'The ground can be slippery (therefore be aware!).'

As the above example shows, the suffix -ɛ̀rɛ̂ is not restricted to transitive verbs; cf. also the following example:

ɛ́n   túô   'he is sick'

vs.

ɛ́n   tíê kà   tùɔ-   rê.

3.SG   PROG   be.sick.INF- REFL
'He's becoming sick.'

6 The adverbial phrase

Adverbial phrases consist either of a combination of a preposition plus noun (6.1) or an adverb (6.2). The former is preferentially placed clause-finally while adverbs are highly variable in their placement. There is some freedom in the placement of prepositional phrases relative to each other:

gín   ɔ́cìdhɔ   bóth- ɛ́   k-   ɔ́tɔkà.

3.PL 3.go.PFV PREP- 3.SG.POSS   PREP- car

or

gín   ɔ́cìdhɔ   k-   ɔ́tɔkà   bóth- ɛ́.

3.PL 3.go.PFV PREP- car   PREP- 3.SG.POSS
'They went to him with a car.'

6.1 Prepositions

We will distinguish loosely between primary and complex prepositions.

6.1.1 Primary prepositions

They consist of one morpheme, they are, with one exception, monosyllabic and express most of all basic concepts of spatial, temporal or logical orientation. We found the following items in our data base:

Preposition	Gloss	Main functions
bóth	'to'	direction
ì	'in, at'	location
ìnɛ́	'for'	benefactive
ká	'at, like'	location, similarity
kì	'with, from'	comitative, instrumental, source
kɔ̀d, kɛ̀d	'with'	comitative
mɛ́, mé	'for'	purpose
nákà	'until'	time
nì	'for'	benefactive
pì(r)	'for, because of'	purpose, reason
yó	'to'	direction

The prepositions *both, inɛ́, kɔ̀d* and *kɛ̀d, mɛ́(g),* and *pì(r)* are noun-like in taking possessive person markers:

1.SG	kɔ̀d-á	*or*	kɛ̀d-á	'with me'
2.SG	kɔ̀d-í	*or*	kɛ̀d-í	'with you'

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3.SG	kɔd-ɛ́	*or*	kɛ̀d-ɛ́	'with him, her'
1.EX	kɔ̀d wá	*or*	kɛ̀d wá	'with us'
1.IN	kɔ̀d ónù	*or*	kɛ̀d ónù	'with us'
2.PL	kɔ̀d wú	*or*	kɛ̀d wú	'with ye'
1.SG	kɔ̀d gí	*or*	kɛ̀d gí	'with them'

Note that the prepositions *mɛ́(g)* and *pɨ̀(r)* end in a consonant when followed by a suffix (i.e. with singular person markers) while elsewhere the consonant disappears, e.g.,

1.SG	mɛ́g-á	'for me' or 'mine'
2.SG	mɛ́g-í	
3.SG	mɛ́g-ɛ́	
1.EX	mɛ́ wá	
1.IN	mɛ́ ónù	
2.PL	mɛ́ wú	
3.PL	mɛ́ gí	

Otherwise, it is the object personal pronouns rather than subject pronouns that are used as complements of prepositions. Thus, in the following example it is the object pronoun *gí* rather than the subject pronoun (*gín* or *gìnî*) that appears after the benefactive preposition *nì*.

| wɛ́kóbɔ̀ | nì | gí | ní | òkĕl | gíní | rôm |

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1.EX.tell.PFV PREP 3.PL.O COMPL 3.bring.SUBJ 3.PL.S sheep
'We told them to bring sheep.'

Prepositions are as a rule restricted to occurring next to their nominal or pronominal complement, cf. (1), but there are also examples of stranding e.g. in a cleft construction (2).[6]

(1) ònèkò   dìèl mɛ́ ŋɔ̀?   mɛ́   àcámá.

3.kill.PFV goat PREP what PREP eating
'What did he kill the goat for? For eating.'

(2) ŋɔ̀   nà   ɛ́n   ónèkò   kɪ̀   díêl?   kɪ̀   pálà.

what REL 3.SG 3.kill.PFV PREP goat PREP knife
'What did he kill the goat with? With a knife.'

Examples
ɪ̀ 'in, at'
This is a general preposition which, depending on the context, can express a range of locative and other concepts. The following example illustrates a typical context:

gùɛnɔ̀ tíê ɪ̀   ɔt   wá.

chicken be PREP house 1.EX.POSS
'There is a chicken in our house.'

kɪ̀ 'with, from'

kúr   ɪ́ˈgɔ́   wúˈnú dhôk kɪ̀   lûth!

NEG.IMP 2.hit.SUBJ 2.PL.S cattle PREP stick
'Don't beat the cows with a stick!'

---

[6] The preposition appears to cliticize on the verb in this example, as is suggested by the fact that it occurs between the verb and the direct object.

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ɛ́n   óbìnò   kɪ̀   ká'mpálà.

