

8 Postpositions and Adverbials

Jamsay makes use of postpositions for dative and spatiotemporal cases. The purest postposition, bearing no relationship to any noun, is *lè*, which has several grammatical functions. A number of the postpositions are based on noun stems. These include complex postpositions that themselves consist of a noun plus postposition, requiring a complement in the form of a possessor (cf. English *at the back of...*). There are also some postpositions in the form of a noun with an overlaid locative H(H...)L tone melody.

A postpositional phrase (PP) is of the basic form [NP Postposition], but it may be extended by adding a universal quantifier *cêw* or *fú:* ⇒ ‘all’ (in emphatic sense), or by a particle like *kâ:* ‘also’. (xx1.a) has *fú:* ⇒ after a PP, in a different sense than we get when *fú:* ⇒ occurs at the end of the NP complement of the postposition (xx1.b). (xxx.c) illustrates *kâ:* ‘also’. (xxx.d) has *cêw* ‘all’ after a PP, and also shows how a PP can be treated like a noun, specifically as a (descriptive) “possessor” with following Possessive *mâ*.

- (xx1) a. [àná kùⁿ] bérè ∴ fú: ⇒
 [village Def] **in** **all**
 ‘throughout the village’
- b. [àná kùⁿ fú:] bérè
 [village Def **all**] **in**
 ‘in all the villages’
- c. [èjú lé] kó é:-sà-m,
 [field in] NonhO see-Reslt-1SgS,
 [àná bérè kâ:ⁿ] kó é:-sà-m
 [village **in** **also**] NonhO see-Reslt-1SgS
 ‘I’ve seen it (=bird) in the bush, and I’ve seen it in the village too’
- d. [[[é àná kùⁿ] lè cêw]
 [[[2PIP village Def] **in** **all**]
 mà íné-m kùⁿ] bòrô:-Ø
Poss person.Pl Def] call.Impf-3SgS
 ‘He will summon the people from both of your-Pl villages.’ 2004.4.6

8.1 Tonal locatives

gũn ‘back (body)’ gũnè ‘after, behind’

Phonologically, the tonal locative is formed by adding an L-tone at the end of the input noun. The only similar process is the addition of an L-tone at the end of verb stems to form the unsuffixed Imperfective stem. In interlinears, the notation “...Loc.HL” will be used. For the phonology in detail of these two formations, see Tone-Grafting (§3.xxx).

Textual examples of tonal locatives are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. mòbîl òjù-kâ: céjé-sà-y
 vehicle **road.Loc.HL** meet-PerfP-1PlS
 ‘We met the vehicle on the road.’
- b. [[èné mà kó:] lè] úrò yèrê:-Ø
 [[Refl Poss foot] Inst] **house.Loc.HL** come.Impf-3SgS
 ‘It (=corpse) will come home on its own feet.’
- c. [[é bú:rù ∴] [é ñǎ: ∴] [é ní:] ∴ cêw]
 [[2PIP bread] [2PIP meal] [2PIP water] all]
 [é kòrô:] kùn-Ø
 [2PIP **neck.Loc.HL**] be.in.L-3SgS
 ‘Your-Pl bread, your meals, and your water are all on your-Pl neck (=your own responsibility).’ **2004.5.1**

The tonal locative can only be used when the noun in question is **NP-final** and not the complement of an overt postposition. The noun may be preceded by a possessor NP and/or a compound initial (xx3.a). However, when it is followed by an adjective, demonstrative, or numeral, the tonal locative is not possible and an overt postposition must be used (xx3.b). This is to be expected, since (except for numerals) these postnominal modifiers force tone-dropping on the noun stem. For a rare exceptional case where a modifying adjective takes tonal locative form, see §8.xxx, below.

- (xx3) a. émé dòyò-úrò
 1PIP Dogon-**house.Loc.HL**
 ‘(here) in our Dogon country’ (common phrase)
- b. [òjù-kâ: núŋò] lè
 [**road** Dem] in
 ‘on this road’

The common tonal locative úrò ‘in (the) house’ can serve as a **compound initial**, in L-toned form ùrò-. The compound-initial form is indistinguishable from that of non-locative úró ‘house’. However, in e.g. àyà-ùrò-tǎŋ-Ø ‘(bride’s) transfer to her husband’s home’, a compound ending in a Verbal Noun, we clearly

have a locative, as seen in the underlying VP àyà-úrò tájá- ‘move to the husband’s home’.

The adverbial expression nùmô: nùmô: ‘hand to hand’ is an iteration of a HL-locative of nùmó ‘hand’. It is used with a verb like ‘give’, indicating that someone delivered something in person to the recipient (not through an intermediary). For close combat, the expression used is ‘chest to chest’, which has the same structure: gòṅṅô: gòṅṅô:, cf. gòṅṅó ‘chest’.

Some **postpositions** are, or probably originated as, tonal locatives of nouns. In (xx4), the HL contour converts a noun into a postposition, with a more figurative sense than in the preceding cases. The complement takes the form of a possessor. Textual examples are in (xx5).

(xx4)	noun	gloss	postposition	gloss	
	a.	kú: ⁿ	‘head’	kû: ⁿ	‘on the head of; about, concerning’
	b.	kòró	‘neck’	kòrô:	‘at the expense of’

(xx5)	a.	[[é bú:rù :.], [é ñǎ: :.], [é ní: :.] cêw]
		[[2PIP bread], [2PIP meal], [2PIP water] all]
		[é kòrô:] kùn
		[2PIP neck.Loc] be.in.Perf
		‘Your-Pl bread, your (staple) meals, and your water are all at your own expense (lit. “on your neck”).’
	b.	[[ñě-m mà àjùwò-sǔm-Ø] mà kû: ⁿ]
		[[woman-Pl Poss new.mother-wash-VblN] Poss head.Loc]
		èmě-n tégé
		1Pl-Dat speak.Imprt
		‘tell-Sg us about the washing of new mothers (=postpartum seclusion)!’
		2004.3.19

For kòrô: expressing responsibility (for an expense), compare English *on the shoulders of (someone)*.

See also the discussions of locatives bé r è (or bè r ê:) and mánà, below.

8.1.2 [kó X] with tonal locative

The Nonhuman pronoun kó occurs in a construction [kó X] with a following noun like ‘time’ or ‘place’. The resulting phrase can be translated ‘(at) that time’, but kó here is properly taken structurally as a possessor, hence ‘(at the) time of that’. The construction should be distinguished from the demonstrative phrase [kò X] with L-toned kò.

The noun following *kó* has the form of a tonal locative. When the noun has H-tone in the penult, the final two syllables appear as an HL tone sequence. The other attested example involves an R-toned monosyllable. In this case, the output is a bell-shaped <LHL>. The tonal locative is applied somewhat inconsistently in these examples, so variants with lexical tones also occur. The data are in (xx1), the clear cases with audible differences being (xx1.a-b). In (xx1.b), the noun already has lexical HHL tones, so there is no audible change in the tonal locative.

(xx1)	noun	gloss	with <i>kó</i>	gloss
	a.	<i>dógúró</i>	‘time’	<i>kó dógúrù</i> ‘(at) that time’ (variant: <i>kó dógúrú</i>)
	b.	<i>dǐ:ⁿ</i>	‘place’	<i>kó dǐ:ⁿ</i> ‘(at) that place’ (variant: <i>kó dǐ:ⁿ</i>)
	c.	<i>wákátì</i>	‘time’	<i>kó wákátì</i> ‘(at) that time’

A similar phrase, *kó níŋírⁿé* ‘(on) that day’, is attested several times with all-H tone on the noun.

8.1.3 Tonal locative of [noun + adjective]

I have one example where the tonal locative is expressed on the adjective of a [noun + adjective] combination. This is ‘a single (=the same) place’ in (xx1).

(xx1)	[<i>á</i>	<i>nì:ñé</i>	<i>∴</i>]	[<i>á</i>	<i>màlfâ:ⁿ</i>	<i>∴</i>	<i>fú:</i>]	[<i>dì:ⁿ</i>	<i>túmnò</i>]
	[2SgP	gear]		[2SgP	rifle		all]	[place.L	single.HL]
	‘your gear (=bag, tools) and your rifle, in a single (=the same) place’								
	2004.4.4								

The adjective is elsewhere HH-toned *túmnó* ‘sole, single’. It does not seem reasonable to explain the HL tone of *túmnò* in (xxx) as reflecting a relative clause structure.

8.2 All-purpose postposition *lè* and variant *lé*

8.2.1 L-toned *lè*

This postposition has L-tone (*lè*) in most combination, but it occurs with H-tone in certain fixed adverbial phrases (see below). Its grammatical functions are summarized in (xx1).

(xx1) Functions of *lè*

- a. locative
- b. instrumental
- c. dative

In interlinears, I gloss it variably as ‘in’, Dat[ive], or Inst[umental], depending on the context.

Locative examples are in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [[èné mà círⁿé kùⁿ] *lè*] dɔː-yà-∅ dèy
[[Logo Poss nose Def] **in**] arrive-Perf-3SgS if
‘if it arrives in the vicinity of (=if it approaches) my nose’ [in quotation]
- b. [gówó *lè*] kòrò-∅
[wall in] be.hung.Perf.L-NonhS
‘It (=garment) is hanging on (=against) the wall.’

