ERGATIVITY AND THE ACTIVE-STATIVE TYPOLOGY IN LOMA

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Ergativity would seem to be non-existent or at least quite rare in Africa. This lack, however, may be related to another continent-wide areal phenomenon: there is a paucity of morphological NP case marking according to either ergative or accusative typologies. It is thus possible that other more subtle attributes of the ergative organization of syntax are what should be sought in Africa. For example, in the Mande languages, as also in Celtic, phonological decay has produced a series of word initial consonant alternations. In Celtic these have come to function as part of a nominative-accusative case marking strategy. The situation is quite similar in Mande, but as this paper details for Lorna, the noun case system is ergative-absolutive. And, accordingly, the pronoun system has active-stative characteristics.

0. Introduction

The Mande languages are famous for indigenous syllabaries and peculiar consonant mutations (see Welmers [1971b]). Loma, the language of this investigation, has both a syllabary and consonant mutation. Loma's consonant mutation has received repeated mention in the literature, e.g. Eberl-Elber [1937], Hintze [1948], Manessy [1964], Meeussen [1965], Welmers [1971b], Bird [1971], Hyman [1973], Dwyer [1974]. There is also a grammar by Sadler [1951] and a brief description of the language by Heydorn [1971]. Although the linguistic features that are dealt with in this paper have been documented elsewhere, no one as yet, to my knowledge, has couched his description in the terminology of ergative and active-stative typologies. ²

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¹The data for this paper was gathered in the autumn of 1976. It was kindly provided by Sewalla Guseh, then a student at the University of Oregon. Mr. Guseh was a native speaker of Loma from Zenalomai, Liberia.

²Heine and Reh [1982] note that "although the 1000-odd African languages display a remarkable extent of structural variation, there are certain struc-
1. **Ergativity**

1.1. **Consonant Mutation.** There is a phonological alternation in Lorna that happens only word initially and only in well defined syntactic environments. The alternations are as follows (β and γ appear before unrounded vowels, w before rounded vowels):

\[
\begin{align*}
p, b & \rightarrow \beta w \\
t, d & \rightarrow 1 \\
k, g & \rightarrow \gamma w \\
kp & \rightarrow \beta
\end{align*}
\]

1.2. **Syntactic environment for consonant mutation.**

1.2.1. **The noun phrase.** Word initial consonant mutation never occurs initially in a noun phrase. In the following examples, the citation forms of nouns in (a) occur without consonant mutation, while consonant mutation is illustrated in (b) where a morpheme precedes.³

(1) a. pele 'the house' b. ga pele 'our house'
(2) a. buli 'the goat' b. ga wuli 'our goat'
(3) a. ti 'the work' b. ga li 'our work'
(4) a. do 'the wine' b. ga do 'our wine'
(5) a. ki 'the key' b. ga yi 'our key'

³The mutated b is described by Sadler [1951] as a labio-dental stop, as opposed to v which also occurs in the language. When I collected this data seven years ago, my impression was of a voiced bilabial fricative. But whatever the sound, it is in this paper represented by β. Tones are not indicated in this paper unless relevant to the argument being made. Most Lorna words have high tone inherent in the first syllable. There is no tone contrast, for example, between βa and bå as in zunui βa 'for the man' and bå 'for him', even though the high tone in bå contrasts with the low tone in bå 'for me'. For common segmentally identical morphemes like é 'he/she/it' and è 'you', only the morpheme with low tone will be marked in this paper. The data from other Mande languages was gleaned from various sources in which tones are not distinguished in a consistent manner.
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(6) a. guli 'the tree' b. ga wuli 'our tree'
(7) a. kpugi 'the door' b. ga bugi 'our door'
(8) a. foli 'the sun' b. ga voli 'our sun'
(9) a. siyi 'the cloth' b. ga ziyi 'our cloth'
(10) a. ziyi 'the hole' b. ga yiyi 'our hole'

In (11), consonant mutation has occurred word initially everywhere, but not phrase initially.

