

Appendices

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1. Glosses and abbreviations

1	1 st person	GEN	Genitive (names, demonstratives, and personal pronouns)
1P	1 st person plural	IMP	Imperative
1PD	1 st person plural (dual)	INF	Infinitive
1PDI	1 st person plural (dual or inclusive)	INSTR	Instrumental
1PE	1 st person plural (exclusive)	INTERR	Interrogative (polar)
1PED	1 st person plural (exclusive or dual)	IPF	Imperfective
1PI	1 st person plural (inclusive)	LOC	locative suffix
1S	1 st person singular	NEG	Negative, Negation
2	2 ^d person	NOM	Nominative (names, demonstratives, and personal pronouns)
2P	2 ^d person plural	NOM	Nominative (nouns)
2S	2 ^d person singular	NSREL	Non-Subject Relative
3	3 ^d person	PERM	Permansive
3P	3 ^d person plural	PF	Perfective
3S	3 ^d person singular	pl., PL	Plural
ACC	Accusative (names, demonstratives, and personal pronouns)	PRGR	Progressive
ADV	(isolated:) Adverbial clause marker	PRHB	Prohibitive
ADV	Adverbial (nouns)	PST	Past
ADV	Adverbial (names, demonstratives, and personal pronouns)	PSTNEG	Past Negative
APPL	Applicative	PV	Postverb
Ar.	Arabic	SBB	Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi
DEP	Dependent verb form	SEQ	Sequential
DETOP	detopicalized form	sg., SG	Singular
FACT	Factitive	SREL	Subject Relative
FOC	Focalizer (of subject)	SUCC	Successive
FUT	Future	SUSP	Suspensive

2. List of postverbs

	Postverb (IPF/PST)	Source	Nb./frequency of resulting compound verbs recorded
1.	-àbù-wèè/(-ámí-wèè ¹ ~ -wèè ¹ ?) 'come back (go and come back?)'	< àbù.wèè/ámí.wèè ¹ ~ ámí.wèè ¹ (go+come) 'come, go and come'	1
2.	-(à)àgi/- 'do sometimes (regularly, often?)' (IPF only)	< ?	6 (virtually all verbs)
3.	-àlà/-á alá '?'	< àlà/á alá 'insert, put (into)' (!?)	1 (if actually different from -là/-lá)
4.	-állá/-àllá ¹ 'carefully (?) (keeping an eye on?)'	< állá/àllá ¹ 'follow (with visual contact), pursue'	1
5.	-(à)àndi/-(á)ándí '1. have done (at least once?) before, have done in the past, long ago (PST); 2. have never done' (IPF + NEG -fà); 3. do through favor, through grace (IPF, IMP) (?)'	< ?	<i>open</i> (virtually all verbs, at least non-stative?)
6.	-(à)ànjà/- 'ever (question), never (statement)' (IPF only, past value)	< ?	<i>open</i> (virtually all verbs, at least non-stative?)
7.	-àffà/-áfà ¹ 'enough'	< ? cp. *SBB [3] *asa 'suffice, equal, (be able to)'	3
8.	-bí ¹ /-mbí 'surpassing, more than'	< íbí ¹ / ímbí 'pass, surpass, go beyond'	12
9.	-bè-èbi/-bè-èbi ¹ '1. go on being/doing, still (permansive value); 2. not any more (+ NEG -ta)' (also + NEG -fà ?)	< èbè-èbi/- 'still be (permansive value)'	6 (virtually all verbs, including stative verbs)
10.	- ¹ cìjji/-cínjí 'putting, placing'	< ¹ cìjji/cínjí 'put, place'	1
11.	- ¹ dàkà/-ndáká 'taking from hands, escaping'	< ¹ dàkà/ndáká 'receive/take from the hands (of)'	3
12.	- ¹ dès(i)/-ndés(i) 'getting out (?)'	< ¹ dès(i)/ndés(i) 'go/come out'	3
13.	-däär/-däär ¹ 'in order to see, to estimate'	< däär/däär ¹ 'look at'	5
14.	-dūfā/-dūfā ¹ 'dividing up'	< dūfā/dūfā ¹ 'divide up'	1
15.	-èbi 'still be (permansive value)'	< èbi/- 'be (present), exist'	1
16.	- ¹ gèl(i)/-ngél(i) 'again, back'	< ¹ igèl ¹ / íngél 'go back'	6
17.	-gô ¹ /-ngó '1. finding, receiving, perceiving; 2. perceiving slightly, briefly'	< úgô ¹ /ùngón 'meet, find, get'	11
18.	-gô ¹ -ngò/(-ngó-ngò ¹ ?) 'finding in addition (?)'	< úgô ¹ /ùngón + -ngò/-ngò ¹ 'meet, find, get' + 'again, more, else'	1
19.	- ¹ gòl/-ngól 'know how to (do)'	< ¹ ùgòl/ùngól 'know'	3

