NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE PRONOUN IN DOGON

BY

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DEDICATION

To my parents for their deep love for me and for Abi

whose friendship has increased my love for children

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CONTENTS

Abbreviations

1sg	First personal singular
2sg	Second person singular
3sg	Third person singular
1sgc	First person singular clitic
1pl	First person plural
2pl	Second person plural
3pl	Third person plural
A	Agent
Adj	Adjective
Ap	Adpositional phrase
APV	Agent-Patient-Verb
C	Consonant
Cm	Class marker
Cls	Clause
Def Art	Definite Article
Dem	Demonstrative
DO	Direct object
Fc	Focus
Inst	Instrument
IO	Indirect object

N	Noun
Neg	Negation
NP	Noun phrase
Nps	Noun phrase subject
Npo	Noun phrase object
Num	Numeral
O	Object
P	Patient
Pc	Person clitic
Pcm	Present continuous marker
Pl	Plural
Ppm	Present perfect marker
Poss	Possessive
Ptpm	Past perfect marker
Qm	Question marker
Rel	Relative relative
S	Subject
Sg	Singular
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
SV	Subject-Verb
V	Vowel
VIP	Very important person

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Presentation of the Land

Located in North-eastern Mali, the Dogon land stretches from the 5th administrative district (Mopti) to the Burkina Faso border (Bendor-Samuel et al. 169). It consists of a cliff region, a plain, and a mountainous region. The villages in the cliff regions are perched on the cliff sides and offer a panoramic view from the plain.

Presentation of the People

According to some historical records and to ethnologists such as Marcel Griaule, the Dogon people came from the Mande land located in the Western part of the country, near the Senegal border. They fled to escape Islamic domination. Since the Fulani and "Toucouleur" raiders were on horse back, the Dogon people found it wise to go up the cliffs and hide themselves in caverns thus making access impossible for horses. But that was not the end of their ordeals: they came to the cliff regions to find short and sturdy, pygmy-like people, and they had to fight and chase them in order to occupy the region.

On the economical level, the Dogon community is essentially an agro-pastoral one. The main crops grown are millet, sorghum, and beans. During what they call the dead season, many people do gardening, growing various kinds of vegetables

which are partly used as condiments, and the rest sold to meet some of the family's needs. Almost every family has a few head of cattle, sheep, or goats. But since agriculture occupies a vital role in the society, cattle rearing is seen by many as a waste of time, and animals are usually entrusted to Fulani shepherds who are paid either cash or in kind.

On the political/administrative level each village has two kinds of rulers: a king and a chief. The criteria for their appointment vary from one village to another. In most villages kingship is restricted to only one clan and is inherited from father to son. This was true for chieftancy as well, but with the modernism things are now changing, and in many villages, nowadays, literate or at least semi-literate people are preferred, even if they do not come from the expected family lineage. Usually the two "rulers" have different powers: the king who is usually an animist, deals with issues related to the traditions, customs and rites, performed in the village. He is the village's spokesperson in cases of litigations over lands, ponds etc. , with other villages. In sum, he is the guardian of the continuity of the traditional heritage of the village. On the other hand the chief's rule appears more administrative and modernism-oriented. For example he represents the village beside local institutions like schools, dispensaries etc. He is the one who reports the village's needs to higher authorities, he and his council collect local taxes.

Dogon people are apparently not much interested in active politics. This is mainly explained by the fact that politics is usually associated with dishonesty, tricks and many kinds of evils, and Dogons being known for their traditional simple-mindedness, sincerity, honesty, the incompatibility therefore is very apparent. On the social level, the community life is characterized by a sense of solidarity,

respect for elders, peaceful coexistence with immediate neighbours and neighbouring villages. On the family level the husband is the chief of the family and expects respect and total submission from wives and children. Activities such as farming and harvesting are normally carried out by all the members of the family. House constructions, pounding onions, digging wells, on the other hand, are communal activities.

Marriage is an important issue and requires the discussion among, and the consent of the key male elements of the extended family (father, paternal and maternal uncles). Forced marriage was very common in the recent past, but while it is no longer practiced in some villages, and in significant decline in others, some conservative families still proudly, but desperately, claim to remain "faithful" to the tradition, thus obliging daughters to flee from the family.

On the religious level, the Dogon society was deep-rooted in animism not that long ago. Its reluctance to Islamic penetration was notorious, and in many a place people preferred to kill themselves rather than being converted to Islam. But as time passed things would change and today it is safe to say that Muslims and Christians put together outnumber animists. As far as Christianity is concerned, the penetration of the gospel in the Dogon land had reportedly been peaceful in most villages. Although oppositions from fanatic animists and Muslims were noticed here and there, there cannot be said to have been religious conflicts as such. The society, though animistic, was said to be strongly God-fearing and virtuous. Though unknown invisible and remote, the existence of a "bigger deity", creator of the universe, was not questioned. However, there was the belief also that that bigger deity can be accessed but through smaller, visible, intermediary deities, representing the spirit of

ancestors, the spirits of water, fields, trees, and more importantly the spirit of the first ancestor of the whole tribe.

Presentation of the Language

The Dogon language which is spoken by 460,000 people in Mali and 138,000 in Burkina-Faso (Grimes1996,309) is a Niger-Congo language, with Atlantic-Congo and Volta-Congo as its subfamilies. It has six major dialects: Tombo kan, Tɔmɔ sɔɔ, Donno sɔɔ, Jamsay, Togo kan, and Tɔrɔ sɔɔ. Geographically speaking, 'the Dogon language is located in Northeast Mali and in proximity to languages from widely different families: Gur, Mande, and Atlantic (Fulfulde)' (Bendor-Samuel, ed. 1989:169). Previous classifications of Niger-Congo, according to Bendor-Samuel, have placed Dogon within the Gur family of languages assuming that it has some general lexical affinity to the group as a whole though it is not very close to any particular Gur language. But he adds:

> Scholars working in Gur languages in the last two decades such as Manessy and Naden do not find any convincing evidence, either in Dogon lexis or grammar that would confirm its membership in the Gur family. There appears to be increasing agreement that Dogon should be excluded from Gur. It seems better, therefore, to treat Dogon as an isolate within Volta-Congo until further evidence clarifies its status (1989, 169).

The auto-denomination, that is, the name the Dogon people use to refer to their language is *dɔgɔ sɔɔ*. "Kaado" and "Haabe" are the terms by which the Dogon language (and people) are known to outsiders such as the Bambara and Fulani people, both terms being derogative. "Dogon" is the French spelling of both the language and the people.

Standardisation: Historical Development

One of Mali government's major domestic policies is the promotion of the nation's local languages. This, of course, requires grass root level efforts such as the creation of alphabets, the refinement of orthography and transcription rules. It also requires, as Hartell (1993, 199) said, reporting Kodio, 'the choosing of a central dialect which will serve as the dialect for literacy and teaching for all the speakers of a particular language.'

It is in that perspective that Mali hosted in 1966 a meeting of experts from which the decision of elaborating and unifying the alphabets of various African languages was launched. The Dogon alphabet among others is a result of many follow-ups of that meeting, when field linguists from the Direction Nationale de L'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de la Linguistique Appliquée (DNAFLA) and professors and researchers in linguistics from various linguistic institutes, schools, and private groups conducting linguistic research in Mali decided to join their efforts and work out the alphabets of the major languages of the country. According to Kodio, Malian linguists accepted the African alphabet at several different international meetings and it was in that way that the following graphemes were adopted for the selected languages (Decree No159/PG-RM, July 19, 1982.) (Hartell 1993, 198):

<u>vowels</u>

ɛ in place of è

ɔ ....ò

consonants

ɲ...............ny

ŋ...............gh

The choice of *Tɔrɔsɔɔ* as the standard dogon dialect is also a result of the effort of field linguists who, through dialectal and sociolinguistic surveys came to the conclusion that among the six dialects, *Tɔrɔsɔɔ* was the dialect with the highest level of intelligibility among the Dogon.

Going back to the issue of alphabet, when it came to the specific case of Dogon, there arose a major problem. It happened that before the efforts of the government, Christian missionaries had already produced materials in which their choice of some graphemes differed from the Government's (DNAFLA) choice. This was a concern for some organisations like the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) which saw in that a "danger" for Dogon to have two alphabets. It appeared urgent therefore for both parties to come to an agreement as to how to harmonise "their" alphabets. Thus the superscript marking the nasalisation of some vowels has been replaced by the grapheme 'n'. As a result we have for example *ɔn* instead of *ɔ̃*, *in* instead of *ĩ*, etc. Likewise *dʒ* becomes *j*, *g* which was so far used for both oral and velar plosives, is replaced by *ŋ* for the nasal velar, *ny* becomes *ɲ*. Though we cannot affirm that there is harmony at every level between SIL/church and DNAFLA, the most conspicuous "problems" have been solved and consultations are in progress in order to arrive at a complete phonetic and orthographic agreement. The fact that both the government and the Church are now using the agreed-upon alphabet is a testimony for that good will. In this work as well I will be using that alphabet for the

sake of convenience.

Purpose of the Study

Research Problem

The importance of pronouns in any language cannot be overestimated. In our daily usage of our languages we consciously or unconsciously use pronouns to refer to entities in the world. We do so because in a real life communication context speakers and addressees do not need to be repeating a particular item all the time by its name. However, to explain how pronouns are used in the Dogon language compels one to go beyond a syntactic and morphological descriptions. As a matter of fact, pronouns, in many cases, can be better grasped from a pragmatic and discourse point of view. Unfortunately, no attempt has been done so far to sketch the Dogon pronoun within the triple scope of morphosyntax, pragmatics, and discourse. Moreover, though substantial research has been done on the general description of the Dogon grammar, not much was focused on the pronoun. Finally, even those who worked on pronoun did not do so on the standard dialect. For example in 1995 Vladimir Plungian, in a booklet titled 'Dogon', described the major features of the morphology and syntax of Dogon, but the dialect he worked on was the *Tɔmɔsɔɔ*. In 1994 Culy Christopher, Koungarma Kodio, and Patrice Togo sketched the pronominal systems of Dogon (unpublished). But Togo speaking the *Togo kan* and Kodio speaking a sub-dialect of *Tɔrɔsɔɔ*, there is a high probability that their data were not totally from *Tɔrɔsɔɔ*. It is therefore safe to say that the study of pronouns in Dogon comes as a new field of research in the study of the language. The choice of this topic is, in that sense, not a mere curiosity to know about pronouns, rather, it is the result of my awareness, after

writing assignments and papers on Dogon pronouns, that an in-depth study of the morphosyntactic, pragmatic, and discourse characteristics of the Dogon pronoun would be a non negligible stepping-stone in the understanding of the Dogon grammar in general.

Goals and Objectives

Goals

This research is part of the linguistic project, a requirement in the Translation studies Department at Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology.

The purpose of this work is to describe the morphosyntactic, pragmatic and discourse functions of the personal, possessive, demonstrative, and logophoric pronouns. This will hopefully contribute to our understanding of the manifold aspects of the grammar of a particular language thus leading its speakers to a more effective communication, including Bible translation.

Objectives

General objectives

The general objective of this work is to contribute to the Mali government's effort to promote our local languages for literacy and other purposes. But at a lower level this work comes as a contribution to the promotion of literacy in the Church, Bible translation and other work that will need to refer to the grammatical aspect of the language.

Specific objectives

The specific objectives for this work are:

- to enhance my personal interest and skill in discovering more about the Dogon pronouns

- to analyse and explain pronouns in a natural discourse

- to come to a relatively conclusive hypothesis as to how the Dogon pronouns behave morphosyntactically, pragmatically, and in discourse.

Hypothesis

The work is based on the hypotheses mentioned below:

- Pronouns are existent in Dogon

- Pronouns are independent morphemes except for the clitic personal pronouns

- Participants in a discourse can be identified by the use of pronouns

- There are logophoric pronouns in Dogon.

Methodology

The methodology we used basically consisted in collecting data from natural pieces of discourse in Dogon, and analysing them.

Data collection

The data for this work comes from

- Texts provided by Ms Elizabeth Olsen, Pan-Africa Christian College (PACC), who had taped natural Dogon narrative and expository discourse

- a narrative text taken from Plungian's *Dogon* in which his informants are all Dogon native speakers studying linguistics in Moscow

- a hortatory discourse I taped

- finally, being a native speaker of Dogon, I made myself a potential source of data for this work.

Analysis

The analysis consisted in transcribing the data and looking at the structural and distributional relations of the different pronouns as well as the pragmatic meanings

they carry and their discourse behaviours.

CHAPTER 2

TYPES OF PRONOUNS

A pronoun is defined in the *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Crystal 1989, 281) as a 'part of the grammatical classification of words referring to the close set of items which can be used to substitute for a noun phrase (or single noun). There are many types of pronouns in Dogon: personal, possessive, demonstrative, logophoric, reflexive, reciprocal, interrogative, relative. In this work we will sketch the first four.

Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns comprise 'free morphemes (as opposed to affixes) that function alone to fill the position of a noun in a clause' (Payne 1997,47). These can be sub-divided into subjects and objects, clitics which are characterized by grammatical agreement and/or morphological incorporation. In Dogon, personal pronouns can normally be identified in terms of person (1st/2nd/3rd), number (singular/plural), but not in terms of gender.

Table No 1

Personal pronoun subjects		personal pronoun objects	
1sg	mu	1sg	mu-i
2sg	u	2sg	u-i
3sg	wo	3sg	wo-i

1pl	emɛ	1pl	emɛ-i
2pl	e	2pl	e-i
3pl	be	3pl	be-i

In (1) *mu* is the subject of the verb *wiyaaun*. In (2) *mu* is the object of the verb *lagu* The personal pronoun object, as we can see, is formed by suffixing the vowel *i* to the personal pronoun subject.

(1) mu   wiyaaun

   I   come

   'I have come'.

(2) Aa   mui   lagu?

   who   me   beat

   'Who beat me?'.

Semantic Basis of Pronominal System

Givón (1984, 354) points out five features which make up the semantic basis of pronominal systems.

   a.   Participant deixis (person)

   -speaker   1st person

   -hearer   2nd person

   -non-participant   3rd person

   b.   -Number   singular   dual/plural

   c.   inclusive/exclusive: This feature pertains to the hearer's inclusion in,

   or exclusion from, the referential scope of "we".

   d.   Class/gender: This is the inherent lexical cluster of noun features applicable most typically to third person referent.

   e.   Spatial deixis: This cluster pertains again only to third

persons referring to their spatial position, proximity, distance,

visibility, vis-à-vis the speaker or hearer.

With regard to Dogon, the above features may be lexical, propositional-semantic, or discourse/ pragmatic.

Thus in (a) +(b), that is, participant deixis + number, we have

sg	pl	
mu	emɛ	speaker
u	e	hearer
wo	be	non-participant

Inclusive/Exclusive

Dogon does not have a formal difference between inclusive and exclusive pronouns. However, using *emɛ/e*, inclusiveness and exclusiveness are pragmatically controlled. We will discuss that in the section of the pragmatic use of pronouns.

Gender

Dogon does not have gender distinction.

Spatial Deixis

This too will be discussed in the section of the use of pronouns.

Personal Pronouns and Grammatical Agreement.

Grammatical agreement of pronouns leads us to the issue of "clitization". Crystal (1993:57) claims that 'typically a clitic has the phonological form of a separate word but cannot be stressed and is obliged to occupy a particular position in the sentence in which it is phonologically bound to an adjoining word, its host.'

While we do not reject the above view, we will rather, for the sake of convenience, go for a more loose definition of the word clitic. In this work then, since

we are dealing with pronouns, we take a clitization as an attachment of a pronoun to the end of a verb form. In that sense "cliticisation", we notice, could be interchangeable with "verb agreement".

As far as personal pronouns are concerned, their morphotactic position relative to verbs is that of suffixation.

We will take the verb *wɛɛ* 'to come' and conjugate it in all the persons and see how the different (independent) personal pronouns get cliticised to it. The bound morpheme *-u* is the marker of the present continuous.

Present Continuous

	Sg		Pl	
a.	Wɛɛ-u-wɔn	'I am coming'	'Wɛɛ-u-wɔin	'we are coming'.
b.	Wɛɛ-u-wɔu	'you are coming'	Wɛɛ-u-wɔi	'you are coming'
c.	Wɛɛ-u-wɔ	'he is coming'	Wɛɛ-u-wɔin	'they are coming'

The suffixes *wɔn, wɔu, wɔ, wɔin, wɔi* and *wɔin* are the cliticised forms of the independent pronouns *mu, u, wo, emɛ, e, be*, respectively.

Givón (1984:354) noticed that 'it is common for grammatical agreement to become jointly-coded morphologically ("porte manteau") with other inflectional categories of the verb in particular tense, aspect, modality'. This is true for Dogon pronoun cliticization especially with regard to tense.

Let us take further tenses and see what kind of modification the verb undergo in each tense. Before we do that, it should be remembered that for all the tenses below, the marker of the tense is infixed between the verb stem and the cliticised pronouns.

Present simple

In the present simple, the cliticised pronouns are

1sg	-jɔn		1pl	-ɲu
2sg	-jɔu		2pl	-jɛi
3sg	-jɛ		3pl	-ɲu

	sg		pl	
1	Wɛɛ-jɔn	'I come'	Wɛɛ-ɲu	'we come'
2	Wɛɛ-jɔu	'you come'	Wɛɛ-jɛi	'you come'
3	Wɛɛ-jɛ	'he comes'	Wɛɛ-ɲu	'they come'

Simple past

In the simple past the cliticised pronouns are

1sg	-bɔn		1pl	-bɛin
2sg	-bou		2pl	-bei
3sg	-be		3pl	-bɛin

	sg		pl	
a.	Wiy-aa-bɔn	'I came'	Wiy-aa-bɛin	'we came'
b.	Wiy-aa-bou	'you came'	Wiy-aa-bei	'you came'
c.	Wiy-aa-be	he came	Wiy-aa-bɛin	'they came'

Present perfect

In the present perfect the cliticised pronouns are

1sg	-un	1pl	-in
2sg	-u	2pl	-i
3sg	-i	3pl	in

	sg		**pl**	
a.	Wiy-aa-un	'I have come'	Wiy-aa-in	'we have come'
b.	Wiy-aa-u	'you have come'	Wiy-aa-i	'you have come'
c.	Wiy-aa-i	'he has come'	Wiy-aa-in	they have come

Past perfect.

In the past perfect, the cliticised pronouns are

1sg	-bɔn	1pl	-bɛin
2sg	-beu	2pl	-beu
3sg	-be	3pl	-bɛin

	sg		**pl**	
a.	Wiyaa-yaa-bɔn 'I had come'		Wiyaa-yaa-bɛin	'we had come'
b.	Wiyaa-yaa-beu	you had come'	Wiyaa-yaa-bei	'you had come'
c.	Wiyaa-yaa-be 'he had come'		Wiyaa-yaa-bɛin	'they had come'

Simple future

In the simple future the cliticised pronouns are

1sg	-dɔn	1pl	-dɛin
2sg	-dou	2pl	-dei
3sg	-do	3pl	-dɛin

	sg			pl	
a.	Wɛwɛɛ-dɔn	'I will come'		Wɛwɛɛ-dɛin	'we will come'
b.	Wɛwɛɛ-dou	'you will come'		Wɛwɛɛ-dei	'you will come'
c.	wɛwɛɛ-do	'he will come'		Wɛwɛɛ-dɛin	'they will come'

From the six tenses above we notice that while some clitic pronouns are morphologically identical in more than one tense (for example, simple past = past perfect), others undergo some change from one tense to the other. The tense markers are *j* and *ɲ* for the simple present, *aa* for the present perfect, and simple past, *yaa* for past perfect, and *d* for the simple future.

The morphosyntactic features of quite a few African and Latin American languages we noticed in our advanced syntax class, displayed a more or less universal distributional property of pronouns, namely that agreement affixes are in most cases incorporated pronouns.

While some languages such as Chicheŵa are reported to 'show both subject and object agreement in their verbal morphology' (Bresnan and Nchombo 1987:74), it does not seem to be possible to cliticise object agreement pronouns in Dogon verb stems.

(3) shows a grammatical agreement between the verb *laga* and its subject which is the cliticised pronoun -*wɔin*. The cliticised pronoun -*wɔin* does the action of beating. But in (4) the direct object of the verb beat, that is *woi*, is not a clitic object pronoun, at any case, not in the sense of clitic as we defined.

Thus we can say that Dogon does not have an object clitic pronoun.

(3)   laga   -u   wɔin

beat   pcm   3pc

'We/they are beating'.

(4)   Woi   laga   -u   wɔin

him   beat   pcm   3pc

'They are beating him'.

To come back to the subject clitic pronouns, an important point needs to be underscored: it is very commonplace in Dogon grammatical agreement, to see cases whereby a noun phrase (which, in this particular case is a personal pronoun) bears an argument relation to the verb, while the verbal affix, namely the clitic pronoun, expresses redundantly the person (and number) of the noun phrase. We will illustrate that below.   It is more appropriate to qualify this redundancy as "natural" than "obligatory".

In (5)-(7) the clitics *un*, *i* and *bɛin* show grammatical (i.e, subject) agreement with the independent pronoun *mu*, the NP *Ali* and the NP *unrunw gɔbe*. While the clauses remain unaffected in terms of their naturalness (to some extent) it does follow that the presence of two personal pronouns designating the same referent creates some kind of redundancy. It is necessary, therefore, to find out which of the two is responsible for the redundancy and which one we can do without.

(5)   Mu   wiy   -aa-   -un

I   come   ppm   1sgc

'I have come'.

(6)   Ali   ɛliy   -aa-   -i

        Ali   escape ppm   3sgc

        'Ali has escaped'.

(7)   unrunw   gɔbe wiyaa yaa   bɛin

        children   the   come ptpm 3pc

        'The children had come'.

Part of the answer to the above "problem" is provided by examples (8)-(10). In these three examples the clauses are deprived of their independent pronoun and noun phrases respectively, namely, *mu*, *Ali* and *'unrunw gɔbe'*.

What remains is the subject clitic pronouns *un*, *i* and *ɛin* and yet they are sufficient, to some extent, for the Dogon speaker, to know which subject (person) they agree with.

(8)   Wiy   -aa-   -un

        come   ppm   1sgc

        'I have come'.

(9)   ɛliy   -aa-   -i

        escape   ppm   3sgc

        'He has escaped'.

(10)   Wiyaa   yaa   bɛin

        come   ptpm   3pc

        'They had come'.

Morphophonemic Features of (clitic) Personal Pronouns.

A little earlier we pointed out Givon's observation about grammatical

agreement, namely clitic pronouns' likelihood to become porte manteau with other inflectional categories of the verb. He makes this clearer when he says that 'older generations of clitic pronouns display phonological/assimilatory erosion and often merge with other verb inflectional categories to the point where it may be difficult to distinguish them morphologically even if the semantic categories underlying them persist in the ensuing grammatical agreement' (Givón 1984,361) .In the case of Dogon we notice that marking negation are also incorporated in the clitic personal pronouns. Those negation markers in turn undergo some morphological changes depending on the tense of the verb and the person and number of the subject. In the following examples we see cases of negation marker incorporation -l- and their subsequent results on the clitic pronouns.

Present progressive

1sg   wɛɛ   -u-   wɔ-l-ɔn

      come   -pcm-   not I

      'I am not coming'

2sg   wɛɛ   -u-   wɔ-l-ɔu

      come   -pcm-   not you

      'you are not coming'

3sg   wɛɛ   -u-   wɔ-l-ɔ

      come   -pcm-   not he

      'He is not coming'

1pl	wɛɛ	-u-	ɛ-n-ɔw
	come	-pcm-	not we

'we are not coming'

2pl	wɛɛ	-u	iɔ-l-ɔw
	come	-pcm-	not you (pl)

'you are not coming'

3pl	wɛɛ	-u-	ɛ-n-ɔw
	come	pcm	not they

'They are not coming'.

We notice above that on the one hand the negation marker is placed between the present progressive marker and the cliticised pronouns. On the other hand, the negation marker (morpheme) has brought about morphological changes in some cliticised pronouns namely the 1st common plural and 3rd plural. Finally the negation morpheme itself undergoes some change in the two persons just mentioned. Further tenses show further cases of morphological changes due to the negations.

Present simple

In the present simple the negation morpheme is still placed between the tense marker and the clitic. Also some changes in the clitic pronouns are noticable. We also notice that in the present simple, the negation morpheme causes the tense marker *j* to drop out. (see page 15).

1sg	wɛɛ-l-ɔn	'I don't come'

2sg	wɛɛ-l-ɔu	'You don't come'
3sg	wɛɛ-l-ɛ	'He doesn't come'
1pl	wɛɛ-n-ɛ	'We don't come'
2pl	wɛɛ-l-ɛi	'You don't come'
3pl	wɛɛ-n-ɛ	'They don't come'

Simple past

1sg	wɛɛ-l-un	'I did not come'
2sg	wɛɛ-l-u	'You did not come'
3sg	wɛɛ-l-u	'He did not come'
1pl	wɛɛ-n-ɛ	'We did not come'
2pl	wɛɛ-l-ui	'You did not come'
3pl	wɛɛ-n-ɛ	'They did not come'

Future simple

1sg	wɛɛi-do-l-ɔn	'I will not come'
2sg	wɛɛi-do-l-ou	'You will not come'
3sg	wɛɛi-do-l-o	'He will not come'
1pl	wɛɛi-do-n-ɛ	'We will not come'
2pl	wɛɛi-do-l-oi	'You will not come'
3pl	wɛɛi-do-n-ɛ	'They will not come'

Past perfect

1sg	wɛɛ-l-un-bɔn	'I had not come'
2sg	wɛɛ-l-uu-bou	'you had not come'
3sg	wɛɛ-l-u-be	'he had not come'
1pl	wɛɛ-n-ɛ-bɛin	'we had not come'
2pl	wɛɛ-l-i-bei	'you had not come'
3pl	wɛɛ-n-ɛ-bɛin	'they had not come'

As we can see all the tenses above show aspects of phonological erosion created by the cliticised pronouns. We also notice the assimilation process of those cliticised pronouns when used along with the negation and the person markers. Consequently it becomes difficult, morphologically speaking, to distinguish the tense marker from the person marker in the present perfect for example.

