

Bua languages personal pronouns

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Introduction

Languages considered (see Map 1)

Lua, Tun, Ba, Kulaal, Kulaale, Zan Gula, Bolgo, Bon Gula (JR), Bon Gula (GdR)

Limits of the documentation

Salient features

1. Identity of ‘persons’:

Reflexive (‘same referent’) and or logophoric

1P Inclusive/exclusive

2. Possessive constructions

3. Paradigms

Subject/Object

Tonal polarity of Subject/Object

Lua

Sources: Boyeldieu 1985: 406-407, 409-413, unpubl. documentation

Testut, Marie. 1978/3: 1-12.

(Vanderkooi, Diane R. 2000)

	Gloss	.E Emphatic	.S Subject	.OP Object, governed by preposition & possessive
1S	1S	ɲìñ	ñ	ń
2S	2S	ɲìṁ	ṁ	ṁ
3S	3S	ɲír	í	í
LogS	LOGS	ɲìr̀	r̀	r̀
1P exclusive	1PE	ɲìníí	í	í
1P inclusive	1PI	ɲĩ	ì	ì
2P	2P	ɲíí	í	í
3P	3P	ɲáá	á	á
LogP	LOGP	ɲàà²	à	à

Log(S/P) = Logophoric + Reflexive (non systematic)

(1) í tī í lèg r̀ súl dān
 3S.S stay.IND 3S.S look_at.IND LOGS.OP head middle
 ‘He stayed (and) thought about (lit. looked at his own head).’

(409-10)

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²The form is adapted from Testut *nyà* ‘Réfléchi pluriel’ (1978/3: 9) for which I postulate a long vowel by comparison with 3P.E *ɲáá*.

- (2) á wò 6īr tī à dān ʔin [...]

3P.S PROG ask at LOGP.OP middle thus

'They were asking among themselves (lit. in the centre of themselves) thus...' (II, 5)
- (3) [...] málīm m jàà [...] dǎj̄n páā jág t̄ā ì 6̄ō

marabout DET say.IND leg=time some different then LOGS.S FUT

hínā à 6̄ō j̄āā pāār ēè pàý k̄ȳ

come.VN LOGP.S FUT speech tell.VN eh! INTERR what?

'... the marabout said, next time, I will come [and] we will talk, isn't it?' (I, 63-64)
- (4) [...] lē mál nè n̄r̄ k̄āy ḡì á ʔurà á súl ní á

and price REL LOGS.E put.IND to 3P.OP pass.IND 3P.OP head COORD 3P.S

dùgà ná pàý n̄im̄ m̄ liām ì 6̄áá càw̄ m̄

go_back.IND SUSP INTERR 2S.E 2S.S match.IND LOGS.OP child marry.VN DET

ā

INTERR

'... and the price I set for them went beyond them (lit. passed their head), and they went back, and you, you are able to marry my daughter?' (413-25)

Object (of verb)

- (5) á nā í ndūū ní í j̄ì

3P.S give.IND 3S.O water coord 3S.S drink.IND

'They gave him water and he drank.' (411-17)

Object (of verbal noun)

- (6) [...] wò nè t̄ā 6̄ō m̄ ʔān ní [...] t̄ení

person REL then FUT 2S.O escort.VN COORD

'[...] there is nobody who will escort you.' (413-33)

Possessive

- (7) *ń súl / á súl* my head / their head

ń lí / á lí my house / their house

Tun

Sources: Palayer 1975
Palayer, [L2] (unpubl.)

	Gloss	S Subject (Perfective)	S Subject (Intentional)?	O Object	P Possessive
1S	1S	ɲɛ, ɲɔ, (ɲɔ́, ɲá)	ɲɔ̀	ɲɛ̀	ɲɛ̀
2S	2S	mɔ́, (mɔ́́, má)	?	mò	mà
3S	3S	ì	?	dɔ̀	dɔ̀
1P exclusive	1PE	bɔ́, (bɔ́́, bá)	?	bù	bà
1P inclusive	1PI	jì	?	jì	jì
2P	2P	ī	?	ì	ì
3P	3P	mò	?	ē	ē

No logophoric?

