

# A Grammar of Pichi

Kofi Yakpo

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Kofi Yakpo


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# Symbols and abbreviations

-	morpheme boundary	DEF	definite article
=	clitic morpheme boundary	EMP	emphatic
!	directive clause; vocative	F	feminine gender
*	ungrammatical example	FN	first name
,	continuative intonation and pause	FOC	focus marker and identity copula
.	utterance-final: declarative intonation	H	high tone(d syllable)
.	word-medial: morpheme boundary in derived compound	HAB	habitual marker
(...)	untranscribed part of utterance	IDEO	ideophone
[ ]	explanation of translated elements	INDF	indefinite
/	speech interruption	INDP	independent/emphatic pronoun
?	final: question intonation	INTJ	interjection
?	initial: grammaticality dubious	INTR	intransitive
[á]	IPA transcription	IPFV	imperfective aspect marker
/a/	phoneme	L	low tone(d syllable)
<a>	grapheme	L.H	low-high tone sequence over two adjacent syllables
á	high tone diacritic	LH	rising contour tone over same syllable
à	low tone diacritic	LN	last name
%	boundary tone	LOC	locative preposition
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	LT	lexical tone
ABL	abilitive mood marker	MVC	multiverb construction
ADV	adverbial(ising suffix)	n.a.	not applicable
BE	identity copula	NAME	personal name
BE.LOC	locative-existential copula	NEG	negative/negator
BT	boundary tone	NP	noun phrase
CPD	tone deletion in compounding	NSPC	non-specific
		OBJ	object (case)
		OBL	obligative mood marker
		PFV	narrative perfective marker
		PL	plural(iser)

## *Symbols and abbreviations*

PLACE	place name	SBJ	subject (case)
POSS	possessive (case)	SBJV	subjunctive marker
POT	potential mood marker	SG	singular
PP	prepositional phrase	SKT	“suck teeth”
PREP	associative preposition	SP	sentence particle
PRF	perfect tense-aspect	SPEC	specific
PST	past tense marker	SUB	subordinator
Q	question particle	SVC	serial verb construction
QNT	quantifier	TMA	tense-mood-aspect
QUOT	quotative marker	TR	transitive
RED	reduplicant in reduplication	v1	initial verb in MVC
REP	repeated word in repetition	v2	second verb in MVC
		VP	verb phrase



# 11 Multiverb constructions

I employ the term “multiverb constructions” (MVCs) as a generous cover term for serial verb constructions (SVCs), secondary predication, and clause chaining in Pichi. Multiverb constructions all have in common that there is some form of semantic dependence of one or more predicates with another, which is reflected in some form of reduction, restriction, or merging of elements of one or several predicates. Nonetheless, some of the constructions described in this chapter exhibit varying degrees of resemblance with some of the multiclausal structures covered in chapter 10. As a consequence, the classification as “multiverb” or “multiclausal” is sometimes difficult to make.

## 11.1 General characteristics

Multiverb constructions form a continuum of structures involving predicates that are strung together in various ways. The area covered by MVCs stretches from tightly integrated verb strings to clause chains, i.e. structures that can barely be distinguished from a series of fully finite clauses. In the middle range of the continuum, we find secondary predication, which is characterised by more flexibility than SVCs, both in the types of verbs that may enter the construction as well as in the ways of paraphrasing them. SVCs are the most integrated MVCs. I use the term SVC only for constructions where “[o]ne verb is from a relatively large, open, or otherwise unrestricted class, and another from a semantically or grammatically restricted (or closed) class” (Aikhenvald 2006: 21).

The verb from the restricted class in SVCs is henceforth referred to as the “minor verb” and the open-class verb as the “major verb” (Durie 1997). The relative position of verbs in SVCs is indicated by V1, V2, VX irrespective of their function as minor or major verbs. Whether (and which) SVCs constitute monoclausal or multiclausal structures in Pichi is left to future research to determine.

SVCs are less central to event integration in Pichi than the variety of constructions might suggest. SVCs constitute somewhere between five to twenty per cent of the clause linkage types in a given text. Equally, older (50+ years) speakers tend to use SVCs more frequently. Maybe increased language contact between Pichi and the non-serialising languages Spanish and Bube has led to the reinforcement of already existing, non-serialising strategies of clause linkage in Pichi (see Hajek 2006 on contact-induced “deserialisation”). This observation concerns in particular argument-introducing SVCs, a prominent type of SVC in serialising languages of the region. Equally, there is a tendency towards the lexicalisation of SVCs involving particular verbs. This characteristic warrants analysing at least some of these SVCs as compound verbs.

## 11.2 Serial verb constructions

Table 11.1 lists all types of SVCs identified in the corpus. The table lists the minor verbs of each construction. The semantic class of the major verb is indicated in the V1 or V2 column, e.g. “dynamic verb”. Where there is no significant semantic restriction on the semantic class of the major verb, the row simply contains the entry “verb”. The possibility of using switch-function (pro)nouns is listed in the table and discussed below where it applies.

Table 11.1 Serial verb constructions

Type of SVC	V1	V2	Description	Switch-function?
Motion-direction	Motion verb	<i>gó</i> ‘go’	Motion away	Yes
	Motion verb	<i>kán</i> ‘come’	Motion towards	Yes
	Motion verb	<i>kómót</i> ‘go out’	Motion outwards	Yes
	Motion verb	<i>rích</i> ‘reach’	Motion up to	Yes
Motion-action	<i>gó</i> ‘go’	Dynamic verb	Motion away/ purpose & action	No
	<i>kán</i> ‘come’	Dynamic verb	Motion to/ purpose & action	No
Participant-introducing	<i>ték</i> ‘take’	Dynamic verb	Instrument; theme	No
	<i>fála</i> ‘follow’	Motion verb	Comitative	No
	Verb	<i>pás</i> ‘(sur)pass’	Comparative	No
Complementation	<i>hía</i> ‘hear’, <i>sí</i> ‘see’	Verb	Immediate perception	Yes

Not included in Table 11.1 are structures involving the following words with highly grammaticalised functions: *go* ‘POT’ (<*gó* ‘go’), *kán* ‘PFV’ (<*kán* ‘come’), *mék* ‘SBJV’ (<*mék* ‘make’), and *sé* ‘QUOT’ (< *sé* ?‘say’). Comparative SVCs featuring the minor verb *pás* ‘(sur)pass’ are covered in detail in §6.9.