Instrumental examples are in (xx3).

- (xx3) a. [bé^ré *lè*] ìjú láyá
[stick **Inst**] dog hit.Imprt
‘Hit-Sg the dog with a stick!’
- b. [nîm ké] [nàṅá *lè*] wàr-á:rà-y
[now Top] [bovine **Inst**] farm-Habit-1PlS
‘Nowadays, we farm (e.g. plow) with oxen.’

In some combinations, there is no clear distinction between locative and instrumental function. For example, *kóː lè* ‘(going) on/by foot’ can be construed equally well as locative (English *on foot*) or as instrumental (English *by foot*).

Dative examples are in (xx4). Dative here has a broad sense, ranging from recipient (of ‘say’, ‘give’, or ‘show’) to benefactive to purposive.

- (xx4) a. [bé nè] [bé lèy] cín [tôːn *lè*] kà^rnà-bà wá
[3Pl now] [3Pl two] thus [Recip **Dat**] do.Perf-3PlS say
‘Them, those two (Camel and Hyena), that’s what they did to each other, it is said.’
- b. [wó yóṅkù *lè*] ènèⁿè-lí-∅
[3SgP soul **Dat**] please-Perf.Neg-3SgS
‘It did not please him.’ **2004.3.2**

The examples in (xx5) are idiomatic and difficult to fit into the categories given above.

- (xx5) a. [má sùn-àǵá] lè
 [1SgP ear.L-hear] **in/Inst**
 ‘from (=based on) what I have heard, ...’
- b. gúy^{nó} lè
 theft **in/Inst**
 ‘stealthily, clandestinely’ **2004.5.1**
- c. [[kù:ⁿ érù] lè] gó:≡kò gá
 [[head good] **in/Inst**] go.out.Impf≡be.Nonh ga
 ‘It comes from (=depends on) good luck.’ **2004.5.3**

Postposition lè is not used with pronominals, except for the Logophoric singular pronoun (chiefly in dative function): èné lè ‘to him/her-Logo’. Other pronominals have a special set of forms ending in -n or -rú in dative function (and for the Nonhuman pronoun, also in locative and instrumental functions); see §4.xxx.

8.1.2 H-toned lé

H-toned lé occurs in a number of fixed deictic and other adverbial expressions (xxx). The preceding element is a noun or postposition. If the final two syllables of the noun show a rising tone (monosyllabic R or bisyllabic LH), as in (xx1.a), or if it ends in two H-toned syllables (xx1.b), there is no change in its tone in the adverbial phrase. In (xx1.c) are some cases where a HL-toned postposition appears to become HH in the adverbial (**tone-raising**). Some of the postpositions in (xx1.c) are themselves related to HH- or LH-toned nouns, shown in brackets under the postpositions. In the case of dójú lé ‘down below’, we could take the HH-toned noun dójú ‘bottom’ as direct input to the adverbial phrase, disregarding postposition dójú, and relocate dójú lé to (xx1.b). However, where the noun has LH tones (jîré), it makes little sense to take it as direct input to the adverbial, since the adverbial is jíré lé with HH-tones, not #jîré lé as we would expect from (xx1.a).

(xx1)	stem	gloss	adverbial	gloss
a.	àrgá	‘side’	àrgá lé	‘on the side of’
	bèré	‘belly’	bèré lé	‘inside’ (cf. bérè ‘in’)
	bòró	‘rear, base’	bòró lé	‘at the rear’
	cèr ⁿ èw ⁿ é	‘festivity’	cèr ⁿ èw ⁿ é lé	‘in festivities’
	èjú	‘field, bush’	èjú lé	‘in the bush (away from village)’
	gǔnnè	‘after, behind’	gǔnnè lé	‘behind’
	nùmò-bàná	‘left hand’	nùmò-bàná lé	‘on the left’

	nùmò-ñǎ:	‘right hand’	nùmò-ñǎ: lé	‘on the right’
b.	bómó	‘exterior’	bómó lé	‘outside’
	úró	‘house’	úró lé	‘at home’
c.	mánà	‘on’	máná lé	‘on top, up above’
	dójù	‘under’	dójú lé	‘down below’
		[< dójú ‘bottom’]		
	gójò	‘half, part’	gójó lé	‘in halves’
	jírè	‘in front of’	jírè lé	‘in front’
		[< jírè ‘eye’]		
	jírè-dágù	‘in front of’	jírè dágú lé	‘in front’

There are also some demonstrative adverbs ending in lé (xx2). They are discussed in more detail in §4.xxx.

(xx2)	ě̀n lé, ǎ̀n lé	‘there (in that same place)’
	yì-lé	‘here’
	yé-lé, yè-lé	‘over there’

8.3 Locational postpositions

8.3.1 Locative, allative, and ablative functions

Like other languages of the region, Jamsay makes no distinction between (static) locative, allative, and ablative in its postpositions and most other spatiotemporal adverbials. Instead, general locational expressions are used, while directional (i.e. allative or ablative) senses are expressed by co-occurring verbs such as yàṅǎ- ‘take’, gó:- ‘go out, leave’, yèrè- ‘come’, and yǎ:- ‘go’. In combination with such a motion verb, any locative expression can be translated as allative (‘to...’) or ablative (‘from...’) instead of static locative.

See also the ‘from X, until/all the way to Y’ constructions covered in §15.xxx.

8.1.2 Simple and complex PPs

A simple PP is of the form [X Postp], where the postposition is added directly to the complement NP (cf. English *in, at*). A complex PP is of the form [X mà Postp], where Possessive mà intervenes. The postpositions used in the complex type have a (syntactic) **possessor** as complement (cf. English *in front of, ahead of*). Such postpositions probably all originated as nouns in tonal locative form. This original construction was therefore of the type [[X’s N]-Loc] (e.g. ‘on X’s head’), where X

was the possessor of the noun N, rather than the (direct) complement of the locative marker.

In spite of this historical origin, there remains the question whether complex PPs in modern Jamsay are still syntactically analysable as [[X's N]-Loc] with an embedded possessor, or have been grammaticalized so that [X mà Postp] with a purely formal Possessive morpheme now behaves like simple [X Postp]. It is possible to test this by observing relativization patterns. When a simple PP is relativized on, both the postposition and the final word of the complement NP undergo tone-dropping (§14.xxx). When complex [X mà Postp] is relativized on, two patterns are observed: a) both the postposition and (the last word of) the complement NP are tone-dropped; b) only (the last word of) the complement NP is tone-dropped (§14.xxx).

8.3.3 'in' (bérè and bèrê:)

An explicitly locative postposition, specifying that the focal object is enclosed within the boundaries of the landmark object, takes either of the forms in (xx1). Both bérè, which requires a non-pronominal NP complement, and bèrê:, which can take either a pronoun or an NP as complement, are related to the noun bèr'é 'belly'.

(xx1)	after pronoun	after NP
a.	—	NP + bérè
b.	possessive pronoun + bèrê:	NP mà bèrê:

The syntactically more flexible variant bèrê: has the morphosyntax of an **alienably possessed noun**. Its complement is a possessor in form: noun-headed NP plus Possessive mà, or a pronominal possessor. By comparing it to noun bèr'é 'belly', we can see that it has an overlaid final F-tone (as in tonal locatives), preserving the lexical L-tone of the first syllable.

(xx2)	a.	kó	bèrê:
		Nonh	in
		'in it, therein'	
	b.	ñú:	mà bèrê:
		millet	Poss in
		'among the millet (crop in field)'	
	c.	[ùrò-dú: mà bèrê:],	
		[family Poss in],	
		[ìnè gàmà-nám] yó≡wò-bà	
		[person some-PI] exist≡be.Perf-3PIS	
		'Within the family, there are certain people (who will go).' 2003.3.1	

By contrast, *bérè* is used only with noun-headed (i.e. non-pronominal) complement. With its HL tone, it can be compared to the stem-level H(H...L) overlay on one type of locativized noun, e.g. *úrò* ‘at the house, (at) home’ (§8.xxx, above). However, it is also similar to the compound type [*x̄ n̄*]

- (xx3) a. *èjú bérè*
 field in
 ‘in the field’
- b. [*àná bérè*] *nú: mèyⁿ ↑*,
 [village in] enter and,
 ‘entering (into) the village, ...’ **2004.3.3**
- c. [[*nìhè-dá:ɲá bérè*]≡ȳ *dèy*] *ñé-wⁿ*
 [[sauce-container in]≡it.is if] eat.Impf-2SgS
 ‘If it (= meat) is in the sauce pot, you-Sg will eat (it).’ **2004.3.3**

I can see no general semantic difference between *bèrè:* and *bérè*. The fact that only *bèrè:* is used with pronouns is an indication that there is little or no semantic difference.

8.3.4 ‘on; on the head of; about’ (*kû:*ⁿ)

This postposition is the locative ...HL-tone form of *kú:*ⁿ ‘head’. It can be used in a fairly literal sense, roughly ‘on the head of’, with human or animate complement, as in (xx1). With a noun-headed (nonpronominal) complement, Possessive *mà* is used.

