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6 Pronominal Forms, Invariables and Expressions

6.1 Pronominal substitutives and demonstratives

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

6.1.1 Pronominal substitutives and participant pronouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Substitutive</th>
<th>Underlying</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>iyí</td>
<td>/-yú/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>iɓó</td>
<td>/-ɓú/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>imú</td>
<td>/-m-ú/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ilú</td>
<td>/-l-ú/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>imú</td>
<td>/-m-ú/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>isú</td>
<td>/-s-ú/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>iɓú</td>
<td>/-ɓ-ú/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>iyú</td>
<td>/-y-ú/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 + 9</td>
<td>iɓoyú</td>
<td>/-ɓa-y-ú/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21 Participant pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Substitutive</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>itú</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>1PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>iɓú</td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ikwú</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>isú</td>
<td></td>
<td>1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(6.1)a. ɓá-mwọ́ tyí
3PL:1.O-kill:FV 1.PRO
'They killed him.' *(T2006.2)*
b. ɓò́ ɓá-sí bó-misík-ón-óg-i-ní
2.PRO 2.ASS-all 3PL-disperse:NEUT-ASS-PLUR-FV.ANT-PFV
'They have all dispersed.' *(T2006.1)*

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

(6.2)a. mu-lòkú ø-dák-á kówa tyí kú-gô
1-man 3SG-NEG-climb:FV 1.PRO 17-top
'The man (emphasized) climbed to the top.' *(T2006.10)*
b. mu-bánsúnlè 0-kó-tík-ag-t-gô ndí tyí ɓo-mikakí
1-cockroach 3SG-NEG:2.O-send-PLUR-FV-NEG P3 1.PRO 2-child:3SG.POSS

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268 No substitutive for class 17 nouns has been found in texts or using elicitation.
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ɓɩ́-gala-gala kó ká mène dáktí
MOD-fast there PREP 1a.blood brother 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS
’Cockroach (emphasized) could not quickly send his children to his
blood-brother.’ (T2007.8)

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

In examples below, isú ‘19.PRO’ refers to su-móí-só ‘19-circumcision-19’, iyú ‘9.PRO’
refers to bóbunzá ‘9.rotton mushroom’ and ɓoyú ‘2+9.PRO’ refers to bo-tú ‘2+9-
clothes’; in the last two examples, the object is referred to.

(6.3) kínili su-móí-só sí-dingí 0-ké-go bátà.
that is why 19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG again
ní-só sá-mastiɓó 0-ké-go isú na bòpè
’That is why the big circumcision no longer exists. That one of "mastiɓú"
(emphasized) does not have taboos.’ (T2006.4)

(6.4) sukopí no gbukó ɓé ñándí
1a.leopard and 9.rat COMP 3SG:go-FV.SUBJ
ká-kíis-á bóbunzá, 0-kig-o-kú na iyú,
’Leopard [said] to rat that he should go to find rotten mushrooms, [and] if
he returns with them, …’ (T2006.3)

(6.5) ngámá, ma-ka-mwó Ikóɓú, mó-do-kú ké-ɓá
ɓo-tú kakí, nó-pup-i na ɓoyú kú-nzi
2+9-clothes 3SG.POSS 1SG-leave-FV.SUBJ with 2+9.PRO 17-outside
’Chief, if you (pl) kill Ikòɓú, you (pl) come to give me his clothes, so that I
go outside with them.’ (T2009.21)

The initial vowel of pronominal substitutives can be left unpronounced. Following
na ‘and, with’, the initial vowel of the substitutive is often elided and the vowel of
na assimilates to the [+ATR] value of the substitutive, e.g. naɓó in (6.6a) (< na tɓó), noyú in (6.6b) (< na iyú) and nomú in (6.8) (< na imú):

(6.6) bág-a naɓó ká gbundó 3PL:leave-FV with:2.PRO PREP 9.forest
'They went with them to the forest.' (T2006.4)

b. ɓa-sambá bá-va i-tíí, bó-do-kú noyú 2-circumcision 3PL:take:FV 9a-ant hill 3PL:come-FV-DIR with:9.PRO
'The circumcisors took an ant hill, they came with it towards [you].' (T2006.4)

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

'The circumcision of "masibó" (emphasized) is not one with many demands.' (T2006.4)

'If we do not work how would the people (emphasized) live?' (T2006.7)

c. kpáká kakí ɓ-ká-ɓák-ag-t-gó ndt yú yayá 9.trap 3SG.POSS 3SG-NEG-sprout-PLUR- FV-NEG 9,PRO 9,a.th. worthless
'His trap (emphasized) will not release in vain.' (T2006.1)

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

(6.8) wák-an-a se kówa su yá-mo-lingó ɓí-duke-duke. 2SG:smell-FV,INST thus thus 9,fruit 9,ASS-6-oil MOD-nice smell niyú a-dık-la kówa wó-duk-o ká li-súngú. when 3SG-cool down-F thus 2SG-pour-FV,INST PREP 5-container ta-γy-ag-a kówa ɓé kú-mbúso wa-ysukusagá 1PL-do-PLUR-FV thus COMP 17-back 17,ASS-9a:washing
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wi-tikil-o nomú.
2SGREFL-cover-PLUR-FV.INST with:6.PRO
'Smell the fragrance of the oil, a nice smell. When it has cooled down, pour it into a container. We do thus, after washing ourselves, cover yourself with it.' (T2006.6)

6.1.2 Demonstratives

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

Table 22 Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>DEM.I</th>
<th>DEM.II</th>
<th>DEM.III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nɔ̌</td>
<td>mʊ̀</td>
<td>yǐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ɓɔ</td>
<td>ɓà</td>
<td>ɓi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mɔ</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>mĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>lɔ</td>
<td>lì</td>
<td>lǐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mɔ</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>mĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sɔ</td>
<td>sì</td>
<td>sĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ɓɔ</td>
<td>ɓì</td>
<td>ɓì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yɔ</td>
<td>yì</td>
<td>yǐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+9</td>
<td>ɓàyɔ̌ 270</td>
<td>ɓàyì</td>
<td>ɓàyǐ271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tɔ</td>
<td>tì</td>
<td>tǐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ɓɔ</td>
<td>ɓà</td>
<td>ɓì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kwɔ</td>
<td>kwì</td>
<td>kwǐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>yɔ</td>
<td>yì</td>
<td>yǐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>sɔ</td>
<td>sì</td>
<td>sĩ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

269 The tone of class 1 nɔ̌ is invariable and different from the other type I demonstratives.
270 The tone of class 2+9 ɓàyɔ̌ is invariable and different from the other type I demonstratives.
271 The LH tone of type III demonstrative surfaces as Low on the first part of this complex prefix and as High on the second.
The tones in Table 22 represent the underlying tone of demonstratives; no tone mark indicates that the demonstrative is not specified for tone. Underlying and surface tone will be addressed below.

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

### 6.1.2.1 Underlying and surface tone

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

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

(6.9)a. lì-ndímó lɔ́ 5-birdlime 5.DEM.I 'this birdlime'
     ūmọ yɔ́ 9.savanne 9.DEM.I 'this savanne'

b. lì-kumbá lɔ́ 5-hoop net 5.DEM.I 'this hoop net'
    sembɛ yɔ́ 9.fishing fence 9.DEM.I 'this fishing fence'

c. lì-ngwálɔ lɔ́ 5-tree 5.DEM.I 'this tree, sp.'
    ngága yɔ́ 9.chin 9.DEM.I 'this chin'

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

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

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\(^{272}\) For example, mu-básnzì ‘1-cockroach', h-gòɔlì ‘5.forked pole' and kòloɔbɔ ‘9.disease'.
When nouns with a noun-class enclitic with a surface L tone are followed by a demonstrative of this type, the surface tone on the demonstrative is also Low:

\[(6.10)\]

(a) ɩ-sásá-su sɔ 19-feather-19 DEM.I 'this feather'
(b) tátá-tɔ tɔ 13.feather-13 DEM.I 'these feathers'
(c) ku-bá'ngá-kwɔ 15-fear-15 DEM.I 'this fear'

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

\[(6.11)\]

(a) li-ndimó li-kédɛ lɔ 5-birdlime 5 ADJ-small 5 DEM.I 'this little birdlime'
(b) li-ndimó lá-nye lɔ 5-birdlime 5 ADJ-bad 5 DEM.I 'this bad birdlime'

