"
 yes understand.Pfv-1PlSbj
- C: áywà [[kú HLmúnwîl kù] wó],
 well [[DiscDef HL M Def] in],
 [íyé HLúsù kálà] [pō: kù] yá déyá-w,
 [today HLday also] [knife Def] Exist be.set.down.Stat-3SgSbj,
- B: wó:di
 yes
- C: íyé [[úrò kù] wó],
 today [[house Def] in]
 /ásùw"è^L ām=∅] dùmdó:-m=∅ mà,
 [boy^L who?=Foc] last-AnSg=it.is Q,
 [púmbérè d5-m dè]
 [ritual.ground arrive.Ipfv-3SgSbj if]
 [[íyé kálà] [pō: kù] dàriyí-w dè]
 [[today even] [knife Def] carry.on.shoulder.Pfv-3SgSbj if]

- $\acute{e}r^n\acute{e}=m$ $púmbérè$ $ló-m$
 3Sg=Foc ritual.ground go.Ipfv-3SgSbj
 B: $wó:di$
 yes
 C: $kú=m$ $lérílèrì-kúréyé$ [pɔ: $kù]=m$
 DiscDef=it.is LLK [knife Def]=it.is
 S: *That Munwil, it's in the area of where (=in what area)?*
 C: *That Munwil, if you-Sg have gone to Walo, you-Sg will go (on) to Munwil.*
 B: *Yes, I understand.*
 C: *Well, in that Munwil, even today, the knife is set down (=exists).*
 B: *Yes.*
 C: *Today in the house, who(-ever) is the last boy, when he goes to the ritual ground, even today when he carries the knife on his shoulder, it's he [focus] who goes to the ritual ground.*
 B: *Yes.*
 C: *That is the knife of Leri-Leri-Kure.*
 ['ritual ground' is the area at the edge of the village where the population assembles during major holy days; the youngest boy from the founding family of the village carries the knife to the ritual ground; locative postposition $wó$ H-toned after definite $kù$ §8.4.2; $\grave{a}m=\emptyset$ 'who/which is it?', i.e. $\grave{a}m$ plus 'it is' (=focus) clitic; $dàriyí-w dè$ clause with $-w dè$ §15.2.1.2]

- (659) B: $bày$ [i:] $nù:$ $kú$ $néy^n$,
 so [1PlPoss person.Pl Def now],
 $[\grave{a}ŋây^n$ $_{\text{L}}[này^n]$ $káwá=n$,
[how $_{\text{L}}[\text{Inst}]$ separate=and.SS,
 $[[gám$ $kù]$ $kárá$ $èw-yè-bà]$
[[certain Def] K sit-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj]
 $[[gám$ $kù]$ $[yúlì$ $_{\text{L}}[wò]$ $èw-yè-bà]$
[[certain Def] [Y $_{\text{L}}[\text{in}]$] sit-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj]
C: $áywà,$ $kárá$ $gō-m$ $kù$ $yà \rightarrow \dots$
yes, K go.out.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def and ...
B: $wó:di$
yes
C: ... $áywà,$ $ìgú-dá:$ $yě-m$ $kù$ $yà \rightarrow$
... yes, around.here come.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def and
B: $ná:m$
yes
C: $[nàr^ná$ $tùw^n\acute{s}$] [bɔ: $tùw^n\acute{s}$]
[mother one] [father one]
B: $já:tì$
exactly
B: *So, those people of ours now, how did they separate? One settled in Kara, (the other) one settled in Youli.*
C: *Well, the one who left Kara, ...*
B: *Yes.*
C: *... yes, and the one who came around here, ...*
B: *Yes.*

C: ... one mother, one father (=they were full brothers).

B: Exactly.

[definite *kù* sometimes H-toned *kú* before an NP-final particle §6.7; *gǎm* ~ *gàmbú* ‘certain one(s)’ repeated to denote two parallel subsets §6.3.2; Kara and Youli were villages near Beni; perfective participle with *-m̄* for animate singular head NP §14.1.6.1; *ŋgú-dá*: ‘around here, this way’ §4.4.2.1; NP conjunction with repeated *ya* → §7.1.1]

(660)	C:	<i>áywà</i>	<i>yě</i>	<i>lò-m̄</i>	<i>bá</i> ,
		yes	come	go-Hort	Quot,
		[<i>m̄á</i>	<i>kù</i>	[<i>á</i> <i>kày</i>]	[<i>má:</i> <i>kày</i>]
		[FarDist.Sg]	Def	[Top]	[3ReflSg QuotSbj Top]
		[ú]	<i>yì:-rà-ώ^L</i>	<i>ŋgú</i>	[Prox.Inan]
		[2SgSbj]	see-Prog-Ppl.Inan ^L		
		<i>kárá:-rè</i>	<i>nà→</i>		
		be.independent-Pfv1a-3SgSbj	just]		
		[<i>á</i> <i>má:</i> <i>kày</i>]	<i>ló</i>	<i>béré-m̄-dó]</i>	<i>wá</i>
		[3ReflSg QuotSbj Top]	go	can-Ipfv-Neg]	Quot

B: *xxx*

[inaudible]

C: *[ŋgú* *wó*] [*kú* *pâyⁿ*] *hèddè-*Ø

[Prox.Inan in] [DiscDef Inst] remain.Pfv-3SgSbj

B: *wó:di*

yes

C: *kú* *érⁿé* *héddé=nè*,
DiscDef 3Sg remain=and.SS,
[í] ^L*lòsù* *bé* [*má:ba* *bè*] ...
[1PlPoss ^Luncle Pl] [M Pl] ...

B: *wó:di*

yes

C: ... *yě* [[*bû:* ^{HL}*dòsù*] ^L*wò*] *èw-yè-bò*
... come [[3PlPoss ^{HL}beside] ^Lin] sit-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj

B: *já:tì*

exactly

C: Well, he said: come, let's go! As for the other, he said: as for himself, this one whom you-Sg see was stubborn (*kárá:-rè*), he couldn't go.

B: *xxx* [inaudible]

C: In that (place), with that he stayed put (=did not budge).

B: Yes.

C: When he stayed put there, our (maternal) uncles the Maba ...

B: Yes.

C: ... came and settled next to them.

B: Exactly.

[‘come’ in simple stem form chained (§15.1) to following ‘go’ with hortative *-m̄* §10.5.6; far-distant animate singular demonstrative *m̄bá* ~ *m̄á* in obviative indexical function §4.4.1; *ú yì:-rà-ώ^L ŋgú* ‘this one that you-Sg see’ has inanimate-head perfective participial form, see §14.1.6.1 and §14.1.2, here also L-toned before demonstrative *ŋgú*; clause-final *nà→* §19.3.4; quotative subject particle *má:* §17.1.1.1; verb *béré-* ‘get, obtain’ meaning ‘can, be able to’ with a preceding chained VP §17.4.3.1; =*nè* variant of

=*nì* different-subject subordinator §15.1.10; plural *bè* ~ *bé* §6.6; *[[X^{HL} dósù]^L wò]* ‘next to X’ §8.4.6]

