Edgar Gregersen

LUO

A Grammar

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LUO: A GRAMMAR

Edgar Gregersen

This dissertation is a structural analysis of Luo, a Nilotic language spoken in Kenya and Tanganyika by some 800,000 people. The data are drawn from field work in Kenya (summer, 1959) and a year's work with informants in New York City (1960-1961).

Methods used follow the familiar field techniques of modern linguistics --but in all instances, expedience and simplicity have been the final criteria for analysis and presentation.

The monograph has four parts.

(1) Introduction (including ethnographic data, a discussion and evaluation of previous work done on Luo, together with a statement of linguistic method and orientation)

(2) Phonology (dealing with phoneme inventory, distribution, and--in part--alternation; a special discussion is devoted to intonation and emotive features)

(3) Syntax (a presentation of the rules of occurrence of words in sentences)

(4) Morphology (and syntax of the phrase).

A text with both interlinear and free translations is appended.

Justification for this dissertation may be based on the following considerations.

(1) This is the first extensive account of Luo, and represents also the first attempt to apply the methods of American structural linguistics to any Nilotic or even (to my knowledge) to any Sudanic language--this is of primary importance because the Sudanic languages constitute the second largest linguistic stock of Negro Africa.

(2) It is among the first linguistic monographs to deal with the intonation of a tone language.

(3) It provides part of the necessary information permitting more accurate language subclassification within the Sudanic superstock, as well as reconstruction of the protolanguage. This in turn contributes to the evaluation of historical reconstructions for the area, based in large part on linguistic data--e.g., Murdock's hypothesis for 'Nilo-Hamitic' origins, presented in his book Africa (1959).

To

MAMMA

TANTE

CATHERINE

Mrs. MARLEY

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. IDENTIFICATION

1.1.1. Location and number of speakers. Luo is spoken in western Kenya and northwestern Tanganyika. A considerable number of native Luo speakers is said to live in the larger urban areas, particularly Nairobi; but despite this and the exigencies of migrant labor, Nyanza province and particularly the area around Kisumu remain the focal point for the Luo speech community. A closely related dialect, Padhola, is used by a rear-guard Luo tribe in Uganda.

Crazzolara, writing in 1950, states there are 560,000 speakers of Luo (1950:6). In her survey of Nilotic groups in general, Butt says of the Luo population that 'estimates are various; perhaps the most likely is between 400,000-600,000 souls' (1952:8). But according to official figures based on the 1948 census, there are 757,043 Luos in Kenya (see Statistical Abstract 1955, table 16; Tucker and Bryan [1956:105] quote the same census, but give the number as 725,585 in Kenya, and 50,000 in Tanganyika).

1.1.2. Designation. A wide variety of names for both the people and their language exists in the literature. But these are all essentially variants or combinations of four basic terms.

(1) Awa-Nyoro. The word is presumably a Bantu term. Its use is restricted to Hobley (1902).

(2) Nifa. Presumably also a Bantu term; it is used with various changes by Macdonald (1899) and Hobley (1902). Variants: Wa-Nifa, Nifa, Wa-Nife.

(3) Kavirondo. Its etymology is uncertain; it designates both an area of western Kenya round part of Lake Victoria (Kavirondo Gulf), and

by extension the peoples--both Luo and other--living there. The term is nowadays considered insulting, but has historical priority, occurring in the first references to the language, made by New in 1873, by Cust in 1883, and by others. Variants include:

Kavirŏndo - used by Wakefield (1887)

WaKavirondo - used by Millikin (1906)

South Kavirondo - used by Macdonald (1899)

Nilotic Kavirondo - used by Hartmann (1928) and Wagner (1940).

The two last variants attempt to distinguish the Luo from certain Bantu-speaking groups living in the northern Kavirondo area, viz., Hayo, Logoli, Vugusu, and Wanga (see Wagner 1940, 1949; Murdock 1958).

(4) Luo. This is the Luo designation both for themselves (jɔ̀ 'luɔ̀ ⌈jɔ̀ - 'people of'⌋) and their language (ˌðɔ̀ 'luɔ̀ ⌈ðɔ̀ - 'language of'⌋). The term has now gained general acceptance and is used here. Variants include:

Luwo - used by Hartmann (1906)

Lwoo and Lwoo-Kavirondo - used by Crazzolara (1950 and elsewhere); the spelling Lwoo is now commonly employed for a subgroup of Nilotic languages (see below).

Tho-Luo - used by Hobley (1902)

Dholuo - used by Malo (1952) and Huntingford (1959)

Luo-Kavirondo - used by Köhler (1955).

1.1.3. Ethnography. Description of the Luo has so far been scanty. What has been done is summarized in Butt (1952) and Murdock (1958). At present, cereal agriculture constitutes the principle subsistence activity, but the cattle complex remains an important cultural focus, with both milk and blood used for food. Social organization is 'patri-'oriented: patrilineal descent and kin group affiliation (tho the incest tabu is

extended to all known relatives on either side, even among Christians), patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession. Analysis of the kinship terminology is somewhat confused: in 1957, Murdock listed cousin terminology as an Omaha type; in 1958, as essentially Sudanese (following Roscoe, 1915). My own data indicate that they have a Hawaiian pattern (using Murdock's 1949 definition of the term whereby the word for sister = mother's brother's daughter = mother's sister's daughter = father's brother's daughter = father's sister's daughter; similarly for male relatives). Uncle and aunt terms are bifurcate merging (mother = mother's sister, but not father's sister; etc.). Polygyny is general and a bride-price required. Residence involves clusters of separated hamlets with mother-child households grouped in family compounds.

Many of the details of the older culture are fast disappearing due largely to the wide-spread and conscious adoption of European customs. Luos seem to be quite aware of such change, and, despite occasional nostalgia, not infrequently call themselves 'Black Europeans'. The third largest group in British East Africa, they are proving to be of considerable political importance; this is indicated in part by the international reputations of such Luo politicians as Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga.

1.1.4. Linguistic affiliation. Scholars are agreed that Luo is a Nilotic language, i.e., it is genetically related to Shilluk, Nuer, Lango (Lang'o), Acooli (Acholi). Classifications by Greenberg and Köhler indicate further ties and pinpoint relationships still more clearly. In the latest scheme (see Greenberg 1955, 1957, 1959; Köhler 1955; Welmers [no date]), Luo is West Nilotic and thus more closely related to Shilluk, Nuer, Lango than to Eastern Nilotic languages such as Maasai, or the Southern Nilotic cluster including Nandi-Suk. Within this West Nilotic group, Köhler further specifies it as Southern Lwoo. Nilotic itself is an eastern branch of the

Chari-Nile family (formerly called Macro-Sudanic, and by Murdock [1959], Sudanic), in turn a substock of the Sudanic superstock. This superstock comprises most of the languages spoken in Negro Africa not belonging to the Niger-Congo group.

Rejection of so extensive a genetic classification characterizes the position of certain European scholars, notably Tucker, Bryan, Huntingford, and Hohenberger. Bryan has in fact labelled Greenberg's Macro-Sudanic family a 'macromonstrocity' (1959:8). Their position rests on a different conception of and divergent criteria for linguistic classification, a generally more cautious approach in setting up essentially geographically delimited typological subgroupings, and an acceptance of the Mischsprache hypothesis according to which it is meaningful to say that a language has two or more lineal 'ancestors'.

Luo is also characterized by several pan-African linguistic traits (cf. Greenberg 1959), specifically: (1) a register tone system; (2) initial nasal plus voiced-stop consonant clusters such as mb-, nd-, ŋg-; (3) absence of rounded front vowels; and (4) certain semantic idioms, e.g., 'mouth of the house' for 'door', and the use of 'child' as a diminutive. These traits may point to an ultimate genetic relationship with Niger-Congo languages (which include the Bantu group), rather than with the Afro-Asiatic family (the newer term for Hamito-Semitic) which many scholars --including Meinhof, Sapir, and Greenberg--have thought of as probable.

1.2. PREVIOUS WORK DONE ON LUO

1.2.1. Nineteenth Century. Rudimentary linguistic work on Luo began in the late nineteenth century. The first account appeared in 1873 with Charles New's sixteen-word list in the appendix to his account of travels in East Africa. His transcription is extremely bare but reasonably ac-

curate within its limitations. His spelling "charm korn" for cam 'kuɔ̀n 'eat porridge!' (cam - 'eat!', 'kuɔ̀n - 'porridge')--which he translates as 'food'--merely indicates that his own dialect of English was probably an r-less one. His glosses are usually fair, tho he translates "kula" (presumably 'kulɔ̀) as 'river' rather than 'to fetch (water)', and glosses the Luo word for 'chicken' as 'child'.

The next reference is the Rev. M. Wakefield's considerably more ambitious vocabulary of 246 items which appeared in 1887. (In the introduction to this work, Cust mentions that Joseph Thompson and the missionary Bishop Hannington had previously visited the Luo area. However, I have found no pertinent work on Luo by them.)

Wakefield's work is the first to provide symbols for the dental stops, which he writes d, t; furthermore, he employs numerous diacritics to distinguish vowels--often superfluously. While adding greater potential accuracy of transcription, these symbols were not always consistently used; thus d, t (=the present /ð, θ/) were frequently confused with ordinary d, t. One peculiarity is the use of 'gn' for /ɲ/, which he also writes 'ng' (and mistakenly as 'n' as well: "nūr" for nɔ̀r 'beans'). Possibly in both instances we are dealing with printing errors. The sporadic use of 'sh' for /c/, which he also writes as 'ch' and 'tch', may in fact reflect allophonic variation. Wakefield's glosses are of mixed reliability, his most egregious errors including the translation of "ario" (a'rfyɔ̀) 'two' as 'ears', and of "mā e" ('ma ɛ̀) 'this (one)' as 'foot'. An interesting feature of the lexical inventory is the general absence of Swahili words.

In 1894, Baumann published the first recorded text in Luo, in addition to a list of numerals. The most striking thing about his work

is surely the idiosyncratic spacing in his transcription, which makes for very hard reading. Examples of this are the following two sentences:

di el ma dópi. 'The goat drinks water.' (presumably: ˌdɪɛ̀l màðɔ̀ 'pì.; 'dɪɛ̀l - 'goat', 'màðɔ̀ - 'to drink' [everything but water: the correct word is 'mòðɔ̀], pì - 'water')

ami di(o) el pi. 'I'm giving the goat water.' (presumably: 'á mɪyɔ̀ ˌdɪɛ̀l 'pì.; 'á - 'I, durative', 'mɪyɔ̀ - 'give').

A list of 108 words appeared in Macdonald's 1899 article based on work done by C.W. Hobley. The transcription is far more accurate than previously, and the work includes an interesting discussion of linguistic affiliation, in which Luo is grouped with Shuli (Acooli), Madi, Bari, Beri as comprizing the 'Negro languages', but as distinct from the 'Nuba-Fulla languages' (including Maasai, Lotuxo, Karamojoŋ, etc.) and the 'Suk languages' (including Suk and Nandi).

For comparison, I present the transcriptions of Luo numerals from one to ten as found in Wakefield (1887), Baumann (1894), Macdonald (1899), and, anticipating the next section, Johnston (1904).

	Wakefield	Baumann	Macdonald	Johnston
one	áshiél	ajyed	acheli	aciel
two	arío	arío	ario	areio
three	adēg	adék	adek	adek
four	agnúwén	angwan	ongweni	añwen
five	ábirío [sic]	abíd	abich	abīty'
six	áwishél	audyéd	auchiel	awuciel
seven	--	abirió	aboro } [sic]	aberēo
eight	--	abóro	abereo } [sic]	aburo
nine	--	abúngwan	luedoakachiel	oñgaciel
ten	apā́re	apáre	apar	apār

Part of the divergence amongst these writers is explained by dialect difference, *e.g.*, the entries for 'nine' (for which Macdonald, however, uses a mistaken form). Perhaps also the informant was not a native speaker (tho this has not been acknowledged)--this seems likely in view of Macdonald's "acheli" and "ongweni" with final '-i'.

1.2.2. Twentieth Century. The early twentieth century saw a continuation of travelers' lists, including those of Hobley (1902), Czekanowski (1924), and--perhaps the most important of these--that of Sir Harry Johnston (1904). He recorded over 200 words and several phrases in a highly detailed transcription (repeating, however, many of the previous mistakes, notably a regular confusion of /ð,θ/ with /d,t/).

Missionaries in this period were, however, the ones who began and continued the most important work on Luo. Köhler (1955) points out that by 1911 both an edition of Genesis and the New Testament in Luo were issued by the British Foreign Bible Society. According to Richards (1956), on the other hand, the single gospel of St. Luke was available in Luo only in 1916, and the whole New Testament translated only in 1938. I have not been able to verify these statements independently. In 1930, a Luo version of the Book of Common Prayer (Kitap Somo gi Pogo Sakrament) appeared, and in 1946 Pilgrim's Progress (Wuodh Jawuodh), which apparently had come out in an abridged version some time before. In the meanwhile, Roman Catholic Mill-Hill missionaries produced a translation of a prayer book (Kitaplemo), and Seventh Day Adventists began the publication of several tracts. Of some interest is the recent revision of the Bible in Luo, undertaken by the Rev. A. Rabensteiner; native speakers often find the existing version (especially parts of the Old Testament) difficult to understand or simply not Luo.

More important for linguistic purposes has been the publication of

handbooks of Luo grammar, the first of which appeared in 1910, written by some Mill-Hill Fathers of St. Joseph's Society. An important revision was issued in 1920; and a third, less extensive one appeared in 1935 with vocabularies. Another independent work, written by a native Luo-speaker, Shadrak Malo, was put out in a mimeograph edition in 1952. The most recent work is a set of introductory lessons by Huntingford. It appeared in 1959, but apparently has been privately circulated as a text in the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. All these works have various virtues and drawbacks, but prove valuable for their data, if not always for their analyses. The drawbacks are familiar ones. Word classes depend on English glosses rather than formal characteristics. Syntax takes its cues from Latin, English, and Swahili examples. Morphological analysis depends on the word divisions in the official orthography, which also lies at the bottom of the inadequate transcription employed in all these works. Thus, tone, stress, and length are completely ignored in the transcriptions, tho one does find an occasional reference to these phenomena. Most of these discussions use five symbols for nine vowels. The 1935 grammar every once in a while makes a difference between /e,ɛ; o,ɔ/ by employing diacritics: 'ë, ê, ô, ö', respectively. Only Huntingford uses an adequate number of signs; /ɪ,ɛ,ʊ,ɔ/ are represented by 'i,e,u,o'. Now all these distinctions have considerable importance not only for a proper representation of pronunciation, but for the grammar as well. Thus the verb with its tonal aspectual system is perforce inadequately described. The 1920 Mill-Hill grammar notes a difference in pronunciation between 'future' and 'past'. Malo says that 'the difference between the Present Continuous Tense, and the Present Tense is in the pronunciation', and stops there (1952:1). Huntingford notes that 'intonation is complicated, but except in a very few cases words are not

distinguished by tone alone' (1959:no page number). These comments exhaust the subject as far as the handbooks go.

A relatively extensive Luo-English has been compiled by an anonymous source, presumably a Mill-Hill missionary. No date is given, and the work is now out of print--despite its enormous usefulness. An English-Luo dictionary in typed manuscript has also been compiled but is far less extensive. A third dictionary, by Shadrak Malo, exists uncompleted in manuscript and has also proved invaluable. I have often used examples from the first and last works, especially in discussing noun prefixation. The forms cited are interesting examples of certain patterns, but were unknown to my informant when checked with them. It would seem that a considerable turnover has taken place in the vocabulary, and an interesting study of such change could probably be done using these sources.

Published literature in Luo is gradually building up. Several primers have been put out, and a few collections of folktales exist. A study of Luo customs by Paul Mboya, some things by Shadrak Malo, and several miscellaneous essays from soil conservation to Queen Elizabeth's coronation add to the growing list of titles. There is a weekly newspaper in Luo as well, Ramogi.

1.3. THE PRESENT GRAMMAR

1.3.1. Work done. The present grammar is in large part the result of a summer's field trip to Kenya in 1959. The possibility for such a trip was provided by a project Prof. John Buettner-Janusch of Yale was carrying out under the auspices of the Southwestern Foundation. The summer's expences were financed by a field grant from the Yale Anthropology Department.

Prof. Joseph Greenberg of Columbia specifically suggested a study of Luo, if there were an opportunity. Informant work begun in Africa was continued intermittently in 1959-1960 in New York. From June 1960 till March 1961, work progressed more or less continuously. During these two years, I enjoyed the good fortune of a Public Health Service fellowship for anthropological training and, in the second year, a Public Health Service research grant to be used specifically for my research on Luo.

1.3.2. Informants. Several native speakers provided the data for this study. Without exception they proved to be reliable and conscientious, kind and intelligent.

My first African informant was Clement Migenda from Kamagambo in South Nyanza. Unfortunately, our work was complicated by the fact that he spoke little English and I less Swahili so that communication was close to a bare minimum.

Stephen Owino was my major informant in Kenya and proved to be quite interested in linguistics, as well as a gold mine of short stories. He comes from Nyaundho in Gem location in South Nyanza.

Pamela Odede worked with me a good part of the summer of 1961. She is from Uyoma on the northern shore of Kavirondo Gulf. She had come to the United States to study sociology at Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio.

The great bulk of data for this study was, however, provided by Nehemia Antipas Othieno and his wife Ruth Auma Othieno. Born in Alego, Mr Othieno has nevertheless modified his dialect thru residence elsewhere, especially in Central Nyanza. At present he is working for a doctor's degree in education at Columbia University. Mrs Othieno, the daughter of Paul Mboya, comes from Karachuonyo in Central Nyanza, and arrived in New

York in September of 1961. After December of that year she more or less took over all the informant work. In fact, her dialect is the basis for the tonal analysis here presented.

1.4. LINGUISTIC APOLOGIA

This monograph is both conservative and pragmatic in its linguistic orientation. It is conservative in that it exploits the well-established field techniques of modern linguistics, and organizes the data arrived at in terms of the familiar units and hierarchies of phonemes, morphemes, and words. The grammar is pragmatic because such units are set up as units of expedience only: their justification is that they work.

Much of the discussion of the fundamental elements of linguistics gets bogged down in a certain specious rigor. One approach depends upon distribution as the ultimate criterion (for example, much of Harris's work, especially 1949); but here the circularity or arbitrariness of setting up a 'first environment' poses insuperable difficulties. Another approach capitalizes on the apparent success of phonemic analysis and wants to extend phonological considerations to every stage of the grammar--the result of which almost inevitably ends up with superfluous odds and ends, some of which are very odd indeed (for examples see Hill's 1958 analysis of English). One of the most shaky theoretical approaches--and despite successful application in the field, even its staunchest advocates concede difficulties--is that employing meaning, or, rather, specific differences in meaning, to set up morphemes and words. With the little that is known of semantics it is not clear that the total field of meaningful utterances is susceptible of analysis into discrete semantic units (kinship and color terms provide examples that whet the tongue, but little more). And even if that kind of analysis were possible, it is difficult to imagine (tho this is the crux of meaning-oriented analyses) that such semantic units would be

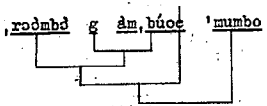
isomorphic with morphological ones.

The 'phonemes' and 'morphemes' discussed here, differ little from the straight-forward field-technique units. 'Words' are a bit different. They are unabashedly units of expedience; but perhaps a discussion of what they are not would be helpful.

The 'word' in the present analysis of Luo cannot be equated with Bloomfield's 'minimum free form'. In the first place, there is an important group of words which occurs only as enclitics in natural speech (tho in metalinguistic discussion they are readily pronounceable); e.g., nɔ 'that', á 'I, me'. Secondly, some nonenclitic forms cannot be pronounced out of context; e.g., appertentive forms in -/n/ or -/g/ proceeded by another consonant (see 5.1.1.).

In general, it would be difficult to set up any sort of 'phonological word'. A sort of consonant linking across word boundaries normally occurs (see 2.2.2.). Stress is unpredictable. Apart from pause and various consonant clusters there are really no Grenzsignale.

Nor can the word be equated with Bloch's 'lexeme', tho certain levels of an immediate constituent analysis closely parallel the breakdown of a sentence into words. The most important point of divergence: the phrase-final appertentive construction, very similar to the genitival construction in 'the king of England's hat' or 'John and Mary's house', where Bloch is forced to set up " 's " as a separate lexeme. In the Luo construction, the immediate constituent analysis of such a phrase requires a cut thru a word /a thorogoing lexemic analysis would have to posit lexemes with subphonemic content (see the discussion of case and morphophonemics below)/; e.g., the following phrase:



/'Mumbo's sheep and horse' (ˌrɔ̀ɔmbɔ̀ - 'sheep', g - 'with' variant of gi before a vowel, àm'búoc - 'horse of', 'mumbo 'Mumbo', a man's name)/ Here only the final noun (àm'búoc) of the appertentive phrase is marked, tho clearly the whole phrase is involved.

The example just chosen naturally invites a further discussion of both the case analysis and morphophonemics in general. The present grammar deals with nouns in terms of four paradigmatic features (singular-plural, nominative-appertentive), one of which, the appertentive (denoting the case of the thing possessed rather than the possessor), is marked by a rather involved alternation of the final stem consonant--an alternation which very frequently coincides with the alternation of this same consonant before the plural ending. In addition, the appertentive plural is usually identical with the nominative plural.

There are pertinent syntactic considerations as well: (1) the appertentive form of the noun occurs only before another nominal; (2) most noun (N_1) - nominal (N_2) constructions require the first member to be in the appertentive. Only a few exceptions to the last statement occur but they will figure crucially in my argument: N_1-N_2 is not an appertentive phrase if (a) N_2 is in apposition with N_1; (b) N_2 is a quantitative or numeral; (c) N_2 is one of certain color terms--this may be a special instance of (a).

It is quite possible to admit a special marker, a kind of ad hoc juncture without phonemic content, and by so doing avoid a case interpretation altogether. But I think such an analysis would be a little perverse and clearly roundabout because there are clear-cut minimal

contrasts without any hint of juncture differences; e.g.,

nâ,royâ dì'bɔ̀	'the white calf' (nâ,royâ - 'female calf', dì'bɔ̀ 'the white one, feminine--said of goats, sheep, but generally of cows)
nâ,rɔ́c dì'bɔ̀	'the calf of the white (cow)'
nì,rɔ́c dì'bɔ̀	'the calves of the white (cow)'
nì,rocè dì'boyɛ̀	'the white calves'.

Furthermore, the morphophonemics of the situation are not at all so simple; the four items which a case-number matrix would set up are frequently all contrasting (as in the example above). And the considerable amount of still greater variation (there is frequently one appertentive form before pronouns, another before nouns, a third before demonstratives) seems to me to be most efficiently handled in terms of case.

Thus, all the difficulties which the present case analysis faces, it does so 'to get...the simplest possible set of statements that will describe the facts of the language', as Bloomfield says (1933:212). However, I have had to disregard Bloomfield's doctrine that 'the existence of even a single over-differentiated paradigm implies homonymy in the regular paradigms' (1933:224). It would prove a monstrous complication of the morphology to describe as syncretism the fact that most Luo nouns have not got the numerous variants of 'ɔ̀ràŋ 'cow' (see 5.1.1.). The grammatical model has to be tempered in all directions in the interests of economy.

As for morphophonemics, it must be noted that with the exception of vowels such as /ɔ/ and /o/ that alternate in clitics in accordance with vowel harmony--such vowels being denoted when convenient by capital letters, e.g., {O}--no morphophonemic symbols have been used. Luo would permit a plethora of them. There are several reasons why morphophonemes are not used. First, they tend to make quoted examples unmanageable for

the reader unfamiliar with either Luo (e.g., a professional linguist) or linguistics (e.g., a native speaker of Luo). Secondly, morphophonemes ultimately require translation into lower-level phonemes anyway. This is one of the difficulties inherent in any morphophonemic treatment and in many instances involves a multiplication of symbols where statements would suffice. I do not agree with Halle (1959) that phonemics is rendered superfluous by the morphophonemics required in any description to account for homophony. For the morphophoneme must in turn be defined as a series of alternations of ordinary phonemes. Since all the series are presented here for Luo, the interested reader merely has to give them single-symbol labels and he winds up with morphophonemes.

In one area of the morphology, however, it might prove useful to deal in terms of components--something like Harris's long components. For noun inflection we could set up a feature of 'opposition'; i.e., a voiced phoneme plus this 'feature' would phonemically be a homorganic voiceless phoneme, and vice-versa (nasals, without a voiced-voiceless dimension, would be in opposition with a cluster of nasal plus voiced homorganic stop). Thus, using {ˇ} as the symbol of 'opposition', {p̌} would be a /b/ morphologically derivable from a form in /p/; {m̌} would be an /mb/ derivable from /m/. One could in fact describe the distinctive feature of the appertentive case as simply {ˇ}, and formulaically list the plural-morpheme as {ˇE} (where {E} is any of several endings, and {ˇ} affects the final consonant of the preceding noun stem). Introducing still further a difference between a simultaneous (superscripted) as opposed to a successive {ˇ}, we could readily account for homophony in the appertentive plural. Thus:

{'luǔm} - 'grass' {'luǔmé} (= /'lumbé/) - 'grasses'

{'lúmˇ} (= /lúmb/) - 'grass of' {'lúmˇé} (= /'lúmbé/) - 'grasses of'.

Now morphophonemes could very readily be employed to deal with abberations from this pattern. Thus, one could set up a morphophoneme {M}, occurring in words such as ȧm {ȧM} 'thigh', where the appertentive singular ends in /m/ rather than the more normal /mb/, tho the plural forms have the regular alternation to /mb/. All these devices could be used (given some ingenuity and enough symbols), but they are not in this monograph because of the reasons given above.

The discussion of intonation forming a major part of chapter three does not follow the familiar analysis into phonemic pitch levels suggested by Pike and Wells for English. Attempts to apply such a framework to 'tone languages' (i.e., languages where tones are phonemes as well as morphemes) --borderline cases tho they are--have been made by Bloch (1950) for Japanese, and by Haugen and Joos (1954) for an eastern dialect of Norwegian. It seems to me, however, that the resultant incorporation of lexical contrasts into the pitch contour of a sentence (the 'intonemes' of a sentence in one jargon) is intuitively unsatisfying and descriptively redundant. Even for English, the Trager-Smith kind of analysis with discrete prosodemic phonemes may well on closer inspection have to give way to a contour model.

For tone-languages such as Japanese and Norwegian, it seems definitely most elegant to talk in terms of a 'general sentence melody' or contour imposed on a string of morphemes composed of both pitch and nonpitch phonemes. /For Norwegian, any discrete pitch treatment would be particularly unfortunate because lexical tone is almost entirely predictable from morphology; e.g., tone contrasts occur only on root morphemes; inflectional endings are frequently accompanied by strict tone sandhi; etc./ In Luo, such a procedure is even more necessary; and the postulation of intonation levels together with certain tone morphemes constitutes the basis for the

present approach.

1.5. PLAN OF THE PRESENT GRAMMAR

Originally, I had planned that subject matter would progress down the immediate constituent hierarchy, beginning with an outline of the syntax and ending with a discussion of phonological details. But such an arrangement has proved to be too much even for the trained reader, and so part of this scheme has been abandoned: all reference to phonology has been put in chapter one. The discussion of tones has been altered so that noun and verb contours come under the heading of noun and verb morphology, respectively. But note that details of morphology and comments on the syntax of the phrase still follow general notes on the syntax of the sentence. This much has been retained from the initial sequence because I still think that in a grammar of the present type it is more meaningful to go from the general to the specific.

II. PHONOLOGY

2.1. INTRODUCTION.

As suggested in the introduction, I use a conservative 'class of segments' kind of phoneme--tempered by expedience in light of the fact that it has occasionally proved more convenient to deal in terms of, say, components rather than segments (e.g. American English /er/, Japanese /sy/); furthermore, because the whole area of tones almost inevitably invites an overlap interpretation.

Symbols used are essentially those of the International Phonetic Association within the Africanist and World Orthography tradition of employing [y] for [j] and [j] for [ɟ] or [dž].

2.2. PHONEMICS

2.2.1. Tones. Even in applying the most exacting of definitions (probably Pike 1948:3), one must describe Luo as a 'tone' language because it has 'lexically significant, contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable'. In the present analysis there are three tone phonemes of an essentially register type: 'low(-fall)' /v̀/, 'mid'-/v̄/ (usually left unmarked), 'high (-rise)' /v́/. To describe the general contours of these tonemes, one may divide the tonal range into a five-point scale so that '1' is the lowest value, '5' the highest. In terms of this scale, then, isolated monosyllabic utterances have the following contours: 'low' [31], 'mid' [3:], 'high' [45]. Anticipating other parts of this discussion, we may note the following allophones: unstressed 'low' is [32], as is 'low' after 'mid' in a vowel sequence; stressed 'mid' before 'mid' in another syllable tends toward [4].

Minimal contrasts demonstrating all three tonemes are relatively rare. One set: wɔ̀r 'song', wer 'sing!', wɔ́r 'milk pail'. Note, however, that

the imperative form wer also occurs with 'high', wér, in more lively utterances. A less minimal triad: kɔ̀r 'pathway', kor 'prophesy!', kɔ́r 'chest'. In order to demonstrate that tone phonemes cannot be reduced further in number by some environmental conditioning or other, the following table has been drawn up. Abbreviations: V - any vowel, P - any fortis (voiceless) stop, B - any lenis (voiced) stop, C - any other initial consonant, K - any consonant or zero.

/ɤ/

VK	ɗm 'thigh', ɗt 'house'
PVK	cɗŋg 'knee', θɨm 'woods'
BVK	bɗ 'to wrap', gɨ̀r 'to sneeze'
CVK	lɗk 'tooth', ŋɗ 'who', wɗŋ 'eye'

/ɤ̄/

VK	ɛɛn 'he', ok (or ɔk) 'not'
PVK	koɔm 'chair', toɔŋ 'spear'
BVK	ɔ̄ok 'mouth', gɛ 'rubble'
CVK	lɛp 'tongue', mec 'fires', rɛc 'fish'

/ɤ́/

VK	ít 'ear', ú (Alego dialect) 'puff adder'
PVK	kíc 'bee', tík 'chin'
BVK	bú (Karachuonyo dialect) 'horn', dúd 'place'
CVK	lɔ́k 'dream', sɔ́m 'Som' (man's name)

Of these three, /ɤ́/ is by far the rarest.

Utterance final syllables, especially those in -PV (using the abbreviations employed above), tend to have voiceless vowels. Such a pronunciation is not easily elicited in isolation; but in unaffected speech, the final syllable of a word like ˌnakɔ 'girl' is completely voiceless: ɗ 'nɛ́nɔ ˌnakɔ́. 'I saw the girl' (ɗ - 'I' perfective, 'nɛ́nɔ 'saw').

2.2.2. Stress. In utterances of more than one syllable, features of stress are unpredictable. Altho strictly minimal contrasts are lacking in my corpus, the following pairs point to the necessity of setting up a primary-stress phoneme /'/ (placed before the stressed syllable):

'ruòθ 'chief': ru'àθ 'bull'

'ŋatò 'person': a'dèk 'three'

'kòŋò 'beer': kà'làm 'pencil' (one variant).

High tone is regularly but not exclusively associated with primary stress:

'máma 'my mother': ó'pùk 'tortoise'

'umí (pet name for Auma, Ouma): ''a'á or ''a'à 'no'.

'Long' (geminate) vowels or other vowel sequence nuclei with complex tone contours are almost invariably associated with primary stress: 'koòkò 'shout', 'túutu '(kind of) bird', 'oóyò 'no'. But note: 'kìtuùŋgù 'onion'.

Despite the further absence of unambiguous contrasts, it is clear that a secondary-stress phoneme must be set up, /ˌ/ (placed before the stressed syllable). In point of fact, within most utterances secondary stress is a reduced primary stress. Thus,

'pílè ˌpilè 'always': ˌputù'pútù 'very much'.

An overloud or emphatic stress /"/ is considered in 3.3.4.

Juncture phenomena are largely explicable in terms of stress rather than any additional feature. In normal speech, a sequence C_1VC_2V is stressed either $'C_1VC_2V$ or $C_1V'C_2V$ regardless of morpheme boundaries. For example, the sequence o'k ɛɛ̀n 'not him' is morphemically ɔk 'not' plus ɛɛn 'he, him'. Similarly with sequences involving stop consonants followed by /r,l,s/:

ˌjò mà 'bɛyò, o'k ru. 'Only the good die young' (lit. people who are good are not old; jò - 'people', mà - 'who',

'beyd - 'are good', ok - 'not', ru - 'get old').

A kind of juncture has, however, been noted--but only very exceptionally. Occurring across morpheme boundaries, it involves a 'compensatory' lengthening of the nasal in a nasal-stop cluster before a word beginning with a homorganic stop, e.g., ,ton: 'guend /for ,tong 'guend/ 'egg' (tong - 'spear of', 'guend - 'chicken').

2.2.3. Vowels. A minimum of nine short nondiphthongal vowels occur which are mutually contrasting. Several phonemicizations are no doubt possible, but the following distinctive features are unambiguously required: front (F), back (B), high (H), mid (M), low (L); one may choose for the other features either a tense (T) vs lax (unmarked) dichotomy, or add two more heights: lower high (h) and lower mid (m). In the present analysis all nine vowels are set up as independent phonemes. Schematized, they present a 2 x 4 + 1 pattern.

FH or FHT	i	u	BH or BHT
Fh or FH	ɪ	ʊ	Bh or BH
FM or FMT	e	o	BM or BMT
Fm or FM	ɛ	ɔ	Bm or BM
L	a		

/Altho such a five-level system is not recognized in Hockett's 1955 survey of phonemic systems in Manual of phonology, it is not unique. Maasai and Nuer reportedly have a 2 x 5 pattern: /i ɪ e ɛ a ə ɔ-o ʊ u/. In Crazzolara's analysis for Acooli, we find essentially the same pattern --in his transcription /i ɪ e ɛ a ə o o ɔ u/; an additional phoneme /ə/ mentioned by him has really not been demonstrated. Trubetzkoy, altho maintaining that five-level systems are an exceptional rarity (1939:101), noted as examples the Schweizerdeutsch dialect of the Glarus Canton, and

Fanti of Ghana. (More recently, Welmers has tried to reduce the Fanti system to a three-level one by adding a phoneme of 'raising' /˄/, but the change in analysis is only superficially different.) 7

It has proved impossible to get a complete series of contrasts agreeing in consonants and tone, and differing only with respect to the vowel phonemes. Probably the best set follows: 'bííro 'to come', bɪr 'to be cross', ber 'split! (intransitive)', bɛr 'beauty', bar 'split! (transitive)', bɔr 'fat' (noun), bor 'height', bʊr 'boil' (noun), bʊr 'hole'. In the accompanying charts, this series is extended to permit a fuller view of the distribution of vowels in monosyllabic utterances. For convenience the syllable ends in /r/ and only the initial consonant varies. These charts also give some idea of the distribution of consonants.

Complex tones within a single syllable are interpreted as a sequence of single tones with geminate vowel nuclei. Minimal contrasts include: ˌŋe 'mumbo. 'know Mumbo!' (ŋe - 'know!', 'mumbo-'Mumbo'[man's name]) vs ˌŋeɛ̀ 'mumbo 'Mumbo's back' (ŋeɛ̀ - 'back of'); 'tʊ́utu '(kind of) bird' vs 'tutu 'pus'. There are very few contrasts of single vowels with geminate vowels having a simple tone contour (i.e., a contrast like $\acute{v}_1 \neq \acute{v}_1\acute{v}_1$). The only pertinent examples in my corpus involve a morphological boundary as well: 'ɔanɔ̀ 'person' vs 'ɔaa nɔ̀ 'that woman' (ɔaa - variant of 'ɔakɔ̀ 'woman', nɔ̀ 'that'), Or else the contrast is not minimal, e.g., kɪ́ɪc 'orphan' as opposed to any one of the following: kíc 'bee', ɪ̀c 'stomach', wɪ̀c 'head'. Structurally, such long vowels are paralleled by complex vowel sequences with a simple tone contour; e.g., 'oíémo 'to eat'. But in connected discourse, and particularly with reduction in stress, all such long nuclei tend to be simplified; thus, words with long citation forms have shortened (unstressed) allomorphs: ɛɛn - ɛn 'he', tɔɔɲ - tɔɲ 'spear'.