(11) ta yunu bai pa 'for their good man'
their man good-the for

The following two examples restore the non-mutated forms of zunu 'man' and ba 'for'. The non-mutated form for 'good' is pa. The 3rd person singular pronoun in (13) is merely the high tone.

(12) zunu bai pa 'for the good man'
man good-the for
(13) ba 'for him/her/it'

1.2.2. The verb phrase.
1.2.2.1. Intransitive. Consonant mutation occurs in the initial consonant of an intransitive verb when its subject precedes. Compare the following. The toneme in (15) permits the verb to be phrase initial and thus preserve the non-mutated form of its initial consonant.

(14) zunui bala be 'the man is big'
man-the big ASP
(15) bala be 'he/she/it is big'
big ASP

The intransitive verbs di 'go', te 'climb', and sili 'arrive' occur in the following examples. A preceding subject in every case is sufficient to bring about consonant mutation. In (19) the verb is preceded by an auxiliary ending in a nasal consonant and still the initial consonant of the verb mutates.

(16) zunui li zu 'the man is going'
man-the go ASP
(17) buli lε ne 'the goat climbed'
goat-the climb ASP
(18) see βalai zili ni  'the large elephant arrived'
    elephant big-the arrive ASP

(19) zunui γẹŋ βala ne  'the man used to be big'
    man-the ASP big ASP

If the predicate is not a verb, but instead is initiated by a NP, it
should be noted that no mutation occurs between the subject and predicate.
The postposition in (21) is initial in the predicate due to the pronominal to-
neme. Compare the non-mutated pẹle i in (20) with βẹle i in (1b) above.
In (22) neither the copula gà undergoes consonant mutation nor the predicate
noun zunu .

(20) zunui pẹlei wu  'the man is in the house'
    man-the house-the in

(21) zunui bū  'the man is in it'
    man-the in

(22) ta gà zunu  'they are men'
    they be man

1.2.2.2. Transitive. Mutation affects the initial consonant of a transitive
verb only when a direct object precedes, as in (23) and (24) below. The tran-
sitive verb te 'lift, raise' is the same morpheme as the intransitive
'climb' in (17) above. The verb is made transitive by the presence of both S
and O, as can be seen by comparing (23) with (17) above. Note that the ini-
tial consonant of the direct object does not mutate even though the subject
precedes. Compare the non-mutated kɔti 'stone' in (23) with gà wɔti 'our
stone'.

(23) zunui kɔti  lẹ ne  'the man lifted the stone'
    man-the stone-the lift ASP

(24) zunui bu l ẹ βaa ne  'the man killed the goat'
    man-the goat-the kill ASP

When the direct object is realized as only a tone then the subject direct-
ly precedes a transitive verb. Unlike the subject preceding an intransitive
verb, no mutation ever occurs when an agentive subject immediately precedes a
transitive verb. The transitive verb in (25) is distinguished from the in-
transitive one in (17) above solely by not having undergone consonant muta-
tion. Although both verbs below have inherent high tone, the preservation of
the high tone in (25) and (26) indicates an anaphoric 3rd person singular di­rect object.

(25) zunui tő ne 'the man lifted it'
    man-the lift ASP
(26) zunui pāa ne 'the man killed it'
    man-the kill ASP

Thus Lorna clearly evidences ergativity. The environment for mutation of
the initial consonant of the verb is an immediately preceding absolutive NP.
And this Lorna absolutive case includes, in the classic sense, both direct ob­jects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs. When an ana­phoric direct object is realized as zero, the verb is immediately preceded by
an ergative NP. And in this environment the initial consonant of the verb
never mutates.

1.3. Historical development of consonant alternations.

1.3.1. Phonology. The historical phonology of the Southwestern Mande lan­
guages has been discussed by Hyman [1973] and by Dwyer [1974]. Historically,
consonant mutation was blocked in Lorna by a preceding nasal consonant. This
nasal was later completely lost in Lorna. But in Mende it still survives be­
fore voiced consonants, as seen in the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loma</th>
<th>Mende</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(27)  daba</td>
<td>ndamba 'crocodile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(28)  kpade</td>
<td>kpande 'gun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29)  ga</td>
<td>nga 'I'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before voiceless consonants the nasal was lost in both Mende and Lorna. But it
does survive in Kpelle, although the consonant that it shielded from weakening
in Loma and Mende is in Kpelle lost completely. All clusters N+C are simpli­
fied to N in Kpelle, as can be seen below. The correspondence set in (31)
suggests the reconstruction *kontu with the cluster nt , this on analogy
with correspondence set (30).