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

\[(6.12)\]

li-nungu lɔ 5-termite hill 5 DEM.I 'this termite hill'

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

\[273\] This is also observed in the case of noun-class enclitics, see Table 15 in 5.1.2.
happens when the type I demonstrative is preceded by a modifier with at least two TBU with a L tone:

\[(6.13)\] li-ndímó lá-wese l5 5-birdlime 5.\text{ADJ\text{-sof}t\text{.5.DEM.I}} \quad \text{‘this soft birdlime’}

úmó yá-wese y5 9.savanne 9.\text{ADJ\text{-sof}t\text{.9.DEM.I}} \quad \text{‘this fragile savanne’}

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

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

\[(6.14)\]a. mu-kó n5 1-woman 1.DEM.I \quad \text{‘this woman’}

nékókó n5 1a.instrument 1.DEM.I \quad \text{‘this musical instrument’}

b. mu-buyó n5 1-caterpillar 1.DEM.I \quad \text{‘this caterpillar, sp.’}

na-gbaló n5 na\text{-}1-frog 1.DEM.I \quad \text{‘this frog, sp.’}

c. mu-pósí n5 1-larva 1.DEM.I \quad \text{‘this larva, sp.’}

kpólo n5 1a.side 1.DEM.I \quad \text{‘this side’}

d. mu-nzékt n5 1-termite 1.DEM.I \quad \text{‘this termite, sp.’}

dínga n5 1a.period 1.DEM.I \quad \text{‘this period’}

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

\[(6.15)\]a. ɓo-úmó ɓayó 2+9-savanne 2+9.DEM.I \quad \text{‘these savannes’}

b. ɓa-sembé ɓayó 2+9-fishing fence 2+9.DEM.I \quad \text{‘these fishing fences’}

c. ɓa-ngága ɓayó 2+9-chin 2+9.DEM.I \quad \text{‘these chins, sp.’}

d. ɓa-kpázyɔ ɓayó 2+9-plant 2+9.DEM.I \quad \text{‘these plants, sp.’}

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

\[\text{b. Demonstrative of type II (DEM.II)}\]

The demonstratives of type II (DEM.II) have an underlying L tone, which surfaces as a L tone regardless of whether the preceding noun has a H, L.H, H.L or L tone pattern. I use the same nouns as in (6.9) and (6.12):
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The surface tone of demonstratives of type II is also Low when the referent noun belongs to other noun classes, as in the following three sets.

Examples of DEM.II with nouns of class 1:

(6.17)a. mu-kó mu 1-woman 1.DEM.II 'this woman'
   nékókó mu 1a.instrument 1.DEM.II 'this musical instrument'
   b. mu-buyó mu 1-caterpillar 1.DEM.II 'this caterpillar, sp.'
   na-gbalí mu 1a.frog 1.DEM.II 'this frog, sp.'
   c. mu-páší mu 1-larva 1.DEM.II 'this larva, sp.'
   kpáší mu 1a.side 1.DEM.II 'this side'
   d. mu-nzéktí mu 1-termite 1.DEM.II 'this termite, sp.'
   dínga mu 1a.period 1.DEM.II 'this period'

Examples of DEM.II following noun-class enclitics:

(6.18)a. t-sáší-su st 19-feather-19 19.DEM.II 'this feather'
   (s)-búkú-sá st 19-shrub-19 19.DEM.II 'this shrub, drug'
   b. tátá-to tt 13-feather-13 13.DEM.II 'these feathers'
   bukú-to tt 13-shrub-13 13.DEM.II 'these shrubs, drugs'
   c. ku-bángá-kú kwí 15-fear-15 15.DEM.II 'this fear'
   ku-páší-kú kwí 15-peeling-15 15.DEM.II 'this peeling'

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

(6.19)a. bo-úmó bayí 2 + 9-savanne 2 + 9.DEM.II 'these savannes'
   b. ba-sembé bayí 2 + 9-fishing fence 2 + 9.DEM.II 'these fishing fences'
   c. ba-ngága bayí 2 + 9-chin 2 + 9.DEM.II 'these chins, sp.'
   d. ba-kpášígy bayí 2 + 9-plant 2 + 9.DEM.II 'these plants, sp.'
c. Demonstrative of type III (DEM.III)

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

\[(6.20)\]

\[(6.20)a.\] li-ndimó lí 5-birdlime 5.DEM.III  'this birdlime'
úmó yí 9.savanne 9.DEM.III  'this savanne'

\[(6.20)b.\] l-t-kombá lí 5-hoop net 5.DEM.III  'this hoop net'
sembé yí 9.fishing fence 9.DEM.III  'this fishing fence'

\[(6.20)c.\] l-t-ngwálú lí 5-tree 5.DEM.III  'this tree, sp.'
ngága yí 9.chin 9.DEM.III  'this chin'

\[(6.20)d.\] li-nungú lí 5-termite hill 5.DEM.III  'this termite hill'
kpɔzýɔ yí 9.plant 9.DEM.III  'this plant, sp.'

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

Examples of DEM.III with nouns of class 1:

\[(6.21)\]

\[(6.21)a.\] mu-kó yí 1-woman 1.DEM.III  'this woman'
nékókó yí 1.instrument 1.DEM.III  'this musical instrument'

\[(6.21)b.\] mu-buyó yí 1.caterpillar 1.DEM.III  'this caterpillar, sp.'
nś-gbal yí na:1-frog 1.DEM.III  'this frog, sp.'

\[(6.21)c.\] mu-pɔśni yí 1.larva 1.DEM.III  'this larva, sp.'
kpɔlsí yí 1.side 1.DEM.III  'this side'

\[(6.21)d.\] mu-nzeki yí 1-termite 1.DEM.III  'this termite, sp.'
dinga yí 1.period 1.DEM.III  'this period'

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

Examples of DEM.III following noun-class enclitics:

\[(6.22)\]

\[(6.22)a.\] t-sásá-su sí 19-feather-19 19.DEM.III  'this feather'
(s)-bukú-sɔ sí 19-shrub-19 19.DEM.III  'this shrub, drug'

\[(6.22)b.\] tátá-tó tí 13-feather-13 13.DEM.III  'these feathers'
bukú-tó tí 13-shrub-13 13.DEM.III  'these shrubs, drugs'
In the examples below, the type III demonstrative is followed by the copula with a H tone⁷⁷⁴ plus another demonstrative (DEM.II). When the preceding noun ends with a H tone as in (6.23), the High part of the LH tone on the DEM.III merges with the following H tone.

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

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

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

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⁷⁷⁴ Motingea, p.c., suggested that this form may be related to stabilizer nf (CS 2265). If this is the case, the copula, nf, can be distinguished from the element preceding demonstrative forms, nf-, by its tone.
6.1.2.2 Semantics and use

a. Demonstratives of type I and II

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

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

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

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

(6.26)a. *ɓo-tú boyí ní-bayí
    Int. 'these clothes here'

b. ɓo-tú bì ní-bayí
    'these clothes here'
    2 + 9-clothes 2.DEM.II COP-2 + 9.DEM.II

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

275 The H tone of class 9 demonstrative surfaces at a lower pitch, due to automatic downstep.
In (a), demonstrative type II is used to indicate that the referent, the woman or the village, is present at the site of the speech act. In (b), the interlocutors are in the village referred to in the sentence. The things referred to in (c) are physical entities near to the speaker and the addressee.

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

(6.28)a. wag-ib-ag-a-tó mu-kó (n-)nó?
   2SG:1.O-know-PLUR-FV-INS 1-woman COP-1.DEML
   'Do you know this woman?'

b. ɓʊ́-kɔ́-g 276 ɓʊ́-dingi ká mu-gí (n-)mó
   3PL:2.O-cut:PLUR-FV 2-child 2.ADI-big PREP 3-village COP-3.DEML
   'Many children are usually circumcised in this village.'

c. tómón-ó-ni ma-kpumóká (n-)má
   think-FV.IMP-ADDR 6-thing COP-6.DEML
   'Think about these things!'

