Supplements to West Dangla grammar

Abstract

This is a sequel to Peust (2014). Based on the examination of more text material, several additions and corrections to the presentation of West Dangla grammar are provided.

Keywords
Chadic, Dangla, Grammar, Morphology, Tone.

In volume 51 of this journal, I published an article “A morphological sketch of West Dangla (Chad)”\(^1\). When preparing that grammar sketch, I was not yet aware of a major text collection elaborated by Akouya (1983), evidently the one whose publication had been announced by Fédry (1971b: 127). I have meanwhile gotten access to this monograph of 156 pages, filled equally with West Dangla text and a French translation. Most of what I wrote in the mentioned article remains valid, but I will provide here a number of additions and corrections that can be made in the light of these texts. Again, the focus will be on morphology, even though the way would now be open to delve into various topics of syntax as well.

Akouya’s text documentation is extremely valuable, but the transcription is not absolutely consistent, particularly as concerns the marking of tone. While most of the tone marks are presumably correct, they seem to be not as reliable as in Fédry’s documentation. Several times, the overall tone contour is right, but the precise locations are not written where they should be phonemically. For example, Fédry’s dictionary provides the phrase íddin tá lòkúmi “troupeau de chameaux” (D33)\(^2\), which I assume to represent the tones in a correct way. The

\(^1\) Peust (2014).

\(^2\) Throughout this paper, I use the two shorthand notations A (+ page.paragraph) = Akouya (1983) and D (+ page) = Fédry (1971a).
text volume has *iddin táá lókúmí* “troupeau de dromadaires” (A76.9), which is evidently the same phrase, but with some tone shifts towards the left, as may be characteristic of fast connected speech.

This phenomenon has the effect of blurring the distinction between the HHL and the HLL tone patterns in the texts.\(^3\) To cite just one example, one and the same phrase “a man rejected his wife” is given as both *mitìk âtkìc dááci* and *mitìk âtkìc dááci* on p. 14, where only *âtkìc* should be correct. Nevertheless, I do not question the phonemic distinction of both tone patterns as such since Fédry put so much emphasis on it.

It appears that it was difficult even for a native speaker to sort out the phonemic tone from other factors such as assimilation of tone within phrases or sentence intonation. I assume that individual speaker variation or just misprints also play a role.

The French translations provided in the text collection are very free and often paraphrase rather than translate the original. The French text may make things more explicit than they are in the original, while elsewhere passages are abbreviated that might otherwise have appeared too redundant in French. This makes entirely sense, since the narrative styles of both languages are so different, and also in view of the very diverse informational backgrounds of the addressees: Most speakers of West Dangla have probably heard these or similar stories before, whereas most European readers know little to nothing about the local cultural milieu.

I will now present the additions and corrections, keeping my original paragraph numbering. As in the previous contribution, the original French translations are cited in quotation marks “”, while English translations or explanations provided by myself appear in brackets [ ].

\(^{(§6)}\) **Free form and context form.** As was explained in that paragraph, the final lexical vowel of most words only appears before a pause (“free form”) and is dropped elsewhere (“context form”). “But some words whose final vowel is stable are exempted from this rule.” The reason is for the most part that these words used to terminate in a nasal which dropped out only recently. As amply demonstrated by the texts, the list of words that keep their final vowel in the context form has to be expanded by the items *isi, ânsì “ainsì”* (D36) and *kidà m., kààdà f. “un(e)”* (context instances with the preserved vowel e.g. on pp. 42, 82; even the presumed original forms *kidàŋ, kààdàŋ* with a nasal termination are attested in A122.34). On the other hand, I doubt whether *áándó “nuit”* should be included in this group, as was claimed by Fédry (1971b: 15), since I find a form *ánd-ïk* [this night] (A116.18) with the vowel dropped.

\(^3\) H = high, L = low. See Peust (2014: §2) for an explanation of the tone patterns.
(§22) **Plural: Suffixed.** The plural of ódò “œil” is given as ódìnà in Fédry’s dictionary (D41). But the texts also contain instances of a shorter stem ódà- (always with possessive suffix): ódà-r [my eyes] (A134.10), ódà-y [his eyes] (A130.7). This could be either a colloquial contraction or a more archaic plural formation. I prefer the latter view since it is supported by East Dangla where we have ùdà sg. – ùdà pl. (de Montgolfier 1976: 325).

(§25) **Genitive.** Even though local relations are most commonly expressed by a preposition followed by a noun in the genitive case, the bare genitive case with no preposition is sometimes sufficient for this purpose, e.g.: nin pàyti gér-ci [we descended to your home] “nous sommes venus chez-toi” (A4.4, gér “maison”) • nà dívî-c tûmkì [he put her on the legs] “il la déposa sur ses jambes” (A132.6, tûmké “cuisse”, pl. tûmkì).

The preposition àk (local meanings, indirect object marker) has an alternative form ò̄k, with no obvious functional distinction between both forms. Examples for the variation: àk Kòrmò (A140.22) ~ ò̄k Kòrmò (A138.21) [to Korno (proper name)] (both after dîvè “dire”) • àk róm-tù (D349) ~ ò̄k róm-tù (A134.12) [to my daughter].

(§28) **Genitive in -r.** The texts provide a number of new genitive forms, among them the interesting couple micò “petit garçon” – gen. micòr (D374, A116.18, A120.30; but Fédry 1974: 13 gives micòr) • micà “petite fille” – gen. micàr (A134.8, A136.16). But the new forms have not guided me to any new insights in addition to the rules already known. It should be noted that the genitive of gèè “gens” is firmly attested as gèèmìr (A64.9, A66.13, A70.6, A154.2), a form that is somewhat irregular and contradicts the tone rule given in my article that L nouns generally form L genitives.

The noun “sauce” in fact appears as tìw (A132.4), as was postulated in my footnote 12.

(§34) **Subject proclitics.** The subject proclitic of the 1st sg. consistently appears as nà in the texts. Fédry’s alternative form nò must have been taken from a different dialect and is in fact close to the East Dangla form nò (de Montgolfier 1976: 218bis; Shay 1999: 123).

Fédry’s most precise explanation of the 1st pl. inclusive–exclusive distinction is to be found in Fédry (2010: 235): “il y a deux formes différentes de «nous»: gè tè «nous avons mangé (moi et toi, ou moi et vous)» et: nì tè «nous avons mangé (nous autres, c’est-à-dire moi et lui, ou moi et eux, sans toi ou sans vous)»”.

(§40) **Her-pronouns.** We can probably state as a rule that H nouns commonly become L when a her-pronoun is attached. Consider the following
new examples: ádī “ventre” – àd-tì [her belly] (A16.8, A28.4, A60.2, D13), the form àd-tì (D8) is not confirmed • àndé “boule” – àndi-tì [her porridge ball] (A40.8) • dëngé “oreille” – dëngi-tì [her ear] (A90.18) • sérpé “moitié” – sërpi-tì [her half] (A6.2, A8.5, context form).

The texts support the stem bɔ̀ɔ̀- or bɔ́ɔ́-, but not bɔ̀ɔ̀-, of the noun “sœur”: bɔ́ɔ́-r [my sister] (A88.15, A92.21), bɔ́ɔ̀-nj [your.M sister] (A96.29).

(§42) Possessive suffixes on genitive nouns. The noun wèèr “lieu”, genitive wéérdí, attests a genitive form wèèr-cí [at his place] (A76.8, A76.10); the form wèèr-cì (D46), which would be irregular by all standards, is not confirmed.

(§45) Direct object clitics: me-pronouns. The following passage demonstrates that the context form of the me-pronouns is less used than of the him-pronouns: gém giingi-ci séllè, kĩŋ giingi-g séllè “Celui qui vous fait du bien, vous lui faites du bien” (A114.11, ginè “faire”). In essentially the same context, the clitic -gà “him” loses its terminal vowel but the clitic -ci “you” preserves it.

(§46) Direct object clitics: him-pronouns. While the tone of these enclitics is L after most verbal tenses, him-pronouns following a singular imperative usually have a H tone, which may or may not extend onto the verb stem: pèccè “décapsuler” – pèccì-gú [thresh them (grains)!] (A114.11) • kôċè “frapper” – kôċi-gá “tape-le” (A150.8) • dûunè “attacher” – dûun-gú [attach them!] (A108.7) • gidiyé “faire une transaction d’achat ou de vente” – gidiy-gá [buy him!] (A102.14) • ôbè “prendre” – ôb-cá “prends-la” (A126.4) • icè “prendre” – ici-g [take him!] (A150.5) – ici-c [take her!] (A86.5, context forms) • kôlè “appeler” – kôlì-g “appelle-le” (A72.2, A82.18) • râsè “laisser” – râsì-c [leave her!] (A124.36). This does not seem to apply to the me-pronouns, at any rate not to the 1st person clitic -nò “me”: kôlì-n “appelle-moi” (A44.4) • râsì-n “laisse-moi” (A48.3, A106.3) (both context forms). Cf. also §76 below.

(§47) Indirect object clitics. I gave no examples of context forms (with the final vowel lost) of indirect object clitics in my article. But such forms are possible, e.g.: nà dìyi-j ân [he told him that] (A150.6, dìyè “dire” + -jì) • kàdïwì-k [told you.F] (A22.10, kàdïwè “parler” + -kè) • tà gìnì-d tiw [she made me the sauce] (A86.7, ginè “faire” + dù).

(§47a) Expanded object clitics. Two object clitics, -tì (3rd sg. fem. indirect object) and -nì (1st pl. excl. direct or indirect object), were cited in my article in these forms as given by Fédry (1974: 11). While the texts attest them, expanded by-forms -tìtì and -tìni, respectively, seem to be used more often. I will start with examples of -tìtì (context form -tit) as the 3rd sg. fem. dative clitic: dìy-it (A138.21) ~ dìy-tìt (A140.22) ~ dìy-tit (A152.10) [tell her!] (dìyè “dire”,
imperative, all context forms) • *ki diy-tít “tu lui as dit” (A54.10, perfect) • *ná déé-tít zúgá “il lui construisit enfin une case” (A24.12, déé “achever”, perfect) • *ká pákii-t ámáy “tu lui as versé de l’eau” (A62.5) ~ yáá-cồ ànx ásù pákii-tít [her mother said “come” and poured (water) for her] “sa maman (...) l’obligea à se laver” (A64.10, pákè “verser”, subjunctive) • *iyá pámàì-tít “il lui servit donc” (A134.7, nàámè “envoyer”, subjunctive) • *ná iyíi-títì [and he brought to her] (A126.3, iyè “apporter”, subjunctive) • *ná bérìì-tít “il lui donna” (A8.6, A118.26, bérè “donner”, subjunctive) • *ná gáàrì-tít “il lui indiqua” (A8.6, gáàrè “montrer”, perfect). But only the shorter form -tí can be used within a clitic complex. This applies (1) to the habitual tense, where the clitic is accompanied by a -g-element (see §76 below), and (2) to the co-occurrence together with a direct object clitic (§49).

