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## Is Sinyar an SBB language?

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“It is the contention of this writer that although many superficial bonds with the larger group [i.e. Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi] exist on the level of vocabulary, differences of phonology, grammar, and also vocabulary are very impressive.”

(Doornbos, *The Language of the Sinyar*, p. 1)

### Introduction

Sinyar (*tààr* <sup>1</sup>*fàmjà* {mouth=language/Sinyar}) is an underdocumented language spoken by some 20.000 speakers living in Western Darfur and extending on the Chadian side of the border with Sudan (see Map).

Up to now Sinyar has been considered a member of the SBB (Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi) branch of Central Sudanic languages (Tucker & Bryan 1956; Haaland 1978; Doornbos & Bender 1983, Bender 1992). However Doornbos ([1980?]: 1) himself questioned this classification as he wrote the first grammatical sketch of the language some forty years ago (see epigraph above).

Further research recently devoted to Sinyar confirms Doornbos' view: although Sinyar shares many lexical and morphosyntactic features with the neighbouring SBB languages, it also differs of them on many other points so that it looks, to some extent, as a 'mixed' language, the 'non-SBB' component of which, however, has not been identified until now.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of this paper is to review different Sinyar features that are respectively similar to and distinct from features characteristic of the SBB languages. By doing so I want to

- define the two sources of Sinyar and clarify its nature of 'mixed' language;
- try to identify the SBB languages Sinyar is the closest to;
- tentatively answer the tricky question of its genesis, i.e. was Sinyar originally an SBB language that underwent a strong foreign influence or, rather, was Sinyar an exogenous language that integrated numerous features of certain SBB languages he got a significant contact with? In other words are there clues suggesting that the 'non-SBB' part of Sinyar represents an adstrate or a substrate?

### 1. Sinyar features partly shared with SBB languages

#### *Lexicon and lexicostatistics*

Lexicon specific to Sinyar (Table 1)

Lexicostatistics: lexical distances of Sinyar with Central Sudanic (Table 2-3) and SBB (Tables 4-5)


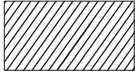
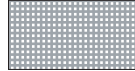

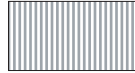

#### *Personal pronouns*

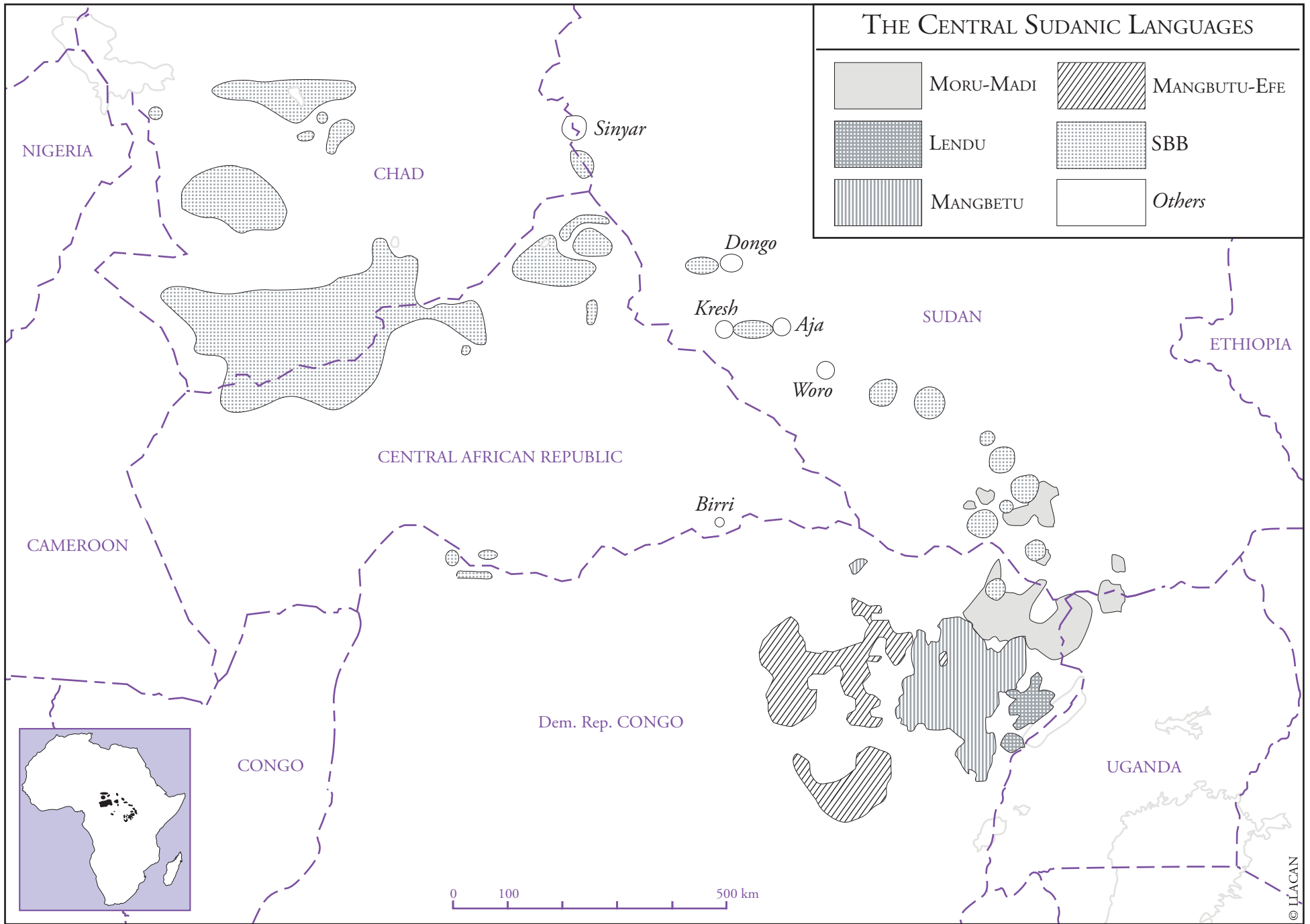
Independent vs associative ('possessive') (Table 6-7)

