A GRAMMAR
OF DIOLA-FOGNY
A LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE
BASSE-CASAMANCE REGION OF SENEGAL

BY
J. DAVID SAPIR

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
IN ASSOCIATION WITH
THE WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES SURVEY AND THE
INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES, IBADAN
1965

THE TAYLOR LIBRARY
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**  
xi

**ABBREVIATIONS**  
xiii

1 Introduction  
1

1.1 The Dioda People  
1

1.2 The Dioda Language  
1

1.3 Dioda Language Studies  
1

## PART I PHONOLOGY

1 General Remarks on Phonology  
4

2 Phonics  
5

2.1 Unit Phonemes  
5

2.11 Consonants  
5

2.12 Vowels  
6

2.13 Vowel Length  
6

2.14 Phonemic Distribution  
6

2.15 Examples of Unit Phonemes  
7

2.2 Phoneme Combinations  
8

2.21 Consonant Clusters  
8

2.22 Diphthongs  
8

2.3 Syllabic Formation and Stress  
9

2.31 Single Syllable  
9

2.32 Multi-Syllable Morphemes  
9

2.33 Note on Stress  
9

3 Morphophonemics  
11

3.1 Vowel Harmony  
11

3.2 Vowel Assimilation  
12

3.21 Prefix Assimilation  
13

3.22 Special Prefix Assimilation  
14

3.23 Suffix Assimilation  
15

3.24 Special Suffix Assimilation  
16

3.3 Nasal Assimilation  
16

3.4 Consonant Reduction and Separation  
16

3.41 Consonant Reduction  
17

3.42 Consonant Separation  
17

3.5 Consonant Loss  
17

3.51 Loss of y and w  
17

3.52 Consonant Loss in Rapid Speech  
18

3.6 r and d Alternation  
18

3.7 V and VI Morpheme Alternation  
18

3.8 Inter-word Morphophonemics  
19

3.81 Consonant Loss (3.52)  
19

3.82 Consonant Separation (3.42)  
19

3.83 Nasal and Vowel Assimilation (3.3 and 3.21)  
19

3.84 r~d and V~VC Alternations (3.6 and 3.7)  
19

3.9 Consonant Addition: An Unproductive Process  
20
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table of Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Part II  Morphology and Syntax**

4 Grammatical Sketch
4.1 Grammatical Processes and Basic Word Categories 22
4.11 Grammatical Processes 22
4.12 Themes 23
4.2 Concord 24
4.3 Noun Phrases 25
4.31 Nouns 26
4.32 Pronouns 27
4.33 Adjectives 27
4.34 Relational Phrases 28
4.35 Infinitives 28
4.36 Intransitive Phrases 29
4.37 Seminominals 29
4.4 Independent Concord Forms 29
4.5 Finite Verbs 30
4.51 Concord Inflection and the Impersonal 30
4.52 Bound Complement Suffixes 30
4.53 Mood 30
4.54 Narrative 36
4.55 The Co-occurrence of Mood Markers: Viewed Paradigmatically 37
4.56 The Co-occurrence of Mood Markers: Viewed Syntactically 40
4.57 Imperative 43
4.58 Defective Verbs 43
4.6 Non-Concord Modifiers 45
4.7 Sentence Types 45
4.71 Finite Sentences 45
4.72 Concept Juxtaposition 47
4.73 Mixed Constructions 48
4.74 Interrogative Sentences 48

5 Derivation: Secondary Neutral Theme Formation
5.1 Derivative Noun Markers 49
5.11 Productive Noun Markers 49
5.12 Unproductive Noun Markers 50
5.2 Derivative Verb Markers 51
5.21 Productive Verb Markers 51
5.22 Unproductive Verb Markers 51
5.3 Multiple Derivative Markers 56
5.4 Verb Inflection Markers in Secondary Theme Formation 57
5.5 Compound Secondary Neutral Theme 57

6 Derivation (Continued)
6.1 Place Demonstrative and Time Locative Formation 58
6.11 Place Demonstratives 58
6.12 Time Locatives 58
6.2 Submorphemic m 59

7 Morphology: Substantives – Part I
7.1 Nouns 61
7.11 Noun Class Markers 61
7.12 Nouns Without Class Markers 67
7.13 Noun Suffixes 68
7.14 Distributive Noun Formation 70
7.2 Pronouns 70
7.21 Subject/Object Pronouns 70
7.22 Indefinite Pronouns 71
7.23 Emphatic Demonstrative 71
7.24 Distributive Pronoun 71
7.25 What-do-you-call-it 71
7.3 Adjectives 72
7.31 Demonstrative 72
7.32 Indefinite Particularizer 73
7.33 Definite Particularizer 73
7.34 The Other 73
7.35 Disjunctive Possessive 73
7.36 Concord Numerals 74
7.37 Neutral Theme Adjectives 75
7.4 Relational 76
7.41 Relative Pronouns 76
7.42 Genitive Particle 76
7.43 Quantity Indicator 76
7.5 Infinitives 77
7.6 Seminominals 77
7.61 Time and Place Locatives 77
7.62 Interrogative wy 78
7.63 Interrogative bu 79
7.64 be ~-be 79

8 Independent Concord Forms: Substantives – Part II
8.1 Seminominals 80
8.2 Nominals 82

9 Extended Noun and Seminominal Phrases: Substantives – Part III
9.1 Adjectives 84
9.11 Higher Numbers and Number Phrases 84
9.12 Genitive Phrases 86
9.13 Possessive Phrases 86
9.14 Adjective Series 87
9.2 Seminominal Phrases 87
9.21 Locative Phrases 87
9.22 be 88
9.3 Noun and Seminominal Strings 88
9.4 Noun Phrase and Seminominal Propositions 88

10 Morphology: Finite Verbs 90
10.1 Concord Inflection 90
TABLE OF CONTENTS

10.11 Noun Class Markers 90
10.12 Personal Pronouns 90
10.13 Plural Concord with Singular Regent 91
10.2 Bound Complements 91
10.21 Personal Markers 91
10.22 Bound Concord Forms 92
10.3 Mood 92
10.31 Tense 93
10.32 Mode 93
10.33 Syntactic Markers: Emphasis and Subordination 94
10.4 Combination of Affixes 96
10.41 Prefixes and Prolitics 96
10.42 Suffixes 97
11 Non-Concord Modifier 99
12 Sentence Types 100
12.1 Finite Sentence 100
12.11 Simple Sentence 100
12.12 Verb Strings 104
12.13 Relative Clauses 106
12.14 Relative Clauses and Tense Contrast 107
12.15 Compound Sentences 107
12.2 Concept Juxtaposition 111
12.21 Simple Juxtaposition 111
12.22 Complex Juxtaposition 112
12.3 Mixed Constructions 113

APPENDIX
Text: Recorded Letter 115
Text Analysis 116
MORPHEME INDEX 123
BIBLIOGRAPHY 129

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The field work for this monograph was generously financed by the West African Languages Survey, while a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies facilitated the initial stages of the writing.

I am particularly indebted to the Chairman and the Field Director of W.A.L.S., Joseph H. Greenberg and Robert G. Armstrong, for their interest, help, and encouragement.

While in Senegal, I have worked under the auspices of the Institut Français d’Afrique Noire. Its Director, Th. Mondol, gave me permission to use the facilities of the Institute and kindly provided an office and lodgings during the period of final revision. Discussions with Maurice Houis and Serge Sauvageot of the linguistic section at I.F.A.N. have been immensely profitable.

L-V Thomas of the Université de Dakar took particular interest in my work, introducing me, through his writings and conversations, to the details of Diola ethnography.

During the last month of the field period, while working on the dialect of Kwatay, I spent much time with Rev. and Mrs. Alistair Kennedy. Rev. Kennedy placed at my disposal his extensive knowledge of Kasa Diola, and our conversations over points of comparison between the Fogny, Kwatay, and Kasa dialects gave me a much needed perspective.

Kennedy and Thomas have provided the material for the Diola dialect map included in this monograph.

Without the patience and perseverance of my two principal informants, Alasane Badji and Paul Sagna, little progress would have been made in the painstaking task of linguistic analysis. A number of other Diola friends, in particular Fofana Badji, Fidele Badjian, Dominique Coudjaji, and Souleymane Sané, provided additional material. I would also like to thank all of the Diola people of Sindian and of Katinong who kept insisting that I get on with the business of learning their language.

Floyd Lounsbury, William Welmers, and especially Doll Hymes have taught me what I know of linguistics. My debt to them is immeasurable. Richard Diebold and Karl Teeter, as my thesis advisors, were most helpful in their comments on the earlier version of this work that served as my doctoral dissertation.

Finally, my wife not only gave needed encouragement throughout the entire course of work, but also took on the frightful job of typing the lion’s share of the manuscript.

J. D. S.

DAKAR
December 1964
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agt</td>
<td>Agentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Consonant, Class consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Contingent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caus</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf.</td>
<td>Compare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td>Directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>‘Early’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emph</td>
<td>Emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E/S</td>
<td>Emphasis-Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FP</td>
<td>Future in the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hab</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imper</td>
<td>Impersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instr</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>Iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mdg</td>
<td>Manding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nc</td>
<td>Noun class marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE</td>
<td>Noun emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nm</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obj</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Past absolute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PH</td>
<td>Past hypothetical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>Past subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qi</td>
<td>Qualificative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdpl</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recp</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refl</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>res</td>
<td>Resultive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>Remote past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.o.</td>
<td>Someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Simple subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sth</td>
<td>Something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trs</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>“Towards speaker”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VE</td>
<td>Verb emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vz</td>
<td>Verbalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wif</td>
<td>Wolof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was</td>
<td>R. P. Weiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>Optional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Key to map of DIOLA DIALECTS AND BAINOUK IN THE BASSE-CASAMANCE, SENEGAL

FOGNY (or FILHAM)

KOMBO (Dioloulou and Kafountine)

BULUF (SW of Bignona)

KARON (Kaylo, Hiliol)

BLIS (Bankassouk, Niomoune, Itoue)

ESULAU (Pointa St. Georges)

KASA (Ziguinchor and West)

KWATAY (Diembang : 3 villages)

HER, or ER (Kabrousse, Nialon)

BANDIAL (Seleki region)

HULÖN (Brin, exact area not known)

HULUF (Oussouye and South)

BAYOT (Nyassia, Kapuite, S. to P.G.)

DIAMAT (Floup area, N. P.G.)

CALEQUISSE, P.S. (called Floup, but different than Diamat)

BAINOUK (about 30 scattered villages)
INTRODUCTION

0.1 THE DIOLA PEOPLE
The Diola (Dyola, Jola) live on either side and near the mouth of the Casamance River in the region of Senegal, West Africa, known as the Basse-Casamance. There are approximately 200,000 Diola sub-divided, according to Thomas (1958), into ten groups, eight of which are found on the left and two on the right bank of the river. The majority of the Diola live in small independent villages and practise wet-rice cultivation.

0.2 THE DIOLA LANGUAGE
Diola makes up a dialect-cluster with considerable inter-village variation. The accompanying map indicates the spread of the different dialects as well as the distribution of Bainouk, a neighbouring language spoken in isolated pockets throughout the region. It is Kennedy's opinion (personal communication) that the Buluf variant will, upon further study, prove to be three or four separate dialects.

Within the Diola cluster there are two important dialects, Fogn y and Kasa (Casa), which are structurally quite similar, and which, sociologically speaking, can be thought of as variants of 'standard' Diola.

Kasa is spoken in and around the town of Ziguinchor, the regional capital, and in a number of scattered areas to the west. It is used and understood throughout all of the Diola region south of the Casamance.

Fogn y corresponds to the ethnic sub-group of the same name and is spoken by about 85,000 native speakers in the area around Bignona. This dialect is understood by practically all Diola. Radio Dakar (the Senegalese national radio) uses Fogn y in its Diola language broadcasts.

The Diola group joins at some genetic distance with Bainouk and such languages as Manjaco and Balanta (spoken in Portuguese Guinea) to form, in all probability, a sub-section of the Western Atlantic Branch of the Niger-Congo family. The Western Atlantic Branch includes such other languages as Serer and Wolof (spoken in Senegal), Conkay and Baga (spoken in Guinea), Temne (spoken in Sierra Leone) and the far-flung Fulbe (Peul, Fulani).

0.3 DIOLA LANGUAGE STUDIES
Aside from occasional word lists, only two extensive studies have ever appeared on Diola: a grammar and dictionary of the 'Carabanne' dialect (which seems to be equivalent to Kasa) published in 1909 by R. P. Wintz, and a grammar and lexicon on Fogn y published in 1944 by R. P. Weiss. Wintz's study gives a good account of the noun-class system, but fails, because of Latin conceptualization, to give a clear picture of the rest of the language. His dictionary is substantial and appears to be quite accurate. Weiss's grammar, though accurate and well-conceived, tries to cover too much ground in too little space. Unfortunately he gives only a French–Fogn y lexicon. I have occasionally made use of some of his grammatical examples.

The Rev. Kennedy has written a short unpublished sketch of Kasa, as well as a brief discussion of Diola dialects (1964) and Huluf noun classes (1965), W. A. A. Wilson, in two survey articles (1961b, 1963) touches on Diola (Huluf dialect) noun classes and numeration.
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

The present study is based on material gathered during a ten-month residence in the Fogny villages of Sindian and Katiorong. Supplementary material was also contributed by informants originating from Bignona and Kagnaru. The speech of these four towns varies slightly from each other. I have noted some of the important differences, especially between the speech of Sindian and Bignona.

PART I

PHONOLOGY
1

GENERAL REMARKS ON PHONOLOGY

The Fogny sound system consists of nineteen consonant and twenty vowel phonemes. There are four positions of voiced and unvoiced stops and nasals, three unvoiced fricatives, including a rarely employed glottal, two liquids and two semivowels. There are five basic vowel positions: high front, high back, mid front, mid back, and central. The contrasts, tense versus lax and short versus long, give these five positions four separate expressions. Tense vowels are relatively higher or ‘closer’ than corresponding lax vowels, a distinction that is clearest for the central and least obvious for the high vowels.

The two striking features of Fogny phonology are its alternation of C or NC with V, and its system of vowel harmony.

The alternation of consonants (or nasal plus consonants) with vowels gives the language a ‘cut and dried’ feeling that is especially noticeable to English speakers accustomed to a fair amount of consonant clustering and to extensive diphthongization.

The juxtaposition of vowels brought about by morphemic processes leads either to assimilation, to elision, or to the maintenance of each vowel’s syllabic independence. The morphemic juxtapositions of consonants (outside of N plus C, where the N always assimilates) invariably leads to consonant reduction or separation. The avoidance of consonant clustering is so basic that in rapid speech these morphophonemic mechanisms function across word boundaries.

Vowel harmony is based on the contrast of tense versus lax. This distinction permeates the entire word affecting, albeit only allophonically, the consonants as well as the vowels. When tense and lax words are compared one against the other the contrast is so great that one’s immediate impression is that they represent the sound systems of two unrelated languages.

2

PHONEMICS

2.1 UNIT PHONEMES

The nineteen unit consonants and the twenty unit vowel phonemes in Fogny can be diagrammed as follows:

\[ \text{\textbf{p t c k \ i i \ u y \ e a o \ \varepsilon \ \chi}} \]
\[ \text{\textbf{b d j g \ m n j h \ \imath \ l r w y}} \]

(length is phonemic for all vowels)

2.11 CONSONANTS

All consonants are tense in the presence of tense vowels, otherwise they are lax.

