

Proto-Dogon verbs: perfective positive system
 Jeff Heath (U Michigan), schweinehaxen@hotmail.com
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1. Dogon family

Eastern

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|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|----------|
| E-1 | Toro Tegu | | |
| E-2 | a. Ben Tey | b. Bankan Tey | c. Nanga |
| E-3 | a. Jamsay | b. Togo Kan (SE plains group) | |
| E-4 | a. Tommo So | b. Donno So | |
| E-5 (= Toro So group) | Yorno So | | |
| E-6 | Tomo Kan | | |

Western

- | | | | |
|------------------|-----------|----|---------------------|
| W-1 | Najamba | | |
| W-2 | Tiranige | | |
| W-3 | Dogul Dom | | |
| W-4 | Yanda Dom | | |
| W-5 | Tebul Ure | | |
| W-6 (= SW group) | a. Bunoge | b. | Penange c. Mombo d. |
- Ampari

2. typology

SOV with verb carrying at least TAMN inflection

pronominal-subject marking (3Sg is zero except as indicated)

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|--|--|
| a. verbal suffixes | E- <u>23a45</u> , marginal in E- <u>3b_56</u>
W-1- <u>345</u> |
| b. clause-initial (1st/2nd), verbal enclitics (3Sg, 3Pl) | E- <u>3b_56</u> (supplementing marginal suffix system)
W-1- <u> </u> |
| c. verbal proclitics (1st/2nd), verbal suffixes (3Pl) | E (none)
W-6 only |
| d. verbal proclitics (1Pl, 2Pl), verbal suffixes (1Sg, 2Sg, 3Pl) | E (none)
W-2 only |

3. indicative TAMN categories

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| perfective positive | perfective negative |
| imperfective positive | imperfective negative |
| stative positive | stative negative |

4. perfective positive system (including perfect)

- a) perfective/perfect construction with suffix and/or Aux after the verb
- S-perfective (resultative or all-purpose perfective, all verbs), see (5)
 - Recent perfect/completive ('has just finished VPing'), see (6)
 - Experiential perfect ('has ever VPed'), see (7)
- paired marked perfectives
- T-perfective (active verbs), see (8a)
 - Y/R-perfective (motion and mediopassive verbs), see (8b)
- Past (if used as ordinary perfective), see (9)

- b) simple perfective (unmarked, or with final-vowel mutation)

v represents a variable vowel; *O represents *o/o*, s.t. also *a*; *E represents *e/e*, s.t. also *i*

5. S-perfective (often resultative or perfect)

*sɔ (reflected as *so*, *sɔ*, *sa*, or *jo*) ‘have’, defective quasi-verb

*sɔ ‘have’ occurs in all Dogon languages

usually with *yɛ/ya/yɔ existential proclitic (< definite ‘there’ adverb)

E-3a *úró yé sà-m* ‘I have a house’

house Exist **have-1Sg**

a) *sɔ ‘have’ or *bɔ ‘be’ as Aux after subordinated verb (anterior, same-subject)

E-3b Vb-*ɛ:* ~ *-e:* ~ *-i:* + *sâ* perfect of continuing possession

E-4ab Vb-*à:* + *wɔ̀* present perfect

E-4b Vb-*à:* + *sè* present perfect

b) *sɔ as Aux following a bare verb stem

W-1 *jò ~ jògâ:* recent perfect, see (6) below

c) *sɔ (more or less) suffixed to verb stem, general perfective

E-1 (*sò/sò/sà*), -2 (*sô/só*), E-3a (*sà*)

W-2 (*sà*), -4 (*sɔ̀*), -5 (*zò/zó*)

the cases in (c) are most highly grammaticalized as general perfectives for all verbs

still has a resultative nuance in e.g. E-2a, W-2

the only suffixal perfective for nonaction, non-mediopassive (‘see’, ‘spend the night’)

unmarked perfective in relativized/focalized clauses (obligatory in E-1)

6. Recent perfect:

*jě(:) ‘take’ as simple verb (general ‘take’ or more specifically ‘take by scooping up’)

‘pick up, take (sth)’ (general) E-2b (*zè*), W-1 (*jé*) [competes with *jèŋgé]

‘scoop up (esp. hot coals)’ E-1 (*zè*), -2 (*jě, jě:*), -3 (*jě:*), -4 (*jè, jǎ:/jé-è*), -5 (*jě:*)

W-1 (*jé*), -45 (*zìyé*),

‘take (handful of food)’ E-3 (*jě:*), -6. (*jè:*)

