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**Author:** Wit, Gerrit de  
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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." (Bearth 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 ɓá-:

(8.1) nó-zuzúk-á ndí 1SG:-wake up-FV Pj 'I woke up'

(8.2) ɓá-pung-ɗ ká-ag-á ká mbúkú 3PL:-start-FV 9b:-leave-FV PREP 9.grave 'They started / They will start to leave for the grave.' (T2006.3)

Examples of realizations as a noun include:

(8.3) a. kókó álik-a 1a.cock 3SG:-cry-FV 'The cock crowed.'

b. ɓa-kókó ɓálik-a 2-cock 3PL:-cry-FV 'The cocks crowed.' / The cocks will crow.'

c. mʊgá a-pung-ɗ kó-pup-ɗ 3:vapour 3SG:-start-FV 9b:-leave-FV 'A vapour starts to come out.' (T2006.6)

The subject is expressed by a pronoun, ɗụ́, in:

(8.4) ɗụ́ ɗýkw-ɗ-ɗú ndi ɗụ́ i 1.PRO 3SG:-die-FV-INS Pj also 'He certainly died too.' (T2008.10)

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398 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. Zangyá á-4fký-á ndt ngámá
   "Zangyá" 3sg:1.O-say-fv p3 1a.chief
   'Zangyá told the chief.'

b. Zangyá á-4fký-á ndt
   "Zangyá" 3sg:1.O-say-fv p3
   'Zangyá 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 kíngá '1a.bicycle', because the object belongs to class 1.

(8.6)a. mamá a-dung-o bánu míkí
   1a.mother 3sg:1.O-carry-fv f2 1a.child
   'Mother will carry the child.'

b. ná-pák-á ndt tú'ká-tu kám
   1sg:7-protect-fv p3 13.hair-13 1sg.poss
   'I protected my hair.'

c. ná-tündeľ-á ndt kíngá kó kpúmó
   1sg:7:1.o-push-fv p3 1a.bicycle prep 9.hill
   'I pushed the bicycle up the hill.'

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

(8.7) míkí mu-kó yi ní-nš um-ókan-ag-a³⁹⁹
   1a.child 1-woman 1.dem.iii cop-1.dem.1 3sg:2.o-hear-plur-fv

³⁹⁹ The H tone of the LH tone on the vowel of the object prefix, ë-, is associated with the initial vowel of the verb -ókan- 'hear.'
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 mbonyákt. The patient líso occupies the second position following the verb and does not take agreement:

(8.8) mú-kó á-típá mbonyákt líso
1-woman 3SG: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 ní a-tí-pag-a má-bógu 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) bá-ká-pí-gú gútógu líbó lí-mwó áka
3PL-NEG:1.O-give:ANT-NEG even 5:water 5.ADJ-drinking CT
'They did not give him EVEN DRINKING WATER.' (T2006.2)

(8.11) mó-dó-kú ké-típá 60-tú kákí
2PL-come:FV-DIR 9b:1SG.O-give:FV 2 + 9-clothes 3SG.POSS
'You (pl) come to give me his clothes.' (T2009.21)

400 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) l-syé ní-ló bılık-o kówá ndié minó
5-day COP-5.DEM.1 3PL."sit-FV thus P1 TRACE
ká-ú-pup-fs-ó-kú kónu 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) ɓa-sambá ɓa-va i-fifí, ɓó-do-kú noyú
2-circumcisor 3PL."take-FV 9a-antihill 3PL."come-FV-DIR with:9.PRO
ɓó-dung-is-o ɗwe a-bákí miki ibúnu na a-máktí
3PL."2.O-carry- 2SG.PRO 1b-father: 1a.child 2PL.PRO and 1b-mother: CAUS-FV 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS

'The circumcisors took an antihill, they came with it towards [you], they let them carry it, you the father of the child, you (pl) with his mother.'

(T2006.4)

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

(8.14)a. na ká-igua 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. babá a kám-ig-fs-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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401 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 -ɩ- introduces an argument with the semantic role of patient or beneficiary. An example of the transitive verb -ndindil- 'tie up securely with a rope' without the Applicative extension is:

(8.15) má+mám á-ndindil-ô ndt mêmí ká ldlū lâ-ndâ'bu
1a.brother: 3SG:1.O-tie-FV p3 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+mám á-ndindil-y-â ndt mu-twôwo mêmí ká ldlū
1a.brother: 3SG:1.O-tie- p3 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+mám á-ndindil-y-â ndt mêmí mu-twôwo ká ldlū
1a.brother: 3SG:1.O-tie- p3 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+mám á-ndindil-y-â ndt mu-twôwo ká ldlū
1a.brother:1SG.POSS 3SG:1.O-tie-APPL-FV p3 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.'

Possibly this verb form has a lexicalized Resultative extension -ul-.
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-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-túndúl-y-ó ttí 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 ɓa-ttí 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 ttí '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 -ɩ-, which gives mámák '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. babã a kám-ig-ís-y-ó mámák mbakó
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. *babã a kó-ig-ís-ó mámák mbakó
9b-return-CAUS-FV

c. *babã a kám-ig-ís-ó mámák mbakó
9b:1.O-return-CAUS-FV

d. *babã a kó-ig-ís-y-ó mámák mbakó
9b-return-CAUS-APPL-FV

In (b), an object prefix is missing for the first object mámák. 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’mákt.

c. Benefactive

The Benefactive extension -kú- 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-‘kw-ily-á ndü gbukó
1pl.:1.O-die-BEN-FV Pj 1.a.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-bugwákti ɓu-pik-ily-o ɓa-ttté ndáɓu
2-uncle:3sg.poss 3pl.:O-build-BEN-FV 2-old person 9.house
'His uncles built / will build 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

403 For ɓu-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 plural subject prefix ɓá-.
nouns belonging to classes 1 and 2 (including subclasses of class 1); for these, object agreement is compulsory.

(8.23)a. ɓa-wanzá ɓá-’kól-a měmí 3pl:1.O-untie-fv 1a.goat
'The boys untied / will untie the goat.'
b. ɓa-wanzá bʊ̀-kól-a ɓa-měmí 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 ˋ has caused the non-automatic downstep, see 4.6.5. In (b), bʊ̀- is the realization after V₁-elision of the vowel of the third person plural subject prefix bʊ̀- preceding the class 2 object prefix ũ-. 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-kumb-o ɓo-miƙí 3sg:2.o-carry-fv 2-child
"Bókótógi" 1a.Sibling:3sg.POSS 2-child
'Bokotogi will carry the children.'
b. Bókótógi a-kumb-ily-a màƙ’máƙí ɓo-miƙí 3sg:1.o-carry-BEN-fv 1a.sibling:3sg.POSS 2-child
"Bókótógi" 1a.Sibling: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 ɓomikí, renders the sentence ungrammatical:

(8.25) *Bókótógi ū-kumb-lying-o màƙ’máƙí ɓo-miƙí 3sg:1.o:2.o-carry-BEN-fv 1a.sibling:3sg.POSS 2-child
"Bókótógi" 3sg:1.o:2.o-carry-BEN-fv 1a.sibling:3sg.POSS 2-child
Int. 'Bokotogi will carry the children for her sister.'

If the beneficiary is the first person plural (object prefix ũ-), there is no sign of the class 2 object prefix (ʊ̌-):
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 séléngündé '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) bì-duò-tì̀gò séléngündé wa-í-kpóójía

MOD-soft like 1a.peanut 1.ASS-1c-peanut butter cooked in water
'soft like peanuts of peanut butter cooked in water'

When séléngündé 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-‘kóng-ó séléngündé (*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-‘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. bá kówá ndí ká-‘mbímbó séléngündé
3PL:be thus P1 9b:1.O-throw-FV 1a.peanuts
'They were throwing peanuts.'
b. bá kówá ndí kó-‘mbímbó má-tá-mú
3PL:be thus P1 9b-throw-FV 6-stone-6
'They were throwing stones.'

In (a), kómbímbó is not acceptable, whereas in (b), ká‘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 Makhuwa 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) Ikóðú ūkán-á l-yō ka-Zangýá
"Ikódu" 3SG:P-hear-FV 5:voice GEN-"Zangiya"
'Ikódu heard the voice of Zangiya.' (T2009.21)

(8.31) i-ngbo ó-tíndik-o l-támbó ngángá yí-sáá na mu-kundó
1c-aardvark 3SG:P-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-bákti mu-siká nō á-va ma-líll mō
1b-father:3SG.POSS 1:girl 1:DEM.1 3SG:P-take:FV 6:food 6:DEM.1
'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 *-bu- (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 ɓá-, or a combination of the reflexive prefix ɩ̌- 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-kɔ̃kákí bɔmb-a nɑ sɔyti
6:meat 3SG.POSS 3PL: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-syè mu-kaká, kánì bá-ká-tí-pí-gu got úgu
3SG:pass-FV 1.ADJ-alone when 3PL-NEG:1.O-give:FV.ANT-NEG even
libò li-mwò aŋa
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) mbikè yì nì-yì ðó-kɔ̀ng-o miŋó ndikò
ðó-mw-á-g-á-tò miŋó libò kyè o-lumb-is-og-o
3PL:drink-PLUR-FV-INS TRACE 5:water because 3SG:smell-CAUS-PLUR-FV
libò lâ-nza kògbè
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 Kibigò Káðìgùyà⁴⁰⁴.

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⁴⁰⁴ The meaning of Ø-kìbì-gù kàdì-gùyà. 3SG-NEG:know-FV-NEG 9b-say-FV, is: 'he will not know [what] to say.'
(8.36) kä bù-kúdù bá-kog-ɔ kúwá ndt bɛ̀ Kibi
PREP 14-shortness 3PL-cut:PLUR-FV thus P3 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 nínɛ̀ ni-nɔ
1SG-find-FV.ANT P1 1a.aunt COP-1.DEM.1
bá-sukus-fly-á ndóku bɔ-tù
3PL.-wash-BEN-FV P2 2 + 9-clothes

'I found the aunt for whom they washed clothes / for whom clothes were washed.' (T2006.6)

b. ā ndt ní-sɔ
3SG:be P1 COP-19.DEM.1
bá-lk-y-ag-á ndt bɛ̀ sì-móf-sɔ sì-dingǐ
3PL.-call-APPL-PLUR-FV P3 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-bùn-ìs-i
1SGREFL-break-CAUS-FV.ANT
'I was broken.' (I let myself be broken)

b. ta ká-i-tóng-ìs-ò
1PL:be 9b-REFL-count-CAUS-FV
'We are counted.' (We let ourselves be counted)

c. mamá a ká-i-bum-ìs-ò
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-is-ó na a-lökó n5
   la.mother 3SG:be 9b-REFL-hit-CAUS-FV with 1b-man 1.DEM.I
   Int. 'Mother is beaten by that man.'
  
