

2 Sketch

In this short chapter I give a selective overview of Jamsay grammar, emphasising points of typological interest. This will arm readers not previously familiar with Dogon (or West African languages generally) with sufficient grasp of the overall grammatical structure to contextualize the topical analyses of particular topics in the subsequent chapters. It should also make it easier for readers to work through phrasal and sentential examples. Phonology is not discussed here except insofar as prosodic (including tonal) patterns relate to grammar.

2.1 Prosody

Previous published and unpublished descriptions of Dogon languages have regularly commented that some form of lexical tone or accent is present, and that it is subject to grammatical modification. However, no previous study has actually analysed the prosodic system of a Dogon language.

In Jamsay, tone (lexical and grammatical) and intonation (including grammaticalized intonation patterns) play a central role. Indeed, I know of no (non-Dogon) language where prosody is so tightly integrated with the morphosyntax. Working on Jamsay has deepened my conviction that currently dominant grammatical theories, with their sharp compartmentalization of “phonology” and “syntax,” are badly misguided.

The prosodic ingredients are given in (xx1). H[igh] and L[ow] are the primitives of the tonal system. F[alling] and R[ising] are abbreviations for two-part contour tones.

- (xx1) a. lexical tones for stems
 combinations of H[igh] and L[ow] tonal primitives;
 no mora can have more than one tone;
 at least one H per stem
- b. grammatical tones (local)
 <HL> = F[alling] tone attached to stem-final vowel (always H)
 —(unsuffixed) Imperfective of verb
 HL, with H fused to the leftmost H in the last two syllables
 —“tonal locative” of noun
- c. grammatical tones (stem-wide)
 tone-dropping to all-L
 —noun before modifying adjective or demonstrative
 —NP-final word in NP that is head of relative clause
 —initial in some nominal compound types
 —verb before various suffixes (Negative, Verbal Noun)
 —unsuffixed Perfective verb after focalized constituent
 —preverbal subject pronominal (e.g. relative clauses)
 —pronoun before some discourse-functional morphemes
 —pronominal possessor before inalienable noun
 —final in iterated verb
 overlaid all-H contour
 —Imperative of most CvCv- and Cv : - verbs
 —final in some nominal (agentive) compound types
 overlaid H(H...)L contour
 —Perfective verb in relative clause
 —final in some nominal compound types
 —inalienable kin terms after possessor
 overlaid H(L...)L contour
 —initial (=base) in iterated verb
- d. intonation (discourse-based)
 prolongation ⇒
 —clause-final
 pitch-raising ↑↑
 —clause-final
 prolongation with higher-than-average pitch ⇒↑
 prolongation with pitch fall ⇒↘
- e. intonation (lexicalized)
 prolongation ⇒
 —several adverbs (some with adjective-like senses)
 —some discourse particles
 —some greetings
- f. intonation (grammaticalized)

- dying-quail intonation ∴ (exaggerated, prolonged pitch drop)
- end of both coordinands in NP conjunction
- end of word preceding universal quantifier f'ú: ⇒ 'all'

The contribution of tonal and intonational elements to Jamsay grammar is therefore vast. Jamsay does with prosody much of what other languages do with grammatical morphemes, or with morphosyntactic restructurings including linear movement. Three examples: 1) most pronouns (excluding suffixes on verbs) show no variation in segmental form across independent, subject, object, and possessor categories, but use tones to make some distinctions (e.g. 3Pl bé for independent, object, and alienable possessor, but bè for subject and inalienable possessor). 2) NP's X and Y are normally conjoined in Jamsay simply as [X ∴ Y ∴], with no conjunction morpheme but with dying-quail final intonation on both coordinands. 3) the difference between main and relative clauses is largely (though not entirely) expressed by tonal modifications. In relatives, the head is not fronted. Instead, the final word of the head NP drops its tones, a pronominal subject is expressed (in non-subject relatives) by a preverbal L-toned pronominal, and Perfective verbs have the H(H...)L tone overlay. There are also Participial suffixes, but since the form for Nonhuman head is -∅, as is the 3Sg subject form in main clauses, the Participial suffix cannot be relied on as an indicator of relative-clause status.

