

The ‘absolute’ or *-ca/-sa* verb extension in two Daju languages: Shatt Damam (Sudan) and Daju Sila (Chad)

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1 Introduction

The Daju languages are spoken in central Africa and cover parts of Chad, Sudan and South Sudan. Some of them (Lagowa, Laggori, Shatt) are more precisely located in the region of the Nuba Mountains (see MAP 1, p. 310). According to Greenberg (1963), the whole group belongs to the Eastern Sudanic branch of his Nilo-Saharan phylum.

Most, if not all, Daju languages are characterised by extension markers of the form *-ca/-sa*; these are obviously cognates and share a common involvement in the argument structure of the verb predicate. Beyond this common aspect however, the behaviour and values of the *-ca/-sa* forms show, in different languages, marked dissimilarities that clearly support the idea of a historical contrast between ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ Daju languages previously established on the evidence of noun morphology.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the properties of the *-ca/-sa* verb extension in ‘Eastern’ versus ‘Western’ languages. SECTION 2 will first comment on this historical contrast. SECTION 3 summarises the main verbal conjugations. SECTION 4 gives an overview of the verbal paradigms and extensions throughout the Daju languages and comments on the label ‘absolute’. SECTIONS 5 and 6 concern Shatt Damam and Laggori, two ‘Eastern’ languages, respectively, while SECTIONS 7 and 8 address two ‘Western’ languages, Daju Sila and Daju Eref. SECTION 9 summarises the preceding sections in a diachronic perspective. Finally, the conclusion (SECTION 10) reviews two earlier works in the light of the present results.¹

¹ I am particularly indebted to both Gertrud Schneider-Blum and Mary Chambers for the valuable comments they made on the form and the content of an earlier version of this paper.

In general, the emphasis is on Shatt Damam and Daju Sila data collected by myself on the occasion of two unplanned fieldworks without any further follow-up.²

2 ‘Eastern’ vs. ‘Western’ Daju

The distinction between ‘Eastern’ (Shatt and Liguri – or Laggori) and ‘Western’ Daju (Lagowa, Baygo, Nyalgulgule and other languages towards the West; see MAP 1) was first introduced by Stevenson (1956-57: (40)112; see also Tucker & Bryan 1966: 231), who essentially relied on differences in the noun morphology.³



MAP 1: Daju languages: approximate location

² ‘Western’ Daju Sila (N’Djaména/Abéché, Chad, 1995) and ‘Eastern’ Shatt Damam (Khartoum, Sudan, 2008). The improvised conditions of these two fieldwork periods explain the limited and incomplete nature of the data. I hereby express my gratitude to the people who assisted me in this research: Messrs Hassan Yacine, Mahamat Annour, Ousman Abd-el-Kerim (in N’Djaména), Youssouf Souleyman, Zakaria Adam and Ahmat Djime (in Abéché) for Daju Sila, and Messrs Saddam Abu Kalam Saleh Belendiya and Ibrahim ’Alleel Djeily Kaafi for Shatt Damam (in Khartoum).

³ The ‘Eastern/Western’ distinction was later confirmed by lexicostatistics (Thelwall 1981a, 1981b).

	‘Eastern’ Daju				‘Western’ Daju				ENGL. GLOSS
	LAGGORI	SHATT DAMAM (SIMPLE > MODIFIED)			LAGOWA	NYALA	SILA	EREF	
SG/PL	<i>ux, wuxe</i> / <i>uxi, uxu</i>	<i>ùx</i> / <i>ùxù</i>	>	<i>ùxɿ</i> / <i>ùxúggɿ</i>	<i>wure, worre</i> / <i>wuruke</i>	<i>wəre</i> / (<i>boŋje</i>)	<i>wùrè</i> / <i>wúrgè</i>	<i>ùré</i> / <i>úrgé</i>	‘woman, wife’
SG/PL	<i>au</i>	<i>òw / òttà</i>	>	<i>óodɿ / òttáɿ</i>	<i>ote / ’ottake</i>	<i>ode</i>	<i>òdè / òttígè</i>	<i>òdé / óttigé</i>	‘place’
SG	<i>maalasə</i>	<i>màlàs</i>	>	<i>/ málástɿ</i>	<i>malashte</i>	<i>malafte</i>	<i>málástè</i>		‘spear’
SG/PL	<i>moxta</i> / <i>moxtu</i>	<i>mòxtà</i> / <i>mòxtù</i>	>	<i>mòxtánɿ</i> / <i>mòxtúggɿ</i>	<i>mortane</i> / <i>mortuke</i>	<i>murtane</i> / <i>murtuge</i>	<i>múrtè(-ne)</i> / <i>mùrtigé</i>	<i>múrtiné</i> / <i>mòrtígè</i>	‘horse’

TABLE 1: Daju nouns compared (source: Boyeldieu 2009)

	‘Eastern’ Daju		‘Western’ Daju	
	LAGGORÍ	SHATT D.	SILA	EREF
<i>Absolute</i>	IPF <i>-ccV-</i> / PF <i>-sV-</i>	IPF <i>-ca-</i> / PF <i>-sa-</i>	IPF <i>-ca-</i> / PF <i>-sa-</i>	IPF <i>-ca-</i> / PF <i>-sa-</i>
<i>Intensive</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-TV-</i>	<i>-TV-</i>	<i>-d-</i>
Medio-passive	<i>-ní</i>	SG <i>-wa</i> / PL <i>-n-</i>	SG <i>-wa</i> / PL <i>-in-</i>	Middle voice <i>-(u)wa-</i> / Reflexive <i>-in-</i>
Factitive			SG <i>-nni</i> / PL <i>-nnVh-</i>	
Semelfactive			IPF <i>-Tas-</i> / PF <i>-as-</i>	IPF <i>-dAs-</i> / PF <i>-As-</i>
Transitive (?)	<i>-dij</i> (PF only)	IPF <i>-dij</i> / PF <i>-ij*</i>		
Benefactive	<i>-nès</i>			
Causative	<i>-tə</i>			
Ventive	<i>-en</i>			
Andative	<i>-es</i>			

TABLE 3: Daju languages: verbal extensions compared (source: Boyeldieu & Manfredi 2014)

*Limited examples; IPF *-dij* = intensive + transitive?

- N.B. i.) Extensions may be more or less lexicalised, according to their identity and according to the language.
 ii.) At least intensive + absolute and intensive + medio-passive may combine, in these orders.

Evidence is briefly illustrated in TABLE 1 (p. 311): Shatt Damam systematically displays two complementary forms of the noun. The simple form is used when the noun is not modified by any grammatical, lexical or clausal (relative) element. This simple form is similar to the only form observed in Laggori. On the other hand, the modified form integrates a former, now stacked agreement (originally sg. *-ni*, *-i*, *-Si*, or *-Tɪ* vs. pl. *-Kɪ*), playing the role of a connective in the context of a complex noun phrase. Now, this modified form is similar to the only forms, syntactically modified or not, that are observed in the ‘Western’ languages, such as Lagowa, Nyala, Sila and Eref. In other words, the latter have commonly innovated in generalising a noun form that is restricted to specific syntactic contexts in the ‘Eastern’ language, Shatt Damam.⁴

3 Daju verbal conjugations

Simple verb conjugations (i.e., excluding auxiliary or external markers) are summarised in TABLE 2. The main conjugations are represented by imperfective and perfective; these two paradigms will be retained here for illustration purposes, occasionally completed by imperative forms.

