

## 15 Verb (VP) Chaining and Adverbial Clauses

### 15.1 Chaining

The term “chaining” will be used for combinations of VPs (sometimes reduced to simple verbs), such that the nonfinal verbs occur in **infinitival (=bare stem)** form with their lexical tone, which depending on the verb is either all-H or L(L...)H. The VPs in question have a **shared subject**, which facilitates the reduction of one clause to just a VP. The final verb in a chain is inflected for aspect-negation categories, and usually for subject pronominal category.

Chaining covers a range of phenomena involving various degrees of integration. At one extreme, we have two or more completely separate VPs chained together, sharing a subject and implying some sort of temporal or causal relationships, but with no other formal clause-level integration. At the other extreme, we have a kind of verb-verb compounding, where a pair of verbs functions like a single verb, with a single set of arguments and adverbial complements.

Closely related to VP-chaining in form and function is a VP-linking construction with particle *mèy*<sup>n</sup> (§15.xxx, below). There is also a similarity to constructions with main-clause verbs like ‘want’ that take complements in the form of VPs ending in bare stems (§17.xxx).

#### 15.1.1 Tone-dropping of medial chained verb ( $\bar{v}$ $\dot{v}$ $\bar{v}$ )

When three (or more) verbs are chained together without separating material, a verb in the middle of the chain optionally appears in **L-toned form**. Examples are in (xx1). In (xx1.c), if the linker *tí* (§15.xxx) is considered to be a verb there are four verbs in the chain, and the two medial ones including *tí* drop their tones..

- (xx1) a. *èmě-n tál-lá gò: wànà-ŋá bèrè-j-é*  
1PI-Dat stick-Revers **go.out.L** be.far-Caus can-Impf.Neg-3PIS  
‘They cannot separate themselves from us and go far away.’ (gó: -)  
**2004.3.10**
- b. [*sùrgǒ-n lè*] *dé: jà: ó:-bà*  
[weaver-Sg Dat] carry **take.L** give.Impf-3PIS  
‘They will carry it (=cotton) and give it to the weaver.’ (jǎ: -)  
**2004.3.14**
- c. [*nîŋ èné wó tá:<sup>n</sup> wò: tì yǎ̀*] *wá*  
[now Logo 3SgO shoot **kill.L Link.L** go.Impf] say  
‘He said, “now I will shoot and kill you, and (then) go.”’ **2004.4.4**

Since the particle *mèy<sup>n</sup>* is commonly used after a nonfinal verb in a chain, the fact that it is (often, but not always) low-pitched may be a special case of the [*ṽ ṽ ṽ*] pattern, with *mèy<sup>n</sup>* treated as a medial chained verb.

A similar [*ṽ ṽ ṽ*] pattern, along with two-part (*ṽ ṽ*), can occur in verb-stem iteration (§11.xxx). There is also a frozen reduplicative noun *kòró-kàrà-kòró* ‘noise, din’ with a similar *ṽ-ṽ-ṽ* pattern.

### 15.1.2 Verbal Noun of chained verbs

**Verbal nouns** can be created for tightly-knit verb chains. Only the final verb has the VblN suffix. The preceding verb(s) appear as L-toned compound initials.

(xx1) a. *sì:r-è-t-è:r-ú*  
 point.at.L-show-**VblN**  
 ‘pointing (with finger) and showing’ (verbs *sí:r-é-*, *té:r-é-*)  
**2004.3.11**

b. [*bé n-è*]      [[*n-òw<sup>n</sup> ó kù<sup>n</sup>*] *m-à*  
 [3Pl now]      [[meat Def] Poss  
*l-ù-g-ù-r-ò-l-à-y-à-j-è:r-ú*      *kù<sup>n</sup>*]      [*è-j-ú l-é*] —  
**look.for.L-hit.L-bring-VblN**      Def]      [field in] —  
 [*b-ó-m-ó l-é*]  
 [outside in]  
 ‘They now [topic], (their) looking for, hitting, and bringing (back) that meat (e.g. chickens) from the bush —, (or rather) from outside (the village)’ **2004.3.18**

When the nonfinal VP in the chain is too cumbersome to function as compound initial, for example when it is followed by *mèy<sup>n</sup>*, we can get Possessive *m-à*.

(xx2) [*k-ù-r<sup>n</sup> â: n m-à s-ũ-ŋ*] [*à-n-á b-é-r-è*], *goudron*  
 [electricity Poss cord] [village in], paved.road  
*c-ě: k-án t-í m-è-y ŋ m-à g-ă:-n-Ø b-é* ⇒  
 thing do Link and **Poss** go.past-Caus-VblN Pl  
 ‘there’s doing something to take electrical wires across streets in the town, and there’s removing filth from (=cleaning out) the ditches, ...’ **2004.5.3**

### 15.1.3 Double inflection instead of chaining

There are a number of passages where chaining would have been easy for the speaker, but where two adjacent verbs are each inflected (xx1.a). This is most common with imperfective verbs. Likewise, instead of stem-iteration, the speaker repeats entire inflected Imperfective verbs in (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. [â: cêw] láyâ:-Ø cê:ⁿ-Ø  
 [catch.Perf.HL all] hit.Impf-3SgS slaughter.Impf-3SgS  
 ‘What he has caught (in his traps), he beats and slaughters.’ **2004.3.16**
- b. ó:rⁿ ð≡yⁿ táná-ŋá-wⁿ táná-ŋá-wⁿ,  
 waterskin≡Foc become-Caus.Impf-2SgS become-Caus.Impf-2SgS  
 bè:né≡yⁿ táná-ŋá-wⁿ táná-ŋá-wⁿ,  
 shoulder.bag≡Foc become-Caus.Impf-2SgS become-Caus.Impf-2SgS  
 ‘You-Sg will be making them (=tanned hides) into waterskins; you will be making them into shoulder bags.’ **2004.3.17**

#### 15.1.4 Presence of AN suffix in nonfinal chained verb

While most nonfinal verbs in chains are morphologically bare, there are infrequent examples in texts of chained verbs with AN (but not pronominal-subject) suffixes. I include here both direct chaining, and chaining with intervening *mèyⁿ*. The AN categories in question are Recent Perfect – *jè* indicating a chronological sequencing among the chained verbs (xx1.a-b) and Imperfective – *tóyò* indicating extended time overlap (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. [[èné mà bà:ñá :.] [èné mà ùjùwⁿó :.]]  
 [[Refl Poss bowl] [Refl Poss mouse]]  
 dé:-jè [bómó lé] gô:-Ø  
 carry-**RecPf** [outside to] go.out.Impf-3SgS  
 ‘Having put his wooden bowl (part of mousetrap) with his mouse (trapped in the bowl) on his head (to carry it), he will go outside.’  
**2004.3.16**
- b. jò:mó-jè yǎ:-w  
 ride-RecPf go.Impf-2SgS  
 ‘You-Sg will ride away (on a bicycle).’ **2004.4.25**
- b. wó≡y lúgúró-tóyò yàrà-m  
 3Sg≡Foc look.for-**Impf** go.around.Perf.L-1SgS  
 ‘It’s him/her [focus] that I went around looking for.’ **2004.3.10**

#### 15.1.5 VP-chaining without overt linking particle

A typical example extracted from a still longer chain is (xx1). Here each verb (‘sling over shoulder’, ‘go’) is preceded by the arguments logically associated with it.

- (xx1) [[èné mà màlfâ:ⁿ] dàrà] [dúwⁿósán yǎ:] ...

[[Refl Poss rifle]                    **sling**] [Douentza **go**] ...  
 'Having slung his rifle over his shoulder, and having gone to Douentza, ...'  
**2004.3.4**

(xx2) shows how chaining can produce compact utterances, with a single NP (e.g. direct object) being simultaneously governed by several verbs.

(xx2)    jî:já:            bàrá    jè:ré    kúnó-bà  
 balsam-spurge gather bring put.Impf-3PIS  
 'They will gather, bring, and put down (branches) of balsam-spurge shrub'  
**2004.3.18**

(xx3) illustrates the basic pattern by which the final verb is inflected both for AN category and for subject pronominal suffix, while the nonfinal verbs in the chain have bare-stem form. In both examples, a direct-object expressed overtly as NP or pronominal before one verb in the chain is not repeated before the following verb(s) even though it functions logically as direct object throughout. The absence of the second and third occurrences is represented by  $\emptyset_x$  in interlinears, with referential index x. In (xx3.a), one verb in the chain (jǎ:- 'take, convey') is iterated to express duration.

(xx3) a. [lúgù    bàrá] [∅ [èjú lé]    jǎ:-jà:]  
 [manure<sub>x</sub> gather] [∅<sub>x</sub> [field in]    convey-convey]  
 [∅ sáráwá-jè-bà    dèy,  
 [∅<sub>x</sub> spread-RecPf-3PIS    if,  
 'When they have gathered the manure, taken it to the bush, and spread it out, ...' **2004.3.5**

b. [kó        jǎ:] [∅ [púlò-m    lè]    ó:-bà]  
 [NonhO<sub>x</sub> take] [∅<sub>x</sub> [Fulbe-Pl    Dat] give.Impf-3PIS]  
 'They (=Dogon) take it (=cattle) and give it to the Fulbe.' **2004.3.10**

An extended chain involving six verbs is seen in (xx4).

(xx4) [[pàyà    túmnó]    kó        páyá]  
 [[bundle.L one]            NonhO    tie]  
 [[wòtóro    mánà]    ná:ná]  
 [[cart        on]                    put]  
 [[wò        nâ:]        mà    úró]                    àr<sup>n</sup>-úm mòr<sup>n</sup>ó  
 [[3SgPl.L mother.HL] Poss house.Loc.HL] man-Pl    **be.together**  
 yǎ: kó        dé:        súnú-ḡó-bà  
**go** NonhO    carry    go.down-Caus.Impf-3PIS  
 'The men will tie up one bundle (of millet), put it on a cart, get together and go carry it and unload it at the house of her mother.' **2004.3.20**

### 15.1.1.1 Arguments of chained verbs

A complement such as a direct object may be omitted before the first verb or two in a chain, then made overt before the final verb of which it is an argument. In (xx1), ‘milk’ is the logical object of ‘bring’ and ‘put’, but it does not appear until just before the final verb ‘sell’.

- (xx1) éw<sup>n</sup>é-jè-bà            dèy,    jè:r é [àná bérè] kúnó mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑,  
 milk(verb)-**RecPf**-3PlS **if**,    bring [village in]    put and,  
 yìlìwé            [ém kù<sup>n</sup>] dòr<sup>n</sup>ó-bà  
 walk.around    [milk Def]    sell.**Impf**-3PlS  
 ‘When they (=Fulbe) have milked (the cows), they will bring, put (in  
 containers), and go around selling the milk.’ **2004.3.10**

In (xx2.a), below, note that àná ‘village’, here in locative adverbial function, is more naturally associated with ‘go around’ than with ‘blow (horn)’, but it is placed to the left of the two-verb sequence. In (xx2.b), the dative pronominal is properly the argument of the second verb ‘speak’, but it is placed before the first verb ‘go’. (xx2.c) has a similar structure.

- (xx2) a. àná            sújó            gòṅó-bè  
 village            blow            go.around.Impf-2PlS  
 ‘you-Pl will go around town blowing (the horn).’
- b. bè-rú    yǎ:    tégé-w̄  
 3Pl-Dat    go    speak.Impf-2Sg  
 ‘You-Sg will go and speak to them.’ **2004.3.10**
- c. [àr<sup>n</sup>-úm lè]    yàṅá    ô:-w  
 [man-Pl    Dat]    pick.up    give.Impf-2SgS  
 ‘you-Sg will pick up (the cotton) and give (it) to the men.’ **2004.3.14**

In (xx3), ‘us’ is the regular direct object of ‘take, convey’, but should be the dative (=indirect) object of ‘show’. The speaker could therefore have used two 1Pl pronominals, an object form before ‘take’ and a dative form before ‘show’. Instead, he used only the object form before ‘take’, correctly assuming that the context was sufficiently clear. ‘Show’, like ‘give’, often omits an expected Nonhuman direct object pronominal.

- (xx3) émé    jǎ:    té:ré    mèy<sup>n</sup>  
 1PlO    take    show    and  
 ‘having taken us (there) and showed (it to us), ...’ **2004.3.11**

### 15.1.6 Verb-chaining and verb-verb compounds

In some cases, the meanings of two chained verbs may blend together, constituting the verbal equivalent of compounds.

One pair of examples, both involving *kól-ló-* (Reversive derivative of *kóró-* ‘hang up, hook’), is in (xx1). Here the second verb, ‘bring’ or ‘leave (in place)’, clarifies the sense of the first verb as well as specifying motion (or lack thereof). In one case, the suspended object is to be unhooked (and then brought); in the other, the object has already been unhooked and is to be hung up again (and left there).

- (xx1) a. *kól-ló*            *jè:ré-*  
           hang.up-Rev        bring-  
           ‘unhook (sth hanging) and bring’
- b. *kól-ló*            *dàḃá-*  
           hang.up-Rev        leave-  
           ‘hang up (again) and leave (there)’

Further examples where the two verbs together denote a more or less unified action are in (xx2).

- (xx2) *tá:n*            *wǒ:-*            ‘shoot and kill’ = ‘shoot dead’  
       *láḃá*            *wǒ:-*            ‘hit (with a stick) and kill’ = ‘strike dead’  
       *bàrá*            *gǒ:n-*          ‘gather and remove’ = ‘round up and expel’  
       *ú:r<sup>n</sup>ó*            *íjé-*            ‘get up and stand’  
       *céré*            *púl-ló-*        ‘bite and break’ = ‘bite off or through’  
       *nàná*            *tí:-*            ‘chase and send’ = ‘drive out, expel’  
       *dàmá*            *dùḃó-*        ‘push and close up’ = ‘fill (well) with earth’

Rarely, a verb is attested only as noninitial member of a chain. For example, *sàrá-* in the sense ‘pass’ seems to occur only in the combination *sàrá gàrá-* ‘go past (continuing on one’s way)’, with *gàrá-* ‘pass, pass by, exceed’.

### 15.1.7 Chains including a time-of-day verb

Time-of-day verbs *dègè-* ‘spend (mid-)day’ and *ná:-* ‘spend the night’ may combine with a preceding activity verb. The time-of-day verb specifies the temporal frame of the activity. This temporal frame is coextensive with the activity (‘sing all night’, ‘work all day’).