- (661) C: *áywà* *ɔrⁿɔ:-dáná^t*, *[bê:n* ^L*nù:]* *là:mè-bó^t*,
 yes territory, [B ^Lperson.Pl] govern.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 ^{ɔ:}, *[î:* ^L*lòsù* *bé]* *là:mè-bò*,
 uh, [1PlPoss ^Luncle Pl] govern.Pfv-3PlSbj,
- B: *wó:dì*
 yes
 C: *hál* *[iyé* ^{HL}*úsù-dérⁿì:* *ŋgú]*,
 until [today ^{HL}day Prox.Inan]
 ^{î:} *[l:* ^L*lòsù* *bé:]*=∅ *ɔ:=∅-bó*
 [1PlPoss ^Luncle Pl]=Foc Hogon=it.is-3PlSbj
- B: *wó:dì*
 yes
 C: *[[ɔrⁿɔ:-dáná* *yá→]* *[tèy* ^L*sàw* *yà→]* *cém]*
 [[territory and] [language ^Ltrust and] all]
 [[[bê:n ^L*nù:]* *nà→]* *wò]* *bù-∅*
 [[[B ^Lperson.Pl] just] in] be-3SgSbj
- B: *já:tì*, *pá:mé-ỳ.:* *kòy*
 exactly, understand.Ipfv-1PlSbj Emph
- C: *Well, the people of Beni governed the territory, our (maternal) uncles commanded the chieftainship.*
- B: *Yes.*
- C: *Up until today, it's our (maternal) uncles [focus] who are chiefs.*
- B: *Yes.*
- C: *Both the territory and the entrusting of the words are in the hand(s) of the people of Beni.*
- B: *Exactly. We understand.*
- [[[bê:]]=∅* focalized form of plural *bè* §6.6; *=∅-bó* ‘they are ...’ §11.2.1.3; NP-final *nà→*, slightly emphatic ‘just’ §19.3.4]
- (662) C: *[bê:n* *dá:]* *yě:-rè-∅* *dè*,
 [B around] come-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
 mòrɔgoy^t, *kà:goy* *kú=mì* *bù-∅*
 M(name), K(name) DiscDef=it.is be-3SgSbj
- B: *wó:dì*
 yes
 C: *[wá:lè* *kù]* *wó*, *à:wàndú^t*, *mé:má*
 [W Def] in, A, M
- B: *mǔ:* *bè* *yěy*
 Prox.An Pl two
- C: *bû:=mì* *kásárú^t*, *ɔ:dúró:* *yá*
 3Pl=it.is K, O and
- B: *wó:dì*
 yes
 C: *[í* *kày]* *ŋgú=mì* ^{L+HL}*jǔwò*
 [1Sg Top] Prox.Inan=Foc 1SgPoss.^{HL}knowledge

C: When it came to Beni (village), Morogoy and Kagoy (patronymics), that's what there was.

B: Yes.

C: In that Walo, Awandu and Mema (neighborhoods).

B: These two.

C: They are (=correspond to) Kasaru and Oduro (neighborhoods in Beni).

B: Yes.

C: As for me, this is my knowledge (=what I know).

[*mǔ: bè* ‘these’ §4.4.1, here followed by a numeral ‘two’; *jǔwò* 1Sg possessor form of *júwò* ‘knowledge’, whose basic possessed form is also *júwò* with overlaid HL tone]

- (663) B: *[[ð:dúró: kù yà→], [kásárú kù yà→ yà]*
[[O Def and], [K Def and also]
[[nàr"á tūw"ɔ̄] [bɔ̄: tūw"ɔ̄]] gùy"n-bò
[[mother one] [father one] say.Pfv-3PlSbj
bày [kú yà] àñjāy"=mà mà
so [DiscDef also] how=it.is Q
C: *áywà, û: [bē:n L nù:] ýgòy bù-w.: gà,*
yes, 2Pl [B L person.Pl] here's be-2PlSbj Emph,
[kú kày] [jñjè L sàw']=∅ [û: L sàw]=∅ kòy
[DiscDef Top] [God L trust]=it.is [2PlPoss L trust]=it.is Emph
B: *[í kálà dè] [kð:n L yâ: í nü-w"n déy]*
[1Sg also if] [thing^L there 1SgSbj hear.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if]
B: That Oduro and that Kasaru too, (they have) one mother (and) one father, they said.
So, that too, how is it?
C: Well, you the people of Beni, here you are. That (matter), it is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl.
B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is ...).
[presentative *ýgòy* ‘here's ...’; clause-final emphatics *gà* §19.4.4 and *kòy* §19.4.1; object relative (§14.3) with ‘thing’ as head and preverbal subject pronominal; final *déy* seems to be a variant of *dè* ‘if’ (sentence cut off)]

- (664) S: *wâ:y, [[á má:] kárá:-rè nà→]*
grandpa, [[3Sg QuotSbj] be.independent-Pfv1a just]
ló-m-dó-∅ gùy"n-∅,
go-Ipfv-Neg-3SgSbj say.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[[kárá:-rè kù] HL kórò] ñjê:=∅
[[be.independent-Pfv1a Def] HL meaning] what?=it.is
C: *kárá:-rè kù,*
[be.independent-Pfv1a Def,
[[[í dê:] ú yì:-râ-w^L] ñgú→]
[[[1Sg Top] [2SgSbj see-Prog-Ppl.InanSg^L Prox.Inan]
[ùrò-m^bō: HL pírè] kárá:-rè] HL kórò]
[doorway HL inside] be.independent-Pfv1a] HL meaning]
nü-jé-w *tán,*
hear-RecPf-2SgSbj if,
í [nù L áw-sò-ló-m] = m-i:
1Sg [person^L] accept-Reslt-Neg-Ppl.AnSg]=it.is-1SgSbj

- B: *árⁿà-m táŋgí:-rè-* \emptyset
man-AnSg become-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
- C: *[nǔ-m gù=náyⁿ] lǎ-w [k᷑ɔ:ⁿL kâ:ⁿ]*
[person-AnSg for] other-Inan [thing^L any]
[í ínjírí-m̩] bôy yâ: ñgó- \emptyset ,
[1SgSbj get.up.Ipfv-1SgSbj] all there not.be-3SgSbj,
kú=m̩ kárá:-rè- \emptyset ,
Inan=it.is be.independent-Pfv1a-3SgSbj
- B: *pá:mé-wⁿú-wⁿ*
understand-Pass-3SgSbj
- C: *àⁿháⁿ*
uh-huh
- S: *Grandpa, he said that he had kárá-ed and he wouldn't go. What is the meaning of that (word) kárá?*
- C: *That kárá, if you-Sg have only heard (=understood) the meaning of "I whom you see here have kárá-ed (=am independent) in a household (=family), I am a person who has not consented (=who has refused)."*
- B: *He has become a man.*
- C: *There is no longer anything of people saying "I will get up because of someone (else)."*
- B: *Is it understood?*
- C: *Uh-huh.*
- [wâ:y ‘grandpa!’ (vocative); the contextual sense of the verb *kárá-* (homophone and folk-etymological source of village name *kárá*) is explained to the younger speaker S, viz. ‘(man) become independent (e.g. of his parents)’, i.e. after moving to his own household and no longer being required to take orders; (Topical?) particle *dē:* after a pronoun is typical of this speaker; noun *kórò* ‘meaning’ here is possessed by the preceding factive-quotative phrase; *ñjé: = \emptyset* ‘it is what?’ §13.2.3; *pírè* ‘inside’ §8.4.3; *tán* ‘if’ §16.2.2; *-sò-ló-* negative of resultative *-sô-* §11.5.1, here in participial form §14.1.6.3; *lǎ-w* is adverbial ‘otherwise, further’ (here, as often), §4.5.1; *bôy* for *wôy* ‘all’ after a nasal, §6.8..1; passive *-wú-w* §9.3.]

- (665) B: *[í kálà] í nǔ-wⁿ déy,*
[1Sg also] 1Sg hear.Pfv-Ppl.Inan if,
[kárá kù] wó,
[K Def] in,
[gám kù] yâ: dùwò-bò,
[certain Def] there leave.Pfv-3PlSbj,
[gàm^L kà:ⁿ] ínjírí-m̩
[certain^L Rel] get.up.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl
[[ónjō-m yá→] [dérč-m yá→]
[[younger.sib-AnSg and] [elder.sib-AnSg and]
ínjírí-m̩ kù,
get.up.Pfv-Ppl.AnPl Def,
[[bû: Lmà:] [yúlì Lwò] yě=ný] èw-yè-bó wá
[[3Pl LQuotSbj] [Y L in] come=and.SS] sit-MP-3PlSbj Quot
- C: *já:tî*
exactly

B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is), in Kara, they left some (people) there. Some (others) who got up, the younger and elder brothers who got up, it is said that they came to Yuli and settled (there).

C: Exactly.

