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

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# 8 Topics in Syntax

## 8.1 Introduction

This chapter pays attention to the following topics:

- verb valency and object agreement
- word order
- relative clauses
- interrogative sentences
- information structure
- comparison
- complex sentences

In section 8.2 on verb valency and object agreement, data is presented that shows that object agreement in Liko is limited to persons and to all and only nouns belonging to class 1 (and its subclasses) and 2, regardless of their semantic category. The way in which a passive meaning is expressed, is presented in section 8.2 and not together with verb extensions in Chapter 7, because the language does not have a Passive extension. It is shown that locatives do not serve as arguments.

In many Bantu languages, "word order contributes crucially to define the intended purpose of the sentence as part of the communicative event." (Beard 2003:130). The order of subject, finite verb and objects is quite strict in Liko, with only a few cases in natural and translated texts where the object is preposed and precedes the subject. The subject never occurs postverbally. Of interest in section 8.3 on Word Order is also the order of objects.

Section 8.4 on Relative clauses provides data on relativization of subjects, objects and adjuncts. I will use the term "adjuncts" for constituents of the clause that are not included in the argument structure of the verb, such as prepositional phrases, locative or time NPs, etc. Relativization shows that objects and adjuncts can be formally distinguished in Liko by the absence or presence of a "trace" particle.

Section 8.5 presents how interrogative sentences are formed and exemplifies the question words.

In section 8.6 on Information Structure, the strategies to mark new information and contrast are presented, followed by left-dislocation and external topicalization. There is a striking similarity between left-dislocation and relativization: both processes require the trace particle when adjuncts are involved. An impression of the coding of information structure in Liko is presented in an annotated text, see Appendix 1, 1.5.1.

The sections 8.7 on comparison and 8.8 on complex sentences, including the use of Infinitives, conclude this chapter.

## 8.2 Verb valency and object agreement

Simple, non-derived verbs in Liko can be classified based on the number of arguments in one-place, two-place and three-place verbs. Bearth (2003:122) posits the same classification for Bantu languages in general. His four-way division of the realization of arguments also holds for Liko: they are realized as lexically specified nouns or noun phrases, as subject prefix and object prefix incorporated in the verb, as independent pronouns and as zero. The finite verb is the minimal form of the sentence.

In Liko, the subject is the constituent in the clause with which the subject prefix in the finite verb form agrees to a limited extent in number and/or noun class, see 7.4. Verbs can have up to two objects which follow the verb form (in clauses with canonical word order) and precede any adjuncts. In the case of two-place verbs, class 1 and 2 objects are obligatorily referenced by an object prefix in the verb form. In the case of verbs with more than one object, the object prefix agrees with the first object following the verb. Which object occurs as the first object is determined by the valency of the (derived) verb. For instance, the first object of a verb with the Benefactive extension is the argument expressing the beneficiary. Objects and adjuncts are formally distinguished by the requirement for adjuncts to leave the trace particle when they are left-dislocated or relativized. Other distinctions are that the occurrence of adjuncts is not constrained by the valency of the verb and that the order of adjuncts is variable. Adjuncts have no agreement prefix in the verb morphology.

## 8.2.1 One-place verbs

The one argument is always represented by a subject prefix in the verb form. In addition, it may occur as a lexically specified noun or noun phrase, or as an independent pronoun.

In the following two examples, the subject is represented by the subject prefix, the first person singular **na-** (**no-** after assimilation to [+ATR]), and the third person plural **ḡá-**:

- (8.1) *nó-zuzúk-á ndt*  
 1SG<sup>P</sup>-wake up-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub>  
 'I woke up'

- (8.2) *ḡá-pung-a ká-ag-ǎ ká mbúku*  
 3PL-start-FV 9b-leave-FV PREP 9grave  
 'They started / They will start to leave for the grave.' (T2006.3)<sup>398</sup>

Examples of realizations as a noun include:

- (8.3)a. *kókú álík-a*  
 1a.cock 3SG<sup>P</sup>:cry-FV  
 'The cock crowed.'
- b. *ḡa-kókú ḡálík-a*  
 2-cock 3PL:cry-FV  
 'The cocks crowed.' / 'The cocks will crow.'
- c. *múgá a-pung-a kó-pup-ó*  
 3:vapour 3SG-start-FV 9b-leave-FV  
 'A vapour starts to come out.' (T2006.6)

The subject is expressed by a pronoun, **ɪyí**, in:

- (8.4) *ɪyí ó-kw-á-tǔ ndt ḡoní*  
 1.PRO 3SG<sup>P</sup>-die-FV-INS P<sub>3</sub> also  
 'He certainly died too.' (T2008.10)

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<sup>398</sup> In the context, time reference is the past. The morphology and the surface tones indicate either Past or Future.

## 8.2.2 Two-place verbs

The majority of Liko verbs belong to the class of two-place verbs. Grammatical agreement with the object is limited to persons and to all and only nouns belonging to classes 1 and 2, see 8.2.5. For a description of object prefixes, see 7.5.1. In the examples below, the object is a noun (in a) or only represented in the verb morphology as object prefix (in b):

- (8.5)a. Zangíyá á-<sup>4</sup>bíky-ǎ ndɪ ngámá  
 "Zangiya" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-say-FV P<sub>3</sub> 1a.chief  
 'Zangiya told the chief.'
- b. Zangíyá á-<sup>4</sup>bíky-ǎ ndɪ  
 "Zangiya" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-say-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'Zangiya told him.'

In the following examples, the object belongs to class 1 in (8.6a, c) and to class 13 in (8.6b). The verb form does not have an object prefix in (8.6b), because the object is not in classes 1 or 2. In (8.6c), although the object is inanimate, an object prefix agrees with **kínga** '1a.bicycle', because the object belongs to class 1.

- (8.6)a. mamá a-dung-o b́ánu míkí  
 1a.mother 3SG:1.O-carry-FV F<sub>2</sub> 1a.child  
 'Mother will carry the child.'
- b. ná-pak-ǎ ndɪ tú<sup>4</sup>ká-tu kǎmɪ  
 1SG<sup>P</sup>-protect-FV P<sub>3</sub> 13.hair-13 1SG.POSS  
 'I protected my hair.'
- c. ná-<sup>4</sup>túndul-ǎ ndɪ kínga kó kpúmó  
 1SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-push-FV P<sub>3</sub> 1a.bicycle PREP 9.hill  
 'I pushed the bicycle up the hill.'

In the next example, the class 2 object prefix **ǔ-** agrees with the class 2 object:

- (8.7) míkí mu-kó yi ní-nǎ ɔm-úkan-ag-a<sup>399</sup>  
 1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I 3SG:2.O-hear-PLUR-FV

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<sup>399</sup> The H tone of the LH tone on the vowel of the object prefix, **ǔ-**, is associated with the initial vowel of the verb **-úkan-** 'hear'.

6a-bǎktu                    na    6a-mákti,  
 2:1b-father:3SG.POSS    and    2:1b-mother:3SG.POSS  
 ik-og-o                    míkí    wa-t-bibǎ                    ká    mu-sengí  
 3SG:be-PLUR-FV    1a.child    1.ASS-9a-honour    PREP    3-village  
 'The girl who listens to her fathers and her mothers will be a child  
 of honour in the village.' (T2006.9)

### 8.2.3 Three-place verbs

The most common three-place or ditransitive verb in Liko is **-pá-** 'give'. The beneficiary or goal is the first object after the verb and is obligatorily represented verb-internally by object agreement. In (8.8), the object prefix agrees with the first object, the beneficiary **mbunyákti**. The patient **líso** occupies the second position following the verb and does not take agreement:

(8.8) mu-kó      á-<sup>4</sup>pá                    mbunyákti                    líso  
 1-woman    3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-give:FV    1a.husband:3SG.POSS    5:eye  
 'The woman gave her husband the eye.' (T2006.10)

Other examples of 'to give' in which the goal or beneficiary is not expressed as a noun following the verb, but only as an object prefix, include:

(8.9) a-kóngó                    nǎ                    a-tí-pag-a                    má-ǒúgu      kú-mbúso  
 1b-banana shoot    1.DEM.I    3SG-1PL.O-give:PLUR-FV    6-banana    17-back  
 'This banana shoot will give us bananas later.' (T2006.7)

(8.10) 6á-kǎ-<sup>4</sup>pí-gu                    gútúgu    líǒ                    lí-mwǒ                    áka<sup>400</sup>  
 3PL-NEG:1.O-give:FV.ANT-NEG    even                    5:water    5.ADJ-drinking    CT  
 'They did not give him EVEN DRINKING WATER.' (T2006.2)

(8.11) mó-do-kú                    ké-<sup>4</sup>pá                    6o-tú                    kakí  
 2PL-come:FV-DIR    9b:1SG.O-give:FV    2+9-clothes    3SG.POSS  
 'You (pl) come to give me his clothes.' (T2009.21)

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<sup>400</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.

## 8.2.4 Derived two and three-place verbs

The following extensions introduce an argument in the valency frame of the verb: Causative, Applicative and Benefactive. For a description and examples, see 7.11.

## a. Causative

With the Causative extension, the causee role is introduced. An example of the Causative extension with a one-place verb is:

- (8.12) It-syé ní-ló ðík-o kówă ndi minó  
 5-day COP-5.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>:sit-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> TRACE  
 ká-ũ-pup-ís-ó-kú kúnũ ká mu-sengí  
 9b-2.O-leave-CAUS-FV-DIR here PREP 3-village  
 'The day on which they sat to cause them [the boys] to leave towards the village.' (T2006.4)

The Causative extension with a two-place verb:

- (8.13) ða-sambá ðá-va i-títí, ðó-do-kú noyú  
 2-circumcisor 3PL<sup>P</sup>-take:FV 9a-anthill 3PL<sup>P</sup>-come:FV-DIR with:9.PRO  
 ðú-dung-is-o twe a-băktí míkí íbúnú na a-máktí  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O-carry- 2SG.PRO 1b-father: 1a.child 2PL.PRO and 1b-mother:  
 CAUS-FV 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS  
 'The circumcisors took an anthill, they came with it towards [you], they let them carry it, you the father of the child, you (pl) with his mother.'<sup>401</sup>  
 (T2006.4)

For the example in (8.14b), the basic verb **-iga-** 'return' is given in (8.14a):

- (8.14)a. na ká-tg-ă ká li-gubó ló-tíko  
 1SG:be 9b-return-FV PREP 5-work 5.ASS-9.field  
 'I am returning to the work of the field'  
 b. babă a kám-ig-ís-ó má'máktí  
 1a.father 3SG:be 9b:1.O-return-CAUS-FV 1a.brother:3SG.POSS  
 'Father is causing his brother to return.'

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<sup>401</sup> In the context, time reference is the past. The morphology and the surface tones indicate either Past or Future.



In (b), the causee is a class 1a noun. The epenthetic /m/ of the object prefix reveals the presence of the object prefix.

### b. Applicative

The Applicative extension **-t-** introduces an argument with the semantic role of patient or beneficiary. An example of the transitive verb **-ndindil-** 'tie up securely with a rope'<sup>402</sup> without the Applicative extension is:

- (8.15) má<sup>4</sup>mámu á-ndindil-ǒ ndi mémí ká ɪdɔlú lá-ndábu  
 1a.brother: 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-tie-FV P<sub>3</sub> 1a.goat PREP 5-post 5.ASS-9.house  
 1SG.POSS

'My brother tied up a goat at a doorpost of the house.'

The Applicative extension introduces a beneficiary role to the valency of the verb:

- (8.16) má<sup>4</sup>mámu á-ndindil-y-ǎ ndi mu-twótwo mémí ká ɪdɔlú  
 1a.brother: 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-tie- P<sub>3</sub> 1-blacksmith 1a.goat PREP 5-post  
 1SG.POSS APPL-FV

'My brother tied up a goat at a doorpost for the blacksmith.'

Switching the position of the beneficiary and the patient renders the sentence semantically strange, because the first object is understood to be the beneficiary:

- (8.17) ??má<sup>4</sup>mámu á-ndindil-y-ǎ ndi mémí mu-twótwo ká ɪdɔlú  
 1a.brother: 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-tie- P<sub>3</sub> 1a.goat 1-blacksmith PREP 5-post  
 1SG.POSS APPL-FV

'My brother tied up the blacksmith at a doorpost for a goat.'

If both the goal or beneficiary and the patient are human and only one is expressed, the sentence becomes ambiguous, as in:

- (8.18) má<sup>4</sup>mámu á-ndindil-y-ǎ ndi mu-twótwo ká ɪdɔlú  
 1a.brother:1SG.POSS 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-tie-APPL-FV P<sub>3</sub> 1-blacksmith PREP 5-post

'My brother tied him up at a doorpost for the blacksmith.' /

'My brother tied up the blacksmith at a doorpost for him.'

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<sup>402</sup> Possibly this verb form has a lexicalized Resultative extension **-ɪ-**.

In the following examples, **-túndul-** 'push, stimulate' is a transitive verb with the semantic roles of agent and patient. In (8.19a), the patient is the first object and is referenced by the object prefix. In (8.19b, c), with the Applicative extension, the beneficiary is the first object:

- (8.19)a. na ká-<sup>t</sup>túndúl-ó kínga kó kpúmó  
 1SG:be 9b:1.O-push-FV 1a.bicycle PREP 9.hill  
 'I am pushing the bicycle up the hill.'
- b. na ká-<sup>t</sup>túndúl-y-ó tté kínga kó kpúmó  
 1SG:be 9b:1.O-push-APPL-FV 1a.old person 1a.bicycle PREP 9.hill  
 'I am pushing the bicycle up the hill for the old person.'
- c. na ká-u-túndúl-y-ó ða-tté kínga kó kpúmó  
 1SG:be 9b-2.O-push-APPL-FV 2-old person 1a.bicycle PREP 9.hill  
 'I am pushing the bicycle up the hill for the old persons.'

In (a), the object prefix agrees with **kínga** '1a.bicycle', whereas in (b), the object prefix refers to **tté** '1a.old person' as can be seen by the change in the form of the object prefix in (c), where the first object is plural.

The Causative and the Applicative extension may co-occur. In the following example, the derived verb **-igis-** 'cause to return' has the Applicative extension **-t-**, which gives **má'mákti** 'his brother' the semantic role of goal. The first object is the goal with object prefix agreement, as in (8.20a). A different number of extensions or a lack of an agreeing object prefix renders the clause ungrammatical (8.20b-d).

- (8.20)a. babă a kám-ig-ís-y-ó má'mákti mbakú  
 1a.father 3SG:be 9b:1.O-return-CAUS-APPL-FV 1a.brother: 9.knife  
 3SG.POSS  
 'Father is returning the knife to his brother.'
- b. \*babă a kó-ig-is-ó má'mákti mbakú  
 9b-return-CAUS-FV
- c. \*babă a kám-ig-is-ó má'mákti mbakú  
 9b:1.O-return-CAUS-FV
- d. \*babă a kó-ig-ís-y-ó má'mákti mbakú  
 9b-return-CAUS-APPL-FV

In (b), an object prefix is missing for the first object **má'mákti**. In (c), there is no place for two objects in the argument structure of the verb. Two objects are possible when the verb has both the Causative and the Applicative extension, but

(d) is still ruled out, because there is no object prefix. Only (a) is correct, which has both the Applicative extension and the class 1 object prefix which agrees with **má'máki**.

### c. Benefactive

The Benefactive extension **-ũ-** indicates that the action is beneficial to a person or disadvantageous to a person. The Benefactive extension introduces an argument with the semantic role of beneficiary. When the basic verb is transitive, the object of the basic verb loses its status as first object when the verb has the Benefactive extension, as is apparent by the position of the object with respect to the verb and by the agreement relation with the object prefix. The new argument of the verb, derived with the Benefactive extension, takes over as first object.

An example of the Benefactive extension with a one-place verb, **-kú-** 'die':

- (8.21) tá-<sup>4</sup>kw-íly-á            ndũ    gbukó  
 1PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-die-BEN-FV<sup>P</sup>    P<sub>3</sub>    1a.rat  
 'We died for rat.' (T2006.3)

The Benefactive extension with a two-place verb licences a third argument, e.g. **-pik-** 'build':

- (8.22) 6a-bugwáki            6ú-pik-ily-o            6a-ttế            ndáũ  
 2-uncle:3SG.POSS    3PL:2.O-build-BEN-FV    2-old person    9.house  
 'His uncles built / will build<sup>403</sup> a house for the old people.'

### 8.2.5 Object agreement

Liko is a so-called OM-1 language (Bearth 2003:124): a maximum of one object marker inside the verb form is allowed. Liko shows grammatical agreement between the first object and the object prefix in the verb. Object marking is not related to semantic roles or to the semantic category of the noun. Agreement is limited to speech participants, third person singular and plural and to all and only

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<sup>403</sup> For **6ú-pik-ily-o**, it is not possible to know whether a prefixal H tone of the Past TAM melody is present; if it is present, it merges with the underlying H tone of the third person plura subject prefix **6á-**.

nouns belonging to classes 1 and 2 (including subclasses of class 1); for these, object agreement is compulsory.

- (8.23)a. *ba-wanzá bá-<sup>h</sup>kúl-a mémí*  
 2-boy 3PL:1.O-untie-FV 1a.goat  
 'The boys untied / will untie the goat.'
- b. *ba-wanzá bú-kúl-a ba-mémí*  
 2-boy 3PL:2.O-untie-FV 2-goat  
 'The boys untied / will untie the goats.'

In (a), the L tone of the class 1 object prefix *ba-* has caused the non-automatic downstep, see 4.6.5. In (b), *bú-* is the realization after  $V_1$ -elision of the vowel of the third person plural subject prefix *bá-* preceding the class 2 object prefix *ú-*. The L tone of the object prefix contour has been removed through L-tone deletion, see 4.6.4.

The following examples show that the verb form contains only one object prefix in clauses where two objects occur. The first object (if it belongs to classes 1 or 2) is coded in the verb form by means of an object prefix, but the second object is not agreement marked.

- (8.24)a. *Bókótógi u-kúmb-o 6o-míkí*  
 "Bókótógi" 3SG:2.O-carry-FV 2-child  
 'Bokotogi will carry the children.'
- b. *Bókótógi a-kúmb-ily-a má<sup>h</sup>mákt 6o-míkí*  
 "Bókótógi" 3SG:1.O-carry-BEN-FV 1a.sister:3SG.POSS 2-child  
 'Bokotogi will carry the children for her sister.'

An object prefix in the verb form which agrees with the second object *6omíkí*, renders the sentence ungrammatical:

- (8.25) \**Bókótógi ú-kúmb-ily-o má<sup>h</sup>mákt 6o-míkí*  
 "Bókótógi" 3SG:1.O:2.O-carry-BEN-FV 1a.sister:3SG.POSS 2-child  
*Int.* 'Bokotogi will carry the children for her sister.'

If the beneficiary is the first person plural (object prefix *tí-*), there is no sign of the class 2 object prefix (*ú-*):

- (8.26) Bókótógi a-tí-kúmb-ily-o 6o-míkí  
 "Bókótógi" 3SG-1PL.O-carry-BEN-FV 2-child  
 'Bokotogi will carry the children for us.'

A remarkable characteristic of object agreement in Liko is that it concerns persons and all and only nouns of class 1 (and its subclasses) and 2.

In the following examples, the object **séléngúndé** 'peanut' is inanimate, but it belongs to class 1a, as can be seen from the class 1 concord of the associative prefix **wa**:

- (8.27) 6í-dígt-dígt ábe séléngúndé wa-í-kpodoiyíya  
 MOD-soft like 1a.peanut 1.ASS-1c-peanut butter cooked in water  
 'soft like peanuts of peanut butter cooked in water'

When **séléngúndé** is the object of the verb, this is obligatorily marked by means of an object prefix because of its noun-class membership. In (8.28a), the presence of the class 1 object prefix blocks further [+ATR] spreading and causes non-automatic downstep. Because the object in (8.28b), **ndikó**, belongs to class 9, there is no object agreement and no object prefix is allowed:

- (8.28)a. na ká-<sup>4</sup>kóng-ó séléngúndé (\*kó-kóng-ó)  
 1SG:be 9b:1.O-roast-FV 1a.peanuts (9b-roast-FV)  
 'I am roasting peanuts.'
- b. na kó-kóng-ó ndikó (\*ká-<sup>4</sup>kóng-ó)  
 1SG:be 9b-roast-FV 9.palm-nut pit (9b:1.O-roast-FV)  
 'I am roasting palm-nut pits.'

