CHAPTER 1

SOUNDS

I. Alphabet

Orthography

1. The orthography adopted in this book follows that of the Rejaf Language Conference (1928) and its suggestions; and also the explanations contained in D. Westermann and Ida C. Ward, *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages*, London, 1933.

The 'central' type of vowel for the o-sound considered at the Rejaf conference is represented by the symbol ö, and, by analogy, for the marking of other vowels of the same type, the diacritical mark " (diaeresis) is employed, thus avoiding special symbols.

T. Vowels

- 2. General notes. (1) Special vowels, as distinct from the ordinary ones, are represented by special symbols $(\varepsilon, \mathfrak{d})$ or the discritical mark "; in addition, the mark of nasalization " (tilde) is occasionally used. All other signs, above the vowels or consonants, serve to indicate intonation.
- (2) All vowels may be short or long or of intermediate length. Long vowels are shown by doubling the symbol, and similarly with long consonants.

It is often very difficult to determine the length of a sound or even the quality of a vowel; for the Logbara, in running together the words of a perhaps rather complicated sentence, elide many of the vowels. This gives the impression that Logbara speech is careless or slipshod. Furthermore, the influence and variety of dialects, strongly felt everywhere, encourages vagueness on questions of pronunciation. Even natives themselves are often found discussing the pronunciation of a word or its vowels. Sometimes these discussions end in unanimity; at other times they refrain from committing themselves, agreeing that various districts have different pronunciations. As a result of such vagueness, the present book will sometimes show up differences in transcribing a word; this reflects the actual state of things rather than a lack of consistency. The student should not forget this circumstance.

- (3) The ordinary vowels have the Italian values.
- 3. The single vowels. (A) i and i: respectively cardinal i and central i, roughly as in Engl. 'see' and 'bit'. Many words, in Logbara, are distinguished only by these two different types of i-sound. Central i is

apparently more frequent, and Logbara pronunciation seems to tend instinctively towards it. In a good number of words the i is quite clear, in other cases it is not; in cases where no difference of meaning results, it may not matter if no distinction in writing is made.

4. Examples:

bì to bend down
bì to catch
bbi ear, leaf
'bi(kə) feather
dzi to bring
si tooth, point
sì to fit
sì to tear; with
ti cow
bì to catch
'bi(kə) feather
dzi to sharpen
si hailstone
sì to tear; with
ti in vain

5. (B) ε , e, ë. Logbara has three distinct e-sounds. The close or central $\ddot{\varepsilon}$ is very marked, it tends towards $\ddot{\imath}$; these two are often difficult to distinguish. In the case of \mathring{gerl} or \mathring{gerl} (way) both pronunciations are actually in use, $\ddot{\varepsilon} = \ddot{\imath}$. The general tendency is $\ddot{\varepsilon} = \ddot{\imath}$, as 'aléá or 'alfá (in). The open ε largely prevails in Logbara. A medium quality between ε and $\ddot{\varepsilon}$ does also exist, as in the personal pronouns $\dot{\varepsilon}$ thou, $\dot{\varepsilon}$ you, $\dot{\varepsilon}$ they, but generally the fluctuating character of the language often makes it difficult to decide which is correct, ε or ε . Apparently, however, the difference of ε and ε does not serve to distinguish words. One might well adopt the convention that, with the exception of $\ddot{\varepsilon}$, the Logbara ε -sound can be pronounced as ε , as a rule, and, with this understanding, the symbol ε could be abolished.

Future practice might decide in favour of these three symbols: \mathbf{i} , $\ddot{\mathbf{i}}$ (= $\ddot{\mathbf{e}}$), \mathbf{e} (= ε). The present book keeps to the distinction: \mathbf{i} , $\ddot{\mathbf{i}}$ / $\ddot{\mathbf{e}}$, \mathbf{e} , ε .