- (xx1) a. *jòwó*    *nà:-bà*  
           run        **spend.night**.Perf.L-3PlS  
           ‘They drove all night.’ **2004.5.1**

- b. yé-dì:ⁿ jòwó dègè-y  
 there run spend.day.Perf.L-1PIS  
 ‘There we drove all day.’ **2004.5.1**

#### 15.1.8 Chains including dàyá- ‘leave’

dàyá- ‘leave’ is a common second element in a chain. In some cases, as in kól-ló dàyá- ‘hang and leave’ cited just above, the addition of dàyá- makes explicit what is implied but unstated in English translation equivalents with just ‘put’. This is also true in (xx1.a), where ‘sow, put down, and leave (seeds)’ would be lumped together as ‘sow’ in English with ‘put down’ and ‘leave’ being implied. In other cases, adding dàyá- forces an adjustment even in a free translation (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. [á wò-túmó mà kû:ⁿ]≡yⁿ [tòy mǎyⁿ]  
 [2SgP mound Poss on]≡Foc [sowing.L dry]  
 tó: únó dàyá-w  
 sow put.down leave.Impf-2SgS  
 ‘On the mounds [focus] you-Sg will sow, put down, and leave the dry seed (in pits with manure, before the rains).’ **2004.3.6**
- b. nǎn dàyá-sà-∅ má:  
 give.birth leave-Reslt-3SgS yes/no?  
 ‘Did (a ewe or she-goat) give birth to and abandon (a newborn, in the pasture)?’ (verb nârⁿá-) **2004.3.9**
- c. dì:ⁿ ém bè jǎ: dáyà-∅  
 place.L 1PIO 3PIS.L convey leave.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘the place where they took and left us.’ **2004.5.6**

dàyá ‘leave’ can also be used as the first verb in a two-verb chain. One recurring pattern is with a following causative, resulting in a sense ‘let X do’, as opposed to the coercive ‘cause X to do’.

- (xx2) a. bé dàyá kùnù-wⁿò-gó-∅  
 3PIO leave put-Caus-Impf.Neg-3SgS  
 ‘It (=situation) does not allow them to put (calabash plants, in field)’  
**2004.3.9**
- b. mí dàyá jì-nî: nî:-wⁿè-gó-∅  
 1SgO leave sleep(noun) sleep-Caus-Impf.Neg-3SgS  
 ‘He/She won’t let me sleep.’

15.1.9 Chains including a motion verb or ‘pick up, take’

**Motion** verbs (‘go’, ‘come’) are often chained with each other, or with another verb. Where the two events are chronologically sequenced, this is respected in the linear ordering.

- (xx1) a. yǎ:            yèr é-ṁ  
**go**            **come**.Impf-1SgS  
 ‘I will go and come (back)’
- b. yèr é        bé        t é m é-  
**come**        3PIO    find-  
 ‘come and encounter them’
- c. yèr é        [ í n é-ṁ    l è ]    t é g é        m è y<sup>n</sup> ↑  
**come**        [person-Pl    Dat]    speak        and  
 [m à l f â :<sup>n</sup>    n á m ]    y ǎ :    w ǒ - t        t á :<sup>n</sup>    ó : - b à  
 [rifle        owners] **go**    3Sg-Dat    shoot    give.Impf-3PlS  
 ‘(He) having come and spoken to the people, the hunters with guns will go, shoot (an animal), and give it (to him).’ **2004.3.16**

‘Go’ and ‘come’ can also be used as final member of a chain, with a preceding activity verb. Here the motion and the (durative) activity are simultaneous. The activity verb is in suffixed Imperfective form, or in a reduplication with [v̂ v̂] tone.

- (xx2) a. n ũ ŋ        n ũ ŋ ó - t ó y ò        y è r è - Ø  
 song        sing-Impf        **come**.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘He/She came singing.’
- b. n ũ ŋ        n ũ ŋ ò - n ũ ŋ ò        y è r è - Ø  
 song        sing.HL-sing.L        **come**.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘He/She came singing.’

‘Pick up, take’ is also common with a following verb.

- (xx3) a. w ó        y à ŋ á        j è : r è - b á ⇒  
 3SgO    **take**        bring.Perf.L-3PlS  
 ‘They (=police) took him and brought him (to where he said he had killed an elephant).’
- b. [ p ì r<sup>n</sup> é    k ù<sup>n</sup>    n è ]    y à ŋ á        n ó :        w á  
 [millet.cream Def now] **take**        drink.Imprt say  
 ‘He said, “take the millet cream and drink it!”’ **2004.4.4**

### 15.1.10 Chains including m̀̀r<sup>n</sup>ó- ‘be/do together’

Among the most commonly chained verbs is m̀̀r<sup>n</sup>ó-, whose meaning in isolation is intransitive ‘gather, come together, assemble, have a meeting’. In combination with another verb, it can often be translated as ‘together’. Usually it precedes the other relevant verb, hence ‘get together and VERB’. In many textual contexts, this chronological sequence is apt, and English translations of the type ‘VERB together’, which involve no such sequence, can be misleading. m̀̀r<sup>n</sup>ó- can also follow another verb, especially in its independent sense after a motion verb.

- (xx1) a. [bé ǹ̀] m̀̀r<sup>n</sup>ó ù-t t́éwé-bà  
 [3Pl now] **be.together** 2Sg-Dat make.brick.Impf-3PlS  
 ‘They now [topic], they will get together and make bricks for you-Sg.’  
**2004.3.25**
- b. [bé ǹ̀] ỳ̀r é m̀̀r<sup>n</sup>ó-bà  
 [3Pl now] come **be.together**.Impf-3PlS  
 ‘They now [topic], they will come and assemble.’ **2004.3.19**
- c. ỳ̀r é m̀̀r<sup>n</sup>ó wó bàrà-bà  
 come **be.together** 3SgO help.Perf.L-3PlS  
 ‘They came together and helped him.’ **2004.3.2**

There is a causative m̀̀: -nó- ‘put together, gather, assemble’ with similar combinatorial potential (xx2).

- (xx2) é b̀̀r<sup>n</sup>ó m̀̀: -n-tù-bà d̀̀y  
 2PlO call **be.together-Caus**-Perf-3PlS if  
 ‘when they have summoned you to assemble’ **2004.4.6**

### 15.1.11 Chains with causative verb and k̀̀rà

Morphologically causative verbs (§9.xxx) have a range of “causative” senses, ranging from ‘compel (sb) to VP’ to the more benign ‘have (sb) VP’ or ‘let (sb) VP’. To emphasize that compulsion is involved, the causative verb may be followed by k̀̀rá- ‘compel’. This is not the ‘do, make’ verb k̀̀r<sup>n</sup>á-, which has a nasalized r<sup>n</sup> (§11.xxx). My examples of k̀̀rá- are in the L-toned unaffixed Perfective (xx1). I was also able to elicit a VblN k̀̀r-ú.

- (xx1) a. [bé: k̀̀r<sup>n</sup>] wó b̀̀: -wé k̀̀rà-Ø  
 [excrement Def] 3SgO defecate-Caus **compel**.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘He forced him to defecate.’ **2004.4.4**
- b. wó ñ́é: -w<sup>n</sup>é k̀̀rà-Ø

3SgO eat-Caus **compel**.Perf.L-3SgS  
 'He forced him to eat (the excrement).' **2004.4.4**

I was unable to elicit imperfective forms of *kárá-*. Instead, my assistant preferred imperfective forms of the morphological causative *kárá-wá-* (with no change in meaning).

#### 15.1.12 Adverb-like chained verbs

Chaining lends itself to adverb-like modification. Examples of verbs commonly used in this function are *ógó-ró* 'be fast, do fast' and *pílíwé-* 'go back; do again'.

(xx1) a. *pílíwé* [òyó nè] tóógó=kò  
**go.back** [grass now] sprout.Impf=be.Nonh  
 'The grass will sprout again.' **2004.3.6**

b. *ógó-ró* kò dó:=kò dèné-w<sup>n</sup> dèy  
**be.fast** NonhS.L reach=be.Nonh want.Impf-2SgS if  
 'if you-Sg want it (wall under construction) to reach (its endpoint) quickly' **2004.3.25**

Another example is with *jámá-* 'betray', which can be glossed adverbially as 'treacherously' in (xx2).

(xx2) [dà:γá dé:-yè-∅ dèy] yèré jámá léjé-sà-∅ dèy  
 [night fall-Perf-3SgS if] come **betray** push.down-Reslt-3SgS if  
 'At nightfall, when it (=Hyena) came and treacherously attacked (Camel), ...'  
**2004.4.3**

#### 15.1.13 Negation of verb chains

Only the final verb in a chain can be morphologically negated. In the majority of cases, there is no difficulty in determining the scope of the negation. If only the last VP is under negation, a loose chain with *mèy<sup>n</sup>* may be used, hence [VP1 *mèy<sup>n</sup>*, VP<sub>2</sub>-Neg] as in (xx1).

(xx1) [nàṅá éwé mèy<sup>n</sup>] bú:dù sà:-rá-m  
 [cow buy and] money have-Neg-1SgS  
 'I bought a cow and have no money (left)'

If the negation has wide scope, a simple chain ending in one negative verb may be used (xx2).

(xx2) *nì-dî:<sup>n</sup> nú: dìnè-j-è àbádá*

here enter sit.down-**Impf.Neg**-3PlS.L never  
 ‘They never come in and sit down here.’

If only the first (or some other nonfinal) VP is negated, there is a (somewhat cumbersome) way of chaining the clauses using *kár<sup>n</sup>á m̀y<sup>n</sup>* ‘doing’ after a negated verb; see §15.xxx, below, for examples. When verbs or VPs are directly chained without *m̀y<sup>n</sup>*, the negation normally has wide scope. However, consider (xx3).

(xx3) [dĩ:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>], [[íné-n lè] jàṅá m̀y<sup>n</sup>,  
 [place Def] [[person-Sg Dat] ask **and**,  
 émé jè:r é dè:nè-1-á]  
 1PIO bring put-**Perf.Neg**-3PlS]  
 ‘They (=people of Perge village) didn’t bring us to that place and allow us to settle (here) after asking anyone.’ (i.e., they brought us here to settle without asking anyone else for permission) **2004.3.11**

We can boil this down structurally to the sequence of two VPs followed by a full clause: [[anyone ask] [us bring] [(us) put-3Pl-Neg]]. The three verbs are ‘ask’, ‘bring’, and ‘put’, with only ‘put’ inflected for negation (and 3Pl subject). However, the context makes it clear that the bringing and the putting did occur, while the asking did not. In English, this is best expressed with *without* in the negated VP. In the absence of a clause-level ‘without’ construction, the speaker chose to negate the final verb in the chain, leaving it to the listener to apply contextual knowledge to understand the sense. The same text includes other verb-chain negations of the same type, in the same context (not first getting permission before settling). See example (xxx) in §15.xxx, below, with linker *tí* rather than *m̀y<sup>n</sup>*.

(xx4.a-b) are further examples. The agent does chase or look for, but fails to catch or find. Therefore the scope of negation is essentially limited to the final verb ‘reach’ and does not extend to ‘chase’. However, a wide-scope negation interpretation ([Neg [chase and reach]]) is also logically possible if ‘chase and reach’ is thought of as a fused event type.

(xx4) a. ìjú cè: nàná d̀:-gó-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>  
 dog thing.L chase reach-**Impf.Neg**-Ppl.Nonh Def  
 ‘what (=animals) that the (hunting) dog chases but doesn’t catch’  
**2004.3.16**

b. cè: lúgúró m̀ b̀l-lí-Ø  
 thing.L look.for 1SgS.L get-**Perf.Neg**-Ppl.Nonh  
 ‘what I looked for and (=but) did not find’ (b̀r é-)

In (xx5), what is negated is not one or other of the component eventualities, rather a particular chronological sequence. In the tale, Crane is offered a chance to eat, but refuses to eat until after it has gone on a mission and come back. Note the Recent

Perfect –jè on the chained verb. As in previous examples, only the final verb is morphologically negated. (The final wà is the hearsay quotative common in tales.)

- (xx5) kùw<sup>n</sup>á èné yǎ: yèré sógô: -Ø wá,  
 crane Logo go come peck.Impf-3SgS say,  
 [èné sóyó-jè yà: -gó-Ø] jè-Ø wà  
 [Logo peck-**RecPf** go-**Impf.Neg**-3SgS] say.L-3SgS say  
 ‘Crane said, “I will go and come back and (then) eat (by pecking).” It said, “I will not go after having eaten.’ **2004.4.16**

#### 15.1.14 VP-chaining with mèy<sup>n</sup>

A VP with its verb in infinitival (bare-stem) form followed by particle mèy<sup>n</sup> can be chained with a following VP (perhaps with inflected verb). Some fairly long chains with multiple [VP mèy<sup>n</sup>] constituents occur in texts.

The particle has variants mày<sup>n</sup> and mè, and an archaic variant mér<sup>n</sup>é was recorded from an old man. I generally transcribe mèy<sup>n</sup> unless the variant pronunciation is very clear on the tape. The particle is sometimes heard with high pitch. When the high-pitched version occurs clause-finally, I attribute the high pitch to nonterminal intonation contour ↑ rather than to lexical H-tone, and transcribe mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑. For lack of a better gloss, I use ‘and’ in interlinears, but mèy<sup>n</sup> is not used to conjoin NPs or other constituents.

The chained VPs nearly always have a **shared subject**. The temporal relation between the relevant eventualities is variable (anteriority or simultaneity). If the VP ending in mèy<sup>n</sup> denotes a short-duration event, the normal interpretation is that this event was completed before that denoted by the following VP. This is the case in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [àná kù<sup>n</sup>] ñě-n gó: mèy<sup>n</sup>,  
 [village Def] woman-Sg go.out **and**,  
 [nîŋ ké] yěy-yà-Ø táŋà: dèy  
 [now Topic] come-Perf-3SgS happen if  
 ‘The woman (=bride) having left the (=her) village, now when she has come (to her husband’s village), ...’ **2004.3.20**
- b. [kó jèjú lè] sír<sup>n</sup>é mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑,  
 [NonhP body in] cut.strip **and**,  
 [kó jèjú lè] kó dàŋá bè sâ: dèy, ...  
 [NonhP body in] NonhO patch 3PIS.L do.Perf.HL if, ...  
 ‘having cut a strip from its (=a hide’s) main section, when they have patched it onto its main section (to close up the holes), ...’ **2004.3.17**

In (xx2), the temporal relationship involves at least some overlap. In (xx2.a), ‘carry (on head)’ and ‘bring’ overlap, though ‘carry’ tends to focus on the onset (when the load is put up on the head) while ‘bring’ focuses more on the endpoint. In (xx2.b), however, there is complete overlap.

- (xx2) a. ... [bé nè] dè:-bà,  
 ... [3Pl now] carry.Perf.L-3PIS,  
 [cín dé: m̀̀y<sup>n</sup>] úrò j̀̀è:r̀̀è-bà  
 [thus carry **and**] house.Loc.HL bring.Perf.L-3PIS  
 ‘... they [focus] carried (them) on their heads. Carrying (them), they brought (them) home.’ **2004.3.2**
- b. [[c̀̀èr<sup>n</sup>èw<sup>n</sup>è yók̀̀k̀̀d̀̀ bé]≡ỳ̀ c̀̀ér<sup>n</sup>éw<sup>n</sup>é m̀̀y<sup>n</sup> ↑]  
 [[amusement.L which? Pl]≡Foc have.fun and]  
 ñě-n céjé kúnó-bà  
 woman-Sg meet put.Impf-3PIS  
 ‘They meet the woman (=bride just arrived from another village) and put down (her baggage), staging which kinds of festivities?’ **2004.3.20**

m̀̀y<sup>n</sup> cannot directly follow a negated verb. However, one can add the semantically neutral verb kár<sup>n</sup>á ‘do’ or ‘be done’ after a negated verb, and kár<sup>n</sup>á itself is readily followed by m̀̀y<sup>n</sup>.

