

17 Complement and Purposive Clauses

17.1 Quotative complement

17.1.1 Direct versus indirect in quotative complements

Jamsay quotative complements have a mix of “direct” and “indirect” discourse features. A distinction between direct and indirect discourse can be made on the basis of deictics, particularly first and second person pronouns. In completely **direct discourse**, the original deictics (including pronominals) are preserved. In **indirect discourse** there is a new deictic center (usually including a new speaker and listener), so pronouns and other deictics must be shifted. The regular conversions are those in (xx1).

| (xx1) | | direct | indirect |
|-------|-----------------------------|---------|----------------------|
| a. | original speaker | 1Sg mí | Logophoric Sg èné |
| | original speaker and others | 1Pl émé | Logophoric Pl èné bé |
| b. | original addressee | 2Sg ú | 3Sg wó |
| | original addressees | 2Pl é | 3Pl bé |

For more on logophorics, see §18.xxx. Note that in addition to logophorics, third person pronominals are regularly used to denote the **original addressee(s)**. The conversions in (xx1) assume that the original speaker and the original addressee(s) are distinct from the current speaker and addressee. If not, the current speech-act participant status trumps the indirect conversions in (xx1), as in English, where a quoted “I saw you”, with speech-act roles reversed in the current speech event, becomes “(you said that) you saw me”. An example of this is (xx2), from a text describing how disputes are resolved. The speaker uses ‘you-Pl’ generically to denote the disputants. In the (indirect) quotation, the disputants are the addressees (i.e., are embedded second persons). The expected shift of embedded 2Pl to 3Pl pronoun bé does not occur, since their status as current speech-event addressees locks the referents into second person status.

(xx2) [èné≡ŷⁿ é bòrⁿò] kú:ⁿ mà òjù-ká: jé
 [Logo≡Foc **2PIO** call.Perf.L] head Poss road for
 ‘(He said:) “by virtue of it being me [focus] who has summoned you-Pl, ...”’
2004.4.6

Likewise, in (xx3), the original addressee happens to be coreferential to the ‘we’ of the current speech event, and we get a 1Pl (rather than 2Pl or 3Pl) pronominal.

(xx3) [... [émé ∴ èné ∴] háwré-m] wá
 [... [1PI Logo] agree-so.that] say
 'He told us to ..., so that he and we might come to an agreement.' 2004.5.1

Even in “indirect” discourse as thus defined by pronominal conversions, some features of the original direct quotation are routinely smuggled in (xx4).

(xx4) presentential discourse marker
 vocative
 imperative or hortative

Quotations often begin with a **presentential discourse marker** that mimics conversational speech. The usual marker for this purpose is háyè ‘well, ...’. See §19.xxx for discussion.

Quotations often include a **vocative** after this discourse marker. In indirect discourse, the vocative takes the form of a third person human independent pronoun, usually 3Sg wó. Therefore even “indirect” quotations may begin with what is literally ‘well, he/she!, ...’, intended to suggest an original utterance like ‘well, Seydou, ...’ or ‘well, Mother, ...’. I will use ‘hey!’ in the free translation, however awkward it makes the English, to capture the presence of a vocative without getting tangled in pronominal conversions that do not work well in translation.

An alternative vocative substitute is mâ : n (variant àmâ : n) ‘so-and-so’. This specifically replaces a (variable) personal name. It can be glossed as ‘So-and-so’.

In addition, as is shown below, in jussives (embedded imperatives and hortatives), even in otherwise clearly indirect discourse the verb has the **same modal category** as in the original utterance. Therefore ‘He told them to come’ is expressed as ‘He said well, they!, come-PI!’.

An example of indirect discourse is (xx5). It occurs in the middle of a tale that consists largely of quoted dialogue, so there is no need for an initial discourse particle to define the following as a quotation.

(xx5) [èné [ámà jé] wò-rú jàṅà] wá,
 [Logo [God for] 3Sg-Dat request.Perf.L say,
 [wó èné tá :ⁿ wò : -ý] wá
 [3SgS Logo shoot kill-Imprt.Neg] say
 ‘He said, “I (hereby) beg you-Sg for the love of God, don’t shoot and kill me!”’ 2004.4.4

This is literally something like “Logo begged him for God (he) said, don’t he shoot Logo! (he) said.” The 3Sg pronouns systematically refer to the original addressee, logophorics refer to the original speaker, and the original imperative negative verb form is retained without change. Because of the importance of “direct” features in “indirect” discourse, I prefer to use “direct” quotations in the free English translations.

When the embedded addressee is nonhuman, it is expressed in indirect discourse as a Nonhuman pronominal. (xx6) is from a tale where a girl speaks to an unusually intelligent tree.

- (xx6) [èné dè: mà jìm-sòrⁿî:ⁿ lè]
 [Refl father.HL Poss Ceiba-sapling Dat]
 [kó cé:ⁿ kárⁿá èné nú:-m] wá
 [Nonh creak! do.Impf Logo enter-so.that] say
 ‘(She said) to her father’s Ceiba tree sapling, “you!, make a creaking sound, so that I may enter!”’ **2004.4.16**

A further complication is that the **outer frame** (‘X said to Y’) may be formulated with a plural pronominal (e.g. 1Pl or 2Pl), while the **inner quotation** seems to replace this with a corresponding singular. Example (xxx) in §17.xxx, above, is of this type: ‘“Now I’ve seen that the millet stems have stopped growing”, we’ll say.’ The outer 1Pl or 2Pl operates at the generalized level subsuming multiple utterances, while the inner 1Sg or 2Sg is a representative individual utterance.

17.1.2 ‘Say that ...’ with inflectable ‘say’ verb (gá:-, jè-)

A special feature of Jamsay discourse is the role of ‘say’ verb gá:- and quasi-verb jè- (see §11.xxx for the forms). They occur not only in plainly quotative contexts, but also in constructions that overlap functionally with temporal adverbial clauses.

A simple quotative verb like gá:- or jè- can be added to an otherwise complete sentence, with no other overt indication of quotation status (xx1). In imperfective and/or negative contexts, a form of gá:- is used (the unsuffixed Imperfective is gâ- with short vowel). In perfective positive contexts, the only pronominally inflectable ‘say’ (quasi-)verb is L-toned jè- (unsuffixed Perfective). The use of the unsuffixed Perfective suggests that the verb itself (or at least its aspectual value) is defocalized.

Examples are in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [yè-lé àrⁿá mǐn-sà-Ø] jè-Ø
 [there rain fall-Reslt-3SgS] say.Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She said it has rained there.’
- b. [cě: èjù-lá-Ø] jè-bà dèy
 [thing good.L-Neg-3SgS] say.Perf.L-3PlS if
 ‘if they say that a (certain) thing isn’t good, ...’ **2004.4.2**
- c. [[néyⁿ ké] ñù:-kà:-à-ý é:-sà-m]
 [now Topic] millet.L-mouth.L-catch-VblN see-Reslt-1SgS
 gá-ý
 say.Impf-1PlS

“Now I’ve seen that the millet stems have stopped growing”, we’ll say.’
2004.3.6

In (xx2), the presence of Definite *kùⁿ* at the end of the quotation suggests that a factive rather than a (normal) quotative complement is present. On factive complements, see §17.xxx.

(xx2) [[*kó dènè-1-á*] *kùⁿ*] *gá: bèr é-m*
 [[NonhO like-Perf.Neg-3PlS] Def] say be.able.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I can say (as I just did say) that they didn’t like it.’ **2004.3.7**

17.1.3 Quotative clitic *wá* (*wà*)

This uninflectable clitic occurs after a quotation, and (for some speakers) as a ‘hearsay’ evidential in tales and in reports of long-past practices known only from oral tradition. In texts, the **tone** is often carried forward from the final tone of the preceding word, so we hear *wá* after H-tone and *wà* after L-tone. However, there are also a number of textual examples where H-toned *wá* follows a word ending in L-tone, suggesting that H-toned *wá* is the more basic form. In elicitation, H-toned *wá* is clearly preferred.

wá (*wà*) is used after a more or less verbatim quotation, not in examples like ‘what did he/she say?’ with a NP rather than a quotation as complement. It presupposes a contextually understood 3Sg (less often 3Pl) speaker. It can therefore often be glossed ‘he/she said’ at the end of a quotation. However, the “speaker” is sometimes impersonal or generalized (‘it is said’, ‘they say’). The quotation is usually from a past speech event, so *wá* (*wà*) competes most directly with third person forms of quasi-verb *jè-*, especially 3Sg *jè-Ø* ‘he/she said’. However, *wá* (*wà*) can also occur after a quotation attributed to a future time.

(xx1) a. [*mâ:n mà ñě-n*]
 [so-and-so Poss woman-Sg]
mâ:n kó gùj ó-j è-Ø wá
 so-and-so Nonh seize-RecPf-3SgS **say**
 ‘So-and-so’s wife, (a different) so-and-so has eloped with her,” they (will) say.’ **2004.3.20**

b. [*wó èj ú-p ò: =>*] *wà*
 [3Sg field-greeting] say
 ‘He said, “hey, greetings (to you in the field)!”’ **2004.4.4**

The quoted clause may contain a focalized constituent.

(xx2) [*ú ñǎ: ñé:-sà*] *wà*
 [2SgS.L meal] eat-Reslt **say**

‘He said that you-Sg [focus] ate the meal.’

Clause-final Emphatic *kòy* that is part of the quotation may follow *wá* (*wà*).

- (xx3) [ènέ [tógù mánà] nà:-gó-Ø] wá kòy
 [Logo [shed on] spend.night-Impf.Neg-3SgS] **say Emph**
 ‘(Camel) said, “I certainly am not going to spend the night on top of the shed!.” **2004.3.4**

The quotative particle may also be used here and there in a tale, which (by definition) is based on hearsay. (xx4) is one of several occurrences of *wá* in a tale, with no suggestion of a quotation within the narrative.

- (xx4) [[jìm-sòrⁿî:ⁿ kùⁿ] yèré mèyⁿ dè:] wá
 [[Ceiba.L-sapling Def] come and be.burned.Perf.L] **say**
 ‘The Ceiba tree sapling was burned.’ **2004.4.16**

In this ‘hearsay’ use, *wá* can follow an inflected quotative verb (xx5).

- (xx5) [ènέ sóyó-jè yà:-gó-Ø] jè-Ø wá
 [Logo peck-RecPf go-Impf.Neg-3SgS] **say.L-3SgS say**
 ‘It (=Guinea-Fowl) said, “I won’t go after having eaten (by pecking).’
2004.4.16

In such tales, and in extended quotations, *wá* (*wà*) may occur repeatedly, each time at the end of a clause (and generally at a well-marked intonational break). However, it is also possible to use short-voweled *gá* or *gà* as an interim quotative marker in the middle of an extended quotation (§17.xxx, below), with a normal ‘say’ expression *gá*:-, *jè*-, or *wá* (*wà*) at the end.

17.1.4 Impersonal ‘if they have said’ construction

Often a ‘they have said’ phrase should be disregarded, in an idiomatic free translation, at the end of what otherwise looks like a main clause (xx1).

- (xx1) [pàrà-sé:rⁿé pàrá sé:ⁿ-yⁿà-Ø]
 [post.harvest.season post.harvest be.post.harvest-Perf-3Sg]
 gá:-jè-bà dèy, yèré mèyⁿ ↑ [ńú: mà bíré]
say-RecPf-3PIS if, come and [millet Poss work(noun)]
 sùg-â:-Ø gá:-jè-bà dèy
 go.down-Perf.3SgS **say-RecPf-3PIS** if
 [[wàkàtì búró ní: kún-Ø kùⁿ] lè],
 [[time.L pond water be.in.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def] in]
 kàrgù-téwè nù:-wⁿ

brick.L-make.HL enter.Impf-2SgS

‘When (they have said that) the post-harvest season is happening, when (they have said that) the work of (growing) millet has come and gone down (=ended), at the time when there is (plenty of) water in the ponds, you-Sg will enter into (=engage in) making mud bricks.’ **2004.3.25**

Here there is no previously established discourse referent for ‘they’, and the 3Pl is mis-matched with the 2Sg protagonist who appears in the concluding main clause. At best, one might imagine an impersonal or omniscient ‘they’ who take note of the eventuality denoted by the preceding clause.

A similar instance is (xx2).

(xx2) [yè-kàná kùⁿ] yèr é dó:-yè-Ø gá:-jè-bà dèy,
[woman-new Def] come arrive-Perf-3SgS **say**-RecPf-3PlS if,
pàná ñé:-jè-bà dèy,
supper eat-RecPf-3PlS if,
[èné bé cèrⁿèwⁿé] cèrⁿéwⁿé-bà
[Refl PIP fun] have.fun.Impf-3PlS
‘When (they have just said that) the newlywed woman has arrived here, after they have eaten supper, they perform their celebrations.’ **2004.3.20**

Such examples, which have a clearly recognizable, conjugated gá:- ‘say’, are transitional between true quotative constructions (with a concrete referent as quoted speaker), and the temporal adverbial clause type ending in gá: kân (§15.xxx), which is often best translated as simply ‘after ...’.

17.1.5 Uninflected gá or gâ (quotative, interim quotative)

A short-voweled gá or gâ at the end of a clause often functions as a reduced, uninflectable version of gá:- ‘say’. While gá (gâ) can occur at the end of a quotation, as a substitute for an inflected ‘say’ verb (see below), it also has a more unique function as an **interim quotative**, at the end of one clause in the quotation, with more of the quotation to follow (ending with a normal quotative verb or quasi-verb gá:-, jè-, or wá). It can be thought of as an uninflected quotative clitic, like wá (wà). Unlike wá (wà), gá (gâ) can be used with first or second person quoted speaker, as well as with third person quoted speaker.