- (xx1) [*èjù-nòwⁿó tɛ:*] [*é kû:*ⁿ] *nùmó gá: kân*
 [bush-meat exactly] [2Pl on] fall say after
 ‘if a wild animal had fallen on (=attacked) you-Pl’

However, even in this case the specific body part ‘head’ is not central, and a more general gloss ‘on’ or ‘onto’ is appropriate. An adversarial (or malefactive) nuance is apparent here, as it is in the following (xx2).

- (xx2) [*ǎn mà kû:*ⁿ] *yǎ:-yè-bà táɲà: dèy, ...*
 [man Poss on] go-Perf-3PIS happen if
 ‘if it happens that they (= women) have gone on (= scolded) him, ...’
2004.3.3

The postposition is common in the abstract sense ‘about, concerning’, with a verb of speech or thought.

- (xx3) [[*ñě-m mà àjùwò-sũm-Ø*] *mà kû:*ⁿ]

[[woman-Pl Poss new.mother-wash-VblN] Poss **about**]
 èmě-n tégé
 1Pl-Dat speak.Imprt
 ‘Tell-Sg us about the seclusion (quarantine) of a new mother.’

8.3.5 ‘on’ (mánà)

This postposition means ‘on’ or ‘on top of’, specifying that the focal object is at rest, on or near the top of the landmark object. Compare the adverbial phrase mánà lé ‘on top, up above’.

mánà is added directly to a noun, without possessor marking. However, pronominal combinations like má mánà ‘on me’ show (alienable) possessor pronominals.

- (xx1) a. [nùwⁿó kùⁿ] yàŋá [òwⁿò-túm mánà]
 [corpse Def] take [burial.mound **on**]
 ná:ná-tù-bà dèy
 put-Perf-3PIS if
 ‘when they have laid the corpse on the burial mound’
- b. [nîŋ ké] [nùwⁿó kùⁿ] [òwⁿò-túm mánà] gó: ,
 [now Topic] [corpse Def] [burial.mound **on**] go.out,
 [béré lé] nú:-yⁿè kùⁿ jùgó-bà
 [inside in] enter-Perf Def know.Impf-3PIS
 ‘Now (because of a change in drum rhythm), they (=people within hearing distance of the cemetery) know that the corpse has come (=been lifted) off of the burial mound and has gone (=been put) inside (the grave proper).’
- c. [èné [tógù mánà] ná:-gó-Ø] wá
 [Logo [stall **on**] spend.night-Impf.Neg-3SgS] say
 ‘(Camel said:) I won’t spend the night on top of the stall.’
- d. [tùmó kùⁿ mánà] béré té:-né méyⁿ, ...
 [stone Def **on**] stick arrange-Caus and, ...
 ‘(They) place sticks on top of those stones, and ...’ **2004.3.6**
- e. [dèŋé mánà] ná:nâ:-Ø ⇒
 [anvil **on**] put.up.on.Impf-3SgS
 ‘He (blacksmith) will put it (iron to be forged) on the anvil.’ **2004.3.12**

(xx1.a-b), from the same textual passage, together make the point that the locational PP itself does not specify directionality of movement, but is compatible with directionality expressed by a motion verb (see beginning of this chapter).

(xx1.c), from a tale, involved Camel towering over Hyena’s shed, grazing on tree foliage overhead at night. Not understanding this, Hyena had just asked whether Camel was lying down to sleep all night on the shed.

mánà can be used with reference to a vertical rather than horizontal position, e.g. ‘on the wall’, when the context is otherwise suggestive of horizontal position (a surface supporting the landmark object).

(xx2) [gówó mánà] yǎ:-rà-Ø
 [wall on] go-Habit-3SgS
 ‘It (=gecko lizard) walks on (the surface) the wall.’

8.3.6 ‘close to, beside’ (dǐ:ⁿ)

This postposition is uncommon in texts. It is the tonal locative of the high-frequency noun dǐ:ⁿ ‘place’, which is also used as head noun (L-toned dǐ:ⁿ) in spatial and manner adverbials (§15.xxx). The complement is in **possessor** form.

(xx1) a. [kó wò táyⁿá jérè jé mèyⁿ],
 [NonhO 3SgS.L expose.to.sun hold.Perf.HL say and]
 [[wó jé:n] mà dǐ:ⁿ],
 [[3SgP gear] Poss **beside**],
 púlò-n yèré wó tèmè-Ø
 Fulbe-Sg come 3SgO find.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘As he held it (rifle) out in the sun, near his gear, the Fulbe man came and encountered him.’ **2004.4.4**

b. hâl [màlfâ:ⁿ kùⁿ] kúmó jè yèré
 until [rifle Def] hold.in.hand go.with come
 [wó dǐ:ⁿ] dò:-Ø
 [3SgP **beside**] arrive.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘until he (=Fulbe man) came up close to him holding the rifle in his hand’ **2004.4.4**

8.3.7 ‘in front of’ (jírè, jírè lé, jìrè-dágù, kâ:)

jírè with HL tone contour, or jírè lé with H-tones, means basically ‘in front of’. Simple jírè takes a pronominal or NP complement in **possessor** form.

(xx1) a. [kó gǔnnè] è dígè-n
 [Nonh behind] 2PlS.L follow.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg
 [é jírè] kò jòwó-n
 [2PIP **in.front.of**] NonhS.L run.Impf-Ppl.Sg

‘you have followed behind them, they are running ahead of you.’
2004.3.1 (see also §15.xxx)

- b. [má jírè]
 [1Sg in.front.of]
 ‘in front of me (=in my direct experience)’ **2004.3.2**
- c. [mì dê:] mà jírè
 [1SgP father.HL] Poss **in.front.of**
 ‘in front of my father’

There is an extended variant jírè-dágù with the same sense and syntax (xx2.a). In addition, jírè lé ‘in front’, which can also be an adverbial without overt complement (as in ‘they are walking in front’), can take a **possessor** complement (xx2.b).

- (xx2) a. [má jírè-dágù] ùmò-Ø
 [1SgP **in.front.of**] lie.down.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She is lying down (= sleeping) in front of me.’
- b. [má jírè lé] dà:ⁿ-Ø
 [1Sg **in.front in**] sit.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He/She is sitting in front of me.’

jírè can be used in a loosely temporal sense ‘before’ with animate complement, especially where a spatial element is also present (xx3).

- (xx3) [émé jírè] yèrè-bà
 [1PIP **before**] come.Perf.L-3PlS
 ‘They came here before us.’

However, there is a clausal ‘before’ construction with -wò lé (§15.xxx) added to the verb ‘arrive’, and this construction is used when an explicit temporal reference point is involved.

- (xx4) [má bú:dù mà bérù] dèné-m̐
 [1SgP money Poss getting(noun)] want.Impf-1SgS
 [éwé mà dó:-wò lé]
 [market Poss arrive-**Caus in**]
 ‘I want my money before the market (day).’

When the reference point is a dwelling, instead of jírè or variant, we get a locative form (final ...HL tone realized as F-tone) of the compound mò:-ká: ‘door’ (including ká: ‘mouth’). Thus ‘in front of the house’ is usually expressed as ‘at the

door of the house' (xx.a). Likewise, kâ: 'at the mouth' is used in contexts like 'in front of (= at the mouth of) the cave' (xx5.b).

- (xx5) a. [úró mà m̀: -kâ:] ǹmo-Ø
 [house **Poss** **?-mouth.Loc.HL**] fall.Perf.L-3SgS
 'He/She fell down in front of (=at the door of) the house.'
- b. [t̀m̀ kóm kâ:] ìjè-Ø
 [stone hole **mouth.Loc.HL**] stand.Perf.L-3SgS
 'He/She stopped in front of the cave.'

8.3.8 'behind' (gũn lé), 'after' (gũnǹ)

gũn can have the spatial sense 'behind', where the reference position is defined by a person, object, or place. In this sense, gũn most often occurs with following lé in locative function. The complement of 'behind' is expressed as a **possessor**, hence requires mà after a nonpronominal NP (xx1.a-b).

- (xx1) a. [úró mà gũn lé] j̀ǹ: ǹ:-Ø
 [house **Poss** **behind in**] sleep(noun) sleep.Perf.L-3SgS
 'He/She slept behind the house.'
- b. [má gũn lé] yà:-Ø
 [**1SgP** **behind in**] go.Perf.L-3SgS
 'He/She walked behind me.'

Without lé, gũnǹ can also be used in the temporal sense 'after', in connection with a reference time. The complement is again expressed as a **possessor**. Expressions with human complement like 'after us' are understood as meaning 'after our departure' and the like. As a postposition without lé, gũnǹ is in tonal locative form.

- (xx2) a. [émé gũnǹ] ǹ-đí: ⁿ yěs-sà-bà
 [**1PIP** **after**] here come-Perf-3PIS
 'They came here after us (=after our departure).' (yèr é-)
- b. [lá:yá:r̀ mà gũnǹ], ànà yǎ̀-_y
 [Feast.of.Ram **Poss** **after**], village go.Impf-1PIS
 'After the Feast of the Ram, we'll go on a trip.'
- c. gàmá [kó gũnǹ]
 often [Nonh **after**]
 [[n̄: pél-lèy] má ⇒ ě: t̀:-n] bé:-bà
 [[day ten-two] of month Recip-Sg] stay.Impf-3PIS

‘After that they usually stay for around twenty days to a month.’
2004.5.3

gũnnè without lé can also be used in what appears to be spatial rather than temporal sense with the verb dîgέ- ‘follow’; see (xxx) in §15.xxx. However, the difference between spatial and temporal is not sharp with ‘follow’ (compare the rough equivalence in English between *follow behind* and *follow after*).