Verbs that participate in SVCs may not be separated by juncture markers such as declarative intonation, pauses, and continuative intonation, nor adverbial clause linkers and complementisers. Equally, the V2 may not be negated separately from the V1, while the negation of V1 has scope over the entire construction. Compare the following examples involving a motion-direction SVC:

- (1) \* *Yu kér=an           yu nó gó hospital?*  
 2SG carry=3SG.OBJ 2SG NEG go hospital  
 Intended: ‘Didn’t you take him to hospital?’ [pa07me 006]
- (2) *Yu nó kér=an           gó hospital?*  
 2SG NEG carry=3SG.OBJ go hospital  
 ‘Didn’t you take him to hospital?’ [pa07me 005]

Further, the V2 of an SVC does not appear with TMA marking, since it acquires its TMA specifications from the V1. Only the V1 is marked for tense, mood, and aspect. Hence, the second translation of (3) as a motion-direction SVC is rejected. Instead, the construction may only be interpreted as involving a depictive secondary predicate (cf. §11.3.2). The inability to be independently marked for TMA also distinguishes SVCs from the verbal complements of aspectual and modal auxiliaries, some of which may be preceded by the imperfective aspect marker as well (cf. §10.5.3).

- (3) *Yu de kér=an           de gó hospital.*  
 2SG IPFV carry=3SG.OBJ NEG go hospital  
 ‘You’re carrying him while going to the hospital.’ [pa07me 009]  
 but not ‘You’re taking him to the hospital.’

### 11.2.1 Motion-direction SVCs

Motion-direction SVCs involve one of the four motion verbs listed in Table 11.1 as minor verbs and V2s. These verbs contribute direction to the motion expressed by the V1. The construction is only attested with a total of eight motion verbs in the major verb, V1 position (cf. Table 8.5 for a summary of some of their semantic and syntactic characteristics). Of these verbs, four denote locomotion (i.e. *wáka* ‘walk’, *rón* ‘run’, *fláy* ‘fly’, and *fála* ‘follow’), while the remaining four (*ték* ‘take’, *kér* ‘take, carry’, *bríng* ‘bring’, and *sén* ‘send’) include direction, manner, and causation as part of their meaning.

The V1 position is therefore not open to other potential candidates with similar meanings (e.g. *dréb* ‘drive’, *énta* ‘enter’, or *pús* ‘push’), and the use of other motion verbs usually involves non-serial strategies of expressing direction. Indeed, the lexical specialisation of this SVC may justify an analysis of the construction as involving compound verbs rather than more open structures created by syntactic processes.

The following example presents a motion-direction SVC involving the V1 *rón* ‘run’ and the V2 *gó* ‘go’, which expresses motion away from the ground. §8.1.5 contains an extensive treatment of goal and source-marking in combination with motion-direction SVCs and other constructions involving spatial relations:

- (4) *E       sé       “mómi mómi, yu nó de sí dán mán wé e       rón gó*  
 3SG.SBJ QUOT mum   mum 2SG NEG IPFV see that man SUB 3SG.SBJ run go  
*abuela       in       rúm?”*  
 grandmother 3SG.POSS room  
 ‘He said “mum, mum, don’t you see that man who ran into grandmother’s room?”’ [ab03ab 053]

The goal of the motion may be expressed as an object of the V2 motion verb as in (4) above. The goal may also be instantiated in a prepositional phrase introduced by *na* ‘LOC’ (5). Motion-direction SVCs featuring a transitive V1 can involve a “switch-function” (pro)noun (Aikhenvald 2006: 14–15), in which case the object =*an* ‘3SG.OBJ’ of the V1 *kér* ‘carry’ may be analysed as the subject of the V2 *gó* ‘go’ in the following example:

- (5) A *kér=an* *gó na comedor*.  
 1SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ go LOC dining-room  
 ‘I carried him to the dining-room.’ [ab03ab 091]

A string of two verbs may be followed by additional serial verbs. Example (6) illustrates multiple serialisation with the verb string *kér-gó-wáka* ‘carry-go-walk’. The construction is an overlap of a motion-direction SVC (*kér-gó*) and a motion-action SVC (*gó-wáka*):

- (6) Di *bíg wán, a bin de* *kér=an* *gó wáka na nét wet Tokobé*.  
 DEF big one 1SG.SBJ PST IPFV carry=3SG.OBJ go walk LOC night with NAME  
 ‘As for the big one, I was carrying it off travelling by night with Tokobé.’ [ab03ab 006]

The V2 *kán* ‘come’ expresses motion towards a ground (7). Strings involving the verb *kómót* ‘go out’ as the V2 express evacuation, i.e. motion out of a ground (8). Note the presence of the prepositions *fó* ‘PREP’ and *na* ‘LOC’ which mark goal and source, respectively:

- (7) *Kér di motó yu bríng kán fó yá*.  
 take DEF car 2SG bring come PREP here  
 ‘Take the car and bring it here.’ [ro05de 036]
- (8) *E kán rón kómót na kóntri, (...)*  
 3SG.SBJ PFV run go.out LOC country  
 ‘She fled from the [her] home town, (...)’ [ed03sb 035]

The notion of ‘movement up to’ is formed with the verb *rích* ‘arrive’ in the V2 position as in (9). This construction is, however, rare:

- (9) A *tínk sé e gét treinta y ocho años nów wé e dón de*  
 1SG.SBJ think QUOT 3SG.SBJ get thirty and eight years now SUB 3SG.SBJ PRF IPFV  
*gó rích cuarenta*.  
 go reach forty  
 ‘I think that he’s thirty-eight years old now and is already going towards forty.’  
 [fr03ft 146]

The situation expressed by motion-direction SVCs is more often expressed in non-serial structures featuring prepositional phrases as in (10). In these constructions, context and common sense disambiguate the potentially locative (i.e. ‘in the pharmacy’) and goal (‘to the pharmacy’) meanings of the PP introduced by the general locative preposition *na* ‘LOC’:

- (10) *Ɖen rón na farmacia, receta de méresin.*  
 3PL run LOC pharmacy prescription of medicine  
 ‘They ran to the pharmacy, (to get a) prescription for medicine.’ [ab03ab 123]

Motion-direction SVCs and alternative ways of expressing the events they denote are also treated extensively in section §8.1.5.