Subject

- (8) 1S *nē tūú* I ate
 3P *mà tūú* they ate

Object

- (9) 1S *ì sōy nē* s/he hit me *ì dōō nē* s/he touched me
 3P *ì sōy ē* s/he hit them *ì dōō ē* s/he touched them

Possessive

- (10) 1S *nē sáy* my house *nē sī* my head
 3P *ē sáy* their house *ē sī* their head

Ba

Source: Boyeldieu, pers. doc.

	Gloss	.I Independent	.S Subject	.O Object	.P Possessive
1S	1S	ǃǃ	è	é	é
2S	2S	ǃǃm, ǃǃm	m̄	m̄	m̄
3S	3S	ǃǃrā (ǃǃrā?)	ā, ārā	ā, rā	ā, rā, ārā
LogS	LOGS	ǃǃ	ǃǃ	(ǃ, ǃǃ?)	ǃ, ǃǃ
1P	1P	ǃǃw	ù	ú	ú
2P	2P	ǃǃy	ì	í	í
3P	3P	ǃǃbé	ǃé	ǃé	ǃé
LogP	LOGP	ǃǃw	ǃǃw	(ù, ǃǃw?)	ù, ǃǃw

Log(S/P) = Logophoric + Reflexive

1P incl./excl.?

Independent

- (11) 1S *ǃǃ (è) là* me, I saw
 3P *ǃǃbé (ǃé) là* they, they saw
 LOGP ... *ǃǃ ǃǃw là* ... (say) that they (log.) saw

Subject

- (12) 1S *è là(g) wūn* I saw something
 3P *ǃé là(g) wūn* they saw something
 LOGP ...*ǃǃ ǃǃw là(g) wūn* ... (say) that they (log.) saw something

Object

- (13) 1S *ā làg é* s/he saw me *ā nē é* s/he chased me
 3P *ā làg ǃé* s/he saw them *ā nē ǃé* s/he chased them
 LOGP (... *ǃǃ ā làg ù?*) ... (say) that s/he saw them (log.) (... *ǃǃ ā nē ù?*) ... (say) that s/he chased them (log.)

Possessive

- (14) 1S *é mīn* my things *é sīlì* my head
 3P *ǃé mīn* their things *ǃé sīlì* their head
 3PID *ù mīn, ǃǃw mīn* their own things *ù sīlì, ǃǃw sīlì* their own head

Logophoric sg./pl.

- (15) a. \bar{a} sòw \bar{a} silí
 3S.S catch.IND 3S.P head
 ‘S/he_i took his/her_j head.’
- (16) b. \bar{a} sòw ì (~ ò) silí
 3S.S catch.IND LOGS.P head
 ‘S/he_i took his/her_i head.’
- (17) a. \bar{a} līgā bā \bar{a} là wūn
 3S.S say.IND QUOT 3S.S see.IND thing
 ‘S/he_i said that s/he_j saw something.’
- (18) b. \bar{a} līgā bā òi là wūn
 3S.S say.IND QUOT LOGS.S see.IND thing
 ‘S/he_i said that s/he_i saw something.’

Kulaal

Sources: Pairault 1966 (BLG), 1969 (DPI), unpubl. documentation

	Independent	Self	Subject (/ li -)	Object	Preposed possessive	Postposed possessive	Focalized
1S		ñòmmé	ñó / li ñò, n- / li n-	ñò	ñò, (n?)	ñò-n	ñsò, ñsààsò, ñsòmòsò
2S		mòmmé	mó / li mò, m- / li m-	mò	mò	mò-n	mòsò
3S	ηké, ηkéri, ηκέτι		á / lii	è, nè	à	pè(è)	ñsò, ñsòmòsò
LogS	ηκερι		én (/ ?)	èn	?	ènn-è	
1Pexcl	pómmeri, pómmyòòri	pómè	pó / li-pò	?	?	pìn	
1Pincl	émmeri, émmyòòri		én / lèn	èn	?	èn (*ènn-è)	
2P	immèri, immeyòòri		í / lii	ì	ì	ìn (i-n?)	
3P	mmèri, mmeyòòri,		ó / lò, mé	ò, (m)mè	ò	?	
LogP			món / li mòn	mònnè	?	món, mónnè (mónn-è?)	

