

Carsten Peust

Konstanz

A MORPHOLOGICAL SKETCH OF WEST DANGLA (CHAD)

Abstract: Based on materials collected by Jacques Fédry in 1966/7, I provide a concise grammatical sketch of the West Dangla language which belongs to the East Chadic group. I discuss the major issues of noun morphology (§12ff.), pronouns (§33ff.) and verb morphology (§53ff.) as well as selected aspects of phonology (§2ff.) and syntax (§84ff.).

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(§1) **Introduction.** Dangla, a member of the Eastern branch of the Chadic language family, represents a dialect continuum whose two best known varieties, East Dangla and West Dangla, are so different that they can count as two distinct languages.¹ East Dangla (*dàṅlā*) is one of the best researched Chadic languages, there being three monographs on grammar (Shay 1999, Ebobissé 1979 and 1987), a dictionary (de Montgolfier 1976) as well as a number of smaller studies. Much less is known about West Dangla (*dāṅlā*), although the French missionary Jacques Fédry studied this idiom in depth. Fédry, who spent 15 months in the West Dangla village of Tyalo-Idéba (*cààlòl*) in 1966/7, wrote a two-volume dissertation about this idiom, consisting of a large dictionary with about 3900 items (Fédry 1971a, henceforward cited as “D”, further abbreviations are explained at the end of this

¹ “West Dangla is barely intelligible to a speaker of East Dangla. (...) However, speakers of the central dialect understand speakers from both East and West.” (Shay 1999: 2). “L’intercompréhension entre les locuteurs (...) est loin d’être immédiate, et résulte d’une accoutumance réciproque plus que d’une identité linguistique” (Fédry 1977: 87 note 1). As for lexicon, I find disagreement in 11 terms out of the Swadesh 100-item list between West Dangla (Fédry 1971a) and East Dangla (de Montgolfier 1976): “all” West *kāw-*, East *òkín-*; “claw” W. *kòrmó*, E. *kīrlò*; “feather” W. *círè*, E. *lāwō*; “many” W. *dákinà*, E. *ànáṅ*; “mountain” W. *dàmbà*, E. *gáámó*; “new” W. *màrbintò*, E. *jàdīnnē*; “one” W. *kidǎ*, E. *rákí*; “red” W. *dīndà*, E. *wáṅ*; “round” W. *didāṅàl*, E. *dīwil*; “to say” W. *dīyè*, E. *áné*; “we (incl.)” W. *gè*, E. *nì*. This is about the same distance as between Spanish and Portuguese.

article) and a study of phonology (Fédry 1971b). Despite their importance, these materials are not easily accessible and have therefore been little known.

As concerns grammar, Fédry dedicated two articles to topics of the nominal system (Fédry 1969, 1971c). He also included into his works a brief grammatical sketch (Dvii-xii, reprinted in L448-452) as well as pronominal tables (E10-14) but never wrote a complete grammar. He published only two short texts, an animal story of about 180 words (P149f., reprinted in L453) and a conversation of about 40 words (P150).² Nonetheless, a wealth of grammatical information can be culled out of Fédry's works. First, his dictionary contains explicit grammatical information within the lemma entries (plural and genitive forms of numerous nouns, tense forms of a number of verbs) as well as separate entries for a number of morphemes. Second, and even more importantly, his dictionary includes more than 2000 translated phrases which can substitute for the lack of texts to a considerable degree. Most of what I will present below is based on my examination of these phrases. Let me emphasize that all my conclusions are based entirely on Fédry's data and that I do not possess any independent sources on the language.

Tone is one of the key issues on which West and East Dangla disagree. Not only are the systems different with West Dangla possessing two and East Dangla three tone levels, but the correspondencies in related words are so complex and confusing that Fédry suspected a tone reversal to have been at work.³ For this reason, I will put particular attention to tone rules within the grammar.

I reproduce Fédry's (often extremely literal) translations in the original French in order not to introduce additional imprecision. An English explanation will occasionally be given in brackets. I leave Fédry's transcription essentially unchanged but replace his *ty*, *dy*, *dy*, *ny* by the IPA symbols *c*, *j*, *f*, *n*. Emendations of Fédry's forms made by me are marked by * and explained in a footnote.

(§2) **Tone.** I will not treat phonology in much detail because Fédry has already written a monograph on it. Only a few topics will be mentioned that are of particular relevance to morphology. Tone is the most important of them. According to Fédry's analysis, each syllable bears one out of four tones: high (*á*), low (*à*), falling (*â*) and rising (*ã*), the latter being relatively rare. The contour tones (*â*, *ã*) only occur on long syllables that are either closed or contain a long vowel (P105bis).

Alongside tone on the syllable level, I want to introduce the notion of tone patterns on the word level. Most words bear one of only five tone patterns, which are: consistently high (H-pattern), consistently low (L-pattern), high on

² In P127, he announced "un recueil de textes à venir", which has never appeared.

³ This topic arose Fédry's keen interest and was studied by him in two papers (Fédry 1974, 1977).

the first mora followed by low (HLL-pattern), high on the beginning of the word followed by low on the last syllable (HHL-pattern), and low followed by high on the last syllable (LH-pattern). Other patterns, such as HLH or LHL, occur as well but seem to be restricted to morphologically complex words, borrowings or proper names (cf. P109).

When the first syllable of a word is long, it will have a H tone in a HHL word but a falling tone in a HLL word. This subtle contrast is very important in West Dangla and can create minimal pairs, a fact of which Fédry was well aware: *gártà* “van” – *gàrtà* “lance” (P107)⁴. Nevertheless, it seems that his notations are not always fully reliable concerning this contrast which was probably not always easy to perceive. In bisyllabic words whose first syllable is short, the HHL and HLL patterns cannot be distinguished at all but coincide into C_v’C_v’(C) (but see §6, §37).

(§3) **Vowel harmony.** The language has a seven vowel system: *i – e – ε – a – ɔ – o – u*. Among the mid vowels, *e/o* cannot co-occur with *ε/ɔ* within a word (P72f., P125). Suffixes containing a mid vowel therefore possess two allomorphs, an unmarked one with *e/o* for use with most stems, and another one with *ε/ɔ* for use with stems that contain an *ε* or *ɔ*. Vowel harmony extends to infinitive (§58) and perfect (§61) suffixes of verbs, possessive suffixes (§37) and object clitics (§45), but not to subject proclitics (*nò dèè* “j’ai tué”, A109).

(§4) **Vowel quantity.** Vowel quantity is contrastive, but apart from few exceptions only in the first syllable of a word (P7). It appears that the surface realization of any independent word must contain at least two morae, which is why words that are probably best considered to be inherently CV tend to be spoken (and to be noted by Fédry) as CVV: *bù* ~ *bì* “bouche” (D87); *kòò* (D294) ~ *kò* (E15) “mil”; *tèè* (D159) ~ *tè* (A102) “manger”. Fédry (S9) says that the vowel is pronounced long but that length is not “pertinente” (= distinctive) in this position.

In another place, he extends this rule saying that even closed monosyllabics show a “neutralisation de l’opposition de longueur au profit d’une réalisation longue” (P8). While this explains certain alternations such as *gèr* ~ *gèèr* “maison” (D321) or *sìŋ* (D374) ~ *sìiŋ* (P22) “nom”, there are other well-attested words such as *bùŋ* “ciel” that are consistently noted with a short vowel. This is a point still in need of elucidation.

Returning to open monosyllabics, according to Fédry (P122), H-words acquire a HL-tone in clause final position. This is reflected by cases of variation in his dictionary entries such as *káá* ~ *káà* “tête” (D262) • *móó* ~ *móò* ~ *mó* “où?” (D135) • *sáá* (D202) ~ *sáà* (D367) “boire [imperative]”. This also applies

⁴ In Fédry (1977: 99), he writes these words *gártà* and *gàrtà*, respectively.

when possessive suffixes are added: *káá-r* (D363) ~ *kàá-r* (D52) “ma tête”. Assuming that the vowel of such words is underlyingly short, this variation can be explained by the fact that high and falling tones do not contrast in CV syllables (§2).

(§5) **Medial vowel reduction.** This is an important feature of the language to the effect that contrastive vowel quality is largely restricted to the first and the last syllables of words. With the exception of a number of exotic or borrowed items, vowels of word-internal syllables lack distinctive quality altogether. The surface vowel found in this position is either *-i-* (most frequently), *-u-* (in labial environments) or zero (when the resulting consonant cluster is judged to be acceptable) (more details in P10-14). There are various cases of phonetic oscillation as for this neutral vowel such as *òkìdě* ~ *òkùdě* ~ *òkàdě* “casser” (P13) or *mùgìsè* ~ *mùksè* “s’habituer” (P80).

I believe that vowel “reduction” is a proper label for what happened historically. But in a strictly synchronic view, the inverse analysis could also be proposed, namely that there are no medial vowels at all in an underlying representation and that *i* ~ *u* are inserted as epenthetic vowels on the phonetic level.

Medial vowel reduction has considerable consequences for morphology since vowels are neutralized or elided as they move into an internal position: *bùùrì* “lion” – (**bùùrì-nà* >) *bùùr-nà* “lions” (D100) (many more examples will follow below).

While the opposition of quality is lost in internal vowels, tone is not. When the tone of an elided internal vowel differs from the tone of the preceding syllable, a contour tone is formed to preserve the overall tone pattern: *dáŋɪlè* ~ *dāŋlè* “Dangaléat” (P13). It is possible to assume that all instances of contour tones originated in this way (cf. P118, S6).

(§6) **Free form and context form.** This is an essential distinction in Dangla grammar. Most words whose free form ends in a vowel (and they are in the majority) display this vowel only clause-finally or in isolation but drop it in clause-internal position (P114, S8). I call this the context form of a word. I think of the context form as having originated by essentially the same process as medial vowel reduction by assuming that the loss of internal vowels in fact applied to the clause level rather than the word level. Word-final vowels, when in context, were thus treated as internal and therefore phonologically elided. But the parallelism only exists for word-final open syllables, while word-final closed syllables do not undergo any reduction in the context form. Note again that even when a vowel is lost in the context form, the tone pattern of the word is often preserved. Examples:

L-pattern: *pàtò* “soleil” – *pàt tùkàw* “le soleil se lève” (D52) • *dèwki* “antilope-cheval” – *dèwk ñàà pòndikò* “l’antilope noire” (D187) • *bòrlà* “voix” – *bòril tàà yààrkò* “voix grande” (D96).

H-pattern: *ándé* “boule” – *nì tée ánd wàlá *tìw*⁵ “nous avons mangé la boule sans sauce” (D145) • *dámí* “pierre” – *dám ká tòlòl* “caillou de la meule” (D170) • *zúgá* “(toit de) case” – *zúg ká bàfàr* “case de mariage” (D394).

HHL-pattern. This pattern usually coincides with the H-pattern in the context form: *gártà* “van” – *gárit gòyà* “il y a un van” (Dv) • *káypò* “lièvre” – *nà káyíp gá* “suis-je un lièvre?” (D270) • *máárti* “hôtes” – *máárit ásè* “des étrangers sont venus” (D117). An exception might exist with the context form of *kááwò* “parole”, which Fédry writes *kááw* while explaining its pronunciation as [kááò] (D266, P78); this should perhaps be rewritten as **kááw*.

HLL-pattern: *dîndà* “rouge” – *dînd bùñ* “très rouge” (D189) • *ibìnò* “soif” – *ibìn dèè-nò* “la soif me tue” (D32) • *kôynà* “mois” [months] – *kóyìn sèèr* “deux mois” (D289) • *dóòyò* “excrément” – *dóòy ká bèrkìr* “bouses de bovidés” (D194).

In bisyllabic words whose first syllable is short, the HHL- and HLL-patterns coincide (§2). It might be expected that the distinction reappears in the context form because this gives rise to a closed syllable which is able to mark the distinction. In fact, verbs, which we know to be underlyingly HLL (§56), evidence a falling contour in their context form: *ícè* “prendre [perfect]” (HLL) (D34) – *ñá íc kááw cìrìs* “il a pris la parole au hasard” (D228). For CVCV-nouns, it is harder to tell whether they are underlyingly HLL or HHL. Fédry notes their context form almost invariably with a high tone. This seems to show that such nouns are treated as if they were underlyingly HHL: *jámò* “épine” – *jám wààcìn-tù* “une épine m’a transpercé” (D141) • *kídà* “terre” – *kít ká cààlòl* “terre de Tyalo” (P75) • *tólò* “meule” – *tól tá èègíndì* “meule pour moudre” (D170).

A LH-pattern is contracted into a rising tone in the context form, but only in bisyllabic words (P109): *mààkó* “soir” – *màák dì* “le soir seulement” (D114) • *gàlá* “bon” – *gál òòy dò* “bon n’accepte pas (encore du bien)” (D317) • *gírzibó* “varan” – *gírzib tá báálì* “le varan du rigil” (M35) • *kárumdé* “plante rampante” – *kármìd ká ààlnàr* [... of the snakes] (D273).

When a word ends in -CCV and the following word starts with C-, the use of the context form would create a cluster of three consonants. Four options are found in this situation: (1) The cluster is sometimes tolerated when considered to be phonologically acceptable, (2) more frequently, the neutral epenthetic vowel -i/-u- is inserted between the first two consonants, (3) homorganic -NCV is never split up but may reduce to -N instead (P79, §33), (4) use of the context form may be suppressed. For example, nouns ending in -CCV have to use the context form before possessive suffixes (*kòrmó* “ongle” – *kòrìm-tì* “son ongle à elle”, D291)

⁵ Emended from *tìwù*, see note 12 below.

but may avoid it across word boundaries: *ǝrlɔ̃* “grain” – *ǝrlɔ̃ kɪdǎŋ* “grain un” (D40) • *dǝwkõ* “nombril” – *dǝwkõ tá bì* “nombril du couvercle” (D206).

No context form is generally employed with: (1) words terminating in a consonant, (2) monosyllabics, (3) the five nouns *áándó* “nuit”, *àsè* “pied”, *ètè* “nez”, *pìsè* “main”, *sèwè* “graisse” (S9), (4) the infinitive of all verbs (S9, §58), (5) proper names (P15). Some of these cases can be explained by the former presence of a word-final nasal (§8).

(§7) **Word-final consonants.** Most words terminate either in a vowel or in a sonorant. Word-final obstruents are common in ideophones (§84) but much less so in nouns and verbs. Where they occur, only voiceless obstruents are admitted (P96), which implies that voiced and glottalized obstruents become voiceless in this position (unless the following word starts with a vowel, see P76f. and S8f.). This desonorization is not always indicated in Fédry’s transcriptions.

(§8) **Loss of final nasals.** Word-final nasals were regularly lost at a probably not very remote period of the language. The loss of the nasal is synchronically evident in two respects. First, the nasal reappears before suffixes (§27, §37 note, §59, §71). Second, the final vowel of such words is not lost in the context form (§6). This shows that the loss of nasals postdated the elision of final vowels. CVN-stems have escaped the loss of nasals: *bùŋ* “ciel”, *sèŋ* “tout”, *sîŋ* “nom”.

(§9) **Lateral harmony.** Within a word, “/l/ n’est jamais suivi de /r/, toujours de /l/ (mais /r/ peut être suivi de /l/)” (P89). For this reason, *-r*-suffixes have allomorphs with *-l* for use with stems that contain an *l* (§§15, 27, 39).

(§10) **Sonorization of *d*.** A *d~r* alternation is repeatedly found in morphology (§§15, 27, 36, 47). I suggest that this is indicative of a sonorization process that applied at some rather remote period of the language, possibly in intervocalic position.

(§11) **Initial reduplication.** Words may have an initial reduplication as *CiC-*. In this case, it is the first vowel in the word that undergoes vowel reduction rather than the second. This reduplication is very frequent with ideophones (e.g. *dāwàl ~ dīdāwàl* “vite”, D200; *sòòd ~ sīsòòd* “un peu”, D379) but can also be found in a few nouns (e.g. *kikáfà* “période très froide”, D284; *gòrlà ~ gīgòrlà* “chenille sp.”, D325).

(§12) **Noun gender.** West Dangla possesses a combined gender-number-category with a ternary contrast masculine singular – feminine singular – genderless plural (M34). This is fairly typical of Chadic languages. The plural

has an obvious semantic motivation with some peculiarities: Most mass nouns such as *ámáy* “eau”, *kúrgàl* “farine” and – less expectedly – *sîŋ* “nom” belong to the plural category (M41). The masculine-feminine gender distinction has a semantic motivation for higher animates but is hard to predict for inanimate nouns. Two semantic groups of nouns usually have feminine gender: abstracts (examples §13) and toponyms, e.g. *cààlòl* “Tyalo-Idéba” (D223), *géeérè* “Guéra (montagne)” (D320), *kódóbó* “Korbo” (D296), *mòŋgò* “Mongo” (D134).

Any termination can essentially combine with either gender with the reservation that almost all nouns in *-i* are masculines (S7). Examples of masculine nouns are: *kídà* “terre” (D283), *pìsè* “main” (D64), *gìpì* “genou” (D322), *káálò* “étoile” (D276), *ùsù* “vent” (D50), *gèr* “maison” (D321). Examples of feminine nouns: *dàmbà* “montagne” (D175), *léésé* “langue” (D356), *dáátì* “femme (épouse)” (D176), *áándó* “nuit” (D11), *mùùtù* “mort” (D137), *bòtòl* “chemin” (D93).

A number of terms for animates exist as (semantically and grammatically) masculine-feminine couples. The masculine noun may have any ending and any tone contour, but the feminine member of such couples consistently ends in *-a* and has a HLL-contour: *áàlò* – *ààlà* “serpent” (D20) • *bèrkì* “taureau” – *bèrkà* “vache” (D86) • *dāŋlè* – *dāŋlà* “dangaléat” (D180) • *dīdō* – *dīdà* “oiseau” (M43) • *kāŋà* – *kāŋà* “chien” (D269) • *kòk(i)rà* “coq” – *kókirà* ~ *kókrà* “poule” (D298) • *mícò* “petit garçon” – *mícà* “petite fille” (D130) • *sībīr* – *sībīrà* “girafe” (D372) • *tāmga* – *tāmga* “ovidé” (D152). In one case, this distinction holds for semantics but not for formal gender: *lòkùmò* “dromadaire” (fem. gender, but generic meaning) – *lókùmà* (fem. gender, specifically the female camel) (D357).

Formally similar pairs also exist for some inanimates with a less predictable semantic distinction: *góólè* “couteau de bras” (masc.) – *góòlà* “couteau à manche de bois” (fem.) (D332, M39) • *gùjìnà* “termite” (masc.) – *gújìnà* “termitière” (fem.) (D336) • *kòŋkílò* “petite poterie” (masc.) – *kòŋkìlà* “marmite” (fem.) (D299) • *kòrlò* “œsophage” (masc.)⁶ – *kòrlà* “clochette” (fem.) (D292).

Four formally irregular couples, which I cite here together with their shared plural form, are the following: *èwkì* “bouc” – *àwkò* “chèvre” – pl. *áwgi* (D28) • *gémɔ́* “individu masculin” – *gèémà* “individu féminin” – pl. *gèè* “gens” (D319) • *gí-dù* “mon compagnon” – *gáá-dù* “ma compagne” – pl. *één-dù* (D25) • *rón-dú* “mon fils” – *rómò-r* “ma fille” – pl. *ròŋ* (M38).

(§13) **Abstract derivatives.** There are several suffixes to form abstract nouns. The most common of them is *-àw* (also *-kàw*, *-nàw*, *-dàw*, *-tàw*) which attaches to adjectives, verbs or nouns. All these nouns belong to the feminine

⁶ I assume that the proper meaning, at least originally, of this term is “heart” as in East Dangla (*kòrlò* “cœur”, de Montgolfier 1976: 173). The underlying notion of both terms seems to be “bell”.

gender and have L tone (S8): *ádinè* “ennemi” – *àdinàw* “hostilité” (D8) • *áginè* “grand” – *àgindàw* “grandeur” (D15) • *àm(i)lè* “tarder” – *àmilnàw* “retard” (D3) • *kàpák* “petit” – *kàpikàw* “petitesse” (D263) • *rádè* “faire souffrir” – *ràdikàw* “mal” (D344) • *sìṅò* “frère” – *sintà* (pl.) – *sintàw* “fraternité” (D373).

Another suffix is *-kà*, deverbative, again all feminines. Tone is either HHL or L:

àrmè “être moindre” – *ármíká* “manque” (D18) • *jààlè* “couler (eau)” – *jàlúúká* “petit ruisseau” (D254) • *sòònè* “rêver” – *sòònìká* “songe” (D379) • *tògìlè* “jurer” – *tòglìikà* “serment” (D169) • *tààsìṅè* “se frapper” – *tààsìṅikà* “bagarre” (D158) • *tòt(i)rè* “séparer” – *tótíríikà* “séparation” (D167).

Then we find *-iyà*, again all feminines: *màtè* “mourir” – *mátíyà* “action de mourir” (D110) • *màkè* “piler” – *mákíyà* “damage” (D114) • *ɔ̀tè* “arriver” – *ɔ̀tíyà* “venue, arrivée” (D37) • *tàb(i)rè* “envoyer un message” – *tábríyà* “commission” (D151) • *wàrè* “insulter” – *wáríyà* “insulte” (D145).

A derivative in *-i* may express an abstract noun or an object nominalization. These are grammatical plural forms: *éégé* “moudre” – *éégi* “moûture, résultat de /éégé/” (D26) • *èèmè* “manger” – *éémì* “choses à manger” (D24) • *kànjé* “jouer” – *kàñji* “jeu” (D268) • *ólḡò* “infirmier indigène” – *ólḡí* “soins de l’/ólḡò/” (D46) • *pífè* “uriner” – *pífí* “urine” (D63) • *sámbe* “copuler” – *sámbi* “copulation” (D360) • *wéḡè* “dormir” – *wéḡí* “sommeil” (P44).

(§14) **Derivative in -ò.** At least for some of the nouns in *-o*, this termination is clearly a derivational suffix. The base can be either a verb stem or an abstract noun, including derivatives in *-àw*. All evident *o*-derivatives have a HHL contour. They either belong to the masculine gender and then express agent nouns, there being corresponding feminines with *a*-suffix and HLL-contour as described in §12: *mèlè(m)* “sorcellerie” – *mèlmò* “sorcier” – *mèlmà* “sorcière” (D129) • *kòlàw* “peur” – *kólúwò* “un peureux (nom)” – fem. *kólùwà* (D302) • *zèḡèl* “paresse” – *zégílò* “paresseux (nom)” – fem. *zégilà* (D390) • *dìbirè* “fermer la case” – *dìbirò* “porte” (D208). Others belong to the feminine gender and express abstract concepts: *gááyè* “aider” – *gááyò* “aide” (D313) • *káàwè* “parler” – *kááwò* “parole” (D266) • *líwè* “semer” – *líwò* “semis” (D358) • *málè* “porter soutien” – *málò* “soutien” (D122).