6. Examples:

bbí èdo lobe of ear èdrè to set upright fè to give lè to like nè to see kénà all kèni says that èdú dense àmvé outside mèërì the Nile èdzi left kéréá small calabash mbělě quickly ngèyèngéyè Nile pike náréki target meenóa a termite

7. (C) a, ä. Open a, as in Engl. 'path', and dull ä with a tendency towards c. This ä is quite distinct from the former a in ordinary pronunciation. However, what is pronounced in one district with ä may be pronounced with a in another area, though this is not usual.

ma, á I, me

màarí gourd-blowing instrument
kàmét spoon
kåml lion
gáráma branch
gárí rainbow

å, àma we, us
määrí loan, debt
pätí àgáí side of tree
dåäll depressed (ground)

8. (D) 2, 0, ö. We have here almost a parallel to the above-mentioned three e-sounds. The open 2 (cf. aw in 'law') is the most frequent of the o-sounds and next to this in frequency is the close ö. The middle or normal

o is less frequent and on account of its unstable nature (in Logbara speech) is often difficult to delineate. The symbols o = a, o = a

9. Examples:

əlófe bridge

ado oil, fat

oni stone, rock

but bow

for to go out

endza lie

api chief, king

abi bean

abi to pierce

obiró or ábió rhinoceros

fa to itch

andzi bad

obi chief, king

abi woman, wife

oku old (of the past)

10. (E) u, as in Engl. 'food'.

mu to go mvu to drink dmvu nose ngúrú wild beast (of prey) rú name àvù to bow down àvồ a corpse

Special symbols

11. (1) Nasalization. Nasalization is not a common feature in Logbara. When it occurs it is found in the diminutive suffix -a, and marked in this book with the sign ~: -ā. The vowel preceding this suffix takes over nasalization too. It seems, however, that many people do not trouble about nasalization in this case; this may be due to the influence of foreigners who, in most cases, do not even bother about its existence. Examples:

èvố a basket èvốoã (or simply èvốoá) a tiny little basket

2. Diphthongs

12. (1) Of the ordinary type of rising diphthongs (or union of vowels forming a single syllable) consisting of semi-vowel plus vowel, the common forms with w and y do exist. Thus: if to w and y (and, for that matter, to any consonant) any of the vowel sounds used in Logbara is added, a full-formed verb is obtained, or, to a lesser extent, a noun.

Combinations of consonant $+\mathbf{w}$ or \mathbf{y} do not exist with the unimportant exceptions of hwe, hwi.

(2) Examples:

waa vn. to swim; be clean, be fresh (milk); to jump; to stop (raining) we to swim; to sweep

wi (wi) vn. to grow; to pinch off, to skin; to ripen; to dry; to split N.B. Wi very often has the alternate form uu/wu (cf. vocabulary).

wuu vt. to collect; to skin, to bark

ya vt./vn. to move, tremble; to knock; to besprinkle, to till ye vt. to do, make

yi to throw away

yo/yo to bask; to assuage; to speak; there is not

yuu av. lukewarm

(3) To root words of this kind prefixes (a, e, ə) or other syllables may be added to form other words.

Vowel plus w or y combinations are practically non-existent.

13. As to pronunciation, w and y of Logbara correspond roughly to English w in 'will', or y in 'yes'.

(1) W is a weak o-glide rather than an u-glide.

- (2) Y is generally difficult to perceive before i. In some districts the y-glide before i is definitely perceptible, in others not. Natives have taken to writing yi in place of double ii, e.g. iyi-iyi in place of ii-ii (leisurely), or iyi for ii (water): it may be more practical. As far as pronunciation goes this can be interpreted either as a prolonged i or as a very soft y-glide plus i; it is not the strong y of Engl. 'year'.
- 14. Ordinary vowel combinations, giving the impression of diphthongs, do occur in Logbara, but they must be considered as separate syllables. Examples:

ai to scatter bo to cry à'boà banana rua body

3. Consonants

- 15. While the Logbara and their south-eastern Lwoo neighbours have an approximately identical system of vowels, the former have, however, a distinctive system of consonants, by which it at once becomes evident that the Ma'di and Lwoo represent two distinct types of language. Logbara has a greater variety of consonants and consonant combinations.
- 16. Vowel-consonant pronunciation. While in Logbara, as has been mentioned already, vowels are, one might almost say, generally pronounced in a leisurely or vague way, eventually with complete suppression (as is short i among consonants), the consonants are commonly pronounced with considerable force, thus creating the impression of being doubled. (In this book they are occasionally written doubled.)
 - 17. The consonants and consonant-combinations of Logbara are these: b, 'b, d, 'd, dr, dz, f, pf, g, gb, ', h, k, kp, l, m, mb-mv, mŋgb, n, nd, ndr, ndz, ŋg, η, p, r, s, t, tr, ts, v, w, 'w, y, 'y, z
 - 18. The following consonant symbols have the English sound values:

b, f, p, v e.g. báká rope; pá leg; fàlá(kô) bone; vàá on the ground g, h, k e.g. ga to fill, to cut; hwèt to burst; ka to shine

m, n e.g. má I; àma we; nna three; nè to see

s, z e.g. só barb; z (as in Engl. 'zeal') zá meat

ng (=ng as in Engl. 'finger') e.g. nga to rise

η (= ny) (as -gn in French 'Boulogne') e.g. έηά polenta; à η ά corn

The Terego group uses n for n regularly; n (= ng as in Engl. 'sing') is not in use. pf (bilabial) is occasionally heard in place of n, as pföröpförö easily crumbled.

19. Special consonants: d and t are dentals (or almost interdentals) as in English 'this' and 'thick'. Examples:

di to forge tibi savoury

- 20. ', the glottal stop, i.e. a momentary stopping of the breath-current bringing the vocal chords together, an analogy to the guttural stop for g or k.
- (a) It is used as an ordinary consonant and may occur before any vowel and before the consonants b, d: 'b, 'd; or before the semi-vowels w and y: 'w, 'y. Examples:

'alé inside ' $\dot{\epsilon}$ (= 'y $\dot{\epsilon}$) arrow 'o (= 'ye) to do 'ipi proprietor 'bá 'dà that man 'bà to put be to throw 'dố eleusine 'de to die de to finish 'da to insult 'wï to dry dà to bour wil to pinch off, skin 'vo to speak vo there is not

- (b) This glottal stop often serves to distinguish words otherwise alike, cf. the examples above and the Vocabulary. Consonants preceded by a glottal stop have also been called 'implosive' consonants. To the author in the two sounds 'ba and gba we have two essentially equal 'explosives': the one being preceded by a glottal stop ('ba) the other by a guttural or velar stop (gba).
- (c) Verbs consisting of a simple vowel only, e.g. 'a and 'i, but with a variety of shades and meanings, are mostly preceded by the glottal plosive'.
- 21. As this ' is a consonant, it functions, of course, as such in the following ways:
- (a) It obviates a hiatus and, because of it vowels which would otherwise meet, are never contracted: e.g. dzó 'aléa in the hut.
- (b) Before verbs composed of 'plus a vowel, the shortened forms of personal pronouns (e, a) are used, as is the case before other consonants, instead of the full-form ones which have to be used before a vowel. Cf.:

é'ì ndrí áséa! fasten the goat (to something) in the grass mí d'ì tí litsóa! fasten the cows in the pen (d'ì pl. form of 'ì).

22. Here as elsewhere the glottal plosive is not always clearly perceptible. It is often almost absorbed, one might say, in a 'careless' chain of speech although, when otherwise similarly spelled words—with and without such a glottal plosive—are put side by side natives will insist stubbornly on the particular difference. Their way of pronouncing this plosive is mostly very delicate or light, but their sense of perception is very sharp; this is, of course, the effect of natural training since earliest youth. For foreigners who are not familiar with this peculiarity, at least not with so pronounced a variety, it requires a conscious effort to imitate the native. With a few exceptions, this practice has not been observed among foreign educationalists—to the detriment of the language. Even official advisers

on general orthography, who have visited Arua more than once, have failed to make themselves heard on this point as on others.