The variants (gá, gâ) do not simply carry over final tone of the preceding word, as they usually do with wá (wà).

H-toned gá in interim quotative function is seen in (xx1).

(xx1) a. ... [èné bé tèg-ú ñòwⁿò-lí-Ø gá
... [Refl PIP speak-VblN be.ruined-Perf.Neg-3SgS **ga**
[émé yǎ:] jè-bà

[1Pl go.Imprt] say.Perf-3PlS
 '(They will say:) "... their words were not bad; they told us to go."
2004.3.20

- b. [[ènéné mà ní:] yì-lé yó=kò] gá
 [[Logo Poss water] there exist=be.Nonh] say
 [wó yǎ: nó:] wá
 [3Sg go drink.Imprt] say
 'He said (to the Fulbe man), "my water is over there; go and drink!"'
2004.4.4

L-toned gà occurs twice in (xx2), first as an interim quotative marker and then at the end of the quotation. Here the quoted speaker is second person.

- (xx2) háyè, [mâ:n mà î-n] újúró-sà-m gá
 well, [so-and-so Poss child-Sg] ask-Reslt-1SgS ga
 yǎ:, [wó tég-ú] tégé-y,
 go, [3SgP speak-VblN] speak.Imprt-PlS,
 [mâ:n mà î-n] lá:-sà-m gá
 [so-and-so Poss child-Sg] choose-Reslt-1SgS ga
 '(You-Sg will say to your nephews:) "Well, I have asked for so-and-so's daughter (=in marriage), go and speak-Pl about her (to her parents); I've chosen so-and-so's daughter".'
2004.3.20

gà is again an interim quotative marker in (xx3).

- (xx3) [[màlfâ:ⁿ kùⁿ] èné kó dó:-jè] gá, [[ènéné ké]
 [[rifle Def] Logo NonhO reach-RecPf] say, [[Logo Topic]
 yì-dî:ⁿ bèr-Ø=î: [ènéné mà dí:ⁿ] =yⁿ] wá
 here obtain-VblN=it.is [Logo Poss place]=it.is] say
 'He (=farmer) said, "the rifle [topic], I have reached it, as for me [topic], this place (=field) is my livelihood, (this) is my place."
2004.4.4

In (xx4), gá is a reduced quotative marker translatable as 'saying ...'. The quoted speaker is arguably the (generic) second person that appears at the end. The point of the passage is that a boy who possesses the desire but not the skill to wrestle will not be admitted into the (rather brutal) traditional wrestling tournament; both desire and skill are needed. The verb á:- 'catch' is used here both in the sense 'wrestle' and, in the negative, in the sense '(not) be acceptable'.

- (xx4) dèné-m gá á:, kó à:-gó-Ø
 want.Impf-1SgS ga catch.Imprt, Nonh catch-Impf.Neg-3SgS
 [gòrⁿó-m gá á:] =y l à: dèy,
 [be.able.Impf-1SgS ga catch.Imprt]=it.is Neg if,

dèné-wⁿ gòrⁿó-wⁿ â:-w
 want.Impf-2SgS be.able.Impf-2SgS catch.Impf-2SgS
 ‘Saying “I want” and “wrestle!”, that is not acceptable, except (also) saying
 “I am able” and “wrestle!”; (if) you want (to wrestle) and you can (wrestle),
then you will wrestle.’ **2004.3.23**

In (xx5), gá functions (unusually) as a **chained ‘say’** verb.

(xx5) [èné mà jèmè-ñě-n] bòrⁿó méyⁿ
 [Refl Poss blacksmith-woman-Sg] call and
 [núṅò jín]≡î: gá tí: bèrê:-Ø
 [Dem like]≡it.is **ga** send can.Impf-3SgS
 ‘(A woman) can summon her blacksmith woman, say “it’s like this,” and
 send her (on an errand).’ **2004.3.13**

In (xx6), gà follows a ‘like that’ expression that refers to **descriptions just given** by the speaker. gà here means something like ‘(as) I have just said’.

(xx6) a. cín jín gà [cè: bè bìr-á:rà]≡ỹ
 thus like **ga** [thing.L 3PIS.L work-Habit]≡it.is
 ‘What (= how) they operate is like that.’ **2004.3.3**

b. àjèrù-kóró cín jín gà
 wrestling-trough thus like **ga**
 [cè: kô:-Ø]≡ỹ
 [thing.L be.Nonh.HL-Ppl.Nonh]≡it.is
 ‘The wrestling tournament [topic], the thing that it was (=its nature) was
 like that (=as I have just described).’ **2004.3.23**

There are several textual examples of L-toned gà in **conditional antecedents**, where epistemic modality is suspended (so that a ‘hearsay’ modal value is not possible). Although there is no real quotation (or even thought), it is possible that an abstract, impersonal “quotation” is involved: ‘if (one says that) it happens that ...’. gà here is therefore a reduced version of gá:-jè-bà ‘they have said’, which occurs (with impersonal subject) in conditional antecedents (§16.xxx). The reduced form gà seems to be specifically associated with the phrase táṅà: dèy ‘if it happens that ...’, while gá:-jè-bà ‘they have said’ is usual before simple dèy ‘if’.

(xx7) a. [wàkàtì gàmá≡ỹⁿ gà] táṅà: dèy
 [time.L certain≡it.is **ga**] happen if
 ‘if it happens to be at a certain time’ **2004.3.6**

b. [kó jín≡î: gà] bé:-yà-Ø táṅà: dèy
 [Nonh like≡it.is **ga**] be-Perf-3SgS happen if

‘if it happens to be like that, ...’ **2004.3.6**

- c. nì-bár^{ná}, hâl [úrò cì-cìné dójù]
 hot.season, until [house.Loc Rdp-shade under]
 ù kún-ìn déy kár^{nà}, [nì-bár^{ná} mà ógù]
 2SgS be.in-Partpl.Sg if even, [hot.season Poss heat]
 yèré ú témé≡kò gà tájâ: dèy, ...
 come 2SgO find.Impf≡be.Nonh **ga** happen if, ...
 ‘The hot season, if it happens that even when you are in the shade in a
 house, the heat of the hot season will come and find you, ...’

17.1.6 ‘Aside from ...’ (gà:-l-à dèy)

With a preceding NP or similar constituent, which can be taken here syntactically as a quotation, gà:-l-à dèy ‘if they didn’t say’ (with L-tones implying that the “quotation” is focalized) can be glossed ‘aside from’, ‘not to mention’, or ‘if not for’. Passage (xx1) follows a description of earthenware produces made by blacksmith women, and describes the modern industrial products that have partially replaced them.

- (xx1) sàtállà gà:-l-à dèy ↑,
 kettle **say.Perf.Neg-3PIS.L** **if,**
 sô: gà:-l-à dèy ↑,
 pail **say.Perf.Neg-3PIS.L** **if,**
 bármá gà:-l-à dèy ↑, òhó
 pot **say.Perf.Neg-3PIS.L** **if,** uh-huh!
 [cè: kó tímé-sà-Ø lè] yǎ: dò:-Ø,
 [thing.L NonhO resemble-Reslt-Ppl.Nonh with] go arrive.Perf.L-3SgS
 [àn-sá:rá jé:rê-Ø]≡y là: dèy,
 [white bring.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]≡it.is Neg if,
 [jèmè-ñě-m sǎy mà bírê]≡y jì:ⁿ
 [blacksmith-woman-Pl only Poss work]≡it.is Past
 ‘If not for the fact that (modern) kettles, (modern) pails, (modern) pots, uh-
 huh!, along with other similar things came here, if not for what the white(s)
 brought, it (=pottery) used to be the work solely of women of blacksmith
 caste.’ **2004.3.13**

17.1.7 Jussive complement

The term “jussive” is used here for constructions involving embedded imperatives or hortatives, under the scope of ‘say’ or a similar verb.

17.1.7.1 Embedded imperative

Embedded imperatives take their regular main-clause imperative form, and are followed by a quotative verb or quasi-verb. An embedded vocative, in the form of a 3Sg or 3Pl independent pronoun (substituting for ‘you!’ or a more concrete vocative in the original), is common. Positive imperatives are exemplified in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. háyè wó [èné lè] kó cé:ⁿ tí wá
 well 3SgS [Logo Dat] NonhO slaughter Link.**Imprt** say
 ‘He_x told him, well, hey!, to cut its (=leopard’s) throat! for him_x.’
2004.3.4
- b. [wó yéré] wá, yèrè-Ø
 [3Sg come.**Imprt**] say, come.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He told him_x, hey!, to come, and (indeed) he_x came.’ **2004.3.4**
- c. [émé yǎ:] jè-bà
 [1Pl go.**Imprt**] say.Perf-3PIS
 ‘they told us to go.’ **2004.3.20**
- d. [gò:-bòró ù-d dè:né] gá-w
 [granary.L-rear 2Sg-Dat lay.**Imprt**] say.Impf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg will tell (him) to lay the base of the granary for you.’ (ù-rú)
2004.3.26

In (xx1.a), the substantive verb ‘slaughter, cut the throat of’ is chained with the semantically empty linker tí, and I take only the latter to be morphologically imperative.

(xx2) is a similar construction with a **prohibitive** (negative imperative).

- (xx2) [[émé kò *chauffeur*] lè] tégè-ba
 [[1PIP Dem driver] Dat] speak.Perf.L-3PIS
 [òjù-kà:núnò lè] kà:ná yé-lé [èné bè] yǎ: gá: kân,
 [road.L Dem in] now there [Logo Pl] go say after,
 [bàndî: bé] [èné bé] àtâkè-bá ⇒,
 [bandit Pl] [Logo Pl] attack.Perf.L-3PIS,
 [kó nò] émé yè-lé dígè-ý
 [Nonh Topic] 1Pl there follow-**Imprt.Neg**
 ‘They (=people in other vehicle) said to our driver, “when we went there just now on this road, bandits attacked us, (so) this (road) [topic], don’t you follow (it) there!” **2004.5.1** (first Logo Pl èné bé emended from 3Pl bè)

17.1.7.2 Embedded hortative

The structure is the same as for embedded imperatives. The verb has the same Hortative ending as in the original utterance (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [[émé àná] tàrá yà-ń] gá-bà
 [[1PIP village] collective.hunt go-**Hort**] say.Impf-3PIS
 ‘They will say, let our village go on a collective hunt!’ **2004.3.1**
- b. àkóró jà: ń-ń gá: -jè-bà dèy
 well dig-**Hort** say-RecPf-3PIS if
 ‘if they say, “let’s dig a well,”...’ **2004.4.5**

17.1.8 Embedded descriptive quotations

Jamsay texts are full of embedded quotations describing speech or thought of a protagonist. An example is (xx1). kó jé ‘for that’ toward the end is a “resumption” of the preceding long purposive clause.

- (xx1) [[[ǎ: mà cìnè-góró] lè] bèré bé:
 [[[who? Poss shadow-covering] in] get stay
 bèré-ỳ má] [tô: -n lè] yàṅá-ỳ jé]
 can.Impf-1PIS Q] [Recip-Sg in] look.Impf-1PIS for]
 mà [kó jé] mà mó: n] mǒn-sà-y
 Poss [Nonh for] Poss gathering] be.together-Reslt-1PIS
 ‘We did not meet (=hold) a meeting for us to look among ourselves
 (thinking) “Whose shade can we live under?”’ (mòr ń-ó-) **2004.3.24**

In (xx2), the quotation is treated more explicitly as a NP, specifically in “possessor” function.

- (xx2) [[wó kó kàn-lí] [[èné wó tà: ń-ỳ ń]
 [[3Sg NonhO do-Perf.Neg] [[Logo 3SgO shoot-Imprt.Neg]
 mà nàṅà-dùró] kò: -ró] jè-Ø
 Poss cow-tail] be.Nonh-Neg] say.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He (=Fulbe man) said, “(If) you-Sg don’t do that, (then) there is no cow-tail
 of ‘don’t shoot him!’”’ (ká r ń-á-) **2004.4.4**

In other words, ‘if you don’t do that, I swear (Fulbe-style) by the tail of a cow that I will shoot you.’

See also the discussion of “phrasal compounds” (§5.xxx).

17.2 Participial (-n) complements

There is one verb, *dà : rá-* ‘dare (to do)’, that can take either a VblN complement, or one with *-n* suffix on the verb. This suffix can be tentatively equated with Sg Participial *-n*, but since it is used for plural as well as singular subject the closest connection is with invariant *-n* in pseudo-participial adverbial clauses (§15.xxx).

17.2.1 ‘Dare’ (*dà : rá-*)

I have recorded this verb with a complement clause type whose **verb is L-toned**, with final *-n* suffix (regardless of subject number or person).