At the lexical level, tone is also important. Most native Jamsay words are built up with Cv and Cv: syllables, with a smattering of CvC and a few Cv:C and extra-long Cv:: syllables. Cv is monomoraic (=has one mora or syllabic weight unit), Cv: and CvC are bimoraic, and Cv:C and Cv:: are trimoraic. Each mora can have its own tonal primitive, H[igh] or L[ow], so a monomoraic syllable can be only H or L, a bimoraic syllable can be H, L, F (= <HL>), or R (= <LH>), and a trimoraic syllable can be any of the above or bell-shaped <LHL>. There are numerous minimal pairs such as díg'é 'bird's leg' and òíg'é 'row'. Many word families include a noun and a related verb that differ in tone. For example, the HH-toned noun bír'é 'work' is associated with the LH-toned verb bìr'é- 'work', and the two regularly combine in the VP bír'é bìr'é- 'work, do some work'.

While lexical and grammatical tones have a competitive relationship (stem-wide tonal overlays completely erase lexical tones), there is an important sense in which lexical and grammatical tones work together. The requirement that all stems have at least one H makes it possible to use stem-wide tone-dropping (to all-L) as a reliable indicator of morphosyntactic function (e.g. head of relative). The other common stem-wide tone overlay, H(H...)L, is also effective since this tone pattern does not exist for verbs and is uncommon for nouns (except Fulfulde borrowings). The all-H tone overlay would seem to be less well adapted to Jamsay, which has many lexically all-H verb and noun stems. Indeed, it is not terribly reliable as a marker of Imperative verbs for this reason. However, among the various types of participle-final agentive compounds, the type with all-H final does contrast with the others, which are based either on the unsuffixed Perfective with H(H...)L overlaid tone or on the unsuffixed Imperfective with final-syllable F-tone.

2.2 Inflectable verbs

Most if not all Dogon languages are verb-final, and this is true of Jamsay. However, the verb can be followed by clause-linking subordinators and certain discourse particles like ‘only’ with clausal scope. In addition, some normally preverbal constituents, especially adverbial phrases, are occasionally added (as afterthoughts or clarifications) after the verb, with an intervening pause.

Verb stems must respect sharp restrictions on segmental form and lexical tones. Regular verbs end in a long vowel if monosyllabic, in a short vowel if longer. The stem-level **lexical tone pattern** of a verb can only be all-H or L(L...)H with H on the final mora. There are also a handful of aspectually defective “quasi-verbs” meaning ‘be’, ‘have’, and ‘be in’ with Cv- and CvC- shapes, confined to the unsuffixed Perfective, hence with overlaid L-tone in main clauses and overlaid H(H...)L tone in relatives.

In non-imperative, non-focalized main clauses, the verb has the basic structure (xx1), omitting some minor details.

(xx1) [verb stem - (derivational suffix) -] AN (aspect-negation) - pronominal subject

Beginning with the final element, verbs are inflected for **subject person and number** category (1Sg, 1Pl, 2Sg, 2Pl, 3Sg/Nonhuman, 3Pl). The 3Sg/Nonhuman suffix is -Ø. The pronominal subject suffix may be the only expression of the subject, or it may agree with an unfocalized preverbal NP. In the unsuffixed Imperfective (positive), Nonhuman subject is distinguished from (human) 3Sg subject by adding quasi-verb ≡kò ‘be (nonhuman)’ after the regular verb stem.

Negation is also expressed by verbal suffixation; there are distinct Negative suffixes for perfective and imperfective verbs, immediately preceding the pronominal suffixes (hence verb-Neg-pronominal). Examples of positive and negative inflected verbs are in (xx2); note the zero 3SgS in (xx2.b).

