SELECTED FEATURES OF SYNTAX AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE
IN LIKA (BANTU D.20)

By
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Presented to the Faculty of
the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts
with major in
Applied Linguistics

Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics
5 June, 2010
ABSTRACT

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Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics, June 2010

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Whereas previous work on Lika (Bantu D.20) has been limited to descriptions of its phonological features, this thesis presents a sketch of Lika grammar. It includes an overview of the morphology and syntax, as well as a description of the syntactic means used to indicate topic and focus. Features which are unusual for Bantu are highlighted.

The analysis of topic and focus follows the work of Lambrecht (1994). Marked topics are indicated by fronting, left-dislocation, external topics, and independent pronouns.

Three kinds of marked focus are identified. First, fronted NPs are indicated by the focus particle no when the focused constituent is a WH-question or the answer to a WH-question. Second, the particle no can also indicate exhaustive listing on fronted NPs. Third, marked focus can occur on words in situ if the focused constituent is accompanied by a focus word such as gutugu ‘even’ and aka ‘only’.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research for this thesis could not have been accomplished without the patient collaboration of my Lika friends Engama Magbangbau, André Ndagba, Dominique Banotanea, Rigobert Ndimo, Pastor Bodokobuni Lazare, Ma Thérese, Ba Edouard, Jean-Pierre, and Ariston Bongo. Nor could I have survived in the Lika homeland without the hospitality and/or logistical support of the entire Gbaegbæ community, Pastor François Atulu, Bettina Gottschlich, and members of the SIL-Eastern Congo Group.

The writing of this work was helped greatly by input from Steve Nicolle, Rob McKee, Gert de Wit, and participants of the Academic Writing and Editing workshop at Horsley’s Green in April 2009.

Toward the end of my study program, when it seemed doubtful that I would meet my planned deadline, the members of my thesis committee, especially my chair Paul Kroeger, did all they could to give me helpful feedback as fast as I could process it.

To all of these people I express deep gratitude.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

(X) Optional element
*(X) Obligatory element
: Coalescence
{a, b} Interchangeable lexical items
| Clause boundary
. Joined lexical or grammatical units (e.g., finger.nail, 1SG.SM)
1 1st person; Noun class 1
2 2nd person; Noun class 2
3 3rd person; Noun class 3
5 Noun class 5, etc.
SMALL CAPS Intonational prominence (stress)
ADJ Adjective prefix (followed by class number)
ADV Adverb prefix
APPL Applicative
ASP1, ASP2 Aspect 1 (na-), Aspect 2 (ka-)
ATR Advanced Tongue Root
CAUS Causative
CL Noun class
COND Conditional
CONN Connective, Connective prefix (followed by class number)
COP Copula (preceded by person and number when inflected)
DEM Demonstrative (followed by class number)
DEMPN Demonstrative pronoun (followed by class number)
DIR Directional
FOC Focus, Focus marker (followed by class number)
FUT Future

1. This is very common in verbs, e.g.,
/ka-i-tul-a/ > kɛ-tul-a
INF:1SG.OM-hurt-FV INF:1SG.OM-hurt-FV
‘to hurt me’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FV</td>
<td>Final vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDEO</td>
<td>Ideophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>Insistence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O₁, O₂</td>
<td>Primary object, secondary object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OM</td>
<td>Object agreement marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.IMP</td>
<td>Plural imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITE</td>
<td>Politeness modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive pronoun (after person and number, e.g., 1sg.poss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRON</td>
<td>Pronoun (followed by class number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIPE</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELPN</td>
<td>Relative pronoun (followed by class number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJV</td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>Subject agreement marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Tense-Aspect-Mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>Topic, Topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table lists various linguistic terms and their meanings, each related to specific grammatical or morphological features in natural language processing.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Lika is a little-studied language spoken in the northeastern corner of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC, formerly Zaire). It is spoken by about 60,000 people, most of them in the Balika-Toriko collectivity, in Wamba territory, Haut-Uélé district, Orientale province. The nearest city is Isiro, 50 miles to the north of the language area.

The three main dialects of Lika are commonly referred to by the forms of the word meaning ‘water’: libo, ibo, and liba. Libo is the central and largest dialect. Ibo is characterized by the lack of most morpheme-initial l's; otherwise, it is almost lexically identical to Libo. Liba has more unique lexical items than the other two dialects.

The language is part of a non-homogeneous grouping which Guthrie (1948:40) named Bantu Zone D. Unlike the languages in the highly cohesive Zone C immediately to the west, Guthrie considered the classification of the languages in Zone D “problematic.” He comments, “There are reasons for not placing any of these [languages] in the neighboring zones, but few, apart from geographical contiguity, for making a zone out of them.”

Part of the reason for this lack of homogeneity may be the language contact in the region, which is part of the Northern Bantu Borderland. Speakers of languages from two different families have been interacting in the area for many years. These language families are: Nilo-Saharan (e.g., Mangbetu, Efe, and Lese) and Niger-Congo (including the Adamawa-Ubangi subgroup (e.g., Mayogo and Zande), and the Bantu subgroup (e.g., Budu, Lika, Bila, Bali)). Figure 1 shows this region and the languages spoken in it.
Kutsch Lojenga (2003:452) writes about the effect of language interaction in this area:

... it is clear that there has been interaction and influence on the lexicon (borrowing), in the phonology (e.g., vowel inventory, depressor consonants), and in the grammar (verbal derivational categories). This mutual influence makes the Bantu languages in this area interesting but also quite complex in certain domains.

Among these Bantu languages, she identifies two sub-groupings based on the lexicon, vowel inventory, and noun class system. Most of the languages fit well into one sub-group or the other, but there are five which do not. Of these she says, “The genetic affiliation of the others, particularly Bali and Lika, is not yet completely clear. They may appear to be closer to some C-languages spoken further to the west, possibly the Bua group” (Kutsch Lojenga 2003:452).

---

2. Based on Lewis (2009).
3. The Bua group is comprised of Bua (also called Bwa), Pagibete, Kango, and Ngelima (Boone and Olson 2004:21).
The lexical similarity between Lika and its closest relatives is shown in Table 1, based on data from Lewis (2009). This shows that the languages with the greatest lexical similarity to Lika are in Zone C, not Zone D to which Lika belongs.4

Table 1. Lexical similarity between Lika and closely related languages5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C.50 Group</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D.20 Group</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>D.30 Group</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1.2 Literature review

Information structure has been a topic of study since the work of Mathesius and the Prague Linguistic Circle (Van Valin and La Polla (1997:199)). Building on that foundation, many linguists have refined or added to the list of salient factors to consider, including: Halliday (1967), given versus new information; Givón (1975), verb phrase focus versus complement focus; Chafe (1976), givenness, contrastiveness, and definiteness; Watters (1979) and Dik et al. (1981), counter-assertive focus, polar focus, and counter-assertive polar focus; Prince (1981), topic fronting versus focus fronting; Lambrecht (1994), focus versus presupposition; É. Kiss (1998), identificational focus versus information focus; and Heimerding (1999), Dominant Focal Element.

Many researchers (including some of those just mentioned) have developed their ideas based on the study of African languages. Watters (1979) and Thwing and Watters (1987) considered the kinds of focus that are present in two Niger-Congo languages. Kanerva (1990), Hyman (1999), and Downing (2006) described the prosodic correlates of focus in specific Bantu languages or across the Bantu domain. Others have researched the morphological expression of focus in Bantu languages: Givón (1975), Hyman and Watters (1984), and Nurse (2006). Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) and Demuth (1990) concentrated on the syntactic correlates of topicality, based on the analysis of two Bantu languages. Other researchers have defined the structural positions that are associated with topic and focus in Bantu languages, including Morimoto and Mchombo (2004), Marten (2007), and Van Otterloo (2008). The use of

4. C.50, D.20, and D.30 are sub-groups or ‘decades’ within each zone. In Guthrie’s full system of classification, an individual language receives a number within this decade, e.g., C.52 but the Ethnologue only lists the decade to which a language belongs.
5. The Ethnologue codes are included in brackets.
focus particles has been studied in several Niger-Congo languages, including Vute (Thwing and Watters (1987)) and Kîîtharaka (Abels and Muriungi (2006)).

The written work on Lika is less extensive. The most detailed work has been done by members of SIL International, which is conducting a program of Bible translation and language development in Lika.

De Wit has done the most work on the language. He was resident in DRC from 1992 to 1995, while carrying out sociolinguistic surveys in the area. Since then he has continued to make visits to collect data in pursuit of a PhD on Lika phonology and grammar. He has written an orthography manual for the language (2002), a conference paper on adjectives (2004), another paper on vowel harmony (2006a), field work notes on Lika grammar (2006b), a manuscript on Lika phonology (2008), and a conference paper on high tone noun prefixes (2009).

Other recent work on the phonology of Lika has also been helpful. Kutsch Lojenga, who specializes in phonology and ‘participatory research’ in Africa, gathered a Lika wordlist of about 350 items in 1987. She has presented two papers on the Lika vowel system (1999, 2005) and highlighted some features of Lika phonology in a description of a closely related language, Bila (2003). Casali, another phonologist with extensive experience in African languages, has developed a computer tool called the Bantu phonology template. This template is designed to produce a basic phonology sketch of a Bantu language based on digital recordings of lexical items. I supervised the recording of about 1,550 nouns and verbs in Lika, and in 2004 Casali prepared a phonological analysis based on this. Nederveen has written a conference paper dealing with noun class suffixes (2004).

Edema is a speaker of Lika who wrote a “travail de fin d’étude” on the phonology of the language in 1979. Speaking of the relationship of the Lika (the “Balika” or “Balika Toriko”) with the people who speak Bua, a Bantu C language, he says (Edema 1979:1):

Moeller (1936) wrote that the Balika Toriko speak “a language closely approaching that of the Ababua or the pre-Ababua” and explains that the Balika “would have separated themselves from the Babua in the region of Bambili. From there they would have advanced eastward as far as the Poko region where they would have left the Bakongo.” (There is a river Makongo west of Poko.) They would have traveled eastward and southward to reach their present location.

Boone’s (1989) language survey of Lika describes the geographical location, the features of Lika which distinguish it from neighboring languages, and the features which support the analysis that it is one language consisting of three dialects.

6. A travail de fin d’étude is a final paper approximately the length of an MA thesis.

1.3 Data collection

The data used in this study are from the central dialect, Libo. About fifty written texts had been collected by other people and were made available to me. Between 2002 and 2007, I visited the village of Gbaegbae, in the Libo region, eight times. I chose that village because it is the location of the office for the Lika language development project. Members of this office were my primary language contacts. During my trips I had the original texts translated from Lika into French by native speakers, discussed individual words and translations as needed for clarification, and collected new data. A total of eleven oral texts and fifty-four written texts were prepared in this way. Most are personal narratives and traditional tales. Two interlinearized texts, from which many of the examples in this thesis are taken, are presented in the Appendix.

Some of the analysis in this thesis is based on native speaker intuition without additional testing. These points are noted, and are considered hypotheses to be further researched.8

1.4 Goals and outline of thesis

As mentioned in the Literature Review, the only detailed linguistic studies of Lika to date have concerned phonology. Little has been written on the morphology, and nothing on syntax or information structure. The goal of the present work is to provide an introductory sketch of the syntax and information structure of Lika from which further research can proceed.

I hope that this work will serve the interests of at least two groups of people. First, linguists who are working on descriptive or comparative work about the Bantu subgroup will be able to consult this document to find data on Lika that are currently not available in any other printed form. In addition, those linguists and ethnographers who are considering historical contact between ethnic groups in the Northern Bantu Borderland will find data that

7. Boone (1989) refers to three descriptions of Lika by Congolese linguists but I have been unable to obtain copies of the works. These papers are “travail de fin d’étude” prepared at three different schools in DRC. The titles can be translated as: A phonological and morphological Sketch of Lika (Asebeangwe 1988), A transformational-generative grammar of Lika (Engama 1988), and A grammar sketch of Lika (Banane 1979).
8. English data which are not attributed to a source are my own.
will help them consider the linguistic evidence for historical interaction between groups in this area.

The second group of potentially interested readers is the Lika speakers who are involved in translating from other languages into Lika. The chapter on information structure is particularly relevant for them. If they can gain awareness of the features of Lika information structure and possible mismatches between it and the information structure of the source languages they use (such as French), they will be better able to avoid the tendency to mimic the structure of the source language.

Chapter 2 ‘Phonology and Morphology’ is included both to orient the reader and to present a broad overview of the structural features of the language.

Chapter 3 covers basic features of syntax, with special emphasis on the constructions that play a role in information structure. Chapter 4 describes features of the information structure of Lika, following the work of Lambrecht (1994). After briefly reviewing the principles and terminology that Lambrecht uses, the chapter presents the structures of Lika which encode marked topic and marked focus.
CHAPTER 2
PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

This chapter provides a brief description of the phonology and morphology of Lika. The first part describes basic features of the phonological system, including syllable structure, phonemic inventory, Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) vowel harmony, common morphophonemic processes, and the tone system. The second part provides an introduction to the morphology of nouns, verbs, and other word classes, as well as an overview of noun phrases.

Most data are presented in the practical orthography, with the following two exceptions: (1) The IPA is used for the phonemes in Table 2, with orthographic symbols in parentheses, and (2) the IPA is used in examples where the phonemic or phonetic level is being described. Phonemic data occur in phonemic brackets / /, and phonetic data in phonetic brackets [ ]. Although the orthography rarely marks tone (only in cases of possible ambiguity, which are rare), data which have been obtained from other sources and which are marked for tone are reproduced here with tone markings. In these cases, an acute accent indicates high tone, wedge (ˇ) marks rising tone, and no marking means low tone.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Syllable structure

As in most Bantu languages, Lika syllables are always open. The most common syllable structure is CV, although V syllables are also present. Both types of syllables are found root-initial, medial, and final. Although the consonant inventory includes two complex articulations, there are no consonant clusters.

2.1.2 Phonemic inventory

This section presents the consonant phonemes in Lika and then discusses complex consonants, namely, those which are palatalized and labialized. Next, the vowel system is described, beginning with the phonemes and going on to the distribution of vowels in nouns and verbs.

De Wit (2008) identifies 34 consonant phonemes, which are shown in Table 2.
Table 2. The consonant phonemes of Lika

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolo-</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labial-velar</th>
<th>Glott.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Implosives</td>
<td>ð (b)</td>
<td>d (d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p (p)</td>
<td>t (t)</td>
<td>c (ky)</td>
<td>k (k)</td>
<td>kp (kp)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>b (bh)</td>
<td>d (dh)</td>
<td>j (dy)</td>
<td>g (g)</td>
<td>gb (gb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasal.</td>
<td>m (mb)</td>
<td>n (nd)</td>
<td>ñ (ng)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f* (f)</td>
<td>s (s)</td>
<td>ḳ (sy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h (h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>v* (v)</td>
<td>z (z)</td>
<td>ʒ (zh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasal.</td>
<td>m<em>v</em> (mv)</td>
<td>n* (nz)</td>
<td>ñ* (nž)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m (m)</td>
<td>n (n)</td>
<td>n (ny)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>l (l)</td>
<td>l (ly)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>j (y)</td>
<td>w (w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* rare

Complex consonants. Palatalization and labialization are common secondary articulations, perhaps in part because “like many Niger-Congo languages, Lika does not freely permit sequences of adjacent vowels” (Casali 2004:37). Palatalization is frequently found at morpheme boundaries, as in (1), and rarely elsewhere. It is represented in the orthography with a ‘y’.

(1) Underlying form /kó:mi:ó/ > Surface form [kómyō] = Orthographic representation kómyō

INF-swallow-FV

Labialized consonants are found both as a result of morphophonemic processes, as in (2a), and just as commonly within roots (2b).

(2) a. /kó-mú:ó/ INF-drink-FV10 > [kómwó] = kómwó

b. / Ø-puájí / CL9-wound > [p"ájí] = pwáyi

It may be that intramorphemic [C*] sequences (as in (2b)) are phonemic. Casali (2004:5-11) discusses this question at length and concludes that all labialized consonants are only surface forms, even though intramorphemically the underlying form is purely hypothetical.

10. The FV, final vowel, is a default, non-past verbal suffix.
Consonants at any point of articulation can be labialized except palatales and glottals. Labialized labial-velars, \([kp^w]\) and \([gb^w]\) are rare in Lika but interesting because some speakers produce them as trills \([kp]\) and \([gb]\). Casali (2004:2) observes that labial-velar trills are “extremely rare in Bantu and elsewhere.” It seems likely that the Lika speakers who use trills have been influenced by Mangbetu, a Central Sudanic language which borders the Lika territory. Trills are common in Mangbetu, perhaps as common as in any language yet described (McKee 2007:181).

The distribution of complex consonants is not uniform in Lika. This is most apparent in verbs, summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of complex consonants in verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Root-initial</th>
<th>Root-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalized</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labialized</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gb</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kp</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vowel phonemes.** The vowels are shown in Table 4. Casali (2004:15) writes, “At the phonemic level, Lika has a nine-vowel system in which a phonological feature ATR is contrastive for both high and mid vowels. Though common in both West African Niger-Congo and East African Nilo-Saharan languages, such systems are of course rare in Bantu.”

Table 4. The vowel phonemes of Lika

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>+ ATR</td>
<td>i (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ATR</td>
<td>i (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>+ ATR</td>
<td>e (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ATR</td>
<td>e (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>- ATR</td>
<td>a (a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kutsch Lojenga comments on other languages in the area which also have nine-vowel systems. She groups together five of the Bantu languages (Budu, Ndaka, Mbo, Nyali, and Vanuma) and says, “Most if not all of these languages have a nine-vowel system with ATR harmony, something also found in several central-Sudanic languages, and, in a slightly modified form, also in Mayogo” (Kutsch Lojenga 2003:452). Lika has certainly been exposed to the influence of the nine-vowel languages Kutsch Lojenga cites. It is bordered by the Central-
Sudanic language Mangbetu, which has nine phonemic vowels and +ATR harmony (Demolin 1992:84). Mayogo, a member of the Adamawa-Ubangi family, is spoken just a little north of Lika.

**Vowel distribution.** Casali’s research includes a summary of the distribution of vowels. He writes (Casali 2004:74):

> Whereas no significant positional restrictions have been observed on the occurrence of segments in nouns, several restrictions govern the occurrence of segments in verbs. Perhaps most strikingly, the vowel /e/ does not occur in verbs in the data. Though it is true that /e/ is relatively uncommon to begin with, it does occur in fully 18 nouns in the data, suggesting that this gap may not be entirely accidental. /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are also rare in verbs, and do not occur in CVC verb roots in the data.

Casali does not comment on vowel co-occurrence in verbs.

Most nouns in Lika are two or three syllables in length, although there are some longer and shorter nouns in the data. Casali (2004:26) notes that nouns have significant vowel co-occurrence restrictions in CVCC noun roots. These are summarized in Tables 5 and 6, where ‘x’ shows a co-occurrence that is regularly observed.

**Table 5. Vowel co-occurrence in nouns (+ATR vowels)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V1↓V2→</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6. Vowel co-occurrence in nouns (-ATR vowels)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V1↓V2→</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ɛ</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ɔ</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>absent</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>rare</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel length is not contrastive but two conditions tend to lengthen vowels. Casali (2004:14) summarizes, “First, there is often significant lengthening under tonal contours in Lika. In [i-ɔbukóu] ‘carp’, for example, the length of the final vowel is significantly longer” and
“second, as would seem to be fairly common in Bantu languages, vowels in penultimate syllables often undergo significant lengthening.”

2.1.3 Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) harmony

There is widespread +ATR harmony in Lika. Many morphemes contain vowels which are underlyingly -ATR, but which are expressed as + ATR under the influence of a dominant + ATR morpheme.\(^\text{11}\) Casali (2004:34) finds that “Lika displays an ATR harmony system that is in many ways typical of harmony systems displayed by other nine-vowel languages in both East and West Africa, with a number of interesting idiosyncrasies evident in the system as well.” + ATR harmony is dominant, as seen in the next three examples. In number (3), the -ATR noun affixes harmonize with the + ATR root, where spreading can be both leftward and rightward:

\[(3) /ku-tíli-kə/ > kútítíliko\]
\[\text{CL15-ear-CL15} \quad \text{‘ear’}\]

Second, the verb infinitive prefix and final vowel harmonize with + ATR roots:

\[(4) /ká-kungúl-á/ > kókungúló\]
\[\text{INF-surround-FV} \quad \text{‘to surround’}\]

Third, a few noun roots (those expressing close personal relationships)\(^\text{12}\) may take a possessive suffix, and those suffixes which are + ATR spread the + ATR feature to the root:

\[(5) /Ø:d-dá-nu/ > dhónu\]
\[\text{CL1A-friend-2PL.Poss} \quad \text{‘your (pl.) friend’}\]

According to De Wit (2006a:11), there are five + ATR dominant suffixes: causative /-is/, directional /-ku/, past /-i/, completed action /-ini/, and plural imperative /-ni/, e.g.:

\[(6) /ná-bác-i/ > nóbókyí\]
\[1SG.SM-spit-PAST \quad \text{‘I spit’}\]

My current research also suggests that the negative future suffixes (/-ito/, /-onito/, and /-onitógu/) cause -ATR verb roots to become + ATR, as in (7). If this is true, it can be generalized that all + ATR suffixes in Lika are dominant.

\[(7) /bá-ka-tr-in-onito/ > bákati(m)ínonito\]
\[3PL.SM-NEG-1PL.OM-see-NEG.FUT \quad \text{‘they will not see us’}\]

De Wit (2006a:14) observes that spreading from a + ATR suffix through a -ATR root usually only continues one morpheme beyond the root, which is the case in (7) above. There

\[\text{(11)} \quad \text{The low vowel /a/ is expressed as [o] under the influence of a dominant + ATR morpheme.}\]
\[\text{(12)} \quad \text{The nouns attested with + ATR allomorphs are tite ‘grandparent, ancestor’, and níne ‘aunt’, and the bound roots abha- ‘father’, ama- ‘mother’, dha- ‘friend’, and nya- ‘relative by marriage’.}\]
\[\text{(13)} \quad \text{The epenthetic [m] is discussed in §2.2.2.}\]
appears to be free variation in some morphemes, however. In one recorded text, a narrator uses the same word three times, pronouncing the first syllable with a + ATR vowel [o] once, and with the -ATR vowel [a] two other times:

(8) a. Ø-Sibhi o-mw-ini kuwa ni iyí.
    CL1A-tortoise 3SG.SM:3SG.OM14-kill-PAST well COP 3SG
    ‘(Then) Tortoise killed (an animal).’ [2.10]15

b. Ø-Sukopi a-mw-ini kuwa ni iyí.
    CL1A-leopard 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-kill-PAST well COP 3SG
    ‘(Then) Leopard killed (an animal).’ [2.14]

Stories recorded by other narrators contain similar variation.

Leftward ATR harmony sometimes crosses word boundaries. This is mostly seen in short words like prepositions, but also in demonstratives, adjectives, particles, the copula, and rarely, nouns. The examples in (9) below show the variation of the preposition na, which becomes no before the + ATR noun Sukopi ‘leopard’.

(9) a. Sukopi na Měmi
    ‘Leopard and Goat’

b. Sibhi no Sukopi
    ‘Tortoise and Leopard’

Example (10) shows that the -ATR noun roots mbukyana ‘owner’ and dha ‘friend’ become + ATR under the influence of the + ATR possessive suffix -su ‘1PL.POSS’.

(10) a. mo-mbukyana Ø-dha-ki
    CL1-owner CL1A-friend-3SG.POSS
    ‘ones’ self’

b. Mo-mbukyono dho-su
    CL1-owner friend-1PL.POSS
    ‘Our Lord’ (referring to God)

Only a small set of nouns can take these possessive suffixes (listed in footnote (12)). Other nouns are modified with independent possessives, which do not spread + ATR:

(11) a. Ø-měmi kusu
    CL1A-goat 1PL.POSS
    ‘our goat’

14. The colon indicates that the morphemes /a/ ‘3SG.SM’ and /a/ ‘3SG.OM’ have coalesced into [a] and cannot be separated in the surface form. This occurs frequently in verbs.
15. Examples taken from the two texts in the Appendix are noted with the code [X.Y], where X = 1 or 2 and Y = sentence number.
b. *memi kusu

c. *memisu

2.1.4 Common morphophonemic processes

Lika demonstrates three processes to eliminate potential vowel sequences, illustrated by data from De Wit (2006a:12, 14). The first is elision of V1:

(12) /lَا-اكي/  
CL5-egg  
> [لَا-اكي]  
> لَاكي

‘egg’

The second process is labialization of a consonant as mentioned above, when a high vowel is followed by /a/:

(13) /كَاو-الا-qua/  
CL15-finger.nail-CL15  
> [كَاو-الا-qua]  
> كَاو-الا-qua

‘finger nail’

The third process is vowel coalescence, which may occur both within words and across word boundaries:16

(14) /َا-يث-تت/  
CL10-termite.mound  
> [بِتت]  
> بِتت

‘termite mounds’

The coalescence of /a/ plus a high vowel resulting in a mid-version of the high vowel (as in (14)) is very common, but there are at least two special contexts which produce different patterns. First, the few verb roots which end in a vowel combine with the final vowel /a/ in this way: /َا-يا-ا> [أ] and /َا-يا> [ء]. Second, the verbal subject prefixes /َا-/ and /بَا-/ plus an object prefix result in /َا-يا> [أ], /َا-يا> [ء], /َا- وا> [و], and /َا- وا> [و].