(§15) **Relational adjective.** A derivative in *-ra* (most frequent) ~ *-la* (by lateral harmony, §9) ~ *-da* (mainly after consonants) forms words whose meaning can be described as “something related to the base noun”. The resulting words are, usually at least, uninflectible and can be considered as adjectives.

When the last mora of the base word is H, the relational adjective has a HHL pattern:

ámáy “eau” – *ámíyà* “aqueux” (D173) • *gémɔ́* “personne” – *gémrà* “personne de rien (qualificatif insultant)” (D321) • *máálá* “fer” – *máálilà* “de

fer” (D122). This is also true when the word is H and only a single final mora is L: *kááwò* “parole” – *kááwrà* “qui sait parler” (D266) • *mélmo* “sorcier (nom)” – *mélímdà* “sorcier (adj.)” (D129) • *ríyò* “travail” – *màà ríyrà* “quoi de travail?” [what work-like?] (Dix).

When two or more final morae are L, the relational adjective has a HLH-pattern: *árùwò* “maladie” – *árùwrá* “malade” (D18) • *gɔ̀ɔ̀làn* “avarice” – *gɔ̀ɔ̀lìḡlá* “avaricieux” (D329) • *kòlàw* “peur” – *kòlùwlá* “peureux” (D302) • *sèwè* “graisse” – *séwíndá* “gras” (D370). This contracts into a H-pattern in short words: *bù* “bouche, bord” – *bíídá* “qui est à côté” (D87) • *gèè* “gens” – *màà gèéndá* “quoi en fait de gens, quelle sorte de gens?” (D318).

(§16) **Derivative in -kò**. It is found in the nouns *mítikò* “mâle” (D129) and *dáàtikò* “femme, femelle” (D177) which are formally derived from *mítà* “mari” and *dáàti* “femme (épouse)” respectively. We can assume that the base words formerly meant “man” and “woman”⁷ but underwent a shift of meaning so that derivatives were created to catch up their original functions. In either case, the basic and the derived noun share a common plural form: *mídày* [men, husbands], *dáàt* [women, wives]. Furthermore, -kò is often found as a termination, sometimes optional, of words with adjectival meaning, e.g. *pòndà* ~ *pòndikò* “noir” (D402).

(§17) **Derivative in -nè**. Numerous foreign nouns were borrowed together with this suffix such as *bèrnè* “esclave” (D106), *dààrnè* “village, pays” (D183), *íidìnè* “fête” (D33), *kítààbìnè* “le Coran” (D283), *súùgìnè* “marché” (D384), *wittìnè* “temps, heure” (D148). This suffix is indicative of a passage through Daju, a Nilo-Saharan language spoken to the East, in which -ne is a former determiner that is on the way to being fused with nouns (Boyeldieu 2009), but most of these words ultimately come from Arabic. There is also a more recent layer of Arabic loans in which this marker is absent, e.g. *gúrùs* “argent” (D337), *rîis* “riz” (P141). More rarely, we find an adjectival derivative in -nè which is perhaps something entirely different: *ámsilò* “bavard” – *ámsilnè* “bavard (adj.)” (D5) • *mákiláátò* “méchant (nom)” – *mákiláátìnè* “méchant” (D114).

(§18) **Derivative in -ncè**. Some nouns referring to persons bear a suffix -ncè (masc.) / -ncà (fem.) which is dropped in the plural. This suffix again stems from Daju, but most of these words are ultimately from Arabic: *áskirìncè* “soldat” – pl. *áskirìnà* (D22) • *ázbiñcà* “prostituée” (D23) • *nássàrìncè* “européen” – pl. *nássàrìnà* (D216) • *óòrrìncè* “rejeton authentique du village” – fem. *óòrrìncà* – pl. *óòrrinnà* (D45).

⁷ As still in East Dangla: *mètà* “homme”, *dāādī* “femme” (de Montgolfier 1976: 203, 61).

(§19) **Ethnonyms.** There is an ethnonymic derivation suffix *-we* (masc.) / *-wa* (fem.) / *-way* or *-na* (pl.): m. *bìcìrwè* – f. *bìcìrwà* – pl. *bìcìrwà̀y* “habitant de Bidjir (*bìcìr*)” (D89) • f. *cààlùwà* (E2) – pl. *cààlùwà̀y* (D9) [belonging to Tyalo-Idéba] • m. *dà̀njil bátùwè* – pl. *dà̀njàl bátìnà* “Dangaléat du bas” (D73) • m. *gámmùwè* – f. *gámmùwà* – pl. *gámmùwà̀y* “étranger au village” (D310) • m. *jɔ́ŋkùrwè* – pl. *jɔ́ŋkùrnà* “Diongor” (D245) • m. *sààrùwè* – f. *sààrùwà* – pl. *sààrnà* “Sara” (D365). There is furthermore a corresponding adverbial derivative in *-tì*: *càlùw-tì* “à la manière de Tyalo” (D160) • *sà̀rè* “Kenga (ethnie)” – *sà̀r-tì* “à la kenga” (D364).

(§20) **Derivative in *-éénà*.** This suffix, preceded by L tone, forms subject nominalizations, as it seems with a pejorative undertone: *à̀rè* “mentir” – *à̀rèénà* “menteur” (D17) • *gà̀lè* “tomber” – *gà̀lèénà* “qui tombe toujours” (D317) • *gídé* “se quereller” – *gídèénà* “querelleur! (appellation)” (D323) • *òcè* “mendier” – *òcèénà* “mendiant” (D42) • *wà̀alè* “être seul” – *wà̀lèénà* “rejeté par une fille” (D146).

(§21) **Plural: Internal.** Most nouns have a plural form, even though there are several groups of nouns that only admit a singular (see M41f. for details). As in many Chadic languages, plural formation is very complex. This is also true for tone, but it can be generalized that plural nouns rarely have a L contour (in their nominative). Two nouns form their plural exclusively by a change of tone: *àsè* “pied” – *ásè* (D21) • *pìsè* “main” – *pìsè* (D64).

Numerous nouns form their plural by dropping their final vowel and inserting *-a-* between the last two consonants. All of these nouns terminate in a sonorant followed by one of the vowels *-a*, *-o* or *-e*. I will describe this as an “internal” plural formation as does Fédry (S6, “pluriel interne”). However, one could also assume that the internal *a* is underlying in the singular as well but is obliterated by medial vowel reduction (§5). There is little basis, in a synchronic view, to decide between both analyses.

Short plurals of this type (CvCvC, CvC) always have HL tone: *côlmɔ́* “cil” – *cɔ́lám* (D230) • *dầnjilè* ~ *dầnjlè* “dangaléat” – *dà̀njàl* (D180) • *kà̀nà* “chien” – *kần* (A109) • *kòk(i)rà* “coq” – *kókà̀r* (D298) • *óliyò* “fou” – *ólà̀y* (D45) • *sàà̀nò* “dent” – *sàà̀n* (D364) • *tápìrò* “feuille” – *tápà̀r* (D151).

Longer stems (CvCCvC etc.) may have H tone: *bômbilɔ́* “flocon de coton” – *bɔ́mbál* (D106) • *còrkilò* “ruisseau” – *córkál* (D232) • *ù̀ŋkìrò* “cheveu blanc” – *ù̀ŋkà̀r* (D48). Or they may have a HHL or HLL pattern: *cɔ́lkùmɔ́* “menton” – *côlkàm* (D230) • *dákriyò* “bord de la feuille de doum” – *dákirà̀y* (D179) • *kầŋkilò* “morceau de chaume” – *kầŋkà̀l* (D271) • *móòsìjè* “jumeau” – *móòsà̀n* (D137) • *mùtkiyé* “voisin” – *mùtkà̀y* (D137) • *zúúlà̀n* “larmes” (D395, sg. uncommon).

This plural type is often additionally marked by the gemination of an internal consonant, then again with H or HHL tone: *bídìnè* “terrier” – *bíddàn*

(D88) • *dēk(i)rē* “grand récipient en terre cuite” – *dēkkàr* (D205) • *gēc(i)mō* “barbe” – *gēcám* (D319) • *gùdīnà* “singe” – *gúddān* (D335) • *jékinè* “hache” – *jékkán* (D240) • *kèlmò* “ombre” – *kéllám* (D282) • *lòkùmò* “dromadaire” – *lòkkám* (D357).

(§22) **Plural: Suffixed.** There are six common plural suffixes:

(1) *-i* which replaces the final vowel of the sg. Tone is unpredictable and may be either H, HHL, HLL or even HLH. This is used, like the internal plurals, with nouns whose final vowel is either *-a*, *-o* or *-e*, but unlike them whose last consonant is (usually) an obstruent: *bòòsà* “poisson” – *bóósi* (D97) • *cààrò* “racine” – *cáári* (D222) • *dīidā* “oiseau” – *dīidī* (D208) • *kààsò* “os” – *káási* (D24) • *kòrkìfō* “bague” – *kòrkìfī* (D292) • *máàrtè* “hôte” – *máárti* (D117) • *pàrkà* “récipient en terre cuite” – *pàrkì* (D57). See §13 for further examples.

Since the choice between the *-i-* and the internal plurals depends on the nature of the last consonant, I suggest that they are complementary and have a common origin. I assume that *-i* is original to both plural types but dropped out after a sonorant: *bóós-i*, **còlām-i* > *còlām*. This is confirmed by the fact that in at least some of the internal plurals, *-i* resurfaces in the genitive form (§28).

(2) *-ay*. This suffix occurs with several nouns whose sg. terminates in *-i* and triggers a H tone pattern in this case. I suggest that *-i* here represents a final radical **-y* so that this is again only a variety of the internal plural: *bèrkì* (< **bèrk-y*) “taureau” – *bèrkáy* (D86) • *dámíbí* “pierre” – *dámábáy* (D175) • *dèwki* “antilope-cheval” – *dèwkáy* (D186) • *gèèpì* “corne” – *gèépáy* (D318) • *gìpì* “genou” – *gìpáy* (D322).

An *-ay*-plural is also commonly found with *ò*-derivatives (§14) but has a HHL or HLL pattern in this case. This is perhaps an entirely different plural formation: *dànggínò* “personne qui fait bande à part” – *dànggínày* (D181) • *díwò* “mouche” – *díwáy* (D189) • *kólúwò* “un peureux” – *kólúwáy* (M39) • *kúmnò* “rat” – *kúmnáy* (D303) • *mélmò* “sorcier” – *mélmày* (D129) ~ *mélmáy* (D218) • *sókídò* “un gourmand (nom)” – *sókídāy* (D380).

Then there are examples of *ay*-plurals that cannot be classified either way: *ágìnè* “ancêtre” – *ágínày* (D15) • *ànàw* “communauté” – *ánúwáy* (D10) • *bèè* “trou” – *bénáy* (D85) • *bòtòl* “chemin” – *bótilày* (P12) • *dèŋkilò* “bâton” – *dèŋkiláy* (D187) • *ètè* “nez, narine” – *étínày* (D28) • *ètò* “arbre” – *átáy* (D29) • *jámò* “épine” – *jámáy* (D236).

(3) *-à*, usually with HLL-pattern: *dáámè* “bâton” – *dáàmà* (D174) • *gémsó* “jeune-fille” – *gêmsà* (P115) • *kòrmō* “ongle” – *kôrmà* (D291) • *lávè* “cheveu”

– *lávà* (D352) • **pòòpì* ⁸ “sein” – *póòpà* (D67) • *sérpé* “côté” – *sêrpà* (D371) • *ûlnà* “salive” (D49, exclusively plural).

(4) *-nà*, with HLL- or (more rarely) L-pattern: *bùùrì* “lion” – *bùùrnà* (D100) • *ciré* “plume” – *cîrnà* (D228) • *dībírò* “porte” – *dībîrnà* (D208) • *êlgò* “année” – *êlgînà* (D31) • *káálò* “étoile” – *káàlnà* (D276) • *kúmá* “animal” – *kùmnà* (D303) • *ódò* “œil” – *ódînà* (D41). *-nà* is the most productive of all plural markers and is the usual suffix of rare and borrowed words (S6). These tend to preserve their tone pattern of the singular: *érîndîlê* “petit scorpion” – *érîndîlnà* (D26) • *sàppáy* “passoire en fer européenne” – *sàppáyà* (D359) (more examples in §18).

(5) *-àn*, with HHL- or HLL-pattern. This termination seems to be restricted to nouns whose tone is either L or H in the singular: *ándé* “boule” [porridge ball] – *ândàn* (D10) • *cárgó* “palmier-doum” – *cârgàn* (D223) • *dààrnè* “village” – *dáàrnàn* (D183) • *dàmbà* “montagne” – *dâmbàn* (D175) • *dâdîkò* “centre” – *dâdkàn* (D201) • *tòòkò* “navette” – *tóókàn* (D168) • *zààmà* “peau” – *záámàn* (D387). A few nouns, mainly for body parts, combine this suffix with consonant gemination: *ádí* “ventre” – *âddàn* (D8) • *gááfá* “cou” – *gâffàn* (D312) • *kòpò* “nuque” – *kòppàn* (D295) • *léésé* “langue” – *léssàn* (D356).

(6) *-nàn*, with HHL pattern: *jérbinè* “colline” – *jérbinnàn* (D241) • *mèè* “chef” – *méénàn* (D125) • *pàtò* “soleil, heure” – *pátínàn* (D52).

The vocalic plural suffixes are dropped in the context form, but the plural form is usually so chosen that at least a tonal contrast remains such as in *bòrlò* “houe”, pl. *bòrlì*; context *bòril-*, *bóril-* (S9) • *máàrtè* “hôte”, pl. *máàrtì*, context *máàrit-*, *máàrit-* (D117) • *gémso* “jeune-fille”, pl. *gémàsà*, with possessive suffix 3rd pl. *gémìs-cò*, *gémìs-có* (P115).

(§23) **Irregular plurals:** *báá* “fondement” – *bác* (*báf-*) (D71) • *bùì* “bouche, lèvre” – *bînkà* (D87) • *káá* “tête” – *kác* (D262) • *siṇò* “frère” – *sîntà* (D374) • *zì* “corps” – *zînkà* (D390), and see §12 and §16. Only three truly suppletive plurals have been recorded: *kò’ògînà* “enfants” serves as the plural of *mícò* “petit garçon” and *mìcà* “petite fille” (M38) • *ágínây* “parents” (D15) serves as the plural of *tàk-* “père” (D154) and *yáá-* “mère” (D258) • *één-* serves as the plural of *gí-* “compagnon” and *gáá-* “compagne” (D25).

⁸ Fédry writes *pòòpiy*, but the attestation *pòòp-tì* “son sein” (A110) suggests to me that the correct form must be *pòòpì*.

(§24) **Associative plural.** There is a construction A-*n* B, with B referring to a person, that means “A of (B and his/her people)”: *tàkà-n káátìr* “père des Katir, i.e. de Katir et des siens” (D154) • *wèèr ká-n àstà* “lieu ‘des’ Asta (de Asta et des siens)” (D253).

The related language Bidiya has a construction *īŋ* X meaning “X et les siens” (Alio 1986: 242), whose *īŋ* can be identified with West Dangla *īŋ* [with, and]. I interpret this as a coordination whose first element is non-overt: “(others) and X”. In West Dangla, this construction has only survived in the embedded form A-*n* B which I derive from *A (Ø *īŋ* B) “A of (others) and B”. Curiously, A can also be substituted by *īŋ* itself, giving *ī-n mè* “avec les ‘chef’, i.e. le chef et ses gens” (S16 note) which I derive from **īŋ* (Ø *īŋ* mè). While the elementary associative construction, as still found in Bidiya, is no longer in use, a headless genitive can render its meaning: *kú-n mè ásè* “les ‘chef’ (le chef et ses gens) sont venus” (S16) • *kú-n mìt-tì* “ceux-avec mari-d’elle” (P133).

(§25) **Genitive.** Fédry knows a special form of nouns that he called “déterminant” and treated at length in a separate article (S). It can be created from sg. and pl. nouns. For many nouns, he explicitly provides this form in his dictionary labelled as “dt.”. I prefer to use the less obscure term “genitive case” for this category. Most West Dangla nouns distinguish between two cases. The unmarked case, which is used as the citation form and for expressing subjects and direct objects, may be called nominative. The second case is the genitive, which has the following uses:

(1) Immediately after a head noun. Combinations of this kind are not productive and have the character of compounds: *tòò-àmìydlì* “jarre à eau” [water-jug] (D166, *ámáy* “eau”) • *dò’òk-tìwìr* “calebasse à sauce” (D planche F).

(2) Two specific head elements form compounds that are more widely productive: *gè-* (from *gém* “personne”) which creates an actor noun: *gè-àbidìndì* “celui qui accomplit fidèlement les rites” (D2, *àbidè* “accomplir fidèlement les rites”) • *gèè-dùrkilil* “gens à ânes, âniers” (D213), and *ròò-* (from *ròhò* “fils”) which creates a diminutive: *ròò-bèrkìr* “petit de bovin (veau)” (D350) • *ròò-bòrlì* “petite houe” (D97).

(3) Compounds take plural or possessive suffixes after the second element: *dò’òk-tèéndì-nà* “calebasses à nourriture” (S14), and they can again serve as a genitive without additional case marking: *ák átín-ic kú ròò-mìcòr* “dans les narines du petit enfant” (D232).

(4) Some body part nouns used as heads have acquired the character of prepositions: *ààrò* “dos” – *ààr-báálì* “derrière le rigil (au delà)” (D17) • *bìì* “bouche” – *bì-báálì* “au bord du rigil” (D87) • *káá* “tête” – *ká-dàmbàr* “sur la montagne” (D planche A)

(5) The important preposition *ák* (local meanings, indirect object marker), likewise followed by a genitive, may have originated in the same way, but its source is no longer transparent: *sààlè ák àmiydí* “tomber dans l’eau” (D366, *ámáy* “eau”) • *wáfě ák mòrgòr* “arriver au champ” (D142, *mórgó* “champ”) • *nì njààmè ák bótildí* “nous nous sommes rencontrés sur le chemin” (D340, *bòtòl* “chemin”) • *bàrkìn ák búndí* “grâces au Ciel” (D81, *bùñ* “ciel”). But there are also prepositions that combine with the nominative, notably *íñ* (comitative, instrumental, coordinating noun phrases): *íñ ámáy* “[remplir] avec de l’eau” (D130) • *íñ ètò* “[frappe le chien] avec le bois” (D211) • *bérìngà íñ gírzibó* “le margouillat et le varan” (P133); and *ól* “comme”: *ól tápirò* “comme feuille” (D151).

(6) The productive genitive construction has the formula head noun + genitive linker + genitive noun. The genitive linker is *ká* (masc.)⁹, *tá* (fem.), *kú* (pl.) (D262) and agrees with the head noun: *pís ká dúbùldí* “le cheval des jeunes” (Dviii, from *písò* “cheval” + *ká* + *dúbàl* “jeunes hommes”) • *písáy kú mè* “les chevaux du chef” (S14) • *mèè ká dààrnèr* “chef de village” (D183, *dààrnè* “village”) • *gùrùm ká yàà-kó* “sexe de ta mère (insulte)” (D258, *yáà-kó* “ta mère”) • *ríy tá dààtìr* “travail de femmes” (D177, *dààt* “femmes”).

(7) The same with an additional possessive suffix (§36) on the head noun. This is often preferred in the case of inalienable relationships: *mìt-tì ká kòyèr* “mari d’elle de la lune” [husband of the moon, a star name] (D289, from *mìt-tì* [her husband] + *ká* + *kòyè* “lune”) • *sín-jì kú mìcòr* “nom de lui de l’enfant” (D374, cf. §12) • *bàà-y tá ùrdèr* “la base d’un grenier” (D163).

(8) Headless genitive with genitive linker: *ká sèènrèr* “‘de vérité’, vraiment” (D370) • *tá búndí* “la chose du Ciel (ce que le Ciel nous apportera)” (D344).

(9) A restricted number of nouns admit an adverbial / local use in their pure genitive form without any additional preposition: *nì jààwìy kàà-cì* “nous marchons souvent sur ta tête (nous te fréquentons)” (D262, *kàà* “tête”) • *mèè gòy zúgàr* “le chef demeure à la maison” (Dvii, *zúgá* “case”).

(§26) **Genitive in -di or -i.** These are two common genitive suffixes which I assume to share a common origin. Both of them are preferred with nouns terminating in a consonant but are also used with some nouns terminating in a vowel. When the genitive suffix attaches, the preceding syllable is subject to medial vowel reduction (§5) where applicable. The suffix *-di* is the more general one, whereas *-i* is almost exclusively restricted to nouns that have a L-contour in the nominative (S11). I assume that *-di* is the original ending as in *bùñ* “ciel” – *búndí* (D413). When the suffix merged with a final dental, *-d-* became invisible as in *bùtù* “cendre” – *bútí* (D98) (< **bút-dí*). This led to the abstraction of

⁹ Accidentally homophonic with *ká* “sur” but not in any way related to it.

a new suffix *-i* as in *bùwà* “lait” – *búwí* (D98). I speculate that the synchronic association of *-i* with a L-nominative may have come into being because the analogy happened to start with L-nouns such as *bùtù* just mentioned.

