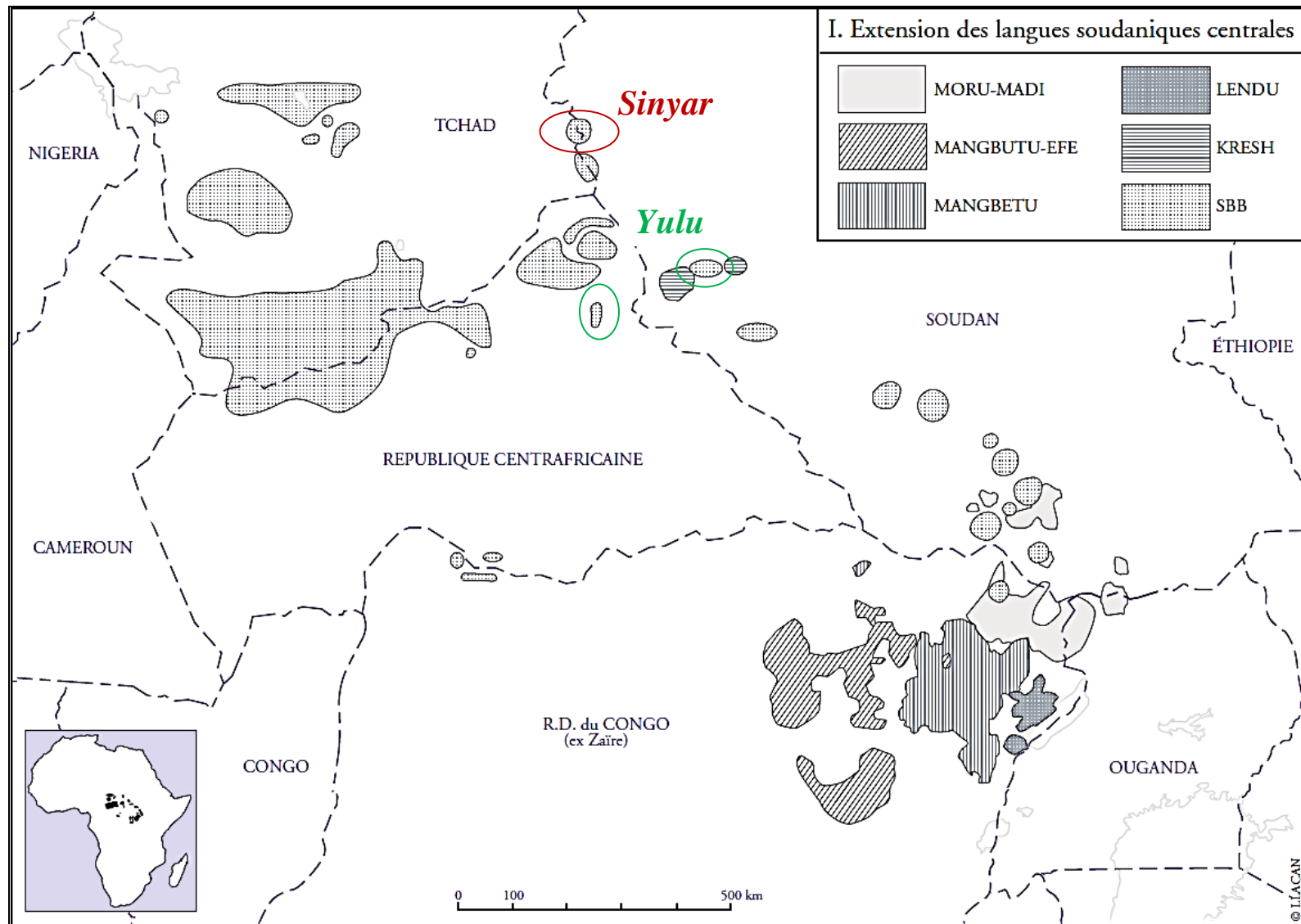


Compound Verbs in Sinyar
(an alleged SBB language of Chad/Sudan)

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N.B. You are kindly invited to refer to the Appendices that have been circulated by mail separately, including, among others, *Glosses and abbreviations*.