3.SG   3.come.PFV   PREP   Kampala
'He came from Kampala.'

kɔd, kɛ̀d   'with'

Like *kɪ̀, kɔ̀d* and *kɛ̀d*   present comitative participants, but where *kɪ̀* takes nominal ones, the latter take pronominal participants:

ɛ́n   tíy6   kɪ̀   món.

3.SG   work.IMV   PREP   women
'He works with the women.'

kúr   íciíém   kɔ́d   'wá!

NEG.IMP   2.eat.AP   PREP   1.EX
'Don't eat with us!'

cf. also:

lìèc   dít   nà   rɔ́m   kí   ɔ̂t.

elephant   be.big   REL   be.like   PREP   house
'An elephant is as big as a house.'

vs.

án   àtídí   nà   rɔ̂m   kɔ́d-   ɛ̀.

1.SG   1.SG.be.small   REL   be.like   PREP-   3.SG
'I am as small as he is.'

mɛ́ 'for'

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ònèkò   dìèl   mɛ́   ŋɔ̀?   mɛ́   àcámá.

3.kill.PFV   goat   PREP   what   PREP eating
'What did he kill the goat for? For eating.'

díégí   ˈnón   óbèdò   mɛ́   jɔ̀   wá.

goats   HEA   3.be.PFV PREP   people   1.EX.POSS
'Those goats belong to our people.'

nákà 'until'

kùr   nákà   kɔ̀th   òcùé!

wait   until   rain   3.rain.PFV
'Wait until it rains!'

nì,ˋmɛ́ 'for'

ɛ́n   ókèlò   nì   dhákɔ́   pì.

or

ɛ́n   ókèlò   ˋmɛ́   dhákɔ́   pì.

3.SG 3.bring.PFV   PREP   woman   water
'He brought water for the woman.'

pì 'for'

ɛ́n   tíyó   pì   ŋíkónêi mɛ́rê.

3.SG   work.IMV   PREP   friends 3.SG

'He works for his friends.'

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yó 'to'

ónù   ɛ̀cìdhɔ̀   yó   kàmpálà.

1.IN   1.PL.go.IMV   PREP   Kampala
'We went to Kampala.'

6.1.2 Complex prepositions

They are morphologically complex, consisting of a primary preposition, typically ɔ̀, plus another element that is almost invariably a grammaticalized noun. We found the following prepositions in our data collection:

Preposition	Meaning	Nominal source
ɔ̀ kóm	'about'	'body'
ɔ̀ ŋè	'behind'	'back'
ɔ̀ ŋèt	'beside, next to'	'side, flank'
ɔ̀ nyím	'in front of'	'face, front'
ɔ̀ tìèn, ɔ̀thɛ́	'under'	'leg', 'foot'
ɔ̀ wì	'above, on top of'	'head'
pàth kɪ́, pàth ká, pàth í	'instead of'	
yó kù	'towards'	

Personal pronominal complements are generally coded as possessive attributes:

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ɪ̀ ŋè-á   'behind me'

ɪ̀ ŋèt-í   'next to you'

ɪ̀ nyím gɪ́   'in front of them'

Examples

kúr   ítúák   í ᵏkóm   gɪ́:nɪ̀.

NEG.IMP   2.talk.SUBJ   about   thing.PROX
'Don't talk about this thing!'

gwén   tíê   ɪ̀ tìèn   yâth.

chicken.PL   be   under   tree
'The chicken are under the tree.'

àyâ   k-   àthín   ɛ́nɛ́   óbìnò   pàth í   áᵗthín.

mother POSS- child   FOC   3.come.PFV   instead   child
'It was the child's mother who came instead of the child.'

The extension of an activity in space or time is expressed by the construction *ànɪ̃kà ká ... nákà* 'from ... to':

òcìdhò   · ànɪ́kà k-   ábɪ́m   ᵏnákà   mòrótò.

3.go.PFV   from   Abim   to   Moroto
'He went from Abim to Moroto.'

òbèdò   ànɪ́kà k-   òdíkò   nákà k- òthíénò.

3.be.PFV   from   morning to   evening

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'He stayed from morning to evening.'

Alternatively, *kɪ̀... nákà ɪ̀* 'from ... to' is used:

kɪ̀	kány	nàkà ̀ɪ	kànícá	bɔ̀r.
from	here	to	church	be.far

'It is far from here to the church.'

6.2 Adverbs

The following is a list of common adverbs:

àníkà	'ever since'
cíén	'behind, last'
dò	'now'
kɛ́kɛ́n	'only'
kàny-àcíêl	'together'
kòdíkò	'in the morning'
nàkàjùì	'usually'
thòn	'also'
tín	'today'
wòrò	'yesterday'
yám	'long ago'

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A distinct subset of adverbs is formed by relatizing verbs and adjectives:

bɛ̀r.   'It is good.'

ɔ̀t nà bɛ̂r   'a good house'

òbɛ̀dò   nà   bɛ̂r.
3.SG.be.PFV   REL be.good
'It has become good.'

kwàr   'It is red.'