- (xx1) a. [bé kâ :ⁿ] sùgò-n dà : rà-j-é jì :ⁿ
 [3Pl too] go.down.L-**Ppl.Sg** dare-Impf.Neg-3PlS Past
 ‘They too didn’t dare come down (from the hills).’ (sùgò-) **2004.3.11**
- b. [ìñè èné jìñè-n dà : rá-n] kò : -ró
 [person.L Logo sniff.L-**Ppl.Sg** dare-Impf-Ppl.Sg]
 be.Nonh-Neg
 ‘(He said:) “there is nobody who dares to sniff me.”’ (jìñé-) **2004.4.2**
- c. ìñè-n dà : rà-j-é
 lie.down.L-**Ppl.Sg** dare-Impf.Neg-3PlS
 ‘They don’t dare to go to bed.’ (ìñé-)
- d. ùrò-n dà : rá-w
 go.up.L-**Ppl.Sg** dare-Impf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg dare to go up?’ (ùró-)
- e. [íné-n fú :] yè-lé kǒ-r dò : -n
 [person-Sg all] there Nonh-in reach.L-**Ppl.Sg**
 dà : rà-gó-∅ wá
 dare-Impf-Neg-3SgS say
 ‘Nobody dares to go there to it.’ (dó : -) **2004.4.17** (a tale)

Informants also gave counterparts with Verbal Nounms, saying that there was no difference in meaning. However, the one textual occurrence of *dà : rá-* with VblN means something like ‘feel like’ or ‘have an urge to’; see example (xxx) in §19.xxx (on *j àk á :*).

17.3 Factive (indicative) complements

Jamsay main clauses can function as arguments of higher clauses, with no overt complementizer. The higher clause may assess the truth of the lower proposition, or the lower proposition may function as an argument.

While the complement may have pure main-clause form, it is possible to add **Definite** $kù^n$, which makes it clear that the clause is part of a larger structure.

- (xx1) [ú≡ỵ wó tì:] kùⁿ,
 [2Sg≡Foc 3SgO send.Perf.L] **Def**,
 [bé nám lè] té:rè-w̄
 [3PIP people Dat] show.Impf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg will show their people that it was you [focus] who sent him.’
2004.3.20

It is also possible to replace a subject pronominal suffix on the verb with a **preverbal L-toned subject** pronominal. Both types are illustrated in the sections below.

Some transitive verbs that take factive complements are té:rè- ‘show’ (illustrated above), jùgó- ‘know’ (see below), and mà:ná- ‘think, believe’.

17.3.1 ‘Know that ...’ complement clause

jùgó- ‘know’ will be used here to exemplify the factive complement construction.

(xx1) is from a text about mortuary practices. The funeral party in the cemetery includes tomtom players who abruptly change the drumming rhythm at each stage of the burial (excavation, placing corpse on mound of earth, placing corpse in grave, shoveling back the earth to cover it), so that people in the village some distance away know what is happening.

- (xx1) tíllé-tù-bà dèy [[úró lé] wô-m]
 change-Perf-3PIS if [[house in] be.Hum.HL-Ppl.PI]
 [íjé kâ:ⁿ], [òwⁿò-î:ⁿ lè] kún-tù-bà
 [now even], [grave-child in] put-Perf-**3PIS**
 [dô:m kâ:ⁿ] tîmnè-l-á kùⁿ] jùgó-bà
 [up.to.now even] close.up-Perf.Neg-**3PIS Def** **know**.Impf-3PIS
 ‘When they change (the rhythm), the people who are (back) at home (=in the village) [topic], right then they will **know** that they (=funeral party) have put (the body) into the grave hole, but have not as of yet closed (it) up.’
2004.3.21

In this example, the factive clause (complement of ‘know’) has regular pronominal subject suffixes on the verb, and ends with Definite $kù^n$.

Other examples are in (xx2). In elicitation, my assistant regularly produced examples with clause-initial **independent subject pronouns** instead of pronominal-subject suffixes (xx2.c-f), even when there is another overtly focalized constituent in the clause (xx2.f). A clause-initial independent pronoun is elsewhere usually topical or focal.

- (xx2) a. [[á ùrò-bòró] dìn-â:-Ø] jùgó-jè-w
 [[2SgP house.L-rear] sit.down-Perf-3SgS] **know**-RecPf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg have (just) **known** (for sure) that your house foundation has been settled (=is clearly defined).’ 2004.3.25
- b. [[kò cêw] bã:≡kò] jùgó-jè-w dèy
 [[Nonh.L all] suffice.Impf≡be.Nonh] **know**-RecPf-2SgS if
 ‘when you-Sg **know** (=realize) that it’s enough’ 2004.3.25
- c. [ú yògó yǎ̀:] jùgó-m̀
 [2Sg tomorrow go.Impf] **know**.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I **know** that you-Sg [focus] are going tomorrow.’
- d. [ú≡y [bú:dù kùⁿ] gùyⁿò] jùgó-m̀
 [2Sg≡Foc [money Def] steal.Perf.L] **know**.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I **know** that it was you-Sg [focus] who stole the money.’
- e. [ú [jù-jùwⁿó] kùⁿ wò:-lí] jùgó-m̀
 [2Sg [mouse Def] kill-Perf.Neg] **know**.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I **know** that you-Sg didn’t kill the mouse.’
- f. [ú jù-jùwⁿó≡yⁿ wò:-lí kέ] jùgó-m̀
 [2Sg mouse≡Foc kill-Perf.Neg Topic] **know**.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I **know** that it wasn’t a mouse [focus] that you killed.’

17.3.2 ‘The fact that ...’

Often an elaborate positive proposition is fully articulated, then negated in its entirety by a final ‘it doesn’t happen’ or the like. It is not always clear in these cases whether we are dealing with two sentences, or with a single complex sentence including an embedded factive clause.

- (xx1) a. [dè:né jìné jǎ: àbádá: kúdáy yó≡kò]
 [keep hold take always stock exist≡be.Nonh]
 kárⁿá bèrè-gó-Ø
 be.done can-Impf.Neg-3SgS
 ‘Keeping and storing (millet, so) there is always a stock (at hand) cannot be done.’ 2004.3.10

- b. [nàŋá .: fú:] [púlò-m cé≡ỵ]
 [cow all] [Fulbe-Pl property≡it.is]
 [émé ùjùbǎy lè] cín kò:-ró
 [1PIP country in] thus be.Nonh-Neg
 ‘That all the cows (in a herd) belong to the Fulbe, it doesn’t happen like that in our (=Dogon) country.’ **2004.3.10**

In (xx1.a), there is no reason not to assume that the main predication functions as subject of kárⁿá ‘be done’. In (xx1.b), however, the presence of cín ‘thus’ in the latter part suggests that the two sentences are syntactically distinct, with cín effectively resuming the first proposition. Still, the logical structure of the sequence in (xx1.b) requires that the entire first clause be understood as negated.

A clearer case of factive subordination is (xx2), with main-clause verb áyá-wá- ‘cause to hear, inform’. The presence of Definite kùⁿ indicates that this is a factive, not a quotative, complement.

- (xx2) [[hínè mâ:n] [yà:jì:-pàg-ú lè]
 [[amount such-and-such] marriage.L-tie.VblN Dat]
 kùnò-wⁿ kùⁿ] tégé àná áyá-wá-w̄
 put.Perf.L-2SgS Def] speak village hear-Caus.Impf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg will speak to the village, **informing** them (of the fact) that you have put (=contributed) such-and-such an amount for contracting the marriage.’
2004.3.20

In (xx3), the factive clause has an **L-toned preverbal subject pronominal** instead of a pronominal suffix on the verb.

- (xx3) [[[làyá pànt è-ý] lè]
 [[[other repeat-Imprt.Neg with]
 tô:-n bè yá:fê:] yó≡kò
 Recip-Sg 3PIS.L pardon.Impf] exist≡be.Hum
 ‘It **exists** (=sometimes happens) that with “don’t do it again!” they (=persons in a dispute) pardon each other.’ **2004.3.10**

The versatile clitic ≡ỵ ‘it is’ most often has scope over a predicative NP or adverbial, or is used as a focalizing morpheme. It can, however, also take scope over an entire clause, which I consider to be a factive complement.

- (xx4) a. [[èné bé bè:né] kóró ṭër-∅ ṭéré mèy
 [[Refl Pl.P bag] hang chop-VblN chop and
 ḍìŋè-bá]≡ỵ ṣày
 sit.Perf.L-3PIS]≡it.is only
 ‘It was just (the action of) them hanging up their shoulder bags and chopping (to clear fields).’ **2004.3.11**

- b. [kò kɛ] wòɣòrɔ mèyⁿ † [ɛm bérɛ] kúnó
 [Nonh Topic] ladle.out and [milk in] put
 mòŋó-wⁿ≡ì : sǎy
 crumble.Impf-2SgS≡it.is only
 ‘That [topic], it is just (necessary) that you-Sg ladle it out, put it into
 some milk, and crumble it.’ **2004.4.10**

In (xx4.a), the point being made is that the settlers just took over the land, without obtaining the blessing of the locals. The factive clause is unremarkable in form in this example.

The verb tǎŋá- ‘become, happen’ (§11.xxx) occurs in a number of constructions with a preceding complete main clause. The most common construction is tǎŋà : dèy ‘if it happens that ...’ in conditional antecedents. For examples see §16.xxx, above.

The verb bé : - ‘remain, live, happen’ (§11.xxx) can also be preceded by a complete main clause. In the nonhuman-subject imperfective form bé : ≡kò ‘it is, it will be’, the sense is roughly ‘maybe’. For examples see §8.xxx.

17.3.3 ‘Road, situation’ (òjù-ká :) with indicative complement clause

The noun òjù-ká : ‘road’, more abstractly ‘situation, activity’, can take a full main-clause as complement, with intervening Possessive mà. The passage describes situations where a Dogon woman, or a Dogon couple, need external assistance (i.e. from women of the blacksmith caste). The verbs in the factive clauses have regular suffixal pronominal-subject inflection.

- (xx1) [ñě-n kâ :ⁿ] [ú : rⁿó [ɛné mà yà : jí :]
 [woman-Sg too] [get.up [Refl Poss marriage]
 mà ìjé íjê : -Ø] mà òjù-ká :] yó≡kò,
 Poss standing stand.Impf-3SgS] Poss **road** exist≡be.Nonh,
 [[mòrⁿò-bè-ý lè] [ǎ-n ∴ wó ñě-n ∴]
 [[be.together-be.VblN in] [man-Sg 3SgP woman-Sg]
 lígíjé-bà] mà òjù-ká : kâ :ⁿ yó≡kò
 be.mixed.Impf-3PIS] Poss **road** too exist≡be.Nonh
 ‘A (Dogon) woman too [topic], there is a situation whereby she arises and
 gets involved in her wedding; there is also a situation in which, while being
 together, a man and his woman (=wife) get into a dispute.’ **2004.3.13**

17.3.4 ‘See (find, hear) that ...’

17.3.4.1 Direct-perception type (relative-clause complement)

é:– ‘see’, témé– ‘find’, and áyá– ‘hear’ can take indicative (=factive) complements.

When a ‘see’ construction involves more or less **direct perception** of an event or activity, the complement is **necessarily positive**. Its verb appears in the **unsuffixed Imperfective**, even when the eventuality described can be construed as a punctual event (‘fall’, ‘die’). There is no pronominal-subject suffixation on the verb; instead, if the subject is pronominal, it appears as a **preverbal L-toned subject pronominal** (xx1.a-d). This suggests that the complement has the form of a relative clause with unexpressed nonhuman head, and that the “verb” is really a participle.

- (xx1) a. [kó jín bè nânâ:–∅] èt-tèrè-y
 [NonhO thus 3PIS.L chase.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] see-ExpPf-1PIS
 ‘We have (once) seen them (=people) chase birds away like this.’
2004.3.8
- b. [kó nò] [cín kò-rú bè kárⁿâ:–∅]
 [Nonh now] [thus Nonh-Inst 3PIS.L do.Impf-Ppl.Nonh]
 é:–m
 see.Perf.L-1SgS
 ‘That (=cowhide) [topic], them doing thus to it [focus] is what I’ve seen’
2004.3.17
- c. [wò nùmô:–∅] é:–sà-m
 [3SgS.L fall.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] see-Reslt-1SgS
 ‘I saw him/her fall.’
- d. [bè núwⁿô:–∅] é:–sà-m
 [3PIS.L die.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] see-Reslt-1SgS
 ‘I saw them die.’
- e. [bè ké] [[ànsá:râ-m kárⁿâ:–∅] é: mèy ↑],
 [3Pl Topic] [white-Pl do.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] see and,
 kárⁿ-á:rⁿâ-bà
 do-Impf-3PIS
 ‘They_x (=post-independence Malian leaders) saw the whites (=colonists)
 do (it), (and) they_x (too) are doing (it).’ **2004.4.23**

The same is true of ‘hear’, provided that what is heard is the (sound of) the event or activity itself, rather than a spoken report. That is, the evidence is **auditory perception** rather than hearsay (on the latter, see below). In free translation, the correct sense is expressed by English ‘hear X VERB(-ing)’.

- (xx2) [úrⁿ-ùm tô:–n láyâ:–∅] áyá-sà-m
 [child-Pl Recip-Sg hit.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] hear-Reslt-1SgS

‘I heard the children hitting each other (=fighting).’

With a **nonhuman** subject in the subordinate clause, cliticized $\equiv k\delta$ ‘be (nonhuman)’ follows the imperfective participle in the complement (xx3). This confirms that the complement participle is an unsuffixed Imperfective, the only AN category that requires $\equiv k\delta$. This may be followed by Plural $b\acute{e}$ if plurality is emphasized.

- (xx3) a. [kò núwⁿó : $\equiv k\delta$ -Ø] é : -sà-m
 [NonhS.L die.Impf=**be**.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh] see-Reslt-1SgS
 ‘I saw it die.’
- b. [kò núwⁿó : $\equiv k\delta$ -Ø be] é : -sà-m
 [NonhS.L die.Impf=**be**.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh Pl] see-Reslt-1SgS
 ‘I saw them (=animals) die.’