/-r#/	/iɹ/	/ɪ/	/e/	/ɛ/	/a/	/ɔ/	/o/	/ʊ/	/u/
/#-/	ir 'toward'	ɪr 'give evil eye!'	—	—	—	—	or 'send!'	—	—
/b-/	—	bɪr 'to be cross'	ber 'split!'	ber 'beauty' bɛr 'to be beautiful'	bar 'split!'	bɔr 'fat'	bor 'height' bɔr 'to be far away'	bʊr 'boil'	bur 'hole'
/p-/	pir 'nurse!'	pɪr 'get back debt!'	—	per 'cover!'	pàr 'mat'	pɔr 'add!'	por 'tell weight!' pòr 'to elope'	pʊr 'to be mouldy'	pur 'dig!'
/ð-/	ðir 'push!'	—	ðer 'get thin!'	—	—	—	—	—	ður 'pile up!'
/θ-/	θir 'be stunted!'	θɪr 'long stick'	—	θɛr 'add more'	—	θɔr 'talk a lot!'	θor 'hit!'	—	θur 'country' θùr 'slope'
/d-/	—	dɪr '(near) by'	—	—	dàr 'to move'	—	—	—	—
/t-/	—	tɪr 'to be straight'	ter 'take!'	—	tar 'mislead!' tàr 'to be white'	—	—	tʊr 'break'	—
/j-/	—	[jɪr - Alego form of gir]	jer 'avoid!'	—	jar 'avoid!'	—	—	jʊr 'to sulk'	jur 'throw!'
/c-/	—	cɪr 'bravery' cìr 'bad luck'	cer 'despise!'	cɛr 'find out!'	car 'despise!'	cɔr 'to be blind'	cor 'to push'	—	cùr 'to groan'
/g-/	—	gɪr 'to sneeze'	ger 'to be wild!'	ger 'build!'	gar 'spread!'	gɔr '(kind of) animal'	gor 'write!'	—	gur 'hammer'
/k-/	—	kɪr 'strew!'	—	ker 'separate!'	kar 'spread!'	kɔr 'path'	kór 'chest' kor 'prophesy'	—	—

/-r#/	/i/	/ɪ/	/e/	/ɛ/	/a/	/ɔ/	/o/	/ʊ/	/u/
/m-/	—	—	—	mɛ̀r 'to be drunk'	mar 'like very much!'	mɔ̀r 'delight'	mor 'thunder'	mʊr 'warm!'	—
/n-/	—	—	ner 'mother's brother'	—	nar 'tie around'	—	—	nʊ̀r 'to be drowsy, be plenty'	nùr 'to wither'
/ɲ-/	—	ɲɪr 'keep on!'	—	—	—	—	ɲòr 'fold of the neck'	ɲʊ̀r 'throw away!'	—
/ŋ-/	—	ŋɪr 'grin!'	—	ŋɛr 'wail! scream!'	ŋàr 'to be sweet'	—	ŋàr 'beans'	ŋʊ̀r 'to grumble'	—
/f-/	—	fɪr 'make burn!'	—	fɛr 'find out!'	—	—	—	[fʊr - variant of hʊr]	—
/s-/	—	sɪr 'support!'	sɛr 'make love to!'	sɛr 'make love to!'	sar 'scarify!'	sɔr 'walk quickly!'	—	sʊr 'keep burning!'	—
/h-/	—	—	—	hɛr 'love!'	har 'grind!'	—	—	hʊ̀r 'throw hard!'	—
/l-/	—	lɪr 'slice!'	ler 'tendon'	lɛr 'brightness' lɛ̀r 'to be bright'	lar 'fight!'	lɔr 'descend!'	lor 'close!'	lʊ̀r 'to be barren'	lur 'walk quickly!'
/r-/	—	—	—	rɛr 'pile up!'	—	—	—	—	rur 'confuse!'
/w-/	wir 'smear!'	wɪr 'come back!'	wer 'pail' wer 'return bride price!' wèr 'song'	—	mar 'remove thatch!' 'redeem bride price!'	—	—	—	—
/y-/	—	—	yer 'spread out!'	—	yar 'spread out!'	yɔr 'wade!'	yor 'plow (for second time)!'	—	—

In the present work, the symbols 'w' and 'y' are used for consonantal high vowels. They are probably best considered allophones of /u, i/ respectively, and can be unambiguously noted by the absence of tone marking. Here, an unmarked vowel indicates a vowel with mid tone, but this is purely an orthographic and typing convenience. Something of a case can be made for the separate status of semivowels, however: they pattern like consonants and are involved with consonantal morphophonemic alternations. Thus, /w/ occurs before high-vowel sequences such as /uo, uɔ/ in 'wuɔ̀rɔ̀ 'father', 'wuɔ̀ɔ̀ 'to walk'; /y/ shows morphophonemic alternations with /c/ quite regularly: ɔ̀'tɔɔyɔ̀ 'hyaena'- ɔ̀'tɔɔcɔ̀ 'hyaenas', 'kwayɔ̀ 'to bite, transitive' - 'kuecɔ̀ 'to bite, intransitive'.

Vowels before the palatal consonants /c, ɟ, ɲ/ often have a slight high-front off-glide, especially noticeable with /u/, e.g., cuɲ 'liver', phonetically [cu^{i}ɲ]. Such an off-glide is regarded as part of the vowel allophone, not a diphthong or other sequence.

Any uninterrupted sequence of vowels is a vowel chain. With the exception of geminate vowels and chains the first member of which is /i,ɪ,u,ʊ/, these sequences most frequently cut across morpheme boundaries, e.g., 'yaɔ̀ 'to open' (yaw-'open', ɔ̀ - 'verbal ending'), 'aɔ̀rɔ̀ 'river' (a - 'nominal prefix', 'orɔ̀ 'to flow'), etc. The following list gives examples of all chains not involved in morpheme boundaries that occur in my corpus.

/ii/ kɨ'jiɨkɔ̀ 'spoon'

/ɪɪ/ 'rɪɪŋgɔ̀ 'to run', rɔ̀'θɪɪŋ 'grey'

/ie/ 'ciémo 'to eat', 'yié 'to believe'

/ɪɛ/ 'ɔɪɛnɔ̀ 'to bewitch', 'ɲɪɛn 'trees'

/ia/ 'cia 'charm, good looks', 'kɨa 'not to know how to'

/ɪa/ 'ɔ̈rɔ̀ŋ 'cow'

/iu/ ɔ̀'(h)iu 'breakfast', 'ciu 'center of hut'

/uu/ 'ŋuùt 'neck', 'tóutu '(kind of) bird'

/uu/ 'cuɔnd 'to force'

/uo/ 'buɔm 'wing', 'guok 'dog'

/uɔ/ 'buɔɔ 'to be sterile', à'puɔyɔ 'rabbit'

*/ua/ bɔ'ruɔ 'letter'

/ua/ 'kuɔr 'ancestor', ru'ɔθ 'bull'

/uɛ/ 'guɛnɔ 'fowl, chicken', 'cuɛ 'to be fat', cù'ɛ 'leach'

/ue/ 'gueɔɔ 'to kick', 'cùe 'to rain'

/uɪ/ 'duɪr 'to be agile', 'cuɪrɪ (Alego dialect) 'rainy season'

/ui/ 'kuinɔ 'to be cruel'

/ee/ kɪ'seɔrd 'marriage rite', rɔ'teɔŋ 'black'

/ɛɛ/ 'ɛɛn 'he, she, it'

/ei/ 'sei 'signature'

/eu/ 'seu '(kind of) fish'

/oo/ 'koɔkɔ 'shout', 'móon 'women'

/ɔɔ/ 'roɔmbɔ 'sheep'

/ou/ 'lɔù 'ground'

/aa/ 'caɑndɛ 'that (spoken of)'

/aɔ/ 'raɔ 'hippopotamus', 'taɔ 'bowl'

/aɪ/ mɪ'kaɪ 'first wife', dɪ'faɪ 'wine'

*/ai/ mɔ'saɪ 'Maasai', nɑɪ'robi 'Nairobi' (also: nɔ'robi, ŋɔ'robi)

/ɪɛu/ 'krɛɔù 'straight line'

/uoi/ 'wuoi 'boy'

/eei/ 'ŋgeei 'Ngei' (name of a woman)

/aaɪ/ ŋɔ'saaɪ 'god', rɔ'ɑaɪ 'rooster'

Sequences preceded by an asterisk occur only in recent loan words (from Swahili).

General allophonic characteristics of vowels include neutral lip-rounding--except for /u, ʊ/ after /w/, the sequence being strongly rounded and quite protruded. Vowels occurring in the environments N-N, h-N (where N represents any nasal consonant), tend to be slightly nasalized. /u/ before high-front vowels and especially after /y/ is fronted [u+]. /a/ before /ŋ/ is [æ-]; before /c,ɟ/, [a]; elsewhere /a/ varies from [a] to [ɑ-]. /e/ before /k,g/ is [ɛ̝], otherwise [ɛ]. /o/ after a high-back vowel (/u,o/) is [o̝], almost [ə^]; otherwise [ɔ̝]. Stressed /ɛ,o/ are [ɛ̝,ɔ̝] respectively; unstressed [ɛ, o]. The vowels /i, ɪ, ʊ, u/ are respectively [i, e^, o^, u].

In the pronunciation of my Alego informant all vowels (except /a/) were markedly more retracted than described above.

2.2.4. Consonants. The consonant phonemes of Luo are: /p θ t c k; b ð d ɟ g; m n ɲ ŋ; f s h; l r; w y/.

/w,y/ are consonantal [ŭ, ĭ] and their status has already been discussed in the preceding section. They do not occur after another consonant in the same syllable, and words with such initials have variants with syllabic high vowels, e.g., ,dt 'wàŋ 'The house is burning.' (in a clarity norm); more usually d'tudŋ (dt - 'house', wàŋ - 'is burning').

All the spirants--/f, s, h/ are voiceless. /f/ is labiodental. /s/ is an alveolar sibilant. /h/ is a glottal with relatively more friction than initial English /h/; intervocalically, it has lengthened allophones, at times murmured. Finally, /h/ is a velar fricative [ɣ̊] or [x].

The liquids are comprised of /l, r/. /l/ is a lateral with relatively neutral coloring. /r/ has flap and spirant allophones, and the combination /rr/ (which occurs only across morpheme boundaries, e.g., 'gar r i 'support yourself!' [gar - 'support!', r - prepronominal variant of rc

'self', i - 'you, singular') is a strongly trilled [r̥]. Both /l, r/ are voiced and alveolar.

The stop series shows a five-position system, with positions labeled bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar. They include two groups: fortis (voiceless) and lenis (voiced). The fortis series is always voiceless. Finally, in the Karachuonyo dialect, such stops have glottalized and aspirated allophones (apparently in free variation), but other dialects have only aspirated allophones in this environment. Initially in a stressed syllable, and before /l, r, n/, they are strongly aspirated; before another fortis or lenis stop, aspiration varies with lack of aspiration. Unaccented syllables usually have unaspirated stops. Intervocalically, /θ, c/--normally [t̪θ; tš ~ tʲšʲ]--have spirantal variants [θ, šʲ]. One informant from Gem used [x] as a spirantal variant of /k/, but this usage has not been noted for other informants.

Lenis consonants are as a rule aspirated and voiced--initially and intervocalically fully so. Finally after a nasal, they have 'medial' allophones (e.g., [b̥, ð̥]) in free variation with voiced unaspirated ones. For this reason the distinguishing feature between /b,p/ cannot strictly be considered as voice vs voicelessness. Intervocalically /ð, j/--otherwise [d̪ð, dž ~ dʲžʲ] have spirantal allophones [ð, žʲ] in free variation with affricate ones. Before another stop, liquid, or nasal, there is a vocalic off-glide with timbres in the range of [ᵊ, ⁱ].

In normal use, the nasals show a certain skewness in that they parallel the stops in all positions except the dental. /n/, otherwise alveolar, is dental in the cluster /nð/. But see 2.2.5.

Recapitulating our discussion schematically, we may set up the following chart of consonants:

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar
fortis stop	p	θ	t	c	k
lenis stop	b	ð	d	ɟ	g
nasal	m		n	ɲ	ŋ
spirant	f		s		h
liquid			l, r		
(semivowel				y	w).

2.2.5. Subsystem phonemes.

/'/ 'glottal stop' usually occurs across morphological boundaries and in special emphatic contours, as in:

ˌcə̀k 'wa'ə́ac. 'The milk is so sour.' (cə̀k - 'milk', wə́c -'is sour').

/'/ also occurs as a constituent phoneme of specific words, notably ''a'ə̀ or ''a'ə́ 'no'.

The clicks /c˜/ (lateral) and /t˜/ (dental) occur as independent interjections of surprise or doubt.

An ingressive (inhaled) sequence /ht/ is a traditional utterance at the end of a story.

An ingressive voiceless 'l' /ɬ/ occurs as an interjection more or less equivalent to 'ouch!', especially when the speaker has just been burnt.

A sequence which is phonetically ⌈tɕihh⌋ or the like is used in describing something very cold.

Breathy vowels are both allophonic (see 3.3.4.) and an 'Appelmittel', e.g., the utterance ''ə́ a$_{h}$a$_{h}$ indicates disgust, and ɬ, 'a$_{h}$'a$_{h}$'a$_{h}$ indicates pain. Note, however, that all final vowels tend to have a voiceless coda; further, that /h/ occurs finally in at least one word, /noh/ (see 7.2.1.).

A dental 'n' /N/ occurs in a word of uncertain use and equally uncertain meaning: 'oNɔ̀. One of my informants brought up the point himself: Stephen Owino, who was very much interested in the linguistic analysis and in details of transcription, asked how I'd write the word. It meant nothing according to him, but he maintained that Paul Mboya had offered a prize at one time for the best suggestion on how to represent the sound in ordinary orthography (I have checked with Mr Mboya, who does not seem to recall the matter). Other informants are aware of the word, but 'do not remember what it means'. With the inclusion of this precarious item, Luo would have five nasal consonants directly paralleling the stop series. According to Hockett (1955:119), however, 'the number of nasal phonemes (differentiated solely by position of articulation) which appear in various languages ranges from none at all to four'. But it seems that a five-nasal pattern is really nothing new; at least two other Nilotic languages, Shilluk and Nuer, have the same setup (see Westermann and Ward [1933:62], where they are listed as /m nh n ny ŋ/).

In words recognized as having a Swahili or English origin, many people attempt to imitate the foreign pronunciation. The most prominent addition to the phoneme repertory is /š/, which occurs in proper names, e.g., 'Shadrak' /'šadrȧk/, and elsewhere, e.g., ˌŏɔ̀ ''ɪŋglɪ̀š (more commonly ˌŏɔ̀ ''iŋgèrésȧ) 'the English language'. Most people use /s/ in such words.

Less commonly /v, z/ also occur, in Biblical names and elsewhere, e.g., nɔ̀'vɛmbȧ 'November' (also nɔ̀'fɛmbȧ, even nɔ̀'wɛmbȧ). But such pronunciations are clearly restricted to proficient bilinguals.

2.3. PHONOTACTICS

In the following discussion, subsystem phonemes are not considered and unique appertentive patterns are ignored. Examples are given for less

frequent clusters only.

All consonants occur initially before a vowel and intervocalically. /w/ does not occur before /o,ɔ/ in stressed syllables.

All consonants except /b, j, f, y/ occur finally after a vowel.

The following cluster occur initially before a vowel:

(a) the 'normal' clusters of nasal plus homorganic lenis stop (note that /nɔ̃/ is really /n̰ɔ̃/): /mb, nɔ̃, nd, ɲj, ŋg/

(b) clusters of the type C_1C_2 which have alternants with vowels, C_1VC_2 (see 2.4.3):

/ml/ 'mlɛɛ (refrain in a song)

/kr/ 'krɛsi 'drizzle'

/kl/ 'klas 'class'; native words beginning with this cluster are essentially onomatopoëtic, associated with movement thru the air, e.g., 'klele, klɪn'drɪlɪkɪ'lɪndɪ --both used with reference to the flapping of wings; 'klurù -- said when hawks are seen.

(Other examples are given in 2.4.3.)

(c) certain foreign clusters:

/mp/ 'mpirɛ 'football'

/mt/ 'mtɔ̃ka '(motor)car'

/mk/ 'mkatɛ 'bread'

/mf/ mfɑ̃n'ganù 'Mfanganu' (a place name)

/gl/ 'glɑ̃s 'eyeglasses, mirror'

/fr/ 'fransɛ 'France'

/br/ 'brandɛ 'veranda'.

The following clusters occur intervocalically within a morpheme:

(a) the 'normal' clusters: /mb, nɔ̃, nd, ɲj, ŋg/

(b) consonant + /n/:

/ðn/ 'kɛ́ðnɛ̀ 'gall bladder', 'kiðnɛ̀ '(kind of) tree, buphagia'

/dn/ 'kidnɨ 'insect'

/gn/ 'kɔ́gnɔ̀ 'nail', (ŋà)'rɔgnɔ̀ 'kidney'

/ɲn/ 'kaɲnɛ̀ 'donkey', rɛ̀'biɲnɔ̀ 'spotted white and brown'

/ŋn/ 'luaŋnɨ 'fly'

/rn/ 'cuarnɛ̀ 'bug', θɔ̀'mɔrnɨ 'safari ant'

(c) consonant + /m/ (in various dialects these words have /u/ instead of /m/):

/rm/ 'ŋgurmɛ̀ 'pig' ('ŋguruɛ̀ - Karachuonyo dialect)

/lm/ 'ndulmɛ̀ 'trypanosomiasis' ('ndululɛ̀ - Alego dialect)

(d) consonant + /r/:

*/dr/ jɛ̀'padrɨ 'priest'

/jr/ ɔ̀'rujrɛ̀ 'rope, cable', sɨ'mɛjrɔ̀ 'cicatrices'

/gr/ 'fagrɔ̀ 'medicine', 'bugrɛ̀ 'silt', ɔ̀'mɛgrɛ̀ 'mushroom'

/kr/ 'lɔkrɔ̀ 'Adam's apple'

*/ər/ 'misrɨ 'Egypt'

(e) consonant + /l/:

/kl/ kɛ̀'gɛklɛ̀ 'scale (of fish), eggshell', ɛ̀'taklɛ̀ 'large forehead'

/gl/ 'ndaglɛ̀ 'magic charm', ɔ̀'higlɛ̀ 'fish pot'

/mbl/ ɔ̀'bamblɛ̀ 'dried fish'

/ŋgl/ ɔ̀'gɔŋglɔ̀ 'snailshell', 'suŋglɛ̀ 'chaff of simsim'

(f) consonant + /t/:

*/pt/ sɛ̀ptembɛ̀ 'September'

*/kt/ ɔk'tobɛ̀ 'October'

*/nt/ 'kɔntɨnɛnt 'continent'

(g) consonant + /k/:

*/tk/ katka'fɨsm 'catechism'

*/sk/ 'paskə̀ 'Easter'

/ndk/ kə̀'hondkə̀ 'anxiety'

(h) consonant + /s/:

*/ns/ 'fransə̀ 'France'

*/ks/ 'ruksə̀ 'permission'.

Finally after a vowel, all the 'normal' clusters occur, and also /st, nt/ in recent loan words: 'pɛntɛ̀kə̀st 'Pentecost', 'kontə̀nɛ̀nt 'continent'. (In the table above, an asterisk indicates 'loan' clusters.)

2.4. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Suprasegmental alternations are discussed in the following chapter. Specifics of noun and verb alternations are presented in the chapters on the morphology of nouns and verbs respectively. Classification of remaining items follows terminology as used by Wells (1949).

2.4.1. Automatic alternation. In automatic alternation the conditioning environment is characterized in terms of phonemes, and the alternation is the same for all morphemes having a parallel allomorph in one same environment.

Polysyllabic morphemes with prepausal allomorphs in unstressed -V have allomorphs without the -V (i.e., lose a syllable) before an allomorph beginning with a vowel. This alternation is largely a matter of tempo, slower styles using prepausal allomorphs and even glottal stops across morpheme boundaries.

Examples: ˌpal(ə̀) ə̀ 'dɨ̀k. 'The knife is dull.' ('palə̀ - 'knife', ə̀ - 'it, present', dɨ̀k-'is dull')

ə̀ 'nɛ̀ɛn(ə̀) ə̀. 'I saw him.' (ə̀ - 'I, perfective', 'nɛnə̀ - 'to see', ə̀ - 'him')

kə̀'tɛp(ə̀) ə̀'rɨ́yə̀ 'two books' (kə̀'tɛpə̀ - 'books', ə̀'rɨ́yə̀ - 'two')

2.4.2. Narrow static alternation. This kind of alternation has the characteristic that if one allomorph rather than another were placed in the conditioning environment, a sequence not occuring in the language would result.

The example suggested here is not altogether a matter of narrow alternation: there are in fact sequences which do not 'follow the rule'. But from a structural point of view, these sequences are negligible, and inclusion here of the overriding phenomenon is justified.

The phenomenon to be considered is a kind of vowel harmony. Discussion requires a twofold division of vowels, first into 'root' vs 'clitic', then into 'open' vs 'closed'.

ROOT		CLITIC	
Open	Closed	Open	Closed
ɪ	i	ɪ	i
ɛ	e	ɛ	e
ɔ	o	ɔ	o
ʊ	u	ʊ	u
a		a	a

As a rule, morphemes with root vowels (the vowels of stressed syllables essentially) that are open take open clitic vowels (the vowels of unstressed syllables as well as certain clitic words that are usually unstressed). Similarly closed root vowels take closed clitic vowels. When /a/ occurs as a root vowel, it is open; otherwise, for this one vowel only, the distinction between open and closed is neutralized.

Examples (1) within a word: à'rɪ́yɔ̀ 'two', 'ɲako 'girl', 'lɪɛ̀c 'elephant', 'liec 'elephants', 'luɔ̀rɔ̀ 'to run, go round', 'luɔ̀rɔ̀ 'to be afraid'

Examples (2) of clitics: nɪ̀~nɪ́ 'this', ə̀~ə́ 'he, she, it', ə̀~ə́ 'him, her, it'

For convenience, such clitic vowels will often be represented by capital letters, thus: nI 'this'.

Most instances of vowel harmony require agreement with the root vowel. Before the nonclitic pronouns i 'your, singular' and ɡɪ 'their', nouns often exhibit (but only sporadically) a change in the root vowel in agreement with that of the pronouns. For ɡɪ, such alternations even occur with noun plurals in -E (note use of capital letter in accordance with comment on clitic vowels!).

Examples: 'kɔ́m a 'my chair' but 'kɔ́m i 'your chair'

'ɡɔ̀d á 'my mountain' but 'ɡɔ̀d i 'your mountain'

'buɔ̀mbɛ́ ɡɪ 'these wings' } but 'bʊ́ombɛ́ ɡɪ 'their wings'
'bʊ́ombɛ́ɡ i 'your wings' }

'bugɛ́ ɡɪ 'these books' } but 'búɡɛ́ ɡɪ 'their books'
'búɡɛ́ɡ i 'your books' }

Before u 'you(r), plural', nouns regularly show no alternation, tho jɔ̀ (appertentive plural of jɔ̀l 'person') has a variant jo here. On the whole, such retrogressive harmony is quite limited.

Quite clearly, the details of this system of vowel harmony suggest a morphophonemic transcription in which the correlative pairs /i-ɪ, e-ɛ, u-ʊ, o-ɔ/ are best represented digraphically so that, in one representation, {i'} = /i/, {i} = /ɪ/ ('closed' vowels are best considered the marked members because of the unique status of /a/). In the kind of 'morphonemic' analysis advocated by Halle (where a one-one relationship between sound and symbol is given up), even {'} proves at times to be expendable--most obviously in unstressed syllables and clitics, but also in such morphemically delimited word subclasses as qualitative intransitive

verbs (see 6.3), which only have 'closed' vowel nuclei, or mutated plurals of nouns with /a/ as a 'root' vowel (these almost invariably have /e/; see 5.1.3.1.). However, several compensatory 'boundaries' (i.e., hocus-pocus junctures) are required, including:

(1) a boundary between words, one or more of which counts as a clitic; symbol: {&}; e.g., {'e'm & ni} 'this thigh' (ẹ̀m-'thigh')

(2) a boundary between all other words; symbol: {space}; e.g. {ẹ̀ 'nɔ́ɔn ẹ̀} 'I saw him' (ẹ̀ - 'I, perfective', 'nɔnɔ̀ - 'to see', ẹ̀ - 'him')

(3) an intra-word boundary between allomorphs showing disparate vowels (i.e., not in harmony); symbol: {/}; e.g., {'cɔ̀m/i} (form 2 of 'cɔ̀mɔ̀ - 'to eat')

(4) an intra-word boundary between allomorphs showing vowel harmony; symbol: {no space}; e.g., {'cɔ̀mɔ̀} 'to eat' (='cɔ̀mɔ̀: 'cɔ̀m - stem, ɔ̀ - verbal suffix).

Naturally, certain difficulties arise even with all these devices. How does one deal with the sequence /ai/ as in nàĭ'robĭ - 'Nairobi', where disparate vowels occur in the same syllable? (One might set it aside as foreignism, or simply mark it as such.) Where does {'} go in other sequences--after the sequence, after the first member, or what? Certainly in deciding the merit of such an interpretation on the whole, one must carefully weigh the choice of reducing phoneme inventory while stocking up on (nonphonemic) boundaries; also, whether the saving in morphological statements is not adequately made up for by complicating the phonology.

2.4.3. Miscellaneous alternations.

A group of monosyllabic words of the form CV has allomorphs without the vowel before an allomorph beginning with a vowel; e.g., da 'if', gɔ̀ 'with', kɔ́ 'when', mɔ̀ 'who (relative)', nɔ̀ 'then', ne 'past

particle'.

The particle nɨ (also nə in the Karachuonyo dialect) 'to, for', has allomorphs without a vowel before wə 'us' as well, and also elsewhere before a consonant if a preceding word ends in a vowel.

Examples: 'tɔ́m, nɨ 'kə́. 'Tom is here.' (kə́ - 'place')

but: 'tóm, ɛ má n 'ká. 'Is Tom here?' (ɛ - 'particle', má - 'who, relative', ká - 'place')

nàɨ,robi n 'keeŋə́. 'Nairobi is in Kenya.'

'ŋako mə́ n gɨ 'ciə́ 'the charming girl' ('ŋako - 'girl', mə́ - 'who', gɨ - 'with', 'ciə́ 'charm')

The middle particle rɛ has an allomorph /r/ before pronouns, but not before 'úru - 'plural particle'.

Certain weakly stressed initial syllables containing /i~r/ or /u~u/ and followed by a consonant, have alternants without the vowel. Some speakers seem to vary these forms according to tempo; others use one or the other--and not necessarily all with the same pattern. (See also 2.4.3.)

Examples: kɨ'ragɨ ~'kragɨ - 'evil'

kɨ'suumo ~'ksuumo - 'Kisumu' (a city on the Kavirondo Gulf)

sɨ'mon ~'smon - 'fifty-cent piece'

mɨ'ric ~'mric - 'razor'

musə́'labə́ ~msə́'labə́ - 'cross'

mu'ɔɛlɛ ~'mɔɛlɛ - 'rice'

The morpheme 'diər 'middle' has an allomorph 'diə́ before consonants.

Examples: ə́ ,diə́ 'ŋe ə́ 'on his back' (ə́ - 'in, on', 'ŋe - 'back of', ə́ - 'Him')

ɔ'diə́,ciə́ŋ 'daytime' (ɔ- - 'noun prefix', 'ciə́ŋ - 'sun')

The verb dʊ'warɔ 'to want, look for, hunt' has an allomorph dʊ'wa before a following word beginning with a consonant.

Example: 'á dʊwa ˌpalɔ. 'I want a knife.' ('palɔ - 'knife')

The nouns 'ðako 'woman', 'ŋako 'girl', 'natɔ 'person', have the allomorphs ðaa, ŋaa, naa, respectively before the demonstratives nɪ 'this', nɔ 'that'. ('natɔ also has a variant nat in the same environment.)

Examples: 'ðaa nɪ 'this woman'

'ŋaa nɔ 'that person'

(dʊ'warɔ, 'ðako, 'ŋako, 'natɔ all use the full prepausal form as well in the positions described, in what is possibly best labeled a more deliberate style.)

Words with intervocalic /h/ have variant pronunciations without the /h/, as do words with initial /h/ following a word ending in a vowel.

Examples: kɔ'hepɛ ~ kɔ'epɛ 'coffees'

ó'hiu ~ ó'iu 'breakfast'

jɔ 'hɪndɪ ~ jɔ 'ɪndɪ 'Indian person' (jɔ - 'person of')

III. TONE, STRESS, INTONATION

3.1. SUPRASEGMENTAL CLASSES

3.1.1. Introduction. In the following sections, words are classified by the tone-stress pattern of their citation form. Relation of tone-class to word-class is pointed out when significant. Combinations have proved too various to permit an exhaustive listing, but the statistically most frequent classes have been covered.

The format used: $\acute{v}$ - means any vowel nucleus with a single tone (even on geminate vowels); vv - is used only for complex tone nuclei; a comma separates syllables. Demonstratives and pronouns are not included.

3.1.2. Monosyllables.

$\acute{v}$	ɪ́t 'ear', kɔ́r 'chest', (f)ú́ 'puff adder'; ká 'when(ever)'
$\bar{v}$	tɔɔɲ 'spear', kɔɔm 'chair', rɛɛ́ 'fish'; tɔ 'but'
$\grave{v}$	ə̀m 'thigh', pì 'water'; bə̀r 'to be beautiful', wə̀c 'to be sour'; ə̀ 'in, on'
$\acute{v}\bar{v}$	mɔ́ɔn 'women' (Karachuonyo dialect)
$\bar{v}\grave{v}$	ŋuut 'neck', raə̀ 'hippopotamus'; kɔə̀ 'to follow', yaə̀ 'to open'; eə̀ 'yes'

We may note that the $\acute{v}\bar{v}$ class is rare: the only example in my corpus is the plural noun listed, which in the Alego and Uyoma dialects is pronounced mɔ́ɔn. $\acute{v}$ and $\bar{v}$ are essentially nonverbal as far as citation forms go (verbs, e.g., imperatives, do in fact occur with these contours, which are then themselves morphemes). $\grave{v}$ characterizes monosyllabic verbs of group II; $\bar{v}\grave{v}$, verbs of class III with monosyllabic allomorphs ending in a vowel before the suffix -ə̀. (see 6.1).

3.1.3. Dissyllables.

ˈ↓, ˉ	ˈmáma 'mama' (one variant), ˈlóndon 'London'; ˈbiíro 'to come', ˈciémo 'to eat'
ˈ↓ˉ, v	ˈtũutu '(kind of) bird', ˈsóomo 'to read'
ˈˉ, ˇ	ˈburu 'ashes', ˈtutu 'pus', ˈɡuoɡi 'dogs'; ˈmɔndɔ 'in order that', ˈkaka 'as'
ˈˉ, ˈˇ	ˈɲatɔ̀ 'person', ˈɡarí 'train'; ˈɲamɔ̀ 'to open', ˈtɛtnɪ̀ 'to shiver', ˈkɛmkɛ̀m 'to be somewhat bitter'
ˈˉ, ↓	ˈumí 'Umi' (pet name for Auma, Ouma), ˈmamá 'mama' (one variant)
ˈˉˉ, ˈˇ	ˈkɔdkɔ̀ 'shout, noun'; ˈrɪɪŋɡɛ̀ 'to run', ˈbɔðɔ̀ð 'to lisp'; ˈbɛɛndɛ̀ 'also'
ˈ↓↓, ˈˇ	ˈoóyɔ̀ 'no'; ˈduúɪtɔ̀ 'all' (Alego dialect)
ˈˈˇ, ˈˇ	ˈbɔðɔ̀ 'prostitute', ˈkɔŋɔ̀ 'beer', ˈmɔðɔ̀ð 'to drink (water), ˈpɛ̀rɔ̀ 'to think', ˈcɛmɔ̀ 'to eat', ˈɲɛkɛ̀ 'up to'
ˈˈˇ, ˉ	ˈcɔgɔ 'bone', ˈmɛ̀sa 'table', ˈkɛ̀ndo 'again'
↓, ˈˈˇ	ɔ́ˈpʊ̀k 'tortoise', ɔ́ˈɡʊ̀ɛ̀l 'frog'
ˉ, ˈˈˇ	aˈdɛ̀k 'three', aˈpɛ̀r 'ten'; ruˈɛ̀θ 'bull'
ˈˇ, ˈˈˇ	kɛ̀ˈlɛ̀m 'pencil' (one variant)

Most verbs of the - Ò class are dissyllabic and the following comprize the suprasegmental classes for such verbs: ˈˉ, ˈˇ and ˈˉˈˇ, ˈˇ (by far the most frequent contours); ˈ↓, ˉ; ˈ↓ˉ, ˉ; ˈˈˇ, ˈˇ. Verbs in - nɪ̀ and reduplicated verbs have the pattern ˈˉ, ˈˇ. The ˈˉˈ, ˈˇ contour is rare, and in the Karachuonyo and Uyoma dialects occurs regularly only with ˈoóyɔ̀ 'no'. v, ˈˈˇ is found primarily with numerals.

Of the tonal patterns themselves, it may be noted that: (1) high tone does not occur in an unaccented syllable except after mid tone; (2) stressed ultimate syllables contain only low tone; (3) complex tones

occur only in a stressed penultimate syllable.

3.1.4. Polysyllables. Only the more important classes are considered. These most frequently comprize nouns, but also a few particles.

ɔ̀, 'v̄, ɔ̀	kà'hawà 'coffee', kàhɛrà 'tuberculosis', kì'tabù 'book', sì'nɛmà 'cinema, movies'; à'hɪŋà 'very'
ɔ̀, 'v̄ɔ̀, ɔ̀	kì'jiìko 'spoon'; kì'seèrà 'marriage rite'
ɔ̀, 'v̄, v̄	à'guata 'calabash'
ɔ̀, ɔ̀, 'v̄	ɔ̀ŋgɔ̀'waŋ 'crane'
ɔ̀, ɔ̀, 'ɔ̀	kàlà'tàs 'paper' (one variant)
v̄, v̄, 'v̄	tɛtɛ'tɛ 'all', lɪlɪ'lɪ 'very much'
'ɔ́, ɔ̀, v̄, ɔ̀	'mílì, milì 'to taste sweet'; 'pílè, pilè 'always, over and over'
'ɔ̀, v̄ɔ̀, ɔ̀	'kìtuùŋgù 'onion', 'ɔ̀kuùmbà 'shed'
'v̄, v̄, v̄, ɔ̀	'kalasàklà 'scale (of fish)
v̄, ɔ̀, 'ɔ́, v̄	wɪrà'wíra 'giddiness', surè'súrɛ 'chickenpox'
v̄, ɔ̀, 'v̄, v̄	ŋakɔ̀ŋ'gili 'love magic'
ɔ̀, 'ɔ́, v̄	ɔ̀'kíni 'morning', à'rátrat 'weakness'

A fair number of the items that fall into these classes consist of reduplicated stems and other native Luo derivations. But a considerable number is taken up by recent borrowing from Swahili or from English (generally thru Swahili). This fact accounts in some measure for the prevalence of penultimate stress in polysyllabic words--even in such English names as 'Pamela', pronounced pà'mɛlà--and of the occurrence of final stress in a few other words. In Swahili, stress normally occurs on the penultimate syllable of a word (tho a few trisyllabic words have stress on the antipenult) and is accompanied by length and falling tone (Tucker and Ashton 1942:78). In Luo, a few loan words have dropped the

final vowel of the original Swahili form, but they have nevertheless retained the Swahili stress pattern; thus, kà'làm 'pencil' from Swahili kalamu, kàlà'tàs 'paper' from Swahili karatasi. [Even in Swahili final vowels tend to disappear: /u,o/ after labial consonants, /i/ after dentals.]

3.2. MORPHOTONEMIC ALTERNATION

3.2.1. Sequences. It is difficult to delimit sharply the tone changes which are exclusively conditioned by the suprasegmental environment. What has been attempted in this and the following sections, is to give a résumé of the more important alternations, whatever the conditioning factor. (See also the morphological sections on nouns and verbs.)

Repetitions of the same item (of the type used in reading off a list) have the following general characteristics: vowels in monosyllables are lengthened; complex tones with initial high (mid if citation form is low tone) replace the contours of monosyllables; in dissyllabic words only the sequence 'v̄,v̄ changes (to 'v́,v̄).

Examples:	ít	'ear'	'íít, 'íit, 'íit.
	móon	'women'	'móon, 'móon, 'móon.
	tɔɔŋ	'spear'	'tɔ́ɔŋ, 'tɔ́ɔŋ, 'tɔ́ɔŋ.
	ŋɛ̀c	'newt'	'ŋɛɛ̀c, 'ŋɛɛ̀c, 'ŋɛɛ̀c.
	'buru	'ashes'	'búru, 'búru, 'búru.
	'ŋatɔ̀	'person'	'ŋatɔ̀, 'ŋatɔ̀, 'ŋatɔ̀.
	'cɔ̀go	'bone'	'cɔ̀go, 'cɔ̀go, 'cɔ̀go.

Enumerations of the 'a, b, c...' type differ greatly from this pattern. The distinguishing feature is that all items except the final one have a mid-rise contour on the stressed syllable. The final member retains its citation contour.

Examples:

a'cɪɛ́l, a'rɪɪ́yɔ́, a'deɛ́k, aŋ'ʊɛɛ́n, a'bìc. 'One, two, three, four, five.' (Straight-forward counting.)

ˌwìc ɔ̀ 'trɪ̀ŋɔ̀, 'iít, 'waáŋ, 'uúm, 'ɔɔ́ɔ́k, 'tiík, lɛ̀là'wàŋ. 'The parts of the head are: ear(s), eye(s), nose, mouth, chin, forehead.' (wìc - 'head', 'trɪ̀ŋɔ̀ - 'to carry')

ne nì 'tíe, 'kiíc, 'rɛɛ́c, ŋɛɛ́c,.. 'There was once a bee, a fish, a newt,....' (ne - 'past' particle, nì 'tíe - '(are) present', kíc - 'bee', rɛc - 'fish', ŋɛ̀c 'newt')

3.2.2. Noun-clitic phrases. Two sorts of phrases will be discussed: those with demonstratives and those with conjunctive pronouns (see 4.2.).