<i>‘Eastern’ Daju</i>		<i>‘Western’ Daju</i>	
LAGGORI	SHATT D.	SILA	EREF
Imperfective	Imperfective	Imperfective	Form I
Perfective	Perfective	Perfective	Form II
		Prospective	
	Optative	Necessary	Intentional
Imperative	Imperative	Imperative	Imperative

TABLE 2: Simple verb conjugations (source: Boyeldieu & Manfredi 2014)

4 Daju verbal extensions and the absolute form

TABLE 3 (p. 311) gives an overview of the verbal extensions that can be observed in a sample of representative Daju languages. While some of them are restricted to certain (groups of) languages, intensive, absolute and medio-passive are common to all of them and may be assigned to a historical system common to all Daju languages.

⁴ According to Stevenson (1964: 97), Liguri requires ‘concord markers’ similar to those of Shatt (Tebaldia). However, Alamin (2006: 21-23) does not say anything concerning such markers in Laggori. For the time being, the actual behaviour of Liguri/Laggori remains dubious.

While the present paper deals primarily with the absolute forms, intensive forms, which are in various ways connected with the former, will also be considered. The term ‘intensive’ usually refers to the process (repetitive, frequentative) or to the participants (plurality of subjects or objects).

Lastly, the general label ‘absolute’ was adopted in Boyeldieu & Manfredi (2014) on the basis of this extension’s frequent interaction with the argument structure of the verbal predicate. However, as already mentioned above, the behaviour of the so-called absolute varies greatly according to languages and calls for a more detailed analysis that precisely constitutes the aim of this paper.

5 Shatt Damam (‘Eastern’ Daju)

5.1 Morphology

In Shatt Damam, the absolute extension appears under the complementary forms *-c-/a* and *-c-/e* in the imperfective, *-s-/a*, *-z-/a*, *-s-/e* and *-z-/e* in the perfective and *-si* and *-zi* in the imperative (TABLES 4-6 and examples 1-5).

	IMPERFECTIVE (<i>-INTS</i> ?)	IMPERFECTIVE- <i>ABS</i>	PERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE - <i>ABS</i>
SN/PN	<i>ggáwè</i>	<i>ggáwà-cà</i>	<i>ggàw</i>	<i>ggáw-zà</i>
S1	<i>àngáwè</i>	<i>àngáwà-cà</i>	<i>kàngàw</i>	<i>kàngáw-zà</i>
S2	<i>ngáwè</i>	<i>ngáwà-cà</i>	<i>kíngàw</i>	<i>kìngáw-zà</i>
S3M	<i>mìggáwè</i>	<i>mìggáwà-cà</i>	<i>míggàw</i>	<i>mìggáw-zà</i>
S3F	<i>cìggáwè</i>	<i>cìggáwà-cà</i>	<i>cíggàw</i>	<i>cìggáw-zà</i>
S3N	<i>ñìggáwè</i>	<i>ñìggáwà-cà</i>	<i>níggàw</i>	<i>ñìggáw-zà</i>
P1EXCL	<i>àngáwè-d-ik</i>	<i>àngáwè-c-ik</i>	<i>kàngáw-ik</i>	<i>kàngáw-z-ik</i>
P1INCL	<i>ggáwè-d-ik</i>	<i>ggáwè-c-ik</i>	<i>gáw-ik</i>	<i>gáw-z-ik</i>
P2	<i>ngáwà-d-àṅ</i>	<i>ngáwà-c-àṅ</i>	<i>kìngáw-àṅ</i>	<i>kìngáw-z-àṅ</i>
P3	<i>sìggáwè</i>	<i>sìggáwà-cà</i>	<i>síggàw</i>	<i>sìggáw-zà</i>
	IMPERATIVE	IMPERATIVE- <i>ABS</i>		
S2	<i>gáwà</i>	<i>gáw-zi</i>		
P1	<i>àngáwà</i>	<i>àngáw-zi</i>		
P2	<i>ngáwà</i>	<i>ngáw-zi</i> (<i>ṅgáw-zi</i> ?)		

TABLE 4: Shatt Damam *gàw* ‘to throw’

	IMPERFECTIVE (-INTS ?)	IMPERFECTIVE -ABS	PERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE -ABS
SN/PN	<i>pàxè</i>	<i>pàxá-cà</i>	<i>kàbàx</i>	<i>kàbáx-sà</i>
S1	<i>àbáxè</i>	<i>àbáxà-cà</i>	<i>kàbàx</i>	<i>kàbáx-sà</i>
S2	<i>báxè</i>	<i>báxà-cà</i>	<i>kìbàx</i>	<i>kìbáx-sà</i>
S3M	<i>mìbáxè</i>	<i>mìbáxà-cà</i>	<i>máábàx</i>	<i>mààbáx-sà</i>
S3F	<i>cìbáxè</i>	<i>cìbáxà-cà</i>	<i>cáábàx</i>	<i>cààbáx-sà</i>
S3N	<i>ɲìbáxè</i>	<i>ɲìbáxà-cà</i>	<i>ɲáábàx</i>	<i>ɲààbáx-sà</i>
P1EXCL	<i>àbáxè-d-ik</i>	<i>àbáxè-c-ik</i>	<i>kàbáx-ik</i>	<i>kàbáx-s-ik</i>
P1INCL	<i>pàxé-d-ik</i>	<i>pàxé-c-ik</i>	<i>kìbáx-ik</i>	<i>kìbáx-s-ik</i>
P2	<i>báxà-d-àŋ</i>	<i>báxà-c-àŋ</i>	<i>kìbáx-àŋ</i>	<i>kìbáx-s-àŋ</i>
P3	<i>sìbáxè</i>	<i>sìbáxà-cà</i>	<i>sáábàx</i>	<i>sààbáx-sà</i>
	IMPERATIVE	IMPERATIVE-ABS		
S2	<i>pàxà</i>	<i>pàx-sì</i>		
P1	<i>àbáxà</i>	<i>àbáx-sì</i>		
P2	<i>báxà</i>	<i>báx-sì</i>		

TABLE 5: Shatt Damam *pàxàt* ‘to kill’

Concerning the ‘bare’ imperfective paradigm, it should be noted that the plural forms P1EXCL, P1INCL and P2 necessarily integrate an element *-d-* that looks like an intensive marker *-d-*. The truth of this is difficult to demonstrate since there is otherwise no clear instance of a full intensive paradigm in the imperfective, a combination that seems to be extremely rare, if not excluded.⁵ However, it should be emphasised that this presumed *-d-* extension is not preserved in the absolute paradigm, where it is replaced by the absolute marker *-c-* (TABLES 4 and 5).