8.3.9 ‘on the side of’ (àrgá lé)

This expression means ‘on the side of (sb, sth)’, or more broadly ‘in the vicinity of’. It can be used with human referent to mean ‘in the presence of’, or even ‘at the home of, chez’. The complement takes **possessor form**.

- (xx1) a. [má àrgá lé] yéré
 [1SgP side in] come!
 ‘Come over (here) by me!’
- b. [àná mà àrgá lé] yằ-
 [village Poss side in] go.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I’m going (= heading) to the side (= vicinity) of the village.’

8.3.10 ‘under’ (dójù)

This postposition most often takes a simple **non-possessor NP** without Possessive mà as complement. However, mà is optionally added (xx1.d). Moreover, if the complement is pronominal, it must have **pronominal possessor** form. In form, dójù is compatible with a tonal locative of the noun dójú ‘bottom’.

- (xx1) a. tùmó [úró dójù] yó kùn
 stone [house under] exist be.in.Perf
 ‘There are rocks under the house.’
- b. lù:ró [á dójù] yó kùn
 snake [2Sg under] exist be.in.Perf
 ‘There is a snake under you-Sg’
 (said to someone in a tree or on a mountain slope)
- c. hâl [úró cì-cîné dójù] ù kùn-în
 even [house Rdp-shade under] 2SgS.L be.in.Perf.HL-Ppl-Sg
 déy kârⁿà
 if even

‘(The weather is hot,) so much that even if you are under (=in) the shade of a house, ...’ **2004.3.1**

- d. tógù (mà) dójù
 shed (Poss) **under**
 ‘under (=within) the shed (=shelter)’

As (xx1.d) shows, dójù can be used to indicate position in a structure, so long as the structure is thought of primarily as a shelter or covering. With human complement, it can also be used in examples like (xx2), where ‘under you’ means ‘hidden on your body’ (i.e. in an inside pocket).

- (xx2) [èjí:n [á dójù] kó kúnó cé:né]
 [very [2Sg **under**] NonhO put do.well.Imprt]
 [kò tè:rè-ý] jè-Ø
 [NonhO show-Imprt.Neg] say.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He said, “put it (=passport) well under you, and don’t show it!”’ **2004.5.4**

8.3.11 ‘beside’ (pènè, pènê:)

This pair of related forms is structurally similar to the pair bérè, bèrê: for ‘in, inside of’. The two variants are derived from the noun péné ‘side’. With pènè we see the stem-wide H(H..L) overlaid tone contour, and it can be used only with a nonpronominal NP as complement (xx1). pènê: has the final F-tone superimposed onto the lexical LH tone, resulting in LF word-level contour. It takes a pronominal or NP complement in **possessor** form (xx2).

- (xx1) úró pènè
 house **beside**
 ‘beside the house’

- (xx2) a. úró mà pènê:
 house Poss **beside**
 ‘beside the house’
 b. má pènê:
 1Sg **beside**
 ‘beside me’

8.3.12 ‘between’ (gǎnnè, gǐ-gǎn)

‘Between X and Y’ is normally expressed as [[X .: Y .:] mà gǎnnè], whether X and Y are independent pronouns or nonpronominal NPs. In other words, ‘X and Y’,

treated as a nonpronominal NP, appears as the possessor (xx1). For the conjunction construction [X ∴ Y ∴], see §7.xxx.

- (xx1) a. [àrⁿ-úm ∴ ñě-m ∴] mà gǎnⁿ
 [man-Pl woman-Pl Poss **between**
 ‘between men and women’
- b. [émé ∴ é ∴] mà gǎnⁿ
 [1Pl 2Pl Poss **between**
 ‘between us and you-Pl’

With referentially plural NP or pronoun, we get just [X mà gǎnⁿ] as in ínέ-m mà gǎnⁿ ‘between/among the people’, or with a pronoun [X gǎnⁿ], as in émέ gǎnⁿ ‘between us’. Here we have normal alienable possession.

Postposition gǎnⁿ is in tonal locative form, parallel to gǔnⁿ ‘behind’. There is a noun gǎn ‘zone’, attested only once in my textual corpus (xx2).

- (xx2) [gàn núŋò ∴ fú:] yǎ: mòrⁿó=kò
 [zone.L Dem all] go be.together.Impf=be.Nonh
 ‘(people of) the whole area went and assembled.’ **2004.4.22**

When focalized by clitic ≡î:, we get ... gàn≡î: with no prolongation of the nasal. There is also a rare reduplicated variant gî-gǎn.

For examples of gǎnⁿ with conjoined NPs, see §7.xxx.

8.4 Purposive-Causal jέ

This (apparent) postposition can mean ‘for’ (purposive) or ‘because of, on account of’. A **purposive** sense is present in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [kó sòr-ú jέ] [ě: tǎ:n ǎ: nǎyⁿ bǎ:]
 [NonhP sprinkle-VblN **for**] [month three month four since]
 [bé: bè sâ: dèy ↑], ...
 [be 3PlS.L do.Perf.HL if], ...
 ‘For irrigating it (properly), if they keep at it throughout three or four months, ...’ **2004.3.9**
- b. [mí jέ] ìnìwⁿé nùrⁿù-ŋò-∅
 [1Sg **for**] Refl be.wounded-Caus=3SgS
 ‘He wounded himself because of me (e.g. while cutting fruit for me)’

A **causal** sense can be seen in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [ànà gámá] [kàjú jé], [dì:ⁿ làyá] yà:-j-é
 [village certain] [calabash **for**], [place.L other] go-Impf.Neg-3PIS
 ‘Some (other) villages, on account of calabash (farming), they don’t go
 anywhere else (in the dry season).’ **2004.3.9**
- b. gò:-tùmó lá: dê:-w, [tù-túmúrⁿú jé]
 granary-stone first carry.Impf-2sgS [Rdp-termite **for**]
 ‘(To construct a granary,) you first carry some granary stones (for the
 base of the granary), on account of termites (who would eat through
 wood).’ **2004.3.26**
- c. [sì:ⁿlé jé] jón jòṅó-bà táṅà: dèy
 [disease for] healing heal.Impf-3PIS happen if
 ‘if they (=healers) treat (people) for sickness’ **2004.3.27**

The phrase *ámà jé* means ‘for (the sake of) God’, or more freely ‘in the name of God’, as a motive for doing a good deed.

After a focalized constituent, I recorded L-toned *jè*. For the relevant example and discussion, see §13.xxx. Both the fact that *jé* allows Focus clitic $\equiv \tilde{y}$ to attach to the complement NP, and the dropping of tones to *jè*, suggest a (perfective) verb-like status for this “postposition.”

A verb-like status is also suggested by (xx3), where *jé* following a noun is itself followed by *méy* ‘and’. (xx3) is from a text about mice traps constructed by balancing an inverted wooden bowl on a palm-leaf bowl cover, with an opening for the mouse.

- (xx3) ùjùⁿó [[kò ñǎ: kùⁿ] jé méy]
 mouse [[Dem food Def] for and]
 [gǔ:n kùⁿ] dṅé nú:-yè-∅ táṅà: dèy, ...
 [bowl.cover Def] follow enter-Perf-3SgS happen if, ...
 ‘The mouse [topic], when it has followed along the bowl cover and has gone
 in (under the bowl itself) because of (=in order to get) the food, ...’
2004.3.16

These data suggest a connection between “postposition” *jé* (Purposive or Causal) and the defective quasi-verb *jè*– ‘say’, whose inflected forms are limited to the unsuffixed Perfective only. For *jé* and *jé méy* at the end of adverbial clauses, see §15.xxx.

8.5 Other adverbials (or equivalents)

In this section I describe non-PP adverbials, or functional equivalents to such adverbials in other languages. Jamsay is not rich in evaluative, or modal adverbials as

such. It has the usual range of deictic adverbials for spatial senses, and has an interesting set of expressive adverbials. For pragmatic adverbials, see chapter 19.

8.5.1 Similarity ('like')

cín means 'thus, like that', and is used without a complement within its own clause. Either it is accompanied by a gesture, or it refers to a preceding description. It is often overtly focalized as clause-initial *cín=î*: ... ('that's how ...'). It may be followed by *jín* 'like'.

- (xx1) a. *cín jín [cè: bê:-Ø]=ỹ*
thus like [thing.L be.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]=it.is
 'That's how it was.' (end of an interview segment) **2004.3.5**
- b. [tõy kùn kέ] [àjǎyn kùn kέ]
 [sowing Def Topic] [sowing.in.pit Def Topic]
cín=î: kárⁿá-bà
thus=Foc do.Impf-3PIS
 '(Regular) sowing [topic], and the method of sowing (before the rains begin) in pits with manure [topic], that's how they do them.' **2004.3.6**
- c. [bé lèy] *cín=kò*
 [3Pl two] **thus=be.Nonh**
 'The two of them (=sorcerer and healer), it's thus (with them).'
2004.3.27
- c. [bè kέ] *cín=wò-bà*
 [3Pl.L Topic] **thus=be.Hum-3PIS**
 'Them [topic], they are like that.' **2004.3.27**

For 'like X' with a complement, the adverbial used is *jín*, following the relevant NP or adverbial.