2.1.5 Tone

Lika has two phonemic tones, low and high, as do the “vast majority” of Bantu languages (Kisseberth and Odden 2003:59). There are only a few minimal tone pairs in the noun system (e.g., كَانگَا ‘guinea fowl’, and كَانگَا ‘bed’), but lexical tone is contrastive in many verb roots (e.g., -بَا- ‘push’, and -بَاكَا ‘carve’; -پَا ‘want’ and -پَا ‘give’) and grammatical tone occurs on verbs.

Rising tones are produced by coalescence of vowels at morpheme boundaries and historical loss of a consonant or a whole syllable within roots (De Wit 2008:23). Phonetic processes (such as the effect of certain phonemes called ‘depressor consonants’, word-final

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16. Coalescence within a word is reflected in the orthography, as in (12), but coalescence across word boundaries is not, e.g., نَا-ى-ى-ه ‘and you.sg’ undergoes coalescence (resulting in the spoken form [نَا-ى-ى-ه]) but the written form retains the separate words.
extra-low tone, and an extra-high tone produced when a high tone is followed by a low tone in
the same root or in a noun suffix) are not represented in this work.\textsuperscript{17}  

As this section has shown, the phonology of Lika conforms to many patterns observed in
other Bantu languages. The notable exceptions are its nine-vowel system and the pattern of
ATR harmony, both of which are features of non-Bantu languages spoken near the Lika
homeland. The next section shows a similar pattern for morphology: conformity to many Bantu
generalizations, with a few atypical features; however, none of the atypical features have been
traced to neighboring non-Bantu languages.

\section*{2.2 Morphology}

Most words in Lika contain two or more morphemes. In the noun system (including most
of the elements of the noun phrase), these are generally an agreement affix and a root.
Canonical noun roots are CVCV. Verbs contain a wide range of inflectional and derivational
morphemes. Canonical verb roots are CVC.

This section presents these features, beginning with the noun and the verb before
considering other word classes (with special attention to demonstratives) and the noun phrase.

\subsection*{2.2.1 Nouns}

Noun morphology is closely associated with the system of noun classes in which singular
and plural nouns associate into pairs called ‘genders’. This section presents the noun classes
and their distinguishing characteristics, including their obligatory prefixes, occasional suffixes,
and semantic coherence. The derivation of nouns from other word classes is also summarized,
as is a description of the class agreement markers which are required by elements of the noun
phrase.

\textit{Noun classes.} According to De Wit (2008), there are fourteen noun classes (counting 1a and 15a
as separate classes).\textsuperscript{18} Although a noun class system is defined by the agreement markers
required on the dependents of a noun, in Bantu languages it is not uncommon for the nouns
themselves to require affixes, called noun class markers. Lika nouns follow this pattern, as
illustrated in Table 7. (The class numbers are not strictly sequential because they follow the set
of numbers used across the entire Bantu family, based on morphological similarity.)

\textsuperscript{17} Clause-level tone has not been investigated yet.
\textsuperscript{18} My own research does not support the existence of a class 17 (nouns of location), so
thirteen classes are presented here. De Wit (2009 and p.c.) has revised the number to thirteen
classes and renumbered some of them, but I received this information too late to revise this
thesis.
Most nouns consist of a root and a prefix, although some nouns in several classes also have suffixes. Noun suffixes are not common in Bantu, but they are “a distinctive of the Bua bloc [group] languages” (Boone and Olson 2004:12), the group of Bantu C languages mentioned in §1.1. They note that although Lika has noun class suffixes, they are found in different classes than observed in the Bua group.

In many Bantu languages, it is possible to identify semantic components that unite the members of each noun class (e.g., class 1 = animates). In Lika, only a few classes show some degree of semantic homogeneity, but even these contain members that do not fit the generalized categories. Classes 1, 1a and 2 contain many nouns for people, animals, plants, and most loan words; class 3, plants; class 5, plants and natural phenomena; classes 9 and 10, plants, animals, and a few loan words; class 14, trees. The rest of the classes do not appear to have any semantic unity.

The majority of the nouns pair into the eight sets of singular and plural forms which are listed and illustrated in Table 8, but there are more than a dozen less-common pairings.\(^{21}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Noun prefixes</th>
<th>(Noun suffixes)</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mʊ-</td>
<td>mʊ-wanzá</td>
<td>boy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-dupó</td>
<td>hippopotamus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>ba-wanzá</td>
<td>boys</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mʊ-</td>
<td>-mʊ</td>
<td>mu-kúwo</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>-lʊ</td>
<td>li-bhumó</td>
<td>seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma- / mʊ-</td>
<td>-mʊ</td>
<td>mo-bhumó</td>
<td>seeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>y-/Ø-</td>
<td>-yi / -yo</td>
<td>Ø-gíta</td>
<td>hoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>ba-gíta</td>
<td>hoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>-tʊ / -tɔ (p)(^{19})</td>
<td>Ø-kpí-to</td>
<td>hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>bu-ku</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>-kʊ / -kɔ (p)</td>
<td>ku-tíli-ko</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15a(^{20})</td>
<td>ká-</td>
<td>ká-tángá</td>
<td>counting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>(s)i-</td>
<td>-si / -sɔ (p)</td>
<td>si-kpí-so</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. The (p) indicates productive suffixes; the other suffixes are petrified.
20. These are infinitival verbs used as nouns.
21. The pairing of singular noun class with the appropriate plural noun class is called a ‘gender’ in Bantu linguistics.
Table 8. The most common singular-plural pairs (genders)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg Class/Pl Class</th>
<th>Example (sg.)</th>
<th>Example (pl.)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>mu-bígi</td>
<td>bo-bígi</td>
<td>twin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a/2</td>
<td>Ø-bhabhá</td>
<td>ba-bhabhá</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/9</td>
<td>mu-ngóngu</td>
<td>Ø-ngóngu</td>
<td>sugar cane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>li-bíno</td>
<td>mo-bíno</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/10</td>
<td>Ø-agbógbó</td>
<td>ba-gbógbó</td>
<td>footboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/6</td>
<td>ku-lulú-ko</td>
<td>mo-lulú</td>
<td>shadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/13</td>
<td>(s)²²i-bokú-so</td>
<td>Ø-bokú-to</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the less-common pairings is a set of one singular with two plurals: a singular class 5, a countable plural in class 6, and a non-countable plural in class 9, illustrated in (15). This pattern is also observed in the Bantu C language Babole, where it is noted as an “unusual characteristic” for Bantu (Leitch 2003:400).

(15) a. li-tóí
   CL5-fruit
   ‘(a piece of) toi-fruit’

   b. ma-tóí ma-sáá
   CL6-fruit NUM6²¹-three
   ‘three toi-fruits’

   c. Ø-tóí
   CL9-fruit
   ‘(some) toi-fruit’

Noun derivation. Some nouns are derived from verbs, adjectives, or other nouns:

(16) a. Noun derived from a verb
   ká-bhaïly-á > Ø-bhaïlyá
   INF-agree-FV CL9-agreement
   ‘to agree’ ‘agreement’

   b. Noun derived from a verb, with reduplication
   ká-nzin-á > mu-nzi-nziná
   INF-speak-FV CL1-speak-speak
   ‘to speak’ ‘a chatterbox, an indiscreet person’

22. The [s] is optionally pronounced.
23. The noun class agreement marker ma- ‘NUM6’ attaches to roots to form numerals.
c. Noun derived from an adjective (the resulting noun is always class 14)
   - kúdú > bu-kúdú
   - short  cl.14-short
   ‘short’  ‘shortness’

d. Noun derived from another noun
   mu-wanzá > li-wanzá
   cl.1-boy   cl.5-boy
   ‘boy’      ‘attitude of a boy trying to seduce a girl’

These derivations suggest that the noun class affixes, although basically inflectional, may be used derivationally.

Schadeberg (2003:82) observes that Bantu noun class markers have semantic content, not just grammatical agreement:

Nouns are derived from nouns by shifting them from one class (gender) to another.
Nouns are derived from adjectives by assigning them to a specific class. It is this derivational or “autonomous” use of noun class assignment which most clearly shows (some of) the semantic content of Bantu nominal classes.

In Lika, the class 1 prefix mu- indicates a person associated with the concept expressed by the root, while the class 5 prefix li- is used for the manner, style, or attitude associated with the root. It may be that class 9 derivatives do not have any shift in meaning from the original root. These nouns are generally the event or state itself described by the verb (e.g., yibo ‘theft’ from -ibo ‘steal’, yibo ‘mistake’ from -ibo ‘be mistaken’).

2.2.2 Verbs

Verbs are highly agglutinative, containing numerous derivational and inflectional affixes. This section provides a summary of verbal morphology, starting with inflectional affixes, general observations about verbal morphology, and comments about the form and use of particular morphemes. This section also describes how verb particles and adverbs are used, the morphology of copula verbs, and basic features of grammatical tone. Derivational affixes are considered in the next chapter.

*Sequence of inflectional affixes.* The inflectional affixes occur in fixed slots relative to the root. Rose et al. (2002:2-3) identifies six prefix slots and four suffix slots in the Bantu family of languages. Lika verbs manifest less than this full set, but those which are present can be numbered and identified with the names proposed by Rose: −3 initial, −2 formative, −1 infix, ROOT, +1 suffix (derivational), +2 pre-final, +3 final, +4 post-final. The slots are filled in as indicated in Table 9.
Table 9. Inflectional verbal affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3</td>
<td>Infinitive (<em>ká</em>)&lt;br&gt;Subject agreement, animates (<em>na</em>– ‘1sg’, <em>wa</em>– ‘2sg’, <em>a</em>– ‘3sg’, <em>ta</em>– ‘1pl’, <em>má</em>– ‘2pl’, <em>bá</em>– ‘3pl’) &lt;br&gt;Subject agreement, most inanimates sg. and pl. 24 (<em>a</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>Aspect 1 (<em>ná</em>), Aspect 2 (<em>ká</em>) &lt;br&gt;Conditional (<em>k</em>)&lt;br&gt;Negative (<em>ká</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>Object agreement (<em>i</em>– ‘1sg’, <em>u</em>– ‘2sg’, <em>a</em>– ‘3sg’, <em>tí</em>– ‘1pl’, <em>mút</em>– ‘2pl’, <em>út</em>– ‘3pl’) &lt;br&gt;Reflexive (<em>i</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>(Derivational extensions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2a</td>
<td>Imperfective aspect (<em>-ag</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2b</td>
<td>Past tense (<em>-iní</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+3</td>
<td>Final vowel: Past (<em>-í</em>), Subjunctive (<em>-i</em>), Indicative (<em>-a</em>) &lt;br&gt;Directional (<em>-ku</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+4</td>
<td>Future and Insistence (<em>-tí/-tó</em>) &lt;br&gt;Politeness modality (<em>-ńó</em>)&lt;br&gt;Negative (<em>-ńó</em> non-future, <em>-ńó</em>/<em>-ńóto</em>/<em>-ńóto</em> future)&lt;br&gt;Plural imperative (<em>-ńi</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General observations about verbal morphology:**

1. Any slot in the verb usually only contains one element, e.g., if the aspect marker *na-* is present in position (-2), the negative or conditional prefix cannot be present in the same verb.

2. The -ATR affixes have +ATR allomorphs, which are usually expressed when the word contains a dominant +ATR morpheme. There are, however, about a dozen verbs with roots beginning with *i*- which only allow the -ATR infinitive prefix *ka-* like *ka-ibo* ‘steal’ and *ka-ibho* ‘know’.

3. In addition to the affixes listed, tone plays a large role in the grammar of the verb. The analysis of verb tone is very limited at this point.

4. The derivational affixes which have been identified are all valency-changing in nature, so they are treated in Chapter 3 ‘Syntax’.

24. Loan words in class 1a (singular) and class 2 (plural) take the 3sg and 3pl subject agreement markers even if they are inanimate. An example of this is seen in sentence (81).
The form and use of the inflectional affixes. The subject agreement marker is required in all forms of the verb except the infinitive and some imperatives.

The analysis of the aspect markers is still very limited, so the labels are intentionally vague (Aspect1, Aspect2).

The conditional prefix is used to convey both the true sense of conditionality (if) as well as an expected outcome (when).

The negative morpheme has been identified as a prefix ká- and suffix -igu. The existence of a two-part morpheme is consistent with the observation that “it is fairly common for negative constructions to involve multiple operators” (Payne 1997:284) and by the striking resemblance between the two parts of this circumfix and the negative particle kegu.

The negative prefix is not expressed when another morpheme from slot (-2) is present:

(17) Na-na-(m)in-igu           imi       Ø-sukopi.
     1SG.SM-ASP1:3SG.OM-see-NEG  1SG    CL1.A-leopard
     ‘I have never seen a leopard.’

The variations in the form of the negative suffix follow Payne’s observation that “negation is often tied up with other verbal inflections” (1997:283). The negative suffix in future tense verbs is not -igu but -ito, -onito, or -onitőgu. The last variant is longer than the other suffixes, and De Wit (2006a:19) considers it a sequence composed of the plural imperative -ni, insistence -ő, and negative -igu. There are several examples such as (18), however, where this suffix occurs with singular subjects, so the -ni cannot be considered as a mark of the plural imperative here. Further research is needed.

(18)   Wa-ko-kung-onitőgu   bengeni    1-uki... 
     2SG.SM-NEG-ask-NEG.FUT  others    CL5-thing
     ‘You (sg) should not ask others for something...’

The object agreement marker is only used for animate objects. The presence of the third-person singular object agreement marker is frequently obscured by coalescence with the /a/ of any preceding prefix:

(19)   /a-    a-    bic    -a/   >  a-biky-a 
     3SG.SM-  3SG.OM  tell  -FV  3SG.SM:3SG.OM-tell-FV
     ‘he tells him’

There are three situations in which this singular object marker is detectable. First, some speakers of the standard (Libo) dialect lightly nasalize the vowel, while Liba-dialect speakers actually pronounce it ma-.

Second, this marker appears to block +ATR harmony from the right, so when a verb form has a +ATR root but -ATR subject agreement marker, one can posit the presence of a (coalesced) third person singular object agreement marker. Example (20a) shows a verb
containing only -ATR vowels in the root, without any +ATR influence. The same verb is shown in (20b) with -ini, the +ATR-dominant past tense suffix. The +ATR spreading goes leftward through the root and subject agreement marker. There is no object agreement marking because the object is an inanimate ‘something’ (s.t.). Example (20c), however, contains an object agreement marker for an animate object ‘him/her’, and the ATR spreading from the past suffix is stopped, even though the object agreement marker (a- 3SG.OM) has coalesced with the subject agreement marker (ba + a > ba):

(20) a. ba-bhinik-a b. bo-bhinik-ini c. ba-bhinik-ini
   3PL.SM-carry-FV 3PL.SM-carry-PAST 3PL.SM:3SG.OM-carry-PAST
   ‘they carry (s.t.)’ ‘they carried (s.t.)’ ‘they carried (him/her)’

The third visible sign of a coalesced object agreement marker is an epenthetic [m] which is inserted between any object agreement marker and some vowel-initial verb roots, but not after any other morphemes. An epenthetic [m] is shown in the surface form in (7) and (17) above and in (21b) and (22) below.

(21) a. w-ibh-atu b. wa-(m)ibh-atu
    2SG.SM-know-INS 2SG.SM:3SG.OM-know-INS
    ‘you (sg.) know (s.t.)’ ‘you (sg.) know (him/her)’

The reflexive appears to be a special type of object agreement marker, based on the fact that: (1) it is in complementary distribution with other OMs; (2) it blocks +ATR spread from the right like OMs do; and (3) it triggers the epenthetic [m] before vowel-initial verb roots like the other object agreement markers do:

(22) a. /ba-u-in-a/ > bu(m)ina
    3PL.SM-3PL.OM-see-FV
    ‘they see them’

    b. /ba-ĩ-in-a/ > bi(m)ina
    3PL.SM-REFL-see-FV
    ‘they see themselves’

When the reflexive is used with inanimate subjects it conveys a type of voice which looks like the passive. It is also used in combination with the causative suffix for some particular situations. Both of these uses are discussed in the next chapter (§3.1.3).

25. Four vowel-initial verbs roots are attested to take the epenthetic [m] when an animate object is present: -ina ‘see’, -ibho ‘know’, -amalya ‘finish’, and -ukana ‘listen to, obey’. 26. Mchombo (1998:502) states that the reflexive prefix in Chichewa occupies the object agreement slot.
The imperfective -ag usually describes a habitual, repeated, or continuous action but at other times no semantic content can be associated with it.

The past tense -ini has been classified as ‘completed action’ by De Wit (2006b), but it is not uncommon to find it on verbs with the imperfective suffix -ag. Since these examples are always in the past tense, I am tentatively calling it a tense marker.

The directional suffix -ku indicates motion with respect to some point.

‘Final vowel’ is a Bantu term for the morpheme listed in slot (+3). Vitale (1981:17) calls it a mood suffix which occurs on all verbs of Bantu origin. Leitch (2003:415) makes a paradigm of the final vowels in Babole: (1) completive, (2) non-completive (hortative), and (3) default (past, progressive, future, and conditional). The Lika final vowels (Past (-ĩ), Subjunctive (-i), Indicative (-a)) seem to correspond to these same three categories. In texts, they are glossed PAST, SBJV, and FV, respectively.

The future/insistence suffix can be added to verbs in combination with other inflectional morphemes. This suffix is frequently used in verbs in the imperative, but it is also found elsewhere, apparently for pragmatic purposes such as expressing certainty, indicating marked focus on a constituent (shown in §4.5 and §4.6.1–2), or suggesting the presence of other (contrastive) elements—in which case it may be accompanied by the adverb goni ‘also’, as in (23):

(23) Wa-tu goni no Ø-ngu i-dhw-े ku kami?
    2SG.COP-INS also with CL9-force REFL-arrive-FV at 1SG.POSS
    ‘Are you also strong enough to go as far as me?’

The imperative form of a verb may be simple or complex. Second person singular imperatives may consist of just the verb root and final vowel, with the w- ‘2SG.SM’ used with vowel-initial roots. In the plural, the -ni suffix is sometimes used, but not if negation or the imperfective marker are also present. Verbs in the imperative are attested with the following inflectional morphemes: subject agreement, object agreement, negative, imperfective, directional, final vowel, insistence, and plural imperative.

(24) Imperatives addressed to second person singular
        come-FV       2SG.SM-go-FV       1SG.OM-throw-APPL-DIR
        ‘(You.sg) come!’ ‘(You.sg) go!’ ‘(You.sg) throw (it) to me!’

(25) Imperatives addressed to second person plural
    Ma-ka-vil-onitoga!
    2PL.SM:3SG.OM-NEG-touch-NEG.FUT
    ‘(You.pl) do not touch him!’
(26) Imperative addressed to first person plural
To-g-oni!
1PL.SM-leave-PL.IMP
‘Let’s leave!’

The subjunctive may be used in conditional constructions (usually, in complement clauses, described in §3.5.2) and as a hortative:

(27) Ta-lik-ag-i.
1PL.SM-trap-IPFV-SBJV
‘Let’s go trapping.’

Verb particles and adverbs. Several verb particles and adverbs occur including: ndi PAST, bi ‘a little more distant’ (usually in the past, but sometimes used in the future), le ‘perhaps’, bánu NEAR FUTURE, ndéke FAR FUTURE, nduku RECENT PAST, ndéli DISTANT PAST, and kégu ‘not’. Most of these appear immediately following the inflected verb. The particles which mark tense may be used in conjunction with morphological tense marking, e.g.:

(28) a. wo-pung-i
   2SG.SM-start-PAST
   ‘you started’

b. wo-pung-i bi
   2SG.SM-start-PAST PAST
   ‘you started (anterior)’

This appears to be an unusual feature in Bantu, since Nurse (2003) does not even mention tense particles in his chapter on aspect and tense.

The particle kégu ‘not’ has a different distribution, only appearing with the copula (following the copula) and infinitives (preceding the infinitive). It is one of the two particles, along with ndi, which is allowed in verbless clauses:

(29) Mu-wakasya kégu ma-nza.
   CL3-wildfire not ADJ3-good
   ‘Wildfire (is) not good.’

The verb particles generally do not immediately follow the verb in at least two situations:
(1) They always precede the invariable copula ni (described below), e.g., ndi ni ‘PAST it.is (=it was)’; and (2) a few expletive particles can separate the verb from anything else, such as ḵwa ‘well, so’, sc ‘well, so’, mbéy ‘first’, bata ‘again’, and gúugu ‘even’, as in (30):

(30) Mu-ko a-p-a ḵwa ndi mu-liku li-so.
   CL1-woman 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-give-FV well PAST CL1-man CL5-eye
   ‘The woman gave her husband the eye.’[28] [1.10]

27. The noun class agreement marker ma- ‘ADJ3’ attaches to roots to form adjectives.
28. The story involves a man and a wife who only had one eye to share between them.
These expletive particles do not appear to have a fixed position in phrase structure. Although they occur most frequently after the verb, only bata ‘again’ and mbey ‘first’ are restricted to this position. The other three may occur as early as clause-initial, and rarely, clause-final.

The tense particles are not uniformly distributed in texts. When a speaker begins telling about events in the past at a given distance from the time of utterance, he establishes the relative distance by using the appropriate particle or tense marker once or more in the first few clauses. The clauses which follow frequently lack any tense marking, understood as being at the same relative time. The speaker may choose to use a tense particle from time to time throughout the discourse as if to remind the hearer. Thus, the particles serve as a cohesive device in texts.

*Forms of the copula.* The copula has three different forms. One form is homophonous with the subject agreement marker, agreeing with the person and number of the subject, e.g. na ‘1SG.COP’, wa ‘2SG.COP’ (see Table 9). This can be called the -a copula:

(31) Na Ø-mama-ku.
    1SG.COP CL1A-mother-2SG.POSS
    ‘I am your (sg.) mother.’

The third person singular form of the -a copula can be used non-referentially, equivalent to the dummy subject and copula in English ‘it is’:

(32) A bi-nza ka-pung-a li-gubho.
    3SG.COP ADV-good INF-start-FV CL5-work
    ‘It is good to start working.’

The second copula, ni, is invariable. It is used with subjects of any number or person.

(33) Mo:mbukwana li-so ndi ni mu-ko.
    CL1-owner CL5-eye PAST COP CL1-woman
    ‘The owner of the eye was the woman.’ [1.2]

The third copula, -iko ‘to be, to sit’ is used when the copula is inflected for aspect or mood, which frequently happens when it functions as an auxiliary verb:

(34) W-ik-og-o ka-lyisis-o Ø-Sibhi .
    2SG.SM-be-IPFV-FV INF-eat-CAUS-FV CL1A-Tortoise
    ‘You (sg.) have been feeding Tortoise .’ [2.26]

Like many other Bantu languages, Lika does not have a verb meaning ‘to have’. Instead, possession is expressed with the periphrastic ‘to be with’, which can use either the -a copula (as in (35a)) or -iko (as in (35b)): 
Grammatical tone. Tone plays a large role in verbal grammar. Table 10 illustrates the way the tone changes in several of the tenses, aspects, and moods of the verb -búnó ‘to break’. The tone rules are shown in the table where they have been identified.