Finally, the negation marker changes from *l* to *n* in the 1st and 3rd person plural in most of the tenses mentioned above. There seems to be no phonological reason for that change; at any rate it does not confirm to Burquest's assumption that 'sounds tend to be affected by the environments in which they occur' (1993:3).

Possessive Pronouns

The term "possessive" encompasses three different kinds of Dogon expressions.

1. A word class including such words as *ma* 'mine', *uwɔ* 'yours', *womɔ* 'his', *emɛ* 'ours'. These words can be and are used for whole noun phrases. They are called possessive pronouns.

2. Another word- class including *ma/mu* 'my' *uwɔ/u* 'your', *womɔ/wo* 'his/her. These words cannot be used for whole noun phrases. However they can occupy the same position in a noun phrase as the definite article *gɔ* "the". Such words are usually refered to as possessive adjectives.

3. Possessive phrases formed by the juxtaposition of two nouns, the first being the possessor and the second the possessed. Some linguists seem to use the terms 'passive adjectives' and 'possessive pronouns' interchangeably. Others such as Trask (1993:212) define a possessive as 'a determiner which functions as the possessive form of a pronoun'. He gives an example of the English my, your, their. Instead of using the term "possessive pronoun", Trask uses the term 'absolute possessive'. While he (Trask) makes his assumption from the perspective of the English language, it seems crucial to me that given the universality of pronouns in general and possessive pronouns in particular, a clear distinction needs to be made between a pronoun and an adjective and Dogon pronouns and adjectives are no exceptions. When we consider Payne's definition of an adjective as 'a word that can be used in a noun phrase to specify some property of the head noun of the phrase' (Payne 1997:63), we can say that an adjective must normally have a noun or noun phrase to qualify. How specific this qualification of a NP's property is a (different) pragmatic debate which is not too relevant for the present work. For example in the clause

(11)   ginrun   ma   ɛji   wɔɔ

        house   my   nice   is

        'My house is nice',

ma 'my' is specifying a property of the head noun *ginrun* 'house', that of possessorship or more specifically, that of limiting the potential owners of the house to only one

person that is I.. But the house could be a house built by me, or rented by me or bought by me, or a picture of a house drawn by me. As I said above, this is not the focus of this work.

In (12) **ma** is a possessive adjective, describing the 'ownership' of boy. In (13.) **ma** stands for the whole NP 'my boy' and is a possessive pronoun.

(12) ii   ma   boi   Amadu   gɛɛɲu

      boy   my   name   Amadu   said

      'My boy is called Amadu'.

(13) ma   gɔ   boi   Jan   gɛɛɲu

      mine   the   name   John   said

      'Mine is called John'.

Thus we have the following as Dogon possessive pronouns

      sg   pl

      a.   ma   emɛ

      b.   uwɔ   ebe

      c.   womɔ   bemɛ

(14) uwɔ   gɔ   boi   Jan   gɛɛɲu

      yours the   name   Jhon   said

      'Yours is called Jhon'.

(15) womɔ gɔ   bo   Jan   gɛɛɲu

      his/her the   name   Jhon   said

      'His/her is called Jhon'.

(16) Emɛ   gɔ   boi   Jan   gɛɛɲu

ours   the   name Jhon   said

'Ours is called Jhon'.

(17)   Ebe   gɔ   boi   Jan   gɛɛɲu

yours   the   name Jhon   said

'Yours is called Jhon'.

(18)   Bemɛ   gɔ   boi   Jan   gɛɛɲu

theirs   the   name Jhon   said

'Theirs is called Jhon'.

Possessive pronouns can also be used predicatively. The predicative use of the possessive pronouns brings about a morphological change in the latter, characterised by the suffixation of the vowel *i*. We have not been able, so far, to define all the syntactic functions of this *i* but in cases like this one it is safe to suggest that it plays the role of the copula verb "be".

(19)   ii   gɔ   ma-i

boy   the   mine

'The boy is mine'.

(20)   peju   gɔ   womɔ-i

sheep   the   his

'The sheep is his'.

(21)   bɔɔri   gɔ   womɔ-i

bag   the   his

'The bag is his'.

(22) dɔn   gɔ   emɛ-i

book   the   ours

'The book is ours'.

(23) yaanran   gɔ   uwɔ-i

wife   the   yours

'The wife is yours'.

(24) ana   gɔ   bemɛ-i

village the   theirs

'The village is theirs'.

Examples (19)-(24) above, show that the possessive pronouns and the definite article *gɔ* can coexist in terms of syntagmatic relationship. This could probably be a case of emphasizing the definiteness of the pronoun. Possessive pronouns being very definite as they easily help identify the referent they encode, the definite article probably comes in to underscore that fact.

Distributional Properties of Possessive Pronouns

In (25) and (26) *ma (gɔ)* and *emɛ (gɔ)* are the noun phrase subjects of the verbs *tɔŋɔuwɔ* and *pojaai*, respectively.

(25) ma   gɔ   tɔŋɔuwɔ

mine   the   write

'Mine is writing'(my pen is writing.)

(26) emɛ   gɔ   pojaai

ours   the   blew

'Ours blew up'.

(27) Elie   uwɔ   gɔ   kayaajɛ

Elie   yours   the   eaten

'Elie has eaten yours'.

(28) Aissa   bemɛ   gɔ   togaati

Aissa   theirs   the   spilled

'Aissa has spilled theirs'.

(29) ma   gɔbe   wɛrunijaain

mine   the   green

'Mine have gone green'.

(30) *mabe   wɛrunijaain

mine   green

'Mine have gone green'.

The bound morpheme *be* when suffixed to a noun renders it a plural noun (*gama* 'a cat', *gamabe* 'the cats') but when suffixed to the singular definite article 'the' the related noun/noun phrase becomes a plural one and retains its definiteness. (*gama gɔ* 'the cat' *gama gɔbe* 'the cats'). In the case of the possessive pronouns the above rule does not fully apply: whereas *be* can be suffixed to *gɔ* in (29) thus reinforcing the definiteness of the referent (implied by '*ma*') and pluralizing it, its suffixation to *ma* in (30) makes the clause ungrammatical. *be* can be suffixed to *ma*, *uwɔ*, *womɔ* only when the latter are preceded by a noun/noun phrase in which case they are possessive adjectives but not possessive pronouns. (*gama mabe* – "my cats")

From all the above remarks we can draw a number of conclusions about the

possessive pronouns in Dogon:

-They have the distributional freedom of being NPs or NPo

- They can be used predicatively.

-They are 'compatible' with singular/plural definite articles, despite the latters' inherent semantic definiteness.

Distributional Property within an Adjective Phrase

Let us take the NP,

(31)   Mapilu   wɛru   gɔ

     car   green   the

     'The green car'

and replace its noun phrase *mapilu gɔ* by the possessive pronoun *womɔ* "his/hers"

The new adjective phrase we would have would be something like

(32)   *womɔ   wɛru   (gɔ)

     his   green   the

     'His green'.

The above sentence is ungrammatical as an adjective phrase in that the possessive pronoun *womɔ* "his/hers" cannot be followed by the adjective *wɛru* "green". *Womɔ* can stand but for the whole NP "the green car" not for the Np "the car" within the adjective phrase.

Distributional properties within an adpositional phrase.

(33)   wo   lɔɔrɔ   le   yai

     he   bus   with/by   went

     'He went by bus'

Let us replace the noun/NP *lɔɔrɔ* in the postpositional phrase *lɔɔrɔ le* by the possessive pronoun *uwɔ* "yours"; our new clause will be

(34) wo   uwɔ   gɔ   le   yai

he/she yours   the   with/by   went.

'He went with yours'.

The above sentence neither means 'he went with you' nor 'he went on your vehicle'; The new adpositional phrase made up of the possessive pronoun *uwɔ (gɔ)* and the adposition *le* is grammatically correct. This is so because the distributional property of possessive pronouns allows the latter to be followed by an adposition, namely a postposition.

Grammatical Agreement

Contrary to personal pronouns where we have seen cases of subject- agreement cliticisation (along with tense and number markers) on the verb, possessive pronouns do not get cliticised to any element in a clause.

Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative in Dogon typically modifies a noun and is usually used to indicate the position of something (or someone) in relation to the speaker. Demonstratives can occur both in the NPs and NPo slots.

In fact they can occur anywhere an NP occurs such as in the locative or time slots. They are inflected for the plural marker *be*. The following are the demonstrative pronouns in Dogon.

Pointing to near object or people

	dem	obj pron	N
(35)	ɔn	mui	kɛrɛ
	this	me	bit

'This bit me'.

pointing to far object or people

	dem	poss	N
(36)	kɔɔ	wo	bai
	that	his	father

'That is his father'.

Demonstrative plural for near object

	dem	N	poss
(37)	ɔnbe	ɛnrɛn	mabei
	these	goat	my

'These are my goats'.

Demonstrative plural for far object

	dem	N	poss
(38)	kɔɔbe	peju	womɔbei
	those	sheep	his

'Those are his sheep'.

We notice that the syntactic order of (35)-(36) is different from that of (37)-(38). In (35) and (36) the possessors precede the nouns whereas in (37) and (38) the possessors follow the nouns. This is so because the first two nouns are inalienable

while the last two are alienable ones. In either case however, the demonstrative is formally unaffected. The basic forms of demonstratives as we can see above are

	Near	Far
	ɔn	*kɔɔ*
Sg		
Pl	*ɔnbe*	*kɔɔbe*

In (39) below the demonstrative is a noun phrase subject

(39) ɔn   mui   kɛrɛ

      this   me   bit

'This bit me'.

In (40) the demonstrative is a noun phrase object

(40) unrunw   gɔbe   kɔɔi   kayin

      children   the   that   ate

'The children ate that one'.

The *i* suffixed to the demonstrative *kɔɔ* in (40) is probably an object marker, although it could have other functions in other type of sentences. Using roughly the same example (40) we will show, in (41), that if the demonstrative pronoun *kɔɔ* becomes subject and the then subject an object, the suffix *i* will attach itself to the new object.

(41) kɔɔ   unrunw   gɔbei   liirɛmu

      that   children   the+i   frighten

'That (one) frightened the children'.

Demonstrative pronouns can also be used predicatively

(42) mu   anrunge   gɔbe   ɔnbei

my	friends		the	these

'These are my friends'.

(43) buudu wo sɛɛ gɔ puu kɔɔ woi

money he		has	rel	all	that	it

'That is all the money he has'.

The basic forms of demonstrative pronouns I have given above are *ɔn* 'this', kɔɔ 'that' and their plural forms. This implies that in Dogon we have a demonstrative which points a referent near to the speaker and another demonstrative pointing a referent far from the speaker. However, we will see, in their pragmatic uses, that demonstrative pronouns have more than this "traditional" two-way distinction.

Logophoric Pronouns

Trask (1993, 164) defines a logophoric pronoun as 'a specialized form occurring always and only embedded under a verb of saying, thinking or perception and referring to the person whose speech, thoughts and perceptions are reported'. The above definition accurately describes the logophoric pronoun in Dogon. Also from the above definition we realize that the logophoric pronoun always refers to the third person (singular or plural).

Logophoric Personal Pronouns

In the following examples, (44) shows an ordinary pronoun in the embedded clause, (45) a logophoric pronoun. In (44) the reporter is saying that the speaker (i) said that another person (j) would go. In (45) on the contrary, the reporter is saying that speaker (i) said he himself would go.

(44) wo_i   wo_j   yayaado   gi

      he   he   go   said

      'He said he would go'.

(45) wo_i   unrun_i   yayaado   gi

      he   he-log   go   said

      'He said he would go'.

The difference, as we can see, is expressed by the different forms between the "ordinary" pronoun *wo* and the logophoric pronoun ***unrun.*** As we have already mentioned above, the logophoric personal pronoun can be used in both singular and plural. Below we have an example of the plural logophoric personal pronoun.

(46) Be_i   unrunbe_i   yayaadɛin   gin

      they   they   go   said

      'They said they (themselves) would go'.

How can we know that in (46) *be* and ***unrunbe*** are the same referents ? Examples (47) shows that. In (47) the report is about one person (*wo*, 'he') who said that several persons (*be*, 'they') would go. Thus the reference of *wo* is different from that of *be.*

(47) wo_i   be_j   yayaadɛin   gi

      he   they   would go   said

      'He said that they would go'.--- (***be*** does not include the speaker ***wo***)

We can therefore say that the whole issue of the logophoric pronouns is one of co-referentiality which Trask defines as 'the relation which obtains between two NPs (usually two Nps in a simple sentence) both of which are interpreted as referring to the same extralinguistic entity (1993:64).