[relative morpheme *kà:n* after tone-dropped head NP §14.1.10; perfective participle with suffix *-mà* for animate plural head NP §14.1.6.1; conjoined NP ‘X and Y’ not tone-dropped as relative head NP §14.1.3]

- (666) B: *[yúlì Lwò] yě=ní] bû: éw-yé=nì,*
 [Y Lⁱⁿ] come=and.SS] 3PLSbj sit-MP=and.DS,
áywà [érné kù] [dérě-m kù],
 yes [3Sg Def] [elder.sib-AnSg Def],
dánnà-m =Ø bà,
 hunter-AnSg=it.is Quot,
dánnà-m yárá-m yárá-m ínjírí=ní†,
 hunter-AnSg walk.around-Ipfv (*repetitions*) get.up=and.SS,
[[zlý HL ló:lù ñgú] pírè]
 [[O HL valley Prox.Inan] inside]
á sí-yé-w,
 3ReflSgSbj go.down-MP.Pfv-Ppl.Inan,
[úlì Lwò] sóró á láwá-w,
 [forest Lⁱⁿ] penetrate.through 3ReflSgSbj pass.Pfv-Ppl.Inan,
[[tórò kù wó] yě ùrò=ní érné káy^n=nì,
 [[mountain Def] in] come go.up=and.SS 3SgSbj do=and.DS,
[bólô: kù érné tñ=nì,
 [below Def] 3SgSbj look=and.DS,
[zrñ kù éndém→, èsú bû:-Ø sánné,
 [place Def] pleasant, good be-3SgSbj very,
[ðrñ L wárá-yè] èsú bû:-Ø
 [place^L do.farm.work.Ipfv-3PLSbj] good be-3SgSbj

C: *já:tì*

B: When they came and settled at Yuli, well, he the elder brother, he was a hunter, it is said. The hunter kept going around. He got up and went down into the valley (=bottom) of Oloy, he went through the dense forest and emerged on the other side. He came and went up the rocky slope. When he looked down, (he saw) the place was pleasant, it was very good, the place (=land) for them to farm was good.

C: Exactly.

[*yárá-m* repeated as background durative §15.2.1.4; *éndém→* expressive adverbial §8.6.7; adjectival predicate with *bû-* ‘be’ §11.4.1; nonspecific 3Pl subject *-yè* in compounds §5.1.9 and §14.1.6.2]

- (667) B: *[mànî: kù kálà dè] [ðrñ L éw-yé jíyé-yè],*
 [above Def also if] [place^L sit-MP kill.Ipfv-Ppl.AnPl],
hà: [ñgú kù kú lá:té=nì,
 well [Prox.Inan Def] Inan become.real=and.DS,
áywà yâ: [tèmbèrù L tûwñj],
 yes there [brick^L one],

á *mǎ-w̄nt*,
 3ReflSgSbj make.brick.Pfv-Ppl.Inan,
 [[tāngày^L ñgú] wó] á dùw̄s-w̄ kù,
 [[side^L Prox.Inan] in] 3ReflSgSbj leave.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def,
 ínjírí=ní, ló [á ^{HL}ónjō-m] tēmbì-∅,
 get.up=and.SS, go [3ReflSgSbj ^{HL}younger.sib-AnSg] find.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 [ònjō-m kù] á tēmbú-w̄ kù,
 [younger.sib-AnSg Def] 3ReflSgSbj find.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def,
 áywà térew=∅ wà,
 yes truth=it.is Quot,
 [á má:] ɔrⁿð kú-dá: yá yì-sò-w̄ wà,
 [3ReflSg QuotSbj] place there.DiscDef Exist see-Reslt-Ppl.Inan Quot,
 ɔrⁿð^L éw-yé-yè kú-dá:
 place^L sit-MP.Ipfv-3PlSbj there.Def
 yá yì-sò-w̄ wà,
 Exist see-Reslt-Ppl.Inan Quot,

B: *On top too, an excellent place for them to settle. When that had taken place, well, he made (=molded) one brick there, he left it on this side. He got up and went, and found his younger brother. When he found his younger brother, he said: it's true, he had seen a place over there, he had seen a place for them to settle over there.*

[jìyé- elsewhere means ‘kill’ (or ‘be noisy’), here it occurs at the end of a chain in a kind of emphatic function; *kú-dá:* ‘around there (discourse-definite)’ §4.4.2.1; *yì-sò-w̄* is an L-toned version of *yǐ-só-w̄*, participle based on resultative *-sō-* §14.1.6.5]

(668) B: érⁿé gǔyⁿ=nì,
 3SgSbj say=and.DS,
 [ònjō-m kù yà] á sá-w̄ kù dè,
 [younger.sib-AnSg Defalso] 3ReflSgSbj reply.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
 [á ^{HL}dérè] ^Lmà;
 [3ReflSgPoss ^{HL}elder.sib] ^LDat,
 [núwⁿðyⁿ kày] [á dùw̄s tì=náyⁿ]
 [now Top] [3ReflSgSbj leave Perf=then.SS]
 ló-ré-y wá, [érⁿé mā:] lèmdè-∅,
 go-Hort.Neg.3rd Quot, [3Sg Dat] beg.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ó: wá, [bû: bú nè] [bû: bú nè] [bû: bú nè],
 okay Quot, [3PlSbj be while] (*repetitions*)
 [ònjō-m kù kálà] [ùsú tùwⁿð-m]
 [younger.sib-AnSg Def also] [day one]
 yárá-m yárá-m á yě-w̄ kù dè,
 walk.around-Ipfv [repetition] 3ReflSgSbj go.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
 [érⁿé kálà] [óð kù] yì-∅,
 [3Sg also] [place Def] see.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 sēⁿ→ á tíñi-w̄ kù,
 direct.look 3ReflSgSbj look.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def,

B: *When he had spoken, the younger brother for his part replied, to his elder brother: now, he (=elder) should not go away, having left him (=younger) now. He pleaded with him. He (=elder) said, all right. They continued to be there. The younger brother*

too, one day, when he was walking around and he came (there), he too saw the place, he had a good look at it.

[*sá-* ‘reply’, in context also ‘speak up (in a conversation or debate)’; ‘to his elder brother’ is a postverbal PP, typical of afterthought additions; *-wà kù dè* §16.1.2, perfective linker *tí* (here in *tí=náyⁿ*), §15.1.11; QuotImprt negative *-ré-ý* §10.5.7; *bú nè*, see end of §15.2.1.2]

(669)	B:	<i>[[á HL dérè] L mā:]</i> [[3ReflSgPoss HL elder.sib]] L[Dat]
	á	<i>sá-wà kù dè,</i> 3ReflSgSbj reply.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
	<i>[[érⁿé HL má:] L térew tégé-mì bá]</i> [[3SgSbj QuotSbj]] truth speak.Ipfv-3Sgs Quot	
	<i>[[òrⁿò HL èw-yè èsú]]</i> [place ^L sit-MP ^L good]	
	<i>[[òrⁿò HL érⁿé HL gúyⁿ-rà-wà kù],</i> [place ^L 3SgSbj say-Prog-Ppl.Inan Def]	
	<i>[[á HL má: HL kálà] L íyé yâ: dɔ-wà]</i> [LogoSgSbj QuotSbj also] today there.Def arrive.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Quot,	
	<i>áywà [ògú HL jâyⁿ], ínjírí=ní [ùsú HL tûwⁿò-m]^t,</i> yes [Prox.Inan Inst], get.up=and.SS [day one],	
	<i>[[â: HL yéy] L yâ: yè-bá,</i> [3ReflPl two] there.Def come.Pfv-3PlSbj	

B: *He said to his elder brother: he (=elder) was speaking the truth; the good place for settling, the place that he (=elder) had spoken of; he too (=younger) had arrived there this day. Well, with (=after) that, the two of them got up one day and came there.*

[*òrⁿò èw-yè* (tone-dropped by the following adjective) is probably haplologically elided from *òrⁿò éw-yé-yè* ‘a place to sit (=settle)’; *á* occurs in this passage both in logophoric function §18.2.1 (lines 1, 4, 6, the latter plural to include the brother) and to express coindexation of the subject of a nonsubject relative clause with the main-clause subject §18.2.3 (line 2)]