Table 10. Tense, aspect, and mood marking illustrated with -búnó ‘to break’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tentative label</th>
<th>Affix/Particle</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>SM Tone</th>
<th>Root 1st &amp; 2nd Person Tone</th>
<th>Final Vowel Tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a Future</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>nobúno</td>
<td>I will break</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>same&lt;sup&gt;29&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b Future</td>
<td>bánú</td>
<td>nobúna bánú</td>
<td>” ”</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a Past</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>nobúnó</td>
<td>I broke</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b Indef. Past</td>
<td>ndi</td>
<td>nobúnà ndi</td>
<td>” ”</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c Narr. Past</td>
<td>ndi</td>
<td>nobúnà ndi</td>
<td>” ”</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Aspect 1</td>
<td>ná-</td>
<td>nanóbúnó</td>
<td>I am breaking</td>
<td>L=L</td>
<td>L=L H &gt; H+</td>
<td>M?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Aspect 2</td>
<td>ká-</td>
<td>nakóbúno</td>
<td>I am breaking</td>
<td>L=L</td>
<td>H &gt; H+</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Past</td>
<td>-íní</td>
<td>nobúníní / nóbúñóní&lt;sup&gt;30&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>I broke</td>
<td>L=L</td>
<td>H &gt; H+</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a Past</td>
<td>-í</td>
<td>nobúni</td>
<td>I broke</td>
<td>L=L</td>
<td>H &gt; H+</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b Past</td>
<td>-í bi</td>
<td>nobúni bi</td>
<td>” ”</td>
<td>L&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sbjv.</td>
<td>-í/-ínc</td>
<td>nobúni</td>
<td>that I may break</td>
<td>n/a&lt;sup&gt;33&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Cond.</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>nokobúni</td>
<td>if I break</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Imp. 1pl</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>tobunini</td>
<td>let us break!</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Imp. 2sg</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>búnó</td>
<td>(you.sg) break!</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Imp. 2pl</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>búnóni</td>
<td>(you.pl) break!</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>29</sup> “Same” means the syllable keeps its underlying tone.
<sup>30</sup> It is not clear what conditions this alternation.
<sup>31</sup> The suffix -íní immediately follows a L, -íni immediately follows a H.
<sup>32</sup> H if the first syllable of the verb is L.
<sup>33</sup> Not yet researched.
As the table shows, two forms of this verb are distinguished by tone alone. The future tense in (1a) and past tense in (2a) do not contain any segmental TAM morphemes, just SM-root-FV, and they differ only in tone. This is only the beginning of an analysis of the verbs so no other general rules can be given.

The verb particles are illustrated in just four examples in Table 10 (in rows 1b, 2b, 2c, and 6b), but they can be used with other verb forms as well. These particles interact with the tone on the verb, and those particles which are -ATR appear to exert -ATR harmony on the final vowel of the verb (e.g., nóbúnó in row 2a but nóbúná ndí in 2b).³⁴

Negation is expressed with the suffixes (and sometimes the prefix) listed in Table 9, or with the particle kégú. No research has been done on the tone patterns in the negative.

This overview of the verb morphology is quite basic. Grammatical tone on the verb is a particularly rich domain that remains largely unexplored.

The remainder of this chapter covers the morphology of other word classes and a brief description of the noun phrase.

2.2.3 Other word classes

This section presents the structure of adjectives, quantifiers, numbers, adverbs, ideophones, prepositions, and conjunctions.

Class agreement markers. The system of noun class agreement is typical for Bantu. Most modifiers of the noun (adjectives, numbers, demonstratives, pronouns, and relative pronouns) have a complete paradigm of forms, one for each noun class. Many of these forms are alliterative, as can be seen in the summary in Table 11.

The adjective prefix attaches to various types of roots to form adjectives. The connective prefix attaches to other roots to form adjectives or quantifiers. This prefix can also function as an independent preposition (‘connective’) to join two nouns in possessive and attributive noun phrases.³⁵ The numeral prefixes attach to numeral roots. The other elements which display class agreement, demonstratives, pronouns, and relative pronouns, are listed separately in Table 14.

³⁴ No other researchers have commented on this apparent -ATR harmony.
³⁵ The connective appears to be phonologically bound to roots when forming adjectives, so in these cases it is called a prefix. It is not bound to the noun which follows it in an attributive phrase, so in these cases it is called a preposition.
The use of these affixes is illustrated in the remainder of this chapter.

Adjectives. Creissels (2000:249) observes that, “As regards adjective as a category, a striking particularity of a number of African languages (particularly in the Niger-Congo phylum) is that they have a very small number of non-derived adjectives (sometimes less than ten), and no possibility of deriving adjectives from other categories at all.” Lika does not conform to this pattern. Adjectives are a large and varied word class.

De Wit (2004) describes three types of adjectives. The first is a small group of underived adjectives, just four pairs of opposites (e.g., -kédé ‘small’ / -dingi ‘big’). They consist of the adjective prefixes listed in Table 11 attached to a root:

(36)  
\[
\text{mu-tu} \quad \text{mu-dingi} \\
\text{CL1-person} \quad \text{ADJ1-great} \\
\text{‘a great person’}
\]

The second group of adjectives is derived from verb roots (e.g., -zuná ‘play’ > -zuná ‘playful’, -búkútá ‘give birth’ > -búkútá ‘born’). These also require the adjective prefix:

(37)  
\[
\text{mu-tu} \quad \text{mu-zuná} \\
\text{CL1-person} \quad \text{ADJ1-play} \\
\text{‘a playful person’}
\]

The third group is what I call “noun-like” adjectives. De Wit (2004) does not comment on the nature of the roots in this last group but they appear to be underived. This last type of adjective takes the connective prefix in Table 11 rather than the adjective prefix. De Wit
(2004:10) notes that, “Usually, for Bantu languages, [these] are analyzed as nouns functioning as an adjective.” He states that they cannot take the nominal prefix and they are not independent (they must always modify a noun, even if not immediately adjacent to it), which supports their classification as adjectives rather than nouns.

(38) mɯ-tɯ wa-kpu
    CL1-person CONN1-big
    ‘a great person’

Adjectives can occur directly following the noun they modify, as in (36)-(38). They can also function as predicate complements, as in (39).

(39) Ø:Pu i a vi-nda.
    CL9-road 3SG.COP ADJ9-long
    ‘The road is long.’

Adjectives may also occur without a head noun, in which case the listener uses the noun agreement to recover the referent from the context.

(40) Context:36 ‘Some (of the women) braid thick (CL13)-braids.’
    Ba-kiŋgie, ba-luk-ag-a ti-kukuku bikpufukifu
    CONN2-other 3PL.SM-braid-IPFV-FV ADJ13-short IDEO:short
    ‘Others, they braid short (ones).’

In this example, the adjective tikukuku ‘ADJ13-short’ is translated as ‘short (ones)’ because it refers to CL13-braids in the previous sentence.

Quantifiers and numbers. Quantifiers and numbers consist of a root and an agreement prefix. The quantifiers take the connective prefix (like many adjectives do) and numbers take the numeral prefix. The number system is base ten and some of the terms are shared with neighboring non-Bantu languages. Example (41) shows an NP consisting of a noun, a cardinal number, and a quantifier.

(41) ba-mbanzu ba-si ba-saa
    CL2-person ADJ2-all NUM2-three
    ‘all three people’

Ordinal numbers are expressed in a phrase that uses the connective preposition:

(42) Ø:nganga ya yi-saa
    CL9-time CONN9 NUM9-three
    ‘the third time’

Quantifiers and numbers, like adjectives, can occur without a head noun:

36. ‘Context’ is the sentence immediately preceding the example.
(43) Context: ‘The man throws (some) CL9-fruit, . . .’

\[
y\text{a-si} \quad \text{a-ni-ip-os-on-o} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{Ø-ligi} \ldots
\]

\[
\text{CONN9-all} \quad \text{3SG.SM-ASP1:REFL-hit-CAUS-RECI-P-FV} \quad \text{on} \quad \text{CL9-vine}
\]

‘all (of them) hit themselves against the vines . . .’ [1.21]

**Pronouns.** In Bantu linguistics, personal pronouns are also called ‘independent pronouns’ in contrast to the subject agreement marker and object agreement marker on the verb, which are ‘bound’ forms. These independent pronouns are frequently used in prepositional phrases, but they can also be used as subjects or objects in marked situations, as described in §4.7.4. Table 12 shows the independent pronouns and possessive pronouns for animate referents. These forms are used regardless of the class to which their animate noun antecedent belongs to. When the antecedent of a pronoun is an inanimate noun, the pronoun always agrees with the noun class of the antecedent. The class-specific pronouns are: CL3 and CL6 imu, CL5 ilu, CL9 iyu, CL10 boyu, CL13 itu, CL14 ibu, CL15 ikwu, and CL19 isu.

Table 12. Pronouns for animate referents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>imi</td>
<td>kāmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>iwe/ uwe</td>
<td>kakú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>iyí</td>
<td>kakí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>ibúsú</td>
<td>kusú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>ibúnú</td>
<td>kunú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>ibú</td>
<td>kabú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessive pronouns are invariable. They do not show noun class agreement with the noun they refer to:

(44) a. li-so \text{kami} \hspace{1cm} b. Ø-ndabu \text{kami}

\[
\text{CL5-eye} \quad \text{1SG.POSS} \hspace{1cm} \text{CL9-house} \quad \text{1SG.POSS}
\]

‘my eye’ \hspace{1cm} ‘my house’

Possessive pronouns become suffixes on kinship terms, in which case the first syllable of the pronoun is deleted:

(45) /Ø-mbunya \text{kaki/} \hspace{1cm} \text{mbunya-yaki}

\[
\text{CL1A-husband} \quad \text{3SG.POSS} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘her husband’ [1.4]}
\]

37. The third person plural pronoun is also used optionally in coordinate NPs, e.g.:

\[
\text{mu-luku be-moti (ibu) na mu-ka-ki}
\]

\[
\text{CL1-man NUM1-one 3PL and CL1-woman-3SG.POSS}
\]

‘a man and his wife’
Several interrogatives have been identified: *ikí* ‘what’, *búní* ‘how’, *kyë búní* ‘why’, *-ání*

‘which’, *tíno* ‘which’, *want* ‘who’. They are described in §3.4.1. Indefinite pronouns include *bengëni* ‘another (animate)’ (pl. *babengëni*), and *-ggo* ‘another (thing)’.

**Adverbs and ideophones.** Adverbs in Lika can be classified according to their type (manner, time, location, etc., as in De Wit (2006b:73:82)), but even within these types there is variety in terms of morphological and syntactic properties. The two major morphological distinctions concern whether adverbs are derived from other word classes or not. Syntactically, adverbs manifest less distributional homogeneity than other word classes. Table 13 summarizes the major types of adverbs according to their morphological and syntactic behavior.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Underived</th>
<th>Derived</th>
<th>Usual position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td><em>bakayɔ</em> ‘like this’</td>
<td><em>bi-nza</em> ‘well’ (from -nza ‘good’)</td>
<td>underived: beginning or end of clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>begyɔ</em> ‘in the same way’</td>
<td></td>
<td>derived: various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>_</td>
<td><em>yi-kede</em> ‘a little bit’ (from -kede ‘small’)</td>
<td>after verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td><em>bábu</em> NEAR FUTURE</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>particle: after verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>bibo</em> ‘very early’</td>
<td></td>
<td>other: end of clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td><em>ku, wá</em> ‘there’</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kunzi</em> ‘world, God, outside of’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negation</td>
<td><em>kegù</em> ‘not’</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>various</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is some blurring between adjectives and adverbs. While *bi-* is a prefix which only occurs on adverbs and ideophones, *yi-* is a prefix commonly seen on adjectives also.

Ideophones, a sub-type of adverb, are found widely in both the Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan language families. They frequently describe a specific sound or manner associated with an action. Most ideophones in Lika begin with *bi-* , the adverbializer prefix.

(46) Bo-no-dho-g-oku ka-bimy-a mu-sengi bi-deedde
3PL.SM-ASP1-come-IPFV-DIR INF-spy-FV CL3-village IDEO:tip.toeing
‘They were coming to the village to spy, sneaking up on tip-toe.’

---

38. This is a bound root which requires a class prefix. For class 1 and 1a the prefix is *n-* , and for the other classes it is the theme consonant (or CVC) which is found in the adjective prefix.

39. This bound root requires the connective prefix.
Prepositions and conjunctions. In contrast to some Bantu languages which can express locations with enclitics on a noun phrase (e.g., Swahili nyumba-ni ‘house-in’ i.e., ‘in the house’), Lika expresses all concepts of time, instrument, position, direction, location, logical relationships, and accompaniment with a small group of prepositions. The most frequently used prepositions are ka and na. Time (example (47)) and instrument (example (48)) can be expressed with either ka or na:

(47) a. ko Ø-ngbingo wa l-unga  
\begin{align*} 
\text{at} & \text{CL1A-time} \quad \text{CONN1} \quad \text{CL5-war} \\
\text{‘during time of war’} 
\end{align*}

b. na bu-səbi  
\begin{align*} 
\text{in} & \quad \text{CL14-morning} \\
\text{‘in/during the morning’} 
\end{align*}

(48) a. ka:p:a mo-ngoni ka s-əmbi-sə  
\begin{align*} 
\text{INF-send-FV} & \quad \text{CL6-news} \quad \text{on} \quad \text{CL19-drum-CL19} \\
\text{‘send messages on/via drum’} 
\end{align*}

b. ka-bhum-a na bo-muni  
\begin{align*} 
\text{INF-beat-FV} & \quad \text{with} \quad \text{CL10-mortar} \\
\text{‘to beat with mortars’} 
\end{align*}

Almost any expression of position, direction, or location is introduced by ka, (example (49a)) as are logical expressions (49b):

(49) a. ka mu-səngi  
\begin{align*} 
\text{in} & \quad \text{CL3-village} \\
\text{‘in the village’} 
\end{align*}

b. ko Ø-bhulyo  
\begin{align*} 
\text{for} & \quad \text{CL9-reason} \\
\text{‘for the reason’} 
\end{align*}

Accompaniment, however, is expressed only with na:

(50) O-sil:oku na misa.  
\begin{align*} 
\text{3SG.SM-arrive-DIR} & \quad \text{with} \quad \text{wood} \\
\text{‘He arrived with the wood.’} 
\end{align*}

One possible case where na may be considered a preposition of direction is when speech is addressed to someone:

(51) ibu na imi  
\begin{align*} 
\text{3PL} & \quad \text{to} \quad \text{1SG} \\
\text{‘they (said) to me’} 
\end{align*}
There are also more than a dozen semantically specific prepositions and prepositional locutions which describe locations, such as *kugu* ‘top, up’, *kugu wa* ‘on top of’, *lugo* ‘middle’, and *kambwa* ‘in front of’.

The most common conjunction in Lika is *na* ‘with, and’, a homophone of the preposition. It joins both phrases (as in example (9) above) and clauses (shown in §3.5.1). Clauses may also be joined by a number of conjunctions expressing logical relations, such as *ambe* and *be* ‘that, so that’, *békyé* ‘because’, *ikánígu* ‘or’, *kání* ‘but, and’, *kyé* ‘because, so that’, *luki limoti* ‘but’ (literally ‘thing one’), and *yípepe* ‘nevertheless’.

Because demonstratives and similar words play such a major role in the grammar, they are considered separately in the next section.

2.2.4 Demonstratives and related word classes

The system of demonstratives and related word classes displays a great deal of allomorphy and overlap in Lika. These words are used very frequently, often in combination, with up to three elements in a noun phrase. My analysis has not yet identified all the factors determining the use of the different forms. Because of their role in information structure, they are considered in some depth here, even though my analysis is still tentative. Table 14 presents this group of words, where it can be seen that they all participate in the system of noun class agreement. The labels are chosen to represent the functions which are the best-understood.
### Table 14. Demonstratives and related word forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>NEARDEM</th>
<th>DEM</th>
<th>fardem</th>
<th>dem/pron/reln/FOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 1a</td>
<td>mù</td>
<td>nímu</td>
<td>nímuá</td>
<td>yì nínóo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 14</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>níba</td>
<td>níbaná</td>
<td>bì níbóo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 6</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>níma</td>
<td>nímaná</td>
<td>mì nímóo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yì</td>
<td>níyì</td>
<td>níyíná</td>
<td>yì níyóo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>níli</td>
<td>níliná</td>
<td>lì nílóo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>bayì</td>
<td>níbayì</td>
<td>níbayíná</td>
<td>bayíná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>níti</td>
<td>nítiná</td>
<td>tì nítóo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, 15a</td>
<td>kwi</td>
<td>níkwi</td>
<td>níkwiná</td>
<td>kwiná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>sì</td>
<td>nísì</td>
<td>nísíná</td>
<td>sì nísóo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The items in the first four columns function as near demonstratives. Prosody is one factor that determines which form will be used in a given context: native speakers reject using a multi-syllabic word in some places saying that it sounds too “heavy.” In other cases, pragmatic factors appear to determine which form is appropriate. The next column, DEM, contains the demonstratives most commonly found in texts, about half of the time standing alone and half the time in conjunction with one of the other forms. The far demonstratives are the simplest category, simply making the distance explicit.

The forms in the last two columns are the most complicated. They can be used alone or in combination with each other and/or the yi DEM forms. These different combinations are attested as demonstratives, anaphoric pronouns, relative pronouns, and focus markers.

In some cases the use of two demonstratives together is a means of emphasis (like ‘as for me’). In other cases they simply function as a unit; if one is deleted the other must be deleted also.

---

40. When used in examples, these forms are glossed with the label given in this table followed by the class number, e.g., *mù* ‘NEARDEM1’. Those which are identified with multiple labels (DEM/PRON/RELPN/FOC) will be glossed in examples with the label which describes the function in that example.
The following examples introduce the use of \( n\), \( \text{nino} \), and \( yi \ \text{nino} \) as demonstratives, anaphoric pronouns, and relative pronouns. 41

All three forms (\( n\), \( \text{nino} \), and \( yi \ \text{nino} \)) may function as demonstratives:

(52) Context: ‘That’s why we often see the chicken trying to peck the lizard and even if the lizard runs fast, the chicken still tries to get his tail. The lizard runs away in half (\( \text{O-dhongbu}' \)).

\[
\text{\text{Ø-Kk\u  } o-my-o  } \text{g\u  } \text{kuwa asi } \text{\text{Ø-dhongbu}} \\
\text{\text{CL1A-chicken } 3\text{SG.SM-swallow-FV } \text{even well only } \text{CL9-half}}
\]

ya  mu-kundu  aka \( m\) (or \( \text{nino} \)).

\[
\text{\text{CONN9 } \text{CL3-tail } \text{only } \text{DEM3 } \text{DEM3}}
\]

‘Chicken swallows just half of the tail.’ (Maybe with the nuance of ‘that there tail’.)

(53) Context: ‘A few days later my son Embobo also got sick; it was an abscess in his nose that bled.’

\[
\text{Ka mu-libo bha Nangala ind-a ndi} \\
\text{at \text{CL3-end Mr. Nangala } 3\text{SG.SM:go-FV PAST}}
\]

ka-tukusy-o  mu-titi  \( y\) \( \text{nino} \).

\[
\text{\text{INF-lance-FV } \text{CL1-abscess DEM1 DEM1}}
\]

‘Finally Nangala lanced the/that abscess.’

When used independently (in a separate clause from its referent), \( n\) (but not \( \text{nino} \) or \( yi \ \text{nino} \)), is an anaphoric pronoun:

(54) \text{Ba-s-anan-a, } \text{\text{n}} \text{ag-a ku } \text{n\text{ag-a}}

\[
\text{\text{3PL.SM-leave-RECIP-FV PRON1 3SG.SM:go-FV there PRON1 3SG.SM:go-FV}}
\]

ka  mu-tili  mi  ma  kaki.

to \text{CL3-side DEM3 CONN3 3SG.POSS}

‘They separated and one went there and one went to the other side.’

The word \( \text{nino} \) is often a relative pronoun, as in (55) and (56). In the latter example, it introduces a headless relative clause.

(55) \text{\text{Ø-Inva } \text{\text{nino a-kuk-i}}}

\[
\text{\text{Ø-miki o-kw ini.}}
\]

\[
\text{\text{CL1A-dog RELPN1 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-bite-PAST CL1A-child 3SG.SM-die-PAST}}
\]

‘The dog that bit the child is dead.’

(56) \text{\text{Nino o-sil-oku}}

\[
\text{\text{kambwa a-bund-a } \text{\text{Ø-bengeni.}}}
\]

\[
\text{\text{PRON1 3SG.SM-arrive-DIR first 3SG.SM-wait-FV CL1A-other}}
\]

‘The one who arrives first will wait for the other.’

41. In this discussion, \( n\), \( \text{nino} \), and \( yi \ \text{nino} \), the forms which agree with noun class 1, are used representatively to stand for all the classes.
The relativized function and other details of relative clauses are discussed below in §3.5.5.

The word *no* and the expression *yi nin* are also attested as relative pronouns:

(57) W-ik-og-o ka-ly-isis-o Ø-Sibhi ba-nyama
2SG.SM-be-IPFV-FV INF-eat-CAUS-FV CL1A-tortoise CL2-animal
bɔ n-ik-og-o ka-u-mw-ɔ.
RELPN2 1SG.SM-be-IPFV-FV INF-3PL.OM-kill-FV
‘You have been feeding (to) Tortoise the animals that I have been killing.’ [2.25]

(58) A l-uki li nilb i-gyanan-a ndi ka
3SG.COP CL5-thing DEM5 RELPN5 REFL-happen-FV PAST at
ma-sye yi42 nimo og-o bi.
CL6-day DEM9 RELPN6 3SG.SM:pass-FV PAST
‘That’s the thing that happened in days that passed (= a few days ago).’

These are the basic functions of this group of words: as demonstrative, anaphoric pronoun, and relative pronoun. The focus-marking use of *no* and *yi nin* is described in §3.2.2, §3.4.1, and §4.6.3.

2.2.5 The noun phrase

All noun phrases in Lika are head-first. They are presented in this section beginning with simple genitive and attributive constructions (head noun - connective - modifying noun) and ending with more lengthy noun phrases, which can include possessive pronouns, class-marked adjectives, quantifiers, demonstratives, and relative clauses.

The most common type of noun phrase is a genitive construction consisting of a head noun modified by a possessive prepositional phrase:

(59) Ø-tutu ka ba-pombayi
CL9-forest of CL2-monkey
‘the monkeys’ forest’ (people are not allowed to enter)

The preposition can be either the invariable *ka* (as in (59)) or the class-marked connective mentioned in the paragraph above Table 11 (e.g., *wa* CONN1, *ya* CONN9):

(60) Ø-tutu ya ba-pombayi
CL9-forest CONN9 CL2-monkey
‘the forest of monkeys’ (the forest where monkeys can be found)

42. This example is from an oral text, and I was told that *mi* is the proper demonstrative to use, but that in speech, people often use *yi* with any noun class.
Some forms of possession can be expressed with either of these prepositions without changing the sense. In other cases there is a difference of meaning, where the invariable ka expresses true possession (as in (59)) while the class-marked connective indicates a more loose relationship between the two NPs, shown in (60). Some relationships can only be expressed with one or the other preposition.

NP possession with a possessive pronoun was shown in example (44) above. Possession that refers to kinship terms requires the possessed noun to be marked with the possessive suffix (shown in (45)), followed by the possessor:

(61) Ø-ama-ki bo-bigi
    CL1A-mother-POSS43 CL2-twin
  ‘a mother of twins’

Another type of noun phrase that consists of two nouns juxtaposed uses the word mikya ‘child’ to indicate a diminutive form:

(62) Ø-mikya Ø-zite
    CL1A-child CL1A-shelter
  ‘a child of a guest house (= a small guest house)’

There are also noun phrases which are derived from a verb root and a noun:

(63) mu-nyó m-akí
    CL1-lay CL6-egg
  ‘layer of eggs (= a reptile)’

The noun class of the compound is the same as that of its head, which is the first noun.

Noun phrases may also express a property of the head noun, using the class-marked connective. Example (64b) shows that when the head noun is a plural class 2, the connective also takes the class 2 form.

(64) a. Ø-mutu wa li-guku
    CL1A-man CONN1 CL5-hump
  ‘a hunchback’

b. ba-tu ba mo-guku
    CL2-man CONN2 CL6-hump
  ‘hunchbacks’

Nominalized verbs may also modify nouns:

43. The possessive morpheme -ki is usually specific for 3sg, but in these possessive noun phrases it is invariable, regardless of the number of the possessor or the possessed noun.
Other noun phrases may contain adjectives, quantifiers, demonstratives, and relative clauses, all of which follow the head noun or pronoun. Except for the possessive pronouns, all of these modifiers must agree with the class of the head noun as described in §2.2.3. For most word classes this is a prefix (shown in Table 11), but for the demonstratives and relative pronouns it is a distinctive consonant in the root (Table 14).

