A grammar of Nchane: A Bantoid (Beboid) language of Cameroon
Boutwell, R.L.

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Author: Boutwell, R.L.
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Chapter 13

Complex sentences

Sentences involving more than one verb are described in this chapter, which is divided into three main sections: Coordination and verb serialization (§13.1), Supporting clause constructions (§13.2), and Complement clause constructions (§13.3). The first section describes sentences with multiple clauses which can be understood as having equal status in terms of expressing events or states. The notion of verb serialization as a syntactic construction type is questionable for Nchane. Therefore, the section begins with a discussion of sentences with adjacent verbs and the problems associated with assigning a serial verb construction analysis. This is followed by descriptions of juxtaposed clauses and disjunctive clauses.

Section 13.2 looks at sentences with different types of supporting clauses, as conceived by Dixon (2009), who characterizes the majority of multiclause sentences as having a *Focal clause* and a *Supporting clause*. A Focal clause 'refers to the central activity or state of the biclausal linking', while a Supporting clause 'may set out the temporal milieu for the Focal clause, or specify a condition or presupposition for it or a preliminary statement of it, etc.' (Dixon 2009: 3). The notion of "supporting" is chosen rather than "subordinate" since, in most cases, the non-main (or non-Focal) clause is difficult to define according to typical criterion for identifying subordination, such as embeddedness, inflectional restrictions, etc.

Complement clauses, which are described in §13.3, function as clausal arguments. As such, they differ from the other types of complex sentences described in this chapter, belonging to the syntactic structure of the focal clause.

The various types of complex sentences are summarized in Table 13.1. Parentheses indicate that those items are optional. In the case of coordination, "(Cl_n)" suggests that more than two clauses may be juxtaposed. Complement clauses are represented by "-clause$_i$", indicating that they are a part of the syntactic structure of the focal clause.

Category	Subcategory	Syntactic structure
Coordination	juxtaposition	Cl_1 - Cl_2 - (Cl_n)
	disjunction	Cl_1 - **kɛnɛ** - Cl_2/
		Cl_1 - **genɛ** - Cl_2
Supportive	temporal	**lɛ** - Cl_1 - Cl_2
	purpose	Cl_1 - **lɛ** - Cl_2
	circumstantial	**nɔ** - Cl_1 - Cl_2
	reason	Cl_1 - **nje** - Cl_2
	condition	(**nɛ́**) - Cl_1 - (**tú**) - Cl_2
	time	**sege** - Cl_1 - Cl_2
Complementation	cognition/speech	Cl_1 - **lɛ**-clause$_i$
	manner	Cl_1 - **nɔ**-clause$_i$
	intent	Cl_1 - **ki**-clause$_i$

Table 13.1 Summary of complex sentence types.

Note that sentences involving relative clauses are not discussed here, but are described in Chapter 12. Commas are employed in the examples of this chapter to indicate perceived clause boundaries, which often coincide with breath pauses, except for §13.3, where they are more strictly representative of pauses. See the introduction of §13.1 for details regarding clause boundary identification. Words under consideration in a particular section are bolded for the reader's convenience.

13.1 Coordination and verb serialization

Sentences with multiple verbs are common in Nchane. Those which consist of clauses of equal status could possibly be described as serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs), which are generally defined as "sequence[s] of verbs which act together as a single predicate[s]" (Aikhenvald 2006: 1).

Aikhenvald gives a number of definitional criteria for SVCs, such as expressing a single event, monoclausality (e.g., no markers of clausal dependency or conjunctions), verbs sharing arguments and TAM marking, and prosodies associated with a single clause. But these criteria are only slightly helpful for Nchane, since they do not clearly differentiate juxtaposed clauses from single clauses with serialized verbs. To illustrate this point, two comparable examples are given in (13.1).

The notion of 'single-event' expression through SVCs is difficult to obtain while remaining objective and without depending on cultural factors, as pointed out by Bisang (2009: 810). However, this example set is construed as contrasting 'multiple-event' and 'single-event' sentences. The context for (13.1)a is a man has gone to bed, but wakes up in the middle of the night unable to breathe. He gets out of bed and goes into the next room in an attempt to get better air. While it is possible to imagine this sentence as expressing one single event, it is more likely that rising up and exiting represent separate (although perhaps related) events. And significantly, the verb **jā** 'rise' contributes its lexical meaning to the sentence.

Meanwhile, example (13.1)b occurs after a man has worked all day at his farm and has just returned home. The verb **tɔ́** 'come' does not indicate the discrete action of the man arriving (as the previous clause has already established his arrival at home), and so, does not contribute its lexical meaning to the sentence.

(13.1)   a.   wù   gɛ̄   jā   wé,   wù   ndɛ́ndɛ̀   wù   bú   à-kfʉ́
              3SG   P3   rise   up   3SG   stumble   3SG   exit   c18-outside

         'He got up and stumbled outside…'   Lake.4.5

         b.   wù   tɔ́   wù   shī   wù   fúf-è   shɛ̄ŋ
              3SG   come   3SG   sit   3SG   rest-PROG   c9.liver

         '…he came and relaxed.'   Jealous Husband.16

In comparing the two expressions, it can be seen that they are structurally similar. There are no morphological or syntactic markers of clausal subordination or of support clause status, nor of clausal adjunction in either example. Subject marking is usually associated with each verb of a sequence. This is evidenced in both of the examples and therefore not diagnostic for SVCs. This is in contrast to the neighboring Yemne-Kimbi languages Mungbam and Mundabli, both of which are reported to have SVCs with single subject marking (Lovegren 2013: 215–254 and; Voll 2017: 215–240 respectively). In addition, as stated in §11.1.1, objects are routinely omitted from clauses whenever they are inferable. Thus, the possibility of shared objects as a means of identifying SVCs is also unhelpful.

Tense, aspect and mood (TAM) marking also offers little or no help in differentiating the two possible multiverbal structure types. The example in (13.1)a has a tense marker preceding the first verb only. This illustrates the tense-marking strategy of the language, which usually establishes tense at discourse boundaries, with little or no tense marking for later sentences. One could interpret the single tense marker in (13.1)a as being shared by the following clauses. The same strategy is observed for expressions like (13.1)b. While this specific example has no tense marking, similar SVC-like expressions such as the relative clause in (13.2) show the

same pattern as that seen in (13.1)a, with the tense marker occurring only one time and preceding the first verb of the sequence.

(13.2) bɔ́   kɔ̂:   bá   Dāmūmɛ̃,
        3PL   catch   pa   D.

        wù   bɔ́   gɛ̄   jɔ̄   bɔ́   dāŋ   jɔ̀   yú
        c1REL   3PL   P3   take   3PL   cross   c9.stream   on.it

        '...they captured Pa Damume, whom they used in crossing the stream.'
        (lit. whom they crossed the stream with him)   Land Dispute.2.3

Aspect marking may occur on adjacent verbs, but it is not apparent that two "serialized" verbs may share such marking. More study is required to know if mood marking could be used as a diagnostic for SVCs. However, Bisang (2009: 805) observes that complex single events tend to be characterized by a single set of TAM expression, whether the complex event is coded by adjacent clauses or SVCs. Thus, TAM marking is probably of little help.

Prosodies represent another possible indicator to differentiate SVCs. However, prosodic elements in Nchane sentences are somewhat inconsistently realized. Clause boundaries are often marked by pauses, but this is not always the case. Example (13.3) presents multiple verbal elements with no apparent pause, change in intensity or tonal phenomena to mark a clause boundary. However, the two verbs may not be interpreted as encoding a single complex event, but rather two separate events in sequence. Thus, I interpret this sentence as comprised of two juxtaposed, independent clauses.

(13.3) wɔ́   gɛ̄:   à   màŋ-kàlà   mā-nē   lē,
        2SG.FUT   put   in   c6a-cassava.puff   c6a-PROX   APPL

        wɔ́   ɲá   wù   lē
        2SG.FUT   give   3SG   APPL

        '"...you put [it] (the poison) in this cassava puff and give [it] to him."'
                                              What-goes-around.3.3

Conversely, some sentences with multiple verbs which seem to express a single event, and thus, representative of an SVC analysis, have clear pauses following the verbs. Such is the case in (13.4), which has a distinct pause following the verb 'go'.

