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A grammar of Nchane: A Bantoid (Beboid) language of Cameroon

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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 multiclausal 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	(nɛ) - 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 **tó** ‘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 gē jā wé, wù ndéndè wù bú à-kfú
 3SG P3 rise up 3SG stumble 3SG exit c18-outside

‘He got up and stumbled outside...’

Lake.4.5

- b. wù tó wù shī wù fuf-è shēŋ
 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

(13.2) b́o kô: bá Dāmūmē,
 3PL catch pa D.

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

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.

wó ná wù lē
2SG.FUT give 3SG APPL

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) mɛ ń-tú ń-gɛ:
 1SG.PRO 1SG-then 1SG-go
- j̃-jí bvū-lɛ: bɛ ɲàŋ yī shī
 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 **gɛ:** 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) lásálɔ̃ kwé, wù bɛ̃ wù gɛ: fɛ̃ Ø-ɲò lɛ̃
 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

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 m̄ wù búṣē m̄-bà: f́ó,
3SG RES 3SG remove c6a-soup there

wù ná Ø-jwè: 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 j̄ m̄n-kàlà mā-ā, kī gē: à-kē, kī já
c7 take c6a-cassava.puff c6a-ANA1 c7 put c18-bag c7 leave

kī gēn-è, kī nā-à c1-ḡkè lē w̄ gé
c7 go-PROG c7 give-PROG c1-song COMP 2SG do.COND

bvū-j̄ḡē tū w̄ gé yē y-ḡ lē,
c14-good then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL

w̄ gé bvū-bēfè tū w̄ gé yē y-ḡ 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) bēḡ t̄ bēḡ ḱ, bēḡ jí,
2PL come.IMP 2PL catch 2PL.HORT eat

bēḡ mú j̄ f́ó
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) b́ó gē lán-é, b́ó yén-è bà-ḡkě,
 3PL P3 rejoice-PROG 3PL breathe-PROG c2-song
- b́ó bín-è Ø-bíně
 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 kē: bvù-lè:, ḡ-gū m-bà:, bō 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 **kèně** 'or' and expresses two alternative actions or events, as illustrated in (13.11).

- (13.11) tādà gē lè, **kèně** wù ḡgū:
 T. P3 work or 3SG play

'Tada either worked or he played.'

Counter-expectational clauses are joined through the disjunctive conjunction **gēné** '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

⁹¹ The clause **b́ó bínè bíně** 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 gē kùŋ mbyēŋē,
 3SG P3 ring c9.bell
 gēné Ø-mū gē bá:ŋ tó gē
 but c1-person P3 still come NEG2
'He rang the bell, but no one responded (lit. came).' Lake.6.7
- (13.13) wù gè bá:ŋ yēŋ gē bī-bāgē lé gè,
 3SG P3 still see NEG2 c8-wound APPL NEG2
 gēné bó gē 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 **lē** '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) [lē bē bíjē], bē yēŋ nò ñgú bèn-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) [lɛ̃ bī-tādā gɛ̃ yàd-é mèsàzɛ̃], bɛ̃ gɛ̃ bɛ̃
 SET c8-shout P3 shout-PROG M. 1PL P3 ^PCOP
 bɛ̃ bú fɔ̃ bɛ̃ sã:, bɛ̃ bú bɛ̃ gɛ̃: 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 **lɛ̃** 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 **bɛ̃** 1PL) with a H. Note that the **lɛ̃** 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) [lɛ̃ bɔ̃: bā-ā jí], bó jǎ bɔ̃ kwɛ̃: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) [lɛ̃ bā-mfúmè yú Ø-ntùŋ wú-yú],
 SET c2-N. hear c1-news c1-ANA2
 bɔ̃ gɛ̃ jǎ bɔ̃ fɛ̃sè fè kì-jwī lɛ̃
 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 **lɛ̃** 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) [lɛ̀ ɲù fɛ̃-ɲfù], Ø-kwɛ́sé wɛ́-ɛ̀ gɛ̀ bé
 SET COP(N) c16-evening c1-woman c1-ANA1 P3 ^PCOP

wù kɛ́: bvũ-lɛ́:
 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 **lɛ̀ ɲù** in this example and the previous one demonstrates that cleft constructions in Setting clauses use the n-copula rather **lé**.)