In similar examples, the object prefix is obligatorily present in (8.29a) and obligatorily absent in (8.29b):

- (8.29)a. 6á kúwǎ ndi ká-<sup>4</sup>mbímb-ó séléngúndé  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:be thus P<sub>3</sub> 9b:1.O-throw-FV 1a.peanuts  
 'They were throwing peanuts.'
- b. 6á kúwǎ ndi kó-mbímb-ó ma-tá-mu  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:be thus P<sub>3</sub> 9b-throw-FV 6-stone-6  
 'They were throwing stones.'

In (a), **kómbímbó** is not acceptable, whereas in (b), **ká<sup>4</sup>mbímbó** is not allowed.

These examples and the ones given in the section on object prefixes (see 7.5.1) indicate that animacy and/or definiteness hierarchies which are useful to describe differences in object marking in other Bantu languages, e.g. human > animate > inanimate, do not apply in Liko. Classes 1 (and its subclasses) and 2 are the only classes for which object prefixes exist and all class 1 and 2 nouns require an object prefix regardless of their semantic category. Object marking for objects of other classes is ungrammatical. According to Riedel (2009:52): "This object marking pattern is highly unusual in the Bantu language family, with Makuwa being the only language known to exhibit such a pattern."

Other examples with two-place verb forms in which there is no object prefix are given below. In the first and the second example, with a class 5 object, the absence of the object prefix can be seen from the fact that there is no non-automatic downstep. In the third example too, with a class 6 object, there is no object prefix.

(8.30) *Ikóǒbú* *ókán-á* *lǐ-yǔ* *ka-Zangíyá*  
 "Ikóǒbú" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:hear-FV<sup>P</sup> 5.voice GEN-"Zangíyá"  
 'Ikóǒbú heard the voice of Zangíyá.' (T2009.21)

(8.31) *i-ngbo* *ó-tíndik-o* *lǐ-tómbú* *ngángá* *yí-sáá* *na* *mú-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 [its] tail. (T2006.3)

(8.32) *a-bǎki* *mú-síká* *nǎ* *á-va* *ma-líí* *mó*  
 1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-girl 1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>-take:FV 6-food 6.DEM.I  
 'The father of this girl took this food.' (T2006.2)

### 8.2.6 Passive

Liko does not have passive morphology or syntax. There is no reflex of the reconstructed Proto-Bantu passive extension *\*-u-* or *\*-ibu-* (Stappers 1967). Passivization in the sense of promoting an object to subject and demoting the subject does not occur. Liko uses either an indefinite personal form, the third person plural subject prefix *bá-*, or a combination of the reflexive prefix *ǎ-* and the Causative extension *-is-* to express passive meaning. The first method is not

frequent and the second is rare. The language prefers active sentences. In sentences where the agent is present, an active construction must be used.

Examples of the use of an indefinite personal form are given first. In the one below, details are given about the way in which the body of a dead man is cooked:

- (8.33) ma-kóló kakí bámb-a na súyí  
 6-meat 3SG.POSS 3PL<sup>P</sup>:cook-FV with 9.seed  
 'His meat was prepared with condiment.' (T2006.2)

In a story where a man was put to the test to see if he could endure hunger:

- (8.34) á-syé mu-kaká, kání bá-ká-<sup>4</sup>pí-gu gutúgu  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-pass:FV 1.ADJ-alone when 3PL-NEG:1.O-give:FV.ANT-NEG even  
líbó lí-mwǒ áka  
 5:water 5.ADJ-drinking CT  
 'He passed [the night] alone, while they did not give him / he was not given EVEN DRINKING WATER.' (T2006.2)

In the following two examples, both an active and a passive interpretation are possible. At the end of a technical instruction about making body oil from palm-nut pits, the author adds:

- (8.35) mbiké yi ní-yó bó-kóng-og-o minó ndikó  
 9.pot 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>-roast-PLUR-FV TRACE 9.palm-nut pit  
 bó-mw-ág-a-tú minó líbó kyé o-lumb-is-og-o  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-drink-PLUR-FV-INS TRACE 5:water because 3SG-smell-CAUS-PLUR-FV  
 líbó lá-nza kúgbe  
 5:water 5.ASS-good very  
 '[From] that pot (exclusive) in which palm-nut pits were roasted,  
 they often drink water / often water is drunk, because because it will  
 cause the water to taste very good.' (T2006.6)

An indefinite personal form is often used when a name of a character in a story is given. In the following example, the full name of the man is Kíbigu Kádıgyá<sup>404</sup>.

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<sup>404</sup> The meaning of  $\emptyset$ -kíb-i-gu ká-dıgy-ǎ, 3SG-NEG:know-FV-NEG 9b-say-FV, is: 'he will not know [what] to say'.

- (8.36) ká ɓu-kúdí ɓá-kɔg-ɔ kúwǎ ndi ɓé Kíbi  
 PREP 14-shortness 3PL<sup>P</sup>-cut:PLUR-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> COMP "Kibi"  
 'For shortness, people cut it [short] to Kibi / it was cut [short] to Kibi.'  
 (T2006.1)

Examples of possible passive interpretation in relative clauses:

- (8.37)a. natókónyĩ ɓi níné ní-nǎ  
 1SG-find-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1a.aunt COP-1.DEM.I  
 ɓá-sukúŕ-íly-á ndúku ɓo-tú  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-wash-BEN-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>2</sub> 2+9-clothes  
 'I found the aunt for whom they washed clothes / for whom clothes  
 were washed.' (T2006.6)
- b. ǎ ndi ní-só  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>:be P<sub>3</sub> COP-19.DEM.I  
 ɓá-ltk-y-ag-ǎ ndi ɓé si-múí-sɔ sí-dingĩ  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-call-APPL-PLUR-FV P<sub>3</sub> COMP 19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big  
 'There was that one which they called / which was called big  
 circumcision.' (T2006.4)

The other strategy to express passive meaning is by indirect causation, a combination of the reflexive prefix and the Causative extension, e.g.:

- (8.38)a. ni-ɓún-ís-i  
 1SG:REFL-break-CAUS-FV.ANT  
 'I was broken.' (I let myself be broken)
- b. ta ká-i-tóng-ís-ó  
 1PL:be 9b-REFL-count-CAUS-FV  
 'We are counted.' (We let ourselves be counted)
- c. mamá a ká-ĩ-bum-ís-ó  
 1a.mother 3SG:be 9b-REFL-hit-CAUS-FV  
 'Mother is beaten.' (Mother let herself be beaten)

If the agent is human and expressed in the sentence, using the reflexive prefix in combination with the Causative extension is not possible. The sentence has to be rephrased in order to make the agent the syntactic subject:



- (8.39)a. \*mamá a ká-i-bum-ís-ó na a-lókú nǎ  
 1a.mother 3SG:be 9b-REFL-hit-CAUS-FV with 1b-man 1.DEM.I  
*Int.* 'Mother is beaten by that man.'
- b. a-lókú nǎ a ká-bum-á mamá  
 1b-man 1.DEM.I 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hit-FV 1a.mother  
 'That man is beating mother.'

In eliciting sentences using French passive voice with a human agent as input, Liko speakers consistently return to active sentences in which the agent is the syntactic subject. For example, in the question and answer *Par qui as-tu été enseigné aujourd'hui ?* 'By whom were you taught today?' and *J'ai été enseigné par la nouvelle enseignante* 'I was taught by the new teacher', only the translations given below are acceptable for the question and the answer:

- (8.40)a. waní nǎ u-wonís-íl-i na lt-syé ní-lt ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 3SG:2SG.O-teach-RES-FV.ANT with 5-day COP-5.DEM.II  
 'Who taught you today?'
- b. mu-wonisilí wa-mbɪya nǎ e-wonís-íl-i  
 1-teacher 1.ASS-new 1.DEM.I 3SG:1SG.O-teach-RES-FV.ANT  
 'The new teacher taught me.'

In translated biblical texts, the passive voice is always an active sentence in Liko if the agent is a person as in (8.41a) and nearly always if the agent is not a person as in (8.41b):

- (8.41)a. Kúnzi á-<sup>4</sup>tík-o-kú malaŋka Gabilieli  
 1a.God 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-send-FV-DIR 1a.angel "Gabilieli"  
 'God sent the angel Gabriel.' (*translated Luke 1:26*)
- b. lt-ḃése á-wany-a kúwǎ ndi tyí  
 5-fate 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-show-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> 1.PRO  
 'The lot pointed at him.' (*translated Luke 1:9*)

An example in which the agent is not a person and where the reflexive prefix combined with the Causative extension is used, is:

- (8.42) mu-kó ḃé-motí ní-nǎ míkakí mu-kó yí  
 1-woman 1.NUM-one COP-1.DEM.I 1a.child:3SG.POSS 1-woman 1.DEM.III

ǎ ndi ká-ǎ-gyogy-ís-ó na lu-lumbá  
 3SG-be P<sub>3</sub> 9b-REFL-suffer-CAUS-FV with 5-spell

'A woman whose daughter was suffering from a spell.' (*translated Mark 7:25*)

The agent is expressed following **na**.

### 8.2.7 Locatives

Locatives phrases are not part of the argument structure of Liko verbs. They are obligatorily preceded by a preposition, unless they are locative nouns.

Relativization or left-dislocation of prepositional phrases or class 17 locative nouns requires the trace particle, which distinguishes adjuncts from objects (see 8.4 and 8.6.3).

In (8.43), leaving out the preposition renders the sentence ungrammatical:

- (8.43)a. kasínzí ó-pup-ǎ ndi ká lu-ǎíso  
 1a.mouse 3SG<sup>P</sup>-come out-FV P<sub>3</sub> PREP 5-hole  
 'The mouse came out of the hole [in the ground].'
- b. \*kasínzí ó-pup-ǎ ndi lu-ǎíso  
 1a.mouse 3SG<sup>P</sup>-come out-FV P<sub>3</sub> 5-hole

Increasing the valency of the verb by means of the Applicative extension, as in (8.44b), does not make the preposition redundant nor licence the locative phrase:

- (8.44)a. mu-kó míkǎmí ó-pup-ǎ ndi ká ndáǎu  
 1-woman 1a.child:1SG.POSS 3SG<sup>P</sup>-come out-FV P<sub>3</sub> PREP 9.house  
 'My daughter-in-law came out of the house.'
- b. \*mu-kó míkǎmí ó-pup-y-ǎ ndi ndáǎu  
 1-woman 1a.child:1SG.POSS 3SG<sup>P</sup>-come out-APPL-FV P<sub>3</sub> 9.house

If **-pup-** 'come out' has the Applicative extension, the additional argument designates a reason, e.g.:

- (8.45) mu-kó míkǎmí ó-pup-y-ǎ ndi ká ndáǎu  
 1-woman 1a.child:1SG.POSS 3SG<sup>P</sup>-come out-APPL-FV P<sub>3</sub> PREP 9.house  
 ká-und-á ká li-bí kakí  
 9b-go-FV PREP 5-clan 3SG.POSS  
 'My daughter-in-law came out of the house to go to her family.'

In the following pair, the noun in the prepositional phrase becomes the patient of the verb with the Applicative extension:

- (8.46)a. 6a-mbáanzú 6i ní-6ó 6ó-sil-ǎ ndt ka-a-bulí  
 2-person 2.DEM.III COP-2.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>-arrive-FV P<sub>3</sub> GEN-1b-demon  
 'Those men arrived at [the place of] a demon.'
- b. 6a-mbáanzú 6i ní-6ó 6á-sil-y-ǎ ndt a-bulí  
 2-person 2.DEM.III COP-2.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-arrive- P<sub>3</sub> 1b-demon  
 APPL-FV  
 'Those men met a demon.'

## 8.3 Word order

### 8.3.1 Clause structure

The canonical word order in Liko is S V O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>2</sub> (X<sub>n</sub>), where "S" refers to the subject, "O<sub>1</sub>" to the first object, "O<sub>2</sub>" to the second object and "X" to adjuncts. First the order of the arguments S, O<sub>1</sub> and O<sub>2</sub> with respect to each other and the verb is described. S, O<sub>1</sub> and O<sub>2</sub> are full NPs or pronouns. Agreement prefixes for subjects and for class 1 or 2 first objects are obligatory, regardless of whether S and O<sub>1</sub> are full NPs or not.

The clause in (8.47a) shows that a full subject NP can be left out, but not the subject prefix on the verb, as in (8.47b):

- (8.47)a. o-gbit-í 6i 6u-síyo ní-6ó  
 3SG-fell-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 14-tree COP-14.DEM.I  
 'He felled this tree.'
- b. \*Makánzyálá gbit-í 6i 6u-síyo ní-6ó  
 "Makánzyálá" fell-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 14-tree COP-14.DEM.I  
*Int.* 'Makanzyala felled this tree.'

This is also the case with respect to objects. The clause in (8.48a) shows that a full object NP can be left out, but not the object prefix on the verb, which agrees with the first object if it belongs to classes 1 or 2, as in (8.48b):

- (8.48)a. a ká-ǎ-kpumy-ó kó tutú  
 3SG:be 9b-2.O-hunt-FV PREP 9.forest  
 'He is hunting them in the forest.'

- b. \*a kó-kpummy-ó 6a-nyamá kó tutú  
 3SG:be 9b-hunt-FV 2-animal PREP 9.forest  
*Int.* 'He is hunting animals in the forest.'

An object preceding the subject or the verb is rare. The only case found in the ten texts in Appendix 1 is:

- (8.49) mu-kúmbó kakú, wā-maky-a ká ndábu kakú  
 1-luggage 2SG.POSS 2SG:1.O-put in-FV PREP 9.house 2SG.POSS  
 'Your belongings, you will store in your house.' (T2006.8)

In this text, the object NP is the topic of the clause and it is followed by a short pause. Preposing like this is analysed as an external topic (see 8.6.4).

If both subject and object have the same person and number features, the subject and object prefixes do not identify their syntactic function and semantic role. In these cases of unresolved ambiguity, speakers of the language fall back on the canonical SVO word order to disambiguate the meaning of the sentence. If a clause contains more than one object, the order of the objects is determined by the valency of the verb. With three-place verbs, the object with the beneficiary role occurs as the first object. It is followed by the patient or goal. When a semantic role is introduced in the valency of a two-place verb, the object with the new semantic role obligatorily is the first object.

Time adverbials follow the verb form and occur preceding the first object. In (8.50a), **nzúyɪ** follows the verb and the time adverbial <sup>H</sup>**ndɪ**. (8.50b) is ungrammatical, because the object precedes the time adverbial:

- (8.50)a. 6a-ttɛ́ b́i-tikil-og-ǎ ndɪ nzúyɪ na mo-lingó mó-pi  
 2-old person 3PL<sup>P</sup>:REFL-rub- P<sub>3</sub> 9.body with 6-oil 6.ASS-black  
 PLUR-FV  
 'The forefathers used to rub their bodies in with black oil.' (T2006.6)
- b. \*6a-ttɛ́ b́i-tikil-og-ǎ nzúyɪ ndɪ na mo-lingó mó-pi  
 2-old person 3PL<sup>P</sup>:REFL-rub- 9.body P<sub>3</sub> with 6-oil 6.ASS-black  
 PLUR-FV

The object prefix in the verb form agrees with the first object if the object belongs to classes 1 or 2. Object agreement does not allow a first object to follow another object in the clause:

(8.51)a. mu-tiky-íly-ó      míkí    mu-pumí  
 1.O-close-BEN-FV.IMP 1-child 3-door  
 'Close the door for the child!'

b. \*mu-tiky-íly-ó      mu-pumí    míkí  
 1.O-close-BEN-FV.IMP 3-door 1-child

In (a), the first object with beneficiary role, **míkí**, is the first object following the verb with the Benefactive extension. Although **míkí** is referenced by the class 1 object prefix **mu**<sup>405</sup>, inversion of the two objects as in (b) is ungrammatical. The object **mupumí** of the basic transitive verb is not allowed to occur as the first object when the verb has the Benefactive extension.

In (8.52a), **ḡanyamá** is the first object following the basic transitive verb. In (8.52b), where the verb has the Benefactive extension, the beneficiary, **bugwákti**, is the first object. The object prefix agrees with the first object. (8.52c) is ungrammatical, because the new argument of the Benefactive extension is not the first object.

(8.52)a. Tapanóḡi a      ká-ũ-kpomy-ó ḡa-nyamá  
 Tapanoḡi 3SG:be 9b-2.O-hunt-FV 2-animal  
 'Tapanoḡi is hunting animals.'

b. Tapanóḡi a      ká-kpomyíly-ó    bugwákti      ḡa-nyamá  
 Tapanoḡi 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt:BEN-FV 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS 2-animal  
 'Tapanoḡi is hunting animals for his uncle.'

c. \*Tapanóḡi a      ká-kpomyíly-ó    ḡa-nyamá    bugwákti  
 Tapanoḡi 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt:BEN-FV 2-animal 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS  
*Int.* 'Tapanoḡi is hunting animals for his uncle.'

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<sup>405</sup> The class 1 object prefix in Imperative forms.

Adjuncts follow objects the canonical word order, as stated at the beginning of this section. Nouns functioning as adjuncts are usually preceded by a preposition. Class 17 locative nouns occur as adjuncts without a preposition.

It is ungrammatical to have an adjunct between the verb and an object. **ká nzúyɪ** 'on the body' has to follow the object:

(8.53)a. mo-lingó mó-pi a-mwóg-ɔ pándá ká nzúyɪ  
 6-oil 6.ASS-black 3SG/PL-kill:PLUR-FV 9.scabies PREP 9.body  
 'Black oil will kill scabies on the body.'

b. \*mo-lingó mó-pi a-mwóg-ɔ ká nzúyɪ pándá  
 6-oil 6.ASS-black 3SG/PL-kill:PLUR-FV PREP 9.body 9.scabies

(8.54)a. Tapanóbi a ká-ǔ-kpumy-ó ɓa-nyamá kó tutú  
 "Tapanoɓi" 3SG:be 9b-2.O-hunt-FV 2-animal PREP 9.forest  
 'Tapanoɓi is hunting animals in the forest.'

b. Tapanóbi a ká-kpumy-íly-ó bugwáki ɓa-nyamá kó tutú  
 "Tapanoɓi" 3SG: 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN- 1a.uncle: 2-animal PREP 9.forest  
 be FV 3SG.POSS  
 'Tapanoɓi is hunting animals in the forest for his uncle.'

c. \*Tapanóbi a ká-kpumy-íly-ó bugwáki kó tutú ɓa-nyamá  
 "Tapanoɓi" 3SG: 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN- 1a.uncle: PREP 9.forest 2-animal  
 be FV 3SG.POSS

(c) is ungrammatical because an adjunct, in this case **kó tutú** 'in the forest', cannot occur between two objects.

(8.55)a. Makánzyálá<sup>406</sup> o-gbit-í ɓi ɓu-síyo ní-ɓó  
 "Makánzyálá" 3SG-fell-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 14-tree COP-14.DEM.I  
 'Makanzyala felled this tree.'

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<sup>406</sup> Makánzyálá is a name for a boy who is born after his mother has given birth to twins. Another name for a boy born after twins is Nébésé. When a girl is born after twins, she will be called Bókótógi or Ingulí. Common names for twins are Nángáa, Sengí (for boys) and Nató, Ídeyí (for girls). In the case of triplets, the third child is given one of the names just mentioned for a child who is born after twins. In Liko, the word for 'a twin' is cl. 1 **mu-ɓígi** and the word for 'a child born after twins' is cl. 1 **mu-koɓó**.

- b. Makánzyálá o-gbit-í ði ðu-síyo ní-ðó kú-syáku  
 "Makánzyálá" 3SG-fell-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 14-tree COP-14.DEM.I 17-side across  
 a river  
 'Makanzyala cut this tree across the river.'
- c. Makánzyálá o-gbit-í ði ðu-síyo ní-ðó  
 "Makánzyálá" 3SG-fell-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 14-tree COP-14.DEM.I  
 kú-syáku í<sup>4</sup>syéyikūði na ðu-gogð na gbóní kakí  
 17-side across a river yesterday with 14-sunset with 9.axe 3SG.POSS  
 'Makanzyala felled this tree across the river yesterday evening with his  
 axe.'

