



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Liko phonology and grammar : a Bantu language of the Democratic Republic of the Congo**

Wit, G. de

### **Citation**

Wit, G. de. (2015, November 5). *Liko phonology and grammar : a Bantu language of the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/36066>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/36066>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/36066> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

**Author:** Wit, Gerrit de

**Title:** Liko phonology and grammar : a Bantu language of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

**Issue Date:** 2015-11-05

## 6 Pronominal Forms, Invariables and Expressions

### 6.1 Pronominal substitutives and demonstratives

Liko has several agreement systems. Nouns take noun-class prefixes. Adjectives, nominal modifiers and numerals take prefixes which agree with the noun they modify. Noun-class, adjectival, associative and numeral agreement is described in Chapter 5. Quantifiers and quantifying expressions use various agreements and are described in 5.4.5. Verbal agreement will be presented in 7.4, 7.5 and 8.2.5. Liko has two other agreement systems, in pronominal substitutives and in demonstratives.

#### 6.1.1 Pronominal substitutives and participant pronouns

Pronominal substitutives in Liko translate as pronouns. They replace a noun or noun phrase and they have a form which agrees with the noun class of the noun they refer to. The structure of the substitutives is **ɿ-** followed by the consonant of the pronominal prefix and the stem of the substitutive. The class 15 substitutive takes the pronominal prefix **kó-**, not only the consonant. The stem in classes 3 and higher is **-ú**. The substitutive of classes 1 and 2 is different in that only the initial **ɿ-** corresponds with the other classes. The forms attested are presented in the following table. The third column presents the underlying form. In this book, the underlying structure of the substitutives is not represented in the glosses.

Table 20 Pronominal substitutives

Class	Substitutive	
1	ɿyí	/ɿ-yí/
2	ɿbú	/ɿ-bú/
3	imú	/ɿ-m-ú/
5	ilú	/ɿ-l-ú/
6	imú	/ɿ-m-ú/
7	isú	/ɿ-s-ú/
8	ibú	/ɿ-b-ú/
9	iyú	/ɿ-y-ú/
2+9	iboyú	/ɿ-ba-y-ú/

Class	Substitutive	
13	itú	/t-t-ú/
14	iḃú	/t-ḃ-ú/
15	ikwú	/t-kú-ú/
17	_ <sup>268</sup>	-
19	isú	/t-s-ú/

Table 21 Participant pronouns

Singular		Plural	
1SG	ɪmɪ	1PL	iḃúsú
2SG	ɪwɛ	2PL	iḃúnú

The stem of substitutives of classes 1 and 2 and singular participant pronouns is underlyingly [-ATR]. The stem of other substitutives and plural participant pronouns is [+ATR].

The class 1 and 2 substitutives refer to participants introduced earlier in a text, in (6.1a) to someone who stole food and in (6.1b) to people who had been talking:

- (6.1)a. ḃá-mwó            ɪyí  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-kill:FV    1.PRO  
 'They killed him.' (T2006.2)
- b.    ɪḃú    ḃá-sɪ    ḃó-misík-ón-óg-i-ní  
 2.PRO   2.ASS-all   3PL-disperse:NEUT-ASS-PLUR-FV.ANT-PFV  
 'They have all dispersed.' (T2006.1)

Subjects, as in (6.2), and objects, as in (7.16), can be emphasized with a substitutive, in which case the substitutive follows the verb, e.g.:

- (6.2)a. mU-lúkú    á-ḃak-á            kówa   ɪyí    kú-gǔ  
 1-man    3SG<sup>P</sup>-climb-FV<sup>P</sup>    thus    1.PRO   17-top  
 'The man (emphasized) climbed to the top.' (T2006.10)
- b.    mU-básɪnzí    Ø-kú-tík-ag-t-gǔ                            ndɪ   ɪyí    ḃo-míkakí  
 1-cockroach   3SG-NEG:2.O-send-PLUR-FV-NEG    P<sub>3</sub>    1.PRO   2-child:3SG.POSS

<sup>268</sup> No substitutive for class 17 nouns has been found in texts or using elicitation.

bí-gala-gala kú ká mēne dǎki  
 MOD-fast there PREP 1a.blood brother 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS  
 'Cockroach (emphasized) could not quickly send his children to his  
 blood-brother.' (T2007.8)

The substitutive referring to the subject occurs preceding the object as shown in (b) and it does not affect agreement between the object prefix in the verb form and the object.

In examples below, **isú** '19.PRO' refers to **si-múí-so** '19-circumcision-19', **iyú** '9.PRO' refers to **bǔbunzá** '9.rotton mushroom' and **boyú** '2 + 9.PRO' refers to **fo-tú** '2 + 9-clothes'; in the last two examples, the object is referred to.

(6.3) kínili si-múí-so sí-dingĩ ø-ké-gu batǎ.  
 that is why 19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG again  
 ní-só sá-mastǔ ø-ké-gu isú na bǔpé  
 COP-19.DEM.I 19.ASS-"mastǔ" 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 19.PRO with 2:taboo  
 'That is why the big circumcision no longer exists. That one of "mastǔ"  
 (emphasized) does not have taboos.' (T2006.4)

(6.4) sukopí no gbukó b́é índ-í  
 1a.leopard and 9.rat COMP 3SG:go-FV.SUBJ  
 ká-kís-á bǔbunzá, ø-kig-o-kú na iyú,  
 9b-search-FV 9.rotten mushroom 3SG-COND:return-FV-DIR with 9.PRO  
 'Leopard [said] to rat that he should go to find rotten mushrooms, [and] if  
 he returns with them, ...' (T2006.3)

(6.5) ngámá, ma-ka-mwó Ikóǔ, mó-do-kú ké-<sup>4</sup>pá  
 1a.chief 2PL-COND:1.O-kill:FV "Ikoǔ" 2PL-come:FV-DIR 9b:1SG.O-give:FV  
 fo-tú kakí, nó-pup-í na boyú kú-nzi  
 2 + 9-clothes 3SG.POSS 1SG-leave-FV.SUBJ with 2 + 9.PRO 17-outside  
 'Chief, if you (pl) kill Ikoǔ, you (pl) come to give me his clothes, so that I  
 go outside with them.' (T2009.21)

The initial vowel of pronominal substitutives can be left unpronounced. Following **na** 'and, with', the initial vowel of the substitutive is often elided and the vowel of

**na** assimilates to the [+ATR] value of the substitutive, e.g. **naḃú** in (6.6a) (< **na iḃú**), **noyú** in (6.6b) (< **na iyú**) and **nomú** in (6.8) (< **na imú**):

- (6.6) **ḃág-a naḃú ká gbundú**  
 3PL<sup>F</sup>:leave-FV with:2.PRO PREP 9.forest  
 'They went with them to the forest.' (T2006.4)
- b. **ḃa-sambá ḃá-va i-títí, ḃó-do-kú noyú**  
 2-circumcisor 3PL<sup>F</sup>-take:FV 9a-anthill 3PL<sup>F</sup>-come-FV-DIR with:9.PRO  
 'The circumcisors took an anthill, they came with it towards [you].'  
 (T2006.4)

Pronominal substitutives are attested without the initial vowel in other environments as well, e.g. **sú** in (6.7a), **ḃú** in (6.7b) and **yú** in (6.7c):

- (6.7)a. **si-múí-sə sá-mastḃú Ø-ké-gu sú na**  
 19-circumcision-19 19.ASS-"mastḃu" 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 19.PRO with  
**mo-kúngóni mú-dingĩ**  
 6-request 6.ADJ-big  
 'The circumcison of "mastḃu" (emphasized) is not one with many demands.' (T2006.4)
- b. **tó-kó-gy-ĩ li-gubó íba ḃa-mbánzú ḃá-gy-ag-a ḃú**  
 1PL-COND-do- 5-work it means 2-person 3PL-do-PLUR-FV 2.PRO  
 FV.NEG that  
 'If we do not work how would the people (emphasized) live?' (T2006.7)
- c. **kpáká kakí Ø-ká-ḃák-ag-t-gũ ndi yú yáyá**  
 9.trap 3SG.POSS 3SG<sup>F</sup>-NEG-sprout-PLUR- P<sub>3</sub> 9.PRO 9.s.th. worthless  
 FV-NEG  
 'His trap (emphasized) will not release in vain.' (T2006.1)

The referent of a pronominal substitutive can go back several sentences: **nomú** '6.PRO' in the fourth line refers to **mo-lingó** '6-oil' in the first:

- (6.8) **wúkan-a se kúwa su yá-mo-lingó ḃí-duke-duke.**  
 2SG:smell-FV.INST thus thus 9.fruit 9.ASS-6-oil MOD-nice smell  
**níyó a-dik-a kúwa wó-ḃúk-o ká li-súngú.**  
 when 3SG-cool down-F thus 2SG-pour-FV.INST PREP 5-container  
**ta-gy-ag-a kúwa ḃé kú-mḃúso wa-yšukusagá**  
 1PL-do-PLUR-FV thus COMP 17-back 17.ASS-9a:washing

wí-tíkíl-og-o                      nomú.  
 2SG:REFL-cover-PLUR-FV.INST    with:6.PRO  
 'Smell the fragrance of the oil, a nice smell. When it has cooled  
 down, pour it into a container. We do thus, after washing ourselves,  
 cover yourself with it.' (T2006.6)

6.1.2 Demonstratives

The Liko language has three types of demonstratives, referred to by the Roman numerals I, II, III. These three types are presented in the following table. They follow their referent and agree in noun class with it.

Table 22 Demonstratives

Class	DEM.I	DEM.II	DEM.III
1	nǎ <sup>269</sup>	mù	yǐ
2	bɔ	bà	bǐ
3	mɔ	mà	mǐ
5	lɔ	lì	lǐ
6	mɔ	mà	mǐ
7	sɔ	sì	sǐ
8	bɔ	bì	bǐ
9	yɔ	yì	yǐ
2+9	bàyɔ <sup>270</sup>	bàyì	bòyǐ <sup>271</sup>
13	tɔ	tì	tǐ
14	bɔ	bà	bǐ
15	kwɔ	kwì	kwǐ
17	yɔ	yì	yǐ
19	sɔ	sì	sǐ

<sup>269</sup> The tone of class 1 nǎ is invariable and different from the other type I demonstratives.

<sup>270</sup> The tone of class 2+9 báyɔ is invariable and different from the other type I demonstratives.

<sup>271</sup> The LH tone of type III demonstrative surfaces as Low on the first part of this complex prefix and as High on the second.

The tones in Table 22 represent the underlying tone of demonstratives; no tone mark indicates that the demonstrative is not specified for tone. Underlying and surface tone will be addressed below.

Noun subclasses take the same agreement as their main class; for examples, see 5.1.1. Demonstratives of types I and II are [-ATR] and do not harmonize with a [+ATR] value of a preceding word. Demonstratives of type III are [+ATR]. The surface tone of demonstratives of all types can be Low, High, or a LH tone. Data will be presented first to determine the underlying tone and the ways in which tone surfaces. The semantics and use of the three sets will be described next.

### 6.1.2.1 Underlying and surface tone

#### a. Demonstrative of type I (DEM.I)

Consider the surface tone on the demonstrative in (6.9), where the referent has a H, L.H or H.L tone pattern and is followed by a demonstrative of type I (DEM.I):

- (6.9)a. li-ndímó ló 5-birdlime 5.DEM.I 'this birdlime'  
           úmó yó 9.savanne 9.DEM.I 'this savanne'
- b.     li-kumbá ló 5-hoop net 5.DEM.I 'this hoop net'  
           sembé yó 9.fishing fence 9.DEM.I 'this fishing fence'
- c.     li-ngwálu lo 5-tree 5.DEM.I 'this tree, sp.'  
           ngága yó 9.chin 9.DEM.I 'this chin'

The surface tone on the demonstrative is High in (a, b) and Low in (c).