- (13.19) [lɛ̀ ɲù nò], [lɛ̀ ñ-tó ɲ-kásè m̀-bé ɲ-jɛ̀nɛ̀],
 SET COP(N) like.that SET 1SG-come 1SG-return 1SG-P1 1SG-look

mɛ̃ ɲ-gɛ̃ ɲ-kásè ɲ-yéɲ bɔ́: Ø-bwɛ́: lé,
 1SG.PRO 1SG-P3 1SG-return 1SG-see c2.child c1-mother APPL

nò bɔ́ ɲùd-é Ø-ɲgɛ́,
 like.that 3PL fight-PROG c1-trouble

kì bɔ́ ɲɲs-è ɲgú
 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) mɛ̃ ɲ-gɛ̃ ɲ-wɛ̃ɲè kɪ-mbɔ́ɲ kɪ shɛ̃gɛ̃,
 1SG.PRO 1SG-P3 1SG-open c7-cover c7REL small

ɲ-gɛ̃: kɪ-bó à-kfũɲ [lɛ̀ fɪ:
 1SG-put c7-arm c18-outside SET c9.air

yí lɛ́s-è yì kòɲè mɛ̃ lɛ́]
 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) [lɛ Ø-bwē lād-é mwē], wù gē: bī-nfūnē
 SET c1-mother go.goal-PROG c3.farm 3SG put c8-corn
- [lɛ wù shé wū gō fè Ø-ŋ-gò 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 **nò** '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) [nò Ø-jwēŋ shilé fè-kū:], wū mó wū bí:
 like.that c1-husband sit c16-down 3SG RES 3SG ask
- lē wō jō fānē m-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) [nò Ø-kwēsé wé-é gèn-é] wū tú wū lē:
 like.that c1-woman c1-ANA1 go-PROG 3SG then 3SG stand
- Ø-jwē: tú wū kwàj-i lē 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) [nò wù gè b́́ gē b́́ bvù-ŋgà gè],
 like.that 3SG P3 ^PCOP NEG2 with c14-power NEG2
- wū gē jā wù gē: yē yì Ø-nò lē
 3SG P3 leave 3SG go c9.house c9AM c1-god APPL
- kì wú gē: wú kūŋ m̄byèŋè, [nò b́́ t̄
 COMP(K) 3SG go 3SG ring c9.bell like.that 3PL HAB
- b́́ gè-è k̄-fè k̄ Ø-ŋgè 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 **nò** 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 **nò** in complement clauses (see §13.3).

Note that in many cases, **nò** and **lē** are interchangeable. Indeed, the introducing particles in (13.24) were “corrected” by language consultants from **lē** (in the original version of the text) to **nò**. The interchangeability of these two particles in part reflects the discourse role of **nò**. Since **lē** 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 **ŋjē** ‘reason’ and usually follow the focal clause, as in (13.25) and (13.26).

- (13.25) ŋ-já ŋ-gē: Ø-sùkū,
 1SG-leave 1SG-go c1-school
- [ŋjē mē lé Ø-mù n-yēyè]
 reason 1SG.PRO COP c1-person NMZR-teach

‘I left and went to school, because I am a teacher.’

Fire.1.6

- (13.26) kóŋ bó, wó gvúŋ bó,
 love.IMP 3PL 2SG obey 3PL
- [ŋjē lé bó bó bɔyī Ø-jwɔ:]
 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

[(**né**) +H...] _{PROTASIS} [(**tú**)...] _{APODOSIS}

Figure 13.1 Conditional construction schema.

The particle **né** 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 **né**, and the apodosis introduced by **tú**.

- (13.27) [**né** jàŋ tɔ́ lò], **tú** mē lé
 if c9.rain come.COND FOC then 1SG.PRO COP
- ɲ-gòŋ-è ɲjū yí yēŋē
 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 **ē** (cf. **né**) and the apodosis is introduced by either **é** or **tō** (cf. **né** and **tú** respectively) (Hyman 1981: 102).

As the parentheses in Figure 11.1 indicate, the **né** 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 **gvũŋ** in the conditional clause in b. is realized with a H tone.