(44) wo$_i$ wo$_j$ yayaado   gi

      he   he   go   said

      'He said he would go'.

(45) wo$_i$ unrun$_i$ yayaado   gi

      he   he-log   go   said

      'He said he would go'.

The difference, as we can see, is expressed by the different forms between the "ordinary" pronoun *wo* and the logophoric pronoun ***unrun.*** As we have already mentioned above, the logophoric personal pronoun can be used in both singular and plural. Below we have an example of the plural logophoric personal pronoun.

(46) Be$_i$ unrunbe$_i$ yayaadɛin   gin

      they   they   go   said

      'They said they (themselves) would go'.

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(47) wo$_i$ be$_j$ yayaadɛin   gi

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Predicative Use of Logophoric Personal Pronoun

The logophoric pronoun in Dogon can be used in a sentence as a predicate complement, as illustrated in (48). In (48) the logophoric pronoun *unrunbe* refers to the Noun phrase *peju guyɔnw gɔbe*.

(48) Be₍ᵢ₎ peju guyɔnw gɔbe unrunbe₍ᵢ₎ gin

      they sheep stealer the them said

      'They said that they are the ones who stole the sheep'.

Logophoric Possessive Pronoun

.In order to make a more complete description of the logophoric form of the possessive in Dogon it would be preferable to describe both the adjectival and pronominal form of the possessive. The general assumption is that the logophoric possessive, like the logophoric personal pronoun indicates co-reference with the subject of the clause.

In (49) the person whose father has come is *Amadu* and the person who is making the assertion is *Amadu* himself. In contrast, in (50), we see that there is no co-referentiality between the NP subject and the possessive.

(49) Amadu₍ᵢ₎ unrun₍ᵢ₎ ba wiyaai gi

      Amadu his father come said

      'Amadu₍ᵢ₎ said his₍ᵢ₎ father has come'.

(50) Amadu₍ᵢ₎ wo₍ⱼ₎ ba wiyaai gi

      Amadu his father come said

      'Amadu₍ᵢ₎ said his father₍ⱼ₎ has come'.

The logophoric possessive is inflected for plural. Thus in (51) below, we will see that the plural marker is suffixed to the logophoric pronoun. Also in (51), the logophoric *unrunbe* refers to both *Amadu* and *Dɔmɔ*. It is inflected for plural

because the referents are more than one.

(51) Amadu$_i$ lee   Dɔmɔ$_j$ lee   unrunbe$_{i+j}$ ba   wiyaai gin

Amadu   and   Dɔmɔ and   their   father come said

'Amadu$_i$ and Dɔmɔ$_j$said that their father has come'.

We notice that with the logophoric possessive there are both distributional and

structural modifications depending on whether the possessed is an alienable or

inalienable noun. As far as distributional property is concerned, we notice that in (52)

the logophoric possessive *unrun* precedes the possessee *ba* while in (53) the

logophoric possessive *unrunmɔ* follows the possessee *samunɔ.*

(52) Amadu   unrun ba   wiyaai   gi
     Amadu   his   father come   said
     'Amadu said his father has come'.

(53) Amadu   samunɔ   unrunmɔ   dogaai   gi
     Amadu   soap   his   finished   said
     'Amadu said his soap is finished'.

.   With regard to their structural property, the logophoric form of inalienable

possession is *unrun* while that of alienable possession has the suffix *mɔ.* When there

is more than one possessor and the possessee is an alienable noun, the plural marker

gets infixed (instead of being suffixed) between the basic logophoric possessive *unrun*

and the *mɔ,* as illustrated in (54.)

(54) Amadu   lee   Dɔmɔ   lee   samunɔ

     Amadu   and   Dɔmɔ   and   soap

unrunbemɔ   dogaai   gin

their   finished   said

'Amadu and Dɔmɔ said their soap is finished'.

In contrast to (54), in (55) the plural marker *be* is suffixed to the logophoric

unrunmɔ when there is more than one possessee.

(55)   Amadu   εɲε   unrunmɔbe   manaain   gi

        Amadu   chicken   his   lost   said

'Amadu said his chickens have gotten lost'.

When there is more than one possessor and also more than one possessee the

plural marker (*be*) of the possessors is infixed in the logophoric while the plural

marker (*be*) of the possessees is suffixed.

(56)   Amadu lee   Dɔmɔ lee   εɲε   unrunbemɔbe yinwaain   gin

        Amadu and   Dɔmɔ and   chicken their   died   said

'Amadu and Dɔmɔ said their chickens have died'.

In (57) the pronoun *unrunmɔ* is co-referential with the Noun phrase *Saidu*,

therefore the sheep belongs to *Saidu* and moreover, he (*Saidu*)is the one who said so.

In (58) the pronoun *womɔ* is not co-referential with the noun phrase *Saidu* and

therefore the sheep belong to another possessor.

(57)   Saiduᵢ peju   gɔ   unrunmɔiᵢ   gi

        Saidu sheep   the   his   said

'Saiduᵢ said that the sheep is hisᵢ'.

(58) Saidu$_i$ peju   gɔ   womɔi$_j$ gi

      Saidu sheep the   his   said

      'Saidu$_i$ said that the sheep is his$_j$'.

Further examples follow

(59) unrunw$_i$ gɔbe   unrunbemɛ$_i$ gɔbe   le   yaanu gin

      children   the   their   the   with go   said

      'The children$_i$ said they go with theirs$_i$ (own)'.

(60) unrunw$_i$ gɔbe   bemɛ$_j$ gɔbe le   yaaɲu gin

      children   the   their   the   with   go   said

      'The children$_i$ said they go with theirs$_j$'

In (59) the speaker reports about the children who said they go with their own (whatever is it) that belong to themselves, whereas in (60) the children said they go with things that belong to other persons. The logophoric personal and possessive pronouns are very important in Dogon. Although they are not that productive (they are only 3rd singular and plural) they help the hearer know if the speaker is speaking about himself or about a third referent.

CHAPTER 3

THE PRAGMATIC USE OF PRONOUNS IN DOGON

So far we have described only the morphology and syntax of the personal, possessive and demonstrative pronouns. In so doing we have discussed their distributional and structural properties, their independent (free) forms, and their cliticised forms and other derivational morphemes.

While all those descriptions are crucial for a 'morphosyntactic understanding' of the different pronouns mentioned, it follows, however, that in actual communication, pronouns have some complexities which sometimes cannot be pinned down by their syntactic rules only. In this chapter, therefore we will discuss the pragmatic use of the three types of pronouns mentioned above. We will basically focus on their deictic uses. What should be underscored in this chapter then, is that 'in the framework of Relevance Theory, pronouns are not conceptual like nouns; they are procedural in the sense that they impose constraints on explicature. They guide the search for the intended referent which is part of the proposition expressed' (Wilson and Sperber 1993, 21), and this is true for Dogon pronouns.

For example in (61) the personal pronoun *wo* suggests that all potential recipients of the

'money' are excluded except one, that is the 3rd person singular personal pronoun. In (62) the possessive pronoun *womɔ* instructs the hearer about the specific possessor of

his/her mother.

(61) buudu gɔ wo nɛ oboi

   money the him to give

   'Give the money to him'.

(62) buudu gɔ womɔi

   money the his

   'The money is his/her'.

(63) yaanran ɔn mu nai

   woman this my mother

   'This woman is my mother'.

We notice that in all three examples (61.), (62.), and (63.), the speaker, by using the pronouns *wo*, *womɔ*, and *ɔn*, constrains the hearer to a narrow choice of items in the world thereby minimizing the latter's processing effort.

Personal Pronouns as Deictics

Hurford and Heasley (1983, 63) propose that ' a deictic word is one which takes some element of its meaning from the situation (i.e. the speaker, the addressee, the time and the place) of the utterance in which it is used.' In the case of pronouns the above view confirms Saeed's remark according to which 'Languages differ in the amount of other contextual information that is included in pronouns' (Saeed 1997, 178). In Dogon person deictics usually encode information concerning the identification of the speaker and addressee including the "pragmatic" number of individuals represented by the referent, the social status of the referent, and the

personal relations existing between the referents. The linguistic items that express the identity of the referents are the traditional personal pronouns *emɛ*, "we" and *e* "you" (plural), to express inclusiveness and exclusiveness, respectively. This is pragmatically controlled rather than grammatically. In (64) below the pronoun *emɛ* "we" refers to a referent with whom the speaker identifies. In (65), the speaker is disassociating himself from the reference of *e*

(64) Emɛ   ei   baraidenɛ

        we   you   won't help

        'We won't help you'. (include speaker)

(65) e   gi

        you   said

        'You said (it)'.--- (or you are the ones who said it).(exclude speaker)

While the linguistic forms are the same as the ordinary 1st person plural *emɛ* 'we' and the second plural *e*,(you), these *emɛ* and *e* in (64) and (65) can instruct the hearer to pick out a specific group of people In other words the hearer is instructed in (64) to pick out an inclusive element of the referring group with *emɛ* and in (65) a referent which is exclusive with *e*.

Respect Degrees in Pronominal Reference   Head, in Greenberg (ed.) found out that there is a correlation between variation of a number in personal pronouns and degrees of respect. He noted that 'the features of language commonly used to show degrees of respect or social distance in reference include titles, proper names, common nouns and nominal expressions used instead of pronouns (1978, 153).' The above assumption is true for Dogon and we will see how a particular use (or non-use), of

personal pronouns expresses a certain degree of respect or lack thereof.

Personal Pronoun _wo_ "he" and _e_ "you"-pl

(66) and (67) are cases whereby a wife uses the third person singular pronoun _wo_ 'he' instead of mentioning her husband's name. This pronoun is used when the wife is talking to an addressee about the husband. In other words she is not addressing the husband.

(66)   wo   olu   yaai

          he   field   gone

          'He has gone to the field'.

(67)   wo   nimɛ   wɛɛlu

          he   yet   come not

          'He has not come yet'.

In (68) below the pronoun *e* 'you' (plural) is another way of showing respect; it is used by a wife to address her husband. In (69) the speaker (a wife) is addressing a friend, or a group of friends of her husband's, but in reality she is referring to the husband.

(68)   e   yago   yaajɛi?

        you-pl   where   go

        'Where are you going?'

(69)   Aga   baa   ei   iyɛlun,   yago   yaai?

        morning   since you-pl   not seen   where gone

        'Since morning I have not seen you, where have you gone?'

Titles

Titles are preferred instead of the second person pronoun *u* 'you' when addressing a local king, a village teacher, a local district officer, a newly-wed bride or groom etc. Sometimes the titles are used when talking about them but it is more commonly used when addressing them.

(70)   Muse,   kaluba   yaa   wiyaabe?

        teacher,   Kaluba   yesterday   came

        'Teacher, did Kaluba come yesterday?'

(71)   yakana   yato   ma?

        bride   is in   Qm

        'Is the bride in?'

Nominal Expressions

Nominal expressions such as **bɛrɛ ma baŋa** 'owner of my stomach' are used by caste groups like blacksmiths, or praise singers to address their masters.

(72) Bɛrɛ   ma   baŋa,   sɔɔ,   yakeŋɛun

     stomach   my   owner   speak   listening I

     'Owner of my stomach,(master) speak, I am listening'.

Sometimes, one can speak to himself using the common nouns *ijaa* 'girl' or *ii* 'boy', in apostrophe, instead of using the 1st common singular pronoun *mu* "I". These are usually used in cases where the speaker is urging or alerting himself/herself.

(73) Iyaa,   ɔn   u   igɛi   laa

     girl,   this   your   husband   not

     'Eh girl, this is not your husband!'

(74) ii   iŋele,   nai   tumaai

     boy   get up   sun   risen

     'Boy, get up, the sun has risen'.

All the above phenomena are what some linguistics call 'social deixis'. And in the case of Dogon they are very important because in most cases they are a speaker's choice of how to make reference to an entity and his success of being understood depends on the background knowledge of the hearer.

Pragmatic Use of Possessive

Some possessives can be person deitics and are usually pragmatically controlled. Some of them are pervasive in the language and are not analysed in terms of possessor-possessee. Below are some possessors that are deprived of their primary senses.

In (75.) 'Your skull' is not to be understood literally. Rather the speaker is telling the hearer to blame himself, not somebody else. The idea here is that since the

head is apparently the most important part of the human body, when somebody is asked to blame his/her skull, he/she is indirectly asked to blame himself/herself. Thus the idea of 'possessing skull' is not of any sense here, rather it is a synecdoche.

(75)   kuu   bana   uwɔi yai   pɛbɛ

head   skull   your   go   blame

'Blame yourself'.

(76) contains the possessive *ma,* but we will see that it does not have the sense of possessorship, but rather that of emphasis.

(76)   Giri   ma   le   mu   iyɛ

eye   my   with   I   saw

'I saw (it) with my eye'.