- 23. I is, as a rule, a flapped consonant in Logbara, sometimes strong, as before i, e.g. lī to cut, sometimes less so. The tip of the tongue is turned backward (behind the alveoli) and pressed lightly against the front part of the palate to stop the current of breath; on releasing the breath suddenly the tip of the tongue flaps back, e.g. alazà crosswise; lè to like; àli the wind.
- 24. r in Logbara is strongly rolled, with a number of taps so that it suggests a double or triple r. This is especially so in the dr or tr combinations or when between vowels, as in irri two; drà to die; tra to gather; dri to warm; tri to anoint; dria all; tré full; drà to pile up; trò to undo.
- 25. Combination of consonants is an important feature of Logbara. dr and tr are frequent and ordinary (see § 24).
- 26. dz, ts, and ndz are likewise of frequent occurrence. ts is the equivalent of German z as in 'Zeit'; dz being the voiced counterpart of it. Lwoo have c and j (with the English pronunciation as in 'chair' and 'jealousy'), but the Ma'di and Logbara have dz and ts. A Logbara speaks of Atsooli and PaDzule for Acooli and PaJule, and vice versa. -dz preceded by n, i.e. ndz (not nj) is a frequent sound in Logbara. Examples:

dze to buy edzí to bring àdzú spear tsa to reach tsé truly tsí is tsúrú 'dò now ndze to take out andzi children èndzò lie

27. nd, ndr: nd as in 'kind', and ndr with strongly rolled rrr are common and present no difficulty. Note that n of ndr forms an independent syllable and often has a distinct tone. Examples:

ndà to seek ndè to surpass àndè to be tired ndrí goat ándrå or údrå of old ándríi mother

28. gb, kp labio-velar plosives; the breath current is simultaneously obstructed by closed lips and the tongue pressed against the soft palate; the stops are also simultaneously released, thus producing the peculiar voiced or unvoiced sound of gb or kp. It needs some practice. Examples:

gbà to blow gbé egg gbi to shoot ègbè cold kpà to snatch kpere as far as kpli straight kpò to hide

- 29. mpgb. By adding m before gb we obtain mgb or, actually, mpgb, not easy to pronounce. Note initial lip-closing of m. It may be
- ¹ Competent phoneticists have repeatedly stressed the existence of the two sound combinations dz and tz in Logbara, as Dr. A. N. Tucker in Eastern Sudanic Languages, p. 104. Unfortunately ts and dz exist as initial consonants neither in English nor in Italian; English and Italian educationists have, with Dr. Tucker as linguist adviser, combined to introduce c (instead of ts) as represented in Engl. chair or Ital. cinque and j (instead of dz) as represented in Engl. j ealousy or Ital. giorno, in Logbara literature, and English and Italians generally pronounce it in their own (not the Logbara's) way.

easier to try to pronounce simultaneously mgb, which would automatically become mngb. Examples:

àmngbakà hyena

èmngbèlèkè chimpanzee

mngbi in line

N.B. n does not occur alone in Logbara, but is frequent in the combinations ng, ngb, or, to be more exact, m(n)gb. Examples:

ngòá và? where? mngbú all

mngbari real, true bàngá cloth

30. mb and mv are common combinations; lip-closing points to initial m: thus no nb or nv spelling can replace them. Examples:

mbá month mvá child

embá to teach ámvíi sister

mbělě auickly mvi to go back

mbo to jumb mvu to drink

31. The letters c, j, q, x do not occur in Logbara.

32. Consonants occurring in Logbara.

	Bi-labial	Labio- dental	(Inter-) dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio- velar	Laryngeal
Explosive	p, b		t, d			k, g	kp, gb	,
Affricate				ts, dz				
Nasal	m, mb	mv		n, ndz	η	ng	mŋgb	
Rolled,		• • •	tr, dr	r				
flapped			1] 1	ĺ			
Fricative	pf	f, v		s, z			• •	h
Semi-vowel	w				у			

Tone Marks

- 33. The tone of a syllable will be shown on vowels (or consonants) by means of the conventional marks given below. The tone of a syllable may be simple (level) or combined (kinetic). (See also § 53.)
 - (a) Marks for simple tones:

high tone (h.t.) '; tí cow; éwá beer; tí mvá cow calf mid tone (m.t.) '; 3z35 rain; è'då to show; tl mouth low tone (l.t.) '; lè to like; sì with

(b) Marks for combined tones (unbroken ascent or descent from one level to another by combination of the simple tones):

high-low tone ; tî zá beef; ôpî nî the chief's high-mid tone ; âdrîl (or âdrî) brother; âtî father mid-high tone ; əzɔ or əzəɔ rain mid-low tone ; tsɔ-tsɔ to strike low-mid tone ; fe he gives

low-high tone '; la they read (past) intermediate tones: see § 53, p. ii.