- (13.28) a. wù gvũn-é mē
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) [↑(wō gī)], mé m-bō: wō
2SG play.COND 1SG.PRO.FUT 1SG-stab 2SG

bé fī-nō fī-nē, wō 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 **né** 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 **né** 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) wō wū Ø-jwēŋsé, [né wō lé wō gè jálə],
 2SG c1REL c1-man if 2SG COP.COND 3SG do wrong
 wò légè lē Ø-kwō fōsē wò
 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) [↑(bēŋ lé bēŋ gè nō)], tú bēŋ lé bēŋ gè
 2PL COP.COND 2PL do like.that then 2PL COP 2PL do
 fy-ē: fī bēŋ yūg-é à Ø-ŋwà wù Ø-ŋò lē
 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 **né** 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) wō wū Ø-mwā wū Ø-kwēsé, wò né lé
 2SG c1REL c1-child c1REL c1-woman 2SG if COP.COND
 wō lē: fē Ø-lá chī Ø-jwēŋsé lē,
 2SG enter at c5-compound c5AM c1-man APPL
 kéfē wó lās-è bā-mī bā-ā gē,
 VET 2SG lose⁹³-PROG c2-person c2-ANA1 NEG2
 kéfē wó wā:d-è bé Ø-chíjī Ø-jwō:
 VET 2SG quarrel-PROG with c1-father c1-husband.2SG.POSS
 mò Ø-bwē Ø-jwō: gè
 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

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 gè: wū jí], wú mō wū kwé,
 when 3SG go 3SG eat 3SG.HORT RES 3SG die
 wó fú-dé ā-ŋgē-wù-bō
 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) [ségé bēŋ lé bēŋ gē wá nō:], tú bēŋ lé
 when 2PL COP 2PL do already like.that then 2PL COP
 bēŋ tū wā Ø-mù lé wù-mùmwa,
 2PL become already c1-person COP c1-one
 yē yē-né tū yī-mímyā
 c9.body c9-2PL.POSS become c9-one
 bvù-kūgè mò bvù nùmè à-bèŋ-tēnē
 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 **táj** ‘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.

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 mē gē chīlè byēŋ],
c1-time c1REL 1SG.PRO P3 pull c9.fish

mē gē m-bé lāŋyè wèsè
1SG.PRO P3 1SG-^PCOP happy very

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

Fishing.1.10

- (13.36) [Ø-táŋ m̄-mē: bē], bā shī-shē fē-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 **kifé** as the head nominal, as demonstrated in (13.37).

- (13.37) [kī-fé kī mē ŋ-gē m̄-būd-é yē kw-é:],
c7-time c7REL 1SG.PRO 1SG-P3 1SG-exit-PROG c9.house c3-ANA1

mē ŋ-gē m̄-būd-é nù njū
1SG.PRO 1SG-P3 1SG-exit-PROG COP(N) c9.cloth

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

bà mē gē n-lēs-è nù bó fyé wā
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 jépè b́é bī-kā:, wū gē:, wū lēŋ Ø-lēmè,
3SG walk with c8-footstep 3SG go 3SG work c5-work

[kèg-è Ø-jú chí fwē yē kī-mà: lē,
begin-PROG c5-day c5REL front on c7-week APPL

gèn-è ā-jú lé ā-tādē]
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 gē yēyè bā-mī lē lé nò
they P3 teach c2-person COMP COP like.that

bó fī bā-mī bá-mù b́é Ø-bōnè
3PL help c2-person c2-some with c5-prayer

fè bà-ŋgē bā-bō lē, [kī-fē
at c2-trouble c2-3PL.POSS APPL c7-time

kī bā chūp-í bī-jīpí kī Ø-mwā-nò]
c7REL they show-PROG c8-picture c7AM⁹⁵ 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 **kī** complements. The different kinds of

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.

Lē

The particle **Lē**, 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 **Lē** is ‘COMP’.

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

- (13.40) bós gē ké-é [Lē, mē lé j́-jó
 3PL P3 know-PROG COMP 1SG.PRO COP 1SG.FUT-take

Ø-kfù, ĩ-gē: ĩ-shèŋ]
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 [Lē kī-lūŋ ḱ tō lē,
 1PL think-PROG COMP c7-year c7REL come APPL

bē j́ú ḱ b́ búšē ā-jī ā
1PL COP(N).FUT COMP(K) 1PL remove c6-eye c6AM

Ø-ŋwà wù ĩchānē]
c1-book c1AM N.