### 11.2.2 Motion-action SVCs

Motion-action SVCs involve the motion verbs *gó* ‘go’ and *kán* ‘come’ as minor verbs in the V1 position. This SVC denotes movement and subsequent action. It often has an underlying purposive meaning best translated as ‘go/come in order to’. The construction is the most frequent SVC in the corpus and involves a large variety of minor verbs in the V2 position.

The construction may involve another motion verb as V2 (11), or any other dynamic verb (12). Motion-action SVCs are only attested with a dynamic V2:

- (11) *Di pikín ɖón gét séven hía, e go wánt gó wáka, “hě, nó kɔmót na hós!”*  
 DEF child PRF get seven year 3SG.SBJ POT want go walk INTJ NEG go.out LOC  
 house  
 ‘(When) the child is seven years old, she will want to go walk [roam around], [then you tell her], “don’t you leave the house!”’ [ab03ay 115]
- (12) *Ápás tumóro a go gó sí mi mamá.*  
 after tomorrow 1SG.SBJ POT go see 1SG.POSS mother  
 ‘After tomorrow, I will go see my mother.’ [ro05ee 131]

Below follow motion-action SVCs involving the minor verb *kán* ‘come’ as the V1. Like *gó*-SVCs, *kán*-SVCs are encountered with (13) and without (14) resumptive subject marking with the V2:

- (13) *Yu kán yu púl=an.*  
 2SG come 2SG remove=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You came and removed it.’ [ro05ee 094]
- (14) *Na ín e de kán púl mí dán torí.*  
 FOC 3SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ IPFV come remove 1SG.INDP that story  
 ‘That’s when she was coming to tell me that story.’ [ab03ab 073]

SVCs involving the use of *kán* as a verb in a motion-action SVC like (14) need to be distinguished from the use of *kán* as a narrative perfective aspect marker in a sentence like (15). There are two ways of making the distinction. Firstly, in (14), the lexical verb *kán* ‘come’ may be marked by TMA markers like any other Pichi verb. On the contrary, the

narrative perfective marker *kán* ‘PFV’ is subject to co-occurrence restrictions. For example, the TMA marker sequence \**de kán* ‘IPFV PFV’ in (14) above would be ungrammatical in (15).

- (15) *Na ín e kán véks, e kán gó.*  
 FOC 3SG.INDP 3SG.SBJ PFV be.angry 3SG.SBJ PFV go  
 ‘That’s why he got angry, (and) he left.’ [fr03ft 190]

Secondly, speakers may employ resumptive subject marking with the V2 in sentences like (13) above in order to avoid the potential ambiguity between a motion-action SVC and a verb marked for narrative perfective aspect (i.e. *yu kán púl=an* ‘2sg come remove=3sg.OBJ’ = ‘(then) you removed it’). The same strategy is employed in (16) below. In both examples, the bare lexical verb *kán* ‘come’ is likely to be interpreted as the narrative perfective marker *kán* ‘PFV’ if the sequence were not interrupted by the personal pronoun *yu* ‘2sg’. That said, these two uses of *kán* are often very similar and appear to be diachronically related:

- (16) *Porque if yu mék, yu sí dán polvo, e de pút=an insay, yu kán yu dríng, (...)*  
 because if 2SG make 2SG see that powder 3SG.SBJ IPFV put=3SG.OBJ inside 2SG come 2SG drink  
 ‘Because if you make, you see that powder, he’s putting it inside, you come and drink (...)’ [ed03sb 099]

Motion-action SVCs frequently involve the use of resumptive *gó* and *kán*. In (17), the verb string is interrupted by the adverbial phrase *na peluquería* ‘to the hairdresser’s’, after which we find a resumptive *gó*. Example (18) features resumptive *kán* after the adverbial phrase *wán dé* ‘one day’:

- (17) *Ef yu wánt bába, yu wánt gó na peluquería gó kót yu hía.*  
 if 2SG want cut.hair 2SG want go LOC hairdresser’s go cut 2SG hair  
 ‘If you want to have a hair-cut, you want to go cut your hair at the hairdresser’s.’ [ro05fe 031]
- (18) *Dán mán fit kán wán dé kán ték yú sé “kán wi gó”, (...)*  
 that man can come one day come take 2SG.INDP QUOT come 1PL go  
 ‘That man can come take you one day (and) say “let’s go” (...)’ [hi03cb 196]

A more literal motion meaning may give way to a purposive meaning. In (19), movement to the speakers hometown has already occurred before the motion-action SVC *a gó bón* ‘I went to give birth’ follows. There is no prosodic juncture between the two clauses:

- (19) *A gó fɔ kóntri a gó bón.*  
 1SG.SBJ go PREP country 1SG.SBJ go give.birth  
 ‘I went to my home town in order to give birth.’

In (20), the literal meaning of the V1 *gó* recedes further behind a purposive sense. In this example, we see how motion through space instantiated by *kér* ‘bring’, the motion metaphor of the purpose clause introduced by *fɔ* ‘PREP’, and the motion/purpose reading of *gó* itself harmonise:

- (20) *Den kán kër mí na Madrid fɔ mək den gó opera mí.*  
 3PL PFV carry 1SG.INDP LOC PLACE PREP SBJV 3PL go operate 1SG.INDP  
 ‘They took me to Madrid in order to go and operate me.’ [fr03ft 026]

The motion-action SVC in (21) does not involve directed motion through space either. The SVC *a gó a púl di trɔsis* ‘I (went and) removed the trousers’ involves no motion other than removing the pair of trousers:

- (21) *A púl in camiseta, a pút=an pantáp béd, a gó*  
 1SG.SBJ remove 3SG.POSS singlet 1SG.SBJ put=3SG.OBJ top bed 1SG.SBJ go  
*a púl di trɔsis a hīb=an insay di bañera.*  
 1SG.SBJ remove DEF trousers 1SG.SBJ throw=3SG.OBJ inside DEF bath.tub  
 ‘I removed his singlet, I put him on the bed, I (went and) removed his trousers, I heaved him into the bath tub.’ [ab03ab 083]

Example (21) also points towards a difference in meaning that may arise between motion-action serialisation without resumptive subject marking (cf. e.g. 20 above) and motion-action SVCs, in which the V2 has an overt subject pronoun (cf. e.g. 21). While the former type tends to extend metaphorically into the expression of purpose relations, the latter tends to focus the action designated by V2. Motion-action SVCs involving *kán* also lend themselves to less literal interpretations. Compare (16) above, where the V1 *kán* also focuses the following V2 *dríng* ‘drink’.