- (xx3) a. [̀̀ỳ̀d̀̀ gámá] ǹ̀w<sup>n</sup>ò-lí-Ø kár<sup>n</sup>á m̀̀y<sup>n</sup> ↑,  
 [grass certain] die-Perf.Neg-3SgS **do** and,  
 wàjá≡k̀̀d̀̀  
 remain.Impf≡be.Nonh  
 ‘... some weeds will not die, and will still remain (around the millet sprouts)’ **2004.3.6**
- b. [b̀̀ìr̀̀è-b̀̀ìr̀̀è ỳ̀à:-l-á kár<sup>n</sup>á m̀̀y<sup>n</sup> ↑, ...  
 [work(noun).L-work.HL go-Perf.Neg-3PIS **do** and, ...  
 ‘Having not gone south to do seasonal work, ...’ **2004.3.9**
- c. [... j̀̀ùg̀̀d̀̀-lí-Ø kár<sup>n</sup>á m̀̀y<sup>n</sup> ]  
 [... know-Perf.Neg-3SgS **do** and]  
 ỳ̀é-d̀̀ì:<sup>n</sup> ỳ̀èr̀̀é émé t̀̀èm̀̀è-Ø  
 there come 1PIO find.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘Not knowing (that I had been arrested), he came there and encountered us.’ **2004.5.5**

The verb preceding m̀̀y<sup>n</sup> is nearly always in bare-stem (infinitival) form. I have one textual example, however, where m̀̀y<sup>n</sup> follows a verb with an AN suffix, namely

Imperfective -tóyò-. The passage in question comes at a narrative climax, and the VP containing -tóyò- is itself repeated.

- (xx4) l'é: wò gá: kân,  
 fear 3SgS.L say after,  
 [póró jìné-tóyò póró jìné-tóyò] mèy,  
 [squeeze hold-**Impf** squeeze hold-**Impf**] and,  
 'After he became afraid (of the leopard), he was still holding on and holding on to it (for dear life), and then ...'

Though mèy<sup>n</sup> is clause-final in the great majority of textual instances, in (xxx) it is followed by ≡yè là: dèy 'if it is not' (i.e., 'unless' or 'other than'). The final 'there was none of that' negates the other parts of the mèy<sup>n</sup> chain, but the double negation constituted by the embedded 'if it is not' insures that 'staying on top of the mountain' is not negated.

- (xx5) [tùmó mánà bé: méy<sup>n</sup>]≡yè<sup>n</sup> là: dèy,  
 [rock on stay **and**≡it.is **Neg** if,  
 [dójù sùgó yìlìwé bìr-é-bìr-è mèy mà:  
 [below go.down walk.around work-work.L and or  
 [tér-∅ téré méy] ... [[kó kù<sup>n</sup>] kò:-ró]  
 [cut-VblN cut and] ... [[Nonh Def] be.Nonh-Neg]  
 'Aside from (the mountaineers) staying on top of the mountain, (their) coming down below and working (the fields) or chopping (=clearing fields) ... , there was none of that.' **2004.3.11**

In (xx6), mèy<sup>n</sup> (variant mày<sup>n</sup>) is followed by cliticized ≡kò 'be (nonhuman)'. This sequence is very rare.

- (xx6) [wó òw<sup>n</sup>-s-àmnà kù<sup>n</sup>] tílây≡yè,  
 [3SgP parent-in-law.L-soap Def] obligation≡it.is  
 [nîm táǵá mày<sup>n</sup>≡kò],  
 [now become **and**≡be.Nonh]  
 [lá:-lá: [kò cêw] kò:-ró jì:<sup>n</sup>]  
 [first-first [Dem all] be.Nonh-Neg Past]  
 'Her parent-in-law soap (=soap given by a man as gift to future parents-in-law) has now become an obligation; formerly all that was not so.' **2004.3.20**

Although nearly all cases of mèy<sup>n</sup> involve same-subject clause sequences, occasionally this is not so. It is not clear whether the textual counterexamples are grammatically significant, however. Since the mèy<sup>n</sup> clause precedes the main clause (or the next clause in a more complex chain), there is always the possibility that the speaker may incorrectly anticipate the subject of the following clause. An example is (xx7), where a string of clauses with the same human subject, all ending in mèy<sup>n</sup>, is

concluded by a clause with a nonhuman subject ('disputes'). The same-subject construction could have been saved if the speaker had used causative 'he will bring (the dispute) to an end', instead of intransitive 'it (=dispute) will come to an end'.

- (xx7) [ènέ mà tòy<sup>n</sup>ò-sà:-rá kù<sup>n</sup>] mà dú:] dé: mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑,  
 [Refl Poss truth-have-Neg Def] Poss load] carry **and**,  
 [[ìnè tòy<sup>n</sup>ó bâ:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] lè] tòy<sup>n</sup>ó ó: mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑,  
 [[person.L truth owner Def] Dat] truth give **and**,  
 ìnìw<sup>n</sup>é yá:fé-wé mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑,  
 Refl pardon-Caus **and**,  
 [dògó≡kò-∅] yó≡kò  
 [finish.Impf≡be.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh] exist≡be.Nonh  
 'He having carried (=accepted) the burden of being (judged to be) wrong (in a dispute), having acknowledged being in the right to the person who is in the right, and having excused himself, there are some (disputes) that will come to an end (like that).' **2004.5.5** (yá: fé-wε emended from yá: fé)

#### 15.1.15 Chaining with final sâ:

A less common construction is characterized by a final verb F-toned sâ: following one or more other verbs in a chain. This sâ: adds little or nothing semantically, and I gloss it neutrally as 'do'. The subject is expressed by a preverbal L-toned subject pronominal (or by a noun-headed NP), not by a pronominal-subject suffix. The construction is attested only with following dèy 'if'.

Because dèy 'if' is strongly associated with perfective-system verbs, I take sâ: to be an unsuffixed Perfective with H(H...)L tone. It would be phonologically possible to take it as an unsuffixed Imperfective with F-tone on the only stem syllable, but there is no evidence for this interpretation. Examples are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [dì:<sup>n</sup> gámá] tó: wà:-ná bè sâ: dèy,  
 [place certain] sow widen-Caus 3PIS.L **do**.Perf.HL if,  
 'In some places, if they sow widely (=over a wide area), ...' **2004.3.6**
- b. [bé: bè sâ: dèy ↑], ...  
 [be 3PIS.L **do**.Perf.HL if], ...  
 'if they keep at it (=work)' **2004.3.9**
- c. [yìrú kù<sup>n</sup>] céjé-céjé ájára  
 [fabric Def] cut-cut sew  
 bè sâ: dèy, ...  
 3PIS.L **do**.Perf.HL if, ...  
 'when they have cut up and sewn the fabric (from a roll), ...' **2004.3.14**

There is evidently a three-way connection, at least historically, between this *sâ*ː, quasi-verb *sâ-* ‘have’ (§11.xxx), and Resultative suffix *-sâ-* (§10.xxx). All three are confined to the perfective system of AN categories. Resultative *-sâ-* is very common before *dèy* ‘if’, though there is no strict one-to-one correlation as there is with *sâ*ː chains. The ‘have’ quasi-verb *sâ-* is used in the unsuffixed Perfective in positive clauses. It takes the form *sâ-* in relative clauses, with H(H...)L tone as an unsuffixed Perfective, and with zero suffix this *sâ-* appears as *sâ*ː-∅ after Contour-Tone Mora Addition (§3.xxx).

#### 15.1.16 Chaining with linker *tí*

A morpheme *tí* (to be distinguished from Perfective suffix *-tí-*) can be inserted between chained verbs. Occasionally, it functions as the final verb in a chain (in which case it takes inflections). I gloss it simply as “Link.”

In (xx1), *tí* is a pure linker between two verbs, and has no inflection of its own. As I interpret the examples, the two relevant events are **ordered chronologically**, and I take this to be characteristic of *tí*.

- (xx1) a. *dùŋ-yàrá témé mèy<sup>n</sup>,*  
 lion find and,  
*èné kó dàyá tí gàrà kù<sup>n</sup>,*  
 Logo Nonh leave **Link** pass Def,  
 [wó yóŋkù le] ènè<sup>n</sup>è-lí-∅  
 [3SgP soul Dat] please-Perf.Neg-3SgS  
 ‘Having encountered the lion, (the thought of) him(-self) leaving it (=lion) and continuing on his way did not please him.’ **2004.3.2**
- b. [kó dàyá tí yèrè-bá] sógò  
 [Nonh leave **Link** come.Perf.L-3PlS[ instead.of  
 ‘instead of leaving it (=lion) and coming (home)’ **2004.3.2**
- c. [ú dàyá] tí gàrà-bà  
 [2SgO leave] **Link** pass.Impf-3PlS  
 ‘They will leave you (alone) and go on.’ **2004.3.3**
- d. [íné-n lè] újúró tí dîŋè-l-á  
 [person-Sg Dat] ask **Link** sit-Perf.Neg-3PlS  
 ‘They didn’t (first) ask anyone and (then) settle (there).’ **2004.3.11**
- e. *bèn-ná: [kó níŋír<sup>n</sup>é] dàyá tí jòwò-∅*  
 goat [NonhP day] leave **Link** run.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘At that time, it (=Hyena) abandoned ran away from Goat.’ **2004.4.2**

In (xx2), tí follows a verb, but is itself inflected.

- (xx2) a. jèr-ú            jěr            tí-sà-bà            dèy, ...  
 harvest-VbIN    harvest(verb)    **Link-Reslt-3PIS**    if, ...  
 ‘when they have harvested (the millet ears), ...’ (jèr é) **2004.3.6**
- b. gàmà-nám    [[kó kù<sup>n</sup> lè] wó-n            déy]  
 certain-Pl    [[Nonh Def    in]    be.Hum-Ppl.Sg    if]  
 [kó kù<sup>n</sup>]    dàyá    tí-sà-bà            dèy, ...  
 [Nonh Def]    leave    **Link-Reslt-3PIS**    if, ...  
 ‘Some people [topic], when they leave (=abandon) that (=hunting with dogs), after being (engaged) in it, ...’ **2004.3.16**

tí is sometimes followed by mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑ ‘and’ (usually with high pitch) before the chain resumes.

- (xx3) a. [kó kú:<sup>n</sup>]    púlló    tí    méy<sup>n</sup>, ...  
 [NonhP head]    cut.off    **Link**    and, ...  
 ‘(They) clip off the top (of a shrub), and ...’ **2004.3.16**
- b. [gùjú    kù<sup>n</sup>]    sùmó    tí    mèy<sup>n</sup>, ...  
 [skin    Def]    wash    **Link**    and, ...  
 ‘(They) wash the hide, and ...’ **2004.3.17**

#### 15.1.17 Chaining with jíjè (or jè) ‘go with’

The form jíjè, or reduced variant jè, is used only with a following motion verb.

The combination is transitive-like, requiring a preceding NP as complement. jíjè is not a comitative postposition, since it can be separated from the logical “complement” by an intervening chained verb. It must therefore either be taken as a **comitative adverb**, signaling the presence earlier in the clause of a complement in comitative function, or as a **defective verb** that occurs only as nonfinal member of chains with a following motion verb. It is not verb-like in form, since no verb has a bare stem (used in chaining) with HL tone contour. Examples are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. wó    gòró    jè            gó:-bà            tánà:    dèy  
 3SgO    cover    **go.with**    go.out.Impf-3PIS    happen    if  
 ‘when they cover her (=bride) and go out (from her home) with her’  
**2004.3.20**
- b. hâl            [àná    kù<sup>n</sup>    lè]  
 until            [village Def    in]  
 [ñě-n            kù<sup>n</sup>]            jíjè            gó:-bè

[woman-Sg Def] **go.with** go.out.Impf-2PIS  
 ‘until you-Pl have gone out of the village with her’ **2004.3.20**

c. [tô:-n jíjè] èjú nú: èmè gá: kân,  
 [Recip-Sg **go.with**] field enter 1PIS.L say after,  
 ‘After we accompanied each other into the bush, ...’ **2004.3.24**

d. [é jíy kù<sup>n</sup>] jíjè gàrá-bè  
 [2PIP fight Def] **go.with** pass.Impf-2PIS  
 ‘You-Pl will keep up your dispute (=despite an adverse ruling from the elders) and will go on your way (=leave the area).’ **2004.4.6**

e. mòbîl kó≡y jíjè ù:r<sup>n</sup>ò-Ø  
 vehicle Nonh≡Foc **go.with** get.up.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘The vehicle [topic], that [focus] is what it set off with’ **2004.5.1**

## 15.2 Adverbial clauses

Jamsay discourse is characterized by a left-branching clausal structure. Often one or more clauses occur to the left of a main clause, in a kind of “paragraph” structure. The adverbial clauses may be involve regularl inflected verbs, participles, or uninflected verbs.

### 15.2.1 Pseudo-participial adverbial clauses (-n suffix)

In the following subsections I describe clause types characterized by an invariant suffix -n that might be identified morphologically with the Sg Participial suffix -n. It is used here without regard to humanness or to number, so I label the construction as **pseudo-participial**. The pseudo-participle may be based on a perfective, imperfective, or lexical-toned stem. A **preverbal subject pronominal** (singular or plural) is common in the imperfective and perfective types, but not in the lexical-stem type.

#### 15.2.1.1 Imperfective pseudo-participial clause

In the examples treated in this section, Pseudo-Participial -n suffix is added to the unsuffixed Imperfective stem. The word-final syllable has F-tone, resulting from grafting of the floating L-tone of the Imperfective onto the lexical form of the verb, which always ends in H-tone. The earlier syllables of the verb are H- or L-toned (depending on the verb). An L-toned preverbal subject pronominal is regularly present. This pseudo-participial clause denotes **prolonged activity**, and may be repeated for emphasis. Typically these are background clauses that lead up to an ‘until ...’ clause or the like, describing the the next major event (xx1.c).

- (xx1) a. ù jǎ: <sup>n</sup>-n̄  
 2SgS.L dig.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**  
 ‘(as) you-Sg keep digging’ (jǎ: <sup>n</sup>-) **2004.3.6**
- b. yǎ:-yǎ: bè m̀òr<sup>n</sup>ó-n̄,  
 go-go 3PlS come.together.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**  
 yǎ:-yǎ: bè m̀òr<sup>n</sup>ó-n̄  
 go-go 3PlS come.together.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**  
 ‘(and) they (small groups of people) keep going and meeting up, going  
 and meeting up (to form a large group).’ (m̀òr<sup>n</sup>ó-) **2004.3.1**
- c. [n̄n̄ k̄é], [n̄m̀ó l̄è] k̄ó t̄áráwá-w̄,  
 [now Topic], [hand Inst] NonhO rub.**Impf-2SgS**,  
 ù t̄áráwá-n̄, ù t̄áráwá-n̄,  
 2SgS.L rub.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**, 2SgS.L rub.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**,  
 h̄âl [èn̄é mà ní:] n̄ǒ:≡k̀ò  
 until [Refl Poss water] drink.**Impf=be.Nonh**  
 k̀ów<sup>n</sup>ó t̄í méy<sup>n</sup>, h̄âl ù t̄í:r<sup>n</sup>é-n̄,  
 wring.out Link and, until 2SgS.L stretch.out.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**  
 ù t̄áráwá-n̄ ù t̄í:r<sup>n</sup>é-n̄, ...  
 2SgS.L rub.**Impf-Ppl.Sg** 2SgS.L stretch.out.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**, ...  
 ‘Now, you-Sg rub it (=hide being tanned) with your hands. You keep  
 rubbing, you keep rubbing, until it (=hide) has absorbed its liquid. You  
 wring it out, then you keep stretching (=unfolding) it, you keep rubbing  
 and you keep stretching it, ...’ (t̄áráwá-, t̄í:r<sup>n</sup>é-) **2004.3.17**
- d. l̄ì-l̄áyá-bà≡ȳ,  
 Rdp-hit.**Impf-3PlS=it.is**,  
 ù l̄áyá-n̄, ù l̄áyá-n̄,  
 2SgS.L hit.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**, 2SgS.L hit.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**,  
 n̄ũŋ ù párá-n̄,  
 oil 2SgS.L rub.in.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**,  
 ù l̄áyá-n̄, ù l̄áyá-n̄  
 2SgS.L hit.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**, 2SgS.L hit.**Impf-Ppl.Sg**  
 ‘They will beat it (=cowhide). You-Sg keep beating it, you keep beating  
 it; (you) keep rubbing (more) oil in, you keep beating it, you keep  
 beating it.’ (l̄áyá-, párá-) **2004.3.17**

Imperfective pseudo-participles in adverbial function optionally occur with a following L-toned d̄èy, or rarely H-toned d̄éy. These are variants of the conditional particle d̄èy ‘if/when’ (§16.xxx). The common L-toned form occurs in (xx2).