(E-1 *jèwá* in this sense but likely < *jèmé ‘pick out (e.g. a grain) by hand’)

combined: E-12345? (E-6 unknown), W1__45

recent perfect: ‘have already VPed’ and/or ‘have (just) finished VPing’

*jě(:) added directly to the verb stem as aa suffix or as a chained Aux

E-2 (*jé, zé, jè*), -3a (*jè*), -3b in part (*jé*), -5 (*jè:*)

W-1 (*jé*), -4 (*zè*)

*jě(:) added to a verb with a suffixal subordinator (e.g. anterior, same subject)

E-3b in part (Vb-*è:* *jè*), -4a (Vb-*à:* *jè*), -6 (Vb-*ɛ:* *jè*)

noncognate or mutated variants

E-4b Vb-*a:* *dǎ:* with *dǎ:* ‘arrive’ (cf. E-4a Vb-*à:* *jè*)

likewise W-5 *dè* (likely < an original E-stem perfective of *dǎ* ‘arrive’)

W-3 *jó* (< *jó/jò* ‘have’)

W-4 *sé* (< *sé:* ‘had’, ablauted from *sâ:* ‘have’)

7. Experiential perfect: ‘have (once/ever, at any time) VPed’

**tárá* (< **tádá* ?) ‘post (sth, on wall); replaster (wall)’, or s.t. ‘bind together’, ‘patch up’

E-__23456 (medial *r*)

W-__3456ab (medial *r* except *d* in W-4)

W-1 verb chain *bimbilé tár* ‘rub [hide] between hands’ is questionably related
semantic connection of ‘post; patch’ to experiential perfect is shaky

W-1 *tár* ‘look at’ is (slim) grist for a speculative second reconstructed **tárá*

no clear alternative proto-Dogon reconstructed verb for this sense

‘see’ does make some sense semantically as source of experiential perfect

experiential perfect:

**tádá* is always added directly to the verb stem as suffix or chained Aux
alone (no following Aux)

E-2a (*tâ*) and -2b (*tí* [neg. *tâ-lí*]), -3a in part (*térè*), -6 (*cíní* [neg. *tâ:-wⁿ*])

W-2 (*tèy*, presuffixal *té-*), -6bd (*té, tē-*)

followed (positive only) by **so* ‘have’, **bo* ‘be’, or **-jě:* ‘take’, **=bE* past clitic

E-2c (*tá:-só*), -3a in part (*té-sà*), -3b (*té-jè*), -4b (*tíyà-wò*),

-5 (*térò:* < **tér(é)* plus **Cò* [?? **bò* or **sò*])

W-1 (*tár-jò*), -3 (*tì-jó* [neg. *tá:-lì*]), -4 (*téré-bè, téré-zò*), -5 (*téré-bì*),

followed by a subordinating suffix plus an Aux

E-4a (*-tíy-à: wò*)

noncognate or mutated variants

E-1 has a noncognate experiential perfective: *wâ:-sá* (neg. *wâ:-lí*)

this *wâ:-* perhaps < ‘see’ (E-1 *wó*, -4b *wă:*, W-3b *wě:*, etc.)

W-6a has Vb-*nà wélè: bò*, a less fully grammaticalized construction

perhaps just a regular chain with verb *wélè* ‘be accustomed to’.

8. paired suffixally marked perfectives, active vs. motion/nonactive

T-perfective (9): action verbs

Y/R-perfective (10): motion and non-action (mediopassive, deadjectival, etc.)

together they almost exhaust the set of verbs, except perception, ‘spend the night’, etc.

occur as a pair: E-1235, W-5

8a T-perfective, suffixally marked perfective for non-motion action verbs (volitional, agentive)

**tíyé/túyé* ‘send’

E-1 (*tíwó*), -2 (*tí, tî:*), -3 (*tí:, tí*), -4a (*túyó*), -4b (*té:*), -5 (*túy*), -6 (??)

W-136b (*tíyé*), -4 (*tó*), -5 (*tí* [neg. *tíyà-lí*]), -6a (*tí:wè*), -6c (*tyé:*)

as chained verb indicating definitive separation from agent (e.g. ‘throw’, ‘leave/abandon’)

E-4b: [*tànná ù-mò*] [*yògò rà:*] *pád-à:* *tì-y-w*

[stick 2Sg-Poss] [which? Loc] leave-PastAnt **send**-Pfv-2SgSbj

‘Where did you-Sg (go and) leave your (walking) stick?’

as (more or less) suffixed perfective for all action verbs

E-2 (*tí:, tí, tì*), -3a (*tì*), -45 (*tì*)