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

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

276 Vowel copy after height coalescence has applied to the sequence of the [−ATR] high vowel of the -CV- verb and the final vowel -a.
277 As far as can be attested with the available data.
Compare the demonstratives at the end of the sentences below to see the importance of the fact that the referent is present when a type II demonstrative is used. (6.29a) has a type I and (6.29b, c) have type II demonstratives. The Liko consultants I worked with find (6.29b) semantically strange, because it is difficult to imagine that an animal that has been eaten could be present. When the verb is in the Future, using the type II demonstrative is no problem, as can be seen in (6.29c):

(6.29)a. waní n3 á-ly-á ndt nyamá ní-n3?
   1a.who 1.DEML. 3SG:1.O-eat-FV  p3 1a.animal COP-1.DEML.1
   'Who ate this animal?'

b. ?waní n3 á-ly-á ndt nyamá ní-mo?
   1a.who 1.DEML. 3SG:1.O-eat-FV  p3 1a.animal COP-1.DEML.II
   Int. 'Who ate this animal (present)?'

c. waní n3 a-ly-a nyamá ní-mo?
   1a.who 1.DEML. 3SG:1.O-eat-FV  1a.animal COP-1.DEML.II
   'Who will eat this animal (present)?'

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

(6.30)a. líbó (nì)-ló  5.water COP-5.DEML.1
   'This/that river'

b. líbó ní-ló  5.water COP-5.DEML.1
   'That river over there'

c. líbó ní-ló kó  5.water COP-5.DEML.1 there
   'That river over there'

d. líbó ní-ló kóo  5.water COP-5.DEML.1 there
   'That river far away'

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

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278 The first demonstrative in these sentences, n3, follows question word waní.
In (d), with both the demonstrative and the location adverb having a lengthened vowel, the river is far from both the speaker and the hearer.

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

(6.31a) gbukó ní-mu-ná ñg-á ndt ká-fíky-á ngámá
9.rat COP-1 DEM.II-CONN 3SG²-leave-FV p3 9b:1.O-say-FV 1a.chief
‘Rat (here present) left to tell the chief.’ (T2006.3)

b. bá-kɔ mu-paló ní-ma-ná má-ndá²⁷⁹
3PL¹-cut:FV 3-barrier COP-3 DEM.II-CONN 3.ass-long
‘They cut this long barrier (here present).’ (T2009.21)

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

(6.32a) tyí nɔ mbúkwá li-símó li ní-l
1.PRO 1 DEM.1 1a.owner 5-inheritance 5 DEM.II COP-5 DEM.II
‘He is the owner of this inheritance (exclusive).’

b. á-tw-á li-zunj li ní-lt-ná kó bulyó
3SG²-speak-FV 5-proverb COP-5 DEM.II-CONN PREP 9.reason
ka-ɓo-míkí
GEN-2 child
‘He spoke this proverb (exclusive) for his children.’

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

(6.33a) ɓá-ɓi-s-o bo-kpokukú boyí ká ndábo ka-ɓo-bikó,
3SG²-put-FV 2+9 cooking pot 2+9 DEM.II PREP 9 house GEN-2 visitor

²⁷⁹ With -ndá ‘long’, an adjective prefix instead of an associative prefix is expected (see 5.2.1).
²⁸⁰ I.e. a barrier in the forest with passage ways where traps are installed.

‘He put these cooking pots (emphasized) in the guesthouse, so that if someone steals, they will kill him (emphasized) likewise.’ (T2006.2)

b. t-ki piye? nǐ-ɓɔ́ bɔ́-túgbɔ̀ bá-ná-bum-an-ag-á

9a-what thus COP-2.dem.1 2-strong man 3pl-INCH-fight-ASS-PLUR-FV
na bá-ɓɔ́ ku-ɗɔ̀

with 2-man 2-s.o. of same age:3PL.POSS

‘What happened? Those who are strong men started to fight with men of their age.’ (T2006.2)

c. ɻ ndt ní-sɔ́ bá-ltk-y-ag-á ndt bɛ̀

3SG:be p1 COP-7.DEM.1 3PL'-call-APPL-PLUR-FV p1 COMP
si-mú-so sí-dingɪ

19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big

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

In (a), nɔ̀ refers to a man without the referent noun being present, in (b), ní-ɓɔ̀ refers to a group of men (ɓo-túgbɔ̀ ‘2-strong man’ is not the referent, because it follows the demonstrative) and in (c), ní-sɔ́ refers to a circumcision ritual, but the referent noun is absent.

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

b. Demonstratives of type III

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

Type III demonstratives:

(6.34)a. sɔ̀ yĩ und-a ɓyĩ

9.smell 9.DEM.III 3SG/go-FV far

‘This smell (exclusive) goes far.’ (T2006.6)
b. tó-bungsusy-o ɡǎn̄ li̇́ ló-bukú ɓì 1PL.-arrange-FV also 5:fireplace 5.ASS-14.fire 14.DEM.III

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

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

Type III followed by type I demonstratives:

(6.35)a. mu-suká yi ní-n̄á ọ̀-bìn-á ndí 1-girl 1.DEM.II COP-1.DEM.I 3SG.-dance-FV P1
'That girl (exclusive) danced.’

b. mo-lingó mì ní-mó a-mw5g-3-tó ɡǎn̄ pándá ká nzóyì 6-oil 6.DEM.II COP- 3SG/PL-kill: also 9.scabies PREP 9.body
6.DEM.I PLUR-FV-INS

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


'If you marry a woman, you will put her in that house (exclusive).’ (T2006.8)


‘He gave those very big pieces.’  (translated Genesis 4:4)

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

Notice how in (6.35d) the type III demonstrative of class 2 is used, between a class 2+9 noun and a type I demonstrative. A class 2+9 type III demonstrative is not acceptable in this context: *(ɓo)dôngbú ɓoy5 níɓay5.

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281 In constructions with the demonstrative of type III, the copula is obligatory: *munká yi nɔ̀ ọ̀bìnọ̀ ndí.
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Type III followed by type II demonstratives:

(6.36)a. 0-kɛ̀-gu na nyamá ní-n5 kó tutú
3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG with 1a.animal COP-1.DEMLI PREP 9.forest
yi ní-y1 ná-ká-1mw5-gu.
'There is no animal which lives in this forest (exclusive) that I did not
kill.' *(T2006.1)

b. ɓa-lökó bá-bá bì ní-ɓa-ná bá-pan-an-ag-á ndt kúgbé
2-man 2.NUM- 2.DEMLIII COP-2.DEMLII- 3PL-want: p3 very
CONN ASS-ASS-PLUR-FV
'These two men (exclusive) loved each other very much.' *(T2009.21)

In (b), níɓaná is interpreted as a relative pronoun when there is a pause between the
type III and the type II demonstrative: 'These two men (exclusive), who loved each
other very much'.

Type III demonstratives occur in a number of combinations that have become fixed
expressions, e.g. mìkí mukó yì 'girl', ɓomìkí ɓalökó ɓì 'boys', kúmbúso yì
'afterwards, later' and ngbíngó yì níń5 'at that time, when'.

Demonstratives of type III cannot function as relative pronouns:

(6.37)a. mu-suká yì 0-ɓ-in-o
1-girl 1.DEMLIII 3SG-dance-FV
'That girl (exclusive) danced.' / *'The girl who danced.'

b. *a ká-1ly-á nyamá yì ná-mwí
*Int. 'He is eating this animal (exclusive) which I killed.'

c. *a ká-1ly-á nyamá yì ná-mwí n5
*Int. 'He is eating this animal (exclusive) which I killed.'

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282 mìkí mu-kó yì '1a.child 1-woman 1.DEMLIII', ɓo-mìkí ɓa-lökó ɓì '2-child 2-man 2.DEMLIII',
kó-mbúso yì '17-back 17.DEMLIII', ngbíngó yì ní-n5 'at 1a.time 1.DEMLIII COP-1.DEMLI'.
6.2 Possessive pronouns and genitival constructions

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

6.2.1 Possessive pronouns

Liko possessive pronouns are presented in the following table:

Table 23 Possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>kâm</td>
<td>1PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>kakó</td>
<td>2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>kakí</td>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possessive pronouns consist of the genitive prefix ka- and (part of) a participant pronoun or substitutive, all without initial ɩ- and with several other differences.

