Wesley Sadler

A Complete Analysis of the Lɔɔma Language

Interior Liberia, West Africa

Préface

Wesley Leonadis Sadler a rédigé son ouvrage« A Complete Analysis of the Looma Language » en Mai 1949 au village de Woozie, au Nord de Liberia. C'est probablement le même texte que celui qu'il a soutenu en 1949 comme thèse de doctorat a Hartford Seminary Foundation sous le titre « The Looma Language » (malheureusement, je n'ai pas eu l'opportunité de consulter la thèse elle-même). Une copie peu lisible (sans doute un quatrième ou cinquième exemplaire dactylographié) de l'ouvrage m'a été envoyée par Robert Leopold, anthropologue spécialiste des Looma. Mon étudiante Daria Ogorodnikova s'est portée volontaire pour faire la saisie de ce texte (ce qui n'a pas été facile, compte tenu surtout de la qualité de la copie disponible).

Mon intervention sur ce texte se ramène aux points suivants :

– tous les mots et phrases en looma ont été mis en italiques ;

– le graphème proche de ℧ utilisé par Sadler pour une consonne qu'il décrit comme « a voiced labio-dental flat fricative » (différent de v, « a voiced labio-dental aspirated stop ») est remplacé par un ß (parce que le graphème de Sadler est absent de l'Alphabet Phonétique Internationale, et ʋ, proche de ce graphème, y figure comme voyelle postérieure arrondie semi-fermée) ;

– la numérotation des notes en bas de pages a été régularisée ;

– pour désambiguïser les traductions, les marques (incl.) et (excl.) pour les pronoms personnels de la première personne du pluriel, et les marques (sg.) et (pl.) pour distinguer entre le singulier et le pluriel du pronom anglais « you » ont été rajoutées ;

– une liste des abréviations a été ajoutée.

Dans quelques rares cas j'ai jugé nécessaire d'introduire quelques brefs commentaires ; mes commentaires sont indiqué par la marque – VV.

Plus d'un demi-siècle après la publication du travail de Wesley Sadler, des nombreux ouvrages sur la langue looma ont paru. On peut énumérer les titres suivants :

Beginning Loma : A Course for Speakers of English (Revised Edition). A Liberian Language Research Project Contracted for the Peace Corps of the United States under the auspices of San Francisco State College, 1964.

Dwyer, David James. *Lorma, a reference handbook of phonetics, grammar, lexicon and learning procedures.* East Lansing : Peace Corps ; African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1981.

Dwyer, David James, with Pewu B. Bodegie and James D. Bague. *A Learner Directed Approach to Lorma.* Illustrated by Anabel L. Dwyer. Prepared for the United States Peace Corps at the African Studies Center of Michigan State University. 1981.

Heydorn, Richard W. *Grammar of the Loma Language with some Kɔnɔ Words in the Vocabulary.* Afrika und Übersee (Hamburg), Bd. 54, H. 1/2, 1971, SS. 77-99.

Prost, André. *La langue Loghoma ; esquisse grammaticale suivie de textes et d'un glossaire.* Dakar : Universite de Dakar, Faculte des Lettres et Science Humaines, 1967. (Documents linguistiques ; 13).

Rude, Noel. *Ergativity, and the Active-Stative Typology in Loma.* Studies in African Linguistics (Los Angelos), 14 :3, 1983, pp. 265-283.

В.Ф.Выдрин. *Язык лоома.* Москва : «Наука», 1987. [Vydrine, Valentin. *The Looma language.* Moscow, "Nauka" Publishers, 1987].

Vydrine, Valentin. Tonal system of Looma language. *Mandenkan,* No. 18, 1989, pp. 81-96.

Une contribution importante à l'étude du système tonal des langues mandé-sud, y compris le looma, est constituée par la thèse de David Dwyer *The comparative tonology of Southwestern Mande nominals.* Michigan State University, 1973. Il faut mentionner également un ouvrage non-publié (comme Guilavogui, D. K. *Etude phonologique du loma avec application au parler du sud de Macenta.* Conakry : I.P.C., 1970), et les matériaux sur la terminologie scientifique looma élaborée en Guinée ainsi que de nombreuses publications sur le phénomène de l'alternance consonantique initiale dans les langues mandé-sud-ouest, et égalment un nombre très important de travaux sur l'anthropologie, la culture et l'histoire du peuple Looma, comportant souvent des données intéressantes sur la langue (parmi les centaines de titres, je signalerais particulièrement la thèse de Robert Leopold, *Prescriptive alliance and ritual collaboration in Loma society.* Ph. D. Thesis. Indiana University, 1991, 376 p.).

Tout cela montre a quel point nos connaissances de cette langue (comme des langues mandé en général) ont beaucoup avancé. Aujourd'hui certaines interprétations de Wesley Sadler peuvent paraître naïves, mais il serait injuste d'exiger trop d'un étude faite il y a plus d'un demi-siècle. Il faut plutôt souligner que la grammaire de Sadler[1] reste une source pour la langue looma qui n'a pas été dépassée par les études postérieures en ce qui concerne la richesse des données, les détails du fonctionnement du système grammatical de la langue, et surtout le fonctionnement du système tonal qui représente en looma un véritable casse-tête.

Valentin Vydrine

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[1] En 1951, un manuel pratique a été publié par Wesley Sadler, Untangled Loma. Baltimore, 465 p. Ce manuel inclut beaucoup de données sur la grammaire et il a servi pour des nombreux chercheurs un source important pour cette langue. Cependant, un manuel ne peut pas remplacer une grammaire de référence, ce qui donne de l'importance a la présente publication.

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Chapter I

Pronunciation

1.1. The phonemes of Looma are *p, b, ɓ, v, t, d, k, g, kp, gb, f, ß s, ɣ, m, n, ŋ, l, y, w, i, e, ɛ, a, u, o, ɔ.*[2]

1.1.1. Key to pronunciation.

Phoneme	Lɔɔma	Translation	A.E.E.[3]
p	*pɛ́lɛ*	house	pencil
b	*béte*	bed	bit
ɓ	*ɓɔ́*	help	
v	*vá*	come	
t	*tíli*	call him	tea
d	*dɛ́*	show	dentist
k	*kɔ́lɔ*	book	call
g	*gé*	we (excl.)	give
kp	*kpɛ́dɛ*	gun	
gb	*gbaza*	rice bird	
f	*fɛ́lɛ*	weave	fetter
ß	*nii ßelɛ*	weave this	vest
s	*sú*	in	soup
z	*zé ɣe*	hole	zip
ɣ	*ɣálo*	moon	
m	*míte*	spoon	meat
n	*nɛ́*	boil	never
ŋ	*ŋína*	tomorrow	singer
l	*lí*	go	leap
y	*yíi*	descend	yeast
w	*wɛ́lɛ*	look	wet
i	*lí*	go	beat
e	*fé*	give	fit
ɛ	*tɛ́*	lift	met
a	*dá*	place	father
u	*bú*	under	boot
o	*bó*	tell	foot
ɔ	*fɔ́*	dry	awful

1.1.2. /ɓ/, a voiced implosive stop, is pronounced as follows: say /a/ with air coming into the mouth. Then close the lips but continue the effort to say /a/ with the ingressive air. Open the lips suddenly.

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[2] See Chapter V for the tones of Looma and the system of marking tone used in this thesis.
[3] Approximate English Equivalent.

/v/, a voiced labio-dental aspirated stop, is pronounced by placing the lower lip against the upper teeth and momentarily stopping the air at this juncture. The aspiration is slight.

/kp/, a voiceless labio-velar stop, is produced by placing the back of the tongue at /k/ position, the lips at /p/, and releasing both simultaneously. /gb/ is the voiced counterpart, the tongue being at /g/ position, the lips at /b/. /kp, gb/ are unaspirated.

/ɣ/, a voiced velar flat fricative is pronounced by placing the tongue at /g/ position. Then lower it a bit so that there is a slight opening between the roof of the mouth and the back of the tongue. Slight friction is caused by air passing through this opening.

/ŋ/, the voiced velar nasal, occurs in English in the middle of a word, as in *singer*, and at the end of a word, as in *sing*, but never at the beginning of a word, as it does in Lɔɔma. To produce /ŋ/ at word beginning, simply say *sing* [seŋ] and hold the tongue in its final position. Then /i/. The results will be the first syllable of *ŋina* 'tomorrow'.

Consonant Chart:

Point of Articulation

		Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Velar	Labio-Velar
Stops						
Aspirated	vl	*p*		*t*	*k*	
	vd	*b*	*v*	*d*	*g*	
Unaspirated	vl					*kp*
	vd					*gb*
Implosive	vd	*ɓ*				
Fricatives						
Flat	vl		*f*			
	vd		*ß*		*ɣ*	
Grooved	vl			*s*		
	vd			*z*		
Frictionless						
Nasal	vd	*m*		*n*	*ŋ*	
Lateral	vd			*l*		
Semi-consonants					*y*	*w*

1.2. Description, occurrence, and examples of the phonemes.
1.2.1. Single consonants.
/p/ is a voiceless bilabial aspirated stop.

pótè   miracle

/b/ is a voiced bilabial aspirated stop.

békè   branch
kóbè   white chalk

/ɓ/ is a voiced bilabial implosive stop.

ɓáfa   archway

/v/ is a voiced labio-dental aspirated stop.

vá	come
táava	tobacco

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar aspirated stop.

tíli	call
tɛ́tɛ̀	thatch

/d/ is a voiced alveolar aspirated stop.

dówa	beat

/k/ is a voiceless velar aspirated stop. It is fronted to a palatal position, [ķ], when it occurs before /i,e/.

kɔ́lɔ	book
kítò [ķĭtò][4]	promise
kébá [ķéba]	bitter green

/k/ and [kw]. /kɔ/ is pronounced [kw], /ko/ is pronounced [kw] when the following syllable or word begins with an alveolar (not /l/; not when followed by /-dɛ/) followed by a front or central vowel.

[kwótà] kótà	kitchen
[kwódà] kódà	mortar
[kwɔdí] kɔdi	unlettered person
[kwɔti] kɔ́ti	stone
[kwɔ́tà] kɔ́tà	kitchen
[kwɔ́tɛ̀] kɔ́tɛ̀	an iron used for musical purposes.
kɔ́	his neck
dá	front
[kwɔ́ dá][5] *kɔ́ dá*	throat

/ko/ is pronounced [kwe][6] before a voiced alveolar followed by a front vowel (not /ɛ/); /kɔ/ is pronounced [kwɛ] before a voiced alveolar followed by /ɛ/[7].

[kwéle] kóle	white
[kwéde] kóde	singer
[kwéna] kóna	year
[kwɛ́dè] kɔ́dè	empty snail shell

/g/ is a voiced velar aspirated stop. It is fronted to a palatal position, [g], when it occurs before /i, e/ in word beginning and word-mid position.

gála	burn
kpɔ́kpɔ̀gi	the chair
gíle [gíle]	dog
gèdè [gèdè]	head cloth

/g/ and /gw/. See /k/, for /g/ is pronounced [gw] in the same environments in wich /k/ is pronounced [kw].

/kp/ is a voiceless unaspirated labio-velar stop.

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[4] The dot (.) under a letter (ķ) indicates that the sound has been fronted; the comma (,) under a letter (į) indicates that it has been backed.

[5] In this discussion, [kw], though plainly predictable and therefore not phonemic, will nevertheless be spelled thus. This does not apply when the following alveolar consonant and its vowel are a separate word.

[6] With some speakers /kɔ/ is pronounced [kwe].

6 /kɔ/ is pronounced [kw] before /ɛ, ɛɛ/: *kɔ́ɛ̃ [kwɛ̃]* 'know'; *kɔ́ɛɛ [kwɛɛ]* 'betray'.

kpídì	night
kpɔ́kpɔ̀	chair

/gb/ is a voiced unaspirated labio-velar stop.

gbaza	rice bird

/f/ is a voiceless labio-dental flat fricative.

fíle	bellows

/ß/ is a voiced labio-dental flat fricative.

ya ßeléi	your (sg.) bellows

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar grooved fricative.

sáßa	mat

/z/ is a voiced alveolar grooved fricative.

ziá	water

/ɣ/ is a voiced flat velar fricative. It is fronted to a palatal position before /i, e/. It never occurs before /u, o, ɔ/.[8]

ɣále	moon
díɣii	the pot
diɣi [díɣ̶i]	pot
seɣe [séɣ̶e]	cloth

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal.

máta	remainder
mámà	thank

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal.

náza	his aunt
níinε	new

/ŋ/ is a voiced velar nasal. It is fronted to a palatal position before /i, e/. It never occurs before /u, o, ɔ/.[9]

ŋáza	his wife
téŋa	peanut
ŋina [ŋ̶ina]	tomorrow

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral. It becomes a voiced alveolar flap, [r], in word-mid under the following conditions: 1) when the following vowel is /u, ɔ/, which in turn is followed by /i, a/; 2) when the following vowel is /o/, which in turn is followed by /i, a/, and the vowel of the proceeding syllable is not /i, ii, u, uu/.

lí	go
púlu	hunger
kɔ́lɔ	book
gúloi [gúlei]	the palm oil
púlui [púrui]	the hunger
kɔ́lɔi [kɔ́rɔee]	the book
kɔ́lɔa [kɔ́rɔa]	books
góloi [góroee]	the baboon
góloa [góroa]	broke

/y/ is a voiced front semi-consonant.

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[8] See 1.10.1 for a discussion of the environment in wich /ɣ/ is lost.
[9] All consonants except /ŋ, ɣ/ may occur before any vowel.

tíne yiɛ́	rain water
é zéiya.	He sat down.
yĩ̃yĩ̀	slowly

/w/ is a voiced back semi-consonant.

wa	you (pl.)
wɛ́lɛ	see

1.2.2 Consonant clusters.

/gw/ is a cluster of the voiced velar /g/ plus the semi-consonant /w/.

gwála	big

/kw/ is a cluster of the voiceless velar /k/ plus the semi-consonant /w/, the latter beging weakly voiced in this environment.

kwɛ́	know
kwɛ́ɛ	betray

1.2.3. Single vowels.

/i/ is a voiced high close front and unrounded vowel. It is backed to a central position, [ɨ], when it occurs after /k, g, ɣ, ŋ/; it is lowered to open position, [ɪ], when it occurs after /m/ at word final.

píli	throw
míte	spoon
díɣi [díɣɨ]	pot
mí [mɪ́]	eat

/e/ is a voiced mid close front unrounded vowel. It is backed to a central position, [ə], when it occurs after /k, g, ɣ, ŋ/.

péle	read
títè	turn
kéba [kə́ba]	bitter green

/ɛ/ is a voiced mid open front unrounded vowel. It is backed to central position [ɜ] when it occurs after /k, g, ɣ, ŋ/.

kɛ́kè [kɜ́kɜ̀]	uncle
tíi ɣɛ [tíi ɣɜ]	work

/a/ is a voiced low open central unrounded vowel.

máta	reminder
mása	chief

/u/ is a voiced high close back rounded vowel.

púlu	hunger
fúulu	cheat

/o/ is a voiced mid close back rounded vowel. It is lowered to open position, [ɔ], when preceded by /k, g, w, y/, and when it is followed by /w/.

pótè	miracle
bó	tell
kólú [kɔlu]	iron
zowoi [zɔwoee]	the doctor

/ɔ/ is a voiced low close back rounded vowel.

pɔ́lɔ	dirt
tɔ́	law

1.2.4. Vowel clusters.

1.2.4.1. Non identical vowels.

/ei/ is a voiced high front unrounded falling diphtong beginning at /ee/ position and going toward /i/.

téi	black

This pronunciation also occurs with /e + i/ when the vowel of the preceding syllable is /i, ii, u, uu/.

míte	spoon
mítei	the spoon

/ee/ is a voiced long vowel between the starting position of /ei/ and /e/ position.

dée	his mother

This pronunciation also occurs from /e + i/ when the vowel of the preceding syllable is not /i, ii, u, uu/.

péle	road
pélei [pélee]	the road

/ei/ is pronounced as a voiced long vowel between /e/ and /ɛ/ position. The pronunciation is similar to English *lay*.

wéi	friend

This pronunciation also occurs with /ɛ + i/ and /ɛɛ + i/ when the vowel of the preceding syllable is not /i, ii, u, uu/, and when the preceeding vowel of the same syllable is not /i/.

pɛlɛ́	house
pɛlɛi	the house
mɔɛ́	mother-in-law
mɔɛi	his mother-in-law

ɛ + i > [ei] when the vowel of the preceding syllable is /i, ii, u, uu/ or when the vowel of the same syllable is /i/.

níkɛ	cow
níkɛi [níkei]	the cow
ziɛ́	water
ziɛ́i [ziéi]	the water

/ai/ is a voiced unrounded falling diphthong starting from a slightly fronted low mid position and moving toward a mid open front position. The pronunciation is similar to English *aisle*.

kái	bone

This pronunciation also occurs with /a + i/ and /aa + i/.

máta	remainder
mátai	the remainder
táa	town
táai [tái]	the town
góia [góeea]	jungle
góiai [góeeai]	the jungle

/ui/ is a falling diphthong moving from /u/ toward /i/ position.

kúi	neighborhood

This pronunciation also occurs with u + i and uu + i.

kpákù	split bamboo for a torch
kpákùi	the split bamboo for a torch

púu	music
púui [púi]	the music

/oi/ is a falling diphthong moving from /o/ toward /ee/ position.

koia [kóeea]	monkey
wõi [woeẽ]	love

This pronunciation also occurs with /o + i/ and /oo + i/ when the vowel of the preceding syllable is not / i, ii, u, uu/.

dóso	hunter
dósoi [dósoee]	the hunter
wóo	word
wói [wóee]	the word

o + i > [ei] when the vowel of the preceding syllable is /i, ii, u, uu/, and when the vowel of the same syllable is /u/.

gúlo	palm oil
gúloi [gúlei]	the palm oil
súo	animal
súoi [súei]	the animal

o + i > [oei] when the preceding consonant is not /l/ and the vowel of the preceeding syllable is /i, ii, u, uu/.

[oei] is a falling diphthong moving from /o/ toward /ei/ position.

súɓo	old farm
súɓoi [súɓoei]	the old farm

/ɔi/ is a falling diphthong moving from /ɔ/ toward /ee/ position. This pronunciation also occurs with /ɔ + i/ and /ɔɔ + i/.

kpɔ́kɔ	evening
kpɔkɔi [kpɔ́kɔee]	the evening
dɔ́ɔ	palm wine
dɔ́i [dɔ́ɔee]	the palm wine

/iɛ/ is a falling diphthong moving from /i/ toward /ɛ/ position.

ziɛ́	water

/ɔɛ/ is a falling diphthong moving from /ɔ/ toward /ɛ/ position.

mɔ́ɛ	mother-in-law

/ao/ is a falling diphthong moving from /a/ toward /ọ/ position.

dáa láo [dáa láọ].	Open it.

/uo/ is a falling diphthing moving from /u/ to /o/ position.

súo	animal

In all VV combinations in which the first vowel is not /a/ and the second vowel is /a/, the result is a rising diphthong except as noted below. The first vowel or vowel combination retains its position.

Rising diphthings are /ia, ea, ɛa, ua, oa, ɔa/.

ɓía[10]	finish
bóa	knife

These diphthongs, like the falling diphthongs, are also the result of suffixation.

lí	go
liá	gone

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[10] Some speakers say *ɓéa*.

péle	road
pélea	roads
kpínɛ	in leaf
kpínɛa[11]	'leafed'
pú	pour
púa	poured
gólo	break
góloa	broke
kɔ́lɔ	book
kɔ́lɔa	books

/uu, oo, ɔɔ/ may also suffix /a/, resulting in /ua, oa, ɔa/ respectively.

púu	pour
púua [púa]	poured
tóo	fall
tóoa [tóa]	fell
bɔ́ɔ	hollow reed
bɔ́ɔa [bɔ́a]	hollow reeds

Note, however, that the suffixation of /a/ does not always result in a rising diphthong.

e + a, ɛ + a > [aa] when the vowel of the preceding syllable is /i, ii, u, uu/.

fíle	bellows
fílea [fílaa]	bellows'
níkɛ	cow
níkɛ́a [níkaa]	cows

ɛ + a > a when the vowel of the same syllable is /i/.

zíɛ	water
[zía] zíɛ́a	water(s)

o + a > [aa] when the vowel of the preceding syllable is /i, ii, u, uu/; or when the preceding consonant is /w/ preceded by /o/ or /oo/.

kúlo	take out
kúloa [kúlaa]	took it out
zowo	doctor
zowoa [zowaa]	doctors
kóowo	driver ant
kóowoa [kóowaa][12]	driver ants

o + a > a when the vowel of the same syllable is /u/.

súo	animal
súa [súa]	animals

u + a > [aa] when the preceding consonant is /w/ and the vowel of the preceding syllable is /u, uu/.

ɓúwu	labor camp
ɓúwua [ɓúwaa][13]	labor camps

ɔ + a > [aa] when the consonant is /w/ preceded by /ɔ, ɔɔ/.

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[11] *ɛa + i > ai, /kpínɛai yɛ́ [kpínai yɛ́]* 'was in leaf'. The phonetic spelling is used.

[12] *[kóowoa]* is permissible here, the result, a falling diphthong.

[13] *[ɓúwua]* is permissible here, the result, a falling diphthong.

tɔ́wɔ	bean
tɔ́wɔa [tɔ́waa][14]	beans

1.2.4.2. Identical vowel. With the exception of */ee/* and */oo/,* clusters of identical vowels are similar to the single vowel of the same position, but prolonged.

tíi	/ii/: work
	/ee/: see 1.2.4.1.
téɛwù	/ɛɛ/: chicken
páa	/aa/: kill
dúu	/uu/: son
tóo	/oo/: fall
dɔ́ɔ	/ɔɔ/: palm wine

1.3. Vowel length[15] is phonemic, as it is often the only means of distinguishing words that are otherwise alike.

káli	hoe
káali	snake
tíɣi	charcoal
tíɣii	the charcoal

1.4. Influence of *y, w*.

e > [ii] before *yii* or *ye* when the consonant preceding */e/* is not */y/*.

ɛ́ lɛ́ té yíinì [ɛ́ lɛ́ tíi yíinì]	He did not lower them.

e > [ee] before *yee* or *ya*.

é féenì dé yá [é féenì dée yá]	He gave it to us (incl.).

When */w/* is consonant of the syllable preceding */y/*, the influence of */y/* is more pronounced.

wo > [wii] before *yii*; *wo > [wee]* before *yee, ya*; *wo > [we]* before *ye, yɛ*.

wo yii [wii yii]	your (pl.) heart
wo yee [wee yee]	your (pl.) hands
ga nii wo ye [ga nii we ye].	I will tell you (pl.) this.

When */y/* is followed by a back vowel, it loses its influence upon the preceding vowel, even when the consonant preceding the vowel is */w/*.

ge wõ̀ìnì wo yópo-yapa kpɛ́tɛ [ge wõ̀ìnì wo yópo-yapa kpɛ́tɛ].	I want you (pl.) to create a confusion.

i > [u], e > [o] before *wa, wu, wo, wɔ*.

ga li wúlu [ga lu wúlu].	I will go back.
ŋápi wɔ́ [ŋápu wɔ́]	fight
ga fé wa vɛléi wu [ga fó wa vɛléi wu].	I will give it in your (pl.) house.

e > [u] before *wui*:

ga fé Wuigi ya [ga fú Wuigi ya].	I will give it to Wuigi.[16]

VV is not influenced by *WV*.

ga téi wa vɛléi wu [ga tei wa vɛléi wu].[17]	I will blacken the inside of your (pl.) house.

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[14] *[tɔ́wɔa]* is permissible here, the result, a rising diphthong.
[15] This is discussed more fully in 1.12.2.
[16] I.e., a European. – *VV*.

1.5. When the word *e* (or *é*) follows a final vowel, it forms a single syllable with the preceding vowel. In this environment the influence of *e* is similar to that of */i/*. See 1.2.4.1.

wú ziɣi e va [wú ziɣii va]. Rise and come.
ɔ́ víle e wulu [ɔ́ vílei wulu]. He would follow you (sg.).
e mama e mama [e mamai mama]. Thank you (sg.), thank you (sg.).
bɔ́ e lui ma [bɔ́i lui ma]. Tell your (sg.) son.