The inherent tone of monosyllabic demonstratives is low, e.g., cà 'that', nì 'this'. That of dissyllabic demonstratives is either 'v̄,v̀ ('nɔgɔ̀ 'that very one') or 'v̄v̀,v̀ ('caàndɛ̀ 'that spoken of'). All monosyllabic nouns occurring before demonstratives take a mid tone, no matter what the citation form is.

Examples:

ít	'ear'	'it cà	'that ear'
kɔɔm	'chair'	'kɔm cà	'that chair'
èm	'thigh'	'em cà	'that thigh'
gɔ̀t	'mountain'	'gɔd cà	'that mountain'
mec	'fires'	'mec gɔ̀	'those fires'

Polysyllabic nouns ending in unaccented /v̀/ in the citation form, show alternation of the final syllable to /v́/ before a demonstrative; so also do demonstratives followed by other demonstratives.

Examples: 'buɔ̀mbɛ̀ 'wings' : 'buɔ̀mbɛ́ gì 'these wings'

ˌŋat 'caàndɛ̀ 'that man spoken of' : ˌŋat 'caàndɛ́ cà 'that very man spoken of'

'jɔ gɔ́ ˌgɔgɔ́ gɔ̀, e 'kɛ́ gì! 'Those very people, where are they?' (Note the three demonstratives: gɔ̀, 'gɔ́gɔ̀, gɔ̀.)

Conjunctive pronouns in construction with nouns have mid tone, except that the third singular pronoun has low tone after a low tone.

Monosyllabic nouns in the appertentive construction with pronouns comprize two classes: (I) those with a high tone before first and second person singular pronouns, mid elsewhere (these are derived from all the tonal classes including inherently low); (II) those with low tone appertentives (these are derived only from citation forms with low tone).

Examples:	I			II
	it 'ear'	koom 'chair'	ɛ̀m 'thigh'	gɔ̀t 'mountain'
(a 'my')	'ít a	'kóm a	'ém a	'gɔ̀d a
(i 'your' sg)	'it i	'kóm i	'ém i	'gɔ̀d i
(E 'his')	'it e	'kom ɛ	'em e	'gɔ̀d ɛ̀
(wa 'our')	'it wa	'kom wa	'em wa	'gɔ̀d wa
(u 'your' pl)	'it u	'kom u	'em u	'gɔ̀d u
(gI 'their')	'it gi	'kom gɪ	'em gi	'gɔ̀d gɪ

In polysyllabic words, the stressed vowel (if a chain, then only the first vowel) and a final unstressed vowel are raised to high before the pronouns in what is, perhaps, the most common pattern.

Examples: 'budmbè 'wings' : 'búombég a 'my wings'
'búombég e 'his wings'

ɔ̀,regɔ̀'régo 'mill' : ɔ̀,regɔ̀'régón a 'my mill'

Compare the tone patterns: 'bugè 'books', 'búgé gɪ 'their books', 'bugé gi 'these books'.

3.3. PROSODIC FEATURES OF THE SENTENCE

3.3.1. Intonation levels. Every Luo utterance consists of an intonation level (following the analytical practises of certain sinologists; see Chao, 1933; Martin, 1957) plus a residue composed of segmental and

suprasegmental phonemes. Possibly the end pitches of sentences and even phrases constitute a third class of elements, but information so far does not warrant such a treatment.

There are four intonation levels--indicated in transcription as the last element in a sentence:

(1) Normal -- symbol /./; characteristics: the colorless, unemotional norm.

(2) Raised -- symbol /ı/; characteristics: compared with /./, all tones are higher, but tonal distinctions are maintained.

(3) Falsetto -- symbol /F/; characteristics: 'head register' accompanied by general narrowing of tone range.

(4) Creaky -- symbol /K/; characteristics: a lowered, generally narrow-range level especially characterized by pharyngealization.

These levels in themselves have numerous connotations, tho /F/ and /K/ are severely limited in use.

/ı/ generally indicates animation or concern; altho generally found as a component of questions, /ı/ occurs in lively noninterrogative utterances as well. kǎ-clauses (if, when, etc. clauses) occur with this intonation when preceding the main predication; when following, both clauses are 'normal'.

Example: 'kǎ ɛn kǎ' , ˌǎ brɔ̀ 'nɛn ɛ̀. 'If he's there, I'll see him.' (second kǎ - 'place', bro + verb = 'shall', 'nɛnɔ̀ 'to see')

ˌǎ brɔ̀ 'nɛn ɛ̀ , 'kǎ ɛn kǎ. 'I'll see him if (when) he's there.'

/ı/ is also a component of the stylized speech associated with the rabbit in folktales; other components include velarization and over-

rounded back vowels (/W/), general 'choppiness', and a special 'lax' treatment of consonants (e.g., /r/ is elided intervocalically).

Example: ˌné a 'né a , ˌwʊ́ɔ'g ɔkɔ! W 'Uncle, uncle! Come outside! ('nér a - 'my uncle', 'wʊ́ɔg - 'go out!', 'ɔkɔ - 'outside')

/F/ is used in folktales in both direct discourse and singing as the stylized way of imitating young girls.

/K/ frequently accompanies utterances following hearty laughter (more precise specification is difficult). In folktales it is the major component of the stylized speech of the hyaena (a favorite story character).

3.3.2. End-tones. 'End-tones' are those tones which occur before pause, indicated either by an intonation level sign (followed directly by space), or by two other symbols: /,/ indicating 'internal' pause, and /../ indicating a 'suspension' or final hesitation. /../ is essentially a tempo phenomenon not affecting tone level but rather the vowel lengths of the whole preceding word.

Of the special tone-phenomena noticed, a raising before /,/ should be mentioned. This has been exemplified by the enumeration contour (p. 43); further, it occurs (p.45) in the first sentence under the discussion of /!/: here kà 'place' becomes ká before /,/. Such a phenomenon regularly takes place in nonparenthetical paratactic constructions and elsewhere.

Example: ˌmɔ́on 'wʊ́ɔθɔ , ˌcʊɔ̀ 'rɪɪ̀ŋgɔ̀. 'Women walk, men run.' (mɔ́on - 'women', 'wʊ́ɔθɔ - raised form of 'wʊɔ̀θɔ̀ - 'to walk', 'cʊɔ̀ - 'men', 'rɪɪ̀ŋgɔ̀ - 'to run')

To facilitate morphotonemic analysis, one might want to set up at

least two varieties (possibly three) of /,/ whereby one will be associated with no tone change, another with a rise to /ʕ/ on the stressed syllable, and perhaps a third indicating the additional rise in a final unstressed syllable peculiar to enumerations.

A lowered low-tone appears to be an allophonic feature accompanying a prepausal stressed low-tone syllable following another low syllable (with or without intervening /,/).

Example: ˌŋatò /,/ 'bèʰr. 'Someone is good.'

[Cf. ˌnɛ a 'dèk. 'Look at three.']

In their grammar of Maasai, Tucker and Mpaayei note a permeating feature of downdrift--'the gradual sinking of the voice as the sentence proceeds' (1956:170)--for this Nilotic language closely related to Luo. But apart from the allophonics mentioned here and elsewhere, there is no evidence for 'downdrift' in Luo. [Welmers has pointed out a similar phenomenon in many Niger-Congo languages, which he calls 'terraced level tones'.]

Internal pauses /,/ can readily be correlated with the grammatical structure of an utterance. Anticipating syntactic discussion, I present the more important facts here.

Pause occurs between a nominal (phrase) subject and the predicate.

Examples: ˌŋat mà 'bɛ́r cà , bèndè 'duòŋ. 'That man who is good is also old.' (ŋat - 'man', mà - 'relative', bèr - 'to be good', 'bèndè - 'also', 'duòŋ -'to be old')

'an , 'kénd a. 'I'm alone.' (an - 'I', kénd - 'being alone')

'in , 'bi. 'You, come!' (in - 'you, sg', bi - 'come!')

Pause occurs before a noun in the predicate (a) facultatively if

preceded by the predicate verb; (b) obligatorily if preceded by a particle phrase (tho not if only the verb and conjunctive pronoun object precede).

Examples: n ɔ̀ 'ɲʊ́ɔl à (,) 'ksuùmo. 'I was born in Kisumu.' (n - 'past' particle, ɔ̀ 'ɲʊ́ɔl à - 'one-gave birth to-me', 'ksuùmo - name of a city)

'ɔ́ ðɪ (,) 'ka cà. 'He's going there.' (ðɪ - variant of 'ðɪyɔ̀ - 'to go', 'ka cà - 'that place')

ɛn ɛ ˌŋat mà 'ŋadɔ̀ n à, 'yɪɛ̀n. 'He's the man who cut the wood for me.' ('ŋadɔ̀ - 'to cut', n - = nɪ̀ 'to, for', 'yɪɛ̀n - 'wood')

ˌmɪ̀y a 'bʊ̀k. 'Give me the book.' ('miyɔ̀ - 'to give', bʊ̀k - 'book')

But: ɔ̀ 'mɪ́yo wà ˌkɔd ɪ̀, 'bʊ̀k. 'He gave you and me a book.' (lit. 'He gave us and you...')

The adverbs 'eè 'yes'; 'oɔ́yɔ̀, ''a'à, or ''a'ǎ 'no', together with the preverbal temporal particles (see 7.2), are usually preceded and followed by /,/. Temporal particles before conjunctive subject pronouns with the durative-inceptive contour (see 6.1.) are usually not followed by /,/--but the pronoun is.

Examples: 'eè, 'n ɛɛ̀n. 'Yes, it was him.'

'tɔm bèndè, 'áŋ, n ɔ̀ 'hʊ́l nɪ̀ gɪ̀. 'Tom will also tell them.' (bèndè - 'also', áŋ - 'future' particle, n - 'future' particle, 'hʊlɔ̀ - 'to tell, confide')

aà 'gɪ́, 'nɛɛ̀n ɛ̀. 'They have just seen him.' (aà - 'just', 'nɛnɔ̀ -'to see')

Pause occurs facultatively in appositive and synecdochial constructions (see 4.3.4.1.).

Example: 'mumbo (,) ˌcuɲ e 'lɛ̀r. 'Mumbo is good-hearted.' (lit. 'Mumbo, his liver [cuɲ] is bright [lɛ̀r].')

3.3.3. Interrogation. Questions of whatever sort usually occur with the raised intonation level /!/, but the essential feature of all interrogative sentences is either: (1) an interrogative nominal, ŋà 'who' or 'àŋò 'what', or (2) a high-tone morpheme of interrogation, or both, and even all three.

The high tone morpheme can generally be characterized as occurring on the grammatical head of the relevant construction inquired about.

Examples: i já 'luò! 'Are you a Luo?' (jà - 'person of')
(i jà 'luò. 'You are a Luo.')
'ŋgíma! 'How are you?' (lit. 'Health?')
('ŋgìma. 'I'm fine.')

This high tone can, however, occur more than once in a sentence.

Example: ˌŋa má ˌtím 'àŋò, 'ŋá! 'Who did what to who?' (lit. 'Who-[is it] who-did-what-to who?')

Position of the high tone on different members of vowel chains has contrastive value. Thus:

a 'wéer! 'Should I sing?'
'weér! 'A song?'

The difference in meaning in such instances probably hinges on simple questioning versus surprized. Such a surprized (or exclamatory)-nonsurprized contrast is paralleled in declarative sentences also.

Examples: ˌŋaŋga 'tàr. 'The cloth is white.' ('ŋaŋga - 'cloth', tàr - 'to be white')
ˌŋaŋga 'taár. 'How white the cloth is!'
ˌŋaŋga 'táar! 'Is the cloth white?'

Occasionally, what would normally be the surprize contour is often the only possible interrogative one, e.g., in 'ó cuɛ́ 'Is he fat?' ('ó cuɛ 'He is fat.'). But regular contrasts occur, for example, in the following:

ð 'kʊàr. 'It's red.' ('kʊàr - 'to be red')

ð 'kʊár. 'How red it is!

ð 'kʊáar! 'Is it red?'

ð 'kʊaár! '(Did you say) it's red?'

3.3.4. Emphasis. Several prosodic techniques are included in the phonemic repertoire to express emphasis, indignation, etc.

One of these techniques includes stressing normally unstressed syllables, as in 'oó,yò. 'No!' ('oóyò 'no').

A special contrastive, overloud stress /"/ also occurs, characterized essentially by greater intensity of stress together with breathy vowels and a widening of the tonal contour of the syllable involved.

Example: 'tòm, nì "kà. 'Tom is here.'

Vowel length is a separate but frequently accompanying devise.

Example: 'bʊg ní, 'kʊà$_h$à$_h$àr. 'This book is very red.'

High tone is a common emphatic technique usually accompanied by vowel length (the longer the vowel, the more emphasis). In a vowel chain, the high tone occurs on the first element.

Examples: 'bʊg ní, 'kʊ́àr. 'This book is so red.'

,ɔd nò nì kù mà 'bɔ́ɔ́or ,ɲjʊ̀klʊ̀. 'That house is very far away.' ('ɔd nò - 'that house', kù - 'place', bòr - 'to be far', 'ɲjʊ̀klʊ̀ - 'very')

3.4. INTONATIONAL SENTENCES

Sentences where intonation is hummed (on /m/) occur for a limited number of short phrases in ordinary speech; e.g., 'mḿ! 'What did you say?' (or the like); ''m'ḿ. 'No.'.

There is also a more extensive use of hummed intonations, where the

humming parallels normal sentences with both a segmental nucleus and intonation. Such usage is espacially attributed to children, but apparently everyone knows and uses these sentences. The Luos themselves call it ŏɔ̀ 'ci 'the language of Chi'—where Chi presumably refers to a nonexistant tribe who talk only in such a way.

Examples: ˌm 'm̀ ''ḿ 'm. 'Someone's coming.'
[ˌɲatɔ̀ 'biiro.]

ˌɔ̀ 'm ''m 'm̀. 'Give me that thing.'
[ˌmiy a 'gi nɔ̀.]

Probably only a small number of sentences have current hummed equivalents because of the otherwise unavoidable ambiguity.

A comparable use of whistling has been reported (for children), but not exemplified.

IV. GENERAL SYNTAX

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents highlights of the syntax of the Luo sentence (syntax of the phrase is given elsewhere, particularly in the discussion of nominal and verb constructions).

No general definition of the 'sentence' is attempted. Some linguists, e.g., Bloch, Jordan, and Martin in their Japanese studies; and especially Trager, Smith, and Hill in their analyses of English, have tried to define the sentence in terms of intonation contours. To a certain extent the same approach is implicit in Welmers's discussion of terraced level tone languages. Clearly intonation must be accounted for--even in a transformational analysis, as Stockwell (1960) suggests. Chapter three of the present grammar has tried to deal with such problems. But there, the treatment of intonation was not concerned with delimiting or classifying or defining sentences. Rather, the recent insistence of the so-called transformationalists has encouraged me to regard a structural analysis of a language as essentially an extended definition of the grammatical sentences of that language.

The 'word' constitutes the basic unit in the present syntactic analysis. The plan of this analysis requires the prior classification of words into classes and then the presentation of the rules of occurrence of these classes. In light of the relatively full discussion of the word in 1.4., it need only be remarked that words are continuous forms, the boundaries of which are indicated by space.

4.2. WORD CLASSES

Luo has three major word classes (using essentially morphological criteria): two inflected (nominals and verbs), one uninflected

(particles).

4.2.1. Nominals. Nominals share the general and regular feature of a singular-plural inflection, tho a few examples are defective; e.g., 'nɪ̀ɛ̀n 'young man' used only in the singular before nɔ̀ 'that'; 'mìɛ̀r 'homestead' used only in the plural. Syntactically, nominals have the prime function of being the subjects and objects of predications.

An operational test covering all nominals presents certain difficulties, but since all members of this class do occur as objects, one test might be: nɛ __ bɛ̀ndɛ̀ 'look at __ also!' (nɛ - 'look!', 'bɛ̀ndɛ̀-'also'). Nevertheless, this is not strictly adequate for one subclass, the (clitic) demonstratives, which usually require a preceding nonclitic head.

Nominals are either dependent (enclitic) or independent. Independent nominals are further classified as to presence or absence of an appertentive case inflection.

4.2.1.1. Dependent nominals. There are two classes of dependent nominals: (1) conjunctive pronouns[1] and (2) demonstratives. Both include almost exclusively monosyllabic words (there are a few exceptions among the demonstratives), and they share the feature of a prefixed plural morpheme.

Conjunctive pronouns are characterized by a dimension of person as well as number (as are the disjunctive pronouns). As the subjects of predicate verbs, they are marked by aspectual tone contours (see 6.1.2.) These pronouns are listed below, and will henceforth not be glossed in other examples.

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Singular	à 'I'	ì 'you'	ò, è 'he, she, it'
Plural	wɔ̀ 'we'	ù 'you'	gì 'they'

1/ The terms 'conjunctive' and 'disjunctive' used here, are not taken from formal logic but are employed in accordance with the traditional terminology for a similar phenomenon in modern French.

Demonstratives usually follow another nominal or nominal phrase. All demonstratives are listed below, and will henceforth not be glossed in other examples.

nɪ̀ - gɪ̀	'this - these'	cə́ - kə́	'that - those'
nɜ̀ - gɜ̀	'that - those'	cɔ̀ - kɔ̀	'yon'
nɛ - gɛ	'which?'	'cəəndə́ - 'kəəndə́	'that (those) spoken of'
'nɔgɔ̀ - 'gɔgɔ̀	'that very- those very'		

4.2.1.2. Independent nominals. Using the criterion of case inflection for the rest of the nominal class, one may set up two large divisions.

Group I includes all nominals without an appertentive case feature altogether. There are three subgroups:

(a) the disjunctive pronouns, which share many of the morphological characteristics of the conjunctive pronouns and which have the syntactic peculiarity--in sentences with nominal predicates--of not requiring the particle nɪ́ before nouns indicating place where (see 7.1). The disjunctive pronouns are listed below, and will henceforth not be glossed in other examples.

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Singular	ɛ̀ɛn 'I'	ɪ̀ɪn 'you'	ɛ̀ɛn 'he,she,it'
Plural	wàan 'we'	ùun 'you'	gɪ̀ɪn 'they'

(b) the interrogatives; these never occur as the direct subject of a predication, only as the antecedent of a relative (subject-) mə́-clause. The interrogatives are listed below, and will henceforth not be glossed in other examples.

nə́ / 'nə́wə́	'who'	ə́'nɔ̀ / ə́'nɔwə́	'what'
'nə́gɪ̀nɪ́	'who, plural'	ə́'nɔgɪ̀nɪ́	'what, plural'

(c) the quantitatives: these include only 'duùtò (Alego 'duùtò) or 'duùndò 'all', and 'mɔrɔ (singular), 'mɔ́kɔ (plural) 'some'. (These forms will not be glossed in other examples.) Of these 'mɔrɔ occurs exclusively in construction with a preceding noun, whereas 'duùtò occurs independently as well. But see 5.3.1.

Group II includes all nominals with appertentive inflection. There are two major subclasses:

(a) numerals: those nominals that can occur in the appertentive only before conjunctive pronouns. The major numerals are listed below, and will not be glossed in other examples.

a'cɪɛ̀l	'one'	a'ʊ́cɪɛ̀l	'six'
a'ríyɔ̀	'two'	a'bɪrɪyɔ̀	'seven'
a'dɛ̀k	'three'	a'borò	'eight'
a'ŋʊɛ̀n	'four'	oŋga'cɪɛ̀l (Alego, Uyoma) or ɔ̀'cɪɪ̀kɔ̀ (Karachuonyo, Gem)	'nine'
a'bìc	'five'	a'pàr	'ten'

a,pàr g a'cɪɛ̀l 'eleven', etc.

pi(e)r(ɔ̀)a'ríyɔ̀ 'twenty'

pi(e)r(ɔ̀)a'dɛ̀k 'thirty', etc.

pi(e)r(ɔ̀)a'pàr or 'mɪà 'hundred'

pi(e)r(ɔ̀)a,pàra'pàr or 'alfù or 'ganà 'thousand'

(b) nouns: those nominals that can occur in the appertentive before conjunctive pronouns and other nominals. This class includes the great majority of nominals.

Examples: 'ɲakɔ 'girl' wàŋ 'eye' ma 'this one'

'ɔ̃anɔ̀ 'person' bɛr 'beauty'

4.2.2. Verbs. Verbs show a minimum of inflection, but all verbs in construction with a directly preceding conjunctive pronoun subject have tonal

contours indicating aspect. An operational test covering all (but defective) verbs is: 'ó ___ bèndè. 'He (she) is ___ing too.' This frame works because pronouns with tone contours (in this example, a durative-inceptive contour) occur only as subjects of verbal predicates and immediately precede the verb.

Verbs that can take a pronoun object are transitive; those that can take two pronoun objects are double transitive. All other verbs are intransitive. The further distinction between statal and nonstatal verbs is significant particularly in the labeling of the aspectual contours (see 6.1.2.).

In part crosscutting all these categories are those verbs which occur in construction with other verbs, particles plus verbs, or particle clauses. No special labels have been provided for these subclasses.

4.2.3. Particles. The final major division of words consists of the uninflected particles, in part a syntactic catch-all category for which one would be hard pressed to establish an operational test. Several subclasses are conveniently distinguished on the basis of occurrence within a clause. Particles that occur before the predicate are either (1) subordinating--a maximally differentiated predicate verb would occur in form 2 (see 6.1.1.), or (2) nonsubordinating --such a verb would not occur in form 2.

Particles that occur within the predicate as well as before it are independent. Prepositions are those independent particles that occur only in construction with a nominal or nominal phrase. Before conjunctive pronouns they are usually stressed; before other nominals, they are proclitics. All the prepositions are listed below, and will henceforth not be glossed in other examples.

è	'in, on'	kod	'with, and'
gì	'with, during'	kuòm	'among, within'
ir	'towards'	nì	'to, for'

All other particles are adverbs, by far the most numerous of the whole particle class.

4.2.4. Other analyses. It may be of interest to compare the preceding analysis of word classes with others given in former studies of Luo and of related languages.

Most writers set up a class of adjectives, usually with a mà-formant as a morphological characteristic. For Luo, such an interpretation proves to be quite superfluous because mà-constructions are best considered subordinate predications where mà is an atonic form of ma 'this one'. The adjective interpretation is implicit in the official Luo orthography, however, where mà plus verb or noun are invariably written as one word. Crazzolara, in his studies of Acooli and Nuer--related languages with similar constructions--has also adopted the adjective analysis, but notes certain difficulties. For example, he says of the mà-construction in Acooli:

> Such sentences may be taken more as relative sentences than adjectival expressions. There are many of this kind; it is quite immaterial which it is taken to be, as the attributive adjectival expression, e.g. mà-dyàdk, can be explained grammatically as a relative sentence, e.g., mà dyàdk "which is wet". (1938:53)

But clearly the interpretation is not immaterial. The adjective interpretation is needlessly uneconomical, if only because it doubles a good portion of the lexical stock.

As for allocation of words to a particular class, we need consider

only the word 'tie 'presence, being (in a place)'. The handbooks consider it a verb; Crazzolara calls the cognate Acooli tyé a copulative, and glosses it as 'to exist, to be present'. In the present analysis for Luo it is considered a noun. The chief reason for this is that it occurs as the object of a preposition, and specifically follows rules for the equational ni-construction (see 6.1.).

4.3. SENTENCE TYPES

4.3.1. Introduction. Luo sentences are here classified according to the presence or absence of a predicate. Utterances without a predicate, tho numerous and of high frequency, more or less stand beyond the pale of grammaticalness. They will, however, be considered minor sentences, and be dealt with in a sort of appendix at the end of the chapter. Utterances with a predicate constitute the major sentence types; these form the basis for the present discussion.

Two criteria have proved useful in analyzing the major sentence types: (1) what word classes make up the predicate; (2) whether or not a subject occurs as well. Sentences with nominal predicates are equational; such sentences have subjects of necessity (an isolated noun, for example, constitutes neither subject nor predicate and would be considered a minor sentence). Sentences with verbal predicates are narrative; those with subjects are full sentences; those without, topicless. A special kind of predicate with a prepositional phrase as the major constituent actually forms a third kind of sentence, but will be discussed as a subclass of the equational sentence. Apart from this one instance, sentences have not got particle predicates (or subjects).

4.3.2. Equational sentences. In the ordinary equational sentence, the primary immediate constituent cut distinguishes subject and predicate.

But a handy label for the construction meaning involved in the relationship between subject and predicate is somewhat elusive. The subject is variously characterized in the predicate by attribute, or is specified as the token of a type, among other things. In short, one finds all the 'meanings' usually associated with a copula.

Examples (in the following, '(-)' indicates the subject-predicate cut):

'ɔd nɨ, ɛn (-) 'máár a. 'This house is mine' (ɔd - 'house', máár - 'this of': actually an anaphoric use)

ɔ,nangɔ (-) 'ruɔθɔ. 'Onyango is a chief.' (ɔ'nangɔ - 'Onyango' name of a man, 'ruɔθɔ - 'chief')

nàɨ,robɨ (-) n 'keenà. 'Nairobi is in Kenya.'

an (-) gɨ 'pesà. 'I have money.' (lit. 'I - with - money' ['pesà].)

These verbless sentences are in fact intimately allied with and in part paralleled by narrative constructions with the copula-like verb bɔ̀t or 'bedɔ̀, readily glossed as 'to be'. For example, certain of the sentences with prepositional phrase predicates vary stylistically with bɔt-bedɔ constructions. Thus one may say either an gɨ 'pesa.('I have money') without a verb, or à 'bɔ́t gɨ ,pesà. ; similarly for nàɨ,robɨ n 'keenà: nàɨ,robɨ ,bɔ̀t nɨ 'keenà. Forms without the verb are more usual, however. Furthermore, imperatives, wishes, nominal phrases derived from an equational sentence core, require transformation with bɔ̀t-'bedɔ (see 6.5.1.)

The subject of an equational sentence is normally any independent nominal (except an interrogative). Conjunctive pronouns also occur as subjects, but not with prepositional predicates. Verbs with infinitive tone contour have a limited function as subjects, chiefly in aphoristic comments.

Examples: Noun — à,umà è 'cíóg e. 'Auma is his wife.' (cíóg - 'wife of')

Numeral — a,dèk 'máág a. 'Three are mine.' (máág - 'these of')

Quantitative — 'duùtò n kà. 'All are here.'

Disjunctive Pronoun — ,an jà 'luò. 'I am a Luo.' (jà - 'person of')

Conjunctive Pronoun — à jà 'luò. 'I am a Luo.'

Verb — 'sóomo ok è 'ŋeyò. 'To read is not to know.' ('sóómo - 'to read'; 'ŋeyò - 'to know')

The predicate consists of any independent nominal--including interrogatives--or a prepositional phrase.

Examples: Noun — ,nɛŋgón ɛ 'smon. 'It costs fifty cents.' (lit. 'price-of' ['nɛŋgón] 'it' 'fifty-cent piece' ['smon])

Numeral — gɪn a'dèk. 'They are three.'

Quantitative — gɪn 'duùtò. 'They are all.'

Disjunctive Pronoun — ɛn 'ɛɛ̀n. 'It's him.'

Interrogative — ,gɪn 'ŋà. 'Who are they?'

Prepositional Phrase — ò,yaŋgò nì 'pàcu. 'Onyango is at home.' ('pàcu - 'homestead')

[It should be noted that the syntactic elements discussed and exemplified here are not necessarily single words, but rather single words together with any phrase which in immediate constituent analysis would have to be considered an expansion of or analytical equivalent of a single word element. A discussion of the major phrase types is included in the sections on nominal and verb syntax.]

In 4.3.1., it was noted that sentences with prepositional phrase predicates actually constitute a class distinct from the true equational

sentences. The differences are three.

(1) Prepositional phrase predicates, unlike true equational sentences, occur without subjects in at least two constructions: (a) an impersonal nɨ́-phrase place-where construction; (b) a deictic È-phrase construction.

Examples: nɨ́ 'pàcu. 'It's at home.' ('pàcu - 'homestead')

(Cf. ɛn 'pàcu. 'He's at home.')

ə̀ ɔ̀tɨ'enɔ̀. 'It's Otieno.'

(2) Conjunctive pronouns do not occur as the subject of prepositional phrase predicates. Even in other equational sentences, a disjunctive pronoun subject seems more frequent. Furthermore, nominal place-where predicates in true equational constructions essentially derived from prepositional phrase predicates do not take a conjunctive pronoun subject. Thus, ɔ̀ yangɔ̀ n 'ksudmo. ('Oyango is in Kisumu.') but ,an 'ksudmo. ('I am in Kisumu.'), tho not *ə̀ 'ksudmo. (where * indicates an ungrammatical sequence).

(3) In a few constructions there is a difference in word order. Almost invariably--in all sentence types (with a subject)--the subject of a sentence precedes the predicate. Thus, the basic formula for the great majority of sentences is:

SUBJECT	PREDICATE

The two exceptions to this formulation occur with prepositional phrase predicates. The subject most often follows the phrase nɨ́ 'tie 'being (in a place)', more freely 'there is/are' --the traditional opening line of folk tales, comparable to 'once upon a time'.

Example: ne nɨ́ 'tie ,ɔ́kɔ́ 'mɔrɔ. 'There was once a certain woman.'

The second exceptional construction involves an È-phrase with unique

stressed allomorphs of the demonstratives. When the subject of the phrase is a pronoun --exclusively a conjunctive pronoun--, the word order is always predicate-subject. With noun subjects, usage varies, and one finds either normal or inverted word order.

Examples: ɛ̀ 'kí gɛ̀. 'Here they are.' (kí - stressed variant of gɛ̀, 'these')

ɛ̀ 'ré ì. 'Where are you?' (ré - stressed variant of nɛ, 'which')

ɔ̀'ŋaŋgɔ̀ ɛ̀ 'ré.
ɛ̀ ,ré ɔ̀'yaŋgɔ̀. } 'Where is Onyango?'

Use of a deictic È-phrase (as opposed, say, to an expression of place in or on) is limited to nonverbal constructions altogether. A deictic È is required: (a) before a mà-clause; (b) after the noun ma 'this one', or a nominal phrase with ma as the head; (c) before an infinitive verb; (d) when the subject is a proper name and the predicate noun is modified by a conjunctive pronoun or demonstrative. When the subject is not a proper name, use of È before a noun modified by a conjunctive pronoun or demonstrative is facultative. Elsewhere, È is emphatic, so that one might translate ,ɛn ɛ̀ 'ruɔ̀θ as 'he is the chief', as opposed to ɛn 'rúɔθ 'he is a chief'.

Examples: ,wan ɛ̀ mà 'wá ,rɪ̀ŋgɔ̀. 'We're the ones who are running.' ('rɪ̀ŋgɔ̀ - 'to run')

ŋà'saaɪ̀ ɛ̀ mà n ɔ̀ 'cuéyɔ̀ ,pɪɪn. 'It is God who created the world.' (ŋà'saaɪ̀ - 'god', 'cueyɔ̀ - 'to create', pɪɪn - 'earth')

'ma cá ɛ̀ ,ɔ̀t. 'That's the house.'

'ma ɛ̀ ,sɛ̀. 'This is the clock.' Also: 'Now is the time.' (sɛ̀ - 'time, hour, clock')

'sɔ́mɔ ok ɛ̀ 'neyɔ̀. 'To read is not to know.' ('sɔ́mɔ - 'to read', 'neyɔ̀ - 'to know')

ȧ̀ ˌumȧ ȧ̀ 'cíég-e. 'Auma is his wife.' (cíég - 'wife of')

ɛn (ȧ̀) 'bʊg cȧ. 'It's that book.' (bʊ̀k - 'book')

The number of elements in an equational sentence can of course surpass the number so far discussed (namely two). These elements are essentially adverbial ones, common to all sentence types: adverbs of negation, temporal adverbs, nominal and prepositional phrases of place, manner, time, and the like. A more detailed discussion follows in 4.3.3. A few examples, however, are given in the sentences analyzed below.

Examples: ˌɔ́k ɛn 'aȧn. 'It's not me.'

Elements (in order): negative adverb, ɔk 'not'; subject pronoun, ɛn 'it'; predicate pronoun (with predicative tone contour), aȧn 'I, me'. No variation in word order is possible. Note that the parallel construction ˌɔ́k ɛn 'ɛɛ̀n. 'It isn't him.' is considered correct but stilted; the more natural form is ɔk 'ɛɛ̀n.

ȧ̀ ðɔ̀ raŋ'gȧc, ne nɪ̀ 'tíe ɔ̀d ˌðákɔ́ ˌmɔrɔ.

'By the entrance of the compound, there was the house of a certain woman.' (ðɔ̀ - 'mouth of, entrance of', raŋ'gȧc - 'compound', ɔ̀d -'house of', 'ðakɔ - 'woman')

Elements: (1) prepositional phrase with nominal phrase head, ȧ̀ ðɔ̀ raŋ'gac 'in entrance-of compound'; (2) temporal particle, ne 'past'; (3) prepositional phrase predicate, nɪ̀ 'tíe '(in) being (-in-a-place); (4) subject nominal phrase, ɔ̀d ˌðákɔ́ ˌmɔrɔ 'house-of woman certain'. Inverted word order (predicate-subject) occurs because of the predicate phrase nɪ̀ 'tíe. The only alternation in word order possible is to have the first element (a prepositional phrase of place) occur last.

4.3.3. Narrative sentences. Two construction meanings are associated with narrative sentences. A topicless narrative sentence (one without a subject) invariably designates a command to the effect that the person spoken to should perform the action implied in the predicate verb.

Examples: a. 'Leave!' (ȡ - 'to leave')

lɪŋ. 'Be quiet!' (lɪ̱ŋ - 'to be quiet')

nɛ 'ðáa nɔ̀. 'Look at that woman!' (ðaa - variant of 'ðakɔ - 'woman')

tɔŋ 'yɪ̱ɛn. 'Cut the wood!' ('tɔŋɔ̀ - 'to cut', 'yɪɛn - 'wood')

ðɪ 'tiyɔ̀. 'Go to work.' (ðɪ - 'go', 'tiyɔ̀ - 'to work')

A subject- verbal predicate construction, however, denotes the familiar actor-action relationship with the subject performing the action implied in the predicate verb. One could, in fact, regard imperatives as truncated narrative sentences (with the subject 'understood', to use a tabu term). In general the construction meaning is followed more closely than in the comparable English sentence type, where one finds sentences like 'The door opens', with the subject clearly not the actor. Apparent exceptions in Luo may tentatively be considered metaphoric extensions. Thus:

ðɔ̀ ˌɔ̀t 'yaɔ̀ rɛ. 'The door opens (itself).' (ðɔ̀'ɔ̀t - lit. 'mouth-of house', 'yaɔ̀ - 'to open', rɛ - 'self')

but metaphorically:

ˌθɪgɔ̀ ˌyaɔ̀ nɔ̀ 'pɛ̀r. 'The door opens to the mat.', i.e., 'One difficulty leads to another.' ('θɪgɔ̀ - 'door', pɛ̀r - 'mat')

ˌluɛ̀ŋ n ɔ̀ 'bɪ̱ɪro ɛ̀ 'prŋ wa. 'War came to our country.' ('luɛ̀ŋ - 'war', 'bɪ̱ɪro - 'to come', prŋ - 'country')

There is possibly a secondary construction meaning, a passive one,

involving a special use of the verbal suffix -i. But the basic construction, however,--not only structurally but also in frequence--is the active one. From the point of view of English, passive sentences must generally be transformed and idioms often recast.

Example: mi,ðusu ð 'nég e. 'He died of malaria.' (lit. 'malaria it killed him.') (mi'ðusu - 'malaria', 'negð - 'to kill')

In narrative sentences, the word order subject-predicate is inviolable. The subject of a full narrative sentence--disregarding for the moment details of apposition and cross-reference agreement (see 4.3.4.)--is either a conjunctive pronoun directly preceding the verb, or a noun, quantitative, or numeral--but never a disjunctive pronoun.

Examples:

Noun	,natð 'wuðəð. 'Someone is walking.' ('natð - 'someone', 'wuðəð - 'to walk')
Quantitative	,dultð 'biiro. 'All are coming.' ('biiro - 'to come')
Numeral	a,bic 'bɛyð. 'Five are good.' ('bɛyð - 'to be good')
Conjunctive Pronoun	á 'máðo ,kɔŋɔ. 'I drank beer.' ('màðð - 'to drink', 'kɔŋɔ - 'beer')

The predicate always has a verb as the first element. In a special use of the term, subject will be taken as everything in a clause or sentence that precedes the predicate verb. The result of this definition is to consider temporal particles and others as part of the subject. Sure enough, such items cannot modify the predicate in topicless sentences. In topicless sentences, all indication of time is relegated to nominal expressions, e.g., ðɪ kin. 'Go tomorrow!' (kin - 'tomorrow'). Furthermore, there are no negative topicless sentences; i.e., a sentence such as

*ɔk 'cám ɛ. 'Don't eat it!' ('càmɔ̀ - 'to eat')

is impossible. [Negative imperatives require a subject pronoun; furthermore, a special negative adverb must be used. The correct translation of 'Don't eat it!' is therefore:

kɪk ɪ 'cám ɛ. (kɪk - 'not').]

In two-element predicates, the second element is one of the following: a nominal object, prepositional phrase, some sort of adverbial modifier, or another verb.