Examples include:

(6.38)a. mu-kâmbó kakó, wa-maky-a ká ndáɓu kakó
   1-luggage  2SG.POSS 2SG.put in-FV  PREP  9.house  2SG.POSS
   'Your belongings, you will store in your house.' (T2006.8)

b. á-gbáŋi ni saɓũni kusú
   1b-soap  COP  1a.soap bar  1PL.POSS
   'Agbagi is our soap.' (T2006.5)

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

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283 In the glosses in this book, possessive pronouns are glossed as a single form, kâm, '1SG.POSS', etc.
said to be possessed by a group if the ancestors had lived there. In contrast with objects in nature, family members and parts of the body are often followed by a possessive pronoun. The natural way is to include the possessor, e.g. babá kakí nímu 'this his/her father' (babá kakí is usually shortened to abákí) or mño kámí níma 'this my head'. Babá nímu, 'this father' or nmo ní-ma, 'this head' are not considered as ungrammatical, but they are considered incomplete.\textsuperscript{284}

6.2.2 Genitival constructions

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

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

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

(6.39)a. ndábu ka bó-bikó
    9.house GEN-2-visitor
    'house of visitors', i.e. guesthouse
b. si lýá-sú ka mu-siká ka a-bufá
    7-cohabitation-7 GEN-1-girl GEN-1b-demon
    'living together with the demon’s daughter'
c. mu tóó ka a-bákí na a mákí
    3-advice GEN-1b-father:3SG.POSS and 1b-mother:3SG.POSS
    'advice of her father and her mother'

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

\textsuperscript{284} The H tone of the LH contour on babá and mño merges with the following High.
(6.40)a. líso ka-má'máku  
    5:eye GEN-1a.mother:2SG.POSS  
    'the eye of your brother’

b. á-víl-á ndí ku-tíli-ko ka-a-lókó n5  
    3SG2-touch-FV P1 15-ear-15 GEN-1b-man 1.DEM.1  
    'He touched the ear of that man.'

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

(6.41)a. líno ko-míkí 'name of the child'  
    5:name GEN-1a.child

b. bángó ko-ghungúlu 'blood of the billy goat'  
    9.blood GEN-1a.billy goat

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

(6.42)a. ma-kf ka-fo-yúngú 'eggs of a bird, sp.'  
    6:egg GEN-2-bird  
    mő ka-ngoyá 'head of the pig' i.e. not its own

b. 3:head GEN-1a.warthog

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

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

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

6.3 Invariables

In this section, words which have only one form and neither impose nor undergo class agreement are described. Invariables include prepositions, question words, different types of adverbs, ideophones and interjections. Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 and higher than 10 are invariable and described together with numerals that take class agreement (see 5.4.1). Invariable words in comparisons are treated in 8.7. Conjunctions are presented together with complex sentences in 8.8.
6.3.1 Prepositions

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

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

\begin{verbatim}(6.44)a. bá-sa  ká-in-ís-ón-ó  ká  bá-síkó 3PL.'abandon:FV 9b-see-CAUS-ASS-FV PREP 2-market
'They stopped to appear at the markets.' (T2009.21)
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}b. ik-og-o  kówá ndt  ká  ndábu  aká 285 bí-du 3SG:be-PLUR-FV thus  P1  PREP 9.house CT MOD-deep
'He stayed deep IN THE HOUSE.' (T2009.21)
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}c. bágá  ndt  na  Ikoóu  ká  ngópá 3PL.'go:FV  P3  with  "Ikoóu"  PREP 9.hill
'They went with Ikoóu to the hill.' (T2009.21)
\end{verbatim}

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

\begin{verbatim}(6.45) bá-gy-á  ndt  li-gubó  ká-dwe  ká  bó-gógó 3PL.'do-FV  P1  5-work 9b-arrive:FV PREP 14-sunset
'They worked until sunset.' (T2008.8)
\end{verbatim}

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

\begin{verbatim}285 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.
\end{verbatim}
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(6.46)a. ɓá-bum-á ndj na ɓe-ngbíng(Íl
3PL:1.O-hit-FV p₁ with 2+9a-stick
'They hit him with sticks.' \(T2009.21\)

b. i-ngbo ó-tíndik-ọ lt-ţm bó ngángá yi-sáá na mu-kündó
1c-aardvark 3SG:push-FV 5-ground 9.time 9.NUM- with 3-tail
three
'Aardvark pushed the ground three times with [his] tail.' \(T2006.3\)

c. na ɓu-sóbi Kíbi ñd-a ká-and-á kpáká
with 14-sunrise "Kíbi" 3SG:go-FV 9b-look-FV 9.trap
'When the sun came up Kíbi went to inspect the trap.' \(T2006.1\)

d. na ɓu-gój, ɓá-maky-a ká ndāɓu
'At sunset, they put him in a house.' \(T2006.2\)

e. mu-lókú na i-bú
1-man with 9a-baldness
'a bald man'

f. mu-lókú na l-bomá
1-man with 5-drunkenness
'a drunken man'

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

(6.47)a. Singí a na l-bomá
"Singi" 3SG:be with 5-drunkenness
'Singi is with drunkenness', i.e. Singi is drunk

b. ɓa-mbáńzó bá na i-mí
2-person 3PL:be with 9a-jealousy
'The men are with jealousy', i.e. the men are jealous

c. Ikóbú ñ ndj na wayí dákí
"Ikóbú" 3SG:be p₁ with 1a.friend 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS
'Ikóbú was with (i.e. had) a friend of his age group.' \(T2009.21\)

d. na na ɓa-stká ɓá-bá
1SG:be with 2-girl 2.NUM-two
'I am with (i.e. have) two girls.'
The vowel of the general preposition \textit{ká} and the vowel of \textit{na} 'with' are changed into [+ATR]/o/ preceding nouns without a noun-class prefix, and preceding disyllabic nouns in which the prefix vowel has been subject to V₁-elision or height coalescence. This is remarkable, because the left boundary of the domain of [+ATR] spreading is the beginning of the word or the prefix adjacent to the root (see 3.2.2.3). Apparently, in these contexts, the preposition is treated in the same way as associative prefixes and the genitive prefix (see 5.3 and 6.2.2), i.e. included in the domain of [+ATR] spreading.

Examples of [+ATR] spreading to the general preposition \textit{ká}:

(a) mó-ngóni ŋd-ag-a kůwá ndí kó gli-yo
6-news 3SG/PL:go-PLUR-FV thus P₃ PREP 9.village-9
'The news went to the villages.' (T2006.2)

(b) Sádu 6-lind-o kó lìbò
"Sádu" 3SG:sink-FV PREP 5:water
'Sádu dived into the river.' (T2006.2)

(c) ɓʊnzá 0-ké-gu kó tìko
14-beauty 3SG:NEG:be-FV-NEG PREP 9.field
'Beauty is not on the field', i.e. there is nothing left (T2006.3)

The vowel of the preposition does not assimilate to the [+ATR] value of the noun when it precedes a noun-class prefix. This is expected, because there is already a prefix in the [+ATR] domain. For example, \textit{ká mu-gi}, PREP 3-village, 'to a village', \textit{ká ɓo-tìko}, PREP 2-field, 'to the fields' or \textit{ká 1i-gubó}, PREP 5-work, 'to the work'.

Examples of [+ATR] spreading to preposition \textit{na} 'with':

(a) no bití, kání ɓa-mbánzú ɓó-lól-ón-i-ní
with 9.darkness when 2-person 3PL-sleep-ASS-FV.ANT-PFV
'During the night, when the men had fallen asleep.' (T2006.2)

(b) i-will a no lìbò 1á-kpu
9a-area 3SG:be with 5:water 5.ass-big
'The region had a lot of water.'
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c. tágá, nínd-í ká-tn-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)

The vowel of the preposition does not assimilate to the [+ATR] value of the noun, when it precedes a sequence of a segmental noun-class prefix and a consonant-initial noun, e.g. na li-bí, with 5-group, 'with a group', na li-gubó, with 5-work, 'with work' or na ɓo-.mbú, with 2-bird, 'with the birds'.

ābê 'like' is used to express that an entity is comparable to another one, as in (6.50). For other examples of ābê, see 8.7.