### 11.2.3 Participant-introducing SVCs

In participant-introducing SVCs, a noun appears as the syntactic object of the minor verb, and this object may occupy diverse semantic roles. One type of participant-introducing SVC involves the verb *ték* ‘take’. *Ték*-SVCs may in turn be divided into two types.

In the first type, the object of the V1 *ték* ‘take’ is the instrument or means used for performing V2. Compare *wán blák lapá* ‘a black cloth’ in (22). The instrument may also be an abstract noun like *páwa* ‘power’ (23) or *papá gód* ‘God’ in the idiom in (24):

- (22) *E kin dé lek sé den ték wán blák lapá den kóba yú.*  
 3SG.SBJ HAB BE.LOC like QUOT 3PL take one black cloth 3PL cover 2SG.INDP  
 ‘It is usually so that they cover you with a black cloth.’ [ed03sb 119]
- (23) *Yu fit gó sé “bueno a ték páwa gó”(...)*  
 2SG can go QUOT good 1SG.SBJ take power go  
 ‘You can go and say, “well, I leave by my own authority” (...)’ [hi03cb 194]

- (24) A      *ték papá gód bég=an.*  
 1SG.SBJ take father God ask=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘I implored him in the name of God.’ [sa07fn 297]

In the second type, the object of the V1 *ték* ‘take’ is the theme of the V2. This type of *ték*-SVC is far more frequent than the one involving an instrument role. Equally, in this type, the theme is always reiterated by a resumptive object pronoun following V2, and very frequently it additionally involves resumptive subject marking. These two characteristics may make such *ték*-SVCs difficult to distinguish from clause chaining when the first subevent of the situation denoted by the SVC may actually involve “taking” in a literal sense (cf. §11.4).

Compare the alternative translations of (25) and (26). Note the use of a resumptive object pronoun alone in the first example, and the use of both a resumptive object and subject pronoun in the second one:

- (25) A      *ték=an pút=an pantáp mi belé.*  
 1SG.SBJ take=3SG.OBJ put=3SG.OBJ top 1SG.POSS belly  
 ‘I (took him and) put him onto my belly.’ [ab03ab 067]

- (26) *Yu ték di maíz yu hól=an.*  
 2SG take DEF maize 2SG hold=3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You take the maize (and) you hold it.’ [dj03do 003]

However, a theme object of *ték* need not be an entity that can be “taken” in a literal sense. The following example once more involves resumptive object and subject pronouns. With an object like *yáy* ‘eye’, no literal interpretation of *ték* as ‘take’ is possible here:

- (27) A      *tél yú sé mi mán ték ín yáy e pút=an*  
 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG.INDP QUOT 1SG.POSS man take 3SG.POSS eye 3SG.SBJ put3SG.OBJ  
*bótón grón só.*  
 bottom ground like.that  
 ‘I tell you that my husband diverted his eye [gaze] down like this.’ [ro05rt 011]

When the theme object of *ték* is human, it may also receive a comitative ‘together with’ interpretation. This occurs with the object *di géł* ‘the girl’ in the relative construction in (28):

- (28) *Porque e fíba sé di géł [wé e bin de ték kómót], e*  
 because 3SG.SBJ seem QUOT DEF girl SUB 3SG.SBJ PST IPFV take go.out 3SG.SBJ  
*bin géł bókú báy den.*  
 PST get much boy PL  
 ‘Because it seems that the girl that he was going out with, she had many boyfriends.’ [fr03ft 127]



Example (28) above is also noteworthy because it shows what happens when the object of *ték* is relativised. The object *di gél* ‘the girl’ is placed in the head noun position, while the relativised position may remain empty, which leads to V1 and V2 occurring next to each other. Contiguity of *ték* and the V2 is also found when the object of *ték* is fronted in content questions. Sentence (29) features the questioned concrete noun *plénk* ‘board’ and (30) the abstract noun *stáyl* ‘manner’:

- (29) *Ús=káyn plénk den ték bíl di hós?*  
Q=kind board 3PL take build DEF house  
‘What kind of board did they build the house with?’ [dj05ce 104]
- (30) *Na ús=káyn stáyl yu ték kán na yá?*  
FOC Q=kind style 2SG take come LOC here  
‘How did you come here.’ [ro05ee 005]

SVCs involving *ték* are less frequent than equivalent combinations of verbs and prepositions. A PP involving *wet* ‘with’ is more commonly employed to express the semantic role of instrument (31). Comitative *ték*-serialisations are even less common. Speakers usually resort to a PP introduced by the preposition *wet* ‘with’ as in (36) further below:

- (31) *Den bíl di strít wet caterpillar.*  
3PL build DEF street with caterpillar  
‘The street was built with a caterpillar.’ [dj05be 078]

The competition between the serial and prepositional strategies of participant-marking is manifest in the rather exceptional sentences (32) and (33) elicited from two different speakers. Here, the questioning of the instrument noun produced redundant marking of the question phrase *ús=káyn tén* ‘Q=kind thing’ = ‘WHAT’ with both a preposition and a *ték*-SVC. Non-interrogative double uses of this kind were not found, however:

- (32) *Wet ús=káyn tén den ték bíl di hós?*  
with Q=kind thing 3PL take build DEF house  
‘(With) what did they build the house with?’ [ye05ce 106]
- (33) *Wet ús=káyn stík yu bin ték bíl di hós?*  
with Q=kind wood 2SG PST take build DEF house  
‘(With) what kind of wood did you build the house with?’ [ro05de 050]