(b. a-lökó n5 a ká-bum-á mamá
   1b-man 1.DEM.I 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hit-FV la.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 n5 u-wonis-fí-i na lt-syé n-h ?
   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-wonisílí wa-mbya n5 e-wonis-fí-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. Kúnzí á-'fík-o-kú malaíka Gabilieli
   1a.God 3SGP:1.O-send-FV-DIR 1a.angel "Gabilieli"
   'God sent the angel Gabriel.' (translated Luke 1:26)
  
(b. lt-ɓései á-wany-a kòwá ndtí yf
   5-fate 3SGP:1.O-show-FV thus P3 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 bé-motí ní-n5 mìkakí mu-kó yí
   1-woman 1.NUM-one COP-1.DEM.I 1a.child:3SG.POSS 1-woman 1.DEM.III
än  nd  ká-ŋ-gō-gyō-ỉ-s-ó  na  l-ınımbá
3SG-be  P1  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.  kasínži  ólogo-p-á  ndt  ká  l-ńńisó
1a.mouse  3SGb-come out-FV  P3  PREP  5-hole
'The mouse came out of the hole [in the ground].'

b.  *kasínži  ólogo-p-á  ndt  l-ńńisó
1a.mouse  3SGb-come out-FV  P3  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  mijkámt  ólogo-p-á  ndt  ká  ndáábu
1-woman  1a.child:1SG.POSS  3SGb-come out-FV  P3  PREP  9.house
'My daughter-in-law came out of the house.'

b.  *mu-kó  mijkámt  ólogo-y-á  ndt  ndáábu
1-woman  1a.child:1SG.POSS  3SGb-come out-APPL-FV  P3  9.house

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

(8.45)  mu-kó  mijkámt  ólogo-y-á  ndt  ká  ndáábu
1-woman  1a.child:1SG.POSS  3SGb-come out-APPL-FV  P3  9.house
ká-ńńiNd-á  ká  li-bí  kákí
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. ɓa-mbánzó ɓi ní-bó bó-síl-ǎ ndí ka-a-btí
2-person 2.DEM.III cop-2.DEM.I 3PL-arrive-fv p₁ gen-1b-demon
'Those men arrived at [the place of] a demon.'

b. ɓa-mbánzó ɓi ní-bó bá-síl-y-ǎ ndí a-btí
2-person 2.DEM.III cop-2.DEM.I 3PL:1.O-arrive-fv p₁ 1b-demon
' Those men met a demon.'

8.3 Word order

8.3.1 Clause structure

The canonical word order in Liko is S V O₁ O₂ (Xₙ), where "S" refers to the subject, "O₁," to the first object, "O₂" to the second object and "X" to adjuncts. First the order of the arguments S, O₁ and O₂ with respect to each other and the verb is described. S, O₁ and O₂ are full NPs or pronouns. Agreement prefixes for subjects and for class 1 or 2 first objects are obligatory, regardless of whether S and O₁ 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-i ɓi bù-síyo ní-bó
3SG-fell-fv.ant p₁ 14-tree cop-14.dem.i
'He felled this tree.'

b. *Makánzyálá gbit-i ɓi bù-síyo ní-bó
"Makánzyáli" fell-fv.ant p₁ 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-ɓ-kpuny-ő kó tutú
3SG:be 9b-2.O-hunt-fv prep 9.forest
'He is hunting them in the forest.'
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b. *a kó-kpumy-ô ɓa-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 kakó, wã-maky-a ká ndábu kakó

   '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), nzúyt follows the verb and the time adverbial ²lndu. (8.50b) is ungrammatical, because the object precedes the time adverbial:

(8.50a) bá-tté bî-tikil-og-õ ndú nzúyt na mo-lingó mó-pí
   2-old person 3PL:M:REFL-rub- 9.body with 6-oil 6.ASS-black PLUR-FV

   'The forefathers used to rub their bodies in with black oil.' *(T2006.6)*

b. *bá-tté bî-tikil-og-õ nzúyt ndú na mo-lingó mó-pí
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-fly-ô mîkî mu-pumî
   1.O-close-BEN-FV,IMP 1-child 3-door
   'Close the door for the child!'

b. *mu-tiky-fly-ô mu-pumî mîkî
   1.O-close-BEN-FV,IMP 3-door 1-child

In (a), the first object with beneficiary role, mîkî, is the first object following the verb with the Benefactive extension. Although mîkî is referenced by the class 1 object prefix mu,\(^{405}\), inversion of the two objects as in (b) is ungrammatical. The object mupumî of the basic transitive verb is not allowed to occur as the first object when the verb has the Benefactive extension.

In (8.52a), banyamá is the first object following the basic transitive verb. In (8.52b), where the verb has the Benefactive extension, the beneficiary, bugwáku, 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. Tapanôbi a ká-û-kpumy-ô ba-nyamá
   Tapanôbi 3SG:be 9b:2.O-hunt-fV 2-animal
   'Tapanôbi is hunting animals.'

b. Tapanôbi a ká-kpumyfly-ô bugwáku ba-nyamá
   Tapanôbi 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt:BEN-fV 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS 2-animal
   'Tapanôbi is hunting animals for his uncle.'

c. *Tapanôbi a ká-kpumyfly-ô ba-nyamá bugwáku
   Tapanôbi 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt:BEN-fV 2-animal 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS
   \textit{Int.} 'Tapanôbi is hunting animals for his uncle.'

\(^{405}\) 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 nzóyi* 'on the body' has to follow the object:

(8.53)a. mo-lingó mó-pi a-mwşi-g-ɔ pándá ká nzóyi


'The black oil will kill scabies on the body.'

b. *mo-lingó mó-pi a-mwşi-g-ɔ ká nzóyi pándá*


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

(8.54)a. Tapanóbi a ká-ǔ-kpumy-ọ bám-námá kó tutú

"Tapanóbi" 3SG:be 9b:2.O-hunt-FV 2-animal PREP 9.forest

'Tapanóbi is hunting animals in the forest.'

b. Tapanóbi a ká-kpumy-illé-ò bógwákt bám-nämá kó tutú

"Tapanóbi" 3SG: 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN-1a.uncle: 2-animal PREP 9.forest be FV 3SG.POSS

'Tapanóbi is hunting animals in the forest for his uncle.'

c. *Tapanóbi a ká-kpumy-illé-ò bógwákt kó tutú bám-námá*

"Tapanóbi" 3SG: 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN-1a.uncle: PREP 9.forest 2-animal be FV 3SG.POSS

(8.55)a. Makánzyálá⁴⁰⁶ o-gbit-ì ọsú-síyo ní-ñú

"Makánzyálá“ 3SG-fell-FV.ANT P₁ 14-tree COP-14.DEM.A

'Makanzyala felled this tree.'

⁴⁰⁶ 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 Ngômové. When a girl is born after twins, she will be called Bókógbí or Ingúlú. 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-i bii bù-sîyo nî-bô kô-syâku
"Makánzyálá" 3SG-fell-FV.ANT P1 14-tree COP-14.DEM.1 17-side across a river
'Makanzyala cut this tree across the river.'

c. Makánzyálá o-gbit-i bii bù-sîyo nî-bô
"Makánzyálá" 3SG-fell-FV.ANT P1 14-tree COP-14.DEM.1 kô-syâku ì’syéyikûbi na bù-gogô na gbôni kâkî 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. Tapanô bi kà-ù-kpumy-ô ba-nyamâ
Tapanô 3SG:be 9b-2.O-hunt-FV 2-animal
'Tapano is hunting animals …

b. kô tutû kà bù-sîbî bà-de na bê-nvâ bà-bâ
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. kô tutû na bê-nvâ bà-bâ kà bù-sîbî bà-de
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. kà bù-sîbî bà-de kô tutû na bênâ bà-bà

e. kà bù-sîbî bà-de na bênâ bà-bà kô tutû

f. na bênâ bà-bà kô tutû kà bù-sîbî bà-de

g. na bênâ bà-bà kà bù-sîbî bà-de kô tutû

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-i bù-sîyo kô-syâku
"Makánzyálá" 3SG-fell-FV.ANT 14-tree 17-side across a river
na gbôni kâkî yà-mbiya 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 ɓi ɓu-síyo ní-bá
"Makánzyálá" 3SG-fell-FV.ANT ɓ1 14-tree COP-DEM.1
na gbɔnì kakí yá-mbya kó-syáku ɓi syéyikũũ
with 9.axe 3SG.POSS 9.ASS-new 17-side across a river yesterday
'Makanyala 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).

(8.59a)  Tapanóbi a ká-kpumy-íly-ó bugwáku ɓa-nyamá
"Tapanóbi" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN-FV 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS 2-animal
kó tutù ká ɓu-síbí ɓá-de na ɓe-nvá ɓá-bá
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 ɓe-nvá ɓá-bá.
"Tapanóbi" 3SG:be with 2:1c-dog 2.NUM-two
A ká-kpumy-íly-ó bugwáku ɓa-nyamá
3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN-FV 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS 2-animal
kó tutù ká ɓu-síbí ɓá-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 bugwáku ɓa-nyamá
"Tapanóbi" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-hunt-BEN-FV 1a.uncle:3SG.POSS 2-animal
kó tutù ká ɓu-síbí ɓá-de.
PREP 9.forest PREP 14-sunrise 14.ASS-cold
A na ɓe-nvá ɓá-bá.
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:

\[(8.60) \text{mu-lúkó mazyazyá ká l-mbengí bí-kpí} \]
\[\text{1-man 9.joy prep 5-heart mod-full} \]
\[\text{The man [was] happy to the heart full.}, \text{ i.e. overjoyed (T2006.1)} \]

\[(8.61) \text{tíko bí-bedu-bede na ma-lílí} \]
\[\text{9.field mod-full up to the brim with 6-food} \]
\[\text{The field [was] completely full with food.} \text{ (T2006.3)} \]

\[(8.62) \text{bé kyé ı-kwí yu-ná, bá-mbánzú bí-kókóló-kokolo} \]
\[\text{in order that 9a-looking 9.dem.II-conn 2-person mod-stiff} \]
\[\text{By looking, people [had become] stiff.} \text{ (T2006.1)} \]

\[(8.63) \text{bú-galóbi, mú-nzənzó ma-nánda} \]
\[\text{14-the day after tomorrow 3-long rain 6.ass-long} \]
\[\text{The next day, [there was] a long rain.} \text{ (T2006.1)} \]