1.6. Nasalisation is phonemic, as it is the only means of distinguishing words that are otherwise alike.

kwɛ́ɛ Betray him.
kwɛ́ɛ̃ end

Nasalisation may occur throughout the duration of any single vowel or combination of vowels.

wɔ́ [wɔ́] tail
vóõ [vóõ] touch
kóẽi [kóẽi] bee

Non-significant nasalisation occurs automaticaly in the following environments:
1. When the consonant is *m, n* or *ŋ*.

mí [mĩ] eat
nɛ́ɛ [nɛ̃ɛ̃] sweet
ŋíi [ŋíĩ] sleep

2. When *C̃V* or *CṼ* immediately precede *yV* or *lV*.

ŋíiya [níĩyã] slept
kã́la ŋala [kã́lã ŋalã] spoil

3. When CV precedes *wṼ, yṼ*.

yówũ [yṍwũ] evil
píiwũ [píĩwũ] curse

Nasalization produced by */ŋ/* is similar in quality to nasalization such as that found in *wɔ́* 'trail'; *kɔ́ɔ̃* 'measure'. Nasalization produced by */m, n/* is less pronounced than the above.

1.7. Tone. See 5.1.

1.8. Syllable patters are as follows:

a.ni[18] V: if
kɔ́.lɔ CV: book
ziá.vɛ CVV: the waterside
súoi.tìɛ CVVV: the animals
kɔ́iai.tìɛ CVVVV: the monkeys
kwɛ́.ni CCV: knew
kwɛ́ɛ.ni CCVV: betrayed

1.9. Distribution of phonemes.
1.9.1. Single consonants occur initially in morphemes, syllables and words.

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[17] Some speakets: *ga wa vɛlɛ́i wu lɛ́i*.
[18] The dot (.) on the line indicates syllable division.

kpɔ́.kpɔ̀:gi[19]	the chair
síɣɛ	best
síɣɛ:zìɣɛ	pulverize

1.9.2. Consonant clusters occur initially in words.

kwέɛ.vɛ	He is betrayed.
gwála	big

1.9.3. All the single vowels except /i, u, o/ occur initially in words; all single vowels except /u, o/ occur initially in morphemes; only /a/ appears initially in words of two or more syllables.

é	he
ɛ	you (sg.)
á	all of you (pl.)
ɔ́	she
a.ní	if
sáɓa:i	the mat

All vowels occur in morpheme- and word-mid and at morpheme-, word-, and syllable-final position.

síɣɛ	beat
síɣɛ-zìɣɛ	pulverise
tí.li	call

1.9.4. Initial vowel clusters are found only in the following two words:

óoi	yes
ɔ́ɔ	or

Clusters occur in all other positions with morphemes, syllables, and words.

tíi	work
séeve	chicken hawk
káa.lii:tiè	the snakes
bóai:tiè	the knives
kóïa:i	the monkey

1.10. Loss of phonemes.

1.10.1. The velar fricative /ɣ/ is lost when it appears between two occurrences of central vowel /a/.[20]

The loss usually prevails even when the definite suffix /-gi/ or the far past suffix /-ni/ is used.

táɣa [táa]	nest
tɔ́kpɔ̀ láɣagi [tɔ́kpɔ̀ láagi]	the leaf of a young palm tree
té dáɣanì bá [té dáanì bá]	They followed him.

When the definite suffix /-i/ is added, the second syllable receives more stress, and /ɣ/ is used by most speakers.

táɣai	the nest

/ɣ/ retains its identity when it is in the second section of a reduplicated word.

---

[19] The colon between words indicates morpheme division.

[20] Some speakers retain the /ɣ/.

záɣa-zàɣa [záa-zàɣa]   clash repeatedly

/ɣ/ is also omitted by some speakers from the auxillary *ya* when followed by /-a/.

na ya ge ga másagì [naa ge ga másagì].   I am the chief.

The loss of /w/ occurs between identical back vowels, and when it is followed by /u/ and preceded by a back or central vowel.[21]

dɔ́wɔ [dɔ́ɔ]   market
túwu [túu]   palm nut
túwui   the palm nut
zowo [zoo]   doctor
zowoi   the doctor
wáwũ [wáũ]   away
yówũ [yóũ]   evil
yówuĩ   the evil

/w/ is not lost when the vowel preceding or following it is long.

kóowo   drivar ant

In set phrases where there is a similarity between the consonants and vowels of successive one syllable words, the second consonant may be dropped.

dé   we (incl.)
té   they
lí   go
dé lí [díi]   Let's go.
té lí [tíi]   They go.

1.10.2. In a few noun phrases such as *pélɛ lá* 'doorway', and *Folomo tá* 'Folomo's place', the final vowel of the second word, *dáa* 'doorway', and *táa* 'town', respectively, is lost. This is rare and does not occur, for example, with such expressions as *é dówaa* 'He beat him', and *zúnui láa* 'the man's mouth'. The spelling for the first two above is *lá* and *tá* respectively.

In addition, some speakers shorton a long vowel when it appears before a voiceless consonant.

táa pùugɔ́i [tá pùugɔ́i].   ten towns

For additional vowel losses see 1.2.4.1.

1.11. Loss of syllables sometimes occurs when there is a sequence of two syllables that are identical.

díɣi   pot
gíli   cook
diɣ́i ɣili [díɣili]   cook

1.12. Additions.

1.12.1. When a word of $C\tilde{V}$ or $CV\tilde{V}$ pattern is followed by a word or suffix beginning with a consonant, a nasal consonant is added to the first word. This added consonant is simply to aid in pronunciation; it is not phonemic.

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[21] It is possible that such /-gi/ words as *kɔ́ɔ̃* 'measure', are phonemically *kɔ́wɔ̃*, but as the use of the suffix /-gi/ has no influence on the pronunciation of the basic form of the word, it is difficult to ascertain. Moreover, such words as *bóa* 'knife'; *túɔ* 'manner', *dáo* 'open', are no doubt the result of a lost /w/. But as speakers persist in using the diphthong even when /-i/ is added, and as there are few words in an identical environment (*dówa* 'beat') in wich the /w/ is heard, the spelling *bóa, túo,* etc. is used.

1. *CṼ* or *CVṼ* plus any bilabial consonant adds bilabial */m/*.

wṹ píli [wúm píli]   vomit
búũ mí [búũm mí]   Eat an owl.

2. *CṼ* or *CVṼ* plus any velar consonant or /w/ adds velar /ŋ/.

wṹgi [wṹŋgi]   his head
ßóõ ɣálogì va [ßóõŋ ɣálogì va].   Touch the moon.

3. *CṼ* or *CVṼ* plus any alveolar consonant or any of the remaining consonants adds alveolar /n/.

wṹ téve [wṹn téve].   Cut his head.
ßóõ séɣei va [ßóõn séɣei va].   Touch the cloth.

For futher consonant additions see discussion of /k/ and /g/ in 1.2.1.

1.12.2. The addition of vowels occurs through non-phonemic lengthening. Such addition may occur before the alveolar fricative */z/* and before the lateral */l/*.

ga téve.   I will cut it
ga lévé [gaa lévé].   I will pass.
ga só.   I will catch it.
ga ziɛwui zo. [gaa ziɛwui zo].   I will catch the spider.

Vowel length develops before the other voiced consonants but to a much lesser degree.

Basic vowel length is not increased in any environment.

sée   elephant
sée la zúwãvè.   Place the elephant on the ground.

Vowel length is never developed before a voiceless consonant and it never occurs in a basic word before such a consonant.

ga tíli.   I will call him.
mása   chief
títi   foolish

However, basic vowel length is not lost when it occurs before a voiceless consonant.

kɔ́õ   measure
tɔ́ kɔ́õsù.   He is measuring it.

As indicated in the first example above, short vowels do appear before voiced consonants.

káli   hoe

Vowel length is written only where it is an aid to understanding or where it is basic. This applies to one syllable */-zu/* verbs and to the use of *máa* and *gáa* before verbs. All one syllable */-zu/* verbs lengthen the vowel in the following environment:

1. Before the progressive suffix */-zu/* and the far past */-ni/*.

lí   go
dá liisú.   We (incl.) are going.
é líini.   He went.

2. When they serve as pre-noun modifiers.

mí   eat
míi víaitiè   diners

3. When followed by *la* 'with it'.

vá   come

vaa la	come with it

4. When used before the particle *ná* wich occurs in a suboratinate clause beginning with the zero use of 'when'.

dá	lay it down
ya dáa ná ...	When you (sg.) lay it down ...

It is possible to write the unlengthened vowel form of the */-zu/* verbs when the progressive tense is used and have no conflict in understanding with one syllable words of the */-zu/* group in the same environment.

lí	go
ga lizú.	I am going.
gá tósù.	I am building.

For, as previously indicated, vowel length develops before */z/*, and speakers would automatically use it in *lízu* above. However, when the far past tense is added, there is no way of distinguishing length. Here it is necessary to indicate the vowel length of the */-zu/* verb.

kɛ́	do
tó	build
ge kɛ́ɛnì.	I did it.
ge tónì.	I built it.

Thus, in the interest of uniformity, the vowel of one syllable verb of the */-zu/* group is written long in each of the four environments described above.

When */ma/* and */ga/* are taken from their post-verb and post-noun position and used immediately preceding a verb, their vowel is lengthened. The vowel is written in the interest of case of understanding.

máa ɓɛ́	watch, guard
gáa zìɛ	look for

Chapter II

FORMATION OF WORDS

2.1. Patterns.

2.1.1. The predominant basic word pattern for nouns, adjectives and verbs is CVCV. CV, CVV, and CVVCV are common with noun and verbs, but uncommon with adjectives. CVVV, CVVCVV and CVCVV are seldom found. Words of three or more syllables are very uncommon except for proper nouns, and in all probability they, as well as a few words from the preceding patterns, were originally compounds of phrases. Their analysis is no longer apparent. Words beginning with CC are limited to */kw/* and */gw/* and are used only as nouns, adjectives and verbs.

CV:

kɔ́	his neck
dá	place

CVV:

sée	elephant
nɛ́ɛ	sweet

CVVV:

géea	buy

CVVCV:

káalí	snake
kpóale	drink

CVCV:

kásɔ̀	load
kpádí	hot
pɛ́tɛ̀	see

CVCVV:

támàa	plenty
tɔ́zeì	begin

CVCVCV, etc:

gbègènɛ́	a small banana
Folomo	Folomo
Yákpawolo	Yakpawolo
ɓɔ́vèláale	because
kpókélé	very quick

CCV:

kwɛ̃́	know

CCVV:

kwɛ́ɛ̃	end
kwɛ́ɛ	betray

CCVCV:

gwála	big

The predominant patterns for pronouns are V, CV, and CVV. CVCVV is limited to one word, *tówàa* 'he will'.

V:
| *é* | he |

CV:
| *gá* | we (excl.) |

CVV:
| *tíɛ* | they |

Other word classes have patterns limited to two syllables, with CV predominating. Conjunctions are the only class of words having VV, VCV, and VCVV.

VV:
| *ɔ́ɔ̀* | or |

VCV:
| *aní* | if |

VCVV:
| *agéɛ* | lest |

CV:
sá	new
mɛ́	(particle)
sú	in

CVV:
| *téi* | when |

CVCV:
ɓɔ́gá	and
ŋina	tomorrow
púlu	behind

CVVCV:
| *ɓɔ́ɔßɛ* | in vain |

CVCVV:
| *kpalaa* | also |

2.1.2. Morpheme patterns in compounds due to reduplication may consist of any of the word patterns from CV to CVCVCV. The patterns for suffixes are V, CV, CVV, with CV predominating. The pattern for prefixes is CV.

Compounds:
pá	fine
te vápàgè	they are very fine
sɛ́vɛ	cut
sɛ́vɛ́-zɛ̀vɛ	cut into small pieces

Suffixes:
V:
| *kɔ́lɔ* | book |
| *kɔ́lɔi* | the book |

CV:
| *mása* | chief |
| *másagì* | the chief |

CVV:
| *kɔ́lɔitiè* | the books |

Prefixes:
CV:

zúnu	man
mázunui	master

2.2. Nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, and adverbs may be basic words, or they may be formed by one or more of the following processes: compounding, suffixation, and prefixation. The remaining classes of words, conjunctions, prepositions, and particles, do not change this basic form.

Nouns may be formed by compounding, suffixation and prefixation.

2.2.1. There are five possible combinations of compounds:

1. Noun + verb:

dáa wuo	wash his mouth
dáa-wuo	tooth brush
gúlu zèvɛ	split wood
gúlu-zèvɛ	plank

2. Postpositional + verb:

sú wɔ́ɔ̃	tempt him
sú-wɔ́ɔ̃	temptation
é gáa ɓáanì	It made him strong.
ná gáa-ɓai	his strength

3. Noun + postpositional:

béte ɣá	on a bed
béte-ɣá zeɣe	bed-spread
gúi zu	in his ear
gúi-zú ŋéni	earring

4. Noun + verb + postpositional:

á yée la gála má.	Have faith in God[22]
ya yee-lá-mai	your (sg.) faith
kɔ́wɔ ló má.	Put his foot on it.
kɔ́wɔ-ló-mài	the thing a man puts his foot on when he is weaving

5. Reduplication. This means of compounding is employed to emphasize the nature of a noun. Reduplicative patterns are formed from any of the basic noun patterns. The reduplication is usually identical.

kɛ́ɛ̃-kɛ́ɛ̃	firefly
súbu	morning
súbu-zùbu	early morning

An example of dissimilation in the reduplicated form:

yópo-yápa	confusion

Extensive reduplication is sometimes used for extreme emphasis:

súbu-zùbu-zùbu-zùbu	very, very, very early in the morning

[22] Lit.: "You (pl.) put your hand on God". – *VV.*

2.2.2. Suffixation. There are seven classes of noun suffixes.

2.2.2.1. Definite singular.

1. /-vɛ/ is added to locative nouns.

ŋétìà	outside
ŋétìavɛ	the outside
zúwã	ground
zúwã̀vè	the ground

Some parts of the body suffix /-vɛ/, but the suffix is not necessary to show the definite.

dáa, or: dáavè	his mouth

2. A zero suffix is added to many nouns ending in /ii, ei, ee, ai/.

sée	elephant
sée	the elephant
kpíĩ́	worm
kpíĩ́	the worm

3. All other nouns, comprising by far the greatest number, are divided into two groups: those suffixing -i and those suffixing -gi.

sáɓa	mat
sáɓai	the mat
kpɔ́kpɔ̀	chair
kpɔ́kpɔ̀gì	the chair
dɔ́sàva	eight
dɔ́sàvái	the eight
gíla	one
gílagì	the one

2.2.2.2. There are two plurals: the indefinite plural and the definite plural.

1. The indefinite plural suffix /-ya/ is added to nouns taking a zero suffix to form the definite singular.

séeya	elephants
kpíĩ́ya	worms

This does not include words like gée 'sky', dée 'mother', as the Lɔɔma man does not consider them in the plural form. This group also includes ŋáma 'blood', and usually other "pourable" materials such as ziɛ 'water', mɔ́lɔ ɣɛzɛ 'rice', and tɔ́wɔ́ 'beans'. Nouns of this nature usually take only the definite singular suffix when it is required and rarely take either the indefinite or definite plural suffixes.

/-a/ is the indefinite plural suffix for nouns taking /-i/ for the definite singular; /-ga/ is the suffix for /-gi/ nouns.

sáɓáa	mats
kpɔ́kpɔ̀gà	chairs

2. */-tiɛ/* is the definite plural suffix for all nouns and is added to the definite singular suffixes.

zíavètiè	the watersides
séetiè	the elephants
sáɓatiè	the mats
kpɔ́kpɔ̀gitiè	the chairs

2.2.2.3. The diminutive suffix */-ku/* is added to some nouns to indicate a smaller variety than the general stock. It is also occasionally added to small objects.

téɛ	fowl
téɛwù	chicken
málá	a root
málaku	cassava

2.2.2.4. The suffix */-da/* is used to indicate place.

másá	chief
másádà	kingdom
kpétɛ́	rich
kpétɛla	a rich man's place

2.2.2.5. */-ni/* is added to a noun to include all members of that class; it is also added to the final name of a series to act as a concluder.

kéea	an older
kéeanì	olders
Folomo é vɛ́ɛ Sómó dée va tá Zezéni-	Folomo and Somo's mother and Zizi-

2.2.2.6. */-be/* is a designating suffix added to proper and common nouns.

Folomo	Folomo
Folomove.	(It is) Folomo.
gálá	God
gálábé.	(It is) God.
zíimà	will
nú yìimàvé	(It is) a person's will.
félégɔ̀	two
félégɔ̀vé.	(There are) two.

2.2.2.7. */-ma/* serves as a nominalizing suffix.

zíɛ	walk
zíɛmá	journey

It is also used to extend the meaning of some words.

zíi	heart
zíimà	will (n)

2.2.3. Prefixation is limited to */ma-/,* whsich serves as a nominalizer; to indicate a known object; to generalize nouns; to extend the meaning of some nouns; and as an inalienable possessive prefix.

1. Nominalizer:

kúló	take out
máwúló	exit (n)
gè máwúló wógá.	I came forth (X exit did).

2. Indicator of a known object:

nú	person
mánúi	the said person

3. Generalizer of nouns:

téɛ lèɣà	chicken feathers
máléɣá	feathers

4. Extender of the meaning of some nouns:

zúnúi	the man
mázúnúi	master

5. Inalienable suffix:

békè	branch
mávékègítiɛ	its branches

2.3. Adjectives may be formed by compounding, suffixation and prefixation.

2.3.1. Compounding is limited to reduplication, which is used to indicate emphasis and extremes. Like nouns, the reduplicative patterns are formed from any of the basic adjective patterns.

bíi	heavy
kɔ́lɔ víi vĩígí	the very heavy bark

2.3.2. Suffixation.

2.3.2.1. The common adjective suffixes for the definite singular, the indefinite plural, and the definite plural are the same as those for nouns. There is no locative suffix, */-vɛ/*, however. Like nouns, therefore, adjectives are divided into two groups: those suffixing */-gi/* for the definite singular and those suffixing */-i/* (and other).

fáa	palaver
kpóei	bad
fáa ɓóei	the bad situation
fáa ɓóeiyà	bad situations
fáa ɓóeitiɛ	the bad situations

séɣé	cloth
téi	black
séɣe léigì	the black cloth
séɣé léigà	black cloth
séɣe léigìtiɛ	the black cloths

gúlu	stick
nɔ́wɔ	dirty

gúlu nɔwɔi	the dirty stick
gúlu nɔwɔa	dirty sticks
gúlu nɔwɔitiɛ	the dirty sticks

A few adjectives ending in */-ii/* suffix */-ya/* and than add *-i* for the definite. The indefinite plural is not used here.

bíi	heavy
kɔ́lɔ víiyái	the heavy book
kɔ́lɔ víiyaitìɛ	the heavy books

The suffix class of the adjective is not influenced by the suffix class of the noun.

kpɔ́kpɔ̀gì	the chair
ŋábúi	the fire
gwála	big
kpɔ́kpɔ̀ gwalai	the big chair
ŋábu wálai	the big fire

Definite adjectives add only the definite plural suffix. The singular suffix is affixed to the noun.

téevéi	the table
téevéi nii	this table
téevéi na	that table
téevéi niitiɛ	these tables
téevéi natiɛ	those tables

2.3.2.2. The present conditioning suffixes */-gɛ/* and */-vɛ/* are added to */-gi/* and */-i/* adjectives respectively. The result is a conditioning adjective.

fái ɓoevέ	the situation is bad
gúlui nɔwɔvɛ	the stick is dirty
gúlui ɓaànàgέ	the stick is hard

2.3.2.3. The past conditioning suffixes are composed of the recent past tense suffix plus the definite suffix */-i/*.

-ga + -i > -gai;	*-a + -i > ai.*
kpáanà	hard
é ɓáanàga.	Is hardened.
kpáanàga.	It is hard.
kpáanàgai γέ	It was hard.

kpádi	hot
é ɓádia.	It became hot.
kpádivɛ.	It is hot.
kpádiai γέ.	It was hot.

Note that the */-gi/* adjective has suffixed */-ga/*, the */-a/* adjective */-a/*.

For the plurals the suffixes are added to the noun, and the plural pronoun, *té* 'they', is used before the conditioned adjective.

gúluitiɛ té nɔ́wɔvɛ́	The sticks are dirty.
gúluitiɛ té nɔ́wɔai ɣɛ́.	The sticks were dirty.
gúluitiɛ té nɔ́wɔai.	The sticks were dirty.
séɣeitiè té leigɛ.[23]	The cloths are black.
séɣeitiè té leigɛi ɣɛ́.[24]	The cloths were black.
séɣeitiè té léigai.[25]	The cloths were black.

2.3.2.4. */-kpú/* is added to the numeral 'one' to indicate extreme oneness.

gála gíla	one God
gála gílakpù	the only (one) God

2.3.3. Prefixation is limited to */ma-/.* It serves a number of purposes: it indicates particularity; it serves to form an ordinal numeral; and it has one function which cannot be defined.

1. It indicates particularity.

niínɛ	new
mániinɛ	new one
mániinɛi	the new one
mániinɛa	new ones
mániinɛitiè	the new ones
kpáana	hard
máɓaana	hard one
máɓaanàgí	the hard one
máɓaanàgá	hard ones
máɓaanàgítiè	the hard ones

2. It is added to the noun *wṹ* 'head' to form the ordinal numeral 'first'.

wṹgi	the head
máwṹgi	the first
kɔ́lɔ máwṹgí	the first book

3. In the following section its function cannot be defined:

fɛ́a	thing, matter
wɔ́lɔ- wɔ́lɔ	lasting
fáa máwɔlɔ-wɔ́lɔ	marvelous thing
kwɔ́ti vɛ́lɛ	stone building
kwɔ́ti vɛ́lɛ mayíki	great stone building

2.4. Pronouns may add some of the noun suffixes.

1. */-i/* is suffixed to *na,* 'I', and to *nú,* 'he' (person), to form the personal definite.

na	I

[23] Some speakers: *léivɛ.*
[24] Some speakers: *léiɣái ɣɛ́,* others, *léiɣái ɣɛ́.*
[25] Some speakers: *léiɣai;* others, *léiɣái.*

nai	I
nai ge lóní vε.	I who stood there.
nú	he, person
núi	he, the person
nuí é yéni ná wúlu.	He who stayed behind.

/-*i*/ is added to the progressive form of the pronoun to form the remaining personal definites.

ya	you (sg.)
yai	you (sg.)
yai e séyei wuoni	You (sg.) who washed the cloth.
gá	we (excl.)
gái	we (exc.)
gái gé tíi yεεni za.	We (excl.) who worked today.
tá	they
tái	they
tái té ŋíini ná	Those who slept there.

2. /-*tiε*/ may be added to the plural personal deffinite pronouns.

taítiε té ŋíini ná.	Those who slept there.

/-*tiε*/ is also added to the definite pronouns *nii* 'this'; *na, nu* 'that'.

niitiε	these
natiε	those
nutiε	those

3. /-ni/ is suffixed to plural progressive pronouns and to all plural post-verb object pronouns. Its purpose is to include all spoken to or of.

wai á da waní dé láa miizu wo gilá.	One of you (pl.) who is eating with me.
Folomo té vá tíε tíi yε tá tíεni.	Folomo worked with them.

4. The designating suffix /-*be*/ is added to the pronoun *na* 'I'.

navε	It is I.

5. /-*de*/ is an emphatic designator added to *navε*.

navεdé	It is I.

2.5 Adverbs are formed by compounding and prefixation.

2.5.1. Compounding is limited to reduplication which is employed to indicate emphasis or exaggeration. The reduplicative patterns are formed from any of the basic adverb patterns.

síĩ	slow
síĩ-sìĩ	very slow
wɔ́lɔ	before
wɔ́lɔ-wɔ́lɔ	ever
wɔ́	always
wɔ̀-wɔ́-wɔ́	ever and ever

Numerals are reduplicated to show manner.

va ga tíɛ ga gíle-gíle.   Bring them one by one.
va ga tíɛ ga dɔ́ɔlu-dɔ́ɔlu.   Bring them five by five.