The verb *fála* ‘follow, accompany’ participates as a V1 in the expression of a comitative role. The object of *fála* is the accompanee of the situation denoted by the V2. The object of *fála* is usually human and placed between V1 and V2:

- (34) *Yés, Concha fála Princess gó viaje.*  
yes NAME follow NAME go voyage  
‘Yes, Concha went on the voyage together with Princess.’ [dj05be 097]

Once more, most speakers prefer to express accompaniment through non-serial alternatives. One possibility is the use of the verb *jwén* ‘join’, followed by the nominalised reference verb as in (35). The most common means involves a comitative prepositional phrase introduced by *wet* ‘with’ (36):

- (35) A      *jwén* Boyé fə *chóp*.  
1SG.SBJ join NAME PREP eat  
‘I ate together with Boyé.’ [ur05fn 045]
- (36) E      gó *wet* in      *mamá?*  
3SG.SBJ go with 3SG.POSS mother  
‘Did he go with his mother?’ [fr03do 033]

A final type of participant-introducing SVC is the comparative construction featuring the verb *pás* ‘(sur)pass’ (37). The object of *pás* is the standard of comparison. Comparative SVCs are covered in detail in section §6.9.1:

- (37) *Lage de tók Bube pás mí*.  
NAME IPFV talk Bube pass 1SG.INDP  
‘Lage speaks Bube better than me.’ [fr03ab 012]

### 11.2.4 Complementation SVCs

This type of SVC features a verb of immediate perception as a minor verb and V1. In the corpus, this construction is attested with *sí* ‘see’ and *hía* ‘hear’ as V1. The construction features a switch-function (pro)noun. In (38), the object of *sí* ‘see’, i.e. *sən wáyť pambód* ‘a white bird’, functions as the notional subject of the V2 *kán* ‘come’:

- (38) A      *sí sən wáyť pambód de kán*.  
1SG.SBJ see some white bird IPFV come  
‘I saw a white bird coming.’ [ed03sb 174]

Apart from participant overlap via switch-function, a defining feature of complementation SVCs is the temporal overlap between V1 and V2. Hence, in the example above, the dynamic verb *kán* ‘come’ is marked for imperfective aspect, which signals simultaneity with the situation denoted by the factative marked V1 *sí* ‘see’. The appearance of imperfective aspect to indicate simultaneity is also found with depictive secondary predicates (cf. §11.3.2). Complementation SVCs are, however, syntactically more integrated; they involve switch-function (pro)nouns while secondary predication may not.

When the V2 in a complementation SVC is an inchoative-stative property item, the V2 may appear with an overt subject *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’, which is coreferential with the preceding object pronoun *=an* ‘3SG.OBJ’, as in the example below. Without the V2 subject, the property item *fáyn* would be interpreted as an adverbial modifier of *sí* ‘see’. This structure is now in fact identical to some of the depictive secondary predications covered in section

§11.3, e.g. (62). Complementation structures are therefore not so clear-cut cases of SVCs, and it is debatable whether they should not be seen as “overlapping clauses” (Ameka 2006), hence multiclausal structures.

- (39) *If yu gó fɔ di mǎred, yu sí=an e fáyn.*  
 if 2SG go PREP DEF marry 2SG see=3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ be.fine  
 ‘If you go to the marriage, you see it (to be) nice.’ [Lit. ‘(...) it is nice.’] [hi03cb 006]

The more common alternative to complementation SVCs is for the perceived situation to be expressed as a complement clause introduced by *sé* ‘QUOT’, as in the following example:

- (40) *Yu jós hía sé pǎsin den bin de tók bɔt yu nó lǐstin.*  
 2SG just hear QUOT person PL PST IPFV talk but 2SG NEG listen  
 ‘You just heard that people were talking but you didn’t listen.’ [au07se 109]

### 11.2.5 Adverbial SVCs

Two verbs in the corpus appear as minor verbs in adverbial SVCs. In these structures the V1 provides a modification that is temporal in nature. The verb *lás* ‘be the last to, end up’ enters into an adverbial SVC as a minor verb (41). Proof for the verbal status of *lás* comes from (42): *lás* may not appear in the postverbal adverbial position. In contrast, the word *fɔs* ‘first’ which also expresses temporal meanings may, since it is an adverb (43):

- (41) *A lás chóp.*  
 1SG.SBJ be.last eat  
 ‘I was the last to eat/I ended up eating.’ [eb07fn 130]
- (42) \**Na mí chóp lás.*  
 FOC 1SG.INDP eat last  
 Intended: ‘I ate last.’ [ra07ve 025]
- (43) *A wás fɔs.*  
 1SG.SBJ wash first  
 ‘I washed (myself) first.’ [ra07ve 023]

The dynamic verb *sté* ‘stay’ is employed as the V1 in an SVC in order to express (excessive) duration. This SVC is frequently used in a context of current relevance, where it commonly appears together with the perfect marker *dón*:

- (44) *Yu dón sté kán?*  
 2SG PRF stay come  
 ‘Did you come long ago?’ [ge07fn 164]

Many speakers instead prefer to express duration through a biclausal structure with co-referential subjects (45) or an expletive subject to *sté* (46). The latter use is once more similar to secondary predication covered below in section §11.3:

- (45) *A sté wé a néva chóp.*  
 1SG.SBJ stay SUB 1SG.SBJ NEG.PRF eat  
 ‘It’s been long since I haven’t eaten.’ [au07ec 081]
- (46) *E nó sté a recibe di carta, di tín wé a bég.*  
 3SG.SBJ NEG stay 1SG.SBJ receive DEF letter DEF thing SUB 1SG.SBJ ask.for  
 ‘It wasn’t long and I received the letter, the thing I (had) asked for.’ [ed03sb 214]

### 11.3 Secondary predication

Pichi deploys reduced clauses as adjuncts to clauses fully specified for person and TMA. In the following, I refer to the predicator of the reduced clause as the secondary predicate, and to that of the full clause as the primary predicate (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004; Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2006). Secondary predicates may range in complexity from fully-fledged clauses to reduced clauses consisting of the secondary predicate alone. In Pichi, there is therefore no clear-cut distinction between structures involving secondary predication and some of the time, manner, and result clauses covered in section §10.7.