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

\[(8.64)a. \text{pété a yó-wilílí} \]
\[\text{9.ring 3sg:be 9.ass-round} \]
\[\text{The ring is round.} \]
\[b. \text{légugú a lá-nzá} \]
\[\text{5-reed 3sg:be 5.ass-good} \]
\[\text{It is a nice reed.} \]
\[c. \text{bá-né-kókó bá bá-pó̃pu} \]
\[\text{2-nz1-instrument 3pl:be 2.ass-hard} \]
\[\text{'Nekokos (musical instruments) are very hard (sound).'} \]
d. li-gubó lá-sabúni a lá-pūpʊ kógbe
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 *abe* '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. mìkí mu-kó yí a ábe sìbá
1a.child 1-woman 1.dem.iii 3sg:be like 9.ivory
'A girl is like ivory.' (T2006.9)
b. mìkí mu-kó yí ábe pápá yá-li-kíngo.
'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-wее
1a.guinea-fowl mod-"weee"
'The guinea-fowl "weee"', i.e. raised itself

(8.67) líso bí-нзее bí-ке ká mu-lígi
5:eye mod-"нзее" mod-"ке" prep 3-vine
'The eye "нзее" "ке" against a vine.', i.e. it fell and broke against a vine

(8.68) sukópi mísó bí-nganganga
1a.leopard 6:eye mod-stare wide-eyed
'Leopards [looked] eyes wide open.' (T2006.3)

In equative sentences, the invariable copula *m* 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 *m* 'cop'. For example:

(8.69)a. l-gugú m l-túnítọ
5-reed cop 5-weed
'A reed is a weed.'
b. ba-né-kókó m bɛ-sú ðoyó-dumó
'Nekokos are instruments to accompany a dance.'
c. mu-kó ka-tté mítítósú
   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 -i-k- 'be', kégú, 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 bé (bé occurs at the end of the clause and is followed by a pause):

(8.70) tyí áka na ngámá ka-ɓo-ńzikaɓó bé:
   1.PRO only with 1a.chief GEN-2-man without mercy COMP
   ngámá, na kápà ku-kwá-kú
   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 tyí bé: wund-á ká li-k3
   "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 kówá ndt li-syé lí-motí, sibi bé-ɗw-ɛ̀-n-ɛ̀
   3SG:be thus P3 5-day 5.NUM-one 1a.tortoise 3PL-offend-ASS-ASS-FV
   na mbungó, tyí áka na tyí bé:
   with 1a.elephant 1.PRO only with 1.PRO COMP
   yé mbungó, wa-kem-in-o-ní 't5-gú ɓo-kédé
   excuse me! 1a.elephant 2SG-NEG:1SG.O-see-FV-NEG SUBJ 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:
A non-verbal clause can be used in questions that ask for a description of something or a situation:

(8.74) 1-kí píye?
9a-what thus
'What thus [is]?, i.e. what happened? (T2006.1)

(8.75) í-pígo yá-nyamá tínó sê 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 ɓɛ́:

(8.76) mbóku á ndí línó ɓɛ́ Budumó
1a.adult 3SG:be P3 5:name COMP "Budumo"
'The adult man was called Budumo.' (T2007.6)

A shorter way to introduce a participant is by putting fna ɓɛ́ '5.name COMP' preceding the proper name. In a context which is situated in the past, a Past time adverbial is added between fna and ɓɛ́: fna ndí ɓɛ́ '5.name P3 COMP':

(8.77) ká mu-sengí ka-Bavakwókwo,
PREP 3-village GEN-people of "Kwokwo"
á ndí mu-lílká ɓé-motí iná ndí ɓé Kibígu Kádégyañá
3SG:be P3 1-trapper 1.Num-one 5:name P3 COMP "Kibígu Kadýgya"
'In the village of Bavakwókwo was a trapper called Kibígu Kadýgya.' (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. mu-siká ní-nõ ọ̈-bín-ā ndt
   1sg:1:0-see-fv ant 1sg-1:0-wash-ben-fv ant
   'The girl who washed clothes for my aunt.'

b. mu-tō wa-st ní-nõ ám-tń-ą ndt
   1sg:3:1:0-see-fv ant 1sg:3:1:0-wash-ben-fv ant
   'Every man who saw him ...'

(8.79) nam-in-į  bi mu-siká
   1sg:1:0-see-fv ant 1sg:1:0-wash-ben-fv ant 1sg:1:0-wash-ben-fv ant
   'I saw the girl who washed clothes for my aunt.'
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-îly-á nyamá
   3SG:be 9b:1.O-eat-FV 1a.animal
   'He is eating an animal.'

(8.82)a. a ká-îly-á nyamá ní-n5 nā-mwí
   'He is eating the animal that I killed.'

b. a ká-îly-á nyamá yǐ ní-n5 nā-mwí
   '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-tó gə́ lǐbó
   1a.chief 3SG:look-PLUR-FV-INS also 5:water
   ní-l5 ɓa-tó kakí 60-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-îly-á nyamá ní-n5 nā-mwí n5
   1.DEM,I
   'He is eating the animal that I killed.'

b. tó-ták a ká-un-á ma-li li mi
   1a:old person:her 3SG:be 9b-see-FV 6-food 6.DEM.III
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) Sùza a ká-’kís-fly-á nínáki
"Súza" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV 1a.aunt:3SG:poss
ní-nõ wóko yí nõ ndábu yá-ggog
COP-1.DEML.1 1a.widow 1.DEML.3 1.DEML.1 9.house 9.POSS-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-’ly-á nyamá ní-mu(-ná) ná-mwí *(mu)

'He is eating this animal which I killed'
b. a ká-’ly-á nyamá yí ní-mu(-ná) ná-mwí *(mu)

'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-súká mu ó-fĩn-á ndit
1-girl 1.DEML.2 3SG:2-dance-FV 3.O
'This girl danced.'
b. mu-suká ndí-mu(-ná) ó-bín-á ndí
   1-girl COP-1.DEM.II-CONN 3SG2-dance-FV p₁
   'This girl danced.' / *'The girl who danced ...'

c. mu-suká yì ndí-mu(-ná) ó-bín-á ndí
   1-girl 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.II-CONN 3SG2-dance-FV p₁
   '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-fn-I bì mìkí mu-kó yi
   1SG:1.O-see-FV.ANT p₁ 1a.child 1w-woman 1.DEM.III
   nǐ-nì a-sukus-fly-ì bì níné òó-tú
   COP-1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-wash-BEN-FV.ANT p₁ 1a.aunt 2+9-clothes
   'I saw the girl\(^{407}\) who washed clothes for my aunt.'

b. no-ɗukuf-og-I bì òó-tú
   1SG-fold-PLUR-FV.ANT p₁ 2+9-clothes
   nǐ-ɓayó mìkí mu-kó yi a-sukus-fly-ì bì níné
   'I folded the clothes that the girl washed for my aunt.'

c. nam-fn-I bì ɓa-níné
   1SG:1.O-see-FV.ANT p₁ 2-aunt
   nǐ-ɓá mìkí mu-kó yi ɓó-sukus-fly-ì bì òó-tú
   '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 mìnò preceding the first object, as is the case with adjuncts.

\(^{407}\) The type III demonstrative does not carry the sense of exclusiveness in the standard expression mìkí 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'.\(^{408}\) 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.\(^{409}\)

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

\[
(8.89) \quad \text{ɓʊ́-kɔ̃-g-ɔ̌} \quad \text{nди bo-mǐkɪ bù-dingī ká mu-gī} \\
3PL^2.2O-cut:PLUR-FV \quad p_3 \quad 2\text{-child} \quad 2\text{.Adj-big} \quad \text{PREP} \quad 3\text{-village} \\
\text{‘They circumcised many children in the village.’}
\]

Relativization of **ká mu-gĩ** yields the following structure:

\[
(8.90) \quad \text{mu-gĩ}^{410} \quad \text{ní-mş} \quad \text{ɓʊ́-kɔ̃-g-ɔ̌} \quad \text{ndì minó bo-mǐkɪ bù-dingī} \\
3\text{-village} \quad \text{COP} \text{-3.DEML.I} \quad 3PL^2.2O- \quad p_3 \quad \text{TRACE} \quad 2\text{-child} \quad 2\text{.Adj-big} \quad \text{cut:PLUR-FV} \\
\text{‘The village where they circumcised many children ...’}
\]

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.

\[
(8.91) \quad a. \quad *\text{mu-gĩ} \quad \text{ní-mş} \quad \text{ɓʊ́-kɔ̃-g-ɔ̌} \quad \text{ndì bo-mǐkɪ bù-dingī} \\
3\text{-village} \quad \text{COP} \text{-3.DEML.I} \quad 3PL^2.2O-cut:PLUR-FV \quad p_3 \quad 2\text{-child} \quad 2\text{.Adj-big}
\]

\(^{408}\) The language has another word **minó** 'there', which occurs in adjunct position.

\(^{409}\) 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).

\(^{410}\) The H tone of the LH contour on **mu-gĩ** merges with the following High.
In case there are two objects, minó precedes the first object:

(8.92) nig-1 bì ká mu-gí
1SG-return-FV.ANT P1 PREP 3-village
nì-mì mìkí a-sukus-ì-ì bì minó mìné bo-tú
COP-6.DEM.I 1a.child 3SG:1.O-wash- P1 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 bo-mìkí and the agreeing class 2 object prefix is ì-. 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 dìnga 'period' is relativized:

(8.93) dìnga nì-nà ì-nìky-ì minó bà-mbànzó
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 ì- agrees with bàmbànzó.

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-gí nì-ma(-ná) bò-kàg-ì ndì minó bo-mìkí bù-dìngì
3-village COP-3.DEM.II-CONN 3PL:2.O- P3 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, \textit{minó} is obligatory.

\begin{verbatim}(8.95)\end{verbatim}  bágá ndt na Ikóɓú ká ngópá
\begin{verbatim}3PL\textsuperscript{2}:go:FV P1 with "Ikoɓu" PREP 9.hill
ní-yọ bó-mwọg-ọ ndt minó ɓa-mbHńźú
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}cop-9.DEM.1 3PL\textsuperscript{2}:O-kill:PLUR-FV P1 trace 2-person
\end{verbatim}
'They went with Ikoɓu to the hill where they used to kill people.'
\textit{(T2009.21)}

The antecedent of the relativized locative adjunct is \textit{ngópá}.

\begin{verbatim}(8.96)\end{verbatim}  mbń́ka yi ní-yọ bó-kóng-o-g-o minó ndikọ
\begin{verbatim}9.pot 9.DEM.III cop-9.DEM.1 3PL\textsuperscript{2}:roast-PLUR-FV trace 9.palm-nut pit
\end{verbatim}
'That pot (exclusive) in which they roasted palm nuts ...' \textit{(T2006.6)}

The antecedent of the relativized locative adjunct is \textit{mbń́ka}.

\begin{verbatim}(8.97)\end{verbatim}  os-ọ bì gíta kakí kó tíko
\begin{verbatim}3SG:leave-FV.ANT P1 9.hoe 3SG.POSS PREP 9.field
ní-yọ o-kúń-ọ bì minó ma-láki yọ
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}cop-9.DEM.1 3SG:plant-FV.ANT P1 trace 6-bean 9.DEM.1
\end{verbatim}
'He has left his hoe at the field where he planted beans.'