If the complement participle is based on a quasi-verb or a defective stance verb that has no imperfective forms, the participle takes unsuffixed Perfective form, with **H(H...)L tone** overlay. This overlay is normal for positive perfective participles in relative clauses.

- (xx4) a. dògùrù [bè dâ : ⁿ-Ø]
 time.L [3PIS.L be.sitting.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]
 ù é : -sà-Ø cêw
 2SgS.L see-Reslt-Ppl.Nonh all
 ‘any time you-Sg see them sitting’ 2004.3.17
- b. [wò íjè-Ø]
 [3SgS.L stand.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh]
 èné ê : -Ø kùⁿ
 Refl see.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh Def
 ‘when it (=Hyena) saw him (=Camel) stopped’ 2004.4.3
- c. [ěn-lé wò dâ : ⁿ] é : -sà-m
 [there 3SgS.L be.sitting.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh] see-Reslt-1SgS
 ‘I saw him/her sitting there.’

With H-toned monosyllabic verb stems, there is no audible distinction between the unsuffixed Imperfective and the H(H...)L-toned unsuffixed Perfective. In (xx5), ‘catch’ is an active transitive verb, so I take \hat{a} : to be imperfective.

- (xx5) sábù [má jìré lè],
 because [1SgP eye Inst],
 [èjù-nàṅá [àtî : lè] bè \hat{a} : -Ø] é : -sà-m
 [field-cow [bird.trap Inst] 3PIS.L catch.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] see-Reslt-1SgS

‘because I have seen, with my own eyes, them catching a wild buffalo with a bird trap.’ **2004.3.16**

The verb $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ - ‘**find**’ is often used in contexts like ‘X (came and) found Y (in a certain situation)’ with NP object, or like ‘X (came and) found that ...’ with clausal complement describing a situation. In the latter case, it can take a factive complement of the same type as with ‘see’, as in (xx6.a). In (xx6.b), however, ‘find’ is simply an add-on to a normal main clause with subject inflection on the verb.

- (xx6) a. [wò bówò] $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}-\emptyset$
 [3SgS.L lie.on.belly.Perf.HL] **find**.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He (=Hyena) found him (=Camel) lying on his belly.’ **2004.4.3**
- b. [àná yǎ: mǐ kân] [[àná .: àná .:]
 [village go 1SgS.L after] [[village village]
 àjérù á:≡kò] $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}-m$
 wrestling take.Impf≡be.Nonh] **find**.Perf.L-1SgS
 ‘When I went to the village, I found several villages holding a wrestling tournament.’

‘Find’ should be interpreted loosely as ‘coincide with’, and does not require that the subject of ‘find’ have a cognitive appreciation of the eventuality denoted by the complement. For example, an alternative free translation for (xx6.a) is ‘When he (=Hyena) came, it so happened that he (=Camel) was lying on his belly (just then)’.

17.3.4.2 Recognition (inference, hearsay) construction

A different construction of the type ‘see that [proposition]’ denotes **recognition** (involving inference or deduction) rather than witnessing (simple perception). Here, instead of a relative-clause complement, we get one with ordinary AN-inflected verbs (any aspect, positive or negative). As in the previous direct-perception examples, there is no pronominal-subject suffixation on the verb. However, now a pronominal subject shows up not as an L-toned preverbal subject pronominal, rather as a **H-toned independent pronoun** (xx1.a-b). In my interpretation, the complement no longer has a participle (with unexpressed nonhuman head), rather a verb inflected for AN but not pronominal-subject category. In other words, the complement clause is similar to the subject-focalization construction, except that (in my data) the overt Focus clitic $\equiv\grave{y}$ is not present on the independent pronoun in subject function. (xx1.a) is perfective negative, while (xx1.b) is an imperfective negative. (xx1.c) has the ‘it is’ clitic $\equiv\grave{y}$ (postconsonantal $\equiv\hat{1}$:). (xx1.d), with the same meaning, is a standard adjectival predicate with ‘be’ quasi-verb.

- (xx1) a. [ú yà:-lí- \emptyset] é:-rà-m
 [2Sg go-Perf.Neg] see-Habit-1SgS
 ‘I see (=recognize) that you-Sg have not gone.’

- b. [wó bàyà-gó] é : -sà-m
 [3Sg be.cured-**Impf.Neg**] see-Reslt-1SgS
 'I saw (=recognized) that he/she would not recover (from injury).'
- c. [bán≡î :] é : -rà-m
 [red=**it.is**] see-Habit-1SgS
 'I see (=recognize) that it's red.'
- d. [bán≡kò] é : -rà-m
 [red=**be.Nonh**] see-Habit-1SgS
 'I see (=recognize) that it's red.'

The equivalent of the recognition construction for 'hear' is the **hearsay** construction, where the speaker's evidence is second-hand verbal reports rather than direct auditory perception.

- (xx2) a. [bé núwⁿ-â :] áyá-sà-m
 [3PI die-**Perf**] hear-Reslt-1SgS
 'I heard that they died.'
- b. [bé núwⁿò-lí] áyá-sà-m
 [3PI die-**Perf.Neg**] hear-Reslt-1SgS
 'I heard that they didn't die.'
- c. [ú bàmakó yă :] áyá-sà-m
 [2Sg Bamako go-**Impf**] hear-Reslt-1SgS
 'I heard that you-Sg are going to Bamako.'

17.3.5 'It doesn't matter (much) that' (sà : -rá-Ø)

sà : -rá-Ø means 'it doesn't have' (§11.xx). In this invariant form, it can be placed after a main-like clause (i.e. a factive complement) in the sense 'it doesn't matter (much) that ...'. There may be two mutually exclusive factives, resulting in a parallel construction. (xx1) is from a passage about how a respectable older man keeps an eye out for a potential bride for a younger man while visiting other villages.

- (xx1) yér≡î : yèrè-Ø tàṅà sà : -rá-Ø ⇒,
 visiting≡Foc come.Perf.L-3SgS happen **have-Neg-3SgS**,
 bòn-kùn-Ø≡î : dànàṅà tàṅà sà : -rá-Ø ⇒
 name.L-put-VblN≡Foc coincide happen **have-Neg-3SgS**
 'It doesn't really matter whether it happens that he has come as a visitor, or whether it happens that he has been present at a name-giving ceremony.'
2004.3.20

17.3.6 Factive obligational (wá : jíbì ‘obligation’)

The Fulfulde (ultimately Arabic) noun wá : jíbì ‘obligation, duty’ is used as a predicative nominal with clitic ≡ỵ ‘it is’. The following clause has an imperfective or imperative verb. In effect, wá : jíbì≡ỵ functions like an adverbial. Alternatively, the complement may appear as a topicalized Verbal Noun clause, with following wá : jíbì≡ỵ ‘it is a duty’.

- (xx1) a. [ñú : ké] wá : jíbì≡ỵ kó dòr^{nó}-w̃ⁿ
 [millet Topic] **duty**≡it.is NonhO sell.**Impf**-2SgS
 ‘The millet, you-Sg must sell it.’ **2004.3.10**
- b. wá : jíbì≡ỵ yògó yéré
duty≡it.is tomorrow come.**Imprt**
 ‘You-Sg must come tomorrow.’
- c. [á yògò-yèr-ú] wá : jíbì≡ỵ
 [2SgP tomorrow.L-come-**VbIN**] **duty**≡it.is
 ‘You-Sg must come tomorrow.’

17.3.7 Factive complement with tílây≡ỵ ‘it is certain’

tílây ‘duty, obligation’ can be used in the epistemic sense ‘certainty’, hence with ‘it is’ clitic tílây≡ỵ ‘it is certain’. This takes a factive complement with unsuffixed Imperfective verb in (xx1).

- (xx1) [dì :ⁿ kár^{ná} [ìnè túmnó-n] [bú : dù mùñú kúróy]
 [manner.L do [person.L single-Sg] [riyal thousand six]
 gá : w ú kò dò : -nó≡kò-∅ fú :]
 Gao 2SgO NonhS.L reach-Caus.Impf≡be.Nonh-Ppl.Nonh all]
 kò : -ró, [ù ké]
 be.Nonh-Neg, [2Sg.L Topic]
 [òjù-kâ : núw^{nó}-w̃ⁿ] tílây≡ỵ
 [road.Loc.HL die.**Impf**-2SgS] **obligation**≡it.is
 ‘There is no way, (for) one person (=you) [topic], that six thousand riyals
 (=30,000 CFA francs) will get you-Sg (from Algeria) to Gao; you [topic], it
 is certain that you will die on the road.’ **2004.5.4**

For obligational constructions involving tílây, see §17.xxx.

17.4 Verbal Noun (and other nominal) complements

The Verbal Noun has suffix $-ú$ (the $ú$ is sometimes lost by apocope after a sonorant, §3.xxx), or $-ý$ after a monosyllabic stem. A Verbal Noun can be formed from any regular verb, but not from defective quasi-verbs like $wò-$ and $kò$ ‘be’ or $sà-$ ‘have’, nor from stative stance verbs confined to inflected perfective forms such as $dà : ^n-$ ‘sit’. Verbal Nouns are formed directly from uninflected verb stems, which means (among other things) that there are no negative Verbal Nouns.

A Verbal Noun (or other nominal denoting an action), can be used in a complement clause, as the following sections will demonstrate. The Verbal Noun may be accompanied by a full range of internal arguments, so we should really speak of a **Verbal Noun clause**.

Verbal Noun phrases can also function as regular **arguments of verbs**. In (xx1), the Verbal Noun phrase is the subject of ‘arrive’.

- (xx1) [[èjú l'é] wó gò-ý] dó : -yà-∅ dèy, ...
[[field to] 3SgP go.out-VbIN] arrive-Perf-3SgS if, ...
‘when the (time for) his going out into the bush has come, ...’ **2004.3.16**

17.4.1 Structure of Verbal Noun Phrase

The structure of a Verbal Noun Phrase may be summarized as in (xx1).

- (xx1) a. verb is nominalized as a Verbal Noun;
b. immediately preceding chained verb appears as a L-toned compound initial;
c. unmodified object noun usually appears as L-toned compound initial:
—regular with cognate nominal or generic object (§5.xxx);
—applies to a wider variety of object NPs when preceded by a subject NP (in possessor form)
d. other NP’s and adverbials typically appear in possessor form
—inner possessor (adjacent to VbIN) has normal alienable possessor form
—outer possessor (not adjacent to VbIN), even a pronominal, has a following Possessive $mà$

Overall, the structure of a Verbal Noun phrase, especially the treatment of preceding constituents, is similar to that of ‘before’ clauses, which also have a nominalized verb that I call pseudo-causative (§15.xxx). The main difference is that Verbal Nouns are more prone to object-compounding than are pseudo-causative nominals.

The word-level morphology of Verbal Nouns is described in §4.xxx, cf. §3.xxx.

Examples showing how a **chained verb** immediately preceding the VbIN appears as an **L-toned compound initial** are (xx2.a-b). (xx2.c) shows that a chained verb

retains its normal form when something else (here an object noun as compound initial) intervenes.

- (xx2) a. [kì-ká: mà pìlìwè-yèr-ú]
 [Rdp-grasshopper Poss **go.back.L-come-VblN**]
 ‘the locusts’ coming back (here)’
- b. yèrè-dǐŋ-∅ dèné-m̀
come.L-sit.VblN want.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I want (=I’d like) to come and sit.’ (dǐŋé-)
- c. [yèré nà: -ñè-ýⁿ] dèné-m̀
 [**come** meal.L-eat-VblN] want.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I want (=I’d like) to come and eat a meal.’

In the absence of an overt subject in possessor form, a non-generic **object** NP may appear as a **possessor** of the VblN, unless separated from the nominal by an intervening element such as a dative pronominal. Possessor status is standard when the object is pronominal, or a NP that does not lend itself to being a compound initial (e.g. a plural noun, a multi-word NP, or a personal name). The possessive structure is seen clearly in (xx3.a), where má is unambiguously a 1Sg possessor pronominal (contrast 1Sg independent pronoun or object mí and 1Sg preverbal subject m̀). (xx3.b) has Nonh kó in the same construction. (xx3.c) has a plural NP (‘women’) as logical object, expressed as a possessor with Possessive mà.

- (xx3) a. má cèr-ú
1SgP bite-VblN
 ‘biting me’
- b. [kó è-ý] jò:-lá-∅
 [**NonhP** see-VblN] be.many-Neg-3SgS
 ‘Seeing it (a millet plant without an ear) isn’t common.’ **2004.3.6**
- c. ñě-m mà làg-ú
 woman-Pl **Poss** hit-VblN
 ‘hitting women’

If the object NP consists of a simple noun stem with no following modifier, especially with generic reference, or is an unmodified cognate nominal, it takes **compound-initial** form, which requires stem-wide tone-dropping (to all-L tone). (xx4.a) is based on bíré b̀r̀é-, a sequence of cognate nominal and inflectable verb. The cognate nominal appears as a L-toned compound initial b̀r̀è-. With ‘cooking meat’ and the like, where the object is a “real” noun, we can get either a compound (xx4.b) or a possessive construction (xx4.c). (xx4.d) is another example of the compound structure.