- 34. General notes. (1) A double vowel or vowel combination with level tone is marked with a single tone mark on the first vowel, as 'dáalé there, 'áléa in.
- (2) No mark on a syllable, whether simple or composite vowel, indicates mid-level tone: e.g. avö to be; if another tone is added to a middle tone, both tones must, of course, be marked: e.g. azòà rain.

For further details see Intonation, § 43 sqq.

II. Sound Changes

- 35. In Logbara (unlike some of the other languages, such as Jii), word-linking does not, generally speaking, postulate change of sounds. The two following cases, however, are slight exceptions to this statement.
- 36. (1) Before the locative suffix -á, and to some extent before -ti, open vowel-sounds (£ and 3) tend to become close. A typical, one might almost say unique, instance is 'alé (inside): 'alé-á (in the inside) becomes 'aléa or 'aléa or even 'alfa. Dzó-á becomes dzóa (in the hut). Similarly, dzó-ti (hut's opening, door) is generally pronounced dzóti or, more commonly, dzótilé.
- 37. (2) The adjectival formative suffix -rö tends to be -ru after i, o or u in a preceding syllable.
- N.B. Both these 'exceptions' to the general simple rule may be disregarded without danger of inconvenience or ambiguity, though in speaking the Logbara keep to them. This book will mostly reflect them.
- 38. A more widespread sound-change—consisting of vowel-elision—is an important feature of spoken Logbara. This is important in the sense that its use permeates the language, so much so that it requires some ability and experience for a foreigner to understand Logbara people when they speak naturally. Logbara is unusual in respect of the marked degree to which words are contracted in speech, at the expense of vowels.

In writing and in literature, on the other hand, the educated native is familiar only with the language based on etymology and writes it in full, quite unaware of the ways of current speech: for this reason this book will ignore the contracted forms of the spoken language.

39. In the spoken language, the following is normal usage:

When an end vowel of a word meets with the initial vowel of a following word, their connexion is an extremely close one in speech, i.e. there is no pause between one word and the next. Example:

àma e'da èrī-nī é'dá becomes àme'dērīnīi'dá we showed him a picture

40. Elision takes place, especially in colloquial speech, when even an utterly 'mutilated' word is immediately recognized in context. In some cases, in a word consisting of v-c-v, both initial and terminal vowel may be dropped leaving only the consonant.

As a consequence of the catenation, either one of two meeting vowels is dropped, resulting in the following:

- (a) The tone of a disappearing vowel, whether it vanish by assimilation or elision (whichever way one looks at it), is always retained and added to the tone of the remaining yowel.
- (b) When the two meeting vowels are identical, they become, for all practical purposes, one long vowel.
- (c) When one vowel is dropped, the one retained is generally relatively long.

41. Dropped vowels

- (a) An initial a- is normally not dropped as it generally conveys some special shade of meaning, and ambiguity might otherwise arise.
 - (b) i(i), o(o, o), and u are strong vowels; they are never dropped.
 - (c) The end vowel -a is dropped before any other vowel.
- (d) The vowel -e or e- is dropped in contact with any other vowel except a-; a and e are weak vowels.

42. Examples:

maa -'à bĩirĩ yà? (ma a'à ...) have I delayed much?
mí adri 'dé mî z-óòsí (=zá osí)! do stay where you are to fry the
meat!
èdzò 'î p-éèdzò-dzò (for pá è-) he stretched his leg(s)
m- bèdzò m- bèdzò -dzò I am stretching myself

CHAPTER 2

INTONATION

43. If one compares these three commonplace expressions—mâ dri my hand, mâ dri my head, mádri my, mine—it appears evident that the musical tone or pitch with which a word is pronounced is an essential part of it, since, in numerous cases, tone alone distinguishes one word from another, for example, dri may mean either head (dri), hand (dri), or to warm (dri). Compare also: ti (cow), ti (mouth, to give birth), ti (rise—of a river), or si (tooth), si (hail), si (to knock), si (with), si (to build). Such instances are extremely common in Logbara. The importance of tones must thus become clear to everybody. If a person speaks without regard to tones, it will mean that the native hearers will have to be more ingenious than the speaker and discover from the circumstances or context or from his gestures what he is trying to say; the native will have to learn the Logbara of the foreigner: a poor expedient which must lead to impoverishment of the language.