Coming to tone, I will start with long stems which I believe to have preserved the original tone patterns most faithfully. They turn out to have one of the three tone patterns HL¹⁰-, LH- or L-. The suffix *-(d)i* has polar tone, so we get HL-*dí*, LH-*dì* and L-*dí*. Tone is hardly predictable, but HL- is the most frequent option and the only one for plurals in *-an*: *bèè* “trou” – *béèndí* (D232) • *bòtòl* “chemin” – *bótíldí* (D93) • *dám̀bàn* “montagnes” – *dám̀bìndí* (D175) • *gááṅgúl* “grand piège à porc-épic” – *gááṅgùldí* (D314) • *gùgùrùm* “poisson sp.” – *gùgùrùmdí* (D336) • *kárṅáràc* “cailloux très gros” – *kárṅìricdí* (D275) • *méénàn* “chefs” – *méénìndí* (S11) • *úr̀dàn* “greniers à mil” – *úr̀dìndí* (D49) • *zúúlàn* “larmes” – *zúúlìndí* (D395). Examples for LH-: *bérkáy* “bovidés” – *bèrkíydí* (D208) • *kàwtirá* “matin” – *kàwtírdí* (D266) • *kùllù* “autruche” – *kùllí* (D307) • *kùrgàl* “farine” – *kùrgíldí* (D305) • *písàý* “chevaux” – *pìsíydí* (D95) • *pìsè* “main” – *pìsìndí* (D222) • *pùnnà* “corne” – *pùnnì* (D69) • *sèwè* “graisse” – *sèwìndí* (D369). Examples for L-: *ámáy* “eau” – *àmíydí* (D366) ~ *àmíidí* (S11) • *átáy* “arbres” – *àtíydí* (D29) • *cààlùwàý* “gens de Tyalo” (D9) – *cààlwíydí* (D337) • *gàngílám* “grand koudou” – *gàngìlìmdí* (D314) • *síbír* “girafe” – *sìbìrdí* (D372).

The documentation contains some cases of variation such as *ídàm* “foin” – *ídìmdí* (P18) ~ *ídìmdí* (D33) • *kúmnàý* “rats” – *kúmníydí* (D198) ~ *kúmníydí* (D303) • *tápàr* “feuillage” – *tápírdí* (D385) ~ *tápírdí* (D151).

If the penult of the genitive form is a short open syllable, which implies that the genitive suffix is *-i* and therefore also that the nominative must have a L contour, there is but a single tone pattern, namely HH-*i*: *bàkífàm* [a kind of illness] – *bàkífìmi* (D78) • *cò̀lkùm̀* “menton” – *cò̀lkùmi* (D230) • *dùrkùl* “âne” – *dùrkùlì* (D213) • *gècì̀m̀* “barbe” – *gécìmi* (D319) • *gòòdiyà* “estomac de mouton” – *góódiyi* (D330) • *kèsìrà* “crocodile” – *késìri* (D279) • *kùrgìtà* “vers” [worm sp.] – *kùrgìtì* (D305) • *zò̀pùlò̀* “pintade” – *zò̀pùlì* (D393).

I will now proceed to short stems. All of them have a L contour in the nominative because short H or HL nouns have to select the *r*-genitive (§28). Two tone patterns are found with these nouns, the choice of which seems to be largely determined by their initial consonant. We usually get H-*(d)í* when the noun starts with a voiced obstruent and L-*(d)í* elsewhere: *bèrkì* “taureau” – *bérkí* (D86) • *bùwà* “lait” – *búwí* (D98) • *dò̀ṅ̀* “gencive” – *dò̀ṅí* (D192) • *dè̀è̀p̀* “arc” –

¹⁰ If Fédy's notations can be trusted, in the way that the whole first syllable is H (and not the first mora as typical in other cases).

dǣ́pí (D204) • *gèr* “maison” – *gérđí* (D321) • *gè̀èpí* “corne” – *gé́épí* (D318) • *gípí* “genou” – *gípí* (D322) • *mòòy* “fumée” – *móóyđí* (D136) • *wèèr* “lieu, temps” – *wéérđí* (D147) • *zààmà* “peau” – *záámí* (D387). But: *àkò* “feu” – *àkí* (D14) • *cìntí* “sésame” – *cìntí* (D227) • *èwki* “bouc” – *èwki* (D28) • *filò* “bière de mil” – *filí* (D251) • *kàpà* “chien” – *kàpí* (D269) • *kèlmò* “ombre” – *kèlmí* (D282) • *mùùtù* “mort” [death] – *mùùtí* (D348) • *pàtò* “soleil” – *pàtí* (D52) • *sààhò* “dent” – *sààhí* (D364) • *tòòkò* “navette” – *tòòkí* (D168). There is variation in *ùsù* “vent” – *úsí* ~ *ùsí* (D50), and tone is irregular in *ròhò* “fils, fruit” – *ròndí* (D350).

(§27) **Genitive of infinitives.** The genitive of infinitives (§58) is well attested in phrases such as *èt ká màkíndí* “bois du piler” (D114, *màkè* “piler”), *périn tá kàrmíndí* “doigt de pointer (index)” (D274, *kàrmè* “pointer le doigt”), *góòl-ò’ò’đíndí* “couteau de rasage, rasoir” (D332, *ò’ò’đé* “raser”). The original termination *-n* of the infinitive reappears before the genitive suffix. All these genitives have the tone pattern LH-*đí* irrespectively of the tone class of the verb (cf. also §30): *ácè* “laver” – *àcíndí* (D57) • *baàwè* “aller” – *baàndí* (D104) • *èrè* “brûler” – *èríndí* (D147) • *éégé* “moudre” – *èégíndí* (D170) • *índé* “demander” – *índíndí* (D34) • *òlsè* “bouillir” – *òlsíndí* (D166) • *síbirè* “enfoncer en tournant” – *síbiríndí* (D207) • *tèè* “manger” – *tèéndí* (S11).

A construction involving the genitive of the infinitive embedded as an attribute – I cannot decide whether what precedes is the genitive linker (§25) or the relative pronoun (§50) – serves to translate “cannot”: *bùŋ ká àmniyínd dòòdǣ* “on ne peut se fier au Ciel, litt. Ciel de confiance n’est pas” (D410) • *táà kààwín dòòdǣ*, presumably from **táà kààwíndí dòòdǣ*, “que de dire pas” [cannot be said] (D177) • *táà gàsín dòòdǣ* “celle de obtenir pas” [cannot be found] (D129). These phrases also evidence the dropping of the genitive termination *-i* in the context form, for which I otherwise have no examples.

(§28) **Genitive in *-r*.** The suffix *-r* is even more productive than *-(đ)i*. I assume that *-r* was derived from *-đí* by sonorization (§10). It is preferred with nouns terminating in a vowel, which are in the majority. When the last consonant of the noun is *l*, *-r* becomes *-l* by lateral harmony (§9). This assimilation is less consistent when the noun contains an *l* at some distance.

Nouns terminating in a consonant may also take the *-r*-suffix, in that case as *-ir*. This is consistently so for plural nouns of the pattern CṽCCÁC, whose genitive is CṽCCiCír ~ CṽCCiCír¹¹ ~ CṽCCiCír: *dúrkál* “ânes” – *dúrkilil* ~ *dúrkilil* (D213) • *gíttám* “damans” – *gíttimír* (D323) • *gúddáŋ* “singes” – *gúddiŋír* (D335) • *jékkán* “haches” – *jékkinír* (D240) • *òkkán* “cannes” – *òkkinír* (D38) • *tórrám* “bambous” – *tòrrimír* (D169).

¹¹ I suspect that the instances of CṽCCiCír might be imprecise notations of CṽCCiCír.

The documentation contains numerous instances of variation between *-i* and *-r* genitives such as: *bèrkì* “taureau” – *bérkì* (D86) ~ *bèrkìr* (D350) • *cìntì* “sésame” – *cìntí* (D227) ~ *cìntìr* (D43) • *kùllù* “autruche” – *kùllì* ~ *kùllùl* (D307) • *mààsò* “région médiane du dos” – *mààsí* (D123) ~ *mààsòr* (D339).

The genitive in *-r* is usually combined with either of the two tone patterns L or HLL. Tone is predictable from the tone of the nominative only to some extent. Here again, there are instances of variation such as *áwgi* “chèvres” – *àwgi* (D28) ~ *àwgi* (D285) • *káypò* “lièvre” – *kàypòr* (D270) ~ *kàypòr* (S13).

L nouns form their genitive with L tone: *bàfà* “mariage” – *bàfàr* (D76) • *bùùrì* “lion” – *bùùrìr* (D100) • *dàmbà* “montagne” – *dàmbàr* (D175) • *gèè* “gens” – *gèèmìr* (D41) • *kòò* “mil” – *kòòr* (D114) • **tìw*¹² “sauce” – *tìwìr* (D166) • *ùrdè* “grenier” – *ùrdèr* (D156).

Most H nouns form their genitive with L tone, too: *áándó* “nuit” – *àándòr* (D201) • *dámbí* “pierre” – *dàmbìr* (D175) • *díídí* “oiseaux” – *díídìr* (M43) • *fíímé* “abeille” – *fíímèr* (D250) • *káá* “tête” – *kààr* (D263) • *kúmá* “animal, viande” – *kùmàr* (D303) • *léesé* “langue” – *léesèr* (D356). But: *ádi* “ventre” – *àdìr* (D8) • *ándé* “boule” – *àndèr* (D10) • *gááfá* “cou” – *gááfàr* (D91) • *péérné* “doigt” – *péérnèr* (D59).

Most HHL nouns form their genitive with HLL tone, which is a subtle but important alternation of tone: *áálò* “serpent” – *áàlòl* (E20) • *cáári* “racines” – *cáàrìr* (D222) • *díbirò* “porte” – *díbiròr* (D188) • *díídò* “oiseau” – *díídòr* (M43) • *kúlmò* “charbon de bois” – *kúlmòl* (D306) • *máginè* “tombe” – *máginèr* (D114) • *párpífø* “avant-bras” – *párpífør* (D56).

Most HLL nouns have a HLL genitive, too: *cáàrò* “racine” – *cáàròr* (D222) • *díisà* “œuf” – *díisàr* (D209) • *élgò* “année” – *élgòr* (D31) • *ibìnò* “soif” – *ibìnòr* (D32) • *lèègè* “branche” – *lèègèr* ~ *lèègèl* (D355) • *mítikò* “mâle” – *mítikòr* (D129) • *tápirò* “feuille” – *tápiròr* (D151).

Short CVC(C) nouns, for which the tone patterns HHL and HLL coincide (§2), may retain their tone in the genitive as would be expected: *díwò* “mouche” – *díwòr* (D189) • *gɔ́cì* “nuages” – *gɔ́cìr* (D327) • *ódò* “œil” – *ódòr* (D41). But HHL/HLL nouns may also change their tone to L in the genitive. This is very typical for the short nouns but also occurs with some longer ones: *dáát* “femmes” – *dáàtìr* (D177) • *děwkò* “nombril” – *děwkòr* (D206) • *kidà* “terre” – *kidàr* (D283) • *kɔ́ɔ́gìnà* “enfants” (M38) – *kɔ́ɔ́gìnàr* (D290) • *kɔ́yè* “lune” –

¹² I suggest that this is the correct representation. Fédry (D162) writes “tìwù [tiù]”.

kɔ̀yèr (D289) • *míḍày* “hommes” – *mìḍìr* (D129) • *mítà* “mari” – *mìtār* (D129) • *písò* “cheval” – *pìsòr* (D64) • *tólò* “meule” – *tòlòl* (D349).

The suffix *-r* is the typical genitive marker of borrowed nouns or nouns with exotic tone patterns. When *-r* attaches to such nouns, the tone pattern of the nominative is retained: *éríndílè* “petit scorpion” – *éríndílèl* (D26) • *gàzáázà* “bouteille” – *gàzáázàr* (D318) • *máántòṅgó* “boullie” – *máántòṅgór* (D112). This also includes LH-nouns, all of which preserve their tone pattern in the genitive: *kòrmɔ́* “ongle” – *kòrmɔ́r* (D291) • *mùtkiyé* “voisin” – *mùtkiyér* (D137) • *tàmgá* “bélier” – *tàmgár* (D152).

(§29) **Unmarked genitive.** Some nouns lack a distinct genitive form. This is generally true of proper names: *géèrè* “Guéra (montagne)” – *à̀ar géèrè* “derrière le Guéra” (D320) • *báá bítkin* “près de Bitkine” (D72). The name *cà̀l̀l̀l̀* of the village “Tyalo-Idéba” is an evident petrified genitive, according to Fédry (D224) of *cáálò* “variété de Ficus”, and can be used in genitive function without further change: *mèè ká cà̀l̀l̀l̀* “chef de Tyalo” (D126).

An unmarked genitive is also used with certain types of abstract nouns including all derivatives in *-à̀w* (S12), unassimilated foreign words such as *ɔ̀tírɔ́* “voiture” (D37), *sáyè* “thé” (D362), *sìimó* “ciment” (D373), some (but not all) CV-nouns: *bù* “bouche” (D206), *bɔ́ɔ́* “sister” (D91), *mèè* “chef” (D384), and with a few more nouns such as *jòròl* “chacal” (D246), *mà̀àkò* “soir” (D52), *yèèr* “brousse” (D373).

(§30) **Stacked genitives.** When two genitive constructions are stacked as A-(B-C), there is only a single case mark on the C element while B remains without a termination (S17): *wít̀t̀t̀n tá tèè à̀ndèr* “temps de manger de la boule” (D148, *tèè* “manger”) • *zí sèè à̀m̀ỳdí* “le moment de boire l’eau” (D391, *sèè* “boire”) • *gé sòsè kà̀ǹìr* “l’homme du transport des chiens (nom d’une constellation)” (D269, D382, *sòsè* “porter”) • *gámìn kú zúg ká bà̀fà̀r* “choses celles de la case celle de mariage” (S17, *zúg* “case”).

We have seen in §27 that all infinitives assume a uniform tone pattern in the genitive case. As Fédry says (S16), the bare infinitive in the middle of a stacked genitive construction also has an invariable tone pattern, namely L. Although one of the phrases just cited is a counter-example, I find three examples that confirm Fédry’s rule: *ámáy kú à̀cè zìr* “l’eau du lavage du corps” (S16, *à̀cè* “laver”) • *tólò tá è̀è̀gè cìǹt̀ìr* “meule à écraser le sésame” (D26, *é̀é̀gè* “moudre”) • *gárjád̀ẁn táá¹³ là̀à̀dè jír̀nèr* “quenouille celle de l’enveloppement de coton” (D316, *là̀à̀dè* “envelopper”).

¹³ Imprecisely for **tá*?

(§31) **Locative.** According to Fédry, a small number of nouns have special locative forms, which would make up a third case distinct from the genitive: *kidā* “terre” – gen. *kidār* (D283) – “locatif” *kédēr* “par terre”, e.g. *kò gòy kédēr gá* “êtes-vous par terre?” (D280) • *gɔ̌gɔ̌lɔ̌* “partie supérieure du dos” – gen. *gɔ̌gɔ̌li* – “locatif” *gɔ̌gɔ̌li* (D327). But in several cases, what Fédry calls “locatif” can be encountered in clear genitive contexts as well. I therefore assume that there is no locative case at all in West Dangla, but that the forms so called are just variant forms of the genitive: *ètò* “arbre, bois” – gen. *étí* – “locatif” *ètòr*, but also *gèè ètòr* “gens du bois” (D29) • *gè(è)r* “enclos familial, maison” – gen. *gérđí* – *gèró* “à la maison” (D321), but also *mérìy tá gèèró* “sorgho de maison” (D128) • *yèèr* “brousse” – gen. *yèèr* (D373) – “locatif” *yèèró* “en brousse” (D260), but also *mérìy tá yèèró* “sorgho de brousse” (D128) • *zúgá* “toit de case, case” – gen. *zùgàr* – “locatif” *zùgàr*, but also *bì ká zùgàr* “le seuil de la case” (D394).

A few local adverbs are derived from nouns by means of a suffix *-tà/-dà*: *ádí* “ventre” – *át-tà* “dedans” (D7) • *báá* “fondement” – *báá-tà* “en bas” (D72) • *ùṇò* “front” – *ùn-dà* “devant” (D47). These might really be petrified remnants of a former local case.

The complement of verbs of movement can be expressed as either a direct or an indirect object: *nà báà súginè* = *nà báà ák súginèr* “je vais au marché” (D104) • *ṇá báá-cà* “il va à elle” (D104, direct object clitic) • *ṇáà ásíy-tè* “il va venir à nous” (D95, indirect object clitic) • *tá àsà ámáy* “elle vient de chercher de l’eau” [she comes (from) the water, dir. obj.] (D2). Finally, some place or time nouns admit an adverbial use in their bare nominative form: *áándó* “nuit” – *kìì sòònè áándó* “tu vas avoir des rêves pendant la nuit” (D379) • *gèèr* “maison” – *áwḡ yàà èèlè gèèr* “les chèvres vont rester à la maison” (D265) • *góògò* “partie supérieure du dos” – *tá lèè mícò góògò* “elle a mis le bébé dans le dos” (D331).

(§32) **Ambiguities in nouns.** Since *-r* may either be a genitive marker (§28) or a possessive suffix 1st sg. (§39), both forms coincide for some nouns, e.g. *gɔ̌rɔ̌* “épaule” – *gɔ̌rɔ̌-r* (gen. D328, “my” D105) • *ódò* “œil” – *ódò-r* (gen. D41, “my” D251) • *kòò* “mil” – *kòò-r* (gen. D406, “my” D294). But in many other cases, they are kept distinct by tone: *ádí* “ventre” – *ádi-r* (gen.) – *ádi-r* (“my”) (D8) • *gááǎ* “cou” – *gááǎ-r* (gen.) – *gááǎ-r* (“my”) (D312) • *káṇ* “chiens” – *káṇi-r* (gen.) – *káṇi-r* (“my”) (D269) • *mórgó* “champ” – *mòrgò-r* (gen. D137) – *mórgó-r* (“my” D262) • *písò* “cheval mâle” – *písò-r* (gen.) – *písò-r* (“my”) (S13).

Even though *-i* can be both a plural and a genitive suffix, I am not aware of any case of homophony. Both forms are always kept distinct at least by tone, as in: *bòrlò* “houe” – *bòrli* (pl.) – *bórli* (gen.) (D96, S9) • *jòlò* “ouverture sur une

palissade” – *jóli* (pl.) – *jóli* (gen.) (D247) • *kààsò* “os” – *káási* (pl.) – *kàási* (gen.) (D278) • *pàrkà* “réceptient en terre cuite” – *pàrkì* (pl.) – *pàrkí* (gen.) – *pàrkì* (gen. pl.) (D57).

(§33) **Independent pronouns.** Nine personal forms of pronouns are distinguished in the language: three persons each of the singular and the plural plus a gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd persons of the singular plus an exclusive-inclusive distinction in the 1st person plural. The independent pronouns are the following: 1st sg. *nònò*, 2nd sg. m. *kìṅkì*, 2nd sg. f. *kàṅkà*, 3rd sg. m. *ḡáàrà*, 3rd sg. f. *táàrà*, 1st pl. ex. *nìnì*, 1st pl. in. *gèèntè*¹⁴, 2nd pl. *kòṅkò*, 3rd pl. *ḡúúrà* (forms from E10). As other word classes, they lose their final vowel in the context form. The context forms of the 2nd person pronouns end in *-ḡ* as expected (§6): *táàr báà-k kìṅ yàà báàwè kìnà* “elle est allée déjà maintenant, tu vas aller à ton tour” (D287). The independent pronouns behave syntactically like nouns and can even combine with a demonstrative: *ḡáàr āṅk* (...) [lit. ‘this he’] (D204, P8). Uses:

(1) as an enforced alternative to the subject prefixes: *nòn yàà báàwè kìnà* “moi vais aller à mon tour” (D286)

(2) as an afterthought to the right of the clause: *pìis kàṅkà* “reste toi (f.)” (D64)

(3) after prepositions: *ḡá wéfit in táàrà* “il dort avec elle (à côté d’elle)” (D150)

(4) before various emphasizing particles such as *kàw* “aussi”, *kàt* (focus), *dì* “seulement”, *sá* (conditional): *kìṅkì kàw* “toi aussi” (D265) • *ḡúúr kàt jìlìn-tè* “ce sont eux qui nous ont sauvés” (D243) • *nòn dì* “moi seulement” (D188) • *nòn sá* “si c’est moi” (D150).

(§34) **Subject proclitics.** This is the most frequent of all pronominal series. Unlike many other Chadic languages, they do not incorporate any tense distinctions (but see §82). They form the subject of a verbal or a non-verbal predicate alike: *ḡá àsàw* “il vient”, *ḡá mèè* “il (est) chef” (Dvii). They are in complementary distribution with noun phrases: *mèè àsàw* “le chef vient” (Dvii). Only occasionally, a nominal subject is topicalized so that the subject pronoun appears in addition to it: *mèlè ḡá mààbìn ká búndí* “sorcellerie, c’est chose du Ciel” (D128). It should be emphasized that the verb itself shows no personal agreement (cf. *kò dórè* “vous avez entendu”, D194) unlike the related language Bidiya in which verbs take a special form with a 2nd pl. subject (Alio 1986: 290).

¹⁴ This pronoun is altogether different from East Dangla where it is *nùirà* (Shay 1990: 89). I suspect that *gèèn-tè* is a recent innovation meaning “our people”, cf. *gèè(m)* “gens” (D319) and §36. The same applies to the corresponding subject proclitic *gè*.

The third and the non-third persons are opposed to each other with respect to tone. I will call them “he-pronouns” and “I-pronouns” respectively. The I-pronouns have L tone: 1st sg. *nà* ~ *nò*¹⁵, 2nd sg. m. *kì*, 2nd sg. f. *kà*, 1st pl. ex. *nì*, 1st pl. in. *gè*, 2nd pl. *kò*. The he-pronouns have H tone: 3rd sg. m. *ḡá*, 3rd sg. f. *tá*, 3rd pl. *ḡú* (all forms from E11). The subject proclitics are context forms by nature so that no further vowel loss takes place.

Subject proclitics may be omitted in ellipsis: *kì éélá màn* – *éélá cèwèy* “tu vas comment – (je) vais léger” (D221), and the subject position can remain empty when the subject is unspecific: *gáàsè* “c’est fini!” (D318), *kùnnày dô* “ça ne va pas” (D304). There is no impersonal subject pronoun as in some other Chadic languages. Fédry repeatedly translates the noun *gèè* “les gens” as “on” (e.g. D123, D137, D283, D383).

(§35) **Subject suffixes.** In East Dangla, subject suffixes play an important role (Shay 1999: 125-128). No such suffixes exist in West Dangla. Also the so-called “intransitive copy pronouns” characteristic of many Chadic languages, by which a subject is expressed before and after the verb simultaneously, are almost unattested. There is but a single verb that seems to show a fossilized use of intransitive copy pronouns, namely *àrè* (**ààrè*?) “rester en arrière” whose subject is additionally expressed by a coreferential suffix, formally a direct object pronoun: *nà áárín-tù* “je suis resté à l’étranger” (D17) • *ḡá ààr-gà* “il est resté à l’étranger” (D17) • *mààn-ji àr-gà* “quelle chose à toi est restée?” [what-of-you remained?] (D112).