Giri ma therefore has the sense of 'I myself'. Likewise in (77) the possessive *womɔ* has lost its primary sense of possessorship, Rather, it becomes an idiomatic expression when used with the noun *kuu* 'head' and the verb *goo* 'to be out'(or to go out)

(77)   kuu   womɔ   gowaai

head his   out

'He is safe'.

The whole clause, in (77), means 'he has escaped from his problems'.

In (78) as well, the possessive *ma* does not have a physical referent to possess.

(78)   kubɔ ma   lee   numɔ ma   lee   u   sagui

leg   my   and   arm   my   and   you   care

'My foot and my arm are under your care'.

Kubɔ ma lee numɔ ma lee here means 'my whole being'. The expression is usually used in a context where a client is entrusting himself to a benefactor patron.

Further uses of possessives *u*, 'your', *uwɔ* 'your' (sg/pl), *womɔ* 'his/her', are to be understood from a pragmatic perspective. Some of them are idiomatic expressions used as proverbs and cannot be understood unless the reader/hearer succeeds in recovering the cultural contextual assumptions. In a nutshell we are saying that a substantial use of the possessives in Dogon are to be analysed not only through the lens of grammar/syntax, but rather from their pragmatic uses.

More on Deictic Use of Demonstrative

We saw earlier that, traditionally, demonstrative pronouns in Dogon are composed of one which points to a referent that is near the speaker, and another which points to a referent that is far from the speaker. However, we find that there are more than the above two-way distinction.

If we agree with Shopen (1985, 259) that 'spatial deictics are items which specify the spatial location of an object relative to the location of the speaker or the addressee', it follows that demonstrative pronouns are spatial deictics. We now go further and find other locative points indicated by other deictic forms.

Wogɔ "that" _____(non visible) referent far from both speaker and hearer

Yagɔ "that" _____(visible) referent far from both speaker and hearer

In (79) the deictic pronoun *wogɔ* refers to an "invisible" referent. By invisible is meant a referent that the speaker used to see or know but that is no more, he has only a mental representation of the referent.

(79) sasaabe   wogɔ   nɛ   daanbɛin

      birds   that   on   sitting

'Birds were sitting on that'.

In (80) by contrast, the referent is visible although far from the speaker and the addressee.

(80) yagɔ   jeɲɛ   jɛɛlɛ

      that   take   bring

'Bring that'.

Yagɔ also suggests that there is another referent that is closer to either the speaker or the addressee. Thus while *yagɔ* indicates the locative point of a particular referent vis-à-vis the speaker and hearer, it also makes the speaker unconsciously 'measure' the spatial distance of that referent in relation to a second one.

In their broader pragmatic sense spatial deictic notions are used in a variety of parts of speech in Dogon. One of them is the use of demonstratives to express locative adverbs. Examples (81) and (82) show that Dogon does not have a lexical morpheme of the locative adverb/s., rather, what is expressed with "here" and "there" in languages like English is expressed with demonstratives.

(81) ɔn   nɛ   iɲiyɛn

      this   in   stand

'Stand here'.

(82) kɔɔ   nɛ   yaa

that   in   go

'Go there'.

(81) and (82), as we can see, show that in languages like Dogon, "locative adverbs" show a morphologiacl evidence that they contain an idea of a spatial scope from which the speaker establishes and situates himself. When we recapitulate then, we will have the basic two demonstrative pronouns and their pragmatically controlled components.

Table No.2

ɔn/ɔnbe	visible referent/s	near speaker
kɔɔ/kɔɔbe	visible referent/s	far from speaker
wogɔ	invisible referent	far from both
yagɔ	visible referent	far from both
ɔn nɛ	zero referent	location near/neutral
kɔɔ nɛ	zero referent	location far/neutral

So far we have sketched spatial deictics from the perspective of their referentiability of referents in the physical environment. It is worth noting however, that spatial deictics can also serve as the basis for a variety of metaphorical extensions into other domains. For example while *ɔn* 'this' primarily implies 'near to the speaker', expressions such as *ɔn ginu* 'like this' or *waaru ɔn le* 'at this time' and *kɔɔ woi* 'that's it' etc. capitalise on extensions of 'nearness' to refer to domains other than literal spatial location. Furthermore, notions such as 'near to the speaker' may not be

interpreted in their sole physical angle but also as Shopen (1995: 278) puts it, 'by extension to psychological proximity, i.e. vividness to the mind of the speaker, and often to temporally close, i.e. in the immediate past or future of the speaker'. This is particularly common in narrative, hortatory and procedural Dogon discourses. Examples (83) and (84) below illustrate this.

(83) kɔɔ   waaru le   bujuru   gɔ   goonɔtiijɛu

      that   time   at   fermenter   the   remove

      'At that time you must remove the fermenter'.

(84) Tataa ɔn   aa   ye   paja   ɔn   aa   ye   paja

      hyena this catch and   leave this   catch and   leave

      'Hyena would catch this and leave it, and catch another one and leave it'.

CHAPTER 4

PRONOUNS IN DOGON DISCOURSE

Pronominalisation of Participants

Bendor-Samuel, Olsen and White (1989, 177) found that in a Dogon discourse 'a participant is introduced into the story indefinitely ("a man"), then definitely ("the man"), then as a pronoun ("he")'. Though the above observation is true, I would suggest that this is true for almost every discourse anyway, and not particular to Dogon only. On the other hand, the authors' finding is restricted to one genre only, namely the narrative, whereas other genres such as hortatory or expository may not necessarily follow the paradigm described above. For example there is a difference in the way participants are introduced in an expository discourse and a narrative. In (85) below, because the VIP who is the central character, is not yet introduced in the presentation articulation of the story, there needs to be a disambiguation of reference before pronominalising the VIP.

(85) Aine   turu   yaanw lɛi   sɛbe

      man   one   wife   two   had

      'A man had two wives'.

yaanran   turu   gɔ   gi

wife   one   the   said

'One of the wives said'.

'She would go and look for a love medicine'.

As already mentioned above, the order 'a man' 'the man' 'he' cannot fit in this piece of discourse. As a Dogon speaker I know that the VIP in the above discourse is neither *ainε turu* 'a man' nor *yaanw lεi* 'two wives'. The VIP comes when a reference is assigned to one of the wives who will from then, be a focus of the narrative. That referent is therefore "new", not a "given", and because of that, she cannot be 'the wife' rather she is 'one of the wives'. It is after this decision about who the VIP is that a pronoun can be used. To put it differently, the above authors probably lost sight of the fact that even the introductory sentence of a particular narrative on one hand, and the participant(s) contained in that sentence on the other hand, have the potential of determining the level at which a participant should be pronominalised. Contrary to (85), (86) has a different order, namely 'a man', 'he'.

(86)   Ainε   turu   sɔun   womɔ saŋaraan

      man   one   horse his   saddled

      'A certain man saddled his horse'

      gɔŋɔlu   gɔŋɔlɔi   gowaabe

      walk   walking   go out

      'and went out riding'.

      Ana   wo   dɔbe   puu   nε

      village he   arrive   all   in

      'every village he arrived at'...

VIP and Introduction of New Participant(s)

Once the VIP becomes a pronoun, it is likely to remain so even if a new (minor) participant is introduced. One case where the narrator goes back to the 'presentational' reference of the VIP is when the minor participants are not only mentioned in the story but become relatively active. Inherent to this, then, is Huang's (2000, 153) topic continuity or distance-interference model whereby 'factors such as linear distance (the number of clause/sentence between the two mentions of a referent), referential interference (the number of interfering referents), and thematic information (maintenance or change of the protagonist), constitute factors by which the continuity of topic in discourse is primarily measured. A typical example is when the narrator reports a conversation between the VIP and minor participants. In such a situation, it is likely, if not predictable, that the shorter the conversation, the fewer the competing referents.

In (87) the mere introduction of the minor participant *ii dagi* 'a little child', does not alter the pronominalisation of the VIP.

(87) Wo   yaa   ii   dagi   turu-i tɛmu

      he   went   child little one   found

      'He went and found a little child'.

In (88) however, the VIP is given its original reference since he is engaged in a conversation with the minor reference and therefore disambiguation seems necessary to guide the hearer in assigning the right reference to the right participant. That also means that Dogon does not have separate pronouns for VIP and minor participants.

(88) Ainɛ   gɔ   saa   woma injei kanranbe   ma   wa

man	the	said	to him	what	do		qm	said

'The man asked him what he was doing'.

ii_i	gɔ	unrun_i	dii	kaja	lee	pɛi	lee
boy	the	he	water	new	and	old	and

kabugau	bee	wa
separate	was	said

'The boy said he was separating old water from new'.

To conclude this section I would say that the introduction of a participant in a discourse varies according to the presentational sentence of the discourse and the different participant(s) contained in that sentence.

Zero Pronoun as Participant Reference

There are basically three situations in which the participant in a narrative discourse is indicated by an absence of pronoun

(a) if the object of the action performed by a particular participant is not a person, then the expected object pronoun is left out. Also, that omission is not shown on the verb. Example (89) and (90) illustrate that.

(89)

Ainɛ	gɔ	bonɔ	gɔ	jeɲɛ
man	the	hole	the	take

'kinii	nɛ	kunɔdo		wa
shade	in	put		said

'The man said he would take the hole and put it in the shade'.

(90)

yaanran	gɔ	ibɛ	nɛ	yaa	ye
woman		the	market	to	go	and

'The woman would go to the market,'

nawan	ɛbaa	ye	yara	gɔ	giru	nɛ	dunɔ
meat	buy	and	lion	the	eye	in	put down

'buy meat and put it before the lion'.

We would be conveying a completely different information had we used the object pronouns in (89) and (90). For example (89) would have meant that *kinii* is a person who is taken from the sun to the shade, and in (90) the woman would be putting a person before the lion.

(91)

Ainɛ	gɔ	bonɔ	gɔ	jeɲɛ	ye
man	the	hole	the	take	and

kinii	nɛ	*woi	kunɔ	wa
shade	in	him	put	said

'The man said he would take the hole and put him/her in the shade'.

(92)

Yaanran	gɔ	ibɛ	nɛ	yaa	ye
woman	the	market		go	and

'The woman would go to the market,'

nawan	ɛbaa	ye	yara	gɔ	giru	nɛ	*woi	dunɔ
meat	buy	and	lion	the	eye	in	him	put down

buy meat and put him before the lion'.

So, as we can see, non human discourse participants, when they are the grammatical objects of verbs can be understood without the object pronoun. This however does not apply to non-humans VIP's.

In many Dogon discourses, especially narratives, non- human participants are

often personified, and in such cases their object pronouns are not left out.

-**(b)**. If a series of actions are done by a participant, thus making a narrow continuity which sometimes constitutes the peak of the story, then the pronoun is left out. In (93) the series of actions performed by the woman denotes a certain perseverance on her part and also a risk she was running by venturing to approach the lion. Thus the repetitious character of the action of going to the market and buying meat coupled with the risky act of approaching a lion probably make this sentence the climax of the narrative. Therefore the subject pronoun referring to the woman is left out.

(93) ibε   nε   yaa   ye   nawan εbaa   ye

      market to   go   and   meat buy   and

      'She would go to the market ,buy meat'.

      yara   gɔ   yalu   wɔɔ   gɔ   nε   yaa   ye

      lion   the   place   is   the   in   go   and

      'Go to the place of the lion',

      bɔmɔnu   bebee   nawan gɔ   dunaa   ye

      staring   while   meat the   put down   and

      and while staring at the lion, she would put the meat,'

      yara   nawaan   unrunmɔ   tεnwaan   ye   deεnrinyεn

      lion   meat   her   eat   and   rest

      'and the lion would eat her meat and rest'.

-**(c.)** A third situation in which pronoun is left out is where, because of the specific meaning it carries, a particular verb can guide the reader/hearer to the intended referent. As already said above, Dogon has many stories in which 'things' are personified and thereby become participants. Thus in a story where crops are

competing for beauty, the hearer knows which crop among, e.g, millet, sorghum, rice etc. is being pounded depending on which verb the speaker is using. In (94) the verb *bɔgɔ* is one element in the semantic field of *tolo* 'pound' which is appropriate only for sorghum. Thus the hearer does not need either a noun or a pronoun to know which type of crop is being pounded.

(94) waaru bɔgaa wo kilɛ le yaanran gɔ

time pound she finished when woman the

'When she finished pounding it the woman'

unrunmɔ kuu gɔ banrin kinrun gɔ pilui wa

hers head the red nose the white said

'said that hers has a red head and a white nose'.

Before concluding this section I will once more question Bendor-Samuel et al's (1989,177) assumption according to which 'only people are pronominalised' in Dogon discourse.

As I have said above things and animals are personified and the story teller uses pronouns in the place of those 'participants'. In other words, as Brown and Yule put it, 'whatever the form of the referring expression its referential function depends on the speaker's intention an the particular occasion of use' (Brown and Yule 1983, 205). Thus in (95) the personal pronouns are used to replace Hyena and Hare because the story teller and his audience have 'agreed' that on this particular occasion Hyena and Hare should play the role of human beings.