(13.4) mɛ́ ń-tú ŋ́-gɛ̰̄:
      1SG.PRO 1SG-then 1SG-go

      ɲ̄-jí bvū-lɛ̰̀: bɛ́ ɲàŋ yī shĩ̄
      1SG-eat c14-food with c9.meat c9AM c9.chicken

      'I then went and ate fufu with chicken…'   Jealous Husband.20

Note that the verb **gɛ̰̄:** in this example does not contribute its basic lexical meaning, since the eater does not actually change location. Note also that the verb **tú** is serving as an auxiliary and not as a so-called "coverb" (i.e., one of multiple lexical verbs constituting an SVC), although it illustrates how auxiliaries within the verb complex are syntactically indistinct from possible SVC constructions, with a subject appearing before each verb, "coverb" and auxiliary verb.

Nevertheless, there is a significant occurrence in the data of multiverb sentences, such as (13.4), where the apparent "primary" verb is preceded by some "secondary" verb, most often one of motion like "go" or "come". This ordering of verbs is in contrast to Mundabli and Mungbam, where the so-called "minor" coverb follows the "major" coverb. This alternative ordering does occur in Nchane, as illustrated in (13.5), although it is rare.

(13.5) lásálɔ̄ kwé, wù bɛ̰̄ wù **gɛ̰̄:** fɛ̀ Ø-ɲɔ̀ lē
      L. die 3SG ascend 3SG go at c1-god APPL

      'Lazarus died and went to heaven…'   Richman.11

It is unknown what, if any, significance is represented by the alternative sequencing of the apparent primary and secondary verbs in (13.4) and (13.5).

To summarize, there is some evidence in support of SVCs in Nchane. However, it is likely that those instances of SVC-like structures are less typical than those of other languages reported to have SVCs, even languages nearby. Formal characteristics of sentences expressing complex events through multiple verbs are not observed to differentiate clause chaining structures from SVCs. Primarily, evidence for Nchane SVCs is the relatively common co-occurrence of primary verbs and closed class verbs such as 'go', 'come' and 'exit', particularly when the semantic expression provided by these latter verbs may be construed as more functional than lexical.[90]

Therefore, the current analysis pays little attention to the possible existence of SVCs in Nchane. Sentences with multiple verbs are treated as constructed with

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[90] These SVC-like constructions are likely involved in the grammaticalization of "minor" coverbs into grammatical markers of TAM categories. For example, the verb **tú** 'return' often expresses Sequentiality or Durative aspect when followed by a second verb, and where the core semantic expression is encoded by the second verb. See §9.3.4 for more examples.

chains of clauses, unless there are conjunctions present or formal markers of dependency.

13.1.1 Juxtaposition

Clauses which communicate different actions are often joined through simple juxtaposition (i.e., without a conjunction), as in (13.6). If any tense marking is present, it occurs only in the first clause and applies to the entire sentence.

(13.6) wù   mɔ̄   wù   búsɛ̄   m̄-bà: fɔ́,
        3SG   RES   3SG   remove   c6a-soup   there

        wù   ɲá   Ø-jwɛ̀:   lē
        3SG   give   c1-husband.3SG.POSS APPL

        'She just removed soup from there (the leaf) and gave [it] to her husband.'   Jealous Husband.13

More than two clauses can be juxtaposed in this manner, forming clause chains.

(13.7) kī   jɔ̄   màŋ-kàlà   mā-ā,   kī   gɛ̃̄:   à-kɛ̃̄,   kī   já
        c7   take c6a-cassava.puff   c6a-ANA1   c7   put   c18-bag   c7   leave

        kī   gɛ̄n-è,   kī   ɲā-à   c1-ŋ̀kè   lɛ̄   wɔ̄   gé
        c7   go-PROG   c7   give-PROG   c1-song   COMP   2SG   do.COND

        bvū-jɔ̄ŋɛ̄   tū   wɔ̄   gé   yē   y-ɔ̄   lē,
        c14-good   then   2SG   do   on   c9-2SG.POSS   APPL

        wɔ̄   gé   bvū-bɛ̄fè   tū   wɔ̄   gé   yē   y-ɔ̄   lē
        2SG   do.COND   c14-bad   then   2SG   do   on   c9-2SG.POSS   APPL

        'He took that cassava puffs and put it in his bag and left and was going and singing his song, "You do good you do for yourself; you do bad you do for yourself."'   What-goes-around.5.2

(13.8) bɛ̄ŋ   tɔ̋   bɛ̋ŋ   kɔ́,   bɛ́ŋ   jí,
        2PL   come.IMP   2PL   catch   2PL.HORT   eat

        bɛ́ŋ   mú   jɔ̀   fɔ́
        2PL.HORT drink   c9.water   there

        '"Come and take [the cassava puff], you should eat [it] and drink water."'   What-goes-around.7.7

The actions of these complex sentences are usually interpretable as sequential occurrences when the verbs are in non-progressive form. Simultaneous action can also be expressed through clause chains when the verbs are in progressive form, as illustrated in (13.9).

(13.9)   bɔ́   gɛ̄   láŋ-é,   bɔ́   yɛ́n-è   bà-ŋkë,
            3PL   P3   rejoice-PROG   3PL   breathe-PROG   c2-song

            bɔ́   bín-è   Ø-bǐnë̋
            3PL   dance-PROG   c5-dance

            'They were rejoicing, singing and dancing.' [91]   Lake.5.3

While clauses within the same sentence generally have the same subject referent, clauses with different subjects can also be juxtaposed, as in (13.10). This sentence is describing a single, complex event and is characterized by short pauses at clause boundaries and a gradual diminishing intensity pattern over the entire sentence.

(13.10)   bā   kɛ̱̄:   bvù-lɛ̱̀:,   ŋ̄-gū   m̄-bà:,   bɔ̄   jí   yú
            3PL   stir   c14-food   1SG-buy   c6a-soup   3PL   eat   on.it

            'They cooked fufu, I bought soup and they ate with it.'   Fire.46

13.1.2 Disjunction

Two types of disjunctive constructions are observed—those which express simple alternatives and those which express counter expectation. The first type, which is not present in the text data, involves the conjunction **kɛ̀nɛ̄** 'or' and expresses two alternative actions or events, as illustrated in (13.11).

(13.11)   tādà   gɛ̄   lɛ̱̀,   **kɛ̀nɛ̄**   wù   ŋ̀gṵ̄:
            T.   P3   work   or   3SG   play

            'Tada either worked or he played.'

Counter-expectational clauses are joined through the disjunctive conjunction **gɛ̄nɛ́** 'but', which might have a second function in expressing frustration. The counter-expectational clause occurs as the second clause, as illustrated in (13.12) and

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[91] The clause **bɔ́ bínè bǐnë̋** illustrates the occurrence of a cognate noun object, which has been argued as evidence in other languages that there are no true intransitive verbs. However, there are plenty of Nchane verbs which present as intransitive (e.g., 'cry', 'sleep' 'die' and 'breathe'). Meanwhile, some Nchane verbs which are often intransitive in English, like 'dance' and 'sing', are usually or even strictly transitive.

(13.13). The examples show that tense marking occurs in both of the conjoined clauses, contrasting with juxtaposed clauses described above.