(§36) **Possessive suffixes.** Practically all nouns can combine with possessive suffixes. This is the standard way of expressing both alienable and inalienable pronominal possession. The suffixes fall into two classes according to their tonal behaviour. Two suffixes have an inherent low tone: 3rd sg. f. *-tì* and 1st pl. ex. *-nì*. I call them “her-pronouns”. All the others have no inherent tone: 1st sg. *-du*, 2nd sg. m. *-ji*, 2nd sg.f. *-ke*, 3rd sg. m. *-ji*, 1st pl. in. *-te*, 2nd pl. *-ko*, 3rd pl. *-co* (rarely *-ci*, D220 and D227). I call them “his-pronouns”. The suffixes of the 2nd sg. m. and 3rd sg. m. are homophones. This is a recent merger caused by the loss of final nasals (§8). They are still kept distinct in East Dangla as 2nd sg. m. *-jij* vs. 3rd sg. m. *-ji* (Shay 1999: 96).

Three suffixes have sonorant alternants: 1st sg. *-r*, 2nd sg. m. *-j*, 3rd sg. m. *-y*. The distinction between the 2nd sg. m. and 3rd sg. m. reappears here. The choice of the pronoun series is lexically determined by the noun. A rule of

¹⁵ This seems to be a difference of subdialects (cf. D214). *nà* is more frequent in Fédry’s glosses.

thumb is that the full forms are preferred for nouns terminating in a consonant, the sonorant forms for nouns terminating in a vowel. Those suffixes for which no sonorant alternant is available must obviously be used in their full form with all nouns.

There are two nouns of which we know the complete paradigm. These are *káá* “tête”: *káá-r* (1st sg), *káá-n* (2nd sg m), *káá-kè* (2nd sg f), *káá-y* (3rd sg m), *káá-tì* (3rd sg f), *káá-nì* (1st pl ex), *káá-tè* (1st pl in), *káá-kò* (2nd pl), *káá-cò* (3rd pl) (A111), and **gáá-* “compagne (féminin)” (always with possessor): *gáá-dù*, *gáá-jì*, *gáá-kè*, *gáá-jì*, *gáá-tì*, *gáá-nì*, *gáá-tè*, *gáá-kò*, *gáá-cò* (E12).

An opposition of full and sonorant allomorphs recurs in the genitive suffix which has a similar variation (*-di* ~ *-r*, §28). But more nouns select the sonorant variant for the possessive than for the genitive suffix. Three patterns are therefore common: Full suffix for both: *ròṇò* “fils” – *rón-di* [son.Gen] – *rón-dú* [my son] (D350); sonorant suffix for both: *kāṇ* “chiens” – *kāṇ-r* [dogs.Gen] – *kāṇ-r* [my dogs] (D269, A109); full suffix for the genitive but sonorant for the possessive: *mùtù* “plaie” – *mùt-i* [wound.Gen] – *mùtù-r* [my wound] (D138, D169). Only exceptionally do we find the inverse relationship: *sìṇò* “frère” – *sìṇò-r* [brother.Gen] – *sìn-dú* [my brother] (D374).

(§37) **His-pronouns.** I start the presentation of the possessive suffixes with the full forms of the his-pronouns. The last syllable of the noun is subject to medial vowel reduction (§5). The tone of the suffix is basically polar with respect to the noun. This means that when the last mora is H, the suffix is L: *ámáy* “eau” – *ámáy-cò* [their water] (D5) • *ándé* “boule” – *ándi-cò* [their porridge ball] (D10) • *átáy* “bois” (D29) – *átáy-dù* [my wood] (L450) • *búṅgí* “trous” – *búṅgí-cò* [their holes] (D99) • *gí-* “compagnon” – *gí-dù* [my friend] (D322) • *káá* “tête”, see §36.

The same applies when the word is mainly H but only a single last mora is L: *áálò* “serpent mâle” – *áál-cò* [their snake] (P115) • *ááyè* “queue” – *ááyè-y* [his tail] (D335) – *ááy-cò* [their tail] (S14) • *cáári* “racines” – *cáár-cò* [their roots] (D222) • *gáádù-* “amie” – *gáádù-kè* [her she-friend] (D309) • *kááwò* “parole” – *kááwò-n* [your.M word] (D244) – *kááw-tè* [our w.] (D304) – *kááw-cò* [their w.] (D371).

But when two or more morae at the end of the noun are L, the suffix is H. The tone of the possessive suffix thus emphasizes the distinction between the HHL and HLL contours:

àáyà “satiété” – *àáy-có* [their satiety] (E12) • *àsè* “jambe” – *àsìn-dú* [my foot] (D343) – *àsìn-jí* [his f.] (D18) • *àsè* “jambes” – *àsìn-dú* [my feet] (D21) • *bààlà* “rigil” – *bààl-có* [their channel] (S14) • *cáàrò* “racine” – *cáàr-té* [our root]

– *cààr-có* [their r.] (D222) • *děngìnà* “oreilles” (D207, D planche M) – *děngìn-có* [their ears] (D207) • *ètè* “nez” – *ètìn-jí* [your.M nose] (D222) • *gěmsà* “jeunes-filles” – *gémis-có* [their girls] (P115) • *midây* “hommes” – *midìy-kó* [your.PL men] (D66) • *ǵrál* “grains” – *ǵrìl-kǵ* [your.PL grains] (P18) • *písè* “mains” – *pìsìn-dú* [my hands] (D254)¹⁶ • *ròyà* “ami” – *ròy-té* “notre ami! (nous inclusif) appellation fréquente” (D349).

When the L stem to which the suffix attaches is monosyllabic, the stem will be assimilated to high: *bù* “bouche” – *bí-kó* [your.PL mouth] (P8) • *gè(è)r* “maison” – *gér-có* [their house] (D321) • *mèè* “chef” – *méen-có* [their chief] (D125) • *kòò* “mil” – *kòò-r* [my millet] – *kóó-kó* [your.PL m.] (D294) • *ùṇò* “front” – *ún-dú* [my front] – *ún-jí* [your.M f.] (D48). Only exceptionally, the whole complex is L: **kèè-* “seul” – *kèè-dù* “moi seul” (D280).

When the noun has only two morae which are H-L, the tone of the suffix is unpredictable. We can speculate that a hidden distinction between the HLL and HHL patterns (§2) resurfaces here: *átò* “fruit du tamarin” – *át-kè* [your.F tamarind] (P107) • *dálò* “seau en peau” – *dâl-có* [their bucket] (S9) • *kídà* “terre” – *kíd-tè* [our country] (D283) – *kíc-cò* [their c.] (P76) • *kǵlè* “arbre sp.” – *kǵl-cǵ* [their k.-tree] (P74) • *mícò* “garçon” – *míc-kò* [your boy] (P66) • *písè* “mains” – *pís-kè* [your.F hands] (P107) – *pís-cò* [their h.] (D64) • *ríyò* “travail” – *ríy-kò* [your.PL work] (P66) (more examples below).

(§38) **Voiceless allomorphs of his-pronouns.** A few nouns have *-t* as their final root consonant. This *-t* merges with the suffixes *-du* / *-ji* into *-tu* / *-ci*. The other suffixes, which are already voiceless, remain unchanged: *dáátì* “femme” – *dáát-tù* (<**dáát-dù*) [my wife] – *dáá-cì* [your.M / his wife] (D164, D176) • *mítà* “mari” – *mí-tù* [my husband] (D76). This also applies to the forms *nó-tù* [for me] – *nó-cì* [for you.M] – *nó-kò* [for you.PL] – *nó-cò* [for them] (D33, D130, D219) that serve as a kind of independent dative pronoun, i.e. as an alternative to the more common indirect object clitics (§47).

(§39) **Sonorant allomorphs of possessive suffixes.** The sonorant forms are even more frequent than the corresponding full forms. They typically attach to nouns terminating in a vowel, which are in the majority. I assume that the sonorant forms originally developed from the long forms by intervocalic sonorization (§10). They never change the tone of the noun, and the final vowel is usually preserved as well: *bì(ì)* “bouche” – *bì-r* [my mouth] (D317) – *bì-n* [your.M mouth] (D380) – *bì-y* [his mouth] (D339) • *bīṇkà* “lèvres” (D87) –

¹⁶ In this and a few other nouns, an original final nasal (§8) reappears before the suffix. But a form *pìsì-r* “mes mains” created by recent analogy is also attested (D256).

bɪŋkà-n [your.M lips] (D248) • *děŋgé* “oreille” – *děŋgé-n* [your.M ear] (D226) • *gémso* “jeune-fille” – *gémso-r* [my girl] (D321) – *gémso-y* [his g.] (D185) • *kèlmò* “ombre” – *kèlmò-y* “son âme” (D282) • *kòò* “mil” – *kòò-r* [my millet] (D294) • *ódò* “œil” – *ódò-r* [my eye] (D251) – *ódò-n* [your e.] (D285) – *ódò-y* [his e.] (D91) • *péélè* “pénis” – *péélè-n* [your penis] (D121) – *péélè-y* [his p.] (D284) • *píso* “cheval” – *píso-r* [my horse] – *píso-n* [your.M h.] – *píso-y* [his h.] (E12) • *sààwnè* “volonté” – *sààwnè-r* [my wish] – *sààwnè-n* [your.M w.] – *sààwnè-y* [his w.] (D360).

An *i*-vowel is inserted between some nouns and the suffix. I leave it open whether this vowel should be considered as a part of the suffix or of the noun: *dààt* “femmes” – *dààtì-r* [my wives] (D176) • *gè(è)r* “maison” – *gè(è)-y* [his house] (D51) • *káŋ* “chiens” – *káŋì-r* [my dogs] (D269) • *mèlè(m)* “sorcellerie” – *mèlmi-y* [his sorcery] (D128) • *mígò* “beau-père” – *mígì-r* [my father-in-law] – *mígì-n* [your f.] (D131) • *pìsè* “main” – *pìsì-r* [my hand] (D30) – *pìsì-n* [your h.] (D127) • *sòkàt* “gourmandise” – *sòkidì-n* [your voracity] (D380). This also pertains to all abstracts in -àw: *nèndàw* “malice, astuce” – *nèndùwì-r* “mon intelligence” (D313) • *bàrkìnàw* – *bàrkìnùwì-y* “son sang froid” (D81).

-*r* may be subject to lateral harmony (§9): *góòlà* “couteau” – *góòlà-l* “mon couteau” (P89) • *milà-l* “sœur de ma femme” [my sister-in-law] (D132); but: *lálàl-r* “ma chose” (D353).

Nouns that otherwise select the sonorant suffixes must take the long forms where only these are available. The usual tone rules as described in §37 then apply. Some examples with nouns that were mentioned above in this section: *děŋgì-tè* [our ear] (D227) • *gémis-cò* [their girl] (P115) • *gér-có* [their house] (D321) • *kèlim-có* [their shadow/soul] (D282) • *kóó-kó* [your.PL millet] (D294) • *pís-kò* [your.PL horse] (P15).

(§40) **Her-pronouns.** Two possessive suffixes, 3rd sg. f. -*tì* and 1st pl. ex. -*nì*, have an inherent low tone and, in addition, they lower the tone of the preceding syllable. When the preceding syllable is already L, its tone obviously cannot change: *bòtòl* “chemin” – *bòtìlì-n* [your.M way] (D197) – *bòtìl-kó* [your. Pl w.] (P12) – *bòtìl-có* [their w.] (E12) – *bòtìl-tì* [her w.] (D66) • *dàdìkò* “centre, intervalle” – *dàdìk-té* [our centre] (D384) – *dàdìk-có* [their c.] (D33) – *dàdìk-nì* [our c.] (D201) • *kò’ògìnà* “enfants” (M38) – *kò’ògìn-tì* [her children] (D217) • *kòrmà* “ongles” – *kò’rìm-tì* [her fingernails] (D291) • *máàmà* “bière de mil” – *máàm-nì* [our beer] (D100) • *ódìnà* “yeux” – *ódìnà-r* [my eyes] (D357) – *ódìnà-y* [his e.] (D41) – *ódìn-tì* [her e.] (D354) • *ròŋò* “fils” – *rón-dú* [my son] (D350) – *ròn-tì* [her s.] (D7) • *sìŋò* “brother” – *sín-dú* [my brother] – *sìŋ-ké* [your.F b.] – *sìŋ-jí* [his b.] – *sìn-tì* [her b.] (D100, D374).

A preceding H syllable is lowered. The resulting word may have either a HLL or a L contour, which is not always easy to predict. With HLL: *ádi* “ventre” – *ádi-r* [my belly] – *ádi-n* [your.M b.] – *ádi-y* [his b.] – *ád-tì* [her b.] (D8) • *děwkò* “nombril” – *děwkò-r* [my navel] – *děwkò-y* [his n.] – *děwki-tì* [her n.] (D206) • *éen-dù* “compagnons à moi” – *éen-tì* [her friends] (D25) • *éjà* “bandeau de perles” – *éjà-tì* [her string] (D380) • *gɔʔrɔʔ* “kola (noix)” – *gɔʔr-tì* [her kola nut] (D328) • *káá* “tête” – *káá-tì* [her head] (D359) • *kámírà* “agitation” – *kámírà-y* [his agitation] – *kámír-tì* [her a.] (D265) • *léésé* “langue” – *léés-t* [her tongue, context form] (D346) • *mээрè* “boule froid” – *mээр-kɔʔ* [your cold porridge ball] – *mээр-nì* [our c. p.] (D124). With L: *gááfá* “cou” – *gááfá-r* [my neck] – *gááfá-n* [your.M n.] – *gááfá-y* [his n.] – *gááf-tì* [her n.] – *gááf-nì* [our n.] (D312) • *gí-dù* “mon compagnon” – *gí-tì* [her friend] (D322) • *kɔʔrmɔʔ* “ongle” – *kɔʔrmɔʔ-n* [your.M fingernail] (D326) – *kɔʔrím-tì* [her f.] (D291) • *màní-tè* “nous-mêmes incl.” – *màní-nì* “nous-mêmes excl.” (D127) • *mítà* “mari” – *mí-tù* [my husband] (D76) – *mít-tì* [her h.] (D358) • *rómò-r* “ma fille” – *róm-kè* [your.F daughter] (P15) – *róm-tì* [her d.] (D212) • *sín* “nom” – *sín-dù* [my name] – *sín-jì* [your.M / his n.] – *sín-tì* [her n.] (D374).

The noun for “sœur” is said to have an absolute form *bɔʔɔʔ*,¹⁷ but the suffixes attach to a H stem: *bɔʔɔʔ-tè* [our sister] – *bɔʔɔʔ-cɔʔ* [their s.] – *bɔʔɔʔ-tì* [her s.] – *bɔʔɔʔ-nì* [our s.] (D91). Tone indications are contradictory for this noun with sonorant suffixes: “ma sœur” *bɔʔɔʔ-r* (M38) ~ *bɔʔɔʔ-r* (E15) ~ *bɔʔɔʔ-r* (D408).

(§41) **Possessive suffixes on terms of relationship.** While some such nouns can be used without a following possessor (e.g. *ròhò* “fils”, *sìhò* “frère”), others require a possessive suffix. Four relationship terms referring to the parent generation are usually combined with the pluralic suffixes even in singular meaning.¹⁸ This usage might have been motivated by the wish to imply one’s brothers and sisters, but it is (at least now) common even when the speaker does not have any brothers or sisters (D154): *tàn-nì* [our/my father] – *tàt-tè* [our father] – *tàk-kò* [your father] – *tàc-cò* [their/his/her father] (D154) • *yáá-nì* [our/my mother] – *yáá-tè* [our mother] – *yáá-kò* [your mother] – *yáá-cò* [their/his/her mother] (D258) • *mээр-nì* [our/my uncle] – *mээр-tè* [our uncle] – *mээр-kɔʔ* [your uncle] – *mээр-cɔʔ* [their/his/her uncle] (D124) • *ápì-nì* [our/my aunt] – *áp-tè* [our aunt] – *áp-kò* [your aunt] – *ápì-cò* [their/his/her aunt] (D1).

There are two ways to combine these nouns with a nominal possessor. Either a coreferential possessive suffix appears in addition to the genitive noun: *yáá-cò tá gújìjì* “termite-reine (mère d’eux des termites)” (D258), or the

¹⁷ “Quoique rare, la forme sans suffixe personnel est attestée” (E15).

¹⁸ Not so the term for *mígò* “beau-père”: *mígì-r* [my father-in-law] (D131).

associative plural (§24) is employed: *tàkà-n wààré* “père de la dance” (D154) • *yá-n fààno* “mère de fààno” (D285).

(§42) **Possessive suffixes on genitive nouns.** When a possessive suffix attaches to a noun in the genitive case, some peculiarities apply. One does not use the sonorant forms of the suffixes and only rarely the usual full forms (these are only attested together with the nouns for “fils” and “frère”, see below). Instead, the suffixes appear in their voiceless allomorphs (§38): *ódò* “œil” – (nom. :) *ódò-r* [my eye] (D251) – (gen. :) *dúgìl tá ód-tù* “centre de mon œil (pupille)” (D212) • *rómo-r* “ma fille” – *ròm-tù* [my daughter.Gen] (D349) • *ààrò* “dos” – (nom. :) *ààrò-y* [his back] – (gen. :) *ààr-cì* “derrière toi” (D17) • *báá* “fondement” – *báá-y* [his bottom] – *báá-cì* [his bottom.Gen] (D340) • *ùno* “front” – *ùn-jí* “ton front” – *ùn-cì* “devant toi” (D48).

The typical genitive suffix (-*dì*, -*i*, -*r*) is not visible, but it might be hidden behind the voiceless suffix alternant. In addition, the noun may differ in tone from the nominative. Attestations are not abundant but suffice to suggest some tendencies. The rule that emerges most clearly is that nouns whose genitive has L-tone acquire a LH-pattern in the genitive together with possessive suffixes. We have a good documentation for *káá* “tête”, which goes *káá-r* [my head] – *káá-n* [your head] – *káá-cò* [their head] in the nominative and *kààr* [head.Gen] – *kàá-tù* [my head.Gen] – *kàá-cì* [your/his head.Gen] – *kàá-cò* [their head.Gen] in the genitive (D262, D263, D363, D370, P27, A111). Other examples: *kɔ̀ɔ̀gìnà* “enfants” (M38) – *kɔ̀ɔ̀gìnà-r* [my children] – *kɔ̀ɔ̀gìnàr* [c.Gen] – *kɔ̀ɔ̀gìn-tù* [my c.Gen] (D290) • *pìsè* “mains” – *pìsì-r* [my hands] – *pìsìr* [hands.Gen] – *pìs-tù* [my h.Gen] (D64, D310) • *sìhò* “frère” – *sín-dú* [my brother] – *sìhòr* [b.Gen] – *sín-dú* [my b.Gen] (D122, D374) • *sérpé* “côté” – *sèrpèr* [side.Gen] – *sèrpí-tù* [my s.Gen] – *sèrpí-cì* [your.M s.Gen] (D371) • *tààbà* “tabac” – *tààbàr* [tobacco.Gen] – *tààb-tù* [my t.Gen] (D151).

The same seems to be true of nouns whose genitive has a HLL pattern: *ándé* “boule” – *ándí-cò* [their porridge ball] – *àndèr* [p.Gen] – *àndí-kó*¹⁹ [your p.Gen] (D10, D175) • *gááǎ* “cou” – *gááǎ-r* [my neck] – *gááǎ-y* [his n.] – *gááǎr* [n.Gen] – *gááǎ-tù* [my n.Gen] – *gááǎ-cì* [his n.Gen] (D96, D169, D312) • *zúgá* “case” – *zùgàr* ~ *zúgàr* [hut.Gen] – *zùg-cì* [your h.Gen] (D227, D394).

Attestations for nouns with other tone patterns are too sporadic to formulate a rule: *àkò* “feu” – *àkí* [fire.Gen] – *àák-cò* [their f.Gen] (P111) • *děngé* “oreille” – *děngèr* [ear.Gen] – *děngì-tù* [my e.Gen] (D207, D270) • *gèr* “maison” – *gér-cò* “leur maison” – *gérdí* [house.Gen] – *gér-cò* “à leur maison, chez eux” (D321) •

¹⁹ I expect **àndí-kò*.

mээр-тэ “notre oncle” – *мёр-тэ* [our uncle.Gen] (D124) • *рòнò* “fils” – *рón-дú* [my son] – *рòндì* [s.Gen] – *рòн-дú* [my s.Gen] (D350) • *вээр* “lieu” – *вээрди* [place.Gen] – *вээр-ци* [his p.Gen] (D46, D147) • *яáá-сò* “sa mère” – *яàà-сò* [his mother.Gen] (D258).

As usual, the her-suffixes involve a tone lowering: *áttà* “dedans” – *át-tù* “en moi” – *át-tì* “en elle” (D7) • *гér-сò* [their house.Gen] – *ádí ká gèr-nì* “intérieur de notre maison” (D321) • *káá* “tête” – *kàá-tù* [my head.Gen] – *kàá-tì* [her h.Gen] (D262) • *ùнò* “front” – *ýн-ци* “devant toi” – *ùn-tì* “devant d’elle” (D48).

But the genitive case sometimes goes altogether unmarked for a noun that has a possessive suffix, possibly to avoid a too complicated morphological change: *ká àsìn-jí* “de son pied” (D301, same form in nominative function D18) • *ák mígì-y* “à son parent par alliance” (D186, same form in nom. function D131) • *márgìnà kú tàc-сò* “génies de son père” (D410, same form in nom. function D154).

(§43) **Context form of possessive suffixes.** While the sonorant allomorphs of the suffixes have no special context forms, the full forms can lose their final vowel: *dáátì* “femme” – *dáá-ци* “son épouse” (D176) – *dáá-c tá àn* (...) “sa femme dont on dit (...)” (D10) • *ètè* “nez” – *ètìn-jí* “nez à toi” (D254) – *ètìn-j pètrè* “ton nez est épaté” (D59) • *kàá-tì* “sa tête” (D359) – *kàá-t mó* “tête d’elle où?” (D262) • *róм-kè* “ta fille” – *róм-ик mó* “ta fille est où?” (P15) • *ýн-jí* “ton front” (D48) – *ýн-j zùngìlám* “ton front est très grand” (D395). The pluralic possessive suffixes generally seem to avoid the context forms. Besides a functional aspect (avoidance of homophony), this probably also has an etymological background since at least some of the plural suffixes originally ended in a nasal.²⁰ On the other hand, the 2nd sg. m. suffix *-ji* admits a context form even though it derives from **-jiη* (§36).