\( \text{p is a voiceless bilabial stop. It is slightly aspirated when under stress and not in initial position. In final position and before a pause it is optionally unreleased. Before tense vowels and when not aspirated it has a breathy quality.} \)

\( \text{b is a voiced bilabial stop. Before tense vowels it has a breathy quality that is particularly distinct when b is under stress.} \)

\( \text{c is a voiceless stop having dental articulation before front high, high-mid and mid vowels and alveolar articulation before all other vowels. It is slightly aspirated when under stress and not in initial position. In final position and before a pause it is optionally unreleased.} \)

\( \text{d is a voiced stop which, like t, has dental articulation before front vowels and alveolar articulation before all others.} \)

\( \text{e is a voiceless pre-palatal stop with a noticeable off-glide before and on-glide after low vowels (viz. a and ë). In final position and before a pause it is optionally unreleased. A number of speakers, those from Bigonna in particular, do not make a distinction between e and k before high front, and sometimes mid front, vowels.} \)

\( \text{j is a voiced pre-palatal stop with a noticeable off-glide before and on-glide after low vowels.} \)

\( \text{k is an unvoiced velar stop. Before front high and mid-high vowels it has pre-velar articulation with slight palatalization. It has post-velar articulation before back high vowels and post-velar articulation with a slight down-glide before back high-mid and mid vowels. The down-glide is especially noticeable when the vowels are long. k may optionally be unreleased in final position before a pause.} \)

\( \text{g is a voiced velar stop. Like k it has pre-velar articulation with slight palatalization before high and mid-high vowels; post-velar articulation before back high vowels; and post-velar articulation with a slight down-glide before back high-mid and mid vowels. The down-glide is especially noticeable when the vowels are long.} \)

\( \text{m is a voiced bilabial nasal. Its articulation is not influenced by its environment except optionally before a stressed consonant or in final position before a pause. In both situations it is dropped in favour of vowel nasalization, i.e.Vm > ñ, and Vm > ñ.} \)
n is a voiced alveolar nasal. Like m it elides to form a nasalized vowel before a stressed consonant and in final position before a pause. It is slightly palatalized before high front vowels.

ŋ is a voiced pre-palatal nasal. It follows the same elision pattern as n.

ŋ is a voiced velar nasal. It follows the same elision pattern as m. The articulation of ŋ is not influenced, as k and ŋ are, by following vowels.

f is a voiceless labio-dental fricative.

s is a voiceless alveolar sibilant.

h is a voiceless glottal fricative. It is only infrequently encountered.1

l is a voiced alveolar lateral which becomes slightly palatalized before back vowels. In the rare instances that it precedes t it becomes devoted.

r is a voiced alveolar median resonant. In final position before a pause r optionally elides with the preceding vowel to form a retroflex vowel. When two r’s appear in the same CVC syllable the initial r becomes either a flap or a brief trill.

w is a rounded labio-velar semi-vowel. Before front high, high-mid and mid vowels it becomes a rounded palatal semi-vowel. Ladefoged (1964:25) considers all (?) expressions of this phoneme as a ‘bilabial or labiodental approximant’.

γ is an unrounded palatal semi-vowel.

2.12 VOWELS

All vowels, including long vowels, are longer when under stress.

i is a tense high front unrounded vowel.

i is a lax high front unrounded vowel.

e is a tense high-mid front unrounded vowel.

t is a lax mid-front unrounded vowel. Before the pre-palatal consonants, the palatal semi-vowel y, when in final position, and when long, t is relatively high.

a under stress is a tense unrounded high-mid central vowel; otherwise it takes a slightly lower position which is similar to the English schwa.

ə is a lax low central unrounded vowel. Before nasals it is relatively front and slightly raised.

ɔ is a lax rounded low-mid back vowel.

o is a tense rounded high-mid back vowel.

u is a lax-rounded high back vowel.

y is a tense-rounded high back vowel.

2.13 VOWEL LENGTH

Length is phonemic for all the vowels.

2.14 PHONEMIC DISTRIBUTION

With the following exceptions phonemes appear in initial, final and medial positions: l; and ɬ: occur medially and finally; the remainder of the long vowels appear only medially; o appears only in medial and final position; d, except in loan words, appears medially and finally only after n.

1 h is very common in Kasa-Diola. Note the sound shifts between the two dialects:

Fonny              Cms
f    h        fank      hank        'courtyard'
p   f        -pih     -pir        'go out'

2.15 EXAMPLES OF UNITS PHONEMES

2.151 Consonants:

p  po 'also', po 'all', epso 'caterpillar', poy 'be poised to hit', mutsp 'fat'

b  bo 'there' (general), bed 'calm', byber 'tree'

t  to 'there' (precise), -te 'carry', kati 'to be little' -kat 'lean against something'

d  do 'there within', da 'within here', ekad 'neck', kand 'be constituted', jeda 'you agree' (Fr, d'accord)

c  cesp 'be intelligent', cese 'fresh cow's milk', wac 'swim'

j  js (class 10), -kaj 'ruin', -kaj 'have one leg longer than the other'

k  ks (class 6), kiti 'besides', -kat 'leave off', -kig 'steal', fakor 'smoke', -tek 'hit'

q  qo 'touch', gis 'tear', gab 'serves', gug 'walk stooped over', eqi 'corner', qeq 'say'

m  m 'this', jamo 'be celebrated', -um 'bite', bamba 'finished'

n  n 'at' (class 10), -kan 'dress self', barui 'type of antelope', fanfan 'lots'

j  jis (class 12), -kapi 'dare self', builu 'type of faces', -jsan 'heard'

γ  γu 'turn', aja 'girl', buruy 'road', kajgan 'made'

f  fs (class 5), -fof 'bring near', -bf 'be near'

s  s to 'it' (class 4), tiso 'sneezes', sës 'type of monkey'

h  hant 'no', (contrast: ani 'even'), mah 'like this'

l  luf 'talk', elob 'well', sata 'be dirty', els 'affine'

r  ror 'live', qoro 'touch self', fururop 'tongue', kalb 'shelf for storage'

w  wo 'it' (class 8), wuol 'fish', wem 'paddle', jow 'go'

y  yjo 'it' (class 3), yosi 'it reposes itself', -koy 'divorce'

2.152 Short and Long Vowels

j  baskan 'mortar', jikil 'eye', -tenji 'be short', jipr 'I go out', elbi 'bloodsucker'

kajit 'feather', elgi 'gir heart', elji 'I to grunt', ipenji 'I cause them to go out'

karlken 'cause to food be impure, to poison', ipikut 'I do not reply', nassin 'he gives to you', jak 'it who owns'  

basi 'sorghum', elsi 'to sprout', nassin 'be gave to them', kalikin 'to learn'

edk 'to be heavy', ede 'cow'

e:  -egie 'three', eleb 'to toss towards'

e  edk 'to draw blood', edlo 'to unite', ede 'to be straight', ejit 'it went', etey 'to run', cese 'fresh cow's milk'

e:  kalebi 'bridle', edile 'to annoy'

a  edf 'to go out', edak 'type of antelope', apyr 'he goes out', ypyra 'we all go out', sboare 'the sticks'

o  sigiraa 'the digging tools', eko: 'to be partially ripe'

u  edf 'change status', ecam 'to ask, ajaja 'girl'

a:  kafana: 'to continue', egali 'to suffer', saraa: 'they throw to the ground'

u:  edf 'frog', egal 'stick', elak 'to tie', egari 'it is touched', tno 'tell him'

gep 'corner', emo: 'to itch'

okor 'money', tino 'moment', elo 'type of worm', yako 'head'

o:  yako: 'wall', yunom: 'trunk'

u  eduk 'to make big handsfuls', emuk 'to hit with the fist', utek 'you hit', nukuluk 'he locks'

2 'class' refers to noun-class (4.2 et seq., 7.1).
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

2.2 PHONEME COMBINATIONS

2.21 Consonant Clusters

Nasal plus nasal and particularly nasal plus consonant represent the only wide-spread forms of consonant combination. All the stops and the fricatives f and s can join in the clusters. In both NC and NN the constituent phonemes have identical articulations. In no case, however, do the clusters form unit phonemes.⁵ NN, Nf, and Ns clusters are always bridged between two syllables; they thus can appear only in medial position. The others appear within and between syllables in final and medial positions respectively. (jc, however, has not been observed in final position.) mb and nd are the only clusters to appear in initial position.

2.3 SYLLABLE FORMATION AND STRESS

2.3.1 Single Syllable

With diphthongs aside all Fogny syllables are of the general types (C)VNC⁶, V, or of some form of C-V alternation: CV, VC, CVC, V may be long or short.

When in initial position m and n of the clusters mb and nd form independent syllables. Only four forms of this type were recorded: mbur 'bread' (a Wolof loan), mba emphatic mood marker, mb 'or', ndaw 'a man's name':

V ۰ 'him/her'
VC ۱ 'there'
CV ۲ 'they'
CVC ۳ 'river'
(C)/VNC ۴ 'annoy'
ank 'be hard'

2.3.2 Multi-Syllable Morphemes

Multi-syllable morphemes break down into a sequence of (C)V syllables. If the morpheme ends with a C or with NC the final syllable is CVC and CVNC respectively. If a morpheme has the form VNC/(NC) the initial V or N forms an independent syllable. Outside of the rare diphthong combinations (2.22), adjacent vowels belong to separate syllables. When NC, Jc, and rt appear between vowels the cluster breaks and each member joins in a syllable with its adjacent vowel.

-ka-b-lgj 'owl'
m-bi 'emphatic mood'
l-ten 'lift up'
-pum-ba-pum 'type of tree'
-nj-nj-b-yuk 'I see habitually at a place'
ni-t-ten 'I lift up'
-jal-te 'be dirty'

2.3.3 A Note on Stress

Stress in Fogny has the following distribution: Primary stress is always placed on the first syllable of neutral themes (4.12a(9)) and on suffixed person markers (4.312, 4.52) when in final position or when appearing before the simple subordinate and contingent markers (4.533). Definite articles (4.312) and reduplicated neutral themes (4.533) receive slight secondary stress. In all other situations stress is even throughout the word.

'e-ja-mn 'goat'
ev-ja-me-he 'the goat'
ev-ja-mar 'my goat'
pa-ni-la-t 'I will leave him'
ni-te-tek 'I hit'

On two occasions stress was observed to be distinctive. On a syntactic level stress serves to differentiate compound (4.714, 12.15) from verb string (4.712, 12.12) constructions.

⁵ The double nasals can, however, be interpreted as long consonants.
⁶ For the sake of legibility, jJ, Jc, Jg, Jt will henceforth normally be written nj, nc, ng, nk respectively.

9
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FONY

The first word (the second if a conjunction is used) of the second section of a compound receives added stress which is absent in equivalent verb string environments.

verb string: pani'jaw mani'cam i 'shall go so as to pay you'
compound: pani'jaw mani'cam i 'shall go after paying you'
verb string: pani'jaw man bakari a'camom i 'shall go so that Bakari will pay me'
compound: pani'jaw man bakari a'camom i 'shall go after Bakari pays me'

On a morphological level the bound object (-10.21) is differentiated from the reflexive derivative (-5.2.12) via stress when both appear in final position or before the simple subordinate or contingent marker.

ni-ka-no 'I dress myself'
ni-ka'-no 'I dress him'
na-ni-ka-no-mi 'when I dress myself'
na-ni-ka'-no-mi 'when I dress him'
a-ka-no-ja 'if he dresses himself'
a-ka'-no-ja 'if he dresses him'

MORPHOPHONEMICS

3

The following types of sandhi were observed to operate in Fony: vowel harmony (3.1), vowel assimilation (3.2), consonant separation (3.4.1), reduction (3.4.1), and (3.5) and nasal assimilation (3.3). There is also an alternation between r and d (3.6) and a set of phonemically regulated morheme alternates (3.7). Most of these processes operate between words (3.8). Finally, there is evidence for a non-operative process of consonant addition (3.9).

3.1 VOWEL HARMONY

The outstanding feature of Fonya morpho-phonemics is a system of vowel harmony where the ten (twenty if length is considered) vowels divide into two mutually exclusive sets that are distinguished by the opposition of tense vs. lax.1 There are no 'neutral' vowels.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tense</th>
<th>lax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A morpheme may be, with respect to this opposition: a. invariably lax, b. invariably tense, or c. variable (i.e., either tense or lax). Within a variable morpheme vowels are invariant with respect to general tongue position:

-eri/-erit negative-habitual suffix
-kan/kan 'make'
-r2i/k/-ol rend 'load'
-bu/-by- noun class prefix 9 (4.2 et seq.)

Thomes that are variable with respect to vowel harmony are always lax in isolation. Further, the only morphemes that are invariably lax are those with which tense morphemes cannot combine. These two facts suggest: a. morphemes are basically either tense or lax; and b. tense vowels control harmony. A lax vowel in the presence of a tense vowel becomes tense. Therefore, remembering that general position is invariant, we have the following very simple rules:

1 i + tense vowel > i + tense vowel
2 e + ' > e + '
3 a + ' > a + '
4 o + ' > o + '
5 u + ' > u + '
6 y + ' > y + '

1 Greenberg (1963:36-37) suggests that relative height is basic to all African systems of vowel harmony. Such an arrangement holds true for all Fonya vowels, except the two higher groups (i vs. u and i vs. y) where I was unable to detect any significant difference in height.
2 A neutral vowel would be one that could occur in both sets (cf. Greenberg 1963:34). The Fonya system contrasts with the Huhuf dialect of Diola (described by Wilson, 1963:283), where three vowels are neutral (a, e, o) and the remaining five divide into two mutually exclusive sets (i, u versus i, y, o) (these latter are equivalent to Fonya i, y, o).
Vowel harmony is restricted to the word, i.e. the more or less independent grammatical unit. Certain verb affixes that are loosely connected to the theme may or may not, depending on the speaker and his rate of talk, respond to vowel harmony.

**EXAMPLES:**

Consider the following morphemes: -baj 'have', -jtyrn 'lead away', -em 'causative', ni- 'I', -u 'you' (plural objective), -ul 'towards the speaker'.

baj 'have'

bajen 'cause to have!'

nibajen 'I caused you to have'

bajul 'cause to have marketers'

nibajen 'I caused you to be lead away!'

jtyrn 'lead away!'

jtyrenen 'cause to lead away!'

jtyrne 'I caused you to lead away'

jtyrnal 'bring!'

jtyrne 'I brought you'

**FURTHER EXAMPLES:**

\[
\begin{align*}
I & > 1 & 1 & + & k & \times & + & i & > & k & k & j & 1 & 1 & \text{I shave you (sg.)} \\
S & > 1 & + & b & e & > & s & b & e & 1 & 1 & \text{I chew } (1) \\
i & + & k & l & a & > & j & k & o & a & 1 & 1 & \text{I am big’} \\
i & + & r & o & k & > & j & r & o & k & 1 & 1 & \text{I am fat’} \\
n & + & k & j & k & i & k & 1 & 1 & > & n & k & j & k & j & k & y & l & 1 & 1 & \text{he writes from’} \\
L & > 1 & e & + & l & b & j & 1 & 1 & > & e & j & 1 & 1 & \text{it is heavy} \\
L & > 1 & + & b & e & > & e & b & 1 & 1 & \text{cow’} \\
m & + & m & a & p & + & e & y & > & e & m & a & p & y & 1 & 1 & \text{ground squirrel’} \\
L & > 1 & + & a & 1 & 1 & \text{type of worm’} \\
N & > 1 & + & p & r & + & t & > & n & j & p & r & 1 & 1 & \text{I went out} \\
& > 1 & a & 1 & + & & t & j & m & o & a & 1 & 1 & \text{our opposite sex sibling’} \\
K & > 1 & + & l & e & p & + & a & 1 & 1 & \text{dirty water’} \\
A & 1 & + & f & a & n & o & a & w & > & a & f & a & n & o & a & w & 1 & 1 & \text{the joker’} \\
F & > 1 & + & m & o & m & + & a & 1 & 1 & \text{the trunk’} \\
N & > 1 & + & l & a & n & + & u & 1 & 1 & \text{he returned from’} \\
G & > 1 & o & b & u & + & b & 1 & 1 & \text{it is hot} \\
N & > 1 & + & f & o & l & + & u & 1 & 1 & \text{he went out from’} \\
K & > 1 & + & j & p & m & + & y & 1 & 1 & \text{day after tomorrow’} \\
U & > 1 & u & + & r & j & k & u & 1 & 1 & \text{pick your (pl.) winning basket’} \\
U & 1 & + & f & e & g & j & r & 1 & 1 & \text{three’} \\
U & > 1 & + & a & t & S & u & t & 1 & 1 & \text{you (sg.) don’t cross’} \\
F & > 1 & + & j & k & o & 1 & 1 & \text{head’} \\
N & > 1 & + & k & a & l & u & + & u & 1 & 1 & \text{he unlocked’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.2 VOWEL ASSIMILATION

Unlike vowel harmony, vowel assimilation is neither a pervasive nor a particularly regular system. The joining together of two vowels within a word does not necessarily signal assimilation. In many (and indeed, with verbs, in most) instances the syllabic status of adjoining vowels is maintained.