(6.50)a. bá-kúng-ag-á ndt ma-kpumóká ābê nyamá, si-kpf-so
3PL:-demand-PLUR-FV P1 6:thing like 1a.animal 19-hat-19

'They demanded things like an animal, a hat.' (T2006.4)

b. ņ-ké-gú ndt ká-µá bê ó-kw-i kúwa ābê mo-kútú
3SG-NEG P1 9b-want:FR COMP 3SG-die- thus like 1-ant
bê:FR-NEG FV.SUBJ

'He did not want that he would die like an ant.' (T2009.21)

6.3.2 Question words

The invariable question words are:

(6.51) bó:ni 'how'
ké:kí 'why'
lkí 'how'
yán 'where'
tí:nó 'which'

One example for each question word is presented here:

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286 The Subjunctive TAM melody is prefixal and final-vowel High. It is unclear to me why the tone on the final vowel is Low in this case.

287 The H tone of the LH contour on kápá merges with the following High.
Two of the question words are nouns, wanì '1a.who' for animates and t-k' 9a-what' for inanimates. This can be seen from the agreement on the demonstrative, nɔ in wanì nɔ (agreement with class 1) and yɔ in ik' yɔ (agreement with class 9). These question words also have plural forms, i.e. class 2 ɓa-wanì and class 2+9a ɓe-k' (/ɓa-i-k'/) . In order to present the question words together in one section, these nouns are exemplified here as well, even though they are not invariable but agree in number.

(6.53) wanì nɔ ind-i ká Ɓeveguku ?
1a.who 1.DEM.I 3SG:go-FV.ANT PREP Ɓeveguku

'Who went to Ɓeveguku?'

In the following two examples, wanì takes the class 2 prefix ɓa-, which agrees with a plural referent:

(6.54)a. ɓa-wanì ɓó ɓa-vikuman-ag-a na Ɂɪf ?
2-who 2.DEM.I 3PL:-surpass-PLUR-FV with 1.PRO

'Who will revolt against him?' (translated Hebrews 3:16)
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b. ɓa-want bō má na tóbó ɓó?
   2-who 2.DEM.1 2PL:be with 2.PRO 2.DEM.1

'Who do you (pl) have with them?' (translated Genesis 33:5)

ɓ-k' '9a-what' is used as question word for inanimate referents, for example:
(6.55) ɓ-k' yá a ká ma-pála?
   9a-what 9.DEM.1 3SG:be PREP 6-wooden roofing tile

'What is on the wooden roofing tiles?'

In the following example, ɓ-k' takes the class 2 prefix ɓa-, which agrees with a plural referent:
(6.56) na-kwanan-a píye ká-ů-kingy-ós-ó ɓa-tó ɓá-it-syé
   1SG:should-FV thus 9b-2.O-taste-CAUS-FV 2-man 2.ASS-5-day
   li ní-v na ɓe-k’?
   2.DEM.II COP-2.DEM.II with 2+9:9a-what

'With what should I compare the men of today? ' (translated Luke 7:31)

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

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

6.3.3 Adverbials

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

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

Time, location and manner adverbs are presented first.
a. Time
The only time adverbs attested are:
\[(6.57)\]  
\[\begin{aligned} 
&\text{dele-dele} & \text{‘finally, later than expected’} \\
&\text{kpíndi} & \text{‘early, earlier than expected’} 
\end{aligned}\]

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

b. Location
The following location adverbs have been attested:
\[(6.58)\]  
\[\begin{aligned} 
&\text{ɓyî / ɓî} & \text{‘far’} \\
&\text{kó} & \text{‘there (closer)’} \\
&\text{kógskó} & \text{‘at the same place’} \\
&\text{kókwaku} & \text{‘down there’} \\
&\text{kónu} & \text{‘here’} \\
&\text{kóu} & \text{‘over there’} \\
&\text{minó} & \text{‘there, over there’} \\
&\text{wá} & \text{‘there (farther)’} \\
&\text{wánú} & \text{‘here’} \\
&\text{wást} & \text{‘on the ground’} \\
&\text{yá} & \text{‘in the direction of’} \\
&\text{yáku} & \text{‘in that direction’} 
\end{aligned}\]

\[(6.59)\]  
\[\begin{aligned} 
&\text{babà, kikiliki, dô-ni-kú} & \text{mbéyí kónu} \\
&1a.\text{father} & \text{please come:FV.IMP-ADDR-DIR first here} \\
&\text{‘Father, please, come here!’} & (T2009.21) \\
\end{aligned}\]

\[(6.60)\]  
\[\begin{aligned} 
&\text{tu-tük-a} & \text{ɓo-mikusú} & \text{ɓá-st} & \text{kókwaku} \\
&1pl:2.O-send-FV & 2-child:1pl.POSS & 2.ASS-all & \text{down there} \\
&\text{‘We will send all our children down there.’} 
\end{aligned}\]

c. Manner
Four general manner adverbs, all with ɓé word initially, which gives the impression
that the complementizer is involved,

\[(6.61) \text{ɓɛ́} \text{ɛ́} 'like this' \text{ɓɛ́} \text{yɔ́} 'like that'
\]
\[\text{ɓɛ́} \text{gɛɓɛ́} \text{ɛ́} 'in this way' \text{ɓɛ́} \text{gɛ} \text{yɔ́} 'in that way, likewise'
\]

The adverb \(\text{ɓáka}\) in the sense of 'like that' always occurs with -\(\text{yɔ́}\) (\(\text{ɓáka}\) exists as a single word meaning 'thus'). The English translation 'like' may suggest that these words are (also) used in comparisons, but that is not the case. For comparisons, Liko has \(\text{ɓɓ́} 'like'\) (see 8.7).

The other invariable manner adverbs in my data are:

\[(6.62) \text{ɓɛ́f} 'completely'
\]
\[\text{káyákɔlt} 'deliberately'
\]
\[\text{lingíngí} 'stupidly, foolishly'
\]
\[\text{máŋzála-máŋzála} 'in disorder'
\]
\[\text{ngbɛ̀ŋgɛ́bɛ́} 'suddenly, abruptly'
\]
\[\text{páyayá} 'needlessly'
\]
\[\text{tílí} 'straight'
\]

### d. Other adverbials

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

\[(6.63a) \text{a-bákwá} \text{mu-kó} \text{á-bib-a} \text{kútɛ́}
\]
\[1b-\text{father:3SG.POSS} \text{1-woman 3SǴ:1.O-praise-FV} \text{very}
\]
\['The father of the woman praised him very much.' \(T2006.2\)]

\[(6.63b) \text{á-kón-á} \text{ma-lí} \text{mú-díngí} \text{kútɛ́}
\]
\[3SǴ-plant-FV́ \text{6-food 6.ADI-big} \text{very}
\]
\['She planted a lot of food.' \(T2009.33\)]

\[(6.63c) \text{o-lumb-is-og-o} \text{lìbó} \text{lá-nzá} \text{kútɛ́}
\]
\[3SG-\text{smell-CAUS-PLUR-FV} \text{5:water 5.ASS-good} \text{very}
\]
\['It will cause the water to taste very good.' \(T2006.6\)]

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\(^{288}\) See also the examples (8.236), (8.327) and (8.328).
Some adverbials occur between the verb and a time adverbial. The following adverbials are attested to occur between the verb and a time adverbial: kówa 'thus', mbéyi 'yet', pýe 'thus', së 'thus' and gútógu 'even', sometimes in combinations, e.g. se kówa. The adverbials can often not be translated by a single word and may have some discourse function. Examples are given in the environment of the time adverbial ndì.