Attestations of the 1st pl. excl. clitic are much scarcer, but I can point out téèn-tìnì [ate us] (A120.31, A122.32, téè “manger”), contrasting with téèn-kò [ate you.Pl] (A120.31, A122.32) with no such increment in the same context, and ásìn-tìnì [came to us] (A38.4, A108.6, ásè “venir”).

(§49) **Indirect and direct object clitics together.** The texts contain several new examples of verbs with indirect and direct object clitics at the same time. The indirect object clitic, which comes first, is then usually written with a long vowel, and its L tone may change to LH or H, but not consistently so: nà iy-kèè-gù [I brought them to you.F] (A130.8, iyè “apporter” + kè + gù) • *ki iy-diù-g [you brought him to me] (A70.6, context form) • *i-diù-c [bring her to me!] “donne-moi celle” (A42.4) • gáàr-diù-g [show him to me!] (A94.25, gáàrè “montrer”) • *ôb-kèè-cà [took her for you] (A18.3, ôbè “prendre”) • sààybin-cóó-g [explained it to them] (A54.10) • bùŋ bér-jìì-g [God gave them to you] (A110.9, béré “donner”) • pákì-tíí-g ámáy “et lui versa de l’eau” (A64.10, pákè “verser”). This tone rise does not seem to occur with verbs in the subjunctive tense (§74), e.g.: *ŋú iyíi-cóó-gù [and they brought them to them] (A40.7) • *ná iyíi-ti-gà [and he brought him to her] (A70.5) • tá bérìì-jì-cà [and she gave her to him] (A63.6, A8.5) • *ná bérìì-ti-gà [and he gave him to her] (A122.35) • bérìì-ti-cà [and (she) gave her to her] (A60.4, A62.7). See also §71a below.

(§50) **Relative pronouns.** The syntax of relative clauses can now be described in some detail. The relative clause immediately follows its head noun and is introduced by a relative pronoun (m. *nàà, f. *táà, pl. *ńúù). If there is also a demonstrative, it will be located to the right of the whole noun phrase, i.e. of the relative clause (see next section §51). There is no resumptive element within the relative clause, whether the head noun serves as the subject, direct object or oblique argument of the relative clause (no attestations for indirect object). The relative pronouns happen to be homonymous with the subject proclitics of the future tense (§82), but syntax usually makes it easy
to keep them apart. It seems that when the head noun is a direct object or an oblique argument, and the relative clause has a present tense reading, the verb of the relative clause will be in the subjunctive tense (§74), but the evidence is not abundant enough to show whether this is compulsory. Examples:

Head noun is the subject: gém nàà ɗéé ɓàkkí “l’homme qui court là-bas” (A98.4, symbol ɗ added by me) • míc tòò ɓóò buùrì “Une fille qui épouse un lion” (A28 title) • yàǎ-kò tòò ɗéé ɓàkkí [your mother who gave birth to you] “celle qui t’a mise au monde” (A20.7).

Head noun is the direct object: tìw ñùù nà tèè yàǎ-kò “la sauce qui je suis en train de manger” (A84.5, subjunctive of tì “manger”, with final demonstrative, lit. [this sauce]) • kàmà nàà gààrì ɗéé-tí ɗó [the animals that the elephant had killed] “la viande des animaux écrasés par l’éléphant” (A16.7, perfect of ɗéé “tuer” with past marker -tì, §80) • dàŋàl ñùù nà éciri-t ɗó mín kèmeè [the bed (pl.) that I dug long ago] (A66.12) • sèrpi-t tà jàr gàà “la viande des animaux écrasés par l’éléphant” (A16.7, perfect of dèël “tuer” with past marker -tì, §80) • dàŋ àl ñùù nà ècìrì-t áà “la moitié du grain d’arachides qu’elle lui avait donnée” (A6.2).

Head noun is the oblique argument: wèèr ñàà gààg gàà “la sauce qui (in) which the raven sat down” (A28.3) • aśi-t kàt wàf kà mààrì tòò tòò gòy-tí ɗó ità [(he) came and arrived at that rock (on) which she had sat down] (A130.7) • wèr-in ñàà ki bàày-Çà-ik [that place of yours (to) which you go] “là où [tu] désires aller” (A26.16) • iúùdìn tòò tààr àsè ɗó [the moment (at) which she came] “au moment où elle vint” (A144.4) • sig tòò nà ipirìy kàà-kè ɗó [the needle (with) which I unravel your head (i.e. hairs)] “le bout pointu du poinçon que j’utilise pour défaitre tes cheveux” (A90.18).

Only if the head noun is a possessor, the relative clause will contain a resumptive element in the form of a possessive suffix: gém nàà péélé-y yààrò “L’homme à la grande verge” [lit.: man who his-penis is-big] (A6 title) • géém tòò kàc-tí sèèrì [a woman whose heads are two] “une autre fée à deux têtes” (A72.3) • gèè ñùù bàà-cò kò [people whose bottom does not exist, i.e. who are weak] “gens sans fondement, sans force” (Fédry 1971b: 71).

Also an independent pronoun may serve as the head: nòn nàà gààfsé-r bòlk kà “moi, avec mon long cou” [lit.: I who my-neck is-long DEM] (A14.4). A relative clause may be headless and introduced by the relative pronoun alone: tòò ɟàì “celle qui écrase mal le mil” (A42.2, A44.5, ɟàì “écraser à moitié”). Occasionally, there is a semantically weak head noun that would better be skipped in an idiomatic English translation: mààbin-ik nàà kà dört-ik [your thing that you heard DEM] “ce que tu as entendu” (A20.5).

The masc. sg. relative pronoun nàà has a frequent extended use as a temporal or conditional conjunction, the latter interpretation being indicated by a clause-final particle sà “if”: nàà nù dêé-tí [when they had departed] “quand ceux-ci furent partis” (A34.12) • nàà kà ròkkà òbè mìt sà [if you want to marry a man] (A70.6). This can be explained from an oblique relative clause in which some
head noun like “time” has been suppressed: “(the time at) which they had departed”. In this extended use, yáà may be found as an alternative to ṣáà with no evident functional distinction: ṣáà nà dìy-cò (A102.14) ~ yáà nà dìy-cò (A102.15) [when I tell them].

(§51) **Basic demonstratives.** In the light of the texts, the section on the basic demonstratives needs to be substantially rewritten. I will first discuss their form and then their function. The demonstratives are enclitics. The orthography of the texts usually attaches them to the preceding element by a stroke, but not with full consistency. I keep the spellings as in the original. The demonstratives have the forms -íkà (m), -ítà (f), -íkù (pl): mícò “petit garçon” (D130) – míc-íkà [the boy] (A38.2, A108.6, A110.8) • buùrì “lion” (D100) – buùr-íkà [the lion] (A24.12) • mícà “petit fille” (D130) – míc-ítà [the girl] (A20.7, A22.10) • àkò “feu” (D14) – àk ètà [the fire] (A26.15) • gà “gens” (D318) – gà-íkù [the men/ people] (A4.10) • tiw “sauce” – tiw-íkù [the sauce] (A86.5, A136.15, with the usual plural for liquids).

The initial i- of the demonstrative may occasionally be dropped in what I call allegro forms, while the general tone contour is preserved: wàà bìnà “quiconque, quelqu’un” (D141) – wààbìn-íkà [this one] (A24.12), but allegro wààbín gà (A14.3) • gàmò “machine, affaire” (D310), pl. gàmìnà – gàmìn-íkù [these things, these ones] (A2.2), but gàmìn kù (A34.11) ~ gàmìn kù (A136.13) • tòrdà “palissade de paille” (D166) – tòrdà-y-ítà [his fence] (A122.36), but tòrdà-ŋ tà [your.M fence] (A124.36) instead of the expected *tòrdà-ŋ-ítà.

The demonstratives drop their final vowel in the context form: buùr-ík [the lion] (A24.12), míc-ík [the boy] (A100.10, A110.8, A148.4), míc-ít [the girl] (A60.4, A90.19, A116.17). These context forms are in fact far more frequent than the free forms in the running texts. The tone of the thus shortened demonstrative is always H and never *HL as might have been expected. In the context form, the m. and pl. demonstratives become indistinguishable.

The element to which the demonstrative attaches assumes the context form, too. In more detail: (1) Words terminating in a consonant have no context form and thus remain unchanged: bùù “ciel” (D100) – bùù-ík [the sky] (A50.7, context form of the demonstrative). (2) Words terminating in a vowel usually drop it, as in most examples cited above. (3) Those exceptional words that preserve their final vowel in context (see §6 of my article and above) keep it also before the demonstrative, which creates a hiatus between this vowel and the i- of the demonstrative. The texts show some variation as to whether both vowels are retained as such, or whether there is an assimilation of quality (in which case the first vowel wins) or of tone (in which case the second vowel wins). This concerns, e.g., (1) the adverbs ìsì, ìnsì “ainsi”: ìsi-íkà (A24.14) and ìnsì-ík (A18.2, A60.3, A144.3); (2) the numeral kàà (m), kààdà (f) “one”: kàà-ík (A24.15), kààdà-át (A112.7); (3) monosyllabics such as the negation dò: dòókà
(A20.8, A126.2); (4) infinitive forms of verbs: ûɲé “entrer” (D47) – ûɲjéé kà (A10.8) • wàárè “danser” (D144) – wàárè-ák (A116.16) ~ wàárè-ék (A122.36).

Progressive forms of verbs in -aw assume their usual context form in -a (§65) also before a demonstrative clitic, e.g. ásè “venir” – progr. ásàw: ásáákà (A40.6) • tâlé “voir” – progr. tâláw: tâlá-ák (A40.6) • wàärè “danser”: wàáráák “(Comme les gens) dansaient” (A12.13, for expected *wááráák).

Among the possessive suffixes, those of the plural as well as the 3rd sg. fem. -tì do not lose their final vowels in the majority of the cases (cf. §43 of my article): gâŋginà [drums] (D314) + co + ikù > gâŋgingôòkù [their drums. DEM] (A12.14) • gâmìnà [things] + co + ikù > gâmincôök (A54.11, context form) • wèèr “lieu” + co + ikà > âk wèèrcô-ikà [to their place] (A82.19) • wèèr + te + ikà > âk wèértéék [to our.INCL place] (A152.11) • sin-tì [her brother] (D374) + ikà > sint-ìkà (A34.9) • mit-tì [her husband] (D358) + ikà > mìtti-ikà (A142.27) • ròntì [her son] (D7) + ikà > rònti-ik (A68.4, A148.3).