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<sup>1</sup> More recent fieldwork has been undertaken by myself in Khartoum since 2009. I hereby express my gratitude to my different assistants, translators from Arabic or Sinyar speakers, Messrs Zakaria Abdulkarim, Sheekhedin Osman, Mahammat Suleyman Baabikir, Hassan Sale, and, above all, Mr Bakheet Abdulkarim.

# THE CENTRAL SUDANIC LANGUAGES

	MORU-MADI		MANGBUTU-EFE
	LENDU		SBB
	MANGBETU		Others



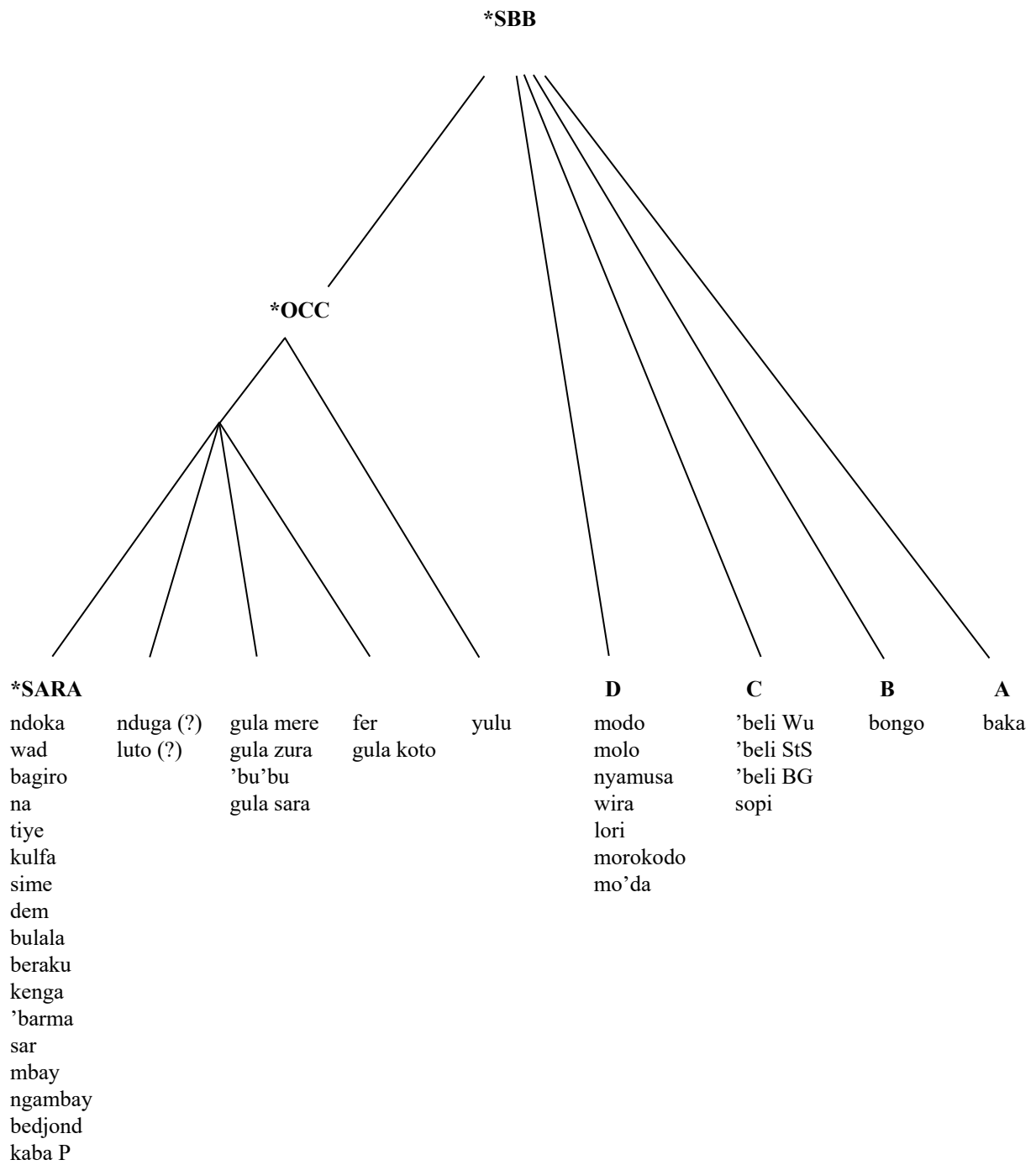
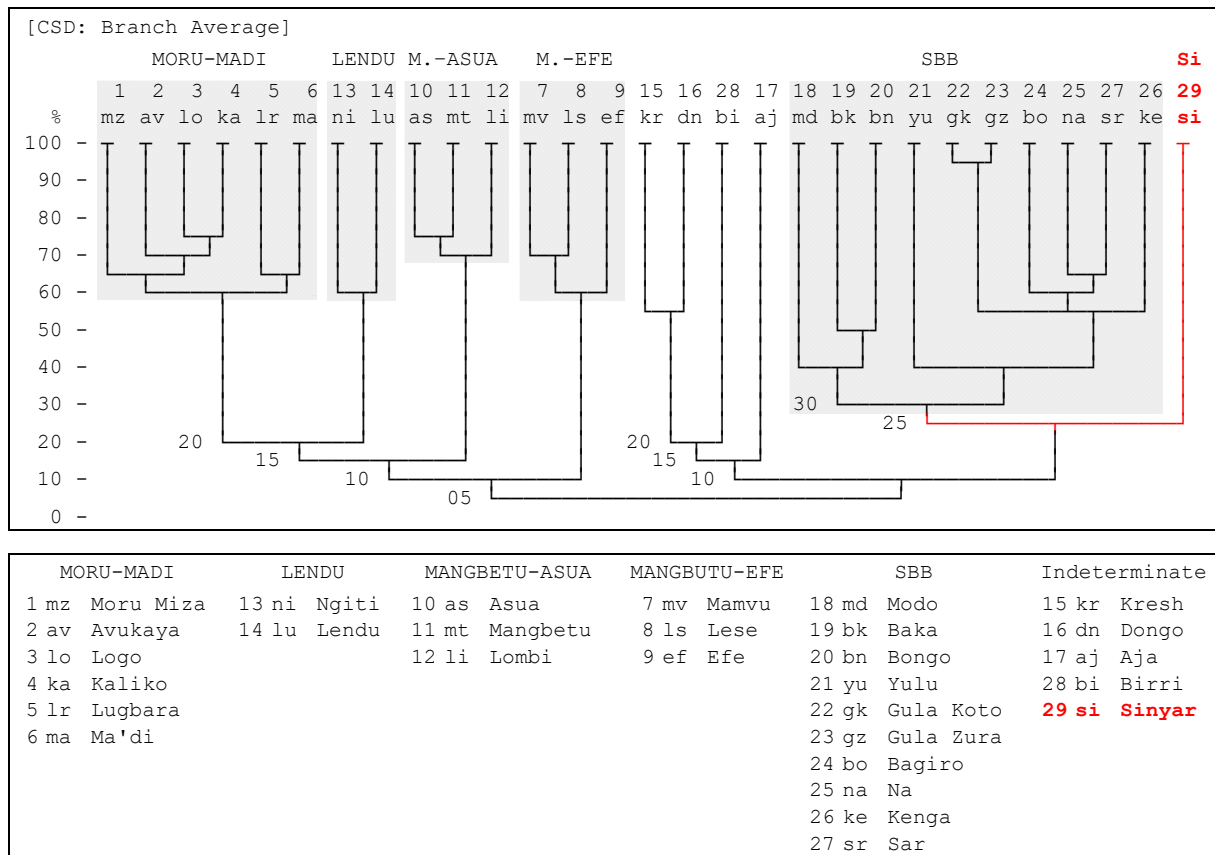