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

(6.64) bà-mígù bà-st ìbík-o kówà ndì kókwaku
2-boyɔ2 2.ASS-all 3PL:sit-FV thus P3 there
'All the boys to be circumcised sat over there.' (T2006.4)

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

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

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

(6.66) à ndì kówa li-syê li-motí ìnd-a ká-and-ág-á bà-kpáká
3SG:be P3 thus 5-day 5.NUM-one 3SG:go-FV 9b-look-PLUR-FV
One day he went to inspect the traps.' (T2007.2)
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(6.67) ọ-ké-gō ndt mbéyi ngbingó kakí
3SG-NEG:be:NEG p3 yet 1a.time 3SG.POSS
'It was not his time, i.e. turn.' (T2009.31)

pýe 'thus' is mostly used in questions with question words. It can be translated with 'so' at the start of the question:
(6.68) tá-gy-ag-a pýę ndt 6ôní?
1PL-do-PLUR-FV thus p3 how
'So, what can we do?

së 'thus' is not used frequently. When it occurs, it is mostly in clauses giving some explanation or background information:
(6.69) níyă á-dwë, a-băkt mu-kó ă-biba
when 3SG-arrive:FV 1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-woman 3SG=1.O-praise-FV
kógbe, yękt a së ndt góni na li-kembé
very as 3SG:be thus p3 also with 5-thumb piano
'When he arrived, the father of the woman praised him very much, as he also had a thumb piano.' (T2006.2)

The combination se kówa occurs in the example below, where së is present because of background information. In the context, the story tells that Mary had to go on a journey:
(6.70) Malà a se kówá ndt wá na mōma
"Malà" 3sg:be thus p3 there with 3.belly
'Mary was pregnant.' (translated Luke 2:5)

gutógu 'even' usually follows the verb form and a time adverbial if present. The men in the example below were not used to fishing, but they had to find a way to get food, because they were too poor to buy it.
(6.71) ìa-lókó bá-kńgšl-ag-á ndt gutógu bë̄ bó-lub-ðg-ì
2-man 3PL-try-PLUR-FV p3 even COMP 3PL-plunge-PLUR-FV.SUBJ
ma-stkidángí
6-fish hook
'The men even tried to fish.', literally, 'that they plunge fish hooks'  
(T2009.21)

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

(6.72) ná-kokan-a gutógo ndt mu-tfwi ka-babá t bó  
1SG²-NEG:hear-FV even p₃ 3-advice GEN-1.a.father 2.PRO  
namamá  
with 1a.mother  
'I did not even listen to the advice of my father and my mother.'  
(T2009.27)

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

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

(6.73) Sódu, gutógu mó-ngóni à ndt ká-dũ, ì-kand-a  
"Sódu" even 6-news 3SG:be p₃ 9b-creep:FV 3SG:REFL-tie-FV  
l₁-wanzá bė a ká-tund-á ká mu-kó  
5-attitude1 COMP 3SG:be 9b-go-FV PREP 1-woman  
'Sódu, in spite of the news which circulated, gave in to the desire that he was going to the woman.'  
(T2006.2)

A few adverbials occur preceding the first object. Attested are gɔŋĩ 'also', bątā 'again' and ën 'only'.

(6.74) niyá bo-múkakí bó-do-kú bó-túgbó,  
when 2-child:3SG.POSS 3PL²-come:FV-DIR 2-strong man  
bó-vá ndt gɔŋĩ bó-kó  
3PL²:2.O-take:FV p₁ also 2-woman  
'When his children became strong men, they took women too.'  
(T2009.42)
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(6.75) h-sye lá-gogo mu-nzyúkú á-tik-i-ní ndí bata\textsuperscript{290} mìkì kó
5-day 5.ASS.other 1-ant 3SG:1.O-send- p\textsubscript{3} again 1a.child there
\textsuperscript{FV.ANT-PFV}

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

The adverbials \textit{gon} 'also' and \textit{bätì} 'again' may also occur at the end of the clause.

The adverbial \textit{ás} 'only' occurs most frequently in constructions with the contrast particle \textit{áka}. The elements between \textit{ás} and \textit{áka} (L.H tones when following a L tone) contain contrastive information (see 8.6.2).

(6.76) mómbukyóno tutú á-tw-á ndí
1a.owner of 9.forest 3SG\textsuperscript{2}:1.O-name-FV p\textsubscript{3}
\textit{ás} wayí ìákí aká
only 1a.friend 1a.S.0. of same age:3SG.Poss CT

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

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

(6.77) mà́máktì á-pak-y-ag-á ndí bè \textit{ás}
1a.brother:3SG.Poss 3SG\textsuperscript{2}:1.O-guard-APPL-PLUR-FV p\textsubscript{3} COMP only
yígyà yi ní-y5, ní 0-ké-gu ká-ukán-á
9a:habit 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.1 when 3SG-NEG:be-FV-NEG 9b-hear-FV

'His brother forbade him to behave like that, but he did not listen.'

(T2008.12)

The following adverbials in this section have various uses.

\textit{ambegyé} 'aha!' and \textit{ambegye} \textit{bè} 'unfortunately' occur in stories when someone is surprised at finding out something or when developments take an unexpected turn:

(6.78)a. ambegyé, wō 6i wa-kísòma wánú?
aha! 2SG:be p\textsubscript{3} 1.ASS-9.S.th. hidden here

'Aha! You are hidden here?'

\textsuperscript{290} The H tone of the LH contour on \textit{bätì} merges with the following High.
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b. ambegye ɛɛ, Mópusú ɛɛ ndɛ na sábi káki
however "Mopusu" 3SG:be P3 with 9.small knife 3SG.POSS
kîbanga wá áka wá
9.s.th. stuck there on the spot
'However, Mopusu had a small knife stuck [in his belt] right there.'

c. Aziga ɛɛ bi ká-pá ká-luw-ó masówa,
"Aziga" 3SG:be P1 9b:want:POSS 9b:1.O-buy-FV 1a.car
ambegye ɛɛ, 9b kakí ɛɛ bi na mbúmí
unfortunately 1a.gold 3SG.POSS 3SG:be P1 with 9.sand
'Aziga was looking forward to buying a car, unfortunately, his gold contained sand.'

íbií y ɔ́ 'if it happens' is used to soften a condition:
(6.79) wa-kam-ìn-á Singí, íbií y, wá-ǹbíky-á ámbe
2SG:COND:1.O-see-FV "Singi" if it happens 2SG:1.O-say-FV.IINST ATT
á-ǹtík-í-ńtí kówa mîkí
3SG:1.O-send-FV.SUBJ-DIR thus 1a.child
'If you see Singi, if it happens, tell him that he should send the child.'

An example of òngátu ɓé 'suddenly' is:
(6.80) nîyó á-husy-ó sukópí na móngwô fèyô, when 3SG:1.O-miss-FV 1a.leopard with 1a.iron arrow like that
òngátu ɓé sukópí a-ná-bumbuk-y-o-kú
'When he missed the leopard with his arrow, suddenly the leopard jumped towards him.'

The Infinitive form ká-nyìs, 9b-pull out:FV, is used to express 'except':
(6.81) ɓo-mîkakí bá-sà bá ɓa-lumbá, kányìs Aɓunza
2-child:3SG.POSS 2.ASS-all 3PL:be 2-sorcerer except "Aɓunza"
'All his children are sorcerers, except Aɓunza.'

An example of někù 'therefore' is:
(6.82) o-kwon̂-i někù ká-ukán-á nî-ló bá
3SG:should-FV.ANT therefore 9b-hear-FV COP-5.DEM.1 3PL:be
ká-u-bíky-á kikilibá
9b-2SG.O-say-FV please

-One ought therefore to listen to what they are telling you, please.'

(T2008.9)

An example of f'ngúwo yí 'by chance' is:

(6.83) wá-kám-in-i-gú kókú kámi
2SG-NEG:1.O-see-FV.ANT-NEG 1a.chicken 1SG.POSS
í-fngúwo yí ká-ingy-ó-kú wánu?
9a-manner 9.DEM.III 9b-enter-FV-DIR here

'Did you not see my chicken enter here, by chance?'

Examples of yí'pépe 'in any case', 'rather' are:

(6.84a) íyo, mbńgó ka-bá-lokó, yí'pépe ní-yí
yes 9.mushroom GEN-2-man in any case COP-9.DEM.1
ik-og-o yá-zú!
3SG/PL:be-PLUR-FV 9.ASS-hot

'Yes, mushrooms for men, in any case those are hot.', i.e. delicious

b. mu-ńk-á Sängí 0-ké-gú yí'pépe Nągáa
1.O-send-FV.IMP "Sängí" 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG in any case "Nągáa"

'Send Sängí, rather not Nągaa.'

6.3.4 Ideophones

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

Ideophones have one or more of the following properties:
- word-final vowel lengthening
- presence of the alveolar trill [r] (not in the inventory of underlyingly contrastive consonants)
- repetition, sometimes with variation in speed to symbolize a slow or a fast movement
- tone descending from high to low across the word
- sound mimicking
Ideophones express a vivid representation of an idea or perception in sound, like a smell, a colour, a form, a sound, a manner of moving, etc. Ideophones are words that "enliven" or add flavour to the utterance by illustrating some aspect of an action or object. Ideophones are not required by sentence or phrase structure. A specific type of ideophones are onomatopoeia which try to mimic a sound. Many ideophones are preceded by the modifier prefix ɓ/embed. A number of ideophones are listed to illustrate this category.