The antecedent of the relativized locative adjunct is \textit{tiko}.

\begin{verbatim}(8.98)\end{verbatim}  ngbńgō yi ní-nń wūt-a minó mu-lókó mu-díngí
\begin{verbatim}1a.time 1.DEM.III cop-1.DEM.1 2SG:change- trace 1-man 1.ADJ-big
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}FV
\end{verbatim}
'At the time when you become an adult ...' \textit{(T2006.8)}

The antecedent of the relativized temporal adjunct is \textit{ngbńgō}.

\begin{verbatim}(8.99)\end{verbatim}  mbń́kú-.mbń́kú a-bum-ọ bì mńkámọ lń-syę
\begin{verbatim}1a.old.man 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT P1 1a.child:3SG.POSS 5-day
ní-ńń o-dńć-ńś-ọ bì minó mbń́kú lń
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}cop-5.DEM.1 3SG:pour out-CAUS-FV.ANT P1 trace 9.clay.pot 5.DEM.1
\end{verbatim}
'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 \textit{lń-syę}. 
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-nə ə ndt mbškʊ yí á-bìky-a bɛː :
COP-1.DEM.I 3SG:be P3 1a.old man 1.DEM.III 3SG’say-FV COMP
'The one who was this old man (exclusive) said: ...' (T2007.1)

b. nɛlʊngyá áka bɛː tnd-á-nɔ əst ma-bškʊ aká,
1a.chameleon only COMP 1PL:go-FV.IMP-SUPP only 6-hand CT
ní-nə ɪk-o ma-bškʊ bì-pí ìba
COP-1.DEM.I 3SG’say-FV 6-hand MOD-black it means that
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-ɓɔ́ɓá na mu-kúmbogì bó-dog-o-kú-tʊ ndt goñì
COP-2.DEM.I 3PL:be with 3-load 3PL’s-be:come:PLUR- P3 also FV-DIR-INS
'The ones who had loads came too.'

(8.102) ní-lọ́ ná-gy-á ndt lʊ, ə ndt lá-nye ?
COP-5.DEM.I 1SG’s-do-FV P3 5.DEM.I 3SG:be P3 5.ASS-bad
'The thing that I did, was bad?' (translated 2 Corinthians 11:7)

(8.103) ní-mə á-bák-á ndt bì-gala-gala kyέ lazmbù
COP-6.DEM.I 3SG/PL’+grow-FV P3 MOD-fast because 5-soil
0-ké-gʊ ndt lá-kpu wá
3SG-Neg:be:FV-Neg P3 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. wund-a  gönf ká sɔkɔ
   2SG:go-FV also PREP market
   'You (sg) will also go to the market.'

b. wund-a  gönf ká sɔkɔ?
   2SG:go-FV also PREP 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 fyo 'yes'. The longer form would be fyo mndatɔ 'yes, I will go'. If one will not go to the market, to say just kát 'no' is regarded as being impolite. In that case, the usual response is either kát, nákndgu 'no, I will not go' or simply nákndgu 'I do not go'.

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

(8.105) wund-a-tɔ  gönf ká sɔkɔ?
   2SG:go-FV-INS also PREP 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, wamf '1a.who', ɓa-wamf '2-who' for animate referents, and 1-ka '9a-what', ɓe-ka '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, \textit{wan} refers to an animate referent:

\begin{verbatim}
(8.106) waní n5 á-i\-ly-á ndí nyamá yi ní-n5?
        1a.who 1.DEV.I 3SG-1.O-eat-FV pí 1a.animal 1.DEV.II COP-1.DEV.I
\end{verbatim}

"Who ate this animal (exclusive)?"

\textit{t-\-kí} '9a-what' is used as question word for inanimate referents. If the referent is the subject, \textit{t-\-kí} occurs left-dislocated at the beginning of the clause and is always followed by a demonstrative:

\begin{verbatim}
(8.107)a. t-\-kí y5 a yó-pólǐ kōgbe?
        9a-what 9.DEV.I 3SG:be light (weight) very
\end{verbatim}

"What is very easy?" (Translated Matt. 9:5)

\begin{verbatim}
b. a-bá\-tù kám-\-\-u bý1 áka á\-m-\-ú\-s-o
   1b-father:3PL.POSS 9b:1.O-see-FV far only 3SG-1.O-ask-FV
   bē: mìkámt, t-\-kí y5 u-\-gy-\-f?
   COMP 1a.child:1SG.POSS 9a-what 9.DEV.I 3SG:2SG.O-do-FV,A NT
\end{verbatim}

"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).

\begin{verbatim}
(8.108)a. waní n5\footnote{\textit{n5\-n5, 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 n5\-n5 \textit{uvá akúk}?}} t-\-nvá a-kuk-\-i?
        1a.who 1.DEV.I 1c-dog 3SG:bite-FV,ANT
\end{verbatim}

b. t-\-nvá a-kuk-\-i 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.\footnote{If it is true that the meaning is the same, there may be a difference in the use of these}
The question words *wan* '1a.who' and *t-ki* '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):

(8.110)a. *t-ki* má Fína a ká-amb-á?
   9a-what 9.DEM.I 1a.mother "Fína" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV

(8.111)a. t-ki yó bó-míkí bá 4ká-kís-á?
   9a-what 9.DEM.I 2-child 3PL:be 9b-look for-FV

(8.112)a. *t-ki* má Fína a ká-amb-á?
   9a-what 1a.mother "Fína" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV

b. *má* Fína a ká-amb-á t-ki yó?
   1a.mother "Fína" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV 9a-what 9.DEM.I

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):
Other examples of *want* 'la.who' and *t-ki* '9a-what' referring to objects include:

(8.113) want nā nzōka und-i kā-my-ō
1a.who 1.DEML 1a.snake 3SG:go-FV.SUBJ 9b:1.O:swallow-FV
kū-silî wa-mu-ngbongbō kū?
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-ụnụ ụ-ụnụ-is-o si-să bī-tů, iyí ńka
sr:1-tilapia 3SG2-become white-CAUS-FV sr:1-fish MOD-bright 1.PRO only
na iyí bē: wo-pōli ńbē 1-wayá,
with 1.PRO COMP 1.ass-light (weight) like 9a-dried banana leaf
wa ká-bük-y-ōg-ō want?
2SG:be 9b-resound-APPL-PLUR-FV 1a.who
'Tilapia offended Sisa, he said to him: "Someone light like a dried
banana leaf, to whom are you talking?" (T2008.10)

(8.115) wa ká-pa bē nù-gy-tý-i t-ki?
2SG:be 9b-want:FV COMP 1SG.2FO-do-BEN-FV.SUBJ 9a-what
'What do you want that I do for you?'

(8.116) o-vi-kú t-ki ká Bafwaɓaka?
3SG-take:FV.ANT-DIR 9a-what PREP Bafwaɓaka
'What did he take (there) in Bafwaɓaka?'

b. Invariable question words

The invariable question words ɓʊ́ ‘how’, kɛ̀ ‘why’, ńka ‘how' and yáŋ ‘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, yáŋ ‘where', cannot occur clause-initially:

(8.117)a. o-bís-i i-ziŋi-só sá-4bógu yáŋ?
'Where did he put the bunch of plantains?'

b. *yáŋ (nṣ/ýṣ) o-bís-i i-ziŋi-só sá-4bógu
Examples of the invariable question words are presented below.

ɓʊ́ 'how' and lɪk 'how' are both used frequently and in the same contexts, e.g.:

(8.118)a. ɓʊ́ lɪ-kpʊmʊká lɪ-ná a pьye ɓʊ́n? 3SG:be thus how
     'How did this happen?' (T2006.3)

b. ɓá-ɖɔn-ə-g-a pьye sёlɛngándé lɪk?
     3PL:1.O-plant-PLUR-FV thus 9.peanut how
     'How does one plant peanuts?'

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

(8.119) nɪ-ɡy-a kọwa tмu ɓʊ́n? 1SG:REFL-do-FV thus 1SG.PRO how
     'What shall I do?' (T2009.21)

An example of kɛ́k 'why' is:

(8.120) wá-ki-á mbɛyǐ ndt kɛ́k ká-bis-ɔ mu-túgbɔ 2SG-refuse-FV first 3b why 9b-put-FV 1-strong man
     ká-bɔ́nd-á-g-á ndáɓu? 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 t-ɛf 9.reason 9a-what' in (8.136) and (8.137), and kyɛ bʊ́n 'why how' in (8.141).

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

Other examples of yάm 'where' are:

(8.121)a. ndáɓu kakó a yάm? 9.house 2SG.POSS 3SG:be where
     'Where is your house?'
b. mà ɗ’ká-nd-á na Ikóšú yáń?
   2pl:be 9b-go-FV with "Ikóšú" where
   'Where are you (pl) going with Ikóšú?'

(8.122) ta-luw-okú mukáti* yáń?
   1pl-buy-FV-DIR 1a.bread where
   'Where will we buy bread?'

(8.123) wa ká-pa bë tünd-í ká-umbámb-ily-á
   2sg:be 9b-want:FV COMP 1pl:go-FV.SUBJ 9b-2sg.O:cook-BEN-FV
   ma-lílí má-pasíka yáń?
   6-food 6.ass-1a.Passover where
   'Where do you want that we go to cook the Passover meal?'  (translated
   Mark 14:12)

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

(8.124) mu-kó kámu ind-í yáń?
   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. mífí
mímé tínó 'which child'. A prepositional phrase with a question word, tínó 'which' (or tí-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 kówa ká mu-gí tínó
   1pl:pass-FV thus PREP 3-village which
   kyó túp-i-ní na lí-gundó?
   because 1pl:rest-FV.ANT-PFV with 5-journey

* From Congo Swahili *mkate*, regularly pronounced as *mukate* in Congo.
Topics in Syntax

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

(8.126)a. ta-ly-a ma-líl ká ndáọ tínó?
1PL-eat-FV 6-food PREP 9.house which

b. ndáọ tínó ý ta-ly-a minó ma-líl?
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) l-kpumóká lá-pópu tínó ló má minó
5-thing 5.ass-strong which 5.DEM.I 3PL:be TRACE
ká-i-nzunzuny-á
9b-refl-talk scandal-FV

'Which hard issues are you talking scandal about among yourselves?'

(8.128) míkí tínó nọ a-bákti ọ-ká-yoyi-is-og-i-gú?
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 písí tífí, PREP 9.path which, 'by which path' ('how') is left-dislocated:

(8.129) písí tínó ý má-kwanan-a minó ká-nyk-á yígyogyísó?
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 *ngbíngó tínó*, 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-ní a-bum-i ɓi
   1a.old man COP-1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT p₁
   mìkàmì ngbíngó tínó ?
   1a.child:3SG.POSS 1a.time which

b. ngbíngó tínó ní mbóku-mbóku ní-ní
   1a.time which 1.DEM.I 1a.old man COP-1.DEM.I
   a-bum-i ɓí minó mìkàmì
   3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT p₁ TRACE 1a.child:3SG.POSS

a. and b.: 'When did that old man hit my child?'