(13.12) wù   gɛ̄   kǜŋ   m̀byɛ̄ŋɛ̄,
         3SG   P3   ring   c9.bell

         gɛ̄nɛ́ Ø-mū   gɛ̄   bǎ:ŋ   tɔ́   gɛ̄
         but   c1-person P3   still   come   NEG2

         'He rang the bell, but no one responded (lit. came).'   Lake.6.7

(13.13) wù   gɛ̀   bá:ŋ   yɛ̄ŋ   gɛ̄   bī-bāgɛ̄   lé   gɛ̀,
         3SG   P3   still   see   NEG2   c8-wound   APPL   NEG2

         gɛ̄nɛ́ bɔ́   gɛ̄   kwé   wâ
         but   3PL   P3   die   already

         'He saw no injuries, but they were clearly dead.'   Lake.6.3

13.2 Support clauses

As suggested in the chapter's introduction, Support clauses typically provide necessary information for the proper interpretation of the focal clause. This can be background information, such as the temporal setting. Or it can provide the purpose or conditions for the focal clause predication. Support clauses are often introduced by a particle or word of some sort, with the type of support clause dictating the order of the main and support clauses. Support clauses in the examples of this section are placed in brackets.

13.2.1 Setting particle

The Setting particle **lɛ̄** 'SET' introduces support clauses that provide details surrounding the action or event that occurs in the focal clause, such as temporal or situational setting, as in (13.14) and (13.15). The Setting clause usually precedes the focal clause.

(13.14) [**lɛ̄**   bē   bíjɛ̄],   bē   yɛ́ŋ   nɔ̀   ŋ̀gú   bɛ̀n-é
         SET   1PL   look   1PL   see   like.that   c9.fire ascend-PROG

         'As we looked, we saw that the fire was burning.'   Fire.2.1

(13.15) [lɛ̄ bī-tādā gɛ̀ yɔ̀d-é mèsàʒɛ̄], bē gɛ̄ bé
       SET c8-shout P3 shout-PROG M. 1PL P3 ᴾCOP

       bè bú fɔ́ bè sá:, bè bú bè gɛ̀: ā-jèshí
       1PL exit there 1PL scatter 1PL exit 1PL go c18-path

       'As they were shouting in Misaje, we then scattered and went out on the road.'
                                             Fire.1.16-17

The **lɛ̄** particle often is accompanied by a tonal change of the following subject pronoun, which is partially illustrated in (13.14). Low toned pronouns often are realized with a M tone and mid toned pronouns (such as **bē** 1PL) with a H. Note that the **lɛ̄** particle functions as a complementizer in other syntactic contexts. See §13.3 for details.

The Setting clause can sometimes give a sequential reading as in (13.16), usually indicated by the word 'after' in the free translation. The event or action in the Setting clause occurs first, followed by that of the focal clause.

(13.16) [lɛ̄ bɔ̄: bā-ā jí], bɔ́ jǎ bɔ̄ kwɛ̄:d-è
       SET c2.child c2-ANA1 eat 3PL leave 3PL return.home-PROG

       'After those children ate, they left and were returning home.'
                                         What-goes-around.8.1

Other times, the Setting clause appears to be in a logical relationship with the focal clause that could be interpreted as cause-effect, although a sequential reading is often still appropriate. This is illustrated in (13.17) (as well as (13.15) above).

(13.17) [lɛ̄ bā-ɱfúmɛ̀ yú Ø-ńtùŋ wú-yú],
       SET c2-N. hear c1-news c1-ANA2

       bɔ̄ gɛ̄ jā bɔ̄ fɛ̄sɛ̀ fɛ̀ kì-jwī lē
       3PL P3 leave 3PL arrive at c7-boundary APPL

       'When the Nfume people heard the news, they left and arrived at the boundary.'
                                        Land Dispute.1.3

When **lɛ̄** occurs with **ɲù** 'COP(N)', there is no subject in the Setting clause. The Setting clause in (13.18) provides a temporal setting for the action of the focal clause. But it might also be interpreted as a causal clause as in the previous example. In other words, the woman cooked because it was evening, the normal time for cooking.

(13.18)   [lɛ̄   ɲù   fɛ̃-ŋfù],   Ø-kwɛ̄sé   wɛ́-ɛ̄   gɛ̄   bé
          SET   COP(N) c16-evening   c1-woman   c1-ANA1 P3   ᴾCOP

          wù   kɛ̰̄:   bvū-lɛ̰̄:
          3SG   stir   c14-food

          'As it was evening, that woman cooked fufu.'   Jealous Husband.2.3

        The initial Setting clause in (13.19) gives situational context, referring to the
previous events of speaker rushing to his burning house and trying to go inside to
rescue his belongings. (Note that the sequence **lɛ̄ ɲù** in this example and the previous
one demonstrates that cleft constructions in Setting clauses use the n-copula rather **lé**.)

(13.19)   [lɛ̄   ɲù   nɔ̀],   [lɛ̄   n̄-tɔ́   ŋ́-kásè   m̀-bé   ɲ̄-jɛ̄nɛ̀],
          SET   COP(N) like.that SET   1SG-come 1SG-return 1SG-P1   1SG-look

          mɛ̄   ŋ̄-gɛ̄   ŋ̄-kāsè   ǹ-yɛ́ŋ   bɔ̰̄:   Ø-bwɛ̰̄:   lé,
          1SG.PRO 1SG-P3 1SG-return 1SG-see   c2.child   c1-mother APPL

          nɔ̀   bɔ̄   jùd-é   Ø-ŋ́gɛ̀,
          like.that 3PL   fight-PROG   c1-trouble

          kì   bɔ́   jīŋs-è   ǹgú
          COMP(K) 3PL   extinguish-PROG   c9.fire

          *'As it was so, as I turned and looked, I saw my brothers, that they were
          suffering to put out the fire.'*   Fire.8.1

        The Setting particle may also introduce Purpose clauses, which usually
express the reason for the action in the focal clause. In this case, the support clause
follows the focal clause, as illustrated in (13.20) and (13.21). This second example
also illustrates the Setting particle functioning both ways in the same sentence, first
introducing a Setting clause, and second introducing a Purpose clause.

(13.20)   mɛ̄   ŋ̄-gɛ̀   ǹ-wɛ̄ɲɛ̀   kì-mbɔ̄ŋ   kí   shēgē,
          1SG.PRO 1SG-P3 1SG-open   c7-cover   c7REL   small

          ŋ̄-gɛ̰̀:   kī-bɔ́   à-kfūŋ   [lɛ̄   fī:
          1SG-put   c7-arm   c18-outside   SET   c9.air

          yí   lēs-è   yì   kɔ̀nè   mɛ̄   lē]
          c9REL   enter-PROG   c9   touch   1SG.PRO   APPL

          *'...I opened the window and kept my hand outside so as to receive fresh
          air* (lit. *air that was entering touch me).'*   Training.1.14

(13.21) [lɛ̄ Ø-bwē làd-é mwɛ̃], wù gɛ̄: bī-nfūnɛ̄
     SET c1-mother go.goal-PROG c3.farm 3SG put c8-corn

[lɛ̄ wù shɛ́ wū gɔ̄ fɛ̀ Ø-ŋ-gɔ̀ wù-bàlà lē]
SET 3SG remain 3SG grind at c1-NMZR-grind c1-foreign APPL

'As the mother was going to the farm, she put corn aside so that she (the daughter) would remain (near the house) and take [it] to the grinding mill.'
          Disobedient Child.1.3

13.2.2 Circumstantial clauses

The adverbial pronoun **nɔ̀** 'like.that' may be used to introduce support clauses that usually can be interpreted as providing the circumstances under which the event in the focal clause occurs. The Circumstantial clause precedes the focal clause and appears to serve a discourse cohesion role, as it most often repeats events that occurred in earlier sentences. For example, in the text from which (13.22) is taken, the action of the husband sitting down occurs two sentences earlier.

(13.22) [**nɔ̀** Ø-jwɛ̄ŋ shìlɛ́ fɛ̀-kū:], wū mɔ́ wū bí:
     like.that c1-husband sit c16-down 3SG RES 3SG ask

lɛ̄ wɔ̄ jɔ́ fànɛ̄ m̄-bà
COMP 2SG take where c6a-soup

'As her husband sat down, he then asked, "Where will you get soup?"'
          Jealous Husband.10

Likewise, example (13.23) comes two sentences after the text says that the woman and her husband "left and were going (to the farm)".