Examples: Nominal Object — gɪ̀ 'tɔ́ŋɔ ˌyɪɛ̀n. 'They cut the wood.' ('tɔɔ̀ŋɔ̀ - 'to cut', 'yɪɛn - 'wood')

Prepositional Phrase — 'hʊl n à. 'Confide in me.' ('hʊlɔ̀ - 'to confide')

Adverbial Modifier — ɔ̀ 'rɪɪŋgɔ ˌpíyɔ̀. 'He ran quickly.' ('rɪɪ̀ŋgɔ̀ - 'to run', 'píyɔ̀ - 'quickly')

'wá ˌbirɔ̀ ˌkɪ̀ɲ. 'We shall go tomorrow.' ('bíiro - 'to go', kɪ̀ɲ - 'tomorrow')

Verb — à 'tɛ́mɔ 'sɔ́omo. 'I tried to read.' ('tɛ̀mɔ̀ - 'to try', 'sɔ́omo - 'to read')

ɔ̀ɪ 'tɪyɔ̀. 'Go work!' (ɔ̀ɪ - 'go!', 'tɪyɔ̀) - 'to work')

Three or more element predicates involve the following: the two nominal objects associated with double transitive verbs; subordinate verb phrases with subjects; adverbs and adverbial phrases of manner, time, place, etc.; prepositional phrases; and the like.

Examples (imperative constructions are quoted to simplify matters):

Double Object — mɪ ɔ̀ˌyaŋgɔ̀ 'bʊ̀k. 'Give Onyango the book.' (mɪ - 'give!', bʊ̀k - 'book')

Verb Phrase

'wé ɔ 'rɪŋgi. 'Let him run.' (wé - 'let!'; 'rɪŋgɔ́ - 'to run', -i - 'verb suffix')

'mɪ ji 'nerɔ́. 'Make the people laugh!' (mɪ - 'to give, make', ji - 'people', 'nerɔ́ - 'to laugh')

Adverbial Phrase

'nɪ́ a 'šíliŋ a'bic kar 'roɔmbɔ́. 'Give me five shillings for a sheep!' (nɪ́ a - 'give me', 'šíliŋ - 'shilling', kar - '/in/ place-of', 'roɔmbɔ́ - 'sheep')

'ter ŋá'ɛ́t 'ksuumo. 'Take the child to Kisumu.' (ter - 'take!', ŋá'ɛ́t - 'child')

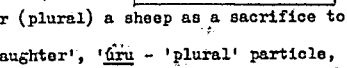
Prepositional Phrase

'wac n à kiŋ. 'Tell me tomorrow.' ('wacɔ́ - 'to say, tell', kiŋ - 'tomorrow')

There is, of course, no sharply delimited, greatest number of elements in a predicate. A more detailed account of possible syntactic elements will be given in the following section; but for the meantime the two examples below will give some indication of the ordering of such elements, as well as exemplify extended predicates which probably approach maximal extension as well as any others.

Examples (again in the imperative):

'yaŋ úru 'roɔmbɔ́ nɪ́ 'kueré u, káká 'misáŋgɔ́.

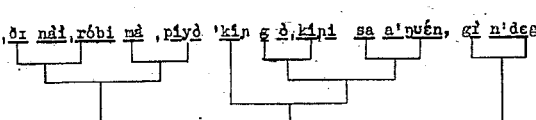


'Slaughter (plural) a sheep as a sacrifice to your ancestors.'

('yaŋɔ́ - 'to slaughter', 'úru - 'plural' particle, 'roɔmbɔ́ - 'sheep', 'kueré u - 'your /plural/ ancestors', 'kaka - 'as, like', 'misáŋgɔ́ - 'sacrifice')

Elements: (1) imperative verb, 'yaŋ 'slaughter!'; (2) plural particle, 'úru 'plural'; (3) object of the verb, 'roɔmbɔ́ 'sheep'; (4) prepositional

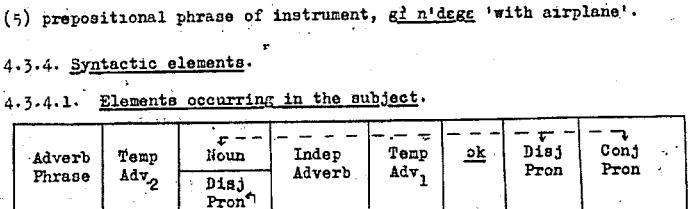
phrase with nominal-phrase head, ní 'kueré u 'to ancestors-of you (plural)'; (5) particle phrase, káká 'misangò 'as sacrifice'.



'Go quickly to Nairobi by plane tomorrow morning at ten o'clock!' (ðɪ - 'go!', 'píyò - 'quickly', 'kíɲ - 'tomorrow', g -variant of gí 'with, during', ò'kíɲi - 'morning', sa - 'time, hour', 'ndɛgɛ - 'airplane') Elements: (1) imperative verb, ðɪ 'go!'; (2) nominal expression of place to which, ndí'robi 'Nairobi'; (3) subordinate mà-clause of manner, mà 'píyò 'which quickly'; (4) phrases of time in order of specificity: (a) nominal expression, kíɲ 'tomorrow'; (b) prepositional phrase, g ò'kíɲi 'during morning'; (c) nominal phrase, sa a'nuén 'hour four' [= ten o'clock][1]; (5) prepositional phrase of instrument, gí n'dɛgɛ 'with airplane'.

4.3.4. Syntactic elements.

4.3.4.1. Elements occurring in the subject.



THE SUBJECT

(The actual subject elements are linked up by dashes. Abbreviations: Temp Adv - Temporal Adverb, Disj - Disjunctive, Conj - Conjunctive,

1/ The Swahili system of telling time is employed, and hours are counted from sunrise to sunset, i.e., approximately from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M.

Pron - Pronoun, Indep - Independent. The double-headed arrow indicates that an independent adverb is a necessary condition for the occurrence of a conjunctive pronoun in this position.)

One of the important features of the subject--indicated in part by the lines of dashes in the diagram--is cross-reference agreement. In this construction, no doubt best considered a variety of apposition, a noun or disjunctive pronoun stands in construction with another pronoun subject. The disjunctive pronoun can stand in such a construction only with a following conjunctive pronoun subject; the noun (or noun phrase), with either a conjunctive or disjunctive pronoun.

Examples: ɛn ɔ̀ 'kuar. 'It's red.' ('kuɔ̀r - 'to be red')

'ɨy ɛ̀, ɔ̀ 'gɔ́ rɛ , pɪɲ. 'She had a miscarriage.' ('ɨy ɛ̀ - 'her stomach', ɔ̀ 'gɔ́ rɛ , pɪɲ - 'it fell to earth')

'nɛŋgɔ́n ɛ, ɛn ɔ́'toŋglɔ̀. 'It costs ten cents.' (lit. 'price-of it, it ten-cent-piece')

an ,á nɛn ɛ̀, gúc ɛ̀'umɛ̀. 'I see Auma's cooking pot.' ('nɛnɛ̀ - 'to see', ɛ̀'guc - 'cooking pot of', ɛ̀'umɛ̀ - 'Auma', a woman's name)

As is evident from the diagram of the subject, the cross-reference agreement construction occurs discontinuously as well, often together with a pleonastic repetition of the conjunctive pronoun. This pleonastic construction also occurs without cross-reference agreement. The result is that one can end up a whole series of expansions; thus,

ɔ̀ 'bɛ́ɛr. 'He's good.' (bɛ̀r - 'to be good')

ɛn ɔ̀ 'bɛ́ɛr.

ɔ̀ 'bendɛ̀, ɔ̀ 'bɛ́ɛr. 'He too is good' ('bendɛ̀ - 'too')

ɛn 'bendɛ̀, ɔ̀ 'bɛ́ɛr.

Distinction in meaning between some of these variants is occasionally elusive; presumably, the more elements in the construction the greater the emphasis. There are a few restrictions, however, on building up such strings. Pleonastic conjunctive pronouns occur only before a nonnegative independent adverb and the future particle n (in conjunction with which a pleonastic pronoun is almost the rule). Further, this construction does not occur before or after an appositive disjunctive pronoun.

A variety of synecdochy occurs which is probably a subcategory of the cross-reference agreement construction. Usually restricted to designating and attributing some trait of character to a person, the construction involves: (1) the name of the person concerned, (2) the synecdochial appositive noun (generally some term for a part of the body), (3) a conjunctive pronoun--in that order, followed by the predication. The construction also occurs without (1).

Examples: d'yaŋgɔ̀, ˌcun e 'lɛ̀r. 'Oyango is good-hearted.' (lit., 'Oyango his liver /or spirit/ is bright.')

d'ruɔ̀, ˌwɨy ɔ̀ 'tɛ̀k. 'Arua is stubborn.' (lit., 'Arua her head is hard.')

The negative adverb ɔk (or ok) regularly precedes the subject pronoun directly. But when the subject contains a post-noun temporal adverb, ɔk may precede it. ɔk most frequently precedes the independent adverb dɨ (indicating unreal condition), tho occurrence before the pronoun is also found.

Examples: ne ɔ́k 'ɛn, gɨ 'pesɔ̀.
ɔ́k 'n ɛn, gɨ 'pesɔ̀. 'He didn't have money.' ('pesɔ̀ - 'money')

kɛ́ ˌɔk dɨ ne gɨ 'nɛ́ɛn ɛ́ˌ, dɨ 'n ɔ́ ˌθɔ̀. 'If they hadn't seen her, she would have died.' ('nɛnɔ̀ - 'to see', θɔ̀ - 'to die')
kɛ́ dɨ ne ɔk gɨ 'nɛ́ɛn ɛ́ˌ, dɨ 'n'ɔ́ ˌθɔ̀.

Temporal particles consist of two distributional classes: (1) those that must follow a noun subject (ne - 'past' particle, n - 'future' particle); (2) those that either precede or follow a noun subject (aə - 'recent past' particle, ə̀ŋ or wə̀ŋ 'soon', 'nene 'completed action' particle, 'tində 'recently', 'yandə 'formerly'). If members of both classes appear in the subject, (1) must follow (2).

Examples: ə'yaŋgə ,nene ə 'nɛ́ɛn ə́. / ,nene ə'yaŋg ə 'nɛ́ɛn ə́. } 'Onyango has seen him.' ('nɛnə - 'to see')

'tə́m ə̀ŋ ,n o 'hʊl nɨ́ gɨ́. 'Tom will soon tell them.' ('hʊlə 'to tell, confide')

Relatively few words occur in the independent adverb slot in the subject; they include: 'beəndə ('bəndə, bə) 'also, too', dak 'not', dɨ 'unreal condition' particle, pok 'not yet'.

Examples: ,pok ə 'bɨ́iro. 'He hasn't come yet.' ('bɨ́iro - 'to come')

(The following exemplifies what is probably maximal adverb occurrence in the subject; note that the future particle n must precede the subject pronoun directly)

'tom ,bəndə, ə̀ŋ ok n o 'hʊ́l nɨ́ gɨ́. / 'tə́m ,bəndə, ok ə̀ŋ n o 'hʊ́l nɨ́ gɨ́. } 'Tom will also not tell them soon.'

Adverbial phrases--essentially sentence adjuncts--occur before a noun subject. [1]'Adverbial' is here used to indicate the function of the phrase, rather than the part of speech of the words in the phrase.[1] Certain nominal phrases of time when are included here. They are usually mirrored in the predicate by repetition of the phrase or by use of some morphologically related word. The only members of this class are: kin 'tomorrow', and ŋoə 'day' in the phrases 'ŋoə rə 'yesterday' (rə is a special allomorph of nə 'that') and 'ŋoə cə 'day before yesterday'. With regard to the last example: either the noun occurs alone in the subject (often with an allo-

morph /ɲ/ before vowels) or the whole noun-demonstrative construction; the predicate repetition always occurs as the full construction.

Examples: 'kíɲ, n a ,ðí nái'róbi g ð,kíɲí. 'Tomorrow morning I shall go to Nairobi.' ('ðryð - 'to go', g ð'kíɲi- 'during morning')

,ɲó ró ð 'θó, 'ɲoð rð. 'He died yesterday.' (θð - 'to die')
ɲ ð 'θó ,ɲoð rð.

Other expressions of time may occur before the noun subject, as well as prepositional phrases (see 4.3.4.2.). Occurrence of more than one such item has not been noted in the subject, however.

Prolepsis is common both in subject and predicate constructions. That is to say that a noun may occur either before or after the adverbs kâ 'if, when', or 'kákâ 'as, like, how' even tho the noun in question is the subject of a predication (main or subordinate) that follows these adverbs.

Example: ð 'néno ,θɪɛpɛ̀ kák ð 'béer. 'I saw how beautiful the flower is.' ('θɪɛpɛ̀ - 'flower', bɛ̀r - 'to be beautiful')
ð 'néno kákâ 'θɪɛpɛ̀ ð 'béer.

Occasionally the topic and the grammatical subject of a sentence are not the same. The topic becomes in fact an initial sentence adjunct--marked by a following /,/--as well as an anticipatory object with transitive verb predicates.

Examples: 'mɛɛlɛ, ð cáamð. 'I ate the rice.' ('mɛɛlɛ - 'rice', 'cámð - 'to eat')

,ŋuwé 'naŋgó nì, ok ð 'béɛrð. 'I don't like the smell of this cloth.' ('ŋuwé - 'smell of', 'naŋgð - 'cloth', 'hɛrð - 'to love, like')

Note that in the above examples, an object was not required after the predicate verb; occasionally one does occur, emphatically. A parallel construction occurs within a sentence, so that when a noun that would otherwise be the object of a verb occurs before that verb (in another construction of

the same sentence), the object is normally not repeated after the verb.

Example: 'ɔ̃ako mɛ̀ 'n ɔ́ nù,ɔlɔ̀ 'ɲakɔ́, 'n ɔ́ wiitɔ̀ ''ɔ̃kɔ̀. 'The woman who gave birth to a girl threw (her) away.' ('ɔ̃ako - 'woman', ɲu'ɔlɔ̀ - 'to give birth to', 'ɲakɔ -'girl', 'wɪ̀ɪtɔ̀ - 'to throw', 'ɔ̃kɔ̀ - 'outside')

4.3.4.2. Elements occurring in the predicate.

TRANS VERB	rɛ (+ Pron)	ɔ̃ɛ̀	nɪ̀ + Pron	Nearer Object	úru
			úru		nɪ̀ + Pron
DOUBLE TRANS VERB				Further Object	Nearer Object
INTRANS VERB				Nominal, Prepositional, and Adverbial Expressions (generally in the following order: Place, Manner, Time, Other)	
STATAL VERB					
NO VERB	Predicate Nominal				
	Predicate Prepositional Phrase				

THE PREDICATE

(Abbreviations used: Trans - Transitive, Intrans - Intransitive, Pron - Pronoun. The No Verb column indicates the predicate of an equational sentence; all the others indicate predicates of narrative sentences.)

A good deal of variation--considerably more than has been noted for the subject--occurs in the ordering of predicate elements. The verb, however, is invariably first in narrative predicates.

The 'reflexive' or 'middle' particle rɛ occurs immediately after the verb and before pronoun objects. Note that altho object pronouns of the same person as the verb subject are obligatory in this construction for the first and second persons singular, and occur facultatively with the

second person plural, they are not used at all with the other persons.

Examples: à 'hɛ́rɔ r à. 'I love myself' ('hɛrɔ̀ - 'to love')

ɪ̀ 'hɛ́rɔ r ɪ̀. 'You (singular) love yourself.'

ʊ̀ 'hɛ́rɔ r ʊ̀. } 'You (plural) love yourself.'
ʊ̀ 'hɛ́rɔ rɛ. }

wà 'hɛ́rɔ rɛ. 'We love ourselves.' Etc.

The plural particle 'úru occurs only in construction with a form-2 verb (see 6.2.). úru follows a pronominal object, a nɪ̀-phrase with pronoun head, the particles rɛ 'self', ŋgà 'habitually, always', 'àrà 'well then, all right'. úru precedes other predicate elements.

The particle ŋgà 'habitually, always' follows the particle rɛ 'self', but precedes other elements in the predicate.

Examples of úru and ŋgà:

'kel n à gɪ̀ 'úru. 'Bring them to me'--spoken to more than one person. ('kelɔ̀ - 'to bring')

kel 'úru kàlà,tàs. 'Bring the paper.' (kàlà'tàs - 'paper')

wa 'nég e àrà úru. 'Well then, let's kill him.' ('negɔ̀ - 'to kill', àrà - 'well then')

ɛn ɛ̀ 'm ɔ́ ,tɔɔ̀ŋɔ̀ ŋgà 'yɪɛ̀n. 'He's the one who always cuts the wood.' ('tɔɔ̀ŋɔ̀ - 'to cut', 'yɪɛ̀n - 'wood')

The following sentence illustrates the relative ordering of rɛ, ŋgà, and 'úru. Admittedly contrived, the sentence is nonetheless perfectly grammatical.

wa lʊ'ɔ́k rɛ́ ŋgá úru! 'Let us always be washing ourselves!' (lʊ̀'ɔkɔ̀ - 'to wash')

The ordering of objects and adverbial elements permits a considerable amount of variation.

When the main verb is transitive, the further ('indirect') object is

a nɨ̀-phrase; and the nearer ('direct') object, a nominal (phrase). The further object precedes the nearer object when the head of the nɨ̀-phrase is a pronoun, but follows when the head is a noun (in this instance, the nɨ̀-phrase tends to be the last element in a sentence--other things being equal).

Examples: ɔ̀ ˈpádɔ̀ ˌyɪ̀ɛ̀n nɨ̀ ˈmumbo. 'He cut the wood for Mumbo.' (ˈpadɔ̀ - 'to cut, chop', ˈyɪ̀ɛ̀n - 'wood')

ɔ̀ ˈpádɔ n ɔ̀ ˌyɪ̀ɛ̀n. 'He cut the wood for me.'

wac nɨ̀ ˈmóɔn ˌmɔ́smɔ̀s. 'Speak slowly to the women!' (ˈmɔ́smɔ̀s - 'slowly, softly')

wac ˈmosmɔ̀s nɨ̀ ˈmóɔn.

With double transitive verbs, the further object--simply a nominal (phrase)--usually precedes the nearer object.

Examples: ˈmɨ̀y a gɔ̀. 'Give it to me.' (gɔ̀ - 'it')

ˈmɨ ɔ̀ ˌyaŋgɔ̀ ˈbʊ̀k. 'Give Onyango the book.' (bʊ̀k - 'book')

Certain transitive verbs take as a sort of preferential object a noun morphologically related to the verb itself. In the classical terminology, we are here dealing with 'cognate objects'.

Examples: ˌcàmɔ̀-ciˈemɔ̀ 'to eat food'

ˌgɨyɔ̀ ˈgɔɔ 'to beat (a beating)'

ˌkokɔ̀ ˈkɔ̀k 'to shout (a shout)'

ˌlɛ́ko ˈlek 'to dream a dream'

ˌwacɔ̀ ˈwac 'to say (a saying, word)'

ˌwerɔ̀ ˈwɛ̀r 'to sing a song'

For a single verb, I have found a 'cognate subject': ˌnɪ̀ɔ̀ ˈnɪ̀ɔ̀ 'it's showering, raining' (lit. 'the shower showers').7

Nominal, prepositional, and adverbial expressions in the predicate normally follow the order: place, manner, time, other. But variations on this scheme abound, even tho most utterances do not contain all these

elements.

In a sentence with both time and place expressions, the time phrase normally occurs at the beginning of a sentence (see 4.3.4.1.), tho it may also follow the expression of place. Reversal of this latter place-time order is emphatic for place. Schematically:

Time ... Place

... Place Time

... Time Place.

Examples:

ˌjumà m ò 'bííro, ɔ 'mí ɔ̀ˌyaŋgɔ̀ 'ɔ̌ɾàŋ 'ksuùmo.

ɔ 'mí ɔ̀ˌyaŋgɔ̀ 'ɔ̌ɾàŋ 'ksuùmo, ˌjumà m ò 'bííro.

ɔ 'mí ɔ̀ˌyaŋgɔ̀ 'ɔ̌ɾàŋ, ˌjumà m ò 'bííro, 'ksuùmo.

'He's going to give Onyango a cow in Kisumu next week.' ('jumà - 'week', ˌjumà m ò 'bííro - 'week which comes', ɔ 'mí - 'he will give', 'ɔ̌ɾàŋ - 'cow')

Expressions of place and gɪ̀- or kɔd-phrases are generally interchangeable in order. Both normally precede time phrases and usually manner phrases as well.

Examples: ɛn gɪ̀ 'pésa ɛ̀ ˌɔ́d ɛ à'díéra, 'ɲoɔ̀ rò. 'He certainly had money in his house yesterday.'

ɛn ɛ̀ 'ɔ́d ɛ gɪ̀ˌpesà. 'He's in his house with the money.'

ɛn gɪ̀ ˌpesà à'díéra ɛ̀ ˌɔ̀d ɛ̀. 'Certainly he has the money in the house.' ('pesà - 'money', ɔ̀d - 'house of', à'dierà - 'truly, certainly', 'ɲoɔ̀ rò - 'yesterday')

ˌor è gɪ̀ ˌpíθ 'dálá nɪ̀ jɔ̀ 'gɛ̀m.
ˌor è ˌdálá gɪ̀ 'píθ nɪ̀ jɔ̀ 'gɛ̀m.
} 'Send her home with money to the people of Gem.' (or - 'send!', 'dalà - 'homestead', píθ - 'wealth', jɔ̀ - 'people of', gɛ̀m - 'Gem', a location in South Nyanza)

Post-predicate subject modifiers are nominal sentence adjuncts in a sort of discontinuous apposition with the subject. They occur at the very end of a sentence.

Examples: ne gɨ 'bííro, gɨ 'duùtò. 'They all came.' (lit., 'They came, they all.')

à 'nɛ́nɔ gɨ, ''an. 'I saw them.' (lit. 'I saw them, I')

4.3.5. Nonsimple sentences. All sentences with only one predicate are simple sentences; all others are nonsimple. Up till now, discussion has focused on simple sentences.

Nonsimple sentences consist of two major types. Those in which the predicates stand in a coördinate immediate constituent relationship to one another, are compound sentences; those where the predicates are not coördinate are complex. Word order in all sentence types does not seem to vary from that discussed previously (in 4.3.4.).

Paratactic compound sentences are those coördinate predicates not joined by a preverbal particle.

Example: ˌwɨɲ 'fúyo, ˌrɛc 'kuàŋ. 'Birds fly, fish swim.' (wɨɲ - 'birds', 'fuyò - 'to fly', rɛc - 'fish', 'kuàŋ - 'to swim')

Compound sentences with clauses joined by a particle have a relatively high frequency of occurrence, but involve only the particles tɔ 'but', mɪ 'then, and', 'kendo 'and, also'.

Examples: ˌin jà mà'saɨ, tɔ ˌ'an jà 'luò. 'You're a Maasai, but I'm a Luo.'

à 'ɔ́ɨ ˌdalà, t ɔk à ˌyúdɔ 'ŋatɔ̀. 'I went home, but found nobody.' (ɔ̀ɪ - variant of 'ɔ̀ɪyò 'to go', 'dalà - 'homestead', 'yudò - 'to find', 'ŋatò - 'person')

Two varieties of complex sentence will be discussed: (1) those intro-

duced by the atonic nominal mà; (2) those introduced by a particle. It would seem that most, if not all, instances of subordinate predication can be subsumed under these headings, tho occasionally paratactic sentences invite a subordinate clause interpretation. Thus,

ˌsanduk 'pɛ́k, ɔ̀ 'hɛ́w à. 'The heavy box is a burden to me.' (lit. 'The-box is-heavy, it burdens me.', 'sanduk - 'box', 'hɛwɔ̀ - 'to burden'),

where the intonation (see 3.3.2.) indicates parataxis, could possibly be analyzed as having a kind of subordinate predication (ˌsanduk 'pɛ́k) in apposition with the grammatical subject of the main verb.

In the subordinate mà-construction, we find elements which are readily analyzed as subject and predicate. The general structure of such phrases requires mà + nominal (less commonly, an adverb), or mà + (pronoun +) verb. mà functions either as subject or object in this construction--but always is the first element. Within the larger context of the complete sentence, the mà construction functions as an independent nominal phrase, or else is in apposition with a foregoing noun.

mà, as other nouns, has appertentive inflection. The appertentive use of mà does not, however, result in a subordinate predication, but rather in an attributive nominal phrase. As a result, one can find minimum contrasts such as the following:

kàˌlàm mar 'ndiìkɔ̀ - 'a pen for writing' (kà'làm - 'pen', 'ndiìkɔ̀ - 'to write')

kàˌlàm mà 'ndiìkɔ̀ - 'a pen which writes'.

mà-constructions are either appositive or independent. An appositive mà-construction is essentially a relative clause, often best translated by an English adjective (see 4.2.4.).

Examples: (1) kɨ̀ˌtabù mà ra'teèŋ, nɨ̀ 'kà. 'The black book is here.' (lit. '...book which black-one...')

(2) ˌɛn ɛ̀ rà'pudɔ̀ mà n à 'yʊ́ʊdɔ̀. 'He's the thin (one) I meant.' (rà'pudɔ̀ - 'thin' [person], 'yʊdɔ̀ - 'to find' [here: 'to mean'])

In example (1), mà functions as the subject of a subordinate equational predication; in (2) it is the object of the verb 'yʊdɔ̀.

Relative mà (and independent ma as well) cannot occur as the 'possessor' or nominative member of an appertentive phrase. Instead, we find a rather involved periphrasis where mà introduces the relative phrase and is followed by an appertentive noun plus conjunctive pronoun, with the pronoun referring to the antecedent of the whole clause. Thus the sentence 'The man whose chair is broken, is here.' is literally: 'The-man who (mà) chair his...etc.':

ˌŋat mà ˌkom ɛ ɔ̀ 'keθɔ̀ rɛ, nɪ̀ 'kà. ('ŋatɔ̀ - 'man', kɔɔm - 'chair', 'keθɔ̀ rɛ - 'to be broken').

Nonappositive mà-constructions are nominal phrases which function either as an ordinary noun or as an adverbial phrase. Examples of their noun functions include the following, which require statal verb predicates.

Examples: ˌɛn mà 'kʊàr. 'It's the red one.' ('kʊàr - 'to be red')

ˌbet mà 'bɛ̀r. 'Be good!' (bet - 'be', bɛ̀r - 'to be good')

mà 'tɛk nɪ̀, bɛ̀r. 'That hard one is good.' (tɛ̀k - 'to be hard')

As predicate noun clauses after deictic È, a subject conjunctive pronoun is required (see p. 62).

Examples: ˌwan ɛ̀ mà 'wá ˌrɪɪ̀ŋgɔ̀. 'We're the ones who are running.' ('rɪɪ̀ŋgɔ̀ - 'to run')

ˌɛn ɛ̀ 'm ɔ́ ˌtɔɔ̀ŋɔ̀ ŋgà 'yɪɛ̀n. 'He's the one who always cuts the wood.' ('tɔɔ̀ŋɔ̀ - 'to cut', 'yɪɛ̀n - 'wood')

The adverbial function of an independent mà-construction is normally that of manner.

Examples: ɔ̀ ˌnaŋgɔ̀ 'tiyɔ̀ mà 'tɛ̀k. 'Onyango works hard.' ('tiyɔ̀ - 'to work', tɛ̀k - 'to be hard')

ɪ 'wʊ́ɔθ mà 'bɛ́ɛr. 'Have a good journey!' (lit.'[May] you walk well!' 'wʊɔ̀θɔ̀ - 'to walk', bɛ̀r - 'to be good')

ɔ̀ 'ŋádɔ ˌyɪɛ̀n mà 'bɛ̀r m ɔ̀ 'loy ɪ̀. 'He cuts wood better than you do.' (lit. 'He cuts wood well which [mà] he surpasses you.' This is the general pattern in the translation of English comparatives. 'ŋadɔ̀ - 'to out', 'yɪɛ̀n - 'wood', 'loyɔ̀ - 'to surpass')

Subordinate predications introduced by particles are of two types: (1) those where the verb is in form 1, and (2) those where the verb is in form 2 (see 6.1). Particles taking (1) are nonsubordinating (with reference to the verb) and include: ká 'if, like, when, unless', 'káká 'how, as', 'kátá 'even if, whether, or', nɪ́ 'that'. Particles taking (2) are subordinating and include: 'mɔndɔ 'so that, in order that', 'ŋàkà '(it is necessary) that', dɪ̀ 'unreal condition, hestiation'.

Subordinate predications of type (1) can occur in apposition with a pronoun subject.

Examples: ˌkáká / ˌkátá } ˌtɔ̀m n ɔ̀ 'négo ˌjóɔ́ŋ, pɔk ɔ̀ 'fúeŋ. 'How (Whether) Tom killed John, hasn't yet been found out.' ('negɔ̀ - 'to kill', pɔk - 'not yet', 'fueŋɔ̀ - 'to find out').

Such clauses occur adverbially as well, either before or after the main predication.

Examples: à 'nʊ́aŋ k ɪ̀ 'sɛ́ 'sóomo. 'I shall find (you) when you've finished reading.' ('nʊàŋ - 'to find', sɛ́ - defective verb indicating completed action, 'sóomo - 'to read')

ɔ̀ 'lósɔ̀ ká ˌgí mà 'ɪ̀y ɛ̀ 'wàŋ. 'He talked as tho he were

angry.' (lit. '...as tho something inside him were burning.', 'losò - 'to talk', gí - 'thing', wàŋ - 'to burn')

ká n à 'nɛ́ɛn ɛ́!, 'n ɔ́ sɛ ˌŋadɔ̀ 'yɪɛ̀n. 'When I saw him, he had cut the wood.' ('nɛnɔ̀ - 'to see', 'ŋadɔ̀ - 'to cut', 'yɪɛ̀n - 'wood')

Both indirect and direct discourse are usually particle clauses, introduced by the particle ní.

Example: ɔ̀ 'wácɔ ní, 'wúor a, ˌnendè à 'yʊ́dɔ 'ɲákɔ́ mɔrɔ mà 'bɛ̀r. ('He said, "My father, I have just met a certain beautiful girl".' 'wacɔ̀ - 'to say', 'wúor - 'father of', 'nendè - 'just', 'yʊdɔ̀ - 'to find', 'ɲakɔ - 'girl', bɛ̀r - 'to be beautiful')

Subordinate clauses of type (2) normally occur after the main verb, but they are also used as independent sentences.

Examples: ˌkel 'pí mɔndɔ wa 'mɔ́ɔ̀. 'Bring some water so that we may drink.' ('kel - 'bring!', pí - 'water', 'mɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ - 'to drink')

'wac n à ká d ɪ 'hɛ́r ní, mɔnd a 'bí. 'Tell me if you think I should come.' ('wac - 'tell!' 'hɛrɔ̀ - 'to like', 'bííro - 'to come')

ˌmɔnd ɪ 'wʊ́ɔθ gí 'hawɪ! 'Have a good trip!' (lit.'[May] you walk with luck.', 'wʊɔ̀θɔ̀ - 'to walk', 'hawɪ - 'luck')

4.3.6. Nonpredicate sentences. Nonpredicate sentences consist of citation forms, interjections, enumerations, general formulas of politeness--in short anything that can possibly be considered a sort of truncated sentence.

Single words quite frequently occur as independent utterances of this sort. Among them occur the all-round minimal 'sentences' such as:

ɛ́! 'What? What did you say?'
ɔ̌ (lateral click) 'Oh! I forgot.'

Other examples of utterances with subsystem-phoneme content or emotive variants of 'normal' words, include the following:

t̆t̆t̆t̆ (series of dental clicks) - an expression of doubt

s's 'Shh.'

áw F (i.e., spoken on the falsetto level) - an expression of surprise or incredulity

'duuuutó! - a hunting shout made by the person who has actually killed the animal ('dùùtò - 'all')

ˌkuu 'riiii! - formula to entice edible locusts ('ku ri - 'this place').

Of nonpredicate politeness formulas may be mentioned the following:

'msáawa. 'Hello.'

'ŋgíma! 'How are you?' (lit. 'Health?)

'ŋgìma. 'I'm fine.'

Certain adverbial particles are very frequently used as nonpredicate sentences. They include the following:

ed. 'Yes.'

'oóyǒ. 'No.'

''a'à. 'No.'

'podí. 'Not yet.'

V. NOMINALS

5.1. NOUNS

5.1.1. Paradigmatic features. In the present analysis, a two-by-two paradigmatic grid is imposed on all nouns. Despite the general efficiency of this approach, some nouns prove to be defective (e.g., 'dalá 'homestead'), overdifferentiated (e.g., 'ɔrán 'cow'), or syncretic (e.g., cun 'liver, spirit'). Furthermore, a difference has had to be made between noun 'variants' (forms either contrasting or in free variation) and noun 'allologs' (forms--particularly appertentive ones--which can be predicted from various environments).

As has been implied, there are four paradigmatic features: two each of case and number. The cases are nominative and appertentive; the numbers, singular and plural. Nominative and singular are unmarked. Plural is usually a suffix (tho it may be a zero element).

Three allologs must frequently be distinguished for the appertentive singular: (1) that which occurs before a noun, (2) that which occurs before a demonstrative--if the particular noun takes the appertentive before demonstratives (see 5.5.2.), (3) that which occurs before a pronoun. For the plural appertentive we need distinguish only pre-noun and pre-pronoun allologs. A relatively pervasive characteristic is the occurrence of /ŋ/ or /g/ after appertentive forms and before singular pronouns. Their occurrence complicates and confuses the picture somewhat. According to the 1920 Mill-Hill grammar, this intervening element (here interpreted as part of the appertentive form itself) is normally /ŋ/ but it is noted that

> The plural suffix is often "ga," "gi," "ge." Though this form is less common than the form in "na," etc., it would seem to be more correct. (1920:28)

(A basis for the greater correctness of forms in /g/ is not given.) Huntingford (1959:33) maintains, and probably rightly so, that variation of /n/-/g/ in the plural is a dialect matter. My own findings indicate considerable fluctuation on this point, and not inconsiderable uncertainty among native speakers themselves. Probably a great deal of dialect mixture is involved. Generally speaking, however, my Alego informant preferred plurals with /n/; other informants generally used /g/.

Some writers, in describing related languages (e.g., Crazzolara on Acooli and Nuer) have tried to relate such linking consonants to the pronoun rather than the preceding noun. Historically, they are probably justified in doing so. One can even find a few synchronic parallels to support this interpretation, specifically, a similar (tho more clear-cut) /n/-/g/ distinction in the demonstrative prefixes (see 5.2.). But from an overall consideration of the morphology, such an interpretation complicates things: two classes of pronouns would have to be set up, one with, one without prefixes /n/-/g/, but no rules short of listing can be given to account for the very awkward distribution. Since one ultimately must list a considerable number of noun forms anyway, the inclusion of /n/-/g/ as part of the noun inflection turns out to be the most elegant procedure.

The paradigmatic model that we wind up with in the present analysis deals in terms of the following items:

(1) the noun (in the nominative singular)

(2) the noun root, which is generally the nominative singular form of the noun minus any final vowel

(3) vowel and consonant alternations, discussed in 5.1.3.

(4) the plural-morpheme ending, discussed in 5.1.2.

(5) the /n/-/g/ final element, already discussed.

This model can be represented schematically as follows.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	Noun	Noun root + VA + CA_2 + Pl
APPERTENTIVE	Noun root + CA_1 (+ n)	Noun root + VA + CA_3 + Pl (+ n/g)

(Abbreviations: VA - vowel alternation, CA - consonant alternation, Pl - the plural ending. Subscripts indicate distinct phonemes in maximally differentiated forms; as a rule, however, these consonant alternations generate the same phoneme. Forms in parentheses occur before singular pronouns only, but are unpredicatable.)

Few nouns demonstrate all the details of inflection indicated in the diagram. An example of a productive pattern with a plural in -È is given below.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	kɨ'tabu (book)	kɨ'tepè (books)
APPERTENTIVE		
(before noun)	kɨ,táp 'mumbo (Mumbo's book)	kɨ,tépé 'mumbo (Mumbo's books)
(before singular pronoun)	kɨ'táp a (my book)	kɨ'tépón a (my books)
(before plural pronoun)	kɨ'táp wa (our book)	kɨ'tépé wa (our books)

5.1.2. The plural. Plural nouns are here analyzed as stem plus suffix. (The stem is the noun root plus phoneme alternations specified in 5.1.3.) Some words such as 'wuoi 'boy, son' use a prefix to mark the plural; others, such as 'guenè use no affix at all, and even drop the final vowel of the nominative singular. Such nouns are relatively rare, however, and must be considered exceptional.

There are four plural suffixes: (1) a consonant (either /k/ or /n/); (2) zero (i.e., no overt ending); (3) the syllable -nì; (4) a vowel (either -i, -ɔ, or -ɛ). A single stem often occurs with more than one suffix.

Examples:

'bugɔ̀	'hole'	-	'bugnì,	'bukɛ̀
'laɔ̀	'cloth'	-	'lawnì,	'lɛpɛ̀
rɛc	'fish'	-	rɛc,	'reyɛ̀
yɛ̀θ	'wood'	-	'yɪɛn,	'yeðɛ̀

Furthermore, singular forms are often used when the context is explicitly plural. For the present analysis, the precise status--morphemic or possibly archimorphemic--of these suffixes is ignored. Nouns which occur in plural environments are simply said to contain a morph variant of the plural.

Certain nouns are defective, that is, they occur only in the singular or only in the plural.