(65) Ø-pisi ya k⁴⁴-ig-a(from the infinitive ka-ig-a ‘to return’)
    CL9-path CONN9 ?-return-FV
    ‘the path back’

(66) a. bo-nguwo⁴⁶ kaki baya-si
    CL10-decedant 3SG.POSS CONN10-all
    ‘all his descendants’

b. mu-tu yi ninə wa ma-pa ku nə
    CL1-man DEM1 DEM1 CONN1 CL6-leaf DEM1
    ‘the man of leaves’ (a person previously described in the context)

c. ibu ba-si ba-ba
    3PL CONN2-all NUM2-two
    ‘both of them’ [1.34]

This chapter has described the phonology and morphology of Lika. There are several features in the language which differ from typical Bantu languages: the nine-vowel system, ATR harmony, nominal suffixes, and the large inventory of adjectives.

The next chapter presents major features of the clause-level grammar of Lika, beginning with the verb.

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44. In noun phrases like this, the verb always has a special form which has not been observed in any other constructions. It may be that the vowel of the infinitive prefix has been dropped.

45. The order of the elements in the NP has not been determined.

46. This is an animate noun which would be expected in class 2, but the prefix on baya-si ‘all’ is class 10, so the noun is identified as class 10.
CHAPTER 3
SYNTAX

As Bearth (2003:121) states, “Syntax is not simply a matter of arranging words and phrases in linear sequence. In relating participants and entities to events, processes or states, it crucially interacts with the semantics of its organizational center, the verb. . . .” He goes on to call verb valency “a key to elementary sentence structure.” Following this reasoning, the present work describes certain aspects of the verb under syntax which could also be considered under morphology.

This chapter progresses from a discussion of the verb itself, to single clauses, and then to clause combinations.

3.1 The verb

3.1.1 Argument structure

Lika is typical of Bantu languages in that most simple, underived verbs allow only one or two arguments. The distinguishing features of the arguments are:

Subject: bare NP; requires subject agreement marker on the verb; usually occurs before the verb;

Object: bare NP; animate primary object requires object agreement marker on the verb; usually occurs after the verb;

Oblique: introduced by a preposition; usually occurs after the verb; rare.

Bearth (2003:125) distinguishes arguments from adjuncts in Bantu as follows (with examples from Swahili):

Adjuncts . . . are clearly distinguishable from arguments (S and O) in the following respects:
(i) Their occurrence is not constrained by the valency of the verb.
(ii) In contrast to core arguments, they are not represented in the verb morphology.
(iii) Their internal order tends to be variable.
(iv) Nominal expressions functioning as adjuncts of manner or place are marked by prepositions (kwa upesi ‘with speed’) or specialized suffixes (nyumba-ni ‘house-in’).

47. The identification of oblique arguments in Lika is tentative. The strongest argument for them is found in passive sentences, where the agent has been demoted to a prepositional phrase, described in section 3.1.3. Bearth (2003:125) only includes subject and object in his list of arguments.
As he mentions in point (ii), core arguments are marked on the verb. The details of this marking vary by language. In Lika the subject agreement marker is required except as noted in §2.2.2, but unlike many Bantu languages, it does not have a set of subject agreement markers for every noun class. Verbs agree with both animate and inanimate subjects. The subject agreement prefixes in Table 9 distinguish number and person for animate subjects and for those inanimate subjects which are in classes 1, 1a, and 2. Other inanimate subjects use the same subject prefix as the third person singular, α-, even when plural.

Object agreement markers are required only when an object is animate or belongs to classes 1, 1a, or 2.

Both the subject agreement marker and the object agreement marker are expressed regardless of the presence, absence, or location of the argument NP.48

3.1.2 Extensions, suffixes, expansions

Bantu linguists use special terminology to describe the derivational morphemes which follow the verb root. There is an assumption that canonical verb roots in Bantu are CVC in structure, so stems which exceed this length are presumed to contain additional morphemes.

The general term for a derivational morpheme which follows the verb root is ‘extension’. Some extensions are productive and some are not. Those which are not productive have become frozen to the verb stem and appear to be empty of semantic content. These are called ‘expansions’. Extensions which are productive and have semantic meaning are called suffixes. Schadeberg (2003:71, 73) explains:

An E [extension] may be analyzable as to form and meaning, in which case we may call it a suffix, or else segmentation may be purely formal, in which case the analysis yields a (formal) radical and an expansion (or: formal suffix)… Extensions differ widely along the productivity scale, from totally unproductive expansions occurring in just a few verbs to fully productive suffixes.

The final syllable of most of the verb roots in Lika which exceed the canonical CVC pattern belong to a small set: -an, -i,-ik, -il, -im, -ul, -um, and -ut, for example:

(67) /ka-to^u-b-ul-a/ > ka-tumbul-a
    INF-root-EXPANSION-FV     INF-explain-FV
    ‘to explain’

48. Bantu languages vary in their use of the OM. In Kifuliiru, the OM is only allowed with a null or left-dislocated NP (Van Otterloo 2008:132), so the OM is always used anaphorically. In Kiswahili, the OM is always required for animate objects, while for inanimate objects the OM is usually only required for null NPs or those which are “already established as a discourse topic” (Bearth 2003:123).
Such frozen morphemes are always present in surface forms and are not glossed in examples.

Historical linguists have reconstructed eleven derivational suffixes for Proto-Bantu, and many of the Lika frozen morphemes resemble proto-Bantu extensions. Lika only has three productive extensions, and all of them are valency-changing.

3.1.3 Valency-changing affixes

This section presents the four derivational affixes, two of which increase verb valency and two of which decrease the valency:

Valency-increasing suffixes
Applicative -i / -ili\(^{49}\)
Causative -is (or -isis for slight insistence (De Wit 2006b:113))

Valency-decreasing affixes
Reciprocal -an (or -anan after monosyllabic roots)
Reflexive -i-

Valency-increasing suffixes. As mentioned in §3.1.1, most verb roots only take one or two arguments. Just a few verbs, such as -pa, ‘give’, and -bikya ‘tell’, can have three arguments. However two frequently-used suffixes, the applicative (-i/-ili) and the causative (-is/-isis), can make intransitive verbs transitive, and monotransitive verbs ditransitive.

The syntactic function of an applicative morpheme is to introduce a new primary object. Semantically, it often conveys the sense that an action is performed to benefit someone (more than half of the applicatives in the corpus). The new primary object (the applied object) is the beneficiary/recipient, usually animate. In example (68a), the verb -kisa ‘seek’ is monotransitive. The beneficiary is expressed as an oblique argument. Example (68b) shows that the applicative form of the verb -kisilya ‘seek for’ is ditransitive, taking both a primary object bomiki ‘children’ and a secondary object malili ‘food’.\(^{50}\)

(68) a. Ø-Sukopi a-kis-a ndi ma-lili ka bo-miki.
    CL1A-leopard 3SG.SM-seek-FV PAST CL6-food for CL2-child
    ‘Leopard sought food for his children.’

\(^{49}\) Schadeberg (2003: 72, 73) says of Proto-Bantu that when an extension had -V- and -VCV-allomorphs, the former occurs after C and the latter after V, but in Lika it is not clear what conditions the choice of allomorph for the applicative.

\(^{50}\) When there are two objects, the beneficiary/recipient usually takes the O_1 slot, and the patient/theme is O_2.
b. Ø-Sukopi u-kis-ily-a ndi bo-miki ma-lili.
   CL1A-leopard 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-seek-APPL-FV PAST CL2-child CL6-food
   ‘Leopard got his children food.’

The identity of the primary object is confirmed by the object agreement marker in the verb, u- 3PL.OM, which agrees with bomiki ‘children’. Secondary objects do not trigger an object agreement marker in the verb, even if they are animate. Lika allows only one object agreement marker, a typological feature discussed further below.

Most cases of an action being performed to benefit another person are expressed this way; that is, beneficiaries and recipients are rarely expressed in prepositional phrases.51

Unlike some languages, Lika does not use the applicative to express instruments. These only occur as objects of prepositions:

(69) a. Ø-Mama a-ip-i Ø-nzuka no Ø-muni.
   CL1A-woman 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-hit-PAST CL1A-snake with CL9-handle
   ‘Mother beat the snake with a handle’

b. * Mama akaipilya nzuka muni.

The applicative can, however, indicate a number of relationships (which may or may not be possible to express with prepositional phrases), such as location or goal (as in (70) and (71)), or even a sense of purpose, as in (72).

(70) a. i-kand-il-a
   3SG.SM:REFL-tie-APPL-FV
   ‘she tied on herself’

b. *a-kand-a ka iyi
   3SG.SM-tie-FV on 3SG

(71) a. ba-sil-y-a Ø-Memi
   3PL.SM:3SG.OM-come-APPL-FV CL1A-goat

b. bo-sil-o ka Ø-Memi
   3PL.SM-come-PAST to CL1A-goat
   ‘they came to Goat’

(72) a. ba-tuk-ily-a li-gundu
   3PL.SM-leave-APPL-FV CL5-trip
   ‘they left for a trip’

51. Baker (1988:466) states that Chichewa and Kinyarwanda can only express beneficiaries as applied objects (never in prepositional phrases), and he notes that “whether or not a language has an independent prepositional form that overlaps with the prepositional affix [i.e., the applicative] is idiosyncratic.”
At other times the reason for using this suffix is not apparent, raising the possibility that it has lost its grammatical meaning and has been lexicalized (in Bantu terminology, it has been reduced to an ‘expansion’).

The causative suffix -is / -isis shows less variation of meaning, simply conveying a sense of causation. Syntactically it functions to “introduce a new participant, the causer, which is normally the subject of the derived verb” (Kroeger 2005:277). Because of the productivity of this affix, many concepts which are lexical causatives in English are expressed as morphological causatives in Lika (e.g., -ly-isis-o ‘cause to eat (=feed)’, -bong-is-o ‘cause to fear (=frighten)’).

Example (73) shows the causative form of the verb -lya ‘eat’. The primary object is the causee. This is indicated by the presence of the third plural object agreement marker u- which corresponds to the causee bosibhi ‘tortoises’.

(73) Mu-gbubu a-ka-u-ly-isis-o bo-sibhi Ø-nyama.
    CL1-snail 3SG.SM-ASP2-3PL.OM-eat-CAUS-FV CL2-tortoise CL1A-animal
‘Snail fed the tortoises the animal/game.’

This appears to be the only means of expressing causation; no separate verb or particle meaning ‘cause’ has been found.

The applicative and causative suffixes can attach to stems which are intransitive or monotransitive in their base forms, but these valency-increasing suffixes cannot be used to increase the valency of ditransitive verbs (like -pa ‘give’ in sentence (74)). Additional participants are optionally expressed in a prepositional phrase:

(74) Ø-Sukopi u-p-isis-o bo-sibhi
    CL1A-leopard 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-give-CAUS-FV CL2-tortoise
Ø-kugba (ka bangama).52
    CL9-sack (to CL2-chief)
‘Leopard makes the tortoises give the sack (opt: to the chiefs).’

The recipient in (74), ka bangama ‘to the chiefs’ is expressed in a prepositional phrase because the causee bosibhi ‘tortoises’ is assigned the grammatical relation of primary object and kugba ‘sack’ is the secondary object. The verb cannot assign grammatical relation to any more direct arguments, so additional participants must be oblique arguments or adjuncts.

It is possible for a verb to be both applicative and causative, as in:

b. * ba-tuky-ini ka li-gundu
   3PL.SM-leave-PAST for CL5-trip

---

52. Parentheses in the vernacular text indicate optionality.
(75) A-tik-is-y-o       mu-ganza  Ø-dha-ki.
     3SG.SM:3SG.Om-send-CAUS-APPL-FV  CL1-brother  CL1A-friend-3SG
‘He sends (something) to his circumcision brother.’

In this example the causative indicates that the thing sent was delivered by an intermediary person, an unstated causee.

Valency-decreasing affixes. The valency-decreasing affixes are the reciprocal -an and the reflexive i- (when used as a passive).

The reciprocal suffix -an is homophonous with one of the non-productive expansions mentioned above. That is, there are many verbs which appear to contain the reciprocal -an, but which lack any visible element of reciprocity, sometimes even occurring with singular subjects:

(76) Ø-Pa  a-dhaky-an-a  biwo.
     CL9-place  3SG.SM-be.quiet-EXPANSION?-FV  IDEO:silent
‘The place (village) was silent.’

Many clear examples of the reciprocal are found in the corpus, however, such as:

(77) bo-dhung-on-o
     3PL.SM-hug-RECIP-FV
‘they hug each other’ [1.36]

The example in (78a) shows that the base verb -bhuma ‘beat’ takes two arguments, subject and object (indicated by the presence of SM and OM), while the reciprocal verb in (78b) and (c) only allows one argument, the subject:

     1SG.SM-ASP2-2PL.OM-beat-FV
‘I beat you (pl.)’

b. Ta-ka-bhum-an-a.
     1PL.SM-ASP2-beat-RECIP-FV
‘We beat each other.’

c. *Ta-ka-mu-bhum-an-a

The reflexive prefix i- is most commonly used as an object agreement marker with the sense of doing an action to oneself, as was seen in (22b) above, repeated here:

(79) /ba-i-in-a/       >   bi(m)ina
     3PL.SM-REFL-see-FV     ‘they see themselves’

When the reflexive prefix is used with inanimate patients, however, it functions like the ‘se passive’ in Romance languages. The patient is promoted to subject and the agent is demoted to an oblique argument.
(80) a. Singi o-pik-o ndi ba-ndabu.
    Singi 3SG.SM-build-PAST PAST CL10-house
    ‘Singi built houses.’

b. Ba-ndabu i-pik-o ndi na Singi.
    CL10-house 3SG.SM:REFL-build-PAST PAST by Singi
    ‘The houses were built by Singi.’

In most cases, the subject agreement marker for inanimate subjects is \( \alpha \)-, which coalesces with the reflexive prefix as in (80b). The inanimate loan words in classes 1a and 2, however, take the third person plural subject agreement marker \( \beta \)-, providing evidence that the patient is the grammatical subject:

(81) Bo:kiti b-i-luw-o na Ø:bhu:gwe.
    CL2-chair 3PL.SM:REFL-buy-PAST by CL1A-uncle
    ‘The chairs were bought by Uncle.’

When the patient is animate, the verb cannot be passivized with the reflexive prefix since that would simply be interpreted as acting on oneself. Instead, the verb must take the causative suffix along with the reflexive, suggesting that animate patients are somehow responsible for the action taken against them.

(82) Ba-kɔku b-ly-isis-ini na Ø-nziyɔ.
    CL2-chicken 3PL.SM:REFL-eat-CAUS-PAST by CL1A-fox
    ‘The chickens got themselves eaten by the fox.’

This is a special passive, though. It is restricted to a small group of verbs, perhaps a dozen, with the assumption that the patient (e.g., bakɔku ‘the chickens’) did something foolish which resulted in harm (‘got themselves eaten’), like wandering away from the safety of the courtyard. It definitely does not mean ‘The chickens caused themselves to eat the fox’, although with other verbs the combination of the reflexive and causative results in a meaning of ‘causing oneself to do something’:

(83) Ø-Kɔk a-ka-i-mw-isis-o (pa yaya).
    CL1A-chicken 3SG.SM-ASP2:REFL-die-CAUS-FV (uselessly)
    ‘the chicken caused itself to die (uselessly)’

These are the only passive-like constructions attested in Lika. No suffix has been identified which is related to the Proto-Bantu passive -\( \nu /-ib\)- (Schadeberg 2003:72).

3.1.4 The number of OMs allowed

Bearth (2003:124) explains:

OM-1 languages – e.g., Swahili, Chewa and Xhosa – allow maximally one object agreement marker inside the verb . . . OM-2 languages, such as Chaga, Haya, Rwanda and Tswana . . . allow strings of up to three or even four object agreement markers
preceding the verb stem... At the other end of the spectrum, OM-0 languages (e.g., Lingala) do not allow any trace of an object in their verb morphology.

Lika is an OM-1 language. When two objects are present, it is always the primary object (the recipient, beneficiary, or causee) which is marked in the verb; the secondary object will not be marked in the verb even if it is animate. This is demonstrated in the following two examples. In (84), the third person singular subject agreement marker a- coalesces with the third person singular object agreement marker a-, which refers to the (singular) primary object/beneficiary/recipient abhaki ‘his father’. The object agreement marker is unaffected by the singular/plural status of the animate patient (secondary object).

(84) Ø-Sukopi a-p-a Ø-abha-ki
    CL1a-leopard 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-give-FV  CL1a-father-3SG.POSS
    {Ø-miki, bo-miki}.53
    CL1a-child, CL2-child
    ‘Leopard gave his father a child / children.’

In (85) which has a plural primary object, bonyaki ‘his in-laws’, the third person singular subject agreement marker a- coalesces with the third person plural object agreement marker u-, again regardless if the secondary object is singular or plural.

(85) Ø-Sukopi u-pa bo-nya-ki
    CL1a-leopard 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-give-FV  CL2-in.laws-3SG
    {Ø-miki, bo-miki}.
    CL1a-child, CL2-child
    ‘Leopard gave his in-laws a child / children.’

It is not possible to insert two object agreement markers in the verb. This was attempted in (86), using two object agreement markers which would remain discernable even if coalescence takes place: ti- ‘1PL’, and u- ‘3PL’. (The acceptable verb form in this sentence is a-ti-p-a ‘he gave us’.)

(86) *Sukopi { a-ti-u-p-a, a-u-ti-p-a } bomiki.
    (for ‘Leopard gave us children.’)

This is true for derived three-place verbs as well, such as the causative verb, -lyisis-o, -eat-CAUS-FV, ‘to cause someone to eat (= to feed someone).’

3.1.5 Dative alternation

A few verbs, such as -pa ‘give’, -tika ‘send’, and -lyoliso ‘cause to eat’, may be used either transitively or ditransitively with no change in morphology. The change in valency is

53. Curly brackets indicate that either element may be selected.
accompanied by a change in meaning. The ditransitive form means a direct (face-to-face) action:

(87) Ø-Sukopi  u-p-a  bo-nya-ki  Ø-kụgbụ.
    CL1-leopard  3SG.SM:3PL.OM-give-FV  CL2-in.laws-3SG  CL9-bag
    ‘Leopard gives his in-laws a bag.’

In (87), both the primary and secondary object are expressed as bare NPs, and the (animate) primary object requires an object agreement marker in the verb.

The monotransitive form of this verb implies an indirect action, where the agent and recipient are not face-to-face. The recipient is expressed as an oblique argument and the object agreement marker is not allowed in the verb:

(88) a. Ø-Sukopi  a-p-a  ba-koụ  ka  bo-nya-ki.
    CL1A-leopard  3SG.SM-give  CL2-chicken  to  CL2-in.laws-3SG
    ‘Leopard (indirectly) gives chickens to his in-laws.’

b. * Ø-Sukopi  u-p-a  ba-koụ  ka  bo-nya-ki.

3.1.6 Complex verb forms

This section describes auxiliary verb constructions and a special form that I am provisionally calling a ‘discontinuous construction’.

**Auxiliary verb constructions.** The copula -iko ‘be, sit’ is the most common auxiliary. It can be inflected for aspect, person, and number of the subject, while the main verb, which always follows the auxiliary, is in the infinitive. The following example shows a typical form. It is an elicited sentence based on example (57) above:

(89) W-ik-og-o  ka-ly-isis-o  Ø-Sibhi  ba-nyama ...
    2SG.SM-be-IPFV-FV  INF-eat-CAUS-FV  CL1A-tortoise  CL2-animal
    ‘You have been feeding the animals (to) Tortoise . . .’

The verb -va ‘take’ is used in a different construction, which I am also tentatively calling an auxiliary, although it may be a type of serial verb. This verb functions as a cohesive device when describing a sequence of events:

(90) Context: ‘(The women) start to gut the fish . . .’
    bu-sukus-a  bi-ngọ,  ba-v-a
    3PL.SM:3PL.OM-wash-FV  ADV-clean  3PL.SM-take-FV
    b-u-buw-ag-a.
    3PL.SM:3PL.OM-wrap-IPFV-FV
    ‘they wash them, (and then) they wrap them up.’

Unlike the usual auxiliary constructions, the two verbs here are always inflected for the same person and number. In these constructions the -va is bleached of semantic content. It is
not glossed as a separate event, and removing it from a text does not affect the meaning, only the style. It seems similar to some expletive uses of ‘go ahead and’ or ‘go and’ in English, e.g., *We decided to go ahead and buy the car.*

**Discontinuous verbs.** A discontinuous construction contains a verb in which it looks like the subject agreement marking has been separated from the rest of the verb word by a particle. Example (91a) below shows the base form ‘I am running’ and (91b) shows that an independent pronoun can be added to create the contrastive form, ‘Me, I am running’ (as in, “The rest of you can do what you want”).

    1SG.SM-ASP2-run-FV
    ‘I am running.’

    1SG.COP 1SG INF-run-FV
    ‘Me, I am running.’

    c. * Nakapikita imi.

    d. * Imi nakapikita.

As the glossing shows, the first word in (91b) is a copula even though it has the same form as the subject agreement marking in (91a). Furthermore, the verb following the emphatic pronoun is glossed as the infinitive in (91b), even though it is the counterpart of the *ka-* aspect in (91a). This is unusual, but it is the simplest explanation of the facts.

In addition to the independent pronoun, several particles can separate the copula and the infinitive: time particles (e.g., *ndi* PAST, *bi* ‘a little more distant from the point of reference’), negation (*ksegu*), and the particle *kuwa*, usually translated vaguely as ‘well’ or ‘so’. They all pattern like the pronoun illustrated in (91).

This discontinuous construction is limited to verbs in the *ka-* aspect. In all other tense/aspect forms of the verb, these particles appear after the verb. The example below shows how an independent pronoun is placed with a verb in the *na-* aspect.

    1SG.SM-ASP1-run-FV
    ‘I am running.’

54. The use of independent pronouns to mark contrastive topics is discussed in §4.7.4.
55. The glosses of these examples are not purposely the same for the *na-* and *ka-* aspects; they simply reflect the translation which was provided, and the current inability to identify the semantic features which distinguish the two aspects.
b. Na-na-pikit-a  imi.
   1SG.SM-ASP1-run-FV  1SG
   ‘Me, I am running.’

c. * Na imi napikita.

The purpose of this section has been to describe how the verb is what Bearth calls the
‘organizational center’ of the sentence. The following sections describe larger units: simple
sentences (including basic word order, non-verbal predicates, and special sentence types) and
then various clause combinations.

3.2 Word order

3.2.1 Basic word order

Like most Bantu languages, the basic word order in Lika is S V O₁ O₂ (X₁, X₂, X₃) where
each X represents an oblique or adjunct. In terms of agent and patient, AVP is the basic order.
The SVO/AVP order is quite rigid. The relatively few cases where non-SVO order is permitted
or obligatory involve pragmatic functions which are described in §3.2.2, §4.6.1–2, and §4.7.1–
2.

(93) Ø-Bhabha  u-p-a  bo-nya-ki  ba-kɔku.
  CL1A-father  3SG.SM:3PL.Om-give-FV  CL2-in.laws-3SG.POSS  CL2-chicken
   ‘Father gives his in-laws chickens.’

Oblique arguments are not as rigidly ordered. When the verb in example (93) is changed
from -pa₁ ‘give directly’ to -pa₂ ‘give indirectly’ (as described in §3.1.5), the recipient is
expressed as an oblique which may appear before the secondary object (as in (94a)) or after the
secondary object⁵⁶ (as in (94b)).

(94)  a.  VERB   OBL   OBJ₂
   Ø-Bhabha  a-p-a  ka  bo-nya-ki  ba-kɔku.
   CL1A-father  3SG.SM-give-FV  to  CL2-in.laws-3SG  CL2-chickens
   ‘Father (indirectly) gives chickens to his in-laws.’

b.  VERB   OBJ₂   OBL
   Ø-Bhabha  a-p-a  ba-kɔku  ka  bo-nya-ki.
   CL1A-father  3SG.SM-give  CL2-chickens  to  CL2-in.laws-3SG
   ‘Father (indirectly) gives chickens to his in-laws.’

⁵⁶ The patient bakɔku ‘chickens’ must be a secondary object because the verb does not allow
an object agreement marker (which is obligatory with animate primary objects):

* Ø-Bhabha  u-p-a  ka  bo-nya-ki  ba-kɔku.
   CL1A-father  3SG.SM:3PL.Om-give-FV  to  CL2-in.law-3SG.POSS  CL2-chicken
Adverbs of manner and adverbs of time usually appear at the beginning or end of the clause, while other adverbs do not have fixed placement. Most prepositional phrases (adjuncts of instrument, time, location, and manner) appear after the object (as shown in (95)), although instrument PPs which contain pronouns go before the object (see example (96)).