(13.23) [**nɔ̀** Ø-kwɛ̄sé wɛ́-ɛ́ gɛ̀n-é] wū tú wū lɛ̰̂:
     like.that c1-woman c1-ANA1 go-PROG 3SG then 3SG stand

Ø-jwɛ̰̄: tú wū kwàj-ì lɛ̄ lé lá lē
c1-husband.3SG.POSS return 3SG think-PROG COMP COP Q COP

'As the woman was going, she stood and her husband wondered what would happen.'
          Jealous Husband.4.2

Example (13.24) illustrates a slightly different formulation of the Circumstantial clause as compared to the earlier examples. While the support clauses of those examples contained at least the same verb as an earlier sentence in linking the current and earlier events, the Circumstantial clause in (13.24) abstracts the state of "weakness" from the previous sentence, where the participant was "confused and

sick". However, the effect is the same, with the two sentences given greater cohesion through the support clause.

(13.24) [**nɔ̀**   wù   gɛ̀   bé   gɛ̄   bɛ́   bvù-ŋgà   gɛ̀],
          like.that 3SG   P3   ᴾCOP NEG2 with   c14-power   NEG2

          wū   gɛ̄   jā   wù   gɛ̃̀:   yē   yì   Ø-ɲɔ̀   lē
          3SG   P3   leave 3SG   go   c9.house c9AM   c1-god   APPL

          kì   wú   gɛ̃̀:   wú   kūŋ   m̄byɛ̀ŋɛ̀,   [**nɔ̀**   bɔ́   tɔ̃́
          COMP(K) 3SG   go   3SG   ring   c9.bell   like.that 3PL   HAB

          bɔ́   gè-è   kì-fè   kī   Ø-ŋ̀gɛ̀   lē]
          3PL   do-PROG   c7-time c7AM   c1-trouble APPL

          *'As he was weak (*lit. *with no power), he left and went to the church to go and ring the bell, as they always did in times of trouble'*   Lake.6.5

       The second **nɔ̀** in the above example does not precede the focal clause and does not have the same discourse cohesion role. In this case, the support clause expresses a manner relationship with the focal clause. The meaning realized here is reflective of the use of **nɔ̀** in complement clauses (see §13.3).

       Note that in many cases, **nɔ̀** and **lɛ̄** are interchangeable. Indeed, the introducing particles in (13.24) were "corrected" by language consultants from **lɛ̄** (in the original version of the text) to **nɔ̀**. The interchangeability of these two particles in part reflects the discourse role of **nɔ̀**. Since **lɛ̄** has not been observed to have the same kind of function in producing discourse cohesion, it is not surprising that multiple readings of a text can result in these kinds of corrections. However, as will be seen in the section on complement clauses, these two particles can introduce subtle changes to the meaning of the expressions.

13.2.3 Reason clauses

Reason clauses are introduced by **ɲ̄jɛ̄** 'reason' and usually follow the focal clause, as in (13.25) and (13.26).

(13.25) ɲ̄-já   ŋ̄-gɛ̃̄:   Ø-sùkū,
          1SG-leave 1SG-go   c1-school

          [**ɲ̄jɛ̄**   mɛ̄   lé   Ø-mù   ɲ-yɛ̄yɛ̀]
          reason   1SG.PRO COP   c1-person NMZR-teach

          'I left and went to school, because I am a teacher.'   Fire.1.6

(13.26) kɔ́ŋ   bɔ́,   wɔ́   gvúŋ   bɔ́,
         love.IMP 3PL   2SG   obey   3PL

         [ɲ́jē   lé   bɔ́   bɔ́   bɔ̄yī   Ø-jwǝ̱:]
         reason COP 3PL   3PL.REL birth   c1-husband.2SG.POSS

         *'Love them (your parents-in-law), respect (*lit. *obey) them, because it is*
         they who delivered (gave birth to) your husband.'   Marriage.6.7

13.2.4 Conditional

Conditional constructions are variable in form. However, they are likely based on the schema given in Figure 13.1.[92]

$$[(\mathbf{n\acute{\epsilon}}) +H\ldots]_{\text{PROTASIS}}, [(\mathbf{t\acute{u}})\ldots]_{\text{APODOSIS}}$$

Figure 13.1 Conditional construction schema.

The particle **nɛ́** introduces the protasis and is glossed in this context with 'if'. The same word appears in other contexts glossed 'like.that' and associated with gestural predications (see §8.5). The apodosis is introduced by the word **tú** 'then', which is also seen marking Durative and Sequential (see §9.3.4). Both of these polysemous particles are largely differentiated from the other use of their forms by syntactic considerations, with the conditional particles occurring clause-initially (see example (13.32) for a possible exception).

      Example (13.27) illustrates the fully marked conditional construction, with high tone on the verb of the protasis (realized here as SH due to a grammatical H on top of a lexical H when preceding a L), which is also introduced by **nɛ́**, and the apodosis introduced by **tú**.

(13.27) [**nɛ́**   jàŋ   tɔ̋   lɔ̀], **tú**   mɛ̄   lé
         if   c9.rain come.COND FOC   then 1SG.PRO COP

         ŋ́-gɔ̀n-è   ɲ̀jū   yí   yɛ̄ŋē
         1SG.FUT-want-PROG c9.cloth c9.REL dry

         'If rain comes, then I will be wanting dry clothes.'

---

[92] The Conditional construction is very similar to that reported for Noni, where the protasis is introduced by **ɛ̄** (cf. **nɛ́**) and the apodosis is introduced by either **ɛ́** or **tō** (cf. **nɛ́** and **tú** respectively) (Hyman 1981: 102).

As the parentheses in Figure 11.1 indicate, the **nɛ́** and **tú** are not always present. However, the order of the construction is always protasis-apodosis, and there is nearly always a H tone element associated with the protasis. This H tone is observed in the minimal pair given in (13.28), where the mid-toned verb **gvūŋ** in the conditional clause in b. is realized with a H tone.

(13.28)   a.   wù   gvūn-é   mɛ̄
                3SG   obey-PROG   1SG.PRO

              'He is obeying me.'

        b.   [Ø-mwā   gvún-é]
                c1-child   obey-PROG.COND

              'If the child is obeying ...'

The factors motivating the behavior of this H tone are unknown at this time. It is usually observed marking the verb or auxiliary verb. Sometimes even the entire protasis clause may be realized at a higher than normal register, as illustrated in example (13.29). This higher tonal register is indicated by the up arrow, which applies to everything in the parentheses.

(13.29)   [↑(wɔ̄   gì)],   mɛ́   ḿ-bɔ̰̄:   wɔ̀
                2SG   play.COND   1SG.PRO.FUT   1SG-stab   2SG

        bɛ́   fī-ɲɔ̄   fī-nē,   wɔ̄   kwē
                with   c19-knife   c19-PROX   2SG   die

        *'If you mess with me (*lit. *play [me]), I will pierce you with this knife*
        and you will die.'   Greedy Friends.1.14

It is possible that the H tone is the true marker of Conditional, with **nɛ́** and **tú** simply contributing their own meanings, which are consistent with *if-then* semantics. The verbs or auxiliary verbs of the protases in this section are analyzed with COND in their glosses in order to account for the H tone associated with conditionals. However, as just stated, it is often the case that the realization of the H tone extends beyond the predicate.

The text corpus contains no examples of a fully marked conditional construction. Instead, conditional constructions usually have only **nɛ́** and no **tú** as in (13.30) or the inverse as in (13.31). Note that (13.31) is another example where the entire protasis is realized on a higher tonal register than the apodosis.