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4Mende examples are from Innes [1967,1969], Kpelle from Welmers [1962,
1969]. See Manessy [1964] for a description of the blocking of consonant len­
tion by word final *ŋ .
The only permissible word final consonant in Proto-Southwestern Mande was \( \eta \). This consonant was lost in Lorna but survived in Kpelle, as is illustrated below.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Loma} & \text{Mende} & \text{Kpelle} \\
(30) \text{kpadɛ} & \text{kpandɛ} & \text{kpana} & \text{'gun'} \\
(31) \text{kɔtu} & \text{kɔtu} & \text{konu} & \text{'stone'} \\
\end{array}
\]

Word final \( \eta \), however, does have a reflex in Loma. When a vowel is suffixed to such a word, the \( *\eta \) surfaces as \( \breve{\eta} \). The following examples contrast nouns with and without this final nasal. The Loma nouns \( \text{pɛle} \) 'house' and \( \text{zala} \) 'lion' did not end in a nasal in the proto-language. The word for 'house' in Kpelle, for example, is \( \text{pɛɛɛ} \), not \( *\text{pɛɛɛɛ} \). The nouns \( \text{kpala} \) 'farm' and \( \text{daba} \) 'crocodile' have cognates in other Mande languages with final nasal, and in examples (36) and (37) this nasal surfaces in Loma when a vowel is suffixed, as in (36b) and (37b).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
(32) \text{tɔ} & \text{tɔŋ} & \text{'law'} \\
(33) \text{kpala} & \text{kpalaŋ} & \text{'farm'} \\
\end{array}
\]

The point of all this, as the following examples show, is that this nasal blocks the otherwise expected lenition in the initial consonant of a following word. In example (39), lenition of the initial consonant was blocked, as is evident from example (36), by an immediately preceding nasal consonant.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
(34) \text{a. pɛle} & \text{'house'} \\
& \text{b. pɛle} & \text{'the house'} \\
(35) \text{a. zala} & \text{'lion'} \\
& \text{b. zalai} & \text{'the lion'} \\
(36) \text{a. kpala} & \text{'farm'} \\
& \text{b. kpalaŋi} & \text{'the farm'} \\
(37) \text{a. daba} & \text{'crocodile'} \\
& \text{b. dabaŋi} & \text{'the crocodile'} \\
\end{array}
\]

Lenition of the first consonant of a verb is also blocked when a direct object that once ended in a nasal precedes, as the following examples show. The initial consonant of \( \text{paa} \) 'kill' does not weaken after \( \text{daba} \) 'crocodile', because that noun ended in a nasal in the parent language, as example (37).
above indicates.

(40) zal a βaa 'kill a lion!
(41) daba paa 'kill a crocodile!'  

This phenomenon also affects the aspectual morpheme su which normally mutates to zu after verbs, but not after all verbs. The same verbs that block the lenition of su also regularly occur with final g when the aspect marker a is suffixed. Examples (42) and (43) below show verb stems that do not block lenition, while the verb stems in (44) and (45) do.

(42) a. gà 1i zu 'I am going'  b. gè 1i a 'I have gone'  
I go ASP I go ASP

(43) a. gà ke zu 'I am doing it'  b. gè ke a 'I have done it'  
I do ASP I do ASP

(44) a. gà 6a le su 'I am sweeping'  b. gè 6a leg a 'I have swept'  
I sweep ASP I sweep

(45) a. gà 60 su 'I am helping'  b. gè 6og a 'I have helped'  
I help ASP I help ASP

Kpelle, which preserves word final *ŋ, preserves the final ŋ in those verbs that block lenition in Lorna. The Kpelle cognates of Lorna li 'go' and ke 'do' are li 'go' and ke 'do', both without final ŋ. But Kpelle has kpaŋ 'help' where Lorna has kpo 'help'. The verb for 'sweep' in Lorna also occurs as a noun, viz. kpale/kpalengu 'broom/the broom'. And so as a noun the reflex of *ŋ, the g, also surfaces before a vowel suffix.