(95). Tata jɔn le kijɛ wo gi gɔ

hyena hare to thing he said the

jɔn	kinɛ	aalu	didɛu	jɔn	wo	na
hare	heart	not catch		hare	his	mother

duyaatiyaa	jɔbaai
insult	ran

'Since what hyena said to hare did not please the latter,

he insulted him and ran away'.

Care must be taken, therefore, to affirm that only people are pronominalised, because if we take "people" in the exclusive sense of "human beings", one would wonder what the participants in Dogon narratives will be made up of, especially in stories.

Emphatic Use of Pronoun

In some discourse, a pronoun may be used as a contrastive focus to put an emphasis on a particular referent. In (96) **wo** gives contrastive focus to make the referent *jɔn* salient

(96)
olu	nawan	puu	suguru	bemɛ	pɛlaa	obin
field	meat	all	ear	their	cut	give

'All the wild animals cut and gave their ears'

kaa	jɔn	wo	unu	nɛ	yowaa	baŋiyaain
but	hare	he	forest	in	go in	hide

'but he, the hare went into the forest and hid himself'.

Sometimes it becomes difficult to tell if a personal pronoun is a contrastive focus or a simple pronoun. For example in a discourse where the narrator is reporting a speech, the pronoun is formally identical in both constructive focus and simple (subject) use. The difference however may be noticed in the verb. If the pronoun is contrastive focus, there is no subject- agreement clitic pronoun suffixed to the verb. In

(97) **mu** is not indicating constructive focus because the cliticised pronoun *ɔn* is suffixed to the verb.

(97). ii   gɔ   kijɛ   gi   mu   yaajɔn

child   the   thing   said   I   go

'The child said, 'I will go'.

In (98) **mu** is indicating contrastive focus because there is no subject. agreement between it (**mu**) and the verb. The independent personal pronoun **mu** is 1st common singular while the cliticised *jɛ* 3rd masculine singular.

(98). ii   gɔ   kijɛ   gi   mu   yaajɛ

child   the   thing   said   I   go

'The child said, 'it is I who will go'.

Another way of better understanding the difference between the focus pronoun and the non focus pronoun is to translate the above two examples like this in (97') and (98')

(97'). 'the child said, 'I am the one who will go'.

(98'). 'The child said 'the one who will go is I'.

As we can see the reason why we have 1st common person versus 3rd person singular in (98) is that, 'it is a certain person who will go, and that person happens to be me'. Although this kind of contrastive focus cannot be generalized for all tenses it is quite common in Dogon.   If the pronoun is the object, the particle *i* is most of the time suffixed to it. In (99) **woi** is not only an object pronoun but also marks contrastive focus.

(99) yara gɔ   wo   -i   iyɛ   ma   nawan gɔ   i   iyɛ

| lion | the | him | fc | saw | or | meat | the | fc | saw |

'Did the lion saw him or the meat?'

In (99) above, the focus is also marked by the intonation of *woi*. The particle *i* having many functions in Dogon, its indicating contrastive focus is yet to be agreed upon. I therefore hold on the above claim about it loosely. Emphasis of a pronoun can also be made by using the definite article *gɔ* together with the pronoun. This looks unusual to some extent because if we agree with Brown and Yule (1983:214) that 'from a formal point of view pronouns are the paradigm examples of expressions used by speakers to refer to "given entities"', then a definite article appears to be 'formally' redundant when used together with a pronoun. Yet we encounter such occurrences in Dogon discourse. In (100) the use of the definite article *gɔ* puts an emphasis on the pronoun *ebe*. The emphasis is even intensified by the particle *i* suffixed to the article. In (101).the emphasis is on *uwɔ*

(100) kɔnmɔin!   kɔnmɔin!   miin   ebe   gɔi   goolɛ wɔɔ

      shout!   shout!   voice   your   the   go not is

      'Shout! shout! it is your voice which is not loud enough'.

(101) uwɔ   gɔ   dogolu   ye   yaidenɛ

      yours   the   not finished   if   won't go

      'We won't go unless yours is finished'.

Anaphoric Use of Pronouns

Langacker (1996, 357) defines an anaphor as 'a marker referring to a noun phrase, verb phrase, prepositional phrase, clause, or any other fragment of utterance previously mentioned in speech.' This definition shows then that pronouns are relevant "candidates" for being anaphors, because as he further says, 'a pronoun

portrays its referent as being immediately accessible in the current discourse space (1996, 357). Thus, in this section, I will discuss how the relationship between a full nominal expression and the corresponding pronominal expression in Dogon discourse works. In other words, I will discuss the relationship antecedent-anaphor. This should not be confused with my earlier discussion about the introduction of participant in a discourse, for here, we are concerned with what Huang (2000, 151) refers to as 'the choice of a particular referential/anaphoric form at a particular point in discourse'. (102),(103),(104) show that in Dogon the use of the pronouns *unrun*, *womɔ*, *be*, as Langacker puts it, 'fall within the dominion of an active reference point in the current discourse space (1996, 358)', and they are normally interpretable as identical to that reference point.

(102). yaanraan   turu   gɔ   unrun

      wife   one   the   she

      iibɛ   loo   dɛnɛi   yaajɛ   wa

      love   medicine   look for   go   said

      'One of the wives said she would go and look for a love medicine'.

(103) ɔn   Ali   mɔi   maa?   ee   womɔ-i

      this   Ali   for   qm   yes   his

      'Is this Ali's?' 'it is his'.

(104) Aa!   unrunw   ɔnbe!   be   dɛi   peju   sau

      uh!   children   these   they   then   sheep   wise

      'Uh, these kids ! even a sheep is wiser than they'.

The point in (102), (103), and (104) is that the reference point organization inherent in the meanings of the pronouns *unrun*, *womɔ* and *be* and the full nominals

yanran turu gɔ, Ali, and **unrunw ɔnbe** respectively, are and must be compatible with that induced by the discourse-grammatical structure of (102), (103) and (104) ,respectively.

The relation between antecedent-anaphor could also be substantiated in terms of topic construction. Since the topic construction puts the comment clause in the dominion of the topicalised element a, pronoun construed as co-referential to it, would be enough to recover the intended referent, for the topicalised element is supposed to establish a local referent point. Example (105) illustrates that with the use of the demonstrative pronoun *wo*.

(105) ɛɲɛ   ɔn   yerunw   wiyaain

       chicken   this   guests   come

       ye   wo-i   sɛwɛɲu

       if   it   slaughter

'This chicken, it will be slaughtered if guests come'.

In (106) however, we realise that a failure to establish a local reference point is detrimental to determining co-reference. Thus the topicalised pronoun is supposed to establish a local reference point, but it asks for one instead.

(106). wo-i   sɛnwenɲu   yerunw   wiyaain

       it   slaughter   guests   come

       ye   ɛɲɛ   ɔn

       if   chicken   this

'It will be slaughtered if guests come, this chicken'.

We would conclude by saying that once a nominal expression is established in a discourse portion, e.g, sentence, clause etc., the structural requirements expected of its co-referential pronoun cannot be satisfied unless the pronoun and its antecedent occur within the same reference point. This is an expectation in Dogon discourse, especially in narrative discourse.

Pragmatic Use of Pronoun in Discourse.

What we have so far said about the relationship antecedent-anaphor could be labelled 'anaphoric relationship'. Our observation of the antecedent-anaphor relationship in Dogon discourse has made us come to the "hypothetical" conclusion that for any entity to which reference is to be made in discourse, there not only has to be an anaphoric expression which could be used to designate that entity, but also and most importantly, that anaphoric expression, is to be the 'correct one', after a correspondence test. However when we look closely at some procedural or hortatory discourse in Dogon, a number of questions arise: Does a particular pronoun require an explicit antecedent for it to be assigned the right reference ? Does a pronoun and its "hypothetical" antecedent need to occur in the same clause to show co-reference? On what do hearers base their interpretation of the referent of a pronoun in their everyday (actual) communication in Dogon ? The answers to these questions boil down to my suggestion that beyond the structural relationship between antecedent and anaphor, we can find, in Dogon, a conceptual relationship between the two.

Example (107) shows that the implied object pronoun does not refer to the antecedent *giri*.

(107) giri uwɔ numɔ lɛi le gɛlɛu yai dunɔ

     eye your hand two with hold go put down

     'You are holding your eyes with two hands, go and put it down'.

The Dogon audience knows that in (107) understanding **giri** is not a matter of cotext but rather one of the context. 'Holding one's eyes with two hands' is an idiomatic expression which stands for 'being very sleepy'. Thus the object which is to be put down, that is, to be taken to bed, is not the eyes per se but the hearer himself. It becomes easy to see therefore that speakers and addressees rely on their mutual cognitive environment to recover the meaning of such constructions. In (108) the requirement of an antecedent expression is not crucial, because both the hearer and the speaker share a mutual cognitive environment in which the contextually identified antecedent is mentioned.

(108) wo yaamɔ emi gaa ɔɲɔmaati

     him let go us too disturb

     'Let him go, he disturbed us too much'.

In (109) a speaker is describing to a hearer how to make traditional beer. By saying **u** 'you', the speaker is not actually addressing the hearer, but rather a potential person who might, some day, happen to make beer.

(109). tinrun gɔ u kunɔnu

     wood the you put

     halu yai ye kɔɲɔ gɔ

     until go and beer the

     wo bɔɔjiye

it   foam

'You will continue putting the wood until the beer starts foaming'.

As we can notice, examples (107), (108) and (109) show that pronouns in Dogon guide to a conceptual structure to identify required referent (antecedent). This referent is either mentioned in the text or not. By relevance the hearer is able to identify the right reference, textual or not.

Ultimately we agree with Huang that

> the problem of anaphoric distribution in discourse then boils down to this: on the one hand from the perspective of anaphoric production, what contributes to the speaker's choice of an appropriate anaphoric form; and on the other, from the vantage point of anaphoric resolution, what enables the addressee to identify the intended referent of that form at a given point in discourse (2000:152).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this work we have sketched the personal, possessive, demonstrative and logophoric pronouns in Dogon. We analysed their morphosyntactic use before considering their pragmatic and discourse use.

While we do not claim them to be specific to the Dogon language, a number of remarks related to syntactic pragmatic and discourse could be made. There seems to be a redundant use of personal pronouns in most Dogon sentences, given the fact that besides the independent pronoun, a clitic pronoun gets suffixed to the verb. Also some personal pronouns like *emɛ* 'we, *e* 'you', *be* 'they' can have the pragmatic meanings of inclusiveness/exclusiveness, or respect.

As for the demonstrative pronouns, we noted that apart from their three-way-distinction of 'near speaker', 'far from speaker', and 'far from both', some forms of demonstratives connote not only the idea of spatial distance but also the visibility of the item referred to. We also noticed that the demonstrative pronouns are used to form the locative adverbs 'here' and 'there'.

Talking about the possessive pronouns we noted that they are sometimes pragmatically controlled, occurring in many idiomatic and proverbial sentences in which the relation possessor-possessee they encode is lost.

The logophoric pronoun, though important in the Dogon language, is not that productive in terms of its syntactic distribution. It is only used in the third person singular and plural. Finally the use of personal pronouns in Dogon discourse showed

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how participants are introduced in a narrative, when and how a VIP becomes pronominalised. With regard to the personal pronoun object, we noticed that it is realized marked by a zero pronoun when it is not referring to human being. In examining the relationship between a pronoun and its antecedent in a discourse, we have realized that while the referent of a pronoun can be traced by means of structural relation, the antecedent of a pronoun may not be identified in the same way. This led us to the awareness of pragmatically defined pronouns in discourse and the conclusion that the antecedents of some pronouns are recoverable but from the perspective of conceptual relation.

From this work I am convicted that pronouns in Dogon are important aspects in the overall understanding of the Dogon syntax, pragmatics and discourse. Given their productivity and the time constraint, I do not claim to have covered all their uses. One immediate benefit of this work will be that it will give me insights regarding the adequate use of pronouns in biblical narrative in my translation ministry. Its long term benefit is that hopefully, it will be a substantial aid for linguists who might be interested in exploring the Dogon language. Finally, in the context of the Mali government's policy related to the promotion of local languages for educational purposes, I consider this work to be my modest contribution towards that end.

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APPENDIX

<u>Date</u>: July 15 1999.

<u>Data item</u> No 001.

<u>Source (informant/s)</u>: Book, (Isiaka Tembine, Kindie Yalcoue

<u>Original dialect</u>: Tɔmɔ sɔɔ

The present data are drawn from a book entitled *'Dogon'.* written by Vladimir Plungian in 1995. His informants were Issiaka Tembine and Kindie Yalcoue, two Dogon students in the linguistic institute in Moscow . The original data were in *Tɔmɔ sɔɔ,* One of the six official dialects of Dogon. To serve my purpose, I have translated them into *Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ,* the standard dialect. I would like to ensure the reader that nothing has been added to, or removed from the original data, as far as the content is concerned. Changes have been done only at a phonological level.