The following particular grammatical processes assimilate vowels, all others do not.

a. In nouns, assimilation takes place in noun class marker (4.312) prefixing and definite article (4.312) suffixing.

b. Assimilation takes place in concord form (4.122(8)) prefixing and suffixing.

**PHONOLOGY**

3.21 PREFIX ASSIMILATION

These rules hold for prefix assimilation:

a. \( V_1 + V_2 \approx V_2 \)

Exceptions:

b. \( a + i \approx a \)

c. \( a + i \approx a \)

d. \( e + V \approx e V \) (but with infinitive \( e + a \approx a \))

e. \( e + V \approx w V \)

**EXAMPLES:**

a. Ci+V:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{si} & + \text{jc} & > & \text{sk} & \text{palm-nut clusters’} \\
\text{si} & + \text{inkam} & > & \text{sinkam} & \text{clods’} \\
\text{si} & + \text{aw} & > & \text{sw} & \text{house-birds’} \\
\text{a} & + \text{pl} & + \text{a} & + \text{pos} & > & \text{apapos} & \text{who will wash’} \\
\text{ni} & + \text{ank} & > & \text{nank} & \text{I am hard’} \\
\text{si} & + \text{c} & > & \text{sc} & \text{it’} \\
\text{si} & + \text{uk} & > & \text{su} & \text{kinkles’} \\
\text{mbi} & + \text{u} & + \text{kko} & > & \text{mbu} & \text{kko} & \text{you should shave’} \\
\text{Cu} & + \text{V} & \text{mu} & + \text{iko} & > & \text{mito} & \text{palm-oil’} \\
\text{bu} & + \text{it} & > & \text{bit} & \text{rice-field’} \\
\text{fu} & + \text{c} & > & \text{fc} & \text{egg’} \\
\text{fu} & + \text{al} & > & \text{fal} & \text{it is ripe’} \\
\text{fu} & + \text{t} & > & \text{ts} & \text{it’} \\
\text{mu} & + \text{e} & > & \text{me} & \text{earth’} \\
\text{ku} & + \text{pp} & > & \text{kpp} & \text{tires’} \\
\text{kc} & + \text{en} & > & \text{kra} & \text{cock’} \\
\text{a} & + \text{iti} & > & \text{iti} & \text{of’} \\
\text{a} & + \text{e} & > & \text{he/she’} \\
\text{ka} & + \text{ungnd} & > & \text{kungnd} & \text{yam’}
\end{align*}
\]

\( ^{3} \text{However, ba} & + \text{pay} > \text{pay pay} \text{‘motherhood’. Curiously enough, in contrast, a} & + \text{pay} > \text{pay pay} \text{‘mother’ and not ‘pay pay’. The fact that a is the class marker can be seen from class concord (4.3). pay pay, however, might be simply an unmarked noun, which is common enough, especially with loan words (5.12).} \)
### A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

b. (C)a+i

- a+i > aij 'king'
- wa+i-k > wajik 'surprising event'

c. (C)a+i

- ka+i-sab > kaisab 'upper-clothing'
- e+i-k > yit 'paln-not cluster'
- e+i-la > yitla 'viper'
- e+i-elind > yilind 'shadow'
- e+i-ow > yaw 'housely'
- e+i-ank > yank 'it is hard'
- e+i-xt > yit 'star'
- e+i-ue > yut 'soul'
- but e+i-ank > ank 'to be hard'

c. su+i-V

- u+i-jtak > wijtak 'type of tree'
- u+i-it > wit 'ricefields'
- u+i-et > wet 'paln-leaves'
- u+i-en > wen 'cooks'
- u+i-atn > wazn 'branch of a tree'
- u+i-opuy > wopy:st 'green caterpillar'
- u+i-ank > wank 'roof beams'
- u+i-ungund > wungund 'yarn'

### PHONOLOGY

With Bignona speakers the genitive form is invariably -ata. Thus:
- Ci + ati > Cati
- e + ati > yati

#### 3.23 Suffix Assimilation

The general rule for suffix assimilation:
(Vowel harmony is not taken into account. It operates, however, as expected in all expressions (except those noted), with the presence of a tense vowel, either in the neutral theme or in the bound suffix, controlling harmony.)

- **i + V (a)** In all situations where assimilation takes place, i elides.
- **V+i-a** (b) V+i-a > ati; V+i-i = i
- **V+i-e** (c) V+i-e > ati
- **V+i-u** (d) back vowel + u > long back vowel.
- **(e) -u of ub (3.215)** optionally elides to all other preceding vowels. The u of other forms never do.

#### 3.22 Special Prefix Assimilations

#### 3.221 Verb Prefixing: Verbs beginning with e or ei, which includes all of the defective verbs (4.58) and one recorded regular verb (-tka 'have in hand'), assimilate bound personal, and normally disjunctive, subject pronouns.4 There is one irregularity.

- a. u or a + e or ei > or a:
- b. a + e or ei > a or a:
- c. in one instance
- d. in other instances

#### 3.222 Genitive particle prefixing: The concord form that functions as a genitive particle -ati (7.42) has normal prefixing in all but two instances:
- Ci + ati > Cati
- e + ati > yati

Thus the noun class markers ti, ji, and pi plus -ati become seti, jeti, and jeti respectively. The noun class marker e plus -ati becomes yeti.

---

4 This is implied by such alternate constructions as: mōm versus mō em mō, both meaning 'it is thus'.

---

### EXAMPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i + V</th>
<th>Ex.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. ebi+i-sy</td>
<td>ebbie</td>
<td>'the hawk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. kýkum-bini-ti-ak</td>
<td>kýkum</td>
<td>'the youths'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ýol-i-sa</td>
<td>ýola</td>
<td>'ours' (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V+i-a b. ýa+bja+i-as</td>
<td>ýa+bes</td>
<td>'the cows'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. bá+bka+i-sb</td>
<td>bá+bka</td>
<td>'the shells'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. ýa+bja+i-sf</td>
<td>ýa+bja</td>
<td>'the duck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. kýjina+i-ta</td>
<td>kýjina</td>
<td>'the girls'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. ýa+bja+i-tf</td>
<td>ýa+bja</td>
<td>'the head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. kýjina+i-ta</td>
<td>kýjina</td>
<td>'the echo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. ýa+bja+i-ta</td>
<td>ýa+bja</td>
<td>'the nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. sí+kú+i-ka</td>
<td>siku</td>
<td>'the mice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. ýa+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ýa+bja</td>
<td>'the cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'the strength'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'the home'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. ýa+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ýa+bja</td>
<td>'the digging tool'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'the knife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'the rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'the grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'the mouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V+i-a d. sā+bja+i-ka</td>
<td>sā+bja</td>
<td>'stair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'he fall from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'he is sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'I sent him from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'I ate there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'I threw from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. ÿe+bja+i-sy</td>
<td>ÿe+bja</td>
<td>'we (incl) sent from'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

### 3.25 A Grammar of Diola-Fogny

---

14

15
3.44 SPECIAL SUFFIX ABSORPTION
When the three V noun class markers (7.11) are suffixed the following absorptions take place:

- a. a+a > aw
  u+a > am
  a+a > am
- b. a+a > cy
  u+a > uy
  a+a > cy
- c. V+u > Vw

EXAMPLES:
- a. ask+a+u > askaw 'the woman'
  o+a+e > one 'here'
  u+a+u > umu 'that one there'
- b. samaw+e+a > sameney 'the goat'
  y+e+a > yya 'there'
  u+e+e > uye 'this one here'
- c. ybo+r+e+u > ybaw:waw 'trees'
  w+u+e > wwe 'this one here'

3.3 NASAL ABSORPTION
Nasals assimilate when possible to the articulation of immediately following consonants. If, however, a combination brings a consonant (other than a nasal) before a nasal the consonant elides. When a nasal precedes l, w or y the nasal elides (3.41).

(C2 may not be l, w, y; for C2 = r cf. 3.6)
- a. N1 + C2 > N2C2
- b. N1 + N2 > N2N2
- c. N1 + N2C2 > N2C2
- d. N + l, w, or y > l, w, or y

EXAMPLES:
- a. ni+gam+gam > niga:gam 'I judge'
  pan+ji+mapj > papimaj 'you (pl) will know'
  ku+bam+bo: > kubambbo: 'they sent'
  na+ti+cig > natiname: 'he cut (through)'
- b. na+m+n+r+m > namimam: 'he cut (with a knife)'
  takun+mi+ > takumbe: 'must not …'
- c. na+lap+lap > nalalap 'he returned'
  na+yok+eyken > na+yok+eyken 'he tires'
  na+wam+am+ > na+wam 'he cultivated for me'

3.4 CONSONANT REDUCTION AND SEPARATION
In order to maintain the general V(N)C pattern, whenever two consonants come together one of the processes come into play, viz., consonant reduction and consonant separation. Different grammatical situations call for one or the other.

3.41 CONSONANT REDUCTION
Consonant reduction is achieved by eliding the first of two adjacent consonants. If the first consonant is a nasal it assimilates when possible instead of eliding (3.3). When the first consonant is part of consonant cluster the entire cluster elides. (In the following rule C2 may be a nasal, C1 may not.)

(N)C1 + C2 > C2

EXAMPLES:
- lek+ku+jaw > lekjaw 'they won't go'
  e+rent + rent > eren 'it is light'
  na+manj+manj > namanaj 'he knows'

3.42 CONSONANT SEPARATION
Combined consonants are often separated from each other by u and in one instance (the formation of distributives) by v or open juncture.

nak:ni+to+m > naki:nu:am 'he lives there'
non:ky:pu:ri+m > non:ky:pu:rum 'when it left'
una:gu:u+ja > una:gu:uja 'if you don't want'
ful:p+fulg > fulspfulg 'each month'
buga:g+s-buga:g > bugsbuga:g 'each quarter'

3.5 CONSONANT LOSS
3.51 LOSS OF Y AND W
Most themes (verb and noun) that end in ay or aw lose the final consonant in suffixing:

- a. ay or aw + V > aV
  ampa+ul > ampaul 'your (pl) father'
  ijaw+ut > ijust 'I did not come'
  balay+sb > balab 'the sun' (usually balas:b)
  nulaw+sle > nulaale 'we (incl) make rope' (in fast speech nula:le)
  ampa+i+ > ampa 'your father'
  nulaw+e > nulac 'you make rope'

The theme ijap+ 'mother' never loses its y:

- ijap+aw > ijapaw 'the mother'
  ijap+ul > ijapul 'your (pl) mother'
  ijap+i > ijapi 'your mother'

The theme -jaw+go' has several unique assimilations: ijaw+ty > ijaw 'the going' (cf. 3.23(c)), otherwise -jaw+e is always -ejaw+e + ejaw 'I went', ni:jaw+en+ejaw+eni 'I had gone'; jaw+yl > jap 'come' (3.215) (cf. 3.52) and -jaw+ym in the combination -jaw+ym+ul > pu:maub 'originate from', otherwise, except in fast speech, jaw+ym+jaw+ym (which is expected).

In a number of cases (but by no means universally):

- b. cv+V optionally > eV
  V+la
  kaye:w+ak > kaye:(w)ak 'the nausea'
  kaye:w+am > kaye:wam 'my nausea'
  kaye:w+i > kaye:wi 'your nausea'
3.52 Consonant Loss in Rapid Speech
In rapid speech the final consonant of a verb theme is often lost when it is followed by a nasal. In such instances the nasal elides or assimilates to the preceding vowel without the y effecting vowel harmony. The pattern follows that of consonant reduction, i.e., the initial consonant elides in a two consonant combination (3.41).

\[
\text{SLOW SPEECH} \quad \text{RAPID SPEECH}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
uju+ja & > ujuja (3.42) > ujuja \quad \text{'if you see'} \\
-lap+m & > -lapm & > -lam \quad \text{‘return’} \\
-baj+iyl & > -bajyl & > -bal \quad \text{‘have from’} \\
na+t+iub & > natkulo & > natlub \quad \text{‘he found there’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.6 r and d Alternation
r and d show alternation which gives them the appearance of being allophones of the same phoneme. First, r in medial and final position never appears after a nasal while d, with the exception of loan words, always does (2.14-15). Further, when placed after a nasal r becomes d, i.e., N+ r > nd. Secondly, a few common words have, as their initial consonant, r and d in free variation. The vast majority of themes begins with r cannot however, take d as an alternate. Thus r and d are free variants, but d cannot substitute r in r(f) ’live’. This point forces us to classify r and d as separate phonemes.6

dare > d are ‘within’

na+t+rig+rig > narindjig > be ‘arrived’

3.7 V ~ VI MORPHEME ALTERNATION
A morphemic alternation of the type (V(i) ~ VI) or (VCV ~ VCVI) extending over a number of suffixes has the alternation rules:

\[
\begin{align*}
V(i) & > VI + V > VI \\
V(i) & > VI + C > VI(c)
\end{align*}
\]

In final position the allomorphs are in free variation. The suffixes having this alternation include four of the seven person markers (7.132, 10.21), the suffixed section of the discontinuous first person inclusive subject marker (10.12), and two of the three allomorphs of the discontinuous derivative ‘towards the speaker, from’ (3.215).

nu ... a ~ al+i+rig+rig > nyiriparijg > ‘we (incl) arrive’

nu ... a ~ al+i+rig+rig > nyiripali > ‘we (incl) arrive’

na+t+i+ten ~ il+i+ten ~ naitenilen > ‘he lifted them up’

nu+i+man+l+i ~ il+i+manj > numanji+manj > ‘you know them’

5 The theme ‘ri’ has, which normally never substitutes d, has the form d.i which it is used as an affectionate imperative addressed to small children.

6 cf. Chapter 6, note 3.
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

3.9 CONSONANT ADDITION: AN UNPRODUCTIVE PROCESS
A number of forms suggest that the morphophonemic process $N + V > NCV$ once operated in Fogny derivation.

-\textit{lankn} 'do continuously'; -\textit{lagnk} 'repeat'; compare -\textit{lapi} 'repeat, return, become', -\textit{lapi} 'cause to repeat'
-\textit{wanjer} 'prepare furrows for digging'; compare: -\textit{wa}p 'cultivate'
-\textit{sñmbe} 'be in a hurry'; compare -\textit{so}man 'catch up to'

PART II
MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX
GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

In an effort to give a general overview of Fogyi, I have chosen in this chapter to isolate salient features of the grammar, discussing them in terms of function rather than formal details, the latter being reserved for subsequent chapters (5-12). The features are: grammatical processes and basic word categories, the noun class system, verb inflections, modifiers and basic sentence types.

4.1 GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES AND BASIC WORD CATEGORIES

4.11 Grammatical Processes

The grammatical processes of Fogyi include affixation (prefixation and suffixation), reduplication, compounding, word order and, in two lone instances, symbolism. Of these processes, affixation (especially sufficing) is by far the most important.

4.111 Affixation: Affixes are grouped into two basic categories: derivational and inflectional. Derivational affixes (always suffixes) modify the theme (4.122) to which they are affixed having, in most cases, minimal syntactic significance. They are used in secondary theme and demonstrative formation. In the case of the majority of demonstratives, derivative suffixing is obligatory.

-ain ‘around here’ (b-ain- semi-nominal: general area, -en demonstrative suffix: ‘here’)

Inflectional affixes include discontinuous noun class markers and person suffixes, the latter being used as possessives with nominal themes and as objects with verbal themes.

-oj ‘my goat’ (o- noun class marker (class 3), -j possessive suffix: ‘my’)
-si ‘from me’ (si- noun class marker (class 4), -s object suffix: ‘me’)

Other inflectional affixes are used with verbal themes and serve to indicate mood and syntactic relations.


Inflectional affixes vary considerably in the degree and manner in which they modify and determine the syntactic structure of the utterance. Discontinuous noun class markers and syntactic affixes play a crucial role in the ordering of the elements. The influence of several of the mood markers, however, hardly extends beyond the immediate verbal environment.

4.112 Reduplication and compounding: In comparison to affixing, reduplication and compounding play a very minor role. Complete reduplication, based on consonant separation, (4.42), forms noun and pronoun distributives. Partial reduplication, based on consonant reduction (4.41) and nasal assimilation (3.3), is used in secondary verbal theme formation and as a syntactic marker.\footnote{1}

-funak ‘every, each, no day’
-baj ‘I have’ (b- ‘I’, -aj ‘have’)

Compounding is restricted entirely to secondary theme formation.