òtɛ̀dò   nà   kwâr.
3.SG.cook.PFV REL be.red
'He cooked it red.'

Adverbs form a word category that shows the least constraints on ordering. For example, the adverb *wòrò* 'yesterday' can be placed clause-finally, clause-initially, or between the verb and the object:

(án) ànɛ̂nò gwók wòrò.   'I didn't see the dog yesterday.'

wòrò (án) ànɛ̂nò   gwók .

(án) ànɛ̂nò wórǒ   gwók.

In a similar fashion, *dò* 'now' can occur in essentially any position except between the tense or aspect marker and the main verb (d):

a koth dò tíê kà cùè. 'It is raining now.'

  rain now be LOC rain.INF

b koth tíê dò kà cùè.

c koth tíê kà cùè dò.

d koth tíê kà dò cùè.

There are, however, a few restrictions of occurrence on a number of adverbs, which appear to be lexically determined.

7 Derivation

We have seen a few derivational mechanisms in the preceding chapters, e.g. the ability to derive antipassive and anticausative verbs from transitive verbs. The following are a few additional examples of derivation.

One mechanism concerns the prefixes ò- (masc.) and à- (fem.) which are employed productively for gender distinctions in personal names and other nouns (Storch 2006: 104). These prefixes serve to form nouns from different word categories, including adverbs (1) and interrogative pronouns (2), even if this derivation is of limited productivity.

(1) cíén   'behind, last'   ò-cíén (masc.), à-cíén (fem.)

                                'the last born of twins'

(2) kwènè   'where?'   ò-kwènè (masc.), à-kwènè (fem.)

                          'a person from where?'

Abstract nouns are mostly formed by using the infinitive verb stem, while agent nouns use the prefix à- in the singular and ὲ-/è- in the plural, e.g.,

    tèdò   'to cook'

tèdò   'cooking'

à-tèdò, PL è-tèdò   'a cook'

The following is a list of verbs and their derivations:

Verbal meaning	Abstract noun	Agent noun ('someone who X')	
		SG	PL
'eat (tr.)'	càmò	à-càmò	è-càmò
'steal'	kùò	à-kúô	è-kúô
'wash (tr.)'	lùɔkɔ	à-lùɔkɔ	ɛ̀-lùɔkɔ
'drink (water)'	mòdhò	à-mòdhò	ɛ̀-mòdhò
'see'	nènò	à-nènò	ɛ̀-nènò
'know'	ŋènò (or ŋéc)	à-ŋéc	è-ŋéc
'run'	ŋwèc	á-ŋwêc	ɛ́-ŋwêc
'cook'	tèdò	à-tèdò	è-tèdò
'speak'	tùàk	à-tùàk	è-tùàk
'be sick'	tùò	à-túô	è-túê
'cough'	wɔ́lɔ́	à-wɔ́lɔ́	ɛ́-wɔ́lɔ́

8 Pragmatic functions
8.1 Topic
Sentence subjects are normally topics and topics are as a rule not specially marked. They can however be marked by placing topical non-subject participants sentence-initially:

àthín   àtíê   kà   àcíêl   kɛ́kɛ́n.

child   1.SG.be   with one   only
'A child – I have only one.'

cf.

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àtíê	kà	àthín	àcíêl.
1.SG.be	with	child	one

'I have one child.'

Frontshifting to the sentence-initial position can be accompanied by the use of the question marker -ɤ̌(which is reduced to a rising tone when the sentence ends in a vowel; see 9.3.1):

dhìàŋ-ɤ̌	àthámó	ní	òkélò	ònɛ̀kò	ɔ̀kɔ́.
cow- Q	1.SG.think.IMV	COMPL	Okelo	3.kill.PFV	completely

'The cow, I think Okelo has killed it.'

A presentative topic can be expressed by means of the stem *gi(r)*- plus an appropriate possessive person marker:

1.SG	án	gír-	ˈá	'as for me'
2.SG	ín	gír-	ˈí	
3.SG	ɛ́n	gír-	è	
1.EX	wán	gí	ˈwá	
1.IN	ónú	gí-	ˈónú	
2.PL	wún	gí-	ˈwú	
3.PL	gín	gí-	ˈgí	

This stem is placed after the topicalized constituent:

dhákɔ́	gìr-	è	bà	ŋéó.

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woman   TOP-   3.SG.POSS   NEG   know.IMV
'As for the woman, she doesn't know.'

án   gír-   ˈá   bá   àŋéó   pìŋɔ̀   òbínô.

1.SG   TOP-   1.SG   NEG   1.SG.know.IMV   why   3.come
'As for me, I don't know why he comes.'

8.2 Focus

Focus constitutents, expressing new information, are marked by the particle *énɛ́* placed after the constituent:

dhákɔ́   ŋèô.

woman   know.IMV
'The woman knows it.'

vs.

dhákɔ́   ɛ́nɛ́   ŋèô.

woman   FOC   know.IMV
'It is the woman who knows it.'

