Internal subgrouping of Dogon languages Jeffrey Heath (U Michigan) WOCAL Kyoto August 2015

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tentative genetic subgrouping of Dogon languages (numerical codes concocted for this paper only--not official "Guthrie numbers") parentheses indicate limited grammatical data, not used in this talk

## **E[astern]** division, from north to south

| E1      |             | Toro Tegu              |          |               |                              |  |  |
|---------|-------------|------------------------|----------|---------------|------------------------------|--|--|
| E2      | E2a         | Ben Tey (Beni village) |          |               |                              |  |  |
|         | E2b         | Nanga                  |          |               |                              |  |  |
|         | E2c         | Bankan Tey (Walo       | W[este   | ern] divisio  | n including NW and SW,       |  |  |
|         |             | village)               | the latt | er likely a s | ly a sister subgroup of NW1f |  |  |
| E3      | E3a         | Jamsay (mainstream     | NW1      |               | Yanda Dom                    |  |  |
|         |             | dialects)              | NW2      |               | Tebul Ure                    |  |  |
|         | E3b         | Jamsay (isolated       | NW3      | NW3a          | Najamba                      |  |  |
|         |             | montane dialects)      |          | NW3b          | Kindigué                     |  |  |
|         | E3c         | Gourou                 |          | NW3c          | Bondu (Borko area)           |  |  |
| E4      | E4a         | Tommo So               | NW4      |               | Tiranige                     |  |  |
|         | E4b         | Donno So               | NW5      |               | Dogul Dom                    |  |  |
| E5 "To  | ro So"      |                        |          |               |                              |  |  |
|         | E5a         | Yorno So               | SW1      |               | Bunoge                       |  |  |
|         | E5b         | Ibi So                 | SW2      |               | Penange                      |  |  |
|         | E5c         | Sangha So              | SW3      |               | Mombo (aka "Kolu")           |  |  |
|         | (and seve   | eral others)           | SW4      |               | Ampari                       |  |  |
| E6 "sou | ıtheastern" |                        |          |               |                              |  |  |
|         | E6a         | Togo Kan               |          |               |                              |  |  |
|         | E6b         | Tengou Kan             |          |               |                              |  |  |
|         | (and thre   | d three others)        |          |               |                              |  |  |
| E7      |             | Tomo Kan               |          |               |                              |  |  |

## **Proto-Dogon reconstructions** are ideally based on both E and W attestations $E\infty(W\infty)$ = all or majority of E (W) languages

1. verb-stem final-vowel mutations (bisyllabic examples)

core function:

bare stem: CoCo CcCc CeCe nonfinal in verb chains (E2a-b,3a)

I/U-stem CoCi/u CoCi/u CεCi/yCeCi/u nominalization

"chaining form" (E1,4b,5a)

E-stem: CoCε CoCe CεCε CeCe Sg/3Sg perfective positive (E2b,6a, NW1)

perfective positive except 3Pl (W∞, E4a,7)

absent (E2a,3a,5a)

overall unmarked stem (E4b)

A/O-stem: CoCa CoCo CεCa CeCo imperative (E2a,2b,7, W∞)

Pl/3Pl perfective positive (E2b,6a, NW2,3a)

overall unmarked stem

2. split between FHV (final-high-vowel) and F-nonHV (final-nonhigh-vowel) verb classes usually with **heavy stems FHV** (3+ vocalic moras), most **light stems FnonHV** e.g. FHN CoCuC-i versus FnonHV CoCo (E4a-b,5a,6a, NW2,4, SW1-2)

3. **perfective negative \*-li** (verbal suffix), cf. also stative negative \*-la(:) ~ \*-lo(:)

Vb-lí ~ Vb-rí with L-toned stem  $(E\infty)$ 

with HL-toned stem (E7)

Vb-lì usually L- or lexically-toned stem  $(W\infty)$ 

4. nominal classes

Hum/Anim Sg Hum/Anim Pl nonHum/Inan

(for  $E\infty$  \*-nV compare \*nu-  $(E\infty)$ , \*no-  $(W\infty)$  'person',  $E\infty$  singular \*nu-nV)

4bis. NW3 Swahili-like agreement classes (on multiple words in NPs)

|   |                  | E/O ('   | 'animate") | O/E (inanimate) |     | E/E (inanimate) |     |  |
|---|------------------|----------|------------|-----------------|-----|-----------------|-----|--|
|   |                  | Sg       | Pl         | Sg              | Pl  | Sg              | Pl  |  |
| noi   | ıns/adjective    | , partic | iples      |                 |     |                 |     |  |
|   | mutating         | -e:      | -o:        | -o:             | -e: | -e:             | -e: |  |
|   | suffixing        | Ø        | -mbo       | -(ŋ)go          | Ø   | -(ŋ)ge          | Ø   |  |
| (-e: and -o: here represent various front and back vowels, respectively)  3 possibilities for inanimate nouns:  O/E (default inanimate class)  E/E some topographic features including *kéŋgé* 'place' holes constructions: 'house', 'granary' 'body', 'soul', 'name', some parts ('head', 'nose', 'chest', 'back') liquids including *iŋgé* water'  E/O (pseudo-animate, in addition to humans and animals) implements with blades, points, or hooks; firearms some garments (trousers, shoes) vehicles ritually powerful objects musical instruments stones |                  |          |            |                 |     |                 |     |  |
|   | fans<br>apiaries |          |            |                 |     |                 |     |  |