-ja-jur ‘voyage’ (-jaj ‘go’, bu- noun class marker (class 9), -jur ‘road’)

4.113 Symbolism: In two isolated cases a vowel shift from lax to tense serves as a derivative marker (5.121) and as a concord former (8.1(c)).

4.114 Word order: Word order is an important syntactic device coming into prominent play in the arrangement of disjunctive subjects and objects vis-à-vis each other, and vis-à-vis the verb. It also functions on higher levels of sentence structure.

-njik ‘I killed a goat’ (I-killed goat)
-njik ‘I killed a goat’ (goat I-killed)

4.12 Themes

Themes can be thought of as irreducible lexical units. There are two recognizable types: those that cannot be modified by morphological processes (independent themes), and those that can.

4.121 Independent themes include adverbs (often onomatopoeic), interjections, relational particles, certain locatives, and disjunctive personal pronouns.

-ad ‘tightly’
-ce ‘expression of impatience’
-xr ‘towards’
-p ‘now’

4.122 Themes that can be modified include neutral themes, concord forms, and defective verbs.

A. Neutral themes make up the vast majority of lexical items, all of which refer to basic concrete concepts such as objects, actions and qualities.\footnote{2} Depending on their distribution and on their morphological and morphophonemic treatment they can be defined as nouns, verbs, adjectives, or adverbs. Certain forms functioning as semi-nominal locatives have also been classified as neutral themes. A neutral, or primary theme, can be built through derivation into a secondary theme. Since these derived forms are either nominal or verbal they can be normally classified. In certain instances, however, a secondary nominal theme will function as a verb and, more frequently, vice versa.

From a formal point of view, primary neutral themes can be subdivided on the basis of their range of inflection. Here there are three major groups: those that can take, without

\footnote{1} It is worth noting that a fair number of primary themes show complete phonetic reduplication: e.g. -rab ‘before dawn’, kabu- ‘type of tree’. Those might at one time have been derived themes. There is the form -rab ‘the late’, and like -rab, it too refers to time: balab burab ‘the sun is late’ i.e. late morning.

\footnote{2} E. Espirit (1921:106).
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

using derivative suffixes, a full range of nominal and verbal affixes (including verbal reduplication), those restricted to nominal inflection, and those restricted to verbal inflection. Other groups, severely limited as to membership, take only noun class markers and certain verbal affixes. These latter function primarily as adverbs or as adjectives. 8 Neutral themes functioning as verbs can be further subdivided as being transitive or intransitive. The former take noun phrase (4.3) objects, the latter do not. Included with the intransitive verbs are those that describe a state, e.g. -bf which can be glossed, depending on the context, as either 'be near' or 'approach'. Many themes can function either as transitive or as intransitives.

-ri 'eat food', fu-ri f0=6a 'food is here', ni-ri iiban 'I have finished eating' (ban 'finish'), pf fu-ri 'come and eat' (pf 'come'), -sampul 'sister's son, etc.', -a-sampul 'sister's son etc.', ba:be ni-sampul-e 'it is here that I am said kin' (1-sampul), -tek 'hit', -tekem 'cause to hit', a-telo-'a boxer' (a-class i marker, -er reciprocal, -a agentive).

b. Concord forms make up a limited set of morphemes subject to noun class inflection that function as pronouns, adjectives, and relational.

c-ri 'it' (k-noun class marker (class 7))
c-a:kon 'one'
c-an 'that which'

Of a number of verbs showing a unique type of subject prefixing (3.221), four have special and limited distributions. The more important ones are -em 'be', -em 'exist, be', and -en quotation marker 'say'. Only one was observed as a function as a noun. They are referred to as defective verbs.

4.2 CONCORD

Fogny has a system whereby one discontinuous morpheme finds multiple expression in several words within an utterance. As is characteristic of many Niger-Congo languages with similar systems, expression is primarily by phonetic repetition, usually consonant, but sometimes vowel, alliteration. Such alliteration is called concord, and the sum of words expressing concord in any one utterance is called a concord series. Fogny has nineteen discontinuous concord morphemes. These morphemes are usually prefixed, or occasionally both prefixed and suffixed. In each environment, concord morphemes form with consonants always have the phonetic shape CV when used as prefixes. This V is subject, in most cases, to elision before other vowels (3.231).

(1) The concord morpheme is set off by a double stroke /}\)

/j:fu/-gimba/ /}\ /\ /\ 'this is my stick' (stick-the mine here)
/j:lam-ba/ /\ /\ /\ /\ 'these are your goats'
/j:ba:-mar-a/ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ 'the big trees fell' (tree-the which-is-big it-fell)
/j:bar:-mar-a/ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ /\ 'the big trees fell' (3.21, 3.24)

The verb categories involved in concord include all neutral themes and concord forms. In each series there is present or implied one neutral theme (-gimba, lam, and -bar in

5 Considered quantitatively, themes that function primarily as verbs have the phonetic shape CV, CVC, and CV, with most, but by no means all exceptions being loan words. By contrast, themes serving mainly as nouns (i.e. those referring to concrete objects) quite often have complex phonetic shapes. Consider: mupimk (someby), jambari (a kind of spider).

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

the examples) to which all other forms refer. This theme is considered the concord regent and it is defined as a noun. 4 Other neutral themes appearing within a series function (in reference to the noun) either as finite verbs or as adjectives.

The pattern of reference is made clear when we realize that each concord morpheme modifies the noun. Consider a comparison of the neutral theme -ri 'eat food' used first as a noun and then as a verb:

fu-ri fu-jak 'food (reference to a specific quantity) is good'
ja-rija-af fu-ri 'the big goat ate' (not: 'the goat ate a specific quantity of food')
ji-ri ji-ri 'a small quantity of food is good'
ja-rija-aj ji-ri 'the small goat ate' (not: 'the goat ate a small quantity of food')
mu-ri mu-jak food (in general) is good'
mu-ri-jam-an mu-ri 'the small goats ate' (not: 'the goat ate any kind of food')

If the noun is absent a personal pronoun, a concord pronoun or adjective, or a phrase introduced by a concord relational, may act in its stead as a substitute. Finite verbs can be thought of as substitutes only so far as the regent noun need not be present to form a grammatical utterance. A finite verb cannot replace a noun. In all cases where the noun is absent, even when a finite verb stands alone, the concord morpheme implies the structural presence of the noun.

Within a series, concord is strictly maintained whether or not the regent is present, and whether or not there are intervening words that interrupt the sequence.

si-ri:ja-as si-pl 'the goats came'
si-gaba si-pl 'two came'
so si-pl 'they came'
so ni-ni fas as si-pl 'the old ones came'
so si-pl 'they came'
si-ri:ja-as si-pl 'the goats belonging to Alasan came'
so si-pl 'those of Alasan came'
But not: *so si-pl (which makes so much sense as English 'of carre')

4.3 NOUN PHRASES

A concord series breaks into two structural units: noun phrases and finite verbs. Each can appear without the other, although, as stated above (4.2), a prefix on a verb refers to a regent noun even when the latter is not overtly expressed. A noun phrase can function vis-a-vis a verb either as its subject or as its predicate complement. When the noun phrase shows concord with the verb it is acting as the verb subject. In such cases the noun phrase always precedes. When a finite verb does not show concord with a particular noun phrase to which it is adjointed the noun phrase can be taken as the verb's
complement object. In these cases, the noun phrase may either precede or follow the verb.

For example: In the sentence siyamanaa sijip ‘the goats came’, the noun siyamanaa acts as the subject to the verb sijip and thus maintains concord. In the sentence siyamanaa kubai ‘they killed the goat’, or ‘it is the goat that they killed’, there is no concord between the noun (siyamanaa) and the verb (kubai). Instead, the verb shows concord via the prefix ku- with an understood subject.

Used independently of finite verbs, noun phrases function as genitives (4.343), as infinitive complements (4.36), and in concept juxtaposition (4.72).

There are seven major types of noun phrases (4.31-4.36): nouns, pronouns, nouns plus adjectives, possessive phrases (4.312), phrases and sentences introduced by a concord relational, infinitives, and infinitive phrases. Each of these types can occupy the same structural slot.

A further category comprised of seminominals (4.37) functions as noun-phrases in all ways except as finite verb subjects.

Noun phrases and seminominals, when used as verb complements, can be preceded by a relational particle. This results in a prepositional phrase (9.4).

nijukjuk di kalambiyaq ‘I saw him in the room’ (Here the complement kalambiyaq ‘the room’ is preceded by the relational di indicating proximity.)

4.32 Pronouns

4.321 Nouns: Each concord morpheme, henceforth called NOUN CLASS MARKER, defines a noun class, and each noun belongs to the class of its affixed marker. By altering its marker a noun can change class. Marker alteration permits extensive nominal inflection with the most important distinction being number (singular, plural, collective, and mass), personal versus impersonal, and relative size. Beyond these, noun classes specify semantic categories that range from the general, such as designating abstract nouns, to the specific, e.g. indicating trees, honey objects, etc. Frequently, they are used simply to define difference.

-sek ‘woman’ a-sek ‘woman’
ku-sek ‘women’
ji-sek ‘small woman’
mu-sek ‘small women’
ba-sek ‘many small women’
fo-sek ‘big woman’
pi-sek ‘big women’

-baarr ‘wood’ bij-baarr ‘tree’
y-baarr ‘trees’
jy-baarr ‘small tree’
muy-baarr ‘small trees, underbrush’
e-baarr ‘stick’

-yaa-nen ‘filtered honey’
ku-yaa-nen ‘slaver’

4.322 Noun suffixes: Nouns have two optional sets of mutually exclusive inflectional suffixes: definite articles and bound possessives. The definite article repeats the noun class vowel or consonant and is thus an integral part of the concord system. The definite article may in turn optionally suffix one of the locative vowels (6.11), usually the indefinite -u.

When the noun class marker is a vowel, the article cannot take this locative.

e-myungn-ey ‘the hyena’ (3.24)
si-myungn-as ‘the hyenas’ also: si-myungn-as

The bound possessive suffix includes a full set of person markers plus the general subject/object pronoun Cc (where C—=the class consonant). These forms are non-emphatic when contrasted to the disjunctive possessives (7.35). Regardless of emphasis, however, kin terms and words for ‘name’ (family, personal, etc.) use only the suffixed forms.

e-scen-um ‘my dog’
ka-rex-um ‘his name’
ai-ti-um ‘my same sex sibling’

Possessive phrases and a series of special phrases used to designate uniqueness are formed by using the bound person marker.

alasan esyko ‘Alasane’s village’
aw cebi ‘you only, you alone’

4.322 Concords

4.322.1 There are seven personal pronouns: three singular and four (including inclusive and exclusive first person) plural. With the exception of the third persons, all the personal pronouns are independent themes (4.121).

inji panji juma ‘I will see you’ (I will-I give you (pl))

4.322.2 Concord pronouns include simple substitutes (parallel to personal pronouns), interrogatives, distributives, a demonstrative used only in concept juxtaposition (4.72), and a curious indefinite pronoun that is used when the appropriate word cannot be thought of. This latter form can serve as a verb.

ko kulko ‘they stayed’ (they they-stayed)
ay arek ‘who told you?’ (who who-said-you (sg))
anan apj ‘everyone came’ (everyone he-came)
enday yox ‘the what-do-you-call-it (is) here’

4.33 Concord Adjectives

4.331 Concord adjectives, which serve as noun qualifiers or as pronouns and which always accord with their regent, divide into four groups: regular adjectives, neutral theme adjectives, and higher cardinal and ordinal numbers.

4.332 Regular adjectives, all of which can function equally well as noun substitutes, all refer to simple and basic qualities. They include demonstratives, disjunctive possessives, lower numbers (both cardinal and ordinal) and certain types of particularizers.

ejama na ekila ‘the particular goat’
ujuk kugaba ‘two women’
hpaja: uye ‘this duck’ (duck-the this)
ebe kafir ‘a female cow’ (cf. kafir ‘woman’)

4 In other Diola dialects, and in some variants of Fogny, a final -at, or other demonstrative vowel, is obligatory.

In other Diola dialects, and in some variants of Fogny, a final -at, or other demonstrative vowel, is obligatory.
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

4.33 Most neutral themes can function as adjectives by adding, either directly or by way of a relative subject pronoun, with the modified noun.

mumul muyluma 'European water' (cf. aluyom 'a European')
siba: sajakas 'the good cows' (literally: 'the cows which are good')

4.333 Higher cardinal numbers are formed by a noun, or by a noun in combination with a lower cardinal numeral (4.331). The noun does not accord with the regent.
sijannen fusk di sigaba 'seven goats' (goats five and two)

4.334 High ordinals (those above 'fifth') are introduced with a relative subject pronoun. Their formation is complex, for they are constructed with the verb -kan 'make' plus a higher cardinal.
ebu: pey yangen mi yen di yoken 'the eleventh compound' (compound-the that makes ten and one)

4.34 RELATIONAL PHRASES

The relational particles introduce phrases and subordinate clauses that include: subject and object relative clauses, genitive phrases and number phrases. A relational particle cannot stand alone.

4.341 The relative subject pronoun introduces the concord regent as the subject of a subordinate verb. Verbs entering into the relative clause take complements. As already noted (4.332), the relative subject pronoun is used in forming adjectives.
siyana sakram taa: 'the dogs that died here' (dog-the that-died here)

4.342 The relative object pronoun functions in the same manner as the relative subject except that it introduces the regent noun as the object of the subordinate verb.
eeti: may yen anjew abujum taa: 'the leopard that the man killed here' (leopard-the that-man the-he-killed here)

4.343 The genitive particle links its regent with a genitive noun phrase. The relationship is one of possession or identity.
kupikat kati asuyey uyya 'the children from the village over there' (children-the of village-the over-there)

4.344 The quantity indicator can be directly before any numeral (except -okin 'one') or any higher number series. It is not obligatory and a numerical phrase loses none of its meaning, save emphasis, without it. The quantity indicator also joins with the morpheme bu 'how' to form an interrogative phrase.
simitas sani siba: kir 'four years' (years-the there-are four)
simitas sani bu nubaje 'how old are you?' (years-the there-are how? you-have)

4.35 INFINITIVES

Infinitives are forms that satisfy the definition of nouns: they take class prefixes and require, when necessary, class concord. They affix, however, as verbs with limited vowel assimilation (3.2) and are based on themes and secondary themes that normally function as finite verbs. Unlike nouns they take complements (4.36).

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Infinitives suffix bound verb objects and, when the infinitive refers to a specific act, the definite article.
e-ti: 'to show' (N.B. if the form were a noun the e would become y (3.51))
e-teb-e yamamban 'the carrying is over'
e-teb-i ey 'to bring you towards the speaker' (+i second person singular object)

4.36 INFINITIVE PHRASES

By taking complements, infinitives expand into potentially complex phrases. These, like infinitives, have the same distribution as nouns. The infinitive takes a definite article when the complement takes one, or is otherwise modified.
epes aska is a simple infinitive phrase consisting of the infinitive esp 'to look for' and the object complement a-ask 'woman'. In the sentence nimammar epes aska 'I want to look for a woman', the phrase can be replaced by a noun, e.g. nimammar beko: 'I want money'.
epes askaw atyoon 'to look for the woman who ran from me' (note the definite article: -yy)

4.37 SEMINOMINALS

Seminominals have a partial nominal distribution. Like nouns, they act as finite and infinitive verb complements, as genitives and enter into concept juxtaposition constructions (4.72). Unlike nouns, they do not require nor take concord, nor do they ever function as finite verb subjects. The two major categories of seminominals are time and place locatives and interrogatives.

wa nukane 'what did' cf. buruk nukane 'you worked' (work you-did)

en te: 'to place here' enen teb 'to place the knife'
kussak kati fukan 'the women of yesterday' kussak kati ey:pey 'the women of the compound'
iin te: 'I am here' iin te: ajarab 'I am a stranger'

Several place locatives form phrases by joining with a noun or with another locative. Extensive phrases can be introduced by the locative bu 'towards which', when used with an infinitive, acts to mark a proximate future or purposive aspect.

rory futiya 'way up above' (within-there above)
ba: bu ey:pey 'here at the compound'
ta: di flank 'there on the courtyard'
bu kasanek 'going to talk'

4.4 INDEPENDENT CONCORD FORMS

A number of the concord forms are often employed, either as nominals or as seminominals, independently of any regent whatsoever. The meaning of these forms is determined by the concord consonant which, in about half of the cases, can be thought of as being based on a noun. Thus the consonants b- and w-, which act as seminominals, are respectively derived from the noun bin 'place, general reference' and waf 'thing'. When the particular expression permits, these noun-based forms can act as adjectives. The other consonants,
such as m- which has an antecedent reference ('this that is being referred to') have no such corresponding noun. A number of these latter consonants are completely outside of the noun class system.

wanawon nutškəŋ mi ‘you eat anything’
bin uba ‘this place’
nọ mukan jak ‘this (what has been said) is good’

4.5 FINITE VERBS
A finite verb functions as a predicate centre. It is based on a primary or secondary neutral theme (4.122(a)) and is tied to its stated or implied subject by concord inflection. Besides concord, a finite verb inflects for complements and mood. The latter category includes such varying functions as tense, voice, aspect, negation, and syntactic subordination and emphasis. Other verb modifications, including a large number of aspects and various progressive constructions, are formed, respectively, by verb combination and concept juxtaposition. These will be discussed in the section devoted to sentence types (4.7).