W-5 (*tì*)

as chronological divider in the middle of a verb chain

E-3a: [*kó dàyá tí yèrè-bá*] *sógò*

[Nonh leave Pfv come.Pfv-3PlSbj] instead.of

‘instead of leaving it and (then) coming (home)’

noncognate or problematic variants

E-1 -*wòsi/-wòsì*, see (8c)

8b Y/R-perfective, complements T-perfective, with motion/mediopassive/deadjectival verbs etymologically heterogeneous, allomorphs may depend on verb-stem weight (light/heavy)

*yàáy/ýá: ‘go’ (competes with *bòló and others)

E-1 (yáyá), -3 (yǎ:, yě), -4 (yǎ.), -5 (yǎ.), -6 (-yè:)

W-5 (yáy)

*yèRé ~ *wèRé ‘come’ (“R” = r, l)

E-1 (yèrí), -2 (yě, yě:, wó), -3 (yèré), -4 (yèlé), -5 (wèlé), -6 (yèlè)

W-1 (wé), -4 (wó), -5 (wǎ:)

perfective suffix

E-2 èrè, :-rè

E-5 à:y/â:y

E-3a yâ ~ yê (light stems) â: (heavy stems)

W-5 -yâ- (light, or after mediopassive -í:-) à:/â: (heavy)

noncognate or problematic variants

E-1 -wǎrè/-wòrè, see (8c)

8c. E-1 variants

T-perfective -wòsì/-wòsì and Y/R-perfective -wòrè/-wòrè

arguably *-wò/wò plus perfective -sì and -rè

cf. E-1 3Sg pronominal wó (independent), wó (clitic), wò (possessor)

-rè is close to other Y/R-perfective suffixes

but is -sì a phonological mutation from *-tì ??

9. simple past with “past” clitic

in most Dogon lgs, conjugated past clitic (often =be) shifts the reference time back (past imperfective, past stative, past perfect: ‘was VP-ing’, ‘had VP-ed’, etc)

in a few languages, =be competes with the regular perfective (‘VP-ed’)

E-5 lágá = ‘bé’ ‘he/she hit’

10. simple perfective (no suffix or Aux other than any stem-final vowel ablaut)

absent: E-1

the dominant or only positive perfective: E-4 W-1234_6

defocalized only E-23a5 W-5

3Sg and 3Pl forms often differ

a) 3Sg CvCv or E-stem CvCE versus 3Pl I/U-stem CvCi-yE

b) 3Sg CvCv or CvCE versus 3Pl syncopated CvC-yE

c) 3Sg CvCv or CvCE versus contracted suffixal 3Pl CvC-a:/CvC-O:

d) 3Sg CvCv or CvCE versus unsuffixed 3Pl A/O stem CvCa/CvCO

e) 3Sg CvCv or CvCE versus suffixed 3Pl with suffix -ba/ɔ

	3Sg Pfv	3Pl Pfv	1st/2nd Pfv	other inflections
E-1	<i>(simple perfective absent)</i>			I/U lex (imperative)
E-2a	lex			lex
E-2b	E/I	(contracted)	lex	lex
E-2c	E	A/O (-Ø)	lex	lex
E-3a	lex			lex, traces of I/U
E-3b	E/I (Sg)	lex (Pl) < S-Pfv	<i>(n.a.)</i>	lex
E-4a	E/I	I	E/I	lex
E-4b	E/I	I	E/I	lex
E-5	lex (or E?) I/U	(contracted)	lex ~ I/U	lex ~ I/U perfects, chains, T-perfective lex
E-6	E/I	(contracted)	<i>(n.a.)</i>	E/I (chains only) lex
W-1	E	(contracted)	E	E/I (chains) A/O (inflections)
W-2	E/I	I	E/I	E/I in perfects, hortative O; A/O
W-3	E (=lex)	I (syncopated)	E (=lex)	E (chains, several inflections) A; O; A/O
W-4	E	A/O (-Ø)	E	A/O; U; lex
W-5	E/I (defoc.) lex/I ('if')	(contracted)	lex	A; A/O
W-6a	E/I	I/U (syncopated)	E/I	O/U; A/O
W-6b	E/I	I/U (syncopated)	E/I	E/I in non-3Pl PfvNeg O; A/O;
W-6c	E/I	(contracted)	E/I	A (??)
W-6d	E/I	I/U	E/I	(??)

clear association of E(I)-stem with the simple perfective

in some languages, the association is specifically with the 3Sg form

E(I)-stem may spread to other functions and even become the lexically basic form of verbs
or it can disappear entirely