(§44) **Independent possessive pronouns.** They are composed of a base *kân-* (m.), *tân-* (f.), *kûn-* (pl.) referring to the possessed and the full forms of the possessive suffixes (with L tone) referring to the possessor. The 1st sg. possessor is *-tò* rather than *-dù*. The full series of the m. is given by Fédry in E13: *kân-tò*, *kân-jì*, *kân-kè*, *kân-jì*, *kân-tì*, *ká-nì*, *kân-tè*, *kân-kò*, *kân-сò*. Usage:

(1) as an independent noun phrase: *tân-jì* “la tienne” (D202) • *kûн-kò* “la votre (eau)” (D86) • *ηá kân-tò* “il m’appartient” [he is mine] (D262)

(2) as an occasional substitute for the possessive suffix: *dààtikàw tân-tì* “qualité de femme d’elle” (D177; more examples in S16)

²⁰ Cf. 1st pl. ex. *-niη*, 1st pl. in. *-tēη*, 2nd pl. *-kōη* in Bidiya (Alio 1986: 206) and see §8.

(3) added to the possessive suffix for emphasis: *bá dóòy-ik tãṅ-kè* “ton anus à toi (f.) (injure)” (D194).

(§45) **Direct object clitics: me-pronouns.** The pronominal direct object is expressed by clitics after the verb. According to their tonal behaviour, they fall into two classes which I call “me-pronouns” and “him-pronouns”. The “me-pronouns” include all pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons: 1st sg. *-nò*, 2nd sg. m. *-cì*²¹, 2nd sg. f. *-kè*, 1st pl. ex. *-nì*, 1st pl. in. *-tè*, 2nd pl. *-kò* (forms from E11). All of them have L tone, and in addition they have a lowering effect on the preceding syllable, even though this effect is not demonstrable for each and every of the me-pronouns.

The tense marker *-aw* of a verb in the progressive tense (§65) turns into *-iy-* ~ *-ii-*²² when the clitics attach. The change *-a-* > *-i-* is explainable as medial vowel reduction (§5), while the change *-w* > *-y-* remains unexplained. For verbs in which the tense marker should be H, its tone changes to L: *rádě* “faire souffrir” – progr. *rádā(w)* (D343, only the context form without *-w* is attested) – *ádi-r rádāy-nò* “mon ventre me fait mal” (D8) • *ájimè* “embêter” – progr. *ájimá(w)* – *kì ájimi-y-nò* “tu m’embêtes” (D12) • *tàlè* “voir” – progr. *tàlāw* – *ṅá tàlìi-nò* “il me voit” (E11) – *ṅá tàlìi-cì* “il te voit” (D157) – *ṅá tàlìi-kò* “il vous voit” (D294) • *ròkè* “vouloir” – progr. *ròkāw* – *tá ròkìi-cì* “elle t’aime” (D350) • *gàlè* “tromper” – *ṅá gālìi-nò* “il me trompe” (D317) – *ṅá gālìi-cì* “il trompe toi” (D227) • *sùpè* “l’emporter par la violence” – *kì sùpìi-nì mààgá* “tu nous contredis pourquoi?” (D382) • *kārmè* “pointer le doigt” – *ṅá kārmi-nò* “il me pointe du doigt” (D274) • *ɔ’ɔ’rè* “guetter” – *gè ṅúù ɔ’ɔ’rìy-tè* “gens qui nous guettent” (D38).

In the progressive of monoradical verbs, *-iy-* is absorbed by the root vowel altogether: *tèè* “manger” – progr. *tèèwāw* – *ádi-r tèè-nò* “mon ventre me dévore (me fait mal)” (D159) – *ṅá tèè-kè* “il te (f.) mange” (P74) • *ḡèè* “haïr” – progr. *ḡèèwāw* – *ṅá ḡèè-nɔ* “il me hait” (D249).

Attestations with habituals or imperatives are rare, but the clitics seem to be the same. The character vowels *-a* (habitual) and *-u* (imperative) are erased by medial vowel reduction: *gáàyè* “aider” – habitual *gááy(á)* – *ṅá gááy-nò* “il m’aide” (D313) (again with tone lowering) • *òyè* “convenir” – habitual **òyà* (not attested) – *tá òy-nò* “ça me convient” (D42) • *èrè* “attendre” – imperative

²¹ Fédry gives this form as *-cì* in D227 but as *-jì* in E11. All of his textual examples, some of which I cite below, confirm *-cì*.

²² Both */iy/* and */ii/* coincide phonetically as *[i:]* (P9), which is why Fédry’s transcriptions vary. I leave them as in the original.

èrù (D243) – èr-nò “attends-moi” (D30) • pikè “relâcher” – piki-nò “lâche-moi” (D63).

There are two peculiarities with the perfect tense. First, the perfect termination -è changes to -in- before the clitics. Second, the 1st sg. clitic is -tù rather than -nò. A potential tone-lowering effect of the clitics cannot be detected since the last syllable of the perfect is already L for all verbs: *délè* “frapper” – *ɲá délin-tù* “il m’a donné des coups” (D187) • *èrè* “attendre” – *nì èrin-kò* “nous vous avons attendu” (D30) • *idé* “ne pas rendre de l’argent emprunté” – *ɲá idin-tù* “il ne m’a pas remboursé” (D33) • *jilè* “sauver” – *ɲúúr kàt jilin-tè* “ce sont eux qui nous ont sauvés” (D243) • *fòkè* “attendre” – *nà fòkin-ci* “je t’ai attendu” (D251) • *rásè* “laisser” – *kì rásin-nì* “tu nous as abandonnés” (D345) – *ɲá rásin-tè* “il nous a laissés” (D327) • *wààcè* “percer” – *jám wààcin-tù* “une épine m’a transpercé” (D141) • *wéè* “accoucher” – *tá wéèn-tù* “elle m’a mis au monde” (D147).

There seems to be a tendency to avoid context forms of the me-pronouns, but they are possible: *áádé* “suivre” – *ɲá áááɲ-n in kááwò* “il suit moi avec la parole (il me cherche querelle)” (D9) • *àssirè* “presser” – *ɲú àssirin-t in bɔmbumà* “ils ont obligé moi par force” (D22) • *indé* “demander” – *gá kà indii-n isi gá* “qu’est-ce que tu m’interroges ainsi?” (D309).

(§46) **Direct object clitics: him-pronouns.** This label covers the 3rd person pronouns which are -gà (m.), -cà (f.), -gù (pl.). When combined with the progressive tense, the tense marker -aw again becomes -iy- ~ -ii-, but this time its tone changes to H: *tàlè* “voir” – progr. *tàlàw* (D294) – *ɲá tàlìi-gà* “il le voit” (E11) – *nò tàlìi-cà* “je vois elle” (D220) – *nò tàlìi-gù* “je les vois” (D333) • *ròkè* “vouloir” – progr. *ròkàw* – *márgìn kú tàt-cò ròkii-gà* “les génies de son père le désirent” (D350) • *icè* “prendre” – progr. *icà(w)* (D390) – *nà iciy-cà* “je la conserve” (D34) • *dèè* “tuer” – progr. *dèèwàw* – *tá dèè-gà* “elle le tue” (D197).

Before the him-pronouns, the final -è of the perfect does not turn into -in- as before the me-pronouns but is dropped as in the context form. The clitics are the same as with the progressive, but there is no tone raising effect immediately to their left: *dèè* “tuer” – perf. *dèè* (D196) – *nà dèè-gà* “je l’ai tué” (P108) • *tèè* “manger” – perf. *tèè* – *nà tèè-gà* “je l’ai mangé” (P108) • *icè* “prendre” – perf. *icè* – *nà ici-gà* “je l’ai pris” (D190) – *bùɲ íc-cà* “le Ciel l’a prise” (D410) • *jilè* “sauver” – *nà jíl-gà* “je l’ai sauvé” (D243) • *âtkè* “repousser” – *ɲá âtki-cà* “(sa femme...) il l’a renvoyée” (D10) • *óbé* “prendre” – *mîrfô ób-gà* “la plaie buccale l’a pris” (D132) – *ámáy ób-gù* “l’eau l’a saisie” [object is “bière de mil”, pl.] (D41).

Another tonal effect can be observed instead. Some verbs of the L-class acquire a HLL-contour in the perfect (§62). Before object clitics (at least of the him-series), the perfect takes HLL in an additional set of verbs that otherwise have a L-perfect: *tàlè* “voir” – perf. *tàlè – nà tál-gà* “je l’ai vu” (P113) • *mùnnè* “remplir” – perf. *mùnnè – nà mùn-cà* “je l’ai remplie” (D130) • *cùkè* “monter” – perf. *cùkè* (D363) – *márgìnà cùk-cà* “les génies ‘l’ont montée” (D233) • *mùg(i)sè* “habituer” – perf. *mùgìs* (only attested as context form) – *yáá-cò kàt mùgs-gà* “c’est sa mère qui l’a habitué” (D139) • *tùrè* “convenir” – perf. *tùr* (context form) – *tá tûr-gà* “elle lui convient” (D172).

Nonetheless, there are other L-verbs that retain their tone in the perfect even before object clitics: *àrmìyè* “renvoyer” – *há àrmì-cà* “il la renvoya” (D18) • *bòòtè* “faire suffoquer” – *hú bòòt-gù* “ils les ont fait mourir par suffocation” (D93) • *nààmè* “envoyer” – *há nààmì-g bì-y* “il a envoyé son museau” (D256) • *pààtè* “frapper” – *nà pààt-gà* “je l’ai gifflé” (D51) • *tìisè* “enterrer” – *hú tìis-cà* “on enterra elle” (D115).

The 3rd fem. sg. clitic has an occasional variant *-tì* after perfect verbs, either with or without intervening *-in-*, possibly by interference from the corresponding indirect object clitic (§47): *hááfè* “copuler” – *há hááf-tì* “il coucha avec elle” (D104) • *ènè* “contracter le ventre” – *tá èènìn-tì* “elle l’a fait accoucher” (D25) • *sóljè* “se défaire de” – *nà sóljìn-tì* “je l’ai démise” (D378).

Evidence for the habitual and imperative is conflicting. The characteristic vowels of these tenses, both the internal *-a-* and the final *-a/-u*, have to drop before the object clitic which creates a risk of confusion with the perfect. It seems that, in some cases, the object clitic receives high tone, possibly to resolve the ambiguity: *àlè* “aimer” – *kèlmò-y àl-cà* “son cœur à lui l’aime (femme)” (D282, presumably habitual) • *zùb(i)kè* “retourner un récipient bouche contre terre”, imperative *zùbàk* (D393) – *zùpkì-gà ~ zùbìk-gà* “retourne-le” (D393) • *óbé* “prendre” – *ób-gà* “attrape-le” (D41), context form *óbì-g* (D8) • *sèè* “boire” – *sáá-gù* “bois-le (liquide: collectif)” (D367). But there are also examples in which the object clitic keeps its usual low tone: *málè* “porter soutien” – *bùŋ mál-gù* “le Ciel les soutient” (D122, presumably habitual) • *wápnè* “abandonner” – *nà wápn-gà* “je te le laisse” (D143, presumably habitual) • *índé* “demander” – *índì-gà* “demande-lui” (D34) • *rásè* “laisser” – *rás-cà* “laisse-la” (D345) • *pákè* “verser” – *páákì-gù* “jette-la (l’eau)” (D54). When the clitic appears in the context form, which happens frequently, its tone cannot be judged: *gò’òtè* “couvrir” – *gò’òtì-g bì* “couvre l’embouchure” (D326) • *ìmilè* “faire sortir” – *kò ìmilì-g bégèr* “vous sortez elle à la place” (D85, presumably habitual).

The imperative (but not the habitual) stem of several L-verbs attests a H tone before object clitics which is otherwise unusual for this verbal class: *còkùmè* “fermer mal” – *còkùm-gà* “ferme-le à moitié” (D229) • *dò’òsè* “frapper” – *dò’òsì-g kàñ in ètò* “frappe le chien avec le bois” (D211) • *icè* “prendre” – *icí-g kùwà* “prends-le en haut” (D303) – *icí-c bà-zúgàr* “prends le bas-de-case” (D394) • *òskè* “ranger” – *òskí-g ák wèèr-ci* “range le à sa place” (D46) • *siddiyè* “charger” – *siddi-gà* “charge-le” (D373) • *sò’òyè* “balayer” – *sò’òyí-g wèèr* “balaie lieu” (D167).

Him-pronouns easily admit context forms. They are frequently found when the direct object is expressed by a clitic and a noun phrase at the same time, which is a very common construction. Note that the context forms of *-gà* and *-gù* coincide as *-g*: *sàlè* “flatter” – *há sàlì-cà* “il lui dit de bonnes paroles” (D366) – *há sàlì-c gírzibó* “il flatte Dame Varan” (L453) • *àtkè* “repousser” – *kòdbàý àtkì-g (<*-gù) cààlùwàý* “les gens de Korbo chassèrent ceux de Tyalo” (D9) • *icè* “prendre” – *ny icíi-g (<*-gà) kùwà* “ils soulèvent lui en haut” (D61) • *déè* “tuer” – *kì déè-g dō* “tu (m.) as tué-lui pas” [you did not kill kim] (M36) • *kírcè* “écraser” – *há kírì-c ódò-n* “il t’a poché l’œil” (D285, *ódò* is fem.) • *pikè* “relâcher” – *nà pikíi-c mēèrnò* “je laisse aller la corde” (D63). As some of the examples show, a vowel may be required before the clitic as it takes the context form. This is then the general epenthetic vowel *-i-* rather than the original tense markers (*-e* perfect, *-u* imperative), which are never restored in this context.

(§47) **Indirect object clitics.** There is furthermore a series of indirect object or dative clitics that attach to verbs. They are equivalent to a nominal complement marked by the preposition *ák* (§25): *há dàkdikà ák kò’ògìn-ci* “il gronde à ses enfants” – *há dàkdikíi-cò* “il gronde à eux” (D179). The indirect object clitics are segmentally identical with the full forms of the possessive suffixes, as was remarked by Fédry (E12), but unlike them they have consistent L tone: 1st sg. *-dù*, 2nd sg. m. *-jì*, 2nd sg. f. *-kè*, 3rd sg. m. *-jì*, 3rd sg. f. *-tì*, 1st pl. ex. *-nì*, 1st pl. in. *-tè*, 2nd pl. *-kò*, 3rd pl. *-cò* (forms from E11). The tonal distinction between “his-pronouns” and “her-pronouns” (§36) also reappears in the dative function. When dative clitics attach to a progressive form, the tense marker is *-íi-* before his-pronouns but *-ìi-* before her-pronouns:²³ *béré* “donner” – *nà béríi-jì* “je donne à lui” – *nà bèrìi-tì* “je donne à elle” (M36) • *tàlè* “voir” – *há tàlìi-jì* “il voit pour lui” – *há tàlìi-tì* “il voit pour elle” (E11) • *dérsé* “faire la révérence” – *há dérsíi-dù* “il me fait la révérence” (D186) • *díibé* “être beaucoup” – *kòò díibíi-jì* “le mil s’entasse pour toi” (D188) • *gàwnè* “travailler la terre” – *dééttòk*

²³ No context example is available for *-nì*, but Fédry (E11) says: “Le nous exclusif et le tiers féminin, en fonction ‘datif’, sont mis à part de toutes les autres formes (...) par un ton précessif bas”.

gàwníí-cò “Sieur margouillat cultive pour eux” (D184) • *òòyè* “saluer” – *òyíí-jì* “salut à toi” (D43, ellipsis of subject) • *sààmìyè* “pardonner” – *nà sààmìyíí-jì* “je te pardonne” (D277) • *yillè* “pousser des you-you” – *nyú yillíí-jì* “elles poussent des cris pour lui” (D260).

With verbs in the perfect tense, the clitics usually attach to the context form: *béré* “donner” – *bùŋ bér-jì* “le Ciel lui a donné” (D410) • *bèŋ(i)rè* “aller au delà” – *tá bèŋir-dù* “cela me dépasse” (D84)²⁴ • *déè* “plaire” – *nyá déè-kè* “il t’a plu (à toi femme)” (D197) • *díyè* “dire” – *nà díy-kò* “je vous ai dit” (D208, P106) • *lààlè* “mettre sur” – *nà lààl-jì dōŋkɔ̀t* “je lui ai mis l’entrave” (D192) • *pífè* “uriner” – *bùŋ píf-tè* “le ciel a uriné sur nous (il a plu)” (D409). I found two examples in which the 1st sg. clitic is attached to the perfect verb by means of the element *-in-* which is otherwise characteristic of direct object pronominals (while the clitic remains the one of the indirect object): *béré* “donner” – *nyá bérin-dù* “il m’a donné” (D117, one tone mark missing) • *nécè* “être suffisant” – *gàrtà nēcìn-dù*²⁵ “la lance convient à moi” (D217).

The following are probable attestations of the habitual. They resemble the perfect but may differ in tone: *díyè* “dire” – *nà díy-kò* “je vous dis” (D208, P106) • *gáàyè* “augmenter” – *nyá gáày-dù* “il ajoute pour moi” (D313) • *óòyè* “oindre” – *tá óóy-jì sèwè* “elle oint lui huile (elle le oint d’huile)” (D42). The final *-u* of the imperative is neutralized to *-i-* by medial vowel reduction: *ààsè* “verser” – *áásí-jì* “ajoute à lui (vg. mélanger deux liquides)” (D21).

There is a peculiarity in the imperative. The clitic *-dù* of the 1st sg. is replaced here by a sonorant allomorph *-r* while the final *-u* of the imperative is preserved as *-o-*: *béré* “donner” – *bérò-r* (D200) ~ *béró-r* “donne-moi” (D219) • *ìyè* “apporter” – *ìyò-r* (D200) ~ *ìyó-r* (D35) “apporte-moi” • *dàkè* “laisser la place” – *dàkò-r* “laisse-moi la place” (D202) • *díyè* “dire” – *díyò-r* “dis (le) moi” (D202) • *sààmìyè* “pardonner” – *sààmìyò-r* “pardonne-moi” (D359) • *wéèrè* “verser” – *wééró-r* “verse-moi” (D206).

(§48) **Distinction between direct and indirect object clitics.** Both series are segmentally distinct in most persons. But even where they coincide segmentally (2nd sg. fem., 1st and 2nd pl.), the distinction is usually maintained: in the perfect by the linker *-in-* that is inserted before the direct object clitics, and in the progressive by tone as in *nyá tàlìì-kò* “il vous voit” – *nyá tàlìí-kò* “il voit pour vous” (D294).

²⁴ I consider this a perfect because it is paralleled by the morphologically unambiguous phrase *nyá bèŋrè ák gèèmir* “il surpasse tout le monde” (D84).

²⁵ I expect **-dù*.

(§49) **Indirect and direct object clitics together.** Both kinds of clitics can co-occur and then appear in this order: *íí-dú-g díbíró* “apporte-moi elle la porte” (D35) • *nà télík-jì-cà* “je la lui ai empruntée” (D160) • *gèè òòrí-jì-cà* [people hold it against him] (D44) • *bùñ kàt díy-jì-gà ísí* “c’est le Ciel qui l’a posé à lui ainsi” (D410).

(§50) **Relative pronouns.** They are *ḡáà* (m.), *táà* (f.), *ḡúù* (pl.) (D122) and agree with the head noun. Usage:

(1) before indeclinables in attributive use (§84)

(2) before nouns in an apposition-like function: *kò’ò’gìn ḡúù míday* “enfants qui hommes / les enfants mâles” (Dviii).

(3) to introduce a genuine relative clause: *kò’ò’gìn ḡúù káñjáv* “les enfants qui jouent” (Dviii). When the head noun is the logical object of the relative clause, one option is to use an intransitive construction with the verb in a passive meaning: *máacé táà tàl dō òyà* “pluie qui on ne voit pas bien” [rain which “does not see well”, i.e. is not seen well] (D113).

(4) *ḡáà* also has an extended use as a more general subordinator: *bì ḡáà ḡá báàf-tì* “rapport qu’il a couché (avec) elle” (D87) • *ḡáà kù báàwè* “quand tu vas aller” (D340).

(§51) **Basic demonstratives.** The basic demonstratives are *kà* (m.), *tà* (f.), *kù* (pl.) (E14),²⁶ which exert a rising effect on the tone of the preceding syllable: *kàñà* “chien” – *kàáñ kà* “le chien là” (D322) • *gáá-dù* “ma compagne” – *gáá-dù tà* “ma compagne-là” (E14) • *áándó* “nuit” – *áándó tà* “cette nuit” (L453) • *èrìyó* “midi, jour” – *èrìy tá* “aujourd’hui” (D30) • *élgò* “année” – *élig tá* “cette année-ci” (D31) • *mìtikáv tãñjì t* (...) “virilité celle de lui” (D129, context form). They should perhaps better be considered as suffixes because they may cause medial vowel weakening: *sín-dú* “mon frère” – *sín-dí-kà* “mon frère que voici” (M36).

These demonstratives might have an attenuated use coming close to a previous reference marker. The best piece of evidence is found in the text in P150, where a man is introduced by its name *àdú* but appears as *àdó-k* in the second occurrence. Fédry’s materials, almost totally consisting of short phrases without context, are little appropriate for documenting this kind of function so that I cannot estimate how frequent it is. But there are a good number of cases in which Fédry provides a translation by local adverbs for what appears to be formally the same morphemes: *bíí-kó kà* “votre bouche là” (D267) • *càwikùw-có tà* “santé d’eux là” (D221) • *nà bááwá kà* “je vais là” (D104) • *ḡú wál ásé kà* “ils ne sont pas venus là” (D181, *ásé* “venir”) • *táà gáálló tà* “celle qui (est) mal là” (S19) • *táà gáállò gè ròkíí-c dǒ tà* “celle qui (est) mal nous voulons elle

²⁶ Like the genitive linkers (§25) but with a different tone.

pas là” (S19) • *tàà bibènjèw-ít* “celle qui discorde là” (D88, context form) • *nà ròsìi-c-ík gà* “je perce elle là?” (P130). There seems to be a tendency for the demonstratives to agree with the subject of the clause even in this extended use: *kìŋ báà kɔɔ-k* “tu es allé déjà là” (D286) • *táár báà kɔɔ-t* “elle est allée déjà là voici” (D287) • *kò dāplá kù* “vous travaillez dur” (D201, *dāpilè* “poursuivre avec exagération”).

Finally, there is a use of what appear to be the basic demonstratives as linker elements in attributive constructions. This is a topic that requires further research: *cìnti-k mènɔ* “sésame qui humide” (D227, *cìnti* “sésame”) • *gèè-k dàmbàr* “gens de montagne” (D175).