If the underlying tone of the demonstrative were High, there would be no phonological reason why it is Low following a H.L pattern as in (6.9c). There are dozens of trisyllabic nouns with a H.L.H pattern,<sup>272</sup> and thus Liko does not have a constraint on a sequence of H.L.H which would prevent the demonstrative from surfacing with a H tone in (6.9c). The other possibility for lowering a putative H tone, is deleting a H tone in the context of a preceding Low, but this is not attested elsewhere in the language. Thus, the underlying tone of the type I demonstrative cannot be High.

---

<sup>272</sup> For example, **mu-básunzi** '1-cockroach', **li-gókulá** '5.forked pole' and **kólofú** '9.disease'.



When nouns with a noun-class enclitic with a surface L tone are followed by a demonstrative of this type, the surface tone on the demonstrative is also Low:

- (6.10)a. ɪ-sásá-su sɔ            19-feather-19 19.DEM.I 'this feather'  
           (s)ɪ-búkú-sɔ sɔ        19-shrub-19 19.DEM.I 'this shrub, drug'
- b.        tátá-tu tɔ            13.feather-13 13.DEM.I 'these feathers'  
           búkú-tɔ tɔ        13.shrub-13 13.DEM.I 'these shrubs, drugs'
- c.        ku-bá'ngá-ku kwɔ    15-fear-15 15.DEM.I 'this fear'  
           ku-pasí-kɔ kwɔ    15-peeling-15 15.DEM.I 'this peeling'

In the following examples, an adjective or a modifier occurs between the head noun and the demonstrative. These data show that the surface tone of the demonstrative is identical to its preceding tone.

- (6.11)a. li-ndímó lí-kédě lí    5-birdlime 5.ADJ-small 5.DEM.I 'this little birdlime'  
           úmó yi-kúdí yó        9.savanne 9.ADJ-short 9.DEM.I 'this short savanne'
- b.        li-ndímó lá-nye lɔ        5-birdlime 5.ADJ-bad 5.DEM.I 'this bad birdlime'  
           úmó yá-de yɔ        9.savanne 9.ADJ-wet 9.DEM.I 'this wet savanne'

If type I demonstratives are assumed to be underlyingly toneless, then H-tone spreading (see 4.6.1) to the TBU of the demonstrative causes the surface H tone in (6.9a, b) and in (6.11a). Surface L tone in (6.9c), (6.10) and in (6.11b) is the realization of the default L tone for remaining toneless syllables.

There is one case of unexpected surface tone realizations: type I demonstratives with a surface H tone following a L tone. Nouns with a L tone pattern are relatively rare, see 4.4.1. Remarkably, the surface tone on a following type I demonstrative is not Low, but High:<sup>273</sup>

- (6.12) li-nungu ló    5-termite hill 5.DEM.I 'this termite hill'  
           kpɔzyɔ yó    9.plant 9.DEM.I 'this plant, sp.'

Realization of the opposite tone of the tone preceding the demonstrative also

---

<sup>273</sup> This is also observed in the case of noun-class enclitics, see Table 15 in 5.1.2.

happens when the type I demonstrative is preceded by a modifier with at least two TBUs with a L tone:

- (6.13) li-ndímó lá-wese ló 5-birdlime 5.ADJ-soft 5.DEM.I 'this soft birdlime'  
 úmó yá-wese yó 9.savanne 9.ADJ-soft 9.DEM.I 'this fragile savanne'

It appears that the surface tone of a type I demonstrative is identical to the preceding tone, unless the preceding morpheme only has L tones. The demonstrative surfaces with a H tone in that case.

The tone of class 1 affixes is sometimes different from other classes, e.g. the associative prefixes (see Table 13 in 5.1.1). Demonstratives of type I, which agree with class 1 nouns and subclasses of class 1, surface with a LH tone regardless of the tone pattern of the preceding noun. Examples include:

- (6.14)a. mu-kó nǎ 1-woman 1.DEM.I 'this woman'  
 nékókó nǎ 1a.instrument 1.DEM.I 'this musical instrument'  
 b. mu-buyú nǎ 1-caterpillar 1.DEM.I 'this caterpillar, sp.'  
 na-gbalí nǎ na:1-frog 1.DEM.I 'this frog, sp.'  
 c. mú-pósti nǎ 1-larva 1.DEM.I 'this larva, sp.'  
 kpóló nǎ 1a.side 1.DEM.I 'this side'  
 d. mú-nzeki nǎ 1-termite 1.DEM.I 'this termite, sp.'  
 dngá nǎ 1a.period 1.DEM.I 'this period'

With respect to the complex class 2 + 9 demonstrative **bayó**, the first part is the class 2 (nominal) prefix with a L tone and the second part is the class 9 demonstrative with invariably a H tone:

- (6.15)a. bo-úmó bayó 2+9-savanne 2+9.DEM.I 'these savannes'  
 b. ba-sembé bayó 2+9-fishing fence 2+9.DEM.I 'these fishing fences'  
 c. ba-ngága bayó 2+9-chin 2+9.DEM.I 'these chins, sp.'  
 d. ba-kpózyo bayó 2+9-plant 2+9.DEM.I 'these plants, sp.'

The H tone of the class 2 + 9 demonstrative is realized at a lower pitch level than a preceding H tone, due to automatic downstep.

### b. Demonstrative of type II (DEM.II)

The demonstratives of type II (DEM.II) have an underlying L tone, which surfaces as a L tone regardless of whether the preceding noun has a H, L.H, H.L or L tone pattern. I use the same nouns as in (6.9) and (6.12):

- (6.16)a. li-ndímó lɪ 5-birdlime 5.DEM.II 'this birdlime'  
 úmó yɪ 9.savanne 9.DEM.II 'this savanne'
- b. lɪ-kumbá lɪ 5-hoop net 5.DEM.II 'this hoop net'  
 sembé yɪ 9.fishing fence 9.DEM.II 'this fishing fence'
- c. lɪ-ngwálu lɪ 5-tree 5.DEM.II 'this tree, sp.'  
 ngága yɪ 9.chin 9.DEM.II 'this chin'
- d. lɪ-nungu lɪ 5-termite hill 5.DEM.II 'this termite hill'  
 kpɔzyɔ yɪ 9.plant 9.DEM.II 'this plant, sp.'

The surface tone of demonstratives of type II is also Low when the referent noun belongs to other noun classes, as in the following three sets.

Examples of DEM.II with nouns of class 1:

- (6.17)a. mu-kó mʊ 1-woman 1.DEM.II 'this woman'  
 nékókó mʊ 1a.instrument 1.DEM.II 'this musical instrument'
- b. mu-buyú mʊ 1-caterpillar 1.DEM.II 'this caterpillar, sp.'  
 na-gbalí mʊ na:1-frog 1.DEM.II 'this frog, sp.'
- c. mʊ-pósti mʊ 1-larva 1.DEM.II 'this larva, sp.'  
 kpólɔ mʊ 1a.side 1.DEM.II 'this side'
- d. mʊ-nzeki mʊ 1-termite 1.DEM.II 'this termite, sp.'  
 dɪnga mʊ 1a.period 1.DEM.II 'this period'

Examples of DEM.II following noun-class enclitics:

- (6.18)a. ɪ-sásá-sʊ sɪ 19-feather-19 19.DEM.II 'this feather'  
 (s)ɪ-búkú-sɔ sɪ 19-shrub-19 19.DEM.II 'this shrub, drug'
- b. tátá-tʊ tɪ 13-feather-13 13.DEM.II 'these feathers'  
 búkú-tɔ tɪ 13-shrub-13 13.DEM.II 'these shrubs, drugs'
- c. kʊ-bá'ngá-kʊ kwɪ 15-fear-15 15.DEM.II 'this fear'  
 kʊ-pasí-kɔ kwɪ 15-peeling-15 15.DEM.II 'this peeling'

Examples of DEM.II with nouns of class 2+9:

- (6.19)a. ɓo-úmó ɓayɪ 2+9-savanne 2+9.DEM.II 'these savannes'
- b. ɓa-sembé ɓayɪ 2+9-fishing fence 2+9.DEM.II 'these fishing fences'
- c. ɓa-ngága ɓayɪ 2+9-chin 2+9.DEM.II 'these chins, sp.'
- d. ɓa-kpɔzyɔ ɓayɪ 2+9-plant 2+9.DEM.II 'these plants, sp.'

### c. Demonstrative of type III (DEM.III)

The examples below show that demonstratives of type III (DEM.III) have a LH tone if the preceding noun has a final H tone and a H tone if it has a final L tone:

- |          |              |                           |                      |
|----------|--------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| (6.20)a. | li-ndímó lí  | 5-birdlime 5.DEM.III      | 'this birdlime'      |
|          | úmó yǐ       | 9.savanne 9.DEM.III       | 'this savanne'       |
| b.       | lu-kumbá lí  | 5-hoop net 5.DEM.III      | 'this hoop net'      |
|          | sembé yǐ     | 9.fishing fence 9.DEM.III | 'this fishing fence' |
| c.       | lu-ngwálu lí | 5-tree 5.DEM.III          | 'this tree, sp.'     |
|          | ngága yí     | 9.chin 9.DEM.III          | 'this chin'          |
| d.       | li-nungu lí  | 5-termite hill 5.DEM.III  | 'this termite hill'  |
|          | kpɔzyɔ yí    | 9.plant 9.DEM.III         | 'this plant, sp.'    |

The surface tone on the demonstrative is a LH tone in (6.20a, b) and a H tone in (6.20c, d). If, underlyingly, the demonstratives of type III have a combined LowHigh associated with one TBU, then the surface tones are explained by the merger of one of the parts of the LH to an identical neighbouring tone (see 4.6.2). More examples which support this analysis are given below.

Examples of DEM.III with nouns of class 1:

- |          |             |                         |                           |
|----------|-------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| (6.21)a. | mu-kó yǐ    | 1-woman 1.DEM.III       | 'this woman'              |
|          | nékókó yǐ   | 1a.instrument 1.DEM.III | 'this musical instrument' |
| b.       | mu-buyú yǐ  | 1-caterpillar 1.DEM.III | 'this caterpillar, sp.'   |
|          | na-gbalí yǐ | na:1-frog 1.DEM.III     | 'this frog, sp.'          |
| c.       | mü-pósti yí | 1-larva 1.DEM.III       | 'this larva, sp.'         |
|          | kpóló yí    | 1a.side 1.DEM.III       | 'this side'               |
| d.       | mü-nzeki yí | 1-termite 1.DEM.III     | 'this termite, sp.'       |
|          | dinga yí    | 1a.period 1.DEM.III     | 'this period'             |

The demonstrative surfaces with a LH tone if the preceding TBU has a H tone and it surfaces with a H tone if the preceding TBU has a L tone.

Examples of DEM.III following noun-class enclitics:

- |          |                 |                          |                       |
|----------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (6.22)a. | ɪ-sásá-su sí    | 19-feather-19 19.DEM.III | 'this feather'        |
|          | (s)ɪ-bukú-so sí | 19-shrub-19 19.DEM.III   | 'this shrub, drug'    |
| b.       | tátá-tu tí      | 13-feather-13 13.DEM.III | 'these feathers'      |
|          | bukú-to tí      | 13-shrub-13 13.DEM.III   | 'these shrubs, drugs' |

- c.            kù-**ǎá**'ngá-kù kwí    15-fear-15 15.DEM.III    'this fear'  
                  kù-pasí-kò kwí        15-peeling-15 15.DEM.III    'this peeling'

In the examples below, the type III demonstrative is followed by the copula with a H tone<sup>274</sup> plus another demonstrative (DEM.II). When the preceding noun ends with a H tone as in (6.23), the High part of the LH tone on the DEM.III merges with the following H tone.