The order of adjuncts is variable, as the following examples show. (8.56b - g) are acceptable ways to continue the clause started in (8.56a):

- (8.56)a. Tapanóði a ká-ũ-kpomy-ó ða-nyamá  
 Tapanoði 3SG:be 9b-2.O-hunt-FV 2-animal  
 'Tapanoði is hunting animals ...'
- b. kó tutú ká ðu-sóði ðá-ðe na ðe-nvá ðá-ðă  
 PREP 9.forest PREP 14-sunrise 14.ASS-cold with 2:1c-dog 2.NUM-two  
 ... in the forest at daybreak with two dogs.'
- c. kó tutú na ðe-nvá ðá-ðă ká ðu-sóði ðá-ðe  
 PREP 9.forest with 2:1c-dog 2.NUM-two PREP 14-sunrise 14.ASS-cold  
 ... in the forest with two dogs at daybreak.'
- d. ká ðu-sóði ðá-ðe kó tutú na ðenvá ðá-ðă
- e. ká ðu-sóði ðá-ðe na ðenvá ðá-ðă kó tutú
- f. na ðenvá ðá-ðă kó tutú ká ðu-sóði ðá-ðe
- g. na ðenvá ðá-ðă ká ðu-sóði ðá-ðe kó tutú

The preferred orders are location, time and manner as in (b), or location, manner and time as in (c).

Adjuncts which express manner or instruments generally occur at the end of the clause. The following sentence exemplifies an instrument adjunct:

- (8.57) Makánzyálá o-gbit-í ðu-síyo kú-syáku  
 "Makánzyálá" 3SG-fell-FV.ANT 14-tree 17-side across a river  
 na gbóní kakí yá-mbɪya  
 with 9.axe 3SG.POSS 9.ASS-new  
 'Makanzyala felled this tree with his new axe across the river.'

Clauses with instrument adjuncts occurring before other adjuncts are judged not well-formed. In particular when instrument adjuncts are longer phrases, the clauses are deemed hardly acceptable, as in:

- (8.58) ??Makánzyálá o-gbit-í bi bu-síyo ní-bó  
 "Makánzyálá" 3SG-fell-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 14-tree COP-14.DEM.I  
 na gbóní kakí yá-mbɔya kú-syáku í'syéyikúfi  
 with 9.axe 3SG.POSS 9.ASS-new 17-side across a river yesterday  
 'Makanzyala felled this tree with his new axe across the river yesterday.'

When asked to split clauses with three adjuncts as in (8.59a) in two, the Liko consultants prefer to put the instrument adjunct in a separate clause (8.59b, c).

- (8.59)a. Tapanóbi a ká-kpumy-íly-ó bugwákti ba-nyamá  
 "Tapanóbi" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN-FV 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS 2-animal  
 kó tutú ká ɓu-sóɓi bá-de na ɓɛ-nvá bá-ɓǎ  
 PREP 9.forest PREP 14-sunrise 14.ASS-cold with 2:1c-dog 2.NUM-two  
 'Tapanóbi is hunting animals for his uncle in the forest at daybreak with two dogs.'
- b. Tapanóbi a na ɓɛ-nvá bá-ɓǎ.  
 "Tapanóbi" 3SG:be with 2:1c-dog 2.NUM-two  
 A ká-kpumy-íly-ó bugwákti ba-nyamá  
 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN-FV 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS 2-animal  
 kó tutú ká ɓu-sóɓi bá-de.  
 PREP 9.forest PREP 14-sunrise 14.ASS-cold  
 'Tapanóbi has two dogs. He is hunting animals for his uncle in the forest at daybreak.'
- c. Tapanóbi a ká-kpumy-íly-ó bugwákti ba-nyamá  
 "Tapanóbi" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN-FV 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS 2-animal  
 kó tutú ká ɓu-sóɓi bá-de.  
 PREP 9.forest PREP 14-sunrise 14.ASS-cold  
 A na ɓɛ-nvá bá-ɓǎ.  
 3SG:be with 2:1c-dog 2.NUM-two  
 'Tapanóbi is hunting animals for his uncle in the forest at daybreak. He has two dogs.'



## 8.3.2 Non-verbal clauses

Simple clauses without finite verbs are used mainly for descriptive purposes. Non-verbal clauses are also attested for direct speech, questions and the introduction of proper names.

A verb may be absent when some characteristic of the subject is expressed by a property denoting predicate:

- (8.60) mu-lúkú mazyazyá ká lɪ-mbɛngí bí-kpí  
 1-man 9.joy PREP 5-heart MOD-full  
 'The man [was] happy to the heart full.', i.e. overjoyed (*T2006.1*)

- (8.61) tíko bí-beḏe-beḏe na ma-lílí  
 9.field MOD-full up to the brim with 6-food  
 'The field [was] completely full with food.' (*T2006.3*)

- (8.62) bé kyé í-kwĩ yɪ-ná, ba-mbánzú bí-kókóló-kokolo  
 in order that 9a-looking 9.DEM.II-CONN 2-person MOD-stiff  
 'By looking, people [had become] stiff.' (*T2006.1*)

- (8.63) bú-galóbi, mú-nzonzó ma-ndă  
 14-the day after tomorrow 3-long rain 6.ASS-long  
 'The next day, [there was] a long rain.' (*T2006.1*)

Property denoting predicates can be preceded by a suppletive form of the verb 'to be' (see 7.13). Examples include:

- (8.64)a. pété a yó-wililí  
 9.ring 3SG:be 9.ASS-round  
 'The ring is round.'
- b. lɪ-gugú a lá-nza  
 5-reed 3SG:be 5.ASS-good  
 'It is a nice reed.'
- c. ba-né-kókó bá bá-pǔpu  
 2-na:1-instrument 3PL:be 2.ASS-hard  
 'Nekokos (musical instruments) are very hard (sound).'

- d. li-gubó lá-saḃüni a lá-pǔpu kúgbe  
 5-work 5.ASS-1a.soap bar 3SG:be 5.ASS-hard very  
 'The work (making) of a soap bar is very difficult.' (T2006.5)

In comparisons involving **ábe** 'like', the finite form of a verb may be left out. In (8.65a), a suppletive form of the verb 'to be' is present; in (8.65b), it is not:

- (8.65)a. míkí mu-kó yĩ a ábe síbá  
 1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III 3SG:be like 9.ivory  
 'A girl is like ivory.' (T2006.9)
- b. míkí mu-kó yĩ ábe pápá yá-li-kíngo.  
 1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III like 9.calabash 9.ASS-5-raffia.  
 'The girl [is] like raffia calabash.', i.e. with a very soft skin (T2006.2)

In non-verbal clauses, the descriptive element can be an ideophone which expresses the action involved, as in:

- (8.66) kánga bí-wééé  
 1a.guinea-fowl MOD-"wééé"  
 'The guinea-fowl "wééé".', i.e. raised itself
- (8.67) líso bí-nzééé bí-ke ká mu-lígi  
 5:eye MOD-"nzééé" MOD-"ke" PREP 3- vine  
 'The eye "nzééé" "ke" against a vine.', i.e. it fell and broke against a vine
- (8.68) sukopí míso bí-nganganga  
 1a.leopard 6:eye MOD-stare wide-eyed  
 'Leopard [looked] eyes wide open.' (T2006.3)

In equative sentences, the invariable copula **ni** links the two elements. If two noun phrases have the same referent, whether they are singular or plural, animate or inanimate, they are connected by **ni** 'COP'. For example:

- (8.69)a. lu-gugú ni lu-tónító  
 5-reed COP 5-weed  
 'A reed is a weed.'
- b. ba-né-kókó ni be-sú boyó-dumó  
 2-na:1-instrument COP 2+9:9a-instrument 2+9.ASS-9.dance  
 'Nekokos are instruments to accompany a dance.'

- c. mu-kó ka-ttḗ nu titósú  
 1-woman GEN-1a.old person COP 1a.old person:1PL.POSS  
 'The wife of our grandfather is our grandmother.'

In the case of negation, the third person singular negative form of **-ik-** 'be', **kégu**, follows **m**.

The main clause preceding direct speech or an indirect order using a Subjunctive is usually non-verbal. These clauses are characterized by **na** 'with', which precedes the interlocutor and the complementizer **ḃé** (**ḃé** occurs at the end of the clause and is followed by a pause):

- (8.70) ɥí áka na ngámá ka-ḃo-nzikaḃú ḃé:  
 1.PRO only with 1a.chief GEN-2-man without mercy COMP  
 ngámá, na kápă ku-kwá-ku  
 1a.chief 1SG:be 9b-want:FV 15-death-15  
 'He [said] to the chief of the robbers: "Chief, I am longing to die." '  
 (T2009.21)

- (8.71) Ká Ngasá áka na ɥí ḃé: wɪnd-á ká ɪ-kḃ  
 "Ka Ngasa" only with 1.PRO COMP 2SG:go-FV.IMP PREP 5-spring  
 'Ka Ngasa [said] to him: "Go to a spring." ' (T2006.1)

- (8.72) á kúwă ndɪ ɪ-syé lí-motí, síbǐ ḃá-dw-an-an-a  
 3SG:be thus P<sub>3</sub> 5-day 5.NUM-one 1a.tortoise 3PL<sup>p</sup>-offend-ASS-ASS-FV  
 na mbungú, ɥí áka na ɥí ḃé:  
 with 1a.elephant 1.PRO only with 1.PRO COMP  
 yě mbungú, wa-kem-in-o-ní <sup>4</sup>tó-gu ḃu-kédḗ  
 excuse me! 1a.elephant 2SG-NEG:1SG.O-see-FV-NEGSUBJ INS-NEG 14-small  
 'One day, tortoise quarrelled with elephant, he [said] to him: Excuse me!  
 Elephant, do not see me [as someone who is] small.' (T2007.14)

In the examples above, **áka** does not indicate contrast (see 8.6.2 for contrast). In these constructions, it concerns the adverbial **áka** 'only', which optionally follows the speaker and can be left out, as in:

- (8.73) sukopí no gbukó 6é índ-í ká-kís-á bǔbunzá  
 1a.leopard and 1a.rat COMP 3SG:go-FV.SUBJ 9b-search-FV 9.rotten  
 mushroom  
 'Leopard [said] to rat that he should go to find rotten mushrooms.'  
 (T2006.3)

A non-verbal clause can be used in questions that ask for a description of something or a situation:

- (8.74) ɪ-kí píyε ?  
 9a-what thus  
 'What thus [is]?', i.e. what happened? (T2006.1)
- (8.75) í-pígo yá-nyamá tino sě mu ?  
 9a-species 9.ASS-1a.animal which thus 1.DEM.II  
 'What kind of animal [is] this?' (T2006.1)

When a participant is introduced in a story, Liko has two common ways to present his or her name. The first one has a suppletive form of the verb 'to be', the word for 'name' and the complementizer **6é**:

- (8.76) mbóku ǎ ndi líno 6é Budumó  
 1a.adult 3SG:be P<sub>3</sub> 5:name COMP "Budumo"  
 'The adult man was called Budumo.' (T2007.6)

A shorter way to introduce a participant is by putting **ina 6é** '5.name COMP' preceding the proper name. In a context which is situated in the past, a Past time adverbial is added between **ina** and **6é**: **iná ndi 6é** '5.name P<sub>3</sub> COMP':

- (8.77) ká mu-sengí ka-Bavakwókwo,  
 PREP 3-village GEN-people of "Kwokwo"  
 ǎ ndi mu-lílká 6é-motí iná ndi 6é Kíbigu Kátgyá  
 3SG:be P<sub>3</sub> 1-trapper 1.NUM-one 5:name P<sub>3</sub> COMP "Kibigu Kadtgya"  
 'In the village of Bavakwokwo was a trapper called Kibigu Kadtgya.'  
 (T2006.1)

## 8.4 Relative clauses

In this section, headed relative clauses are described first, followed by headless relative clauses. Headed relative clauses modify a noun, the nominal head. They regularly occur at the end of the noun phrase following other elements. Relative clauses are linked to the head noun by means of the copula and a demonstrative. The demonstrative agrees with the head noun (see 6.1.2). Arguments and adjuncts can be relativized, but relativization of adjuncts requires the presence of the trace particle **minó**. There is no relative marker in the verb morphology.

### a. Headed relative clauses - Arguments

To start with, relativized subjects are presented. The connection between the nominal head and the relative clause consists of the copula and a type I demonstrative:

- (8.78)a. *mú-stká ní-nǒ ó-bín-ǎ ndt*  
 1-girl COP-1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>-dance-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'The girl who danced ...'
- b. *mú-tú wa-st ní-nǒ ám-in-ǎ ndt*  
 1-man 1.ASS-all COP-1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-see-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'Every man who saw him ...'

- (8.79) *nam-ín-ǐ bi mú-stká*  
 1SG:1.O-see-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1-girl  
*ní-nǒ a-sukús-íly-ǐ bi níné 6o-tú*  
 COP-1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-wash-BEN-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1a.aunt 10-clothes  
 'I saw the girl who washed clothes for my aunt.'

The combination of the copula and a demonstrative is also used as a demonstrative, without introducing a relative clause. The other interpretation of (8.78a) is 'That girl danced.' Similarly, when a type III demonstrative, indicating the exclusiveness of the referent, is followed by the copula and a type I demonstrative, both interpretations are possible:

- (8.80) *mú-stká yǐ ní-nǒ ó-bín-ǎ ndt*  
 1-girl 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>-dance-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'That girl (exclusive) danced.' / 'That girl (exclusive) who danced ...'

Examples of relative clauses in which an object is relativized are given next. The following two simple clauses are used:

(8.81)a. *na-mwí nyamá*  
 1SG:1.O-kill:FV.ANT 1a.animal  
 'I killed an animal.'

b. *a ká-<sup>1</sup>ly-á nyamá*  
 3SG:be 9b:1.O-eat-FV 1a.animal  
 'He is eating an animal.'

(8.82)a. *a ká-<sup>1</sup>ly-á nyamá ní-nǒ nã-mwí*  
 3SG:be 9b:1.O-eat-FV 1a.animal COP-1.DEM.I 1SG:1.O-kill:FV.ANT  
 'He is eating the animal that I killed.'

b. *a ká-<sup>1</sup>ly-á nyamá yĩ ní-nǒ nã-mwí*  
 3SG:be 9b:1.O- 1a.animal 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I 1SG:1.O-  
 eat-FV kill:FV.ANT  
 'He is eating this animal (exclusive) which I killed.'

Both in (a) and in (b), the only interpretation possible is the one with a relative clause.

The following example shows that the demonstrative following the copula agrees with its antecedent (the demonstrative has class 5 concord):

(8.83) *ngámá and-ag-a-tú góní líbó*  
 1a.chief 3SG:look-PLUR-FV-INS also 5:water  
*ní-ló ɓa-tú kakí ɓó-mw-óg-o*  
 COP-5.DEM.I 2-man 3SG.POSS 3PL-drink-PLUR-FV  
 'A chief also keeps an eye on the water that his people drink.' (*T2006.7*)

The demonstrative may be repeated to mark the end of the relative clause. For example:

(8.84)a. *a ká-<sup>1</sup>ly-á nyamá ní-nǒ nã-mwí nǒ*  
 3SG:be 9b:1.O-eat-FV 1a.animal COP-1.DEM.I 1SG:1.O-kill: 1.DEM.I  
 FV.ANT

'He is eating the animal that I killed.'

b. *ttákt a ká-tɛ-á ma-lílí mi*  
 1a:old person:her 3SG:be 9b-see-FV 6-food 6.DEM.III

ní-mó      mu-kó      míkakí      á-<sup>4</sup>pá      ndu mo  
 COP-6.DEM.I 1-woman 1:child:her 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-give:FV P<sub>3</sub> 6.DEM.I  
 'Grandmother is seeing this food (exclusive) which the wife of her son  
 gave her.' (T2007.5)

Repeating the demonstrative is common in relative clauses, e.g.:

(8.85) Súza a ká-<sup>4</sup>kís-íly-á nínáki  
 "Súza" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV 1a.aunt:3SG.POSS  
 ní-nǎ wóko yí nǎ ndábu yá-gogo  
 COP-1.DEM.I 1a.widow 1.DEM.III 1.DEM.I 9.house 9.ASS-other  
 'Suza is looking for another house for her aunt, who is a widow.'

Liko has three types of demonstratives, referential type I, proximal type II and a type III which indicates the exclusiveness of the referent (see 6.1.2). Relativized objects can use a type I demonstrative, or a type II demonstrative combined with the copula. The type II demonstrative must be repeated at the end of the relative clause.

(8.86)a. a ká-<sup>4</sup>ly-á nyamá ní-mu(-ná) nǎ-mwí \*(mu)  
 3SG:be 9b:1.O-eat-FV 1a.animal COP-1.DEM.II-CONN 1SG:1.O- 1.DEM.II  
 kill:FV.ANT  
 'He is eating this animal which I killed'

b. a ká-<sup>4</sup>ly-á nyamá yí ní-mu(-ná) nǎ-mwí \*(mu)  
 3SG:be 9b:1.O- 1a.animal 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.II- 1SG:1.O- 1.DEM.II  
 eat-FV CONN kill:FV.ANT  
 'He is eating this animal (exclusive) which I killed.'

The copula and the type II demonstrative are optionally followed by the connecting clitic **-ná**.

A type II demonstrative cannot be used in a relative clause in which the subject is relativized. In (8.87b, c), an interpretation including a relative clause is unacceptable:

(8.87)a. mu-stká mu ó-bín-ǎ ndu  
 1-girl 1.DEM.II 3SG<sup>P</sup>-dance-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'This girl danced.'

- b.        *mu-suká ní-mu(-ná) ó-bín-ă ndi*  
 1-girl COP-1.DEM.II-CONN 3SG<sup>P</sup>-dance-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'This girl danced.' / \*'The girl who danced ...'
- c.        *mu-suká yĩ ní-mu(-ná) ó-bín-ă ndi*  
 1-girl 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.II-CONN 3SG<sup>P</sup>-dance-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'This girl (exclusive) danced.' / \*'This girl (exclusive) who danced ...'

Relativization of objects is not restricted to objects with the semantic role of patient. Objects with beneficiary role can be relativized as well, as exemplified by the following examples, where a subject is relativized in (8.88a), an object with patient role in (8.88b) and an object with beneficiary role in (8.88c):

- (8.88)a. *nam-ín-ĩ bi míkí mu-kó yi*  
 1SG:1.O-see-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III  
*ní-nă a-sukus-ily-ĩ bi níné 6o-tú*  
 COP-1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-wash-BEN-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1a.aunt 2+9-clothes  
 'I saw the girl<sup>407</sup> who washed clothes for my aunt.'
- b.        *no-đúkuf-óg-ĩ bi 6o-tú*  
 1SG-fold-PLUR-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 2+9-clothes  
*ní-6ayó míkí mu-kó yi a-sukus-ily-ĩ bi níné*  
 COP-2+9.DEM.I 1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III 3SG:1.O-wash- P<sub>1</sub> 1a.aunt  
 BEN-FV.ANT  
 'I folded the clothes that the girl washed for my aunt.'
- c.        *nam-ín-ĩ bi 6a-níné*  
 1SG:1.O-see-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 2-aunt  
*ní-6ó míkí mu-kó yi ũ-sukus-ily-ĩ bi 6o-tú*  
 COP-2.DEM.I 1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III 3SG:2.O-wash- P<sub>1</sub> 2+9-  
 BEN-FV.ANT clothes  
 'I saw the aunts for whom the girl washed clothes.'

In (b), the second object is relativized. This example shows that relativization of second objects does not require the presence of *minó* preceding the first object, as is the case with adjuncts.

<sup>407</sup> The type III demonstrative does not carry the sense of exclusiveness in the standard expression *míkí mukó yi* 'female child', i.e. a girl.



### b. Headed relative clauses - Adjuncts

Relative clauses in which adjuncts are relativized, obligatorily have a particle preceding the first object: **minó**, glossed as 'TRACE'.<sup>408</sup> Adjuncts follow objects in the clause structure. **minó** is a trace particle which occurs between the verb and the first object if an adjunct is represented by a demonstrative in the initial position of a relative clause, or if an adjunct has been left-dislocated.<sup>409</sup>

The relative clause in (8.90) is based on the following clause in which the object precedes the locative adjunct:

- (8.89) *ḃú-kəg-ḃ ndu ḃo-míkí ḃú-dingĩ ká mu-gĩ*  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O-cut:PLUR-FV P<sub>3</sub> 2-child 2.ADJ-big PREP 3-village  
 'They circumcised many children in the village.'

Relativization of **ká mugĩ** yields the following structure:

- (8.90) *mu-gi<sup>410</sup> ní-mḃ ḃú-kəg-ḃ ndu minó ḃo-míkí ḃú-dingĩ*  
 3-village COP-3.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O- P<sub>3</sub> TRACE 2-child 2.ADJ-big  
 cut:PLUR-FV  
 'The village where they circumcised many children ...'

The trace particle **minó** is obligatory and precedes any object when an adjunct is relativized. Without **minó** (8.91a) or with **minó** in the canonical position of the adjunct (8.91b), the relative clause is ungrammatical.