- (xx2) a. t̄èŋé-t̄èŋé bè l̄úgó-n̄ d̄èy,

segment-segment 3PIS.L count.**Impf-Ppl.Sg if**,  
 [nîm ké] á nû: tènégé kún-tî-Ø  
 [now Topic] 2SgP millet segment put-Perf-3SgS  
 ‘When the stem segments (on the growing millet plant) are counted, (it is seen that) your-Sg millet now has developed segments.’ (lúgó-)  
**2004.3.6**

b. kó sáyará-sáyará bè gǒ̀-<sup>n</sup> dèy, ...  
 [Nonh cull-cull 3PIS remove.**Impf-Ppl.Sg if**, ...  
 ‘They selectively remove (early millet from the larger mass of millet)’  
**2004.3.6**

c. [ù m̀òḡó-<sup>n</sup> dèy], hâl yǎ:  
 [2SgS.L massage.**Impf-Ppl.Sg if**] until go  
 [kó àrgà kâ:<sup>n</sup>] á:≡kò  
 [NonhP side.L each] catch.**Impf**≡be.Nonh  
 ‘You-Sg keep rubbing it (new hide in tanning solution) until it (=solution) has taken (=penetrated) on each side (of the hide).’ **2004.3.17**

d. bè cér<sup>n</sup>éw<sup>n</sup>é-<sup>n</sup> dèy hâl yǎ: ...  
 3PIS have.fun.**Impf-Ppl.Sg if**] until go  
 ‘they keep up the festivities until ...’ **2004.3.20**

e. [á nùmó lè] ní-jìn nòw<sup>n</sup>ó-w<sup>n</sup>,  
 [2SgP hand Inst] this-like crush.**Impf-2SgS**,  
 [nùm-ná: lè] ní-jìn nòw<sup>n</sup>ó-w<sup>n</sup>,  
 ní-jìn ù nòw<sup>n</sup>ó-<sup>n</sup> dèy  
 this-like 2SgS.L crush.**Impf-Ppl.Sg if**  
 ‘You-Sg will crush it (millet) by hand, you will crush it with (or: on) a flat grinding stone. You will keep crushing it, (until ...).’ **2004.4.8**

H-toned déy is more often used with lexical-toned pseudo-participles (see §15.xxx, below). In (xx3), however, it occurs twice with imperfective pseudo-participles. In both cases the déy itself is followed by kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè ‘also’. The H-tone here may therefore be a function of non-final position in the clause.

(xx3) [òyó .: fú:] tóyó dògò-lí-Ø jì:<sup>n</sup>  
 [grass all] sprout finish-Perf.Neg-3SgS Past  
 táḡá≡kò ⇒, [ù wàrá-<sup>n</sup> déy kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè],  
 happen.**Impf**≡be.Nonh, [2SgS.L farm.**Impf-Ppl.Sg if** also now],  
 [[nû: kù<sup>n</sup>] téy<sup>n</sup>≡kò] [kò kô: kù<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[millet Def] small≡be.Nonh] [NonhS.L be.Nonh.HL Def]  
 òyó [kó b̀òrô:] wàjá≡kò ⇒,  
 grass [NonhP bottom.Loc.HL] remain.**Impf**≡be.Nonh,

[ù wàrá-̀n déy kâ:ⁿ nè]  
 [2SgS farm.**Impf-Ppl.Sg** **if** also now]  
 ñú: [òyò gámá] nòwⁿò-̀lí-Ø kárⁿá méy  
 millet [grass certain] die-Perf.Neg-3SgS do and  
 wàj á=kò

remain=be.Nonh

‘It may be that the weeds had not finished sprouting (when you did the first weeding). When you farm some more, the millet (in the field) is young. There where it (=millet) is, (some) weeds will remain at its base. When you farm some more, the millet [topic], some weeds have not died and will remain.’

### 2004.3.6

#### 15.1.1.2 Perfective pseudo-participial clause

The perfective pseudo-participial clause has overlaid H(H...)L tone on the verb, as in relatives and other subordinated clauses based on the unsuffixed Perfective stem (§14.xxx).

Perfective pseudo-participials in adverbial (as opposed to relative-clause) function are not common. In (xxx), which describes the noisy first stage in a collective hunt, the entire passage is pseudo-participial. There are three perfective pseudo-participial clauses (verbs ‘go’, ‘follow’, and again ‘follow’), each such clause being paired with an imperfective participial clause (‘run’ in each case). The perfective-imperfective pairings involve cause-and-effect relationships, as the advancing line of villagers making loud noises drives the frightened animals to flight (they will be met at the other end by hunters). The perfective pseudo-participles are accompanied by L-toned preverbal subject pronominals. The passage begins with a lexical-toned pseudo-participial clause (‘be done’), a type described in the immediately following section.

(xx1) [pé :. tùtù:lú :. síñè :.] cè: kâ:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ,  
 [shouting horn noise] thing each-each,  
 kárⁿá-n déy, è yâ:-n  
 be.done-Ppl.Sg if, 2PIS.L go.**Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg**,  
 [é jí r è] kò jòwó-̀n,  
 [2Pl in.front] NonhS.L run.Impf-Ppl.Sg,  
 [kó gũn è] è dí g è-n  
 [Nonh behind] 2PIS.L follow.**Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg**,  
 [é jí r è] kò jòwó-̀n,  
 [2Pl in.front] NonhS.L run.Impf-Ppl.Sg,  
 [kó gũn è] è dí g è-n  
 [Nonh behind] 2PIS.L follow.**Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg**,  
 [é jí r è] kò jòwó-̀n,  
 [2Pl in.front] NonhS.L run.Impf-Ppl.Sg,  
 hǎl yǎ: mèyⁿ dé:ⁿ mèyⁿ, ...  
 until go and be.tired and, ...

‘There is shouting and horn-blowing and hubbub, and so forth; you-Pl have gone (forward), they (=animals) are running ahead of you; you have followed behind them, they are running ahead of you; you have followed behind them (some more), they are running ahead of you; until eventually they get tired and ...’ **3004.3.1**

A case of Perfective Negative -lí-n is in (xx2). That this belongs to the pseudo-participial adverbial type with invariant “Sg” suffix -n is shown by the fact that the protagonists are plural.

- (xx2) [[jénéŋé kù<sup>n</sup>] dò:-lí-n]  
 [[metal-trap Def] reach-Perf.Neg-Ppl.Sg]  
 [àtî: dánà-m]  
 [bird.trap hunt.HL-Ppl.Pl]  
 ‘those who, having failed to get regular metal animal traps, hunt (instead) with bird traps’ **2004.3.16**

### 15.1.1.3 Lexical-stem pseudo-participial clause

Imperfective and perfective pseudo-participial clauses described above involve a verb form ending in suffix -n that is identical in form to a true singular participle -n of the sort that appears in relative clauses. There is another type of pseudo-participial clauses where -n is added directly to the lexical-toned form of the verb, which cannot happen with true participles. This type of pseudo-participle is either all-H-toned or L(L...)H-toned depending on the lexical tones of the verb. The -n suffix therefore is always H-toned, as the coda of a final H-toned syllable (monosyllabic verbs may also have R-tone). By contrast, in imperfective pseudo-participles the final syllable is always F-toned, and for perfective pseudo-participles the final syllable is always L-toned (or F-toned if the verb is monosyllabic). The lexical-stem pseudo-participial is always followed by H-toned déy. As noted above, this resembles and can perhaps be identified with dèy ‘if/when’. The H-toned déy is unusual, but is compatible with tone carryover from the final H-tone of the pseudo-participle.

Another feature of lexical-stem pseudo-participial clauses is that there is **no overt expression of the subject**. In particular, L-toned preverbal subjects are strikingly absent. Therefore these “clauses” are better described as subordinated VPs, similar to chaining constructions such as that with mèy<sup>n</sup>. However, there is normally an understood subject, and it need not be coindexed with that of the following clause.

In several examples, the pseudo-participial clause **denotes an overall activity** in general terms (often with emphasis on the endpoint or objective), and subsequent clauses may describe individual sub-activities (or even preparatory actions).

- (xx1) a. [tàrá lè], yǎ:-n déy,  
 [collective.hunt in] go-Ppl.Sg if,  
 [[à<sup>n</sup>à-nì:ñé bè kùnò-gó-Ø]

[[man.L-gear 3PIS.L put-Impf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh]  
 mà tɔ̃g kâ:ⁿ] kò:-ró  
 Poss kind each] be.Nonh-Neg  
 ‘When (they) go on the collective hunt, there is no kind of men’s  
 equipment (weapons etc.) that they don’t put in (their bags)’ [i.e., they  
 take all of the requisite gear] (yǎ:-) **2004.3.2**

b. tàrá [kó túmnó-n déy]  
 collective.hunt [Nonh begin-Ppl.Sg if]  
 nǐ: bàrⁿá méyⁿ,  
 day be.summer and,  
 ‘Collective hunts, when (they) begin them, it is the hot season, (and ...).’  
 (túmnó-) **2003.4.1**

d. ùrò-gǔn gó:-yà-w dèy,  
 house.L-behind go.out-Perf-2SgS if,  
 yà:-gó: cérⁿéwⁿé-n déy,  
 woman.L-dance have.fun-Ppl.Sg if,  
 yé-lé [ùrò-gǔn lé ké] gó:-bà  
 there [house.L-behind in Topic] go.out.Impf-3PIS  
 ‘If you go out to the place behind the house (=at the edge of the village),  
 when (they) are going to do the women’s dancing, they will go out there  
 behind the house.’ **2004.4.14**

e. [[cícèrè kùⁿ] páyá-n déy] jáppèrè yàṅá ná:ná-bà  
 [[saddle Def] tie-Ppl.Sg if] padding take put.Impf-3PIS  
 [jàppèrè bè ná:nâ:-∅ kùⁿ]  
 [padding 3PIS.L put.Impf-Ppl.Nonh Def]  
 cícéré [kó kû:ⁿ] dè:-né-bà  
 saddle [Nonh on] sit-Caus.Impf-3PIS  
 ‘When (they) are going to attach the saddle (=saddle up a horse), they  
 (first) take and put the padding (on the horse’s back); the padding that  
 they are putting on [topic], they will set the saddle on top of it.’  
**2004.4.26**

f. [kó kû:ⁿ] ùró-n déy ⇒, [ǎ-n kùⁿ]  
 [Nonh on] go.up-Ppl.Sg if, [man-Sg Def]  
 ìnìwⁿé páyá hâl cé:nâ:-∅ dèy,  
 Refl tie until be.good.Impf-3SgS if,  
 kó àrcéwé námâ:-∅  
 NonhP stirrup step.on.Impf-3SgS  
 ‘In mounting on it (=saddled horse), when the man has tied his belt well,  
 he will put his foot in the stirrup, ... (and mount).’ **2004.4.26**

More difficult textual examples are in (xx2), for the record. Here the pseudo-participial clause denotes a process that appears to precede that of the following clause.

- (xx2) a. [wájà cêw] [dì:ⁿ kò ê:ŋ lè]  
 [remainder all] [place.L Dem vicinity in]  
 tóŋó-tóŋó únó-n déy, ...  
 dump-dump put.down-**Ppl-Sg** **if**  
 céjé [èjú kùⁿ] dògò-jè-bà dèy,  
 cut [field Def] finish-RecPf-3PIS if,  
 '(They) keep dumping out all the rest of it (=millet, from shoulder bags)  
 and keep laying it (on the ground) in the vicinity of that place; when they  
 have finished reaping (millet) in that field, ...' (únó-) **2004.3.6**
- b. cín=kò á:-n déy, hâl yǎ:  
 thus=be.Nonh catch-**Ppl.Sg** **if**, until go  
 [ìnè gàrú-m lè] yǎ: dògò=kò  
 [person.L old-Pl to] go finish.Impf=be.Nonh  
 'It (=wrestling tournament) was like that. (The boys) wrestle, until it  
 ends up by proceeding to older men.' **2004.3.23**
- c. [kó kùⁿ kâ:ⁿ], mòŋó-n déy,  
 [Nonh Def too], rub-**Ppl.Sg** **if**,  
 kó gǒ:ⁿ-jè-bà dèy, ...  
 NonhO remove-Rec.Pf-3PIS if, ...  
 'That too (=hide being tanned) [topic], when (they are) have rubbed it  
 (between their hands), when they have taken it out (from the tanning  
 solution), ...' (mòŋó-) **2004.3.17**

For a combination of this type of pseudo-participial clause type with following ná: 'true, authentic', see **example (xx4)** in §5.xxx.

Quasi-verb wò- 'be' occurs in this construction in H-toned form as wó-n (xx3).

- (xx3) [ì-n jì:ⁿlé ⇒ wó-n déy]  
 [child-Sg.L small **be.Hum-Ppl.Sg** if]  
 wó dǎná-n=ì:  
 3Sg hunt.Impf-Ppl.Sg=it.is  
 'Even as (=while being) a young child, he is a hunter.' (dǎná-n) **2004.3.16**

The construction may also be used with sà- 'have', in H-toned form sá-.

- (xx4) [tù mó sá-n déy] wó dǎná-n=ì:  
 [stone have-Ppl.Sg if] 3Sg hunt.Impf-Ppl.Sg=it.is  
 'Having a stone, he (=child) is a hunter.'

While the great bulk of textual examples involve *dèy*, in (xx5) the same aspectually-unmarked -n pseudo-participle occurs with Definite *kù<sup>n</sup>*, evidently in referential rather than adverbial function.