In the first set, the DEM.III follows a noun with High surface tone on the final TBU:

- (6.23)a.    ǎa-né-kókó ǒ ní-ǎa                            'these musical instruments here'  
                  2-na:1-musical instrument 2.DEM.III COP-2.DEM.II
- b.            lí-ndímó lí ní-lí                                'this birdlime here'  
                  5-birdlime 5.DEM.III COP-5.DEM.II
- c.            sèmbé yí ní-yí                                    'this fishing fence here'  
                  9.fishing fence 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.II

The H of the LH tone merges with the H tone on **ní** as these examples show.

It is interesting to see what happens when both options are open: merger of either part of the LH tone. The Low part merges with the preceding L tone in this environment:

- (6.24)a.    ǎa-nzékú ǒ ní-ǎa                                'these termites, sp. here'  
                  2-termites 2.DEM.III COP-2.DEM.II
- b.            lí-ngwálu lí ní-lí                                'this tree, sp. here'  
                  5-tree 5.DEM.III COP-5.DEM.II
- c.            ngága yí ní-yí                                    'this chin here'  
                  9.chin 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.II

Demonstratives of type III which agree with class 2+9 nouns are complex, consisting of class 2 (nominal) prefix **ǎa-** (which assimilates to the [+ATR] value of the demonstrative) and class 9 demonstrative **-yí**:

---

<sup>274</sup> Motingea, p.c., suggested that this form may be related to stabilizer **né** (CS 2265). If this is the case, the copula, **ní**, can be distinguished from the element preceding demonstrative forms, **ní-**, by its tone.

- (6.25)a. 6o-úmó 6oyí<sup>275</sup> 2+9-savanne 2+9.DEM.III 'these savannes'  
 b. 6a-sembé 6oyí 2+9-fishing fence 2+9.DEM.III 'these fishing fences'  
 c. 6a-ngága 6oyí 2+9-chin 2+9.DEM.III 'these chins, sp.'  
 d. 6a-kpɔzɔ 6oyí 2+9-plant 2+9.DEM.III 'these plants, sp.'

It cannot be tested what happens when 2+9 **6oyí** is followed by the copula, because this environment does not exist:

- (6.26)a. \*6o-tú 6oyí ní-6ayɪ *Int.* 'these clothes here'  
 2+9-clothes 2+9.DEM.III COP-2+9.DEM.II  
 b. 6o-tú 6i ní-6ayɪ 'these clothes here'  
 2+9-clothes 2.DEM.III COP-2+9.DEM.II

Only (b) is grammatical. The High part of the LH tone on class 2 demonstrative **6i** is associated with the following H tone on the copula.

### 6.1.2.2 Semantics and use

#### a. Demonstratives of type I and II

Spatial deixis is expressed in Liko by type II demonstratives (proximal) and a lengthened form of type I demonstratives (distal) in combination with a location adverb. The proximal type II demonstrative refers to an entity that is near to both the speaker and the addressee. The type I demonstrative with vowel lengthening refers to an entity that is distant from both the speaker and the addressee. In their basic form, type I demonstratives are referential in the sense that they refer to entities that have been mentioned. Basic type I demonstratives are often used for text-internal reference or for the activation of a participant in a text. Type III demonstratives indicate exclusiveness and are not used for deixis.

The following sentences exemplify the use of type II demonstratives with proximal use:

- (6.27)a. wam-ib-ag-a-tú mu-kó (ní-)mu ?  
 2SG:1.O-know-PLUR-FV-INS 1-woman COP-1.DEM.II  
 'Do you know this woman?'

---

<sup>275</sup> The H tone of class 9 demonstrative surfaces at a lower pitch, due to automatic downstep.

- b.            6ú-kɔŋ-ɔ                    6o-míkí    6ú-dingĩ    ká    mu-gĩ    (ní-)ma  
 3PL:2.O-cut:PLUR-FV    2-child    2.ADJ-big    PREP    3-village    COP-3.DEM.II  
 'Many children are usually circumcised in this village.'
- c.            tómón-ó-ni                    ma-kpumúká    (ní-)ma  
 think-FV.IMP-ADDR    6-thing                    COP-6.DEM.II  
 'Think about these things!'

In (a), demonstrative type II is used to indicate that the referent, the woman or the village, is present at the site of the speech act. In (b), the interlocutors are in the village referred to in the sentence. The things referred to in (c) are physical entities near to the speaker and the addressee.

In case the referent has been mentioned before, or in case it is not relevant to indicate whether the referent is present or not, a type I demonstratives is used:

- (6.28)a.    wam-ib-ag-a-tú                    mu-kó    (ní-)nǎ ?  
 2SG:1.O-know-PLUR-FV-INS    1-woman    COP-1.DEM.I  
 'Do you know this woman?'
- b.            6ú-kɔŋ-ɔ<sup>276</sup>                    6o-míkí    6ú-dingĩ    ká    mu-gĩ    (ní-)mó  
 3PL:2.O-cut:PLUR-FV    2-child    2.ADJ-big    PREP    3-village    COP-3.DEM.I  
 'Many children are usually circumcised in this village.'
- c.            tómón-ó-ni                    ma-kpumúká    (ní-)mó  
 think-FV.IMP-ADDR    6-thing                    COP-6.DEM.I  
 'Think about these things!'

In (a) and (b), the speaker nor the hearer needs to be close to the referent. In (c), the things referred to are non-concrete entities.

Both type I and II can directly follow the noun they modify in isolated noun phrases as seen in the examples (6.9) to (6.19). In sentences however, these types of demonstratives generally occur following the copula. The meaning of a construction with the copula and a demonstrative of type I or II is the same as a simple demonstrative.<sup>277</sup>

---

<sup>276</sup> Vowel copy after height coalescence has applied to the sequence of the [-ATR] high vowel of the -CV- verb and the final vowel -a.

<sup>277</sup> As far as can be attested with the available data.

Compare the demonstratives at the end of the sentences below<sup>278</sup> to see the importance of the fact that the referent is present when a type II demonstrative is used. (6.29a) has a type I and (6.29b, c) have type II demonstratives. The Liko consultants I worked with find (6.29b) semantically strange, because it is difficult to imagine that an animal that has been eaten could be present. When the verb is in the Future, using the type II demonstrative is no problem, as can be seen in (6.29c):

- (6.29)a. waní nǒ á-<sup>4</sup>ly-á ndi nyamá ní-nǒ ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-eat-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> 1a.animal COP-1.DEM.I  
 'Who ate this animal?'
- b. ?waní nǒ á-<sup>4</sup>ly-á ndi nyamá ní-mu ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-eat-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> 1a.animal COP-1.DEM.II  
*Int.* 'Who ate this animal (present)?'
- c. waní nǒ a-ly-a nyamá ní-mu ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-eat-FV 1a.animal COP-1.DEM.II  
 'Who will eat this animal (present)?'

To express degrees of physical remoteness of the referent, the language uses a type I demonstrative with a lengthened vowel and the location adverb **kú** 'there':

- (6.30)a. líbó (ní-)lǒ  
 5.water COP-5.DEM.I  
 'This/that river'
- b. líbó ní-lǒ  
 5.water COP-5.DEM.I  
 'That river over there'
- c. líbó ní-lǒ kú  
 5.water COP-5.DEM.I there  
 'That river over there'
- d. líbó ní-lǒ kúu  
 5.water COP-5.DEM.I there  
 'That river far away'

In (a), the river referred to has been mentioned before and is either near or farther away. In (b) and (c), the river is at a distance for both the speaker and the hearer.

<sup>278</sup> The first demonstrative in these sentences, **nǒ**, follows question word **waní**.



In (d), with both the demonstrative and the location adverb having a lengthened vowel, the river is far from both the speaker and the hearer.

The connecting clitic **-ná** is often present, but not obligatory, when a type II demonstrative does not occur at the end of a clause. This can be seen in the following examples. A type II demonstrative is followed by the main verb in (6.31a) and by an adjective in (6.31b):

- (6.31)a. gbukó ní-mu-ná ág-ǎ ndi ká-<sup>4</sup>ḡky-á ngámá  
 9.rat COP-1.DEM.II-CONN 3SG<sup>P</sup>:leave-FV P<sub>3</sub> 9b:1.O-say-FV 1a.chief  
 'Rat (here present) left to tell the chief.' (T2006.3)
- b. bá-ko mu-palú ní-ma-ná má-ndá<sup>279</sup>  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-cut:FV 3-barrier<sup>280</sup> COP-3.DEM.II-CONN 3.ASS-long  
 'They cut this long barrier (here present).' (T2009.21)

Another example, with class 5.DEM.II **ní-lt**, shows the absence and presence of **ná**, depending on the position of type II demonstrative:

- (6.32)a. tyí nǎ mbúkwá li-simó li ní-lt  
 1.PRO 1.DEM.I 1a.owner 5-inheritance 5.DEM.III COP-5.DEM.II  
 'He is the owner of this inheritance (exclusive).'
- b. á-tw-á li-zuní li ní-lt-ná kó bulyó  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-speak-FV<sup>P</sup> 5-proverb 5.DEM.I COP-5.DEM.II-CONN PREP 9.reason  
 ka-ḡo-míkí  
 GEN-2-child  
 'He spoke this proverb (exclusive) for his children.'

Independent use of type I demonstratives is possible when the referent does not occur within the sentence. Examples of independent use of demonstrative type I, with (6.33b, c) and without (6.33a) the copula are:

- (6.33)a. ó-bǐs-o ḡo-kpokúkú ḡoyí ká ndáḡu ka-ḡo-bikó,  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-put-FV 2+9-cooking pot 2+9.DEM.III PREP 9.house GEN-2-visitor

<sup>279</sup> With **-ndá** 'long', an adjective prefix instead of an associative prefix is expected (see 5.2.1).

<sup>280</sup> I.e. a barrier in the forest with passage ways where traps are installed.

kyé nǒ Ø-kiḃ-ó, bá-mwó tyí bégéyó  
 because 1.DEM.I 3SG-COND:steal-FV 3PL:1.O-kill:FV 1.PRO likewise  
 'He put these cooking pots (emphasized) in the guesthouse, so that if  
 someone steals, they will kill him (emphasized) likewise.' (T2006.2)

- b. ɪ-kí píye ? ní-ḃó ḃo-túgbǒ bá-ná-bum-an-ag-á  
 9a-what thus COP-2.dem.I 2-strong man 3pl-INCH-fight-ASS-PLUR-FV  
 na ba-lókú ba-dǎḃu  
 with 2-man 2-s.o. of same age:3PL.POSS  
 'What happened? Those who are strong men started to fight with men of  
 their age.' (T2006.2)

- c. ǎ ndɪ ní-só bá-luk-y-ag-ǎ ndɪ bɛ́  
 3SG:be P<sub>3</sub> COP-7.DEM.I 3PL<sup>p</sup>-call-APPL-PLUR-FV P<sub>3</sub> COMP  
 si-múí-só sí-dingĩ  
 19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big

'There was that one which they called big circumcision.' (T2006.4)

In (a), **nǒ** refers to a man without the referent noun being present, in (b), **ní-ḃó** refers to a group of men (**ḃo-túgbǒ** '2-strong man' is not the referent, because it follows the demonstrative) and in (c), **ní-só** refers to a circumcision ritual, but the referent noun is absent.

Type I and II demonstratives are used as relative pronouns. Relative clauses are described in 8.4.