Instead of *énɛ́, ɛ̂* is sometimes used:

bɔ̀ɔ̀   ɛ́nɛ́   gín   ˈcámó.   *or*   bɔ̀ɔ̀ ɛ̂ gín ˈcámó.

bɔɔ   FOC   3.PL   eat.IMV

'It is *bɔɔ* vegetable that they eat.'

The focus marker is not restricted to the position after the focalized noun but rather appears at the end of the focus noun phrase, e.g.,

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ròm	kέkέn	έnέ	òbìnò.
sheep.PL	only	FOC	3.come.PFV

'It is only the sheep that came.'

Focus participants may in addition be highlighted by an intensifier, as in the following example:

án	kí	kóm-	à	έnέ	àyâbɔ	dhɔ́gɔ́là.
1.SG	PREP	body-	1.SG	FOC	1.SG.open.IMV	door

'It is I myself who opens the door.'

Rather than focusing the preceding constituent, *έnέ* can sometimes be interpreted as having a copula-like function. Thus, the focus marker in (1) is roughly equivalent to the copula in (2):

(1)
dhákɔ́	nà	έn	ˈŋéó	έnέ	dhákɔ́	ˈná.
woman	REL	3.SG	know.IMV	FOC	woman	POSS.1.SG

'The woman he knows is my wife.'

(2)
dhákɔ́	nà	έn	ˈŋéó	òbèdò	dhákɔ́	ˈná.
woman	REL	3.SG	know.IMV	3.SG.be	woman	POSS.1.SG

'The woman he knows is my wife.'

9 Other domains
9.1 Predicative possession

As in other languages, 'have'-possession (*X has Y*), where the possessor is topical and typically definite, receives an entirely different expression than 'belong'-possession, where it is the possessee that is topical while the possessor is normally indefinite. The former is coded by means of a comitative construction using *tiê kì* 'be with' as the predicate. The construction has a wide range of applications, being used not only for permanent possession but also for inalienable (kinship) possession, as in (1), or inanimate possession, where the possessor is non-human, cf. (2):

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(1) (án)   àtíê   k-   áthín   àcíêl.
    1.SG   1.SG.be   with-   child   one
    'I have one child.'

(2) ɔ́t   cà   tíê   kì   dhɔ́gɔ́ɾè   àríò.
    house   DIST   be   with   door.PL   two
    'That house has two doors.'

Instead of *kì*, the directional preposition *bóth* 'to' is found in the following example:

àŋéó   ɛ̀cʊ́ɔ   nà   dhíâŋ   n-   ɔ́thɔ   wɔ́rɔ
1.SG.know.IMV   man   REL   cow   REL-   3.die.PFV   yesterday

nì   tíê   bòth-   è.
PROX   be   PREP-   3.SG.POSS
'I know the man who has a cow which died yesterday.'

Since the negative counterpart of *tíê* 'be, exist' is *pé* 'not to be, be absent', *tíê* can be replaced by *pé* in negative possession, although this is not a requirement, as the following examples illustrate:

án   bá   àtíê   kì   gʊ́ɛ́nɔ̀.
1.SG   NEG   1.SG.be   with   chicken

or

án   á'pé   kì   gʊ́ɛ́nɔ̀.
1.SG   1.SG.NEG.be   with   chicken

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'Belong'-possession is coded by a predicate consisting of the copula *bèdò* and the purpose preposition *mɛ́* 'for', thus literally translatable as 'Y is for X', e.g.,

díégíí ꞌnón óbèdò mɛ́ jɔ̀ wá.

goats HEA 3.be.PFV PREP people 1.EX.POSS
'Those goats belong to our people.'

We have presented pronominal forms of belong-possession in section 5.2.4, which arc constructed with the "inalienable" set of person markers postposed to the prepositional root *mɛ́(g)-*, e.g.,

òbèdò mɛ́g- á.

3.be.PFV PREP- 1.SG
'It is mine.'

9.2 Comparison

Both equative and similative propositions tend to be coded by means of the verb *cálô* 'be like, resemble':

lìèc dít ꞌcálô ɔ̂t.

elephant be.big be.like house
'An elephant is as big as a house.'

gín cíémó càló gùòŋnì.

3.PL eat.IMV.AIP be.like dogs
'They eat like dogs.'

Alternatively, the verb *rɔ́m kɨ̀* 'be equal with' is used:

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díèl	dít	nà	róm kí	rómó.
goat	be.big	REL	be.equal with	sheep

'A goat is as big as a sheep.'

For comparisons of inequality (*X is Yer than Z*) there are two constructions. Both involve the use of the verb *ló* 'surpass, defeat' as a marker of standard of comparison and both present the standard as an object argument. They differ in that either

(a)   the "predicate" (*is Y*) is introduced as an adjective or stative verb which constitutes the first verb in a serial verb construction, or

(b)   *ló* is the only verb and the "predicate" is presented in a prepositional phrase as a nominalized verb introduced by the preposition *kɪ̀*

Examples

(a)	ɛ̀cʊ̀ɔ̀	cà	dît	lɔ-	à	ɔ̀kɔ̀.
	man	DIST	be.big	surpass-	1.SG.O	completely

or

(b)	ɛ̀cʊ̀ɔ̀	cà	ló-	ˈá	kɪ̀	dìtò.
	man	DIST	surpass-	1.SG.O	PREP	bigness

'That man is clearly bigger than I.'