- (8.91)a. \**mu-gi ní-mḃ ḃú-kəg-ḃ ndu ḃo-míkí ḃú-dingĩ*  
 3-village COP-3.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O-cut:PLUR-FV P<sub>3</sub> 2-child 2.ADJ-big

<sup>408</sup> The language has another word **minó** 'there', which occurs in adjunct position.

<sup>409</sup> A Bantu language for which a two-step procedure is proposed is Kinyarwanda. Kinyarwanda has two strategies of subjectivization: a) shifting the locative expression as a whole to subject position; b) a two-step process involving first objectivization, then subjectivization of the locative expression (the locative complement is cross-referenced by the locative clitic and moves to immediate postverbal position, thus preceding the original direct object) (Bearth 2003:137).

<sup>410</sup> The H tone of the LH contour on **mugĩ** merges with the following High.

- b. \*mu-gi ní-mó bú-kɔg-ǝ ndɪ ɓo-míkí bú-dingĩ minó  
 3-village COP-3.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O- P<sub>3</sub> 2-child 2.ADJ-big TRACE  
 cut:PLUR-FV

*Int.* 'The village where they circumcised many children ...'

In case there are two objects, **minó** precedes the first object:

- (8.92) nig-ĩ bi ká mu-gĩ  
 1SG-return-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> PREP 3-village  
 ní-mó míkí a-sukus-ily-ĩ bi minó níné ɓo-tú  
 COP-6.DEM.I 1a.child 3SG:1.O-wash- P<sub>1</sub> TRACE 1a.aunt 2+9-clothes  
 BEN-FV.ANT

'I returned to the village where the child washed clothes for my aunt.'

The presence of **minó** preceding the first object does not affect object agreement between the first object and the object prefix in the verb morphology. In (8.90), the first object is **ɓo-míkí** and the agreeing class 2 object prefix is **ǝ-**. Object agreement involves the first object, whether or not **minó** intervenes between the verb and the object.

Agreement between the object prefix and the first object in cases in which **minó** intervenes is further exemplified by the next clause, where **dinga** 'period' is relativized:

- (8.93) dinga ní-nǝ tu-bíky-i minó ɓa-mbáanzú  
 1a.period COP-1.DEM.I 1PL:2.O-say-FV.ANT TRACE 2-person

'The period in which we tell people [something] ...' (*T2006.7*)

The class 2 object prefix **ǝ-** agrees with **ɓambáanzú**.

It was illustrated above that relativized objects can have both a type I and a type II demonstrative in the initial position of the relative clause, whereas relativized subjects only have type I demonstratives. For adjuncts, a type II demonstrative following the copula and functioning as a relative pronoun is equally acceptable as a type I demonstrative, compare (8.90) and (8.94):

- (8.94) mu-gi ní-ma(-ná) bú-kɔg-ǝ ndɪ minó ɓo-míkí bú-dingĩ  
 3-village COP-3.DEM.II-CONN 3PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O- P<sub>3</sub> TRACE 2-child 2.ADJ-big  
 cut:PLUR-FV

'This village where they circumcised many children ...'

Some additional examples are given of locative and temporal adjuncts. In all cases in which an adjunct is relativized, **minó** is obligatory.

- (8.95) *bágǎ ndi na Ikóbu ká ngúpá*  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:go:FV P<sub>3</sub> with "Ikóbu" PREP 9.hill  
*ní-yó bú-mwóg-ǔ ndi minó 6a-mbánzú*  
 COP-9.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O-kill:PLUR-FV P<sub>3</sub> TRACE 2-person  
 'They went with Ikóbu to the hill where they used to kill people.'  
 (T2009.21)

The antecedent of the relativized locative adjunct is **ngúpá**.

- (8.96) *mbiké yi ní-yó bó-kóng-og-o minó ndikó*  
 9.pot 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>-roast-PLUR-FV TRACE 9.palm-nut pit  
 'That pot (exclusive) in which they roasted palm nuts ...' (T2006.6)

The antecedent of the relativized locative adjunct is **mbiké**.

- (8.97) *os-í bi gíta kakí kó tíko*  
 3SG:leave-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 9.hoe 3SG.POSS PREP 9.field  
*ní-yó o-kún-ĩ bi minó ma-láki yo*  
 COP-9.DEM.I 3SG-plant-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> TRACE 6-bean 9.DEM.I  
 'He has left his hoe at the field where he planted beans.'

The antecedent of the relativized locative adjunct is **tíko**.

- (8.98) *ngbínogó yi ní-nǔ wút-a minó mu-lúkú mu-dingĩ*  
 1a.time 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I 2SG:change- TRACE 1-man 1.ADJ-big  
 FV  
 'At the time when you become an adult ...' (T2006.8)

The antecedent of the relativized temporal adjunct is **ngbínogó**.

- (8.99) *mbóku-mbóku a-bum-í bi míkámú lu-syé*  
 1a.old man 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1a.child:3SG.POSS 5-day  
*ní-ló o-duk-ós-ĩ bi minó mbuké ló*  
 COP-5.DEM.I 3SG-pour out-CAUS-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> TRACE 9.clay pot 5.DEM.I  
 'The old man hit my child the day on which he (i.e. the child)  
 knocked over a pot.'

The antecedent of the relativized temporal adjunct is **lusyé**.

### c. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative constructions are attested with most noun classes. The antecedent of headless relative clauses is usually given by the context, but may be absent altogether. In the headless relative constructions found in my data, it is always an argument which is relativized. Examples of headless relative clauses are:

- (8.100)a. ní-nǎ      ǎ      ndɪ mbókú      yí      á-bíky-a      b́é:  
 COP-1.DEM.I    3SG:be    P<sub>3</sub>    1a.old man    1.DEM.III    3SG<sup>P</sup>-say-FV    COMP  
 'The one who was this old man (exclusive) said: ...' (T2007.1)
- b.      nélungyá      áka      b́é:      tund-á-nǎ      ásɪ      ma-bókú      aká,  
 1a.chameleon    only    COMP    1PL:go-FV.IMP-SUPP    only    6-hand    CT  
 ní-nǎ      ík-o      ma-bókú      b́í-pí      íba  
 COP-1.DEM.I    3SG<sup>P</sup>:sit-FV    6-hand      MOD-black    it means that  
 iyí      nǎ      o-sumb-í  
 1.PRO    1.DEM.I    3SG-burn-FV.ANT  
 'Chameleon said: "We show JUST THE HANDS, the one who sat [with] black hands, he burned [in the context: down the field]." ' (T2009.15)

- (8.101) ní-bó      bá      na      mu-kúmbogĩ      b́ó-dog-o-kú-tǎ      ndɪ      gɔní  
 COP-2.DEM.I    3PL:be    with    3-load      3PL<sup>P</sup>-come:PLUR-    P<sub>3</sub>    also  
 FV-DIR-INS

'The ones who had loads came too.'

- (8.102) ní-ló      ná-gy-ǎ      ndɪ      ló,      ǎ      ndɪ      lá-nye ?  
 COP-5.DEM.I    1SG<sup>P</sup>-do-FV    P<sub>3</sub>    5.DEM.I    3SG:be    P<sub>3</sub>    5.ASS-bad  
 'The thing that I did, was bad?' (translated 2 Corinthians 11:7)

- (8.103) ní-mó      á-bák-ǎ      ndɪ      b́í-gala-gala      kyé      lu-tómbú  
 COP-6.DEM.I    3SG/PL<sup>P</sup>-grow-FV    P<sub>3</sub>    MOD-fast      because    5-soil  
 ø-ké-gũ      ndɪ      lá-kpu      wá  
 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG    P<sub>3</sub>    5.ASS-big    there  
 'The ones that grew fast because the soil there was not deep.' (translated Mark 4:5)

## 8.5 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences occur without and with a question word. All interrogative sentences are marked by raised pitch over the last one or two syllables of the utterance.

Yes/no questions have the same structure as non-interrogative sentences:

- (8.104)a. wɪnd-a    ɡɔní ká    sókɔ  
                   2SG:go-FV also    PREP 9.market  
                   'You (sg) will also go to the market.'
- b.            wɪnd-a    ɡɔní ká    sókɔ ?  
                   2SG:go-FV also    PREP 9.market  
                   'Will you (sg) also go to the market?'

In speaking, (b) is marked as an interrogative sentence by the rising pitch on the final vowel of the clause.

The affirmative response given most often for (8.104b) is **íyo** 'yes'. The longer form would be **íyo nundatú** 'yes, I will go'. If one will not go to the market, to say just **káɪ** 'no' is regarded as being impolite. In that case, the usual response is either **káɪ, nákíndigu** 'no, I will not go' or simply **nákíndigu** 'I do not go'.

In interrogative sentences, the Insistive enclitic **-tú** (see 7.7.4) is added to the inflected verb when the question refers to the near future, as in:

- (8.105) wɪnd-a-tú    ɡɔní ká    sókɔ ?  
                   2SG:go-FV-INS also    PREP 9.market  
                   'Will you (sg) also go to the market soon?'

Question words in content interrogative sentences are nouns or invariables. Interrogative sentences may contain a combination of a question word and another word to express a single question word meaning.

### a. Noun question words

Two of the question words in interrogative sentences are nouns, **waní** '1a.who', **fa-waní** '2-who' for animate referents, and **ɪ-kí** '9a-what', **ɛ-kí** '2+9:9a-what' for inanimate referents.

If the referent is the syntactic subject, the question word occurs left-dislocated at the beginning of the clause and is always followed by a demonstrative. In the following example, **waní** refers to an animate referent:

- (8.106) waní nǎ á-<sup>1</sup>ly-á ndi nyamá yi ní-nǎ ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>f</sup>:1.O-eat-FV<sup>p</sup> P<sub>3</sub> 1a.animal 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I  
 'Who ate this animal (exclusive)?'

**ɪ-kí** '9a-what' is used as question word for inanimate referents. If the referent is the subject, **ɪ-kí** occurs left-dislocated at the beginning of the clause and is always followed by a demonstrative:

- (8.107)a. ɪ-kí yó a yó-<sup>1</sup>pólí kúgbe ?  
 9a-what 9.DEM.I 3SG:be light (weight) very  
 'What is very easy?' (*Translated Matt. 9:5*)
- b. a-bǎbū kám-in-a byi áka á<sup>1</sup>m-úus-o  
 1b-father:3PL.POSS 9b:1.O-see-FV far only 3SG<sup>f</sup>:1.O-ask-FV  
 bé: míkámí, ɪ-kí yó u-gy-í ?  
 COMP 1a.child:1SG.POSS 9a-what 9.DEM.I 3SG:2SG.O-do-FV.ANT  
 'Their father saw him still far away, he asked him: "My child, what happened to you?" ' (*T2009.14*)

Liko has two ways to question an object: either a question word occurs preverbally and is followed by a type I demonstrative, or a question word occurs in situ and is not followed by a type I demonstrative. Generally in interrogative sentences, the question word for an object occurs preverbally as in (8.108-8.111a).

- (8.108)a. waní nǎ<sup>411</sup> ɪ-nvá a-kuk-í ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 1c-dog 3SG-bite-FV.ANT
- b. ɪ-nvá a-kuk-í waní ?  
 1c-dog 3SG-bite-FV.ANT 1a.who
- a. and b.: 'Whom did the dog bite?'

According to my Liko consultants, (a) and (b) have the same meaning.<sup>412</sup>

<sup>411</sup> **nǎnǎ**, the combination of the copula and the type I demonstrative concord of class 1, which may function as a relative pronoun, is not acceptable: \***waní nǎnǎ unvá akukí ?**

<sup>412</sup> If it is true that the meaning is the same, there may be a difference in the use of these

- (8.109)a. waní nǒ a-bǎkɪ Gbutu ã-kum-í  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 1b-father:3SG.POSS "Gbutu" 3SG:1.O-throw a spell-FV.ANT  
 'Whom did his father Gbutu bewitch?'  
 \*'Who bewitched his father Gbutu?'
- b. wa ká-<sup>4</sup>búk-y-óg-ó waní  
 2SG:be 9b:1.O-resound-APPL-PLUR-FV 1a.who  
 'Whom are you responding to?' (T2008.10)

- (8.110)a. ɪ-kí yó má Fína a ká-amb-á ?  
 9a-what 9.DEM.I 1a.mother "Fina" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV
- b. má Fína a ká-amb-á ɪ-kí ?  
 1a.mother "Fina" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV 9a-what
- a. and b.: 'What is Mother Fina cooking?'

- (8.111)a. ɪ-kí yó ɓo-míkí ɓá <sup>4</sup>ká-kís-á ?  
 9a-what 9.DEM.I 2-child 3PL:be 9b-look for-FV
- b. ɓo-míkí ɓá <sup>4</sup>ká-kís-á ɪ-kí ?  
 2-child 3PL:be 9b-look for-FV 9a-what
- a. and b.: 'What are the children looking for?'

The question words **waní** '1a.who' and **ɪ-kí** '9a.what' in (8.108-8.111a) precede any expressed subject. The subject is realized in the canonical subject position. The subject prefix of the verb agrees with the subject. The subject can never occur in a postverbal position. In (8.108-8.111b), the question word is realized in situ and not marked for focus.

When the question word is dislocated, the type I demonstrative is obligatory, whereas the demonstrative must be absent when the question word occurs in situ. Compare the sentences in (8.110) with those in (8.112):

- (8.112)a. \*ɪ-kí má Fína a ká-amb-á ?  
 9a-what 1a.mother "Fina" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV
- b. \*má Fína a ká-amb-á ɪ-kí yó ?  
 1a.mother "Fina" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV 9a-what 9.DEM.I

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clauses, but that has not yet been found.

Other examples of **waní** '1a.who' and **ɪ-kí** '9a-what' referring to objects include:

- (8.113) **waní** **nǎ** **nzúka** **und-ɪ** **ká-my-ǒ**  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 1a.snake 3SG:go-FV.SUBJ 9b:1.O:swallow-FV  
**kú-silí** **wa-mu-ngbongbó** **kú ?**  
 17-under part 17.ASS-3-banana tree trunk there  
 'A snake would go to swallow who there under the banana trunk?'  
*(T2009.20)*
- (8.114) **si-butú** **á-bu6-is-o** **st-sǎ** **bí-tú,** **ɪyí** **áka**  
*sr:1-tilapia* 3SG<sup>P</sup>-become white-CAUS-FV *sr:1-fish* MOD-bright 1.PRO only  
**na** **ɪyí** **bé:** **wo-póli** **ábě** **ɪ-wayá,**  
 with 1.PRO COMP 1.ass-light (weight) like 9a-dried banana leaf  
**wa** **ká-búk-y-óg-ó** **waní ?**  
 2SG:be 9b-resound-APPL-PLUR-FV 1a.who  
 'Tilapia offended Stsa, he said to him: "Someone light like a dried  
 banana leaf, to whom are you talking?" *(T2008.10)*
- (8.115) **wa** **ká-pa** **bé** **nú-gy-tly-í** **ɪ-kí ?**  
 2SG-be 9b-want:FV COMP 1SG.2SFO-do-BEN-FV.SUBJ 9a-what  
 'What do you want that I do for you?'
- (8.116) **o-vi-kú** **ɪ-kí** **ká** **Bafwa6aka?**  
 3SG-take:FV.ANT-DIR 9a-what PREP Bafwa6aka  
 'What did he take (there) in Bafwa6aka?'

### b. Invariable question words

The invariable question words **bóní** 'how', **kéki** 'why', **lukí** 'how' and **yánu** 'where' occur at the end of the interrogative sentence.

The invariable question words cannot be left-dislocated. In the following clause, the question word for a locative adjunct, **yánu** 'where', cannot occur clause-initially:

- (8.117)a. **o-bís-i** **i-zingi-só** **sá-<sup>4</sup>búgu** **yánu ?**  
 3SG-put-FV.ANT 19-bunch-19 19.ASS-9.plantain where  
 'Where did he put the bunch of plantains?'
- b. **\*yánu** (**nǎ/yǎ**) **o-bís-i** **i-zingi-só** **sá-<sup>4</sup>búgu**  
 where 1/9.DEM.I 3SG-put-FV.ANT 19-bunch-19 19.ASS-9.plantain



Examples of the invariable question words are presented below.

**ḡóní** 'how' and **lúkí** 'how' are both used frequently and in the same contexts, e.g.:

(8.118)a. *lɪ-kpɔmóká lɪ-ná a píyε ḡóní ?*  
 5-thing 5.DEM.II-CONN 3SG:be thus how  
 'How did this happen?' (T2006.3)

b. *ḡá-<sup>4</sup>kún-ag-a píyε séléngúndé lúkí?*  
 3PL:1.O-plant-PLUR-FV thus 9.peanut how  
 'How does one plant peanuts?'

**ḡóní** 'how' is also used in the sense of 'what' in relation to an action, e.g.:

(8.119) *nǐ-gy-a kúwa umi ḡóní ?*  
 1SG:REFL-do-FV thus 1SG.PRO how  
 'What shall I do?' (T2009.21)

An example of **kéki** 'why' is:

(8.120) *wá-ky-á mbéyǐ ndi kéki ká-bis-ó mu-túgbō*  
 2SG<sup>p</sup>-refuse-FV<sup>p</sup> first P<sub>3</sub> why 9b-put-FV 1-strong man  
*ká-ḡúnd-ág-á ndáḡu ?*  
 9b-wait-PLUR-FV 9.house  
 'Why did you at first refuse to put a strong man to watch over the house?'

More common ways to express 'why' are combinations with a question word, **kó bulyó i-kí** 'PREP 9.reason 9a-what' in (8.136) and (8.137), and **kyé ḡóní** 'why how' in (8.141).

Liko has two ways to question an adjunct, with the question word **yánu** 'where' or with a prepositional phrase containing the question word **tínó** 'which' (see below). When an adjunct is questioned with **yánu** 'where', the question word has to occur in situ as shown in (8.117).

Other examples of **yánu** 'where' are:

(8.121)a. *ndáḡu kakó a yánu ?*  
 9.house 2SG.POSS 3SG:be where  
 'Where is your house?'

- b. má 'ká-und-á na Ikóbú yáni ?  
 2PL:be 9b-go-FV with "Ikobu" where  
 'Where are you (pl) going with IkoBu?'

- (8.122) ta-luw-okú mukáti<sup>413</sup> yáni ?  
 1PL-buy-FV-DIR 1a.bread where  
 'Where will we buy bread?'

- (8.123) wa ká-pa bé tínd-í ká-umbámb-íly-á  
 2SG:be 9b-want:FV COMP 1PL:go-FV.SUBJ 9b-2SG.O:cook-BEN-FV  
 ma-lílí má-pasíka yáni ?  
 6-food 6.ASS-1a.Passover where  
 'Where do you want that we go to cook the Passover meal?' (*translated Mark 14:12*)

**yáni** questions a prepositional phrase and it occurs with intransitive verbs like **-und-** 'go', as in:

- (8.124) mu-kó kámi ind-í yáni ?  
 1-woman 1SG.POSS 3SG:go-FV.ANT where  
 'Where did my wife go?'

### c. Questioning a noun

Invariable question word **tínó** 'which' always follows the noun it refers to, e.g. **míkí** **tínó** 'which child'. A prepositional phrase with a question word, **tínó** 'which' (or **í-kí** '9a-what'), either remains in situ or is left-dislocated to a position preceding the subject of the clause. At the end of the dislocated noun phrase a type I demonstrative is required.

- (8.125) ta-syé kúwa ká mu-gi tínó  
 1PL-pass-FV thus PREP 3-village which  
 kyé túp-i-ní na lí-gundú ?  
 because 1PL:rest-FV.ANT-PFV with 5-journey

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<sup>413</sup> From Congo Swahili *mkate*, regularly pronounced as *mukate* in Congo.

'In which village will we sleep, because we have become tired of the journey.' (T2009.17)

- (8.126)a. ta-ly-a ma-líli ká ndábu tínó ?  
 1PL-eat-FV 6-food PREP 9.house which  
 b. ndábu tínó yó ta-ly-a minó ma-líli ?  
 9.house which 9.DEM.I 1PL-eat-FV TRACE 6-food

a. and b.: 'In which house will we eat the meal?'

In the case of dislocation, as in (b), the preposition is no longer expressed.

Left-dislocation of an adjunct in (8.126b) and (8.127) requires the presence of the trace particle **minó**, whereas left-dislocation of an object in (8.128) does not.

- (8.127) It-kpómóká lá-pǒpu tínó ló má minó  
 5-thing 5.ASS-strong which 5.DEM.I 3PL:be TRACE  
 ká-ĩ-nzinziny-á  
 9b-REFL-talk scandal-FV  
 'Which hard issues are you talking scandal about among yourselves?'