By contrast, the other possessives drop their vowel: sîn-dú “mon frère” (D374) + ikà > sînd-ìkà (A30.6) • dáá-cì “son épouse” (D176) + ìtì > dááç-ìt (A148.1) • róm-kè “ma fille” (Fédry 1971b: 15) + ìtì > rómìk-ìt (A22.9) • káɲ [dogs] (D269) + ke (2nd fem) + ikù > kâɲk-ìkù “tes chiens-là” (A78.13).

Function: In my preliminary analysis that I can only offer at present, the “basic demonstratives” occur in two distinct syntactic environments: Either at the end of a noun phrase, or after a verb (perhaps better: at the end of a clause). When appended to a noun phrase, their meaning comes close to that of the definite article in European languages. The following usages can be singled out: (1) Previous reference marker, as in the tale on p. 14 where a witch (mìmùùtà) is introduced who is referred to with the demonstrative (mìmùùt-ìt) on all subsequent occasions. (2) Implicit previous reference. One story is about a woman who was pregnant. Then we hear about mîc-ìkà (A38.2) [the boy] with the demonstrative because the existence of some child was presupposed. The accompanying French translation spells out this presupposition more explicitly: “l’enfant dans le ventre de sa mère”. (3) Generic use as in gĕé-kìkù [the men/people] (A4.10) in the closing phrase of a story “C’est depuis ce jour que le chien est resté parmi les hommes.” (4) Vocative, as in gĕēm-ìt “femme!” (A22.11), gĕē-k “camarades!” (A38.5). (5) Together with certain nouns of time, the clitic has preserved its presumable original function as a proper demonstrative. See the examples in §51 of my article and add màâkô “soir” (D114, here said to be feminine) – màák-ìk “ce soir” (A116.17, A120.28, with the masc. demonstrative). But the demonstrative does not appear in all instances where one of the said conditions applies, so more investigation of its use is certainly desirable.

The position of the demonstrative is not after the noun but at the end of the whole noun phrase following all other attributes including relative clauses: séríp táà géél-ìtà [the side that is left.DEM = the left side] (A26.15) • dòóyin
Supplements to West Dangla grammar

kú yààcó ŋúù dòoyit-ìkù [the faeces of his mother which she defecated.DEM] (A16.8). The demonstrative can also be appended to a personal pronoun (táár-ìt wàà “Qui est-ce” [she.DEM is who?], A22.10), to another demonstrative (ròmòr ãnt-ìtà “ma fille-là”, A144.3), or to a proper name (Tògòròc-ìt, A88.14).

Coming now to what I take as post-verbal or post-clausal demonstratives, my analysis is very tentative, their form, syntax and function all being in need of further research. There are instances in which the demonstrative takes a generic masc. sg. form, and this seems to be the most common case: nàà bíjé àk-ìkà “que j’aille allumer le feu-là” (A136.14, agreement neither with the speaker, who is a woman, nor with àkò “feu”, which is fem.) • ìyà mát-ìkà “maman est morte-là” (A140.24, A142.25) • tá óbiy mèèrām kà “elle prend bien là” (D202) • tá dìyt-ìk [she said.DEM] (A50.5) • kà gédra dō-òk [you.F cannot. DEM] (A64.10) • tá dòoyá-àk dòoyà kùm dì “(A partir de ce jour,) même ses excréments n’étaient plus que de la viande” [lit.: she shits.DEM, shits meat only] (A16.7). In other examples, however, the post-verbal demonstrative appears to agree with some element of the clause, either with the subject: ìsì kàt g Òbìy gòyìy-ìkù [this is how people marry and live.DEM] (A124.37, at the end of a story), or with the object: nàà súkín-c-ìkù [I will collect them.DEM] (A136.13).

The analysis is hampered by the fact that many instances only provide the ambiguous context form -ìk.

When an adverb or ideophone follows the verb, the demonstrative may attach to the latter element rather than to the verb: tá bààt pèy-ìk [she went again. DEM] (A138.19) • táár tàŋkìlè dì kèët-ìk [she lingered long.DEM] “elle traînait beaucoup” (A22.9) • tá yëëpit yàw yàw yàw-ìk “elle courut rapidement” (A56.14) • ṣà sààlit yùp-ìk “il tomba ‘vroum’” (A36.13). But this is not necessarily so: (Where is the toilet?) bèè gòyìy-ìk [a hole is.DEM over there] “Il y a un trou quelque part (il lui indique la direction)” (A12.12). When a demonstrative clitic follows a clause-final object, it may be hard to decide whether the clitic belongs to the noun phrase or to the clause as a whole.

The meaning of the post-verbal demonstrative remains rather opaque and is, in most cases, not evident from the French translation. It may sometimes be roughly equivalent to “there” as suggested by an occasional translation by Fédry: kì ginà kà “tu (le) fais là?” (D206), or by the French paraphrase of the following passage: (A boy was sent to a certain place to obtain an egg of a viper. He went on.) zùgil *wêj-ìk4 [the viper slept.DEM] “Arrivé au lieu-dit, il trouva la vipère endormie” (A68.2; no agreement with zùgilè “vipère”, which is feminine, D394). We may translate this as “The viper had fallen asleep there”. The demonstrative may also encourage a deictic interpretation of the clause as in the following example: (A voice is to be heard out of nowhere, then the question comes) màà álá ìsì-ìkà “Qui-est-ce-qui chante ainsi?” (A24.14). The term ìsì “ainsi” clearly

4 The text has wêj-ìk.
Carsten Peust

has a deictic reading here, whereas it is more usually non-deictic (“like what was said before”) in clauses with no demonstrative clitic.

(§52) **Complex demonstratives.** In a proper demonstrative function, one uses various expansions of the basic demonstratives. The most common one is the series Ḣŋkâ m. / Ḥntâ f. / Ḣŋkù pl. (< *án+íkâ etc.), which serves as a near demonstrative “this”. Like the basic demonstratives, it can appear in a vocative phrase: òyîí-kô mida âŋkù “Bonjour, les hommes!” (A76.9, similarly A94.24).

The demonstratives of the Ḣŋkààdê / Ḣntààdê / Ḣŋkùûdê series, which are probably composed from the near demonstrative and the element êdê “là” (D29), seem to be used in particular for items that the speaker presents to the addressee, and thus may imply a proximity to the 2nd person: (A mother sends out her son to bring her a mat [árgá, fem. gender]. Then he comes back:) ñôntààdê iyà “La voici maman” (A70.6) • nôn Ḣŋkààdê Mámmàt [I DEM am Mammat] “c’est moi Mahamat qui te parle” (A70.7) • (A group of hyenas want to eat a girl. But they agree to first ask her mother for permission. Then the girl says to her mother:) ñûñiñ Ḣŋkùûdê rôkìí-n téên-dû “Ces hyènes-là [i.e. that I have brought to you], veulent me manger” (A144.6).

The Ḣŋkîrê / Ḣntîrê / Ḣŋkürê-series expresses remote deixis, e.g.: (Eh! regardez,) bàg páây Ḣntîrê “un criquet s’est posé là-bas” (A156.8, bàgâ fem. “sauterelle”) • nà tàlîî-g Ḣŋkürê [I see-them DEM] “je vois un lit derrière notre case là-bas” (A66.12) (referring to dâŋâl “lit” which is a grammatical plural).

Finally, the texts attest a kârê / târê / kûrê-series of demonstratives. These too have an implication of remoteness but are used for référents that are invisible: kòógën kât gɔɔfii-c kûrê “les enfants la gardent là-bas” (A8.6, the speaker is in the house but the children are out in the bush for herding) • bàáwò jààkît gêr-ir ñàa éérê kârê [go first to my house which is there DEM] “Allez chez ma deuxième femme (, et vous verrez bien ce qu’il y a)” (A46.10). This pronoun is also used to introduce fairy tale characters like the English formula “once upon a time”: ânà, mâc târê [they-say, that girl ...] “Il y a longtemps de cela, une fille ...” (A132.1).


(§56) **Verbal tone classes.** As was explained in that paragraph, West Dangla verbs are distributed across three tone classes: L, HLL, and (L)H (mostly H, but LH for certain long stems). As Fédry (1977: 102) shows, the West Dangla L and

5 But àntirê in A62.6. The evidence for the tones of this series is conflicting.
HLL classes regularly correspond to two tone classes of East Dangla, namely H and LM (M = mid tone) respectively. The third class of West Dangla, (L)H, has no consistent equivalent in East Dangla, but corresponds to either H or LM verbs (Fédry 1977: 103). This class comprises all verbs whose last consonant is a voiced or glottalized obstruent. Fédry came to the conclusion that the two-way distinction of East Dangla must represent the original state of affairs, and that verbs with particular final consonants were assigned to a newly formed (L)H class in West Dangla, losing their association with their original tone class. We may call this a terminal tone raising caused by the final consonant.

I agree with Fédry’s general reconstruction, particularly with his conclusion that the West Dangla (L)H tone class emerged late and remained restricted to this dialect. But it seems that the original distinction between L and HLL verbs was not entirely obliterated by the effect of terminal tone raising. The texts contain sporadic traces of a fourth tone class HLH, not recognized by Fédry, which I take as representing former HLL verbs that were affected by terminal tone raising: The verb ñjé “entrer” (D47) appears as ñjé in A22.9 (= East Dangla ñjé “entrer”, de Montgolfier 1976: 230), and there is a verb jékidé “regarder à travers le canari” (A34.8), which is to be identified with Fédry’s jékidé “se tenir sur la pointe des pieds, regarder par dessus un obstacle” (D241) (possibly = East Dangla zikidé “se pendre”, de Montgolfier 1976: 348).

I thus assume a scenario of three diachronic stages: (1) Originally, there were two tone classes L (= East Dangla H) and HLL (= East Dangla LM). (2) Out of these, terminal tone raising gave rise to two new tone classes LH and HLH in West Dangla only. (3) Subsequently, there was a tendency for LH and HLH to merge into a single tone class (L)H. The shorter LH verbs were simplified to H, which may be by a regular sound law (consider cases such as gér “maison” + có > gér-có [their home], §37). On the other hand, also the complex HLH contour was apt to be flattened to H. In the available documentation, the four-way distinction of stage (2) is on the verge of extinction but still occasionally traceable, perhaps only in very careful pronunciation, or with a few speakers.

(§59) Infinitive with possessor. It should be mentioned that HLL infinitives, when combined with her-suffixes (§40), usually keep their tonal contour: ààwè “goûter” – ààwin-tì [to taste her] (A22.10) • bérè “donner” – bérin-tì (A62.5) • gásè “obtenir” – gásin-tì (A18.3) • göjé “garder” – göjìn-tì (A8.5) • wéè “accoucher” – wéèn-tì (A22.11). This is, of course, also true of L verbs, e.g. tàlè “voir” – tàlin-tì (A8.6, A44.7). Evidence for H infinitives is not clear enough: óbé “prendre” – óbin-tì (D5) ~ óbin-tì (A88.15).