TABLE 6 shows that, in the perfective at least, the two extensions intensive and absolute may combine, in this order. In that particular case, however, the absolute marker does not appear as *-s-/a*, *-z-/a* but as *-c-/a*, like in the imperfective (see also ex. (1b) and (2b)).

⁵ A similar situation can be observed in Daju Sila (SECTION 7.1).

	IMPERFECTIVE (IPF.- <i>INTS</i> ?)	IPF.- <i>ABS</i>	(IPF.- <i>INTS-ABS</i> ?)	
SN/PN	<i>lànɣè</i>		<i>lànɣá-cà</i>	
S1	<i>àlànɣè</i>	?		
S3M	<i>mìlànɣè</i>		<i>mìlànɣà-cà</i> (<i>mìlànɣ-dì-cà</i> ?) ⁶	
P3	<i>sìlànɣè</i>			
	PERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE - <i>INTS</i>	PERFECTIVE - <i>ABS</i>	PERFECTIVE- <i>INTS</i> - <i>ABS</i>
SN/PN	<i>kàlànɣ</i>	<i>kàlànɣ-dì</i>	<i>kàlànɣ-zà</i>	<i>kàlànɣ-dì-cà</i>
S1	<i>kàlànɣ</i>	<i>kàlànɣ-dì</i>	<i>kàlànɣ-zà</i>	<i>kàlànɣ-dì-cà</i>
S3M	<i>màálànɣ</i>	<i>mààlànɣ-dì</i>	<i>mààlànɣ-zà</i>	<i>mààlànɣ-dì-cà</i>
P3	<i>sáálànɣ</i>		<i>sààlànɣ-zà</i>	<i>sààlànɣ-dì-cà</i>
	IMPERATIVE	IMPERATIVE - <i>INTS</i>	IMPERATIVE - <i>ABS</i>	IMPERATIVE- <i>INTS</i> - <i>ABS</i>
S2	<i>lànɣà</i>		<i>lànɣ-zì</i>	
P1	<i>àlànɣà</i>	?	<i>àlànɣ-zì</i>	?
P2	<i>lànɣà</i>		<i>lànɣ-zì</i>	

TABLE 6: Shatt Damam *lànɣàt* ‘to sing’

5.2 Property

As shown in examples (1)-(5), the absolute verb form is limited to transitive verbs and strictly incompatible with an overt direct object of the verbal predicate.⁷

Shatt D. *wòràt* ‘sweep’

- (1) a. *càwór-tì* *bà*
 S3F.PF.sweep-*INTS* house
 ‘she has swept the house’
- b. *càwór-tì-cà*
 S3F.PF.sweep-*INTS-ABS*
 ‘she has swept’

⁶ Both the form and its presence in an imperfective paradigm are uncertain.

⁷ As illustrated below, examples of the incompatibility with an object have been explicitly given for nouns only. However, the data also show no example of a personal pronoun as object of an absolute verb form.

- c. **càwór-tì-cà* *bà*
 *S3F.PF.sweep-INTS.ABS house
 ‘she has swept the house’

Shatt D. *ḡàḡàt* ‘buy’

- (2) a. *kìḡàḡ* *ḡìl* *kìréḡ*
 S2.buy.PF eggs how_many?
 ‘how many eggs did you (sg.) buy?’
- b. *wèdè* *ḡàḡ-zì* (*~ ḡàḡ-dí-cì*)
 S2.go.IMP S2.buy.IMP-ABS S2.buy.IMP-INTS-ABS
 ‘go buy (things), go shopping!’

Shatt D. *dèèt* ‘suck (up), suckle’

- (3) a. *píxì* *pííbì-ndìḡ* *dèèt* *mmèm*
 child child-ACT S3.IPF.suckle milk
 ‘the baby is suckling the milk’
- b. *píxì* *pííbì-ndìḡ* *dèèt* *kídíc*
 child child-ACT S3.IPF.suckle breast
 ‘the baby is suckling (at) the breast’
- c. *píxì* *pííbì-ndìḡ* *dèé-cè*
 child child-ACT S3.IPF.suckle-ABS
 ‘the baby is suckling’

Shatt D. *zìb* ‘sow in holes’

- (4) a. *mìḡzìbì* *kùḡ*
 S3M.PF.sow sorghum
 ‘he sowed/has sown the sorghum (in holes)’
- b. *mìḡzìb-sè*
 S3M.PF.sow-ABS
 ‘he sowed/has sown (in holes)’

Shatt D. *bìḡàt* ‘sit on (egg), brood’

- (5) a. *kùxúk-àndìḡ* *bìḡò* *ḡìl*
 hen-ACT IPF.brood eggs
 ‘the hen is sitting on/is brooding on eggs’

- b. *kùxúk-àndîŋ* *ḃîŋá-cà*
 hen-ACT IPF.brood-ABS
 ‘the hen is sitting on (eggs)/is brooding’
- c. *kùxúk* *kàḃîŋ* *gîl*
 hen PF.brood eggs
 ‘the hen has sat on/has brooded on eggs’
- d. *kùxúk* *kàḃîŋ-zà*
 hen PF.brood-ABS
 ‘the hen has sat on (eggs)/has brooded’

6 Laggori (‘Eastern’ Daju)

As a complement to the situation of Shatt Damam, let us now mention observations made by two authors concerning another ‘Eastern’ Daju language, Laggori.

As illustrated in TABLE 7, Alamin (2013: 12-16) distinguishes four aspects in the Laggori verb. Three of them have complementary markers according to the transitive/intransitive nature of the verb:

	TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE
IMPERFECTIVE	<i>-e</i>	<i>-i</i>
PERFECTIVE	<i>-diŋ</i>	<i>-za</i>
HABITUAL	<i>-i/y</i>	<i>-ca</i>
PROGRESSIVE		<i>-o</i>

TABLE 7: Laggori verb aspects (after Alamin 2013)

For his part, Manfredi (ms.) comments on some of the same suffixes in the following way:

– *Imperfective*: “[...] the suffix *-ccV* (*-ccà*, *-ccì*, *-ccə*) [...] seems to mark an ‘absolute’ [...] state of imperfective verbs lacking of an overt object argument in contrast with unmarked imperfective verbs entailing an overt object argument.”

– *Perfective*: “The role of the suffixes *-sV* [*-sa*, *-za*, *-sì*] and *-ding* is still unclear to me, but they are surely related to some form of transitivity/argument marking. [...] It should be remarked that *-sV* marked verbs are relatively rare and they occur only without overt object [...]. *-ding*, on its part, often occurs before pronominal objects [...].”

Beyond the way they may organise or comment on the facts, both sources confirm the crucial link that has been established between the Laggori markers *-ca/-sa/-za* and the absence of an overt object of the verb predicate.

