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Noonan
A Grammar of Lango

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To
my mother
Beatrice Noonan
and
the memory of my father
Michael Joseph Noonan

CONTENTS

A note on transcription

Apart from some early section of the phonology where phonetic symbols are used, the transcription employed in this grammar is an adaptation of what has come to be the standard orthography for Lango, modified so as to show tone, vowel quality, and gemination. Except where phonological derivations are discussed, the transcription presupposes the application of tone sandhi and coalescence word internally. The tone sandhi and coalescence rules are applied in external sandhi in Part I, Phonology, and Part II, Morphology, so as to provide examples of the application of the rules, but not in Part III, Syntax, so as not to impede morpheme identification and to comply with the conventions of Lango orthography. It is hoped that this will provide no inconvenience to the reader.

The phonetic symbols are discussed in Sec. 1.1 for consonants, 2.1 for vowels, and 4.1 for tones. The symbols used in the modified standard orthography are given in Sec. 1.3 for consonants and 2.4 for vowels.

List of abbreviations

Morphology/syntax

1s	first person singular subject
2sa	second person singular associative
3po	third person plural object
hab	habitual aspect
perf	perfective aspect
prog	progressive aspect
infin	infinitive
mid	middle voice
ben	benefactive
ven	ventive
subj	subjunctive mood
imper	imperative
ger	gerund
Su	subject
DO	direct object
IO	indirect object
Tr	transitive verb
AN	activity naming verb
SA	secondary argument verb
Intr	intransitive verb
att+part	attributive particle
comp	complementizer
neg	negative
indef	indefinite suffix
theme	thematic suffix
Sg	singular
Pl	plural

Phonology

C_1	first consonant (or consonant glide cluster) or a C_1VC_2 root
V	vowel
C_2	the final consonant of a C_1VC_2 root
G	glide

H	high tone
L	low tone
'H	downstepped high tone
HL	falling tone
H'H	falling downstepped tone
LH	rising tone
H(L)	a class of nouns whose citation forms have H, but which generally behave like HL

Phonological Rules

VH	vowel harmony
Coal	coalescence
Contr	contraction
UFS	underlying fall simplification
HS1	high spread 1
RS	rise simplification
LS	low spread
FS1	fall simplification 1
FS2	fall simplification 2
HS2	high spread 2
H(L)S	H(L) simplification

Introduction

Lango is a member of the Lwo subgroup of Western Nilotic, a branch of the Nilotic languages, which in turn are members of the Nilo-Saharan family (Greenberg 1966). Nilo-Saharan as a whole is a rather poorly studied group despite the fact that the languages are distributed over a large area in the Eastern Sahel and East Africa.

Lango is spoken entirely within Uganda. The population is located primarily in Lango province, north of Lake Kyoga in central Uganda. Lango is most closely allied, both in grammar and lexicon, to Acholi, and somewhat more distantly to Luo and Alur. Tucker (1957) and Tucker and Bryan (1966) have asserted that the Langi originally spoke an Eastern Nilotic language and, since moving to their present habitat, have taken up a form of Western Nilotic (but compare Driberg (1923) on this point). Numerous apparent relics, both syntactical and lexical, can be found which may attest to this earlier linguistic affiliation, though the evidence needs to be very carefully assessed to determine whether these are relics or some sort of adstratum.

The Lango language which is the subject of this study is distinct from that of two groups of people living in the Sudan who are sometimes also referred to as 'Lango.' One of these speaks an eastern Nilotic language closely related to Lotuko; the other, usually referred to as Didinga, speaks a Surma language.

In recent years, the Langi have been a politically important group within Uganda. During the period of the Amin regime and the civil war that followed, the Langi people suffered greatly and many were killed or went into exile. Estimates of the number of Langi vary from 300,000 (Okello, 1975) to 823,200 (Grimes, 1988). Many Langi have some knowledge of English.

There is very little published work on Lango. The earliest and most useful work is Driberg (1923) which contains a short grammar and a dictionary. While this is a most valuable work, it is seriously flawed in a number of crucial areas. Driberg discusses syntax only incidentally and sparsely in the course of his treatment of morphology and, in addition, tends to over-morphologize, i.e. to represent in single words sequences of independent (and separable) words. The tone system of Lango is almost completely ignored. In his transcription of vowels, Driberg fails to note the distinctions based on advanced versus retracted tongue root, thereby cutting the vowel inventory in half. The effects of this transcriptional inadequacy extend beyond mere failure to note phonological processes such as vowel harmony, and differences between lexical items. For example, Driberg fails to recognize grammatical categories such as

the aspect distinctions in the verbal paradigms, which are frequently distinguished only by tone.

Tucker and Bryan (1966) provide the only other grammatical information, presenting a few features of Lango grammar in a chapter giving a general overview of Western Nilotic. Also in a comparative vein is Blount and Curley (1970) which compares Lango vocabulary, in the form of Swadesh's 100 and 200 word lists, with other closely related Western Nilotic languages.

Other literature on Lango is concerned with specific aspects of Lango phonology and syntax. Tucker (1958) is a valuable discussion of segmental and tonemic phenomena at word boundaries. Maddieson, Shopen and Okello (1974), Clifton (1975), and Dwyer (1983) discuss Lango tonemics, while Okello (1975) discusses both tonemic and segmental phonology. The last four works are written in a generative framework. Dwyer (1983) and Bavin (1982) compare Lango with Southern Lwo kin.

Brief mention of Lango is also made in the following works: Tucker (1955), Hall et al (1955), and Greenberg (1966).

Newspapers, pedagogical materials, and some literary works have been published in Lango. A complete translation of the Bible has been available since 1979. There are also radio broadcasts in the language. Personal correspondence between Langi, however, is likely to be in English, the language of schools, higher literacy, and the courts in Uganda.

The primary material upon which this work is based was collected over a period of several years, from 1977 to 1983, from consultants residing in Buffalo, New York, and Los Angeles. A number of Lango speakers served as consultants, chief among them were Mary Okello, Jonas Opio, Florence Monday, and George Ojuk. To all of them I express my gratitude. In addition to data collected from consultants, textual material collected by Driberg (1923) was also used, as were short stories written by Langi.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Wally Chafe, Bob Kirsner, Paul Schachter, and Sandy Thompson for helpful comments at various stages in the production of this work. I would like to give special thanks first to Chet Creider, whose detailed comments greatly improved the work, and second, but most importantly, to Edith Bavin, with whom much of the data were collected and with whom I worked out the preliminary analysis of the grammar.

And lastly, I would like to thank Dean Andrade, who designed and typed the final camera-ready version.

PART ONE:
PHONOLOGY
AND
MORPHOLOGY

Lango morphophonemes (=systematic phonemes)

Consonants and glides:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar
VL Stops	p	t		k	
VD Stops	b	d		g	
VL Affricates			c (=tɕ)		
VD Affricates			ɟ (=dʑ)		
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
VD Tap		r (=ɾ)			
VD Lateral		l			
Glides			y		w

Vowels:

	Front		Central		Back	
	[+ATR]	[-ATR]	[+ATR]	[-ATR]	[+ATR]	[-ATR]
High	i	ɪ			u	ʊ
Mid	e	ɛ	ə		o	ɔ
Low				a		

1. Consonants[1]

1.1 Inventory of consonants

Phonetically, the following consonants and glides are attested in Lango:[2]

(1)	bilabials	alveolars	palatals	velars	labio-velar	glottal stop
vl. stops	p	t		k		
geminates	p•	t•		k•		
vd. stops	b	d		g		
geminates	b•	d•		g•		
vl. affricates			tɕ			
geminates			tɕ•			
vd. affricates			dʑ			
geminates			dʑ•			
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
geminates	m•	n•	ɲ•	ŋ•		
vl. fricatives	Φ	s	ɕ	x		
vl. tap		ɾ				
vd. tap		ɾ				
lateral		l				
geminate	l•					
glides			y		w	
glottal stop						ʔ

Voiceless stops and affricates are very slightly aspirated. Voiced stops and affricates are fully voiced, even initially, and are sometimes heard with a murmured voice quality.

The geminate consonants are in fact, long — they are not rearticulated.

In utterance final position, stops are normally unreleased, which often makes it difficult to hear whether a final stop is voiced or voiceless. Before voiced stops, as in **dóg** 'mouth', the vowel is slightly longer than before voiceless stops, such as in **dɔ̀k** 'to go back', though the vowel length exhibited before voiced stops is considerably less than that found in fully long vowels (Sec 2.2).

The palatal affricates [tɕ] and [dʑ] and the palatal fricative [ɕ] are phonetically prepalatal and resemble the initial consonants in the Polish words **ciç**, **dzień**, and **siç**, respectively, and like these are not accompanied by lip rounding.

1.2 Distribution of consonants

1.2.1 General patterns

The syllable canon of Lango is relatively simple and can be described by the following formula:

(1) (C) (G) V (C)

C = consonant
G = glide
V = vowel

Consonant final syllables are, with the exception of a few borrowings, found only morpheme finally.[3]

The glide [w] may follow any non-geminate consonant except for the fricatives, [ʂ], and [y]:

(2)	**pwód**	'still'	**bwògò**[4]	'young, unripe'
	twòl	'snake'	**dwɔ̀k•ɔ̀**	'to go back'
	kwèè	'to cool'	**gwènò**	'chicken'
	tɕwè•yò	'to create'	**dʑwìk**	'to shrivel'
	mwòl	'humble'	**nwàŋ**	'thick'
	ɲwàl	'to give birth'	**ŋwé**	'smelly'
	ɾwòt	'king'	**lwɔ̀k•ɔ̀**	'to wash'

The glide [y] is more restricted in distribution: it, too, does not follow geminates, fricatives, and [ʂ], and is found only after bilabials and alveolars:[5]

(3)	**pyèt•ò**	'to winnow'	**byè**	'termite hill'
	tyèk•ò	'to finish'	**dyɛ̀l**	'goat'
	myèn•ò	'to stir'		
	ɾyèk	'wise'	**lyèt**	'hot'

Consonants in Cy sequences are phonetically palatalized.

CG sequences occur only root initially. Note that apparent exceptions like **tùtwàl** 'very' are reduplications — see Section 6.

Consonants clusters (i.e. CC) do not occur natively within Lango morphemes. They are, however, found in morphemes borrowed from English and other languages, e.g. [tɕèntè] 'money', [gàbmèntè] 'government'. Educated speakers tend to preserve these clusters, but in ordinary speech words such as these are likely to be pronounced in conformity with the general Lango pattern. [tɕèntè] may alternately be pronounced [tɕèn•è] or [tɕènè], and [gàbmèntè] may be heard as [gàbàmèntè], [gàbàmèn•è], or [gàbàmènè], the latter with harmonizing vowels.

Consonant clusters occur at morpheme boundaries as a result of affixation:

(4) **kèd+gí**
with-3po
'with them'

twòl+cà
snake-yonder
'yonder snake'

In these clusters, the second member is always palatal, velar or [w]. Clusters where the second member would be a bilabial or an alveolar undergo cluster simplification: see Sec. 1.2.3.

The remaing distributional facts are illustrated in (5). In this chart, CG clusters are ignored, having been described above. Note that word boundaries (#) and morpheme boundaries (+) play a significant role in the distribution of consonants and glides in Lango: see table 5. In (5), environment A describes word initial position:

(6) **n̲áxô** 'girl'
ʔ̲òt 'house'

Environment B describes stem initial position in lexical items to which prefixes have been added (the underlined consonant is in environment B):

(7) ă + $_{V}$[p̲ònò] → **àpónò**
1s hid 'I hid'

Stem initial syllables receive word stress (Sec. 3):[6]

(8) **àpó̲nò**

(In this work, underlined vowels are stressed.) Environment C describes all other intervocalic positions within words:

(9) $_{N}$[gúlú] 'pot'

$_{N}$[kít̲]+**á** → **kíʂá**
character-1sa 'my character'

$_{N}$[gwèn̲ò]+**ná** → **gwènòná**
chicken-1sa 'my chicken'

Environment D is word final position:

(10) **twòl** 'snake'
lyèt 'hot'

First, notice that sound pattern identically in A and B. That is, the same consonants, are found in, and excluded from, environments A and B.

Second, a number of sounds are found only in C:

1) geminates
2) fricatives
3) [ʂ]

Table

	A # _____ V	B V+[_____ V {n, v, a}	C V _____ V	D V _____ #
p	**pì** 'because of'	**ʔàpónò** 'I hid'	**dépô** 'to collect'	**bàp** 'to deflate'
t	**tóŋ** 'spear'	**ʔàtédò** 'I cooked'	-	**lyèt** 'hot'
tɕ	**tɕɔ̀•** 'men'	**ʔàtɕámò**	-	**ɾétɕ** 'fish'
k	**kál** 'millet'	**ʔàkóbò** 'I said'	-	**dɔ̀k** 'to go back'
b	**bòt** 'to'	**ʔàbáxò** 'I accumulate'	**ʔàkóbò** 'I said'	**yíb** 'tail'
d	**dɔ̀k** 'to go back'	**ʔàdínò** 'I threshed'	**gédô** 'to build	**bàd** 'arm'
dʑ	**dʑóbô** 'to sweep'	**ʔàdʑóbò** 'I swept'	**ʔàtódʑò** 'I beat'	**tǒdʑ** 'beat!'
g	**gót** 'mountain'	**ʔàgâl** 'I delayed'	**bwògò** 'young'	**dóg** 'mouth'
p•	-	-	**dèp•ò** 'to collect'	-
t•	-	-	**tɕàt•ò** 'to sell'	-
tɕ•	-	-	**ŋwètɕ•ò** 'to run from'	-
k•	-	-	**dàk•ò** 'to transfer'	-
b•	-	-	**dʑɔ̀b•ɔ̀** 'to sweep'	-
d•	-	-	**kòd•ò** 'to blow'	-
dʑ•	-	-	**tòdʑ•ò** 'to beat up'	-
g•	-	-	**ɾèg•ò** 'to grind'	-
m	**món** 'women'	**ʔàmɔ̂l** 'I float'	**ʔàɲámò** 'I chewed'	**ɲòm** 'marriage'
n	**nên** 'to be visible'	**ʔànénò** 'I saw'	**gwènò** 'chicken'	**càn** 'poverty'
ɲ	**ɲáxô** 'girl'	**ʔàɲámò** 'I chewed'	**wìɲó** 'bird'	**píɲ** 'ground'
ŋ	**ŋèc** 'back'	**ʔàŋɔ̂xéɾê** 'I vomited'	-	**cíŋ** 'fore-arm'
m•	-	-	**tɕàm•ò** 'to eat'	-
n•	-	-	**nèn•ò** 'to see'	-
ɲ•	-	-	**ɾwèɲ•ò** 'to lose'	-
ŋ•	-	-	**ɾìŋ•ò** 'to run from'	-
Φ	-	-	**déΦô** 'to collect'	-
s	-	-	**lósə̀** 'man'	-
ɕ	-	-	**lóɕə̀** 'man'	-
x	-	-	**dáxô** 'woman'	-
ɕ	-	-	**bòɕə́** 'to me'	-
ɾ	**ɾétɕ** 'fish'	**ʔàɾégò** 'I ground'	**néɾó** 'uncle'	**ɲɔ̀ɾ** 'chain'
l	**léb** 'tongue'	**ʔàlégò** 'I prayed'	**lélô** 'to rejoice'	**dyèl** 'goat'
l•	-	-	**kwàl•ò** 'to steal'	
y	**yìtɕ** 'belly'	**ʔàyíɕò** 'I climbed'	**pòyò** 'to remember'	-
w	**wìtɕə́** 'my head'	**ʔàwálò** 'Iboiled'	-	-
ʔ	**ʔɔ̀t** 'house'	**ʔòʔɔ̀lɔ̀** 'he coughed'	-	-

Some sounds are excluded from C:

1) [ŋ]
2) [w]
3) [ʔ]
4) voiceless, non-geminate stops and affricates except [p] (but see below)

Third, some sounds are excluded from D:

1) [ʔ]
2) the glides [y] and [w]
3) geminates
4) fricatives
5) [ʂ]

The latter three may occur in environment D in external sandhi: see Sections 1.2.2 and 1.2.3 below.

1.2.2 Fricatives and [ʂ]

Fricatives and [ʂ] are in complementary distribution with the non-geminate voiceless stops and affricates: the former are found only in environment C (excluding external sandhi from consideration here), whereas the latter are excluded from this environment. Paradigmatic alternations between the two sets are a regular feature of Lango morphophonology. The following alternations are found:

(1) [p] alternates with [Φ]
[t] alternates with [ʂ]
[tɕ] alternates with [ɕ], [s]
[k] alternates with [x]

(2)

2s imperative	*2s perfective*	
dě•p	**ʔìdéΦò**	'gather'
mǎ•t	**ʔìmáʂò**	'drink'
dǎ•tɕ	**ʔìdáɕò**	'drop'
tě•k	**ʔìtéxò**	'start'

The [t]/[ʂ] and [k]/[x] alternations are quite regular and require no comment except to point out that [ʂ] may appear in place of [t] before the suffixes **-wá** and **-wú**,

(1) /ɔ̀t+wá/ → [ʔɔ̀twá] or [ʔɔ̀ʂwá]
house-1pa
'our house'

/ɔ̀t+wú/ → [ʔòtwú] or [ʔòʂwú]
house-2pa
'your house'

and that [ʂ] and [x] may replace final [t] and [k] respectively in fast speech in external sandhi when the latter are intervocalic:

(2) /ătèt # àwó'ró/ → [ʔàtêʂ àwó'ɾó]
1s-forge-perf yesterday
'I forged yesterday'

/ădɔ̀k # àwó'ró/ → [ʔàdɔ̂x àwó'ɾó]
1s-go+back-perf yesterday
'I went back yesterday'

The [p]/[Φ] alternation is not found with all Lango speakers. For some, it is a regular feature; others used [Φ] occassionally; and still others never use [Φ]. I have no data on the social or regional variables affecting this alternation.

The [tɕ]/[ɕ] alternation is quite regular except that some speakers substitute [s] for [ɕ], but only in a few very common words. The word most commonly found with [s] is the word /lôcà/ 'man', which is pronounced either [lócà] or [lósà]. No speaker consistently used [s] for this word, and some speakers rejected the [lósà] pronunciation when it was pointed out to them, even though the pronunciation had passed unnoticed in free speech.

Given the distributional facts, the fricatives and [ʂ] can be viewed as deriving morphophonemically from lexical voiceless stops and affricates via a process of consonant weakening, e.g.:

(3) /ă+màt+ò/ → [ʔàmáʂò]
1s-drink-perf
'I drank it'

1.2.3 Geminates

Geminates are also restricted to environment C in citation forms, though as a product of certain rules of external sandhi they may also occur in environment D. There are three sorts of conditions under which geminates regularly appear:

(1) As a process of cluster simplification, sequences of any consonant C plus an alveolar or bilabial consonant becomes C•. This commonly occurs when a suffix beginning with an anterior (alveolar or bilabial) C is added to a root ending in a C:

/ɔ̀t+ná/ → [ʔɔ̀t•á]
house-1sa
'my house'

/ɔ̀t+mérê/ → [ʔɔ̀t•érê]
house-3sa
'his house'

/ɔ̀t+nɔ̀/ → [ʔɔ̀t•ɔ̀]
house-that
'that house'

/tɔ́ŋ+nì/ → [tɔ̀ŋ•ì]
spear-pl
'spears'

/ɔ̀+tɛ̀d+rɛ̂/ → [ʔɔ̀tɛ̀d•ɛ̂]
3s-cook-mid
'it got cooked'

Velars, palatals, and /w/ do not participate in cluster simplification:

/ɔ̀t+wá/ → [ʔɔ̀twá] (or [ʔɔ̀ʁwá]; see Sec. 1.2.2)
house-1ps
'our house'

/ɔ̀t+gǐ/ → [ʔɔ̀dgǐ] (see Sec. 1.4.3)
house-3pa
'their house'

/tɔ́ŋ+cà/ → [tɔ́ŋtɕâ]
spear-yonder
'yonder spear'

In fast speech, cluster simplification may operate across word boundaries where the second word is a particle or preposition:

[tìtɕ mɛ́ ɔ̀t] or [tìtɕ•ɛ́ ɔ̀t]
work for house
'housework'

A similar process of cluster simplification is optionally found in borrowed words with morpheme internal consonant clusters: [tɕɛ̀n•ɛ̀] 'money' is found alongside [tɕɛ̀ntɛ̀].

(2) The final consonant of a verbal root appears as a geminate in the transitive infinitive and in the progressive aspect, which historically was built off the infinitive:[7]

/din/ 'thresh'
[dìn•ɔ̀] 'to thresh it'
[ʔádìn•ɔ̀] 'I am threshing it'
cf
[ʔàdínɔ̀] 'I threshed it'
[dǐ•n] 'thresh it!'

The root final consonant in benefactive and ventive verb stems is also geminated:[8]

/kel/ 'bring'
[ʔòkèl•ə́] 'he brought it for me'

/riŋ/ 'run'
[ʔòrìŋ•ô] 'he ran to me'

(3) In external sandhi, gemination occurs before:

a) the final consonant of the head of an associative construction before the attributive particle /à/:[9]

/búk # à # dákô/ → [búk• á 'dákô]
book att+part woman
'the woman's book'

b) the third person singular of the progressive aspect:

/món # à+tèd+ò/ → [món• àtèd•ò]
women 3s-cook-prog
'the women is cooking it'

cf [món ótédò]
women 3s-cook-perf
'the women cooked it'

(Plural nouns take 3s subject agreement.) Topicalized elements, including subject pronouns, do not geminate before 3s prog verbs:

[én àtèd•ò]
he 3s-cook-prog
'he is cooking it'

c) a set of words with so-called 'zero consonants' — the name, as well as the first description of the phenomenon, is from Tucker (1955). Like the attributive particle and the third singular progressive prefix, these words were historically consonant initial, but have since lost these consonants. All agent nouns fall into this class as well as a number of other words. A sample follows — Acholi preserves the original consonants:

Acholi	*Lango*	
/làpác/	/àpác/	'carpenter'
/làbvòr/	/àbwòr/	'lion'
/làcɔ̂/	/ìcɔ̂/	'man'
/lùdùkú/	/òdùkú/	'gun'
/rùbíâ/	/òbíâ/	'money'
/làwó'ró/	/àwó'ró/	'yesterday'
/làtîn/	/àtîn/	'child'

All Lango speakers I've consulted accept sentences like:

[mán• òdùxú]
this gun
'this is a gun'

but some would say instead

[mán ódùxú]

without gemination. Some of these words are more likely to condition gemination than others: generally, the more common a word is, the more likely it is to exhibit the zero consonant phenomenon. Agent nouns (Sec. 5.2.2), because they form a coherent class, consistently condition zero consonant effects.

These zero consonants have phonological effects other than conditioning gemination. They can block coalescence in external sandhi (Sec. 2.7) and they can block tone spreading rules (Sec. 4.4.2).

There is no need to posit lexical geminates in Lango: all geminates can be derived morphophonemically from non-geminates via cluster simplification, as a morphophonemic process affecting transitive infinitives and their derivatives, or as a morphophonemic process affecting word final consonants before zero consonants.[10]

1.2.4 [ʔ]

In words said in isolation and in very slow, deliberate speech, the glottal stop precedes all word initial vowels. In faster tempi in connected speech, such glottal stops are omitted except utterance initially. The presence or absence of a glottal stop in initial position is not a lexical feature, but rather a low level phonetic one.

Intervocalically in environment B, i.e. between prefixes and root-initial vowels, either [ʔ] in very slow speech or [ɦ] (murmured voice) in moderately slow speech is inserted:

/ǎ+ɔ̀m+ɔ̀/	→	[ʔàʔɔ́mɔ̀]	Very Slow
1s-fetch-perf		[ʔàɦɔ́mɔ̀]	Moderately Slow
'I fetched it'			

In moderate or fast tempi, neither is likely to appear:

→ [ʔàɔ́mɔ̀] Moderate or Fast

Again, word internal glottal stops need not be specified lexically since their presence is predictable on a combination of morphophonemic and stylistic considerations.

1.2.5 [w]

[w] occurs in morpheme initial position and in clusters following any consonant morhophoneme except /b/ and the glide /y/ in morpheme initial position. (This was exemplified in Sec. 1.2.1.) [w] never occurs in other positions within roots.[11]

1.3 Inventory of consonant morphophonemes

The following inventory of consonant and glide morphophonemes (or systematic phonemes) can be posited for Lango:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar
VL Stops	p	t		k	
VD Stops	b	d		g	
VL Affricates			c (=tʃ)		
VD Affricates			j (=dʒ)		
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
VD Tap		r (=ɾ)			
VD Lateral		l			
Glides			y		w

Notice that in conformity with the usual practice of Niloticists, the symbols 'c', 'j', and 'r' will substitute for 'tʃ', 'dʒ', and 'ɾ', respectively, in morphophonemic transcriptions.

Even though consonant gemination is predictable (but see endnote 10), geminates will always be indicated since gemination is used to signal grammatical categories. Gemination will be transcribed with double consonants:

tèddò	[tèd•ò]	'to cook'
ŋwèccò	[ŋwètʃ•ò]	'to run from'
rwèɲɲò	[ɾwèɲ•ò]	'to lose'

From this point on, all transcriptions of consonants will be morphophonemic except where square brackets indicate phonetic transcriptions.

1.4 Other morphophonemic processes

1.4.1 The lack of a geminate tap

Unlike the other consonant morphophonemes in Lango, there is no geminate counterpart of the tap /r/, neither [ɾ•] nor a trill [r]. Where a geminate tap would be expected, a preceding long vowel is found instead (see below Sec. 2.2):

[ʔàkúɾɔ̀]	'I waited'	cf	[ʔàtédò]	'I cooked it'
[kʊ̀•ɾɔ̀]	'to wait'		[tèd•ò]	'to cook it'

Notice that the long vowel in [kʊ̀•ɾɔ̀] corresponds to the morphophonemically conditioned geminate stop in [tèd•ò].

1.4.2 Intervocalic /ŋ/

Most Lango verb roots are of the form $C_1(G)VC_2$ (Sec. 5.1.1). C_2 can occur word finally or intervocalically, in geminated or non-geminated form, depending on which part of the verbal paradigm we consider:

/ted/	'cook'	
	[tĕ•d]	'cook it!'
	[ʔàtédò]	'I cooked it'
	[tèd•ò]	'to cook it'

In Sec. 1.2.1, it was noted that [ŋ] does not occur in environment C, that is, it does not occur intervocalically except root initially — we find no [ŋ] corresponding to the [d] in [ʔàtédò] above. When the morphophoneme /ŋ/ is C_2 and appears in non-geminated form in environment C, the flanking vowels are nasalized and the /ŋ/ itself is deleted:

/gɛŋ/	'prevent'	
	[gĕ•ŋ]	'prevent it!'
	[ʔàgɛ́ɛ̃ɔ̃]	'I prevented it'
	[gèŋ•ò]	'to prevent it'

Vowels are regularly nasalized before and after nasal stops, but the nasalization in [ʔàgɛ́ɛ̃ɔ̃] is more pronounced than the slight nasalization in the corresponding vowels in [gèŋ•ò] or [gĕ•ŋ].

In nouns also, fully nasalized vowels alternate with [ŋ]:[12]

[cíŋ]	'hand'	[cíɪ̃ɛ̃]	'hands'
[còŋ]	'knee'	[cõ̂ɛ̃]	'knees'
[ɲàŋ]	'crocodile'	[ɲə̀ɛ̃]	'crocodiles'
[tyàŋ]	'durra stalk'	[tyə̀ɛ̃]	'durra stalks'

In nouns and verbs like those given above, there is little difficulty in

positing a morphophoneme /ŋ/: /ŋ/ is deleted in environment C when non-geminate; the flanking vowels are fully nasalized.[13] There are instances of fully nasalized vowels, however, where there is no alternation with [ŋ]:

[ɲãõ]	'morning sun'
[ʔògʊ̃á]	'near'
[ʔòrãà]	'sterile (of a young woman)'

In such cases, there is always a sequence of two nasal vowels, each of which constitutes a separate syllable, i.e. there is always a sequence like:

$$\tilde{V} \$ \tilde{V}$$

In fact, fully nasal vowels do not occur in Lango except in $\tilde{V}$ \$ $\tilde{V}$ pairs. It is always possible, then, to posit a morphophonemic /ŋ/ in such words, catching a free-ride on the nasalization and ŋ-deletion rules. In morphophonemic transcriptions, /ŋ/ will be written in such words:[14]

	/ɲàŋò/	/ògʊ̀ŋá/	/òràŋà/
Nasalization	**ɲãŋõ**	**ògʊ̃ŋ̃á**	**òrãŋ̃à**
ŋ-deletion	**ɲãõ**	**ògʊ̃á**	**òrãà**
other rules	[ɲãõ]	[ʔògʊ̃á]	[ʔòrãà]

1.4.3 Devoicing and voicing assimilation

Non-nasal stops and affricates assimilate in voicing to that of following stops and affricates both across morpheme boundaries within words (where gemination does not apply — Sec. 1.2.3) and across word boundaries:

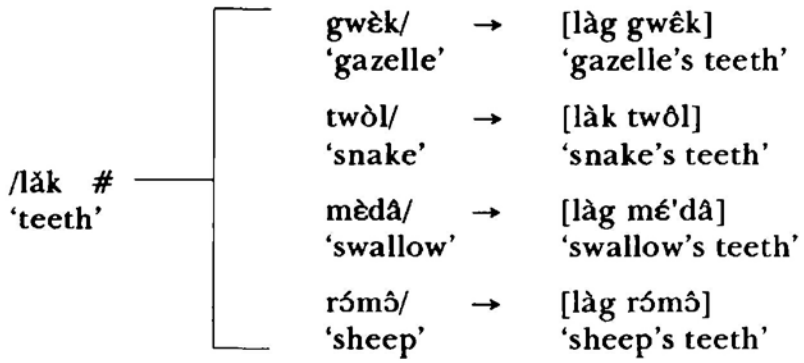
(1) /yàt+gí/ → [yàdgí]
tree-3pa
'their tree'

/dɔ́g+cà/ → [dɔ́kʧâ]
mouth-yonder
'yonder mouth'

(2) /lêb # 'tongue'

gwèk/ 'gazelle' →	[léb gwèk] 'gazelle's tongue'
twòl/ 'snake' →	[lép twòl] 'snake's tongue'
mèdâ/ 'swallow' →	[léb mèdâ] 'swallow's tongue'
rɔ́mɔ̂/ 'sheep' →	[léb 'rɔ́mɔ̂] 'sheep's tongue'

(3)



Syntactic environments which allow such an assimilation in external sandhi in moderate tempo include:

(1) noun + modifier

(2) verb + object

(3) proposition + object

In slow deliberate speech no assimilation need take place in external sandhi; in fast tempo, assimilation is possible in other syntactic environments.

Word final non-nasal stops and affricates preceding the attributive particle **à** are devoiced and, as noted in Sec. 1.2.3, geminated — the latter applying to all final consonants including nasals:

/píg à dákô/ → [pík• à dáxô]
juice att+part woman
'the woman's juice'

/bàd à dákô/ → [bàt• à dáxô]
leg att+part woman
'the woman's leg (of meat)'

cf /ɔ̀t à dákô/ → [ʔɔ̀t• à dáxô]
house att+part woman
'the woman's house'

/dùl à dákô/ → [dùl• à dáxô]
log att+part woman
'the woman's log'

Historically the devoicing and gemination found with the attributive particle **à** were simply regular instances of the general processes of voicing assimilation and cluster simplification (gemination). **à** was historically **pà**, as recorded earlier in this century by Driberg (1923) and as it still is in closely related Acholi.[15]

1.4.4 The Ø/y/c alternation

A number of roots in Lango evidence a Ø/y/c alternation:

(a)	(b)	(c)	
òpà-ò 'he carved it'	**pà•y-ò** 'to carve it'	**àpác** 'carver'	**pác** 'carpentry'
òwè-ò 'he swept it'	**wè•y-ò** 'to sweep it'	**àwéc** 'sweeper'	**òwéc** 'broom'
òwè-ò 'he swept'	**wèy-ò** 'to sweep'		
wì-á 'my head'[16]		**wìc** 'head'	

For these roots, C_2 is realized as Ø in the (a) set, as /y/ in the (b) set, and as /c/ in the (c) set. The generalizations governing this alternation are these:

(1) C_2 is realized as /y/ in verbs otherwise requiring a geminate C_2, such as in the infinitive stem, in forms built off the infinitive stem like the progressive aspect, before the middle voice suffix **-ê**, etc.

(2) C_2 is realized as /c/ word finally, except in subjunctives (imperatives are a variety of subjunctive — Sec. 5.3.2 and Sec. 8.2.7). Compare

pǎ•
'carve it!'

with **àpác** 'carver' from the same root. An exception involves nouns which are heads of inalienable associative constructions (Sec. 8.7.2). In such cases, C_2 is realized as Ø:

wì ògwàŋ	cf **wìcc à dákô**
head merekat	head att+part woman
'a merekat's head'	'the woman's (animal) head'

wì ògwàŋ involves inalienable possession; therefore, the head noun wìc appears as **wì**.

(3) C_2 is realized as geminate /c/ (i.e. as /cc/) in nouns before suffixes signalling alienable possession (Sec. 8.7.2):

	wì-á	**wìcc-á**
	'my (own) head'	'my (animal) head'
cf	**bàm-á**	**bàmm-á**
	'my (own) pelvis'	my (animal) pelvis'

(4) C_2 is realized as Ø elsewhere

Roots that exhibit the Ø/y/c alternation contrast with those that have /c/ in all positions:

òpàcò	**pàccò**	**àpác**	**pác**	**păc**
'he peeled it'	'to peel it'	'peeler'	'to peel'	'peel it!'

These non-alternating roots with /c/, together with the limitations on the occurence of [y] (it does not occur word-finally — Sec. 1.2.1), prompted Okello (1975) to posit morphophonemic /y/ as C_2 for the roots exhibiting the Ø/y/c, a position which I will adopt as well.

1.4.5 Epenthetic /y/

When a root has no C_2 and the morphological configuration requires a geminate C_2 (as for a transitive infinitive, etc.), an epenthetic /y/ is inserted in place of the absent C_2. For example, the verb /tɔ/ 'die' lacks C_2. When the benefactive suffix **ɨ** is attached to a root, C_2 must be geminated, but since /tɔ/ lacks C_2, a /y/ is inserted:

/ò+tɔ+ɨ+á/	→	[òtɔ•yá]
3s-die-ben-1so		
'it died on me'		

(/y/ does not result from **ɨ**: see Sec. 2.6)

/cò+ò/	→	[cò•yò]
wake+up-stem+vowel		
'to wake up (smn)'		

This Ø/y alternation is different from the Ø/y/c alternation discussed in the last section. Compare the following:

Ø/y Alternation:

òcòò	**cò•yò**	**cò•**
'he woke up smn'	'to wake up smn'	'to wake up'

Ø/y/c Alternation:

òcɔ̀ɔ̀	**cɔ̀•yɔ̀**	**côc**
'he wrote/sowed stg'	'to write/sow stg'	'to write/sow'

In the Ø/y/c alternation, /c/ appears word-finally (see (2) in Sec. 1.4.4), but /c/ fails to appear in the Ø/y alternation. Otherwise the two alternation patterns are the same for verbs: the Ø/y alternation is found only with verbs.

1.5 Non-productive alternations

1.5.1 Alternation of voiceless and voiced stops

There are few non-productive consonant alternations in Lango. Of these, the most important is the alternation of voiceless and voiced stops.[17] This alternation is found primarily in singular/plural noun pairs:

ɔ̀t	'house'	**ùdí**	'houses'
rwót	'king'	**rwòdê**	'kings'
gòt	'mountain'	**gódí**	'mountains'
lɔ̀t	'stick'	**lùdì/lùdê**	'sticks'
jɔ̀k	'spirit'	**jógí**	'spirits'
gwôk	'dog'	**gwóggî**	'dogs'

When an alternation occurs, the singular has the voiceless stop and the plural the voiced stop. Most nouns do not show this alternation,

mót	'gift'	**mótê**	'gifts'
búk	'book'	**búkê**	'books'

but those that take the plural suffix **í** always do — see Sec. 5.2.5.

This alternation is also found with some verbs and their nominalizations:

kòbbò	'to speak (tr)'	**kóp**	'speech, talk'
kòb	'to speak (intr)'		

Three nouns representing body-parts (and hence ordinarily found in inalienable associative constructions — see Sec. 8.7.2) devoice their final consonants when followed by singular alienable associative affixes (see also Sec. 5.2.4):

		Inalienable		*Alienable*	
léb	'tongue'	**lébâ**	'my tongue'	**léppá**	'my animal tongue'
bàd	'arm'	**bàdá**	'my arm'	**bàttá**	'my foreleg of meat'
yíb	'tail'	**yíbê**	'its tail'	**yíppérê**	'his animal tail'

lébbá 'my animal tongue' and **bàddá** 'my foreleg of meat' were also recorded. The noun **ɔ̀t** 'house', which is exceptional in taking the inalienable associative suffix (instead of the expected alienable suffix), changes /t/ to /d/: **ɔ̀dá** 'my house'. The inalienable associative is found only in the first person singular with this noun. The expected **ɔ̀ttá** 'my house' was also recorded and does not change /t/ to /d/.

Ventive verb stems (Sec. 8.2.3) whose roots end in /k/ show voicing of /k/ to /g/, along with the expected gemination:

Root	*Ventive Infinitive*	
dak	**dàggô**	'to emigrate to'
ɲɪk	**ɲìggô**	'to move slightly closer'
dwɔk/dɔk	**dwòggô**	'to bring back to'

Other voiceless stops are not affected:

yɪt	**yìttô**	'to climb toward'

1.5.2 Epenthetic /r/

Prepositions take inalienable associative suffixes as pronomial objects (Sec. 5.5). When the preposition ends in a vowel, an epenthetic /r/ is inserted between the root and a vowel initial suffix:

pì+á	→	**pìrá**	'according to me'
mé+á	→	**mérâ**	'for me'
tê+á	→	**térâ**	'under me'

This epenthetic /r/ is also found with a few nouns, e.g. **ɲákô** 'girl'[18], which irregularly forms associatives by deleting **-kô** and changing its tone, and **cwà** 'husband':

ɲà+á	→	**ɲàrá**	'my daughter'
cwà+á	→	**cwàrá**	'my husband'

A few forms show /r/ in the singular but /g/ in the corresponding plural. For instance, the independent associative pronouns (Sec. 5.6.3) have singular forms **mérâ** 'mine', **mérî** 'yours (sg)', etc., but plural **mégâ**, **mégî**, etc.

1.5.3 Miscellaneous alternations

A few other alternations are attested. These are all of minor significance, affecting a mere handful of roots:

r/d	**gè•rò**	'to build it'	**gédô**	'to build'
l/d	**cèllò**	'to roast, fry it'	**cédô**	'to roast, fry'
dw/d	**dwɔ̀kkɔ̀**	'to send back'	**dɔ̀k**	'to go back'
l/y	**cwèllô**	'to send towards'	**cwè•yô**	'to send towards'
d/n	**tídí**	'little (sg)'	**tìnɔ̀**	'little (pl)'
t/n	**yàt**	'tree'	**yén**	'trees'
l/g	**dyèl**	'goat'	**dyéggî**	'goats'
r/Ø	**kwèrí**	'hoe'	**kwèí**	'hoes'
Ø/g	**pì**	'water'	**pìg wàŋ**	'tears' (lit: 'eye water')
Ø/t	**dwè**	'month'	**dwétê**	'months'

1.6 'Zero consonants'

At various points in this grammar, reference is made to the so-called 'zero consonant' phenomenon, instances of initial consonants which, before their loss, triggered or blocked certain phonological processes, the effects of which persist into the modern language. The phenomenon was first described and named by Tucker (1955).

Discussion of the specific effects of these zero consonants can be found in the places noted below:

Conditioning gemination — Sec. 1.2.3
Conditioning vowel lengthening — Sec. 2.2
Blocking coalescence in external sandhi — Sec. 2.7
Blocking tone spreading rules — Sec. 4.4.2

2. Vowels

2.1 Inventory of vowels

Phonetically, forty distinct vowels must be recognized for Lango. These forty are composed of a basic set of ten vowels which, without substantially affecting their other acoustic properties, may also appear in long, nasalized, and long-nasalized versions. The basic set is, in turn, divided into two classes, the nature of which we will attend to shortly:

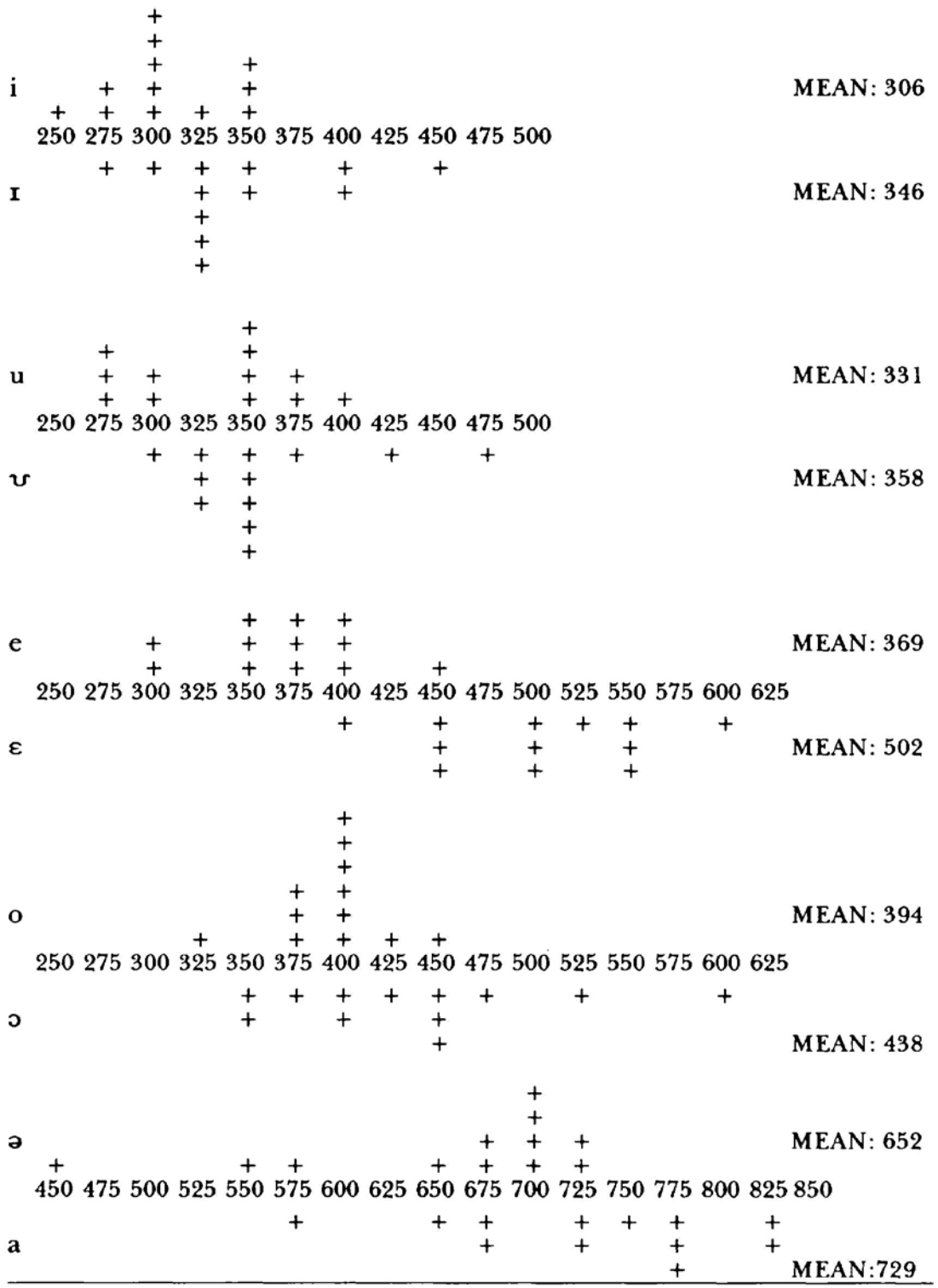
BASIC VOWELS		
Class A	*Class B*	
i	ɪ	high, front
e	ɛ	mid, front
ə	a	central
o	ɔ	mid, back, rounded
u	ʊ	high, back, rounded

Niloticists have traditionally distinguished two sets of vowels for the Southern Lwo languages (Lango, Acholi, Alur, and Luo) identical to our classes A and B.[19] Tucker and Bryan (1966) refer to Class A vowels as 'close' and 'hollow', as opposed to the Class B vowels, which are 'open' and hard'. Tucker (1958), in his discussion of Lango morphophonemics, refers to the Lango Class A vowels as 'breathy' or 'hollow' and the Class B vowels as 'hard' or 'creaky'.[20] Ladefoged (1971) reported laryngealized (i.e. creaky) voice quality for the Lango Class B vowels[21]; his failure to note any special voice quality for the Class A vowels implies he did not hear any — the data were included in a discussion of voice quality.

From my own observations, this difference in voice quality, while it exists, is not auditorily very pronounced. The Class A vowels seem to me scarcely breathy or murmured at all, while the Class B vowels are only slightly creaky.[22] Still, this apparently small difference may be a crucial one, as we shall see below.

One potential difference between the two classes of vowels is tongue height, as claimed by Tucker and Bryan (1966) and implied (by virtue of the IPA symbols he assigned them) by Tucker (1958). In order to determine the degree to which tongue height is actually involved in differentiating the classes, an acoustic study was done using a sound spectrograph on a sample of 120 Lango verbs said by one male Lango speaker: each of the ten vowels occurred as the root vowel in 12 verbs. It was assumed that tongue height could be correlated with the frequency of the first formant.[23] The f_1 frequency values (in Hz) are displayed in the histograms in Figure 1, together with an indication of the mean value for each vowel:

Figure 1
Vowel height as determined by the values (in Hz) of f_1



As the mean values for f_1 show, there is a tendency for Class A vowels to be produced with a greater tongue height. T-tests reveal that the differences

between i/ɪ, e/ɛ, and ə/a are significant, while the differences between u/ʊ and o/ɔ are not. The chart below summarizes the statistical data:

	2-tailed probability
i/ɪ	.028
u/ʊ	.165
e/ɛ	.000
o/ɔ	.067
ə/a	.027

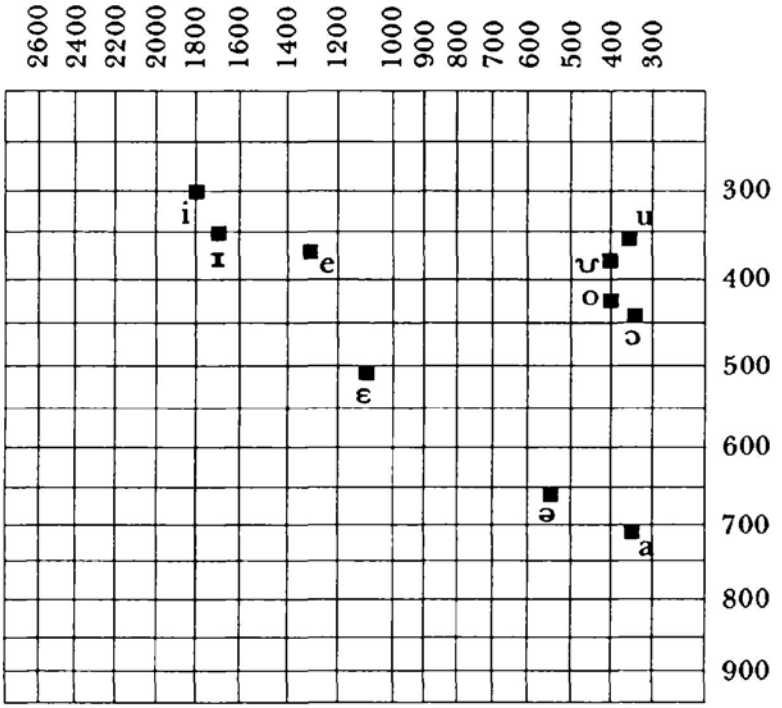
Values less than .05 are significant.

When minimal pairs are compared, the e/ɛ, ə/a, and, to a lesser extent, the i/ɪ contrasts are more discretely separated than in the larger, noisier sample, yet the back rounded vowels are still very close in f_1 frequency values, too close to be considered distinct in this respect. A set of minimal pairs is provided below,[24]

bǐ•l	'tame it!'	**bɪ̌•l**	'taste it!'
ě•l	'uncover it!'	**ɛ̌•l**	'spread it!'
bə̌•p	'deflate it!'	**bă•p**	'slap it!'
ǒ•d	'pound it!'	**ɔ̌•d**	'scoop it!'
jŭ•k	'pick it up!'	**jʊ̆•k**	'stop it!'

together with their f_1 and f_2 values plotted on the graph in Figure 2:[25]

Figure 2
f_1 and f_2 values plotted for minimal pairs
(in Hz)



As the graph shows, the back rounded vowels are bunched together within a very narrow range. The values for f_3 do not appear to be significant in distinguishing the two sorts of vowels.

One additional difference between the two sets has to do with the width of the pharynx. The Class A vowels are produced with an advanced tongue root, which results in a relatively wide pharynx and a lowered larynx; the Class B vowels, on the other hand, have a retracted tongue root resulting in a relatively narrow pharynx and a raised larynx. This distinction between vowel sets with advanced and retracted tongue roots characterizes many Niger-Kardofanian and Nilo-Saharan languages (Lindau 1978, 1974; Stewart 1967) and has been verified radiographically by Jakobson (1978) for closely related Luo. For convenience, the Class A vowels, those with advanced tongue roots, will be referred to as [+ATR] vowels, and the Class B vowels as [-ATR] vowels.

The fact that [+ATR] vowels are produced with a wider pharynx calls into question somewhat the conclusion reached above that [+ATR] vowels are produced with greater tongue height since a wider pharynx results in lower f_1 frequencies, the same effect produced by raising the tongue. The differences in f_1 frequency could, in principle, result from either tongue height, pharynx width, or both in combination. Only a radiographic investigation as done by Jakobson can resolve the issue, though at present I believe that both factors are at work.[26]

In sum, we have seen that Lango has two sets of vowels. The first, referred to as [+ATR] (Class A), are produced with a greater tongue height and a more advanced tongue root than their [-ATR] (Class B) counterparts. In addition, the [-ATR] vowels are produced with a slightly creaky (i.e. laryngealized) voice quality, a factor which may be of great importance in distinguishing the otherwise very similar back rounded vowels.

2.2 Vowel length

Phonetically long vowels occur under five sorts of conditions, all of which are fully predictable:

1) word final stressed vowels in nouns, adjectives, and verbs are long (underlined vowels in polysyllabic words are stressed):

lè•	'axe'	**à**	'attributive particle'
ŋù•	'beast of prey'	**pé**	'not'
yè•	'to believe, agree'	**ì**	'in'
tò•	'to die'	**òkkọ́**	'completely'
òbọ́•	'Obo'	**àtúdú**	'duck'
ŋwé•	'smelly'	**òmàtò**	'he drank it'

When suffixes are added to such words, the vowels become short:

lɛ̀ná 'his axe' (cf **lɛ̀•** 'axe')

The exception to this rule involves head nouns in inalienable associative constructions (Sec. 8.7.2), whose vowels are generally short,

wì gwôk
head dog
'a dog's head'

though long vowels have also been recorded in this construction:

mɔ̀• ɲìm
oil sesame
'sesame oil'

2) Vowels are long before word final /r/:

gɛ́•r	'ground squirrel'
lé•r	'blood vessel'
ɔ̀bɛ̀•r	'mosquito'

3) Phonetically, there is no geminate tap [ɾ•] (or trill [r]) in Lango. Where /r/ would be expected to undergo gemination (Sec 1.2.3), a long vowel is instead found preceding /r/ (Sec. 1.4.1). Compare the following:

ɔ̀cɛ̀lɔ̀	'she roasted it'	**ɔ̀gɛ̀rɔ̀**	'she built it'
cɛ̀l•ɔ̀	'to roast'	**gɛ̀•rɔ̀**	'to build'

Similarly, where /y/ (see Sec. 1.4.4) would be expected to undergo gemination, a long vowel precedes /y/, as in the transitive infinitives below:

ɔ̀kwèyɔ̀	'he cooled it'	
kwè•yɔ̀	'to cool it'	
ɔ̀wèyɔ̀	'he swept it'	
wè•yɔ̀	'to sweep it'	(cf **wèyɔ̀** 'to sweep')

4) Vowels with underlying stressed contour tones, or those whose stressed contour tones come about through contraction (Sec. 5.1.2.2), are long, especially when prepausal:

cǎ•m	'eat it!'
àyɔ̂•m	'monkey'
ànɛ̂•n	'(that) I see it'

However, when phrase internal, unless said very carefully, they may become half-long or even short. When such a vowel loses its

contour tone in tone sandhi, it becomes short: however, a vowel acquiring a contour tone in tone sandhi does not become long.

5) Vowels are lengthened before 'zero consonants' (Sec. 1.6). Compare the following where the vowel in **pé** 'not' lengthens to [**pé•**] because it is followed by the agent prefix **à-**, which has a zero consonant (Sec. 5.2.2)

pé• àbàŋɔ́ 'it's not a stupid person'

with

pé ábáŋè 'it's not stupidity'

where no lengthening takes place before the nominalizing prefix **à-**. Lengthening before zero consonants seems to affect only root vowels.

Stressed vowels (Sec. 3) are slightly longer than unstressed vowels.

2.3 Nasalization

As noted in Sec. 1.4.2, [ŋ] does not occur intervocalically except in root initial position (i.e. as C_1 in a stressed syllable). In other positions, the morphophoneme /ŋ/ is realized as nasalization on adjacent vowels — see Sec. 1.4.2 for examples and discussion. All nasalized vowels in Lango can be accounted for in this way.

Phonetically long vowels occur in fast speech when the morphophoneme /ŋ/ occurs between two identical vowels:

/kɔ̀ŋɔ̀/ → [kɔ̀̃•] 'beer' ([kɔ̀̃ɔ̃] in moderate speech)

/bɔ̀ŋɔ́/ → [bɔ̃̌•] 'cloth' ([bɔ̃̀ɔ̃́] in moderate speech)

In very slow, deliberate speech, Lango speakers may insert a [ʔ] or a period of auditorily prominent creaky voice quality, sometimes extending over the whole of the second vowel, so as to differentiate the two morphophonemically distinct vowels:

/kɔ̀ŋɔ̀/ → [kɔ̀̃ʔɔ̀̃] or [kɔ̀̃ɔ̰̀̃] (where [̰] represents creaky voice)

2.4 Inventory of vowel morphophonemes (=systematic phonemes)

The following set of vowel morphophonemes can be posited for Lango:

[+ATR]	[-ATR]
i	ɪ
e	ɛ
ə	a
o	ɔ
u	ʊ

Vowel length will be written only when it conveys information about grammatical categories, e.g. when it occurs in lieu of consonant gemination (Sec. 2.2) and when it reflects underlying or contracted tones in contrast with derived contour tones (Sec. 5.3.2).

Nasalization of vowels will not be transcribed since it is predictable directly from the transcription — provided one knows when a non-geminate /ŋ/ is root initial, i.e. the initial consonant of a stressed syllable (Sec. 3).

2.5. Distribution of vowels

2.5.1 In roots and affixes

Only non-high vowels can occur root initially:[27]

èllò	'to open, uncover'
ɛ̀llò	'to spread, push aside'
àmmò	'to make smn yawn'
àmmò	'to handle gently'
òllò	'to bore smn'
ɔ̀llɔ̀	'to make smn cough'

A high front vowel appears root initially only in the preposition **ɪ̀** 'in'; high front vowels do appear word initially as prefixes: **ɪ̀-cɔ́k** 'potato', **ì-nénò** 'you saw it'. High back vowels can be neither root nor word initial.

All vowels may occur in suffixes, but no prefix contains /ɔ/, /ʊ/, or /u/.

2.5.2 Vowel harmony

Lango has a sort of asymmetric vowel harmony system,[28] where the presence of a member of a set of dominant vowels changes, under certain conditions, the vowels of the non-dominant set. The reverse is never true: underlying dominant vowels are never affected by the non-dominant set.[29] In Lango, the dominant vowels are the [+ATR] set (Sec. 2.1):

Dominant [+ATR]		*Non-dominant [-ATR]*	
i	u	ɪ	ʊ
e	o	ɛ	ɔ
ə		a	

The effect of vowel harmony, then, is to change a [-ATR] vowel into its corresponding [+ATR] vowel. Since both [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowels occur underlyingly in roots and affixes, vowel harmony in Lango can be either progressive or regressive:

Progressive

ɲîm + á → **ɲímə̂**
forehead-1sa
'my forehead'

Regressive

lɛ̂b + í → **lébî**
tongue-1sa
'my tongue'

Now that the general character of vowel harmony in Lango has been established, I will set forth a set of conditions which restrict the application of vowel harmony (VH).

I. ***Prefixes are opaque to vowel harmony.***

Prefixes do not undergo VH, nor do they condition it. In (1), we see the failure of the [+ATR] prefix to condition VH,

(1) **ǐ + lʊ̀bɔ̀** → **ìlʊ́bɔ̀** not ***ìlúb**{ɔ̀ / ò}
2s-follow-perf
'you followed'

ǐ + wɛ̀kɔ̀ → **ìwɛ́kɔ̀** not ***ìwɛ́kɔ̀**
2s-leave-perf
'you left'

ò + ɔ̀ŋ → **òɔ̀ŋ** not ***òɔ̀ŋ**
3s-spill-perf
'it spilled'

and in (2) we see the failure of the [+ATR] root vowel to condition VH on the prefix:

(2) **ɛ̌ + bìtò** → **èbítò** not ***èbítò**
3s-lure-perf
'(that) he lured'

ɛ̌ + tùkò → **ètúkò** not ***ètúkò**
3s-play-perf
'(that) he played'

ɛ̌ + èlò → **èélò** not ***èélò**
3s-open-perf
'(that) he opened'

For some speakers, the first person prefix **ǎ-** (or **â-**) and the agent noun prefix **à-** are exceptional in undergoing VH:[30]

(3) **ǎ + bìtò** → **àbítò** or **ə̀bítò**
1s-lure-perf
'I lured'

à + tèt → **àtèt** or **ə̀tèt**
agent-forge
'blacksmith'

II. ***Ordinarily, the domain of vowel harmony is one syllable.***

This applies to both progressive and regressive harmony:

(1) **bɔ̀ŋɔ́ + ní** → **bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ní** ([bɔ̃̀ɔ̃̀ní])
dress-2sa
'your dress'

In fast speech, the domain may increase to two syllables:

(2) **bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ní**
'your dress'

This rule supposes the prior application of coalescence (Sec. 2.6) and contraction (Sec. 5.1.2.2). So, when contraction optionally deletes the stem vowel in (1), resulting in **bɔ̌ŋ + ní**, the only permissible output of the rules (cluster simplification, tone sandhi, vowel harmony) is **bɔ̀ŋŋí** not ***bɔ̀ŋŋí**. That is, in figuring the domain of vowel harmony, only vowels present on the surface are counted.

In all speech styles, disyllabic suffixes undergo VH in both syllables, other conditions permitting. So for example, the disyllabic middle voice suffix **-érɛ̂** undergoes VH on both syllables:

(3) **cèg + érɛ̂** → **cègérɛ̂**
close-mid
'to be closed'

III. ***Regressive harmony is blocked with suffixes beginning with a consonant or glide unless the vowel in the suffix is high.***

(1) **bòŋ́ + ní** → **bòŋòní**
dress-2sa
'your dress'

bòŋ́ + wú → **bòŋòwú**
dress-2pa
'your dress'

but:

(2) **bòŋ́ + nò** → **bòŋ̀nô** not ***bòŋònô**
dress-that
'that dress'

For some speakers, the second person plural associative suffix **-wú** conditions VH only on high vowels when it is suffixed to a stem ending in a consonant:

(3) **àtîn + wú** → **àtín'wú**
child-2pa
'your child'

lʉ̀t + wú → **lùtwú**
stick-2pa
'your stick'

but:

(4) **dɛ̀k + wú** → **dɛ̀kwú** (alongside **dèkwú**, the form for most speakers)
stew-2pa
'your stew'

Stems ending in a vowel are not affected by this exception:

(5) **bɔ̌ + wú** → **bòwú** not ***bɔ̀wú**
new+leaves-2pa
'your new leaves'

IV. ***Progressive vowel harmony is blocked in suffixes beginning with a*** **consonant or glide.**

(1) **wèlò + wá** → **wèlòwá** not ***wèlòwə́**
visitor-1pa
'our visitor'

wèlò + gí → **wèlògí** not ***wèlògí**
visitor-3pa
'their visitor'

wèlò + mórô → **wèlòmórô** not ***wèlòmórô**
visitor-some
'some visitor'

When there is no stem vowel, or when the stem vowel is deleted by contraction (Sec. 5.1.2.2), and gemination results via cluster simplification (Sec. 1.2.3) of the root final consonant and the initial consonant of the suffix, progressive vowel harmony is not blocked. So, the suffix does *not* harmonize in

(2) **wèlò + ná** → **wèlòná** not ***wèlònə́**
visitor-1sa
'my visitor'

because there is a stem vowel (**-ò**) and no gemination of the root final consonant, but *does* harmonize when the stem vowel is (optionally) deleted by contraction, as in:

(3) **wèl + ná** → **wèllə́** not ***wèllá**
'my visitor'

Note also the following:

(4) **cwíɲ + wá** → **cwíɲwá** not ***cwíɲwə́**
liver-1pa
'our liver'

but:

(5) **cwíɲ + ná** → **cwíɲɲə́** not ***cwíɲɲá**
liver-1sa
'my liver'

The combination /ɲ/ + /w/ does not undergo cluster simplification and therefore the suffix vowel does not harmonize. But in (5), /ɲ/ + /n/ does undergo the rule and the suffix vowel harmonizes with the root vowel. Note, however, that the determiner suffixes (Sec. 5.2.6) do not undergo or condition vowel harmony even when their consonant is lost in cluster simplification:

(6) **òtìt + nì** → **òtìttì** not ***òtìttì**
firefly-this
'this firefly'

V. ***The stem vowel* -ò *(Sec. 5.1.2) does not condition regressive harmony on root vowels.***

wàllò	'to boil (tr.)'	not ***wəllò**
wálô	'to boil (intr.)'	
ryèttò	'to winnow (tr.)'	
nyìkò	'to move slightly away'	
dákô	'woman'	

Instead, contrary to the general principles governing VH in the language, the [-ATR] root vowels /ɔ/ and /ʊ/ require the stem vowel to be **-ɔ** (or **-ʊ**):[31]

ŋɔ̀kkɔ̀		'to vomit (tr.)'
tʊ̀ʊ̀rɔ̀		'to break (tr.)'
bɔ̀ŋɔ́		'dress'
rɔ́mɔ̂		'sheep
pʊ́nʊ̂	}	'pig'
pʊ́nɔ̂	}	

Vowel harmony does not apply across word boundaries in compounds (Sec. 7). Words derived historically from compounds, even though felt now by Lango speakers to be single words, may contain aharmonic vowels, e.g. **kádí** 'even if' (**kádɪ́** was also recorded).

2.6 Adjacent vowels in internal sandhi

When two suffix vowels are adjacent, the first is deleted:

(1) **ò-nèn-ò-á** → **ònèná**
3s-see-stem+vowel-1so
'he saw me'

The tone associated with the deleted vowel is incorporated into the tonal pattern of the root. This matter is taken up in Sec. 4.4.3 below.

The only vowels deleted in internal sandhi are 1) the stem vowel (as illustrated in (1) above), and the benefactive suffix **-ɪ̀**, which conditions gemination:

(2) **ò-wɪ̀l-ɪ̀-á** → **òwɪ̀llá**
3s-bring-ben-1so
'he brought it for me'

These are the only suffixes followed by suffixes beginning with vowels.

It should be noted that when there are two adjacent vowels within a word and one of them is the root vowel, no deletion takes place:

(3) **ǎ-ɔ̀l-ɔ̀** → **àɔ́lɔ̀**
1s-cough-stem+vowel
'I coughed'

à-ór → **àór**
agent-send
'messenger'

ǎ-mɛ̀-ɔ̀ → **àméɔ̀**
1s-melt-stem+vowel
'I melted it'

Under certain conditions, the stem vowel may be deleted even when flanked by consonants. This process, called contraction, is discussed in Sec. 5.1.2.2.

2.7 Adjacent vowels in external sandhi

Under certain conditions, the final vowel of a word may coalesce with the initial vowel of the following word:

(1) **òtèdò àbòkè** → **òtèdə̀ bòkè**
3s-cook-perf beans
'he cooked beans'

kèdè àbòlò → **kèdə̀ bòlò**
with plaintain
'with plaintain'

kádɨ́ àbòlò → **kádá bólò**
even plaintain
'even plaintain'

Not all adjacent vowels may coalesce, however:

(2) **pé án** → **pé án** not ***pá n/*pé n/*pə́ n**
not I
'it's not me'

When coalescence occurs, the final vowel of the first word is deleted and the initial vowel of the second word assumes the [ATR] value of the deleted vowel, becoming phonologically a part of the first word:

$$(3)\quad \ldots \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha ATR \end{bmatrix}_1 \# \; V \ldots_2 \Rightarrow \emptyset_1 \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha ATR \end{bmatrix}_2 \#$$

As in internal sandhi, the tone accorded to the lost vowel is not lost but remains part of the tonal pattern of the word. This matter will be discussed more fully in Sec. 4.4.3.

Even when the conditions would otherwise be met, coalescence may not reapply to the same form. So,

(4) **rìŋ́ à àbwòr**
meat att+part lion
'the lion's meat'

regularly becomes

(5) **rìŋə̀ àbwôr**

but may not coalesce further to become:

(6) ***rìŋə̀ bwôr**

The conditions under which coalescence occurs are given below. V_1 will refer to the final vowel of the first word, V_2 to the initial vowel of the second.[32]

I. *Neither V_1 nor V_2 can be stressed.*

(Underlined vowels are stressed.)

(1) **dyè ɔ̀t** → **dyè ɔ̀t** not ***dyòt**
middle house
'floor'

nî án → **ní 'án** not ***nâ n**
that I
'that I'

(2) **ɔ̀pí̱ô é̱rô** → **ɔ̀pí́ó 'érô** not ***ɔ̀pí'é rô**
Opio 3s-begin-hab
'Opio begins it'

(3) **wì àké̱lò** → **wì àkélò** not ***wə̀ kélò**
head Akello
'Akello's head'

In (1), both V_1 and V_2 are stressed root vowels. In (2), V_1 is an unstressed stem vowel, but V_2 is a stressed root vowel. In (3), V_2 is an unstressed prefix vowel, but V_1 is a stressed root vowel. Note that not all words are stressed (Sec. 3). Some root vowels, therefore, may undergo coalescence, as we note with the attributive particle below:

(4) **rìŋ́ó à àbwɔ̀r** → **rìŋə̀ àbwôr**
meat att+part lion
'the lion's meat'

II. *V_1 cannot be a:*

a) pronominal suffix (neither object, associative, nor imperative)
b) plural suffix
c) middle voice or ventive suffix
d) demonstrative or thematic suffix

(1) **ɔ̀nɛ̀nɔ̀gí àwɔ́'ró** → **ɔ̀nɛ̀nɔ̀gí á'wó'ró** not ***ɔ̀nɛ̀nɔ̀gá 'wóró**
3s-see-perf-3po yesterday
'he saw them yesterday'
(**-gí** is a pronominal object suffix)

ɔ̀lwɔ̀kérê àwɔ́'ró → **ɔ̀lwɔ̀kéré àwó'ró** not ***ɔ̀lwɔ̀kérá 'wó'ró**
3s-wash-perf-mid
'she bathed yesterday'
(**-érê** is the middle voice suffix)

For coalescence to occur, V_1 is morphologically quite restricted and can only represent the stem vowel or the benefactive suffix — notice that these are the same vowels that can be deleted in internal sandhi.

III. ***When V_1 is a low vowel, no coalescence occurs unless V_2 is also low:***

(1) **bà̲là òpí̲ô** → **bàlà òpíô** not ***bàlò píô**
as Opio
'as Opio'

but:

(2) **bà̲là àkê̲là** → **bàlà kélà** not ***bàlà àkélà**
as Akella
'as Akella'

The exception to this rule is the attributive particle **à**, which regularly coalesces with following subject prefix vowels regardless of the vowel's height:

(3) **ɲè̲ŋ à ǒtò̲ò** → **ɲèŋŋò tóò**
crocodile att+part 3s-die-perf-rel
'a crocodile that died' = 'a dead crocodile'

(For the gemination, see Sec. 1.2.3.) Also irregular is the fact that the prefix **ò-** does not take on the [ATR] value of **à** (i.e. does not become **ɔ̀-**). A further peculiarity of this particle is that when it is V_2, **à**, and not V_1, deletes:[33]

(4) **wɨ̀ɲó à ǒtɔ̀ɔ̀** → **wɨ̀ɲò ó'tóɔ̀** not ***wɨ̀ɲà ó'tóɔ̀**
bird att+part 3s-die-perf
'a dead bird'

Unless, exception to the exception, **à** is followed by a low vowel:

(5) **rɨ̀ŋó à àbwòr** → **rɨ̀ŋə̀ àbwôr**
meat att+part lion
'the lion's meat'

IV. ***Coalescence does not occur when V_1 is the final vowel of a topicalized word (Sec. 8.5.2) and V_2 is not part of a topicalized word:***

(1) **òpíô ǎjwàtò** → **òpíô àjwátò** not ***òpíâ jwátò**
Opio 1s-hit-perf
'Opio was hit by me'

V. ***Coalescence may optionally be blocked if a 'zero consonant' intervenes (Sec. 1.6):***

(1) **ònènò àtîn** → **ònènà tîn** or **ònènò àtîn**
3s-see-perf child
'he saw the child'

àtîn (**làtîn** in Acholi) begins with a 'zero consonant', which for some speakers blocks coalescence. (Note also that the prefix **à-** does not assume the [ATR] value of the deleted stem vowel **-ò**: where the root and stem vowels do not harmonize, as in **ònènò**, V_2 will keep its [-ATR] value if the root vowel is [-ATR].)

In fast conversational speech, non-coalescing V_1 and V_2 in external sandhi may form a diphthong provided both are not stressed:

(1) **ká òpíô** → **káǫ́ 'píô** or **ká ó'píô**
if Opio
'if Opio'

but:

(2) **ká én** → **ká én** not ***káę́ n**
if he
'if he'

In such cases, the glide portion of the diphthong is always derived from an unstressed vowel. Where neither vowel is stressed, the glide portion is formed from the highest vowel:

(3) **ònènò àtîn** → **ònèn o͡àtîn** (or **ònènò àtîn**)
3s-see-perf child
'he saw the child'

The phonological reassignment of a prefix vowel described above, where the vowel becomes phonologically a part of the preceding word, may occur even without coalescence. In ordinary conversational style, we find examples like the following:

(1) **píg àbòlò** → **pígə́ bólò**
juice plaintain
'plaintain juice'

(2) **dɔ́g òlwìt** → **dɔ́gɔ́ lwît**
mouth eagle
'an eagle's mouth'

(3) **cál àtîm** → **cálá 'tîm**
picture Atim
'Atim's picture'

When the preceding word ends in a consonant, prefix vowels in the following word are reassigned as shown above. The reassigned vowel is incorporated into the vowel harmony pattern of the first word, as (1) and (2) show. One effect of the reassignment of the vowel is that the erstwhile final consonant of the first word is now intervocalic word-internally (environment C in Sec. 1.2):

(4) **kít àtîm** → **[kíʇə̀ 'tîm]**
character Atim
'Atim's character'

This vowel reassignment is a resyllabification process which, together with coalescence, results in the maintainance of the preferred CVCV structure. Vowel reassignment occurs after the operation of the rules of tone sandhi. This differs from coalescence, which must be taken to apply before the tone rules (Sec. 4.4.3).

2.8 Non-productive alternations

There are very few vowel alternations in Lango that are not obviously conditioned by vowel harmony. A summary of these is provided below:

2.8.1 [+ATR]/[-ATR] alternations in transitive and intransitive verb pairs

For some transitive/intransitive verb pairs (Sec. 5.3.1, Sec. 8.2.1.2), where the transitive stem has a [-ATR] vowel, the intransitive stem as a [+ATR] vowel:

	Transitive	*Intransitive*	
(1)	**bàkkò**	**bákô**	'to accumulate'
	cɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀	**côc**	'to write, sow'
	rɔ̀mmɔ̀	**róm**	'to be sufficient'
	but:		
(2)	**rìŋŋò**	**rìŋò**	'to run'
	pwɔ̀ttɔ̀	**pwɔ̀t**	'to smooth'
	jìɪ̀rò	**jírô**	'to sneeze'

There are no instances of the reverse, i.e. where the transitive stem has a [+ATR] vowel, but the intransitive has a [-ATR] vowel.

For the examples in (1), there is no obvious conditioning factor for the [+ATR] in the intransitive form. At this stage in the history of the language, both the transtitive and intransitive stem must be lexicalized since the intransitive cannot be predicted from the transitive (or vice-versa).

2.8.2 Varying forms of the stem vowel

As noted in Sec. 2.5.2, the stem vowel **-ò** has some harmonic irregularities: it takes the form **-ɔ̀** following the root vowels /ɔ/ and /ʊ/, but appears as

/o/ elsewhere, even following the [-ATR] root vowels /a/, /ɪ/, and /ɛ/. One additional peculiarity of the form is that it may optionally appear as /u/ or /ʊ/:

(1)	**tèddò**	**tèddù**	'to cook'
	rìŋó	**rìŋú**	'meat'

The u/ʊ form of the stem vowel **-ò** was not often encountered in the speech of my informants (though all accepted forms like those above); some speakers never produced them. The one exception to the latter generalization occurred where the root vowel is /u/ or /ʊ/, in which case some verbs in particular were habitually produced with the u/ʊ stem vowel:

(2)	**gùùrù**	'to drive in (e.g. a nail)'
	mùkkù	'to break off'
	nùùrù	'to make drowsy'
	cʊ̀ddʊ̀	'to hunt'

Other, apparently similar, verbs seldom if ever appeared with u/ʊ:

(2)	**kʊ̀ttò**	'to blow on'
	tʊ̀rʊ̀rò	'to break'
	tùkkò	'to play'
	jʊ̀kkò	'to stop'

In these cases, information about the preferred form of the stem vowel (otherwise predictable for verbs) will have to be lexical. However, all nouns with u/ʊ root vowels favor the u/ʊ stem vowel. Some, like **gúlú** 'pot' were rejected when pronounced ***gúló**; others, like **òdùkú** 'gun' and **mʊ̀nʊ́** were accepted with o/ɔ, and even pronounced that way spontaneously on occasion, but the u/ʊ form was preferred.

See Sec. 5.1.2 for further discussion of the stem vowel.