2.5.2. Prefixation consists of */ma-/* added to some verbs and adjectives to form adverbs.

fíla   to go with speed
máβila   quickly
máwũ   first (adj.)
mámawũ   first (adv.)

2.6 Verbs may be formed by compounding and suffixation.

2.6.1. As with adjectives and adverbs, compounding is limited to reduplication. It indicates emphasis or exaggeration, or serves to show repetitive action. Any of the basic word patterns are found in reduplication.

mái   pull
mái-mái   pull continuously
zíɛ   walk
zíɛ-zíɛ   stroll
sévɛ   slice
sévɛ-zèvè   slice into small pieces

2.6.2. Three forms of the verb are formed by suffixation.

2.6.2.1. The progressive form indicates that verbs, like nouns, are divided into two suffix classes: those suffixing */-su/*, and those suffixing */-zu/*.

bó má   Tell him.
tɔ́ bósù má.   He is telling him.
dódò   count
gá dódòsu.   We (excl.) are counting.
gále   break
tá gálezù.   They are breaking it.
káva   bend
tá kávazù.   They are bending it.

2.6.2.2. The recent past (RP) of */-su/* verbs is formed by adding */-ga/* to the basic form. */-zu/* verbs add other suffixes, chiefly */-a/*.

é bógà má.   He talked to him.
gé dódògá.   We (excl.) counted.
té gálea.   They broke it.
é kávaa.   He bent it.

Words of the */-zu/* group that end with *-Cɛ* lengthen the vowel[26] to form the RP.

kɛ́   do
ge kɛ́ɛ   I did it.

---

[26] Some speakers suffix */-a/*.

kpétɛ	fix
gé kpétɛɛ.	We (excl.) fixed it.

Words ending in */-ii, -ei, -ee, -ɛɛ, -ai, -ui, -oi/* usually suffix */-ya/*.

síi[27]	plant
té síiya.	They planted it.
tɔ́zèi	start
é tɔ́zeiỳá.	He has started.

Words ending in */-iɛ, -uo,* and *-oo/* suffix */-a/* and drop the final vowel.

zíɛ	walk
é zía.	He walked.
gúo	wash
té gúa.	They washed it.
tóo	drop
gé tóa.	We (excl.) dropped it.

Words ending in */-aa/* and */-eea/* do not change for the RP.

páa	kill
gé páa.	We (excl.) killed it.
géea	buy
e géea.	You (sg.) bought it.

2.6.2.3 The far past (FP) is formed by adding */-ni/* to all verbs.

té dɔ́dòni.	They counted it.
wo gálɛnì.	You (pl.) broke it.

2.7. The remaining word classes do not add anything to their basic form. This includes conjunctions, prepositions, postpositions and particles.

tá	and
tái	when
bu[28]	in (under)
dá	with it
mɛ́, ná	(particles)
é bɔ́nì tíɛ ga té mɛ́ lɛ́ lì.	He told them not to go.
tá ná tósù-	When they are building it-

2.8. In addition to the methods of word formation discussed in 2.1 – 2.7., all classes of words except pronouns, conjunctions and particles may be transferred into other word classes and undergo the word forming processes peculiar to those word classes. It is important to note that */-gi/* nouns and adjectives become */-su/* verbs; that */-i/* nouns and adjectives become */-zu/* verbs. Conversely, */-su/* and */-zu/* verbs become */-gi/* and */-i/* nouns respectively. With the exceptions noted above, all classes of words may be transferred into other word classes without modification of their basic form.[29]

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[27] Many speakers say *séi*.
[28] In rare cases the postposition may add the definite suffix */-i/*.
[29] Occasionally a tone change is involved.

2.8.1. With additions to the basic form. Verb > noun:

pétè	see
tá pétèsu.	They are seeing him.
pétɛ	mirror
pétɛgì	the mirror
pétèga	mirrors
pétɛgitiè	the mirrors
zíɛ	walk
tɔ́ ziɛzú	He is walking.
síɛ	trip
síɛi	the trip
sía	trips
síɛitiè	the trips

A verb in the progressive form may be transferred to the noun class, becoming a locative noun. The locative suffix */-vɛ/* is added.

tɔ́ paazù.	He is killing it.
ge wɛlɛní páazuvè va.	I saw the killing place.
ge káazuvè vɛtɛi.	I saw the dancing place.
kɔ́lɔi nii lɔzaizúvè ɣa.	This book's beginning (the beginning of this book).

The progressive form of the verb may also become an object noun of a non-locative nature.

tɔ́ liizú.	He is going.
ge wɛlɛní díizù va.	I saw the going.

The verb becomes a common adjective by adding the verbal RP suffix.

téve	pass
kpɔ́ɔlɔ̀ lévegà	a passed (piece of) bread
gále	break
gúlu ɣaléa	a broken stick

The definite singular is formed by adding */-i/* to the RP suffix.

kpɔ́ɔlɔ̀ lévegai	the passed bread
gúlu ɣaléai	the broken stick

/-su/ verbs become present conditioned adjectives by adding */-gɛ/; /-zu/* verbs by adding */-vɛ/*.

ká̃laŋala	destroy
tá ká̃laŋalasù.	They are destroying it.
e ká̃laŋalagà.	You (sg.) destroyed it.
ká̃laŋalagè.	It is destroyed.
gále	break
tá gálezù.	They are breaking it.
é gálɛa.	You (sg.) broke it.
gálevɛ.	It is broken.
gúlui ɣalevɛ.	The stick is broken.

Adverb > verb:

súbú	soon[30]
tɔ́ zubuzù tái zu.	He is going to town early in the morning.

Adjective > verb:

kpádi	hot
tɔ́ zíɛi ɓàdízù.	He is heating the water.

2.8.2. Without additions to the basic form.

Some nouns, verbs, postpositionals, and adverbs become pre-noun modifiers:

bóa	knife	*bá*	on
táɣa	nest	*fáa*	matter
bóa láɣa	knife sheath	*bá ßáa*	inscription
kɛ́	do	*munu*	there
fáa	matter	*pélé*	road
kɛ́ɛ ßaa	his actions	*munu vele*	over there, that direction

Noun, adjectuve > adverb:

súbu	morning
ga liizu ga súbù.	I am going early
támaa	plenty
ge tíi ɣɛɛni ga támaa.	I worked long.

Postpositional > object noun:

sú	in
ge wɛlɛní sú vá	I saw the inside.

Pospositional > object with tonal pronoun:

kɔ́ɔ̃	measure
ga sú wɔ́ɔ̃.	I will tempt him.
towaa su wɔ́ɔ̃.	He will tempt me.

---

[30] The verb in question may be connected as well to the noun *súbu* 'morning'. – *VV*.

Chapter III. Initial Consonant Change

3.1. The following consonants may change when they occur initially in certain phonological, morphological, and syntactic situations: /p, b, f, t, d, g, k ,kp, s, z/.

3.2. The remaining consonants do not change: *ɓ, v, gb, ß, ɣ, m, n, ŋ, l, ɣ, w/.*

3.3. The phonological environment controlling change and the resultant consonants are as follows: *b, p > v; g, k > ɣ* when the following vowel is /i, e, ɛ, a/.

bíli > víli	goat
péle > véle	road
kɛ́ > ɣɛ́	do
gála > ɣála	burn
bíi > víi	heavy
kéea > ɣéea	father

b, p, g, k > w when the following vowel is /u, o, ɔ/.

bú > wú	under
pótè > wótè	stir
gɔ́ßɛ > wɔ́ßɛ	spirit
kɔ́lɔ > wɔ́lɔ	book
bóa > wóa	knife
gúo > wúo	wash
buĩ > wuĩ	pig

g, k > ŋ when the following vowel is nasalized.

giĩ > ŋiĩ	bite
káĩ > ŋáĩ	bullet
kéẽ > ŋéẽ	canoe

The other consonants are not influenced in their initial consonant change when the following vowel is nasalized.

buĩ	pig
ya wuĩgí	your (sg.) pig

d, t > l; f > ß; kp > ɓ; s > z; z > ɣ before any vowel:

dódo > lódo	wart
tíli > líli	call
félɛ > ßélɛ	weave
fuĩ > ßuĩ	loosen
kpéka > ɓéka	razor
kpáele > ɓáele	pumpkin
síɣi > zíɣi	take
sélɛ > zélɛ	hang
súo > zúo	animal
séi > zéi	set

zíɛ > yíɛ	water
zéɓɛ > yéɓɛ	wet
zéɣe > yéɣe	hole

kw, gw > w before any vowel.

kwéɛ	betray
té Folomo wɛɛni.	They betrayed Folomo.
gwála	big
pélɛ wala	big house

3.4. The morphological environment or processes producing initial consonant change (ICC) are compounding, suffixation and prefixation.

3.4.1. In compounding, the initial consonant (IC) of the second section of the word is changed when the first section is of the */-i/* class.

kólui	the iron
gãi	beat
nú	person
kólu-ŋai nú	blacksmith

When compounding is the result of reduplication, the IC of the second section changes when the first section is a noun or adjective of the */-i/* class or a verb of the */-zu/* class.

pálai	the mud
pála-vála	mud, mud, mud
tɔ́ zieᴣú.	He is walking.
zíɛ-ziɛ	stroll[31]

3.4.2. ICC due to suffixation follows the pattern discussed above.

gílei	the dog
-ku	(diminutive suffix)
gílewù	little dog

3.4.3. In prefixation, the IC of the basic word always changes, for the prefixes are of the */-i/* class.

békè	branch
mávekègí	it's branch

3.5. There is no ICC due to morphological environment when the basic form of a */-gi/* noun or adjective or of a */-su/* is used.

fézàgi	the fish
kpɛ́	drive
fézà-ɓéɛ nù[32]	fisherman

---

[31] The example given here, *zíɛ-ziɛ,* might be not clear enough for a reader. In fact, the stem of the verb 'to walk' is *síɛ,* which changes to *ziɛ* when the verb is used as intransitive. – *VV.*

[32] This form might be an error. In my data, the word for "fisherman" is *fézà-kpɛ́ɛ-nù,* which is in agreement with the rule formulated by W. Sadler. – *VV.*

káli	stumble
kálisù	stumbling
káli-kàli	drag
másagì	the chief
dá	(place suffix)
másadà	kingdom

3.6. The range of syntactical environments producing ICC is considerably greater than that of the morphological environments.

3.6.1. Object words and phrases of the */-i/* group change the IC of the verbs, adjectives, or postpositionals following them.

kɔ́lɔ	book
tɛ́	lift
kɔ́lɔ lɛ́.	Lift a book.
gwála	big
kɔ́lɔ wala le³³	Lift a big book.
bá	on
ge wɛlɛní kɔ́lɔ vá.	I saw a book (on).
vɛ	here
kpále	sweep
vɛ ɓále.	Sweep here.
na	that
na lɛ.	Lift that.

Adjectives in a series follow the same pattern.

gúlu	stick
pɛ́nɛ	small
téi	black
gúlu vɛnɛ léi	a small black stick

The pattern prevails when nouns, adjectives, and verbs serve as noun modifiers.

bóa	knife
táɣa	nest
bóa laɣa	knife sheath
kɛ́	do
fáa	matter
kɛ́ɛ ßàa	actions

Some speakers change the IC of *fólo* 'day', even when it is preceded by a */-su/* verb acting as a modifier.

dóowosù	resting
dóowo ßólo	rest day

---

³³ Some speakers: *wála.*

3.6.2. Object words and phrases containing the definite or plural suffixes change the IC of the following noun, verb, adjective, or postpositional.

ná kɔ́lɔi lɛ.	Lift his book.
ná kpɔ́kpɔgi lɛ.	Lift his chair.
númaitiè líli.	Call the people.
kwɔ́tia wú sú.	Pour stones into it.
séi kpɔ́kpɔ̀gi wobá.	Place it on the chair.
ge pétègì vɛtɛni.	I saw the mirror.
ge ɓóõní kɔ́lɔ léigi va.	I touched the black book.

3.6.3. The use of any form of */-zu/* verb and any but the basic form of */-su/* verb changes the IC of the following preposition.

da	with it
tówáa tíi ɣɛɛ la.	He will work with it.
ɓólo ɓɛ́ é dóowunì la?	What day did he bury it?

3.6.4. The possessive pronouns *ya, gá, dá, tá, wa, e, gé, dé, té,* and *wo* change the IC of the possessed object.

bíli	goat
ya vilí	your (sg.) goat
tá vilí	their goat
dée	mother
wo lee	your (pl.) mother

When an alienable possessive pronoun is dropped, something rarely done, the IC of the noun is changed.

ná	his
sáa ɓáa	death
Folomo na sáa ɓái	Folomo's death
Folomo zaa ɓái	Folomo's death

3.6.5. When general use is made of a specific word, its IC is changed.

góo	his word
é wóo vagɔi woni má.	He told him the good word.
fólo	day
ɓólo ɓɛ́ é líini la?	When (what day) did he go?
púlu	his back
lí wúlu.	go back.

3.6.6. Transitive verbs used intransitively undergo ICC.

gúo	wash (it)
ge wúoni.̀	I washed.
síɣi	take (it)
té zíɣinì ná.	They left there.
kpádi	hot
é ɓádini.	It became hot.

The pattern continues when *su* and *gaa* are part of a verb phrase.

sú ɓáa	strong (v) (transitive)
é zú ɓáanì.	He became strong. (intranstive)
gáa ɓáa	try
tá γáa ɓáazù.	They are trying.

Conditioning adjectives are also subject to ICC unless they occur with a tonal pronoun.

déi	cold
e leivɛ	you (sg.) are cold
téi	black
kɔ́lɔ léivɛ	a book is black

3.6.7. Passive voice produces a change in the IC of the verb.

tóvàa	it will
fé	give
tówàa ßé wo γa.	It will be given to you (pl.).

3.6.8. Most pre-noun verbs have ICC.

wélɛ	see
é wélɛni zúnui va.	He saw the man.
ßóõ	touch
ßóõ bá.	Touch it.

It is often impossible to trace the basic consonants of some words (*wélɛ*, for example), as their IC may be one of two or more consonants. *wélɛ* may originally have been either *ɓélɛ* or *pélɛ*.[34] *wɔ́* may have been *pɔ́, ɓɔ́, kɔ́,* or *gɔ́.*

3.7. There are four syntactic environmental features preventing ICC.

1. When the basic form of */-gi/* words or phrases or the basic form of */-su/* verbs occour on any of the environments described in 3.5., there is no ICC.

kpókɔ́gi	the chair
kpɔ́kpɔ̀ tɛ.	Lift a chair.
kpɔ́kpɔ̀ tei tɛ́.	Lift a black chair.

2. There is no change if tonal object pronouns are used.

tɛ	Lift me.
tɛ́	Lift him.

3. The use of the alienable possessive pronouns *na* 'my', *ná* 'his'; and the tonal inalienable possessive pronouns (`` ` ``) 'my', and (´), 'his', does not produce ICC in the object.

pɛ́lɛ	house
na pɛlɛ́i	my house

---

[34] This assumption is incorrect; the initial consonant of *ɓélɛ* or *pélɛ* would change to *v-*, rather than *w-*. Therefore, the strong form of this verb could be *kwélɛ* or *gwélɛ*. – VV.

ná pɛ́lɛi	his house
dee	my mother
dée	his mother

4. There is no ICC in a conditioning adjective or verbal adjective when they serve as oppositional nouns.

gúlui	the stick
gúlui kwéleai yɛ́.	The stick was white (The stick, the one that was white.)
gúlui gáleai.	The stick is broken (The stick, the one that is broken).

3.8. There are four environments producing ICC of body parts.

3.8.1. When the actor's body part serves as part of a verbal phrase, its IC is changed.

dáa	his mouth
ɛ́ láa zéinì bú.	He permitted it (He put his mouth under it).
zée	his hand
ɛ́ yée làanì tíɛ.	He placed his hand on them.
gúi	his ear
tówàa wúi lo.	He will listen (He will stand his ear).

Exceptions occasionally occur.

gáazù	his face
ɛ́ gáazù wótèní Folomo má.	He faced Folomo (He turned his face on Folomo).

3.8.2. The IC of the body part is changed when it is preceded by the possessing noun.

zée	his hand
zúnui yèe ɣa tábazù.	The man's hand is hurting.
kɔ́	her neck
gáza nui wɔgí nɔwɔvɛ.	The woman's neck is dirty.

3.8.3. ICC occurs when the body part is used impersonally.

-ga númaa yée.	-with people's hands.

3.8.4. Occasionally the IC is changed even when the noun stands alone.

yée lɔkɔ	his arms

3.9. There are three conditions preventing ICC of body parts.

1. When the body parts are separated from the verb by the negative, *lɛ́.*

zíi	his heart
zíi lɛ́ kɛ́ɛ.	His heart cannot do it.

2. When the object's body part and not the actor's is used or acted upon.

dáa	its mouth
ɛ́ dáa ßènì.	He filled it (its mouth).

3. When the body part and the verb join to become a noun.

dáa-mi	food
zée-la-ma	his faith

3.10. The ICC of numerals is not as regular as the foregoing. There is no ICC for the following:

táawúo	nine
púugɔ̀	ten

ICC for *félegɔ̀* 'two', and *sáagɔ̀* 'three', is rather rare.

tá zeelá ßèlè keléi.	their second sister
tá zeelá zàva keléi.	their third sister

The ICC of *gílɛ,* 'one', is not consistent.

kɔ́lɔ ɣila	one book
kɔ́lɔ gilá	

3.11. There is no ICC of conjunctions, pronouns, and particles. Most adverbs do not undergo ICC. This is not irregular, for they occur in none of the environments producing change.

za	today
é záanì za.	He died today.
dɛ́	yet
ló dɛ́	Wait (yet).
tí	anyway
té váanì tí	They came anyway.
támáa	plenty
té tíi ɣɛɛni ga támaa.	They worked long.
tá	and
Folomo tá Somo.	Folomo and Somo.

The adverb *kɔ́nɔ* 'again', receives ICC by some speakers. The interrogative *ßɛ,* 'whose', never produces ICC in the following noun, and the IC of */-tiɛ/* and *pɛ* are never changed.

kpɔ́kpɔ̀gitiɛ	the chairs
ŋɛ́ni nɛ́pɛ	anything

3.12. Irregularities are uncommon. In addition to *gíla* 'one' and *kɔ́nɔ* 'again', mentioned above, the following irregularities are found:

1. The adjective *ta* 'some' never undergoes ICC, and *fíkaa* 'some', may or may not receive it.

nú ta ɣá vaazu.	Someone is coming.
*nú fikáa (*or: *ßikáa) tá vaazu.*	Some people are coming.

2. Some names also are irregular. Note that *Folomo* has no influence on the name *Tókpa*:

Folomo Tókpa	Folomo Topa

Which is unlike the influence of *Mɔ́luɓà* on the IC of *Somo*.

Mɔ́lúɓà Zómo   Mɔluba Zomo

This irregularity is made clearer when it is recalled that *Folomo* changes the IC of the verbs., etc., following it.

tíli   call
Folomo lili.   Call Folomo.

3. *sɛɓɛ* 'what' has its IC changed when it serves as an adjective and occurs in environment producing change:

tíi zɛ́ɓɛ   What work?

But when *sɛɓɛ* occurs before the object, it violates the pattern and becomes *zɛ́ɓɛ*.

zɛɓɛ líi ɣá e kɛ́ɛzù?   What work are you (sg.) going?

CHAPTER IV

FORMATION OF SENTENCES

4.1 Nouns.

4.1.1. There are proper, common, and collective nouns in Lɔɔma.

Proper:

Zɔzɔ́o	Zorzor (the name of a town)
Folomo	Folomo (a man's name)

Common:

gúlu	stick
zúnu	man

Collective:

kpɔ́	crowd

4.1.2. There is no grammatical gender in Lɔɔma. Modifying nouns are used to indicate sex.

tɛ́ɛ	fowl
síne	male
tɛ́ɛ zine	rooster
níke	cow (either sex)
sá	female
níke zá	cow
súnu	man
ŋázanù	woman
dúu zunú	boy (child)
dúu ŋazánu	girl (child)
ge wɛlɛní bá.	I saw it.
ge wɛlɛní bá.	I saw him.

4.1.3. The vocative is distinguished by a change in the tone.

Folomo	Folomo
Folomo liiní táa zu.	Folomo went into town.
Folomɔ́, lí táa zu. Or: *Fólomo, lí táa zu.*	Fololmo, go into town.

4.1.4 The use of suffixed nouns.

4.1.4.1. The definite singular noun designates one particular object of a class.

kɔ́lɔ	book (any book)
kɔ́lɔi	the book (particular one).

When there is no doubt concerning the identity of the object spoken of, many speakers use the basic noun.

4.1.4.2. The definite plural suffix is nearly always used when it is designated. However; speakers do not hesitate to use either the basic or the definite singular form of

the noun for such objects as oranges, stones, rice, peanuts, etc. Note that these objects can be poured.

4.1.4.3. The use of the indefinite plural is not very common, the definite singular often being permissible when the meaning is clear to both parties.

4.1.4.4. The remaining suffuxed nouns, as well as the prefixed ones, require no discussion. They are used as stated in 2.2.

4.1.5. Noun phrases are formed in the following manner:
1. The noun followed by one or more modifiers.

séɣe nɔwɔi	the dirty cloth
gúlu ɣaléa léiɣai	the broken black stick

2. The noun preceded by one or more modifiers.

sóo	horse
kólu	iron
kólu zóo	bicycle
tíne[35]	rain
zíɛ	water
séɣe	cloth
tíne ɣíɛ zéɣe	rain coat
nú	person
kɛ́	do
yɔ́wũ	evil
fáa	matter
fáa-yɔ́wũ-ɣɛɛ nú[36]	sinner
bía	'people'
fáa-yɔ́wũ-ɣɛɛ vía[28]	sinners
kɛ́	do
fáa	matter
kɛ́ɛ ßáa	action

3. A combination of 1 and 2 above.

gwála	big
kólu zóo wala	a big bicycle

The suffix is added to the last member of a noun phrase. The use of the phrase with its suffixes is similar to that described for nouns in 4.1.4.

4.1.6. Acting nouns appear before the verb.

zúnui	the man
pɛ́tè	see
pélei	the road

---

[35] Some speakers: *tína.*
[36] *nu* and *bia* are the Lɔɔma equivalents for English "-er" and "-ers" respectively.

zúnui pélei vɛtɛni	The man saw the road.
lí	go
Folomo liiní táa zu.	Folomo went into town.

When the actor performs two or more actions, the pronoun is used for all after the first.

é	he
Folomo liiní táa zu é níkɛ yéea.	Folomo went into town and bought a cow.

Acting nouns in a series follow the same pattern as single acting nouns.

tá, é vɛ́ɛ … bá	and
núwùtiitiɛ	the old people
té	they
gáa lɛɛ bá	gather round him
Folomo tá núwùtiite é vɛ́ɛ mázagítiɛ	Folomo, the old people, and the chiefs,
vá té yáa lɛɛni bá má.	(they) gathered around him.

When ambiguity will not result, it is permissible to use only the first noun before the verb and have the remainder follow the object.

yéni	was
té záamà	among them
Sómo yení té záamà é vɛ́ɛ Folomo va.	Folomo and Somo were among them.

Acting noun phrases and clauses follow the same pattern.

kólu zóo walai looni.	The big bicycle fell.
gáwòté	answer
núi gilá gé wulo kpɔ́gi zu é gáwòté zéea.	One of the persons whe came out of the crowd answered him.

4.1.7. Object nouns occur in two positions: pre-verb and post-verb.
    4.1.7.1. Pre-verb.

bóai	the knife
pétè	see
ge bóai vɛtɛni.	I saw the knife.
gíla	one
siyi	take
ge gíla siyini.	I took one.

When pre-verb object nouns occur in a series, usually only the first noun precedes the verb; the remainder follow it.

Folomo	Folomo
tíli	call
é Folomo lilini é vɛ́ɛ Somo va tá mázagí.	He called Folomo, Somo, and the chief.

4.1.7.2. Post-verb object nouns are always followed by a post-positional.

ßóõ	touch
bá	'on him'

ga ɓóõ Folomo va.	I will touch Folomo.
bó	tell
má	'on him'
ga bó Folomo ma.	I will tell Folomo.