Sinyar and the Central Sudanic languages in central Africa (Sudan borders as before the 2011 partition)

◆ Some typological features

- 2 contrastive tones (H, L) and frequent downstep (´), preceding or following L
- consonant and vowel length contrastive
- basic syntactic order is SVO (however case marking may support free variation in the order of the main constituents)
- noun phrase is head-initial
- marked nominative; double case system:
 - nouns: NOM and ADV (case markers are suffixed to the last element of the whole noun phrase, including relative clause)
 - names (case markers suffixed), demonstratives, and pers. pronouns (case marked by specific forms): NOM, ACC, GEN, and ADV

◆ Tonal identity of verbs and verb classes

6 patterns: < Perfective/Future/Past/Imperative/Prohibitive/Infinitive>¹

Citation form actually reduced to < Perfective/Past> (stative verbs: <Perfective> only)

(1)	1. ùffù/ùffù' (cl. 1a) 'dig'	2. dābù/dāmbù' (cl. 1a) 'hide'	3. wèrsè' (-òrsò') /wérsé (-órsó) ² (cl. 2a) 'sew'	4. úgô'/'ùngón (cl. 4c) 'meet, find'	5. wéḍḍí/– (cl. 3st) 'be numerous' <i>stative verb</i>
PF	ùffù	dābù	wèrsè'	úgô'	wéḍḍí
FUT	úffù	dābù	wérsé'	úgô'	–
PST	ùffù'	dāmbù'	wérsé	'ùngón	–
IMP	ùffù	'dābù	wérsé	'ùgò	–
PRHB	k-ùffù-tá	kì-dābù-tá	k-òrsò'-tà	k-úgó'-tà	–
INF	t-ùffù ~ t-ùffú	dābù ~ dābú	t-órsó	t-úgó	–

¹ Past tone pattern sometimes combined with additional nasal feature (see Table below, ex. 2 and 4).

² Note the regular and frequent segmental alternations *wi-/C-u-*, *we-/C-o-*, and *wu-/C-u-* in the verbal category.

◆ Structure of the verb phrase (a tonal domain)

<i>Subj. Index / Prefix</i>	<i>TAM Tone+Verb</i>	<i>Postverb</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Appl./Instr.</i>	<i>Obj. Index</i>	<i>Perf. / Neg.</i>
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(2)

∅	ùrgùù'					
3.	IPF.let_laugh					

ùrgùù' 'gì'
 3-IPF.let_laugh child '(S)he makes the child laugh.'

(3)

n-	ùrgùù'		-sà			
2-	IPF.let_laugh		-PL			

n-ùrgùù' -sà 'gì'
 3-IPF.let_laugh-PL child 'You (pl.) make the child laugh.'

(4)

t-	ùrngúú		-n	-náá	-!sìngà	
DEP-	PST.let_laugh		-PL	-INSTR	1PE	

'nìngé t-ùrngúú-n-náá-!sìngà tí [...]
 3P PST.let_laugh-PL-INSTR-1PE ADV
 'When they made us (excl.) laugh [...]'

<i>Subj. Index / Prefix</i>	<i>TAM Tone+Verb</i>	<i>Postverb</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Appl./Instr.</i>	<i>Obj. Index</i>	<i>Perf. / Neg.</i>
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(5)

∅	ùrgùù'		-m̀		-má	-tá
3.	IPF.let_laugh		-PL		-1S	-NEG

ùrgùù'-m̀-**má**-tá

3. IPF.let_laugh-PL-1S-NEG 'They do not make me laugh.'

(6)

∅	ùrngúú		-m		-má	-!à
3.	PST.let_laugh		-PL		-1S	-PF

ùrngúú-**m**-**má**-!à

3. IPF.let_laugh-PL-1S-PF 'They have made me laugh.'

(7)

∅	ùrgùù'	-tààrà'	-m̀		-má	
3.	IPF.let_laugh	-passing=much	-PL		-1S	

ùrgùù'-tààrà'-**m̀**-**má**

3. IPF.let_laugh- passing=much-PL-1S 'They make me laugh a lot.'

◆ ‘Postverb’

- (8) tààrà[!]/táára ‘pass, outrun’
 > PV -tààrà[!]/-táára ‘1. exceeding, passing (spatial); 2. exceeding, much, a lot, often, extremely (quantitative/qualitative)’
- (9) fáá[!]yè-n lèlèl-tààrà[!]
 tea-NOM.SG 3.IPF.be_sweet-much
 ‘The tea is very sweet.’
- (10) c-úrñjú-táára-sà-[!]à
 2P-PST.stay-much-PL-PF
 ‘We (incl.) have stayed for a long time.’
- (11a) kùñáñá-sí k-èkkèl-tààrà[!]-n [!]ùbbà
 Kunyaṅa-NOM.PL SEQ-3.IPF.jump-pass-PL river
- (11b) mín t-èkkèl-táára-n-náá [!]ùbbà tí k-àb-nji-n [!]Ròófàttáà
 from DEP-3.PST.jump-pass-PL-INSTR river ADV SEQ-3.IPF.go-SUCC-PL Roofattaa
 ‘The Kunyaṅa then jumped over the river [Bahr Azoum].
 After they jumped over the river, they then went to Roofattaa.’ (Ta1-10)