2.8.3 Miscellaneous alternations

A few other alternations are attested. These are of minor significance, affecting only single words:

(1)	ɔ/u	**ɔ̀t**	'house'	**ùdì**	'houses'
	al/o	**kwàllò**	'to steal (tr)'	**kwò**	'to steal (intr)'
	a/ɛ	**càmmò**	'to eat (tr)'	**cèm**	'to eat (intr)'
	a/ye	**à-pâr**	'ten'	**pyèr**	'tens'

3. Stress

Primary stress in Lango is invariably placed on the root vowel (underlined vowels are stressed):

			Root
(1)	**ɔ́dɔ̂**	'she scoops'	**ɔd**
	rìŋ́ó	'meat'	**riŋ**
	ànɛ̄ní	'I saw you'	**nɛn**
	mʊ̀nʊ́	'white man'	**mʊ**
	mùnnì	'white men'	**mʊn**
	àbɔ̀lò	'plaintain'	**bol**
	òtɪ̀t	'firefly'	**tit**

Where the root is longer than one syllable — only possible in nouns — the first vowel receives stress:

(2)	**màkâc**	'scissors'
	dɔ́ggɔ́lâ	'door'

Stressed vowels in Lango are somewhat louder and slightly longer than unstressed vowels. The difference between stressed and unstressed vowels is not as pronounced as in English; instead, the relation between them is closer to that found in syllable timed languages such as Spanish.

Particles (e.g. the attributive particle **à**, the subordinator **nî**), prepositions with noun objects, and certain prepositions following verbs are not stressed. Instead, they cliticize to the adjacent stressed form:

(3)	**òkɔ̀bò nî** 3s-say-perf that 'he said that'	→	**òkòbbî**	(with contraction and gemination)
	òtɛ̀dò pì 3s-cook-perf for 'he cooked it for'	→	**òtèddì**	(with contraction and gemination)
	rìŋ́ó à àbwɔ̀r meat att+part lion 'the lion's meat'	→	**rìŋè àbwôr**	(with coalescence)
	bòt dákô to woman 'to the woman'	→	[bòd•áxô]	(with voicing assimilation)

Except for the attributive particle, the vowels in these clitics do not condition nor undergo vowel harmony.

In reduplicated words, stress is placed on the last, unreduplicated syllable:

(4) **ràràc̲** 'sort of bad'
tùtwà̲l, **twàtwà̲l** 'very'

In borrowed words, stress is placed either on the same syllable as in the source language,

(5) **mɔ̲̀tɔ̀kà** 'car'

or, more commonly, on the penult:

(6) **gàbmè̲ntè** 'government'
bù̲lú 'blue'

In a few words ending in /l/, stress is placed on the last syllable:

(7) **dàktà̲l** 'doctor'
cùkú̲l 'school'

In compounds and NP's consisting of inalienable associative constructions, the root vowel of the rightmost word receives primary stress, the root vowel of the other words receiving secondary stress (primary stress is underlined once, secondary twice):

(8) **dɔ́g̲ wî̲ŋ́ɔ́**
mouth bird
'bird's mouth'

pí̲g̲ ábɔ̲́lɔ̀
juice plaintain
'plaintain juice'

rì̲ŋ̲ɔ̀ dyâ̲ŋ̲ mù̲nɨ́
meat cow whiteman
'European beef'

4. Tone

Lango is a tone language, exhibiting level tones, contour tones, and downstep. In addition, there are a number of tone sandhi rules which may have the effect of radically altering the underlying tonal contour of a word in particular contexts.

4.1 Inventory of tones

There are two level tones in Lango, which will be referred to as 'high' (and marked with an acute accent [á]) and 'low' (marked with a grave accent [à]). When said in succession, the difference between them is approximately that of a musical third (slightly greater when the succession is high-low):

(1) **wìŋó** [_ ¯]
'bird'

In addition to these, there is a third level tone, referred to as a 'downstepped high' and transcribed ['á]. The downstepped high can always be viewed as a product of the tone sandhi rules (Sec. 4.4) and therefore need never be posited in underlying tone representations.[34] The downstepped high is pronounced about a musical tone lower than the preceding high — all downstepped highs follow high tones.[35]

In addition to these level tones, the following contour tones can also be observed:

(1)	**gwôk**	'dog'	[‾\]
(2)	**dákô**	'woman'	[¯ \]
(3)	**ànɛ̂n**	'(that) I see'	[_ ~]
(4)	**cǎm**	'eat it!'	[_/]

Falling tones are exemplified in (1), (2), and (3) (the former two marked with the circumflex [â], the latter with a special sign [á]) and a rising tone in (4) (marked with a wedge or 'haček' [ǎ]). The difference between the falling tones in (1) and (2) is that in (1) there is a relatively long period of high pitch followed by a rapid fall, whereas in (2) the period of high pitch is of relatively short duration, and though it, too, is followed by a rapid drop in pitch, the pitch does not fall quite as far in (2) as it does in (1), where the drop in pitch is to a level just at that of a following low. In (2) the pitch drops to just above the level of a following low. The two falling tones are in complementary distribution: the sort exemplified in (1) occurs in stressed syllables whose contour tones are underlying or

which come about as a result of contraction (Sec. 5.1.2.2), whereas the kind in (2) occurs in unstressed syllables or in stressed syllables whose contour tones come about as a result of the tone sandhi rules (Sec. 4.4).[36]

The third falling tone, exemplified in (3), differs from the other two in that instead of falling to the level of a following low tone (as (1) and (2) do), this tone falls only to the level of a following downstepped high. This tone, which will be referred to as a 'falling downstep' (as opposed to the falling tone exemplified by (1) and (2)), occurs only as a product of tone sandhi and, except in fast speech, is found only in stressed syllables in verbs in the subjunctive mood. It is not found in monosyllables. Phonetically, it consists of a period of high tone, approximately equal to that of an ordinary stressed high, followed by a relatively slow fall to the level of a downstepped high.

The rising tone exemplified by (4) above is of more limited distribution than the falling tones in that it only occurs in stressed syllables, almost exclusively in subjunctives. The rising tone is characterized by a period of low pitch, approximately equal in length to a stressed low followed by a rapid rise to the level of a high.

There are thus the following significant tonal distinctions in Lango:

Tone	*Transcription*	*Abbreviation*
low	[à]	L
high	[á]	H
downstepped high	['á]	'H
falling	[â]	HL
falling downstep	[á]	H'H
rising	[ǎ]	LH

Some minimal pairs follow:

(1) **kál** 'millet'
kàl 'kraal'
kǎl 'step over it!'

(2) **lék** 'dream'
lêk 'dream!'

(3) **nên** 'to be visible'
nĕn 'see!'

(4) **ànêní** 'I saw you'
ànêní '(that) I see you'

(5) **gúlú** 'pot'
gúlû 'it sprouts'
gùlú 'Gulu'
gùlù 'disease of goats'

(6) **àjúlù** 'I made it prosper by giving it special care'
àjúlû 'I make it prosper by giving it special care'
àjú'lú 'kind of domestic fowl'

(7) **àkûrí** 'I guarded you'
àkú'rí 'dove'

4.2 Downdrift and downstep

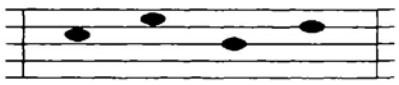
The existence of a downstepped high tone and a falling downstep tone in Lango were noted in the last section. Downstepped highs and falling downsteps arise as a result of the intonational phenomenon of downdrift, which is found in Lango.

Downdrift is a gradual sinking of the pitch as the sentence proceeds. It manifests itself in Lango where phonologically like tones are separated by a different tone. So, for example, in the sentence

(1) **ànénò bím**
1s-see-perf baboon
'I saw the baboon'

there is a phonetic tone melody roughly like the following:

(2)



à né nò bím

The first L **à** is about a musical note higher than the second L **nò**; the first H **né** is also about a musical note higher than the second **bím**. Both H's and L's at the beginning of a sentence will thus be higher than their counterparts at the end — provided that breaks in the tonal sequence occur. An unbroken string of H's or L's in Lango are said more-or-less on the same pitch without any significant drop, differentiating Lango in this respect from its close relative Luo (Tucker and Creider 1975). While both H's and L's exhibit this gradual sinking of the pitch, H's drop somewhat more than L's so that by the end of a long sentence the distance between a H and a L is rather less than at the beginning.

Downstepped H's arise when, for whatever reason, a L is deleted between two H's: downdrift lowers the second H, which remains lowered even after the L is lost:

(3) [¯ _ ¯] → [¯ ¯]
H L H H 'H

The second H is, in a real sense, already downstepped before the L is lost. Since a H following a L is always downstepped, we neither provide a

special notation for it nor even refer to it as a 'downstepped high', reserving the notation and the name for those that follow H's.

From the standpoint of downdrift (and the tone sandhi rules, too), the contour tones HL and LH are treated like ordinary sequences of H's and L's. Thus, in the sequence HL H, the second H is lower than the first:

(4) [◜◝ –]
HL H

The falling downstep H'H is likewise treated as a sequence of H and 'H so that a H following H'H is said at the same pitch as the coda (the 'H) of the falling downstep:

(5) [◜‾ —]
H'H H

Downstepped L's do not occur in Lango as H is the dominant tone and is never lost from the tonal contour in sandhi — though it may be displaced to the right.

4.3 Tone patterns in citation forms

Monosyllabic words in Lango may occur with any of the freely occurring tonal contours when said in isolation — recall that 'H can only follow H and that H'H occurs only as the stressed second syllable of certain subjunctives:

(1)	H	**dóg**	'mouth'
	L	**òt**	'house'
	HL	**gwôk**	'dog'
	LH	**kěl**	'bring it!'

The LH tone is restricted to monosyllables and third singular subjunctives, and even with these it is found only in words with alternative L H pronunciations:

(2)	**kŏk**	or	**kòkí**	'cry!'
	ògĭk	or	**ògìkí**	'(that) he stop'
	rĭk	or	**rìkí**	'a long time ago'
	kŏŋ	or	**kòŋí**	'just a minute'

Words exhibiting this elision of the final vowel (with the concommitant compression of the word's tonal contour into the remaining syllable) are restricted to singular imperatives, third singular subjunctives, and a few adverbs.[37] Apart from these, there are no instances of surface LH in Lango, whether in monosyllablic or polysyllabic words, even as a product of tone sandhi.[38]

Excluding compounds and borrowings, words in Lango have a maximum of five syllables, and even this length must be achieved through affixation[39] — there are no roots longer than three syllables. Trisyllabic roots are not common, and are almost always decomposible diachronically into compounds.

There can only be one syllable preceding the stressed syllable. With one exception, in surface citation forms this syllable must be L. The exception involves the subject prefixes of the progressive aspect, which (apart from the third person singular) surface as H. The latter are always followed by a stressed syllable that is L or, rarely, 'H.

The following tone patterns are found in polysyllabic words: the stressed root vowel of a polysyllabic word may be either L, H, or HL. HL cannot be followed by L; 'H must be preceded by H; and H'H is, for all practical purposes, restricted to the stressed vowel of a verb in the subjunctive mood: it is always preceded by L and may be followed by H or L, the latter only if a geminate stop intervenes. LH can only be preceded by L and is either word final or followed by L. All other combinations are possible.

Some examples of surface tone patterns in citation forms follow. Stressed syllables are underlined:

(3)	H	**bím**	'baboon'
	L	**dùl**	'log'
	HL	**lê**	'animal'
	LH	**wěk**	'let!'
L	H	**òpí**	'slave'
L	L	**ògwàŋ**	'merekat'
L	HL	**àbîc**	'five'
L	H H	**àmúrú**	'leg'
L	H L	**òkélò**	'he brought it'
L	H HL	**òkélô**	'he brings it'
L	H 'H	**òkwé'cé**	'bitch'
L	H'H	**àcâm**	'(that) I eat'
	L H	**rèmó**	'blood'
	L L	**pàlà**	'knife'
	L HL	**wèlê**	'visitors'
L	L L	**àbòlò**	'plaintain'
L	L H	**òdùkú**	'gun'
L	L HL	**àjàŋâ**	'cat'
	H H	**gúlú**	'pot'
	H L	**kónà**	'corner'
	H HL	**dákô**	'woman'
	H H H	**dókóló**	'Dokolo'
	H H HL	**dóggólâ**	'door'

The H L tonal contour is restricted to recent, not fully assimilated borrowings. As these words become assimilated, they conform to Lango

phonotactics and assume a H HL contour:[40]

(4)	**pámmà**	or	**pámâ**	'cotton'	(from Swahili *pamba*)
	débbè	or	**débê**	'can'	(from Swahili *debe*)
	kóppò			'cup'	(from English)
	cáwà			'time, clock'	(from Swahili *saa*)

The gemination in many of these words is a further sign of their anomalous character,[41] as is the /w/ in the last example, which is exceptional in its role as C_2 (Sec. 1.2.5).

4.4 Tone sandhi

4.4.1 General principles

One remarkable characteristic of tone sandhi in Lango is that, with almost no exceptions (Sec. 4.5), the underlying arrangement of highs and lows is preserved without loss despite considerable changes in the association links between tone and segment. Under certain conditions, underlying L's may surface as downstep on an adjacent H, but this is really the only disruption of the tonal contour (and a relatively minor one since a 'H signals the presence, either synchronically or diachronically, of a L).

As an example of what the above means, consider the following:

(1) **nĕn ògwàŋ** → **nèn ògwâŋ**
see-imper merekat
'look at the merekat!'

On the left is the underlying tonal pattern corresponding, in this case, to how each word would be said in isolation. On the right is the actual pronunciation which results from applying the tone sandhi rules to the underlying pattern. In order to make more apparent what has happened during the course of the derivation, we will make use of some of the conventions of autosegmental tone analysis,[42] according to which tone is regarded as an independent layer or tier associated with the segmental level by general principles and language specific rules. In our adaptation of this approach, (1) is represented as (2):

(2) L H L → L H L
nɛn ogwaŋ → **nɛn ogwaŋ**

In examining (2), we see that while the association between tone and segment undergoes considerable change, the basic L H L pattern remains undisturbed. Autosegmental analysis makes this aspect of the tone sandhi rules much clearer.

The following conventions are observed in notations like (2):

(a) L H / a = [ă] (b) H L / a = [â] (c) H 'H / a = [â]

(d) A single L or H is associated with any unbroken string of vowels with low or high tones, including the L or H component of contour tones:

L H L
ɪmaɲ dokkɪ rac
ɪ̀máɲ dôkkɪ̀ ràc
liver cow-this 3s-bad-hab
'this beef liver is bad'

[Note: These conventions are adopted for descriptive convenience only.]

4.4.2 Rules

Tone rules have the effect, then, of altering the association between the tonal and segmental tiers, changing the underlying or lexical association between tone and segment into that which obtains in actual utterances. What follows is a list of Lango tone sandhi rules, which are taken to apply in the order given:[43]

I. Underlying Fall Simplification (UFS)

A HL L sequence simplifies to H 'H:

(1) H L H → UFS → H 'H **(tígó'ná)**
tɪgona **tɪgona**
beads-1sa
'my beads'

LH LH → UFS → L H 'H **(àyɪ́'tá)**
ayɪta **ayɪta**
agent-climb
'squirrel'

L H LH → UFS → L H 'H becomes **àné'ní** by a later rule, RS
aneni **aneni**
1s-see-hab-2so
'I see you'

This rule differs from FS1 (Fall Simplification 1: see below) in that FS1 applies to both derived and underlying HL's (under somewhat different conditions), but UFS applies only to basic, underlying HL's. Compare the last example with the one below:

(2) L HL H
V / /
aneni
1s-see-perf-2so
'I saw you'

Two rules given below, HS1 and RS, will apply to this underlying form, yielding **ànêní**. Since **ànêní** contains a derived HL (produced by HS1), it does not undergo UFS.

II. High Spread 1 (HS1)

Following a H, L's become H's up to and including the next stressed L, or until a H is encountered, the last L to be affected becoming HL. The rule may apply across word boundaries. (Underlined vowels are stressed.)

(1) H L HS1 → H L
dɔg dyaŋ → **dɔg dyaŋ**
mouth cow
'a cow's mouth'

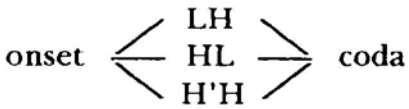
H L HS1 → H L
dɔg gweno → **dɔg gweno**
mouth chicken
'a chicken's mouth'
becomes **dóg gwénò** by a later rule, FS2

H L HS1 → H L
dɔg ogwaŋ → **dɔg ogwaŋ**
mouth merekat
'a merekat's mouth'

H L H HS1 → H L H
dɔg wɪɲo → **dɔg wɪɲo**
mouth bird
'a bird's mouth'
becomes **dóg wí'ɲó** by a later rule, FS1

H L HS1 → H L
pig abolo → **pig abolo**
juice plaintain
'plaintain juice'
becomes **píg ábólò** by a later rule, FS2

Contour tones consist of an onset and a coda:



With regard to the application of rules, when the environment for application is from the left, a contour tone behaves according to the character of its onset; when the environment from application is from the right, the coda determines the behavior. So, it is the coda of a contour tone that determines whether tone can be spread by spreading rules such as HS1 since the direction of the spread is rightward. Therefore, H does not spread from HL because the coda is L. So, while **bím ràc** becomes **bím râc** via HS1,

(2) H L → H L
bim rac → **bim rac**
baboon 3s-bad-hab
'the baboon is bad'

gwôk ràc cannot become ***gwók râc**, but remains unaffected by the rule:

(3) H L (no change)
gwok rac
dog 3s-bad-hab
'the dog is bad'

The H in a LH tone, however, *is* spread by HS1 because the coda is H:

(4) L H L → L H L
nɛn ɲəŋ → **nɛn ɲəŋ**
see-imper crocodile
'look at the crocodile'
becomes **nɛ̀n ɲə̂ŋ** by a later rule, RS

L H L → L H L
nɛn abolo → **nɛn abolo**
see-imper plaintain
'look at the plaintain'
becomes **nɛ̀n ábólò** by later rules, RS and FS2

III. Rise Simplification (RS)

A LH tone becomes L everywhere except as the root vowel of a subjunctive (including imperatives). With subjunctives, a LH simplifies to L when followed by a H:

(1) L H L → (HS1) L HL → (RS) L H L

tyɛn ɲəŋ → **tyɛn ɲəŋ** → **tyɛn ɲəŋ**

leg crocodile

'a crocodile's leg'

L H → (RS) L H

tyɛn gɔr → **tyɛn gɔr**

leg ground+squirrel

'a ground squirrel's leg'

Because **tyɛ̌n** is a noun, RS is obligatory in all contexts following HS1. Below are examples of subjunctives (of which the imperative is a subtype), whose LH's simplify only if followed by a high tone:

(2) L H

nɛn (no change)

see-imper

'look at it!'

L H LH L

nɛn atɪn (no change)

see-imper child

'look at the child!'

HS1 cannot apply to **àtɪ̂n** because the word begins with a 'zero-consonant' (see Sec. 1.6 and below this section). Since the LH is not followed by H, it does not simplify. But now consider:

(3) L H → (RS) L H

nɛn bim → **nɛn bim**

see-imper baboon

'look at the baboon!'

L H L → (HS1) L H L → (RS) L H L

nɛn dyɛl → **nɛn dyɛl** → **nɛn dyɛl**

see-imper

'look at the goat!'

As the last example shows, HL is equivalent to H for the purposes of RS. Since the relevant direction for simplification is from the left, it is the onset of the contour tone that determines its behavior, not the coda.

IV. Low Spread (LS)

An unstressed H becomes L when following a stressed L provided another H follows. The rule continues to apply to any contiguous string of unstressed H's. The rule applies across word boundaries.

(1) L H
wɪɲo (no change)
'bird'

L H LS L H
wɪɲona → **wɪɲona**
bird-1sa
'my bird'

L H L HS1 L H L LS L H L
wɪɲo rac → **wɪɲo rac** → **wɪɲo rac**
bird 3s-bad-hab
'the bird is bad'

L H L HS1 L H L RS L H L
tyɛn ogwaŋ → **tyɛn ogwaŋ** → **tyɛn ogwaŋ**
leg merekat
'a merekat's leg'

LS L H L
→ **tyɛn ogwaŋ**

A stressed HL can substitute for a stressed L in the application of LS (according to the principle discussed earlier). To demonstrate this, consider the following derivation:

(2) H L H L HS1 H L H L
ɲig oduku rac → **ɲig oduku rac**
fruit fun 3s-bad-hab
'bullets are bad'

LS can now apply since in **ódûkú** we have a stressed HL followed by an unstressed H:

H L H L
LS → **ɲig oduku rac** the rule FS2 will apply to yield **ɲíg ódúkù râc**

However, a HL *cannot* substitute for the unstressed H since then the H would not be followed by another H:

(3) L HL H   HS1 →   L H LH   RS →   L H LH
nen emir   **nen emir**   **nen emir**
see-imper hippo
'look at the hippo'

LS does not apply to create ***nèn èmír**; to do so would be to lose the first H from the tonal contour. Instead, a later rule, FS1, converts the output of RS to **nèn é'mír**. Similarly,

(4) L H L
wele pol
guests 3s-many-hab
'there are many guests'

is not affected by LS because the potentially affected syllable is HL and, in any case, is followed by L. It also follows that the unstressed H cannot be followed by 'H. Consider the following:

(5) LH LH   UFS →   L H'H
welena   **welena**
guests-1sa
'my guests'

Without the restriction noted above, LS would go on to convert **wèlé'ná** into the unacceptable ***wèlè ná**.

The effect of LS, then cannot be to delete a H at the tonal tier, but only to dissociate the leftmost syllable from H. That is, given

(6) L H L

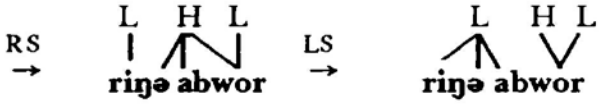
The circled association link may be shifted to the preceding L, but the H itself cannot be lost. The other tone spreading rules behave in a similar fashion.

In rare instances where the contour

(7) L H
V V V V

is found (i.e. two unstressed H's preceded by a stressed L and followed by a stressed H), LS applies to both unstressed H's — i.e. continues to apply to any contiguous string of unstressed H's until a stressed H (or final H) is reached:

(8) LH L   Coal →   L H L   HS1 →   L H L
riŋo a abwor   **riŋə abwor**   **riŋə abwor**



('Coal' refers to 'coalescence' — Sec. 2.7, 4.4.3.)

There is one ad-hoc restriction on LS, namely that the affected unstressed H cannot be the first syllable of a disyllabic suffix, e.g. middle voice **-érê**, thematic **-mérê:**

(9) L H L
olwɔ̱kerɛ (no change)
3s-wash-perf-mid
'she washed herself'

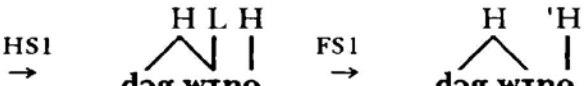
Because of the middle voice suffix **-érê**, LS cannot apply to create ***òlwɔ̀kèrê**.

V. Fall Simplification 1 (FS1)

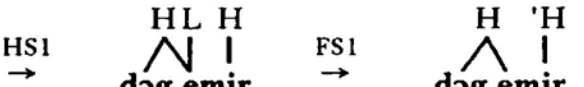
A HL followed by a H simplifies to a H followed by a 'H under the following conditions:

(a) The HL is word initial:

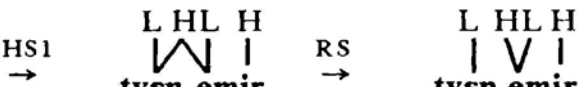
(1) H L H
dɔ̱g wɪ̱ɲo
mouth bird
'the bird's mouth'

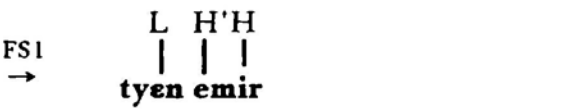


H L H
dɔ̱g emɪ̱r
mouth hippo
'the hippo's mouth'



L H L H
tyɛ̱n emɪ̱r
leg hippo
'the hippo's leg'

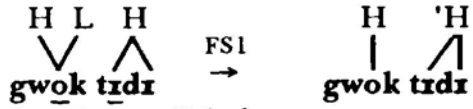




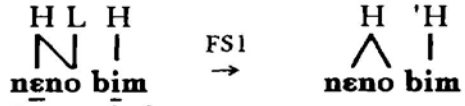
1s-sift-prog
'I'm sifting'

(b) The HL is word final and the following H is word initial.[45]

(2)



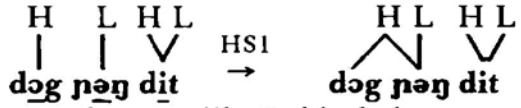
dog 3s-small-hab
'the dog is small'



3s-see-hab
'he sees a baboon'

There is one sort of exception to FS1(b): monosyllabic L nouns which become HL as a result of HS1 do not simplify their HL to H. Consider the following:

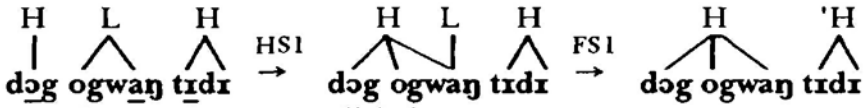
(3)



mouth crocodile 3s-big-hab
'a crocodile's mouth is big'

The underlying L in **ɲə̀ŋ** becomes HL as a result of HS1. Apparently, the structural description of FS1(b) is met, and we would thus expect **dɔ́g ɲə́ŋ 'dît**, but **dɔ́g ɲə̂ŋ dît** is instead correct. The one speaker who was asked explicitly about this accepted **dɔ́g ɲə́ŋ dît** while producing **dɔ́g ɲə̂ŋ dît** himself spontaneously. However, the same informant had the opposite reaction to derived stressed HL in a disyllabic word, definitely preferring **dɔ́g ɔ́gwáŋ 'tídí** to ***dɔ́g ɔ́gwâŋ tídí**. The derivation of the former proceeds as follows:

(4)



mouth merekat 3s-small-hab
'a merekat's mouth is small'

A similar restriction on simplification of monosyllabic derived HL's applies to FS2 (see below).

(c) When, as a result of tone sandhi, a HLH configuration is assigned to a single segment, FS1 applies to create for that segment the falling downstep H'H. Both the HLH configuration and the resulting falling downstep occur only in the subjunctive.

(5) LH LH → (HS1) → LHLH → (RS) → LHLH

anɛn **anɛn** **anɛn**

1s-see-subj

'(that) I see'

→ (FS1) → LH'H

anɛn

VI. Fall Simplification 2 (FS2)

A HL followed by a L becomes H. This rule may apply across word boundaries.

(1) H L → (HS1) → H L → (FS2) → H L

pig abolo **pig abolo** **pig abolo**

juice plaintain

'plaintain juice'

H L → (FS2) → H L

ateddo **ateddo**

1s-cook-prog

'I'm cooking it'

H L H → (FS2) → H L H

nɛno wɪɲo **nɛno wɪɲo**

3s-see-hab

'he sees a bird'

Just as with FS1 (b), monosyllabic L nouns which become HL as a result of HS1 do not undergo FS2 to become H, as we note from the following example:

(2) H L → (HS1) → H L

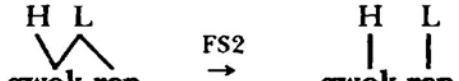
dɔg ɲaŋ rac **dɔg ɲaŋ rac**

mouth crocodile 3s-bad-hab

'a crocodile's mouth is ugly'

The application of FS2 to produce ***dóg ɲáŋ ràc** is blocked by this constraint on derived monosyllabic HL's: the correct form is **dóg ɲâŋ ràc**.

Note, however, that underlying HL in monosyllabic nouns does undergo the rule:

(3) 

dog 3s-thin-hab
'the dog is thin'

Derived HL's undergo the rule, provided that they are not in monosyllabic nouns:

(4) 

hand visitor 3s-small-hab
'the visitor's hand is small'

VII. High Spread 2 (HS2)

A word initial L becomes H when preceded by a H and followed by a stressed L:

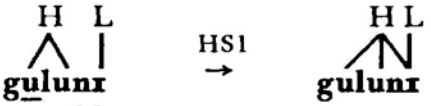
(1) 

this merekat
'this is a merekat'

A list of rules follows:

I	UFS	Underlying Fall Simplification
II	HS1	High Spread 1
III	RS	Rise Simplification
IV	LS	Low Spread
V	FS1	Fall Simplification 1
VI	FS2	Fall Simplification 2
VII	HS2	High Spread 2

There is one remaining issue regarding the application of the tone rules which remains to be discussed, namely the fact that geminate consonants block the application of the three tone spreading rules: HS1, HS2, and LS. Consider first HS1: given an underlying L followed by a H, HS1 would be expected to apply converting the L to LH (if the L were word final), as we see in the following:

(1) 

gulunɪ → **gulunɪ**
pot-this
'this pot'

However, if a geminate consonant intervenes, the high tone is not spread. In the following example, when **-nì** is suffixed to **rɛ́c** 'fish', cluster simplification converts the /cn/ cluster to /cc/ (Sec. 1.2.3). HS1 is then prevented from applying:

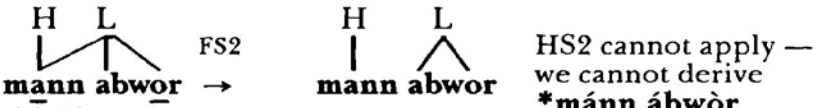
(2) 

rɛcnɪ → **rɛccɪ**
fish-this
'this fish'

Similarly, HS2 is prevented from applying across a geminate consonant. Compare (3), where no gemination is found, with (4), where gemination blocks HS2:

(3) 

man ogwaŋ → **man ogwaŋ** → **man ogwaŋ**
this merekat
'this is a merekat'

(4) 

mann abwor → **mann abwor**
this lion
'this is a lion'

(The gemination in (4) results from a 'zero-consonant' — see Sec. 1.6 and below this section.) The application of LS is also blocked by gemination. Compare (5) and (6) below:

(5) 

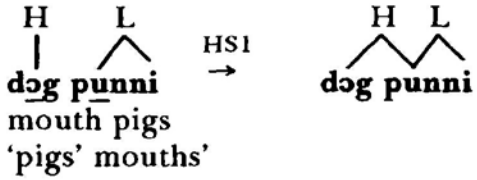
wɪɲonɪ → **wɪɲonɪ** → **wɪɲonɪ**
bird-this
'this bird'

(6) 

cugguɲɪ → **cugguɲɪ**
black+ant-this
'this black ant'

The simplification rules UFS, RS, and FS1 are unaffected by the presence of a geminate consonant. FS2 becomes optional when a geminate

occurs between the HL and the L. So for

(7) 

mouth pigs
'pigs' mouths'

FS2 may fail to apply, resulting in **dɔ́g pûnnì**, or, optionally, may apply, resulting in **dɔ́g púnnì**. Plural nouns, e.g. **àyîttì** 'squirrels' (sg **àyí'tá**), do not usually undergo the rule. With verbs, too, there are many more instances in my notes of the rule not being observed before a geminate consonant, e.g. **rò câttò** 'sell it quickly!'.

'Zero-consonants' (Sec. 1.6) behave like geminates in blocking the spreading rules, though speakers are less consistent in the case of zero-consonants than in the case of geminates. As an example of blocking, **àwó'ró** 'yesterday' begins with a zero-consonant — the Acholi counterpart is **làwó'ró**. Given the configuration

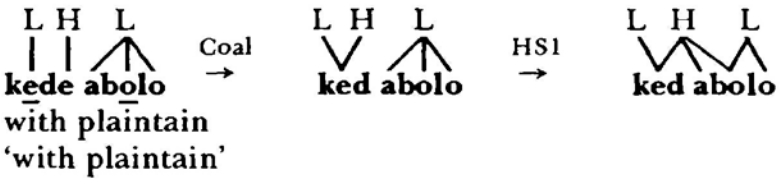
(8) 

3s-see-perf-1so yesterday
'he saw me yesterday'

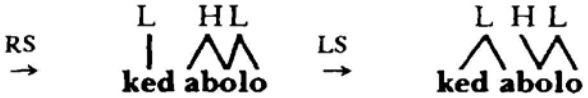
we would expect HS1 to apply, creating (after the application of FS1) the ungrammatical ***ònènná á'wó'ró**. In fact, HS1 does not apply to form the latter: the correct form is **ònènná àwó'ró**, with HS1 failing to apply. Notice that coalescence fails to apply as well. The word **àwó'ró** consistently exhibits the zero-consonant phenomenon.

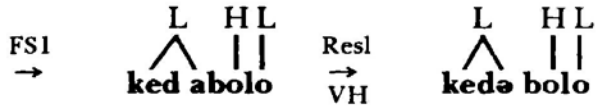
4.4.3 The interaction of tone sandhi and coalescence

Coalescence, both internal (Sec. 2.6) and external (Sec. 2.7), takes place prior to the operation of the tone sandhi rules discussed in the last section. Contraction (Sec. 5.1.2.2) also applies before the tone sandhi rules. In both cases, the tone associated with the lost vowel is incorporated into the root. Some derivations follow:

(1) 

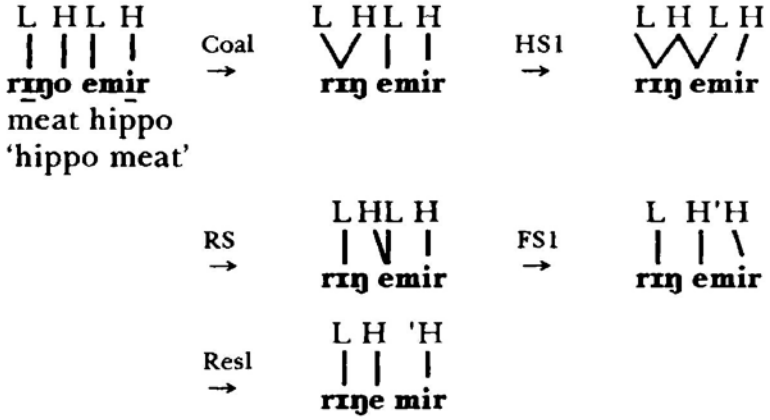
with plaintain
'with plaintain'



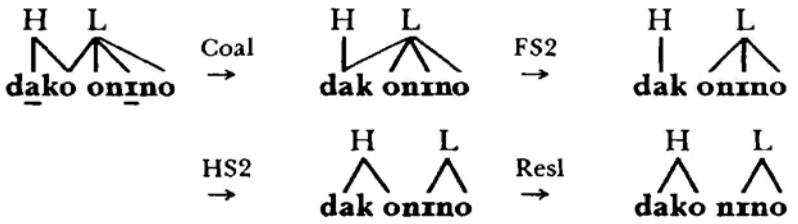


Resyllabification (Resl), discussed at the end of Sec. 2.7, with its concomitant vowel harmony (VH) applies after the tone rules.

(2)



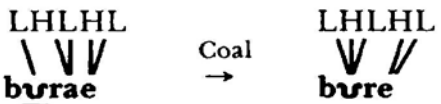
(3)



(Notice that when resyllabification applies in (3), /o/ does not harmonize with the root vowel /a/: when the underlying form of a word is aharmonic, as in the case of **dákô**, a vowel replacing the lost stem vowel **-o** via resyllabification will not change its [ATR] value to harmonize with the root.)

Unusual tonal contours may arise as a result of coalescence and contraction. For example, when the noun **bʊ̀râ** 'cat' receives the plural suffix **-ê**, the stem vowel is deleted and its tone is absorbed into the root in the usual way. The result, however, is to produce a very complex tonal contour for the root vowel:

(4)



The rules as given above can be used to derive the correct surface tone from this complex configuration. The derivation would proceed as follows:

(5)

The 'H is simply reinterpreted as H following L — recall that all H's are redundantly downstepped following a L.

4.5 The irregular H(L) class nouns

There are remarkably few irregularities with regard to the Lango tone sandhi rules. The only notable irregularity involves a class of monosyllabic nouns whose citation forms have H but which behave tonally as though they were HL. We will refer to these nouns as the H(L) nouns to differentiate them from ordinary monosyllabic H nouns like **dóg** 'mouth' and monosyllabic HL nouns like **gwôk** 'dog'. A list of H(L) nouns follows:

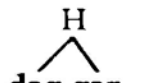
(1)

êm	'thigh'	**yît**	'ear'
dûd	'buttocks'	**yîb**	'tail'
tîk	'chin'	**wûm**	'nose'
ɲîm	'forehead'	**lêb**	'tongue'
wôk	'gap in teeth'	**kôr**	'breast, chest, middle'
tôk	'nape'	**mân**	'this'

With the exception of **mân** 'this', all H(L) words are body part nouns, and ordinarily occur as heads of inalienable associative constructions (Sec. 8.7.2).

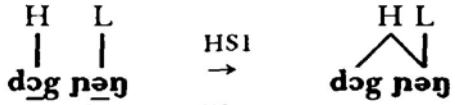
Compare the behavior in tone sandhi of the H noun **dóg** 'mouth' and the H(L) noun **wûm** 'nose'. Despite the fact that both nouns have H in citation forms, **wûm** must be represented as HL underlyingly to account for its behavior:

(2)



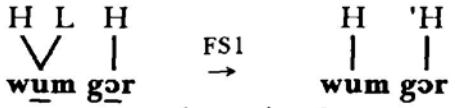
(no change)

mouth ground+squirrel
'the ground squirrel's mouth'



mouth crocodile
'the crocodile's mouth'

(3)



nose ground+squirrel
'the ground squirrel's nose'

nose crocodile
'a crocodile's nose'

Compare **wûm** with **gwôk** 'dog', whose behavior in constructions like those

above is identical, differentiating both from **dɔ́g:**

(4)
```
H L H                 H  'H
\/  |       FS1       |   |      becomes gwóg 'gɔ́r
gwo̱k gɔ̱r      →      gwok gɔr    with voicing
                                 assimilation
```
dog ground+squirrel
'ground squirrel dog' (i.e. one for hunting ground squirrels)

```
H L L                 H   L
\/  |       FS2       |   |      becomes gwóg ɲə̀ŋ
gwo̱k ɲə̱ŋ      →      gwok ɲəŋ    with voicing
                                 assimilation
```
dog crocodile
'crocodile dog' (i.e. one for hunting crocodiles)

However, unlike **gwôk**, when **wûm** is utterance final it has a H, not a HL:

(5)
```
  H L
 /\_|                 (no change)
dɔ̱g gwo̱k
```
mouth dog
'a dog's mouth'

```
  H L                   H
 /\_|        ?         / \
dɔ̱g wu̱m      →       dɔg wum
```
mouth nose
'nostril'

H(L) nouns differ from HL nouns in one further respect. When alienable associative suffixes (Sec. 5.2.4, 8.7.2) are added to H(L) nouns, they behave as though their tonal contours were H and not HL. Compare the following:

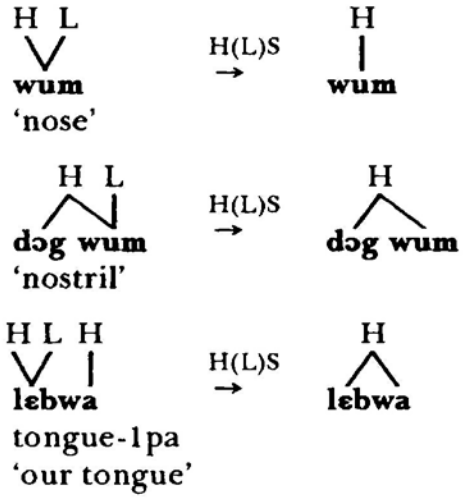
(6) *Underlying Tone*

L	**wàŋ+ná**	→	**wàŋŋá**	'my (animal) eye'
H	**cwíɲ+ná**	→	**cwíɲɲə́**	'my liver meat'
HL	**gwôk+ná**	→	**gwók'kə́**	'my dog'
H(L)	**lêb+ná**	→	**lébbá**	'my tongue meat'

As the examples in (6) show, the H(L) noun **lêb** behaves like the H noun **cwíɲ**, and not like the HL noun **gwôk**, with alienable associative suffixes. This applies also to all the plural associative suffixes, whose form does not vary with an alienable or inalienable interpretation. So, for example, for **yît+wá** 'our tail' we have **yíwá**, not the expected **yít'wá**. This contrasts with the regular behavior of HL nouns, where **gwôk+wá** becomes **gwók'wá.**

A special rule, which we will refer to as H(L) Simplification [H(L)S], applies to just the H(L) class when they are prepausal and when they are

followed by single alienable associative suffixes and alienable/inalienable plural associative suffixes:

(7) 

This rule does not apply to ordinary HL words like **gwôk**, as we saw in (5) above.

H(L) nouns have a further irregularity, but one that they share with ordinary HL nouns. Inalienable associative suffixes have an underlying high tone, as the following examples show:

(8)	**wàŋ+á**	→	**wàŋá**	'my eye'
	cwíɲ+á	→	**cwíɲə́**	'my liver'

However, when these suffixes are added to H(L) nouns, the suffixes take on a HL contour, which is not predicted by the tone rules:

(9)	**wûm+á**	→	**wúmə̂**	'my nose'
	lêb+á	→	**lɛ́bâ**	'my tongue'

HL nouns share this irregularity — see Sec. 5.2.4. The normal application of the tone sandhi rules would predict:

(10) 

***lé'bá**

[There are some other irregularities with singular inalienable associative suffixes. See Sec. 5.2.4.]

PART TWO:
MORPHOLOGY

5. The structure of Langō words

5.1 General considerations

5.1.1 Roots

In Langō as in other Lwo languages, roots are archetypically of the form C_1VC_2.[47] Some roots lack C_1 or C_2, but, apart from the preposition **ɨ** 'in' and the attributive participle **à**, no root lacks both C_1 and C_2. There are very few roots without C_1, almost all of them basically verbal in sense.

Noun, adjective, and prepositional roots have inherent lexical tone, though when nouns and adjectives are inflected for plurality, their tone may change in synchronically unpredictable ways:

(1)	*SG*	*PL*	
	tóŋ	**tòŋŋì**	'spear'
	jòk	**jógí**	'spirit'
	lɨ̀t	**lùdì**	'stick'
	gwôk	**gwóggî**	'dog'
	dît	**dìtò**	'big, old'
	dwôŋ	**dòŋò**	'large'
	ràc	**ràcù**	'bad'

For this and for some other reasons discussed below, both singular and plural forms of these roots must be listed in the lexicon.

The tone of verbs – the effect of tone sandhi rules apart – is totally a function of aspect and mood (Sec. 5.3.2). Intransitive infinitives, however, have idiosyncratic tone (see Sec. 5.3.1) as do nominalizations (Sec. 5.2.1), but the two are not always in agreement,

(2)	**kóp**	'speech'	**kòb**	'to speak (intr)'
	cám	'eating, food'	**cèm**	'to eat (intr)'
	pwóŋ	'teaching'	**pwôŋ**	'to teach (intr)'

arguing against the assignment of lexical tone to the verbal root.[48] Even apart from tone, the form of both intransitive infinitives and nominalizations is not predictable and so both must have their own lexical entries in any case.

5.1.2 The stem vowel

5.1.2.1 General characteristics

Under conditions to be described in the sections below, Langō roots are often followed by a 'stem vowel', a suffix which, as far as the modern

language is concerned, has no discernable meaning. Nonetheless, the stem vowel is obligatory with certain roots and in certain grammatical configurations.[49] The root plus the stem vowel together constitute the 'stem'. In the absence of a stem vowel, the stem, of course, consists only of the root.

The usual form of the stem vowel is o/ɔ, with harmonic peculiarities discussed in Sec. 2.5.2:

(1)	**càmm-ò**	'to eat (tr)'
	dák-ô	'woman'
	rèm-ó	'blood'
	rɔ́m-ɔ̂	'sheep'
	dìt-ò	'big, old (pl)'

The stem vowel may appear as u/ʊ, as discussed in Sec. 2.8.2:

(2)	**pʊ́n-ʊ̂**	'pig'	
	òdùk-ú	'gun'	(also: **òdùk-ó**)
	àmúr-ú	'leg'	
	rìŋ-ú	'meat'	(also: **rìŋ-ó**)
	èŋɔ́t-ù	'lion'	(also: **èŋɔ́t-ò**)

Further, the stem vowel may be a copy of the root vowel:

(3)	**pàl-à**	'knife'
	tíd-í	'small'
	òkér-é	'baby'
	àlíb-í	'beer pot'
	déb-ê	'can'

Finally, the stem vowel may be ə/a or i/ɪ. ə/a is common with deverbal nouns:

(4)	**àdíŋ-â**	'strained beer'	(< **dɪŋ** 'strain')
	dwàl-á	'confusion'	(< **dwal** 'confuse')

i/ɪ is often found with instruments:

(5)	**kwèr-í**	'hoe'
	pə̀g-í	'main support post for a hut'

Neither suffix, however, belongs exclusively to these classes:

(6)	**túl-ə̂**	'owl'
	àbwɔ́'r-í	'eland'

Nor are they required to express these notions:

(7)	**tám**	'thought, idea'	(< **tam** 'think')
	pàl-à	'knife'	

e/ɛ is uncommon as a stem vowel, being found always [?] either as a copy of the root vowel

(8) **òkér-é** 'baby'

or in borrowings:

(9) **àrég-è** 'distilled spirit' (< Arabic)

While the back rounded stem vowels are more-or-less freely interchangeable (with some qualifications based on vowel harmony and idiosyncratic lexical selection), the others are not, neither with each other nor with the back rounded set. That is, while a Lango speaker will accept either **rìŋó** or **rìŋú** as meaning 'meat', he/she will not accept ***rìŋé** as having the same meaning. It should be noted, though, that one does not find, rare exceptions apart, different words from the same root which differ only in stem vowel.

Stem vowels share a number of characteristics:

I. They always immediately follow the root.
II. They are deleted through coalescence when followed by any suffix that begins with a vowel (Sec. 2.6)
III. They are subject to deletion via coalescence in external sandhi (sec. 2.7).
IV. Under certain conditions, they may be deleted via constraction when followed by suffixes beginning with consonants (Sec. 5.1.2.2).

Only stem vowels have these characteristics. The benefactive suffix is also subject to coalescence, but still leaves a trace in the form of gemination of C_2 of the root:

(10) **ò-tèd-ò-ì-á** → **òtèddé**
3s-cook-stem+vowel-ben-1so
'she cooked it for me'

Deletion of the stem vowel leaves no trace apart from absorption of its tone into the root.

5.1.2.2 Contraction

Contraction occurs when the stem vowel is deleted between two consonants, either word internally or at the end of a word before a clitic. One effect of contraction is that the tone carried by the stem vowel is absorbed into the root. For example, when singular associative affixes are added to disyllabic nouns, the stem vowel may optionally undergo contraction (Sec. 5.2.4):

(1) **bòŋ-ó-ná** → **bòŋòná** or **bòŋŋá**
dress-1sa
'my dress'

kwèr-í-ná → **kwèrìná** or **kwèèrá**
hoe-1sa
'my hoe'

bòŋŋá and **kwèèrá** have undergone contraction (as well as cluster simplification and, in the latter, vowel lengthening).

Contraction may also occur in external sandhi. The only common instance of this is found with the verb **kòbbò** 'to say' followed by the complementizer **nî**. The form

(2) **òkòbò nî**
3s-say-perf that
'he said that'

occurs alongside the more common

(3) **òkòbbî**
'he said that'

which involves deletion via contraction of the stem vowel and simplification of the resulting /bn/ cluster (Sec. 1.2.3). In principle, this can occur with any complement taking predicate followed by **nî**, but in my data it is only really common with **kòbbò**.

Just as with coalescence, contraction is taken to apply prior to the application of the tone sandhi rules (see Sec. 4.4.3).

5.1.3 Other affixes

Compounds aside, Lango words may consist of a bare root or, in any combination, a root plus one prefix and up to three suffixes:

(1) **ǎ-yìt-ò-ì-í** → **àyîttí**
1s-climb-stem+vowel-ben-2so
'I climbed it for you'

In the above example, notice that the stem vowel and the benefactive suffix are deleted. In fact, there are at most two suffixes if none are deleted via coalescence or contraction:

(2) **bòŋ-ó-nò** → **bòŋònô**
dress-stem+vowel-that
'that dress'

lùd-ì-ná → **lùdìná**
stick-pl-1sa
'my sticks'

All affixes in Lango have lexical tone. This applies also to the stem vowel, best viewed synchronically as having lexical tone which is absorbed by the root vowel following coalescence or contraction. The tone assigned

to the stem vowel is an idiosyncratic property of each lexical item except for verbs, where the tone is predictable.

All prefixes in Lango consist of a vowel only. All suffixes are of the form

(3) $$- (C)\ V_i\ (\left\{\begin{matrix}/n/\\/r/\\/g/\end{matrix}\right\} V_i)$$

where C stands for either consonant or glide. In disyllabic suffixes, the vowels are always identical.

5.2 Nouns

5.2.1 Deverbal and deadjectival nouns

There are several morphological classes of nominalizations in Lango. In general, the connection between form class and meaning seems arbitrary from the standpoint of the modern language.

I. The nominalization consists of the bare verbal or adjectival root. In deadjectival nouns, the tone is the same as the adjective. In deverbal nouns, the tone is not predictable from the verb, even from the tone of intransitive infinitives, which themselves have idiosyncratic tone. (When two verbs are given, the first is transitive, the second intransitive.)

(1) *From Adjectives*

rèp	'thinness'	**rèp**	'thin'
bît	'sharpness'	**bît**	'sharp'

From Verbs

pác	'carpentry'	**pààyò**	'to carve'
ɲòm	'marriage'	**ɲɔ̀mmɔ̀/ɲòmò**	'to marry'
kóp	'speech, talk'	**kòbbò/kòb**	'to say, speak'
cwèc	'pottery, wicker-work, weaving'	**cwèèyò**	'to form, shape'
kwò	'theft'	**kwàllò/kwò**	'to steal'
cám	'food'	**càmmò/cèm**	'to eat'
tìc	'work'	**tìiyò**	'to do, work'
már	'love'	**mààrò**	'to love, like'
pwóŋ	'teaching'	**pwòŋŋò/pwôŋ**	'to teach'

II. The nominalization consists of the root followed by the stem vowel **-o**. The tone of the root is H; the tone of the stem vowel is HL, or, less commonly, H:

(2) *From Adjectives*

tékô	'strength'	**têk**	'strong'
ryékô	'wisdom, intelligence'	**ryèk**	'wise, prudent'
ŋápô	'laziness'	**ŋàp**	'lazy'
lyétô	'heat, warmth'	**lyèt**	'hot'
ŋícô	'cold'	**ŋìc**	'cold'
gérô	'ferocity'	**gèr**	'fierce'
mwóló	'humility'	**mwòl**	'soft'

From Verbs

jírô	'sneezing'	**jìirò/jírô**	'to sneeze'
déó	'ornament'	**dèèyò**	'to adorn'
méró	'intoxication'	**mèèrò**	'to intoxicate'
		mèr	'to get drunk

III. The nominalization consists of the root with the prefix **à-**. A variety of stem vowels can be found with this prefix:

(3) *From Adjectives*

àkècá	'animosity, anger'	**kêc**	'bitter'

From Nouns

àólá	'cough'	**ólô**	'to cough'
àpòyá/àpòá	'madness, depravity'	**pòòyò**	'to spoil'
àní'nó	'sleeping sickness'	**nìnò**	'to sleep'
àŋó'ó	'measles'	**ŋòò**	'to be rotten, soft, weak'
àgèc	'suspicion'	**gèccò**	'to gossip about, suspect'
àgíkí/àgík	'end'	**gìkkò/gìk**	'to stop'
àbèŋè	'ignorance, stupidity'	**bèŋérê**	'to act or speak stupidly'
ààtè-cwíŋ	'bitterness'	**àttò**	'to make a deep gash'
(cwíŋ	'liver')		

The last two examples have the stem vowel e/ɛ, and, coincidentally, have a reflexive sense. It is possible that there is a connection, though both stem vowels have the wrong tone and, from the standpoint of modern Lango, **àbèŋè** should have the middle voice suffix **-érê**, not **-ê** (reflexive is expressed as middle voice – see Sec. 8.2.2).

IV. The nominalization consists of the root with the prefix **ò-**. The stem vowel o/ɔ is found with a few members of this class:

(4) *From Verbs*

ògwéc	'mashing stick'	**gwèèyò/gwèc**	'to kick, lash out'
òwéc	'broom'	**wèeyò/wèyò**	'to sweep'
òyèŋò/òyèyèŋ	'earthquake'	**yèŋŋò**	'to shake'
òdúr	'dung heap'	**dùùrù**	'to accumulate'

This class lacks purely abstract nouns.

V. The nominalization consists of the root with the prefix **ɨ-**. A variety of stem vowels can be found with this prefix:

(5) *From Verbs*

ɨwúkú	'lung(s)'	**wùkkù**	'to pump, pour'
ɨólè	'boredom, tiredness'	**ɔllɔ/ɔlɔ̂**	'to tire, bore'

I have not yet found a verb or adjective with more than one nominalization – agent nouns apart.

5.2.2 Agent nouns

Agent nouns are formed by prefixing to the root **à-** for the singular and **ò-** for the plural. Both prefixes condition zero-consonant effects – see Sec. 1.6. (The nominalizing prefixes **à-** and **ò-** discussed in the last section do not condition zero-consonant effects.) A variety of stem vowels can be found with agent nouns; some have no stem vowel at all.

Agent nouns are formed from roots whose basic sense is verbal, adjectival, adverbial, and even nominal. They can refer to people, animals, or objects, though with an instrumental cast to the sense of the latter. They can be made from compounds and even from phrases containing conjugated verbs – for the latter, see Sec. 7. Agent nouns are commonly encountered in spoken Lango.

(1) *From Adjectives*

àmwóló	'humble person'	**mwòl**	'soft, humble'
àdwôŋ	'elder'	**dwôŋ**	'old, large (sg)'
òdòŋò	'elders'	**dòŋò**	'old, large (pl)'
àdît	'important person'	**dît**	'big, old, important (sg)'
òdìtò	'important people'	**dìtò**	'big, old, important (pl)'
àpàt	'stranger'	**pàt**	'different, separate'
òpàt	'strangers'		

Those adjectives which have different singular and plural forms (sec. 5.4.2) employ them in their nominalizations, along with the appropriate sg/pl prefix.[50] The tone found in the root of the agent noun is usually the same as in the corresponding adjective, but note **àmwóló** above, which also adds a stem vowel. The noun **àtîn** 'child' (< **tîn** 'small') has the irregular plural

ɨtɪ́nô, with the otherwise unattested **ɨ-** plural prefix (the expected plural **òtɪ́nó/òtɪ́nô** is also heard).

(2) *From Verbs*

àtìc	'worker'	**tìiyì/tìc**	'to work'
àkwác	'beggar'	**kwààyò**	'to ask, pray for'
àcɔ́c	'sower, writer'	**cɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀/cɔ̂c**	'to write, sow'
àór	'messenger, sender'	**ɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀**	'to send'
àpác	'carpenter'	**pààyò**	'to carve, trim, whittle'
àcwèc	'potter'	**cwèèyò**	'to form, shape'
àtên	'support'	**tènnò**	'to support, prop up'
àdàŋ	'stool'	**dàŋŋò**	'to spread out' (one spreads one's legs sitting on these stools)
àtèdò	'cook'	**tèddò**	'to cook'
àkòkò	'crier'	**kòkkò/kòk, kókô, kòkò**	'to cry'
àmɛ́ró	'drunkard'	**mèɛ̀rò**	'to intoxicate'
		mèr	'to get drunk'
àólè	'boring person'	**òllò/òl**	'to tire, bore'
àkɔ̀bɛ̀	'translator, agent'	**kɔ̀bbɔ̀/kɔ̀bɔ̀**	'to transfer'
àkʊ́râ	'spear sheath'	**kʊ̀ʊ̀rʊ̀**	'to guard'
àbɛ̀ŋá	'stupid person'	**bɛ̀ŋérê**	'to act, speak, stupidly'
àyɪ́'tá	'squirrel'	**yɪ̀ttò/yɪ̀tò**	'to climb'
àpámâ	'wall'	**pàmmò**	'to join, pile up, fit side-by-side'
àwúlà	'whisk'	**wùllù**	'to stir up'
àbìlî	'one who performs sacrifice'	**bìllò**	'to tame, domesticate'

As these examples show, the tone on the root of deverbal agent nouns is quite variable. A variety of stem vowels is possible.

(3) *From Adverbs*

àkwènè	'a person from where?	**kwènè**	'where'
àtîn	'something modern'	**tîn**	'today'
àyám	'something ancient'	**yám**	'long ago'
àcén	'last one'	**cén**	'behind, back'

In these agent nouns found from adverbs, the root tone is always the same as that of the adverb. No stem vowel is added.

(4) *From Nouns*

àrɔ̀rɔ̀	'gossip'	**rɔ̀rɔ̀**	'gossip'
àkóló	'bad tempered person'	**kóló**	'anger, rage, irritation'
àjɔ́'ká	'shaman'	**jɔ̀k**	'spirit'

àpàcó	'villager'	**pàcó**	'home, village'
àdɔ̀bɔ́	'leper'	**dɔ̀bɔ́**	'leprosy'
àwàŋ	'someone temporarily in charge'	**wàŋ**	'eye'
àwôk	'someone with gaps in his/her teeth'	**wôk**	'gap in teeth'

The tone on the root and stem vowel is the same as that of the source noun.

5.2.3 Personal names

Personal names in Lango generally consist of the prefix **ò-** for masculine names and **à-** for feminine names added to a root that refers to some circumstance attending the birth of the individual bearing the name. Some of these names are analyzable from the standpoint of modern Lango, others are not:

(1)	**òpíô/àpíô**	'first of twins'	
	òcén/àcén	'second of twins'	(from **cén** 'behind, back')
	òkélò/àkélò	'born after twins'	
	òtô/àtô	'born after mother had miscarried'	(from **tɔ̀ɔ̀** 'to die')
	òtîm/àtîm or **àtímà**	'born in the bush'	(from **tìm** 'bush, wild counrty')
	òdôk/àdôk	'mother threatened to go back home'	(from **dɔ̀k** 'to go back')
	òlírá/àlírá	'born in Lira'	(from **lìrá** 'Lira')

Other sorts of personal names include agent nouns,

(2)	**àlòbò**	'one born after previous children died'	(from **lòbò** 'earth')

and simple, unmodified nouns:

(3)	**gèm**	'one whose parent is stingy'	(from **gèm** 'stinginess')
	báŋá	'one born before the bride-price is paid'	(from **báŋá** 'debt')

5.2.4 Associative paradigms

In this section we are concerned with the suffixation on nouns of associative pronouns, both alienable and inalienable. For the alienable/inalienable distinction, see Sec. 8.7.2.

The singular associative suffixes can be divided into two groups, the plural associatives showing no such distinction:

(1)		*A*	*B*
	first person singular (1sa)	**-á**	**-ná**
	second person singular (2sa)	**-í**	**-ní**
	third person singular (3sa)	**-è** or **é**	**-mérê**[51]
	first person plural (1pa)	**-wá**	
	second person plural (2pa)	**-wú**	
	third person plural (3pa)	**-gí**	

The A set are suffixed to consonant final nouns in inalienable associative constructions. The B set are attached to vowel final nouns in inalienable associatives and to all nouns in alienable associatives:

(2)		*Inalienable*	*Alienable*
	tyĕn 'leg'	**tyĕn + á** 'my leg' [tyèná]	**tyĕn + ná** 'my (animal) leg' [tyènná]
	rèmó 'blood'	**rèmó + ná** 'my blood' [rèmòná]	**rèmó + ná** 'my (animal) blood' [rèmòná]

The plural affixes are used for both alienable and inalienable associative constructions:

(3)	**tyĕn + wá**[52] 'our legs' [tyènwá]	**tyĕn + wá** 'our (animal) legs' [tyènwá]

In general, the suffixation of these forms involves simply the application of the ordinary tone sandhi (Sec. 4.4.2), cluster simplification (Sec. 1.2.3), and vowel harmony rules (Sec. 2.5.2) already discussed. There are, however, a number of irregularities, particularly as regards the suffixation of the A set. Let us first consider the more regular cases involving the suffixation of the B set and the plurals.

Below are some paradigms illustrating the suffixation of the B set and the plurals to nouns exemplifying the various tonal possibilities. All the following involve alienable possession, but recall that an inalienably possessed noun with a final vowel would inflect in exactly the same way. Underlined vowels are stressed:

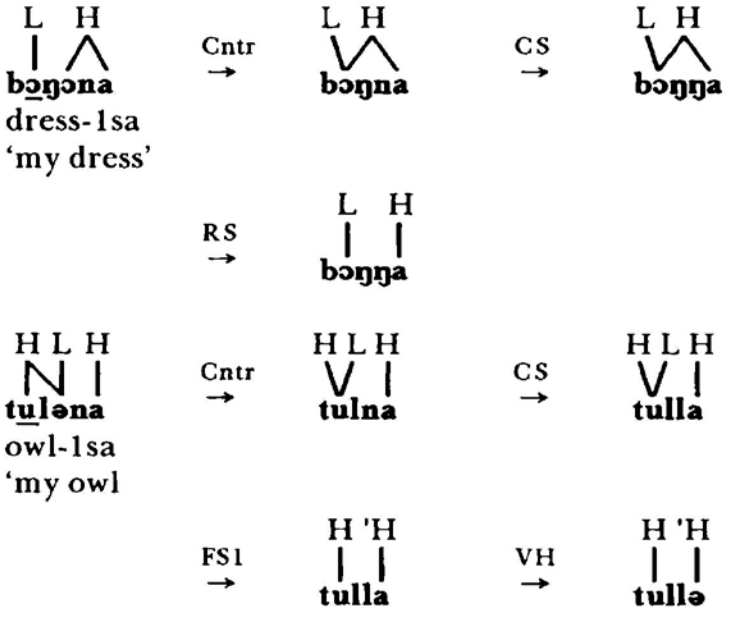
(4)	**ré̲c** 'fish'	**kù̲l** 'wart hog'	**gwô̲k** 'dog'	**tú̲lə** 'owl'
1sa	**réccá**	**kùllə́**	**gwók'kə́**	**túlə́'ná**
2sa	**réccí**	**kùllí**	**gwók'kí**	**túlə́'ní**
3sa	**réccérê**	**kùllérê**	**gwók'kérê**	**túlə́'mérê**
1pa	**récwá**	**kùlwá**	**gwók'wá**	**túlə́'wá**
2pa	**récwú**	**kùlwú**	**gwók'wú**	**túlə́'wú**
3pa	**récgí**	**kùlgí**	**gwók'gí** [gwó'g•í]	**túlə́'gí**

	bɔ̱ŋɔ́ 'dress'	**pa̱là** 'knife'	**gú̱lú** 'pot'	**àpwɔ̱̂** 'hare'
1sa	**bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ná**	**pàlàná**	**gúlúná**	**àpwó'ná**
2sa	**bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ní** **bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ní**	**pàlèní** **pàlèní**	**gúlúní**	**àpwó'ní**
3sa	**bɔ̀ŋɔ̀mérê**	**pàlàmérê**	**gúlúmérê**	**àpwó'mérê**
1pa	**bɔ̀ŋɔ̀wá**	**pàlàwá**	**gúlúwá**	**àpwó'wá**
2pa	**bɔ̀ŋɔ̀wú** **bɔ̀ŋɔ̀wú**	**pàlèwú** **pàlèwú**	**gúlúwú**	**àpwó'wú**
3pa	**bɔ̀ŋɔ̀gí**	**pàlàgí**	**gúlúgí**	**àpwó'gí**

	lɛ̱̀ 'axe'	**ɪ̀cɔ́k** 'sweet potato'	**ɔ̀kwɛ́'cé** 'bitch'
1sa	**lèná**	**ɪ̀cɔ́kká**	**ɔ̀kwɛ́'céná**
2sa	**lèní**	**ɪ̀cɔ́kkí**	**ɔ̀kwɛ́'céní** **ɔ̀kwɛ́'céní**
3sa	**lèmérê**	**ɪ̀cɔ́kkérê**	**ɔ̀kwɛ́'cémérê**
1pa	**lèwá**	**ɪ̀cɔ́kwá**	**ɔ̀kwɛ́'céwá**
2pa	**lèwú**	**ɪ̀cɔ́kwú**	**ɔ̀kwɛ́'céwú** **ɔ̀kwɛ́'céwú**
3pa	**lègí**	**ɪ̀cɔ́kgí** [ɪ̀cɔ́g•ɪ]	**ɔ̀kwɛ́'cégí**

When a disyllabic noun with a stem vowel is followed by the B set suffixes, the word may optionally undergo contraction (sec. 5.1.2.2), whereby the stem vowel is deleted. The resulting cluster consisting of the final consonant of the root and the initial consonant of the suffix undergoes cluster simplification. As with coalescence, the tone of the stem vowel is absorbed into the root.

(5)



(Cntr = contraction, CS = cluster simplification, VH = vowel harmony) Note that since the final vowel of **àpwô** 'hare' is a stressed root vowel, not a stem vowel, the word may not undergo contraction. Paradigms for two words showing contraction are provided below. Note that only the singular forms are given since the plural forms do not undergo contraction and are thus the same as the forms given in (4):

(6)		**bo̱ŋ́ɔ́** 'dress'	**tú̱lɔ̂** 'owl'
	1sa	**bòŋŋá**	**túl'lɔ́**
	2sa	**bòŋŋí**	**túl'lí**
	3sa	**bòŋŋérê**	**túl'érê**

Inalienably possessed nouns that end in vowels take the B set suffixes, as noted above:

(7)		**rè̱mó** 'blood'	**né̱ró** 'uncle (i.e. mother's brother)'
	1sa	**rèmòná**	**néróná**
	2sa	**rèmòní**	**néróní**
	3sa	**rèmòmɛ́rê**	**nérómɛ́rê**
	1pa	**rèmòwá**	**nérówá**
	2pa	**rèmòwú**	**nérówú**
	3pa	**rèmògí**	**nérógí**

These forms may also undergo contraction. However, once the stem vowel is lost, these words are treated like consonant final inalienably possessed nouns and so take the A set suffixes. This means that there is no gemination since there is no consonant in the suffix:

(8)	1sa	**rèmə́**	**nérə́**
	2sa	**rèmí**	**nérí**
	3sa	**rèmê**	**néré**

Notice again that contraction does not occur before the plural suffixes so the plural forms given in (7) are the only ones possible for these words.

The A set suffixes occur only with inalienably possessed, consonant final nouns. The chart below lists the tone taken by these suffixes:[53]

(9)	*Root Tone*	*1sa/2sa*	*3sa*
	HL/H(L)	HL	HL
	H	H	H
	L	H	L
	LH	H	HL

Nouns with final HL include:

(10)		**tûŋ** 'home'	**ŋûl** 'bad luck'	**àtîn** 'child'
	1sa	**túŋə̂**	**ŋúlə̂**	**àtínâ**
	2sa	**túŋî**	**ŋúlî**	**àtínî**
	3sa	**túŋê**	**ŋúlê**	**àtínê**

The H(L) class nouns were discussed in Sec. 4.5. They include:

(11)		**ə̱m** 'thigh'	**lə̱b** 'tongue'	**yi̱t** 'ear'
	1sa	**émə̂**	**lébâ**	**yítə̂**
	2sa	**émî**	**lébî**	**yítî**
	3sa	**émê**	**lébê**	**yîtê**

Nouns with final H include:

(12)		**dóg** 'mouth'	**ɲíŋ** 'name'	**ìmáɲ** 'liver'
	1sa	**dógá**	**ɲíŋá**	**ìmáɲá**
	2sa	**dógí**	**ɲíŋí**	**ìmáɲí**
	3sa	**dógɛ́**	**ɲíŋé**	**ìmáɲé**

Nouns with final L:

(13)		**ŋù̱t** 'neck'	**dɛ̱̀l** 'skin'	**pɛ̱̀n** 'navel'
	1sa	**ŋùtə́**	**dèlə́**	**pènə́**
	2sa	**ŋùtí**	**dèlí**	**pèní**
	3sa	**ŋùtè**	**dèlè**	**pènè**

Nouns with final LH include a class of nouns listed in footnote 44 and nouns like **rèmó** which become **rěm-** following contraction:

(14)		**tyɛ̱̌n** 'leg, foot'	**lǎ̱k** 'tooth'	**rɛ̱̀mó** 'blood'
	1sa	**tyènə́**	**làkə́**	**rèmə́**
	2sa	**tyèní**	**làkí**	**rèmí**
	3sa	**tyènê**	**làkê**	**rèmê**

Again, with the plural associative suffixes, there is no difference between alienable and inalienable possession. We have, therefore, forms like:

(15)	1pa	**émwá**	**dógwá**	**ŋùtwá**	**tyènwá**

These words can be interpreted as either alienably or inalienably possessed nouns.

With the plural suffixes, H(L) nouns behave like ordinary H nouns. So, for **êm** 'thigh' we have **émwá**, but not **ém'wá**.[54] However, with a HL noun like **gwôk** 'dog', we have the expected **gwók'wá**.

wìc 'head', **yìc** 'belly', and **ŋèc** 'back', words which exhibit the Ø/y/c alternation (Sec. 1.4.4), have the Ø alternant before inalienable associative suffixes. However, because of the presence of the morphophoneme /y/ in root final position, these forms take the A set suffixes, not the B set:

(16)		/wìy/ 'head'	/ŋèy/
	1sa	**wìə́**	**ŋèə́**
	2sa	**wìí**	**ŋèí**
	3sa	**wìè**	**ŋèè**
	1pa	**wìwá**	**ŋèwá**
	2pa	**wìwú**	**ŋèwú**
	3pa	**wìgí**	**ŋègí**

However, the [c] alternant is found (and geminated) in alienable possession:

(17)	1sa	**wìccə́**	**ŋèccə́**
		etc.	etc.

Certain nouns which, on semantic grounds, 'ought' to take alienable or inalienable suffixes, take suffixes from the wrong set. For example, certain nouns expressing familial relationships, e.g. 'mother' and 'brother', are found with alienable suffixes:

(18)	**tòt**	'mother'	**tòttérê**	'his mother'
	òmîn	'brother'	**òmín'érê**	'his brother'

Driberg (1922, p. 303) records **òmín'érê**, so the phenomenon is not recent. Most nouns expressing blood relations take the expected inalienable possession:

(19)	**néró**	'uncle'	**néré**	'his uncle'
	pàpò	'father'	**pápé**	'his father' (note the irregular tone)

On the other hand, we find nouns which ought to take alienable suffixes taking inalienable ones. The words **ɔ̀t** 'house' and **tûŋ** 'home' illustrate this:

(20)	**ùdə̀**	'my house'	(note also the irregular tone on the suffix)
	túŋə̂	'homeward, to my home'	

ɔ̀t, however, does appear on occasion with the expected alienable affixes:

(21)	**ɔ̀ttá**	'my house'

Certain nouns exhibit irregularities when inalienable associative suffixes are attached to them. For example, **pì** 'water' can refer to body moisture (sweat, tears, urine) and so can be inalienably possessed. Contrast the forms in inalienable and alienable possession:

(22)		*Inalienable*	*Alienable*
	1sa	**pígə́**	**pìná**
	2sa	**pígí**	**pìní**
	3sa	**pígé**	**pìmérê**
	1pa	**píwá**	**pìwá**
	2pa	**píwú**	**pìwú**
	3pa	**pígí**	**pìgí**

The form **píg** is also used in inalienable constructions with nominal associatives:

(23) **píg wâŋ**
water eye
'tears'

Alienably possessed forms for this word are regular. The word **cúl** 'penis' is also irregular in inalienable possession:

(24)		*Inalienable*	*Alienable*
	1sa	**cúnə́**	**cúllə́**
	2sa	**cúní**	**cúllí**
	3sa	**cúné**	**cúllérê**

Many speakers have **cún** in place of **cúl**: **cún** is treated as a regular H noun.

Under certain conditions, associative pronominal suffixes may be attached to words other than nouns. See Sec. 8.7.2.

5.2.5 Plurals

Not all nouns in Lango have distinctive plurals. Plurals regularly appear only with human or animal nouns and with nouns denoting common tools and implements. There are several classes of plurals:

I. -ê

This seems to be the most productive of the plural suffixes. New words and borrowings use it. When a Lango speaker is asked to produce a plural of a word not ordinarily given a distinctive plural, he/she will usually choose **-ê** to oblige his/her interrogator.

The formation of plurals with **-ê** is also the most regular. The tone pattern of the singular is preserved in the plural. **-ê** replaces the stem vowel whose tone is absorbed into the root.

(1)	*Singular*	*Plural*	
	búk	**búkê**	'book'
	mətòkà	**mətòkèê**[55]	'car'
	dàktàl	**dàktèlê**	'doctor'
	kwàc	**kwècê**	'leopard'
	kóm	**kómê**	'chair'
	òdìlò	**òdìlê**	'ball'
	réc	**récê**	'fish'
	bʉ̀râ	**bùrê**	'cat' (see Sec. 4.4.3 for derivation)

púc	**púcê**	'cat'
wèlò	**wèlê**	'visitor, guest'
ɪ̀dɪ́kɛ̀	**ɪ̀dɪ̂kɛ̂**	'leech'
ɲɔ̀ŋ	**ɲɔ̀ŋɛ̂**	'crocodile'

Only a few irregularities are found with this class:

(2)			
	dwè	**dwétê**	'months'
	àwóbí	**àwòbè**	'boy'

II. -nì

This is also a common pluralizer. The stem vowel is deleted and, when the root ends in a consonant, cluster simplification results in the gemination of C_2:[56]

(1)	*Singular*	*Plural*	
	làɔ́	**lɔ́nì**	'cloth'
	rɔ́mɔ̂	**rɔ́mmì**	'sheep'
	tɔ́ŋ	**tòŋŋì**	'spear'[57]
	jágô	**jàggì**	'chief's assistant'
	pʊ́nʊ̂	**pùnnì**	'pig'
	pàpò	**pàppì**	'father'
	kùl	**kùllì**	'wart hog'

There are a number of irregularities in tone, as the examples above show, as well as other irregularities:

(2)			
	gwôk	**gwóggî**	'dog'
	dyèl	**dyéggî**	'goat'

III. -í

This suffix also replaces the stem vowel. The tone is uniformly high in the plural:

(1)	*Singular*	*Plural*	
	twɔ̀n	**twóní**	'bull'
	láŋô	**lɔ́ŋí**	'Lango'
	lwàŋò	**lwɔ́ŋí**	'fly'
	lɛ̀	**léyí**	'axe'
	pàcó	**pɔ́cí**	'village'
	pàlà	**pɔ́lí**	'knife'
	lʊ̀t	**lúdí**	'stick'[58]
	dyàŋ	**dyɔ́ŋí**	'cow'
	yàt	**yɔ́dí**	'tree'[59]
	gɔ̀t	**gódí**	'mountain'

With plural **-í**, root final /t/ voices to [d]. Some irregularities have also been observed, especially as regards tone:

(2)	**ɔ̀t**	**ùdì**	'house'
	kwèrí	**kwèí**	'hoe'

IV. ò-

Agent nouns form their plurals by exchanging the plural prefix **ò-** for the singular agent noun prefix **à-** (Sec. 5.2.2):

(1)	**àméró**	**òméró**	'drunkard'
	àdwôŋ	**òdɔ̀ŋɔ̀**	'elder'

As the last example illustrates, for adjectives displaying distinct singular/plural forms, the plural form of the adjective must accompany **ò-**.