(xx5) *yà:jí:* *páyá-tù:-Ø* *dèy*,  
 marriage tie-Perf-2SgS if,  
*ìnè yà:jí: ù páyá-n kù<sup>n</sup>,*  
 person.L marriage 2SgS.L **tie-Ppl.Sg Def,**  
 [*yà:jí: pǎg-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>*] *mà ó:-wò lè, ...*  
 [marriage tie-VblN Def] Poss give.H-Caus.L in, ...  
 ‘When you-Sg have contracted a marriage, the person (=woman) you are to marry [topic], before handing over the brideprice, ...’ (*páyá-*) **2004.3.20**

### 15.1.2 Temporal adverbial clauses based on ‘say’ verbs

#### 15.1.2.1 Temporal anteriority (*kân*, *gá:* *kân* ‘after ...’)

A common clause-type expressing temporal anteriority of a clause vis-à-vis a following clause is characterized by final *kân*, which I gloss as ‘after’ in interlinears. This is best interpreted as a reduced and grammatically specialized Sg participle of *kár<sup>n</sup>á-‘do’*, either from (Perfective) participle *kár<sup>n</sup>á-n* or less likely (Imperfective) participle *kár<sup>n</sup>á-n̄*. However, its internal morphological structure is synchronically non-transparent. I will gloss it simply as ‘after’ in interlinears, though in free translations ‘when’ is often adequate. Preceding verbs are usually **chained** with *kân*, i.e., they appear in bare-stem (=infinitival) form. If the subject is pronominal, it appears as an **L-toned preverbal subject pronominal**, either directly before *kân* or before a preceding verb.

In most cases, *kân* or *gá:* *kân* occurs in conjunction with a **switch in subjects** (or topics), in contrast to VP chains (with or without *mèy<sup>n</sup>*), which are regularly used when the subject is held constant. In this respect, (*gá:*) *kân* clauses are like *jé* (*mèy<sup>n</sup>*) clauses. A switch in subjects is observable in the various examples given below. However, there is often some difficulty in interpreting textual examples, since there are often two or more adverbial (or other subordinated) clauses preceding a final main clause, and the precise bracketing can be tricky. When adverbial clause *S*<sub>1</sub> is followed by adverbial clause *S*<sub>2</sub> and then the main clause *S*<sub>3</sub>, it is not always clear whether *S*<sub>1</sub> is directly subordinated to *S*<sub>2</sub> or to *S*<sub>3</sub>.

Simple *kân* is illustrated in (xx1). *kân* directly follows the relevant bare verb stem, except that a preverbal L-toned subject pronominal (if present) intervenes.

(xx1) a. [*tàrá yǎ: mî kân*],  
 [collective.hunt go **1SgS.L after**]

[mí [má kú:<sup>n</sup> lè]],  
 [1Sg [1SgP head with]],  
 [[tàrá yǎ: mì bâ:] mà dǎy<sup>n</sup>],  
 [[collective.hunt go 1SgS.L learn.Perf.HL] Poss limit],  
 [tàrá yèré kân] [[tàrá yâ:-lú-m]  
 [collective.hunt come **after**] [[collective.hunt go-Perf.Neg-1SgS]  
 [úrò yó≡wò-m] gǎy-yè-Ø]  
 [house.Loc.HL exist≡be.Perf.L-1SgS] pass.Perf-3SgS]  
 kân-lí-Ø

happen-Perf.Neg-3SgS

‘After I (first) went on a collective hunt, me personally, ever since I first learned about (=got my first exposure to) going on the hunt, when a hunt came (=was organized), for it (=hunt) to pass by with me not going to it while I was home (in the village), it didn’t happen (=I never missed a hunt unless I was out of town).’ **2004.3.2**

- b. ìjú kó: ù kân, á ìjú, ...  
 dog raise **2SgS.L after**, 2SgP dog, ...  
 ‘when you-Sg have raised a dog, your dog ...’ **2004.3.16**

- c. něm nòw<sup>n</sup>ó kò-rú yì:rè-bà,  
 salt crush Nonh-in sprinkle.Impf-3PlS  
 hâl kó bã:≡kò,  
 until NonhO suffice.for.Impf≡be.Nonh,  
 kò-rú něm yì:rè ù kân  
 Nonh-in salt sprinkle 2SgS.L **after**  
 kó bã:-yè-Ø táṅà: dèy, ...  
 NonhO suffice.for-Perf-3SgS happen if, ...  
 ‘They will crush some salt and sprinkle it on it (=cowhide), until it (=salt) is enough for it (=hide). After you-Sg have sprinkled salt on it, when it (=salt) has been enough for it, ...’ **2004.3.17**

- d. [yè-kànà làyá] táṅá yèré kân, [wó úrò]  
 [woman-new.L other] transfer come **after**, [3SgP house.Loc.HL]  
 sánáw<sup>n</sup>á gàrà-bá≡y là: dèy  
 switch.to pass.Perf.L-3PlS≡it.is Neg if  
 ‘(They would continue the festivities for one newlywed bride), except that after another newlywed bride came (to the village) to move (into her husband’s home), they switched over to her house (to have more festivities).’ **2004.3.20**

As these examples show, kân is normally preceded by a bare verb stem in a chain-style sequence. Occasionally, the verb is Perfective, in stative sense (xx2).

(xx2) [kò màyn-â: kán]≡ì: kó yàŋá-w<sup>n</sup> dèy  
 [NonhS.L dry-Perf after]≡Foc NonhO take.Impf-2SgS if  
 ‘if you-Sg take it after it has dried [focus], ...’ **2004.3.17**

In the majority of instances, kân is accompanied by a preceding gá: ‘say’, a verb in infinitival (i.e. chained) form. The interchangeability of kân and gá: kân is shown by the fact that (xx1.d), above (‘after another newlywed bride came’), was repeated by the speaker, after the taping was briefly interrupted, with gá: kân instead of just kân.

Perhaps gá: kân originated (like jé clauses) as a quotative construction (‘after X said that a lion has ravaged the animals’), where the act of saying entails that the protagonists have processed the event in question; see §17.xxx. However, in many textual passages there is no suggestion of actual speech or even thought by any discourse referent, and simple free translations like ‘after a lion had ravaged the animals’ are usually best. To whatever extent the construction is still felt (by native speakers) to involve quotation (or thought), the source of the quotation is abstract and impersonal. Therefore ‘say’ in this construction does not entail the use of logophorics, and the clause preceding ‘say’ has a verb in bare-stem form, whereas a normal quotative complement has an inflected verb.

- (xx3) a. [[èjú yǎ: ] è gá: ] kân  
 [[field go] 2PIS.L say] after  
 ‘when you-Pl have gone to the field(s)’
- b. [[tàrá yǎ: ] è gá: ] kân, [kó bèrê: ]  
 [[collective.hunt go] 2PIS.L say] after, [Nonh in]  
 dùŋ-yàrá gó:-yà táŋà: mà: ?  
 lion go.out-Perf happen yes/no?  
 ‘When you had gone out to the collective hunt, in (the course of) that, did it ever happen that a lion appeared?’ **2004.3.2**
- c. yèyjê: [nǐ: sí: <sup>n</sup> gá: ] kân,  
 morning [day break say] after,  
 [kó kù<sup>n</sup> ] sùgò-Ø  
 [Nonh Def] go.down.Perf-3SgS  
 ‘In the morning, when day (=first light) had broken, he (=man) attacked it (=elephant).’ **2004.3.4**
- d. [àsègè ñùŋò-nó kò gá: ] kân,  
 [livestock be.ruined-Caus Nonh.L say] after,  
 [kòw<sup>n</sup>otó: [kó bèrê: ] nú: bè gá: ] kân,  
 [rescue.party [Nonh in] enter 3PIS.L say] after,  
 [pé: jé gǎnñ] bè yàrà jé mèy<sup>n</sup>,  
 [Vetiveria among] 3PIS.L walk say and

After it (=lion) had ravaged the animals, when a rescue party had gone into that (area), as they were walking among the tall Vetiveria grass, ...'  
**2004.3.4**

- e. íjé ànsá:rá-n yèré gá: kân, ...  
 today white-Sg come say after  
 'nowadays, since White (=white people) has come, (the manufacture of pottery has changed) ...' **2004.3.13**

- f. mòr<sup>n</sup>ó èmè gá: kân, [tô:-n jíjè]  
 be.together 1PLS.L say after, [Recip-Sg go.with]  
 èjú nú: èmè gá: kân, [ìnè kâ:<sup>n</sup>]  
 field enter 1PLS.L say after, [person.L each]  
 [èné mà àr<sup>n</sup>à-nì:ñé] gǒ:<sup>n</sup> té:ré mèy ↑  
 [Refl Poss combat-gear] take.out show and  
 'After we had the meeting, we accompanied each other into the bush, then each person took out and displayed his fighting gear (knives, etc.) and ...' **2004.3.24**

#### 15.1.2.2 Temporal simultaneity (jé, jé mèy<sup>n</sup> 'while ...')

Another adverbial clause type apparently involving a 'say' verb is that with jé, or more often jé mèy<sup>n</sup>. Before proceeding, note the various phonologically similar morphemes in (xx1). It is likely that some or all of the forms in (xx.a) are historically related, but jè 'holding, with' (xx1.b) is probably unrelated.

- (xx1) a. jè- 'say' (unsuffixed Perfective, §11.xxx)  
 -jè- Recent Perfect suffix (§10.xxx)  
 jé Purposive postposition (§8.xxx)  
 jé (mèy<sup>n</sup>) at end of adverbial clauses
- b. jè 'holding; with', reduced from jíjè in verb-chains  
 (§15.xxx)

The present section is concerned with jé and the more common jé mèy<sup>n</sup> in adverbial clauses. I will gloss jé as 'say' on the theory that it may still be synchronically connected to the inflected jè- 'say', and for lack of a better translation. In this analysis, jé is the (bare) lexical form of the 'say' verb, which otherwise appears as L-toned unsuffixed Perfective jè-. In this analysis, jé 'say' is chained to the following clause, with or without mèy<sup>n</sup>.

Adverbial clauses ending in jé (mèy<sup>n</sup>) have a range of morphosyntactic forms, the variables being a) the expression of pronominal subject, and b) the form of the

verb if perfective (positive). There are two basic types involving **inflected verbs**, i.e. verbs with at least AN marking (xx2). (See below for an uncommon pattern involving bare verb stems.)

(xx2)                      pronominal subject                      tone of unsuffixed Perfective

a. quasi-main-clause type

   suffix on verb                      all-L

b. quasi-relative-clause type

   L-toned preverbal pronoun    H(H...)L

Type (xx2.a) is consistent with main-clause form in most respects. However, the L-toned unsuffixed Perfective in main clauses is elsewhere associated with the presence of a focalized constituent, which is not the case in j'é clauses.

Type (xx2.b) is consistent with relative-clause form in most respects. However, no audible Participial suffix is present on the verb. One might argue for a Nonhuman Participial suffix -Ø, which would require us to assume a covert nonhuman head; I will not adopt this suggestion.

The **quasi-main-clause type** (xx2.a) is less common. The clear examples of this construction have perfective-system verbs or statives, as in (xx3). I interpret structurally similar examples involving an imperfective (or imperative) verbs to be purposive clauses (§17.xxx). I Note the L-toned unsuffixed Perfective verbs in (xxx.3a-b) and the pronominal subject suffixes throughout. (xx3.a,c) have j'é m'èy<sup>n</sup>, while (xx3.b,d) have just j'é.

(xx3) a.    émé            nám            d'áná            y'é r'è-m,  
           1PIP            people        hunt            come.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl,  
           dǐ :<sup>n</sup>            è : -bà            j'é            m'èy<sup>n</sup>,  
           place        see.**Perf.L-3PIS**        **say**        **and**,  
           [bé            nè]            y'è r'é            d'ìŋ'è-bà  
           [3Pl            now]        come            sit.Perf.L-3PIS  
           'When our kin (=Jamsay hunters) who had come to hunt (here) had seen  
           the area, they too (=Jamsay villagers) [topic], they now came and  
           settled.' **2004.3.11**

b.    [c'è :            kùn'ò-w'<sup>n</sup>                      j'é]            t'é g'é  
           [thing.L        put.**Perf.L-2SgS**            say]            speak  
           à'ná            ù            á'yá-wâ :            kù<sup>n</sup>  
           village        2SgS.L        hear-Caus.Impf        Def  
           'what you-Sg will inform the village that you have put (=contributed)'  
           **2004.3.20**

- c. [mâ:n .: mâ:n .:] èl-lá-bá jé mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑  
 [so-and-so so-and-so] sweet-Neg-3PlS **say and**  
 ‘when So-and-so and So-and-so (=any two people) are not sweet (=are in conflict)’ (érù) **2004.4.6**

Perhaps (xx4) belongs here. The predicate with H-toned jé is a noun with clitic ≡ỵ ‘it is’.

- (xx4) tì-tá: [[kò ké] kòr-Ø≡î: jé,  
 Rdp-hyena [[Nonh.L Topic] lie-VblN≡it.is **say**,  
 [wó dî:<sup>n</sup> ní wò wô:-Ø] ...  
 [3Sg place.L here 3SgS.L be.Hum.HL-Ppl.Nonh] ...  
 ‘Hyena said: “that (=what you just said) is a lie; there where you-Sg are, ...”’ **2004.4.2**

The **quasi-relative-clause type** (xx2.b) with L-toned preverbal subject pronominal is more common. It is exemplified in (xx5). Note the H(H...L (usually bisyllabic HL) tones on the perfective verbs (xx5.a-b), and the preverbal subject pronominals in all examples. In (xx5.a), both of these features are observable in the jé mèy<sup>n</sup> clause. In the jé clause that follows, still in (xx5.a), the verb (‘look for’) is imperfective, so only the preverbal subject pronominal tells us that the quasi-relative type is at hand. Similar imperfective clauses occur in (xx5.c-e). Simple jé is present in (xx5.b), while the other examples have jé mèy<sup>n</sup>.

- (xx5) a. [pè:jé gǎnè] bè yàrà jé mèy<sup>n</sup>,  
 [Vetiveria among] **3PlS.L walk.Perf.HL say and**,  
 kó bè lúgúô: jé,  
 Nonh.O **3PlS.L** look.for.Impf **say**,  
 kó mà ú:r<sup>n</sup>ò ⇒  
 ‘While they were walking among the Vetiveria grass, while they were looking for it (=lion), Lo! It (=lion) got up (=appeared)!’ **2004.3.4**
- b. [[kò bówò] jé]  
 [[**NonhS.L** lie.down.**Perf.HL**] **say**]  
 [íné-n≡î: [kó kú:<sup>n</sup>] gò:-Ø]  
 [person-Sg≡Foc [Nonh on] go.out.Perf.L-3SgS]  
 ‘Realizing that it (=lion) had lain down, a person [focus] attacked it.’  
**2004.3.2**
- c. [èné mà èjú] wò wàrà: jé mèy<sup>n</sup>,  
 [Refl Poss field] **3SgS.L** farm.Impf **say and**,  
 [gòrò-digé mà dî:<sup>n</sup> núṅò lè]  
 [canal-row Poss place.L Dem in]  
 dùndàṅá yèré bé tèmè-Ø

elephant come 3PIO find.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘While he was farming his field, an elephant came out and found them  
 (=the villagers) in the canal-row place.’ **2004.3.4**

- d. [î-n [kó kù<sup>n</sup> lè]  
 [child-Sg [Nonh Def Instr]  
 dàná wò dàná:-Ø jé mèy<sup>n</sup>],  
 hunt(noun) **3SgS.L** hunt.Impf-3SgS **say and**,  
 [kó wò kár<sup>n</sup>â: wò kár<sup>n</sup>â: jé mèy<sup>n</sup>]  
 [NonhO **3SgS.L** do.Impf **3SgS.L** do.Impf **say and**,  
 wó ù yàŋâ: jé mèy<sup>n</sup>,  
 3SgO **2SgS.L** look.Impf **say and**,  
 [mánà [èn lè] éwé ò: gá:] kân, ...  
 [slingshot [Refl Dat] buy give say] after, ...  
 ‘(Seeing that) the child hunts in that way, (seeing that) he keeps doing  
 that and doing that, you-Sg watch him (hunt); (then) after you buy a  
 slingshot and give it to him, ...’ **2004.3.16**

- e. ... ù-rú bè gá: kân,  
 ... 2Sg-Dat 3PIS.L say after,  
 [ù dùr<sup>n</sup>ô: jé mèy<sup>n</sup>], hâl  
 [2SgS.L follow.Impf **say and**] until  
 [ñè-î-n kù<sup>n</sup>] [àyà éy<sup>n</sup>] dó:-yè-Ø dèy  
 [female-child-Sg Def] [husband.L tight] reach-Perf-3SgS if  
 ‘When they (=prospective parents-in-law) have told you “...”, and you  
 have kept following up (with more gifts), when finally the girl has  
 reached the age of marriage, ...’ **2004.3.20**

- f. kárgù [è wó≡y] mòr<sup>n</sup>ó è t'éwê: jé mèy<sup>n</sup>,  
 brick [2Pl 3Sg=it.is] be.together 2PIS.L make.Impf **say and**  
 [nîŋ ké] ógó-ró cìllè-gó-bé  
 [now Topic] fast-Inch finish-Inf.Neg-2PIS  
 mà:ná-jè-bè dèy  
 think-RecPf-2PIS if  
 ‘Bricks [topic], while you and they are making (them), if you have  
 already reckoned that you-Pl will not finish quickly now.’ **2004.3.25**

Some or all of the ingredients in (xx6) appear to be present with jé mèy<sup>n</sup>.