### b. Demonstratives of type III

I now turn to demonstratives of type III. Demonstratives of type III indicate exclusiveness of the referent, i.e. this entity and not another one. Type III demonstratives are optionally combined with type I or II in the order noun + DEM.III + DEM.I/DEM.II. Type III demonstratives are exemplified in the following three sets, the first one has DEM.III only, the second has a combination of DEM.III and DEM.I, while the third set has a sequence of DEM.III and DEM.II.

Type III demonstratives:

- (6.34)a. sũ yĩ und-a byĩ  
 9.smell 9.DEM.III 3SG:go-FV far  
 'This smell (exclusive) goes far.' (T2006.6)

- b. tó-bungusy-o góní lítá ló-ḡukú ḡí  
 1PL<sup>P</sup>-arrange-FV also 5:fireplace 5.ASS-14.fire 14.DEM.III

'We also arranged a fireplace for this fire (exclusive).' (*T2006.5*)

The smell in (a) is the smell of roasted palm nut in a process of producing black palm-nut body oil. The fire in (b) is a well-built fire with a lot of firewood; a good fire is crucial in making a traditional soap bar.

Type III followed by type I demonstratives:

- (6.35)a. mu-suká yi ní-n<sup>281</sup> ó-ḡín-ǎ ndi  
 1-girl 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>-dance-FV P<sub>3</sub>

'That girl (exclusive) danced.'

- b. mo-lingó mi ní-mó a-mwóg-ḡ-tú góní pándá ká nzúyi  
 6-oil 6.DEM.III COP- 3SG/PL-kill: also 9.scabies PREP 9.body  
 6.DEM.I PLUR-FV-INS

'This oil (exclusive) also kills scabies on the body.' (*T2006.6*)

- c. wa-ka-vǎ mu-kó, wǎ-mak-y-á ká ndáḡu yi ní-yó  
 2SG-COND- 1-woman 2SG:1.O-put PREP 9.house 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.I  
 take:FV in-APPL-FV

'If you marry a woman, you will put her in that house (exclusive).'

(*T2006.8*)

- d. á-pág-ǎ ndi ḡo-dongbú ḡi ní-ḡayó ḡayá-kpukpu  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-give-FV P<sub>3</sub> 2+9-piece 2.DEM.III COP-2+9.DEM.I 2+9.ASS-big

'He gave those very big pieces.' (*translated Genesis 4:4*)

The house in (c) is the house a young man builds to prove that he has become a man. A type I or II demonstrative can be used as a relative pronoun (see 8.4). In (a), *nín* is interpreted as a relative pronoun when there is a pause between the type III and the type I demonstrative: 'That girl (exclusive), who danced'. This is also the case in (b) and (d).

Notice how in (6.35d) the type III demonstrative of class 2 is used, between a class 2+9 noun and a type I demonstrative. A class 2+9 type III demonstrative is not acceptable in this context: \**ḡodongbú ḡoyí níḡayó*.

---

<sup>281</sup> In constructions with the demonstrative of type III, the copula is obligatory: \**musuká yí nǎ óḡín* ndi.



## 6.2 Possessive pronouns and genitival constructions

The genitive prefix **ka-** occurs in possessive pronouns and in genitival constructions.

### 6.2.1 Possessive pronouns

Liko possessive pronouns are presented in the following table:

Table 23 Possessive pronouns

Singular		Plural	
1SG	kǎmɪ	1PL	kusú
2SG	kakú	2PL	kunú
3SG	kakí	3PL	kaḅú

Possessive pronouns consist of the genitive prefix **ka-** and (part of) a participant pronoun or substitutive, all without initial **ɬ-** and with several other differences.<sup>283</sup>

The first person singular has a LH tone on the genitive prefix. The second person singular **-ú** is reminiscent of the oral sonorant /w/ of the participant pronoun and the third person singular **-í** of class 1 substitutive **-yí**; both have epenthetic /k/. In the first and second person plural possessive pronouns, V<sub>1</sub>-elision is applied to the vowel of the genitive prefix in the context of **-usú** and **-unú**.

Examples include:

- (6.38)a. mu-kúmbó kakú, wa-maky-a ká ndáḅu kakú  
 1-luggage 2SG.POSS 2SG-put in-FV PREP 9.house 2SG.POSS  
 'Your belongings, you will store in your house.' (T2006.8)
- b. á-gbágí ní sabñni kusú  
 1b-soap COP 1a.soap bar 1PL.POSS  
 'Agbagi is our soap.' (T2006.5)

Objects in nature, e.g. rivers or stars, are hardly ever followed by a possessor as for the Liko people, they cannot be possessed by men. Geographical locations can be

---

<sup>283</sup> In the glosses in this book, possessive pronouns are glossed as a single form, **kǎmɪ** '1SG.POSS', etc.

said to be possessed by a group if the ancestors had lived there. In contrast with objects in nature, family members and parts of the body are often followed by a possessive pronoun. The natural way is to include the possessor, e.g. **babě kací nímu** 'this his/her father' (**babě kací** is usually shortened to **aběki**) or **mů kámu níma** 'this my head'. **baba nímu**, 'this father' or **mu ní-ma**, 'this head' are not considered as ungrammatical, but they are considered incomplete.<sup>284</sup>

## 6.2.2 Genitival constructions

Genitival constructions consist of a head noun referring to the possessee, the genitive prefix **ka-** and a noun referring to the possessor. The latter noun keeps its noun-class prefix in genitival constructions, which means that the genitive prefix precedes the noun-class prefix. Possessors are usually human.

The genitive prefix **ka-** is subject to [ATR] vowel harmony. The prefix vowel harmonizes with the [+ATR] value when it occurs within the domain of [+ATR] spreading, i.e. immediately preceding a stem associated with the [+ATR] value (see 3.2.2.3).

I will first give examples in which the possessor is human:

- (6.39)a. ndábu ka-fo-bikó  
 9.house GEN-2-visitor  
 'house of visitors', i.e. guesthouse
- b. st-lyá-su ka-mu-siká ka-a-bílí  
 7-cohabitation-7 GEN-1-girl GEN-1b-demon  
 'living together with the demon's daughter'
- c. mu-túu ka-a-běki na a-máki  
 3-advice GEN-1b-father:3SG.POSS and 1b-mother:3SG.POSS  
 'advice of her father and her mother'

Examples, in which the possessee is a body part, are:

---

<sup>284</sup> The H tone of the LH contour on **babě** and **mů** merges with the following High.

- (6.40)a. líso ka-má+máku  
 5:eye GEN-1a.mother:2SG.POSS  
 'the eye of your brother'
- b. á-vl-ă ndi ku-tíli-ko ka-a-lókú nă  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-touch-FV P<sub>3</sub> 15-ear-15 GEN-1b-man 1.DEM.I  
 'He touched the ear of that man.'

The following examples show that the vowel of the genitive prefix is changed into [+ATR] /o/ when it occurs adjacent to a [+ATR] noun stem:

- (6.41)a. líno ko-míkí 'name of the child'  
 5:name GEN-1a.child
- b. bángú ko-gbungúlu 'blood of the billy goat'  
 9.blood GEN-1a.billy goat

Other examples in which the possessor is not human, but an animal, include:

- (6.42)a. ma-kí ka-fo-yúngú 'eggs of a bird, sp.'  
 6-egg GEN-2-bird
- mă ka-nguyá 'head of the pig' i.e. not its own
- b. 3.head GEN-1a.warthog

In (b), the head is not the pig's head, but, for instance, the head of a snake given to the pig.

To express that it is the head of pig itself, an associative prefix must be used:

- (6.43) mŭ má-nguyá 'head of the pig' i.e. its own head  
 3.head 3.ASS-1a.warthog

### 6.3 Invariables

In this section, words which have only one form and neither impose nor undergo class agreement are described. Invariables include prepositions, question words, different types of adverbs, ideophones and interjections. Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 and higher than 10 are invariable and described together with numerals that take class agreement (see 5.4.1). Invariable words in comparisons are treated in 8.7.

Conjunctions are presented together with complex sentences in 8.8.

### 6.3.1 Prepositions

In Liko, prepositions precede a noun and are the head of a prepositional phrase. Prepositional phrases are used for direction, location, instruments, etc. The distribution of prepositional phrases in the clause is described in 8.3.1. The closed class of prepositions contains three words: **ká**, a general preposition, **na** 'with' and **ábě** 'like'.

**ká** is a general preposition which has a range of meanings, depending on the context: 'to', 'in', 'at', 'on', 'for', etc. Examples of **ká** are:

- (6.44)a. *6á-sa ká-in-ís-ón-ó ká 6a-sóko*  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-abandon:FV 9b-see-CAUS-ASS-FV PREP 2-market  
 'They stopped to appear at the markets.' (T2009.21)
- b. *ik-og-o kúwǎ ndi ká ndábu aká<sup>285</sup> bí-du*  
 3SG:be-PLUR-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> PREP 9.house CT MOD-deep  
 'He stayed deep IN THE HOUSE.' (T2009.21)
- c. *6ágǎ ndi na Ikoóbu ká ngúpá*  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:go:FV P<sub>3</sub> with "Ikoóbu" PREP 9.hill  
 'They went with Ikoóbu to the hill.' (T2009.21)

'Until' is expressed by **ká-dwe ká**, 9b-arrive:FV PREP, 'to arrive at', e.g.:

- (6.45) *6á-gy-ǎ ndi li-gubó ká-dwe ká 6u-gogǒ*  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-do-FV P<sub>3</sub> 5-work 9b-arrive:FV PREP 14-sunset  
 'They worked until sunset.' (T2008.8)

**na** 'with' is used preceding an instrument, a time reference, or a noun used attributively. In the examples below, **na** precedes an instrument (6.46a, b), a time reference (6.46c, d), or a noun used attributively (6.46e, f):

---

<sup>285</sup> The particle **áka** indicates contrast, see 8.6.2. The contrasted phrase is marked with underlining. In the free translation, it is marked with capitals. The surface tones on **áka** are H.L. when the preceding tone is High, and L.H. when the preceding tone is Low.



- (6.46)a. 6ǎ-bum-ǎ ndi na 6ε-ngbínǎlí  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-hit-FV P<sub>3</sub> with 2+9:9a-stick  
 'They hit him with sticks.' (T2009.21)
- b. i-ngbo ó-tíndik-o lu-tómbú ngángá yí-sáá na mu-kundú  
 1c-aardvark 3SG<sup>P</sup>-push-FV 5-ground 9.time 9.NUM- with 3-tail  
 three  
 'Aardvark pushed the ground three times with [his] tail.' (T2006.3)
- c. na 6U-só6u Kíbi índ-a ká-and-á kpáká  
 with 14-sunrise "Kibi" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:go-FV 9b-look-FV 9.trap  
 'When the sun came up Kibi went to inspect the trap.' (T2006.1)
- d. na 6U-gogǎ, 6ǎ-maky-a ká ndá6u  
 with 14-sunset 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-put in-FV PREP 9.house  
 'At sunset, they put him in a house.' (T2006.2)
- e. mu-lúkú na i-6ú  
 1-man with 9a-baldness  
 'a bald man'
- f. mu-lúkú na lu-bumá  
 1-man with 5-drunkenness  
 'a drunken man'

Liko does not have a separate verb for 'to have'. Constructions of the verb 'to be' followed by **na** 'with' express a quality or 'have', as in:

- (6.47)a. Singí a na lu-bumá  
 "Singi" 3SG:be with 5-drunkenness  
 'Singi is with drunkenness.', i.e. Singi is drunk
- b. 6a-mbánzú 6á na i-mí  
 2-person 3PL:be with 9a-jealousy  
 'The men are with jealousy.', i.e. the men are jealous
- c. Ikó6ú ǎ ndi na wayí ǎkt  
 "Iko6u" 3SG:be P<sub>3</sub> with 1a.friend 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS  
 'Iko6u was with (i.e. had) a friend of his age group.' (T2009.21)
- d. na na 6a-síká 6á-6ǎ  
 1SG:be with 2-girl 2.NUM-two  
 'I am with (i.e. have) two girls.'