(670)	B:	<i>yâ: bù: yé-ré^t,</i> there.Def 3PlSbj come-before,
	<i>[[dérè-m HL kù] L á HL sé:dè] L dùwó-tí:-Ø]</i> [[elder.sib-AnSg Def] [3ReflSgPoss HL marker] leave-Pfv1b-3SgSbj]	
	<i>kú=m [kásáru HL nû-m]=Ø kú=m,</i> Inan=it.is [K HL person-AnSg]=it.is Inan=it.is,	
	<i>[[érⁿé HL sé:dè HL kù] L yâ: L témبù-wù-Ø,</i> [3SgPoss HL marker Def] there find-Pass-3SgSbj,	
	<i>[[lò-ý HL kù L kòyⁿ] L gáⁿ-m-dó-ý kòy],</i> [[go-VblN Def Top] put-Ipfv-Neg-1SgSbj Emph]	
	<i>[[érⁿé HL sé:dè HL kù] L yâ: L témبù-wù-Ø,</i> [3SgPoss HL marker Def] there find-Pass-3SgSbj,	
	<i>hà: [kú HL jâyⁿ],</i> well [DiscDef Inst],	

[á] *sá-w̄* [3ReflSgSbj reply.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] [ár̄] *kù* [place Def]
 [yári] *m̄b̄ayô:* [sùmøy] *m̄b̄ayô:* *wà,*
 [sky claimed] [land claimed] Quot,
 [ŋgú] *nâyⁿt*, [ár̄] *kù* *hèwté,*
 Prox.Inan Inst, [place Def] recover.Pfv-3SgSbj,

B: Before they came (=arrived) there, the elder brother left his marker. It's he who is the person of Kasaru (neighborhood). His marker was found there. I won't put (=recount) the going (away). His marker was found there. Well, with that he spoke up: that place, the sky is claimed, the earth is claimed. With that, he recuperated (=went back to) the place.

[-rè 'before' §15.2.1.6; -tî- perfective-1b §10.2.1.5; sé:dè 'marker' denotes a sign that lays claim to land; m̄b̄ayô: is a semantically obscure word (cf. m̄b̄á far-distant demonstrative) used in the context of claiming land]

(671) B: [kú-dá:] *ló* [â:] ^L*nìnjè*
 [around.there.DiscDef go] [3ReflPlPoss ^Lgear]
 [â:] *bàrá-w̄* *kù* *dè,*
 3ReflPlSbj gather.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
 [ínjírí=ní, áywà yé=ní, úró cèwⁿè-bó,
 get.up=and.SS, yes come=and.SS, house build.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 [úró cèwⁿé=ní] *yâ:* *bû:* *bú* *nè,*
 [house build=and.SS] there.Def 3PlSbj be while,
 [àwá lóyá:-r-à:, kù-kòsú,
 snake overflow-Pfv1a-3PlSbj, Rdp-viper,
 kù-kòsú lóyá:-r-à:, kúwó-tî:-Ø dé wôy,
 Rdp-viper overflow-Pfv1a-3PlSbj, bite-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if all,
 nì:-[tégiř-i:] sò-ló-Ø, hé!,
 antivenin have-Neg-3SgSbj, hey!,
 [ŋgú kày]
 [Prox.Inan Top]
 [dày^L dà:yí-m] *wôy] ñgó-Ø* *wá*
 [way^L be.suitable.Ipfv-Ppl.Inan all] not.be-3SgSbj Quot,

B: They (=two brothers) went and gathered up their baggage over there (at Yuli). They got up, well, they came and built a house. They built a house and were (living) there. Snakes were plentiful (there). Vipers, vipers (*Echis spp.*) were plentiful (there). If it (=viper) bites, there is no antidote. Hey, there is no way for that (place) to be suitable.

[‘overflow’ is commonly used in the sense ‘be/do a lot’, §8.6.2; nì:-[tégiř-i:] ‘antivenin, antidote (for snakebite)’ is a somewhat frozen compound containing nì: ‘water, liquid’ and the verbal noun of tégiří ‘revive, breathe life back into (sb on the brink of death)’]

(672) B: [kú yà] [â:] ^L*mà:*
 [Inan also] [LogolPl ^LQuotSbj]
 dá:-wó dòr̄ *ñgú-dá:* *ùr̄-m* *bá,*
 a.little move.over this.way go.up-Hort Quot,
 [kú ^{HL}wáyàtù] [kú *nâyⁿ*],
 [DiscDef ^{HL}time] [Inan Inst]

$[[\dot{\jmath}r^n\dot{\jmath}]^L \quad \dot{\jmath}gú]$ $\text{HL } nájànà:]$ $[kùn-tàwrrá:] = \emptyset$ $sóy,$
 [[place^L Prox.Inan] HL entirely] [rocky.shelf]=it.is completely,
 $sùmøy \quad \dot{\jmath}gó-\emptyset,$
 land not.be-3SgSbj,
 $hà:$ $[kú \quad jnây^n]$ $[[kùn-tàwrrá \quad kù] \quad wó],$
 well [Inan Inst] [[rocky.shelf Def] in],
 $yé=ní \quad yâ: \quad úrò \quad cèw^n\dot{\varepsilon}-bà,$
 come=and.SS there.Def house build.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 $cèw^n\dot{\varepsilon}=ní \quad bû: \quad bú \quad nè,$
 build=and.SS 3PlSbj be while,

B: *That being the case, (they) said: let's move up a little this way (to the rocky shelf above the ravine). At that time, then, this whole area was just a flat rocky shelf. There was no soil. Well, at that time, they came and built a house there on the shelf. They built (it) and they were (living) there.*

[logophoric plural including singular speaker and an addressee; *nájànà*: ‘entirety’ (possessed form) and *sóy* ‘entirely’, §8.6.7.5]

(673) B: $yâ:$ $kálà \quad bèy,$
 there.Def also well,
 $áywà \quad wá:jibì \quad péyí \quad pègè-r-á \quad dé,$
 yes necessity post implant-PfvNeg-3PlSbj if,
 $péyí \quad pègè-r-á \quad dé \quad wôy,$
 post implant-PfvNeg-3PlSbj if all,
 $[[\dot{\jmath}r^n\dot{\jmath}] \quad kù] \quad \text{HL } éw-yé] \quad nûm \quad bû:-\emptyset \quad wà,$
 [[place Def] HL sit-MP] difficult be-3SgSbj Quot,
 $áywà \quad wò \quad bě:-rè-\emptyset \quad dè,$
 yes in(that) remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
 $[\dot{\jmath}:-dùrò \quad \text{HL } bóyò] \quad á \quad sá-w \quad kù \quad dè,$
 [O HL owner] 3ReflSgSbj reply.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def if,
 $[[kásárá \quad \text{HL } bóyò] \quad \text{L } mâ:],$
 [[K HL owner] L Dat]

B: *(They) said: there too, well, necessarily, if they haven't performed the sacrifice, if they haven't performed the sacrifice, settling in that place is difficult (=dangerous). Well, it went on like that. The one of (=from) Oduro (neighborhood) (=younger brother) spoke to the one from Kasaru (=elder brother).*

[*péyí pégé* ‘implant a post’ here denotes a sacrificial ritual, described below; *éw-yé* ‘sit’ here functions as a noun and takes possessed-noun {HL} tone overlay; ^L*wò* for [*kú wó*] ‘in that’ or the like; compound with ‘owner’ §5.1.7]

(674) B: $wá:jibì \quad [péyí \quad kù] \quad ér^n\dot{\varepsilon}=m \quad pégé-m \quad bá \quad kòy,$
 necessity [post Def] 3Sg=it.is implant.Ipfv-3SgSbj Quot Emph,
 $sábù \quad [[[\dot{\jmath}r^n\dot{\jmath} \quad lá-jé:] \quad tùlù] \quad wò]$
 because [[[place claim-RecPf] behind] in]
 $[péyí \quad ér^n\dot{\varepsilon}=m \quad pégé-m] \quad bá,$
 [post 3Sg=it.is implant.Ipfv-3SgSbj] Quot,
 $[[yà-gùrò \quad kà:n] \quad írù \quad gò \quad célé=ní \quad bû:-\emptyset]$
 [[woman-young Rel] breast go.out be.good=and.SS] be-3SgSbj]

séllé-só-m̄,

be.healthy-Reslt-3SgSbj,

áywà [núwⁿdyⁿ kày] [ájàyⁿ ^Lwò] bě:-rè-∅ ^{dè},
yes [now Top] [thus ^Lin] remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[á má:] [[péyí kù] ^{HL}dû:]
[3ReflSg QuotSbj] [[post Det] ^{HL}load]

dú-jé: ^{wà,}
carry.on.head-RecPf-3SgSbj Quot,

B: (*Younger brother said:*) *He (=elder) [focus] would perform the sacrifice, because after (=since) he (=older) was the first to claim the place, he (=elder) [focus] would perform the sacrifice; a young woman whose breasts are fully going out (=developed), she was healthy.* (*Elder brother said:*) well, now, that being the case, *he (=elder) bore the burden (=responsibility) of performing the sacrifice.*

[subject focus construction with invariant 3Sg subject *-m̄* §13.1.1; *sábù* ‘because’ §17.5.2.1; possessor relative ‘a young woman whose ...’, this passage discussed in §14.4; *[X^{HL}túlù]^Lwò* ‘after X’ §8.4.8.]