## NW3 determiners E2b

| NW3 classes                | E/O ("animate") |      | O/E (inanimate) |    | E/E (inanimate) |    |
|----------------------------|-----------------|------|-----------------|----|-----------------|----|
|                            | Sg              | Pl   | Sg              | Pl | Sg              | Pl |
| NW3 definite markers       | (mó)            | (bé) | kó              | yé | ké              | yé |
| NW3 possessive classifiers | yὲ              | bà   | gà              | yὲ | έg              | yὲ |

compare E2b (across E/W split) possessive classifiers: InanSg g3, InanPl and An (Sgl) yê

| nouns | 'thing' (in | ianimate) | 'critter' (animal) |       |  |
|-------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|-------|--|
|       | Sg          | Pl        | Sg                 | P1    |  |
| NW3   | kóŋgò       | yèpà:bé   | kóŋgò              | bómbò |  |
| E2b   | kớ(ŋ)       | yέ        | (yè-búmbà 'snake') |       |  |

Proto-Dogon \*kO 'thing', suppletive plural \*yE, homophonous to \*yE 'critter'

5. example of a pronominal system

```
1S<sub>g</sub>
               1P1
                       2Sg
                              2P1
                                     3Sg
                                             3P1
                                                                      function
                                                    Inan
                                                            Logo
                                                                                     tone
E3a
       Vb-m
              Vb-y
                       Vb-w
                              Vb-bè Vb-Ø
                                            Vb-bà
                                                    Vb-Ø
                                                            Vb-∅
                                                                      subject (main)
              έmέ
                              é
                                             bé
                                                    kó
                                                            ènέ
                                                                      independent
       mí
                       ú
                                     wó
                                                                                       Η
                                                            èné mà N
                                                                      poss alienable
       má N
              έmέ N
                       á N
                              é N
                                     wó N
                                            bé N
                                                    kó N
                                                                                       Η
       mì Vb èmè Vb ù Vb
                              è Vb
                                     wò Vb bè Vb
                                                    kò Vb
                                                            èné Vb
                                                                      subject (rel cl)
                                                                                       L
       mì N
              èmè N
                       ù N
                              è N
                                     wò N
                                            bè N
                                                    kò N
                                                            ènέ mà Ν
                                                                      poss inalienable L
```

6. unfocalized pronominal subjects (major patterns), note that 3Sg may = zero

a) E∞

... Vb-Pron main clause
... Pron= Vb(-Ppl) relative clause

[E3a also 3Sg and 3Pl enclitics in imperfective positive]

b) E1

Pron ... Vb main clause (1st/2nd person)
... Vb =Pron main clause (3Sg and 3Pl)

.. Pron= Vb(-Ppl) relative clause

c) E6a,7

Pron ... Vb-Pl main clause (Pl or 3Pl)

Pron ... Vb main clause (other, including all Sg)

... Pron= Vb(-Ppl) relative clause

[E6a,7 also 3Sg and 3Pl enclitics in imperfective positive]

d) SW∞

... Pron= Vb main clause (1st/2nd)
... Vb-Pron main clause (3Pl)
... Pron= Vb(-Ppl) relative clause

e) NW4

... Vb-Pron main clause (1Sg, 2Sg, 3Pl)
 ... Pron= Vb main clause (1Pl, 2Pl)
 ... Pron= Vb(-Ppl) relative clause (all categories)

possible diachronic sequence

1. reconstructed system roughly like (d):

optional topical/focal clause-initial independent pronouns (main clauses) include 1Sg \*mí, 2Sg \*ú, 2Pl \*é

3Pl suffix \*-ya

3Sg zero (no overt marker)

1st/2nd person subject proclitics (reduced forms of independent pronouns)

- 2. suffix/enclitic inventory in main clauses expands based on model of 3Pl imperfective positive 3Sg = wo likely reinterpreted < aux \*bu/bo 'be' (a,b,c) 1st/2nd person suffixes reduced from independent pronouns (a,e)
- 3. sonorant-coda suffixes (\*-N, \*-w, \*-y) are eroded, leaving residual Pl suffixes forces repair in the form of increased use of clause-initial independent pronouns (c)