Appendix: Examples of 3Sg and 3Pl simple perfectives

	3Sg	3Pl	
E-1	<i>(no simple perfectives in this language)</i>		
E-2a	<i>dùyò</i>	<i>dùyò-bò</i>	‘pounded (in mortar)’
E-2b	<i>lávè</i>	<i>láv-à:</i>	‘passed’
	<i>túmbìrì</i>	<i>túmbìr-à:</i>	‘began’
	<i>gwê</i>	<i>g-ô:</i>	‘exited’
E-2c	<i>dògè</i>	<i>dògò</i>	‘abandoned’ (<i>dògò</i>)
	<i>tùwè</i>	<i>tùwà</i>	‘died’ (<i>tùwè-</i>)
	<i>tè:</i>	<i>tèà</i>	‘laid out (mat)’
E-3a	<i>làgà</i>	<i>làgà-bà</i>	‘hit’
E-3b (binary 123Sg versus 123Pl, no person marking; Pl <i>-sêⁿ</i> < S-perfective)			
	<i>újè</i>	<i>újò-sêⁿ</i>	‘built’
	<i>téré</i>	<i>téré-sêⁿ</i>	‘pounded (in mortar)’
	<i>ùjúrí</i>	<i>ùjúr-è: sêⁿ</i>	‘got up’
	<i>nàè</i>	<i>ná:-sêⁿ</i>	‘spent night’
	<i>nú-ỳⁿ</i>	<i>nú-è: sêⁿ</i>	‘entered’
E-4a	<i>àdùbì</i>	<i>àdùbì-èⁿ</i>	‘thought’
	<i>jèṣṣè</i>	<i>jèṣṣì-èⁿ</i>	‘picked up’
	<i>tàè</i>	<i>tà-ì-èⁿ</i>	‘shot’
E-4b	<i>sémbè</i>	<i>sémbì-yà</i>	‘swept’
	<i>tóè</i>	<i>tóy-yà</i>	‘sowed’
	<i>óbì</i>	<i>óbì-yà</i>	‘gave’
E-5 (“3Pl” includes 1Pl)			
	<i>èbè</i>	<i>èb-è:ⁿ</i>	‘bought’
	<i>kày</i>	<i>kày-è:ⁿ</i>	‘shaved’
E-6 (binary; “3Sg” covers all persons/numbers except 3Pl)			
	<i>yèlé</i>	<i>yél-è:</i>	‘came’
W-1	<i>dènjè</i>	<i>dènj-à:</i>	‘hit’
	<i>kwè</i>	<i>kw-à:</i>	‘ate’
	<i>nè</i>	<i>n-à:</i>	‘drank’
W-2	<i>yègè</i>	<i>yègí-yè</i>	‘fell’
	<i>kàmì</i>	<i>kàmì-yè ~ kàmí-yè</i>	‘robbed’
	<i>nwè:</i>	<i>nùy-è: ~ nűy-yè:</i>	‘entered’
	<i>jè:</i>	<i>jìy-è: (?)</i>	‘ate’
W-3	<i>sémbè</i>	<i>sémb-yà</i>	‘swept’
	<i>wé:</i>	<i>wéy-yà</i>	‘saw’
W-4	<i>dìyè</i>	<i>dìyá</i>	‘carried on head’
	<i>wé</i>	<i>wó</i>	‘came’
W-5			
defoc	<i>dógè</i>	<i>dóg-à:</i>	‘abandoned’
‘if’	<i>dògò dé</i>	<i>dòg-à: dé</i>	
defoc	<i>óndì</i>	<i>ónd-à:</i>	‘built’
‘if’	<i>òndì dé</i>	<i>ònd-à: dé</i>	
defoc	<i>gòè</i>	<i>gò-à:</i>	‘exited’
‘if’	<i>gò dé</i>	<i>gò-à: dé</i>	
W-6a	<i>tégè</i>	<i>tég-gè (< /tég-yè/)</i>	‘saw’
	<i>símì</i>	<i>sím-mè (< /sím-yè/)</i>	‘built’
	<i>gè:</i>	<i>gúy-yè</i>	‘went out’
	<i>jè:</i>	<i>júy-yè</i>	‘ate’
W-6b	<i>wélgè</i>	<i>wélg-yè</i>	‘dispossessed’
	<i>kán(i)</i>	<i>kán-ni(:)</i>	‘did’
	<i>dwé:</i>	<i>dúy-yè</i>	‘pounded’
	<i>né:</i>	<i>níyⁿ-yⁿè</i>	‘drank’
W-6c	<i>ímbè</i>	<i>ímb-è:</i>	‘caught’
W-6d	<i>làgè</i>	<i>làgì-yé</i>	‘hit’