When a prepositional phrase with *tínó* 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 *tínó* 'which' follows *ngbíngó*, 1a.time, moment, the combination expresses 'when'. With *dinga*, 1a.period, moment, it means 'at what time'. For example:

(8.131)a. tòku ig-o-kú ngbíngó tínó ?
   1a.grandparent:2SG.POSS 3SG:return-FV-DIR 1a.time which
   'When will you father-in-law return?'

b. ngbíngó tínó ní ind-i minó ?
   1a.time which 1.DEM.I 3SG:go-FV.ANT TRACE
   'When did he go?'

(8.132)a. dìnga tínó mu ?
   1a.period which 1.DEM.II
   'What is the time?'

b. ɓíg-o-kú kówa dìnga tínó ?
   3PL:return-FV-DIR thus 1a.period which
   'When (at what time) will they return?'

d. Combinations involving question words

*ntú* '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 ɩ́kówa 'what (reason)' is:
(8.133) yɛ̀ mu-kó mìkúmì, ɩ́kówa
   excuse me! 1-woman 1a.child:1sg.poss 9a-what thus
we-pí umu mä-lílí mä-kédé 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 ɩ́pye 'what (result)' is:
(8.134) ɩ́kí ɩ́pye? li-búmá, ɓu-täté bì-kyekyéké
   9a-what thus 5-drunkenness 14-laughter mod-burst of laughter
'What happened? Drunkenness, bursts of laughter.' (T2006.1)

Example of ɩ́se pye / ɩ́se mbéyin 'what (specific)' are:
(8.135)a. ɩ́kí sè pye yò ɛ-ɓʊ?
   9a-what thus thus 9.dem.1 3sg:1sg.O-deceive:fv P1
   'What duped me?' (T2009.27)
b. ɩ́kí sè mbéyin yò wò bì ká-kís-á ká kúgha?
   9a-what thus first 9.dem.1 2sg:be P1 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 ɯkt. prep 9.reason
9a-what, 'why' can be used, e.g.:
(8.136)a. wò-dók-í ká i-gumí-so kó bulyó ɩ́kí?
   'Why did you climb in that trunk?'
b. kó bulyó ɩ́kí yò má minó ɩká-gy-á
   prep 9.reason 9a-what 9.dem.1 2pl:be trace 9b-do-fv
   li-gubú ní-lá?
   5-work cop-5.dem.1
   'Why are you doing this work?'

414 The rough specifications in brackets are based on the material available and discussion
with the Liko consultants I worked with.
(8.137)a. o-büsól-I  bi gboní kakí  kó bulyó  t-kí?
   3SG-forget-FV.ANT  P1  9.axe  3SG.POSS  PREP  9.reason  9a-what
b.  kó bulyó  t-kí  yā  o-büsól-I  bi minó gboní kakí?
   PREP  9.reason  9a-what  9.DEM.I  3SG-forget-  P1  TRACE  9.axe  3SG.POSS
   FV.ANT

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

Apart from being used as question word, t-kí '9a-what' is used with mbényi '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  ndt Ikóðú  ñba  kyé
   2SG:COND:1.O-see-FV  P3  'Ikóðú' it means that because
   warn-in-i-ní  gənì   Zangyá.
   2SG:1.O-see-FV.ANT.PFV  also 'Zangyáa'
   t-kí  mbényi  yā  yā-nza  bëyë!
   9a-what  first  9.DEM.I  9.DEM.I  9.ass-good  like that
   'If you saw Ikóðú, then you had also seen Zangyáa. What was it good at first!' (T2009.21)

(8.139) t-kí  se  kówa,  mbonyá  mamá  á-pung-á  ndt  ká-ň-gam-á
   9a- thus thus 1a.husband 1a.mother 3SG-start-FV  P3  9b-REFL-cry-
   what
   9a-what first 9.DEM.I 9.ass-good like that
   'What do we see? "His lordship" started to complain.' (T2009.37)

(8.140) mu-gwí  t-kí  yá-gbalt  yo  bì-kwí
   'Hold something disorderly securely!', i.e. Arrest that idiot!' (T2007.3)

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

(8.141)a. wá-ky-á  mbényi  ndt  ká-bis-ó  mu-túgbó
   2SG-REFUSE-FV first  P3  9b-put-FV 1-strong man
   ká-bónd-ág-á  ndáño  kyé  bónì?
   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-bíky-á kyɛ́ bʊ́n? 
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 t-ki’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. t-ki yɔ́ má ɩká-gyǎ yɔ́? 
9a-what 9.DEM.I 2PL:be 9b-do-FV 9.DEM.I 
'What are you (pl) doing?'

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

(8.143)a. t-ki yɔ́ u-gy-í ɓo-míkí? 
'What happened to the children?' / *What did the children do?'

b. ɓo-míkí bi-mwís-is-á ndt 
2-child 3PL:REFL-kilt:CAUS-CAUS-FV  P3 
'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 Ikoɓu (72009.21) 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, -t5, 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: wanf ‘1a.who’ / ɓa-wanf ‘2-who’ for animates, ɓɛ-ƙɛ ‘2+9a-what’ for inanimates, yanf ‘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 n5 t-nvá a-kuk-f?
1a.who 1.DEM.I 1c-dog 3SG-bite-FV.ANT
‘Whom did the dog bite?’

(8.145) t-ƙí y5 má Fina a ká-amb-f?
9a-what 9.DEM.I 1a.mother “Fina” 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV
‘What is Mother Fina cooking?’
(8.146) t-kí y5 ɓo-míkí bá ’ká-kíís-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 ɓi mikámi
    3SG:1.O-bite-FV.ANT p1 1a.child:1SG.POSS
'He bit my child.'

b. mikámi
    1a.child:1SG.POSS
'My child'

(8.148)a. a ká-amb-á mo-tumbúwa
    3SG:be 9b-cook-FV 6-pastry ball
'She is frying pastry balls.'

b. mo-tumbúwa
    6-pastry ball
'Pastry balls'

(8.149)a. bá ’ká-kíís-á lít-yīkɔ kakí
    3PL:be 9b-look for-FV 5-amulet415 3SG.POSS
'They are looking for her amulet.'

b. lít-yīkɔ 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-tumbúwa mɔ mā Fíñá a ká-amb-á
    6-pastry ball 6_DEM.I 1a.mother "Fíñá" 3SG:be 9b-cook-FV
'Mother Fíñá is frying pastry balls.'

415 Or beads and bones used for personal adornment.
(8.151) ??h-yókó kakti ló há ká-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-tumbůwa aká
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 nóż Súza a ká-kís-fly-á lít-yíkó?
1a.who 1.DEM.I "Suzá" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV 5-amulet
b. Súza a ká-kís-fly-á waní lít-yíkó?
"Suzá" 3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV 1a.who 5-amulet
a. and b.: 'For whom is Suzá 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-kís-fly-á nńágí
3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV 1a.aunt:3SG.POSS
'She is searching [it] for her aunt.'
b. nńágí nóż a ká-kís-fly-á
1a.aunt:3SG.POSS 1.DEM.I 3SG:be 9b:1.O-look for-BEN-FV
*'She is searching [it] for her aunt.'

416 The surface tones on the contrast particle depend on the preceding tone: aká 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), nthák 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) is searching for someone.'

b. Adjuncts

In responses to interrogative sentences with yáfí '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-bis-i ká gbọgbọ 3SG-put-FV.ANT PREP 1a.drying shed

'He put [it] in the drying shed.'

b. *ká gbọgbọ ná o-bis-i PREP 1a.drying shed 1.DEM.1 3SG-put-FV.ANT

c. *gbọgbọ 1a.drying shed 1.DEM.1 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-llí ká ndábu kámu 1PL-eat-FV 6-food PREP 9.house 1SG.POSS

'We will eat the meal in my house.'

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


'He hit him in the evening.'

417 See the activation of a participant in 8.6.3.
b. *na ɓu-ɗɔgɔ̀ ðɔ ã-bum-i ði
   with 14-sunset 14.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT 1

(c. *ɓu-ɗɔgɔ̀ ðɔ ã-bum-i ði
   14-sunset 14.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT 1

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

(8.158) o-ɓúsól-i ði ɡbòng kakí kyé mbwáy ði ði ká-lók-á
   3SG-forget- 1 9.axe 3SG.POSS because 9.rain 3SG: 1 9b-rain-FV
   FV.ANT
   '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 yán '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.418 Question words referring to a subject are always left-dislocated. In the questions and the

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418 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 \text{n̂ɔ̌}. In (8.159a) and in (8.160a), the type I demonstrative \text{n̂ɔ̌} is obligatory.

(8.159)a. waní n̂ɔ̌ a ká-woníf-ìl-o na li-syé n-hità?
  1a.who 1.DEML.1 3SG:be 9b-show:CAUS- with 5-day COP-5.DEM.II
  RES-FV
  'Who is teaching today?'

b. mu-wonisilí wa-mbiya n̂ɔ̌ a ké-woníf-ìl-o
  1-teacher 1.ASS-new 1.DEML.1 3SG:be 9b:1SG.O-show:CAUS-
  RES-FV
  'The new teacher is teaching me.'

(8.160)a. waní n̂ɔ̌ a-kuk-i mi̲kãm?
  1a.who 1.DEML.1 3SG:1.O-bite-FV.ANT 1a.child:1SG.POSS
  'Who bit my child?' / *'Whom did my child bite?'

b. ì-nvá n̂ɔ̌ a-kuk-i ì bi mi̲kãm
  1e-dog 1.DEML.1 3SG:1.O-bite-FV.ANT  P1 1a.child:1SG.POSS
  'The dog bit my child.'

The only possible interpretation of \text{mi̲kãm} 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8.161)</th>
<th>Requested information</th>
<th>New information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in situ</td>
<td>left-dislocated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjunct (yámi)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjunct (other)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes with TRACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnote{419} Augustin (2010) has analysed \text{n̂o} (no tone marking) as the focus particle. However, \text{n̂ɔ̌} 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 \text{fi̲n}, see 8.6.2.

\footnote{420} 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. 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-tumbůwa aká
  1a.mother "Fina" 3SG:be 9b-sell-fv 6-pastry ball CT
  ká sókő
  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-mwi bī nzůka aká,
  "Ikoŏu" 3SG:1-O-kill:FV.ANT p1 1a.snake CT
  nǐ-nů ã-gbit-i bī nô, na mu-pánga
  COP:1.DEM.I 3SG:1.O-fell:FV.ANT p1 1.DEM.I with 3-machete

'Ikoŏu killed THE SNAKE, which bit him, with a machete.'