(95) A-pung-a ka-k-Ø-lyo na ma-nzu. 3SG.SM-start-FV INF-cut-FV CL9-root with CL6-tooth
‘He began to cut the roots with his teeth.’

(96) Context: ‘When I saw it (fire), I cut a (CL5)-bush . . .’
na-pung-a ka-bhum-a na ilu bu-ku. 1SG.SM-start-FV INF-beat-FV with CL5 CL14-fire
‘(and) I started to beat the fire with it . . .’

3.2.2 Fronting

As Kroeger (2005:197-98) observes, “variations in word order are often used to make one part of the sentence more prominent than another. . . special (or marked) word order is often used to indicate special pragmatic functions such as topic or focus.” Lika allows the following variations: fronting, left-dislocation of topics and external topic constructions. These constructions are discussed in chapter 4, but because fronting may involve the use of the focus particle which is also found in questions and answers, it is introduced here.

‘Fronting’ is being used here synonymously with the term ‘topicalization’ as defined by Prince (1998:10), a syntactic form “where some (nonvocative) NP appears in initial pre-clausal position, co-referential with a gap/trace occurring somewhere in the clause.” Fronting may apply to topical or focal elements.

Fronted topics are structurally distinct from fronted foci in Lika. The only mark of a fronted topic is its special position, while fronted foci must be accompanied by a focus marker (or other focus words which are described in §4.6.1). In the following excerpt from a story, two successive sentences contain fronted objects which are topical, members of a set invoked by the context:

(97) Context: ‘They took some (people), they put them in a house, and they tied their hands and feet and locked the door. Then they threw fire on the roof.’

Ba-gagga bu-p-ag-a ndi bo-ko
CL2-others 3PL.SM:3PL.OM-give-IPFV-FV PAST CL2-woman
be bu-mw-i nibu57
that 3PL.SM:3PL.OM-kill-SBJV NEARDEM2

57. This word appears to be an allomorph of niba, but I am not sure if it refers to boko ‘women’ or bagga ‘others’.
bu-bhum-a na bo-muni bipupupu.
3PL.SM:3PL.OM-hit-FV with CL10-pestle IDEO:hitting

Ø-Yaya be-moti ba-kand-a ndi na bewaya ka Ø-mu.
CL1A-brother NUM1-one 3PL-tie-FV PAST with leaves on CL1A-head

‘Others they gave to the women for them to kill: they beat them with pestles. One brother they tied up, with leaves around his head.’

When foci are fronted, they must be marked with the focus particle no or the combination of elements yi nino (mentioned in §2.2.4). This may be considered a movement to a marked focus position, before the subject slot. Both primary objects (as in (98a)) and secondary objects (98b) can be fronted with a focus particle:

(98) a. Bo-nya-ki b2 Ø-Sukopi u-p-a
    CL2-in.law-3SG.POSS FOC2 CL1A-leopard 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-give-FV

    Ø-kugba, kēgu ba-bhumwa-ki.
    CL9-sack not CL2-uncle-3SG.POSS

    ‘It’s his in-laws (O₁) that leopard gave a sack to, not his uncles.’

b. Ø-Kugba no Ø-Sukopi u-p-a bo-nya-ki,
    CL9-sack FOC9 CL1A-leopard 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-give-FV CL2-in.law-3SG.POSS

    kēgu Ø-koku.
    not CL1A-chicken

    ‘It’s a sack (O₂) that leopard gave to his in-laws, not a chicken.’

The same focus particle also marks subjects that are in focus:

(99) Ø-Mene Ø-Sibhi no a-ly-i.
    CL1A-namesake CL1A-tortoise FOC1 3SG.SM-eat-SBJV

    ‘It’s my namesake Tortoise who may eat. (or: My namesake TORTOISE⁵⁹ may eat.’ [2.20]

The alternative free translation reflects the fact that intonational prominence alone may also be used in English to indicate that an element is in focus.

When the NP in focus contains the yi demonstrative, the two-syllable form of the focus particle is used:

(100) a. Context: ‘After that, Ibudu gave birth to a son whom he named for his father, Badua.’

    Badua yi nino a-buw-a kuwa m-iso.
    Badua DEM1 RELPN1 3SG.SM-close-FV well CL6-eye

    ‘It’s this Badua (the son) who closed the eyes (= became a Protestant).’

58. The difference between contrastive and non-contrastive focus (what É. Kiss (1998) calls ‘identificational’ and ‘information’ focus) is considered in §4.6.
59. Small caps indicate intonational prominence.
b. Context: ‘They circumcised their children,’

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{si-mui-so} & \text{si niso a ndi ko Ø-pisi} \\
\text{CL19-circumcision-CL19} & \text{DEM19 RELPM19 3SG.COP PAST at CL9-path} \\
y & \text{mo-ngoni ma-nza.} \\
\text{CONN9 CL6-news CONN6-good} \\
\end{array}
\]

(and) it’s this circumcision that came via (= as a result of) the Gospel.’

The focus particle may be analogous to what Van Otterloo (2008:153) calls a focus copula in Kifuliiru. He describes the purpose of the focus copula: “When involved in cleft constructions, they involve identificational articulation... where every element of the sentence, except for one, is assumed to be known. The focus, then, is on the missing element.” Example (101) is from Van Otterloo (2008:461), with his glossing conventions and free translation. The alternative free translation is my own. Although sentence (101) was not elicited as a response to a question, it would be an appropriate answer to the question, ‘Who did these things?’ (Van Otterloo, p.c.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Presupposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(101) Yà-bá bá-génì; b-ó = bá-gír-á yì-bì. these.P-2 2-guests 2-FOC = 2-do-Fa this.P-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘These guests; they are the ones who did these things.’

elsewhere Van Otterloo (2008:557) notes that the focus copula also functions as the object relative pronoun. This parallels the use of ṇo when it follows an object, as in (57), ‘You have been feeding to Tortoise the animals that I have been killing’.

3.3 Non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal predicates may use either the copula which is inflected for person and number (homophonous with the animate subject agreement markers given in Table 9), the invariable copula ni, or none at all. The inflected copula is the most frequent. This form can be used in all types of non-verbal predicates (equative/nominal, attributive/adjectival, locative, possessive, and existential). The other copulas have more limited use. Non-verbal clauses without a copula are found in many Bantu languages although they are absent from Zone C (Guthrie 1948:39).

60. Two families circumcise their sons at the same time as a symbol of their friendship.
61. This translation looks like a marked construction (possibly an external topic or left-dislocation), but Van Otterloo is simply choosing English word order which closely follows the Kifuliiru.
Nominal predicates may be expressed with the inflected copula or invariable copula, but not with the null:

(102) a. Bo-miki {ba, ni} bu-bunga.
   CL2-child 3PL.COP, COP CL14-blessing
   'Children are a blessing.'

b. * Bo-miki Ø bu-bunga

Adjectival predicates may be expressed with all three copulas, although the null copula construction requires the presence of a demonstrative at the end:

(103) a. Ø-Atangbụ {a, ni} mu-babala.
   CL1A-hot.pepper 3SG.COP, COP ADJ1-sting
   'Hot peppers are stinging/spicy.'

b. Li-kpumuka Ø la-nye lb.
   CL5-affair CONN5-bad DEM5
   'This affair is bad. (=This is a bad situation.)'

Locative predicates are formed with either the inflected copula or the null copula, as shown in (104a). If the invariable copula is used with a post-verbal PP, the meaning changes to become an equative clause (a nominal predicate), seen in (104b).

(104) a. Mu-gi kaki {a, Ø} kukwaku ka Ø-aga wa mu-sengi.
   CL3-plot 3SG.Poss 3SG.COP, Ø there at CL1A-edge of CL3-village
   'His plot/house is at the edge of the village.'

b. Mu-gi kaki ni kukwaku ka Ø-aga wa mu-sengi.
   CL3-plot 3SG.Poss COP there at CL1A-edge of CL3-village
   'His plot/house is the edge of the village.'

Possession is expressed with a locative predicate, using the preposition na ‘with’. There is no verb root in Lika meaning ‘to have’. Possession requires the inflected copula:

(105) a. Ba-tu ba na Ø-kpi-to.
   CL2-man 3PL.COP with CL13-hat-CL13
   'The men have hats.'

b. * Ba-tu ni na kpito.

c. * Ba-tu na kpito.

The above examples have all shown the inflected copula in the present indicative (the -a copula), but it may be inflected for tense, aspect, or mood, using the -iko form. Example (106) shows a past repetitive copula with the past tense particle ndi:

(106) Ik-ag-a ndi no bo-pisi boyi bi-kyə.
   3SG.SM:be-IPFV-FV PAST with CL10-paths CONN10 ADV-many
   'He had many different paths (=methods).'
Existential clauses appear to consist of the third person singular inflected copula a, clause-initially, followed by an indefinite NP which introduces a new participant into the discourse:

(107) Context: ‘In the village of Bavokwokwo . . .’

\[ a \text{ } \text{3SG.MASC Công } \text{PAST } \text{CL1-man NUM1-one 3SG.SM:.named PAST that Kibhigu} \]
\[ ‘\text{there was a man named Kibhigu.}.’ \]

When the referent is already known, this construction is deictic:

(108) A \text{ } \text{3SG.MASC Công } \text{CL9-house 1SG.POSS DEM9} \]
\[ ‘\text{This/that/there is my house.}.’ \]

The following table summarizes which copula may take which non-verbal complements.

Table 15. Form of the copula allowed with non-verbal predicates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inflected</th>
<th>Invariable</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4 Special sentence types

3.4.1 Questions and answers

Yes-no questions maintain basic word order and have rising intonation at the end of the sentence. Example (109) shows that the same sequence of words may be pronounced with declarative intonation or with rising intonation to ask a yes-no question:

(109) Ø-Sukopi u-p-a bo-nya-ki Ø-miki
\[\text{CL1-leopard 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-give-FV CL2-in.laws-3SG.POSS CL1A-child} \]
\[‘\text{Leopard gave his in-laws a child.}’ \text{ or ‘Leopard gave his in-laws a child?’} \]

Content questions also maintain basic word order. A WH- word is used, usually in situ for objects. Example (110a) shows a WH- word that questions the object, and (110b) shows that the primary object of a ditransitive verb may also be questioned in situ:

(110) a. Ø-Nẓ̣́ka a-gbit-i wani?
\[\text{CL1A-snake 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-bite-PAST who} \]
\[‘\text{Who did the snake bite?’} \]
b. Ø-Pombayi a-ka-u-kis-ily-a ba-wani ma-lili?
   CL1A-monkey 3SG.SM-ASP2-3PL.OM-seek-APPL-FV CL2-who CL6-food
   ‘Who is Monkey getting food for?’

When the subject is questioned, the WH-word must be followed by the focus particle ndi, just like the fronted focal objects in §3.2.2, which may provide evidence for the presence of a marked focus position before the subject slot.

(111) Wani no u-p-a ndi Ø-kugba?
   who FOC1 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-give-FV PAST CL9-sack
   ‘Who gave them the sack?’

Although most cases of questioning the object use in situ WH-words, it is also possible to front the WH-word, in which cases it requires the focus particle:

(112) Wani no Ø-nzuka a-gbit-i?
   who FOC1 CL1A-snake 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-bite-PAST
   ‘Who did the snake bite?’

An optional particle piye ‘well’ may occur in content questions, in the usual position for verb particles (after the verb or first verb word, but before the invariable copula ni):

(113) a. Ba-kun-ag-a piye Ø-selengunde liki?
   1PL.SM-plant-IPFV-FV well CL9-peanut how
   ‘How do we plant peanuts?’

   b. Wo kusu se piye ni wani?
      CONN1 1PL.POSS well well COP who
      ‘Who is of ours (= our helper)?’

The most common question words are shown in the table below.

Table 16. Question words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questioning arguments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stand-alone words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questioning other elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause-initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause-final</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62. The original (French) translations of (112) and (110a) are identical, as the English is here. There is still the possibility that the different structures convey some subtle pragmatic difference or markedness (as the English ‘The snake bit who?’ is marked).
The question words have fixed positions. Those which question arguments appear in situ, or fronted with the focus particle. The other question words appear clause-finally except *iki ‘what, why’. This word has two functions. It questions an argument if it is placed like the other WH-words that question arguments (i.e., in situ or fronted with the focus particle):

(114) a. Wa piye ka-pikit-a *iki?
   2SG.COP well INF-run-FV what
   ‘What are you running from?’

   b. *iki y3 a-gbit-i Idey?
      what FOC9 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-bite-PAST Idey
      ‘What bit Idey?’

The second use of *iki, as ‘why’, is distinguished by syntax. The word appears clause-initially (without the focus marker, as in (115a)) or clause-finally (introduced by the preposition *ka, shown in (115b)):

(115) a. *iki Ø:selengunde kami ko-bok-igu wa-nza?
       why CL9-peanut 1SG.POSS INF-grow-NEG CONN2-good
       ‘Why aren’t my peanuts growing well?’

   b. Ø-Selengunde kami ko-bok-igu wa-nza *ka.iki?
      CL9-peanut 1SG.POSS INF-grow-NEG CONN2-good why
      ‘Why aren’t my peanuts growing well?’

Although bare NPs may answer content questions (as in (116a) and (117a)), when the answer is expressed with a full clause, the focus particle *n2 is obligatory when the answer (the focused element) is fronted. This is seen for both the subject (as in comparing (116b and c)) and for the object (as in (117c and d)).

(116) Question: Who *n2 gave them the sack? (example (111) above)
   Possible answers:
   a. Sukopi. ‘Leopard.’
   b. Sukopi *n2 upa ndi. ‘Leopard gave it to them.’
   c. * Sukopi upa ndi.
   d. * Sukopi ndi.
   e. * Sukopi *n2.

(117) Question: The snake bit who? (example (110)) or
   Who *n2 did the snake bite? (example (112))
   a. Idey. ‘Idey.’
   b. Nzu ka agbiti Idey. ‘The snake bit Idey.’
   c. Idey *n2 Nzu ka agbiti. ‘The snake bit Idey.’
   d. * Idey Nzu ka agbiti.

The words *nin2 and yi *nin2, which can be used interchangeably with *n2 in the contexts mentioned in §2.2.4 (examples (52)-(57)), can never be used to mark questioned NPs like this:
(118) a. Q: Wani n(o) u-p-a ndi Ø-kugba? who FOC 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-give-FV PAST CL9-sack
   ‘Who gave them the sack?’
    b. Q: *Wani (yi) nin(o) upa ndi kugba?

(119) a. A: Sukopi n(o) upa ndi kugba.
   Leopard gave them the sack.’
    b. A: *Sukopi (yi) nin(o) upa ndi kugba.

3.4.2 Commands

Commands occur with verbs in the imperative (as in (120)) or hortative mood (the latter, using the subjunctive), described in §2.2.2.

(120) I-mbimb-ily-oku gɔni Ø-tɔi!
   1SG.OM-throw-APPL-DIR also CL9-fruit
   ‘Throw me some fruit too!’ [1.20]

3.4.3 Negative sentences

Clauses are negated either with the particle kegu or with the verbal affixes listed in Table 9. Only the particle kegu is used to negate non-verbal predicates (121a, b, c):

(121) a. Bape kegu mu-ko.
   Bape not CL1-woman
   ‘Bape is not a woman.’
    b. Bo-si ba kegu ko li-bo.
       CL2-fish 3PL.COP not in CL5-water
       ‘Fish are not in the river (= There are no fish in the river).’
    c. Ø-Bhibhù ka ba-simba kegu ya-nza.
       CL9-story of CL2-lion not CONN9-good
       ‘The story of the Simba rebellion is not good.’

The invariable copula ni and the inflected third person singular copula a are not expressed when kegu is present. This is seen in (121a) and (121c), which contain no copula even though nominal predicates and and adjectival predicates usually require the copula ni or a (as in examples (102) and (103)).

The particle kegu also negates some infinitives, as in (122) (and also in example (195)).

(122) Context: ‘They went on and on,’
    kani Ø-Memi kegu ka-ibh-o be . . .
    while CL1A-goat not INF-know-FV that
    ‘while Goat was not knowing that . . .’
The particle *kegu* is also used in discontinuous constructions, immediately following the first verb word (also in examples (30) and (196)):

(123) Na **kegu** ka-mibh-o.  
1SG.COP **NEG** INF-know-FV  
‘I didn’t know him.’

Clauses containing other verbs are negated with morphology on the verb: the circumfix *ka--igu*.

(124) Ti-**k-ibh-igu**.  
1PL.SM-NEG-know-NEG  
‘We don’t know.’

Although the infinitive is sometimes negated with *kegu*, at other times it takes a negative affix like other verb forms. It is not clear yet what, if any, difference there is.

(125) Ko-p-**agu** bata Ø-tsi . . .  
INF-want-NEG even CL9-fruit  
‘(She) was not even wanting fruit . . .’ [1.29]

3.5 **Clause combinations**

The remainder of this chapter focuses on ways that clauses are combined to form complex sentences. The simplest construction is coordination, described first, followed by complement clauses, indirect speech, adjunct clauses, relative clauses, and cleft constructions.

3.5.1 **Coordinate clauses**

Coordinate clauses may be joined with the preposition *na* (as in (126a)), but more often, no conjunction is used (as in (126b)).

(126) a. Ta-**kp-ɔ** ndi Ø-mbumi na bo-miki ba-**ti-(m)ìn-a.  
1PL.SM-extract-FV PAST CL9-sand and CL2-child 3PL.SM-1PL.OM-see-FV  
‘We dug sand and the children saw us.’

b. Context: ‘After just a few days,’

Ø-ndabu i-gubhit-ini, ip-is-ini, mu-ko ka  
CL9-house REFL-cover-PAST REFL-hit-PAST CL1-woman of  
Mu-**kɔtì** a-pung-a ko-husy-o mino bu-ku.  
CL1-ant 3SG.SM-start-FV INF-blow-FV well CL14-fire  
‘. . . the house was covered (with a roof), beaten (=plastered with mud), (and) Ant’s wife started blowing the fire (=preparing to cook).’

3.5.2 **Complement clauses**

Complement clauses are subordinate clauses which are arguments of a matrix verb.
This description of complement clauses is based on Kroeger 2005:220-24 and Kroeger 2004:103-34. The four structural features used to classify complement clauses are:

1. The form of the verb in the complement clause;
2. Whether the complement clause allows an overt subject;
3. Word order in the complement;

1. Verb form: The form of the verb in Lika complement clauses is classified as infinitive, finite, or subjunctive.

2. Overt subject: The presence of an overt subject in the complement clause correlates with the form of the complement verb. The only cases where the subject is forbidden are when the complement verb is in the infinitive. These are called ‘open complements’ (abbreviated XCOMP in Kroeger (2004:109), e.g., *John persuaded Mary to behave herself*). Complements which contain overt subjects, on the other hand, are considered sentential complements (S-COMP, Kroeger (2004:108), e.g., *John believes that my uncle owns Sentosa Island*).

3. Word order: All the complement clauses in my corpus have the same basic SVO order found in simple clauses.

4. Presence of a complementizer: The complementizer is be, which is also the conjunction ‘that, so that’ mentioned in §2.2.3. Complements introduced with the complementizer usually contain finite verbs (most frequently, the subjunctive), while most complements which are not introduced with the complementizer contain verbs in the infinitive.

Fifteen verbs which take complement clauses are listed in Table 17.

Table 17. Complement-taking verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ásá</th>
<th>stop</th>
<th>-kíša</th>
<th>try₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-bhumána</td>
<td>be appropriate₁</td>
<td>-kpamyá</td>
<td>order, encourage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bíkya</td>
<td>say, tell</td>
<td>-kúngá</td>
<td>demand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bosíló</td>
<td>be appropriate₂</td>
<td>-kwanáná</td>
<td>be appropriate³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dhukulo</td>
<td>continue</td>
<td>-kyá</td>
<td>refuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ibhé</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>-pá</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-íná</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>-púngá</td>
<td>start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kingála</td>
<td>try₁</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These verbs may be divided into groups based on the four structural features listed. The first group consists of *bhumána, bosíló, and kwanáná*, which all mean ‘be appropriate’. They take sentential complements containing verbs in the subjunctive (as in (127a) and (b)), or open complements containing the infinitive (as in (127c)).
(127) a. O-bhumon-\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{63}  be  t-ind-i  ka  mu-sengi
   3SG.SM-appropriate-FV   that  1PL.SM-go-SBJV   to  CL3-village
   ‘It is appropriate that we go to the village.’

b. No-bhumon-i  ni-mokisy-i  ku-tu-ko
   1SG.SM-appropriate-FV  1SG.SM:1SG.OM-wear-SBJV  CL15-clothes-CL15
   kwa  mbiya.
   CONN\textsuperscript{15}  new
   ‘It behooves me \textit{that} I (= I should) wear a new outfit.’

c. Context: ‘If you see some palm nuts there . . .’
   o-bosil-i  ka-dhak-a  kugu  wa  li-sisi  nila.
   3sg.sm-appropriate-fv  INF-climb-FV  top  up  CL5-palm  DEM5
   ‘it is appropriate \textit{to} climb up that palm tree.’

A second group of verbs (-kpamy\textsuperscript{a} ‘order’, -kunga ‘demand’, -kingila ‘try’, -kisa ‘seek, try’, and -pa ‘want’) only take two kinds of complements: subjunctive (S-COMP) clauses introduced by the complementerizer (128a and b), and infinitival (XCOMP) clauses that are not introduced (128c and d):

   1SG.SM-try-FV  PAST   that  1SG.SM-blow-SBJV  CL14-fire
   ‘I tried that I blow/reanimate the fire.’

b. A-kpamy-a  Ø-inv a  kaki  be  b-ig-i.
   3SG.SM:3SG.OM-order-FV  CL9-dog  his  that  3PL.SM-return-SBJV
   ‘He ordered his dog \textit{that} they return (or: He told his dog that they must return).’

c. Ba  ndi  ka-p-a  ka-mw-ɔ.
   3PL.COP  PAST   INF-want-fv   INF:3SG.SM-kill-fv
   ‘They were wanting \textit{to} kill him.’

d. I-panani-sɔ  sɔ  u-kpamy-ag-a
   CL19-love-CL19  FOC19  3SG.SM:3PL.OM-encourage-IPFV-FV
   ba-mbanza  ka-k-ɔ  i-mu-i-sɔ.
   CL2-person  INF-cut-FV  CL19-circumcision-CL19
   ‘It’s love that moves people \textit{to cut} circumcision (= unite their families by having their sons circumcised at the same time).’

A third group (-ibho ‘know’, -kya ‘refuse’) takes finite complement clauses which are introduced by the complementerizer (129a), and infinitival complements which are not introduced by a complementerizer (129b):

63. The final vowel appears to be the past morpheme, but I don’t know why.
(129) a. A ndi ka-ibh-o be Ø-mbunya-ki
   3SG.COP PAST INF-know-FV that cl1a-husband-3sg
   a-ka-biky-a bongo.
   3SG.SM-say-FV CL.3.lies
   ‘She knew that her husband was telling lies.’

b. Bo-miki ba-luku bi ba-ky-a ndi ka-ind-a
   CL2-child CL2-man DEM2 3PL.SM-refuse-FV PAST INF-go-FV
   ka si-lya-su. to cl19-cohabitation-cl19
   ‘The boys refused to go into cohabitation (= take a concubine).’

Three verbs (-asa ‘stop’, -dhukulo ‘continue’, and -punga ‘start’) only take infinitival complements:

(130) a. Ni-dhukul-og-o ko-mw-o Ø-bhuku-to.
   1SG.SM:1SG.OM-continue-IPFV-FV INF-drink-FV cl13-medicine-cl13
   ‘I continued to take the medicine.’

   CL1-woman 3SG.SM-start-FV PAST INF-complain-FV
   ‘The woman started to complain.’ [1.6]

Two other verbs do not form a group, but it is possible that further research will find verbs that pattern like these. The verb -ina ‘see’ takes finite S-COMPs either with or without a complementizer (examples (131a) and (131b), respectively):

(131) a. In-a be bo-mw-og-ini li-kingo kaki.
   3SG.SM:see-FV that 3PL.SM-drink-IPFV-PAST cl5-raphia 3SG.POSS
   ‘He saw that they drank his raphia (wine).’

   that’s.why 1PL.SM-see-IPFV-FV well cl1a-bird and cl1a-bird
   3PL.SM-love-RECIP-FV
   ‘That’s why we see birds love each other (= they stick together).’