- (xx2) a. yèr é-m̃
come.Impf-1SgS
‘I will come.’
- b. láyâ : -Ø
hit.Impf-3SgS
‘He/She/It will hit.’
- c. bèr è-gó-w
be.able-Inf.Neg-2SgS
‘You-Sg cannot.’

- d. yà:-lí-y
 go-Perf.Neg-1PlS
 'We did not go.'

In addition to negation and subject pronominal category, indicative verbs are marked for a set of AN (aspect-negation) categories. The positive categories are in (xx3).

(xx3) form category

a. **perfective system**

[tone overlay]	unsuffixed Perfective
-tî-	Perfective (most action verbs)
-yè-/-yà-, -â:-	Perfective (motion and stative verbs)
-sà-	Resultative
-jè-	Recent Perfect ('have already done')
-térè-	Experiential Perfect ('have [n]ever done')
[Rdp + tone overlay]	reduplicated Perfective

b. **imperfective system**

[final L-tone]	unsuffixed Imperfective
-tóyò-	(marked) Imperfective
-á:rà-	Habitual
[Rdp + final L-tone]	reduplicated Imperfective

In the perfective system, the unsuffixed Perfective is the basic form used in the presence of a focalized constituent, and in relative clauses. In other (positive) clauses, there is a choice between the Perfective (-tî-, -yè-/-yà-, or -â:-) and the other more specialized categories listed. In the imperfective system, the unsuffixed Imperfective is the most common form, but it gets some competition from suffixally marked categories. There is a relatively low-frequency reduplicated option in both perfective and imperfective systems.

The importance of tones in distinguishing inflectional categories, and in distinguishing main from relative clauses, can be brought out by considering the verb 'fight'.

(xx4)	lexical	unsuffixed Perfective		unsuffixed Impf	Imprt
		main clause	relative clause		
	jèyé	jèyè-	jéyè-	jèyé:-	jéyé
				(</jèyé-)	

The lexical form $y\acute{e}y\acute{e}$ with LH contour occurs as the bare stem in verb chains, and before non-Negative aspectual suffixes. The unsuffixed Perfective undergoes tone-dropping to all-L $j\grave{e}y\grave{e}$ - in main clauses (after a focalized constituent), but has the H(H...)L overlay in relative clauses, where it appears as HL-toned $j\acute{e}y\acute{e}$ -. The unsuffixed Imperfective is underlying $/j\grave{e}y\acute{e}$ - L/, as a final floating L-tone follows the stem. With zero suffix, the L-tone is grafted onto the preceding H-toned vowel, and (if short) this vowel is lengthened to two moras to allow the contour tone to be expressed. Finally, the Imperative is H-toned $j\acute{e}y\acute{e}$. In other words, this CvCv- stem can appear with LH, LL, HL, LF, and HH tones. Moreover, these tonal distinctions, while occasionally redundant (LL before Negative suffix), are in several cases the sole expression of the relevant morphosyntactic category.

In **negative** indicative clauses, though some suffixally marked aspects can occur, aspect tends to be reduced to a simple Perfective-Imperfective opposition, expressed by the portmanteau suffixes $-l\acute{i}$ - (Perfective Negative) and $-g\acute{o}$ - (Imperfective Negative). There is a distinct, aspectually undifferentiated Negative suffix $-l\acute{a}$ - for adjectives and some stative verbs and quasi-verbs.

Imperative clauses have a distinct set of inflections for subject (2Sg [=zero], 2Pl), and special negative (i.e. prohibitive) forms, as seen in (xx5).

- (xx5) a. $y\acute{e}r\acute{e}$
 come
 ‘Come-Sg!’
- b. $y\check{a}:-\grave{y}$
 go-Imprt.Pl
 ‘Go-Pl!’
- c. $p\grave{a}nt\grave{e}-\acute{y}$ $l\acute{a}y$
 repeat-Imprt.Pl Imprt.Neg.Pl
 ‘Don’t-Pl do it again!’