Log(S/P) = Logophoric (probably not Reflexive)

Logophoric

- (19) \acute{a} kól \acute{a} wíl tée-à pè “én tìn lóópìl, lóópìl
 3S come_back 3S tell father-3S QUOT LOGS find sacred_stone sacred-stone
 mètè \acute{a} sòò èn tak. [...]”
 this[?] 3S follow LOGS [COMPLETION?]

‘As he came back he told his father: “I found a sacred stone. This sacred stone follows me.
 [...]”

DPI, 10-4-11

- (20) ó-pè á hòùpá-pè mònne tuk-kè-mónne, à món iláá-nè.
 3P-QUOT 3S wash-[COMPLETED?] LOGP all-[?]-LOGP then LOGP show-3S
 ‘They say : “Wash us all. Then we will show you.”’ DPI, 12-2-59

Two possessive constructions

- (21) ñò-húl or húl-lè-ñò-n my head
 à-húl or húl-lè-pè his/her head
- (22) à ííl-è àmpúk
 3S name-DET Ampuk
 ‘Its name (is) Ampuk [a type of beer].’ DPI, 7-3-13
- (23) ñó wáák-è tòŋ-kò-pèè-ri
 1S keep-3S house-DET-3S-in
 ‘I keep it in his house.’ DPI, 8-77

But irregular – and complex – paradigms for *tée* ‘father’ and *èè* ‘mother’.

Kulaale

Source: Lionnet, pers. com.

		Independent	Subject	Object (post-verbal) / Possessive (pre-nominal)
SG	1	ʔèníŋ	ń	è
	2	míní	ń	mì
	3	ʔíní [-ATR]	wó	é
PL	1	ʔòní [ʔòàní] ~ ʔòń	ó	ò
	2	ʔíní [+ATR]	í [+ATR]	ì [+ATR]
	3	bòní	bó	bò

Comments:

- So far no inclusive/exclusive distinction in 1PL
 - So far no logophoric pronoun
 - 1SG subject /ń/ undergoes place assimilation with following consonant: [ń, ń́, ń̂, ń̃]
 - All pronouns are [-ATR] except 2PL, which is always [+ATR]
 - All vary tonally between LH (Independent), H (Subject), and L (Object) patterns, except 3SG, which is always H
-

Zan Gula

Source: Ahmat Oumar & Doris Weiss 2010

	Subject	Possessive	Direct object	Indirect object	Independent
1s	ɲì/a ɲì	ɲì	-ɲ, ɲe	ɲee	ɲo
2s	mi	mi	-m, mo	moo	mo
3s	ù	ɲí	-l, le	lee	lô
1pexcl	bi	bi	bu	buu	bɔ/bô
1pincl	úú	ú	wɔ	wɔɔ	wô
2p	í	i	yi	yii	Ye/íyo
3p	ù	ù	bu/wu	buu	bu/uwo

Logophoric

- (24) *Mûusa sôm baa a kîro*
 Moussa say CON he come
 ‘Moussa says that he (somebody else) will come’
- (25) *Mûusa sôm baa kale kîro*
 Moussa say CON he come
 ‘Moussa says that he (i.e. Moussa) will come’

Direct object

Consonant final verb > -CV ; vowel final verb > -C :

- (26) *i sôɲi-ɲ* *i fom-ɲo*
 he pricks-me he loves-me
 ‘he pricks me’ ‘he loves me’

Possessif

- (27) *ɲì too* *ɲì tôy* *ɲì mûu*
 ‘my house’ ‘my houses’ ‘my mouth’

Bolgo

Source: Kastenholz 2017: 13-14, 20-21

	Subject	Object	Possessive
1S	ɲī	-Vɲ	ɲī
2S	mām	-Vm	?
3S	jō	-V	?
1P	wāw	-Vw	?
2P	yē	-Vy	?
3P	ḃāḃ	-Vḃ	?