In addition, the above suspected incompatibility between imperfective and intensive seems to be confirmed by the way Alamin (2013: 20) comments on what she calls a ‘pluractional’ form: “The pluractional in Laggori is expressed by the infix /t/ and it mainly concentrates on the repetition of an action. It occurs between the verb root and the perfective aspect marker [...]”⁸

7 Daju Sila (‘Western’ Daju)

7.1 Morphology

As illustrated in TABLES 8-9, what I preferably call a *-ca/-sa* extension in the case of Daju Sila is realised as *-c-/a/i/e* in the imperfective, and as *-sa/i* in the perfective.⁹

Note that, just as in Shatt Damam (SECTION 5.1, TABLES 4-5), the bare imperfective forms P1D.EXCL, P1INCL and P2 integrate a likely extension *-d-/i/e* that might represent the trace of a former intensive marker, although the free intensive forms seem (today at least) to be limited to the perfective aspect (TABLES 9-10 and 13).

TABLES 9-10 also show, in all plural forms of the perfective, a situation of double suffixation by *-ca/-sa* that is realised as *si-c-/i/e*, possibly varying with *si-s-/i/e*. This combination also affects the imperative P2 in TABLE 10.

	IMPERFECTIVE (<i>-INTS</i> ?)	IMPERFECTIVE <i>-ca/-sa</i>	PERFECTIVE	IMPERATIVE (<i>-ca/-sa</i> ?)
S1	<i>ànoóro</i>	<i>ànoóro-cá</i>	<i>kànoóri</i>	–
S2	<i>inoóro</i>	<i>inoóro-cá</i>	<i>kinóori</i>	<i>òrà</i>
S3/SN	<i>òró</i>	<i>òrà-cá</i>	<i>kònòrì</i>	–
P1D.EXCL	<i>òrí-dì</i>	<i>òrí-ci</i>	<i>kònòrì</i>	–
P1INCL	<i>òrí-dé</i>	<i>òrí-cé</i>	<i>kònòré</i>	–
P2	<i>inoóri-d-áŋ</i>	<i>inoóri-c-áŋ</i>	<i>kinóoràŋ</i>	<i>òrì-c-inná</i>
P3/PN	<i>òrà</i>	<i>òrì-c-íŋ</i>	<i>kònòrà</i>	–

TABLE 8: Daju Sila *òràkè* ‘to see’

⁸ Manfredi (ms.), on his side, does not mention any kind of intensive or pluractional verb form.

⁹ The situation of the imperative is not clear: S2 is apparently *-sà* (TABLES 9-10) or *-c-àt* (TABLE 13!?), and P2 *-c-inná* (TABLES 8-9 and 13).

	IMPERFECTIVE	IPF.- <i>ca/-sa</i>	PF.- <i>ca/-sa</i> (+ <i>-ca/-sa</i> ?)	PF.- <i>INTS</i>
S1		<i>àlànà-cá</i>	<i>kàlàn-sà</i>	<i>kàlàn-dì</i>
S2		<i>ìlànà-cá</i>	<i>kìlàn-sà</i>	<i>kìlàn-dì</i>
S3/SN	<i>lànɛ́</i>	<i>lànà-cá</i>	<i>kàlàn-sà</i>	<i>kàlàn-dí</i>
P1D.EXCL		<i>làní-cì</i>	<i>kàlàn-sí-cì</i>	<i>kàlàn-dì</i>
P1INCL		<i>làní-cé</i>	<i>kàlàn-sí-cé</i>	<i>kàlàn-dé</i>
P2		<i>ìlànì-c-án</i>	<i>kìlàn-sì-c-án</i>	<i>kìlàn-d-àn</i>
P3/PN		<i>lànì-c-ín</i>	<i>kàlàn-sì-c-ín</i>	<i>kàlàn-dà</i>
IMPERATIVE- <i>ca/-sa</i>				
S2		<i>làn-sà</i>		
P2		<i>lànì-c-inná</i>		

TABLE 9: Daju Sila *lànàkè* ‘to sing’

	IMPERFECTIVE	IPF.- <i>ca/-sa</i>	PERFECTIVE- <i>ca/-sa</i> (+ <i>-ca/-sa</i> ?)	PERFECTIVE - <i>INTS</i>
S1		<i>ásàà-cá</i>	<i>kàsáy-sà</i>	<i>kàsáy-dì</i>
S2		<i>ísàà-cá</i>	<i>kìsáy-sà</i>	<i>kìsáy-dì</i>
S3/SN	<i>sàyé</i>	<i>sàà-cá</i>	<i>kàsày-sà</i>	<i>kàsày-dí</i>
P1D.EXCL		<i>sáá-cì</i>	<i>kàsày-sí-cì</i> ~ <i>kàsày-sí-sì</i>	<i>kàsáy-dì</i>
P1INCL		<i>sáá-cé</i>	<i>kàsày-sí-cé</i> ~ <i>kàsày-sí-sé</i>	<i>kàsáy-dé</i>
P2		<i>ísàà-c-án</i>	<i>kìsáy-sì-c-án</i> ~ <i>kìsáy-sì-s-án</i>	<i>kìsáy-d-án</i>
P3/PN		<i>sàà-c-ín</i>	<i>kàsày-sì-c-ín</i> ~ <i>kàsày-sì-s-ín</i>	<i>kàsày-dà</i>
IMPERATIVE- <i>ca/-sa</i> (+ <i>-ca/-sa</i> ?)				
S2		<i>sày-sà</i>		
P2		<i>sày-sí-c-inà</i> ~ <i>sày-sí-s-inà</i>		

TABLE 10: Daju Sila *sààkè* ~ *sàygè* ‘to creep (plant); to graze (cattle)’

Furthermore, a similar *-ca/-sa* marking of all plural forms may be observed in imperfective paradigms in which singular forms are unmarked (TABLE 11).

As shown in TABLE 12, this marking tends to replace the (intensive?) extension *-d-/i/e* that is usually displayed in P1D.EXCL, P1INCL and P2 (e.g., in TABLES 8 and 14: *dèlèkè*, *gèfèkè*).

	IPF.(- <i>ca/-sa</i>)	IPF. <i>-ca/-sa</i>	PERFECTIVE	IMPERATIVE
S1	<i>àndágè</i>		<i>kàndág</i>	–
S2	<i>ìndágè</i>		<i>kìndág</i>	<i>ndàgà</i>
S3/SN	<i>ndàgé</i>	<i>ndàgà-cá</i>	<i>kàndàg</i>	–
P1D.EXCL	<i>ndàgí-cì</i>		<i>kàndágì</i>	–
P1INCL	<i>ndàgí-cé</i>		<i>kàndàgé</i>	–
P2	<i>ìndàgì-c-áj</i>		<i>kìndàgàj</i>	<i>ndágánà</i>
P3/PN	<i>ndàgì-c-íj</i>	<i>ndàgì-c-íj</i>	<i>kàndàkkà</i>	–

TABLE 11: Daju Sila *ndàgàkè* ‘to chop’