With the intransitive use of the verb, the object follows the verb and functions as the object of a preposition or a post-positional.

wúo	bathe
ga	with
kpólo	soap
é wúonì ga kpólo.	He bathed with soap.
pɔ́	'to' (post-positional)
é líini zúnii wɔ.	He went to the man.

When post-verb object nouns occur in a series, only the first noun appears before the post-positional.

bá	'on him'
ge wɛlɛní Folomo va é vɛ́ɛ Somo va tá	I saw Folomo, Somo, and the chief.
másagì.	

Some speakers, however, use more than one object before the post-positional.

má	'on him'
ɔ́ɔ	or
bó Folomo ɔɔ Somo ma.	Tell Folomo or Somo.
bó Folomo ɓɔgá Somo ma ga té vá.	Tell Folomo and Somo to come.

Object noun phrases follow the pre-verb and post-verb noun pattern.

pétè	see
ge kɔ́lɔ wálai nii vɛtɛni.	I saw this big book.
ɓóõ	touch
gé ɓóõnì kɔ́lɔ wálai nii va.	We (excl.) touched this big book.

But the object noun phrase precedes the relative pronoun, which is immediately before the verb.

dówa	beat
Folomo nii ge dówanì.	(This) Folomo (whom) I beat.
Folomo nii ge ɓóõnì bá.	(This) Folomo (whom) I touched.

Object clauses may retain their continuity with post-noun verbs as long as there is no danger of ambiguity. But the following is preferred. Note that the relative clause follows the verb.

-é γέni zeeɓezu	-who was sick
é zúnui valoni é γέni zeeɓέzu.	He healed the man who was sick.

Note this. However:

pétè	see

ge núi gilá gé wúlo kpɔ́gi zu vétèni.[37]   I saw one of the persons who came out of
                                             the crowd.

Now note the following lengthy object clause which is divided so that only its first subject, *númaitìɛ*, appears before the verb.

númaitìɛ té γéni ŋéni zɔ́wɔ̃ wuluzu tá	the people who were selling and the
númaitìɛ té γéni ŋéni yeéazu bu –	people who were buying (in it)
kpɛ́	drive
é véɛ ga númaitíɛ ɓéɛ té γéni ŋéni	He began to drive the people who were
zɔ́wɔ̃ wulozu tá númaitìɛ té γéni ŋéni	selling and the people who vere buying in
γéeazù bú.	it.

With pre-noun verbs the some pattern prevails, except that the clause follows the postpositional.

wɛ́lɛ	see
bá	'on him'
ge wɛlɛní zúnui va é γéni zeeɓézu.	I saw the man who was sick.
-é γéɛnì.	-that had happened.
té váanì wɛlézu níi ɓa é γéɛnì.	They came to see what had happened.

With such verbs as *dɛ́* 'show', though a post-noun verb, the clause follows the verb, coming after the indirect object (IDO).

zúnui	the man (IDO)
é dɛ́ɛnì ga zúnui nii é γéɛnì.	He showed the man what had happened.

When the auxiliary is used, the position of the noun is not changed.

γéni, ŋéni	was
kɔ́lɔi	the book
tóo	drop
é γéni kɔ́lɔi loozu.	He was dropping the book.
ɛ́ lɛ́ ŋéni kɔ́lɔi loozu.	He was not dropping the book.

4.1.7.3. The IDO functions as the object of a preposition or post-positional and thus follows the verb.

zúnui	the man (IDO)
téve	send
é kɔ́lɔi lévenì zúnui wɔ.	He sent the book to the man.

An exception to the above occurs when the personal definite pronoun serves as the IDO: there is no postpositional.

wai (or: *waitíɛ*)	you (pl.)
é wo ɓɔnɛi ɓeeni wai (or: *waitíɛ*) *wo*	He paid you (pl.) who worked today. (He
tóo γɛɛmi za.	gave your (pl.) pay to you who worked
	today).

---

[37] Some speakers: *gè núi g̀ilá pètèni é wúlo kpɔ́gi zù.*

The IDO in a series, and the IDO as a phrase or clause, follows the same pattern as the direct object.

téve	hand over, deliver
tá Folomo léve másagì wɔ tá Somo.	They will deliver Folomo to the chief and to Somo.
té kɔ́lɔi lɛɛni ga zúnui é tíi ɣɛɛni ve.	They showed the book to the man who worked here.

4.1.8. A noun, noun phrase or noun clause may stand in opposition to another noun, noun phrase, or noun clause.

séɣe-wuó núi Folomo[38]	Folomo, the laundryman
Sómo dúi Folomo, or: *Folomo, Sómo dúi.*	Somo's son Folomo.
... na ɣa ga númaitiè té ŋíini pélɛi wu ...	... that is the people who slept in the house …
tíi-ɣèe víaitiè, na ɣa ga númaitiè té ŋíini pélɛi wu, té Folomo zoni.	The workers, that is those who slept in the house, caught Folomo.

4.2. Lɔɔma adjectives are used to describe nouns and pronouns. There are five principal kinds of adjectives: common, descriptive, definite, indefinite, interrogative, and limiting. In addition, there are conditioning adjectives, adjectives serving as nouns in opposition (NA) and pre-noun modifiers.

4.2.1. With few exceptions the adjectives follow the word they modify.

4.2.1.1. Common descriptive adjectives appear after the noun.

yówũ	evil
fáa yówũ	an evil matter
kpádi	hot
gúlo ɓadi	hot palm oil

Adjectives in a series follow the same pattern.

téi	black
kpáana	hard
gúlu lei kpáana	a black hard stick
nɔ́wɔ	dirty
zíɛ nɔwɔ ɓadí	dirty hot water
pénɛ	small
gúlu vɛnɛ́ leí kpáanagìtiè	the small black hard sticks

Common descriptive adjectives with the noun phrase:

lála	lack of
tá ɣée-lá-má lálai	their lack of faith (their faith lack)
tíi-ɣèe nú vɛnɛ́i	the small laborer
gúlo ɓadi zɛní	bottle for hot palm oil

When a common descriptive adjective and an adjective formed from a verb (verbal adjective) are used in a series, the verbal adjective appears last.

gúlu nɔwɔ ɣaléa	a dirty broken stick

---

[38] Some speakers: *seɣe-wùo.*

There are a few examples of common descriptive adjectives appearing before the noun.

wɔlɔ-wɔlɔ yeßúi	everlasting life
na wulu láitiè	the next towns
na wulu ßolói	next day

The outstanding example of the adjective preceding the noun occurs when it is used with *kéle,* 'one'.

nɔ́wɔ yelei	the dirty one
kpáanà kelegí	tha hard one

4.2.1.2. The definite adjectives appear after the noun and after the common adjective.

kɔ́lɔi nii	this book
zínai niitiɛ	those men
kpídiì na	that night
fóloi natiɛ	those days
kɔ́lɔ walai nii	this big book

4.2.1.3. The indefinite adjectives follow the definite adjective pattern.

kɔ́lɔi ta	one of the books (some book)
kpákù tɔ́wɔi ta	some of the snap beans
númaitiè tá	some of the people
kɔ́lɔ walai ta	some big books

The indefinite quality of *tá* is emphasised when it follow an indefinite noun, in wich case it implies "an" or "a".

ŋázanu tá	some woman, a woman

4.2.1.4. Interrogative adjectives appear after the noun.

zúnui zeɓɛ ɣá é líizu?	Which man is going?
zúnui ɓɛ ɣá é líizu?	

4.2.1.5. The limiting adjectives are of two groups: numerative and other. They appear after the word they modify.

gíla	one
té gilá	one of them
gíle lɔsava	eight dogs
gíle nɔwɔ lɔsava	eight dirty dogs
kpóolò ßɔ́ lɔ́fèlái	the seven loaves

With ordinal numerals:[39]

kɔ́lɔi féle kelei	the second book
kɔ́lɔ máẁũgí	the first book

---

[39] *kéle* is used with the cardinal numerals, expect *gíla*, 'one', to form the ordinal.

Other:

kpɔ́gɔpɛ	all
té ɓɔ́gɔpɛ	all of them

4.2.1.6. Conditioning adjectives:
1. Present conditioning adjectives.

kpáanàgɛ.	It is hard.
kpɔlɔvɛ.	I am tired.
e ɓɔlɔvɛ.	You (sg.) are tired.
gúlui ɓakpávɛ.	The stick is big
gálevɛ.	It is broken.
gúlui yàlèvè.	The stick is broken.
ɓóa layai nɔwɔvɛ.[40]	The knife sheath is dirty.

2. Past conditioning adjectives.

té wóozài yɛ́.	They were tall.
kwéleai yɛ́.	It was white.
e yele yélegài yɛ́.[41]	You (sg.) were wise.
gúlui wéleai yɛ́.[42]	The stick was white.
bá ßai pónɛi yɛ́ é yéni ga nii-	The charge written against him was (this)-

4.2.1.7. Conditioning adjective serving as a NA.

gúlu gáleai[43]	a stick, one that is broken
gúlu pénɛi	a stick, one is small
gúlu téiyai	a black stick
gúlui téiyai gáleai	a stick, one that is black, broken
té wɛ́lɛni bá sái.	They saw it dead.
é pétèni báloai.	He saw it healed.

When two adjectives and NA occur in a series, the second adjective becomes a conditioning adjective serving as a NA. The common adjective appears first.

téi	black
téiyai	black (NA)
gúlu niinɛ téiyai gáleai.	a new black broken stick

4.2.1.8. Nouns, verbs, etc. serving as pre-noun modifiers. See 2.3.2.
4.2.1.9. Adjective phrases and clauses follow the pattern previously discussed.

tái zu	in the town
ɓó zúnui ma tái zu.	Tell the man in the town.
Folomo nii ge dówanì.	Folomo whom I beat.
-té zíyinì táa zu	-who came from town
númai nutìɛ té zíyinì táa zu.	Those people who came from town.
dɔ́ɔ	(palm) wine

---

[40] Some speakers: *layàgí.*
[41] Many speakers use */-gɛi/* in place of */-gai/.*
[42] Some speakers: *wèláai.*
[43] Some speakers: *gúlui.*

té dɔ́ɔ léve Folomo wɔ súpuai ga ziɛ.	They gave Folomo wine mixed with water.
... niitiɛ té ɣéni bá wɔlɔ́ ...	… those who were with him before …
é félegɔ̀ vétèni niitiɛ té ɣéni bá wɔlɔ́.	He saw two of those who were with him before.

Note that when the verb *dɛ́* 'show' is used, the adjective clause precedes the IDO which it modifies.

niitiɛ té ɣéni bá wɔlɔ́ é kɔ́lɔi lɛɛni ga félegɔ̀.	He showed the book to two of those who had been with him before.

Adjective phrases and clauses may also occur in a series.

séɣe kɔ́ bá	dressed
wṹ sú léveai	in his right mind
zúnui nii ŋeni ya Líiyè ɣení púlu	The man who had had the legion
té wɛ́leni zúnui va na zéinì, séɣe kɔ́ bá, wṹ sú léveai, zúnui nii ŋeni ya Líiyé ɣení púlu.	They saw the man sitting there, dressed, in his right mind, the man who had had the legion.

The short construction also modifies an object.

-yé lí táa zu.	-going into town.
té wɛ́leni zúnui va yé lí tái zu.	Thay saw the man going into town.

4.2.2. Place of suffixes.

4.2.2.1. When the common descriptive adjective follows the noun, the adjective takes the noun suffixes.

kɔpú wálai	the big cup
séɣe léigì	the black cloth
kpále teigá	black brooms
kpɔ́kpɔ̀ gwalaitiɛ	the big chairs

The suffix class of the noun does not influence the suffix of the adjective.

kpɔ́kpɔ̀gi	the chair
ŋábui	the fire
kpɔ́kpɔ gwalaǐ	the big chair
ŋábu wálaí	the big fire

The above pattern prevails with verbal adjectives.

gúlu ɣaléai[44]	the broken stick
gúlu ɣaléaitìɛ[45]	the broken sticks

It is possible to add all suffixes to the noun and use the verbal adjective as a NA.

gúlui gáleai	the breken stick
gúlua gɛ́leni	broken sticks
gúluitiɛ gáleai	the broken sticks
ge wõ̀ìnì ga kwɔ́tiitìè tóai.	I want the fallen stones.

---

[44] Some speakers: *gúlu ɣàléai.*

[45] Some speakers prefer: *gúluitìè té ɣáleai.*

When two or more adjectives occur in a series, the final adjective takes the suffix.

kpóolò ßɔ́ lɔ́félái	the seven loaves (the seven dry bread)
gúlu vɛnɛ́ léi kpáanagitìɛ	the small black hard sticks

This rule applies for the definite singular suffix when an adjective and a verbal adjective are used in a series.

gúlu nɔwɔ ɣaléai[46]	the dirty broken stick

The plurals, however, are usually formed by adding the suffixes to the first adjective and using the plural pronoun before the verbal adjective.

séɣe níinɛa té wúai	new washed clothes[47]
gúlu nɔwɔitiɛ té ɣáleai	the dirty broken sticks

4.2.2.2. The noun takes the suffix when followed by an indefinite adjective or an interrogative adjective[48]

kɔ́lɔi ta	one of the books
númaitiè ßíkaa	some of the people

Note that *tá* is used only with the singular.

No definite suffix need be added to the noun when *aßɛ, zɛßɛ* are used. When the plural is indicated, the noun takes the suffix.

gúluitìɛ zɛßɛ?	What sticks?

The noun also takes the suffix when the modifier precedes it.

na wulu ßoloí	the following day
wɔlɔ-wɔlɔ ɣeßúi	everlasting life
wui tɛi	the duck (foreign chicken)
bɔ́a laɣagi	the knife sheath

When the conditioning adjectives are used, the definite suffix is on the noun.

gúlui nɔwɔvɛ.	The stick is dirty.

When the plural is indicated, the noun again assumes the suffixes, and the plural pronoun occurs before the conditioning adjective.

gúluitìɛ té nɔ́wɔvὲ	The sticks are dirty.

The suffixes are always on the noun when the adjective is used as a NA.

gúluitìɛ kwéleai ɣɛ́.	The sticks were white.
gúlui tévegai[49] *gáleai*[50]	the sent broken stick

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[46] Some speakers say: *gúlu nɔ̀wɔ̀i gáleái.*
[47] The use of the indefinite plural in this environment is decidedly uncommon.
[48] But see 4.2.1.3. for use of the indefinite singular noun with *tá.*
[49] The indefinite singular and indefinite plural are not used in this environment.
[50] Is is not possible to say **gúlu lévegà ɣálɛni.*

If an adjective other than a conditioning one occurs before the NA or a conditioning adjective, the adjective takes the suffixes.

gúlu nɔwɔi gáleai	the dirty broken stick

When the limiting adjectives (excluding ordinal) are used, either the noun or the numeral may take the definite singular suffix.

núi gilá	the one person
nú yilágì	the one person
núi ɓɔgɔ́pɛ	all the people

The definite plural suffixes are added to the numeral.

kɔ́lɔ saagɔ́itiè	the three books

But note:

númaitiè ɓɔgɔpɛ	all the people

4.2.2.3. Suffixes occur on both the noun and the adjective when the plural definite adjectives or the ordinal numbers are used.

kɔ́lɔi niitiɛ	these books
kɔ́lɔi féle kɛleí	the second book

'First' is an exception to this. Here the adjective takes the suffix and *kéle* is omitted. See 2.7.

kɔ́lɔ máwǔ̀gí	the first book

4.2.3. Degrees.
4.2.3.1. The positive degree is shown in the above uses of the adjective.

kɔ́lɔ nìinɛ	a new book

4.2.3.2. There is no equivalent to the Einglish *-er* suffix in Lɔɔma to indicate the comparativedegree. However, this degree may be indicated in one of several ways. Note that in each procedure the comparative object must be used.
1. Use the conditioning adjective.

sú ɓáavɛ Folomo va.	He is stronger then Folomo.
sú ɓáavɛ ɓá.	He is stronger than he.
sú ɓáavɛ té vá.	He is stronger than they.

2. Use the conditioning adjective and *é léve* 'past'.

kóozàvɛ é léve Folomo va.	He is taller (past) than Folomo.
kóozàvɛ é léve ye.	He is taller (past) than you (sg.).

3. Use the verbal suffix with the adjective.

ɛ́ lɛ́ wóozàni ɓá.	He is not taller than he.
ɛ́ lɛ́ wóozàni ye.	He is not taller than you (sg.).

4. Use the verbal suffix and *ɔ́ léve.*

ɛ́ lɛ́ wóozàni ɔ́ léve Folomo va.	He is not taller then Folomo.

Other comparison is introduced by *a ɣɛ* 'like', 'as', 'than'.

pénɛve e ɣɛ kwɔ́ti.	It is (as) small as a stone.

4.2.3.3. The superlative is formed in the same manner, except that an unlimited comparative object must be used.

sú ɓáave té pɛ́ ɓá.	He is the strongest (He is stronger than all).
sú ɓáave té záamà.	He is strongest (He is the strongest among them).
sú ɓáave é léve té pɛ́ ɓá.	He is strongest ('past' all of them).
ɛ́ lɛ́ woózàni ɔ́ léve númaitiè vá.	He is not the tallest of the people.

The adjective serving as a NA is used for both the comparative and the superlative. To be safe, however, add the comparative object.

zeɓe ɣá pénɛi?	Which is smaller?
zeɓe ɣá pénɛi?	Which is smallest?
va ga kɔ́lɔi págei é léve ɓɔí va.	Bring the better book (Bring the book which is better than its companion).
va ga kɔ́lɔi págei é léve té pɛ́ ɓá.	Bring the best book (Bring the best book of all).

It is possible to show degree negatively, using no object and thus have it represent either the comparative or the superlative. To be safe, show the object.

zeɓé bósù lɛ́ ɓáanì zúnuì ma?	Which saying is easier on the man (Which saying is not hard on the man)?
zeɓé bósù lɛ́ ɓáanì té pɛ́ ɓá zúnui ma?	Which saying is easiest on the man (Which saying is not hard above all on the man)?

4.3. Verbs.

4.3.1. There are two kinds of verbs in Lɔɔma: transitive and intransitive.

Transitive:

pɛ́tè	see him
ge pɛ́tèni.	I saw him.
ge zúnui vɛteni.	I saw the man.
kpétɛ	fix it
ge kpétɛnì.	I fixed it.
ge bétei ɓeténì.	I fixed the bed.

Intransitive:

lí	go
ga liizú.	I am going.
vá	come
ga vaazu.	I am coming.

Many transitive verbs may be used intransitively simply by changing the IC.

ge gúonì.	I washed it.
ge séɣei wuoni.	I washed the cloth.
ge wuoni.	I washed.

4.3.2. There are two voices: active and passive. With active voice the acting noun or pronoun is used.

tówaà fé té yá.	He will give it to them.
dóowu fái ße zeea.	Give the secret to me.

With passive voice an acting noun or pronoun is not used and the IC of the verb is changed.

tówaà ßé té yá.	It will be given to them.
dóowu fái ßeení zeea.	The secret has been given to me.
téi sa Folomo víligɛi[51] yɛ́ kpídi vɛ́lɛ wu...	After Folomo was put in prison...

4.3.3. There are four principal forms of the Lɔɔma verb: the basic or present, the progressive, the recent past, and the far past.

tó	build
tósù	building
tógà	have built
tónì	built
zíɛ	walk
zíɛzù	walking
zía	has walked
zíɛnì	walked

4.3.3.1. The basic form is used for the present, for commands and exclamations, and for the future, conditional, permission, and purpose. It is also used for the short construction (SC), for habitual action, and for verbs in a series.

1. Present:

ge bó wiɛ.	I tell you (pl.).
ɛ wèlɛ́ kpɔ́gi va!	You (sg.) see the crowd!
... e yɛ dɛ ...	... yet you (sg.) say ...

2. Commands:

tíli.	Call him.
nii ziyi.	Take this.

3. Exclamations:

wɛ́lɛ!	Look!
káalii vaa!	Kill the snake!

4. Future:

ga li.	I will go.
tá píli.	They will throw it.
gíli	cook
yá zowóigi yalawo na ga gíli.	When he peels the potato, I will cook it.

5. Habitual:

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[51] Or: */-gai/.*

ɔ́ wú ziɣi ga súbù.   He would get up early.

ɔ́ mɔ̀kòluí mi é lí.[52]   He would eat the rice and go.

  6. Conditional:

gɔ li kɛ ga zeebɛ́zu.   I would go, but I am sick.

tɔ́ píli kɛ tɛ́ lɛ́ zóogà.   They would throw it, but they are not able.

  7. Permission:

ge tíi ɣɛ?   May (shall) I work?

gé píli?   May (shall) we (excl.) throw it?

  8. Purpose:

ge wòìnì é vá é tíi ɣɛ.   I want him to come and work.

ge liini na ga ge páa.   I went there to kill it.

  9. The short construction serves as a substitute for the progressive form of the verb.

  a. It is used to describe the object.

ge wɛlɛní tɔ́ vá tíɛ lí tái zu.   I saw them going into the town.

  b. It is used with the verbs of the second and subsequent coordinate clauses when the verb of the first coordinate clause is in the progressive form (but not in the negative).

… téi tɛ́ ɣɛ́ni máa woĩzu tíɛ kpée lóo.   … when they were mourning and weeping.

  c. It is used as a substitute for the future progressive.

ga liizú. = giɛ lí.   I am going (I am about to go).

  d. It is used as a substitute for the present progressive.

ye wèlɛ́ kpɔgi va.   You (sg.) are seeing (you see) the crowd.

ye wèlɛ zúnui va yɛ́ tíi ɣɛ vɛ.   You (sg.) see the man working here.

tíɛ lí ga ŋíi giɛ tíi ɣɛ.   While they were sleeping I was working.

  Note that this pattern prevails after a zero use of 'while'.

tíɛ lí ga ŋíi …   While they were sleeping …

gá tíi ɣɛɛzu yɛ́ lí ga léve.   I am working while he is passing around.

  10. When coordinate clauses occur in a series, the tense, far past or recent past, is indicated by the verb for the first clause, and the verb of the remaining clauses appears in the basic form.

wú ziɣi   rise

zéi   sit

é wú zíɣia é zéi bétei ɣa.   He got up and sat on the bed.

vá   come

ge ziɣiní na ge va wúlu na pɛlɛ́i wu.   I left there and came back to my house.

wúdɛ   jump

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[52] This unusual variation occurs with habitual action: What he usually did … *nii ɔ́ lía kɛ́ …* Or: *… nii yá lía kɛ́...*

é wúdɛní na wului ge wudɛ́.	He jumped and I jumped next.
lí	go
tíli	call
é wú zíɣini é lí táa zu é tíli.	He rose and went into town and called him.
péɛ	kneel, spread
fé	give
ɣɛ́	say
é váaní é vɛ́ɛ kɔ́wɔ wu é pée ße bɛ́ é ɣɛ́ má ...	He came and knelt before him and begged him and said to him…
wɛ́lɛ́	see
ɓízè	run
só	catch
é wɛ́lɛni Folmo va é ɓízè é lí é só é ɣɛ́ má ...	He saw Folomo and ran and went to him and cought him and said…

This pattern persists when a coordinate sentence or series of coordinate sentences follow one in which the past tense has been indicated.

kɛ́	do (stay)
ɓɔ́	help
é kɛ́ɛnì tái zu ga fólo felegɔ. Folomo va é ɓɔ́ bá.	He stayed in the town two days. Folomo came and helped him.
lóbà	shout
pú	pour (throw)
zíɣí	leave
zúnui lóbáni Folomo ma é ɣɛ́ tía, "zúnù lómai ziɣi na." Folomo pú má suláa. na ɣɛɛzu zúnù lómai lóbà é zíɣi na.	The man shouted at Folomo and said, "Take the boy away from there." Folomo threw him down. Then the boy cried and left there.
dá	lie
bó	tell
kpálo	take
yíi	go down
mɔ́ɔlè	serve
dée yéni láanì ga dɔ́tɔ-zú-ɓádí. té máßai wo sa má ga máßila. é lí pɔ́ vɛ é kpálo ga zée é bú ziɣi. dɔ́tɔ-zú-ɓádí ya yii má ga máßila. na mɔɔlɛ tíɛ.	His mother was lying (in bed) with a fever. They told him about it (the matter) at once. He went to her and took her by the hand and raised her up. Her fever went down at once and she served them.