4.51 Concord Inflection and the Impersonal
Each finite verb, with the exception of the past subordinate (4.533(g)) and the positive imperative of some speakers (4.57), expresses concord with its expressed or implied subject. Except when a personal pronoun (apart from the 3rd person plural) finite verb concord follows the usual alliterative pattern.

There are two forms to the three singular and the 1st person plural person markers: a full form (e.g. ni-) and a stripped form (e.g. i-). In most instances the two forms are in complementary distribution. At times, however, they contrast with the stripped form, giving the subject an emphatic nuance which usually indicates emphasis (cf. discussion: 4.533(a)), but at times indicates interrogation (4.74) or the imperative (4.57).

When a finite verb is neither imperative nor past subordinate and yet does not inflect for concord, the verb becomes impersonal. Such constructions are used primarily in reference to a time period, to a general state, or with certain themes describing qualities.

napirij mi ‘when the time arrives’ (when-F-arrive SS)
babj bukanak ‘there are people’ (have-VE people-the)
kankan nj numag ‘if it is that you want’ (make-VE as you-want-NE)
sunumut ‘it does not please me’ (please-not-me)

4.52 Bound Complement Suffixes
Person suffixes, identical to those used as noun possessives (4.321), and pronouns of the type C2 (including locatives) serve as bound complements. In contrast to disjunctive complements the bound forms are weak in emphasis.

nisa ebe ‘I gave him a cow’ (ni-sen-o, 1-gave-him)

Two person suffixes can combine to form direct and indirect objects. The indirect object always precedes.

nasera mọ ‘he gave him to me’ (na-sen-ọ, 2-he-gave-me-him)

4.53 Mood
Before attempting to set up any sort of structural paradigms or scales it would be best to consider, in turn, each of the mood markers. In order to do this I have divided them into three rough categories: tense, mode, and syntactic emphasis and subordination. As will be apparent from the discussion, a number of these markers show functional overlap between categories. The imperative, which can be considered outside the system, will be dealt with separately (4.57).

4.531 Tense: The alternation, combination, and absence of two markers allows us to generate six moods that have tense as their primary, though never exclusive, reference. These are: aorist (unmarked), future, future in the past, absolute past, remote past, and past hypothetical. With the exception of the aorist and the future tense, marking is primarily used either in simple declarative sentences or, more commonly, in situations requiring a direct time contrast. When employed for contrast they are usually confined to single compound sentences (4.714), or to simple sentences with relative clauses (4.713). Normally, only one verb or verb string (4.712) appears on either side of the ‘contrast equation’. Thus one verb (or string) marked for some tense is contrasted against one other verb (or string) and no more.

A variety of past conditionals are formed by using tense contrasts in combination with an adverb expressing hypotheticalness (12.122(b)).

Three other markers, viz. the contingent, the past subordinate and the indefinite-emphatic, clearly give a tense reference. In these cases the reference is subordinate to other functions.

In verb strings it is only the head verb that can take tense markings.

A. Aorist: An utterance entirely unmarked for tense is assumed to indicate a recent past or a present.

ejery nịpạ ‘I took/took the cow’ (cow-the I-take-NE)

The aorist can be placed in a general tense context, including the future, by way of a time locative. For example: funak fafon ‘one day’, sunken ‘last year’ etc. marks the past; pa ‘now’ or jat ‘today’ marks the present; and kapam ‘tomorrow’, bula ‘next year’ etc. mark the future. The expression emitey ebe ‘God makes’ (i.e. God willing) or emitey eme ‘God desires’ can be used without the future marker to indicate a wished-for future event.

pa nịpạ ebe ‘now I take a cow’
sunken nịpạ ebe ‘last year I took a cow’
kapam nịpạ ebe ‘tomorrow I take the cow’
emitey eme nịpạ ‘God desiring you will come’

B. Absolute Future (F): The absolute future, i.e. the future with respect to the moment of speaking is usually indicated. A future tense so indicated defines the over-all tense of the discourse as definite and entirely expected. It mayrefer to a near or a remote time.

panipar ebe ‘I will take the cow’

C. Future in the Past (FP): The future marker can be used in a past context to define a verb as future with respect to a preceding verb. The future in the past appears only in contrast constructions. In a text describing a past event we have:

nunụbim okwu pọppọ pala ‘when I converted one person he left Telom’
(when-I-convert one will-he-leave-from T). The phrase pọppọ pala is placed in the future to indicate that -pọpọ ‘leave from’ is future to (resulted from) the verb under consideration -tele convert. Another example:

nunụbim okwu pọppọ
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

no muyu kakilum pikulan lejgip 'you who own (are in charge of) the funeral would not touch (the body)' (at that time you who own funeral-the future-negative-you-touch). Here the future phrase lejgip is contingent on the prior state of owning kidi, i.e., you have to be in a position of owning before you can be prohibited from touching.

b. Past Absolute (PA): The past absolute defines an action or state that no longer exists at the time of speaking or at the time being spoken of. It is used in declarative sentences and in 'contrast equations'.

sunkan nibaj:mbaj bakori, bar jem neh bu 'last year I had money but now I have none' (last-year 1-have-PA-VE money, but now I-have-not it)

This sentence could simply be:

sunkan nibaj:mbaj bakori 'last year I had money' (but not any longer)

Contrast:

sunkan nibaj:mbaj bakori 'last year I had money' (whether still is do not under consideration).

If the contrast between the past absolute and the more recent past (etc.) spills over into an extended discourse involving a number of sentences, the past affix, following the general rule, is not used. In its stead the test might open with the concord locative no 'at that time' or the particle nanig 'in former times' and then shift into the present with the particle jə 'now'.

no muyu panji:te cbu:bl....na muyu kakilum awu fagul jijem.... 'At that time you (pl) would carry (it) yourselves....now you (pl) who own the man, yourselves you go (at that time you (pl) F-you carry self-you...now you (pl) who own man-the self-you you go-hab-SS)

In certain set phrases the absolute past marker can appear as an independent theme which indicates past being:

jii: zi 'it was me'

xá ma xá: 'if this (what is spoken alone) was' etc.

Remote Past Absolute (RP): By doubling the past absolute marker, a remote past, which emphasizes the historicness of the act, can be produced. It is used exclusively in contrast constructions.

mannix: süm: n:iki: sul: awal: le: jàkó 'if he had not sent the money the child would not have gotten into trouble' (perhaps he-sent-REM-neg-money-the child-the F-neg-he-limit he-hurt-self).

Past Hypothetical (HP): The combination of the future and absolute past affixes produces the past possibility or hypothetical past tense. It finds its most common use in the formation via 'a contrast equation' of a past conditional that emphasizes hypotheticalness or possibility.\(^7\)

Further investigation reveals a remote past hypothetical that is formed by combining the remote past with the future:

waikum panen:en:n ali:u njuk: 'I was nearly about to say that I saw Aliyu'

(cf. 4.59(6)). This particular form can also be: panen:en:n, a formation restricted to verbs beginning with e (cf. 10.331(2)).

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

wait:un panili:ta d:ko:legiy 'I nearly fell into the well' (little F-1-fall-PA in-well-the)

manter basen njupen:ni ba:be, le:tu: juk:ko: rol 'if you had been looking for Basen, you might not have seen him' (perhaps B, you-look-PA-NE here, F-neg-you-see-PA-him).

Contrast the latter with:

manter basen njupen:ni ba:be, le:tu: juk:ko 'if you had been looking for Basen, you would not have seen him'.

4.53 Mode: I have rather arbitrarily labelled as mode four markers that are loosely grouped together by one common property: their presence defines a function; their absence defines a contrast or opposite. If the unmarked alternates are taken into account, there exists eight possible modes.

a. The negative contrasts with the unmarked positive. With the negative future both tense and negation are marked by one morpheme. A special variant of the negative meaning 'not yet' has no contrasting positive.

imagur: 'I don't want'; contrast: imag 'I want'

lami 'I don't want'; contrast: panimam 'I will want'

imagrur: 'I do not yet want'.

b. The habitual contrasts with the unmarked incidental.

nimam 'I always want' (contrast: nimammam 'I want')

bry nujum where do you always go? (where? you go-hab-SS) (contrast: bry nujum where did you go? (where? you go-NE) (jaw al-e-ke 3.31))

C. The passive, which contrasts with the unmarked active, is infrequently used, being restricted primarily to constructions having inanimate subjects. It is used with personal subjects only rarely and then with only a limited number of themes.

warisni 'something that is not capable'

nan egosicy ejum:neni 'when the past was constructed (caused to stop)

niboj:boj: 'I have been sent'

itampin 'if I am to be circumcised'

However, 'I was hit' must be translated as kuteka:tek ('they hit me').

b. The emphatic, which can never be past tense (except when in the future in the past and the past hypothetical), contrasts with an unmarked indicative. It always has an indefinite reference that expresses an attitude of emotion towards a factual or conceived action or state. Sometimes suggesting a subjunctive, sometimes a hortative, it indicates desirability, possibility, strong intent, a wish, incredulity, etc. The emphatic is most commonly used in combination with the future to form an indefinite-emphatic-future which, like the ordinary future, may have a near or removed future reference.

The emphatic is hard to elicit. Its role, however, can be determined by an inspection of texts and by way of sentence contrast. For example, when asking someone (politely) to sit down the emphatic is always used:


It is best glossed as 'won't you sit down?', whereas the phrase panabulako ta:ci (i.e. without the emphatic) would be taken merely as a prediction: 'you will sit down here'.

In a text the expression manman pambij:lo was glossed as 'at all costs (manman I'll come)'. The use of the emphatic stressed the 'at all costs' and also expressed the wish and
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

the idea of coming, rather than the fact. This was borne out later in the passage where the fact of coming was contradicted: and kajpm lejip 
... ijaw ... etc., ‘not even tomo-


tomorrow will I be able ... to go ... ’ (This latter sentence, a statement of fact, did not use the emphatic).

The sentence, panribiren manjw isko bo ‘I will follow so as to find him there’, was differentiated from an identical sentence without emphatic markings (panribiren manjw isko bo) in terms of emphasis and indefiniteness. The former is to be taken as ‘une sorte de mcunave’ (a kind of threat), while the latter was described as merely factual. A situation calling for the original emphatic phrasing was given as follows: ‘you ask someone and he fails to show up; you are annoyed (enamerdé) and decide to follow after him yourself’.

The emphatic, used independently of the future marker, maintains its future (or more exactly non-past) reference. It will not accept a past time locative (e.g. fukuhen ‘yesterday’); fukuhen mbugar (non-grammatical); it will only accept those referring to the present or future:

na mbugar ‘now you should take’

kajpm mbugar ‘tomorrow you should take’

This reference finds its most common use with the negative imperative (4.57) where it makes a command apply to a possible future situation. Compare:

takunbugar ‘don’t touch (it)’ (takunj+u-i-gar neg-you-touch)

with:

takunbugar

which can be freely translated as ‘don’t let me see you touch (it)’ or, as it was originally translated into French, ‘j’amerais bien que tu ne touches pas’.

It is worth noting that the emphatic marked with a future time locative (e.g. kajpm ‘tomorrow’) will affect for all persons, but when marked with a present locative (e.g. na ‘now’, ja ‘today’) will affect for all persons except the 1st person singular and plural.

This fact, I should think, brings out the indefiniteness of the emphatic. It is inconceivable for a speaker to be so vague about his own acts that are to take place in the present.

na mbugar (considered incorrect, if not ungrammatical: ‘on peut le dire, mais cela n’a pas de sens’)

kajpm mbugar ‘tomorrow I should take’

4.53 Syntactic Markers – Emphasis and Subordination (E/S): Fogny has several verbal affixes (as well as theme reduplication) that serve in a variety of different ways to relate the verb to its syntactic environment. There are three dimensions which define each of the markers: any relationship is (1) either general or precise, and (2) either with respect to the immediate or with respect to the external environment. And (3), in any relationship the verb is defined either as subordinate or as emphasized.

I have considered the immediate environment as being confined to the verb, its subject, and its complement, and the external environment as extending beyond to include the two sections of a compound sentence (4.714). The operation of the external markers (and not the following) produces structures similar to those involved in tense ‘contrast equations’ (4.531), a similarity that is all the more striking because the two external markers themselves define tense. In the case of the external markers, however, the dimension of emphasis-subordination and the idea of a contingent relationship are both more important

than relative time. Further, external E/S markers, outside of very restricted expressions, necessitate a contrast built solely around a compound (or mixed compound (4.73)) construction.

A. Immediate E/S

1. Verb Emphasis (VE), (immediate, general, emphasized): by reduplicating the verb theme, emphasis is placed on the action or state at the expense of the subject and complement.

nijnom ebe ‘I bought a cow’

2. Simple Subordinate (SS), (simple, general, subordinate): In contrast to theme reduplication, the simple subordinate shifts emphasis from the verb to its immediate, usually post-verb, environment. It is used primarily in verb strings and relative clause constructions.

nijnom akti nasen:i ninng eby: ‘the man who died gave me the cow’ (man-tho-who-died SS he-gave-me VE cow-tho)

3. Noun Emphasis (NE) (immediate, general, subordinate): Functionally equivalent to the simple subordinate, the noun emphasis marker deflects emphasis from the verb. Except in certain special constructions (12.154(o)) it is used exclusively to emphasize the subject or the complement, most particularly a pre-verb complement. In most situations the SS marker can be used in its stead. The reverse, however, is not true.

em nebe ‘I bought a cow, it is a cow that I bought’ (cow I-buy-NE)

The placement of immediate emphasis-subordination can be greatly varied by altering the position of the complement and by using a disjunctive subject pronoun. Generally, complements that precede the verb, and subjects that are directly preceded by a disjunctive pronoun, have more emphasis than, respectively, complements that follow the verb and subjects without disjunctive pronoun support. Consider the paradigm:

verb emphasis kujawak dakaar

subject emphasis kulkia kujawak dakaar

complement emphasis dakaar kujaw

verb-subject emphasis kulkia kujawak dakaar
dakaar kujaw

verb-complement emphasis dakaar kujaw

subject-complement emph dakaar kulkia kujaw

subject-verb-complement emph dakaar kulkia kujaw

As noted above (4.51), several personal pronouns have two forms that, in certain positions, contrast in terms of subject emphasis. One of the forms (the stripped) emphasizes the subject, while the other (the full form) does not. This contrast elaborates even further the placement of the emphasis.

full form complement emphasized VE

stripped form subject emphasized verb emphasized

A set of examples would be:

nijnom ebe ‘I saw a cow’
ljuk ebe ‘I saw a cow’

nijnjuk ebe ‘I saw a cow’
ljuk ebe ‘I saw a cow’ (rarely used)
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

This can be further developed by varying the position of the complement and by using a disjunctive pronoun.

ebe njiyuk  'I saw a cow' (stronger than njiyuk ebe)
ebe iri jiyuk  'I saw a cow'
ebe njiyuk yo  'I saw a cow' (cf. 12.115(a)) etc.