20.	- ¹ jùwè/-njúwé 'cutting, separating'	< ¹ jùwè ¹ /njúwé 'cut (with a knife), cut the throat of, slaughter'	1
21.	-fà/- 'Past Negative (PSTNEG)'	< ?	<i>all verbs</i> (except stative verbs)
22.	- ¹ kà/-ká 'seizing, catching, Control (?), (et al.?)'	< ikà ¹ /iká 'take, seize, catch'	17 (first verb identity as well as postverb semantic function not clear in several compounds!)
23.	- ¹ kà/-ká (- ¹ àkà/-áká ? or - ¹ (à)àkà/-(á)áká ?) '?'	< ?	1 ?
24.	-kòòr/-kòòr ¹ 'regularly, continuously, always (for a long time ? forever ?)'	< ?	4 (presumably much wider if not general?)
25.	-là/-lá 'with violence or separation (???)' see also -àlà/-álá '?' above	< ?	12
26.	- ¹ là/-là (?) '?' (different from -là/-lá?)	< ?	1
27.	-lállá/-lállá ¹ 'keeping, saving (?)'	< ? (cp. állá/állá ¹ 'follow (with visual contact), pursue' (?))	2
28.	- ¹ llè ~ - ¹ lè/-llé ~ -lé 'becoming, State change, Dynamic verbs marker, (Medio-Passive?)' (variants: -le after final -l verbs)	< willè ¹ (-ùllò)/willé (-úlló) 'die' ?	29
29.	- ¹ lòò ¹ /-lóó 'letting fall, down'	< àlòò ¹ /álóó 'drop, let/make fall (down), knock down'	4
30.	-lúú/-lúú '1. absolutely, totally; 2. not at all (with negation or negative verb)'	< ?	11 (presumably all verbs)
31.	- ¹ màmà/-mámá '(do) from time to time, now and again'	< ?	3 (presumably all verbs)
32.	-mbi/-mbi 'for (the benefit of), Benefactive' (requires Applicative form with benefactive complement)	< imbi/imbi ¹ 'give, pass, hand' (requires Applicative form with benefactive complement)	10 (presumably much wider)
33.	-ndàràṅ ¹ /-ndàràṅ 'in a sad mood, afflicted'	< ?	3
34.	- ¹ ndè/-ndé 'bringing, giving'	< ¹ indè ¹ /indé 'bring, give'	7
35.	- ¹ ndèṅ ¹ /-ndéṅ 'making get up, stand up' (?)	< ?	1
36.	- ¹ ndè-wèè/-ndé-wèèṅ ¹ ~ -ndé-wèè ¹ 'bringing back'	< ¹ indè ¹ /indé + ùwè/wèèṅ ¹ 'bring, give' + 'come'	1
37.	-ndídí/-ndídí ¹ 'bending down'	< ndídí/ndídí ¹ 'bend down (intr.)'	1
38.	- ¹ ndòò/-ndóó 'having/taking a rest' (?)	< ?	3
39.	-ndùllò ¹ /-ndùlló 'changing, getting modified' (?)	< ndùllò ¹ /ndùlló 'change, get modified'	1

