1. Introduction

1.1 Mombo Language
Classification: one of somewhat 20 Dogon Languages (<Niger-Congo (?))
Location: West of the 'Dogon Country' (Fr. pays Dogon), Eastern Mali
Number of speakers: 20000-30000, approx. 20-22 villages
Data: field-work trips to Mali in 2008-2010

1.2 Mombo verbal inflectional morphology
- Complex interaction of TAM marking, cross-reference ('agreement') with the subject, focalization

2. Basic typological profile

2.1 Tonology and tonal morphology
- There are two tonal primitives H(igh) and L(ow). These two combine into stem-wide tone contours: {H} {HL} {LH} {L} glossed as .L , .H etc
- Change of the tone contour used as grammatical marking device +encoding basic syntactic relations in the noun phrase (no example) +verbal inflectional morphology (see 2.3 for examples)

2.2 Word order and case-marking
- strictly verb-final language, SOV in neutral declarative
- adverbials either precede or follow the subject, but never occur between the object and the verb (in neutral sentences) :
  (1) Sédû débù-ndo mángórò tɛ́mɛ́
      Seydou house-LOC mango eat.PFV
      ‘Seydou ate mangoes at home’.
  (2) òk débù-ndo Sédû mángórò tɛ́mɛ́
      ‘Seydou ate mangoes at home’.
  (3) Sédû mángórò débù-ndo tɛ́mɛ́
      ‘Seydou ate mangoes at home’. (cf (26))
- pre-clausal topic position (one of the topic markers obligatory follows NP’s, a pause in pronunciation)
  (4) môtôː n bâ ( *) Amârû wôː swé
      motorcycle TOP/DEF A. TF buy.PFV.H
      ‘(As for) the motorcycle [topic], AMADOU bought (it) ’.
- object clitic =wⁿ
  (5) dà:ná yàrà tàyé
      hunter lion shoot.PFV
      ‘(A) hunter shot (a) lion’
  (6) dà:ná ê=vⁿ tàyé
      hunter 3S=OBJ shoot.PFV
      ‘(A) Hunter shot it /him/her ’
ditransitive clauses: obligatory marks R, while T is unmarked

(7) ɛ́: mì=ẁⁿ á-níndɛ̀ 3S 1S=OBJ 2S-give.PFV 'You gave it to me'

+ used as a locative marker on non-core arguments/ non-arguments

(8) sì: tòmbò gándá=ẁⁿ ándó ɲ ɛ̂: ba ႋ, grain.L white.L land=OBJ go.VN 1S.POSS TOP 'Well, as for) My trip to the land of white people,...'

- locative marker =nda; competes with =wⁿ, difference is not clear yet (no example)
- instrumental-comitative marker =ndo (no-example)

2.3 Verbal morphology

(9) Aspectual categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Perfective</th>
<th>II. Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.1 (Simple) Perfective</td>
<td>stem-final V ablaut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.2 Experiential perfective ('Have you ever V?')</td>
<td>suffixation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.3 Recent perfective ('I have just V')</td>
<td>analytic. construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Imperfective</td>
<td>inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.1 Imperfective (proper)</td>
<td>analytic. construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.2 Prospective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

> Modality: Potential 'X can/may V'
> Polarity: Positive (unmarked) Vs Negative (suffixation)