- (xx4) a. bîrè-bîr-ú
work(noun).L-work-VblN
 ‘working’
- b. nòwⁿò-sîr-ú
meat.L-cook-VblN
 ‘cooking meat’
- c. nòwⁿó mà sîr-ú
 meat Poss cook-VblN
 [= (b)]
- d. pè:jî-cèⁿ-ýⁿ
sheep.L-slaughter-VblN
 ‘slaughtering a sheep’

A possessor does not necessarily prevent the noun from appearing as L-toned compound initial, as long as the noun’s referent is generic (xx5).

- (xx5) pòⁿsé mà ùrⁿò-jà-ýⁿ ⇒, ...,
 ditch Poss **hole.L-dig-VblN**, ...,
 támbórò mà bòrò-kà:-sěm-Ø, ...
 date(fruit) Poss **debris.L-Ø-sweep-VblN**, ...
 ‘digging trench (=gutter) ditches, ..., sweeping up debris of date palms, ...’
 (ùrⁿó, bòrò-ká:) **2004.5.3**

As will be shown below, when both the subject (as possessor) and object are overtly expressed in a Verbal Noun clause, an unusually wide variety of object NPs are forced into compound initial status.

The **subject** of the lower verb is often coindexed with the main-clause subject, and in this case it is not repeated in the lower clause. However, a subject can appear in a Verbal Noun clause in certain contexts. With intransitives (i.e. in the absence of a co-occurring object NP), the subject is expressed as a possessor (xx6).

- (xx6) a. ñě-m mà ànà-yéy
 woman-Pl **Poss** village-going
 ‘women’s traveling’ **2004.3.9**
- b. má nî-ýⁿ
1SgP sleep-VblN
 ‘my sleeping’ (variant as compound: má jîní:-nî-ýⁿ)

In transitives with both an object and a subject expressed, the subject normally appears as an **outer possessor**, followed by Possessive mà (even after a pronominal).

The construction is fairly easy to elicit, and occurs occasionally in texts, provided that at least one of the two arguments is pronominal. ‘Cat’ in (xx7.a) is followed by Possessive *mà*, as are the pronouns 1Pl *émé* and 2Sg *ú* in (xx7.b-c). The 2Sg example (xx7.c) demonstrates that the pronominal preceding *mà* is in **independent pronoun** (rather than possessor) form, since 2Sg has independent H-toned *ú* distinct from alienable possessor *á* (and also from L-toned inalienable possessor *ù*). (xx7.c) also shows that the logical object *èñé* ‘chicken’ appears in normal main-clause form with lexical tones (rather than as possessor or L-toned compound initial) when it is separated from the VblN by an intervening element (here a dative pronominal).

- (xx7) a. *nì-nìwⁿé mà [má cèr-ú]*
 cat **Poss** **[1SgP** bite-VblN]
 ‘the cat’s biting me’
- b. [*émé mà kó è-ý ké*] *jò:-la-Ø*
[1Pl Poss NonhP see-VblN Topic] be.many.Neg-3SgS
ká: áyá-sà-y
 but hear-Reslt-1PlS
 ‘Our (actually) seeing it isn’t common, but we’ve heard (about it).’
2004.3.8
- c. [*ú mà èñé wò-rú ò-ý*] *já: ⁿ≡kò*
[2Sg Poss chicken 3Sg-Dat give-VblN] appropriate≡be.Nonh
 ‘Your-Sg giving a chicken to her is appropriate.’ **2004.3.19**

It is more difficult to elicit examples where both subject and object are nonpronominal NPs. The **recursive-possession** construction in (xx8), of the type [NP *mà* [NP *mà* VblN]], is what we would expect based on the preceding examples. It is in fact elicitable (xx8), but in practice speakers avoid it.

- (xx8) [*àrⁿ-úm mà ñě-m mà làg-ú*] *hádé-bà*
 [man-Pl **Poss** woman-Pl **Poss** hit-VblN] prevent.Impf-3PlS
 ‘They will prevent men from hitting women.’

Instead, speakers generally express the logical object as an **L-toned compound initial** rather than as a possessor, resulting in [NP *mà* noun.L-VblN] with just one morphologically overt possessor (in normal alienable possessor form), as in (xx9.a-b). The normal limitations on nominal compound initials (no postnominal modifier, no number specification, generic reference) are thrown out the window in Verbal Noun clauses involving both subject and object. (xx9.a) is preferred to (xx8), above, even though it means that the compound initial can have a Plural suffix *-m*. After eliciting (xx9.a), where ‘millet’ is indeed unmodified and could be construed as generic, I cleverly added a possessor (‘my millet’) to the cue, confident that this would block the compound-initial strategy. My assistant riposted with (xx9.c), where ‘my’ appears to

be the morphological possessor of the compound ‘millet-eating’ (but in the sense ‘eating of my millet’).

- (xx9) a. àrⁿ-úm mà ñè-m-làg-ú hádéd-bà
 man-Pl Poss **woman-Pl.L**-hit-Vbl.N prevent.Impf-3PIS
 ‘They will prevent men from hitting women.’
- b. kî-ká: mà ñù: -ñè-ýⁿ hádéd-bà
 Rdp-grasshopper Poss **millet.L**-eat-VblN prevent.Impf-3PIS
 ‘They will prevent the locusts’ millet-eating.’
- c. kî-ká: mà má ñù: -ñè-ýⁿ hádéd-bà
 Rdp-grasshopper Poss 1SgP **millet.L**-eat-VblN prevent.Impf-3PIS
 ‘They will prevent the locusts from eating my millet.’ (lit.: “...my millet-eating”)

In subject-object-VblN sequences, expressing the object as a compound initial seems to be regular even when it is a **toponym** or a **personal name**, as in (xx10). Such flagrantly non-generic nouns are elsewhere disallowed as initials in noun-noun or noun-agentive compounds. This is further evidence of the lengths to which speakers will go to avoid the recursive-possessor construction in Verbal Noun clauses.

- (xx10) a. [má bà mà kò-yéy]
 [1SgP **Bamako.L**-going]
 ‘my going to Bamako.’
- d. [á:mádù mà fà:tùmà-jè-ý]
 [Amadou Poss **Fatma.L**-marry-VblN]
 ‘Amadou’s marrying Fatma’

The strategy of expressing the object as L-toned compound initial, regardless of generic or specific reference, makes this construction resemble syntactic tone-dropping in relative-clause subjects, rather than ordinary compounding. Verbal Noun clauses contrast with the other productive nominalized clause, the ‘before ...’ clause with pseudo-causative nominal, which seems to have no problem with recursive possessors.

A PP or other **adverbial** may appear in a Verbal Noun clause with following Possessive mà. (xx11) is from a text describing the many activities of members of the blacksmith caste. We get a sequence [[X mà] [[[Y lè] mà] VblN]], where X is a cognate object and Y is dative or allative with postposition lè.

- (xx11) [yà:jí: mà òjù-ká: mà ìjé]
 [marriage Poss road Poss standing]
 tî-tírù mà [íné-n lè] mà tî-ý
 Rdp-mission **Poss** [person-Sg to] **Poss** send-VblN

‘Standing (=being involved in) the process of marriage; being sent on missions to somebody’ **2004.3.12**

17.4.2 ‘Prevent (hádè-, gâ:ná-)

gâ:ná- and Fulfulde loanword hádè- can be used in the sense ‘obstruct, prevent (sb, from doing sth)’. The subject of the lower verb appears as main-clause direct object (xx1.a), or as possessor of the VblN (xx1.b).

- (xx1) a. [ú nò] tàrà-yéy cè: ú hádè
 [2Sg now] collective.hunt-**going** thing 2SgO **prevent**
 ‘you-Sg now, the thing that prevented you-Sg from going on the collective hunt, ...’ **2004.3.3**
- b. úrⁿ-ùm [má bìrè-bìr-ú] gâ:n-á:rⁿ-à-bà
 child-Pl [1SgP work(noun)-work-**VblN**] **prevent**-Habit-3PlS
 ‘The children are preventing my doing my work.’
- c. sámbò [[wò dê:] mà làg-ú]
 [S [3SgP.L father.HL] **Poss** hit-**VblN**]
 wó hâdè-m
 3SgO **prevent**.Perf.L-1SgS
 ‘Sambp [topic], I prevented him from striking his father.’

17.4.3 ‘Consent’ (yòwó-)

This verb, which ranges from ‘receive’ to ‘consent’, can be used in positive utterances (‘agree to VP’), or in negatives in the sense ‘refuse to VP’. In (xx1.b), -yéy ‘going, trip’ is a cognate nominal rather than a true VblN.

- (xx1) a. [dùn-dàṅá kùⁿ] yà-ý yòwó-lí-Ø
 [elephant Def] go-**VblN** **accept**-Perf.Neg-3SgS
 ‘The elephant refused (=did not accept) to go away.’ **2004.3.4**
- b. [mì dê:] [má bàmakò-yéy] yòwó-jè-Ø
 [1SgS.L father.HL] [1SgP Bamako.L-going] **accept**-RecPf-3SgS
 ‘My father has consented that I go to Bamako.’
- c. [á:mádù mà pè:jì-cèⁿ-ýⁿ] yòwò-lí-Ø
 [Amadou Poss sheep.L-slaughter-**VblN**] **accept**-Reslt-3SgS
 ‘My father refused to agree that Amadou may slaughter a sheep.’
- d. [mì dê:] [á:mádù mà fà:tùmà-jè-ý]

[1SgS.L father.HL] [Amadou Poss Fatma.L-marry-VbIN]
 yòwó-jè-∅
 accept-RecPf-3SgS
 ‘My father has consented that Amadou marry Fatma.’

When the subjects of the two clauses are not coindexed, it is also possible to have a complement clause with an imperfective verb, rather than a VbIN. See example (xxx) in §18.xxx.

17.4.4 ‘Cease’ (dàḡá-)

The high-frequency transitive verb dàḡá- ‘leave, abandon’ can be used in the sense ‘cease (doing sth)’.

- (xx1) a. [nùŋ-nǔŋ-∅] dàḡá-tì-∅
 [song-sing-VbIN] **leave-Perf-3SgS**
 ‘He/She stopped (lit.: left) singing.’
- b. [úrⁿ-ùm mà l àg-ú] dàḡá-tù-m
 [child-Pl **Poss** hit-VbIN] **leave-Perf-1SgS**
 ‘I have stopped hitting children.’
- c. mòrⁿò-dǐŋ-∅ kùⁿ ké] dàḡà-l-á
 be.together.L-sit.down-VbIN Def Top] leave-Perf.Neg-3PIS
 ‘They haven’t stopped (=they still practice) getting together and sitting down (for a funeral).’ **2004.3.21**

17.4.5 ‘Want’ (dènέ-)

When the subject of ‘want’ is coindexed with the subject of the complement clause, the latter appears in nominal form (xx1).

- (xx1) a. [nîm [ñà:-ñè-ýⁿ]] dènê:-∅
 [now [meal-eat-VbIN]] **want.Impf-3SgS**
 ‘He/She wants to eat now.’
- b. [íjé yèr-ú] dènè-j-é
 [today come-VbIN] **want-Inf.Neg-3PIS**
 ‘They don’t want to come today.’
- c. [jùjúwⁿó mà wò-ý] dènέ-m
 [mouse **Poss** kill-VbIN] **want.Impf-1SgS**
 ‘I would like to kill the mice.’

- d. [[kó kùⁿ] mà è-ý nè] dènè-j-é
 [[Nonh Def] Poss see-VblN now] want-Impf.Neg-3PIS
 ‘They did not want to see it.’ 2004.3.7

With a **switch in subjects**, the complement takes the form of an ordinary main clause with unsuffixed Imperfective verb, but with preverbal L-toned subject pronominals (xx2). This is the same structure usually seen in factive complements of ‘see’ (§17.xxx).

- (xx2) a. [[tàrá mà kù:ⁿ] tэг-ú ù tэгê:]
 [[collective.hunt Poss on] speak-VblN 2SgS speak.Impf]
 dènè-ý
 want.Impf-1PIS
 ‘We want you-Sg to speak about the collective hunt(s).’ 2004.3.1
- b. [[èné bé úrⁿ-ùm]≡î: kó jìrê: kùⁿ
 [[Refl Pl child.PI]≡Foc NonhO tend.Impf Def
 kâ:ⁿ nè] dènè-j-é
 too now] want-Impf.Neg-3PIS
 ‘They do not want their own children [focus] to tend them (=animals).’
 2004.3.10
- c. [ógó-ró kò dó:≡kò] dènè-wⁿ dèy ⇒
 [fast-Caus NonhS.L reach.Impf≡be.Nonh] want.Impf-2SgS if
 ‘if you-Sg want it (=wall under construction) to reach (its endpoint)
 quickly’ 2004.3.25

Several of the examples above show that negation is expressed on the ‘want’ verb. It would be morphologically possible to express negation in the lower clause in the switched-subject cases, but not in the same-subject cases (since there is no negative counterpart of the Verbal Noun).

17.4.6 ‘Forget’ (nàŋá-)

In the non-factive sense ‘forget to (do)’, we get a nominal complement.

- (xx1) yèr-ú nàŋ-â: -Ø
 come-VblN forget-Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She forgot to come.’

17.4.7 ‘Be afraid to’ (lɛ: -)

When the complement clause is positive, we get a VblN or similar nominal complement.

- (xx1) a. ... dò-ý lè:-Ø
 ... approach-**VbIN** fear.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘... (he) was afraid to approach.’ **2004.3.4**
- b. ñà:-ñè-ý lé:-yè-Ø
 meal-eat-**VbIN** fear-Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She was afraid to eat.’
- c. ni-dî:n mà jìnì:-nì-ýⁿ lè:-gó-m
 here Poss sleeping-sleep-**VbIN** fear-Impf.Neg-1SgS
 ‘I’m not afraid to sleep here.’