1.3.2. Morphology. The two major syntactic environments that block consonant lenition in Lorna are (1) the initial position in a NP and (2) the initial position in a transitive verb when no direct object NP precedes. There is ample comparative evidence that historically both environments were marked by a nasal prefix that blocked consonant lenition.

1.3.2.1. Lenition blocked in verb. In Lorna, all that survives of the 1st and 3rd person singular direct object pronouns is non-lenition of the initial consonant of the verb and a low or high tone on the first syllable of the verb, as shown below:

(46) e bu li  líli ni 'he called the goat'  
he goat-the call ASP
(47) e túli ni
he call ASP
'he called me'

(48) e túli ni
he call ASP
'he called him/her/it'

The prefixed pronouns that blocked lenition in the Lorna verb are reconstructed as *N- 'me' and *N- 'him/her/it'. There has been a reversal of tones in Lorna, for which see Welmers [1971a]. As one would predict (see again examples (27-29), the nasal prefix survives before voiced consonants in Mende, as can be seen in the following examples. In some of them the transitive versus intransitive use of the verb illustrates the presence of the direct object prefix in (b), in other cases, e.g. (49) and (52), a direct object NP precedes and thus lenition occurs in (a).

(49) a. ngi waa 'kill him/her'
   b. paa  'kill it'

(50) a. lc  'climb, rise'
   b. tc  'lift it, raise it'

(51) a. gutu  'be short'
   b. kutu  'shorten it'

(52) a. ndo gbœ 'drink palm wine'
   b. kpoë  'drink it'

(53) a. be  'dry' (intransitive)
   b. mbe  'dry it'

(54) a. la  'lie down'
   b. nda  'lay it down'

(55) a. yei 'descend'
   b. njei  'lower it'

(56) a. woa  'enter'
   b. ngua  'insert it'

Historically, initial consonant lenition in the verb was blocked by the same phonetic environment as elsewhere; it was blocked by a preceding nasal consonant. The fact that this consonant was a grammatical morpheme explains the syntactic behavior of verb initial consonant lenition in modern Lorna.

1.3.2.2. Lenition blocked in noun. Greenberg [1977] hypothesizes that the Niger-Congo noun class markers originated as definite markers, whether prefix or suffix. The process involves three stages: definite markers > referentiality markers > substantive markers. All three stages of this develop-

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5Welmers proposes *N as the phonetic form of the third person object prefix, but others—Manessy [1964], Meeussen [1965], Hyman [1973], Dwyer [1974]—argue for *N, which is to be preferred, both in view of what regularly blocks lenition in Loma and from the point of view of a possible cognate in Niger-Congo.
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ment are observable in various of the Niger-Congo languages for both prefixal and suffixal systems. Greenberg [1977:97] observes that "almost every branch of Niger-Congo, except of course Mande, has some languages which are simultaneously prefixing and suffixing." In the West Atlantic languages, Greenberg notes, the prefixes have advanced to the last stage, and in some languages of the group they have been reduced to noun initial consonant alternations. But suffixed articles have been innovated, and in various of these languages the different stages of their development are visible. Greenberg also notes how the Southwestern Mande noun suffix -i is in the first stage in Loma but more advanced in Mende.