There is also a **Hortative** with suffix $-\acute{m}$.

2.3 Participles

In relative clauses (and therefore in various spatio-temporal and manner clauses in relative form, as well as in various agentive compounds), the verb takes a **Participial** suffix instead of a pronominal subject suffix. The Participial suffixes are Nonhuman $-\emptyset$, (human) Sg $-n$, and (human) Pl $-m$. These are the same suffixes used with most simple nouns, and with all adjectives. The Participial suffix **agrees with the head** of the relative, regardless of its grammatical relation (subject, object, etc.).

The verb in a relative clause, if perfective (positive), normally appears in a special H(H...)L-toned form of the unsuffixed Perfective.

Because agreement is with the head rather than with the subject, in non-subject relatives (and some other subordinated clauses) a set of **L-toned preverbal subject pronominals** is used, in place of the subject pronominal suffixes on verbs in main clauses.

Therefore the way to say ‘the day when I saw you’ can be schematized as (xx1).

(xx1) day.L 2SgO 1SgS.L see.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh

The head is ‘day’, so it appears with L-tone (“day.L”). Since this is a nonhuman noun, we get Nonhuman Participial suffix (“Ppl.Nonh”) on the verb. There is a 2Sg object pronominal (H-toned *ú*), and an L-toned preverbal subject pronominal (1Sg *mì*). Since the verb is perfective positive, it appears in the unsuffixed Perfective, with H(H...)L tone contour overlaid. The actual Jamsay phrase is (xx2).

(xx2) *dì :ⁿ ú mì ê : -∅*

2.4 Noun phrase (NP)

A full-sized NP could have the linear sequence (xx1), omitting some details.

- (xx1) a. possessor NP followed by *mà* ‘of’, or simple pronoun as possessor
 b. noun stem
 c. adjective (simple or expanded)
 e. demonstrative or ‘each, any’ quantifier
 f. numeral, Pl particle, and/or Definite particle
 g. ‘all’

The noun stem itself may be a compound. Many human nouns, and adjectives when referring to a human, take the suffix Sg *-n* or Pl *-m*. Human nouns that for one reason or another cannot take these suffixes (e.g. most kin terms) can be followed by Pl particle *bé*. Nonhuman nouns normally lack number marking, but they can be followed by *bé* to emphasize plurality.

An example of a fairly complex NP is (xx2), with the head bolded in the interlinear. ‘House’ and ‘small’ undergo tone-dropping to all L-tones (indicated by “.L” in interlinears) because each is followed by a modifying adjective. The possessor (1Sg) and the final Pl morpheme *bé* do not interact tonally with the head noun or with the adjectives. One can therefore bracket off an inner **core NP** defined by **tonal interaction**, as opposed to peripheral elements that have no tonal interaction with the core (**tonal independence**).

(xx2) [má [ùrò dáyà pírú] bé]
 [1SgP [**house.L** small.L white] Pl]
 ‘my small white houses’

In addition to tonal dependence versus independence, a further issue relevant to internal NP structure is what happens when a complex NP functions as head of a relative. For example, if (xx2) were a relative head, as in ‘my small white houses that burned down’, the first four words would remain together (though pírú would drop tones to become pìrù), but Plural bé would detach itself and would appear at the end of the relative clause, following the participialized verb. There is a partial correlation, among postnominal elements in NPs, between such **detachability** and lack of tonal interaction. However, the correlation is imperfect; for example, cardinal numerals have no tonal interaction with preceding nouns, but are not detachable.