	IMPERFECTIVE(- <i>ca/-sa</i>)	PERFECTIVE	IMPERATIVE
S1	<i>àbàrrè</i>	<i>kàbàrrì</i>	–
S2	<i>ìbàrrè</i>	<i>kìbàrrì</i>	<i>bàrrá</i>
S3/SN	<i>bàrré</i>	<i>kàbàrrì</i>	–
P1D.EXCL	<i>bàrrí-cì</i> (* <i>bàrrí-dì</i>)	<i>kàbàrrì</i>	–
P1INCL	<i>bàrrí-cé</i> (* <i>bàrrí-dé</i>)	<i>kàbàrré</i>	–
P2	<i>ìbàrrì-c-áj</i> (* <i>ìbàrrì-d-áj</i>)	<i>kìbàrràj</i>	<i>bàrrìnà</i>
P3/PN	<i>bàrrì-c-íj</i>	<i>kàbàrrá</i>	–

TABLE 12: Daju Sila *bàrràkè* ‘spend the evening’

Finally, the intensive and *-ca/-sa* may combine, in this order. As in Shatt Damam (TABLE 6 and examples (1b) and (2b)), the perfective *-ca/-sa* is realised as *-c-/a/i/e* in this particular case:

	‘to season’		‘to lie’	
	IPF.(- <i>INTS</i> ?)	(*IPF.- <i>INTS</i> ?)	IPF. <i>-ca/-sa</i>	(*IPF.- <i>INTS -ca/-sa</i> ?)
S1	<i>àbàlgè</i>		<i>àbàlgà-cá</i>	
S2	<i>ìbàlgè</i>		<i>ìbàlgà-cá</i>	
S3/SN	<i>bàlgé</i>		<i>bàlgà-cá</i>	
P1D.EXCL	<i>bàlgí-dì</i>	*?	<i>bàlgí-cì</i>	*?
P1INCL	<i>bàlgí-dé</i>		<i>bàlgí-cé</i>	
P2	<i>ìbàlgí-d-àj</i>		<i>ìbàlgí-c-áj</i>	
P3/PN	<i>bàlgá</i>		<i>bàlgí-c-íj</i>	

TO BE CONTINUED

	PF.	PF.-INTS (-ca/-sa ?)	PF.-ca/-sa	PF.-INTS-ca/-sa
S1	<i>kàbálgì</i>	<i>kàbálgì-dì</i>		<i>kàbálgì-dì-cá</i>
S2	<i>kìbálgì</i>			<i>kìbálgì-dì-cá</i>
S3/SN	<i>kàbàlgí</i>	<i>kàbàlgí-dì</i>		<i>kàbàlgí-dì-cá</i>
P1D.EXCL	<i>kàbálgì</i>		?	<i>kàbàlgí-dí-cì</i>
P1INCL	<i>kàbálgé</i>			<i>kàbàlgí-dí-cé</i>
P2	<i>kìbálgàŋ</i>			<i>kìbálgì-dì-cá-ŋ</i>
P3/PN	<i>kàbàlgá</i>	<i>kàbàlgí-dì-c-íŋ</i> (~ <i>kàbàlgí-dà</i> ?)		<i>kàbàlgí-dì-c-íŋ</i>
	IMPERATIVE	IMPERATIVE -	IMPERATIVE <i>-ca/-sa</i>	IMPERATIVE <i>-INTS-ca/-sa</i>
		<i>INTS</i>		
S2	<i>bàlgá</i>	?	<i>bàlgà-c-àt</i>	?
P2	<i>bálgánà</i>		<i>bàlgì-c-inná</i>	

TABLE 13: Daju Sila *bàlgàkè* ‘to season (dish); lie, tell a lie’

7.2 Properties

i.) The *-ca/-sa* verb forms are clearly incompatible with a personal object index on the verbal predicate (6)-(8):

D. Sila *màjàkè* ‘be jealous (of)’

(6) a. *céé màjá-cè*
 she S3.IPF.be_jealous-her
 ‘she envies her, she is jealous of her’

b. *céé màjà-cá*
 she S3.IPF.be_jealous-*ca/-sa*
 ‘she is jealous (in general), she behaves jealously’

c. **céé màjà-cá-cè*
 *she S3.IPF.be_jealous-*ca/-sa*-her
 ‘she is jealous of her’

D. Sila *dìgàkè* ‘strike’

(7) a. *sáá dìgá-má*
 they P3.IPF.strike-him
 ‘they strike him’

- b. *sáá* *dìgì-c-íŋ*
 they P3.IPF.strike-*ca/-sa*
 ‘they are striking’
- c. **sáá* *dìgì-c-íŋ-mà*
 *they P3.IPF.strike-*ca/-sa-him*
 ‘they are striking him’
- D. Sila *bàŋàkè* ‘call’
- (8) a. *bàŋà-kóskà*
 S2.IPF.call-us[EXCL]
 ‘call us (excl.)!’
- b. **bàŋ-sà-kóskà*
 *S2.IPF.call-*ca/-sa-us*[EXCL]
 ‘call us (excl.)!’
- D. Sila *wàŋàkè* ‘pass, surpass’
- (9) a. *kàwàŋ-ànáŋ*
 S3.PF.surpass-me
 ‘he has surpassed me’
- b. **kàwàŋ-s-ànáŋ*
 *S3.PF.surpass-*ca/-sa-me*
 ‘he has surpassed me’
- ii.) However, they may appear in the presence of a lexical object ((10)-(16), no example for perfective *-sa*, which is statistically rare; see SECTION 9.2):
- D. Sila *ùùdúygè* ‘plant, transplant’
- (10) *máá àŋgààl-ètkè* *úúdù-y-cá*
 he cassava-PL S3.IPF.plant-*ca/-sa*
 ‘he is planting cassava plants’ (Ndj.)¹⁰
- D. Sila *wààkè ~wàygè* ‘cultivate’
- (11) *máá wàà-cá* *kùŋjè*
 he S3.IPF.cultivate-*ca/-sa* millet-PL
 ‘he is cultivating millet’

¹⁰ The abbreviation ‘Ndj.’ indicates data collected in N’Djaména (see fn. 2 above) that generally reflect an SOV order with lexical objects.

- (12) D. Sila *bòṅàkè* ‘sit on (egg), brood’
ùkúrg-ánà (*wàlàà-gè*) *bòṅà-cá*
 hen-DEF (egg-PL) S3.IPF.sit_on-*ca/-sa*
 ‘the hen is brooding/sitting on eggs’
- (13) D. Sila *wèṅèkè* ‘look for’
máá wèṅé (~ *wèṅè-cá*) *fùgùdú-mà*
 he S3.IPF.look_for S3.IPF.look_for-*ca/-sa* knife-his
 ‘he is looking for his knife’
- (14) D. Sila *àskàkè* ‘tie’
wúr-g-énà *èwéégè* *àskâ* (~ *àskì-c-íṅ*)
 woman-PL-DEF wood.PL P3.IPF.tie P3.IPF.tie-*ca/-sa*
 ‘the women are tying the firewood’ (Ndj.)
- (15) D. Sila *dìgàkè* ‘strike’
máá cáácè *dìgá* (~ *dìgà-cá*)
 he child S3.IPF.strike S3.IPF.strike-*ca/-sa*
 ‘he is striking the child’
- (16) D. Sila *dèlèkè* ‘fall (down); set up (trap)’
 a. *máá dèlé* (~ *dèlè-cá*) *ìbìrìw-nè*
 he S3.IPF.set S3.IPF.set-*ca/-sa* trap-SG
 ‘he is setting a trap’
 b. *sáá dèlá* *ìbìrìw-nè*
 they P3.IPF.set trap-SG
 ‘they are setting a trap’
 c. *sáá dèlì-c-íṅ* *ìbìrìw-gè*
 they P3.IPF.set-*ca/-sa* trap-PL
 ‘they are setting traps’

iii.) In contrast with the virtual, potential (?) or near future values of the bare imperfective, several occurrences highlight the progressive, durative or habitual values resulting from the extension *-ca*.¹¹

¹¹ In short pages devoted to Dar Sila Daju, Jungrathmayr (1981) identifies a verbal extension *-aca* with ‘habit[u]ative-extratemporal value’, e.g., *lag-* ‘lay (eggs)’ > *lag-aca* ‘lay (eggs) habitually’, *ciṅ* ‘hear’ > *ciṅ-aca* [‘hear habitually’].