- (xx2) a. [[jàndúru jín] bíré bíré] é ñé:-wⁿ-á:rà-m
 [[donkey **like**] work(noun) work] 2PIO eat-Caus-Habit-1SgS
 'I work like a donkey (=hard) to feed you-PL.'
- b. á: jǎ: mèy ↑ [bèr-ná: jín] dòrⁿó-bà
 catch take and [goat **like**] sell.Impf-3PIS
 'They (=slave-captors) used to catch, transport, and sell (people) like goats.' **2004.3.11**

jín also occurs as second element in interrogative yǒ:-jìn ‘how?’ (§13.xxx) and deictic ní-jìn ‘like this’ (§4.xxx). In these combinations, it is pronounced with L-tone.

The adverbial cí-céw ‘same’ is related to universal quantifier cêw ‘all’. It denotes identity of reference, or identity at the level of category/species. It can be used predicatively, either in bare form (xx3.a) or with the usual following predicative quasi-verbs (xx3.b-c). It can also be used as a noun (xx3.d).

- (xx3) a. ñě-m [ú ∴ èné bé ∴] cí-céw gá-bà
 woman-Pl [you-Sg Logo Pl] Rdp-same say.Perf-3PlS
 ‘The women will say to you (a man who won’t join the hunt), “you-Sg and us are the same”.’ (i.e. you act like a woman)
- b. cí-céw=kò
 Rdp-same=be.Nonh
 ‘They (objects) are the same’
- c. cì-cèw-lá-∅
 Rdp-same-Neg-3SgS
 ‘They are not the same.’
- d. ǎ-n [ñě-n lè] cí-céw mà bé:
 man-Sg [woman-Sg with] Rdp-sameness Poss being
 ‘a man’s being the same as (=acting like) women.’ **2004.3.3**

8.5.2 Extent (‘a lot’, ‘a little’)

èjí:ⁿ ‘very, very much’ can be used to quantify predicate adjectives and some other predicates. It may follow or precede an adjectival predicate.

- (xx1) a. wàlgú=kò èjí:ⁿ
 lazy=be.Nonh **very**
 ‘It (=viper) is very lazy.’ **2004.3.5**
- b. èjí:ⁿ wàlgú=kò
very lazy=be.Nonh
 ‘It (=viper) is very lazy.’ **2004.3.5**

The verb jó:- ‘be much, many’ can be used as a nonfinal chained verb, in which case it functions like an adverbial ‘a lot’. If the final verb is negated, the sense is ‘not much’ (xx2).

- (xx2) ñě-m jó: ⇒ nù:-j-é
 woman-Pl **be.much** enter-Impf.Neg-3PlS

‘The women don’t enter (the house) very much.’ **2004.3.18**

The intransitive verb 1óγó- ‘overflow, be excessive, be numerous’ and its causative 1óγó-wó- ‘make overflow, do excessively’ are used in strong extent expressions (xx3).

(xx3) ínέ-m wǒ: mèyⁿ [hâ1 yǎ: 1òγò-wò-∅]
 person-Pl kill and [until go **overflow-Caus-3SgS**]
 ‘It (=famine) killed an awful lot of people.’ **2004.4.28**

Two antonymic adverbials meaning ‘a lot’ and ‘a little’ are irregularly derived from semantically related adjectives. Both adverbials are characterized by an unusual lengthened final vowel. A third adverbial of similar structure means ‘far away’.

(xx4)	adverbial	gloss	related adjective	gloss
a.	gàrá:	‘a lot’	gàrá	‘big, old’
b.	dáyà:	‘a little’	dáyá	‘small, young’
c.	wàyá:	‘far away’	wáyá	‘distant’

These adverbials are illustrated in (xx5).

(xx5) a. [[kó kùⁿ] mà kû:ⁿ] dáyà: èmĕ-n tégé
 [[Nonh Def] Poss on] **a.little** 1Pl-Dat speak.Imprt
 ‘Tell us a little about it.’

b. [kò wàrá=kò] gàrá: wò-rú èl-lá-m
 [Dem farm.Impf≡be.Nonh] **a.lot** 3Sg-Dat be.good-Neg-Ppl.Pl
 mà ìnè gàrú-m tút-túrú yó=kò
 Poss person old-Pl one-one exist≡be.Nonh
 ‘That it (=plow) do the farming, there are (still) a few old men here and there who don’t like it a lot’. (érù) **2004.3.7**

c. ú:rⁿ-â:-∅ táṅà: dèy,
 get.up-Perf-3SgS happen if,
 wàyá: yǎ: ná:≡kò
far.away go spend.night.Impf≡be.Nonh
 ‘If it happens that they (=birds) have arisen (=flown away), they will go far away to spend the night’ **2004.3.8**

8.5.3 Specificity

Adverbs of this category are treated together with “emphatic” morphemes (§19.xxx).

8.5.3.1 ‘Approximately’ (tô:n, jín)

Reciprocal tô:n (§18.xxx) can be used in this sense with temporal and locative expressions. In (xx1), it is added to a conjunction using ‘here’ and a conveniently visible house as coordinates to specify the approximate distance between two protagonists in a narrative.

- (xx1) [ní .: [b... mà ùrò núṅò]] tô:n
 [here [B Poss house.L Dem]] Recip-Sg
 ‘about the distance from here to that [deictic] house of B’s’ **2004.5.3**

An expression freely translatable as ‘approximately, roughly’, qualifying a numeral, occurs in (xx2). The expression includes the phrase ‘what reaches (=amounts to)’, but it also includes a Reciprocal element tô:n, suggesting that the overtly expressed numeral phrase (‘ten years’) and the actual elapse of time converge approximately.

- (xx2) [sàrî: kùⁿ] yé sà-Ø, [[[àⁿà-kújú pé^{rú}]
 [plow Def] exist have-3SgS, [[[year ten]
 cè: dó:≡kò-Ø] tô:n]
thing.L reach.Impf=be.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh Recip-Sg
 [wó nùmô:] íñé-sà-Ø [wárú wàl-lí-Ø]
 [3SgP hand.Loc.HL] lie.down-Reslt-3SgS [farming farm-Perf.Neg-3SgS]
 ‘He had a plow. For about what added up to ten years, it lay in his hands,
 (but) he didn’t farm (with it).’ **2004.3.7**

However, approximate quantities of countable entities are more often expressed by disjunctions of the type ‘five or six X’s’. See §7.xxx for examples. In (xx3), such a disjunction (switching from days to months in the two coordinands) is followed by tô:n.

- (xx3) [[[ní: pé1-lèy] má ⇒ ě:] tô:n] bé:-bà
 [[[day ten-two] or month] **Recip-Sg**] remain.Impf-3PlS
 ‘They will stay for around twenty days or a month.’ **2004.5.3**

Another ‘approximately’ construction involves jín ‘like’ in combination with disjunction má (mà) ‘or’, in either order, following a quantified NP. This can be interpreted as an abbreviation of a phrase of the ‘five or six’ type, with two more or less adjacent quantifiers defining a range. Both the abbreviated and full versions of the disjunction type occur in (xx4).

- (xx4) [kó kàlá] [kó gá:rà má ⇒ jín] éwé-bè,
 [NonhP baguette] [NonhP eight or like] buy.Impf-2PlS,
 [bù:rù kàlá gá:rà jín] má ⇒ éwé-bè

[bread baguette eight **like** or buy.Impf-2PlS
 [gà:rí mà bô:l], [bô:l nũ:yⁿ] má ⇒
 [porridge.cake Poss cup] [cup five] **or**
 [bô:l kúróy jín] éwé-bè
 [cup six **like** buy.Impf-2PlS
 'Baguette(s) of it (=bread), you-Pl will buy eight or so of them. You'll buy
 either or so of them. Bowls of porridge cakes [topic], you'll buy around five
 or six cups.' **2004.5.1**

8.5.3.2 'Exactly'

céw-céw 'exactly' is used with a preceding quantifier. An example is mùñú lèy
 céw-céw 'exactly two thousand (riyals)', i.e. ten thousand CFA francs.

Reduplicated té:-té: can be used in the sense 'exactly' with reference to time:
 [mídî: lè] té:-té: 'at 12 noon sharp'. For té: ⇒ see §8.xxx, below.

See also ná: in loose and tight compounds in senses like 'the authentic X'
 (§5.xxx).

8.5.3.3 'Specifically' (té: ⇒, pá ⇒, já:tì)

An adverbial té: ⇒ (with exaggerated prolongation represented by ⇒) is added to
 NPs or adverbials in the identificational sense 'precisely'. The NP or adverbial is often
 but not always topicalized. The context involves narrowing down from more general
 to very exact reference. A gloss 'specifically' or 'personally' captures the nuance.