Object

- (28) *Brahim ól=um=nà* « Brahim saw **you**. »
Brahim él=im=nà « Brahim hit **you**. »
Brahim ól=o=rà « Brahim saw **him**. »
Brahim él=e=rà « Brahim hit **him**. »
Brahim ól=ub=rà « Brahim saw **them**. »
Brahim él=ib=rà « Brahim hit **them**. »

Possessive

- (29) *jī yá lī lī sà:-l*
 1sg mother eat eat polenta-sg
 « My mother is eating polenta. » (p. 20)
- (30) *Hasib jī bí:n*
 H. 1sg brother.sg
 « Hasib is my brother. » (p. 21)

Bon Gula [JR]

Source: Roberts, Hamdane Dewane & Issa Defalla 2010

	Indep.	Subject of Past	Subject of Present	Relative Subject?	Object (suff. to -V)	Object (suff. to -C)	Poss.
1S	noojo	ni	niŋ	aŋ	-ni	-no	ni
2S	moojo	mi	miŋ	am	-(u)m	-mo	mi
3S	yeejo	---	iŋ	a	-y	-ye	yi
1P excl.	beebe	be	beŋ	b	-be	-be	ba
1P incl.	e-eni	e V-n	eŋ V-n	e V-n	eni	eni	a
2P	iiibe	î	îŋ	ay	î	î	î
3P	uube	u	uŋ	aw	-u	-wu	u

Direct object

- (31) 1S *Ali dūŋ* Ali surpassed me *Alī hul ŋo* Ali hit me
 2S *dūm* ... *hul mo* ...
 3S *dūy* *hul-le*

Possessive

- (32) 1S *ni hūl* my head *ni hūn* my heads
 3P *u hūl* their head *u hūn* their heads
 1S *ni ton* my house *ni tōnde* my houses
 3P *u ton* their house *u tōnde* their houses
-

Bon Gula [GdR]

Sources: Rendinger (1949 : 184-190)

Short table of personal pronouns:

		Emphatic
1S	<i>n'e, n'o, n'</i>	<i>n'o n'on'o, n'e nò</i>
2S	<i>mó, am, m</i>	<i>mó nò</i>
3S	<i>o, n'i, mó n'i, sa, lō gé</i>	<i>n'i nò, mó n'i nò</i>
1P	<i>buoni</i>	
2P	<i>yémi (< bié mi?), yemigo</i>	
3P	<i>ū bo</i>	

Two possessive constructions

1) prefixed

- (33) my wife *n'a-ha* my neck *n'a hālé*
my nose *n'é félé* my teeth *n'i gin'é*
my knee *n'u dullé*

2) postposed

- (34) my head *sulé nén'i bé* my wife *ha nan'i bé*
your head *sulé mam bé* your wife *ha mam bé*

Comparative overview

	Proto-Bua?
1S	*n(i)ŋ
2S	*m
3S	?
LogS	?
1P excl.	*bu/i
1P incl.	?
2P	*i/y
3P	*(b)u
LogP	?

Table 1. Tentative reconstructions (see Table 3)

	Lua	Tun	Ba	Kulaal	Kulaale	Z. Gula	Bolgo	B. Gula
Logophoric (± refl.)	+	?	+	+	?	?	?	–
1P excl./1P incl.	+	+	?	+	?	+	–	+
2 possessive constr.	–	–	–	+	?	–	?	+
Tonal polarity Subject/Object	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?