This same pattern prevails even when the coordinate clauses are interrupted by a purpose clause.

... ga é dówa	… to beat him
é zúnui zòni é líi la táa zu ga é dówa é ɣɛ́ má ...	He caught the man and carried him to town to beat him and said …

An appositional phrase has no influence on the pattern.

...ná ɣá gá Folomo na tíi-ɣéɛ viáitiè...	… that is, Folomo's workers …

kólu-ŋái tíaitiɛ́, na ɣa ga Folomo na   The blacksmiths, that is, Folomo's
tíi-ɣɛ̀ɛ viáitiɛ̀, té váanì pɔ́ té ɣɛ́ má...   workers, came to him and said…

A subordinate clause beginning with *teí* 'when' also does not interrupt the pattern under discussion.

géea   buy
téi é líini dɔ́wɔi zu é dábɛi ɣɛɛa.[53]   When he went to the market, he bought the meat.

Note that when the coordinate clause precedes the cojunction *téi* the basic form of the verb is not used.

tílí   call
gɛ lɛ váanì téi é tílini.   I did not come when he called me.

The subordinate clause takes the basic form of the verb when it is preceded by the conjunction *é yɛ́zu* 'until'.

lóo   fall
é zúnù lómaitiè lówanì é yɛ́sú té lóo   He beat the boys until they fell.

Note that the basic form is not used with the conjunction *kɛ́nì* 'until'.

é zúnù lómaitiè lówaní kɛ̀ní té lóoni.   He beat the boys until they fell.

4.3.3.2. The progressive form is used for the present progressive, the future progressive, and the immediate future progressive; it is also used to show purpose and is employed after *vɛ́ɛ* 'begin'.

1. Present progressive.

tíi ɣɛ́   work
ga tíi ɣɛɛzu.   I am workung.
ŋíi   sleep
tɔ́ ŋiizú.   He is sleeping.
zéebɛ   sick
tɔ́ zeebɛ́zu   He is sick (sicking).
gáaɣà   understand
té lɛ́ kwɛ̃́nì ɔ́ɔ nɔ̀ ɣè gà tá gáaɣaàzu.   They neither know nor understand (understanding).

2. Future progressive is used with only two verbs:
lí 'go', *vá* 'come'.

ga liizú.   I am going (about to go).
ga vaazu.   I am coming (about to come).

3. Immediate future progressive uses the auxiliary, *váazù.*

tɔ́ vaazu wṹfézù.   He will shame me.
àbè é váazù ɣɛɛzu?   What will happen?
ga vaazu liizú   I am going.

---

[53] *...ɣɛɛani* also may be used here.

4. Purpose.

e váa ɣizísù mà.   You (sg.) have come to seize me.

5. After *vɛ́ɛ* 'begin'.

tówaà lí gɔ̀ veè láa miizu.   He will go before I eat.

4.3.3.3. The recent past tense (RP) is used to show recently completed action and incompleted action; it is also used to indicate "will not" and "cannot".

1. RP

láa mi	eat
é láa mi a.	He has eaten.
so	catch
té sógà.	They caught it.

When the element of time is not important, the far past form of the verb is often used for the RP; conversely, the RP forms of the verbs *lí* 'go', and *vá* 'come', may be used even after the action has been completed for several hours.

é liá	He has gone.
é váa	He has come.

2. Incompleted actiom (distinguished from the progressive) takes the RP in a few instances.

síɣi ga gáama	belive (take it with truth)
é Folomo ɓáa zíɣia ga gáama.	He believes in Folomo.

It is possible to use the RP in the above sentence for the statement would then be open to the interpretation that the believer no longer believes. Note the following:

kó	pregnancy (stomach)
kɛ́	do (be)
kóɡi kɛ́ɛ[54] bá ga ɣálo félegɔ.	She has been pregnant (pregnancy has been on her) for two months.

When the above action has been completed, i.e., baby delivered, the FP is used.

Note that the following incompleted action takes the progressive.

zéeɓɛ	sick
tɔ́ zeeɓɛ́zu.	He is sick.

3. "Will not", "cannot".

pú	pour
ɛ́ lɛ́ púa	He will not pour it.
kpále	sweep
ɛ le ve ɓálegà	You (sg.) cannot sweep here.

If the Lɔɔma speaker feels that the situation warrants a keen separation between "will not" and "cannot", he will say for the latter:

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[54] Or *ɣɛɛ*.

zóo	able
gɛ lɛ zóogà go li.	I am not able to go.

Note that when the auxiliary *váazù* is used, the verb takes the progressive form and not the RP.

zíti	arrive
ɛ́ lɛ́ váazù zìtizú za.	He will not arrive today.

4. The RP is often used with the verb following *véɛ* 'begin'.

máa wõi	grieve
té véɛ gà máa wõiya.	They began to grieve.

4.3.3.4. The far past tense of the verb is used to indicate action completed in the relatively distant past. It is also used for past negatives and with the special verbs.

1. FP.

bó	tell
té bónì Folomo ma.	They told Folomo.
gíli	cook
é gílinì.	He cooked it.

2. Past negatives.

kpálé	wipe
ɛ́ lɛ́ kpɔ́kpɔ̀gi ma ɓálenì.	He did not wipe the chair (either recently or remotely).
ɛ́ lɛ́ ŋéni líini.	He had not gone.

3. The Special verbs, such as *dá* 'lay it', *zéi* 'set it', *sɛ́lɛ* 'hang it', and *to* 'stand it', use the FP suffix for action which is expressed in the progressive form in English.

tɔ́ láanì bétei yà.	He is lying on the bed.
tɔ́ zéinì sáɓai mà.	He is sitting on the mat.

It is only when the actor is actually in the process of assuming the reclining position, etc., that the progressive form is used.

tɔ́ laazu.	He is lying down (in the process of assuming the reclining position).

When a Special verb is used in the short construction, it assumes the FP form and not the basic, and no pronoun is used.

é wɛ́lɛni lópoì va láanì bétei ya.	She saw the child lying on the bed.

4.3.4. The three auxiliaries most commonly used are *ká* 'will', *yéni, ŋéni* 'was'. Other auxiliaries are *lébi* 'stay a long time'; *yɛ́* 'stay', *yɛ́* 'do', and *váazù*.

1. *ká,* 'will', is used after a postive acting singular definite pronoun, and after a positively acting noun, noun phrase, or noun clause, when the future, or progressive tenses are indicated. *ká* occurs immediately after the actor.

na ya sa vaazu.	He is coming now.
nii ya loozu.	This is falling.
aní nú nɛpɛ́ ká yɛ́ ye...	If anyone says (will say) to you (sg.)…
Folomo ya vá.	Folomo will come.
gúlu wàlai ya loozu.	The big stick is falling.

zúnui é líini dɔ́ɓɔi zu ɣa[55] *sa vàazù.*   The man who went into the bush is coming.

ká may be the only verb-like word in a clause or sentence.

kála-bo niinɛ ɣá.   This is a new teaching.
Folomo ɣa vɛ.   Folomo is here.

When a particular actor is referred to, the relative pronoun follows *ká*. In this environment the acting pronouns may be used before *ká*, which is interpreted here as, 'is the one', and which may be used before all verb forms.

Folomo ɣa é tílisù.   Folomo is the one who is calling him.
ɣa ɣa ɛ lɛ líizú.   You (sg.) are the one who is not going.
tá ɣa té na mɔlɔ́i wũmɔ́.   They are the ones who stole my rice.

2. *ɣɛ́ni* 'had', 'was', is used with the FP to express the past FP; and with the progressive to show the past progressive.

té ɣɛ́ni woĩ̃nì.   They had loved him.
té ɣɛ́ni títèsu.   They were turning it.

Like *ká, ɣɛ́ni* may be the only verb-like word in a clause or sentence.

té ɣɛ́ni ná.   They were there.

3. *ŋɛ́ni* is the negative counterpart of *ɣɛni*. It is always preceded by *lɛ́* 'not'.

té lɛ́ ŋɛ́ni woĩ̃nì.   They had not loved him.
té lɛ́ ŋɛ́ni títèsu.   They were not turning it.

ŋɛ́ni may be the only verb-like word in a clause or sentence.

té lɛ́ ŋɛ́ni ná.   They were not there.

4. *ɣɛ́* 'stay', *lébì* 'stay a long time', and *ɣɛ́* 'happen', 'do', occasionally serve as auxiliaries. Unlike *ká, ɣɛ́ni,* and *ŋɛ́ni,* they may also function as regular verbs.
    Note the following:

ɛ́ lɛ́ ɣɛ́gà ná.   It will not stay there.
é lébìni ná.   He stayed there a long time.
é ɣɛ́enì na ga fólo felegɔ.   He stayed there two days.

When *ɣɛ́, lébì,* and *ɣɛ́* function as auxiliaries, the may assume their regular verb forms. They are always followed by a verb in the progressive form.

nii ge ɣɛgá dɛ́ezù ga wie...   What I have been showing you (pl.)…
é lébìni kɛ́ezù.   He did it often.
tówàa ɣɛ́ ŋiizú.   He will (stay) sleep.

ɣɛ́ is also used as an auxiliary after a past conditioning adjective.

Folomo maa ɣiliái ɣɛ́.   Folomo was clothed.

5. *váazù.* See 4.3.3.2.

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[55] Some speakers: *tó.*

4.3.5. Verbless clauses and sentences, in addition to those just discussed, are also found. They usually indicate position.

ga dɔ́i ma.	I am on the palm tree.
tɔ́ nu.[56]	He is there.
tɔ́ ná puu.	There are ten there.
zóoɓai lɛ gé yá.	We (excl.) do not have the axe (the axe is not on our (excl.) hand).
tɔ́ ga pótè.	It is a miracle.

4.4. Pronouns are of three kinds: acting, object, and possessive.

4.4.1. Acting pronouns consist of the following: present (basic), future, progressive, short construction, negative, habitual, inclusive, relative, definite, personal definite, indefinite, interrogative, and reflexive.

4.4.1.1. The phesent (basic) pronouns are:

gé	I
e	you (sg.)
é	he
gé	we (excl.)
dé	we (incl.)
wo	you (pl.)
té	they
bó	say
ge bó ye...	I say to you (sg.)…
wɛ́lɛ	see
e wɛlɛ kpɔ́gi va...	You (sg.) see the crowd…

There are two first person plural pronouns; *gé*, the exclusive pronoun, in which the person or persons spoken to are excluded; and *dé*, the inclusive pronoun, in which the person speaking and the person or persons spoken to are included. This distinction between exclusive and inclusive exists with all acting, object, and possesaive pronouns.

The pronouns used for the present form are also used for the positive past forms.

ge bógá ye.	I told you (sg.).
é wɛ́lɛe tó vá.	He saw them.
té wɛ́lɛni bà.	They saw me.

4.4.1.2. The pronouns used with the future form of the verb are *ga, ya, tówàa, gá, dá, wa, tá.*

tówaà títè.	He will turn it.
wa li ŋina.	You (pl.) will go tomorrow.
yá zòwóigi ɣala wó na...	When he peels the potato…

4.4.1.3. The pronouns for the progressive tense are the same as for the future, with the exception of *tɔ́* 'he is', which replaces *tówàa* 'he will'.

tɔ́ tílizù	He is calling him.
tá liizú, ɓaa tá ŋiizí vɛ?	Are they going or are they sleeping here?

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[56] Or: *ná.*

The use of the progressive pronoun with the Special verbs prevails, when the action is incomleted, even though the FP form of the verb is used.

tɔ́ láani.	He is lying down.

Note however:

té láanì té wú ziɣi té lí táa zu.	They lay down, got up, and went to town.

4.4.1.4. The pronouns for the use of the Short Construction are:

giɛ	I
ye	you (sg.)
yé	he
giɛ́	we (excl.)
diɛ́	we (incl.)
wiɛ	you (pl.)
tiɛ́	they
ge wɛlɛní té vá tiɛ́ li tái zu.	I saw them going into the town (I saw them they go into town).
… téi té ɣéni máa wõizu tiɛ́ kpée lóo.	… when they were weeping and mourning (When they were weeping and they mourn).
giɛ lí. Or: *ga liizú.*	I am going (I am about to go).
ye wɛ́lɛ kpɔ́gi va.	You (sg.) are seeing (you see) the crowd.

4.4.1.5. The negative pronouns are *ge, ɛ, ɛ́, gɛ́, dɛ́, we, tɛ́*. They are used with negative action in any tense and are always followed by *lɛ* 'not'.[57]

ge lɛ liizú.	I am not going.
ɛ lɛ liá.	You (sg.) will not go.
ɛ́ lɛ́ líini.	He did not go.

4.4.1.6. The habitual pronouns are *gɔ, ɔ, ɔ́, gɔ́, dɔ́, wɔ, tɔ́*. These pronouns have four uses.

1. Habitual action.

ɔ́ wú ziɣi ga súbù é lí kpálagi zu.	He would get up early and go to the farm.
ɔ́ mɔ́kòlúi mi é lí.	He would eat the rice and go.
téi Folomo ɔ́ Somo woo méni ná, ɔ́ ŋɛɛ, kɛ ɔ́ wúi lo goó ma ga kúuzú-nɛ́ɛ.	When Folomo heard (would hear) Somo's message, he would laugh, but he would listen to him gladly.

Note that in the following sentence the habitual pronoun is needed only for the first two verbs, for the third and fourth verbs are series verbs, taking the present (basic) pronoun.

ɣée nɛ́pɛ Folomo ɔ́ pétè ná, ɔ́ véɛ kɔ́wɔ wu é lóbà ɛ́ yɛ́ má-	Whenever Folomo saw (would see) him, he would kneel before him and cry out and say…

Estimating is considered habitual action.

mɛ́i víaitiɛ́ tɔ́ ye ga nú wulu náagɔ̀.	There were about four thousand "eaters" (eaters were four thousand).

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[57] When the particle *mɛ́* is used, the positive pronoun is used: *bɔ́ má é mɛ́ lɛ́ li* 'Tell him not to go'.

2. Conditioned action.

aní náßolo ɣéní té yá ɔ́ sɔ́wɔ̃ wulo té má. — If they had money, he would sell it to them.

tɔ́ tɔ́ kɛ té lé vɛ. — They would build it, but they are not here.

3. With "could" and "before".

wɔ ɣɛ tiá... — You (pl.) could have said…

aɓɛ ßáa zu Somo ɔ́ zóo é na ɣɛ? — Why could Somo do that?

ga ŋii gɔ vɛɛ liizú. — I will sleep before I go.

tili ɔ li. — Call me before you (sg.) go.

4. Following negative action.

ge le liá gɔ kpétɛ. — I will not go and fix it.

ge le wõĩni gɔ li Zɔzóo gɔ pélɛ lo go ná séɣéi zolɔ. — I do not want to go to Zorzor to build a house and sew his cloth.

wa léi wɔ liizú. — You (pl.) are not going.

tá léi tɔ́ ɣɛ́ liizú. — They are not going.

4.4.1.7. The plural inclusive pronoun is limited to one word, *á.*

á dɛ́ (?)[58] lɛ́ lí. — (All of you) do not go.

á kɛ́ ga págɔ̀ — Do it carefully.

á we le kɛ́ɛni? — Do not you (pl.) see?

á dé lí, or: *á díi.* — (All of you we (incl.) go) Let's go.

4.4.1.8. The relative pronouns are:

ge, ga, gɔ	I
ye, e, ɛ, ɔ	you (sg.)
yé, é, ɛ́, ɔ́	he
gé, gá, gɛ́, gɔ́	we (excl.)
wo, wa, wɛ, wɔ	you (pl.)
té, tá, tɛ́, tɔ́	they

They always follow the ???[59] noun, phrase or clause to which they refer:

kólu ŋáni é lóonì. — The iron implement that fell.

núi yá siɣi ga gáama... — The person who believes…

é wõĩnì ga kwɔ́tii é lóonì. — He wants the stone that fell.

zúnui é ɣéni táa zu. — The man who was in town.

Folomo ɣɛ é té ɓétɛ. — Folomo is the one who fixed them.

láali nii é váazù — the coming Sunday (This Sunday that is coming).

Note the different meaning when the relative pronoun is initial.

kólu ŋánii lóonì. — The iron implement fell.

The following becomes meaningless or at least improper Lɔɔma if the relative pronoun is not used:

*tá ga númaitiè **tá** goi méni.* — They are the people who will hear him.

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[58] In the available paper copy of the text, two initial words of the phrase are almost unreadable – *VV.*

[59] The word is unreadable – *VV.*

núi nɛpɛ́ é wõĩnì é lí...   Anyone who wants to go…

The relative quality of the pronoun in the following sentence depends upon the context.

zínaitiè té váa za.   The men who came today (The men came today).

With the context:

zínaitiè té vá za té lɛ́ vɛ.   The men who came today are not here.

Additional examples of the use of the relative pronouns:

ya ɣɛ ɛ lɛ líizu.   You (sg.) are the one who is not going.
wa ɣa wɛ lɛ liá.   You (pl.) are the ones who will not go.
zínaitiè tɔ́ lí té lɛ́ táa zu.   The men who would go are not in town.

4.4.1.9. The definite pronouns are:

nii   this, what
na   that, he, I
nu   that
niitiɛ   these
natiɛ, nutiɛ   those

nii lɛ ɓétezù.   This is not growing.
natiɛ tá lòozú.   These are falling.
na ɣa za vaazu.   He (that one) is coming today.
na ga za vaazu.[60]   I am coming today.
na ɣa gɛ ga másagì.   I am the chief.
na lìiní é gúlui leve.   He (that one) went and cut the stick.
natiɛ té ɓɔ́nì té vá.   They (those) helped them.

4.4.1.10. The personal definite pronouns serve as pointers.

nai   I
yai   you (sg.)
núi   he (the present)
gái, gáitiɛ   we (excl.)
dái, dáitiɛ   we (incl.)
wai, waitiɛ   you (pl.)
tái, táitiɛ   they

These pronouns are always followed by a corresponding relative pronoun.

nai gɛ lónì vɛ.   I who stood here.
gái (or: gáitiɛ́) gé yɛ́ni ná wúlu.   We (excl.) who came late.
dái (or: dáitiɛ́) dɔ́ pɛ́lɛi wolo.   We (incl.) who would destroy the house.

This pattern prevails in an indirect object clause.

wo ɓɔnɛi   your (pl.) salary

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[60] *na* 'I' is followed by the acting pronoun *ga* 'I', in this environment to distinguish it from *na* 'he'.

fé	give
*é wo ɓɔnɛi ɓeeni wai (*or: *waitiɛ́) wo tíi ɣɛɛni za.*	He gave you (pl.) your (pl.) money, you (pl.) who worked today.

4.4.1.11. The indefinite pronouns are few in number.

tá	some
tá lɛ́ lóozù.	Some are not falling.
támaa	many
támaa zúnui vɛtɛni.	Many saw the man.

4.4.1.12. The interrogative pronouns are *ɓè* 'who', 'whose', 'whom', 'which'; *ɓɛ̀, zèɓè, àɓè* 'what', 'which'. *ɓè* substitutes for a person.

ɓɛ ɣá é váazù?	Who is coming?
ɓɛ ɣá é pɛ́tèni?	Whom did he see?
ɓɛ ɣá é líizu?	Which is going?

zɛɓɛ, aɓɛ are substuted for objects other then persons.

zɛɓɛ ɣá ga na?	What is that?
aɓɛ ɣá ga na?	
zɛɓɛ ɣá págɛi?	Which is better?
aɓɛ ɣá págɛi?	

4.4.1.13. Reflexive pronouns are actually nouns and function as such. There are three kinds.

1. *ɓɔ́ɔ* 'self', 'selves'. This word may take the alienable possessive pronouns, with the exception of *ná* 'his', for which *tɔ́* is substituted.

ga ŋáda zeini ɓɔ́ɔ vá.	I will hurt myself.
e ɓɔ́ɔ lówanì.	You (sg.) beat yourself.
gé ɓɔ́ɔ wúonì.	We (incl.) washed ourselves.
té líini ga ɓɔ́ɔ.	They carried themselves.

As an actor, *ɓɔ́ɔ* is preceded by a possessive pronoun.

na ɓɔ́ɔ ge liiní.	I myself went.
dá ɓɔ́ɔ dá kpɛ́tɛzù.	We (incl.) ourselves are fixing it.

2. *ɣíi, ɣíini* ' each other', are used only for plural pronouns.

gé bónì ɣíi má -	We (excl.) said to each other -
wa ɣíi vétè.	You (pl.) will see each other.
tá ɣíi váa.	They will kill each other.
tá ɣíini páa.	They will kill each other.

3. *kí* 'self' (mind) is used only with singular pronouns.

ge bónì ɣí su, ge ɣɛ tiá..., Or: *ge bónì ki su,[61] ge ɣɛ tiá ...*	I said to myself (I answered in my mind and said) …
e bónì e ɣi zu, e ɣɛ tiá... Or: *e*	You (sg.) said to yourself…

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[61] The above use is preferred.

bónì yi su é yέ tiá...
é bónì yí su, é yέ tiá... Or: *é*   He said to humself…
bónì kí su[62]*, é yέ tiá...*

4. *ká* 'self' serves as an actor. It takes the definite singular suffix.
kagí ge tíi yɛeni.   I myself worked.
ge tíi yɛeni kagí.
dé yági dé kέenì.   We (incl.) ourselves did it.
dé kέenì dé yági.

4.4.2. Acting pronouns are used after acting nouns in the following environments:
1. After the basic form of a */-gi/* noun or noun phrase.[63]
kpɔ́gi   the crowd
kpɔ́ gé líini dɔ́βɔi zu.   A crowd went into the bush.
nú gilágì   the one person
nú gilá ge βízenì.   One person ran.

2. After all plural actors, including appositional nouns or phrases.

númùnugítiè tá kpɔ́lɔgi zu.   The oranges are in the basket.
té pέ té zέinì   Everyone sat down.
fáãgai βalaa tá ziέ walai tá góo méni. Even the wind and the waves obey him.
té nú lɔ́fèla té lέ tíi yɛeni.   None of the seven worked. (The seven did
                                       not work)

3. After an acting noun clause, the number of the pronoun depends upon the number represented by the actor wthin the clause.
*númaitiè té yéni táa zu **té** zíyinì vɛ súbui nii.* The people who were in town left here this morning.

4. After noun-like reflexive pronouns, *βɔ́ɔ* and *ká*.
na βɔ́ɔ ge liiní.   I myself went.
kagí ge tíi yɛeni.   I myself worked.

5. After acting nouns in the environment requiring the habitual pronouns.
téi Folomo ɔ́ Somo woo méni ná – aβɛ ßáa   When Folomo heard (would hear)
zu Folomo ɔ́ zóo é na yɛ?   Somo's message – Why could
                                       Folomo to that?

4.4.3. Acting pronouns are omitted in the following environments:
kpɔ́gi liiní dɔ́βɔi zu.   The crowd went into the bush.

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[62] Some speakers will accept only *yí* here.
[63] Speakers are not consistent with this use of the pronoun or its form. The following are used, given in the order of their popularity.
kpɔ́ gé líini.   A crowd left.
kpɔ́ é líini.
kpɔ́ líini.

nú gilágì ɓizeni.	The "one person" ran.
zúnui tílinì.	The man called him.
fáãgai ɓákpa vaani.	A big wind came.

2. After an acting noun using the auxiliary *ka*.

kpɔ́ ká vaazu.	A crowd is coming.

3. After an auxiliary.

ga vaazu liizú.	I am going.
té ɣέni liizú.	They were going.

4. Before a single command or before the first command in a series.[64]

li!	Go!
lí e séɣei wuo.	Go and wash the cloth.

5. Before a progressive verb used to express purpose.

ŋázanui váa mɔ́lɔ zíɣezù.	A woman came to beat the rice.
wo vaa ɣizísù ma.	You (pl.) came to catch me.

6. In a compound or complex sentence of negative action the acting pronoun may be omitted in the second clause when the actor is clearly understood.

… ɓɔ́vèláale lέ péle má.	… because (it is) not right.
á wɛ lɛ dέ káanì, ɓaa gáɣàa?	Do you (pl.) not yet see or understand?
aní tá záa ŋéni nɛpέ kpóale na, lέ fáa ɣέɛ ga tiέ.	If they drink anything deadly, (it) will not harm them.