40.	-ndùnòò [!] /-ndúnóó 'breaking, snapping'	< ndùnòò [!] /ndúnóó 'break, snap (e.g. rope) (trans.)'	1
41.	-ndúúr/-ndùùr [!] 'limping, with a limp'	< ndúúr/ndùùr [!] 'limp'	1
42.	-nqùbò/-nqùmbò [!] 'meeting'	< nqùbò/nqùmbò [!] 'meet (sb); let meet, bring together (?)'	1
43.	-nqùfùù [!] /-nqùfúú 'piercing, hurting (?)'	< nqùfùù [!] /nqùfúú 'pierce; wound, injure, hurt, harm'	1
44.	-nqùllò/-nqùllò [!] '(do) all the day long'	< nqùllò / nqùllò [!] 'spend the day (from the morning until the evening)'	3
45.	-nqùllò-wèè/-nqùllò [!] -wèè [!] '(doing) all the day long and coming back'	< -nqùllò/-nqùllò [!] + ùwè/wèè [!]	1
46.	-ngii/-ngii [!] '(do) partially (not totally), (do) sometimes (not regularly, not systematically), try hard to (do), do one's best to (do), struggle to (do)'	< ?	9 (presumably much wider if not general?)
47.	-ngò/-ngò [!] 'again, more'	< ngò (?) '(be?) again, more, else'	14 (presumably much wider if not general?)
48.	-nji/-nji [!] '1. (do/be) then, from now on, finally, start (doing/being), Successive; 2. (in a negative context:) not (do/be) any more'	< ?	<i>open</i> (all verbs except stative verbs?) Frequent in narratives, possibly combined with a Sequential (SEQ) prefix on the verb
49.	- [!] si/-sí 'extraction, separation, break-up, dispersal, intensity, completion (?)'	< [!] dès(i)/ndés(i) 'go/come out' (? but see compounds with the full verb in 12. above)	24 (frequent but probably not any more productive)
50.	-sí/-sí (?) '?'	< ?	1
51.	-sùùr/-sùùr 'with feeling, emotion (?)' (brief comment on ílélé 'liver', [!] sidìjé 'heart', and feelings')	< ? see SBB *Suru/*Siro 'liver, (center of emotions)' ?	1
52.	-fóggò [!] /-fóngó 'be able to'	< fóggò [!] /fóngó 'reach, join'	7 (presumably much wider if not general?)
53.	-tábá/-tàmà [!] 'leaving, abandoning'	< tábá/tàmà [!] 'leave, let, allow, stop, give up on, abandon'	3
54.	-tàkwà/-tàkwà [!] 'from far, in an indirect way, by means of a mediation'	< ?	6
55.	-tààrà [!] /-táará '1. exceeding, passing (spatial); 2. exceeding, much, a lot, extremely (quantitative/qualitative)'	< tààrà [!] /táará 'pass, outrun'	6 (presumably much wider if not general?)
56.	-tárfá/-tárfá [!] 'letting dry out/in order to dry out'	< árfá/- 'be dry' (> inf. or jussive ?)	1