The vowel of the general preposition **ká** and the vowel of **na** 'with' are changed into [+ATR] /o/ preceding nouns without a noun-class prefix, and preceding disyllabic nouns in which the prefix vowel has been subject to V<sub>1</sub>-elision or height coalescence. This is remarkable, because the left boundary of the domain of [+ATR] spreading is the beginning of the word or the prefix adjacent to the root (see 3.2.2.3). Apparently, in these contexts, the preposition is treated in the same way as associative prefixes and the genitive prefix (see 5.3 and 6.2.2), i.e. included in the domain of [+ATR] spreading.

Examples of [+ATR] spreading to the general preposition **ká**:

- (6.48)a. mó-ngóni índ-ag-a kúwǎ ndi kó gĩ-yo  
 6-news 3SG/PL<sup>P</sup>:go-PLUR-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> PREP 9.village-9  
 'The news went to the villages.' (T2006.2)
- b. Sódũ ó-lind-o kó líbó  
 "Sódũ" 3SG<sup>P</sup>-sink-FV PREP 5:water  
 'Sódũ dived into the river.' (T2006.2)
- c. 6ũ-nzá ø-ké-gũ kó tíko  
 14-beauty 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG PREP 9.field  
 'Beauty is not on the field', i.e. there is nothing left (T2006.3)

The vowel of the preposition does not assimilate to the [+ATR] value of the noun when it precedes a noun-class prefix. This is expected, because there is already a prefix in the [+ATR] domain. For example, **ká mu-gĩ**, PREP 3-village, 'to a village', **ká 6o-tíko**, PREP 2-field, 'to the fields' or **ká li-gubó**, PREP 5-work, 'to the work'.

Examples of [+ATR] spreading to preposition **na** 'with':

- (6.49)a. no bití, kání 6a-mbánzú 6ó-lól-ón-i-ní  
 with 9.darkness when 2-person 3PL-sleep-ASS-FV.ANT-PFV  
 'During the night, when the men had fallen asleep.' (T2006.2)
- b. i-wíli a no líbó lá-kpu  
 9a-area 3SG:be with 5:water 5.ASS-big  
 'The region had a lot of water.'



- (6.52)a. míkí mu-kó yĩ wa-nzá ik-og-o b́úní ?  
 1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III 1.ASS-good 3SG:be-PLUR-FV how  
 'How behaves a good girl?'
- b. wá-ky-á mbéyĩ ndi ká-bis-ó mu-túgbõ kéki ?  
 2SG<sup>P</sup>-refuse-FV<sup>P</sup> first P<sub>3</sub> 9b-put-FV 1-strong man why  
 'Why did you at first refuse to put a strong man?' (T2009.11)
- c. Ø-kik-ó mbéyĩ ıwe, ta-kwanan-a ká-ũ-gbon-ós-ó lukí?  
 3SG-COND:be-FV first 2SG.PRO 1PL-should-FV 9b-2.O-reduce: how  
 ASS-CAUS-FV  
 'According to you, how should we divide them?' (T2009.9)
- d. 6a-lumé 6á-púny-á ndi ıbú yánu ?  
 2:1b-army 3PL<sup>P</sup>-come-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> 2.PRO where  
 'Where did the armies (emphasized) come from?'
- e. ta-ly-á ma-líli ká ndábu tino ?  
 1PL-eat-FV 6-food PREP 9.house which  
 'In which house will we eat the meal?'

Two of the question words are nouns, **waní** '1a.who' for animates and **ı-kí** '9a-what' for inanimates. This can be seen from the agreement on the demonstrative, **nǎ** in **waní nǎ** (agreement with class 1) and **yó** in **ıkí yó** (agreement with class 9). These question words also have plural forms, i.e. class 2 **6a-waní** and class 2 + 9:9a **6e-kí** (/6a-ı-kí/). In order to present the question words together in one section, these nouns are exemplified here as well, even though they are not invariable but agree in number.

- (6.53) waní nǎ ind-ı ká Beveguku ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 3SG:go-FV.ANT PREP Beveguku  
 'Who went to Beveguku?'

In the following two examples, **waní** takes the class 2 prefix **6a-**, which agrees with a plural referent:

- (6.54)a. 6a-waní 6ó 6á-vikuman-ag-a na ıyí ?  
 2-who 2.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>-surpass-PLUR-FV with 1.PRO  
 'Who will revolt against him?' (translated Hebrews 3:16)

- b.            ɓa-waní ɓó            má            na            tɓú            ɓó ?  
                  2-who    2.DEM.I 2PL:be with 2.PRO 2.DEM.I  
                  'Who do you (pl) have with them?' (*translated Genesis 33:5*)

**ɪ-kí** '9a-what' is used as question word for inanimate referents, for example:

- (6.55) ɪ-kí            yó            a            ká            ma-pála ?  
                  9a-what 9.DEM.I 3SG:be PREP 6-wooden roofing tile  
                  'What is on the wooden roofing tiles?'

In the following example, **ɪ-kí** takes the class 2 prefix **ɓa-**, which agrees with a plural referent:

- (6.56) na-kwanan-a píyε ká-ǔ-kingy-ós-ó            ɓa-tú ɓá-lɪ-syé  
                  1SG-should-FV thus 9b-2.O-taste-CAUS-FV 2-man 2.ASS-5-day  
                  li            ní-lɪ            na ɓε-kí ?  
                  2.DEM.II COP-2.DEM.II with 2+9:9a-what  
                  'With what should I compare the men of today?' (*translated Luke 7:31*)

The prefix vowel is subject to height coalescence, resulting in the [–ATR] front mid vowel /ɛ/.

For further description and more examples and for combinations of question words, see 8.5.

### 6.3.3 Adverbials

Adverbials in Liko are a heterogeneous group of elements which do not belong to one of the other Liko word classes. Adverbials include the time adverbials in the tense/aspect/mood system, time, location and manner adverbs, adverbs specifying the mode or action of the verb, particles in information structure, and other elements. Expressions and phrases indicating time, location or manner will be presented in 6.4.

Derivation to adverbials is possible from verbs (see 7.12.3) and from adjectives (see 5.2.2). In both cases, the derivation is different from other word classes.

Time, location and manner adverbs are presented first.

**a. Time**

The only time adverbs attested are:

- (6.57) dele-dele 'finally, later than expected'  
 kpíndi 'early, earlier than expected'

The adverbials which function in the tense/aspect/mood system are described in the chapter on Verbs, see the post-verbal time adverbials in 7.7.1.

**b. Location**

The following location adverbs have been attested:

- (6.58) byĩ / bĩ 'far'  
 kú 'there (closer)'  
 kúgókú 'at the same place'  
 kúkwaKu 'down there'  
 kúnu 'here'  
 kúu 'over there'  
 minó 'there, over there'  
 wá 'there (farther)'  
 wánu 'here'  
 wásu 'on the ground'  
 yá 'in the direction of'  
 yáku 'in that direction'
- (6.59) babã, kíkílkí, dǒ-ni-kú mbéyu kúnu  
 1a.father please come:FV.IMP-ADDR-DIR first here  
 'Father, please, come here!' (T2009.21)
- (6.60) tu-tík-a ɓo-míkusú ɓá-su kúkwaKu  
 1PL:2.O-send-FV 2-child:1PL.POSS 2.ASS-all down there  
 'We will send all our children down there.'

**c. Manner**

Four general manner adverbs, all with **ɓé** word initially, which gives the impression

that the complementizer is involved,<sup>288</sup> are used to indicate that an action is performed in a certain way without specifying it:

- (6.61) béne 'like this'      béyó 'like that'  
 bégebéne 'in this way'      bégeyó 'in that way, likewise'

The adverb **bákayo** in the sense of 'like that' always occurs with **-yo** (**báka** exists as a single word meaning 'thus'). The English translation 'like' may suggest that these words are (also) used in comparisons, but that is not the case. For comparisons, Liko has **ábě** 'like' (see 8.7).

The other invariable manner adverbs in my data are:

- (6.62) befé 'completely'  
 káyákolı 'deliberately'  
 lingíngí 'stupidly, foolishly'  
 mánzála-mánzála 'in disorder'  
 ngbéngébé 'suddenly, abruptly'  
 päyayá 'needlessly'  
 tílí 'straight'

#### **d. Other adverbials**

Liko has one general intensifier adverb, **kógbe** 'very', which modifies verbs as in (6.63a) below, adjectives used as a quantifier (6.63b), nominal modifiers (6.63c) or adverbs (6.63d):

- (6.63)a. a-bǎki                      mu-kó      á-bıb-a                      kógbe  
 1b-father:3SG.POSS    1-woman    3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-praise-FV    very  
 'The father of the woman praised him very much.' (T2006.2)
- b.      á-kún-á                      ma-lílí      mú-dingĩ      kógbe  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-plant-FV<sup>P</sup>    6-food      6.ADJ-big      very  
 'She planted a lot of food.' (T2009.33)
- c.      o-lumb-is-og-o                      líbó      lá-nza                      kógbe  
 3SG-smell-CAUS-PLUR-FV    5:water    5.ASS-good      very  
 'It will cause the water to taste very good.' (T2006.6)

---

<sup>288</sup> See also the examples (8.236), (8.327) and (8.328).

- d. ág-ǎ ndi kó tutú byĩ kúgbe  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>:leave-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> PREP 9.forest far very  
 'He went very far into the forest.' (T2007.1)

Some adverbials occur between the verb and a time adverbial. The following adverbials are attested to occur between the verb and a time adverbial: **kówa** 'thus', **mbéyi** 'yet', **píye** 'thus', **sě** 'thus' and **gutúgu** 'even', sometimes in combinations, e.g. **se kówa**. The adverbials can often not be translated by a single word and may have some discourse function. Examples are given in the environment of the time adverbial <sup>H</sup>**ndi**.

**kówa** 'thus' is used when a situation builds upon a previous one. In the context of the following example, the preceding sentence relates that the men who went with a group of boys into the forest had built a shelter for them.

- (6.64) ǃa-múyú ǃá-si ǃík-o kúwǎ ndi kúkwaku  
 2-boy<sup>289</sup> 2.ASS-all 3PL<sup>P</sup>:sit-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> down there  
 'All the boys to be circumcised sat over there.' (T2006.4)

**mbéyi** 'yet' gives emphasis to the question or the situation.

- (6.65)a. wa mbéyi mu-siká  
 2SG:be yet 1-girl  
 'You (sg) are still a young girl!'  
 b. wá-ké-gu mbéyi mu-kó  
 2SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG yet 1-woman  
 'You (sg) are not yet a woman!'

In clauses where a form of the verb 'to be' is the main verb, **kówa** 'thus' and **mbéyi** 'yet' are attested a few times following the time adverbial instead of preceding it:

- (6.66) ǎ ndi kówa lí-syé lí-motí índ-a ká-and-ág-á ǃa-kpáká  
 3SG:be P<sub>3</sub> thus 5-day 5.NUM-one 3SG<sup>P</sup>:go-FV 9b-look- 2+9-trap  
 PLUR-FV

'One day he went to inspect the traps.' (T2007.2)

---

<sup>289</sup> I.e. boy who is going to be circumcised.