Examples: (1) Singular

ba or 'bába	'father'	(possibly the final -a is the pronoun 'my')
'dalɛ̀	'homestead'	
'nɪɛn	'young man'	(occurs only before demonstrative constructions)
'pɛ̀cu	'homestead'	

(2) Plural

'miɛ̀r	'homestead'	

Nouns with a consonant plural suffix are few. They might indeed be subsumed under the zero-suffix class, especially since some of the nouns show suppletion or highly altered stems so that analysis in terms of a suffix becomes somewhat forced. In all, five nouns comprize this class.

(1) With /n/ as plural suffix: two nouns.

'ðako 'woman': 'mɔ́on (Karachuonyo dialect), 'mɔ́ɔ́n (Alego, Uyoma dialects) 'women'. The appertentive singular is suppletive: ci'ɛ́g before singular pronouns, cì elsewhere.

yə̀ə̀ 'wood, tree, medicine': 'yɪɛn 'trees', etc., (variant plural)

(2) With /k/ as plural suffix: three nouns.

'drə̀l 'goat': 'diək 'goats'

'ðrə̀ŋ 'cow': ðə̀k 'cows'

'gí (moro) '(some)thing': 'gík (mokọ) 'things'

Nouns with zero suffix include several classes of plural formation and noun inflection. Nouns with the plural marked either by prefixation or loss of affix are considered as stem variants before the (zero) plural suffix.

(1) Prefixation

mə̀'hiyə̀ 'child': wə̀'hiyə̀ 'children

'wuoi 'boy, son': yə́'wuoi 'boys, sons'

(2) Loss of affix

'drouə̀ 'man, husband': 'cuə̀ 'men, husband'. The appertentive singular also has no prefix: 'cóór 'husband of'.

'guenə̀ 'fowl, chicken': 'guen 'chickens'

'kə̀nə̀ 'beer': 'kuə̀ŋ 'beers' (variant plural)

ə̀'ɲuəgə̀ 'louse' (Alego dialect): 'ɲuəgə̀ 'lice'

'wɨɲo 'bird': wɨ̀ŋ 'birds'

(3) Vowel (and tone) change

'kuác 'leopard': 'kuec 'leopards' (variant plural)

'lrə̀c 'elephant': 'liec 'elephants'

mə̀c 'fire': nec 'fires' (variant plural)

Two general patterns for appertentive inflection emerge for this zero-suffix plural class. Either the appertentive is identical with the nominative form and we get maximal syncretism, or else the appertentive has a separate form, usually showing regular consonant alternation (see

5.1.3.).

Examples:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
(1) Maximal syncretism		
NOMINATIVE	cuŋ 'liver'	cuŋ 'livers'
APPERTENTIVE	'cuŋ e 'his liver'	'cuŋ-n e 'his livers'
(2) Appertentive differentiation		
NOMINATIVE	cɨ'emɔ̀ 'food'	cɨ'emɔ̀ 'foods'
APPERTENTIVE	cɨ'ɛ́mb e 'his food'	cɨ'ɛ́mb-n e 'his foods'

To class (1) belong the following recent loan words: 'cumbɨ 'salt' (Swahili chumvi), 'kɨtuŋgù 'onion' (Swahili kitunguu), 'redìɔ 'radio'. Other nouns include: 'bandɔ̀ 'maize', 'buru 'ash(es)', kɨc 'bee', lɔ́k 'dream', ŋà'ŋuɛ̀,ŋuɛ̀ 'fog', ɔ'dumà 'maize', 'tutu 'pus', 'θɾɛ̀pɛ̀ 'flower' /the older handbooks list 'flower' as (presumably) 'θɾɛ̀w--written thiew; possibly the plural form has recently taken over a singular meaning as well/.

To class (2) belong the following nouns (appertentive forms are included in parentheses): à'ŋɪɛw 'measles' (à'ŋɛ́ɛp), 'cinɔ̀ 'stomach' (cínd-g), 'fuwɔ̀ 'foolishness, folly' (fúp), kàl 'millet' (kànd, also pre-pronoun variant kàl-n/g), 'kuoyɔ̀ (Alego kuo'yɔ̀) 'sand' ('kúoc), 'hawɪ̀ 'good luck' (háp), mà or ma 'this one', relative noun (singular: máár, plural máág--with pre-pronoun variant ma before wa 'we, us' and u 'you, plural), ɔ̀,regɔ̀'régo 'mill' (ɔ̀,regɔ̀'rɛ́k), 'rɛmɔ̀ 'blood' (rɛ́mb), 'sɪrɪ̀,sɪrɪ̀ 'grasshopper' (sɪrɪ̀'sɛ́c).

Nouns with the plural suffix -nɪ̀ (occasionally also -ɪ̀nɪ̀, which is the form adopted in the current orthography) do not exhibit alternation of the final root consonant before this suffix. The only exception to this rule I have so far come across is ɔ́'làŋ 'black ant', plural ɔ́'leŋgnɪ̀.

Roots with final /w/ have allomorphs without the /w/ in the nominative singular before a back vowel when the root vowel is either /a/ or a back vowel.

Examples: 'laɔ̀ 'cloth': 'lewnɪ̀ 'cloths' (root law-)
'raɔ̀ 'hippo': 'rewnɪ 'hippos', one variant (root raw-)

Without exception, nouns with a root vowel /a/ take an umlaut with /e/ before the -nɪ̀ suffix. [The Vocabulary Nilotic-English lists the word rath (presumably rɑ̀θ) 'grains fallen out of the ears either in the granary or when put out to dry', with the highly irregular plural radhini (presumably raðnɪ); the term was not used by my informants.]

Examples: 'dagɔ̀ 'swamp': 'degnɪ̀ 'swamps'
mɪ̀'ahɑ̀ 'bride': mɪ̀'ehɪnɪ̀ 'brides'

This suffix is sometimes used to form the plural of recent loan words, e.g., 'suɛtɑ̀ 'sweater' (from the English), plural 'suetnɪ̀ (or 'suɛdɛ̀). On the whole, however, this suffix seems to be loosing ground to another suffix, -ɛ̀.

Appertentive formation for this -nI plural class is relatively simple in the singular: the appertentive has the same segmental shape as the nominative, with the addition of /n/ before singular pronouns. Four kinds of formation occur for the appertentive plural: (1) the appertentive is the same as the nominative plural (i.e., -nɪ̀ + n/g); (2) the appertentive is the same as the nominative singular (+ n/g); (3) the appertentive is the same as the noun root. But the appertentive plural of such nouns seldom occurs really, and they are difficult to elicit. In most instances, periphrasis with an appositive ŋáág-phrase is the more common idiom, e.g., ,kuesnɪ́ ŋág 'mumbo rather than ,kuesnɪ́ 'mumbo 'Mumbo's pipes' ('kuesnɪ́ - 'pipes', ŋáág - 'those of'). For the fourth kind of appertentive, see p. 91.

Examples: (1) Appertentive the same as the nominative.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	'kuesi 'pipe'	'kuesni 'pipes'
APPERTENTIVE	ˌkúesí 'mumbo 'Mumbo's pipe'	ˌkuesní 'mumbo 'Mumbo's pipes'
	'kúesí-n a 'my pipe'	'kuesnígˌa 'my pipes'

(2) Appertentive plural the same as the nominative singular.

NOMINATIVE	'tipo 'shadow'	'tipni 'shadow'
APPERTENTIVE	ˌtipo 'mumbo 'Mumbo's shadow'	ˌtipo 'mumbo 'Mumbo's shadow'
	'tipo-n a 'my shadow'	'tipo-g a 'my shadows'

(3) Appertentive plural the same as the noun root.

NOMINATIVE	mɨ'ahə̀ 'bride'	mɨ'ehíní 'brides'
APPERTENTIVE	mɨˌáhá 'mumbo 'Mumbo's bride'	mɨˌeh 'mumbo 'Mumbo's brides'
	mɨ'áhá-n a 'my bride'	mɨ'éh a 'my brides'

There are three major subclasses of plural endings which are vowels. The least comprehensive group involves the suffix -ə̀, limited to one noun, pə̀'θɨ́ 'child': plural pɨ'θɪ̀ndə̀ 'children'. The second element of this compound noun, /θɨ/, is historically and possibly descriptively related to θɪn 'smallness', in turn related to a statal verb θɨ̀n 'to be small' which uses an explicit-plural form in -ə̀ (really just one form of the normal class-1 verb ending -Ò), 'θɪ̀ndə̀. (For further discussion of verbs with explicit-plural forms, see 6.2.)

The plural suffix -i is another unproductive way of forming the plural and is at present restricted to eleven nouns in all. The appertentive plural is usually distinct from the nominative singular and often coincides with the nominative singular. Nouns without a root consonant in the nominative, have /ð/ in other forms. (For details, see specific items in 5.1.3.2.). The following nouns belong to this class:

dɛ̀k 'cooking pot': 'degi 'pots'

'guɔ̀k 'dog': 'guogi 'dogs'

jɛ̀l 'person': jɪ̀ 'persons' (the appertentive plural form jɛ̀ occasionally occurs in nominative environments)

'kuɔ̀t 'triangular shield': 'kuodi 'shields'

lɛ̀ 'ax': 'leɔ̀i 'axes'

mɔ̀ 'oil, butter, gasoline': 'moɔ̀i 'oils'

'ɲako 'girl, daughter': 'ɲiri 'girls'

on'diek 'hyaena': ondi'egi 'hyaenas'

ɔ̀t 'house': 'udi 'houses'

'ruɔ̀θ 'chief': 'ruoɔ̀i 'chiefs'

'yiɛ̀ 'boat, canoe': 'yieɔ̀i 'canoes'

The plural suffix -È would seem to be the most productive of the plural suffixes. Foreign words are readily incorporated into the native scheme of noun inflection with the use of -È. Examples include:

kà'hawà 'coffee': kà'hepè (Swahili kahawa)

kɪ'tabʊ̀ 'book': ki'tepè (Swahili kitabu)

msà'labà 'cross': msà'lepè (Swahili msalaba)

sà 'hour, time, clock': 'saoè (Swahili saa)

wɪ̀k 'week': 'wigè (English)

Use of the -È suffix constitutes a fourth way of forming the appertentive plural of nouns with -nì in the nominative plural; in this instance, we have a 'mixed declension'. (See discussion on p. 89.)

Example:	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOMINATIVE	'ndigè 'circle, bicycle'	'ndignì 'bicycles'
APPERTENTIVE	,ndɪ̀k 'mumbo 'Mumbo's bicycle'	,ndɪ̀kè 'mumbo 'Mumbo's bicycle'
	'ndɪ̀k a 'my bicycle'	'ndɪ̀kè-n a 'my bicycles'

Certain nouns taking -È in the plural show root variation. Such nouns include the following.

'kuèr 'hoe': 'kuè 'hoes'

'mryò 'mother': 'mrnè 'mothers' (there is overdifferentiation in the appertentive singular: 'mám a 'my mother'--possibly a single word--, 'mór u 'your (singular!) mother'[1], mrn elsewhere)

ò'mryò or ò'megò 'brother': ò'weètè 'brothers' (there is overdifferentiation in the appertentive singular: ò'mór a 'my brother', ò'mór u 'your (singular!) brother'[1], ò,mrn 'màar ɛ 'his brother'[2], ò'wad elsewhere)

'wuòrò 'father': 'wuònè 'fathers' (there is overdifferentiation in the appertentive singular: 'wúor a 'my father', 'wúor u 'your (singular!) father'[1], 'wuòn elsewhere /in Roman Catholic usage, 'wuòn is considered --mistakenly--to be the nominative/)

Nouns of this class normally show alternation of the final root consonant. A few do not, however; these include the following:

à'juògè 'witchdoctor': à'juògè (variant plural)

'aòrè 'river': 'aòrè (variant plural)

bop 'earthen shelf': 'bopè (as listed in S.Malo's manuscript dictionary; not used by my informants)

gòk 'shoulder': 'gokè

ip 'tail': 'ipè

ít 'ear': 'íte

'kuarò 'grandfather, ancestor': 'kuerè

lòk 'tooth': 'lekè

'marò 'mother-in-law': 'merè

1/ For use of u as a singular pronoun, see 5.3.

2/ For third person singular constructions involving kinship terms, see 5.5.1.

'ŋuùt 'neck': 'ŋuùtè (variant plural)

ɔ̀'pɔkɔ̀ 'bark (of tree)': ɔ̀'pɔkɛ̀

ɔ́'siep 'friend': ɔ́'siepè

pɑ̀r 'mat': 'perè

rɑ̀'werɑ̀ 'youth': rɑ̀'werè

rɔ̀k 'loins': 'rɔkɛ̀

'royɑ̀ 'heifer': 'royè

wac 'word': 'wecè.

The great majority of nouns with a plural in -È and a root-vowel /a/, show an umlaut in /e/; thus, wɑ̀ŋ 'eye, face': plural 'weŋgè. Some nouns do not change the vowel, however, and must be listed. The following list records the usage of my Karachuonyo informant.

bad 'board, plank': 'bapè (also 'bepè)

'kuɑ̀c 'leopard': 'kuayè (also 'kueyè or 'kuec)

'muɑ̀ 'foreigner': 'muɑ̀cè (also 'muɑ̀)

'muandɑ̀ 'impala': 'muandè (also 'muendni)

ɲɑ̀'wanɑ̀ 'co-parent-in-law' [Hawaiian puluna]: ɲi'wandè (also ɲi'wenè)

sɑ̀ 'hour, time, clock': 'saɑ̀cè

san 'plate': 'sandè (also 'sendè)

My Alego informant used none of the /a/-plurals, with the exception of sɑ̀. [Other items have been included by the handbooks, but they all have plurals in /e/for my informants: ɑ̀'gɑ̀k 'crow', mɑ̀l 'scrotum, testicle', 'ŋgaɪ 'oar', 'ɔ́luɑ̀ 'teak', 'saɲja 'handful', sɪ̀'ganɑ̀ 'story', tɑ̀c 'pad', tɑ̀l 'pole'.]

5.1.3. Internal noun sandhi.

5.1.3.1. Vowel alternation. Vowel alternation in nouns occurs only before the plural endings and is essentially an umlaut-phenomenon where the high-

front vowel of the suffixes -i, -È, -nÌ effects a general raising of the root vowel--normally, however, this involves a change from an open vowel to its corresponding closed vowel; no alternations have been recorded where a closed root vowel has been altered to an adjacent and higher open vowel (e.g., /o/ → /u/ or /e/ → /ɪ/).

Schematically, regular vowel alternation may be set up as follows.

Singular	Plural
ʊ	u
ɔ	o
ɛ	e
a	

The alternation /ɪ/ → /i/ has not been recorded. (Compare the comparable retrogressive harmony noted in noun-pronoun combinations, p. 35.)

Examples:	/ʊ/ → /u/	bʊ̀k 'book': 'bugè 'books'
	/ɔ/ → /o/	à'tɔɔ̀ŋgà 'basket': à'toɔ̀ŋgè 'baskets'
		'ŋgɔrɔ̀ 'cowards': 'ŋgocè 'cowards'
	/ɛ/ → /e/	'mɔɛlɛ 'rice': 'mɔendè 'rices'
		rɛɛ 'fish': 'reyè (variant plural)
	/a/ → /e/	làk 'tooth': 'lekè 'teeth'
		'palà 'knife': 'pelnì 'knives'

With the exception of the alternation /a/ → /e/, all these changes are relatively unproductive. Parallel alternations involve vowel chains with /ɪ/ or /ʊ/ as the first member; these too are generally speaking unproductive.

Examples:	/ɪɛ/ → /ie/	'lɪɛ̀ɔ 'elephant': 'liec 'elephants'
		tɪ'ɛlɔ̀ 'foot': tì'endè 'feet'
	/ʊɛ/ → /ue/	'lʊɛdɔ̀ 'hand, arm': 'luetè 'hands'
	/ʊa/ → /ue/	'kʊàr 'leopard': 'kuec, 'kueyè 'leopards'
		'kʊàr 'grandfather, ancestor': 'kuerè

From an historical point of view, we may note two things with regard to regular vowel harmony. First, nouns with zero-suffix plural showing such alternation presumably have had plurals in -i or -E; these suffixes were subsequently lost. This is demonstrated not only because of the root-vowel umlaut, but also because of tone change: before either suffix, the stem tone is usually mid.

Examples: mȧc 'fire': mec (variant plural)

'lɪɛ̀c 'elephant': 'liec 'elephants'

Secondly, we must posit a front allophone of /a/, which may be written [ä], that eventually became an allophone of /e/. This is the only reasonable way to account for the present alternation of /a/, and is supported by comparative data: in Acooli, /ä/ has become an independent phoneme and is the normal umlaut of /a/; thus dyaȧŋ 'cow' (Luo 'ðɪȧŋ), plural dyäŋi. In Luo, [ä] could not coalesce with /ɛ/ because /ɛ/ was umlauted to /e/ in the same environment.

Other, unique vowel alternations occur. All examples of these occurring in my corpus are listed below.

/a/ -- /i/	'ɲakɔ 'girl, daughter': 'ɲiri 'girls'
/a/ -- /ie/	a'pȧr 'ten': 'pierɔ̀ 'tens'
/a/ -- /ɪɛ/	yȧθ 'tree, wood, medicine': 'yɪɛn 'trees' (variant plural)
/ɪɛ/ -- /ɪ/	'cɪɛ̀ŋ 'hand': 'cɪŋgɛ̀ 'hands' (the more usual singular form is cɪŋ)
/ɪa/ -- /o/	'ðɪȧŋ 'cow': ðɔ̀k 'cows, cattle'
/ʊɔ/ -- /ɔ/	ȧ'pʊɔ̀yɔ̀ 'rabbit': ȧ'pɔɔ̀cɛ̀ 'rabbits'
/ɔ/ -- /ʊɔ/	'kɔ̀ŋɔ̀ 'beer': 'kʊɔ̀ŋ 'beers' (variant plural)

5.1.3.2. Consonant alternation. The basic principle involved in the consonant alternation of noun inflection and elsewhere is that of 'oppo-

sition', briefly sketched in the introduction (pp. 15-16). Generally speaking, 'opposition' implies that any root-final lenis-voiced stop changes to a homorganic fortis-voiceless stop in the appertentive and plural; and vice versa. Nasals (without a voiced-voiceless dichotomy) alternate with nasal homorganic voiced stop clusters. The root-final consonants /j, f, s, h/ do not show alternation--tho /j/ participates in some alternations of /c/. Normal nasal-stop clusters also do not vary. Other clusters generally exhibit alternation of the first member(s) and loss of the second.

The overall pattern of opposition may be presented schematically as follows.

p		θ	t	c				k
w	(b)	ð	d	y	⌈j⌋	(l)	(r)	g

m	n	l	r	ɲ	ŋ
mb	nd			ɲj	ŋg

In the stop series, either row may occur as the root consonant; but in the nasal series only the top row can. Forms in parentheses occur only as the root consonant, i.e., alternation is one-way. Forms in brackets occur only as (variant) altered forms.

Some details of this alternation pattern become clearer by using the techniques of internal reconstruction. Intervocalic /b/ has become /w/ and has tended to disappear between low-back vowels altogether. This is confirmed by comparative evidence: 'rad 'hippo'--Ma'di (Central Sudanic language of the Sudanic superstock) rɔbi 'hippo'. Hence, /p/ normally alternates with /w/. (The pervasiveness of the opposition scheme is

evident from the fact that recent loan words with /b/ show alternation with /p/, altho no native Luo words now have this specific change.) In a similar way, intervocalic /j/ has become /y/, and /j/ at the end of a word has been lost--except before a clitic beginning with a vowel. Hence, /o/ alternates with /y/ and in the appertentive singular with /ø/ ('zero'), except before singular pronouns where we find the occurrence of an 'excrescent' (but actually retained) /y/.

The following pages are devoted to listing all the alternation patterns found in my corpus, in addition to giving examples of them. Series are classified by the root-final consonant, if there is any. They are arranged in the following order: fortis stops, lenis stops, nasals, other, clusters. For every single series, the consonants of the root (and nominative singular), appertentive singular, nominative plural, and appertentive plural are given in that order. Examples are placed beneath the respective series. Apparently unique series are marked by an asterisk (*); those found only with -i plurals are marked by 'I'; those only with zero-suffix plurals, by 'ø'; those only with -nI plurals, by 'nI'. Sporadic patterns are marked by 'S'. In general, series where the nonnominative singular forms all have the same consonant have proved to be the norm; in one sequence, however, this is not true: /r c c c/ is less frequent than /r r c c/. Other abbreviations:

A - Alego dialect
K - Karachuonyo dialect
N - allolog occurring before a noun
P - allolog occurring before a pronoun
D - allolog occurring before a demonstrative (sometimes the particular demonstrative is listed)
-y, -n, -g - phonemes used before singular pronouns only
-n/g - either phoneme used in plural before singular pronouns only.

NOMINATIVE SINGULAR	APPERTENTIVE SINGULAR	NOMINATIVE PLURAL	APPERTENTIVE PLURAL
A. Fortis stops.			
*/p w p p/			
ip 'tail'	íw	'ipə̀	'ípə́-n/g
ø/p w p w/			
lɛp 'tongue'	lɛ́w	lɛp	'lɛ́w
*/p w w w/			
pap 'field'	pá̋w	'pawə̀	'pá̋wə́-n
*/θ nd (~ð) n (~ð) nd (~ð)/			
yə̀θ 'wood, tree'	yə̀nd yə̀ð	'yíɛn 'yɛ́ðɛ	'yíɛndɛ́-n 'yɛ́ðɛ́-n
I/θ θ ð θ (~ð)/			
'ruðθ 'chief'	'rʊ́oð	'ruoði	'rʊ́oθ 'ruðði-n
/θ ð ð ð/			
kə̀θ 'rain'	kə̀ð	'koðə̀	'kə́ðɛ́-g
lʊ̀θ 'stick'	lʊ́ð	'lʊðə̀	'lʊðə́-n
I/t d d t (~d)/			
'kuə̀t 'triangular shield'	'kʊ́od	'kuodi	'kʊ́ot 'kuə̀də́t-n
ə̀t 'house'	ə̀d	'udi	'ʊ́tɛ́-n
/t d d d/			
gə̀t 'mountain'	gə̀d	'gədə̀	'gə̀də́-n
kʊ̀t 'depth'	kʊ́d	'kudə̀	'kʊ́də́-n
*/c j y (~j) j/			
mric 'razor'	mrij	'mriyə̀ A 'mrijə̀	'mrijɛ́-g
*/c j,ø-y c (~y) y/			
'kuə̀c 'leopard'	'kʊ́a-y 'kuaj D K	'kuəc 'kueyə̀	'kʊ́eyɛ́-n/g
ø/c c c j,c/			
kíc 'bee'	kíc-n	kíc	'kijɛ́ A } N kíj K } kíc-n/g P
/c ø-y,j y y/			
kíɨc 'orphan'	kíj N K kí-y	'kiyə̀	'kiyɛ́-n
nə̀c 'back'	nə̀ə̀ N nə̀-y P nəj D	'nəyə̀	'nə́yɛ́-n

*/k g k (~g) k (~g)/

á'gɔ̀kɔ̀ 'chest'	á'gɔ́g	á'gɔkɛ̀ K á'gɔgɛ̀	á'gɔ̀kɛ̀-n/g K á'gɔ̀gɛ̀-n/g

*/k g,ø g g/

cà̀k 'milk'	cà N cà̀g P	'cegè	'cégé-n/g

I/k r r ø/

'ɲakɔ 'girl'	ɲàr	'ɲiri	ɲí-g

I/k g,k g g/

on'díek 'hyaena'	on'díek N on'díég PD ondi'ég	ondi'egi	ondi'égí-n

ø/k g k g/

'juɔ̀k 'witchcraft'	'juɔ̀k	'juɔ̀k	'juɔ̀gɛ̀-g

ø/k ø k g/

ɔ̌ɔk 'mouth, language'	ɔ̌ɔ̀	ɔ̌ɔk	'ɔ̌ɔ̀gɛ̀-n

/k g g g/

bʊ̀k 'book'	bʊ̀g	'bugè	'búgé-n
à'gàk 'crow'	à'gák	à'gegè à'gagɛ̀	à'gégé-n/g à'gágɛ́-n/g

B. Lenis stops.

/b p p p/

kɪ̀'tabʊ̀ 'book'	kɪ̀'táp	kɪ̀'tepè	kɪ̀'tépé-n/g
msà'labà 'cross'	msà'láp	msà'lepè	msà'lépé-n/g

/ð θ θ θ/

'mbiðɪ̀ 'pig'	mbíθ	'mbiθè	'mbíté-n/g
'puɔ̀ðɔ̀ 'garden'	'puɔ̀θ	'puɔ̀θɛ̀	'púɔθɛ́-n

/d t t t/

'kadɔ̀ 'salt'	kàt	'ketè	'kété-n/g (also 'kádó-g P)
lʊ̀'ɛdɔ̀ 'hand, arm'	lʊ̀'ɛ́t	lʊ̀'etè	lʊ̀'été-g

nɪ/g k g k/

'hɪgà 'year'	hɪ́k	'hɪgnɪ̀	'hɪ́kɛ́-n/g
'ndigà 'bicycle'	ndík	'ndignɪ̀	'ndíké-n/g

/g k k k/

'cɔ̀go 'bone'	cɔ́k	'cokè	'cɔ́ké-n/g
'mɔɔ̀gɔ̀ 'posho'	mɔ̀k	'mɔɔ̀kɛ̀	'mɔ́kɛ́-g

C. Nasals.

ø/m mb m mb/				
	ci'emɔ̀ 'food'	ci'ómb	ci'emɔ̀	ci'ómb
	'humɔ̀ 'fame'	hómb	'humɔ̀	hómb
S/m m mb mb/				
	bàm 'hip'	bàm-n	'bombɛ̀	'bómbɛ́-n
	ɔ̀m 'thigh'	ɔ́m	'ombɛ̀	'ómbɛ́-n/g
	koom 'chair'	kóm	'kombɛ̀	'kómbɛ́-n/g kómb A
/m mb mb mb/				
	'buɔ̀m 'wing'	'búomb	'buɔ̀mbɛ̀	'búombɛ́-n/g
	'yamɔ̀ 'wind, ghost'	yámb	'yambɛ̀	'yámbɛ́-n/g
ø/n nd n nd/				
	'cinɔ̀ 'stomach'	cind	'cinɔ̀	'cíndɛ́-g
	'guɛnɔ̀ 'fowl'	'gúend	'guen	'gúend
S/n n nd nd/				
	'kuɔ̀n 'porridge'	'kúon	'kuɔ̀ndɛ̀	'kuɔ̀ndɛ̀-g
	'piɛ̀n 'skin'	'pien	'piɛ̀ndɛ̀	'piɛ̀ndɛ̀-g
/n nd nd nd/				
	'ciɛ̀nɔ̀ 'apron'	'ciend	'ciɛ̀ndɛ̀	'ciɛ́ndɛ́-n/g
	'θunɔ̀ 'breast'	θùnd	'θundɛ̀	'θúndɛ́-g
*/ɲ ɲ ɲj ɲj/				
	prɪɪɲ 'earth'	píɲ	'prɪɲjɛ̀	'píɲjɛ́-n/g
ø/ɲ ɲj ɲ ɲj/				
	'wiɲo 'bird'	wiɲj	wɪ̀ɲ	'wɪɲjɛ̀-g wɪ̀ɲ A
/ɲ ɲj ɲj ɲj/				
	booɲ 'ring'	bóɲj (also bóɲ)	'boɲjɛ̀	'bɔ́ɲjɛ́-n/g
	'luɛ̀ɲ 'war'	'lúɛɲ	'luɛɲjɛ̀	'lúɛɲjɛ́-n/g
*/ŋ r,ø-ŋg-n k g/				
	'ɔ̀rɛ̀ŋ 'cow'	ɔ́ɛ́r ɔ̀ɛ D A ɔ̀ɛn, ɔ̀ɛr, or 'ɔ̀rɛŋg before cɛ̀	ɔ̀dk	ɔ̀ɔ́-g
S/ŋ ŋ ŋg ŋg/				
	'guɛ̀ŋ 'town'	'guɛ̀ŋ	'guɛŋgɛ̀	'gúɛŋgɛ́-g
	wɛ̀ŋ 'face, eye'	wɛ̀ŋ	'weŋgɛ̀	'wɛ́ŋgɛ́-g

/ŋ ŋg ŋg ŋg/

'cièŋ 'sun'	'cíeŋg	'cièŋgè	'cíeŋgé-n/g
tɔɔŋ 'spear'	tɔ́ŋg	'tɔŋgɛ̀	'tɔ́ŋgɛ́-g

D. Other.

*/l ø, nd~g ø ø/

jàl 'person'	jà 'jagɔ́ jand } D	jì	jɔ̀-g

*/l nd (k) g (~ø),k)

'dɪɛ̀l 'goat'	dɪ̀'ɛ́nd	'diek	dɪ̀'égé K dɪ̀'é A } ND dɪ̀'ék P

*/l c c c,l/

à'golà 'verandah'	à'góc	à'gocè	à'gócé N à'gólá-n P

S/l c c c/

à'gùlù 'pot'	à'gúc	à'guùcè	à'gúcé à'gùlùní D

nɪ/l nd l nd/

'palà 'knife'	pánd	'pelnì	'péndé-n/g

/l nd nd nd/

kùl 'kraal'	kúnd	'kundè	'kúndé-g
tɪ̀'ɛlò 'foot'	tɪ̀'ɛ́nd	tɪ̀'ɛndè	tɪ̀'éndé-g

*/r r,n n~g g/

'wuòrò 'father'	'wúor P (singular) 'wuòn	'wuònè 'wegè	'wégé-n

*/r nd nd nd/

wèr 'song'	wènd	'wendè	wènd P 'wèndè N

*/r ø-y ø y/

'kuɛ̀r 'hoe'	'kúɛ-y	'kuè	'kúeyé-n

*/r r y ø-y/

ɲà'kuarò 'grand-child'	ɲà'kúar	ɲɪ̀'kuayò K ɲɪ̀'kuayɛ̀	ɲɪ̀'kúa-y

nɪ/r c r r/

à'sɛrɛ̀ 'arrow'	à'sɛ́c	à'sernì	à'sɛ́rɛ́-n/g

S/r c c c/

àm'buòr 'horse'	àm'búoc	àm'buòcè	àm'búocé-n
'aòrà 'river'	'áɔc	'aòcè, var.	'áocé-g

/r r c c/				
	bɔ̀r 'fat'	bɔ́r	'bɔcɛ̀	'bɔ́cɛ́-n
	bùr 'hole'	búr	'bucè	'bùcè-n
	bùr 'boil'	búr	'bucɛ̀	'bùcɛ̀-n (or búr)
	ɔ́'ŋɛ̀r 'monkey'	ɔ́'ŋɛ́r	ɔ́'ŋɛɛ̀cɛ̀	ɔ́'ŋɛ́cɛ́-g
	'yuɔ̀rɔ̀ 'brother-in-law'	'yúor	'yuɔ̀cè	'yúocɛ́-n/g 'yúoc
*/y r y ø-y, ¯y/				
	'neyɔ̀ 'mother's brother, uncle'	nér	'neyè	né-y 'néyé-n
*/y ø-n y y/				
	'dayɔ̀ 'grandmother'	dá-n	'deyè	'déyé-n
*/y d y t/				
	'wuoi (root: 'wuoy-) 'boy, son'	'wúod	yá'wuoi	yá'wúot
*/y c y c/				
	'rɔyà 'heifer'	róc	'royè	róc
/y c c c/				
	à'pʊɔ̀yɔ̀ 'rabbit'	à'pʊ́ɔc	à'pɔɔ̀cɛ̀	à'pɔ́cɛ́-n
	ɔ̀'tɔyɔ̀ 'hyaena'	ɔ̀'tɔ́c (before P also ɔ̀'tɔ́yɔ́-n)	ɔ̀'tɔcɛ̀	ɔ̀'tɔ́cɛ́-g
*/w p p r,p/				
	'raɔ̀ (root: raw-) 'hippo'	ràp	'repè	'réré N 'répé-g P
*/w w p p/				
	ɲà'kɛwɔ̀ 'niece'	ɲà'kɛ́w	ɲì'kɛpɛ̀	ɲì'kɛ́pɛ́-n
	ɔ̀'kɛwɔ̀ 'nephew'	ɔ̀'kɛ́w	ɔ̀'kɛpɛ̀	ɔ̀'kɛ́pɛ́-n
ø,nɪ/w p w p/				
	'fʊwɔ̀ 'foolishness'	fʊ́p	'fʊwɔ̀	fʊ́p
	'ndawà 'tobacco'	ndáp	'ndewnì	'ndépé-g
/w p p p/				
	bà'ruà (root: bà'ruw-) 'letter'	bà'rúp	bà'rupè	bà'rúpé-n
	kà'hawà 'coffee'	kà'háp	kà'hepè	kà'hépé-n/g
	'rɪwɪ 'needle'	ríp (before P also ríw-n)	'rɪpɛ̀	'rɪ̀pɛ̀-n/g
*/ø ø,g g g/				
	pì 'water'	pí N, cà píg PD	'pigè	'pígè-n

*/ø r k k (~ø)/				
	gí (moro) '(some-thing'	gír	gík (mɔkɔ)	gík gí-g
*/ø ø nd nd/				
	ɲè'θf 'child,doll'	ɲà'θf-n	ɲí'θrìndè	ɲí'θfnd
I/ø ø-y ð øvy,ð/				
	lè 'ax'	lé-y	'leði	lèe-n P (D) 'lèði N (D) 'léyé D
I/ø ø-y ð θ~ð/				
	'yìè 'boat'	'yíe-y	'yíeði	'yíeθ 'yíeði-n
I/ø r ð ð/				
	mè 'fat'	mór	'moði	'móði-n
*/ø,g r ø ø/				
	'dɪcuè 'man' 'dɪcuóg D	'cúɔr	'cuè	'cúɔ-g
S/ø ø-y y y/				
	'duè 'moon,month'	'dúe-y	'duèyè	'dúeyé-n
	kè 'calabash'	ké-y	'keyè	'kéyé-g
	'ɔŋgè 'eagle'	'ɔŋgé-y	'ɔŋgèyè	'ɔŋgeyé-g
S/ø ø c c/				
	kɪ'buè 'jackal'	kɪ'búc-n	kɪ'bucce	kɪ'búcé-n
	sè 'hour, clock'	sè-n	'saèce	'sèoè-g
E. Clusters.				
/dn t t t/				
	'kudnɪ 'insect'	kùt	'kutè	'kútè-g
/ɲn ɲn ɲj (~ɲ) ɲj/				
	'kaɲnè 'donkey'	'káɲna-n	'kaɲjè 'kaɲnɪ 'kaɲjè	'kóɲjé-n 'káɲjɛ-n
/gn k k k/				
	ɲè'rognè 'kidney'	ɲè'rɔk	ɲí'rokè	ɲí'rókè-g
/rn rn c c/				
	θé'mɔrnɪ 'safari ant'	θé'mórnɪ-n	θè'mɔɔcè	θè'mócé-n
/wn wn p p/				
	'θrwnɪ 'chain'	'θíwnɪ-n	'θɪpè	'θípé-g
/ŋgl ŋgl ŋg ŋg/				
	lɪ'gaŋglè 'sword'	lɪ'gáŋgla-n	lɪ'gaŋgnɪ	lɪ'gáŋgnɪ-n/g

5.1.4. Tonal inflection. Nouns (and disjunctive pronouns) have a case system marked by changes in tone contour. Getting minimal pairs to support this contention is somewhat difficult, however. There is a low 'structural' load, as it were, on the system: the tonal inflection complements and coincides with a rather inflexible word order which actually conveys most of the syntactic information of every sentence. But the following contrast clearly invites a case interpretation.

ˌnɛ ná'ròbí. 'Look at Nairobi!'

ˌɔɪ nâ'robí. 'Go to Nairobi!'

In the first sentence, 'Nairobi' is the object of the verb; in the second, it is a predicate-expression of place where.

This phenomenon cannot readily be subsumed under morphotonemic rules. A rather general alternation is that mid before another mid becomes high; thus 'ɔ̀akɔ 'woman' becomes 'ɔ̀ákɔ́ before 'mɔrɔ 'a certain': ˌɔ̀ákɔ́ 'mɔrɔ. But the expletive or anticipative subject ɛn 'it (is a...)', does not change before a mid-toned predicate noun or pronoun; rather it is these that have a different contour.

Examples: ɛn 'tɔ́ɔŋ. 'It's a spear.' (tɔɔŋ-'spear')

ɛn 'ɛ̀ɛ̀n. 'It's him.' (ɛɛn - 'he, she, it')

(But ɔ̀k ɛn 'ɛ̀ɛ̀n. 'It's not him.' where ɔ̀k shows the expected alternation to high because of a following mid tone.)

It is necessary to set up at least two tonal cases:

(1) citative--the citation form, which is used everywhere not specified as taking another case

(2) predicative--the form occurring as the object of an imperative verb and as the predicate of equational sentences with the expletive subject ɛn; it is characterized by a high-tone initial syllable. (Possibly the predicative can be tied up with an emphatic contour also involving a high tone;

see 3.3.4. The predicative form must be used in the environments listed and can occur without any special accompanying emphasis.)

For a small number of noun tone classes, a third contour plays a syntactic role; this is the following case:

(3) objective--the form used as the object of nonimperative verbs; it is characterized by a 'lowered' tone contour. (Most tone classes make no overt distinction between citative and objective.)

Example: 'mèsa 'table'

Citative: ˌmèsa 'bèr. 'The table is beautiful.'

Predicative: ɛn 'méɛsa. 'It's a table.'

ˌnɛ 'méɛsa. 'Look at the table!'