- (17) D. Sila *mìikè* ‘pound’
 a. *mìyé*
 S3.IPF.pound
 ‘s/he knows how to pound’
 b. *mì-cá*
 S3.IPF.pound-*ca/-sa*
 ‘s/he is pounding’
- (18) D. Sila *dâàkè* ‘wash’
 a. *dâàyé*
 S3.IPF.wash
 ‘s/he will wash’
 b. *dâà-cá*
 S3.IPF.wash-*ca/-sa*
 ‘s/he is washing’
- (19) D. Sila *wàṅàkè* ‘dance, play’
cóók-ánà wàṅì-c-íṅ
 children-DEF P3.IPF.play-*ca/-sa*
 ‘the children are playing/having fun’
- (20) D. Sila *làṅàkè* ‘sing’
máá kàl wèèdé làṅà-cá
 he when S3.IPF.walk S3.IPF.sing-*ca/-sa*
 ‘when he walks, he sings/he is singing while walking’
- (21) D. Sila *sùṅàkè* ‘sleep’
kìṅ-ánà kì wíídè sùṅì-c-íṅ
 people-DEF in night P3.IPF.sleep-*ca/-sa*
 ‘people sleep during the night’
- (22) D. Sila *yèrèkè* ‘think’
máá fáábà wàlá lègé yèrè-cá
 he thing NEG S3.IPF.say S3.IPF.think-*ca/-sa*
 ‘he does not say anything, he is thinking’

iv.) Finally, *-ca* tends to function as a complementary partner of *-INTS* in two aspects:

- As is also the case for a suspected former extension *-INTS*, *-ca* is often involved in the expression of the subject index plural forms of the ‘bare’ Imperfective paradigm (TABLES 11-12 above, and TABLE 14 below: *dèlèkè, gèfèkè*).
- The association Imperfective *-ca* / Perfective *-INTS* is characteristic of certain semantic specialisations in verbs as illustrated below (citation of S3 / P3 forms):

INFINITIVE	IMPERFECTIVE(- <i>ca</i>)	PERFECTIVE(- <i>INTS</i>)	ENGLISH GLOSS
<i>bàlgàkè</i>	<i>bàlgé</i> / <i>bàlgâ</i>	<i>kàbàlgí</i> / <i>kàbàlgâ</i>	‘season (dish)’
	<i>bàlgâ-cá</i> / <i>bàlgî-c-ín</i>	<i>kàbàlgí-dí</i> / <i>kàbàlgí-dí-c-ín</i> (~ <i>kàbàlgí-dâ</i> ?)	‘lie, tell a lie’
<i>dègèkè</i>	<i>dègé</i> / <i>dègâ</i>	<i>kèdèg</i> / <i>kèdèkkâ</i>	‘kick; chew (tobacco); become sour’
	<i>dègè-cá</i> / <i>dègî-c-ín</i>	<i>kèdèk-tí</i> / <i>kèdèk-tâ</i>	‘clean the cotton (with bow)’
<i>dèlèkè</i>	<i>dèlé</i> / <i>dèlî-c-ín</i>	<i>kèdèl</i> / <i>kèdèlà</i>	‘fall (down); set (sun)’
	<i>dèlè-cá</i> / <i>dèlî-c-ín</i>	<i>kèdèl-dí</i> / <i>kèdèl-dâ</i>	‘set up (a trap)’
<i>gèfèkè</i>	<i>gèfè</i> / <i>gèfî-c-ín</i>	<i>kègèf</i> / <i>kègèfâ</i>	‘hatch’
	<i>gèfè</i> , <i>gèfâ-cá</i> / <i>gèfî-c-ín</i>	<i>kègèf-tí</i> / <i>kègèf-tâ</i>	‘bark, peel’
<i>jègèkè</i>	<i>jègé</i> / <i>jègâ</i>	<i>kèjèg</i> / <i>kèjèkkâ</i>	‘reach with stone or weapon’
	<i>jègè-cá</i> / <i>jègî-c-ín</i>	<i>kèjèk-tí</i> / <i>kèjèk-tâ</i>	‘sharpen by beating’

TABLE 14: Imperfective *-ca* / Perfective *-INTS*: lexical specialisation (Daju Sila)

8 Daju Eref (‘western’ Daju)

Palayer (2011: 79-166) gives a detailed study of the verb system in Daju Eref and shows, in particular, the nearly unique way each verb may assemble its own forms out of a great variety of simple/derived bases, modalities and voices.

Concerning the extensions *-câ* and *-sâ*, the author makes the following comments:

- *-câ* may be suffixed to imperfective (*Form I*) root bases or to imperfective and perfective (*Form II*) bases already derived with *-d*, *-t* or *-dd* (the equivalent of *-INTS* in Sila). In the latter case, they are mostly restricted to plural verb forms, with a possible distributive value (‘they do/did separately/independently’) (Palayer 2011: 91-94).

- *-sà* is restricted to the perfective (*Form II*) and similar forms like the imperative (2011: 95-97).
- The *-cà* form may exist without an existing or employed corresponding *-sà* form (2011: 95).¹²
- Some verbs may have an imperfective or a perfective appearing only with this type of suffix (i.e., no bare form is attested) (2011: 97).
- *-ca/-sa* forms appearing alone (i.e., without *-d/-dd* as noted above) may be semantically equivalent to the bare forms, but in some cases they seem to indicate a ‘non-instantaneous process’. They may also express different semantic values of the verb (2011: 97).

As for the *-d*, *-t* and *-dd* extensions, their compatibility with the imperfective (Palayer’s *Form I*) seems to be highly restricted. They may appear when combined with following *-cà* (2011: 111-112), but they are otherwise absent from the derived bases illustrating the imperfective (2011: 103-105).

In general, these remarks are very similar to the situation that has been observed in Daju Sila. However, I could not find any information concerning the compatibility/incompatibility of *-cà/-sà* with personal object pronouns.