- (6.67)  $\emptyset$ -ké-gǔ                      ndi mbéyɪ ngbínɡó kakí  
 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG P<sub>3</sub>    yet            1a.time    3SG.POSS  
 'It was not his time, i.e. turn.' (T2009.31)

**píye** 'thus' is mostly used in questions with question words. It can be translated with 'so' at the start of the question:

- (6.68) tá-gy-ag-a            píyě ndi búní ?  
 1PL<sup>p</sup>-do-PLUR-FV    thus    P<sub>3</sub>    how  
 'So, what can we do?'

**sě** 'thus' is not used frequently. When it occurs, it is mostly in clauses giving some explanation or background information:

- (6.69) níyó    á-dwě,            a-bǎkɪ                      mu-kó    á-btb-a  
 when    3SG<sup>p</sup>-arrive:FV    1b-father:3SG.POSS    1-woman    3SG<sup>p</sup>:1.O-praise-FV  
 kúgbe,    yěkɪ    a            sě    ndi    ɡɔní    na    li-kembé  
 very    as    3SG:be    thus    P<sub>3</sub>    also    with    5-thumb piano  
 'When he arrived, the father of the woman praised him very much, as he also had a thumb piano.' (T2006.2)

The combination **se kúwa** occurs in the example below, where **sě** is present because of background information. In the context, the story tells that Mary had to go on a journey:

- (6.70) Malía    a            se    kúwǎ    ndi    wá    na    mǔma  
 "Malía"    3sg:be    thus    thus    P<sub>3</sub>    there    with    3.belly  
 'Mary was pregnant.' (translated Luke 2:5)

**ɡutúɡu** 'even' usually follows the verb form and a time adverbial if present. The men in the example below were not used to fishing, but they had to find a way to get food, because they were too poor to buy it.

- (6.71) 6a-lúkú    6á-kingɪ-ag-ǎ    ndi    ɡutúɡu    6é    6ó-lub-ǒɡ-í  
 2-man    3PL<sup>p</sup>-try-PLUR-FV    P<sub>3</sub>    even    COMP    3PL-plunge-PLUR-FV.SUBJ  
 ma-síkɪdǎngí  
 6-fish hook

'The men even tried to fish.', literally, 'that they plunge fish hooks'  
(T2009.21)

**gutúgu** 'even' occurring between the verb and the time adverbial gives emphasis to the negative meaning of the verb:

- (6.72) ná-kukan-a      gutúgũ    ndi    mu-tíwɪ    ka-babǎ      tɔ́ú  
 1SG<sup>P</sup>-NEG:hear-FV    even      P<sub>3</sub>    3-advice    GEN-1a.father    2.PRO  
 na      mamá  
 with    1a.mother  
 'I did not even listen to the advice of my father and my mother.'  
 (T2009.27)

For other examples of this adverb in combination with a negative meaning, see 8.6.2.

In other positions, **gutúgu** means 'in spite of'. The context of the example below is that all men, who wanted to marry the woman and had gone to the village of her father, were killed.

- (6.73) Sɔ́dú,    gutúgu    mó-ngóni    ǎ      ndi    ká-dǎ,      ǐ-kand-a  
 "Sɔ́dú"    even      6-news      3SG:be    P<sub>3</sub>    9b-creep:FV    3SG:REFL-tie-FV  
 ɪt-wanzá    bɛ́      a      ká-ɪnd-á    ká    mu-kó  
 5-attitude<sup>1</sup>    COMP    3SG:be    9b-go-FV    PREP    1-woman  
 'Sɔ́dú, in spite of the news which circulated, gave in to the desire that he was going to the woman.' (T2006.2)

A few adverbials occur preceding the first object. Attested are **gɔ́ní** 'also', **batǎ** 'again' and **ásu** 'only'.

- (6.74) níyɔ́    ɓo-míkakí      ɓo-do-kú      ɓo-túgbǒ,  
 when    2-child:3SG.POSS    3PL<sup>P</sup>-come:FV-DIR    2-strong man  
 ɓú-vǎ      ndi    gɔ́ní    ɓo-kó  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O-take:FV    P<sub>3</sub>    also    2-woman  
 'When his children became strong men, they took women too.'  
 (T2009.42)

- (6.75) *lɪ-syɛ́ lǎ-gɔgɔ́ mʊ-nzyúku á-tík-i-ní ndu bʌtá<sup>290</sup> míkí kú*  
 5-day 5.ASS.other 1-ant 3SG:1.O-send- P<sub>3</sub> again 1a.child there  
 FV.ANT-PFV

'On another day ant has sent his child there again.' (T2007.8)

The adverbials **gɔnɪ́** 'also' and **bʌtá** 'again' may also occur at the end of the clause.

The adverbial **ásɪ** 'only' occurs most frequently in constructions with the contrast particle **áká**. The elements between **ásɪ** and **áká** (L.H tones when following a L tone) contain contrastive information (see 8.6.2).

- (6.76) *mómbukyóno tutú á-<sup>h</sup>tw-ǎ ndu*  
 1a.owner of 9.forest 3SG<sup>p</sup>:1.O-name-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
**ásɪ wayí dǎkɪ aká**  
 only 1a.friend 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS CT

'The owner of the forest named ONLY HIS FRIEND.' (T2007.10)

When **ásɪ** occurs alone, it is in combination with utterance verbs and at the beginning of a clause which follows the complementizer **bé**. The context of the following example is that one brother works hard and the other one becomes a thief. The first one warns his brother:

- (6.77) *má<sup>h</sup>máki á-pak-y-ag-ǎ ndu bé áɪ*  
 1a.brother:3SG.POSS 3SG<sup>p</sup>:1.O-guard-APPL-PLUR-FV P<sub>3</sub> COMP only  
*yǐgyǎ yi ní-yó, ní ø-ké-gu ká-úkán-á*  
 9a:habit 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.I when 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 9b-hear-FV  
 'His brother forbade him to behave like that, but he did not listen.'  
 (T2008.12)

The following adverbials in this section have various uses.

**ambegyě** 'aha!' and **ambegyɛ fé** 'unfortunately' occur in stories when someone is surprised at finding out something or when developments take an unexpected turn:

- (6.78)a. *ambegyě, wǒ bi wa-kísǔma wánu ?*  
 aha! 2SG:be P<sub>1</sub> 1.ASS-9.s.th. hidden here  
 'Aha! You are hidden here?'

---

<sup>290</sup> The H tone of the LH contour on **bʌtá** merges with the following High.

- b. ambegyε fé, Mopusú ǎ ndi na sábi kakí  
 however "Mopusu" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:be P<sub>3</sub> with 9.small knife 3SG.POSS  
 kǐbanga wá áka wá  
 9.s.th. stuck there on the spot  
 'However, Mopusu had a small knife stuck [in his belt] right there.'
- c. Aziga ǒ bi ká-pǎ ká-luw-ó masówa,  
 "Aziga" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:be P<sub>1</sub> 9b-want:FV 9b:1.O-buy-FV 1a.car  
 ambegyε fé, ólɔ kakí ǒ bi na mbúmí  
 unfortunately 1a.gold 3SG.POSS 3SG:be P<sub>1</sub> with 9.sand  
 'Aziga was looking forward to buying a car, unfortunately, his gold contained sand.'

**íbií yó** 'if it happens' is used to soften a condition:

- (6.79) wa-kam-ín-á Singí, íbií yó, wǎ-<sup>4</sup>bíky-á ámbe  
 2SG-COND:1.O-see-FV "Singi" if it happens 2SG:1.O-say-FV.INST ATT  
 á-<sup>4</sup>tík-í-kú kúwa míkí  
 3SG:1.O-send-FV.SUBJ-DIR thus 1a.child  
 'If you see Singi, if it happens, tell him that he should send the child.'

An example of **í'ngátu bé** 'suddenly' is:

- (6.80) níyó á-husy-ó sukopí na mǒngwǒ béyó,  
 when 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-miss-FV<sup>P</sup> 1a.leopard with 1a.iron arrow like that  
 í'ngátu bé sukopí a-nǎ-bumbuk-y-o-kú  
 suddenly 1a.leopard 3SG-INCH:1.O-jump-APPL-FV-DIR  
 'When he missed the leopard with his arrow, suddenly the leopard jumped towards him.'

The Infinitive form **ká-nyǒ**, 9b-pull out:FV, is used to express 'except':

- (6.81) ɓo-míkkakí ɓá-sɪ ɓá ɓa-lumbá, kányǒ Aɓunza  
 2-child:3SG.POSS 2.ASS-all 3PL:be 2-sorcerer except "Aɓunza"  
 'All his children are sorcerers, except Aɓunza.'

An example of **něku** 'therefore' is:

- (6.82) o-kwonón-i něku ká-ukán-á ní-ló ɓá  
 3SG-should-FV.ANT therefore 9b-hear-FV COP-5.DEM.I 3PL:be

ká-u-bíky-á kíkílfíki  
 9b-2SG.O-say-FV please  
 'One ought therefore to listen to what they are telling you, please.'  
 (T2008.9)

An example of **f<sup>+</sup>ngúwo yí** 'by chance' is:

(6.83) wá-kám-in-i-gú kókú kǎmú  
 2SG<sup>P</sup>-NEG:1.O-see-FV.ANT-NEG 1a.chicken 1SG.POSS  
 í-<sup>+</sup>ngúwo yí ká-ingy-ó-kú wánú ?  
 9a-manner 9.DEM.III 9b-enter-FV-DIR here  
 'Did you not see my chicken enter here, by chance?'

Examples of **yí<sup>+</sup>pépe** 'in any case', 'rather' are:

(6.84)a. íyo, mbóngú ka-<sup>ba</sup>-lókú, yí<sup>+</sup>pépe ní-yó  
 yes 9.mushroom GEN-2-man in any case COP-9.DEM.I  
 ik-og-o yá-zu !  
 3SG/PL:be-PLUR-FV 9.ASS-hot  
 'Yes, mushrooms for men, in any case those are hot.', i.e. delicious

b. mú-tík-á Singí Ø-ké-gú yí<sup>+</sup>pépe Nangáa  
 1.O-send-FV.IMP "Singí" 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG in any case "Nangáa"  
 'Send Singí, rather not Nangaa.'

### 6.3.4 Ideophones

Ideophones form a word class which is distinct from adverbials because ideophones have specific phonetic characteristics that are not found with adverbials or with other word classes.

Ideophones have one or more of the following properties:

- word-final vowel lengthening
- presence of the alveolar trill [r] (not in the inventory of underlyingly contrastive consonants)
- repetition, sometimes with variation in speed to symbolize a slow or a fast movement
- tone descending from high to low across the word
- sound mimicking

Ideophones express a vivid representation of an idea or perception in sound, like a smell, a colour, a form, a sound, a manner of moving, etc. Ideophones are words that "enliven" or add flavour to the utterance by illustrating some aspect of an action or object. Ideophones are not required by sentence or phrase structure. A specific type of ideophones are onomatopoeia which try to mimick a sound. Many ideophones are preceded by the modifier prefix **bí-**. A number of ideophones are listed to illustrate this category.