V. Miscellaneous

In this class we find a miscellany of forms, some involving suppletion, others rare plural suffixes:

(1)	**dákô**	**món**	'woman, wife'
	ɲákô	**àɲìrə**	'girl'
	ìcô	**cɔ̀**	'man, husband'
	dánô	**jɔ̀**	'person, people'
	dyàŋ	**dòk**[60]	'cattle'
	gwènò	**gwén**	'chicken'
	gìn	**gìgù**	'thing'
(2)	**àgâk**	**àgákán**	'crow'
	àkâl	**àkáláŋ**	'reed-buck'
	àmúrú	**àmúrútá**	'thigh'
	àyí'tá	**àyítáŋ**	'squirrel'[61]

Examples like those in (2) were used by Tucker and Bryan (1966, p.416) as illustrations of the Teso substratum in Lango speech. These affixes are clearly not native to Western Nilotic.

When plural and associative affixes combine in a single word, the order is:

(1) Root + Plural + Associative

The plural and associative affixes combine in the usual way, subject to the ordinary rules of tone sandhi and vowel harmony. The plural suffixes are not deleted by contraction:

(2)		**tòŋŋì** 'spears'	**wèlê** 'visitors'
	1sa	**tòŋŋìná**	**wèlé'ná**
	2sa	**tòŋŋìní**	**wèlé'ní**
	3sa	**tòŋŋìmérê**	**wèlé'mérê**
	1pa	**tòŋŋìwá**	**wèlé'wá**
	2pa	**tòŋŋìwú**	**wèlé'wú**
	3pa	**tòŋŋìgí**	**wèlé'gí**

5.2.6 Spatial deixis and topicality: determiners

The remaining nominal affixes are all suffixes and express spatial deixis or topicality and are referred to collectively as determiners. The deictic affixes express three relations of spatial deixis:[62]

(1)	**-nì**	'this: near the speaker'
	-nò	'that: near the hearer'
{	**-cà**	'yonder: remote from speaker and hearer'
{	**-kà**	

As in many other languages, the essentially locative reference of these forms may be extended metaphorically into temporal or psychological dimensions. The syntax of these forms is discussed in Sec. 8.7.1 and 8.7.4. See Sec. 1.2.3 for discussion of cluster simplification vis-à-vis these forms and Sec. 2.5.2 for their role in vowel harmony.

-nì has a little used plural counterpart **-gì**. Its use seems confined to nouns which lack distinctive plurals, thereby insuring for them a plural interpretation. It is not obligatory with these forms, however, and it was never recorded spontaneously on any noun otherwise marked for plurality. So, **gúlúnî** can mean either 'this pot' or 'these pots' since **gúlú** has no distinctive plural; however, **gúlúgî** can only mean 'these pots'. The noun **gwóggî** 'dogs' is distinctively marked for plurality (the singular is **gwôk**): both **gwóggínì** and **gwóggígì** therefore mean 'these pots', but only the former is likely to be heard.

-nò also has a plural counterpart **-gò**, but this form was never spontaneously offered, even with words like **gúlú**. Nonetheless, **gúlúgô** was understood as meaning 'those pots' though one informant complained it sounded more like Luo than Lango.

-cà and **-kà** are synonymous, but **-kà** is quite rare. **-cà/-kà** have a little used plural counterpart **-ìcà**, which is found only after words ending in consonants. Like **-cà** itself, the initial /ì/ in this form is not subject to vowel harmony. **-ìcà** conditions gemination of preceding consonants.

(2)		*Sg*	*Pl*
		pàlà 'knife'	**pólí** 'knives'
	this	**pàlànì**	**pólínî/pólígî**
	that	**pàlànò**	**pólínô/pólígô**
	yonder	**pàlàcà**	**pólícâ**

	kùl 'wart hog'	**kùllì** 'wart hogs'
this	**kùllɪ̀**	**kùllìnɪ̀/kùllìgɪ̀**
that	**kùllò**	**kùllìnò/kùllìgò**
yonder	**kùlcà**	**kùllìcà**
	yàt 'tree'	**yén** 'trees'
this	**yàttɪ̀**	**yénnɪ̀/yéngɪ̂** [yéŋgî]
that	**yàttò**	**yénnò/yéngô** [yéŋgô]
yonder	**yàtcà**	**yéncâ/yénnìcà**
	gúlú 'pot	**gúlú** 'pots'
this	**gúlúnɪ̂**	**gúlúnɪ̂/gúlúgɪ̂**
that	**gúlúnô**	**gúlúnô/gúlúgô**
yonder	**gúlúcâ**	**gúlúcâ**

The thematic suffix **-mérê** (see Sec. 8.7.4) has no plural counterpart. It is phonologically identical to the 3sa alienable affix **-mérê** so that forms like **gwènòmérê** can mean either 'the aforementioned chicken' or 'his/her chicken'.

The indefinite suffix is **-mórô**, which has a plural counterpart **-mógô** (Sec. 8.7.4). As with the deictic suffixes, the plural form is not obligatory with nouns with a plural sense.

(3)

	Sg	*Pl*
	pàlà 'knife'	**pɔ́lí** 'knives'
thematic	**pàlàmérô**	**pɔ́límérê**
indefinite	**pàlàmórô**	**pɔ́límórô/pɔ́límógô**
	yàt 'tree'	**yén** 'trees'
thematic	**yàttérê**	**yénnérê**
indefinite	**yàttórô**	**yénnórô/yénnógô**

The determiners do not occur in the same word with the associative suffixes. The determiners do not condition nor do they undergo vowel harmony.

5.3 Verbs

5.3.1 Transitive and intransitive forms

The distinction between transitive (Tr) and intransitive — activity naming (AN) and secondary argument (SA) — verbs is discussed in Sec. 8.2.1. What follows is an extended list, by no means exhaustive, of Tr infinitives and their corresponding AN and SA forms. Phonological relations between the forms have been discussed earlier: Sec. 1.5.3 lists

consonant alternations, and Sec. 2.8.1 discusses [ATR] differences in vowels. The gemination characteristic of Tr forms is discussed in Sec. 1.2.3, and vowel lengthening in lieu of gemination is discussed in Sec. 2.2.

(1) List of Transitive/Intransitive Pairs

Tr	**òddò**	'to pound'	AN	**ódô**	'to pound'
Tr	**òllò**	'to bore'	AN	**òl**	'to be tired of'
Tr	**òllò**	'to cause to cough'	SA	**ólô**	'to cough'
Tr	**òmmò**	'to cause to yawn	SA	**ómô**	'to yawn'
Tr	**òŋŋò**	'to drop, spill'	SA	**òŋ**	'to drop, spill'
Tr	**bàkkò**	'to accumulate'	AN	**bókô**	'to accumulate'
Tr	**bòkkò**	'to redden'	SA	**bòk**	'to redden'
Tr	**bòppò**	'to deflate'	SA	**bòp**	'to deflate'
Tr	**bìttò**	'to unshell'	AN	**bítô**	'to unshell'
Tr	**còddò**	'to break'	SA	**côd**	'to break'
Tr	**còkkò**	'to collect, gather'	AN	**cókô**	'to collect, gather'
Tr	**cèllò**	'to roast, fry'	AN	**cédô**	'to roast, fry'
Tr	**càmmò**	'to eat'	AN	**cèm**	'to eat'
Tr	**càŋŋò**	'to heal'	SA	**càŋ**	'to recover'
Tr	**cèèrò**	'to raise from dead'	SA	**cèr**	'to rise from dead'
Tr	**càttò**	'to sell'	AN	**càt**	'to engage in business'
Tr	**còòyò**	'to wake up'	SA	**còò**	'to wake up'
Tr	**còòyò**	'to write, sow'	AN	**côc**	'to write, sow'
Tr	**dàkkò**	'to transfer'	SA	**dàk**	'to migrate'
Tr	**dìnnò**	'to thresh'	AN	**dínô**	'to thresh'
Tr	**dèŋŋò**	'to swell'	SA	**dèŋ**	'to swell'
Tr	**dòŋŋò**	'to grow'	SA	**dòŋò**	'to grow'
			SA	**dwô**	'to be big'
Tr	**dèppò**	'to collect, gather'	AN	**dépô**	'to collect, gather'
Tr	**dwèkkò**	'to break up (fight)'	AN	**dwék**	'to break up (fight)'
Tr	**dwòkkò**	'to bring back'	SA	**dòk**	'to go back'
Tr	**gìkkò**	'to stop'	SA	**gìk**	'to stop'
Tr	**gàllò**	'to delay'	SA	**gàl**	'to delay'
Tr	**gòmmò**	'to bend'	SA	**gòm**	'to bend'
Tr	**gèèrò**	'to build'	AN	**gédô**	'to build'
Tr	**gùùrù**	'to drive in (nail)'	AN	**gùr**	'to drive in (nail)'
Tr	**gòòyò**	'to beat'	AN	**gôc**	'to beat'
Tr	**gwèèyò**	'to kick'	AN	**gwèc**	'to kick'
Tr	**jòbbò**	'to sweep up'	AN	**jóbô**	'to sweep up'
Tr	**jʊ̀kkò**	'to stop'	SA	**jʊ̀k**	'to stop'
Tr	**jòŋŋò**	'to emaciate'	SA	**jòŋ**	'to be emaciated'
Tr	**jɪ̀ŋŋò**	'to harden'	SA	**jɪ̀ŋ**	'to harden'

Tr	**jɪ̀ɪ̀rò**	'to cause to sneeze'	SA	**jɪ́rô**	'to sneeze'
Tr	**jwɪ̀kkò**	'to stunt'	SA	**jwɪ̀k**	'to be stunted'
Tr	**kòbbò**	'to speak'	AN	**kòb**	'to speak'
Tr	**kɔ̀bbɔ̀**	'to transfer'	SA	**kɔ̀bɔ̀**	'to migrate'
Tr	**kòddò**	'to blow'	AN	**kódô**	'to blow'
Tr	**kàkkò**	'to split'	SA	**kàk**	'to split'
Tr	**kòkkò**	'to weep over'	AN	**kòk, kókô, kòkò**	'to cry'
Tr	**kʊ̀ŋŋò**	'to dig'	AN	**kúŋô**	'to dig'
Tr	**kèttò**	'to destroy'	SA	**kèt**	'to fall apart'
Tr	**kʊ̀ttɔ̀**	'to blow on'	AN	**kùtò**	'to blow'
Tr	**kààyò**	'to gather, harvest'	AN	**kâc**	'to gather, harvest'
Tr	**kɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**	'to pick out among'	AN	**kɔ́ɔ̂**	'to pick out among'
Tr	**kwàllò**	'to steal'	AN	**kwò**	'to steal'
Tr	**kwànnò**	'to read, recite'	AN	**kwân**	'to read, recite'
Tr	**kwɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀**	'to sift'	AN	**kwórô**	'to sift'
Tr	**kwààyò**	'to beg'	AN	**kwác**	'to beg'
Tr	**kwèèyò**	'to cool'	SA	**kwèè**	'to cool'
Tr	**lèggò**	'to pray to'	AN	**légô**	'to pray'
Tr	**lèkkò**	'to dream'	AN	**lék**	'to dream'
Tr	**làllò**	'to scatter'	SA	**làl**	'to scatter'
Tr	**lɛ̀llò**	'to rejoice over'	AN	**lɛ́lô**	'to rejoice'
Tr	**lɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**	'to defeat, exceed'	AN	**lòc**	'to rule'
Tr	**lwɛ̀ɛ̀rò**	'to slash, clear'	AN	**lwérô**	'to slash, clear'
Tr	**lwòŋŋò**	'to call'	AN	**lwòŋò**	'to call'
Tr	**lyèllò**	'to shave'	AN	**lyédô**	'to shave'
Tr	**mòkkò**	'to make sickly'	SA	**môk**	'to be sickly'
Tr	**mùkkù**	'to break off'	SA	**mùk**	'to break off'
Tr	**mɔ̀llɔ̀**	'to float'	SA	**mɔ̀l**	'to float'
Tr	**mɛ̀ɲɲò**	'to light'	SA	**mɛ̀ɲ**	'to flash'
Tr	**mɛ̀ɛ̀rò**	'to intoxicate'	SA	**mɛ̀r**	'to get drunk'
Tr	**màttò**	'to drink'	AN	**mɘ́tô**	'to drink'
Tr	**mèèyò**	'to cause to glow'	SA	**méô**	'to glow'
Tr	**myèllò**	'to dance'	AN	**myèl**	'to tremble'
Tr	**nɛ̀nnò**	'to see'	AN	**nénô**	'to see'
			SA	**nên**	'to be visible, appear'
Tr	**nɛ̀ɛ̀rò**	'to wither, wilt'	SA	**nɛ̀r**	'to wither, wilt'
Tr	**nʊ̀ʊ̀rʊ̀**	'to make drowsy'	SA	**nʊ̀r**	'to become drowsy'
Tr	**ɲɪ̀kkò**	'to move away slightly	SA	**ɲɪ̀kò**	'to move away slightly
Tr	**ɲàmmò**	'to chew'	AN	**ɲɘ́mô**	'to chew'
Tr	**ɲɔ̀mmɔ̀**	'to marry'	AN	**ɲòmò**	'to get married'
Tr	**ɲɛ̀ɛ̀rò**	'to laugh at'	AN	**ɲérô**	'to laugh'
Tr	**ɲwàllò**	'to give birth to'	AN	**ɲwàl**	'to give birth'
Tr	**ŋɔ̀kkɔ̀**	'to vomit'	AN	**ŋɔ̀k**	'to vomit'

Tr	**ŋwèccò**	'to run from'	AN	**ŋwèc**	'to run'
Tr	**ŋwèddò**	'to collect (vegetables)'	AN	**ŋwédô**	'to collect (vegetables)'
Tr	**ŋwèèyò**	'to smell'	SA	**ŋwèè**	'to be smelly'
Tr	**pàccò**	'to peel'	AN	**pécô**	'to peel'
Tr	**pònnò**	'to hide from'	AN	**pònò**	'to hide'
Tr	**pìttò**	'to plant'	AN	**pítô**	'to plant'
Tr	**pòttò**	'to fail'	SA	**pòtò**	'to fail, fall'
Tr	**pyèttò**	'to winnow'	AN	**pyétô**	'to winnow'
Tr	**pwòɲɲò**	'to teach'	AN	**pwôɲ**	'to teach'
Tr	**pwòttò**	'to smooth'	SA	**pwòt**	'to be smooth'
Tr	**règgò**	'to grind'	AN	**régô**	'to grind'
Tr	**rèmmò**	'to hurt'	SA	**rèm**	'to be painful'
Tr	**rèmmò**	'to be insufficient for'	AN	**rèm**	'to be insufficient'
Tr	**ròmmò**	'to be sufficient for'	AN	**róm**	'to be sufficient'
Tr	**rìŋŋò**	'to run from'	AN	**rìŋò**	'to run'
Tr	**rwèɲɲò**	'to lose'	SA	**rwèɲò**	'to get lost'
Tr	**ryèttò**	'to winnow'	AN	**ryétô**	'to winnow'
Tr	**tèddò**	'to cook'	AN	**tèdò**	'to cook'
Tr	**tòkkò**	'to ladle out'	AN	**tókô**	'to ladle out'
Tr	**tùkkò**	'to play'	AN	**tùkò**	'to play'
Tr	**tèmmò**	'to try'	AN	**tèmò**	'to try'
Tr	**tòppò**	'to rot'	SA	**tòp**	'to rot'
Tr	**tʊ̀rʊ̀rò**	'to break'	SA	**tʊ̀r**	'to break'
Tr	**tèttò**	'to forge'	AN	**tèt**	'to forge'
Tr	**tìiyò**	'to work, do'	AN	**tìc**	'to work'
Tr	**tòòyò**	'to numb'	SA	**tòò**	'to die'
Tr	**twèèyò**	'to tie, bind'	AN	**twêc**	'to tie, bind'
Tr	**twòòyò**	'to sicken'	SA	**twòò**	'to be sick'
Tr	**twòòyò**	'to dry out'	SA	**twòò**	'to dry'
Tr	**wèèyò**	'to sweep'	AN	**wèyò**	'to sweep'
Tr	**wàllò**	'to boil'	SA	**wálô**	'to boil'
Tr	**wìllò**	'to lose'	SA	**wìl**	'to be lost'
Tr	**yèccò**	'to tear'	SA	**yèc**	'to tear'
Tr	**yèkkò**	'to sieve'	AN	**yékô**	'to sieve'
Tr	**yìttò**	'to climb'	AN	**yìtò**	'to climb'

The tone of transitive infinitives is L throughout as the examples above amply illustrate. These forms all have a stem vowel and a geminate C_2, or, if C_2 is /r/ or /y/, a long root vowel.[63]

The intransitive forms all lack geminate C_2. They are about equally divided as to whether they have a stem vowel, which with verbs is always a back rounded vowel (see Sec. 2.8.2). The tone patterns are H, L and HL with monosyllables, and L L or H HL with disyllables. The tonal pattern of the intransitive infinitive is not predictable phonologically or semantically and so the form of the intransitive infinitive must be entered in the

lexicon. When they are conjugated for aspect and mood, the tone is predictable for all but a very small class of irregular verbs, regardless of the tone of the infinitive.

5.3.2 Aspect, mood, and person

The meaning and use of the aspects is discussed in Sec. 8.2.4 and the moods in Sec. 8.2.7. Argument inflection is discussed in Sec. 8.2.4 and 8.2.5. In this section we are concerned only with the morphological aspect of the verb conjugation.

The three indicative aspects and the subjunctive mood (which includes the imperative as a subtype) each have a distinctive basic tonal pattern. The tonal pattern of any given verb results from the application of the tone sandhi rules to the combination of the basic aspect/mood tone pattern and the underlying tone of the pronominal and other affixes. The basic tonal patterns of disyllabic stems (those with a stem vowel) and monosyllabic stems (without a stem vowel) are given below:

(1)	*Disyllabic*		*Monosyllabic*
	root V	*stem V*	*root V*
Perfective	L	L	L
Habitual	H	HL	HL
Progressive	same as infinitive		same as infinitive
Subjunctive	L	H	LH

The progressive aspect originated as a periphrastic construction consisting of the verb **ya-** 'to be in a place' followed by the infinitive. In modern Lango the shape of the verbal stem in the progressive still reflects perfectly its infinitival origin, while the subject prefixes for this aspect are unique and can be traced back to the original inflected main verb.[64] Below is a list of the two sets of subject agreement affixes, the B set for the progressive and the A set for the rest (perfective, habitual, and subjunctive):

(2)	*A*	*B*
1s	**ǎ-**	**â-**
2s	**ǐ-**	**î**
3s	**ò-** (perf, subj) **Ø**(hab)	**à-**
3s pro S, rel	**ǒ-**	**-**
3s non-switch	**ě-**	**ê-**
1d	**ǒ-** (subj only)	**-**
1p	**ǒ-**	**ô-**
2p	**ǐ- -wùnú**	**î- -wùnú**
3p	**ǒ-**	**ô-**
3p non-switch	**ǐ-**	**î-**

For the non-switch reference affixes, see Sec. 2.3.2. The perfective alone distinguishes a form used with the 3s pronoun **én** and with relativized subjects (Sec. 2.2). The 2p has both a prefix and a suffix.

In the subjunctive, for all persons save 1p and 2p, the stem vowel is replaced by **-í**, which harmonizes with the root vowel. In the 1p and 2p, **-í** is in turn replaced by **-ú**, which conditions harmony on [-ATR] root vowels. **-í** can, and usually is, deleted, its tone being absorbed by the root. In the 1p, **-ú** is obligatory, distinguishing the 1p from the first person dual (1d), 'we two', the only instance of dual number in Lango. In the 2p, either **-ú** or **-wùnú** must be present; in the latter case, the H of **-ú** is absorbed into the root. The suffix **-í** (but not **-ú**) has the peculiarity that it is never affixed to a root ending in a resonant, i.e. a vowel, nasal, /r/, /l/, or /y/.

The imperative is simply a prefixless subjunctive, having optionally the suffix **-í** in the singular and obligatorily **-ú** in the plural.

For the transitive verbs **gìkkò** 'to stop something' and **kwànnò** 'to read, recite something', we have the following paradigms:

(3)	*Perfective*	*Habitual*	*Progressive*
1s	**àgíkò**	**àgíkô**	**ágìkkò**
2s	**ìgíkò**	**ìgíkô**	**ígìkkò**
3s	**ògìkò**	**gíkô**	**àgìkkò**
3s rel, pro	**ògíkò**	"	"
3s non-switch	**ègíkò**	**ègíkô**	**égìkkò**
1d	-	-	-
1p	**ògíkò**	**ògíkô**	**ógìkkò**
2p	**ìgíkòwùnú**	**ìgíkówùnú**	**ígìkkòwùnú**
3p	**ògíkò**	**ògíkô**	**ógìkkò**
3p non-switch	**ìgíkò**	**ìgíkô**	**ígìkkò**

	Subjunctive	*Imperative*
1s	**àgîk/àgîkí**	
2s	**ìgîk/ìgîkí**	**gǐk/gìkí**
3s	**ògǐk/ògìkí**	
3s rel, pro	"	"
3s non-switch	**ègîk/ègîkí**	
1d	**ògîk/ògîkí**	
1p	**ògîkú**	
2p	**ìgîkwûnú/ìgîkú**	**gìkú**
3p	**ògîk/ògîkí**	
3p non-switch	**ìgîk/ìgîkí**	

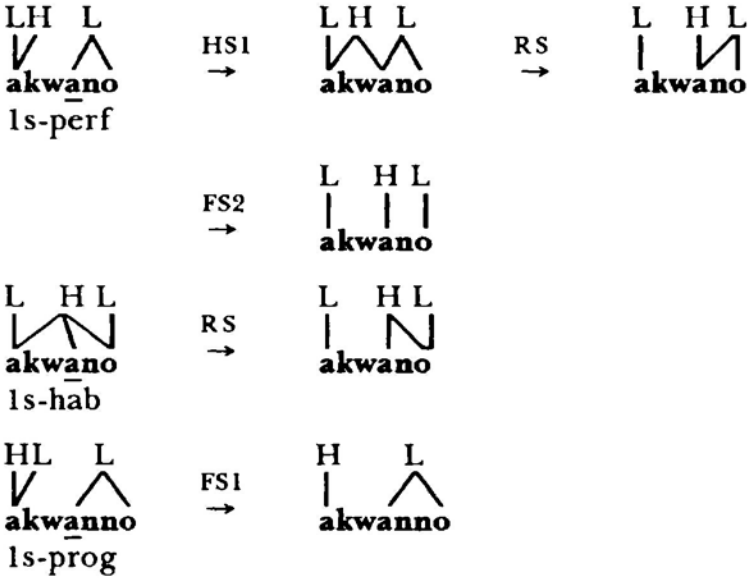
(4)	*Perfective*	*Habitual*	*Progressive*
1s	**àkwánò**	**àkwánô**	**ákwànnò**
2s	**ìkwánò**	**ìkwánô**	**íkwànnò**
3s	**òkwànò**	**kwánô**	**àkwànnò**
3s rel, pro	**òkwánò**	"	"
3s non-switch	**èkwánò**	**èkwánô**	**ékwànnò**
1d	-	-	-
1p	**òkwánò**	**òkwánô**	**ókwànnò**
2p	**ìkwánòwùnú**	**ìkwánówùnú**	**íkwànnòwùnú**
3p	**òkwánò**	**òkwánô**	**ókwànnò**
3p non-switch	**ɨkwánò**	**ɨkwánô**	**ɨ́kwànnò**

	Subjunctive	*Imperative*
1s	**àkwa̰n**	
2s	**ìkwa̰n**	**kwa̰n**
3s	**òkwa̰n**	
3s rel, pro	"	
3s non-switch	**èkwa̰n**	
1d	**òkwa̰n**	
1p	**òkwə̰nú**	
2p	**ìkwə̰nwûnú**	**kwə̀nú**
3p	**òkwa̰n**	
3p non-switch	**ɨkwa̰n**	

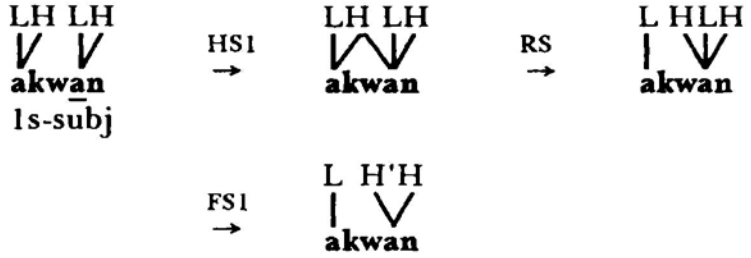
Notice that **kwànnò** lacks the **-ɨ́** suffix option in the subjunctive because its root ends in a resonant, i.e. /n/. Note also that the subjunctive paradigms of both verbs contain the falling downstep tone (Sec. 4.1).

A few sample derivations follow:

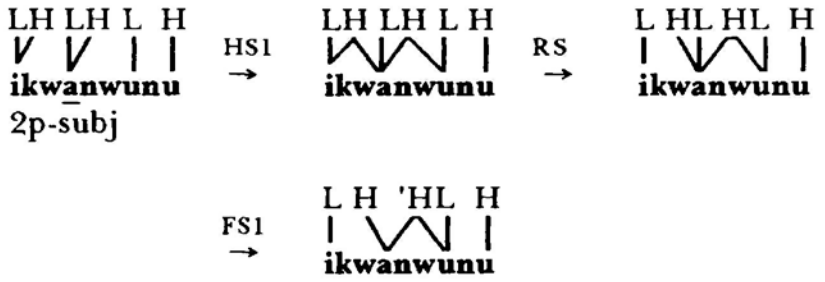
(5)



In the last example, **-í** replaces the stem vowel and carries its H. In the next example the suffix **-í** is not possible because the root ends in a resonant; the tone of the deleted stem vowel is absorbed by the root.



In the following example, again, the stem vowel is lost and its tone is absorbed into the root:



For the intransitive verbs **gìk** 'to stop' and **kwân** 'to read, recite', we have the following:

(6)	*Perfective*	*Habitual*	*Progressive*
1s	**àgîk**	**àgíîk**	**ágìk**
2s	**ìgîk**	**ìgíîk**	**ígìk**
3s	**ògìk**	**gíîk**	**àgìk**
3s rel, pro	**ògîk**	"	"
3s non-switch	**ègîk**	**ègíîk**	**égìk**
1d	-	-	-
1p	**ògîk**	**ògíîk**	**ógìk**
2p	**ìgîkwùnú**	**ìgíkówùnú**	**ígìkwùnú**
3p	**ògîk**	**ògíîk**	**ógìk**
3p	**ìgîk**	**ìgíîk**	**ígìk**

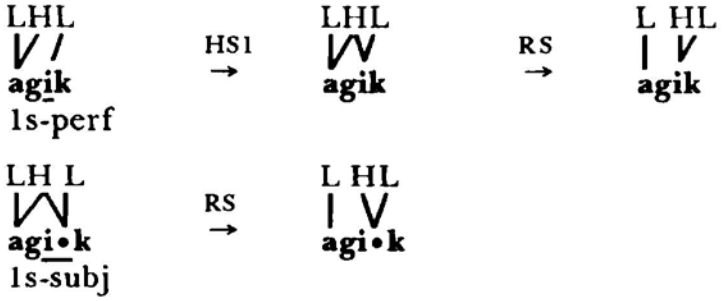
	Subjunctive	*Imperative*
1s	**àgîk/àgîkí**	
2s	**ìgîk/ìgîkí**	**gǐk/gìkí**
3s	**ògǐk/ògìkí**	
3s rel, pro	" "	
3s non-switch	**ègîk/ègîkí**	
1d	**ògîk/ògîkí**	
1p	**ògîkú**	
2p	**ìgîkwûnú/ìgîkú**	**gìkú**
3p	**ògîk/ògîkí**	
3p non-switch	**ɨgîk/ɨgîkí**	

(7)	*Perfective*	*Habitual*	*Progressive*
1s	**àkwân**	**àkwáân**	**á'kwân**
2s	**ìkwân**	**ìkwáân**	**í'kwân**
3s	**òkwàn**	**kwáân**	**àkwân**
3s rel, pro	**òkwân**	"	"
3s non-switch	**èkwân**	**èkwáân**	**é'kwân**
1d	-	-	-
1p	**òkwân**	**òkwáân**	**ó'kwân**
2p	**ìkwánwùnú**	**ìkwánwùnú**	**í'kwánwùnú**
3p	**òkwân**	**òkwáân**	**ó'kwân**
3p non-switch	**ɨkwân**	**ɨkwáân**	**ɨ'kwân**

	Subjunctive	*Imperative*
1s	**àkwa̍n**	
2s	**ìkwa̍n**	**kwa̍n**
3s	**òkwa̍n**	
3s rel, pro	"	
3s non-switch	**èkwa̍n**	
1d	**òkwa̍n**	
1p	**òkwa̍nú**	
2p	**ìkwa̍nwùnú**	**kwànú**
3p	**òkwa̍n**	
3p non-switch	**ɨkwa̍n**	

Notice that the subjunctive suffixes **-ɨ́** and **-ú** and found even with monosyllabic verbs like **gìk**; **kwân**, since C_2 is a resonant, can not take **-ɨ́**, but does take **-ú**.

The most interesting aspect of these last paradigms is the form taken by suffixless verbs in the habitual aspect. As noted in Sec. 4.1, underlying stressed contour tones are associated with long vowels, but derived contour tones are not. As a result, the difference between 1s perfective **àgîk** and 1s habitual **àgíîk** is one of vowel length. The derivations of the two forms follow:

(8) 

In the perfective, the HL contour comes about through the application of the tone sandhi rule HS1, but in the habitual the HL is underlying, a feature of the basic tonal pattern of a monosyllabic habitual. The transcription [íî] is meant to characterize the tonal contour [ ] described in Sec. 4.1. In the 2p habitual, the underlying HL simplifies to H via FS2, and as a result the vowel is not long:

(9) 

In (9), the vowel length is lost along with the contour tone.

We must now consider the affixation of the pronominal object suffixes. These suffixes are listed below:

(10)	1so	**-á**
	2so	**-í**
	3so	**-é**
	1po	**-wá**
	2po	**-wú/-wùnú/-ú**
	3po	**-gí**

The behavior of these suffixes in vowel harmony was discussed in Sec. 2.5.2.

The suffixation of the pronominal object forms presents in general no special problems. The singular forms replace the stem vowel. The plural forms follow the stem vowel save for the **-ú** option of the 2po, which like the singulars replaces the stem vowel. When the stem vowel is replaced by an object suffix, its tone is absorbed into the root. In the subjunctive, the suffix **-ɪ́**[65] is not found before the pronominal object suffixes; the stem vowel is likewise not found in the subjunctive. With objects suffixes, subjunctives take the tone for monosyllabic verbs, i.e. LH.

Below are the pronominal object suffixes with the Tr verb **nènnò** 'to see' illustrating the various aspects and moods, all with a 3s subject:

(11)	*Perfective*	*Habitual*	*Progressive*	*Subjunctive*
1so	**ònènná**	**né'ná**	**ànènná**	**òněná**
2so	**ònèní**	**né'ní**	**ànènní**	**ònění**
3so	**ònèné**	**né'né**	**ànènné**	**òněné**
1po	**ònènòwá**	**nénó'wá**	**ànènnòwá**	**òněnwá**
2po	**ònènòwú**	**nénó'wú**	**ànènnòwú**	**òněnwú**
	ònènòwùnú	**nénówùnú**	**ànènnòwùnú**	**òněnwûnú**
	ònènú	**né'nú**	**ànènnú**	**òněnú**
3po	**ònènògí**	**nénó'gí**	**ànènnògí**	**òněŋí**

When the subject is 2p, the suffix **-wùnú** is detached from the verb if there is an object suffix:

(12) **ìnêná wùnú**
2p-see-1so 2p
'you (pl) saw me'

The subjunctive suffix **-ú** is obligatory in the 1p and the plural imperative. In the 2p, with pronominal objects the **-ú** option is not used; instead, we find only **-wùnú**, illustrated in the last paragraph. When **-ú** is present, pronominal objects can be suffixes to the verb; rather, we find independent pronouns in their stead:

(13) **ògîkú yín**
1p-stop-subj 2s
'(that) we stop you'

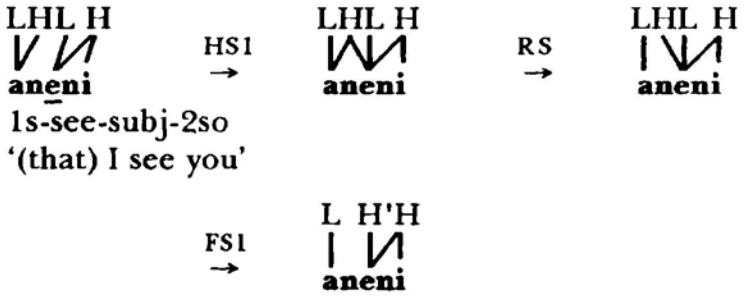
gìkú én
2s-stop-imper 3s
'stop him!'

A few sample derivations follow illustrating forms not given above:

(14) LHL H → (HS1) → LHL H → (RS) → LH LH
aneni → **aneni** → **aneni**
1s-see-perf-2so
'I saw you'

LHL H → (UFS) → L H'H → (RS) → L H'H
aneni → **aneni** → **aneni**
1s-see-hab-2so
'I see you'

H L H → (FS1) → H L H
anenni → **anenni**
1s-see-prog-2so
'I'm looking at you'



The transitive infinitive is inflected for object suffixes in the same manner as the verb. The forms given above to illustrate the progressive aspect will serve for the infinitive (with the deletion of subject prefix) since the progressive is built off the infinitive.

There are few irregular verbs in Lango. **kwíyâ** 'to not know' and **dágî** 'to refuse, not want' are irregular in the form of their stem vowel and in not taking object suffixes — they must be followed by independent pronouns. The stem vowel of **dágî** is lost when the verb is followed by a nominal direct object — exceptionally, its tone is also lost. **bínô** 'to come' is irregular in retaining its H HL tone configuration in the perfective aspect:

(15) **bínô**
3s-come-hab
'he comes'

òbínô
3s-come-perf
'he came'

For the latter, we would expect ***òbìnò**. The subjunctive/imperative is also irregular:

(16) **bín**
2s-come-imper
'come!'

***bĭn** is the expected form.

5.3.3 Benefactive and ventive

For the use of the benefactive ventive stems, see Sec. 8.2.3.

The benefactive suffix is **-ɪ̀** and, like vowel initial suffixes in general, it displaces the stem vowel causing the stem vowel tone to be absorbed into the root. The benefactive suffix conditions gemination on C_2 of the root. It may attach to transitive or intransitive verbs. The benefactive suffix **-ɪ̀** is not subject to progressive vowel harmony.

Below are some examples of benefactive verbs:

(1)	*Infinitive*		*3s Perfective Benefactive*	
	nèkkò	'to kill'	**ònèkkɨ̀**	'she killed it for'
	kèllò	'to bring'	**òkèllɨ̀**	'she brought it to'
	cwààyò **cwàllò**	'to send'	**òcwààyɨ̀** **òcwàllɨ̀**	'she sent it to'
	tèddò	'to cook'	**òtèddɨ̀**	'she cooked it for'
	tɔ̀ɔ̀	'to die'	**òtɔ̀ɔ̀yɨ̀**[66]	'it died on'
	bínô	'to come'	**òbínnɨ̀**[67]	'she came at'

The pronominal object suffixes in the benefactive are the same as those described for direct objects in the last section. **-ɨ̀** is lost in coalescence before suffixes beginning with vowels, but is retained before those beginning with consonants. In all cases, the gemination remains. Below are some paradigms illustrating this affixation. All verbs are 3s habitual:

(2)		**tèddò** 'to cook'	**tɔ̀ɔ̀** 'to die'	**kèllò** 'to bring'
	1so	**téd'dɛ́**	**tɔ́ɔ́'yá**	**kél'lɛ́**
	2so	**téd'dí**	**tóó'yí**	**kél'lí**
	3so	**téd'dé**	**tɔ́ɔ́'yɛ́**	**kél'lé**
	1po	**téddɨ̀wá**	**tɔ́ɔ́yɨ̀wá**	**kéllɨ̀wá**
	2po	**téddìwú**	**tɔ́ɔ́yìwú**	**kéllìwú**
	3po	**téddɨ̀gɨ́**	**tɔ́ɔ́yɨ̀gɨ́**	**kéllɨ̀gɨ́**

Forms like **têddɨ̀wá**, **têddìwú**, etc. are also possible (Sec. 4.4.2). Notice the regressive vowel harmony conditioned by **-wú** on benefactive **-ɨ̀** (e.g. **kéllìwú**).

In the subjunctive benefactive, both **-ɨ́** and **-ú** are deleted, their tones absorbed into the root and C_2, as usual for benefactives, is geminated:

(3) **òkěllɨ̀**
3s-bring-subj-ben
'(that) he bring it for'

(Recall that the tone sandhi rule HS1 is blocked by gemination (Sec. 4.4.2), so we do not get ***òkěllɛ̂**.) Pronominal objects are affixed normally:

(4) **àkêllí**
1s-bring-subj-ben-2so
'(that) I bring it for you'

àkêllɨ̀gɨ́
1s-bring-subj-ben-3po
'(that) I bring it for them'

The ventive suffix is **-ô**. Before it the stem vowel deletes, its tone is absorbed by the root, and C_2 geminates. **-ô** conditions regressive vowel harmony on the root.[68]

Ventives can be constructed from transitives or intransitives, but

they do not take pronominal suffixes, nor are benefactive ventives possible. When the sense requires either objects or benefactives, ventives are usually avoided, but if they are used, independent pronouns or prepositional phrases are used to supply the additional argument:

(5) **òcwèllô pì dákô**
3s-send-perf-ven for woman
'he sent it towards/to me for the woman'

Ventives inflect normally for aspect and mood:

(6) **ìcwêllô**
2s-send-perf-ven
'you sent it toward me'

ìcwél'lô
2s-send-hab-ven
'you send it towards me'

ícwèllô
2s-send-prog-ven
'you are sending it toward me'

cwĕllô
2s-send-imper-ven
'send it toward me!'

A few examples of ventive infinitives and their transitive/intransitive counterparts are provided below:

(7)

TR/INTR Infinitive	*Ventive Infinitive*
dwòkkò/dòk 'to send back/ go back'	**dwòggô** 'to bring back'
yɪ̀ttò/yɪ̀tò 'to climb'	**yìttô** 'to climb toward me'
ɲɪ̀kkò/ɲɪ̀kò 'to move away slightly'	**ɲìggô** 'to move slightly toward me'
mòllò/mòl 'to float'	**mòllô** 'to float toward me'
cwàllò 'to send'	**cwèllô** 'to send toward me'
rìŋŋò/rìŋò 'to run away'	**rìŋŋô** 'to run toward me'
mwòmérê 'to rush away'	**mwòmmô** 'to rush toward me'

I have one example of a ventive verb derived from an adjective root:

(8) **lyèt** 'hot' **lyèttô** 'get heated'

The last example also illustrates the fact that ventives can acquire idiosyncratic meanings. As a further example, consider:

(9) **màttò/mátô** 'to drink, suck in smoke, get beat up' **mèttô** 'to score (e.g. at soccer)'

5.3.4 Middle voice

The meaning and use of the middle voice is discussed in Sec. 8.2.2.

There are two middle voice suffixes: **-ê**, which geminates C_2 of the root, and **-érê**, which does not. **-ê** is suffixed to roots whose C_2 is alveolar or /y/; **-érê** is used in all other cases:[69]

(1)	*Root*		*Middle Voice Infinitive*
	mɛr	'intoxicate'	**mèèrê**
	ted	'cook'	**tèddê**
	pon	'hide'	**pònnê**
	kel	'bring'	**kèllê**
	yey	'carry on head'	**yèèyê**
	wuc	'throw'	**wùcérê**
	toj	'beat up'	**tòjérê**
	kɔb	'transfer'	**kɔ̀bérê**
	nek	'kill'	**nèkérê**
	rweɲ	'lose'	**rwèɲérê**
	ceg	'close'	**cègérê**

There are no separate middle voice affixes for different persons or numbers:

(2) **àcâŋérê**
1s-heal-perf-mid
'I healed myself'

ìcâŋérê
2s-heal-perf-mid
'you healed yourself'

òcâŋérê
1p/3p-heal-perf-mid
'we/they healed ourselves/themselves'

There are no benefactive or ventive middles.

The middle voice inflects regularly for aspect and mood:

(3) **àpônnê**
1s-hide-perf-mid
'I hid myself'

àpón'nê
1s-hide-hab-mid
'I hide myself'

ápònnê
1s-hide-prog-mid
'I'm hiding myself'

àpɔ́nnê
1s-hide-subj-mid
'(that) I hide myself'

pǒnnê
2s-hide-imper-mid
'hide yourself!'

The subjunctive suffixes **-ɪ́** and **-ú** delete before the middle voice affixes, their tone being absorbed into the root.

Both transitive and intransitive verbs have middle voice counterparts.

5.3.5 Gerunds

The syntax and meaning of the gerund is discussed in Sec. 8.10 and 9.1.5.

The formation of the gerund is quite straightforward: a root — either transitive, intransitive, or adjectival — is assigned a H tone and prefixed with **à-** and suffixed with **-à**. The latter harmonizes with the root:

(1)	*Root*		*Gerund*
	ted	'cook'	**àtédâ**
	nek	'kill'	**ànékâ**
	mat	'drink, smoke, get beat up'	**àmátâ**
	cam	'eat'	**àcámâ**
	wot	'go, walk'	**àwótâ**
	tɔ	'die'	**àtɔ́â**
	bɛ̀r	'good'	**àbérâ**
	kéŋ	'thin'	**àkéŋâ**

(Recall that adjective roots, unlike verbal roots, have underlying tone.) When an adjective has a stem vowel, the stem vowel is lost in forming the gerund:

(2)	**bwògò**	'young, unripe'	**àbwógâ**
	tídɪ́	'small'	**àtídâ**[70]

The underlying tone of the suffix must be L, the HL resulting from HS1. The proof of this is that if the falling tone were lexical, it would undergo UFS in words like

(3) **àcámà-ná**
eat-ger-1sa
'my eating'

which are pronounced **àcámâná** not ***àcámá'ná**, which is what one would expect if the suffix were ***-â** and the HL simplified via UFS.

Associative affixes with gerunds present no special difficulties.

5.4 Adjectives

5.4.1 Adjectives and verbs

In many respects, adjectives behave like verbs in Langо. The most important of these are:

I. They take subject agreement prefixes appropriate to verbs in the habitual aspect, which, given their sense (they express states), is precisely what we would expect. (The perfective and progressive aspects are pragmatically possible only for actions.)

(1) **àrâc**
1s-bad-hab
'I'm bad'

ìrâc
2s-bad-hab
'you're bad'

ràc
3s-bad-hab
'he's bad'

II. Associative constructions aside, there is no grammatical construction in Langо which is attributive and does not involve embedding. To translate an attributive adjective from English to Langо, it is necessary to resort to a relative clause construction, i.e. adjectives are always predicates in Langо. Compare

(2) **kùll à ŋwé**
wart+hog att+part 3s-smelly-hab
'a smelly wart hog (= 'a wart hog that's smelly')

and:

(2) **kùll à òwòpə́**
wart+hog att+part 3s-follow-perf-1so
'that warthog that followed me'

The interpretation of

(3) **kùl ŋwé**
wart+hog 3s-smelly-hab
'the wart hog is smelly'

is only predicative. Thus, adjectives are exactly like verbs in this respect since verbs, too, require relative clause construction in order to modify nouns.

III. Adjectives form nominalizations, agent nouns, and gerunds in the same manner as verbs.

There are three respects in which adjectives differ from verbs:

I. A few adjectives have different stems for singular or plural subjects:

(1) **twòl ràc**
snake 3s-bad-sg-hab
'the snake is bad'

twòlê ràcù
snakes 3s-bad-pl-hab
'the snakes are bad'

Plural noun subjects take 3s agreement: 3p is restricted to anaphoric subjects. No verb has different stems for singular and plural subjects.

II. As we have seen (Sec. 5.3.2), the tone of verbs — intransitive infinitives apart — is determined by aspect and mood. Adjectives, on the other hand, have independent tone. The tone for habitual aspect in verbs is H HL for disyllables and HL for monosyllables (Sec. 5.3.2):

(2) **nénô**
3s-see-hab
'he sees it'

cêm
3s-eat-hab
'he eats'

But with adjectives, even though they take habitual aspect prefixes, they do not take habitual verb tone. Rather, they each have an individual lexical tone, subject, of course, to the tone sandhi rules:

(3) **ɲèŋ ràc** 'the crocodile is bad'
ɲèŋ ɲàp 'the crocodile is lazy'
ɲèŋ dwôŋ 'the crocodile is large'
ɲèŋ têk 'the crocodile is strong'
ɲèŋ kéŋ 'the crocodile is thin'
ɲèŋ tídí 'the crocodile is small'
ɲèŋ bwògò 'the crocodile is young'

In forming gerunds, however, adjectives do lose their underlying tone (Sec. 5.3.5). For instance, the gerund of **bèr** 'good' is **àbérâ**; in the latter the underlying L or the root is replaced by the gerundal H, just as in verbs.

III. Adjectives lack infinitives and subjunctives. When the sense requires these forms, a copular verb (e.g. **bèdò** 'to sit, stay, be' or **dòkò** 'to become')

must be used along with the adjective, which assumes its base form, i.e. does not agree with the matrix subject:

(4) **àbêr**
1s-good-hab
'I'm good'

ámìttò dòkɔ̀ bèr
1s-want-prog become-infin good
'I want to be good'

ómìttò dòkɔ̀ bèr
1p-want-prog become-infin good
'we want to be good'

Notice that the plural form **bècò** (Sec. 5.4.2) is not used since the adjective cannot agree with its notional subject. (The grammatical status of this 'base' form is unclear. It is, in a sense, like the infinitive in that it is necessarily subjectless.)

There is certainly reason to set up adjectives as a class separate from verbs even though they have many characteristics in common with verbs, more certainly than their English counterparts.

5.4.2 Singular and plural forms

A few adjectives have distinct forms for agreeing with singular and plural subjects:

(1)

SG	*PL*	
dît	**dìtò**	'big, old, important'
dwôŋ	**dòŋɔ̀**	'large, old'
ràc	**rècù**	'bad'
bèr	**bècò**	'good'
cèk	**cègù**	'short'
tídí	**tìnò**	'small'
bòr	**bòcò**	'long, high, far away'

The plural forms all have low tone and have stem vowels: only **tídí** among the singulars has a stem vowel.

On the use of these forms, see Sec. 8.7.7.

5.4.3 Conjugated forms

Because they express states, adjectives can only be used in the habitual aspect. They take the usual subject prefixes for habituals, but because

adjectives have independent lexical tone (they do not assume the habitual aspect H HL or HL pattern — Sec. 5.4.1), the tonal contours vary depending on their basic tones. Below are some representative paradigms for adjectives:

(1)	**ràc** 'bad'	**têk** 'strong'	**kéŋ** 'thin'
1s	**àrâc**	**àtêk**	**àkéŋ**
2s	**ìrâc**	**ìtêk**	**ìkéŋ**
3s	**ràc, rəcù***	**têk**	**kéŋ**
3s non-switch	**èrâc**	**ètêk**	**èkéŋ**
1p	**òrəcù**	**òtêk**	**òkéŋ**
2p	**ìrəcùwùnú**	**ìtékwùnú**	**ìkéŋwûnú**
3p	**òrəcù**	**òtêk**	**òkéŋ**
3p non-switch	**ìrəcù**	**ìtêk**	**ìkéŋ**

(*Recall that 3s agreement is found with plural noun subjects; even so, the adjective stem agrees with its plural subject.) Subjunctives are provided by copular verbs like **bèdò** 'to sit, stay, be' and **dɔ̀kɔ̀** 'to become':

(2) **bèd bêr**
2s-be-imper good
'be good!'

Since nouns, like adjectives, have independent lexical tone, the conjugation of predicate nouns is precisely like that of adjectives: the tonal countour is the product of the tone of the subject prefix and the inherent tone of the noun.

For the syntax of predicate noun and adjective constructions, see Sec. 8.3.

5.4.4 Deverbal adjectives

Deverbal adjectives can be formed from verbs by prefixing **à-** and suffixing **-á** to the verbal root, which takes on a HL contour (simplified by UFS before the following H of the suffix **-á**. The suffix is subject to vowel harmony:

(1)	*Infinitive*		*Deverbal Adjective*	
	ŋwàllò	'to bear (a child)'	**àŋwá'lá**	'own begotten'
	pàddò	'to flatten'	**àpá'dá**	'flat'
	ryèbbò	'to turn upside down'	**àryé'bə́**	'upside down'
	ŋàkkò	'to grind coarsely'	**àŋá'ká**	'coarse'
	dɪ̀llò	'to sqeeze together, pack'	**àdí'lá**	'squeezed together'
	dwɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀	'to twist'	**àdwɔ́'á**	'askew, twisted'

These forms have the peculiarity that they are not conjugated for person, unlike ordinary adjectives. Further, they usually occur with a copular verb like **bèdò** 'to sit, stay, be' or **dɔ̀kɔ̀** 'to become':

(2) **bɔ́kcìnɨ̀ àryé'bɔ́**
box-this upside+down
'this box is upside down'

bɔ́kcìnɨ̀ bédô àryé'bɔ́
box-this 3s-sit-hab upside+down
'this box is upside down'

A copular verb is always used (at least in my data) when the subject agreement is not 3s:

(3) **àdɔ́kɔ̀ àryé'bɔ́**
1s-become-perf upside+down
'I'm upside down'

5.5 Prepositions

Lango has a small set of true prepositions, i.e. words that can express locative and relational senses without forming complex phrasal units with **ɨ** 'on, at, in, about, to, from' — see Sec. 8.8 for discussion. Even the true prepositions are transparently related to (or derived from) nouns. For example, **tê** 'under' also has the nominal meaning 'end, side, back' and can be found with this sense in many nominal compounds: **té pòtó** 'the boundary of a field', **té wìc** 'the back of the head', **té 'yít** 'the back of the ear'.

Most prepositions take their pronominal objects as inflections. These inflected prepositions take object suffixes which are identical to those used in inalienable possession of nouns (Sec. 5.2.4). However, those prepositions ending in a vowel do not use the expected nasal initial affixes (**-ná** 'my' as opposed to **-á**), but instead insert an epenthetic /r/ between the preposition and the suffix (Sec. 1.5.2). Tonal patterns in general follow those for inalienable possession, but there are some idiosyncracies. Paradigms follow:

(1)	**mê** 'for'	**bòt** 'to'	**tê** 'under'	**pɨ̀** 'for, according to'
1s	**mérâ**	**bòtə́**	**térâ**	**pɨ̀rá**
2s	**mérî**	**bòtí**	**térî**	**pɨ̀rí**
3s	**mérê**	**bòté**	**térê**	**pɨ̀rè**
1p	**méwá**	**bòtwá**	**téwá**	**pɨ̀wá**
2p	**méwú**	**bòtwú**	**téwú**	**pɨ̀wú**
3p	**mégí**	**bòtgí** [bòdgí]	**tégí**	**pɨ̀gí**

	kà 'instead of'	**tú** 'under'	**kèdè/kèdé** 'with'
1s	**kàrá**	**túrə̂**	**kèdə́**
2s	**kərí**	**túrî**	**kèdí**
3s	**kàrè**	**túrê**	**kèdé**
1p	**kàwá**	**túwá**	**kèdwá**
2p	**kəwú**	**túwú**	**kèdwú**
3p	**kàgí**	**túgí**	**kèdgí**

As noted above, some prepositions are not inflected. For example, **bàlà** 'as, like' is followed by independent pronouns:

(2) **bàlà án** 'like me'
bàlà yín 'like you'
etc.

5.6 Pronouns

5.6.1 Personal pronouns: independent forms

The affixal personal pronouns have already been discussed (Sec. 5.3.2, 5.2.4).

The syntax of the independent, or free-standing, personal pronouns is discussed in Sec. 8.7.6. Below is a list of these forms:

(1) **án** 'I'
yín 'you (sg)'
én 'he, she, it'
wán 'we'
wún 'you (pl)'
gín 'they'

5.6.2 Demonstrative pronouns: independent forms

The affixal demonstratives were discussed in Sec. 5.2.6.

The independent, or free-standing, demonstrative pronouns are built off a stem **má-** to which are suffixes the affixal demonstratives:

(1)

	SG	*PL*	
'this'	**mân**	**mágî**	
'that'	**mánô**	**mágô**	also: **mənô/mégô**
'yonder'	**mácâ**		

mân is irregular: the expected form is ***mánî**. Just as with the affixal demonstratives, the singular forms often substitute for plurals.

5.6.3 Asociative pronouns: independent forms

The affixal associative pronouns are discussed in Sec. 5.2.4.

The independent associative pronouns, i.e. free-standing forms, are in origin prepositional phrases based on the preposition **mê** 'for' conjugated for person. In the singular, these associatives are exactly like the conjugated forms of the preposition (see Sec. 5.5), but they differ in having a separate plural paradigm used to agree with plural antecedents:

(1)		*SG*	*PL*
	'mine'	**mérâ**	**mégâ**
	'yours (sg)'	**mérî**	**mégî**
	'his, hers, its'	**mérê**	**mégê**
	'ours'	**méwá**	**mégwá**
	'yours (pl)'	**méwú**	**mégwú**
	'theirs'	**mégí**	**méggí**

These forms are used in constructions like:

(2) **mán 'mérâ**
this mine
'this is mine'

mágí 'mégâ
these mine
'these are mine'

The singular forms are sometimes used in place of the plurals.

See Sec. 8.4 for the syntax of these forms.

5.6.4 Interrogative pronouns

The syntax of the interrogative pronouns is discussed in Sec. 8.9.

The interrogative pronouns, like other pronouns in Lango, distinguish singular and plural forms:

(1)		*SG*	*PL*
	'who'	**ŋà**	**ŋàgí**
	'what'	**ŋɔ̀**	**ŋɔ̀gí**
	'which'	**méné**	

The plural is formed by suffixing the 3p associative (or object) suffix **-gí** onto the singular forms.[71] **méné** has no plural counterpart and can be used to refer to either humans or non-humans. It follows the nouns it modifies and does not occur with the attributive particle **à**, differentiating **méné** from ordinary adjectives:

(2) **àtín 'méné**
child which
'which child?'

twòlé 'méné
snakes which
'which snakes?'

5.7 Numerals

5.7.1 Cardinal numerals

The basic cardinal numbers are:

(1)	1	**àcêl**	6	**àbícèl**	100	**míô**
	2	**àryô**	7	**àbíryò**	1000	**tùtùmíô**
	3	**àdêk**	8	**àbórò**	1,000,000	**míliôn**
	4	**àŋwên**	9	**àbóŋwèn**		
	5	**àbîc**	10	**àpâr**		

All other cardinal numbers are formed from combinations of the numbers given above.

The numbers 1 through 10 have a prefix **ă-**. It might seem that this prefix is the attributive particle (or some combination including the attributive particle) now conventionally prefixed to these numerals. Regardless of its origin, it is now used even when these numerals are said in isolation and when they are used as predicates: in neither case would one expect the attributive particle.[72]

6 through 9 were originally compounds:

(2) **ă-bìc # cèl** $\overset{\text{HS1}}{\underset{\text{RS}}{\rightarrow}}$ **àbîc cèl** $\overset{\text{FS1}}{\rightarrow}$ **àbíc cèl**[73]

In contemporary Lango, it would be impossible to derive the rest in any straightforward fashion (8 in particular has an idiosyncratic base for 3). Lango speakers, in any case, claim that these are unitary forms, not compounds.[74]

Numbers 11 through 19 are formed by combining the unit numeral to 10 **àpâr** by means of **wìè**, literally 'its head', but here meaning something like 'over it':

(3) 11 **àpár wìè àcêl**
12 **àpár wìè àryô**
13 **àpár wìè àdêk**
14 **àpár wìè àŋwên**
etc.

Despite the fact that **-è** in **wìè** is a pronominal suffix, it is lost in coalescence with the following **ǎ-** prefix (Sec. 2.7),

(4) 18 **àpár wì àbórò**

except in careful speech. In fact, wìè can be omitted altogether in informal styles:

(5) 19 **àpár àbóŋwèn**

Numbers above 19 do not begin with the **ǎ-** prefix. 20, 30, 40, etc. are formed by counting 10's. The plural of **àpâr** is **pyèr**:[75]

(6) 20 **pyèr àryɔ̂**
30 **pyèr àdêk**
40 **pyèr àŋwên**
90 **pyèr àbóŋwèn**

Units are added with **wìè** as described above:

(7) 21 **pyèr àryɔ́ wìè àcêl**
34 **pyèr àdék wìè àŋwên**
57 **pyèr àbíc wìè àbírɔ̀**
95 **pyèr àbóŋwèn wìè àbîc**

míə̂ 100, **tùtùmíə̂** 1000, and **mílíôn** 1,000,000 have no plural forms:

(8) 100 **míə́ àcêl**
400 **míə́ àŋwên**
1000 **tùtùmíə́ àcêl**
6000 **tùtùmíə́ àbícèl**
24,000 **tùtùmíə́ pyèr àŋwên**
9,000,000 **mílíón àbóŋwèn**

Units are added to these numbers in the usual way:

(9) 108 **míə́ àcél wìè àbórò**

However, larger numbers are added with **ɪ̀** 'with' (**ɪ̀** and **wìè** are not interchangeable):

(10) 146 **míə́ àcél ɪ̀ pyèr àŋwén wìè àbícèl**
72,468,396 **mílíón pyèr àbírɔ̀ wìè àryɔ̂, ɪ̀ tùtùmíə́ àŋwén ɪ̀ pyèr àbícèl wìè àbórò, ɪ̀ míə́ àdék ɪ̀ pyèr àbóŋwèn wìè àbícèl**

Numbers follow the words they quantify:

(11) **dòk àryɔ̂** 'two head of cattle'
dòk míə́ àcél ɪ̀ pyèr àbíc wìè àbórò '158 head of cattle'

The system of cardinal numbers described above corresponds in almost all details to that of Acholi.[76] Earlier in this century, this was not the

case. Driberg (1923) has 1-4 the same as in present day Lango,[77] but the higher numbers are different — Driberg's orthography is used below:

(12)

5	**kany**
6	**kany kape**
10	**tômon**
11	**tômon ape**
20	**atômon aryô**
100	**atômon tômon**, **tolgag**, or **tol**

These numbers are probably Southern Nilotic in origin and have been used as evidence for the Southern Nilotic origins of the Lango people. Compare Teso 5 **á-kâɲɪ**.

These numbers survive only among old people and are only imperfectly known among younger people. The following 'old-style' numbers have been recorded:[78]

(13)

5	**kâɲ**
6	**káɲ àpê**
100	**àtúmùrò àcêl**

5.7.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers (or, at least, the translations of English ordinal numbers) are formed by either of two methods:

(1)	**dyàŋ mér á'cêl**	'the first cow'
(2)	**dyàŋ àcêllérê**	'the first cow'

In (1), the prepositional phrase **mérê**, 3s of **mê** 'for', is placed between the head noun and the numeral. (Exceptionally, the pronominal suffix is lost in coalescence.) In (2), the alienable associative suffix **-mérê** is attached to the numeral. (2) can also mean 'his/her one cow'.

5.7.3 Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are formed either by doubling the number,

(1)	**àcél àcêl**	'one by one, one at a time'
	àpár àpâr	'by tens, ten at a time'
	àdí àdî	'how many at a time?'

or by placing the preposition **kèdè** between the doubled numbers:

(2)	**àcél kèd àcêl**	'one by one, one at a time'
	àdí kèd àdî	'how many at a time?'

5.7.4 Multiplicative numerals

There are two methods for forming multiplicatives. The first involves simply quantifying the noun **wàŋ** 'eye':

(1)	**wàŋ àcêl**	'once; one eye'
	wàŋ àbórò	'eight times; eight eyes'

The other method, more commonly used, involves placing the preposition **ɨ** before the nominal: if the numeral has the prefix **ă-**, the prefix is deleted:[79]

(2)	**ɨ cèl**	'once'
	ɨ bìc	'five times'
	ɨ bìcèl	'six times
	ɨ pyèr àryô	'twenty times'

6. Reduplication

True morphological reduplication (as opposed to repetition) is not much used in Lango. The odd lexicalized reduplicated noun apart, productive reduplication is only found with adjectives. On the syntax of reduplicated and repeated forms, see Sec. 8.10.

In adjective reduplication, C_1 and V of the root are reduplicated. If V has a contour tone, only the onset is found on the reduplicated syllable. The unreduplicated syllable is stressed:

(1)	*Adjective*		*Reduplication*
	bèr	'good'	**bèbèr**
	ràc	'bad (sg)'	**ràràc**
	rəcù	'bad (pl)'	**rərəcù**
	ŋwé	'smelly'	**ŋwéŋwé**
	dwôŋ	'big'	**dwódwôŋ**
	têk	'strong'	**tétêk**
	bùlú	'blue'	**bùbùlú**

The only irregular reduplication in my data is **tùtwàl** 'very': the more regular **twàtwàl** is heard, but it is not as idiomatic.

7. Compounds

Compounds in Lango can be constructed from nouns and infinitives in any combination of two or more words. The leftmost member is the head; the interpretation is one of any contextually reasonable association between the component elements, though some compounds have taken on idiosyncratic lexical meanings. The elements are simply juxtaposed in a syntactic configuration like that of inalienable associative constructions. The rightmost member receives primary stress:

(1) **wàŋ ɔ̀t**
eye house
'window'

ɔ̀t cèm
house eat-infin
'restaurant'

ɲíg wâŋ
grain eye
'eyeball'

dɔ́g bɔ́'ŋɔ́
mouth dress
'hem'

dɔ́g dêl
mouth skin
'lips'

dyè ɔ̀t
middle house
'floor'

dyè tyèn
middle leg/foot
'sole of foot'

gwók 'rɔ́mɔ̂
dog sheep
'sheep dog'

Some words lose their final consonant in compounds when they are not the rightmost member, e.g. **wìc** 'head' and **gìn** 'thing':

(2) **wì ɔ̀t**
head house
'roof'

gì wìc
thing head
'hat'

Notice that in the last example, **wìc** is compound final and so retains its final consonant.

Ordinarily, only singular nouns participate in compounds.

Associative pronominal suffixes can be affixes to compounds:

(3) **òt cèmmá**
house eat-infin-1sa
'my restaurant'

(4) **yòm cwíŋé**
softness liver-3sa
'his happiness'

(5) **cwèr cwíŋé**
drip-infin liver-3sa
'his sadness'

Whether the associative affixes are alienable or inalienable depends on the sense of the item they are suffixed to: (4) and (5) above show inalienable possession, but (3) shows alienable possession.

Compounds are an idiomatic and productive means of expression in Lango.

There is another sort of compound in Lango, consisting of the agent noun prefixes (Sec. 5.2.2) followed by a clause describing a physical condition, almost always, it seems, a physical disability. For example, to say 'he is blind' one says:

(1) **wàŋè òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
eye-3sa 3p-die-perf
'he's blind' (lit = 'his eyes died')

To this expression can be affixed either of the agent noun prefixes, **à-** singular and **ò-** plural to form:

(2) **àwàŋèòtɔ̀ɔ̀**
'a blind person'

òwàŋgíôtɔ̀ɔ̀
'blind people'

Notice that in the latter, the 3pa **-gí** replaces the 3sa **-è**.

Unlike the first sort of compound described in this section, these compounds do not seem to be fully productive.

PART THREE:
SYNTAX

8. The syntax of simple sentences

8.1 Basic order of the sentence

Lango is an indirect role marking language (Noonan 1977), which is to say it uses grammatical roles such as subject (Su) and direct object (DO) as part of its strategy for indicating semantic roles, such as agent and patient. Nouns are not marked for case, nor are there particles (à la Japanese, Korean, Persian) to indicate Su or DO roles. Word order, which is fairly rigid, is the primary device used to indicate grammatical roles in simple sentences. To the extent that word order permits, the order topic first, comment last is also fairly rigidly adhered to. The unmarked order of elements is:

(topic) (Su) verb (benefactive) (DO) (prepositional phrases) (adverbials)

The topic slot may be filled by a noun playing any grammatical role in the sentence (including associative NP's and NP's from subordinate clauses — Sections 8.5.2 and 9.9.1). In the unmarked case, the subject is also the topic.

The subject is an obligatory component of the Lango sentence: Lango has no impersonal constructions. However, it is reference to a subject that is obligatory, not an overt subject NP, and an overt subject NP need not be present:

(1) a. **án àcámò dèk**
I 1s-eat-perf stew
'I ate stew'

b. **àcámò dèk**
1s-eat-perf stew
'I ate stew'

(2) a. **lócà òcàmò dèk**
man 3s-eat-perf stew
'the man ate stew'

b. **òcàmò dèk**
3s-eat-perf stew
'he ate stew'

Benefactives [and antibenefactives] (ben) immediately follow the verb, which takes the benefactive stem (Sec. 8.2.3):

(1) a. **án àdòk**
I 1s-go+back-perf
'I went back'

b. **án àdôkkɨ̀ dákô**
I 1s-go+back-ben-perf woman
'I went back for the sake of the woman'

(2) a. **gwôk òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
dog 3s-die-perf
'the dog died'

b. **gwôk òtɔ̀ɔ̀yɨ̀ lócə̀**
dog 3s-die-ben-perf man
'the dog died on the man'

DO's follow the benefactive if one is present:

(1) a. **dákô òtèdò rìŋó**
woman 3s-cook-perf meat
'the woman cooked the meat'

b. **dákô òtèddɨ̀ lócə̀ rìŋó**
woman 3s-cook-ben-perf man meat
'the woman cooked the meat for the man'

The order ben-DO is invariable in post-verbal position.

Verbs are both inflected for DO (but not necessarily when followed by a DO NP) and marked for transitivity (Section 8.2.1):

(1) **án ànénò òcàkó**
I 1s-see-perf O.
'I saw Ochako'

(2) **án àné'né**
I 1s-see-perf-3s
'I saw him'

(3) **lócə̀ ònèná**
man 3s-see-perf-1s
'the man saw me'

(4) **lócə̀ ònèná án**
man 3s-see-perf-1s me
'the man saw *me*'

(5) **án ànénò**
I 1s-see-perf
'I saw' ('I was not blind')

Non-human DO's are not pronominalized; the transitive verb alone suffices:

(1) **ànénò búk**
1s-see-perf book
'I saw the book'

(2) **ànénò**
1s-see-perf
'I saw it'

Datives, referred to here as indirect objects (IO), may occur either as the object of the preposition **bòt** 'to', in which case they follow the DO,

(1) **lócə̀ òmìyò búk bòt dákô**
man 3s-give-perf book to woman
'the man gave the book to the woman'

or without **bòt**, in which case the IO must precede the DO:

(2) **lócə̀ òmìyò dákô búk**
man 3s-give-perf woman book
'the man gave the woman the book'

If both ben and IO occur in the same sentence, the IO must be expressed with **bòt**:

(3) **lócə̀ òmììyì àtîn búk bòt dákô**
man 3s-give-ben-perf child book to woman
'the man gave the book to the woman for the child'

When an IO immediately follows the verb, it and not the DO conditions verb agreement:

(4) **lócə̀ òmìyá búk**
man 3s-give-perf-1s book
'the man gave me the book'

If both are pronominalized, the transitive verb suffices for a non-human DO:

(5) **lócə̀ òmìyá**
man 3s-give-perf-1s
'the man gave it to me'

If the DO is human and pronominalized, the IO must be expressed as an object of **bòt**:

(6) **lócə̀ òmìyé bòtə́**
man 3s-give-perf-3s to-1s
'the man gave him (e.g. a slave) to me'

A pronominalized ben, IO, and DO can be accommodated by inflecting the verb (with a ben stem) for the ben argument, inflecting **bòt** 'to' for the IO; the transitive stem suffices for the DO if non-human:

(7) **lócə̀ òmììyé bòtə́**
man 3s-give-ben-perf-3s to-1s
'the man gave it to me for him'

If a ben is present, a human DO cannot be pronominalized unless it is made the topic (Section 1.5.2):

(8) **ɛ́n lócə̀ òkèllə́**
he man 3s-bring-ben-perf-1s
'he was brought by the man for me'

But even this strategy is not available if the DO is first or second person. In such cases, an alternative sentence type is used, e.g.:

(9) **lócə̀ òkèlé pìrá**
man 3s-bring-perf-3s because+of-1s
'the man brought him because of me'

Prepositional phrases, whether complements or adjuncts, must follow the ben, DO, or IO (formed with or without **bòt**):

(1) **lócə̀ òmìỳì àtîn búk bòt dákô pì rwòt**
man 3s-give-ben-perf child book to woman because of king
'the man gave the book to the woman for the child because of the king'

Adverbial adjuncts are placed either at the beginning or end of the sentence:

(2) **àwó'ró lócə̀ ògwɛ̀ò gwôk**
yesterday the man 3s-kick-perf dog
'yesterday, the man kicked the dog'

(3) **lócə̀ ògɛ̀ò gwôk àwó'ró**
man 3s-kick-perf dog yesterday
'the man kicked the dog yesterday'

The significance of the word order variations described above will be discussed in later sections, for instance Sec. 8.5.

The negative particles **pé** and the more conservative **móm** (~ **mə́m**) are normally placed between the subject and verb:

(1) **lócə̀ òbínô pàcó**
man 3s-come-perf home
'the man came home'

(2) **lócə̀ pé òbínô pàcó**
man neg 3s-come-perf home
'the man didn't come home'

When the negative appears at the beginning of the sentence, the interpretation may be one of 'external' negation, versus the 'internal' negation of the post subject position. This interpretation is possible only with an intonational contour which does not drop normally, but stays high throughout the subject NP, accompanied by a lengthening of **pé**:

(3) **péé rwòtt à yùgándà wìè òtàl**
neg king att+part U. head-3sa 3s-wither-perf
'the King of Uganda isn't bald (because there is no King of Uganda)'

Compare (3) with (4), which has ordinary internal negation:

(4) **rwòttà yùgándà wìè pé òtàl**
king att+part U. head-3sa neg 3s-wither-perf
'the King of Uganda isn't bald'

(4) presupposes that there is a King of Uganda. The usual situation[80] illustrated by (3) is perhaps made possible because **pé** doubles as a verb meaning 'to be not present, not exist' (Sec. 8.4).[81] It should be emphasized that preposed **pé** does not always have this interpretation.

8.2 Verbal complex

8.2.1 Transitivity

In Lango, any difference in the presence of nuclear arguments (and even some non-nuclear arguments, as in the case of benefactives) necessitates a change of verb stem. In Sections 8.2.1 through 8.2.3, we will examine these stems.

Most non-nuclear arguments, however, can be added without affecting the verb stem in any way. Non-nuclear arguments (aside from the benefactive) will always be objects of prepositions.

8.2.1.1 Introduction

In presenting information about a situation that involves several participants, many languages make use of devices that allow one to orient the situation on one or the other of the participants, making it the subject,[82] and to focus attention on some subset of the participants, eliminating overt reference to the others. In English, for example, changes in orientation are frequently accomplished by choice of morphologically unrelated lexical items. In English, the verbs, *learn* and *teach*, and *please* and *like* may be used in this way. *learn* and *teach* may both encode information about a situation involving three participants: a source argument (the teacher), a goal argument (the learner), and a patient argument (the thing learned or taught). But in encoding this information, they take the point of view of (or are oriented on) different arguments. *learn* is oriented on the goal argument, making it the subject, while *teach* is oriented on the

source argument:

(1) Floyd learned Flemish from Florence
(2) Florence taught Flemish to Floyd

Similarly *please* and *like* both have an experiencer and a patient argument, but differ in orientation:

(3) leeks please Zeke
(4) Zeke likes leeks

learn and *teach* are identical in valence, both having a valence of three, as are *please* and *like* with a valence of two. Further, these pairs of predicates have identical 'valence sets', or arrays of arguments, since they take the same sorts of arguments (i.e. *learn* and *teach* both take source, goal, and patient arguments). *learn* and *teach*, however, are associated with different 'valence schemes', which is to say they differ in the packaging or presentation of their arguments, choosing different arguments for their subject orientation, etc. *please* and *like* also have different valence schemes since *please* requires an experiencer direct object while *like* requires an experiencer subject. *buy* and *sell* have a similar relation, having the same valence sets, but employing different valence schemes. The verb *rent* presents a somewhat different situation. With a valence set which includes source, goal, and patient arguments, *rent* can employ two different valence schemes:

(1) Dudley rented the horse from Nell
(2) Nell rented the horse to Dudley

The verb *eat* has a valence of two and a valence set which includes an agent and a patient argument. Like *rent*, *eat* can be associated with two different valence schemes — one where the patient is overt, as in

(1) Roscoe ate his dinner

and one where overt reference to the patient is not made:

(2) Roscoe ate

Notice that not all verbs with transitive valence schemes like *eat* have intransitive counterparts. *punch*, for example, seems to lack such an intransitive valence scheme:[83]

(3) Zeke punched Clyde
(4) ?Zeke punched

With *eat*, reference to the agent can also be deleted via passive. Passive can be viewed in this context as a class of valence schemes productively related to classes of transitive valence schemes. We can refer to such classes of valence schemes as 'generalized valence schemes', making no judgements about their productivity.[84]

8.2.1.2 Transitive, activity naming, and secondary argument stems

In Lango, a verb root frequently has two (very rarely three) stems that represent generalized valence schemes whose characteristics can be summarized as follows:

> 1) **Transitive** (tr): Tr stems refer to an action or state as it affects a direct object, which may be definite or non-definite, specific or non-specific.
> 2) **Activity Naming** (AN): AN stems express a potentially transitive notion, but without any reference to a DO. They refer solely to a subject's participation in an activity, but not activity directed toward any particular object.
> 3) **Secondary Argument** (SA): SA verbs are defined relative to their corresponding transitives. The argument that would be the DO of a transitive is the Su of the corresponding SA form.[85]

Any given verb stem in Lango is specified for valence scheme so that a Tr verb cannot be given an AN use, and vice versa. This, of course, represents a difference between Lango and English, since Lango has no verbs like English *eat*, which can be given either a Tr or AN sense.