In other situations where the bound concord marker has only one form, the connective di can be placed between the subject and the finite verb in order to mark an emphasis which stresses the action of the verb. This construction cannot be used when there is a pre-verb object or when the verb is reduplicated for verb-emphasis. This is used most frequently in narrative constructions (4.54) and with the second section of a compound parallel sentence using di as a connector (12.121(a)).

bukanak katt exukey di kumanje 'the people of the village knew'

b. External E/S

4. Contingent (C), (external, precise, emphasis): The contingent suffix marks a verb as a prior condition or state. It functions in conditional sentences, in certain interrogations, and in tying together a series of contingent acts describing how something is done. The contingent suffix never appears in the past, even when tense is indicated by a time locative.

ucanom ja panisini ebe  'if you pay me I will give you a cow' (you-pay me C F-I-give-you cow)

5. Past Subordinate (PS), (external, precise, subordinate): A past subordinate verb defines a prior state or act on which a main verb is contingent. A verb so marked is always in the past.

ampasom nasnom, iri babajut wi 'when my father gave it' to me, I had nothing
(father-my he-give-me I PS-had-nothing)

The relationship of priority is reversed when the subordinate makes the negative mode marker -orut 'not yet'. In such cases both verbs are necessarily in the past.

bey nulakse sw bajaworut dakar 'where were you before you went to Dakar?'
(where? you-stay-NE you PS-go-not-yet D.)

4.54 Narrative

A verb marked for noun emphasis or verb emphasis, but not for tense or mode, contrasts with a verb devoid of all mood markings. The latter simply states that the action is part of an unfolding series of events; one passes over it quickly or rapidly so that the next act is called the narrative. Contrast, the former draws attention to the action being described, setting it off from its context. An isolated phrase without mood markings, such as nitig fertilizer 'I broke off the stick', will often either be rejected outright or considered as incomplete. An identical phrase marked by either NE or VE, e.g. nitigertz fertilizer, will always be accepted as complete and correct. If the two are juxtaposed, the unmarked form will be defined as recounting something that has already happened (ça reconto quelque chose déjà passé), while the marked form will be defined as being an event taking place at a particular, isolated point in time, be it yesterday, just now, or even at the very moment of speaking.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

The two types contrast nicely in folktales and narrations. Here the description of events takes the unmarked, or narrative form; an event simply leads to the next. Conversations, events that stand out, and statements describing the general scene or situation, however, invariably take either NE or VE markings.

The simple subordinate marker can be used in either situation. When it describes events it is in free variation with the unmarked narrative; when it describes the scene, etc., it is in free variation with the noun emphasis. A short exxert would be:

funak fokon atoom na=nabpa: mbap ći=boj 'one day my brother sent me to Tiëbol'

This is the opening sentence stating the topic. The verb -boj receives verb emphasis. Following this is a description of events with none of the verbs taking E/S:

niito bujom . . . njiyaw ijar bugerab batu buluf
'I got up in the morning . . . I went and took the Buluf road'

niiri tanjam ija: bugerab, niyak
'I arrived at Tinidiane and asked them the road. I asked them . . .

This is followed by a quotation which uses once again the verb emphasis marker for the theme -orut:

mante cì=boj eliyulju 'perhaps Tiëbol is far?' etc.

Stripped/full subject alternation (4.51) and complement placement can be used in a narrative sequence to mark emphasis-subordination.

fuglall jìgeri bagneye syneye 'I broke off a stick in order to hit the dog' (stick-the
I-looked away towards-hit-the dog-the)

(In this example both the subject (by way of the stripped pronoun) and the object (by way of placement) are emphasized.)

The connective di, placed between subject and verb, can be used in the narrative (as it is less frequently elsewhere) to emphasize the verb action (4.53A(a)).

tajjak di kujaj kurj giney 'the hare went and arrived at home'

emuyneye daiko siaw 'the hyena was going'

The narrative must not be confused with a future marked with a time locative and not with a tense marker (4.53A(d)). Like the narrative, this 'future aorist' never takes E/S markers.

fuken ngajay eboy, kajom niyaj ejaneme 'yesterday I took the cow, tomorrow I take the goat'

4.55 The Co-occurrence of Mood Markers: Viewed Paradigmatically

The accompanying table (1) illustrates as economically as possible the co-occurrence of the several mood markers. The core of the table places the tense markers against the presence and absence of two of the mood markers, viz., the habitual and the emphatic. The juxtaposition is possible for the reason that the two modes cannot co-occur (except in one isolated instance, cf., a. below). Each of the vertical columns is divided into positive (i.e., negative) and negative columns. The special negative -orut 'not yet' has been placed, wherever it occurs, in parenthesis. The rows for the aorist, the absolute past, and the remote past have been sub-divided in the positive column to allow for the presence and absence of the general-immediate syntactic markers. Where both, the simple subordinate (mi) and the noun emphasis (-a) markers can be used interchangeably, the latter form is given. The general syntactic markers do not appear in negative constructions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABSENCE OF EXTERNAL N/S MARKERS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACTIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE, FUTURE IN THE PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panigar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(narrative/ 'future aorist')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AORIST NE/SS VE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST HYPOTHETICAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AORIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST ABSOLUTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REMOTE PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTINGENT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DIOLA VERB PARADIGM (ACTIVE)** Inflected for the theme -gar ‘take’ in the 1st person singular: ni ~ ba ~ inje

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABSENCE OF EXTERNAL N/S MARKERS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PASSIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panibopi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AORIST SS VE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST ABSOLUTE VE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REMOTE SS VE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AORIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST ABSOLUTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REMOTE PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTINGENT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DIOLA VERB PARADIGM (PASSIVE)** Inflected for the theme -bop ‘send’ in the 1st person singular: ni ~ ba ~ inje
A Grammatical of Diola-Fony

Superimposed on the core paradigm are three rows that take into account the presence and absence of the external syntactic markers, viz. contingent and past subordinate (which are mutually exclusive). The past-subordinate combines with only three tenses: the aorist, the past absolute and the remote past; the contingent, which defines its own tense as present-future, combines with none.

Remarks concerning Table 1

A. The emphatic and the habitual can co-occur in only one construction, the negative contingent:

mbatamara jà ‘that if he should never take’

This form was not accepted by my Sindian informant. 

B. The positive indicative forms of the aorist, the absolute past and the remote past, can appear without E/S markers only in limited circumstances. In such circumstances they can be considered as neutral with respect to emphasis and subordination (4.35).

C. In order to specify a habitual contrast in constructions taking the future, the past hypothetical, the past subordinate, the emphatic (except for b. above) or the positive contingent, it is necessary to use the frequentive auxiliary -maw ‘be full’ (12.121). This is similarly true for constructions taking the negative ‘not yet’ specifically:

panam burk ‘I will be working continuously; I will be full of work’
bamg efr isan inj boit ‘having finished working continuously, I am going home’
(PS—full I—work I—finish I—go-home)

imepan burk ‘I haven’t yet consistently worked; I haven’t had yet enough work’

The entire paradigm expressed in Table 1 is marked as active (i.e. — passive) and contrasts against the passive. When the subject is inanimate the entire paradigm may be transformed to the passive mode by suffixing the marker -e in the appropriate position.

The passive cannot combine with noun emphasis -e and thus must use, in an immediate subordinate construction, the simple subordinate mi. When the subject is personal the paradigm becomes greatly restricted. This can be seen in Table 2 which has been written for the 1st person in the passive mode. It must be noted that outside aorist and contingent constructions the use of the passive was considered forced or unnatural by my informants. In more complicated constructions it was invariably mistaken for the 2nd person singular marker (10.21) which is identical in shape and in position.

4.36 The Co-occurrence of Mood Markers: Viewed Syntactically

A certain overlap of function becomes apparent if we consider the degree to which the general Emphasis/Subordination markers can co-occur with the Tense and Mode markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>E*</th>
<th>PA**</th>
<th>emph</th>
<th>ney***</th>
<th>pas</th>
<th>hab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VE</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* also FP, PH

** also RP

*** including the ‘not yet’

negative

41

Morphology and Syntax

A glance at Table 3 shows that the future (also the future in the past and the past hypothetical), the emphatic and the negative fall together by combining with the general E/S (the simple subordinate) only in relative clauses. In contrast, the past absolute (and the remote past) combines with all three, and the habitual and passive with two. The lack of co-occurrence on the part of the former group invites two interpretations: viz., any verb taking one of these three mood markers and not appearing in a relative clause either is neutral, or defines its own emphasis-subordination. The latter contention seems the correct one. There are two alternates for the future: pan-, pi (10.311) and three for the emphatic: mambu, mba—, mby (10.324). In both cases the former alternate (pan- and mambu) is considered stronger than the latter. This permits a direct parallel with the immediate E/S markers. The weak version is functionally equivalent to the noun emphasis and the strong version is functionally equivalent to verb emphasis. The weak version of the future, apart from relative clauses, is accepted, however, only when a complement precedes, and, according to one Bignona informant, only when the complement is a locative demonstrative and the verb is impersonal or in the 1st person. Other informants, though agreeing on complement placement, accepted a wider variety of constructions (e.g. ka piipijen ‘you will gather them’)

nijaw ba:ba ‘I went there’
panjaw ba:ba ‘I will go there’
manjambaw ba:ba ‘I should go there’

contrasts with:
ba:ba nij
ba:ba pij
ba:ba mbjaw

As with verbs marked for immediate E/S, considerable supplementary variation can be achieved by varying the position of the complement (possible only with the emphatic) and by using a disjunctive subject pronoun (cf. 4.332(A) for a complete paradigm).

The negative markers do not have strong and weak alternates and thus, in order to express varying shades of emphasis, must rely entirely on complement positioning and on the presence or absence of disjunctive subjects. For the sake of structure, however, it will be convenient to consider the negative as defining its own E/S which, if meaning is taken into account, must surely be emphasis rather than subordination.

If the above thesis holds, we can go on to say that the second group (past absolute, habitual, passive, etc.) are entirely neutral with respect to emphasis/subordination. They must rely on appropriate E/S marking for ‘syntactic’ placement.

This discussion suggests a scale that would group together, in terms of syntactic involvement, all the tense, mode and E/S markers. Using Sapir’s (1921:107–8) distinction

1 The inability of the habitual and the passive to co-occur with the noun emphasis marker poses a problem that is more formal than functional. Whenever a passive or the habitual enter a frame calling for the noun emphasis, the latter is always replaced by the simple subordinate:

bey nuj ‘where were you?’ (ru—jua—kyou-go-NE)
bey nuj mi ‘where did you habitually go?’(you-go-lah-SS)
dakar nibye ‘I sent to Dakar’
dakar nibye mi ‘I was sent to Dakar’

2 The latter forms are obligatorily used in relative clauses, a fact that certainly strengthens their inherent weakness.
between concrete relational and pure relational concepts we propose the following criteria for placement. At one end of the scale would be placed markers with distinct meanings that, though implying certain semantic relationships, have little to do with the overall syntax. At the other end would appear abstract markers having only the exclusive function of defining the verb’s position within the sentence. Markers with overlapping functions would come in between these two poles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Concrete-relational'</th>
<th>'Abstract-relational'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PA (&lt;e:n) pas.(-i)</td>
<td>F (pan-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP (&lt;e:n ... hab.(-e))</td>
<td>PP (pan-e:n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg. (-uat, -uru)</td>
<td>C (p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emph. (mbi)</td>
<td>SS (-ml)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Moods and tenses have been ranked with respect to the number of general E/S markers with which they can co-occur: the fewer they accept, the greater their syntactic involvement.

b. The remaining markers, all of which have relational functions, are either precise or general. Since the precise markers describe a clear semantic relationship (past subordinate, contingency) it seems reasonable to consider them as slightly more concrete than the general markers which define, in a rather vague way, simple emphasis or subordination without explaining the kind.

c. The grouping of mood markers about the verb theme roughly parallels this syntax scale. Further the verb is from the theme, the greater its syntactic involvement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F emph.</th>
<th>(pan-) (mbi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PA hab. neg. pas. (&lt;e:n) (&lt;e) (-ut) (-i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP (&lt;e:n ... &lt;e:n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (-ja)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS (rdpl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most striking contrast is between the future and the past absolute markers, a contrast that fits perfectly with their relative syntactic involvement.

Further, the emphatic in its full form mambi (actually a combination of the connective man + b) becomes a predicate: mambi balari acamom ‘so that B. should pay me’

4.57 Imperative

The imperative, which is used as an interjection, asserts a command. It has a positive and negative form and is used with all the persons and classes. The positive form consists only of a verb theme plus a concord or bound personal subject. The latter, when feasible, is always stripped (4.51). Some speakers drop the second singular and plural subjects. The negative consists of a special prefix which can combine with the emphatic (4.532) to indicate an indefinite future imperative.

pl. upol ‘come!’
ajaw ‘he shall go!’
takunupor ‘don’t touch’
takimbegor ‘don’t let me see you touch’

Two verbs may be combined in an imperative statement. In such cases the second verb optionally has no concord subject.

ajaburunjajaw ‘let the stranger go and eat’

The defective verb -e: ‘ought’ (4.581) can be used as an auxiliary to emphasize the positive imperative. Frequently the Wolof loan -ware ‘ought’ or the modifier fbd- (from the Fr. ‘faut’ in the expression ‘il faut que’) is used in its stead.

fbd irsk ‘I must work’

4.58 Defective Verbs

4.581 Four verbs, all using the special method of prefix assimilation (3.22), have limited and specialized functions.

a. The most important defective -em ‘be’ serves in progressive constructions, in attributives, and to state existence. Simple juxtaposition (4.571) to a certain extent parallels -em in performing these functions. -em, however, being finite has the advantage of taking a number of the inflectional verb affixes, especially tense and the simple subordinate markers, which give it greater semantic flexibility.

burk man di bo ‘I am working’ (work I-am and ii) (nen di <nen di)
em dare ‘I am within’
je apla nan ‘c’est un Dola’ (Was) (he Diola he-is)
nilaap manemun ‘I return as I was (before)’ (I-return I-am and I-am-PA: man+i-em+i-en)

The defective -em takes a special demonstrative suffix of the form -am plus one of the demonstrative place forms (-e, -a etc. (6.11)). This suffix is reserved for a number of set expressions.

ajaburunjamanamu ‘the stranger who is like this’ (an+i-em-em+i-um-em+i-person-who-is-this)
mbe mani bane ka bu ‘and how is one to get out of this?’ (then is this towards-to-make how?)

When the form -en takes an object complement it glosses as ‘be like’, otherwise it serves as an emphatic version of -em ‘be’. It frequently appears with the independent concord man- (4.44) in the formation of a unique type of phrase that emphasizes the validity of an antecedent statement.

nenen sirom ‘I am like my brother’
injemom osunan ‘I who am Osman’ (I-am-SS: inje+i-em+m)
burk bo tid ‘it is work’ (work it is)
mankusanku en ‘and that is what they say’ (that-they-say is)
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

The verb -en serves to indicate that a quotation or a reported statement is to follow.

The form -et has the gloss ‘ought’ when it is used as an auxiliary and ‘go home’ when used otherwise. Sindian speakers use -et only in its nominal form: be- et ‘going home’ (5.122).

Table 6 indicates the range of defective verb inflection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESTRUCTIVE VERB INFLECTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONCORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOUND COMPLEMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENEN:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOOD:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'S'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- possible
- impossible

loc = place locatives only
gam = only with negative form

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

4.58a Very occasionally the non-concord modifier po ‘also’ and the seminominal je take a personal concord marker. This makes them at least marginal verbs. (The more common construction has them following a disjunctive pronoun.)

apo ‘he also’

ipa ‘I now’

The form ja can also take the contingent marker:

ja maw uteb inje ‘if now you carry me’

4.6 NON-CONCORD MODIFIERS

A variety of forms having less extensive distribution than semi-nominals (4.57) are defined as non-concord modifiers. They serve as adverb and/or as adjectival modifiers that designate quantity, intensity, hypotheticalness, etc.

nargndj kep ‘he arrived only, just arrived’

ani yokom ‘not even one’

lej maw ‘cork (it) up tightly’

montx namap ‘is it that you want?’

4.7 SENTENCE TYPES

There are two basic sentence types in Fogy from which all others are built, viz., the simple finite sentence and the simple concept juxtaposition. The former is centred on a finite verb and the latter on the juxtaposition of two nominal or seminominal concepts.