Objective: á 'nénɔ ˌmèsá. 'I saw the table.'

Other examples are given below for representative tone classes.

CITATIVE	PREDICATIVE	OBJECTIVE	
it	iit	it	'ear'
tɔɔɲ	tɔ̀ɔɲ	tɔɔɲ	'spear'
pi	pii	pí	'water'
'yɪɛn	'yíɛn	'yɪ̀ɛ̀n	'trees'
'buru	'búru	'buru	'ash(es)'
'cɔ̀go	'cɔ́go	'cɔ̀gɔ́	'bone'
ɔ́'puk	ɔ́'puk	ɔ́'puk	'tortoise'
'kitudɲgu	'kítudɲgu	'kítudɲgu	'onion'
kà'hawa	ká'hawa	kà'hawa	'coffee'
kí'jiikɔ̀	kí'jiikɔ̀	kí'jiikɔ̀	'spoon'
kàlà'tàs	kálà'tàs	kàlà'tàs	'paper'

The contours of predicate phrases of places, manner, time, etc., are variants of the citative form. If one of these phrases occurs alone in the predicate, its contour is identical with the citative. In a string of

such phrases, a variety of sequence intonation occurs, discussed in 3.2.1.

Examples: ˌor ə ˈdalə. 'Send her home.' (or - 'send!', 'dalə - 'homestead')

ˌor ə ˌdálá gɨ ˈpɨθ. } 'Send her home wealthy.' (pɨθ - 'wealth')
ˌor ə gɨ ˌpɨθ ˈdalə. }

5.1.5. Composition and derivation.

5.1.5.1. Prefixes. A frequent method of noun-formation is the use of prefix plus stem. This is by far the most productive technique; others are sporadic and relatively unsystematic.

Prefixes are generally monosyllabic without primary stress. Eight prefixes are discussed in the following section: ə-, o-, kə-, kalə-, kɪ̀-, mə̂-, mɪ-, sɪ̀-; a discussion of color-term prefixes is included at the end.

ə- and o- will be discussed together because of similarity of use, frequent interchange in different dialects, and primarily because they are often paired off along natual sex lines so that o- has a masculine and ə- a feminine connotation, especially in proper names. In certain circumstances, girls are given names in o-, e.g., in honor of an elder brother who has died. Occasionally, proper names in ə- are used without sex distinction, e.g., ə'kodkə, which is given to either a boy or a girl.

In the words ə'mɨyə 'brother' and ə'kɛwə, the masculine o- is used, but the corresponding feminine form (using the same stem) has the prefix pə-: pə'mɨyə 'sister', pə'kɛwə 'niece' (see 5.1.5.4.)

The following is a list of a few proper names containing the prefixes ə-, o-.

MASCULINE	FEMININE	MEANING OF STEM
ə'bodnə	ə'bodnə	'only son'
ə'ciən	ə'ciən	'born at noon' ('ciən-'sun')
ə'colə	ə'colə	'first child born to a re-married widowed by her second husband' ('colə-'mourning')

ò'dɔŋgò	à'dɔŋgò	'second-born of twins'
ðɔ̀ɔ̀'ambɔ̀	àðɔ̀ɔ̀'ambɔ̀	'born in the afternoon' (ðɔ̀ɔ̀'ambɔ̀-'afternoon')
ò'jʊàŋ	à'jʊàŋ	'born after the death of the father' ('jʊàŋɔ̀-'to abandon')
ò'kèc	à'kèc	'born during famine' (kèc-'famine')
ò'keyɔ̀	à'keyɔ̀	'born during harvest' ('keyɔ̀-'harvest')
---	à'kíɲi	'born in the early morning' (ò'kíɲi-'morning')
ò'kumù	à'kumù	'born of a mother not known to have menstruated'
ò'nɑɔŋgò	à'nɑɔŋgò	'born in the forenoon' (ò'nɑɔŋgò-'forenoon')
ò'pɪyɔ̀	à'pɪyɔ̀	'first-born of twins'
òtí'enɔ̀	àtí'enɔ̀	'born at night' (òtí'enɔ̀-'night')
ò'umà	à'umà	'born looking down' (? um-'nose')
ò'wítí	à'wítí	'child whose older siblings have always died in infancy' (presumably from mock ceremony of throwing the child away: 'wiitɔ̀-'to throw away')
ò'wʊòr	à'wʊòr	'born after midnight' (wʊòr-'night')

O- occurs as a constituent in several words denoting periods of time. No comparable use of à- occurs.

Examples: ðɔ̀ɔ̀'ambɔ̀ 'afternoon'
ò'kíɲi 'morning'
ò'pɔn 'short rainy season'
o'rɔ̀ 'dry season'
òtí'enɔ̀ 'night'

à- frequently denotes an agent, a use not widely paralleled by O-. Sometimes with a disparaging connotation, à- varies with jà- (see 5.1.5.4); dialects differ in use of the two. The stem is usually a verb derivative.

Examples: à'ŋàm 'chewer' (Uyoma dialect; 'ŋàmɔ̀ - 'to chew')
à'yʊàk 'crybaby' (Uyoma dialect; 'yʊàgɔ̀ - 'to cry')

ɖ'ɵʊm 'person who likes to listen to music' (ɵʊm - 'native stringed instrument')

ɖ'goɖŋ 'person who treats bones' ('goŋɖ - 'to tap with knuckles')

ɖ'juɖgɖ 'physician' ('juɖk - 'witchcraft')

ɖ- occurs as a constituent of nouns denoting sicknesses of various kinds--again not paralleled by O-. The stems of such nouns are noun or verb derivatives or occasionally simply a bound form.

Examples: ɖ'lɔŋ 'mange, scab' ('lunɖ - 'to lose hair')

ɖ'mɛw 'measles'

ɖ'pi 'lymphatic rash' (pi - 'water')

ɖ'pɪpɖ 'elephantiasis' ('pɪpɖ - 'barrel')

ɖ'pʊɵ 'scabies' ('pʊɵɖ - 'to be covered with sores')

Both ɖ- and O- are constituents of a large number of nouns denoting plants and animals. There is some dialectal variation as to which prefix is used. The stem is usually a bound form.

Examples: (1) with ɖ-

ɖ'buoro 'floating papyrus'

ɖ'cʊɵ 'vulture'

ɖ'gorɖ 'edible flying ant'

ɖ'ɪlɖ 'nettle' ('ɪlɖ - 'to itch')

ɖ'nim 'vegetable resembling simsim' (nim - 'simsim')

ɖ'pʊɖyɖ 'rabbit'

(2) with O-

ɔ'bambla 'dried fish' ('bambɖ - 'to gut fish for drying')

ɔ'dumɖ 'maize'

ɔ'gilɖ 'hare'

ɔ'guɖl 'frog'

ɔn'dɛk 'hyaena' (rdn'diek - 'hyaena-colored')

The prefix kə- has two distinct meanings: agent and place. Historically, all the agent prefixes--ə, jə, kə, rə--are probably dialect variants of the same item; synchronically, however, they must be considered distinct morphemes. kə- as a prefix of place, on the other hand, is an allomorph of the noun kə 'place'. It is frequently used in specific place names, where the stem is the proper name of a founding ancestor. In the latter use, k- is the allomorph employed before a name beginning with a vowel.

Examples: (1) agent

kə'camə 'cannibal' ('camə - 'to eat')

kə'dalə 'country person'. ('dalə - 'homestead')

kə'naŋgə 'city person' ('naŋgə - 'clothes')

kə'nonɨ 'busibody' ('nonə - 'to scrutinize') [listed in Vocabulary Nilotic-English]

(2) place

kə'cɪenə 'part of house customarily reserved for sleeping'

kərə'cuoŋə 'Karachuonyo' (district in Central Nyanza; named from founding ancestor, rə'cuoŋə)

kə'dɛ̀m 'Kadem' (a district to the south of Karachuonyo; founding ancestor ə'dɛ̀m)

The prefix kalə-, which occurs rather infrequently, has the general meaning of 'large size'. The stem (when identifiable) would seem to be invariably a noun derivative.

Examples: kalə'bugə 'big fly' (? 'bugə - 'hole') [V. Nilotic-English]

kalə'guenə 'monitor lizard' (? 'guenə - 'fowl')

kalə'ùsɨ 'whirlwind, cyclone' (? 'usɨ - 'thread= Swahili uzi).

kalə'kəθ (or kəθ) 'shoulderblade, collarbone'

kalə'ɲirɨ (or ə'ɲirɨ) 'cricket'

For the prefix kɪ̀-, no specific semantic label is handy. The stem is usually a verb derivative. An initial /kɪ/ occurs in many loan words from Swahili, but the analysis of prefix plus stem in Luo does not seem warranted: kɪ'jɪjkɔ̀ 'spoon' (Swahili kijiko), 'kibrit 'match' (Swahili kibiriti), 'kɪtuŋgʊ̀ 'onion' (Swahili kitunguu).

Examples: 'kɪdɛ́ŋɛ́ 'period of famine' ('dɛŋɔ̀ - 'to be hungry')

'kɪdɛ̀ra 'large basket' ('dɛrɔ̀ - 'granary')

kɪ'rɪndɔ̀ 'wedge' ('rɪndɔ̀ - 'to tie tightly') /V. Nilotic-English/

kɪ'sɛkɛ̀ 'headcold' ('sɛkɔ̀ - 'to make the noise of dead leaves')

kɪ'sɛrɛ́ 'marriage ceremony' ('sɛrɔ̀ - 'to court')

'kɪsumɛ́ 'going for help' ('sumɔ̀ - 'to go for help')

The prefix mɛ̀- is relatively rare. The stem is always a noun derivative.

Examples: mɛ̀'lɪŋ 'tapeworm' (? lɪŋ - 'month') /V. Nilotic-English/

mɛ̀'rowɛ́ 'millet springing up after harvest' ('rowɛ̀ - 'after-crop of millet)

'matuʊ̀ŋga 'outgrowth, wen' (e.g., a sixth finger; tuʊ̀ŋ - 'horn')

The prefix mɪ- is usually stressed. The stem is invariably a verb derivative.

Examples: 'midùdi 'rain cloud' ('dudɔ̀ - 'to be cloudy')

'miðiɛ̀rɔ̀ 'pauper' ('ðiɛ̀r - 'to be poor')

'mɪgalɔ̀ 'deception' ('galɔ̀ - 'to deceive')

'mɪgɛ́ŋgɛ́ 'thief' ('gaŋgɔ̀ - 'to steal')

mɪrɪ'ambɔ̀ 'liar' (rɪ'ambɔ̀ - 'to lie')

'mɪsɛ́ŋgɛ́ 'sacrifice' ('saŋgɔ̀ - 'to mix')

The prefix sɪ̀- occurs in a few items. The stem is usually a verb derivative. See also the color-term prefix sɪ- (discussed below).

Examples: sɪ'buɔ̀r 'lion' (ra'buɔ̀rɔ̀ - 'tawny color')

sɨ'drndɨ 'obstinacy, stubbornness' ('drndɛ - 'to close')

sɨ'gandɛ 'story' ('gandɛ - 'to tell, narrate')

Various other prefixes of limited distribution and unclear meaning occur. They include:- hù- in jɔhù,bagɛ'bagɛ 'someone who groans' (the Vocabulary Nilotic-English lists another item: ɔhù'dangɛ 'a person caught in the rain'); lɨ̀- in lɨ'goɔsɨ 'mercy' (mɨ'goɔsɨ - 'mercy, compassion'), lɨ'gaklɛ 'empty shell' (cf. kɛ'gaklɛ and mɛ'galɛ with the same meaning); mbàlɛ- in mbàlɛ'kuasɨ ('kuasɨ - 'eagle').

Nouns denoting colors--especially of animals--form a class of words where prefixes follow quasi-gender agreement rules. The stems are either unanalyzable (-bɔ 'white'), or related to statal verbs (-kuarɔ 'reddish': 'kuɔr 'to be red') or nouns denoting animals (-buɔr 'tawny brown': sɨ'buɔr 'lion'), occasionally some other noun (-buru 'ashen grey': 'buru 'ashes').

The color-term prefixes are as follows:

dɨ̀-: explicit feminine prefix, or prefix of affection

ra-: masculine prefix (also used after nouns denoting female animals when sex distinction is not emphasized)

sɨ̀-: masculine prefix (rare).

The stems include the following.

(1) Stems using both dɨ̀- and ra-

dɨ'buɔrɛ, ra'buɔr (plural ra'buɔcɛ) - 'tawny brown, khaki-colored'

dɨ'bɔndɛ, ra'bɔndɛ (plural ra'bɔndɛ) - 'white head, black body'

dɨ'kiyɔ (plural dɨ'kicɛ), ra'kic (plural ra'kiyɛ) - 'black dots on light-colored body' (kic - 'bee')

dɨ'θuɔndɛ (plural dɨ'θuɔndɛ), ra'θuɔl (plural ra'θuɔndɛ) - 'purple; muggy grey' ('θuɔndɛ - 'to be purple')

(2) Stems using only sɨ̀-

sɨ'luɔl (plural sɨ'luendɛ) 'brown' ('lualɛ - 'reddish brown clay')

(3) Stems using only dɨ-

dɨ'bə̀ (plural dɨ'boyə̀) 'white'

dɨ'ɔdl (plural dɨ'ɔɔ̀ndə̀) 'all black'

(4) Stems using only ra-

ra'balə̀ 'white spot on head'

ra'brɲə̀ 'spotted white and brown'

ra'buru 'ashen grey' ('buru - 'ashes')

ra'cə̀r (plural ra'cerə̀) 'white'

ra'cic 'black and white'

ra'diə̀r 'black and white' ('diə̀rə̀ - 'to be black and white')

ra'girə̀ 'dark grey'

ra'kuarə̀ 'reddish' ('kuə̀r - 'to be red')

ra'luɗə̀ (plural ralʊ̀'otə̀) 'white tail' (lʊ̀'ɔdə̀ - 'to have a white tail')

ran'diek 'hyaena-colored' (on'diek - 'hyaena')

ra'ŋèc 'spotted white and brown' (ŋèc - 'newt, salamander')

ra'palə̀ 'striped white and brown; light pink'

ra'pènda 'dark pink'

ra'saŋg 'spotted black or grey and red'

ra'teèŋ (plural ra'teèŋgə̀) 'all black'

ra'tfglə̀ 'green'

ra'θrɨ̀ŋ 'grey; spotted black and white' (á'θɨ̀ŋ - 'guinea

(Plural forms are emphatic and explicit. More usually, the singular form is used in all environments.)

Presumably -bə̀ (in dɨ'bə̀) and -ɔə̀r (in ra'ɔə̀r), both meaning 'white', are suppletive alternants of the same morpheme. So also -ɔdl (in dɨ'ɔdl) and -teèŋ (in ra'teèŋ), both meaning 'all black'.

5.1.5.2. Suffixes. Productive use of suffixes in Lmo noun morphology is rare. The recurrent final syllables that often suggest a rather extensive

use of suffixation are usually in construction with bound forms, and the suffixes themselves show few common semantic features.

The most important suffix is clearly -ruɔ̀k, occurring with stems derived from nouns or verbs. In the appertentive, the allomorph of this suffix is /r/ after 'ɪɪŋ-; elsewhere /ruɔ̀k-n/. Allomorphs of the stem: nouns and verbs in -Ò have allomorphs without (those with a /y/ preceding this vowel, occur without the /y/ as well).

Examples: (1) Noun stem (one word)

'ɪɪruɔ̀k 'body' ('ɪɪŋɔ̀ - 'meat')

(2) Verb stem; general meaning of the resultant word:

(a) reciprocal action

'mɪruɔ̀k 'exchange' ('mɪyɔ̀ - 'to give')

'caruɔ̀k 'mutual hate' ('cayɔ̀ - 'to hate, despise')

(b) action implied by verb is substantivized

'cakruɔ̀k 'beginning, Genesis (modern Christian term) ('cakɔ̀ - 'to begin')

lʊ̀'okruɔ̀k 'bathing, washing' (lʊ̀'okɔ̀ - 'to wash')

'guoŋruɔ̀k 'scratching' ('guoŋɔ̀ - 'to scratch')

'parruɔ̀k 'thought' ('parɔ̀ - 'to think')

(c) miscellaneous

'dɛ̀mbruɔ̀k 'humility' ('dɛ̀mɔ̀ - 'to treat with care')

(ɔ̀)'nonruɔ̀k 'chameleon' (? 'nɔŋɔ̀ - 'to make faces')

A suffix of endearment, -í, occurs with the stem of certain proper names. Whether or not this is derived from a comparable English use of '-y' is not clear.

Examples: 'umí - pet name for Auma or Ouma

'tieni - pet name for Atieno or Otieno

The following is a list of suffix-like elements of uncertain status.

-ȧ ˈaɔ̀rȧ 'river' ('orò - 'to flow')

ȧ'camȧ 'anything edible; inheritance' ('cȧmò - 'to eat')

ȧ'wiɲjȧ 'hearsay' ('wiɲjò - 'to hear')

rȧ'borȧ 'tall man' (bor - 'height', or bòr - 'to be tall')

-kè 'kendékè 'solitary person' ('kendè - 'being alone')

-la ɔ̀'bambla 'dried fish' ('bambɔ̀ - 'to gut fish for drying')

kȧ'gaklȧ 'scale of a fish; eggshell'

ɔ̀'(h)iglȧ 'pot to cook fish in'

'ndaglȧ 'magic spell'

-lò ɔ̀'goŋglò 'snailshell'

ɔ̀'siglò 'small pot for milk'

-nì 'kudnì 'insect'

'luaŋnì 'fly'

'θɪwnì 'chain'

-nɔ̀ 'dugnò '(kind of) grass'

'kognò 'nail'

ɲȧ'rɔgnɔ̀ 'kidney' (rɔ̀k - 'loins')

-rȧ 'bugrȧ 'silt' ('bugò - 'hole')

5.1.5.3. Reduplication. Several items with monosyllabic stems which are either derived from or connected with childhood show reduplication. They include: 'bába 'father, 'máma 'mother (possibly both of these are phrases with a possessive a 'my' rather than single words), 'gugù (childish for 'guɔ́k) 'dog, bowwow' (gu also occurs), 'títi (baby talk for ɔ̀ 'ríti) 'good-bye', 'tamtaȧm 'candy' (Swahili tamutamu). Other, partially reduplicated items of the same sort include: ŋuù'úu (baby talk for on'díek) 'hyaena', 'pú'pȧ 'see-saw' (an English loan word 'sí'sɔ̀ or 'síi,sɔ̀ occurs as well).

Other nouns with reduplicated monosyllabic stems include the following: 'dede 'grasshopper', 'gɔgɔ̀ (Alego dialect) or 'gogò (Karachuonyo dialect)

fishing net','tutu 'pus', 'malmàl 'white lies', 'guerguer 'a lot of talk'.

A considerable number of nouns have dissyllabic stems reduplicated in full. Several occur with a prefix.

Examples: (1) Without prefix

degè'degè 'swampy land' ('dagè - 'swamp')

dɔŋgè'dɔŋgè 'crumbs'

mɪdí'mɪdí 'topmost branch of a tree'

surè'sʊ́re 'smallpox'

wɪrá'wɪrà 'giddiness' (!wɪrò - 'to swing round')

(2) With prefix

à'lʊ́oluo 'camel'

,ká'bondɔbondɔ 'blister'

,kápɔrà'pɔrà 'imitation' ('pɔrò - 'to imitate')

pàlɪŋ'lɪŋ 'dragonfly'

ɔ,regɔ'régo 'mill' ('règò - 'to grind')

What may possibly be considered 'triplication' (at least of the root vowel) occurs in a few nouns. The stems exist as bound forms only.

Examples: à'burùrù 'waterfall'

à'ɛrlɪ̀lɪ̀ '(kind of) bird'

'hurùrù 'socket of spear'

'mbɔrɔ̀rɔ̀ 'bells'

ɔ'θalàlà 'flattery'

5.1.5.4. Compound nouns. It is occasionally difficult to delimit sharply the boundaries of a nominal phrase and a compound noun. Thruout the present work, a phrase interpretation has been adopted wherever possible. The official Luo orthography goes to the other extreme of piling up compounds on the Swahili model, where prefixes expressing place, nationality, lan-

guage, among others, have generally been regarded as bound morphemes. A comparable practise for Lúo, however, proves unwarranted because most of these and similar expressions are straightforward appertentive phrases (literally: place of so-and-so, language of so-and-so, etc.).

Contrasts do exist, however, between nominal phrases and compound nouns.

Examples: ɛn ɲá'kuar ɛ. 'It's his grandchild.' (appertentive phrase)

ɛn ɲár ˌkuər 'maar ɛ. 'It's the daughter of his grandfather.' (compound noun)

Not only do the sentences deal with different referents (child's child vs parent's father's daughter), but they contain different constructions: 'kuarə 'grandfather' belongs to a class of (kinship) nouns never followed directly by the pronoun ɛ in the same construction (see 5.5.1.); ɲá'kuarə 'grandchild' does not belong to this class--a difference not readily accounted for except by positing two separate words.

There are two kinds of compound noun: (1) those where the first element varies in the plural (and we get a 'double-plural' noun); (2) those with invariant nonfinal elements.

Three prefixes constitute the first element of 'double-plural' nouns: ɲə̀-, rə̀-, and jə̀-. They constitute the only productive kind of compound.

The prefix ɲə̀- (with a plural form in ɲì-) is obviously a derivative of the appertentive forms of 'ɲako 'girl, daughter'. The meaning of the prefix, however, is somewhat broader: 'offspring or young of (animal denoted by the following element)', 'diminutive', and other less clear meanings. The second element is usually a noun derivative.

Examples: (1) With a noun derivative as second element

'ɲəˌguòk 'puppy' ('guòk - 'dog')

ɲə́'burˌguòk 'sty' (bùr - 'boil', 'guòk - 'dog')

ɲə́'mryə̀ 'sister' ('mryə̀ - 'mother')

nə'pɔ̀ŋ 'mano, molar' (pɔ̀ŋ - 'metate')

nə'rɔ́mbɔ̀ 'lamb' ('rɔ́mbɔ̀ - 'sheep')

'paru,ðə 'male calf no longer sucking' (ru'ðə - 'bull')

(2) With a nonnoun or doubtfull second element

nə'cirə 'second wife' ('cirə - 'bad luck')

nə'dɛ̀ndɔ̀ 'young lady, miss' ('dɛ̀ndɔ̀ - 'to be delicate')

nə'parə 'overseer, headman' ('pə́ou - 'homestead')

nə'rɔgnə 'kidney' (rɔ̀k - 'loins')

nə'saaɪ 'god' ('sayɔ̀ - 'to worship, adore')

nə'θɛ̀f 'child, doll' (θɛ̀n - 'to be small')

The prefix rə- (with a plural form in rɔ̀-) has two important meanings, which generally are correlated with whether the second element is a noun or verb derivative. One meaning could be labeled 'infirm agent', where the noun denotes a person characterized by an abnormality connected with the body part or an illness specified by the second element, which is almost invariably a noun derivative.

The second important meaning is that of 'instrument' to perform action implicit in the second element, which is almost invariably a verb derivative.

Examples: (1) 'Agent'

rə'bàm 'cripple' (bàm - 'thigh')

rə'borə 'tall man' (bor - 'height')

rə'ðɔ́ho 'leper' ('ðɔ́ho - 'leprosy')

rə'lɛp 'quarrelsome person' (lɛp - 'tongue')

rə'guə̀l 'knockkneed person' (ə'guələ̀ - 'leg')

rə'yuə̀m 'circumcized man' ('yuə̀m - 'foreskin')

(2) 'Instrument'

(a) Second element: verb derivative in form 2 (without -ɔ̀)

rə'guar 'rake' ('guarə̀ - 'to scratch, claw')

rə'ŋi 'mirror, eyeglasses' ('ŋiyə - 'to look at')

rə'pur '(handle of) hoe' ('purə - 'to dig, hoe')

rə'toɔŋ 'sickle' ('toɔŋə - 'to cut')

(b) Second element: verb derivative plus final vowel

rə'betə 'machete, panga' ('betə - 'to slash')

rə'rəʔ 'ladder' ('rəə - 'to climb')

rə'makʔ 'tongs' ('makə - 'to catch, grasp')

rə'ŋisi 'sign' ('ŋisə - 'to point out, show')

The prefix jə- (with a plural form in jo-) has the general meaning of 'agent' performing the action implicit in the second element, which is invariably a verb derivative. The second element is regularly not inflected in the nominative plural, e.g., jə'kuəθ 'herdsman', plural jə'kuəθ (appertentive forms: jə'kóaə̃ singular, jə'kóaə̃ plural). Occasionally, a third element is a constituent of words introduced by the jə- prefix, and this element is the object of verbal part of the compound.

Examples: (1) Two-element nouns

jə'duwar 'hunter' (də'warə - 'to hunt, want')

jə'limbə 'spy' ('limbə - 'to spy')

jə'pur 'farmer' ('purə - 'to dig, hoe')

jə'yuək 'crybaby' ('yuəgə - 'to cry')

(2) Three-element nouns

jə'cam,jɨ 'cannibal' ('cəmə - 'to eat', jɨ - 'people')

jə'sua,wac 'tattletale' ('suayə - 'to spread', wac - 'word')

jə'toŋ,yrən 'woodchopper' ('toɔŋə - 'to cut', 'yrən - 'wood')

Other types of compound are rare. The most frequent, but by no means really productive, pattern uses the prefixes ə- or o- before the other elements.

Examples: (1) Without a prefix

ðôk'cin 'intestines' (ðôk - possibly an allomorph of ðok 'mouth'; cin - allomorph of 'cinò 'stomach')

'ɪc,lɪt 'selfishness' (ɪc - 'stomach', lɪt - 'sore')

lela'wàŋ 'forehead' ('lela - 'bare spot', wàŋ - 'face')
/The appertentive phrase lénd 'wàŋ 'forehead' also occurs./

'waŋ,yò 'middle of the road' (? wàŋ - 'face', yò - 'road')

'wicbɛ̀r 'headache' (wic - 'head', 'barɔ̀ - 'to split')

wɪc'tɛkɔ 'stubbornness' ('tɛkɔ̀ - 'strength')

Compounds with wic are, so to speak, dissolved when any of the qualities denoted by such nouns are attributed to a personal subject. In this instance, the constituents are used as separate words, and wic appears in the appertentive.

Example: wic,tɛkɔ̀ 'rɛc. 'Stubbornness is bad.' (rɛc - 'to be bad')

But ,wɪy ɛ̀ 'tɛ̀k. 'He is stubborn.' (lit. 'His head is hard.'; tɛ̀k - 'to be hard')

(2) With a prefix

ɛ̀'bâŋ,trɛ̀ŋ 'period after harvest following long rainy season' (bàŋ - 'after', 'trɛ̀ŋ - 'stalk of millet')

ɛ̀'lak,tɛ̀r '(kind of) acasia' (lɛ̀k - 'tooth', tɛ̀r - 'to be white')

ɛ̀,pi'wiyɛ 'water on top of sour milk, beesting' (pi - 'water', ? wic - 'head' /here in the appertentive: wi-y/, ?-ɛ - 'his, hers, its')

ɛ̀'waŋ,mɛc 'swelling in the groin, plague' (? wàŋ - 'to burn', mɛc - 'fire')

ɔ̀'diɛ̀,ciɛ̀ŋ 'daytime' ('diɛ̀r - 'middle', 'ciɛ̀ŋ - 'sun')

odiɛ̀'wuɔ̀r 'middle of the night' ('wuɔ̀r - 'night')

5.1.5.5. Derivation. The only significant kind of derivation in Luo is that of nouns from verb forms. Infinitives of verbs in -ò readily occur

in nominal positions, as has already been noted, but this use is really not derivation proper.

Nouns derived from non -Ò verbs form two classes: (1) those that add -O to the verb form; (2) those that do not. The second class is composed of abstract monosyllabic nouns with a mid tone derived from statal verbs with a low tone.

Examples: (1) Addition of -O

'gero 'cruelty' (gèr - 'to be ferocious, cruel')

'gikò 'end' (gik - 'to finish')

'koòkò 'noise, shout' (kòk - 'to shout')

(2) No additional -O

ber 'beauty' (bèr - 'to be beautiful')

bor 'height, far distance' (bòr - 'to be tall, far away')

ŋɛn 'multiplicity, manifoldness' (ŋɛ̀n - 'to be many')

rac 'evil, badness' (rɛ̀c - 'to be bad')

θɪn 'smallness' (θɪ̀n - 'to be small')

Nouns derived from -Ò verbs again form two classes: (1) those that retain the -Ò; (2) those that do not. Class (2) has two subdivisions depending on presence or absence of morphophonemic alternations of the final root consonant. Such alternation is generally identical with that noted for noun inflection in 5.1.3.2. Here, the noun shows a voiceless-fortis consonant whereas the verb has a voiced-lenis one. The only exceptional pattern is the alternation /y/-/θ/, which is unique.

VERB	w	d	ð	y			g
NOUN	p	t	θ	θ	c	∅	k

(Whether or not the noun were better considered the base, and the verb a derivative--rather than the other way round--is brought up by the

alternations of verbs in /y/. I suspect, however, that at, least historically, such verb forms represent the end result of phoneme coalescence.]

Examples: (1) -ò retained

cì'emò 'food' ('ciémo - 'to eat')

'fukò 'mole' ('fukò - 'to dig')

'fuwò 'foolishness, folly' ('fuwò - 'to be foolish')

'tuwo 'sickness' ('tuwò - 'to be sick')

(2) -ò not retained

(a) Without morphophonemic alternation

bùk 'bellows' ('bukò - 'to blow bellows')

càm 'provision' ('càmò - 'to eat')

tɔŋ 'spear' ('tɔòŋò - 'to cut')

(b) With morphophonemic alternation

Verb	Noun	
/w	p/	'dɪɛp 'diarrhoea' ('dɪɛ̀ò [root 'dɪɛ̀w-] - 'to have diarrhoea')
/d	t/	'cuat 'flogging' (cù'adò - 'to flog, beat')
/ð	θ/	'θieθ 'cure' ('θiéðò - 'to cure')
/y	θ/	'kuèθ 'herd', 'kuàθ 'herding' ('kuayò - 'to herd')
/y	c/	bac 'stroll' ('bayò - 'to take a walk')
		gɔc 'beating' ('gɔyò - 'to beat')
		tic 'work' ('tiyò - 'to work')
/y	ø/	ðɪ 'going' ('ðɪyò - 'to go')
/g	k/	'buòk 'fright' ('buògò - 'to frighten')
		pok 'salary, share' ('poògò - 'to divide')

5.2. DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstratives have been listed on page 54. It is readily apparent that there are two morphological classes of demonstratives, each with characteristic prefixes and stems.

Class I

Prefixes:	n-	'singular'
	g-	'plural'
Stems:	ɪ̀	"this" (i.e., 'close to speaker')
	ɔ̀	"that" (i.e., 'close to one spoken to')
	ɛ	"which?, what?" ('interrogative')
Suffix:	-gɔ̀	"that very (one)" ('emphatic')

The prefixes have the following allomorphs.

n- : /ɲ/ after the noun kɛ̀ 'place' and in construction with the stems ɪ̀ and ɔ̀ (resultant forms: ɲɪ̀, ɲɔ̀)

/r/ or /n/ after the noun kʊ̀ 'place' and in construction with the stems ɪ̀ and ɔ̀ (resultant forms: rɪ̀ or nɪ̀, rɔ̀ or nɔ̀)

/r/ after the noun 'ɲɔɔ̀ 'day' (see p. 71) and in construction with the stem ɔ̀ (resultant form: rɔ̀)

/r/ (or in some dialects /n/) after the deictic preposition È (see pp. 61-62) and before stressed allomorphs of the stems ɪ̀, ɔ̀, ɛ (resultant forms: rɪ́, ro, rɛ́)

/ø/ after the noun jɛ̀l 'person' (resultant forms: ɪ̀, ɔ̀)

/n/ elsewhere.

g- : /k/ after the deictic preposition È and before stressed allomorphs of the stems ɪ̀, ɔ̀, ɛ (resultant forms: kɪ́, ko, kɛ́)

/g/ elsewhere.

The stem ɔ̀ has an allomorph /ɔ/ when the demonstrative follows the noun 'ɲɔɔ̀ 'day', and an allomorph /o/ when stressed. Otherwise, /ɔ/. The stems ɪ̀ and ɛ have stressed allomorphs /ɪ/ and /ɛ/, respectively. Otherwise, ɪ̀ shows clitic variation (see 2.4.2.), and ɛ is invariant.

Use of the 'interrogative' demonstratives is highly restricted. The singular and plural forms occur only after the anaphoric noun ma 'this one', and the deictic preposition È. The singular form also follows the nouns

kə̀ and kʉ̀ 'place', and the interrogative nə̀ 'who'.

The suffix -gə̀ occurs only after the stem ə̀ (which then has an allomorph /ɔ/.

Class II:

Prefixes:	c-	'singular'
	k-	'plural'
Stems:	ə̀	"that" ('far away from speaker')
	ə̀	"yon" ('farther away from speaker')
Suffixes:	-ndɛ̀	"(that) spoken of" (i.e., 'temporal reference')
	-ʉ̀	'emphatic'

The distinction between singular and plural is often neutralised after an explicitly marked plural noun, so that the singular form in c- occurs.

The emphatic suffix -ʉ̀ occurs only after the stem ə̀.

The suffix -ndɛ̀ occurs in other, nondemonstrative temporal particles:

'nəndɛ̀	'earlier today' (nə - 'past' particle)
'tindɛ̀	'today' (ti - 'nowadays')
'yandɛ̀	'formerly'.

Before this suffix, the stems ə̀ and ə̀ have the allomorphs /aə̀/ and /oə̀/, respectively.

In distribution, the demonstrative cə̀ "that" is unique in that it occurs in the following environments: (1) after itself, (2) after the noninterrogative demonstratives of class I, (3) after a class II demonstrative containing -ndɛ̀. In all these instances the specifically singular-meaning of the prefix is suspended.

Huntingford, in his 1959 grammar, maintains that the demonstratives nə̀ and gə̀ specify 'things at a distance, and out of sight'; and that the demonstratives cə̀ and kə̀ specify 'things at a distance, but in sight'

(p. 11). My own data does not support this assertion of a difference in the factor of visibility. In fact when checked with both my Alego and Karachuonyo informants, previous findings that both nɔ̀-gɔ̀ and cɛ̀-kɛ̀ refer equally correctly to visible or invisible referents were upheld. The difference between these two sets of demonstratives glossed as "that" is occasionally elusive. In most instances, they seem to be interchangeable. After the noun 'ŋɔ̀ɔ̀ 'day', cɛ̀ indicates a more remote time than nɔ̀: 'ŋɔ̀ɔ̀ rɔ̀ 'yesterday', as opposed to 'ŋɔ̀ɔ̀ cɛ̀ 'day before yesterday'.

5.4. PRONOUNS

The conjunctive pronouns are listed on p. 53; the disjunctive, on p. 54.

Conjunctive pronouns consist of the pronoun morpheme without a suffix. Disjunctive pronouns consist of the pronoun morpheme plus the suffix -n (which can be labeled 'disjuncture' or the like).

The pronoun morphemes are as follows.

a - 'first person singular'; allomorphs: /aa/ before morpheme of disjuncture, /a/ elsewhere

I - 'second person singular'; allomorphs: /I/ when subject of a verb or before a particle occurring in the subject, /u/ after certain kinship terms (see below), /ii/ before the morpheme of disjuncture, /i/ elsewhere

E - as subject of verb with appositive noun subject, 'third person'; elsewhere, 'third person singular'; allomorphs: /0/ when subject of a verb or before a particle occurring in the subject, /ɛɛ/ before the morpheme of disjuncture, /E/ elsewhere (a form gɔ̀ --an emphatic variant is 'gɔ̀dɔ̀--occurs as the verb object when not directly following the verb; see also 7.1.)

wa - 'first person plural'; allomorphs: /a/ after the future particle ŋ (actually wa ... a invariably occurs

here; see p. 69); /waa/ before the morpheme of disjuncture, /wa/ elsewhere

U - 'second person plural'; allomorphs: /U/ when subject of a verb or before a particle occurring in the subject, /uu/ before the morpheme of disjuncture, /u/ elsewhere

gI - as subject of verb with appositive noun subject, 'third person explicit plural'; elsewhere, 'third person plural'; allomorphs: /I/ after the future particle n (actually gI ... I invariably occurs here; see p. 69), /gɪɪ/ before the morpheme of disjuncture, /gI/ elsewhere.

The tone of conjunctive pronouns is mid after an appertentive nominal, and generally low elsewhere. Note, however, that as the subject of a verb, a conjunctive pronoun participates in the aspectual tone contour (see 6.4.).

Disjunctive pronouns have tonal inflection. The are only two cases: nominative (with mid tone) and predicative (mid-low). Use parallels that of nouns (see 5.1.4.).