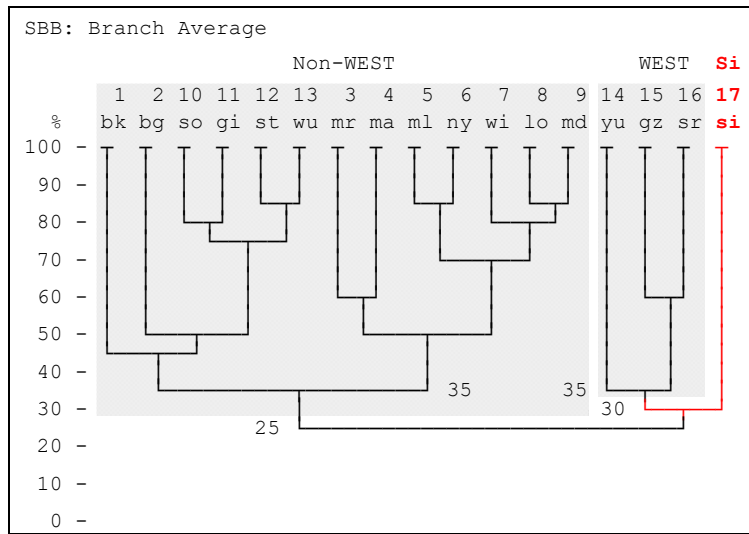
Figure 1. Diagram of SBB historical relationships (revised 2015)