- (675) B: *[dú-jé: wà] érⁿé gúyⁿ=ni*,
 [carry.on.head-RecPf Quot] 3SgSbj say=and.DS,
[nù^L díyⁿà] [ájàyⁿ ^Lwò] bě:-rè-∅ dè,
 [person^L big.Pl] [thus ^Lin] remain-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[jìyè=náyⁿ ni] pége-m̄-n-é wá kòy^t,
 [kill^L=then.SS (?)] implant-Ipfv-Neg.3PlSbj Quot Emph,
[úwⁿú ^{HL}wó] [úrⁿò gànjí-yè] wà,
 [life ^{HL}in] [place put.Ipfv-3PlSbj] Quot
[hâl ló wⁿònù-rⁿú-m̄] bà,
 [until go deep-Inch.Ipfv-3SgSbj] Quot,
érⁿé=ni yâ: gáⁿ-yⁿè wà,
 3Sg=Acc there.Def put.Ipfv-3PlSbj Quot,
hâl [ñgú ^{HL}dâyⁿ] dú-m̄ bà,
 until [Prox.Inan ^{HL}way] reach.Ipfv-3SgSbj Quot,
bìyⁿy dúwó-yè wà,
 cover.up leave.Ipfv-3PlSbj Quot,
[isé: kù ^Lmà:] [á ^{HL}jám]
 [village Def ^LQuotSbj] [3ReflSgPoss ^{HL}well.being]
béré-m̄ bà
 get.Ipfv-3SgSbj Quot

C: *já:tì*
exactly

B: *When he said that he would bear (the burden), the old people said: if that was indeed the case, they wouldn’t kill (the girl) (first) and then stick her in (the hole); (instead) in life (=while she was alive) they would dig the spot until it (=hole) became deep; they would put her there (=in the hole), until it reached this level, and they would cover (her) up; the village would get its well-being (back).*

C: Exactly.

[clause-final *ni* with no clear grammatical function, §15.1.10]

- (676) B: *èṣú* *bû:-∅* *wà,*
 good be-3SgSbj Quot,
[á ^{HL}*bɔ:-ùrò* *íj* *jâm*
 [LogoSgPoss ^{HL}father-house Prox.Inan] well.being
bì-béré-m *dé* *wôy,*
 Rdp-get.Ipfv-3SgSbj if all,
[á *kálà]* *[[kú* *kù]* ^{HL}*kâ:-dù:J*
 [LogoSg also] [[Inan Def] ^{HL}head-load]
dù-jê: *wà,*
 carry.on.head-RecPf Quot
hà: *[ŋgú* *nâyⁿ*], *érⁿé* *kásári* ^{HL}*yá:-yì-m* *kù=ñ^t,*
 well [Prox.Inan Inst], 3Sg K ^{HL}woman-child-AnSg Def=Acc,
[[yà-sùmøyⁿ ^{HL}*tâ:yⁿ* *kù]* *wó],*
 [[Y ^{HL}shed Def] in]
yâ:=ñ *érⁿé* *pègè-bà*
 there.Def=Acc 3SgObj implant.Pfv-3PlSbj
- C: *já:tì*
 exactly
- B: *[kú* *nâyⁿ=ñ^t*, *bé:nì* *béré* *èw-yè-∅,*
 [Inan Inst=Acc], B get sit-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[íyé ^{HL}*úsù* *kálà]* *[kú* ^{HL}*wó]* *bù-ŷ.:*
 [today ^{HL}day also] [Inan ^{HL}in] be-1PlSbj
- C: *já:tì*
 exactly
- B: *He (=older brother) said, fine; if this village of his father would get well-being, he would bear the burden (head-load) of that. After that, she the girl of Kasaru, in the Yasumoy shed, there [focus] they stuck her in.*
- C: *Exactly.*
- B: *It was after that [focus] that Beni was able to be settled. Even today, we are in it.*
- C: *Exactly.*
- [*íj* reduced from *ŋgú* proximal inanimate demonstrative, §4.4.1; reduplicated imperfective §10.2.2.2; accusative =ñ with direct object, then again with focused *yâ*: ‘there’ §8.2; *béré* ‘get’ as nonfinal verb in chain means something like ‘acquire (the means) to ...’]
- (677) B: *[ŋgú* *gâyⁿ→]* *nù-ŷⁿ,* *[kú* *yâ]*
 [Prox.Inan like] hear.Pfv-1SgSbj, [Inan also]
[jɪnjè ^L*sàw]=∅* *dé:J* *[ú* *kálà]* *[ú* ^{HL}*sâw]=∅*
 [God ^Ltrust]=it.is if] [2Sg also] [2SgPoss ^{HL}trust]=it.is
- C: *[[jɪnjè* *òyò-ná:m]* ^{HL}*sâw]=∅,* *ájâyⁿ=ñ*
 [[God Almighty] ^{HL}trust.]=it.is, thus=it.is
- B: *nâ:m*
 yes
- C: *jínjè* *î* *sú:rè-ŷ*
 God 1PlObj preserve-QuotImprt
- B: *àmâ:n*
 amen

- D: [á *ná:-wⁿí-ŷⁿ* kù] *gǔⁿ-wⁿ*
 [LogoSgObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt Def] say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan
- C: [áhóⁿ, á *ná:—*,
 uh-huh, LogoSgObj spend.night—,
 [á *ná:-wⁿí-ŷⁿ*] spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt]
 érⁿé *gǔⁿ-wⁿ* kù
 3SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
- B: é: kú áy dò-bò
 yes Inan take burn.Pfv-3PlSbj
- C: háyà, [á *ná:-wⁿí-ŷⁿ*]
 well, [LogoSgObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt]
 érⁿé *gǔⁿ-wⁿ* kù
 3SgSbj say.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Def
- B: já:tì
 exactly
- C: háyà, kú kú=mìⁿ
 well, Inan Inan=it.is
- B: já:tì
 exactly
- B: I learned (it) like this. That too, it is entrusted to God (and) it is entrusted to you-Sg.
- C: It is entrusted to great God. It is thus.
- B: Yes.
- C: May God preserve us.
- B: Amen.
- D: She told them to visit her (i.e. pay respects at her burial site).
- C: Uh-huh, the fact that she asked them to greet her.
- B: Yes, they took and burned it.
- C: Well, the fact that she asked them to greet her.
- B: Exactly.
- C: Well, that is it.
- B: Exactly.
 ['burned (=roasted) it' may refer to a later animal sacrifice; QuotImprt -ŷ §10.5.7; verb *ná:-wⁿí-* is morphologically the causative of *ná:-* 'spend the night', but its normal sense is 'say good-morning to, greet (sb) in the morning', and by extension 'pay respects to (deceased person)', i.e. at their burial location, perhaps annually]

- (678) C: [tùwⁿó-m kù ^Lmà:]
 [one-AnSg Def ^LQuotSbj]
 [ú yì:-rà-w^L ^Ljngú]
 [2SgSbj see-Prog-Ppl.Inan^L Prox.Inan]
 [kú tége-mì kù ^Lmà:]
 [Inan speak.Pfv-Ppl.AnSg Def ^LQuotSbj]
- B: wó:dì
 yes
- C: jngú-mì=∅ bà
 heal.Agent-AnSg=it.is Quot