7. When the paired conjunctions, *ɓálaa...ɔ́ɔ nɔ ɣɛ* 'neither … nor' are used in a RP or FP sentence.

gέ lέ ɓálaa dówanì ɔ́ɔ nɔ ɣɛ ge ɓɔní bá.	We (excl.) neither beat him nor helped him.

8. When a Special verb is used in the SC.

é wέleni lópòi va láanì bétei ɣa.	She saw the child lying on the bed.

9. When the relative pronoun *é* ocours after *ká* and is followed by the object pronoun *e*.

Folomo ɣa é è lili (Folomo ɣa e lili);	Folomo is the one who will call you (sg.).

4.4.4. A summary of the use of the basic pronouns: *ge, e, é, gé, dé, wo, té.*
1. With present action.

ge bɔ́ ye …	I tell you (sg.) …

2. With all RP and FP positive action.[65]

té lía.	They have gone.
dé líini ŋina.	We (incl.) went yesterday.

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[64] Some speakers omit the pronouns before the second command, occasionally before the third command.
[65] Excluding habitual pronouns.

gé γέni tílisù.	We (excl.) were calling him.

3. As a relative pronoun.

zúnui é γέni táa zu.	The man who was in town.
zúnui é váazù...	The man who is coming …

4. With second and subsequent verbs of a series, whether the series begins with a verb of the future tense, the RP or the FP.

tá lí táa zu té wέlε mάsagì va té γέ mά...	They will go into town and see the chief and say to him…
ga pέlεi ɓeté na laalé ge kwɔ́taì wu ziέ.	I will fix the house or rub inside the kitchen.
mέ lέ ziέ ɔ́ɔ nɔ γε ga e ɓize.	Do not walk or ran.
té zúnù lómai zogá té dówa.	They caught the boy and beat him.
té wúlenì pέlεi wu té lí zíavè té wúo.	They came out of the house and went to the river and bathed.

5. With a basic verb in purposive action.

ga líinì Zɔzɔ́o gé wέlε té vá.	We (excl.) went to Zorzor to see them.

6. After the zero use of "while".

á ŋíi vè [ø] ge tíi γε.	Sleep here while I work.

Compare this with:

á ŋíivε. ga tíi γε.	Sleep here. I will work.

7. With second and subsequent commands of a series.

wú zìγi e ya veɓéi ziγi e lí ya velέi wu.	Rise, take up your (sg.) hammock and go to your (sg.) house.

8. After acting nouns. See 4.4.2.

9. With permissive action.

gé vá gé kpέtε.	Shall we (excl.) come and fix it?

4.4.5. Object pronouns, like nouns, are divided into two groups: those that precede the verb and those that follow it.

4.4.5.1. The pre-verb object pronouns are:

e	you (sg.)
gé	us (excl.)
dé	us (incl.)
wo	you (pl.)
té	them

'He' and 'him' occur as tonal pronouns on the verb. They are (´) and (`) respectively.

tá too.	They will drop me.

ga tóo.	I will drop him.
wa dé lóo.	You (pl.) will drop us (incl.).
tá wo loo.	They will drop you (pl.).

4.4.5.2. With pre-noun verbs there are two alternate regular constructions:
1. The regular post-positional preceded by the following pronouns:

e	you (sg.)
gé	us (excl.)
dé	us (excl.)
wó	you (pl.)
té	them

The first and third person singular are expressed by the tone on the post-positional.

towáa ßòõ bà.	He will touch me.
ga fé e vɛ.	I will give it to you (sg.).
wa bó té má.	You (pl.) will tell them.

2. The following post-verb object pronouns used without a post-positional:

ye	you (sg.)
gíɛ	us (excl.)
díɛ	us (incl.)
wiɛ	you (pl.)
tíɛ	them

The first and third persons singular require the post-positional.

tówàa ßóõ bá.	He will touch him.
ga fé ye.	I will give it to you (sg.).
wa bó tíɛ.	You (pl.) will tell them.

When a pronoun serves as the object of the intransitive verbs *lí* 'go' and *vá* 'come', 'bring', the preposition *da* is used for the third person singular. When the first person singular is indicated, *zu* is used, preceded by the preposition *ga*. The remaining pronouns used in thes environment are *ye*, *gíɛ*, etc., and are also preceded by *ga*.

vaa la.	Bring him.
líi la.	Carry it.
líi ga zu.	Carry me.
ga li ga ye.	I will carry you (sg.).
tá lí ga tíɛ.	They will carry them.

The IDO pronouns of verbs such as *dɛ́* 'show', function in the same manner as the object of the intransitive verbs *lí* and *vá*.

é kɔ́lɔi lɛɛni ga ye.	He showed the book to you (sg.).
té bó ai lɛɛni ga gíɛ.	They showed the knife to us (excl.).

Note that with *dɛ́,* 'me' is represented by *zù*.

wo kɔ́lɔi lɛɛni ga zu.	You (pl.) showed the book to me.
é kɔ́lɔi lɛɛni là.	He showed the book to him.

When the pronoun is an IDO, it functions as the object of a post-positional.

é kɔ́lɔi lévénì pɔ̀.	He sent a book to me.
té kɔ́lɔi laani e ma.	They laid the book on you (sg.).

The definite and indefinite pronouns also serve as object pronouns. They occur with both post-noun and pre-noun verbs.

ge nii vɛtɛni.	I saw this.
té ɓóõnì niitiɛ vá.	They touched these.
é tá vílinì.	He threw some.
lí ga na.	Carry that.

na 'I', 'he', does not occur in this environment.

4.4.6. There are two kinds of possessive pronouns: those used for alienable nouns and those used for inalienable nouns.

4.4.6.1. The possessive pronouns for alienable nouns are:

na	my
ya	your (sg.)
ná	his
gá	our (excl.)
dá	our (incl.)
wa	your (pl.)
tá	their
na kɔlɔ́i	my book
ta wɔlɔi	their book

When the possessing noun is also used, it precedes the posseessive pronoun.

zúnui na kɔ́lɔi	the man's book
másagìtiɛ tá wɔtái	the chiefs' kitchen
kɔ́lu-ŋái núi na kɔ́lɔi	the blacksmith's book

The interrogative pronoun may be used, assuming the same position as the possessing noun.

ɓɛ ná gíle ya?	Whose dog is this?
ɓɛní tá wɔlɔ́i ya?	Whose books are these?

4.4.6.2. The possessive pronouns for inalienable nouns are:

e	your (sg.)
gé	our (excl.)
dé	our (incl.)
wo	your (pl.)
té	their

'my' and 'his' are indicated by the tone on the noun. They are (`) and (´) respectively.

keea	my father
e ɣeea	your (sg.) father
kéea	his father

té yéea   their father

When the possessing pronoun is used, the pronoun follows it.
zúnui kéea   the man's father
númaitié té yéea   the people's father
góo vágɔi lɔzeizívè   the beginning of the good news (the good news beginning)
kpóolò ßɔi ßai[66]   the matter of the dry bread (the dry bread's matter).
númaitiè té líini táa zu   The brother of the people wo went into town (the people
té líɛi.   whe went into town-their brother).

The interrogative pronoun may be used taking the position of the possessing noun.
ßɛní té yéea yá?   Whose father is this?

4.4.6.3. The nouns *po, dɔ,* and *dɛɛ* are used with the possessive pronoun to indicate 'mine', 'yours', etc. *pɔ́* 'possession' is an inalienable noun and is used when referring to inalienable objects. The suffix */-be/* is added to it.
pobe.   It is mine.
póbè.   It is his.
wo wobe.   It is yours (pl.).
Folomo wobe.   It is Folomo's.

dɔ́ and *dɛ́ɛ* (original meanings not determined) are alternate alienable nouns used when referring to alienable objects. *dɔ́* takes the suffix */-be/*; *dɛɛ* adds */-i/*.
na dɔvé.   It is mine.
gá dɔvé.   It is ours.
tá dɔvé.   It is theirs.

na déi   mine
ná déi   his
gá déi   ours
Folomo na déi yá.   This is Folomo's part.

4.4.6.4. There are three types of possession: joint, separate, and group.
1. With joint possession the plural possessive pronoun follows the last noun.
té líini Folomo é véɛ Somo va tá veléi   They went into Folomo and Somo's house.
wu.
Folomo é véɛ Somo díɛi va tá veléi.   Folomo and Somo's brother's house.

2. With separate possession the posessive pronoun is used before each object.
té líini Folomo na pélɛi wu é véɛ   They went into Folomo's and Somo's houses.
Somo na pélɛi va.

3. With group possession the plural possessive pronoun follows the definite plural of the noun or phrase.
númaitié tá veléi.   the people's house

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[66] In fact, in this example, as well as in the previous one, possessive pronouns are absent. – *VV.*

4.4.6.5. The possessive pronouns are omitted in the following environments:

1. When the actor's or actors' body part serves as part of a verbal phrase.

wo yee	your (pl.) hand
á yée la má	Place your (pl.) hands on him.
té yíi	their hearts
é ɣɛni wőïnì é kpɔ́gi yii la.	He had wanted to please the crowd (He had wanted to lay the crowd's heart down).

2. When the body part is used in a command.

e wɔwɔi	your (sg.) foot
wɔ́wɔi wuo. Or: *e wɔwɔi wuo*	Wash your (sg.) foot.

3. When the body part is used impersonally.

zée	hand
… ga númaa yée	… with people's hands.

4. When the inalienable possession, *pɔ́* 'his part', is used. This word has a limited use, occuring principally before such possession as *táa* 'town', and *kúi* 'neighborhood'. This construction expresses more intimate possession of an alienable object.

pɔ́ táa-zù. Or: *pɔ́ táa-zùvɛ́.*	my own town[67]
e wɔ kúi-zù	your (sg.) own neighborhood
té wɔ́ táa-zùvɛ́tiɛ̀	their own towns

5. When a noun phrase has a verb for its first member, the pronoun may be dropped.

Folomo na sáa ßái. Or: *Folomo zaa ßái.*	Folomo's death.

ADVERB

4.5. Adverbs are used to modify the meaning of a verb, another adverb, or an adjective.

4.5.1. Some adverbs appear before the verb, others after it.

4.5.1.1. Adverbs of negation and cause presede the verb they modify.

lɛ́	not
ɛ́ lɛ́ tíligà.	He will not call him.

lɛ́ is used also to modify a phrase.

líizu niizu	going now
gɛ lɛ́ liizú niizu.	I am not going now.
líizu wúlu táa zu ga máßila	going back into town quickly
gɛ lɛ liizú wúlu táa zu ga máßila.	I am not going back into town quickly.

Some adverbs of time precede the verb, others follow it; some take either position.

na wului	next
é wúdɛnì na wului ge wudɛ́.	He jumped; I jumped next.

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[67] This translation might be an error, it must be "his/her own town". The high tone of *pɔ́* stands for 3 pers. sg. – *VV*.

sá	now
ga sa liizú.	I am going now.
za	today
Folomo ɣa za vaazu.	Folomo is coming today.
dɛ́	still, yet
tɔ́ dɛ́ láani.	He is still lying down.
ɓólo ɓɛ́	when
ɓólo ɓɛ́ dé bónì la má?	When did we (incl.) tell him?
súɓùi	the morning
té líinì ga súɓùi.	They went in the morning.
nɔ	now
tí ka na nɔ.	That is all now.
ŋina	yesterday
é váanì ŋina.	He came yesterday.
wɔ́	always
tówàa yɛ́ ná wɔ.	It will be there always.

The following adverbs of time, used before the verb, may also be used after it: *dɛ́, wɔ́lɔ, kɔnɔ́, za, ɓólo ɓɛ.*

tá ɓálaa ka dè ná?	Is anything else there (to do)?
niitiɛ té ɣɛ́ni bá wɔlɔ́	Those who were with him before.
é ɣɛ́ té má kɔnɔ́.	He said to them again.
Folomo ɣa vaazu za.	Folomo is coming today.
e gé lílinì ga ɓólo ɓɛ́?	When did you (sg.) call us (excl.)?

4.5.1.2. Place, manner, and numerative adverbs follow the verb.

ná	there
gé líini ná.	We (excl.) went there.
wúlu	back
lí wúlu.	go back
kpɛ́	still
té zéini kpɛ́.	They sat still.
ɓɔ́ɔvɛ	in vain
tá félizù ɓɔ́ɔvɛ.	They are worshiping in vain.
e ɣɛ	like, as, than
é kpée lóonì e ɣɛ lópo wólo.	He cried like a child.
máɓila	quickly
é tíi ɣɛɛni ga máɓila.[68]	He worked quickly.
fólo fèlegɔ	two days
é líini ná ga fólo felegɔ.	He went there in two days.
kwéna gilá	one year
é tíi ɣɛɛni ná ga kwéna gilá.	He worked there one year.
ɣile.	once
ge pétèni ɣile.	I saw it once.
taawu	nine (times)

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[68] A few adverbs are preceded by *ga*, in which case they always follow the verb.

ge pɛ́tɛ̀ni taawu.	I saw him nine times.
va ga tíɛ ga dóolu-dòolu.	Bring them five by five.

Pre-noun verbs usually precede the adverb.

kóozà la	far
é wɛ́lɛni gúlui va wooza la.	He saw the tree from a distance.
kɔnɔ́	again
é wɛlɛni tɛ́ vá kɔnɔ́.	He saw them again.

4.5.2. Adverbial phrases of place, time, etc. follow the pattern discussed above.

nú ɓɔgɔ́pe gé yéni – zíɛi wobá kákei ɣa.	Everyone stayed – beside the water on the shore.
máɣɛ̀ɛ ɓóloi na ma – é ɣɛ́ zúnui ma.	On that day – he said to the man.
Folomo vaani – na mazíɛgi zu.	Folomo came – at the time.
é na lɛɛni ga zúnui – ga péle ɓálaa.	He showed that to the man – in (with) another way.

4.5.3. Adverbial clauses of cause, time, place, and manner take the same position with the verb as the corresponding adverb.

ɛ́ lɛ́ tíi ɣɛɛni – ɓóvɛ̀láale dée zaanì.	He did not work – because his mother died.
téi é líini dɔ́wɔi zu – é dáɓa ɣéeanì. Or: *é dáɓa ɣéeanì téi é líini dɔ́wɔi zu.*	When he went to the market – he bought meat.
té líini – vɛ ŋázanù lómai ɣɛní láanì ná.[69]	They went – where the child was lying.

An exception to the example immediately above occurs with the place clause introduced by *vɛ nɛpɛ́* 'wherever'.

vɛ nɛpɛ́ yá ɣízi má na – tówàa sú ɓála.	Wherever it seizes him – it throws him down.

Concession clauses usually precede the verb.

ánɛɛ ɓalaa núi pɛ gé yée wulo e zu –	Although all desert you (sg.) –
– gɛ lɛ kɛ́ɛ	– I will not.

Condition clauses are also found before and after the verb. Some clauses like those with *aní* 'if', take either position.

aní té lɛ́ tílinì –	If they did not call him –
– bó másagì ma.	– tell the chief.
aní nɔ zúnui ɣa té wóba –	As long as the man is with them –
– té lɛ́ lía.	– they will not go.
é líini ná ga é pɛ́tɛ̀ –	He went to see –
– aní ŋéni ɣɛní gá.	– if anything was on it.
e ɣɛ té ɣéni tíi ɣɛɛzu –	If they were working –
– gɔ ɓɔ tíɛ.	– I would help them.
gɛ lɛ fɛ́ e ya –	I will not give it to you (sg.) –
– kɛní ya li.	– unless you (sg.) go.

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[69] The adverb *vɛ* 'where' is always followed by *na* 'there'. *na* follows the verb.

ŋɛ́ni ɣá lóowu –	Nothing is hid –
– nɔ kúlo ßaa má.	– except (only) to be brought out.
mɛ́ lɛ́ lí –	Do not go –
– é yɛ́su ge va.	– until I come.

Purpose clauses follow the verb.

ge liini ná –	I went there –
– ga ge páa.	– to (in order to) kill it.
é ɣáazù laa ziɛni[70] –	He looked around–
– ga núi é kɛ́ɛni.	– (to see) who had done it.
ga liizú –	I am going –
– ge tíi ɣɛ.	– (to) work.
é váani –	He came –
– tíi ɣɛɛzu.	– in order to work.

When a zero, [ø], conjuction is used, the purpose clause precedes the verb.

kɛ [ø] wo kwɛ́ɛ̃ ga gáaßáa ya zeea –	But (that) you (pl.) may know that I have power –
– ga dɛ́ ga wiɛ.	– I will show you (pl.).

Clauses of time intoduced by a zero conjunction occur before and after the verb.

[ø] ya tɛ́ɛwùi zo na - é páa.	When you (sg.) catch the chicken – kill it.
á zéi vɛ – [ø] ge gála féli.	Sit here – (while) I pray.

4.5.4. Adverbs modifying a post-verb adverb usually follow it.

tá wólo	a bit, while
nɔ	only
tówàa yɛ́ ná ga tá wólo nɔ.	He will stay there only a time.
kpíze	speed
máßila	immediately, quickly
é líini wúlu ga kpíze ga máßila.	He went back "immediately, quickly".

More than one adverb may be used to describe the same verb, in wich case both usually follow the verb.

máyãkà	naked
é vélani ga máyãka ga máßila.	He ran away "naked quickly".

4.5.5. Adverbs may modify a conditioning adjective, but no other kind of adjective occurs first.

támaa	very
nɔ́wɔvè ga támaa.	It is very dirty.

When a clause modifies a conditioning adjective, the same pattern prevails.

kúu zú nɛɛvé – e ɣɛ dée ya ɣɛ́ vɛ.	He is (as) happy – as though his mother were here.

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[70] Or: *é ɣáazù ziènì.*

4.5.6. Degrees of adverbial expression, other than the positive, must include the comparative object.

4.5.6.1. Positive degree has been illustrated above.

é kɛ́ɛnì ga máßila. He did it quickly.

4.5.6.2. The comparative degree must include *é léve.*

é kɛ́ɛnì ga máßila é léve bá. He did it more quickly (than he).

4.5.6.3. The superlative also must use *é léve.*

é kɛ́ɛnì ga máßila é léve té pɛ́ bá. He did it most quickly (of all).

4.6. There are three kinds of conjunctions: those used to connect words and phrases, those used to connect subordinate clauses, and those used to connect coordinate clauses.

4.6.1. The conjunctions used to connect nouns are *tá, tá ɓɔgá, ɓɔ́ga, é vɛ́ɛ bá* 'and'; *ɔɔ, ɔ́ɔ nɔ ɣɛ* 'or'.

Folomo tá Somo tá vaaɀu. Folomo and Somo are coming.

Folomo é vɛ́ɛ Somo va tá vaaɀu.

4.6.1.1. If three or more nouns are used in a series, the same conjunction for "and" should not be employed throughout.

Folomo tá Somo tá ɓɔgá Ziɀí tá vaaɀu. Folomo and Somo and Zizi are coming.

Folomo tá Somo é vɛ́ɛ Ziɀí va tá ɓɔgá Folomo and Somo and Zizi and Moluba
Mɔ́luɓà tá vaaɀu. are coming.

In the following sentence, where several conjunctions occur after the postpositional, *ɓɔ́ga* is not used by some speakers, although all the others, including *tá ɓɔgá,* may be.

bɔ́ Folomo ma é vɛ́ɛ Sómo va tá ɓɔgá Tell Folomo and Somo and Moluba to
Mɔ́luɓà ga té vá. come.

In the next sentence, however, where all the nouns occur before the post-positional, these speakers use *ɓɔ́ga* and avoid *tá ɓɔgá* and *tá.*

bɔ́ Folomo ɓɔgá Sómo ma ga té vá. Tell Folomo and Somo to come.

It is permissible to substitute comma pause for the conjunction discussed. *é vɛ́ɛ…* *bá* is usually used to join the last noun.

kpɔ́kpɔ̀gitiè, téevèitie, kɔ́lɔitiè, sáɓaitiè Chairs, tables, books, mats, and baskets
é vɛ́ɛ kpɔ́lɔgitiè vá tá pɛ́lei wu. are it the house.

4.6.1.2. *ɔɔ* 'or' is used to connect two or nore nouns or adverbs.

tɔ́wàa vá ɀa ɔɔ ɣina. He will come today or tomorrow.

núi nɛpɛ́ é ɓéga ná pɛ́le vá, ɔɔ déɣea, ɔɔ Anyone who leaves house or brothers or
dée, ɔɔ kéea... mother or father…

ɔ́ɔ nɔ ɣɛ 'or' is usually used to connect only two nouns.

aní nú ɣa ɣɛ́ kéea má ɔ́ɔ nɔ ɣɛ ga dée... If a man says to his father or mother…

The above conjunctions may be used to join phrases and clauses.

té líini tá vɛléi wu tá na pɛléi wu.	He went into their house and into my house.
é vɛ́ɛ ga númaitiè ɓɛ́ɛ té ɣéni ŋɛ́ni zɔ́wɔ̃ wulozu – ta númaitiè té ɣéni géeazù.	He began to drive the people who were selling – and the people who were buying.
tá liizú ɔɔ tá ŋiizú vɛ.	They are going or they are sleeping here.

4.6.2. Subordinate conjunctions connect clauses of place, cause, time, purpose, condition, and concession. Some of these conjunctions are:

vɛ	where
ɓɔ́vèláale	because
téi	when
kɛ́ɛ ɓaa ma	so that
ánɛɛ ɓalaa	although
e ɣɛ, aní	if
é ɣésu, kɛní	until

Many speakers differentiate between *e ɣɛ* and *aní*, using *e ɣɛ* for statements pertaining to the past progressive, and *aní* for all others.

e ɣɛ té ɣéni tíi ɣɛɛzu –	If they were working –
– gɔ ɓɔ tiɛ́.	– I would help them.
aní é níkɛi ɣeeani –	If he bought the cow –
– vaa la vɛ.	– bring it here.

tei is used only to connect statements of the past tense.

téi é líini dówɔi zu –	When he went to the market –
– é dáɓa ɣéeanì.	– he bought meat.

A zero [ø] conjunction for 'when' is used with statements pertaining to the future.

[ø] ya tɛ́ɛwù zo na –	(When) you (sg.) catch the chicken –
– e páa.[71]	– kill it.

Zero conjunctions are used also for "while", "in order that", and "until".

kɛ [ø] wo kwɛ́ɛ̃ ga gáa-ɓáa ya zeea –	But in order that you (pl.) may know that
– ga dɛ́ ga wiɛ.	I have power – I will show you (pl.).
ga tíi ɣɛɛzu –	I am working –
– [ø] ɣé lí ga ŋíi.	– while he sleeps.
á zéi vè –	Sit here –
– [ø] ge gála féli.	– (while) I pray.
ɣɛ́ vè –	Stay here –
–[ø] ge va.	– (until) I come.

4.6.3. Conjunctions for coordinate clauses.

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[71] *e* may be omitted, reading – *páa.*

4.6.3.1. *kɛ* is used to connect contrasting or opposed coordinate clauses. Before discussing this and the following conjunctions, note that none of the conjunctions for "and" are used to connect coordinate or subordinate clauses.

é zúnui zoni é dówa.	He caught the man **and** beat him.
lí na – kɛ mɛ́ lɛ́ yé ná wúlu.	Go there – but do not be late.

4.6.3.2. Alternate interrogative statements require *ɓaa, ɔɔ* 'or'.

tá liizú –	Are they going –
– ɓaa tá ŋiizú vɛ?	– or are they sleeping here?
á wɛ lɛ dɛ́ káanì –	Do you (pl.) not yet see –
– ɓaa gáyàa?	– or understand?
tá liizú –	Are they going –
– ɔɔ tá ŋiizú vɛ?	– or are they sleeping here?

Alternate positive statements employ *na laalé* (literally: not that), *ɔɔ* 'or'.

ga pɛ́lɛi ɓɛté –	I will fix the house –
– na laalé ge kwɔ́taì wu ziɛ́.	– or I (will) rub the kitchen.
ga pɛlɛ́i ɓɛté ɔɔ ga kwɔ́tài wu ziɛ́.	

Alternate negative statements use *ɔɔ́ nɔ yɛ*.