(13.30) wɔ́   wṹ   Ø-jwɛ̄ŋsɛ́,   [**nɛ́**   wɔ́   lɛ́   wɔ́   gè   jálɛ̀],
          2SG   c1REL   c1-man   if   2SG   COP.COND   3SG   do   wrong

          wɔ̀   lɛ̋gɛ̀   lɛ̄   Ø-kwɔ́   fɔ̄sɛ̄   wɔ̀
          2SG   beg.IMP   COMP   c1-wife.2SG.POSS.FUT   forgive   2SG

          'You the husband, if you have done wrong, ask that your wife forgive
          you.'   Marriage.4.5

(13.31) [↑(bɛ̄ŋ   lɛ̋   bɛ̄ŋ   gè   nɔ̀)],   **tú**   bɛ̄ŋ   lɛ́   bɛ̄ŋ   gè
           2PL   COP.COND   2PL   do   like.that   then   2PL   COP   2PL   do

          fy-ɛ̄:   fī   bɛ̄ŋ   yūg-é   à   Ø-ŋwà   wù   Ø-ɲɔ̀   lɛ̄
          c19-thing c19REL   2PL   hear-PROG   in   c1-book   c1AM   c1-god   APPL

          'If you do so you have done what is required in the book of God.'
                                                     Marriage.3.8

      Example (13.32) is a rare case where **nɛ́** does not precede the Subject. This
example is comparable to (13.30), both of which have a topic-marked (left-detached)
subject. It is not known what motivates this alternative ordering, nor if it has any effect
on the meaning.

(13.32) wɔ́   wṹ   Ø-mwā   wú   Ø-kwɛ̄sé,   wɔ̀   **nɛ́**   lɛ̋
          2SG   c1REL   c1-child   c1REL   c1-woman   2SG   if   COP.COND

          wɔ́   lɛ̄:   fɛ̄   Ø-lá   chī   Ø-jwɛ̄ŋsɛ́   lɛ̄,
          2SG   enter   at   c5-compound   c5AM   c1-man   APPL

          kéfɛ̄   wɔ́   lās-è   bā-mī   bā-ā   gɛ̄,
          VET   2SG   lose[93]-PROG   c2-person   c2-ANA1   NEG2

          kéfɛ̄   wɔ́   wā:d-è   bɛ́   Ø-chíjī   Ø-jwɔ̰̀:
          VET   2SG   quarrel-PROG   with   c1-father   c1-husband.2SG.POSS

          mɔ̀   Ø-bwē   Ø-jwɔ̰̀:   gɛ̀
          RES   c1-mother   c1-husband.2SG.POSS   NEG2

          'You the girl child, if you enter into your husband's compound don't
          look down on those people, don't quarrel with your father-in-law or
          mother-in-law.'   Marriage.6.6

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[93] This verb can also mean "minimize" or "make small".

13.2.5 Temporal clauses

Events may be described temporally through a support clause introduced by a time word. The support clause, which usually precedes the focal clause, establishes a temporal setting for the event (or future event) in the focal clause. The primary time word observed introducing this kind of support clause is **ségé** 'when', which is illustrated in (13.33) and (13.34). [94]

(13.33) [**ségé**   wū   gɛ̀ː   wū   jí],   wú   mɔ̄   wū   kwé,
         when   3SG   go   3SG   eat   3SG.HORT   RES   3SG   die

         wɔ́   fű-dɛ́   ā-ŋgē-wù-bɔ̄
         2SG.FUT   rest-COMPL   c18-trouble-3SG-hand

         'When he goes and eats, he should then die, and you will rest from the
         trouble from him.'   What-goes-around.3.4

(13.34) [**ségē**   bɛ̄ŋ   lé   bɛ̄ŋ   gē   wá   nɔ̄ː],   tú   bɛ̄ŋ   lé
         when   2PL   COP   2PL   do   already   like.that then   2PL   COP

         bɛ̄ŋ   tū   wâ   Ø-mù   lé   wù-mùmwà,
         2PL   become   already   c1-person   COP   c1-one

         yē   yē-né   tū   yī-mímyā
         c9.body   c9-2PL.POSS   become   c9-one

         bvù-kūgɛ̀   mɔ̀   bvù   ɲùmè   à-bɛ̀ŋ-tɛ̄nɛ̄
         c14-wealth   RES   c14   COP(N) c18-2PL-middle

         'When you have done like that you have already become one, your
         body will become one, then riches will be in your midst.'   Marriage.3.9

        The word **táŋ** 'time' (from English) also functions in providing temporal background information similar to **ségé**. Although it usually occurs as the head nominal of a relative clause, as in (13.35), it appears to be in the process of grammaticalizing as an introducer of temporal support clauses. This is supported by example (13.36) where it appears without a relative clause.

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[94] In very rare cases, this word shows class 1 agreement, suggesting that it is a noun. However, it commonly appears phonologically bound with nominal modifiers such as **chī** 'all', and without any agreement. Thus, it is believed to have grammaticalized into an adverb.

(13.35) **[Ø-táŋ**   wū   mɛ̄   gɛ̄   chīlὲ   byɛ̄ŋ],
         c1-time   c1REL   1SG.PRO   P3   pull   c9.fish

         mɛ̄   gɛ̄   m̀-bé   lāŋyὲ   wèsὲ
         1SG.PRO   P3   1SG-ᴾCOP   happy   very

         'When I caught a fish, I was very happy.'   Fishing.1.10

(13.36) **[Ø-táŋ**   m̄-mɛ̃:   bē],   bā   shī-shɛ̄   fὲ-kū
         c1-time   c6a-oil   ready   they   sit-CAUS   c16-down

         'When the oil is ready, they (remove it from the fireside and) put it
         down (on the ground).'   Making Palm Oil.1.9

Temporal background information is commonly expressed in the text data through a relative clause with the time word **kīfé** as the head nominal, as demonstrated in (13.37).

(13.37) **[kī-fé**   kī   mɛ̄   ŋ-gὲ   m̀-būd-é   yē   kw-ɛ́:],
         c7-time   c7REL   1SG.PRO   1SG-P3   1SG-exit-PROG   c9.house   c3-ANA1

         mɛ̄   ŋ-gɛ̄   m̄-búd-é   ɲù   ɲ̀jū
         1SG.PRO   1SG-P3   1SG-exit-PROG   COP(N)   c9.cloth

         yī   yē   y-āŋ   lē,   mɔ̀   bɛ́   bà-lābā
         c9AM   c9.body   c9-1SG.POSS   APPL   RES   with   c2-shoe

         bà   mɛ̄   gὲ   ǹ-lēs-è   ɲù   bɔ́   fyé   wâ
         c2REL   1SG.PRO   P3   1SG-wear-PROG   COP(N)   c2   burn   already

         'The time I was coming from that house, I was coming out with my
         clothes and shoes that I was wearing already burned.'   Fire.7.2

Less commonly, temporal support clauses may occur in sentence-final position, as demonstrated in (13.38) and (13.39). In both of these examples, the temporal clause does not apply to the initial main verb, a likely explanation for its occurrence in sentence-final position.

(13.38) wū   jέɲὲ   bέ   bī-kā:,   wū   gὲ̂:,   wū   lέŋ   Ø-lē̄mὲ,
         3SG   walk   with   c8-footstep   3SG   go   3SG   work   c5-work

         [kὲg-è   Ø-jú   chí   fwē   yē   kì-mà: lē̄,
         begin-PROG   c5-day   c5REL   front   on   c7-week   APPL

         gὲn-è   ā-jú   lé   ā-tādē̄]
         go-PROG   c6-day   COP   c6-three

         'He traveled by foot (to the village) and held services (lit. *went and
         worked work), starting the first day of the week (Monday) and going
         through the third day (Wednesday).'*   Lake.1.2

(13.39) bā   gē̄   yē̄yὲ   bā-mī̄   lὲ̄   lé   nɔ̀
         they   P3   teach   c2-person   COMP   COP   like.that

         bɔ́   fī̄   bā-mī̄   bá-mù   bέ   Ø-bō̄nὲ
         3PL   help   c2-person   c2-some   with   c5-prayer

         fὲ   bà-ŋgē̄   bā-bɔ́   lē̄,   [kī̄-fē̄
         at   c2-trouble   c2-3PL.POSS   APPL   c7-time

         kì   bā   chūɲ-í   bī-jīɲí   kī̄   Ø-mwā-ɲɔ̀]
         c7REL   they   show-PROG   c8-picture   c7AM[95]   c1-child-god

         *'They taught people how to help certain people with prayer for their
         problems, while they were showing the Jesus Film.'*   Training.1.4

        See §8.7 for an account of temporal adverbs, which usually fulfill a similar
function.