- (8.128) míkí tínó nǎ a-bǎki ø-kǎ-yoyis-og-t-gu ?  
 1a.child which 1.DEM.I 1b-father: 3SG-NEG:1.O-admonish-PLUR-FV-NEG  
 3SG.POSS  
 'Which child a father will not correct?' (translated Hebrews 12:7)

The trace particle **minó** is also obligatorily present in relative clauses in which the demonstrative, functioning as a relative pronoun, refers to an adjunct, see 8.4. Another example is the following interrogative sentence, in which the prepositional phrase **kó pǐsi tínó**, PREP 9.path which, 'by which path' ('how') is left-dislocated:

- (8.129) pǐsi tínó yó má-kwanan-a minó ká-nyuk-á yǐgyogyísó ?  
 9.path which 9.DEM.I 2PL-should-FV TRACE 9b-avoid-FV 9a:sorrow  
 'How (by which path) should you (pl) avoid suffering?' (translated Matthew 23:33)

The trace particle **minó** precedes the infinitival complement of the verb of obligation **-kwanan-** 'should'.

For temporal adjuncts, Liko uses the phrase **ngb́ngó t́nó**, 1a.time which, 'at which time, when'. It occurs in situ as in (8.130a) and dislocated as in (8.130b):

- (8.130)a. mbóku-mbóku ní-nǎ a-bum-í bi  
 1a.old man COP-1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub>  
 míkǎmú ngb́ngó t́nó ?  
 1a.child:3SG.POSS 1a.time which
- b. ngb́ngó t́nó nǎ mbóku-mbóku ní-nǎ  
 1a.time which 1.DEM.I 1a.old man COP-1.DEM.I  
 a-bum-í bi minó míkǎmú  
 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> TRACE 1a.child:3SG.POSS
- a. and b.: 'When did that old man hit my child?'

When a prepositional phrase with **t́nó** is left-dislocated, the subject remains in its canonical position, as in (8.130b), which is comparable to the constructions in which a noun phrase functioning as syntactic object is left-dislocated, as in (8.128).

When the question word **t́nó** 'which' follows **ngb́ngó**, 1a.time, moment, the combination expresses 'when'. With **dinga**, 1a.period, moment, it means 'at what time'. For example:

- (8.131)a. t́táku ig-o-kú ngb́ngó t́nó ?  
 1a.grandparent:2SG.POSS 3SG:return-FV-DIR 1a.time which  
 'When will you father-in-law return?'
- b. ngb́ngó t́nó nǎ ind-í minó ?  
 1a.time which 1.DEM.I 3SG:go-FV.ANT TRACE  
 'When did he go?'
- (8.132)a. dinga t́nó mú ?  
 1a.period which 1.DEM.II  
 'What is the time?'
- b. bíg-o-kú kúwa dinga t́nó ?  
 3PL:return-FV-DIR thus 1a.period which  
 'When (at what time) will they return?'

#### d. Combinations involving question words

**ɪ-kí** '9a-what' occurs in combination with several adverbials to express various question-word meanings. The cases below list the combinations present in my data.

An example of **íkí kúwa** 'what (reason)<sup>414</sup> is:

- (8.133) yě mu-kó míkãmu, ɪ-kí kúwa  
 excuse me! 1-woman 1a.child:1SG.POSS 9a-what thus  
 we-pí umi ma-lílí ma-kédě béne ?  
 2SG:1SG.O-give:FV.ANT 1SG.PRO 6-food 6.ASS.small like this  
 'Excuse me! My daughter-in-law, why did you give me such a small  
 portion?' (T2007.5)

An example of **íkí píye** 'what (result) ' is:

- (8.134) ɪ-kí píye ? li-bumá, bú-tótó bí-kyekyékyě  
 9a-what thus 5-drunkenness 14-laughter MOD-burst of laughter  
 'What happened? Drunkenness, bursts of laughter.' (T2006.1)

Example of **íkí se píye / íkí se mbéyi** 'what (specific)' are:

- (8.135)a. ɪ-kí se píye yɔ é-bǎ ndi ?  
 9a-what thus thus 9.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1SG.O-deceive:FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'What duped me?' (T2009.27)
- b. ɪ-kí se mbéyi yɔ wǒ bi ká-kís-á ká kúgba ?  
 9a-what thus first 9.DEM.I 2SG:be P<sub>1</sub> 9b-look PREP 1a.game bag  
 for-FV  
 'What were you looking for in your game bag?'

When asking for a reason, the prepositional phrase **kó bulyó íkí**, PREP 9.reason 9a-what, 'why' can be used, e.g.:

- (8.136)a. wo-dók-í ká i-gumí-so kó bulyó ɪ-kí ?  
 2SG-climb-FV.ANT PREP 19-root, stump-19 PREP 9.reason 9a-what  
 'Why did you climb in that trunk?'
- b. kó bulyó ɪ-kí yó má minó 'ká-gy-ǎ  
 PREP 9.reason 9a-what 9.DEM.I 2PL:be TRACE 9b-do-FV  
 li-gubó ní-ló ?  
 5-work COP-5.DEM.I  
 'Why are you doing this work?'

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<sup>414</sup> The rough specifications in brackets are based on the material available and discussion with the Liko consultants I worked with.

- (8.137)a. o-*búsól-ĩ*      *bi* *gbóní* *kakí*      *kó* *bulyó* *ɪ-kí* ?  
 3SG-forget-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 9.axe 3SG.POSS PREP 9.reason 9a-what
- b.      *kó* *bulyó* *ɪ-kí*      *yǎ*      o-*búsól-ĩ* *bi* *minó* *gbóní* *kakí* ?  
 PREP 9.reason 9a-what 9.DEM.I 3SG-forget- P<sub>1</sub> TRACE 9.axe 3SG.POSS  
 FV.ANT

a. and b.: 'Why did he forget his axe?'

Apart from being used as question word, *ɪ-kí* '9a-what' is used with *mbéyɪ* 'first' to summarize a situation as in (8.138), it is used with *se kówa* to introduce a conclusion as in (8.139), or it is used for something insignificant or disliked (8.140):

- (8.138) *wa-kam-ín-á*      *ndi* *Ikóbu*      *íba*      *kyé*  
 2SG:COND:1.O-see-FV P<sub>3</sub> "Ikobu" it means that because  
*wam-ín-i-ní*      *góní* *Zangíyá*.  
 2SG:1.O-see-FV.ANT.PFV also "Zangiya"  
*ɪ-kí*      *mbéyɪ* *yó*      *yá-nza*      *béyó* !  
 9a-what first 9.DEM.I 9.ASS-good like that  
 'If you saw Ikobu, then you had also seen Zangiya. What was it good at first!' (T2009.21)

- (8.139) *ɪ-kí* *se* *kówa*, *mbunyá* *mamá*      *á-pung-ǎ*      *ndi* *ká-ĩ-gam-á*  
 9a- thus thus 1a.husband 1a.mother 3SG<sup>p</sup>-start-FV P<sub>3</sub> 9b-REFL-cry-  
 what FV  
 'What do we see? "His lordship" started to complain.' (T2009.37)

- (8.140) *mu-gwí*      *ɪ-kí*      *yá-gbalt*      *yɔ*      *bí-kwĩ*  
 1.O-hold-FV.IMP 9a-what 9.ASS-disorderly 9.DEM.I MOD-hold securely  
 'Hold something disorderly securely!', i.e. Arrest that idiot!' (T2007.3)

*bóní* is used in combination with *kyé* 'because', *kyé bóní*, to express 'why':

- (8.141)a. *wá-ky-á*      *mbéyĩ* *ndi* *ká-bis-ó* *mu-túgbò*  
 2SG<sup>p</sup>-refuse-FV<sup>p</sup> first P<sub>3</sub> 9b-put-FV 1-strong man  
*ká-búnd-ág-á*      *ndábu* *kyé*      *bóní* ?  
 9b-wait-PLUR-FV 9.house because how  
 'Why did you at first refuse to put a strong man to guard the house?'

- b. na ká-u-ḡky-á kyé bóní ?  
 1SG:be 9b-2SG.O-say-FV because how  
 'Why do I tell you?' (T2006.8)

### e. General interrogatives

In general interrogatives, where the answer comprises the predicate, the question word *ɪ-kí* '9a-what' is left-dislocated and followed by a type I demonstrative. The answer to general interrogatives has the canonical word order and no additional marking. The answers are given in (8.142b) and (8.143b).

- (8.142)a. ɪ-kí yó má 'ká-gyã yó ?  
 9a-what 9.DEM.I 2PL:be 9b-do-FV 9.DEM.I  
 'What are you (pl) doing?'

- b. ta ká-lík-ág-á ma-bómbu  
 1PL:be 9b-trap-PLUR-FV 6-trap  
 'We are setting traps.'

- (8.143)a. ɪ-kí yó u-gy-í 6o-míkí ?  
 9a-what 9.DEM.I 3SG:2.O-do-FV.ANT 2-child  
 'What happened to the children?' / \*'What did the children do?'

- b. 6o-míkí bí-mwís-ís-á ndi  
 2-child 3PL<sup>P</sup>:REFL-kill:CAUS-CAUS-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub>  
 'The children were killed.', literally, 'they caused themselves to be killed' (see 8.2.6).

The noun phrase following the verb in (a) is the object, as is evident from the class 2 object prefix in the verb form.

## 8.6 Information structure

Liko has several ways, both syntactic and morphological, to formally code different aspects of information within a sentence. New information and contrastive information are presented in 8.6.1 and 8.6.2. Constructions in which constituents are left-dislocated or in which they precede the clause in an external topic position will be described with their discourse function. The function of left-dislocation in texts is predominantly textual cohesion, in particular to (re)activate a participant, see 8.6.3. The other use of left-dislocation is in interrogative sentences, see 8.5,

and in answer to questioned subjects, see 8.6.1. Arguments and adjuncts can be expressed as external topics, left-adjoined to the clause, see 8.6.4.

To illustrate how the language codes new information, contrast, participant activation, and external topics, the text **Ikoḅu** (*T2009.21*) is presented with brief comments on information structure, see Appendix 1, 1.5.1.

The action expressed by a verb can be emphasized by the Insistive enclitic. For a description of this enclitic, **-tṣ**, I refer the reader to 3.2.4.2 and 7.7.4. Subjects and objects can be emphasized by a substitutive, see 6.1.1.

### 8.6.1 New information

This section demonstrates that new information given in answer to interrogative sentences is not coded in Liko. Questioned elements are not marked as focus. I will first look at objects, then at adjuncts and finally at subjects. Examples of general interrogatives and answers are given above, see (8.142) and (8.143) in 8.5.

According to the literature (Lambrecht 1994, Foley 2007), less predictable or disputed elements of the sentence tend to be marked as 'focus'. Bearth (2003:130) and others state that a suitable environment in which the expression of 'focus' may be tested are content or wh-questions. Completive focus (also called assertive focus, e.g. Watters 2003:252) usually involves answers to content questions. Relevant question words in the language are: **waní** '1a.who' / **ḃa-waní** '2-who' for animates, **ṭ-kí** '9a-what' / **ḃe-kí** '2 + 9:9a-what' for inanimates, **yaní** 'where' for locations and **tínó** 'which' for phrases with a head noun.

#### a. Objects

The interrogative sentences (8.108a), (8.110a) and (8.111a) are repeated here:

(8.144) waní nḅ ṭ-nvá a-kuk-í ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 1c-dog 3SG-bite-FV.ANT  
 'Whom did the dog bite?'

(8.145) ṭ-kí yó má Fína a ká-amb-á ?  
 9a-what 9.DEM.I 1a.mother "Fina" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV  
 'What is Mother Fina cooking?'



- (8.146) ɪ-kí yó ʃo-míkí ʃá 'ká-kís-á ?  
 9a-what 9.DEM.I 2-child 3PL:be 9b-look for-FV  
 'What are the children looking for?'

The preferred answers to the above questions have the new information either in the post-verbal position as in (8.147a-8.149a), or as a non-verbal single-phrase clause as in (8.147b-8.149b):

- (8.147)a. a-kuk-í ʃi mikǎmɪ  
 3SG:1.O-bite-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1a.child:1SG.POSS  
 'He bit my child.'
- b. mikǎmɪ  
 1a.child:1SG.POSS  
 'My child'
- (8.148)a. a ká-amb-á mo-tumbŭwa  
 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV 6-pastry ball  
 'She is frying pastry balls.'
- b. mo-tumbŭwa  
 6-pastry ball  
 'Pastry balls'
- (8.149)a. ʃá 'ká-kís-á ɪ-yĩkɔ kakí  
 3PL:be 9b-look for-FV 5-amulet<sup>415</sup> 3SG.POSS  
 'They are looking for her amulet.'
- b. ɪ-yĩkɔ kakí  
 5-amulet 3SG.POSS  
 'Her amulet'

Left-dislocating an object in a clause which answers a questioned object is possible, but according to my Liko consultants less acceptable:

- (8.150) ??mo-tumbŭwa mɔ má Fína a ká-amb-á  
 6-pastry ball 6.DEM.I 1a.mother "Fina" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV  
 'Mother Fina is frying pastry balls.'

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<sup>415</sup> Or beads and bones used for personal adornment.

- (8.151) ??lɪ-yĩkɔ kakí ló bá ʔká-kís-á  
 5-amulet 3SG.POSS 5.DEM.I 3PL:be 9b-look for-FV  
 'They are looking for her amulet'

If there is a need to express that Mother Fina is frying pastry balls and not something else, the contrast particle **áka** is used, e.g.:

- (8.152) a ká-amb-á mo-tumbűwa aká<sup>416</sup>  
 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV 6-pastry ball CT  
 'She is frying PASTRY BALLS.'

It is interesting that, in case of ambiguity, only the interpretation according to the canonical SVO word order is allowed. To illustrate this, I start with interrogative sentences questioning an object with the role of a beneficiary. They have the same word-order options as when the object of the basic verb is questioned:

- (8.153)a. waní nŕ Súza a ká-ʔkís-íly-á lɪ-yĩkɔ ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I "Suza" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV 5-amulet  
 b. Súza a ká-ʔkís-íly-á waní lɪ-yĩkɔ ?  
 "Suza" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV 1a.who 5-amulet  
 a. and b.: 'For whom is Suza looking for an amulet?'

The correct answer to both these questions is (8.154a) below. (8.154b) is not acceptable as a correct answer to either of the above questions, because the interpretation that the aunt is the beneficiary is ruled out:

- (8.154)a. a ká-ʔkís-íly-á nínáki  
 3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV 1a.aunt:3SG.POSS  
 'She is searching [it] for her aunt.'  
 b. nínáki nŕ a ká-ʔkís-íly-á  
 1a.aunt:3SG.POSS 1.DEM.I 3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV  
 \*'She is searching [it] for her aunt.'

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<sup>416</sup> The surface tones on the contrast particle depend on the preceding tone: **áka** if the preceding tone is High and **aká** if the preceding tone is Low.

The new information is the identification of the beneficiary. Yet as an answer to the question in (8.153), **nínáku** can only occur in situ as in (8.154a). If it is dislocated and it occurs preverbally as in (8.154b), the aunt cannot be interpreted as the beneficiary. Sentence (8.154b) is correct under the interpretation that the aunt is the subject of the clause; in that case the meaning is: 'Her aunt (mentioned earlier<sup>417</sup>) is searching for someone!.'

### b. Adjuncts

In responses to interrogative sentences with **yánu** 'where', locative adjuncts that provide the new information have to occur postverbally without any additional marking. The answer to (8.117) 'Where did he put the bunch of plantains?' is:

- (8.155)a. o-bĩs-i            ká    gbǒgbò  
                   3SG-put-FV.ANT    PREP    1a.drying shed  
                   'He put [it] in the drying shed.'
- b.            \*ká    gbǒgbò            nǒ            o-bĩs-i  
                   PREP    1a.drying shed    1.DEM.I    3SG-put-FV.ANT
- c.            \*gbǒgbò            nǒ            o-bĩs-i  
                   1a.drying shed    1.DEM.I    3SG-put-FV.ANT

(b) and (c) are not acceptable, neither with nor without the general preposition.

The answer to question words in prepositional phrases, as (8.126) 'In which house will we eat the meal?', occurs postverbally and follows any objects::

- (8.156) ta-ly-a            ma-lílí ká    ndábu kǎmu  
                   1PL-eat-FV    6-food    PREP    9.house    1SG.POSS  
                   'We will eat the meal in my house.'

In responses to questions with **ngbǐngó tǐnó**, as (8.130) 'When did that old man hit my child?', temporal adjuncts that yield the new information only occur postverbally following any objects:

- (8.157)a. ã-bum-í                    bi na    ɓu-gɔgɔ  
                   3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT    P<sub>1</sub>    with    14-sunset  
                   'He hit him in the evening.'

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<sup>417</sup> See the activation of a participant in 8.6.3.

- b. \*na ɓu-gɔgɔ̃ ɓɔ̃      ã-bum-í      ɓi  
 with 14-sunset 14.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub>
- c. \*ɓu-gɔgɔ̃ ɓɔ̃      ã-bum-í      ɓi  
 14-sunset 14.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub>

In responses to questions with **kó bulyó ukí**, as (8.137) 'Why did he forget his axe?', the subordinate clause giving the new information follows the object:

- (8.158) o-ɓúsól-ĩ ɓi gbɔní kakí kyé mbwáyɪ ɔ̃ ɓi ká-lók-á  
 3SG-forget- P<sub>1</sub> 9.axe 3SG.POSS because 9.rain 3SG: P<sub>1</sub> 9b-rain-FV  
 FV.ANT be  
 'He forgot his axe because it rained.'

In sum, Liko does not have a special position in the clause to mark new information where objects or adjuncts are concerned. Objects and adjuncts remain in situ. Objects and adjuncts providing new information do not receive specific 'focus' marking. In interrogative sentences, the questioned element remains in situ or is left-dislocated to a position in the clause which precedes the subject. Only **yánu** 'where' cannot be left-dislocated. There is a striking similarity between left-dislocation and relative clauses in that the trace particle **minó** is required when adjuncts are involved in a postverbal position following tense/aspect enclitics and preceding any object. In both relativization and left-dislocation, a type I demonstrative is involved.

### c. Subjects

Subjects are typically the 'topic' of a clause, not the element which provides new information. Subjects that give new information in response to questions are left-dislocated and are followed by a type I demonstrative in elicitation.<sup>418</sup> Question words referring to a subject are always left-dislocated. In the questions and the

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<sup>418</sup> The context of elicitation is a factor. In the natural as well as translated texts in my data, the subject in an answer to a questioned subject is not left-dislocated.

answers in (8.159) and (8.160), the type I demonstrative is class 1 concord **nǎ**.<sup>419</sup> In (8.159a) and in (8.160a), the type I demonstrative **nǎ** is obligatory.

(8.159)a. waní nǎ a ká-wonís-íl-ó na lt-syé ní-lt ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 3SG:be 9b-show:CAUS- with 5-day COP-5.dem.II  
 RES-FV

'Who is teaching today?'

b. mu-wonisilí wa-mbiya nǎ a ké-wonís-íl-ó  
 1-teacher 1.ASS-new 1.DEM.I 3SG:be 9b:1SG.O-show:CAUS-  
 RES-FV

'The new teacher is teaching me.'

(8.160)a. waní nǎ a-kuk-í mikǎm ?  
 1a.who 1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-bite-FV.ANT 1a.child:1SG.POSS

'Who bit my child?' / \*'Whom did my child bite?'

b. t-nvá nǎ a-kuk-í bi mikǎm  
 1c-dog 1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-bite-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1a.child:1SG.POSS

'The dog bit my child.'

The only possible interpretation of **mikǎm** in (8.160) is that of patient. The subject cannot occur in a post-verbal position.

Coding of new information in Liko can be summarized as follows:

(8.161)	<u>Requested information</u>		<u>New information</u>	
	<i>in situ</i>	<i>left-dislocated</i>	<i>in situ</i>	<i>left-dislocated</i>
object	yes	yes	yes	no/?? <sup>420</sup>
adjunct ( <b>yánu</b> )	yes	no	yes	no
adjunct ( <i>other</i> )	yes	yes with TRACE	yes	no
subject	no	yes	no	yes

<sup>419</sup> Augustin (2010) has analysed **no** (no tone marking) as the focus particle. However, **nǎ** is a type I demonstrative which agrees with its head noun. Left-dislocation is not only used in questions and in answering a questioned subject, but primarily in creating textual cohesion by activation of the (major) participant. The contrast particle in Liko is **áka**, see 8.6.2.

<sup>420</sup> In elicitation, left-dislocation is possible for objects with the role of patient, but it is less acceptable.