2.5 Postposition phrase (PP)

Jamsay has several postpositions that follow their NP complement. There is an all-purpose postposition lè that can be dative, locative, or instrumental in function. There are a range of mostly spatial postpositions, like bérè ‘in’. Instead of adding a postposition, certain nouns (all ending in H-tone) have a “tonal locative” formed by grafting an L-tone on at the end. The resulting tonal locatives are ...HL from lexical ...HH, and ...(L)F from lexical ...(L)H. Examples: úró ‘house’, úrò ‘in the house’; bòró ‘bottom’, bòrô: ‘at the bottom’. Some of the spatial locative postpositions are, or could have originated as, tonal locatives of nouns.

2.6 Main clauses and constituent order

Jamsay sentences are normally **verb-final**. Temporal adverbials like yá: ‘yesterday’ normally occur at the beginning of the clause. However, probably reflecting real-time production glitches, in casual speech an adverbial or other constituent is occasionally “extraposed” and articulated postverbally, with a prosodic break, as an afterthought or clarification (xx1). Such constructions are avoided in elicited sentences.

- (xx1) a. dùndàṅá yèré bé tèmè-Ø [èjú bérè]
 elephant come 3PIO find.Perf.L-Ø [**field in**]
 ‘An elephant came out and encountered them, in the field.’
- b. wó ñé:-wⁿé kàrà-Ø [bé: kùⁿ]
 3SgO eat-Caus compel.Perf.L-3SgS [**excrement Def**]
 ‘He forced him to eat the excrement.’ **2004.4.4**

In main clauses, there is a pronominal-subject suffix on the verb (whether or not the subject is also expressed by a nonpronominal preverbal NP). Therefore pronominal subjects are irrelevant to the linear ordering of preverbal constituents. This leaves us with objects, datives, nonpronominal subjects (expressed by noun-headed NPs), and adverbials. The regular ordering pattern is (xx2).

(xx2) main clause (unfocalized)

1. adverbials (especially temporal)
2. nonpronominal (i.e. full-NP) subject
3. dative, object, adverbials (especially locatives)
5. verb with pronominal subject suffix

This can be roughly summarized as **Adv-S_{NP}-X-V**, where “X” is everything else. Within X, pronominals (object and/or dative) are immediately preverbal. (xx3.a) begins with a temporal adverbial, then has a second person singular object pronoun (“2SgO”), then a verb with AN suffix (Resultative) and a 1Sg subject (“1SgS”) suffix. (xx3.b) illustrates subject-object ordering with nonpronominal NPs.

- (xx3) a. yá: ú é: -sà-m
yesterday 2SgO see-Reslt-1SgS
'Yesterday I saw you-Sg.'
- b. tî-tá: jòṅó kò: -Ø
Rdp-hyena hare eat.Perf.L-3SgS
'The hyena ate the hare.'

A **dative** usually precedes a **direct object** when both are nonpronominal (xx4.a), though sequencing is not completely rigid. This ordering is obligatory when both are pronominal (xx4.b). However, a Nonhuman object pronominal is optionally omitted when understood, a tendency that is probably intensified in the presence of a dative pronominal (xx4.c).

- (xx4) a. [mî dē: lè] bú: dù ó: -sà-m
[1SgP.L father.HL **Dat**] **money** give-Reslt-1SgS
'I gave the money to my father.'
- b. ù-rú wó ñé: -wⁿé-m
2Sg-Dat 3SgO eat-Caus.Impf-1SgS
'I will feed him/her for you-Sg.'
- c. wò-rú ó: -sà-m
3Sg-Dat give-Reslt-1SgS
'I gave (it) to him/her.'

The above is somewhat idealized, since it does not consider focalization or topicalization. In **focalization**, some constituent preceding the verb functions as focus, whether or not it is overtly marked as such by Focus clitic ≡ỹ. If the focus is a pronominal subject, it appears as an independent pronoun, with or without ≡ỹ, and there is no subject pronominal on the verb. This focalized pronoun appears at or near the beginning of the clause (xx5).

(xx5) émé nì-dî :ⁿ ìñê :
 1Pl here lie.down.Impf
 ‘It’s we [focus] who go to bed here.’