When the ‘be afraid’ clause is positive but the complement clause is negative, elicitation produced complements with negative inflected imperfective verbs as in main clauses (xx2).

- (xx2) [ñă: nè:-gó-Ø] lé:-yè-Ø
 [meal eat-**Perf.Neg-3SgS**] fear-Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She was afraid not to eat.’

When the subject of the complement clause is not coindexed with the subject of ‘be afraid’, one can get a main-clause like inflected verb followed by interrogative (or perhaps disjunctive) particle *má* (mà) as in (xx3.a), or a Verbal Noun with a possessor as in (xx3.b).

- (xx3) a. [[mì déré] [èné mà î-n] láyâ: má ⇒]
 [[1SgP.L elder.sib.HL] [Refl Poss child-Sg] hit.Impf Q]
 lê:-m
 fear.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I’m afraid that my brother will (=might) hit his child.’
- b. [kî-ká: mà pîlîwè-yèr-ú] lê:-m
 [Rdp-grasshopper Poss go.back.L-come-**VbIN**] fear.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I’m afraid of the locusts’ coming back.’

17.5 Infinitival (bare-verb-stem) complement clause

Here the lower-clause verb appears in bare form (infinitive), as in serial constructions. The (logical) upper and lower clauses partially fuse (flatten) into a single clause. If the higher verb is transitive (e.g. ‘help’), when it combines with a transitive lower clause the resulting construction is a single clause with two direct objects, linearized as [O₁ O₂ VERB₁ VERB₂].

If the two-verb construction is itself nominalized, the second verb appears as a verbal noun (or cognate nominal), and the first verb drops its tones and is treated as a compound initial.

17.5.1 ‘Begin’ (túmnó-)

Here the upper and lower clauses share a subject, and the two clauses are seamlessly fused. The clausal bracketings in (xx1) show the logical structure, with complements governed by the lower verb, but the surface syntactic structure probably erases these brackets.

- (xx1) a. [nûŋ nùŋó] túmnó-tì-Ø
 [song **sing**] begin-Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She began to sing.’
- b. [[má nàŋá] éwⁿé] túmnó-tì-Ø
 [[1SgP cow] **milk**(verb)] begin-Perf-3SgS
 ‘He/She began to milk my cow.’
- c. [kó béné] sówó tùmndè-Ø
 [NonhP side] jab **begin**.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He began to jab (with the knife) into its (=leopard’s) side.’ **2004.3.4**

17.5.2 ‘Finish’ (dògò-)

This construction is parallel in structure to that with ‘begin’ (see just above).

- (xx1) a. [ðyó .: fú:] tóyó dògò-lí-Ø jì:ⁿ
 [grass all] sprout(verb) **finish**-Perf.Neg-3SgS Past
 ‘The grass had not finished sprouting (=had not all sprouted)’. **2004.3.6**
- b. wòmó ù dògò-jè dèy [kâ:ⁿ nè]
 weed(verb) 2SgS.L finish-RecPf if [even now]
 ‘even when you-Sg have finished weeding (the field)’ **2004.3.6**

17.5.3 ‘Help’ (bàrá-)

Here the maximal structure is something like [X help Y [Y VP]], where Y potentially appears as upper-clause direct object and as lower-clause subject. In my data, Y is not repeated.

In the most basic construction, the upper and lower verbs fuse into a serial combination (a kind of compound verb) that can take two direct objects, one the object of ‘help’, the other the object governed by the lower verb. One might expect the linear

ordering [[sack carry] him I-helped] for ‘I helped him carry the sack’, but instead we get [sack him carry I-helped] with the two objects to the right and the two verbs bunched at the right.

- (xx1) a. [ñú: mà sá:kù] wó dé: bàrà-m
 [millet Poss sack] 3SgO **carry** help.Perf.L-1SgS
 ‘I helped him (to) carry the sack of millet.’
- [má èjú] mí wàrá bàrà-Ø
 [1SgP field] 1SgO **farm**(verb) help.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He/She helped me to farm my field.’

However, the two verbs are not always adjacent in this construction. When we convert it into a relative clause, an L-toned subject pronominal (if present) appears before the final verb (xx2).

- (xx2) dógùrù bé wàrá mì bàrà-Ø
 time.L 3PIO farm(verb) **1SgS.L** help.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘(at) the time when I helped them farm.’

When ‘help’ is itself nominalized as a VblN (as in [X want [X help Y [Y VP]]), the lower verb is not nominalized in form, but is treated as a compound initial (all-L toned).

- (xx3) [wó wàrà-bà-ú] dèné-m
 [3SgO **farm**(verb)-**help**-VblN] want.Impf-1SgS
 ‘I would like to help him/her farm.’

An alternative construction is with transitive ‘help’ plus overt object NP in the main clause, and a PP with postposition lè ‘in’ following the nominalized lower verb (xx4).

- (xx4) a. [ùrò-mà-ýⁿ lè] [èné dè:] bàrà-Ø
 [house-build-**VblN** **in**] [3RefIP father.HL] **help**.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘He helped his father in building the house.’
- b. ú bàrà-bà [kàrgù-těw-Ø lè]
 2SgO **help**.Impf-3PlS [brick.L-make-**VblN** **in**]
 ‘They will help you-Sg in making bricks.’ **2004.3.25**

17.5.4 ‘Be able to, can’ (bèr é-, gòrⁿ ó-)

The verb bèr é-, also used as a simple transitive meaning ‘get, obtain’, is combined with a preceding VP ending in a bare verb stem in the sense ‘can, be able to’, often somewhat abstract.

- (xx1) a. cɛ́rɛ́ bɛ̀rɛ̀-gó-∅
 bite can-Impf.Neg-3SgS
 ‘It (=snake) cannot bite’. **2004.3.5**
- b. [àrⁿá túl lè] [á èjú] tó: dògó bɛ̀rɛ̀-ẁ
 [rain one with] [2SgP field] sow finish **can**.Impf-2SgS
 ‘With a single rain, you can finish sowing your (millet) field.’ **2003.4.6**
- c. kà: [kó kùⁿ] kó gàmá bɛ̀rɛ̀=kò
 but [Nonh Def] NonhO reduce **can**.Impf=be.Nonh
 ‘but that (method of killing grasshoppers) can reduce them (in number).’
2004.3.8

Another verb, gòrⁿó-, means ‘be able to, be capable of, be able to afford’. It is less abstract than bɛ̀rɛ̀- and focuses on actual ability (physical or monetary). It too takes complements ending in bare verb stems.

- (xx2) íné-n túrú-n dé: gòrⁿò-gó-∅
 person one-Sg carry be.able-Impf.Neg-3SgS
 ‘One person can’t carry (it).’ **2004.3.20**

17.6 Purposive, causal, and locative clauses

In the following sections, data on purposive and causal clauses are prominently features. Some of these involve postposition lè or lé, and I have also included some other clause types that likewise end in this postposition.

In addition to the specifically purposive and causal clauses considered below, it should be mentioned that manner adverbials with dǐ: ⁿ ‘place, manner’ as head can also be used in basically purposive sense (xx1).

- (xx1) dáwé gô: -∅,
 go.in.AM go.out.Impf-3SgS,
 [dǐ: ⁿ àsɛ̀gɛ́ kó nàmà-gó]
 [**manner.L** animal NonhO step.on-Impf.Neg]
 ‘He goes out early in the morning (to check his animal traps), in such a way that (=in order that) the livestock animals won’t trample them (=traps).’
2004.3.16

17.6.1 Clauses ending in postposition lè or lé

17.6.1.1 Purposive or causal clause with L-toned bare verb plus lé

In (xx1), a construction with L-toned verb and H-toned postposition lé normally has **purposive** sense. All textual examples in the texts are given. The purposive clause is in all cases the complement of a **motion verb** ‘come’ or ‘go’. This motion verb is often L-toned (xx1.c-e), in which case the purposive complement is probably focal. Elsewhere, H-toned postposition lé occurs in locational PPs (§8.xxx), though without tone-dropping on the preceding noun. If lé in (xx1) is equated with this postposition, it suggests a blending of (abstract) purpose and of goal-directed motion.

- (xx1) a. [î̀nè [n̄è-î-n yòwò lé] yǎ̀-̀m kùⁿ]
 [person [woman-child-Sg **accept.L in**] **go.Impf-Ppl.Pl Def**]
 ‘the people who go in order to receive (=take custody of) the girl (=the bride).’ (yòwò-) **2004.3.20**
- b. [èjù [yà̀nà lé] bè yà:-gó-Ø] kò:-rò
 [field.L **look.L in**] 3PIS.L **go-Inf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh**] be.Nonh-Neg
 ‘There is no field that they don’t go to (=they go to every field) in order to look at it.’ (yǎ:-) **2004.3.6**
- c. òⁿhóⁿ èné [íjé ké] [yì-lé nà: lé]
 uh-huh! Logo [today Topic] [here **spend.night.L in**]
 yèrè wà
come.Perf.L say
 ‘He said, “Uh-huh! I have come today in order to (=intending to) sleep here.”’ (ná:-) **2004.4.3**
- d. [[núwⁿò kùⁿ lè] nù: lé] yèrè-bà] wá
 [[[fire Def in] **enter.L in**] **come.Perf.L-3PIS**] say
 ‘(It is said) they came in order to plunge into the fire.’ (nú:-) **2004.4.16**
 (tale)
- e. [wó bàjà lé] yǎ: bè kân
 [3SgO **pull.L in**] **go** 3PIS.L after
 ‘after they went in order to pull her out’ **2004.4.17**
- f. [kó sùmò lé] yà:-rà-m
 [NonhO **wash.L in**] **go-Habit.L-1SgS**
 ‘I am going (there) in order to wash it.’ **2004.4.18**

In (xx1.a), ‘the girl’ is a direct object. A version with 1Sg patient, ‘the people who come in order to receive me’, has 1Sg object mí (î̀nè mí yòwò lé...).

In (xx2), the same construction has **causal** sense, explaining the reason justifying the protagonist’s action. In this example, there is no motion verb in the higher clause.

- (xx2) [kó≡y̌ wó tò:ñò lé],
 [Nonh≡Foc 3SgO **provoke.L in**],
 [wó kú:ⁿ] kò-rú bèr é mèyⁿ gàrà-∅
 [3SgP head] Nonh-with get and pass.Perf-3SgS
 ‘Since it (=elephant) [focus] had been aggressive to him, he got his head
 (=saved his skin) in that way (=by shooting the elephant) and survived.’
 (tò:ñò-) **2004.3.4**

17.6.1.2 ‘Intend to’ complement with Imperfective verb and lè

In (xx1), the verb is an inflected unsuffixed Imperfective. It is followed by L-toned postposition lè, and by a form of the ‘be’ quasi-verb wò-. The specific sense of the construction is ‘intend to VP’.

- (xx1) a. [úró mǎ̀-ⁿ wò- w lè] wò-w dèy
 [house build.Impf-2SgS **Dat**] be.Hum-2SgS if
 ‘if you intend to build a house’ **2004.3.25**
- b. [kó kùⁿ] [kó níṅírⁿ é] [yǎ:-y̌ lè]
 [Nonh Def] [NonhP day] [go.Impf-1PIS **Dat**]
 èmè wò:-∅ jé mèyⁿ
 1PIS.L be.HL-Ppl.Nonh say and
 ‘thus, on that day, while we were intending to go (to Ghardaia)’ **2004.5.5**

In its text, (xx1.b) is a slightly modified repeat of a sentence given just earlier with jé instead of lè in the purposive expression; see §17.xxx.

17.6.1.3 H-toned repeated bare verb stem plus lé (‘behooves you’)

A construction involving an uninflected verb raised to all H-tones, plus H-toned postposition lé, followed by an unsuffixed second person Imperfective form of the same verb stem, is attested (xx1).

- (xx1) [kó kâ:ⁿ] [kó lègú] [dé: lé] dé:-w̌
 [Nonh too] [NonhP mud.mix] [**carry.H Inst**] carry.Impf-2SgS
 ‘That too, it behooves you to carry the mud mix (for bricks).’ **2004.3.26**

The sense is that the subject (agent) has no choice but to perform the action. The French gloss was ‘le banco est à porter’.

While dé:- ‘carry’ is already lexically H-toned, follow-up elicitation with other verbs (ending in ...LH or R tone) brought out the tone-raising in the verb preceding lé.

- (xx2) a. [dɛːné lé] dɛːné-w̃ⁿ
 [lay.down.H Inst] lay.down.Impf-2SgS
 ‘It behooves you to lay them (=bricks).’ (dɛːné-)
- b. [nɔː lé] nɔː-w̃ⁿ
 [drink.H Inst] drink.Impf-2SgS
 ‘It behooves you to drink (it).’ (nɔː-)
- c. [kó dánàŋá lé] dànàŋá-w̃ⁿ
 [Nonh organize.H Inst] organize.Impf-2SgS
 ‘It behooves you to organize them (nonhuman).’

17.6.1.4 Locative indicative complement with lè

Consider (xx1), which describes how some hunters give up on hunting with dogs, in favor of hunting with rifles.

- (xx1) [[[ìjú cɛː náná dɔː-gó-Ø kùⁿ]
 [[dog thing.L chase reach-Inf.Neg-Ppl.Nonh Def]
 [màlfâːⁿ lè] táːⁿ-bà] lè] núː-bà
 [rifle Inst] shoot.Impf-3PIS] in] enter.Impf-3PIS
 ‘They enter into (their) shooting with rifles what (=the animals that) the dogs
 would chase but would not catch up to.’