Sinyar	Modo	Bongo	Yulu	Gula Zura	Sar	
'kájibil	kòbi	kóbí	sōōb(ə); dōōg(ə)	dōgò	dōgə	buffalo
'ùrà ear 'ìì' leaf	mbílí	mbílí	ēēmb(ə)	mvī ear kām̄v leaf	mbī ear kám̄bè leaf	ear, leaf
'gwààr foot káffá leg	ndí ; gbòndò	gbòndò	sinj(ə)	k̀̀nz	njà	foot, leg
sùbó	dò	dò	jää	ḍò	dò	head
mùsù'	ḅó	ḅóo	ndāāl(ə)	ḅō	ḅōō	hunger
wii' / wíí	úpò	túnú	ōōfə	tēlē	tōl	to kill
ùmbò / 'ùmbóŋ	úwó	wú	ŋāāgə	ō	ōō	to hear
kwanjá'	ŋépé	ŋíhí	ŋēēp(ə)	lēhē	nā	moon
'kwaàlà	mùgù	gò	gōō	gō	míndə	neck
'dikitti'	kòróndó	híndó	gbāāl(ə); kə́jìy(ə)	nónḍ	ndō	night
ñàrmá	kàno	hòmò	sāām(ə)	ngóhō	kón	nose
wéerí (-óórú) / wèerí'	ádí	èdí	āādə	èd'	èdè	to rain
'abbàl'	àsí	èhì	ècə	āc	(kàsə adj.)	to be red
màggàl / màngàl'	úbògò	ḅògò	wóógə	ḅògò, mòg	ḅògə	to steal
'gòl ~ 'gòl'	tòtó	tòtó	kòt(ə)	kòt	mbāl	(grind)stone

Table 1. Sinyar: a selection of specific vocabulary



Tables 2-3. Lexical distances: Sinyar and Central Sudanic (2012)



Non-WEST				WEST		Si
1 bk	Baka	8 lo	Lori	14 yu	Yulu	17 si Sinyar
2 bg	Bongo	9 md	Modo	15 gz	Gula Zura	
3 mr	Morokodo	10 so	Sopi	16 sr	Sar	
4 ma	Mo'da	11 gi	'Beli BG			
5 ml	Molo	12 st	'beli StS			
6 ny	Nyamusa	13 wu	'beli Wu			
7 wi	Wira					

Tables 4-5. Lexical distances: Sinyar and SBB (2016)

	Sinyar	*SBB	Modo	Bongo	Gula Koto
1S	mààlè ~ màà	*má	má	má	mā
2S	illè	*(?)í	ní	í	ī
3S	nààlè ~ nàà	*nE ?	<i>Masc.</i> bò <i>Fem.</i> lòkó	<i>Masc.</i> bá <i>Fem.</i> hó <i>Neutral</i> nà	ō
LOGS	–	(*nÈ)	–	–	nē
1PE	cìngè	*jE	zé	jé	zê
1PD (?)	ciyè				zē
1PI	cèèsà				zēg
2P	sìngè sèèsà	*SE	kpé	hé	sē
3P	nìngè	*d/dE ?	lijè	yé	tē
LOGP	–	(*nÈ-PL)	–	–	nēgā

Table 6. Independent personals (Sinyar: independent nominative)

	Sinyar	*SBB	Modo	Bongo	Gula Koto
1S	-ándá <sup>1</sup>	*má	má	má	mā
2S	-nûn <sup>1</sup>	*(?)í	yí	í	ī
3S	-náá <sup>1</sup>	*nE ?	<i>Masc.</i> bò <i>Fem.</i> nì	<i>Masc.</i> bá <i>Fem.</i> hó <i>Neutral</i> à, -V	ō
LOGS	–	(*nÈ)	–	né	nó
1PE	-náákú	*jE	zé	jé	zē
1PD (?)	-násà				
1PI					
2P	-núkú	*SE	yé	hé	sē
3P	-níngè	*d/dE ?	ní	yé	tē
LOGP	–	(*nÈ-PL)	–	–	nágō

Table 7. Associative ('possessive') personals (Sinyar: genitive)

## 2. SBB features in Sinyar

### Verbal derivatives

C- form derivatives before vowel initial verbs:

i. Sinyar infinitive prefixed with Ø- (consonant initial verbs) or *t-* (vowel initial verbs):

- (1) *dáár* 'look at' > inf. *dààr<sup>1</sup>*  
*màggàl* / *màngàl<sup>1</sup>* 'steal' > inf. *màggàl* ~ *màggál*  
*ikà<sup>1</sup>* / *íkà* 'seize' > inf. *t-íkà*  
*úrkú* / *ùrkù<sup>1</sup>* 'climb' > inf. *t-úrkú*

SBB languages derive infinitives with Ø- (consonant initial verbs) or a consonant (modo *t-*, yulu *l-*, others *k-*) in case of vowel initial verbs:

- (2) Modo (no consonant initial verb)  
*unyù* 'eat' > inf. *t-únyù*  
Yulu  
*kēēmā* 'fear' > inf. *kēēm(ā)*  
*èèdā* 'see' > inf. *l- èèdā*  
Gula Zura  
*tūv* 'spit' > inf. *tūv*  
*èt* 'open' > inf. *k-èt*  
Sar  
*mbātā* 'refuse' > inf. *mbātā*  
*àsō* 'fall' > inf. *k-àsō*

ii. Sinyar derive adjectives by prefixing *k-* to vowel initial verbs:

- (3) *áffá* 'be sharp' > *k-áffá* 'sharp'  
*àbbàl<sup>1</sup>* 'be red' > *k-àbbàl<sup>1</sup>* 'red'

This is probably also an old feature of SBB languages although the device has become lost (or frozen) and maybe merged with the *k-* formative of infinitives/nouns in many 'western' languages (like Gula Zura, Bagiro, and Sar):