Examples of word-final vowel lengthening are:

(6.85) ɓ-ɗɔɓɔɔɔ 'deep sound (association is with a good motorbike)'
       ɓ-hihiii  'falling palm tree'
       ɓ-hoo  'many people together (e.g. at a market)'
       ɓ-kpw  'small hard objects thrown on the ground'
       ɓ-piiii  / ɓ-pisiisi 'calm (e.g. after shocking news)'
       ɓ-pee 'quiet, calm'

Examples of the alveolar liquid trill [r] are:

(6.86) ɓ-byerr  'very ripe, red'
       ɓ-rrr  'shiver'

Examples of repetition are:

(6.87) ɗafɗaf  'walking awkwardly'
       ɓ-kokökò  'munching caterpillars, talking incessantly'
       ɓ-kuku  'heavy rain with storm, pounding strongly (heart)'
       ɓ-kpwekpwpwe  'breaking dry objects (e.g. a twig, peanut shells)'
       ɓ-lekeleke  'high (sound)'

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

(6.88) ɓ-kpúu  'falling slowly'
       ɓ-püpu  'strong wind' (number of repetitions varies)

ɓ-kpu is used when something is 'falling fast'.

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

(6.89) ɓ-fwaaa  'sound of something sweeping over the ground'
       ɓ-fwakafwaka  'sound of dry leaves'
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gbwaaa  'sound of breaking wood, or sound of a branch when someone is on top of it and is moving up and down'
gbwu  'sound of a big tam-tam'
ɓí-hů  'sound of an animal'
kúf  'cry of a monkey'
kikiki  'sound of walking (light) or barefoot'
ɓí-kof₃kof₅  'sound of coughing'
ɓí-kpô  'sound of pouring water, spitting on the ground, pottery breaking'
ɓí-kyô  'sound of something falling into the water'
ɓí-mbimbimi  'sound of a very hot fire'
mbwokombwoko  'sound of walking (heavy)'
ɓí-ngbê  'sound of hitting metal'
pé  'sound of a small trumpet'
puuu  'sound of a slide trombone'
tîndîndî  'sound of water dripping'
ɓí-tɔtɔtɔ  'sound of a tam-tam'
ɓí-vuuu  'sound of a car'

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

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

(6.90)ɓí-ɓó 'very early, at daybreak'
ɓí-ɗů 'a big object falling into the water'
ɓí-kyɔ 'swallowing a mouthful of water'
ɓí-lyɔ 'loud cry or sound'
ɓí-ngwé 'cutting something with one blow'

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

(6.91) nyí ɓí-ɓó ɗ-gw-o ɓí-kpúu
when 5-cola nut 3SG-fall-FV MOD-"kpuuu"
'When the cola nut fell "kpuuu".'

(6.92) sì-wá-sù ka-t-ʋá a kó-ɓük-ɗ ɓí-léleleke
7-bell-7 GEN-1e-dog 3SG:be 9b-resound-FV MOD-"lekeleke"'
'The bell of the dog is resounding "lekeleke".'

(6.93) ngbángbatá o-póm-fk-óln-ɗ ɓí ɓí-lyɔ
1a.thunder 3SG-crack-NEUT-ASS-FV.ANT P1 MOD-"liya"
'It is thundering loudly.'

(6.94) mu-ɗó kó-ɓé-motí á-nyök-a ká ɗ-ngbślɔ, ɗ-gw-o
1-man 1.NUM-one 3SG-fall-FV PREP 9a-dugout 3SG-fall-FV
kó ɗí ɓí-kyɔ\(^{291}\)
PREP 5:water MOD-"kyɔ"
'A man fell in the dugout, he fell in the water, plop!'

(6.95) o-ngbó-t-i-ní ngüɗu ɓí-gbwu gbwu gbwu
3SG-play-FV.ANT-PFV 9.tam-tam MOD-"gbwu" "gbwu" "gbwu"
'He has played the big tam-tam, bang bang bang.'

\(^{291}\)ɓí-kyɔ is used when small objects fall into the water, ɓí-kyɔ where people or big items are concerned.
(6.96) ma-dakɦ á-pung-a kó-púmük-ó bì-kpó kpó kpó
6-pot 3SG²-start-FV 9b-burst-FV MOD-"kpó kpó kpó"
'The pots started to break "kpo kpo kpo".'

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

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

(6.98) ɔ-kik-ɔ ɓu-gagɔ, wá-lá-l-a tím- bì-pee
3SG-COND:be-FV 14-sunset 2SG-sleep-FV.INST 9.sleep MOD-"pee"
'If it is evening, you will sleep peacefully.' (T2006.6)

(6.99) t-nvá ó-bukw-ɔ pã na mála bì-kwelékwelé
1e-dog 3SG²-search-FV 9.place with 6:nail MOD-"kwelekwele"
'The dog searched the place with its nails "kwelekwele".'

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

(6.100) a kó-tókw-ɔ ma-líli bì-bukuluɓukulu
3SG:be 9b-chew-FV 6:food MOD-"bukuluɓukulu"
'He is munching the food "bukulu-ɓukulu".', i.e. as if it were cartilage

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

(6.101) nik-i-ni kó-sɔ wa-t-ngbólɔ bì-ziko
1SG:sit-FV.ANT-PFV 17-inside 17.ASS-9a-dugout MOD-"ziko"
'I have sat in the dugout "ziko".', i.e. without doing anything
(6.102) ɓo-kó ɓá ‘ká-ɖib-á ɓí-kyekyékyé
   2-woman 3PL:be 9b-laugh-FV MOD-"kyekyékyé"
   'The women laughed "kyekyekye", i.e. with bursts of laughter

ɓo-kó is an ideophone meaning 'cry of a monkey'. It is also attested with modifier
prefix ɓ- in ɓ-ɗíɗɛ 'the way in which monkeys jump from one branch to the other'.
(6.103) ɓa-va292 ɗíɗɛ ɓá-ky-á-g-a-tó ɗt-pakála
   2-clan member "ɗíɗɛ" 3PL-refuse-PLUR-FV-INS 5-horn
   'The monkeys refuse a horn.', i.e. they do not want a fight

Another case is ɗiki 'sound of walking (light) or barefoot'. The class 2 object
prefix ɗ- indicates that multiple people are there.
(6.104) num-ʊ̌n-i ɗiki no bití
   1SG:O-hear-FV.ANT "ɗiki" with darkness
   'I heard people walking on tiptoes in the darkness.'

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

a. Use as adjectives
Examples of the use of ideophones as adjectives are:
(6.105)a. ma-kpúta ɓí-gbè 'very salt cassava leaves'
   6-cassava leaves MOD-salted
b. ɓa-ŋů́ka ɓí-kpufukpfufu 'a short snake'
   2-snake MOD-short
c. mu-lókó ɓí-siyasiya 'a sporty man'
   1-man MOD-supple
d. nyáma ɓí-tu 'a (caught) animal still in one piece'
   1a.animal MOD-unimpaired
e. so ɓí-vulevule 'a bad smell'
   9.smell MOD-bad (smell)

292 The High part of the LH tone on ɗá has merged with the following H tone.
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f. mu-kpőndó bĩ-wéngéwéngé 'very bright lime'
   3-clay, lime MOD-very bright

g. mu-lókú bĩ-wó 'a quiet man'
   1-man MOD-quiet

Ideophone ɓĩ-nziíi 'without a space in between' is used when talking about vegetation or a crop. It can also be used for a big gathering: ɓa-mbánzó ɓĩ-nziíi, 2-person MOD-without space in between, 'crowded with people'.