The verb ‘enter’, though in this case abstract (‘entering’ into a new activity or technique), calls for a locative complement. In (xx1), postposition lè ‘in’ is therefore added to a complete indicative clause (‘they shoot ...’).

A similar construction occurs with the antonym of ‘enter’, namely góː- ‘go out’, in the sense ‘get away from’ or ‘abandon’ (an activity).

- (xx2) ... [jáːⁿ≡kò] jín≡kò,
 ... [appropriate≡be.Nonh] like≡be.Nonh,
 [[jáːⁿ≡kò] lè] góː mɛ̀yⁿ ↑
 [[appropriate≡be.Nonh] in] go.out and
 íné-m tílây yé táná-ŋá-bà,
 person--Pl duty PIS become-Caus.Impf-3PIS,
 [[jáːⁿ≡kò] lè] kán-tóɔ̀dò mɛ̀yⁿ
 [[appropriate≡be.Nonh] in] do-Inf and
 [[tílây yé táná-ŋá-bà bǎː]
 [[duty PIS become-Caus.Impf-3PIS since]
 mà dǐːⁿ dɔː-yè-Ø, ...
 Poss place reach-Perf-3SgS, ...

‘It was like it (=giving a new mother a chicken) was appropriate (i.e., nice but not obligatory). (Nowadays,) having gotten away from (it) being (just) appropriate, people have made it an obligation. Having done (=gotten away) from it being (just) appropriate has reached the point ...’ **2004.3.19**

The construction exemplified above is unrelated to one where *lè* (in something like instrumental sense) is added to a quotative complement (xx3).

(xx3) [... wó èné ê:] lè, sárá gàrà-Ø
 [... 3SgO Logo see.Impf] **Inst**, pass pass.Perf.L-3SgS
 ‘With (=saying) “... I’ll see you-Sg,” it (=cat) went on its way.’ **2004.4.1**

17.6.2 Purposive clause with final *jé*

Purposive postposition *jé* can be added to a clause with **imperfective** or **imperative** verb. In the second case, that we are dealing with a morphological imperative, rather than with a bare verb stem, is shown by the tone of verbs whose lexical form is Cǎ:- (imperative Cǎ:, except yǎ: ‘go!’) or CǎCǎ- (imperative CǎCǎ, except dǎǎé ‘sit!’).

In (xx1), the first *jé* has scope over the two parallel imperfective clauses, while the final *jé* follows an imperative verb *bárá* ‘add!’.

(xx1) àrⁿ-úm [èné bé ñě-m] bàrá méyⁿ kâ:ⁿ
 man-Pl [Refl Pl woman-Pl] help and also
 ñù:-dǎyⁿ gǎ:ⁿ-bà [kó gá:rá éjé≡kò ⇒]
 millet-hip remove.Impf-3PlS [Nonh more be.clean.**Impf**≡be.Nonh]
 [kó gá:rá jó: ⇒ bèrè-wé≡kò] jé
 [Nonh more much get-Pass.**Impf**≡be.Nonh] **for**
 [bérè bér-ú bárá] jé≡y, ...
 [getting get-VblN add.**Imprt**] **for**≡it.is, ...
 ‘The men help the women and remove (=harvest) the early millet, so that it will be more clear (=orderly) and so that more will be gotten, to increase the gain (=yield or profit).’ (bàrá-) **2004.3.6**

More examples with imperative verbs are in (xx2).

(xx2) a. ... wàrá bǎ:-bà, kó gámá jé
 ... farm(verb) fill.up.Impf-3PlS, NonhS be.reduced.**Imprt** **for**
 ‘... they dig up (earth) and fill it up (after driving grasshoppers into the pit), in order to reduce them (=grasshoppers, in number).’ (gámá-)
2004.3.8

b. [mòrⁿò-bè-y kùⁿ] cé:né jé≡y

[be.together.L-remain-VblN Def] be.food.**Imprt for**=it.is
 ‘It’s so that the living together (in peace) be good.’ **2004.4.6**

- c. [ámà sàgú ⇒ é sàgú], [òr núṅò],
 [God entrusting 2Pl entrusting], [matter.L Dem],
 mĩ-n kó dònò-ṅó jé,
 1Sg-Dat NonhO finish-Caus.**Imprt for**
 [kó jé] é mò:-nò-m
 [Nonh for] 2PIO be.together-Caus.Perf.L-1SgS
 ‘Trusting in God and in you-Pl, this matter (=quarrel) [topic], in order to
 put it to an end for me, that’s why I have assembled you-Pl.’ (òrú)
2004.4.6

- d. wó [yǎ: núwⁿó jé] wó tì:-Ø dèy ↑
 3Sg [go die.**Imprt for**] 3SgO send.Perf.L-3SgS if
 ‘‘you [vocative], if she sent you-Sg (here) to die, ...’’ **2004.4.18**

More examples with imperfective verb are in (xx3). Except for the imperfective aspect, this construction is identical in form to the quasi-main-clause subtype of adverbial clause with jé (mèyⁿ) if the mèyⁿ particle is omitted, see §15.xxx.

- (xx3) a. nìṅìrⁿè yì-dí:ⁿ [kó yǎ̀:-y jé]
 day.L here [NonhO go.**Impf-1PIS for**]
 èmè gò:-Ø
 1PIS.L go.out.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh
 ‘(on) the day when we left here (=village) in order for us to go to it
 (=Algeria)’ **2004.5.1**

- b. [[kò jénnátù] mà gá:rù] bérè,
 [[Dem J] Poss station] in,
 [gárdíyà yǎ̀:-y jé] èmè wô:-Ø jé
 [G go.**Impf-1PIS for**] 1PLS.L be.Hum.HL-Ppl.Nonh say
 ‘While we were in the station of that (aforementioned) Jennatou (town),
 intending to go to Ghardaia, ...’ **2004.5.5**

In (xx3.b), the first jé is purposive, the second (after wô:-Ø) is adverbial; see discussion of quasi-relative jé (mèyⁿ) adverbial clauses in §15.xxx. The passage in (xx3.b) was repeated shortly thereafter in the same text, replacing yǎ̀:-y jé by another purposive phrase yǎ̀:-y lè (followed by wô:-Ø jé mèyⁿ).

The construction with H-toned jé is easily distinguishable from verb forms with Recent Perfect suffix -jè- (§10.xxx).

17.6.3 Reduced purposive clause in compound form (ñ v̂)

(xx1) illustrates a biclausal construction, including a sharply reduced clause that can usually be translated as a purposive. It takes the form of a **noun-verb compound**, functioning syntactically as a noun (suggesting that the “verb” has been nominalized). The **noun is L-toned** and the verb (in bare-stem form) has overlaid **H(H...)L tone**. The main clause which follows has a **motion** verb (‘come’, ‘go’, ‘enter’), though the stance verb ‘sit down’ (which involves motion of sorts) is also allowed.

Examples from the texts are in (xx1). Note that the subject of the stance or motion verb is identical to the (usually unexpressed) subject of the purposive clause.

- (xx1) a. ... ñé:-bà ⇒, ñà:-ñê: dîŋ-â:-bà dèy, ...
 ... eat.Impf-3PIS, **meal.L-eat.HL** sit-Perf-3PIS if, ...
 ‘... and they will eat. When they have sat down to eat, ...’ (ñǎ:, ñé:-)

2004.3.18

- b. yà:jì:-páyà dîŋ-â:-bà dèy
marriage.L-tie.HL sit-Perf-3PIS if
 gó:rò gǒ:ⁿ-wⁿ
 kola take.out.Impf-2SgS
 ‘When they sit down to contract the marriage, you-Sg will bring out some kola nuts (to offer them).’ (yà:jí:, páyá-) **2004.3.20**

- c. bîrè-bîrè yǎ:-
work(noun).L-work.HL go
 ‘go (to a city) in order to work’ (noun bîrê, verb bîrê-)

- d. kàràwà-kúnò yǎ:-yà-w dèy
entrusting.L-put.HL go-Perf-2SgS if1
 ‘if you go to put your trust (in them)’ (kàràwá, kúnó-) **2004.3.20**

- e. [àmà-sàw-kúnò yérè-m kùⁿ] nǒ:-bà
[blessing.L-put.HL come.HL-Ppl.Pl Def] drink.Impf-3PIS
 ‘Those who come to give blessings (to a newborn) will drink.’
 (àmà-sǎw, kúnó-) **2004.3.19**

- f. wàrù-wàrà yǎ:-yè-w tán
farming.L-farm.HL go-Perf-2SgS only
 ‘if you-Sg go (to the fields) to farm’ **2004.4.4**

In (xx1.e), the purposive àmà-sàw-kúnò is embedded in a larger compound involving the (agentive) participle of ‘come’. This outer compound is of the type \bar{x} v̂-Ppl (§5.xxx).

The L-toned noun and (nominalized) H(H...)L-toned verb are suggestive of a relative clause with L-toned head noun and H(H...)L-toned unsuffixed Perfective participle. However, the purposive compound does not allow the preverbal L-toned subject pronominals that are regular in relatives, and there are other formal and semantic differences that make a conflation impossible. A tonal similarity to the rare agentive compound type $y\grave{a} : -y\acute{e}r\grave{e}-m$ ‘go-and-come women’ (§5.xxx) is suggestive, but again there is no semantic connection.

Definite $k\grave{u}^n$ is uncommon after the purposive compound, but it occurs in (xx2).

- (xx2) [l\grave{a}mp\grave{o}-\acute{a} : $k\grave{u}^n$] $y\check{e}y-y\grave{a}-b\grave{a}$ $d\grave{e}y$
[tax.L-catch.HL Def] come-Perf-3PIS if
 ‘when they came to collect the tax’ **2004.4.22**

This construction can be used with $n\acute{u} :$ – ‘enter’ in the sense ‘get involved in, engage oneself in’. In (xx3.a), it follows an agentive compound with a different tone pattern (§5.xxx).

- (xx3) a. [s\grave{a}l-s\acute{a}l\acute{a}-m] $s\grave{a}l-s\acute{a}l\grave{a}$ $n\acute{u} :$ $m\grave{e}y^n$
 [prayer.L-pray.H-Ppl.PI] **prayer.L-pray.HL enter** and
 ‘Those who pray, having entered prayer (=having converted to Islam),
 ...’ (noun-verb sequence $s\grave{a}l$ $s\acute{a}l\acute{a}-$) **2004.3.21**
- b. $k\grave{a}rg\grave{u}-t\acute{e}w\grave{e}$ $n\acute{u} : -w^n$
brick.L-make.HL enter.Impf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg will enter (=engage in) making bricks.’ **2004.3.25**

The ‘enter’ examples suggest that “purposive” is a slightly misleading label for the construction at hand. Given that the main clause has a motion verb, it may be that the noun-verb compound is interpreted by native speakers as locative, hence ‘go (in-)to [meal/eating]’, parallel to the more transparently locative ‘enter into [brick-making]’.

Though redundant given that the purposive clause and the motion or stance verb have the same subject, a **possessor** denoting the subject of the purposive clause may be added (xx4).

- (xx4) a. [\acute{a} $b\grave{e}r\grave{e}-t\acute{e}r\grave{e}$] $n\acute{u} : -w^n$
[2SgP stick.L-cut.HL enter.Impf-2SgS]
 ‘You-Sg will enter (=engage in) your wood-cutting.’ **2004.3.25**
- b. [\acute{a} $k\grave{o}\check{n}\grave{o}-n\acute{o} :$] $n\acute{u} : -w^n$
[2SgP millet.beer.L-drink.HL enter.Impf-2SgS]
 ‘You-Sg will enter (=engage in) your millet-beer drinking.’ ($k\grave{o}\check{n}\acute{o}$, $n\check{o} : -$)
- c. [\acute{a} $n\grave{i} : -\acute{i}n\grave{e}$] $n\acute{u} : -w^n$

[2SgP water.L-bathe.HL] enter.Impf-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg will enter (=engage in) your bathing.’ (ní : , ìné-)

When the **object is pronominal**, it appears in **possessor** form (xx5), since pronominals cannot be used as compound initials.

- (xx5) a. [á â:] yèrè-j-é
 [2SgP catch.HL] come-Impf.Neg-3PlS
 ‘They will not come to arrest you-Sg.’ 2004.5.3
- b. [á páṽà] yèrè-j-é
 [2SgP tie] come-Impf.Neg-3PlS
 ‘They will not come to tie you-Sg up.’

In (xx6), instead of a direct object there is a PP (‘on you’). Unusually, instead of a pronominal-subject suffix, the 3Pl subject is expressed as an independent pronoun plus Possessive morpheme mà, a feature otherwise restricted to nominalized clauses (verbal noun clauses, ‘before’ clauses with pseudo-causative). In effect, H(H...)L-toned yérè- ‘come’ is treated here as though it were a Verbal Noun.

- (xx6) [bé mà [á kû: ⁿ] yérè]≡yè l à :
 [3Pl Poss [2Sg on] come.HL]≡it.is Neg
 ‘It ins’t (the case that) they will come on account of you-Sg.’ 2004.5.3

My assistant also accepted versions of (xxx) with yâ : - ‘go’ and númò- ‘fall’ instead of yérè-.