Example (132) shows that this verb may also take an XCOMP containing an infinitive.

(132) Wa-ka-(m)in-igu Ø-nyama ka-kit-ag-a wanu?
   2SG.SM-ASP2:3SG.OM-see-NEG cl1a-animal INF-pass-IPFV-FV here
   ‘Didn’t you see an animal pass by here?’
The word *nyama* ‘animal’ is both the object of the matrix clause (as shown by the presence of the object agreement marker in the verb) and also the understood subject of the XCOMP.\(^{64}\)

The last complement-taking verb is *bìkya* ‘say’. Its behavior is shown in the next section.

These results are summarized in Table 18, which groups the verbs according to the form of the verb in the three types of complements: sentential complements with or without the complementizer (*Comp. be* and ‘No Comp.’, respectively), and open complements (which never take a complementizer).

**Table 18. The form of the verb in complement clauses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>S-COMP</th>
<th>XCOMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comp. be</td>
<td>No Comp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>bhùmána</em></td>
<td>be appropriate(_1)</td>
<td>SBJV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>bosílo</em></td>
<td>be appropriate(_2)</td>
<td>SBJV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kwànàtí</em></td>
<td>be appropriate(_3)</td>
<td>SBJV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>kpàmá</em></td>
<td>order, encourage</td>
<td>SBJV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kùngá</em></td>
<td>demand</td>
<td>SBJV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kísa</em></td>
<td>try(_1)</td>
<td>SBJV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pà</em></td>
<td>want</td>
<td>SBJV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>ibhó</em></td>
<td>know</td>
<td>FINITE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kyá</em></td>
<td>refuse</td>
<td>FINITE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>asá</em></td>
<td>stop</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>dhìkùlo</em></td>
<td>continue</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pùngá</em></td>
<td>start</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>ìná</em></td>
<td>see</td>
<td>FINITE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>bìkya</em></td>
<td>say, tell</td>
<td>(ANY)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs are grouped according to their syntactic behavior, but some semantic coherence is evident as well. Group (1) contains modal predicates, group (2) includes two classes of control predicates (influence and orientation), and group (4) expresses aspect.

---

\(^{64}\) This sentence might possibly be analyzed as containing a reduced relative clause modifying the object of the matrix clause. Noonan (2007:73) notes that complements of “immediate perception predicates” in English are ambiguous between complements and relative clauses when they contain participles (e.g., *We saw the army defeating the enemy*). In Lika, however, there are no clear examples of relative clauses containing verbs in the infinitive in my corpus, so I prefer the XCOMP interpretation.

\(^{65}\) The symbol “—” indicates that the construction is not allowed.
Perhaps with the addition of more verbs, or considering the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs, semantic unity will also be found in the other groups.

Because an open complement does not contain an overt subject, the identity of its subject is determined by the matrix verb. An argument of the matrix verb is said to ‘control’ the complement subject (Kroeger 2004:104). In examples (128c–d), (129b), and (130a–b), the complement subject is the same as the matrix subject. In (128d) and (133), the subject of the complement is co-referential with the object of the matrix verb.

(133) **Na-kung-a ko-dhok-u ka-v-a.**

1SG.SM:2SG.OM-demand-FV INF-come-FV INF-take-FV

‘I’m demanding/telling you to come get it.’

Indirect speech, a sub-category of complement clauses, is discussed in the next section. Although direct speech is a not a complement clause, it is also mentioned there briefly.

3.5.3 Indirect and direct speech

Indirect speech is a special type of complement clause which may be introduced with any of numerous speech verbs such as *-bikya* ‘say, affirm’, *-sikisyo* ‘answer’, and *-uuso* ‘ask’, followed by the complementizer (which is functioning as a quote particle) *be* ‘that’, for example:

(134) **A-biky-ini mu-kö be a-gy-i ma-kpunita.**

3SG.SM:3SG.OM-say-PAST Cl1-woman that 3SG.SM-do-SBJV Cl6-manioc

‘He told his wife that she (should) make manioc leaves.’

The speech verb is often understood, and the quote particle stands alone:

(135) **Ibu aka be Ingoyi iki mu-kö kabu.**

3PL only that Ingoyi 3SG.COP.SBJV Cl1-woman 3PL.POSS

‘They said that Ingoyi should be their wife.’

If there is only one participant, *be* is interpreted as expressing thought, intent or desire:

(136) **Iyi be a-ip-i na ilu Ø-mambyembye.**

3SG that 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-hit-FV with Cl5 Cl1A-wagtail.bird

‘He (wanted) to hit the wagtail bird with it.’

The particle *be* introduces direct speech in the same way, with or without a speech verb (137a and b, respectively):

66. When introducing speech, the particle *be* may be replaced with *ambce*.

67. In oral stories, of course, speech markers can be eliminated entirely. The speaker may set up a context that suggests speech and then use a distinctive intonation pattern, as in this translation from a traditional tale: ‘He boasted a lot. “When it comes to trapping, none of you come close to me.” ’ The quotation marks in the written text serve the same purpose as intonation in the oral version, but neither requires an overt speech marker.
3.5.4 Adjunct clauses

Adjunct clauses, also called adverbial clauses, “attach to constructions that are already complete propositions. The adverbial simply adds some information to the proposition” (Payne 1997:317). In Lika, these clauses they often contain less-common verb forms. Infinitives, conditionals, and subjunctives are found more frequently in these adverbials than in independent clauses. Adjunct clauses freely occur either before or after the main clause.

Most adjunct clauses are introduced with conjunctions, e.g. ni ‘while’, kye ‘so that’, and yeki ‘when, since’:

(137) a. A-lik-a be “Ibudu oo!”
   3SG.SM-call-FV that Ibudu hey
   ‘He called, “Hey, Ibudu!” ’

b. Context: ‘The woman got angry (at her husband).’
   Iyi aka be “I-mbimb-ily-oku goni Ø-tdí!”
   3SG only that 1SG.OM-throw-CAUS-DIR also CL9-fruit
   ‘She (says to him), “Throw me some fruit too!” ’ [1.20]

3.5.4 Adjunct clauses

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Most adjunct clauses are introduced with conjunctions, e.g. ni ‘while’, kye ‘so that’, and yeki ‘when, since’:

(138) Yeki bo-sil-i ka Ø-aga wa mu-sengi, ba-mag-a.
   when 3PL.SM-arrive-PAST at CL1A-edge CONN1 CL3-village 3PL.SM-stop-FV
   ‘When they arrived at the edge of the village they stopped.’

Some clauses are simply juxtaposed, such as the purpose clause in example (139), the adversative clause in (140), and the absolutive clause in (141):

(139) I-s-is-a-no baka n-ig-i ko li-bo
   1SG.OM-release-CAUS-FV-POLITE please 1SG.SM-return-SBJV to CL5-river
   ‘Release me please (so) that I may return to the river.’

(140) Context: ‘The lizard felt threatened (and jumped), falling on me . . .’
   na iyi be kye a-pikit-a benc, m-alá kaki
   and 3SG that so.that 3SG.SM-run-FV like.that CL6-claws 3SG.POSS
   ind-a ka-i-gw-in-os-o ka Ø-patalú.
   3SG.SM:go-FV INF-REFL-catch-RECIP-CAUS-FV on CL9-trousers
   ‘and he (wanted to) run away (but) his claws got caught on (my) trousers.’

(141) Context: ‘The man climbs the tree.’
   Ka-dhwe kugu, mu-luku a-pung-a ka-pwa Ø-tdí.
   INF-arrive-FV up CL1-man 3SG.SM-start-FV INF-pick-FV CL9-fruit.sp
   ‘Arriving at the top, the man starts to pick fruit.’

Thompson et al. (2007:243) note that adverbial clauses can be divided into two general categories: those that can be substituted by a single word and those which cannot be. Those in the first group express time, manner, or place, and indicate that the circumstance in question is
the same in the two clauses. This is true for the time adjunct in (138) above, and for this manner adjunct:

(142) Bo-piwoy-o abhe ba-nziku
3PL.SM:3SG.OM-keep.beating-FV like CL2-ant
ba-ka-(m)in-a mu-bhasinzi.
3PL.COND:3SG.OM-see-FV CL1-scorpion
‘They kept attacking him like ants if they see a scorpion.’

The adjunct in example (142) contains a verb in the conditional, which is typical of clauses which introduce comparisons with the word abhe ‘like’.

Examples (139) and (140) are the second type of adverbial clause, which may be characterized as modifying the other clause.

No syntactic differences between these two types have been observed.

3.5.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Lika are externally headed and follow the head noun. The relative clause is introduced with a relative pronoun which agrees with the class of the head noun. Because there is no case marking in Lika, the relative pronoun does not provide any information about the relativized function (the function of the matrix noun within the relative clause). Subject and object functions are relativized with a gap:

(143) Relativized Subject (Relative clause: ‘The man takes my daughter.’)

Mú-tu ninj Ö a-v-a ndekë Ø-mika-mi
CL1-man RELPN1 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-take-FV FUT CL1A-child-1SG.POSS
e-pa ndekë Ö-nguya.
3SG.SM:1SG.OM-give-FV FUT CL1A-warthog
‘The man who Ø will take my child (daughter) will give me a warthog.’

(144) Relativized Object (Relative clause: ‘His people drink water.’)

Ø-Ngama a-ndaga-tu gôni li-bo nilô
CL1A-chief 3SG.SM-watch.over-INS also CL5-water RELPN5
ba-tu kaki bo-mw-og-o Ø.
CL2-person 3SG.POSS 3PL.SM-drink-IPFV-FV
‘The chief also takes care of the water that his people drink Ø.’
Some obliques can be relativized by using a resumptive pronoun. Sentence (145a) shows a simple sentence containing an instrumental oblique, and (145b) shows how the oblique is relativized, requiring both a relative pronoun and a resumptive pronoun noyu ‘with it (CL9).’

(145) a. No-sukw-og-i na Ø-dhukpa
    1SG.SM-peel-IPFV-PAST with CL9-knife
    ‘I peeled (it) with a knife.’

    b. Ø-dhukpa niyo no-sukw-og-i noyu o-bung-ini
       CL9-knife RELPN9 1SG.SM-peel-IPFV-PAST with.CL9 3SG.SM-be.lost-PAST
       ‘The knife which I peeled it with it is lost.’

No relative clauses have been observed with any deviation from canonic SVO word order, unlike some Bantu languages which display subject inversion in relative clauses (Givón 1972:190, Demuth and Harford 1999).

Non-restrictive relative clauses are distinguished by the use of a demonstrative at the end of the relative clause. The demonstrative may serve to reinforce the identifiability of the referent. They may modify proper nouns as in (146a) or other nouns which are understood in the discourse, as in (146b):

(146) a. Wa igoku mino a-takany-a Ø-Sukopi
    there 3SG.SM:return-DIR well 3SG.SM-find-FV CL1A-Leopard
    ninç a-ngukan-a nő.
    RELPN1 3SG.SM-snore-FV DEM1
    ‘Well, when he returned he found Leopard, who was snoring.’

    b. Niyo ig-a ku kaki u-takany-a nibo
       when 3SG.SM:return-FV at 3SG.POSS 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-find-FV 3PL
       kaki nibo ba-pw-a m-iso bɔ.
       3SG.POSS RELPN2 3PL.SM-blink-FV CL16-eye DEM2
       ‘When he returned home, he found them his (children), who blinked their eyes.’

In some places where an identifiable referent is modified, apposition is used rather than a nonrestrictive relative clause:

(147) Ø-Mama, mu-ko wa si-panani-sɔ e-p-i
    CL1A-mother CL1-woman POSS1 CL19-love-CL19 3SG.SM:1sg.OM-give-PAST
    bi ku-tu-ko.
    PAST CL15-clothes-CL15
    ‘My mother, a very nice woman, gave me an outfit.’

68. It is unusual to find both a relative pronoun and a resumptive pronoun in a single relative clause (Paul Kroeger, p.c.), but since the Bantu relative pronouns do not indicate the relativized function, the use of both pronouns is not redundant.
Two sequential relative clauses can modify one head noun. There do not seem to be any restrictions on the verb form in the relative clause. Tense, aspect, mood, subject, and object affixes appear as they do in main clauses.

Some relative clauses do not have a head noun. They refer to something which is in the discourse but not necessarily expressed. In these cases, the relative pronoun shows agreement with the hypothetical head. In the following example the referent (*mongoni* ‘news’) is in the immediately preceding clause, making it easy to identify:

(148) T-ukon-i asi *mongoni* ma ku-kwa-ku aka,
    1PL.SM-hear-PAST only *CL6-news* CONN6 *CL15-death-CL15* only
kani tu-k-ukon-igu nimo mo Ø-kolobu.
while 1PL.SM-ASP2-hear-NEG RELPN6 CONN6 *CL9-illness*

‘We only heard the *news* about the death, but we didn’t hear *that (news) of an illness.*’

Some common words like *l-uki* ‘CL5-thing’ do not even have to be present in the discourse; *nilo* ‘RELPN5’ has come to be understood as ‘that thing which’:

(149) Context: ‘Everyone kept his ears open . . .’
ka-ukan-a *nilo* ba-ka-biky-a.
INF-hear-FV RELPN5 3PL.SM-ASP2-say-FV
‘to hear *(that thing) which they said.*’

3.5.6 Cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are a means of expressing a proposition while placing marked focus on an argument. Crystal (2008:79) defines them as sentences “where a single CLAUSE has been divided into two separate sections, each with its own VERB, one of which appears in a dependent wh-clause.” In many languages a copula is inserted to create a bi-clausal structure, so that the focused element occupies a position after the copula, e.g., *It’s lima beans | that I can’t stand.*

Cleft sentences are rare in Lika. They begin with the non-referential copula *a* ‘it/there is’, followed by the argument in focus, then a relative clause. The only example of this form that has been found in natural texts is complicated by the presence of a relative clause in the original sentence. (The single bar marks the boundary between the head noun and the relative clause which modifies it and the double bar shows the separation of the clefted subject and the rest of the sentence.)

(150) a. Base sentence
Takainzinzinya ka lunga | *nilo* ipunga ndi ka byanga 1964.
we.are.talking about war | RELPN5 starts PAST in years 1964
‘We are discussing the war | that started in 1964.’
b. Clefted sentence

A l-unga | nilɔ i-pung-a ndi ka b-yanga
3SG.COP CL5-war | RELPN5 REFL-start-FV PAST in CL10-year

1964 | lɔ to mino ka-i-nzinziny-a.
1964 | RELPN5 3PL.COP well INF-REFL-discuss-FV

‘It’s the war | that started in 1964 | that we are discussing.’

As mentioned, there is only one natural example of a construction like (150b) in texts. Lika speakers agree that elicited sentences like (151) (based on (99) above) are possible but that they sound ‘heavy’:

(151) A Ø-mene Ø-Sibhi ninɔ a-ly-i.
3SG.COP CL1A-namesake CL1A-tortoise RELPN1 3SG.SM-eat-SBJV

‘It’s my namesake Tortoise who may eat.

Maybe this construction is only used when a ‘heavy’ constituent needs to be clefted, like an NP containing a relative clause.

This chapter has presented an overview of some syntactic features of Lika, from the bare verb to simple sentences and clause combinations. Some of the topics discussed, such as questions and cleft constructions, have introduced the concept of focus and how it is marked. The next chapter introduces the information structure of Lika, which further explores the issues of focus as well as topic.
CHAPTER 4
INFORMATION STRUCTURE

In his definition of “Information” Crystal (2008:245) writes,

It is postulated that speech can be seen as displaying an information structure, encoding the relative salience of the elements in a message, with formally identifiable units of information . . . The further analysis of information structure is complex and controversial.

Of the various approaches which researchers are pursuing in this “complex and controversial” field, the present work follows that of Lambrecht (1994). This chapter begins with a brief presentation of his approach and terminology, a description of the way that expressions in Lika are tested to find out if they represent topics or foci, the structure of sentences corresponding to the three basic focus structure types, and a note about phonological and morphological marking of focus. The rest of the chapter describes the structures which have been identified with marked topic or marked focus: fronting, focus words and the focus particle, left-dislocations, external topics, and independent pronouns.

Lambrecht presents the basic definition of information structure as “the formal expression of the pragmatic structuring of a proposition in a discourse” (1994:5). Specifically, every sentence can be described in terms of four parameters: (1) its pragmatic ‘presupposition’, the proposition(s) that the speaker assumes is (are) already known by the hearer (p. 52); (2) the pragmatic ‘assertion’, what the speaker intends the hearer to know as a result of the sentence (p. 52); (3) the ‘focus’, the semantic content which the assertion adds to the presupposition (p. 213); and (4) the ‘focus domain’, the part of the sentence associated with the focus (p. 214). Most sentences also contain a topic expression, the “matter of current concern” (p. 119).

4.1 Focus structure

This section illustrates the basic concepts of Lambrecht’s approach, with English and Lika examples.

(152) Q: What happened to your motorcycle?
A: My motorcycle/It broke DOWN.
   O-kw-ini.
   3sg.SM-die-PAST

69. Some sentences may even have more than one topic expression (Lambrecht 1994:147).
Presupposition: “speaker's motorcycle is available as a topic for comment x” (i.e., topic = speaker's motorcycle)
Assertion: “x = broke down”
Focus: “broke down”
Focus domain: verb plus remaining postverbal core constituents

The ‘focus structure’ is the usual association of a focus meaning with sentence form. Example (152) illustrates the ‘predicate-focus’ structure, often referred to as ‘topic-comment’. It is the universally unmarked focus structure distributionally and semantically.

Focus structure is language-specific. In the above example, the unmarked topic is coded in English with an NP or (more typically) an unstressed pronoun. Lika expresses the unmarked topic with only a subject agreement marker on the verb.

The other types of focus structure described by Lambrecht are ‘sentence focus’ and ‘argument focus’. Sentence focus, also called ‘thetatic’, or ‘presentational’ focus, requires that the entire sentence is within the focus domain. There is no topic or presupposition:

(153) Q: What happened?
   A: My MOTORCYCLE broke down.

   Ø-Yamaa  
   CL1A-motorcycle 1SG.PESS 3SG.SM-die-PAST

   Presupposition: none
   Assertion: “speaker's motorcycle broke down”
   Focus: “speaker's motorcycle broke down”
   Focus domain: clause

   In both English and Lika, the fact that the subject is part of the focus domain (i.e., it is not topical) requires that it be expressed with a full NP.

   The third construction, argument focus, is also called ‘narrow’ focus, or ‘focus-presupposition articulation’. It is used in ‘identificational sentences’ (Lambrecht 1994:122). Argument focus describes a situation in which the focus domain includes just one constituent.

(154) Q: What bit Idey?
   A: ‘A SNAKE bit Idey.’

   Ø-Nzuka  
   CL1A-snake  FOC1 3SG.SM-bite-PAST Idey

70. Lambrecht (1994:236) acknowledges that there are probably other focus structures besides these three, e.g., ‘counterassertive’ or ‘counterpresuppositional’ (described by Dik et al. 1981), but this work is limited to the three he describes.
In this example, the element in focus is the subject, but the sentence is pragmatically inappropriate with a bare subject NP.\textsuperscript{71} The necessary change is the addition of the focus particle \textit{n}.

Focus structure can be encoded in syntax, morphology, and phonology (especially intonation). The examples above show that English can use the same syntactic arrangement and morphology for both predicate focus (\textit{My motorcycle broke down}) and sentence focus (\textit{My motorcycle broke down}), distinguishing them with intonation alone.\textsuperscript{72} There are other possibilities, of course, situations where syntax and morphology are altered to express changes in information structure, but intonation remains the most frequent and versatile means of marking focus in English.

The Lika examples, on the other hand, do not use the same syntactic structure for the three types of sentence, rarely using a full subject NP for a topical referent, and requiring that a pre-verbal focused element (the subject or a fronted object) be marked with a focus particle.

Although the terms topic and focus are sometimes used to refer to elements of a sentence, Lambrecht is careful to distinguish topic expressions from topic referents. The difference is seen in comparing the sentences in (155) from Lambrecht (1994:127), where intonational prominence marks focus.

(155) a. Pat said she was called \textit{TWICE}. b. Pat said \textit{SHE} was called.

The referent of \textit{she} is the same person in both cases, but in (155a) it is a topic expression, while in (155b) it is a focus expression. Lambrecht later makes explicit (p. 163), “the fact that a particular referent has the activation properties required for topic function in a sentence does not entail that it must be coded as a topic.”

It may also be helpful to make explicit that the identification of topic and focus cannot be simplified with a statement like “topic expressions refer to entities which are contained in the

\textsuperscript{71} The subject in the sentence marked with a \# may be either topical (in a predicate focus interpretation) or unmarked focus (in a sentence-focus interpretation).

\textsuperscript{72} The statement can be broadened to say that all three focus structures may be expressed with the same sequence of words in English, since \textit{My motorcycle broke down} may also answer the question, \textit{What broke down}?
presupposition and focus expressions do not.” Lambrecht (1994:216) asserts that a topic expression can only contain information from the presupposition, but a focus domain may also contain information from the presupposition. To state it another way, topical domains may not contain any information in focus, but focus domains may contain topical information. For example (from Lambrecht 1994:216):

(156) -Which shirt did you buy?
   -The green one.

   The response consists of an NP which is co-extensive with the focus domain, but it contains the pronoun one which refers to a referent in the presupposition ‘you bought a shirt’.

4.2 What focus structure is not

The literature on topic and focus can be confusing because of terminological variation and sometimes, imprecision. In particular, it is easy to confuse topic and focus with contrastiveness, activation state, identifiability, definiteness, or a vague sense of emphasis. While all these concepts play a role in how a speaker encodes an utterance, the identification of topic and focus is independent of these features. Both topic elements and focus elements can express contrast, represent various activation states, express referents of varying identifiability, and convey a sense of emphasis.

Contrast is a particularly noticeable feature which is frequently encountered in natural language. Chafe (1976:33-34) observes that contrast obtains when three factors are present: (1) an awareness of certain background knowledge (i.e., an open proposition), (2) a set of possible candidates, and (3) the assertion that X is the correct candidate (where X = the ‘focus of contrast’ in his terminology). As he illustrates with the example Ronald made the hamburgers (where the first syllable of Ronald receives intonational prominence and the rest of the sentence is low-pitched), an utterance which meets these three criteria is appropriate when X is a focus expression that identifies the one member of a set that satisfies the open proposition and the rest of the sentence is presupposed. This is a case of contrastive focus. With contrastive topics, however, the speaker does not assume that there is an open proposition which must be filled by X. There is only a presupposition that a set of candidates exists. Lambrecht (1994:162) gives an example of his daughter showing him a collection of stickers, where the set is manifestly visible and her statements explain the provenance of each element: THIS ONE we traded, THIS ONE she let me have. . .73 Each token of this one is a topic expression, followed by focal information, which may bear focal intonation. So it seems that contrast may minimally be evoked when just two of Chafe’s factors are present: a set of possible candidates and the assertion that X is the correct candidate.

73. The stress marking is mine.
Since contrastiveness may be a feature of either marked topic or marked focus, the means used to indicate it are described in those corresponding sections, not as a phenomenon separate from them.

### 4.3 Testing for topichood and focushood

Because topic and focus are pragmatic concepts, they are sometimes most easily identified by looking at the communicative context. This is clear in the exchanges of (152) – (154) above, where the questions introduce clear presuppositions. Anything in the presupposition created by the question may be used as a topic in the response. But topicality is sometimes difficult to determine. Lambrecht (1994:119) notes, “As there are degrees of relevance, there are degrees to which elements of propositions qualify as topics. It is this fact, I believe, which accounts for the absence of unambiguous formal marking of the topic relation in many languages.” I take this to mean that topicality may be subject to individual judgment or cultural expectations (schema) which influence what presuppositions are present. This work does not consider examples which contain ambiguous topic assignment, but it does give examples where cultural schemas are invoked.

In addition to the context there are syntactic tests that can be used to determine which expressions are topical or focal. One test involves WH-question words, which, by definition, represent information that is not part of the presupposition (i.e., they are in the focus domain). A position which can accept a WH-question word (or the answer to a WH-word) may be said to accept focus. For example, a bare WH-word may be fronted in English, but in Lika a fronted WH-word has to be marked with a focus particle.