<i>Subj. Index / Prefix</i>	<i>TAM Tone+Verb</i>	<i>Postverb</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Appl./Instr.</i>	<i>Obj. Index</i>	<i>Perf. / Neg.</i>
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(5)

∅	ùrgùù'		-m̀		-má	-tá
3.	IPF.let_laugh		-PL		-1S	-NEG

ùrgùù'-m̀-má-tá

3. IPF.let_laugh-PL-1S-NEG 'They do not make me laugh.'

(12)

∅	ùrgùù'	-fà	-m̀		-má	
3.	[IPF].let_laugh	-PSTNEG	-PL		-1S	

ùrgùù'-fà-m̀-má

3.[IPF].let_laugh-pstneg-PL-1S 'They did not make me laugh.'

(13)

∅	ùrgùù'	-tààrà'-fà	-m̀		-má	
3.	[IPF].let_laugh	-passing=much -PSTNEG	-PL		-1S	

ùrgùù'-tààrà'-fà-m̀-má

3.[IPF].let_laugh-passing=much-PSTNEG-PL-1S 'They did not make me laugh a lot.'

◆ Postverb samples (1)

- (8) tààrà[!]/táára ‘pass, outrun’
> PV -tààrà[!]/-táára ‘1. exceeding, passing (spatial); 2. exceeding, much, a lot, often, extremely (quantitative/qualitative)’
- (14) ‘ùwàà / ‘ùwáá ‘wait for’
> PV -wàà/-wàà[!] ‘1. temporarily, while waiting, for the time being, going on, still, Permansive; 2. not yet (with negative forms)’
- (15) n-ùrgùù[!]-wàà-fà-sà-nìngá
2S-[IPF].let_laugh-**PERM-PSTNEG**-PL-3P
‘You (pl.) did not make them laugh yet.’

◆ Postverb samples (2)

(16) tímmî'/'tímmì' (Ar.) ‘finish, end, complete’
 > PV -tímmî'/'-tímmì' ‘finish (doing)’

(17) *bààd* 'tì-jààrì'-*tímmì*'-n-ná'á úsèr-tí *bààdén* úsèr-tí
 after DEP-3.PST.filter-**finish**-PL-PF.INSTR that.ADV-ADV after_that that.ADV-ADV
índè-njì-n-nà [...]
 3.FUT.bring-**SUCC**-PL-3S
 ‘When they have finished to filter [the water with millet flower], after that, they
 will now bring it [...]’ (Tb1-42)

◆ Postverb samples (3)

- (18) ? > PV -àʃʃà/-áʃʃá ‘enough’
? (see SBB *asa ‘suffice, equal, (be able to)’ ?)
- (19) c-ùŋ[!]-àʃʃà-sà
1P-IPF.eat-enough-PL
‘We (incl.) have eaten enough, we are satisfied.’
- (20) c-ùŋ-áʃʃá-sà
1P-PST.eat-enough-PL
‘We (incl.) had eaten enough, we were satisfied.’

◆ Quantitative data from the *Sinyar lexicon* (Toolbox® file)

(21)

Lexical entries	2.203
Simple verbs (common)	386
Simple verbs (stative)	98
Compound verbs	316
Simple postverbs	66
Compound postverbs	5

(See *List of Postverbs* in Appendices)

◆ Properties of compound verbs (see October ComPLETE questionnaire)

To be done. However, due to the very compact nature of the components' association, certain questions – as symmetry, shared arguments, levels of juncture, etc. – seem to call for obvious (?) answers.

Still there is probably something to be done concerning the valencies of each element *vs* the valencies of the compound verb.

◆ Other constructions?

1) Half-compound verbs? (prefix sometimes repeated)

- (22) [...] índè-**wúlùù'**-n-nà kùjà-tí
3.FUT.bring-**mix**-PL-3S water-ADV
'[...] they will bring and mix it with water.' (Tb1-26)
- (23) 'c-ìndè-**c-ùlùù'**-sà ~ 'c-ìndè-**wùlùù'**-sà
1P-IPF-bring-**1P-mix**-PL 1P-IPF-bring-**mix**-PL
'We bring (and) mix.'
- (24) 'k-ìndè-**wùlùù'**-sà-tá
PRHB-bring-**mix**-PL-NEG
'Don't [you pl.] bring and mix!'