The conjunctive pronoun I 'second person singular', has (as was noted above) an allomorph /u/ after certain kinship terms. The only phrases where this allomorph occurs are the following:

'kúar u	'your grandfather (or ancestor)'
'mér u	'your mother (or mother's sister)'
'nér u	'your mother's brother'
ɲà'kɛ́w u	'your niece'
ɲà'mér u	'your sister'
ɔ̀'kɛ́w u	'your nephew'
ɔ̀'mér u	'your brother'
'wáy u	'your father's sister'
'wúor u	'your father (or father's brother)

From internal and comparative evidence, the second person plural pronoun U was earlier *wU (the actual form in modern Acooli is wu). It would seem that the loss of the initial /w/, which has brought about

the coalescence of the singular kinship pronoun and the plural pronoun, has tended to effect (1) a realignment of pronouns into those that begin with a vowel vs those that begin with a consonant (as opposed to a singular-plural opposition; for an example, see 6.4.); and (2) avoidance of the kinship phrases mentioned above--or indeed of any kinship term followed by a singular pronoun. Usage nowadays tends towards 'deferential' plurals such as 'our brother' for 'my brother', etc. (similarly for the words pɨn 'country' and ðok in the meaning 'language' [but not in the meaning 'tongue'].

The pronoun morphemes listed above are probably best considered has having--like the demonstratives--a prefix (of number) and a stem (of person). The singular is unmarked (or, better, has a zero prefix). The plural prefix is g-, with the allomorphs /w/ before the stem denoting first person, /g/ before the third person; the second person plural U is a portmanteau consisting of both the plural prefix g- and the stem denoting second person. The stems may be represented as: A 'first person', I 'second person', E 'third person'. Such an analysis accounts admirably for the structure of a 'I' - wa 'we', pretty well for I 'you, singular' - U 'you, plural' (which are both high vowels and show clitic alternation when used as subjects, but not elsewhere), least well for E 'he, she, it' - gI 'they'.

5.4. OTHER NOMINALS

Quantitatives are listed on p. 55. 'dultɔ̀ 'all' is invariant. 'moro 'a certain' has a plural 'mɔ̀kɔ́ 'some' with the unique consonant alternation /k/ -- /k/

Interrogatives are listed on p. 54. The morpheme of interrogation is

ɒ (+ a low back vowel). The impersonal interrogative á'ɒ̀ 'what' has the prefix á- which is, at least semantically, unlike the noun prefix á-. A singular variant occurs with the suffix -wá for both the items of this group. Plurals in -ɔ'nɔ̀ are used rarely, tho morphologically they parallel the large group of nouns with the same plural suffix; the morphophonemic alternation before this suffix (/ø/ or /w/ → /g/) is unique.

Numerals are listed (in part) on p. 55. They, together with certain other, closely related nominals, are readily analyzed as prefix plus stem. Historically and synchronically, the stems of numerals from 'one' to 'five' are unanalyzable, but stems of numerals from 'six' to 'ten' often permit a further analysis into morphemes denoting 'five' plus some other basic numeral, so that 'six' is really 'five' (+) 'one'; 'seven', 'five' (+) 'two', etc.

The numeral prefixes include the following.

a- general meaning: 'cardinal numeral'; distribution: does not occur with the plural of 'ten' (a'pár - plural 'piárɔ̀) or the usual expressions for 'nine' (ɔ'crɨkɔ̀ in the Karachuonyo and Gem dialects, ɔngá'crɛ̀l in Alego and Uyoma), but with all other stems

dɨ- or ɲadɨ- general meaning: 'iterative'; allomorphs: /d/ ~ /dɨ/ or /ɲad/ ~ /ɲadɨ/ before -'ríyɔ̀ 'two', elsewhere /dɨ/ or /ɲadɨ/

ku- or kon- occur only with -crɛ́l 'one'; meaning of the resulting forms (ku'crɛ́l, kon'crɛ́l): 'part; (roughly) a half'

The numeral stems are presented here in the analysis suggested above. The normal forms for 'nine' seem to be verbal derivatives not susceptible of the kind of analysis attempted for other stems (there is a dialect form a'bunúɛn which fits into the general scheme very nicely, however). The stem for 'ten', -pár, is probably best considered unanalyzable, tho some

hocus-pocus minded linguists may deplore such timidity.

The numeral stems consist of the following.

-crɛ̀l	'one'
-ríyɔ́	'two'; allomorphs: /riyɔ́/ (unstressed) in the numeral a'birriyɔ́ 'seven', elsewhere /'ríyɔ́/
-dɛ̀k	'three'; allomorphs: /orɔ̀/ in the numeral a'borɔ̀ 'eight'; in the numeral a'dɛ̀k 'three', an allomorph /dɛ̀g/ occurs before the preposition gɨ, elsewhere /dɛ̀k/
-ŋuɛ̀n	'four'
-bic	'five'; allomorphs: /'ɓ/ in the numeral a'ɓcrɛ̀l 'six', /'bɪ/ in the numeral a'birriyɔ́ 'seven', /b/ in the numeral a'borɔ̀, /bic/ elsewhere
ɔŋga'crɛ̀l	'nine'; presumably to be analyzed historically as /ɔŋg/ (an allomorph of the verb 'ɔ́ŋgɛ́ - 'to be without') + /a'crɛ̀l/ 'one', so that the whole word literally means '(ten) minus one'
ɔ'crɪkɔ́	'nine'; possibly a verb form, at present unanalyzable; allomorphs: /crɪkɔ́/ (unstressed) after (stressed) dɪ̀- or ŋadɪ̀-[1], /ɔ'crɪkɔ́/ elsewhere
-pɛr	'ten'; plural 'pierɔ́ 'tens'
-dɪ	'interrogative' (strictly speaking, not a numeral altho it occurs with all the numeral prefixes; the resultant forms are: a'dɪ 'how much?', dɪ'dɪ or ŋadɪ'dɪ 'how often?')

Numerals are characterized by inflection for the appertentive, tho this case occurs only before conjunctive pronouns. The appertentive forms are given below. Consonant alternation parallels that discussed for nouns.

NOMINATIVE	APPERTENTIVE
a'crɛ̀l 'one'	a'cɛ́nd
a'ríyɔ́ 'two'	a'ríɔ́

1/ Malo (1952:10) maintains that the word ɔ'crɪkɔ́ does not occur with the prefixes dɪ̀- or ŋadɪ̀-. My Karachuonyo informant used only this form, however.

a'ddk 'three'	a'dɔ̈k
a'ŋuɛ̀n 'four'	a'ŋuɛnd
a'bic 'five'	a'bic
a'ɓɔrɛ̀l 'six'	a'ʋɔrend
a'bɪrrɪyɔ̀ 'seven'	a'bɪ́rɪ or a'bɪ́rɪyɔ
a'borɔ̀ 'eight'	a'boo or a'bɔ̈ro
ɔŋga'ɔrɛ̀l 'nine'	ɔŋga'ɔfend
ɔ'ɛrɪ́kɔ̀ 'nine'	ɔ'ɛrɪko
a'pɛ̀r 'ten'	a'pɛ́ac or a'par

5.5. SYNTAX OF THE NOMINAL PHRASE

5.5.1. Noun-nominal phrases. Such phrases may be characterized by the first member, which is either in the nominative or appertentive (always so before a pronoun).

In a nominative phrase, the second element can only be one of the following: a color-term, a quantitative, a numeral, or an appositive noun.

Examples: 'ɔ́ákɔ́ ˌmɔro 'a certain woman' (quantitative)

jɪ 'duùtɔ̀ 'all the people' (quantitative)

ˌmɔ́on a'rɪ̌yɔ̀ 'two women' (numeral)

ɔ'wuor, ŋà ˌɔf 'mumbo 'Awuor, Mumbo's child' (appositive noun)

ˌɔrɛ̀ŋ ɔɪ'bɔ̀ 'the white cow' (color term) - more commonly: 'ɔrɛ̀ŋ ma ɔɪ'bɔ̀

When the appositive noun is the more specific of the two elements, an intervening ma is required. This ma is usually necessary before color terms as well, except--as one informant puts it--'when you talk fondly of a specific cow'.

Examples: ɔ'wuor, ŋà ˌɔf 'mumbo 'Awuor, Mumbo's child' (first element more specific than second)

But ŋà ˌɔf 'mumbo m ɔ'wuor 'Mumbo's child, Awuor'

(When the first element is in its own right an appertentive phrase with a conjunctive pronoun as the second element, no intervening ma occurs:

ɲɛ̀'θɪ gɪ, ɛ̀'wuor 'their child, Awuor'.)

In a single construction, the otherwise mutually exclusive quantitatives 'moko 'some' and 'duùtɔ̀ 'all' occur together: ˌgík moko 'duùtɔ̀ 'everything'. Possibly ˌgí 'moro 'something' and ˌgík'moko 'somethings' have become 'frozen' constructions (i.e., single words rather than phrases).

The meaning of the appertentive construction is variously: (1) possession (real or quasi), where the appertentive noun indicates the thing possessed; (2) part, where the appertentive numeral specifies how many of a group are involved; (3) origin, where the nominative nominal specifies place; (4) destination, purpose, or order, where the appertentive noun is invariably an anaphoric máár, and the appertentive phrase is in apposition with another (nominative) noun.

Examples: 'bóg a 'my book'

ðɔ̀ 'mumbo 'Mumbo cows'

a'crend u 'one of you'

jɛ̀ 'keeɲɛ̀ 'a Kenyan; a person from Kenya'

kɛ̀ ˌlɛm mar 'nɛ̀ilkɔ̀ 'a pen for writing'

ˌɲat mar a'ɛ̀ɛ̀k 'the third man'

For two nouns, exemplified below, an inalienable pronoun occurs in appertentive constructions with a noun as the second element.

Examples: 'rɪɲr é, ɛ̀'ɲaŋgɔ̀ 'Onyango's (his) body'

ɛ̀'wad gí, ɛ̀'ɲaŋgɔ̀ 'Onyango's (their) brother' /for the 'deferential' plural pronoun, see p. 126/

Certain kinship terms do not permit an ordinary appertentive construction when the second element would otherwise be a third person singular pronoun. Instead, an appositive máár-phrase is required, in apposition with an appertentive form of the kinship term.

Example: ˌwuǫn 'maar ɛ , 'his father' ('wuǫrǫ - 'father')

The nouns that use this construction include all those that require the special u-pronoun discussed on p. 125, in addition to the term for 'wife's mother'. These nouns are: 'kuarǫ 'grandfather, ancestor', 'marǫ 'wife's mother', 'mryǫ 'mother', 'neyǫ 'mother's brother', ɲǫ'kɛwǫ 'niece', ɲǫ'mryǫ 'sister', ǫ'kɛwǫ 'nephew', ǫ'mryǫ 'brother', 'wayǫ 'father's sister', 'wuǫrǫ 'father'.

5.5.2. Noun-demonstrative phrases. This kind of phrase is actually a subclass of the noun-nominal phrases discussed in the preceding section. The question of the case and number of the noun before the demonstratives is a rather involved one and requires a special section.

Both nominative and appertentive forms occur before demonstratives. As a rule, only nominative forms occur before plural demonstratives, tho in this environment either a singular or plural noun can occur. For example, the noun kiic 'orphan' uses the appertentive singular before the singular demonstrative nɨ, nǫ, cǫ, and the nominative plural before gɨ, gǫ:

'kij nɨ 'this orphan'	'kiyǫ gɨ 'these orphans'
'kij nǫ 'that orphan'	'kiyǫ gǫ 'those orphans'.
'kij cǫ 'that orphan'	

The noun 'ɲako 'girl' reverses this usage by employing the nominative singular before the singular demonstrative nɨ, nǫ, cǫ, and the appertentive plural before gɨ, gǫ (the nominative plural also occurs in this environment):

'ɲako nɨ ('ɲaa nɨ) 'this girl'	'ɲi gɨ 'these girls'
'ɲako nǫ ('ɲaa nǫ) 'that girl'	'ɲi gǫ 'those girls'.
'ɲako cǫ 'that girl'	

Other patterns exist. Some nouns use the nominative singular before all demonstratives, e.g., tɨ'cɨǫ 'foot'. More combinations than those exemplified

here are used. There is considerable variation in different dialects and even within the same dialect. For example, for most nouns either the nominative or appertentive forms occur before cà 'that' (the nouns 'buòm 'wing' and 'wìk 'week' use appertentive forms only, however).

The following list tries to classify noun forms before demonstratives in the most concise way. Details follow Karachuonyo usage.

1. The appertentive plural is used before gì, gò in the following nouns:

   'ðɪàŋ 'cow' (elsewhere a proliferation of forms: appertentive singular before nì, nò; before cà, several variants, some unique: ðɛn, ðɛr, ðɛ, 'ðɪaŋ, 'ðɪaŋg)

   jàl 'person' (elsewhere a variety of forms: 'jal ì [ì is an allolog of nì] or 'jagó nì; 'jal ò [ò is an allolog of nò] or 'jagó nò; 'jal cà Karachuonyo or 'jagó cà Alego and Karachuonyo or 'jand cà)

   'ɲakɔ 'girl' (elsewhere nominative)

2. The nominative singular is used with all demonstratives in the following nouns: à'duùndò 'heart', 'kadò 'salt', kà'hawà 'coffee', 'mɔògò 'posho', ò'pɔkò 'bark (of tree)', 'θɪwnì 'chain', 'kudnì 'insect', lù'ɛdò 'hand, arm', 'pòlo 'sky', tì'ɛlò 'foot'.

3. The nominative singular is used before cà; the appertentive singular before nì, nò; the nominative plural before gì, gò in the following nouns: 'kuèr 'hoe', mò 'oil, fat, gasoline', ó'guàŋ 'cat', wìc 'head'.

4. The appertentive singular is used before nò; the nominative singular before nì, cà; the nominative plural before gì, gò in the one noun 'cìèŋ 'sun'.

5. The appertentive is used in the singular, the nominative in the plural in the following nouns: 'buòm 'wing', dàk 'pot', gòk 'shoulder', gòt 'mountain', 'guòk 'dog', kììc 'orphan', kòθ 'rain', 'kuàc 'leopard', 'luùm 'grass', ŋèc 'back', pì 'water', 'θuol 'snake', wèr 'song', wìk 'week', yàθ 'tree, wood, medicine'.

6. The nominative is used (with differentiation of singular and plural) before all demonstratives in the following nouns: àm'buòr 'horse',

'aɔ̀rà 'river', à'pʊɔ̀yɔ̀ 'rabbit', bɔ̀r 'fat', 'buru 'ashes', cɪŋ 'hand', 'ɔ̌akɔ 'woman', ip 'tail', 'kɛdɛ 'stick', kɔɔm 'chair', 'kɔ̀ŋɔ̀ 'beer', mbàs 'contemporary, age-mate', ɔ̀'tɔyɔ̀ 'hyaena', 'raɔ̀ 'hippo', 'rɪwɪ 'needle (used for extracting lower front teeth in puberty rite)', 'rɔɔ̀mbɔ̀ 'sheep', sí'buɔ̀r 'lion', tɔɔŋ 'spear', wàŋ 'face, eye, 'wìɲɔ 'bird', 'yamɔ̀ 'wind'.

5.5.3. Nouns modified by prepositional phrases. Nouns may be modified by prepositional phrases.

Examples: 'ŋat cà gɪ̀ 'pesa 'that man with money' ('pesà - 'money')

ʊ̀ŋ'gʊ̀jà, ɛn ˌcúulà ɛ̀ ˌnám tàŋgà'ɲikà. 'Zanzibar is an island off Tanganyika.' (ʊ̀ŋ'gʊ̀jà - 'Zanzibar', 'cuùlà - 'island', nám 'water-of')

Such attributive prepositional phrases vary with mà-clauses with prepositional phrase predicates. Only the mà-clause construction occurs if the whole nominal phrase is in turn the object of a preposition or if a nonattributive prepositional phrases follows directly.

Examples: à 'nɛ́nɔ ˌŋatɔ̀ gɪ̀ 'pesà. } 'I saw the man with money'
à 'nɛ́nɔ ˌŋatɔ̀ mà n gɪ̀ 'pesà. }

But only: 'or è nɪ̀ ˌŋatɔ̀ mà n gɪ̀ 'pesà. 'Send her to the man who has money'

ɔ̀ 'nɛ́go ˌŋatɔ̀ mà n gɪ̀ 'pesà, gɪ̀ 'palà. 'He killed the man who had money with a knife'.

5.5.4. The maximal nominal phrase.

Nom Noun		'mɔrɔ	mà + Stl Verb	Dem	'duùtɔ̀	mà + Pron + Vb
App Noun	Noun	[illegible]	numeral			(mà +) Prep Phrase
	Conj Pron					

THE MAXIMAL NOMINAL PHRASE

(Abbreviations used: Nom - Nominative, App - Appertentive, Conj - Conjunctive, Pron - Pronoun, Stl - Statal, Dem - Demonstrative, Vb - Verb,

Prep - Prepositional.)

A certain amount of variation in nominal phrase structure occurs, but the following rules of distribution seem clear.

The quantitative nominal 'mɔrɔ (plural 'mɔkɔ) follows the nominative noun head or the appertentive phrase head directly. The other quantitative nominal, 'dʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀, generally follows all the elements of the nominal phrase (the exceptions involve relatively infrequent attributive mà-clauses with pronoun subjects or prepositional phrase predicates, or simply attributive prepositional phrases--tho grammatical, the piling up of all these constructions is unusual in normal colloquial style).

Examples: 'ɔ̀ákɔ́ ˌmɔrɔ mà 'bɛ̀r 'a certain good woman'

ˌudi mà 'bɛyɔ̀ à ˌpar gɔ̀ 'dʊ̀ʊ̀tɔ̀ 'all these ten beautiful houses'

Numerals and mà-clauses with noun or statal verb predicates, usually assume an intermediate position; i.e., before demonstratives and after the phrase head (or 'mɔrɔ). In this position, numerals and mà-clauses seem to alternate freely. As a rule, such mà-clauses occur without a pronoun subject (the few statal verbs requiring a subject--such as tɨ̀ 'to be old', 'ɔ̀ɨ̀r 'to be poor'--constitute the only exception).

Examples: ˌudi mà 'bɛyɔ̀ à'pɔ̀r mà 'cɔɔ̀n
ˌudi à'pɔ̀r mà 'bɛyɔ̀ mà 'cɔɔ̀n } 'ten beautiful old houses'
ˌudi mà'cɔɔ̀n mà 'bɛyɔ̀ à'pɔ̀r etc.

When two or more nouns stand in appertentive construction with a following nominal, only the noun directly preceding the nominal is actually in the appertentive. (This is the so-called phrase final use of the appertentive mentioned on pp. 13-14.)

Example: ˌrɔɔ̀mbɔ̀ ɡ àm'bʊ́ɔɔ 'mumbo 'Mumbo's sheep and horse'

When the head of a nominal phrase is in turn involved in an appertentive

phrase, the attribution of mə-clauses is ambiguous, since they may modify either element of the appertentive phrase (but only if the second element is a noun). Thus, the sentence

ə 'nɛnɔ ə,wad gɨ 'wuoi mə 'duɔŋ mə 'bɔr.

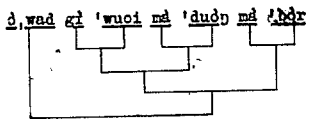
means any of the following:

1. 'I saw the brother of the tall older boy.'
2. 'I saw the tall brother of the older boy.'
3. 'I saw the older brother of the tall boy.'
4. 'I saw the tall older brother of the boy.'

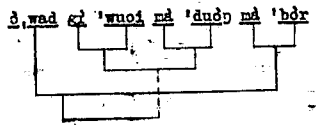
('nɛnɔ - 'to see', ə'wad gɨ - 'brother-of'/'them': deferential inalienable plural pronoun/, 'wuoi - 'boy', 'duɔŋ - 'to be old', 'bɔr - 'to be tall')

The immediate constituent analyses of the pertinent noun phrase may be diagrammed as follows:

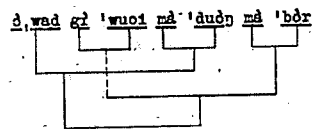
1. '...the brother of the tall older boy.'



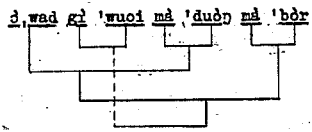
2. '...the tall brother of the older boy.'



3. '...the older brother of the tall boy.'



4. '...the tall older brother of the boy.'



5.5.5. Agreement. In this section the major rules of agreement will be listed.

Mass nouns (and others where a distinction can be made between quantity and variety or itemization) use the singular in plural environments to designate undivided quantity, and the plural to designate the multiplicity of discrete items or different varieties.

Examples: kà ˌhawà mà 'ŋɛ̀ɲ 'much coffee' (ŋɛ̀ɲ - 'to be much, many')

kà ˌhepè mà 'ŋɛ̀ɲ 'many (kinds of) coffee(s)'

rà'bolò mà 'ŋɛ̀ɲ 'a lot of bananas'

rà'bondè mà 'ŋɛ̀ɲ 'many (separate) bananas'

In a simple narrative sentence, a singular conjunctive pronoun is used in construction with an antecedent noun subject, whether singular or plural.

Examples: 'ɔ̌ako n ɔ̀ 'bííro. 'The woman came.'

ˌjɪ̀[1] mà 'ŋɛ̀ɲ, n ɔ̀ 'bííro. 'Many people came.'

In a complex narrative sentence where the subject of two or more consecutive clauses is a singular noun, all apposite subject pronouns are of course in the singular. When the subject is a plural noun, the first apposite subject pronoun is necessarily in the singular, but subsequent subject pronouns are either in the singular or plural.

Examples: 'ɔ̌ako n ɔ̀ 'bííro, m ɔ̀ 'bɛ̀t ˌpɪɲ. 'The woman came and sat down.' (m = mɪ 'then', 'bɛ̀t ˌpɪɲ - 'to sit down')

1/ jɔ̀, which is nowadays almost always the appertentive form, also occurs.

ˌjɪ̀ mà ˈŋɛ̀ɲ, n ɔ̀ ˈbííro, m ɔ̀ ˈbét ˌpɪɲ. } 'Many people came
ˌjɪ̀ mà ˈŋɛ̀ɲ, n ɔ̀ ˈbííro, m ɔ̀ ˈbét ˌpɪɲ. } and sat down.'

In an equational sentence, any plural subject may have a complementary noun in the singular if the complement is taken collectively of the subject, or in the plural if taken individually and specifically.

Examples: jɔ̀ ˈnandɪ gɪn ˈŋgɔrɔ̀. 'The Nandi (in general) are cowards.' (ˈŋgɔrɔ̀ - 'coward')

jɔ̀ ˈnandɪ gɪn ˈŋgɔɔ̀cɛ̀. 'The Nandi (these particular ones) are cowards.'

5.5.6. Pronoun sequences. A pronoun phrase is any string of appositive pronouns (these have been discussed in 4.3.4.1.), or any combination of pronouns linked by the particle kɔd (less frequently, by gɪ̀).

In a normal unemphatic utterance, singular pronouns (of differing persons) are joined by first using a 'collective' plural disjunctive pronoun followed by kɔ́d plus the 'lower-ranking' singular pronoun. Rank is determined by person so that in two-pronoun sequences, first person ranks above second and third, second above third. In three-pronoun sequences, third ranks above first as a rule; other orders are kept.

Examples: wan ˈkɔ́d i, wan ɔ́ˈsiepɛ̀. 'You and I are friends.'

un ˈkɔ́d ɛ, nend ʊ̀ ˈmíy a gɔ̀. 'You and he gave it to me.'

un ˈkɔ́d ɛ ˌkɔ́d a(n), ˌɲɔ́ wà ˈɔ̌í, ˈɲɔɔ̀ rɔ̀. 'You, he, and I went (there) yesterday.'

Pronoun sequences may occur discontinuously, especially in the predicate.

Example: ɔ̀ ˌmíyɔ wá ˈbʊ̀k, ˈkɔ́d i. 'He gave the book to you and me.' (lit., '...gave us the book and you.')

In emphatic speech, pronouns tend to be disjunctive and specify number according to how many people are actually involved.

Example: un ˈkɔ́d ɛn (or in ˈkɔ́d ɛn), un ɔ́ˈsiepɛ̀. 'You and he are friends.'

VI. VERBS

6.1. GENERAL FEATURES

Verb morphology has essentially two parts: (1) segmental structure and (2) aspectual tone contour in pronoun-verb constructions (where the subject pronoun is actually the marked member; see 6.4.)

From the point of view of segmental structure, verbs belong to three classes distinguished by kind of suffix used in the citation form.

Class I: -nì suffix. The great majority of verbs in this category denote states of nervous behavior, tingling noise, shiny appearance, and the like. All are intransitive. Such verbs are relatively rare, there being no more than fifty in use at the present day.

Class II: -Ø suffix. All the verbs of this category are intransitive, and frequently statal. It is a very large class, but apparently no longer productive.

Class III: -ò suffix. All transitive verbs belong to this class. Some (generally nonstatal) intransitive verbs also belong, especially the so-called intransitive-qualitative verbs closely related to transitive-applicative ones.

Of these classes, only class III is productive (it is at any rate the most extensive). Swahili verbs are regularly assimilated into this class.

SWAHILI	LUO
andika 'to write'	'ndiɨkò
shona 'to sew'	'sonò
soma 'to read'	'sɔ́omɛ (intransitive) 'sɔ́mɔ̀ (transitive)

Only members of class III and the nonreduplicated verbs of class II

ending in /k/ show any regular inflection. There are two members within an inflectional set of such verbs. This differentiation is exemplified --irregularly--by the transitive applicative verb 'nɛnɔ̀ 'to see'.

1. 'nɛnɔ̀ (indicative-infinitive)

2a. nɛn (imperative-subjunctive: allomorph used before singular pronoun objects)

2b. nɛ (imperative-subjunctive: allomorph used elsewhere)

Labels are suggestive rather than strictly accurate. Most verbs that show inflection have not got the allomorphic variation noted for 'nɛnɔ̀, but make two distinctions only: a form in -Ò and one without (or with the suffix -i), or else a form in -/k/ and a form in -/g/i (or simply -/g/). Use of the -i suffix varies dialectally, and even within a dialect is largely a lexical matter; in any event, forms with and forms without -i never occur in contrasting environments.

Despite the presence of relatively clear class meanings for the verb categories mentioned on the preceding page, there is no productive interplay of a verb stem either among or within these classes. In only two instances does a reduplicated -Ø suffix verb contain a stem shared with another class other than the -Ò suffix verbs: *nɛpnɛ̀p (Karachuonyo dialect) 'to be well built, in the bloom of youth' -- 'nɛpnɛ̀ (Karachuonyo) 'to be very fat'; 'tiptip -- 'tipnɛ̀, both meaning 'to be in a twilight zone of day'. Except for the relationship of certain verbs in -nɛ̀ to those in -Ò (and even these are sporadic), such interplay is uncommon. But see 6.3.

Examples: 'jurɔ̀ 'to dribble, have diarrhoea' -- 'jurnɛ̀ 'to dribble (saliva)'

'mbekɔ̀ 'to tie loosely' -- 'mbeknɛ̀ 'to be loose, slack'

'rɛɔ̀ 'to singe, scorch' -- 'rɛwnɛ̀ 'to have a sore throat'

'tɛtɔ̀ 'to shiver' -- 'tɛtnɛ̀ 'to shiver'

'yiɛ̀ŋgɔ̀ 'to shake' (transitive) -- 'yiɛ̀ŋgnɛ̀ 'to shake' (statal)

6.2. THE VERB CLASSES

Verbs in -nɨ́ invariably have monosyllabic stems of the general form C_1VC_2, where C_1 is normally any single consonant (in one verb the cluster /ŋj/: 'ŋjawnɨ́ 'to be in disorder'), and C_2 any single consonant or nasal-stop cluster. A prominent pattern is C_1VC_1.

Examples of C_1VC_1 stems:

'bebnɨ́ 'to look like a fool'

'cacnɨ́ 'to miss the point'

'kaknɨ́ 'to be very hot, shoot up big flames' ('kakɔ́ - 'to put fuel on a fire')

'nannɨ́ 'to be shiny, reflect the light' (said of mirrors, metal)

'pupnɨ́ 'to struggle uselessly'

'rarnɨ́ 'to make noises'

'wawnɨ́ 'to babble, talk aimlessly'

Other examples of this class are given according to certain broad semantic headings.

1. Denoting nervous behavior or a nervous state:

'capnɨ́ 'to be restless'

'kirnɨ́ 'to shake with fear or cold' ('kirɔ́ - 'to shake')

'mutnɨ́ 'to be restless, scratch'

'saknɨ́ 'to be itchy'

'yuknɨ́ 'to tremble (of a leaf), hurry, bob up and down' ('yukɔ́ - 'to push, bob up and down')

2. Denoting a shiny, glossy, boisterous state:

'lannɨ́ (Alego)
'nannɨ́ (Karachuonyo) } 'to be shiny, bright'

'ŋimbnɨ́
'ŋiwnɨ́ } 'to be iridescent'

'picnɨ 'to sparkle' (said of water, cloth, spiderwebs)

'tipnɨ 'to be in a twilight zone of day', e.g., dusk ('tipo - 'shadow')

'waknɨ 'to rustle (of leaves), be noisy', e.g., a group of people talking

3. Miscellaneous:

'cɛegnɨ 'to be near'

'ðɛngni 'to be lazy'

'nɛpnɨ (Karachuonyo) 'to be very fat'

There are two major subdivisions of verbs with zero (-Ø) suffix: (1) those with reduplicated stems and (2) those without.

Verbs of this class with reduplicated stems form a very small group of probably no more than twenty-five items. Verbs of this class often have a disparaging connotation; if the stem occurs as a separate word, the reduplicated form represents an attenuation of the state designated by the stem. The stem itself is monosyllabic (except in one verb: 'mili,mili 'to be sweet, tasty'), with the general form C_1VC_2 --where C_1 is usually a single consonant (one of the following: /b, θ, t, k, r, m, n/) except in one item, 'nðɛmnðɛm 'to be lukewarm'); V is either /a/ or a front vowel; C_2 is either a nasal, voiceless-fortis stop, or liquid.

Examples:
'berbɛr 'not to be very beautiful' (bɛr - 'to be beautiful')
'kɛckɛc 'to be somewhat bitter' (kɛc - 'to be bitter')
'kɛmkɛm 'to be somewhat bitter'
'marmar 'to be unhealthy, pale'
'miŋmiŋ 'to be absent-minded' (miŋ - 'to be absent-minded')
'mɪtmɪt 'to be bittersweet'
'nɛpnɛp 'to be well built'
'raŋraŋ 'to be very light, unbecoming'
'rɛprɛp 'to be flimsy' (rɛp - 'to be flimsy')
'θaŋθaŋ 'to be shallow' (θaŋ - 'to be shallow')
'tiptip 'to be in twilight zone of day' (cf. 'tipnɨ above)

Zero-suffix nonreduplicated verbs in turn form two subcalsses, depending on whether a separata form for the imperative-subjunctive occurs. Verbs that make a difference, invariably end in /k/ in form 1. In some dialects, the imperative ends in /g/ and the subjunctive in -/g/i; other dialects use one form or the other for form 2.

Examples: 'duǒk 'to come back': imperative 'duog, subjunctive 'dúògi.
'yuǒk 'to cry': imperative 'yuag, subjunctive 'yúagi.

Other verbs of this class have only one form. Note that statal verbs require periphrasis for the imperative (see 6.5.1.). The great majority of verbs of this subclass end in a consonant. Verbs that end in a vowel include: ǎ 'to come from' (allomorph áy before the particle 'úru), ǐ 'to fight', ǔ 'to flow', kè 'to be angry', pǒ 'to be surprised', 'cùe 'to rain', 'cuè 'to be fat', 'yiè 'to believe', 'dagr 'to refuse'. Most (if not all) others end in a consonant, e.g., bèr 'to be good, beautiful', mèr 'to be drunk', wǎc 'to be sour', wèr 'to sing'.

Six verbs of this class have (explicit) plural forms in -ò.

SINGULAR	PLURAL
bèr 'to be good, beautiful'	'beyò
bòr 'to be tall, far away'	'boyò
'crèk 'to be short'	'crèkò
dìt 'to be adult'	'ditò
'duǒŋ 'to be old, large'	'doŋgò
rǎc 'to be bad'	'ricò

Verbs with -ò suffix have nonreduplicated stems and regular differentiation of forms 1 and 2 (some verbs of this class using the suffix -i, have a separate allomorph for the imperative without the -i; this suffix is almost invariably used in passive constructions--see 6.5.2.).

The suffix -ò itself has the following allomorphs: /ò/ after the stem

'lay- 'urinate'; /ò/ elsewhere.

A few verbs show stem alternations of various sorts. They include the following.

1. 'nɛnɔ̀ 'to see' (the irregular features of this verb have been noted on p. 139)
2. Verbs in -yò in form 1 have no /y/ in form 2. (Before the particle rɛ 'self, each other', form 1 occurs without the -yò as well.)

Examples: 'bayɔ̀ 'to throw': form 2 ba

'ɔ̀ryɔ̀ 'to go': form 2 ɔ̀r

'tiyɔ̀ 'to work': form 2 ti

'ɲiyɔ̀ 'to look at': with the particle rɛ, 'ɲí rɛ 'to look at oneself, at each other'

3. Verbs with a stem ending in /w/ have allomorphs without the /w/ after open stem vowels and /ɔ/, the appropriate allomorph of -ò. /w/ occurs in other positions, however.

Example: 'yaɔ̀ 'to open' (stem 'yaw-): 'yaw ɛ̀. 'Open it!'

6.3. TRANSITIVE-INTRANSITIVE DERIVATION

A number of verbs are groupable into pairs such that they constitute the transitive and intransitive alternants of the same verb stem. In the great majority of instances, considering the intransitive form a derivative of the transitive one is the most economical interpretation. Three techniques are involved in this derivation.

1. Use of the intransitive affix -n-, which is followed by an -ò suffix. The members of this class have proved to be exceedingly rare; I know of only two examples.

Examples: 'pugɔ̀ 'to fatten' — 'pugnɔ̀ 'to be fat'

'tɛgɔ̀ 'to strengthen' — 'tɛgnɔ̀ 'to be strong'

2. Change of verb suffix. The sporadic alternation -ò : -nɪ̀ has already been noted (p. 139), where occasionally, however, both verbs are intransitive.

The alternation -ò : -ø is always to be characterized as transitive-intransitive derivation. Stems ending in a stop or the cluster /ŋg/ show regular consonant alternation; other consonants do not change. One vowel alternation has been recorded. In all, there are probably fewer than fifteen pairs of verbs of this type.

TRANSITIVE (in -ò)	d	y		ɛ	ŋɛ		ɔ
INTRANSITIVE (in -ø)	t	c	ø	k	ŋ		uo

Examples:

Trans.	Intrans.	TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE
/d/	/t/	'kedò 'to scarify'	kèt 'to have cicatrices'
/y/	/c/	'ŋeyò 'to know'	ŋèc 'to know'
/ɣ/	/ø/	'ŋueyò 'to smell'	'ŋuè 'to smell'
/ɛ/	/k/	'ŋɛgò 'to vomit'	ŋèk 'to vomit'
		'buɔgò 'to frighten'	'buɔk 'to be frightened'
/ŋg/	/ŋ/	'cuŋgò 'to stop'	cùŋ 'to stop'
/ɔ/	/uo/	'doŋgò 'to make grow'	'duɔŋ 'to be big'
/r/	/r/	'merò 'to make drunk'	mèr 'to be drunk'
/l/	/l/	ŋù'ɔlò 'to bear (a child)'	'ŋuòl 'to give birth'

3. Change within the -ò class. Fewer than fifty stems participate in this alternation. In the literature on Nilotic languages, the transitive and intransitive members of such pairs have been labeled 'applicative' and 'qualitative', repectively. It is not altogether clear whether such terminology is needed. Morphologically, transitive-applicative verbs generally have 'open' vowels and voiced-lenis consonants; intransitive-qualitative ones, 'closed vowels', voiceless-fortis consonants. These alternations may be presented schematically as follows.

APPLICATIVE	w	ð	d	y	ɣ	a	ɛ	ɔ	ʊ
QUALITATIVE	p	θ	t	c	k	ie	e	o	u

Examples: (Those marked by * apparently are unique instances.)

App. - Qual.		APPLICATIVE	QUALITATIVE
/a/	/e/	'barə̀ 'to split'	'berə̀ 'to split'
		dù'warə̀ 'to want, hunt'	dù'wèrə̀ 'to want, hunt'
		'gwarə̀ 'to scratch'	'guerə̀ 'to scratch'
*/a/	/ie/	'cànə̀ 'to eat'	'ciémo 'to eat'
*/ɛ/	/e/	'nɛnə̀ 'to see'	'nenə̀ 'to see (not be blind), be awake'
/ɔ/	/o/	'gɔyə̀ 'to beat'	'gocə̀ 'to beat'
		'hɔyə̀ 'to console'	'hoyə̀ 'to console'
*/ʊ/	/u/	'lʊə̀ 'to fish with a hook'	'lupə̀ 'to fish with a hook'
/w/	/p/	'ciwə̀ 'to give'	'cipə̀ 'to give'
		'gaə̀ (stem 'gaw-) 'to put on a necklace'	'gepə̀ 'to put on a necklace'
*/ð/	/θ/	'mə̀ðə̀ 'to drink (everything but water)	'mə̀θə̀ 'to drink (everything but water'
*/d/	/t/	'mɔ̀ddə̀ 'to gather firewood'	'mɔ̀tə̀ 'to gather firewood'
/ɟ/	/c/	'kayə̀ 'to bite'	'kecə̀ 'to bite'
		'kwayə̀ 'to beg, graze'	'kwecə̀ 'to beg, graze'
		'kʊ̀ɟyə̀ 'to sew'	'kʊ̀cə̀ 'to sew'
/g/	/k/	'bagə̀ 'to brew' (beer)	'bekə̀ (Alego) / 'begə̀ (Karachuonyo) 'to brew'

6.4. ASPECTUAL CONTOURS

The tonal contours of verbs, or, more precisely, of (subject) pronoun-verb phrases, are associated with aspectual meaning.