A second test takes advantage of syntactic structures which are limited to use with certain types of NPs. Reinhart (1982:9) claims that left dislocations (e.g., *As for Mathilda, she can't stand Felix.*) “can be used appropriately in a given context only if the fronted NP can be understood as the topic; i.e. if the sentence is used to assert something about its referent.” Cleft constructions, on the other hand, are only appropriate for encoding elements in focus (*It's my knee that hurts*). An NP in a sentence can be shown to be a topic expression if the sentence can be restated by placing it in a left dislocation, or it can be proven to be a focus expression if it can be appropriately restated in a clefted sentence.

A third test is based on the topical nature of pronouns. In English, an NP that can be replaced by an unstressed pronoun is probably a topic expression. In Lika, a pro-drop
language, if an overt NP may be dropped, leaving only the verbal agreement marker to refer to the referent, the NP is probably a topic expression.\(^74\)

Both the pragmatic context and these three syntactic tests are used to identify the constructions that exist for expressing topic and focus.

### 4.4 Predicate focus, sentence focus, and argument focus

The three basic focus categories in Lambrecht’s analysis were briefly introduced in §4.1. The present section explores the structure of sentences in Lika corresponding to the three categories he identifies. The first is the unmarked focus construction, predicate focus, which is based on the presupposition ‘X is available as a topic’. It usually has the form of a topical subject followed by a predicate in focus. The second category, sentence focus, does not evoke any presupposition at all so it does not contain a topic; the entire clause is in focus. The third category, argument focus, presupposes an open proposition which lacks one argument, X. The arrangement of the topic and focus expressions varies according to which argument is in focus.

**Predicate focus.** The subject of a predicate-focus sentence is usually the unmarked topic and the rest of the sentence is the unmarked focus. The topical status of the subject is proven in Lika by the fact that the subject position cannot be occupied by a WH-question, as shown in (154) above and also in (157a). The WH-word must be marked with the focus particle, as in (157b).

(157) a. *Wani a-ly-i Ø-nyama yi ?
   who 3SG.SM-eat-SBJV CL1A-animal DEM1
   Wani no a-ly-i Ø-nyama yi {nimu, nimuna}?
   who FOC1 3SG.SM-eat-SBJV CL1A-animal DEM1 NEARDEM1
   ‘Who may eat this animal/game?’ [1.11, 1.15, 1.18]

In Bantu languages the unmarked topical subject is pro-dropped and a subject agreement marker on the verb references the pro-dropped subject. This was illustrated in the question and answer pair in (152) above, and it is also shown in the following excerpt from a written story. The context sentence creates the presupposition that Leopard is available as a topic:

(158) Context: ‘Leopard was chief of the animals.’

O-dhim-is-a ndi Ø-tiko yi-dhingi, miya ka miya.
3SG.SM-cultivate-CAUS-FV PAST CL9-field ADJ9-big 100 by 100
‘He had a large field cultivated (for himself), 100 by 100 (meters).’

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74. This is not definitive proof that an element is a topic expression in the sense used here, since any referent that is part of the presupposition may also be encoded with an unstressed pronoun (in English) or with a pro-dropped NP (in Lika).
There are, as well, situations in which the topical subject is expressed by a noun phrase, perhaps for stylistic purposes. Sentence (159) below occurs in the middle of a story. The subject is a proper name, *Zebuandra*, and it seems to be topical. The topical status of the subject was tested with the third method (admittedly, the least conclusive test), by ascertaining that the sentence makes sense in the story when *Zebuandra* is removed, leaving only the subject agreement marking on the verb as a reference.

(159) Context: ‘Zebuandra said, “If we go there, they will circle around and we’ll be wiped out.”’

Zebuandra ig-a ndi iyì ku kùkí ka Bobulu.
Zebuandra 3SG.SM:return-FV PAST 3SG there 3SG.Poss at Budu
‘(So) Zebuandra, he went back to his home among the Budu.’

Based on this example, I conclude that topical referents may sometimes be encoded as NPs.

Another less-common predicate focus construction occurs when the subject is not topical. An example of this is shown in (160). The question creates the presupposition that *mago* ‘cola nuts’ are available as a topic. In the response, they are the grammatical object, encoded with a zero morpheme. The subject is not topical; it is part of the focus domain.

(160) Q: Ma:go kami a yani?
   CL6-cola.nut 1SG.Poss 3SG.SM where
   ‘Where are my cola nuts?’

   CL2-child 3PL.SM:give-PAST PAST CL1A-chief
   ‘The children gave (them) to the chief.’

Sentence focus. Two of the most common contexts for sentence-focus sentences are the beginning of a story and the introduction of a new participant. In these situations, the subject is not topical and must always be coded with a full NP. Like the non-topical subject in (160), no special marking (or movement) is associated with the subject.

(161) A ndi li-sye li-moti,76 Ø:Sibhi no Ø:Sukopi
   3SG.COP PAST CL5-day NUM5-one CL1A-tortoise and CL1A-leopard
   ba ndi ka li-wai.
   3PL.COP PAST in CL5-friendship
   ‘It was one day, Tortoise and Leopard were friends.’ [2.1]
It might be argued that the title of a story creates a presupposition in the mind of the listeners (e.g., ‘The friendship of Tortoise and Leopard’ is the title of the story which begins with sentence (161)), but in several texts the titles do not create any presupposition that contains the participants presented in the first line. Example (162) shows the opening line of a story called ‘Goat escapes death’:

(162) Ø-Bhabha be-moti u-sis-a ndí ba-memí.  
    CL1A-man NUM1-one 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-raise-FV PAST CL2-goat  
    ‘A man raised goats.’

Examples (161) and (162) both contain subjects which are overt NPs, not pronouns or pro-dropped subjects. This is a syntactic feature of non-topical subjects and the most obvious way of distinguishing sentence focus from predicate focus.

The non-topical status of subjects may also be marked with phonology. In English, for instance, a topical subject is pronounced with less emphasis (lower pitch and less volume) than elements in the sentence which are in focus. A non-topical subject, as might occur in the first line of a story where nothing is presupposed, is pronounced with relatively more emphasis. This is seen in (163), comparing the non-topical George in the first sentence with topical He, he and George in subsequent sentences.

(163) George didn’t know what was wrong. He looked around the house calling for Susan.  
    Then he heard her voice coming from the bedroom. George walked into the room and  
    found his wife whispering into the phone.

This same phenomenon is harder to ascertain in Lika because it is a tonal language, but it still may play a role. Native speakers were asked to consider sentence (159) above and imagine it as an answer to the question ‘What happened?’ They repeated it out loud and agreed that they pronounced the (non-topical) subject Zebuandra slightly louder than they pronounce it in the context of the story, where the subject is topical.

Although most examples of sentence-focus sentences do not show any special marking on the non-topical subjects, one example does. When discussing some possible responses to the question, ‘How is everything?’ native speakers offered example (164):

(164) Context: A se buni ku?  
    be well how there  
    ‘How is everything?’

Nangaa aka no o-luw-i bi Ø-igbógó ya  
Nangaa only FOC1 3SG.SM-buy-PAST PAST CL9-old.thing CONN9
Ø-Yamaa ka Ø-bhugwa-ki.  
CL9-motorcycle from CL1A-uncle-3SG.POSS
‘Nangaa bought a used motorcycle from his uncle.’
They said that the extra words (aka *nɔ̃*) were needed because the referent is being singled out as the one person who has had something noteworthy happen to him. It is possible that they unconsciously formed a contrastive context like ‘Nothing has happened to most of us, but Nangaa did something . . .’

*Argument focus.* Lambrecht’s analysis deals with the way that argument (narrow) focus may be placed on subjects, objects, or obliques. The only means of placing argument focus on the subject is with a focus particle, as seen in (99), repeated here:

(165) Ø-Mene Ø-Sibhi nɔ a-ly-i.
   CL1A-namesake CL1A-tortoise FOC1 3SG.SM-eat-SBJV
   ‘It’s my namesake, Tortoise, who may eat. (or: My namesake, TORTOISE may eat.)’ [2.20]

Argument focus on an object or oblique does not require any special marking. These arguments usually occur after the verb. No special marking is ever observed on objects in this position, not even when they are specifically being questioned. This is seen in the questions and answers in (110), (114a), and (117b), partially repeated here:

(166) Ø-Nzuka a-gbiti wani?
   CL1A-snake 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-bite-PAST who
   ‘Who did the snake bite?’

(167) Nzuka a-gbiti Idey.
   ‘The snake bit Idey.’

This is in contrast to the expression of argument focus on fronted objects, which requires the use of the focus particle, described in §3.2.2 and §4.6.

*Ambiguity of focus structure.* Sentences may be formally ambiguous as to their focus structure (e.g., *My motorcycle broke down* may be sentence focus or argument focus on the subject). Some ambiguity exists in Lika also. Specifically, there are sentences which may be interpreted as either predicate focus or sentence focus (presented in point (1) below), differing only in intonation; some which are ambiguous between sentence focus and argument focus on the object (as in point (2)); and those which may be argument focus on the object or predicate focus (as in (3)).

1. In predicate-focus sentences where the topical subject is expressed with a full NP, the sentence is formally indistinguishable from a sentence-focus sentence. Example (159) above, repeated here as (168), is an example of predicate focus:

(168) Context: ‘Zebuandra said, “If we go there, they will circle around and we’ll be wiped out.”’

Zebuandra ig-a ndi iyí ku kaki ka Bobulu.
   Z 3SG.SM:return-FV PAST 3SG there 3SG.POSS at Budu
   ‘(So) Zebuandra, he went back to his home among the Budu.’
This sentence could answer the question, ‘What happened?’ where the subject could not be considered topical, and the NP Zebuandra would be pronounced with slightly more emphasis than when the sentence is in the middle of a story, where the subject is topical.

2. Example (117b), repeated here as (169), shows one form of the answer to the question ‘Who did the snake bite?’ (requiring an answer with argument focus on the object) but it can also be the answer to the question ‘What happened?’ (which is answered with a sentence-focus sentence).

(169) Ø-Nzunga a-gbit-i Idey.
    CL1A-snake 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-bite-PAST Idey
    ‘The snake bit Idey.’

3. The question ‘What did the snake do?’ creates the presupposition ‘The snake did X,’ and the answer will have predicate focus. The question ‘Who did the snake bite?’ will be answered with a sentence having argument focus on the object. Answers to these two questions may be structurally the same:

(170) Q1: Ø-Nzunga a-gbit-i wani?
    CL1A-snake 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-bite-PAST who
    ‘Who did the snake bite?’

Q2: Nzunga o-gy-i iki?
    CL1A-snake 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-do-PAST what
    ‘What did the snake do?’

A: Nzunga agbiti Idey.

This section has presented the least marked forms of the three focus categories in Lambrecht’s schema (predicate, sentence, and argument focus) and some of the potential overlap of their formal structure. The remaining sections look at marked constructions.

4.5 Phonological and morphological marking

Phonological marking. Cross-linguistically, intonation, tone, and pauses have been identified as phonological features that play a role in marking topic and focus.

The role of intonation has already been mentioned. The following set of examples from Van Valin and La Polla (1997:209) shows that English can place marked focus on any constituent just by using intonation.

(171) a. Chris gave the book to PAT yesterday.
    b. Chris gave the book to Pat YESTERDAY.
    c. Chris gave THE BOOK to Pat yesterday.
    d. Chris GAVE the book to Pat yesterday.
    e. CHRIS gave the book to Pat yesterday.
The first sentence in (171) could be interpreted as either predicate focus or as argument focus (on the oblique recipient). Sentences (b)-(e) show marked argument focus on different constituents.

While English can use special intonation to highlight virtually any part of a sentence, Bantu languages are more limited. Downing (2004) considers the phonological devices used to mark focus in Chichewa and Chitumbuka. Although her studies support the finding of others that focus can be marked in Bantu languages with an overall rise in pitch, the two languages she studied do not show any clear evidence of using intonation to directly mark focus. They do illustrate two other phonological processes, though, called ‘boundary narrowing’ and ‘anti-accent use of downstep’ (Downing 2004:4). Boundary narrowing is the process of dividing a phonological phrase in two by inserting a phrase boundary after a focused element. Anti-accent (or ‘defocalisation’) is used as a means of removing focus from an expression, such as lowered pitch and volume (indicated with underlining in the following example from Kaufman (2005:191)):

(172) A: I had the time of my life in Uruguay the summer of 1973.
   B: That’s funny. I was working in a coal mine in Uruguay the summer

In Chichewa and Chitumbuka boundary narrowing is observed, but only secondarily, in response to a syntactic change. This is consistent with the findings of Hyman (1999:151), who says, “The semantics of focus does not directly affect tone in Bantu. Instead, there is always mediation by the grammatical system such that the tone-focus correlations are imperfect at best.”

One situation which appears to contradict this observation concerns Swahili.\(^\text{77}\) Intonation is the only visible variation in the following pair of sentences:

(173) Swahili, from Ashton (1947:76)
   a. Hawa-Taki \_ki-tu. (neutral intonation)
      3PL.SM.NEG-want CL7-thing
      ‘They don’t want anything.’
   b. Hawa-taki \_ki-tu. (emphasis on \textit{Ki}tu ‘thing’)
      3PL.SM.NEG-want CL7-thing
      ‘They don’t want ANYTHING.’

Lika speakers are fluent in a dialect of Swahili and recognize the above use of intonation but they reject the possibility of a similar structure in their language. To express the contrast between (173a) and (173b) they use various focus words, discussed below in §4.6.1 and §4.6.2.

\(^{77}\) Paul Kroeger (p.c.) points out that it is possible Hyman’s generalization only holds for tonal languages, and Swahili is not tonal.
None of the data manifest either boundary narrowing or anti-accent use of downstep, but the research was not extensive in this aspect.

Pauses, however, are significant in several marked constructions: they are required to mark left-dislocations (example (192)) and external topics ((193) and (194)), and they are never allowed after NPs marked with the focus particle no.

These pauses are always, as Downing finds, secondary to syntactic change.

*Morphological marking.* Some languages of Africa have been shown to use aspect markers on the verb to indicate the scope of focus. Givón (1975:189) finds that Bemba, Kinyarwanda, and Zulu each contain at least one pair of aspect markers which take one form to indicate predicate focus (‘VP focus’ in his terminology), while another form is used to indicate argument focus on the object (his ‘COMP focus’). Similarly, Hyman and Watters (1984:236) discuss how “languages can have two sets of corresponding tense-aspect markers, one set occurring under focus, the other set occurring when not under focus.”

The only verbal morpheme in Lika which seems to be involved in focus is the insistence suffix. I cannot define its function, but it is present in some clear cases of marked focus, such as examples (176) and (179).

The next section describes the syntactic devices which indicate marked focus. Although cleft constructions may indicate marked focus, they are so rare in Lika that they are not included in this discussion.

### 4.6 Marked focus

É. Kiss (1998:245) states that “identificational focus (sometimes also called contrastive focus) has to be consistently distinguished from a mere information focus (or presentational focus), as it has syntactic and semantic properties that a mere information focus does not share.” She further characterizes the difference (1998:245):

If a sentence part conveys new, nonpresupposed information marked by one or more pitch accents—without expressing exhaustive identification performed on a set of contextually or situationally given entities, it is not an identificational focus but a mere information focus. Information focus is not associated with movement. An information focus is present in every sentence, but not every sentence contains an identificational focus.

---

78. Other examples of the insistence suffix (where marked focus may or may not be present): (23), (144), (190), and (192).
79. ‘Exhaustive identification’ means that the argument concerned is unique; it exhaustively identifies the members of the set.
The clearest cases of information focus are WH-questions (and answers), such as (111), repeated here:

(174)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
Wani\; ndi\; Ø-kugba?
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{who} & \text{FOC1} & 3\text{SG}:3\text{PL}:\text{OM}:\text{give-FV} & \text{PAST}\; \text{CL9-sack}
\end{array}
\]

‘Who gave them the sack?’

The focus particle, however, marks identificational focus in contexts where ‘exhaustive identification’ is present, which is described in §4.6.3.

4.6.1 Focus words

Focus words are distinct from the focus particle \( nd \). Syntactically, they frequently co-occur with each other, and they may be found in several different positions throughout the clause, unlike the focus particle which is constrained to immediately follow the NP it marks. Semantically, they do not create the ‘exhaustive identification’ referred to by É. Kiss (1998) above, whereas focus particles do.

The most common focus words are \( \text{gutugu} ‘\text{even}’, \text{gɔnɪ} ‘\text{also}’, \text{aka} ‘\text{only}’, \) and \( \text{asi} ‘\text{only}’ \).\(^{80}\)

The first example of how focus words are used is based on the Swahili example discussed in (173) above. The neutral sentence in (175a) is modified with focus words to place marked focus on the object in (175b):

(175) a.  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Ba}\; \text{kɛgʊ}\; \text{ka-p-a}\; \text{lu-ki}.
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
3\text{PL}:\text{COP} & \text{not} & \text{INF-want-FV} & \text{CL5-thing}
\end{array}
\]

‘They don’t want anything.’

b.  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Ba}\; \text{kɛgʊ}\; \text{ka-p-a}\; \text{lu-ki}\; \text{gutugu}\; \text{li-moti}\; \text{aka}.
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
3\text{PL}:\text{COP} & \text{not} & \text{INF-want-FV} & \text{CL5-thing} & \text{even} & \text{NUM5-one}\; \text{only}
\end{array}
\]

‘They don’t want anything.’

As (175b) shows, the words \( \text{gutugu} ‘\text{even}’ \) and \( \text{aka} ‘\text{only}’ \) can be used in combination with one another. The next example shows focus on the subject, using the three words \( \text{gutugu} ‘\text{even}’, \text{aka} ‘\text{only}’, \) and \( \text{gɔnɪ} ‘\text{also}’ \), together with the insistence suffix on the verb:

(176) Context: ‘People gave things to the chief.’

\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text{Gutugu}\; \text{bo-miki}\; \text{aka}\; \text{ba-p-ito}\; \text{bi}\; \text{gɔnɪ}\; Ø-\text{ngama}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{even} & \text{CL2-child} & \text{only} & 3\text{PL}:\text{SM}:\text{give-INS} & \text{PAST}\; \text{also} & \text{CL1A-chief}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{mu-kumbo}.
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{CL6-things}
\end{array}
\]

‘Even the children gave things to the chief.’

---

80. The words glossed as ‘only’, \( \text{aka} \) and \( \text{asi} \), are usually compatible with exhaustive identification, but they lose their lexical meaning when used in conjunction with \( \text{gutugu} ‘\text{even}’, \) and \( \text{gɔnɪ} ‘\text{also}’ \).
In (177), a sentence which was elicited in the same context as (176), the two words *gutugu* ‘even’ and *aka* ‘only’ are used to place marked focus on the secondary object. The insistence suffix is not required on the verb.

(177) Context: ‘People gave things to the chief.’

Ba:mbanzù ba-pì bi Ø-ngama *gutugu* ba-sukwa *aka*.

People gave PAST chief even caterpillars only

‘People even gave the chief caterpillars.’

The only construction which can place this kind of focus on the primary object in this context, *ngama* ‘the chief’, requires fronting the NP in addition to using focus words.\(^81\) That construction is presented in the next section (example (179)).

One other argument that may be placed in focus is a complement clause. Once again the word *gutugu* ‘even’ is used:

(178) Ko:p:agØ tì, ko-p-ag¹ *gutugu* be mu-luku

INF-want-NEG CL9-fruit INF-want-NEG even that CL1-man

o-syi-ku a-v-a li-so kaki.

3SG.SM-descend-DIR 3SG.SM:3SG.OМ-give-FV CL5-eye 3SG.POSS

‘(She was) not wanting fruit, not even wanting her husband to come down and give her the eye.’ [1.29]

4.6.2 Fronting with focus words

Foci which are fronted require the use of the focus words just described (or the focus particle *nO*). The following example shows a primary object, fronted and accompanied by two focus words, *gutugu* and *goni*, as well as the insistence suffix -tØ-/to on the verb.

(179) Context: ‘People gave things to many people.’

\[\text{Gutugu } \text{Ø-ngama } \text{aka, ba:mbanzù } \text{ba-p-ito } \text{bi } \text{goni} \]

\[\text{even } \text{CL1A-chief } \text{only } \text{CL2-person } \text{3PL.SM:3SG.OМ-give-INS } \text{PAST } \text{also} \]

mu-kumbo.

CL6-thing

‘Even to the chief the people gave things.’

4.6.3 The focus particle

Several examples have shown that the focus particle is required in contexts where marked focus in a fronted position: it marks exhaustive listing in sentences (98) and (99), and it must follow fronted WH-question words and answers in examples (111)-(119). Example

\[\text{______________________________}\]

81. The primary object position is not restricted from accepting focus, however; it may be questioned in situ, as in example (110b).
(180) shows that this particle is incompatible with topical expressions. Person A asks a
question, B replies, and then C offers his own answer, referring to himself with a left-
dislocation (a topic expression). The starred sentence shows that an NP marked with the focus
particle cannot be placed in a left-dislocation.

(180) Context: A: ‘What do you (pl.) want to eat?’
    B: ‘I want to eat black sombé (manioc leaves).’
    C: Ími, na-ka-p-a ka-ly-a Ø-ombuti.
       1SG 1SG.SM-ASP2-want-FV INF-eat-FV CL9-ombuti
       ‘Me, I want to eat ombuti (leaves).’
    C: * Ími nɔ, nakapa kalya ombuti.

There is no structural difference between the use of the focus particle for information
focus (as in questions and answers) and for identificational focus. In both cases, the particle
modifies an NP which is the subject or fronted NP of a clause. (See §2.2.4 for the function of
this particle in other positions.)

The fronted object in example (98a), repeated here as (181), shows how the focus
particle can mark identificational focus. The contrastive function of the particle is made explicit
by inserting the phrase kegü babhugwaki ‘not his uncles’:

(181) Bo-nya-ki ḅɔ Ø-Sukopi u-p-a
       CL2-in.law-3SG.POSS FOC2 CL1A-leopard 3SG.SM:3PL.OM-give-FV

Ø-kugba, kegü ba-bhugwa-ki.
CL9-sack not CL2-uncle-3SG.POSS

‘It’s his in-laws (O₁) that leopard gave a sack to, not his uncles.’

Examples (182) and (183) show other contexts where the focus particle is used to mark
identificational focus on subjects.

(182) Context: A: ‘This coffee is terrible.’
    B: ñe wɔ wa-mbomb-i bi!
       2SG FOC1 2SG.SM-cook-PAST PAST
       ‘It’s you who made it!’

(183) A: Sengi a w-anza.
       Sengi 3SG.COP ADJ1-good
       ‘Sengi is good.’

    B: Kali, Mussa nɔ a w-anza.
       no Moses FOC1 3SG.COP ADJ1-good
       ‘No, it’s Moses who is good.’
4.7 Marked topic

Four syntactic devices may encode marked topic. These constructions are incompatible with focus, as shown in the following examples: bare fronting (sentence 184b), left-dislocation (185c), and external topic (185d).

(184) a. *Iki yo wo-luw-i bi? what FOC 2SG.SM-buy-PAST PAST ‘What did you buy?’

   b. *Iki woluwi bi?


   b. No-luw-i bi ma-gɔ. 1SG.SM-buy-PAST PAST CL6-cola.nut ‘I bought cola nuts.’

   c. #Magɔ, noluwi bi. 83 ‘Cola nuts, I bought them.’

   d. #Ko bhulyo magɔ, noluwi bi. ‘As for cola nuts, I bought them.’

4.7.1 Fronting

It was mentioned in §4.6.2 that both topics and foci may be fronted. Example (186) shows a conversation with an example of both fronted topic and fronted focus (from Van Valin and La Polla 1997:210).

(186) A: This book Chris gave to PAT. Fronted topic

   B: No, that book Chris gave to Pat. Fronted focus

   The elements which follow a fronted topic (in A’s statement) are in the focus domain, so a default intonation pattern is possible, in which the prominence of PAT may be equal to that of this book. A fronted focus (in B’s response), however, is followed by a presupposed expression, and default intonation is not allowed. If there is any stress on Pat, it must be less than that on that book.

82. I have not yet elicited an example which shows whether independent pronouns can occur as resumptive pronouns with focus expressions. One such example might be:

   Q: What did you buy?
   A: Cola nuts FOC I bought (*them).

83. Sentences marked with # are grammatically correct but pragmatically inappropriate.
The marked topic in the first sentence of the dialogue in (186) is not contrastive but in cases where a set is invoked in the presupposition, the topic is contrastive, as in:

(187) My initiative did not carry me any further than average. History I found to be dry. Math courses I was never good at (Terkel 1974:590).

Both contrastive and non-contrastive topics can be fronted in Lika. Neither requires any special marking. The two fronted topics in example (97), repeated here as (188), are contrasted with members in the set evoked by baggo ‘others’, which appears in the context.

