

Doyayo ~ Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃

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Doyayo (or Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃) is the largest indigenous language within the *Département de Faro*. It is spoken by the Dowayo (or Doowaayɔ̃). The Doowaayɔ̃ themselves refer to:

the language as:	Doo ²³ yɔ̃ɔ̃ ¹ yɔ̃ ¹	('man's mouth')
or:	Doo ² waa ²³ yɔ̃ɔ̃ ¹ yɔ̃ ¹	('man's child's mouth')
and to a person:	Doo ² waa ²³ yɔ̃ ¹	('man's child') (Wiering & Wiering 1994: 2.)

(Note: Wiering & Wiering differentiate four tone levels in Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ which they mark by superscript numbers ranging from 1 [high tone] to 4 [low lone]).

Older publications (e.g. Greenberg 1963) and their neighbours often refer to the Dowayo and their language as 'Namchi' (also Namshi, Namtchi, Namci, Namji), a term currently regarded as pejorative. According to Beaudelaire (1944) 'Namchi' formerly used to include the Duupa as well.

Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ is spoken in most of the villages in the north-western part of the "*sous-préfecture de Poli, depuis Poli jusqu'au Faro*" (Lars Lode 1992). According to Elisabeth & Marinus Wiering who conducted linguistic research between 1971 and 1981 on Doyayo in Poli, Doyayo divides into three distinct dialects (1994: 1). These are Marke and two distinct varieties of Tɛɛɛɛ:

Marke	spoken in the north-western plains,
Tɛɛɛɛ	as spoken in Poli and surroundings,
Tɛɛɛɛ	as spoken in the mountains in the south of the area.

A threefold division of Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ is also reported by Lode (1992): "*Il y a trois dialectes qui se comprennent sans trop de difficultés: le marké, le teere et la montagne vers Ninga et Bantadje.*"

Several sources cite in addition **Sewe** (or Séwé) as a dialect/variant of Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃, or (as in Greenberg 1963) Sewe may even be listed as a distinct language. This view bases most probably on Griaule 1941, who published in 1941, a wordlist from the 'Namtchi' of Poli and a wordlist from (the 'Namtchi' of) 'Séwé', collected in 1932. As Griaule's explicates "... *les namtchi ont fourni un dialecte pour la région de Poli, un autre pour la région de Séwé, à une journée de marche au nord-ouest de la première*" (1941: 169). Based on his geographical description, Griaule's Séwé refers to the Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ dialect area of the north-western plains, as lined out in Wiering & Wiering (1994) and Lode (1992), and thus Sewe ought to be equated with the Marke variant/dialect of Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃.

Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ is comparatively better studied and documented. It has been reduced to writing; various booklets and a New Testament are published. A *Dictionnaire Doyayo-Français* (version provisoire), has been compiled before 1994, apparently in relation to the studies of Wiering & Wiering, was recently published (Djataou 2012). The major descriptive publications are Wiering & Wiering 1994, a collection of articles on various topics. The Data contained therein attracted the attention of other researchers, who reanalysed sections of the grammar (Elders 2004, Hewson n.d.). The intriguing tone system of Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃, (the Wierings mark four tone levels, see the examples above), is subject of a study by Jude (2012). He reanalyses Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ tones in the frame of the Register Tier Theory (cf. Snider 1999), whereby a high-low dichotomy on a tonal tier interacts according to well established rules with a high-low dichotomy on a register tier.

Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ apparently forms its own branch within the Samba-Duru language group; though there are more correspondences with the Vere-Gimme branch than with either the Duru or the Samba branch. This tentative classification is based on the comparison of basic vocabularies, reinforced by results of a preliminary evaluation of morphosyntactical resemblances and differences, and a comparative study of negation patterns within the group (Kleinewillinghöfer & Littig 2012).

Unlike Vere-Gimme languages, Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ has no fully functioning noun class system. The classical characteristics of a noun class system, namely plural marking with a set of alternating affixes is substantially reduced, and concord (or grammatical agreement) marking within the noun phrase and subordinate clauses is no more attested. The table below summarizes the various patterns of singular and plural forms of nouns from of a Doyayo wordlist compiled by A. Kpengabse (2013). The most common singular suffix is -yó which is often, but not always replaced by the only plural marker/suffix -dɛ́ (a). Two other singular - plural patterns are attested: the plural marker -dɛ́ replaces a final vowel (suffix?) -ɔ, -o, and -ɛ of the singular form (b) and the plural marker -dɛ́ is simply added/suffixed to the singular form (c). Finally there are a considerably large number of nouns where no distinct plural form seems to exist (d).

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
(a)	tɛ́ɛ́-yó	tɛ́ɛ́-dɛ́	tree
	yãã-yó	yãã-yó	mouth
(b)	ròm-ɔ	ròm-dɛ	hare
	wàl-ɔ	wal-ɛ-dɛ	husband
	naal-ɛ	naal-dɛ	grinding stone
(c)	sɛnɛ	sɛnɛ-dɛ	hearth ('foyer')
(d)	gaalɛ	gaalɛ	axe
	zúlɛ́	zúlɛ́	head
	nùŋgo	nùŋgo	tooth

Table 1: (Examples quoted from Kpengabse, ms.)

There are, nevertheless, vestiges of a formerly more complex class system, most evidently visible in the form of distinct nominal suffixes, clear cognates to class suffixes in related languages (Kleinewillinghöfer forthcoming), which are/were also used in characteristic verb-to-nominal and nominal-to-nominal derivations. Examples are -mɛ, -to, -sɛ.

-mɛ	gaa ⁴ mɛ ²	blood		
	yoo ¹ -mɛ ¹	sleep	< yo ² , yok ¹ yo ¹	sleep
-to	dɔɔ ¹ -to ¹	seed	< dɔɔ ²³	sow
-sɛ	lee ¹ -sɛ ¹	food	< le ² , lek ¹ yo ¹	eat manger
	sam-sɛ ³¹	friendship	< sɔamɔ ³¹	friend

Table 2 (Examples quoted from Wiering & Wiering 1994)

Jude (2012), on the other hand, refers to a study by Alain Nimbo (1999) and reports a noun class system for Doyayo with as set of five singular and two plural classes; the five singular suffixes/classes are: -yó/-yó, -ó; -ɛ́; -ø; -ú, and the two plural suffixes/classes: -wé and -é.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
wàl-yó	wāl-wé	man/men
gàl-ɛ́	gāl-wé	axe/axes
nùŋg-ó	nùŋg-wé	tooth/teeth

Table 3 (Examples quoted from Jude 2012: 32-35.)

Jude (2012) apparently quotes these singular-plural pairs of nouns from Nimbo (1999). They differ from what is found in Wiering & Wiering (1994) and in the wordlist by Kpengabse (ms), (cf. tables above), and probably originate from the *Mountain Tɛɛɛɛ* variant of Dooyɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃. A plural suffix -wé is

not (yet) reported from the *Poli Tɛɛrɛ* dialect, the base of the studies of Wiering & Wiering and Kpengabse. There the general plural marker is -dɛ́.

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