There are two types of secondary predication in Pichi, namely depictives (§11.3.2) and resultatives (§11.3.3). The difference between the two types is both semantic and formal. Resultative secondary predicates instantiate an end-state and can therefore be seen to stand in a relation of temporal sequentiality or posteriority to the primary predicate. In formal terms, only inchoative-stative property items can function as resultative secondary predicates.

Depictive secondary predicates are in a temporal relation of simultaneity to the primary predicate and therefore contribute manner or temporal readings to the primary predicate. It makes little sense to distinguish further in Pichi between secondary predicates commonly referred to as depictives and those known as circumstantials (cf. Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2006). The semantic and formal differences that we find between individual constructions are due to differences in the lexical aspect class, degree and type of transitivity, and other semantic features (e.g. animacy) of the primary and secondary predicates. These features also co-determine whether a secondary predicate is subject- or object-oriented. With depictives, the lexical aspect class of the secondary predicate also determines whether the secondary predicate is marked for imperfective aspect, by factative TMA (i.e. with inchoative-stative verbs) or by the use of *de* ‘IPFV’ (i.e. with dynamic verbs).

### 11.3.1 Secondary predication vs. serial verb constructions

Secondary predicates can be distinguished from SVCs on formal grounds. For one, the secondary predicate is connected to the primary predicate in a loose way, i.e. via adjunction. The secondary predicate can therefore be paraphrased by fuller clauses with sometimes only slight modifications to the sentence (cf. 51).

A second distinguishing feature is that secondary predicate constructions do not involve switch-function (pro)nouns. In the following motion-direction SVC, =*an* ‘3SG.OBJ’, the object of the V1 *kér* ‘carry’, simultaneously functions as the notional subject of the V2 *kán* ‘come’. In fact, the overt expression of a subject pronoun with the V2 would be ungrammatical (i.e. \**a kér=an e gó na comedor* ‘I carried him, he went to the dining-room’).

- (47) *A      kér=**an**      gó na comedor.*  
 1SG.SBJ carry=3SG.OBJ go LOC dining-room  
 ‘I carried him to the dining-room.’ [ab03ab 091]

The following secondary predicate construction is therefore rejected. The object *mí* ‘1SG.INDP’ of the primary predicate *mít* ‘meet’ may not simultaneously serve as the subject of the secondary predicate *kúk* ‘cook’:

- (48) \**E      mít **mí**      de kúk.*  
 3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.INDP IPFV cook  
 Intended: ‘He came across me while (I was) cooking.’ [pa07me 017]

In such cases of object-subject identity involving an animate participant, the secondary predicate must rather have an explicit subject, even if the primary predicate object and the secondary predicate subject are co-referential:

- (49) *E      mít **mí**      a      de kúk séf.*  
 3SG.SBJ meet 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ IPFV cook EMP  
 ‘He came across me while I was actually cooking.’ [ro05de 023]

Further, the V2 of an SVC acquires its TMA specification from the V1; the V2 may not be independently marked for tense, mood, and aspect (cf. 3). In contrast, depictive secondary predicates must be marked for simultaneity by imperfective aspect, either via factative TMA or via *de* ‘IPFV’. Compare the imperfective-marked secondary predicate *chóp* ‘eat’ in this example:

- (50) *Yu pikín sidón **de chóp** den tú bréd.*  
 2SG child sit IPFV eat 3PL two bread  
 ‘Your child was sitting (there) eating those two loaves of bread.’ [ab03ab 128]

Many secondary predicates in the data do not feature overt subjects either and in that, they resemble the V2s of SVCs like (47) above. However, contrary to the SVC in (47), the notional subject of the secondary predicate may optionally be expressed. Secondary predicates may therefore be expanded into fuller clauses.

The following sequence of near-identical resultative constructions graphically shows the progression from the reduced clause typical of secondary predication to a biclausal structure involving overt clause linkage:

- (51) a. *A léf di domót ópin.*  
1SG.SBJ leave DEF door be.open  
‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 029]
- b. *A léf di domót e ópin.*  
1SG.SBJ leave DEF door 3SG.SBJ be.open  
‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 030]
- c. *A léf di domót sé e ópin.*  
1SG.SBJ leave DEF door QUOT 3SG.SBJ be.open  
‘I left the door open.’ [pa07me 031]

### 11.3.2 Depictives

In formal terms, there are two types of depictive secondary predicates. One type features a bare verb with a stative interpretation, the other a dynamic verb marked for imperfective aspect. Both types are therefore marked for simultaneous taxis with the primary predicate – the bare inchoative-stative verb by default via factative TMA, and the dynamic verb via explicit imperfective aspect marking. Further, depictive secondary predications can be differentiated according to their participant orientation. Subject-oriented predicates predicate a situation relating to the subject, object-oriented ones relate a situation relating to the object.

Transitive verbs denoting various types of use or manipulation are prone to occurring with object-oriented depictive predicates. For example, affected-agent verbs like the verbs of ingestion *dríng* ‘drink’ and *chóp* ‘eat’ appear with object-oriented secondary predicates with a depictive function:

- (52) *E dríng di watá kól.*  
3SG.SBJ drink DEF water be.cold  
‘He drank the water (and it was) cold.’ [ra07ve 004]
- (53) *Den chóp di banána grín.*  
3PL eat DEF banana be.green  
‘They ate the banana green [unripe].’ [dj05be 108]

Another group that appears with object-oriented depictives are verbs of handling and manipulation (e.g. *bay* ‘buy’, *kér* ‘carry’, *sél* ‘sell’, *yús* ‘use’). The following example illustrates this usage by means of *kér* ‘carry’ and the secondary predicate *énti* ‘be empty’:

- (54) *A kér di bokit-pán énti.*  
1SG.SBJ carry DEF bucket.CPD-pan be.empty  
‘I carried the bucket empty.’ [pa07me 039]

Subject-oriented depictives occur in intransitive clauses with various types of intransitive or low-transitivity primary predicates. A prominent group of primary predicates encompasses locomotion verbs like *kəmót* ‘go/come out’ as in this example:

- (55) *E kəmót na rúm néked.*  
 3SG.SBJ go.out LOC room be.naked  
 ‘He left the room naked.’ [ra07ve 001]

Some depictive secondary predications may alternatively be expressed through nominal depictives. One strategy involves the use of a prepositional phrase introduced by the multifunctional preposition *wet* ‘with’ (cf. also 376 and 373–374 in §7.2):

- (56) *E kəmót na wók wet hángri.*  
 3SG.SBJ go.out LOC work with hunger  
 ‘He left work hungry.’ [ra07ve 073]

A common subject-oriented depictive construction in the data involves the expression of “associated posture” (Enfield 2002): The secondary predicate denotes a situation that holds while the subject assumes a posture denoted by the primary predicate. The secondary predicate is therefore both participant- (the subject) and event-oriented (the primary predicate). When associated posture verbs co-occur with a dynamic secondary predicate, temporal simultaneity is marked overtly by imperfective marking. This is the case in (57) where the posture verb *sidón* ‘sit (down)’ is followed by the imperfective marked dynamic verb *chóp* ‘eat’:

- (57) *Yu pikín sidón de chóp den tú bréd.*  
 2SG child sit IPFV eat 3PL two bread  
 ‘Your child was sitting there eating those two loaves of bread.’ [ab03ab 128]

The secondary predicate in an associated posture construction may also be another locative verb that elaborates on the type of posture taken by the subject. In (58), the posture verb *sidón* ‘sit (down)’ is followed by the inchoative-stative locative verb *ráwn* ‘form a circle’. Since *ráwn* is not dynamic, the situation of temporal overlap is not marked by means of the imperfective aspect. It is rather marked by factative TMA, hence the bare verb (cf. §6.1). The use of a co-referential subject pronoun with the V2 (the second *den* ‘3PL’ in the example) is the norm if the secondary predicate is not dynamic:

- (58) *Den sidón den ráwn di fāya.*  
 3PL sit 3PL surround DEF fire  
 ‘They’re sitting around the fire.’ or ‘They sat down around the fire.’ [ro05ee 115]

The following example also involves associated posture, this time featuring the locative-existential copula *dé* ‘BE.LOC’ serving as a primary predicate. The general locative meaning of the copula allows various interpretations of associated posture. The use of *dé* ‘BE.LOC’ together with the adverbial complement *dé* ‘there’ in such a construction also conveys affective nuances like negligence or irritation with the situation denoted by the secondary predicate:

- (59) *Di pikín dé dé de kráy.*  
 DEF child BE.LOC there IPFV cry

‘The child is just (standing/sitting/lying) there crying.’ [pa07me 027]

A second, equally common subject-oriented secondary predicate features a dynamic locomotion verb as the primary predicate. The secondary predicate provides information about the subject as well as the event denoted by the primary predicate itself. In the example below, both verbs are dynamic, hence, imperfective marking is again used to express the temporal overlap of the two predicates. Note the optional use of a resumptive subject pronoun with the secondary predicate:

- (60) *Den de fála den séf den de rón.*  
 3PL IPFV follow 3PL self 3PL IPFV run

‘They’re following each other running.’ [dj07re 005]

The construction in (61) features the locomotion verb *wáka* ‘walk’ as primary predicate and the idiomatic reflexive construction *ópin in séf* ‘(to) boast’ as secondary predicate. Note the presence of the resumptive subject pronoun *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’ in this example as well:

- (61) *E nó gét mɔní, wétin e de wáka e de ópin in séf*  
 3SG.SBJ NEG get money what 3SG.SBJ IPFV walk 3SG.SBJ IPFV open 3SG.POSS self  
*so?*  
 like.that

‘He doesn’t have money, why does he go around boasting like that?’ [ye07je 132]

Animacy provides additional cues to the meaning of constructions involving secondary predication. When the object of a transitive verb has an animate object as in (62) (i.e. *mí* ‘1SG.INDP’), the secondary predicate may be interpreted as either subject- or object-oriented. In such cases, the secondary predicate requires a subject pronoun in order to establish reference with either of the two participants:

- (62) *Pero den kán dú mí a de sté na Móka, den kán dú mí na*  
 but 3PL PFV do 1SG.INDP 1SG.SBJ IPFV stay LOC PLACE 3PL PFV do 1SG.INDP LOC  
*Móka.*  
 PLACE

‘But they did it to me while I was staying in Moka, they did it to me in Moka.’ [ab03ay 071]

### 11.3.3 Resultatives

Resultative secondary predicates express resultant states, hence, they also involve stative(ly interpreted) property items. Resultative meaning arises in sentences featuring highly transitive effected-object verbs as primary predicates and property items as secondary predicates. Resultatives are invariably object-oriented.



In (63), the verb of production *pént* ‘paint’ is followed by the patient object *hós* ‘house’ and the secondary predicate *blák* ‘black’. The secondary predicated is an object-oriented resultative adjunct that denotes the resultant state of the event denoted by the primary predicate:

- (63) *E pént di hós blák.*  
 3SG.SBJ paint DEF house black  
 ‘He painted the house black.’ [pa07me 037]

Sentence (64) features the effected-object verb *mék* ‘make, prepare’ as a primary predicate. Note that the secondary predicate takes the subject pronoun *e* ‘3SG.SBJ’, which is co-referential with the primary predicate object *café* ‘coffee’. The overt subject pronoun is not necessary here because the resultative predicate is clearly object-oriented (unlike the primary predicate presented in 49 above). I assume that an explicit subject pronoun is nevertheless employed because of the presence of the preverbal degree adverb *tú* ‘too (much)’. This makes the secondary predicate more complex and motivates the use of a finite resultative clause featuring an overt subject:

- (64) *Den mék di café e tú swít.*  
 3PL make DEF coffee 3SG.SBJ too be.sweet  
 ‘They prepared the coffee (it’s) too sweet.’ [ra07ve 064]