B: *jòŋgú-ì̄n̄ = Ø*
heal.Agent-AnSg=it.is

C: *jòŋgú-ì̄n̄*
heal.Agent-AnSg

B: *wó:dī*
yes

C: *One person, this (thing) that you-Sg see, the one who (had) said that.*

B: *Yes.*

C: *He said, he was a healer.*

B: *He was a healer.*

C: *A healer.*

B: *Yes.*

[*jòŋgú-ì̄n̄* ‘healer’, uncompounded agentive §4.2.4]

- (679) C: *[érⁿé = ì̄n̄ = n̄i]* *kárá:kíndé:* *kú = ì̄n̄*
[3Sg=Foc = Acc] K Inan=it.is
- B: *kárá:kírí:* *kú = ì̄n̄, érⁿé = ì̄n̄* *jòŋgú-ì̄n̄ = Ø*
K Inan=it.is, 3Sg=Foc healer-AnSg=it.is
- C: *é→*
yes
- B: *wó:dī, wó:dī*
yes, yes
- C: *àm^bá* *kù* *yà-sùmøyⁿ=ì̄n̄,*
FarDist.Sg Def Y=it.is
- háyà* *[yár]* *kóró:-rè-Ø* *tán]*
well [sky dry.up-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if]
- [á* *ná:-wⁿi-ì̄yⁿ]* *wà*
[LogoSgObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt] Quot
- B: *wó:dī*
yes
- C: *It's he [focus] who was Karakinde [name].*
- B: *Karakiri, that was it, it's he [focus] who was the healer.*
- C: *Yes.*
- B: *Yes, yes.*
- C: *The other one was Yasumoy. She (=girl) had said (before being buried): as soon as the rains ended (=after the harvest), they should greet (=pay respects to) her.*
- B: *Yes.*
- [*érⁿé = ì̄n̄ = n̄i* with focus = ì̄n̄ plus, apparently, accusative = *n̄i* in focalizing function; focalized subject (topic) of ‘it is’ predicate, end of §13.1.1; *yárú* ‘sky (esp. cloudy, rainy weather)’ occurs in collocations denoting seasonal transitions, §11.1.4]

- (680) C: *[[[á* *ná:-wⁿi-ì̄yⁿ* *kù]* ^{HL} *n̄i:]* ^L *wò],*
[[[LogoSgObj spend.night-Caus-QuotImprt Def] ^{HL} cause] ^L in]
íyé *[kú* ^{HL} *dáwⁿà* *kù]* *yě:-rè-Ø* *dè,*
today [DiscDef ^{HL} matter Def] come-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
áywà *ñjé: = Ø* *kú = ì̄n̄,*
yes what?=foc Inan=it.is

[song:] íyé yà-sùmøyⁿ úŋgúró wá
 today Y get.up.Imprt Quot

B: *já:tì*

C: *Because of that (request) that they greet her, today if (the time for) that matter (=paying respects) has come. What is that?*

[song] Today, Yasumoy, get up!

B: *Exactly.*

[this song fragment and the following longer song excerpt are in Jamsay; the final quotative *wá*, here and below, is arguably external to the song proper]

(681) C:

[song:] kárá:kìndé: úŋgúró wá,
 [yá yá:-y] [yá yéré-y]
 kárá:kìndé: úŋgúró wá
 yà-sùmøyⁿ hâ:hây wá
 yà-sùmøyⁿ hâ:hây
 pùlô-kòmô lè: [bɔn lè] sá: kómô wá

C:

[song] Karakinde, get up!
 We are going, we are coming.
 Karakinde, get up!
 Yasumoy, hah-hey!
 Yasumoy, hah-hey!
 In the war of the Fulbe, the reply is by tomtoms.

(682) B: *já:tì*, té→ áŋgàyⁿ=m kòy,
 exactly, exactly thus=it.is Emph,

[[ŋgú gâyⁿ→ té→] nù-ŷⁿ:.]

[[Prox.Inan like exactly] hear.Pfv-1PlSbj]

[[nù^L díyⁿà kù] HLm^bô:] kú=ñ

[[person^L big.Pl Def] HLmouth] Inan=Acc

C: *ŋgú gâyⁿ→ gìyⁿ-bò*
 [Prox.Inan like] say.Pfv-3PlSbj

B: *inšá:lâ:w érⁿé jìyè-mí [núwⁿɔyⁿ kày]*
 if.God.wills 3SgSbj kill^L-Hort [now Top]

D: *ðrⁿð^L gð:w-∅, ðrⁿð^L gð:w-∅*
 matter^L short-Inan, matter^L short-Inan

B: *nâ:m*

yes

B: *Exactly. It's just like that. We heard (it) just like that, (from) the mouth(s) of the old people.*

C: *They said (it) like that.*

B: *If God wills, let him (=the linguist) kill (i.e. turn off the tape recorder) now.*

D: *A short matter, a short matter.*

B: *Yes.*

[kú=ñ might alternatively be analysed as definite and bracketed with the preceding NP;
já:tì and *té→* are both glossed ‘exactly’ but *já:tì* is often a one-word utterance that confirms the truth of another speaker’s statement, while *té→* emphasizes the precisioness

of an identity, measure, etc., and may co-occur with the relevant NP, §8.6.3.3; hortative *-ní* with third-person subject §10.5.6]

- (683) D: *áywà [mégé mégré [yǎ-m kù] dòyó érⁿé=ní*
 yes [more more [woman-AnSg Def] abject 3Sg=Acc
[dàyⁿL kà:ⁿ] tágú-w] *[yà-sùmōyⁿ kù],*
 [way^L Rel] become.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] [Y Def]

B: *wó:di*

yes

- D: *áywà, nǚ-m yâ: nú:-rè-∅ dè,*
 yes, person-AnSg there go.in-Pfv1a-3SgSbj if,
[àwá kù] kùwò-[jìy-î].
 [snake Def] bite^L-[kill-VblN],
kú nûm-dó:-rè-∅ ní
 Inan difficult-Inch-Pfv1a-3SgSbj (?)

B: *wó:di*

yes

D: *Well, the way the woman came to be more abject, (namely) Yasumoy.*

B: *Yes.*

D: *Well, if a person goes in there (=Beni), the snake's biting and killing, that (=living) became difficult (=intolerable).*

B: *Yes.*

[*dòyó* denotes an impoverished (abject, miserable) and socially very low status; *kùwò-[jìy-î]* consists of the simple verbal noun *jìy-î* ‘killing’ with a preceding chained verb stem *kúwó-* ‘bite’ in {L}-toned compound initial form, see §15.1.1; *nûm-dó-* ‘become difficult/expensive’ is pronounced [*nûmndó*] or even [*nûmn^dó*]; another case of clause-final *ní* with no clear function, §15.1.10]

- (684) D: *áywà térew=∅ wà,*
 yes truth=it.is Quot,
isê: [bû: kò:ⁿ]=∅ gǔⁿ-yè,
 village [3PIPoss L^Lthing]=it.is say.Ipfv-3PlSbj,
bû:=m àt, íyà [bû: mǎ:] [[isê: kù] pírè],
 3Pl=Foc claim.Pfv, again [3Pl L^LQuotSbj] [[village Det] HL^{HL}inside]
[núwⁿdyⁿ kày] [péyí pégé-m-n-é]
 [now Top] [post implant-Ipfv-Neg.3PlSbj]
[nǚ:=ní àwá kúwó jíyé-yè]
 [person.Pl=Acc snake bite kill.Ipfv-3PlSbj]
[[kò:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ] nǚ: dě:-w-yè]
 [[thing^L any] person.Pl be.tired-Caus.Ipfv-3PlSbj]
[bû: mání-m nè]
 [3PlSbj laugh-Ipfv now]
[[tâ: ló-mâ dè] mání-yè]
 [[pond go.Pfv-3PlSbj if] laugh.Ipfv-3PlSbj]
[dùyⁿórⁿù mání-yè]
 [pounding.place laugh.Ipfv-3PlSbj]
[bû: bògùrú-m nè],
 [3PlSbj make.hubbub-Ipfv now],

D: Well, it's true, they (=you) say that the village belongs to them; it was they who reserved (=first claimed it); again, they in the villages, they aren't performing the sacrifice now; (therefore) the snakes are biting and killing people; various things (snakes etc.) are wearing (the) people out; they (=people from other villages) are mocking (them); if they go to a pond (to draw water), they (=others) are constantly mocking (them); they (=others) are mocking (them) at the grain-pounding place (at the edge of the village); they are constantly making a hubbub (=gossiping).