(10) Inflectional series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Series 1</th>
<th>Series 2</th>
<th>Series 2</th>
<th>Series 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marking</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>[H] contour</td>
<td>Suffixation</td>
<td>CV-reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal Subject</td>
<td>cross-reference</td>
<td>no cross-reference</td>
<td>cross-reference</td>
<td>cross-reference</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) Paradigm of mìndɛ́ 'swallow'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Perfective</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Simple Perfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 1</td>
<td>mìndɛ́</td>
<td>mìndɛ́-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 2</td>
<td>mìndɛ́</td>
<td>mìndɛ́-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 3</td>
<td>mìndɛ́-nɛ́</td>
<td>mìndɛ́-lyɛ́-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 4</td>
<td>mì-mìndɛ́</td>
<td>mì-mìndɛ́-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Experiential Perfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 1</td>
<td>mìndá-tɛ́:&quot;yè</td>
<td>mìndá-tɛ́ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 2</td>
<td>mìndá-tɛ́:&quot;yè</td>
<td>mìndá-tɛ́ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 3</td>
<td>mìndá-tɛ́:&quot;yà-nà</td>
<td>mìndá-tɛ́nd-yà-nà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 4</td>
<td>mì-mìndá-tɛ́:&quot;yè</td>
<td>mì-mìndá-tɛ́ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Recent Perfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 1</td>
<td>mìndá: sá:</td>
<td>mìndá: sá-ndá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 2</td>
<td>mìndá: sá:</td>
<td>mìndá: sá-ndá-gà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 3</td>
<td>mìndá: sì-yà</td>
<td>mìndá: sá-nd-yà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 4</td>
<td>mì-mìndá: sá:</td>
<td>mì-mìndá: sá-ndá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Imperfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Imperfective (proper)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 1</td>
<td>mìndá: bó:</td>
<td>mìndá: óll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Series 2</td>
<td>mìndá: sá:</td>
<td>mìndá: óll-gà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Series 3
Series 4
mì:-mìndá: sá: mì:-mìndá sàndá

2. Prospective

Series 1
mì:nd-àmbò mì:ndá:-lì
Series 2
mì:nd-àmbò mì:ndá:-lì-gà
Series 3
mì:ndà-kènò mì:ndá:-l-yá-nà
Series 4
mì:-mì:nd-àmbò mì:-mìndá:lì

III. Potential

Series 1
mì:ndó-mámbò mì:ndó-má-má:-ndá
Series 2
mì:ndó-má mì:ndó-mándá-gà
Series 3
mì:ndó-m-yánà mì:ndó-mándyánà
Series 4
mì:ndó-mámbò mì:ndó:má-má

+ Imperative, Imperative-PL and Hortative in Positive and Negative; these forms have only one series (no example)

- **Series 1**: unmarked 'declarative' form, certain types of non-subject focus and non-subject relatives

**TAM morphology:**
+ a (bare) stem without suffixes with category-specified final vowel and tonal contour:

(12) gloss PFV.3S IMP
'swallow' mì:ndè mì:ndá

+ suffixation:

(13) gloss EXP
'swallow' mì:ndá-tè: "yè

**Pronominal subject marking:**

**Pattern 1:**
- prefixation (except for the 3P)
- 3S forms don't have overt personal affixes
- 3P is expressed by a suffix
- tonal change

(14) PFV 'swallow' EXP 'see'
1S m̀-mì:ndè m̀-màlà-t è: "yè
2S a-mì:ndè à-màlà-tè: "yè
3S mì:ndè màlà tè: "yè
1P m̀-mì:ndè màlà tè: "yè
2P é-mì:ndè émàlà tè: "yè
3P mìnd-yè màlà tè: "y-á y

**Pattern 2** (only in the prospective): TAM/Polarity/Pronominal subject inflections

(15) PROSP 'go, leave' PROSP.NEG 'go, leave'
1S ándà:-w" ándá:-nì (<* V n-lì)
2S ándà:-w ándà:-lì
3S ándà:-mbò (<* V-N bo) ándá:-lì
1P ándà:-mbò (<* V-N m-bo) ándá:-nì: (<* V n-lì)
2P ándà-èbò (<* V-N e-bo) ándá: é-yòll (=IPFV.NEG)
3P ándà-èbyà (<* V-N b-ya) anda-lyà: (<* V n-lì)

Cf. bó: 'be', óll 'be.NEG'

- **Series 1**: subject focus, subject relatives
+ derived by applying a {H} tone contour to a stem inflected for TAM
+ no cross-reference with the subject

(16) gloss  PFV.3S  PFV.2
'swallow'   mí::ndè   mí::ndè
'slaughter'  sémè   sémè

+DEF/TOP bà: which normally follows the verb in relatives realizes as [bà:] after PFV.3S forms and as [bà:] after PFV2 no matter what the final tone of the verb is

• **Series 3**: non-subject focus, non-subject relatives, clause-chaining
  + suffixation
  + subject making by prefixation (except for the 3S)
  + suffixation in 3S

(17) PROSP.1  PROSP.3  PFV.1  PFV.3
1S  sémè-w  ní-sémè-gò  ní-sémè  ní-sémè
2S  sémè-w  á-sémè-gò  á-sémè  á-sémè
3S  sém-àmbò  sémè-kònw  sémè  sémè-né

(18) sémè ‘slaughter’
  1S  sè-n-sémè
  2S  ...