Examples of word-final vowel lengthening are:

- (6.85) bí-dǎbǎǎǎ 'deep sound (association is with a good motorbike)'  
 bí-hibiii 'falling palm tree'  
 bí-hooo 'many people together (e.g. at a market)'  
 bí-kpwaaa 'small hard objects thrown on the ground'  
 bí-piii / bí-pisiii 'calm (e.g. after shocking news)'  
 bí-pǎǎǎ 'quiet, calm'

Examples of the alveolar liquid trill [r] are:

- (6.86) bí-byerrr 'very ripe, red'  
 bí-rrr 'shiver'

Examples of repetition are:

- (6.87) dáfídáfí 'walking awkwardly'  
 bí-kokókǒ 'munching caterpillars, talking incessantly'  
 bí-kukuku 'heavy rain with storm, pounding strongly (heart)'  
 bí-kpwǎkwǎkpwǎ 'breaking dry objects (e.g. a twig, peanut shells)'  
 bí-lékeléke 'high (sound)'

Examples of tone descending from high to low across the word are:

- (6.88) bí-kpúuu 'falling slowly'  
 bí-púpupu 'strong wind' (number of repetitions varies)

**bí-kpu** is used when something is 'falling fast'.

Examples of sound mimicking are (some with vowel lengthening or repetition):

- (6.89) bí-fwaaa 'sound of something sweeping over the ground'  
 bí-fwakafwaka 'sound of dry leaves'

gbwaaa	'sound of breaking wood, or sound of a branch when someone is on top of it and is moving up and down'
gbwu	'sound of a big tam-tam'
bí-hũ	'sound of an animal'
kíḑe	'cry of a monkey'
kikiki	'sound of walking (light) or barefoot'
bí-kofókofó	'sound of coughing'
bí-kpǒ	'sound of pouring water, spitting on the ground, pottery breaking'
bí-kyǒ	'sound of something falling into the water'
bí-mbimbimbi	'sound of a very hot fire'
mbwokombwoko	'sound of walking (heavy)'
bí-ngbé	'sound of hitting metal'
pé	'sound of a small trumpet'
puuu	'sound of a slide trombone'
tíndíndíndí	'sound of a tam-tam'
bí-tǒtǒ	'sound of water dripping'
bí-vuuu	'sound of a car'

With fast repetition, **bí-ngbéngbéngbé** indicates a 'sound when someone at the market hits a bottle with lamp oil or petrol to attract customers'. When the stem is repeated with short pauses in between as in **bíngbé ngbé ngbé**, it refers to a 'sound of a blacksmith hitting his anvil'.

There are several other cases in which repetition or vowel lengthening entails a change in meaning. **bí-kpwú** 'pass with difficulty' is used when an animal tries to escape by means of a route difficult to pass. The base with repetition, **bí-kpwukpwúkpwu**, indicates that someone is zigzagging along (a drunk, an animal hit by a poisoned arrow) or that something comes from everywhere (beating by a group). Another example is **bí-kpwě** 'manner of crushing something' and **bí-kpwekpwékpwe** 'sharp snaps of objects that break'. **bí-pě** 'way of breaking into a song or weeping' also means 'sleep like a top'. **bí-peee** is used when somebody is quiet, calm, relaxed.

Other examples of ideophones are:

- (6.90) *bí-ḅó* '(very) early, at daybreak'  
*bí-ḅũ* 'a big object falling into the water'  
*bí-kyḅ* 'swallowing a mouthful of water'  
*bí-lǻya* 'loud cry or sound'  
*bí-ngwé* 'cutting something with one blow'

The use of ideophones in clauses is exemplified in the following examples. Ideophones generally occur at the end of the clause.

- (6.91) *níyḅ* *lɪ-gḅ* *ó-gw-o* *bí-kpúuu*  
 when 5-cola nut 3SG<sup>P</sup>-fall-FV MOD-"*kpuuu*"  
 'When the cola nut fell "*kpuuu*".'
- (6.92) *si-wá-su* *ka-t-nvá* *a* *kó-ḅúk-ó* *bí-lékeléke*  
 7-bell-7 GEN-1c-dog 3SG:be 9b-resound-FV MOD-"*lekeleke*"  
 'The bell of the dog is resounding "*lekeleke*".'
- (6.93) *ngbángbatá* *o-póm-ík-ón-ĩ* *bi* *bí-lǻya*  
 1a.thunder 3SG-crack-NEUT-ASS-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> MOD-"*liya*"  
 'It is thundering loudly.'
- (6.94) *mũ-lúkú* *ḅé-motí* *á-nyö-k-a* *ká* *ɪ-ngbó-lḅ*, *ó-gw-o*  
 1-man 1.NUM-one 3SG<sup>P</sup>-fall-FV PREP 9a-dugout 3SG<sup>P</sup>-fall-FV  
*kó* *líḅó* *bí-kyo*<sup>291</sup>  
 PREP 5:water MOD-"*kyo*"  
 'A man fell in the dugout, he fell in the water, plop!'
- (6.95) *o-ngbót-i-ní* *ngúḅú* *bí-gbwu* *gbwu* *gbwu*  
 3SG-play-FV.ANT-PFV 9.tam-tam MOD-"*gbwu*" "*gbwu*" "*gbwu*"  
 'He has played the big tam-tam, bang bang bang.'

---

<sup>291</sup> *bí-kyḅ* is used when small objects fall into the water, *bí-kyo* where people or big items are concerned.



- (6.96) ma-ďakǎ á-pung-a kó-púmúk-ó bí-kpǒ kpǒ kpǒ  
 6-pot 3SG<sup>P</sup>-start-FV 9b-burst-FV MOD-"kpǒ kpǒ kpǒ"  
 'The pots started to break "kpo kpo kpo".'

If one uses a bad quality of clay in pottery, the pot will break when it is put into the fire.

- (6.97) li-lólómbí lá-saďūni a-pag-a bukú bí-mbimbimbi  
 5-preparation 5.ASS-1a.soap bar 3SG-want: 8:burning MOD-"mbimbimbi"  
 PLUR-FV piece of wood  
 'The making of the soap bar requires a hot fire "mbimbimbi".' (T2006.5)

- (6.98) ø-kik-ó ɓu-gɔgɔ, wá-lál-a tǒtǒ bí-pɛɛɛ  
 3SG-COND:be-FV 14-sunset 2SG-sleep-FV.INST 9.sleep MOD-"pɛɛɛ"  
 'If it is evening, you will sleep peacefully.' (T2006.6)

- (6.99) t-nvá ó-bukw-ó pǎ na mála bí-kwélékwélé  
 1c-dog 3SG<sup>P</sup>-search-FV<sup>P</sup> 9.place with 6:nail MOD-"kwelekwele"  
 'The dog searched the place with its nails "kwelekwele".'

Some ideophones are interesting semantically, e.g. **bí-kǒ** and **bí-kǒɓu**, both indicating the impact of an arrow, but the first one indicates that the arrow just breaks the skin while the second expresses that it enters into the muscle. Reference to munching or chewing is found in several ideophones. Mentioned above is **bí-kokókǒ** 'munching caterpillars', another example is:

- (6.100) a kó-tókw-ó ma-lílí bí-ɓukuluɓukulu  
 3SG:be 9b-chew-FV 6-food MOD-"ɓukuluɓukulu"  
 'He is munching the food "ɓukulu-ɓukulu"!', i.e. as if it were cartilage

Some ideophones like **bí-ziko** 'sitting down without doing anything' or **bí-kyekyékýě** 'burst of laughter' always occur with the same verb.

- (6.101) ník-í-ni kú-sǒ wa-t-ngbólól bí-ziko  
 1SG:sit-FV.ANT-PFV 17-inside 17.ASS-9a-dugout MOD-"ziko"  
 'I have sat in the dugout "ziko"!', i.e. without doing anything

- (6.102) 6o-kó 6á 'ká-tíb-á 6í-kyekeyékyě  
 2-woman 3PL:be 9b-laugh-FV MOD-"kyekeye"  
 'The women laughed "kyekeye"', i.e. with bursts of laughter

**kídě** is an ideophone meaning 'cry of a monkey'. It is also attested with modifier prefix **6í-** in **6í-kídě** 'the way in which monkeys jump from one branch to the other'.

- (6.103) 6a-va<sup>292</sup> kídě 6á-ky-ág-a-tú It-pakála  
 2-clan member "kídě" 3PL-refuse-PLUR-FV-INS 5-horn  
 'The monkeys refuse a horn.', i.e. they do not want a fight

Another case is **kikiki** 'sound of walking (light) or barefoot'. The class 2 object prefix **ŷ-** indicates that multiple people are there.

- (6.104) num-úkón-i kikiki no bití  
 1SG:2.O-hear-FV.ANT "kikiki" with darkness  
 'I heard people walking on tiptoes in the darkness.'

#### 6.3.4.1 Use of ideophones as modifiers

Comparable to what Ameka has found for Ewe (2001:41), Liko ideophones are attested to function as other word classes, in particular as adjectives or as adverbs. Ideophones used as adjectives or adverbs always have the modifier prefix **6í-**.

##### a. Use as adjectives

Examples of the use of ideophones as adjectives are:

- (6.105)a. ma-kpŷta 6í-gbě 'very salt cassava leaves'  
 6-cassava leaves MOD-salted
- b. 6a-nzúka 6í-kpŷfukpŷfu 'a short snake'  
 2-snake MOD-short
- c. mu-lúkú 6í-siyasiya 'a sporty man'  
 1-man MOD-supple
- d. nyamá 6í-tu 'a (caught) animal still in one piece'  
 1a.animal MOD-unimpaired
- e. su 6í-vulevule 'a bad smell'  
 9.smell MOD-bad (smell)

<sup>292</sup> The High part of the LH tone on **vá** has merged with the following H tone.

- |    |              |                 |                    |
|----|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| f. | mu-kpóndú    | bí-wéngéwéngé   | 'very bright lime' |
|    | 3-clay, lime | MOD-very bright |                    |
| g. | mu-lúkú      | bí-wó           | 'a quiet man'      |
|    | 1-man        | MOD-quiet       |                    |

Ideophone **bí-nzi** 'without a space in between' is used when talking about vegetation or a crop. It can also be used for a big gathering: **ḡa-mbáanzú bí-nzi**, 2-person MOD-without space in between, 'crowded with people'.

**bí-dóḡḡḡ** expresses a deep sound. When someone wants to say that the engine of a motorbike runs well he can say:

- (6.106) It-yũ lá-Yamáa bí-dóḡḡḡ  
 5-voice 5.ASS-1a.Yamaha MOD-"*dóḡḡḡ*"  
 'The sound of the Yamaha is "*dóḡḡḡ*".', i.e. it is good

**bí-byerrr** is used when a piece of fruit is very ripe. By analogy, it also means 'red'. In the following example, it is used for the colour of gold nuggets found by someone digging for gold:

- (6.107) ólḡ bí-byerrr ábě ma-yá má-tǔbu  
 1a.gold MOD-"*byerrr*" like 6-grain 6.ASS-9.tobacco  
 'Gold "*byerrr*" like tobacco strands.'

### **b. Use as adverbs**

With respect to ideophones used as adverbs, examples include:

- (6.108) bí-biyeeé 'staying without saying anything, without making noise'  
 bí-dángadanga 'being busy with a lot of things at the same time'  
 bí-dũkyedũkye 'walking like a small child (allusion to a dress fluttering in the wind)'  
 bí-holóló 'passing an opening without hitting an obstacle'  
 bí-kpadáaa 'calmly, quietly'  
 bí-nzenzenze 'supple way of dancing'  
 bí-nzeéé 'moving through the air (an arrow, a star)'  
 bí-pḡḡ 'completely'  
 bí-yḡḡḡ 'reacting coldly'

- (6.109) wig-o-kú            ɓí-kpaɗáaa  
 2SG:return-FV-DIR    MOD-"kpaɗáaa"  
 'You will return "kpaɗáaa"', i.e. calmly

Talking about a young woman:

- (6.110) ó-kw-ó            ɫ-síká    ɓí-pɔɔ  
 3SG<sup>p</sup>:die-FV<sup>p</sup>    5-youth    MOD-"pɔɔ"  
 'She killed the youth "pɔɔ"', i.e. she was very well dressed

- (6.111) kɔ́kú            ǎ            ndɪ    ká-sikísy-ó            nakwáɫ            ɓí-ɗilidili  
 1a.chicken    3SG:be    P<sub>3</sub>    9b:1.O-answer-FV    1a.sparrowhawk    MOD-"ɗilidili"  
 'Chicken was answering sparrowhawk "ɗilidili"', i.e. hesitantly

### 6.3.5 Interjections and exclamations

The characteristics found in ideophones are also attested in interjections and exclamations. Common interjections and exclamations are:

- (6.112) arɔrrr            'ouch!'  
 ayayayaya            'watch out!, stop!'  
 ɓɔɔɔ                    'its enough!, wait a minute!'  
 eee / ezé / eesé        'exclamation of surprise'  
 heee ɓiteee            'oh dear!'  
 hooo                    'alas!'  
 mbambamba            'stop!'  
 rígo                    'hurrah!, victory!'  
 irryá                    'come on!, pull!'  
 woóo                    'exclamation of disappointment or contempt'  
 yiii !                    'oh!, ah!'