We also have to note an irregularity of the L verb tèè “manger”, whose tone class seems to change to HL in the infinitive when a possessive suffix follows: téèn-dù [to eat me] (A144.5) • téèn-jí [to eat him] (A114.9) • téèn-tì [to eat her] (A144.7) • téèn-có [to eat them] (A114.12).
Progressive. This tense most commonly refers to the present, but instances with past reference, which imply a progressive or conative interpretation, are also frequent in the texts, e.g.: iyá ñáà tá ëmlàw, kár ân [as she was leaving, then (she) said] “Quand elle voulut sortir, elle dit” (A48.2) • iyá tá icilàw, gòrin icàl dò [and she was lifting (it), but the basket did not lift] “lorsqu’elle essaya de le soulever, elle n’y parvint pas” (A18.2). The verb ròkè “vouloir” is generally employed in the progressive tense, in both present and past contexts, because of its inherent imperfective semantics, e.g.: iyá ñá ròkà kàt sèc àmày-ìk [and he wanted then to drink the water] “Peu après, il eut soif et voulut boire de l’eau” (A122.34) • yáá-cò ròkà òbé mítìkò “Sa mère voulait se remanier” (A68.1).

In certain contexts, the progressive is syntactically equivalent to an infinitive. For example, the verb bààgè “se mettre à, commencer” (D79) may be combined with either the infinitive or the progressive, the latter evidently implying a longer duration of the action. With infinitive: kòkir bààg cààcé “le coq commença à chanter” (A2.4) • ñú bààg-it sîtè “celles-ci (...) se mirent à sourire” (A88.10). With progressive: tá bààg-it gáání-i-ji [she began to prepare the meal for him] “depuis ce jour, elle lui prépara régulièrement de la boule” (A16.10) • ádi-y bààg léénpá kédèr [his belly began to expand to the ground] “son ventre devint si gros qu’il toucha presque le sol” (A88.15) • ñú bààg sîtù-cà “il se mit à rire d’elle” (A58.9). I already mentioned in §82 of my article that the progressive can also substitute for the infinitive in the periphrastic future formation. The texts provide another example for that: (If I don’t like it) nàà dëëtà dò gà [I-will go.PROG, won’t I?] “je voudrais bien partir, non?” (A8.6, dëëtè “quitter”).

Progressive: Tone. I claimed in my article that most HLL verbs form a H progressive. This has to be revised. Fédry’s materials indeed suggest a H contour, and such forms are well attested also in the texts. But at least as frequently, the texts provide a tonal variety HLH, e.g.: àmilè “sortir” – ëmlàw (A48.2) • lààwè “aller” – bààwàw (A48.3) • dëëtè “partir” – dëëtàw (A28.2) • étèlè “laisser couler” – étèlàw (A52.7) • gòòfè “garder” – gòòfàw (A8.6) • pèèlè “veiller” – pèèlàw (A130.7) • kóòcilè “regarder en haut” – kóòcilà (A112.7, context form). This also holds when an object clitic follows: gòòfè – gòòfìí-c “(les enfants) la gardent” (A8.6) • kóòcilè – tá kóòcilìí-c pàà, pàà, pàà “elle se mit à la regarder très longuement” (A18.5). HLH is most likely the proper tone pattern of these progressive forms, whereas H, considered as the norm in my article, results from a contour levelling that may have originated in fast or careless pronunciation. A comparable case of tone levelling can be observed for the HLH-infinitives of verbs (see §56 above).

The fact remains true that a subset of HLL verbs form a L progressive, such as ñà “venir” – ñàw (A148.3, A150.5).
(§69) **Habitual: Tone.** The habitual tense of *ibinè* “savoir” is confirmed to have a H tone: *íbán* [know(s)] (A16.8, A32.6, A104.15, A144.1). This must be regarded as an irregularity of this particular verb, since L verbs otherwise have a L habitual. Cf. also the addition to §76 below.

(§70) **Singular imperative.** The texts show clearly that the imperative makes no formal distinction of gender. For example, the form *ásù* [come!] (from *ásè* “venir”), the most frequent of all imperative forms, is well attested with both male subjects (A16.8, A98.6, etc.) and female subjects (A8.5, A28.4, etc.).

(§71) **Plural imperative.** The tone of the 2nd person pl. imperative shows some variation, but the most common contours are H for L verbs (probably also for H verbs): còkiyè “écouter” – còkiyó (A12.13, but còkiyò A128.7) • dūùnè “attacher” – dūūnó (A54.11) • náålè “empiler” – nááló (A116.17) • tálè “voir” – táló (A102.13, but tâlò A156.8), and HLL for HLL verbs: *ásè* “venir” – *ásò* (A44.7, A56.14, etc.) • bááwè “aller” – bááwó (A8.7, A46.10, A72.3, but bááwó A28.2) • dîyè “dire” – dîyó (A152.10) • gâlè “tomber” – gâló (A102.13).

Before object clitics, -o changes to -in-. Examples with direct object clitics: èré “attendre” – èrin-nó “attendez-moi” (A144.8) • ózîlè “féliciter” – ózîlin-nó “encouragez-moi” (A14.4) • dôôdè “marteler” – dôôdîn-gà “enchaînez-le” (A76.9) • ôbé “prendre” – ôbín-cà [take her!] “venez l’attraper” (A120.29) • tîsè “enterrer” – tîsîn-cà (I expect *tîsîn-cà* [bury her!]) “vous allez enterrer la maman” (A140.25); with indirect object clitics: cààcè “redire ce qu’on a entendu” – cààcèn-dù [report to me!] “dites-le moi” (A2.2) • kááwè “parler” – kááwin-tì [tell her!] (A152.10).

In monoradical verbs, the termination -o is absorbed by the a-vowel of the root, so that the plural imperative is kept distinct from the singular imperative only by tone, if at all: déè “achever” – dàà [stop!] (A144.5, context requires a plural). The form is better recognizable before an object clitic due to the then preserved nasal: lèè “mettre” – láàn-g pis-kò “posez vos mains” (A146.9).

(§71a) **Hortative.** When a sg. or pl. imperative takes the indirect object clitic -tè “us (inclusive)”, this has the semantic effect of including the speaker into the action. We thus get, respectively, “do (sg.) for us” > “let’s do (you.SG and me)” and “do (pl.) for us” > “let’s do (all of us)”. I adopt Lovestrand’s (2015) term “hortative” for this syntagm. I recognized the composite character of these forms only after having read Lovestrand’s paper who provides close typological parallels from four other East Chadic languages. This is obviously a common path of grammaticalization in the region. Examples of the singular-based hortative: (a man says to his wife:) kááw ànt dáá-téé-c [this word, let’s finish it] “gardons cette affaire entre nous” (A16.10, déè “tuer, achever”) • (one man says to another:) yéèp-té (I expect *yéèp-tè*) “rentrons” (A98.5, yéèpè
“retourner”). Examples of the plural-based hortative: (he said to the villagers:) yéèpín-tè “retournons” (A70.6) • (he said to his people:) déètín-tè [let’s go] (A40.6, déètè “partir”) • (the inhabitants of a village say:) gádîn-tè rásin-tée-gà “fuyons, laissons-le” (A38.3, gádé “courir”, rásè “laisser”). As two of these examples show, -tè changes to -tée- before a direct object clitic, which is exactly the change expected for proper indirect object clitics (see §49 above).

Furthermore, there are hortative forms meaning “let’s go” from a defective verb stem ag-/ak- of which no other forms are attested and whose tone class cannot be determined with certainty. Singular-based: ãk-tè “allons donc ensemble” (A36.12) ~ âk-tè “allons-y, dit l’homme à sa femme” (A64.9); plural-based: ãgîn-tè “nous irons en brousse” (A116.18) ~ ãgin-tè “Allons-y! répondirent tous ensemble les autres” (A4.5). Even the Arabic expression yâllà [come on!] “bon, allons-y” (D259), which is not a verb at all, can serve as the base of a hortative form yâllín-tè (D259, A40.6) “allons-y”.

(§73) Supine. This form, called “directionnel” by Fédry (1990: 11) and occurring exclusively in periphrastic constructions together with one of the verbs bâàwè “aller” or ãsè “venir”, has now become well attested by the text collection since it is widely used in the narratives. I will discuss its function in more detail at the end of this paper and focus only on morphology in this paragraph.

The supine is segmentally identical with the habitual (§68) but may differ from it in tone. HLL verbs usually form their supine with a characteristic LH contour, e.g.: ámîlè “sortir” – tá bâà ámâl “elle arriva à s’en sortir” (A20.8) • nômè “transpercer” – tá bâà nôyám “jusqu’à ce qu’elle trouât” (A10.10) • dêè “tuer” – nó bâå dàà “je suis allé tuer” (Fédry 1990: 11) • lêè “mettre plusieurs choses” – yú bâà-t làà [they went and put down (the groundnuts)] (A8.6) • gâsè “obtenir” – tá bâå gâs “elle alla trouver” (A6.2, A8.5, context form) • gôyé “s’asseoir” – ñâár bâà gôy “il était resté” (A40.9, context form) • sûkè “ramasser” – yú bâà-t sûk [they went and took] (A54.11, context form). I consider occasional other tone patterns as imprecise notations, e.g.: tá bâà-c gâsâ “elle alla la trouver” (A94.24, for expected *gâsá) • dêè “tuer” – yú bâà dàà bôtà “il tua plusieurs sortes de gibiers” (A30.5).

The supine of L verbs has a L tone so that there is no formal difference at all to the habitual: tâlè “voir” – yú bâà-g tâlà [they went and saw him] “l’une d’entre elles vit le garçon” (A120.27) • kôlè “appeler” – bâà-g kôlà “ils allèrent donc les appeler” (A8.7) • dôsè “frapper” – ñà bâà-g dôyas “il alla le toucher” (A106.2) • càarlè “accrocher” – bâà-g câyâl “il (...) alla l’accrocher” (A100.9) • kókè “voler” – nó bâà-t kòkàn “il vola” (A126.4) • dûkûmè “couper” – ñà ási-t dûkà “il sépara” (A76.8).

The supine of H verbs is attested with either L or LH tone. This might reflect the double origin of the H-verbs (see §56 above), but the material is
too sparse to be certain: bóóbé “verser” – báá-t bòyàb “(Sidirko) alla verser” (A90.17) • üŋje “entrer” – tá báá üng “elle (...) y entra” (A130.7) • diibé “s’enrouler” – tá ási-t kát diiyáb “elle (...) revint s’enrouler” (A12.11).