- (25) àŋ-àrtà[!]-n̄
3.IPF.stand_up-stand-PL
‘They stand up and stay upright; they recover (from disease).’
- (26) k-àŋ-k-àrtà[!]-sà-tá
PRHB-sand_up-PRHB-stand-PL-NEG
‘Don’t [you pl.] stand up and stay upright!; don’t recover!’
- (27) t-àŋ-t-àrtà[!]
INF-stand_up-INF-stand
‘stand up and stay upright; recover’ (Infinitive)

2) Serial Verbs or Auxiliaries? (not well known, morphology not consistent)

àbì/ámíbí ‘go, leave (not far and not for long), walk’

> ‘go, Motion’?

àṅ’/áṅ ‘stand up, wake up, go, depart, travel’

> ‘Inchoative, Ingressive’? (but see ex. (25-27) above?)

èḅ(i)/(úmbá) ‘be (present), exist; live’

> ‘Progressive’

(28) ìnjì’-n èḅ(i) wéerí
rain-NOM.SG 3.IPF.be 3.IPF.rain
‘It’s raining.’

(29) ’kwàryà-sí èḅi(-n) sùḍo-’kà-n ’kèḍḍè-ṅà
hen-NOM.PL 3.IPF.be(-PL) 3.IPF-lie-seize-PL egg-PL
‘The hens are sitting on eggs.’

ìmbàrà/ìmbàrà! ‘want; need’
> ‘Progressive’

ùbà/ùmbá ‘become, be, happen; (with Applicative:) be related to, belong to’
> ‘Auxiliary of stative verbs (expression of non-IPF forms); Auxiliary of progressive (PST only? see èḅ(i)/ùmbá above)’

(30) ndókóróró
3.(IPF.)be_hard
‘It his hard.’

(31) **ùbà** ndókóróró
3.FUT.become 3.(IPF.)be_hard
‘It will be hard.’

(32) **ùmbá** ndókóróró
3.PST.become 3.(IPF.)be_hard
‘It was hard.’

N.B. ‘stative’ or ‘quality/property’ verbs?

úngwà' / ùngwà' 'not be, not exist, be absent'
> 'Auxiliary of negative progressive'

(33) m-úngwà' m-ùŋ' 'kwàrjà
1-IPF.not_be 1-IPF-eat polenta
'I am not eating polenta.'

(34) céè'-sì úngwà' ùbà-ngò-n-síngà
person-NOM.PL 3.IPF.not_be 3.become-adding-APPL.1PE
'People are not defending us (excl).'

◆ Grammaticalization and lexicalization: 3 case samples of compound verbs

1) [n° 28]: -'llè ~ -'lè/-llé ~ -lé ‘becoming, State change, Dynamic verbs marker, (Medio-Passive?)’ (< willè' (-ùllò') / willé (-úlló) ‘die’?)

(35a) State change: stative (property?) verbs > process verbs

árfá	‘be dry’	árfá-'llè/àrfà-llé	‘become dry’
íccí	‘be old, used’	íccí-'llè/íccí-llé	‘become old, used’
wéɲɲí (-óɲɲú)	‘be pleasant (all senses)’	wéɲɲí-'llè (-óɲɲú-'llè)/LL-H	‘become pleasant’

(35b) State change: common verbs

èggèl/èngèl'	‘be angry’	èggèl-'lè/èngèl-lé	‘get angry’
'ùgòl'/ùngól	‘know’	'ùgòl-'lè/'ùngól-lé	‘get to know’
sùdò'/súnjó	‘lie, sleep’	sùdò-'llè/súnjó-llé	‘fall asleep’
úngwà' / ùngwà'	‘not be, not exist’	úngwá-'llè/ùngwà-llé	‘end, be (become?) finished, consumed’
áfá/ànjà'	‘be pregnant’	áfá-'llè/ànjà-llé	‘become pregnant (in an illegitimate way)’

.../...

.../...

(35c) (Medio-passive?)

ndùbò/ndùmbò'	'meet (sb); bring together'	ndùbò- [!] llè/ndùbò-llé	'meet (intrans. and trans.)'
wìl (-ùl)/ wìl' (-ùl')	'be mixed, con-fusing, complicated'	wìl- [!] lè (-ùl.lé)/ wìl-lé (-ùl-lé)	'get mixed (up); get tangled up'

(35d) “?”