- (4) Modo<sup>2</sup>  
 èyí ‘be cold’ > *k-èyí* ‘cold’  
 Bongo  
 èmbì ‘be fat’ > *k-èmbì* ‘fat’  
 Yulu  
 njèʔá ‘dry up’ > *njèʔ(ə)* ‘dry’  
 ēyà ‘be wide’ > *k-ēy(ə)* ‘wide’  
 Gula Zura  
 èd ‘rain (v.)’ > *kéd* ‘rain (n.)’  
 āc ‘be/become red, ripe’ > *kāc* ‘redness (?)’  
 Bagiro  
 àsū ‘be bad’ > inf. *k-àsū*; *k-àsū* ‘badness, bad’  
 Sar  
 \*aKε ‘be red’ > *kàsə* ‘brown red’

### **Subject focalizer**

Both Sinyar and Yulu share a verb prefix *k(V)*- to mark focus on the subject:

Sinyar

- (5) mùsù<sup>1</sup>-n wìŋ<sup>1</sup>-mà-tá  
 hunger-NOM.SG 3.IPFV.hurt-1S.ACC-NEG  
 ‘I am not hungry.’

- (6) <sup>1</sup>ingá-n k-ùŋ<sup>1</sup>-là  
 what?-NOM.SG FOC-3.IPFV.hurt-2S.ACC  
 ‘WHAT does hurt you?’

Yulu

- (7) bīisá òòsə èjə  
 dog.DEF 3.eat meat.DEF  
 ‘The dog ate the meat.’

- (8) bīisá k-ōōsə èjə  
 dog.DEF FOC-3.eat meat.DEF  
 ‘The DOG ate the meat.’

### **Compound verbs**

Sinyar may combine a verb and one or several ‘postverbs’ to form compound verbs that behave as one unit regarding their different markers: preposed subject indices and dependency markers, postposed verb plural, object indices and/or negation.

Some postverbs also work as isolated verbs (e.g. *ndúúr* ‘limping’ < *ndúúr* ‘to limp’ below), some others do not (e.g. *fà* ‘Past negation’ < ? below), in which case their verbal origin is only deduced from their morphological behaviour.

Semantically a compound verb combines the different meanings of its components, the postverb expressing several values of the process as ‘orientation/motion’, ‘degree’, ‘evaluation’, ‘modality/quality’, ‘aspect/duration’, etc. Frozen postverbs are particularly subject to grammaticalisation (e.g. ‘Past negation’, ‘Inchoative’, etc.).

Illustration:

- (9) *àbì* {3.IPFV.go} ‘(S)he is going.’  
*m-àbì* {1S-ipfv.go} ‘I am going.’  
*n-àbì-sà* {2-IPFV.go-PL} ‘You (pl.) are going.’  
*n-àbì-sà-tá* {2-IPFV.go-PL-NEG} ‘You (pl.) are not going.’
- (10) *ndúúr* ‘to limp’ > *ndúúr* ‘limping, with a limp’  
*àbì.ndúúr* {3.IPFV.go.limp} ‘(S)he is walking with a limp.’

<sup>2</sup> Andersen (1981:48) analyses these forms as dependent verbs (prefixed with *k-*) that may be regarded as shortened relative clauses when used in this way.



- |  |                          |                         |  |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|--|
|  | <i>m-àbì.ndúúr</i>       | {1S-IPFV.go.limp}       | ‘I am walking with a limp.’              |
|  | <i>n-àbì.ndúúr-sà</i>    | {2-IPFV.go.limp-PL}     | ‘You (pl.) are walking with a limp.’     |
|  | <i>n-àbì.ndúúr-sà-tá</i> | {2-IPFV.go.limp-PL-NEG} | ‘You (pl.) are not walking with a limp.’ |
- (11) ? > *.fà* ‘Past negation’ (formally applied to the Imperfective form of the verb)
- |  |                          |                          |   |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
|  | <i>àbì.fà</i>            | {3.IPFV.go.PNEG}         | ‘(S)he did not go.’                       |
|  | <i>m-àbì.fà</i>          | {1S-ipfv.go.PNEG}        | ‘I did not go.’                           |
|  | <i>n-àbì.fà-sà</i>       | {2-IPFV.go.PNEG-PL}      | ‘You (pl.) did not go.’                   |
|  | <i>m-àbì.ndúúr.fà</i>    | {1S-IPFV.go.limp.PNEG}   | ‘I was not walking with a limp.’          |
|  | <i>n-àbì.ndúúr.fà-sà</i> | {2-IPFV.go.limp.PNEG-PL} | ‘You (pl.) were not walking with a limp.’ |

The SBB languages Yulu and Gula show similar facts (Boyeldieu 2007). Example from Yulu:<sup>3</sup>

- (12) *njààmá* ‘to sit’  
*.lá?à* ‘cooling’ (postverb only, factitive of *à?à* ‘to become/be cool’)  
 > *njààmá.lá?à* ‘to rest (one’s body)’
- (13) *nā-tā-njààmó.lá?à-kē cō yáà-tè*  
 LOG-DEP-sit.cool-PL NEG body-3P  
 ‘[...say that] ...themselves do not rest (their body).’

In Modo, several ‘long forms’ of verbs and their similarity with other verbs suggest that compounding may also have played an active role at an earlier stage of the language. Compare for instance the initial segments in (14):

- (14) *áwó* ‘breathe’  
*ìndàwó* ‘rest, relax’

or the final segments in (15):

- (15) *òpí* ‘twist, unlock, drive a car’  
*òpìrì* ‘twist’

As has been seen, several features – from lexicon or morphosyntax – exposed in these two first sections point to a particular closeness of Sinyar with languages of Yulu-Gula type.