(§74) Subjunctive. This is another tense for which I had only a few attestations, but which has now become amply attested by the texts, even more so than the supine. For the time being, I retain my tentative term “subjunctive” which, however, may need to be revised once the function of this tense will have been established more clearly in the future. The subjunctive terminates in -iyo, shortened to -iy in the context form. Object clitics attach to the context form which the texts then spell with -ii-. When there are clitics, the subjunctive becomes segmentically identical with the progressive, but both forms are often kept distinct by tone. This is well illustrated in the following passage involving the verb òòyè “saluer”, which governs an indirect object: tó òyè-cò an: òyè-kò [and she greeted them (subjunctive) saying: (I) greet you! (progressive)] (A44.5; similarly A6.2). Another case in point is: kà pilii-g dò? (...) iyá ná pilii-g [won’t you open it (the door) (progr.)? ... and he opened it (subj.)] (A46.9, pilè “ouvrir”).

For monoradical verbs, the termination is just -y(o). With an additional object clitic, the tense marker becomes entirely invisible so that the form coincides with the perfect and is hard to identify. I believe that ná léé-gù “il les installa” (A86.8, léé “mettre”; similarly A46.8), which forms part of a series of unambiguous subjunctive forms, should be interpreted as a subjunctive even though it could also be a perfect formally.

Tone: The subjunctive of L verbs has L tone: tèè “manger” – tèèyò (A30.5) • ìmì “réconcilier” – ìmìyò (A16.11) • wàkìlì “poursuivre” – wàkìliyò (A66.12) • ròkì “voouloir” – ròkiy (A100.11, context form) • còkì “écouter” – còkiyìy (A4.3, context form) • tàlì “voir” – tàliy (A156.8, context form). Examples with object clitic: tàli-gà “dès qu’il le vit” (A150.6) – tàli-cà “en la voyant” (A8.5) • dàkì “laisser la place” – dàkì-cò bòtòl “pour leur laisser le passage” (A76.8).

The subjunctive of HLL verbs usually has a HLL pattern: álè “pleurer” – álìyò (A64.9) • dìwsì “éclabousser, s’amuser dans l’eau” [to bathe] – dìwsìyò (A20.8) • pákì “verser” – pákìyò (A66.13) • sì “rire” – sìiyò (A58.9) • wààrè “danser” – wààriyò (A56.13) • léé “mettre plusieurs choses” – lééy (A46.11, context form). Examples with object clitic: rásì “laisser” – rásì-gù “ils le laissèrent derrière eux” (A38.3) • bérè “donner” – bérì-cò [and gave them] (A40.7). While indirect object clitics of the her-group generally have a tone-lowering effect, the HLL pattern of the subjunctive remains unchanged since it already terminates in L (examples above in §47a as well as below in this section).

But certain HLL verbs have a L pattern in the subjunctive, in particular àsè “venir”, some verbs beginning with a voiced obstruent, and (some?) monoradicals: àsè “venir” – àsìyò (A10.7, A130.7) • gòyè “s’asseoir” – gòyìyò (A90.18) • gìnè
“faire” – ginìy (A54.10, context form) • mèc “exagérer” – mèèy (A18.5, context form) • wèè “accoucher” – wèèy (A16.11, context form). This is reminiscent of a similar distribution in the progressive tense (§66).

The subjunctive of H verbs has a HLL pattern: gàɗ “courir” – gàɗiyò (A18.3) • úɲjé “entrer” – úɲjìyì (A10.10, context form) • óɓé “prendre” – óɓìy (A124.37, context form) • óɓìi-gà “elle le prit” (A82.18). The only example of a LH verb is: ìsìɗé “couper seul un arbre” – ìsìɗì-g [and cut them] (A146.10).

Function: The function of the subjunctive definitely deserves further research. I propose as a first approximation that it expresses an action subsequent to another action, or an action that is to be expected in the given context. I will render it as “and I/you/he etc. did” when glossing. This tense often combines with the conjunction iyá “and”, but there is no strict correlation between both.

One very characteristic usage of the subjunctive is to report the accomplishment of an action that was prompted by an imperative form. This is my major reason for assuming that it marks something of an “expected” action. This situation is amply attested, e.g.: ìn àà óɓ-cá, óɓì-cá [he said: yes take her!, (and he) took (subjunctive) her] “D’accord prends-la. Il le prit” (A126.4, óɓé “prendre”) • ìn bùn icìl-òl, iyá bùn icìlì-ìtì [she said: God, lift (it) for me!, and God lifted (subj.) (it) for her] (A48.2, icìlè “soulever”; similarly A50.5) • kòlì-g ìɗ gèy, iyá tå kòlì-g ìn [just call them!, and she called them saying ...] (A80.16, kòlè “appeler”) • gàɗu (...) iyá ñá gàɗiy kéé kéé kéé [run! (...) and he ran long long long] “Fuis cette place (...) Alors l’homme se mit à courir. Il courut longtemps” (A98.4, gàɗé “courir”) • råsin-téé-gà (...) ñú råsi-gà [let’s leave him! (They mounted their horses) and they left him] (A38.4, råsè “laisser”) • ìn àà gidiy-gà, yàllà iyá gidìiyì-gà [he said yes buy it!, OK and (he) bought it] “je vais te l’acheter. D’accord si tu veux. Et il l’acheta” (A102.14, gidìyè “faire une transaction d’achat ou de vente”) • ñàmìn-d àkò, iyá kògìn-ti ñàmìii-tìt àkò [light me a fire!, and her children lit her a fire] “Allumez un feu je vais me réchauffer. Ils allumèrent donc un feu” (A152.9).

In a second group of examples, the subjunctive reports an action announced by some verbal form other than the imperative, e.g.: mìc tårè, ñú âmìl dìwsè ñè éèn-tì, ñì dìwsìyò [that girl, they went out (perfect) to bathe with her friends, (and so) they bathed (subjunctive)] “Jadis, une fille alla se baigner avec ses camarades” (A28.1, dìwsè “éclabousser”) • ñú âmìl jöriyì midày, ñú jöriyìì kée, kée, kée [they went out (perf.) to search men, (and) they searched (subj.) long, long, long] “filles qui avaient quitté leur village pour aller à la recherche des hommes. Elles cherchèrent en vein” (A42.1, âmîlè “sortir”) • (I will give you something to eat) iyá tå bérìi-j mààbìn [and she gave (subj.) him something] (A150.5, bérè “donner”) • (She put her child on the ground,) tå dipìi-g kédér [so after] she put (subj.) it on the ground, (she mounted the tree to pick fruits)] (A148.2, diyè “mettre”). The French translation sometimes renders the
subjunctive by means of a subordinated construction. I am not sure whether this is an issue only of the translation language, in which an expected or backgrounded verbal action might be prone to be subordinated, or whether there are independent arguments for justifying the subordination from Dangla itself. Examples: nàá-ɲ fàpè ák gàngàr; ná fàpiì-g ák gàngàr [‘I will enclose you within a drum’, and he enclosed (subj.) him within a drum] “(...) je vais t’enfermer dans un tambour’. Après l’avoir enfermé (...)” (A100.9, fàpè “garnir d’une peau un tambour”) • nàà tàlin-t jà péélë-ɲ, iyá tà tàlii-cà [I will / want to first see your penis, and she saw (subj.) it] “je vais d’abord voir ta verge! Après l’avoir vue (...)” (A6.3, télè “voir”).

In another large group of instances, the subjunctive expresses an action that is not announced as plainly as in the preceding examples. Nevertheless, I suspect that the tense still marks the action as being expected. Just one example for that: (Four animals lived together) pákìnc dëët mààrtì, rásìì-g gámìn-ìkù [the marabou went (on a) visit, (and so) he left (subj.) those folks] “Un jour, le marabout décida d’aller en voyage et laissa les trois compagnons” (A2.2, rásè “to leave”). It may be assumed that, when the marabou went away from home, this implies that he had to leave his friends, so the action of “leaving” counts as expected.

Finally, this tense is typically used for the aetiological conclusions presented at the end of several of the stories, possibly because they are to be marked as “expected” from the whole preceding story. This also shows that, even though most instances of the subjunctive in the texts occur in past narrative passages, no past meaning is inherent to this tense. Examples: (At the end of a story in which human bones were burnt by fairies:) iyá ɲù sùkìì-g káàs-ik ɲù ñciyìì-gù [and (so) they collect (subj.) bones, (and) they burn (subj.) them] “C’est pourquoi aujourd’hui, le monde met des os au feu” (A46.11) • iyá gëè-k gálò ɲàà yáà-kò dàk ròkìì-g sá, ìyìì báà-yáà-t yáà-kò [and (even) if it is bad people that your mother wants, you go (subj.) to your mother’s bottom] “C’est ainsi que, même si c’est votre mère qui vous propose un vilain garçon en mariage, vous l’acceptez” (A26.17). Another good instance of a subjunctive with a non-past interpretation is the following: (We want to buy your donkey,) kì ròkìy mààgá? [(so) what do you want (subj.) (in exchange)?] (A100.11, ròkè “vouloir”; similarly A76.9).

(§75) Repetitive. The tense so called in my article is closely related to the subjunctive, though less frequent. It is formally identical to the subjunctive except for an additional -g-infix between the verb stem and the termination -iyo.

L-verbs: bìrè “passer le long de” – birgiyò (A100.9) • èemmè “manger” – èmgiyò (A4.8) • jààwè “marcher” – jààvgyò (A64.10, context form); HLL-verbs: álè “pleurer” – álgiyò (A70.6) • dëëtè “partir” – dëëtgìyò (A2.8) • sààrè “chercher” – sààrgìyò (A92.22) • èlpè “repousser” – èlíngìyò (A94.25, context form) • gìnè “faire” – gíngìyò (A20.6, A104.17, A112.3, A118.23, context forms); H-verbs:
wéfé “dormir” – wéjgìyò (A70.6, I expect *wéjgìyò) • délè “puiser” – déjgìyò (A88.16). Examples with object clitics do not seem to exist; see §76 below for discussion.

The “repetitive” is thus a subjunctive formed from a verb enlarged by a -g-extension, which appears to add an imperfective nuance to the action. Like the subjunctive, the repetitive seems to include a notion of “expectedness”: riỳ di, kà mààmbò? iyà ìì diì riỳgìyò [just sing! where are you? and the bird sang (repetitive)] “Chante-moi que je me retrouve. Et celui-ci se met à chanter” (A92.22, riỳ “chanter”) • iyà ñù wààríy kàtè (…) iyà ñù wààargìyò [and they danced (subjunctive) then (…) and they danced (repetitive)] “Alors elles se mirent à danser (…) Les autres fées ne cessèrent pas de danser” (A56.12, wààràrè “danser”).

The assumption that the repetitive entails an imperfective nuance is supported by passages in which this tense occurs in parallel with the habitual or the progressive tenses: géè tàtàr dò, géè oygìyò [people don’t lie, people admit] (A66.13, habitual of tàtìrè “mentir”, repetitive of óòyè “avouer”) • kòŋk kàw gingìy ñùsi gá? (A118.24, repetitive of ginì “faire”) ~ kòŋk kàw ginà ñùsi gá? (A118.25, progressive of the same verb), for both of which the same translation is given: “Faites-vous comme ça aussi chez-vous?”.