When (b) is used, the nominalized verb may be the copula *bèdò* and the "predicate" presented as an adverb of the copula verb *bèdò*:

(b)	ɛ́n	ló-	ˈá	kí	bêdò	nà	tídí.
	3.SG	surpass-	1.SG	PREP	being	REL	be.small

or

én	ló-	ꞌá	kí	tìnò.
3.SG	surpass-	1.SG	PREP	smallness

'She is smaller than I.'

ló is a lexical verb when not preceded by another verb.

That *ló* is not fully grammaticalized as a standard marker is suggested by the fact that, in accordance with its lexical semantics of 'surpass, defeat', it can take only standard participants that are higher in value than the theme participant, not lower. Utterances such as the following are therefore not well-formed:

*àthín	cà	tídí	ꞌló-	à.
child	DIST	be.small	surpass-	1.SG.O

'That child is smaller than I.'

However, this behavior was not shared by all of our consultants, one of them found the following sentence to be acceptable:

dhìàŋ	tídí	ꞌló	lìèc.
cow	be.small	surpass	elephant

'A cow is smaller than an elephant.'

That (a) has most properties of a serial verb construction can be seen in the following example, where both verbs have the same subject agreement markers:

án	àthʊ́ɔ̀nề	àlóí.
1.SG	1.SG.be.big	1.SG.surpass.2.SG.O

'I am bigger than you.'

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There are two constructions used to express the notion of a superlative:

(a) Either by using the serial verb construction and simply omitting the standard, that is, by using the verb *ló* without a complement, e.g.,

líéc   thÙɔnɛ̀   ló.

elephant   be.big   surpass
'The elephant is the biggest.'

án   àtídí   áló.

1.SG   1.SG.be.small   1.SG.surpass
'I am the smallest.'

(b) Or by presenting the theme participant as a focus constituent introduced by *ɛ́nɛ́* (see chapter 8):

líéc   ɛ́nɛ́   thÙɔnɛ̀.

elephant   FOC   be.big
'The elephant is the biggest.'

án   ɛ́nɛ́   àtídí.

1.SG   FOC   1.SG.be.small
'I am the smallest.'

9.3 Questions
9.3.1 Polar questions
Polar (yes-no) questions are coded by the sentence-final suffix -ǐ:

ɛ́n   bɛ̀r.   'He is good.'

ɛn bɛ̂r-ɪ̌? 'Is he good?'

òkélò tíê kàny. 'Okelo is here.'

òkélò tíê kány-ɪ̌? 'Is Okelo here?'

rɔ́mɔ́ gìnì bédò kány-ɪ̌ ònyò cídhó gìní pácɔ̌?
should 3.PL be.INF here- Q or go 3.PL home
'Should they stay here or go home?'

However, the use of the suffix is relatively infrequent, for the following reason: The majority of syllables in Labwor are open, and the suffix appears only after a consonant; when an utterance ends in a vowel, the suffix is replaced by a rising tone on the final vowel, e.g.,

gín tíê kà-cà. 'They are there.'

gín tíê ká-cǎ. 'Are they there?'

ɛn óbèdò dhákɔ̌? pé, bà óbèdò dhákɔ́.
3.SG 3.be.PFV woman.Q no NEG 3.be.PFV woman
'Is she a woman? No she isn't.'

dhákɔ́ nì ŋéǒ? èè, dhákɔ́ ŋéô.
woman PROX know.IMV.Q yes woman know.IMV
'Does this woman know it? Yes, the woman knows it.'

The question particle is also used in some non-interrogative constructions, namely with topic constituents (see 8.1) and in conditional protasis clauses (see 10.2.3).

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9.3.2 Word questions

The following question words were found:

à ŋɔ̂	'what kind of?'
àwènè	'when?'
kwènè, kányá, kányέ	'where?'
mέnέ	'which?'
ŋà, PL ĵɔ mέnέ	'who?'
ŋɔ̀	'what?'
ŋɔ̀, pɪ̀ ŋɔ̀	'why?'

Two of these question words, *à ŋɔ̂* and *mέnέ*, are nominal attributes while all others are pronouns having clausal participant status.

9.3.2.1 Nominal attributes

Noun phrases containing question words as attributes are placed sentence-finally in their basic arrangement, cf. (1); however, quite commonly they appear sentence-initially, in which case they take the form of cleft constructions with the main predication being encoded as a relative clause, cf. (2):

(1)	῀mênò		yàth	mέnέ?
	2.SG.see.IMV		tree	which

or

(2)	yàth	mέnέ	n-	῀mέnó?
	tree	which	REL-	2.SG.see.IMV

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'Which tree do you see?'