(188) Context: ‘They took some (baggo ‘others’), they put them in a house, and they tied their hands and feet and locked the door. Then they threw fire on the roof.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ba-ggo</th>
<th>bu-p-ag-a</th>
<th>ndi</th>
<th>bo-kor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL2-others</td>
<td>3PL.SM:3PL.OM-give-IPFV-FV</td>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>CL2-woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

be              | bu-mw-i          | nibu,§4  |
that            | 3PL.SM:3PL.OM-kill-SBJV | NEARDEM2 |

bu-bhum-a       | na   | bo-muni | bipupupu.  |
3PL.SM:3PL.OM-hit-FV | with | CL10-pestle | IDEO: hitting |

Ø-Yaya         | be-moti         | ba-kand-a | ndi na bewaya ka mu.  |
CL1A-brother   | NUM1-one        | 3PL-tie-FV | PAST with leaves on CL6.head |

‘Others they gave to the women for them to kill; they beat them with pestles. One brother they tied up with leaves around his head.’

There is no contrast in the next example, however.

(189) Context: ‘If they see a fish nest they put their hands in,’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bo-si</th>
<th>niba</th>
<th>bika</th>
<th>kusa</th>
<th>b-u-gw-i</th>
<th>ba-si.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL2-fish</td>
<td>RELPN2</td>
<td>3PL.SM-be-FV</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>3PL.SM-3PL.OM-catch-FV</td>
<td>CONN2-all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(and) the fish that are inside they catch them all.

Both of the above examples show that (topical) objects can be fronted. Secondary objects and obliques were not tested.

4.7.2 Left-Dislocation

A left-dislocation is similar to a fronted element in that they are both “a syntactic form in which some (nonvocative) NP appears in initial pre-clausal position” (Prince 1998:2), but whereas an NP is said to be fronted when it is coreferential with a gap in the following clause, an NP is left-dislocated if it is coreferential with a resumptive pronoun, e.g., Vitamin C, you should be taking it.

§4. This word appears to be an allomorph of niba but I am not sure if it refers to boko ‘women’ or baggo ‘others’.
Left-dislocations are definitely present in the oral texts but some Lika speakers consider them poor style, saying that they should be edited out. After discussing the examples among themselves, however, they agree that they are a natural feature of spoken language.

When objects are left-dislocated, the sentence has the structure described above, a fronted noun phrase and a resumptive pronoun in the following clause:

(190) Context: ‘I asked them if they knew how we got these palm trees.’

Ma-sisi nimana ta na imu na li-sye linilina,  
cl6-palm NEARDEM6 1PL.COP with cl6 at cl5-day DEM5 NEARDEM5  
m-ibha-tu bëyc i-pung-an-ag-a ndi mino?  
2PL.SM-know-INS like.this 3SG.SM:REFL-start-RECIPEIPFV-FV PAST well
‘These palms, we have them today, you know how they got started?’

The resumptive pronoun imu ‘cl6’ in (190) refers to an inanimate object. In example (191), the left-dislocated noun phrase is animate, Bosunzu ko Kunzi ‘servants of God’. This object would normally require object agreement marking in the verb but the syntax in this sentence is unusual. The subject, Kunzi ‘God’, requires the reflexive object agreement marker in the verb, preventing the verb from taking an object, and requiring the recipient to be expressed in an oblique. The left-dislocated recipient is referred to with a resumptive pronoun in an oblique expression.

(191) Context: ‘I started working in the church office on October 14, 2003.’

Bo-sunzu ko Kunzi, Kunzi i-kpukpumuk-y-a ndi na ibu.  
cl2-servant of God God REFL-talk-APPL-FV PAST to 3PL  
‘The servants of God, God spoke to them.’

The left-dislocation of a subject does not involve a resumptive pronoun, but it is distinguished with prosodic marking. There is a pause after the left-dislocated NP in (192) (just as Levinsohn (2007:47) noted in English).

(192) Mu-ko yi nimu, a-(m)ibh-otu  
cl1-woman DEM1 NEARDEM1 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-know-INS  
Ø-mika-mama.  
cl1A-child-mother  
‘That woman, she knows my sister/brother.’

85. This is possibly due to the attitude they have toward the language of education, French. They place a very high value on formal language, such as the Louis Segond (French) Bible and the broadcasting dialect of Radio France International. They do not use left-dislocations in their spoken French and when they were shown examples of the structure in writing (from a novel containing conversations in the colloquial spoken language of France), they consider them ungrammatical.
Without a pause, the sentence would be the usual way of saying ‘That woman knows my sister.’

Some languages also allow topical NPs to be right-dislocated, of the form He’s the greatest, my dad, but Lika speakers categorically deny the existence of anything like that in their language, and no examples have been found in texts. When Lika speakers are presented with French examples of right-dislocation and are asked to translate them, they consistently reorganize the sentence to avoid using a pronoun to refer to an entity that has not yet been named.

4.7.3 External topic

The third type of marked topic, ‘external topic’, is an expression that may be very loosely connected to the main clause. It may not even have a grammatical role in the clause, e.g., As for Manila, the traffic is unbelievable (Kroeger 2004:137). In both English and Lika, it is marked with a fronted position followed by a pause. There are many expressions that can introduce external topics, including ka ambamba wa ‘on the side of’, ko bhulyo ‘on the subject of’, ka niyo ondi ‘of that which looks to’, kabyenene na bhulyo ya ‘resembling the reason of’, and ku ka ‘there with’. For example:

(193) Context: ‘A chief should take care of the water that his people drink, because it should be clean.’

Ka Ø-ambamba wa Ø-kalasi, Ø-ngama ka-dhak-igu
on CL1A-side CONN1 CL9-school CL1A-chief INF-be.silent-NEG

mino begcya.

well same

‘As for the school, a chief isn’t silent, either.’

The copula in the conditional mood (e.g., kiko ‘if it is’) can also introduce an external topic:

(194) Context A: ‘What would you like to eat?’

B: ‘I’d like “black sombé” (manioc leaves).’

C: Kiko imi, na-ka-p-a ka-u-ly-a ba-sukwa.
if.it.is 1SG 1SG.SM-ASP2-want-FV INF-3PL.OM-eat-FV CL2-caterpillars

‘As for me, I want to eat caterpillars.’

The next example points out the role that cultural knowledge can play in encoding something as a topic. It illustrates what Prince (1981:236) calls ‘inferrable’ information. For

86. This use of the conditional is consistent with Haiman’s (1978:564) observation that, “conditional clauses and topics are marked identically in a number of unrelated languages . . . in fact, their definitions are very similar.”
Lika listeners, the context of a casual meeting between male friends evokes a set of objects and activities which are all available as possible topics, including a fly whisk.

(195) Context: ‘After arriving, the men exchange the news and tell their stories, stretched out on hammock chairs and chewing cola nut.’

‘(As for) the fly whisk, it’s not letting a fly pass.’

4.7.4 Independent pronouns

The use of resumptive independent pronouns mark contrastive topics is another area where the native speakers who are regularly working with the written language identified a difference between written and spoken style. They acknowledge that pronouns can be sprinkled more liberally throughout oral discourse than in written material, as in this example which shows contrastive topic on the subject:

(196) Context: ‘Father: My children, the history of the Simba Rebellion is just a fairy-tale to you. Isn’t it so, Bongo?’

Bongo: ‘To me it’s just a myth. And you, Nato?’

Nato: ‘I(emph.) don’t know, I(emph.) wasn’t even born yet.’

‘Sir, now this problem amazes you too, doesn’t it?’

Objects may also be marked as contrastive topics with independent pronouns, as in (198) and (199). The latter example also uses the particle aka ‘only’.

(198) Ø-Bhabha, si li-kpumuka u-mbong-ini goni iwe.

‘Sir, now this problem amazes you too, doesn’t it?’

(199) Context: ‘She says, “Hey you, since you started eating tsí-fruit,’
The following example (based on Lambrecht 1994:292) shows the clear distinction between the ways that contrastive topic and contrastive focus are marked. The topics below are marked with independent pronouns (twice in the statement by A, once in Mary’s answer), and the focus requires a focus marker (in Mary’s answer):

    Mary 2SG 2SG.SM-wash FV CL10-clothing 1SG 1SG.SM-cook FV
    ‘Mary, you(top) wash the clothes and I’ll(top) cook’

    Mary: Kali, imi na na-mbamb-a, iwe(,) wa-kwanan-a
         no 1SG FOC 1SG.SM-cook FV 2SG 2SG.SM-should FV
         ka-gy-a 1-uki la-gɔgɔ.
    INF-do FV CL5-thing CONN5-other
    ‘No, I’ll(foc) do the cooking, you(top) do something else.’

The pronouns in (200) come before the verb, which is unusual, but the commas in parentheses in this example show that they may be followed by pauses. This suggests that the independent pronouns which appear before the verb may be left-dislocations.

4.8 A summary of marked topic and focus constructions

Several syntactic features of marked topic and focus were introduced in this chapter. Table 19 organizes these features to show the patterns of occurrence. It can be seen that subjects and objects are generally marked with the same devices, with the exception that objects may be fronted. In addition, the table shows that contrast is present in certain constructions but not others (e.g., focus words can be used with contrastive focus expressions but not with non-contrastive focus, while external topics and independent pronouns are compatible with contrastive topics but not non-contrastive topics). Two constructions do not follow this pattern. They can encode both contrastive and non-contrastive arguments: the focus particle and fronting.

The numbers in parentheses refer to the example which illustrates the construction.
Table 19. Summary of marked focus and topic constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Arg.</th>
<th>Contrastive</th>
<th>Not Contrastive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subj.</td>
<td>Focus particle (182), (183), (200)</td>
<td>Focus particle (111), (114b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Focus words (176)</td>
<td>(116b), (157b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOCUS</td>
<td>Obj.</td>
<td>Focus particle + fronting (181)</td>
<td>Focus part. + fronting (112), (117c), (184a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Focus words (175), (177)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Focus wds + front. (179)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOPIC</td>
<td>Subj.</td>
<td>External topic (194), (195)</td>
<td>Left-dislocation (180), (192)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indep. pron. (196), (197), (200)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obj.</td>
<td>External topic (not attested)</td>
<td>Left-dislocation (190), (191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indep. pron. (198), (199)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fronting (188)</td>
<td>Fronting (189)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.9 Summary and conclusions

Although this paper does not make claims about the genetic affiliation of Lika within the Bantu subgroup of languages, the description does provide data pertinent to the question. I have highlighted features in phonology, morphology, and syntax which are unusual in Bantu. Phonologically, these include the presence of nine phonemic vowels and widespread ATR harmony. Morphologically, the language exhibits noun class suffixes and a large inventory of adjectives. In syntax, the use of tense particles in addition to morphological marking is not common, nor is relativization which involves both a relative pronoun and a resumptive pronoun. Other researchers have shown that the unusual phonological features are due to contact with non-Bantu languages, but no one has yet considered the possible influence that these neighboring languages have had in the morphology and syntax. This would be a productive line of study to pursue.

Considering the last two chapters of this work, I see confirmation that syntax and information structure are vitally integrated. The description of syntactic features like fronting, focus particles, and the use of independent pronouns is incomplete without an understanding of the pragmatic factors topic and focus. Conversely, the description of information structure is impossible without an inventory of syntactic features.

The present work is a preliminary description which I hope will be useful as a starting point for further research. I suggest that a study of the tone and prosodic features associated with the constructions described here will give a more accurate picture of the language.
APPENDIX A: TWO LIKA TEXTS
Text 1: My eye, give me my eye!

1. My eye, give me my eye!

2. A man and his wife had one eye.

3. The owner of the eye was the woman.

4. They exchanged (it)

5. If it was (time for) the woman to cook, she took the eye.

6. One day during the tki-fruit season, the woman starts

data. My friends

7. Picking tki-fruit is a husband’s job, so single women don’t get to eat it.
mu-luku ukan-a iyì aka na iyì be, “Kuwa asi iwe aka, cl.1-man 3SG:SM:hear-FV 3SG only to 3SG that well only 2SG only her husband hears her, he says, “Well, it’s just you, kye kwa-k-εp-a li-so wa-ly-a ma-gbọọ na because COND-ASP:2:1SG.OM:give-FV cl.5-eye 2SG.SM:eat-FV cl.6-big.fruit in because if you give me the eye you’ll eat big fruit li-sye nilina kali.” 10Kumbuso yi wa, mu-ko a-p-a cl.5-day DEM5 even after cl.9 there cl.1-woman 3SG:SM:3SG.OM:give-FV this very day. After that, the woman gave kuwa ndi mu-luku li-so. 11Bapung-a ligundu ko Ò-tatu. 12Mu-luku well PAST cl.1-man cl.5-eye 3PL.SM:start cl.5-trip to cl.9-forest cl.1-man her husband the eye. They started out for the forest. The man a kuwa ndi ka-mimindis-i a-gwini ka kubọkukọ bikpa. 3SG.COP well PAST INF:lead-FV 3SG.SM:grab-PAST on cl.15-arm-cl.15 IDEO:grab was leading her by the hand.

13A-na-kpong-b-is-o Ò-gumi-to na Ò-kék-ọyi ya-si ko Ò-pisi. 3SG.SM:3SG.OM:avoid-CAUS-FV cl.13-stump-cl.13 and cl.9-log-cl.9 CONN9-all on cl.9-path He helped her avoid all the stumps and logs on the path.

14Niyọ bo-sil-o ka bu-tai, a-dhimily-a mu-ko Ò-pa when 3PL.SM:arrive-FV at cl.14-fruit 3SG.SM:arrange-FV cl.1-woman cl.9-place When they arrived at the fruit tree, he settled his wife in a place ya k-ik-o na niyọ yi dikitoku Ò-tai. 15Mu-luku a-dak-a CONN9 ?-sit-FV and RELPN9 DEM9 throw-DIR cl.9-fruit cl.1-man 3SG.SM:climb-FV for sitting and one [place] for throwing fruit. The man climbed kuwa iyì kugu. well 3SG up up.

16Ka-dhw-ε kugu, mu-luku a-pung-a ka-pw-a Ò-tai. INF:arrive-FV up cl.1-man 3SG.SM:start-FV INF:pick-FV cl.9-fruit Arriving at the top, the man started picking tọi-fruit.

Iyi aka be, “I-mbimbily-oku goni Ø-tọi.” Mu-luku o-no-mikit-oku
3SG only that 1SG.OV-throw-DIR also CL9-fruit CL1-man 3SG.SM-ASP1-throw-DIR
She said, “Throw me some Øi-fruit too.” The man throws
Ø-tọi, ya-si a-niipo sono ko Ø-li, o-no-gw-o asi CL9-fruit CONN9-all 3SG.SM-ASP1-REFL-hit-RECIPIF-FV on CL9-vine 3SG.SM-ASP1-fall-FV only
some Øi-fruit, they all hit against vines, and they just fall
byi byi byi aka. Limbengi a-tul-a bata mu-ko kẹgbẹ. far far far only CL5-heart 3SG.SM:3SG.OV-hurt-FV again CL1-woman much
far away. The woman gets more angry.
Iyi aka be, “Uwe muna, wakawa wo-pung-i bi ka-ly-a Ø-tọi,
3SG only that 2SG DEM1 since 2SG.SM-start-PAST PAST INF-eat-FV CL9-fruit
She says, “Hey you, since you started eating Øi-fruit,
no-dh-uku se kuwo bi ka-u-bhis-o asi iwe aka? Kika neki
1SG.SM-come-DIR well well PAST INF-2SG.OV-put-FV only 2SG only COND so.that
did I come just to put you up there? If it is
beyo, i-(m)gis-y-oku li-so kami, n-ig-i.” Mu-luku be,
so 1SG.OV-return-APPL-DIR CL5-eye 1SG.POSS 1SG.SM-return-SBJV CL1-man that
like that, give me my eye so that I can go home.” The man says,
“yeki a beyo na-pang-a kuwa Ø-tọi yi-panga. Mu-ko
since 3SG.COP so 1SG.SM-arrange-FV well CL9-fruit ADJ9-arrange CL1-woman
if it’s like that, I’ll take care of the arrangeble fruit.
The woman
a-ky-a li-mbengi limoti, a-v-a bou. Mu-luku be “ibund-a
3SG.SM-refuse-FV CL5-heart NUM5-one 3SG.SM-take-FV force CL1-man that REFL:wait-FV
refuses categorically. Her husband says, “wait
neki gutụgu wa no-sy-o mino n-u-p-atu li-so kaku.”
so.that even there 1SG.SM-descend-FV well 1SG.SM-2SG.OV-give-INSCL5-eye 2SG.POSS
for me there and I’ll come down and give you your eye.”
Mu-ko a-vikiman-ag-a biveke-veke, kani kegụ ka-bhaily-a. Ko-p-agu
CL1-woman3SG.SM-exceed-IPFV-FV IDEO:shaking while not INF-agree-FV INF-want-NEG
The woman is shaking with anger, not accepting that.
Not wanting
bata Ø-tọi, ko-p-agu gutụgu be mu-luku o-sy-iku
even CL9-fruit INF-want-NEG even that CL1-man 3SG.SM-descend-DIR
fruit even, not wanting even that her husband come down
a-v-a li-so kaki. O-bumon-i baka be mu-luku
3SG.SM-take-FV CL5-eye 3SG.POSS 3SG.SM-appropriate-FV only that CL1-man
so she could take her eye. It was necessary only that her husband
a-mbimb-ily-iku kuwa li-mbimb-ily-o. Dikit-oku li-so kami,
3SG.SM-throw-APPL-DIR well ADJ5-throw-APPL-FV throw-DIR CL5-eye 1SG.POSS
throw her it throwable. "Throw my eye,
dikit-oku li-so kami, li-so kami!”
throw-DIR CL5-eye 1SG.POSS CL5-eye 1SG.POSS
throw my eye, my eye!”

32Li-mbengi a-kundumon-o mu-luku i-ny-co li-so, o-dikitoku.
Cl5-heart 3SG.SM-shrink-FV CL1-man REFL-extract-FV CL5-eye 3SG.SM-throw-DIR
Her husband gets angry and he takes out the eye and throws it.

33Li-so binze... bik ka mu-ligi. 34Ibu ba-si ba-ba b-ukan-a
Cl5-eye IDEO:zing IDEO:splat on CL3-vine 3PL CONN2-all NUM2-two 3SG.SM-hear-FV
The eye goes ‘zing’... ‘splat’ on a vine. They both hear
be li-so u-likini. 35Mu-luku o-sy-oku kwandi Ø-vivila
that CL5-eye 3SG.SM-break-PAST CL1-man 3SG.SM-descend-DIR well PAST CL9-touch
that the eye broke. The man comes down feeling his way.
Ø-pa aka. 36Niyco a-vil-a mu-ka-ki bodhungono, ibu
CL9-place only when 3SG.SM-touch-FV CL1-woman-3SG.POSS 3PL.SM-hug-RECIP-FV 3PL
When he touches his wife they hug, both of them
basi baba biyatelo, binvubu kusili wa sibhukusco.
CONN2-all NUM2-two IDEO:empty IDEO:isolated under of CL19-tree-CL19
(feeling) completely empty and isolated at the foot of the tree.

37Bi-it-a kwanda be-titi.
3PL.SM-REFL-change-FV well PAST CL10-termite.mound
And they turned into termite mounds.

38Kinili tin-ag-a kwaba be-titi kusili wa bhuku-tco.
so 1PL.SM-see-IPFV-FV well CL10-termite.mound under of tree-cl13
So that’s why we see those termite mounds underneath trees.
The friendship of Tortoise and Leopard

Once upon a time, Tortoise and Leopard were in friendship (= friends).

They agreed to go trapping together.

Once a day, Tortoise and Leopard in one tortoise and one leopard.

They agreed to go trapping together.

They said to Leopard, We'll trap animals. and we'll eat them if the owner of the forest.

So they went to the owner of the forest who would eat that animal.

The owner of the forest indicated
started to lose weight, he became skinny, getting thin like a dragonfly.

Oracle 2 moved to the village of the forest owner, the leopard, who may eat this animal.

The next day, Ø-Sibhi indicated his friend, and they went back to the village. The next day Ø-Sibhi gave him a tortoise. They went back to the village.

Cl-9 forest who asked, “Owner of the forest, Owner of the forest, who may eat this animal?” The owner asked, “It’s Tortoise who may eat this animal.”

Another day Leopard killed (again), Ø-tutu wani no a-ly-i Ø-nyama yi nimuna?” Cl-9 forest who asked, “Owner of the forest, Owner of the forest, who may eat this meat?”

He only indicated his friend.
When Leopard realized how it was, he went on a hunt

ko mo-mbukwono Ø-tutu. 18O-pung-uni ka-alik-ag-a bëgyö
for CL1-owner CL9-forest 3SG.SM-start-PAST INF-call-IPFV-FV so
for the owner of the forest. He started to call out like

Ø-wai Ø-dha-ki a ndi mino ka-alik-ag-a.
CL1-friend CL1-friend-3SG.POSS 3SG.COP PAST well INF-call-IPFV-FV
his friend always called.

19“Mo-mbukwono Ø-tutu wani nɔ a-ly-i Ø-nyama yi
CL1-owner CL9-forest who FOC1 3SG.SM-eat-SBJV CL1-animal DEM1
“Owner of the forest, who may eat this animal?”

nimu?” 20mØ-Mene Ø-Sibhi nɔ a-ly-i.”
DEM1 CL1-namesake CL1-tortoise FOC1 3SG.SM-eat-SBJV CL1-owner
“It’s my namesake Tortoise who may eat.”

“Owner

Ø-tutu, Mo-mbukwono Ø-tutu?” 22“Eee.” 23“Wa yani?”
CL9-forest CL1-owner CL9-forest yes 2SG.COP where
of the forest, Owner of the forest?” “Yes?” “Where are you?”

24“Na kunu.” 25Ø-Sukopi a-pung-a ndi ka-bibily-a
1SG.COP here CL1A-leopard 3SG.SM-start-FV PAST INF-follow-FV
“I’m here.” Leopard starts to follow

li-yu kaki, niyɔ a-dhw-ɛ buwobhi na iyi, a-(m)in-a.
CL5-voice 3SG.POSS when 3SG.SM-arrive-FV close to 3SG 3SG.SM:3SG.OM-see-FV
his voice, and when he gets close to him, he sees him.

26Be “Ezie! ɪwɛ nɔ w-ik-og-o ka-ly-isis-o Ø-Sibhi
that hey 2SG FOC1 2SG.SM-be-IPFV-FV INF-eat-CAUS-FV CL1A-tortoise
He says, “Hey! It’s you who has been feeding Tortoise

ba-nyama bɔ n-ik-og-o ka-u-mw-ɔ! 27W-i-nan-a
CL2-animal FOC2 1SG.SM-be-IPFV-FV INF-3PL.OM-kill-FV 2SG.SM-REFL-align-FV
the animals that I have been catching!

Stretch yourself out

wasi baka bingbi.” 28Iyi aka na mu-te bikya. 29O-lik-ily-o
on.ground only IDEO?: 3SG only with CL3-whip IDEO:snip 3SG.SM-repeated-FV
on the ground <bingbi>” He cuts a whip ‘snip’. The he repeatedly

ka-tin-ag-a Mu-gbugbu. 30A-tin-og-ini ndi,
INF:3SG.OM-whip-IPFV-FV CL1A-snail 3SG.SM-whip-IPFV-PAST PAST
whips Snail. He’s whipping,

a-tin-og-ini ndi. 31Ø-Bili-bili a-pup-o Mu-gbugbu ka Ø-nzuyi.
3SG.SM-whip-IPFV-PAST PAST CL9-stripe 3SG.SM-appear-FV CL1A-snail on CL9-body
whipping. Stripes appear on Snail’s body.
These are the stripes we see on the body of Snail, they are the whips (marks) that Leopard whipped him when he fed Tortoise his animals.

32Bili-bili yi niyc t-in-ag-a ka Ø-nzuyi ka CL9-stripes DEM9 DEM9 1PL.SM-see-IPFV-FV on CL9-body of

Mu-gbubu, a Ø-te niyc Ø-Sukopi a-tin-ag-a ndi CL1A-snail 3SG.COP CL9-whip RELPN9 CL1A-leopard 3SG.SM-whip-IPFV-FV PAST

wa a-ly-is-o ndi mino Ø-Sibhi baØ-nyama kaki.
when 3SG.SM-eat-CAUS-FV PAST well CL1A-tortoise CL2-animal 3SG.POSS
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