13.3 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are those which serve as an argument of a verb and which contain
a verbal or predicative element. There are several different kinds of complement
clauses observed in Nchane, each of which are introduced by a complementizer. More
often than not, there is no breath pause associated with these complementizers. (Note
that breath pauses are indicated by a comma in this section.) But the examples below
show that when a breath pause is present, it usually occurs after the complementizer.
This is especially true for speech complements. The verbs in complement clauses are
apparently fully finite, except for those in **kī̄** complements. The different kinds of

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[95] The use of the c7 associative marker with a c8 noun reflects the singular nature of 'pictures'
as used here, where it refers to a single 'film'.

matrix verbs and their complements, which appear in brackets, are treated below in this section.

Lɛ̄

The particle **lɛ̄**, which functions as a support clause introducer (see §13.2.1), also serves as a complementizer, introducing complements of several different types of verbs, including those of cognition and sensation, and verbs of communication. Examples of each of these are given below, where the gloss for **lɛ̄** is 'COMP'.

Verbs of cognition and desire often take a complement clause which is introduced by **lɛ̄** 'COMP', as illustrated in (13.40)-(13.42).

(13.40) bɔ́ gɛ̄ ké-é   [lɛ̄,   mɛ̄   lé   ɲ́-jɔ́
       3PL P3 know-PROG COMP 1SG.PRO COP 1SG.FUT-take

       Ø-kfù, ŋ̄-gɛ̰̄:   ɲ̄-shɛ̀ŋ]
       c1-rope 1SG-go   1SG-hang

       'They were knowing that I will take a rope and go hang (myself).'
                                      Fire.28

(13.41) bē kwāj-í   [lɛ̄   kī-lūŋ   kí   tɔ̄   lē,
       1PL think-PROG COMP c7-year c7REL come APPL

       bē ɲú   kì   bé   búsɛ̄   ā-jī   ā
       1PL COP(N).FUT COMP(K) 1PL remove c6-eye c6AM

       Ø-ŋwà   wù   ǹchānē]
       c1-book c1AM   N.

       'We are thinking that next year, we will be publishing the Nchane
       alphabet.'   Speech.1.4

(13.42) ɲ̄jē   bɔ̄   gɔ̄n-é   gɛ̄   [lɛ̄   fy-ɛ̀:   fī-mī
       reason 3PL want-PROG   NEG2 COMP c19-thing c19-some

       lɛ̄sɛ̄   gɛ̀]
       end   NEG2

       *'...because they don't want anything to be wasted (*lit. *end, disappear*
       or become extinct).'   Greedy Friends.1.4

Verbs of sensation like 'see' and 'hear' can also take a complement clause introduced by **lɛ̄** if the sensation results in realization, as seen in (13.43) and (13.44).

(13.43) lɛ̄   Ø-mù   ǹché   wɛ́-ɛ́   gɛ̄:   wú   jīŋɛ̄,   wù
         SET   c1-person c9.medicine c1-ANA1   go   3SG   look.at   3SG

         yɛ́ŋ   [lɛ̄   lé   Ø-nlɔ̀,   wù   bɔ̄:   bā-ā   jí]
         see   COMP   COP   c1-poison   c1REL   c2.child c2-ANA1   eat

         'When the doctor looked, he realized that it is POISON that those
         children ate.'   What-goes-around.9.7

(13.44) Ø-táŋ   wù   tɔ́-ɔ́,   bē   mɔ̀   bē   yú
         c1-time   3SG   come-PROG   1PL   RES   1PL   hear

         [lɛ̄   m̄byɛ̀ŋɛ̀   kūd-é],   bē   mɔ̀   bè   lēgɛ̀
         COMP   c9.bell   ring-PROG   1PL   RES   1PL   run

         'When he is coming, we will then hear that the bell is ringing and we
         will then run away.'   Cat and Rats.1.4

        Verbs expressing the various forms of communication have complements
introduced by **lɛ̄** 'COMP'. This includes the verbs 'say', 'ask' and 'reply', as in (13.45)-
(13.47). Except for different pronominal reference, direct and indirect quotations are
formally indistinguishable, as is seen in (13.45) and (13.46) respectively.

(13.45) Ø-kwɛ̄sé   wɛ̄-ɛ̄   dú   [lɛ̄,
         c1-woman   c1-ANA1   say   COMP

         Ø-jwá̰:,   shīlɛ́   fɛ̀-kū,   bē   jí   mw-ɛ̂:]
         c1-husband.1SG.POSS   sit.IMP   c16-down   1PL   eat   c18a-thing

         'That woman said "My husband, sit down and we will eat."'
                                                          Jealous Husband.8.1

(13.46) Ø-bā: wɛ̄-ɛ̀   bé   wù   dú   [lɛ̄,
         c1-pa   c1-ANA1   ᴾCOP   3SG   say   COMP

         wū   bé   lḗgɛ́   lɔ̀   à   Ø-kwɛ̄sé   wú-mù   lē,
         3SG   ᴾCOP   beg   FOC   in   c1-woman   c1-some   APPL

         wú   tɔ́   wū   kāŋ-è   màŋ-kàlà]
         3REL   HAB   3SG   fry-PROG   c6a-cassava.puff

         'That pa said that he begged (something to eat) from a certain woman
         who is always frying cassava puff.'   What-goes-around.9.10

(13.47) wù   chfú   [**lɛ**,   ɛ̰̄:,   wù   tɔ́   wù   ɲā-à   mɛ̄
           3SG   reply COMP yes 3SG HAB 3SG give-PROG 1SG.PRO

              Ø-ŋgɛ̄,   ɲchɛ̰́:   ségé-chī ségé-chī]
              c1-trouble true   when-all   when-all

              'She answered, "Yes. He is always giving me trouble, truly all the
              time."'   What-goes-around.2.3

Quotations of questions are usually introduced by the complementizer **lã:**, as illustrated in example (13.48).[96]

(13.48) ñsā   y-ē   bí: wù   lē   [**lã:**,   kì-nfɛ̰̀:
           c9.friend c9-3SG.POSS ask 3SG APPL Q.COMP c7-blind.man

              kī-nē   tɔ́   kī   tɔ̀-ɔ̀   yànè tɛ̄   lè]
              c7-PROX HAB c7 come-PROG here also APPL.QP

              'Her friend asked her, "(Does) this blind man also come here?"'
                                               What-goes-around.2.2

Speech verbs more commonly associated with indirect quotations also take complements introduced by **lɛ̄**. These include verbs such as 'agree', 'suggest', 'beg' and 'promise'. Examples (13.49) and (13.50) are representative of these kinds of communication verbs.

(13.49) bɔ́ bɛ̄ŋ   [**lɛ̄** lé   kī,   kī-kfūnè   kí   kùgē   kī
           3PL agree COMP COP c7   c7-rat   c7REL big   c7REL

              yídè kɛ̄-ɛ̄,   kí   lé   kí   shú m̄byàŋè yí-yú]
              black c7-ANA1 c7REL COP c7.FUT tie c9.bell c9-ANA2

              'They agreed that it is him, that fat, black rat, who will tie THAT bell
              (on the cat's tail).'   Cat and Rats.1.6

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[96] There are counter examples, where a question quote is introduced by the standard **lɛ̄**. The motivation for this variation, as well as the difference in meaning or function between the variants, is unknown at this time.