### 8.6.2 Contrast

Liko has a particle, **áka**, which marks disputed elements in the sentence. It functions to indicate contrast, i.e. information that is contrary to other information in the text or to the presuppositions of the interlocutor. The scope of the elements in contrast is limited to the phrase preceding **áka**. The contrastive particle occurs with arguments and adjuncts. The phrase with contrastive focus remains in its canonical position. Tone on the contrast particle surfaces as H.L when following a H tone and it surfaces as L.H when following a L tone.<sup>421</sup> In the examples, the phrase in contrast is marked with underlining. In the free translation, the contrasted element is marked with capitals (in the case of the first person singular pronoun "contrasted" is added in brackets).

#### a. Objects

Examples of contrasted objects are:

- (8.162) Má Fína a ká-gab-á mo-tumbüwa aká  
 1a.mother "Fina" 3SG:be 9b-sell-FV 6-pastry ball CT  
 ká sóko  
 PREP 1a.market  
 'Mother Fina is selling PASTRY BALLS at the market.'

'Pastry balls' contrast with another product mentioned before. In the other examples below, the phrase ending with **áka** contrasts with presupposed or known information.

- (8.163) Ikóbu a-mwí bi nzúka aká,  
 "Ikoöu" 3SG:1.O-kill:FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1a.snake CT  
 ní-nö ã-gbit-í bi nö, na mu-pánga  
 COP-1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-fell-FV.ANT P<sub>1</sub> 1.DEM.I with 3-machete  
 'Ikoöu killed THE SNAKE, which bit him, with a machete.'

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<sup>421</sup> I assume that H.L is the underlying tone pattern. In (rapid) speech, the vowel preceding **áka** is subject to V<sub>1</sub>-elision or desyllabification, see 3.3.1 and 3.3.5. If the tone on the preceding vowel is H, the two H tones simply merge. If the tone on the preceding vowel is L, the resulting LH.L sequence surfaces as a sequence of Low and High.

- (8.164) Súza a ká-kís-á li-yĩko aká kátúkyá<sup>422</sup>  
 "Suza" 3SG:be 9b-look for-FV 5-amulet CT since  
 na ɓu-sóɓi  
 with 14-sunrise  
 'Suza has been looking for the AMULET since sunrise.'

- (8.165)a. Nangáa a ká-<sup>4</sup>kís-íly-á nínáki aká ndáɓu yá-gɔɔɔ  
 "Nangaa" 3SG: 9b:1.O-look for- 1a.aunt: CT 9.house 9.ASS.other  
 be BEN-FV 3SG.POSS  
 'Nangaa is looking for another house for HIS AUNT.'

- b. Nangáa a ká-kís-á ndáɓu yá-gɔɔɔ aká  
 "Nangaa" 3SG:be 9b-look for-FV 9.house 9.ASS.other CT  
 kó bulyó ka-nínáki  
 PREP 9.reason GEN-1a.aunt:3SG.POSS  
 'Nangaa is looking for ANOTHER HOUSE for his aunt.'

- (8.166) ngámá á-<sup>4</sup>ɓíky-ǎ ndi Ábaláma ɓé:  
 1a.chief 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-say-FV P<sub>3</sub> "Abalama" COMP  
 i-pó-kú umi ɓa-mbáanzú áka,  
 1SG.O-give:FV.IMP-DIR 1SG.PRO 2-person CT  
 wá-va tɔwe li-ngámá  
 2SG-take:FV.INST 2SG.PRO 5-things of value  
 'The king said to Abraham: "Give me THE PEOPLE, you  
 (emphasized) take the valuable things." ' (*translated Genesis 14:21*)

In the next example of an object followed by **áka**, the number of sons is contrasted. The other wife of the speaker gave him many sons, whereas with Rachel, he had only two:

- (8.167) babǎ á-tí-ɓíky-á ndi ɓé: mǐb-ag-a-tú ɓé  
 1a.father 3SG<sup>P</sup>-1PL.O-say-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> COMP 2PL:know-PLUR-FV-INS COMP  
 mu-kó kǎmi ɓéyó ka-Lakéli é-<sup>4</sup>ɓúkut-uly-ǎ  
 1-woman 1SG.POSS like that GEN-"Lakeli" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1SG.O-give birth-BEN-FV

<sup>422</sup> The structure of this word is **ká-túk-y-á** '9b-leave-APPL-FV'.

ndu bo-míkí ba-lókú bi ba-ḅă áka  
P<sub>3</sub> 2-child 2-man 2.dem.III 2.NUM-two CT  
'Father said to us: "You know that my wife called Rachel gave me  
TWO SONS." ' (*translated Genesis 44:27*)

### b. Adjuncts

Cases, in which locative, temporal and instrumental or manner adjuncts occur followed by **áka**, are given next. The phrase preceding **áka** contrasts with other information. The input for the first example is the statement that someone put the harvest in his house. This is denied and the correct location is contrasted:

(8.168) o-bís-i l-nyonyó ká gbḅgbḅ aká  
3SG-put-FV.ANT 5-peanut harvest PREP 1a.drying shed CT  
'He put the peanut harvest IN THE DRYING SHED.'

The contrast particle **áka** marks contrast and it does not allow changes in word order. An adjunct followed by the contrast particle cannot precede the first object:

(8.169) \*o-bís-i ká gbḅgbḅ aká l-nyonyó  
3SG-put-FV.ANT PREP 1a.drying shed CT 5-peanut harvest

The phrase **ká gbḅgbḅ** is not a locative complement, because the locative phrase can be left out:

(8.170) l-nyé lá-gḅḅ, nýyó ɿ-nvá ó-bis-ó bu-yí,  
5-day 5.ASS-other when 1c-dog 3SG<sup>P</sup>-put-FV<sup>P</sup> 14.money  
ɿg-á kú kakí  
3SG:return-FV<sup>P</sup> there 3SG.POSS  
'The next day, when dog put the money, he returned home.' (*T2007.15*)

Other examples of locative adjuncts with contrast are:

(8.171) ba-swá bámály-í kó tíko kakú áka, ukán-á-tu  
2-Pygmy 3PL:end up at- PREP 9.field 2SG.POSS CT hear-FV.IMP-INS  
FV.SUBJ

'That the Pygmy end up AT YOUR FIELD, understand that well.'

(8.172) tó-lípy-og-o kúwă ndu íbúsú kó písi aká  
1PL<sup>P</sup>-last-PLUR-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> 1PL.PRO PREP 9.road CT



'We (emphasized) stayed ON THE ROAD.' (instead of going to school) (*T2009.25*)

Temporal adjuncts with the contrast particle:

- (8.173) *ã-bum-í*                      *bi na ßu-gogǒ*    *áka*  
 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT    P<sub>1</sub>    with    14-sunset    CT  
 'He hit him IN THE EVENING.'

- (8.174) *ma-lílí ní-mó*                      *ßá-túmb-amb-ty-ǎ*<sup>423</sup>    *ndt, tá kúwǎ ndt*  
 6-food    COP-6.DEM.I    3PL<sup>P</sup>-1PL.O-cook-BEN-FV    P<sub>3</sub>    1PL:be    thus    P<sub>3</sub>  
*ká-ly-á na lt-gundú*    *áka*  
 9b-eat-FV    with    5-JOURNEY    CT  
 'The food that they cooked for us, we were eating it DURING THE JOURNEY.' (*T2009.23*)

Examples of instrumental or manner adjuncts with the contrast particle are:

- (8.175) *Ikóbú a-mwí*                      *bi nzúka na lt-kǔ*    *áka*  
 "Ikoðu"    3SG:1.O-kill:FV.ANT    P<sub>1</sub>    1a.snake    with    5-stick    CT  
 'Ikoðu killed a snake WITH A STICK.'

- (8.176) *á-syé*                      *ndt na nzǎ*    *áka*  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-pass:FV    P<sub>3</sub>    with    9.hunger    CT  
 'He passed [the day] HUNGRY.' (*T2009.32*)

After someone has burned his arm while cooking:

- (8.177) *níyó müzuzolá é-bedul-o*                      *béyó,*  
 when    9.awful pain    3SG<sup>P</sup>:1SG.O-surpass-FV    like that  
*nzǎ é-'sy-ó*                      *língunú*    *áka*  
 9.hunger    3SG<sup>P</sup>:1SG.O-finish-FV<sup>P</sup>    5.truth    CT  
 'When the awful pain became too much for me, feeling hungry finished REALLY.' (*T2009.3*)

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<sup>423</sup> The basic verb is **-amb-** 'cook'. I assume that in this case, epenthetic /mb/ occurs preceding the vowel-initial verb, instead of /m/. See 7.5.1.

### c. Subjects

Subjects cannot be directly followed by the contrast particle **áka**. If a subject is contrasted, **áka** follows a postverbal substitutive with the same referent as the subject (**ibú** in the first example below, **umu** in the second) in a construction with copula **ni**:

- (8.178) kú-mbúso yí,            ßa-má'mákt            ßó-do-kú            ndi ni  
 17-back      17.DEM.I    2-brother:3SG.POSS    3PL<sup>P</sup>-come:FV-DIR    P<sub>3</sub>    COP  
ibú    áka    ká-'tákány-á  
 2.PRO   CT    9b:1.O-find-FV  
 'Later, HIS BROTHERS came to find him.' (translated Genesis 50:18)

- (8.179) ná-kaly-ag-ă      ndi ni    umu      aká ní-ló      lá-si  
 1SG<sup>P</sup>-pay-PLUR-FV    P<sub>3</sub>    COP    1SG.PRO   CT    COP-5.DEM.I    5.ASS-all  
 'I (contrasted) paid all those [things].' (translated Genesis 31:39)

For the combination of subjects and postverbal substitutes, see 7.4 and 6.1.1.

The contrast particle **áka** occurs frequently with one of the following adverbials, **ásu** 'only' in affirmative and **gotógu** 'even' in negative clauses. **ásu** nearly always occurs in combination with **áka**. These adverbials reinforce the contrasted element, positively in the case of **ási**, i.e. giving interpretations like 'always', 'completely', 'just', etc., and negatively in the case of **gotógu**, i.e. yielding the meaning 'not any'. The adverbials **ásu** and **gotógu** mark the beginning of the domain of contrast, **áka** the end.

Examples of **ásu** and **áka** are:

- (8.180) kání gbukó a            kúwa ási    ká    mu-gamú    áka  
 when 1a.rat    3SG:be thus    only    PREP    3-crying    CT  
 'While Rat was CRYING ALL THE TIME.' (T2006.3)
- (8.181) nzóyt yá-si    á-va            kúwa ási    su    yó-'múkí    áka  
 9.body    9.ASS-all    3SG<sup>P</sup>-take:FV thus    only    9.smell    9.ASS-6:smoke    CT  
 'The whole body took on JUST THE SMELL OF SMOKE.' (T2006.5)

- (8.182) na ási ká li-lebú áka  
 1SG:be only PREP 5-mourning CT  
 'I am ALWAYS IN MOURNING.' (*translated Genesis 37:35*)
- (8.183) mu-lókú na mu-kákɪ ɓǎ ndɪ ɪbú ɓá-sɪ  
 1-man with 1-woman:3SG.POSS 3PL:be P<sub>3</sub> 2.PRO 2.ASS-all  
 ɓá-ɓǎ ási ndúmbú áka  
 2.NUM-two only 9.nudity CT  
 'Man and his wife they were both COMPLETELY NAKED.'  
 (*translated Genesis 2:25*)
- (8.184) mbɪya wánu, tá-ké-gu ɓatǎ no lúkí  
 new here 1PL-NEG:be:FV-NEG again with 5:object  
 lá-gɔgɔ ní-ló ta-kwanan-a ká-u-pá  
 5.ASS-other COP-5.DEM.I 1PL-should-FV 9b-2SG.O-give:FV  
 Ø-kík-i ási nzúyɪ kusú áka na ma-tómbú kusú  
 3SG-COND:be- only 9.body 1PL.POSS CT with 6-land 1PL.POSS  
 FV.NEG  
 'Now, we have not again anything else which we should give to you if it  
 is not JUST OUR BODY and our fields.' (*translated Genesis 48:18*)

Examples of **gútúgu** and **áka** are:

- (8.185) ɓa-nyamá ɓá-sɪ mánzála-mánzála, Ø-ká-gwǐ-gu  
 2-animal 2.ASS-all in disorder 3SG<sup>P</sup>-NEG:1.O-hold:FV<sup>P</sup>-NEG  
gútúgu ɓé-motí áka  
 even 1.NUM-one CT  
 'All animals [fled] in disorder, he did not CATCH ANYONE.' (*T2006.3*)
- (8.186) ɓá-kingɪl-a gɔní ká-lúk-ág-á ma-ɓómbu, ɓá-kɔ mu-palú  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-try-FV also 9b-trap-PLUR-FV 6-trap 3PL<sup>P</sup>-cut:FV 3-barrier<sup>424</sup>  
 ní-ma-ná má-ndǎ, gútúgu mbéyɪ kó-ɓók-ís-ó áka  
 COP-3.DEM.II-CONN 3.ASS-long even first 9b-grow-CAUS-FV CT

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<sup>424</sup> A barrier in the forest with passage ways where traps are installed.

'They also tried to set traps, they cut the long barrier, NOTHING WAS SUCCESSFUL.'<sup>425</sup> (T2009.21)

- (8.187) mʊ-mbánzú gutúgu bé-motí áka ø-ká-kwanan-t-gʊ  
 1-person even 1.NUM-one CT 3SG-NEG-should-FV.NEG-NEG  
 ndéké ká-ʊ-táng-á  
 F<sub>3</sub> 9b-2.O-count-FV  
 'NOT ANY person will be able to count them.' (translated Genesis 13:16)

- (8.188) ná-ká-vi-gʊ lúkí kakú gutúgu lí-motí áka  
 1SG-NEG-take:FV.NEG-NEG 5:object 2SG.POSS even 5.NUM-one CT  
 'I am not taking your object, NOT ANY ONE.' (translated Genesis 14:23)

### 8.6.3 Left-dislocation for participant activation

The main function of left-dislocation is to ensure textual cohesion by activation of the (major) participant.<sup>426</sup> When a participant becomes the topic of conversation or of a text after some digression, he is re-introduced by left-dislocation and a type I demonstrative.<sup>427</sup> Left-dislocation does not imply emphasis or contrastive focus on the dislocated element.

Pronouns typically do not provide new information. In Liko, pronouns are used to emphasize a known subject or object. When a pronoun refers to an antecedent earlier in the text, it may be left-dislocated. In the following two examples, a pronoun which is syntactically an object is left-dislocated and followed by a type I demonstrative.

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<sup>425</sup> Literally, 'not first caused to grow'.

<sup>426</sup> A large number of examples comes from the translated text of Genesis. This is done because it contains several longer stories in which the Liko translators have put an effort in making it clear to potential hearers who or what is the topic of a sentence. These stories contain a lot of material that can be used to study information structure.

<sup>427</sup> Nicolle (2014:132) reports this use of referential and distal demonstratives, i.e. to activate a participant, for several Tanzanian languages.

- (8.189) ɪyí nǒ ɓa-mbáanzú ɓám-ukan-ag-a ndéke  
 1.PRO 1.DEM.I 2-person 3PL:1.O-hear-PLUR-FV F<sub>3</sub>  
 'People will listen to him.' (translated Genesis 49:10)

The antecedent, the 'owner', is presented in the previous sentence in the text.

- (8.190) ɪyí nǒ Sála u-búkut-ily-a ɓánu ká  
 1.PRO 1.DEM.I "Sala" 3SG:2SG.O-give birth-BEN-FV F<sub>2</sub> PREP  
 syǎ'ngá-su sá-gogo  
 7:year, dry season-7 7.ASS-other  
 'Sarah will give birth to him next year.' (translated Genesis 17:21)

In the context of the above example, a promised child, Isaac, has been introduced in chapter 17, verse 19. The intermediate passage talks about another son. In the sentence preceding the above one, Isaac is the topic again. In (8.190), **ɪyí** 'he' is the topic and **syǎ'ngá-su sá-gogo** 'next year' the new information. Left-dislocation of the pronoun does not add emphasis.

Examples of a dislocated pronoun which functions as a subject:

- (8.191)a. ɪyí nǒ o-búng-ús-i-ní mǔ-pánga  
 1.PRO 1.DEM.I 3SG-lose-CAUS-FV.ANT-PFV 3-machete  
 'He had lost the machete.'
- b. kyé ɪyí nǒ á-gbusy-óg-í ɓi Sisa  
 so that 1.PRO 1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-curse-PLUR-FV.SUBJ P<sub>1</sub> "Sisa"  
 '... so that he would curse Sisa.' (T2008.10)

In the next example, the story introduces the children of Noah and expands on one of them. When the narrator returns to the three children, he uses a left-dislocated pronoun:

- (8.192) ɪbú ɓá-sáá ɓó ɓǎ ndt ɓo-míka-Núa  
 2.PRO 2.NUM-three 2.DEM.I 3PL:be P<sub>3</sub> 2-child:GEN-"Noa"  
 'The three were children of Noah.' (translated Genesis 9:19)

In a story in Genesis, a servant responds to a request and asks for further information in (8.193a). After the instructions (several sentences), the servant, by means of a formal gesture, pledges that he will carry out the instructions (8.193b). The servant is re-introduced by left-dislocation.

- (8.193)a. *mu-gy-a-li-gubó á-sikis-y-o b́é:*  
 1-do-FV-5-work 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-return-APPL-FV COMP  
 'The servant answered!' (*translated Genesis 24:5*)
- b. *mu-gy-a-li-gubó nǎ ó-bis-á ndi ku-ḅḅ<sup>4</sup>kú-kḷ kú-silí*  
 1-do-FV-5-work 1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>-put-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> 15-hand-15 17-under part  
*wa-si-bě-sū ka-mómbukwána dǎki<sup>428</sup>*  
 17.ASS-7-thigh-7 GEN-1a.owner 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS  
 'The servant put [his] hand under the thigh of his master.' (*translated Genesis 24:9*)

One of the Liko stories, **Mbwoko**, see 1.1.3 in Appendix 1, tells that a demon had a beautiful daughter. He demanded that a would-be husband would be able to endure hunger and abstain from food. So when a man came to the village to ask to marry the girl, he was put in a house and forbidden to eat. But in the house, the demon had put ripe sweet bananas. The first young man who came could not stand the fragrance of the bananas and ate some. When in (8.194a), the demon discovered that the first candidate had eaten the sweet bananas in the house, he called the men of the village. They killed the young man and cooked his meat. When the father of the girl, the demon, is mentioned again in (8.194b), the phrase is left-dislocated and followed by a type I demonstrative:

- (8.194)a. *níyó abǎkti mu-kó á-ndúng-á*  
 when 1a.father:3SG.POSS 1-woman 3SG<sup>P</sup>-discover-FV  
 'When the father of the woman discovered [it].' (*T2006.2*)
- b. *abǎkti mu-síká nǎ á-va ma-lílí mó*  
 1a.father:3SG.POSS 1-girl 1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>-take:FV 6-food 6.DEM.I  
 'The father of the girl took this food.' (*T2006.2*)

In the following example, the men are re-introduced after they had been mentioned for the last time in verse 9:

- (8.195) *kú-mbúso yí, ḅa-lúkú ḅó ḅá-<sup>4</sup>túk-y-tly-ǎ ndi lt-gundú*  
 17-back 17.DEM.III 2-man 2.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-leave- P<sub>3</sub> 5-journey  
 APPL-BEN-FV

<sup>428</sup> **mombukwana dǎki** is an expression meaning 'his master'.