[This passage is from the point of view of visitors, complaining to the local people (at the time) about the latters' failure to make a sacrifice; *-m̄ nè* clause (with 'laugh/mock'), §15.2.1.2; perfective *ló-mà* 'they went' §10.2.1.2; the 'pounding place' is a spot at the edge of the village where women congregate to pound millet grain spikes with oversized mortars and pestles]

- (685) D: [kú *nây*ⁿ] =nì [[á *bô*:] _{HL} *bô*:] _L *mà*:] [DiscDef Inst]=Acc [[3ReflSgPoss _{HL} father] _L Dat]
dòyô:=Ø *gà* abjectness=it.is Emph
[[á *kû*:] _{HL} *wò*] _L *wò* *pégé*-ý *wá*,
[[LogoSgPoss _{HL} head] _L in] implant-QuotImprt Quot,
yär *gô*:-rè-Ø *dé* *wôy*,
sky go.out-Pfv1-3SgSbj if all,
[[á *tíwè* *kù*] _{HL} *yò*-ý *wá*] _L *yò*-ý _{HL} death Def] weep-QuotImprt Quot]
firé-ré-ý *wá*,
[forget-NegImprt-QuotImprt Quot]
[érⁿé *má*:] *áŋày*ⁿ *gùy*ⁿ *wà*^t,
[3Sg QuotSbj] thus say.Pfv Quot,
B: *já*:tì *já*:tì *pá:mé-wⁿú-wⁿ*,
exactly exactly understand-Pass.Pfv-3SgSbj,
té→ *áŋày*ⁿ *sellè*-Ø,
exactly thus be.healthy.Pfv-3SgSbj
[nuwⁿòyⁿ *kay*] *ér*ⁿé *jìyé* *jùw*ⁿò-m
[now Top] 3SgSbj kill proceed-Hort
D: *l* *z* *z*

D: ***ku=m***
Inan=it.is
D: *It was in that (situation) that she (=girl) said to her father, it's an abject situation; they should implant her on her head (=bury her alive as a sacrifice); (later) when the rainy season was over, they should weep for her death; they must not forget. She said (=spoke) like that*

B: Exactly, exactly. It (=what you say) has been understood, it is healthy (=valid) exactly like that. Now, let him (=the linguist) proceed to turn it off.

D: That is it.

[**jùw^{nó}** ‘do first’ in a chain with the sense ‘proceed to’ §15.1.13]

Abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviations			
Acc	accusative (in 1SgAcc), §6.7)	Hort	hortative, §10.6.2
Adj	adjective	Imprt	imperative
Agent	agentive nominal	Inan	inanimate
An	animate	Inch	inchoative ('become' with adjective), §9.5
ATR	advanced tongue root (vowel feature)	Inst	instrumental, §8.1.2
BenT	Ben Tey language	Ipfv	imperfective
C	consonant (in e.g. CvCv)	Iter	iteration (full reduplication)
Caus	causative, §9.2	L	low (tone)
Char	characteristic (nominal derivative)	Loc	locative
Dat	dative, §8.3	Logo	logophoric
Def	definite, §4.4.3	MP	mediopassive
Dem	demonstrative	N	noun
Det	determiner (demonstrative or definite)	(n)	noun (in interlinear glosses)
DF	discourse-functional elements	Neg	negative
Dimin	diminutive, §4.2.3	Nom	nominalization
DiscDef	(strong) discourse-definite, §4.4.2	NP	noun phrase
Dist	distant, in NearDist and FarDist (demonstratives)	Num	numeral
DS	different-subject	Obj	object
EA	expressive adverbial, §8.4.5	Pass	passive
Emph	emphatic (clause-final particle), §19.4	Pf	perfect (in ExpPf, RecPf)
Exist	existential particle, §11.1.1.1	Pfv	perfective
ExpPrf	experiential perfect, §10.1.1.4	Pl	plural
Fact	factive ('cause to become' with adjective), §9.5	Poss	possessor, possessive (<i>kè</i>), §6.2.3
Foc	focus	PP	postpositional phrase
Fut	(delayed) future, §10.2.2.4	Ppl	participle
H	high (tone)	Pss	possessor
		Prog	progressive
		Pron	pronoun
		Prox	proximal (demonstrative)
		Proh	prohibitive
		Purp	purposive
		Q	question
		QTop	interrogative topic ('what about X?'), §19.1.4
		Quot	quotative particle, §17.1.3
		QuotSbj	quotative subject particle, §17.1.4
		Rdp	reduplication

Recip	reciprocal, §18.3	Stat	stative, §10.4 (derived), §11.2-4 (lexical)
Refl	reflexive, §18.1	Top	topic
Rel	relative clause (verb participle)	Tr	transitive, §9.3 (derivational suffix), §10.1.3.1 (<i>děn</i>)
Rev	reversive (verb derivation, §9.1		verb (in e.g. S-O-V)
Sbj	subject (in e.g. “2PlSbjbj”)	V (v)	verb (as part of a gloss)
SFoc	subject-focus	v	vowel (in e.g. CvCv)
Sg	singular	VblN	verbal noun
SS	same subject (subordinator)	VP	verb phrase

Symbols

*	reconstructed
#	ungrammatical, unacceptable, unattested
á, à, â, ã, ã	tones on vowels (or syllables), §3.7
ጀ, ጂ, ኑ, ስ, ዕጀ	tone changes on stem in compounds, chapter 5
<...>	a) contour tones on a single syllable, e.g. <HL> and <LH> b) false starts in texts (omitted from translations), e.g. (665)
/.../	a) lexical tone melody, e.g. /LH/, /H/ b) underlying or lexical representation, e.g. /gàrá/
{...}	a) tone overlay, e.g. {HL}, {H}, {L} b) enclosing any set, e.g. {u a i}
[...]	a) phonetic (IPA) representation, e.g. [bú:] downstep
↓	
[...] ^L	{L} tone overlay controlled by an element to the right, §6.1.4
[...] ^{L+H}	like preceding but with extra H-tone on final syllable/mora
^{HL} [...], ^H [...]	{H} or {HL} tone overlay controlled by a possessor to the left, §6.2.1
^L [...]	{L} on demonstrative or numeral in certain combinations, §3.7.3.5, §4.6.1.4
→	“intonational” prolongation of final vowel or sonorant, §3.8.3
..	dying-quail terminal intonation effect, §3.8.4
=	clitic boundary, §3.6
&	conjunction (in interlinears, e.g. X.& Y.& ‘X and Y’)

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- 3) grammatical terms

1. Prosody (grammatical)

1a. Local grammatical tones

floating L-tone docking at left edge of noun for 1Sg possessor, §6.2.2

local L-tone added at right edge

prosodically heavy verb stems

imperative stem (often with final vowel shifting to *a*), §10.5.2

b. stem-wide grammatical tones

{L} overlay

nominal initial in some compounds

ordinary noun-noun compounds, §5.1.1

incorporated noun in agentive and verbal-noun compounds, §5.1.2-3

possessed NP after unquantified, undetermined L-final possessor, §6.2

tone-dropped nouns etc. before a tonosyntactic controller, §6.1.4

noun or adjective before adjective, §6.3.1

noun, adjective, or numeral before demonstrative, §6.5.2

head NP in relative clause, §14.1.1

participle before demonstrative, §14.1.9

adjective

predicative adjective before stative negative =*rá-*, §11.4.4

verb

unsuffixed perfective, §10.2.1.1

verb before perfective negative =*ri-*, §10.2.3.2

verb before stative negative =*rá-*, §10.2.3.4

verb stem before hortative =*mí*, §10.5.6

verb stem before same-subject future sequential =*náyⁿ*, §15.1.9

bù- ‘be’ (if we take it as lexically H-toned)