(§52) **Complex demonstratives.** The following expansions of the basic demonstratives are known: A near-demonstrative *āŋkà* (m.), *āntà* (f.), *āŋkù* (pl.) (P110): *pís āŋkà* “cet étalon-ci” (E14), *bòtòl ānt kààrà* “chemin celui fait un détour” (D273, context form); another near demonstrative “celui-ci proche” *āŋkààdē* (m.), *āntààdē* (f.), pl. unattested (D10, D206); a demonstrative marking “une chose proche, mais non à portée de la main”: *ikà* (m.), *ità* (f.), *ikù* (pl.) (D32); a variant of this *ikààdē* (m.), *itààdē* (f.), pl. unattested (D32); and three series of remote demonstratives “celui-là”: *kàrè* (m.), *tàrè* (f.), *kùrè* (pl.) (D273); *āŋkìrè* (m.), *āntìrè* (f.), pl. unattested (D10, D402bis); *ikiire* (m., tone marks incomplete), *itìirè* (f.), pl. unattested (D32).

(§53) **Verbs: Valency.** There appears to be little base for distinguishing between transitive and intransitive verbs in West Dangla (“presque tous les verbaux permettent une expansion objectale”, Dx). Most verbs can be used either with a single agent (A) or with two agents (S, O) in a way that A and the object O have the same referent. This means that verbs perceived as transitive in English easily allow a passive reading: *tée* “manger (perf.)” – *bòrìl tée* “la fer de houe est mangé (usé)” (Dxii), and that verbs perceived as intransitive in English easily allow a causative reading: *gádē* “courir, couler” – *mùt gádā bààr* “le plaie laisse couler le sang” (D311). A lot of entries in Fédry’s dictionary have dual translations such as *bíldé* “apprendre, enseigner” (D106), *értè* “s’enfuir, mettre en fuite” (D27).

(§54) **Verb derivation.** While there is no productive synchronic mechanism of verb derivation, some traces of former derivative morphology can be identified:

(1) There seems to have been a systematic apophonic relationship between *a*-vocalized intransitive verbs and *i*-vocalized transitive verbs (with L tone) of which only a few fossiles have remained to this day: *ámilè* “sortir” (D3) – *imilè* “faire sortir” (D33) • *málè* “porter soutien” (D122, with dative and

thus intransitive) – *mìlè* “supporter” (D132) • *pàkè* “s’échapper” (D54) – *pikè* “relâcher, détacher” (D63) • *tàrè* “retarder” (D156) – *tirè* “boucher, obstruer” (D163). Similar couples can be found in related languages such as Bidiya (Alio 1986: 342).

(2) There are also traces of an *r*-derivative whose precise function is no longer recognizable: *bifè* “allumer le feu” – *bifirè* “souffler sur le feu” (D89) • *góògò* “partie supérieure du dos” – *gɔ̀g(i)rè* “porter sur le dos” (D327) • *mifè* “presser pour faire sortir le liquide” – *mifirè* “sucrer” (D131) • *zèwè* “brûler, piquer” – *zèwrè* “brûler superficiellement” (D390).

(3) A number of verbs, usually with L tone, are evident reduplications with vowel reduction applying to the second component, e.g. *dàkdikè* “gronder” (D179) • *kèrkirè* “caqueter (poule)” (D279) • *lòglèkè* “se lamenter” (D358) • *pàtpidè* “manger tout ce qui reste” (D53) • *tɔ̀rtirè* “renvoyer” (D166) • *wirwirè* “se fâcher” (D148).

(4) Finally, there are pairs of related nouns and verbs where I cannot decide on the direction of derivation: *bòòsà* “poisson” – *bòòsè* “devenir, rendre humide” (D97) • *bóóyè* “fleur” – *bóòyè* “fleurir” (D94) • *riyè* “chant” – *riyè* “chanter” (D347) • *élgò* “année” (D31) – *álgé* “passer l’année” (D20).

(§55) **Verbal stem classes.** The morphology of a verb is determined both by its stem class and its tone class. Four stem classes need to be distinguished. In this section, all verbs will be cited in the infinitive, i.e. along with the infinitive suffix *-e/-ɛ*.

(1) Monoradicals. They contain a single consonant and have the structure *Cεε* or (once) *Cee*. One can assume that the long vowel results from the contraction of some stem vowel with the infinitive suffix. The following list is exhaustive: *dèè* “tuer, achever, plaire” (D196), *dêè* “puer” (D204), *fèè* “haïr” (D249), “mettre plusieurs choses” (D354), *mèè* “exagérer” (D123), *nèè* “être à point, mûr” (D216), *nèè* “porter du fruit, être enceinte” (D216), *lèè sèè* “boire” (D367), *tèè* “manger” (D159), *wèè* “accoucher” (D147). Most of them are high-frequency verbs belonging to the common Chadic lexical stock.

(2) Biradicals. They have the structure *CVCe* or *CVCε*. Any vowel can occur in the stem. The first consonant may be zero. This is an important stem class which contains numerous high-frequency verbs. Examples: *màtè* “mourir” (D110), *nécè* “arriver à terme” (D217), *dèlè* “frapper” (D187), *dīyè* “dire” (D208), *òkè* “apparaître” (D106), *óbé* “prendre” (D41), *cùkè* “monter” (D233).

(3) Long biradicals, the same with a long stem vowel. Examples: *jààwè* “marcher” (D236), *dèèssè* “aller et revenir” (D186), *yèèpè* “retourner” (D259), *mùnnè* “remplir” (D130), *gɔ̀ɔ̀fè* “garder” (D327), *òòyè* “saluer” (D43), *cùúddè* “donner un baiser” (D233). It will be suggested in §68 that (at least some of) these verbs were originally triradicals with *y as the second radical.

(4) Pluriradicals, verbs with three or (less frequently) more consonants. They have only a single lexical vowel, short or long, between the first two radicals. The remainder of the stem contains epenthetic vowels whose quality is predictable, usually *-i-* but *-u-* primarily in labial environments. This is a consequence of medial vowel reduction (§5). The presence of the epenthetic vowels depends on the acceptability of consonant clusters and may sometimes oscillate. Examples: *kánpjé* “jouer” (D268, no internal vowel required), *bèŋ(i)rè* “aller au delà” (D84, internal vowel optional), *èwzè* “retourner” (D28), *ib(i)nè* “savoir” (D32), *ɔ̀kùmè ~ ðkmè* “envoyer à sa bouche” (D38), *fógùlè* “regarder de haut” (D251), *rùgùmè* “cuire à l’eau” (D351), *kààwiyè* “cesser” (D266), *èèbiyè* “avoir honte” (D24), *siikimè* “respirer” (D374), *òòriyè* “poursuivre” (D44), *bùùriyè* “être frustré” (D100), *pàrtikè* “séparer” (D57), *sèlbìtè* “se chevaucher” (D371), *dùksiye* “vagabonder” (D196), *bàzìngirè* “éclore” (D83).

(§56) **Verbal tone classes.** Verbs are furthermore divided into tone classes. Based on the contours of their infinitives, four tone classes can be distinguished that I symbolize as L, HLL, H and LH. There are no HHL infinitives. The tone classes cross-cut with the stem classes as shown in the following table:

	monoradicals	biradicals	long biradicals	pluriradicals
L	<i>tèè</i> “manger” (D159)	<i>cùkè</i> “monter” (D233)	<i>jààwè</i> “marcher” (D236)	<i>bùgùmè</i> “rester en silence” (D100)
HLL	<i>sèè</i> “boire” (D367)	<i>àsè</i> “venir” (D21)	<i>dèètè</i> “quitter” (D204)	<i>àmìlè ~ àmlè</i> “sortir” (D3)
H	–	<i>óbé</i> “prendre” (D41)	<i>máádé</i> “grandir” (D111)	<i>kánpjé</i> “jouer” (D268)
LH	–	–	–	<i>àkìdè</i> “cueillir” (D14)

L and HLL are the most frequent classes. All Arabic loans are assigned to the L class (P144). They usually adopt the characteristic pattern *CvCCiCè*: *àggirè* “être arrogant” (E23), *bàddilè* “échanger” (D74), *kìlgìyè* “fonder” (D286), *tìmmiyè* “achever, terminer” (D161).

There are several couples of verbs distinguished by tone that seem to be semantically related: *àdìkè* “ruer” – *ádìkè* “repousser” (D9) • *ècimè* “toucher” – *écimè* “toucher du bout du doigt” (D25) • *èlɲè* “être dégoûté” – *ɛlɲè* “repousser de la main” (D27) • *jàllè* “transporter” – *jáàlè* “soulever” (D240) • *fìimè* “casser en deux” – *dĩmè* “casser un récipient” (D208) • *kòlè* “appeler” – *kóòlè* “crier” (D302) • *nèè* “porter du fruit, être enceinte” – *née* “être à point, mûr” (D216).

(§57) **Verbal tone and root consonants.** There is a relationship between the tone class of a verb and its final root consonant. The final consonant of all H- and LH-verbs is either a voiced or a glottalized obstruent. By contrast, the final consonant of L- and HLL-verbs is usually not of that kind but rather a sonorant or a voiceless obstruent.²⁷ Based on this correlation, Fédry (E8 and A103) convincingly concluded that H-tone in verbs is not original but was conditioned by the final consonant. This implies that all today's H- and LH-verbs used to be either HLL- or L-verbs, and that there may have been only these two tone classes at an earlier stage of the language.

LH-verbs are few in number. Their final consonant is either *d'* or *f* in all instances. The following list is nearly exhaustive: *àkìdĕ* "cueillir" (D14), *àsìdĕ* "couper seul un arbre" (D21), *kòkìdĕ* "donner un coup sec" (D298), *kòrkìfĕ* "se rincer la bouche" (D301), *òkìdĕ* "se casser" (D43), *òkìfĕ* "salir" (D43), *nèpìdĕ* "piétiner" (D255), *pàtpìdĕ* "manger tout ce qui reste" (D53), *tàrpìdĕ* "se disputer une proie" (D156). It can be shown that the H and LH classes complement each other and thus form essentially a single class. This is implied by Fédry (E8) who says that all H-verbs are bisyllabic while all LH-verbs are trisyllabic.²⁸ I wish to modify his rule to say that not the number of syllables but the nature of the internal radical is essential for deciding between H or LH tone. If this consonant is a voiceless obstruent, the tone class will be LH. If it is a voiced obstruent (*ózbĕ* "attiser le feu", D46), a sonorant (*sérfĕ* "puiser", D368) or missing (*cúúdĕ* "donner un baiser", D233), the verb will be H, even if it happens to be trisyllabic (*áribĕ* ~ *árbĕ* "couper l'herbe", D18; *gírífĕ* "avalier de travers", D325).

(§58) **Infinitive.** The infinitive is chosen for lemmatization in Fédry's dictionary and is therefore amply attested. But is also frequent in natural discourse. Main functions:

(1) after modal verbs: *ɲá ròkà wáàrĕ* "il veut danser" (Dix) • *nà dúrìc sídĕ* "j'ai commencé à moissonner" (D199)

(2) after verbs of movement: *nà báá wáàrĕ* "je vais danser" (D150) • *ɲú dĕĕt sĕĕ cóòdò* "ils sont partis boire la boisson du matin" (D230)

(3) as a cognate object: *tá nĕwsi-c nĕwsĕ* "elle la tourna en tout sens" [lit. she turned her a turning] (D217) • *nà bôrsi-g bôrsĕ* "je n'ai fait que l'égratigner" (D92)

(4) as a proper action noun, often with a possessor that expresses either the subject / agent or the object (examples in §59).

²⁷ A few exceptions can be found such as *èwzĕ* "retourner" (D28), *gɔ'ɔ'fĕ* "garder" (D327).

²⁸ "(...) c'est donc bien la glottalisée qui entraîne le ton haut, mais seulement du dernier élément, car l'ouest n'a pas de trisyllabe '". On peut par contre considérer que, pour les dissyllabes, la consonne sonore ou glottalisée finale de radical a entraîné le ton haut sur les deux syllabes."

The mark of the infinitive is a suffix *-e* or *-ε* according to vowel harmony (§3). As becomes clear from both internal (§27) and external evidence, a nasal originally followed the vowel. This is why the infinitive suffix is never dropped in the context form. The infinitive has an inherent masculine gender as shown by its combination with the masculine independent possessive pronoun (§59, see also S15).

(§59) **Infinitive with possessor.** Nominal objects may be expressed either as a direct object (nominative case) or as a possessor (genitive case) after the infinitive: *dě̀ẽ máálá* (nom.) ~ *dě̀ẽ mààlál* (gen.) “épuiser du cheval” (D121). An infinitive built into a periphrastic verb form can only take the first construction, which is the more verb-like one (examples in §83).

By contrast, pronominal objects on the infinitive are exclusively expressed by possessive suffixes, never by direct object clitics. The infinitive regains its original nasal termination, and the suffixes appear in their regular full form (§36): *tě̀ẽ* “manger” – *kì ròkà tẻ̀ẻn-dú* “tu veux me manger” – *bórgingí ảs tẻ̀ẻn-nì* “les Ouaddaiens sont venus nous dévaster” (D159) • *tàlẻ* “voir” – *gẻ̀ẻ ảs tẻ̀ẻlín-nì* “des gens sont venus nous voir” (D157).

This combination is particularly frequent in periphrastic constructions that will be described in more detail in §83. Only two examples will be given here to show that a H-infinitive with possessive suffix takes a HLH contour rather than the expected *HHL, or in other words, that H infinitives are, in this context, assimilated to the more frequent HLL-type with respect to tone: *ỏbẻ* “prendre” – *tủpá yỏỏỏ ỏbẻn-jỉ* “la malédiction va te saisir” (D170) • *jỉgẻ* “marcher pas à pas” – *bủn yỏỏỏ-tẻ jỉgẻn-tẻ* “le Ciel va nous faire cheminer” (D411).

More rarely, the possessive suffix expresses the subject of an intransitive or even of a transitive verb: *ỏsẻ* “venir” – *ỏsẻn-dủ* “mon retour” (D21) • *wẻẻ* “accoucher” – *wẻẻn-tỉ kỏỏỏ kỏỏ* “accouchement à elle fini déjà” [her birth-giving is already over] (D147). On the other hand, I have seen a construction with an independent possessive pronoun (§44) in this case, which possibly expresses the agent more unambiguously: *zẻkẻdẻẻ ỉndẻ kỏỏn-jỉ* “assez demande de toi! (au diable tes questions!)” (D389).

(§60) **Perfect.** The perfect is one of the major tenses of the language. Fédry calls it “accompli” and usually translates it as one of the French perfective tenses (*passé composé* or *passé simple*). With verbs of state, a translation as a present is also found: *bỏỏỏẻ* “rendre humide, devenir humide” – *ảtỏỏ bỏỏỏẻ* “le bois est humide” (D97) [the wood has become wet = is wet]. The perfect of the verb *gỉnẻ* “faire” can express the meaning “to have”: *ảỏỏ gỉnẻ ỏỏỏỏỏỏ* “il a pris la gale” (D39) • *ảỏỏ wỏỏ gỉnẻ pỏỏỏ* “il n’a pas de cheval” (D324).

(§61) **Perfect: Segmental morphology.** The perfect has the same *-e/-ε* suffix as the infinitive. But unlike the infinitive, the perfect termination is dropped in the context form. The context form is very frequent because it is used each time when an object or an adverbial follows the verb. Some examples: perf. of *âmlè* “sortir” is *âmlè* (D294) but *tá âmil bándàr* “elle est sortie sans avoir été semée” (D3) • perf. of *ásè* “venir” is *ásè* (D261) but *há ás kásèènèr* “il est venu vraiment” (D10) • perf. of *bìrè* “passer le long de” is *bìrè* (D33) but *tá bìr kɔ́ pú* “c’est passé complètement” (D90) • perf. of *cùkè* “monter” is *cùkè* (D363) but *há cùk dük máàmàr* “il ‘est monté’ sur la bière (il est tombé par hasard sur de la bière)” (D233) • perf. of *dáldè* “gâter” is *dáldè* (D184) but *há dáld wée gúr* “il est gâté à engendrer des vers” (D184) • perf. of *děètè* “quitter” is *děètè* (D52) but *tá dĕèt bíttà* “elle est partie aux extrémités (des enclos: euphémisme pour ‘faire ses besoins’)” (D88) • perf. of *gínè* “faire” is *gínè* (D226) but *mórig gín kɔ́ áárí* “le champ a fait dégà tiges” (D17) • perf. of *ìcè* “prendre” is *ìcè* (D34) but *há ìc kááw cìris* “il a pris la parole au hasard” (D228) • perf. of *tòt(ì)rè* “séparer” is *tòtrè* (D167) but *gèè tòtìr bibènjèw* “le gens se sont dispersés en désordre” (D88) • perf. of *wàlè* “passer la nuit” is *wàlè* (D177) but *kì wàl màn* “comment as-tu passé la nuit?” (D146).

The perfect of monoradical verbs remains unchanged in the context form, cf. for *dée* “tuer”: *há dĕè zì-y* “il a tué son corps (il s’est suicidé)” (D196). This vowel must be considered as underlyingly long because it shows a consistent falling tone (*sée* “boire” – perf. *sĕè* in all positions, P123; cf. §4).

(§62) **Perfect: Tone.** While the perfect and the infinitive are segmentally identical in the free form, they may differ in tone. The rules in details:

Most L verbs have L tone also in the perfect, e.g. *ààyè* “rassasier” – *ààyè* (D13, D324) • *bòòsè* “devenir humide” – *bòòsè* (D97) • *dàpìjè* “se mettre en colère” – *dàpìjè* (D173) • *mùnnè* “remplir” – *mùnnè* (D130) • *mìjè* “renverser” – *mìjè* (D131) • *nàksiyè* “perdre” – *nàksiyè* (D215) • *ràwtè* “errer” – *ràwtè* (D343) • *tàlè* “voir” – *tàlè* (E21). But a number of verbs that are L in the infinitive appear like a HLL verb in the perfect. These are usually short, high-frequency verbs: *càpè* “se cotiser” – *cápè* (P25) • *èèmè* “manger quelque chose qui n’est pas compact” – *ĕèmè* (D24) • *ìcè* “prendre” – *ìcè* (D34) • *kòssè* “réchauffer” – *kòssè* (D389) • *mátè* “mourir” – *mátè* (D110) • *jàpè* “monter sur un animal” – *jápè* (D253) • *tèè* “manger” – *tĕè* (D365) • *úcè* “se lever” – *úcè* (D47). When a direct object clitic follows, this tone change extends to an even larger subset of L verbs (§46).

All HLL verbs keep their HLL contour so that the perfect is homophonous with the infinitive. Some cases have already been mentioned in §61. More examples: *délè* “frapper” – *délè* (D156) • *dórè* “entendre” – *dórè* (D194) • *éèlè*

“séjourner” – *éèlè* (D127) • *fógulè* “regarder de haut” – *fógulè* (D251) • *pilé* “ouvrir” – *pilé* (Dxi) • *séè* “boire” – *séè* (D367) • *sóònè* “rêver” – *sóònè* (P44) • *wéè* “accoucher” – *wéè* (D147).

All H verbs acquire a HLL contour in the perfect, e.g.: *áádè* “suivre” – *áádè* (D9) • *álgè* “passer l’année” – *álgè* (D20) • *bóóbè* “verser” – *bóóbè* (D93) • *gádè* “courir” – *gádè* (D311) • *idé* “ne pas rendre de l’argent emprunté” – *idé* (D33) • *óbè* “prendre” – **óbè* (only context form *ób* attested, D41) • *órfè* “écraser” – *órfè* (P31) • *tááfè* “conseiller” – *tááfè* (P56).

LH-verbs have a L-pattern in the perfect: *àkèdè* ~ *àkidè* “cueillir” – *àkèdè* (D14) • *àsìdè* “couper seul un arbre” – *àsìdè* (D21) • *kòkìdè* “donner un coup sec” – *kòkìdè* (P60) • *òkìdè* “se casser” – *òkìdè* (D43).

(§63) **Progressive and habitual.** Fédry’s dictionary provides for some verbs not only perfect forms (“accompli”) but also forms labelled as “inaccompli”. This might create the impression that there was an “imperfect” tense opposed to the perfect, which is wrong. His “inaccompli” in fact covers two entirely distinct tenses. Fédry himself was well aware of this fact since he contrasts two distinct “inaccompli”-forms with different functions in various places: *gàwnè* “travailler la terre” – *kì gawnàw* “tu cultives (maintenant)” – *kì gawn* “tu cultives (au sens fort: tu es un vrai cultivateur)” (Dxii) • *gèdèrè* “pouvoir” – *nà gèdrà dō* “je ne peux pas (hic et nunc) (processif)” – *nà gèdàr dō* “je ne suis pas capable (mode statif)” (D321) • *ibìnè* “apprendre, savoir” – *ibìnàw* “apprendre” – *ibán* “savoir” (D32) • *pílè* “ouvrir” – *nà píláw* “je suis en train d’ouvrir” – *nà pílá* “j’ouvre (habitude, capacité)” (Dxi) • *séè* “boire” – *há sèèwàw* “il boit (actuel)” – *há sáá* “il boit (habituel)” (E21) • *tèè* “manger” – *nò tèèwàw* “je suis en train de manger (présent effectif)” – *nò tà* “je mange habituellement (telle chose) (présent d’habitude ou de capacité)” (A109) – *há tèèwà dō* “il ne mange pas (à l’instant)” – *há tàà dō* “il ne mange pas (habituellement)” (D159) • *ùùsìnè* “se vanter”²⁹ – *kì ùùsìnàw* “tu te vantes (maintenant)” – *kì ùùsààn* “tu es un vantard” (D49, length of -àà- probably erroneous).

I will call the first of each “progressive” and the second “habitual”. While the functional distinction is quite clear, many of Fédry’s glosses do not reveal it since both progressive and habitual forms are simply translated as the French present tense. The East Dangla tense called “present tense” by Shay (1999) and “Imperfektiv” by Ebobissé (1979) is the formal cognate of the West Dangla

²⁹ Fédry seems to confuse two different verbs *ùsìnè* “être habitué” and *ùùsìnè* “se vanter” under a single lemma in D49.

habitual, but it is more widely used since it covers much of the function of the West Dangla progressive as well.