The question word *méné* is a nominal attribute that is placed after the noun. It occurs most frequently with the noun *jɔ* 'person, people', e.g.,

jɔ   méné   n-   óbìnò?

people which   REL-   3.come.PFV
'Who (PL) have come?'

The question word *à ŋɔ* 'what kind of?' contains a linking particle *à* (presumably a short form of the relativizer *nà*; see 10.2) which is occasionally dropped so that the question word is simply *ŋɔ*. The following examples illustrate both the basic sentence-final (1) and the sentence-initial position (2).

(1)   gíntédó   'cíém   à ŋɔ̂?

       3.PL cook.IMV   food   what.kind.of

(2)   cíém   á ŋɔ̂   á   gín   tédó?

       food   what.kind.of REL   3.PL   cook.IMV
or

       cíém   ŋɔ̂   nà   gín   tédó?

       food   what.kind.of REL   3.PL   cook.IMV
       'What kind of food do they cook?'

9.3.2.2 Pronouns
Like the interrogative attributes discussed above, interrogative pronouns are placed clause-finally. However, the pronouns can also be frontshifted, in which case they are treated either as focus constituents or as heads of relative clauses, and in both cases the main predication is

introduced by a relative clause. The relative clause marker *nà* tends to be reduced to *-à* in such cases.

kwὲnὲ, kányá, or kányέ   'where?'

    έn   tĩ̂ê   ˈkányέ?

    3.SG   be   where
    'Where does he live?'

ŋà, PL jɔ̀ mέnέ 'who?'

    ŋà   nà   ŋéó?   dhákɔ́   ŋèô.

or

    ŋà-   à   ŋéó?   dhákɔ́   ŋèô.

    who-   REL   know.IMV   woman   know.IMV
    'Who knows it? The woman knows it.'

    ŋà   ná   ín   ínὲnɔ̀?

    who   REL   2.SG   2.SG.see.PFV
    'Who do you see?'

    jɔ̀ mέnέ   ná   ín   ínὲnɔ̀?

    who.PL   REL   2.SG   2.SG.see.PFV
    'Who (PL) do you see?'

ŋɔ̀ 'what?'

    gín   cámó   ŋɔ̀?

    3.PL   eat.IMV   what

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or

ŋɔ̀	nà	gín	cámó?
what	REL	3.PL	eat.IMV

'What do they eat?'

ŋɔ̀ 'why?'

àthín	kókó	ŋɔ̀?
child	cry.IMV	why

or

ŋɔ̀	n-	á'thín	kókó?
why	REL-	child	cry.IMV

'Why does the child cry?'

pɪ̀ ŋɔ̀ 'why?'

ɛ́n	óbìnò	pɪ̀ ŋɔ̀?
3.SG	3.come.PFV	why

or

pɪ̀ ŋɔ̀	n-	ɛ́n	óbìnò?
why	REL-	3.SG	3.come.PFV

'What did she come for?'

As we saw in section 6.1.1, there are occasionally instances of preposition stranding, whereby the question is placed sentence-initially while its preposition immediately follows the verb:

ŋɔ̀	nà	ɛ́n	ónèkò	kɪ̀	díêl?	kɪ̀	pálà.
what	REL	3.SG	3.kill.PFV	PREP	goat	PREP	knife

'What did he kill the goat with? With a knife.'

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10 Clause combining

10.1 Coordination

Clause coordination need not, and frequently does not involve any linking device, even if it is always possible to use one:

gín	tíê	kà-	cà		ɛ́ntɔ̀	án	àtíê	kàny.

or

gín	tíê	kà-	cà			án	àtíê	kàny.
3.PL	be	LOC-	DIST		but	1.SG	1.SG.be	here

'They are there but I am here.'

The following are the main coordinating conjunctions that are distinguished:

ɛ̀ká	'and'
ɛ́ntɔ̀	'but'
ònyò	'or'

Examples

món	ótèdò	bɔ́ɔ	ɛ̀ká	ácàmò.
women	3.cook.PFV	bɔɔ	and	1.SG.eat.PFV

'The women cooked *bɔɔ* vegetable and I ate it.'

rɔ́mɔ́	gìnì	bédò	kány- ì	ònyò	cídhó	gìní	pácɔ̀?
OBL	3.PL	be.INF	here- Q	or	go	3.PL	home

'Should they stay here or go home?'

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Noun phrase conjoining 'and' is commonly achieved by the phrase *gín kî* 'they with':

ɛ̀cʊ́ɔ	gín kí	dhákɔ́	ꞌdúcú	ɔ̀bèdò	gìnì	jáàbùòr.
man	and	woman	all	3.be.PFV	3.PL.S	Labwor

'The man and the woman are both Labwor.'

The alternative noun phrase conjunctions are *ɔ̀nyɔ̀* and *kɔ̀dè* 'or':

ꞌìmìtó	ꞌcáí	kɔ̀dè	pí ˅?
2.SG.want.IMV	tea	or	water.Q

'Do you want tea or coffee?'