Table 2. Distribution of structural features

Subject pronouns

	Lua	Tun	Ba	Kulaal	Kulaale	Z. Gula	Bolgo	B. Gula
1S	ṅ	ɲɛ̄, ɲɔ̄	è	ṅó, n-	ṅ́	ṅì/a ṅì	ɲí	ṅì
2S	ṁ	mɔ̄	ṁ	mó, m-	ṁ́	mi	mām	mi
3S	ṙ	ì	ā, ārā	á	wó	ì	jō	ø
LogS	ṙ	?	ḃì	én	–	kale?	–	?
1P excl.	í	bɔ̄	ù	pó	ó	bi	wāw	be
1P incl.	ì	jì		én		úú		e V-n*
2P	í	ī	ì	í	í [+ATR]	í	yē	î
3P	á	mə̄	ḃé	ó	bó	ù	ḃāb	u
LogP	à	?	ḃòw	món	–	?	–	?

Object (+ possessive) pronouns

	Lua	Tun	Ba	Kulaal	Kulaale	Z. Gula	Bolgo	B. Gula
1S	ṅ́	ɲɛ̀	é	ṅò	è	-ṅ, ɲe	-Vɲ	-ṅ, -ṅo
2S	ṁ́	mò	ṁ	mò	mì	-m, mo	-Vm	-(u)m, -mo
3S	ṙ́	dō	ā, rā	è, nè	é	-l, le	-V	-y, -ye
LogS	ṙ́	?	(i, ḃì?)	èn	–	?	–	?
1P excl.	í	bù	ú	?	ò	bu	-Vw	-be
1P incl.	ì	jì		èn		wɔ		eni
2P	í	ì	í	ì	ì [+ATR]	yì	-Vy	î
3P	á	ē	ḃé	ò (m)mè	bò	bu/wu	-Vḃ	-u, -wu
LogP	à	?	(ù, ḃòw?)	mònnè	–	?	–	?

Table 3. Phonic recurrences in ‘Subject’ and ‘Object’ paradigms

Subject pronouns

	Lua	Tun	Ba	Kulaal	Kulaale	Z. Gula	Bolgo	B. Gula
1S	ṅ	ɲɛ̄, ɲɔ̄	è	ṅó, n-	ṅ́	ṅì/a ṅì	ɲí	ṅì
2S	ṁ	mɔ̄	ṁ	mó, m-	ṁ́	mi	mām	mi
3S	ṙ	ì	ā, ārā	á	wó	ì	jō	ø
LogS	ṙ	?	ḃì	én	–	kale?	–	?
1P excl.	í	bɔ̄	ù	pó	ó	bi	wāw	be
1P incl.	ì	jì		én		úú		e V-n*
2P	í	ī	ì	í	í [+ATR]	í	yē	î
3P	á	mə̄	ḃé	ó	bó	ù	ḃāb	u
LogP	à	?	ḃòw	món	–	?	–	?

Object (+ possessive) pronouns

	Lua	Tun	Ba	Kulaal	Kulaale	Z. Gula	Bolgo	B. Gula
1S	ṅ́	ɲɛ̀	é	ṅò	è	-ṅ, ɲe	-Vɲ	-ṅ, -ṅo
2S	ṁ́	mò	ṁ	mò	mì	-m, mo	-Vm	-(u)m, -mo
3S	ṙ́	dō	ā, rā	è, nè	é	-l, le	-V	-y, -ye
LogS	ṙ́	?	(i, ḃì?)	èn	–	?	–	?
1P excl.	í	bù	ú	?	ò	bu	-Vw	-be
1P incl.	ì	jì		èn		wɔ		eni
2P	í	ì	í	ì	ì [+ATR]	yì	-Vy	î
3P	á	ē	ḃé	ò (m)mè	bò	bu/wu	-Vḃ	-u, -wu
LogP	à	?	(ù, ḃòw?)	mònnè	–	?	–	?