(§64) **Progressive.** The progressive, which occurs very frequently in Fédry's glosses, is roughly equivalent to the progressive tenses of English. Fédry usually translates it as the French present tense, but in a very few cases, a past (presumably progressive or iterative) translation is given instead: *dèèsè* "aller et revenir" – *dáàt dèèsà kò ámáý* "les femmes ont déjà fait l'aller et retour plusieurs fois pour l'eau" (D186) • *tèè* "manger" – *há tèèwà náruúká* "il a mangé comme un ogre" (D254).

(§65) **Progressive: Segmental morphology.** The progressive is marked by a suffix *-aw* that takes the place of the infinitive suffix. Monoradical verbs have the structure *Cɛɛwaw* or *Ceewaw*. The context form of the progressive is somewhat exceptional since it drops the final *-w*. Examples: progr. of *álè* "émettre un son, pleurer" is *áláw* (D19) but *kà álá mààgá* "tu pleures pourquoi?" (D286) • progr. of *ásè* "venir" is *àsàw* (P57) but *kì àsà mààrti gá* "tu viens de voyage?" (D117) • progr. of *jààwè* "marcher" is *jààwàw* (D64) but *há jáàwà bàdàm* "il marche au hasard" (D74) • progr. of *káàwè* "parler" is *kááwáw* (S17) but *há kááwá mídíidà* "il parle mal" (D130) • progr. of *kánjé* "jouer" is *kánjáv* (Dviii) but *nú kánjá báál* "ils jouent à la balle" (D82) • progr. of *péyè* "s'arrêter" is *pèyáv* (D59) but *nú pèyà zàràc* "ils s'arrêtent net" (D333) • progr. of *ròkè* "vouloir" is *ròkáv* but *kìn há ròkáv, kìn há ròkà dō* "soit il veut, soit il ne veut pas" (D284) • progr. of *sítè* "rire" is *sítáv* (P28) but *kìnk sítá mà* "quest-ce que tu ris, toi?" (P150) • progr. of *tàlè* "voir" is *tàlàw* (D294) but *yá kì tàlà kò'gò-n* "quand tu vois ta belle-mère" (D228) • progr. of *wéè* "accoucher" is *wèèwàw* but *tá wèèwà gèè* "elle accouche gens" (D147). I hypothesize that the progressive is etymologically based on an abstract noun in *-aw* (§13) in much the same way as the progressive tense of English: "he is (at) doing sth."

(§66) **Progressive: Tone.** All L verbs keep their L contour in the progressive. Some cases have been mentioned in §63 and §65. More examples: *bùriyè* "fructifier (mil)" – *bùriyáv* (D100) • *ḃò'òrè* "être vert" – *ḃò'òràw* (D107) • *cùkè* "monter" – *cùkáv* (D233) • *dēè* "puer" – *dēèwàw* (D204) • *èwlè* "marcher vite" – *èwláv* (D64) • *ṇòkè* "pleuvoir" – *ṇòkáv* (D256) • *ònnè* "faire de la fumée" – *ònnáv* (D37) • *sàkkirè* "être ivre" – *sàkkiráv* (D363).

The progressive of HLL verbs has either H or L tone depending on the verb. H is the default. Some examples: *ábìrè* ~ *àbrè* "souffler" – *ábráv* (D51) • *dèrsè* "faire la révérence" – *dèrsá* (D186, context form) • *dīmè* "casser" – *dīmáv* (P35) • *écirè* ~ *ècrè* "creuser" – *éciráv* (D164) • *gò'òfè* "garder" – *gò'òfáv* (D188)

• *ɔ'tè* “arriver” – *ɔ'táw* (P2) • *páyte* “verser” – *páytaŵ* (D54) • *píce* “cracher” – *pícáw* (P31) • *tépè* “tirer” – *tépáw* (P45) • *zóòpè* “trotter” – *zóópáw* (D65).

By contrast, the following subgroups of HLL verbs form their progressive with L tone:

(1) all monoradical verbs: *dée* “tuer” – *dèèwàw* (D196) • *fèè* “haïr” – *fèèwàw* (P44) • *lée* “mettre” – *lèèwàw* (D354) • *mée* “exagérer” – *mèèwàw* (D123) • *sée* “boire” – *sèèwàw* (D367)

(2) all short biradical verbs that begin with a voiced plosive: *béré* “donner” – *bèràw* (D85) • *délè* “frapper” – *dèlàw* (D187) • *diyè* “mettre” – *diyàw* (D190) • *dórè* “entendre” – *dòràw* (D194) • *gálè* “tomber” – *gàlàw* (D52) • *gásè* “obtenir” – *gàsàw* (D318) • *gínè* “faire” – *gìnàw* (D324)

(3) and finally a few more verbs: *àsè* “venir” – *àsàw* (Dvii) • *bèrlè* “devenir lumineux” – *bèrlàw* (D84) • *mààpè* “s’étendre” – *mààpàw* (D113) • *péyè* “s’arrêter” – *pèyàw* (D59).

All H verbs keep their tone in the progressive. Some examples: *áádě* “suivre” – *áádáw* (P2) • *ár(i)bé* “couper l’herbe” – *árbáw* (D66) • *ázé* “tisser” – *ázáw* (P57) • *dérdě* “tracer un trait” – *dérdáw* (D409) • *dúúfě* “être grave” – *dúúfáw* (D195) • *jigé* “marcher pas à pas” – *jigáw* (D243) • *néfě* “suffoquer” – *néfáw* (D217) • *sídě* “avalier” – *sídáw* (P28).

Progressive forms of only three LH verbs are attested, all as context forms. Two of them show a L pattern and one a LH pattern: *àkèdě* ~ *àkìdě* “cueillir” – *nò* *àkèdà jérgé* “je cueille les arachides” (D14) • *kòkìdě* “donner un coup sec” – *tá* *kòkìdà tòlò* “elle martèle la meule” (D298) • *tàrpìdě* “se disputer une proie” – *ñú* *tàrpìdà gémso* “ils se disputent une jeune fille” (D156).

(§67) **Habitual.** The habitual marks “un état, une habitude, une capacité” (Dxii). It is roughly equivalent to the simple present tense of English. The habitual form *gòyà* of *góyè* “s’asseoir, être là” is particularly frequent since it is the standard means of expressing a local or existential predication: *mèè* *gòy zúgàr* “le chef demeure à la maison” (Dvii).

(§68) **Habitual: Segmental morphology.** The habitual is characterized by a morpheme *a*. While the position of this vowel varies along with the different stem classes, I suggest that all forms can be explained from a single original principle, namely that *a* was inserted as an infix before the last radical.

(1) Pluriradicals insert an infix *-a-* before the last consonant: *kìdìyè* “être en érection” – *kìdàñ* (D284) • *nàñnìyè* “parler avec hesitation” – *nàñnàñ* (P32). This is where the assumed original pattern has been preserved most clearly.

(2) Short biradicals add a suffix *-a* instead of the infinitive ending: *pàkè* “dépasser” – *pàkà* (D54). I speculate that these verbs should be posited with an empty third radical: *pàkØ-è, pàkàØ*.

(3) Monoradicals replace their *-εε/-ee* by *-aa*. This vowel appears to be underlyingly short because it shows a characteristic variation between H and HL-tone (§4): *séé* “boire” – clause internally *sáá* ~ clause-finally *sàà* (P123).

(4) The behaviour of the long biradicals is variable. They may resolve their long vowel into the corresponding short vowel followed by *-ya-* which leads to a pattern *CVyaC*: *gààné* “mélanger” – *gàyàn* (D101). If we posit the long biradicals with an original weak medial radical *-y-* (**gàynè*) that was lost in most tenses, this formation would turn out to be entirely regular. A less frequent variant is *CVVyaC*: *èémè* “manger” – *èèyàm* (D330). This might be either an analogical approximation to the infinitive or even an imprecise notation by Fédry.³⁰ Finally, there is a variant *CVVCa*: *kààré* “faire le tour” – *kààrà* (D273), which I believe to have abandoned the original apophony in favour of suffixation by analogy with the short biradicals.

Only suffixed habituais have a distinct context form. In that case, the suffix is dropped: *sidé* “avalier” – *bààl sidá* “le rigil avale (est profond)” – *bààl sid dô* “le rigil n’avale pas (n’est pas profond)” (D373) • *goyè* “s’asseoir” – *nà gòyà* “je suis là” (D331) – *kò gòy kédèr gá* “êtes-vous par terre?” (D280) • *pilé* “ouvrir” – *nà pilá* “j’ouvre (habitude, capacité)” (Dxi) – *há pil díbíró* “il ouvre les portes” (P107).

(§69) **Habitual: Tone.** All L verbs keep their L tone in the habitual. I will reproduce the context in some cases in which the habitual semantics can be well illustrated. Infix forms: *ààné* “mépriser” – *tá àyàn* “elle est méprisante” (P30) • *ààsìyè* “accuser” – *há ààsày* “il accuse toujours” (D21) • *àccè* “jeter” – *àcàc* (P30) • *èndirè* “rugir” – *bùùr èndàr* “le lion rugit (habituellement)” (D25) • *kòkìnè* “voler” – *há kòkàn kòò* “il vole (habituellement) le mil” (D289) • *ràwte* “errer” – *há ràwàt* “il est oublieux” (D343) • *sàtgìyè* “accepter” – *sàtgày* (D361) • *sèètè* “glisser” – *sèyàt* (P24). Suffixed forms: *kààré* “faire le tour” – *bòtòl ànt kààrà* “chemin celui fait un détour” (D273) • *òsè* “compter, parler beaucoup” – *há òsà* “il est bavard” (D46) • *pàkè* “dépasser” – *pàkà* (D54).

The verb *ib(i)nè* “savoir” (D32), which is often used in the habitual, should be expected with L tone. But we find three different tone patterns (H, HL, L) without any evident functional distinction: *há íbàn dô kááwò* “il ne sait pas la parole (il ne connaît rien)” (D266) • *há íbàn dānlà* “il sait la (parole) dangaléat”

³⁰ Consider for this particular verb that the imperative, which I assume to share its stem with the habitual (§70), is documented as *èyàm* (D24).

(D180) • *bùñ ibàn* “Dieu sait” (D412) • *nà ibàn gááǎ-y* “je connais sa voix” (D312) • *nà ibàn dò báà-tì* “je ne connais pas son fondement” (D71) • *ǵá ibàn dò zìi-y* “il connaît pas corps lui” (D77).

Those HLL verbs that form an infix habitual preserve their tone pattern: *kàrlè* “faire augmenter” – *kàràl* (D275) • *kɔ’ɔ’mè* “manger tout à la fois” – *násàrìnà kàt kɔ’ɔ’yàm* “les Blancs mélangent leur nourriture” (D287) • *pálcè* “déborder” – *pálàc* (P27) • *páyìè* “verser” – *páyàt* (P27).

Tone in suffixed habituals of HLL-verbs is more variable. H tone seems to be the norm, e.g.: *gááyè* “aider” – *ǵú gááy náàpà* “ils s’aident (ou s’aiment) l’un l’autre” (D313) • *gásè* “obtenir” – *gèntè gás màà ámiyà* “nous (incl.) obtenons quoi aqueux?” (D3) • *ɔ’pè* “fendre” – *tá ɔ’p átáy* “elle fend du bois (hab.)” (P107) • *péyè* “s’arrêter” – *yá tá péy kàà-tù* “si elle s’arrête sur moi” (D262) • *ráwè* “se laisser de” – *ǵú ráw dò òsè* “ils ne se lassent pas de bavarder” (D343) • *séè* “boire” – *sáá* (D195) • *sòllè* “tomber” – *kócó ǵàà sóllá* “haricots qui tombent” (sans sauce)” (D382) • *wéè* “accoucher” – *tá wáá dò* “elle est stérile” (D147).

But examples with L-tone are found as well, perhaps favoured by an initial voiced obstruent: *dórè* “entendre” – *ǵá dór dò* “il n’écoute pas (tête)” (D194) • *gòyè* “s’asseoir, être là” – *nà gòyà* “je suis là” (D331). The form *gòyà* is well attested and must be considered as reliable. Two examples with HLL are so isolated that I would consider the possibility of notation errors: *děèlè* “répéter” – *érindilè dǎèlè* “le scorpion répète (pique plusieurs fois)” (D206) • *tónè* “foncer” – *míc ǎǵk tónà* “cet enfant est tête” (D168).

The habitual of all H verbs has H tone. Infix forms: *ááǎǎ* “suivre” – *kì *ááyáǎ³¹ gǎè* “tu suis sans cesse les gens” (D9) • *índé* “demander” – *ǵém ǵàà ínát* “personne qui demande (respectueuse)” (D34) • *ǵrǵǵ* “écraser à moitié” – *ǵrǵǵ* (P133). Suffixed forms: *sídǎ* “avalier” – *bààl sídá* “le rigil avale (est profond)” (D373) • *níbé* “sentir” – *ǵá níb dò* “il n’a pas d’odorat” (D217) • *óbé* “prendre” – *gèntè ób náàpà* “nous nous marions réciproquement” (D222). There is only a single attested habitual of a LH verb: *kòrkìfè* “se rincer la bouche” – *ǵàà bìi-y kòrkác dò* “celui qui sa bouche ne se rince pas (métaphore pour désigner le serpent)” (D301).

(§70) **Singular imperative.** The form of the 2nd pers. sg. imperative, which seems to be invariant as for gender,³² is based upon the habitual stem. As

³¹ Fédry writes *áǵǵát*.

³² At least, no gender distinction becomes obvious from Fédry’s glosses, nor is there any such distinction in East Dangla (Shay 1999: 175).

with the habitual, certain groups of verbs form their imperative with an *-a*-infix. And as does the habitual, the imperative adopts the tone pattern of the infinitive in that case. L verbs: *àccè* “jeter” – *àcàc* (P97) • *bùgùmè* “rester en silence” – *bùgàm* (D100) • *còkiyè* “écouter” – *còkày* (D235) • *dòkìyè* “puiser” – *dòkàn* (D210) • *èèmè* “manger” – *èyàm* (D24) • *kààwìyè* “cesser” – *kààwà* (D235). HLL verbs: *áàwè* “goûter” – *áyàw* (P54) • *ámilè* “sortir” – *ámàl* (D3) • *káàwè* “parler” – *káyàw* (D202) ~ *kááyàw* (D266)³³ • *náàkè* “êtreindre” – *náyàk* (P32) • *sîmè* “rester immobile et silencieux” – *síyàm* (D372) • *télkè* “prêter” – *télàk* (P97). H verbs: *bóóbé* “verser” – *bóyáp* (P97) • *bíldé* “apprendre” – *bílát* (D106) • *sínyé* “se déplacer” – *sínác* (P97) • *únyé* “entrer” – *únáj* (L453).

The imperative of monoradicals, too, is identical with the habitual: *dèè* “tuer” – *dá* (A109) • *sèè* “boire” – *sáá* (D202, E21) ~ *sàà* (D367) • *tèè* “manger” – *tàà* (D238).

Verbs whose habitual ends in a suffix *-a* form their imperative by suffixation as well, but the suffix is *-u* in this case: *bòòsè* “humidifier” – *bòòsù* (A109) • *èrè* “attendre” – *èrù* (D243) • *káàwè* “parler” – *kááwù* (D266) • *lúwè* “semer” – *lúwù* (P6) • *pááádé* “affûter” – *pááádú* (A109) • *pílè* “ouvrir” – *pílù* (Dxi) • *úcè* “se lever” – *úcù* (D47). Most examples are, however, with context forms in which the characteristic final vowel drops out: *ásè* “venir” – *ás móòtà* “viens près! (formule d’invitation à manger la boule)” (D135) • *gááyè* “augmenter” – *gááy pèy* “ajoute encore” (D313) • *gínè* “faire” – *gín jàwká dèè-jì* “fais en attendant par toi-même” (D237) • *góyè* “s’asseoir” – *gòy édè* “reste là” (D29) • *káàwè* “parler” – *kááw sèènè* “dis la vérité” (D370) • *óbè* “prendre” – *ób pàrdé* “prends l’écorce” (D57) • *péyè* “s’arrêter” – *péy càtàp* “tiens-toi bien droit” (D221) • *pîisè* “rester” – *pîis kànkà* “reste toi (f.)” (D64) • *ràsè* “laisser” – *rás ááyè* “laisse le tronc” (D57).

(§71) **Plural imperative.** This label covers three different forms marked by suffixes: 2nd pl. *-o*, 1st inclusive dual *-te*,³⁴ 1st inclusive pl. *-inte*. The suffix *-o* originally had an additional final nasal (§8). This can be concluded from the corresponding suffix *-òŋ* of East Dangla (Shay 1999: 175), from two examples in which the nasal survives before object clitics: *sèè* “boire” – *sááŋ-gú* “buvez-le” (D367) • *báàn-tè* “allez pour nous” (D104), and from the fact that *-o* is preserved in the context form. The suffix *-inte* is evidently composed from *-oN* + *-te*.

³³ I expect **káyàw*. Note below that this verb admits a suffixed imperative as an alternative, but the apophonic variant is “plus usité” according to D266.

³⁴ The function as a dual is not clearly evidenced by Fédry’s glosses, but I conclude it from East Dangla whose suffixes are explained by Shay (1999: 176) as *-tè* “you (sg.) and I”, *-òŋ-tè* “you (pl.) and I”.

Tone rules are not entirely clear, but the stem generally seems to have H tone. Examples:

kɔ́ndirè “s’efforcer” – *kɔ́ndirɔ́* “allez-y” – *kɔ́ndir-intè* “allons-y” (D288)
 • *sínjé* “se déplacer” – *sínjɔ́* “serrez-vous” – *sínj-intè* “déplaçons-nous” (D374)
 • *báàwè* “aller” – (*gè*) *báàk-tè* “allons” (D61, D259) – *bág-intè* “allons-y (plus de deux)” (D104)³⁵ • *góyè* “s’asseoir” – *góy-té* [let’s stay] – *góy-intè* [let’s stay] (D66) • *bùgùmè* “rester en silence” – *bùgúmò* “silence! (pl.)” (D100) • *éèlè* “séjourner” – *éèlò ràm* “restez au village tous” (D343) • *ét(i)rè* “s’écarter” – *étró* “écartez-vous” (D24) • *tàlè* “voir” – *táló* “voyez” (D267) • *náàkè* “étreindre” – *náàk-intè-c cààlòl* “passons par dessus Tyalo” (D215) • *àptiyè* “économiser” – *aptiy-inte-gu* “économisons-les pour nous” (D2, tone marks missing).

(§72) **Optative.** The optative stem has a uniform LH pattern for all verbal tone classes. It is segmentally identical with the infinitive, having a suffix *-e* which alternates with a fuller ending *-in* before object suffixes (and occasionally elsewhere). The attestations as a proper optative are scanty: *pilé* “ouvrir” – *ḡàà pilé* “qu’il ouvre! il n’a qu’à ouvrir!” (Dxi) • *báàwè* “aller” – *táà bààwè áàr gèérè* “elle (la maladie) n’a qu’à aller derrière le mont Guéra” (D5) • *àrè* “rester en arrière” – *wààbìn àrìn dòòdè* “que personne ne manque” (D17).

The same stem figures in the negative imperative, which has the following formula: prohibitive particle (*d*)*ák* (sg.) ~ (*d*)*ákò* (pl.) + optative stem of the verb + general negative particle *dò*: *tèè* “manger” – *dák tèè dò* “ne mange pas!” – *dákò tèè dò* “ne mangez pas!” (D202). More sg. examples: *báàwè* “aller” – *dák bààwè dò* “n’y va pas!” (D104) • *àsè* “venir” – *ák àsè dò* “ne viens pas!” (D202) • *gínè* “faire” – *ák gínè dò* “ne fais pas” (D390) • *wáyte* “remuer” – *dák wáytin-j dò* “ne le fais pas bouger” – *ák wáytin-t dò* “ne la fais pas bouger” (D143). More pl. examples: *kàltiyè* “discuter” – *ákò kàltiyè dò* “ne discutez pas” (D277) • *wàkè* “toucher” – *ákò wàkìn dò* “ne touchez pas” (D143) • *sité* “rire” – *dákò sitè dò* “ne riez pas!” (D202).

(§73) **Supine.** This is how I call a rare tense attested exclusively after a form of the verb *báàwè* “to go”. It seems to be segmentally identical with the habitual but has a different tone pattern. This tense can probably be identified with the East Dangla tense called “sequential form” by Shay (1999: 58, 222) and “Direktional” by Ebobissé (1979: 97ff.): *pilé* “ouvrir” – *nà báà pilá* “je suis allé avoir ouvert, j’ai eu ouvert” (Dxi) • *gásè* “obtenir” – *nà báà gàsá* “je suis venu d’avoir trouvé (après avoir trouvé)” (P111) • *gánè* “nourrir” – *ḡá báà gàán zì-y* “il est allé avoir nourri corps de lui, il revient de se nourrir” (D311) • *pàggiyè*

³⁵ Still another form *báàklè* “allons-y (nous deux)” is given in D104. I suspect that this is a misprint for **báàktè*. On *-k-* see §79.

“éclater” – *gòngùmò-y báà pàggà* “poitrine de lui s’en est allé éclater” (D55) • *pàtpidě* “manger tout ce qui reste” – *nì bá pàtpàt* “nous avons glané l’herbe par terre” (D53) • *nidirè* “pousser le grand cri de la mort” – *nyú báá niddàr kódobò* “ils poussent le cri de la mort à Korbo” (D218).

The meaning obviously differs from the combination of *báàwè* with the infinitive, which comes close to a future periphrasis: *nà báá jààwè* “je vais marcher” (D233).

(§74) **Subjunctive.** This is how I call a tense in *-iyo* that appears in certain types of complex or subordinate clauses, rarely attested in the available materials: *pílè* “ouvrir” – *nà píliyò* “alors que j’ouvre (rapport de simultanéité marqué dans une proposition subordonnée par rapport à la principale)” (Dxi) • *sítè* “rire” – *nyá sítìyò* “comme il riait” (L453, comment: “forme verbale marquant la simultanéité avec une autre action”) • *ásè* “venir” – (l’amusement est terminé, on va attendre l’an prochain) *kár ásiyò kánjé táa pèy* “et viendra l’amusement de nouveau” (D251) • *wásè* “filer” – *bèèn táa gèè wásiyò* “fuseau que les gens filent” (D83) • *óbé* “prendre” – *ik kàt tá óbiy mèèram kà* “c’est pourquoi elle prend bien là” (D202).