ɛ́ lɛ́ líizu –	He is not going –
– ɔɔ́ nɔ yɛ ga tɔ́ ŋiizú vɛ.	– or (and) he is not sleeping here.

4.6.3.3. *na ßáa má* connects conclusion clauses.

ɛ́ lɛ́ váani na pɛlɛ́i wu –	He did not come to my house –
– na ßáa má ge liiní na pɛ́lɛi wu.	– therefore I went to his house.

4.6.3.4. The pair of conjunctions for contrast or alternate statements is *ɓálaa...ɔɔ́ nɔ yɛ* 'neither … nor'.

gɛ́ lɛ́ ɓálaa dówanì –	We (excl.) neither beat him –
– ɔɔ́[72] nɔ yɛ ga gɛ́ ɓɔni bá.	– nor helped him.

Only *ɔɔ* is used for "either...or".

va ga Folomo –	Bring either Folomo –
– ɔɔ Somo.	– or Somo.

4.7. Post-positionals (PP) and propositions, though differing in use, serve similar functions and are therefore beat considered here.

4.7.1. Post-positionals show position or destination. They follow the noun or pronoun to which they are related. Examples of post-positionals showing position:

sú	in it
tái zu	in the town
té zu	in them
má	on it
teévèi ma	on the table

---

[72] Some speakers: *ɔɔ̀*.

kóba	beside it
kɔ́lɔi wobá	beside the book
bú	under it
pɛ́lɛi wu	under (in) the house
máazu	over it
gúlui maazú	over the stick
gá	on
kákei ɣa	on the shore
sáamà	among
té záama	among them
bɛ́	for
fáa vágɔ́ ɣɛ́ té vɛ́	Do good for them.

When a town is designated by its name, a PP is not used.

é líini Zɔzɔó.	he went into (to) Zorzor.

Examples of post-positionals showing destination:

pɔ́	to him
ge tévenì Folomo wɔ.	I sent it to Folomo.
ge tévenì té wɔ́.	I sent it to them.
ge kɔ́lɔi lévenì Folomo wɔ.	I sent the book to Folomo.
bɛ́	for him, to him
gé kpɛ́tɛnì Folomo vɛ.	We (excl.) fixed it for Folomo.
gé kpɛ́tɛnì wo vɛ.	We (excl.) fixed it for you (pl.).
fɛ́ Folomo vɛ.	Give it to Folomo.
fɛ́ gé vɛ́.	Give it to us (excl.).
túo	in front of him
é líini té lúo.	He went in front of him
púlu	behind him
mɛ́ lɛ́ víle gé wúlu.	Do not follow (behind) us (excl.).

The PP follows a noun phrase.

na	that
lí pɛ́lɛi na wu.	Go into that house.
gwála	big
zéi téeve walai ma.	Sit on the big table.

The PP used is determined by the verb and not by the noun or pronoun. For example, *wɛ́lɛ* 'see', takes the PP *bá*, while *bɔ́* 'tell', takes *má*. Note the following used with an identical noun.

ge wɛlɛni Folomo va.	I saw (on) Folomo.
ge bɔ́nì Folomo ma.	I told Folomo.

Note this distinction due to the PP.

ga yée lá Folomo zu.	I will strike Folomo.
ga yée lá Folomo ma.	I will have faith in Folomo (I will lay my hand on Folomo).

As indicated in the examples above, the PP, when used alone, contains a tonal pronoun (`), 'me', or (´), 'him'. When it occurs immediately after a pre-noun verb it therefore becomes a direct object.[73]

é wɛ́lɛni ba.	He saw me.
é wɛ́lɛni bá.	He saw him.

When a post-noun verb is used, the PP becomes an indirect object.

bó	tell it
bó ma.	Tell it to me.
nii wo má.	Tell this to him.

Post-positional phrases serve as noun, adjective, or adverb phrases.

pɛ́lɛi wu	inside the house
é pɛ́lɛi wu ɓálenì.	He swept the inside of the house.
tái zu	in the town
bó númaitiɛ̀ má té tái zu.	Tell the people in the town.
tá vɛlɛ́i wu	in their house
ge liiní tá vɛlɛ́i wu.	I went into their house.

4.7.2. There are two principal prepositions, both indicating instrumentality, *dá* 'with', refers to an instrument previously mentioned or understood and occurs only with a tonal pronoun. *ga* 'with' referes to an instrument about to be introduced.

dá	with it
é zúnui leveni la.	He cut the man with it.
ga	with
zúnui leve ga bóai.	Cut the man with the knife.
tɔ́ tíi ɣɛɛzu ga nii.	He is working with this.
tɔ́ tíi ɣɛɛzu la.	He is working with it.
ɓólo ɓɛ́ ya lii la?[74] Or: *ya liizú ga ɓólo ɓɛ́?*	What day are you (sg.) going (with)?
tɛ́ lɛ́ ŋéni kwɛ̃ni nii tɔ́ gói ɣawoté da.	They did not know what to answer him (with).
tɛ́ pɛ́ té ɓóalenì da.	All of them drank (with it).
tɛ́ pɛ́ té ɓóalenì ga nii.	All of them drank with this.
e ɣɛ vélei é kɛ́ɛni la.	like (the way) he did it (with).

CHAPTER V

TONE

5. There are two tones in Lɔɔma, high (´) and low (`). Low tone is marked only when it follows a high tone in the same word.

dèe > dee	mother
tɛ́tè	thatch

When there is a series of low tones, only the first tone following the high tone is marked.

kɑ̃́lá-ŋàlà > kɑ̃́la-ŋàla	box

High tone is marked wherever it occurs, except in a series of two or more high tones, in the same word, in wich case only the first high tone is marked. Compound words are toned as two separate words.

dée	his mother
ŋàzɑ́i > ŋazɑ́i	my wife
gílágì > gílagì	the one
kɑ̃lá-ŋála > kɑ̃la-ŋála	spoil

Each word has its basic tones just as it has its basic consonants and vowels. Like the consonants and vowels, the tones undergo regular changes depending upon the environment. For example, the tone of a noun may be influenced by the tone class of the preceding possessive pronoun. Note the following:

na	my
pɛ́lɛ	house

becomes:

na pɛlɛ́i	my house

in which the first tone of *pɛlɛ́i* has been lowered. This is because *na* belongs to the class of words wich may lower one or more high tones of the noun.

In brief, Lɔɔma words are divided into two groups, <u>A</u> and <u>B</u>. The words of <u>A</u> group lower one or more high tones of the following word if it is also of the <u>A</u> group. The word of <u>B</u> group have no influence upon the following word. Conversely, there are two <u>A</u> words whose tones are changed by the preceding <u>A</u> word, and <u>B</u> words, whose tone remain unchanged by the preceding <u>A</u> words.

5.1. Nouns.

5.1.1. Nouns are divided into two groups: <u>A</u>, these which change the tone of the following <u>A</u> words; <u>B</u> those which have no influence upon the following word.

<u>A</u> noun, <u>A</u> word.

gúlu	stick
téve	cut
gúlu leve.	Cut the stick.

pɛ́lɛ	house
gwɑ́la	big
pɛ́lɛ wala	big house

bú	in (under)
pélɛ wu	in a house
bóa	knife
táγa	nest
bóa laγa	knife sheath

A noun, B word.

píli	throw
gúlu víli	Trow a stick
kwéle	white
gúlu wéle[75]	white stick

B noun, A word.

gálu	rope
gálu léve.	Cut a rope.
súo	animal
nɔ́wɔ	dirty
súo nɔ́wɔ	dirty animal
péle	road
sú	in
péle sú	in a road
kólu	iron
sóo	horse
kólu zóo	bicycle

B noun, B word.

gálu víli	Throw a rope

Proper names also fall into the A group or B group.

Folomo	Folomo
Gálakpai	Galakpai
tíli	call
Folomo lili	Call Folomo
Gálakpai líli	Call Galakpai

5.1.2. The tone of the noun suffixes, */-gi, -ga, -ya,* and *-vɛ,/* nearly always follow the tone class of the noun: an A noun lowers the tone of the suffix; a B noun leaves it unchanged.

A noun:

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[75] *kwéle* sometime functions as an A word

báalà	sheep
páa	kill
báalà paa	kill a sheep
báalàgi	the sheep
báalàga	sheep (pl)

    B noun:

bέbὲ	bag
tóo	drop
bέbὲ tóo	Drop a bag.
bέbὲgí	the bag
bέbὲgá	bags

    The suffix */-i/* usually has the tone of the preceding vowel.

bóai [bóáí]	the knife
pέlεi [pέléí]	the house

    The definite plural suffix, */-tiε/*, takes the low tone.[76]

bóaitiὲ	the knives
bέbὲgítiὲ	the bags

    /-ku/ and */-da/*[77] follow the same pattern as */-gi, -ga/*, etc.

    A noun:

gíle	dog
tíli	call
gíle lili	Call a dog.
gílewù	dog (diminutive)

mása	chief
mása tili	Call a chief.
másadà	kingdom

    B noun:

yáãle	cat
yáãle líli	Call a cat.
yáãlewu	cat

    5.1.3. In the foregoing discussion and illustrations only the basic form of the noun has been considered. When the suffix */-i/* or */-gi/* is added to A or B nouns, the tone of the following A word is changed.

    A nouns, A words:

másagì lili.	Call the chief.

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[76] */-tiέ/* is used by some speakers.

[77] The noun suffixes */-ni/* and */-ma/* occur so seldom that it is unwise to attempt a decision on their pattern.

lí pɛ́lɛi wu.   Go into the house.

B nouns, A words:
kóvii leve.   Cut the wood.
gbɛ́gbɛgi loo.   Drop the big drum.

When the indefinite plural or definite plural is used, the tone of the following word is unchanged, regardless of the tone class of the basic form of the noun.
gúlua léve.   Cut sticks.
gbɛ́gbɛga lóo.   Drop big drums.
másagìtiɛ líli.   Call the chiefs.

5.1.4. Noun compounds (not reduplicates) and phrases almost invariably follow the pattern described above: when the first section of a compound and the first word of a phrase belong to the A tone group, they lower the tone of the second word or element if it belongs to the A group.

A noun, A word:
gúlu   tree
sɛ́vɛ   split
gúlu-zɛ̀vɛ   plank
bóa   knife
táɣɛ   nest
bóa laɣa[78]   knife sheath

A noun, B verb:
fólo   sun
kɔ́ɔ̃   measure
fólo-wɔ́ɔ̃   clock

B noun:
kólu   iron
sóo   horse
kólu zóo   bicycle

The noun phrases that are exceptions to this pattern are chiefly those beginning with *ziɛ́* 'water'; and body parts, *zée* 'hand', *dáa* 'mouth'.

ziɛ́ wu   pour water
zéɣe   hole
ziɛ́ yéɣe   well

Compounds formed by reduplication are not consistently governed by the tone class of the first section.

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[78] Some speakers: *láɣa.*

Both compouds and phrases establish their own tone group without influence from the tone class of the component sections or words. In the following, for example, an A noun plus a B noun results in an A phrase:

káni	silver
bála	bracelet
káni loo.	Drop (a piece of) silver.
bála lóo.	Drop a bracelet.
káni bala	silver bracelet
káni bala loo.	Drop a silver bracelet.

5.1.5. The prefix */ma-/* does not change the basic form of the noun and it is only the prefix that undergoes tone change when the word is preceded by an A word.

mázabui	a cause
nii mazáɓui	this cause

Morover prefixed nouns usually maintain the tone class of the basic form.

kái	seed
kái loo.	Drop a seed.
máɣai	a seed
máɣai loo.	Drop a seed.

5.1.6. Possessed nouns.

5.1.6.1. The tones of alienaby possessed nouns are high when the pronoun *ná* 'his' is used. This includes the tone on the suffixes */-i/* and */-gi/. /-tiɛ/* may be low or high after all pronouns.

fái	the palaver
ná fái	his palaver
kpógì	the door
ná kpógi	his door
wuogí	the big frog
ná wúogi	his big frog
kála-ŋàlagi	the box
ná kála-ŋalagi	his box
ná kála-ŋalagitiè	his boxes

The same pattern prevails when the suffixes are omitted.

ná kála-ŋála	his box

After the remaining possessive pronouns the first tone of alienable nouns is low.

sáɓai	the mat
na saɓái	my mat
ya zaɓái	your (sg.) mat
táavàgí	the tobacco
dá laavágí	our (incl.) tobacco
kɔ̃ɔ̃gì	the eggplant
na kɔɔ̃gí	my eggplant

There are three exceptions to this list:

1. With two syllable */-gi/* nouns having */l/* between identical vowels the tones of the basic word are down.

kpɔ́lɔgì	the basket
wa ɓɔlɔgí	your (pl.) basket

2. With reduplicated words of CVCV-CVCV pattern the first section takes low tone.

kã́la-ŋálagi	the box
té ŋala-ŋálagi	their box

3. With one syllable */-i/* nouns the tone remains high.

gá ɓái	our (excl.) palaver

If the definite suffix is omitted, the regular pattern prevails with the basic form of the word, except for one syllable words of the */-gi/* class, in which case the tone is high.

ma saɓá	my mat
na kã̃la-ŋála	my box
na kpó	my door
na kpogítiɛ́	my doors

With some speakers, *gá, dá* 'our' and *tá* 'their' have the same influence on some nouns as *ná* 'his'.

gá kã́la-ŋálagi	our (excl.) box

Inalienably possessed nouns have low tone for the first person singular and high tone for the third person sinrular. The posessive pronouns *e* 'your (sg.)', and *wo* 'your (pl.)', lower the tones of the noun; the remaining possessive pronouns exert no influence.

kɔwɔi	my foot
e wɔwɔi	your (sg.) foot
kɔ́wɔi	his foot
gé wɔ́wɔitiè	our (excl.) foot
dé wɔ́wɔitiè	our (incl.) foot
wo wɔwɔitiɛ	your (pl.) foot
té wɔ́wɔitiè	their foot

5.1.6.2. The influence of alienably possessed nouns upon the verb follows the regular pattern when the definite singular and definite plural are used: low tone on the verb after the definite singular, unchanged tone after the definite plural.

A noun:

na giléi lili.	Call my dog.
ná gílei lili,	Call his dog.
ya ɣiléi lili.	Call your (sg.) dog.
gé ɣiléitiè líli.	Call our (excl.) dogs.

B nouns:

na ŋabúi loo.	Drop my fire.
ná ŋábui loo.	Drop his fire.
tá ŋabúi loo.	Drop their fire.

When only the basic form of the noun is used after the possessive pronoun, a much less common use than the definite singular, the tone of the verb is unchanged.

na gilé líli.	Call my dog.
ná gíle líli.	Call his dog.
ya ɣilé [79] *líli.*	Call your (sg.) dog.
na ŋabú lóo.	Drop my fire.
ná ŋábu lóo.	Drop his fire.
tá ŋabú lóo.	Drop their fire.

This entire pattern is maintained with post-positionals.

ge wɛlɛní na kã̀la-ŋálagi va.	I saw my box.
ge wɛlɛní ná kã̀la-ŋalà bá.	I saw his box.

However, the pattern of the influence of the basic form of the noun after *na* 'my' and before the verb does not consistently follow the same pattern as it does in the pronoun-noun combination.

na ziɛ́	my water

becomes:

na ziɛ wu [80].	Pour my water.

And:

na gulú	my stick
na kã̀la-ŋála	my box

becomes:

na gulu lóo.	Drop my stick.
na kã̀la-ŋala tóo.	Drop my box.

Some speakers, however, retain the regular pattern.

na gulú lóo.
na kã̀la-ŋála tóo.

Inalienably possessed nouns follow their regular A, B, pattern with the verb. That is an A noun in the singular form lowers the tone of the verb; the definite plural leaves it unchanged.

duu	my son
dá	lay
duu la	Lay my son down.
dui la	Lay my son down.
duitiɛ lá.	Lay my sons down.

B nouns in the basic and definite plural form leave the verb unchanged; the definite singular lowers it.

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[79] Some speakers: *ɣìlè.*

[80] Some speakers: *nà ziɛ̀ wú.*

ŋazá	my wife
ŋazá lá	Lay my wife down.
ŋazái la	Lay my wife down.
ŋazáitiɛ́ lá	Lay my wives down.

This pattern prevails when a post-positional follows the noun.

ge wɛlɛní keea vá.	I saw my father.
ge wɛlɛní fɔ́nèi va.	I saw his pay.

5.1.6.3. After *ná* 'his', the noun and adjective and adjective suffixes have high tones, regardless of the tone classs of the noun or adjective.

ná kɛ̃́la-ŋála nɔ́wɔi.	his dirty box.
ná kɛ̃́la-ŋála kwélegi.	his white box.
ná kpɔ́lɔ kóloi.	his small basket.
ná kpɔ́lɔ nɔ́wɔi.	his dirty basket.

After *na, ya, gá, dá, wa,* and *tá* the noun is low throughout, the adjective high.

na gulu ɓúogi	my short stick
na gile nɔ́wɔi	my dirty dog
na ŋabu wóloi[81]	my small fire
ya wulu ɓúogi	your (sg.) short stick

After *gá, dá, tá,* some speakers use high tones on the noun, thus following *ná*.

When the inalienably possessed nouns occur with adjectives, the A, B, pattern prevails: A nouns lower the tone of A adjectives, B nouns leave it unchanged.

A noun:

yĩgɛ[82] *woloi*	my small tooth
e yĩgɛ woloi	your (sg.) small tooth
yígè woloi	his small tooth

B noun:

kaké kóloi	my small chest
wo ɣeké kóloi	your (pl.) small chest
té ɣéke kóloitiè	their small chests

5.1.7. Possessing nouns.

5.1.7.1. When the alienable possessive pronouns are preceded by a noun, the tone of the pronoun is governed by the tonal class of the noun. The possessed noun follows the same pattern as described in 5.1.5.1.

A nouns:

Folomo na pɛ́lɛi	Folomo's house
zowo	doctor
sále	medicine

---

[81] Some speakers say *-ŋabú-*.
[82] Or: *ŋigɛ*.

zowo na sálei	a doctor's medicine

B nouns:

Yákpazuo ná kpɔ́kpɔgi	Yapazuo's chair
káwɔlɔ	old man
táavàgi	the tobacco
káwɔ̀lɔ ná táavagi	the old man's tabacco

When a definite singular possessing noun is used, the pronoun follows the regular pattern and is low.

zúnui na séɣei	the man's cloth

The pronoun *tá* 'they' never undergoes tone change. Its occurrence after a plural possessing noun has the some influence upon the noun as that discussed in 5.1.7.1.

númunu	orange
zínaitiè tá numúnugitiè	the men's oranges
zowoitiɛ tá zaléi	the doctors' medicine

When the possessive is omitted, the tone of the possessed noun is determined by the tone class of the possessing noun.

Folomo na sáa ßái	Folomo's death
Folomo zaa ßái	Folomo's death
zúnui zaa ßái	the man's death

5.1.7.2. There is no change in the basic tone of on inaliemable noun when it is preceded by a possessing pronoun. See 5.1.7.3.

zúnui dée	the man's mother

The plural pronoun of inalienable nouns has the same influence upon the noun as discussed in 5.1.6.1.

5.1.7.3. When the possessive pronoun is omitted before body parts or when the IC is changed in words having a tonal possessive pronoun, their tone is determined by the tone class of the possessing noun.

zée	his hand
númaa	people
… ga númaa yée	… with people's hands
kɔ́	her neck
ŋázanui wɔ̃gí	the woman's neck

The basic tone of a body part prevails when it is the first word on a command.

sókpài	nose
e zokpai	your (sg.) nose
zókpài ßɛ.	Blow your (sg.) nose.

5.1.8. Acting nouns. See 5.2.2.2.

5.1.9. When a verb becomes a noun there is usually no change in the basic tone.

kpɔ́	put it together
kpɔ́	crowd (n)

5.2. Verbs.

5.2.1. Verbs, like nouns, are divided into two tonal groups: <u>A</u>, those whose tone is lowered by the preceding <u>A</u> object; <u>B</u>, those whose tone is unchanged by the preceding <u>A</u> object. Preceding <u>B</u> objects have no influence upon verbs of either group.

5.2.1.1. <u>A</u> nouns, as indicated in 5.1.1., lower the tones of <u>A</u> verbs.

gúlu leve.	Cut a stick.

<u>B</u> nouns do not influence <u>A</u> verbs.

gálu léve.	Cut a rope.

<u>B</u> verbs are not influenced by <u>A</u> or <u>B</u> nouns.

gúlu víli.	Throw a stick.
gálu víli.	Throw a rope.

The RP of CV and CVV words of the */-zu/* group provide an exception to the pattern of the noun-verb combination, for here the verb may take a high tone after an <u>A</u> noun.

tíi	work (n)
kɛ́	do
ge tíi ɣéɛni.	I worked.
té nìi láa.	They layed this down.

The influence of the use of the definite singular suffix upon <u>A</u> verbs was discussed in 5.1.3.

<u>B</u> verbs are not influenced by any form of the noun.

gúlui víli.	Throw the stick.
gúlua víli.	Throw sticks.
gúluitiɛ́ víli.	Throw the sticks.

The difference between <u>A</u> and <u>B</u> verbs, in relation to the influence of the preceding object nouns, may be summarized as follows:

1. The tones of <u>B</u> verbs are not changed by any form of nouns of either group.

2. The tone of <u>A</u> verbs is lowered by the stem and definite singular of <u>A</u> nouns and by the definite singular of <u>B</u> nouns.

5.2.1.2. Object pronouns also fall into the A, B, grouping: <u>A</u> pronouns lower the tones of <u>A</u> verbs; <u>B</u> pronouns leave them unchanged.

<u>A</u> pronouns:

ga e lili.	I will call you (sg.).
ga wo lili.	I will call you (pl.).

<u>B</u> pronouns:

tówàa gé líli.	He will call us (excl.).

tówàa dé líli.	He will call us (incl.).
tówàa té líli.	He will call them.

Object pronouns 'me' and 'him' are tonal, being (`) and (´) respectively.

tili.	Call me.
tíli.	Call him.
gúovɛ.	It is washed.

The object demonstrators are <u>A</u> class.

nii loo.	Drop this.
na loo.	Drop that.
niitiɛ lóo.	Drop these.

5.2.1.3. As nouns, the numerals, with the exception of *gíla* 'one', belong to the <u>B</u> group.

gíla zo.	Catch one.
náagɔ zó.	Catch four.
sáagɔ zó.	Catch three.

The regular pattern prevails when the definite singular suffix is added.

náagɔi zo.	Catch the four.
náagɔi víli.	Throw the four.

5.2.1.4. When an adjective precedes the verb as part of an object phrase, the adjective exerts its tonal class. That is, an <u>A</u> adjective (lowered by an <u>A</u> noun) will lower an <u>A</u> verb; a <u>B</u> adjective (tone unchanged by an <u>A</u> noun) will not influence the tone of the verb.

<u>A</u> noun, <u>A</u> adjective, <u>A</u> verb:

kwéle	white
gúlu wèlè tèvè.[83]	Cut a white stick.

<u>B</u> verb:

píli	throw
gúlu wolo víli.	Throw a small stick.
gúlu wèlè víli.[84]	Throw a white stick.

The verb follows the regular pattern after the suffixes:

pétè	see
ge gúlu woloi vɛtɛni.	I saw the small stick.
ge gúlu woloa vétèni.	I saw small sticks.
ge gúlu woloitiɛ vétèni.	I saw the small sticks.

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[83] Some speakers say *wélé tévé*.

[84] Some speakers say *wélé*.

5.2.1.5. The use of the basic form of the noun preceded by an alienable possessive pronoun permits no change in verb tone. See 5.1.6.2. for discussion of this as well as for the influence of the inalienable possessive pronoun.

5.2.1.6. In the alienable possessive pronoun – noun – adjective – verb – combination the tone pattern of the verb is the same as that discussed in 5.2.1.4.

ge ná gúlu wóloi vetɛni.	I saw his small stick.
ge ná gúlu wóloi vílinì.	I threw his small stick.

The verb pattern when the inalienable pronoun is used in the pronoun – noun – adjective – verb combination is also the same as that discussed in 5.2.1.4.

5.2.1.7. As objects, post-positionals are of the <u>A</u>, <u>B</u>, groups, the tone of <u>A</u> verbs is lowered by <u>A</u> post-positionals.