It is very rare for a Lango verb root to have stems representing all three generalized valence schemes. In fact only one verb root **nɛnɲ** 'see' (illustrated below (1a)) clearly has all three. Many two place predicates have only a Tr valence scheme; many others contrast a Tr with an AN or SA. A few examples follow. The infinitive is used as the citation form, blank spaces indicate that no form exists:

	Tr		AN		SA	
(1) a.	**nènnò**	'to see'	**nénô**	'to see'	**nên**	'to be visible'
b.	**ɔ̀llɔ̀**	'to cause to cough'			**ɔ́lɔ̂**	'to cough'
c.	**mèɛ̀rò**	'to intoxicate'			**mèr**	'to get drunk'
d.	**dàkkò**	'to transfer'			**dàk**	'to migrate'
e.	**gòmmò**	'to bend'			**gòm**	'to be bent'
f.	**kàkkò**	'to split'			**kàk**	'to split'
g.	**wàllò**	'to boil'			**wálô**	'to boil, become angry'
h.	**ɲàmmò**	'to chew'	**ɲɛ́mô**	'to chew'		
i.	**tùkkò**	'to play'	**tùkò**	'to play'		
j.	**rɪ̀ŋŋò**	'to run from'	**rɪ̀ŋò**	'to run'		
k.	**càmmò**	'to eat'	**cèm**	'to eat'		
l.	**rɔ̀mmɔ̀**	'to be sufficient for'	**róm**	'to be sufficient'		

Some examples illustrating these forms follow:

(2) a. **lócə̀ ònènò àtîn** Tr
man 3s-see-perf child
'the man saw the child'

dákô bínô nénô AN
woman 3s-come-hab see-infin
'the woman will see'

àtînn ànên SA
child 3s-be+visible-prog
'the child is visible'

b. **àpùə̀ òɔ̀lɔ̀ lócə̀** Tr
dust 3s-cause+cough-perf man
'the dust made the man cough'

lócə̀ə̀ àɔ́lô SA
man 3s-cough-prog
'the man is coughing'

c. **kɔ̀ŋɔ̀ òmɛ̀rò lócə̀** Tr
beer 3s-intoxicate-perf man
'the beer intoxicated the man'

lócə̀ òmɛ̀r SA
man 3s-get+drunk-perf
'the man got drunk'

d. **gàvmentè òdàkò àpwóɲ** Tr
government 3s-transfer-perf teacher
'the government transferred the teacher'

àpwóɲ òdàk SA
teacher 3s-migrated-perf
'the teacher changed residence'

e. **dákô ògòmò yàt** Tr
woman 3s-bend-perf tree
'the woman bent the tree'

yàt ògòm SA
tree 3s-bend-perf
'the tree bent'

f. **màc òkàkò lʉ̀t** Tr
fire 3s-split-perf stick
'the fire split the stick'

lʉ̀t òkàk SA
stick 3s-split-perf
'the stick split'

g. **áwàllò pì** Tr
1s-boil-prog water
'I'm boiling water'

pìì àwálô SA
water 3s-boil-prog
'the water is boiling'

h. **gwôk márô ɲàmmò rìŋó** Tr
dog 3s-like-hab chew-infin meat
'the dog likes to chew meat'

gwôk márô ɲémô AN
dog 3s-like-hab chew-infin
'the dog likes to chew'

i. **átùkkò òdìlò** Tr
1s-play-prog football
'I'm playing football'

átùkò AN
1s-play-prog
'I'm playing'

j. **gwôk márô rìɲɲò àtîn** Tr
dog 3s-like-hab run from-infin child
'the dog likes to run from the child'

gwôk márô rìɲò AN
dog 3s-like-hab run-infin
'the dog likes to run'

k. **ácàmmò dèk** Tr
1s-eat-prog stew
'I'm eating stew'

ácèm AN
1s-eat-prog
'I'm eating'

l. **òrɔ̀mɔ̀ lócà** Tr
3s-be+sufficient for-perf man
'it was sufficient for the man'

rôm AN
3s-be+sufficient-hab
'its sufficient'

Lango verb roots are basically of the form C_1VC_2. In the infinitive, the transitive is distinctive in having a geminate C_2 (if C_2 is **r**, the vowel is lengthened instead), a final **-o**,[86] and low tones on root and final vowels. AN and SA forms do not have a geminate C_2, may or may not

have a final **-o**, and exhibit a variety of tonal contours.[87]

For any transitive relation expressed verbally, a Tr form exists, so that there are no AN/SA pairs without a corresponding Tr.

Tr and AN forms do not differ simply in the presence or absence of an expressed DO. In fact, there need not be an overt DO with a Tr verb; in such cases the Tr will differ in meaning from its corresponding AN:

(1) **àcámò dèk** Tr
1s-eat-perf stew
'I ate stew'

(2) **àcámò** Tr
1s-eat-perf
'I ate it'

(3) **àcémò** AN
1s-eat-perf
'I ate'

Notice that the form of the verb does not differ in (1), with a nominal DO and (2), with a pronominal DO indicated here by the plain Tr verb. Nevertheless, even without an overt DO, (2) still expressed a transitive notion, referring to the effect of an action on a DO. (2) would only be felicitous if the unexpressed DO were known to the hearer, obvious from the surroundings, or mentioned previously in discourse. (3), on the other hand, refers solely to an activity without reference to its effect on an object, and would be felicitous where the act of eating itself was the object of communication and the logically inferable object was irrelevant to the discourse.

SO forms resemble passives in that the DO of the corresponding Tr is the Su of the SA verb. They are, however, best not viewed as passives for a variety of reasons. First, as mentioned above, SA forms are not freely available for all transitive notions, even those that involve activities. For example, the Tr verbs **dèppò** 'to collect, gather', **gèèrò** 'to build', **kwàllò** 'to steal', and **ryèttò** 'to winnow' do not have SA counterparts (though each has an AN counterpart). Further, sentences with SA predicates are not morphologically or syntactically marked relative to their Tr counterparts; SA verbs may in fact be considerably simpler, consisting only of the unembellished root while Tr verbs always have final **-o** (except in the subjunctive). Compare Tr **càŋŋò** 'to heal' with SA **càŋ** 'to recover':

(1) **dàktàl òcàŋò lócə̀** Tr
doctor 3s-heal-perf man
'the doctor healed the man'

(2) **lócə̀ òcàŋ** SA
man 3s-recover-perf
'the man recovered'

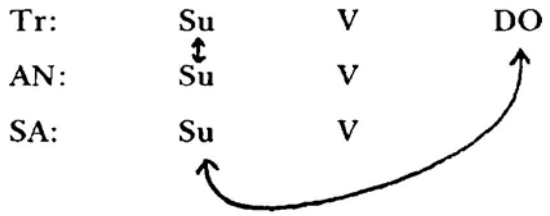
Lack of productivity and markedness relationships are important but not decisive factors in considering SA verbs not to be passives. The most important factor is simply that SO verbs lack a true passive sense. They are not necessarily stative, and may have agent Su's. For example, SA **ə́mô** 'to yawn' (cf Tr **àmmò** 'to cause to yawn') and SA **dɔ̀k** 'to go back' (cf Tr **dwɔ̀kkɔ̀** 'to bring back') are active verbs with agent Su's:

(1) **lócɛ̀ə̀ àə́mô** SA
man 3s-yawn-prog
'the man is yawning'

(2) **dákô ɔ̀dɔ̀k** SA
woman 3s-go+back-perf
'the woman went back'

There is no sense in which (1) or (2) suppose some external agency that is, for whatever reasons, non-overt. In other words, (2) does not mean 'the woman was brought back', where there is a clear sense that some non-overt agency was responsible for the action. A gloss like this would be expected if **dɔ̀k** were the passive counterpart of **dwɔ̀kkɔ̀**.[88]

In sum, any verb root in Lango with a transitive valence scheme may have, together with its Tr stem form, another stem representing an intransitive valence scheme, whose Su corresponds to the Tr Su (AN) or the transitive DO (SA). The relations between the valence schemes these stems represent can be schematized as below, the arrows indicating a correspondence between the arguments:



8.2.1.3 Productivity

As indicated above, not all verb roots distinguish a Tr from an intransitive stem. For unpaired verbs, the form follows the function. Unpaired intransitive verbs in the infinitive take the form CVC or CVCo without gemination of C_2, thus resembling AN and SA forms: **dwɔ̀gɔ̀** 'to come back, return', **yàà** 'to leave, go away', **wɔ̀t** 'to go, walk', **bínô** 'to come'. Unpaired transitive verbs are morphologically identical to paired transitives: **mìttɔ̀** 'to want', **cwàllɔ̀** 'to send', **jwàttɔ̀** 'to hit', **kèddɔ̀** 'to braid, scarify'. So, the form of any verb provides no indication of whether the root is also represented by another valence scheme, but instead conforms to the transitivity of the valence scheme itself.

Easily the majority of Lango verb roots with a valence of two or more distinguish a Tr valence scheme from an AN or SA valence scheme and

thus are represented by more than one stem. The question now arises as to which roots with transitive valence schemes will have an AN or SA counterpart. Before proceeding, it is of interest to note that the English translations of Tr verbs that lack AN counterparts almost always require either an overt DO or have an SA interpretation when intransitive. For example, the unpaired Tr verbs noted in the paragraph above all require overt DO's in English. The verbs *want, send, hit* (apart from a baseball context), and *braid* would almost invariably be accompanied by an overt DO, as opposed to, say, *eat* or *cook*, which can frequently be found without one. In other words, the lack of an AN stem in Lango corresponds to difficulty in detransitivizing in English. Similarly, the presence of a TR/SA opposition in Lango frequently implies an English counterpart whose intransitive has an SA interpretation. So the Lango Tr verbs **dàkkò** 'to transfer', **gòmmò** 'to bend', **kàkkò** 'to split', and **wàllò** 'to boil' all have SA counterparts. The English translations of these verbs all have SA interpretations when intransitive:

the man transferred	(they transferred the man)
the metal bent	(they bent the metal)
the wood split	(the fire split the wood)
the water boiled	(the boy boiled the water)

In other words, whether semantic/pragmatic factors are in operation in Lango to produce the various stems, similar factors are also operative in English regulating the valence schemes available to English verbs.

Whether any given Tr verb will have an AN, SA, or no intransitive counterpart depends on its meaning and the details of its valence scheme. If the Tr has a subject that is necessarily animate and a DO that's necessarily inanimate, it will have an AN counterpart provided that the verb describes activities like the following: mundane day-to-day activities such as eating, reciting/reading, shaving, sweeping, preparation of food, physiological functions such as vomiting, or economic activities such as those relating to the planting, care, and preparation of millet or other crops, building, or business activities such as trading. In all these cases, the DO of any of these predicates would be eminently predictable in the context of traditional Lango society, so its omission would not result in information loss. The activity itself, not the activity as applied to a particular object, is what is communicatively significant. So, with a berb like Tr **dìnnò** 'to thresh', the DO could only be **kál** 'millet' except under circumstances that would be familiar to everyone with whom one would have day-to-day contact. Even with predicates like Tr **dèppò** 'to collect, gather (fruits or vegetables)' whose objects are potentially more various, the sort of fruit or vegetable that would be collected would be obvious from the subject, time of year, etc. Both these verbs then have AN counterparts, **dínô** and **dépô**. But a verb like **mìttò** 'to want', for example, would not have an object predictable out of context and therefore has no AN counterparts. So, two factors are relevant for a Tr/AN

pair: animacy considerations and predictability of DO. When the DO is not predictable and/or is of some interest or is relevant in the context of a discourse, the Tr is always available.

A few Tr/AN pairs fall outside the above generalizations. Verbs of emotion, whose English counterparts are all intransitive, form Tr/AN pairs. Tr **kòkkò** 'to cry over', Tr **lèllò** 'to rejoice over', Tr **ɲèèrò** 'to laugh at' all have AN counterparts. A few other isolated roots have exceptional Tr/AN valence schemes: these also have English intransitives as counterparts: Tr **rìŋŋò** 'to run from' (AN **rìŋò** 'to run'), Tr **ɲwàllò** 'to give birth to', and Tr **lèggò** 'to pray to'. Also exceptional is Tr **nènnò** 'to see', whose AN **nénô** has no counterpart in any other sensory verb.[89]

In the case of Tr/SA pairs, the Tr typically describes the causation of physical functions with the SA describing the act itself (e.g. Tr **àmmò** 'to cause to yawn', SA **ə́mô** 'to yawn'; Tr **jɪ̀ɪ̀ro** 'to cause to sneeze', SA **jírô** 'to sneeze'), or the Tr may describe a change of state, with the resulting state described by the SA (e.g. Tr **kwèèyò** 'to cool', SA **kwèè** 'to be cool'; Tr **nèèrò** 'to wilt', SA **nèr** 'to wilt'; Tr **dòŋŋò** 'to grow', SA **dwôŋ** 'to be big'; Tr **mòkkò** 'to make sickly', SA **môk** 'to be sickly'). The agency with such predicates is often the elements or an act of nature, difficult to specify and often irrelevant in ordinary day-to-day situations. When the agency *is* relevant, a Tr verb is used; when it isn't, the SA verb is used.

For a few Tr/SA pairs, the Tr Su is necessarily animate: Tr's **dàkkò** 'to transfer', **dwɔ̀kkɔ̀** 'to bring back' and **kɔ̀bbɔ̀** 'to transfer'. For these motion verbs, the corresponding SO has an obligatorily animate Su which is also agentive. The Su of the SA corresponds to both Su and DO of the Tr counterpart.[90] That is, a sentence with SO **dɔ̀k** 'to go back',

(1) **àdɔ̂k** SA
1s-go+back-perf
'I went back'

is more-or-less equivalent to the reflexive middle with Tr **dwɔ̀kkɔ̀** 'to bring back':

(2) **àdwɔ̂kérê** Middle
1s-bring+back-middle-perf
'I brought myself'

All these pairs have in common that the DO of the Tr is not stereotyped or predictable, unlike the Tr DO of Tr/AN pairs. When an SA verb is used, the logically inferrable agency is communicatively irrelevant or, in the case of motion verbs, can be inferred to be the same as the SA Su. Verbs like **jwàttò** 'to hit', **cwàllò** 'to send', etc. don't have AN or SA counterparts because neither the Su nor the DO is stereotyped or irrelevant in ordinary communicative situations. Tr/AN and Tr/SA pairs are not present idiosyncratically in the lexicon, but rather are, in general predictable on the basis of the semantic/pragmatic considerations mentioned above. This is true despite the fact that the form of the

intransitive is (synchronically) unpredictable and each stem must be separately lexicalized.[91]

The similarity in form noted above of AN and SO verbs is never likely to be communicatively disfunctional, i.e. they are not likely to be confused, because the pragmatics of each verb would determine conclusively which it had to be.[92]

8.2.2 The middle voice

The basic function of the middle voice in Lango is to signal that the subject is affected by the action of the verb. The middle includes reflexive and reciprocal senses, as well as an SA sense.[93, 94] All uses of the middle include the sense of the subject as an 'affected entity' (Klaimann 1988). Like passive, middle voice presupposes an active, transitive counterpart,[95] and also like passive, middle sentences are intransitive.

The intransitivity of the Lango middle is evident even in its reflexive use, in contrast to the English reflexive, which is syntactically transitive. In English, the reflexive pronouns, *myself, yourself*, etc., function as DO's. The Lango middle is formed by adding a suffix to a Tr verb stem: **-ê** if C_2 is alveolar or zero, and **-érê** if C_2 is non-alveolar.[96] The suffix **-ê** is accompanied by gemination of C_2 throughout the verbal paradigm. (See Sec. 5.3.4 for details.) These suffixes simply code middle voice and do not agree with the Su, as do the cognate reflexive pronoun affixes in closely related Luo:

(1)	*Luo*	*Lango*	
	àlwɔ́kɔ̀rá	**àlwɔ̀kérê**	'I washed myself'
	ìlwɔ́kɔ̀rí	**ìlwɔ̀kérê**	'you washed yourself'
	ɔ̀lwɔ́kɔ̀ré	**ɔ̀lwɔ̀kérê**	'she washed herself'

Many verb roots that lack an SA stem construct an SA valence scheme with the middle voice (Sec. 8.2.1):

(2) a. **àtîn ɔ̀cègɔ̀ dɔ́ggɔ́lâ** — Tr
child 3s-close-perf door
'the child closed the door'

b. **dɔ́ggɔ́lâ ɔ̀cègérê** — SA-Middle
door 3s-close-med-perf
'the door closed'

(3) a. **lócà ɔ̀tèdɔ̀ rìŋɔ́** — Tr
man 3s-cook-perf meat
'the man cooked the meat'

b. **rìŋɔ́ ɔ̀tèddê** — SA-Middle
meat 3s-cook-mid-perf
'the meat cooked'

(4) a. **án àméò pè** Tr
I 1s-melt-perf ice
'I melted the ice'

b. **pèè àmèèyê** SA-Middle
ice 3s-melt-mid-prog
'the ice is melting'

When an SA stem exists, it, and not the middle voice, is used for an SA valence scheme. As in the case of SA stems, the SO use of the middle does not constitute a passive. (4b), for example carries no more implication of an external agency than does its English translation.[97]

The middle is used also for a reflexive when the subject is coreferential with the logical direct object:

(1) **gwôk òkààyê**
dog 3s-bite-med-perf
'the dog bit itself'

The reflexive pronoun **kén-** (Sec. 8.7.6) is optional in such cases:

(2) **gwôk òkààyê kénê**
dog 3s-bite-mid-perf self-3sa
'the dog bit itself'

The middle is not used when the subject is coreferential with an argument other than the direct object:

(3) **òkélò òkòbbì àlábà pìrè kénê**
O. 3s-say-ben-perf A. about-3s self-3sa
'Okelo talked to Alaba about himself'

The middle also has a reciprocal sense:

(4) **gín ògóòyê**
they 3p-beat-mid-perf
'they are beating each other'

(4) could also mean 'they are beating themselves'. However, if this latter meaning is intended, **kén-** would likely be used as this reinforces the reflexive sense:

(5) **gín ògóòyê kéngí**
they 3p-beat-mid-perf self-3pa
'they're beating themselves'

The middle voice is only possible with non-stative predicates, so predicates like **mìttò** 'to want', **tíê** 'to be present', **tàmmò** 'to think', etc. will not form middles. For non-stative predicates, the distribution of reflexive and SA senses with the middle is not random, but rather is based on the valence scheme of the Tr predicate. When the Tr has an inanimate DO, the middle will take this inanimate argument as Su and have an SA interpretation.

When the Tr DO is animate, the middle will take this argument as its Su and have a reflexive interpretation. The generalization here is that if the Tr Su can be interpreted as the DO also, there will be a reflexive interpretation. But if the Tr Su cannot be interpreted as coreferential with the DO because the Su is animate and the DO inanimate, there will be an SA interpretation and the inanimate Tr Su will be the subject of the middle. Recall that the significance of the middle is that the Su is affected by the action of the verb. So, the middle of Tr **tèddò** 'to cook' and Tr **pyèttò** 'to winnow' will have an SA interpretation because their DO is inanimate, but the middle of TR **lɨ̀kkò** 'to struggle with' and Tr **gwèŋŋò** 'to scratch' will have a reflexive interpretation:

(1) **rìŋó òtèddê**
meat 3s-cook-mid-perf
'the meat got cooked'

(2) **kál òpyèttê**
millet 3s-winnow-mid-perf
'the millet is winnowed'

(3) **òcàká òlɨ̀kérê**
O. 3s-struggle+with-mid-perf
'Ochaka struggled with himself'

(4) **òpíô ògwèŋérê**
O. 3s-scratch-mid-perf
'Opio scratched himself'

The middle is occasionally used in contexts where one might expect an AN verb. In such cases, the middle seems to be chosen because of the sense of the subject of the middle as an affected entity. For example, the Tr verb **ŋwàllò** 'to give birth to' has an AN counterpart **ŋwàl**. The middle can be seen to contrast with the latter in the following pair:

(1) **dákô ògìkò ŋwàl** AN
woman 3s-stop-perf give+birth-infin
'the woman stopped bearing children'

(2) **dákô ògìkò ŋwàllê** Middle
woman 3s-stop-perf give+birth-mid-infin
'the woman stopped bearing children'

(1) simply states the fact, but (2) contributes also the sense of the woman as being affected, perhaps adversely, by this.

8.2.3 Benefactive and ventive stems

In completing our survey of Lango verb stems representing different valence schemes, mention should be made of ventive and benefactive

stems. Ventive stems are available only for a small number of motion verbs and are formed by adding the suffix **-ô** to the root, geminating C_2. The sort of valence scheme represented by a ventive stem varies with each verb root, but always refers to motion toward the speaker. For example, ventive **cwàllô** 'to send (to me)' has a valence scheme like its corresponding Tr **cwàllò** 'to send' with the addition of the first person reference:

(1) **dákô òcwàlò búk bòtgí** Tr
woman 3s-send-perf book to-3p
'the woman sent the book to them'

(2) **dákó òcwàllô búk** Ventive
woman 3s-send-ven-perf book
'the woman sent the book to me'[98]

Similarly ventive **kùttô** 'to blow (to me)' has a valence scheme more like Tr **kʉ̀ttɔ̀** than AN **kùtò**:

(3) **yàmò òkùttô àpùà** Ventive
wind 3s-blow-ven-perf dust
'the wind blew dust at me'

But when comparing ventive **rìŋŋô** 'to run (to me)' to other stems from the same root, AN **rìŋò** 'to run' and Tr **rìŋŋò** 'to run from', the ventive resembles the AN stem:

(4) **àtîn òrìŋŋô** Ventive
child 3s-run-ven-perf
'the child ran to me'

And comparing **mòllô** 'to float (to me)' with Tr **mɔ̀llɔ̀** 'to float' and SA **mɔ̀l** 'to float', the ventive most resembles the SA verb:

(5) **yàt òmòllô** Ventive
wood 3s-float-ven-perf
'the wood floated toward me'

Benefactive stems can be formed corresponding to any valence scheme with an agent subject. In addition to the arguments specified by the non-benefactive valence scheme, the benefactive references a benefactive (or antibenefactive)[99] argument. For example, Tr **cwàllò** 'to send' has a benefactive counterpart **cwàllɨ̀** 'to send for'. Compare (6) with (1) above:

(6) **dákô òcwàllɨ̀ àtîn búk bòtgí** Tr-ben
woman 3s-send-ben-perf child book to-3p
'the woman sent the book to them for the child'

The benefactive is formed by geminating C_2 of the verb root. The suffix **-ɨ̀** is attached to the root when the benefactive argument is a noun or a third person singular non-human pronoun. In other cases, the appropriate DO pronoun suffix is substituted:

(1) a. **òkèlò** Tr
3s-bring-perf
'he brought it'

b. **òkèllɨ́ dákô** Tr-ben
3s-bring-ben-perf woman
'he brought it for the woman'

(2) a. **òkèlá** Tr
3s-bring-perf-1s
'he brought me'

b. **òkèllá** Tr-ben
3s-bring-ben-perf-1s
'he brought it for me'

Benefactive stems may correspond to both transitive and intransitive valence schemes. The verbs Tr **lèggò** 'to pray to' and AN **légô** 'to pray' both have benefactive counterparts:

(3) **òlèggá òbáŋá** Tr-ben
3s-pray-ben-perf-1s God
'he prayed to God for me'

(4) **òlèggə́** AN-ben
3s-pray-ben-perf-1s
'he prayed for me'

8.2.4 Expression of tense and aspect

The Lango verb is inflected for three aspects, perfective, progressive, and habitual, but is not inflected for tense. Out of context, however, the aspects will be given a pragmatic tense assignment and tense distinctions can be made by use of various auxilliaries, as we shall see.

The three aspects are clearly distinguished inflectionally. Paradigms are provided below for Tr **càmmò** 'to eat' (See Sec. 5.3.2 for an extensive discussion of verb conjugation):

		perfective	*progressive*	*habitual*
	1s	**àcámò**	**ácàmmò**	**àcámô**
	2s	**ìcámò**	**ícàmmò**	**ìcámô**
	3s	**òcàmò**	**àcàmmò**	**cámô**
pron., rel.	3s	**òcámò**	"	"
non-switch	3s	**ècámò**	**écàmmò**	**ècámô**
	1p	**òcámò**	**ócàmmò**	**òcámô**
	2p	**ìcámòwùnú**	**ícàmmòwùnú**	**ìcámówùnú**
	3p	**òcámò**	**ócàmmò**	**òcámô**
non-switch	3p	**ɨcámò**	**ícàmmò**	**ɨcámô**

(Notice that the subject prefixes function as part of the aspect inflection.) The use of non-switch reference forms is taken up in Sec. 9.3.2. The perfective alone distinguishes a form used with the pronomial subject **én** 'he, she, it' and with relativized subjects (Sec. 9.2) from a form used with noun subject and zero subjects:

(1) a. **én òcámò**
he 3s-eat-perf
'he ate it'

b. **lócə̀ òcámò**
man 3s-eat-perf
'the man who ate it'

(2) a. **lócə̀ òcàmò**
man 3s-eat-perf
'the man ate it'

b. **òcàmò**
3s-eat-perf
'he ate it'

When the subject is a plural noun, the ordinary 3s form of the verb is used:

(3) **món cámô**
women 3s-eat-hab
'women eat it'

(4) ***món òcámô**
women 3p-eat-hab
'women eat it'

See Sec. 8.7.7.

The perfective is non-durative or bounded; that is, it is used to describe completed activities bounded in time. It describes a single dynamic event or process where something, either the subject or direct object is affected by the action of the verb. Events coded in the perfective are viewed as a whole, whose completion is a necessary prerequisite to a subsequent event.

The progressive shares with the perfective that it describes a single event or process affecting an entity. It differs from the perfective in that the event or process is not viewed as completed or bounded. Rather it takes the perspective of an ongoing process or event, whose completion is not a necessary prerequisite for a subsequent event in a narrative discourse.

The habitual contains both a true habitual and a stative sense. The habitual like the progressive is durative and unbounded by fixed reference points in time. The states or events described may be single or multiple (true habitual). The attributive is fundamentally attributive, whereas the progressive and perfective are applicative, describing events. A large number of stative predicates are only inflected in the habitual.

The characteristics of the aspects are summarized below:

perfective	progressive	habitual
non-durative/ bounded	durative/unbounded	
applicative/process		attributive/ non-process

Out of context, the perfective will be assigned a past interpretation, the habitual a present, and the progressive either a present or future. These interpretations are purely pragmatically based, and it is important to emphasize that these aspects have no intrinsic tense. They can be assigned any tense with which they are semantically compatible. The progressive and the habitual can, in the appropriate discourse context, be assigned a past, present, or future interpretation. The perfective cannot on logical grounds be assigned a present interpretation, but may receive a past or future interpretation. Of course, a particular temporal interpretation for any of the aspects can be insured through use of the appropriate temporal adverbial, e.g. **cwàɲ** 'long ago', **díkí** 'tomorrow', etc. The discourse use of the aspects will be taken up in Section 3.2.

A number of auxiliary verbs can be used to create definite tense interpretations. A syntactically unique construction is formed with the 3s perfective of Tr **nwòŋŋò** 'to find'. In this construction, the verb **ònwòŋò** 'he, she, it found it' is typically placed initially in the sentence — though it may, as in (1) below, be preceded by a topicalized NP — and is always conjugated in the 3s perfective regardless of the person or aspect of the main verb:

(1) **án ònwòŋò àbwôté**
I 3s-find-perf 1s-deceive-perf-3s
'I had deceived him'

(2) **ònwòŋò lócə̀ àcèm**
3s-find-perf man 3s-eat-prog
'the man was eating'

(3) **ònwòŋò àkwánô ɨ̀ léb láŋô**
3s-find-perf 1s-study-hab in tongue Lango
'I used to study Lango'

With the progressive and the habitual, **ònwòŋò** results in a simple past. With the perfective, the interpretation is of a secondary or relative past analogous to the English past perfect. The **ònwòŋò** construction resembles in certain respects the paratactic construction (Sec. 9.1.3) in that there are two fully inflected verbs juxtaposed, but differs in certain crucial respects, for instance in meaning, in the possibility for a nominal subject for the second clause, etc.

Two other verbs may be used as auxiliaries to indicate future. **bínô** 'to come' conjugated in the habitual aspect forms a simple future with the

semantic main verb in the infinitive:

(1) **bínô cèm**
3s-come-hab eat-infin
'he'll eat'

With the progressive and perfective aspects, a motional or ingressive sense is added. The progressive retains a future connotation, while **bínô** in the perfective yields a perfect or secondary past:

(2) **àbínô cèm**
3s-come-prog eat-infin
'he'll come to eat'

(3) **òbínô cèm**
3s-come-perf eat-infin
'he's come to eat'

The verb **mìttò** 'to want' forms an immediate future, again with the semantic main verb in the infinitive:

(4) **mítô cèm**
3s-want-hab eat-infin
'he's about to eat'

In this construction, **mìttò** is always conjugated in the habitual. When **mìttò** is used to express desire, it is conjugated in the progressive:

(5) **ámìttò cèm**
1s-want-prog eat-infin
'I want to eat'

A special truncated form of **bínô** 'to come' without the final **-ô** also figures as an auxiliary verb. This form is always conjugated in the perfective aspect and is followed by the semantic main verb also conjugated in the perfective. It functions to mark contrastive affirmatives (like English *do*) in the non-recent past:

(1) **án àbín àkwálò gwènò**
I 1s-come-perf 1s-steal-perf chicken
'I did steal the chicken'

(1) takes the form of a serial construction (Sec. 9.1.4).

The verb **tíê** 'to be present' conjugated in the habitual in a paratactic construction followed by the semantic main verb in the progressive functions to emphasize the in-process nature of the progressive:

(1) **ònwòŋò tíê àòyò màc**
3s-find-perf 3s-be+present-hab 3s-warm-prog fire
'he was warming himself by the fire'

This construction is used in certain set expressions such as:

(2) **kèc tíê ànèkké túlwál**
hunger 3s-be+present-hab 3s-kill-prog-3s very+much
'he was very hungry'

bèdò 'to sit, stay' expresses iterative aspect when followed by the semantic main verb in the infinitive:

(1) **àbédò lwòŋŋò lócà**
1s-stay-perf call-infin man
'I kept on calling the man'

bèdò can be conjugated in any aspect.
The auxiliaries are summarized in the table below:

	gloss	conjugated in	main verb in	meaning	remarks
ònwòŋò	he, she, it found it	3s-perf	variable	past with hab, prog; past perfect with perf	may occur before or after Su
bínô	to come	hab	infin	future	
		prog	infin	will come to	
		perf	infin	has come to	
bín	come	perf	perf	contrastive affirmative in non-recent past	truncated form of **bínô**; forms serial constructions
tíê	to be present	hab	prog	reinforces in-progress sense of prog	forms paratactic constructions
mìttò	to want	hab	infin	immediate future	
bèdò	to sit, stay	variable	infin	iterative aspect	

8.2.5 Argument inflection

The Lango verb can be inflected for two arguments. Subject inflections are prefixes and are obligatory for all verbs inflected for aspect and for the subjunctive. The infinitive is inflected neither for aspect nor for subject. Subject inflections for the three aspects were illustrated in Sec. 8.2.4 All remaining verb agreement affixes are suffixes.

The verb is inflected for one additional argument, though which argument will trigger verb agreement depends on the stem used and the valence of the verb.[100] If a benefactive stem is used, only the benefactive can trigger agreement:

(1) **òkèllə́**
3s-bring-ben-perf-1s
'he brought it back for me'

(2) **àdòkkí**
1s-go+back-ben-perf-2s
'I went back for your sake'

With a transitive stem, a non-human 3s direct object does not trigger agreement — the stem itself marked as transitive is sufficient. Sentence (1) above with a transitive benefactive stem illustrates this. In addition, nominal DO's and IO's do not trigger agreement; instead the plain transitive stem is used. With non-benefactive stems, either pronomial DO's or IO's may trigger agreement. They are not distinguishable from the benefactive because of the stem difference. Compare (3) with (1) above:

(3) **òkèlə́**
3s-bring-perf-1s
'he brought me'

DO's trigger agreement preferentially over IO's; if both have human referents and are pronomialized, the DO will agree with the verb and the IO will be an object of **bòt** 'to':

(4) **rwòt òcwàlé bòtə́**
king 3s-send-perf-3s to-1s
'the king sent him to me'

Sentences with a pronomial DO (other than a non-human 3s) and a benefactive argument are avoided — independent pronouns are very rare in postverbal position and are not used without a coreferential inflection on a verb or preposition (Sec. 8.7.6).

Infinitives are inflected for benefactive, DO, and IO arguments in the same manner as verbs.

A list of DO inflections is given below; IO inflections are identical:

ònènò lyèc	'he saw an elephant'
ònèná	'he saw me'
ònèní	'he saw you (sg)'
ònèné	'he saw him/her'
ònènò	'he saw it'
ònènòwá	'he saw us'
ònènòwùnú **ònènòwú** **ònènú**	'he saw you (pl)'
ònènògí	'he saw them'

With the benefactive stem, the inflections are as follows:

òwìllì àtìn	'he bought it for the child'
òwìllá	'he bought it for me'
òwìllí	'he bought it for you (sg)'
òwìllé	'he bought it for him/her'
òwìllìwá	'he bought it for us'
òwìllìwùnú **òwìllìwú** **òwìllú**	'he bought it for you (pl)'
òwìllìgí	'he bought it for them'

8.2.6 'Floating' subject inflections

A small number of particles, including **pé** 'not', **móm** (~ **mə́m**) 'not', and **pwód** (~ **pʉ́d**) 'still, just' can take suject agreement in addition to the subject agreement on the main verb. These forms always take habitual subject prefixes regardless of the aspect of the accompanying verb:

(1) **án àpé àwótò kàmpálà**
I 1s-neg 1s-go-perf K.
'I didn't go to Kampala'

(2) **àpwód móm rʉ́ àwótò àbòr**
1s-still neg yet 1s-go-perf along
'before I go along'

The effect of this optional agreement is to emphasize a subject in contrast. For instance, if one were to assert

(3) **ìcámò réc**
2s-eat-perf fish
'you ate the fish'

an emphatic response might be:

(4) **án àpé àcámò réc**
I 1s-neg 1s-eat-perf fish
'I didn't eat the fish' (someone else did)

(4) represents an emphatic denial. This agreement is also found when there are a number of preverbal particles, as in (2) above.

The reason these particles and not others take subject agreement is that all three are derived from verbs. **pé** and **móm** also function as negative existential predicates meaning 'to not exist, not be present' (Sec 8.4). **pwód** seems to be derived from a verb also: **pwɔ̀ddɔ̀** 'to give sparingly'.

8.2.7 Expression of mood in simple sentences

Lango contrasts three grammatical moods: the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative. The imperative has distinct forms only in the second person:

(1) **dăc** (or **dàcí**)
2s-drop-imper
'drop it!'

(2) **dàcú**
2p-drop-imper
'drop it!'

Informally, the imperative can be treated as an independent mood, but it is probably best considered a sort of prefixless subjunctive. See Sec. 5.3.2.

Unlike the indicative, the subjunctive does not distinguish aspect. A subjunctive paradigm follows for **dàccò** 'to drop' — see Sec. 5.3.2 for more discussion and examples:

1s	**àdâc**	~	**àdâcí**
2s	**ìdâc**	~	**ìdâcí**
3s	**òdăc**	~	**òdàcí**
3s non-switch	**èdâc**	~	**èdâcí**
1d	**òdâc**	~	**òdâcí**
1p	**òdâcú**		
2p	**ìdâcwûnú**	~	**ìdâcú**
3p	**òdâc**	~	**òdâcí**
3p non-switch	**ìdâc**	~	**ìdâcí**

The subjunctive is unique in Lango in distinguishing a first person dual.

The subjunctive is used in negative imperatives together with a special negative particle restricted to these forms:

(1) **kŭr ìcâm**
neg 2s-eat-subj
'don't eat it!'

The subjunctive is also used to form first person dual and plural imperatives:

(2) **òyə́ɲ cə̀m**
1d-look+for-subj food
'let's (the two of us) look for food'

Apart from these uses, the subjunctive in main clauses expresses obligation or necessity, just as though it were the complement of **myèèrò** 'to be obliged, suitable, necessary':

(3) **myérô ìbîn**
3s-be+obliged-hab 2s-come-subj
'you should come'

(4) **ìbîn**
2s-come-subj
'you should come'

The subjunctive finds its main use in complementation (Section 2.3). The main clause examples above either alternate with complement constructions, as (4) alternates with (3), or show signs of having developed from them. (2) can also be expressed as a subjunctive complement to **wèkkò** 'to let, allow'. **kŭr**, the negative imperative particle, developed from the imperative of **kù·ùrò** 'to guard, wait for'.

8.3 Predicate nominal and predicate adjective constructions

Predicate nominal constructions normally consist of the subject followed by the predicate nominal without a copula. The predicate nominal is inflected for subject agreement, taking, as one would expect on semantic grounds, habitual aspect inflections:

(1) **án àdáktâl**
I 1s-doctor-hab
'I'm a doctor'

(2) **yín ìdáktâl**
you 2s-doctor-hab
'you're a doctor'

(3) **én dàktàl**
he 3s-doctor-hab
'he's a doctor'

In response to a question such as

(4) **dánô ŋà?**
person who
'who's that?'

the response could be either

(5) **én òkélò**
he O.
'it's Okelo'

or

(6) **òkélò dó**
O. part
'it's Okelo'

dó is an affirmative particle indicating friendly assurance.

When a past time reference is indicated, the construction can be left as in (1) through (3), with context or a time adverbial sufficing, be made past with **ònwòŋò**, or, most likely, have **bèdò** 'to sit, stay' conjugated in the perfective functioning as a copula. In the latter case, the predicate nominal no longer functions as syntactic predicate and therefore is not inflected for subject agreement:

(1) **án àbédò dàktàl**
I 1s-stay-perf doctor
'I was a doctor'

When a future time reference is indicated, **bèdò** is also used, this time with the **bínô** periphrastic future:

(2) **òkélò bínô bèdò rwòt**
O. 3s-come-hab stay-infin king
'Okelo will be king'

When predicate nominals occur in contexts that syntactically require infinitives, **bèdò** is obligatory:

(3) **ámìttò bèdò rwòt**
1s-want-prog stay-infin king
'I want to be king'

In identification sentences, the third person singular independent pronoun **én** is frequently interposed between the subject and the predicate nominal when the predicate nominal has a definite interpretation:

(1) **mân én gwôkk à dákô òkwàlò**
this it dog att+part woman 3s-steal-perf
'this is the dog that the woman stole'

When the predicate nominal has an indefinite or generic interpretation, **én** cannot be used:

(2) **mân gwôk**
this 3s-dog-hab
'this is a dog'

én can be inserted even when the subject is not third person singular (cf. Hebrew (Berman and Grosu 1976) and Wappo (Li and Thompson 1977)):

(3) **án én àdáktâl**
I he 1s-doctor-hab
'I am the doctor'

Predicate nominals can be modified in the usual way (Sec. 9.2):

(1) **án àdáktâl à bèr**
I 1s-doctor-hab rel+part 3s-good-hab
'I am a good doctor'

(2) **én rwòttá**
he 3s-king-hab-1sa
'he is my king'

Predicate adjectives, like predicate nominals, are inflected in the habitual aspect, and do not require a copula when given a present time significance:

(1) **án àrâc**
I 1s-bad-hab
'I am bad'

(2) **àjàŋâ ràc**
cat 3s-bad-hab
'the cat is bad'

As with predicates nominals, **ònwòŋò** or **bèdò** can be used to indicate past time reference (**bèdò** being the most frequent):

(1) **án ònwòŋò àrâc**
I 3s-find-perf 1s-bad-hab
'I was bad'

(2) **án àbédò ràc**
I 1s-stay-perf bad
'I was bad'

bèdò is used in future contexts (with the **bínô** periphrastic future) and in contexts requiring an infinitive:

(1) **án àbínô bèdò ràc**
I 1s-come-hab stay-infin bad
'I will be bad'

(2) **án ámɨ̀ttò bèdò ràc**
I 1s-want-prog stay-infin bad
'I want to be bad'

Notice that the adjective does not agree with the matrix subject (Sec. 5.4.1). Predicate adjectives may also occur with **dɔ̀kɔ̀** 'to become':

(1) **àlábà ɔ̀dɔ̀kɔ̀ dwôŋ**
A. 3s-become-perf fat
'Alaba became fat'

One quirk of adjectives, both predicate and attributive, is that they sometimes require stem (synchronically idiosyncratic) changes when associated with a plural subject (or plural head):

(1) **án àrâc**
I 1s-bad-hab
'I'm bad'

(2) **wán ɔ̀rɔ́cù**
we 1p-bad-hab
'we are bad'

See Sec. 5.4.2 for a discussion of these forms. No verb (or predicate nominal) exhibits changes of this sort.

See Sec. 5.4.3 for the conjugation of adjectives and predicate nouns.

8.4 Existence, location, and possession

Existential and presentative constructions are formed with **tíê** 'to exist, be present' when affirmative and **pé** or **móm** 'to not exist, not be present' when negative. The subjects in existential sentences are almost always accompanied by **-mɔ́rɔ́**, the indefinite affix (Sec. 8.7.4):

(1) **gwók'kɔ́rɔ́ tíê ɨ̀ ɔ̀t**
dog-indef 3s-be+present-hab in house
'there's a dog in the house'

(2) **cènnɔ́rɔ̂ pé**
ghost-indef 3s-be+not+present-hab
'there are no ghosts'

Locative expressions are formed in the same manner:

(1) **tíê kân**
3s-be+present-hab here
'it's here'

(2) **kwàc móm**
L. 3s-be+not+present-hab
'Leopard wasn't there'

Possessive sentences are also formed with these existential predicates. Three patterns have been observed, differing primarily in thematic structure. When the possessor is topic, the following is likely to be used:

(1) **òkélò tíê ì gwôk**
O. 3s-be+present-hab with dog
'Okelo has a dog'

This structure contrasts with (2), used when the possessed item is topic:

(2) **gwôk tíê bòt òkélò**
dog 3s-be+present-hab to O.
'the dog is Okelo's'

Both patterns are negated by substituting **pé** or **móm** for **tíê**. When the possessor and possessed are topics as a unit, the following syntagm involving topicalization (Sec. 8.7.3) of the possessor is commonly encountered:

(3) **òkélò gwók'kérê pé**
O. dog-3sa 3s-be+not+present-hab
'Okelo doesn't have a dog'

In translating the English absolute possessive pronouns (*mine, yours,* etc.), two constructions are possible. One can either use the usual possessive sentence construction,

(1) **gwókkì tíê bòtə́**
dog-this 3s-be+present-hab to-1s
'this dog is mine'

or one can use the preposition **mé** 'for, in order to' conjugated for person — see Sec. 5.6.3 for paradigms and discussion:

(2) **gwókkì mérâ**
dog-this for-1s
'this dog is mine'

(3) **gwókkì mérî**
dog-this for-2s
'this dog is yours'

This construction is also available for nouns,

(4) **gwókkì mê òjʉ́k**
dog-this for O.
'this dog is Ojuk's'

8.5 Deviations from basic order

Lango permits remarkably few deviations from the basic order outlined in Sec. 8.1. Aside from some variation in the placement of indirect objects and adverbials, only topicalization can affect the simple linear order of constituents in the simple sentence.

8.5.1 Variation in the placement of the indirect object

The syntax of IO's was discussed in Section 1.1 and will only be summarized here. The IO can be placed immediately after the verb, in which case it, and not the DO, conditions object verb agreement. Alternately, the IO can be made the object of **bòt** 'to' and placed after the DO:

(1) **rwòt òmìyá dyaŋ**
king 3s-give-perf-1s cow
'the king gave me a cow'

(2) **rwòt òmìò dyaŋ bòtá**
king 3s-give-perf cow to-1s
'the king gave the cow to me'

There are fewer constraints on datives assuming the advanced position (and hence making anaphora on the verb) than in English.[101] For instance there is no general constraint restricting advanced IO's with pronominalized DO's, as in English:

(3) *the king gave me it

In Lango non-human third person anaphora is indicated by transitive verb alone: Both advanced and non-advanced (i.e. with **bòt**) IO's are possible:

(4) **rwòt òmìyá**
king 3s-give-perf-1s
'the king gave it to me'

(5) **rwòt òmìò bòtá**
king 3s-give-perf to-1s
'the king gave it to me'

However, if a human third person DO pronoun is present, only the non-advanced IO is possible:

(6) **rwòt òcwàlɛ́ bòtá**
king 3s-send-perf-3s to-1s
'the king sent him to me'

(7) ***rwòt òcwàlá én**
king 3s-send-perf-1s him
'the king sent me him'

This, however, simply reflects the more general constraint that object pronouns must be attached to their head (either verb or preposition); independent pronouns (like **én**) can only be used in addition to the suffixed pronouns for contrastive emphasis in post-verbal position. Advanced and non-advanced IO's do not differ semantically in the sense that there will be no truth value differences between them, but they do differ pragmatically. Lango has no system of articles for indicating definiteness, and though certain nominal affixes such as the demonstratives can be used for this purpose, they are not regularly employed in this way. Definiteness must be inferred from previous discourse and background knowledge, aided by placement of the NP within the sentence. Generally speaking, the closer an NP is to the front of the sentence, the more likely it is to be interpreted as definite. Since indirect objects, on straightforward pragmatic grounds, are highly likely to be definite anyway,[102] it is the placement of the DO that is most affected by the possibilities illustrated in (1) and (2) above. When the DO is last, as in (1) it is more likely to receive an indefinite interpretation than when it is followed by the IO as in (2). The glosses provided for the sentences reflect this.

8.5.2 Topicalization

Topicalization involves the displacement of an NP from its usual position to the beginning of the sentence.[103] A topicalized NP is always interpreted as definite or generic. Further, it is interpreted as the topic or orientation of the sentence, a role otherwise played by the subject.[104]

Only one NP per sentence can be topicalized. This NP can be a DO or IO, an object of a preposition, an associative NP, or even an NP in a subordinate clause:

(1) **àbwòr rwòt támô nî ènékò**
lion king 3s-think-hab comp 3s-kill-perf
'the lion, the king thinks that he killed it'

When the topicalized NP is an object of a preposition, a benefactive, or an associative NP, a pronominal copy must be left in the original position:[105]

(2) **án rwòt òmìyò dyàŋ bòtá**
I king 3s-give-perf cow to-1s
'I was given the cow by the king'

(3) **òkélò ànénò pàlàmérê**
O. 1s-see-perf knife-3sa
'Okelo, I saw his knife'

If the topicalized NP is a first or second person pronoun, a pronominal copy must be left in the original position regardless of what syntactic position the topicalized NP originates:

(4) **án kèc ànèkká tùtwàl**
I hunger 3s-kill-prog-1s very+much
'I'm really hungry' (lit: 'hunger is killing me very much')

(5) **yín dákô òmìyí dyèl**
you woman 3s-give-perf-2s goat
'you were given a goat by the woman'

When the topicalized NP is a human third person DO or IO, it need not leave a pronominal copy:

(6) **lócà kèc ànèkkò tùtwàl**
man hunger 3s-kill-prog very+much
'the man is very hungry'

(7) **lócà kèc ànèkké tùtwàl**
man hunger 3s-kill-prog-3s very+much
'the man is very hungry'

However, non-human third person DO's never leave a pronominal copy:

(8) **àpwô àtîn ònènò**
hare child 3s-see-perf
'the hare was seen by the child'

There is a special construction available for topicalizing noun subjects. This is invariably found in discourse contexts where an old topic is reintroduced (Sec. 10.1). In this construction, the pronoun **én** 'he, she, it' or **gín** 'they' is placed in sentence initial position followed by the noun subject:

(1) **gín rwódí tétêk**
they kings 3p-strong-hab
'kings are very powerful'

(2) **én òkélò òdòk**
he O. 3s-go+back-perf
'Okelo went back'

This is referred to as the reinforced subject construction in Sec. 10.1.

In terms of the typology suggested by Li and Thompson (1976), Lango is a subject prominent language. One effect of this is that Lango does not have sentences like the following:

Mandarin

(1) **neì-chang huǒ xìngkui xīaofang-duì laí de kuaì**
that-classifier fire fortunate fire-brigade come adv-part quick
'that fire (topic), fortunately the fire brigade came quickly'
(Li and Thompson 1976, p. 462)

Japanese

(2) **sakana wa tai ga oisii**
fish part red-snapper part delicious-is
'fish (topic), red snapper is the most delicious'
(Kuno 1973, p. 62)

where NP's that are neither arguments of the verb nor associatives are topicalized. Note, however, that topics from subordinate or parallel clauses are possible (Sec. 9.9.1, 11.2). Topics that are not subjects play a much larger role in Lango syntax than in English, having certain properties normally attributed to subjects (Noonan and Bavin 1978, Sections 9.10 and 11.1).

Notice that question words (Sec. 8.9) can never be topicalized because they are not, by definition, definite and cannot be the sentence orientation.

Right dislocation seems to occur only as an afterthought phenomenon in Lango, and not as a part of a regular strategy for rightmost placement of topics (unlike other Nilotic languages, such as Nandi).[106]

8.5.3 Variation in the placement of adverbials

In Sec. 8.1, it was noted that adverbials may be placed either at the beginning or end of the sentence:

(1) **àwó'ró àkélò òdwògò**
yesterday O. 3s-come+back-perf
'Yesterday, Okelo came back'

(2) **òkélò òdwògò àwó'ró**
O. 3s-come+back-perf yesterday
'Okelo came back yesterday'

(1) is appropriate when the adverbial is background and the rest of the sentence, or at least **òdwògò**, is being asserted. (2) is appropriate when the adverbial is being asserted. (1) is a felicitous response to (3), and (2) to (4):

(3) **àwó'ró òkélò òtìmò ŋò?**
yesterday O. 3s-do-perf what
'yesterday, what did Okelo do?'

(4) **òkélò òdwògò àwènè?**
O. 3s-come+back-perf when
'when did Okelo come back?'

The placement of adverbials, then, serves the same pragmatic function as the placement of DO's.

8.6 Expression of passive senses

Lango has no morphological passive. However, the pragmatic function of a passive, which is essentially to create a new sentence orientation out of a patient in a transitive relationship,[107] is taken over in part by secondary orientation verbs (Sec. 8.2.1) and the middle voice (Sec. 8.2.2), and in part by topicalization (Sec. 8.5.2).[108]

While SA verbs and the middle voice fulfill the function of permitting patients in transitive relationships to be subjects, they do not allow for the expression of the transitive agent and lack the true semantic aspects of the passive. That is, they lack the sense of the transitive patient acted upon by the transitive agent. Topicalized sentences come closer to passives in this regard. Notice that sentences with SA verbs or verbs in the middle voice are never translated as passives, but topicalized sentences frequently are. Our bilingual Lango-English informants would usually translate sentences like the following with the English passive:

(1) **án rwòt ònèná**
I king 3s-see-perf-1s
'I was seen by the king'

Notice, however, that not all topicalized sentences can be translated with the English passive, e.g. sentences where the topicalized element is not the DO. Further, topicalization remains fundamentally different from passive — the topicalized NP does not become subject (see Sec. 11.1).

It should also be noted that Lango has no impersonal construction.[109] To a certain extent, the sense of an impersonal can be rendered by an indefinite subject,

(1) **ŋàttóró òjwàtò òpíò**
person-indef 3s-hit-perf O.
'someone hit Opio'

or a subjectless verb conjugated in the third person singular:

(2) **òjwàtò òpíò**
3s-hit-perf O.
'he/someone hit Opio'

8.7 The organization of the noun phrase

Nouns are not marked for case and are not lexically specified for concord class. They may, however, be inflected for singular and plural number (Sec. 8.7.7). Pronouns and agreement inflections on verbs reflect only the categories of number and person.

8.7.1 Order of elements within the noun phrase

The head noun is always first in the Lango noun phrase. It is followed by, in order, associative NP's, quantifiers, adjectives, and relative clauses. Determiners normally occur last in the NP, but may precede relative clauses. The order of elements is summed up as follows:

head-N ass-NP quant adj det rel-cl det

or

An example employing all the above elements follows:

(1) **gwóggî à lócè àdékk à dòŋò àmê dákô ònènònì**
dogs att-part man att+part-three att+part big rel+part woman 3s-see-perf-this
'these three big dogs of the man that the woman saw'

All classes of noun modifiers can occur with the 'attributive particle' **à**, which is morphologically fused onto numerals and the relative particle **àmê**. If the final sound of the word preceding **à** is a consonant, the consonant is geminated (if the final consonant is **r**, the preceding vowel is lengthened instead). Final vowels are unaffected — see Sec. 1.2.3, 2.2.

(1) **gwôkk à lócè** (**gwôk** 'dog')
dog att+part man
'the man's dog'

(2) **dyàŋŋ à dwôŋ** (**dyàŋ** 'cow')
cow att+part big
'the big cow'

(3) **àbwòòr à ràc** (**àbwòr** 'lion')
lion att+part bad
'the bad lion'

(4) **ɲákô à dît** (**ɲákô** 'girl')
girl att+part big
'the big girl'

With the exception of the determiners and some peculiarities relating to the associative constructions, the order in the NP is invariable. The syntax of the associative construction will be dealt with below in Sections 8.7.2 and 8.7.3. Relative clauses will be treated in Section 2.2.

Attributive adjectives always occur with the attributive particle (except when the latter is deleted phonologically as when followed by a word beginning with a vowel (Sec. 2.7) the adjective agrees with the noun it modifies in number, even if the noun itself displays no singular/plural distinction:

(1) a. **gwôkk à bèr**
dog att+part good-sg
'the good dog'

b. **gwóggî à bècò**
dogs att+part good-pl
'the good dogs'

(2) a. **gúlú à bèr**
pot att+part good-sg
'the good pot'

b. **gúlú à bècò**
pot att+part good-pl
'the good pots'

Quantifiers also occur with the attributive particle. The numerals ten and below have fused with the attributive particle so that the particle is part of the numeral even when not used attributively:

(1) **àryô tíê bòtə́**
two 3s-be+present-hab to-1s
'I have two'

In this syntactic environment, when the head is not overt, other quantifiers do not take the attributive particle:

(2) **pòl tíé bòtə́**
many 3s-be+present-hab to-1s
'I have many'

(cf **gwóggî à pòl**
dogs att+part many
'many dogs')

The quantifier **dúcú** 'all, both' exceptionally never takes the attributive particle:

(3) **dòk dúcú**
cattle all
'all the cattle'

The determiners (which include the demonstratives) normally occur as suffixes on the last word of the NP:

(1) **gwókkì**
dog-this
'this dog'

(2) **gwôkk à dwóŋŋì**
dog att+part big-sg-this
'this big dog'

(3) **gwóggî à dɔ̀ŋɔ̀ àryɔ́nɨ̀**
dogs att+part big-pl att+part-two-this
'these two big dogs'

(The demonstrative **-nɨ̀** 'this' and **-nɔ̀** 'that' lose their **-n-**, geminating final consonants according to the usual consonant cluster simplification rules of the language. When the NP includes a relative clause, the determiner may be attached to the last word before the relative, be suffixed to the last word in the relative, or occur in both positions at once:

(4) **gwóggî à dɔ̀ŋɔ̀ àryɔ́nɨ̀ àmɛ̂ lócə̀ ɔ̀nɛ̀kɔ̀nɨ̀**

dogs att+part big two-this rel+part man 3s-kill-perf-this
'these two big dogs that the man killed'

The longer the relative clause, the more likely the determiner is to be positioned before it.

Nouns may be also modified by prepositional phrases, whose position within the NP is like that of the relative clause, i.e. last but for the determiners:

(1) **jɔ̀ ɨ̀ pàcó**
people in village
'people in the village'

(2) **ɔ̀t à dwôŋ mɛ̂ bùtù**
house att+part big for sleep-infin
'a big house for sleeping'

8.7.2 Associative constructions

An associative construction consists of a noun head followed by an associative NP. The range of semantic relations that can be coded by associative constructions include possession, but includes also a wide range of other relationships. What is communicated by the construction per se is just an association between two nouns; the exact relation is left to inference:

(1) **gwôkk à lócə̀**
dog att+part man
'the man's dog'

(2) **bɛ̀ɛ̀r à kwân**
good att+part read-infin
'the good of reading'

(3) **kwânn à ɔ̀kélɔ̀**
read-infin att+part O.
'Okelo's reading'

(4) **òkwânn à búk**
readers att+part book
'the readers of the book'

There are two sorts of associative constructions: The first codes inalienable possession, the second codes all other associative relationships. The inalienable construction codes 'part-of' relations, i.e. situations where the head of the construction is interpreted as part of the noun coded as the associative, as in the case of body parts. The inalienable associative does not take the attributive particle **à** — but other associatives do. Contrast the following:

	inalienable	*alienable*
(1)	**wì rwòt**	**wìcc à rwòt**
	head king	head att+part king
	'the king's head'	'the king's (animal) head'
(2)	**pyèn àjàŋâ**	**pyènn à dákô**
	skin cat	skin att+part woman
	'the cat's skin'	'the hide belonging to the woman'
(3)	**bàd dàktàl**	**bàtt à dàktàl**
	arm doctor	hand att+part doctor
	'the doctor's arm'	'the doctor's foreleg of meat'
(4)	**léb lócə̀**	**lépp à lócə̀**
	tongue man	tongue att+part man
	'the man's tongue'	'the man's tongue-meat'

Pictures, personal character, and anything else relating to the individual's selfhood are inalienable:

(1) **cál lócə̀**
picture man
'the man's picture'

(2) **kít lócə̀**
character man
'the man's character'

Locative relationships are treated as inalienable,

(3) **ì làŋét màc**
in side fire
'beside the fire'

(4) **ì ɲím bákcì**
in head chair
'on the chair'

(5) **ì wì kóm**
in head chair
'on the chair'

as are descriptive associatives and compounds in general (Sec. 7):

(6) **ɔ̀t cèm**
house food
'restaurant'

Associative constructions with **wòn** 'father of, owner' as head are inalienable,

(7) **wòn pòtó**
owner field
'the owner of the field'

as are blood relationships: sister-of, uncle-of, etc. (but see Sec. 5.2.4). Familial relationships acquired through marriage are not considered inalienable in Lango:

(8) **dákô à òkélò**
woman att+part O.
'Okello's wife'

However, some examples of inalienable possession with marriage relations have been recorded. Expressions of origin (in geography, manufacture, etc.) are inalienable:

(9) **món lìrá**
women Lira
'the women of Lira'

The inalienable associative is also used in a partitive sense:

(10) **gúlú dɛ́k**
pot stew
'a pot of stew'

(11) **mɔ̀ɔ̀ ɲìm**
oil sesame
'sesame oil'

Pronominal associatives have a number of peculiarities. First, though they too distinguish alienable from inalienable, both kinds are suffixes and do not use the associative particle. Instead, the difference is indicated by gemination (alienable) and its lack (inalienable) — see Sec. 5.2.4 for a more complete discussion of associative affixes:

	inalienable	*alienable*
(1)	**pyèná**	**pyènnə́**
	skin-1sa	skin-1sa
	'my skin'	'my (animal) hide'
(2)	**wìyə́**	**wìccə́**
	head-1sa	head-1sa
	'my head'	'my (animal) head'

(3)	**tyèná**	**tyènná**
	leg-1sa	leg-1sa
	'my leg'	'my leg (of meat)'

When the head noun ends in a vowel, alienable and inalienable possession cannot be distinguished, as we see with **rèmó** 'blood':

(4)	**rèmòmérê**	**rèmòmérê**
	blood-3sa	blood-3sa
	'his blood'	'his (animal) blood'

(5)	**rèmòné**	**rèmòné**
	blood-1sa	blood-1sa
	'my blood'	'my (animal) blood'

When contraction takes place (Sec. 5.1.2.2, 5.2.4), the forms can be distinguished:

(6)	**rèmê**	**rèmmérê**
	blood-3sa	blood-3sa
	'his blood'	'his (animal) blood'

The second peculiarity of pronominal associatives is that, though the position of associative nouns is fixed (they immediately follow the head noun), the position of pronominal associatives is variable. They occur either suffixed to the head noun or the last element of the NP. Compare the following sets:

(1) a. **búkké à dwôŋ**
book-1sa att+part big
'my big book'

b. **búkk à dwóŋ'ŋé**
book att+part big-1sa
'my big book'

(2) a. **búkké mê àkwánà**
book-1sa for read-gerund
'my reading book'

b. **búk mê àkwáná'ná**
book for read-gerund-1sa
'my reading book'

8.7.3 Complex associatives

In referring to an individual, when it is the physical body not the personality that is at stake, it is usual (in some cases obligatory) to use a construction with **kòm** 'body' as the head noun, with reference to the individual expressed as an associative NP:

(1) **kòm lócə̀ ŋwé**
body man 3s-be+smelly-hab
'the man stinks'

(2) **àjàŋâ òbèdò ì̀ kòm lócə̀**
cat 3s-sit-perf on bocy man
'the cat sat on the man'

With predicates like **ŋwèyò** 'to be smelly', **kòm** is obligatory. **kòm** is almost always found after the ubiquitous preposition **ì̀**, even when reference to the physical body is not intended:

(3) **òtì̀tò ì̀ kòmá**
3s-tell-perf about body-1sa
'he told something about me'

ì̀, unlike the other simple prepositions (Sec. 8.8), cannot take human pronominal objects and requires **kòm** as a place to attach these object pronoun affixes.

When referring to emotional states, it is usual not to refer to the experiencer directly, but rather to attribute the emotion to the stomach **yì̀c** or liver **cwíɲ**. The experiencer is expressed as an associative NP:

(4) **yì̀á àwàŋ nî gwók'ká òkàò rwòt**
stomach-1sa 3s-burn-prog comp dog-1sa 3s-bite-perf king
'I'm upset that my dog bit the king'

Other body part nouns are used in similar constructions.

When **kò**, **yì̀c**, **cwíɲ**, etc. are found in such constructions, a special sort of associative is frequently encountered. This involves placing the associative noun first, and leaving a pronominal copy in its place. Compare (1) above with (5):

(5) **lócà kòmè ŋwé**
man body-3sa 3s-be+smelly-hab
'the man stinks'

This 'complex associative', though most common with body part head nouns in subject position, can be found elsewhere:

(6) **lócə̀ gwók'kɛ́rɛ̂ òbɛ̀lò ì̀tɪ́nô**
man dog-3sa 3s-frighten+away-perf children
'the man's dog frightened away the children'

(7) **gwôk òŋwɛ̀ò lócə̀ kòmè**
dog 3s-smell-perf man body-3sa
'the dog smelt the man'

The effect of the complex associative is to increase the prominence of the associative NP, analogous to topicalization. In fact, when complex associatives appear in subject position, as in (5) and (6), they are indistinguishable from topicalized associatives.[110]

8.7.4 Use of determiners

As noted above in the discussion on topicalization, a noun is normally not marked as definite or indefinite. Its definiteness is a matter of interpretation, but the first noun in a sentence (either the subject or topicalized NP) is necessarily definite (but see below). The likelihood of a definite interpretation decreases toward the end of the sentence.

The grammar, however, provides a few ways to insure a definite interpretation. Any noun marked with a demonstrative will be given a definite interpretation. There are three demonstratives, listed below, each with a different deictic interpretation:

Sg	*Pl*	
-nì	**-gì**	'this/these'
-nò	**-gò**	'that/those'
-cà/kà	**-ìcà**	'that/those over there, yonder'

The morphology of these forms is discussed in Sec. 5.2.6.; their syntax was discussed in Sec. 8.7.1. Impressionistically, they are used rather more frequently than their counterparts in English, perhaps because of their function as definitizers.

In addition to the demonstratives, Lango also employs a thematic affix. This affix, whose form is **-mérê**, can be attached to a noun reintroduced from previous discourse (Sec. 10.1) or otherwise known to the discussants, but not in the forefront of consciousness of the hearer. It could in some cases be translated by 'the aforementioned', 'the . . . we know'. Nouns marked in this way are topics and occupy initial, topic position. Proper nouns may be marked with **-mérê**. Any noun marked with this suffix will, of course, receive a definite interpretation. The use of **-mérê** is not obligatory for such topics and tends to be used in dialogs rather than extended narratives. Time expressions frequently use **-mérê**:

(1) **ì díkkómérê gín dúcú òbínô rwàttê**
in morning-theme they all 3p-come-perf meet-mid-infin
'in the morning, they all came to meet each other'

A noun can receive an indefinite, and frequently non-specific, interpretation with the suffix **-mɔ́rɔ̂**, pl. **-mɔ́gɔ̂**:

(1) **ŋàttɔ́rɔ̂**
person-indef
'someone, somebody'

(2) **gwók'kɔ́rɔ̂**
dog-indef
'some dog, a dog'

(3) **gwóggí'mɔ́rɔ̂** }
gwóggí'mógɔ̂ }
dogs-indef
'some dogs, dogs'

-mɔ́rɔ̂ may be used in place of **-mógɔ̂** with plural nouns. The only way a subject can receive an indefinite interpretation is if it is marked with **-mɔ́rɔ̂**:

(4) **twòllɔ́rɔ̂ òkàò àtîn**
snake-indef 3s-bite-perf child
'a snake bit the child'

The indefinite marker is almost always found with subjects in existential constructions:

(5) **pʉ́nɔ́'mɔ́rɔ̂ tíê ì ŋè ɔ̀t**
pig-indef 3s-be+present-hab in back house
'there's a pig behind the house'

Not all indefinites are marked with **-mɔ́rɔ̂**; in fact, the majority are not. Except for its use with generic nouns, such as **ŋàt** 'person', **gìn** 'thing', which when **-mɔ́rɔ̂** is suffixed onto them form the Lango equivalent of English indefinite pronouns (cf (1) above), **-mɔ́rɔ̂** is almost always found in subject position. The reason for this is that the Lango sentence is organized roughly on an old-new continuum. Subjects are always interpreted as definite unless specifically made indefinite with **-mɔ́rɔ̂** (hence the association with subjects in existential constructions). In other sentence positions, NP's are assigned definite or indefinite interpretations pragmatically, and do not require an explicit indefinitizer like subjects.

See Sec. 9.11 for the expression of negative indefinite senses.

8.7.5 Conjunction of NP's and adjectives

There is no true symmetric conjunction of NP's in Lango. Instead, asymetric coordination with prepositions is used. The usual preposition is **kèdè** 'with' (rarely **kè**) whose other uses include expression of instrument:

(1) **òkélò kèdè òjʉ́k òcàmò dɛ̀k**
O. with O. 3s-eat-perf stew
'Okelo and Ojuk ate the stew'

The verb is conjugated for third person singular, agreeing with the true subject **Okelo** rather than the plural sense. When a first person singular reference is included among the conjuncts, it is usual to use the first person plural pronoun as the head, in a sense summing up the totality of the conjunction:

(2) **wán kèdí òcámò dèk**
we with-2s 1p-eat-perf stew
'you and I ate the stew'

The verb in such cases takes first person plural concord. Notice that **kèdè** like other prepositions, is conjugated for person. The object of **kèdè** may be topicalized (or relativized on — Sec. 9.2):

(3) **yín wán kèdí òcámò dèk**
you we with-2s 1p-eat-perf stew
'you and I ate the stew'

When more than two NP's are coordinated, **kèdè** need not be repeated before each conjunct, only before the last, though such repetition is more frequent than the analogous repetition of *and* in English:

(4) **wán òkélò kèdè àlábà òcámò dèk**
we O. with A. 1p-eat-perf stew
'Okelo, Alaba, and I ate the stew'

Note the ambiguity of the following:

(5) **òkélò òmàtò cây kèdè càk**
O. 3s-drink-perf tea with milk
'Okelo drank tea with milk' or
'Okelo drank tea and milk'

Another preposition in this class is **gínní** 'with'. A peculiarity of this form is that the NP's linked with it cannot be pronouns, but must be nouns:

(6) **àpwô gínní kwàc ònwòŋò òbèdò òwótê**
H. with L. 3s-find-perf 3s-stay-perf friends
'Hare and Leopard were friends'

kèdè, kè, and **gínní** can all be used to express accompaniment; **gínní** cannot be used for instruments. See Sec. 8.11.3 for the relation between NP conjunction and accompaniment.

Disjunction is accomplished with **òŋò**, which is the third person singular perfective of **ŋòò** 'to be possible'. **òŋò** is frequently used as a parenthetical meaning 'maybe, perhaps', and this use seems to underlie its role in disjunction:

(1) **dákô òŋò òbínô**
woman 3s-be+possible-perf 3s-come perf
'maybe the woman came'

(2) **dákô òŋò lócà òbínô**
woman 3s-be+possible-perf man 3s-come-perf
'either the woman or the man came'

(3) **án òŋò yín àbínô**
I 3s-be+possible-perf you 1s-come-perf
'either you or I came'

Example (3) shows that the noun before **ɔ̀ŋɔ̀** is the grammatical subject, determining subject agreement. Neither disjunct can be felicitously topicalized.

The interpretation of the disjunction with **ɔ̀ŋɔ̀**, which can occur in all sentential positions,

(4) **àtîn ɔ̀càmɔ̀ réc ɔ̀ŋɔ̀ rìŋó**
child 3s-eat-perf fish 3s-be+possible-perf meat
'the child ate fish or meat'

is that one or the other, but not both holds. So in (4), the child ate either fish or meat, but not both. Despite its origin as a verb and its additional meaning of 'maybe, perhaps', **ɔ̀ŋɔ̀** is a true conjunction, as examples like (4) clearly show. If **ɔ̀ŋɔ̀** were not a conjunction, one might expect (4) to assert that fish had been eaten, and to leave open the additional possibility of meat as well. As it is, the interpretation of **réc** is within the disjunction created by **ɔ̀ŋɔ̀.**

In comparing **ɔ̀ŋɔ̀** with **kèdè**, **ɔ̀ŋɔ̀** creates true symmetric coordinate structures whereas **kèdè** (and **gínní**) does not. Compare, for example, their behavior vis-à-vis topicalization noted above. Constructions with **ɔ̀ŋɔ̀** obey Ross' (1967) Coordinate Structure Constraint, where those with **kèdè** do not (see also Sec. 9.6).

There is no Lango equivalent of

(1) Okelo, but not Opio, came

éntô 'but' can only be used to coordinate full sentences. (1) would have to be translated as (2):

(2) **ɔ̀kélɔ̀ ɔ̀bínô éntô ɔ̀píô pé ɔ̀bínô**
O. 3s-come-perf but O. neg 3s-come-perf
'Okelo came, but Opio didn't come'

Adjectives are coordinated by simple juxtaposition, both in their predicatival and attributive functions:

(1) **yín ìtêk ìryêk**
you 2s-strong-hab 2s-wise-hab
'you are strong and wise'

(2) **àŋéô lócə̀ à têk à ryèk**
1s-know-hab man att+part strong att+part wise
'I know a strong and wise man'

Disjunction is accomplished with **ɔ̀ŋɔ̀**:

(3) **yín ìtêk ɔ̀ŋɔ̀ ìryêk**
you 2s-strong-hab 3s-be+possible-perf 2s-wise-hab
'you are strong or wise'

(4) **àŋéô lócə̀ à têk òɲò à ryèk**
1s-know-hab man att+part strong 3s-be+possible-perf att+part wise
'I know the man who is strong or wise'

8.7.6 Pronominals

Independent personal pronouns basically occur only as subjects and topicalized NP's; in other positions, personal pronouns appear as suffixes on verbs, prepositions, or nouns (when associatives):

(1) **án àkʊ́ɲò bùr** (subject)
I 1s-dig-perf hole
'I dug a hole'

(2) **án lócə̀ ònènná** (topic)
I man 3s-see-perf-1s
'I was seen by the man'

However, independent pronouns may occasionally occur in other positions in addition to the suffixed pronouns when indicating emphatic contrast,

(3) **lócə̀ ònènná án**
man 3s-see-perf-1s I
'the man saw me!'

though the cleft construction is more usual in this function (see Sec. 10.1). Independent subject pronouns are, like other subject NP's, not obligatory, the inflection on the verb clearly marking person and number:

(4) **àkʊ́ɲò bùr**
1s-dig-perf hole
'I dug a hole'

They are always present when some contrast is intended or when there is a change of topic. First or second person pronouns are used frequently in other contexts as well and are much more frequent than, say, their Spanish counterparts, even though the Lango verb is equally well inflected for subject.

Demonstrative pronouns, together with their use as true pronominals,

(1) **mân òdòkò à têk òkkó**
this 3s-become-perf att+part hard completely
'this has become hard'

may also substitute for the demonstrative affixes:

(2) a. **òkélò òkwànò búkkɪ̀**
O. 3s-read-perf book-this
'Okelo read this book'

b. **òkélò òkwànò búk mân**
O. 3s-read-perf book this
'Okelo read this book'

Indefinite pronouns do not, per se, exist in Lango. In their place, generic nouns are used:

(1) **ànénò ŋàt**
1s-see-perf person
'I saw someone'

Negative indefinites are discussed in Sec. 9.11.

The reflexive pronoun is **kén-** to which inalienable associative affixes are added. This is optionally used together with middle voice morphology when the subject is interpreted as coreferential with the notional direct object:

(1) **ònèkérê**
3s-kill-mid-perf
'he killed himself'

(2) **ònèkérê kénê**
3s-kill-mid-perf self-3sa
'he killed himself'

(3) **ònêkérê kéngí**
3p-kill-mid-perf self-3pa
'they killed themselves'

Its use is obligatory, however, when the subject is coreferential with the object of a preposition or benefactive. In such cases, both the preposition (or verb) and **kén-** are inflected for person and number:

(4) **òbóté òlègò òbáŋá pìrè kénê**
O. 3s-pray-perf God because+of-3s self-3sa
'Obote prayed to God about himself'

(5) **àlábâ òwìllé kénê búk**
A. 3s-buy-ben-perf-3s self-3sa book
'Alaba bought herself a book'

When not associated with the middle voice, an inflected preposition, or the benefactive, **kén-** means 'alone':

(6) **àbínô kéná**
1s-come-perf self-1sa
'I came alone'

8.7.7 Expression of number; number concord

Many Lango nouns, particularly those referring to humans and animals, have distinctive plural forms. There is no regular plural formation in

Lango, so each singular/plural pair must be individually lexicalized:

(1)	a.	**dákô**	**món**
		woman	women
	b.	**àwóbí**	**àwòbè**
		boy	boys
	c.	**dyàŋ**	**dòk**
		cow	cows
	d.	**gwôk**	**gwóggî**
		dog	dogs
	e.	**búk**	**búkê**
		book	books
	f.	**gwènò**	**gwén**
		chicken	chickens
	g.	**àgâk**	**àgákán**
		crow	crows

Recently borrowed nouns tend to form their plurals with the suffix **-ê**. See Sec. 5.2.5 for a discussion of the formation of plural nouns.

A large number of nouns do not have distinctive plural forms. Most nouns referring to body parts, implements, location, fruits, trees and vegetables are in this class. These nouns can still be quantified, however:

(1) **gúlú àcêl**
pot one
'one pot'

(2) **gúlú àryô**
pot two
'two pots'

(3) **gúlú à nɔ̀k**
pot att+part few
'few pots'

(4) **gúlú à pòl**
pot att+part many
'many pots'

Even when a noun has a distinctive plural, as subject it takes third person singular concord. The third plural forms are used only with zero subject and with the pronoun **gín** 'they':

(1) **òtɔ́ɔ̀**
3p-die-perf
'they died'

(2) **gín òtɔ́ɔ̀**
they 3p-die-perf
'they died'

(3) **gwók òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
dog 3s-die-perf
'the dog died'

(4) **gwóggî òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
dogs 3s-die-perf
'the dogs died'

(5) **gúlú òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
pot 3s-die-perf
'the pot/pots broke'

(6) **gúlú àdêk òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
pot three 3s-die-perf
'three pots broke'

However, adjectives, whether predicate or attributive, agree with the sense of the noun:

(1) **gúlú ràc**
pot 3s-bad-hab
'the pot is no good'

(2) **gúlú rəcù**
pots 3s-bad-pl-hab
'the pots are no good'

With a topicalized subject, the pronoun, not the noun, determines the form of the verb:

(3) **rwódî gín òmárô kɔ̀ŋɔ̀**
kings they 3p-like-hab beer
'kings, they like beer'

Even when nouns have distinctive plurals, they are not always used. For example, one hears

(1) **gwôkk à pòl**
dog att+part many
'many dogs'

alongside the expected:

(2) **gwóggî à pòl**
dogs att+part many
'many dogs'

8.7.8 Floated quantifiers

The quantifier **dúcú** 'all, both', when modifying a subject of an intransitive verb, can be placed immediately after the verb instead of its usual position within the NP:

(1) **àwòbè dúcú òdɔ̀k pì rwòt**
boys all 3s-go+back-perf because+of king
'all the boys went back because of the king'

(2) **àwòbè òdɔ̀k dúcú pì rwòt**
boys 3s-go+back-perf all because+of king
'the boys all went back because of the king'

The quantifier in (2) is a 'floated' quantifier.