### 3. Features specific to Sinyar

#### *Noun plural in* (-*ŋa*)

The -*ŋa* plural marker (of Fur origin?) may be dropped if number marked otherwise (irregular plural suffix -*aar* or plural case marker, see below):

- (16) *ʼnà* /pl. *ʼnà-ŋà* ‘thing’  
*ʼgòl* /pl. *ʼgòl-ŋà* ‘stone, grindstone’  
*kártí* /pl. *kártí-ŋà* ‘elephant’

#### *Noun plurals in* -*aar*

Some nouns referring to animates have a special plural marker -*aar*:

- (17) *nímmi* /pl. *nímáár(-ŋà)* ‘sister’  
*ʼngùbbò* /pl. *ʼngùbààr(-ŋà)* ‘old woman’  
*bìsì* /pl. *bìsààr(-ŋà)* ‘dog’  
*ʼdôŋ* /pl. *dôŋáár(-ŋà)* ‘bull’  
*ʼkòdqù* /pl. *kòdáár(-ŋà)* ‘ram’

#### *Double radical-verbs*

Some Sinyar verbs have two complementary radicals following an ‘imperfective/past’ distribution of the TAM forms. In most cases the 2<sup>d</sup> radical is characterized by some affixation of a nasal element. Examples:

- (18) *érbí* / *èrmbì* ‘run’  
*sùdò* / *súnjó* ‘lie (down)’

<sup>3</sup> While only 69 postverbs have been identified in Sinyar so far, more than 200 of them have been recorded in Yulu.

<i>wìfè' / wìjè'</i>	'beget, bear'
<i>'dùj' / ndùj'</i>	'crunch (fruit, vegetable)'
<i>'jùwè' / njúwé'</i>	'cut (with knife)'
<i>úgò' / 'ùngón'</i>	'meet, find, get'

	'to run'	'to cut'	'to find, get'
Imperfective	érbí	'jùwè'	úgò'
Future	érbí (= Present)	júwé'	úgò' (= Present)
Past	èrmbì'	njúwé	'ùngón
Perfective	èrmbì'yà	njúwá'à	'ùngónjá'
Imperative (2 <sup>d</sup> sg.)	èrbí'	'jùwè	'ùgò
Prohibitive (2 <sup>d</sup> sg.)	k-érbí-tá	'kù-jùwè'-tà	k-úgò'-tà

Table 8. Distribution of verb double radicals according to TAM forms (3<sup>d</sup> pers. sg.)

**Factitive verbs suffixed with -oò↓/-uù↓**

(19)	<i>ánjú' / ànjù'</i>	'not have'	<i>ánjúú' / ànjúú'</i>	'let not have'
	<i>árfá' / -</i>	'be dry'	<i>árfòò' / árfóó'</i>	'let dry, make dry'
	<i>èttè' / èttè'</i>	'burn'	<i>èttòò' / èttóó'</i>	'let burn'
	<i>icél' / icél'</i>	'be/become full'	<i>icèliú' / icèliúú'</i>	'fill, make full'
	<i>ndó'llè' / ndòllé'</i>	'learn'	<i>ndóólúú' / ndòòlúú'</i>	'make learn, teach (ditransitive)'

**Intensive/frequentative in -r-**

Infix *-r-* expressing intensivity or frequency of the process; active derivation but numerous intensive/frequentative verbs without simple form:

(20)	<i>dákkwá' / dàkkwà'</i>	'knock (once) with the phalanx'	<i>dáarkwá' / dàarkwà'</i>	'knock with phalanxes (several times)'
	<i>dūlò' / dūlò'</i>	'spin (of head)'	<i>dūrlò' / dūrlò'</i>	'spin (freq.)'
	<i>wii' / wii'</i>	'kill'	<i>wirù' / wírú'</i>	'kill in great number, exterminate'
	?		<i>górnu' / ngórnu'</i>	'snore'
	?		<i>mbàrbàl' / mbàrbál'</i>	'tremble, shiver, shake (of cold, fear)'

**Double case marker system**

i. Nominal phrases whose head = common noun:

	(absolute)	Nominative	Adverbial
Sg.	<i>unmarked</i>	-n / (')-n̄ / -Ní / (')-Nì	-tí / (')-ti
Pl.		-sí / (')-sì	

Table 9. Case markers for common nouns

ii. Nominal phrases whose head = proper name:

	(absolute)	Nominative	Genitive	Accusative	Adverbial <sup>4</sup>
Sg.	<i>unmarked</i>	-n / (')-n̄ / -lè	-nà' / -nâ' <sup>5</sup>	-(y)àà	°-lèè
Pl.		-ngè		-ngàá	°-ngèèr

Table 10. Case markers for proper/individual names

<sup>4</sup> The sign ° indicates that the markers neutralise the effect of the preceding downstep if any, e.g. *Kájjè'* 'Kajje (proper name of woman)' > *Kájjè-lèè* (and not \**Kájjè'-lèè*) 'with Kajje'.