In all, a nondefective verb has five contours: (1) infinitive (equivalent to the citation form); (2) durative-inceptive; (3) perfective-present; (4) imperative; (5) subjunctive.

Occasionally, double labels have been given these contours. This is due to the fact that statal and nonstatal verbs have to be glossed differently in the use of forms (2) and (3). The first term indicates the appropriate designation for nonstatal verbs (i.e., durative, perfective); the second, for statal verbs (i.e., inceptive, present).

The tonal contours for all verbs are as follows.

	Subject Pronoun	Verb
(1) Infinitive (same as the citation form)		
(2) Durative-Inceptive	ˈv́	ˌv̄v̀, v̀ (or v̀, v̀)
(3) Perfective-Present	v̀	ˈv́v̄, v̀
(4) Imperative		v̄, v̄
(5) Subjunctive	v̄	ˈv́v̄, v̄

The contours involving a complex tone on a single syllable are frequently reduced in connected speech (i.e., v̄v̀, v̀ becomes v̄, v̀; v́v, v̀ becomes v́, v̄). Contour number (2) has an unstressed variant v̀, v̀. Note that the verb ˈbíiro has an atonic form bìrò or brò when used with this contour, which occurs chiefly in constructions with other verbs.

Conjunctive pronoun objects are usually low toned except in the following environments when it is mid: (a) before the particle È 'also' (possibly an adverbial use of the preposition È); after a simple high or low verb nucleus (the same holds true in part for the verb suffix -Ò, normally low toned, but mid after simple high verb stem).

Examples of aspectual contours:

(1) Infinitive ˈrɪɪ̀ŋgɔ̀ 'to run', pɔ̀θ 'to be smooth'
ˈmɪŋmɪ̀ŋ 'to be absent-minded'

(2) Durative-Inceptive ˈá ˌrɪɪ̀ŋgɔ̀ 'I'm running'
ˈɔ́ ˌpɔɔ̀θ 'it's getting smoother'
ˈɔ́ ˌmɪɪ̀ŋmɪ̀ŋ 'he's getting absent-minded'

(3) Perfective-Present — ȧ 'rɪ́ɪŋgȯ 'I ran'

ȯ 'pɔ́ɔθ 'it's smooth'

ȯ 'mɪ́ɪŋmɪ̀ŋ 'he's absent-minded'

(4) Imperative — rɪŋg 'run!'

(5) Subjunctive — wa 'rɪ́ŋg úru 'let's run!'

(mɔnd) ɔ 'pɔ́ɔθ '(that) it may be smooth'

(mɔnd) ɔ 'mɪ́ɪŋmɪŋ '(that) he may be absent-minded'

Examples of the morphotonemics of the object pronoun:

ȧ 'cáam ɛ̀. 'I ate it.'

ȧ 'cáam ɛ ɛ̀. 'I should eat it too.'

ȧ ˌá 'càm ɛ. 'I have just eaten it.' (ȧ - 'to finish')

ˌá ɲàlȯ 'càm ɛ. 'I can eat it.' ('ɲalȯ - 'to eat')

There is a quasi-aspectual contour which turns out to be a morphophonemic alternation involving the particle aȧ 'recent completed past' plus a perfective-present phrase, i.e., 'áa 'cáam ɛ̀ is the normal (contracted) form of 'aȧ, ȧ 'cáam ɛ̀ which occurs in deliberate speech; both mean 'I have just eaten it.'. With other singular pronouns, the segmental content of the particle is lost; thus, 'ɔ́ɔ 'cáam ɛ̀ = 'aȧ, ȯ 'cáam ɛ̀. These facts suggest that the durative-inceptive contour may best be considered as involving a similar particle contraction, because of the stressed pronoun. (But with the absence of a convenient particle, however, one would be forced to set one up ad hoc in this instance--and a particle with only stress and tone content at that.)

The construction discussed above is limited in adult speech to singular pronoun subjects. My seven and eight-year-old informants, however, use this alternation with the second person plural pronoun as well, thus indicating a tendency to realign pronouns on the basis of whether they begin with a

vowel or consonant (see p. 126).

When the particle aà precedes a disjunctive pronoun subject a similar alternation occurs, with this difference: the tone of the pronoun does not not change, but rather the particle 'assimilates' the vowel of the following pronoun.

Examples: 'aà, ˌin gɪ̀ 'palà. (deliberate) } 'You just had a knife.'
'iì, ˌin gɪ̀ 'palà. (normal) }

In the plural, the particle remains unaltered (except in the speech of children, where the second person plural follows the singular pronoun pattern, as above).

Example: 'aà, ˌgɪn gɪ̀ 'palà. 'They just had a knife.'

In construction with temporal expressions, usually particles, the non-statal use of contours (2) and (3) involves the difference of frequentative vs punctual.

Examples: 'àŋ, ò 'nɛ́ɛn ɛ̀. 'He will see him.' (once)
àŋ 'ɔ́, 'nɛ́ɛn ɛ̀. 'He will be seeing him.' (repeatedly)
'tindè, gɪ̀ 'nɛ́ɛn ɛ̀. 'They have recently seen him.' (once)
ˌtindè 'gí, 'nɛ́ɛn ɛ̀. 'They usually (frequently) see him nowadays.'

In folkstories and occasionally elsewhere, nonstatal verbs use contour (2) as a sort of narrative durative comparable to the so-called 'historical present' in many Indo-European languages. Statal verbs use contour (3) in similar environments.

Examples: ɛ'ká, onˌdíek 'n ɔ́ birò, ɛ̀ 'òd ɛ̀. 'Then the hyaena goes into her house.' (ɛ'ká - 'then', on'díek - 'hyaena', òd - 'house of')

'gí ˌweér, 'gí ˌmɪɛ́l,..ne gɪ̀ 'mɔ́ɔr à'hɪŋà. 'They sing, they dance,...they are very happy.' (wèr - 'to sing', 'mɪɛ̀l - 'to dance', mòr - 'to be happy', à'hɪŋà - 'very')

Certain verbs do not occur with all the contours mentioned above. The following listing does not propose to exhaust the subject, but to give representative examples, especially of verbs used in construction with other verbs.

The following verbs do not occur with contour (1), the infinitive contour: sɛ 'to have (done)', wɛ 'let'.

The following verbs do not occur with contour (2), the durative-inceptive contour: 'neyɔ̀ 'to know (how to)', sɛ 'to have (done)', wɛ 'let', 'yiè 'to believe, agree'.

The following verbs do not occur with contour (3), the perfective-present contour: dʊ̀'warɔ̀ 'to want, seek, hunt', 'nalɔ̀ 'to be able', 'parɔ̀ 'to think', 'θorɔ̀ 'to do usually'.

The following verbs use contour (3) in an habitual or timeless meaning usually associated with contour (2): 'hɛrɔ̀ 'to love, like', 'neyɔ̀ 'to know (how to)', 'weyɔ̀ 'to stop'.

6.5. SYNTAX OF THE VERB

6.5.1. Periphrasis with bɛ̀t-'bedɔ̀. Normally, verbs occur as imperatives and in infinitive nominal phrase constructions. Statal verbs occur in neither construction except in periphrasis with bɛ̀t or 'bedɔ̀ 'to be'. Similarly for comparable constructions involving the predicates of equational sentences (see p. 59). In forming the periphrastic construction, bɛ̀t (less frequently 'bedɔ̀) is followed by (1) the predicate of an equational construction, or (2) mà plus a statal verb.

Examples: bɛt mà 'bɛ̀r. 'Be good.' (or 'Sit still.') Cf. à 'bɛ́ɛr 'I am good.'

'á dʊ̀,warɔ̀ ,bedɔ̀ mà 'bɛ̀r. 'I want to be good.'

bɛt à 'keenà. 'Stay in Kenya.' Cf. ,an (à) 'keenà. or 'á ,bedɔ̀ 'keenà. 'I am in Kenya.'

ˌbedò mà 'mɔ́r, ɛ̀ mà 'bɛ̀r nì 'jì. 'To be happy is to be good to others.'

ˌbédɔ́n a 'káɲa, 'n ɔ́ ˌɲeè rɛ. 'My being in Kenya was known.'

6.5.2. Use of form 2. In verbs that make a difference between form 1 and form 2 (see 6.1.), form 1 -- the so-called 'indicative-infintive'-- occurs most frequently. The only discussion needed, therefore, is that of form 2 -- the 'imperative-subjunctive' -- because form 1 occurs in all the environments not listed here.

There are three major uses of form 2: (1) in commands, wishes, and hortatory expressions; (2) in construction with other words, which may be said to 'take' form 2; (3) in a passive construction of somewhat dubious status.

The first category includes many greetings and other politeness formulas.

Examples: o 'kúe 'good afternoon' (lit.'[may] it be calm')

o 'ríti 'goodbye' (lit.'[may] it guard')

Hortatory expressions, future questions, and wishes are characterized by a conjunctive subject pronoun.

Examples: wa 'cíem. 'Let's eat.'

a 'bí! 'Shall I go?'

ɪ ˌwɔ́ɔθ gì 'hawɪ. 'Have a good trip.' (lit., '[May] you walk with luck.')

Commands are commonly topicless, but a noun or disjunctive pronoun subject adjunct also occurs.

Examples: bi. 'Come!'

ɔ̀'ɲaŋgɔ̀, 'duog. 'Onyango, come back.'

Indirect commands are also in form 2.

Example: 'ɔ́ ˌwacɔ̀ ní, ˌɔ̌akɔ 'm ɔ́ ɲù ˌɔlɔ̀ 'wuoí, tɔ ˌkel 'pàcʊ.

'He says that the woman who gives birth to a son

should bring him home.' (The verb /kelɔ̀ occurs in form 2 after the construction 'wacɔ̀ nɪ́ - 'to say that'; 'ɔ̄ako - 'woman', nʊ̀'olɔ̀ - 'to give birth to', 'wuoi - 'son', 'pɑ̀ou - 'homestead')

The verbs that govern a form 2 phrase are discussed in 6.5.3.

The particles that take form 2 include: dì 'unreal condition', 'mondo 'in order to, so that', 'ŋɑ̀kɑ̀ 'necessity'. 'mondo, tho generally introducing clauses of purpose or result, also occurs (after a noun subject) in independent wish clauses.

Examples: 'wac n ɑ̀ ,ká ɑ r 'hér nɪ́, mond a 'bí. 'Tell me if you don't want me to come.' (wac - 'say!' 'herɔ̀ - 'to like', nɪ́ - 'that')

ŋɑ̀k o 'yʊ́e. 'He must rest.'

'ruɔ̀θ mond ɔ 'dɔ́ɔŋgi. 'Long live the king.' (lit., 'The chief that he /may/ grow.')

The negatives ɑ̀ɑ̀k and krk (or 'kiri) take form 2. ok takes form 2 in infinitive sentences (sentences with a noun but no conjunctive pronoun subject, designating habitual or usual action) or in sentences where the positive would use a contour (2), the durative-inceptive, without a temporal particle.

Examples: jɔ̀ 'luɔ̀ ok ,cám 'θuɔ̀ndɔ̀. 'Luos don't eat snakes.'

ok wa 'rɪ́ɪŋg. 'We're not running.'

But ok wɑ̀ 'rɪ́ɪŋgɔ̀. 'We weren't running.'

ok o 'wʊ́ɔ kod gɪ̀. 'He isn't talking with them.'

But ok 'n ɔ́ ,wuɔ̀yɔ̀, 'kod gɪ̀. 'He wasn't talking with them.'

The temporal particle n 'future particle' takes form 2.

Example: a n a 'né gɪ. 'I shall see them.'

A rather limited use of form 2 (in -i as a rule) involves a passive meaning. According to one of my informants, this is a recently borrowed Anglicism, and something of a barbarism at that. However that may be,

native speakers use it.

Example: ,mumbo n o 'nógi gɪ̀ 'mbuyà. 'Mumbo was killed by Mbuya.'

6.5.3. Verb phrases.

Many verbs in -ɔ̀ occur in construction with the particle rɛ, which generally has a middle or relexive meaning. With a plural subject, it often has a reciprocal meaning.

Examples: lɔ̀'okɔ̀ 'to wash': lɔ̀'okɔ̀ rɛ 'to wash (oneself)'

'godɔ̀ 'to bend': 'godɔ̀ rɛ 'to be stooped, crooked'

'nɛnɔ̀ 'to see': 'nɛnɔ̀ rɛ 'to see oneself'

Occasionally such labels seem farfetched, as in the following idioms:

'narɔ̀ 'to keep going': 'narɔ̀ rɛ 'to tarry, loiter'

'ŋadɔ̀ 'to cut': 'ŋadɔ̀ rɛ 'to stand on tiptoe'.

A small number of verbs occur only in the rɛ-construction.

Examples: bi'ɛldɔ̀ rɛ (Alego dialect) 'to amble along'

'ɔɛŋgɔ̀ rɛ 'to be languid'

'mɛnɔ̀ rɛ 'to be stupid'

Several varieties of construction involving verbs and other verbs or verb phrases exist and will be discussed here. It is possible to concoct strings of verbs that are rather lengthy such as à 'tɛ́mɔ ,herɔ̀ 'sɔ́omɔ 'I tried to like reading' with three verbs ('tɛ̀mɔ̀, 'hɛrɔ̀, 'sɔ́omɔ). Even longer strings are undoubtedly possible and grammatical; but their frequency is relatively rare to say the least.

(1) $Verb_1$ plus $Verb_2$ (in form 1). The verbs that occupy the $verb_1$ position are relatively numerous. They include the following: à 'to have just (done)', bɛ̀r 'to be good to', 'biiro 'to be going to', 'cɛkɔ̀ 'to start to' (but not with n 'future particle'), 'oregnɪ̀ 'to be about to', dɔ̀'warɔ̀ 'to want to', 'ɔ̀ryɔ̀ 'to go to', 'genɔ̀ 'to hope to', 'herɔ̀ 'to like --ing' 'kaɔ̀ 'to take', 'kɪa 'not to know how to', 'lɛ́kɔ to dream of --ing',

'luòrò 'to be afraid to', 'mɛdɔ̀ 'to keep on --ing', 'ŋeyɔ̀ 'to know how to', 'ŋalɔ̀ 'to be able to', 'puɔ̀ŋjɔ̀ 'to teach --ing' (with rɛ, 'to learn to'), sɛ (defective) 'to have --ed', 'siikò 'to keep on', 'tanɔ̀ rɛ 'to refuse', 'tɛ̀mɔ̀ 'to try to', tɛ̀r 'to be difficult to', 'tiɛ̀kɔ̀ 'to have finished --ing', 'θorɔ̀ 'to do usually', 'weyɔ̀ 'to stop --ing', 'wuɔ̀k 'to go out to', 'yiɛ̀ 'to agree to', 'yɪɛ̀rɔ̀ 'to choose to'.

Examples: wɛ 'rɪɪŋgɛ̀. 'Stop running.'

ne gɛ̀ 'ofɛgnɪ ,coɔ̀pɔ̀ kâ jɔ̀ k à'puɔyɔ̀. 'They were about to reach the rabbits.' ('coɔ̀pɔ̀ - 'to reach', jɔ̀ k à'pûɔyɔ̀ - here, 'the rabbits')

(2) Verb$_1$ plus (Pronoun plus) Verb$_2$ (in form 2). Verbs followed by a form-2 predication (i.e., subject plus verb) are relatively rare, tho commonly impersonal verbs take this construction. Verbs in this class include: 'oákɔ̀ 'to start to' (only with n 'future particle'), 'ɔ̀ryɔ̀ 'to go' (also used with verb$_2$ in form 1), 'ba rɛ 'to go out of one's way to', wɛ (defective) 'let'; and the impersonals: 'nɛgɔ̀, 'waɛnɪ, 'yalnɪ - all implying necessity or obligation, 'must'; 'winjɔ̀ rɛ, 'romɔ̀ - both meaning '(it is) suitable' (these last two also take a verb in form 1).

Examples: a n a 'oák a ,tím. 'I shall do (that) again.'

wɛ o'rɪɪŋgɛ. 'Let him run away.'

After 'ɔ̀ryɔ̀ in the imperative, the subject of verb$_2$ (which would normally be I), usually is not used--or is possibly assimilated by the final vowel of ɔ̀r 'go!'.

Example: ɔ̀r 'ŋí. (Or, less commonly, ,ɔ̀r 'i 'ŋí.) 'Go look.'

(3) Verb$_1$ plus gɛ̀ plus Verb$_2$ (in form 1). This construction is very rare. Verb$_2$ is probably best considered a nominal object of the preposition. Verbs of this class include: ɔ̀r 'to be tired of', wil 'to forget'.

Examples: à 'ɔ̀r gɛ̀ ,rɪɪŋgɛ̀. 'I'm tired of running.'

,wiy a o 'wil gɛ̀ 'ndiikɔ̀. 'I forgot to write!' (lit., 'My

head it forgot...')

(4) Verb plus ní-clause. Verbs taking a ní-clause include: 'dagɪ 'to refuse', 'ɗuòk 'to reply', 'hɛrɔ̀ 'to like', kɔ̀ 'to say' (used mostly in folk-tales), 'kuerɔ̀ 'to refuse', mɔ̀r 'to be happy', 'niisɔ̀ 'to show, tell', 'ŋeyɔ̀ 'to know', 'parɔ̀ 'to think', 'peɲjɔ̀ 'to ask', 'riitɔ̀ 'to (a)wait', 'siiŋgɔ̀ 'to promise', 'wɛyɔ̀ 'to leave, conclude', 'yiɛ̀ 'to believe, agree', 'yuɗɔ̀ 'to find'. The verb form (if there is one) in the ní-clause depends on whether it represents an indirect statement or command, or contains a 'mondo-clause, etc.

Examples: n ɔ̀ 'yíe n ɔ̀ ní, 'eɛ̀. 'She answered her, "Yes".'

n ɔ̀ 'kúer e ní, ,ɔ́k a 'pál ,wɛyɔ̀. 'He refused him (by saying) that "I cannot leave".'

(5) Verb plus 'mondo-clause. Some verbs regularly take a 'mondo-clause, which is invariably a form 2 predication. Verbs of this class include: 'bíiro 'to go', 'ciikɔ̀ 'to tell, instruct', 'ikɔ̀ re 'to be ready', 'parɔ̀ 'to think', 'peɲjɔ̀ 'to ask', 'tɛ̀nɔ̀ 'to try'.

Examples: 'n ɔ́ ,tɛmɔ̀ mondo gɪ̀ 'gɛ́ɛŋ gɪ̀. 'He tried to defend them.'

ù 'ciik ɔ̀ mond o 'móndi ,ká 'moro. 'You (plural) told her to go somewhere.'

Certain verbs, here called the double transitive verbs, take two objects. Syntactic peculiarities have been discussed elsewhere (4.2.2., 4.3.4.2.). Verbs of this class include: 'ciikɔ̀ 'to tell, promise', 'holɔ̀ 'to borrow', 'kɛθɔ̀ 'to make, install as' (also uses nɪ̀-phrase), 'kuayɔ̀ 'to ask', 'luɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ 'to call' (also used with nɪ̀-phrase), 'mayɔ̀ 'to rob', 'mɪyɔ̀ 'to give', 'niisɔ̀ 'to show, explain', 'puɔ̀njɔ̀ 'to teach'.

Examples: gɪ̀ 'lúŋŋg ɛ̀ ,jɔkuɔ̀. 'They called him a thief.' (also: ...nɪ̀ ,jɔkuɔ̀. '...for a thief.')

ɔ̀ 'nís e ,tíend sɪ̀'gandɔ̀. 'I explained the meaning of the story to him.'

VII. PARTICLES

7.1. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions have been listed on p. 57. The following section discusses syntactic details only.

In equational sentences with a predicate that is either (1) a noun indicating 'place where', or (2) a prepositional phrase with gɨ or È (used in reference to place only, and not in the deictic construction), noun and disjunctive pronoun subjects differ in the use of the particle nɨ. In all of these instances, a pronoun subject requires no additional nɨ, but a noun subject does--before the predicate phrase.

Examples: ˌan 'pɑ̀cu. 'I am at home.'

ˌðakɔ nɨ 'pɑ̀cu. 'The woman is at home.'

an gɨ 'pesɑ̀. 'I have money.'

ˌðakɔ nɨ gɨ 'pesɑ̀. 'The woman has money.'

an è 'ðt. 'I'm inside the house.'

ˌðakɔ n(ɨ) è 'ðt. 'The woman is in the house.'

The preposition gɨ varies with kɔd and zero in the equational construction indicating possession. When the word 'possessed' is a noun, the preposition is gɨ; when a third person singular pronoun, no preposition; when another pronoun, the preposition kɔd.

Examples: an gɨ 'palɑ̀. 'I have a knife.'

ˌan 'gɑ̀. 'I have it.' (gɑ̀ - stressed objective form of third person singular pronoun)

an 'kɔd gɨ. 'I have them.'

The preposition È frequently occurs in construction with a number of nouns almost invariably denoting a body part (and occasionally in a clear appertentive form). The resulting idiom is directly followed by another nominal.

Examples:		
	'buɔ̀m 'wing'	ə̀ 'bʊ́ɔn 'under'
	'diə̀r 'center, middle'	ə̀ 'dɪ́er 'in the middle of'
	ɔ̀c 'stomach'	ɛ̀ 'ɔ̀ 'inside, within'
	kór 'chest'	ə̀ 'kór 'on (the side of)'
	ɲɪ́m 'external genitalia'(particularly male)	ə̀ 'ɲɪ́m 'in front of'
	ŋə̀c 'back'	ə̀ 'ŋə̀ 'behind'
	'prə̀r 'buttocks'	ə̀ 'pɪ́er 'behind'
	tɔ̀'ɛlɔ̀ 'foot'	ə̀ tɔ̀'ɛ́nd 'at the foot of, base of'
	tók 'back of neck'	ə̀ 'tók 'behind'
	wɪ̀c 'head'	ə̀ 'wɪ̀ 'on top of'

Other nouns, now almost entirely restricted to this semi-prepositional status, include: bə̀ŋ 'behind', bʊ̀t 'near', 'malɔ̀ 'above'.

These phraseswith ə̀ are preceded by nɪ̀, as described on the preceding page. After a disjunctive proncun subject, nɪ̀ may also occur--or else no preposition occurs, and the noun element is used alone.

Examples:
an ə̀ 'tók ˌɔ̀t.
an nɪ̀ ə̀ 'tók ˌɔ̀t.
an 'tók ˌɔ̀t.
} 'I'm behind the house.'

7.2. OTHER PARTICLES

7.2.1. General discussion. Apart from the particles derived from other word classes (discussed below, 7.2.2.), most particles are irreducible or unanalyzable. There are sporadic exceptions, however. Thus, we find examples such as the following preverbal nonsubordinating particles: ká 'when, if', 'kákà 'when, as', 'kátá 'whether'--all with the common base ká. Temporal particles in -ndɛ̀ have been noted elsewhere (5.2.). Many negative particles contain the phoneme /k/: ok (ok), dɑ̀k, kɪk (or 'kɪrɪ̀), ŋɑ̀k--but setting this up as a morpheme of negation seems tenuous.

In the Dyoma dialect (and probably in others), there is a morpheme indicating ridicule or deprecation much the same way as the 'shm-' morpheme in English: 'cop--shmop, mink--shmink, Œdipus--shmœdipus'. The form of the Luo morpheme mirrors that of the words ridiculed: a word of the general form CVCV is mirrored as ŋohɔ; CVC as ŋoh, etc. The intonation of the original utterance is maintained. This morpheme apparently occurs primarily in a few set phrases, e.g., in one story a boy recites the romantic formula 'ŋakó, 'bat kɨ gɔ̀ (presumably meaning:'Girl, don't shake your arm.') and receives the taunting reply 'ŋohó, 'ŋoh kɨ ŋɔ̀.

7.2.2. Derivation. There are two major techniques for particle derivation: reduplication and affixation using the circumfix a-...-ɛ (occasionally also a prefix a-).

The stem of particles showing reduplication is variously a verb or particle derivative.

Examples: (1) Stem a verb derivative

ˌðomɔ̀'ðomɔ̀ 'a little while' ('ðomɔ̀ - 'to be few')

'lɪŋlɪ̀ŋ 'quietly' (lɪ̀ŋ 'to be quiet')

(2) Stem a particle derivative

'hágɛ̀ˌhagɛ̀ 'very much' ('hagɛ̀ - 'much')

'móbmòs 'softly' (nòs 'softly, quietly')

'pilɛ̀ˌpilɛ̀ 'always, over and over' ('pilɛ̀ - 'often')

'piyɔ̀ˌpiyɔ̀ 'very quickly' ('piyɔ̀ 'quickly')

ˌputù'pútù 'very much' ('putù 'very')

(3) Miscellaneous

ˌbagɛ̀'bagɛ̀ 'in all directions'

'táta or 'tatɛ́ (said to a child learning to walk)

In the following examples, one might speak of triplication (the stem syllable is repeated twice):

'tititi 'quiet'

tata'ta 'firmly' (possibly related to 'táta v.supra)

tɛtɛ'tɛ 'all, entirely' (tɛ - 'all')

lɪlɪ'lɪ 'very much' (lɪ - 'very')

A comparable structure characterizes certain interjections.

Examples: hɛ̂hɛ̂'hɛ̂ɛ̂ɛ (stylized laugh)

θθθθθδ'yɛ̂ɛ (denotes exasperation)

wu5151δ'yɛ̂ɛ (denotes fright)

The circumfix á...á mentioned above, has two uses. One of them is associated with a stem derived only from verbs. The general meaning of the particle: 'in the manner (implied by the verbal stem)'. A few items use the prefix a- rather than the circumfix.

Examples: á'badmá 'with crooked posture, twistedly' ('bamɔ̀ - 'to twist')

á'baáŋgá 'dryly' ('baŋgɔ̀ - 'to eat dry food')

á'boɔ̀mɔ̀ 'indistinctly' ('bomɔ̀ - 'not to be clear')

a'cac 'evilly' ('cadɔ̀ - 'to be evil')

á'hɪŋá 'very' ('hɪŋɔ̀ - 'to be many')

á'nuɔ̀ná 'slowly' ('nuɔ̀nɔ̀ - 'to be slow')

á'roɔ̀ndá 'swinging this way and that' ('roɔ̀ndɔ̀ - 'to swing', e.g., someone in a swing)

The second use of the circumfix is associated with noun, disjunctive pronoun, as well as verb-derived stems. Only the stressed syllable of the noun or verb is used to form the stem. With pronouns, the allomorph -á is used instead of the circumfix. The general meaning of the particle: (for nouns, pronouns) 'just a ...', 'simply a...'; (for verbs) 'keep on doing ...', 'simply do ...'. As a rule, the adverb follows immediately the word from which its stem is derived.

Examples: ,sarɪ á'sará 'just a spoon' ('sarɪ - 'spoon')

kł,jik ə'jiłkə 'just a spoon' (kł'jiłkə - 'spoon')

si,buər a'buərə 'just a lion' (si'buər - 'lion')

sə,bun ə'bunə 'just soap' (sə'bun - 'soap')

ɛn ə ,m an 'anə. 'It's just me.' (aan - 'I, me')

'ó,sɔ̀mɔ̀, ə'sɔ̀mə. 'He's simply reading.' ('sɔ́mɔ - 'to read')

APPENDIX: TEXT

jà,duòŋ 'mɔrɔ, ne nɪ̀ gɪ̀ 'móon mà 'ŋɛ̀ɲ. tɔ ,móondé gɔ̀
Old man certain past with wives who many. But wives those

'n ɔ́ ɲù,ɔlɔ̀ mànà 'ɲiri lɪlɔ̀. 'cíeŋ ,mɔrɔ, 'n ɔ́ ,cokɔ̀
past she is-bearing only girls only. Day certain past he is-collecting

,móondé gɔ́, 'm ɔ́ ,wacɔ̀ nɪ̀ gɪ̀ ní, cakrɛ́ 'ciɛ̀ŋ nɔ̀, ,ɔ̌akɔ
wives those then he is-saying to them that from day that woman

'm ɔ́ ɲù,ɔlɔ̀ 'ɲakɔ́, tɔ 'wít ɔɔ̀kɔ̀. tɔ 'm ɔ́ ɲù,ɔlɔ̀ 'wuoí, tɔ
who she is-bearing. girl but throw away. But who she is-bearing boy but

,kel 'pàcu. ,'baŋ ɛ́, 'cíeŋ ,mɔrɔ, ,móond a'ríyɔ̀ 'n ɔ́ ,ɲuɔ̀l.
bring home. After it day certain women two past she is-giving birth

a'cɪɛ̀l ,kuɔ̀m gɪ̀, 'n ɔ́ ɲù,ɔlɔ̀ 'ɲakɔ, ma ,cɪɛ̀lɔ̀ 'n ɔ́ ɲù'ɔlɔ̀
one among them past she is-bearing girl this other past she is-bearing

'wuoi. ,ɔ̌akɔ mà 'n ɔ́ ɲù'ɔlɔ̀ 'ɲakɔ́, 'n ɔ́ ,wiìtɔ̀ ''ɔɔ̀kɔ̀. ma
boy. Woman who past she is-bearing girl past she is-throwing away. This

'n ɔ́ ɲù'ɔlɔ̀ 'wuoí, 'n ɔ́ ,kelɔ̀ 'dalà m ɔ̀ 'yáŋ n ɛ̀ ru'àθ. ,ɔ̌ákɔ́
past she is-bearing son past she is-bringing home then he kills for him bull. Woman

,mɔrɔ m ɔ̀ 'tì 'n ɔ́ ,nɛɛ̀nɔ̀ ɲà,θɪ́ mà 'ɲakɔ mà 'n ɔ́ wit ɔɔ̀kɔ̀
certain who she is-old past she is-seeing child who girl who past she is-throwing away

mɪ 'n ɔ́ kuàɲ ɛ̀ kenɔ̀ ɔ̀ 'pɪ́ɔ̌ ɛ.
then past she is-picking-up her and she brings-up her.

'cíeŋ ,mɔrɔ, ,ɲakɔ nɔ̀ 'n ɔ́ ɔ̌ɪ 'kuùlɔ̀ ɛ̀ 'yaɔ̀. ,wúod 'wuɔ̀n
Day certain girl that past she is-going to-fetch-water in pond. Son-of father

cà bèndè 'n ɔ́ ɔ̌ɪ 'kuàθ, 'm ɔ́ ,yuɔ̀ 'ɲa nɔ̀ ká ,tuɔ̀mɔ̀ 'pɪ̀.
that also past he is-going herding then he is-finding girl that when to draw water.

aaɪ̀ n̲ ɔ̀ 'wácɔ n ɛ̀ ní, 'ɲakɔ́, 'bat kɪ̀ gɔ̀. 'ɲakɔ́,
Then past he says to her that girl arm not shake. 'Girl

'bat kɪ̀ gɔ̀. tɔ ˌɲaa nɔ̀ 'n ɔ́ duɔ̀k ɛ̀ ní, 'ɲɔhɔ́, 'ɲɔh kɪ̀ ɲɔ̀.
arm not shake. But girl that past she is- him that (see p. 157).
answering

ˌwuoi nɔ̀ 'n ɔ́ ɔ̌ɪ ˌdálá, 'm ɔ́ ˌwacɔ̀ nɪ̀ 'wuɔ̀n ˌmar ɛ ní,
Boy that past he is- home then he is- to father- that- him that
going telling of of

'wúɔr a, nend à 'yɔ́dɔ ˌɲákɔ́ ˌmɔrɔ mà 'bɛ̀r, tɔ ˌk á 'wácɔ
father- me today I meet girl certain who is- but when I say
of beautiful

n ɛ̀ ní, 'ɲakɔ́, 'bat kɪ̀ gɔ̀, t ɔ̀ 'dúok à mànà ní, 'ɲɔhɔ́,
to her that girl arm not shake but she answers me only that (see p.

'ɲɔh kɪ̀ ɲɔ̀. aaɪ̀ 'kíɲn e, ˌwuɔ̀n ˌmar ɛ 'n ɔ́ ɔ̌ɪ ˌkɔd ɛ̀, 'ɛ̀
157). Then morning- it father- that-him past he is- with him to
of of of going

'yaɔ̀, kendo ˌwuoi nɔ̀ ˌn ɔ́ càkɔ̀ 'wacɔ̀, 'ɲakɔ́, 'bat kɪ̀ gɔ̀.
pond, and boy that past he is- to-say girl arm not shake.
trying again

kendo ˌɲaa nɔ̀ 'n ɔ́ ˌduɔ̀kɔ̀ ní, 'ɲɔhɔ́, 'ɲɔh kɪ̀ ɲɔ̀. jà ˌduɔ̀ŋ nɪ̀
and girl that past she is- that (see p. 157). Old man this
answering

'n ɔ́ ˌlʊɔ̀ ɲar ɛ ɲàkà ˌku mà n ɔ̀ 'dak ɪ̀y ɛ̀, m ɔ̀
past he is- daughter- him up- place which past she inside-of it, then he
following of to lives

'wáacɔ̀ nɪ̀ ˌɔ̌akɔ m ɔ̀ 'tɪ̀ ní, mɔndɔ ɔ̀ 'míy ɛ ˌɲar ɛ.
tells to woman who she is-old that in-order- she give him daughter- him.
that of

ˌɔ̌aa nɔ̀ 'n ɔ́ ˌwacɔ̀ ní, 'k ɔ́ ˌkelɔ̀ ˌɔ̌ɔ̀k 'm ɔ́ ˌpoɔ̀ŋɔ̀
Woman that past she is- that if he is- cows which he is-
saying bringing filling

ˌdalá, t ɔ 'káw ˌɲar ɛ. 'kíɲn ɛ, jà ˌduɔ̀ŋ 'n ɔ́ ˌkelɔ̀
home- but he might- daughter- him. Morning- it old man past he is-bring-
stead take of of ing

ˌɔ̌ɔ̀k 'm ɔ́ ˌkaɔ̀ 'ɲar ɛ. ɛ̀ ˌyɔ̀ ˌɲaa nɔ̀ 'n ɔ́ càkɔ̀ ˌwɛ̀r.
cows then he is- daughter- him. On road girl that past she is- to-sing.
taking of starting

(Sung:) ba 'nene ˌkɔ̀, ba 'nene ˌkɔ̀
Father once say father once say

ɔ̀aa n mà n ɔ̀ 'ɲʊ́ɔl ˌwuoi

woman that who fut- she bear son
ure

ˌciè̀ŋ n ɔ̀ yáŋ n ɛ̀ rʊ'àɔ̀ a, ˌdɔlɔ 'yɪɛ̀gɔ̀.

day fut- he kill for him bull my Dolo Yiego.
ure

dàk ne t à 'nɛ́ɛnɔ̀, ˌdɔlɔ 'yɪɛ̀gɔ̀.

not past but I see Dolo Yiego.

ˌɲʊɔ̀k ɛ̀ m ɔ̀ 'yáaŋɔ̀.

He-goat in that he kills.

ba 'ɲɪŋg ɛ, ɔ̀'lɛwɛ̀

Father name- him Olewe
of

ɔ̀'lɛwɛ, ɲà,bíerɔ́ ˌdɔlɔ 'yɪɛ̀gɔ̀

Olewe (?)child-of- Dolo Yiego.
afterbirth-of

ba 'ɲɪŋg ɛ, ɔ̀'lɛwɛ.

Father name- him Olewe
of

ba 'ɲɪŋg ɛ, ɔ̀'lɛwɛ.

Father name- him Olewe
of

kà 'cɛgrɛ ˌdɔlɔ 'wiɲj dʊ̀'ɔ́nd a, ˌdɔlɔ 'yɪɛ̀gɔ̀.

(?) (?) Dolo listen voice-of me Dolo Yiego

θɔ́! 'tɪnda.

[traditional formula at the end of stories]

The following is a relatively free English translation of this text:

A certain old man had many wives, but these wives gave birth only to girls. One day he brought his wives together and told them that from that day on, the woman who gave birth to a girl should throw her away, but the woman who gave birth to a boy should bring him home. One day after that, two women gave birth. One of them had a girl, the other a boy. The woman who had the girl threw her away, but the one who had the boy brought him home and the man slaughtered a bull in his honor.

A certain old woman saw the abandoned girl baby, picked her up, and

brought her up. One day (many years later), that (same) girl went to fetch water in a pond. The son of her father also came there to herd cattle and found the girl drawing water. Then he said to her, 'Girl, I love you', but the girl replied, 'Love, ha!'. The boy went home and told his father, 'Oh father, I have met a beautiful girl, but when I told her, "Girl, I love you", she only answered, "Love, ha!"'. Then the next morning, his father went with him to the pond, and the boy once again said, 'Girl, I love you', and the girl answered, 'Love, ha!'. The old man followed his daughter to the place where she lived and he told the old woman to give him his daughter. The woman told the old man that if he brought her enough cows to fill her homestead, then he could take his daughter. The next day the old man brought the cows and took his daughter. On the way she started singing:

My father once said, My father once said
That woman who bears a son
(On that day) he would kill a bull in his honor, Dolo Yiego.
But I did not see Dolo Yiego.
A he-goat is what he will kill for me.
My father's name is Olewe
Olewe the child of Dolo Yiego
My father's name is Olewe
My father's name is Olewe
(?) (?) Dolo, listen to my voice.

The end.

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