Another unique property of **dúcú** is its ability to be 'stranded' by relativization, cleft, and topicalization:

(3) a. **dákô óôl kèdè ɨ̀tínô dúcú**
woman 3s-be+tired-hab with children all
'the woman is tired of all the children'

b. **ɨ̀tínô dákô óôl kèdgí dúcú**
children woman 3s-be+tired-hab with-3p all
'the children, the woman is tired of them all'

(4) a. **rwòt ònènò gwóggî dúcú**
king 3s-see-perf dogs all
'the king saw all the dogs'

b. **gwóggî rwòt ònènò dúcú**
dogs king 3s-see-perf all
'the dogs were all seen by the king'

Other modifiers may not be stranded. **dúcú** may, of course, be part of the topic NP:

c. **gwóggî dúcú rwòt ònènò**
dogs all king 3s-see-perf
'all the dogs were seen by the king'

When **dúcú** is floated, as in (2), or stranded, as in (4b), it is always because it and not its head is within the scope of assertion. For instance, (1) would be an appropriate answer to (5), where **àwòbè dúcú** is topical information in both sentences:

(5) **àwòbè dúcú òdɔ̀k pɨŋɔ̀?**
boys all 3s-go+back-perf why
'why did all the boys go back?'

But (2) would be an appropriate answer to (6):

(6) **àwòbè àdî àdɔ̀k pì rwòt**
boys how+many 3s-go+back-perf because+of king
'how many boys went back because of the king?'

In (2), **dúcú** is what is asserted.

8.8 Prepositional phrases

Lango has a very small set of true prepositions, which include the following:

ì	'on, at, in, about, to, from'
báŋ	'to' (somewhat archaic)
bòt	'to'
mê	'for'
pì	'because of'
tê	'under'
tú	'toward'
kà	'instead of'
kèdè (or **kè**)	'with'
gínní	'with'

Each of these prepositions except **ì** and **gínní** has a characteristic set of object pronoun affixes; the plain form is used with noun objects:

	pì	**bòt**
1s	**pìrá**	**bòtə́**
2s	**pìrí**	**bòtí**
3s	**pìrè**	**bòté**
1p	**pìwá**	**bòtwá**
2p	**pìwú**	**bòtwú**
3p	**pìgí**	**bòtgí**

gínní does not take pronominal objects (Sec. 8.7.5). **ì** takes noun and pronominal objects that refer to non-humans,

(1) **ìyè** 'in, about, on, etc. it'
ì búk 'in, about, on, etc. the book'

but cannot take objects that refer directly to humans. When such nouns or pronouns are the logical object of **ì**, the noun **kòm** 'body' is used as the object of **ì**, with the appropriate noun or pronoun as its inalienable possessor (cf Sec. 8.7.3):

(2) **ì kòm dákô** 'in about, on, etc. the woman'
ì kòmə́ 'in about, on, etc. me'
ì kòmí 'in about, on, etc. you'

Prepositional phrases normally consist of a preposition followed by its NP object, or a preposition inflected for pronominal object. There are two sorts of complications both involving **ì**. First, prepositional phrases may consist of **ì** (rarely some other preposition) followed by a second preposition followed by the object:

(1) **lócə̀ òwòtò òkkɔ́ ì bòt dákô**
man 3s-walk-perf completely at to woman
'the man walked after the woman'

(2) **dákô òbèò ì tê yàt**
woman 3s-move-perf at under branch
'the woman walked under the branch'

(3) **lócə̀ òwòtò tú bòt dákô**
man 3s-walk-perf toward to woman
'the man walked toward the woman'

Combinations of prepositions plus preposition must be individually listed in the lexicon because all combinations are not possible and the meaning resulting from such combinations is not always predictable, e.g. **ì bòt** 'after, from'.

Second, **ì** combines with body part nouns and locational nouns to form locative expressions:

(1) **ì wì bákcì**
on head box
'on top of the box'

(2) **ì dóg kúlú**
on mouth river
'on the edge of the river'

(3) **ì kór ɔ̀t**
on chest house
'against the house'

(4) **ì yì ɔ̀t**
at stomach house
'into, out of the house'

(5) **ì kĭn pèm àryô**
in space+between bridge two
'between two bridges'

Notice than an inalienable associative relationship is established between the nouns. Constructions consisting of **ì**, a preposition, and a body part noun are also possible:

(6) **ɨ kà wàŋ dákô**
in instead+of eye woman
'instead of the woman'

8.9 Interrogative constructions

Yes/no questions are distinguished from their corresponding declaratives by intonation only — there are no interrogative particles, no word order changes, etc. Interrogative sentences of all types have a rising intonation contour that peaks sharply on the last two syllables.

Information questions contain interrogative words; they otherwise possess no syntactic properties that distinguish them from their corresponding declaratives. The interrogative word occurs in whatever syntactic slot is appropriate to its grammatical use. It is not possible to simply front interrogative words — simple fronting is interpreted as topicalization and interrogative words cannot be topics (Sec. 8.5.2). Initial position may be (optionally) achieved via clefting (Sec. 9.8). Compare the declarative and interrogative sentences below:

(1) a. **òkélò ònènò òpíô**
O. 3s-see-perf O.
'Okelo saw Opio'

b. **ŋà ònènò òpíô?**
who 3s-see-perf O.
'who saw Opio?'

c. **ŋà àmê ònénò òpíô?**
who rel+part 3s-see-perf O.
'who saw Opio?'

d. **ŋà én àmê ònénò òpíô?**
who it rel+part 3s-see-perf O.
'who saw Opio?'

Note: sentence (b), where the subject is questioned directly, is a somewhat unusual sentence in Lango and may simply be a product of English influence.[111] In my notes, such constructions only occur as translations of English sentences. In context, (c), which consists of the interrogative pronoun followed by a relative clause, is the usual mode of questioning subjects, but (d), a cleft construction, is also possible. The reason for the (apparent) unacceptability of (b) as a fully native construction is that in (b) the interrogative pronoun **ŋà** is found in clause-initial position and therefore should receive a definite, topical interpretation, which it cannot. (c) as a relative clause and (d) as a focus (i.e. contrastive) cleft construction do not violate the aforementioned

topic-first principle. In questioning the direct object, as we see in (e), the interrogative pronoun is not frontal.

e. **òkélò ònènò ŋà?**
O. 3s-see-perf who
'who did Okelo see?'

(2) a. **lócə̀ òmɪ̀ò pàlà bòt rwòt**
man 3s-give-perf knife to king
'the man gave the knife to the king'

b. **lócə̀ òmɪ̀ò pàlà bòt ŋà?**
man 3s-give-perf knife to who
'who did the man give the knife to?'

(3) a. **àbwòr tíê kân**
lion 3s-be+present-hab here
'the lion is here'

b. **àbwòr tíê kàkwènè?**
lion 3s-be+present-hab where
'where is the lion?'

(4) a. **dòkk à pòl**
cows att+part many
'many cows'

b. **dòkk à dî?**
cows att+part how+many
'how many cows?'

(5) a. **ànénò dyàŋŋɪ̀**
1s-see-perf cow-this
'I saw this cow'

b. **ànénò dyàŋŋénê?**
1s-see-perf cow-which
'which cow did I see?'

méné 'which' shares with its English counterpart the capacity to be both a pronoun and a noun modifier: in the latter capacity, it does not occur with the attributive particle **à**:

(1) **méné à ìkwáŋò?**
which att+part 2s-get-perf
'which one did you get?'

(2) **àtîn méné à ìnénò?**
child which att+part 2s-see-perf
'which child did you see?'

As a noun modifier, it may function either as an independent word or as an enclitic. In the latter case, the initial /m/ is subject to cluster simplification (Sec. 1.2.3):

(3) **kùl méné?**
warthog which
'which warthog?'

(4) **kùlléné?**
warthog-which
'which warthog?'

Notice that when it functions as a clitic, **méné** is not subject to vowel harmony.

The interrogative word **ŋɔ̀** 'what' shares the same ambiguity as its English counterpart, referring both to things describable by nouns and verbs:

(1) **òkélò òcàmò ŋɔ̀?**
O. 3s-eat-perf what
'what did Okelo eat?'

(2) **òkélò òtɪ̀mò ŋɔ̀?**
O. 3s-do-perf what
'what did Okelo do?'

Information questions frequently begin with **kàrà** 'then, so', which is not itself an interrogative word:

(1) **kàrà ìtíê íkwànnò ŋɔ̀?**
so 2s-be+present-hab 2s-read-prog what
'so what are you studying?'

8.10 Reduplicative constructions and gerunds

Both verbs and adjectives can occur in reduplicative constructions. There are two sorts of reduplication. The first is restricted to adjectives. The syllable initial consonant and the following vowel (together with its tone) are reduplicated (see Sec. 6):

plain		*reduplicated*	
ràc	'bad'	**ràràc**	'sort of bad'
bèr	'good'	**bèbèr**	'sort of good'
cèk	'short'	**cècèk**	'sort of short'
côl	'black'	**cócôl**	'blackish'
bùlú	'blue'	**bùbùlú**	'bluish'

These forms can have attributive or predicate function:

(1) **twòllɨ̀ ràràc**
snake-this 3s-bad-hab
'this snake is sort of bad'

(2) **twòll à ràràc**
snake att+part bad
'the sort of bad snake'

This reduplication has a diminutive sense.

The second sort of 'reduplication' in fact involves a special sort of repetition of the verb. For the repetition, the verb root is given a high tone and preceded by **à-** and followed by **-â**. (See also Sec. 5.3.5.) The resulting forms are frequently referred to by Niloticists as gerunds:[112]

gerund	*infinitive*		
àcámâ	**càmmò**	'to eat'	Tr
àcɛ́mâ	**cɛ̀m**	'to eat'	AN
àwótâ	**wòt**	'to walk, go'	
ànékâ	**nèkkò**	'to kill'	
àbédâ	**bèdò**	'to sit, stay'	
àbɛ́râ	**bɛ̀r**	'to be good'	

The meaning of the gerund in this construction is one of mild emphasis, and is often used in opposition to a contrary opinion:

(1) **àbínô àbínə̂ àwó'ró**
1s-come-perf come-ger yesterday
'I did come yesterday'

It can also have the additional sense that the activity so described is simply or merely carried out:

(2) **ŋákô òmyɛ̀lò àmyɛ́lâ**
girl 3s-dance-perf dance-ger
'the girl just danced'

The gerund usually appears after the verb or adjective and its complements, but before adverbials and sentence particles — it never precedes the predicate:

(1) **lócə̀ òdɔ̀k àdɔ́kâ**
man 3s-go+back-perf go+back-ger
'the man went back'

(2) **lócə̀ ònèkò gwôk ànékə̂ òkkɔ́**
man 3s-kill-perf dog kill-ger completely
'the man killed the dog'

(3) **rwòt òlìmá àlímâ**
king 3s-visit-perf-1so visit-ger
'the king visited me'

(4) **kŏbbá àkóbə̂ bà**
2s-speak-ben-imper-1so speak-ger please
'please speak to me'

(5) **àwótò kàmpálà àwótə̂**
1s-go-perf K. go-ger
'I went to Kampala'

The gerund may also reduplicate infinitives:

(6) **bèdò àbédə̂ ràc**
sit-infin sit-ger 3s-bad-hab
'idleness is bad'

Compare the following set:

(1) **cèmmì ràc**
food-this 3s-bad-hab
'this food is bad'

(2) **cèmmì ràràc**
food-this 3s-bad-hab
'this food is sort of bad'

(3) **cèmmì ràc àrácâ**
food-this 3s-bad-hab bad-ger
'this food is really bad'

Gerunds have some other important functions which will be discussed in Sec. 9.9.4.

In addition to adjective reduplication and the gerund, there is a form of reduplication restricted to nouns. This form of reduplication is not productive. When a reduplicated form exists, there is usually no non-reduplicated form. Phonologically, the entire noun usually reduplicates:

(1) **mɔ̀tɔ̀-mɔ̀tɔ̀ tíê ì tyènê**
elephantiasis 3s-be+present-hab in leg-3sa
'he has elephantiasis'

8.11 Expression of adverbial notions

8.11.1 Instrument

Instruments are expressed as the object of the preposition **ì** and less commonly as objects of **kèdè** 'with' or **kè** 'with':

(1) **lócə̀ ònèkò twòl** { **ì** / **kèdè** / **kè** } **pàlà**
man 3s-kill-perf snake with knife
'the man killed the snake with the knife'

Some consultants reject **kèdè** and **kè** in this construction, but all accept **ì**:

(2) **àtîn òcèlò dyàŋ ì gwèŋ**
child 3s-hit-perf cow with stone
'the child hit the cow with a stone'

(3) **dákónì cémô ì málágâ**
woman-this 3s-eat-hab with fork
'the woman eats with a fork'

(4) **lócə̀ òwòtò ì mɔ̀tɔ̀kà**
man 3s-go-perf in car
'the man went by car'

8.11.2 Location and direction

With the exception of expressions formed with **tê** 'under', locational expressions formed with prepositional phrases all involve the preposition **ì**. These expressions with **ì** may be simple prepositional phrases when they mean 'in' or 'at',

(1) **án dáŋ àtíê ì cùkúl**
I also 1s-be+present-hab in school
'I'm also at school'

(2) **wán òcémò ì ɔ̀t cèm**
we 1p-eat-perf in house food
'we ate in a restaurant'

or complex phrases with body part or locational nouns (Sec. 8.8) when they specify a more specific locative relationship:

(1) **bèdò ì wì kóm bèr**
sit-infin in head chair 3s-good-hab
'it's good to sit in a chair'

(2) **rwòt òcùŋ ì ŋè ɔ̀t**
king 3s-stand-perf in back house
'the king stood behind the house'

(3) **dákô òbèdò ì làŋét màc**
woman 3s-sit-perf in side fire
'the woman sat beside the fire'

Deictic pro-forms and adverbials may also be used to indicate location:

(1) **tíê kân**
3s-be+present-hab here
'he's here'

(2) **kwàc tíê àbèdò píŋ**
L. 3s-be+present-hab 3s-sit-prog ground
'Leopard is sitting on the ground'

(3) **àdôk cên**
1s-go+back-perf back
'I went back'

(4) **én èn**
it here
'here it is'

Where the sense of the verb supplies the direction, or where the direction is supplied from previous discourse or known to the discussants, simple prepositional phrases with **ɪ̀** are used:

(1) **àpwô òdwògò ɪ̀ búŋ**
H. 3s-come+back-perf from forest
'Hare came back from the forest'

(2) **yɪ̀tò àbínô ɪ̀yɛ̀**
smoke 3s-come-prog from-3s
'smoke is coming from it'

(3) **gín òwótò ɪ̀ dóg nàm**
they 3p-walk-perf to mouth river+bank
'they walked to the edge of the river-bank'

(4) **ɪ̀cô òrɪ̀ŋò ɪ̀ òt**
man 3s-run-perf to house
'the man ran to the house'

(5) **dákô òbínô ɪ̀ pàcó**
woman 3s-come-perf { to / from } village
'the woman came { to / from } village'

(6) **dákô òbèò ɪ̀ òt**
woman 3s-move-perf through house
'the woman moved through the house'

If the object of **ɪ̀** is a familiar place name or **pàcò** 'home, village', **ɪ̀** may be omitted:

(1) **lócə̀ òwòtò pàcó**
man 3s-go-perf home
'the man went home'

(2) **lócə̀ òwòtò lírə̂**
man 3s-go-perf L.
'the man went to Lira'

(3) **lócə̀ òwòtò gùlú**
man 3s-go-perf G.
'the man went to Gulu'

But if the place so named is unfamiliar, **ɪ̀** must be used:

(4) **lócə̀ òwòtò ɪ̀ tucson**
man 3s-go-perf to T.
'the man went to Tucson'

When a more specific direction needs to be specified for clarity, **tú** 'toward' or combinations of prepositions are possible:

(1) **dákô òbèò tú ɔ̀t**
woman 3s-move-perf toward house
'the woman moved toward the house'

(2) **lócə̀ òwòtò tú bòt rwòt**
man 3s-walk-perf toward to king
'the man walked toward the king'

(3) **lócə̀ òwòtò òkkó ɪ̀ bòt rwòt**
man 3s-walk-perf completely at to king
'the man walked after the king'

(4) **én ònwóŋò cêm ɪ̀ bòtí**
he 3s-find-perf food at to-2s
'he received food from you'

(5) **àbwòr òbèò ɪ̀ tê̂ yàt**
lion 3s-move-perf at under branch
'the lion walked under the branch'

Deictic pro-forms and adverbials are also possible:

(1) **bín kân**
2s-come-imper here
'come here!'

(2) **àtîn òyùcù òdìlò píŋ**
child 3s-throw-perf ball ground
'the child threw the ball down'

(3) **dákô òdɔ̀ŋɔ̀ ɔ̀kɔ́**
woman 3s-go+out-perf out
'the woman went out'

Two directional phrases can occur together:

(4) **àdɔ́k pàcó ì yùgándà**
1s-go+back-perf home to U.
'I went back home to Uganda'

Ventive verbs (Sec. 8.2.3) code direction toward the speaker:

(1) **rwòt òcwèllô lyèc**
king 3s-send-ven-perf elephant
'the king sent the elephant in my direction'

8.11.3 Accompaniment

Accompaniment is indicated by prepositional phrases with **ì**, or when greater clarity is desirable (since the meaning of **ì** is only that some relation exists between its object and the predicate), with **kèdè**, **kè**, or **gínní** 'with':

(1) **lócè òbínò** { **ì** / **kèdè** } **dákô**
man 3s-come-perf with woman
'the man came with the woman'

(2) **rwòt òcwàlò dákô ì wárágà**
king 3s-send-perf woman with letter
'the king sent the woman with the letter'

(3) **àpwô òbínô rwàttê gínní kwàc**
H. 3s-come-perf meet-mid-infin with L.
'Hare came to meet with Leopard'

Accompaniment and NP conjunction are indicated by the same prepositions. But the essential difference between them in sentences like the following,

(1) **àtîn kèdè gwók òdɔ̀k**
child with dog 3s-go+back-perf
'the child and the dog went back'

(2) **àtîn òdɔ̀k kèdè gwôk**
child 3s-go+back-perf with dog
'the child went back with the dog'

is the thematic status of the object of **kèdè**. If **gwôk** 'dog' is a joint topic with **àtîn** 'child', then (1) would be used; otherwise (2) is used. (2) could also receive the gloss 'the child went back with *a* dog', but the gloss 'the

child and *a* dog went back' is not available for (1). That meaning would have to be rendered by (2), or by (3):

(3) **àtîn kèdè gwók'kɔ́rɔ́ ɔ̀dɔ̀k**
child with dog-indef 3s-go+back-perf
'the child and a dog went back'

Nouns in preverbal position are interpreted as definite unless made indefinite with the indefinite suffix.

8.11.4 Manner and degree

There are two common ways to form manner expressions. The first involves adjectives (always in their singular forms) and the atrributive particle **à**. They may be reduplicated (as in (1) and (2)) and always follow the verb they modify:

(1) **kòm àtîn tíê àdɔ̀k à bèbèr**
body child 3s-be+present-hab 3s-go+back-prog att+part good
'the child is becoming well'

(2) **lócə̀ ɔ̀tìyɔ̀ à cècèk**
man 3s-work-perf att+part short
'the man worked briefly'

(3) **àjwâté à têk**
1s-hit-perf-3s att+part hard
'I hit him hard'

There is no difference, then, in the form of adjectives used adverbially and their form as modifiers of nouns. The attributive particle is used for both; they both follow the forms they modify.

The second method involves 'descriptive adverbs'. Descriptive adverbs are always preceded by the particle **nî**. Unlike the adjectives described above, which can be used attributively, predicatively, and adverbially, descriptive adverbs never have another grammatical function. Further, they appear to be lexically isolated in the sense that they are not derivatively related to nouns, verbs or adjectives. There are a large number of descriptive adverbs, and they are frequently encountered:

(1) **ɔ̀bèdɔ̀ nî lwájé**
3s-sit-perf part clumsily
'she sat clumsily'

(2) **ɲámô cèm nî mwə́k-mwə́k**
3s-chew-hab food part noisily
'he chews food noisily'

(3) **kòmè myél nî bèŋ-bèŋ**
body-3sa 3s-shake-hab part with-embarrassment
'he shakes with embarrassment'

(4) **òpòtò ɨ̀ pì nî cəbúl**
3s-drop-perf in water part with+a+plop
'he dropped it in the water with a plop'

(5) **òdɨ̀lò bòŋó nî gíŋ**
3s-pack-perf clothes part full
'she packed the clothes to the rim'

Some descriptive adverbs appear to be onomatopoeic (e.g. **mwə́k-mwə́k** 'noisily'). The vowel **ə**, otherwise rather rare in Lango, frequently occurs in these words. Notice that their manner of reduplication is different from the C_1V- reduplication of adjectives, resembling instead reduplicated nouns, the forms given as reduplicated always appear in that form.

Descriptive adverbs often occur with **bèdò** 'to sit, stay' as their main verb, in which case they may translate English predicate adjectives:

(1) **òbèdò nî gòŋ**
3s-sit-perf part thin
'he was thin, emaciated'

(2) **àdwôŋ òbèdò nî gòŋ**
old-person 3s-sit-perf part stiff
'the old one was stiff, dried up'

They cannot, however, function as predicate adjectives without **bèdò**, unlike true adjectives.

Prepositional phrases can also be used to express manner in simplex sentences, but they are of much less frequency in this role than the two constructions discussed above. An example:

(1) **yín ìtímò kèdè kúmú**
you 2s-do-perf with grief
'you did it with a grieving manner'

The manner proforms are **àmánnò** and **àmánnì**, which consist of the attributive particle **à**, the demonstrative proform **mân** 'this', and the demonstrative suffixes **-nò** 'that' and **-nì** 'this':

(1) **jò dúcú témô àmánnò**
people all 3s-try-hab like+that
'all people try like that'

The primary degree adverb is **túwál**. It can modify verbs or other adverbs:

(1) **àmárô èntébbé tùtwàl**
1s-like-hab E. very+much
'I like Entebbe very much'

(2) **àtíê ánwòŋŋò têk tùtwàl**
1s-be+present-hab 1s-find-prog hard very
'I'm finding it very hard'

(3) **án kèc ànèkká tùtwàl**
I hunger 3s-kill-perf-1s very
'I'm really hungry'

Another common degree expression is **pé twéérê**, the negative particle and the third singular middle habitual of **twèèrò** 'to be able'. It translates the English 'very much, really' and is used only to modify actions:

(1) **àtîn àkòk à pé twéérê**
child 3s-cry-prog att+part neg 3s-be+able-mid-hab
'the child is really crying'

Gerunds can also translate English degree expressions:

(1) **yò bòr**
way 3s-long-hab
'the way is long'

(2) **yò bòr àbórâ**
way 3s-long-hab long-ger
'the way is really long'

Similarly, reduplicated adjectives have the sense of a degree expression:

(3) **yò bòbòr**
way 3s-long-hab
'the way is pretty long'

Other degree expressions are formed by complex constructions with verbs such as **rèm** 'to be insufficient' (Sec. 9.9.3).

8.11.5 Probability

Probability judgements are frequently made via matrix verbs in complex sentences. However, a number of adverbials are used for this purpose too:

(1) **ìcó òkwàlò gwènò àténî**
man 3s-steal-perf chicken certainly
'certainly, the man stole the chicken'

(2) **bínô tùm gíté**
3s-come-hab be+finished-infin for+sure
'it'll be finished for sure'

(3) **kóm màláríə̀ ònùrù lócə̀**
certainly malaria 3s-make+drowsy-perf man
'certainly, malaria made the man drowsy'

(4) **dákô òɲò òtɔ̀ŋɔ̀ níêŋ**
woman 3s-be+possible-perf 3s-chop-perf sugarcane
'maybe the woman chopped sugarcane'

These adverbs come first or last in their clause, except for **òɲò** 'or, maybe, it is possible', which normally comes immediately before the verb, but may come sentence-initially. Its syntax is very like that of **ònwòŋò** (Sec. 8.2.4), and like **ònwòŋò** it is morphologically a third person singular perfective verb, remaining third person singular regardless of the person or number of the subject. **òɲò** in this sense is often accompanied by **kónó** 'if' (Sec. 9.7):

(1) **kónó òɲò àwòt**
if 3s-be+possible-perf 3s-go-perf
'maybe he's walking'

8.11.6 Commitment or completeness

One adverb of frequent occurence is **òkkɔ́**, whose function is to indicate that the action or state described is irrevocable and complete, or that the subject has committed himself to it completely:

(1) **àbínô yàà òkkɔ́**
1s-come-hab go-infin completely
'I will go away'

(2) **dákô òcàmò òkkɔ́**
woman 3s-eat-perf completely
'the woman ate it up'

(3) **àtîn òwòtò òkkɔ́ ì bòt rwòt**
child 3s-walk-perf completely at to king
'the child walked after the king'

òkkɔ́ invariably occurs with a verb in the perfective aspect (or at least one interpreted as perfective as with verbs in the **tê** construction, Sec. 9.6, 10.2). It usually comes last in the sentence, but may precede other adverbials. **òkkɔ́** almost always accompanies certain verbs, e.g. **nèkkò** 'to kill' and **tɔ̀ɔ̀** 'to die', whose actions or states are intrinsically irrevocable and complete:

(1) **àdwôŋ òtɔ̀ɔ̀ òkkɔ́**
old+person 3s-die-perf completely
'the old one died'

(2) **àwòbè ònèkò twòl òkkɔ́**
boy 3s-kill-perf snake completely
'the boy killed the snake'

8.11.7 Time

Time adverbials may be simple adverbs or prepositional phrases. These time adverbials always occur at the beginning or end of the sentence:

(1) **án àbínô yèkkò kál díkî**
I 1s-come-hab sieve-infin millet tomorrow
'I'll sieve the millet tomorrow'

(2) **ɨ́ díkkómérê gín òyàà**
in morning-theme they 3p-go-perf
'in the morning they went'

(3) **ònwòŋò ìŋéô còn**
3s-find-perf 2s-know-hab long-ago
'you knew it long ago'

(4) **òkʉ́ŋò bùr nàkà-nàkà**
3p-dig-perf hole for+a+while
'they dug a hole for a while'

(5) **jɔ̀ ògìk gùlú àwó'ró**
people 3s-stop-perf G. yesterday
'the people stopped at Gulu yesterday'

Other time expressions may have a more complex syntax. The particle **rʉ́** 'ever, yet' is basically a second position particle (Sec. 8.12), which is to say it follows the first stressed word:

(1) **ìcámò rʉ́ rìŋó?**
2s-eat-perf ever meat
'have you ever eaten meat?'

(2) **rwòt rʉ́ òwòtò kàmpálà?**
king ever 3s-go-perf K.
'has the king ever gone to Kampala?'

However, **rʉ́** follows all other sentence particles and may occur initially if the sentence otherwise consists of a single word:

(3) **pʉ́d pé rʉ́ òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
still neg yet 3s-die-perf
'it is not yet dead'

(4) **rʉ́ ìnénò?**
ever 2s-see-perf
'have you ever seen it?'

pwód (~ **pʉ́d**) 'still, not yet' may modify predicates and attributive adjectives. As a modifier of predicates, it precedes all other sentence particles (sentence (3) above). As a modifier of attributive adjectives, it immediately follows the attributive particle **à**:

(1) **bòŋó à pwód lèŋ**
cloth att+part still clean
'a still clean cloth'

Because the aspect system is essentially neutral with regard to time reference, time auxilliaries or time adverbials may be necessary to establish temporal reference (Sec. 8.2.4).

8.12 Sentence particles

In this section I will discuss a miscellaneous collection of particles. I will be concerned primarily with their syntactic properties. These particles can be divided into four classes: preverbal particles, second position particles, sentence final particles, and variable position particles.

Preverbal particles include **pwód** 'still' and the negative particles **pé** and **móm**. These particles precede the verb and may precede the subject as well, though if more than one is present, only one may precede the subject. These particles may also be inflected for subject agreement (Sec. 8.2.6).

There are a number of particles that are almost invariably found after the first stressed word of a simple sentence. These are the second position particles and include **rʉ́** 'yet' (Sec. 8.11.7) and **kóŋ** 'first of all':

(1) **myérô kóŋ ìtêm**
3s-be+necessary first-of-all 2s-try-subj
'it's necessary for you to try'

(2) **ìkwáɲô kóŋ kál**
2s-pick+up-hab first-of-all millet
'first you get millet'

(3) **òkélò kóŋ òkwàɲò kwèrí**
O. first-of-all 3s-pick+up hoe
'Okelo first of all picked up a hoe'

Sentence final particles include **dó** 'friendly assurance' and **bà** 'please; used in exclamations'. These particles almost always appear in sentence final position:

(1) **kŏbbá bà**
2s-speak-ben-imper-1s please
'speak to me, please'

(2) **gwóggî dòŋò kònó bà**
dogs 3s-big-hab how excl
'how big the dogs are!'

(3) **yín dók ìtíê íkòkò dó?**
you again 2s-be+present-hab 2s-cry-prog assurance
'you're crying again?'

Variable position particles include the particle **dáŋ** 'also' which follows the syntactic unit put in focus:

(1) **òkélò dáŋ òcèm**
O. also 3s-eat-perf
'also *Okelo* ate'

(2) **òkélò òcèm dáŋ**
O. 3s-eat-perf also
'Okelo *ate* also'

The meaning is the determining factor in the syntax of these particles. Preverbal and sentence second particles relate the sentence to other sentences in discourse. Sentence final particles have a meaning which is purely sentence internal, and so do not serve to relate the sentence to other sentences. They refer to the manner in which the content of the sentence is to be interpreted by the hearer. Variable position particles focus or contrast individual words.

There are some words that do not fit neatly into this classification. The ubiquitous particle **dòŋ**, translated variously as 'then', 'quite', 'already', 'anyway', etc. may occur either first in the sentence or following the first accented word, as in the following example where it is both sentence initial and follows the first accented word, **gìn** 'they' in the subordinate clause:

(1) **dòŋ ì káré gín dòŋ òwótò búŋ**
then in time rel-part they then 3p-go-perf forest
'by the time they went to the forest'

8.13 Weather expressions

Weather expressions are not impersonal in Lango. Rather, the subject is either the name of the kind of precipitation, e.g. **kòt** 'rain', **pè** 'hail, snow', or **ìkúná** 'mist', or, in cases where the ambience is the reference, the noun **píŋ** 'ground, world, weather'. For precipitation, the verb is

cwèè 'to precipitate, swarm'; for sentences about the ambience, **tíê** 'to be present':

(1) **ìkúná àcwèè**
mist 3s-precipitate-prog
'there's a mist'

(2) **kɔ̀t ɔ̀cwèè**
rain 3s-precipitate-perf
'it rained'

(3) **pɛ̀ ɔ̀cwèè**
hail 3s-precipitate-perf
'it hailed'

(4) **píɲ tíê à ràc**
weather 3s-be+present-hab att+part bad
'the weather's bad; it's a nasty day'

(5) **píɲ tíê àdɔ̀k à ràc**
weather 3s-be+present-hab 3s-become-prog att-part bad
'the weather's getting bad; it's getting nasty'

kɔ̀t 'rain' can also be used as the generic name for precipitation, allowing constructions like the following:

(6) **kɔ̀t ɔ̀cwèè ì pɛ̀**
rain 3s-precipitate-perf in hail
'it hailed'

8.14 The pro-predicate

The predicate pro-form is **tìmmɔ̀** 'to do, make'. This verb is used both where the nature of the activity is unknown, as in interrogative sentences where the activity is questioned,

(1) **ìtímɔ̀ ŋɔ̀?**
2s-do-perf what
'what did you do?'

and in situations where the activity is known:

(2) **ìtímɔ̀ pìŋɔ̀?**
2s-do-perf why
'why did you do it?'

(3) **àtímɔ̀ mɛ̂ àkká**
1s-do-perf for reason
'I did it on purpose'

tìmmò can refer only to active predicates. Despite the fact that **tìmmò** is transitive, it can refer to both activity naming and secondary orientation verbs.

There is no pro-predicate for stative predicates.

8.15 Body-part imagery

While in English one is likely to attribute an emotion or personal characteristic to the whole person,

(1) He is dispirited

(2) She is agile

in Lango one attributes emotions and personal characteristics to specific parts of the body which are taken to be the seat of that particular emotion or characteristic. For example,

(1') **cwíɲé cwêr**
liver-3sa 3s-drip-hab
'he's dispirited' (lit: 'his liver drips')

(2') **wìè yòt**
head-3sa 3s-light-hab
'she's agile' (lit: 'her head is light')

Below is a list of relevant body parts and some sample expressions. This is a rich and expressive part of Lango idiom and what follows is only a brief sample:

I. **cwíɲ** 'liver': seat of emotions

cwíɲé têk
liver-3sa 3s-strong-hab
'he is courageous'

cwíɲé kêc
liver-3sa 3s-bitter-hab
'he is callous, hard'

cwíɲé tàr
liver-3sa 3s-white-hab
'he's honest'

cwíɲé yòm
liver-3sa 3s-soft-hab
'he's happy'

òlèmò cwíŋé
3s-sicken-perf liver-3sa
'it sickened him'

II. **yìc** 'belly': seat of emotions
All the examples for **cwíŋ** 'liver' would work also for **yìc** 'belly', e.g.:

yìè yòm
belly-3sa 3s-soft-hab
'he's happy'

III. **wàŋ** 'eye': intellectual state, perception of frame of mind

wàŋè tàr
eye-3sa 3s-white-hab
'he is lewd'

wàŋè têk
eye-3sa 3s-strong-hab
'he is quick, alert'

IV. **kòm** 'body': physical condition, fate

kòmè yòt
body-3sa 3s-light-hab
'he's well'

kòmè kêc
body-3sa 3s-bitter-hab
'he's unlucky'

V. **wìc** 'head': character

wìè têk
head-3sa 3s-strong-hab
'he's bold, brazen'

wìè pêk
head-3sa 3s-heavy-hab
'he's clumsy'

VI. **dɔ́g** 'mouth': will, desire; language skill

dɔ́gɛ́ pêk
mouth-3sa 3s-heavy-hab
'he's a poor speaker'

dɔ́gɛ́ têk
mouth-3sa 3s-strong-hab
'he's strong-willed, stubborn'

9. The syntax of complex sentences

9.1 Introduction

Lango makes regular use of four distinct structures in complex sentences: 1) hypotaxis, which is used in sentential complementation (hereafter simply 'complementation'), relativization, focus constructions, and various adverbial constructions; 2) coordination, relatively little used in Lango; 3) parataxis (a special sort of juxtaposition), of widespread occurence in various syntactic contexts; and 4) serialization, used only in a few contexts. In addition, there are two types of reduced clauses, represented by infinitives and gerunds.[113]

In this section we will examine the syntax of each of these in turn, giving special attention to parataxis and serialization because of their relative unfamiliarity.

9.1.1 Hypotaxis (subordination)

Hypotaxis is the syntactic state of affairs where one clause is subordinate to another. There are various types of hypotactic constructions in Lango. In hypotaxis, one clause is referred to as the main or matrix clause, the other as the subordinate clause. A subordinator specifies the syntactic (and semantic) relation between the clauses. The two clauses are bound together into a syntactic unit so that the entire construction constitutes a single assertion.

Hypotaxis is prominent in complementation (Sec. 9.3). Two types of hypotactic complements are employed, one with indicative and the other with subjunctive morphology. Both types of complements share the same subordinator **nî**, referred to as a complementizer. The complementizer is generally obligatory (Sec. 9.3.1) and comes first in the complement clause:

(1) **àŋéô nî lócə̀ dágô tìc**
1s-know-hab comp man 3s-hate-hab work
'I know that the man hates work'

(2) **ámɪ̀ttò nî dákô òwɪ̌llɪ̀ àtîn búk**
1s-want-prog comp woman 3s-buy-ben-subj child book
'I want the woman to buy the child a book'

Notice that the word order of the complement clause is the same as that of the main clauses.

The complement obligatorily follows all elements of the matrix clause.

So, if the complement is the logical subject of the matrix verb, it is obligatorily extraposed:

(1) **myérô àyêk kál**
3s-be+necessary-hab 1s-sieve-subj millet
'I must sieve millet'

(2) **bèr nî rwòt òmìò lócà dyàŋ**
3s-good-hab comp king 3s-give-perf man cow
'it's good that the king gave the man the cow'

Subject complements, even when extraposed, are unidiomatic in Langó except in the case of modals like (1). The meaning of (2) would likely be expressed by something like (3):

(3) **yìá yòm pì én rwòt òmìò lócà dyàŋ**
stomach-1sa 3s-soft-hab because+of it king 3s-give-perf man cow
'I'm glad that the king gave the man a cow'

Impersonal constructions like (1) and (2) are notably rare in Langó (see Sec. 11.1); judgements are likely to be rendered personally, as in (3).

Noun complements are possible in Langó, though of infrequent occurence:

(1) **rwòt òmìò cík nî àkwâl gwènò**
king 3s-give-perf order comp 1s-steal-subj chicken
'the king gave an order that I steal the chicken'

(2) **cík à rwòt nî àkwâl gwènò òyòmò yìá**
order att+part king comp 1s-steal-subj chicken
'the king's order that I steal the chicken pleased me'

Sentences such as (2) are highly unnatural in Langó, judging by speakers' reactions, and it is difficult to assess their grammaticality.[114] As with verb complements, noun complements are more natural when they occur last in the sentence. The meaning of (2) would likely be rendered by a paratactic construction:

(3) **rwòt òmìá nî àkwâl gwènò òyòmò yìá**
king 3s-give-perf-1s comp 1s-steal-subj chicken 3s-soften-perf stomach-1sa
the king ordered me to steal a chicken, it pleased me
'that the king ordered me to steal a chicken pleased me'

It is only in hypotactic complements that switch reference morphology is available (Sec. 9.3.2).

Relative clauses are also formed by means of subordination in Langó. The relative clause follows the antecedent, or head, which is an argument of the matrix clause. The details of the word order of relative clauses vis-à-vis other members of the noun phrase was described

in Sec. 8.7.1. Relative clauses are usually preceded by the attributive particle **à** and the particle **mê** merged together as **àmê** and referred to as the relative particle. The complementizer **nî** is not used with relative clauses. Details of the syntax of relative clauses will be found in Sec. 9.2.

Adverbials may also be formed with subordinate constructions. Their syntax will be discussed in Section 2.9.

9.1.2 Coordination

Syndetic coordination, that is coordination involving an overt conjunction such as English and, or, etc., is much less used in Lango than in English. The words that translate English coordinating conjunctions either are, or derive from, verbs. For instance, **tê** 'and then' is a verb, is always conjugated in the habitual, and takes infinitive complements. **òŋò** 'or' is the third person singular perfective of **ŋòò** 'to be possible' and is also used as a sentence adverbial meaning 'maybe, perhaps', (Sec. 8.11.5). And **éntô** 'but' consists of **én**, the third singular pronoun, and **tô**, which is related to **tê**.[115]

tê is clearly not syntactically a conjunction (Sec. 9.6), but **òŋò** and **éntô**, whatever their origins, function as true conjunctions:

(1) **òkélò òtèdò rìŋó òŋò àcámò**
O. 3s-cook-perf meat or 3s-eat-perf
'Okelo cooked the meat or he ate it'

(2) **òkélò òtèdò rìŋó éntô pé òcàmò**
O. 3s-cook-perf meat but neg 3s-eat-perf
'Okelo cooked the meat but he didn't eat it'

The syntax of the two coordinated clauses is the same as that of the main clauses.

The use of **òŋò** as a marker of disjunction is distinct from its use as a sentence adverbial. Compare (1) and (2) below:

(1) **ògwàŋ òdwòkò àpwô cên òŋò òkélò ònèkò**
O. 3s-bring+back-perf hare back or O. 3s-kill-perf
'either Ogwang brought the hare back or Okelo killed it'

(2) **ògwàŋ òdwòkò àpwô cên. òŋò òkélò ònèkò**
O. 3s-bring+back-perf hare back. maybe O. 3s-kill-perf
'Ogwang brought the hare back. Maybe Okelo killed it'

Structurally (1) represents a single conjoined sentence, and has an intonation contour differentiating it from two sentences in sequence, as in (2). In (1), there is no full stop after **cên**, **òŋò** is lengthened and the intonational contour rises through it to **òkélò** where the normal downdrift

intonation resumes. In (2), there is a full stop after **cên** and normal downdrift intonation begins with **òɲò**.

9.1.3 Parataxis

Parataxis, technically asyndetic parataxis, is very frequently encountered in Lango.[116] It involves the juxtaposition of two clauses forming a single sentence without any marker of subordination or coordination specifying the relation between the two clauses. Some examples:

complementation

(1) **dákô òdìo ìcɔ́ òpyètò kál**
woman 3s-pressed-perf man 3s-winnow-perf millet
the woman pressed the man, he winnowed millet
'the woman forced the man to winnow millet'

(2) **àtîn ònèná àjêŋéré ì kór òt**
child 3s-see-perf-1s-1s-lean-mid-perf on side house
the child saw me, I leaned against the house
'the child saw me lean against the house'

(3) **lócà òpòyò òcègò dógólâ**
man 3s-remember-perf 3s-close-perf door
the man remembered it, he closed the door
'the man remembered to close the door'

(4) **ɲákô òcàkò òdèpò lèmʊ́n**
girl 3s-begin-perf 3s-gather-perf orange
the girl began it, she gathered oranges
'the girl began to gather oranges'

(5) **òcàká ònwòŋá àtêk**
O. 3s-find-perf-1s 1s-strong-hab
Ochaka found me, I am strong
'Ochaka found me strong'

directional

(6) **lócà òyìtò gòt òlʊ̀bò dákô**
man 3s-climb-perf mountain 3s-follow-perf woman
the man climbed the mountain, he followed the woman
'the man climbed the mountain toward the woman'

effective cause

(7) **àtêk àcámô rìŋó**
1s-strong-hab 1s-eat-hab meat
I am strong, I eat meat
'I'm strong because I eat meat'

consequential

(8) **àtíyô tìc àtíê ɨ cènnè**
1s-work-hab 1s-be+present-hab with money
I work, I have money
'I work so I have money'

(9) **tìccɨ têk óôlá**
work-this 3s-hard-hab 3s-tire-hab-1s
this work is hard, it tires me
'this hard work tires me'

circumstantial

(10) **àdôk cên ànwôŋé pàcó**
1s-go+back-perf back 1s-find-perf-3s home
I went back, I found him back
'when I went back, I found him home'

simultaneous events

(11) **dákô ònòŋò myɛ́lô wérô myɛ́lô wérô**
woman 3s-find-perf 3s-dance-hab 3s-sing-hab
3s-dance-hab 3s-sing-hab
the woman danced, she sang, she danced, she sang
'the woman danced and sang'

evaluative

(12) **ɛ́n òmîá dèk òrèmá**
she 3s-give-perf-1s stew 3s-be+insufficient-perf
she gave me stew, it wasn't sufficient for me
'she didn't give me enough stew'

In the following sections, I will discuss the morphological, syntactic, and semantic characteristics of parataxis in Lango. I will try to relate the distribution of paratactic constructions to the general meaning of parataxis in the language.[117]

9.1.3.1 General characteristics of paratactic constructions

In this section, I will discuss some general characteristics of paratactic constructions. In particular, I will show that paratactic constructions are single sentences consisting of two (or more) syntactically independent though parallel clauses forming a single phonological unit. The second clause cannot have an overt nominal subject and no marker of subordination or coordination links the two clauses.

The phonological status of paratactic constructions as single sentences is shown first of all by the fact that paratactic constructions form intonational units like simple sentences and not like compound sentences. In the

case of true conjoined sentences, for instance those conjoined with **éntô** 'but, as for', there is a pause before the conjunction and each conjunct exhibits a left-to-right falling intonation contour (cf Sec. 9.1.2). Paratactic constructions, like simple sentences, exhibit a single left-to-right falling intonation contour with no characteristic pause at the clause boundary. In this way, paratactic constructions differ from other sorts of juxtaposed clauses in Lango and other languages, where the intonation pattern reveals a division into two clauses. The English juxtapsed construction,

(1) it's not cheap, it's expensive

exhibits this pattern while

(2) go tell your brother to come in

is the English counterpart of the Lango paratactic construction. Downdrift, as well as downstep, phenomena in Lango operate in the normal way across clause boundaries in paratactic constructions. For example, the word **dákô** 'woman' conditions downstep on any high tone following it, as in:

(1) **dákô kédô àkèddí** → [dáxó 'kédó àkèd•í]
woman 3s-braid-hab grass
'the woman braids grass'

dákô also conditions downstep across clause boundaries in parataxis:

(2) **àtîn ònwòŋò díô dákô têddé dèk** →
[àtín ònwòŋò díó dáxó 'têd•é dêk]
child 3s-find-perf 3s-press-hab woman 3s-cook-ben-hab 3s-stew
the child used to press the woman, she used to cook for him
'the child used to force the woman to cook for him'

In true coordinate constructions, the conjunction begins a new intonation contour and can not register downstep. Similarly, other rules of external sandhi such as those converting /k/ to [x] and /t/ to [ɾ] (a voiceless tap) operate across clause boundaries in parataxis, so that the word final /k/ in **gwôk** 'dog' in

(3) **àwíŋò gwôk ògwèò**
1s-hear-perf dog 3s-bark-perf
I heard the dog, it barked
'I heard the dog bark'

is pronounced [x], whereas in sentence final position, even when followed by a conjunction, as in

(4) **àwíŋò gwôk, éntô pé ànénò**
1s-hear-perf dog, but neg 1s-see-perf
'I heard the dog, but I didn't see it'

it is pronounced as a velar stop.

Each clause in the paratactic construction contains a fully inflected verb so that each clause could stand by itself as an independent sentence, as indicated by the glosses provided for paratactic constructions. The verbs need not agree in aspect.[118] Each clause may be independently negated.[119] Only the first verb in the series can have an overt nominal or pronominal subject; any verbs following the first are inflected for subject agreement but have as their subject some referent that is either subject or object of the first clause in the series. In the case of sentences like

(1) **lócə̀ òdìò àtîn òkwànò búk**
man 3s-press-perf child 3s-read-perf book
the man pressed the child, he read the book
'the man forced the child to read the book'

the noun **àtîn** 'child' is notionally the direct object of the first verb **òdìò** 'pressed' and the subject of the second verb **òkwànò** 'read', but syntactically, it functions only as the object of **òdìò**. There is one simple demonstration of the syntactic status of **àtîn** in (1). When **àtîn** is pronominalized, the verb **òdìò** is inflected for third singular object, as in (2):

(2) **lócə̀ òdìé òkwànò búk**
man 3s-press-perf-3s 3s-read-perf book
the man pressed him, he read the book
'the man forced him to read the book'

Pronominalized direct objects in Lango appear as object affixes as in (2) (Sec. 8.2.5), but pronominalized subjects can either be non-overt, appearing only as inflections on the verb or can appear as a subject pronoun accompanied by the subject agreement inflection. If **àtîn** in (1) is pronominalized by either of the techniques available for subjects, the result is ungrammatical:

(3) ***lócə̀ òdìò òkwànò búk**
man 3s-press-perf 3s-read-perf book
'the man forced him to read the book'[120]

(4) ***lócə̀ òdìò én òkwánò búk**
man 3s-press-perf he 3s-read-perf book
'the man forced him to read the book'

(5) ***lócə̀ òdìé én òkwánò búk**
man 3s-press-perf-3s he 3s-read-perf book
'the man forced him to read the book'

It might be maintained, however, that (2) is simply some sort of phonological reduction of (4). There are good semantic reasons why this could not be the case given the respective functions of **én** and the paratactic construction, as

will become evident in what follows, but an additional problem with this analysis involves the tone on the second verb. When a third person singular perfective verb in Lango has an overt pronomial subject, as in

(6) **én òkwánò búk**
he 3s-read-perf book
'he read the book'

the verb assumes the relative clause tonal pattern (Sec. 8.2.5, 9.2) of low-high-low, the same as we find in the relative construction in

(7) **lócə̀ òkwánò búk**
man 3s-read-perf book
'the man who read the book'

When the verb has no overt subject or when the subject is a noun, the tonal pattern in the perfective is low-low-low, as in

(8) **òkwànò búk**
3s-read-perf book
'he read the book'

(9) **lócə̀ òkwànò búk**
man 3s-read-perf book
'the man read the book'

This tone alternation is a grammatically conditioned feature, and is not a matter of tone sandhi. If (2) did in fact arise through phonological reduction of some construction like (4), where **én** was the subject of **òkwànò**, then we would expect the second verb in (2) to have the relative tone. This relative tone can occur in subordinate clauses when the pronoun **én** is subject, as in

(10) **àtámò nî én òmátò kòŋɔ̀**[121]
1s-think-perf comp he 3s-drink-perf beer
'I thought that he drank beer'

We do not find relative tone on **òkwànò** in (2), even as an option. Note also that when the subject of the first verb in

(1) **lócə̀ òdɪ̀ò àtîn òkwànò búk**
man 3s-press-perf child 3s-read-perf book
the man pressed the child, he read the book
'the man forced the child to read the book'

is relativized, as in

(2) **lócə̀ àmê òdɪ́ò̀ àtîn òkwànò búk**
man rel+part 3s-press-perf child 3s-read-perf book
'the man that forced the child to read the book'

the relative tone appears on the first verb. But if **àtîn** 'child' is relativized

on, the relative tone does *not* appear on the second verb:

(3) **àtîɲn àmɛ̂ lócɛ̀ òdɪ̀ò òkwànò búk**
child rel+part man 3s-press-perf 3s-read-perf book
'the child that the man forced to read the book'

But the relative tone may appear in subordinate clauses:

(4) **àtîɲn àmɛ̂ lócɛ̀ òtàmò nî òkwánò búk**
child rel+part man 3s-think-perf comp 3s-read-perf book
'the child that the man thought read the book'

This, then, constitutes additional proof that **àtîɲ** in (1) is not the grammatical subject of the second verb in the series.

Another indication of the syntactic status of paratactic constructions comes from a comparison of paratactic complements with hypotactic complements. A hypotactic complement is a subordinate clause, whereas a paratactic complement is not. With hypotactic complements, both indicative and subjunctive, a verb inflected for third person must have a prefix indicating whether the subject of the subordinate clause is the same or different from the subject of the main clause. In the third person singular perfective, the prefix indicating same subject (non-switch reference) is **è-**, and the prefix indicating different subject (switch reference) is **ò-**. These forms are illustrated below:

non-switch reference

(1) **rwòt òpòyò nî ècégò dɔ́gɔ́lâ**
king 3s-remember-perf comp 3s-close-perf door
'the king$_i$ remembered that he$_i$ closed the door'

switch reference

(2) **rwòt òpòyò nî òcègò dɔ́gɔ́lâ**
'the king$_i$ remembered that he/she$_j$ closed the door'
$i \neq j$

In (1), the subject of **ècégò** must be interpreted as **rwòt** 'king', while in (2) the subject of **òcègò** must be interpreted as being someone other than the king. This is available only in subordinate clauses. Since the switch reference prefix **ò-** is the same as the orcinary main clause third person singular perfective prefix **ò-**, (3) is a possible sentence,

(3) **òcègò dɔ́gɔ́lâ**
3s-close-perf door
'he/she closed the door'

whereas (4) is not:

(4) ***ècégò dɔ́gɔ́lâ**

The non-switch reference prefix **è-** is possible only in hypotactic subordinate clauses, and is not available in adjacent sentences in discourse or

in paratactic constructions. So, the paratactic construction

(5) **rwòt òpòyò òcègò dógólâ**
king 3s-remember-perf 3s-close-perf door
the king remembered it, he closed the door
'the king remembered to close the door'

does not have a counterpart in

(6) ***rwòt òpòyò ècégò dógólâ**

even though the subjects of both verbs in (5) are taken to be coreferential, which in the case of a true hypotactic complement clause would require the non-switch reference prefix **è-**, as in (1).

We can sum up the characteristic features of paratactic constructions discussed so far as follows:

1. the two clauses form a phonological unit like simple sentences and unlike conjoined clauses
2. each clause contains a fully inflected verb
3. the verbs need not agree in aspect; auxiliaries may occur on either clause
4. each verb may be independently negated
5. only the first verb in the series has an overt subject NP
6. hypotactic switch reference morphology is not available to the second clause
7. no overt marker of coordination or subordination links the clauses
8. the subject of the second clause must be an argument of the first

9.1.3.2 Semantics of parataxis

Having considered some aspects of the syntax of parataxis, it remains now to consider its semantic aspects and to try to relate the syntax to the semantics.

The twelve sentences given in the introduction to this section are a representative sample of the sort of semantic relations that can be coded with the paratactic construction in Lango. It might seem on first inspection, given the diversity of the sample, that any sort of relation between two propositions can be coded paratactically. This is, in fact, not the case. The relationships that can be expressed by means of parataxis include only those that are compatable with a separate assertion of each of the juxtaposed clauses, where, moreover, both clauses must be taken as true, a situation that resembles that of ordinary conjunction with 'and'. The exact nature of the relationship between the two clauses in inferred from the set of relationships compatable with the meaning of the construction

on the basis of real world knowledge. In this way, more than one interpretation of a paratactic construction is often possible. For instance,

(1) **àryèk pé àmátô kòŋɔ̀**
1s-wise-hab neg 1s-drink-hab beer
'I'm wise, I don't drink beer'

can be interpreted as either

(2) I'm wise because I don't drink beer

or

(3) I'm wise therefore I don't drink beer

In cases of real ambiguity, a more exact meaning can be specified by resorting to a non-paratactic construction, so that the meaning of (2) can be rendered by

(4) **àryèk pì én pé àmátô kòŋɔ̀**
1s-wise-hab because+of it neg 1s-drink-hab beer
I'm wise because I don't drink beer

The characterization of the semantics of parataxis given above makes certain predictions about non-occurring interpretations of paratactic constructions. A few of these will be mentioned here:

(i) Because each of the clauses is asserted to be true, paratactic constructions cannot receive a conditional interpretation. Therefore the sentence

(1) **ònèné òmìyé búk**
3s-saw-perf-3s 3s-give-perf-3s book
he saw him, he gave him the book

can be interpreted as

(2) he saw him give him the book

or

(3) when he saw him, he gave him the book

but not as

(4) *if he saw him, he gave him the book

The reason, of course, is that in the conditional interpretation neither clause is asserted to be true.

(ii) Similarly, paratactic constructions cannot be interpreted disjunctively, because this interpretation would require that one of the clauses be interpreted as not true. For instance, the paratactic construction

(1) **dákô òtèdò rìŋó òmyènò kwàn**
woman 3s-cook-perf meat 3s-cook-perf millet+meal
the woman cooked meat, she cooked millet meal

can mean any of the following:

(2) the woman cooked meat and millet meal

(3) the woman cooked meat because she cooked millet meal

(4) the woman cooked meat therefore she cooked millet meal

but cannot be interpreted disjunctively:

(5) *the woman cooked meat or millet meal

(iii) A paratactic construction consists of a pair of assertions united within a single sentence, and in this way resembles clauses conjoined by 'and' in English. Such clauses are normally arranged in a linear order that accords with their order in real time, so that

(1) Zeke got sick and he died

is acceptable, but

(2) *Zeke died and he got sick

is not. Conjoined clauses may also describe simultaneous actions as in:

(3) he ate and he drank

A similar situation holds in parataxis. Where the two clauses represent events, their order will correspond to real time order or be interpreted as being roughly simultaneous. In this way,

(4) **án àdôk pàcó pé ànwóŋò gìnnórô**
I 1s-go+back-perf home neg 1s-find-perf thing-indef
I went back home, I didn't find anything
'after I went back home, I didn't find anything'

can't be interpreted as

(5) when I didn't find anything, I went back home

since that would require that the event coded by the second clause be interpreted as occurring before that of the first clause.

(iv) As complements, the second, complement-like clause of a paratactic construction may only occur where the semantic relation between the clauses is compatable with the two-assertion aspect of parataxis. The paratactic complement is a member of a system of oppositions that includes a hypotactic indicative, a subjunctive, and an infinitive (see Sec. 9.3 and Noonan and Bavin 1978a for more detailed discussion of this). The

indicative is used with complements with independent time reference, the subjunctive and infinitive with clauses with determined time reference, the infinitive being further specified for equi-subject conditions; it is not marked for subject agreement. The paratactic complement only occurs in semantic environments where both the clause containing the complement taking predicate and the complement clause itself can be interpreted as separate assertions. This contrasts with the situation in hypotaxis, which affects all the other complement-types in Lango, where there is a single assertion involving both the complement taking predicate and the complement, allowing the complement taking predicate to act as a sort of semantic filter qualifying the interpretaion of the complement.

The system of oppositions in complementation involving the paratactic construction will be illustrated briefly. First, the paratactic complement and the hypotactic indicative complement:

paratactic complement

(1) **àtîn ànénò lócà òŋàŋò pàlà**
child 3s-see-perf man 3s-blunt-perf knife
the child saw the man, he blunted the knife
'the child saw the man blunt the knife'

(2) **ŋákô òpòyò òdìnò kál**
girl 3s-remember-perf 3s-thresh-perf millet
the girl remembered it, she threshed the millet
'the girl remembered to thresh the millet'

hypotactic indicative complement

(3) **àtîn ònènò nî lócà òŋàŋò pàlà**
child 3s-see-perf comp man 3s-blunt-perf knife
'the child saw that the man blunted the knife'

(4) **ŋákô òpòyò nî èdínò kál**
girl 3s-remember-perf comp 3s-thresh-perf millet
'the girl remembered that she threshed millet'

(5) **rwòt bínô tàmmò nî lócà òdòk**
king 3s-come-hab think-infin comp man 3s-go-back-perf
'the king will think that the man went back'

(6) **àpé àyê nî òkélò òcàmò réc**
1s-neg 1s-believe-hab comp O. 3s-eat-perf fish
'I don't believe that Okelo ate the fish'

The paratactic and hypotactic indicative complements share indicative verb morphology, differentiating both from subjunctive and infinitive complements. As mentioned above, (hypotactic) indicative complements are used where the complement has independent time reference vis-à-vis the matrix clause, and where the entire sentence constitutes a single assertion. (5) provides an illustration of a case where the time reference of the

complement taking predicate and the complement differ. (3-6) also constitute single assertions; the interpretation of the complement predication as true or false follows from the meaning of the complement taking predicate, so that the complements in (3-4) are interpreted as true, while those in (5-6) are interpreted as false. That is, the logical status of the complement is provided by the matrix predicate. In parataxis, there are limitations in time reference possibilities (cf (iii) above) and both clauses must constitute assertions regardless of the meaning of the first predicate. The logical status of the second clause is not in any way qualified by the first. If **poy-** 'remember' is negated in (2), the meaning is not the negation of the English gloss, 'the girl didn't remember to thresh millet', since the only interpretation possible with this gloss is that the girl didn't thresh the millet. In parataxis each clause is a separate assertion, so negating the first clause cannot affect the truth value of the second. In fact, the negation of the first clause in (2)

(2) **°ɲákô pé òpòyò òdìnò kál**
girl neg 3s-remember-perf 3s-thresh-perf millet
the girl didn't remember is, she threshed millet

results in a semantically anomalous sentence because it makes no sense to assert that the girl didn't remember something but then did it anyway. (Note: Anomalous sentences are marked with '°'.) Notice that the negation of (4)

(4) **ɲákô pé òpòyò nî èdínò kál**
'the girl didn't remember that she threshed millet'

is not semantically anomalous.

Both subjunctive and infinitive complements have determined time reference, which is to say that the time reference of such complements follows from the meaning of the matrix predicate. For example, in

(1) **ámìttò lòkkò tìc**
1s-want-prog change-infin work
'I want to change jobs'

(2) **ámìttò nî òlɔ̌k tìc**
1s-want-prog comp 3s-change-subj work
'I want him to change jobs'

both in the infinitive complement in (1) and the subjunctive in (2), the time reference of the complement must be future relative to the matrix. The infinitive only occurs where its implied subject is the same as the matrix subject. Neither subjunctive nor infinitive is marked morphologically for tense or aspect (Sec. 8.2.4).

The subjunctive contrasts with the paratactic complement with a few predicates. For example, with **dɪ-** 'press',

(3) **rwòt òdìá nî àkʉ́ɲ bùr**
king 3s-press-perf-1s comp 1s-dig-subj hole
'the king pressed me to dig a hole'

(4) **rwòt òdìá àkʉ́ɲò bùr**
king 3s-press-perf-1s 1s-dig-perf hole
the king pressed me, I dug a hole
'the king forced me to dig a hole'

the subjunctive (3) receives a 'non-realized' interpretation (Sec. 9.3.1), hence the gloss with 'press', while the paratactic complement (4) has a 'realized' interpretation, so 'force' is used in the gloss. The realized interpretation in (4) results, of course, from the fact that the second clause is separately asserted.

In sum the difference between hypotaxis and parataxis can be diagrammed as in (1):

(1) *hypotaxis*
(complement taking predicate (complement))
ASSERTION

parataxis
(complement taking predicate) (complement)
ASSERTION ASSERTION

Those matrix-complement relations whose interpretation is not compatable with an assertion of both clauses do not occur with paratactic complements. For example, complements do desiderative predicates like **mìttò** 'want' are not coded paratactically since the second clause cannot be taken to be a realized event. The same holds for **gènnò** 'hope, trust'. Utterance predicates like **kòbbò** 'say' also do not take paratactic complements since the use of these predicates does not imply the truth of the complement, as in

(2) Roscoe said that the Earth is flat

Such complements, except when the matrix verb is present and the subject of the matrix is first person singular, are reports of assertions, not assertions themselves. Complements to commentative predicates (factives) are similarly not assertions, though they are taken to be true. Their status as discourse backgrounded material is incompatable with the function of the paratactic construction to display two connected assertions. Further, modal predicates like **twèèro** 'to be able' and **myèèrò** 'to be necessary' cannot occur as complement taking predicates with paratactic complements because, like desideratives, their complements do not represent realized events and cannot in themselves constitute assertions.

Paratactic complements do occur in the following environments, all of which are compatable with an interpretation of each clause as an assertion:

(a) as complements to immediate perception predicates.

In the sentence

(1) **ànénò lócà òmàkò gwènò**
1s-see-perf man 3s-catch-perf chicken
I saw the man, he caught the chicken
'I saw the man catch the chicken'

both the first clause

(2) **ànénò lócà**
'I saw the man'

and the second clause

(3) **òmàkò gwènò**
'he caught the chicken'

can be uttered as separate assertions without damage to the immediate perception sense of the whole since both the act of perception and the thing perceived must be real events in order for the sentence as a whole to be true. Notice also that when the first clause in (1) is negated, the result is not like the negation of its English translation:

(4) **pé ànénò lócà òmàkò gwènò**
neg 1s-see-perf man 3s-catch-perf chicken
I didn't see the man, he caught the chicken

(4) could mean something like 'I didn't see the man therefore he caught the chicken', but it can't mean 'I didn't see the man catch the chicken', at least with the more usual (or unmarked) set of presuppositions. (5), however, could provide one translation, depending again on what is interpreted to be under the scope of negation:

(5) **ànénò lócà pé òmàkò gwènò**
1s-see-perf man neg 3s-catch-perf chicken
I saw the man, he didn't catch the chicken
'I didn't see the man catch the chicken'

Notice that in (5) the first clause is not under the scope of the negative particle **pé**, so the sentence asserts that I saw the man, but denies that he caught the chicken.

(b) as complements to positive propositional attitude predicates when used assertively.

Positive propositional attitude predicates, especially with a first person singular subject and the verb in the habitual aspect, can be used both to make an assertion about the speaker's belief and to make an assertion about the content of the complement clause. In Lango, this difference is made

manifest in the use of the hypotactic indicative complement when making an assertion about speaker belief and the paratactic complement when asserting the content of the complement proposition. So the sentence

(1) **àtámô nî rwòtwá ràc**
1s-believe-hab comp king-1pa 3s-bad-hab
'I believe that our king is bad'

using the hypotactic indicative with its complementizer **nî**, involves making an assertion about belief. The corresponding paratactic construction, however, asserts that I believe something, but at the same time asserts the content of the complement proposition:

(2) **àtámô rwòtwá ràc**
1s-think-hab king-1pa 3s-bad-hab
I think of our king, he is bad
'I believe our king is bad'

The difference between the two constructions is brought to sharp relief when they are negated. The hypotactic construction (1) can be negated with no contradiction,

(3) **pé àtámô nî rwòtwá ràc**
neg 1s-thing-hab comp king-1pa 3s-bad-hab
'I don't believe that our king is bad'

since it is belief that is being asserted. In the case of the paratactic construction, where both belief and the badness of the king is being asserted, its negation

(4) ° **pé àtámô rwòtwá ràc**
neg 1s-think-hab king-1pa 3s-bad-hab
I don't think of the king, he is bad

produces an unacceptable sentence since it is anomalous to assert that you have no thoughts about the king and then assert that the king is bad. Sentences with propositional attitude predicates containing paratactic complements have a great deal in common with sentences in other languages containing parenthetical uses of these predicates (Noonan 1985).

(c) as complements to positive achievement predicates (implicatives).

Achievement predicates like **pòòyò** 'to remember' also take paratactic complements as in

(1) **lócə̀ òpòyò òlwə̀rò módó**
man 3s-remember-perf 3s-clear-perf compound
the man remembered it, he cleared the compound
'the man remembered to clear the compound'

since an interpretation of the whole is compatable with the assertion of

the two component clauses. Here again, negation of the first clause produces an anomalous sentence,

(2) ° **pé lócə̀ òpòyò òlwèrò mɔ́dɔ́**
neg man 3s-remember-perf 3s-clear-perf compound
the man didn't remember it, he cleared the compound

since it makes no sense to assert that the man forgot something and then to assert that he subsequently did it.

(d) as complements to causative predicates.

When paratactic constructions occur as complements to causative predicates, the complements are always implied to be realized events, as in

(1) **dákô òdɪ̀ò àtɪ̂n òjɔ̀bɔ̀ kál**
woman 3s-press-perf child 3s-scoop-perf millet
the woman pressed the child, she scooped up millet
'the woman forced the child to scoop up millet'

since both clauses are individually asserted. When the complement is not taken to be a realized event, another complement-type, the subjunctive, must be used:

(2) **dákô òdɪ̀ò àtɪ̂n nɪ̂ òjɔ̆b kál**
woman 3s-press-perf child comp 3s-scoop-subj millet
'the woman pressed the child to scoop up millet'

(e) as complements to phasal predicates.

Phasal predicates like **càkkò** 'to begin' take paratactic complements because they too are compatable with an interpretation where each clause is an assertion:

(1) **ɲákô òcàkò òtèdò dèk**
girl 3s-begin-perf 3s-cook-perf stew
the girl began it, she cooked the stew
'the girl began to cook the stew'

Notice, however, that the paratactic construction cannot occur as complements to **tyèkkò** 'to finish, cease' because a sentence like

(2) **ɲákô òtyèkò òkɔ̀ɲɔ̀ tòttɛ́rɛ̂**
girl 3s-finish-perf 3s-help-perf mother-3sa
the girl finished it, she helped her mother

cannot mean 'the girl finished helping her mother' since (2) asserts that the girl helped her mother and the sequence implied in (2) requires that the helping follow the finishing. (2) can only mean something like 'when

the girl finished it, she helped her mother'. Complements to **tyèkkò** are coded in the infinitive:

(3) **ŋákô òtyèkò kɔ̀ŋŋɔ̀ tòttérê**
girl 3s-finish-perf help-infin mother-3sa
'the girl finished helping her mother'

One further characteristic of paratactic constructions should be noted. Sentences that consist of paratactically linked clauses can only be embedded as relative clauses (some examples were given above) and as complements to factive predicates where they clearly constitute backgrounded, not asserted material, and where they constitute reports of assertions, as in complements to utterance predicates like **kòbbò** 'to say'. Elsewhere, they are quite unnatural when embedded and it is difficult to assess their grammaticality.[122] This issue is touched on again in Sec. 9.1.4 and 11.2.

In the course of this section, I have referred on a couple of occasions to the similarity of the paratactic construction to clauses conjoined with 'and' in English. I mentioned, for example, that in both constructions certain temporal relations between the clauses are normally observed. A further similarity lies in the sort of logical relations that may be inferred to hold between the clauses. For example, the relation of cause and consequence can be found in parataxis and in clauses conjoined with 'and', as in (1):

(1) she took arsenic and (in consequence) fell ill[123]

As Dik (1968) points out, the semantic value of 'and' as a conjoiner of clauses is only that the clauses 'should be taken as combined in some way' (p. 266). The exact nature of the relation between the clauses is left to inference, which, as I have indicated above, is the same for clauses in parataxis.

Lango has no word that functions like English 'and' (Sections 8.7.5 and 9.1.2). The 'and' relation in Lango can be served by parataxis, which like 'and' in English, functions only to indicate that clauses are to be taken as combined, without indicating anything further about their semantic relationship. Note, however, that not all clauses conjoinable with 'and' in English can be linked paratactically in Lango. For example, in parataxis the subject of the second clause must be an argument of the first. This constraint, which amounts to a 'topic-link' requirement, greatly limits the range of parataxis vis-à-vis 'and'. Conversely, parataxis in Lango is widely used in situations where English would specify the semantic relation.

It is important to stress, however, that parataxis in Lango is distinct from coordination. For instance, Ross' Coordinate Structure Constraint, which applies to true coordinate structures in Lango, does not apply to paratactic constructions (Sections 9.2 and 9.9.1).

In sum, the semantic force of parataxis in Lango is the asyndetic conjunction of two topic-linked assertions. The semantic relation between the clauses is inferred from real world knowledge, allowing for a variety of

interpretations all of which must be consistent with the two assertion aspects of the construction.

The grammatical status of parataxis will be discussed further in Sec. 11.2.

9.1.4 Serialization

Serial verb constructions occur to a limited extent in Lango.[124] They have much in common with paratactic constructions. The constructions share the following characteristics:

1. both consist of a subject NP followed by a series of verb phrases
2. each verb phrase contains a fully inflected verb
3. no overt marker of subordination or coordination links the verb phrases

Crosslinguistically, there are many similarities in the semantic ranges of the two constructions. Both, for instance, may be used in causative, consequential, and directional constructions, among other. Below are some example of Nupe serialization (George 1976, p. 63-4):

(1) **tsoda bici lo dzukó**
Tsoda ran went market
'Tsoda ran to the market'

(2) **yígídí lá egó wo**
sun took grass dry
'the sun caused the grass to dry'

(3) **tsoda gí jè áfuníǹ**
Tsoda ate food full
'Tsoda ate and he is full'

(Compare sentences (6-9) in the introduction to Sec. 9.1.3).

But the similarity ends there. The verbs in serial constructions have obligatory agreement in tense-aspect,[125] whereas paratactic constructions do not. Further, each clause may be independently negated in parataxis, whereas with serials only one negative is allowable and has the entire construction within its scope.[126] In parataxis, each verb may have a different subject, though only the first may be an overt NP. With serials, there is only one grammatical subject, whatever the semantic subject of the following verbs may be, as in the following Akan example (Schachter 1974, p. 258):

(4) **mede aburow migu nsum**
1s-take corn 1s-flow water-in
'I pour corn into the water'

Clearly **aburow** 'corn' is the semantic subject of 'flow', yet the verb takes first person concord, agreeing with the subject of the first verb.

The syntactic differences noted above correlate with a crucial semantic difference, namely that paratactic constructions contain two assertions, while serial constructions contain just one. Independent aspect marking and negation would seem a necessary consequence of a clause that constitutes a separate assertion, as would a lack of obligatory subject agreement. Note also that the 'one assertion' aspect of serialization leads to the possibility of verb compounding (Lord 1975, 1977) where two verbs in a serial construction constitute a lexical unit. The two assertion aspect of parataxis would preclude such a possibility.

Lango uses serial constructions as defined above to a limited extent. They are used, for example, to express comparative and ingressive senses:

comparative

(1) **àcwê àlô rwòt**
1s-fat-hab 1s-exceed-hab king
'I'm fatter than the king'

(2) **dákô dwôŋ lô ìcô**
woman 3s-big-hab 3s-exceed-hab man
'the woman is bigger than the man'

ingressive

(3) **òwǒt òyéŋ cèm**
1p-go-subj 1p-look+for-subj food
'let's go and look for food'

(4) **án àwótò àlʉ́bò dákô**
I 1s-go-perf 1s-follow-perf woman
'I went and followed the woman'
'I followed the woman'

In the comparative and ingressive, there is obligatory subject agreement, obligatory aspect agreement, and only one negative possible whose scope is the entire sentence. If (1) is negated,

(5) **pé àcwê àlô rwòt**
neg 1s-fat-hab 1s-exceed-hab king
'I'm not fatter than the king'

we can not infer that I'm not fat or that I exceed the king in anything, inferences that would be possible with a two assertion paratactic construction. The negative of (5) has the entire sentence, not just the first clause, within its scope.

Serial constructions can be freely embedded and can take the form of infinitives:

(1) **ámɨ̀ttò wòt yèŋŋò cèm**
1s-want-prog go-infin look+for-infin food
'I want to go look for food'

(2) **ámɨ̀ttò cwɛ̀ kàttò rwòt**
1s-want-prog fat-infin exceed-infin king
'I want to be fatter than the king'

It is instructive to note that the verbs in a paratactic construction cannot take the form of infinitives analogous to the serial constructions above. Consider, for example, the following paratactic construction:

(3) **àyítò gɔ̀t àlʉ́bɔ̀ dákô**
1s-climb-perf mountain 1s-follow-perf woman
I climbed the mountain, I followed the woman
'I climbed the mountain toward the woman'

Suppose we wish to say (4):

(4) I want to climb the mountain toward the woman

We cannot simply embed the paratactic construction under **ámɨ̀ttò** analogous to the serial constructions in (1) and (2) above. The reason for this is the two assertion aspect of parataxis; given the meaning of (4), we could not separately assert each clause in the complement. In translating (4), we might opt for a complex construction involving an infinitive and a purpose phrase:

(5) **ámɨ̀ttò yɨ̀ttò gɔ̀t mɛ́ lʉ̀bbɔ̀ dákô**
1s-want-prog climb-infin mountain for follow-infin woman
'I want to climb the mountain in order to follow the woman'

(5) is not exactly synonymous with (4). One could get a meaning closer to (4) with a paratactic construction; however each verb in the series must be separately embedded under **ámɨ̀ttò**, which would allow for the preservation of the two assertion aspect of parataxis:

(6) **ámɨ̀ttò yɨ̀ttò gɔ̀t ámɨ̀ttò lʉ̀bbɔ̀ dákô**
1s-want-prog climb-infin 1s-want-prog follow-infin woman
I want to climb the mountain, I want to follow the woman
'I want to climb the mountain toward the woman'

(6) is a bit odd, however, and rather cumbersome for a paratactic construction, but gives us something like the meaning of (4). Serial constructions can easily be embedded as infinitives because they resemble other sorts of complex constructions in constituting one assertion. Paratactic

constructions cannot be embedded except when backgrounded (Sec. 9.1.3) because their two assertion aspect is not compatable with the semantic environaments found in embedding (Sec. 11.2).