All this provides a very helpful context for viewing the historical development of the Loma noun initial consonant alternations. Welmers [1971b] hypothesizes that the 3rd person pronominal now realized in Loma simply by its blocking consonant lenition in the verb is also responsible for blocking consonant lenition initially in the noun. And thus the Mande languages do indeed, along with the other branches of Niger-Congo, evidence both prefixing and suffixing. Loma ṭo 'palm wine' is made definite by suffixing -i: ṭo i 'the palm wine'. The lenition of the d, which should have become l, was blocked by a nasal prefix that has been lost in Loma. This nasal prefix was an obligatory final stage substantive marker. It has survived in Mende before nouns with initial voiced consonants, as the following examples indicate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loma</th>
<th>Mende</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bala</td>
<td>mbala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭo</td>
<td>ndo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zie</td>
<td>nja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulu</td>
<td>ngulu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns are derived from verbs by the nasal prefix. Consider the following examples from Mende. Remember that in Mende a nasal consonant plus voiceless obstruent simplifies to just the voiceless obstruent but with lenition being blocked, as seen in (61b). The nasal survives, though, before voiced consonants, as in (62b) and (63b).
In Kpelle the prefixed nasal was not generalized to mark all nouns. It still functions as a definite marker, but redundantly along with the suffix -i. The presence of the nasal prefix has had the opposite effect in Kpelle as in Loma and Mende: it has provided the environment for consonant lenition. Its effect was to voice a voiceless consonant and to bring about the total loss of a voiced one. The nasal itself survives only where it was prefixed to a voiced consonant. The original low tone of this prefix survives in Kpelle, where definite nouns begin with a low tone. The suffix -i has been lost after nouns ending in /ŋ/, as can be seen in (65), (67), and (74).

(64) a. pere 'house' b. berei 'the house'
(65) a. ten 'law' b. den 'the law'
(66) a. koo 'log' b. goo 'the log'
(67) a. kpalaŋ 'farm' b. gbalan 'the farm'
(68) a. boa 'knife' b. moai 'the knife'
(69) a. luu 'fog' b. nuui 'the fog'
(70) a. ya 'water' b. nyai 'the water'
(71) a. yila 'dog' b. nilai 'the dog'
(72) a. wuru 'tree' b. nurii 'the tree'
(73) a. fena 'mushroom' b. venai 'the mushroom'
(74) a. səŋ 'thing' b. zəŋ 'the thing'

In the Mande languages, unlike in the rest of Niger-Congo, there is no evidence for noun classification. However, the Mande substantive marking prefix may be cognate to a Niger-Congo noun class marker. The Mande prefix was a homorganic nasal just as was the Bantu class 9 prefix. Further, as Givón [1971] shows, the Bantu class 9/10 probably originally marked animates, class 1/2 having arisen later to mark the subcategory human. If Mande were to have generalized one of the Proto-Niger-Congo class markers to all nouns, the animacy marker would obviously have been the best candidate. And, according to Greenberg [1977], this would also have been a definite marker, as it still is
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in Kpelle. The Mande substantival prefix and 3rd person object pronoun are phonetically identical, and Welmers [1971b] assumes the object pronoun to preserve the original function of the morpheme. But would this not indicate that the first nouns to be marked definite were objects? To believe so one would need more Niger-Congo evidence, for to my knowledge no one has yet reconstructed noun case marking in any of Niger-Congo. According to Welmers [1971a], morphemes of class 1 and 9 in both Bantu and the closely related Tiv manifest low tone, while for all other noun classes the tone is high. Significantly, the Mande nasal prefix is also reconstructed with low tone.

1.3.3. Emergent ergativity. Synchronously, Loma clearly displays an ergative syntax. The subject of an intransitive verb and the direct object together provide the syntactic motivation for verb initial consonant lenition. Although no morphemes are involved, the syntactic organization reflected by the phonology is ergative-absolutive. The ergative NP sits outside the phrasal unit which comprises the absolutive NP and the verb, as illustrated in (75). The # shows where consonant lenition is blocked.

(75) (#ERGATIVE NP) [#(ABSOLUTIVE NP) VERB]

Here is an ergative-absolutive system that has arisen quite by accident. There was no reanalyzed passive with marked agent, nor nominalization with genitive agent. The first prerequisite in the development of the Loma system was the rigid SOV word order with, of course, SV for intransitive clauses. This allows for a syntactic organization as follows:

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6 The prefix *N- evidently also served as a kind of resumptive subject pronoun in Loma. Compare βa 'come' with ba 'come' in the examples below. Consonant mutation occurs as expected in (a), but not in (b) where the verb is preceded by a relative clause. The verb koa does not mutate to woa because it is transitive.