57.	-tèkè/-tèkè ¹ 'do first, before, be the first to do'	< ?	6 (presumably much wider if not general?)
58.	-tímmì ¹ /-tímmì ¹ 'finish (doing)'	< tímmì ¹ /tímmì ¹ (Ar.) 'finish, end, complete'	2
59.	-tìyà/-tìyà ¹ 'letting drink/in order to make drink (?)'	< iyà/iyá 'drink' (> inf. or jussive ?)	1
60.	-túbó/-tùmbò ¹ 'with, together (?)'	< ? cp. ndùbò/ndùmbò ¹ '1. meet (sb); 2. let meet, bring together (?)'	2
61.	-tùṅ ¹ /-tùṅ ¹ 'letting eat/in order to make eat (?)'	< wìṅ ¹ (-ùṅ ¹)/wìṅ (-ùṅ) 'eat' (> inf. or jussive ?)	1
62.	-tùrbò ¹ /-tùrmbóó 'letting do wrongly (?)'	< ? obviously a factitive form of tìrbè/tìrmbè ¹ 'incite to act wrongly'	1
63.	-túrrú/-túrrú ¹ 'letting suckle (?)'	< wírí (-úrrú)/wírí (-úrrú) 'suckle (intrans.)' (> inf. or jussive ?)	1
64.	-túḍḍú ¹ /-túṅḍú 'going/coming/bringing down (?)'	< túḍḍú ¹ / túṅḍú 'go/come down, get out of; make a stop; land (plane)'	1
65.	-wàà/-wàà ¹ '1. temporarily, while waiting, going on, still (Permansive); 2. not yet (in negative context)'	< 'ùwàà ¹ /ùwáá 'wait for; look after, guard'	7
66.	-wèè/-wèèṅ ¹ ~ -wèè ¹ 'coming, going (implying coming back?), and come (?)'	< ùwè/wèèṅ ¹ (-òòṅ ¹) 'come, arrive'	31
67.	-wéṅṅí/-wèṅṅí ¹ 'in a pleasant way'	< wéṅṅí (-óṅṅú) (vst) 'be pleasant, be tasty (to all senses?)'	4
68.	-wì ¹ /-wíí '1- (with) killing, 2- (do) totally, completely'	< wì ¹ /wíí 'kill; put out (fire); affect (hunger, thirst, love, desire, shame, sleep, need for urinating, defecating)'	3
69.	- ¹ wìdì ¹ /-wíndí 'taking along, delivering'	< ¹ wìdì ¹ (¹ -ùdù ¹)/wíndí (-úndú) 'take (away), take along, deliver'	2
70.	-wídě/-wìnjè ¹ '(do) all the night long'	< wídě (-úđǒ)/wìnjè ¹ (-ùnjǒ ¹) 'spend the night; spend one day, be one day old, date back to the preceding day'	3
71.	-wìrjì (-ùrjù)/-wírnjí (-úrnjú) 'sitting (down)' ?	< wìrjì (-ùrjù)/wírnjí (-úrnjú) 'remain, stay, sit down, get together (Pl.), (in the Perfective?) sit'	1

3. Tentative semantic classification of postverbs

(Numbers refer to the preceding Table)

+ <i>Lexical</i>	
‘go/come out’	12 (see+go/come out = show, be/become apparent)
‘in order to see, estimate’	13
‘dividing up’	14 (cut+divide = distribute, share out)
a. ‘finding’	17
b. ‘perceiving slightly, briefly’	
‘know how to’ (+Epistemic?)	19 (know+see = recognize)
‘preserving’	4, 27
‘in a sad mood’	33
‘bending’	37
‘resting’	38
‘limping’	41
‘time span’	44 (day), 70 (night)
‘abandon’	53
‘mediation’	54
‘together’	60
‘with killing’	68 (+ Gramm.)
‘???’	22 - ¹ kà/-ká 25 -là/-lá 49 - ¹ sì/-sí

+ <i>Grammatical</i>	
Motion	1, 12, 16 (+ Aktionsart?), 66
Akionsart	2, 6, 9, 15, 16 (+ Motion?), 24, 31
Time/Aspect	5, 65 (for a while, Permansive)
Evaluation (> <i>Lexical</i> ?)	7 (enough), 67 (in a pleasant way)
Manner (> <i>Lexical</i> ?)	11 (putting, placing)
Epistemic (+‘know how to’?)	19
Negation	5, 6, 21
Change of state	28
Complex process (> <i>Lexical</i> ?)	29, 34, 36, 69
Grade/Intensity	30 (mostly neg.), 46 (Partial), 55 (Excess)
Benefactive	32
Additive	47
Successive	48
Capacitive	52
Factitive/Goal	56=59=61=63
Chronology/Ranking	57
Completion	58, 68
Permansive	65

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