The grammatical status of serialization will be discussed further in Sec. 11.2.

9.1.5 Reduced clauses: infinitives and gerunds

Infinitives in Lango occur in certain contexts where the logical subject of the embedded clause is identical to the subject of the matrix clause in complement constructions (Sec 9.3),

(1) **ámìttò gwèèyò òdìlò**
1s-want-prog kick-infin ball
'I want to kick the ball'

(2) **àdâg kwànnò búkkì**
1s-refuse-hab read-infin book-this
'I refuse to read this book'

and as nominalizations:

(1) **àpwóŋ òtìtòwá à cècèk bèèr à kwân**
teacher 3s-tell-perf-1p att+part little+bit good-infin att+part read-infin
'the teacher told us briefly about the benefits of reading'

(2) **dákô kwânnérê bèr**
woman read-infin-3sa 3sa-good-hab
'the woman's reading is good'

(3) **màttò tábâ ràc**
drink-infin tobacco 3s-bad-hab
'smoking tobacco is bad'

The object of an infinitive is expressed as for verbs — objects do not form associative relationships with their infinitives. Infinitives take ordinary object inflections, may occur in the middle voice, and have benefactive and ventive forms. In nominalizations only, the subject of the infinitive can occur as an associative NP with the infinitive as head. This is illustrated in (1) and by the complex associative (Sec. 8.7.3) in (2). Human subjects almost always occur in complex associatives when definite. When both a direct object and a subject are present, the subject forms an associative relationship with the syntactic unit consisting of the infinitive and its direct object:

(4) **nèkkò gwôkk à dákô ràc**
kill-infin dog att+part woman 3s-bad-hab
'the killing of a dog by a woman is bad'

(5) **dákô nèkkò gwók'kérê ràc**
woman kill-infin dog-3sa 3s-bad-hab
'the woman's killing of the dog is bad'

In both (4) and (5), **dákô** 'woman' could be interpreted as having an associative relationship with **gwôk** 'dog', so that (5) could be interpreted as meaning 'the killing of the woman's dog is bad'. Infinitives themselves may occur in any sort of noun slot: They may be subjects, direct objects, associatives (as in (1) above), and objects of prepositions:

(6) **àtíê kân mê cèm**
1s-be+present-hab here for eat-infin
'I'm here to eat'

Phenomena that could be interpreted as raising appear to be restricted to the 'tough-movement' (object to subject) type and do not involve infinitives. This will be discussed below.

Gerunds, which occur also in reduplicative constructions (Sec. 8.10), are found in two other contexts. First, they are found in purpose constructions (Sec. 9.12.4) with the preposition **mê** 'for, in order to' when the notional object of the verb rendered as a gerund is the head of the construction:

(1) **kál mê àrégâ**
millet for grind-ger
'millet for grinding'

(2) **mân búk mê àkwánâ**
this book for read-ger
'this is a book for reading'

(3) **àmákò gwènò mê àcámâná**
1s-catch-perf chicken for eat-ger-1sa
'I caught a chicken for me to eat'

Notice that the notional subject of the gerund in the last example is rendered as an associative pronoun affix, attesting to the nominal status of gerunds, at least in this construction. This interpretation of gerunds is further attested by the fact that gerunds can be object of preposition (e.g. **mê**).

Gerunds are also used in what appears to be the only instance of something that could be analyzed as raising in the language:

(1) **càmmò gwènò bèr**
eat-infin chicken 3s-good-hab
'eating chicken is good'

(2) **gwènò bèr àcámâ**
chicken 3s-good-hab eat-ger
'chicken is good to eat'

bèr 'good' is the only predicate that clearly allows this construction. Here, as in purpose constructions, gerunds are used when the nominalized predicate is separated from its object.

9.2 Relative clauses

Relative constructions consist of a noun head (or antecedent) followed by the relative clause. The order of the other elements in the NP is discussed in Sec. 8.7.1. The relative clause itself consists of the attributive particle **à** and the particle **mɛ̂** fused together to form the relative particle **àmɛ̂**,[127] followed by a sentence, syntactically like sentences in main clauses except that now a noun slot will be empty or filled with a pronoun interpreted as coreferential with the head. So a sentence like

(1) **lócə̀ márô gwôk**
man 3s-like-hab dog
'the man likes the dog'

is occurring in a relative construction will take the form

(2) **lócə̀ àmɛ̂ márô gwôk**
man rel+part 3s-like-hab dog
'the man that likes the dog'

where the subject slot within the relative clause is empty and interpreted as coreferential to the head, **lócà**. Or alternately, it will take the form

(3) **gwókk àmɛ̂ lócə̀ márô**
dog rel+part man 3s-like-hab
'the dog that the man likes'

where the direct object slot is empty and interpreted as coreferential to the head noun **gwôk**. In (2), we say that the subject has been relativized on, and in (3), the direct object has been relativized on.

When the Su and DO are relativized on, the noun slot is left empty, as in (2) and (3) above. It is also left empty if the IO is relativized where the IO is not the object of **bòt** 'to' (Section 1.5.1):

(4) **lócə̀ àmɛ̂ rwòt òmɪ̀ò lyèc**
man rel-part king 3s-give-perf elelphant
'the man that the king gave the elephant to'

However, if a benefactive, an associative, or an object of a preposition is relativized on, a pronoun coreferential to the head is obligatorily placed

in the noun slot. This pronoun is referred to as a 'resumptive' pronoun and takes the form of an ordinary object pronoun:

Indirect object with ***bòt***

(5) **lócə̀ àmê rwòt òmɪ̀ò lyèc bòté**
man rel+part king 3s-give-perf elephant to-3s
'the man that the king gave the elephant to'

benefactive

(6) **àtînn àmê dákô òwɪ̀llé búk**
child rel+part woman 3s-buy-ben-perf-3s book
'the child that the woman bought a book'

associative

(7) **lócə̀ àmê àtînnérê òmàtò càk**
man rel+part child-3sa 3s-drink-perf milk
'the man whose child drank the milk'

object of preposition

(8) **dákô àmê rwòt òlègò òbáŋá pɪ̀rè**
woman rel+part king 3s-pray-perf God because+of
'the woman that the king prayed to God because of'

Relativization in Lango manifests the hierarchy of NP slots established by Keenan and Comrie (1977): The subject, direct object, and advanced indirect object slots do not require a resumptive pronoun whereas all other slots do. All noun slots in simple sentences can be relativized on, as well as noun slots in hypotactic complement clauses:

(9) **lyècc àmê rwòt àmɪ̀ttò wɪ̀llò**
elephant rel+part king 3s-want-prog buy-infin
'the elephant that the king wants to buy'

(10) **lyècc àmê rwòt àmɪ̀ttò nî lócə̀ wîl**
elephant rel+part king 3s-want-prog comp man 3s-buy-subj
'the elephant that the king wants the man to buy'

(11) **lócə̀ àmê rwòt àmɪ̀ttò nènnò lyèccérê**
man rel+part king 3s-want-prog see-infin elephant-3sa
'the man whose elephant the king wants to see'

Relativization in Lango obeys Ross' Complex NP Constraint,[128] as well as the Coordinate Structure Constraint for true coordinate structures (i.e. those conjoined by **éntô** 'but' or **òŋò** 'or'). The Sentential Subject Constraint is inapplicable since sentential subjects do not occur (Sec. 9.1.1). NP's in serial constructions and in the first clause of a paratactic construction can be relativized on:

(1) **lócə àmê ògwàŋ òdìò òjwàtò òkélò**
man rel+part O. 3spress-perf 3s-hit-perf O.
'the man that Ogwang forced to hit Okelo'

(2) **lócə àmê tɛ́k kátô òkélò**
man rel+part 3s-strong-hab 3s-exceed-hab O.
'the man that is stronger than Okelo'

However, there appears to be a constraint against relativizing NP's in the sceond clause of a paratactic construction; no analogous constraint holds for serial constructions:

paratactic
(3) ***lócə àmê òkélò òdìò ògwàŋ òjwàtò/òjwàtɛ́**
man rel+part O. 3s-press-perf O. 3s-hit-perf/
3s-hit-perf-3s
'the man that Okelo forced Ogwang to hit'

serial
(4) **lócə àmê òkélò tɛ̂k kátô**
man rel+part O. 3s-strong-hab 3s-exceed-hab
'the man that Okelo is stronger than'

The infelicity of (3) hold with or without resumptive pronouns. Notice that this constraint on relativization cannot be subsumed under the Coordinate Structure Constraint because relativization is not possible on NP's in either conjunct of a true coordinate construction. Topicalization is possible even out the second clause of a paratactic construction (Sec. 9.9.1); topicalization obeys the CNPC and the CSC in true coordinate constructions. However, cleft is like relativization in this regard (9.9.1). Recall that nouns in hypotactic complements can be relativized on. Compare (3) with (5):

(5) **lócə àmê òkélò òdìò ògwàŋ nî òjwǎt**
man rel+part O. 3s-press-perf O. comp 3s-hit-subj
'the man that Okelo pressed Ogwang to hit'

In relative clauses, elements such as prepositions or head nouns with relativized associatives may not be fronted, unlike their English counterparts. This, no doubt, simply reflects the fact that there is no relative pronoun for them to be fronted with.

The relative particle **àmê** may be replaced, especially in western dialects, by **àyɛ́**. The relative particle is not obligatory; the attributive particle alone may suffice, or neither may be present:

(1) **gwókk àmê òtɔ́ɔ̀**
dog rel+part 3s-die-perf
'the dog that died'

(2) **gwókk à òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
dog att+part 3s-die-perf
'the dog that died'

(3) **gwókk òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
dog 3s-die-perf
'the dog that died'

Notice that gemination of the final consonant of the head noun occurs even when the attributive particle (or the relative particle, which contains the attributive particle) is not present, signalling in this way an attributive, as opposed to a predicative, relation.

When the subject is relativized on, a perfective verb in the relative clause takes on a special tonal contour (see Sec. 5.3.2). Compare (3) with (4):

(4) **gwôk òtɔ̀ɔ̀**
dog 3s-die-perf
'the dog died'

Relative clauses in Lango are always restrictive, which is to say they always presuppose the existence of another entity that could be characterized by the head noun, but not by the relative construction as a whole. So the relative construction in sentence (1)

(1) **rwòttàmê dàktàl òdɔ̀k**
king rel+part doctor 3s-go+back-perf
'the king who is a doctor went back'

presupposes the existence of a king who is not a doctor. The English nonrestrictive counterpart:

(2) the king, who is a doctor, went back

which does not presuppose the existence of another king, does not have a Lango counterpart. The usual translation of (2) would be:

(3) **rwòt dàktàl. òdɔ̀k**
king 3s-doctor-hab. 3s-go+back-perf
'the king is a doctor. he went back'

Notice, however, that (2) and (3) are not equivalent. (2) presupposes that the king is a doctor, while (3) asserts it.

Attributive adjectives constructions, such as (1),

(1) **rwòtt à ràc**
king att+part bad
'the bad king'

could be analyzed as a relative clause construction. As mentioned above, the relative particle **àmê** can be replaced by the attributive particle **à** in relative constructions and **ràc** could be analyzed as a predicate adjective.

In other words, it could be claimed that (1) is really a variant of (2):

(2) **rwòtt àmê ràc**
king rel+part 3s-bad-hab
'the king who is bad'

It turns out, however, that there are some important meaning differences between (1) and (2). (1) is ambiguous between reference and referent modification (Bolinger 1967), whereas (2) only has referent modification. In stating (3),

(3) **rwòt ràc**
king 3s-bad-hab
'the king is bad'

one asserts that there is an individual who is a king and that that individual is bad. Thus, it is the actual referent, the individual who is a king, that is being modified in (3). However, in (4),

(4) **én rwòtt à ràc**
he king att+part bad
'he's a bad king'

it is conceivable that the individual who is the king is, in fact, a good person, but is bad *as a king*. In other words, it is the reference (being a king) rather than the referent (the individual) that is modified in (4). (1) is ambiguous between the two interpretations, though the reference modification interpretation is the primary one. (2), on the other hand, can only have referent modification. For this reason, we must distinguish between attributive adjective constructions like (1) and relative constructions like (2), despite the fact that **àmê** can be replaced by **à** in relative constructions.

Information questions are commonly constructed with relative clauses,

(1) **àwèné àmê rwòt ònèkò twòl ìyé?**
when rel+part king 3s-kill-perf snake in-3s
'when did the king kill the snake?'

(2) **ŋà à rwòt ònèkké twòl**
who att+part king 3s-kill-ben-perf-3s snake
'who did the king kill the snake for?'

especially when the interrogative word is subject:

(3) **ŋà àmê òmátò kòŋò?**
who rel+part 3s-drink-perf beer
'who drank the beer?'

These constructions are semantically like clefts (where a focused element is put in initial position) and structually like them also except for the lack of the otherwise obligatory third singular pronoun **én** (Sec. 9.8).

Relative clauses in Lango require overt heads except in certain time

constructions (Sec. 9.12.1). That is, there are no 'headless' relatives in Lango as in the following English sentence:

(1) he likes what he eats

In Lango, an overt head noun must be present:

(2) **márô gìn àmê cámô**
3s-like-hab thing rel+part 3s-eat-hab
'he likes the thing/what he eats'

Further, there is no relative clause extraposition in Lango.

Cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions (Sec. 9.8) and various adverbials (Sec. 9.12) involve relativization.

9.3 Complementation

9.3.1 Complement-types

Complementation is defined semantically as the state of affairs where a predication functions as an argument of a predicate.[129] The predication is referred to as a complement and the syntactic form it takes as its complement-type. Four complement-types are used in Lango: (hypotactic) indicative, (hypotactic) subjunctive, paratactic, and infinitive.

The indicative complement-type is used when the complement has independent time reference vis-à-vis the matrix:

(1) **ɲákô òkòbbì dákô nî dyèl òcàmò**
girl 3s-say-ben-perf woman comp goat 3s-eat-perf
'the girl told the woman that the goat ate it'

(2) **àtîn ònènò nî lócà òɲàɲò pàlà**
child 3s-see-perf comp man 3s-blunt-perf knife
'the child saw that the man blunted the knife'

(3) **dákô òpòyò nî èdínò kál**
woman 3s-remember-perf comp 3s-thresh-perf millet
'the woman remembered that she threshed the millet'

(4) **rwòt bínô tàmmò nî lócà òdɔ̀k àwó'ró**
king 3s-come-hab think-infin comp man
3s-go+back-perf yesterday
'the king will think that the man went back yesterday'

(5) **àpé àyê nî òkélò òcàmò réc**
1s-neg 1s-believe-hab comp O. 3s-eat-perf fish
'I don't believe that Okelo ate the fish'

By 'independent time reference' it is meant that the time reference of the complement can vary freely relative to the time reference of the matrix, and is in no way logically bound by the time reference of the complement taking predicate. So in (4), the time reference of the matrix is future, but the time reference of the complement is past. This situation could easily be reversed:

(6) **àwó'ró rwòt òtàmò nî lócə̀ bínô dòk**
yesterday king 3s-think-perf comp man 3s-come-hab go+back-infin
'yesterday, the king thought that the man will come back'

That is, there is nothing intrinsic in the meaning of **tàmmò** 'to think' that requires that its complement have a certain time reference relative to it. We can contrast this characteristic of **tàmmò** with **mɨ̀ttò** 'to want'. In sentences like

(7) **rwòt àmɨ̀ttò nî lócə̀ dòk**
king 3s-want-prog comp man 3s-go+back-subj
'the king wants the man to go back'

the time reference of the complement can only be future relative to that of the matrix. This is an instance of 'dependent' time reference, which characterized the subjunctive and infinitive in Lango. The time reference of a complement with dependent time reference is a necessary consequence of the meaning of the complement taking predicate. A complement having determined time reference typically refers to a future world-state relative to the time reference of the complement-taking predicate (CTP). For example in the sentence

(1) José ordered João to interrogate Smith

João's interrogation of Smith must necessarily follow José's order. That is, the complement has a future time reference relative to the time reference of the CTP *order*, even if both events, the order and the interrogation, took place in the past relative to the time of utterance of (1). José could not, for example, order João to do something in the past relative to the act of ordering, thus ruling out a sentence like (2):

(2) José is ordering João to interrogate Smith yesterday

The range of determined time reference complements include those whose time reference is necessarily the same as the complement taking predicate, such as complements to phasal (or aspectual) predicates like **càkkò** 'to begin', those that are timeless in the sense that they represent general conditions or states, such as certain complements of **mààrò** 'to like, love', and those that have no time reference because they represent non-events (as distinct from those that are simply potential) such as certain complements of **tèmmò** 'to try'. What all these have in common, of course, is that their time reference is determined by the mean-

ing and use of the complement taking predicate so that only one time reference, the one determined by the complement taking predicate, is possible for these complements. Complement taking predicates that represent commands, requests, intention, desires, and expressions of necessity, ability, or obligation are among those whose complements have determined time reference. In contrast, complements with independent time reference include complements to predicates that assert, report, comment on as background, or make truth-value judgements about their complements.

So, the indicative is used as complements to utterance predicates like **kòbbò** 'to say', with propositional attitude predicates like **yèè** 'to believe' and **tàmmò** 'to think', with commentative (factive) predicates like **bèr** 'to be good', and with predicates of knowledge such as **ŋèèyò** 'to know'.

The complementizer **nî** is obligatory with all indicative complements (but see Sec. 9.3.3).

Paratactic complements were discussed in detail in Sec. 9.1.3.2. In sum, the paratactic complement is used when the meaning of the complement taking predicate and the complement is compatable with the two assertion aspect of parataxis. For the most part, paratactic complements have determined time reference, since the conventions for interpreting the temporal relations that hold between the two clauses representing events in parataxis is to assume that their linear order represents their real time order or that the two are simultaneous. This resembles the range of temporal relations possible with determined time reference. However, predicates like **tàmmò** 'to think' and **ŋèèyò** 'to believe' can under certain circumstances be used in paratactic constructions, especially with first person singular subjects (see Sec. 9.1.3.2). Complements to these predicates have independent time reference.

Paratactic complements occur with causative predicates like **dɪ̀ɪ̀yò** 'to press, force', immediate perception predicates like **nènnò** 'to see' and **wìŋŋò** 'to hear', phasal predicates like **càkkò** 'to start', positive achievement predicates like **pòòyò** 'to remember', and positive propositional attitude predicates like **tàmmò** 'to think' when used assertively.

Subjunctive and infinitive complements both have determined time reference. In addition, the subjunctive always has an interpretation that can be described as 'indeterminate realization'. That is, in a sentence containing a subjunctive complement, the action or state coded by the subjunctive can not be inferred to have actually occurred. This is in contrast to the paratactic complement, which always has a realized interpretation:

subjunctive

(1) **rwòt òdɪ̀ò lócə̀ nî òryĕt**
king 3s-press-perf man comp 3s-winnow-subj
'the king pressed the man to winnow'

paratactic

(2) **rwòt òdɪ̀ò lócə̀ òryètò**
king 3s-press-perf man 3s-winnow-perf
the king pressed the man, he winnowed millet
'the king forced the man to winnow'

In (2), one can infer that the man actually winnowed, but in (1), one cannot make such an inference, though one cannot infer that the man didn't winnow either. The subjunctive is quite neutral in this regard. Similarly with

(3) **ònwòŋò ámɪ̀ttò nî lócə̀ òryĕt**
3s-find-perf 1s-want-prog comp man 3s-winnow-subj
'I wanted the man to winnow'

(4) **ònwòŋò myérô nî lócə̀ òryĕt**
3s-find-perf 3s-be+necessary-hab comp man
3s-winnow-subj
'it was necessary for the man to winnow'

one cannot infer that the man actually winnowed, though again, it's possible that he did.

The complementizer **nî** is obligatory with the subjunctive except for two predicates, **myèèrò** 'to be necessary' and **wèkkò** 'to let, allow'. With **myèèrò** its use is optional — compare (4) with (5):

(5) **ònwòŋò myérô lócə̀ òryĕt**
3s-find-perf 3s-be+necessary-hab man 3s-winnow-subj
'it was necessary for the man to winnow'

With **wèkkò**, **nî** is obligatory when the verb is used in its permissive sense,

(6) **òwèkò nî òkélò òcĕm**
3s-allow-perf comp O. 3s-eat-subj
'he allowed Okelo to eat'

but can't be used when the verb is used to form non-third person imperatives:

(7) **wĕk òkélò òcĕm**
2s-let-imper O. 3s-eat subj
'let Okelo eat'

The subjunctive is used with desiderative predicates like **mɪ̀ttò** 'to want', causative predicates like **dɪ̀ɪyò** 'to press', and modal predicates like **myèèrò** 'to be necessary'.

The infinitive, which has determined time reference, is used whenever the logical subject of the complement is interpreted as coreferential to the subject of the matrix:

(8) **ámɪ̀ttò bínô**
1s-want-prog come-infin
'I want to come'

(9) **ímɨ̀ttò bínô**
2s-want-prog come-infin
'you want to come'

(10) **àmɨ̀ttò bínô**
3s-want-prog come-infin
'he wants to come'

In determined time reference contexts, when the two subjects are not interpreted as coreferential, the subjunctive must be used:

(11) **ámɨ̀ttò nî òbĭn**
1s-want-prog comp 3s-come-subj
'I want her to come'

It should be noted that the infinitive is not obligatory in (8-10). However, if the subjunctive is used in such cases, it carries the implication that the activity will be carried out with determination and resolve:

(12) **ámɨ̀ttò nî àbîn**
1s-want-prog comp 1s-come-subj
'I want to come and am determined to do so'

Unlike English, coreference between the direct object and the complement subject does not result in an infinitive;[130] the subjunctive or paratactic complement would be used instead, depending on the meaning. This is illustrated in sentences (1) and (2) above.

Depending on the meaning of the matrix predicate, the infinitive can substitute for the paratactic complement under equi-subject conditions without substantial change in meaning (or at least receive the same English translation). For example,

(1) **àtîn òpòyò òjɔ̀bɔ̀ kál**
child 3s-remember-perf 3s-collect-perf millet
the child remembered it, she collected millet
'the child remembered to collect millet'

(2) **àtîn òpòyò jɔ̀bbɔ̀ kál**
child 3s-remember-perf collect-infin millet
'the child remembered to collect millet'

(1) and (2) are roughly synonymous. But (3) and (4) carry very different interpretations:

(3) **àtîn òtɛ̀mò òjɔ̀bɔ̀ kál**
child 3s-try-perf 3s-collect-perf millet
the child tried it, she collected millet
'the child tried and succeeded to collect millet'

(4) **àtîn òtèmò jɔ̀bbɔ̀ kál**
child 3s-try-perf collect-infin millet
'the child tried to collect millet'

(3) asserts that the child collected the millet, while with (4), there is an invited inference that the child did not succeed in collecting the millet. The infinitive can only paraphrase the paratactic complement if the complement taking predicate has an implicative sense, that is if the matrix predicate necessarily implies the truth of the complement.[131] Notice, however, that this paraphrase relation holds only when the predicates are not negated. For example, (5) and (6) receive the same English translation:

(5) **ògwàŋ òcàkò òbùcò òpíô**
O. 3s-start-perf 3s-yell-perf O.
Ogwang started it, he yelled at Opio
'Ogwang started to yell at Opio'

(6) **ògwàŋ òcàkò bùccò òpíô**
O. 3s-start-perf yell-infin O.
'Ogwang started to yell at Opio'

But if **òcàkò** is negated, the paraphrase relation ceases. The sentence

(5') **ògwàŋ pé òcàkò òbùcò òpíô**
O. neg. 3s-start-perf 3s-yell-perf O.
Ogwang didn't start it, he yelled at Opio

would have to receive an interpretation like 'Ogwang didn't start it, therefore he yelled at Opio' or something similar. (6') however, represents a negation of the sense of the English gloss of (5) and (6),

(6') **ògwàŋ pé òcàkò bùccò òpíô**
O. neg 3s-start-perf yell-infin O.
'Ogwang didn't start to yell at Opio'

and clearly is not synonymous with (5').

Serial constructions can be embedded as infinitives, but paratactic constructions can not (Sec. 9.1.4).

The infinitive is used with a large range of predicates all with the coreference conditions described above. It is found with modals like **twèèro** 'to be able', achievement predicates like **tèmmò** 'to try' and **pòòyò** 'to remember', and aspectuals like **càkkò** 'to start, begin'.

9.3.2 Switch reference

In hypotactic complements (indicative and subjunctive), the ordinary third person subject affixes assume a new function. They are used to indicate that

the subject of the complement is not the same as the subject of the matrix:

(1) **rwòt òkòbò nî ònèkò àbwòr**
king 3s-say-perf comp 3s-kill-perf lion
'the king said that he killed the lion'

In (1), *king* and *he* cannot refer to the same individual. Notice that the form of the verb in the complement is the same as it would be as the main verb in a sentence:

(2) **ònèkò àbwòr**
3s-kill-perf lion
'he killed the lion'

The ordinary third person forms are said to have 'switch-reference' function in hypotactic complements. If, however, it is intended that the subject of the matrix and the subject of the complement *are* coreferential, then special 'non-switch reference' affixes are used:

(3) **rwòt òkòbò nî ènékò àbwòr**
king 3s-say-perf comp 3s-kill-perf lion
'the king said that he killed the lion'

In (3), *king* and *he* must refer to the same individual. There is also a third person plural non-switch reference affix:

(1) **gí òtámò nî òŋéô dákónò**
they 3p-think-perf comp 3p-know-hab woman-that
'they thought that they (someone else) knew that woman'

(2) **gí òtámò nî ìŋéô dákónò**
they 3p-think-perf comp 3p-know-hab woman-that
'they thought that they (themselves) knew that woman'

For the form of switch reference inflections, see Sec. 8.2.5.

The switch/non-switch reference distinction is available only for hypotactic complements. It is not available for paratactic constructions, serials, relative or adverbial clauses, or for adjacent sentences in discourse.

9.3.3 Embedded questions

Yes/no questions can be embedded as complements; they appear in the indicative mood and the usual complementizer **nî** is replaced by **ká** 'if', which can be translated here also by 'whether':

(1) **àpéŋò dákô ká rwòt òbùcò àpwôŋ**
1s-ask-perf woman if king 3s-yell-perf teacher
'I asked the woman if the king yelled at the teacher'

(2) **dákô párô àpárâ ká ɲákô òrègò kál**
woman 3s-consider-hab consider-ger if girl 3s-grind-perf millet
'the woman doubts whether the girl ground the millet'

Information questions can also be embedded. In such cases the interrogative word is moved to the front of the embedded question in a cleft construction, replacing the complementizers **nî** or **ká**:

(1) **pé àŋéô àwènè én átyèkkò ìyé**
neg 1s-know-hab when it 1s-finish-prog in-3s
'I don't know when I'll finish it'

This information can also be expressed as in (2):

(2) **pé àŋéô káré àmê átyèkkò ìyé**
neg 1s-know-hab time rel-part 1s-finish-prog in-3s
'I don't know when I'll finish it'

9.3.4 Direct and indirect speech

Lango makes no formal distinction between direct and indirect speech. Both use the complementizer **nî**. Further, there is no rule analogous to a sequence-of-tense rule. The two are only distinguishable by change in shifter elements such as locative and person indicators:

direct

(1) **òkòbò nî àkétò pàlà kân**
3s-say-perf comp 1s-put-perf knife here
'he said, "I put the knife here"'

indirect

(2) **òkòbò nî èkétò pàlà kùnù**
3s-say-perf comp 3s-put-perf knife there
'he said that he put the knife there'

In expressing 'future in the past', the ordinary devices for referring to the future are used:

(3) **ògwàŋ òkòbò nî èbínô dɔ̀k**
O. 3s-say-perf comp 3s-come-hab go+back-infin
'Ogwang said that he would/will go back'

òkòbò 'he said' may be contracted with the complementizer **nî** to produce **òkòbbì.**

9.3.5 Negative raising

Negative raising is the name applied to the situation where a negative marker appears to be removed from the complement clause with which it is understood to be associated and is raised to the ordinary position for negatives within the matrix. Lango employs negative raising, as the following sentences illustrate:

(1) **àn àtámô nî òkélò pé òmèò pè**
I 1s-think-hab comp O. neg 3s-melt-perf ice
'I think that Okelo didn't melt the ice'

(2) **án pé àtámô nî òkélò òmèò pè**
I neg 1s-think-hab comp O. 3s-melt-perf ice
'I don't think that Okelo melted the ice'

Negative raising is found only with propositional attitude predicates like **tàmmò** 'to think', desiderative predicates like **mìttò** 'to want', and modal predicates like **myèèrò** 'to be necessary'.

9.4 Comparative constructions

The equative relation can be indicated in two ways. The first involves **bàlà** 'as, like':

(1) **dákónì bèr bàlà yín**
woman-this 3s-beautiful-hab as you
'this woman is as beautiful as you'

The second clause in (1) has been truncated, the second predicate **ìbêr** 'you are beautiful' having been ellipted. **bàlà** is a conjunction; as the example shows, it is not conjugated like simple prepositions.

The other technique for indicating the equative relation involves serialization (Sec. 9.1.4) with the verb **càllò** 'to resemble' as the second verb in the series:

(2) **dákónì bèr cə́'lí**
woman-this 3s-beautiful-hab 3s-resemble-hab-2s
'this woman is as beautiful as you'

(3) **dákónì pé bèr cə́'lí**
woman-this neg 3s-beautiful-hab 3s-resemble-hab-2s
'this woman isn't as beautiful as you'

(4) **àbér àcə́'lí**
1s-beautiful-hab 1s-resemble-hab-2s
'I'm as beautiful as you'

Simple comparison may be indicated by means of serialization too. The first verb in the series establishes the standard; the second verb, **kàttò** 'to surpass' or **lɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀** 'to defeat, exceed', the item compared:

(1) **àryék àkə́'tí**
1s-clever-hab 1s-surpass-hab-2s
'I'm cleverer than you'

(2) **dákô pé dwôŋ kátô ɨcô**
woman neg 1s-big-hab 3s-surpass-hab man
'the woman isn't bigger than the man'

(3) **ìtêk ìlɔ́ô rwòt**
2s-strong-hab 2s-exceed-hab king
'you're stronger than the king'

Simple comparison can also be indicated by a non-serial construction, still utilizing **lɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀** or **kàttò**. The standard of comparison is a nominal object of the preposition **ɨ:**

(4) **dákô lɔ́ô ɨcô ɨ dwôŋ**
woman 3s-exceed-hab man in bigness
'the woman is bigger than the man'

There is no special superlative construction. The superlative is simply a comparative where comparison is made to the relevant class of entities:

(5) **lyécí dɔŋɔ̀ ɔ̀lɔ́ô ɨ kìn léyì**
elephants 3p-big-hab 3p-exceed-hab in middle animals
'elephants are the biggest animal'

(6) **Mohammed Ali én têk lɔ́ô ɨ wì lɔ̀bɔ̀**
M.A. he 3s-strong-hab 3s-exceed-hab in head world
'Mohammed Ali is the strongest in the world'

Notice that **lɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀** in (5) and (6) is morphologically transitive, just as in (3).

Adjectives may also be used to compare clauses. In such cases the clauses are nominalized:

(1) **càmmɔ̀ gwênnà ɔ̀kélɔ̀ ɔ̀yɔ̀tɔ̀yɔ̀t lɔ́ô kwàllɔ̀gí à ɔ̀píô**
eat-infin chickens att+part O. fast 3s-exceed-hab
steal-infin-3p att+part O.
'Okelo eats chickens faster than Opio steals them'

When two clauses are compared directly, only the second is a nominal:

(2) **ɔ̀kélɔ̀ cámô gwên lɔ́ô kwàllɔ̀gí à ɔ̀píô**
O. 3s-eat-hab chickens 3s-exceed-hab
steal-infin-3p att+part O.
'Okelo eats more chickens than Opio steals'

9.5 Ingressive constructions

wòt 'to go, walk' and other motion verbs are often used pleonastically in a serial construction resulting in an ingressive construction. In this construction, **wòt** often retains a motional sense, but its primary function seems to be to reinforce perfective aspect — it is never found in the progressive or habitual aspects:

(1) **lócà òwòtò òlʉ̀bò dákô**
man 3s-go-perf 3s-follow-perf woman
'the man followed the woman'

(2) **dákô òwòtò òkwànò**
woman 3s-go-perf 3s-read-perf
'the woman read'

As a serial construction, the ingressive can also take the form of an infinitive

(3) **ámɪ̀ttò wòt yèŋŋò cèm**
1s-want-prog go-infin look+for-infin food
'I want to go look for food'

or subjunctive:

(4) **ámɪ̀ttò nî òpíô òwǒt òyěŋ cèm**
1s-want-prog comp O. 3s-go-subj 3s-look+for-subj food
'I want Opio to go look for food'

9.6 Coordinating sentences

As noted in Sections 8.7.5 and 9.1.2, Lango makes little use of true conjunction relative to English, because while **éntô** 'but' and **òŋò** 'or' can be analyzed as true conjunctions (though the verbal status of **òŋò** is quite clear), there is no Lango equivalent of English 'and'.

The 'and' relation is expressed in Lango in a number of ways depending on the sense. If mere, non-sequential conjunction is intended, simple juxtaposition of sentences is used:

(1) **rwòt cámô rìŋó. én mátô kòŋò**
king 3s-eat-hab meat. he 3s-drink-hab beer
'the king eats meat and drinks beer'

If simultaneity is indicated, a paratactic construction is frequently encountered involving repetition of each predicate:

(2) **rwòt ònwòŋò cémô mətô cémô mətô**
king 3s-find-perf 3s-eat-hab 3s-drink-hab 3s-eat-hab 3s-drink-hab
'the king ate and drank'

Other sorts of 'and' relations may also be accomplished with parataxis (Sec. 9.1.3).

When sequence is indicated (i.e. when 'and' is equivalent to 'and then'), a special syntagm, the **tê** construction, is used. **tê** is a verb, is always conjugated in the habitual aspect, and takes the semantic main predicate as its infinitive complement:

(1) **án àtédò rìŋó àtê càmmò**
I 1s-cook-perf meat 1s-and+then-hab eat-infin
'I cooked the meat and then I ate it'

tê constructions never begin a discourse and are always interpreted as having the aspect of the inflected verb preceding them. The function of the **tê** construction is to advance the narrative, indicating continuity in the linear sequence.

Intonationally, **tê** constructions can either function as an intonational adjunct of the first clause, as in parataxis, or as a completely separate unit:

(2) **òbínô tê càmmò**
3s-come-perf 3s-and+then -hab eat-infin
'he came and then he ate'

(3) **láŋô òyà ɨ sùdán. òtê bínô tê gìk gùlú**
L. 3s-go-perf from S. 3p-and+then-hab come-infin 3p-and+then-hab stop-infin G.
'The Lango came from the Sudan. They came and stopped at Gulu'

(2) is an example of the two clauses functioning intonationally as a single sentence. (3) illustrates both possibilities. Generally speaking, the shorter the first clause, the more likely the second is to form an intonational unit with it. Except in conditional constructions, changes in topic always result in a new intonational unit:

(4) **kwàc òcàkò cèm. àpwô tê nèkké**
L. 3s-start-perf eat-infin. H. 3s-and+then-hab kill-infin-3s
'Leopard started to eat. Then Hare killed him'

tê constructions may even begin new episodes in discourse provided the narrative order is not disturbed (Sec. 10.2).

tê may be negated,

(5) **lócɔ̀ òbínô pàcó pé tê nènnò àtîn**
man 3s-come-perf home neg 3s-and+then-hab see-infin child
'the man came home but didn't see the child'

and may occur with a time adverbial (provided it does not disturb the narrative sequence):

(6) **ì díkkómérê gín dúcú òtê bínô rwàttê**
in morning-topic they all 3p-and+then-hab come-infin meet-mid-infin
'that morning they all came to meet'

tê constructions can also occur in disjunction with **òɲò**:

(7) **ká òtwɔ̀, ìtê dìnnò òɲò ìtê òddò àódê**
if 3s-dry-perf, 2s-and+then-hab thresh-infin or 2s-and+then-hab pound-infin pound-ger
'if it dries, you either thresh it or pound it'

In the above example, the second **ìtê** can be deleted.

Serial constructions can be coded in narrative discourse with **tê**; the verbs in the series all appear in the infinitive:

(1) **tê wòt nwòŋŋò òjʊ́k**
3s-and+then-hab go-infin find-infin O.
'then he went to find Ojuk'

With paratactic constructions, however, each clause must either occur in a separate **tê** construction,

(2) **tê dìɪ̀yò òkélò, tê kɔ̀ɲɲɔ̀ ògwàŋ**
3s-and+then-hab press-infin O., 3s-and+then-hab help-infin O.
'and then he forced Okelo to help Ogwang'

or the first clause only is formed with **tê**, the second clause taking the form it usually would in a paratactic construction:

(3) **tê dìɪ̀yò òkélò òkɔ̀ɲɔ̀ ògwàŋ**
3s-and+then-hab press-infin O. 3s-help-perf O.
'and then he forced Okelo to help Ogwang'

Conjunction reduction in Lango can only result in conjoined NP's (Sec. 8.7.5). There is no rule of gapping or object reduction in Lango.

9.7 Conditional constructions

There are two ways to form conditional constructions in Lango. The first, for ordinary conditionals, is to express the protasis in the indicative

preceded by the conjunction **ká** 'if', and to express the apodosis with **tê** if it follows the protasis sequentially in time, or with the ordinary indicative if it precedes the protasis in linear time sequence:

(1) **ká ìcɔ̂ òbínô tê cèm**
if man 3s-come-perf 3s-and+then-hab eat-infin
'if the man came, then he'll eat/he ate (after he came)'

(2) **ká ìcɔ̂ òbínô, òcèmò**
if man 3s-come-perf, 3s-eat-perf
'if the man came, then he had eaten (before he came)'

The second method is used for contrary-to-fact conditionals. With these, both protasis and apodosis are preceded by **kónô**. The verbs in both clauses are in the ordinary indicative:

(3) **kónô ònwòŋò àtíê ì cèm, kónô àmîyí**
if 3s-find-perf 1s-be+present-hab with food, then
1s-give-perf-2s
'if I had food, I would have given it to you'

For **kónô** conditionals, the order is always protasis first, apodosis second. However, **ká** clauses may also follow the apodosis, though this is much rarer in texts than the order protasis-apodosis. When the protasis follows the apodosis, it may represent an afterthought:

(4) **òbínô tèdò ká rwòt òbínô**
1p-come-hab cook-infin if king 3s-come-perf
'we'll cook if the king comes'

9.8 Cleft constructions

A sentence is a cleft sentence if it can be negated to mean that there is something or someone satisfying the sentence other than the clefted (or focused) NP.[132] Thus in English

(1) it's Irving that Zeke slapped

is a cleft because

(2) it's not Irving that Zeke slapped

presupposes that Zeke slapped someone and that someone is not Irving. Lango has cleft sentences under this definition. These consist of the clefted NP, followed by the third singular pronoun **én**, followed by a relative clause. The relative clause consists of the fused attributive and relative particles **àmê** and the relativized sentence:

(1) **òkélò énn àmê òpíô òjwàtò**
O. it rel+part O. 3s-hit-perf
'it's Okelo that Opio hit'

The negation of (1),

(2) **pé én òkélò énn àmê òpíô òjwàtò**
neg he O. it rel+part O. 3s-hit-perf
'it's not Okelo that Opio hit'

presupposes that Opio hit someone other than Okelo.

The pragmatic effect of cleft is to establish a focussed item-in-contrast, which is to say that in sentences like

(3) **òpíô énn àmê òjwátò òkélò**
O. it rel+part 3s-hit-perf O.
'it's Opio that hit Okelo'

the speaker believes that the hearer either has a finite set of persons in mind and the speaker is indicating that, of this set, Opio is the relevant one, or that the hearer believes that someone other than Opio hit Okelo and the speaker is setting the hearer right. Cleft is also used as an answer to questions such as (4):

(4) **ŋà òjwàtò òkélò?**
who 3s-hit-perf O.
'who hit Okelo?'

Either (1) above or

(5) **òpíô òjwàtò òkélò**
O. 3s-hit-perf O.
'Opio hit Okelo'

with Opio receiving contrasting stress can answer (4). The cleft is far more common in this function, however.

Since it is NP's, not nouns, that are clefted, nominal modifiers are clefted along with their head nouns:

(1) **lócè à dwôŋ én àmê àjàŋá òkàò**
man att+part 3s-big-hab it rel+part cat 3s-bite-perf
'it's the big man that the cat bit'

Associative NP's may be clefted without their head nouns:

(2) **ògwàŋ én àmê gwó'kérê òkàò rwòt**
O. it rel+part dog-3sa 3s-bite-perf king
'it's Ogwang whose dog bit the king'

The syntactic rules governing the relative clause in clefts are the same as those governing ordinary relative clauses, e.g. the rules governing resumptive pronouns,

(3) **dákô énn àmê rwòt ònèkké twòl**
woman it rel+part king 3s-kill-ben-perf-3s snake
'it's the woman that the king killed the snake for'

and the rule governing the relative form of a third singular perfective verb:

(4) **rwòt énn àmê ònékò twòl**
king it rel+part 3s-kill-perf snake
'it's the king that killed the snake'

(cf **rwòt ònèkò twòl**
king 3s-kill-perf snake
'the king killed the snake')

The pronoun **én** does not refer to the clefted NP and is invariable:

(1) **àtínnì énn àmê dákô òpìtò**
child-this it rel+part woman 3s-feed-perf
'it's this child that the woman fed'

(2) **ìtínónì énn àmê dákô òpìtò**
children-this it rel+part woman 3s-feed-perf
'it's these children that the woman fed'

(3) **án énn àmê ònèná**
I it rel+part 3s-see-perf-1s
'it's me that he saw'

én is obligatory in clefts, except when the clefted NP is an interrogative word,

(1) **ŋà àmê lócə̀ ònènò?**
who rel+part man 3s-see-perf
'who did the man see?'

or a pronoun:

(2) **pé yínn àmê àjwə̂tí**
neg you rel+part 1s-hit-perf-2s
'it's not you that I hit'

In such cases **én** is optional; compare (2) and (3):

(3) **pé yín én àmê àjwə̂tí**
neg you it rel+part is-hit-perf-2s
'it's not you that I hit'

àmê may be reduced to **à** or deleted altogether as in ordinary relatives:

(1) **bòŋó énn àmê òdìlò nî gíŋ**
clothes it rel+part 3s-pack-perf part full
'it's the clothes that she packed to the rim'

(2) **bɔ̀ŋɔ́ énn à ɔ̀dɪ̀lɔ̀ nî gíŋ**

(3) **bɔ̀ŋɔ́ énn ɔ̀dɪ̀lɔ̀ nî gíŋ**

As in relative clauses, **àyé** may replace **àmê:**

(4) **lócə̀ énn** $\left\{\begin{matrix}\textbf{àmê}\\\textbf{àyé}\end{matrix}\right\}$ **ɔ̀nékɔ̀ gwôk**
man it rel+part 3s-kill-perf dog
'it's the man who killed the dog'

Notice that in Lango there is no ambiguity, even leaving aside intonation, between an identification sentence, where the item identified is an NP with a relative clause, and its corresponding cleft. Compare (4) with the identification sentence (5):

(5) **én lócə̀ àmê ɔ̀nékɔ̀ gwôk**
he man rel+part 3s-kill-perf dog
'it's the man who killed the dóg'

A pragmatically similar construction, the Lango equivalent of the English pseudo-cleft, utilizes a more straightforward relative construction. Here the focussed NP is in final position and the presupposed (backgrounded) material is a relative with an indefinite head occupying the subject slot in an identification sentence:

(1) **ŋàtt àmê ɔ̀nékɔ̀ gwôk ɔ̀kélɔ̀**
person rel-part 3s-kill-perf dog O.
'the one who killed the dog is Okelo'

There is typically a pause following the relative clause, but without the establishment of a new downdrift intonation contour.

Clefting and topicalization can both apply to the same sentence. In such cases, the topic appears before the clefted NP:

(2) **ɔ̀kélɔ̀ gwôk énn àmê ɔ̀kàɔ̀**
O. dog it rel-part 3s-bite-perf
'it's the dog that Okelo was bitten by'
or 'Okelo, it's the dog that he was bitten by'

ɔ̀kélɔ̀ is the topic, and **gwôk** the clefted NP. The function of the topic, here as elsewhere, is to establish the sentence orientation (Sec. 8.5.2): cleft establishes a focussed item-in-contrast. The two constructions, then, are not operating at cross purposes and occur together naturally in discourse. Notice that (2) cannot also mean 'it's the dóg that Okelo bit' because then the tonal contour on the verb would have to be **ɔ̀káɔ̀**, in accordance with the rules for relativized subjects.

9.9 Embedded cleft and topic constructions

9.9.1 Topic and cleft across sentence boundaries

Topic NP's may cross clause boundaries:

(1) **ògwàŋ àwíɲò nî àlábâ àkòbbò nî òcwè**
O. 1s-hear-perf comp A. 3s-say-perf comp
3s-become+fat-perf
'Ogwang, I heard Alaba was saying that he was fat'

(2) **ògwàŋ àlábâ àmìttò nî òkélò òkǒɲé**
O. A. 3s-want-prog comp O. 3s-help-subj-3s
'Ogwang, Alaba wants Okelo to help him'

They may also originate in infinitive phrases:

(3) **ògwàŋ àlábâ àmìttò kɔ̀ɲɲé**
O. A. 3s-want-prog help-infin-3s
'Ogwang, Alaba wants to help him'

(4) **ògwàŋ àlábâ òbínô mê kɔ̀ɲɲé**
O. A. 3s-come-perf for help-infin-3s
'Ogwang, Alaba came to help him'

However, such sentences are a bit forced, though they are accepted and understood.

Topicalization is clearly subject to Ross' (1967) Complex NP Constraint: NP's may not be topicalized out of relative clauses or noun complements.[133] The Coordinate Structure Constraint applies as well, blocking the topicalization of an NP out of coordinated clause:

(1) **òpíô òcàmò réc, éntô òkélò àmàtò kɔ̀ŋɔ̀**
O. 3s-eat-perf fish but O. 3s-drink-perf beer
'Opio ate fish, but Okelo drank beer'

(2) ***òkélò òpíô òcàmò rèc, éntô òmàtò kɔ̀ŋɔ̀**
O. O. 3s-eat-perf fish, but 3s-drink-perf beer
'Okelo, Opio ate fish but he drank beer'

Notice, however, that topicalization applies across clause boundaries in parataxis and serialization and is much more natural here than out of subordinate clauses:

(3) **kál dákô òdìo ìcô òpyètò**
millet woman 3s-press-perf man 3s-winnow-perf millet
the woman pressed the man, he winnowed it
'millet, the woman pressed the man to winnow it'

(4) **òkélò ògwàŋ têk kâté**
O. O. 3s-strong-hab 3s-surpass-hab-3s
'Okelo, Ogwang is stronger than him'

(cf relativization Sec. 9.2). This difference between parataxis and serialization, and true coordination will be discussed in Sec. 11.2.

Resumptive pronouns are obligatory for IO's and human DO's topicalized across clause boundaries (note that non-human NP's such as **kál** 'millet' in (3) do not have DO pronominal substitutes: the transitive verb alone suffices in such cases):

(1) **àlábâ òkélò òyìtò gòt òlʉ̀bé**
A. O. 3s-climb-perf mountain 3s-follow-perf-3s
Alaba, Okelo climbed the mountain, he followed her
'Alaba, Okelo climbed the mountain toward her'

Clefted NP's may also cross clause boundaries:

(1) **ògwàŋ énn àmê àwíɲò nî àlábâ àkòbbò nî òcwè**
O. it rel+part 1s-hear-perf comp A. 3s-say-prog comp
3s-become+fat-perf
'it's Ogwang that I heard Alaba was saying was fat'

Cleft is subject to the CNPC and the CSC. Analogous to the situation in relativization, NP's in the second clause of a paratactic construction cannot be clefted to the beginning of the sentence:

(2) ***ògwàŋ énn àmê àdíò òkélò òjwàté**
O. it rel+part 1s-press-perf O. 3s-hit-perf-3s
'it's Ogwang that I forced Okelo to hit'

A noun in the first clause can, however, be clefted:

(3) **òkélò énn àmê àdíò òjwàtò ògwàŋ**
O. it rel+part 1s-press-perf 3s-hit perf O.
it's Okelo that I pressed, he hit Ogwang
'it's Okelo that I forced to hit Ogwang'

Nouns in the second clause of a serial construction can, however, be clefted:

(4) **rwòt énn àmê òkélò òcwè kâté**
king it rel+part O. 3s-become+fat-perf 3s-surpass-hab
'it's the king that Okelo is fatter than'

The reason for the different restrictions on topicalization and clefting in paratactic constructions (topicalization, but not clefting is possible out of the second clause) has to do, it would seem, with the respective functions of topicalization and cleft. Topicalization establishes a sentence orientation; what follows the orientation is typically new information. A clefted NP is an item-in-contrast; what follows the

clefted NP is necessarily old information. If an NP like **ògwàŋ** in (2) is an item-in-contrast, the Lango strategy seems to be to note as background material only the second clause. For instance, one would say,

(5) **ògwàŋ énn àmê òkélò òjwàté**
O. it rel+part O. 3s-hit-perf-3s
'it's Ogwang that Okelo hit'

instead of (2). The first clause in (2) is, presumably, background and redundant; the second clause alone is sufficient to identify the situation and the referent. But with topicalization, the fact that both clauses are being asserted as new information makes their presence mandatory if the meaning they contain is to be communicated. So topicalization is allowable under these conditions, but cleft is not. Since there is no problem embedding serial constructions, which contain a single assertion like ordinary, non-coordinate, complex sentences, clefting NP's in the second clause is permissible.

9.9.2 Topic and cleft within embedded clauses

Topicalization may apply within an embedded clause, fronting an NP to the beginning of that clause:

(1) **rwòt ŋéô nî ògwàŋ òkélò dágô**
king 3s-know-hab comp O. O. 3s-hate-hab
'the king knows that Ogwang is hated by Okelo'

All types of true embedded clauses can have topics distinct from subjects (topics underlined):

(2) **ɔtɔ̀kà àmê <u>rwòt</u> òkélò òmɪ̀ò**
car rel+part king O. 3s-give-perf
'the car that the king was given by Okelo'

(3) **ɪ̀ káré <u>rwòt</u> òkélò òwɪ̀llé, tê dɔ̀k**
in time king O. 3s-buy-ben-perf-3s, 3s-and+then-hab go+back-infin
'when Okelo bought it for the king, he went back'

Topicalization is not possible within infinitive phrases, nor is it possible within the second clause of a paratactic or serial construction:[134]

(4) ***rwòt òdɪ̀ò lócà <u>dákô</u> òɲɔ̀mɔ̀**
king 3s-press-perf man woman 3s-marry-perf
the king pressed the man, the woman he married
'the king forced the man to marry the woman'

As usual, clefting is more restricted than topicalization. It can apply within certain types of embedded clauses, e.g. complements to propositional

attitude predicates and predicates of knowledge, as well as utterance predicates:[135]

(1) **òpíò òkòbò nî òkélò énn àmê òtóŋò níâŋ**
O. 3s-say-perf comp O. it rel+part 3s-cut-perf cane
'Opio said that it's Okelo that cut the cane'

(2) **rwòt támô nî òkélò énn àmê òkwálò gwènò**
king 3s-think-hab comp O. it rel+part 3s-steal-perf chicken
'the king thinks that it's Okelo that stole the chicken'

(3) **àŋéô nî ìcók énn àmê rwòt òcàmò**
1s-know-hab comp potato it rel+part king 3s-eat-perf
'I know that it's the potato that the king ate'

Cleft is difficult or impossible elsewhere, e.g. in complements to desiderative predicates,

(1) ***ámìttò nî òkélò énn àmê kwál gwènò**
1s-want-prog comp O. it rel+part 3s-steal-subj chicken
'I want that it's Okelo that steal chicken'

or in relative clauses:

(2) ***gwènò àmê òkélò én àmê òkwálò**
chicken re-part O. it rel+part 3s-steal-perf
'the chicken that it's Okelo that stole'

9.10 Subjects and topics

In the section above, some coreference properties were described as though they were properties of subjects. On closer examination, these properties turn out to be properties of topics, and it is only because subjects are likely to be topics that these coreference properties could informally be attributed to them.[136]

The first of these is control of switch reference. As described in Sec. 9.3.2, the switch/non-switch reference morphology is used in hypotactic complements to indicate whether the subject of the subordinate clause is the same or different than the subject of the main clause:

(1) **dákô òkòbbì lócà nî èbínô dòk**
woman 3s-say-ben-perf man comp 3s-come-hab go+back-infin
'the woman$_i$ told the man that she$_i$ will go back'
i = i

(2) **dákô òkòbbɨ́ lócə̀ nî bínô dɔ̀k**
woman 3s-say-ben-perf man comp 3s-come-hab go+back-infin
'the woman$_i$ told the man that she$_j$ will go back'
$i \neq j$

In fact, topics, not subjects, preferentially control switch reference morphology, as the following examples show:

(1) **lócə̀ dákô òkòbbɛ́ nî ɛ̀bínô dɔ̀k**
man woman 3s-say-ben-perf-3s comp 3s-come-hab go+back-infin
'the man$_i$ was told by the woman that he$_i$ will go back'

(2) **lócə̀ dákô òkòbbɛ́ nî bínô dɔ̀k**
man woman 3s-say-ben-perf-3s comp 3s-come-hab go+back-infin
'the man$_i$ was told by the woman that he/she$_j$ will go back'

The qualification 'preferentially' is necessary since if the topicalized NP cannot be interpreted as coreferential with switch/non-switch morphology (e.g. if it is first or second person), the subject can control coreference:

(3) **án òkélò òkòbbá nî ɛ̀bínô dɔ̀k**
I O. 3s-say-ben-perf-1s comp 3s-come-hab go+back-infin
'I was told by Okelo$_i$ that he$_i$ will go back'

(4) **án òkélò òkòbbá nî bínô dɔ̀k**
I O. 3s-say-ben-perf-1s comp 3s-come-hab go+back-infin
'I was told by Okelo$_i$ that he$_j$ will go back'

The second is control of coreference with floated quatifiers (Sec. 8.7.8). This is also a property of topics, and a topicalized NP will be interpreted as coreferential with a floated quantifier preferentially over the subject:

(1) **món óôl kèdè gwóggî dúcú**
women 3s-be+tired-hab with dogs all
'the women are tired of all the dogs'

(2) **gwóggî dúcú món óôl kèdgɨ́**
dogs all women 3s-be+tired-hab with-3p
'all the dogs, the women are tired of them'

(3) **gwóggî món óôl dúcú kèdgɨ́**
dogs women 3s-be+tired-hab all with-3p
'all the dogs, the women are tired of them'

Again, if the topic cannot be interpreted as coreferential with the quantifier (e.g. if it is unquantifiable, or morphologically singular), then the

subject controls coreference:

(4) **án món óôl dúcú kèdá**
I women 3s-be+tired-hab all with-1s
'me, all the women are tired of'

9.11 Negative NP's

Lango has no negative indefinite proforms like 'nothing', 'nowhere', etc., nor does it have a negative article like 'no' as in 'no book'. In place of these, Lango uses a complex construction with **pé** 'to not exist':

(1) **àtînn àmê òwótò gùlú pé**
child rel+part 3s-go-perf G. 3s-not+exist-hab
'no child has gone to Gulu'

(2) **gìnnórô àmê àcámò pé**
thing-indef rel+part 1s-eat-perf 3s-not+exist-hab
'I ate nothing'

(3) **ŋàttórô àmê òcámò dèkkò pé**
person-indef rel+part 3s-eat-perf stew-that
3s-not+exist-hab
'no one ate that stew'

9.12 Expression of adverbial notions

9.12.1 Time and circumstance

Circumstantial expressions can be found either with a paratactic construction,

(1) **àdôk cên ànwòŋò àtîn**
1s-go+back-perf back 1s-find-perf child
'when I got back, I found the child'

or with a relative construction with **káré** 'time' as head:

(2) **ì káré àmê àdôk cên, ànwóŋò àtîn**
in time rel+part 1s-go-back-perf, 1s-find-perf child
'when I got back, I found the child'

Expression of time before, time after, and simultaneity are found with an otherwise unattested relative construction. Here, the time expression

follows the main clause and is preceded by a relative particle **àmê**. **àmê**, however, is not preceded by a relative head — this is the only instance of a headless relative in Lango. In expressing time after, the verb in the **àmê** clause is inflected in the perfective aspect:

(1) **dákô òlwòkérê àmê òcèmò**
woman 3s-wash-mid-perf rel+part 3s-eat-perf
'the woman washed after she ate'

Simultaneity is expressed with the verb in the progressive aspect:

(2) **ìcô òcèmò àmê àmàttò kòŋò**
man 3s-eat-perf rel+part 3s-drink-prog beer
'the man ate while drinking beer'

In expressing time before, the **àmê** clause is negated and the negative particle is followed by **rú**, 'ever, yet':

(3) **dákô òcèmò àmê pé rú òlwòkérê**
woman 3s-eat-perf rel+part neg yet 3s-wash-mid-perf
'the woman ate before she washed'

This construction may be preposed, but when it is, **àmê** may not be present:

(4) **dákô pé rú òlwòkérê, òcèmò**
woman neg yet 3s-wash-mid-perf, 3s-eat-perf
'before the woman washed, she ate'

Simultaneity can also be indicated with a paratactic construction. The verbs are repeated and are usually found in the habitual aspect:

(1) **lócə̀ cémô mə́tô cémô mə́tô**
man 3s-eat-hab 3s-drink-hab 3s-eat-hab 3s-drink hab
'the man ate and drank'

It may also be indicated by adjacent sentences in discourse where one sentence, typically the second, is expressed in the progressive aspect:

(2) **lócə̀ òcàmò rìŋó. àmàttò kòŋò**
man 3s-eat-perf meat. 3s-drink-prog beer
'the man ate meat. he was drinking beer'

Temporal sequencing is discussed further in Sec. 10.2

9.12.2 Cause

Efficient cause can either be expressed via parataxis,

(1) **àryêk àkwánô**
1s-wise-hab 1s-read-hab
'I'm wise because I read'

or by means of a subordinate clause with **pì én** 'because of it' acting as a subordinating conjunction:

(2) **àryêk pì én àkwánô**
1s-wise-hab because+of it 1s-read-hab
'I'm wise because I read'

Notice that **pìrè** is the usual third person singular form of **pì** 'because of'. **kít** 'way, manner' at the head of a relative clause can, in addition to its use in expressing manner (Sec. 9.12.6), be used to express cause:

(3) **òwŏt òyĕɲ cèm kít àmê tòtòwá pé**
1d-go-subj 1d-look+for-subj food way rel+part
mother-1pa 3s-be+present-hab
'let's go and look for food since our mothers aren't here'

9.12.3 Sufficiency

Statements of sufficiency or insufficiency are formed with paratactic constructions with Tr **ròmmò**, AN róm 'to be sufficient' or Tr **rèmmò**, AN **rèm** 'to be insufficient' as the second verb in the series:

(1) **én òmîyá dèk òròmá**
he 3s-give-perf-1s stew 3s-be+sufficient-perf-1s
'he gave me enough stew'

(2) **én òmîyá dèk òrèmá**
he 3s-give-perf-1s stew 3s-be+insufficient-perf-1s
'he didn't give me enough stew'

Since the paratactic construction requires that the subject of the second clause be an argument of the first, activities can not be modified in this way. When stating that an activity or action is sufficient or insufficient, the verb must be nominalized and made the subject of **ròmmò** or **rèmmò**:

(3) **kwânérê òròmé**
read-infin-3sa 3s-be+sufficient-hab-3s
'he reads enough'

9.12.4 Purpose

Purpose expressions are formed with the preposition **mê** followed by either infinitives or gerunds. An infinitive is used unless a noun coreferential to the object of the verb in the purpose expression immediately precedes the purpose expression, in which case the gerund is used:

(1) **lócə̀ òbínô mê càmmò gwènò**
man 3s-come-perf for eat-infin chicken
'the man came to eat chicken'

(2) **dákô òmàkò gwènò mê àcámâ**
woman 3s-catch-perf chicken for eat-ger-1sa
'the woman caught a chicken for me to eat'

(3) **dákô òmàkò gwènò mê àcámâná**
woman 3s-catch-perf chicken for eat-ger-1sa
'the woman caught a chicken for me to eat'

Gerunds can be interpreted as nominal modifiers, infinitives as adverbials. Notice, however, that gerunds generally do not topicalize along with their heads:

(4) **gwènò dákô òmàkò mê àcámâná**
chicken woman 3s-catch-perf for eat-ger-1sa
'the chicken, the woman caught it for me to eat'

With infinitives only, **mê** may be deleted:

(5) **kwàc òlwìttέ ì búŋ dwògò nèkkò tòtt à àpwô**
L. 3s-sneak-mid-perf out forest come+back infin kill-infin mother att+part H.
'leopard sneaked out of the forest to come back to kill Hare's mother'

9.12.5 Consequence and result

Statements about consequence and result are often made with the paratactic construction. In these cases, the second clause is interpreted as the result or consequence of the first:

(1) **àcémô tùtwàl àcwê**
1s-eat-hab very-much 1s-become+fat-perf
I eat a lot, I'm fat
'I eat a lot so I'm fat'

(2) **òmàtò kɔ̀ŋɔ̀ òmèr**
3s-drink-perf beer 3s-become+drunk-perf
he drank beer, he got drunk
'he drank beer so he's drunk'

They may also be made with the relative particle **àmê** followed by a verb in the perfective aspect:

(3) **òlɔ̀kɔ̀ lòk àmɛ̂ ɪ̀ yɪ̀ɛ̀ àmɛ̂ òdɔ̀k**
3s-change-perf word rel+part in belly-3sa rel+part
3s-go+back-perf
'he changed his mind and (as a result) went back'

The first **àmɛ̂** functions as the ordinary relative particle. The resultative sense of the second **àmɛ̂** probably results from a pragmatic inference from the more basic 'time after' sense (Sec. 9.12.1).

9.12.6 Manner

Manner clauses are formed with **kít** 'way, manner' as head of a relative clause construction:

(1) **yín ìbínó kòbbɪ̀wá kít àmɛ̂ myérô òtî kèdè cèntèwá**
you 2s-come-hab say-ben-infin-1p way rel+part
3s-be+necessary-hab 1p-do-subj with money-1pa
'you'll tell us how we should use our money'

10. Structures in discourse

10.1 Reference in discourse

The relations of an NP to other NP's in a discourse may be signalled by the type of anaphoric process used. For subjects, there is a four member system of oppositions for the representation of NP's:

full NP

(1) **lócə̀ òcèm**
man 3s-eat-perf
'the man ate'

reinforced subject

(2) **én lócə̀ òcèm**
he man 3s-eat-perf
'the man ate'

independent pronoun

(3) **én òcə̂m**
he 3s-eat-perf
'he ate'

inflected verb

(4) **òcèm**
3s-eat-perf
'he ate'

In the case of human DO's and advanced IO's, there is a five way opposition:

full NP

(1) **ànénò lócə̀**
1s-see-perf man
'I saw the man'

topicalized DO

(2) **lócə̀ ànêné**
man 1s-see-perf-3s
'the man was seen by me'

inflected verb

(3) **ànêné**
1s-see-perf-3s
'I saw him'

reinforced object

(4) **ànênɛ́ ɛ́n**
1s-see-perf-3s him
'I saw *him*'

topicalized DO pronoun

(5) **ɛ́n ànênɛ́**
him 1s-see-perf-3s
'he was seen by me'

Non-human DO's have a four way opposition:

full NP

(1) **ànénɔ̀ ɔ̀t**
1s-see-perf house
'I saw the house'

topicalized DO

(2) **ɔ̀t ànénɔ̀**
house 1s-see-perf
'the house was seen by me'

topicalized DO pronoun

(3) **ɛ́n ànénɔ̀**
it 1s-see-perf
'it was seen by me'

zero anaphora

(4) **ànénɔ̀**
1s-see-perf
'I saw it'

Cleft is available for nouns and pronouns in most sentential positions (Sections 9.8, 9.9). In this section we will examine a number of factors that influence the distribution of these forms.

Introducing a referent

Referents in Lango are introduced to discourses by the unsurprising device of using full NP's, unless the referent is both known and in the forefront of attention of both speaker and hearer, in which case inflected verbs are likely to be used. Notice that reference to speaker and hearer (first and second person referents, respectively) are by definition known and in the forefront of attention, and so full NP's are not used. When the addressee is not certain, as in the case of a person shouting into a crowd, a vocative NP may be used, in

addition to the usual second person reference. Vocatives precede the sentence, occasionally follow it, most often as afterthoughts:

(1) **òkélò, bĭn kân**
O. 2s-come-imper here
'Okelo, come here'

In regard to introduced third person referents not in the forefront of attention of both speaker and hearer, their syntactic placement depends on their status as topics, or sentence orientations. Referents intended as discourse topics are introduced as subjects. If further identification is necessary, this is accomplished by introducing the referent as the subject of an indentification sentence:

(1) **ògwàŋ àwóbí àmê pàppérê rwòt**
O. boy rel+part father-3sa king
'Ogwang is a boy whose father is a king'

New referents, which are not discourse topics are typically introduced as objects:

(2) **òkélò òdɔ̀k pàcó. ònwòŋò tòttérê**
O. 3s-go+back-perf home. 3s-find-perf mother-3sa
'Okelo went back home. He found his mother'

In (2), **tòtò** 'mother' is introduced into the discourse. New referents intended as main characters in a narrative may be introduced like discourse topics.

Since Lango organizes its sentences along an old-new continuum, new referents that are unknown to the hearer (i.e. indefinites) must be introduced towartd the end of the sentence. The only exceptions are nouns marked with **-mɔ́rɔ̂**, which marks indefinites (Sec. 8.7.4). Nouns so marked may occupy subject position, and since the subject is an obligatory constituent of a Lango sentence, some sentence types, for instance existentials, virtually require subjects marked with **-mɔ́rɔ̂**.

Established referents

A referent is said to be established if it is in the hearer's immediate consciousness, which in discourse terms usually means that it has been mentioned within the last three or four sentences with no other referents mentioned with which it may be confused. In such cases, the inflected verb is used or, for non-humans, zero anaphora, which is functionally equivalent to the inflected verb in Lango:

(1) **òjʊ́k òbínô pàcó**
O. 3s-come-perf home

(2) **tɛ̂ tèddò rìŋó**
3s-and+then-hab cook-infin meat

(3) **tɛ̂ càmmò**
3s-and+then-hab eat-infin
'Ojuk came home. He then cooked the meat and ate it'

Established referents may also be coded as DO's, retaining topic status. In such cases, the inflected verb will not suffice, and a topicalized pronoun is used. For instance, the discourse above could be followed by a sentence like

(4) **én jɔ̀ tɛ̂ nènné**
him people 3s-and+then-hab see-infin-3s
'he was then seen by the people'

where the topic **Ojuk** is referenced by the pronoun **én** and the third singular object marking on the infinitive.

Established referents may shift from topic to non-topic status, as in the case of **Okelo** in the discourse below. As a non-topic direct object, **Okelo** in (4) is referenced by the inflected verb:

(1) **òkélò òbèdò píŋ**
O. 3s-sit-per ground

(2) **tɛ̂ yàà**
3s-and+then-hab go-infin

(3) **tɛ̂ wòt òkkɔ́**
3s-and+then-hab go-infin completely

(4) **ògwàŋ tɛ̂ nènné**
O. 3s-and+then-hab see-infin-3s
'Okelo sat on the ground. He then got up and went away. Then Ogwang saw him'

Reestablished referents

When a referent has been a topic and then loses topic status to another referent, as in the case of **Okelo** in (4) in the above discourse, several devices are available for reestablishing the referent as topic. Suppose sentence (5) continues the above discourse and reestablishes **Okelo** as topic. This may be done by simply using a full NP,

(5) **òkélò tɛ̂ rìŋò**
O. 3s-and+then-hab run-infin
'Okelo then ran'

or by using an independent pronoun:

(5') **én tê rìŋò**
he es-and+then-hab run-infin
'he then ran'

The independent pronouns **én** and **gín** 'they' in subject position signal a reestablish topic, or in some cases the beginning of a new episode (Sec. 10.2).[137]

But suppose that sentence (4) above is followed by a number of sentences with **Ogwang** as topic. In reestablishing **Okelo** as topic, either the full NP is used (as in (5) above), or the reinforced subject is used:

(6) **én òkélò tê rìŋò**
he O. 3s-and+then-hab run-infin
'Okelo then ran'

The sole function of the reinforced subject seems to be to reestablish as topic a referent that has not been topic for at least three or four sentences. The thematic suffix **-mérê** can also be used in such cases:

(6') **òkélòmérê tê rìŋò**
O.-theme 3s-and+then-hab run-infin
'then the aforementioned Okelo ran'

Where required by the valence scheme, NP's may be reesatablished as topics syntactically as DO's. They will take the form of topicalized NP's:

(7) **òkélò jɔ̀ òwìŋé àwòt ì búŋ**
O. people 3s-hear-perf-3s 3s-walk-prog in forest
'Okelo was heard walking in the forest'

Notice the use of **jɔ̀** 'people' as a non-specific subject.

Contrast

Contrast may be indicated by intonation alone, but this device is statistically less frequently employed in Lango than in English, clefting being the preferred device. Generally speaking, contrast by intonation is used for the purpose of maintaining parallel structure. For example, if A says

(1) **rwòt ònènò òkélò ì pòtò**
king 3s-see-perf O. in garden
'the king saw Okelo in the garden'

and B believes that **Ojuk**, not **Okello**, was seen by the king, B might retort

(2) **rwòt ònènò òjúk ì pòtò**
king 3s-see-perf O. in garden
'the king saw Ojuk in the garden'

maintaining the original sentence structure. (The underlined word is given contrastive stress). However, the most likely response is (3), utilizing a cleft construction:

(3) **òjʊ́k én àmê rwòt ònèné ì pòtò**
O. it rel+part king 3s-see-perf-3s in garden
'it's Ojuk that the king saw in the garden'

Any NP may be contrastively stressed or clefted.

When an object pronoun is in contrast an additional possibility, the reinforced object construction, presents itself. Here the appropriate pronoun follows the inflected verb:

(4) **àlábâ ònèné én**
A. 3s-see-perf-3s him
'Alaba saw *him*'

Directionality

Pronominalization in Lango is almost exclusively left-to-right anaphoric; cataphoric reference seems always to be the result of afterthought, not part of planned sentence construction as it may be in English. For instance, (1) is perfectly acceptable in English:

(1) when he$_i$ got back, Ojuk$_i$ ate

In Lango, however, the controller NP precedes the pronoun or inflected verb:

(2) **ì káré àmê òjʊ́k òdwògò, tê cèm**
in time rel+part O. 3s-come+back-perf,
3s-and+then-hab eat-infin
'when Ojuk came back, he ate'

10.2 Organizing events in discourse

In this section, I will discuss the mechanisms by which Lango marks sequential narration and non-sequential narration (simultaneity, repetition, overlap, and lookback) in narrative discourse.[138] In particular, I will examine the three morphological aspects, the use of **ònwòŋò** (Sec. 8.2.4) and **ì káré** 'at the time, when' (Sec. 9.12.1), and the **tê** construction (Sec. 9.6).

In many languages, the function of indicating sequential narration is performed by the perfective aspect.[139] But in Lango, this function is performed by the **tê** construction, which indicates that there is no break in the linear sequence of events in a narration. A narrative discourse

typically begins with a perfective, followed by a series of sentences with **tê** until a break in the narrative is reached. Sentences with **tê** are interpreted as having the aspect of the inflected verb that precedes them, despite the fact that **tê** itself is inflected in the habitual aspect. Thus in the discourse below, the **tê** clauses are interpreted as perfective:

(1) **òkélò òdɔ̀k cên ì búŋ**
O. 3s-go+back-perf back to forest

(2) **tê wòt nèkkò dyèl à ŋàttɔ́rɔ̀**
3s-and+then-hab go-infin kill-infin goat att+part person-indef

(3) **tê dwògò pàcó**
3s-and+then-hab come+back-infin home
'Okelo went back to the forest. He went to kill someone's goat, and then came back home'

A break in the narrative sequence can be accomplished by a clause which repeats information already known. This function is frequently performed by clauses headed by **ì káré**:

(4) **ì káré àmê òdwògò pàcó**
in time rel+part 3s-come+back-perf home
'when he got back home'

(4) repeats information contained in (3). Such repetitions are frequently encountered in Lango narrative discourse and serve the function of marking off episodes, or sequences of sentences with a common theme. Notice that the verb in (4) is perfective. (4) would ordinarily be followed by another sequence of sentences with **tê**, until the end of the new episode:

(5) **tê càmmò dyèl**
3s-and+then-hab eat-infin goat

(6) **tê nìnò**
3s-and+then-hab sleep-infin

(7) **ì káré àmê ònìnò**
in time rel+part 3s-sleep-perf

(8) **tê càkkò kʊ̀ɲɲɔ̀ bùr**
3s-and+then-hab start-infin dig-infin hole
'he ate the goat and then slept. After sleeping, he started to dig a hole'

(7) is another repetition clause with **ì káré** and the perfective, marking off another episode. Such clauses almost always contain the perfective. (8) continues the narration in the new episode.