17.6.4 ‘So that ...’ or ‘had better’ (ṽ + -m)

The construction here is of the type (xx1). It is noteworthy that here the purposive (‘so that ...’) clause follows the main clause, or at least does so often. This sets this construction apart from other subordinated clauses, which precede (or are embedded in) the main clause.

- (xx1) [main clause] [... ṽ + -m]

The notation [ṽ + -m] means that the verb has its **lexical tones** (though an R-toned monosyllable may be heard as L-toned), and is followed by a suffix -m (which has no intrinsic tone of its own). The tones differentiate the current construction from the Hortative, which has an H-toned -m suffix after a tone-dropped all-L stem (§10.xxx).

A pronominal subject does not occur in the textual examples. Elicited examples based on cues with a pronominal subject were expressed with a **clause-initial independent pronoun**, perhaps a presentential topic.

The sense ‘had better’ or ‘must’ is expressed by combining [... \bar{v} + -m] with $t\acute{i}l\hat{a}y\equiv\grave{y}$ ‘it is an obligation’. We see this in the extended passage (xx2). The verb $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ - ‘find’ has its lexical HH tones before -m, hence $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ -m. The HH tone contour makes it clear that this is not a Pl participle (cf. Perfective $t\acute{e}m\grave{e}$ -m, Imperfective $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ - \grave{m}), and that it is not a 1Sg subject form (cf. Perfective $t\grave{e}m\grave{e}$ -m, Imperfective $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ - \grave{m}).

- (xx2) A. [èjù-àrⁿá nè] $t\acute{i}l\hat{a}y\equiv\grave{y}$ [nì:ñè núṅò]
 [bush-man now] obligation=it.is [gear.L Dem]
 ù-r $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ -m] mà nì:ñé,
 2Sg-Dat find-so.that] Poss gear,
 $t\acute{i}l\hat{a}y$ - $t\acute{i}l\hat{a}y$ è $t\acute{a}n\acute{a}$ -ṅâ:-Ø kùⁿ nè
 obligation-obligation 2PlS.L become-Caus.Impf-Ppl.Nonh Def now
 [kó nò] [nì:ñé yókò yókò kó≡ȳ]
 [Nonh now] [gear.L which? which? Nonh=it.is]
 B. [nì:ñè $t\acute{i}l\hat{a}y$ ù-t $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ -m [kó níṅírⁿé]
 [gear.L obligation 2Sg-Dat find-so.that] [NonhP day]
 èmè jê:-Ø,
 1PlS.L say.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh
 [màlfâ:ⁿ kó ù-r $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ -m]
 [rifle NonhO 2Sg-Dat find-so.that]
 [[màlfâ:ⁿ kùⁿ kòrsò-gó] kó ù-r $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ -m]
 [[rifle Def jam-Impl.Neg] NonhO 2Sg-Dat find-so.that]
 [[màlfâ:ⁿ kùⁿ lè] î:ⁿ kó $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ -m]
 [[rifle Def Inst] child NonhO find-so.that]
 [bûg kó $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ -m]
 [gunpowder NonhO find-so.that]
 A: ‘(As) a man of the bush (=ready for battle), the equipment that they had better find on you-Sg (=any young man), what you-Pl (=elders) require as obligatory, those now [topic], what kinds of equipment are they?’
 B: ‘The equipment that they had better find on you-Sg (=any young man) on that day (=when young men display their equipment) that we (just) described: a rifle [topic], they had better find that on you; that the rifle doesn’t jam [topic], they had better find that on you; they had better find bullets (=ammunition) with the rifle; they had better find gunpowder.’

The text above is about an event where the young men of the village assembled in the bush, under the watchful gaze of their elders, to demonstrate that they were properly armed for fighting (or for taking on wild beasts). The force of the repeated $t\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ -m is captured by ‘they had better find ...’, where ‘they’ (not expressed overtly) is generic.

Follow-up elicitation produced examples (xx3), where the subject (agent) of ‘find’ is expressed as an independent pronoun (perhaps topicalized) at the left.

- (xx3) a. wó ní-dì:n mí t́émé-m t́ílây≡ŷ
 3Sg here 1SgO find-so.that obligation≡it.is
 ‘He/She had better (=must) find me here.’
- b. mí ní-dì:n bé t́émé-m t́ílây≡ŷ
 1Sg here 3PIO find-so.that obligation≡it.is
 ‘I had better (=must) find them here.’

Without t́ílây≡ŷ, the usual sense of [... v̄ + -m] is ‘so that, in order that’. The construction has low text frequency. One textual example is (xx4).

- (xx4) [dòyⁿò ù nǒ̀-∅ kùⁿ]
 [ashes.L 2SgS.L drink.Impf-Ppl-Nonh Def]
 [á gùjú lè] nèwⁿé nú:-m
 [2SgP skin Dat] usefulness go.in-so.that
 bè jòṅṅ̀:-∅ yó≡kò
 3PIS.L treat.Impf-Ppl.Nonh] exist≡be.Nonh
 ‘There is (healing) that they (=healers) perform with ashes that you-Sg will drink (in a liquid solution), for your skin, so that a benefit goes in (=accrues).’ **2004.3.27**

An elicited example of the ‘in order that’ sense is (xx5).

- (xx5) î-n jè:r é-m [ú wó láyá-m]
 child-Sg bring.Impf-1SgS [2Sg 3SgO hit-so.that]
 ‘I will bring the child, so that you-Sg may hit him/her.’

Further textual examples are in (xx6). The general pattern, with variations, is this: ‘X said, “[imperative], so that ...”, where the ‘in order that’ clause ending in -m suffix is immediately followed by the quotative particle. In (xx6.b), the verb t́égé is apparently a bare stem rather than an imperative, but it has imperative force. nǒ̀:-m in (xx6.a) shows that R-toned monosyllables may drop to L-tone.

- (xx6) a. [wó ní: ó: [èn é nǒ̀:-m]] wà
 [3Sg water give.Imprt.H [Logo drink-so.that]] say
 ‘He_x (Fulbe man) told (him), hey!, to give (him_x) some water so that he_x might drink.’ **2004.4.4**
- b. [wó [cè: t̀ur̀ù wò dènê:-∅ cêw]
 [3Sg [thing.L one.L 3SgS.L want.Impf-Ppl.Nonh all]
 t́égé m̀èy ↑, èné wò-rú kárⁿá-m] wá
 speak and, Logo 3Sg-Dat do-so.that] say
 ‘He_x (Fulbe man) said (to the Dogon man_y), “hey!, say one thing that you desire, so that I may do it (=make it happen).’ **2004.4.4**

- d. [kó tɛ̀g-ú] [íné-m lè] tɛ̀gè-ý wá,
 [NonhP speak-VblN] [person.Pl Dat] speak-Imprt.Neg say,
 émé ní-dì:ⁿ bé:-sà dèy,
 1Pl here remain-Reslt if,
 [émé ∴ èné ∴] háwré-m wá
 [1Pl Logo] agree-**so.that** say
 ‘He told us not to talk about it to the people, so that when we had stayed
 there (for a while), we and he might come to an agreement.’ **2005.5.1**
- e. [kó cé:ⁿ kárⁿá èné gó:-m] wá
 [Nonh creak! do.Impf Logo enter-**so.that**] say
 ‘She said (to the sapling), “hey!, make a creaking sound (while opening),
 so that I may go out!”’ **2004.4.16**

The most puzzling textual example is (xx7). Here we have the quotative context as in the preceding examples, but the clause with *céjé-m* ‘meet’ is not attached to another preceding clause (imperative or otherwise). I suggest it is truncated from something like ‘...the place that you-Sg have told him to go in order for you-Pl to meet’, but the embedded imperative ‘(told) him to go’ is my interpolation.

- (xx7) dà:yá [dì:ⁿ tô:-n é céjé-m ù
 night [place.L Recip-Sg 2Pl meet-**so.that** 2SgS.L
 gâ:-∅ lè] yǎ:-wè, wó è:-gó-w
 say.Perf.HL-Ppl.Nonh in] go.Impf-2SgS, 3SgO see-**so.that**-2SgS
 ‘You-Sg will go at night to the place where you-Sg have told (him to go) so
 that you-Pl (=you and he) will meet each other, but you-Pl won’t see him.’
2004.5.6

17.6.5 Causal (‘because’) clause (sábù, sábùn)

sábù ‘because’ (less often sábùn) can precede an otherwise normal main clause. This is one of a large set of ‘because’ forms in various Malian languages, ultimately derived from Arabic *sabab-* ‘reason’.

- (xx1) a. sábù [kò ké] tò:-j-é
 because [Nonh Topic] sow-**so.that**-3PlS
 ‘because they won’t sow that (seedstock) [topic]’ **2004.3.6**
- b. àmà-sòyó yé sà-∅,
 pity exist have-3SgS,
 sábù ò:g≡î: ñèwⁿ-á:rⁿà-∅
because sweat≡Foc drip-Habit-3SgS
 ‘It’s pitiful, since (so much) sweat has been expended’ **2004.3.6**

[NonhP smallness **because.of** Topic] Nonh-Dat go.L-Imprt.Neg
 ‘Don’t-Sg go up to it (just) because of its small size.’ (i.e., even a small creature can be dangerous) **2004.4.2**

In (xx3), sógòn seems to mean ‘**a fortiori**’ (colloquial English *let alone, much less, never mind*, or the like). Cf. Fulfulde sako and phonologically similar ‘a fortiori’ forms in languages throughout the region. The sense ‘a fortiori’ is more often expressed in Jamsay by yê: (§12.xxx).

(xx3) [émé gòrô:] gó: bèrè-j-é kùⁿ sógòn,
 [1PIP nape.Loc.HL] go.out can-Impr.Neg-3PlS Def a.fortiori
 èmĕ-n tál-lá gò: wànà-ŋá bèrè-j-é
 1Pl-Dat attach-Revers go.out be.far-Caus can.Impr.Neg-3PlS
 ‘They (=Fulbe) can’t get away from (clinging to) our napes (=depending on us), much less can they become separated and go far away (from us).’
2004.3.10

For the sense ‘**than**’ in comparatives (e.g. ‘bigger [than a dog]’), and for the closely related sense ‘**instead of**’, only sógò occurs in my data. It is typically used in conjunction with comparatives containing gá: rá ‘more’. See §12.xxx for examples and discussion.

17.6.7 Negative purposive (=prohibitive) clause

In (xx1), the final prohibitive verb (‘do not leak!’) describes the purpose for which the special granary roof has been constructed.

(xx1) kònòŋó kónóŋó [kó kù: ⁿ] ná: ná-bà
 conical.roof make.roof [Nonh on] put.on.Impr-3PlS
 [kó nò] [àrⁿá mĩn-sà-∅ kâ: ⁿ]
 [Nonh now] [rain fall-Reslt-3SgS even]
 sòjò-ý
 leak-**Prohib**
 ‘They build a conical roof and put it on top of it (=granary), so that it won’t leak now even if rain falls.’ (mĩrⁿé-) **2004.3.6**

17.7 Clause-final nà: ‘though’

A clause-final morpheme nà: can occur at the end of a clause immediately followed by another clause.

In each textual example there is some kind of **adversarial** relationship between the two clauses, so a gloss ‘though, however’ is often appropriate. For example, my assistant commented that textual example (xx1.a) could also be phrased with nà: as

(xx1.b). The adversarial relationship that is merely implied by juxtaposing positive and negative clauses in (xx1.a) is made more explicit by adding *nà:*.

- (xx1) a. *ì-áyà-y* *è:-lí:-Ø*
 Rdp-hear.HL-1PIS see-Perf.Neg-1PIS
 ‘We have heard (about it), (but) we have not seen (it).’ **2004.4.5**
- b. *ì-áyà-y* *nà:* *è:-lí:-Ø*
 Rdp-hear.HL-1PIS **though** see-Perf.Neg-1PIS
 ‘Though we have heard (about it), we have not seen (it).’

A similar reading is possible in (xx2), though the logical structure of the sentence is rather complex.

- (xx2) [[[*ìnè-n* *nùjò-bâ:ⁿ*] *pòttò-lí-Ø* *nà:*]
 [[[person.Sg.L Dem.L-owner] participate-Perf.Neg-3SgS **though**]
jâ:ⁿ-j-é] *kò:-ró*
 dig-Impf.Neg-3PIS] be.Nonh-Neg
 ‘That they (=villagers) refuse to dig doesn’t happen, even though (this or) that person has not joined in.’ **2004.4.5**

In (xx3), the context is this: the speaker has been describing how disputes are adjudicated when they occur within a neighborhood, and is now turning to the situation where members of two neighborhoods of the village are involved. The role of chief judge in each case is played by the oldest man in the relevant demographic unit.

- (xx3) [*nǒŋ* *lěy* *kùⁿ*]
 [neighborhood two Def]
mà *ìnè* *jéyè-m* *kùⁿ* *bòrⁿó-bà ⇒,*
 Poss person.L fight.Perf.HL-Ppl.Pl Anaph call.Impf-3PIS,
 [*ànà* *mà* *ìnè* *gà-n]≡î:* *nà:*
 [village Poss person. old-Sg]≡it.is **though**
 [*nîŋ* *ké*] [*nǒŋ* *mà* *ìnè* *gà-n]≡î:* *là:*
 [now Topic] [neighborhood Poss person old-Sg]≡it.is Neg
 ‘They (=village elders) summon the persons, belonging to the two neighborhoods, who have fought; now, however, it (=the principal judge) is the oldest man of the (whole) village, not the oldest man of the neighborhood.’ **2004.4.6**

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