'After that, the men left him [to go on] a journey.' (*translated Genesis 18:16*)

In the text preceding the next example, a pregnant woman received a message that she would give birth to twins. At the time of the delivery, it appeared that:

- (8.196) 6o-6ígi 6ó 6ã ndi kú-sǎ wa-mũma kakí  
 2-twins 2.DEM.I 3PL:be P<sub>3</sub> 17-inside 17.ASS-3.belly 3SG.POSS  
 'Twins were in her womb.' (*translated Genesis 25:24*)

Proper names can be left-dislocated to refer to characters mentioned before in the text. In a story in Genesis, a man called Jacob gets the news that his son Joseph is still alive. Jacob exclaims:

- (8.197) mikãmu Yezéfu a bata ká ɔbílí áka !  
 1a.child:1SG.POSS "Yezéfu" 3SG:be again PREP 1a.life, world CT  
 na ká-ag-ǎ kám-un-a kámbwa 6é nó-kw-í  
 1SG:be 9b-leave-FV 9b:1.O-see-FV 17:front COMP 1SG-die-FV.SUBJ  
 'My child Joseph is still ALIVE! I am leaving to see him before (that) I die.' (*translated Genesis 45:28*)

Later in the text, Jacob is told:

- (8.198) Yezéfu nǎ u-tíky-o ndéke míso  
 "Yezéfu" 1.DEM.I 3SG:2SG.O-close-FV F<sub>3</sub> 6:eye  
 'Joseph will close your eyes.' (*translated Genesis 46:4*)

Left-dislocation involves a position in the clause which precedes the subject position and follows a conjunction. In the example below, the conjunction **kyé** precedes the left-dislocated element:

- (8.199) míkí nu a-kóngó, kyé a-kóngó nǎ  
 1a.child COP 1b-banana shoot because 1b-banana shoot 1.DEM.I  
 a-tí-pag-a má-búgu kú-mbúso  
 3SG-1PL.O-give:PLUR-FV 6-banana 17-back  
 'A child is a banana shoot, because this banana shoot will give us bananas later.' (*T2006.7*)

## 8.6.4 External topicalization

External topics are not preposed constituents of the clause, but are external to it, adjoined to the clause as a whole (Foley 2007:416).<sup>429</sup> In Liko, external topics occur to the left of the clause. Adjuncts as external topics are common, they are mostly locative and temporal phrases, but also instrumental, manner and other phrases. Objects as external topics are rare and subjects are absent. An external topic does not occur in subject position, as can be seen in the examples below, where a full subject NP is present between the external topic and the verb. External topics are usually separated from the following clause by means of a short pause.

I will first present a case in which an object argument occurs as external topic. In the texts from which the example below is taken, the animals were introduced as participants in the opening clause of the text: Leopard is the chief of the animals. In the following sentences, the story tells that Leopard appointed Rat to watch over his field. **ba-nyamá bá-gogo** 'the other animals' are presupposed and they are the topic of the clause. The new information is that they were angry:

- (8.200) *ba-nyamá bá-gogo, ma-mbengí ú-túl-ǎ ndi*  
 2-animal 2.ASS-other 6-heart 3SG/PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O-hurt-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'the other animals, hearts hurt them', i.e. they were angry (*T2006.3*)

The above sentence is also grammatical if the external topic is left out, **mambengí útúlǎ ndi**. The object is marked in the verb form with the class 2 object prefix **ǎ-**.

If a clause is preceded by an external topic, it is nearly always a locative or a temporal phrase. Examples of a locative phrase as external topic are:

- (8.201) *kó p̄isi, Zangtyá ú-ḡumy-a ḡo-nzikaḡú*  
 PREP 9.path "Zangtya" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:2.O-spy on-FV 2-man without mercy  
 'On the road, Zangtya watched the robbers.'<sup>430</sup> (*T2009.21 - adapted*)

<sup>429</sup> Examples which Foley gives for adjuncts as external topics include: In Sydney there is always a lot to do, In the morning I finished the article (his (132a, b), Egbert, I couldn't find (132d) and Soukous, it's the greatest African twentieth-century gift to civilization (132g).

<sup>430</sup> The robbers are on the road.



- (8.202) kú-gǔ wo-ḡukú, ta-pung-ag-a kó-bis-ó pangǎ-tu  
 17-top 17.ASS-8:burning 1PL-start-PLUR-FV 9b-put-FV 13.hide of  
 piece of wood palm nut-13  
 'Over the fire, we start by putting the palm-nut fibres at all sides.'  
 (T2006.5)

- (8.203) kú kú-syáku, Makánzyálá o-gbit-í 6u-síyo na gbóní kakí  
 there 17-side "Makanzyala" 3SG:fell- 14-tree with 9.axe 3SG.POSS  
 across a river FV.ANT  
 'There across the river, Makanzyala felled a "6usiyo" tree with his axe.'

- (8.204) kónu kú<sup>431</sup> kusú ká Gbaigbat, ta-pung-ag-a  
 here there 1PL.POSS PREP "Gbaigbai" 1PL-start-PLUR-FV  
 ká-mumú-l-á ngbongbó  
 9b-collect-FV 9.banana trunk  
 'Here where we live in Gbaigbai, we start by collecting banana tree  
 trunks' (T2006.5)

Examples of temporal phrases as external topic are:

- (8.205) na 6u-só6i, a-lúkú ím-úkan-a nzǎ  
 with 14-sunrise 1b-man 3SG<sup>P</sup>:REFL-feel-FV 9.hunger  
 'At sunrise, the man was hungry.' (T2006.2)
- (8.206) kú-mbúso wa-ma-syé, lúnga ú-sil-y-ǎ ndi  
 17-back 17.ASS-6-day 5:war 3SG<sup>P</sup>:2.O-arrive-APPL-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'Some time later, the war affected them.' (T2009.21)
- (8.207) na 6u-gogǔ 6i ní-6ó, Bókótógi ámb-á ndi  
 with 14-sunset 14.DEM.III COP-14.DEM.I "Bokotogi" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:cook-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub>  
 ma-lílí ká ma-fíka  
 6-food PREP 6-kitchen  
 'That evening, Bokotogi prepared food in the kitchen.'

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<sup>431</sup> The vowel of **kú** is changed into /u/ due to assimilation to the following [+ATR] possessive pronoun **kusú**.

Examples of other adjuncts as external topic:

- (8.208) na gbɔní kakí yá-mbɪya, Makánzyálá o-gbit-í ɓu-síyo  
 with 9.axe 3SG.POSS 9.ASS-new "Makanzyala" 3SG:fell-FV.ANT 14-tree  
 kú-syáku  
 17-side across a river  
 'With his new axe, Makanzyala felled a "ɓusiyo" tree across the river.'

- (8.209) ká yigòkú kakú, wa-kíkwe-ní-to kú-mbúso  
 PREP 9a:return 2SG.POSS 2SG-NEG:look:FV- NEGSUBJ-INS 17-back  
 'When you return, do not look back' (T2006.1)

External topics may be followed by the contrast particle **áka**:

- (8.210) kó ngbínɡó ɓé-motí áka,  
 PREP 1a.time 1.NUM-one CT  
 ɪ-ngbóló á-pung-a kó-mw-óg-ó líbó  
 9a-dugout 3SG<sup>P</sup>-start-FV 9b-drink-PLUR-FV 5:water  
 'SUDDENLY, the dugout started to make water.'

- (8.211) kó ngbínɡó yí ní-nǎ ɡɔní áka nǎ,  
 PREP 1a.time 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I also CT 1.DEM.I  
 mu-kákti ú-ɓúkút-a ɓo-bígi  
 1-woman:3SG.POSS 3SG<sup>P</sup>:2.O-give birth-FV 2-twins  
 'AT THAT TIME, his wife gave birth to twins.' (T2007.9)

- (8.212) ká pǎ yí ní-yó áka yó,  
 PREP 9.place 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.I CT 9.DEM.I  
 Ábaláma á-bib-is-ǎ ndɪ Kúnzi  
 "Abalama" 3SG<sup>P</sup>-praise-CAUS-FV P<sub>3</sub> 1a.God  
 'AT THAT PLACE, Abraham praised God.' (translated Genesis 13:4)

When the external topic contains a type I demonstrative, a repeated demonstrative follows the contrast particle at the end of the external topic.

## 8.7 Comparison

In order to compare one item with another, different constructions are used depending on whether the comparison expresses a similarity or a dissimilarity.

When a characteristic that both items share is referred to, an inflected form of a verb is followed -not necessarily directly- by preposition **ábě** 'like', as in:

- (8.213) míkí mu-kó yǐ a ábe<sup>432</sup> síbá  
 1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III 3SG:be like 9.ivory  
 'A girl is like ivory.' (T2006.9)

The point of comparison here is that both a girl and a piece of ivory are highly valuable.

In the next examples, someone is being hit with sticks until he dies, like people hit a snake when it is seen in a village:

- (8.214) bá-bum-ǎ ndɪ na ɓɛ-ngbínǵílí ábe nzúka ɓá-mwó  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-hit-FV P<sub>3</sub> with 2+9:9a-stick like 1a.snake 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-kill:FV  
 'They hit him with sticks like a snake, they killed him.' (T2009.21)

When dissimilarity with respect to the point of comparison is expressed, the most common strategy is to use the Infinitive form of the verb **-kítáǵ-** 'pass, surpass'. In the phrases below, **-kítáǵ-** is used with its basic meaning 'pass' in which no comparison is involved:

- (8.215)a. ɓám-un-a a-lúkú ɓé-motí ní a-ná<sup>4</sup>-kítáǵ-á  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-see-FV<sup>433</sup> 1b-man 1.NUM-one when 3SG-INCH-pass-FV  
 na mémí kakí kó pǐsi  
 with 1a.goat 3SG.POSS PREP 9.path  
 'They saw a certain man when he was about to pass with his goat on the road.' (T2009.26)
- b. ná-kítáǵ-ǎ ndɪ ká ɪ-kólo yí-dingǐ.  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-pass-FV P<sub>3</sub> PREP 9a-school 9.ADJ-big  
 'I passed [the exams to go] to secondary school' (T2009.23)

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<sup>432</sup> The H tone of the LH contour merges with the following High.

<sup>433</sup> The Past has a TAM melody with a H tone on the leftmost prefix. Future has no TAM melody with H tones. In the case of the third person plural subject prefix, which has an underlying H tone, the verb forms are identical. In the context of the story, reference is to the past.

In the following examples, **-kítáǵ-** is used in comparisons. Recall that Infinitive forms may include object and reflexive prefixes as well as verbal extensions.

- (8.216)a. ǵa-va kú kakí ǵá-luk-ǵ ndi ǵé L1-ngútu  
 2-clan member there 3SG.POSS 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-call-FV P<sub>3</sub> COMP 5-star  
 kó bulyó kyé ǵ ndi wa-nzá ká-u-kítáǵ-ǵ  
 PREP 9.reason because 3SG:be P<sub>3</sub> 1.ASS-good 9b-2.O-pass-FV  
 ǵa-ská ǵá-si ǵá-mu-sengí  
 2-girl 2.ASS-all 2.ASS-3-village

'Her clan members called her Star because she was more beautiful than all the girls of the village.' (T2009.12)

- b. í-pígo yá-nyamá tino sě mu-ná wa-ma-balangá  
 9a-species 9.ASS-1a.animal which thus 1.DEM.II-CONN 1.ASS-6-spot  
 ká-<sup>4</sup>kítáǵ-ǵ sukopí mu ?  
 9b:1.O-pass-FV 1a.leopard 1.DEM.II

'What kind of animal is this, spotted more than a leopard?' (T2006.1)

- c. mu-tú wǵ-gogo a-tú goni na yangyá yá-gogo  
 1-man 1.ASS-other 3SG:be-INS also with 9.poverty 9.ASS-other  
 ká-u-kítáǵ-ǵ twe  
 9b-2SG.O-pass-FV 2SG.PRO

'Someone else certainly also has some other need, more than you.'  
 (T2009.21)

To express a superlative, the adverb **kúǵbe** 'very' is added between the nominal with the point of comparison and the Infinitive form of **-kítáǵ-** 'pass, surpass', as in:

- (8.217)a. i-kí yó a na i-zangiyá kúǵbe ká-kítáǵ-ǵ ?  
 9a-what 9.DEM.I 3SG:be with 9a-profit very 9b-pass-FV

'What is most important?'

- b. ǵ ndi míkí mu-paka kúǵbe ká-u-kítáǵ-ǵ ǵá-si  
 3SG:be P<sub>3</sub> 1a.child 1-favourite very 9b-2.O-pass-FV 2.ASS-all  
 ká mu-sengí  
 PREP 3-village

'He was the most favourite child of all [children] in the village.'

To indicate that the other item is identical or just different, **mudɔŋɔni** 'identical, horizontal'<sup>434</sup> expresses that the item is identical to the one compared with. To mention that items are different without evaluating one as being better, etc. than the other, **di** 'different, strange' is used. Neither **mudɔŋɔni** nor **di** shows noun-class concord. But **di** agrees in number: it is triplicated when it modifies a plural head.

Examples include:

- (8.218) ɓa-mbáŋzú ɓá-si ɓá mudɔŋɔni  
 2-person 2.ASS-all 3PL:be identical  
 'All people are the same.'

The word **mudɔŋɔni** keeps the same form regardless of whether its referent is singular or plural.

- (8.219)a. a-lúkú mu-ná a di na ɓeŋgɛní.  
 1b-man 1.DEM.II-CONN 3SG:be different with 1a.other person  
 'That man is different from the other(s).'
- b. ɓa-ndáɓu didíǎ  
 2.house different  
 'different houses', i.e. all unique
- c. a-tí-tungbúl-ag-a ká mo-gubó didíǎ  
 3SG-1PL.O-help-PLUR-FV PREP 6-work different  
 'It helps us with different jobs.' (T2006.5)

## 8.8 Complex sentences

This section mainly aims to provide illustrations of coordinate and subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses are divided into object clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. Relative clauses are presented separately in 8.4, in order to introduce the trace particle **minó**, which also occurs in interrogative sentences, see 8.5, and in left-dislocation, see 8.6.3.

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<sup>434</sup> Probably related to **mu-dɔŋó** '3-row', plural class 9 **dɔŋó**.

## 8.8.1 Coordinate clauses

Coordinate clauses are divided by means of a pause, or by one of the conjunctions **na** 'and', **ikání** 'or', or **lúkí límotí** 'but'. Most frequently, there is no conjunction present between two coordinate clauses, only a pause:

- (8.220) a-bǎkti                  mu-siká nǎ          á-va                  ma-lílí mǎ,  
 1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-girl 1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>-take:FV 6-food 6.DEM.I  
 ó-bĩs-o          ɓo-kpokúkú          ɓoyí                  ká ndáɓu ka-ɓo-bikó  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-put-FV 2+9-cooking pot 2+9.DEM.III PREP 9.house GEN-2-visitor  
 'The father of the girl took this food and put these cooking pots  
 (exclusive) in the guesthouse.' (T2006.2)

An examples of **na** 'and' is:

- (8.221) ā-mak-y-a                  ká      lɪ-bǎ,          ɓa-sǎngú,      mo-tíli,      mu-nǎkú  
 3SG:1.O-insert-APPL-FV PREP 5-buttock 2+9-nostril 6-ear 3-mouth  
 na      ā-gbody-o                  kó      míso  
 and 3SG:1.O-smear-FV PREP 6:eye  
 'He will insert [them (i.e. rotten mushrooms)] for him, in the anus, in the nostrils, in the ears, in the mouth and he will smear [them] over his face.  
 (T2006.3)

The following sentence is a combination of clauses separated by pauses and by the conjunction **na** 'and' (in the context of the text, the time reference is to the past):

- (8.222) ta                  ká-am-ǎ          ká-mumól-á,  
 1PL:be-FV 9b-limit-FV 9b-collect-FV  
 tó-ɓíng-o      se      kúwa      mǐsá                  má-kpu,  
 1PL<sup>P</sup>-cut-FV thus thus 9.firewood 6.ASS-big  
 tá-tup-a                  ndikó  
 1PL<sup>P</sup>-take all-FV 9.palm-nut pit  
 na      tó-ɓungusy-o      gǎnǐ      lítá                  ló-ɓukú                  ɓĩ  
 and 1PL<sup>P</sup>-arrange-FV also 5:fireplace 5.ASS-8:burning piece of 8.DEM.III  
    wood

'When we finished gathering, we cut a lot of firewood, we took all the palm-nut pits and also arranged a fireplace for this fire (exclusive).'

(T2006.5)

An example of **ikání** 'or' is:

- (8.223) *índ-ag-a kúwǎ ndi ká-kís-á ma-lílí*  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>:go-PLUR-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> 9b-Search-FV 6-food  
*ikání ká-túg-á líbó no bití*  
 or 9b-draw water-FV 5:water with 9.darkness  
 'So he went to search for food or to draw water during the night.'  
 (T2009.21)

The combination **lúki** '5:object' and **lí-motí** '5.NUM-one' is used to express 'but':

- (8.224) *síbí á-kǎ ndi mu-palú, lúki lí-motí mu-palú*  
 1a.tortoise 3SG<sup>P</sup>-cut:FV P<sub>3</sub> 3-barrier 5:object 5.NUM-one 3-barrier  
*mí ní<sup>435</sup> ø-ké-gǔ ndi ká-ǐ-gwin-ón-ó*  
 3.DEM.III when 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG P<sub>3</sub> 9b-REFL-hold:ASS-ASS-FV  
 'Tortoise cut a barrier in the forest, but this barrier did not hold together.'  
 (T2007.3)

- (8.225) *fo-gbuwó bá-sáá bó-guly-o ká ndábu, bá-va*  
 2-chimpanzee 2.NUM-three 3PL<sup>P</sup>-enter-FV PREP 9.house 3PL<sup>P</sup>-take:FV  
*ma-sángi, bág-a b́éyó áka yó,*  
 6-basket 3PL<sup>P</sup>:leave-FV like that CT 9.DEM.I  
*lúki lí-motí bá-ká-kwanan-í-gǔ ndi ká-túg-á*  
 5:object 5.NUM-one 3PL-NEG-should-FV-NEG P<sub>3</sub> 9b-draw water-FV  
*líbó kú-sǎ wa-ma-sángi*  
 5:water 17-inside 17.ASS-6-basket  
 'The three chimpanzees entered the house, they took baskets, they left  
 LIKE THAT, but they could not<sup>436</sup> draw water in baskets.' (T2007.1)

## 8.8.2 Subordinate object clauses

The complementizer **bé** introduces a direct or indirect speech complement, or another type of object clause. The difference is the occurrence of a short pause, preceding or following **bé**.

<sup>435</sup> Short form of **kání** 'when, while'.

<sup>436</sup> The negative Future followed by the Past time adverbial <sup>TH</sup>**ndi** is used to express inability in the past.

### a. Direct and indirect speech complements

When the complementizer **ḃé**<sup>437</sup> introduces direct speech or indirect speech, **ḃé** occurs at the end of the main clause and is followed by a short pause.

Examples of direct speech include:

- (8.226) ḃá-ḃíky-a ḃé: tá-<sup>4</sup>kw-íly-á ndi gbukó  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-say-FV COMP 1PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-die-BEN-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> 1a.rat  
 'They said: "We died for rat".' (T2006.3)

- (8.227) Ká Ngasá na Kíbi ḃé: ye<sup>438</sup> míkabă, wĩ-ḃṭb-ag-a  
 "Ka Ngasa" with "Kibi" COMP excuse me 1a.brother 2SG:REFL-praise-  
 PLUR-FV  
 'Ka Ngasa [said] to Kibi: "Excuse me brother, you praise yourself." '  
 (T2006.1)

- (8.228) ḃó-bilisy-og-o kúwă ndi ḃé: "Rigo hooo !"  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-chant slogan-PLUR-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> COMP "rigo hooo"  
 'They scanted: "Rigo hooo!" ' (T2006.4)

- (8.229) a-ním-úus-ó kúwa ḃé:  
 3SG-INCH:REFL-ask-FV thus COMP  
 ḃe-gbɔgbɔ ḃayá-ḃo-tú ḃi ní-ḃayɪ  
 2+9:9a-s.th. worn 2+9.ASS-2+9-clothes 2.DEM.III COP-2+9.DEM.II  
 Ø-ka-pút-ík-án-á sɛ píye kúwa,  
 3SG-COND-destroy-NEUT-ASS-FV thus thus thus  
 nĩ-gy-a kúwa ɪmɪ ḃúní ?  
 1SG:REFL-do-FV thus 1SG.PRO how  
 'He asked himself: "These threadbare clothes here, if they are gone,  
 what shall I do?" ' (T2009.21)

<sup>437</sup> The verb for 'say' in Liko is **-ḃíky-**.

<sup>438</sup> The High part of the LH tone on **ye** has merged with the following H tone.



In the following two examples, **ḃé** introduces indirect speech:

- (8.230) Ká Ngasá a-ḃíky-i-ní Kíbi ḃé, ãm-íb-o  
 "Ka Ngasa" 3SG:1.O-say-FV.ANT-PFV "Kibi" COMP 3SG:1.O-know-FV  
 ḃé a mu-lítká  
 COMP 3SG:be 1-trapper  
 'Ka Ngasa has said to Kibi that he would acknowledge him to be a  
 trapper.' (T2006.1)

- (8.231) yěktí kókú a-pa tyí yamámá kúgbe  
 as 1a.chicken 3SG-want:FV 1.PRO 9a.wandering very  
 á-ḃíky-a ḃata négbă ḃé ḃá-gá mbéytí  
 3SG<sup>p</sup>:1.O-say-FV again 1a.lizard COMP 3PL-go:FV.IMP first  
 ká-nyō mbóngú kó tutú  
 9b-pull up:FV 9.mushroom PREP 9.forest  
 'As chicken likes very much to wander around, she said again to lizard  
 that they go to gather mushrooms in the forest.' (T2007.19)

### b. Other subordinate object clauses

In the case of a subordinate object clause introduced by the complementizer **ḃé**, there usually is a short pause preceding **ḃé** and the subordinate clause.