4.7.1 SIMPLE SENTENCE

A simple sentence consists of one inflected verb. The minimal inflection is a neutral, derivative or defective verb plus a concord prefix functioning as a subject referent. It can be indicated as:

s-T

where x represents the bound subject and T the verb theme:

kusen ‘they have given’ (ku- refers to a subject belonging to the noun class defined by the markers ku- or ka-)

kam ‘they are, it is’

This nominal sentence can be expanded to express mood and to include a disjunctive subject, adverbs, and a variety of complements. The placement of complements is extremely fluid. Thus the formula:

S a-T-m A Cm

where S is any type of noun phrase functioning as a subject, m represents any one of the paradigmatic expressions of verb mood (cf. Tables 1 and 2). A represents one of the non-concord modifiers, functioning as an adverb, Cm represents any one of a variety of possible complements and complement combinations. The most important complements include noun phrases and bound person markers functioning as direct and indirect objects, seminominals and seminominal phrases acting as time and place locatives, and seminominal phrases introduced by kx indicating direction or purpose.

The basic sentence kusen can be expanded:

ba:bc kusam kusen kusam kuplak milam be bara:n ‘around here women always give children milk to drink’
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

Here m stands for verb emphasis plus habitual; S is the noun kustak 'the women' and Cm includes the indirect object noun kupifak 'the children', the direct object noun njam 'the milk', the purposive phrase be barani 'for drink', and the seminominal place locative barbe 'around here'.

jak kusunetam ju:p 'today they didn't give me much'

Here m is the negative aorist, A the modifier ju:p 'lots, much', and Cm the time locative jak 'today' and -cm the bound object 'me'.

Another important complement is the infinitive or infinitive phrase that permits the expression of a variety of aspects and tense nuances. In such cases the auxiliary or supporting verb is finite and the main verb is the complement infinitive. A construction of this type is functionally equivalent to a two-member verb string (4.712).

njaw sero bakori 'I went to give him money'
raaj: lame ejaw 'he is able to go'

One of the auxiliary verbs is the theme -fag 'be more'. It is with this form that comparative constructions are formed.

inje fag: kafalen 'I am older than he'

4.712 Verb strings: Two or more finite verbs, the sum of which describe a single state or act, can be placed together in a verb string. This construction finds its most frequent, though not exclusive, use with verb auxiliaries that define aspect and certain tense nuance (cf. finite verb plus infinitive complement (4.711)).

The subject of a second or succeeding verb may be different from that of the initial verb only if the subject has been stated or implied in the complement of the preceding verb.

ilakoi iri 'I was eating' (cf.: ilako furu 'I was eating' (4.711))
njau ja wujum bipoon irwum bala 'I went and passed by Bipoon and then I arrived at Bala' (I-go-SS I-pass-SS B, I-arrive-SS B.)
niweko inwi apal irambo: ni si 'I called to him, he came and helped me cook'
(I-called-to him he-came he-helped me we-cook)

Members of a verb string can separate by one of several connecting modifiers that serve as relational. A number of these forms serve equally well either as compound sentence connectors (4.714) or as noun phrase prepositions (9.4).

pancansal bala ufo 'you will pay him before you bury'
nikicelb yel lojum 'I waited till he returned'

4.713 Relative Construction: The basic RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION consists of two verbs placed so that the subject or complement of one (the subordinate verb) becomes an integral part of a noun phrase that acts as the subject or complement of the other (the main verb). There are, therefore, four possible arrangements:

A. The subject of the main verb acts as the subject of the subordinate.
B. The subject of the main verb acts as the complement of the subordinate.
C. The complement of the main verb acts as the subject of the subordinate.
D. The complement of the main verb acts as the complement of the subordinate.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Consider these examples:

A. anjala ajukum nafalanfak 'the man who died is old' (man-the who-died-SS he-old-VE)
B. cja: yanjum bja:la ko 'the goat that I killed is big' (goat-the which-I killed-SS is-big-VE)
C. nubuji cja: yhekere:ko yale 'I killed the goat that was big' (I-killed-VE goat-the which-big-ba-la)
D. nubuji cja: yyanonum yake 'I killed the goat that I bought yesterday' (I-killed-VE goat-the that-I-bought-SS yesterday)

The main verb may be part of a complex sentence consisting, perhaps, of a verb string or compound sentence (4.712, 4.714).

4.714 Compound Sentence: A compound sentence relates two distinct acts or two distinct states. It is comprised of two independent sentences which may themselves be simple or verb string sentences, or sentences with relative clauses. There are two basic types: parallel tense or contingency sentences.

A. Parallel sentences, which are separated by means of a connective, place two acts in juxtaposition. The quality of the juxtaposition is determined by the connective.

namana ja kama nje: 'he wants it, therefore I gave it to him'
niregjeg jare nana: 'I told him, but he doesn't want it'

b. Tense and contingency sentences contrast two acts or states, in terms of tense, contingency, or some combination of the two. They may be separated by one of the connectives.

ama ja penke: 'if (when) he wants it, I shall give it to him'
sunkun ibijrul aji eler yula: nible:nul: nible: sfe:yir 'last year I received no letter from you (even though) I had sent you three' (last-year I-take-not even letter yours, I-send-PP-SS-you-VE)

A compound sentence can join together with another sentence to form a compound of a higher order. (/ indicates the higher order break; / indicates the lower.)

aze: ga / penke: bokoja / naje: sy: orula: 'If he speaks to me I will pay him some money and he will go to his village' (he-speaks-me C / F-I-give-him money / he-go-and-SS-village-the his)

4.72 CONCEPT JUXTAPOSITION

4.721 Simple Juxtaposition: The juxtaposition of two noun phrases (including seminominals), or a noun phrase plus an impersonal verb construction describing a quality, produces a simple juxtaposition.

Tense and location can be established by combining the appropriate locative or locatives with the phrase. In these constructions place locatives form an immediate constituent with the initial element while time locatives form an immediate constituent with the entire juxtaposition.

inje ajaburuaj 'I am a stranger'
inje bai: bai / ajaburuaj 'around here I am a stranger'
sunkun / inje ajaburuaj 'last year I was a stranger'
sunkun // inje bai: bai / ajaburuaj 'last year around here I was a stranger'
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

4.72a Three types of progressive constructions are formed by juxtaposition construction. One emphasizes the subject, another the verb, and the third describes a state. The latter two make use of finite verbs.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{injine di kasankan} & \quad \text{`I am talking'} \\
\text{kasankan nen di ko} & \quad \text{`I am talking'} \\
\text{injine manigale} & \quad \text{`I am in the state of being tired'}
\end{align*}
\]

4.73 Mixed Constructions

A juxtaposition phrase can join with a finite sentence to form a verb string or a compound sentence.

\[
\begin{align*}
kupilak ko ke kati:kor yaka kugal & \quad \text{`the children are fighting till they tire'} \\
inji barzgerul inji ejaw bo: & \quad \text{`having spoken to you I am going home'}
\end{align*}
\]

4.74 Interrogative Sentences

All interrogative utterances are marked by a slight rise in intonation over the last few words. There are three common interrogative constructions: 1. Sentences formed with one of the interrogative pronouns (4.32a) and interrogative seminominals (4.37):

\[
\begin{align*}
jilibaj jumbo bey jin & \quad \text{`where is my knife?’} \\
kupilak kokey & \quad \text{`where are the children?’} \\
umu wa & \quad \text{`what’s that?’} \\
bekan bu & \quad \text{`how (is one) to manage?’}
\end{align*}
\]

2. Sentences taking the stripped form of the personal pronoun (4.51):

\[
itiger fugaf & \quad \text{`should I break off the stick?’}
\]

3. Any positive construction can mark interrogation provided that it appears in the appropriate speech context and is marked with the intonation rise:

\[
\text{letulak sinigas}
\]

which can be glossed either as `you won’t start cooking’ or as `won’t you start cooking’?

For the sake of emphasis and precision Types 2 and 3 are optionally marked at the beginning of the utterance by an adverb that indicates hypotheticalness. These adverbs are also used in conditional constructions.

\[
mantu panjaw dafar & \quad \text{`perhaps (is it that) you will go to Dakar?’}
\]

In the case of Sindian speakers these adverbs may be replaced by the question indicator bay in phrase-final position, bay is a Manding loan word.

\[
\text{panjaw dafar bay} \quad \text{`will you go to Dakar?’}
\]

5 DERIVATION:

SECONDARY NEUTRAL THEME FORMATION

Neutral themes are usually transformed into secondary themes by affixing derivative markers that are classified, according to their distribution, as either nominal or verbal. In general, nominal markers appear only in nouns, while verbal markers may appear in both nouns and verbs. For example, the agentive (5.111) suffixed to the theme /liba `knife’ (nc-lib-agt) while the causative (5.211) suffixed to the theme /fu辅 /`be dragged’ gives either the noun /fulun `snake’s track’ (nc-ful-caus) or the verb /fulun `cause to drag sth.’

Both nominal and verbal derivative markers further sub-divide into productive and unproductive groups. Productive markers can serve, where semantically feasible, with any neutral theme. In contrast, unproductive markers have restricted use, being limited to a finite number of themes. In both cases the meaning of the derived form can usually be predicted as the sum of the primary theme plus derivative. At times, however, the secondary forms have unpredictable and quite specialized nuances. Further, in the case of several unproductive markers, the meaning of the secondary form is not at all, or only partially, definable as the simple sum of the two morphemes.

There are certain limitations to the general distribution of nominal and verbal derivatives. First, in one recorded instance the abstract nominal (5.112) was observed functioning in a verbal construction (5.226). Secondly, not all of the verbal markers can appear in nouns and those that do (primarily the productive ones) are limited to a finite number of forms. Thus, in the capacity of secondary nominal formers, verbal derivatives are unproductive. Thirdly, one of the derivative suffixes acts as a productive marker in both nominal and verbal derivation. By the general rule this should define the suffix as a verbal derivative. However, in contrast to the other verbal derivatives, it is entirely productive when used in noun constructions. Also, its semantic function with nouns is distinct (albeit similar) from that with verbs. I have therefore chosen to consider it as a special case and have listed it both as a productive noun (5.112) and as a productive verb form (5.226).

More than one derivative marker can be used in forming a secondary theme. These multiple derivatives (5.3) are of two common types: (1) two (or more) verbal derivatives forming a verb or noun; (2) a verbal plus a nominal derivative forming a noun.

5.1 DERIVATIVE NOUN MARKERS

The productive secondary noun markers are:

- `a agentive
- `ay abstract
- `inum instrumental
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

5.111 Agentive: The suffix -a usually defines the noun as the agent by which the act described by the theme is accomplished. For example: -sib ‘make slices’ gives eliba ‘knife’, -tup ‘build’ gives ariba ‘builder’, one who builds’, -sib ‘talk, gossip, scandalize’ gives aliba ‘one who talks, gossips or scandalizes’.

In a number of cases the agent-act relationship is not so clear-cut: thus kara ‘women’ (s-k[e]-u+a-a) is based on -ar which also forms the noun for ‘belly’ (fu+ar) and erar ‘bottle’ comes from the theme ra:ta ‘suck at the breast’. These variations in the semantic relationship represent only a very small minority of the derived themes.

5.112 Abstract: The suffix -ay always gives the theme an abstract or general reference. From -sib ‘talk, scandalize’ we have nubbay ‘scandal’, from -ti ‘same sex sibling’ we have batguy ‘brotherhood, sisterhood’, from -pal as in apal or apafa ‘friend’ we have bapal ‘friendship’, etc.

5.113 Resultive: The suffix -um (which also appears as a productive verb marker (5.216)) forms a noun that designates the result of the quality expressed by the primary theme. For example: -sluh ‘make slices’ gives slibum ‘cuts (resulting from slices)’ as in:

bulibum bati kara:fa ‘cuts from (broken) bottle’; also batguy ‘association of same sex sibling’, i.e. ‘group that results from being same sex siblings’ as in:

batguy baji ‘the brothers (sisters) Badji’; and mylibum ‘the result of scandal, i.e. bad feelings’, etc.

5.114 Instrumental: The suffix -uma and its free variant -uma define the noun as the instrument whereby the act described by the theme is accomplished. Thus: -sib ‘climb’ gives sibuluma ‘ladder, stairs’, -sin ‘filter water’ gives kajinjuma ‘water filter’ etc.

It can be plausibly argued that the instrumental is simply a conflation of the resultive -um with the agentive -a, and indeed the gloss ‘instrumental’ can be read as: ‘the agent of the result’. However, because of its lax variant and such common usage it seems best to give it independent structural (if not historical) status.

The link between the instrumental, the agentive and the resultive occurs in certain instances where themes formed with the instrumental receive the same gloss as those formed with either the agentive or the resultive. In all cases where this happens closer inspection reveals that the instrumental gloss is always more precise or specialized. For example, when -sluh ‘make slices’ suffices the agentive to give eliba the gloss is the general word ‘knife’, whereas the derivative formed with the instrumental, elibum gives ‘sharp knife used for making slices, such as one used for circumcision’. Similarly bulibum (from -pal ‘friend’) is glossed as ‘result of friendship, e.g. an association’, while bapal ‘friendship’ is specifically an ‘association of friends’.

5.12 Unproductive Noun Markers

There are two unproductive noun markers:

tenseness

nominalizer

-ayra (etc.)

locative

5.121 Nominalizer: In a fair number of instances the shift from lax to tense produces a noun. Thus: -bom ‘dance (vby)’ gives jibom ‘dance (n)’, -key ‘divorce (vby)’ gives bykey ‘divorce (n)’, yab ‘take, marry (with reference to a male ego)’ gives byyab ‘marriage’ (this

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

can also be byiyab), -kit: ‘inhabit’ gives bak: ‘fetish’. Finally, the defective verb -kit: ‘go home, ought’ (4.516) becomes bok: (s-ba+kit:+tenseness) ‘home going’.

5.122 A number of nouns and seminominals referring to time and place end with -ayra (in one case -gray and in another -ery). The suffix is optional with all of the recorded seminominals and with two of the nouns. The nouns have themes that remotely only relate to the secondary form. Some examples are for the seminominals: bujumaryru ~ bujom ‘morning’, tiyaryar ~ tiyag ‘outside’, fukar ~ fuk ‘night’; and for the nouns: furantary ‘dry season’ (cf. furant ‘root’), kalsar ~ kalsf ‘evening’ (cf. -lsf ‘be near, approach’)

5.2 DERIVATIVE VERB MARKERS

5.21 Productive Verb Markers

The productive secondary verb markers are:

-en causative

-ro reflexive-descriptive

-sr strong reflexive

-sr reciprocal (sometimes reflexive)

-sib ~ yl ~ yl towards the speaker, from

-yu directive

-al ~ elj ‘be early’

-ati ‘negative’

5.211 Causative: The suffix -en always adds the idea of causality to a primary theme. In certain circumstances, especially when it is used with an intransitive theme, the causative has the appearance of a ‘transitive former’.

The idea of causality, however, only overlaps with, and is by no means equivalent to, that of transitivity. A causative suffix used with an intransitive theme can produce an intransitive derivative. For example, the theme -el ‘change age status’ gives:

aw nafalt ‘you are (have become) old’ (you-you-change-caus-NE)

The sense of causality remains, but this time it refers to the subject. A literal gloss would be something like: ‘you have been caused to change age status’. This particular secondary form can also be used in a transitive construction:

apolo nafalt ‘she weaned her child’

If the causative is affixed to a transitive theme to form a transitive derivative, a double object must be used. In this construction the subject causes object-2 to act on object-2 (which may be an infinitive). Thus for the theme -fum ‘break open sth’ we have:

nifum bajapata ‘I broke open peanuts’

nifumumitum bajapata ‘I had him break open peanuts’ (I-break-caus-him-VE)

5.212 Descriptive-Reflexive: The suffix -ro can be thought of as a descriptive (suggesting a passive) or as a ‘weak’ reflexive (in contrast to the strong reflexive (5.213)). In most, if not all cases the verb either describes a state or indicates the subject as acting on itself

1 Thomas (1959:590) suggests the correspondence.

50
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

without relation to an object. In the former context the reflexive sense is absent; in the latter it is present, but never emphasized. Because in these circumstances no object is permissible, the descriptive reflexive, in exact reverse of the causative, can be taken as an intransitive former, especially when it is suffixed to a transitive theme.

nabobol eljwey 'he roasted the meat'
nabobob 'he is burnt, he burnt himself'

Contrast:
lak taira 'sit (yourself) here, be seated'

with:
laken jopi laj taira 'sit the baby (down) here'

The suffix -t has, however, a semantic reference that does not preclude its use in transitive constructions. Thus the verb -za: 'drink' becomes -ra:mo 'desire, crave', or literally, 'drink self', and is always used as a transitive:

bylytab faq bo niar sa:ra:mo 'I even crave millet'

There are many derivative forms using the reflexive-descriptive that show (as in the case of -ra:mo) rather roundabout relationships to their primary theme. In all such examples the basic subject and/or descriptive reference is nevertheless in play. For example, -jam 'sense, hear' gives -jamo 'be celebrated' or, literally, 'hear of self (from the tongues of others), be heard of' and -cjm 'sing' gives -cmo 'cough', literally 'sing to self', etc.