The functions of the perfective, then include the introduction of discourses and episodes. The perfective is also used in an augmentative

function, expanding on an event originally coded with **tê**, usually for dramatic effect. Such sentences do not advance the narrative. For example, (8) can be followed by (9) which serves this augmentative function:

(9) **òkʉ̀ɲɔ̀, òkʉ̀ɲɔ̀**
3s-dig-perf, 3s-dig-perf
'he dug (it), he dug (it)'

In addition to the discourse continuity function with **tê** and the new episode and augmentative functions with the perfective (both typically repetitive), there is the background function. Backgrounded material is outside the mainstream of the narrative sequence, and expresses situations or states explaining motives, attitudes, and desires, or events which are subsidiary (typically simultaneous with mainstram, in-sequence events) or negative, that is, those expressing negative results. Any of the three aspects may be used for backgrounded material. The perfective is used to code susidiary events, the habitual is used for states, and the progressive for unbounded activities (Sec. 8.2.4).[140] For instance, (9) above may be followed by sentences expressing backgrounded material:

(10) **cèŋ àryèɲ**
sun 3s-shine-prog

(11) **kwʉ̀k òmàkɛ́**
sweat 3s-catch-perf-3s

(12) **pé twɛ́rô nwòŋŋɔ̀**
neg 3s-be+able-hab find-infin

(13) **párá ònwòŋɔ̀ cîré**
worries 3s-find-perf 3s-oppress-hab-3s
'the sun shone, and he started to sweat. He was not able to find it, and worries beset him'

Notice that none of the above advances the narrative sequence — even the perfective in (11), but rather thay help explain it and provide the detail to flesh it out and make it interesting. The narrative might continue as follows:

(14) **òkélò tê tyèkkò kʉ̀ɲɲɔ̀ bùr**
O. 3s-and+then-hab finish-infin dig-infin hole

(15) **tê wòt yèɲɲò òjʉ́k**
3s-and+then-hab go-infin look+for-infin O.
'Okelo then stopped digging the hole and went to look for Ojuk'

Notice that the narrative sequence with **tê** resumes immediately after the augmentative and backgrounded material in (9-13).

Sentences with the lookback function are formed with **ònwòŋò** (Sec. 8.2.4). When an event is presented out-of-sequence, having occurred prior to the last event recorded in the narrative sequence, **tɛ̂** cannot be used. Instead the sentence is formed with **ònwòŋò** and the verb is put in the perfective.[141] For instance, sentence (15) can be followed by (16), a lookback sentence:

(16) **òjʊ́k ònwòŋò òwòtò gùlú**
O. 3s-find-perf 3s-go-perf G.
'Ojuk had gone to Gulu'

The discourse functions and their syntacticalizations can be summarized below:

discourse function	*syntacticalization*
-introducing discourse	any of the aspects, depending on the sense
-repetition, new episode	perfective
-discourse continuity, uninterrupted narrative sequence	**tɛ̂** construction
-augmentative	perfective
-backgrounded material	any of the aspects, depending on the sense
-lookback	**ònwòŋò** with perfective

It should be noted that **tɛ̂** is used to indicate uninterrupted temporal sequence even when following a verb inflected in the habitual or progressive, as the following example shows:

(1) **ká dòŋ òyánô léyínî òtɛ̂ pòkkò**
when thus 3p-skin-hab animals-this 3p-and+then-hab divide-infin
'When they skin animals, they divide them'

In this example, the **tɛ̂** clause is given an habitual interpretation because the inflected verb that precedes it is habitual; even so, it establishes a relation of temporal succession with that inflected verb.

10.3 Transitive and intransitive verb forms

One additional comment on the use of transitive and intransitive verbal forms should be made to put the matter in proper perspective.

In Sec. 8.2.1, the 'relevance' of an argument was used as a criterion for the choice of a Tr, AN, or SA form. But notice that relevance is not determined grammatically as a device for promoting cohesion between sentences in discourse. Instead, relevance refers to the overall relevance of the argument for the discourse as a whole (or at least a subpart of the discourse), not for any given sentence in context. For instance, in answering the question

A. Did you eat the chicken?

the answer can not be

B. Yes, I ate.

but rather

B. Yes, I ate it.

If the argument was relevant for the question, it must be relevant for the answer, because relevance is defined for discourses and not in terms of intersentential predictability. Similarly, in Lango, a Tr must be the response to a Tr question, not an AN, even though the Tr DO is predictable in this context:

A. **ìcámò gwènò** Tr
2s-eat-perf chicken
'did you eat the chicken?'

B. **àcámò** Tr
1s-eat-perf
'I ate it'

The cohesive property of predictability in context is handled by pronominalization, which for non-human DO's is accomplished by a simple Tr verb. The predictability or relevance of an entity for the discourse as a whole is handled by choosing an intransitive valence scheme. If the original question was

A. **ìcémò?** AN
2s-eat-perf
'did you eat?'

the response would be

B. **àcémò** AN
1s-eat-perf
'I ate'

and not

B. **àcámò** Tr
1s-eat-perf
'I ate it'

The relevance of an entity is a semantic/pragmatic affair, not a grammatical cohesive one, such as substitution (nominal or verbal) and ellipsis. And their choice of valence scheme is as fundamentally a discourse matter as choice of verb.

11. Additional issues

11.1 The status of subjects and topics in Lango syntax

As the leftmost NP in unmarked sentences, the subject usually plays the role of topic in Lango. But the subject and topic roles are more easily separable in Lango than in English, since any argument of the predicate or associative NP in the matrix clause or parallel clauses (Sec. 11.2) can easily assume the topic role by being moved to sentence-initial position, and, somewhat less acceptably, so can arguments in subordinate predications.

We have already discussed (Sec. 8.5.2) how topics in Lango differ from those in 'topic-prominent' languages such as Mandarin: In Mandarin, topics need not be arguments or associatives, whereas in Lango they must be. However, topics in Lango and Mandarin share a number of characteristics, which we will briefly summarize here. First, they must be interpreted as definite or generic, at least when distinct from the subject (Noonan 1977). Second, they are interpreted as the sentence orientation, delimiting the frame within which the rest of the sentence is interpreted; in more traditional terms, they are what the sentence is about. And third, they occupy leftmost position in the sentence. This latter characteristic has an exception in Lango, namely clefted NP's, which can precede a topic-subject, though must follow topicalized NP's.

The function of the subject divorced from its usual role as topic is as the highest grammatical slot in a role identification system which matches highest grammatical slot to highest available semantic role.[143] In Lango, the role hierarchy has agent as the highest role, experiencer next, followed by patient, locative, instrument, etc. Instrument subjects scarcely exist in Lango.[144]

In this section we will examine a number of properties of topics and subjects and provide some suggestions as to why each set is associated with the NP it is.[145]

Topic properties

The topic is the only NP whose definiteness is assured simply because of the grammatical slot it occupies. Out of context, of the arguments in (1),

(1) **lócə̀ dákô òmìò búk**
man woman 3s-give-perf book
'the man was given a book by the woman'

only the topic must receive a definite interpretation. Subjects must receive a definite interpretation only when they are also topics. This guarantee

of definiteness, setting topics apart from other arguments in the sentence, was referred to as the 'referential prominence' of the topic by Schachter (1977). It is this referential prominence of the topic that results in the interpretation of the topic as the sentence orientation, since as the only bit of necessarily definite, backgrounded or presupposed information, it is the focal point of linkage of the sentence with previous discourse and background information. As such, it provides the frame within which the sentence is interpreted.

It is interesting to note that all languages seem to provide a mechanism (apart from the simple use of demonstratives) to definitize at least one noun per sentence. When languages lack a system of articles, topic markers, or other indicators of presupposed status, initial position seems to fill this function.[146] This is true for languages as diverse as Russian, Mandarin, and Lango. The syntax and pragmatics of initial position topics show remarkable similarities in all these languages.[147]

The essence of the syntactic properties of the topic is coreferentially with other topics. The topic is the link binding the sentence to other sentences in discourse, whereas the subject plays a role wholly internal to the sentence. So, it is the topic, not the subject, that controls coreference with adjacent and subordinate clauses:

(1) **dákô lócə̀ ònènò. àcàmmò dèk**
woman man 3s-see-perf. 3s-eat-prog stew
'the woman was seen by the man. *She* was eating stew'

(2) **dákô lócə̀ ònènò. tê dòk**
woman man 3s-see-perf. 3s-and+then-hab
go+back-infin
'the woman was seen by the man, and then *she* went back'

(3) **dákô lócə̀ ònènò àmê àmàttò kòŋə̀**
woman man 3s-see-perf rel-part 3s-drink-prog beer
'the woman was seen by the man while *she* was drinking beer'

Notice that if **dákô** were not topicalized and the subject **lócə̀** were the topic, **lócə̀** would be interpreted as the subject of the second clause in (1-3). As shown in Sec. 9.10, the topic also controls coreference with switch/non-switch reference morphology. This control of coreference is a predictable consequence of assuming the sentence orientation, which provides the linkage not only with previous, but also with subsequent, discourse.

In Sec. 9.10, it was also noted that topics control coreference with floated quantifiers. This is also a consequence of assuming the sentence orientation, as pointed out by Schachter (1977) for Tagalog. The NP quantified by a form like *all* has the property of being necessarily referential (definite) or generic in interpretation. Sentence orientations like topics are

always definite or generic, but in Lango an unqualified noun that is not the sentence orientation may receive either a definite or indefinite interpretation. If a quantifier were allowed to float away from any position other than the sentence orientation, the noun would no longer obligatorily receive a definite interpretation and hence a conflict could arise between this interpretation and the obligatory definite interpretation associated with quantified nouns. In the case of floating from a topicalized NP or a subject NP in the absence of a topicalized NP, no such conflict arises.

Subject properties

Lango is an indirect role marking language and the subject is the highest ranking argument slot (Noonan 1977). This means that the subject must be an argument of the verb — unlike the topic, which need have no special relationship to the verb, but must have some recoverable relation to the predication that follows so that the predication can be about the topic. Further, the subject in Lango is an indispensable constituent; not only is the matrix verb always inflected for subject, but subjects are almost always referential — i.e. there are no 'dummy' subjects in Lango[148] and few impersonal constructions. Recall that even weather expressions (Sec. 8.13) are not impersonal in Lango. Only predicates with extraposed sentential subjects are impersonal and of these only modal expressions are idiomatic (Sec. 9.1.1).

Where the topic provides the link with discourse and so controls coreference across sentence boundaries, the subject controls coreference within the sentence. This is because the subject is an integral part of the predication, its semantic role determined by the valence scheme of the verb, and so on, whereas the topic may originate outside the valence set, i.e. from an associative construction or from a subordinate clause. So the subject, not the topic, controls coreference with reflexives. Compare the following sentences:

(1) **òkélò òkwàò àlábâ pìrɛ̀ kɛ́nɛ̂**
O. 3s-ask-perf A. about-3s self-3sa
'Okelo$_i$ asked Alaba about himself$_i$'

(2) **àlábâ òkélò òkwàò pìrɛ̀ kɛ́nɛ̂**
A. O. 3s-ask-perf about-3s self-3sa
'Alaba was asked by Okelo$_i$ about himself$_i$'

In both (1) and (2), the reflexive pronoun can only refer to **Okelo**, the subject. If **Alaba** is the intended object of **pì**, the reflexive cannot be used:

(3) **òkélò òkwàò àlábâ pìrɛ̀**
O. 3s-ask-perf A. about-3s
'Okelo asked Alaba$_i$ about himself$_i$'

The intended referent of **pìrè** in (3) could, of course, be someone other than **Alaba**, but could not be **Okelo**.

The subject is also interpreted as coreferential with the subjects of verbs in all following verb phrases where there is no intervening S-boundary. This includes the second clause in serial constructions (n.b. not paratactic constructions — see Sec. 9.1.3 and 11.2) and infinitives, whether complements or adjuncts:

serial

(1) **ògwàŋ òkélò òwòtò òjwàtò**
O. O. 3s-go-perf 3s-hit-perf
'Ogwang was hit by Okelo'

complement

(2) **ògwàŋ òkélò àmìttò jwàttɛ́**
O. O. 3s-want-prog hit-infin-3s
'Ogwang, Okelo wants to hit him'

adjunct

(3) **ògwàŋ òkélò òjwàtò mê yòmmò yì àlábâ**
O. O. 3s-hit-perf for soften-infin stomach A.
'Ogwang was hit by Okelo in order to please Alaba'

Okelo, the subject, and not **Ogwang**, the topic, is interpreted as the subject of the second verb in the series in (1) and the infinitives in (2) and (3).

Viewed from a traditional transformational perspective, Lango has remarkably few subject creating processes. As noted in Sec. 8.6, there is no passive in Lango. As argued in 1.2.1, the Tr/SA distinction cannot be viewed as an active/passive contrast, nor can the active/middle distinction (Sec. 8.2.2): Both lack the sense of the passive. Topicalization comes closest to the sense, but does not result in the assumption of subject status by a topicalized object.

Similarly, raising phenomena are notably absent.[149] There are no Lango equivalents to the English 'Floyd seems to like whiskey' and 'Roscoe is likely to be inebriated'. There is, in any case, a general disinclination to express judgements impersonally in Lango: The two sentences mentioned above would normally be expressed in Lango with expressions like 'I know/believe/think that Floyd . . . ' or the like.

In terms of the typology presented by Li and Thompson (1976), Lango is a subject prominent language. Reference to subjects on the verb is obligatory, and impersonal constructions are rare. But because it is poor in grammatical operations that refer solely to subjects, it can only be considered weakly subject dominant. The topic plays a prominent role in Lango syntax, and grammatical processes like relativization, interrogation, and the like operate on objects as freely as subjects.

11.2 The grammatical status of parataxis and serialization

The paratactic construction represents something of a hybrid. On the one hand, it has characteristic features of non-coordinate constructions: Phonologically, it behaves as a simple sentence. Syntactically, there are constraints on the second clause (no overt subject NP, the subject must be interpreted as an argument of the first clause) which are reminiscent of truncated embedded predications, frequently represented by infinitive phrases or the like. And semantically, the paratactic construction can sometimes be translated by simplex constructions in English or sentences containing complement clauses. But on the other hand, there is the two assertion aspect of parataxis and a range of interpretations that is similar to clauses conjoined by 'and' in English.

So the paratactic construction seems to partake of both coordinate and non-coordinate status. Clearly, the second clause is not straightforwardly grammatically subordinate to the first: There can be no subordinator like the complementizer **nî**, the verb does not assume a special form like the subjunctive or infinitive, nor can the switch/non-switch reference opposition be exploited as with hypotactic indicative complements. Subordinate status would, in any case, be difficult to reconcile with the two assertion semantics of parataxis. And just as clearly, parataxis differs from true coordination in Lango. The Coordinate Structure Constraint controls cleft and relativization in true coordinate structures, but does not apply to paratactic constructions since NP's in the first clause may be clefted or relativized on. Since the second clause in a paratactic construction seems neither to be clearly subordinate nor clearly coordinate with the first, a new sort of relationship can informally be proposed, namely that of 'parallel' structures. Parallel structures have the same grammatical rank, but are not coordinate since there are syntactic constraints governing form and interpretation of parallel structures, as opposed to the pragmatic constraints that govern the form and interpretation of true coordinate structures.[150] They share with structures involving subordination syntactic constraints on one clause (the second in parallel structure) but differ from subordination in that the affected clause will not show any overt signs of subordination. The fact that the second clause is of equal rank with the first means that its verb will necessarily be fully inflected as a main verb and, in the case of parataxis, that the interpretation of the second clause will be unaffected by the first. Both of these characteristics serve to differentiate parallel structures from main-subordinate relationships.[151]

Parallel structures are fundamentally hybrids, partaking of aspects of both subordination and coordination. Syntactically, there is some resemblance to main-subordinate relationships, but semantically they are more like coordinate structures in that their meaning is horizontally rather than vertically organized. That is, it is arranged in a linear sequence of bits with relations between the bits left mostly to inference rather than organized

around a main clause which acts as a sort of semantic pivot and filter.[152] Main-subordinate relationships are characterized by the latter.[153]

Verbs in serial constructions are also parallel, but as pointed out in Sec. 9.1.4, and elsewhere, serial and paratactic constructions have numerous differences. Serials seem most compatible with an interpretation as parallel verb phrases.[154] This would naturally account for the obligatory aspect and subject agreement, the possibility of only one negative per sentence, etc. Paratactic constructions are more compatible with an interpretation as parallel clauses, which would account for the possibility of each clause having different aspect and different subjects, for the possibility for separately negating each clause, etc. This analysis would also be compatible with the interpretation of paratactic constructions as constituting two assertions.

Having examined the differences between parataxis and serialization in Lango and, presumably, elsewhere, we can now speculate on a possible diachronic relation between the two. I would like to suggest parataxis as a possible source for serialization.[155] Serial constructions could develop by reanalysis of paratactic constructions, especially where the *syntactic* constraints on serialization match, or nearly match, the pragmatic requirements of certain constructions.

In the case of the comparative and ingressive, we find a match of this sort. In these constructions, the subject of both clauses will necessarily be the same, as will the aspect marking on both predicates. Independent negation, hardly possible given the sense of the ingressive, is not likely with the comparative. And the semantic effect of one versus two assertions is minimal in these cases. Reanalysis as serial constructions would just syntacticize the pragmatic status quo. The only obvious syntactic consequence would be the placement of the negative — from

(1) **àdwôŋ pé àlô rwòt**
1s-fat-hab neg 1s-defeat-hab king
'I'm fatter than the king'

when the construction is paratactic, to

(2) **pé àdwôŋ àlô rwòt**
neg 1s-fat-hab 1s-defeat-hab king
'I'm fatter than the king'

following reanalysis.

In other cases, the syntactic requirements of serialization will be met, if not as consistently, at least regularly. For instance,

(3) **màc òmɪ̀ò òbòkɛ̀ òtwò**
fire 3s-give-perf leaf 3s-dry-perf
the fire gave it to the leaf (=did something to the leaf),
it dried
'the fire dried the leaf'

a causative paratactic construction,[156] meets the syntactic specifications for a serial as would quite likely the majority of instances of causative parataxis. Reanalysis would leave the overall semantic complexity of these sentences virtually unchanged, so that (3) as a serial could carry basically the same information as before. Such constructions are potential candidates for reanalysis. Structurally, the jump from parallel clauses to parallel verb phrases is not very great, particularly when the full potential of the second clause, e.g. its ability to freely select a subject, is already limited by the constraints on parataxis.

Reanalysis from paratactic to serial will most likely occur where one of the verbs assumes a regular role in a construction so that it can be given a sentence functional interpretation. By this, I mean direct object marker, indirect object marker, marker of comparative, marker of aspect, etc. In Lango, **lɔ-** 'exceed' (and its synonym **kat-**) have assumed the role of marker of comparative, and **wot-** 'go', when followed by another perfective verb, serves to reinforce perfective aspect, though it retains a motional sense as well. Its omission, however, in the ingressive construction would not significantly affect the meaning of the sentence. Lango lacks the 'take' construction (Lord 1973), found frequently in West African serializing languages and used there to mark direct objects and instruments and as a causative marker, as well as other functions. Because of its widespread use and its ability to take on sentence functional interpretations, this verb is a fine candidate for reanalysis. Perhaps the frequent use of serialization in some West African languages has gone hand-in-hand with the frequent use of the 'take' construction. Lango lacks any verb in parataxis or serialization with the generality of the 'take' construction. The various words for 'take' in Lango play no special role in parataxis or serialization. 'give', another frequent participant in serial constructions across languages, does have a regular role in a paratactic construction in Lango. But **mɪɪ-** 'give' does not mark indirect objects in Lango, unlike similar verbs in West African serializing languages, and has a regular role only in the causative construction, which has not been reanalyzed as serial (see footnote 156). It may be that the lack of a 'take' construction or something similar is an important factor in the predominance of parataxis over serialization in Lango.

We come now to the matter of the difficulty of embedding paratactic constructions. As noted in the sections above, paratactic constructions can be embedded as relative clauses and as complements to factive and utterance predicates. They cannot be converted into infinitives or subjunctives, unlike serials — the paratactic construction would in any case be incompatible with the irrealis interpretation of the subjunctive. It is easy to understand why paratactic constructions can be embedded as complements to utterance predicates, where they would simply serve as reports of assertions. But their restriction otherwise to relative clauses and factive complements is, on the surface at least, rather puzzling. In these environments, they represent old, backgrounded information. One possible

reason why they occur here and not in other sorts of embedded environments is that, as background information, the interpretation of the construction is semantically unaffected by the matrix predication. Since it is a feature of the paratactic construction when non-embedded that each clause is taken to be separately asserted, even to the point where the second clause is not semantically (as opposed to pragmatically) affected by the first, this relationship between the clauses can be preserved when the construction is backgrounded but not when the construction is semantically affected by the matrix predication.

Notes

1. The discussion in this and other sections of the phonology draws freely on Okello (1975), an especially valuable source since Okello is a native speaker of Lango. However, because this grammar utilizes the speech of several Langi, has a broader scope and a different theoretical basis, the details of the phonology presented here differ in a number of respects from those presented by Okello.

2. Lango has been in fairly close contact with English over the last half century, and as a result certain English sounds traditionally not heard in Lango may occasionally be encountered especially among educated speakers. For example, the labio-dental fricative [v] can be heard in [gàvmèntè] 'government' alongside the more usual pronunciations [gàbmèntè] and [gàbàmèntè].

3. Words may consist simply of a root morpheme or a root morpheme plus stem vowel (Sec. 5.1.2). To either the root of the root plus stem vowel various affixes may be added: all affixes are vowel final (Sec. 5.1.3).

4. **bwògò** was the only word consistently recorded with a [bw] cluster. Since Lango [b] corresponds to Acholi [b] and [bw], it is reasonable to suppose that Lango [bw] merged with [b]. Either **bwògò** exceptionally escaped the [bw] to [b] shift or [bw] has been reinserted under Acholi influence. Also, [bwŏm] was recorded alongside [bŏm] 'wing', the former being labelled as 'sounding like Acholi' by the one speaker who was questioned about the form.

5. The sequence [ny] does not occur. Since C in Cy combinations is phonetically palatalized, [ny] would be very close phonetically to [ɲ] and would presumably by interpreted as such.

6. Environment B applies also to consonants which were historically stem initial, but synchronically would probably not be analyzed as such:

[àwɛ̱nɔ̂]	'guinea fowl'	(à- is an historic prefix)
[èŋɔ̱ɡù]	'lion'	(è- is an historic prefix)

[w] and [ŋ] are found in B, but are excluded from C, which includes all other intervocalic positions. Notice that the (historic) stem-initial syllable is stressed (stressed syllables have underlined vowels in this text). Synchronically it may be stress, rather than morphological boundaries that defines environment B, though a purely stressed based characterization might run into difficulties with reduplications like:

à-ŋì-ŋ̀ɕ
1s-cold-redup-hab
'I'm sort of cold'

It should be emphasized, however, that in most cases stress and environment B are straightforwardly determinable on the basis of morphological structure.

7. Gemination in the formation of transitive infinitives seems historically to be simply another case of gemination via cluster simplification. Driberg (1923) lists forms like [lìbdò] corresponding to modern [lìb•ò] 'to lie in wait', though Lango speakers do not now accept the former. In verbs, where C_2 of the C_1VC_2 root is Ø, [y] is found in environments where gemination of C_2 would be expected. Compare the following:

àgálò	'I delayed it'	**àʧóò**	'I woke up smn'
gàl•ò	'to delay it'	**ʧò•yò**	'to wake up smn'

Synchronically, the transitive infinitive suffix could be viewed as **-yò**, the /y/ conditioning cluster simplification. As noted in several places in this grammar, /y/ patterns with the anterior consonants and not with its fellow palatals (see, for example, footnote 9), suggesting an origin for **-yò** that corresponds to the form above given by Driberg. Alternatively, one could view the appearance of [y] in [ʧò•yò] as a case of /y/ epenthesis (Sec. 1.4.5).

8. These, too, seem to result historically from cluster simplification. The benefactive stem, for example, derives historically from the root plus the preposition **pì**:

ò - kèl - pì - á → òkèl•é
3s-bring-for-1so
'he brought it for me'

In modern Lango, the historic /p/ in the suffix is never pronounced as such even when it is suffixed to a root where $C_2 = Ø$, e.g. **mɛ** 'melt':

ìmɛ̂•yá
2s-melt-ben-perf-1so
'you melted it for me'

See Sec. 1.4.5.

9. See Sec. 8.7.2 for a discussion of associative constructions. This, too, seems to be historically just a case of cluster simplification. The modern Lango attributive particle **à** is a recent conflation of earlier **pà** 'associative' and **mà** 'adjectival', both recorded by Driberg and found still in closely related Acholi. The geminated consonant may also be devoiced — see Sec. 1.4.3.

The third singular progressive prefix seems to have derived from **yàà** 'go', so that here, too, cluster simplification seems to have been at work, with /y/ patterning, as noted above, with the anterior consonants.

10. There are a very few words for which gemination would have to be indicated lexically. All of these are either borrowings,

pámmà	'cotton'	(from Swahili *pamba*)
tánnà	'bed'	(from Swahili *ki-tanda*)
kóppɔ̀	'cup'	(from English *cup of*)
cùggú	'black ant'	(from Swahili *chuguu* 'ant heap')

or are complex in origin, though the latter may not be easily segmentable:

òkkɔ́	'completely, entirely, utterly'
wòkkí	'a few minuts ago'
kággó	'plant yielding strong rods'

Such words may represent the vanguard of lexical gemination in Lango, though there is a tendency, especially with the borrowings, to degeminate: **tánnà** becomes **tánâ** 'bed' for many speakers. (See also Sec. 4.3.) At this stage, such cases of gemination are still few, and the great majority of cases of gemination are morphophonemically predictable.

11. Only one exception, **cáwà** 'time, clock', was recorded. This, however, is clearly a borrowing, ultimately from Arabic. An alternate pronunciation **cáâ** also exists, and seems to be more common.

12. When one of the flanking vowels is /i/, /ŋ/ may be retained in careful speech:

/wàŋ+á/ → [wə̀ə́] 'my eye'
/wàŋ+ɛ̀/ → [wə̀ɛ̀] 'his eye'

but:

/wàŋ+í/ → [wəŋ́] or [wə̀ə́ī] 'your eye'

13. Recall that [ŋ] does occur intervocallically in environment B:

/ĭ + ŋùlù/ → [ìŋúlù]
2s-spit-perf
'you spat'

14. In ordinary Lango orthography, /ŋ/ is always written in such words:

nyango		**nyaŋo**
orunga	or	**oguŋa**
oranga		**oraŋa**

Literate Langi insist that an /ŋ/ is present in such cases, but whether this results from their training in the orthography or from some deeper intuition about phonological segments, I cannot say.

15. Actually, as pointed out in endnote 9, modern **à** represents a conflation of earlier **pà** and **mà**, both in form and function. Gemination and devoicing are understandable before historic **pà**, the associative particle. Gemination and voicing would be expected before the historic adjectival particle **mà**, but in fact devoicing, not the expected voicing, occurs before attributive adjectives:

píg à ràc → **píkk à ràc** (not ***pígg à ràc**)
juice att+part 3s-bad-hab
'bad juice'

gwôk à ràc → **gwókk à ràc** (not ***gwógg à ràc**)
dog att+part 3s-bad-hab
'bad dog'

This attests the complete merger of the two forms.

The loss of the initial consonant noted above is a regular feature of Lango vis-à-vis its relatives. A number of prepositions, particles, and noun prefixes have lost such particles:

Lango	*Acholi*	
à	**pà/mà**	'attributive particle'
ì	**kì**	'in, about, with, to, from'
à-tîn	**là-tîn**	'child'

Not all such words have lost their initial consonants, however:

pì	**pì**	'according to'
ká	**ká**	'if'

The loss of these consonants has had a lingering effect on Lango phonology. See Sec. 1.6 for discussion of the 'zero consonant' phenomenon.

16. Between /i/ and /ə/ there is, inevitably, a slight excrescent [y].

17. Gregerson (1974) notes similar alternations in other Western Nilotic languages.

18. An analysis involving epenthesis is more convenient from a synchronic perspective than an alternative analysis which posits the /r/ in underlying forms because, these forms apart, the putative /r/ does not figure in any other phonological processes (e.g. gemination). That /r/ was present in some of these forms historically is clear: Lango **pì** 'according to' corresponds to Shilluk **per** 'like, similar'; the /r/ surfaces

in the irregular plural of **ŋákô** 'girl', **àŋìrə̀** 'girls', etc. In some of the other forms with epenthetic /r/, in particular the other propositions, the /r/ may have spread analogically.

19. Jakobson (1978) reports that Luo has no vowel corresponding to Lango /ə/ (Tucker and Bryan's /ä/). Knappert (1963) omits mention of any similar vowel in his brief discussion of Alur vowels. Acholi, however, agrees with Lango in having /ə/.

It should be noted that /ə/ is the least common of the basic vowels in Lango, amounting to only about 2% of the root vowels in the language. It is very rare in nominal roots, somewhat more common in verbs, especially in intransitive stems, and most common in expressive vocabulary.

20. Similar descriptions exist for other Souther Lwo languages — for example, Knappert's (1963) for Alur.

21. Ladefoged seems to have switched the glosses for some of his laryngealized/non-laryngealized pairs, but his intent to distinguish creaky Class B from non-creaky A seems clear, nonetheless.

22. In Section 1.1, it was noted that voiced consonants are sometimes heard with a murmured voice quality. This feature is likely a stylistic one. In my admittedly limited experience, it seemed limited to female speakers, though I haven't investigated the matter sufficiently to state this as a fact. In any case, this occurence of murmured voice quality did not correlate with Class A vowels. In no one's speech was it an invariant feature.

23. However, as Lindau (1978) notes, a forward movement of the tongue root (which results in a wider pharynx and a lowering of the larynx) results in a lowering of f_1, having an effect, then, similar to the raising of the tongue. Advanced tongue root position will be discussed below.

24. In case the reader had begun to wonder, native speakers have no difficulty in distinguishing minimal pairs such as these.

25. The vowels in this figure are plotted according to a technique described in Ladefoged (1975), the vertical axis represents f_1 while the horizontal axis represents f_2 minus f_1.

26. Jacobson found that Luo speakers differ as to whether tongue height or pharynx width serves as the primary distinguishing characteristic, though both seem to be employed to some degree by all speakers.

27. Tucker (1958) records **ɨttɔ̀** for my **yɨttɔ̀** 'to climb'. His form is identical to the current Acholi pronunciation and was identified as such by the one informant who was presented with it. In fact, Lango always seems to have glides where Acholi has root initial high vowels. Comparative evidence is rather mixed as to which language has the older form, but it is interesting to note that in this respect Lango agrees with its Northern Lwo cousins instead of its Southern Lwo siblings:

	Lango	*Acholi*	*Adhola*	*Alur*	*Luo*
ear	**yít**	**ít**	**í•t**	**íŧ**	**ít**
nose	**wúm**	**úm**	**úm**	**úm**	**úm**
	Shilluk	*Dinka*	*Nuer*	*Nandi*	*Päkot*
ear	**yíŧ**	**yic**	**jíŧ**	**í•t**	**yi•t**
nose	**wùm**	**wum**	**ɣum**	-	-

28. An example of a symmetric vowel harmony system is Turkish, where any vowel occupying a certain position determines the set of vowels for the entire word.

29. One exception of sorts is described under Roman numeral V below.

30. None of my informants accepted these forms, but Okello (1975), a native speaker, finds them acceptable.

31. For some speakers, stem vowel **-ɔ** is possible also with root vowel **ɛ**:

pyɛ̀ttɔ̀ or **pyɛ̀ttɔ̀**
'to sieve (tr)'

32. In very slow, deliberate speech, coalescence need not occur. All the forms given below represent ordinary, conversational speech tempo.

33. The phonological effect of **à** when it is intervocalic is to prevent coalescence between stem vowels and following prefixes, as in example (4). It is only when it occurs between two consonants that it surfaces without coalescence:

ɲàŋ à pé òtɔ́ɔ̀ → **ɲàŋŋà pé ó'tɔ́ɔ̀**
crocodile att+part not 3s-die-perf-rel
'a crocodile that's not dead'

34. There are, however, a number of trisyllabic words containing downstepped highs that are synchronically unanalyzable into component mophemes and, therefore, never show an alternation between the H 'H pattern and anything else:

àlé'té	'flute'	
àbwó'rí	'eland'	[_¯¯]
òbí'á	'a grass used for thatching'	

[The H 'H pattern is also unaffected by tone sandhi.] In such cases, those favoring concrete models might wish to posit underlying H 'H sequences. In a more abstract analysis, a L HL H tonal contour can be posited for these words, the surface tone contour resulting from the application of the rule of Underlying Fall Simplification, as discussed in Sec. 4.4 below.

35. For this reason there is no need to posit a mid tone in Lango since the downstepped high is not a freely occuring tone.

36. As noted in Sec. 2.2, underlying or contracted contour tones occur with long vowels. Thus the difference between

àtêk	[_⁀\]
1s-strong-hab	
'I'm strong'	

and

àrâc	[_⁀\]
1s-bad-hab	
'I'm bad'	

(where the contour in **têk** 'strong' is underlying, but that in **ràc** 'bad' comes about via tone sandhi) is more a consequence of vowel length than of any real tonal difference. The long vowel in **têk** persists only at the end of intonational phrases, merging with the sort found in **àrâc** when phrase internal, and is shortened if the vowel loses its contour tone in sandhi. As far as tone sandhi and other phonological processes are concerned, the two falling tones are treated identically. They are potentially contrastive only with certain intransitive verbs where they can be used to distinguish perfective from habitual aspect (Se. 5.3.2). Only in that context are they transcribed differently in this grammar.

Where vowels are lengthened, as, for example, before word final /r/, falling tones resemble those in (1):

dóg àbwòr	→	**dóg ábwôr**
mouth lion		
'a lion's mouth'		

37. Synchronically, the generalization that surface LH is found only in words with L H alternants is too strong since some subjunctives, those ending in resonants (Sec. 5.3.2), do not take the **-ǐ** suffix and so do not exhibit the alternation. So, for example, there is no ***yèí** 'carry it on the head!' alongside **yě**, nor is there an ***òkwànǐ** alongside **òkwǎn** '(that) he

read'. Still, the alternation is part of the subjunctive paradigm even if all verbs do not undergo it.

38. As late as the 1950's, Tucker (1955) recorded a set of monosyllabic nouns with a LH tone pattern. Words such as his **ŋět** 'side' I've recorded only with L **ŋèt**, though these words behave in tone sandhi as though they were still LH. See the discussion of the LH nouns in Sec. 4.4.2 below (endnote 44).

Also, there is a set of verb prefixes which must be analyzed as morphophonemically LH, though they never surface as LH, appearing in verb citation forms as L. See Sec. 5.3.1.

39. **dóggólá'mérê** 'the door'. **-mérê** is one of the few disyllabic suffixes.

40. The word **lócə̀** is an exception. The H L pattern in citation forms could arise regularly only given an underlying H L with intervening gemination, or from an underlying HL L, as appears to be the case with **lócə̀**. Word internal, non-morphologically conditioned gemination is not found in native vocabulary (but see endnote 10).

41. As pointed out in Sec. 1.2.3, lexical gemination in Lango as results from clusters originating in compounds. Words like **pámmà** 'cotton' immediately strike a Lango speaker as non-native.

42. See Goldsmith (1976) and the papers in Clements and Goldsmith (1984).

43. Other treatments of Lango tone sandhi can be found in Tucker (1955), Maddieson et al (1974), Okello (1975), and Dwyer (1983).

In the rules that follow, formal elegance is sacrificed for descriptive convenience and clarity of exposition. The only formal device employed is extrinsic ordering.

44. Which means that the citation forms of nouns like **tyěn**, **ŋět**, etc. will have L, an instance where the citation form and the underlying form differ. This state of affairs is apparently recent for this set of nouns, as noted in endnote 38.

A list of nouns with underlying LH tone is given below:

tyěn	'leg, foot'	**tŭŋ**	'horn'	**lěm**	'cheek'
lăk	'tooth'	**cŏŋ**	'knee'	**bwŏm**	'wing'
băd	'arm'	**yŏn**	'prepuce' -	**bŭt**	'side, flank'
jăŋ	'branch'	**dăn**	'palate'	**wĭt**	'ear of grain'
ŋět	'side'	**măn**	'scrotum'	**bŏ**	'new leaves'
kĭn	'space between'				

Notice that all of these forms would ordinarily occur as the head of an

inalienable associative construction (Sec. 8.7.2) as most of them denote body parts.

45. Okello (1975, p175ff) accepted some forms which were rejected by my informants, e.g. **àtîl tídí** 'the antelope is small' (p. 179) — my informants preferred **àtíl 'tídí**, as did Tucker's. Tucker (1955, p. 148) gives **àtín 'tídí**; Okello would have, presumably, **àtîn tídí**.

46. H(L)'s constitute the only real exception to the generalization made in Sec. 4.4.1 that the underlying tone pattern is preserved in Lango.

Chet Creider (pers. comm.) has suggested that the behavior of H(L) nouns could be formally accounted for by positing a floating L tone. This solution could account for the regular behavior of these nouns as well as their irregular behavior in prepausal position. Their behavior with inalienable associative suffixes would remain anomalous, however.

47. More accurately $C_1(G)VC_2$. 'C' is interpreted here formally to mean both obtruent and glide.

48. The main difference between verbs and adjectives in Lango is that verbs have no lexical tone but adjectives do. See Sec. 5.4.1.

49. These stem vowels are characteristic of the Lwo languages. In some of these, e.g. Shilluk, the stem vowel falls into the category of the 'semi-mute' or 'shadow' vowels described by Vine (1984). In Lango, the stem vowel is fully pronounced, but it is a frequent victim of deletion via coalescence, in both internal and external sandhi (Sec. 2.6, 2.7, and below Sec. 5), and contraction (Sec. 5.1.2.2).

50. Okello (1975, p. 144) records the interesting form **òdòŋê** 'elders', which has both the plural agent noun prefix and the ordinary plural suffix **-ê**. The usual form is **òdòŋò**. I've recorded a few such forms as well, e.g. **òwótê** 'friends' (from **wot** 'go, walk').

51. The suffix **-mérê** appears to be a new form in Lango, replacing earlier **-nê**. It derives from the conjugated preposition **mérê** 'for him/her'.

52. In alienable possession with pronominal affixes, the word **tyĕn** 'leg' occasionally appears as **tyèné-**, as in:

tyènèná
leg-1sa
'my leg of meat'

One informant identified this as 'Old Lango'.

53. This chart represents a sort of consensus view since there was a certain amount of variation in these forms among my informants. The form given here seems acceptable to everyone. The source of this variation, where geographical, social, or whatever, has not yet been investigated.

54. Recall that H(L) nouns exhibit the same behavior before alienable associative affixes (Sec. 4.5).

55. Note that final **-a** is not treated as a stem vowel even though it is not stressed.

56. Okello (1975) claims that **-ê** is generic in sense and **-nì** is simply plural in sense, but provides no examples that illustrate this claim. On the basis of the data available to me, the claim does not seem to be supported.

57. **tóŋê** was also recorded. A number of nouns seem to be able to take either **-ê** or **-nì**; I have not been able to determine either a meaning or stylistic difference between such plural pairs.

58. Also **lùdì** 'sticks'.

59. Also **yén** 'trees'.

60. **dyàŋ** also has the plural **dyə́ŋí**.

61. **àyíttì** is the usual form.

62. For convenience, these forms are treated here as nominal suffixes as indeed they are in the majority of instance of their use. But these forms, and the topicality affixes too, may attach to other parts of speech as well, as discussed in Sec. 8.7.1. They are probably best considered NP final clitics.

63. There are very few exceptions: **kwíyə̂** 'to not know', **yèè** 'to believe', **dágî** 'to refuse, not want', and **dòkóró** 'to cross over'. Some of the peculiarities of these forms will be discussed below.

64. They represent tonally a contraction of the derived tone of the verb stem in the perfective aspect.

65. It is perhaps worth demonstrating at this stage that the subjunctive suffixes **-í** and **-ú** are stem vowel replacements and do not have independent high tone. Recall that the tone for a disyllabic subjunctive is L H, the latter being the stem vowel tone or, rather, the tone of its replacement. We have, then, forms like

(1) **ògìkí**
3s-stop-subj
'(that) he stop'

as well as

(2) **ògǐk**
3s-stop-subj
'(that) he stop'

where **-ǵ** has been deleted and its tone absorbed into the root. Now consider:

(3) **ògǐká**
3s-stop-subj-1so
'(that) he stop me'

Here the stem vowel tone is obligatorily absorbed into the root in the presence of a pronominal object. Now compare (1) and (3): in (1) the **-ǵ** suffix bears the stem vowel tone so the root vowel is L. If **-ǵ** had independent tone, like the pronominal object **-á**, then we would expect instead of (1) a form like

(4) **ògǐkí**

where the root vowel bears the full subjunctive tonal contour LH. (4) is, in fact, a grammatical form, but it cannot mean (1): it means instead '(that) he stop you'. So, it seems clear that **-ǵ** takes the stem vowel tone which otherwise would have to be absorbed into the root vowel.

66. As this example shows, the benefactive may have an 'anti-benefactive' sense. It in fact expresses the affected animate non-agent/non-patient.
For the /y/ in **òtɔ̀ɔ̀yì**, see Sec. 1.4.5

67. As noted in Sec. 5.3.2, **bínô** is irregular.

68. See Sec. 1.5.1 for consonant changes associated with ventives.

69. Driberg (1923) distinguishes between a middle in **-érê** and a passive in **-ê**. (Since Driberg does not write tone or vowel quality, I'm assuming his forms correspond in this way to the modern forms.) Neither my data nor comparative data lend support to such a distinction.
The middle suffixes **-érê** and **-ê** both derive historically from **-rê**, a reflexive suffix which developed from a noun meaning 'body' (cf. Shilluk **rè** 'body', pl **rei**).
Both suffixes might be taken to derive synchronically from /rê/, though this would require a couple of ad hoc rules.

70. **àtínâ** was also recorded.

71. This is surely related to the **-g-** element in the plural forms of the independent demonstrative and associative pronouns. Note also the independent 3p pronoun **gín**.

72. Etymologically, it does not appear to be the attributive particle. Acholi, which would have **mà** corresponding to Lango attributive **à** in these cases, also has the **ǎ-** prefix before numerals, not **mà**.

73. In order to account for the lack of gemination in **àbícèl**, we might suppose (given that the form is synchronically derived and not lexical, which is doubtful) that the final /c/ in **àbî** exhibits the Ø/y/c alternation (Sec. 1.4.4). Note also the aharmonic vowels in this word, which reflect the word's origin in a compound.

74. Notice that 6 and 9 have aharmonic vowels typical of compounds, but 7 (given that /ɪ/ is from **àbîc**) does not.

75. One informant gave the form as **pyèrà**. However, since the form in actual use is always followed by a word beginning with the prefix **ǎ-**, the final vowel of **pyèrà** would always be lost in coalescence (Sec. 2.7).

76. In Acholi, the word for 1000 is **élfò**.

77. Though 4 **ŋwen** (Driberg's orthography) lacks the **ǎ-** prefix.

78. The spread of Acholi numbers has probably been encouraged by the common schooling of Acholi and Lango children, though even in Driberg's time some Langi were using Acholi numbers (p. 312).

79. Notice that coalescence (Sec. 2.7) is not responsible for the loss of **ǎ-**: the tone of **ǎ-** is not preserved and in any case, the vowel /a/ is preserved in coalescence in external sandhi.

80. Givón 1979 comments on the unusualness of external negation in natural language.

81. Even in its role as a simple negative marker, **pé** can take subject agreement affixes (Sec. 8.2.6).

82. This is something of an oversimplification since it's quite possible that not all languages have subjects (Schachter 1976, Noonan 1977) and even among those that clearly do employ subjects, some sentences may still be subjectless (Noonan 1978).

83. In English, where detransitivizing is not accompanied by a change in

verbal morphology, the presence or absence of an intransitive valence scheme for verbs like *eat* and *punch* is governed by pragmatic factors, such as whether the activity described by the verb is sufficiently interesting or descriptive without reference to an object, and whether the object itself is relevant or predictable. For instance, the verb *hit* resembled *punch* in that it did not use an intransitive valence scheme. But after its adoption by the game of baseball as a name for a characteristic activity within the game, an intransitive valence scheme came to be used with this verb, but only within the context of the game:

(1) he hit twice in the seventh inning

This issue will be discussed further in Sec. 8.2.1.3.

84. Generalized valence schemes usually have a characteristic meaning component.

85. The expression 'secondary argument' verb was chosen as a way of referring to the most salient characteristic of these verbs, namely, that their subjects correspond to the direct objects (secondary arguments) of the corresponding transitives. (The subject is the 'primary argument'.) The term 'patientive' was considered and rejected since not all such secondary arguments are patients: some, as noted below, are agents.

The terms Tr, AN, and SA correspond to the traditional terms 'applicative', 'qualitative', and 'neuter', respectively, but some investigators have used the term 'qualitative' so as to make it more-or-less synonymous with neuter (e.g. Malandra 1955 and Mantovani 1963). The traditional terms are rejected here because their meanings are not immediately obvious to non-Niloticists and where they are used elsewhere they are often used with a somewhat different sense. In earlier work on Lango, I have referred to secondary argument (SA) verbs as 'secondary orientation' (SO) verbs. I hope this change in terminology will cause no confusion or inconvenience.

In what follows, the terms Tr, AN, and SA will be used both as labels for generalized valence schemes and as labels for particular verbs exhibiting these valence schemes.

86. The final vowel may be **-o**, **-ɔ**, **-ʊ**, or **-u** depending on vowel harmony considerations (Sec. 2.5.2 and Noonan and Bavin 1979). **-ʊ** and **-u** are found only in a few roots whose root vowel is /ʊ/ or /u/ (Sec.2.8.2). For simplicity, we will refer to this vowel, known as the 'stem vowel' (Sec. 5.1.2) simply as **-o**. There are only three transitive verbs that do not have **-o**. **kwíyâ** 'to not know' has **-a**, **yèè** 'to believe' has no final vowel (the **è** is a root vowel). **dágî** 'to refuse, not want' lacks gemination of C_2 and has final **-i**. The **-i** is deleted when the DO is not pronominal:

(1) **àdágî** Tr
1s-refuse-hab
'I refuse it'

(2) **àdâg rìngó** Tr
1s-refuse-hab meat
'I refuse meat'

The gemination of C_2 indicated for Tr stems is found only in the infinitive and forms built, historically and synchronically, off the infinitive such as the progressive aspect and the periphrastic future construction. We have, then, for Tr **kànnò** 'to hide':

(1) **àkánò bákcì** Tr
1s-hide-perf box
'I hid the box'

(2) **ákànnò bákcì** Tr
1s-hide-prog box
'I'm hiding the box'

(3) **àbínô kànnò bákcì** Tr
1s-come-hab hide-infin box
'I'll hide the box'

In the perfective and habitual aspects and the subjunctive, C_2 is not geminated for Tr verbs, but the final **-o** is retained throughout the conjugation, except in the subjunctive.

When the verb root lacks C_2, **-y-** is found in place of gemination: Tr **kòòyò**, AN **kóô** 'to leave out, isolate, pick out among'. This is true also for the benefactive (Sec. 8.2.3).

A very small number of roots lack gemination of C_2 altogether, suffixing instead **-óró** to the root: Tr **dòkóró** 'to cross over'. See Sec. 5.3 for a detailed discussion of the morphology of verbs.

87. See Sec. 5.3.1 and references given there for a detailed description of the morphology of Tr, AN, and SA verbal forms.

88. Lango, in fact, has no morphological passive. The usual functions of a passive are taken over in part by SA verbs, in part by the middle voice (Sec. 8.2.2), and in part by topicalization (Sec. 8.6 and Noonan and Bavin 1978b).

Notice that the universal characterization of passive by Perlmutter and Postal (1977) would include the Tr/SA relation. Evidence given in the text indicates that it is not passive. If the Lango Tr/SA relation is indeed not active/passive, then we have here evidence that passive is fundamentally a meaning relation, the structural relation being secondary.

89. **wìŋŋò** 'to hear' has no AN or SA counterpart, but has an abilative middle, **wìŋérê** 'to be able to be heard'. **nènnò** doesn't have an abilative middle, but the functions of one are partly filled by its SA **nên** 'to be visible, appear'. The reason, no doubt, that AN **nénô** has found a place in the language is that it has taken on a secondary sense, namely 'to be awake', together with its primary sense of seeing as opposed to being blind.

90. Three other Tr/SA pairs, not in this class, require animate Su's for their Tr's: Tr **nènnò** 'to see', SA **nên** 'to be visible'; Tr **ŋwèèyò** 'to smell', SA **ŋwè** 'to be smelly'; and Tr **pòttò** 'to fail', SA **pòtò** 'to fail, fall'. The latter have an imperfect semantic relation — **pòttò** does not also mean 'to drop'.

91. Aside from the form, the separate lexical entry for each of these verbs is attested by the fact that each member of the pair can acquire or lose meanings independently of the other: **pòttò/pòtò** mentioned in endnote 90; Tr **myèllò** 'to dance', AN **myèl** 'to tremble'; and Tr **tòòyò** 'to numb', SA **tòò** 'to die'. However, unpredictable meaning relations between such pairs are not common.

92. Only the trio Tr **nènnò**, AN **nénô** 'to see', SA **nên** 'to be visible, appear' violates this in having both AN and SA forms.

93. Note the similar interpretation of the reflexive in French, German and other languages.

Sec. 5.3.1 has an extensive list of Tr/SA and Tr/AN pairs.

94. See Barber 1975 for a discussion of active/middle versus active/passive languages. Lango is clearly active/middle.

95. There are two sorts of exceptions to this. The middle has developed an 'abilative' sense with a very few predicates. Some of these, e.g. **wìŋérê** 'to be able to be heard', **tèllêʔ** 'to be able to be pulled, stretched', have transitive counterparts as expected, **wìŋŋò** 'to hear', **tèllò** 'to pull, stretch'. But others do not, eg. **bínnèʔ** 'to be able to come' has no transitive counterpart, only **bínô** 'to come'.

The other exception is more idiosyncratic. The verb **kwàŋ** 'to swim' has a counterpart with middle morphology, **kwàŋérê** 'to swim', but no Tr counterpart. Both **kwàŋ** and **kwàŋérê** can refer to the ordinary act of swimming, but if the body of water in which the swimming is done is mentioned, only **kwàŋérê** can be used:

(1) **lócə̀ òkwàŋérê ì kúlúnì**
man 3s-swim-mid-perf in river-this
'the man swam in this river'

(2) ***lócə̀ òkwàŋ ì kúlúnì**

96. As noted in endnote 69, the middle suffixes both derive from **-rê**.

97. The meaning 'the ice was melted' would likely be translated with a topicalization construction (Sec. 8.5.2), which involves moving the DO **pè** 'ice' to the beginning of the sentence. The verb is Tr, and is conjugated in the third person singular:

(1) **pè òmèò** Tr
ice 3s-melt-perf
'the ice was melted'

pè is a topicalized DO, and is not the subject (Sec. 8.5.2 and Noonan and Bavin 1978b).

98. (2) is essentially equivalent to

(1) **dákô òcwàlò búk bòtó** Tr
woman 3s-send-perf book to-1s
'the woman sent the book to me'

Notice that the **-ô** ventive suffix differs from the usual first singular affix, which involves the vowel a for Su, DO, possessive, and prepositional object uses.

99. An example of the anti-benefactive sense:

(1) **òtòòyá** SA-ben
3s-die-ben-perf-1s
'it died on me'

100. I speak of agreement here, though the forms considered might better be viewed simply as bound pronouns since they seldom occur with independent forms, unlike Su inflections (see Sec. 8.7.6).

101. See Erteschik-Shir 1979 and Green 1974.

102. Givón 1979a, p. 524.

103. I will speak informally of movement in reference to topicalization. This is a shorthand way of saying that the topic is interpreted as a coreferential to the argument said to be moved to topic position. This same shorthand will be applied in later sections to clefted NP's.

104. Noonan 1977.

105. Topicalization is subject to Ross' constraints. This is discussed in Sec. 9.9.1

106. See Creider 1977. The generalization given in the text is likely too strong since I have recorded instances of right dislocation which do not seem merely to be afterthought phenomena. For example, a sentence like

(1) **ònênè gwôk**
3s-see-perf-3so dog
'he saw the dog' (lit: 'he saw it, the dog')

the verb contains an object suffix interpreted as coreferential to the DO **gwôk**, unusual in Lango where the DO NP alone is normal. This structure could be interpreted as containing a right dislocated NP whose trace in the matrix is the object suffix. Pragmatically, the structure seems to be used to insure a definite interpretation for **gwôk**, which was being reintroduced into the discourse from which this sentence was taken. Without the object suffix, **gwôk** could, in principle, be interpreted as a new referent and assigned an indefinite interpretation. See Sec. 10.1 for a discussion of how such situations are usually handled in Lango.

107. Noonan 1977.

108. Noonan and Bavin 1978b.

109. See Noonan 1978 and Comrie 1977 for a discussion of the distinction between passive and impersonal constructions.

110. This construction resembles 'possessor promotion' reported from Bantu (e.g. by Hyman 1977).

111. Chet Creider (pers. comm.) has pointed out to me that Western Nilotic languages in general do not allow subject NP's to be questioned.

112. E.g. by Malandra 1955 and Crazzolara 1955. Notice that the gerunds in this construction cannot be considered 'cognate objects' (cf. 'dream a dream', etc) because intransitive as well as transitive verbs have gerunds used in this way.

113. The general properties of each of these syntactic constructions is discussed in Noonan 1985.

114. Noun complements may be a product of English influence; I have never encountered one in free discourse, but only as a translation of an English sentence. Omondi (1982), however, discusses noun complements in Dholuo at some length.

115. Noonan 1981.

116. This section is largely taken from Noonan and Bavin 1981.

117. I am assuming that syntactic constructions, like the words that constitute them, can be assigned meaning in the sense that they make a regular contribution to the meaning of the sentences which contain them.

118. For example in

(1) **àwíŋò dákô àjwàttò lócə̀**
1s-hear-perf woman 3s-hit-prog man
I heard the woman, she was hitting the man
'I heard the woman hitting the man'

Aspect differences in complements to immediate perception predicates can thus be indicated directly by the ordinary aspect system. Contrast (1) with (2):

(2) **àwíŋò dákô òjwàtò lócə̀**
1s-hear-perf woman 3s-hit-perf man
I heard the woman, she hit the man
'I heard the woman hit the man'

119. For example, the second clause below may occur with or without negation:

(1) **jɔ̀ òbínô òrêm**
people 3s-come-perf 3s-be+insufficient-perf
people came, they are insufficient
'not enough people came'

(2) **jɔ̀ òbínô pé òrêm**
people 3s-come-perf neg 3p-be+insufficient-perf
'enough people came'

Negation of the first clause does not negate the entire construction:

(3) **pé àtêk àmátô kɔ̀ŋɔ̀**
neg 1s-strong-hab 1s-drink-hab beer
I'm not strong, I drink beer
'I'm not strong because I drink beer'

Negation will be discussed further below.

120. (3) is grammatical with the reading 'the man forced it to read the book'.

121. The construction utilizing the subject pronoun **én** most likely arose via a cleft construction. This would accord with its use in modern Lango since, like clefted constituents, **én** is often used as an item-in-contrast. See Sec. 10.1.

122. They can also be used with **ŋèèyò** 'to believe' and similar predicates, but here a paratactic construction rather than a subordinate one is much preferred:

(1) **àŋéô òkélò òdíô òkwàn**
1s-believe-hab O. 3s-press-perf O. 3s-read-perf
I believe it, Okelo pressed Opio, he read
'I believe Okelo pressed Opio to read'

123. See Dik (1968) p. 265-7 for a detailed discussion of the semantics of this and similar sentences.

124. For general discussions of serial constructions in African languages, see Stahlke 1970, Welmers 1973.

125. Exceptions have been noted by Bambose 1974 p.27, though it remains to be seen whether the example he cites from Izi is really serial. Since the distinction between serial and paratactic constructions has not previously been made, it's possible that at least some examples described in the literature as serial may turn out to be paratactic.

126. See Stahlke 1974, p.274.

127. Consultants insist that this is a single word. **mê** never occurs without **à** in Lango.

128. Ross 1967. Chet Creider has pointed out to me that other Nilotic languages do not obey the Complex NP Constraint. The crucial cases involve sentences like the following,

(1) **lócà òkwàlò gwènò àmê rwòt òjwàtò dákô àmê òtédò**
man 3s-steal-perf chicken rel+part king 3s-hit-perf
woman rel+part 3s-cook-perf
'the man stole the chicken that the king hit the woman
who cooked'

which my informants rejected. I concede that their rejection of this sentence may reflect the influence of English on my informants' judgements. I have never recorded a sentence in free speech which violated the CNPC, however.

129. See Noonan 1985 for further discussion of the terms used here, and Noonan and Bavin 1978a for a detailed analysis of Lango complementation.

130. See Noonan 1985 for a discussion of the argument arrays of causative predicates.

131. Karttunen 1971a, 1971b.

132. This definition is derived from Keenan and Hull 1973, and follows from the definition of presupposition.

133. The comments in endnote 128 apply here as well.

134. Such paratactic clauses are not really embedded. See Sec. 11.2.

135. These environments may represent assertions or reports of assertions and are therefore compatable with the item-in-contrast sense of the cleft. See Noonan 1985.

136. See Noonan and Bavin 1978b for a detailed discussion of subject and topic properties in Lango.

137. The first and second person pronouns are used more frequently and do not necessarily indicate a reestablished topic.

138. This is discussed in more detail in Noonan 1981.

139. Hopper 1979.

140. This must, of course, be viewed from the Langa perspective. For instance, active desire is coded in the progressive, whereas statements of need are coded in the habitual.

141. Recall that **ònwòŋò** with the other aspects simply has a past tense significance. **ònwòŋò** cannot be used with the **tê** construction since the **tê** clauses are always in-sequence and **ònwòŋò** communicates that the clause is out of sequence.

142. See Noonan 1977 and Li and Thompson 1976 for more discussion of this issue.

143. Noonan 1977.

144. Notice that Lango is like English in placing experiencers relatively high in the hierarchy and unlike Irish, for example, where experiencers are regularly excluded from subject status.

Notice that there are no sentences like

(1) ***pàlà òŋòlò àtîn**
knife 3s-cut-perf child
'the knife cut the child'

The closest one can come to an idiomatic translation of the gloss in (1) is

(2) **pàlà òŋɔ̀lɔ̀ àtîn kèdé**
knife 3s-cut-perf child with-3s
'the knife, he cut the child with it'

or

(3) **pàlà àtîn òŋɔ̀lérê kèdé**
knife child 3s-cut-mid-perf with 3s
'the knife, the child cut himself with it'

depending on the agency.

145. The list of topic and subject properties was originally suggested by Keenan 1976, who did not distinguish between subject and topic properties. See Schachter 1977 and Noonan and Bavin 1978b.

146. But see Creider 1977. The reason initial position is chosen for this role was discussed by Bolinger 1952.

147. Compare the description of the Mandarin topic in Li and Thompson 1976 and the description of initial position in Russian in Borras and Christian 1959.

148. Dummy subjects such as English it and there seem to be a feature of the NW European Sprachbund and are either very rare or non-existent elsewhere.

149. One possible instance of 'tough-movement' was discussed in Sec. 9.1.5

150. There may, of course, be syntactic constraints on conjunction reduction and gapping, but not on content, as in parallel structures.

151. See Noonan 1985 for a detailed discussion of ways matrix verbs can affect the interpretation of subordinate predications in complementation.

152. I have in mind here semantic factors like the meanings of complement taking predicates which impose interpretations on their complements; complement taking predicates function as plugs, holes, and filters (Karttunen 1973) allowing or preventing the percolating upward of presupposition associated with complements, etc.

153. Givón 1979 speculates on the origin of subordination in coordination, an idea with a long history in linguistics (see for example Brøndal 1952). Parallel structures as represented by parataxis could be interpreted as a stage in this process — semantically still like coordinate structures but developing syntactic properties like subordinate structures. Serialization can be seen as a further step in this process — see below.

154. This was discussed in Schachter 1974, where serial constructions were argued to consist of a set of VP's following the common grammatical subject and dominated by the S-node. (All known serial verb languages are subject initial.)

155. Serial constructions could also develop from 'consecutive' constructions as suggested by Hyman 1971. Paratactic and consecutive constructions have a number of similarities. The Lango translations of Hyman's consecutive are the paratactic and **tê** constructions.

156. Causative constructions like (3) can be shown to be paratactic in the following way. First, the second clause may be independently negated and second, may have a different subject from the first clause:

(1) **lócə̀ òmɪ̀á pé àwótò**
man 3s-give-perf-1s neg 1s-go-perf
the man gave it to me, I didn't go
'the man prevented me from going'

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Sample text

The following text was first recorded by Driberg (1923) and was rendered into modern Lango by the author and Mr. George Ojuk. Mr. Ojuk was familiar with the story and produced a version independently which was very similar to the version given below.

LYEC GINNI AGOGO
[The Elephant and the Chameleon]

1. **nwàŋ gìn òlárò ɲákô mé ɲòm**
   long+ago they 3p-compete-perf girl for marriage
   Long ago they were competing to marry a girl.

2. **nwàŋ pì òtwɔ̀**
   long+ago water 3s-dry-perf
   Long ago there was a drought,

3. **ékká tòtò à ɲákô tê kèllò ɲàrè**
   and+then mother att+part girl 3s-and+then-hab bring daughter-3sa
   and then the girl's mother brought her daughter

4. **tê kòbbò nî**
   3s-and+then comp
   and then said:

5. **ŋàt àmé túcô pì**
   someone rel+part bore-infin water
   "Whoever bores water,

6. **wěk ògér ɲákônì**
   2s-leave-imper 3s-build-subj girl-this
   let him marry this girl."

7. **lyèc dòŋ tê pòòrò kùɲɲù pì**
   elephant then 3s-and+then-hab dig-infin water
   Then Elephant tried to dig for water,

8. **pì tê lɔ̀ɔ̀yé**
   water 3s-and+then-hab defeat-infin-3so
   the water defeated him

9. **pé ònwòŋò**
not 3s-find-perf
and he didn't find any.

10. **àgògò tê pòòrò**
chameleon 3s-and+then-hab try-infin
Then Chameleon tried it

11. **tê tùccò pì**
3s-and+then-hab bore-infin water
and he succeeded in boring water.

12. **ì káré à òdàrò tùccò pì**
in time att+part 3s-finish-perf bore-infin water
When he finished boring water,

13. **tê kèllì tòtò à ɲákô pì**
3s-and+then-hab bring-ben-infin mother att+part girl water
he took it to the girl's mother,

14. **tê màttò**
3s-and+then-hab drink-infin
and she drank it.

15. **ékká àgògò tê tìŋŋò ɲákô**
and+then chameleon 3s-and+then-hab lift-infin girl
And so Chameleon lifted up the girl

16. **tê tèèrò gèèrò**
3s-and+then-hab take-infin marry-infin
and carried her off to marry.

17. **ékká lyèc tê bínô lìbbò àgògò**
and+then elephant 3s-and+then-hab come-infin lie+in+wait-infin chameleon
Then Elephant came and lay in wait for Chameleon

18. **tê kòbbò nî**
3s-and+then-hab say-infin comp
and said:

19. **wán cên òyéɲò pì**
we formerly 1p-look+for-perf water
"We formerly looked for water

20. **àmê òlɔ́yɔ̀wá**
rel+part 3s-defeat-perf-1po
which defeated us.

21. **yín ìrâc**
you 2s-bad-hab
You were bad

22. **ìtê wòtò nwòŋŋò pì**
2s-and+then-hab go-infin find-infin water
and went and found water

23. **ìtê gèèrò dákô àmê bèr**
2s-and+then-hab marry-infin woman rel+part beautiful
and married a beautiful woman."

24. **lyèc tê nèkké àgògò**
elephant 3s-and+then-hab kill-infin-3so chameleon
Then Elephant killed Chameleon.

25. **ɨ́ káré lyèc dòŋ òtyèkò nèkké**
in time elephant then 3s-finish-perf kill-infin-3so
After Elephant killed him,

26. **ònwòŋò dákô òtyèkò yâc**
3s-find-perf woman 3s-finish-perf be+pregnant-infin
he found that the woman was pregnant.

27. **dákô dòŋ àmê ònwóŋò òyàc òɲwàlò lcô**
woman then rel+part 3s-find-perf 3s-be+pregnant-perf
3s-bear-perf male
The woman who had been pregnant bore a boy.

28. **ékká àtîn òbèdò**
and+then child 3s-stay-perf
And the child lived

29. **tê dòŋò**
3s-and+then-hab grow-infin
and grew.

30. **káré òtyèkò dòŋò**
time 3s-finish-perf grow-infin
When he grew up,

31. **tòttérê òkòbbî**
mother-3sa 3s-say-perf-comp
his mother said:

32. **àmê ònwòŋò ònèkò pàpí lyèc**
rel+part 3s-find-perf 3s-kill-perf father-2sa elephant
"The one who killed your father was Elephant."

33. **ékká tê wòtò bòt mwòk**
and+then 3s-and+then-hab go-infin to aardvark
So he went to Aardvark.

34. **mwòk tê gòllò àdú**
aardvark 3s-and+then-hab excavate-infin hole
Aardvark then dug a hole.

35. **ékká àgògò tê lwòŋŋò ògòlè**
and+then chameleon 3s-and+then-hab call-infin kite
And then Chameleon called Kite

36. **tê kobbî**
3s-and+then-hab say-infin-comp
and said:

37. **yín ògòlè wòtí wăk jɔ̀**
you kite 2s-go-imper 2s-convoke-imper people
"You, Kite, go gather people

38. **àmê òbínô myèllò bùl**
rel+part 3p-come-perf dance-infin drum
who will come to dance the drum dance."

39. **ì káré òtyèkò wàkkò jɔ̀**
in time 3s-finish-perf convoke-infin people
When he had gathered the people,

40. **òtyékò myèllò bùl**
3p-finish-perf dance-infin drum
they finished dancing the drum dance,

41. **àgògò tê cwààyò ògòlè nî**
chameleon 3s-and+then-hab commission-infin kite comp
and then Chameleon sent Kite on an errand, saying:

42. **wòtí ìryêyí màc**
2s-go-imper 2s-line+up-imper fire
"Go make a line of fire."

43. **ɛ́kká ògòlè tê ryɛ̀ɛ̀yò màc**
and+then kite 3s-and+then-hab line+up fire
So, Kite made a line of fire

44. **ɛ́n màc tê wàŋ**
it fire 3s-and+then-hab burn-infin
and it burned.

45. **ɛ́kká lyèc tê nɛ̀nnò màc**
and+then elephant 3s-and+then-hab see-infin fire
Then Elephant saw the fire

46. **tê kòbbò nî**
3s-and+then-hab say-infin comp
and said:

47. **kàrà wàŋcà ŋɔ̀**
well fire-yonder what
"Hey, what's that fire over there?"

48. **àgògò dòŋ tê kòbbò nî**
chameleon then 3s-and+then-hab say-infin comp
Then Chameleon said:

49. **àpùə̀ à tyènwú**
dust att+part foot-2pa
"Dust from your feet."

50. **màc dòŋ òtyèkò ònèkògí**
fire then 3s-finish-perf 3s-kill-perf-3po
And so the fire killed them.

51. **ɛ́kká àgògò tê yùttò bùl**
and+then chameleon 3s-and+then-hab grab-infin drum
Then Chameleon grabbed the drum

52. **tê cwàllò bùl ɪ̀ àdú à mwòk**
3s-and+then-hab push-infin drum in hole att+part aardvark
and then pushed it into Aardvark's hole.

53. **ɛ́kká màc tɛ̂ bínô**
and+then fire 3s-and+then-hab come-infin
And then the fire came

54. **tɛ̂ wàŋŋògí lyécí dúcú kè lê**
3s-and+then-hab burn-infin-3po elephant-pl all with animal-pl
and burned all the elephants and animals

55. **gín ká òtɛ̂ tɔ̀ɔ̀**
they and 3p-and+then-hab die-infin
and they died.

56. **mwòk dòŋ kèdè àgògò tɛ̂ dɔ̀ŋɔ̀ òkkɔ́**
aardvark then with chameleon 3s-and+then-hab go+out-infin completely
Aardvark came out of the hole with Chameleon.

57. **àgògò tɛ̂ kòbbò nɛ̂**
chameleon 3s-and+then-hab say-infin comp
Then Chameleon said:

58. **aa kóppɨ̀ dòŋ òtùm**
ah matter-this then 3s-be+finished-perf
"Ah, this matter is finish.

59. **àtyékò cʉ̀llò kwòr à pàpá**
1s-finish-perf pay-infin murder att+part father-1sa
I revenged my father's murder."

60. **mân tɛ̂ dòŋ gìk**
this 3s-and+then-hab then stop-infin
And so it ended.

Lango-English vocabulary

Verbs are listed in their infinitival forms: where transitive/intransitive pairs exist, the intransitive is marked for whether it has an 'activity naming' (AN) or 'secondary argument' (SA) sense. The transitive forms are given first.

In alphabetizing the phonetic characters, the +ATR vowels are placed before their -ATR counterparts, though they are not otherwise differentiated. /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/ are treated as separate letters, and are alphabetized in the order given.

[a] = adjective, [n] = noun, [v] = verb.