9 Historical perspective

9.1 Antipassive function

The specific marking of transitive verbs used without an expressed object is usually known as antipassive, a notion that was first formulated in the case of ergative languages. Polinsky (2017: Abstract) defines it as follows:

‘Antipassives’ are constructions in which the logical object of a transitive (two-place) predicate is not realized as a direct object, but instead appears as a non-core argument or left unexpressed (but presupposed). [...] The antipassive is not limited to ergative languages, although it may be more noticeable under ergative configuration.

In this sense, the absolute form in both Shatt Damam and Laggori clearly has an antipassive function.

In Daju Sila however, this property is limited to the specific case of personal object indices, a situation that I would rather consider as a vestigial one. Indeed, the combinatory abilities of verbs with the closed category of object indices

¹² “La forme en **-cà** peut exister sans qu’existe ou soit utilisée la forme en **-sà** [...].” Although this is not explicitly expressed, the remark seems to imply that the latter (*Form II* = Perfective) is less frequent than the former (*Form I* = Imperfective).

seem to me less free than those with lexical objects, and consequently more likely to represent a conservative than an innovative structure.

In a paper devoted to the antipassive in Bantu languages, Bostoen et al. (2015) develop the idea that, in these languages, the antipassive usually results from reciprocal/associative constructions:

The antipassive always emerged as a specific reading of a marker more commonly used to express reciprocity and associativity. It most probably did so independently in different Bantu languages. It is the underlying notion of ‘plurality of participants’, or even more generally ‘plurality of relations’, of which the Proto-Bantu reciprocal/associative extension *-an-* is a carrier, which has led to the convergent arising of the antipassive meaning. (2015: 766)

In the present case, there is clearly no indication that a ‘reciprocal’ value might have been the source of the current antipassive of ‘Eastern’ Daju languages. Rather, ‘Western’ Daju languages developed, among others, an ‘associative’ value of the *-ca* form that is used for marking the plural subject indexes of the imperfective aspect (see SECTION 7.2, (iv)).

9.2 Decrease of the ‘Western’ perfective *-sa*

Without losing sight of the limited and uneven representativeness of the data recorded in Shatt Damam and Daju Sila (see fn. 2 above), the statistical evaluations displayed in TABLE 15 above concerning the respective frequencies of absolute and *-ca/-sa* forms in either language nevertheless reveal a significant contrast.

Shatt Damam		Daju Sila			
Total of verbs	206	Total of verbs	291		
Verbs + <i>ABS</i>	38	Verbs + <i>-ca/-sa</i>	114	/out of:	
IPF. & PF. + <i>ABS</i>	25	IPF. & PF. + <i>-ca/-sa</i>	10	whole paradigm	6
				pl. subj. only	4
IPF. only + <i>ABS</i>	7	IPF. only + <i>-ca/-sa</i>	101	whole paradigm	61
				pl. subj. only	40
PF. only + <i>ABS</i>	6	PF. only + <i>-ca/-sa</i>	3	whole paradigm	2
				pl. subj. only	1

TABLE 15: Absolute (Shatt Damam) and *-ca/-sa* (Daju-Sila) verb forms: lexical frequencies

N.B. Daju Sila *-ca/-sa* extensions limited to plural subjects are counted separately (see SECTION 7.2, (iv) above)

More precisely, this contrast may be detailed as follows:

i.) In Shatt Damam, less than a fifth (38/206) of all verbs may, somehow or other, combine with an absolute extension, while in Daju Sila the proportion of verbs that may exhibit a *-ca/-sa* suffix rises to more than a third (114/291).

ii.) In Shatt Damam, more than half (25/38) of the verbs that may appear in the absolute form do so in both the imperfective and the perfective, the rest being more or less equally divided between the imperfective (7/38) or the perfective (6/38) only. In Daju Sila, less than a tenth (10/114) of the verbs that may combine with *-ca/-sa* suffixes do so in both the imperfective and the perfective but the greatest number of them (101/114) do so in the imperfective only, while instances of *-ca/-sa* suffixation in the perfective only are extremely limited (3/114).

In other words, from Shatt Damam to Daju Sila the representation of absolute(-like) extensions in the imperfective is markedly increasing while it is drastically reducing in the perfective.

Let us remind ourselves here of the rarity of perfective absolute *-sV* as noted by Manfredi (ms.) in the ‘Eastern’ language Laggori (see SECTION 6 above). It is not clear whether this scarcity is itself the result of a decrease and, if so, whether we are dealing here with the same historical reduction as for ‘western’ languages or, rather, with an independent and distinct development.

9.3 Towards a ‘Western’ complementarity of *-ca/-sa* and intensive

Considering, in Daju Sila and, to some extent, Daju Eref, a) the generally marginal status of the *-INTS* extension in the imperfective aspect (SECTION 7.1), compensated by b) the strong concentration of the *-ca/-sa* extension in the same imperfective (SECTION 7.1), c) the innovative use of *-ca/-sa* instead of *-INTS* markers for characterising the plural forms of the ‘bare’ imperfective (TABLES 11-12 and SECTION 7.1), and finally the imperfective *-ca* / Perfective *-INTS* coupling of some semantically specialised verb forms (TABLE 14), there appears to be, in the ‘Western’ languages, a marked trend towards a complementary distribution of the *-ca* extension in the imperfective with the *-INTS* extension in the perfective. Indeed, their respective values of ‘durative/habitual’ or ‘plural subject’ (imperfective) and ‘intensive’ (perfective) come together under the general label ‘associative’ that Bostoen et al. (2015) consider to be the source of the Bantu antipassive (see SECTION 9.1).

9.4 Summary

However, if the semantic affinity ‘associative’/‘antipassive’ is relevant here, in the present case I would rather consider that the antipassive prevailed in an earlier system that later developed towards associative values in the ‘western’ languages. I mentioned above (SECTION 9.1) that such a historical perspective is more likely if we consider the incompatibility of *-ca/-sa* markers with object indexes in Daju Sila. I would argue that the ‘Western’ marginal status of perfective *-ca/-sa* as well as the partial complementarity between *-ca/-sa* and *-INTS* are themselves more reconcilable with a diachronic scenario that treats them as resulting from a prior antipassive function than the reverse.

If we agree with this view, the historical perspective on the Daju absolute and *-ca/-sa* extensions can be summarised as in FIGURE 1:

i.) Shatt Damam is, in this respect, the best representative of a common system: the absolute form always has an antipassive function and its application is shared by both imperfective and perfective in a balanced way.

ii.) Within the ‘Eastern’ languages no significant change can be identified except a likely decrease in usage of the Laggori perfective absolute *-sa*, of which we do not know whether it is correlated with the similar development observed in the ‘Western’ languages.

iii.) The ‘Western’ languages Daju Sila and Daju Eref are jointly undergoing more noticeable changes: while *-ca/-sa* markers preserve a residual function of antipassive in the restricted case of object indexes, their frequency increases – with a frequent value of durative/habitual – in the imperfective aspect, and conversely decreases drastically in the perfective aspect. Correlatively, the imperfective *-ca* forms progressively enter into complementary distribution with the Perfective extended by *-INTS*.