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

(6.106) lń-yō lá-Yamáa ɓĩ-dɔɓɔɔɔ
   5-voice 5.ASS-1a.Yamaha MOD-"dɔɓɔɔɔ"
   'The sound of the Yamaha is "dɔɓɔɔɔ", i.e. it is good

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

(6.107) ɓw̱ bĩ-byerr ńbě ma-yá má-tšbu
   1a.gold MOD-"byerr" like 6-grain 6.ASS-9.tobacco
   'Gold "byerr" like tobacco strands.'

b. Use as adverbs

With respect to ideophones used as adverbs, examples include:

(6.108) ɓĩ-byeree 'staying without saying anything, without making noise'
   ɓĩ-dɔŋadangá 'being busy with a lot of things at the same time'
   ɓĩ-dókyédókye 'walking like a small child (allusion to a dress fluttering in the wind)'
   ɓĩ-holóló 'passing an opening without hitting an obstacle'
   ɓĩ-kpañaa 'calmly, quietly'
   ɓĩ-nzenzenze 'supple way of dancing'
   ɓĩ-nzeé 'moving through the air (an arrow, a star)'
   ɓĩ-páá 'completely'
   ɓĩ-yɛɛɛ 'reacting coldly'
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(6.109) wig-o-kú ɓi-kpaɗaa
2SG:return-FV-DIR MOD="kpaɗaa"
'You will return "kpaɗaa".', i.e. calmly

Talking about a young woman:
(6.110) ó-kw-ó ñ-tuká ɓi-ɗáá
3SG:die-FV 5:youth MOD="ɗáá"
'She killed the youth "ɗáá".', i.e. she was very well dressed

(6.111) kòkó ɓ ndt ká-sikísy-ó nakwálí ɓi-dfiídii
1a.chicken 3SG:be P3 9b:1.O-answer-FV 1a.sparrowhawk MOD="diiɗili"
'Chicken was answering sparrowhawk "ɗiɗili".', i.e. hesitantly

6.3.5 Interjections and exclamations

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

(6.112) arrrr  'ouch!'
ayayayaya  'watch out!, stop!'
ɓɔɔɔ  'its enough!, wait a minute!'
eree / ezé / eesé  'exclamation of surprise'
heee ɓiteee  'oh dear!'
hoo  'alas!'
mbambamba  'stop!'
rió  'hurrah!, victory!'
irrryá  'come on!, pull!'
wóóó  'exclamation of disappointment or contempt'
yii!  'oh!, ah!'

The word ayayayaya starts out with a H tone, which falls steadily; its number of syllables varies. ɓɔɔɔ also has a falling tone. Without vowel lengthening, ɓɔ is a loanword from French 'bon' and is used for social reasons instead of fyo 'yes'. hoo is the response after ríó, a slogan after circumcision rites. mbambamba can also be used without repetition. rrryá is a slogan to encourage people who do something difficult, for example pulling a heavy tree trunk. The response is yá.
The following interjections are used to draw the attention of the audience or to highlight what follows.

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

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

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

(6.114) amályá! watch out!, stop!
   báka please
   kíkilíki please
   nzingágu in the name of …

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

(6.115) kíkilíki bábah t-úk-fúy-á-nɔ báka Ɓádua ká
   please 1a.father 1SG.O-send-BEN-FV.IMP.SUPP please "Ɓádua" PREP
   t-кáułanka kakí
   9a-family 3SG.POSS
   'Please father, would you please send Ɓádua to his family for me?'

6.4 Expressions of time, location and manner

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

a. Time

Most words and phrases with a reference to time involve nouns or nominals, often combined with a preposition or a demonstrative:
'Before' and 'after' are expressed by the locative nouns kámbwa '17:front' and kú-mbúso '17-back'. For 'soon' and 'long ago', nominal modifiers mbaya 'new' and ndéti 'old, worn' are used without a prefix. Mbaya followed by the location adverb wánú 'here' means 'now'. The reduplicated form mbymba expresses 'immediately'. 'Since' is expressed by the Infinitive form of -tök - 'leave' with the Applicative extension -t, as in:

(6.117) ká-tök-y-á na li-syé li ní-lú, 9b-leave-APPL-FV with 5-day 5.DEM.III COP-5.DEM.I
bókóbi ó-pup-á ndú kónto ká mgu-sengí
1a.rat 3SG-leave-FV pí here PREP 3-village
'Since that day, rat came out here to the village.' (T2008.5)

Expressions referring to time during a calendar day are:

(6.118) mbólúgo 9.daybreak 'daybreak'
bü-sábá 14-sunrise 'sunrise'

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293 The elements of compound are unclear. The structure may be 14-tomorrow-pí, or 14-tomorrow-DEM.III.
294 The structure of this compound is unclear. It probably contains li-syé '5-day' with loss of the prefix consonant and the time adverbial 76i indicating time reference to the recent past.
295 These nouns are also used to indicate location, see below. Kú-mbúso follows by a type III demonstrative, kámbwa yi, means 'finally'.

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

(6.116) na li-syé with 5-day 'during the day'
no bití with 9.darkness 'during the night'
na li-syé ní-li with 5-day COP-5.DEM.II 'today'
no bití ní-yi with 9darkness COP-9.DEM.II 'tonight'
bú-galá 14-tomorrow 'tomorrow'
na bú-galá with 14-tomorrow 'during the next day'
bú-galóbi 293 'the day after tomorrow'
t’svéyikúbi 294 'yesterday'
b. Location

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

(6.119) kú-gó  '17-top'  'at the top'
kú-silí  '17-bottom'  'under'
kú-syokoto  '17-bottom'  'under'
kámbwa  '17:front'  'at the front'
kú-mbúso  '17-back'  'behind'
kú-bombíló  '17-back'  'behind'
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kú-ŋi ‘17-inside’ ‘inside’

kú-nzi ‘17-outside’ ‘outside’

Examples include:

(6.120)a. wó-bí-s-o kú-gó wá-lt-dákí lá-gá-gó
   2SG-put-FV,INST 17-top 17.ASS-5-pot 5.ASS-other
   ‘Put it on top of another pot.’ (T2006.6)
b. o-bí-s-o lúkí lí-nyíkisogó kú-gó wo-kulú-bí
   3SG-put-FV 5:object 5.ADJ-filter 17-top 17.ASS-9.mortar
   ‘She will put a filter on a mortar.’
c. ó-kún-is-á ndtí ma-lííf má-stí ní-mó kündú
   3SG2-plant-CAUS-FV P3 6-food 6.ASS-all COP-6.DEM.I here
   kú-sílí wa-mántí
   17-bottom 17.ASS-9.sun
   ‘He let plant all food which [is] here under the sun’ (T2006.3)

The noun kú-mbúso ‘17-back’ is used more to indicate time than to refer to a location; kú-ʊ́-ɓɔmbɔ ‘17-back’ is rather used for ‘behind something’. The back side of an object is often referred to with the prepositional phrase ká mʊ́-gɔng, PREP 3-back of the body, ‘at the back’.

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

(6.121) t-mbúbó ó-pú-pá ndtí kú-nzi
   1e-civet 3SG2-come out-FV P3 17-outside
   ‘A civet came out outside.’

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

c. Manner

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

(6.122) ɓɛ-ɓɛ ‘profoundly’
  ɓɛ-bɛɗ ‘full up to the brim’
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ɓí-bulí 'hold quickly with two arms around someone'
ɓí-gala 'fast'
ɓí-lende 'smooth, cover well'
ɓí-kpú 'close firmly'
ɓí-nvé 'leave suddenly'

Examples in clauses are:

(6.123)a. wind-a ɓí-gala-(gala)
2SG:go-FV MOD-fast
'You will go fast.'

b. ã-tút-m-ɓí na dokpá ɓí-lende
3SG:1.O-stab-FV.ANT 1P with 9.knife MOD-smooth
'He pierced him with a knife smooth,' i.e. all the way through

c. mu-tó wa-st ní-ní ɗí-un-a, ɗí-ping-og-ɗí-kókóló-kókóló
1-man 1.ASS-all COP-1. 3SG²:1.O-see-DEM.I FV PLUR-FV
'Every person who saw him grew stiff.' (T2006.1)

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

(6.124) ɓí-dé (ɗé ɗé) 'walking on tiptoes silently and slowly'
ɓí-dédédé 'walking on tiptoes silently and quickly'
ɓí-pú 'hit knock-out'
ɓí-púpúpú 'hit several people knock-out'
ɓí-ttta 'jump fast, easily'
ɓí-ttta-ttta 'hopping'

(6.125) ɓí-fskɔ-fskɔ 'rapidly and disorderly'
ɓí-lalala 'with agility'
Some nouns and adverbs have the same base, e.g.:

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

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

296 Also used for children when they grow too fast.