- (xx6) a. quotative (‘say)  
 b. cognitive processing of eventuality by a protagonist  
 c. change of subject (or topic) vis-à-vis the following clause  
 d. simultaneity (durative background clause)

Function (xx6.a) and its extension (xx6.b) are consistent with the probable origin of the  $j\acute{e} \ m\grave{e}y^n$  construction as a quotative ( $j\acute{e} = \text{'say'}$ ). A quotative interpretation (xx6.a) is possible in examples (xx3.b) and (xx4), above.

In the cognitive processing interpretation (xx6.b), the sense can be captured by the sample formulation “X realized that  $S_1$ , (then) X ...”. Here, X has cognitively processed the eventually  $S_1$ , and the same X is a protagonist in  $S_2$ . This may be the case in (xx5.b,d), whose nuances may not be perfectly captured by the free translation.

The formulation “X realized that  $S_1$ , (then)  $S_2$ ” has the (perhaps accidental) by-product of favoring subject (or topic) switches. If X is the subject of  $S_2$  but not of  $S_1$ , a subject switch is at hand. Many, though not all, examples of  $j\acute{e} \ m\grave{e}y^n$  involve a subject switch with respect to the following clause. In this respect,  $j\acute{e} \ m\grave{e}y^n$  is similar to  $g\acute{a} : k\hat{a}n$ , both contrasting sharply with  $m\grave{e}y^n$  (which assumes same subjects across chain boundaries).

However, neither quotative, cognitive processing nor subject-switch account for all the examples of  $j\acute{e} \ m\grave{e}y^n$ . In many cases,  $j\acute{e} \ m\grave{e}y^n$  functions as a durative background clause, translatable ‘while ...’ (xx4.a,c,f). Additional examples are in (xx7).

- (xx7) a.  $t\grave{i}-t\acute{a} :$  [kò yárá  $j\acute{e} \ m\grave{e}y^n$  ],  
 Rdp-hyena [NonhS.L go.around.Perf.HL say and],  
 $n\grave{e}mn\acute{e} \ \acute{e} : -\emptyset$   
 scorpion see.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘Hyena [topic], as it walked around, it saw Scorpion.’ **2004.4.2**
- b.  $t\acute{a} :$  kò-rú sára gára- $\emptyset$ ,  
 hyena Nonh-Inst pass pass.Perf.L-3SgS,  
 [kò k\acute{e}] wò y\acute{a} :  $j\acute{e} \ m\grave{e}y^n$ ,  
 [Nonh.L Topic] 3SgS.L go.Perf.L say and,  
 [jów mà k\hat{u} : <sup>n</sup>] wò y\acute{a} :  $j\acute{e}$ , b\grave{e}n-n\acute{a} : ...  
 [running Poss on] 3SgS.L go.Perf.L say, goat ...  
 ‘With that, Hyena continued on its way. He then [topic], as it went along, as it ran (=trotted) along, a goat ...’ **2004.4.2**

A third syntactic possibility, as an alternative to the quasi-main-clause and quasi-relative constructions, is for the adverbial clause to end in a **bare verb stem**, in effect being chained with  $j\acute{e}$  ‘say’. Here a purposive element (**intention**) is clear, and a comparison with Purposive postposition  $j\acute{e}$  is pertinent. The clause before  $j\acute{e}$  is reduced to a subjectless VP, though a topical NP may be preposed.

- (xx8) a.  $t\grave{a}r\grave{a}-y\acute{a} : -m$ , [t\grave{a}r\acute{a} y\check{a} :  $j\acute{e} \ m\grave{e}y^n$  ]  
 collective.hunt.L-go.H-Ppl.Pl [collective.hunt go say and]  
 $t\grave{u}-t\grave{u} : l\acute{u} \ k\acute{u}n-t\grave{u}-b\grave{a} \ t\acute{a}n\grave{a} : d\grave{e}y$ , ...  
 Rdp-horn put-Perf-3PIS happen if, ...

‘The hunters [topic], intending to go on a collective hunt, when they have put (=played) the horn, ...’ (kúnó-) **2004.3.3**

- b. àr<sup>n</sup>-úm àr<sup>n</sup>á náṅá-r<sup>n</sup>á jé mèy<sup>n</sup>,  
 man-Pl arming forget-Revers **say and**,  
 [mó:n túrú] mǒn-sà-y  
 [gathering one] come.together-Reslt-1PlS  
 ‘The men [topic], intending to remember (=revive) the (tradition of) arming for war as men, we came together in one (large) gathering.’  
 (mǒr<sup>n</sup>ó-) **2004.3.24**

Asked to substitute a pronominal subject for ‘men’ in (xx8.b), my assistant used a topical independent 3Pl pronoun (xx9).

- (xx9) bé àr<sup>n</sup>á náṅá-r<sup>n</sup>á jé mèy<sup>n</sup>, ...  
 3Pl arming forget-Revers **say and**, ...  
 ‘They [topic], intending to remember the arming for war as men, ...’

### 15.1.3 ‘Since ...’ clauses

#### 15.1.3.1 ‘Since ...’ (... mà dǎy<sup>n</sup>)

dǎy<sup>n</sup> is a noun meaning ‘boundary, limit, maximum extent’. It can be used to construct ‘since ...’ clauses denoting unbounded temporal extent beginning at a fixed point in the past. The construction is [...] mà dǎy<sup>n</sup>, where the brackets enclose a clause in relative form (arguably headed by a virtual second occurrence of dǎy<sup>n</sup>).

- (xx1) a. [[tàrá yǎ:mì bâ:] mà dǎy<sup>n</sup>]  
 [[collective.hunt go 1SgS.L learn.Perf.HL] Poss **limit**]  
 ‘ever since I first learned about (=got my first exposure to) going on the hunt’ **2004.3.2**
- b. [kò gárà] mà dǎy<sup>n</sup>  
 [NonhS.L pass.Perf.HL] Poss **limit**  
 ‘(ever) since (the time when) that happened’ **2004.4.4**

#### 15.1.3.2 ‘Since ...’ (bǎ:)

bǎ: ‘since, starting with, as early as, back at (time)’ normally follows an adverbial with a meaning like ‘morning’. A clausal counterpart can be constructed using a relative clause headed by a noun meaning ‘time’, with postposition lè ‘in’.

- (xx1) gîrè-s<sup>n</sup> [[dògùrù tǒy ù tô:-Ø]

early [[time.L sowing 2Sgs.L sow.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]  
 lè] bǎ:  
 in] **since**  
 ‘early (in the morning), at the time in which you do the sowing, ...’ **2004.3.8**

### 15.1.3.3 ‘Since ...’ (íllè)

A clause-initial particle íllè ‘since’, from Fulfulde, occurred occasionally in texts.

(xx1) [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] [íllè tǒy dǒgùrù tóyò lè]  
 [Nonh Def] [**since** seeds time.L sprout.Perf.HL in]  
 ‘That (larva), back when the (millet) seeds have sprouted, ...’ **2004.3.8**

### 15.1.4 Other temporal adverbial clauses

In addition to the constructions described below, attention is drawn to conditionals with dèy ‘if ...’ (§16.xxx), which can often be glossed ‘when ...’ (expressing temporal anteriority as well as, or instead of, causal priority).

#### 15.1.4.1 Noun-headed temporal clause (‘the time when ...’)

In one straightforward type of temporal clause, we have a relative construction headed by a noun meaning ‘time’, ‘day’, or the like, resulting in an NP. Typical head nouns are dógúró ‘time’, wàkàtì ‘time’ (from Arabic via Fulfulde), and níṅír<sup>n</sup>é ‘day’. The following features are required by the relative clause structure: head noun appears with all-L tone, an unsuffixed Perfective verb has H(H...L) (while imperfective-system verb stems have their usual tone), and subject pronominals are preverbal rather than suffixed to the verb.

The resulting NP is optionally followed by postposition lè in locative function.

- (xx1) a. [wàkàtì búró ní: kùn-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] lè  
 [**time.L** pond water be.in.Perf.HL.**Ppl.Nonh** Def] in  
 ‘at the time when (abundant) water is in the pond.’
- b. dǒgùrù ù gǒn-sà-Ø cêw  
**time.L** 2SgS.L be.able-Reslt-**Ppl.Nonh** all  
 ‘any time you-Sg are able (to)’ **2004.3.6**
- c. wáru dǒgùrù ù gô:-Ø  
 farming **time.L** 2SgS.L go.out.Perf-**Ppl.Nonh**  
 ‘at the time when you (first) went out to do the farming’ **2004.3.6**
- c. níṅír<sup>n</sup>è bè nâ:  
 day.L 3PIS.L spend.night.Impf

‘the day(s) (when) they stayed for the night’ **2004.3.11**

Headless relatives are observed in examples like (xx2). One can infer an implicit head meaning ‘time’, ‘season’, or the like, depending on context.

- (xx2)     $\hat{i}$ -n    wó    nǎn-tù-bà    dèy,    [wó    bè    nár<sup>n</sup>à], ...  
 child-Sg 3SgO    bear-Perf-3PIS if,    [3SgO 3PIS.L    bear.Perf.HL], ...  
 ‘A child, if they bear it (=if it is born), when they have borne it, ...’  
**2004.2.12**

15.1.4.2 Reverse anteriority (‘before ...’)

Jamsay has a remarkable construction to express ‘before ...’ clauses. It is characterized by the features in (xx1).

- (xx1)    a.    verb is a pseudo-causative nominal;  
           b.    this nominal is followed by postposition lè ‘in, with’;  
           c.    immediately preceding chained verbs appear as L-toned compound  
                   initials;  
           d.    multiple NP and adverbial arguments may appear as possessors:  
                   —inner (preverbal) argument often in regular alienable possessor form  
                   —outer arguments often appear with mà (even after a pronoun)

In its treatment of NP arguments, the ‘before’ construction shows syntactic similarities to Verbal Noun phrases, the other major subordinated clause type in Jamsay that is based on a nominalized verb (§17.xxx). A difference is that the VblN is more prone to form compounds than the pseudo-causative nominal.

The (final) verb takes **pseudo-causative** form, with H-toned stem followed by a L-toned suffix -wè (with vowel quality taken from the final stem vowel). The overall tone pattern is therefore H(H...)L. For the form of the pseudo-causative, see §9.xxx. The pseudo-causative “verb” is syntactically a noun (it is followed by a postposition, and is often preceded by a “possessor”).

The nominalized verb is followed by postposition lè, which can elsewhere be locative, dative, or instrumental (§8.xxx). I will gloss it in interlinears as ‘in’, but I am neutral as to which of the postpositional functions (locative, etc.) is relevant here.

In intransitives, the logical **subject appears in possessor form**, hence with mà if a noun-headed NP (xx2.d-e), otherwise with the regular H-toned alienable possessor pronominal (xx2.a-c, f-h). If a **chained verb** immediately precedes the pseudo-causative verb, it appears as an **L-toned compound initial**; see ‘come’ in (xx2.a) and sárá- ‘pass’ in (xx2.g).

- (xx2)    a.    úrò                    é            yèrè-dó:-wò                    lè,  
           house.Loc.HL    2PIP    come.L-arrive.H-Caus.L            in]  
           ‘before you-Pl come back home (=to the village)’ (yèr é-, dó:-)  
**2004.3.1**

- b. ... yùwó=kò, [kó yúwú-wò lè],  
 ... shed.Impf≡be.Nonh, [**NonhP** shed.H-Caus.L in],  
 [lá:-lá: ké] ñě-m yă: gǒ:ⁿ jì:ⁿ  
 [first-first Topic] woman-Pl go remove.Impf Past  
 ‘... it (=early millet) sheds (grains). Before it shedded, in the old days the  
 women would go and remove (=harvest) it.’ (yùwó-) **2004.3.6**
- c. [[î:ⁿ kùⁿ] ír-â:-∅] bé gá:-wà lè  
 [[child Def] ripen-Perf-3SgS] **3PIP** say.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before they (can) say that the grains (of millet) have ripened’ (gá:-)  
**2004.3.8**
- d. [kó tòjò kùⁿ] mà dó:-wò lè,  
 [NonhP payment Def] **Poss** arrive.H-Caus.L in,  
 jàmá jàmá-jê jòwó-m yó=kò  
 betrayal betray-RecPf run.Impf-Ppl.Pl exist≡be.Hum  
 ‘It exists (=sometimes happens) that before the the payment (deadline)  
 arrives, he flees treacherously.’ (dó:-) **2004.3.10**
- e. nì:-sì:rⁿû: [àsègé mà gó:-wò lè]  
 morning.Loc.HL [animal **Poss** go.out.H-Caus.L in]  
 ‘in the morning, before the (livestock) animals have gone out’ (gó:-)  
**2004.3.16**
- f. má ú:rⁿú-wⁿò lè  
**1SgP** get.up.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before I got up’ (ú:rⁿó-)
- g. wó sàrà-gàrá-wà lè  
**3SgP** **pass.L-pass.H-Caus.L** in  
 ‘before he passed by’ (sàrá-, gàrá-)
- h. [kó máyⁿá-wⁿà lè], kó ù jùjò-ⁿ dèy,  
 [**NonhP** dry.H-Caus.L in], NonhO 2SgS.L rub.Impf-Ppl.Sg if,  
 cín yèré mèyⁿ ↑ màyⁿá=kò  
 thus come and dry.Impf≡be.Nonh  
 ‘Before it (=cowhide) dries, you-Sg rub it with salt, thus it will come and  
 dry out’ (màyⁿá-) **2004.3.17**

When the **direct object** is specified, in the absence of an overtly expressed subject, we get the same simple alienable possessive construction as in intransitives where only the subject is expressed (xx3).