If the label ‘absolute’ – and even more ‘antipassive’ – is no longer appropriate for the ‘Western’ languages, it is not obvious how to characterise an extension that takes on such varied functions. ‘Progressive’, ‘durative’ or ‘habitual’ would probably approach the most relevant labels for most cases but these still do not account properly for the plural subject indices nor for the few cases of semantic specialisation (TABLE 14). In this respect it would be interesting to get an idea of the speakers’ feeling concerning the unity of the different *-ca/-sa* marker instances.

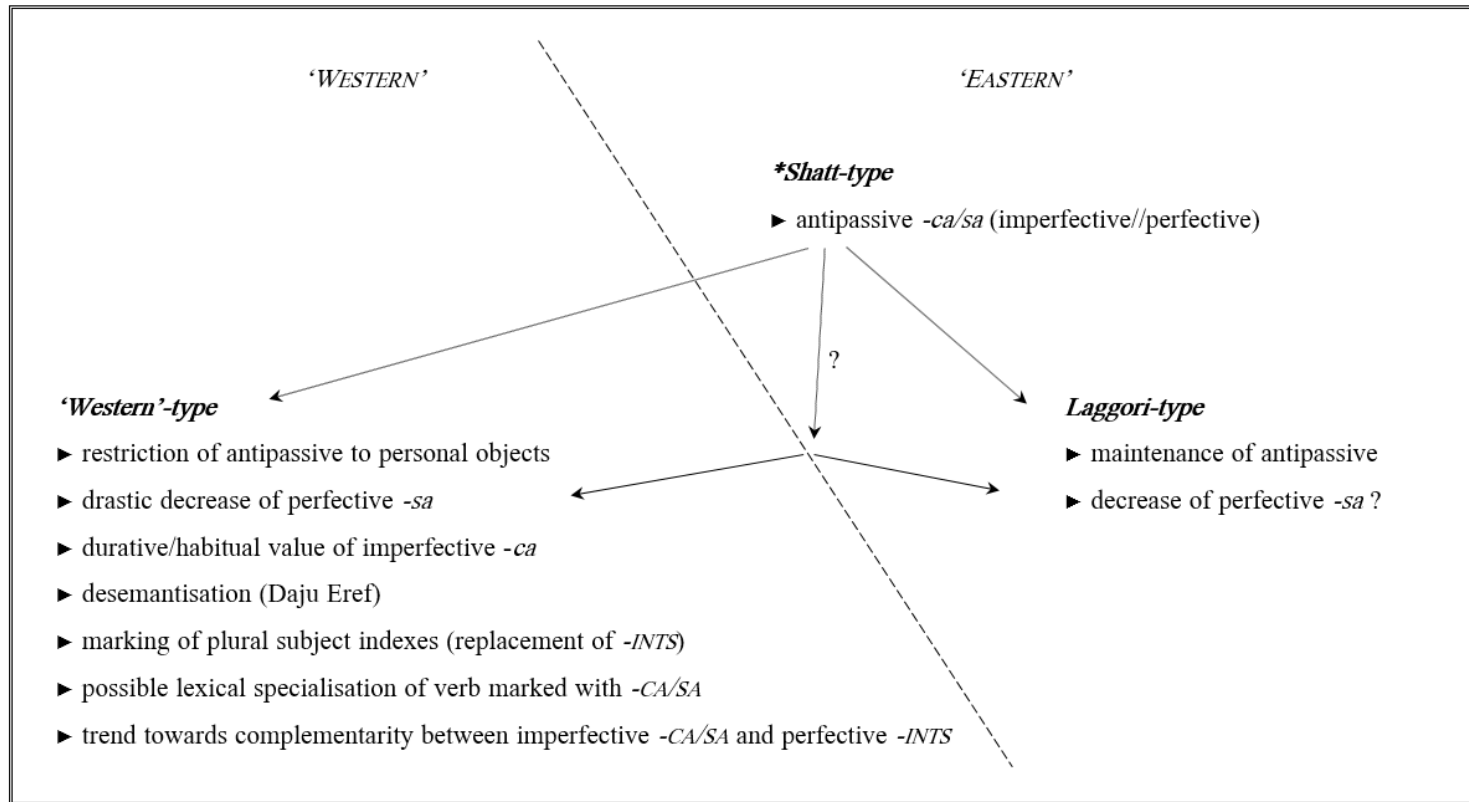


FIGURE 1: Daju absolute or *-ca/-sa* verb extension: historical perspective

10 Final thoughts

As a conclusion I would like to review two previous works in the light of the present paper.

a.) A few years ago Boyeldieu & Manfredi (2014) evaluated the relevance of the Daju verb regarding the ‘Western’/‘Eastern’ Daju languages distinction previously based on noun morphology (SECTION 2). To the question “Does the verbal morphology support the distinction ‘Western’/‘Eastern’ Daju?”, the authors answered in a negative way: “No, but transition from ‘Proto-Eastern Daju’ to Laggorí has been perturbed in a marked way: Laggorí as a high-contact Daju variety.”

When looking back at the arguments called upon to justify this conclusion, it appears to me that they were foremost concerned with the morphological marking of the subject indexes in both the imperfective and perfective aspects. Indeed, the prefixes and suffixes used to express the ‘person’ display, in their form as well as in their structure, an overall similarity that does not indicate any clear contrast.

However, the status and functioning of the absolute or *-ca/-sa* extensions that have been shown in the present paper obviously require the earlier judgement to be seriously qualified: in this respect Shatt Damam and Laggori, on the one hand, and Daju Sila and Daju Eref on the other, contrast in an undisputable way. And, again, the ‘Eastern’ languages prove to represent the most conservative ones on this particular point.

b.) More recently, antipassive constructions were selected in the programme of the French-Sudanese project PICS *Les langues du Soudan : à la croisée des aires et types linguistiques / The languages of the Sudan: a typological and areal crossroad* (CNRS/ University of Khartoum, PIs Nicolas Quint & Abeer Bashir Trefi, 2019-2021).¹³

The aim of the project was to identify features that could be considered as characteristic of a ‘Sudanese’ linguistic area. Provided that the present historical interpretation of the data is correct, the antipassive function would have been preserved in Sudan only – or more precisely in the Kordofan region? – while it was seriously altered in the ‘Western’ languages Daju Sila and Daju Eref.

¹³ <https://sudanlinguisticarea.huma-num.fr/index.html>

Abbreviations

*	not attested, ungrammatical
ABS	absolute
ACT	actualiser
DEF	definite
EXCL	exclusive
IMP	imperative
INTS	intensive
IPF, IPF.	imperfective
Ndj.	data recorded in N'Djaména (Chad)
NEG	negation
P1	first person plural
P1D	first person plural dual
P1D.EXCL	first person plural dual/exclusive
P1EXCL	first person plural exclusive
P1INCL	first person plural inclusive
P2	second person plural
PF.	perfective
PL, pl.	plural
PN	plural noun
S1	first person singular
S2, s2	second person singular
S3	third person singular
S3F	third person singular feminine
S3M	third person singular masculine
S3N	third person singular neuter
SG, sg.	singular
SN	singular noun

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