(§75a) Etymology of the subjunctive and the repetitive. West Dangla verbs, whatever their tense, do not have any subject agreement. As expected, this is also true of the two tenses terminating in -(g)iyo. But for reasons that will become clear soon, I want to provide full evidence that these tenses indeed combine with any person with no change in form: 1st sg.: nà bààyò (imprecisely for *bààyò) [and I went] (A22.10); nà góygìy kédèr [and I put on the ground] (A66.12) • 2nd sg. m.: kì ròkìy mààgá [and what do you want?] (A100.11) • 2nd sg. f.: kà ìsìy [and you came] (A150.5, context form); kàŋk jààwgìy [and you walked] “d’habitude tu partais” (A64.10, context form) • 3rd sg. m.: ñà ìsìyò [and he came] (A24.14) • 3rd sg. f.: tà ìsìyò [and she came] (A76.10); tà étìrgìyò [and she moved away] (A152.8) • 1st pl. excl. not attested • 1st pl. incl.: géntè ãŋk gàsìyò (context form, I expect *gàsìyì) [and we here find] (A50.7) • 2nd pl.: kò àmrìyò [and you reconcile] (A16.11); kòŋk kàw gingìy ñùsi gá [and do you do thus?] “Faites-vous comme ça aussi chez-vous?” (A118.24) • 3rd pl.: ñù gòůyò [and they guarded] (A106.1); ñù birìgìyò [and they passed by] (A100.9) • nominal subject: yàà-cò pàkìyò [and her mother poured] (A66.13); géè õgìyì [and people tell] “on a l’habitude de dire” (A66.11, context form). The subject may sometimes be omitted by ellipsis, as with any other verbal tense: álìyò [and (she) cried] (A64.9).

The subjunctive is a peculiar category of West Dangla that is not found in East Dangla. On the other hand, East Dangla makes very common use of a suffix conjugation which is curiously lacking in West Dangla. This suffix
Supplements to West Dangla grammar

conjugation employs distinct suffixes for each grammatical person and can be used in various tenses, even though the suffix conjugated perfect is attested best in the available materials. The function of the East Dangla suffix conjugation has been the subject of some discussion. The most detailed analysis to date is by Shay (2008), who comes to conclusions that are rather similar to what I proposed above as the function of the West Dangla subjunctive: “Marking the subject by means of a verbal suffix [= the suffix conjugation, C.P.] indicates that the clause describes an expected state or event, while marking the subject by a preverbal clitic indicates that the clause, or some component of the clause, is unexpected.” (Shay 2008: 90). The East Dangla subject suffixes go as follows (after Ebobissé 1979: 106, 108 and Shay 1999: 126): 1st sg. -īnō, 2nd sg. m. -īɲē, 2nd sg. f. -kē(n), 3rd sg. m. -jī, 3rd sg. f. -tī, 1st pl. excl. -niŋ, 1st pl. incl. -yē(n), 2nd pl. -kōŋ, 3rd pl. -ūyō. In the “present” tense, an element -gi- is frequently inserted, so we get 1st sg. -gīnō, ..., 2nd pl. -kōŋ, 3rd pl. -gīyō.

I assume that both categories share a common origin, or more specifically, that the West Dangla -iyo- and -giyo-tenses derive from a former suffix conjugation of the East Dangla type. The tense distinctions, which are still more extensive in East Dangla, were reduced to only two in West Dangla, namely the subjunctive in -iyo and the repetitive in -giyo. Even more so, the distinctions of person were entirely lost in West Dangla, the West Dangla subjunctive/repetitive evidently originating from the earlier 3rd person pl. form. For compensation, it became possible in West Dangla to combine these tenses with subject proclitics. We can speculate that the merger of the personal endings may have proceeded in successive stages, perhaps first confusing phonetically similar suffixes such as -yō, -inō, -īɲē, -yē until the whole paradigm finally collapsed, but it is out of reach to reconstruct the exact history of this process. In East Dangla, a “clause with a subject suffix is affirmative” (Shay 2008: 91). The same can be said of the West Dangla subjunctive/repetitive tenses: They are only attested in affirmative clauses and cannot be negated.

§76 Repetitive with object clitics. As we have seen in the preceding sections, the -iyo-tense (“subjunctive”) can be combined with an imperfective stem extension -g- to form a -giyo-tense (“repetitive”). There is a second context in which a -g-marker is well attested, namely before object clitics. I considered these forms as repetitves in §76 of my article but now prefer the view that they are rather instances of the habitual tense (§67). My change of mind is for the following four reasons: (1) By analogy with the subjunctive whose marker -iyo contracts to -ii- before object clitics, the repetitive marker -giyo ought to become

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6 The development of West Dangla was evidently shared by Central Dangla, for which Burke (1995: §3.6) documents two tenses in -iyō and -giyō that he calls “progressive past” and “progressive repetitive past” respectively.
The verb “to know”, which typically occurs in the habitual tense (§69 above), appears with object clitics as ibin-gí-gá [know him] (A70.7) ~ ibin-gí-c [know her] (A92.23, A94.24), forms that are likely to be habituals too. A similar piece of evidence is provided by the two parallel expressions kà tàl dò isi [you don’t look thus] “d’habitude tu n’es pas comme cela” (A20.5, habitual of tàlè “voir”) and kà tàl-gí-n dò isi [you don’t watch me thus] “d’habitude tu ne me regardes pas de cette façon” (A18.5) in the same text. (3) The form in -gi- is compatible with the general negation dò, unlike the -(g)iyo-tenses: tà gàíc dò [she does not see her] (A18.4, similarly A100.10) • nà àáw-gí-c dò [I do not feel it] “Je sens le mal à peine” (A86.7, àáwè “goûter”). (4) And finally, analogy with the other Dangla dialects. For Central Dangla, Burke (1995: §3.5) states that the habitual marker changes to -gi- whenever an object pronoun is added: “the normal marker of the Habitual form is replaced by the suffix -gi (or -ig)”. In East Dangla, at least verbs of certain root classes add a -gi-increment to the habitual (“present tense”) when object clitics follow (Ebobissé 1979: 94f.; Shay 1999: 207).

I thus assume that verbs in the habitual tense, at least in many cases, insert a stem extension -g(i)- before object clitics. More examples with a direct object clitic: gém gín-gí-ci sèllè, kįŋ gín-gí-g sèllè [a person treats you well, you treat him well] “Celui qui vous fait du bien, vous lui faites du bien” (A114.11, gìnè “faire”) • (Ainsi, lorsqu’ils vont construire la maison du chef des oiseaux,) náár dél-gí-c [he beats it] “c’est l’outarde qui frappe le tambour” (A154.6, délè “frapper”). Examples with an indirect object clitic: tà kافية-ghi-t [she says to her] (A62.5, kività “parler”) • ná imil-gí-t [he brings to her] (A156.11, imilè “faire sortir”). It can be observed that there may be a H tone towards the end of the word, but not consistently so; this issue would require further research (cf. also §46 above). But the g-infijx is perhaps not fully obligatory since a few attestations of non-incremented habituals with object clitics also seem to be demonstrable (§§46, 47 of my article).

§79 Special verbs. The imperative of the irregular verb bààwè “aller” may or may not append a root extension -g/-k of unclear function. So we get for the sg.: bàá (A74.5, A86.7, A88.16) ~ bàák (A28.4); for the pl.: bààwò (see §71 above, no example with extension), for the singular-based hortative: bàg-tè (A8.5, no example without extension). Both varieties are attested for the plural-based hortative, in the following passage even side by side in the same context: bàgin-tè gèe bààn-tè bariyín-c áwgí [let’s go, folks, let’s go to search the goats] “Camarades, allons chercher les chèvres” (A106.3). The subjunctive (§74) of bààwè is bàáyyò (A50.4, A62.6, A70.6, A72.2) rather than the theoretically expected *bààwìyò.

The defective verb àn “to say” is extremely frequent in the texts, in fact the most frequent of all verbs. It can be used in a predicative function like...
a proper verb, but is defective in three respects: (1) It occurs almost exclusively in the form àn, in the texts mainly with past reference. The infinitive and most other morphological forms are obsolete. (2) It never combines with subject proclitics; the subject is usually implicit and must be inferred from the context, only a noun or an independent pronoun may precede: kàñ àn [the dog said] (A2.7) • ɲùúr àn [they said] (A2.9). (3) Nor can any object clitics or the past marker -tì (§80) be attached.

Further, àn tends to be grammaticalized as a complementizer after various verbs of saying: tá diỳ àn [she said that] “La femme dit:” (A10.7) • tà kòlìì-g àn àsò [she called them saying: come!] “elles les appela” (A56.14) • één-tì wàrìí-c àn “ses camarades l’insultent en lui disant” (A22.11), and also after certain other verbs: nà gìnà kòlàw àn “j’avais eu peur que” (A84.5) • ròkà dò̀ àn [does not want to] (A126 title). Furthermore, a clause introduced by àn can operate as a clause of purpose: (elle prit les calebasses) àn tá báá töòyìn-c-ìk “pour les récurer”, lit. [saying she is going to scour them] (A90.16).

As the only other form of this verb, Fédry’s dictionary (D10) documents a form àná, translated as “je dis que”, “il dit”, and “paraît-il”. He suggests that this is essentially the same word, the more frequent àn just being the corresponding context form. In the texts, àná is found several times as the very first word of a story (A14.1, A18.1, A42.1, A48.1 etc.), left without any translation; I assume that it here means “(they) say:”.

(§80) The past marker -tì. The narrative function of this suffix is well illustrated by the following passage: tàc-cò màt-tì (...) báá diỳìt dúk Kórì mò àn tàc-cò màtè [her father died (with -tì)]. (Next morning, a girl was sent:) Go and tell Kormo that her father has died (without -tì) “le père de la fille mourut. Le matin, on envoyea le plus petit de la famille pour aller appeler Kormo.” (A138.21).

(§82) Future. The complete paradigm of the subject proclitics contracted with the future auxiliary yàà can now be provided: 1st sg. nàà (A38.2), 2nd sg. m. kìì (A110.8), 2nd sg. f. kàà (A88.14), 3rd sg. m. ɲàà (A20.8), 3rd sg. f. tàà (A152.10), 1st pl. excl. nìì (A24.12), 1st pl. incl. gèè (A102.12), 2nd pl. kòò (A2.2), 3rd sg. pl. ɲùù (A154.2). I also spotted an uncontracted nà yàà [I will] (A130.8).

The future tense frequently has a modal reading rather than a purely temporal one, as e.g. in nòn tábrì-g àn ɲàà dààŋé ɨdàm [I sent him saying he.FUT cut hay] “je lui ai dit simplement de couper l’herbe” (A100.7).