- (xx1) a. [émé ùjùbăy kùⁿ] mà bèrê: té: ⇒ ké
 [1PIP country Def Poss] in **precisely** Topic
 'as for (here) in our (Dogon) country specifically, ...' **2004.3.6**
- b. ìnè gàmà-nám ⇒, èñè-bé: té: ⇒
 person.L certain-Pl, chicken.L-excrement **precisely**
 lúgúró-sà-bà dèy, ...
 look.for-Reslt-3PlS if, ...
 'Some (other) people, when they have looked for chicken excrement
 (used in tanning hides), ...' **2004.3.17**
- c. [émé ànà kàná té: kùⁿ ké],
 [1PIP village.L new **precisely** Def Topic]
 bùrò-ní: nì-dí: ⁿ⇒yⁿ èmĕ-n nèwⁿé-sà-Ø
 pond.L-water here⇒Foc 1Pl-Dat be.useful-Reslt-3SgS
 '(As for) our new village (=Dianwely Kessel) specifically, pond water
 [topic], here [focus] it is useful to us.' **2004.4.5**

- d. [[èṃě-n tɛ: ⇒] lè] ô:-Ø
 [[1Pl-Dat **precisely**] Dat] give.Impf-3SgS
 ‘He/She will give (it) to us specifically.’

tɛ: ⇒ may be reduplicated (iterated) for further emphasis, but here there is no intonational prolongation (xx2).

- (xx2) a. [[èṃě-n tɛ:-tɛ:] lè] ô:-Ø
 [[1Pl-Dat **precisely-precisely**] Dat] give.Impf-3SgS
 ‘He/She will give (it) to us specifically.’
- b. yèyjê: [[nì-nì: tógúgú] mà wàkàtì
 morning [[sun.L rising] Poss time.L
 núṅò lè] tɛ:-tɛ: tó:-n cèjè-y
 Dem in] **precisely-precisely** Recip-Sg meet.Perf.L-1PlS
 ‘In the morning, at precisely that moment of the sun’s rising, we encountered each other.’ **2004.5.1**

An emphatic adverbial pá: ⇒ follows a topicalized NP or adverbial in my textual examples. In some examples it comes close to tɛ: ⇒, and can be translated ‘X specifically’ or ‘especially X’. In other examples it means ‘the main (principal) X’, or function as an untranslatable emphatic.

- (xx3) a. jémè-n mà nèwⁿé pá: ⇒, dògò-gó-Ø
 àbádá:
 blacksmith-Sg Poss value **Emph**, finish-impf.Neg-3SgS never
 ‘The usefulness of a blacksmith [topic], it never ends.’ **2004.3.12**
- b. [jémè-ñě-n mà bíré pá: ⇒]
 [blacksmith.woman-Pl Poss work(noun) **Emph**]
 [bé nè] dá:ṅá mà:-bà
 [3Pl now] water.jar build.Impf-3PlS
 ‘The main work of a blacksmith woman [topic], she makes (earthenware) water jars.’ **2004.3.13**
- c. dòyò-úrò jòṅ-jóṅó-m,
 Dogon-house.Loc.HL healing.L-heal.H-Ppl.Pl,
 [ìnè-m jóṅ jòṅó-m kùⁿ pá:]
 [person-Pl healing heal.Impf-Ppl.Pl Anaph **Emph**],
 [cè: bè-rú lǒy=y l à:-Ø],
 [thing.L 3Pl-Dat medicine=it.is Neg-Ppl.Nonh]
 [kó tǎṅ-Ø] nám=kò
 [NonhP happen-VblN] difficult=be.Nonh

‘Healers in Dogon country [topic], especially those who practice healing (as a specialty) [topic], it would be difficult for there to be anything (=any native plant) that is not a medicine for them.’ **2004.3.27**

- d. [àná c éw]=ì : m òrⁿ ó=k ò ,
 [village all]=Foc be.together.Impf=be.Nonh,
mais [émé àná b é r è pá :],
 but [1PIP village in **Emph**],
 n ò ŋ à k ó r ó d ó : =k ò
 neighborhood well reach.Impf=be.Nonh
 ‘An entire village gets together (to dig a neighborhood well). However, in our village specifically (=Dianwely Kessel) [topic], a neighborhood can reach (=has the ability to build) a well (by itself).’ **2004.4.5**

My assistant rejected pá : with a pronoun, e.g. 1Pl #émé pá : . This is another difference between pá : ⇒ and t é : ⇒.

Reduplicated já : t ì -j á : t ì can also be used to specify an individual. For simple já : t ì , a Fulfulde borrowing, see §19.xxx)

- (xx4) [ú já : t ì -j á : t ì] ú y é r é w á
 [2Sg **precisely**] 2Sg come.Imprt say
 ‘He/She said that you-Sg specifically should come.’

8.5.4 Evaluation

8.5.4.1 ‘Well’ and ‘badly’

There is no dedicated adverbial meaning ‘well’ or ‘badly’. As in standard Arabic, the equivalent sense is often expressed by adding an adjective ‘good’ or ‘bad’ to a cognate object (xx1).

- (xx1) [w à r ù è j ú] w à r â : - Ø
 [farming **good**] farm.Impf-3SgS
 ‘He/She farms well.’

Or, the evaluative adjective ‘good’ or ‘bad’ can be predicative. This is always possible since verbal nouns (and functionally equivalent nominals) are abundant.

- (xx2) [w ó j ó w] è j ù - l à - Ø
 [3Sg running] **good**-Neg-3SgS
 ‘He/She runs poorly’ (lit. “His/Her running is not good”)

There is an adverb èjí:ⁿ can have the contextual meaning ‘well’. Morphologically, one could argue that it is still segmentable as èjú ‘good’ plus diminutive –î:ⁿ. However, it is used more generally as a quantificational adverb ‘a lot, a great deal, significantly’, and the semantic connection with èjú seems to have weakened.

- (xx3) èjí:ⁿ jów jòwô:-Ø
well/much running run.Impf-3SgS
 ‘He/She runs well (or: runs a lot).’

The verb cé:né- can be intransitive ‘be well-made, well-done’ or just ‘be good’, as well as transitive ‘make good, repair’ or just ‘do well’. It occurs in constructions like ‘until it is good’, freely translatable as ‘well, thoroughly, properly’, in (xx4).

- (xx4) [ǎ-n kùⁿ] ìnìwⁿé páyá [hâl cé:n-â:-Ø dèy]
 [man-Sg Def] Refl tie [until **be.good**-Perf-3SgS if]
 ‘when the man has tied himself (=his belt) well, ...’ **2004.4.26**

8.5.4.2 ‘Appropriate, right’ (já:ⁿ)

A culturally important adverbial is já:ⁿ, which means ‘normal, appropriate, (socially) acceptable, right’ with respect to behavior. It usually appears as a predicate with Nonhuman subject (≡kò) referring to the behavior, and may take a dative to specify the person or group for whom the behavior is normal.

- (xx1) [jáŋ kâ:ⁿ nè] jàŋá-bà, bè-rú já:ⁿ≡kò
 [begging too now] beg.Impf-3PIS, 3Pl-Dat **normal**≡be.Nonh
 ‘They (men of sɛ́gɛ-m caste) do begging also, it’s normal (=socially acceptable) for them.’ **2004.3.15**

The negative is jâ:ⁿ-lá- with the usual stative Negative suffix.

In (xx2.a), já:ⁿ and jâ:ⁿ-lá- occur in parallel positive and negative relative-clause predicates. The positive form treats já:ⁿ as an adjectival predicate without the ‘be’ quasi-verb. It is therefore itself subject to the H(H...)L tonal overlay, resulting in jâ:ⁿ-Ø. A similar construction occurs in (xx2.b).

- (xx2) a. òrù kârⁿ-ú jâ:ⁿ-lá-Ø ...
 thing.L do-VblN **normal**-Neg-Ppl.Nonh ...
 òrù kârⁿ-ú jâ:ⁿ-Ø
 thing.L do-VblN **normal**.HL-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘something that it is not right to do, ... something that it is right to do’
2004.4.22

- b. [[dì:ⁿ kǔn-∅ jâ:ⁿ-∅] lè] jǎ:
 [[place.L put.VblN **normal**.HL-Ppl-Nonh] in] convey
 kúnó-bà, [dì:ⁿ kǔn-∅ jâ:ⁿ-lá-∅ cêw]
 put.Impf-3PIS, [place.L put-VblN **normal**-Neg-Ppl.Nonh all]
 [cɛ:^{rù} kùⁿ] dīŋé jí:ⁿ≡kò
 [money Def] sit.down Past.Impf=be.Nonh
 ‘They will allocate (“convey and put”) (funds) where allocating is
 appropriate; wherever allocating is not appropriate, the money will sit
 down (=be held) for the time being.’ **2004.4.23**

8.5.5 Epistemic modals

The predicative noun tílây ‘obligation, necessity’, used in deontic modals (‘X must do’, §17.xxx), can be extended to epistemological contexts (‘certainly, definitely’) (xx1).

- (xx1) [àrⁿá mà mìrⁿ-ú] tílây≡ỹ
 [rain Poss fall-VblN] **necessity**≡it.is
 ‘It will certainly rain.’