<sup>5</sup> The conditioning of the two variants *-nà' / -nâ'* is somewhat complex: 1. If the Genitive marker is final, its form is *-nâ'* in every case. 2. If it is covered by a second marker (NOM or ADV) relating to the preceding head noun, its form is *-nà'* when suffixed to a proper name ending with L<sup>1</sup>, and *-nâ'* in the other cases (name ending with H or L). See examples (14) above, as well as (37-38) and Table 3b below.

Proper names include:

- personal names (also personified animals), ‘God’, ‘chief’, ‘grandmother’, names of places, rivers, mountains, and countries;
- ‘who?’, ‘what’s-his/her-name, So-and-So’;
- some animal names: ‘(home) cat’, ‘(home) duck’, ‘fox’, ‘owl sp.’, ‘bird sp.’, ‘stork’, ‘locust sp.’ (several names), ‘chameleon’, ‘fish sp.’;
- points of the compass borrowed from Arabic.

#### 4. Summary of features

SBB-like	SBB-unlike
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– part of the lexicon (including ‘basic’)</li> <li>– part of the personal pronouns (namely in the nominative)</li> <li>– infinitive in <i>t-</i> (vowel-initial verbs)</li> <li>– adjectives and nominal forms in <i>k-</i> (vowel-initial verbs)</li> <li>– compound verbs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– part of the lexicon (including ‘basic’)</li> <li>– part of the personal pronouns (namely associative)</li> <li>– some double (formally related) radicals for verbs distributed according to tense/aspect</li> <li>– intensive verbs infixed with <i>-r-</i></li> <li>– factitive verbs suffixed with <i>-oo/-uu</i></li> <li>– usual noun plural in <i>-ɲá ~ -ɲà</i></li> <li>– some noun plurals in <i>-aar/-oor</i> (animates)</li> <li>– case marker system</li> </ul>

Table 11. SBB-like/-unlike features in Sinyar

#### 4. Sinyar adstrate or substrate? Tone patterns as evidence for a substrate?

	SBB	Sinyar	
a)	*SBB *11 *OCC *11		
N/009	*pādū	'fòdū	fire
N/011	*dūlū	'cùl	duiker
N/016	*ùsi	ìssi'	milk
N/017	*kāmò	kwòm'	eye, face
N/028	*kàRyà	kàryà	hartebeest
N/032		'mājja	honey-guide (bird)
N/036	*mòtò	miti'	base; backside, buttocks
N/037	*mÒmÒ	'mòmmò	woman, in-law / women
N/040	*tālò	tàál	dew
N/683	*ngùrà	'ngùrà	<i>Balanites aegyptiaca</i> (tree)
b)	*SBB *12 *OCC *12		
N/058	*tìkpī	tíkí	bowel, intestine
N/059	*kùrū	kùúr	worm, maggot, caterpillar
N/063	*tārō	'tòòr'	up, upright / top
N/084	*mÀsē	mààsí	spear
N/087	*kùdā	kùjá	thirst / water
N/093	*Sālī	'wèl	bird (gen.)
N/094	*bādū	'fòdū	warthog
N/095	*ngùjū	'kùrjū	flour
N/096	*Sādī	wèrjī	urine
N/098	*Nèjī	nijí	beer
N/103	*Sānā	'ānnā	skin
N/107	*Sùbū	ìbí	oil, fat
N/109	*idā	'ìjjā	meat
N/121	*ndÒgÒ	ndággá'	woven piece of fence
N/123		'kàccà	salt
N/127	*kàtā	nàfā	each other
N/128	*Nàpā	'ndisààr	broom
N/129	*ndisā	kàmbàl	leaves / wing
N/144	*mbiyā	máryá	beard
N/546	*kārō	kàár	frog, toad
c)	*SBB *22 *OCC *22		
N/144	*kĀnjē	kwùnjó	fish
N/199	*kāgā	kāggá	tree, wood
N/200	*kūmū	kūmúl	navel
N/202	*Sūlū	súl	mosquito
N/203	*Kīpō	kùffò	seed(s)
N/206	*ngērī	ngiír	firewood
N/207	*Sīlī	illí	prickle, claw, finger / hand, arm
N/208	*SŌmŌ	simmé	rabbit, hare
N/210	*kākō	kárkí	sugar cane, sweet cane
N/212		àngwà' ~ àngwà	guest
d)	*SBB *21a *OCC *21a		
N/159	*NĒIĒ	lálá	wind
N/160	*ōisi	òisi'	dog
N/168	*kādō	kādū'	calabash / placenta
N/171	*bījā	fiyá	goat
N/208	*Nāmi	nímmí	sister
e)	*SBB *21b *OCC *21b		
N/003	*kāgbà	'kwàgàr	leopard
N/026		kòfù'	knee
N/049	*kādā	'kājja	sun
N/052	*kājù	'kòjjù	horn
N/177	*tārà	tààr' (tààr ?)	mouth; entrance; language
N/178	*tāRnqā	cànjál'	guinea fowl
N/179	*kŌRlò	sùrrù	giraffe
N/188		'ngòdò	<i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i> (tree)
N/489	*mūjù	'mòjjò	antbear, aardvark

Table 12. SBB / Sinyar tones compared: Nouns (1=L, 2=H)