(1) zunui βa ne 'the man came'
    man-the come ASP

(2) zunui ɓe koa ne ba ne 'the man I know came'
    man-the I him-know ASP come ASP

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The second prerequisite in the development of the Loma system was the fact that *N- was both a substantive marker as well as direct object pronoun, as diagrammed below.

When the Loma consonant lenition occurred, *N- provided a syntactic environment for its non-occurrence. Then, after N+C was everywhere simplified to C, only the famous consonant alternations were left as syntactic indicators of transitivity. Another factor in the development of the system is the Mande characteristic of coding transitivity as NP NP V. With a transitive verb the NP in the sequence NP V must be interpreted as a patient. Bird and Shopen [1977] describe this system for Maninka, where it is extremely productive. Consider, for example, the following Maninka sentences.

The world's most outstanding examples of grammaticalized consonant alternations should hug the western extremities of the Old World. Celtic, Berber, West Atlantic and Mande are all famous for consonant alternations tied to syntax/semantics. The same observation cannot be made, for example, with regard to the eastern extremities of the Eastern Hemisphere. Northwest Semitic, which includes the Phoenician carried west by sea, is also famous for its syntactically linked spirantization of consonants. Even in Romance it is in the West that syntactically linked phonological processes developed; spirantization in Spanish, liaison in French. Even Germanic, that other western extension of Indo-European, is famous for spirantization, though there is no record of it ever having been grammatically linked. The Hopper [1977] analysis of Proto-Indo-European makes Grimm's Law look exactly like the Northwest Semitic spirantization. Of course similar phenomena have arisen spontaneously all over the globe. There may have been more coincidence than Phoenician in the Niger-Congo, Berber, and Indo-European West. Nevertheless, in no other region of the world has grammatically linked consonant alternation been carried to such extremes over such a large area.
In Lorna, when a single NP stands before a mutated transitive verb, it also must be the patient, as the following illustrates.

(80) e kōṯi le zu 'he is lifting the stone'
    he stone-the rise ASP

(81) e tē zu 'he is lifting it'
    he rise ASP

(82) e le zu 'he/she/it is rising'
    he rise ASP

2. Active-Stative Typology

2.1. Pronoun system. There are two basic pronoun sets in Lorna that I shall label active and stative. I list them below as pronounced by my informant. Each set has two pronouns for 1st person plural which, in the order listed, mark the exclusion and inclusion of the addressee.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>STATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>gà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>jà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>tôa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2. Function of pronoun sets.

2.2.2. Subject and object. One function of the two sets of Lorna pronouns is to mark subject and object. The "active" set marks subject, the "stative" set object. However, the order of morphemes is rigid and thus these morphological case distinctions are redundant. The following examples illustrate the case function of the two sets of Lorna pronouns. In (85) and (86) the object pronouns are simply high and low tones in the first syllable of the verb. The stative set also functions as object of postposition, as (87) shows.

(83) gà tē ya zu 'we see them'
    we them see ASP

(84) tô gé ya zu 'they see us'
    they us see ASP
2.2.2. **Aspectual split.** The case distinction marked by Loma pronouns is not maintained in the perfective aspect, as illustrated below. Examples (88) and (89) should be compared with (83) and (84). The pronouns are all from the stative set.

(88) \textit{gē tē ya ne} \hspace{2cm} 'we saw them' \\
we them see ASP

(89) \textit{tē gē ya ne} \hspace{2cm} 'they saw us' \\
they us see ASP

Obviously the two tonemes from the stative set cannot mark both subject and object on the same verb. In the perfective aspect gē 'I' and é 'he/she/it' are substituted for subject pronouns, as in the following examples:

(90) \textit{gē kā ne} \hspace{2cm} 'I saw him/her/it' \\
I it-see ASP

(91) \textit{ē kā ne} \hspace{2cm} 'he/she saw me' \\
he me-see ASP

2.2.3. **Alienable and inalienable possession.** As illustrated in (92) and (93), the active set of pronominals functions to show alienable possession, the stative set to mark inalienable possession.