after locational expression without existential *yá*, §11.2.2.2

{HL} overlay

realization of trisyllabic lexical {HL} as HHL, HH<HL>, or HLL, §3.7.3.2

nouns

 possessor-controlled overlay on possessed noun, §6.2

 possessive-type compounds, §5.1.6

adjectives

 comparative form of adjective, §12.1.1

 final in bahuvrihi, §5.2.1.1

numeral

 final in bahuvrihi, §5.2.1.2

verbs

 imperfective verb iterated as ‘while’ clause, §15.2.1.5

 verb stem in reduplicated perfective, §10.2.1.9

 verb stem in reduplicated stative, §10.2.1.11

{LH} overlay

realization of trisyllabic lexical /LH/ as LLH, LL<LH>, or LHH, §3.7.3.2

deverbal agentive nominal, §4.2.4, §5.1.3

 as animate imperfective participles in subject relatives, §14.1.6.2

{H} overlay

prosodically light verb stem (*Cv-*, *CvCv-*)

 in imperfective, §10.2.2.1

 in imperative stem, §10.5.2

bù- ‘be’ (if we take it as lexically L-toned)

 after existential *yá*, §11.2.2.3

c. intonation (and “tonation”)

dying-quail final intonation

1Pl and 2Pl pronominal-subject suffixes, §3.8.3

prolongation of final syllable

 lexically built-in, §3.8.2

 terminal intonation, §3.8.1

2. selected Ben Tey morphemes

[“v” represents a variable vowel]
 [*e* follows *e*, *o* follows *o*, *ŋ* and *n* follow *n*]

-∅, suffix

- animate plural suffix
 - on noun, §4.1.1
 - on relative-clause imperfective participle, §14.1.6.2
 - inanimate suffix on noun, §4.1.1
 - =∅ (L-toned), ‘it is’ clitic with inanimate noun, §11.2
- á, logophoric singular and 3Sg reflexive pronoun, §4.3.1, §18.1-2
- â:, logophoric plural and 3Pl reflexive pronoun, §4.3.1, §18.1-2
- à-, frozen initial in a few nouns, §4.1.6
- à: ~ -yâ, 3Pl subject suffix allomorph, §10.3
 - perfective-1a *-tí-yâ* and perfective-1b *:r-à:*, §10.2.1.5
 - recent perfect *-j-â:*, §10.2.1.8
 - perfective negative *-r-á*, §10.2.3.2
- â:, in animate plural perfective Neg participle *-r-â:*, §14.1.6.7
- àbádá, ‘never’, §8.6.7.3
- ám, interrogative
 - ‘who?’, §13.2.2
 - ‘which?’, §13.2.8
- à-mâ:n, ‘so-and-so’, §4.1.4, §13.2.9
- án, ‘where?’, §13.2.4
 - án-dá: ‘be where?’, §13.2.4
 - ángòy ‘where?’, §13.2.4
- ànjâyⁿ ‘how?’, §13.2.6
- áñàyⁿ, ‘like this/that’, §4.4.2.3
- â:ngá, ‘how much/many?’, §13.2.7
- àngú, ‘which?’, §13.2.8
- àsú→, ‘always’, §8.6.7.3
- àwú-, ‘receive, consent’
 - complement of ‘consent’, §17.3.3
- bă-, ‘be equal to’, §12.2.2
- bă→, ‘equally’, §12.2.4
- bândè, topic, §19.1.1
- bârí-, ‘help’, §17.4.2
- =bây, ‘while’, §415.2.1.2
 - in complement of ‘see’, §17.2.3
- băyⁿ→, ‘many’, §4.5.1

- bě, ‘remain’, §11.2.6.1
 causative *bè:-wú-*, §10.1.3.5
 -m wò bě, ‘be really true that’, §15.2.7
 ‘become’ after expressive adverbial, §8.6.7
- bé (see *bè*)
- bè*
- plural
 - of noun, §4.1.3, §6.6
 - of demonstrative, §4.4.1
 - linear position in NP, §6.1.1
 - linear position in relative clause, §14.1.8
 - lengthened and H-toned *bé:* before some postpositions, §6.6
 - H-toned *bé*
 - before dative and ‘all’, §6.6
 - before ‘it is’ clitic, §11.2.1.1
 - ‘and’, §7.1.2
 - in relative clause head NP, §14.1.3
 - ^{HL} *bélè*^L wò, complex ‘beside’ postposition, §8.4.9
 - =bè- ~ =bê-, past clitic on verbs, §10.4.1
 - with adjectival predicates, §11.4.4
 - participles =bě-m, =b-â:, =bě-w,
 - §14.1.6.8
 - in counterfactual conditionals, §16.5
 - b-ê:ⁿ*, animate plural participle of *bù-* ‘be’, §14.1.6.3
 - béré-*, ‘get’
 - ‘be able to’ with chained complement, §17.4.2
 - ^{HL} *bérkèlâw*, ‘between’ postposition, §8.4.11
 - ^{HL} *bólò*^L wò, complex ‘under’ postposition, §8.4.10
 - bó ~ -bò, 3Pl subject suffix allomorph
 - with perfective, §10.2.1.1
 - attested once with recent perfect, §10.2.1.8
 - stative -w-bó, §10.2.1.10
 - with imperfective and progressive, §10.2.2.3
 - with ‘it is’ clitic, §11.2.1.3, §11.2.1.6
 - bř:*, ‘father’, §4.1.3
 - bòŋgó* ~ *bòŋjó* ‘owners’, §5.1.7
 - compounds (*X bóŋgó*), §5.1.7

- bù-*, ‘be’ (locational-existential), §11.2.2-3
 in relative clause, §14.1.6.3
- bû-* with adjectival predicate, §11.4.1
- bû:*, *bû:-Ø* (also homophonous to *bú-w̄*)
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bû:, 3Pl pronoun, §4.3.1
bû:-Ø, 3Sg form of *bû-* with adjectival predicate, §11.4.1
- bú-w̄* (homophonous to *bû*), inanimate participle of *bù-* ‘be’, §14.1.6.3
- cé:lé*, ‘do well’, §8.6.4.1
- célè*, ‘liver/heart’
 in emotion expressions, §11.1.4
- cém* ~ *cêw* (‘all’ in Jamsay)
 reduplicated or iterated in sense ‘equal(ly)’, §12.2.3
- at the end of complex conditional antecedents, §16.3
- cók*, ‘exactly’, §8.6.3.2
- =dá*, variant of *=rá* in *=m=dá* ‘it is not’, §11.2.1.4-5
- dá:* ~ *-rá:*, in adverbs ‘around here/there’, §4.4.2.1
 in ‘where?’ interrogative, §13.2.4
- dá:*, in *tílú dá:* ‘in the rear’, §8.6.6.3
- dâ:*, in cardinal direction terms, §8.6.6.3
- dâⁿ-wôy*, ‘all’, §6.1.1, §6.8.1
- dâ:ri-*, ‘dare’, §17.3.6
- dâ:wó*, ‘a little’, §8.6.2
- dâyⁿ*, ‘manner, way’
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 in embedded manner interrogatives, §13.2.11
 in quasi-purposive clause, §17.5.1.2
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- de* (no intrinsic tone), clause-final particle ‘if’ particle, §16.1
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-w̄ kù dè, alternative perfective construction, §16.1.2
-w̄ dè, future sequential, §16.1.2
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- déyⁿ→*, ‘apart’, §8.6.7
- dě*, ‘get tired’
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- dē:-* in prolonged-action construction, §15.2.1.4
- dě* after verb with lengthened final vowel, §15.2.1.8
- dêm→*, ‘a little’, §8.6.2
- déngèy*, ‘because of’, §8.5.2
 in ‘because’ clause, §17.5.2.3
- dó-* (see *-m-dó-*)
- dogúrú*, ‘time’
 in ‘when?’ questions, §13.2.5
- ^{HL} *dósù^L wò ~ dósù^L wò*, complex ‘close to, near’ postposition, §8.4.6
- dō-*, ‘arrive, reach, attain’
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- dùmdó:*, ‘last’ (adjective), §4.7.2.1
- dùmdú- ~ dùmdí-*, ‘finish’, §17.4.1
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- dv̄*, variant of *-rv̄-* suffix after *m*
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- èsíⁿ→*, ‘a lot’, §8.6.2
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- ^{HL} *gálù^L wò*, complex ‘between’ postposition, §8.4.11
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- gà:lí-*, ‘prevent’, §17.3.3
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