There is also a great deal of **topicalization**. NPs and independent pronouns are regularly placed to the left of a sentence, usually with at least some prosodic break. The sentence proper usually has pronouns coindexed to these presentential topical NPs (xx6). This is especially diagnostic in the case of objects, since a pronominal object is not used in addition to a clause-mate nonpronominal object NP. Many times, what looks at first sight like a clause-internal NP in subject or object function is actually a presentential topic.

(xx6) [ìnè nùṅò-nám] [b́é jùgó-m̀]
 [person Dem.L-owners] [3PIO know.Impf-1SgS]
 ‘Those people_x [topic], I know them_x.’

2.7 Nominalized clauses and constituent order

When the verb is nominalized, subject and object are generally expressed as possessors (omitting some detail). This applies to Verbal Noun clauses, and to the ‘before’ construction where the verb has a suffix -ẁ with underspecified vowel. Pronominal subjects are expressed by preverbal pronominals. The basic ordering pattern is (xx1).

- (xx1) nominalized clause
1. adverbials
 2. subject (pronominal or nonpronominal), expressed as possessor
 3. dative, object (expressed as possessor or object), adverbials
 4. verb with nominalizing suffix

This can be summarized roughly as **Adv-S(Poss)-X-V**. An example is (xx2). The logical subject (2Sg pronoun) is expressed as a special kind of possessor only used with nominalized verbs, viz., independent pronoun (H-toned) followed by Possessive mà (which is not used after pronominals in tensed clauses). The object ‘chicken’ has normal object form (rather than compound-initial form) since it is not immediately preverbal. It is followed by a dative pronominal (as usual, pronominals gravitate to immediate preverbal position), then the Verbal Noun of ‘give’.

(xx2) ú mà èñé wò-rú ò-ý
2Sg Poss chicken 3Sg-Dat give.L-VblN
 ‘Your-Sg giving a chicken to her.’ **2004.3.19**

2.8 Relative clauses

In relatives, the verb has a Participial suffix instead of a pronominal subject suffix. There is a head NP whose last word undergoes tone-dropping, but the head can be in any grammatical relation. The head appears in its usual place in the sentence (there is no systematic fronting of heads). If the subject is pronominal, it is expressed by a special L-toned preverbal subject pronominal in immediate preverbal position. This is connected with the fact that the normal morphological slot for pronominal-subject suffixes (at the end of the verb) is occupied in relative clauses by a Participial suffix agreeing in number and humanness with the head noun (which need not be the subject).

(xx3) relative clause

1. adverbials (especially temporal)
2. nonpronominal subject
3. dative, object, adverbials
4. L-toned pronominal subject (if no nonpronominal subject present)
5. verb with Participial suffix agreeing with head noun

This can be summarized as **Adv-S_{NP}-X-S_{PR}-V**, where only one of (nonpronominal) **S_{NP}** and (pronominal) **S_{PR}** is allowed. The most distinctive feature of this construction is the presence of a preverbal subject pronominal.

Examples involving two or three pronominals, which show rigid dative-object-subject order, are in (xx4).

- (xx4) a. nìŋìrⁿè ú mì ê: -∅
 day.L 2SgO 1SgS.L see.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘the day (when) I saw you-Sg’
- b. dî:ⁿ é bè jâ: -∅ kùⁿ
 place.L 2PIO 3PIS.L convey.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def
 ‘the place where they have taken you-Pl’ **2004.5.2**
- c. dògùrù ù-rú wó mì ñé: -wⁿè-∅ kùⁿ
 time.L 2Sg-Dat 3SgO 1SgS.L eat-Caus.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def
 ‘(at) the time when I fed him for you-Sg’

Let us consider (xx4.a) in detail. It begins with a temporal noun ‘day’ in L-toned form, which tells us that this noun is the head of the relative. There is then an H-toned pronominal for the object, followed by a L-toned subject pronominal. The participial is based on a Perfective verb, which in relatives takes the form of an unsuffixed Perfective stem with overlaid H(H...)L tone. Since the head is Nonhuman, the Nonhuman Participial suffix -∅ is used.