The word **ayayayaya** starts out with a H tone, which falls steadily; its number of syllables varies. **ɓɔɔɔ** also has a falling tone. Without vowel lengthening, **ɓɔ** is a loanword from French 'bon' and is used for social reasons instead of **íyo** 'yes'. **hooo** is the response after **rígo**, a slogan after circumcision rites. **mbambamba** can also be used without repetition. **irryá** is a slogan to encourage people who do something difficult, for example pulling a heavy tree trunk. The response is **yá**.

The following interjections are used to draw the attention of the audience or to highlight what follows.

- (6.113) *ámbe* attention!  
*kínílí / kíliní* that's why  
*ooo* hey!  
*yě* excuse me! (to draw attention)

The word **kínílí** marks the conclusion of a story, for example the lesson to be drawn from a folk tale. It is one of the Liko words in which two adjacent syllables may be reversed in free variation. **yě** is used to draw the attention of someone in a polite way.

Some interjections are used in specific situations, like danger, asking for something or invoking a person or a spiritual being:

- (6.114) *amályá!* watch out!, stop!  
*ǎ́áka* please  
*kíkílikí* please  
*nzingágu* in the name of ...

The word **amályá** is the singular Imperative form of the verb **-amali-** 'to end up in or at'. After **nzingágu**, the speaker cites the name of a parent who has passed away, or an important event. A polite question either starts with **kíkílikí** or has **ǎ́áka** directly following the main verb. If one wants to be very polite, both are used:

- (6.115) *kíkílikí* *babǎ* *ɿ-tík-íly-á-nɔ* *ǎ́áka* *Badua* *ká*  
 please 1a.father 1SG.O-send-BEN-FV.IMP.SUPP please "Badua" PREP  
*ɿ-vanza* *kakí*  
 9a-family 3SG.POSS  
 'Please father, would you please send Badua to his family for me?'

## 6.4 Expressions of time, location and manner

In this section, some expressions of time, location and manner are presented.

### a. Time

Most words and phrases with a reference to time involve nouns or nominals, often combined with a preposition or a demonstrative:

(6.116)	na lt-syé	with 5-day	'during the day'
	no bití	with 9.darkness	'during the night'
	na lt-syé ní-lt	with 5-day COP-5.DEM.II	'today'
	no bití ní-yt	with 9.darkness COP-9.DEM.II	'tonight'
	ḡú-galá	14-tomorrow	'tomorrow'
	na ḡú-galá	with 14-tomorrow	'during the next day'
	ḡú-galóḡi	<sup>293</sup>	'the day after tomorrow'
	í'syéyikūḡi	<sup>294</sup>	'yesterday'

a **kówa na ma-syé** (3SG:be thus with 6-day) is an expression meaning 'a long time ago'.

'Before' and 'after' are expressed by the locative nouns **kámbwa** '17:front' and **kú-mbúso** '17-back'.<sup>295</sup> For 'soon' and 'long ago', nominal modifiers **mbya** 'new' and **ndélt** 'old, worn' are used without a prefix. **mbya** followed by the location adverb **wánu** 'here' means 'now'. The reduplicated form **mbyambya** expresses 'immediately'. 'Since' is expressed by the Infinitive form of **-túk-** 'leave' with the Applicative extension **-t**, as in:

(6.117)	ká-túk-y-á	na	lt-syé	li	ní-ló,	
	9b-leave-APPL-FV	with	5-day	5.DEM.III	COP-5.DEM.I	
	bókobí	ó-pup-ǎ	ndt	kúnú	ká	mú-sengí
	1a.rat	3SG <sup>P</sup> -leave-FV	P <sub>3</sub>	here	PREP	3-village
	'Since that day, rat came out here to the village.' (T2008.5)					

Expressions referring to time during a calendar day are:

(6.118)	mbólúgo	9.daybreak	'daybreak'
	ḡu-sóḡt	14-sunrise	'sunrise'

<sup>293</sup> The elements of compound are unclear. The structure may be 14-tomorrow-P<sub>1</sub> or 14-tomorrow-DEM.III.

<sup>294</sup> The structure of this compound is unclear. It probably contains **lt-syé** '5-day' with loss of the prefix consonant and the time adverbial <sup>H</sup>**ḡi** indicating time reference to the recent past.

<sup>295</sup> These nouns are also used to indicate location, see below. **kú-mbúso** followed by a type III demonstrative, **kúmbúso yí**, means 'finally'.

ḡu-sóḡi ḡá-ḡe	14-sunrise 14.ASS-cold	'very early in the morning'
na ḡu-sóḡi	with 14-sunrise	'in the morning'
li-syé ĩ-gbon-ón-i-ní	5-day 3SG:REFL-divide: ASS-ASS-FV.ANT-PFV	'noon'
móní lúgo	9.sun 9.middle	'noon'
músfkatú	9.middle of the day	'the middle of the day'
móní i-tí-ni	9.sun 3SG:REFL-bend over:FV.ANT-PFV	'afternoon'
móní o-yikón-i-ní	9.sun 3SG-return-FV.ANT- PFV	'later in the afternoon'
móní ká ḡu-gḡḡ	9.sun PREP 14-sunset	'end of afternoon'
ma-zakambá má- móní	6-big breasts 6.ASS-9.sun	'time before the sun sets'
i-bisií	9a-sunset	'time the sun sets'
ḡu-gḡḡ	14-sunset	'sunset'
móní o-gw-ĩ-ni	9.sun 3SG-fall-FV.ANT-PFV	'sunset'
ḡa-bulí ḡá 'ká-sas-á móní	2:1b-demon 3PL:be 9b-cut up-FV 9.sun	'sunset'
na ḡu-gḡḡ	with 14-sunset	'in the evening'
bití o-lípy-i-ní	9.darkness 3SG-last- FV.ANT-PFV	'after dark'
gundu	9.midnight	'midnight'
na gundu	with 9.midnight	'in the middle of the night'
ngbíngó ka-ḡa-lumbá	1a.time GEN-2-sorcerer	'midnight'

**b. Location**

The following locative nouns in class 17 are frequently used in associative constructions to refer to a location:

(6.119) kú-gũ	'17-top'	'at the top'
kú-silí	'17-bottom'	'under'
kú-syokoto	'17-bottom'	'under'
kámbwa	'17:front'	'at the front'
kú-mbúso	'17-back'	'behind'
kú-ḡombólo	'17-back'	'behind'

kú-sǒ	'17-inside'	'inside'
kú-nzi	'17-outside'	'outside'

Examples include:

- (6.120)a. wó-bĩs-o      kú-gǔ    wa-lɪ-ɖakĩ    lá-gɔgɔ  
 2SG-put-FV.INST 17-top 17.ASS-5-pot 5.ASS-other  
 'Put it on top of another pot.' (T2006.6)
- b. o-bĩs-o      lúkí      lí-<sup>4</sup>nyíkisogǒ    kú-gǔ    wo-kulúbi  
 3SG-put-FV 5:object 5.ADJ-filter 17-top 17.ASS-9.mortar  
 'She will put a filter on a mortar.'
- c. ó-kún-is-ǎ      ndɪ    ma-lílí    má-sɪ      ní-mó      kúnu  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-plant-CAUS-FV P<sub>3</sub> 6-food 6.ASS-all COP-6.DEM.I here  
 kú-sílí      wa-móní  
 17-bottom 17.ASS-9.sun  
 'He let plant all food which [is] here under the sun' (T2006.3)

The noun **kú-mbúso** '17-back' is used more to indicate time than to refer to a location; **kú-ɓombólo** '17-back' is rather used for 'behind something'. The back side of an object is often referred to with the prepositional phrase **ká mu-gongó**, PREP 3-back of the body, 'at the back'.

Locative nouns can also be used as single-word adjuncts, as in:

- (6.121) ɪ-mbúɓú      ó-pup-á      ndɪ      kú-nzi  
 1c-civet 3SG<sup>P</sup>-come out-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> 17-outside  
 'A civet came out outside.'

A few nouns in other noun classes are used to refer to location, **ɓu-wóbi** '14-proximity' means 'near' (with reduplication 'near to each other') and **ɖongó** '9.distance' means 'far' when they are used as a location adjunct.

### c. Manner

Most manner adverbs are preceded by the modifier prefix **ɓí-**. Examples of manner adverbs with modifier prefix **ɓí-** are:

- (6.122) ɓí-ɓé      'profoundly'  
 ɓí-beɖe      'full up to the brim'



- ɓí-bulí 'hold quickly with two arms around someone'  
 ɓí-gala 'fast'  
 ɓí-lende 'smooth, cover well'  
 ɓí-kpū 'close firmly'  
 ɓí-nvé 'leave suddenly'

Examples in clauses are:

- (6.123)a. wind-a ɓí-gala-(gala)  
 2SG:go-FV MOD-fast  
 'You will go fast.'
- b. ā-túm-ĩ ɓi na dukpá ɓí-lende  
 3SG:1.O-stab-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> with 9.knife MOD-smooth  
 'He pierced him with a knife smooth.', i.e. all the way through
- c. mU-tú wa-si ní-nǒ ám-un-a, ó-ping-og-o ɓí-kókóló-kokolo  
 1-man 1.ASS-all COP-1. 3SG<sup>p</sup>:1.O-see- 3SG<sup>p</sup>-harden- MOD-stiff  
 DEM.I FV PLUR-FV  
 'Every person who saw him grew stiff.' (T2006.1)

Several manner adverbs occur only in repeated form. If the base is monosyllabic, it is repeated twice. The first set below presents manner adverbs with and without repetition and the second gives examples of adverbs with repetition where the base has not been attested.

- (6.124) ɓí-dɛ (dɛ dɛ) 'walking on tiptoes silently and slowly'  
 ɓí-dɛdɛdɛ 'walking on tiptoes silently and quickly'  
 ɓí-pū 'hit knock-out'  
 ɓí-pupúpū 'hit several people knock-out'  
 ɓí-tita 'jump fast, easily'  
 ɓí-tita-tita 'hopping'
- (6.125) ɓí-fǎkǎ-fǎkǎ 'rapidly and disorderly'  
 ɓí-lalala 'with agility'

ðí-mbaða-mbaða 'react quickly, impulsively'<sup>296</sup>  
 ðí-nyemu-nyemu 'eat soberly'  
 ðí-vomu-vomu 'restlessly'

Some nouns and adverbs have the same base, e.g.:

(6.126)	ðí-díli-díli	'sceptically'	ðu-díli-dílí	'14-doubt'
	ðí-gala-gala	'fast'	mágala-gálá	'1a.insect, sp.'
	ðí-gba	'standing'	a-gbagbá	'1b-dance'
	ðí-kwa	'quick'	mu-kwá	'1-enemy'

It is not possible with the data available to determine the source of the derivation. The noun **agbagbá** is a dance, where a few dancers are in the middle and the others follow their movements in a wider circle.

---

<sup>296</sup> Also used for children when they grow too fast.