Possibility or uncertainty can be expressed biclausally, with the partitive noun/adjective gàmá ‘some’ (hence ‘sometimes, in some cases’, by extension ‘maybe’) plus dèy ‘if’ in the first clause (xx2). For gàmá as adjective ‘certain (one)’, see §6.xxx.

- (xx2) [gàmá≡ỹ dèy] yèré-ṁ
 [**some**≡it.is if] come.Impf-1SgS
 ‘It’s possible/uncertain that I will come.’

bé:ⁿ≡kò ‘it happens, it will happen’ can be used in the sense ‘it may happen that ...’, or more colloquially ‘maybe’. The factive complement (in the form of a main clause, §17.xxx) precedes bé:ⁿ kò.

- (xx3) [ù-rú lóyó gàrà-gó-∅] bé:ⁿ≡kò
 [2Sg-Dat exceed pass-impf.Neg-3SgS] **be**.Impf=be.Nonh
 ‘It won’t be too much for you, perhaps.’ **2004.3.5**
 [lit.: “it (may) happen that it won’t be ...”]

gàmá and bé:ⁿ - are often combined (xx4).

- (xx4) a. gàmá [[é jâm] kò-rú bèré-bè]
some [[2PIP peace] Nonh-with get.Impf-2PIP]

bé:≡kò

be.Impf≡be.Nonh

‘Possibly you-Pl will have peace with (=relief from) them (=birds).’

2004.3.8

- b. íjé méyⁿ [kó nò:-wⁿó gàmá
 stop and [NonhO drink-Caus **some**
 bèrè-gó-Ø] bé:≡kò

can-Impf.Neg-3SgS] **be**.Impf≡be.Nonh

‘Having stopped (with the livestock), it may be that he (=young herder) cannot give them drink (i.e. can’t operate a well).’ **2004.3.9**

Another construction that can be freely translated with ‘maybe’ (or ‘sometimes’) is a double conditional (antecedents positive, then negative). For example, ‘maybe/sometimes they will rob you’ can come out as ‘if they’re going to rob you, they’ll rob you; if they’re not going to rob you, they won’t rob you’.

8.5.6 Manner

Adjectives can occasionally be used like adverbs, but this may require iteration. For example, the adjective măyⁿ ‘dry, hardened, stiff’ has an adverbial counterpart whose minimal form is the singly iterated măyⁿ-màyⁿ (expandible with further repetitions). It means ‘with difficulty’ as a manner adverbial. In this type of iteration, tones are often dropped on the noninitial occurrences.

- (xx1) dòyǒ-m măyⁿ-màyⁿ-màyⁿ-màyⁿ sârî: cèjè-bà
 Dogon-Pl hard-hard.L-hard.L-hard.L plow accept.Perf.L-3PlS
 ‘Dogon people accepted the plow only with great difficulty (=reluctance)’
2004.3.7

8.5.7 Spatiotemporal adverbials

8.5.7.1 Temporal adverbs

Some key **temporal adverbs** are in (xx1). Some of the H(H...)L toned locative adverbs described in §8.xxx, above, have temporal reference.

- | (xx1) | form | gloss |
|-------|------------------|------------------------------|
| | íjé | ‘today, nowadays; up to now’ |
| | nîm (nîŋ) | ‘now’ |
| | néy ⁿ | ‘now’ |
| | íné né | ‘up to now; again’ |

kà:ná	‘just now’, ‘just recently’
dôm	‘as of now; (not) yet’
ná:	‘yesterday’
yògó	‘tomorrow’
nó:	‘this year’
gà:rú	‘last year’
yògó nàṅúr ^{nù}	‘next year’ (contains ‘yesterday’, above).
lá:	‘first(ly)’
lá:-lá:	‘previously; long ago’
pó:ró	‘previously; long ago’
gàmá	‘often, sometimes’ (also: ‘maybe’)
já: (or: já: mà já:)	‘always’

A few common short phrases are given in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. dògùrù làyá
time.L other
‘soon’
- b. dògùrù gàmá
time.L certain
‘often’
- c. hâl gàmá
until certain
‘(most) often’

‘**Next** (e.g. month)’ and ‘**last** (e.g. month)’ are expressed with làyá ‘other’ or as relative clauses with appropriate aspectual marking.

- (xx3) a. è: làyá
month.L other
‘next month’
- b. è: tóyó≡kò-∅
month.L rise.Impf≡be.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh
‘next month’ (lit., “the month/moon that will rise anew”)
- c. è: gárà-∅
month.L pass.Perf.L-Ppl.Nonh
‘last month’ (lit. “the month/moon that has passed”)
- d. è: númò-∅

month.L fall.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘last month’ (lit. “the month/moon that has fallen”)

‘Afterwards’ or ‘after that’ is expressed by an adverbial or conditional-antecedent clause with Nonhuman kó ‘it’, verb gâr á- ‘go past, pass by’ in its Perfective form gǎy-yè- (gǎy-yà-), and either (gá:) kân ‘after’ (§15.xxx) or dèy ‘if, when’ (§16.xxx). (gá:) kân is exemplified in (xx4).

- (xx4) a. [kó kùⁿ] gǎy-yè-∅ kân
 [Nonh Def] pass.by-Perf-3SgS after
 ‘after that passed’ (=‘after that’) 2004.4.28
- b. kó gǎy-yè-∅ gá: kân
 Nonh say pass.by-Perf-3SgS after
 ‘after that passed’ (=‘after that’) 2004.4.28

8.5.7.2 ‘First’ (pó:ró, lá:)

It is necessary to distinguish the pragmatic adverbial ‘first, in the first place, to begin with’, reflecting the order of elements presented in a discourse, with the temporal adverbial ‘first’, reflecting the order of eventualities narrated. The common pragmatic adverbial ‘first’ is t í:, see §8.xxx.

pó:ró, which can also be used as an ordinal adjective ‘first’ (human Sg pó:ró-n), has adverbial function in cases like (xx1). (If pó:ró were an ordinal adjective here, it would be the final word in its NP, and would appear in L-toned form since this NP is the head of a relative clause).

- (xx1) ùrò pó:ró bè mâ:
 house.L first 3PIS.L build.Perf.HL
 ‘the house that they built first’ 2004.3.11

pó:ró is common in texts in the sense ‘previously, earlier; in the old days’.

- (xx2) dòyò-úrò, pó:ró,
 Dogon.L-house.Loc.HL, first,
 ǎ:-rⁿ-ùm mà àrà-nǒ:-wⁿ-∅ cín≡kò jì:ⁿ
 male-child-Pl Poss porridge-drink.Caus-VblN
 thus≡be.Nonh Past
 ‘In Dogon country, in the old days, the circumcision (“giving porridge to drink”) of the boys was like that.’ 2004.3.18

A form lá: is used adverbially in the sense ‘first, at first’, in connection with an event that precedes another.

- (xx3) a. ñù: -dǒyⁿ lá: gǒ: ⁿ-bà
 millet-hip **first** take.away.Impf-3PlS
 ‘They remove (=harvest) ñù: -dǒyⁿ (a fast-growing strain of millet) first.’ **2004.3.6**
- b. [ùjùwⁿò [úró bérè] yàrà-Ø kùⁿ lè]
 [mouse.L [house in] go.around.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def Inst]
 lá: túmnò: -Ø
first begin.Impf-3SgS
 ‘He (=young hunter) begins with the mice that go around in the house.’
2004.3.16

Iterated lá: -lá: competes with pó: ró as an adverbial ‘previously; in the old days’.

8.5.7.3 Spatial adverbs

Most simple (non-postpositional) **spatial adverbials** are demonstrative adverbs (‘here’, ‘there’, etc.). They are given and discussed in §4.xxx. A number of high-frequency adverbial phrases with H-toned postposition lé are described in §8.xxx. Several H(H...L) toned locative adverbs (§8.xxx, above) have spatial reference. Other spatial adverbs are in (xx1).

(xx1)	form	gloss
	wàǵá:	‘far away’
	é:ŋ	‘nearby’

8.5.8 Expressive interjection-like adverbs

Described individually below are several interjection-like stems that can be used adverbially, or (with following cliticized ‘be’ quasi-verb) as predicates. I transcribe them with stem-wide H-tone, but the pitch is arguably part of the interjection-like quality of the forms. Most also have a notable prolongation of the final segment (vowel or sonorant), except when followed by a clitic. For the pronunciation see §3.xxx.

See also the adjectival intensifiers in §6.xxx.

8.5.8.1 ‘Straight’ (dém ⇒, pó: ⇒, sé: ⁿ ⇒)

One such expressive adverb is dém ⇒ ‘straight’, which can be used as an adverbial (xx1.a-d,f) or as a predicate with ‘be’ verb (xx1.e). The m is prolonged.