(13.50) wɔ́   wű   Ø-jwɛ̄ŋsɛ́   nɛ́   wɔ́   lé   wɔ́   gè   jálɛ̀,
         2SG   c1REL c1-man   if   2SG   COP   3SG   do   wrong

         wɔ̀   lɛ̋gɛ̀   [lɛ̄,   Ø-kwɔ́   fɔ̄sɛ̄   wɔ̀]
         2SG   beg.IMP COMP   c1-wife.2SG.POSS.FUT   forgive   2SG

         'You the husband, if you have done wrong, ask that your wife forgive
         you.'   Marriage.4.5

Rarely, the quotation occurs before the speech verb. In this case, there is no
complementizer, as illustrated in example (13.51). Note that the SOV word order
observed in this example is characteristic of one of the clausal negation strategies,
which is described in §15.2.

(13.51) [gé   lá   lɛ̄,   wɔ́   mɛ̄   fí   gè],   wù   bî:
         do   Q   COMP   2SG   1SG.PRO help   NEG2   3SG   ask

         '"Why don't you help me?" he asked.' [97]   Lake.4.8-9

Examples (13.52)-(13.55) show other verbs that can take a complement
introduced by lɛ̄ that do not fit neatly into the above categories, although all of them,
with the exception of (13.55), may be construed as expressing different types of
communication. (Example (13.55) might be better understood as a purpose clause,
which is described in §13.2.1.)

(13.52) bɛ́ŋ   mɔ́   bɛ́ŋ   jí   Ø-lè,   [lɛ̄   gɛ́   fy-ɛ̄:
         2PL.HORT   RES   2PL.HORT   eat   c1-oath   COMP   NEG2   c19-thing

         fí-mí   bą̀   yú   fí   lé   fí   nɔ̀   fī
         c19-some   still on.it   c19REL   COP   c19.FUT like.that c19

         gà-sɛ̄   bɛ̀ŋ   gɛ̄],   ɲ̄jè,   lé   nɔ̀   Ø-ŋwä
         divide-CAUS   2PL   NEG2   reason   COP   like.that   c1-book

         wù   Ø-ɲɔ̀   gɔ̄n-é   lɛ̄,   bā   chè-è   nɔ̄:
         c1AM   c1-god   want-PROG   COMP   they   stay-PROG   like.that

         'You should take an oath that there shall be nothing that will separate
         you, because that is how the book of God want us to stay.' Marriage.5.5

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[97] The high tone on the first two words of this sentence is the result of intonation associated
with exasperation or some other strong emotion.

(13.53)   bā   gē   yēyɛ̀   bā-mī̃,   [lɛ̄   lé   nɔ̀,
        they   P3   teach   c2-person   COMP   COP   like.that

        bɔ́   fī   bā-mī   bá-mù   bɛ́   Ø-bɔ̄nɛ̀
        3PL   help   c2-person   c2-some   with   c5-prayer

        fɛ̀   bà-ŋgē   bā-bɔ́   lē,   kī-fē
        at   c2-trouble   c2-3PL.POSS   APPL   c7-time

        kì   bā   chūɲ-í   bī-jīɲí   kī   Ø-mwā-ɲɔ̀]
        c7REL   they   show-PROG   c8-picture   c7AM[98]   c1-child-god

        'They taught people how to help certain people with prayer for their
        problems, while they were showing the Jesus Film.'   Training.1.4

(13.54)   fì-máɲá   fī-nē   dūɲ-í   [lɛ̄   wɔ̄   gé   bvū-jɔ̄ŋɛ̄,
        c19-story   c19-PROX   show-PROG   COMP   2SG   do.COND   c14-good

        tū   wɔ̀   gé   ɲù   yē   y-ɔ́   lē,   wɔ̀   gé
        then   2SG   do   COP(N)   on   C9-2SG.POSS   APPL   2SG   do.COND

        bvū-bēfɛ̀,   tū   wɔ̀   gé   ɲù   yē   y-ɔ́   lē]
        c14-bad   then   2SG   do   COP(N)   on   C9-2SG.POSS   APPL

        'This story is teaching (lit. *showing) that, if you do good, then you do*
        FOR YOURSELF; if you do bad, then you do FOR YOURSELF.'
                      What-goes-around.10.2

(13.55)   bɛ́ŋ   gè-è   [lɛ̄,   kì-ŋ-kɔ̀ŋē   ɲùmè
        2PL.HORT   do-PROG   COMP   c7-NMZR-want   COP(N)

        ā-bèŋ-ǹtɛ́nɛ́,   sēgē   chī:,   mɔ̄   bɛ́   Ø-kfū   chī-nā]
        c18-2PL-middle   when   all   RES   with   c5-family   c5-2PL.POSS

        'You should be showing love among yourselves and even YOUR
        FAMILY.'   Marriage.7

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[98] The use of the c7 associative marker with a c8 noun reflects the singular nature of 'pictures'
as used here, where it refers to a single 'film'.

The copula **ɲù** is observed taking a complement clause introduced by **lɛ̄** in example (13.56). This is the only example of a **lɛ̄** complement clause following a copula and it is difficult to know for certain if it is functioning similarly to those cases above. However, the example illustrates that it is possible.

(13.56) ↑(yè   nɔ̄:   lè),   fí   mɔ́   fī   ɲù   [lɛ̄,
         on   like.that   APPL   c19   RES   c19   COP(N)   COMP

         bā-mĩ̄   bá-dùdē   lɛ̄g-è   Ø-ɲɔ̄   fɛ̀   bɛ̀ŋ   lē]
         c2-person   c2-many   beg-PROG   c1-god   at   2PL   APPL

'So, it is then that many people will be praying to God for you,' [99]

                                                            Marriage.4.1

Nɔ̀

The adverbial pronoun **nɔ̀**, as with the particle **lɛ̄** treated above, introduces certain complement clauses, in addition to its function in introducing support clauses (see §13.2.2), although its use as a complementizer is less common. These complement clauses, illustrated in (13.57) and (13.58), usually may be described as manner complements, with the free translation often appropriately utilizing the word "how".

(13.57) fī   ghá   [nɔ̀   wù   lē   yē]
         c19   surpass   like.that   3SG   enter   c9.house

'It was beyond her how to enter the house…'   Two Wives.4.9

(13.58) lɛ̄   bì-nfūnē   by-ɛ̄:   kɛ̄   bī   tád-è   [nɔ̀   bā
         SET   c8-corn   c8-ANA2   begin   c8   grow-PROG   like.that   they

         kɛ̄   bā   jì-ì
         begin   they   eat-PROG

'As that corn was getting ready to start eating…' (lit. *began growing like that they begin eating*)   Two Wives.2.4

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[99] The analysis of the prepositional phrase translated as 'so' presents some difficulties. The tone on **nɔ̀** 'like.that' appears with a SH tone. Furthermore, the tone on the entire prepositional phrase is higher than on a neutral prepositional phrase, with the high tone continuing onto the subject and auxiliary **mɔ̀** of the focal clause. A possible explanation is that this high tone represents Hortative mood, which is realized on, not only the subject, but also on the preceding prepositional phrase functioning as an adverbial. As for the prepositional phrase itself, it appears to have a conventional usage here and, therefore, lexicalized. Thus, the lexicalized form might present a different tonal pattern than expected for the ungrammaticalized form. Further research would be needed to substantiate these hypotheses.

The complement clause may appear well after the main verb. In example (13.59) it appears as the second member of a coordinate complement, following a prepositional phrase.

(13.59)

kī-mā	kí	fwē	lē,	bā	gɛ̄	**yɛ̄yɛ̀**	kɔ̀nɛ̈,
c7-week	c7REL	front	APPL	they	P3	teach	about

bà-ɲchī	bā	kī-yɔ̄	kī	yūdē,	bā-nɛ̄	bɛ́
c2-law	c2AM	c7-spirit	c7REL	clean	c2-four	with

[**nɔ̀,**	Ø-mù	lé	nɔ̀	wú	bì:	bà-mbīlɛ̈]
like.that	c1-person	COP	like.that	3SG.FUT	ask	c2-question

'In the first week, they taught about the four spiritual laws and how to give a questionnaire.' (lit. *like that a person will ask questions*)

Training.1.7

As the examples in (13.60) show, **nɔ̀** and **lɛ̄** as complementizers are interchangeable with a slight difference in meaning. The **nɔ̀** complement has a manner semantic element which is lacking in the **lɛ̄** complement.