Resultatives may be paraphrased by employing a nominal strategy. The resultative secondary predicate in (65), i.e. the property item *wɔwɔ* ‘be ugly, messed up’ may be vaguely paraphrased via an NP in which it appears as a prenominal modifier to the generic noun *stáyl* ‘manner’ (66). The generic noun *stáyl* ‘manner’ is also used in modifications of manner (cf. e.g. 368 in §7.7.2) and in manner question words (cf. e.g. 117 in §7.3.2), hence in (66), it is ambiguous between a participant-oriented resultative reading and an event-oriented manner reading:

- (65) *Den bíl di ród wɔwɔ.*  
 3PL build DEF road be.ugly  
 ‘They built the road (and it’s) shoddy.’ [ra07ve 059]
- (66) *Den bíl=an wɔwɔ stáyl.*  
 3PL build=3SG.OBJ ugly style  
 ‘They built it (and it’s) shoddy.’ or ‘They built it shoddily.’ [ra07ve 060]

Pichi resultative constructions are object-oriented and require the secondary predicate to be an inchoative-stative property item. Neither inchoative-stative verbs from other semantic classes nor dynamic verbs are employed as resultative secondary predicates. In contrast, Pichi’s West African sister languages have object-oriented resultative SVCs featuring dynamic secondary predicates as in the Krio example below, and subject-oriented resultatives featuring change-of-state secondary predicates as in Ghanaian Pidgin English.

- (67) KRIO  
*Di wúmán kúk rés sél.*  
 DEF woman cook rice sell  
 ‘The woman cooked rice and sold it.’ (Finney 2004: 72)
- (68) GHANAIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH  
*A chóp táya.*  
 1SG.SBJ eat be.tired  
 ‘I ate (until I was) tired (of it).’ (Own knowledge)

Accordingly, Pichi also does not have a resultative completive aspect construction featuring the dynamic verb *fínish* ‘finish’ as a secondary predicate, as in the following example. In Pichi, completive aspect is instead expressed via an auxiliary construction and a verbal complement (cf. §6.4.3):

- (69) GHANAIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH  
*A chóp fínish.*  
 1SG.SBJ eat finish  
 ‘I’ve finished eating/I’m done eating.’ (Own knowledge)

Resultant situations like the ones above must therefore be expressed through fuller clauses in Pichi. When the secondary predicate is not a property item and subject-oriented, a clause linker like *sóté* ‘until’ may be sufficient. When the secondary predicate is not a property item and object-oriented, a chained clause with person-marking is required:

- (70) *A viaja \*(sóté) táya.*  
 1SG.SBJ travel until be.tired  
 ‘I travelled until (I was) tired (of it).’ [ju07ae 531]
- (71) *Bət wi fít de plé, a jám yú yu fɔdón.*  
 but 1PL can IPFV play 1SG.SBJ make.contact 2SG.INDP 2SG fall  
 ‘But we could be playing, I hit you (and) you fall.’ [au07se 178]

## 11.4 Clause chaining

Clause chaining is utilised in narrative discourse to describe tightly-knit situations that take place in sequence. In chained clauses, speakers use one predicate after the other without pausing or placing clause linkers between them. However, chained predicates invariably feature resumptive personal pronouns, and the subject is repeated with each verb in the series. Verbs that participate in clause chaining are always dynamic and form part of foregrounded sections of narrative discourse (cf. §6.8.1).

TMA marking is reduced in chained clauses. Tense, aspect, and mood marking is overtly expressed with the initial one or two verb(s) in order to provide orientation

and grounding. Subsequent verbs, however, remain bare. Clause chaining is therefore different from linkage involving fuller clauses through the absence of prosodic juncture marking and the reduction of TMA marking. At the same time, chained clauses differ from SVCs because they exhibit overt person marking.

The clause chain below features the initial verbs *redí* ‘be/make ready’ and *mék* ‘make’, which are both fully finite and marked for potential mood. The verbs following *mék*, i.e. *ték* ‘take’, *pút* ‘put’, *sén* ‘send’, and *gó* ‘go’ are all left bare without TMA marking. Instead, they form part of a clause chain, in which the initial two verbs alone provide the temporal, aspectual, and modal frame of reference. Note that the bare verbs in the clause chain cannot be interpreted as being marked for factative TMA, since the temporal and modal frame of the paragraph is provided by the potential mood marked on *redí* ‘prepare’ and *mék* ‘make’:

- (72) *Den go redí yú den go mék lek háw den de mék fɔ wích,*  
 3PL POT prepare 2SG.INDP 3PL POT make like how 3PL IPFV make PREP sorcery  
*den ték yú den pút yú na avión den sén yú fɔ ʒda*  
 3PL take 2SG.INDP 3PL put 2SG.INDP LOC plane 3PL send 2SG.INDP PREP other  
*kóntri yu gó wók mɔní.*  
 country 2SG go work money  
 ‘They would prepare you like the way it’s done by sorcery, they’ll take you, put you into a plane, and send you to another country (and) you’ll go earn (them) money.’ [ed03sb 104]

The following example illustrates how the difference between clause chaining and the linkage of fully finite clauses may hinge on intonation when a series of dynamic verbs are marked for factative TMA. In (73), the verbs *ték* ‘take’, *pé* ‘pay’, *kɔmɔt* ‘go out’, *rich* ‘arrive’, and *pé* ‘pay’ are iconically ordered along the time axis and describe successive events. However, they are separated by pauses. Additionally, the last constituent of each clause bears continuative intonation (indicated by a comma), which alerts the hearer to the existence of a clausal boundary. For these reasons, (73) does not involve clause chaining:

- (73) *Lúk=an, di dé wé dís Paquita in papá bin kán ték=an,*  
 look=3SG.OBJ DEF day SUB this NAME 3SG.POSS father PST come take=3SG.OBJ  
*e pé avioneta, kɔmɔt Alemania, rich na Douala, pé avioneta,*  
 3SG.SBJ pay small.aircraft go.out PLACE reach LOC PLACE pay small.aircraft  
*e kán na yá só.*  
 3SG.SBJ come LOC here like.that  
 ‘Look at her, the day that Paquita’s father came to take her, he paid (a ticket for) a small plane, left Germany, got to Douala, paid (a ticket for) a small plane, (and) came here.’ [ab03ay 140]

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