<u>A</u> post-positional:

vɛ	here
siɛ́	rub
vɛ ziɛ.	Rub here.

<u>B</u> post-positional:

bú	under it
bú wúo	Wash under it.
bú ɓetɛ́ (Or: *-ɓétɛ).*	Fix under it.
díɣii zu wúo.	Wash (inside) the pot.
díɣi zú ziɛ́ (Or: *-ziɛ).*	Rub (inside) a pot.

This pattern prevails when the post-positional is the first section of a compound.

pɛ́ɛ	spread (v)
sú-vɛ́ɛ	patch (n)

5.2.2. Tone classes of actors.

5.2.2.1. When the verb is preceded by an acting pronoun, the tone of the verb is influenced according to the tone class of the actor and according to the kind of verb (transitive or intransitive).

5.2.2.1.1. The acting pronouns *ga, ge, ya, e, wa, wo,* and the definite pronouns *níi* 'this', and *na* 'I', used with intransitive verbs or transitive verbs used intransitively lower the tone of the basic form of one syllable words; they lower one or more tones of words of two or more syllables.

ga lite.	I will turn.
e ŋiiyá.	You (sg.) slept.
ya ɓize.	You (sg.) will run.
wo vaani.	You (pl.) came.
wa zɛkpúzu.	You (pl.) are limping.
nìi looni.	This fell.

The pronouns *tɔ́, ga, dá, tá* produce the same pattern when the progressive tense is used.

tɔ́ litezu.	He is turning.
gá liizú.	We (excl.) are going.
dá zɛkpúzu.	We (incl.) are limping.
tá vèlàzù	They are running away.

With all other tenses the pronouns *tówàa, ɔ́, gá, gé, dá, dé, tá, tó,* and *na* 'he'; and the indefinite pronouns *tá* 'some' and *támaa* 'many', cause no change in the basic form of the verb.

tówàa ɓísè	He will run.
gá véla.	We (excl.) will run away.
dá lí.	We (incl.) will go.
Dé lítègá.	We (incl.) turned.
té zɛ́kpua.	They limped.
na lìiní é gúlui leve.	He went and cut the stick.

The RP suffixes of */-zu/* verbs have high tone regardless of the pronoun used.

ge líá.	I went.
gé liá.	We (excl.) went.
e ziá.	You (sg.) walked.
é ziá.	He walked.
wɔ ŋiiyá.	You (pl.) slept.
té ŋíiya.	They slept.
ge zɛkpúa.	I limped.
gé zɛ́kpua.	We (excl.) limped.
ge váa.	I came.
ge veláa.	I ran away.
dé vélaa.	We (incl.) ran away.
té dowáa.	They beat me.
té dówaa.	They beat him.
ge ɓizéa.	I run.

The tone of the progressive suffix of */-zu/* verbs usually follows the tone of the RP suffix.

ga liizú.	I am going.
ta ŋiizú.	They are sleeping.

The FP suffix, */-ni/*, nearly always follows */-zu/*.

ga ɓizezu.	I am running.
ge ɓizenì.	I run.

But note these discrepancies:

tá ziɛzú.	They are walking.
té ziɛ́nì.	They walked.
dá liizú.	We (incl.) are going.
dé líinì.	We (incl.) went.

The RP of /-su/ verbs usually takes a low tone when the verb has two or more syllables. The suffix usually takes a high tone with one syllable words.

e litega.	You (sg.) turned.
é lítèga.	He turned.
wo logá.	You (pl.) stood.
dé lóga.	We (incl.) stood.
ge zegá.	I dreamed.
dé zéga.	We (incl.) dreamed.

/-su/ and /-ni/ follow /-ga/.

ga zesú.	I am dreaming.
tá zesú.	They are dreaming.
gé lítèni.	We (excl.) turned.
té lévèni.	They passed.
ge zení.	I dreamed.
dé lóni.	We (incl.) stood.

The acting pronouns *giɛ́, ye, yé, giɛ́, diɛ́, wiɛ, tiɛ́* have no influence upon the verb.

giɛ́ wúde.	I am about to jump[85].
e pɛtɛni giɛ lítè.	He saw me turning.
é e vɛtɛni ye lítè.	He saw you (sg.) turning.
é pétèni yé lítè.	He saw him turning.
é gé vétèni giɛ́ lítè.	He saw us (excl.) turning.
é dé vétèni diɛ́ lítè.	He saw us (incl.) turning.
é wo vɛtɛni wiɛ lítè.	He saw you (pl.) turning.
é té vétèni tiɛ́ líte.	He saw them turning.

When the habitual pronouns, *ɔ, ɔ́, gɔ, gɔ́* etc., are used, the general pattern is for intransitive verbs to take a low tone with <u>A</u> or <u>B</u> pronouns.

ɛ́ lɛ́ ná ɔ́ ɓɔ dé vá.	He is not there to help us.
gé lɛ́ zóogà gɔ́ lí.	We (excl.) are not able to go.
e lɛ woĩni ɔ li.	You (sg.) do not want to go.
é wúdɛnì gɔ́ wudɛ́.	He jumped before we (excl.) jumped.
ɔ́ ɣɛ ga fáa vágɔ e ɣɛ té lɛ́ kɛ́ɛnì.	It would be good if they did not do it.
é wúlonì tái zu gɔ wulo bá.	He left the town before I did.

Note the exceptions:

ɔ́ wú ziɣi ga súbù é lí kpálagi zu.	He would get up early in the morning and go to the farm.
aɓɛ váa zu Somo ɔ́ zóo é na ɣɛ?	Why should Somo do that?

The tone pattern for the progressive form of the verb, described above, usually prevails when it is preceded by an auxiliary.

ga vaazu liizú.	I am going.

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[85] Or: I am about to jump.

fa liizú laazu.	I am going to lie down.
té γéni zeeɓézu.	They were sick.
ge γení levesu tái zu.	I was passing through the town.

Note, however:

té lέ váazù lóowosù.	They will not rest.

When the FP form of the verb is used after an auxiliary, its tone usually follows that used when it is acted upon by *é, gé, dé, té.*

gε lε ŋέni váanì.	I did not come.

Note that both <u>A</u> and <u>B</u> pronouns follow the pattern with the auxiliary *γέni.*

ge γení litesu.	I was turning.
gé γéni lítèsu.	We (excl.) were turning.

5.2.2.1.2. The use of the acting pronouns with transitive verbs presents a much easier pattern. The basic tone of the basic form of the verb prevails regardless of the preceding pronoun.

ga títè.	I will turn it.
gá títèsu.	We (excl.) are turning it.
wà tóo.	You (pl.) will drop it.
wo tóa.	You (pl.) dropped it.
té tóonì.	They dropped it.

The tone of the RP suffix or */-zu/* verbs is nearly always up.

ge tóa.	I dropped it.
e gálea.	You (sg.) broke it.
é zíiγà (Or: *-zíiγà*).	He lowered it.

The tone of the RP suffix of */-su/* verbs is usually down.

ge píligà.	I threw it.
é tógà. (Or: *-tóga*).	He stood it.

The suffixes */-zu, -su, -ni/* follow */-ga/*; that is, they usually have a low tone.

ya títèsu.	You (sg.) are turning it.
ya tósù.	You (sg.) are standing it
dá páazù.	We (incl.) are killing it.
gé gálénì.	We (excl.) broke it.
e tónì.	You (sg.) stood it.

The pronouns *giε, ye, yé, giέ,* etc. produce the same pattern as they do when occurring with intransitive verbs. The auxiliary has no influence upon the transitive verb.

ge γení tósù.	I was standing it.
té γéni tévezù.	They were cutting it.

5.2.2.2. When the verb is preceded by an acting noun, the pattern is similar to that discussed in 5.2.2.1: the tone of the verb depends upon the tone class of the acting noun and upon the kind of verb.

  A noun:
gíle liteni	A dog turned.
gíle yɛní títèni.	A dog turned it.

  B noun:
súo wúdèni.	An animal jumped.
súo yɛ́ni zeebɛ́zu.	An animal was sick.
súo yɛ́ni lítèni.	An animal had turned.

When the definite singular form of any noun is used, a much commoner use than the indefinite singular, the tone of intransitive verbs is down. This form of the noun has no influence upon transitive verbs.

gílei liteni.	The dog turned.
gílei lítèni.	The dog turned it.

When the noun is followed by the negative *lɛ́*, the tone of the basic form of the verb is unchanged.

zúnui lè lítèga.	The man will not turn.

When the plural of the noun is used, the plural pronoun *te* occurs before the verb and the pattern is the same as described in 5.2.2.1.1.

gílea té lítèni.	Dogs turned.
gíleitiè té lítèni.	The dogs turned.

5.2.3. The verb as a modifier.

When the verb serves as a pre-noun modifier, it usually has no influence upon the tone of the noun.

dóowu	bury
fáa	matter, palaver
dóowu fáa	burial palaver

téve	cut
fólo	day
téve ßólo	harvest day

See 5.1.4. for a discussion of the tone class of the noun phrase.

5.2.4. When an adjective becomes a verb, the adjective retains its adjective tone class, A or B, and performs as an A or B verb.

  A noun, A adjective.
ga bóa nɔwɔ.	I will dirty a knife.

  A noun, B adjective:

ga gúlui ɓíli.	I will bend the stick.

B noun, A adjectives.

ga péle nɔ́wɔ.	I will dirty a road.

This pattern prevails when object pronouns are used.

tówaa nɔwɔ.	He will dirty me.
tá gé nɔ́wɔ.	They will dirty us (excl.).

The adjectival verbs follow the regular pattern when used with intransitive and transitive verbs.

tɔ́ ɓaanasu.	It is getting hard.
té léinì.	They became cold.
ge leini.	I became cold.
gílei nɔwɔni.	The dog became dirty.
ge kpáanài.	I hardened it.

5.3. Adjectives.

5.3.1. Adjectives, like nouns and verbs, are divided into two tone groups: A, those whose tone is lowered by A words; and B, those whose tone is unchanged by A words. B words have no influence upon adjectives of either group.

A noun, A adjective.

kpákpa	big
bóa ɓakpa	big knife

A noun, B adjective:

kwéle	white
gúlu wéle	white stick
kpúo	short
bóa ɓúo	short knife
bóa ɓúogi[86]	the short knife
bóa ɓúoga	short knives
bóa ɓúogitiὲ	the short knives.

B noun, A adjective:

súo ɓákpa	big animal

5.3.2. The tones of the suffixes */-gi, -ga, -i, -ya, -tiɛ/* are not determined by the tone class of the adjective. Their pattern is irregular.

5.3.3. The tone of the basic form of the adjective is maintained when the singularizing suffix */ma-/* is added.[87]

pénɛ	small

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[86] This series may be : *bóa ɓuogí*
  bóa ɓuogá
  bóa ɓuogítiɛὲ

[87] The occurrence of */ma-/* as a prefix in any capacity other this is too infrequent to determine a pattern.

mávɛne	small one
níinɛ	new
mániinɛ	new one

When the definite singular is used, some speakers retain the high tone throughout; some lower the tone of the second syllable of two syllable words.

mániinɛi	the new one
mániinèi	
máɓakpai	the big one
máɓakpài	

If the second and subsequent syllables are low in the basic form, there is no change.

kpáanà	hard
máɓaanà	hard one
máɓaanàgí	the hard one

/-tiɛ/ is low.

5.3.4. The definite adjective act like <u>A</u> adjectives when preceded by a noun. As the definite singular of the noun is always used, the definite adjectives take a low tone.

kɔ́lɔi nii	this book
kɔ́lɔi natiɛ	those books

5.5.5. Indefinite adjectives belong to the <u>A</u> group.

gúlu ta	some (a) stick
fíkaa	many
númaitiè ßíkaa	many of the people

5.3.6. Numerative adjectives. See 5.8.2.

5.3.7. Interrogative adjectives are <u>A</u> class.

gúlui zɛ́ßɛ γá su ɓái?	Which stick is stronger?
zínaa ɓéni ká té váazù?	Which men are coming?

5.3.8. Conditioning adjectives, like intransitive verbs, lower one or more tones, beginning with the first, when <u>A</u> pronouns or <u>A</u> nouns are used.

nɔwɔvɛ.	I am dirty.
e nɔwɔvɛ.	You (sg.) are dirty.
gé nɔ́wɔvè.	We (excl.) are dirty.
kpɔ́lɔvè.	He is tired.
té ɓɔ́lɔvè.	They are tired.
gíle ɓɔlɔvɛ.	A dog is tired.
kɔ́lɔ léivɛ	a book i black
wó ɓɔlɔvɛ́ (Or: *ɓɔ́lɔvè*)	You (pl.) are tired.
wo nɔwɔvɛ.	You (pl.) are dirty.

The conditioning suffixes, /-vɛ, -gɛ/, are not determined by the tone class of the adjective, and, moreover, do not consistently take the same tone as the common descriptive adjective suffixes, /-gi, -ga, -i, -ya, -tiɛ/.

Past conditioning adjectives undergo no tonal change in their basic form.

kwéleai γέ.	It was white.
kpáanàgaí γέ.	It was hard.

This pattern prevails when the past conditioning adjective serves as a NA.

gúlui kwéleai.	The stick, the one that is white.

5.3.9. When two or three adjectives occur in a series, the tone of the first one follows the regular <u>A</u>, <u>B</u> pattern. The following adjectives, however, follow no regular pattern.

gúlu lei kpáana	a black hard stick
zié nɔ́wɔ ɓadí	dirty hot water
gúlu vènè lei[88] kpáana	a small black hard stick

5.3.10. When a verb becomes an adjective it retains its verbal pattern. That is, an <u>A</u> verb becomes an <u>A</u> verbal adjective, a <u>B</u> verb a <u>B</u> verbal adjective.

gúlu γale.	Break a stick.
gúlu γaléa	a broken stick
kpóoló léve.	Pass the bread.
kpóolò lévegai	the passed bread
gáleνɛ.	It is broken.
dóowugè.	It is hidden.
pónɛvɛ.	It is written.
sáavɛ.	He is dead.
gúlui γalevέ.	The stick is broken.

The conditioning suffixes, */-gɛ, -vɛ/,* do not consistently follow the tone of the verb suffixes.

tó gálezù.	He is breaking it.
gáleνɛ.	It is broken.

When the verbal adjective serves as a NA, it experiences no tone change.

gúlui gáleai	the stick, the one that is broken
gúlu nɔwɔi gáleai	the dirty stick, the one that is broken

5.4. Pronouns.

5.4.1. Object pronouns are of two tone groups: <u>A</u> those that lower the tone of the floolwing <u>A</u> word; <u>B</u>, those that leave the tone of the following <u>A</u> word unchanged.

5.4.1.1. The verb. See 5.2.1.2.

5.4.1.2. The adjective. See 5.3.8.

5.4.1.3. The tone of the post-positional is lowered by <u>A</u> pronouns; <u>B</u> pronouns produce no change.

ge wɛlɛní e va.	I saw you (sg.).
é ɓóõnì té vá.	He touched them.

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[88] Some speakers: *léi.*

gé bóni̱ wo ma.	We (excl.) told you (pl.).
té bóni̱ gé má.	They told us (excl.).

When the pronoun and the post-positional are contracted, the resultant form retains the tone of the combination. *e va > ye, wo va > wiɛ, gé má > giɛ́, té má > tiɛ́.*

The object pronouns 'me' and 'him' are indicated by the tone of the post-positional.

bó ma.	Tell me.
ɓóõ̱ bá.	Touch him.

5.4.1.4. The reflexive pronoun *ɓɔ́ɔ* acts like an object noun of the <u>B</u> group.

e ɓɔ́ɔ lɔwani̱	You (sg.) beat yourself.
é ɓɔ́ɔ lílini̱.	He called himself.
wɔ tíi̱ yɛɛni wa ɓɔ́ɔ vɛ́.	You (pl.) worked for yourselves.

y̱íi also belonge to the **B** group.

tá y̱íi váa.	They will kill each other.

5.4.2. The pronouns as actors. See 5.2.2.1. for a description of their tone classes.

5.4.2.1. The acting pronoun has no influence upon the following object noun.

e Folomo lilini.	You (sg.) called Folomo.
é Folomo looni.	He dropped Folomo.

5.4.2.2. When a singular pronoun is used after an acting noun, the tone of the pronoun is determined by the tonal group of the noun.

nú ɓɔgɔ́pɛ gé yéni ziɛ́i wobá.	All the people stayed beside the water.
nú gilá ge ɓi̱zeni.	One person ran.
kpɔ́ gɛ́ lɛ́ líini.	A crowd did not go.
wo y̱i gɛ lɛ láani̱?	Do you (pl.) not remember? (Your (pl.) mind did not lie down?)

5.4.3. Possessive pronouns. See 5.1.6.1.

5.4.4. The interrogative pronouns belong to the B tone group.

ɓɛ y̱á é váazu̱?	Who is coming?

5.5. Post-positionals and prepositions.
5.5.1. All post-positionals belong to the <u>A</u> group.

pélɛ wu	in a house
tái zu	in the town
pélɛ má	on a road
táitiè zú	in the towns

ge wɛlɛní e va.	I saw you (sg.).
ge wɛlɛní té vá.	I saw them.
dá téeve wéle má.	Lay it on a white table.
dá téeve wélegi̱ ma.	Lay it on the white table.

When the post-positionals serve as objects, they belong to the A, B, group. See 5.2.1.7.

5.5.2. The tones of prepositions do not change, inasmuch as they do not appear in environments producing it.

téve la.	Cut it with it.
ná ɓále da.	Sweep there with it.
sába ga wui tuwu.	Present him with a pineapple.
té lέ wέlɛni nú nɛpέ bá é wúlo Folomo wulu.	They did not see anyone except Folomo.

5.6. Adverbs.

5.6.1. Adverbs are of the A, B, group. Their pattern, however, is not as regular as that of nouns, verbs, etc. When an adverb[89] with one or more basic high tones follows the verb, its tones are usually lowered; if its basic tones are low, they remain low. With the exception of *lέ* 'not', the tone ot the adverb is unchanged when it precedes the verb.

kpálaa	also
tówàa ŋíi ɓalaa.	He will also sleep.
dέ	awhile
tíi yɛ dɛ.	Work awhile.
ŋíi dɛ.	Sleep awhile.
ŋina	tomorrow
tɔ́ liizú ŋina.	He is going tomorrow.
dέ.	yet
gɛ dέ ŋíini[90]	I have not slept yet.

5.6.2. The negative, *lέ* 'not' belongs to the A group: it takes a low tone after A nouns and pronouns, and remains unchanged after B nouns and pronouns.

gúlu lɛ pélei zu.	A stick is not in the road.
Folomo lɛ pélɛi wu.	Folomo is not in the house.
ŋabu lέ vɛ.	Fire is not here.
ŋábui lɛ vɛ.	The fire is not here.
kólua té lέ vɛ.	Irons are not here.
gúluitiè tέ lέ pélei wobá.	The sticks are not beside the house.
ɛ lɛ vɛ.	You (sg.) are not here.
gέ lέ vɛ.	We (excl.) are not here.

lέ is low after the particle *mɛ*.

té mέ lέ tíli[91]	They should not call him.

There is no change in the tone of the auxiliary or verb immediately following *lέ* or *dέ*.

έ lέ váazù zitízu za.	He will not arrive today.
té lέ liízu.	They are not going.

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[89] This does not include an adverb prceded by *ga*.
[90] Some speakers lower *dέ* after an A pronoun.
[91] Some apeakers use *-mɛ lɛ –* here.

té dé liízu.	They are not going yet.
ga dé ŋíini.	I have not slept yet.

lέ and *dέ* have no influence on the tones of a transitive verb.

té lέ tilisu.	They are not calling me.

5.6.3. Adverbs occuring with *ga* have no change in the basic tone, and *ga* is always low.

é tíi ɣɛɛni ga kpáanàga.	He worked hard.

5.7. Conjunctions are of the A, B group. Their pattern is regular.

A conjunction:

ɓɔ́ga	and
Folomo ɓɔgá Somo.	Folomo and Somo.
pélɛitiè ɓɔ́ga ŋábui	the houses and the fire

B conjunction:

Folomo tá Sómo	Folomo and Somo
ɓaa	or
pélɛitiè ɓaa pélɛitiè	houses or roads.

Note that *ɓaa*, basically low, does not take a high tone after */-tiɛ/*.

5.8. The center of variability lies in the numerals. Speakers vary considerably in their use, more so than with any other class of words.

5.8.1. When numerals function as nouns they are with the exception of *gíla*, of the B group.

náagɔ lóo.	Drop four.
púugɔ kái gilá too.	Drop eleven.
púugɔ kái felegɔ lóo.	Drop twelve.
gíla too.	Drop one.

When the noun suffixes are added, the regular pattern prevails.

náagɔi loo.	Drop the four.
gílagì loo.	Drop the one.

When the suffix */-i/* is added, the final syllable is high; */-gi/* is low.

félegɔ	two
félegɔi	the two
gíla (Or: *gílà*)	one
gílagì	the one

/-tiέ/ is low.

dɔ́sàváitiè	the eight

The tone of */-be/* follows the */-i, -gi/* pattern.

gilabè.	There is one.
dɔ́sàvavé.	There are eight.

5.8.2. When the numerals function as adjectives they belong to the A group.

gíle ɣilá	one dog
gíle naagɔ	four dogs
péle ɣíla	one road
péle lɔ́fèla	seven roads
péle lɔ́fèlái	the seven roads

It is possible to say with B nouns:
péle ɣilá
péle lɔfela

But that variation is not permitted after an A noun.

Note that when the numeral takes the singular suffix */-i/*, the numeral retains its high tone on the final syllable even after an A noun.

gúlu saagɔ́i	the three sticks
gúlu lɔsavái	the eight sticks

5.8.3 When a numeral serves as an adverb, its tone may be high or low throughout.

ge pétèni ɣile (Or: *ɣíle*).	I saw him once.
tɔ́ loolu (Or: *lóolu*).	There are five.

5.8.4. When *kéle* occurs after the cardinal numeral, thus forming an ordinal, the basic tone of the numeral is unchanged after either the basic or definite use of A or B nouns. The numerals retain their pattern as adjectives in that they lower the first tone of *kéle*.

va ga gúlu sáva keléi.	Bring a third stick.
va ga gúlui sáva keléi.	Bring the third stick.
va ga gúlu lɔ́zìta keléi.	Bring a sixth stick.
va ga gúlui lɔ́zìta keléi.	Bring the sixth stick.

5.8.5. The adjuncts of numerals are *kái, zée, wú*, and *wulu*. The first three belong to the A tone group, the last to the B.

púugɔ̀ kái loolu	fifteen
zée saagɔ	thirty
wǘ naagɔ	four hundred
wulu náagɔ̀	four thousand

5.9. Pause and emotional changes.

5.9.1. Nouns in a series, separated by comma pause, raise the tone of the last syllable or section.

Sómo	Somo
másagì	the chief
káwɔ̀lɔi	the old man
é vɛ́ɛ Folomo va	and Folomo

Sómő, más agi, káwɔlɔi,[92] é vέɛ Folomo
vá tá vaazu.

Somo, the chief, the old man, and Folomo
are comming.

Some speakers raise both tones of two syllable words, and the last two tones of three syllable words. Thus:

… Sőmő …

5.9.2. The same pattern prevails with the tones or the final word of 'when' and 'if' clauses, and occasionally with other clause final pauses.

pέlɛi wu

in the house

wa ná díɣii wulozu pέlɛi wú, a ziέ wú sú.

When you (pl.) are bringing the pot out of the house, put water in it.

5.9.3. When a name is used as a form of address, the tone of the final syllable or section is raised.

Kέzèli	Kezeli
Kέzèlí, vá pɔ.	Kezeli, come to me.
Zezé	Zizi
Zezế, vá pɔ.	Zizi, come to me.
káwòlɔ	old man
káwɔlɔ, zéi vɛ.	Old man, sit here.

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[92] The double tone marks (˝) on the word *Sómő* indicate tone higher than normal high.

Abbreviations

excl. – exclusive 1 pers. pl. pronoun
FP – far past tense
IC – initial consonant
ICC – initial consonant change
incl. – inclusive 1 pers. pl. pronoun
IDO – indirect object
NA – noun in opposition
pl. – plural
PP – post-positional
RP – recent past tense
SC – short construction
sg. – singular