(§83) Object clitics in periphrastic constructions. In my article, the 1st sg. and 3rd sg. m. of the post-auxiliary object clitics were given as -t and -c, respectively. However, the texts prefer spellings with the voiced symbols -d
Carsten Peust

and -j, e.g.: yàá-d kɔ́ɔ̀cìn-dú “(ma mère) va me rosser” (A28.2, kɔ́ɔ̀cè “frapper”) • kàá-j òòyè [you.F shall greet him] (A34.10, òòyè + indirect object “saluer”). This probably better represents the phonemes, even though the distinction of voice presumably tends to be blurred in this context. The full series should therefore be restated as follows: 1st sg. -d, 2nd sg. m. -ɲ, 2nd sg. f. -k, 3rd sg. m. -j, 3rd sg. f. -t, 1st pl. excl. -ni, 1st pl. incl. -te, 2nd pl. -ko, 3rd pl. -co.

While the future tense remains the major context of use of these clitics, the texts also contain examples of the clitics being attached to other auxiliaries such as ròkè “vouloir”: kà ròkíí-d cààcè gá “peut-être veux-tu me dire” (A20.5, cààcè “redire”) • ɲá ròkìì-t kɔ̀òòyè [he already wanted to greet her] “le garçon voulait déjà sortir pour la saluer” (A120.29, òòyè “saluer”); see also end of §88 below.

(§86) Quantifier “all”. The texts confirm the tone pattern HL of the quantifier kàw- and show that also singular possessive suffixes can be attached, e.g.: kàw-kò “vous toutes” (A54.12) • ámáy kàw-cò “toute cette eau” (A88.15) • iyà ñú mómbìì-g kàw-jì [and they ate it all] (A100.7) • kàá ícìn-t kàw-tìtì [you shall take it all] “(Ne t’ai-je pourtant pas dit) de prendre tout ce qu’il y a” (A84.5).

Alongside this quantifier, one could have discussed a few other grammaticalized nominals that have a comparable syntax, all of them requiring a subsequent possessive suffix. These are, in particular, (1) kèè- “alone”, of which Fédry’s dictionary (D280) cites kèè-dù “moi seul”, kèè-jì “toi seul”, kèè-cò “eux seuls” and to which the texts supply the form kèè-tìtì [she alone] (A152.8), (2) a less frequent alternative of this rásìnè-r [I alone], rásìnè-ɲ [you alone], etc. (D345, A82.19), and (3) méèn- (sg.) ~ màníí- (pl.) “self”, which Fédry (D127) cites as méèn-dú “moi-même”, méèn-jì “toi-même (m.)”, méèn-ke “toi-même (f.)” in the singular and màníí-nì “nous-mêmes excl.”, màníí-tè “nous-mêmes incl.”, màníí-kò “vous-mêmes”, màníí-cò “eux-mêmes” in the plural. The 3rd sg. m. must evidently be *mèèn-ﬁjì, attested only as the context form mèén-ﬁ (A30.5, A42.2, A150.6). A surprising variety of irregular forms is found for the 3rd sg. f. “elle-même”: mòn-tì (D127) ~ mòn-nì (A94.25, A96.26) ~ mòn-øy (D127) ~ mòn-øy (A14.2).

(§88) Negation. The negation of the imperative (= prohibitive) was only passed by within my §72, where I cited a pattern dàk + optative + dò for which Fédry had provided a number of examples. This construction does occur in the texts, though not frequently: dàk óbé dò kò mítà [don’t take a man!] “ne te remarie pas” (A126.2, dàk with unexpected tone) • dàk kò tèè dò ìándè [do not eat the soup!] (A40.7, evident misspelling of the plural form dàkò) • dàk-in-tè ñàámin dò pèy “ne l’envoyons plus” (A22.8), the verb here stands for ñàámin-t(i) [to send her]. The first element appears to be, originally, the imperative
or hortative of some verb, most probably dàkè “empêcher de sortir, laisser la place à quelqu’un” (D202).

However, the more usual prohibitive construction in the texts is another one, consisting of (1) the particle ák ~ dùk (exactly like the dative preposition, see §25 above) + (2) the infinitive + (3) the general negation dò, e.g.: ák ginè dò “ne fais pas” (A114.9) • ák sèc dò “ne bois pas” (A116.14) • ák bàà dò “n’y vas pas” (A48.3, A86.7; cf. §79) • ák gòyè dò “ne t’asseois pas” (A90.16) • dùk álè dò “ne pleure pas” (A32.6) • dùk àwìyè dò (A34.8) ~ ák àwìyè dò (A32.8) “ne fais pas de bruit” (as free variants in the same text). There is an example in which the initial particle carries an indirect object clitic: ák-tì óòyè dò [don’t greet her!] “ne salue pas notre mère” (A114.9, A120.28).

(§89) Questions. Though perhaps a matter of style rather than grammar, I wish to mention here the popular use in West Dangla of a double question where both the positive and the negative alternative are spelled out, e.g.: kà dáåt gá, kà dáåt dò gá [are you my wife?, aren’t you my wife?] “accepteras-tu de m’épouser?” (A28.4) • nà bàà zùgàr gá, nà bàà dò gá [I go into the house?, I don’t go?] “Je vais dans la maison ou bien n’y vais-je point?” (A58.4) • yáà-ni nèèwà gá, kòì gá [my mother was pregnant?, (or) not?] (A98.3).

Overview of the verbal system. The following table is an attempt at a structured overview of the West Dangla verbal system with references to my paragraphs. I suggest a 3×3 matrix and an underlying binary opposition of aspects. I choose pilè “ouvrir” as the example verb; the asterisk * indicates that the form is unattested for this particular lexeme.

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<td>base stem</td>
<td>pilè(n) “infinitive” (§58, §59)</td>
<td>pilè “perfect” (§60)</td>
<td>pilà “habitual” (§67), before clitics *píl-g- (§76 above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive stem</td>
<td>pilàw “progressive (with infinitive value)” (§64)</td>
<td>pilàw “progressive” (§64)</td>
<td>perhaps pil-g-ùwè (only a single attestation, see §75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>former suffix conjugation</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>pil-ìyò “subjunctive” (§74)</td>
<td>pil-g-ìyò “repetitive” (§75)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moreover, there are four forms that fall out of the matrix: pilù “imperative” (§70), *pilò(n) “plural imperative” (§71), pilè “optative” (§72), pilà “supine” (§73).

I will now add a few additional paragraphs based on materials drawn from the texts. Needless to say, there are a lot more interesting syntactic issues in the language that would be worth investigating but cannot be treated here.
Word order. While the regular constituent order of a clause is S–V(–O), the order V–S is sporadically attested with intransitive verbs or verbs treated as intransitives, e.g.: *pììs nòn mêlmà* [remain I witch] “il ne reste plus que moi, qui suis une sorcière” (A44.5, *pììsè* “restes”) • *iyá ámil-tì géèm tàà ód-tì kààdàŋ* [and came out a woman whose eye is one] “il en sortit de l’œuf une fille qui a un œil” (A122.34, *ámìlè* “sortir”) • *gín-tì ménà* [there were days] “Quelques jours après, ...” (A12.13, *gíñè* “faire, avoir, exister”).

Coordination. Three different coordinators are used in the language. The preposition *ìŋ* “with” coordinates noun phrases (see §25 of my article). When more than two elements are coordinated, the marker appears between the last two as in European languages: *góllà, tâmgá íŋ diûyû* “L’orphelin, le bélier et l’hyène” (A106 title).

The conjunction *ìyá* is used for clause coordination, usually implying a temporal or logical sequence “and then”, “and so”: (A husband and wife were eating) *ìyá ṇâ diy-tìt àn* [and then he said to her] “Peu après, il demanda à Kormo” (A134.7) • *tá sîkii-tìt jèrgé àk bûtînèr iyá tá éèm-tì* [she brought her peanuts in a shovel, and she ate] “la fille lui servit des arachides dans un petit van et elle se mit à manger” (A94.25) • (formula at the end of a story:) *ìyá báà-t gáàsè* [and so its bottom has been reached = and so it is finished] “Fin de conte” (A146.11).

A third coordinator *òò* also coordinates clauses, or more rarely phrases, but with no implication of a temporal succession: *kókàr ás-tì àk wèèr-có geèr òò zòpîl dëët-tì àk wèèr-tì yèèr* [the chickens came to their place in the village, and the guinea fowl went to her place in the bush] “le bruit fit revenir les poules à la maison et les pintades repartirent en brousse” (A116.19) • *nòn yàà mómbé dòóy kà pisòr, òò dànò-r ñàà mómbé dòóy kà ñwèèr* [I will eat excrements of the horse, and my co-wife will eat excrements of the goats] (A100.7) • *ìŋ mít-tì-ikà òò íŋ sîntì-tì* [with her husband and with her brothers] (A142.27).

Plural pronoun construction. When a logically singular subject is complemented by a phrase with *ìŋ* “with”, the subject may be spelled out as a plural form: *mîc táré, ṇú ámil dîwssè íŋ éèn-tì* [that girl, “they” went to bathe with her friends] “Jadis, une fille alla se baigner avec ses camarades” (A28.1, beginning of a story) • (A boy urges his mother: Don’t re-marry,) *gèè géèyè íŋ nòn ìt* [we will stay with me only] “nous allons vivre à deux seulement” (A126.2), the closest English rendering of which would be “you should stay with me only”. This resembles the so-called “plural pronoun construction” of Russian and other languages. Cf. in this context also the term of address *ròy-tè* “mon ami” (A102.14), lit. [our.INCL friend].

7 I expect *diy-tìt*. 
Verbs of movement as auxiliaries. Two verbs of movement, bààwè “aller” and ásè “venir”, also serve as auxiliaries. This usage is exceedingly frequent in the texts and deserves a discussion in some detail. Two major syntagms need to be distinguished: verb of movement + infinitive and verb of movement + supine.

(1) Verb of movement + infinitive. When bààwè or ásè is followed by an infinitive, the infinitive expresses an event that is posterior or intentional with respect to the movement verb. As for the movement verb, bààwè occurs more frequently than ásè, and it takes the shorter form without -w- in this syntagm (cf. §79). This formation competes with the future tense formed from the auxiliary yàà + infinitive (§82), but with two differences. First, a notion of movement is added. Second, the movement verb may itself take any tense, so that the entire combination is able to express nested tenses such as a future in the past or a future in the future.

I begin with examples where the movement verb takes the form bà(á), which is either the progressive or the habitual form of bààwè, these two being formally indistinguishable. In this case, the time reference is that of a plain future tense: nà bàá mâtè zúgí-tù [I am going to die in my house] “je préfère encore aller mourir chez-moi” (A14.3, mâtè “mourir”) • gèè bàá wáàrè [the people are going to dance] (A144.3, wáàrè “danser”) • nà bàá gînè kásik îñ mààgâ [with what am I going to do business?] “avec quoi vais-je faire le marché?” (A82.18, gînè “faire”). The following is an example with the progressive tense of ásè: kà àsà góyè ǎnnè [you are coming to stay here] “tu viendras vivre ici parmi nous” (A54.11, góyè “s’asseoir”).