10.2 Subordination

10.2.1 Relative clauses

The general marker of relative clauses is *nà*, which is placed between the head noun and the relative clause. Since relativization is a central strategy for expressing a variety of different functions, *nà* belongs to the most frequently used grammatical particles of the language. For example, relativization is used to present adjectives (1), verbs (2), preposed question words (3) and other constituents signaling new information.

(1)

pì	nà	bêr
water	REL	be.good

'good water'

(2)

dhìàŋ	n-	ékùàlɔ̀
cow	REL-	3.steal.PFV.AC

'a stolen cow'

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(3)　ŋò　　　n-　　　áّthín　　kókó?

　　　why　　REL-　　child　　cry.IMV
　　　'Why does the child cry?'

As the examples above show, the relative marker *nà* is reduced to *n-* preceding vowels. On the other hand, it is also shortened to *à* in frequently used collocations, such as in common noun – adjective combinations, e.g.,

　　　èthínò　　nà　　títìné　　　'small children'

or　èthínò　　à　　títìné

　　　children　REL　small.PL

Other than the relative particle *nà*, no marking is required to present relative clauses. However, when the head noun is coreferential with the object argument of the relative clause, there usually is a bracketing structure in that the relative clause takes the proximal demonstrative *nì* as a final marker:

　　ɔt　　　nà　　ɔ́gɛ̀rɔ̀　　　nì　　　dît.

　　house　REL　3.build.PFV　PROX　be.big
　　'The house that he built is big.'

　　ìtíê kà　　nɛ̀n-　　àthín　　nà　　túô　　nï̃?

　　2.PROG　INF-　child　REL　be.sick　PROX
　　'Do you see the sick child?'

But the use of *nì* does not appear to be obligatory, it is not found in examples such as the following:

　　dhákɔ́　　nà　　ɛ́n　　ّŋéó　　　òbèdò　　dhákɔ́　　nà.

| woman | REL | 3.SG | know.IMV | 3.be.PFV | woman | POSS.1.SG |

'The woman that he knows is my wife.'

mán	ɛ́nɛ́	ˈáthín	nà	án	àmíyó	cíém.
PRON.PROX	FOC	child	REL	1.SG	1.SG.give.PFV	food

'This is the child whom I gave food.'

Relative clauses can be used recursively, that is, one relative clause can be embedded in another:

àŋéó	ɛ̀cʊ́ɔ̀	nà	dhíâŋ	n-	ɔ́thɔ̀	wɔ́rɔ̀
1.SG.know.IMV	man	REL	cow	REL-	3.die.PFV	yesterday

nì	tíê	bòt-	è.
PROX	be	PREP-	3.SG.POSS

'I know the man who has a cow which died yesterday.'

The head noun phrase of the main clause can be coreferential with an adjunct (1) or a possessive modifier (2) of the relative clause:

(1)
mán	ɛ́nɛ́	ɛ̀cʊ̀ɔ̀	ná	án	àwóthó	kɛ̀d-	ɛ́
PRON.PROX	FOC	man	REL	1.SG	1.SG.walk.IMV	PREP-	3.PG.POSS

'This is the man with whom I walk.'

(2)
mán	ɛ́nɛ́	ˈdhákɔ́	n-	ánênò
PRON.PROX	FOC	man	REL	1.SG.see.IMV

athín	mɛ́rɛ́	wɔ́rɔ̀.
child	3.SG.POSS	yesterday

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'This is the woman whose child I saw yesterday.'

Headless relative clauses are presented primarily by means of question words (see section 9.3), such as *ŋɔ́* 'what?', *kányá* 'where?', *awènè* 'when?', with clause-final *ìyɛ́* as a boundary marker. The question word may be followed by a relative clause marker, cf. (1), but this is not always the case, cf. (2).

(1) bà   àŋéó   awènè   nà   ɛ́n   bínó   ìyɛ́.

    NEG   1.SG.know   when   REL   3.SG come.IMV   PTC
    'I don't know when he'll come.'

(2) bà   àŋéó   kányá ɛ́n   tíê   ìyɛ́.

    NEG   1.SG.know   where 3.SG   be   PTC
    'I don't know where he lives.'

10.2.2 Complement clauses

Complement clause and main clause may simply be juxtaposed, especially when subject complements are involved, where the connection is achieved by some coreferential pronoun, e.g.,

bà   ɔ́kɔnyɔ̀   àthín   mèrê   má-   nón   ràc   rúɔ̀k.

NEG   3.help.PFV child   3.SG.POSS   PRON-   HEA   be.bad very
'That he didn't help his child is very bad.'

But in general, complement clauses are introduced by the complementizer *ní* (COMPL):

àmító   ní   ɛ́n   'ɔ́kɔny   wá.

1.SG.want.IMV   COMPL   3.SG   3.help.SUBJ 1.EX
'I want him to help us (both you and me).'