(92) \textit{gā pēlēi} \hspace{2cm} 'our house' \\
our house-the

(93) \textit{gē yē} \hspace{2cm} 'our father' \\
our father

For the 1st and 3rd person singular members of the active set nā 'my' and nā 'his/her' are substituted as alienable possessors. As seen below, they block consonant mutation. For this reason Manessy [1964] suggests that they once ended in nasal consonants.

(94) \textit{nā pēlēi} \hspace{2cm} 'my house'
(95) ná pɛlei 'his/her house'
(96) kɛ 'my father'
(97) kɛ 'his/her father'

2.2.4. Active versus stative subject. It is their function as subject of intransitive verbs that provides the justification for calling the Lorna pronoun sets active and stative. The following four sentences contrast an active/agentive versus a stative subject, both with intransitive predicates.⁸

⁸No negative sentences were elicited during the brief period of my field work on Lorna. But according to Sadler [1951], no matter what the verbal aspect, the subject pronoun of a negated clause is always from the stative set, but with what appears to be vowel harmony with the negative marker ɛ. Sadler gives two forms for the 3rd person singular pronoun of the active set: tówàa, which occurs with the future, and tó, which occurs with the progressive. The following examples from Sadler illustrate this contrast. For (b), my informant had the pronoun tōa (see example (100) of the text).

(a) tówàa lër 'he/she will go'
   he go
(b) tó liižú 'he/she is going'
   he go-ASP
(c) gà lër 'I will go'
   I go
(d) gà liižú 'I am going'
   I go-ASP

Sadler also has a third set of pronouns for the habitual aspect. Both the habitual and future are marked by the absence of an aspectual suffix. While the future employs pronouns from the active set, the habitual has its own set of pronouns. The following examples have been gleaned from Sadler:

(e) gà lër 'I will go'
   I go
(f) gà lër 'I go (habitually)'
   I go
(g) tówàa lër 'he/she will go'
   he go
(h) sô lër 'he/she goes (habitually)'
   he go

There is much more, to be sure, that can be said about the Lorna pronominal system. However, it must suffice for now merely to point out the active-stative typology evident in the system. Sadler is a gold mine of data for anyone interested in pursuing the matter further.
The active-stative distinction for intransitive subjects does not hold in the perfective. There intransitive verbs take the same subject pronouns from the stative set, including gow 'I' and e 'he/she/it', that function as subjects of transitive verbs in the perfective. Compare (102) with (98) and (99). Example (103) has the subject pronoun e, the same as the transitive verb in (91).

(102) gow li ni  'we went'
    we go ASP

(103)  e li ni  'he/she went'
    he go ASP

The contrast between perfective event and inactive state is illustrated by comparing the example below with (101).

(104)  e bala ne  'he/she grew'
    he big ASP

Subjects that take pronouns from the stative set are not simply patient, as opposed to agent, but more narrowly patient of state. The patient of change in the following requires a subject pronoun of the active set.

(105)  e lo ne  'he fell'
    he fall ASP

(106)  tóa lo zo  'he is falling'
    he fall ASP

The patient subject of a nominal predicate also selects pronouns from the active set. In Ashanti Twi predicate adjectives require no copula ((a) below), locative predicates require the copula wó (b), and nominal predicates the copula...
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from the active set of pronouns.

(107) \( \text{tá gà zunu} \) 'they are men'

\( \gamma \varepsilon \) (c). The copula \( \gamma \varepsilon \) is also the verb 'do' and 'make' as in (d) and (c). Could it be that nominal predicates are somehow more "active" than adjectival?

(a) Kofi so
    Kofi big

(b) Kofi wo efie no mu
    Kofi be house the in

(c) Kofi \( \gamma \varepsilon \text{ sosfo}\)
    Kofi be priest

(d) Kofi \( \gamma \varepsilon \text{ adwuma no} \)
    Kofi do work the

(e) Kofi \( \gamma \varepsilon \text{ abodoo} \)
    Kofi make cornbread

'Kofi is big'

'Kofi is in the house'

'Kofi is a priest'

'Kofi does the work'

'Kofi makes cornbread'
REFERENCES