à	attributive particle
á	then
àbál	sinner [cf **bàllò**]
əbəŋə́	stupid person [cf **bəŋŋérɛ̂**]
àbîc	five
àbícèl	six
àbɪ́ryɔ̀	seven
àbòlò	plaintain
àbóŋwɔ̀n	nine
àbórò	eight
àbúc	prisoner [cf **bùccò**]
àbwòr	lion
àbwó'rí	eland
àcêl	one
àcók	shortly
àdêk	three
àdî	how many
àdɪ́ŋâ	strained beer
àdú	burrow, hole
àdúŋú	a small stringed instrument
àdwɔ́'á	askew [cf **dwɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**]
àdwôŋ, àdòŋé (pl)	old person
àgâk, àgákán (pl)	crow
àgédò	architecture [cf **gɛ̀ɛ̀rò**]
àgárá	bell
àgògò	chameleon
àjàŋâ	cat
àjɔ́'ká	traditional doctor [cf **jɔ̀k**]

àjú'lú kind of chicken [cf **jùllù**]
àkâl, àkáláŋ (pl) reed-buck
àkâr fork [n] [cf **kààrò**]
àkèddí braided grass [cf **kèddò**]
àkká purposely
àkóŋ, àkôŋê (pl) well, spring
àkú'rí dove
àkwác begger
àkwɔ́c tailor, seemstress
àkwàrà grandchild
àlɛ́dó bulrush
àlé'té flute
àlíbí beer pot
àlôp buck
àlwétê knife for harvesting millet
àlyérá pepper
ámán now, right now
ámánnò like that, thus
àmê relative particle, while
àmél burnt grass
àméró drunk [n] [cf **mèèrò**]
ɛmmò, ɛ́mô (AN) to yawn
àmmò to handle gently
àmú, àmúê (pl) husband's brother
àmújɛ́ sisal
àmʊ́k shoe
àmúrú, àmúrútá (pl) thigh
án first person singular pronoun
ànɪ́'nó sleeping sickness
àɲím àɲím ahead, in front
àɲɔ́'ɔ́ measles
àɲwàlá parent [cf **ɲwàllò**]
àŋɔ̀lkóp judge
àŋwên four
àɔ́là cough [n] [cf **ɔ̀llɔ̀**]
àpàc/àpà carver [cf **pààyò**]
àpá'dá flat [cf **pàddò**]
àpámâ, àpámê (pl) wall [cf **pàmmò**]
àpâr, pyèr (pl) ten
àpàt stranger [cf **pàt**]
àpɪ̀t one who brings up, educates children [cf **pɪ̀ttò**]
àpòyá mad person; madness, depravity [cf **pòòyò**]
àpùɛ̀ dust
àpwô hare

àrání woman who no longer bears children [cf **ránnò**]
àrégè distilled spirit
àryɔ̂ two
àtêk pipe
àtêm ring
àténì truly, for sure, certainly
àtèt smith
àtîl antelope
àtîn, ìtínô (pl) child
àttò to make a deep gash, cut
àtúdú duck
àtúmùrò hundred [old style number]
àtwál ever, never [with negative]
àwáŋá miser
àwènè when
àwénô guinea fowl
àwóbí, àwòbè (pl) boy
àwòrò greedy person, glutton [cf **wór**]
àwó'ró yesterday
àwúlà whisk [cf **wùllù**]
àyâ mother
àyé relative particle
àyélá trouble [n] [cf **yèllò**]
àyí'tá, àyítáŋ (pl) squirrel
bá please; particle used to soften imperatives
bààrò to split
bààyò to throw
bǎd arm
bàkkò, bɔ́kô (AN) to accumulate
bɔ̀kúlî gourd bowl
bàlà as
bàllò to spoil, rot; smell up
bàm pelvis
báŋá debt
bɔ̀ŋérê to act stupidly, speak stupidly
báŋ to, from
bàŋŋò to eat stew
bɔ́p once and for all
bɔ̀ppò, bɔ̀p (SA) to deflate unintentionally
bàppò to slap
bèdò idleness [cf **bèdò**]
bèdò to sit, stay; be, become; live
bɛ́l sorghum
bɛ̀llò to frighten away, disturb, disrupt

bèŋ bèŋ in an embarrassed manner
bèr, bècò (pl) good; beautiful
bèyò to move, pass
bìllò to tame
bìllò to taste
bìlò whistle
bìló charcoal
bílô germinated millet
bím baboon
bínnê to be able to come
bínô to come
bìttò to lure
bît sharp
bìttò, bítô (SA) to unshell, take off outer cover
bìyé, bìyétê (pl) anthill
bìyò to squeeze out, wring; strain
bŏ fresh leaves of cowpeas
bó net
bòkkò, bòk (SA) to make red, become red
bòkkò to narrate, rap
bòkè leafy twig
bòl handle
bòllò to throw, drop; throw away
bòŋó cloth, dress
bòòrò to hollow out, burrow, tunnel
bòòyò to wrap up
bòr, bòcò (pl) long, high, far away
bòt to; from
bòttò to eat by scooping with the hand
bùccò to yell at, threaten
bùccò to pluck (e.g. a fowl)
búk, búkê (pl) book
bùl drum
bùllò to bake
bùlú blue
bùŋŋò to hurry up
búŋ bush
bùr hole
bùrâ, bùrê (pl) cat
bŭt side, flank
bùtò to lie down, sleep
bwògò young, unripe
bwòggò to unpeel
bwòllò to deceive, pretend
bwŏm wing

bwòttò to retort insultingly
byè termite hill
cà yonder, that
càbbò to take a big amount of
cèbúl with a plop
càk milk
càkkò to start
cál picture
cálô to seem, resemble
cám eating
càmérê to be edible
càmmò, cèm (AN) to eat, cheat
càn poverty
cènnò to trouble, mistreat
cànnò to line up
càŋŋò, càŋ (SA) to heal, recover
càr slow
càrò village
càttò, càt (AN) to sell, trade; walk or drive like a drunk
cáwà/cáâ time, clock
cèddò to hold with the tip of the fingers
cég wife [always with associative pronominal suffixes]
cèggò to close, shut
cégì near
cèk, cègò/cègù (pl) short, brief
cèkkò to tell, inform, warn
cèkkò, cèk (SA) to prepare (food, beer); become ripe, ready
cèl fence [cf **cèllò**]
cèllò to hit (with a projectile)
cèllò to fence in, surround with a fence
cèllò, cédô (AN) to roast, fry
cên back, behind; formerly
cèntè/cènè money
cèŋ sun
cép cép in a sneaky manner; splashing
cèr to slip
cèèrò, cèr (SA) to raise from the dead
cìbbò to put down
cìgú locust, grasshopper
cìirò to oppress
cìl clean
cìlò dirt
cín bowel, intestines
cíŋ forearm

círí'kálí policeman [cf **cìirò**]
cìrò to flock
còbbò to pierce, stab, inject
còddò, côt (SA) to snap, break (a rope, string, thread)
còdò to act as a prostitute
cògò last born
cògó bone
cógó castor bean plant
cók near
còkkò, cókô (AN) to collect, gather
côl black
còllò to assist at birth (woman or animal)
còn long ago, early
cǒŋ knee
còòrò to push
còòyò, cò (SA) to wake up
còòyò, cóc (AN) to write; sow seeds
cúc pitch black
cùc cùc moving slowly and deliberately with small, mincing steps (like a child)
cùddù to fish
cùddù to hunt (animals)
cùggú black ant
cúkâ sheet, linen cloth
cùkúl school
cúl/cún penis
cùllò to fill up (e.g. a hole in the ground)
cùllò to pay; compensate
cúŋ liver, heart (seat of emotions)
cùŋ to stop, stand; surprise
cúŋ chaff, husks
cùp cùp deliberately
cúpâ bottle
cùppò to warn
cùùrù to pound in a mortar
cwààyò to send on errand, commission
cwàllò to send on errand; push
cwáŋ formerly, long ago
cwàr, cò (pl) husband
cwé fat [a]
cwèc pottery, weaving, wickerwork [cf **cwèèyò**]
cwèè to precipitate (e.g. rain, hail, mist)
cwèèyò to form, shape
cwìr rainy season
cwìt candy

dààrò separate; finish
dààyò to widen
dàccò to drop
dàggò to hate
dágî to refuse
dàgò swampy
dàkkò, dàk (AN) to transfer, change residence, migrate
dákô, món (pl) woman
dàktàl, dàktəlê (pl) doctor
dánô, jɔ̀ (pl) person, people
dáŋ also
dǎŋ palate
dàŋérê to shout, make loud noise
débbè/débê can
dédê bad
dèèyò to adorn
dèk stew
dèl skin
dèŋŋò, dèŋ (SA) to fill up, swell; be swollen, fat, rounded
déó ornament [cf **dèèyò**]
dèppò, dépô (AN) to collect, gather
dìəkə̀ wet, drenched
dìdìk every day, always, all the time
dìècèŋ/dìcèŋ afternoon
dìèwôr midnight
dɪ̀ɪ̀yò to press, force, convince; kneel
díkí tomorrow
díkkó/díkkú morning
dìllò to numb
dɪ̀llò to press down, pack
dìnnò, dínô (AN) to thresh
díŋ much, a lot
dìppò to smash
dît, dìtò (pl) big, old, important
dó friendly assurance
dɔ́g mouth
dɔ̀bɔ́ leprosy
dɔ́ggɔ́lâ door
dɔ̀k cattle
dɔ́k again
dɔ̀kkɔ̀, dɔ̀kɔ̀ (AN) to become
dɔ̀kɔ́ró to cross over
dɔ̀llɔ̀ to roll up, fold
dòɲɲô to come in/out; rise (of sun) [cf **dɔ̀ɲɔ̀**]
dɔ̀ɲɔ̀ to go in/out; set (of sun)

dòŋ well, quite, then, now, after all, already
dòŋ to remain behind
dòŋŋò to hit
dòŋŋò, dòŋò (AN) to grow [cf **dwôŋ**]
dòttò to suck
dúcú all, both, every
dûd buttocks
dùl, dùlê (pl) club, stump, short log
dùɲ to swirl up (e.g. dust, smoke)
dwàlá confusion [cf **dwàllò**]
dwàllò to confuse
dwè, dwétê (pl) moon; month
dwèkkò, dwék (AN) to break up a fight
dwòggô to bring back
dwògò to come back, return
dwòkkò, dòk (SA) to bring back; go back
dwôŋ, dòŋò (pl) big, old [cf **dòŋŋò**]
dwòòyò to twist
dyàŋ, dyáŋí (pl) cow
dyèl, dyéggî (pl) goat
ê yes
èèrò to start
ékká and then; so
èllò to open, uncover
èllò to spread, push aside, plunge through
êm thigh
èmír hippo
èmmò to push aside, plunge through
èn here
én third person singular pronoun
éntó as for, even; but
èŋátò lion
gàbmèntè government
gàllò, gàl (SA) to delay, cause to dally; destroy, dally
gàmmò to reply
gàmmò to take away, confiscate, earn
gèttê to stumble
gédô building [n] [cf **gèèrò**]
gèèrò, gédô (AN) to build; marry, have sex with (a woman)
gèm stinginess
gènnò to trust
gèŋŋò to prevent, stop
gèr fierce
gérô ferocity
gín third person plural pronoun

gìn, gìgù (pl) thing
gìddò to tickle
gìkkò, gìk (SA) to stop, stop at
gínní and, with
gíŋ tightly, firmly, flush, to the rim
gíté really, for sure
gòllò to dig up, excavate
gòmmò, gòm (SA) to bend
gònnê to zigzag [cf **gònnò**]
gònnò to deceive, go in a roundabout way, zigzag
gònnɔ̀ to sneak a glance
gòŋérê to give birth [cf **gòŋŋɔ̀**]
gòŋŋɔ̀ to untie, undress, interpret
gòŋ thin, emaciated
gɔ̀ŋ stiff, immovable; dried up
gòòrò to dig
gór ground squirrel
góró cave, gorge
gɔ̀rɔ́ weak, lazy, crippled
gɔ̀t, gódí (pl) mountain
gɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, góc (AN) to hit, beat
gù even
gúlú pot
gúlû to sprout
gùlù disease of goats
gùùrù, gùr (AN) to drive in (e.g. a nail)
gùùrù, gùr (AN) to stir up vegetables in oil
gù̀ù̀rù̀ to round up, collect
gwárá, gwàttì/ gwɔ́rê (pl) gourd
gwèèyò, gwèò (AN) to bark at, bark
gwèèyò, gwèc (AN) to kick, lash out
gwèk gazelle
gwènò, gwén (pl) chicken
gwèŋŋò to scratch
gwèŋ stone
gwèò bark [n]
gwòk shoulder
gwôk, gwóggî (pl) dog
gwɔ̀kkɔ̀ to look after, protect, keep
ì in, about, with, to, from
ìcínà story
ìcɔ̂, cɔ̀ (pl) man, male, husband
ìcɔ̂c porcupine
ìcɔ́k sweet potato

ìdíkè, ìdîkê (pl) leech
ìkúnə́/ìkúná mist
ìlwâ oak
ìmáŋ liver
ìwú'kú lung(s) [cf **wùkkù**]
íyá or
ìyì in, to, from [cf **ì, yìc**]
jágô, jèggì (pl) chief's assistant
jə́mî property, package
jàn to branch out
jǎŋ branch [cf **jàn**]
jèmmɔ̀, jèm (AN) to refuse, oppose; go on strike
jòlà prison, jail
jèŋŋò to lean against
jìrìrò, jírô (SA) to cause to sneeze, sneeze
jìŋŋò, jìŋ (SA) to harden, flex (muscles)
jò people
jòbbɔ̀, jóbô (AN) to collect, gather, sweep up, scoop up
jòbì buffalo
jɔ̀k, jógí (pl) (pagan) god, spirit
jòkkò to leave behind for someone to keep
jɔ̀kɔ̀rɔ̀kɔ̀ wooden straw for drinking beer
jɔ̀ŋŋɔ̀, jɔ̀ŋ (SA) to emaciate, get thin, weaken
jùkkù to pick up (wheat, sesame)
jʊ̀rkkɔ̀, jʊ̀rk (SA) to stop (accidentally)
jùllù to make prosper by giving special care
jwààyò to polish, shine
jwàttò to hit (with fist, stick)
jwìrkkò, jwìrk (SA) to stunt, shrivel, emaciate
ká and, instead of; if, when
kààrò to bifurcate, fork
kààyò to bite, sting
kààyò, kác (AN) to harvest (millet, sorghum, wheat)
kàcà/kùcà there
kádí even if
kággó plant yielding strong rods
káká instead of [cf **ká**]
kàkkò, kàk (SA) to split, break in two (wood, squash)
kàkwènè where
kál millet
kàl kraal
kàllò to step over, jump over, cross
kàmʊ̀rlárâ capsicum pepper
kân here; place
kànnò to hide

kâŋ five [old style number]
kàrà then; whereas; expresses surprise, shock
káré time; when, after
kàttò, kàtò (AN) to surpass, surpass; stand out, be important
kèc hunger
kêc, kécú bitter, angry
kèddò to braid, scarify
kèdè/kè with
kékén alone; only
kèllò to bring
kén alone; self
kéŋ thin
kèrò to cackle, cluck
kèttò to put
kèttò, kèt (SA) to destroy, scatter; fall apart, blow off
kíc bee, honey
kìdí stone, rock
kìɪ̀rò to spray
kǐn space between
kít kind
kít the way, how; since
kɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, kóô (SA) to leave out, isolate; distinguish from surrounding objects, pick out among
kòbbò, kòb (AN) to speak, say, tell, promise
kɔ̀bbɔ̀, kɔ̀kɔ̀ (SA) to transfer; migrate, change residence, translate
kòddò, kódô (AN) to blow (of wind)
kɔ̀ddɔ̀ to hook (a fish on a line), walk arm-in-arm, help someone along
kòkkò, kòk/kòkò/ kókô (AN) to cry, weep over
kɔ̀kkɔ̀ to redeem, ransom; claim back
kójɔ̀ cold [n]
kóló anger, rage, irritation
kóm certainly
kóm, kómê (pl) chair
kɔ́nà corner
kònnó what about; perhaps
kònnô/kùnnô/kənnô there
kònó how [+adj]!; perhaps
kónô if; then
kɔ̀ŋŋɔ̀ to help
kǒŋ first of all, before
kɔ̀ŋɔ̀ beer
kóp matter, dispute, importance [cf **kòbbò**]

kɔ́ppɔ̀ cup
kôr breast, chest, middle
kór trunk of a tree
kɔ̀t rain [n]
kúc peace
kùddì insect
kùl, kùllì (pl) wart hog
kʊ̀llɔ̀/kʊ̀llʊ̀ to peel with knife (of potatoes, not oranges, cassava
kúlû stream, river
kùmmù to feel depressed, grieved
kùnnó again
kʊ̀ŋŋʊ̀, kúŋô (AN) to dig
kʊ̆r negative imperative [cf **kʊ̀ʊ̀rɔ̀**]
kʊ̀ʊ̀rɔ̀ to guard, wait
kʊ̀ttɔ̀, kùtò (AN) to blow
kwààyò, kwác (AN) to beg, ask for
kwààyò, kwàc (AN) to herd
kwàc, kwècê (pl) leopard
kwàkkò to hug, embrace
kwàllò, kwò (AN) to steal
kwán ground millet meal
kwân education
kwànnò, kwân (AN) to read, study, count
kwàŋŋò to take away, get, pick up
kwàŋ to swim
kwèèrò to refuse, avoid
kwèèyò, kwèè (SA) to cool, calm down
kwènè where
kwèrí, kwèí (pl) hoe
kwíyâ not to know
kwò theft [cf **kwàllò**]
kwô to be alive, be important
kwòk to sour, rot, go bad (of food, drink)
kwòn ground millet
kwòŋŋɔ̀ to start, begin with
kwɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀, kwórô (AN) to sift
kwɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, kwɔ́c (AN) to sew
kwòr hostile act, murder; hostility
lààrò to compete for
lâc wide
lèddò to hang down (e.g. head)
làk blade of a knife
lăk tooth
lèkkò to become too familiar

làkkò to inherit, take over from another
làkkò to rinse
làllò, làl (SA) to scatter, spread; go astry
lànnò to embarass
láŋô, ləŋí (pl) Lango
láô saliva
làó, lənì (pl) cloth
làt to stroll, go for a walk
lè, lê (pl) animal
lè, léyí (pl) axe
lêb tongue
lèèyò to strain
lèggò to swing
lèggò, légô (AN) to pray to, bewitch
lěk cheek
lèkkò, lék (AN) to dream
lòkkò to roll something on the ground
lèllò to stir up; make a stew with peanut butter or simsim
lèllò, lɛ́lô (AN) to rejoice over, rejoice
lèmmò to nauseate
lèmmò to lick, taste on the tip of the tongue
lèmʊ́n orange
lèŋ clean
lér vein
lìbbò to smear much oil on the body
lɪ̀bbò to lie in wait poised for pouncing
lìbérê to move
lɪ̀ɪ̀yò to pour off, drain off
lìkkò to stomp (with the foot)
lɪ̀kkò to struggle with
lìllò to remove husks from grain
lɪ̀llò to make dirty
lɪ̀mmò to visit
lìŋù unprepared, unmixed
lɪ̀ŋ to be quiet
lɪ̀t sick, painful
lìyù smooth, slick, bright with oil
lòbò earth
lòbò-lɔ̀bɔ̀ soft, tender, ripe
lòc to rule [cf **lɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**]
lócə̀ man
lògóró (Tr) to swing
lòkkò to talk about
lɔ̀kkɔ̀ to turn around, change

lòòrò, lòr (SA) to roll, push something on wheels; roll or glide down
lòòrò to take care of (e.g. clothes)
lòòyò to defeat, smash; exceed
lòpè lòpè like a snake, slow and deliberate
lʊ̀bbʊ̀/lʊ̀bbò to follow, pursue
lùkkò to dampen
lùm, lùmê (pl) grass
lùt lung fish
lʊ̀t, lúdí (pl) stick
lùùrù to root up, mess up
lwàdà lwàdà like a snake, slowly and deliberately
lwájé clumsily
lwàŋò, lwéŋí (pl) fly
lwèèrò, lwérô (AN) to slash so as to clear (e.g. a compound)
lwéɲ fight [n]
lwét nail (on finger, toe)
lwít root
lwìttɛ̂ to sneak
lwɔ̀kkɔ̀ to wash; escort
lwòŋŋò, lwòŋò (AN) to call
lwòòrò to fear, honor
lyèc, lyécí (pl) elephant
lyèèrò to hang up; swing (purposefully), swirl (a skirt)
lyèl grave
lyèllò, lyédô (AN) to shave
lyèt hot, warm
lyétô warmth, heat [n]
lyèttô to get heated
mààrò to love, like, enjoy
mààyò to seize, rob
màc, màcê (pl) fire
mácâ that one
màkâc scissors
màcʊ́ŋgwà orange
màkkò to capture, catch (game, fish); affect
málágâ eating utensil (spoon or fork)
màló above, on high
măn scrotum
mán, mágî (pl) this
mànnò to walk around; surround
mánô/mənô, mágô/məgô (pl) that
már love [n]

màt drink [n] [cf **màttò**]
mətto to score; die [cf **màttô**]
màttò, mátô (AN) to drink, smoke (tobacco)
mé for, in order to, of
mèdâ swallow
mèddê to continue
mèèrò, mèr (AN) to intoxicate; be drunk, get drunk
mèèyò, méô (SA) to cause to glow; glow
mèèyò to melt
még own [a]
méjâ table
mèl large boat, mailboat
mémé which
mèŋŋò, mèŋ (SA) to light; flash
mèró drunkenness [cf **mèèrò**]
míə hundred
mììyò to give
mír mír glistening
mìt delicious [cf **mìttò**]
mìttò to want, need
mìyù slick [cf **lìyù**]
mɔ, mòê (pl) oil, butter, fat, grease
móggó casava
mòkkò to entangle, get stuck
mòkkò, môk (SA) to enfeeble, sicken; be sickly, feeble, thin
mòkkò to light, set on fire; confirm a fact
mɔkɔ flour
mɔllɔ, mɔl (SA) to carry off with the current; flow, float
móm/mém negative particle/verb
mònnò to prevent, hinder
mòŋ raid; army
mòòrê to be distorted, be out of shape
mòòyò to spread out in the open to dry
mòr to thunder, boom (of nature, machines, drums)
mót, mótê (pl) gift
mɔt slow, fat
mɔtɔkà, mɔtɔkɔê (pl) car
mɔtɔ-mɔtɔ elephantiasis
mòttò to greet
mùkkù, mùk to break off
mùlù to crawl, go on hands and knees
múnû, mùnnì (pl) white man
mwók mwók noisily
mwòk aardvark

mwòl humble, gentle
mwóló gentleness, humility
mwòmérê to rush away
mwòmmô to rush towards [cf **mwòmérê**]
mwònnò to cover with clay or plaster; plug up
myèèrò to be suitable, must, be obliged
myèllò, myèl (AN) to dance, shake, tremble
myènnò to stir while cooking
nàkà until; for a while
nàm river, lake
nèèrò, nèr (SA) to wither, wilt
nèkkò to kill; break, cut; oppress
nèn a while ago
nènnò, nénô (AN), **nên** (SA) to see; be awake; be visible
néró uncle
nì this
nî that [complementizer]; particle introducing adverbial expression; in, with
níâŋ sugarcane
níâŋ to understand
nìiyò to flatten
nìnò day
nìnò to sleep
níŋŋô how
nò that
nòk few
nòŋ thick [cf **nwàŋ**]
númú raw
nùùrù, nùr (SA) to make drowsy; become drowsy
nwáŋ ripped apart
nwàŋ thick, strong, tough
nwàŋ long ago
nwòŋŋò to find; receive, get
ɲààyò, ɲà (SA) to expand, make or be plentiful; open wide
ɲâk to bear profusely, be laden with fruit or flowers
ɲákô, àɲìrè (pl) girl [cf **ɲâk**]
ɲàmmò, ɲémô (AN) to chew
ɲáɲâ tomato
ɲàɲɲò to wear down, blunt, take the edge off
ɲèŋ, ɲèŋê (pl) crocodile
ɲàŋò morning sun
ɲàp lazy
ɲápô laziness [cf **ɲàp**]

ɲàr daughter
ɲèèrò, ɲérô (AN) to laugh at, laugh
ɲèn new
ɲíg grain, fruit
ɲìkkò, ɲìkò/ɲíkô (AN) to move away slightly from, move away slightly
ɲîm forehead
ɲìm sesame
ɲíŋ name
ɲít later
ɲòm marriage [cf **ɲòmmò**]
ɲòmmò, ɲòmò (AN) to marry
ɲònnò to step on
ɲòŋŋò to soften
ɲòò might, possibly, perhaps; can
ɲòr chain
ɲòòyò to cramp
ɲùt indication [cf **ɲùttò**]
ɲùttò to show, indicate
ɲwágí maize
ɲwàllò, ɲwàl (AN) to bear a child, give birth
ŋà, ŋàgí (pl) who
ŋàkkò to grind roughly
ŋàt someone
ŋè backside
ŋèc back
ŋèèyò to know
ŋĕt side
ŋèt, ŋédí (pl) worn out hoe, small hoe
ŋèt proximity
ŋìc cold [a]
ŋícô cold [n]
ŋít later
ŋò, ŋògí (pl) what
ŋòkkò, ŋòk/ŋókô (AN) to vomit
ŋòllò to cut
ŋòòyò to dishearten
ŋùllù to spit
ŋùnnù to cut off, amputate, truncate, break off, cripple
ŋùt neck
ŋwéc smell [n] [cf **ŋwèèyò**]
ŋwèccò, ŋwèc (AN) to run from, run
ŋwèddò, ŋwédô (AN) to collect vegetables, pick leaves off vegetables

ŋwé smelly [cf **ŋwèèyò**]
ŋwèèyò to smell
ŋwèn flying termite
ŋwòn termite
òbáŋá God
òbátô yam
òbèr mosquito
òbí'ə́ a grass used for thatching
òbíâ money
òbòkè leafy vegetable
òcérê rice
òddò, ódô (AN) to pound
ɔ̀ddɔ̀ to scoop
òdìlò, òdìlê (pl) ball, soccer ball
òdùkú gun
òdúr dung heap [cf **dùùrù**]
ògíkô spoon
ògòlè kite (bird)
ògʉ̀ŋá near
ògwàŋ merekat
ògwéc mashing stick
òkèkà, òkèkkì (pl) mat
òkénê some
òkéré baby
òkkó completely, entirely, utterly
ɔ̀kɔ́ outside, out
òkôk worker termite
òkɔ́nɔ̂ pumpkin
òkɔ̀ŋ pangolin
òkwé'cɛ́ bitch
òkwódô, òkwòddì (pl) tick
òlîk, òlìkê (pl) bat
òllò tiredness, boredom [cf **òllò**]
òllò, òl (SA) to bore; be tired of
ɔ̀llɔ̀, ɔ́lɔ̌ (SA) to make cough, cough
òlɔ́k wild vine, grape
òlwɪ̀t eagle
òmérâ you know what?
òmɪ̀n brother
ɔ̀mmɔ̀ to fetch
ɔ̀ɲɲɔ̀, ɔ̀ɲ (SA) to drop, pour, spill, drool; go bald; rain for a short time
òɲò or [cf **ɲòò**]
óó oh!
òòrò to send

òòyò to warm
òpókô gourd prepared for use
òpí slave
òpírɛ́ tire
òpûk tortoise
òr, òc (pl) wife's brother
òràŋà sterile (of a young woman)
òt, ùdì (pl) house
òtìt firefly
òtyèn elbow
òwéc broom [cf **wèyò**]
òyèŋò/òyèyèŋ earthquake [cf **yèŋŋò**]
pààrò to think deep thoughts; worry, grieve
pààyò, pác (AN) to carve
pàccò, pɔ́cô (AN) to peel, take off rind
pàcó, pɔ́cí (pl) village; home
pàddò to flatten
pálá red ochre
pàlà, pɔ́lí (pl) knife
pègí main support for a hut
pámmà/pámâ cotton
pàmmò to join, pile up, fit side-by-side
pàpò, pèppì (pl) father
pár brightly
párá worry [n] [cf **pààrò**]
pàt different, separate
pé negative particle/verb
pɛ̀ frozen precipitation (i.e. hail or snow)
pèm bridge
pɔ̀n navel
pèŋŋò to ask (a question)
pì water; sweat, urine, tears
pì according to, on account of, because
píg juice
píŋ ground, world, weather, ambience; down on the ground
pìŋò why
pìttò to feed
pìttò, pítô (AN) to plant
pìyè to jump
pìèn/pyèn, pìènê (pl) skin, hide
pò scar, cicatrice
pòkkò to divide, separate
pòl many, numerous; most
pònnò, pònò (AN) to hide (from), avoid

pòòrò to try
pòòyò to remember
pòòyò to spoil
pòtò garden
pòttò, pòtò/pótô (SA) to drop, fall, set; fail
púc, púcê (pl) cat
pùggù to nourish, look after well
pûl peanut
púnû, pùnnì (pl) bush pig
pùttù/pùttò to uproot (vegetables), pluck (feathers, fur)
pùùrù/pùùrò to plough, dig a field
pwód/púd yet; still, just
pwòddò to beat
pwóɲ teaching [cf **pwòɲɲò**]
pwòɲɲò, pwòɲ (AN) to teach
pwòttò, pwòt (SA) to smooth
rààyò to collect from people
ràc, rècù (pl) bad, ugly
ràννò, rèn (SA) to stunt, hold back; to stop giving birth
rém, récí (pl) fish
rèdò to shout
rèddò to open wide (usually said of eyes)
rèèyò to burn
règgò, régô (AN) to grind
rémâ red
rèmmò, rèm (SA) to cause pain to; hurt, pain
rèmmò, rèm (SA) to be insufficient for, be insufficient
rèmó blood
rèp thin
rèttê to fall [cf **rèttò**]
rèttò to drop, throw to the ground
rìddê to be tight [cf **rìddò**]
rìddò to put together, press together
rììyò to tie or wrap around, sheave
rìk long ago
rìŋŋò, rìŋò (AN) to run from, run
rìŋó meat
rìyù light, swift, pleasant
rònmò, róm (AN) to suffice
ròmò to meet, fight
rómô, rómmì (pl) sheep
ròòyò to bend
ròrò gossip
ròyà, ròyê/ròcî (pl) heifer
rú ever, yet

rùccò to confuse
rújé in a lzy manner, carelessly
rùkkù to dress, put on clothes, cover
rùt, rúdí (pl) twin
rùù to delay, stay with
rùùyù, rú (AN) to get someone moving; hurry
rwàttê to meet with
rwèŋŋò, rwèŋ/rwèŋò (SO) to lose; get lost, be lost
rwót, rwòdê (pl) king
ryèbbò to turn upside down
ryèèyò to line up, put in a line or row
ryèk wise, clever
ryèkkò to split down middle, rip open, disembowel, clean (a fish)
ryékô wisdom, intellegence [cf **ryèk**]
ryèŋ to shine
ryèttò, ryétô (AN) to winnow
tá affirmative particle
tàgérê to stagger
tàllò, tàl (SA) to dry out, wither; broil; be bald
tám idea, thought [cf **tàmmò**]
tàmmò to believe, think
tánnà bed
tèŋŋò/tàŋŋò to dodge, sentence, take to court; give birth to twins
tàŋŋò to spread out the hand
tàr white
tàrà lamp
tê to the point of; under
tê and then [v]
tèbbò to indent
tèddò/tèddù, tèdò (AN) to cook
tèèrò to take
tèèrò to spread out, open (an umbrella)
tèèyò to make a light incision
tòk hard, strong, difficult
tèkkò to start
tékô strength, hardness
tèllò to pull, stretch; lead, conduct
tèmmò, tèmò (AN) to try
tènnò to heat (water)
tènnò to support, prop up, raise
tèŋŋò to divert, turn aside, spoil (a child)
tèŋŋò to beat (cloth, sesame)

tèppò to copulate
tèttò, tètò (AN) to forge
tèttò to gulp, drink rapidly
tì old
tìc work, occupation [n] [cf **tìiyò**]
tídí, tìnò (pl) small
tíê be present, have [defective verb]
tígô, tìggì (pl) bead
tìgù necklace
tìrrò to straighten
tìiyê to get done [cf **tìiyò**]
tìiyò, tìc (AN) to work, do; use
tîk chin
tìm bush, wild country
tìmmò to work, do, make
tîn small [cf **tídí**]
tîn today
tìŋŋò to lift
tìŋŋò to sulk
tìttò to tell, narrate, preach
tòjjò to beat up
tôk nape, back of head
tòkkò, tókô (AN) to ladle out (food)
tól string, rope
tònnò to pour drop by drop
tóŋ bird's egg
tóŋ, tòŋŋì (pl) spear
tòŋŋò to chop or cut (with axe or hoe)
tòò to shrivel up
tòòyò, tòò (SA) to numb, deaden; die
tòppò, tòp (SA) to spoil, let lie fallow; rot
tòt/tòtò mother
tóyô dew
tú toward
tùccò to penetrate, bore into
tùgù, tùggì (pl) pawpaw
tùggò to disperse, stir up
tùkkò, tùkò (AN) to play
túlê owl
tùm to be finished
tùrmmò to cut (with a knife)
tùnù to reach, arrive
túŋ side
tûŋ home
tŭŋ horn

tʉ̀ŋŋɔ̀ to suffocate
tùr front [n]
tùr piled up dirt, e.g. by irrigation ditch
tùtùmíə̂ thousand
tùtwàl/twàtwàl very, awfully; very much
tùù to sprout
tʉ̀ʉ̀rʉ̀, tʉ̀r (SA) to break; overthrow
twàŋ a sort of large lungfish
twèèrò to be able
twèèyò, twêc (AN) to tie, bind; imprison
twòl snake
twɔ̀n, twóní (pl) bull
twòòyò, twò (SA) to sicken; be sick
twɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, twɔ̀ (SA) to dry
twólô open [a]
twɔ̀mmɔ̀ to scoop (water, grain)
tyàŋ durra stalk
tyèkkò to finish
tyɛ̆n leg, foot
wàc sour, lazy
wàk work performed by invited people [cf **wàkkò**]
wàkkò invite for work or ceremony
wàllò, wálô (SA) to boil; become angry
wán first person plural pronoun
wànnò to injure
wàɲ longing, craving
wàɲɲò to crave
wàŋ eye
wàŋ fire [cf **wàŋŋò**]
wàŋŋò, wàŋ (SA) to burn; be upset, sad, angry
wárágâ letter, paper
wàrò shoe, boot
wáyâ fence
wèèrò to sing
wèèyò to deflate (accidently)
wèèyò, wèyò (AN) to sweep
wèkkò to leave; let, allow, stop
wél amount, price
wèlò, wèlê (pl) visitor
wér song [cf **wèèrò**]
wì top [cf **wìc**]
wìc head
wìirò to move something in a circle, swirl
wìllò, wìl (SA) to lose, forget

wɪ̀llò to buy
wɪ̀nò stiff hairs, bristles, whiskers; barbels of fish
wìŋŋò to hear
wɪ̀ŋó bird
wɪ̌t ear of grain
wód, wót (pl) son; nephew (brother's son)
wôk gap in teeth
wòkkí a few minutes ago
wɔ̀kkì so much (that)
wòn, wègì (pl) father of; owner
wòò to be dry on the surface only
wɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, wɔ̀ɔ̀ (AN) to make a lot of noise over
wòppò to follow
wór greedy
wôr night
wóró greed
wòt/wòtò to go, walk
wɔ̀ttɔ̀ to pull out
wóyô dry cow dung
wú/wún/wúnú second person plural pronoun
wùccù to throw
wùdù ostrich
wùkkù to pour out, pump out
wùllù to stir up
wûm nose
wùmmò to cover
yàà to leave, go away; get up; come from
yàbbò to open
yâc to be pregnant
yècù pregnancy [cf **yâc**]
yâm long ago, formerly, once
yàmò wind, air
yàŋŋò to butcher, skin
yàt, yɛ́dí/yén (pl) stick, tree
yɛ́t long ago, formerly, a long time ago
yéc load [n] [cf **yèèyò**]
yèccò, yèc (SA) to tear
yèè to believe
yèèyò to carry something on the head
yɛ̀kkò, yékô (AN) to sieve
yɛ̀llò to trouble, bother, mistreat
yén, yénê (pl) long log for building, fire
yèŋŋò to look for
yèŋ to be satisfied, full
yèŋŋò to shake

yèr	head hair; feather
yèttò	to insult
yèə, yèèyì (pl)	boat
yîb	tail
yìc	belly, interior
yìmmò	to stare at fixedly
yît	ear
yìt	scorpion
yìtò	smoke [n]
yìttò, yìtò (AN)	to climb
yò	behind; path, way, road
yòm	soft, pleased, happy
yǒn	foreskin
yòt	light, fast, easy, healthy
yùccù	to throw
yùttò	to grab

English-Lango Vocabulary

a few minutes ago	**wòkkí**
a while ago	**nèn**
aardvark	**mwòk**
above, on high	**màló**
according to, on account of, because	**pì**
accumulate	**bàkkò, bɔ́kô** (AN)
act as a prostitute	**cɔ̀dɔ̀**
act stupidly, speak stupidly	**bèŋérê**
adorn	**dèèyò**
affirmative particle	**tá**
afternoon	**dìècèŋ/dìcèŋ**
again	**dɔ́k**
again	**kùnnó**
ahead, in front	**àɲím àɲím**
all, both, every	**dúcú**
alone; only	**kékén**
alone; self	**kén**
also	**dáŋ**
amount, price	**wél**
and, instead of; if, when	**ká**
and then [v]	**tê**
and then; so	**ékká**
and, with	**gínní**
anger, rage, irritation	**kóló**
animal	**lè, lê** (pl)
antelope	**àtîl**
anthill	**bìyé, bìyétê** (pl)
architecture [cf **gèèrò**]	**àgédò**
arm	**bǎd**
as	**bàlà**
as for, even; but	**éntɔ́**
ask (a question)	**pèŋŋò**
askew [cf **dwɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**]	**àdwɔ́'á**
assist at birth (woman or animal)	**cɔ̀llɔ̀**
attributive particle	**à**
axe	**lè, léyí** (pl)
baboon	**bím**
baby	**òkéré**
back	**ŋèc**
back, behind; formerly	**cên**

backside	**ŋè**
bad	**dédê**
bad, ugly	**ràc, rècù** (pl)
bake	**bùllò**
ball, soccer ball	**òdìlò, òdìlê** (pl)
bark [n]	**gwèò**
bark at, bark	**gwèèyò, gwèò** (AN)
bat	**òlìk, òlìkê** (pl)
be able to come	**bínnê**
be able	**twèèrò**
be alive, be important	**kwô**
be distorted, be out of shape	**mòòrê**
be dry on the surface only	**wòò**
be edible	**càmérê**
be finished	**tùm**
be insufficient for, be insufficient	**rèmmò, rèm** (SA)
be pregnant	**yâc**
be present, have [defective verb]	**tíê**
be quiet	**lìŋ**
be satisfied, full	**yèŋ**
be suitable, must, be obliged	**myèèrò**
be tight [cf **rìddò**]	**rìddê**
bead	**tígô, tìggì** (pl)
bear a child, give birth	**ŋwàllò, ŋwàl** (AN)
bear profusely, be laden with fruit or flowers	**ŋâk**
beat (cloth, sesame)	**tèŋŋò**
beat	**pwòddò**
beat up	**tòjjò**
beautiful, good	**bèr, bècò** (pl)
because; according to, on account of	**pì**
become	**dòkkò, dòkò** (AN)
become too familiar	**làkkò**
bed	**tánnà**
bee, honey	**kíc**
beer	**kòŋò**
beer pot	**àlíbí**
beg, ask for	**kwààyò, kwác** (AN)
beggar	**àkwác**
behind; path, way, road	**yò**
believe, think	**tàmmò**
believe	**yèè**
bell	**àgárá**
belly, interior	**yìc**
bend	**gòmmò, gòm** (SA)

bend	**ròòyò**
bifurcate, fork	**kààrò**
big, old [cf **dòŋŋò**]	**dwôŋ, dòŋò** (pl)
big, old, important	**dît, dìtò** (pl)
bird	**wɨ̀ɲó**
bird's egg	**tóŋ**
bitch	**òkwé'cé**
bite, sting	**kààyò**
bitter, angry	**kêc, kécú**
black ant	**cùggú**
black	**côl**
blade of a knife	**làk**
blood	**rèmó**
blow (of wind)	**kòddò, kódô** (AN)
blow	**kʉ̀ttɔ̀, kùtò** (AN)
blue	**bùlú**
boat	**yèə̀, yèèyì** (pl)
boil; become angry	**wàllò, wálô** (SA)
bone	**cògó**
book	**búk, búkê** (pl)
bore; be tired of	**òllò, òl** (SA)
bottle	**cúpâ**
bowel, intestines	**cín**
boy	**àwóbí, àwòbè** (pl)
braid, scarify	**kèddò**
braided grass [cf **kèddò**]	**àkèddí**
branch [cf **jàn**]	**jăŋ**
branch out	**jàn**
break off	**mùkkù, mùk**
break up a fight	**dwɛ̀kkò, dwék** (AN)
break; overthrow	**tʉ̀ʉ̀rʉ̀, tʉ̀r** (SA)
breast, chest, middle	**kôr**
bridge	**pèm**
brightly	**pár**
bring back	**dwòggô**
bring back; go back	**dwɔ̀kkɔ̀, dɔ̀k** (SA)
bring	**kèllò**
broom [cf **wèyò**]	**òwéc**
brother	**òmɨ̀n**
buck	**àlôp**
buffalo	**jòbì**
build; marry, have sex with (a woman)	**gɛ̀ɛ̀rò, gédô** (AN)
building [n] [cf **gɛ̀ɛ̀rò**]	**gédô**
bull	**twɔ̀n, twóní** (pl)
bulrush	**ələ́dó**

burn	**rèèyò**
burn; be upset, sad, angry	**wàŋŋò, wàŋ** (SA)
burnt grass	**àmél**
burrow, hole	**àdú**
bush	**búŋ**
bush pig	**púnû, pùnnì** (pl)
bush, wild country	**tìm**
butcher, skin	**yàŋŋò**
buttocks	**dûd**
buy	**wìllò**
cackle, cluck	**kèrò**
call	**lwòŋŋò, lwòŋò** (AN)
can	**débbè/débê**
candy	**cwìt**
capsicum pepper	**kàmùlárâ**
capture, catch (game, fish); affect	**màkkò**
car	**mòtòkà, mòtòkàê** (pl)
carry off with the current; flow, float	**mòllò, mòl** (SA)
carry something on the head	**yèèyò**
carve	**pààyò, pác** (AN)
carver [cf **pààyò**]	**àpàc/àpà**
casava	**móggó**
castor bean plant	**cógó**
cat	**àjàŋâ**
cat	**bùrâ, bùrê** (pl)
cat	**púc, púcê** (pl)
cattle	**dòk**
cause pain to; hurt, pain	**rèmmò, rèm** (SA)
cause to glow; glow	**mèèyò, méô** (SA)
cause to sneeze, sneeze	**jìrò, jírô** (SA)
cave, gorge	**góró**
certainly	**kóm**
chaff, husks	**cúŋ**
chain	**ɲòr**
chair	**kóm, kómê** (pl)
chameleon	**àgògò**
charcoal	**bìló**
cheek	**lěk**
chew	**ɲàmmò, ɲámô** (AN)
chicken	**gwènò, gwén** (pl)
chief's assistant	**jágô, jàggì** (pl)
child	**àtîn, ìtínô** (pl)
chin	**tîk**
chop or cut (with axe or hoe)	**tòŋŋò**
clean	**cìl**

clean **lèŋ**
climb **yɨ̀ttò, yɨ̀tò** (AN)
close, shut **cèggò**
cloth, dress **bòŋɔ́**
cloth **làó, lánì** (pl)
club, stump, short log **dùl, dùlê** (pl)
clumsily **lwájɛ́**
cold [a] **ŋɨ̀c**
cold [n] **ŋícô**
cold [n] **kɔ́jɔ̀**
collect from people **rààyò**
collect, gather **cɔ̀kkɔ̀, cókô** (AN)
collect, gather **dɛ̀ppò, dépô** (AN)
collect, gather, sweep up, scoop up **jɔ̀bbɔ̀, jóbô** (AN)
collect vegetables, pick leaves off vegetables **ŋwèddò, ŋwédô** (AN)
come back, return **dwògò**
come **bínô**
come in/out; rise (of sun) [cf **dɔ̀ŋɔ̀**] **dòŋŋô**
compete for **lààrò**
completely, entirely, utterly **òkkɔ́**
confuse **dwàllò**
confuse **rùccò**
confusion [cf **dwàllò**] **dwàlá**
continue **mèddɛ̂**
cook **tèddò/tèddù, tèdò** (AN)
cool, calm down **kwèèyò, kwèè** (SA)
copulate **tɛ̀ppò**
corner **kɔ́nà**
cotton **pámmà/pámâ**
cough [n] [cf **ɔ̀llɔ̀**] **àɔ́là**
cover with clay or plaster; plug up **mwònnɔ̀**
cover **wùmmò**
cow **dyàŋ, dyɔ́ŋí** (pl)
cramp **ŋɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**
crave **wàŋŋò**
crawl, go on hands and knees **mùlù**
crocodile **ŋɔ̀ŋ, ŋɔ̀ŋɛ̂** (pl)
cross over **dòkóró**
crow **àgâk, àgákán** (pl)
cry, weep over **kòkkò, kòk/kòkò/kókô** (AN)
cup **kɔ́ppɔ̀**
cut **ŋɔ̀llɔ̀**
cut (with a knife) **tʊ̀mmɔ̀**

cut off, amputate, truncate, break off, cripple	**ŋùnnù**
dampen	**lùkkò**
dance, shake, tremble	**myèllò, myèl** (AN)
daughter	**ɲàr**
day	**nɪ̀nò**
debt	**báɲá**
deceive, go in a roundabout way, zigzag	**gònnò**
deceive, pretend	**bwòllò**
defeat, smash; exceed	**lòòyò**
deflate (accidently)	**wèèyò**
deflate unintentionally	**bèppò, bèp** (SA)
delay, cause to dally; destroy, dally	**gàllò, gàl** (SA)
delay, stay with	**rùù**
deliberately	**cʉ̀p cʉ̀p**
delicious [cf **mɪ̀ttò**]	**mɪ̀t**
destroy, scatter; fall apart, blow off	**kèttò, kèt** (SA)
dew	**tóyô**
different, separate	**pàt**
dig	**gòòrò**
dig	**kʉ̀ɲɲʉ̀, kúɲô** (AN)
dig up, excavate	**gòllò**
dirt	**cìlò**
disease of goats	**gùlù**
dishearten	**ŋòòyò**
disperse, stir up	**tùggò**
distilled spirit	**àrégè**
divert, turn aside, spoil (a child)	**tèŋŋò**
divide, separate	**pòkkò**
doctor	**dàktàl, dàktàlê** (pl)
dodge, sentence, take to court; give birth to twins	**tèŋŋò/tàŋŋò**
dog	**gwôk, gwóggî** (pl)
door	**dɔ́ggɔ́lâ**
dove	**àkú'rí**
dream	**lèkkò, lék** (AN)
dress, put on clothes, cover	**rùkkù**
drink [n] [cf **màttò**]	**màt**
drink, smoke (tobacco)	**màttò, mátô** (AN)
drive in (e.g. a nail)	**gùùrù, gùr** (AN)
drop	**dàccò**
drop, fall, set; fail	**pòttò, pòtò/pótô** (SA)
drop, pour, spill, drool; go bald; rain for a short time	**ɔ̀ɲɲɔ̀, ɔ̀ɲ** (SA)
drop, throw to the ground	**rèttò**

drum	**bùl**
drunk [n] [cf **mèèrò**]	**àméró**
drunkenness [cf **mèèrò**]	**mèró**
dry [v]	**twɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, twɔ̀** (SA)
dry cow dung	**wóyô**
dry out, wither; broil; be bald	**tàllò, tàl** (SA)
duck	**àtúdú**
dung heap [cf **dùùrù**]	**òdúr**
durra stalk	**tyàŋ**
dust	**àpùò**
eagle	**òlwìt**
ear of grain	**wǐt**
ear	**yît**
earth	**lòbò**
earthquake [cf **yèŋŋò**]	**òyèŋò/òyèyèŋ**
eat by scooping with the hand	**bòttò**
eat, cheat	**càmmò, cèm** (AN)
eat stew	**bàŋŋò**
eating	**cám**
eating utensil (spoon or fork)	**málágâ**
education	**kwân**
eight	**àbórò**
eland	**àbwó'rí**
elbow	**òtyèn**
elephant	**lyèc, lyécí** (pl)
elephantiasis	**mɔ̀tɔ̀-mɔ̀tɔ̀**
emaciate, get thin, weaken	**jɔ̀ɲɲɔ̀, jɔ̀ɲ** (SA)
embarass	**lànnò**
enfeeble, sicken; be sickly, feeble, thin	**mòkkò, môk** (SA)
entangle, get stuck	**mòkkò**
even	**gù**
even if	**kádí**
ever, never [with negative]	**àtwál**
ever, yet	**rú**
every day, always, all the time	**dìdìk**
expand, make or be plentiful; open wide	**ɲààyò, ɲà** (SA)
eye	**wàŋ**
fall [cf **rèttò**]	**rèttê**
fat [a]	**cwé**
father of; owner	**wòn, wègì** (pl)
father	**pàpò, pɛ̀ppì** (pl)
fear, honor	**lwòòrò**
feed	**pìttò**
feel depressed, grieved	**kùmmù**

fence [cf **cèllò**]	**cèl**
fence in, surround with a fence	**cèllò**
fence	**wáyâ**
ferocity	**gérô**
fetch	**ɔ̀mmɔ̀**
few	**nɔ̀k**
fierce	**gèr**
fight [n]	**lwéŋ**
fill up (e.g. a hole in the ground)	**cùllò**
fill up, swell; be swollen, fat, rounded	**dèŋŋò, dèŋ** (SA)
find; receive, get	**nwòŋŋò**
finish	**tyèkkò**
fire [cf **wàŋŋò**]	**wàŋ**
fire	**màc, màcê** (pl)
firefly	**òtìt**
first of all, before	**kŏŋ**
fish	**cùddù**
fish	**rém, récí** (pl)
five [old style number]	**kâŋ**
five	**àbîc**
flat [cf **pàddò**]	**àpá'dá**
flatten	**nìiyò**
flatten	**pàddò**
flock	**cɨ̀rò**
flour	**mɔ̀kɔ̀**
flute	**àlé'té**
fly	**lwàŋò, lwéŋí** (pl)
flying termite	**ŋwèn**
follow, pursue	**lʉ̀bbʉ̀/lʉ̀bbɔ̀**
follow	**wòppò**
for, in order to, of	**mé**
forearm	**cíŋ**
forehead	**pîm**
foreskin	**yɔ̆n**
forge [v]	**tèttò, tètò** (AN)
fork [n] [cf **kààrò**]	**àkâr**
form, shape	**cwèèyò**
formerly; back, behind	**cên**
formerly, long ago	**cwáŋ**
four	**àŋwên**
fresh leaves of cowpeas	**bŏ**
friendly assurance	**dó**
frighten away, disturb, disrupt	**bèllò**
front [n]	**tùr**
frozen precipitation (i.e. hail or snow)	**pè**

gap in teeth	**wôk**
garden	**pòtò**
gazelle	**gwèk**
gentleness, humility	**mwóló**
germinated millet	**bílô**
get done [cf **tìiyò**]	**tìiyê**
get heated	**lyèttô**
get someone moving; hurry	**rừừyừ, rứ** (AN)
gift	**mót, mótê** (pl)
girl [cf **ɲâk**]	**ɲákô, àɲìrò** (pl)
give birth [cf **gòɲɲò**]	**gòɲérê**
give	**mìiyò**
glistening	**mír mír**
go in/out; set (of sun)	**dòɲò**
go, walk	**wòt/wòtò**
goat	**dyèl, dyéggî** (pl)
god (pagan), spirit	**jòk, jógí** (pl)
God	**òbáŋá**
good; beautiful	**bèr, bècò**(pl)
gossip	**ròrò**
gourd bowl	**bèkúlî**
gourd	**gwárá, gwàttì/ gwórê** (pl)
gourd prepared for use	**òpókô**
government	**gàbmèntè**
grab	**yùttò**
grain, fruit	**ɲíg**
grandchild	**àkwàrà**
grass	**lùm, lùmê** (pl)
grass used for thatching	**òbí'ó**
grave	**lyèl**
greed	**wóró**
greedy person, glutton [cf **wór**]	**àwòrò**
greedy	**wór**
greet	**mòttò**
grind	**règgò, régô** (AN)
grind roughly	**ŋàkkò**
ground millet	**kwòn**
ground millet meal	**kwán**
ground squirrel	**gór**
ground, world, weather, ambience; down on the ground	**píɲ**
grow [cf **dwôŋ**]	**dòŋŋò, dòŋò** (AN)
guard, wait	**kừừrò**
guinea fowl	**àwénô**

gulp, drink rapidly	**tèttò**
gun	**òdùkú**
handle	**bòl**
handle gently	**àmmò**
hang down (e.g. head)	**lèddò**
hang up; swing (purposefully), swirl (a skirt)	**lyèèrò**
hard, strong, difficult	**tɔ̀k**
harden, flex (muscles)	**jɪ̀ŋŋò, jɪ̀ŋ** (SA)
hare	**àpwô**
harvest (millet, sorghum, wheat)	**kààyò, kác** (AN)
hate	**dàggò**
he, she, it	**én**
head hair; feather	**yèr**
head	**wìc**
heal, recover	**càŋŋò, càŋ** (SA)
hear	**wìɲɲò**
heat (water)	**tènnò**
heifer	**rɔ̀yà, ròyê/ròcî** (pl)
help	**kɔ̀ɲɲɔ̀**
herd	**kwààyò, kwàc** (AN)
here	**èn**
here; place	**kân**
hide (from), avoid	**pònnò, pònò** (AN)
hide	**kànnò**
hippo	**èmír**
hit (with a projectile)	**cèllò**
hit (with fist, stick)	**jwàttò**
hit, beat	**gɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, góc** (AN)
hit	**dòŋŋò**
hoe (worn out), small hoe	**ŋèt, ŋédí** (pl)
hoe	**kwèrí, kwèí** (pl)
hold with the tip of the fingers	**cèddò**
hole	**bùr**
hollow out, burrow, tunnel	**bòòrò**
home	**tûŋ**
hook (a fish on a line), walk arm-in-arm, help someone along	**kɔ̀ddɔ̀**
horn	**tŭŋ**
hostile act, murder; hostility	**kwòr**
hot, warm	**lyèt**
house	**ɔ̀t, ùdì** (pl)
how [+adj]!; perhaps	**kònó**
how many	**àdî**
how	**níŋŋɔ̂**

hug, embrace	**kwàkkò**
humble, gentle	**mwòl**
hundred [old style number]	**àtúmùrò**
hundred	**míê**
hunger	**kèc**
hunt (animals)	**cʉ̀ddʉ̀**
hurry up	**bʉ̀ɲɲɔ̀**
husband	**cwàr, cɔ̀** (pl)
husband's brother	**àmú, àmúê** (pl)
I, me	**án**
idea, thought [cf **tàmmò**]	**tám**
idleness [cf **bèdò**]	**bèdò**
if; then	**kónô**
in a lazy manner, carelessly	**rʉ́jé**
in a sneaky manner; splashing	**cép cép**
in, about, with, to, from	**ì**
in an embarrassed manner	**bèɲ bèɲ**
in front; ahead	**àɲím àɲím**
in, to, from [cf **ì, yìc**]	**ìyì**
indent	**tèbbò**
indication [cf **ɲùttò**]	**ɲùt**
inherit, take over from another	**làkkò**
injure	**wànnò**
insect	**kùddì**
instead of [cf **ká**]	**káká**
insult	**yèttò**
intoxicate; be drunk, get drunk	**mèèrò, mèr** (AN)
invite for work or ceremony	**wàkkò**
it, he, she	**én**
join, pile up, fit side-by-side	**pàmmò**
judge	**àŋɔ̀lkóp**
juice	**píg**
jump	**pìyè**
kick, lash out	**gwèèyò, gwèc** (AN)
kill; break, cut; oppress	**nèkkò**
kind	**kít**
kind of chicken [cf **jùllù**]	**àjú'lú**
king	**rwót, rwòdê** (pl)
kite (bird)	**ògòlè**
knee	**cǒŋ**
knife for harvesting millet	**àlwétê**
knife	**pàlà, pólí** (pl)
know	**ŋèèyò**
kraal	**kàl**
ladle out (food)	**tɔ̀kkɔ̀, tókô** (AN)

lamp	**tàrà**
Langa	**láŋô, láŋí** (pl)
large boat, mailboat	**mèl**
last born	**cògò**
later	**ŋít**
later	**ɲít**
laugh at, laugh	**ɲèèrò, ɲérô** (AN)
laziness [cf **ɲàp**]	**ɲápô**
lazy	**ɲàp**
leafy twig	**bòkè**
leafy vegetable	**òbòkè**
lean against	**jèŋŋò**
leave behind for someone to keep	**jòkkò**
leave, go away; get up; come from	**yàà**
leave out, isolate; distinguish from	**kòòyò, kóô** (SA)
leave; let, allow, stop surrounding objects, pick out among	**wèkkò**
leech	**ìdíkè, ìdîkê** (pl)
leg, foot	**tyĕn**
leopard	**kwàc, kwècê** (pl)
leprosy	**dòbó**
letter, paper	**wárágâ**
lick, taste on the tip of the tongue	**lèmmò**
lie down, sleep	**bùtò**
lie in wait poised for pouncing	**lìbbò**
lift	**tìŋŋò**
light, fast, easy, healthy	**yòt**
light, set on fire; confirm a fact	**mòkkò**
light, swift, pleasant	**rìyù**
light; flash	**mèɲɲò, mèɲ** (SA)
like a snake, slowly and deliberately	**lwàdà lwàdà**
like a snake, slow and deliberate	**lòpè lòpè**
like that, thus	**ámánnò**
line up	**cànnò**
line up, put in a line or row	**ryèèyò**
lion	**àbwòr**
lion	**èŋótò**
liver, heart (seat of emotions)	**cúɲ**
liver	**ìmáɲ**
load [n] [cf **yèèyò**]	**yéc**
locust, grasshopper	**cìgú**
long ago, early	**còn**
long ago, formerly, a long time ago	**yót**
long ago, formerly, once	**yâm**
long ago	**nwàŋ**

long ago **rɨ̀k**
long, high, far away **bòr, bòcò** (pl)
long log for building, fire **yén, yénê** (pl)
longing, craving **wàŋ**
look after, protect, keep **gwɔ̀kkɔ̀**
look for **yèŋŋò**
lose, forget **wìllò, wìl** (SA)
lose; get lost, be lost **rwèŋŋò, rwèŋ/rwèŋò** (SO)
love [n] **már**
love, like, enjoy **mààrò**
lungfish **lùt**
lungfish, large **twàŋ**
lung(s) [cf **wùkkù**] **twú'kú**
lure [v] **bìttò**
mad person; madness, depravity [cf **pòòyò**] **àpòyá**
main support for a hut **pəgí**
maize **ŋwágí**
make a deep gash, cut **àttò**
make a light incision **tèèyò**
make a lot of noise over **wɔ̀ɔyɔ̀, wɔ̀ɔ** (AN)
make cough, cough **ɔllɔ, ólɔ** (SA)
make dirty **lɨ̀llò**
make drowsy; become drowsy **nùùrù, nùr** (SA)
make prosper by giving special care **jùllù**
make red, become red **bòkkò, bòk** (SA)
man **lócə**
man, male, husband **ɨcɔ̂, cɔ** (pl)
many, numerous; most **pòl**
marriage [cf **ŋɔmmɔ**] **ŋòm**
marry **ŋɔmmɔ, ŋòmò** (AN)
mashing stick **ògwéc**
mat **òkèkà, òkèkkì** (pl)
matter, dispute, importance [cf **kòbbò**] **kóp**
measles **àŋɔ́'ɔ́**
meat **rìŋɔ́**
meet, fight **ròmò**
meet with **rwàttê**
melt **mèèyò**
merekat **ògwàŋ**
midnight **dìèwôr**
might, possibly, perhaps; can **ŋɔ̀ɔ̀**
milk **càk**
millet **kál**
miser **àwáŋá**

mist	**ìkúnə́/ìkúná**
money	**cèntè/cènè**
money	**òbíâ**
moon; month	**dwè, dwétê** (pl)
morning	**díkkó/díkkú**
morning sun	**ɲàŋò**
mosquito	**òbèr**
mother	**àyâ**
mother	**tòt/tòtò**
mountain	**gòt, gódí** (pl)
mouth	**dóg**
move away slightly from, move away	**ɲɪ̀kkò, ɲɪ̀kò/ɲíkô**
move	**lìbérê**
move, pass	**bèyò**
move something in a circle, swirl slightly	**wìɪ̀rò** (AN)
moving slowly and deliberately with small, mincing steps (like a child)	**cɔ̀̈c cɔ̀̈c**
much, a lot	**díŋ**
nail (on finger, toe)	**lwét**
name	**ɲíŋ**
nape, back of head	**tôk**
narrate, rap	**bòkkò**
nauseate	**lèmmò**
navel	**pɔ̀n**
near	**cók**
near	**cégì**
near	**ògɔ̀̈ŋá**
neck	**ŋùt**
necklace	**tìgù**
negative imperative [cf **kɔ̀̈rɔ̀**]	**kɔ̈̆r**
negative particle/verb	**móm/mə́m**
negative particle/verb	**pé**
nephew (brother's son); son	**wód, wót** (pl)
net	**bó**
new	**ɲèn**
night	**wôr**
nine	**àbóŋwɔ̀n**
noisily	**mwə́k mwə́k**
nose	**wûm**
not to know	**kwíyâ**
nourish, look after well	**pùggù**
now, right now	**ámán**
numb, deaden; die	**tɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, tɔ̀ɔ̀** (SA)
numb	**dìllò**

oak	**ɨ̀lwâ**
oh!	**óó**
oil, butter, fat, grease	**mɔ̀, mòê** (pl)
old person	**àdwôŋ, àdòŋé** (pl)
old	**tì**
once and for all	**bóp**
one	**àcêl**
one who brings up, educates children [cf **pɨ̀ttò**]	**àpɨ̀t**
only; alone	**kékén**
open [a]	**twólô**
open, uncover	**èllò**
open wide (usually said of eyes)	**rèddò**
open	**yàbbò**
oppress	**cììrò**
or [cf **ɲòò**]	**òɲò**
or	**íyá**
orange	**lèmʊ́n**
orange	**màcʊ́ŋgwà**
ornament [cf **dèèyò**]	**déó**
ostrich	**wùdù**
outside, out	**òkɔ́**
owl	**túlâ**
own [a]	**még**
palate	**da3ŋ**
pangolin	**òkòŋ**
parent [cf **ɲwàllò**]	**àɲwàlá**
pawpaw	**tùgù, tùggì** (pl)
pay; compensate	**cʊ̀llò**
peace	**kúc**
peanut	**pûl**
peel, take off rind	**pàccò, pɔ́cô** (AN)
peel with knife (of potatoes, not oranges, cassava)	**kʊ̀llɔ̀/kʊ̀llʊ̀**
pelvis	**bàm**
penetrate, bore into	**tùccò**
penis	**cúl/cún**
people	**jɔ̀**
pepper	**àlyérá**
person, people	**dánô, jɔ̀** (pl)
pick up (wheat, sesame)	**jùkkù**
picture	**cál**
pierce, stab, inject	**cɔ̀bbɔ̀**
piled up dirt, e.g. by irrigation ditch	**tùr**
pipe	**àtêk**

pitch black	**cúc**
plaintain	**àbòlò**
plant [v]	**pɪ̀ttò, pítô** (AN)
plant yielding strong rods	**kággó**
play	**tùkkò, tùkò** (AN)
please; particle used to soften imperatives	**bá**
plough [v], dig a field	**pùùrù/pùùrò**
pluck (e.g. a fowl)	**bùccò**
policeman [cf **cìirò**]	**círí'kálí**
polish, shine	**jwààyò**
porcupine	**ɪ̀cɔ̂c**
pot	**gúlú**
pottery, weaving, wickerwork [cf **cwèèyò**]	**cwèc**
pound in a mortar	**cùùrù**
pound	**òddò, ódô** (AN)
pour drop by drop	**tɔ̀nnɔ̀**
pour off, drain off	**lɪ̀ɪ̀yò**
pour out, pump out	**wùkkù**
poverty	**càn**
pray to, bewitch	**lèggò, légô** (AN)
precipitate (e.g. rain, hail, mist)	**cwèè**
pregnancy [cf **yâc**]	**yəcù**
prepare (food, beer); become ripe, ready	**cèkkò, cèk** (SA)
press down, pack	**dɪ̀llò**
press, force, convince; kneel	**dɪ̀ɪ̀yò**
prevent, hinder	**mònnò**
prevent, stop	**gèŋŋò**
prison, jail	**jɔ̀là**
prisoner [cf **bùccò**]	**àbúc**
property, package	**jə́mî**
proximity	**ŋèt**
pull out	**wɔ̀ttɔ̀**
pull, stretch; lead, conduct	**tèllò**
pumpkin	**òkɔ́nɔ̂**
purposely	**àkká**
push aside, plunge through	**èmmò**
push	**còòrò**
put down	**cìbbò**
put	**kèttò**
put together, press together	**rɪ̀ddò**
raid [n]; army	**mòŋ**
rain [n]	**kɔ̀t**

rainy season	**cwìr**
raise from the dead	**cèèrò, cèr** (SA)
raw	**númú**
reach, arrive	**tùnù**
read, study, count	**kwànnò, kwân** (AN)
really, for sure	**gíté**
red ochre	**pálá**
red	**rémâ**
redeem, ransom; claim back	**kòkkò**
reed-buck	**àkâl, àkáláŋ** (pl)
refuse, avoid	**kwèèrò**
refuse	**dágî**
refuse, oppose; go on strike	**jèmmɔ̀, jèm** (AN)
rejoice over, rejoice	**lèllò, lélô** (AN)
relative particle	**àyé**
relative particle, while	**àmê**
remain behind	**dòŋ**
remember	**pòòyò**
remove husks from grain	**lìllò**
reply	**gàmmò**
retort insultingly	**bwɔ̀ttɔ̀**
rice	**òcérê**
ring	**àtêm**
rinse	**làkkò**
ripped apart	**nwáŋ**
river, lake	**nàm**
road, path, way; behind	**yò**
roast, fry	**cèllò, cédô** (AN)
roll, push something on wheels; roll or glide down	**lòòrò, lòr** (SA)
roll something on the ground	**lɔ̀kkò**
roll up, fold	**dɔ̀llɔ̀**
root	**lwít**
root up, mess up	**lùùrù**
round up, collect	**gùùrù**
rule [cf **lɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**]	**lòc**
run from, run	**rìŋŋò, rìŋò** (AN)
run from, run	**ŋwèccò, ŋwèc** (AN)
rush away	**mwɔ̀mérê**
rush towards [cf **mwɔ̀mérê**]	**mwòmmô**
saliva	**láô**
scar, cicatrice	**pò**
scatter, spread; go astry	**làllò, làl** (SA)
school	**cùkúl**
scissors	**màkâc**

scoop (water, grain) [v]	**twɔ̀mmɔ̀**
scoop	**ɔ̀ddɔ̀**
score; die [cf **màttô**]	**mɔ̀ttô**
scorpion	**yɪ̀t**
scratch	**gwèŋŋò**
scrotum	**mǎn**
see; be awake; be visible	**nènnò, nénô** (AN), **nên** (SA)
seem, resemble	**cálô**
seize, rob	**mààyò**
self; alone	**kɛ́n**
sell, trade; walk or drive like a drunk	**càttò, càt** (AN)
send on errand, commission	**cwààyò**
send on errand; push	**cwàllò**
send	**òòrò**
separate; finish	**dààrò**
sesame	**ŋìm**
seven	**àbɪ́ryɔ̀**
sew	**kwɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, kwɔ́c** (AN)
shake	**yèŋŋò**
sharp	**bît**
shave	**lyɛ̀llò, lyédô** (AN)
she, he, it	**én**
sheep	**rómô, rómmì** (pl)
sheet, linen cloth	**cʊ́kâ**
shine	**ryèŋ**
shoe	**àmʊ́k**
shoe, boot	**wàrò**
short, brief	**cèk, cègò/cègù** (pl)
shortly	**àcɔ́k**
shoulder	**gwòk**
shout, make loud noise	**dàŋérê**
shout	**rèdò**
show, indicate	**ŋùttò**
shrivel up	**tòò**
sick, painful	**lɪ̀t**
sicken; be sick	**twòòyò, twò** (SA)
side	**ŋɛ̌t**
side, flank	**bǔt**
side	**túŋ**
sieve	**yɛ̀kkò, yékô** (AN)
sift	**kwɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀, kwórô** (AN)
sing	**wèèrò**
sinner [cf **bàllò**]	**àbál**
sisal	**àmújɛ́**
sit, stay; be, become; live	**bèdò**

six	**àbícèl**
skin	**dèl**
skin, hide	**pɨ̀ɛ̀n/pyɛ̀n, pièné** (pl)
slap	**bàppò**
slash so as to clear (e.g. a compound)	**lwèɛ̀rò, lwérô** (AN)
slave	**òpí**
sleep	**nɨ̀nò**
sleeping sickness	**ànɨ́'nó**
slick [cf **lìyù**]	**mìyù**
slip	**cèr**
slow	**càr**
slow, fat	**mɔ̀t**
small [cf **tídí**]	**tɨ̂n**
small	**tídí, tɨ̀nò** (pl)
smash	**dìppò**
smear much oil on the body	**lìbbò**
smell	**ŋwèèyò**
smell [n] [cf **ŋwèèyò**]	**ŋwéc**
smelly [cf **ŋwèèyò**]	**ŋwé**
smith	**àtèt**
smoke [n]	**yìtò**
smooth	**pwɔ̀ttɔ̀, pwɔ̀t** (SA)
smooth, slick, bright with oil	**lìyù**
snake	**twòl**
snap, break (a rope, string, thread)	**còddò, côt** (SA)
sneak a glance	**gɔ̀nnɔ̀**
sneak	**lwɨ̀ttê**
so; and then	**ékká**
so much (that)	**wɔ̀kkì**
soft, pleased, happy	**yòm**
soft, tender, ripe	**lɔ̀bɔ̀-lɔ̀bɔ̀**
soften	**ɲòŋŋò**
some	**òkénê**
someone	**ŋàt**
son; nephew (brother's son)	**wód, wót** (pl)
song [cf **wèèrò**]	**wér**
sorghum	**bél**
sour, lazy	**wàc**
sour, rot, go bad (of food, drink)	**kwòk**
space between	**kɨ̌n**
speak, say, tell, promise	**kòbbò, kòb** (AN)
spear	**tɔ́., tòŋŋì** (pl)
spit	**ŋùllù**
split	**bààrò**
split, break in two (wood, squash)	**kàkkò, kàk** (SA)

split down middle, rip open, disembowel, clean (a fish) — **ryɛ̀kkɔ̀**
spoil, let lie fallow; rot — **tɔ̀ppɔ̀, tɔ̀p** (SA)
spoil — **pɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**
spoil, rot; smell up — **bàllɔ̀**
spoon — **ɔ̀gíkɔ̂**
spray — **kɪ̀ɪ̀rɔ̀**
spread out in the open to dry — **mɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**
spread out, open (an umbrella) — **tɛ̀ɛ̀rɔ̀**
spread out the hand — **tàŋŋɔ̀**
spread, push aside, plunge through — **ɛ̀llɔ̀**
sprout — **gúlû**
sprout — **tùù**
squeeze out, wring; strain — **bìyɔ̀**
squirrel — **àyí'tá, àyítáŋ** (pl)
stagger — **tàgérê**
stare at fixedly — **yìmmɔ̀**
start, begin with — **kwɔ̀ŋŋɔ̀**
start — **càkkɔ̀**
start — **ɛ̀ɛ̀rɔ̀**
start — **tɛ̀kkɔ̀**
steal — **kwàllɔ̀, kwɔ̀** (AN)
step on — **pɔ̀nnɔ̀**
step over, jump over, cross — **kàllɔ̀**
sterile (of a young woman) — **ɔ̀ràŋà**
stew — **dɛ̀k**
stick — **lʊ̀t, lúdí** (pl)
stick, tree — **yàt, yɘ́dí/yén** (pl)
stiff hairs, bristles, whiskers; barbels of fish — **wìnɔ̀**
stiff, immovable; dried up — **gɔ̀ŋ**
stinginess — **gɛ̀m**
stir up vegetables in oil — **gùùrù, gùr** (AN)
stir up — **wùllù**
stir up; make a stew with peanut butter or simsim — **lɛ̀llɔ̀**
stir while cooking — **myɛ̀nnɔ̀**
stomp (with the foot) — **lìkkɔ̀**
stone — **gwɛ̀ŋ**
stone, rock — **kìdí**
stop (accidentally) — **jʊ̀kkɔ̀, jʊ̀k** (SA)
stop, stand; surprise — **cùŋ**
stop, stop at — **gìkkɔ̀, gìk** (SA)
story — **ɪ̀cínà**
straighten — **tɪ̀ɪ̀rɔ̀**

strain **lèèyò**
strained beer **àdíŋâ**
stranger [cf **pàt**] **àpàt**
stream, river **kúlû**
strength, hardness **tɛ́kô**
string, rope **tɔ́l**
stringed instrument, small **àdúŋú**
stroll, go for a walk **làt**
struggle with **lɪ̀kkò**
stumble **gɛ̀ttɛ̂**
stunt, hold back; to stop giving birth **ràννò, rɛ̀n** (SA)
stunt, shrivel, emaciate **jwɪ̀kkò, jwɪ̀k** (SA)
stupid person [cf **báŋŋɛ́rɛ̂**] **èbáŋá**
suck **dòttò**
suffice **rɔ̀mmɔ̀, róm** (AN)
suffocate **tʊ̀ŋŋɔ̀**
sugarcane **níâŋ**
sulk **tɪ̀ŋŋò**
sun **cèŋ**
support, prop up, raise **tènnò**
surpass, surpass; stand out, be importatnt **kàttò, kàtò** (AN)
swallow **mèdâ**
swampy **dàgò**
sweep **wèèyò, wèyò** (AN)
sweet potato **ɪ̀cɔ́k**
swim **kwàŋ**
swing **lèggò**
swing **lògóró** (Tr)
swirl up (e.g. dust, smoke) **dùɲ**
table **mɛ́jâ**
tail **yîb**
tailor, seamstress **àkwɔ́c**
take a big amount of **càbbò**
take away, confiscate, earn **gàmmò**
take away, get, pick up **kwàɲɲò**
take care of (e.g. clothes) **lɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̀**
take **tèèrò**
talk about **lòkkò**
tame [v] **bìllò**
taste [v] **bɪ̀llò**
teach **pwòɲɲò, pwòɲ** (AN)
teaching [cf **pwòɲɲò**] **pwóɲ**
tear **yèccò, yèc** (SA)
tell, inform, warn **cèkkò**

tell, narrate, preach	**tìttò**
ten	**àpâr, pyèr** (pl)
termite	**ŋwòn**
termite hill	**byè**
that [complementizer]; particle introducing adverbial expression; in, with	**nî**
that	**mánô/mənô, mágô/mégô** (pl)
that	**nò**
that one	**mácâ**
the point of; under	**tê**
the way, how; since	**kít**
theft [cf **kwàllò**]	**kwò**
then	**á**
then; whereas; expresses surprise, shock	**kàrà**
there	**kàcà/kùcà**
there	**kònnô/kùnnô/kənnô**
they, them	**gín**
thick [cf **nwàŋ**]	**nòŋ**
thick, strong, tough	**nwàŋ**
thigh	**àmúrú, àmúrútá** (pl)
thigh	**êm**
thin, emaciated	**gòŋ**
thin	**kéŋ**
thin	**rèp**
thing	**gìn, gìgù** (pl)
think deep thoughts; worry, grieve	**pààrò**
this	**mán, mágî** (pl)
this	**nì**
thousand	**tùtùmíə**
three	**àdêk**
thresh	**dìnnò, dínô** (AN)
throw	**bààyò**
throw, drop; throw away	**bòllò**
throw	**wùccù**
throw	**yùccù**
thunder, boom (of nature, machines, drums)	**mòr**
tick	**òkwódô, òkwòddì** (pl)
tickle	**gìddò**
tie, bind; imprison	**twèèyò, twêc** (AN)
tie or wrap around, sheave	**rììyò**
tightly, firmly, flush, to the rim	**gíŋ**

time, clock **cáwà/cáâ**
time; when, after **káré**
tire **òpírɛ́**
tiredness, boredom [cf **òllò**] **òllò**
to, from **báŋ**
to; from **bòt**
today **tîn**
tomato **ŋáŋâ**
tomorrow **díkí**
tongue **lêb**
tooth **lăk**
top [cf **wìc**] **wì**
tortoise **òpûk**
toward **tú**
traditional doctor [cf **jòk**] **àjɔ́'ká**
transfer, change residence, migrate **dàkkò, dàk** (AN)
transfer; migrate, change residence, translate **kɔ̀bbɔ̀, kɔ̀kɔ̀** (SA)
trouble [n] [cf **yɛ̀llò**] **àyɛ́lá**
trouble, bother, mistreat **yɛ̀llò**
trouble, mistreat **cɛ̀nnò**
truly, for sure, certainly **àténì**
trunk of a tree **kór**
trust **gènnò**
try **pòòrò**
try **tɛ̀mmò, tèmò** (AN)
turn around, change **lɔ̀kkɔ̀**
turn upside down **ryèbbò**
twin **rùt, rúdí** (pl)
twist **dwɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀**
two **àryô**
ugly, bad **ràc, rɔ̀cù** (pl)
uncle **néró**
understand **níâŋ**
unpeel **bwɔ̀ggɔ̀**
unprepared, unmixed **lìŋù**
unshell, take off outer cover **bìttò, bítô** (SA)
untie, undress, interpret **gɔ̀ŋŋɔ̀**
until; for a while **nàkà**
uproot (vegetables), pluck (feathers, fur) **pùttù/pùttò**
vein **lér**
very, awfully; very much **tùtwàl/twàtwàl**
village **càrò**
village; home **pàcó, pɔ́cí** (pl)

visit	**lɨ̀mmɔ̀**
visitor	**wèlɔ̀, wèlɛ̂** (pl)
vomit	**ŋɔ̀kkɔ̀, ŋɔ̀k/ŋɔ́kɔ̂** (AN)
wake up	**cɔ̀ɔyɔ̀, cɔ̀** (SA)
walk around; surround	**mànnɔ̀**
wall [cf **pàmmɔ̀**]	**àpámâ, àpámê** (pl)
want, need	**mɨ̀ttɔ̀**
warm	**ɔ̀ɔyɔ̀**
warmth, heat [n]	**lyétô**
warn	**cùppɔ̀**
wart hog	**kùl, kùllì** (pl)
wash; escort	**lwɔ̀kkɔ̀**
water; sweat, urine, tears	**pì**
we, us	**wán**
weak, lazy, crippled	**gɔ̀rɔ́**
wear down, blunt, take the edge off	**ɲàɲɲɔ̀**
well, quite, then, now, after all, already	**dɔ̀ŋ**
well, spring	**àkɔ́ŋ, àkɔ̂ŋɛ̂** (pl)
wet, drenched	**dìɔ̀kɔ̀**
what	**ŋɔ̀, ŋɔ̀gɪ́** (pl)
what about; perhaps	**kɔ̀nnɔ́**
when	**àwènè**
when, after; time	**káré**
where	**kàkwènè**
where	**kwènè**
which	**mémé**
while; relative particle	**àmê**
whisk [cf **wùllù**]	**àwúlà**
whistle	**bɨ̀lɔ̀**
white	**tàr**
white man	**mʊ́nʊ̂, mùnnì** (pl)
who	**ŋà, ŋàgɪ́** (pl)
why	**pɨ̀ŋɔ̀**
wide	**lâc**
widen	**dààyɔ̀**
wife [always with associative pronominal suffixes]	**cég**
wife's brother	**ɔ̀r, ɔ̀c** (pl)
wild vine, grape	**ɔ̀lɔ́k**
wind, air	**yàmɔ̀**
wing	**bwɔ̆m**
winnow	**ryèttɔ̀, ryétô** (AN)
wisdom, intellegence [cf **ryèk**]	**ryékô**
wise, clever	**ryèk**
with a plop	**cèbúl**

with **kèdè/kè**
wither, wilt **nèèrò, nèr** (SA)
woman **dákô, món** (pl)
woman who no longer bears children [cf **rànnò**] **àráńí**
wooden straw for drinking beer **jɔ̀kɔ̀rɔ̀kɔ̀**
work, do, make **tìmmò**
work, do; use **tìiyò, tìc** (AN)
work, occupation [n] [cf **tìiyò**] **tìc**
work performed by invited people [cf **wàkkò**] **wàk**
worker termite **òkôk**
worry [n] [cf **pààrò**] **párá**
wrap up **bòòyò**
write; sow seeds **cɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀, cóc** (AN)
yam **òbátô**
yawn **ɔ̀mmò, ɔ́mô** (AN)
yell at, threaten **bùccò**
yes **ê**
yesterday **àwó'ró**
yet; still, just **pwód/pʊ́rd**
yonder, that **cà**
you (pl) **wú/wún/wúnú**
you (sg) **yín**
you know what? **òmérâ**
young, unripe **bwògò**
zigzag [cf **gònnò**] **gònnê**

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