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

- (13.42) ĩjē bō gōn-é gē [Lē fy-ē: fī-mī
 reason 3PL want-PROG NEG2 COMP c19-thing c19-some

lēšē gè]
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 **Lē** if the sensation results in realization, as seen in (13.43) and (13.44).

- (13.43) lē Ø-mù j̄ché wé-é gē: wú j̄īē, wù
 SET c1-person c9.medicine c1-ANA1 go 3SG look.at 3SG

yéŋ [lē lé Ø-nlò, wù bō: 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-tán wù tó-ó, bē mò bē yú
 c1-time 3SG come-PROG 1PL RES 1PL hear

[lē m̄byèŋè kūd-é], bē mò bē lēgè
 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 lē '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-kwēsé wē-ē dú [lē,
 c1-woman c1-ANA1 say COMP

Ø-jwá:, shīlé fè-kū, bē jí mw-ē:]
 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: wē-è bē wù dú [lē,
 c1-pa c1-ANA1 ^pCOP 3SG say COMP

wū bē légé lò à Ø-kwēsé wú-mù lē,
 3SG ^pCOP beg FOC in c1-woman c1-some APPL

wú tó wū kāŋ-è màn-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, ɛ:, wù tó wù nā-à mē
 3SG reply COMP yes 3SG HAB 3SG give-PROG 1SG.PRO

Ø-ŋgē, j̄chɛ: ségɛ-chī ségɛ-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 **lā:**, as illustrated in example (13.48).⁹⁶

- (13.48) n̄sā y-ē bí: wù lē [lā:, k̄-nfɛ:
 c9.friend c9-3SG.POSS ask 3SG APPL Q.COMP c7-blind.man

k̄-nē tó k̄ t̄-ò yànè tē 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 **lē**. 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) bó bēŋ [lē lé k̄, k̄-kfūnè k̄ kùgē k̄
 3PL agree COMP COP c7 c7-rat c7REL big c7REL

yídè kē-ē, k̄ lé k̄ shú m̄byànè 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

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

(13.50) wō wū Ø-jwēŋsé né wō lé wō gè jálě,
 2SG c1REL c1-man if 2SG COP 3SG do wrong

wò lěgè [lě, Ø-kwō fōsē wò]
 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 lē, wō mē fí gè], wù bī:
 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 lē 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) bēŋ mō bēŋ jí Ø-lè, [lē gé fy-ē:
 2PL.HORT RES 2PL.HORT eat c1-oath COMP NEG2 c19-thing

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

gà-sē bēŋ gē], jījè, lé nò Ø-ŋwä
 divide-CAUS 2PL NEG2 reason COP like.that c1-book

wù Ø-jö gōn-é lē, bā chē-è nō:
 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

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 yēyè bā-mī, [lē lé nò,
they P3 teach c2-person COMP COP like.that

bó fī bā-mī bá-mù bē Ø-bōnè
3PL help c2-person c2-some with c5-prayer

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

kī bā chūn-í bī-jīnī kī Ø-mwā-nò]
c7REL they show-PROG c8-picture c7AM⁹⁸ 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) fī-mánjá fī-nē dūn-í [lē wō gé bvū-jōŋē,
c19-story c19-PROX show-PROG COMP 2SG do.COND c14-good

tū wò gé nù yē y-ō lē, wò gé
then 2SG do COP(N) on C9-2SG.POSS APPL 2SG do.COND

bvū-bēfè, tū wò gé nù yē y-ō 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) bēŋ gè-è [lē, kī-ŋ-kòŋē nùmè
2PL.HORT do-PROG COMP c7-NMZR-want COP(N)

ā-bēŋ-nténé, sēgē chī:, mō bē 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

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 **lɛ̃** in example (13.56). This is the only example of a **lɛ̃** 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 nō: lè), fí m'ó fī ɲù [lɛ̃,
on like.that APPL c19 RES c19 COP(N) COMP
bā-mī bá-dùdē lɛ̃g-è Ø-ɲō fè bèn lɛ̃]
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