421 I assume that H.L is the underlying tone pattern. In (rapid) speech, the vowel preceding áka is subject to V₁-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 L.H.L sequence surfaces as a sequence of Low and High.
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(8.164) Súza a ká-kís-á h-yík s aká kátókyá
"Suza" 3SG:be 9b-look for-FV 5-amulet CT since
na bọ-sọbọt
with 14-sunrise
'Suza has been looking for the AMULET since sunrise.'

(8.165)a. Nangáa a ká-kís-fy-á nínáky aká ndábu yá-gọọ
be BEN-FV 3SG.POSS
'Nangaa is looking for another house for HIS AUNT.'

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

(8.166) ngáma á-fíky-á ndí Ábaláma bé:
i-pó-kú umu bá-mbánzú áka,
1SG.O-give:FV.IMP-DIR 1SG.PRO 2-person CT
wá-và lo l-ọgáma
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) babá á-tí-fíky-á ndí bé: mb-ag-a-tó bé
1a.father 3SG:1-1PL.O-say-FV P, COMP 2PL:know-PLUR-FV-INS COMP
mu-kó kámú bẹyọ ka-Lakéli ẹ-4bọkot-fy-á
1-woman 1SG.POSS like that GEN="Lakeli" 3SG:2:1SG.O-give birth-BEN-FV

422 The structure of this word is ká-ták-y-á 9b-leave-APPL-FV.'
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-nynyó ká gbọgbọ  aká
3SG-put-FV.ANT  5-peanut harvest  PREP  la.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 gbọgbọ  aká  l-nynyó
3SG-put-FV.ANT  PREP  la.drying shed  CT  5-peanut harvest

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

(8.170) l-syé  lá-gọgo,  níyá  i-nvá  ó-bís-ó  bu-yí,
5-day  5.ASS-other  when  1c-dog  3SG?-put-FV^14  money

tú-á  kó  kakí
3SG:return-FV^3  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-i  kó  tiko  kakú  áka,  okán-á-tú
2-Pygm  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) tô-lípy-og-o  kówá  ndí  ibúsú  kó  písí  aká
1PL?-last-PLUR-FV  thus  P1  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:
\[\text{(8.173) } \text{á-bum-i } \text{bi } \text{na } \text{bu-gag} \text{áka} \]
\[3SG:1.O-hit-FV.ANT \quad P_1 \quad \text{with} \quad 14\text{-sunset} \quad CT\]

'He hit him IN THE EVENING.'

\[\text{(8.174) } \text{ma-lílí } \text{nf-má } \text{ɓá-tímb-amb-ly-á} \quad \text{ndt, tá kówá ndt} \]
\[6\text{-food} \quad \text{cop}-6\text{.DEM.1} \quad 3PL\text{-1PL.O-cook-BEN-FV} \quad P_3 \quad \text{1PL:be thus } \quad P_1 \]
\[\text{ká-ly-á } \text{na } \text{l-gundó áka} \]
\[9\text{-eat-FV} \quad \text{with} \quad 5\text{-JOURNEY} \quad CT\]

'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:
\[\text{(8.175) } \text{Ikóbú a-mwí } \text{bi nzúka } \text{na } \text{li-kó áka} \]
\["Iko'bu" \quad 3SG:1.O-kill-FV.ANT \quad P_1 \quad \text{1a.snake} \quad \text{with} \quad 5\text{-stick} \quad CT\]

'Iko'bu killed a snake WITH A STICK.'

\[\text{(8.176) } \text{á-syé } \text{ndt } \text{na } \text{nzá áka} \]
\[3SG\text{-pass:FV} \quad P_3 \quad \text{with} \quad 9\text{-hunger} \quad CT\]

'He passed [the day] HUNGRY.' \(T2009.32\)

After someone has burned his arm while cooking:
\[\text{(8.177) } \text{nýs} \text{ muzuzulá } \text{é-bedul-o } \text{béyá,} \quad \text{when} \quad 9\text{-awful pain} \quad 3SG\text{-1SG.O-surpass-FV} \quad \text{like that} \]
\[\text{nzá } \text{é-sy-ó } \text{língunó áka} \]
\[9\text{-hunger} \quad 3SG\text{-1SG.O-finish-FV} \quad 5\text{-truth} \quad CT\]

'When the awful pain became too much for me, feeling hungry finished REALLY.' \(T2009.3\)

\[423 \text{ The basic verb is } \text{-amb-} \text{ 'cook'. I assume that in this case, epenthetic } /mb/ \text{ occurs preceding the vowel-initial verb, instead of } /m/. \text{ See 7.5.1.} \]
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 (ɓó in the first example below, um in the second) in a construction with copula m:

(8.178) kú-mbúso yí ɓa-mármákt bó-do-kú ndt m
    17-back 17.DEM.I 2-brother:3SG.POSS 3PL.-come:FV-DIR P3 COP
    tőó 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-á ndt m um aká ní-lá lá-st
    1SG.-pay-PLUR-FV P3 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 substitutives, see 7.4 and 6.1.1.

The contrast particle áka occurs frequently with one of the following adverbials, ási 'only' in affirmative and gutógu 'even' in negative clauses. Ási 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 gutógu, i.e. yielding the meaning 'not any'. The adverbials ási and gutógu mark the beginning of the domain of contrast, áka the end.

Examples of ási and áka are:

(8.180) kání gbukó a kówa ási ká mu-gamü áka
    when 1a.rat 3SG:be thus only PREP 3-crying CT

'While Rat was CRYING ALL THE TIME.' (T2006.3)

(8.181) nzúyi yá-st á-va kówa ási su yö-tmúkí áka
    9.body 9.ASS-all 3SG.-take:FV thus only 9.smell 9.ASS-6:smoke CT

'The whole body took on JUST THE SMELL OF SMOKES.' (T2006.5)
(8.182) na ásu ká h-lebò áka
1SG:be only PREP 5-mourning CT
'I am ALWAYS IN MOURNING.' (*translated Genesis 37:35*)

(8.183) mu-lòkú na mu-kåkt ì bà ndì tìbò bà-st
1-man with 1-woman:3SG.POSS 3PL:be P1 2.PRO 2.ASS-all
bà-bà ásu ndúmbú áka
2.NUM-two only 9.nudity CT
'Man and his wife they were both COMPLETELY NAKED.'
(*translated Genesis 2:25*)

(8.184) mbiya wánu, tá-ké-gu bìtà no lúkí
new here 1PL-NEG:be:FV-NEG again with 5:object
là-gàgà ní-lí ta-kwanan-a ká-o-pá
5.ASS-other COP-5.DEM.1 1PL-should:FV 9b-2SG.O-give:FV
9-kìk-i ásu nzìyì kuṣù áka na ma-tòmbù kuṣù
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 *gutúgu* and *áka* are:

(8.185) bà-nyamá bà-st mànzála-mànzála, ò-kà-gwì-gu
2-animal 2.ASS-all in disorder 3SG1-NEG:1.O-hold:FV1-NEG
*gutúgu* bè-mòtì áka
even 1.NUM-one CT
'All animals [fled] in disorder, he did not CATCH ANYONE.' (*T2006.3*)

(8.186) bà-kìngùl-a gòmì kà-lìk-åg-å mà-bòmbù, bà-kò mu-pałù
3PL3-try:FV also 9b-trap-PLUR-FV 6-trap 3PL1-cut:FV 3-barrier
nì-mà-nà mà-nà, *gutúgu* mbìyì kò-bòk-ìs-ò áka
COP-3.DEM.1-CONN 3.ASS-long even first 9b-grow-CAUS-FV CT

424 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.' \(^{(T2009.21)}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(8.187) } & \text{mu-mbánzú } \text{gotůgu } \text{bē-motī } \text{å} \text{ka } 0-ká-kwanan-i-gu \\
& 1-\text{person } \text{even } 1.\text{NUM}-\text{one } \text{CT } 3\text{SG}-\text{NEG}-\text{should-FV},\text{NEG}-\text{NEG} \\
& \text{ndékê } ká-u-tāng-å \\
& f_{3} \text{ } 9b-2.0-\text{count-FV} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'NOT ANY person will be able to count them.' \((\text{translated Genesis 13:16})\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(8.188) } & \text{ná-ká-vi-gu } \text{lúkí } \text{kakú } \text{gotůgu } \text{li-motī } \text{å} \text{ka} \\
& 1\text{SG}-\text{NEG}-\text{take-FV},\text{NEG}-\text{NEG} \text{ 5:object } 2\text{SG}.\text{POSS} \text{ even } 5.\text{NUM}-\text{one } \text{CT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I am not taking your object, NOT ANY ONE.' \((\text{translated Genesis 14:23})\)

### 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. \(^{426}\) 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. \(^{427}\) 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.

\[^{425}\] Literally, 'not first caused to grow'.

\[^{426}\] 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.

\[^{427}\] Nicolle (2014:132) reports this use of referential and distal demonstratives, i.e. to activate a participant, for several Tanzanian languages.
The antecedent, the 'owner', is presented in the previous sentence in the text.

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 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:

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 bé:
   1-do-FV-5-work 3SG²:1.O-return-APPL-FV COMP
'The servant answered:' (translated Genesis 24:5)

b. mu-gy-a-li-gubó nš ó-bis-á ndt ku-bó-kó ku-sili
   1-do-FV-5-work 1.DEM.I 3SG²:put-FV P3 15-hand-15 17-under part
   wa-š-šo ka-mómbukwána dák'³²⁸
17.ASS-7-thigh-7 GEN-1.a.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. nyš abákt mu-kó á-ndông-á
   when 1a.father:3SG.POSS 1-woman 3SG²:discover-FV
'When the father of the woman discovered [it].' (T2006.2)

b. abákt mu-stúka nš á-va ma-lúl mš
   1a.father:3SG.POSS 1-girl 1.DEM.I 3SG²: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, 6a-lókó bó bā-túk-y-tly-á ndt lo-gundó
   17-back 17.DEM.III 2-man 2.DEM.I 3PL²:1.O-leave- P3 5-journey
   APPL-BEN-FV

³²⁸ mómbukwána dák 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) ɓo-ɓiɓi ɓá ɓá ndt kú-sá wa-múma kakí
2-twins 2.DEM.I 3PL:be P3 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) mikámi Yezéfu a ɓata ká pohlí áka !
1a.child:1SG.POSS "Yezéfu" 3SG:be again PREP 1a.life, world CT
na ká-ag-ɗ kám-m-a kâmbwa ɓé nó-kw-i
na 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 ná sá-tíky-o ndéke míso
"Yezéfu" 1.DEM.I 3SG:2SG.O-close-FV F3 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) miki ni a-kángó, kyé a-kángó ná
1a.child COP 1b-banana shoot because 1b-banana shoot 1.DEM.I
a-tí-pag-a má-ɓógu 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). 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. "ɓa-nyamá bá-gágo 'the other animals' are presupposed and they are the topic of the clause. The new information is that they were angry:

\[(8.200) \text{ɓa-nyamá bá-gágo, ma-mbengí ū-tōl-ā ndt}\]
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
2\text{-animal} & 2\text{-ASS}\text{-other} & 6\text{-heart} & 3\text{SG/PL:2.O-hurt-FV} & p_{1}
\end{array}
\]

'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, \text{mambengí ūtōlā ndt}. The object is marked in the verb form with the class 2 object prefix ū-.