(§75) **Repetitive.** By this term, I refer to a weakly documented tense formed by a suffix *-giyò*: *pílè* “ouvrir” – *nà píl-giyò* “j’ouvre souvent, à plusieurs reprises” (Dxi) • *kààsime* “rivaliser” – *gè kààsì-m-giyò íy túkinà* “nous rivalisons avec le foyer (la cuisine)” (D277) • *jààwè* “marcher” – *gè jáàw-giyò íy ménà* “nous marchons habituellement avec jours (pendant des jours)” (D35). Another similar tense is documented in but a single example: *nà píl-gùwè* “j’aurai l’occasion répétée d’ouvrir” (Dxi).

(§76) **Repetitive with object clitics.** Before object clitics, the repetitive marker shortens to *-gi-*: *nó’ómè* “transpercer” – *nyá nó’óm-gí-gà* “il vient chaque fois à bout de lui” (D218) • *rásè* “laisser” – *nyú rás-gí-c dò àrnàw* “ils laissent (répétition) elle pas querelle (ils n’abandonnent pas leur querelle incessante)” (D18) • *ísè* “mettre sur soi” – *tá ís-gí-nò* “cela me concerne” (D36) • *ibinè* “savoir” – *kò ibin-gí-c kò* “vous savez déjà” (D32) – *nà ibin-gí-c rààniwì-y* “je connais sa malice” (D344) • *gààsè* “finir” – *ààniwì-có gáàs-gí-cò dò* “querelle à eux ne termine pas par eux (leur querelle est sans fin)” (D18, indirect object clitic).

The functions of the repetitive and the habitual (§67) are very close. I consider it possible that the repetitive may sometimes be preferred to the habitual before object clitics in order to avoid a homonymic clash with the perfect tense. This is at least what must have occurred in East Dangla where the present

tense (= habitual) of certain verb classes requires an increment *-gi-* before object clitics (Ebobissé 1979: 94f.; Shay 1999: 207). More research would be required to clarify the systematic status of these forms in West Dangla.

(§77) **Pluractionals.** Many Chadic languages possess pluractional forms of verbs that express multiple actions, plural subjects or plural objects. In West Dangla, there is no productive pluractional morphology unless we take the repetitive for that, but a handful of verbs have lexical alternatives for that purpose: *accè* “jeter 1 chose” – pl. *órè* “jeter plusieurs choses” • *dīyè* “poser” – pl. *lèè* • *gálè* “tomber” – pl. *sòllè* • *ìcè* “prendre” – pl. *súkè* (D401).

(§78) **Ambiguities in verbs.** Since both the perfect suffix *-e* and the habitual suffix *-a* are dropped in the context form, both forms may coincide. This can create a formal ambiguity as in *ɲá tàl ódò* “il voit l’œil (c’est un voyant)” (D157, here habitual but could formally be a perfect). In other cases, both tenses remain distinguished by tone: *dīyè* “dire” – *nà dīy àn* “je dis que” – *nà dīy àn* “j’ai dit que” (P107).

The context form of the progressive in *-a* (§65) may coincide with the free form of the habitual in *-a* (§68). This creates an occasional ambiguity at least for us if we are not sure whether or not a context form is appropriate, e.g.: *dākè* “passer une maladie” – *ārwo dākà dī sēp* “maladie se transmet seulement également” (D202, progressive or habitual?).

(§79) **Special verbs.** The verb *báàwè* “aller” (D104) is irregular because its *-w-* is optionally lost. Consider the following cases of alternation: infinitive: *kìl báàwè* “tu iras” (D357) ~ *wâl báà* [did not go] (D202) • progressive: *nà bááwá kà* “je vais là” (D104) ~ *ɲá báá dòòdè* “il ne va pas” (D10) • optative: *dāk báàwè dò* (D104) ~ *dāk báà dò* (D202) “ne va pas!”. The perfect is regular: *ɲá báàwè* “il est allé” (D262), but *-w* drops out in the context form: *kì báà mó* “tu es allé où?” (D104).

For the imperative, I find no form with *-w* but only the abbreviated stem: *báà kàtè* (P131) “va enfin”, or a stem expanded by *-k*: *báà-k* (D10), which is perhaps a petrified local demonstrative (§51). The 1st pl. imperative of this verb is attested exclusively with this *k*-increment (§71).

The original verb for “to say”, still present as *áné* in East Dangla (de Montgolfier 1976: 16), has only preserved a residual verbal use in West Dangla when immediately following an independent pronoun: *táár àn* “elle dit que” (P130) • *nòn àn ɲá ásè* [I said that he would come] (D10) but is more commonly found as a complementizer: *ɲá dīy àn* “il dit que” (D208). It also occurs in

relative clauses meaning “which is said to ...”: *dáá-c tá³⁶ àn mēlmí-tà* “sa femme dont on dit qu’elle est sorcière” (D10).

(§80) **The past marker -tì.** This morpheme frequently attaches to the perfect and never to other tenses. Fédry (Dxi) describes its function as follows (for *pílè* “ouvrir”): *nà pílè* “j’ai ouvert (résultat permanent dans le présent)” – *nà *pílti³⁷* “j’ouvris (ponctuel dans le passé, sans rapport actuel)”. In L453, he characterizes the form in *-tì* as the “forme privilégiée de la narration”.

Before the past marker, the final *-e* of the perfect either turns to *-i* or drops out by medial vowel reduction (§5): *álè* “pleurer” – *tá ál-tì* “elle pleura” (P8) • *ásè* “venir” – *nà ási-tì ~ ná ás-tì* “je vins” (P113) • *éèlè* “séjourner” – *há éèl-tì* “il passa la journée” (D30) • *sàwlè* “disparaître mystérieusement” – *biùr sàwil-tì* “le lion disparut mystérieusement” (D360) • *ùncè* “s’assombrir” – *wèr ùnci-tì* “la nuit tomba” (D47).

The suffix *-tì* itself loses its vowel in the context form: *âmlè* “sortir” – *há âmli-t àk ètòr* “il est sorti en brousse” (D29) • *ârnyè* “se casser” – *tá ârni-t bìrìm* “elle se brisa ‘toc’” (D19) • *ásè* “venir” – *tá ási-t kòdòk* “elle vint vite” (P15) • *báàwè* “aller” – *nò báà-t kàtì* “je suis allé quand même” (D267) • *gínè* “faire, croire” – *nòn gini-t àn (...)* “je pensais que (...)” (D324).

If we can trust the following isolated example, the marker *-tì* can change the tone of a perfective L tone verb in the same way as direct object clitics do (§46): *bìrè* “passer le long de” – perf. *bìrè* (D33) – *tá (...)* *bìr-tì* “elle (...) a dépassé” (D384). It is also worth noting that *-tì* never appears together with an object clitic. These observations may suggest that *-tì* originally was an object clitic which lost its referential function.

(§81) **The particle kò(ɔ̃).** This frequent particle is glossed by Fédry as “déjà”. It most often combines with the perfect tense, but not necessarily so: *děètè* “partir” – *àlè há dēèt kò* “peut-être il est parti déjà” (D19, perfect) – *nà dēétá kò* “je m’en vais déjà (formule pour s’en aller)” (D204, progressive) • *há mùgìs kò tèè ándé* “il s’est habitué déjà à manger la boule” (D139) • *nà òb dò kò báá-kè* “ne t’ai-je pas pris ton fondement (ne t’avais-je pas averti?)” (D71); see also §64. This particle can occur together with the past marker *-tì*: *nà èwzi-t kò káàl* “je suis retourné déjà sur le champ” (D28).

³⁶ I assume that this is in fact the relative pronoun *táà* (§50).

³⁷ The text has *píltè*, the only instance with *-è* and certainly a typo. In the reprint in Fédry (1981: 451) it says *pílti* which has the correct final vowel but is defective as for tone.

(§82) **Future.** The future tense is formed by an auxiliary *yàà* that combines with the infinitive: *yàà pàkè* “cela doit dépasser” (D54, subjectless clause) • *kòò yàà nêè* “le mil va être mûr” (D216). When subject proclitics (§34) are employed, they merge with the auxiliary in replacing its *y-*. The tone becomes L together with the I-pronouns: *nàà* (< **nà-yàà*) *ásè* “je viendrai” (D47) • *nàà máádě* [I will expand] (D270) • *kùl* (< **kì-yàà*) *èrè* “tu vas attendre” (D30) • *nìl wáàrè* “nous danserons” (D238) • *gèè tàlè táà úndà* “nous allons voir l’avenir” (D403). But tone becomes HL together with the he-pronouns: *háà* (< **há-yàà*) *tèè* “il mangera” (E21) • *háà álgé* “il passera l’année” (D20) • *táà àgìsè* “cela abondera” (D411) • *nyúu náàmè* “ils vont envoyer” (D346).

Apart from its independent use, the future tense is employed after the conjunction *pà* “de peur de”: *pà háà gálè* “pour qu’il ne tombe pas” (D51) • *pà kàn yàà ásè* “de peur que les chiens ne viennent” (D51).

The combination *yàà* + infinitive may also serve as an infinitive of the future: *tùr nòn kàt yàà báàwè* “ça me convient de /futur/ aller” (D172) • *sítè òl yàà d’ò’sè* “rire comme éventuellement fendre (se fendre de rire)” (D211) • *háà kì às yàà tàlìn-dú* “pour que tu viennes me voir” (D156). Finally, there seem to be rare occasions in which the future auxiliary combines with the progressive stem rather than the infinitive: *léèsè* “faire des remontrances” – *kùl-t léésá gá* “me gronderas-tu?” (L453) • *ásè* “venir” – *háà ásíy-tè* “il va venir à nous” (D95) • *yéèpè* “retourner” – *gèè yéépíí-g dô* “nous retournons eux pas” (D114).

(§83) **Object clitics in periphrastic constructions.** There are special means of expressing pronominal objects in an auxiliary + infinitive complex. This applies to the future with *yàà* (§82, best documented), to the negative perfect with *wál* (§88), and also when the verb *báàwè* “aller” is used as an auxiliary.

First, the direct object can be expressed by means of a possessive suffix on the infinitive (§59). This is the only option for a 3rd person direct object but is also possible for the other persons: *óbé* “prendre” – *tùpá yàà óbìn-jí* “la malédiction va te saisir” (D170) – *kòò yàà óbìn-tì* “le mil va la prendre (la tuer)” (D5) • *déè* “tuer” – *pà ámá yàà déèn-dú* “de peur que l’eau ne me tue” (D196) • *gírsè* “presser” – *kùl gírsìn-jí*³⁸ “tu va le presser” (D326) • *gáwnè* “travailler la terre” – *nàà gáwnìn-j mórgó-r* “je vais cultiver mon champ” (D262) • *bòktiye* “chasser” – *bùñ yàà bòktiýìn-tì* “le Ciel va l’écarter” (D94) • *sàriye* “préparer une sauce” – *nà* (imprecisely for **nàà*) *sàriýìn-có* “je vais la faire (la sauce, collectif)” (D364).

³⁸ I expect **gírsìn-jí*.

In addition, West Dangla has a dedicated series of post-auxiliary object clitics. They formally resemble the possessive suffixes (§36). In the 3rd persons, these suffixes exclusively refer to the indirect object. In the other persons, they may be used for both the direct and indirect object without distinction in form. They are context forms by nature since the infinitive always follows. The final vowel is preserved in the pluralic suffixes just as with the possessive suffixes (§43). These clitics are: 1st sg. *-t*, 2nd sg. m. *-n*, 2nd sg. f. *-k*, 3rd sg. m. *-c*, 3rd sg. f. *-t*, 1st pl. ex. *-ni*, 1st pl. in. *-te*, 2nd pl. *-ko*, 3rd pl. *-co*.

In most attestations of the future auxiliary, the subject is either nominal or an I-pronoun while the object is a him-pronoun. In this case, tone will be LH(L). Examples with direct object function: *nàá-n fòkè* “je vais t’attendre” (D251) • *márgìnà yàá-n óbè³⁹* “les génies vont te prendre” (D121) • *pà kii-t dàkè* “de peur que tu ne me contamines” (D202). Examples with indirect object function: *bùñ yàá-n béré ùjìrnàw* “le Ciel va te donner la bénédiction” (D48) • *bùñ yàá-tè béré sàbààné* “le Ciel va nous donner l’aurore” (D359) • *bùñ yàá-kò béré* “le Ciel va vous donner” (D410) • *bùñ yàá-cò lààlè dōñkòt* “le Ciel va leur mettre une entrave” (D354) • *nàá-n béré máàlà* “je te donnerai pour rien” (D122) • *nàá-k dēē áálò* “je vais te tuer un serpent” (D49) • *nàá-kò lēē mǎliyà* “je vais vous poser un conte” (D386). But if the subject is a he-pronoun, or else another auxiliary than the future auxiliary is used, tone will be HL: *ñúù-n àtkè* “ils vont te chasser” (D105) • *ñúù-n béré* “il vont te donner” (D284) • *báà-c dīyè* “j’irai lui dire” (D389) • *nà wál-ñ tēlkè mààbìnà* “je ne t’ai pas répliqué quelque chose” (D202) • *nà wál-ñ àdìrè* “je n’ai pas été au courant de ta venue” (D7, *àdìrè* “être au courant de”). When the object is a her-pronoun (§40), tone is L: *bùñ yàá-nì àmìrè* “le Ciel va nous réconcilier” (D412) • *bùñ yàá-t isè kààs ká tūmǎdí* “le Ciel va lui donner des os de Dalbercia” (D161).

The direct object of persons other than the third may be double-expressed after the auxiliary and after the infinitive at the same time: *rɔ́mè* “dépérir” – *kàá-t rɔ́mìn-dù* “tu vas me faire dépérir” (D348) • *ñáàmè* “se rencontrer” – *kòó-t ñáàmin-d (...)* “vous me rencontrerez” (D35) • *mɔ́mbé* “manger” – *nàá-k mɔ́mbìn-ké* “je vais te manger (ie. copuler)” (D133) • *jilè* “sauver” – *bùñ yàá-tè jilìn-té* “le Ciel va nous sauver” (D411).

If both pronominal indirect and direct objects are used, the indirect object pronoun will attach to the auxiliary and the direct object pronoun to the infinitive: *bùñ yàá-tè kisiyìn-tì* “le Ciel va nous la repousser” (D286) • *pà ñúù-kò lēēn-c⁴⁰ dēngìn-có* “de peur qu’ils ne vous mettent leur oreille” (D207).

³⁹ I expect **óbé* which is otherwise the infinitive of this verb.

⁴⁰ Tone marks missing.

(§84) **Indeclinables.** Under this heading, I assemble a large number of words that cannot be inflected (apart from reduplication, §11) and that may be described as adjectives, adverbs or ideophones, pending a proper subgrouping into different parts of speech. Some words with a prototypical adjective meaning are: *bàlàn* “frais, vert” (D82), *bólòk* “long” (D97), *dìndà* “rouge” (D189), *gàlá* “bon” (D317), *pɔ́rtà* “blanc” (D66). The terms for “grand” and “petit”, while lacking a proper inflection, distinguish gender/number by suppletion: “grand” *tàtikò* m. – *yààrkò* f. – *ágìndá* pl. (D153, related to the terms for “father” and “mother”, §23) • “petit” *kɔ́pɔ́k* m. – *kàpák* f. – *jàádá* pl. (D253, D263). Some words with adverbial meaning are: *ǎnnè* “ici” (D9), *éèrè* “là-bas (loin)” (D30), *dúúdí* “hier” (D195), *ìsì* “ainsi” (D36), *kàwtà* “demain” (D266), *kùwà* “en haut” (D303), *pèy* “de nouveau, encore” (D59).

Fédry’s dictionary documents a huge number of ideophones. They have the peculiarity that they may easily terminate in obstruents: (*sì*)*sòòd* “un peu” (D379) (cf. §7) or may contain exotic phonemes: *pórtik vu* (with “vibrante bilabiale sourde”) “blanc éclatant” (D395, P98).

A number of indeclinables are derived from verbs by a suffix *-a*. The verbal tone class is preserved for L and H verbs, while HLL changes to HHL: *èrè* “brûler” – *èrà* “chaud” (D30) • *óòmè* “alourdir” – *óómà* “lourd” (D41) • *òyè* “convenir” – *òyà* “assez bien” (D42) • *ɔ́ɔ̀lè* “rafraîchir” – *ɔ́ɔ̀là* “froid” (D40) • *rádě* “faire souffrir” – *rádá* “difficile” (D343).

Indeclinables can be employed as a predicate: *búy* *tàtikò* “le Ciel est grand” (D153) • *ádi-r* *gàlá* “ventre à moi bon (je suis content)” (D8) • *lávà-y* *lùssiyàt* “ses cheveux sont longs” (D358) • *já* *càngilàm* “il est en haut” (D222) • *át* *tɔ́ɔ̀rɔ́* “le tamarin est âcre” (D165). However, real ideophones may prefer a use together with the light verb *gínè* “faire”: *ámáy* *gínè* *kikùncùl* “l’eau a fait ‘floc floc’” (D288). Indeclinables may be used as adverbs: *báá* *géele* “va à gauche” (D322) • *dííd* *àsà* *bùr* *bùr* “les oiseaux arrivent nombreux” (D101). For attributive use, they require a relative pronoun (§50): *cintì* *jàà* *tàtikò* “le sésame grand” (D227) • *pérín* *tàà* *yààrkò* “le grand doigt” (D planche A) • *dèw* *jàà* *pòndikò* “l’antilope noire” (D187) • *bùwà* *núù* *tɔ́ɔ̀rɔ́* “lait aigre” (D165) • *bòtòl* *tàà* *géele* “le chemin celui de gauche” (D322) • *dám* *b* *jàà* *máálílà* “rocher de fer” (D122) • *kááwò* *tàà* *kikàràt* “parole de fermeture (parole de rancune)” (D272, *kàràt* “idéophone évoquant la fermeture”).

Let me finally mention under this heading the expressions *ìì* “oui” (P150) and *á?à* “non” (D1).

(§85) **Numerals.** The cardinal numerals from 1 to 10 are: *kàdǎ* (fem. *kààdǎ*) “1”, *sèèr* “2”, *sùbbà* “3”, *pòòt* “4”, *bèèc* “5”, *bídígéc* “6”, *péésirà* “7”, *pòrpòt* “8”, *párnìkà* “9”, *ǝrǝk* “10” (D402bis). They may be used attributively, following their head noun: *kókìr kààdǎ* “une poule” (D298) • *kǝyìn sèèr* “deux mois” (D289) • *dèès sùbbà* “trois fois” (D202), and also predicatively: *ǝú sèèr* “il y en a deux” [they are two] (M40). The numeral “1” is the only one to distinguish gender and furthermore has a special form *kèèc* for use in counting (D280, D283).

(§86) **Quantifier “all”.** When the particle *kàw* “aussi” is combined with plural possessive suffixes, it acquires the meaning “all”: *kàw-cò* (P69) ~ *kàw-cò* (D265) “eux tous”.⁴¹

(§87) **Focus.** Two clitics *kàt* (also glossed “même”) and *dì* (also glossed “seulement”) express certain varieties of focus whose precise functions would have to be clarified by further research: *bùŋ kàt gínè* “c’est le Ciel qui a fait” (D267) • *táár ánt tǝp-jì dì* “celle-ci, c’est vraiment la tienne?” (D188).

(§88) **Negation.** The general negative particle is *dò* (no distinct context form) with a fuller variant *dòdǎdǎ*. It can combine with most verbal tenses and is placed after the verb (and its object clitics) but before complements: *nà ròkà dò* ~ *nà ròkà dòdǎdǎ* “je ne veux pas” (D206) • *nà ibàn dò báà-tì* “je ne connais pas son fondement” (D71) • *gèè èèbày dò isì* “gens font honte pas ainsi” (D24) • *nà gíní-jì dò kòlǎw* “je n’ai pas pour toi peur” (D202). The adjective *gálá* “bon” contracts with *dò* into *gǎllò* “mauvais” (D318). The perfect tense of verbs does not combine with *dò* but has a distinct negation pattern consisting of an auxiliary *wál* followed by the infinitive: *tèè* “manger”, perf. *tèè*, but: *nà wál tèè* “je n’ai pas mangé” (D145) • *nà wál tàlè* “je n’ai pas vu” (D127) • *ǝá wál pílè* “il n’a pas ouvert” (Dxi); see also §60, §83.

There is furthermore a negative existential particle *kǝǝ* which serves as the negative correlate of the verb *góyè* “s’asseoir, être là”: *kán ǝá gòyà kán ǝá kǝǝ* “peut-être il est (là), peut-être il (n’est) pas (là)” (D268) • *ámàànùw-tì kǝǝ* “confiance-elle pas (on ne peut pas avoir confiance en elle)” (D3), and which forms a derivative *kǝǝǝ* “rien, personne” (D286).

(§89) **Questions.** The elementary question words are *wà* “qui?”, *mà* “quoi?, pourquoi?”, *mó(ò)* “où?”, *màn* “comment?”, *míná(à)* “combien?” and *kímé(è)* “quand?” (P129). They are not extracted to the left of the clause but remain in the position appropriate to their syntactic role: *kì gínà màà* “tu fais

⁴¹ This is paralleled by the etymologically unrelated element *ò(ò)kí* “also, too, even; all” of East Dangla (Shay 1999: 118).

quoi?” (D108) • *kì ròkà zúg ká wà* “tu veux maison de qui?” (P129) • *kì báá mó* “tu vas où?” (D104) • *sîn-jì wàà* “quel est ton nom?” (D374)⁴². Question words can take possessive suffixes: *wàn-jì mâtè* “qui de toi est mort?” (D141).

Yes-no-questions may be marked by intonation only (P130), but an explicit interrogative particle, either *gà* ~ *gá* or *sóò*, is often added to the end of the clause: *ḡá áš gà* “est-ce qu’il est venu?” (D309) • *ḡá cààlùw sóò* “est-il un villageois de Tyalo?” (D378). The first of them is also attested together with question words: *màà gá* “quoi hein?” (D108). Question intonation is signalled by a rise of the last syllable so that a clause-final L tone turns into LH (P130f.). This explains the expression *dòò* “n’est-ce pas?” (D209) which is just the negation *dò* (§88) pronounced with question intonation.

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⁴² Literally “who is your name?” as in many other African languages.

⁴³ In the only copy I was able to access, pages 6 and 16 were missing.

⁴⁴ Unpublished, on stock in the University Library Leiden, shelfmark Or. 26.692.

A morphological sketch of West Dangla (Chad)

Shay, Erin 1999: *A grammar of East Dangla: The simple sentence*, PhD thesis University of Colorado

I use the following shorthand references: A (+ page number) = Fédry 1977, D = Fédry 1971a, E = Fédry 1974, L = Fédry 1981, M = Fédry 1971c, P = Fédry 1971b, S = Fédry 1969.