Nɔ̃

The adverbial pronoun **nɔ̃**, as with the particle **lɛ̃** 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 [nɔ̃ 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) lɛ̃ bì-nfūnē by-ē: kē bī tád-è [nɔ̃ bā
SET c8-corn c8-ANA2 begin c8 grow-PROG like.that they
kē bā jì-i
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

⁹⁹ The analysis of the prepositional phrase translated as ‘so’ presents some difficulties. The tone on **nō** ‘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 **m'ó** 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 gē yēyē kòně,
 c7-week c7REL front APPL they P3 teach about
- bà-jchī bā kī-yō kī yūdē, bā-nē bē
 c2-law c2AM c7-spirit c7REL clean c2-four with
- [nò, Ø-mù lé nò wú bì: bà-mbīlě]
 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, **nò** and **lē** as complementizers are interchangeable with a slight difference in meaning. The **nò** complement has a manner semantic element which is lacking in the **lē** complement.

- (13.60) a. lē bē bījē, bē yéŋ [nò ñgú bèn-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. lē bē bījē, bē yéŋ [lē ñgú bèn-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 **lē** 'SET' in Purpose clauses (see §13.2.1), although **kì** complements always have the same subject as the focal clause, while **lē** 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 **lē** may often be substituted for **kì**, but **kì** generally may not be substituted for **lē**. 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 **lě** complementation. As stated above, the complement clause always has the same subject as the focal clause.

- (13.61) mē ĩ̃-gè kòŋ-é [**kì** ñ-tá: fè 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) b́ b́ [**kì** b̄ kē b̄ ch̀-è
 3PL agree COMP(K) 3PL begin 3PL stay-PROG
 k̀-ŋ-chê k̄-b̄, j̄jē Ø-mù b́ Ø-kwē]
 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) b́ sísē [**k̄** b́ gū Ø-nà, b́ sé: b́ gēsē]
 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) $\bar{j}$ -yéŋ bā-mī bá mèsàzē lē, nò b5
 1SG-see c2-person c2AM M. APPL like.that 3PL
 jùd-é Ø-íggè [kì bó jīŋs-è ñgú]
 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) nò wù gè bé gē bē bvù-ŋgà gè,
 like.that 3SG P3 ^PCOP NEG2 with c14-power NEG2
 wū gē jā wù gē: yē yì Ø-nò lē,
 3SG P3 leave 3SG go c9.house c9AM c1-god APPL
 [kì wú gē: wú kūŋ mbyèŋè, nò
 COMP(K) 3SG go 3SG ring c9.bell like.that
 bó tǒ bó gè-è, kì-fè kī Ø-ŋgē 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 **lē** complementation, **kì** can introduce a complement of a copula, as in (13.66) and (13.67).

- (13.66) lē wū kwé,
 SET 3SG die
 bā gē bē [kì bā tē 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 nù [kì bē yēyē jè yì ñchànè]
 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 **ki** clause preceded by the verb **kēmē** ‘have’. Note that the verb of the complement clause appears with the progressive suffix.

- (13.68) gέ nò Ø-jwṵ: kēm-é [ki
do.IMP like.that c1-husband.2SG.POSS have-PROG COMP(K)
- wū kòŋ-è Ø-bwṵ: bέ Ø-chíjò,
3SG love-PROG c1-mother.2SG.POSS with c1-father.2SG.POSS
- bέ Ø-kfū ch-è chī-chī, bi-mbè lé bī-chi]
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 **ki** 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 mèsē lē [ki wó chē-è
c1-child.1SG.POSS on finish APPL COMP(K) 2SG stay-PROG
- chulé yē yì bvù-gù: lē] lé lē, wō
well c9.house c9AM c14-marriage APPL COP COMP 2SG
- kém-é ki wò kē mw-ē: mūn-dùdē,
have-PROG COMP(K) 2SG know c18a-thing c18a-many
- ŋjē gέ fy-ē: fī-mī jùnmè yú fī
reason NEG2 c19-thing c19-some COP(N) on.it c19REL
- ghàg-ē bvù-gù fēnē fē-kū gè
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