The complementizer **ḃé** occurs clause-initially in subordinate clauses where verbs like 'know', 'praise', 'demand' occur in the main clause:

- (8.232) ḃúm-ib-o ḃé wa míkí mu-lúkú yí wa-lí-ngunú  
 3PL:2SG.O- COMP 2SG:be 1a.child 1-man 1.DEM.III 1.ASS-5-truth  
 know-FV  
 'They will know that you are truly a young man<sup>439</sup>.' (T2006.8)

- (8.233) wĩ-ḃib-ag-a ḃé u-mwóg-ḃ<sup>440</sup> ḃa-nyamá  
 2SG:REFL-praise-PLUR-FV COMP 2SG:2.O-kill:PLUR-FV 2-animal  
 'You praise yourself that you kill animals.' (T2006.1)

<sup>439</sup> Literally, 'a young man of truth'.

<sup>440</sup> The subject prefix onset, /w/, has merged with the vowel of the object prefix after V<sub>1</sub>-deletion.

- (8.234) a-bǎkti á-pak-á ndi bé mbunyáki  
 1b.father:3SG.POSS 3SG<sup>P</sup>-guard-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> COMP 1a.husband:3SG.POSS  
 ik-o ndéke mu-tú mu-plyǎ nzǎ  
 3SG:be-FV F<sub>3</sub> 1-man 1.ADJ-enduring 9.hunger  
 'Her father demanded that her husband should be a man who endures  
 hunger.' (T2006.2)

- (8.235) Zangíyá a-ná-<sup>4</sup>táman-ag-á góni tyí bé Ikoóbu  
 "Zangiya" 3SG-INCH-think-PLUR-FV also 1.PRO COMP "Ikoóbu"  
 ó-kw-ó-ní ndi  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-die-FV<sup>P</sup>-PFV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'Zangiya thought as well that Ikoóbu had died.' (T2009.21)

The complementizer **bé** has another function, without a following clause, i.e. to introduce an identification. Examples include:

- (8.236) bá-ltk-y-ag-ǎ ndi bé si-múú-sò sí-dingĩ  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-call-APPL-PLUR-FV P<sub>3</sub> COMP 19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big  
 'They called it / It was called big circumcision.' (T2006.4)
- (8.237) lúnga ní-ló bá-ltk-y-ag-a bé yangyá  
 5:war COP-5.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>-call-APPL-PLUR-FV COMP 9.poverty  
 ú-sil-y-ǎ ndi  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>:2.O-arrive-APPL-FV P<sub>3</sub>  
 'The war, which is called poverty, arrived at them.' (T2009.21)
- (8.238) ká mu-sengí ka-Bavakwókwo, ǎ ndi mu-líliká  
 PREP 3-village GEN-people of "Kwokwo" 3SG:be P<sub>3</sub> 1-trapper  
 bé-motí íná ndi bé Kíbigu Kádígyǎ  
 1.NUM-one 5:name P<sub>3</sub> COMP "Kibigu Kadígya"  
 'In the village of Bavakwokwo was a trapper called Kibigu Kadígya.'  
 (T2006.1)

### 8.8.3 Subordinate adverbial clauses

Subordinate adverbial clauses have one of the following conjunctions clause-initially: **iba** 'it means that, so that', **kyé** 'because', **níyó** 'when, while', **yéku** 'when, as'

and **kání** 'when, while'. Subordinate clauses with the conjunctions **íba** and **kyé** follow the main clause. **níyó** and **yéku** are conjunctions in subordinate clauses that (almost) always precede the main clause. Subordinate clauses with **kání** generally follow the main clause.

The complementizer **bé** also occurs preceding subordinate adverbial clauses which express a purpose. These subordinate clauses all contain a Subjunctive form, e.g.:

- (8.239) sukopí no gbukó bé índ-í ká-kís-á búbunzá  
 1a.leopard and 1a.rat COMP 3SG:go-FV.SUBJ 9b-search- 9.rotten  
 FV mushroom

'Leopard [said] to rat to go to find rotten mushrooms.' (T2006.3)

For other examples, see 7.9.1.

Examples of **íba** 'it means that, so that', with and without a Subjunctive in the following clause:

- (8.240) tó-ḡungúsy-í-ni mu-sengí íba tík-i bí-nza  
 1PL-arrange-FV.SUBJ- 3-village it means that 1PL:be-FV.SUBJ MOD-good  
 ADDR

'Let us fix up the village so that we would be well.' (T2006.7)

- (8.241) wa-kukán-á ndi bé sí-múí-sò sí-dingí íba  
 2SG-COND:hear-FV P<sub>3</sub> COMP 19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big it means that  
 ní-só bú-kòg-ḡ ndi minó 6o-míkí bú-dingí  
 COP-19.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>:2.O-cut:PLUR-FV P<sub>3</sub> TRACE 2-child 2.ADJ-big  
 'If you heard "big circumcision", it referred to the one where many children were circumcised.' (T2006.4)

In (8.240), **íba** functions to express a purpose, in (8.241), **íba** introduces an explanation.

Examples of **kyé** 'because':

- (8.242) ă ndi ká-bíky-á lí-ngunú áka, kyé kú kakí  
 3SG:be P<sub>3</sub> 9b-say-FV 5-truth CT because there 3SG.POSS  
 ik-ag-ă ndi ásí sú yá-li-kísi aká  
 3SG:be-PLUR-FV P<sub>3</sub> only 9.smell 9.ASS-5-delicious dish CT

'He spoke THE TRUTH because where he lived there was ALWAYS THE FLAVOUR OF A DELICIOUS DISH.' (T2006.1)

- (8.243) kínili 6a-mbánzú 6á-múy-án-á na 6a-bílí,  
 that's why 2-person 3PL<sup>P</sup>-hate-ASS-FV<sup>P</sup> with 2:1b-demon  
 kyé 6á-mwó ndu Mbwóko  
 because 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-kill:FV P<sub>3</sub> "Mbwoko"  
 'That is why men and demons hate each other, because they [the demons]  
 killed Mbwoko.' (T2006.2)

Subordinate clauses with **níyó** 'when, while' precedes the main clause:

- (8.244) níyó ám-un-a Kíbi, á-<sup>+</sup>pám-y-a 6é:  
 when 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-see-FV "Kibi" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-scream-APPL-FV COMP  
 wayí mū-ná wíkwě kú-mbúso  
 1a.friend 1.DEM.II-CONN 2SG:look:FV.INST 17-back  
 'When he saw Kibi, he screamed at him: "Friend! Look behind." '  
 (T2006.1)

- (8.245) níyó Ikó6ú ún-á 6éyó, índ-a ká  
 when "Iko6u" 3SG<sup>P</sup>:see-FV<sup>P</sup> like that 3SG<sup>P</sup>:go-FV PREP  
 6o-nzika6ú, ká-kúng-á ku-kwá-ku  
 2-man without mercy 9b-demand-FV 15-death-15  
 'When Iko6u saw that, he went to a band of robbers to ask for his death.'  
 (T2009.21)

An example of **yěku** 'when, as' is:

- (8.246) yěku 6á-dwe kó tíko, sukopí mū-nokú á-dik-á 6í-de  
 when 3PL<sup>P</sup>-arrive: PREP 9.field 1a.leopard 3-mouth 3SG<sup>P</sup>-cool- MOD-cold  
 FV FV<sup>P</sup>  
 'When they arrived at the field, Leopard was staggered.'<sup>441</sup> (T2006.1)

Examples of **kání** 'when, while' are:

- (8.247) á-syé mū-kaká, kání 6á-ká-<sup>+</sup>pí-gu gutúgu  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>-pass:FV 1.ADJ-alone when 3PL-NEG:1.O-give:FV.ANT-NEG even  
 lí6ó lí-mwó áka  
 5:water 5.ADJ-drinking CT

<sup>441</sup> Literally, 'the mouth cooled cold'.

'He passed [the night] alone, while they did not give him EVEN DRINKING WATER.' (T2006.2)

- (8.248) á-gy-a mbéyɪ ma-syé má-ǂǂ kání Ø-ké-gu  
 3SG<sup>p</sup>-do-FV first 6-day 6.NUM-two when 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG  
 ká-ĩm-ukán-á nzǎ  
 9b-REFL-hear-FV 9.hunger  
 'First he spent two days without feeling hungry.' (T2006.2)

#### 8.8.4 Infinitives

Infinitives display both nominal and verbal characteristics. They can fill positions in the sentence that are normally occupied by either nouns or verbs. They may be accompanied by modifiers or by arguments. In this section, an Infinitive is referred to as Infinitive if it consists of only the Infinitive form without object prefixes or arguments. Otherwise, it is referred to as an Infinitival clause.

Infinitives take the noun-class prefix of class 9b (see 5.1.1), which is identical to the general preposition **ká**. Placing Infinitives in class 9b is argued for on the basis of their set of concords, which is identical to the one of class 9. In (5.43), repeated here, an Infinitive is modified by an adjective or by a nominal modifier. The Infinitive, being the head of the noun phrase, controls agreement on its modifiers:

- (8.249)a. ká-lyály-á yí-dingĩ  
 9b-graze-FV 9.ADJ-big  
 'the big grazing', i.e. eating a lot
- b. ká-ag-ǎ yá-<sup>+</sup>kú-slí  
 9b-leave-FV 9.ASS-17-downstream  
 'the downstream leaving', i.e. going downstream

Constructions with an Infinitive as the head of a noun phrase and followed by a modifier are rare.

In all positions, Infinitives can be followed by an argument and/or an adjunct. Infinitives can have derived forms with verbal extensions. In (8.250a), the Infinitival clause contains both an object prefix, the Causative extension and the

Directional suffix. In (8.250b), the Infinitival clause contains the reflexive prefix and the Causative extension:

- (8.250)a. *It-syé ní-ló                      ðík-o                      kúwǎ ndt minó*  
 5-day COP-5.DEM.I 3PL<sup>P</sup>:sit-FV thus P<sub>3</sub> TRACE  
*ká-ũ-pup-ís-ó-kú                      kúnú ká                      mū-sengí*  
 9b-2.O-leave-CAUS-FV-DIR here PREP 3-village  
 'The day on which they sat to cause them [the boys] to leave towards the village ...' (T2006.4)
- b. *wa-ság-á-tu                                      ká-ĩ-monís-ó                                      lúgo*  
 2SG-abandon:PLUR-FV.IMP-INS 9b-REFL-show:CAUS-FV 9.middle  
*ka-ða-ðengéńí                      ðéyó*  
 GEN-2-other person like that  
 'Stop showing off among other people.' (T2006.1)

Infinitives, like other verb forms, have a specific TAM tone melody: a H tone on the final vowel. An Infinitive is the main verb in Progressive aspect, see 7.7.5. Infinitives cannot be inflected for negation.

In the remainder of this section the following uses of constructions containing an Infinitive or Infinitival clause are presented:

- a. Infinitive or Infinitival clause as complement
- b. Infinitive or Infinitival clause as adjunct
- c. Infinitive or Infinitival clause as subsequent event or series of tasks
- d. Infinitive or Infinitival clause as comparison

#### a. Infinitive or Infinitival clause as complement

Infinitives may be used as objects of verbs expressing a modal or aspectual meaning. The subject of the main verb typically has the same referent as the subject of the Infinitive.

- (8.251) *ø-kíb-i-gu                                      ká-dıgy-ǎ*  
 3SG-NEG:know-FV-NEG 9b-say-FV  
 'He will not know [what] to say.' (T2006.1)

- (8.252)  $\emptyset$ -ká-pǎ                      ká-vǎ  
 3SG-COND-want:FV   9b-take:FV  
 'If you want to take [i.e. a wife].' (T2006.8)
- (8.253) 6a-wanzá              6á-ká-pag-t-gu                      ká-kǒ              st-múí-sò  
 2-young person   3PL-NEG-want:PLUR-FV-NEG   9b-cut-FV   19-circumcision-19  
 sá-mastǒú  
 19.ASS-"mastǒu"  
 'Young boys do not like to circumcise at a "mastǒu" ceremony.'  
 (T2006.4)
- (8.254) 6a-lúkú   6i              6á-ky-á              ndt   ká-und-á   ká  
 2-man   2.DEM.III   3PL<sup>P</sup>-refuse-FV<sup>P</sup>   P<sub>3</sub>   9b-go-FV   PREP  
 st-lyá-su              ka-mu-suká   ka-a-búí  
 7-cohabitation-7   GEN-1-girl   GEN-1b-demon  
 'The men refused to go and live together with the demon's daughter.'  
 (T2006.2)
- (8.255) 6a-tú   6á-st   6ǒ   6i   na   6u-kpekí-kpekí   kó-do-kú  
 2-man   2.ASS-all   3PL.be   P<sub>1</sub>   with   14-problem   9b-come:FV-DIR  
 'All people had a problem to come.' (T2006.7)

In the following examples, the Infinitive, the main verb, indicates a situation which is beginning or ending:

- (8.256) 6á-pung-ǎ   ndt   ká-ly-á   tíko  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-start-FV   P<sub>3</sub>   9b-eat-FV   9.field  
 'They started to eat [from] the field.'  
 (T2006.3)
- (8.257) 6á-sa                      ká-in-ís-ón-ó              ká   6a-sókò  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>-abandon:FV   9b-see-CAUS-ASS-FV   PREP   2-market  
 'They stopped to appear at the market.' (T2009.21)

Infinitival clauses may also be used after verbs of obligation. The subject has the same referent as the presupposed subject of the Infinitive.

(8.258) o-kwonón-i míkí mu-lúkú yí ká-ik-ó na ndábu  
 3SG-should-FV.ANT 1a.child 1-man 1.DEM.III 9b-be-FV with 9.house  
 'It is expected of a boy to have a house.' (T2006.8)

(8.259) ká-ib-ís-ík-ón-ís-ó b́é wa míkí mu-lúkú  
 9b-know-CAUS-NEUT-ASS-CAUS-FV COMP 2SG:be 1a.child 1-man  
 yí, o-ḡosíli ká-pung-á kó-pik-ó ndábu  
 1.DEM.III 3SG-need-FV.ANT 9b-start-FV 9b-build-FV 9.house  
 'To make known that you are a young man, one needs to start to build a house.' (T2006.8)

In the above example, **kápongá kópikó ndábu** is the complement of **oḡosíli** and **kópikó ndábu** is the complement of the aspectual verb **kápongá** 'to start'.

### b. Infinitive or Infinitival clause as adjunct

In the following examples, Infinitives and Infinitival clauses are used as adjuncts. They are used to express a time, a purpose or a reason.

Examples of infinitival clauses with temporal use:

- (8.260)a. ndikó kó-bwǒ, wá-va lu-dákí  
 9.palm-nut pit 9b-grow big:FV 2SG-take:FV.INST 5-clay pot  
 'When the palm nuts [have] grown big, take a clay pot.' (T2006.6)
- b. ká-pup-ís-ó nyamá ká mu-sengí, mu-tú wa-st  
 9b:1.O-leave-CAUS-FV 1a.animal PREP 3-village 1-man 1.ASS-all  
 ní-nǒ ám-un-a, ó-ping-og-o bí-kókóló-kokolo  
 COP-1.DEM.I 3SG<sup>P</sup>:1.O-see-FV 3SG<sup>P</sup>-harden-PLUR-FV MOD-stiff  
 'When he dragged the animal to the village, every person who saw him, grew stiff.' (T2006.1)
- c. ká-ag-ǎ ma-syé ma-kédé áka Kíbi á-lík-a  
 9b-leave-FV 6-day 6.ADJ-small CT "Kibi" 3SG<sup>P</sup>-trap-FV  
 mándé ka-Dingopoyó  
 9.trail GEN-"Dingopoyo"  
 'A FEW DAYS later, Kibi trapped Dingopoyo's trail.' (T2006.1)



Examples of infinitival clauses used to express a purpose:

- (8.261)a. ág-ǎ ndi ká-<sup>4</sup>ḃtky-á ngámá  
 3SG<sup>P</sup>:leave-FV P<sub>3</sub> 9b:1.O-say-FV 1a.chief  
 'He left to tell the chief.' (T2006.3)
- b. tág-á, nínd-í ká-ín-á no míso  
 1PL:leave-FV 1SG:go-FV.SUBJ 9b-see-FV with 6:eye  
 'Let us leave, so that I go to see it with my eyes.' (T2006.3)
- c. bá-<sup>4</sup>tík-á i-ngbo ká-kpǎ mbúku  
 3PL<sup>P</sup>:1.O-send-FV<sup>P</sup> 1c-aardvark 9b-dig:FV 9.grave  
 'Aardvark was sent to dig a grave.' (T2006.3)

Example of an infinitival clause used to express a reason:

- (8.262) gbukó á-píkít-á ndi iyí ká ma-bíso  
 1a.rat 3SG<sup>P</sup>-run-FV<sup>P</sup> P<sub>3</sub> 1.PRO PREP 6-hole  
 ká-ú-báng-á 6a-dǎkti no súni  
 9b-2.O-fear-FV 2-s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS with 9.shame  
 'Rat fled into holes out of fear for the other animals and out of shame.'  
 (T2006.3)

### c. Infinitive or Infinitival clause as subsequent event or series of tasks

Infinitives and Infinitival clauses may be used to indicate a subsequent event. They are also used in a series of tasks. In the case of a subsequent event, the first verb usually has the Inchoative aspect and the second verb has the Infinitive form.

Examples of an infinitival clause following a verb with the Inchoative aspect:

- (8.263)a. ta-ná-yíḃ-á 6ε-ngbɔngbó na ká-díkít-ág-á kúgókú  
 1PL-INCH-tear up-FV 2+9:9a-banana and 9b-throw-PLUR-FV right there  
 trunk  
 'We are about to tear up banana tree trunks and throw [the pieces]  
 there.' (T2006.5)
- b. kání a-nó-dw-ǒ áma ká-kpakyán-á  
 when 3SG-INCH-move-FV or 9b-walk-FV  
 'When he is about to move or walk. (T2006.2)

Infinitival clauses to express subsequent events or occurring in a series of tasks:

- (8.264) ǃá      ʼká-nd-á    ká-ʼmwó  
 3PL:be    9b-go-FV    9b:1.O-kill:FV  
 'They are going to kill him.' (T2009.21)
- (8.265) li-gubó ik-og-o      kúwǎ ndi ká-lík-á    ǃa-kpáká,  
 5-work    3SG:be-PLUR-FV    thus    P<sub>3</sub>    9b-trap-FV    2+9-trap  
 kó-lub-ó      ma-súktǎngí na    mo-gubó má-gogo  
 9b-plunge-FV    6-fish hook      with    6-work    6.ASS-other  
 'The work was thus setting traps, fishing and other tasks.' (T2006.4)
- (8.266) yǃgytyǃyǃá    yá-ku-káká-ku:      yambámbá, kó-ǃíng-ó  
 9a:practice    9.ASS-15-housekeeping-15    9a:cooking    9b-cut-FV  
 mísá      ká-kpǎ      pǎ,    ká-sukús-á    ma-kpómóká  
 9.firewood    9b-sweep:FV    9.area    9b-wash-FV    6-thing  
 'Practices of housekeeping: cooking, cleaving firewood [with an axe],  
 sweeping the yard, doing the dishes.' (T2006.9)
- (8.267) mo-gubó didíǃí    áǃě ká-sukús-á    ǃo-tú,      ká-ǃ-sukús-á  
 6-work    different    like    9b-wash-FV    2+9-clothes    9b-2.O-wash-FV  
 ǃa-sǎni,    ká-ǃ-sukús-ág-á  
 2-plate    9b-REFL-wash-PLUR-FV  
 'Different jobs, like washing clothes, doing the dishes, washing  
 ourselves.' (T2006.5)

The second Infinitive in the last example has an object prefix because its object belongs to class 2 (see 8.2.5).

#### d. Infinitive or Infinitival clause as comparison

Infinitives and Infinitival clauses are used in comparisons (see 8.7), when dissimilarity with respect to the point of comparison is expressed. Part of (8.216a) is repeated here:

- (8.268) ǎ      ndi wa-nzá      ká-u-kítág-á    ǃa-súká    ǃá-si  
 3SG:be    P<sub>3</sub>    1.ASS-good    9b-2.O-pass-FV    2-girl    2.ASS-all  
 'She was more beautiful than all the girls.'