NB: reduplicated syllable occurs before the person/number prefix, see 3.1 for further discussion

3. **Focalization**

3.1 **Term focus**

• There are two types of constructions used to mark the term focus.
  **Construction 1**: the focalized constituent appears in the immediately preverbal position:
  (19) yárà  amàrù  táyè2
      lion  Amadou  shoot.PVF.H
      ‘Amadou [focus] shot the lion’

    (20) Ámàrù yárà  yà:gù  táyè1/táyè-né3
      Amadou  lion  yesterday  shoot.PVF1/shoot.-3S3
      ‘Amadou shot the lion yesterday [focus]’
      *‘Amadou shot the lion yesterday’

  **Construction 2**: the focalized constituent is followed by the focus clitic wo. A NP+wo complex can occur in situ or immediately before the verb:
  (21) mì:  wo:  yárà  mályè-2
      1S  TF  lion  see. PFV.H
      {Who saw the lion?}’1 [focus] saw the lion’

  (22) yárà  mì:  wo:  mályè-2
      lion  1S  TF  see. PFV.H
      {Who saw the lion?}’1 [focus] saw the lion’
• There is an issue as to what this distinction corresponds to on the information-structural level? In my text collection Construction 1 is used for focalization in an overwhelming majority of the cases.

• The forms of the series 1-3 are used to distinguish between different term focus types:

(23) Subject focus Series 2 examples (19,21,22)
Non-subject focus
Object focus Series 3 (24-26)
Adverbial focus Series1/ Series 3 (20)

(24) Non-subject focus: P
Amárù Sárù-wⁿ mályé-né³
PN PN-OBJ see.PFV-3SG
‘[Who did Amadou see? Amadou saw SEYDOU]’

(25) Non-subject focus: T
Amárù Sárù-wⁿ bù:rù ndé-né³
PN PN-OBJ money give.PFV-3SG
‘(What did Amadou gave to Seydou?)’ Amadou gave the money to SEYDOU.’

(26) Nom-subject focus: R
Amárù bù:rù Sárù-wⁿ ndé-né³
PN money PN-OBJ give.PFV-3SG
{Who did Amadou gave the money to?} ‘Amadou gave the money to SEYDOU’.

3.2 Predicate-centered Focus

• SoA focus by reduplication of the first syllable of the verb

(27) Predicate centered focus: State-of-affaires focus
áy, émé sô-ń-swè¾!
no milk redupl-1SG-buy.PFV
{Did you take (the) milk from our neighbor?’} No, I BOUGHT (the) milk.

• This construction most probably originated as a verb doubling construction. Cf. expression of the SoA focus in Bunoge, a language closely related to Mombo

(28) Bunoge: SoA
tábè-tábè
give.PFV.LH-give.PFV
<did he give it to him or did he take it from him? > He GAVE it.

• Truth-value focus is expressed by clause-final particle dé contrastive only. Borrowed from Bambara (either TF dé or operator focus dè); the verb occur in the unmarked form.

(29) mályé:¹ dé
see.PFV PF
{Seydou did not see the sheep (right?)} ‘(No), he DID see it’

(30) *mályé:¹ dé
see.PFV PF
{Did he the sheep?} (Yes), he DID see it.

Recall table 11: só: ’have’ replaces bó: ’be’ in Subject and SoA focus
• Recent Perfective: Series 1= Series 2 (SF) =Series 2 in Imperfective
• Recent Perfective Series 4 = Imperfective Series 4 (SoA focus)
• Potential Series 1 = Series 4 (SoA Focus):
**Glosses and Abbreviations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>Definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXP</td>
<td>Experiential perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>High-tone contour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>Falling tone-contour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Low-tone contour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH</td>
<td>Rising tone contour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Plural; patient-like argument of a transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>Predicate-centred focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>Proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>Potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Recipient-like argument of a ditransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SoA</td>
<td>State of affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>theme-like argument of a transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF</td>
<td>Term focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>Topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Verb or vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN</td>
<td>Verbal Noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>