0. *yaanran   lee   wo   igɛya   lee*

    woman   and   her   cospouse   and

    kuu   nɛ   yin   kumun

    head   in   thus   put

    I will tell you the story of a woman and her cospouse'.

1. *yaanran   turu   gɔ   wo   gi*

    woman   one   the   she   said

    'One of the women said'

Igɛnɛ   *gɔ*   *unruin*   *ibiyɛ* *dɛi*

husband   the   her   love   for

'in order for the husband to love her'

unrun   *loo*   *dɛnɛi*   *yaajɛ* *wa*

she   medicine   look for   go   said

'she would go and look for a medicine'

2.   *yaanran*   *pɛinɛ*   *mɔnɛ* *yin*   *yai*

        woman   old   to   thus   went

        'Thus she went to see an old lady'.

3.   *yaanran*   *pɛinɛ* *gɔ*   *woma*

        woman   old   the   to her

        'The old lady told her'

        yara *ii*   *yalu*   *nanraanjɛ*   *yai*   *ye*

        lion   child place given birth   go   and

        dɛnɛ   *wɛɛ*   *wa*

        look for   come   said

        'to go and look for a place where a lioness has given birth'

4.   *iyaa* *wo*   *yara* *ii*   *yalu*   *nanraanjɛ*

        girl   she   lion   child place given birth

dɛnɛi   *yin*   *yai*

look for   thus   went

'Thus she went to look for a place where a lioness has given birth'.

5.   *wo*   *yaa*   *unu*   *nɛ*   *yara*   *ii*

she   went   forest   in   lion   child

nanraanjɛ   *yin*   *iyɛ*

given birth   thus   saw

She went and saw in a forest a lioness

that had given birth to a cub'.

6.   *jɔbaa* *wiyaa* *yanraan*   *pɛinɛ* *gɔ*   *wa*

ran   came   woman   old   the   to her

unrun *yara* *ii*   *yalu* *nanraanjɛ*   *iyaajɛ* *wa*

she   lion   child   place   given birth   saw   said

'She ran back to the old lady and told her that she has found

a place where a lioness has given birth to a cub'.

7.   *yaanran*   *gɔ*   *woma*   *yara* *gɔ*

woman   the   to her   lion   the

iru   *gɔ*   *ɛnwaan*   *wiyaa* *ye*

milk   the   milk   come   and

loo   gɔ   kɔɔ   le   birɛɲu   wa

medicine   the   that   with   make   said

The lady told her that she has to go and milk the lioness

so that the medicine can be made with it'.

8.   ɔɔ   waa

o.k   said

'She agreed'.

9.   ibɛ   nɛ   yaa   ye   nawan ɛbaa   ye.

market to   go   and   meat buy   and

yara   gɔ   yalu   wɔɔ   gɔ   nɛ   yaa   ye

lion   the   place   is   the   in   go   and

bɔmɔnu   bebee   nawan   gɔ   duunaa   ye

staring   while   meat   the   put down   and

yara   nawan   unrunmɔ   tɛnwaan   ye

lion   meat   her   eat   and

dɛɛnrinyɛn

rest

'She would go to the market, buy some meat, and go to the

place where the lioness was, and would carefully put the meat

beside the lioness'.

10. | nɛɛ | kai | yara | gɔ | bɛrɛ | nawan | ɛbɛ | ɛbɛ |
| now | so | lion | the | to | meat | buy | buy |

| obou | | wo | wɔu | yara | gɔ | wo | nɛ |
| giving | | she | was | lion | the | her | to |

| yin | wɛɛji |
| thus | get used |

'She continued that way until the lioness got used to her'.

11. | iye | mɔ | wo | yaa | mɔnɛ | | yara | gɔ |
| today | for | she | go | before | | lion | the |

| giri | | yeiyaa |
| eye | | slept |

'One day she went there and found the lioness asleep'.

12. | iru | gɔ | ɛnwaan | biyaajɛ |
| milk | the | milk | succeeded | . |

'She managed to milk the animal'.

13. | jɔbaa | | wiyaa | unrun | yara | gɔ |
| ran | | came | she | lion | the |

| iru | gɔ | biyaajɛ | | wa |
| milk | the | got | | said |

She ran back. and said that she has got the milk of the lioness'.

14. yaanran   pɛinɛ saa   woma yani yara   gɔ

    woman   old   answered   to her how lion   the

    iru   gɔ   bɛɛ   ma   wa

    milk the   got   how   said

    'The old lady asked her how she got the lioness's milk'.

15. yara   gɔ   iru   gɔ   unrun naa

    lion   the   milk   the   she   cow

    kubɔ   taanu lee   peju kubɔ nai

    leg   three and   sheep leg   four

    lee   le   bɛɛ   wa

    'She said she got the milk of the lioness with three legs of

    beef and four legs of mutton'.

16. iye   mɔ   unrun wɛɛ   mɔnɛ yara   gɔ

    today for   she   come before lion   the

    giri   yeiyaa   wo   wɔu   unrun iru

    eye   slept   it   was   she   milk

    gɔ   kunrin   bɛɛ   wa

    the   thus   got   said

'Until one day when she came and found the lioness asleep

and in that way she succeeded in getting her milk'.

17. *yaanran*   *pɛinɛ* *gɔ*   *saa*   *yara* *gɔi*

     woman   old   the   answered   lion   the

     dɔbɔraa   *bɛɛ*   *kɔɔ*   *ginu*   *wo*   *igɛi*

     cuddled   got   that   like   her   husband

     kanran   *yaa*   *ye*   *yin*   *dɔbɔrɔ*   *wa*

     also   go   and   thus   cuddle   said

'The old woman said to her that since she succeeded in cuddling

the lioness and got her milk, she has to do the same

thing to her husband'.

18. *loo*   *kɔɔ*   *la*   *ye*   *loo*

     medicine   that   not   if   medicine

     waja   *wɔlɔ*   *wa*

     other   is not   said

'She said there is no particular medicine except that one'.

19. *iyaa*   *ainɛ*   *gɔi*   *dɔbɔrɔu*   *wo*   *wɔu*

     girl   man   the   cuddle   wo   was

     igɛyaa   *gɔ*   *halu*   *ungo*   *wo*   *pilemaa*

cospouse   the   until   here   she   turn back

'The woman kept cuddling the man until

the cospouse left the place'.

20. *yaanran*   *pɛinɛ*   *gɔ*   *wa*

woman   old   the   to her

ainɛ *gɔ*   *unruin*   *ibiyai* *wa*

'She told the old lady that the man loves her'.

21. *loo*   *gɔ*   *woi*   *nɛɛ*   *loo*

medicine   the   it   so   medicine

waja   *wɔlɔ*   *wa*

other   is not   said

kɔɔ *ginu* *woi* *yai* *gɛliyɛ* *wa*

that   like   him   go   keep   said

'She said there is no other medicine apart

from that one and that she only has to treat him like that'.

22. *yaanran*   *wo*   *igɛi*   *kɔɔ* *ginu* *gɛliyaa*

woman   her   husband   that   like   keep

dɛenrin

rest

'Thus the woman kept her husband'

LITRERAL TRANSLATION.

THE TWO CO-SPOUSES

1. I will tell you the story of two cospouses

2. One of the women said she would go and look for a remedy (medicine) for obtaining her husband's love.

3. 2. (Having said so), she went to see an old lady.

4. the old lady proposed to her to first of all find a place where a lioness had given birth to a cub.

5. And the woman went to search the place.

6. She walked, walked and finally spotted a lioness that had given birth to a lion cub.

7. She ran back to the old lady and said she has found the place she had asked her to find.

8. the old lady explained that in order to prepare the so-called remedy, the lioness has to be milked and the milk brought to her.

9. The woman agreed.

10. She went to the market, bought some meat, and headed for the place where the lioness was lying. There she cautiously put the meat beside the lioness and waited until she ate it.

11. In that way, day after day, by regularly buying meat and giving it to the lioness. She came to a point where the animal became familiar to her.

12. Finally, one day, when she arrived, the lioness was sleeping.

13. She let herself be milked, and thus the woman got the milk.

14. The woman ran back and told the lady, "I have got the lioness's milk."

15. The old lady asked her how she managed to get the milk.

16. The woman replied that in order to get the milk, she had to spend three legs of beef and four legs of mutton on the lioness.

17. (She had been doing so) until one day when she got there and found the lioness asleep and was able to milk her.

18. The old lady said, "it is after a lot of difficulties that you have attained your ends. Now go and take care of your husband in that same manner".

19. that is that, your remedy! There is none other!

20. And the woman began to cuddle her husband until the other woman left the house.

21. Then the woman said to the old lady, "Now my husband loves me really."

22. The old lady answered, "it's an infallible remedy, there is none other, keep up with it!"

23. And the woman kept it up and stayed with her husband for a long time.

Date: January 30 1998

Data item: No 2

Source: tape recorded sermon.

Original dialect: *Tɔrɔ sɔɔ*.

The present data are drawn (transcribed) from a sermon preached in February 1998 during the annual conference of all the Dogon churches. The speaker is a pastor by the name of Moise Guindo. Here I give only the introductory part of the sermon.

0	*Aiwa*	*Egilise*		*CMA*		*disutirike*	*pɛli*
	ok	church		CMA		Distriks	ten

gagara		*sigɛ*	*boi*	*le*	*boonu*	*ebe*
eigth		plus	name	in	calling	your

gɔ	*emɛ*	*bɛrɛ*		*dɔwaabe*
the	us	to		arrived

'on behalf of the eighteen districts of the CMA church we received your invitation'.

1.	*Ama*	*waaru*	*ɔn*	*jamu*	*le*	*emɛ*	*bɛrɛ*	*obaabe*
	God	time	this	peace	with	us	to	give

'We have been asked that if reach this time in peace, we

biyaa	*ye*	*ema*	*ɔn*	*nɛ*	*dɔɔ*	*gin*
can	if	we	this	to	arrive	said

were supposed to arrive here'.

2. *Bana ɔn nɛ dɔɔ emɛ bɛɛido sibɛ go*

manner this to arrive we can side the

'Also, we were praying about how we would be able to

emɛ kanran Ama gɛɛn le bɛin

we also God prayer with be

get here'

.Ama kanraan emɛ logoro ebe nɛ jamu le

God did we midst your to peace with

'God having answered our prayer, we have arrived among you

dɔwaain

arrived

safely'

4.Emɛi e boonu gɔ dɛi emɛ ei

us you call the for we you

'we thank you for the opportunity you have given us by

poonɔuwɔin

greet

inviting us.

5.mu gɛɛ bɛbɛɛdɔn, ana ɔn nɛ wɛi ma

I say can town this to coming my

'Icould say that this is my second time to come to this

ɔn kubɔ lɛiye: gaari mɔɔnu diye Madugu

this fast second: last year gathering big Madugu

town: During the conference that took place in Madugu last

nɛ bii gɔ, emɛ Madugu nɛ gowaa

to be the we Madugu to go-out

year, we came from Madugu and we crossed this town and

wɛɛu ana ɔn kɛjaa tanaabein ana gɔ

yɛnaabe

look at

visited it'

6 *wiyaa ɔn nɛ tɛmaabɔn e joo ɔn nɛ wiyaa*

come this to find   you many this to come

'I have come here to find that many of you have come. I do

unwɔi. Bana e nɛ poonɔun jaan gɔ mu

present manner you to greeting worthy the i

not know how to thank you the way you deserve

nɛɛ inɔn

now not know

it'

7. *E inɛw girun sugo   bɛɛnw gɔbe, ana*

you people house come down owners the town

'First of all i thank you the landlords, the people of the town.

bɛɛnw, e laa poonɔwɔn Amiru lee

owners you first greet   chief and

the chief and his council, I'd like to greet all of them.

wo   bɔɔnw   lee tuturu puu poonɔuwɔn
his associates and one   all   greet

I also would like to thank the administrative

kumadan lee birebirɛnw wo bɔɔnw   lee
officer and worker   his associates and

officer and his staff. Also i greet all of the people

poonɔuwɔn. inɛw mɔɔnu   ɔn   nɛ booni
greet   people gathering this to call

who have been invited to this conference'.

puu poonɔuwɔn

all greet.