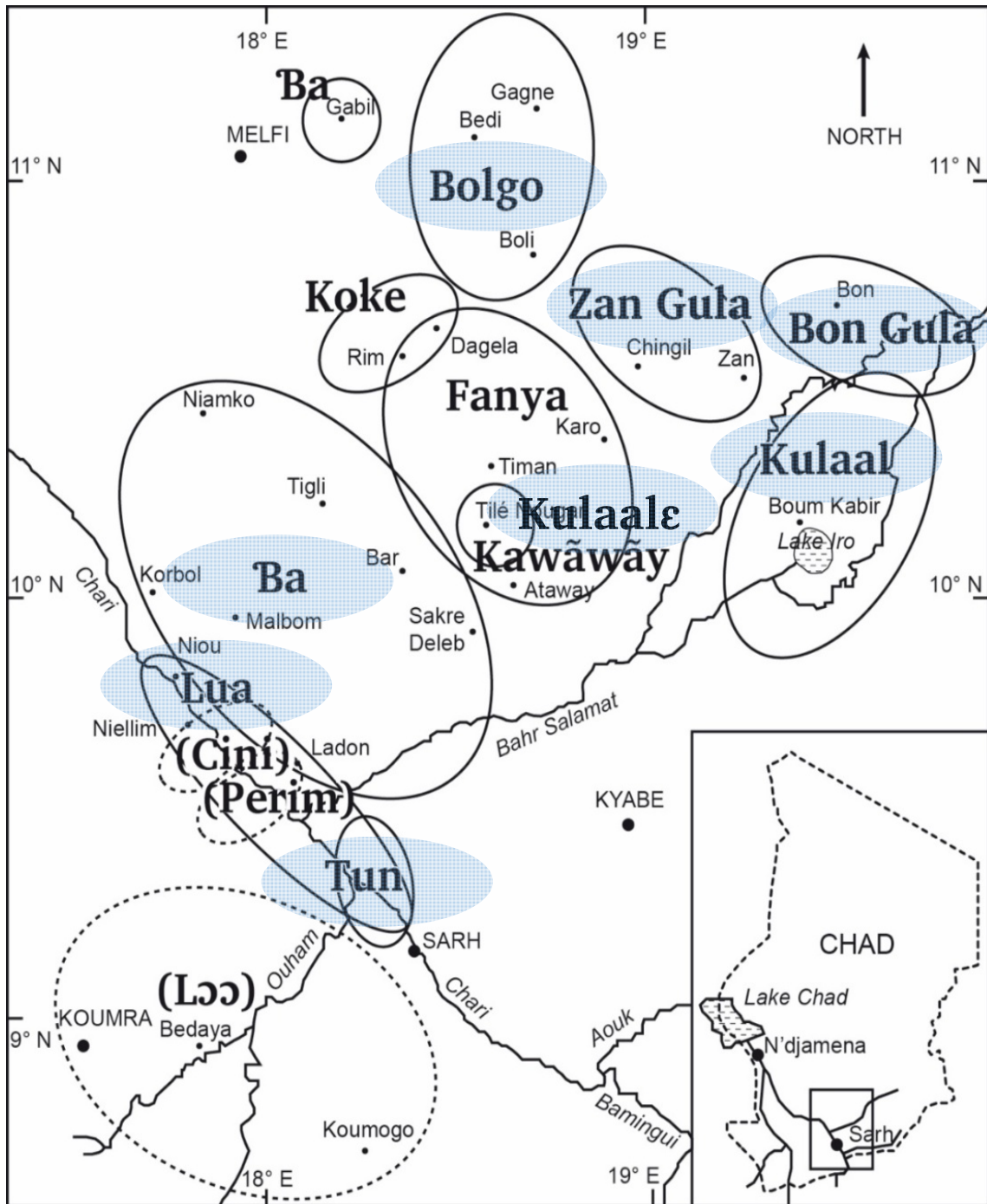
Table 4. Tonal polarity between ‘Subject’ and ‘Object’ paradigms (H/L contrast or reverse, Tun M/L)

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● Town	○ Living language area	0 10 50 Km (based on IGN)	
• Village	○ Extinct language area		
~ River			

Languages :

Lua	Loo (extinct)	Zan Gula	Kulaale
Cini (extinct)	Kulaal	Ba	Fanya
Tun	Bon Gula	Kawāwāy	Bolgo
Perim (extinct)			Koke

Designed by J. Picard, CNRS, LLACAN, 2017 Source : P. Boyeldieu

Map 1. Distribution of the Bua languages in Southern Chad