Apart from the etymologically distinct tones (see Vocabulary), intonation is governed by an ample body of regulations, especially in relation to verbs

Intonation and Verbs

- 44. Preliminary notes. Verbs in Logbara have the following forms.

 (1) A simple verb represents a root in its simplest form, i.e. C(onsonant) + V(owel)—a simple open syllable, e.g. fe. A closed syllable, i.e. V + C, does not occur. (2) As a rule any consonant, or ordinary consonant-combination, may combine with any vowel and thus form a full verb. Thus fa, fe, fi, fo, fa, fu are all important verbs in Logbara.
- 45. The said simple or primary verbs may take one of the following prefixes: a-, $\epsilon(e)-$, o(o)-. The prefixes imply a particular modification in the meaning of the simple verb; they are, therefore, annexed according to fairly fixed rules, not arbitrarily. Examples:

mvi to go back emvi to come back omvi to give back

fè to give effè to give hither

de to give much or to many

N.B. Terego, &c., commonly uses a- where others use e-.

46. The following are the rules governing the tone-patterns of verbs:
(1) Simple verbs have either *low* or *mid tone*, never high. Examples:

fè to give

ga to cut

'di to kill

drà to pile up

- N.B. There are a few exceptions (generally indicated in the Vocabulary) when a verb may have both forms, one with low and one with mid tone. Generally, however, a difference in tone indicates a difference in meaning.
- 47. (2) When a low-toned simple verb takes a prefix (§ 45), both verbal root and prefix keep to low tone. Examples:

èfè, òfò, òdrò, ò'bà, &c.

48. (3) If a mid-tone simple verb takes a prefix, the prefix will have mid tone only. The mid-toned verbal root (of a simple verb), however, may keep its mid tone or may, possibly, exchange mid tone for high tone; it is common usage which is the deciding factor, not one's own preference.

In some cases a verb composed in this way (root with prefix) may have either mid-level or mid-high tone. Usually the difference in intonation indicates a difference in meaning. Examples:

Etsi to deceive

etsi to close, &c.

49. The following change—or rather, slight addition—in the tone pattern of verbs takes place regularly. Changes here refer to the *endsyllable* only.

In sentences with the Construction of Incomplete Action (CIA) the following tone additions are made:

50. (1) A low-toned verb adds to its low tone a slightly raised tone-tail, a 2/5 tone. Examples:

fè to give,

but: afa fe to give something

51. (2) A high-toned verbal root, e.g. ɛmbá, takes an additional slightly falling tone-tail, a 4/5 tone. Examples:

embá to teach èri andzi embå he is teaching the children

52. (3) A mid-toned verb sometimes adds a slightly rising tone-tail, from 3/5 to 4/5. Examples:

myu to drink

éwâ mvů to drink beer

Number of Tones

- 53. Certain rules, of general application in Logbara, are given here for those interested. They will not be referred to again in this book. In this book only three tones are marked (no mark means mid-tone): low or 1/5, mid or 3/5, high or 5/5, and their combinations (see § 12). But what is marked in this book with mid-tone in fact comprises three tones marked: or 2/5, or 3/5, or 4/5, which all come between low and high tones. There are thus actually five distinct tone levels; and an ordinary high tone may sometimes be surpassed by a higher syllable.
- 54. I have abstained from more minute investigation or collection of evidence in the matter of intonation in view of the fact that 95 per cent., probably, of the readers of this book will not appreciate it and may find it annoying, to say the least.
- 55. The intermediate tones (2/5 and 4/5) may be determined by general rules to a certain extent; these have been set out tentatively here for the benefit of students interested in them.