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:

\[(8.201) kó pīsī, Zangiyá ū-bmy-a bo-nzikābō\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{PREP} & 9\text{-path} & "\text{Zangiyá}" & 3\text{SG\textsuperscript{2}:2.O-spy on-FV} & 2\text{-man without mercy}
\end{array}
\]

'On the road, Zangiya watched the robbers.' \((T2009.21 - \text{adapted})\)

---

\(^{429}\) 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).

\(^{430}\) The robbers are on the road.
(8.202) kó-gó wó-bukú, ta-pung-ag-a kó-bis-ô pangâ-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) kó kó-syákó, Makánzyálá o-gbit-í bù-sîyo na gbân kákí
there 17-side "Makanzyala" 3sg:fell- 14-tree with 9.axe 3sg.poss
cross a river
'There across the river, Makanzyala felled a "busiyo" tree with his axe.'

(8.204) kónu kó431 kusú ká Gbaigbai, ta-pung-ag-a
here there 1pl.poss prep "Gbaigbai" 1pl-start-plur-fv
ká-mumúl-á ngbôngbô
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 bù-sîši, a-lükó úm-ôkan-a nzâ
with 14-sunrise 1b-man 3sg:refl-feel-fv 9.hunger
'At sunrise, the man was hungry.' (T2006.2)

(8.206) kú-mbùso wa-ma-syé, lóngá ú-sîl-y-â ndí
17-back 17.ass-6-day 5:war 3sg:2:o-arrive-appf-fv P3
'Some time later, the war affected them.' (T2009.21)

(8.207) na bù-ggô 6i ní-bós, Bokótogi ámb-á ndí
ma-léï ká ma-fíka
6-food prep 6-kitchen
'That evening, Bokotogi prepared food in the kitchen.'

431 The vowel of kó is changed into /u/ due to assimilation to the following [+ATR] possessive pronoun kusú.
Examples of other adjuncts as external topic:

(8.208) na gbní kakí yá-mbya, Makánzyálá o-gbit-i ṭu-síyo
kó-syákú
17-side across a river
'With his new axe, Makanzyala felled a "busiyo" tree across the river.'

(8.209) ká yigökú kakú, wa-kikwe-ní-to kú-mbúso
'When you return, do not look back' (T2006.1)

External topics may be followed by the contrast particle áka:

(8.210) kó ngbíngó hë-motí áka,
PREP 1a.time 1.NUM-one CT
1-ngb5lé á-pung-a kó-mw-óg-ó lóbó
9a-dugout 3SG: start-FV 9b-drink-PLUR-FV 5: water
'SUDDENLY, the dugout started to make water.'

(8.211) kó ngbíngó vi ní-ná ganú áka ná,
PREP 1a.time 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I also CT 1.DEM.I
mu-kákí ú-bókut-a bó-bígi
1-woman:3SG.POSS 3SG:2.O-give birth-FV 2-twins
'AT THAT TIME, his wife gave birth to twins.' (T2007.9)

(8.212) ká pǎ vi ní-yá áka yá,
Ábaláma á-bib-is-á ndít Kúnzi
"Abalama" 3SG: praise-CAUS-FV P3 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 áɓɛ̌ 'like', as in:

(8.213) míkí mu-kó yī a áɓɛ́ sòbá
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-um-á ndt na ɓे-ngbingílà áɓe nzóka bá-mwá
'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 -kɪtaŋ- 'pass, surpass'. In the phrases below, -kɪtaŋ- is used with its basic meaning 'pass' in which no comparison is involved:

(8.215)a. bám-un-a a-lókó bë-møtí ní a-ná1-kɪtaŋ-á
3PL:1.O-see-FV 1b-man 1.NUM-one when 3SG-INC-PASS-FV
na mëmí kakí kó písí
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-kɪtaŋ-á ndt ká t-kɔ́lɔ yí-dingíł
3SG-PASS-FV p9 PREP 9a-school 9.ADJ-big
'I passed [the exams to go] to secondary school' (T2009.23)

432 The H tone of the LH contour merges with the following High.
433 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, -ktag- is used in comparisons. Recall that Infinitive forms may include object and reflexive prefixes as well as verbal extensions.

(8.216)a. ɓa-va kó kakí bá-luk-á ndt bé Lt-ngótu
2-clan member there 3SG.POSS 3PL:1.O-call-FV P3 COMP 5-star
kó bulyó kyé å ndt wa-nzá ká-u-ktág-á
PREP 9.reason because 3SG:be P3 1.ASS-good 9b-2.O-pass-FV
ɓa-siká bá-st bá-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 tínó sě mu-ná wa-ma-balangá
9a-species 9.ASS-1a.animal which thus 1.DEM.II-CONN 1.ASS-6-spot
ká-ktág-á sukopí mu?
9b:1.0-pass-FV 1a.leopard 1.DEM.II
'What kind of animal is this, spotted more than a leopard?' *(T2006.1)*

c. mu-tó wá-gagó a-tó gání na yangyá yá-gagó
1-man 1.ASS-other 3SG:be-INS also with 9.poverty 9.ASS-other
ká-u-ktág-á 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 kógbé 'very' is added between the nominal with the point of comparison and the Infinitive form of -ktag- 'pass, surpass', as in:

(8.217)a. ɓa-kt yá a na t-zangíyá kógbé ká-ktág-á?
9a-what 9.DEM.I 3SG:be with 9a-profit very 9b-pass-FV
'What is most important?'

b. ã ndt miki mu-paka kógbé ká-u-ktág-á bá-st
3SG:be P3 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, *mʊɗɔngɔn* 'identical, horizontal'\(^{434}\) 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, *dɪ* 'different, strange' is used. Neither *mʊɗongɔn* nor *dɪ* shows noun-class concord. But *dɪ* agrees in number: it is triplicated when it modifies a plural head.

Examples include:

(8.218) bá-mbánzó bá-stá bá mʊɗɔngɔn
   2-person 2.ass-all 3pl:be identical
   'All people are the same.'

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

(8.219)a. a-lókó mu-ná a dɪ na ɓengɛ́nɪ.
   1b-man 1.dem.ii-conn 3sg:be different with 1a.other person
   'That man is different from the other(s).'

b. bá-ndáfu dididí
   2.house different
   'different houses', i.e. all unique

c. a-tí-tungbọl-ag-a ká mo-gubó dididí
   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 *mínọ*, which also occurs in interrogative sentences, see 8.5, and in left-dislocation, see 8.6.3.

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\(^{434}\) Probably related to *mu-d侵犯* '3-row', plural class 9 *d侵犯*. 
8.8.1 Coordinate clauses

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

(8.220) a-bǎk tó本来就 à-va ma-lilí má,  
1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-girl 1.DEM.I 3SG:2-take:FV 6-food 6.DEM.I  
6-bís-o 6o-kpokúkú 6oyí ká ndáðu ka-fo-biňó  
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) á-ma-k-y-a ká li-bɔ, bɔ-sáňgú, mo-tíli, mu-nɔkú  
3SG:1.O-insert-APPL:FV PREP 5-buttock 2+9-nostril 6-ear 3-mouth  
a na á-gbody-o 6o 6í  
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-á ká-mumól-á,  
1PL:be-FV 9b-limit-FV 9b-collect-FV  
tó-bíng-o se kůwa mísá má-kpu,  
1PL:cut-FV thus thus 9.firewood 6.ASS-big  
tá-tup-a ndíkó  
1PL:take all-FV 9.palm-nut pit  
a na tó-ɓungusy-o gɔnì lítá ló-ɓukú ɓi  
and 1PL: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 *ikán*'or' is:

(8.223) **nd-ag-a kówá ndt ká-kís-á ma-líí**

3SG:go-PLUR-FV thus p3 9b-search-FV 6-food

ikání ká-tóg-á libó no btí

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

(8.224) **sblí á-kš ndt mu-paló, lúkí lí-motí mu-paló**

1a.tortoise 3SG-eat:FV p3 3-barrier 5:object 5.NUM-one 3-barrier

mí ní435 0-ké-gó ndt ká-l-gwin-ón-ó

3.DEM.III when 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG p3 9b-REFL-hold:ASS-ASS-FV

'Tortoise cut a barrier in the forest, but this barrier did not hold together.'

*(T2007.3)*

(8.225) **bo-gbuwó bá-sáá bó-guly-o ká ndábu, bó-va**

2.chimpanzee 2.NUM-three 3PL-enter:FV PREP 9.house 3PL-take:FV

ma-sángi, bág-a bëyó áka yó, 6-basket 3PL:leave-FV like that CT 9.DEM.1

lúkí lí-motí bá-ká-kwanan-t-gó ndt ká-tóg-á

5:object 5.NUM-one 3PL-NEG-should:FV-NEG p3 9b-draw water-FV

libó kú-só 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 not436 draw water in baskets.' *(T2007.1)*

8.8.2 Subordinate object clauses

The complementizer **fé** 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 **fé**.

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435 Short form of **kán** 'when, while'.

436 The negative Future followed by the Past time adverbial **ndé** is used to express inability in the past.
a. Direct and indirect speech complements

When the complementizer ɓɛ́\(^{437}\) introduces direct speech or indirect speech, ɓɛ́ occurs at the end of the main clause and is followed by a short pause.