5.213 Strong reflexive: The suffix -za: always indicates a clear reflexive differing from -t (pass reflexive) in terms of emphasis. Thus -po: 'wash sth' gives:

\[ ni:j\text{po}:\text{po}:\text{po} \quad \text{iban} \quad \text{I have finished washing (self)} \]

where the fact of 'self washing' is not really under consideration, in contrast to:

\[ ni:j\text{po}:\text{po}:\text{po}:\text{po} \quad \text{iban} \quad \text{I have finished washing myself} \]

The difference comes out clearly in the French glosses, viz, kapza: 'se lever' versus kapzo: 'se lever lui-même'.

At times the contrast is more than one of simple emphasis, with the respective markers each giving the primary theme a distinct meaning. For example: -bul 'kill' becomes: -bul 'be wounded, wound self' in contrast to: -bujara 'kill self'.

5.214 Reciprocal: The suffix -t or indicates that two or more actors act together or reciprocally. Reciprocal themes may be either transitive or intransitive. The verb -jim 'forget s.o.' gives:

\[ panujum\text{im}\text{ra:} \quad \text{we will forget each other} \] (F-we-forget-recp-incl)

and -bott 'grab sth.:'

\[ kubot\text{bot:}\text{ot} \quad \text{They (both or all) grabbed for the money} \]

In a number of cases the reciprocity is with respect to subject and object rather than between two subjects:

\[ \text{es:}t\text{may-nilupra:} \quad \text{I hunted the leopard} \]

At other times the idea of reciprocity is rather remote. Thus, -jomo 'turn a corner' becomes -jomo 'walk in a circle':

\[ \text{di kujezma:da:la:} \quad \text{and they walk around the hut} \]

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

With a fair number of forms the -t or indicates a reflexive and not reciprocity. These cases might be taken as being a reduction of the strong reflexive -za:. Two examples are: -lako 'sit self' which can also be -lakor and the reflexive of -raw 'stretch sth' which is always -rawor.

5.215 The suffix -ub and its two allomorphs -uy and -ul refer to an area other than the one occupied by the speaker, or other than the one referred to in the discourse. When used with verbs of motion it indicates that the motion is from a removed area (stated or implied) and towards either the speaker, or the area referred to as immediate (i.e. as 'here') in the discourse. When it is used with other verbs it indicates that the action takes place at some distance from the speaker or from the area referred to in the discourse.

For example, to indicate that one is to arrive where the speaker is, the 'towards speaker' must be used:

panjiri gakara 'he will arrive at Dakar (speaker at D.)'

In contrast we have:

panjirakar 'he will arrive at Dakar (speaker NOT at D.)'

Some other examples are:

jifjo kutufo bapalum di agamor 'I makes (trares) friendship there with A.'

niwunish:ub:wo:nk 'I called him from a place (to here)'

iri:bi: bignona (ni+ri+ub+ut) (3.43) 'I did not eat at Bignona'

Formally, the 'towards speaker' derivative stands apart from all other derivative markers.

1. It need not be suffixed directly to the verb theme (10.43), but may instead be separated from it by an inflectional marker:

\[ \text{cf. ni:jprajle:ne} \quad \text{ni:jprajme} \]

\[ \text{I went out early} \quad \text{I went out habitually} \]

(1-leave-PA-NE)

(1-leave-hab-to-SS)

2. In infinitives (7.6) the addition of this marker to one syllabic themes does not change the infinitive marker from class 3 to class 7 (e > ka), as do other derivatives:

\[ \text{ebaj} \quad \text{ebaj} \]

\[ \text{to have, kabjen to cause to have} \]

3. It does not reduplicate in verb emphasis construction (4.433(0)):

\[ \text{cf. ni:jprempjen} \quad \text{I caused to leave} \]

\[ \text{ni:jprempjen} \quad \text{I left from} \]

4. It has three allomorphs. Of the three, -y and -ul, which have morphophonemically determined distributions (3.7), contrast with -ub.

-ub is used in all incidental constructions that take either the negative markers -ut or -urt or one of the general-immediate E/S markers (4.533(6)) except for the simple subordinate when it is used in a narrative construction (4.54). The alternates -y and -ul are used in all parallel habitual constructions.

\[ \text{ni:jprempjorig} \quad \text{ni:jprempjorup} \]

\[ \text{be arrived from} \quad \text{be habitually arrives from} \]

\[ \text{be} \quad \text{where did you leave from?} \quad (\text{ub} + e > \text{ub}) \]

\[ \text{be} \quad \text{where did you habitually leave from?} \]

\[ \text{an ajab mi} \quad \text{an ajab mi} \]

\[ \text{(a) person who came} \quad (\text{<jaw} + \text{ub}) \]

\[ \text{fuglaf ni:jar eg:mi} \quad \text{I broke off a stick} \]

\[ \text{fuglaf ni:jar eg:mi} \quad \text{I broke off a stick} \]

\[ \text{fuglaf ni:jar eg:mi} \quad \text{I broke off a stick} \]

\[ \text{ajabub:st} \quad \text{ajabub:st} \quad \text{ajabub:st} \]

\[ \text{he did not have from} \quad \text{he did not yet have from} \quad (\text{ub} + \text{ort} > \text{sub:st}) \]

\[ \text{ajabub:st} \quad \text{he never has from} \]

53
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

5.216 Directive: When used in verb constructions the suffix -um (already seen as a noun derivative (5.113) relates the verb directly with a stated complement. Depending on the context the relationship can be glossed as 'by way of', 'because of' or 'by means of'. A number of examples contrasting the presence of -um with its absence should make its function clear.

For the verb -pur 'go out from (sortir) we have:

pür bo 'go out from there'
pürum bo 'go out via that way'

where the latter can be rephrased by substituting the preposition bajam 'by way of' (9.4((6))) for the -um:

pür bajam bo 'go out via that way'

Other examples would be: -riben 'follow in:

panjibben uja:ma wula 'I will follow (him) by means of his tracks'
which contrasts with:

pantriben uja:ma wula 'I will follow his tracks'

The former states that the action of the verb (-riben) will be accomplished solely by means of the complement. The latter is not nearly so precise.

Again: -lib 'make slices' in:

lib u nkondory 'cut starting with the neck (by way of)'
in contrast to:

lib di nkondory 'cut reaching the neck (by way of)'

The directive finds common use in indicating that the verbal action or state has resulted from, or is caused by, some antecedent event usually represented by a preverbal pronoun (mo or yo, cf. 8((i))). Hence the gloss 'because of',

aw inji mo njamunjîm 'because of this (what you said/did) I like you'
(ni+mag+i+um+i+m, I-like-dir-you-SS)

A rather specialized use of -um appears in comparative phrases using -fag 'be more' (11.144) where what is being compared precedes:

aw nufalnufaln bare inji fagjyme 'you are old, but I am more so'

Compare:

inji fagj kafalen aw 'I am older than you'

5.217 The suffix -elj or -e, always has the sense 'be early'.

finki pongwoponj 'this year you'll cultivate early'.

5.218 Negative: The suffix -nj or -nrj forms a negative. It is used primarily with infinitives, most finite constructions taking the negative inflectional marker instead. Examples:

-baj 'have gives -bajot 'not to have, be in mourning'; -lak 'start cooking' gives -llakot 'refuse to cook', etc.

*Sindian speakers use the -ul alternate in contingent constructions.

ubajul ja 'if you have from'

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

The infinitive does, occasionally, find use in finite verb phrases:

takumbijakatj 'don't be bad' (neg(imp-er)+emph+you(pl)+good+neg)
upji: lenut usankanaj 'we (cocl) cannot speak' i.e. we cannot but speak (weable-neg(nf) we-speak-neg(derv).

5.22 UNPRODUCTIVE VERB MARKERS

The unproductive secondary verb markers are:

-ql iterative

rdpl + en, rdpl + or descriptive

-i

-almor 'appear'

-sy abstract

-sr

(?)

5.221 Reversive: The suffix -ql reverses the meaning of the primary theme. It is used mainly with themes referring to weighing, closing, covering, etc. Thus -blp 'have cord tied around the neck' gives -lbp:pl 'untie cord from around neck, undress', -bab 'close' gives -babul 'open', and -film 'be turned over' gives -filmp 'uncover' (compare -filmen 'cover')

A number of other forms also use the reverse. In these cases, however, the semantic link between the primary and the secondary themes is not always clear. For example, -bat 'wear of God' gives -batul 'remove a curse' and -pa 'trim stick with a blade' gives -palpl 'separate out from a group of similar objects'.

5.222 Iterative: In a finite number of instances, but by no means universally, a secondary derivative can be formed by suffixing either -en or -or to a reduplicated primary theme. These forms usually have some type of durative, repetitive, or emphatic meaning which is only partially predictable from the root. Those taking -en are usually transitive; those taking -or are usually intransitive.

From -kab 'wait for s.o.' we have -kabben 'yearn, long for', from -lsb talk, scandalsize, we have -blabbar 'be crazy'. The verb -tey 'run' can take either the -en or the -or: -tetyen 'cause to run (hard and continuously)', -tetyer 'run from left to right, misdirect'.

5.223 Verbalizer: The suffix -st, wherever it appears, always defines a theme as being a verb. With one semantic realm the use of the verbalizer is entirely productive. A verb meaning 'to gather or harvest a fruit, vegetable, fish, etc. in large quantities (usually for commercial purposes)' can be formed by suffixing -st to the name of the produce in question. The noun bana (ba-in) 'type of small fish' gives -naste 'to catch bone with a special type of net'; funana (pl. kunana) 'banana' gives -nanaet 'gather lots of bananas' etc.

Of the other themes that take the verbalizer there are a fair number that refer to body features; the remaining themes are, however, quite diverse in meaning. Examples: -rundet 'have lots of hair' from barund (ba-in) 'rund' translated by Weiss as: 'poil sur la poitrine'; -kontet 'have scabs' from kakont 'scab'; -kar 'be ashly' as in the expression:

singas sikorekore 'the food tastes of ashes' from fakor (fa-in) 'ashes', etc.

In one recorded instance a noun class marker is incorporated into the derived verb stem. The noun far (surf-a-r) takes -st to form -farst 'be s.o. who can hear children'.

afarsteser 'she is barren' (she-hear-hab-neg)

54
A GRAMMAR OF DIOLA-FOGNY

All other constructions use the -u-yl alternates.

ponalapy  'he will return from'
yboju ja  'if you have from'
boljaner dagar  'having returned from Dakar'
(nor balaju:it dagar  'not having returned from Dakar') etc.

5.2.16 Directive: When used in verb constructions the suffix -ym (already seen as a noun derivative (5.1.13)) relates the verb directly with a stated complement. Depending on the context the relationship can be glossed as 'by way of', 'because of', or 'by means of'.

A number of examples contrasting the presence of -ym with its absence should make its function clear.

For the verb -yur 'go out from (sortir)' we have:

yur ba  'go out from there'
yur yam  'go out via that way'

where the latter can be rephrased by substituting the preposition bajam 'by way of' (9.4.16) for the -ym:

eyur bajam ba  'go out via that way'

Other examples would be: -riben 'follow in':

ponji bennuj uja: maw wula  'I will follow (him) by means of his tracks'

which contrasts with:

panijiben uja: maw wula  'I will follow his tracks'

The former states that the action of the verb (-riben) will be accomplished solely by means of the complement. The latter is not nearly so precise.

Again: -ilib 'make slices in':

libum di ekosorcy  'cut starting with the neck (by way of)'

in contrast to:

libum di ekosorcy  'cut at the neck'

The directive finds common use in indicating that the verbal action or state has resulted from, or is caused by, some antecedent event usually represented by a preverbal pronoun (mo or yo, cf. 8(t-1)). Hence the gloss 'because of':

aw inje mo njomunjum  'because of this (what you said did) I like you'

(81+ maj+ ym+m+m, I-like-dir-you-SS)

A rather specialized use of -ym appears in comparative phrases using -dag 'be more' (11.142) where what is being compared precedes:

aw nufalen barn inje jifajum  'you are old, but I am more so'

Compare:

inje ifajikafalen aw  'I am older than you'

5.2.17 The suffix -elli, or -elii, always has the sense 'be early'.

finki panyweli  'this year you'll cultivate early'.

5.2.18 Negative: The suffix -eri or -erii forms a negative. It is used primarily with infinitives, most finite constructions taking the negative inflectional marker instead.

Examples: -baj 'have' gives -bajeri 'not to have, be in mourning'; -lok 'start cooking' gives -lokari 'refuse to cook', etc.

The infinite does, occasionally, find use in finite verb phrases:

takumbykoti  'don't be bad' (neg(imper)+ emph+you(pl)+good+neg)
uplilmut usokaten  'we (excl) cannot speak i.e. we cannot be heard
  (weable-neg(nf) we-speak-neg(dorv).

5.2.22 Unproductive Verb Markers

The unproductive secondary verb markers are:

-yl  reversible
rdpl + en, rdpl + ər  iterative
-ət  verbalizer
-ə  descriptive
-əlmin  'appear'
-əy  abstract
-ər  (?)

5.2.23 Reversible: The suffix -yl reverses the meaning of the primary theme. It is used mainly with themes referring to tearing, closing, covering, etc. Thus -buj 'have cord tied around the neck' gives -lo:plj 'untie cord from around neck, undress'; -bab 'close' gives -babel 'open', and -fin 'be turned over' gives -finyl 'uncover' (compare -fimay 'cover')

A number of other forms also use the reversible. In these cases, however, the semantic link between the primary and the secondary themes is not always clear. For example, -bat 'sweat by God' gives -batul 'remove a curse' and -naj 'trim stick with a blade' gives -najyl 'separate out from a group of similar objects'.

5.2.24 Iterative: In a fair number of instances, but by no means universally, a secondary derivative can be formed by suffixing either -en or -ər to a reduplicated primary theme. These forms usually have some type of durative, repetitive, or emphatic meaning which is only partially predictable from the root. Those taking -en are usually transitive; those taking -ər are usually intransitive.

From -leb 'wait for so.' we have -lekolob 'yearn, long for', from -lab talk, scandalize', we have -labor 'be crazy'. The verb -tay 'run' can take either the -en or -ər: -ttendar 'to run (hard and continuously)', -ttendaro 'run from left to right, disentangle'.

5.2.25 Verbalizer: The suffix -et, wherever it appears, always defines a theme as being a verb. With one semantic realm the use of the verbalizer is entirely productive. A verb meaning 'to gather or harvest a fruit, vegetable, fish, etc. in large quantities (usually for commercial purposes)' can be formed by suffixing -et to the name of the produce in question. The noun barn (ba:+ na) 'type of small fish' gives -nete 'to catch bone with a special type of net'; funan (pl. konuna) 'banana' gives -neten 'gather lots of bananas', etc.

Of the other themes that take the verbalizer there are a fair number that refer to bodily features; the remaining themes are, however, quite diverse in meaning. Examples: -runet 'have lots of body hair' from barun (ba:+ rund) translated by Weiss as: 'pouil sur la poitrine'; konnet 'have scars from kakont: 'scab'; akeet 'be ash' as in the expression: 'sinaas sikorokoreet 'the food tastes of ashes' from fakor (fa:+ koe) 'ashes'; etc.

In one recorded instance a noun class marker is incorporated into the derived verb stem. The noun for (-cu:+ar) takes -et to form -faret 'be so, who can bear children':

afattekret  'she is barren' (she-bear-hab-neg)