8. Ama emi baraa ye mɔɔnu   ɔn.

God us help then gathering this

'May God help us to end this conference in peace

sɛɛu kilɛmu emɛ bɛɛmɔ

well finish we can

9. Ama sɔɔ mu pinɛlɛ mɔnɛ

God word i open   before

'Before i open the word of God,

anranguju kana poo   e nɛ taga ibɛɛwɔn

year   new greeting you to tell like

I would like to give a new year greeting'

10. anranguju kana ɔn   nɛ Ama jamu womɔ

year   new this in God peace his

'May God grant us his peace in this new

emɛ turu puu bɛrɛ obo

us one all to   give

year'

11. *iye sɔɔ gaila e bɛrɛ sɔɔ mu*

today word little you to   speak i

ibɛ gɔ unwɔ: Inɛw Baŋa Yesu alagala

like the here: people owner Jesus Heaven

'The short message i'd like to deliver today is this,

nɛ wo yaa mɔnɛ sɔɔ Egilise bɛrɛ

to he go before word church   to

tagaa wo ginaajɛ gɔbe Yesu aduna

tall he advance the   Jesus world

nɛ waaru wo goi   le wo

in time   he go out with he

Egilise dɛi ajubu joo yasɛbe

church   for thinking many have

12. *Yesu unrun jaŋu   unrunw   gɔ   le   alagala*

Jesus he   learning children go out   then heaven

yayaado ga waaru be bɛrɛ wo tagu

 go   that time them to   he tell

le, kinɛ bemɛ ɛji sɔmiyaanbe

with heart their well   mourn

13. *kijɛ dei kinɛ bemɛ sɔmi gɔ*

    thing for heart their mourn the

    unwɔ Yesu logoro bemɛ nɛ gowaa ye

    here Jesus midst their in go out the

    ɔɲɛ joo be bɛrɛ dɔdɔɔdo.

    suffering many them to arrive

    narain wogɔ kanran bibiyɛdo. kɔɔ

    true that also be that

    sabu dei kinɛ bemɛ ɛji sɔmijaanbe

    reason for heart their well mourn

    kɔɔ sabu dei Yesu alagala wo yaa mɔnɛ

    that reason for Jesus heaven he go before

    wo Egilise bɛrɛ tinwinrun gama

    he church to advice some

    obaabe.

    give.

14. *ɔɲɛ gɔbe Egilise bɛrɛ waaru dɔwaajɛ*

    suffering the church to time arrive

    le kinɛ bemɛ yanwannɔ dei Yesu

    with heart their not spoil for Jesus

    sɔɔ gɔbe be nɛ tagaabe

    word the them to tell

15 *sɔɔ joo bibiyɛdo, kɔɔ le digɛnu*

word many be   that with tie

Ama unrunw   kinɛ yanwan bɛbɛɛjɛ wa

God's children heart spoil can   said

Waaru nawin   bibiyɛdo wa

time difficult be   said

16. *iye naitege le sɔɔuwɔn Ama wo*

today noon   with say   God he

birɛ poo. Yesu sɔɔ kɔɔbe emɛ

work greet Jesus word these us

bɛrɛ tagalube bijaa ye kinɛ emɛ

to   not well can   if heart our

yayanwanbe

spoil

17. *kaa emɛ bɛrɛ tagaa ginaabe bijaa*

but us to   tell advance can

ye, iyaa sɔɔ naun   kɔɔbe wiyaain ye

if again word difficult those come then

yalu gooɲu yɔɔ gɔ dɛi emɛ

place go out exist the for we

mainiye tɔɔru wogɔ le kɛkɛu emɛ

persevere law   that with same we

yaun jaain wɔɔ

go   worthy be

18 Ama dɔn inɛw siin gɔbe Timɔte

God book people have rel Timothy

lɛiye   sapitere nai   yɛnɛi

second chapter four look at.

Date: August 1999

Data item:No 003

Source:(informant) via Ms Elizabeth Olsen

Original dialect: Tɔrɔ sɔɔ

These data were originally provided by Ms Elizabeth Olsen's informant.

1. *Ainɛ   turu   sɔun   womɔ   saŋaraan   gɔŋɔlu*

    man   one   horse   his   saddled   walk

    gɔŋɔlɔi   gowaabe

    to walk   around

    'A certain man saddled his horse and went out riding'.

    Ana   wo   dɔɔjɛ   puu   nɛ

    village he   arrives all   in

    'Every village he arrived at,'

    wo   inɛ   sɔɔ   sɔwaa   unruin

    he   person   speech   speak   him

    galaajɛ   bɛrɛ   sɔun   gɔ   obodo   gɛɛbe

    pass   to   horse   the   give   said

    'he would say that if anybody beat him with words

    he would give him his horse'.

3. *kunrin yaa   gɔŋɔlɔu   wo   tanwaanbe*

    thus   went   riding   he   lasted

    'Thus he rode around for a long time'.

4.   *Nɛɛ*   *bai*   *turu*   *ana*   *turu*   *nɛ*

now   day   one   village one   in

'Now one day he went to a village',

wo   *yaa*   *ana*   *gɔ*   *nɛ*   *inɛw*   *gɔ*

he   went   village the   in   people the

all the villagers'

puu   *olu*   *yaain*

all   farm   have gone

'had gone to their farms'.

5.   *ii*   *dagi*   *turu*   *tiun*   *doɲu*   *nɛ*

child   little   one   tree   under   in

kɛun   *le*   *yɔgɔrɔ*   *yɔgɔrɔu*   *wo*

arrow   with   play   playing   he

wɔu   *yaa*   *tɛmu*

was   went   found

'He went and found a little boy who was

playing under a tree with an arrow'.

6.   *wo*   *ii*   *gɔi*   *poonaa*   *be*   *lɛi*   *kibɛru*

he   child   the   greeted   they   two   greetings

kanraan   *womaa*   *wo*   *na*   *yago*   *yai*

did   to him   his   mother where   went

ma   *gi*

qm   sais

'He greeted the boy and they exchanged greetings.

then he asked him where his mother had gone'

7.   ii   gɔ   unrun na   ɔgɔnɛ sɔun

child   the   his   mother king   horse

     'The boy said his mother had gone to

     dulɔ   dɛnɛi   yai   wa

     tail   look for   went said

look for the tail of the village king's horse'.

8.   ɔgɔnɛ sɔun dulɔ le   laa   ye   minɛ

     king   home tail   with   except if   earth

     lɔiyɛlɛ digɛu womaa   ɔgɔnɛ sɔun

     sown   since   she   king   horse

     dulɔ   dɛnɛi   yai   wa

     tail   look for   went said

     'Since one cannot sew the earth except

     with the tail of the king's horse, she has gone

     to look for that tail'.

9.   Aiwa ainɛ gɔ   womaa   mainijaan   ye

     well   man   the   to him   be patient   and

     unrun nai   dɔminyɛn   wa

     his   mother wait   said

'He told the man to be patient and wait for his mother'.

10. Ainɛ gɔ ɔɔ gɔ sɔun

man the ok the horse

womɔ nɛ sugaa sɔun gɔ tiun nɛ

his from got down horse the tree to

pagaatiyaa ii gɔ womaa yaa

tied after child the to him go

ye dii kɔbɔ wɛɛ gi

and water fetch come said

'The man agreed, got down from his horse, tied it

to a tree, and told the child to go and fetch some (drinking) water'.

11. ii gɔ dii gɔ kɔbɔi yaaun ainɛ

child the water the fetch going man

gɔ womaa bonɔ unrunmɔ gɔ nɛ

the to him hole his the to

nai dɔwaai ye jeɲaa ye

sun arrive if take and

kinii nɛ kunɔ gi

As the child was going to fetch water,

he told the man to take his hole and put it in the shade

in case the sun gets where he dug the hole'.

12.   *Ainɛ*   *gɔ*   *ɔɔ*   *wa*

      man   the   ok   said

      'The man agreed'.

13.   *ii*   *gɔ*   *dii*   *kɔbɔi*   *yaai*

      child   the   water   fetch   went

      'The boy went to fetch the water'.

14   *ii*   *gɔ*   *ginrun*   *yaa*   *wɛɛlu*   *go*   *tanwaanbe*

      child   the   home   went   not come   until   delayed

      'The boy went home and stayed a long time there'

15.   *kɔɔ*   *waaru le*   *bonɔ*   *gɔ*   *nɛ*   *nai*   *dɔwaai*

      that   time   at   hole   the   to   sun   arrived

      'Before he came back the sun had reached the hole'

16.   *Ainɛ*   *gɔ*   *bana*   *kanraɲu*   *wo*   *nɛ*   *manaa*

      man   the   way   do   him   to   lost

      wo   *yaa*   *wo*   *bonɔ*   *gɔ*   *wɔgɔ*   *wɔgɔ*   *minɛ*

      he   went   he   hole   the   dig   dig   earth

      gɔ   *kinii*   *gɔ*   *nɛ*   *duunɔu*   *wo*   *wɔu*   *ii*

      the   shade   the   to   put   he   was   child

      gɔ   *wiyaa*   *woi*   *tɛmu*

      the   came   him   found

      'The man did not know what to do and as he was digging

        the boy's hole and putting the earth in the shade,

the boy came and found him'.

17.   *ii*   *gɔ*   *wo*   *wiyaa*   *ainɛ*   *gɔ*   *saa*

child   the   he   came   man   the   answered

ii   *gɔ*   *womaa*   *anrin*   *baa*   *girun*   *go*   *inje*

child   the   to him   before   so   home   to   what

kanraun   *bemaa*   *wa*

what he was doing'

18.   *ii*   *gɔ*   *unrun*   *ginrun*   *yaa*   *unrun*   *na*   *dii*

child   the   he   home   went   his   mother   water

pɛi   *lee*   *dii*   *kana*   *lee*   *toroi*   *turu*

old   and   water   new   and   pot   one

nɛ   *toobe*   *wɔu*   *unrun*   *wogɔ*   *kabugau*

in   was in   was   he   that   dividing

kunrin   *bee*   *wa*

thus   was   said

'The boy said he went home and there was

an old water and a new one in the same pot

and that he was separating the two waters'

19.   *Aiwa*   *ainɛ*   *gɔ*   *ɔɔ*   *giyaa*   *saalu*

well   man   the   ok   said   kept quiet

'The man said ok, he didn't reply'.

20.   *ii*   *gɔ*   *nɛɛ*   *ainɛ*   *gɔ*   *woma*   *bonɔ*

child	the	now	man	the	to him	hole

gɔ	nai	dɔwaa wɔu	wɔgɔ	wɔgɔ
the	sun	arrived was	dig	dig

kinii	gɔ	nɛ	kunɔu	wo	wɔɔ	gɔ	dɛi
shade	the	to	putting	he	is	the	for

kinii	gɔ	nɛ	yaa	dɔwaa	bonɔ	waja
shade	the	to	go	arrive	hole	another

tɔgɔraabe	ye	woi	laa	ma	wa
dig	if	that	not	Qm	said

'The boy said to the man that (since) the sun

the sun had reached the hole, instead of digging

and putting the earth in the earth, he could have

simply gone to the shade and dug a new hole

21.

Ainɛ	gɔ	ɔɔ	wa
man	the	ok	said

'The man said ok'.

22.

ii	gɔ	iya	lee	saa	ainɛ	gɔ
child	the	again	other	answered	man	the

womaaunrun	na	ɔgɔnɛ	sɔun	dulɔ
to him his	mother	king	horse	tail

dɛnɛi	yai	unrun	gi	gɔ	anran	dii	wa
look for	went	he	said	the	rain	water	said

'The boy said again to the man that the king's horse's tail he said

his mother had gone to look for, is the rain'.

23.   kanɛ   minɛbe   kaa   kaa   wɔin   wa

     now   earth+pl   crack   crack   are

    'He said that the whole earth is cracked now'.

24.   ɔɔbe   nɛ   dii   tolo   waa

     cistern   in   water   not in   said

    'There is no water in the ponds (cisterns)'.

25.   anran dii   wɛɛlu   ye   minɛ   kaa

     rain   water not come   if   earth   crack

     kaa   wɔɔ   gɔ   tumɔ   le   mɔnrinyɛlɛ   wa

     crack   is   the   together   with   not gather   said

    'If it does not rain the cracked earth won't come together'.

26.   Anran dii   wɛɛlu   ye   ɔɔ   nɛ   dii   yoolɛ

     rain   water   not come   if   cistern in   water go in-not

    'If it doesn't rain there will not be any water in the ponds'.

27.   ii   gɔ   kunrin wo   giyaa ainɛ   gɔ   ɔɔ

     child the   thus   he   said   man   the   ok

     giyaa ii   ɔn   sɔɔ   nɛ   unrun dɛi

     said   child this   speech in   him   pass

     ire   ga   wo   jugaa   sɔun   gɔ

     more   that   he   realized   horse   the

kɔmɔlaa	ii	gɔ	nɛ	obaatiyaa	pilemaa
untied	child	the	to	gave	returned

ana	womɔ	nɛ	yai
village his		to	went

'when the boy has spoken so, the man said ok'.

he realised that this boy was wiser than he is.

Then he untied the horse gave it to the boy

and went back to his village'.

28.

Nɛɛ	bai	kɔɔ	galu	nɛ	wo	waja	sɔɔ
Now	day	that	pass	since	he	again	thing

kɔɔ	tɔgu	inɛ	le	sɔɔ	tɛlu
that	type	person	with	speak	never

'Since that day he never spoke such words to any body'.

29.

Bai	kɔɔ	galunɛ	wo	saba	lagu
day	that	pass	he	bet	betting

kɔɔ	le	yapaju
that	with	stopped

'Since that day passed, he stopped challenging (people)'.

challenging (people)