When the movement verb takes a perfect form, the whole construction expresses a future or intention in the past: tá bàá gòàfi [she went to heed (the animals)] (A60.2, gòàfi “garder”). Or, the movement verb may take a future or imperative form: kár nàà bàá gòàfi [then I will go to heed (the animals)] (A60.2) • gèè bààn-tè dàànè kûmò [let’s go to reap straw] “nous irons en brousse couper de la paille” (A116.18, dàànè “tirer”). Finally, the movement verb may take a subjunctive form: nà bàày gásìn-jí [and he went to find him] (A106.4).

When a pronominal object is added, the construction is the same as for the future tense formed with yàà (§83). That is to say, pronominal direct objects, those of the 3rd person in particular, may be expressed by a possessive suffix on the infinitive: gè bàán-tè tâlín-ti [let’s go to see her] (A44.7, tâlè “voir”) • gèè bàá indin-ti [we are going to ask her] “nous allons lui demander” (A144.5, indé “demandeur”) • gèè bàá indin-j tàn-nî [we are going to ask my father] “allons ensemble demander l’avis de mon père” (A144.7) • nà às kàpiyín-jí [I’ve come to pay it] (A122.33, kàpiyè “payer”) • ki bàá tâlín-c kûn yàà-nî [you are going to see those of my mother?] “tu veux aller visiter ma famille?” (A36.12, tâlè “voir”).
Second, the post-auxiliary object clitics can be attached to the movement verb in order to express an indirect object or (not with 3rd persons) a direct object (§83). Most available examples involve the progressive form of ɓáàwè and then show a HL tone contour: kì ɓáà-t zúgé [you are going to discharge (this load) for me] “viens m’aider à décharger ce panier” (A48.3, A148.4, zúgé “poser à terre”) • nà ɓáà-k súkè [I am going to assemble for you.F] “je vais te servir” (A52.10, súkè “ramasser”) • kì ɓáà-nì gáàrè wèèr-tì [you are going to show us her place] (A32.7, gáàrè “montrer”). The following instance has a progressive form of ásè: àn kì ásíí-d léèsè [(I was afraid) that you were coming to punish me] “que tu viennes me battre” (A84.5, léèsè “faire des remontrances”). There are also examples with a post-auxiliary clitic and a possessor on the infinitive at the same time: nà ɓáà-k jààmin-ké [I am going to accompany you.F] “je vais te conduire” (A94.24, jààmè “raccompagner”) • kì ɓáà-d kàpiyìn-jî [you are going to pay it to me] “tu vas me le payer” (A112.2, kàpiyè “payer”).

(2) Verb of movement + supine. This is another important construction which is very much employed in the narratives of the text volume. It may again be built upon either of the two movement verbs ɓáàwè “aller” and ásè “venir”. Conversely, this is the only context in which the supine (§73) is used. Unlike the infinitive, the supine does not contribute any temporal or modal value to the entire construction, but the temporal interpretation is provided by the tense of the movement verb alone. The difference as against using the simple tenses lies in the fact that a notion of movement is added. The supine paraphrase is typically used with verbs that are not verbs of movement themselves, but which are thought of as involving a movement in the given context. One verb that frequently enters this construction is gásè “obtenir” [to find]. An expression such as ñá ɓáà gás (...) might be paraphrased as “he went and found ...” or “he, while being on the way, found ...” and implies that the person was moving around when he found something. Nevertheless, the plain translation “he found” without any explicit expression of movement often appears to be the best idiomatic translation into English. There is a major functional difference from the preceding construction: The supine paraphrase implies that the person indeed found something, whereas the infinitive paraphrase (ñá ɓáà gásè “he went to find”) only reports the intention to act but does not state that the action was accomplished.

This brings the supine paraphrase functionally very close to the simple verb. The following parallel passages both including and lacking the verb of movement demonstrate that the movement verb only makes a very slight contribution to the overall meaning of the clause: tá ɓáà-c diiy ká bôrì, yàà tá diiy-c ká bôrì ... [She went and put her into a net (supine paraphrase). When she (had) put her into the net ... (perfect of the simple verb)] (A90.19) • kì gási-g áwig
"mààmòó? – nà bàà-g gàs gèèr kà dùüyùr [You found the goats where? – I went and found them in the home of the hyenas] (A110.9). In practically identical contexts, we find tàc-cò mât-tì [their father died] (A138.21) with the perfect tense and yáá-cò bàà màtà [their mother went and died] (A140.24) with the supine paraphrasis.

I will put the movement verb in brackets in my English glosses below. The French translations often attempt to render the notion of movement by combining a French movement verb with the infinitive of the primary verb, which unfortunately blurs the clear functional contrast as against the infinitive paraphrasis. Anyway, the contexts usually make it clear that the actions really took place and were not just intended. The difference between bààwè and ásè probably lies in the deictic orientation of the movement, but this is hard to prove from the texts. Again, as in the infinitive paraphrasis, bààwè is more frequent than ásè.

Owing to the narrative character of the texts, most examples are with the movement verb in the perfect tense: (Come and sit down on the mat!) iyá ñá bàà gòy kà àrgàr [And he (went and) sat down on the mat.] (He then in fact fell into a pit that was hidden below that mat.); less felicitious the French translation: “il vint pour s’asseoir” (A36.13, gòyè “s’asseoir”) • (A boy was sent to acquire a decorated mat.) ñá bàà gàs gèè kùrè [He (went and) found those people (that had such a mat, but they gave him an undecorated one.)] “l’enfant ... alla trouver les possesseurs de la natte” (A70.6) • mààrit âs pàyyà [travellers (came and) descended (into the village)] “des étrangers arrivèrent dans le village” (A4.4, pàyyè “descendre”). The verb of movement may take the past marker -tì (§80) if there are no object clitics involved: ñú bàà-t gàs gèm ñàà (...) [they (went and) found a man who (...)] “elles trouvèrent un homme qui (...)” (A42.2; similarly A92.23, A100.11, A112.3) • ñá ásì-t sàà ámáy [he (came and) drank the water] (A84.5, sèè “boire”). But the verb of movement may also appear in the subjunctive: ásìì-c kàt úɲác zùgàr [(she) (came and) entered her into the house] “la fille introduisit sa mère dans sa case” (A32.8).

The expression of pronominal objects is very different from the infinitive paraphrasis. No object clitics can be attached to the supine form. All clitics attach to the verb of movement instead, even though they belong to the other verb semantically. The regular object clitics (§§45–47) must be utilized rather than the post-auxiliary clitics of the infinitive paraphrasis. Direct and indirect objects therefore remain distinct for most persons. Most examples are with 3rd person direct objects, where the clitics are -g (masc. sg.; pl.) and -c (fem. sg.): kààdà-át bàà-g tàlà [one.F (went and) saw him] “l’une d’entre elles vit le garçon” (A112.7, tàlè “voir”, similarly A120.27) • iyá ñá bàà-g dòyàs [and he (went and) touched it] “et il alla le toucher” (A106.2, dòsè “frapper”) • ñá bàà-c kàràs [he (went and) threw her down] “le bélier la fit tomber” (A108.7,
kàrsè “jeter à terre”) • tá báà-c tiyàs yáà-cò [she (went and) buried her mother] “elle alla avec les autres enterrer sa maman” (A142.27, tiisè “enterrer”) • nà báà-g gààs gëèr kà diùyìr [(where did you find them? –) I (went and) found them in the home of the hyenas] “je suis allé les trouver dans la demeure des hyènes” (A110.9). An example with an indirect object: tá báà-cò làà ámáy [(she prepared a meal for herself and her husband,) she (went and) brought water for them] “elle partit puiser de l’eau” (A8.6, lèè “mettre”). As with regular verbs, indirect and direct object clitics can occur simultaneously in this order (§49): nà báà-tìì-g iyà [he (went and) brought her it (= water, pl.)] (A126.3, iyè “apporter”).

(3) Verb of movement + subjunctive. Instead of the supine, I also find the subjunctive, apparently in a very similar function. All examples contain object clitics. I suspect that this may be just another option of expressing the object clitics, since these cannot be attached directly to the supine: iyá tá báà-t gààsiì-c míc-ìtì “(La femme sortit alors à la recherche de sa fille.) Elle alla la trouver [better: she found her daughter] (et lui demanda ...)” (A22.10, gààsè “obtenir”, similarly A140.22) • nà às-ìt dòòsìì-g [he (came and) hit him] (A24.15, dòòsè “frapper”) • báà iyìì-gà gëèr “(l’enfant) l’emmema à la maison” (A16.9, iyè “apporter”). With double expression of the object clitic: iyá tá báà-g kòlìì-g gààrfì “elle s’en alla appeler l’éléphant” (A14.4, kòlè “appeler”) • àjùùsìb ná wàài-tì, báà gààsiì-gà, àn [he descended, he (went and) found him, and (the other one) said] “L’enfant descendit, et comme il allait vers l’homme, celui-ci lui demanda” (A16.8, gààsè “obtenir”). Perfect with -ti: tá báà-t únjì-tì (... iyá tá ìsì-t wèè-tì [she (went and) entered (... and she (came and) gave birth] “elle (...) y entra, et peu après, accouche d’un enfant” (A14.2, únjé “entrer”, wèè “accoucher”) • nà báà-t dòòkìì-tì ámáy [he (went and) drew water] “le garçon alla chercher de l’eau” (A26.15, dòòkìì “puiser”).

(4) Parallel (serial verb) construction. Finally, there are a few cases in which a verb of movement is followed by another verb in the same tense. My examples are with both of them either being in the progressive, or in the perfect tense with the past marker -ti. I cannot tell what the precise function of this combination is nor to which degree it should be regarded as grammaticalized. Progressive: tá báà gèèmmì-cà àn [she (went and) approached her saying (...)] “peu après elle va encore lui demander” (A50.4) • báà gààrìì-j dòòkìì-cò [he (went and) showed his father] “(l’enfant alla donc trouver son père) et lui montra” (A148.4, gààré “montrer”) • nà pàày-tì, báà gààsìì-gà, àn [he descended, he (went and) found him, and (the other one) said] “L’enfant descendit, et comme il allait vers l’homme, celui-ci lui demanda” (A16.8, gààsè “obtenir”). Perfect with -ti: tá báà-t únjì-tì (... iyá tá àsì-t wèè-tì [she (went and) entered (... and she (came and) gave birth] “elle (...) y entra, et peu après, accouche d’un enfant” (A14.2, únjé “entrer”, wèè “accoucher”) • nà báà-t dòòkìì-tì ámáy [he (went and) drew water] “le garçon alla chercher de l’eau” (A26.15, dòòkìì “puiser”).
Supplements to West Dangla grammar

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