The low intermediate (2/5) tone is employed in the following cases:

(a) All dissyllabic personal pronouns have a low-tone first syllable and a slightly higher (2/5) second one,

èri he . . . àmà we . . . èmi you . . . èi they, them

(b) On the relative element -rī, when suffixed to low-tone syllables, as in the case of the demonstrative pronouns:

'dl-rl / 'dll this 'darl / 'dal that

- (c) On the second syllable of ald one
- (d) As an addition to low-toned verbs in CIA sentences (cf. § 50).
- 56. The third or real middle tone is the tone of many verbs (cf. § 46); and it is the tone of the vowel prefixes added to mid-tone verbs (cf. § 48).
- 57. The high-intermediate or raised mid tone (4/5) is found mainly in the following cases:
- (a) In the full-form personal pronouns (1st and 2nd pers. sg.), i.e. the monosyllables ma I, mi thou, 'i he, she, him- or her-self.
- (b) A good proportion of nouns of kinship (and a few others) end in a high plus an additional raised mid- (4/5) toned syllable. The latter is

apparently the result of a shortening of an end syllable -pi to -i, or -ipi to -ii. Examples:

åndrii mother åtii father ådrii brother åmvii sister ågui or ågii friend 'ipi or 'ii owner

(c) There are a number of dissyllabic nouns which in some parts of the country are pronounced with level high tone, while in other parts their first syllable has a high intermediate (4/5) tone. This latter feature is, however, apparently on the point of giving way to the former or high-level tone pronunciation. Examples:

păti tree ătii father Emvo pot cf. păti mà páti stem of a tree

Inter-tonic Reaction

58. In many cases a low-toned syllable is required before certain words. This means that whenever the syllable preceding such a word has other than a low tone, the low tone has to be added to it. This phenomenon occurs, of course, in connected speech, i.e. when words—maybe just two—are grammatically connected. Thus päti, if followed by the verb ga, becomes päti, e.g. päti ga to cut wood (or a tree).

There are two categories of words which come under this heading; the one follows simple rules, the other requires every single word to be checked separately.

59. The first category refers to verbs with mid tone. Only a simple verb, consisting of a simple root, has the property of postulating a low tone before it. If any of the verbal prefixes (see § 45) is annexed, it loses this property.

Before a simple mid-tone verb a word has to have a low tone:

(a) If the preceding syllable has a low tone, no change occurs.

(b) If the preceding syllable has a high tone, a low tone has to be added to it; e.g. &ri dzó 'al& we she is sweeping the hut's inside ('alé).

(c) If the preceding syllable has mid or low-mid tone, this tone is replaced by the low tone. 'ye to do, mu to go, are two mid-toned verbs which also serve as auxiliaries to form the future tense. Examples:

èrì 'yè mu rá he will go èrì mù 'ye rá she will do it

- N.B. In each of these examples the first (auxiliary) verb has low tone as it is followed by a mid-tone verb. The pronoun subject eri has become eri because it precedes a verb with etymologic mid tone, although in these particular cases the verbs themselves had already taken a low tone in consequence of the rule.
- (d) In the case of a 4/5 or raised mid-tone syllable preceding a mid-tone verb two alternatives are possible: either a low tone is added to the original tone or, as with mid-tone syllables, the etymologic tone is replaced by the low tone. Example:

må 'yè mu rá or mà 'yè mu rá I shall go

60. -rö. The predicative adjective formative suffix -rö (with mid tone) requires an additional low tone whenever the preceding syllable has not a low tone already. Examples:

Eka red Emve white

eka-rî and emve-rî (attributive), but ekâ-rö, emvê-rö (predicative)

N.B. The rö of reflexive verbs has no such property.

would seem, of the original low-tone prefix of endrí,

61. Second category: nouns postulating a low tone to precede them. A typical instance is zá flesh. It makes tì zá ox-meat, ndrì zá meat of goat. This word zá is èzá in the north of the country (Aringa). Here the clue to the explanation of this particular phenomenon seems plain: namely, that the low tone required is the remnant of a dropped low tone syllable. In the case of ndri goat, the low tone of the syllabic n is residual, it

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