(13.60) a.

lɛ̄	bē	bíjɛ̄,	bē	yéŋ	[**nɔ̀**	ŋgú	bɛ̀n-é]
SET	1PL	look	1PL	see	like.that	c9.fire	ascend-PROG

'As we looked, we saw how the fire was going up.'   Fire.2.1

b.

lɛ̄	bē	bíjɛ̄,	bē	yɛ́ŋ	[**lɛ̄**	ŋgú	bɛ̀n-é]
SET	1PL	look	1PL	see	COMP	c9.fire	ascend-PROG

'As we looked, we saw that the fire was going up.'   (Fire.2.1)

Kì

The particle **kì/kī** 'COMP(K)' introduces clauses which often appear to be complements, although in certain usages they are more similar to Purpose support clauses. It is cognate with the Noni form **kèé-**, which is treated as an infinitive prefix (Hyman 1981: 52). However, the corresponding Nchane form is perhaps always unbound, although it shares the form of the c7 prefix **kī-**, which is possibly its source.

This particle functions in a similar way to **lɛ̄** 'SET' in Purpose clauses (see §13.2.1), although **kì** complements always have the same subject as the focal clause, while **lɛ̄** Purpose clauses can have the same subject or a different subject. The main verb of the complement clause may be described as less finite or "deranked" (following Cristofaro 2005), as it never appears with an auxiliary of any type. However, they can appear with verbal extensions. It appears that **lɛ̄** may often be substituted for **kì**, but **kì** generally may not be substituted for **lɛ̄**. The difference in

meaning between the two types of clauses is nuanced, with **kì** complements often expressing something like Intention rather than Purpose. The complements introduced by **kì** may represent a focused type, but this hypothesis is yet to be substantiated.

Examples (13.61)-(13.63) illustrate **kì** introducing complements of cognition and communication verbs, similar to **lɛ̄** complementation. As stated above, the complement clause always has the same subject as the focal clause.

(13.61) mɛ̄   ŋ̄-gɛ̀   kɔ̀ŋ-é   [**kì**   ǹ-tá: fɛ̀   bā-mī]
         1SG.PRO   1SG-P3   want-PROG   COMP(K)   1SG-join   at   c2-person

         'I wanted to join the people…'   Lake.5.5

(13.62) bɔ́   bɛ̣́   [**kì**   bɔ̄   kɛ̄   bɔ̄   chè-è
         3PL   agree   COMP(K)   3PL   begin   3PL   stay-PROG

         kì-ɲ-chê   kī-bɔ̄,   ɲ́jē   Ø-mù   bɛ̣́   Ø-kwɛ̄]
         c7-NMZR-stay   c7-3PL.POSS   reason   c1-person   with   c1-wife

         'They will agree to live together as husband and wife.'   Marriage.3.4

(13.63) bɔ́   sísɛ̄   [**kī**   bɔ́   gū   Ø-nà,   bɔ́   sɛ̣́:   bɔ́   gēsɛ̄]
         3PL   decide   COMP(K)   3PL   buy   c1-cow   3PL   cut   3PL   sell

         'They arranged to buy a cow to slaughter and sell.'   Greedy Friends.1.3

Examples (13.64) and (13.65) show that other clausal constituents may intervene between the verb of the focal clause and the complement. These examples also better illustrate the "intention" sense often expressed through these complements. Example (13.65) further shows that the complement clause can consist of multiple clauses and have a complex syntactic structure.

(13.64) ɲ̄-yɛ́ŋ   bā-mī   bá   mèsàʒɛ̄ lē,   nɔ̀   bɔ̄
   1SG-see c2-person c2AM M.   APPL like.that 3PL

    jùd-é   Ø-ŋ́gɛ̀   [**kì**   bɔ́ jīŋs-è   ŋ̀gú]
    fight-PROG c1-trouble COMP(K) 3PL extinguish-PROG c9.fire

    'I saw the people of Misaje, as they were suffering (lit. *fighting trouble*)
    to put out the fire.'   Fire.8.2

(13.65) nɔ̀   wù   gɛ̀ bé   gɛ̄   bɛ́   bvù-ŋgà   gɛ̀,
   like.that 3SG P3   ᴾCOP NEG2 with c14-power NEG2

    wū   gɛ̄ jā   wù   gɛ̂: yē   yì   Ø-ɲɔ̀   lē,
    3SG P3 leave 3SG go   c9.house c9AM c1-god APPL

    [**kì**   wú   gɛ̂: wú   kūŋ   m̄byɛ̀ŋɛ̀, nɔ̀
    COMP(K) 3SG go   3SG ring c9.bell   like.that

    bɔ́ tɔ̌   bɔ́ gè-è,   kì-fè   kī   Ø-ŋ̀gɛ̄   lē]
    3PL HAB 3PL do-PROG c7-time c7AM c1-trouble APPL

    'Although he was very weak, he set out for the church to ring the bell
    as they always did in times of trouble.'   Lake.6.5

  Again, similar to **lɛ̄** complementation, **kì** can introduce a complement of a
copula, as in (13.66) and (13.67).

(13.66) lɛ̄   wū   kwé,
   SET 3SG die

    bā   gɛ̄ bé   [**kì**   bā   tɛ̄   kwè   yí-yú]
    they P3 ᴾCOP COMP(K) they celebrate c9.die c9-ANA2

    'When she died, they were to celebrate THAT death.'
                 Disobedient Child.1.13

(13.67) bē   ɲù   [**kì**   bé   yɛ̄yɛ̄ jè   yì   ɲ̀chànè]
   1PL COP(N) COMP(K) 1PL learn c9.word c9AM N.

    'We have been learning the Nchane language.'   Speech.1.3

Obligation may be expressed through a **kì** clause preceded by the verb **kɛ̄mɛ̄** 'have'. Note that the verb of the complement clause appears with the progressive suffix.

(13.68) gé   nɔ̀   Ø-jwɔ̰̄:   **kɛ̄m-é**   **[kì**
         do.IMP   like.that   c1-husband.2SG.POSS   have-PROG   COMP(K)

         wū   kɔ̀ŋ-è   Ø-bwɔ̄:   bɛ́   Ø-chíjɔ̀,
         3SG   love-PROG   c1-mother.2SG.POSS   with   c1-father.2SG.POSS

         bɛ́   Ø-kfṹ   ch-è   chī-chī,   bì-mbè   lé   bī-chì]
         with   c5-family   c5-3SG.POSS   c5-all   c8-side   COP   c8-all

         'Your husband has to love your mother and your father in all ways.'
         (lit. has to be loving your mother and father with all his family, all
         sides)   Marriage.6.8

While not common, the **kì** complement clause can occur before the focal clause. Example (13.69) illustrates such a case, where the complement clause appears to be topicalized.

(13.69) Ø-mwāŋ   yè   mɛ̀sē   lē   **[kì**   wɔ́   chē-è
         c1-child.1SG.POSS   on   finish   APPL   COMP(K)   2SG   stay-PROG

         chúlé   yē   yì   bvù-gù: lē]   lé   lɛ̄,   wɔ́
         well   c9.house   c9AM   c14-marriage   APPL   COP   COMP   2SG

         kɛ́m-é   kì   wɔ̀   kɛ̄   mw-ɛ̀:   mūn-dùdē,
         have-PROG   COMP(K)   2SG   know   c18a-thing   c18a-many

         ɲ̄jē   gɛ́   fy-ɛ̄:   fī-mī   ɲùmè   yú   fí
         reason   NEG2   c19-thing   c19-some   COP(N)   on.it   c19REL

         ghàg-ē   bvù-gù   fēnē   fè-kū   gɛ̀
         surpass-PROG   c14-marriage   here   c16-down   NEG2

         'My child, as for now, to stay well in a married house is that you have
         to know many things, because there nothing that is above marriage
         here on earth.'   Marriage.3.1