- (xx1) a. dém ⇒ yǎ:
straight go.Imprt
 ‘Go-Sg straight!’
- b. éwè dém ⇒ yà:-m
 market **straight** go.Perf.L-1SgS
 ‘I went straight to the market’
- c. à-n éwè dém ⇒ yâ:-n kùⁿ
 man-Sg.L market.Loc.HL **straight** go.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def
 ‘the man who went straight to market’
- d. dém ⇒ éwè mí jà:-Ø
straight market.Loc.HL 1SgO convey.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He/She took me straight to the market.’
- e. òjù dém ⇒ kô:-Ø
 road.L **straight** be.Nonh.HL-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘It’s a road that is straight.’
- f. [kó kùⁿ] á:-jè-bà tánà: déy nè, dém ⇒
 [Nonh Def] catch-RecPf-3PIS happen if now, **straight**
 bé [ìnè bè â:-m kùⁿ] jíjè mèy,
 3Pl [person.L 3PIS.L catch.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl Def] go.with and,
 [[[ènè bé] ìjùbây] lè] yǎ:-bà má ⇒
 [[[Refl Pl] land] in] go.Impf-3PIS Q
 ‘So, if they (=army recruiters) conscripted (someone), did they
 (=recruiters) take the people they had conscripted straight to their
 country (=France)?’ **2004.4.21**

The alternative is an iteration dém-dém with the same meaning and usage. There is no prolongation of the final segment of either part of the iteration.

- (xx2) [wó gòŋó lè] dém-dém dè:rè-tì-Ø
 [3SgP chest in] straight-straight aim-Perf-3SgS
 ‘He aimed straight (=took dead aim) at his chest.’ **2004.4.4**

A less common expressive adverb meaning ‘directly, straight (to a location)’ is pó:, which is also subject to exaggerated prolongation (⇒). Here the sense is emphatic and strictly adverbial. In (xx3), the protagonist has followed the tracks of a cow that ate from his field, and the incriminating tracks led directly to the camp of a Fulbe herder.

- (xx3) [má èjú bérè] gó: mèyⁿ pó: ⇒
 [1SgP field in] go.out and **directly**

[dì:ⁿ á gòró kò yérè] nùkó=kò
 [place.L 2SgP camp NonhS.L come.Perf.HL] here's!≡be.Nonh
 'Look here, it (=trail) started from my field (and leads) straight to where it comes to your camp.' **2004.3.10**

Another expressive adverb, sɛ:ⁿ, is used with verb yàŋá- 'look (at)' in the sense 'look straight at', 'stare straight at'.

(xx4) sɛ:ⁿ ⇒ mí yàŋá-tì-Ø
straight 1SgO look.at-Perf.3SgS
 'He/She looked straight at me.'

8.5.8.2 'Apart, separate' (déyⁿ ⇒)

Another is déyⁿ 'apart, separate, different'. The syllabic nucleus is elongated; since the boundary between the e (which is phonetically nasalized) and the yⁿ is not sharply defined, the impression is of a syllabic nucleus that is prolonged. The simple form déyⁿ can be used when the perspective of one entity or group is taken (xx1).

(xx1) a. déyⁿ ⇒ yǎ:
apart go.Imprt
 'Go-Sg separately!'

b. ñě-m déyⁿ≡wò-bà
 woman-Pl **apart**≡be.Hum-3PlS
 'The women are apart (i.e., different from the men).'

c. [kò nà:m-î:ⁿ kùⁿ] déyⁿ ⇒ mót:bé-bà
 [Dem cotton-child Def] **apart** keep.Impf-3PlS
 'They will keep (=save) those cotton seeds apart.' **2004.3.14**

d. [kò fú:] mà běn kùⁿ tògú déyⁿ ⇒
 [Nonh all] Poss tomtom Def kind **apart**
 'The tomtom (rhythm) for each of those (=stages) is distinct.' **2004.3.21**

Like dém, déyⁿ can be iterated for distributive reference: déyⁿ-déyⁿ 'separately' (e.g. in separate groups).

8.5.8.3 'Eternally' (àbádá: ⇒), 'never' (àbádá)

This adverb, of Arabic origin ('never'), has the sense 'eternally, from time immemorial' (including at least the past and the present) in positive clauses.

(xx1) [nùwⁿó kέ] àbádá :≡kò
 [death Topic] **eternally**≡be.Nonh
 ‘Death, it has been (happening) always.’ 2004.3.21

Under the scope of a negation, àbádá with short final vowel means ‘(not) ever’, i.e. ‘never’. It can also be an emphatic ‘(not) at all’.

(xx2) àbádá bàràkó yà:-tè-lú-m
never Bamako go-ExpPf-Perf.Neg-1SgS
 ‘I have never gone to Bamako.’

Similar forms occur in all languages in the zone.

8.5.8.4 ‘Carelessly’ (yó: ⇒ gó: ⇒)

The adverb yó: ⇒ gó: ⇒, with both syllables elongated, means ‘(done) negligently or carelessly’ (e.g. door not tightly shut). An example is (xx1).

- (xx1) a. yó: ⇒ gó: ⇒ pàyà-w
negligently tie.Perf.L-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg tied it carelessly (e.g. too loosely).’
- b. yó: ⇒ gó: ⇒ dà: ⁿ-Ø
negligently sit.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He/She is sitting poorly (e.g. precariously on the edge of a seat)’

This adverb may be related to the verb-verb compound (i.e. frozen verb chain) yó: gó: - ‘dodge, get out of the way of, pull away from’. The first element does not occur as a simple verb, but the second verb is gó: - ‘go or come out, exit’.

8.5.8.5 ‘All together’ (sì-só: ⁿ, só: ⁿ-só: ⁿ)

In addition to sí-só: ⁿ, which has an apparent Cí- reduplication (§4.xxx), there is an iterated variant só: ⁿ-só: ⁿ. These adverbials can be used predicatively, with cliticized ‘be’ quasi-verb ≡wò- (human) or ≡kò (nonhuman), as in (xx1.a), or adverbially, as in (xxx.b). The adverbials can also function as part of a NP, as in (xx1.c), where [ñè-m sì-só: ⁿ] as a whole functions as a possessor.

- (xx1) a. émé sì-só: ⁿ≡wò-y
 1Pl **all.together**≡be-1PlS
 ‘We are all together.’

- b. bé só:ⁿ-só:ⁿ yǎ:-yè-bà
 3Pl **all.together** go-Perf-3PlS
 ‘They [focus] all went together.’
- c. [[ñè-m sî-só:ⁿ] mà mó:n lè]
 [woman-Pl **all.together** Poss gathering in]
 [ñě-m mà mó:n], [ǎn mà kû:ⁿ]
 [woman-Pl Poss gathering], [man Poss on]
 yǎ:-yè-bà táṅà: dèy, ...
 go-Perf-3PlS happen if, ...
 ‘in the gathering of all the women together, (in) the gathering of the
 women, if it happens that they have gone on (= begun to scold) a man,
 ...’ **2004.3.3**

8.5.8.6 ‘Snatching’ (sâ:w)

The combination of adverb sâ:w and verb yàṅá- ‘take’ means ‘snatch, seize’, e.g. the snatching of prey by a hawk. sâ:w does not seem to occur in other combinations.

8.5.8.7 ‘All, entirely’ (sóy)

This adverb is occasionally used as an alternative to a universal quantifier (§6.xxx). Though basically adverbial ‘entirely’, and capable of occurring post-verbally as a clause-level emphatic, it can sometimes be glossed as an NP ‘all, everything’.

- (xx1) a. sóy wò-rú ó:-tù-m
entirely 3Sg-Dat give-Perf-1SgS
 ‘I gave everything (=the whole shebang) to him/her.’
- b. ñé:-jè-bà sóy
 eat-RecPf-3PlS **entirely**
 ‘They ate everything (=they picked it clean).’

8.5.9 Reduplicated (iterated) adverbials

8.1.1.1 Distributive adverbial iteration

An adverbial may be iterated in distributive sense.

In (xx1), the entire PP including the postposition is iterated. The reference is to entities that are sorted into bundles or categories, and are acted on distributively within a short time span.

- (xx1) a. [gòjú lè] [gòjú lè]
[separate.pile in] [separate.pile in]
 gòjú gàmàⁿá-sà-bà dèy ↑
 differentiate divide-Perf-3PIS if
 ‘when they have divided them up into (several) distinct piles’ **2004.3.1**
- b. [kó nò] yǎ: dé: jè:r é-w, [kò cêw]
 [Nonh now] go carry bring.Impf-2SgS [Nonh.L all]
 [tògú lè] [tògú lè]
[kind Inst] [kind Inst]
 ‘Those (kinds of wood) [topic], you will go and carry it here; all those (things), by distinct kinds (=one kind at a time).’ **2004.3.26**

In (xx2), only the noun is iterated. The passage is about collective work digging neighborhood wells. There may be considerable time intervals between digging wells for different neighborhoods (there are four neighborhood’s in the speaker’s village).

- (xx2) [nòŋ kò táŋá-sà cêw],
 [neighborhood NonhS.L become-Reslt all],
 [nǒŋ-nǒŋ lè]
[neighborhood-neighborhood Inst]
 ‘Whatever neighborhood it may be, (it’s) by neighborhood.’ **2004.4.5**

8.5.9.2 ‘Scattered, here and there’ (kân-kân)

This adverb means ‘scattered, here and there’, emphasizing discontinuous distribution.

- (xx1) a. kân-kân≡kò
scattered be.Nonh
 ‘They (e.g. millet plants) are scattered here and there.’
- b. kân-kân tò:-m
scattered sow.Perf.L-1SgS
 ‘I sowed (the seeds) here and there (not densely).’

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