In the interlinears, “.L” after a gloss or label indicates that tone-dropping has occurred, and “.HL” indicates that a H(H...)L tone contour has been overlaid. The 2Sg

- a. chaining
 [...bare verb stem] same-subject VP's
 [...bare verb stem] m̀̀y same-subject VP's
- b. conditionals
 [...inflected verb] d̀̀y antecedent 'if ...' ('when ...')
- c. adverbials
 [...bare verb stem] j́ ̀̀ m̀̀y subject-switch (often)
 [...bare verb stem] ǵá: k̀̀n 'after ...'
 [...nominalized verb] 'in' 'before ...'
 [...Sg participle of verb] temporal (varying by verbal aspect)
- d. quotative
 [...inflected verb] 'say' quotative (reported assertion)
 [...imperative/hortative] 'say' jussive (reported imperative/hortative)
- e. complement
 [...bare verb stem] complement of 'begin', 'can', etc.
 [...Verbal Noun] complement of 'want', etc.
- f. purposive/causal
 [...L-toned verb] 'to' purposive
 [...inflected verb] j́ ̀̀ purposive
 [L-object H(H...)L-verb] purposive (with 'come', 'go', 'sit')
 śáb̀̀ [...inflected verb] 'because ...'

The major clause types (main and subordinated) can be organized into the types in (xx2), disregarding some unique features of each construction.

(xx2)

a. **main-clause type**

verb inflected for AN and pronominal-subject category;
unsuffixed Perfective verb has all-L tones;
no preverbal subject pronoun (unless topical or focalized);
direct object not in possessor or compound-initial form.

examples:

main clauses;
quotative complement (§17.1);
'because' clause with sábu (§17.6.5);
conditional antecedent clause (usually) (§16.1).

b. **infinitival type (nonfinal VP in chain)**

verb in bare stem form, or (rarely) with marked AN suffix;
subject not expressed;
direct object not in possessor or compound-initial form.

examples:

ordinary (symmetrical) VP chains (§15.1);
complements of certain verbs like 'begin' (§17.5)

c. **relative-clause type (weakly nominalized)**

verb in participial form (Nonh -Ø, Sg -n, Pl -m);
H(H...)L-tone overlay on unsuffixed Perfective participle;
pronominal subject expressed by preverbal L-toned subject pronominal;
direct object not in possessor or compound-initial form.

examples:

relative clause (chapter 14);
adverbial clause in relative form with temporal, spatial, or manner
noun as head (§15.2.4.1, §15.2.5-6);
conditional antecedent clause (occasionally) (§16.1).

offshoots of (c) with **invariant participle**:

1. with invariant Nonhuman -Ø :

'see' complement in direct-perception sense (§17.3.4).

2. with invariant human Sg -n :

pseudo-participial adverbial clause (§15.2.1);
complement of 'dare' (§17.2).

c. **(quasi-)focalization type**

verb inflected for AN category but not for pronominal subject;
unsuffixed Perfective verb has all-L tones;
pronominal subject expressed by H-toned independent pronoun;
direct object not in possessor or compound-initial form.

examples:

focalization construction (chapter 13);
'see' complement in recognition sense (§17.3.4.2).

d. strong-nominalization type

verb is nominalized;
no AN categories expressed;
object expressed as compound initial or as alienable possessor;
subject expressed as alienable possessor if no object intervenes;
if object present, pronominal subject expressed as outer possessor

examples:

'before ...' construction (§15.2.4.2);
verbal-noun clause (§17.xxx).

e. compound type

object and verb are fused into a compound of type [n̂ v̂]

examples:

reduced purposive clause in compound form (§17.4)

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