ìyà/íyá	'drink'	ìyà- [!] llè/íyá-llé	'drown'
? > (ndóólúù [!] /ndòòlúú	'teach')	ndól- [!] lè/ndòl-lé	'learn'
? >		dùmù- [!] llè/dùmù-llé	'miss, be longing for'
? > (tígî-tábá/ tíngí-tàmbà')	'forget')	tígí- [!] llè/tíngí-llé	'forget'
(íngí- [!] llè/íngí-llé	'get lost')		

2) [n° 56-59-61-63]: Factitive/Goal: 4 postverbs prefixed with *t-*

(36)	árfá	‘be dry’	>	-tárfá/-tàrfà’	‘in order to dry out’
	ìyà/íyá	‘drink’	>	-tìyà/-tìyà’	‘in order to make drink’
	wìj̄n’ (-ùj̄n’)/wíj̄n (-új̄n)	‘eat’	>	-tùj̄n’/-túj̄n	‘in order to make eat’
	wírri’ (-úrrú’)/ wìrri’ (-ùrrù’)	‘suckle (intrans.)’	>	-túrrú’/-tùrrù’	‘in order to make suckle’

(37) wís-tàrfà’ kàndìné
 3.PST.spread-dry_up cloth
 ‘(S)he has spread the cloth for drying (it).’

(38) íyá’-n̄ ìmbì-túrrú ’gì-náà’
 mother-NOM.SG 3.IPF.give-suckle child-3.GEN.SG
 ‘The mother (breast)feeds/suckles her child.’

Connexion with a ‘jussive’ form/construction? (not clear)

- (39) !tàbà!-nà t-ùwè
 IMP.leave-3S DEP-3.IPF.come
 ‘Let him come!’
- (40) !tàbà!-mà m-úrbò !gì!
 IMP.leave-1S 1S-FUT.send child
 ‘Let me send the child!’

3) [n° 22]: Compounding with -[!]kà/-ká ‘seizing, catching, Control (?), (et al.?)’
 (< [!]ikà/[!]iká ‘take, seize, catch’?)

(41a)			
[!] àrbà/ [!] árbá	‘cover (with a supple item)’	[!] àrbà- [!] kà/ [!] árbá-ká	<i>idem</i>
[!] cìjjì/cínjí	‘put, place’	[!] cìjjì- [!] kà/cínjí-ká	‘accept (sb., sth.)’
dííré/dìirè [!]	‘surround’	dííré- [!] kà/dìirè-ká	‘sit around (?)’
sùdò [!] /súnjó	‘lie, sleep’	sùdò- [!] kà/súnjó-ká	‘brood, sit on’
tùù/tùù [!]	‘blow (on the fire, on the food...)’	tùù- [!] kà/tùù-ká	‘fan, poke fire (with mouth, fan, bellows)’
wèrnè (-òrnò)/ wèrnè [!] (-òrnò [!])	‘pack, pile (up)’	wèrnè- [!] kà (-òrnò- [!] kà)/ wèrnè-ká (-òrnò-ká)	‘stick to’
wìccè (-ùccò)/ wìccè [!] (-ùccò [!])	‘fall (down)’	wìccè- [!] kà (-ùccò- [!] kà)/ wìccè-ká (-ùccò-ká)	‘rush at (sth., sb.), tackle, grasp’

(41b)			
(dèkkè [!] /ndékké	‘kick, lash out’?)	dèkkè- [!] kà/ndékké-ká	‘recover’
(ndíí/ndìì [!]	‘shelter, protect oneself from the rain’?)	ndìì- [!] kà/ndìì-ká	‘place oneself in an impossible situation’
(wìì [!] /wíí	‘kill’?)	wìì- [!] kà/wíí-ká	‘embrace, hug’
(41c)			
? >		ájá- [!] kà/ánjá-ká	‘touch, (get in touch with?)’
? >		‘ìgàà- [!] kà/‘ìngáá-ká (‘ìgà- [!] àkà/‘ìngá-áká?)	‘not know’
? >		tàdã- [!] kà/tàdã-ká	‘cover (container, with rigid item)’

- ◆ Compound verbs: a morphological label for various functions

(See *Tentative semantic classification of postverbs* in Appendices)

- ◆ Lexicalization vs grammaticalization of postverbs: some trends in contrastive properties

+ <i>Lexical</i>	...	+ <i>Grammatical</i>
verbal source attested and identifiable	...	verbal source missing or uncertain
application limited and frozen	...	application open and extendable
semantic value possibly unclear	...	semantic value straightforward
compound status may be dubious	...	compound status robust
non-finite form possible (idem IMP & PRHB?)	...	non-finite form excluded (idem IMP & PRHB?)

Thank you for attention!