(xx3) [yà:jì:-pǎg-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>] mà ó:-wò lè  
 [marriage.L-tie.VblN Def] **Poss** give.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before (you) hand over the marriage-contracting payment (=brideprice)’  
**2004.3.20**

Now consider what happens when both the logical subject and the logical object are overtly expressed. The linear order is normally **subject-object-verb** (see below for occasional exceptions involving pronominal subjects). The object is therefore the inner (immediately preverbal) argument. It may appear in normal direct-object form, or in the form of an ordinary alienable possessor (NP plus mà, or alienable possessor form of pronoun).

The subject is normally the outer argument. It most often appears as a special kind of outer possessor. If it is a pronoun, it normally appears as an **independent pronoun** plus mà, for example 2Sg ú mà, 1Sg mí mà, and 3Sg wó mà. This type of pronominal possessor never occurs with a simple possessed noun, where we get either H-toned alienable (2Sg á, 1Sg má, 3Sg wó, etc.) or inalienable (2Sg ù, 1Sg m̀, 3Sg wò, etc.) possessor without mà.

If the object is pronominal, it appears in either (alienable) **possessor** (xx4.c) or regular **direct-object** form (xx4.d), e.g. 1Sg possessor má or direct-object mí. The difference between possessor and object form is audible only with 2Sg and 1Sg, other pronominals like 3Sg wó and 1Pl émé being ambiguous between possessor and object, hence the noncommittal P/O in interlinears (xx4.e). Where the difference is audible (1Sg, 2Sg), possessor form appears to be preferred.

- (xx4) a. bé mà má láyá-wà lè  
**3Pl Poss 1SgP** hit.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before they hit me’
- b. wó mà má láyá-wà lè  
**3Sg Poss 1SgP** hit.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before he/she hits me’
- c. ú mà má láyá-wà lè  
**2Sg Poss 1SgP** hit.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before you-Sg hit me’
- d. ú mà mí láyá-wà lè  
**2Sg Poss 1SgO** hit.H-Caus.L in  
 [= (c)]
- e. mí mà wó láyá-wà lè  
**1Sg Poss 3SgP/O** hit.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before I hit him/her’

When both subject and object are nonpronominal NP's, we can get a **stacked-possessor** construction of the form [subject mà [object mà verb]], as in (xx5). This resembles the [pronoun mà [possessor-pronoun verb] pattern in (xx4.a-c), above.

(xx5) [mì dē:] mà [árá mà sá:kù] mà  
 [1SgP.L father.HL] Poss [rice Poss sack] Poss  
 jé:r é-wè lè  
 bring.H-Caus.L in  
 'before my father brings the sack of rice.'

However, speakers seem to find this construction to be rather bulky, and other variants are observed. First, the subject NP may be **topicalized**, then resumed by a possessor pronominal (xx6.a). Second, the object NP may appear in **normal object** form, without a following Possessive mà (xx6.b-c).

(xx6) a. [mì dē:] [árá mà sá:kù]  
 [1SgP.L father.HL] [rice Poss sack]  
 wó jé:r é-wè lè  
 3SgP/O bring.H-Caus.L in  
 'my father [topic], before he brings the sack of rice.'

b. mí mà pé:jú cé:<sup>n</sup>-w<sup>n</sup>è lè  
 1Sg Poss **sheep** slaughter.H-Caus.L in  
 'before I slaughter the sheep'

c. [mì dē:] mà pé:jú cé:<sup>n</sup>-w<sup>n</sup>è lè  
 [1SgP.L father.HL] Poss **sheep** slaughter.H-Caus.L in  
 'before my father has slaughtered the sheep-Sg'

If the subject is pronominal, it is also possible to **front a nonpronominal object**. In this case, the object has possessor form with mà, and is followed by a preverbal subject pronominal that is also in (alienable) possessor form. This ordering might cause parsing problems, and seems to occur only when the semantics of the verb make the subject/object relationship clear (xx7).

(xx7) pé:jú mà má cé:<sup>n</sup>-w<sup>n</sup>è lè  
**sheep** Poss 1SgP slaughter.H-Caus.L in  
 'before I slaughter the sheep'

**Adverbials** such as dative pronominals or PP's, or locationals, may be added, with or without a following Possessive mà. Examples of pronominal and NP datives without mà are in (xx8). The main difference between (xx8.b-d) is the relative ordering of the dative and subject pronominals. In (xx8.b-d), the pronominal subject does not have possessor form; instead, it appears as an L-toned preverbal subject pronominal, immediately before the verb (xx8.b), or as a H-toned independent

pronoun, when separated from the verb (xx8.c-d). The option to add Possessive mà after an adverb is exercised in (xx8.d-e). In (xx8.e), úrò ‘in the house’ is a tonal locative, equivalent to a locative PP.

- (xx8) a. [mì dè: lè] bú:dù mà [má ó:-wò lè]  
 [1SgP.L father.HL **Dat**] money Poss [1SgP give.H-Caus.L in]  
 ‘before I give the money to my father’
- b. bú:dù mà ù-rú mì ó:-wò lè  
 money Poss 2Sg-**Dat** **1SgS.L** give.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before I give you-Sg the money’
- c. bú:dù mà mí ù-rú ó:-wò lè  
 money Poss **1Sg** g2Sg-**Dat** give.H-Caus.L in  
 [= (b)]
- d. ù-rú mà mí kó ó:-wò lè  
 2Sg-**Dat** Poss **1Sg** NonhO give.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before I give it to you-Sg’
- e. pé:jú úrò mà má já:-wà lè  
 sheep house.**Loc.HL** Poss **1SgP** convey.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before I bring the sheep home (=to the village)’

Occasionally there is an L-toned nominal **compound initial** on the ‘before’ verb with -wv. In this case, if there is a preceding **chained verb**, this chained verb cannot also take compound-initial form, so it takes its regular tones. In (xx9), the compound initial ùrò- ‘house’ is based on the tonal locative úrò ‘in the house’, which occurs in the preceding sentence in the text. The chained verb is sù mó ‘wash’.

- (xx9) bé mà sù mó ùrò-nú:-w<sup>n</sup>ò lè  
 3Pl Poss wash house.L-enter.H-Caus.L in  
 ‘before they clean (the circumcision quarters) and go into their (own) home(s)’ **2004.3.18**

#### 15.1.4.3 ‘When ...’ (-sé)

This rare pattern involves a L-toned verb and a suffix -sé. Post-Sonorant Syncope is applicable, e.g. to Cvrv- and Cvrv<sup>n</sup>v- verb stems. A pronominal subject is expressed with an L-toned preverbal subject pronominal. The only attestation in my texts is (xx1). Here the -sé clause follows a [v̂ v̂] verb iteration denoting a prolonged activity (§11.xxx). The -sé verb itself is intonationally prolonged (symbol ⇒) in the example. A gloss ‘when he came’ seems most appropriate in context.

(xx1) [[dògùrò yèré mèy<sup>n</sup> da:ɣá dê: kù<sup>n</sup> lè],  
 [[time.L come and night fall.Perf.HL Def] in]  
 yó:rò-yò:rò wò yès-sé ⇒,  
 sneak.HL-sneak.L 3SgS come-when,  
 [òyò-ñòw<sup>n</sup>ó ú:r<sup>n</sup>ó íj-â:] tèmè-∅  
 [Camel get.up stand-Perf] find.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘When night came and fell, he (=Hyena) crept along and along. When he  
 came (=arrived), he found (=it happened that) Camel had gotten to its feet  
 and was standing.’ (yèré-) **2004.4.4**

Other elicited forms, showing the L-toned verb, were yà:-sé from yǎ:- ‘go’,  
 and dò:-sé from dó:- ‘arrive’.

#### 15.1.4.4 ‘No sooner ..., than ...’ with H(H...)L-toned nominalization

A construction involving parallel clauses, each with a nominalization formed by  
 H(H...)L tone overlay on an unsuffixed verb stem, occurred in one text (xx1).

(xx1) yàṅá bè kân *en France* yǎ: mèy  
 look.at 3PIS.L after in France go and  
 táwè [ě: lèy] [ě: tà:n] bé: bèrê:-∅ tán,  
 maybe [month two] [month three] stay can.Impf-3SgS only,  
 ú á:-bà, *mais* fàrá:nsì yǎ: dó:  
 2SgO catch.Impf-3PIS, but France go arrive  
 [ú mà dó: ⇒] [ú mà pílíwè]  
 [2Sg Poss **arrive.HL**] [2SgS Poss **go.back.HL**]  
 non ú à:-j-é dé, ú dàyá-bà  
 no! 2SgO catch-impf.Neg-3PIS Emph, 2SgO leave.Impf-3PIS  
 ‘If they (=colonial army recruiters) have reckoned that (someone) can  
 probably live (=hold up) for two or three months in France, they would  
 conscript you-Sg; but if (they think that) arriving in France, no sooner would  
 you arrive than you would come back (to Mali), no, they would not conscript  
 you, they would reject you.’ **2004.4.22**

In (xx1) and similar examples elicited later, I hear intonational prolongation of  
 the final vowel of the first of the paired nominalized verbs, but no prolongation of the  
 second nominalized verb. The subject of ‘arrive’ and ‘go back’ nominals is expressed  
 as a possessor, specifically as independent pronoun (2Sg ú) plus Possessive mà. This  
 type of possessor also expresses pronominal subjects in verbal-noun clauses and in  
 ‘before ...’ clauses under certain conditions (§17.xxx, §17.xxx).

(xx2) is an elicited example of the same type.

(xx2) á:mádù mà díṅè ⇒, wó mà núw<sup>n</sup>ò

A Poss **sit.down.HL**, 3Sg Poss **die.HL**  
 ‘No sooner did Amadou sit down than he died.’

### 15.1.5 Spatial adverbial clause (‘where ...’)

The noun  $d\check{i} : ^n$  ‘place’ is the head noun of a relative clause in the usual spatial adverbial construction. With tone-dropping it appears here as  $d\grave{i} : ^n$ . This construction can have a more or less literal spatial sense ‘(the place) where...’, as in (xx1).

- (xx1) a.  $n\grave{u}w^n \acute{o}$   $d\grave{i} : ^n$   $k\hat{o} : -\emptyset$   $f\acute{u} :$   
 corpse **place.L** be.Nonh.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh all  
 ‘where(-ever) the corpse is’ **2004.3.21**
- b.  $d\grave{i} : ^n$   $\acute{e}n\acute{e}$   $\acute{u}m\grave{o}-\emptyset$   $k\grave{u}^n$   $l\grave{e}$   
**place.L** Logo lie.down.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def in  
 ‘where it (=snake) has lain down’ **2004.3.5**
- c. [ $n\acute{u}\eta$   $l\grave{e}$ ]  $k\hat{a} : ^n$ , [ $d\grave{i} : ^n$   $k\acute{o}$   $b\grave{e}$   $n\grave{u}\eta\acute{o} :$ ]  
 [song in] also, [**place.L** NonhO 3PIS.L sing.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]  
 $b\acute{e}$   $y\acute{o}\equiv k\grave{o}-b\grave{a}$   
 3Pl exist=be.Nonh-3PIS  
 ‘In the songs too, there (=in songs) where they sing it, there are some (singers).’ **2004.3.11**
- d. [[ $k\grave{o}$   $m\grave{o}b\acute{i}l$ ]  $m\grave{a}$   $g\acute{i}r\acute{e}$   $l\grave{e}$ ]  
 [[Dem vehicle] Poss front in]  
 [[*chauffeur*  $b\acute{e}$ ]  $d\grave{i} : ^n$   $d\hat{a} : ^n-\emptyset$   $k\grave{u}^n$ ]  
 [[driver Pl] **place.L** be.sitting.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def]  
 ‘in the front of that vehicle, where the drivers sit’ **2004.5.1**

For more abstract manner-adverbial senses like ‘(in the situation) where...’ and ‘(in) the way (whereby...’), see §15.xx, just below.

An alternative to  $d\check{i} : ^n$  in strictly spatial sense is  $j\acute{e}r\grave{e}$  ‘side’, by extension ‘direction, area’.

- (xx2) [ $j\acute{e}r\grave{e}$   $\acute{e}n\acute{e}$   $y\grave{a}?\text{-}\emptyset$ ]  $w\acute{o}$   $j\grave{o} : -g\acute{o}$   
**[side.L** Logo go.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] 3SgS know-Impl.Neg  
 ‘(He said:) “where I am going, you-Sg don’t know.”’ **2004.4.4**

### 15.1.6 Manner adverbial clause (‘how ...’)

15.1.6.1 With dǐ :<sup>n</sup> ‘place, manner’

The usual manner adverbial is identical in form to the spatial adverbial. Here dǐ :<sup>n</sup> ‘place’ is interpreted more abstractly as ‘situation’ or ‘manner’. As the head of the relative, it appears in L-toned form dǐ :<sup>n</sup>.

- (xx1) a. [úró dǐ :<sup>n</sup> bɛ̀ mǎ : -∅],  
 [house **manner.L** 3PIS.L build.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]  
 [gǔ : dǐ :<sup>n</sup> bɛ̀ mǎ : -∅]  
 [granary **manner.L** 3PIS.L build.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]  
 ‘(Tell us) how they build houses, (and) how they build granaries.’
- b. [àr<sup>n</sup>-úm dǐ :<sup>n</sup> [èjú lé] yǎ : jè : r ê : -∅  
 [man-Pl **manner.L** [bush in] go bring.Impf-Ppl.Nonh  
 kù n è ] j è : r è -g ó -w  
 Def now] bring-Impf.Neg-2SgS  
 ‘The way the (other) men go to the bush and bring (wild game), you-Sg  
 don’t bring (it).’ **2004.3.3**

A manner clause with dǐ :<sup>n</sup> may be the complement of tégé- ‘tell’.

- (xx2) [dǐ :<sup>n</sup> kò kò : -∅] èmǐ -n tégé  
 [**manner.L** NonhS.L be.Nonh.HL-Ppl.Nonh] 1Pl-Dat speak.Imprt  
 ‘Tell us how it was!’ **2004.3.9**

A manner clause with dǐ :<sup>n</sup> can be used as complement of jùgò- ‘know’ in the sense ‘know how ...’ (xx3.a) or ‘know how to ...’. The latter is expressed as ‘know how they ...’ with impersonal 3Pl subject; to avoid confusion I translate this 3Pl as impersonal ‘one’ in (xx3.b).

- (xx3) a. èné≡y<sup>n</sup> [dǐ :<sup>n</sup> kò kár<sup>n</sup>á≡kò] jùgò : wà  
 Logo≡Foc [**manner.L** NonhS.L do.Impf≡be.Nonh] know.Impf say  
 ‘He said, “it’s I [focus] who knows how it (=rifle) works.”’ **2004.4.4**
- b. [dǐ :<sup>n</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>á kó bɛ̀ wàrá yǎ : -∅]  
 [**manner.L** do NonhO 3PIS.L farm(verb) go.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]  
 jùgò-j-é ⇒  
**know-Perf.Neg-3PIS**  
 ‘They didn’t know how one goes and farms with it (=plow).’ **2004.3.8**

15.1.6.2 With òjù-ká : ‘road, method’

The noun òjù-ká : ‘road, path’ can be used abstractly in senses like ‘method, technique, procedure’, which approaches the sense ‘manner’ (cf. English *way*). The

noun does not typically function as head of a relative clause, but it can be combined with a manner adverbial clause headed by the L-toned version of  $d\ddot{i} : ^n$  (see above).