Examples of direct speech include:

(8.226) ɓá-ɓɩ́ kay ndh ɓɛ́:
3PL-say-FV COMP 1PL-O-die-BEN-FV\(^{9}\) 1a.rat
'They said: "We died for rat." ' (T2006.3)

(8.227) Ká Ngasá na Kíbi ɓɛ́: yɛ\(^{438}\) mìkabǎ, wí-bí-b-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) ɓó-bílisy-og-o kówā ndh ɓɛ́: "Rigo hooo !"
3PL-chant slogan-PLUR-FV thus P\(_{3}\) COMP "rigo hooo"
'They scanted: "Rigo hooo!" ' (T2006.4)

(8.229) a-ním-úus-ó kówá ɓɛ́:
3SG-INCH:REFL-ask-FV thus COMP
6e-gbúgbú bayá-ɓo-tú bi ní-ɓayí
ɓ-ka-pút-ik-án-á sɛ píye kówā,
3SG-COND-destroy-NEUT-ASS-FV thus thus thus
ní-gy-a kówá tmt bónɛ ?
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)

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\(^{437}\) The verb for 'say' in Liko is -ɓɛ́-

\(^{438}\) The High part of the LH tone on yɛ has merged with the following H tone.
In the following two examples, ɓɛ́ introduces indirect speech:

(8.230) Ká Ngasá a-ɓíky-i-ní Kíbi ɓɛ́, ām-ɓ-o
ɓɛ́ a mu-liiká
COMP 3SG:be 1-trapper
'Ka Ngasa has said to Kibi that he would acknowledge him to be a trapper.' (T2006.1)

(8.231) yěkí kókú a-pa iyí yamámá kógbe
as 1a.chicken 3SG-want:FV 1.PRO 9a:wandering very
á-ɓíky-a bata négbá ɓɛ́ bá-gá mbéyi
3SG:1.O-say-FV again 1a.lizard COMP 3PL-go:FV,IMP first
ká-nyṣ mbéngó 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 ɓɛ́, there usually is a short pause preceding ɓɛ́ and the subordinate clause.

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

(8.232) bùm-ɓ-o ɓɛ́ wa mìkí mu-lókú yí wa-ليف-ŋonó
3PL:2SG.O- COMP 2SG:be 1a.child 1-man 1.DECL.III 1.ASS-5-truth
know-FV
'They will know that you are truly a young man.' (T2006.8)

(8.233) wł-bub-ag-a ɓɛ́ u-mwọg-ɔ440 ɓa-nyamá
'You praise yourself that you kill animals.' (T2006.1)

439 Literally, 'a young man of truth'.
440 The subject prefix onset, /w/, has merged with the vowel of the object prefix after V₁-deletion.
(8.234) a-bãk ik-o 1b-father:3SG.POSS 3SG:be-FV
á-pak-á ndé ke 3SG:guard-FV 1a.husband:3SG.POSS
mu-tó mu-plyá nzá 1-1-man FV
'bHer father demanded that her husband should be a man who endures hunger.' (T2006.2)

(8.235) Zangyá ik-o ndé ke 3SG:be-FV
a-ná-táman-ag-á gá ní tyí 3PL:in-3SG-think-PLUR-FV
bé 3SG:guard-FV ìkó 19-circumcision-19
Ikó ɓu ndt 19.ADI-big
'mThey called it / It was called big circumcision.' (T2006.4)

(8.237) lóna ní-ló 5:war
bá-lk-y-ag-a ndt 3PL:call-APPL-PLUR-FV
bé 19.ADI-big
yangyá 9.poverty CROP
ú-sil-y-á ndt 3SG:2.O-arrive-APPL-FV
'The war, which is called poverty, arrived at them.' (T2009.21)

(8.238) ká prép mu-sengí 3:GEN
ka-Bavakwókwo, ã ndt 1village
mu-lìiká 3:people of "Kwokwo" 3SG:be 1-trapper
bé-moti iná ndt 3:1.name
Kibigó ɗàdujá 19.ADI
Kibigó Kadgyá 19.ADI
'In the village of Bavakwokwo was a trapper called Kibigo Kadgya.' (T2006.1)

8.8.3 Subordinate adverbial clauses

Subordinate adverbial clauses have one of the following conjunctions clause-initially: **fba** 'it means that, so that', **kyé** 'because', **nyó** 'when, while', **yékó** 'when, as'
and kán 'when, while'. Subordinate clauses with the conjunctions fba and kyé follow the main clause; nyúg and yēka are conjunctions in subordinate clauses that (almost) always precede the main clause. Subordinate clauses with kán 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 ñn-dí ká-kís-á bōbonzá

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 fba 'it means that, so that', with and without a Subjunctive in the following clause:

(8.240) tó-bungúsy-f-ni mu-sengí fba tīk-i bī-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 ndí bé st-ði-só sf-dingí fba


'If you heard "big circumcision", it referred to the one where many children were circumcised.' (T2006.4)

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

Examples of kyé 'because':

(8.242)  ámb ndí ká-ð́ký-á kí-ngunú àka, kyé kó kakí

3SG:be P3 9b-say-FV 5-truth CT because there 3SG.POSS

ik-ag-á ndí āsí sù yá-li-kísi aká

3SG:be-PLUR-FV P3 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)
"That is why men and demons hate each other, because they [the demons] killed Mbwoko." (T2006.2)

When he saw Kibi, he screamed at him: "Friend! Look behind." (T2006.1)

When Ikoɓu saw that, he went to a band of robbers to ask for his death.' (T2009.21)

'When they arrived at the field, Leopard was staggered.' (T2006.1)

An example of literally, 'the mouth cooled cold'.

Examples of 'when, while' are:

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

(8.248) á-gy-a mba-yi ma-syé má-fa kání o-ké-gu
3SG-DO-FV first 6-DAY 6.NUM-TWO when 3SG-NEG:BE:FV-NEG
ká-(m)-oká-ná nzá
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 (8.43), 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 yi-dingí
9b-GRAZE-FV 9.ADJ-big
'the big grazing', i.e. eating a lot

b. ká-ag-á yá'-kó-stí
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:

\[(8.250)\text{a.} \quad \text{lt-sye} \quad \text{nö-lö} \quad \text{ɓik-0} \quad \text{kôwà} \quad \text{ndt} \quad \text{minó} \]
\[\text{5-day} \quad \text{COP-5.DEM.1} \quad \text{3PL-PREF-sit-FV} \quad \text{thus} \quad \text{P}_j \quad \text{TRACE} \]
\[\text{ká-ű-pup-fís-dó-kú} \quad \text{kônú} \quad \text{ká} \quad \text{mu-sengí} \]
\[\text{9b-2.O-leave-CAUS-FV-DIR} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{PREP} \quad \text{3-village} \]

'The day on which they sat to cause them [the boys] to leave towards the village ...'  \[(T2006.4)\]

\[\text{b.} \quad \text{wa-ság-á-tu} \quad \text{ká-1-monís-dó} \quad \text{lúgo} \]
\[\text{2SG-abandon:PLUR-FV:IMP-INS} \quad \text{9b-REFL-show:CAUS-FV} \quad \text{9.middle} \]
\[\text{ka-ɓa-ɓengéní} \quad \text{ɓeyš} \]
\[\text{GEN-2-other person} \quad \text{like that} \]

'\text{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

\textbf{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.

\[(8.251) \quad \text{o-kfí-b-i-gu} \quad \text{ká-dgy-a} \]
\[\text{3SG-NEG:know-FV-NEG} \quad \text{9b-say-FV} \]

'\text{He will not know [what] to say.}'  \[(T2006.1)\]
In the following examples, the Infinitive, the main verb, indicates a situation which is beginning or ending:

(8.256) bâ-pung-â ndî kâ-ly-â tîko
3PL-start-FV  P1  9b-eat-FV  9.field
'They started to eat [from] the field.'
(T2006.3)

(8.257) bâ-sa ká-in-is-ôn-ô ká bâ-sôkô
3PL-abandon:FV  9b-see-CAUS-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.
In the above example, kángá kópi kó ndábu is the complement of o-poséli and kópi kó ndábu is the complement of the aspectual verb kángá '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-bwó, wá-va l-tákí


'When the palm nuts [have] grown big, take a clay pot.' (T2006.6)

b. ká-pup-is-ó nyámá ká mu-séngí, mu-tó wa-sí

9b:1.O-leave-CAUS:FV 1a.animal PREP 3-village 1-man 1.ASS-all


'When he dragged the animal to the village, every person who saw him, grew stiff.' (T2006.1)

c. ká-ag-á ma-své ma-kédé áka Kíbi ál-lík-a

9b-leave-FV 6-day 6.ADJ-small CT "Kíbi" 3SG:2-trap:FV

mándé ka-Dingopoyó

9.trail GEN:"Dingopoyo"

'A FEW DAYS later, Kíbi trapped Dingopoyo's trail.' (T2006.1)
Examples of infinitival clauses used to express a purpose:

(8.261) a. ág-á ndt ká-4ɓ accessToken ngámá
   3SG:leave-FV p3 9b:1.O-say-FV 1a.chief
   'He left to tell the chief.' (T2006.3)

b. tág-á, níndí 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)

c. bá-4ɓík-á i-ngbo ká-ŋpí mbóó
   3PL:1.O-send-FV 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 ndt ryí ká ma-ɓésá
   1a.rat 3SG'run-FV' p3 1.PRO PREP 6-hole
   ká-o-báag-á ɓå-dákt no súi
   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-yín-á òe-ngbòngbó na ká-díkt-ág-á kógo kó
   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. kámt a-nó-dw-ọ áma ká-kpanyán-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) ɓá 'ká-und-á ká-\textit{mwó}
  \textit{3PL:be} 1b-\textit{go-FV} 9b:1.O-\textit{kill-FV}
  'They are going to kill him.' \textit{(T2009.21)}

(8.265) li-gubó ik-og-o kówá ndt ká-lòk-á ɓa-kpáká,
  \textit{5-work} 3SG:be-\textit{PLUR-FV} thus \textit{P₃} 9b-\textit{trap-FV} 2+9-\textit{trap}
  kó-lub-ó ma-suktdángí na mo-gubó má-ggọ
  9b-\textit{plunge-FV} 6-fish hook with 6-work 6.\textit{ASS-other}
  'The work was thus setting traps, fishing and other tasks.' \textit{(T2006.4)}

(8.266) yìgyygìlyá yá-ku-káká-kw: yambámbá, kó-fíng-ó
  \textit{9a:practice} 9.\textit{ASS-15-housekeeping-15} 9a:\textit{cooking} 9b-\textit{cut-FV}
  mísá ká-kpá pà, ká-sukós-á ma-kpomôká
  9firewood 9b-\textit{swipe-FV} 9.area 9b-\textit{wash-FV} 6-\textit{thing}
  'Practices of housekeeping: cooking, cleaving firewood [with an axe],
  sweeping the yard, doing the dishes.' \textit{(T2006.9)}

(8.267) mo-gubó didíí ábè ká-sukös-á bo-tú, ká-0-sukös-á
  \textit{6-work} different like 9b-\textit{wash-FV} 2+9-\textit{clothes} 9b:2.O-\textit{wash-FV}
  bà-sánt, ká-1-sukös-ágb-á
  2-\textit{plate} 9b-\textit{REFL-wash-PLUR-FV}
  'Different jobs, like washing clothes, doing the dishes, washing
  ourselves.' \textit{(T2006.5)}

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

\textbf{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) á ndt wa-nzá ká-u-kitág-á ɓa-suká ɓá-st
  \textit{3SG:be} \textit{P₃} 1.\textit{ASS-good} 9b:2.O-\textit{pass-FV} 2\textit{-girl} 2.\textit{ASS-all}
  'She was more beautiful than all the girls.'