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ɛthɨ́nɔ̀	ŋéó	ní	gɨ́n	túô.
children	know.IMV	COMPL	3.PL	be.sick.IMV

'The children know that they (not they themselves) are sick.'

wékóbò	ǹì	gɨ́	ní	òkɛ̌l	gɨ́ní	rôm.
1.EX.tell.PFV	PREP	3.PL.O	COMPL	3.bring.SUBJ	3.PL.S	sheep.PL

'We told them to bring sheep.'

10.2.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses can as a rule be both postposed and preposed to the main clause:

òmòdhò	pì	nàbárá	ócìdhò.
3.drink.PFV	water	before	3.go.PFV

or

nàbárá	ócìdhò	òmòdhò	pì.
before	3.go.PFV	3.drink.PFV	water

'He drank water before he left.'

ɛ́n	bá	òbìnò	pìén	ónùòŋò	túó.
3.SG	NEG	3.come.PFV	because	PAST	be.sick.IMV

or

pìén	ónùòŋò	túó	ɔ̀mìyò
because	PAST	be.sick.IMV	3.cause.PFV

ɛ́n	bá	òbìnò.
3.SG	NEG	3.come.PFV

'She couldn't come because she was sick.'

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The conjunction *nákà* 'until' can introduce temporal clauses either directly or as a preposition of the noun *wáŋ* 'time'; in the latter case the subordinate clause is coded as a relative clause:

òcìèmɔ̀   nàká   ábìnɔ̀.

3.eat.PFV.AP   until   1.SG.come.PFV
'He ate until I came.'

ɛ́n   cíémó   nàká   wáŋ n-   ábìnɔ̀.

3.SG   eat.IMV.AP   until   time REL-   1.SG.come.PFV
'He will eat until I have come.'

Cause and reason clauses are coded by means of the conjunctions *pǐén* 'because' and *pɨ̀ŋɔ̀* 'why':

ɛ́n   tíyó   pɨ̀én   ɛ́n   óbèdò   àcàn.

3.SG   work.IMV   because   3.SG   3.be.PFV poor
'He works because he is poor.'

án   ʹgírá   bá   àŋéó   pɨ̀ŋɔ̀   íbìnɔ̀.

1.SG   TOP.1.SG   NEG   1.SG.know   why   2.SG.come.PFV
'As for me, I don't know why you have come.'

In conditional sentences, both orders of clauses are possible. The protasis clause is introduced by *ká* while the apodosis clause may be unmarked:

ká   (ɛn)   òbínó   àbínó   kɔ̀nyɔ̀.

if   3.SG   3.come.IMV   1.SG.FUT   help.INF

or

àbínó	kònyɔ̀	ká	òbínô.
1.SG.FUT	help.INF	if	3.come.IMV

'If he comes I'll help him.'

The last syllable of the preceding protasis clause may receive a question intonation, i.e. a rising tone, and the clause is introduced by the conjunction *ká*:

ká	ònùòŋò	ɛ́n	bá	Ꞌtúɔ̃́	kó	òbínó.
if	PAST	3.SG	NEG	be.sick	CONJ	3.SG.IMV

'If he had not been sick he would have come.'

There are two particles expressing purpose, namely *ɛkɛ* and *mɛ́*, where the former presents clauses and the latter noun phrases including non-final verbs:

ɛ́n	tíyó	ɛ̀kɛ̀	ɛ̀wîl	bɔ́Ꞌŋú.
3.SG	work.IMV	PUR	3.buy.SUBJ	clothes

or

ɛ́n	tíyó	mɛ́	wìlɔ̀	bɔ̀Ꞌŋú.
3.SG	work.IMV	PUR	buy.INF	clothes

òbínó	Ꞌkány	ɛ́k-	ɛ́Ꞌnɛ́nà.
3.come.PFV	here	PUR-	3.see.1.SG.O

or

òbínó	Ꞌkány	mɛ́	nɛ̀nò	ná.
3.come.PFV	here	PUR	see.INF	POSS.1.SG

'He came here in order to see me.'

ònèkò	dìèl	mɛ́	ŋɔ̀?	mɛ́	àcámá.[7]
3.kill.PFV	goat	PUR	what	PUR	eating

'What did he kill the goat for? For eating.'

kɔ̀ny	gí	ɛ́k	kúr	ɔ́thɔ̀	gíní!
help	3.PL.O	PUR	NEG.IMP	3.die.SUBJ	3.PL.S

'Help them so that so that they won't die!'

10.3 Direct and indirect speechs

Both direct and indirect speech clauses have essentially the structure of object complement clauses, being introduced by the complementizer *ní*.

ɛ́n	ókòbò	ní:	àbínó	(nɔ́k) kòdíkò.
3.SG	3.say.PFV	COMPL	1.SG.come.IMV	tomorrow

'He said: I will come tomorrow.'

ɛ́n	ókòbò	ní	ɛ́n	ɛ́'bínó	(nɔ́k) kòdíkò.
3.SG	3.say.PFV	COMPL	3.SG	3.SS.come.IMV	tomorrow

'He said that he would come tomorrow.'

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[7] The morphology of this non-finite verb form is unclear to us.

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