- (xx1) [dì :<sup>n</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>á mèy ↑ kó bè dònò-ŋô : -∅]  
 [manner.L do and NonhO 3PIS.L finish-Caus.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]  
 mà òjù-ká : mà tògú jì-jô : -∅  
 Poss road Poss kind Rdp-be.many.Perf.HL-3SgS  
 ‘There are many kinds of method for putting an end to them (=squabbles).’  
**2004.4.6**

More literally, this is something like ‘there are many kinds of roads (=methods) of the ways (=things) that they do and (=in order to) finish them’.

### 15.1.7 Headless adverbial clause

The logical head noun is sometimes omitted in adverbial relatives. It is difficult to determine in this case whether the missing head noun is ‘manner/way (that ...)', ‘time (when ...)', or ‘place (where ...)', so contextual information and any available native wit must be used in translating such headless adverbial relatives.

In (xx1), because of the immediately following ‘how?’ question, I opt for ‘the way ...’ in the free translation, though a temporal reading is also possible.

- (xx1) [íné-m bè â : kù<sup>n</sup> ],  
 [person.Pl 3PIS catch.Perf.HL Def]  
 [kó nò] [yǒ : -jǐn lè], kó ?  
 [Nonh now] [how? Instr], Nonh  
 ‘... the way they catch people, that (practice) now, how is it?’ **2004.3.3**

In (xx2), temporal readings (‘when/while ...’) seem preferable on the whole, but more abstract readings (‘in a situation where ...’) are also possible.

- (xx2) a. [kó tà :<sup>n</sup>-∅ ↑] bàrmè-∅, bàrmè-∅ ↑  
 [NonhO shoot.Perf.L-3SgS] wound.Perf-3SgS, be.wounded-3SgS  
 [wó kù :<sup>n</sup>] jàwà-∅,  
 [3Sg on] grapple.Perf.L-3SgS,  
 [wó kò jáwà], kó pòrò-∅  
 [3SgO NonhS grapple.Perf.HL], NonhO hug.Perf.L-3SgS  
 ‘He shot and wounded it (=leopard). It was wounded, it grappled with him. While it grappled with him, he got it in a bearhug.’ **2004.3.4**
- b. [bè gámár<sup>n</sup>à-∅ kù<sup>n</sup> lè] mòr<sup>n</sup>ó —,  
 [3PIS.L divide.Perf.HL-Ppl.Sg Def in] be.together.,  
 mòr<sup>n</sup>ó sáy<sup>n</sup>á-bà  
 be.together disperse.Impf-3PIS

‘When they have divided it (=meat) up, they disperse from each other.’  
**2004.3.19**

- c. ñě: -r<sup>n</sup>-ùm àr à-nǒ: -w<sup>n</sup>-Ø, [òrú  
 female-child-Pl porridge-drink-Caus-VblN, [matter  
 wò jùgò-lí-Ø] kó nò: -w<sup>n</sup>ó-bà  
 3SgS.L know-Perf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh] NonhO drink-Caus.Impf-3PlS  
 ‘The excision (“giving porridge to drink”) of girls; when she (still) didn’t  
 know matters (=when she was very young), they would excise it (=her,  
 lit. “would give it [porridge] to drink”).’ **2004.3.18**

#### 15.1.8 ‘From X, until (or: all the way to) Y’

yàṅá ‘take, pick up’ is verb widely used to initiate (and continue) a series, especially in the combination yàṅá mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑. It can take a NP or a clause as complement. The series is normally concluded with a phrase containing some combination of hâl ‘until’, yǎ: - ‘go’, and/or dǒ: - ‘arrive, reach’. The trope is therefore of the speaker ‘picking up’ one or more objects and going (with it) to a destination.

One version of the complete construction is seen in (xx1.a), with two yàṅa mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑ opening the series of life stages of the millet plant, and a final hâl yǎ: . In (xx1.b), we have yǎ: and dǒ: - without hâl.

- (xx1) a. [kó tǒy-tǒyó lè] yàṅá mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑,  
 [NonhP seed.L-sprout in] **take and**,  
 [yèré tènè kún-tì-Ø] yàṅá mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑,  
 [come segment put-Perf-3SgS] **take and**,  
 yàṅá yǎ: —, hâl yǎ: í: <sup>n</sup> nàr<sup>n</sup>á mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑, ...  
 take go —, **until go** child bear and, ...  
 ‘**From the time** it (=millet) is in seedling form, **through the time** it has formed stem segments, and **finally on to the time** when it has borne grains (or: ears), ...’ (kúnó-) **2004.3.8**
- b. [émé àkóró] mà wóró,  
 [1PIP well] Poss depth,  
 [mé:térè péré gá:rà sáyà] yàṅá mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑,  
 [meter ten eight plus] **take and**,  
 [[pél-lěy lěy sáyà] lè] yǎ: dǒ: -Ø  
 [[ten-two two plus] to] **go reach.Perf.L-3SgS**  
 ‘The depth of our wells, (it’s) **from** 18 meters **up to** 22 meters.’ **2004.4.5**

The high-frequency combination hâl yǎ: is sometimes pronounced hâl lǎ: .

Another variation is seen in (xx2), from a text about dry-season farming. The ladles and necked gourds form a mini-series, coming from fruits of the same species

(Lagenaria); the speaker then extends (or restarts) the series by bringing in watermelons.

(xx2) ìnè kàjú wárà-m bé≡ỹ,  
 person calabash farm.HL-Ppl.Pl 3Pl≡it.is,  
 [kó yàṅá-sà-Ø dèy], [tùṅ-nǒ: yàṅá-sà-Ø dèy]  
 [Nonh **take-Reslt-3SgS** if], [ladle **take-Reslt-3SgS** if]  
 [sòbǒl lè] yǎ: dǒ:,  
 [gourd.with.neck to] **go arrive**,  
 [yàṅá yǎ: gù-gûn bè témé, ...  
**[take go Rdp-watermelon 3PIS.L find, ...**  
 ‘It’s people who raise gourd (=calabash) plants. **Starting with** that, **starting with** ladles (from small gourd fruits), and **going on to** gourds with necks (from larger gourd fruits). In addition, they find (=grow) watermelons, ...’  
**2004.3.9**

In (xx3), hâl yǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup> is used in the sense ‘to the point that’, describing an effect of an intense prior action.

(xx3) póró wò gá: kân  
 hug 3SgS.L say after  
 kó sár<sup>n</sup>ám póró wò gá: kân  
 NonhO squeezing hug 3SgS.L say after  
 hâl yǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup> è: <sup>n</sup>-Ø  
**until go and be.tight.Perf.L-3SgS**  
 [wó gùn-céné lé] wòg-á: r à-Ø  
 [3SgP back on] scratch-Habit-3SgS  
 ‘Having gotten it (=leopard) in a bearhug, having squeezed it hard, to the point that it (=bearhug) was tight on his back, it was digging into his back.’  
**2004.3.4**

The verb gó: - ‘go/come out’ is sometimes used instead of yàṅá- ‘take’ to define the starting point (xx4).

(xx4) yí gò:-Ø dêm-tóró tô:-n dǒ:≡kò  
 here **go.out.Perf.L-3SgS** D Recip-Sg **reach.Impf≡be.Nonh**  
 ‘(the distance was the same as) from here to Demtoro (hill)’ **2004.5.1**

When just the first half of the construction (e.g. with yàṅá-) occurs, it can be translated as ‘for example’ or ‘for starters’, with an implied as by unstated endpoint. In (xx5) my assistant, beginning an interview, made the obvious point that there were various crop pests harmful to millet, then added the following to suggest specific animals that could be covered.

(xx5) sà:j-î:<sup>n</sup> yàṅá-sà-Ø dèy,

bird-child            **take-Reslt-3SgS**            if,  
 kî-ká:                yàṅá-sà-∅                dèy  
 Rdp-grasshopper    **take-Reslt-3SgS**            if  
 ‘Birds for example, grasshoppers for example’ **2004.3.8**

In (xx6), an elderly male speaker used an imperative yéré ‘come!’ to conclude a ‘from ..., to ...’ construction.

(xx6) [en quatorze yàṅá] [íjé mà ñàlò:mò núṅò lè] yéré  
 [in fourteen take] [today Poss day.L Dem in] come.Imprt  
 ‘From 1914 until today, ...’ **2004.4.21**

### 15.1.9 ‘As though ...’ clause (jín)

The all-purpose ‘like’ morpheme jín can follow a clause in main-clause form.

(xx1) òyó kár<sup>n</sup>á mèy<sup>n</sup> ↑, hâl wâl-l-á                jín  
 grass be and, until farm(verb)-Perf.Neg-3PLS **like**  
 bé:≡kò  
 be.Impf≡be.Nonh  
 ‘Weeds will grow, to the point that it looks at though they hadn’t done any  
 farm work (i.e. first-stage weeding)’ **2004.3.6**

## 15.2 Constructions with superfluous mà

### 15.2.1 Narrative-climax construction with mà plus H(H...)L Perfective

In narrative climaxes, it is possible to shift to a highly marked construction ending in an unsuffixed perfective verb in H(H...)L tone (as in relatives), and with Possessive mà connecting various preceding constituents in a somewhat profligate fashion. A pronominal subject is expressed by an independent pronoun preceding mà. A chained verb preceding the H(H...)L verb has its tones dropped to all-L, in the fashion of a compound initial. A free translation with ‘suddenly’ or the like captures the narrative flavor.

In (xx1), the first clause (‘it suddenly appeared’) has HL-tone perfective verb, linked by mà to the Nonh subject pronominal, which has H-toned (i.e. independent) form as kó. After an intervening background clause (‘he was holding ...’), the final clause in (xx1) is a cornucopia of mà linkers, one linking the subject to the following locative locative adverbial (‘on its head’), another linking this adverbial to the direct object ‘stick’, and finally one linking ‘stick’ to the verb ‘cause to go down’, a trisyllable with overlaid HHL tone. If one reads this passage aloud, one will observe

the incantatory flavor created by six *mà* linkers (only two of which have ordinary possessor function).

- (xx1) kó            mà        ú:r<sup>n</sup>ò ⇒,        [ó:jó        mà  
**Nonh**        **Poss**    get.up.Perf.**HL**,    [Grewia        **Poss**  
 bèrè        òr≡î:<sup>n</sup>]    jèrè-∅            tàṅà-∅,  
 stick.L        fresh≡it.is]    hold.Perf.L-3SgS    happen.Perf.L-3SgS,  
 wó            mà        [kó        dàr<sup>n</sup>à-céné    mà    kù:<sup>n</sup>]  
 3SgS            **Poss**        [NonhP    head-heart        **Poss**    head]  
 mà        [béré    kù<sup>n</sup>]        mà        súnú-ṅò, ...  
**Poss**    [stick    Def]        **Poss**        go.down-Caus.Perf.**HL** ...  
 'Lo! It (=lion) suddenly got up (=appeared)! It happened (luckily) that he (=a  
 hunter) was holding a freshly cut stick (=shaft) of Grewia tree.' He suddenly  
 brought down that stick on the top of its (=lion's) head. (ú:r<sup>n</sup>ó-,  
 súnú-ṅó-) **2004.3.4**

In (xx2), there are three closely spaced occurrences of this construction. In the first, we again see an independent pronoun, here 3Sg *wó*, before *mà*. The second occurrence has an L-toned chained verb ('kick' = '[scorpion] sting') before the H(H...)L verb 'put'. In the third occurrence, we see another superfluous *mà* linking 'in (=from) the rear' and 'excrement'.

- (xx2) [wó    kù:<sup>n</sup>]            wó        mà        dó:-nò,  
 [3Sg    head.Loc.HL]    3Sg        **Poss**        approach-Caus.Perf.**HL**,  
 [[cír<sup>n</sup>é    mà    dî:<sup>n</sup>        éjé-sà-∅            kù<sup>n</sup>]    lè]  
 [[nose        Poss    place.L    be.clean-Reslt-Ppl.Nonh    Def]    in]  
 nèmné        mà            tààmà-kúnò ⇒  
 scorpion        **Poss**            **kick.L-put.HL**  
 [bòró    lè]        mà            bé:            mà            éré  
 [rear        in]        **Poss**            excrement    **Poss**            escape.Perf.**HL**  
 'Suddenly he (=Hyena) brought his head close to it (=Scorpion, to sniff it). In  
 the spot on his nose that was clean (=bare of fur), suddenly Scorpion stung  
 ("kicked") penetratingly. Instantly, excrement escaped from his (=Hyena's)  
 rear end.' (dò:-nó-, tàámá-, kúnó-, éré-) **2004.4.2**

## 15.2.2 Other cases of superfluous *mà*

Structurally unnecessary Possessive *mà* occurs in a number of other textual passages. An example is *mà* before the verb 'not have' in (xx1). My transcription assistant suggested omitting the *mà*, but I regard superfluous *mà* as a stylistic device rather than a grammatical error. Perhaps the fact that the preceding object NP ('a place to put them') is long and cumbersome is a factor in favor of inserting *mà* before the verb here.

(xx1) [ ìnè gàmà-nám nè ]  
 [person certain-Pl now]  
 [dì:n kó bè kúnô:-Ø kùn ]  
 [place.L NonhO 3PlS.L put.Impf-Ppl.Nonh Def]  
 mà sà:-rá-Ø  
**Poss** have-Neg-3SgS  
 ‘Some (other) people now do not have any place to put them (plants).’  
**2004.3.9**

In (xx2), what appears to be a chained VP ending in yǎ: ‘go’ is followed, after an intonation break, by mà plus noun. Perhaps mà here is an improvised connective, as the structure of the sentence is adjusted in mid-stream.

(xx2) ... gá:rǎ ǎ-n táná-ŋá-m̄,  
 ... more man-Sg become-Caus-Ppl.Pl,  
 [àr<sup>n</sup>ǎ mà témé-r<sup>n</sup>é] jířè yǎ:,  
 [readiness.for.war Poss inherited.trait] ahead go,  
 mà àr<sup>n</sup>-úm dàmá jířè-já:-m  
**Poss** man-Pl push ahead.L-convey.H-Ppl.Pl  
 ‘(griots) who make (anyone whom they follow) more of a man; who push (=urge on) and propel forward the men (so that) their (=the men’s) innate combativeness goes forward (=is increased).’ **2004.3.15**

In (xx3), the quasi-verb kùn-ó-Ø ‘is not (put) in’ is at the end of a factive clause (‘the fact that X is not in’) that serves as subject of a higher main clause (‘does not prevent ...’). There is an unexpected mà between this kùn-ó-Ø and the preceding subject NP. Perhaps what is going on here is that the negative verb form ... kùn-ó-Ø is treated here as though it were a Verbal Noun. (Complements of Verbal Nouns regularly have mà, §17.xxx).

(xx3) [[íné-n túrú-n] [íné-m lèy] mà kùn-ó-Ø]  
 [[person-Sg one-Sg] [person-Pl two] Poss be.in-Neg-3SgS]  
 [[àkóró kùn ] mà jà<sup>n</sup>-ý<sup>n</sup>] gá:nà-gó-Ø  
 [[well Def] Poss dig-VblN] prevent-impf.Neg-3SgS  
 ‘(The fact that) one or two people are not in (=involved) does not prevent digging the well.’ **2004.4.5**

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