	SBB	Sinyar	
a)	*SBB *A (*12)		
V/009	*ùbū	tùbbù / tùmbù <sup>!</sup> [1a]	cover with earth, burry, sow in holes
V/010	*ògbō	ùrgù / ùrngù <sup>!</sup> [1a]	laugh
V/011	*idā	wírjā (-ùrjā) / wírnjā <sup>!</sup> [1a]	tie, bind
b)	*SBB *B (*22)		
V/020	*íjō	wíjā (-ùfā) / wíjā <sup>!</sup> [1a]	plait
V/022	*ícō	wiccè (-ùccò) / wiccè <sup>!</sup> [1a]	fall
V/025	*ūbā	ùbā / ùmbā <sup>!</sup> [1a]	make, mould, build
V/030	*ūḡmā	ùḡḡwā / ùḡḡwā <sup>!</sup> [1a]	roast, warm up, be hot / hurt
V/034	*ígbō	ùrbò / ùrmbò <sup>!</sup> [1a]	bark
c)	*OCC *AB (*12)		
V/014	*Sàdī	wèrjì (-òrjù) / wérnjì [1b]	urinate
V/017	*àḡmā ‘burn’	àḡḡwā / àḡḡwā <sup>!</sup> [1a]	burn / burn (intrans.)
V/054	*-d-	ndàjji / ndàjji <sup>!</sup> [1a]	sneeze
V/085	*ibō	ùrbò / ùrmbò <sup>!</sup> [1a]	send, commission
V/150	*ùḡā	wiccā (-ùccā) / wiccā <sup>!</sup> [1a]	hit (with fist) / hit, strike
V/151	*Ábē	íbbí <sup>!</sup> / ímbí [4a]	pass, surpass
d)	*SBB*A~*B?		
V/037	*tèdē	wèdē <sup>!</sup> (-òdò <sup>!</sup> ) / wénjé [2a]	vomit
V/046	*Ádē	wèdē (-òdò) / wénjé <sup>!</sup> [1a]	pull (out), extract
V/066	*Gàlī	ùgòl / ùngól [2x ?]	know
e)	*SBB *C (*11) *OCC *C (*11)		
V/069	*ŌŌ	willè <sup>!</sup> (-ùllò) / willé [2a]	die
V/071	*ŌḡŌ	wíj <sup>!</sup> (-ùḡ <sup>!</sup> ) / wíj [2c]	eat; hurt
V/079	*ùlù	wíl <sup>!</sup> (-ùl <sup>!</sup> ) / wíl [2b]	swallow
V/079	*èli	wírlí <sup>!</sup> (-ùrlù <sup>!</sup> ) / wírlí [2a]	swallow
V/082	*ÈrÈ	wíré (-úró) / wíré <sup>!</sup> [3a]	twist / knead, mix (dough, etc.); twist (a tie); winnow
V/086	*ÈmbÈ	ùmbò / ùmbóḡ [1c]	find, get / hear, listen to
V/088	*ikà	ikà <sup>!</sup> / íká [2a]	take, catch
V/092	*ÈmÈ	ùmmò <sup>!</sup> / úmmó [2a]	cry, moan
V/093	*dŌḡŌ	‘jùḡ <sup>!</sup> / njùḡ [2b]	bite
V/143	*àKí	àkki <sup>!</sup> / ákki [2a]	be ripe, ripen
V/144		wísi (-ùsù) / wísi <sup>!</sup> [1a]	wound, stab, spear
V/147		wíjè <sup>!</sup> (-ùfò <sup>!</sup> ) / wíjè <sup>!</sup> [2x]	bear, give birth
V/194		íjjā <sup>!</sup> / ínjā [4a]	count, measure
V/208		èèrè <sup>!</sup> / éééré [2a]	sing
f)	*SBB *D2 (*21) *OCC *D (*21)		
V/098	*íjā	wíjā (-úfā) / wíjā <sup>!</sup> [3a]	cut ears of crops, harvest
V/117	*òkù	úrkú / úrkú <sup>!</sup> [3a]	climb
V/124	*íḡbò	ndùbò / ndùmbò <sup>!</sup> [1a]	meet
V/129	*íKà	wírcá (-úrcá) / wírcá <sup>!</sup> [3a]	fry
V/130	*ndíjò	ndúfó / ndúnjò <sup>!</sup> [3a]	ask
V/409		wiccí <sup>!</sup> (-ùccú) / wiccí [2a]	burn (trans.)

Table 13. SBB / Sinyar tones compared: Verbs (1=L, 2=H)

### Glosses and abbreviations

°-	neutralisation of preceding tonal downstep	FEM.	Feminine
!	Tonal downstep	FOC	Focalizer (of subject)
1P	1 <sup>st</sup> person plural	IPFV	Imperfective
1PD	1 <sup>st</sup> person plural (dual)	LOG	Logophoric
1PE	1 <sup>st</sup> person plural (exclusive)	LOGP	Logophoric plural
1PI	1 <sup>st</sup> person plural (inclusive)	LOGS	Logophoric singular
1S	1 <sup>st</sup> person singular	MASC.	Masculine
2P	2 <sup>d</sup> person plural	NEG	Negative, Negation

2s	2 <sup>d</sup> person singular	NOM	Nominative
3	3 <sup>d</sup> person	PFV	Perfective
3P	3 <sup>d</sup> person plural	pl., PL	Plural
3S	3 <sup>d</sup> person singular	PNEG	Past negation
ACC	Accusative	PNEG	Past negative
DEF	Definite	SBB	Sara-Bongo-Bagirmi
DEP	Dependent verb form	sg., SG	Singular

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